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LIVY

BOOKS XXI, XXII, AND XXIII

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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PREFACE.

The text of Livy given in this book is that of Madvig's edition of 1886.

In writing the notes I have obtained valuable help from Weissenborn's Livy, and also Mr. Capes' Livy (Books XXI. and XXII.), works intended for scholars more advanced than those to whom my own notes are likely to be of service. I am indebted to Mr. Evelyn Abbott of Balliol College for many kind suggestions made as the work was passing through the Press. Other obligations have been acknowledged in the notes themselves.

My object throughout my explanations has been to make it fairly easy for the reader to translate Livy, and to get a clear knowledge of the history of the period, and I have also done my best to interest him both in the Romans and their language.

I have avoided philological notes, and to my grammatical explanations I have preferred to give a popular rather than a technical character, often explaining difficult constructions by what I have called a literal rendering, though I have been obliged to use the word 'literally' in a somewhat wide sense. An absolutely literal translation of a Latin passage would often be at least as difficult to understand as the passage which it professed to explain.

Westminster: November, 1885.
INTRODUCTION.

Urbs antiqua fuit—Tyrii tenuere coloni—

Carthago.

CARTHAGE is supposed to have been founded by Dido, or Elissa, a princess of Tyre, about B.C. 850, according to Timaeus in B.C. 814. It was undoubtedly an ancient Phoenician colony at the time when we first hear of it in connection with Rome; and, though not the oldest Phoenician settlement in the West, it soon became by far the most important, so that at the time of the First Punic War we find Carthage the capital of a vast African empire, which stretched from the Greater Syrtis to the Atlantic Ocean, mistress of the Balearic islands and Sardinia, and exercising a suzerainty over various Tyrian settlements in the South of Spain. In Sicily she held the old Phoenician Colonies in the West, and it was chiefly the resistance of Syracuse which prevented her from annexing the whole of the island.

The Carthaginians were strictly a nation of traders, such as the Phoenicians had ever been, but Carthage had been forced by circumstances to become an imperial city, as the champion against the Greeks of the rights of the Phoenicians to trade and colonise in the western part of the Mediterranean. She could produce brave soldiers and good generals, but the nation as a whole was averse to the sacrifice of material comfort in the interests of even a necessary war. This fact, an important one in estimating the powers of Carthage as compared with those of Rome, is disproved neither by the splendid military qualities of Hamilcar and his sons, nor by the energy of despair which the Cartha-
ginians showed in the Third Punic War, when they did their utmost to avert destruction from their city.

Before passing on to the events which led to the First Punic War, it may be well to give some account of the Carthaginian constitution. The supreme magistrates of the State were two kings (Sufetes) elected by the people, and the supreme council was a 'senate' or Council of Elders. But the real power lay with another body, the Council of One Hundred and Four, who had been originally appointed as a check upon the kings and powerful members of the Senate, but had changed from a popular to an anti-popular element in the commonwealth, forming an exclusive nobility, as it were, of members chosen by co-optation and practically chosen for life. The whole subject, however, is an obscure one. Aristotle, in his Politics, describes the Carthaginian government as an oligarchy, the claim of the rulers to power being based, he says, as much on wealth as on birth or merit. Indeed, he tells us that the highest offices, those of king and general, had to be 'bought,' in other words, obtained by bribery. Nevertheless, the Carthage of his day (he died fifty-eight years before the outbreak of the First Punic War) had a constitution of which Aristotle approved.

About the year 281 B.C. some Campanian mercenaries who had served under Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, against the Carthaginians, now that their employer was dead and that they were left to their own resources, treacherously seized Messana, killed or expelled the adult males, and made themselves masters of their wives, children, and property. Against the Mamertines, as these free-booters called themselves, Hiero of Syracuse led a Syracusan army, defeated them, and shut them up in their city (B.C. 270). It was after this victory over the Mamertines that Hiero received the title of King.

When the siege had already lasted some years, the Mamertines sought help from Rome. But there was a strong
party among them who had opened negotiations with Carthage, and a Punic garrison already held the citadel of Messana, when the Romans determined to send an army under the Consul, Appius Claudius, to help the Mamertines, lest Carthage should get possession of the place, and thus obtain the mastery over all Sicily. The Romans had no justification for their conduct, the Mamertines were mere criminals, and what is more, Italian criminals, and only seven years before the Romans had themselves exterminated a garrison of 4000 Campanians which had been placed by them in Rhegium and had betrayed its trust by following the example of the Mamertines (B.C. 271). But there was no temptation to condone the offence of the Campanians in Rhegium.

As soon as the Mamertines knew that help was coming from Rome, they turned out the Carthaginian garrison, whereupon Hiero made an alliance with Carthage. So now there was war between Rome and the Mamertines against Syracuse and the Carthaginians, a war which is called by Polybius 'the war about Sicily,' and by Livy 'the First Punic War' (B.C. 264). There is no need to give here a history of the war. At first the Romans were successful, and in the second year of the war, Hiero went over to their side. The war lasted twenty-two years with varying fortune, and at last, when both nations were worn out, the Romans, who for nearly five years, dispirited by terrible losses in battle and from storms, had not put a fleet on the sea, built, equipped, and manned a navy of two hundred quinqueremes, which, under the command of C. Lutatius Catulus, won a victory which put an end to the war. Catulus defeated Hanno, who had been sent to relieve Drepanum, at the Aegates Insulae, and made it impossible for the Carthaginians to hold Sicily. Hamilcar Barea (Barak, i.e. Lightning), who had held Mount Ercte for three, and Mount Eryx for two years against the Romans, and had prevented them while Carthage was still powerful at sea from making any progress in the sieges of Lilybaeum and Drepanum, had now, unconquered as he
was, to abandon his position, and make peace with Rome (B.C. 242). The terms agreed upon were, that the Carthaginians should evacuate Sicily, promise not to make war on Syracuse or her allies, restore all the prisoners of war, and pay in twenty years a war indemnity of 2200 Euboic talents to the Romans. A proviso was added, 'if the Roman people shall approve.' The Roman people did not approve altogether, and next year (B.C. 241) sent ten commissioners, among whom were C. Lutatius and his brother, consul for the year, who concluded peace with the Carthaginians on slightly harder terms. They were to pay 3200 talents in ten years, and were to abandon, besides Sicily, all the islands lying between Sicily and Italy. The treaty also stipulated that Carthage should not make war on the allies of Rome, or Rome on the allies of Carthage.

But Carthage was not yet to have rest from war. The mercenaries who had served in Sicily, finding that the Government was not likely to make good to them their arrears in pay, broke into open revolt, in which they were joined by the African subjects of Carthage. The promises that the rebels extorted from the government they now regarded as new signs of weakness, or as perfidious, and felt that no terms could be made unless they could reduce Carthage to submission. The mercenaries in Sardinia followed their example, killed all the Carthaginians in the island, proceeded to hold it for themselves, and invited the Romans to join them. This the Romans very properly refused to do, but subsequently, when the mutineers had been expelled by the natives, and Carthage, though victorious over her rebels at home through the able generalship of Hamilcar, was terribly weakened by the two wars, they could no longer resist the temptation, and in B.C. 238 they prepared to annex Sardinia. The Carthaginians remonstrated and even made some preparations for recovering the island. The Romans answered that Carthage was preparing to make war on them, and that they therefore declared war against Carthage. They would grant peace only on her agree-
ing to pay an additional indemnity of 1200 talents, and they kept Sardinia. Rightly might Hamilcar think ‘Sardiniam ... fraude Romanorum, stipendio etiam insuper imposito, interceptam’ (21. 1. 5). That same year (B.C. 238) Hamilcar crossed over into Spain with an army. Before he started he offered sacrifice to Melkarth, and after the sacrifice he asked his son Hannibal, then a boy of nine years, if he would go with him. The child entreated his father to take him. Then Hamilcar led him up to the altar, and made him put his hand on the sacrifice, and swear that he would never be a friend to Rome. This promise he faithfully kept.

For about nine years Hamilcar fought and intrigued in Spain. He fell in battle, and his command passed to Hasdrubal, his son-in-law and admiral. Hasdrubal, more by diplomacy than force of arms, still further advanced the Carthaginian empire in Spain (founding New Carthage as its capital), so that in B.C. 228 the Romans, who were now preparing to give all their energies to crushing the Italian Gauls, made a treaty with him to the effect that the Ebro should be the limit to Carthaginian progress in Spain. Seven years afterwards Hasdrubal was assassinated by a Spaniard. His brother-in-law, Hannibal, succeeded him, and immediately began the campaigns which were to end in the capture of Saguntum. This, Hannibal knew, must force the Romans to declare war, as that city, though on the Carthaginian side of the Ebro, had been taken under the protection of Rome.
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

B.C.
242. Victory of the Romans at the Aegates Insulae, and close of the First Punic War.
241. Terms of peace settled between Hamilcar and the Roman commissioners.
Beginning of the war between Carthage and the Mercenaries.
238. Annexation of Sardinia by the Romans.
End of the war with the Mercenaries.
Hamilcar goes to Spain.
228. Treaty between Hasdrubal and the Romans.
219. Hannibal takes Saguntum.
218. Hannibal crosses the Alps.
Battles of Ticinus and Trebia.
Q. Fabius Maximus appointed Pro-Dictator.
Comparatively uneventful warfare.
216. Eight legions sent against Hannibal.
Battle of Cannae.
The Capuans and a great part of lower Italy go over to Hannibal.
M. Claudius Marcellus is practically invested with the supreme command against Hannibal.
Hannibal winters at Capua.
215. The consuls Sempronius Gracchus and Fabius Maximus, with Marcellus as pro-consul, carry on the war against Hannibal.
Hannibal makes an alliance with the King of Macedon.
Successes of the Scipios in Spain.
EXCURSUS.

ON LIVY'S LATIN.

We recognise an author's style not so much by his frequent use of certain words, or his repetition of a favourite construction, as by the characteristic rhythm of his sentences, which, like the tone of a voice, can be felt and imitated, though it cannot be described.

The beauty of Livy's style speaks for itself. It has its blemishes no doubt; Livy is strongly rhetorical, and he therefore often exaggerates and strives too much after effect; his periods are at times overwrought, being longer and more involved than a purer taste would approve, while in some passages his meaning is obscured by an artificial subordination of the main idea. This, however, is the exception, and, as far as style is concerned, there are few writers who can be compared with him.

On the other hand it is possible to observe in Livy's Latin some signs of decadence from the pure language of Cicero and Caesar. Allowance should of course be made for the nature of Livy's subject. The Romans themselves considered that history ought to differ in its language from the other forms of prose by approaching more nearly to poetry. Cicero did not write history,

Also, Titi Livii Libri xxi et xxii, and Tit. Liv. Lib. xxiii et xxiv. Fabri.
2 The critic Asinius Pollio, who perhaps only tolerated anything that was not of pure Roman growth ('Pollio amat nostram, quamvis est rustica, Musam,' says the Mantuan Virgil), professed to detect in Livy's Latin a tinge of provincialism, or 'Patavinity,' as he called it, from our author's birthplace Patavium. But if the defect exists it is not to be discovered by a modern critic.
and Caesar, though a purist in matters of Latinity, was not likely to care for poetical embellishments. Nevertheless there are several points in which our author’s language makes an approach to that of the Silver Age. A list is subjoined of the main peculiarities of Livy’s Latin which occur in Books xxi–xxiii.

First as to the use of words.

**Substantives.**

Livy uses abstract substantives for concrete more often than Cicero or Caesar, but less often than Tacitus. Instances in these books are:

- *Aptae instructaeque remigio* ... quinqueremes erant, 21. 22. 4.
- *Praemissis, qui ... Alpium ... transitus specularentur,* 21. 23. 1.
- *Baliares locat ante signa ac levem armaturam,* 21. 55. 2.
- *Qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant,* 22. 17. 4.
- *Ea paucitate vix castra ... tutari poterat,* 22. 24. 9.
- *Ab tumultuario auxilio iam etiam castra Romana terreri,* 22. 45. 4.
- *Satis multis ut ex tanta paucitate interfectis,* 23. 18. 6.

Livy uses more freely than the earlier prose writers the singulars *miles, pedes, hostis, Romanus, Poenus, Samnus,* etc., in a collective sense instead of the plurals, e.g.

- *Abundabat multitudine hominum Poenus,* 21: 8. 3.
- *Hannibal, quia fessum militem proeliis operibusque habebat,* paucorum iis dierum quietem dedit, 21. 11. 3.
- *Ut Afri in Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles,* stipendia facerent, 21. 21. 11.
- *Fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secutus,* 21. 49. 2.
- *Delige centenos viros ex omni pedite atque equite,* 21. 54. 2.
- *Milite atque equite scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis non uti populum Romanum,* 22. 37. 7.
- *Nec Numida Hispano eques par fuit,* nec *iaculator Maurus caetrato,* 23. 26. 11.
- *Hinc Poenus, hinc Afer urget,* 23. 29. 10.
- *Vetus miles tironi, liber voloni sese exaequari sineret,* 23. 35. 7.
What is still more peculiar about Livy's usage on this point is that he often couples the collective singular with the plural, or contrasts them, e.g.

Poeno cepisse iam se urbem...credente, Saguntinis...corpora opponentibus, 21. 8. 8.

Socci duplicem numerum equitum darent, peditis aequarent, 22. 36. 3.

Militi ac navalibus sociis, 23. 21. 2.

The use of substantives for adjectives by Livy (e.g. cum foederum ruptore duce ac populo, 21. 40. 11; and pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone, 21. 43. 14) cannot be said to be a departure from the ordinary classical usage.

Adjectives.

Livy makes frequent use of neuter adjectives and participles in the plural as substantives describing places, e.g.

Inter confragosa omnia praeruptaque, 21. 32. 9.
Per invia pleraque, 21. 35. 4.

Omnibus ultra castra transque montes exploratis, 22. 43. 7.

He also makes very free use of neuter adjectives and participles as substantives followed by a partitive genitive, e.g.

Mediterranea Galliae, 21. 31. 2.
Extrema agminis, 21. 34. 7.
Extremum periculi, 21. 34. 8.
Agminis medium, 22. 2. 3.

Pronouns.

The use of alius in the sense of ὁ ἄλλος ('the rest,' 'besides') is frequent in Livy as compared with earlier prose Latin, e.g.

Et alius exercitus...quicte unius diei resicitur, 21. 27. 6.
Ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies, 22. 5. 7.

Supra quinquaginta millia captivorum sub hasta venierunt; praeda alia militi concessa, 23. 37. 13.
EXCURSUS

The use of *quicunque* (without a verb, e.g. *Quamcunque condicionem paisciendi acceperunt, 22. 58. 5*) is more common in Livy than in Cicero.

The same is true of *qualiscunque, quantuscunque*, etc.

**Verbs.**

Livy uses transitive verbs in an intransitive sense more freely than the earlier prose writers.

Two cases must be distinguished.

1. He uses transitive verbs in a *quasi-reflexive* sense, e.g.
   *Omnibus satis comparatis ad traiciendum, 21. 27. 1.*
   *Ad vindices futuros *declinant*, 21. 52. 6.*
   *Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe ... in Africam *transmits*, 22. 31. 1.*

2. He uses them in an *absolute* sense, e.g.
   *Colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani, 21. 26. 6.*
   *Quum omnes victi metu *permittei*nt, 23. 2. 8.*

Livy uses frequently the auxiliaries *fuero, fuerim, fuissem*, and especially *fueram*, instead of the more correct *ero, sim, essem*, and *eram*, e.g.

   *Actaque etiam res in senatu *fuerat, 21. 3. 2.*
   *Qui ad Trasumennum capti ab Hannibale dimissique *fuerant, 22. 13. 2.*
   *Paulus quanquam ... funda graviter ictus *fuerat, 22. 49. 1.*
   *Quod beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restituti *fuerimus, 22. 59. 11.*
   *Neque enim ... senatus lectus *fuerat, 23. 22. 3.*
   *Una etiam (urbs) ab ipsis capta vi *fuerat, 23. 26. 5.*

Notice also the frequent use of *forem* in Livy.

**Adverbs.**

Livy uses *adhib* (which strictly means ‘up till now’) of past time, where Cicero would use ‘*etiam tum*,’ e.g.

   *Quanquam gravis *adhib* vulnere erat, 21. 48. 3.*
   *Utrius populi mallet victoriam esse, incertis *adhib* viribus, fluctuatus animo *fuerat, 23. 33. 3.*
He uses *ceterum* (primarily 'for the rest') where Cicero would use *sed*, e.g.


*Ceterum* haec legatio verbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior, 21. 18. 4.

*Ceterum* magis constat, ratibus traiectos, 21. 28. 6.

*Ceterum* ut illis, quae post pugnam accidere, levior, ... sic strage exercitus gravior foediorque, 22. 50. 2.

*Ceterum* malis artibus nactus opes, 23. 2. 2.

*Ceterum* postquam ... Neapoli quoque, sicut Nola, omissa petit Nuceriam, 23. 15. 2.

Livy makes free use of adverbs or adverbial expressions as adjectives, e.g.

*Quam cetera circa*, 21. 7. 5.

*Quum ... circa omnia* hostium essent, 21. 11. 12.

Quia vi subactos *trans Pyrenaem Hispanos* fama erat, 21. 24. 2.

*Per invia circa*, 21. 36. 4.

*Per nudam infra glaciam*, 21. 36. 6.

*Circa Arpos et Luceriam ... regionem*, 22. 9. 5.

Quo iam tanquam *trans Hiberum agro*, Poenis concessum sit, 22. 25. 7.

*Praedam ex agris*, 23. 1. 6.

Farre *ex agris circa* undique convecto, 23. 19. 8.

*Quom omnia circa* strage ac fuga Sardorum repleta essent, 23. 40. 10.

Secondly as to peculiarities of construction:—

**The cases of the Noun.**

A bold use of the nominative in very slight grammatical connection with the rest of the sentence is sometimes found in Livy, e.g.

Is *adolescentia feror temere proelio inito* fusus fugatusque, 23. 40. 4. A corresponding construction of the accusative in 'oratio obliqua' is found in 22. 34. 10. Id consules, *ambos ad exerci-
tum *morando*, quaesisse. And for a somewhat similar use of the nominative see 22. 31. 7; (cf. 23. 24. 6).

**THE ACCUSATIVE.**

'The Accusative of respect,' common in Greek, occurs in Livy as it does in poetical and colloquial Latin; whereas it is not found in Cicero or Caesar.

\[Adversum femur\] tragula \ldots\ \textit{ictus}, 21. 7. 10.

\[Cetera tereti, 21. 8. 10.\]

Livy uses the Accusative after *tremere* and *pavere* in the following passages:—

Virgas ac secures dictatoris *tremere* atque *horrere*, 22. 27. 3.

Nec Samnitem modo hostem, sed etiam Sidicinum *paventes*, 23. 5. 8.

The usage is perhaps poetical, though the construction of *horrere* with an accusative is quite common in Latin.

Also he uses the Accusative after some verbs which in Cicero or Caesar would be followed by a preposition, e. g.

\[Invadere, 21. 30. 2;\] and 23. 18. 1.

\[Evadere, 21. 32. 13.\]

\[Insidere, 21. 54. 3.\]

\[Succedere, 22. 28. 12.\]

**THE GENITIVE.**

The use of a partitive genitive depending on neuter adjectives is, as has been mentioned above, very frequent in Livy (though rare in prose before his time), e. g.

\[Immensum altitudinis, 21. 33. 7.\]

\[Aestatis reliquam, 22. 15. 1.\]

\[Exiguum spatii, 22. 24. 8.\]

\[Ad multum diei, 22. 45. 1;\] and 23. 16. 10.

Livy also makes a partitive genitive depend on a positive adjective, a construction not found in Cicero or Caesar.

\[Delecti equitum, 22. 15. 10.\]

\[Circumfusos militum, 22. 30. 2.\]
The use of 'the genitive of apposition' is noticeable in Livy, e.g. Alpes... quarum alterum latus Italiae sit, 21. 30. 5. Duas prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse, 22. 41. 5.

The Dative.

Livy uses the dative after verbs compounded with prepositions in many cases where earlier prose writers would have preferred to repeat the preposition, e.g.

Levi... armaturae hostium incurrere, 22. 17. 6.
Spolia corporis caputque praecisum ducis Boii ovantes templo... intulere, 23. 24. 11.

The Ablative.

Livy is very free in his use of the ablative without a preposition, e.g.

Omne herbarum... genus aggeribus infinis muri eruerent, 23. 19. 13 (where 'ab' or 'ex aggeribus' would be more usual); and also in the use of the ablative of place without a preposition, e.g.

Nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, 22. 4. 6.

Notice also his frequent use of ablatives in an adverbial sense, e.g.

Id... enixe, favore etiam vulgi et studio visendi tot iam victoriis clarum imperatorem, factum est, 23. 7. 9.
Itaque eruptione e castris pugnatum est, 23. 49. 8.

Especially common in Livy is the use of the neuter past participle as an impersonal ablative absolute,

(a) Without a subject, e.g.
Nondum palamfacto, 22. 55. 3 (though here an explanatory clause may be supplied).
Ante explorato et subsidiis positis... ad populandum ducebat, 23. 42. 9.

(b) With a whole clause as its subject, e.g.
Latuque, ut solet, ad populum ut equum escendere liceret, 23. 14. 2.
It may be mentioned here that the use of the ablative of the gerund instead of a present participle agreeing with the subject of the sentence, and without any instrumental force, is much more common in Livy than in Cicero, e.g.

Qui modo, Saguntum oppugnari indignando, ... foedera et Deos ciebamus, 22. 14. 7.

_Laniando_ dentibus hostem exspirasset, 22. 51. 9. (See note on the last passage.)

The older prose writers avoided making a deponent participle in the ablative absolute govern a case.

But in Livy we find such phrases as:

P. et Cn. Scipionibus inter se _partitis copias_, 23. 26. 2. Cicero would have written 'Cum P. et Cn. Scipiones copias inter se partiti essent.'

_Transgresso_ Vulturum Fabio, 23. 39. 5.

**Verbs.**

The use of a plural verb with a singular collective noun is remarkably frequent in Livy, e.g.

_Juventus_ delecta ... _obsistebant_, 21. 7. 7.

_Ea_ maxima pars _volonum_ _erant_, 23. 35. 6.

The use of the perfect subjunctive in consecutive clauses, where strict usage would require the imperfect, is very usual in Livy, e.g.

_Adeo_ (nix) _pluteos_ ac _vineas_ Romanorum _operuerat_, ut ea sola ... _tutamentum_ _fuerit_, 21. 61. 10.

_Adeo_ totam _urbem_ _opplevit_ luctus, ut sacrum _anniversarium_ _Cereras_ _intermissum sit_, 22. 56. 4.

_Adeo_ _baud_ _dubia_ _victoria_ _fuit_, ut _plures_ _numero_, quam _ipsi_ _erant_, Romani _hostium_ _occiderint_, _ceperint_ _amplius_ _tria_ _millia_ _hominum_, etc., 23. 49. 10, 11.

One of the most curious points in Livy's syntax is his use of the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive to express the idea of repetition after relative pronouns or conjunctions, where the older writers use the indicative, e.g.
Ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, 21. 4. 4.
Ubi vero dimicarent, 21. 42. 4.
Sicubi conserta navis esset, 21. 50. 3.
Quantum usus necessarii cogerent, 22. 12. 8.

The use of the infinitive after the following words is remarkable:

Occupare, 21. 39. 10.
Supersedere, 21. 40. 1.
Impellere, 22. 6. 6.
Sustinere, 23. 9. 7 (end of section).
Obstinare, 23. 29. 7.

The construction of non dubito and like expressions with an accusative and infinitive is very common in Livy, e.g.
Neque enim dubitabant ... hostem ad oppugnandam Romam ...
venturum, 22. 55. 2.
Still the construction with quin will be found in 21. 3. 1; ib. 36. 4; and 22. 39. 15, and is the more usual of the two. In Cicero the construction with the infinitive is very rare.

The free use of the future participle by Livy is a marked departure from the usage of the earlier writers, e.g.
Cum, perfecto Africo bello, exercitum eo traiecturus sacrificaret, 21. 1. 4.
Often it marks an intention, e.g.
Ad castra hostium venerat nullam dimicandi moram facturus, 21. 32. 1. (See also 'occulus' ib. § 2.)
Genuam repetit eo, qui circa Padum erat exercitus, Italiam
defensurus, 21. 32. 5.
See also ib. 32. 10; 61. 1.
Sometimes, as in Greek, it is used for a conditional clause, e.g.
(Bellum) mansurum ... in visceribus reipublicae, si plures
Fabios imperatores haberet, ... se perfecturum, 22. 38. 7.
An dedituris se Hannibali fuisse accersendum Romanorum praec-
sidium? 23. 44. 2.
Conjunctions.

The irregular use (so common in Tacitus) of different copulative conjunctions to couple words on the same footing begins to show itself in Livy, e.g.

Ilergetes ... Bargusiosque et Ausetanos, 21. 23. 2.
Marsos ... Marrucinosque et Pelignos, 22. 9. 5.
Ab Hasdrubale ac Magone et Hannibale, 23. 49. 5.

Livy's habit of coupling words grammatically unlike by copulative conjunctions is worthy of notice, e.g.

Quos Poenus beneigne allocutus et spe ingentium donorum accensos ... dimisit, 21. 48. 2.
Simul castris praesidio et circumspectans, 22. 23. 10.
Et per fugis multa indicantibus et per suos explorantem, 22. 28. 1.
Magis verecundia ... quam satis fidens exercitui, 23. 36. 8.

In all these cases the strictly grammatical form of expression would doubtless have been preferred by Cicero.

Prepositions.

Livy often puts a, ab with the names of towns contrary to classical usage, e.g.

Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est, 21. 9. 3.
A Casino, 23. 17. 7.

The Meaning of Various Symbols, Etc., Used in the Text.

1. Words or parts of words are printed in Italics when they have been supplied by conjecture.

2. Words are enclosed in square brackets when, though occurring in the MSS., they appear not to have been written by Livy.

3. Asterisks (**) mean that words have been lost.

4. An obelus (†) means that the word or words which follow it are corrupt.
§ 1. The Hannibalic War was perhaps the greatest in the history of the world, § 2. among other reasons, § 3. on account of the bitterness felt on each side. § 4. On the Carthaginian side Hannibal had in boyhood sworn eternal enmity to the Romans at the bidding of his father Hamilcar, § 5. who chafed at the loss of Sicily and Sardinia,

In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari, quod in principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quae unquam gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores opibus uUae inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma, neque his ipsis tantum unquam virium aut roboris fuit, et haud ignotas belli artes inter sese, sed expertas primo Punico conferebant bello, et adeo varia fortuna belli anicepsque Mars fuit, ut propius periculo fuerint, qui vicerunt. Odiis etiam prope maioribus certarunt quam viribus, Romanis indignantibus, quod victoribus victi ultero 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, quum, perfecto Africo bello, exercitum eo traiecturus
sacrificaret, altaribus admotum, tactis sacris, iure iurando adactum, se, quum primum posset, hostem fore populo Romano. Angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae: nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam et Sardiniam inter motum Africae fraude Romanorum, stipendio etiam insuper imposito, interceptam.

Ch. 2. §§ 1, 2. and who would certainly, if he had lived, himself have begun the Second Punic War. §§ 3, 4. Hamilcar's son-in-law, Hasdrubal, succeeded him as commander in Spain, § 5. and still further advanced the power of Carthage. § 6. He was at last assassinated by a Spaniard. § 7. The Romans, however, had been glad to make a treaty with Hasdrubal to set bounds to the advance of the Carthaginians.

1 His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos, ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit, ut appareret, maius eum, quam quod gereret, agitare in animo bellum, et, si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce Poenos arma Italiae illaturos fuisse, quae Hannibalis ductu intulerunt.

3 Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore actatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, gener inde ob aliam indolem prosecto 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 cum quidam palam ob iram interfecti ab
eo domini obtruncat; comprensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio, quam si evasisset, vultu, tormentis quoque quem laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris, ut superante laetitia do-lores ridentis etiam speciem praebuerit. Cum hoc Has-drubale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo iungendis fuerat, foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Hiberus, Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.

§ 1. Hasdrubal was succeeded by Hannibal, § 2. who was in Spain at the time, §§ 3–6. having gone there originally in spite of Hanno and his followers at Carthage, who were opposed to Hamilcar and his party.

In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit, quin praero-1 gativa militaris, qua extemplo iuvenis Hannibal in praetorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omni atque assensu appellatus erat, * * favor plebis sequebatur. Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris ad se accersierat, 2 actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat. Barcinis nitentibus, ut assuesceret militiae Hannibal atque in paternas succederet opes, Hanno, alterius factionis princeps, ‘Et aequum 3 postulare videtur’ inquit ‘Hasdrubal, et ego tamen non censeo, quod petit, tribuendum.’ Quum admiratione tam 4 ancipitis sententiae in se omnes convertisset, ‘Florem aetatis’ inquit ‘Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum praebuit, iusto iure eum a filio repeti censet; nos tamen minime decet iuventutem nostram pro militari rudimento assuefacere libidini praetorum. An hoc time-5 mus, ne Hamilcaris filius nimis sero imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem videat, et, cuius regis genero here-ditarii sint relictii exercitus nostri, eius filio parum mature serviamus? Ego istum iuvenem domi tenendum sub 6
legibus, sub magistratibus, docendum vivere aequo iure cum ceteris censeo, ne quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet.'

Ch. 4. § 1. However Hanno's party were in a minority. §§ 1-9. In Spain Hannibal was from the first popular with the troops, but became still more popular afterwards from his splendid qualities, which, however, were marred by great defects. § 10. For three years he learnt under Hasdrubal the business of a great general.

1 Pauci, ac ferme optimus quisque, Hannoni assentie-bantur; sed, (ut) plerumque fit, maior pars meliorem vicit. Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu
2 omnem exercitum in se convertit; Hamilcarem iuvenem redditum sibi veteranes milites credere; eundem vigorem in vultu vimque in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri. Dein brevi effecit, ut pater in se minimum mo-
3 mentum ad favorem conciliandum esset. Nunquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, habilius fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres,
4 utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset; neque Has-
5 drubal alium quemquam praeficere malle, ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, neque milites alio duce
6 plus confidere aut audere. Plurimum audaciae ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat. Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus vincit poterat.
7 Caloris ac frigoris patientia par; cibi potionisque desiderio naturali, non voluptate modus finitus; vigiliarum
8 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 stationes-
peditumque idem longe primus erat; princeps in proelium ibat, ultimus conserto proelio excedebat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequabant, inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit, nulla re, quae agenda videntaque magno futuro duci esset, praetermissa.

§§ 1, 2. And immediately on his appointment began to have designs on Saguntum. §§ 3, 4. First he subdued the Olcades and other states, §§ 5, 6. and next year he attacked the Vaccaei with success, §§ 7-12. but had some difficulty with the Cartetani, §§ 13-17. whom, however, he subdued, thus bringing nearly all Spain beyond the Ebro under Carthaginian rule.

Ceterum, ex quo die dux est declaratus, velut Italia ci provincea delecta bellumque Romanum mandatum esset, nihil prolatisandum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem Hamil- carem, deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem casus aliquis opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit. Quibus oppugnandis quia hand dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines (ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginiensium erat) induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed rerum serie, finitimis domitis gentibus, iungendoque tractus ad id bellum videri posset. Cartalam, urbem opulentam, caput gentis eius, expugnat diripitque; quo metu perculsae minores civitates stipendio imposito imperium accepere. Victor exercitus opulentusque praeda Carthaginem Novam in hiberna est deductus. Ibi large partiendo praedam stipendioque praeterito cum fide exsolvendo cunctis civium sociorumque animis in se firmatis, vere primo in Vaccaeos promotum bellum. Hermandica et Arbocala, eorum
urbes, vi captae. Arbocala et virtute et multitudine op-
7 pidanorum diu defensa; ab Hermandica profugi exsulibus Olcadum, priore aestate domitae gentis, quum se iunxis-
8 sent, concitant Carpetanos, adortique Hannibalem regressum ex Vaccaeis haud procul Tago flumine, agmen grave
9 praeda turbavere. Hannibal proelio abstinuit, castrisque
super ripam positis, quum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, amnem vado traiecit, valloque ita producto,
ut locum ad transgrediendum hostes haberent, invadere
10 eos transeuntes statuit. Equitibus praecipit, ut, quum
ingressos aquam viderent, adorirentur impeditum agmen;
in ripa elephantos (quadraginta autem erant) disponit.
11 Carpetanorum cum appendicibus Olcadum Vaccæorum-
que centum millia fuere, invicta acies, si aequo dimicaretur
12 campo. Itaque et ingenio feroce et multitudine freti et,
quod metu cessisse credebat hostem, id morari victoriam
rati, quod interesset amnis, clamore sublato passim sine
ullius imperio, qua cuique proximum est, in amnem ruunt.
13 Et ex parte altera ripae vis ingens equitum in flumen
immissa, medioque alveo hau❞quaquam pari certamine
14 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
15 stabili, cominus eminusque rem geret. Pars magna
flumine absumpta; quidam verticoso amni delati in hostes
16 ab elephantis obtriti sunt. Postremi, quibus regressus
in suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia trepidatione quum in
unum colligerentur, priusquam a tanto pavore recipiunt
animos, Hannibal agmine quadrato amnem ingressus
fugam ex ripa fecit, vastatisque agris, intra paucos dies
17 Carpetanos quoque in deditionem accepit; et iam omnia
trans Hiberum praeter Saguntinos Carthaginiensium erant.
§§ 1, 2. Then he picked a quarrel with the Saguntines, and they sent to Rome for help. §§ 3–5. But soon the news came that the siege of Saguntum was begun. §§ 6–8. Ambassadors were sent to tell Hannibal to desist. If he refused, they were to make their complaints at Carthage.

Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat, ceterum iam belli causa. Certamina cum finitimis serebantur, maxime Turdetanis. Quibus quum adesset idem, qui litis erat sator, nec certamen iuris, sed vim quaerì appareret, legati a Saguntinis Romam missi auxilium ad bellum iam haud dubie imminens orantes. Consules tunc Romae erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus. Qui quum, legatis in senatum introductis, de re publica rettulissent, placuissetque mitti legatos in Hispaniam ad res sociorum inspiciendas, quibus si videretur digna causa, et Hannibali denuntiarent, ut ab Saguntinis, sociis populi Romani, abstineret, et Carthaginem in Africam traiicerent ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent, hac legatione decreta necdum missa, omnium spe celerius Saguntum oppugnari allatum est. Tunc relata de integro res ad senatum; et alii provincias consulisibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terra marique rem gerendam censebant, alii totum in Hispaniam Hannibalemque intendebant bellum; erant, qui non temere moveram rem tantam exspectandosque ex Hispalia legatos censerent. Haec sententia, quae tutissima videbatur, vicit, legalique 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 deposcendum.
Ch. 7. §§ 1-5. Meanwhile the siege was conducted with vigour, but with little success. §§ 6-9. Hannibal himself received a wound,

1 Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam Saguntum
2 summa vi oppugnabatur. Civitas ea longe opulentissima
3 ultra Hiberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari.
4 Oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur, mixtique etiam ab
5 Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis; ceterum in tantas
6 brevi creverant opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructi-
7 bus seu multituddinis incremento seu disciplinae sancti-
8 tate, qua fidem socialen usque ad perniciem suam
9 coluerunt. Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines, per-
10 vastatis passim agris, urbem tripertito aggreditur. Angu-
11 lus muri erat in planiorem patentioremque, quam cetera
12 circa; vallum vergens; adversus eum vineas agere instituit,
13 per quas aries moenibus admovei possit. Sed ut locus
14 procul muro satis aequus agendis vineis fuit, ita haudqua-
15 quam prospere, postquam ad effectum operis ventum est,
16 coepitis succedebat. Et turris ingens imminebat, et murus,
17 ut in suspecto loco, supra ceterae modum altitudinis emu-
18 nitus erat, et iuventus delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac
19 timoris ostendebatur, ibi vi maiore obsistebant. Ac primo
20 missilibus summovere hostem nec quicquam satis tutum
21 munientibus pati; deinde iam non pro moenibus modo
22 atque turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in sta-
23 tiones operaque hostium animus erat; quibus tumultuaris
24 certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam
25 Poeni. Ut vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius
26 subit, adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit, tanta
27 circa fugae ac trepidatio fuit, ut non multum abesset, quin
28 opera ac vineae deserentur.
§ 1. which for a time stopped active operations, §§ 2–4. but only for a time. § 5. A large breach was made, §§ 6–9. but still the Saguntines held their ground, §§ 10–12. doing great execution by means of fire-bearing javelins;

Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio fuit, dum vulnus ducis curaretur; per quod tempus ut quies certaminum erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil cessatum. Itaque acrius de integro coortum est bellum, pluribusque partibus, vix accipientibus quibusdam opera locis, vineae coeptae agi admovente aries. Abundabat multitudine hominum Poenus; ad centum quinquaginta millia habuisse in armis satis creditur;) oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifariam distineri coepti non sufficiebant. Itaque iam feriebantur arietibus muri quassataeque multae partes erant; una continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem; tres deinceps turres, quantumque inter eas muri erat, cum fragore ingenti prociderunt. Captum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Poeni, qua, velut si pariter utrosque murus texisset, ita utrinque in pugnam procursum est. Nihil tumultuariae pugnae simile erat, quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius conscri solent, sed iustae acies, velut patenti campo, inter ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia intervallo constiterant. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos irritat; Poeno cepisse iam se urbem, si paulum annitatur, credente, Saguntinis pro nudata moenibus patria corpora opponentibus nec ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum a se locum hostem immitteret. Itaque quo acrius et conferti magis utrinque pugnabant, eo plures vulnerabantur, nullo inter arma corporaque vano intercidente telo. Phalarica erat Saguntinis missile telum hastili abieguno et cetera tereti praeterquam
ad extremum, unde ferrum exstabat; id, sicut in pilo, 
quadratum stuppa circumligabant linebantque pice; fer-
rum autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis 
transfigere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiamsi haesis-
set in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat, 
quod, quam medium accensus mitteretur conceptumque 
Ipso motu multo maiorem ignem ferret, arma omitti coge-
bat nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus praebebat.

Ch. 9. §§ 1, 2. and at last driving the enemy back through the breach. 
§ 3. At this juncture the Roman ambassadors arrived, but 
Hannibal would not receive them. § 4. And knowing that 
they would now go to Carthage he wrote to prepare his par-
tisans.

1 Quum diu aniceps fuisset certamen, et Saguntinis, quia 
praeter spem resisterent, crevissent animi, Poenus, quia 
non vicisset, pro victo esset, clamorem repente oppidani 
tollunt hostemque in ruinas muri expellunt, inde impedi-
tum trepidantemque exturbant, postremo fusum fugatum-
que in castra redigunt.

3 Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est; quibus 
obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale, qui dicerent, 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 nuntiosque ad principes factionis 
Barcinae praemittit, ut praepararent suorum animos, ne 
quid pars altera gratificari populo Romano posset.

Ch. 10. § 1. Consequently they were unsuccessful, § 2. though supported 
by Hanno, §§ 3–13. who pointed out the evils of a war with 
Rome which was the inevitable result of the action of Hannibal.

1 Itaque, praeterquam quod admissi auditique sunt, ea 
quoque vana atque irrita legatio fuit. Hanno unus ad-
versus senatum causam foederis magis silentio prōpter auctoritatem quam cum assensu auditium egit, per deos 3 foederum arbitros ac testes senatum obtestans. Ille Romam cum Saguntino suscitaērebellum: monuisse, prae-dixisse se, ne Hamilcaris progeniem ad exercitum mit-terent; non manes, non stirpem eius conquiescere viri, nec unquam, donec sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit, quietura Romana foedera.  'Iuvenem flagrantem 4 cupidine regni viamque 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 5 circumsedent exercitus, unde arcēntur foedere; mox Car-thaginem circumsedebant Romanae legiones, ducibus iisdem dis, per quos priore bello rupta foedera sunt ulti. Utrum hostem an vos an fortunam utriusque populi igno- 6 ratis? Legatos ab sociis et pro sociis venientes bonus imperator vester in castra non admisit; ius gentium sustulit; hi tamen, unde ne hostium quidem legati arcen-tur, pulsi, ad nos venerunt; res ex foedere repetunt; ut publica fraus absit, auctorem culpae et reum criminis depositunt. Quo lenius agunt, segnius incipiunt, eo, quum 7 coeperint, vereor, ne perseverantius saeviant. Aegates insulas Erycemque ante oculos proponite, quae terra marique per quattuor et viginti annos passi sitis. Nee 8 puer hic dux erat, sed pater ipse Hamilcar, Mars alter, ut isti volunt. Sed Tarento, id est Italia, non abstinueramus ex foedere, sicut nunc Sagunto non abstinemus; vicerunt 9 ergo di. homines et, id de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus foedus rupisset, eventus belli velut aequus iudex, unde ius stabat, ei victoriām dedit. Carthagini nunc 10 Hannibal vineas turresque admovet; Carthaginis moenia
quatit ariete. Sagunti ruinae (falsus utinam vates sim) nostris capitis incident, susceptumque cum Saguntinis bellum habendum cum Romanis est. Dedemus ergo 11 Hannibalem? dicet aliquis. Scio meam levem esse in eo auctoritate paternae inimicitiae; sed et Hamilcarem eo perisse laetatus sum, quod, si ille viveret, bellum iam haberemus cum Romanis, et hunc iuvenem tanquam furiam facemque huius belli odi ac detestor; nec dedendum solum ad piaculum rupti foederis, sed, si nemo deposcat, devehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque oras. ablegendum eo, unde nec ad nos nomen famaque eius accidere neque ille sollicitare quietae civitatis statum possit. Ego ita censeo, legatos extemplo Romam mittendos, qui senatui satisfaciant; alios, qui Hannibali nuntient, ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducat, ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant; tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno.'

Ch. 11. § 1. Hanno's speech had no effect, § 2. and the Roman ambassadors were told that the Saguntines were in the wrong. §§ 3—5. Meanwhile, after a few days of preparation, §§ 6, 7. the attack was resumed. §§ 8, 9. A new breach was made, § 10. and a strong position within the city occupied. §§ 11—13. After this the city was being taken piecemeal.

1 Quum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium certare oratione cum eo necesse fuit; adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat, infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam 2 Flaccum Valerium, legatum Romanum. Responsum inde legatis Romanis est, bellum ortum ab Saguntinis, non ab Hannibale esse; populum Romanum iniuste facere, si Saguntinos vetustissimae Carthaginiensium societati praeponat.

3 Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis, Hannibal, quia fessum militem proelis operibusque habe-
bat, 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 4 captae urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt, ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti vide-retur posse. Saguntini ut a proelis quietem habuerant 5 nec lacesentes nec lacesiti per aliquot dies, ita non nocte, non die unquam cessaverant ab opere, ut novum murum ab ea parte, qua patefactum oppidum ruinis erat, reficerent. Inde oppugnatio eos aliquanto atrocior quam ante 6 adorta est, nec, qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem, quam omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis scire poterant. Ipse Hannibal, qua turris mobilis, omnia munita urbis superans altitudine, agebatur, hortator aderat. Quae quum admota, catapultis ballistisque per omnia tabulata dispositis, muros defensoribus nudasset, tum 8 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, 9 quam qua caederetur, ruebat, perque patentia ruinis agmina armatorum in urbem vadebant. Locum quoque 10 editum capiunt, collatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in ipsa urbe velut arcem imminentem haberent, muro circumdant; et Saguntini murum interiorem ab nondum capta parte urbis ducunt. Utrinque summa vi et 11 muniunt et pugnant; sed interiora tuendo minorem in dies urbem Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit inopia omnium 12 longa obsidione et minuitur exspectatio externae opis,quam tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa omnia hostium essent. Paulisper tamen affectos animos recreavit 13.
repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Carpetanosque, qui duo populi, dilectus acerbitate consternati, retentis conquisitoribus, metum defectionis quem praebuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota arma.

Ch. 12. §§ 1–3. The work of destruction was still going on when some unofficial negotiations were started. §§ 4, 5. First by Alco; a Saguntine, who came to Hannibal but did not dare to report the terms he offered. §§ 6, 7. And afterwards by Alorcus, one of Hannibal’s soldiers, who offered to go back instead of Alco. § 8. He was admitted to audience by the Senate of Saguntum, 

1 Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior erat, Maharbare Himilconis filio (eum praefecerat Hannibal) ita impigre rem agente, ut ducem abesse nec cives nec hostes sentirent. 

2 Is et proelia aliquot secunda fecit et tribus arietibus ali-

3 quantum muri discussit, strataque omnia recentibus ruinis advenienti Hannibali ostendit. Itaque ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus exercitus, atroxe proelium cum mul-

torum utrinque caede initum et pars arcis capta est. 

4 Tentata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. Alco insciis Saguntinis, precibus aliquid moturum ratus, quum ad Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimae movebant condicionesque tristes ut ab irato victore ferebantur, trans-

fuga ex oratore factus apud hostem mansit, moriturum 

5 affirmans, qui sub condicionibus iis de pace ageret. Post-

ulabatur autem, redderent res Turdetanis, traditoque omni auro atque argento egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis 

6 ibi habitarent, ubi Poenus iussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos, ubi alia vincantur, affirmans, se pacis eius interpretem fore pollicetur; erat autem tum miles Hannibalis,
ceterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tradito palam tele custodibus hostium, transgressus munimenta ad praetorem Saguntinum (et ipse ita iubebat) est deduc-tus. Quo quum extemplo concursus omnis generis hominis esset factus, summota cetera multitudine, senatus Alorco datus est, cuius talis oratio fuit.

and indicated the terms offered by Hannibal.

'Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad Hannibalem venit, ita pacis condiones ab Hannibale ad vos retulisset, supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo nec orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos veni; sed quum ille aut vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem (sua, si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus), ego, ne ignoraretis, esse aliqua et salutis et pacis vobis condiones, 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 unquam apud vos mentionem feci. Postquam nec ab Romanis vobis ulla est spes nec vestra vosiam aut arma aut moenia satis defendunt, pacem affero ad vos magis necessariam quam aequam. Cuius ita aliqua spes est, si eam, quemadmodum ut victor fert Hannibal, sic vos ut victi audietis et non id, quod amittitur, in damno, quam omnia victoris sint, sed, quicquid relinquitur, pro munere habituri estis. Urbem vo- bis, quam ex magna parte dirutam, captam fere totam habet, adimit, agros relinquuit, locum assignaturus, in quo novum oppidum aedificetis. Aurum et argentum omne, publicum privatumque, ad se iubet deferri; corpora vestra, coniugum ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si
inermes cum binis vestimentis velitis ab Sagunto exire. 8 Haec victor hostis imperat; haec, quanquam sunt gravia atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Equidem haud despero, quam omnium potestas ei facta sit, ali-9 quid ex his [rebus] remissurum; sed vel haec pa-
tienda censeo potius, quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi
trahique ante ora vestra coniuges ac liberos belli iure
sinatis.'

Ch. 14. § 1. The nobles were struck with despair, and began to destroy
their property and their lives. §§ 2–4. In the midst of the
confusion, Hannibal, by a vigorous attack, took the city, and
put all the men to the sword.

1 Ad haec audienda quum circumfusa paulatim multi-
tudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente
primores, secessione facta, priusquam responsum dare-tur,
argentum aurumque omne ex publico privatoque in forum
collatum in ignem ad id raptim factum coniicientes,
2 eodem plerique semet ipsi praecipitaverunt. Quum ex eo
pavor ac trepidatio totam urbem pervasisset, alius insuper
tumultus ex arce auditur. Turris diu quassata prociderat,
perque ruinam eius cohors Poenorum impetu facto quum
signum imperatori dedisset, nudatam stationibus custo-
3 diisque solitis hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in
tali occasione ratus Hannibal, totis viribus aggressus
urbem momento cepit, signo dato, ut omnes puberes in-
terficerentur. Quod imperium crudele, ceterum prope
4 necessarium cognitum ipso eventu est; cui enim parci
potuit ex iis, qui aut inclusi cum coniugibus ac liberis
domos super se ipsos concremaverunt aut armati nullum
ante finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt?
§§ 1, 2. The booty was considerable. § 3. The account which makes the siege of Saguntum take eight months, §§ 4, 5. cannot be reconciled with the account that makes it begin in the consulship of Scipio and Sempronius, § 6. who were undoubtedly consuls at the time of the battle of Trebia.

Captum oppidum est cum ingenti praeda. Quanquam pleraque ab dominis de industria corrupta erant, et in caedibus vix ullum discrimen actatis ira fecerat, et captivi militum praeda fuerant, tamen et ex pretio rerum vendit- 2 arum aliquantum pecuniae redactum esse constat et multam pretiosam supellectilem vestemque missam Carthaginem.

Octavo mense, quam coeptum oppugnari, captum 3 Saguntum quidam scripsere; inde Carthaginem Novam in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse; quinto deinde mense, quam ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam 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 Ticianum amnem, ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam, pugnaverint. Aut 5 omnia breviora aliquanto fuere, aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius, Ti. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non coeptum oppugnari est, sed captum. Nam exces- 6 sisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servillii et C. Flaminii non potest, quia C. Flaminius Arimini consul- atum iniit, creatus a Ti. Sempronio consule, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam quam venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.

§ 1. On hearing of the fall of Saguntum, §§ 2-6. the Senate was struck with consternation at the danger that now threatened the existence of Rome.

Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab Car- 1
thagine, Romam rettulerunt, omnia hostilia esse, et
2 Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est; tantusque simul maeror
patres misericordiaque sociorum peremptorum indignæ et
pudor non lati auxiliī et ira in Carthaginienses metusque
de summa rerum cepit, velut si iam ad portas hostis esset,
ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati trepidarent
3 magis quam consulerent: nam neque hostem acriorem
bellicosioremque secum congressum, nec rem Romanam
4 tam desidem unquam fuisse atque imbellem. Sardos
Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios lacessisse magis
quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumul-
tuatum verius quam belligeratum; Poenum hostem
veteranum, trium et viginti annorum militia durissima
inter Hispanas gentes semper victorem, duci acerrimo
assuetum, recentem ab excidio opulentissimae urbis,
Hiberum transire; trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum
5 populos; concitum aeadas semper armorum Gallicas
gentes; cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac
pro moenibus Romanis esse.

Ch. 17. § 1. The consuls were at once appointed to their provinces, §§ 2, 3.
and large forces were raised. § 4. It was decreed to declare
war, and public prayers were offered for its success. §§ 5–9.
The forces were divided between the two consuls, and the praetor
L. Manlius, who was to go to Gaul.

1 Nominatae iam antea consulibus provinciae erant; tum
sortiri iussi. Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa cum
2 Sicilia evenit. Sex in eum annum decretae legiones et
socium, quantum ipsis videretur, et classis, quanta parari
3 posset. Quattuor et viginti peditum Romanorum
millia scripta et mille octingenti equites, sociorum quad-
raginta millia peditum, quattuor millia et quadringenti
equites; naves ducentae viginti quinqueremes, celoces
viginti deducti. Latum inde ad populum, vellent iube- rent populo Carthaginiensi bellum indici; eiusque belli causa supplicatio per urbem habita atque adorati di, ut bene ac feliciter eveniret, quod bellum populus Romanus iussisset. Inter consules ita copiae divisaе: Sempronio 5 datae legiones duae (ea quaterna millia erant peditum et trecenti equites) et sociorum sedecim millia peditum, equites mille octingenti; naves longae centum sexaginta, celoces duodecim. Cum his terrestribus maritimisque 6 copiis Ti. Sempronius missus in Sicilian, ita in Africam transmissurus, si ad arcendum Italia Poenum consul alter satis esset. Cornelio minus copiarum datum, quia L. 7 Manlius praetor et ipse cum haud invalido praesidio in Galliam mittebatur; navium maxime Cornelio numerus 8 deminutus; sexaginta quinqueremes datae (neque enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli dimicaturum hostem credebant) et duae Romanæ legiones cum suo iusto equitatu et quattuordecim millibus sociorum peditum, equitibus mille sexcentis. Duas legiones Romanæ et 9 decem millia sociorum peditum, mille equites socios, sexcentos Romanos Gallia provincia eodem versa in Punicum bellum habuit.

§§ 1-3. Ambassadors were then sent to Carthage with Rome’s ultimatum. §§ 4-11. The Carthaginians contended that Saguntum was not protected by any treaty except Hasdrubal’s, which Carthage had never ratified, §§ 12, 13. but that if Rome wanted to have war they were quite ready to accept it. § 14. War was accordingly declared.

His ita comparatis, ut omnia iusta ante bellum fierent, 1 legatos maiores natu, Q. Fabium, M. Livium, L. Aemilium, C. Liciniium, Q. Baebium, in Africam mittunt ad percontandos Carthaginenses, publicone consilio Han-
nibal Saguntum oppugnasset, et, si, id quod facturi videbantur, faterentur ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum. Romani postquam Carthaginem venerunt, quam senatus datus esset et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum, quod mandatum erat, percontatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus: 'Praecepta vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, quum Hannibalem tanquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem deposcebatis; ceterum haec legatio verbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior. Tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et deposcebatur; nunc ab nobis et confessio culpae exprimitur et ut a confessis res extemplo repetuntur. Ego autem non, privato publicone consilio Saguntum oppugnatum sit, quaerendum censeam, sed utrum iure an injuria; nostra enim haec quaestio atque animadversio in civem nostrum est, quid nostro aut suo fecerit arbitrio; vobiscum una disceptatio est, licueritne per foedus fieri. Itaque quoniam discerni placet, quid publico consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis vobiscum foedus est a C. Lutatius console ictum, in quo quum caveretur utrorumque sociis, nihil de Saguntinis (necum enim erant socii vestri) cautum est. At enim eo foedere, quod cum Hasdrubale ictum est, Saguntini excipiuntur. Adversus quod ego nihil dicturus sum, nisi quod a vobis didici. Vos enim, quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum foedus ictit, quia neque 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 ictit, obligare potuit. Proinde omittite Sagunti atque Hiberi mentionem facere,
et, quod diu parturit animus vester, aliquando pariat.'
Tum Romanus, sinu ex toga facto, 'Hic' inquit 'vobis bellum et pacem portamus; utrum placet, sumite.' Sub hanc vocem haud minus ferociter, daret, utrum vellet, suclamatum est; et quam is iterum, sinu effuso, bellum dare dixisset, accipere se omnes responderunt et, quibus acciperent animis, iisdem se gesturos.

§ 1. Indeed diplomatic discussions would have been futile now, although it is certain that the treaty with Hasdrubal was valid enough, and further that the case of Saguntum was provided for by an earlier treaty. § 6. The Roman envoys then went to Spain. § 7. Excepting the Bargasii every tribe was hostile to them. They therefore passed on to Gaul,

Haec directa percontatio ac denuntiatio belli magis ex dignitate populi Romani visa est quam de foederum iure verbis disceptare, quum ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa. Nam si verborum disceptationis res esset, quid foedus Hasdrubalis cum Lutatii priore foedere, quod mutatum est, comparandum erat, quum in Lutatii foedere diserte additum esset, ita id ratum fore, si populus censuisset, in Hasdrubalis foedere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit, et tot annorum silentio ita vivo eo comprobatum sit foedus, ut ne mortuo quidem auctore quicquam mutaretur? Quanquam, etsi priore foedere staretur, satis cautum erat Saguntinis, sociis utrorumque exceptis; nam neque additum erat 'iis, qui tunc essent,' nec, 'ne qui postea assumerentur.' Et quam assumere novos licet socios, quis aequum censeret, aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi aut receptos in fidem non defendi, tantum ne Carthaginiansium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem aut sua sponte descissentia recuperentur?

Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romae im-
peratum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates et in societatem pellicerent aut averterent a Poenis, traiecerunt. 7 Ad Bargusios primum venerunt, a quibus beneigne excepti, quia taedebat imperii Punici, multos 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 ex iis in concilio respondit: 'Quae verecundia est, Romani, postulare vos, uti vestram Carthaginiensium amicitiae praeponamus, quum, qui id fecerunt, crudelius,quam Poenus hostis perdit, vos socii prodideritis? Ibi quaereratis socios censeo, ubi Saguntina clades ignota est; Hispanis populis sicut lugubre, ita insigne documentum Sagunti ruinae erunt, ne quis fidei Romanae aut societati confidat.' Inde extemplo abire finibus Volcianorum iussi, ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniae benigniora verba tulere. Ita nequicquam peragrata Hispania, in Galliam transeunt.

Ch. 20. §§ 1-6. where they met with nothing but discouragement, §§ 7, 8. except, of course, from their old allies the people of Marseilles. From them they learnt that Hannibal had won over the Gauls by bribes. § 9. They then returned to Rome.

1 † In his nova terribilisque species visa est, quod armati 2 (ita mos gentis erat) in concilium venerunt. Quum verbis extollentes glori- tumex tumurq populi Romani ac magnitudinem imperii petissent, ne Poeno bellum Italiae in- 3 ferenti per agros urbesque suas transitum darent, tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus, ut vix a magistratibus 4 maioribusque natu iuventus sedaretur; adeo stolida impudensque postulatio visa est censere, ne in Italian trans- mittant Galli bellum, ipsos id advertere in se agrosque 5 suos pro alienis populandos obiicere. Sedato tandem
fremitu, responsor mem legatis est, neque Romanorum in se meritum esse neque Carthaginiensium iniuriam, ob quae aut pro 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 auditaque, 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 peragratis Hispaniae et Galliae populis, legati Romam redeunt haud ita mucho post, quam consules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem omnem exspectatione bellii erectam invenerunt, satis constantiae fama, iam Hiberum Poenos transisse.

§§ 1-4. Hannibal, learning at New Carthage that war had been declared, after a few words of encouragement to his Spanish troops, §§ 5-8. allowed them to go home on furlough for the winter. They returned at the beginning of spring. § 9. Hannibal, after reviewing his troops, made a journey to Gades, to pray for the success of the war. §§ 10-13. He then took the precaution of garrisoning Africa with Spanish, and Spain with African troops.

Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem Novam in hisberna concesserat, ibique auditis, quae Romae quaeque Carthagine acta decretaque forent, seque non ducem 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 transferendum bellum; ita enim hae gentes non pacis solum, sed etiam victoriae bonis florebunt, si ex aliis
gentibus praedam et gloriem quaeremus. Itaque quum
longinqua a domo instet militia incertumque sit, quando
domos vestras, et quae cuique ibi cara sunt, visi sitis, si
quis vestrum suos invisere vult, commeatum do. Primo
vere edico adsitis, ut dis bene iuvantibus bellum ingentis
gloriae praedaeque futurum incipiamus.' Omnibus fere
visendi domos oblata ulro 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 cor-
pora animosque ad omnia de integro patienda; vere primo
ad edictum convenere.

9 Hannibal quum recensisset omnium gentium auxilia,
Gades profectus Herculi vota exsolvit, novisque se obligat
votis, si cetera prospera evenissent. Inde partiens curas
simul in inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse
terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque itinere Italiam peterset,
nuda apertaque Romanis Africa ab Sicilia esset, valido
praesidio firmare eam statuit; 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 pigneribus obligati,
stipendia facerent. Tredecim millia octingentos quin-
quaginta pedites caetratos misit in Africam et funditores
Baliares octingentos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis
gentibus mille ducentos. Has copias partim Carthagin
praesidio esse, partim distribui per Africam iubet. Simul
conquisitoribus in civitates missis, quattuor millia con-
scripta delectae iuventutis, praesidium eosdem et obsides,
duci Carthaginem iubet.
§§ 1-4. Spain was put under the command of Hasdrubal. § 5. Ch. 22.
After returning to head-quarters, Hannibal marched to the Ebro. §§ 6-9. Here in a dream he was told that Heaven sent him to be the devastator of Italy; but the issue of the struggle was not revealed.

Neque Hispaniam negligendam ratus, atque id eo minus, quod haud ignarus erat, circumitam ab Romanis cam legatis ad sollicitandos principum animos, Hasdrubali fratri, viro impigro, eam provinciam destinat, firmatque eam Africis maxime praesidiis, peditum Afrorum undecim millibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis, Bariaribus quingentis. Ad haec peditum auxilia additi equites Libyphoenices, mixtum Punicum Afris genus, quadringenti quinquaginta et Numidae Maurique accolae Oceani ad mille octingentii et parva Ilergetum manus ex Hispania, trecenti equites, et, ne quod terrestris deesset auxilii genus, elephanti viginti unus. Classis praeterea data tuendae maritimae orae, quia, qua parte belli vice-rant, ea tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duae, triremes quinque; sed aptae instructaeque remigio triginta et duae quinqueremes erant et triremes quinque.

Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus rediit; atque inde profectus praeter Onusam urbem ad Hiberum maritima ora ducit. Ibi fama est in quiete visum ab eo iuvenem divina specie, qui se ab Iove diceret ducem in Italian Hannibali missum; proinde sequeretur neque usquam a se deflectet oculos. Pavidum primo, nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem, secutum; deinde cura ingenii humani quum, quidnam id esset, quod respicere vetitus esset, agitaret animo, temperare oculis nequivisse; tum vidisse post sese serpentem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgultorum strage ferri, ac post insequi
9 cum fragore caeli nimbum. Tum, quae moles ea quidve prodigii esset, quae renum audisse, vastitatem Italiae esse; pergeret porro ire nec ultra inquireret sinceretque fata in occulto esse.

Ch. 23. § 1. Hannibal then crossed the Ebro with 90,000 foot and 12,000 horse. §§ 2, 3. He subdued the region south of the Pyrenees, and left a force under Hann to guard it and the passes. § 4. While crossing the Pyrenees 3000 of the Carpetani deserted. §§ 5-6. Whereupon Hannibal sent home 7000 more of his troops from motives of policy.

1 Hoc visu laetus tripertito Hiberum copias traiecit, praemissis, qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus specularentur. Nonaginta millia peditum, duodecim millia equitum Hisberum traduxit. Ilergetes inde Bargusiosque et Ausetanos et Lacetaniam, quae subiecta Pyrenaeis montibus est, subegit, oraque huic omni praefecit Hannonem, ut fauces, quae Hispanias Galliis iungunt, in potestate essent. 2 Decem millia 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 millia inde Carpetanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constaht, non tam bello motos quam longinquitate viae inesuperabiliqne Alpium transitu. Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos aniceps erat, ne ceterorum etiam ferces animi irritarent, supra septem millia hominum domos remisit, quos et ipsos gravari militia senserat, Carpetanos quoque ab se dimissos simulans.

Ch. 24. § 1. On halting at Iliberri § 2. Hannibal found that the Gauls were prepared to resist him at Ruscino; §§ 3-5. but by kind words and presents he managed to conciliate them.

1 Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum
reliquis copiis Pyreneum transgreditur et ad oppidum Iliberri castra locat. Galli quanquam Italiae bellum inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyreneum Hispanos fama erat praesidiaeque valida imposita, metu servitutis ad arma consternati Ruscinonem aliquot populi conveniunt. Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, moram magis quam bellum metuens, oratores ad regulos eorum misit, colloqui semet ipsum cum iis velle; [et] vel illi pro-pius Iliberrim accederent, vel se Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex propinquuo congressus facilito 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 nuntios quidem haec; ut vero reguli Gallorum castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis haud gravate ad Poenum venerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exercitum per fines suos praeter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.

§§ 1, 2. Meanwhile in Cisalpine Gaul the Boii revolted from Rome, being disgusted at the founding of colonies there. §§ 3–5. They attacked the Roman commissioners (or as some say the Roman ambassadors), who fled to Mutina, § 6. where they were besieged, § 7. until they were at last treacherously cap-tured. §§ 8–10. Manlius marching incunctiously to relieve Mutina, lost numbers of his troops. §§ 11, 12. After a second time suffering heavy loss § 13. he reached Tannetum, § 14. where he was able to hold out.

In Italian interim nihil ultra, quam Hiberum transisse Hannibalem, a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum erat, quam, perinde ac si Alpes iam transisset, Boii sol-licitatis Insubribus defecerunt, nec tam ob veteres in popu-lum Romanum iras, quam quod nuper circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas aegre patiebantur. Itaque armis repente arreptis, 3
in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto, tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt, ut non agrestis modo multitudo, sed ipsi triumviri Romani, qui ad agrum venerant assignandum, diffisi Placentiae moenibus Mutinam confugerint, C. Lutatius, C. Servilius, M. Annius. Lutatii nomen haud dubium est; pro Annio Servilioque M'. Acilium et C. Herennium habent quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium Masonem. Id quoque dubium est, legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint, an in triumviros agrum metantes impetus sit factus. Mutinae quem obsiderentur et gens ad oppugnandarum urbsim artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis intactis assideret muris, simulari coeptum de pace agi; evocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad colloquium non contra ius modo gentium, sed violata etiam, quae data in id tempus erat, fide comprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis, nisi obsides sibi reddentur, eos dimissuros. Quum haec de legatis nuntiata essent et Mutina praesidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius praetor ira accensus effusum agmen ad Mutinam ducit. Silvae tunc circa viam erant, plerisque incultis. Ibi inexplorato profectus in insidias praecipitat, multaque cum caede suorum aegre in apertos campos emersit. Ibi castra communita et, quia Gallis ad tentanda ea defuit spes, refecti sunt militum animi, quamquam ad quingentos cecidisse satis constabat. Iter deinde de integro coeptum, nec, dum per patentia loca ducebatur agmen, apparuit hostis; ubi rursus silvae intratae, tum postremos adorti cum magna trepidatione ac pavore omnium septingentos milites occiderunt, sex signa ademere. Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi fuit Romanis, ut e saltu invio atque impedito evasere. Inde apertas locis facile tutantes agmen Romani Tannetum,
vicum propinquum Pado, contendere. Ibi se munimento ad tempus commeatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum etiam Gallorum auxilio adversus crescentem in dies multituidinem hostium tutabantur.

§§ 1, 2. until reinforced from Rome. § 3. Meanwhile Scipio sailed to Massilia, § 4. encamped at the mouth of the Rhone, § 5. and sent some troops to reconnoitre. § 6. Hannibal had, however, arrived at the Rhone, and, though its further bank was held by a hostile tribe, §§ 7-9. he made preparations for crossing.

Qui tumultus repens postquam est Romam perlatus, et 1 Punicum insuper Gallicō bellum auctum patres accéperunt, C. Atilium praetorem cum una legione Romana et quinque 2 millibus sociorum, dilectu novo a consule conscriptis, auxilium ferre Manlio iūbent; qui sine ullo certamine (abscesserant enim metu hostes) Tanäetum pervenit.

Et P. Cornelius, in locum eīus, quae missa cum praetore 3 erat, scripta legione nova, profectus ab urbe sexaginta longis navibus praeter oram Etrūriae Ligurumque et inde Salyum montes pervenit Massiliam, et ad proximum 4 ostium Rhōdani (pluribus enim divisus amnis in mare decurrīt) castra locat, vīxdum satis credēns Hannibalem superāsse Pyrenaeos montes. Quem ut de Rhōdani quo- 5 que transitu agitare animadvertit, incertus, quonam ei loco occurreret, needum satis resectis ab iactatione maritima militibus, trecentos interim deflectos equites ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliaribus Gallis ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes praemittit. Hannibal, ceteris 6 metu aut pretio pacatis, iam in Volcarum pervenerat agrum, gentis validae. Colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhōdani; sed diffīsi, citeriore agro arceri Poenum posse, ut flumen pro munimento haberent, omnibus ferme
suis trans Rhodanum traiectis ulteriorem ripam amnis armis 7 obtinebant. Ceteros accolas fluminis Hannibal et eorum ipsorum, quos sedes suae tenuerant, simul pellicit donis ad naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque, simul et ipsi traici exercitum levarique quam primum regionem suam 8 tanta hominum urgente turba cupiebant. Itaque ingens coacta vis navium est lintriumque temere ad vicinalem usum paratarum; novasque alias primum Galli inchoantes 9 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.

Ch. 27. §§ 1–3. In order to draw off the hostile Gauls, he sent a detachment to take them in the rear. §§ 4–6. The detachment crossed the Rhone at a point further up, §§ 7–9. and at a signal from them Hannibal at once began to cross.

1 Iamque omnibus satis comparatis ad traiciendum, terrebant ex adverso hostes, omnem ripam equites virique 2 obtingentes. Quos ut averteret, Hannonem Bomilcaris filium vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime 3 Hispanis, adverso flumine ire iter unius diei iubet et, ubi primum possit, quam occultissime traiecto amni, circumducere agmen, ut, quum opus facto sit, adoriatur ab tergo 4 hostem. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent, inde millia quinque et viginti ferme supra parvae insulae circumfusum amnem latiore, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto 5 alveo transitum ostendere. Ibi raptim caesa materia ratesque fabricatae, in quibus equi virique et alia onera traiciarentur. Hispani sine uilla mole, in utres vestimentis coniectis, ipsi caetris superpositis incubantes flumen transvere. Et alius exercitus ratibus iunctis traiectus, castris
prope flumen positis, nocturno itinere atque operis labore sessus quiete unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune exsequendum. Postero die profecti ex loco edito fumo significant, transisse et haud procul abesse; quod ubi accepit Hannibal, ne temporis deesset, dat signum ad traiiciendum. Iam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes lintres, eques fere propter equos naves. Navium agmen ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis parte superiore transmittens tranquillitatem infra traiicientibus 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.

§§ 1, 2. On landing the troops were attacked; but the Gauls soon wavered, § 3. when the attack in their rear § 4. completely routed them, and the rest of the army crossed undisturbed. § 5. How the elephants crossed is not certain. § 6. According to the best accounts §§ 7–9. they were enticed on to a disguised raft which was then quickly towed across, the process being repeated until all had crossed. §§ 10–12. The terror and confusion of the animals was great.

Galli occursant in ripa cum variis ululatibus cantuque moris sui, quatientes scuta super capita vibrantesque dexteris tela, quamquam et ex adverso terrebat tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore vario nautarum militumque, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis et qui ex altera ripa traiicientes suos hortabantur. Iam satis paventes adverso tumultu terribilior ab tergo adortus clamor, castris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse aderat, anicepsque terror circumstatabat, et e navibus tanta vi armatorum in terram evadente et ab tergo improvisa premente acie. Galli postquam utroque vim facere conati pellebantur, qua patere visum maxime iter, perrumpunt,
trepidique in vicos passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal, ceteris copiis per otium traiectis, spernens iam Gallicos tumultus castra locat.

5 Elephantorum traiciendorum varia consilia fuisse credo; certe variat memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis ad ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis irritatum ab rectore suo, quum refugientem in aquam [nantem] sequeretur, traxisse gregem, ut quemque timentem 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 pronius est. Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes, quinquaginta latam a terra in amnem porrexerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore ripae religatam pontis in modum humo iniecta constraverunt, ut beluae audacter velut per solum ingrederentur.

8 Altera ratis acque lata, longa pedes centum, ad traiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est; tum elephanti per stabilem ratem tanquam viam, praegredientibus feminis, acti ubi in minorem applicatam transgressi sunt, extemplo resolutis, quibus leviter annexa erat, vinculis, ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur; ita primis expositis, alii deinde repetiti ac traecti sunt. Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continenti velut ponte agerentur; primus erat pavor, quum, soluta ab ceteris rate, in altum raperentur. Ibi urgentes inter se, cedentibus extremis ab aqua, trepidationis aliquantum edebant, donec quietem ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam saevientes quidam in flumen; sed pondere ipso stabiles, deiectis rectoribus, quaerendis pedetentim vadis in terram evasere.
§ 1. Meanwhile a reconnoitring party of cavalry sent by Hannibal Ch. 29.
§ 2. met the party sent by Scipio, and a sharp skirmish took place,
§ 3. in which the Romans had the advantage though their loss was large.
§ 4. Thus the first engagement was typical of the whole war.
§§ 5, 6. Further conflict was prevented by Hannibal's deciding to proceed on his march.
§ 7. Seeing his troops out of spirits,

Dum elephanti traiiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numidas 1 equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum, ubi et quantae copiae essent et quid pararent. Huic alae 2 equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. Proelium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium editur; nam praeter multa 3 vulnera caedes etiam prope par utrinque fuit, fugaeque et pavor Numidarum Romanis iam admodum fessis victoriam dedit. Victores ad centum sexaginta, nec omnes Romani, sed pars Gallorum, victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc 4 principium simul omenque belli ut summæ rerum prosperum eventum, ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit.

Ut re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec 5 Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex consiliis coeptisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet, et Hannibalem in certum, utrum coeptum in Italian interunderet iter an cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus, manus consereret, avertit a praesenti certamine Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali adventus, qui se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore affirmantes, integro bello, nusquam ante libatis viribus Italian aggregiendam censent. Multitudo timebat 7 quidem hostem, nondum oblitterata memoria superioris beli, sed magis iter immensum Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.
Ch. 30. §§ 1, 2. he told them that the conquerors of Spain §§ 3-6. must not let their ardour be damped by any fear of the Alps, §§ 7-11. mere mountains that ought not to check brave veterans in their march upon Rome.

1 Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere ire atque Italiam petere, advocata contione, varie militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque: Mirari se, quinam pectora semper impavida repens terror invaserit. Per tot annos vincentes eos stipendia facere neque ante Hispania excessisse, quam omnes gentesque et terrae, quas duo diversa maria amplectantur, Carthaginiensium essent. Indignatos deinde, quod, quicunque Saguntum obsedissent, velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus, Hiberum traiecisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini visum id longum, quam ab occasu solis ad exortus intenderent iter; nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenaeum saltum inter fercissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot millibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi, traiectum, in conspectu Alpes habeant, quarum alterum latus Italiae sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere, quid Alpes aliud esse credentes quam montium altitudines? Fingerent altiores Pyrenaei iugis; nullas profecto terras caelum contingere nec inexsuperabiles humano generi esse. Alpes quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque alere animantes; pervias fauces esse exerci-
tibus. Eos ipsos, quos cernant, legatos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpes transgressos. Ne maiores quidem corum indigenas, sed advenas Italiae cultores has ipsas Alpes ingentibus saepe agminibus cum liberis ac coniun-
gibus, migrantium modo, tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem
armato, nihil secum praeter instrumenta belli portanti, quid invium aut inexsuperabile esse? Saguntum ut cape-retur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris ex-haustum esse? Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam adeo asperum atque arduum videri, quod inceptum moretur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea, quae adiri posse Poenus desperet; proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti per eos dies toties ab se victae, aut itineris finem sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.

§§ 1–3. Next day Hannibal marched inland to avoid the Romans. Ch. 31.

§ 4. *He came to the Island.* §§ 5, 6. Finding the Allobroges in a state of faction, § 7. by a wise decision § 8. he earned from them substantial gratitude. §§ 9–11. The torrent-like Druance was crossed with difficulty.

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 Rhodanusque amnes diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes, agri aliquantum amplexi confluunt 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 ambige-bant fratres; maior et qui prius imperitarat, Brancus nomine, minore ab fratre et coetu iuniorum, qui iure minus, vi plus poterat, pellebatur. Huius seditionis peropportuna disceptatio quum ad Hannibalem reiecta esset, arbiter regni factus, quod ea senatus principumque
sententia fuerat, imperium maiori restituit. Ob id meruitum commequat copiaque rerum omnium, maxime vestis, est adiutus, quam insames frigoris frigidimus Alpes praeparari coger-
bant. Sedatis Hannibal certaminibus Allobrogum quam 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 im-
pedita via, priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis longe omnium Galliae fluminum difficultimus transitu est; nam quam aquae vim vehat.
ingentem, non tamen navium patiens est, quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus simul neque iisdem alveis fluens, nova semper vada novosque gurgites (et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta via est), ad hoc saxa glareosa volvens, nihil stabile nec tutum ingredienti praebet; et tum forte imbribus auctus ingentem transgredientibus tumultum fecit, quam super cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.

Ch. 32. § 1. Scipio, finding that Hannibal had gone, § 2. resolved to oppose him on the other side of the Alps. §§ 3, 4. So, leaving the greater part of his army with his brother, § 5. he sailed for Genoa. §§ 6, 7. Hannibal’s troops found the Alps even worse than they had expected. § 8. As soon as they began the ascent the natives opposed them. §§ 9-13. But Hannibal was able to seize the heights with some picked troops.

1 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 assecuturum videt, ad mare ac naves rediit, tutius faciliusque ita descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibali occursurus. Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania esset, quam provinciam
sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum maxima parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit, non ad tuendos tantummodo veteres socios conciliandosque novos, sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem. Ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit eo, qui circa Padum erat exercitus, Italiam defensurus.

Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad Alpes cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum pervenit. Tum, quanquam fama prius, qua incerta in maius vero ferri solent, praeccepta res erat, tamen ex propinquo visa montium altitudo nivesque caelo prope immixtæ, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora iumentaque torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu quam dictu foediora, terrorem renovarunt. Erigenibus in primos agmen clivos apparuerunt imminentes 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 comperit, transitum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa omnia praeruptaque, quam extentissima potest valle, locat. Tum per eosdem Gallos, haud sane multum lingua moribusque abhorrentes, quem se immiscuissent colloquiiis montanorum, edoctus, interdiu tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce prima subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdiu vim per angustias facturus. Die deinde simulando aliud, quam quod parabatur, consumpto, quem eodem, quo constiterant, loco castra communissent, ubi primum degressos tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit custodias, pluribus ignibus quam pro numero manentium in speciem factis impedimentisque cum equite relictis et maxima parte
13 peditem, ipse cum expeditis, acerrimo quoque viro, raptim angustias evadit iisque ipsis tumulis, quos hostes tenuerant, consedit.

Ch. 33. §§ 1, 2. Thus the Carthaginians were able to advance. §§ 3–7. Still the active highlanders annoyed the troops as they marched, and threw them into confusion, §§ 8–10. until Hannibal charged down and put them to flight. § 11. He afterwards took their capital.

1 Prima deinde luce castra mota et agmen reliquum
2 incedere coepit. Iam montani signo dato ex castellis ad stationem solitam conveniebant, quem repente conspiciunt alios, arce occupata sua, super caput imminentes, alios
3 via transire hostes. Utraque simul obiecta res oculis
4 animisque immobiles parumper eos defixit; deinde, ut trepidationem in angustiis suoque ipsum tumultu misceri
5 agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis, quicquid adiecissent ipsi terroris, satis ad perniciem fore rati, per diversis
6 rupibus iuxta invia ac devia assuetae decurrunt. Tum vero
7 simul ab hostibus, simul ab iniquitate locorum Poeni oppugnabatur, 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 nemorae etiam repercussaeque
8 valles augebant, territi trepidabant, et icti forte aut vulnerati adeo consternabantur, ut stragem ingentem simul
9 hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent; multosque turba, quum praecipites deruptaeque utrinque angustiae essent, in immensum altitudinis deiecit, quosdam et armatos; sed ruinae maxime modo iumenta cum oneribus
devolvebantur. Quae quanquam foeda visu erant, stetit
10 parumper tamen Hannibal ac suos continuit, ne tumultum
11 ac trepidationem augeret; deinde, postquam interrupti
agmen vidit periculumque esse, ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequicquam incolorem traduxisset, decurrir ex superiore loco et, quem impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum auxit. Sed is tumultus momento 10 temporis, postquam liberata itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur, nec per otium modo, sed prope silentio mox omnes traducti. Castellum inde, quod caput eius 11 regionis erat, viculosque circumiectos capit, et captivo cibo ac pecoribus per triduum exercitum aluit; et, quia nec montanis primo perculsis nec loco magno opere impediebantur, aliquantum eo triduo viae confecit.

§ 1. The next tribe to whom they came §§ 2, 3. pretended to be friendly. §§ 4, 5. Hannibal accepted all they offered, but kept on the alert; § 6. with good reason, for a treacherous attack §§ 7, 8. brought the army into extreme danger, § 9. and it was only after great difficulties

Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, ut 1 inter montanos, populum. Ibi non bello aperto, sed suis artibus, fraude et insidiis, est prope circumventus. Magni 2 natu principes castellorum oratores ad Poenum veniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes amicitiam malle quam vim experiri Poenorum; itaque obedienter 3 imperata facturos; commeatum itinerisque duces et ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet. Hannibal nec 4 temere credendum nec aspernandum ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne quem respondisset, obсидibus, quos dabant, acceptis et commeatu, quem in viam ipsi detulerant, usus, nequaquam ut inter pacatos composito agmine duces eorum sequitur. Primum agmen 5 elephanti et equites erant; ipse post cum robore peditum circumspectans sollicitus omnia incedebat. Ubi in angustiorem viam et parte altera subiectam iugo insuper im-
minenti ventum est, undique ex insidiis barbari, a fronte, ab tergo coorti, cominus, eminus petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt. Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urgebat.

7 In eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit, quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu ac-
8 cipienda 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 auxilii reliquerat, occursantes per obliqua montani, interrupto medio agmine, viam insedere, noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta est.

Ch. 35. § 1. that the Carthaginians got rid of their assailants. § 2. After this the attacks were more desultory, § 3. and the elephants proved a great protection. § 4. At last the summit of the pass was reached. § 5. Here they halted two days. §§ 6, 7. They were discouraged by a fall of snow, §§ 8, 9. but Hannibal told them Italy was near. § 10. In the descent they had very little trouble from the natives, §§ 11, 12. but a great deal from the steepness of the slopes.

1 Postero die, iam segnius intercursantibus barbaris, iunctae copiae, saltusque haud sine clade, maiore tamen
2 iumentorum quam hominum pernicie, superatus. Inde montani pauciores iam et latrocinii magis quam belli more concursabant, modo in primum, modo in novissimum agmen, utcunque aut locus opportunitatem daret aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecissent.

3 Elephanti sicut per artas praecipitesque vias magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacunque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi proprius metus erat, agmen praebebant.

4 Nono die in iugum Alpium perventum est per invia pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi
fides iis non esset, temere initae valles a coniectantibus iter faciebant. Biduum in iugo stativa habita, fessisque 5 labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; iumentaque aliquot, quae prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis in castra pervenere. Fessis taedio tot malorum 6 nivis etiam casus, occidente iam sidere Vergiliarum, ingentem terrorem adiecit. Per omnia nive oppletas signis prima luce motis, segniter agmen incideret, pigritia-que et desperatio in omnium vultu emineret, praegressus 8 signa Hannibal in promuntorio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere iussis militibus Italian ostentat subiectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos, moeniacque eos tum transcendere non Italiae 9 modo, sed etiam urbis Romanæ; cetera plana, proclivia fore; uno aut summum altero proelio arcem et caput Italiae in manu ac potestate habituros. Procedere inde 10 agmen coepit, iam nihil ne hostibus quidem praeter parva furta per occasionem tentantibus. Ceterum iter multo, quam in ascensu fuerat (ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia 11 sicut breviora, ita arrectiora sunt), difficilius fuit; omnis enim ferme via praeceps, angusta, lubrica erat, ut neque 12 sustinere se a lapsu possent nec, qui paulum titubassent, haerere affixi vestigio suo, alique super alios et iumenta in homines succiderent.

§§ 1–3. At last they came to a point where a landslip had carried Ch. 36. away the path. §§ 4–8. Here, after they had vainly tried to cross the treacherous ice-slope above the precipice,

Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem atque ita 1 rectis saxis, ut aegre expeditus miles tentabundus mani-busque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes demit-tere sese posset. Natura locus iam ante praeceps recenti 2 lapsu terrae in pedum mille admodum altitudinem abruptus
3 erat. Ibi quum velut ad finem viae equites constitissent miranti Hannibali, quae res moraretur agmen, nuntiatur, rupem inviam esse. Digressus deinde ipse ad locum visendum. Haud dubia res visa, quin per invia circa nec trita antea, quamvis longo ambitu, circumduceret agmen. 4 Ea vero via inexsuperabilis fuit; nam quum super veterem nivem intactam nova modicae altitudinis esset, molli nec praecaltae facile pedes ingredientium insistebant; ut vero tot hominum iumentorumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis nivis ingrediebantur. Taetra ibi luctatio erat, [ut a] lubrica glacie non recipiente vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente, ut, seu manibus in assurgendo 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 in-simam ingredientia nivem, et prolapsa iactandis gravius in connitendo ungulis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque velut pedica capta haererent in dura et alte concreta glacie.

Ch. 37. § 1. a halt had to be made, § 2. and a way cut through the rock. After heating it, and dissolving it in places with vinegar, § 3. they were able to bring tools to work upon it, and made a zigzag path down the cliff. § 4. This took four days, during which the horses were nearly starved. § 5. But on reaching the lower valleys § 6. the horses could get fodder and all could get rest.

1 Tandem, nequicquam iumentis atque hominibus fatigatis, castra in iugo posita, aegerrime ad id ipsum loco purgato; tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit. 2 Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti, quum caedendum esset saxum,
arboribus circa immanibus deiectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum faciunt, eamque, quum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt, ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio 3 rupem ferro pandunt mollientque anfractibus modicis clivos, ut non iumenta solum, sed elephanti etiam deduci possent. Quatriduum circa rupem consumptum, iumentis 4 prope fame absumptis; nuda enim fere cacumina sunt et, si quid est pabuli, obruunt nives. Inferiora valles 5 apricosque etiam colles habent rivosque et prope silvas et iam humano cultu digniora loca. Ibi iumenta in pabulum 6 missa et quies muniendo fessis hominibus data. Triduo inde ad planum descensum, iam et locis mollioribus et accolarum ingenii.

§ 1. Thus Hannibal reached Italy §§ 2–5. with an army whose Ch. 38. numbers have been variously estimated. §§ 6–9. There is also a difference of opinion about his route.

Hoc maxime modo in Italianam perventum est, quinto 1 mense a Carthagine Nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. Quantae copiae 2 transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint, nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum millia peditum, viginti equitum fuisse scribunt; qui minimum, viginti millia peditum, sex equitum. L. Cincius Alimentus, qui 3 captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime me auctor moveret, nisi confunderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis; cum his octoginta millia peditum, decem equitum adducta; (in Italia magis affluxisse veri simile est, et ita quidam auctores sunt;) ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex millia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum iumentorum amississe. Taurini Semigalli proxima gens
6 erat in Italian degresso. Id quum inter omnes constet, 
eo magis miror ambigi, quanam Alpes transierit, et vulgo 
credere, Poenino (atque inde nomen ei iugo Alpium 
7 inditum) transgressum, Caelium per Cremonis iugum 
dicere transisse; qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos, 
sed per Salassos Montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxissent.

8 Nec veri simile est, ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera; 
utique, quae ad Poeninum serunt, obsaepa gentibus 
9 Semigermanis fuisse. Neque hercule montibus his, si 
quam forte id movet, ab transitu Poenorum ullo Seduni 
Veragri, incolae iugi eius, nomen serunt inditum, sed ab 
eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice Poeninum montani 
appellant.

Ch. 39. §§ 1, 2. The need of rest prevented Hannibal from joining the 
Insubres in their war against the Taurini. § 3. Meanwhile 
Scipio landed and marched with his new troops to attack the 
enemy before they had recovered their strength. § 4. He 
reached Placentia too late for this, § 5. though his presence 
kept the Gauls loyal to Rome. § 6. Hannibal also advanced, 
§§ 7–9. and an encounter between these two great generals was 
imminent. § 10. Scipio was the first to cross the Po. He 
encamped by the Ticinus and there addressed his troops, telling 
them

1 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 
illuvie tabeque squalida et prope efferata corpora varie 
movebat. Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, quum Pisas 
navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto 
tirone et in novis ignominiis trepido, ad Padum festinandi, 
4 ut cum hoste nondum refecto manus conseret. Sed
quam Placentiam consul venit, iam ex statvis moverat Hannibal Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis eius, quia volentes in amicitiam non veniebant, vi expugnarat; et iunxisset sibi non metu solum, sed etiam voluntate Gallos accolas Padi, ni eos circumspectantes defectionis tempus subito adventu consul oppressisset. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, incertos, quae pars sequenda esset, Gallos praesentem secuturos esse ratus. Iam prope in conspectu erant exercitus convenerantque duces sicuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita iam imbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam et Hannibalis apud Romanos iam ante Sagunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso, quod adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset, praestantem virum credebat; et auxerant inter se opinione, Scipio, quod, relictus in Gallia, obvius fuerat in Italiam transgresso Hannibali, Hannibal et conatu tam audaci traiciendarum Alpium et effectu. Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum traicere, et ad Ticinum amnem motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa talem orationem est exorsus.

§§ 1-3. that, as they were not his old soldiers, §§ 4, 5. there was need to remind them of the issue of the first Punic War, §§ 6-11. of the hopeless nature of Hannibal's present enterprise, of the terrible losses he had suffered in the Alps, and the miserable condition of the survivors.

' Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem, quem in Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem loqui apud vos; quid enim adhortari referret aut eos equites, qui equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones, cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secutus confessionem cedentis ac detrectantis certamen
3 pro victoria habui? Nunc quia ille exercitus, Hispaniae provinciae scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque
4 Romanus yoluit, ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Poenos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certaminis obtuli, novo imperatoris apud novos milites pauca
5 verba facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem ignorantis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum, quos terra marique priore bello vicistis, a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta bellis praemia
6 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,
7 pugnaturi sunt; nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detrectavere, eos, duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis, [quum plures paene
8 perierint quam supersint,] plus spei nactos esse. At enim pauci quidem sunt, sed vigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robora ac vires vix sustinere vis nulla possit.
9 Effigies immo, umbrae hominum, fame, frigore, illuvie, squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupeisque; ad hoc praeusti artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torrida gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi.
10 Cum hoc equite, cum hoc pedite pugnaturi estis; reliquias extremas hostium, non hostem habetis, ac nihil magis vereor quam ne, quem vos pugnaveritis, Alpes vicosse
11 Hannibalem videantur. Sed ita forsitan decuit, cum foederum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos sineulla humana ope committere ac profligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus, commissum ac profligatum conficere.
§§ 1-5. Scipio then pointed out that he might have earned cheaper laurels against Hasdrubal in Spain, but had chosen to pursue Hannibal, §§ 6, 7. and had very good hopes of success. §§ 8-13. The conquered Carthaginians were foolish and ungrateful to begin a new war with Rome. §§ 13-17. Nevertheless it was all-important that Hannibal should be promptly crushed.

Non vereor, ne quis me haec vestri adhortandi causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo affectum esse. Licuit in Hispaniam, provinciam meam, quo iam profectus 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, quum praeterveherer navibus Galliae oram, ad famam huius hostis in terram egressus, praemissò 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 assequi terra non poteram, regressus ad naves, quanta maxima potui celeritate, tanto maris terrarumque circuitu, in radicibus prope Alpium huic timendo hosti obvius fui. Utrum, quum 5 declinarem certamen, improvidus incidisse videor an occurrere in vestigiis eius, lacesere ac trahere ad decernendum? Experiri iuvat, utrum alios repente Carthaginienses per viginti annos terra ediderit, an iidem sint, qui ad Aegates pugnaverunt insulas et quos ab Eryce duodevicenis denariis aestimatos emissis, et utrum Hannibal hic sit acmus 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 9
ab consule nostro praesidium deduxit ab Eryce, qui Graves impositas victis Carthaginiensibus leges fremens maerens-que accepit, qui decadere Sicilia, qui stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est. Itaque vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo, quo adversus alios hostes soletis, pugnare velim, sed cum indignatione 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 sine ullo certamine Car-thaginem delere; veniam dedimus precantis, emisimus ex obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelae deinde nostrae duximus, quum Africo bello urgerentur. Pro his impertitis furiosum iuvenem sequentes oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt. Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis et non pro salute esset certamen! Non de posses-sione 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, comparari nova possint praesidia; hic est obstandum, milites, velut si ante Romana moenia pugnemus. Unusquisque se non corpus suum, sed coniugem ac liberos parvos armis pro-tegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitet curas, sed identidem hoc animo reputet, nostras nunc intueri manus senatum populumque Romanum: qualis nostra vis virtus-que fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac Romani imperii fore.'

Ch. 42. §§ 1-3. Meanwhile Hannibal shewed his troops, by means of combats between his captives, § 4. that death is the only tolerable alternative for victory.

1 Haec apud Romanos consul. Hannibal rebus prius
quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus, circumdato ad spectaculum exercitu, captivos montanos vinctos in medio statuit, armisque Gallicis ante pedes corum proiectis, interrogare interpretém iussit, ecquis, si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare ferro vellet. Quum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque poscerent et 2 deiecta in id sors esset, se quisque eum optabat, quem fortuna in id certamen legeret, et, ut cuiusque sors ex-3 ciderat, alacer, inter gratulantes gaudio exsultans, cum sui moris tripudiis arma raptim capiebat. Ubi vero 4 dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter eiusdem modo condicionis homines erat, sed ètiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vincentium magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur.

§ 1. He then said, §§ 2–4. That they must learn to apply the Ch. 43. lesson to themselves, § 5. and resolve to conquer or to die. §§ 5–10. If they conquered they would at last win the reward of their long campaigns. § 11. War with Rome was not so bad as it sounded. §§ 12–18. They must consider the difference between the generals.

Quum sic aliquot spectatis paribus affectos dimisisset, 1 contione inde advocata ita apud eos locutus furtur.

‘Si, quem animum in alienae sortis exemplo paulo 2 ante habuistis, eundem mox in aestimanda fortuna vestra habueritis, vicimus, milites; neque enim spectaculum modo illud, sed quaedam veluti imago vestrae condicionis erat. ’Ac nescio, an maiora vincula maiorisque necessité-3 tates vobis quam captivis vestris fortuna circumdederit. Dextra laevaque duo maria claudunt, nullam ne ad effu-4gium quidem navem habentes; circa Padus amnis, maior [Padus] ac violentior Rhodano, ab tergo Alpes urgent. vix integris vobis ac vigentibus transitae. Hic vincendum 5
aut moriendum, milites, est, ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna, quae necessitatem pugnandi imposuit, praemia vobis ea victoribus proponit, quibus ampliōra homines ne ab dis quidem immortalibus optare solent. 5 Si Siciliam tantum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra virtute recuperaturi esemus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent; quicquid Romani tot triumphis partum congestumque possident, id omne vestrum cum 6 ipsis dominis futurum est; in hanc tam opulenta vos ac ditia stipendia facere et magna operae pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas 7 gentes emensos. Hic vobis terminum laborum fortuna dedit; hic dignam mercedem emeritis stipendiis dabit. 8 Nec, quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem existimari victoriam fore; saepe et contemptus hostis cruentum certamen edidit et incliti populi regesque perlevi 9 momento victi sunt. Nam dempto hoc uno fulgore nominis Romani, quid est, cur illi vobis comparandi sint? 10 Ut viginti annorum militiae vestram cum illa virtute, cum illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis columnis, ab Oceano ter- 11 minusque ultinis terrarum per tot feroceissimos Hispaniae 12 et Galliae populos vincentes huc pervenistis; pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa aestival caeso, victo, circum- 13 sesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorante ducem. 14 An me in praetorio patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope natum, certe eductum, domitore 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, ignoranturum certum habeo, utrius exercitus sit consul. Non ego illud parvi aestimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum, cuius 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 millies donatisque, alumnus prius omnium vestrum quam imperator, procedam in aciem adversus ignotos inter se ignorantessque.

§§ 1, 2. and the armies on each side. § 3. Carthage had the advantage of making the attack, § 4. and besides had right on her side. §§ 5, 6. Why should the grasping Rome prescribe limits to Carthage? §§ 7–9. There would be no end to Roman aggression if it were not now resisted to the death.

Quocunque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, generosissimarum gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, vos socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos, Carthaginienses, quum pro patria, tum ob iram iustissimam pugnaturos. Inferimus bellum infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam, 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 deposcerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos omnes, qui Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos ultimis cruciatibus aucturi fuerunt. Crudelissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia suique arbitrii facit; cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum imponere aequum censet. Circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque, quos non excedamus, neque eos, quos statuit, terminos observat. Ne transieris
Hiberum; ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis. At non ad Hiberum est Saguntum. Nusquam te vestigio move-ris. Parum est, quod veterrimas provincias meas, Siciliam ac Sardiniam, adimis? Etiam in Hispanias et, si inde cesseris, 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 vindicimus. 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 mortemque certa desperatione abruptis, aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubitabit, in proelio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere. Si hoc bene fixum omnibus [destinatum] in animo est, iterum dicam, vicistis; nullum contemptu mortis telum ad vincendum homini ab dis immortalibus acrius datum est.'

Ch. 45. §§ 1–3. The Romans crossed the Ticinum and encamped near Hannibal. §§ 4–7. Hannibal before fighting encouraged his men by the promise of rewards in the event of victory, § 8. which he confirmed by a solemn vow. § 9. Great enthusiasm was thus kindled among his troops.

1 His adhortationibus quum utrinque ad certamen accensi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum iungunt, tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper imponunt; Poenus, hostibus opere occupatis, Mahabaralem cumala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit; Gallis parci quam maxime iubet, principumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque millia passuum
a Victumulis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; revocatoque propere Maharbale atque equitibus, quam instare certamen cerneret, nihil unquam 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 vellet, immunem ipsi, qui accepsisset, liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset, ei se argento satisfacturum; qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum; qui domos redire mallent, daturum se operam, ne cuius suorum popularium mutatam secum fortunam esse vellent. Servis quoque dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit, binaque pro iis mancipia dominis se redditurum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum laeva manu, dextra silicem retinens, si falleret, Iovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent, quemadmodum ipse agnum mactasset, secundum precessionem 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.

§§ 1, 2. But the Romans had been discouraged by portents. §§ 3-5. Ch. 46.

An encounter (the Battle of Ticinus) took place between the cavalry of the two armies, § 6. which was at first doubtful, § 7. though at last the Romans wavered. Scipio was wounded, but his life was saved by his young son, § 8. the hero of Zama. § 9. The Roman Cavalry retired in good order. § 10. Caelius says that the consul was saved by a slave, an unromantic story for which there is no weight of authority.

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 imminente
consederat. Quibus procuratis, Scipio cum equitatu iaculatoribusque expeditis 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 equorumque 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 subsidiiis; 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, multis 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 periculumque, intercursu tum primum pubescens filii propulsatum. Hic erat iuvenis, penes quem perfecti huiusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Poenisque appellatus. Fuga tamen effusa iaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos Numidae 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 Caelius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat; malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores et fama obtinuit.
§ 1, 2. In the night the Roman army retired to Placentia. Hannibal was not able to save the bridge over the Po. He subsequently crossed, probably by a new bridge. Cælius' account is clearly wrong. § 8. Hannibal encamped near Placentia.

Hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit; quo facile apparuit, [et] equitatu meliorem Poenum esse, et ob id campos patentes, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque proxima nocte, iussis militibus vasa silentio colligere, castra ab Ticino mota festinatumque ad Padum est, ut ratibus, quibus inxerat flumen, nondum resolutis sine tumultu atque insectatione hostis copias traïiceret. Prius Placentiam pervenere, quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos; tamen ad sexcentos moratorum in citeriore ripa Padi, segniter ratem solventes, cepit. Transire pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant, tota rate in secundam aquam labente. Cælius auctor est, Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen extemplo tranasse, ipsum Hannibalem per superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse, elephantis in ordinem ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis. Ea peritis amnis 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, citra flumen legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, traïcit gravius peditum agmen, in-
terim Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis diei unius
8 itinere Placentiam ad hostes contendunt. Hannibal
paucis post diebus sex millia a Placentia castra com-
munivit, et postero die in conspectu hostium acie
directa potestatem pugnae fecit.

Ch. 48. §§ 1, 2. Some Gauls on the Roman side revolted to Hannibal.
§§ 3, 4. Scipio, alarmed at this, moved on to some high ground
near the river Trebia. §§ 5–7. Hannibal could not prevent
him from encamping safely, § 8. but encamped near him.
§§ 9, 10. Hannibal took Clastidium, and supported his army
by supplies from that place.

1 Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, tumultu
tamen quam re maior, ab auxiliaribus Gallis facta est.
2 Ad duo millia peditum et ducenti equites, vigilibus ad
portas trucidatis, ad Hannibalem transfugiunt; quos
Poenus benigne allocutus et spe ingentium donorum
accensos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos
populationum animos dimisit. Scipio caedem eam signum
defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus, contactosque
eo scelere velut iniecta rabie ad arma ituros, quanquam
4 gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia noctis
insequentis tacito agmine profectus, ad Trebiam fluvium
iam in loca altiora collesque impeditiores equiti castra
5 movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum sefellit; missisque
Hannibal primum Numidis, deinde omni equitatu, tur-
basset utique novissimum agmen, ni aviditate praedae
6 in vacua Romana castra Numidae devertissent. Ibi
dum perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo satis
digno morae pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est
de manibus; et quam iam transgressos Trebiam Roma-
nos metantesque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum
7 occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. Scipio, nee vexa-
tionem vulneris in via iactati ultra patiens et collegam (iam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat) ratus exspectandum, locum, qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus, delectum communiit. Nec procul inde Hannibal quem consedisset, quantum victoria equestri clatus, tantum anxius inopia, quae per hostium agros euntem, nusquam praeparatis commeatibus, maior in dies excepiebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum congeressem Romani, mittit. Ibi quem vim pararent, spes facta prditionis; nec sane magno pretio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino praeffecto praesidii corrupto, traditur Hannibali Clastidium. Id horreum fuit Poenis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In captivos ex tradito praesidio, ut fama elementiae in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil saevitum est.

§§ 1-5. Meanwhile from three Carthaginian ships captured out of a fleet of twenty, Hiero learnt that a larger fleet was on its way. §§ 6-8. Hiero informed the Romans, who kept on the alert. §§ 9, 10. On the appearance of the enemy the Roman fleet was manned; §§ 11-13. and the Carthaginians also prepared for an encounter.

Quam ad Trebiam terrestre constisset bellum, interim circa Siciliam insulasque Italiae imminentes et a Sempronio consule et ante adventum eins terra marique res gestae. Viginti quinqueremem cum mille armatis ad depopulandum oram Italiae a Carthaginiensibus missae; novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani teneunt, tres in fretum avertit aestus. Ad eas conspectas a Messana duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusanorum missae, qui tum forte Messanae erat consulem Romanum oppressi, nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex capti-
vis, praeter viginti naves, cuius ipsi classis essent, in Italiam missas, quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios; Lilybaei occupandi praecipuam curam esse; credere, eadem tempestate, qua ipsi disiecti forent, eam quoque classem ad Aegates insulas deiectam. Haec, sicut audita erant, rex M. Aemilio praetori, cuius Sicilia provincia erat, perscribit, monetque, ut Lilybaeum firme teneret prae-sidio. Extemplo et a praetore circa civitates missi legati tribunique suos ad curam custodiae intendere, 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 prospererent adventantem hostium classem, missis. Itaque, quanquam de industria moderati cur-sum navium erant Carthaginienses, ut ante lucem accederent Lilybaeum, praesens tumamen est, quia et luna pernox erat et sublatis armamentis veniebant. Ex-templo signum datum ex speculis et in oppido ad arma con clamatum est et in naves consensum; pars militum in muris portarumque stationibus, pars in navibus erant. Et Carthaginienses, quia rem fore haud cum imparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinuerunt, demen-dis armamentis eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam classe absump to. Ubi illuxit, recepere classem in altum, ut spatium pugnae esset exitumque liberum e portu navibus hostium haberent. Nec Romani detrectavere pugnam, et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et militum multitudine ac virtute.
§§ 1-3. A battle took place in which the Carthaginians were defeated. §§ 4-6. Sempronius learnt at Messana from Hiero the news of Lilybaeum's danger, but Hiero was ignorant of its deliverance. § 7. So they both hurried to Lilybaeum, but learnt the good news on their way.


Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris eius, qui Messanae erant, Ti. Sempronius consul Messanam venit. Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem instructam ornatamque 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 maritimisque civitatibus esse, et quibusdam volentibus novas res fore. Ob hae consuli nihil cunc-
tandum visum, quin Lilybaeum classe peteret. Et rex regiaque classis una profecti. Navigantes inde, pugnatum ad Lilybaeum fusasque et captas hostium naves, accepere.

**Ch. 51.** § 1. *Sempronius then went to Malta* § 2. *and the island surrendered to him.* §§ 3–7. *After some other operations he sent his army to Ariminum. Joining it there, he marched to reinforce Scipio on the Trebia.*

1 A Lilybaeo consul, Hierone cum classe regia dimisso relictore praetore ad tuendam Siciliae oram, ipse in insulam Melitam, quae a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, traiecit. Advenienti Hamilcar Gisgonis filius, praefectus praesidii, cum paulo minus duobus millibus militum oppidumque cum insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybaeum, captivique et a consule et a praetore, praeter insignes nobilitate viros, sub corona venierunt.

2 Postquam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam censebat consul, ad insulas Vulcani, quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam classem, traiecit; nec quisquam hostium circa eas insulas inventus; nam forte transmiserant ad vastandum Italiae oram, depopulatoque Viboniensi agro, urbem etiam terrebant. Repetenti Siciliam consuli escensio hostium in agrum Viboniensem facta nuntiatur, litteraeque ab senatu de transitu in Italiam Hannibalis, et ut primo quoque tempore collegae ferret auxilium, missae traduntur.

§ 1. The situation was critical, and the consuls did not agree as to the course to be pursued. §§ 3-5. Hannibal ravaged the lands of the Gauls. § 6. The Gauls applied to the Romans for help. §§ 7-9. and against the advice of his colleague, Sempronius sent some soldiers to defend them. §§ 10, 11. A skirmish took place, the Romans gaining a slight advantage.

Iam ambo consules et quicquid Romanarum virium erat, Hannibali oppositum, aut illis copiis defendi posse Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliam esse, sati declarabat. Tamen consul alter, equestri proelio uno et 2 vulnere suo + minutus, trahi rem malebat; recentis animi alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur. Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est, Galli tum incolebant, in duorum praepotentium populorum certamine per ambiguum favorem haud dubie gratiam victoris spectantes. Id Romani, modo ne quid moverent, aequo satis, Poenus periniquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad liberandos eos dictitans. Ob cam iram, simul ut praeda militem aleret, duo millia peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps agrum usque ad Padi ripas iussit. Egentes ope Galli, quum ad id dubios servassent animos, coacti ab auctoribus iniuriae ad vindices futuros declinant, legatisque ad consules missis, auxilium Romanorum terrae ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti orant. Cornelio nec causa nec tempus agendae rei placebat, suspectaque ei gens erat quum ob infida multa facinora, tum, ut alia vetustate obsolevissent, ob recentem Boiorum perfidiam; Sempronius contra continentis in fide sociis maximum vinculum esse primos, qui eguissent ope, defensos censebat. Collega cunctante, equitatum suum, mille peditum iaculatoribus ferme admixtis, ad defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit. Sparsos et 10
incospositos, ad hoc graves praeda plerosque quum inopinato invasissent, ingentem terrem caedemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsi rursus subsidio suorum proelium restituere. Varia inde pugna sequentes cedentesque quum ad extremum acquassent certamen, maior tamen hostium caedes, penes Romanos fama victoriae fuit.

Ch. 53. § 1. But Sempronius considered it a great victory, §§ 2–5. and thought that no time should be lost in following it up, § 6. especially as his own consulship would shortly come to an end. §§ 7–11. He therefore determined to fight at once, which was exactly what Hannibal wanted.

1 Ceterum nemini omnium maior iustiorque quam ipsi consuli videri; gaudio efferri, qua parte copiarum alter
2 consul victus foret, ea se vicisse: restitutos ac refectos militibus animos, nec quemquam esse praeter collegam, qui dilatum dimicationem vellet; eum, animo magis quam corpore aegrum, memoria vulneris aciem ac tela horrere.
3 Sed non esse cum aegro senescendum. Quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus? quem tertium consulem, quem
4 alium exercitum exspectari? Castra Carthaginiensium in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis esse. Non Sicilianam ac Sardiniam, victis ademptas, nec cis Hiberum Hispaniam peti, sed solo patrio terraque, in qua geniti forent, pelli
5 Romanos. ‘Quantum ingemiscant’ inquit ‘patres nostri, circa moenia Carthaginis bellare soliti, si videant nos, progeniem suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus, in media Italia paventes intra castra, Poenum, quod inter Alpes Appenninumque agri sit, suae dicionis fecisse?’
6 Haec assidens aegro collegae, haec in praetorio prope contionabundus agere. Stimulabat et tempus propinquum comitiorum, ne in novos consules bellum differretur, et
occasio in se unum vertendae gloriae, dum aeger collega erat. Itaque, nequicquam dissentiente Cornelio, parari ad propinquum certamen milites iubet.

Hannibal quum, quid optimum foret hosti, cerneret, vix ullam spectum habebat, temere atque improvide quicquam consules acturos; quum alterius ingenium, fama prius, deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse, ferociusque factum prospero cum praedatoribus suis certamine crederet, adesse gerendae rei fortunam haud diffidebat. Cuius ne quod praetermitteret tempus, sollicitus intentus-que erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum meliorem ex ducibus inutilem vulnus faceret, dum Gallorum animi vigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem schiebat segnius secuturam, quanto longius ab domo traherentur. Quum ob haec taliaque speraret propinquum certamen et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet, speculatoresque Galli, ad ea exploranda, quae vellet, tutiores, quia in utrisque castris militabant, paratos pugnac esse Romanos retulissent, locum insidiis circumspectare Poenus coepit.

§ 1-3. Hannibal sent Mago with some choice troops to prepare an ambuscade, §§ 4, 5. and ordered his Numidian horse to begin the attack. § 6. Sempronius eagerly accepted battle. § 7. It was a cold snowy day, §§ 8, 9. and the Romans, who had had no meal before the battle, were half-starved and half-frozen,

Erat in medio rivus praecaltis utrinque clausus ripis et circa obsitus palustribus 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;
3 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 turmis manipulisque vestri similes eligite. Mago locum monstrabit, quem insideatis; hostem caecum ad has belli artes habetis.' Ita cum mille equitibus Magone, mille peditibus dimisso, Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam flumen obequirare iubet hostium portis iaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, iniecto deinde certamine, cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. Haec mandata Numidis; ceteris ducibus peditum equitumque praeceptum, ut prandere omnes iuberent, armatos deinde instratisque equis signum exspectare.

6 Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex millia peditum, postremo omnes copias, a destinato iam ante consilio avidus certaminis, eduxit. Erat forte brumae tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Appenninoque interiectis, propinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludum praegelidis. Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat, et quicquid aurae fluminis appropinquabant, afflabat acrior frigoris vis. 7

9 Ut vero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam ingressi sunt (et erat pectoribus tenus aucta nocturno imbri), tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora, ut vix armorum tenendorum potestia esset, et simul lassitudine et, procedente iam die, fame etiam deficere.
§ 1. but Hannibal's men were well fed and warmed. §§ 2-5. The Ch. 55. battle (of Trebia) now began in earnest. §§ 5-7. The Roman cavalry were from the first in difficulties. § 8. The infantry, though weary, hungry and cold, § 9. and hard pressed on all sides, §§ 10, 11. made a gallant resistance, and even succeeded in routing the elephants.

Hannibalis interim miles, ignibus ante tentoria factis oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso et cibo per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostes nuntiatum est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem procedit. Baliarum locat ante signa ac levem armaturam, octo ferme millia hominum, dein graviorem armis peditem, quod virium, quod roboris erat; in cornibus circumfudit decem millia equitum, et ab cornibus in utramque partem divisos elefantes statuit. Consul effuse sequentes equites, quem ab resistentibus subito Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato revocatos circumdedit peditibus. Duodeviginti millia Romana erant, socium nominis Latini viginti, auxilia praeterea Cenomanorum; ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. Iis copiis concursum est. Proelium a Baliaribus ortum est; quibus quam maiore robere legiones obsisterent, diducta propere in cornua levis armatura est, quae res effecit, ut equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur. Nam quam vix iam per se resisterent decem millibus equitum quattuor millia et fessi integris plerisque, obruti sunt insuper velut nube iaculorum a Baliaribus coniecta. Ad hoc elefantes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxime non visu modo, sed odore insolito territis, fugam late faciebant. Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam viribus erat, quas recentes Poenus, paulo ante curatis corporibus, in proelium attulerat; contra ieiuna fessaque corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpebant. Restitissent tamen animis, si
cum pedite solum foret pugnatum; sed et Baliares, pulso equite, iaculabantur in latera, et elephanti iam in medium peditum aciem sese tulerant, et Mago Numidaeque, simul latebras eorum improvida praeterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu immota acies, maxime praeter spem omnium adversus elephantes. Eos velites ad id ipsum locati verutis coniectis et avertere et insecuti aversos sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute vulnera accipiunt, fodiebant.

Ch. 56. §§ 1, 2. Then Hannibal sent the elephants against the Gauls and put them to flight, and this decided the victory. §§ 2, 3. Nevertheless ten thousand Roman soldiers cut their way through the enemy and retreated to Placentia. §§ 4, 5. Several others escaped to the same place, though many perished in the river or were cut down by the enemy. §§ 6, 7. On the other hand the Carthaginians suffered a great deal from the cold, §§ 8, 9. and were unable or indisposed to prevent the escape of Scipio.

1 Trepidantesque et prope iam in suos consternatos e media acie in extremam ad sinistrum cornu adversus Gallos auxiliares agi iussit Hannibal. Ibi extemplo haud dubiam fecere fugam, eoque novus terror additus Romanis, 2 ut fusa auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque quam iam in orbem pugnarent, decem millia ferme hominum, quam alia evadere nequissent, media Afrorum acie, qua Gallicis auxiliis 3 firmata erat, cum ingenti caede hostium perrupere, et, quam neque in castra reeditus esset flumine interclusis neque prae imbri satis decernere possent, qua suis opem 4 ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones factae; et qui flumen petiere, aut gurgitibus absorbpti sunt aut inter cunctationem in- 5 grediendi ab hostibus oppressi; qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis
Placentiam contendere; aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit, transgressisse in castra pervenerunt. Imber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homines multos et iumenta et elephantos prope omnes absumpsit. Finis inequendi hostis Poenis flumen Trebia fuit, et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere, ut vix laetitiam victoriae sentirent. Itaque nocte inequenti, quot prae sidium castrorum et quod reliquam sauciorum ex magna parte militum erat, ratibus Trebiam traiicerent, aut nihil sensere obstrepente pluvia aut, quia iam moveri nequibant praes lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese dissimilarunt, quietisque Poenis tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado traiectus Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.

§§ 1, 2. At Rome it was thought that Hannibal would at once march on the city. §§ 3, 4. Sempronius managed to get to Rome, and presided at the election of the new consuls. §§ 5–8. Hannibal making an attack on Emporium was beaten back by the Roman legions that were wintering in Placentia. §§ 9–14. But he was able to take Victumviale.

Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est, ut iam ad urbem Romanam crederent infestis signis hostem venturum, nec quicquam spei aut auxilii esse, quo portis moenibusque vim arcerent: uno consule ad Ticinum victo, alterum ex Sicilia revocatum; duobus consulibus, duobus consularibus exercitibus victis, quos alios duces, quas alias legiones esse, quae arcessantur? Ita territis Sempronius consul advenit, ingenti periculo per effusos passim ad praedandum hostium equites audacia magis quam consilio aut spe fallendi resistendive, si non falleret, transgressus. Is, quod unum maxime in praesentia desi-
derabatur, comitiis consularibus habitis, in hiberna rediit. Creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius.

5 Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant, vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, ut quaeque iis impeditiora erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque. Omnes igitur undique clausi commeatutus erant, nisi quos Pado naves subveherent. Emporium prope Placentiam fuit et opere magno munitum et valido firmatum praesidio. Eis castelli oppugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi armatura pro-
fectus Hannibal, quam plurimum in celando incepto ad effectum spei habuisset, nocte adoptus non fessellit vigiles.

6 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 quieta sumpta et vixdum satis percurato vulnere, ad Victumvias oppugnan-
das ire pergit. Id emporium Romanis Gallico bello fue-
rat; munitum inde locum frequentaverant accolae mixti undique ex finitimis populis, et tum terror populationum eo plerosque ex agris compulerat. Huius generis mult-
tudo, fama impigre defensi ad Placentiam praesidii accensa, armis arreptis obviam Hannibali procedit. Magis agmina quam acies in via concurrerunt, et quem ex altera parte nihil praeter inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi et duci miles fidens, ad triginta quinque milia homi-
um a paucis fusa. Postero die deditione facta praes-
sidium intra moenia accepere; iussique arma tradere quem dicto paruissent, signum repente victoribus datur,

14 ut tanquam vi captam urbem diriperent, neque ulla, quae in tali re memorabilis scribentibus videri solet, praeter-
missa clades est; adeo omnis libidinis crudelitatisque et
inhumanae superbiae editum in miseris exemplum est.
Hae fuere hibernae expeditiones Hannibalis.

§ 1. Then after a rest § 2. Hannibal started for Etruria. §§ 3–11. Ch. 58.
But a terrible storm of wind, rain, and hail made it impossible
for him to cross the Apennines.

Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora 1
erant, quies militi data est, et ad prima ac dubia signa 2
veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam quoque
gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut vi aut voluntate
adiuncturus. Transeuntem Appenninum adeo atrox adorta 3
tempestas est, ut Alpium prope foeditatem superaverit.
Vento mixtus imber quem ferretur in ipsa ora, primo,
quia aut arma omittenda erant aut contra enitentes ver-
tice intorti aflagiabuntur, constitere; dein, quam iam 4
spiritum includeret nec reciprocare animam sinceret, aversi
a vento parumper consedere. Tum vero ingenti sono 5
caelum strepere et inter horrendos fragores micare ignes;
capti auribus et oculis metu omnes torpere; tandem effuso 6
imbre, quem eo magis accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo,
quo deprensi erant, loco castra ponere necessarium visum
est. Id vero laboris velut de integro initium fuit; nam 7
nec explicare quicquam nec statuere poterant nec, quod
statutum esset, manebat, omnia perscindente vento et
rapiente. Ex mox aqua levata vento quem super gelida 8
montium iuga concreta esset, tantum nivosae grandinis
diecit, ut omnibus omissis procumberent homines, tegmi-
nibus suis magis obruti quam tecti; tantaque vis frigoris 9
insecuta est, ut ex illa miserabili hominum iumentorumque
strage quum se quisque attollere ac levare vellet, diu ne-
quiret, quia, torpentibus rigore nervis, vix flectere artus
poterant. Deinde, ut tandem agitando sese movere ac 10
recipere animos et raris locis ignis fieri est coeptus, 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.

Ch. 59. § 1. So he returned towards Placentia and offered battle, § 2. which Sempronius accepted. §§ 3-9. A fierce battle took place, but night came on before it could be decided. § 10. Hannibal then marched into Liguria, where he obtained possession of some noble Roman captives.

1 Degressus Appennino retro ad Placentiam castra movit, et ad decem millia progressus consedit. Postero die duodecim millia peditum, quinque equitum adversus hostem ducit; nec Sempronius consul (iam enim redierat ab Roma) detrectavit certamen. Atque eo die tria millia passuum inter bina castra fuere; postero die ingentibus animis, vario eventu pugnatum est. Primo concursu adeo res Romana superior fuit, ut non acie vincerent solum, sed pulsos hostes in castra persequerentur, mox castra quoque oppugnarent. Hannibal, paucis propugnatoribus in vallo portisque positis, ceteros confertos in media castra recepit, intentosque signum ad erumpendum exspectare iubet. 5 Iam nona ferme diei hora erat, quum Romanus, nequique quam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi castris, signum receptum dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal acceptit laxatamque pugnam et recessum a castris vidit, extemplo equitibus dextra laevaque emissis in hostem, 7 ipse cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit. Pugna raro magis ulla aut utriusque partis pernicie clarior fuisset, si extendi cam dies in longum spatium sivisset; 8 nox accensum ingentibus animis proelium diremit. Itaque acrior concursus fuit quam caedes, et, sicut aeque lata ferme
pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra parte sexcentis 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 intrecepti 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.

§§ 1-4. In Spain, Cn. Scipio won many allies for Rome, and in a battle with Hanno gained a brilliant victory.

Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio in Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus, quum ab ostio Rhodani profectus Pyrenaeosque montes circumvectus Emporiis appulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu, orsus a Laeetanis omnem oram usque ad Hiberum flumen partim renovandis societatibus, partim novis instituendis Romanae dicionis fecit. Inde conciliata clementiae 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 scriptae sunt. Hannonis cis Hiberum provincia erat; eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis eius praesidium. Itaque, priusquam alienarentur ornia, obviam eundum ratus, castris in conspectu hostium positis, in aciem eduxit. Nec Romano differendum certamen visum, quippe qui secreto, cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse, malletque adversus singulos separatim quam adversus duos
7 simul rem gerere. Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit. Sex millia hostium caesa, duo capta cum praesidio castrorum; nam et castra expugnata sunt, atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur; et Cissis, propinquum 8 castris oppidum, expugnatur. Ceterum praeda oppidi parvi pretii rerum fuit, supellex barbarica ac vilium man- 9 cipiorum; 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.

Ch. 61. §§ 1–3. However, Hasdrubal, who had crossed the Ebro, was able to inflict considerable loss on the Roman stragglers near Tarraco. He then retired. § 4. But on Scipio's leaving Tarraco, § 5. Hasdrubal returned and induced the Ilergetes to revolt from Rome. §§ 6, 7. But he again retired as Scipio advanced, and the latter then reduced the Ilergetes, §§ 8–11. and afterwards the Ausctani.

1 Priusquam certa huius cladis fama accideret, transgressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo millibus peditum, mille equitum, tanquam ad primum adventum Romanorum occursurus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amissa- 2 que castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. Haud procul Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios vagos palantesque per agros, quod ferme fit, ut secundae res negligentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum magna caede, 3 maiore fuga ad naves compellit; nec diutius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione opprimeretur, trans 4 Hiberum sese recepit. Et Scipio raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, quum in paucos praefectos navium animadvertisset, praesidio Tarracone modico 5 relictto, Emporias cum classe rediit. Vixdum digresso eo, Hasdrubal aderat, et Ilergetum populo, qui obsides
Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso, cum eorum ipsorum juventute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum vastat. Excito deinde Scipione hibernis, toto cis Hiberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem quem infesto exercitu invasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum, urbem, quae caput eius populi erat, circumsedit, intraque dies paucos, pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis, Ilergetes pecunia etiam multatos in ius dicionemque recepit. Inde in Ausetanos prope Hiberum, socios et ipsos Poenorum, procedit, atque urbe eorum obsessa, Laeetanos auxilium finitimis ferentes nocte, haud procul iam urbe, quum intrare vellent, except insidiis. Caesa ad duodecim millia; 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 aliquoties coniectis ab hoste, etiam tutamentum fuerit. Post tremo quum Amusicus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem profugisset, viginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur. Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est.

§§ 1-5. Many portents were announced at Rome, §§ 6-11. and Ch. 62. various measures were adopted to avert the evils which they portended.

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 semestrem in foro olitorio triumphum clamasse, et in foro boario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponteescendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese deiecisse, et navium speciem de caelo affulsisse, et
aedem Spei, quae est in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam, et Lanuvii hastam se commovisse et corvum in aedem Iunonis devolasse atque in ipso pulvinari consedisse, et in agro Ameternino multis locis hominum specie procul candida veste visos nec cum ullo congressos, et in Piceno lapidibus pluvisse, et Caere sortes extenuatas, et in Gallia lupum vigili gladium ex vagina raptum abstulisse. Ob cetera prodigia libros adire decemviri iussi; quod autem lapidibus pluvisset in Piceno, novendiale sacrum edictum; et subinde aliiis procurandis prope tota civitas operata fuit. Nam primum omnium urbs lustrata est hostiaeque maiores, quibus editum est, dis caesae, et donum ex auri pondo quadraginta Lanuvium Iunoni portatum est et signum aeneum matronae Iunoni in Aventino dedicaverunt, et lectisternium Caere, ubi sortes attenuatae erant, imperatum, et supplicatio Fortunae in Algido; Romae quoque et lectisternium iuventuti et supplicatio ad aedem Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo circa omnia pulvinaria indicta, et Genio maiores hostiae caesae quinque, et C. Atilius Serranus praetor vota suscipere iussus, si in decem annos res publica eodem stetisset statu. Haec procurata votaque ex libris Sibyllinis magna ex parte levaverant religione animos.

Ch. 63. §§ 1, 2. The consul Flaminius determined to enter upon his office at Ariminum instead of Rome. §§ 2–4. His reason was that he had been long unpopular with the nobility, § 5. and expected obstruction from them. Accordingly he left the city secretly, §§ 6–10. a proceeding which the Senate regarded as most unconstitutional and irreligious. §§ 11–14. They sent to recall him, but in vain, and he entered on his office. But a melancholy omen showed that ill-luck would attend him. § 15. After this he marched to Etruria with four legions.

1 Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui eae le-
giones, quae Placentiae hibernabant, sorte evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus idibus Martiiis 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 adverso senatu atque uno patrum adiuvante 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 indecorus visus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasor legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob haec ratus, auspiciis ementiendis Latinarumque feriarum mora et consularibus aliis impedimentis retenturos se in urbe, simulato itinere privatus clam in provinciam abiiit. Ea res ubi palamfacta est, novam insuper iram infestis iam ante patribus movit: non cum senatu modo, sed iam cum dis immortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere. Consulem ante inauspicato factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie dis atque hominibus non paruisse; nunc conscientia pretorum 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 indicet Iovique Latiani sollemne sacrum in monte faceret, ne auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda, paludatus inde cum lictoribis in provinciam iret. Lixae modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus profectum clam, furtim, haud aliter quam si exsiliii causa
solum vertisset. Magis pro maiestate videlicet imperii Ariminorum quam Romae magistratum initurum et in dever-sorio hospitali quam apud penates suos praetextam sump-
turum. Revocandum universi reahendumque censuerunt et cogendum omnibus prius praesentem in deos homines-
que fungii officiis, quam ad exercitum et in provinciam iret. In eam legationem (legatos enim mitti placuit) Q. Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilo magis eum moverunt, quam priore consulatu litterae moverant ab senatu missae. Paucos post dies magistratum iniit, im-
imolantique ei vitulus iam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese quum proripuisset, multos circumstantes cruore re-
spersit; fuga procul etiam maior apud ignaros, quid tre-
pidaretur, et concursatio fuit. Id a plerisque in omen
magni terroris acceptum. Legionibus inde duabus a Sempronio prioris anni consule, duabus a C. Atilio praetore acceptis, in Etruriam per Appennini tramites exercitus duci est coeptus.
§ 1. Hannibal left his winter quarters than he would otherwise have done, on account of his apprehensions from the Gauls. §§ 2-4. Meanwhile the Romans talked angrily about the conduct of Flaminius, §§ 5-7. and gloomily about fearful portents that had been announced. §§ 9-14. Various measures were taken to avert the evils which they forebode.

Iam ver appetebat; itaque Hannibal ex hibernis movit, et nequicquam ante conatus transcendere 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 exercituum hibernis videre, verterunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia; petitusque saepe principium 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 Martiis magistratum iniit. Ibi quum de re publica rettulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere; quod enim illi iustum imperium, quod auspicium esse? Magistratus id a domo, publicis privatisque penatibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nuncupatis, secum
argento dona darentur, et Iunoni reginae in Aventino Iunonique Sospitae Lanuvii maioribus hostiis sacrificaretur, matronaeque pecunia collata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum Iunoni reginae in Aventinum ferrent, lectisterniumque fieret, et ut libertinae et ipsae, unde Feroniae donum daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent. Haec ubi facta, decemviri Ardeae in foro maioribus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri iam mense ad aedem Saturni Romae immolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum ([et] eum lectum senatores straverunt) et convivium publicum, ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum iussus.

§§ 1-4. Hannibal's army, marching through the marshes of the Arno valley, §§ 5-9. were exposed to great sufferings, §§ 10, 11. and the general himself lost the sight of one eye.

Dum consul placandis Romae dis habendoque dilectu dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia iam Flaminium consulem Arretium pervenisse fama erat, quum aliud longius, ceterum commodius ostenderetur iter, proprium viam per paludes petit, qua fluvius Arnus per eos dies solito magis inundaverat. Hispanos et Afros (id omne veterani erat robur exercitus) admixtis ipsorum impedimentis, necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire iussit; sequi Gallos, ut id agminis medium esset; novissimos ire equites; Magonem inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si taedio laboris longaeque viae, ut est mollis ad talia gens, dilaberentur aut subsisterent, cohistentem. Primi, qua modo praerint duces, per praefatae fluvii ac profundas voragines, hausti paene limo immergentesque se, tamen signa sequebantur. Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi
neque assurgere ex voraginibus poterant, nec aut corpora
animis aut animos spe sustinebant, alii fessa aegre trahentes
membra, alii, ubi semel victis taedio animis procubuisseent,
inter iumenta et ipsa iacentia passim morientes; maximeque
omnium vigiliae conficiebant per quadrimum iam et tres
noctes toleratae. Quum, omnia obtinentibus aquis, nihil, ubi
in sicco fessa sterneren corpora, inveniri posset, cumulatis in
aqua sarcinis insuper incumbebant, aut 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 in-
temperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus
superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua exstaret, vectus, vigiliis tamen
et nocturno humore palustrique caelo gravante caput, et quia
medendii nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.

Ch. 3. §§ 1–6. Hannibal began devastating the plains of Etruria to provoke
Flaminiius to a battle. §§ 7–10. Flaminiius was determined
to check this, §§ 11–14. and ordered an immediate advance,
nothing daunted by omens real or imaginary.
1 Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis quum
tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit,
castra locat, certumque per praemissos exploratores habuit,
exercitum Romanum circa Arretii moenia esse. Consulis
deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum itineraque
et copias ad commeatus expediendos et cetera, quae cognosse
in rem erat, summa omnia cum cura inquirendo
2 exsequebatur. Regio erat in primis Italiae fertilis, Etrusci
campi, qui Faesulas inter Arretiumque iacent, frumenti ac
3 pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulentii; consul ferox ab
consulatu priore et non modo legum aut patrum maiestatis,
sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens; hanc insitam ingenio
eius temperatam fortuna prospero civilibus bellicosque
rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis apparebat, nec deos nec homines consulentem ferciter omnia ac praepropere acturum; quoque proni or esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque irritare Poenus parat, et laeva relictio hoste Facsulas petens, medio Etruriae agro praedatum profectus, quam maximam vastitatem potest, caedibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferociter omniaae praepropere acturum, per medium iam Italianam vagari Poenum atque obsistente nullo ad ipsa Romana moenia ire oppugnanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa suadentibus: collegam exspectandum, ut coniunctis exercitibus, communi animo consilioque rem gererent, interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohibendum, iratus se ex consilio proripuit, signumque simul itineris pugnaeque quum proposuisset, 'Immo Arretii ante moenia sedeamus' inquit; hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpopuletur Italianum vastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana moenia perveniat, nec ante nos hinc moverimus, quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veis, C. Flaminium ab Arretio patres acciverint.’ Haec simul increpans volum oculis signa convelli iuberet et ipse in eorum insiluisset, equus repente corrut consulemque lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omnibus, qui circa erant, velut foedo omne incipiendae rei, insuper nuntiatur, signum omni vi moliente signifero convelli nequire. Conversus ad nuntium ‘Num litteras quoque’ inquit ‘ab senatu affers, quae me rem gerere vetent? Abi, nuntia, effodiaprit signum, si ad convelliendum manus praec metu obtorquerunt.’ Incedere inde agmen coepit, primoribus, superquam quod dissen-
serant ab consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio, milite in vulgus laeto ferocia ducis, quum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

Ch. 4. §§ 1–3. Hannibal occupied a pass by Lake Trasimenum. §§ 4–7. in such a way that Flamininus entering the pass was surrounded before he knew that the enemy was near.

1 Hannibal, quod agri est inter Cortonam urbe Transumnumque lacum, omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis
2 iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum injurias acuat; et iam pervenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cor
tonenses Trasumennus subit. (Via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad id ipsum de industria relictum spatio; deinde
3 paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles insurgunt.) Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret; Baliares ceteramque levement armaturam post montes circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus, tumulis apte tegentibus, locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani, obiecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

4 Flamininus quum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato postero die vixdum satis certa luce angustiis superatis, postquam in patentiorem campum pandit agmen coepit, id tantum hostium, quod ex adverso erat, conspexit; ab tergo ac super caput deceptae insidiae.

5 Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus
6 dat simul invadendi. Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucur-
7 rerant. Romanus clamore prius undique orto, quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem
lateraque pugnari coeptum est, quam satis instruēretur acies aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent.

§§ 1-7. However, the Romans made a desperate resistance, § 8. Ch. 5. and such was the fury of the battle that the shock of an earthquake passed unperceived.

Consul, perculsis omnibus, ipse satis, ut in re trepida, impavidus turbatos ordines, vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores, instruit, ut tempus locusque patitur, et quacunque adire audirique potest, adhortatur ac stare ac pugnare iubet: nec enim inde votis aut imploratione deum, sed vi ac virtute evadendum esse; per medias acies ferro viam fieri et, quo timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse. Ceterum praec strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat, tantumque aberat, ut sua signa atque ordines et locum noscerent, ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae competeret animus, opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis iis quam tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine maior usus aurium quam oculorum. Ad gemitus vulneratorum ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos strepentina tumultumque clamores circumferebant ora oculosque. Alii fugientes pugnantium globo illati haerebant; alios redeuntes in pugnam avertebat fugientium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnes partes nequiequam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies cladebat, apparuitque, nullam nisi in dextera ferroque salutis spern esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam et nova de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani. post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua legione miles aut cohorte aut manipulo esset; fors conglobabat et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat, tantusque fuit ardor ani-
morum, adeo intentus pugnae [animus], ut eum motum terrae, qui multarum urbi
mum Italiae magnas partes pro-
stravit avertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus
invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

Ch. 6. §§ 1-4. After three hours' fighting the consul fell, §§ 5-7. and the
battle then became a carnage. §§ 8-10. Still about six thousand
from the van cut their way through the enemy, and came out of
the pass, §§ 11, 12. only to be captured next day by the Car-
thaginian cavalry.

1 Tres ferme horas pugnatum est et ubique atrociter;
2 circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est. Eum
et robora virorum sequebantur, et ipse, quacunque in parte
premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre ferebat opem, in-
signemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant et tuebantur
3 cives, donec Insuber eques (Ducario nomen erat), facie
quoque noscitans consulem, 'En' inquit 'hic est' popu-
laribus suis, 'qui legiones nostras cecidit agrosque et
urbem est depopulatus; iam ego hanc victimam manibus
4 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; spoliäre
5 cupidientem triarii obiectis scutis arcuere. Magnae partis
fuga inde primum coepit; et iam nec lacus nec montes
pavori obstabant; per omnia arta praeruptaque velut caeci
evadunt, armaque et viri super alium alii praecipitantur.
6 Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima vada paludis
in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus humerisque extare
possunt, sese immergunt; fuere, quos inconsultus pavor
7 nando etiam capessere fugam impulerit; quae ubi im-
mensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientibus animis haurie-
bantur gurgitibus aut nequicquam fessi vada retro aeger-
rimere repetebant, atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium
equitibus passim trucidabantur. Sex millia ferme prīmi
agminis, per adversos hostes eruptione impigre facta, ignari
omnia, quae post se agerentur, ex saltu evasere, et quum
in tumulo quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum
armorum audientes, quae fortuna pugnae esset, neque
scire nec perspicere præe caligine poterant. Inclinata
denique re, quum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula
aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes campique
perditas res statamque ostendere foede Romanam aciem.
Itaque ne in consensus procul immitteretur eques, sublatis
rapīm signis, quam citatissimo poterant agmine, sese ab-
ripuerunt. Posterō die, quum super cetera extrema fames
etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus
equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradi-
dissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese de-
diderunt; quae Punica religione servata fides ab Hannibale
est, atque in vincula omnes coniecti.

§§ 1-4. The slaughter of the vanquished was immense, even accord-
ing to Fabrīus' estimate. § 5. Hannibal put the Roman
prisoners in chains but released the Italians. He caused a
search to be made for Flaminius' body in order to bury it, but it
could not be found. §§ 6-14. The grief, consternation, and
anxiety at Rome were extreme,

Haec est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna atque inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim millia Romanorum in acie caesa; decem millia sparsa
fuga per omnem Etruriam diversis itineribus urbem
petiere; duo millia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea [utrinque] ex vulneribus periere. Multiplex caedes
utrinque facta traditur ab aliis; ego praeterquam quod
nihil auctum ex vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium, aequalem temporibus huiusce
belli, potissimum auctorem habui. Hannibal, captivorum qui Latini nominis essent, sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum quam sepeliri iussisset, Flaminii quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non invenit.

Romae ad primum nuntium cladis eius cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus. Matronae vagae per vias, quae repens clades allata quaeve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percontantur; et quem frequentis contionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum M. Pomponius praetor 'Pugna' inquit 'magna victi sumus.' Et quamquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen alius ab alio impleti rumori-bus 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 distracti animi eorum erant, quorum propinqui sub C. Flaminio consule mernuerant, 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 multitudo stetit, aut suorum aliquam aut nuntios de iis opperiens; circumfundebanturque obviis sciscitantes, neque avelli, utique ab notis, priusquam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant. Inde varios vultus digredientium ab nuntiis cerneres, ut cuique laeta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantesque aut consolantes redeuntibus domos
circumfusos. Feminarum praecipue et gaudia insignia erant et luctus. Unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio re-13 pente oblatam in complexu eius exspirasse scrint; alteram, cui mors filii falso nuntiata erat, maestam sedentem domi, ad primum conspectum redeuntis filii gaudio nimio examinatam. Senatum praetores per dies 14 aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent, consultantes, quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti victoribus Poenis posset.

§§ 1-4. and were increased by the news of a second disaster.  §§ 5-7. Ch. 8. It was accordingly resolved to appoint a dictator, and Q. Fabius Maximus was appointed, with M. Minucius Rufus as his Master of the Horse.

Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nun-tiatur clades, quattuor millia equitum cum C. Centenio propraetore missa ad collegam ab Servilio consule in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasumennunm auditam averterant iter, ab Hannibale circumventa. Eius rei fama varie homines affectit. Pars, occupatis maiore aegritudine animis, levem ex comparatione priorum du-cere recentem equitum iacturam; pars non id, quod acciderat, per se aestimare, sed, ut in affecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis quam in valido gravior sentiretur, ita tum aegrae et affectae civitati quodcunque adversi incideret, non rerum magnitudine, sed viribus extenuatis, quae nihil, quod aggravaret, 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 Italianam facile erat aut nuntium aut litteras mti, nec dictatorem populo non consulto senatus creare poterat, quod nunquam ante 6
eam diem factum erat, dictatorem populus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum et magistrum equitum M. Minucium. 7 Rufum; hisque negotium ab senatu datum, ut muros turresque urbis firmarent et praesidia disponerent, quibus locis videretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe ac penatibus dimicandum esse, quando Italiam tueri nequissent.

Ch. 9. §§ 1–3. After an ineffectual attack on Spoletium, Hannibal marched to Picenum, § 4. where he halted some days to rest his troops. § 5. He marched thence to Apulia. § 6. Servilius the consul returned to Rome. §§ 7, 8. Fabius prevailed on the Senate to order the Sibylline books to be consulted. §§ 9–11. In accordance with these, it was determined to make fresh vows to the gods, among others a ‘ver sacrum,’ and to perform solemn services.

1 Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad Spoletium venit. Inde, quam perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna caede suorum repulsus, coniectans ex unius coloniae haud maximae minime prospere tentatae viribus, quanta moles Romanae urbis esset, in agrum Picenum avertit iter, non copia solum omnis generis frugum abundantem, sed refertum praeda, quam effuse avidi atque egentes rapiebant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita, refectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri via proelioque magis ad eventum secundo quam 4 levi aut facili affectus. Ubi satis quietis datum praeda ac populationibus magis quam otio aut requie gaudentibus, profectus Praetutianum Hadrianumque agrum, Marsos inde Marrucinosque et Pelignos devastat circaque Arpos 6 et Luceriam proximam Apuliae regionem. Cn. Servilius consul, levibus proelis cum Gallis factis et uno oppido ignobili expugnato, postquam de collegae exercitusque
caede audivit, iam moenibus patriae metuens, ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit.

Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum, quo die magistratum iniit, vocato senatu, ab dis orsus, quem edocuisset patres, plus negligentia caerimoniarii auspiciorum quam temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flaminio consule esse, quaeque piacula irae deum essent, ipsos deos consulendos esse, pervicit, ut, quod non ferme decernitur, nisi quem taetra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos adire iubentur. Qui, inspectis fatalibus libris, retulerunt patriibus, quod eius belli causa votum Marti foret, id non rite factum de integro atque amplius faciundum esse, et Iovi ludos magnos et aedes Veneri Erycinae 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 collegii pontificum sententia, omnia ca ut mature fiant, curare iubet.

§§ 1-6. Accordingly the people were required to decree a 'ver sacrum,' §§ 7-10. and the other vows were taken and the other ceremonies performed.

His senatus consultis perfectis, L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus, consulente collegium praetore, omnium primum populum consulendum de vere sacro censet: iniussu populi voveri non posse. Rogatus in haec verba populus: 'Velitis iubeatisne haec sic fieri? Si res publica populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum, sicut velim voveamque, salva servata eit hisce duellis, quod duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginiensi est,
quaeque duella cum Gallis sunt, qui cis Alpes sunt, tum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium, quod ver attulerit ex suillo, ovillo, caprino, bovillo grege, quaeque profana erunt, Iovi fieri, ex qua die senatus populusque iussit. Qui faciet, quando volet quaque lege volet, facito; quo modo faxit, probe factum esto. Si id moritur, quod fieri, oportet, profanum esto, neque scelus esto. Si quis rumpet occidetve insciens, ne fraud est. Si quis clepsit, ne populo scelus esto, neve cu 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 iussit fieri, faxitur, eo populus solutus liber esto. Eiusdem rei causa ludi magni voti aeris trecentis triginta tribus millibus, trecentis triginta tribus triente, praeterea bubus Iovi trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis. Votis rite nuncupatis, supplicatio edicta; supplicatuumque iure cum conjigibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed agrestium etiam, quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica quoque contingebat cura. Tum lectisternium per triduum habitum, decemviris sacrorum curantibus. Sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt, Iovi ac Iunoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervae, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Vulcano ac Vestae, sextum Mercurio et Cereri. Tum aedes votae. Veneri Erycinae aedem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vovit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat, ut is voveret, cuius maximum imperium in civitate esset; Menti aedem T. Otacilium praetor vovit.
§§ 1-3. Fabius then turning to military measures, raised two new legions, § 4. and after taking steps to protect the Italians against Hannibal, § 5. went to meet Servilius; and showed, by summoning the consul before him, §§ 6, 7. the power and dignity of the dictatorial office. The consul was then despatched to Ostia to act against a Carthaginian fleet, §§ 8, 9. and enrolled many soldiers at Rome, some to serve as marines, others to guard the city.

Ita 'rebus divinis peractis, tum de bello reque [de] 1 publica dictator ret tulit, quibus quo tque legionibus victori hosti obviam eundum esse patres censerent. Decretum, 2 ut ab Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acciperet; scriberet praeterea ex civibus sociisque, quantum equitum ac pedi- tum videretur; cetera omnia ageret faceretque, ut e re publica duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adiecturum 3 ad Servilianum exercitum dixit. Iis per magist rum equitum scriptis Tibur diem ad conveniendum edixit. Edic- 4 toque proposito, ut, quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent, uti commigrarent in loca tuta, ex agris quoque demigrarent omnes regionis cius, qua iturus Hannibal esset, tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cuius rei copia esset, ipse via Flaminia profectus obviam 5 consuli exercituque, quem ad Tiberim circa Orciculum prospexisset agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se progredientem, viatorem misit, qui consuli nuntiaret, ut sine lictoribus ad dictatem veniret. Qui quum dicto 6 paruisset, congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dicta- turae apud cives sociosque vetustate iam prope oblitos eius imperii fecisset, litterae ab urbe allatae sunt, naves onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exer- citum portantes a classe Punica circa portum Cosanum captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul Ostiam profecisci 7 iussus, navibusque, quae ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiae
essent, completis milite ac navalibus sociis, persequi
hostium classem ac litora Italiae tutari. Magna vis
hominum conscripta Romae erat; libertini etiam, quibus
liberi essent et aetas militaris, in verba iuraverant. Ex
hoc urbano exercitu, qui minores quinque et triginta
annis erant, in naves impositi, alii, ut urbi praesiderent,
relicti.

Ch. 12. §§ 1-3. It was near Arpi that Fabius first caught sight of the
enemy. Hannibal at once offered battle, § 4. which was re-
fused, §§ 5-10. and he found that he had a very different
general to deal with from Flaminius and Sempronius. Fabius
never gave an opportunity, but seldom missed one, and gradually
taught his men to fear Hannibal less. §§ 11, 12. But many
in the Roman army accused Fabius of paltry inaction, and their
discontent was fomented by the arts of Minucius, Master of the
Horse.

1 Dictator, exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco
legato, per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad con-
veniendum edixerat novis militibus, venit. Inde Prae-
neste ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est
egressus, unde, itineribus summa cum cura exploratis, ad
hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret,
fortunae se commissurus. Quo primum die haud procul
Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora
facta, quin Poenus educeret in aciem copiamque pug-
nandi faceret. Sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes nec
ciastra ullo tumultu mota videt, increpans quidem, victos
tandem †quos Martios animos Romanis, debellatumque et
concessum propalam de virtute ac gloria esse, in castra
rediit; ceterum tacita cura animum incessit, 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 hauddum expertus, agitare ac tentare animum movendo crebro castra populandoque 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, modico 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 com-mittebatur, et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto coeptorum, finitimo receptu, assuefaciebant 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 alius, quam quod impar erat imperio, morae ad rem publicam praecipitandam habebat, ferox rapidusque consiliis ac lingua immodicus. Primo inter paucos, dein propalam in vulgus pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, affingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat, premdendoque superiorem, quae pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit, sese extollebat.

§§ 1–5. Hannibal determined to march to Casinum, but through a misunderstanding of his guide reached Casilinum instead. §§ 6–9. He began to devastate the surrounding country.

Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneventanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit, irritat etiam de industria ducem, si forte accensum tot indigni-
tatibus ac cladibus sociorum detrahere ad aequum certamen possit. Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad Trasumenum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis iam tum illecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos. Hi nuntiantes, si in Campaniam exercitum admovisset, Capuae potiendae copiam fore, quem res maior quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidentem ac diffidentem tamen, ut Campanos ex Samnio peteret, moverunt. Monitos etiam atque etiam, ut promissa rebus affirmarent, iussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad se dimisit. Ipse imperat duci, ut se in agrum Casinatam ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis interclusurum; sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latinorum nominum pronuntiatione os, Casilinum pro Casino dux ut acciperet, fecit, aversusque ab suo itinere per Callisanum Allisanumque et Calenum agrum in campum Stellatem descendit. Ubi quum montibus fluminibusque clausam regionem circumspexisset, vocatum ducem percontatur, ubi terrarum esset. Quum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde alia regione esse; virgisque caeso duce et ad reliquorum terrem in crucem sublato, castris communitis, Maharbalem cum equitibus in agrum Faler-
um praedatum dimisit. Usque ad aquas Sinuessanas populatio ea pervenit. Ingentem eladem, fugam tamen terremque latius Numidae fecerunt; nec tamen is terror, quum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit, videlicet quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.
§§ 1-3. *The sight of the rich land in flames roused the indignation of the Roman soldiers against Fabius, §§ 4-14, and Minucius increased their excitement by a seditious harangue § 15.* to the officers and better class of men, by means of which he stole away the loyalty of the army.

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; quieverant enim per paucos dies, quia, quam celerius solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam populationibus Campaniam crediderant.* Ut vero in extrema iuga Massici 3 montis ventum, et hostes sub oculis erant Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessae tecta urentes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnae, 'Spectatum hue' 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 haec ora esset, quam nunc non vicinus Samnis urit, sed Poenus advena, ab extremis orbis terrarum terminis nostra cunctatione et socordia iam hue progressus? Tantum, pro, degeneramus a patribus nostris, ut, praeter quam oram illi Punicas vagari classes dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nunc plenam hostium Numidarumque ac Maurorum iam factam videamus? Qui modo Saguntum oppugnari indignando non homines tantum, sed foedera et deos ciebamus, scandentem moenia Romanae coloniae Hannibalem lenti spectamus. Fumus ex incendiis villarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora venit; strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum, saepius nostram quam deorum invo- cantium opem; nos hic pecorum modo per aestivos saltus
deviasque calles exercitum ducimus, conditi nubibus silvisque. Si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius recipere a Gallis urbem voluisset, quo hic novus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus affectis quaesitus, Italiam ab Hannibale recuperare parat, Gal·lorum Roma esset, quam vereor ne, sic cunctantibus nobis, Hannibali ac Poenis toties servaverint maiores nostri. Sed vir ac vere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate patrum iussuque populi dictum Veios allatum est, quem esset satis altum Ianiculum, ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, descendit in aequum atque illo ipso die media in urbe, qua nunc busta Gallica sunt, et postero die citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones. Quid? post multis annos quem ad Furculas Caudinas ab Samnite hoste sub iugum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papiri·us Cursor iuga Samnii perlustrando an Luceriam premendo obsidendoque et lacessendo victorem hostem depulsum ab Romanis cervicibus iugum superbo Samniti imposuit?

Modo C. Lutatio quae alia res quam celeritas victoriam dedit, quod postero die, quam hostem vidit, classem gravem commeatibus, impeditam suomet ipsam instrumento atque apparatu, oppressit? Stultitia est sedendo aut votis debellari credere posse. Arma capias oportet et descendas in aequum et vir cum viro congregiaris. Audendo atque agendo res Romana crevit, non his segnibus consiliis, quae timidi cauta vocant. Hace velut contionanti Minucio circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia evovebantur; ac si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant, Minucium Fabio duci praelaturos.
§§ 1, 2. *Fabius, however, persisted in his inaction, until Hannibal* determined to leave Campania and go into winter quarters elsewhere. §§ 3, 4. *Thereupon Fabius determined to entrap him in a defile.* §§ 4–10. *An officer, sent with some cavalry, to reconnoitre, incautiously allowed himself to be attacked by the cavalry of the enemy. He and all his best troopers were killed.* §§ 11, 12. *Minucius, who had been sent to secure the pass above Tarracina leading to Latium, now returned to Fabius, and together they occupied the pass leading towards the west.*

Fabius pariter in suos haud minus quam in hostes intentus, prius ab illis invictum animum praestat. Quanquam probe scit, non in castris modo suis, sed iam etiam Romae infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore eodem consiliorum aestatis reliquum 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 exploratores relata Fabio. Quum satis sciret, per easdem angustias, quibus intraverat Falernum agrum, rediturum, Calliculam montem et Casilinum occupat modicos praesidiis, quae urbs Vulturno flumine dirempta Falernum a Campano agro dividit; ipse iugis iisdem exercitum reducit, misso exploratum cum quadringeritis equitis sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino. Qui, ex turba juvenum audientium saepe ferciter contionantem magistrum equitum, progressus primo exploratoris modo, ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi vagos passim per vicos Numidas vidit et per occasionem etiam paucos occidit, extemplo occupatus certamine est animus, excideruntque praeccepta dictatoris, qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum prius recipere sese iusserat, quam in conspectum hostium veniret. Numidae alii atque alii occursantes refugien-
tesque ad castra prope ipsa eum cum fatigatione equorum atque hominum pertraxere. Inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis invectus, quam prius, quam ad coniectum teli veniret, avertisset hostes, quinque ferme millia continentia cursu secutus est fugientes. Mancinus postquam nec hostem desistere sequi nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in proelium redit, omni parte virium impar. Itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumventi occiduntur; ceteri effuso [rursus] cursu Cales primum, inde prope inviis callibus ad dictatorem perfugerunt.

11 Eo forte die Minucius se coniunxerat Fabio, missus ad firmandum praesidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam in artas coactus faucis imminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Poenus Appiae limite pervenire in agrum Romanum posset. Coniunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum castra in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal ducturus erat; duo inde millia hostes aberant.

Ch. 16. §§ 1–3. Next day a battle took place in which the Romans gained the advantage; §§ 4, 5. and Hannibal, finding himself entrapped, §§ 6–8. had recourse to stratagem. He bound fagots to the horns of about two hundred oxen.

1 Postero die Poeni, quod viae inter bina castra erat, 2 agmine complevere. Quum Romani sub ipso constitissent vallo, haud dubie aequiore loco, successit tamen Poenus cum expeditis equibusque ad lacessendum hostem. Carptim Poeni et procursando reciprociendoque sese 3 pugnavere; restitit suo loco Romana acies; lenta pugna et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis fuit voluntate. Ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere.

4 Inclusus inde videri Hannibal, via ad Casilinum obsessa, quum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo divitum
sociorum Romanis commeatus subveheret, Poenus inter Formiana saxa ac Litternae arenas stagnaque et per horridas silvas hibernaturus esset; nec Hannibalem sefellit, suis se 5 artibus peti. Itaque quum per Casilinum evadere non posset petendiique montes et iugum Calliculae superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum vallibus agmen aggre-
deretur, ludibrium oculorum specie terribile ad frustran-6 dum hostem commentus, principio noctis furtim succeedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis consilii talis apparatus fuit. 7 Faces undique ex agris collectae fascesque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti praeligantur cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos inter ceteram agrestem prae
dam agebat. Ad duo millia ferme boum effecta, 8 Hasdrubalique negotium datum, ut nocte id armentum accensis cornibus ad montes ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.

§§ 1, 2. And when night came on the fagots were lit, and the oxen were driven along the mountain side.  §§ 3-6. The Romans thought that the lights on the hills were torches, and that they were surrounded. The force guarding the road left its position, only to fall in with the light troops of the enemy.  § 7. Meanwhile the main body under Hannibal passed through the defile.

Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boves aliquanto ante signa acti. Ubi ad radices montium viasque an-2 gustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur, ut accensis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montes; et metus ipse relucsentis flammeae ex capite calorque iam ad vivum ad imaque cornua veniens velut stimulatos furore agebat boves. Quo repente discursu, haud secus quam 3 silvis montibusque accensis, omnia circa virgulta visa ardere, capitumque irrita quassatio excitans flammam hominum passim discurrentium speciem praebebat. Qui 4
ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexere, circum-ventos se esse rati praesidio excessere. Qua minime densae micabant flammae, velut tutissimum iter petentes summa montium iuga, tamen in quosdam boves palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt. Et primo quam procul cernerent, veluti flamas spirantium miraculo attoniti consti-terunt; deinde ut humana apparuit fraus, tum vero insidias rati esse, cum maiore tumultu concitant se in fugam. Levi quoque armaturae hostium incurrere; ceterum nox aequato timore neutros pugnam incipientes 7 ad lucem tenuit. Interea toto agmine Hannibal traducto per saltum, et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis, in agro Allifano posuit castra.

Ch. 18. §§ 1–4. Next morning Fabius attacked the light troops of the enemy, who were, however, saved by a division of Spaniards. §§ 5–7. Fabius followed Hannibal as far as Gerconium. Then he encamped near Larinum, §§ 8–10. and from thence went to Rome for religious purposes, leaving the army, with repeated cautions, to the care of the heedless Minucius.

1 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 (et enim numero aliquantum praestabant) Romani superassent, nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale supervenisset. Ea assuetior montibus et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior ac levior quum velocitate corporum, tum armorum habitu, campestrem hostem, gravem armis statariumque, pugnae genere facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam pari certamine digressi, His-
pani 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 Pelignos populabundus redit; Fabius medius inter hos-tium agmen urbemque Romam iugis ducebat, nec absistens nec congrediens. Ex Pelignis Poenus flexit iter, retroque Apuliam repetens Gereonium pervenit, urbem metu, quia collapsa ruinis pars moenium erat, ab suis desertam; dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. Inde sacro-rum 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; haud parvam rem esse ab toties victore hoste vinci desisse et ab con-tinuis cladibus respirasse,—haec nequicquam praemonito magistro equitum Romam est profectus.

§§ 1–9. Meanwhile in Spain the Roman fleet surprised the Car-thaginian fleet at the mouth of the Ebro, put them to flight, and drove them on land.

Principio aestatis, qua haec gerebantur, in Hispania quoque terra marique coeptum bellum est. Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum paratumque acceperat, decem adiecit; quadraginta navium classem Himilconi tradit, atque ita Carthagine profectus naves prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus confligere, quacunque parte copiarum hostisOccurrisset. Cn. Scipio postquam movisse ex hibernis
hostem audivit, primo idem consilii fuit; deinde minus
terra propter ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum con-
currere ausus, delecto milite ad naves imposito, quinque
et triginta navium classe ire obviam hosti pergit. Altero
ab Tarracone die ad stationem decem millia passuum
distantem ab ostio Hiberi amnis pervenit. Inde duae
Massiliensium speculatoriae praemissae rettulere, classem
Punicam stare in ostio fluminis castraque in ripa posita.
Itaque ut improvisos incautosque universo simul effuso
terrore opprimeret, sublatis ancoris ad hostem vadit.
Multas et locis altis positas turres 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 remorum
strepituque alio nautico exaudito aut aperientibus classem
promuntoriis, quam repente eques alius super alium ab
Hasdrubale missus vagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis
suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut proelium eo die ex-
spectantes, conscendere naves propere atque arma capere
iubet: classem Romanam iam haud procul portu esse.
Haec equites dimissi passim imperabant; 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 conscenderant, quum alli resolutis oris in
ancoras evehuntur, alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incidunt;
raptimque omnia ac praepropere agendo, militum apparatu
nautica ministeria impediantur, trepidatione nautarum
capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur. Et iam Romanus
non appropinquabat modo, sed direxerat etiam in pugnam
naves. Itaque non ab hoste et proelio magis Poeni quam
suomet ipsis tumultu turbati, tentata verius pugna quam inita, in fugam averterunt classem, et quum adversi amnis os lato agmini et tam multis simul venientibus haud sane intrabile esset, in litus passim naves egerunt, atque alii vadis, alii sicco litore excepti, partim armati, partim intermes ad instructam per litus aciem suorum perfugere; duae tamen primo concursu captae erant Punicae naves, quattuor suppressae.

§§ 1, 2. The Romans then landed and captured all the remaining ships, except those that had been destroyed. §§ 3–5. After that they took Onusa and advanced up to the walls of New Carthage. § 6. The fleet then went to Longuntica, where they captured some of Hasdrubal’s stores, §§ 7, 8. and thence to the island of Ebusus, where they in vain besieged the capital, § 9. but secured a large amount of booty. On their way back, ambassadors came from the Balearic isles to Scipio asking for peace. §§ 10, 11. On their return to Spain many fresh tribes made their submission. § 12. The Romans then advanced into the middle of Spain, and Hasdrubal retired to the west.

Romani, quanquam terra hostium erat armatamque aciem toto praetentam [in] litore cernebant, haud cunctanter insecuri trepidam hostium classem naves omnes, quae non aut perfregerant proras litori illis aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas puppibus 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. Quum urbem vi cepissent captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt, atque omnem agrum circa depopulati postremo tecta quoque inunctione muro portisque incenderunt. Inde iam praeda gravis ad Longunticam pervenit classis, ubi vis magna sparti erat, ad rem nauti-
cam congesta ab Hasdrubale. Quod satis in usum fuit, sublato, ceterum omne incensum est. Nec continentis modo praelecta est ora, sed in Ebusum insulam transmissum. Ibi urbe, quae caput insulae est, biduum nequicquam summo labore oppugnata, ubi in spem irritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad populationem agri versi, direptis aliquot incensisque vicis, maiore quam ex continenti praeda parta quum in naves se recepissent, ex Baliaribus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem venerunt. Inde flexa retro classis reditumque in citeriora provinciae, quo omnium populorum, qui Hiberum accolunt, multorum et ultimae Hispaniae legati concurrerunt; sed qui vere dicionis imperiique Romani facti sint obsidiibus datis, populi amplius fuerunt centum viginti. Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque ad saltum Castulonensem est progressus; Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum concessit.

Ch. 21. §§ 1–4. After this an attack made by Mandonius and Indibilis on the Roman allies, which was easily repulsed, § 5. had the effect of bringing Hasdrubal back again, §§ 6–8. but Scipio instigated the Celtiberi to invade the Carthaginian territory and thus draw him off.

1 Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquum acstatis tempus, 2 suissetque per Poenum hostem; sed praeterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorum iniqua a vidaque in novas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indibilisque, qui antea Ilergetum 3 regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum 4 sociorum Romanorum ad populandum venerunt. Adversus eos tribuni militum cum expeditis auxiliis a Scipione missi levi certamine, ut tumultuariam manum, fudere, mille hominibus occisis, quibusdam captis magna-
que parte armis exuta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hiberum ad socios tundos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Ilergavonensium, castra Romana ad Novam classem erant, quam fama repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suae legatos miserant obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione exciti arma capiunt provinciamque Carthaginiensium valido exercitu invadunt. Tria oppida vi expugnant; inde cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus proeliis egregie pugnant; ad quindecim millia hostium occiderunt, quattuor millia cum multis militaribus signis capiunt.

§§ 1-3. Publius Scipio now joined his brother, and together they crossed the Ebro and made for Saguntum, where Hannibal had placed his Spanish hostages. §§ 6-8. Abelux, a Saguntine, wishing to gain favour with the winning side, determined to deliver these hostages up to the Romans. §§ 9-14. He persuaded the Carthaginian governor of Saguntum to allow him to restore them to their homes, as the best way of keeping Spain faithful. §§ 15-18. But as soon as the hostages were in his power he delivered them up to the Romans, and then restored them to their homes in the name of the Roman general, thus gaining so much credit for his new allies that all Spain was ready to revolt to them.

Hoc statu rerum in Hispania P. Scipio in provinciam venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu missus, cum triginta longis navibus et octo millibus militum magnoque commeatu advecto. Ea classis in gens 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. Occupatis igitur Carthaginiensibus Cel...
tiberico bello, haud cunctanter Hiberum transgrediuntur, nec ullo viso hoste, Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniae traditos ab Hannibale fama erat 5 modo in arce custodiri praesidio. Id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniae populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum 6 suorum culpa defectionis luercetur. Eo vinculo His- paniam vir unus sollerti magis quam fidelis consilio exsolvit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis; tum, qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum 7 ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat fidem. Ceterum trans- fugam sine magnae rei proditione venientem ad hostes nihil aliud quam unum vile atque infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat, ut quam maximum emolumentum novis 8 sociis esset. Circumspectis igitur omnibus, quae fortuna potestatis eius poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tra- dendis animum adiecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum Hispaniae amicitiam. 9 Sed quum iniussu Bostaris praefecti satis sciret nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte 10 aggreditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat Bostar, ut aditum ea parte intercluderet Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum abductum, velut ignorantem, monet, quo 11 statu sit res: metum continuisse ad eam diem Hispan- orum animos, quia procul Romani abessent; nunc cis Hiberum castra Romana esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque novas volentibus res; itaque, quos metus non teneat, 12 beneficio et gratia devinciendos esse. Miranti Bostari percontantique, quodnam id subitum tantae rei donum 13 posset esse, 'Obsides' inquit 'in civitates remitte. Id et privatim parentibus, quorum maximum momentum in civitatibus est suis, et publice populis gratum erit.
Vult sibi quisque credi, et habita fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. Ministerium restituendorum domos ob-sidum mihimet deposco ipse, ut opera quoque impensa consilium adiuven meum et rei suapte natura gratae, quantam insuper gratiam possim, adiiciam.' Homini non ad cetera Punica ingenia callido ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad hostium stationes, conventis qui-busdam auxiliaribus Hispanis et ab his ad Scipionem perductus, quid afferret, expromit, et fide accepta data que ac loco et tempore constituto ad obsides tradendos, Saguntum redit. Diem insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis. Dimis sus, quam se nocte iturum, ut custodias hostium fal-leret, constituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, veluti ignarus in praeparatas sua fraude insidias ducit. In castra Romana perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per eundem ordinem, quo si Carthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur. Maior aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari, quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat. Illos enim graves superbosque in rebus secundis expertos fortuna et timor mitigasse videri poterat; Romanus primo adventu, incog-nitus ante, ab re clementi liberalique initium fecerat, et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra videbatur socios mutasse. Itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spec-tare; armaque extemplo mota forent, ni hiems, quae Romanos quoque et Carthaginienses concedere in tecta coegit, intervenisset.
Ch. 23. §§ 1-3. *In Italy Hannibal's high opinion of Fabius was not shared by the Romans.* §§ 4-8. *Hannibal had left Fabius' estate un-ravaged. This increased the unpopularity of Fabius, but he was able by the sale of the property to do good service to his country.* §§ 9, 10. *Hannibal had a permanent camp at Gerœonium.*

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

9 Hannibal pro Gereonii moenibus, cuius urbis captae
atque incensae ab se in usum horreorum pauc$\text{a}$ re-$\text{l}$iquerat tecta, in stativis erat. Inde frumentatum duas $10$ exercit$\text{us}$ partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in statione erat, simul castris praesidio et circum$\text{s}$pectans, necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret.

In the absence of Fabius, Minucius gained a slight success, which was made the subject of a boasting despatch to Rome.

Romanus tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat; praec. 1 erat 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 deseruntur; agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis consilia calidiora, ut impetus aut in frumentatores palatos aut in castra relict$\text{a}$ cum levi praesidio fieret. Nec Hannibalem fefellit, cum duce mutatam esse belli rationem et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes gesturos; ipse autem, quod minime quis crederet, quum hostis propius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum, duabus in castris retentis, dimisit; dein castra ipsa propius hostem movit, duo ferme a Gereonio millia, in tumulum hosti conspectum, ut intentum sciret esse ad frumentatores, si qua vis fieret, tutandos. Propior inde ei atque ipsis imminens Rom. manorum castris tumulus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam ietur, quia haud dubie hostis breviore via praeventurus erat, nocte clam missi Numidae cep$\text{er}$$\text{unt}$.

Quos tenentes locum contempta paucitate Rom. mani postero die quum deiecissent, ipsi eo transferunt castra. [Tum ut] itaque exiguum spatii vallum a vallo aberat, et id ipsum totum prope compleverat Romana acies. Simul et per aversa a castris Hannibalis equitatus cum levi armatura emissus in frumentatores late
9 caedem fugamque hostium palatorum fecit. Nec acie
certare Hannibal ausus, quia tanta pars exercitus aberat
et iam ea paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari
poterat; iamque artibus Fabii sedendo et cunctando
bellum gerebat, receperatque suos in priora castra, quae
pro Gereonii moenibus erant. Iusta quoque acie et
collatis signis dimicatum, quidam auctores sunt; primo
concursu Poenum usque ad castra fusum; inde eruptione
facta repente versum terrem in Romanos; Numerii
Decimii Samnitis deinde interventu proelium restitutum.
12 Hunc principem genere ac divitiis non Boviani modo,
unde erat, sed toto Samnio, iussu dictatoris octo millia
peditum et equites quingentos ducentem in castra, ab
tergo quam apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utrique
praebuisse novi praesidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma veni-
tenis. Hannibalem, insidiarum quoque aliquid timentem,
recepisse suos; Romanum insecutum adiuvante Samnite
14 duo castella eo die expugnasse. Sex millia hostium
caesà, quinque admodum Romanorum; tamen in tam
pari prope clade vanam famam egregiae victoriae cum
vanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romam perlatam.

Ch. 25. §§ 1-11. At Rome the tribune Metilius took the occasion of con-
demning Fabius' management of the war, and stated his inten-
tion to bring in a bill conferring on Minucius equal powers
with Fabius. §§ 12-16. The dictator, who said nothing at
public meetings in his own defence, could not get a favourable
hearing in the Senate; § 16. accordingly he left the city on
the day before that fixed for bringing in the bill. §§ 17-19.
In spite of the popularity of the measure, no one spoke for it but
Caius Terentius Varro, a man of low birth.

1 De his rebus persaepe et in senatu et in contione
2 actum est. Quum, laeta civitate, dictator unus nihil
nec famae nec litteris crederet et, ut vera omnia essent,
secunda se magis quam adversa timere diceret, tum M. 3 Metilius tribunus plebis id enimvero serendum esse negat, non praesentem solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene gerendae, sed absentem etiam gestae obstare, et in ducendo bello 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 procul ab Italia ablegatum; duos praetores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos, quorum neutra hoc tempore provincia praetore egeat; M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicae gereret, prope in custodia habitum. Itaque hercule non Samnium modo, quo iam tanquam 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; tanquam hostibus captivis arma adempta. Tandem, ut absesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione liberatos, extra vallum egressos fugisse ac fugasse hostes. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebei Romanae esset, audaciter se latum fuisse de abrogando Q. Fabii imperio; nunc modicam rogationem promulgaturum de aequando magistri equitum et dictatoris iure. Nee tamen ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium, quam consulem in locum C. Flaminii suffecisset.

Dictator contionibus se abstinuit in actione minime populari. Ne in senatu quidem satis acquis auribus audiebatur [tunc], quam hostem verbis extolleret bennique clades per temeritatem atque inscientiam ducum acceptas referret et magistro equitum, quod contra dictum 13
suum pugnasset, rationem diceret reddendam esse. Si penes se summa imperii consiliique sit, propediem effec- turum, ut sciant homines, bono imperatore haud magni fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationemque dominari, et in tempore et sine ignominia servasse exercitum quam multa millia hostium occidisse maiorem gloriam esse. Huius generis orationibus frustra babitis, et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne praesens de iure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis ferendae dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit. Luce orta quam plebis cons- cilium 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 deérat. 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.

Ch. 26. §§ 1-4. Varro had renounced trade and had risen to the praetor- ship. He was now courting popularity by any means that might procure him votes for the consulship. §§ 5-7. The bill was passed, and all except Fabius—who knew that nothing could make Minucius a general—regarded it as a degraudation of the dictator. Fabius returned to the army.

Is iuvenis, ut primum ex eo genere quaestus pecunia a patre relictâ animos ad spem liberalioris fortune fecit, togaque et forum placuere, proclamando pro sordidis hominibus causisque adversus rem et famam bonorum primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad honores pervenit, quaesturaque et duabus aedilitatibus, plebeia et curuli, postremo et practura perfunctus, iam ad consulatus
spem quem attolleret animos, haud parum callide auram favoris popularis ex dictatoris invidia petit scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit.

Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romae quique in exercitu erant, aequi atque iniqui, praeter ipsum dictatorem in contumeliam eius latam acceperunt. Ipse, qua gravitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos tulerat, eadem et populi in se saecventis injuriam tulit; acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris senatus de aequato imperio, satis fidens, haudquaquam cum imperii iure artem imperandi acquantam, cum invicto a civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit.

§§ 1-4. Minucius' insolence and folly now knew no bounds. §§ 5-7. Ch. 27.
He wished to make an arrangement for alternate periods of command. §§ 8-11. But Fabius insisted on dividing the forces.

Minucius vero quum iam ante vix tolerabilis fuisset rebus secundis ac favore vulgi, tum utique immodice immodesteque non Hannibale magis victo ab se quam Q. Fabio gloriari. Illum in rebus asperis unicum ducem ac parem quaesitum Hannibali, maiorem minori, dictatorem magistro equitum, quod nulla memoria habeat annalium, iussu populi aequatam in eadem civitate, in qua magistri equitum virgas ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere soliti sint; tantum suam felicitatem virtutemque entuisse. Ergo secuturum se fortunam suam, si dictator in cunctatione ac segnitie deorum hominumque judicio damnata perstaret. Itaque quo die primum congressus est cum Q. 5 Fabio, statuendum omnium primum ait esse, quemadmodum imperio aequato utantur: se optimum ducere, aut diebus alternis aut, si maiora intervalla placerent, partitis temporibus alterius summum ius imperiumque esse, ut par
hosti non solum consilio, sed viribus etiam esset, si quam
8 occasionem rei gerendae habuisse. Q. Fabio haudqua-
quam id placere: omnia fortunam eam habitura, quam-
cunque temeritas collegae habuisse; sibi communicatum
9 cum illo, non ademptum imperium esse; itaque se nunquam
volentem parte, qua posset, rerum consilio gerendarum
cessurum, nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, exerci-
tum divisurum, suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia non liceret,
10 quae posset, servaturum. Ita obtinuit, ut legiones, sicut
consulibus mos esset, inter se dividerent. Prima et quarta
11 Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio evenerunt. Item equites
pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis auxilia diviserunt.
Castris quoque se separari magister equitum voluit.

Ch. 28. §§ 1–8. *This arrangement delighted Hannibal, who proceeded to lay
a trap for Minucius; §§ 9–14. into which he immediately
fell, and was in risk of having his division annihilated.*
1 Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit; neque enim quic-
quam eorum, quae apud hostes agerentur, eum fallebat et
2 perfugis multa indicantibus et per suos explorantem: nam
et liberam Minucii temeritatem se suo modo captaturum,
3 et sollertiae Fabii dimidium virium decessisse. Tumulus
erat inter castra Minucii et Poenorum, quem qui occu-
passet, haud dubie iniquiorem erat hosti locum facturus.
4 Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal,
quanquam id operae pretium erat, quam causam certa-
minis cum Minucio, quem procursurum ad obsistendum
5 satis sciebat, contrahere. Ager omnis medius erat prima
specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo silvestre quicquam,
6 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 rupe,
7 ut quaedam earum ducenos armatos possent capere. In
has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant. quinque millia conduntur peditum equitumque. Necubi s tamen aut motus alicuius temere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in valle tam aperta detegeret, missis puac cis prima luce ad capiendum, quem ante diximus, tumulum avertit oculos hostium. Primo statim conspectu contempta 9 paucitas, ac sibi quisque deposesere pellendos inde hostes ac locum capiendum; dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferociissimosque ad arma vocat et vanis minis increpat hostem. Principio levem armaturam [dimittit], deinde conferto 10 agmine mittit equites; postremo, quem hostibus quoque subsidia mitti viderat, instructis legionibus procedit. Et 11 Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque alia increcente certamine mittens auxilia peditum equitumque iam iustam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrinque viribus certatur. Prima 12 levis armatura Romanorum, praecoccupatum ex inferiore loco succedens tumulum, pulsa detrusaque terrorem in succedentem intulit equitem et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter perculsos impavida sola erat vide- 13 baturque, si iusta ac directa pugna esset, haudquaquam impar futura; tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta; sed exorti repente insidiatores eum 14 tumultum terroremque in latera utrinque ab tergoque incursantes fecerunt, ut neque animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam spes cuiquam superesset.

§§ 1-3. Fabius perceived his colleague's difficulty and at once ad- vanced to his rescue. §§ 4-6. He restored order to the broken ranks, and the Romans succeeded in repulsing the enemy. §§ 7-11. On returning to camp, Minucius announced his in- tention of solemnly acknowledging his error and his debt of gratitude to Fabius.

Tum Fabius, primo clamore paventium audito, dein 1 conspecta procul turbata acie, 'Ita est' inquit; 'non
celerius, quam timui, deprendit fortuna temeritatem.  
2 Fabio aequatus imperio Hannibalem et virtute et fortuna superiorem videt. Sed aliud iurgandi succensendique tempus erit; nunc signa extra vallum proferte; victoriam  
3 hosti extorqueamus, confessionem erroris civibus." Iam magna ex parte caesis aliis, aliis circumspexitantibus fugam, Fabiana se acies repente velut caelo demissa ad auxilium  
4 ostendit. Itaque priusquam ad coniectum teli veniret aut manum consereret, et suos a fuga effusa at ab nimis  
5 feroci pugna hostes continuat. Qui solutis ordinibus vage dissipati erant, undique confluverunt ad integrum aciem; qui plures simul terga dedereant, conversi in hostem vol- 
ventesque orbem nunc sensim referre pedem, nunc con-  
6 globati restare. Ac iam prope una acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitus, inferebantque signa in hostem, quum Poenus receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale, ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio victum.  
7 Ita per variam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta,  
quum in castra reditum esset, Minucius, convocatis mil- 
8 tibus, ‘Saepe ego’ inquit ‘audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat, quid in rem sit, secundum eum, qui bene monenti obediat; qui nec ipse consulere  
9 nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse. Nobis quoniam prima animi ingeniiisque negata sors est, secun- 
dam ac medium teneamus et, dum imperare discimus,  
parere prudenti in animum inducamus. Castra cum  
10 Fabio iungamus. Ad praetorium eius signa quum tuleri- 
mus, ubi ego cum parentem appellaverro, quod beneficio  
eius erga nos ac maiestate eius dignum est, vos, milites,  
eos, quorum vos modo arma ac dexterae texerunt, patronos salutabitis, et, si nihil aliud, gratorum certe nobis animo- 
rum gloriam dies hic dederit.'
§§ 1-5. This was accordingly done, § 6. and the day ended with rejoicings. § 7. Despatches were sent to Rome, which altered the prevalent opinion about Fabius, §§ 8-10. while Hannibal was confirmed in his high estimate of his adversary.

Signo dato conclamatur inde, ut colligantur vasa. Profecti et agmine incidentes per dictatoris castra in admirationem et ipsum et omnes, qui circa erant, converterunt. Ut constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante alios magister equitum, quum patrem Fabium appellasset, circumfusosque militum eius totum agmen patronos consalutasset, 'Parentibus' inquit 'meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quod fando possum, aequavi, vitam tantum debo, tibi quem meam salutem, tum omnium horum. Itaque plebeiscitum, quo oneratus sum magis quam hono-ratus, primus antquo abrogoque et, quod tibi mihique [quod] exercitibusque his tuis, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo et signa haec legionesque restituo. Tu, quae es, placatus me magisterium equitum, hos ordines suos quemque tencre iubcas.'

Tum dextrae interiunctae militesque, contione dimissa, ab notis ignotisque beneigne atque hospitaliter invitiati, laetus-que dies ex admodum tristi paulo ante ac prope exsecra-bili factus. Romae, ut est perlata fama rei gestae, dein litteris non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam vulgo milit-tum ex utroque exercitu affirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ad caelum ferre. Par gloria apud Hannibalem hostesque Poenos crat; ac tum demum sentire, cum Romanis atque in Italia bellum esse; nam biennio ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites spreverant, ut vix cum cadem gente bellum esse crederent, cuius terribilem famam a patribus accepissent. Hannibalem quoque ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem cam nubem, quae
sedere in iugis montium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse.

Ch. 31. §§ 1, 2. Meanwhile the consul Servilius made a descent upon Africa. §§ 3-6. Through his incaution he lost a great num-
ber of his troops. He then sailed for Sicily, § 7. and thence went to Italy to resume his military command. §§ 8–11. Fabius, though always spoken of as dictator, was really pro-
dictator.

1 Dum haec geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe centum viginti navium circumvectus Sardiniae et Corsicae oram, et obsidibus utrinque acceptis, 2 in Africam transmisit, et, priusquam in continentem escen-
sionem faceret, Menige insula vastata et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ureretur diripereturque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis, ad litora Africae accessit 3 copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites navalesque socii iuxta effusi, ac si in insulis culto-
4 rum egentibus praedarentur. Itaque in insidias temere illati, quum a frequentibus palantes, ab locorum gnaris ignari circumvenirentur, cum multa caede ac foeda fuga 5 retro ad naves compulsi sunt. Ad mille hominum, cum iis Sempronio Blaeso quaestore amisso, classis ab litori-
bus hostium plenis trepide soluta in Siciliam cursum 6 tenuit, traditaque Lilybaei T. Otacilio praetori, ut ab 7 legato eius P. Sura Romam reduceretur. Ipse per Sici-
liam pedibus profectus freto in Italian traiecit, litteris Q. Fabii accitus et ipse et collega eius M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se, exacto iam prope semestri imperio, acciperent.

8 Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt; Caelius etiam eum 9 primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit. Sed et Caelium et ceteros fugit, uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui
tum procul in Gallia provincia aberat, ius fuisset dicendi dictatoris; quam moram quia exspectare territa tertia iam 10 clade civitas non poterat, co decursum esse, ut a populo crearetur, qui pro dictatore esset; res inde gestas glori- amque insignem ducis et augentes titulum imaginis posteros, ut, qui pro dictatore fuisset, dictator crederetur, facile obtinuissse.


About this time an embassy came from the Neapolitans to Rome offering all the help in their power.

Consules Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Servilius Minuciano 1 exercitu accepto, hibernaculis mature communitis, quod reliquam autumni erat, Fabii artibus cum summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt. Frumentatum exeunti Hannibal diversis locis opportuni aderant, carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes; in casum universae dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non veniebant, eoque 3 inopiae est redactus Hannibal, ut, nisi cum fugae specie abeundum ei fuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit, nulla relictam spe accludi exercitus in eis locis, si insequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent.

Quum ad Gereonium iam hieme impediente constitisset 4 bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam venere. Ab iis quadraginta paterae aureae magni ponderis in curiam illatæ atque ita verba facta, ut dicerent, scire sese, populi Romani 5 aerarium bello exauririri, et, quam iuxta pro uribus agrisque sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italiae, urbe Romana, atque imperio geratur, aequum censuisset Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi quum ad templorum ornatum, tum ad subsidium fortunae a maioribus relictum foret, eo iuvare populum Romanum. Si quam opem in sese crede- rent, codem studio fuisse oblaturös. Gratum sibi patres
Romanos populumque facturum, si omnes res Neapolitanae suas duxissent, dignosque iudicaverint, 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.

Ch. 33. §§ 1, 2. A Carthaginian spy was captured at Rome, and a conspiracy among some slaves detected. §§ 3-6. Embassies were despatched to Macedonia, and other places, §§ 7, 8. and religious matters were not neglected. §§ 9, 10. The consuls, unable to return to Rome, desired that the consular elections should be held by an interrex. §§ 11, 12. The Senate preferred that they should be held by a dictator, but the year closed without any election taking place.

1 Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui per biennium se fellerat, 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 millia. 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 iuvisset, simul ad visendum ex propinquio, quae in Boiis atque Insubribus gerentur. Ad Pineum quoque regem in Illyrios legati missi ad stipendium, cuius dies exierat, poscendum aut, si diem proferri vellet, obsides accipiendos.

2 Adeo, et si 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.

3 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 iis videretur, 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 avocaretur. Patribus rectius visum est, dictatorem a consule dici comitiorum habendorum causa. Dictus L. Veturius Philo M. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum equitum dixit. Iis vitio creatis iussisque die quarto decimo se magistratu abdicare, ad interregnum res redit.

§ 1. Next year the elections were held by an interrex. § 2. The candidature of Varro, strongly opposed by the nobles, was supported by the popular party. §§ 3-11. and the tribune Herennius, who charged the nobles with purposely prolonging the war, and practising dishonest tricks to bar the election of the people’s candidate.

Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. Interreges proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius App. filius Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In eius interregno comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis hominem, plebi insectatione principum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabii opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso aliena invidia splendentem, vulgus extrahere ad consultum nitebatur, patres summa ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi aequari assuescerent homines. Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C. Terentii, criminando non senatum modo, sed etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere,
per invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo conciliabat:

4 Ab hominibus nobilibus, per multos annos bellum quaerentibus, Hannibalem in Italianum adductum; ab iisdem, quum debellari possit, fraude bellum trahi. Quum quattuor legionibus universis pugnari posse apparuisset eo, quod M. Minucius absente Fabio prospere pugnasset, duas legiones hosti ad caudem obiectas, deinde ex ipsa caede ereptas, ut pater patronusque appellaretur, qui prius vincere prohibuisset Romanos quam vinci. Consules deinde Fabianis artibus, quum debellare possent, bellum traxisse. Id foedus inter omnes nobiles ictum, nec finem ante belli habituros, quam consulem vere plebeium, id est, hominem novum fecissent; nam plebeios nobiles iam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni a patribus desierint, coepisse. Cui non apparere, id actum et quaesitum esse, ut interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? Id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quaesisse; id postea, quia 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; populum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei, qui mature vincere quam diu imperare malit.

Ch. 35. §§ 1–4. Varro was elected consul, but the nobles succeeded in giving him Aemilius Paulus as his colleague. §§ 5–7. Then the praetorian elections were held, and none but experienced men were appointed.

1 Quum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis potentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda, L. Manlio Vulsone, M.

2 Aemilio Lepido, duobus nobilibus iam familiarum plebei, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Aelio Paeto, quorum alter pontifex, alter augur crat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur, ut in
manu eius essent comitia rogando collegae. Tum ex-3 perta nobilitas, parum fuisse virium in competitoribus eius, L. Acemilium Paulum, qui cum M. Livio consul fuerat et damnatione collegae et sua prope ambustus evaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac multum recusantem ad petitionem compellit. Is proximo comitiali die, concedentibus omnibus, qui cum Varrone certaverant, par magis in adversandum quam collega datur consuli. Inde praetorum comitia habita. Creati M. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius Philus; Philo Romae iuri dicundo urbana sors, Pomponio inter cives Romanos et peregrinos evenit; additi duo praetores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam. Omnes absentes creati sunt, nec cuiquam eorum, praeter Terentium consulem, mandatus honos, quem non iam antea gessisset, praeteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis viris, quia in tali tempore nulli novus magistratus videbatur mandandus.

§§ 1-5. The consuls took the field with an army of unprecedented size, eight legions of extraordinary strength according to some accounts. §§ 6-8. There were some omens to be averted before the generals could leave the city. § 9. Paestum sent a contribution to Rome, which was courteously refused.

Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt; quantae autem copiae peditum equitumque additae sint, adeo et numero et genere copiarum variant auctores, ut vix quicquam satis certum affirmare ausus sim. Decem millia novorum militum alii scripta in supplementum, alii novas quattuor legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gererent; numero quaque peditum equitumque legiones auctas, millibus peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adiectis, ut quina millia peditum, trecenti equites essent, socii duplicem numerum equitum darent, peditis aequarent, septem et octoginta
millia armatorum et ducentos in castris Romanis fuisse, quum 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 move- rent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere iussi propter territos vulgo homines novis prodigiis. Nam et Romae in Aventino et Ariciae nuntiatum erat sub idem tempus lapidibus pluvisse, etmulto cruore signa in Sabinis sudasse et aquas fonte calido gelidas manasse; id quidem etiam, quod saepius acciderat, magis terrebat; et in via fornicata, quae ad campum erat, aliquot homines de caelo tacti exanimatique fuerant. Ea prodigia ex libris procurata.

Legati a Pa esto pateras aureas Romam attulerunt. Iis, sicut Neapolitanis, gratiae actae, aurum non acceptum.

Ch. 37. §§ 1-9. Hiero of Syracuse sent provisions, troops, and a golden statue of Victory to Rome. §§ 10-12. All was gratefully accepted, § 13. and (in accordance with Hiero's advice) Ota- cilius was granted permission to cross over to Africa with his fleet.

1 Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum magno
2 commeatu accessit. Legati in senatum introducti nuntia-
runt, caedem C. Flaminii consulis exercitusque allatam
3 adeo aegre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua propria
4 regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque, quam-
quam probe sciat, magnitudinem populi Romani admira-
5 biliorem prope adversis rebus quam secundis esse, tamen
se omnia, quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella iuvari
soleant, misisse; quae ne accipere abnuant, magno opere
se patres conscriptos orare. Iam omnium primum ominis
causa Victoriam auream pondo ducentum ac viginti afferre
sese. Acciperent eam tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam. Advexisse etiam trecenta millia modium 6 tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deessent, et quantum praeterea opus esset, quo iussissent, subvecturos. Milite 7 atque equite scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis non uti populum Romanum; levium armorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris Romanis. Itaque misisse mille 8 sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum adversus Balares ac Mauros pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium quoque addebant, ut praetor, cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem in Africam traiiceret, ut et hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minusque laxamenti daretur iis ad auxilia Hannibali summittenda. Ab senatu 10 ita responsum 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 perinde, ac deberet, gratum populo Romano esse. Aurum et a civitas 11 tibus quibusdam allatum, gratia rei accepta, non accepisse populum Romanum; Victoriam omenque accipere, sedem 12 que ei se divae dare dicare Capitolium, templum Iovis optimi maximi. In ea arce urbis Romanae sacratam volentem propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano. Funditores sagittariique et frumentum traditum consulibus. Quinqueremes ad centum viginti navium classem, quae cum T. Otacilio propraetore in Sicilia erat. quinque et viginti additae, permissumque est, ut, si et publica censeret esse, in Africam traiiceret.
Before the army started, an oath was administered to the soldiers by the military tribunes. Varro's presumptuous boasting formed a striking contrast to the language in which Paulus expressed his prudent resolves. The latter was confirmed in his wise purpose by Fabius, who told him:

1 Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies, dum ab sociis ac nomine Latino venirent milites. Tum, quod nunc quam antea factum erat, iure iurando ab tribunis militum adacti milites; nam ad eam diem nihil prae ter sacramentum fuerat, iussu consulum conventuros neque iniussu abituros, et ubi ad decuriam aut centuriam convenissent, sua voluntate ipsi inter sese decuriali equites, centuriati pedites coniurabant, sese fugae atque formidinis ergo non abituros neque ex ordine recessuros nisi teli sumendi aut petendi [et] aut hostis feriendi aut civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos foedere ad tribunos ac legitimam iuris iurandi adactionem translatum.

6 Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, consulis Varronis multae ac feroces fuere, denuntiantis, bellum arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus mansurumque in visceribus rei publicae, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet, se, quo die hostem vidisset, perfecturum. Collegae eius Pauli una, pridie quam ex urbe proficisceretur, contio fuit, verior quam gratior populo, qua nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum nisi id modo, mirari se, [quod ne] 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 collatis esset dimicaturus; se, quae consilia magis res dent hominibus quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus im-
matura non praecepturum; optare, ut, quae caute ac consulte gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent; temeri-tatem, praeterquam quod stuila sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum suisse. Et sua sponte apparebat tuta celeribus consiliis praepositurum, et, quo id constantius perseveraret, Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem allocutus fertur.

§§ 1-8. that his greatest difficulties would be with Varro, who was bent upon courting disaster. §§ 9-17. It had been proved that the way to conquer Hannibal was to wait until time weakened him. §§ 18-22. Caution might be thought cowardice by Varro and his party, but caution combined with vigilance would certainly win the day.

'Si aut collegam, id quod mallem, tui similem, L. 1 Aemili, haberes aut tu collegae tui esses similis, supervacanea esset oratio mea; nam et duo boni consules, 2 etiam me indicente, omnia e re publica fideque vestra faceretis et mali nec mea verba auribus vestris nec consilia animis acciperetis. Nunc et collegam tuum et te talem virum intuenti mihi tecum omnis oratio est, quem video nequicquam et virum bonum et civem fore, si, altera parte claudente re publica, malis consiliis idem ac bonis iuris et potestatis erit. ERRas enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibalem futurum censes; nescio an infestior hic adversarius quam ille hostis maneat te. Cum illo in acie tantum, 5 cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus certaturus es; adversus Hannibalem legionesque eius tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi est, Varro dux tuis militibus te est oppugnaturus. Ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. 6 Flaminii memoria. Tamen ille consul demum et in provincia et ad exercitum coepit furere; hie, priusquam
peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra videat aut hostem, in-sanit. Et qui tantas iam nunc procellas proelia atque acies iactando inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam iuventutem censes facturum et ubi extemplo res verba sequitur? Atqui si hic, quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo pugnaverit, aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus, hostem hunc ignoro, aut nobilior alius Trasumenno locus nostris cladibus erit. Nec gloriandi tempus adversus unum est, et ego contemnendo potius quam appetendo gloriam modum exisserim; 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, immutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro; omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt; armis, viris, equis, com-meatibus iuvant iuvabuntque: id iam fidei documentum in adversis rebus nostris dederunt; meliores, prudentiores, constantiores nos tempus diesque facit. Hannibal contra in aliena, in hostili est terra inter omnia inimica infesta-que, procul ab domo, ab patria; neque illi terra neque mari est pax; nullae eum urbes accipiunt, nulla moenia; nihil usquam sui videt, in diem rapto vivit; partem vix tertiam exercitus eius habet, quem Hiberum amnem traiecit; plures fame quam ferro absumpti; nec his paucis iam victus suppededitat. Dubitas ergo, quin se-dendo superaturi simus eum, qui senescat in dies, non commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam habeat? Quamdiu pro Gereonii, castelli Apuliae inopis, tanquam pro Carthaginis moenibus sedet? Ne adversus te quidem de me gloriabor. Cn. Servilius atque Atilius, proximi
consules, vide, quemadmodum cum ludificati sint. Haec una salutis est via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque cives tibi magis quam hostes facient. Idem enim tui, 18 quod hostium milites 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 collegae vana gloria neque tua falsa infamia moverit. Veritatem laborare nimis saepe aiunt, exstingui 19 nunquam. Vanam gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit. 20 Sine, timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, imbellem 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, suadeo, sed ut agentem te 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 22 certaque crunt; festinatio improvida est et caeca.'

§§ 1–3. Paulus agreed, but thought the prospect a gloomy one. Ch. 40. 
§§ 4–6. The consuls started, and when they reached the quarters of the old army they formed two camps. §§ 7–9. Hannibal, whose supplies were running short, was glad to have a chance of winning a victory.

Adversus ea oratio consulis hauud sane laeta fuit, magis 1 fatentis ea, quae diceret, vera quam facilia factu esse. Dictator magistrum equitum intolerabilemuisse; quid 2 consuli adversus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium virium atque auctoritatis fore? Se populare incendium 3 priore consulatu semustum effugisse; optare, ut omnia prospere evenirent; sed si quid adversi caderet, hostium
se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum civium caput obiecturum.

4 Ab hoc sermone profectum Paulum tradunt, prosequentibus primoribus patrum; plebeium consulem sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior, quum dignitas deesset. Ut in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu ac vetere, castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent propius Hannibalem, in veteribus maior pars et omne robur virium esset, consulum anni prioris M. Atilium, aetatem excusanter, Romam miserunt, Geminum Servilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium peditum equitumque duobus millibus praeficiunt. Hannibal quanquam 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 compertum postea est, frumentum superesset, Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum exspectata forct.

Ch. 41. §§ 1–3. A success won by the Romans increased the confidence of Varro, §§ 4–9. and Hannibal tried to take advantage of this by laying a trap to surprise the Roman army while plundering the Carthaginian camp, which had been purposely abandoned.

1 Ceterum temeritati consulis ac praeproprio ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis praedatoribus tumultuario proelio ac procurso magis militum quam ex praeparato aut iussu imperatorum orto haud

2 quaquam par Poenis dimicatio fuit. Ad mille et septingenti caesi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis. Ceterum victoribus effuse sequentibus metu insi-
diarum obstitit Paulus consul, cuius eo die (nam alternis imperitabant) imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac vociferante, emissum hostem e manibus debellarique, nisi cessatam foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnum haud aegerrime pati; quin potius credere, velut inescatam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac novorum maxime militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam sua nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proxima, nihil praeter arma ferente secum milite, castra plena omnis fortunae publicae privataeque relinquit, transque proximos montes laeva pedites instructos condit, dextra equites, impedimenta per convallem medium traducit, ut diripendi velut desertis fuga dominorum castris occupatum impeditumque hostem opprimeret. Crebri relictis 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.

§§ 1-7. Into this trap Varro very nearly fell, in spite of the warnings of Paulus, and though he at last gave in, it was with difficulty that the soldiers could be restrained, now that they had been roused by the prospect of plunder.

Ubi illuxit, subductae primo stationes, deinde propius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit. Tum satis comperta solitudine in castris, concursus fit ad praetoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo trepidam, ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint, quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes. Clamor inde ortus, ut signa proferri iubertent ducerentque ad persequendos hostes ac protinus castra diripienda. Et
consul alter velut unus turbae militaris erat; Paulus etiam atque etiam dicere providendum praecavendumque esse; postremo, quum alter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium prae-
fectum 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 ad hostem, relictos; tabernacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relictae; argen-
tum quibusdam locis temere per vias velut obiectum ad praedam vidisse. Quae ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt, et clamore orto a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haudquaquam dux defuit; nam extemplo Varro signum dedit proficiscendi. Paulus, quum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque au-
spicio non addixissent, nuntiari iam efferenti porta signa collegae iussit. Quod quanquam Varro aegre est passus, Flaminii tamen recens casus Claudiique consulis primo Punico bello memorata navalis clades religionem animo incussit. Di prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere imminentem pestem Romanis; nam forte ita evenit, ut, quum referri signa in castra iubenti consuli milites non parerent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini equitis, qui Servilio atque Atilio consulibus inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profligerent eo die ad dominos; deductique ad consules nuntiant, omnem exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montesedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus consules imperii potentes fecit, quum ambitio alterius suam primum apud eos prava indulgentia maiestatem solvisset.
Hannibal was now in the greatest difficulty from scarcity of supplies. § 5. He determined therefore to go further south. §§ 6, 7. His retreat, though he tried to disguise it, was perceived by the Romans. §§ 8, 9. Varro's policy of following Hannibal prevailed. §§ 10, 11. Hannibal encamped in an advantageous position at Cannae (on the right bank of the Aufidus).

Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequicquam detecta fraude in castra reedit. Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequirit, novaque consilia in dies non apud milites solum mixtos ex colluvione omnium gentium, sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur. Nam quum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum querentiumque annonam primo, postremo famem, et mercenarios milites, maxime Hispani generis, de transitione cepisse consilium fama esset, ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse, ita ut, relictto peditatu omni, cum equitibus se proriperet. Quum 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 impediora levibus ingenios essent. Profectus est noxte ignibus similiter factis tabernaculisque paucis in speciem reliquit, ut insidiarium par priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed per cundem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque montes exploratis, quum relatum esset, visum procul hostium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia agitari coepit. Quum utriusque consulis cadem, quae ante semper, fuisset sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnnes, Paulo nemo praeter Servilium, prioris anni consulem, assentiretur, maioris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas urgente fato profecti sunt. Prope eum
vicum Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Vulturino vento, 
qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit. Id 
quum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare praecipue 
futurum erat, quem aciem dirigerent, ipsi aversi, 
terga tantum afflante vento, in occaecatum pulvere offuso 
hostem pugnaturi.

Ch. 44. §§ 1–3. The Romans followed, and made two camps near Cannae, 
on the Aufidus, the larger on the right bank, the smaller on the 
left. §§ 4–7. Annoyance from Hannibal’s Numidian horse 
gave fresh occasion for disputes between the consuls.

1 Consules, satis exploratis itineribus, sequentes Poenum, 
ut ventum ad Cannas est et in conspectu Poenum habe- 
bant, bina castra communiunt, eodem ferme intervallo, 
quo ad Gereonium, sicut ante, copiis divis. Aufidus 
amnis, utrisque castris affluens, aditum aquatoribus ex 
sua ciusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat; 
ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidum 
erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior 
nullum habebat hostium praesidium. Hannibal spem 
nanctus, locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte 
virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, 
dirigit aciem lacesitque Numidarum procuratione hostes. 
5 Inde rursus sollicitari seditio militari ac discordia con- 
sulum Romana castra, quum Paulus Semproniiique et 
Flaminiii temeritatem Varroni, Varro Paulo speciosum 
timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium obiiceret, 
testareturque deos hominesque hic, nullam penes se 
culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam velut usu cepisset 
Italiam; se constrictum a collega teneri; ferrum atque 
arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, si 
quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque impro- 
vidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpae
exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore diceret; videret, ut, quibus lingua tam prompta ac temeraria, aeque in pugna vigerent manus.

§§ 1-4. After this the Numidian horse were sent across the river and threatened the smaller Roman camp, but Paulus, whose day of command it was, would not order a general attack.

§§ 5, 6. Next day the decision rested with Varro, and he crossed the river with all his troops, to which he then united those in the smaller camp. §§ 6-8. The Roman cavalry was placed on the right wing, the allied cavalry on the left, and the infantry in the centre.

Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, 1 Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, quem in castra ceteras recipieret copias, Numidas ad 2 invadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam turbam quem 3 vixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in stationem quoque pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas everti sunt. Id vero adeo indignum visum, ab 4 tumultuario auxilio iam etiam castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa, ne extemplo transirent flumen dirigerentque aciem, tuererit Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit. Itaque postero die Varro, 5 cui sors eius diei imperii erat, nihil consulta collega 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 instruent aciem: in dextro cornu (id erat flumini propius) Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites; laevum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra 7 pedites, ad medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tuererunt; aculatorum cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima
8 acies facta. Consules cornua tenuere, Terentius laevum, Aemilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

Ch. 46. §§ 1–3. Then Hannibal also crossed, and drew up his line with the Spanish and Gallic cavalry on the left, the Numidian cavalry on the right, and the infantry in the centre. § 4. The African infantry was armed in the Roman fashion with the spoils of Trebia and Trasimenus. §§ 5, 6. Very different was the appearance of the Gauls and Spaniards. § 7. Hannibal himself led the centre. §§ 8, 9. The sun shone on the flanks of both armies, but the Romans had the Sirocco full in their faces.

Hannibal luce prima, Baliaribus levique alia armatura praemissa, transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat, Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam laevo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interpone-4 rentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros Romanam [magna ex parte] crederes aciem; ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formae fere erant, dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam caesim assueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Ante alios habitus gentium harum quum magnitudine corporum, tum specie terribilis erat: Galli super umbilicum erant nudi; Hispani linteis praetextis purpura tunicis, candore miro fulgentibus, constiterant. Numerus omnium peditum, qui tum steterunt in acie, millium fuit 7 quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces cornibus praerant sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal; medium aciem 8 Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. Sol seu de industria ita locatis, seu quod forte ita stetere, perop-
portune utrique parti obliquus erat, Romanis in meridiem, Poenis in septentrionem versis; ventus (Vulturnum re-9
gionis incolae vocant) adversus Romanis coortus multo
pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

§§ 1-3. The Roman cavalry on the right were routed by the Spanish
and Gallic cavalry, after a short but fierce conflict. §§ 4-10.
The Roman infantry drove back the Gallic and Spanish in-
fantry, only to find themselves surrounded by the Africans,
Hannibal having drawn up his centre with a view to this
effect.

Clamore sublato, procursum ab auxiliis et pugna levibus 1
primum armis comissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque
laevum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrit, minime equestris more
pugnae; frontibus enim adversis 2 concurrendum erat, quia, nullo circa ad
evagandum relictum spatium, hinc amnis, hinc peditum acies claudabant. In 3
directum utrinque nitentes, stantibus ac confertis postremo
turba equis, vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo. Pedestre
magna iam ex parte certamen factum erat; acrius tamen
quam diutius pugnaturn est, pulsique Romani equites terga
vertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est pedi-
tum pugna, primo et viribus et animis par, dum consta-
bant ordines Gallis Hispanisque; tandem Romani, diu ac 5
saepe connisi, obliqua fronte acieque densa impulere hos-
tium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque parum validum, a cetera
prominentem acie. Impulsis deinde ac trepide referenti-
bus pedem institere, ac tenore uno per praeceps pavore
fugientium agmen in medium primum aciem illati, pos-
tremo nullo resistente ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt,
qui utrinque reductis alis constiterant, media, qua Galli 7
Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominentem acie. Qui 8
cuneus ut pulsus aequavit frontem primum, dein cedendo
etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant, irruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas; mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostes. Hinc Romani, defuncti nequicquam proelio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, adversus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum eo iniquam, quod inclusi adversus circumfusos, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant.

Ch. 48. The allied cavalry on the Roman side was routed by means of a treacherous stratagem of the Numidians and the help of Hasdrubal, who then went to complete the destruction of the Roman infantry.

1 Iam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant, consertum proelium erat, segne
2 primo et a Punica coeptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidae, praeter solita arma telaque gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum quum ab suis
3 parmas post terga habentes adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt, parmisque et iaculis ante pedes hostium proiectis, in mediam aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considere ab tergo iubentur. Ac dum proelium ab omni
4 parte conservatur, quieti manserunt; postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum arreptis scutis, quae passim inter acervos caesorum corporum strata erant, aversam adoriantur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplites caedentes stragem ingentem ac
5 maiorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumulum fecerunt. Quum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala iam spe proelium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea parte praerat, subductos ex media acie Numidas, quia segnis eorum cum adversis
6 pugna erat, ad persequendos passim fugientes mittit, His-
§§ 1-4. Paulus, severely wounded, long kept up the unequal struggle. Ch. 49.

§§ 5, 6. When all around him had been routed, he was unable to fly, and was found helpless and bleeding by a young Roman officer,

§§ 7, 8. who offered to take him on his own horse, §§ 9-12. but Paulus preferred to stay and die. § 13. The rout then became general. § 14. Varro escaped to Venusia with fifty followers.

§§ 15-17. The carnage was enormous, § 18. and more than four thousand men were made prisoners.

virtute esto; sed cave, frustra miserando exiguum tempus
e manibus hostium evadendi absumas. Abi, nuntia publi-
lice patribus, urbem Romanam muniant ac, priusquam
victor hostis advenit, praesidiis firment; privatim Q.
Fabio, L. Aemilium praeceptorum eius memorem et
vixisse adhuc et mori. Me in hac strage militum meorum
patere exspirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim aut
accusator collegae existam, ut alieno crimine innocen-
tiam meam protegam.' Haec eos agentes prius turba
fugientium civium, deinde hostes oppressere; consulem
ignorantes, quis esset, obruere telis, Lentulum inter tumul-
tum abripuit equus. Tum undique effuse fugiunt. Sep-
tem millia hominum in minora castra, decem in maiora,
duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt, qui ex-
templo a Carthalone atque equitibus, nullo munimento
tegente vicum, circumventi sunt. Consul alter, seu forte
seu consilio nulli fugientium insertus agmini, cum quin-
quaginta fere equitibus Venusiam perfugit. Quadraginta
quinque millia quingenti pedites, duo millia septingenti
equites, et tanta prope civium sociorumque pars, caesi
dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores, L. Atilius et
L. Furius Bibaculus, et undetriginta tribuni militum, con-
sulares quidam praetoriique et aedilicii (inter eos Cn.
Serviliun Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui ma-
gister equitum priore anno, aliquot annis ante consul
fuerat), octoginta praeterea aut senatores aut qui eos
magistratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent,
quum sua voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent.
Capta eo proelio tria millia peditum et equites mille et
qingenti dicuntur.
§§ 1–3. There had been no such disaster since the battle of Allia. Ch. 50.

§§ 4–12. From the smaller camp six hundred men under the tribune Tuditanus made their way to the larger camp. Thence reinforced by a still larger number they marched safely to Canusium.

Haec est pugna Cannensis, Aliensi cladi nobilitate par, ceterum ut illis, quae post pugnam accidere, levior, quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior foediorque. Fuga namque ad Aliam sicut urbem prodidit, ita exercitum servavit; ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix quinquaginta secuti sunt, alterius morientis prope totus exercitus fuit.

Binis in castris quum multitudo semiermis sine ducibus esset, nuntium, qui in maioribus erant, mittunt, dum proelio, deinde ex laetitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se transirent: uno agmine Canusium abituros esse. Eam sententiam aliis totam aspersari; cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non venire, quum aeque coniungi possent? quia videlicet plena hostium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallent obiicere. Aliis non tam sententia displicere quam animus deesse. P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum: 'Capi ergo mavultis' inquit 'ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste, aestimarique capita vestra et exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus, Romanus civis sis an Latinus socius, ut ex tua contumelia et miseria alteri honos quaeratur? Non tu, si quidem L. Aemilii consulis, qui se bene mori quam turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissimorum virorum, qui circa eum cumulati iacent, cives estis. Sed antequam opprimit lux maioraque hostium agmina obsaeptunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque incompositi obstrepunt portis, erumpamus. Ferro atque audacia via fit quamvis per confertos hostes. Cuneo
quidem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstet, disiicias. Itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos et rem publicam salvam vultis.' Haec ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium, cuneoque facto per medios vadit hostes, et, quum in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidae iacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis, in maiora castra ad sexcentos evaserunt, atque inde protinus, alio magno agmine adiuncto, Canusium incolumes perveniunt. Haec apud victos magis impetu animorum, quem ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio cuiusquam agebantur.

Ch. 51. §§ 1-4. Hannibal would not take Maharbal's advice of marching upon Rome. §§ 5-9. The appearance of the battle-field was ghastly in the extreme.

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

2 Postero die, ubi primum illuxit, ad spolia legenda foedamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem exeunt.

3 Iacebant tot Romanorum millia, pedites passim equitesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna iunxerat aut fuga;
assurgentes quidam ex strage media cruenti, quos stricta matutino frigore excitaverant vulnera, ab hoste oppressi sunt; quosdam et iacentes vivos succisis feminibus popli-
tibusque invenerunt, nudantes cervicem iugulumque et reliquam sanguinem iubentes haurire; inventi quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas obruentesque ora superiecta humo inter-
clusisse spiritum apparebat. Praecipue convertit omnes substratus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus, 
naso auribusque laceratis, quum, manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus, in rabiem ira versa, laniando dentibus hostem exspirasset.

§§ 1-5. Those who remained in the two Roman camps soon sur-
rendered to Hannibal. § 6. It is said that Hannibal took 
pains to bury the body of Paulus. § 7. A rich lady named Busa 
maintained the fugitives at Canusium.

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 trecentis nummis quadrigatis, in socios ducenis, in servos centenis, et ut eo pretio persoluto cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostes acceperunt, traditique in custodi
am omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociique. Dum ibi tempus teritur, interea quam ex maioribus castris, quibus satis virium et animi fuit, ad quattuor millia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium per-
fugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem condi-
cione, qua altera, tradita hosti. Praeda ingens parta est, et praeter equos virosque et si quid argenti (quod pluri-
mum in phaleris equorum erat; nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur) omnis cetera praedae diripienda data est. Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum iussit; ad octo millia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque, quidam auctores sunt.

7 Eos, qui Canusium perfugerant, mulier Apula nomine Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, moenibus tantum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento, veste, viatico etiam iuvit, pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello perfecto, ab senatu honores habiti sunt.

Ch. 53. A plot formed by some young men to abandon Italy was crushed by the energy and courage of young Scipio.

1 Ceterum quam ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, Fabius Maximus de legione prima, cuius pater priore anno dictator fuerat, et de legione secunda L. Publius Bibulus et P. Cornelius Scipio et de legione tertia App. Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime aedilis fuerat, omnium consensu ad P. Scipionem admodum adolescentem et ad App. Claudium summa imperii delata est. Quibus consultantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat P. Furius Philus, consularis viri filius, nequicquam eos perditam spem sovere; desperatam comploratamque rem esse publicam; nobiles iuvenes quosdam, quorum principem M. Caecilium Metellum, mare ac naves spectare, ut deserta Italia ad regum aliquem transfugiant. Quod malum, praeterquam atrox, super tot clades etiam novum, quum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset, qui aderant, et consilium advocandum de eo censerent, negat consilii rem esse Scipio iuvenis, fatalis dux huiusce belli. Auden-
dum 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, quum concilium ibi iuvenum, de quibus allatum erat, invenisset, stricto super capita consultantium gladio, 'Ex mei animi sententia' inquit, 'ut ego rem publicam populi Romani non deseram neque alium civem Romanum deserere patiar; si sciens fallo, tum me, Iuppiter optime maxime, domum, familiam remque meam pessimo leto afficias. In haec verba, M. Caecili, iures postulo, ceterique, qui adestis. Qui non iuraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse sciat.' Haud secus pavidì, quam si victorem Hannibalem cernerent, iurant omnes custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

§§ 1-6. Varro, reinforced by some more fugitives who came to him at Venusia, moved to Canusium, which thus became the headquarters of the remnant of the army. §§ 7-11. At Rome, where rumour had exaggerated the disaster, the consternation was extreme, but it did not result in inaction.

Eo tempore, quo haec Canusii agebantur, Venusiam ad consulem ad quattuor millia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, pervenere. Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne accipiendosque quum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos vicenos, et pediti denos, et arma, quibus deerant, dederunt, ceteraque publicae ac privatim hospitaliter facta certatumque, ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis vinceretur. Sed gravius onus Busae multitudo faciebat; et iam ad decem millia hominum erant, Appiusque et Scipio post-
quam incolumem esse alterum consulem acceperunt, nun-tium extemplo mittunt, quantae secum peditum equitum-que copiae essent, sciscitatumque simul, utrum Venusiam
adduci exercitum an manere iuberet Canusii. Varro ipse
Canusium copias traduxit; et iam aliqua species consu-
laris exercitus erat moenibusque se certe, si non armis, ab
hoste videbantur defensuri.

7 Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium socio-
rumque, sed occidionem occisum cum duobus consulibus
exercitum deletasque omnes copias allatum fuerat. Nun-
quam salva urbe tantum pavoris tumultusque intra moenia
Romana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri neque aggradiar
narrare, quae edissertando minora vero faciam. Consule
exercituoque ad Trasumennum priore anno amisco, non
vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades, cum duobus
consulibus duo consulares exercitus missi nuntiabantur,
neque ullam iam castrum Romana nec ducem nec militem esse;

10 Hannibalis Apuliam, Samnium ac iam prope totem
Italianam factam. Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole
11 cladis non obruta esset. Comparès seilicet cladem ad
Aegates insulas Carthaginiensium proelio navali acceptam,
qua facti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere et vectigales ac
stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt, aut pugnam adversam in
Africa, cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit; nulla ex
parte comparandae sunt, nisi quod minore animo latae
sunt.

Ch. 55. §§ 1, 2. The Senate was convened by the praetors, §§ 3–8, and
Fabius proposed that systematic enquiries should be made, and
the confusion in the city should be checked.

1 P. Furius Philus et M. Pomponius praetores senatum
in curiam Hostilian vocaverunt, ut de urbis custodia
2 consulerent; neque enim dubitabant, deletis exercitibus
hostem ad oppugnandam Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret, venturum. Quum in malis sicuti ingentibus, ita ignotis ne consilium quidem satis expedirent, obstreperet-que clamor lamentantium mulierum et, nondum palam-facto, vivi mortuique per omnes paene domos promiscue complorarentur, tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit, equites expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui obvios percontando (aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos fore) referant, quae fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit et, si quid di immortales, miseriti imperii, reliquum Romani nominis fecerint, ubi eae copiae sint; quo se Hannibal post proelium contulerit, quid paret, quid agat acturusque sit. Haec exploranda noscendaque per im-pigros iuvenes esse; illud per patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratum parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant contincrique intra suum quamque limen cogant, comploratus familiarum coercerant, silentium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad praetores deducendos curent, suae quisque fortunae domi auctorem exspectent, custodesque praeterea ad portas ponant, qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbe, cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac moenibus salvis salutem sperare. Ubi conticuerit tumultus, tum in curiam patres revocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.

§ 1. The proposal was carried and put into execution.

Letters came from Varro telling the facts of the case.

It was then learnt who had fallen, and the city was filled with mourning.

§§ 6-8. Despatches came from Titus Otacilius asking for a fleet to defend Sicily.

Quum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent, summotaque foro per magistratus turba, patres diversi ad sedandos tumultus discessissent, tum demum litterae
2 a C. Terentio consule allatae sunt: L. Aemilium consulem exercitumque caesum; sese Canusii esse, reliquias tantae cladis velut ex naufragio colligentem; ad decem millia militum ferre esse incompositorum inordinato-rumque; Poenum sedere ad Cannas, in captivorum pretis praedaque alia nec victoris animo nec magni ducis more nudinantem. Tum privatae quoque per domos clades vulgatae sunt, adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus, ut sacrum anniversarium Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas nec ulla in illa tempestate matrona expers luctus fuerat. Itaque ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica aut privata desererentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. Ceterum quum, sedato urbis tumultu, revocati in curiam patres essent, aliae insuper ex Sicilia litterae allatae sunt ab T. Otacilio propraetore, regnum Hieronis classe Punica vastari; cui quum opem imploranti ferre vellet, nuntiatum sibi esse, aliam classem ad Aegates insulas stare paratam instructamque, ut, ubi se versum ad tuendam Syracusanam oram Poeni sensissent, Lilybaeum extemplo provinciamque aliam Romanam aggredenter tur; itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium Siciliamque tueri vellent.

Ch. 57. § 1. The Senate resolved to appoint Marcus Claudius Marcellus to the command at Canusium, and recall Varro to Rome. §§ 2–5. Fresh alarm was caused by the discovery that two Vestals had broken their vows. § 6. In accordance with the Sibylline books human sacrifices were offered. §§ 7, 8. Marcellus then went to Canusium. §§ 9–12. M. Junius Pera was appointed dictator, and he with his Master of the Horse, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, proceeded to levy and to arm soldiers.
rem M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti praeesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum, scribendumque consuli, ut, quum praetori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicae fieri posset, Romam veniret. Territi etiam super tantas 2 clades quum ceteris prodigiiis, tum quod duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri compertae 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 appellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio caesus erat, ut inter verbera exspiraret. Hoc nefas quum inter tot, 4 ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset, decemviri libros adire iussi sunt, et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum, quibus precibus suppliciisque deos possent placare, et quaenam futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta, inter quae Gallus et Galla, Graecus et Graeca in foro boario sub terram vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo consaep tum, iam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum.

Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis M. Claudius Marcellus 7 ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem scriptos habebat, Romam, ut urbi praesidio essent, mittit; ipse, legione classica (ea legio tertia erat) cum tribunis militum Teanum Sidicinum praemissa, classe tradita P. Furio Philo collegae, paucos post dies Canusium magnis itineribus contendit. Inde dictator ex auctoritate patrum dictus M. Iunius et Ti. Sempronius magister equitum, dilectu edicto, iuniores ab annis septendecim et quosdam praetextatos scribunt; quattuor
ex his legiones et mille equites effecti. Item ad socios Latinumque nomen ad milites ex formula accipiendos mittunt. Arma, tela, alia parari iubent et vetera spolia hostium detrahunt templis porticibusque. Et aliam formam novi dilectus inopia liberorum capitum ac necessitas dedit; octo millia iuvenum validorum ex servitiis, prius sciscitantes singulos, vellentne militare, empta publica armaverunt. Hic miles magis placuit, quam pretio minore redimendi captivos copia fieret.

Ch. 58. §§ 1–2. Hannibal having released the other captives, allowed his Roman prisoners to send a deputation to the Senate about their ransom. Carthalo went with them to offer terms of peace, but was met by an order from the dictator to leave the Roman territory before nightfall.

1 Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas pugnam victoris magis quam bellum gerentis intentus curis, quum, captivis productis segregatisque, socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasumennumque lacum, benigne allocutus sine pretio dimisisset, Romanos quoe vocatos, quod nunquam alias antea, satis miti sermone alloquitur: non internecivum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certare. Et patres virtuti Romanae cessisse et se id anniti, 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. Quanquam aliquantum adiicic-batur equitibus ad id pretium, quo pepigerant dedentes se, laeti tamen quacunque condicionem paciscendi acceperunt. Placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi, qui Romam ad senatum irent, nec pignus aliud fidei, quam ut iurarent se redituros, acceptum. Missus cum
his Carthalo, nobilis Carthaginiensis, qui, si forte ad pacem inclinaret animus, condiciones ferret. Quum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingenii homo, veluti aliquid oblitus, iuris iurandi solvendi causa quum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites assequitur. Ubi Romam venire eos nuntiatum est, Carthaloni obviam lictor missus, qui dictatoris verbis nuntiaret, ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis.

*The head of the deputation made a long speech entreating the Senate* to ransom the captives.

Legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore datus est, quorum princeps: 'M. Iuni 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 negligendi vobis quam nos in hostium potestatem venerunt. Non enim in acie per timorem arma tradimus, sed quum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis caesorum corporum proelium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos; diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem, fessi labore ac vulneribus, vallum sumus tutati; postero die, quum circumsessi ab exercitu victore aqua arceremur, nec ulla iam per consertos hostes erumpendi spes esset, nec esse nefas duceremus, quinquaginta millibus hominum ex acie nostra trucidatis, aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare, tunc demum pacti sumus pretium, quo redempti dimitteremur, arma, in quibus nihil iam auxilii erat, hosti tradidimus. Maiores quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auro redemisse, et patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad condiciones pacis, legatos tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia Taren-
stum misisse. Atqui et ad Aliam cum Gallis et ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho utraque non tam clade infamis quam pavore et fuga pugna fuit. Cannenses 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 fuerunt, sed praesidio castris relictī, quam castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium venerunt. Haud equidem ullius civis et commilitonis fortunae aut condicioni invideo, nec premendo alium me extulisse velim: ne illi quidem, nisi perniciatus pedum et cursus aliquod praemium est, qui plerique inermes ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiae aut Canusii constiterunt, se nobis merito praetulerint gloriatique sint, in se plus quam in nobis praesidii rei publicae esse. Sed et illis bonis ac fortibus militibus utemini et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restituti fuerimus. Dilectum ex omni aetate et fortuna habetis; octo millia servorum audio armari. Non minor numerus noster est, nec maiore pretio redimi possumus, quam ii emuntur; nam si conferam nos cum illis, inuriam nomini Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali consilio animadvertendum vobis censeam, patres conscripti, si iam duriores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro merito faciatis, cui nos hosti relicturi sitis. Pyrrho videlicet, qui hospitum numero captivos habuit? An barbaro ac Poeno, qui utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix existimari potest? Si videatis catenas, equalorem, deformitatem civium vestrorum, non minus profecto vos ea species moveat, quam si ex altera parte cernatis stratas Cannen- sibus campis legiones vestras. Intueri potestis sollici-
tudinum et lacrimas in vestibulo curiae stantium cognatorum nostrorum exspectantiumque responsum vestrum. Quum ii pro nobis proque iis, qui absunt, ita suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem e'ensetis animum ipsorum esse, quorum in discrimine vita libertasque est? 

Si, modius- 17 fidius, ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse censeamus, quam indigni ut redimeremur [a] vobis visi simus. Rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio 18 capti; sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus civitatis, ad redimendos sese missis. Redeam ego in patriam trecentis nummis non aestimatus civis? Suum quisque habet animum, patres conscripti. Scio, in discrimine 19 esse vitam corpusque meum; magis me famæ periculum movet, ne a vobis damnati ac repulsi abeamus; neque enim vos pretio pepercisse homines credent.'

§§ 1-4. His speech produced a great effect,  § 5. but on the advice Ch. 60. of T. Manlius Torquatus, §§ 6-27. who doubted the courage of the captives, and represented that they ought to have joined Tuditanus in his spirited venture,

Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quae in 1 comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad curiam tendebant orantes, ut sibi liberos, fratres, cognatos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in 2 foro turbæ virorum immiscuerat. Senatus summotis arbitris consuli coeptus. Ibi quam sententiis variaretur, 3 et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice impensam faciendam nec prohibendos ex privato redimi; si 4 quibus argentum in praesentia deesset, dandum ex aerario pecuniam mutuam praedibusque ac praediiis cavendum populo censerent, tum T. Manlius Torquatus, 5 priscae ac nimis durae, ut plerisque videbatur, severita-
tis, interrogatus sententiam ita locutus furtur: 'Si tanta-
mmodo postulassent legati pro iis, qui in hostium
potestate sunt, ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectátione
eorum brevi sententiam peregissem; quid enim aliud
quam admonendi essetis, ut morem traditum a patribus
necessario ad rem militarem exemplo servaretis? Nunc
autem, quam prope gloriáti sint, quod se hostibus
dediderint, praeferrique non captis modo in acie ab
hostibus, sed etiam iis, qui Venusiam Canusiumque
pervenerunt, atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli aequum
censuerint, nihil vos eorum, patres conscripti, quae
illic acta sunt, ignorare patiar. Atque utinam haec,
quae apud vos acturus sum, Canusii apud ipsum exer-
citum agerem, optimum testem ignaviae cuiusque et
virtutis, aut unus hic saltem adesset P. Semprónius,
quem si isti ducem securi essent, milites hodie in castris
Romanis, non captivi in hostium potestate essent. Sed
quum, fessis pugnando hostibus, tum victoria laetis et
ipsis plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erump-
dendum liberam habuissent, et septem millia armatorum
hominum erumpere etiam per confertos hostes possent,
neque per se ipsi id facere conati sunt neque alium
sequi voluerunt. Nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tud-
tanus non destitit monere, adhortari eos, dum paucitas
hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium esset, dum
nox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem sequerentur:
antem pervenire in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes
posse. Si, ut avorum memoria P. Decius tribunus mili-
tum in Samnio, si, ut nobis adolescentibus priore Punico
bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis voluntariis, quum ad
tumulum eos capiendum situm inter medios duceret
hostes, dixit: 'Moriamur, milites, et morte nostra
cripiamus ex obsidione circumventas legiones,' si hoc 12
P. Sempronius diceret, nec viros equidem nec Romanos
vos ducerem, si nemo tantae virtutis exstitisset comes.
Viam non ad gloriam magis quam ad salutem ferentem 13
demonstrat; reduces in patriam ad parentes, ad coniuges
ac liberos facit. Ut servemini, deest vobis animus: 14
quid, si moriendum pro patria esset, faceretis? Quin-
quaginta millia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso
die caesa iacent. Si tot exempla virtutis non movent,
nihil unquam movebit; si tanta clades vilem vitam non
fecit, nulla faciet. Liberi atque incolores desiderate 15
patriam; immo desiderate, dum patria est, dum cives
eius estis! sero nunc desideratis, deminuti capite, ab-
alienato iure civium, servi Carthaginiensium facti. Pretio 16
redituri estis eo, unde ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P.
Sempronium civem vestrum non audistis arma capere
ac sequi se iubentem; Hannibalem post paulo audistis
cастra prodi et arma tradi iubentem. Quanquam quid 17
ego ignaviam istorum accuso, quam scelus possim accu-
sare? Non modo enim sequi recusarunt bene monen-
tem, sed obsistere ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis
gladiis viri fortissimi inertes sumnovissent. Prius,
inquam, P. Sempronio per civium agmen quam per
hostium fuit erumpendum. Hos cives patria desideret, 18
quorum si ceteri similis fuisse, neminem hodie ex iiis,
qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt, civem haberet? Ex milli-
bus septem armatorum sexcenti exstiterunt, qui erum-
pere auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent,
neque his sexcentis hostes obstitere; quam tum iter 20
duarum prope legionum agmini futurum censetis fuisse?
Haberetis hodie viginti millia armatorum Canusii fortia,
fidelia, patres conscripti. Nunc autem quemadmodum
hi boni fidelesque (nam 'fortes' ne ipsi quidem dixerint)  
21 cives esse possunt? Nisi quis credere potest, aut favisse  
erumpentibus, qui, ne erumperent, obsistere conati sunt,  
aut non invidere eos quam incolumitati, tum gloriae  
illorum per virtutem partae, quam sibi timorem ignaviam-  
22 que servitutis ignominiosae causam esse sciant. Malue-  
runt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem  
exspectare, quem silentio noctis erumpendi occasio esset.  
At ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus, ad tutanda  
23 fortiter castra animum habuerunt; dies noctesque aliquot  
obessi vallum armis, se ipsi tutati vallo sunt; tandem  
ultima ausi passique, quem omnia subsidia vitae dees-  
sent affectisque fame viribus arma iam sustinere nequi-  
rent, necessitatibus magis humanis quam armis victi  
24 sunt. Orto sole hostis ad vallum accessit; ante secun-  
dam horam, nullam fortunam certaminis experti, tradide-  
25 runt arma ac se ipsos. Haec vobis istorum per biduum  
militia fuit. Quum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat,  
tum in castra refugerunt; quem pro vallo pugnandum  
erat, castra tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris  
utiles. Et vos redimam? Quum erumpere e castris  
oportet, cunctamini ac manetis; quum manere et castra  
tutari armis necesse est, et castra et arma et vos ipsos  
27 traditis hosti. Ego non magis istos redimendos, patres  
conscripti, censeo, quam illos dedendos Hannibali, qui  
per medios hostes e castris eruperunt ac per summam  
virtutem se patriae restituerunt.'
§§ 1-3. it was determined not to ransom them. § 4. One refused to go back, as having by a subterfuge freed himself from his obligation, but he was arrested and sent to Hannibal. §§ 5-10. There is a different account given of the whole affair. §§ 10-12. The effect of Cannae was now seen in a series of revolts of the Roman allies. § 13. Yet not a single Roman thought of peace, §§ 14, 15. and such was the temper of the citizens that when Varro returned he was thanked 'for not having despaired of his country.'

Postquam Manlius dixit, quanquam patrum quoque plerosque captivi cognatione attingebant, praeter exemplum civitatis minime in captivos iam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniae quoque summa homines movit, quia nec aerarium exhauriri, magna iam summa erogata in servos ad militiaem emendos armandosque, nec Hannibalem, maxime huiusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem, locupletari volebant. Quum triste responsum, non re-3 dimi 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 relationque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt comprehendendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum ad Hannibalem esse.

Est et alia de captivis fama: decem primos venisse; de eis quum dubitatum in senatu esset, admitterentur in urbem necne, ita admissos esse, ne tamen iis senatus daretur; morantibus deinde longius omnium spe, alios tres insuper legatos venisse, L. Scribonium et C. Calpurnium et L. Manlium; tum demum ab cognato Scribonii tribuno plebis de redimendis captivis relatum esse, nec censuisse redimendos senatum; et novos lega-
tos tres ad Hannibalem revertisse, decem veteres reman-8
sisse, quod per causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum
ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi religione sese exsol-
vissent; de iis dedendis magna contentione actum in
senatu esse, victosque paucis sententiis, qui dedendos
9 censuerint; ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus
notis ignominiisque confectos esse, ut quidam eorum
mortem sibi ipsi extemplo consciverint, ceteri non foro
solum omni deinde vita, sed prope luce ac publico carue-
10 rint. Mirari magis, adeo discrepare inter auctores, quam,
quid veri sit, 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
11 alia de re quam quod desperaverant de imperio. Defecere
autem ad Poenos hi populi: Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini,
12 Apulorum pars, Samnites praeter Pentros, Bruttii omnes,
Lucani, praeter hos Uzentini, et Graecorum omnis ferme
ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses Locrique, et
13 Cisalpini omnes Galli. Nec tamen cae clades defectio-
nesque sociorum moverunt, ut pacis usquam mentio apud
Romanos fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum
nec postquam is rediit renovavitque memoriam acceptae
14 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
15 desperasset; qui si Carthaginienium ductor fuisset, nihil
recusandum supplicii foret.
§§ 1–4. Soon after Cannae, Compsa had surrendered to Hannibal, Ch. 1.

§§ 5–10. and he then determined to attack Naples, but though successful in a cavalry skirmish he abandoned the project.

Hannibal post Cannensem pugnam castraque capta ac 1 direpta confestim ex Apulia in Samnium moverat, accitus in Hirpinos a Statio Trebio, pollicente se Compsam traditurum. Compsanus erat Trebius nobilis inter suos; sed 2 premebat cum Mopsiorum factio, familiae per gratiam Romanorum potenti. Post famam Cannensis pugnae 3 vulgatumque Trebii sermonibus adventum Hannibalibus quum Mopsiani urbe excessissent, sine certamine tradita urbs Poeno praesidiumque acceptum est. Ibi praeda 4 omni atque impedimentis relictis, exercitu partito, Magone regionis eius urbes aut deficientes ab Romanis accipere aut detrectantes cogere ad defectionem iubet, ipse per agrum Campanum mare infernum petit, oppug- 5 naturus Neapolim, ut urbem maritimam haberet. Ubi 6 fines Neapolitanorum intravit, Numidas partim in insidiis (et pleraeque cavae sunt viae sinusque occulti), quacunque apte poterat, disposuit, alios praes actam praedam ex agris ostentantes obequitare portis iussit. In quos, quia 7 nec multi et incompositi videbantur, quum turma equitum erupisset, ab cedentibus consulta tracta in insidias circumventa est; nec evasisset quisquam, ni mare propinquum 8 et haud procul litore naves, piscatoria pleraeque, conspectae peritis nandi dedissent effugium. Aliquot tamen 9
eo proelio nobiles iuvenes capti caesique, inter quos et Hegeas, praefectus equitum, intemperantius cedentes secutus cecidit. Ab urbe oppugnanda Poenum absteruere conspecta moenia haudquaquam prompta oppugnanti.

Ch. 2. § 1. Next he went to Capua. §§ 2–8. There a man named Pacuvius Calavius had by a strange scheme made the Senate subservient to him. Its existence, and the lives of its members, being threatened by the democratic party, §§ 9, 10. Pacuvius pretended to put the Senate in their power,

1 Inde Capuam slectit iter, luxuriantem longa felicitate atque indulgentia fortunae, maxime tamen inter corrupta omnia licentia plebis sine modo libertatem exercentis.
2 Senatum et sibi et plebi obnoxium Pacuvius Calavius fecerat, nobilis idem ac popularis homo, ceterum malis artibus nactus opes. Is quum eo forte anno, quo res male gesta ad Trasumenum est, in summo magistratu esset, iam diu infestam senatui plebem ratus per occasionem novandi res magnum ausuram facinus, ut, si in ea loca Hannibal cum victore exercitu venisset, trucidato senatu traderet Capuam Poenis, improbus homo, sed non ad extremum perditus, quum mallet incolumi quam etversa re publica dominari, nullam autem incolumem esse orbatam publico consilio crederet, rationem iniit, qua et senatum servaret et obnoxium sibi ac plebi faceret.
3 Vocato senatu, quum sibi defectionis ab Romanis consilium placitum nullo modo, nisi necessarium fuisset, praefatus esset, quippe qui liberos ex App. Claudii filia haberet filiamque Romam nuptum M. Livio dedisset; ceterum maiorem multo rem magisque timendum instare;
4 non enim per defectionem ad tollendum ex civitate senatum plebem spectare, sed per caederem senatus vacuam
rem publicam tradere Hannibali ac Poenis velle; eo se 8 periculo posse liberare eos, si permittant sibi et certaminum in re publica oblii credant, — quum omnes victi metu permitterent, 'Claudam' inquit 'in curia vos et, 9 tanquam et ipsè cogitati facinoris particeps, approbando consilia, quibus nequicquam adversarer, viam saluti vestrae inveniam. In hoc fidem, quam vultis ipsi, accipite.' Fide data egressus claudi curiam iubet, prae- sidiumque in vestibulo relinquit, ne quis adire curiam 10 iniussu suo neve inde egredi possit.

§§ 1-6. and then proposed the election of new senators in their Ch. 3. place. §§ 7-14. But all the men nominated were more hateful to the majority than the members of the old Senate had been, and thus no change was effected, and the lives of the senators were saved.

Tum vocato ad contionem populo, 'Quod saepe' inquit 1 'optastis, Campani, ut supplicii sumendi vobis ex improbo ac detestabili senatu potestas esset, eam non per tumul- 2 tum expugnantes domos singulorum, quas praesidiis clientium servorumque tuentur, cum summo vestro periculo, sed tutam habetis ac liberam; clausos omnes in curia accipite, solos, inermes. Nec quicquam raptim aut 3 forte temere egeritis; de singulorum capite vobis ius sententiae dicendae faciam, ut, quas quisque meritus est, poenas pendat; sed ante omnia ita vos irae indulgere 4 oportet, ut potiorem ira salutem atque utilitatem vestram habeatis. Etenim hos, ut opinor, odistis senatores, non senatum omnino habere non vultis; quippe aut rex, quod 5 abominandum, aut, quod unum liberae civitatis consilium est, senatus habendus est. Itaque duae res simul agendae vobis sunt, ut et veterem senatum tollatis et novum cooptetis. Citari singulos senatores iubebo deque eorum 6
capite vos consulam; quod de quoque censueritis, fiet; sed prius in eius locum virum fortetm ac strenuum novum senatorem cooptabitis, quam de noxio supplicium sumatur.' Inde consedit et, nominibus in urnam coniectis, citari, quod primum sorte nomen excidit, ipsumque e curia produci iussit. Ubi auditum est nomen, malum et improbum pro se quisque clamare et supplicio dignum. Tum Pacuvius: 'Video, quae de hoc sententia sit; date igitur pro malo atque improbo bonum senatorem et iustum.' Primo silentium erat inopia potioris subiiciundi; deinde quam aliquis omissa verecundia quempiam nominasset, multo maior extemplo clamor oriebatur, quam alii negarent nosse, alii nunc probra, nunc humilitatem sordidamque inopiam et pudendae artis aut quaestus genus obiicerent. Hoc multo magis in secundo ac tertio citato senatore est factum, ut ipsius paenitere homines appareret, quem autem in eius substituerent locum, deesse, quia nec eosdem nominari attinebat, nihil aliud quam ad audienda probra nominatos, et multo humiliiores obscurioresque ceteri erant eis, qui primi memoriae occurrebant. Ita dilabi homines, notissimum quodque malum maxime tolerabile dicentes esse, iubentesque senatum ex custodia dimitti.

Ch. 4. § 1. Thus Pacuvius became the supreme power in Capua, the Senate regarding him as their deliverer, §§ 2-4. and sinking into abject subservience to the commons. §§ 4, 5. The result was the deep corruption of the state, § 6. which, after Cannae, began to think even of revolt from Rome, §§ 7, 8. and was only restrained by the nobles, who were bound by many ties to Rome,

1 Hoc modo Pacuvius quam obnoxium vitae beneficio senatum multo sibi magis quam plebi fecisset, sine armis, 2 iam omnibus concedentibus, dominabatur. Hinc sena-
tores, omissa dignitatis libertatisque memoria, plebem adulari; salutare, benigne invitare, apparatis accipere epulis, eas causas suscipere, ei semper parti adesse, secundum eam litem iudices dare, quae magis popularis aptiorque in vulgus favori conciliando esset; iam vero nihil in senatu agi aliter, quam si plebis ibi esset concilium. Prona semper civitas in luxuriam non ingeniorum modo vitio, sed affluenti copia voluptatium et illecebris omnis amoenitatis maritimae terrestrisque, tum vero ita obsequio principum et licentia plebei lascivire, ut nec libidini nec sumptibus modus esset. Ad contemptum legum, magistratuum, senatus accessit tum, post Cannensem cladem, ut, cuius aliqua verecundia erat, Romanum quoque spernerent imperium. Id modo erat in mora, ne extemplo deficerent, quod connubium vetustum multas familias claras ac potentes Romanis miscuerat, et quod, quum militarent aliquot apud Romanos, maximum vinculum erant trecenti equites, nobilissimus quisque Campanorum, in praesidia Sicularum urbium delecti ab Romanis ac missi.

§ 1. and who carried their point that envoys should first be sent to Ch. 5. Varro, who at that time was still at Venusia. §§ 2-15. In answer to their proffers of help, Varro made the mistake of speaking too plainly about Rome's great calamity and her need of assistance.

Horum parentes cognatique aegre pervicerunt, ut legati ad consulem Romanum mitterentur.

II nondum Canusium profectum, sed Venusiae cum paucis ac semierribus consulem invenerunt, quam poterat maxime miserabilem bonis sociis, superbis atque infidelibus, ut erant Campani, spernendum. Et auxit rerum suarum suique contemptum consul nimis detegendo
3 cladem nudandoque. Nam quum legati, aegre ferre senatum populumque Campanum, adversi quicquam evenisse Romanis, nuntiassent pollicerenturque omnia, quae ad bellum opus essent, 'Morem magis' inquit 'loquendi cum sociis servastis, Campani, iubentes, quae opus essent ad bellum, imperare, quam convenienter ad praesentem fortunae nostrae statum locuti estis. Quid enim nobis ad Cannas relictum est, ut, quia aliquid habeamus, id, quod deest, expleri ab sociis velimus? Pedites vobis imperemus, tanquam equites habeamus? Pecuniam deesse dicamus, tanquam ea tantum desit?

6 Nihil, ne quod suppleremus quidem, nobis reliquit fortuna. Legiones, equitatus, arma, signa, equi virique, pecunia, commeatus aut in acie aut binis postero die amissis castris perierunt. Itaque non iuvetis nos in bello oportet, Campani, sed paene bellum pro nobis suscipiatis. Veniat in mentem, ut trepidos quondam maiores vestros intra moenia compulsos, nec Samnitem modo hostem, sed etiam Sidicinum paventes, receptos in fidem ad Saticulam defenderimus, coeptumque propter vos cum Samnitibus bellum per centum prope annos, variante fortuna eventum, tulerimus. Adiicite ad haec, quod foedus aequum deditis, quod leges vestras, quod ad extremum, id quod ante Cannensem certe cladem maximum fuit, civitatem nostram magnae parti vestrum dedimus communicavi-musque vobiscum. Itaque communem vos hanc cladem, quae accepta est, credere, Campani, oportet, communem patriam tuendam arbitrari esse. Non cum Samnite aut Etrusco res est, ut, quod a nobis ablatum sit, in Italia tamen imperium maneat; Poenus hostis ne Africæ quidem indigenam ab ultimis terrarum oris, freto Oceani Herculisque columnis, expertem omnis iuris et condicionis
et linguae prope humanae militem trahit. Hunc natura et moribus immitem ferumque insuper dux ipse efferavit, pontibus ac molibus ex humanorum corporum strue faciendis et, quod proloqui etiam piget, vesci corporibus humanis docendo. His infandis pastos epulis, quos con- tingere etiam nefas sit, videre atque habere dominos et ex Africa et a Carthagine iura petere et Italiam Numidarum ac Maurorum pati provinciam esse, cui non, genito modo in Italia, detestabile sit? Pulchrum erit, Campani, pro- lapsum clade Romanorum imperium vestra fide, vestris viribus retentum ac recuperatum esse. Triginta millia peditum, quattuor equitum arbitror ex Campania scribi posse; iam pecuniae affatim est frumentique. Si parem fortunae vestrae fidem habetis, nec Hannibal se vicisse sentiet nec Romani victos esse.'

§§ 1-3. After this the ambassadors gave, on their return to Capua, Ch. 6. so exaggerated an account of the calamities of Rome, §§ 4, 5. that after some debating it was resolved to send them on to make terms with Hannibal, §§ 6-8. though there is a story, resting on poor authority, that an embassy was first sent to Rome with extravagant demands.

_Ab hac oratione consulis dimissis redeuntibusque_ 1 domum legatis, unus ex iis Vibius Virrius tempus venisse ait, quo Campani non agrum solum ab Romanis quondam per inuiriadum ademptum recuperare, sed imperio etiam Italiae potiri possint; foedus enim cum Han- nibale, quibus velint legibus, facturos; neque controversiam fore, quin, quem ipse confecto bello Hannibal victor in Africam decedat exercitumque deportet, Italiae imperium Campanis relinquatur. Haec Virrio loquenti 3 assensi omnes ita renuntiant legationem, uti deletum omnibus videretur nomen Romanum. _Extemplo plebs_ 4
ad defectionem ac pars maior senatus spectare; extracta tamen auctoritatibus seniorum per paucos dies est res. Postremo vicit sententia plurium, ut iadem legati, qui ad consulem Romanum ierant, ad Hannibalem mitterentur. Quo priusquam iretur certumque defectionis consilium esset, Romam legatos missos a Campanis in quibusdam annalibus invenio postulantes, ut alter consul Campanus fieret, si rem Romanam adiuvari vellent; indignatione orta, summoveri a curia iussos esse, missumque lictorem, qui ex urbe educeret eos atque eo die manere extra fines Romanos iuberet. Quia nimis compar Latinorum quondam postulatio erat, Caeliusque et alii id baud sine causa praetermissuri erant scriptores, ponere pro certo sum veritus.

Ch. 7. §§ 1, 2. Terms were then made with Hannibal, § 3. and the Campanians shewed their zeal for his cause by suffocating all the Romans in Capua in the hot-room of the baths. §§ 4-6. All these proceedings were strongly opposed by Decius Magius, who counselled his countrymen not to suffer Capua to be garrisoned by Carthaginian troops. §§ 7-10. Hannibal hearing of this, summoned Decius before him, but he refused to go, or to shew him any respect. §§ 11, 12. Hannibal spent his first day at Capua in seeing the city,

1 Legati ad Hannibalem venerunt pacemque cum eo condicionibus iis fecerunt, ne quis imperator magistratusve Poenorum ius ullum in civem Campanum haberet, neve civis Campanus invitus militaret munusve faceret; ut suae leges, sui magistratus Capuae essent; ut trecentos ex Romanis captivis Poenus dare Campanis, quos ipsi elegissent, cum quibus equitum Campanorum, qui in 3 Sicilia stipendia facerent, permutatio fieret. Haec pacta; illa in super, quam quae pacta erant, facinora Campani ediderunt: nam praefectos socium civesque Romanos
alios, partim aliquo militiae munere occupatos, partim privatis negotiis implicitos, plebs repente omnes comprehensos velut custodiae causa balneis includi iussit, ubi fervore atque aestu anima interclusa foedum in modum exspirarent.

Ea ne fierent neu legatio mitteretur ad Poenum, summa ope Decius Magius, vir, cui ad summam auctoritatem nihil praeter sanam civium mentem defuit, restiterat. Ut vero praesidium mitti ab Hannibale audivit, Pyrrhi superbam dominationem miserabilemque Tarentinorum servitutem exempla referens, primo, ne reciperetur praesidium, palam vociferatus est, deinde, ut receptum aut eiiceretur aut, si malum facinus, quod a vetustissimis sociis consanguineisque defecissent, forti ac memorabili facinore purgare vellent, ut interfecto Punico praesidio restituerent Romanis se. Haec (nec enim occulte agebantur) quum relata Hannibali essent, primo misit, qui vocarent Magium ad sese in castra; deinde, quum is ferociter negasset se iturum, nec enim Hannibali ius esse in civem Campanum, concitatus ira Poenus comprehendi hominem vinctumque attrahi ad sese iussit. Veritus deinde, ne quid inter vim tumultus atque ex concitacione animorum inconsulti certaminis oreretur, ipse, praemisso nuntio ad Marium Blossium, praetorem Campanum, postero die se Capuae futurum, proficiscitur et castris cum modico praesidio. Marius, contione advocata, edicit, ut frequentes cum coniugibus ac liberis obviam irent Hannibali. Ab universis id non obedientes modo, sed enixe, favere etiam vulgi et studio visendi tot iam victoriis clarum imperatorem, factum est. Decius Magius nec obviam egressus est nec, quo timorem aliquem ex conscientia significare posset, privato se tenuit; in foro cum filio clientibusque
paucis otiose inambulavit, trepidante tota civitate ad ex-
cipiendum Poenum visendumque. Hannibal ingressus
urbem senatum extemplo postulat, precantibusque inde
primoribus Campanorum, ne quid eo die seriae rei gereret
diemque et ipse adventu suo festum laetus ac libens cele-
braret, quanquam praeceps ingenio in iram erat, tamen,
ne quid in principio negaret, visenda urbe magnam partem
diei consumpsit.

Ch. 8. § 1. and was entertained by two rich Capiians. §§ 2–11. During
a banquet given to Hannibal, Pacuvius Calavius’ son, who had
been of Decius Magius’ party, secretly informed his father of
his intention to assassinate Hannibal.

1 Deversatus est apud Ninnios Celeres, Sthenium Pacu-
viumque, inclitos nobilitate ac divitiis. Eo Pacuvius
Calavius, de quo ante dictum est, princeps factionis
eius, quae traxerat rem ad Poenos, filium iuvenem ad-
duxit, abstractum a Decii Magii latere, cum quo fero-
cissime pro Romana societate adversus Punicum foedus
steterat, nec eum aut inclinata in partem alteram civitas
aut patria maiestas sententia depulerat. Huic tum pater
iuveni Hannibalem deprecando magis quam purgando
placavit, victusque patris precibus lacrimisque etiam ad
cenam eum cum patre vocari iussit, cui convivio neminem
Campanum praeterquam hospites Vibelliumque Tauream,
isignem bello virum, adhibiturus erat. Epulari coeperunt
de die, et convivium non ex more Punico aut militari
disciplina esse, sed, ut in civitate atque etiam domo diti ac
luxuriosa, omnibus voluptation illecebris instructum.
7 Unus nec dominorum invitatione nec ipsius interdum
Hannibalis Calavius filius perpelli ad potandum potuit,
ipse valetudinem excusans, patre animi quoque eius haud
8 mirabilem perturbationem causante. Solis ferme occasu
patrem Calavium ex convivio egressum secutus filius, ubi in secretum (hortus erat posticis aedium partibus) pervenerunt, 'Consilium' inquit 'affero, pater, quo non veniam solum peccati, quod defecimus ad Hannibalem, impetraturi ab Romanis, sed in multo maiore dignitate et gratia simul Campani, quam unquam suimus, futuri.' Quum mirabundus pater, quidnam id esset consilii, quaeret, toga reiecta ab humero, latus succinctum gladio nudat. 'Iam ego' inquit 'sanguine Hannibalis sanctam Romanum foedus. Te id prius scire volui, si forte abesse, dum facinus patratur, malles.'

But he was prevailed upon by his father to abandon his purpose. Ch. 9.

Quae ubi vidit audivitque senex, velut si iam agendis, quae audiebat, interesset, amens metu 'Per ego te' inquit, 2 'fili, quaecunque iura liberos iungunt parentibus, precor quaesoque, ne ante oculos patris facere et pati omnia infanda velis. Pauciae horae sunt, intra quas iurantes per quicquid deorum est, dextrae dextras iungentes, fidem obstrinximus; vis, sacratas fide manus, digressi a colloquo, extemplo in eum armemus? Ab hospitali mensa surgis, ad quam tertius Campanorum adhibitus es ab Hannibale, ut eam ipsam mensam cruentes hospitis sanguine? Hannibalem pater filio meo potui placare, filium Hannibali non possum? Sed sit nihil sancti, non fides, non religio, non pietas; audeantur infanda, si non perniciem nobis cum scelere ferunt. Unus aggressurus es Hannibalem? Quid illa turba tot liberorum servorumque? quid in unum intenti omnium oculi? quid tot dextrae? torpescuntue in amentia illa? Vultum ipsius Hannibalis, quem armati exercitus sustinere nequeunt, quem horret populus Romanus, tu sustinebis? Ut alia
auxilia desint, me ipsum ferire, corpus meum opponentem pro corpore Hannibalis, sustinebis? Atqui per meum pectus petendus ille tibi transfigendusque est. Sed hic te deterreri sine potius quam illic vinci. Valeant preces apud te meae, sicut pro te hodie valuerunt.’ Lacrimantesque inde iuvenem cernens medium complectitur atque osculo haerens non ante precibus abstitit, quam pervicit, ut gladium poneret fidemque daret, nihil facturum tale. Tum iuvenis ‘Ego quidem’ inquit, ‘quam patriae debeo pietatem, exsolvam patri. Tuam doleo vicem, cui ter prodictae patriae sustinendum est crimen, semel, quam defectiois ab Romanis, iterum, quam pacis cum Hannibale fuisti auctor, tertium hodie, quam restituendae Romanis Capuae mora atque impedimentum es. Tu, patria, ferrum, quo pro te armatus hanc arcem hostium inii, quoniam parens extorquet, recipe.’ Haec quum dixisset, gladium in publicum trans maceriam horti abiecit et, quo minus res suspecta esset, se ipse convivio reddidit.

Ch. 10. §§ 1–3. Next day Hannibal demanded from the Senate the surrender of Decius Magius. §§ 4, 5. They complied with his demand. §§ 6–10. Magius refusing to give an account of himself to Hannibal was thrown into chains, and put into a ship to go to Carthage. §§ 11–13. But a storm carried the vessel to Cyrene, whence Magius was carried before Ptolemy at Alexandria, and the king gave him his liberty.

1 Posterò die senatus frequens datus Hannibali; ubi prima eius oratio perblanda ac benigna fuit, qua gratias egit Campanis, quod amicitiam suam Romanae societati praeposuissent, et inter cetera magnifica promissa pollicitus est, brevi caput Italiae omni Capuam fore iuraque inde cum ceteris populis Romanum etiam petiturum. Unum
esse exsortem Punicæ amicitiae foederisque secum facti, quem neque esse Campanum neque dici debere, Magium Decium; eum postulare, ut sibi dedatur, ac se præsente de eo referatur senatusque consultum fiat. Omnes in eam 4 sententiam ierunt, quanquam magnae parti et vir indig-nus ea calamitate et haud parvo initio minui videbatur ius libertatis. Egressus curia in templo magistratum con-sedit, comprehendique Decium Magium atque ante pedes destitutum causam dicere iussit. Qui quam, manente 6 ferocia animi, negaret lege foederis id cogi posse, tum iniectae catenae ducique ante lictorem in castra est iussus. Quoad capite aperto est ductus, contionabundus incessit, 7 ad circumfusam undique multitudinem vociferans: 'Hab- betis libertatem, Campani, quam petístis. Foro medio, luce clara, videntibus vobis, nulli Campanorum secundus, vincus ad mortem rapior. Quid violentius capta Capua 8 fieret? Ita obviam Hannibali, exornate urbem, diemque adventus eius consecrate, ut hunc triumphum de cive vestro spectetis.' Haec vociferanti, quam moveri vul-gus 9 videretur, obvolutum caput est, ociusque rapi extra portam iussus. Ita in castra perducitur, extemploque impositus in navem et Carthaginem missus, ne, motu aliquo Capuae 10 ex indignitate rei orto, senatum quoque paeniteret dediti principis, et, legatione missa ad repetendum eum, aut negando rem, quam primam peterent, offendendi sibi novi socii, aut tribuendo habendus Capuae esset seditio-nis ac turbaram auctor. Navem Cyrenas detulit tem-pestas, quae tum in dicione regum erant. Ibi quam 11 Magius ad statuam Ptolomaei regis confugisset, deportatus a custodibus Alexandream ad Ptolomacum, quam eum do-cuisset, contra ius foederis vinc tum se ab Hannibale esse, vincis liberatur, permissumque, ut rediret, seu Ro-
13 mam seu Capuam mallet. Nec Magius Capuam sibi tutam dicere et Romam eo tempore, quo inter Romanos Campanosque bellum sit, transfugae magis quam hospitis fore domicilium; nusquam malle quam in regno eius vivere, quem vindicem atque auctorem habeat libertatis.

Ch. II. §§ 1–6. Meanwhile Fabius Pictor, who had been sent to Delphi, returned to Rome with the injunctions of the god, §§ 7–12. and Mago went to Carthage with the news of Hannibal's successes.

1 Dum haec geruntur, Q. Fabius Pictor legatus a Delphis Romam reditit, responsumque ex scripto recitavit. Divi divaeque in eo erant, quibus quoque modo supplicaretur; tum: 'Si ita faxitis, Romani, vestrae res meliores faciliore-que erunt, magisque ex sententia res publica vestra vobis procedet, victoriaque duelli populi Romani erit.

3 Pythio Apollini, re publica vestra bene gesta servataque, e lucris meritis donum mittitote, deque praeda, manubiis spoliisque honorem habetote; lasciviam a vobis prohibetote.' Haec ubi ex Graeco carmine interpretata recitavit, tum dixit, se oraculo egressum extemplo his omnibus divis rem divinam ture ac vino fecisse, iussumque a templi antistite, sicut coronatus laurea corona et oraculum adisset et rem divinam fecisset, ita coronatum navem adscendere nec ante deponere eam, quam Romam pervenisset; se, quaeceunque imperata sint, cum summa religione ac diligentia exsecutum coronam Romae in ara Apollinis deposuisse. Senatus decretit, ut eae res divinæ supplicationesque primo quoque tempore cum cura fient.

7 Dum haec Romae atque in Italia geruntur, nuntius victoriae ad Cannas Carthaginem venerat Mago Hamil-caris filius, non ex ipsa acie a fratre missus, sed retentus aliquot dies in recipiendis civitatibus Bruttiorum, ut quae-
que deficiebant. Is, quum ei senatus datus esset, res gestas in Italia a fratre exponit: cum sex imperatoribus eum, quorum quattuor consules, duo dictator ac magister equitum fuerint, cum sex consularibus exercitibus acie conflixisse; occidisse supra ducenta millia hostium, supra quinqueaginta cepisse. Ex quattuor consilibus duos occidisse; ex duobus saucium alterum, alterum toto amissi exercitu vix cum quinqueaginta hominibus effugisse. Magistrum equitum, quae consularis potestas sit, fusum fugatumque; dictatorem, quia se in aciem nunquam commiserit, unicum haberi imperatorem. Bruttios Apulosque, partim Samnitium ac Lucanorum defecisse ad Poenos. Capuam, quod caput non Campaniae modo, sed post afflictam rem Romanam Cannensi pugna Italiae sit, Hannibali se tradidisse. Pro his tantis totque victoriis verum esse grates deis immortalibus agi haberique.

§§ 1, 2. *He shewed a large heap of gold rings from the fingers of Roman knights slain at Cannae, §§ 3-5. and asked for reinforcements, money, and supplies. §§ 6, 7. Himilco, one of the Barcine party, took the opportunity of taunting Hanno, §§ 8-10. who answered that he still desired peace as much as ever, §§ 11, 12. and could not admire Hannibal's victories unless they brought the war to an end; §§ 13-17. and there was clearly no immediate prospect of this.*

Ad fidem deinde tam laetarum rerum effundi in stibulo curiae iussit anulos aureos, qui tantus acervus fuit, ut metientibus supra tres modios explesse sint quidam auctores; fama tenuit, quae propior vero est, haud plus suisse modo. Adiecit deinde verbis, quo maioris cladis indicium esset, neminem nisi equitem, atque eorum ipsom primores, id gerere insigne. Summa fuit orationis, quo propius spem belli perficiendi sit, eo magis omni ope iuvandum Hannibalem esse; procul enim ab domo milii-
tiam esse, in media hostium terra; magnam vim frumenti et pecuniae absumi, et tot acies, ut hostium exercitus delesse, ita victoris etiam copias parte aliqua minuisset; mittendum igitur supplementum esse, mittendam in stipendium pecuniam frumentumque tam bene meritis de nomine Punico militibus.

Secundum haec dicta Magonis laetis omnibus, Himilco, vir factionis Barcinae, locum Hannonis increpandi esse ratus, 'Quid est, Hanno?' inquit; 'etiam nunc paenitet bellii suscepti adversus Romanos? Iube dedi Hanniballem; veta in tam prosperis rebus grates deiis immortalibus agi; audiamus Romanum senatorem in Carthaginiensium curia.' Tum Hanno: 'Tacuissem hoc die, patres conscripti, ne quid in communi omnium gaudio, minus laetum quod esset vobis, loquerer; nunc interroganti senatori, paeniteatne me adhuc suscepti adversus Romanos belli, si reticeam, aut superbus aut obnoxius videar, quorum alterum est hominis alienae libertatis obliti, alterum suae.

Respondeo' inquit 'Himilconi, non desisse paenitere me belli, neque desitum ante invictum vestrum imperatorem incusare, quam finitum aliqua tolerabili condicione bellum videro; nec mihi pacis antiquae desiderium nulla alia res quam pax nova finiet. Itaque ista, quae modo Mago iactavit, Himilconi ceterisque Hannibalis satellitibus iam laeta sunt; mihi possunt laeta esse, quia res bello bene gestae, si volumus fortuna uti, pacem nobis aequiorem dabunt; nam si praetermittimus hoc tempus, quo magis dare quam accipere possimus videri pacem, vereor, ne haec quoque laetitia luxuriet nobis ac vana evadat. Quae tamen nunc quoque qualis est? Occidi exercitus hostium; mittite milites mihi. Quid aliud rogares, si esses victus? Hostium cepi bina castra, praedae videlicet plena
et commeatuum; frumentum et pecuniam date. Quid aliud, si spoliatus, si exutus castris esses, peteres? Et ne 15 omnia ipse mirer, (mihi quoque enim, quoniam respondi Himilconii, interrogare ius fasque est) velim seu Himilco seu Mago respondeat, quum ad internecionem Romani imperii pugnatum ad Cannas sit, constetque in defectione totam Italian esse, primum, ecquis Latini nominis populus 16 defecerit ad nos, deinde, ecquis homo ex quinque et triginta tribubus ad Hannibalem transfugerit.' Quum 17 utrumque Mago negasset, 'Hostium quidem ergo' inquit 'adhuc nimis multum superest. Sed multitudo ea quid animorum quidve spei habeat, scire velim.'

§§ 1, 2. In fact the war was as far from completion as ever, Ch. 13. §§ 3–5. and it would be wise, instead of sending reinforcements and supplies, to make an advantageous peace before it was too late. §§ 6–8. Hannos words had little effect, and it was decreed to send money and reinforcements to Hannibal.

Quum id nescire Mago diceret, 'Nihil facilius scitu est' inquit. 'Ecquos legatos ad Hannibalem Romani miserunt de pace? Ecquam denique mentionem pacis Romae factam esse allatum ad vos est?' Quum id quo-2 que negasset, 'Bellum igitur' inquit 'tam integrum habemus, quam habuimus, qua die Hannibal in Italian est transgressus. Quam varia victoria priore Punico bello 3 fuerit, plerique, qui meminerimus, supersumus. Nunquam terra marique magis prosperae res nostrae visae sunt, quam ante consules C. Lutatium et A. Postumium fuerunt; Lutatio et Postumio consulibus devicti ad Aegates insulas 4 sumus. Quod si, id quod di omen avertant, nunc quoque fortuna aliquid variaverit, tum pacem speratis, quum vincemur, quam nunc, quum vincimus, dat nemo? Ego, si quis de pace consulet seu deferenda hostibus seu acci-
pienda, habeo, quid sententiae dicam; si de iis, quae
Mago postulat, refertis, nec victoribus mitti attinere puto,
et frustrantibus nos falsa atque inani spe multo minus
ceseo mittenda esse.'

6 Haud multos movit Hannonis oratio; nam et simulatas
cum familia Barcina leviorem auctorem faciebat, et occupati
animi praesenti laetitia nihil, quo vanius fieret gaudium
suum, auribus admittebant, debellatumque mox fore, si
	
7 anniti paulum voluiscent, rebantur. Itaque ingenti consensu
fit senatus consultum, ut Hannibali quattuor millia
Numidarum in supplementmn mitterentur et quadraginta
elephanti et argentit alenta † dictatorque cum Magone in
Hispaniam praemissus est ad conducenda viginti millia
peditum, quattuor equitum, quibus exercitus, qui in Italia
qui quine in Hispania erant, supplerentur.

Ch. 14. §§ 1–4. But the decree was executed with a remissness in striking
contrast to the energy of the Romans, who even armed the
criminals and debtors in the prisons. §§ 5–7. Hannibal moved
to Nola, which he hoped would be delivered up to him by the
democratical party within. §§ 8–11. The Senate, having
gained time by an artifice, sent to Marcellus at Casilinum
asking him to come and help them. §§ 12, 13. Accordingly
he came.

1 Ceterum haec, ut in secundis rebus, segniter otioseque
gesta; Romanos praeter insitam industriam animis for-
tuna etiam cunctari prohibebat. Nam nec consul ulli rei,
quae per eum agenda esset, degerat, et dictator M. Iunius
Pera, rebus divinis perfectis latoque, ut solet, ad populum,
ut equum escendere liceret, praeter duas urbanas legiones,
quae principio anni a consulibus conscriptae fuerant, et
servorum dilectum cohortesque ex agro Piceno et Gallico
collectas, ad ultimum prope desperatae rei publicae aux-
ilium, quam honesta utilibus cedunt, descendit, edixitque,
qui capiorem fraudem ausi quiqve pecuniae iudicati in vinculis essent, qui eorum apud se milites fient, eos noxa pecuniaque sese exsolvi iussurum. Ea sex millia hominum Gallicis spoliis, quae triumpho C. Flaminii translata erant, armavit, itaque cum viginti quinque millibus armatorum ab urbe proficiscitur.

Hannibal, Capua recepta, quam iterum Neapolitano-rum animos partim spe, partim metu nequicquam tentasset, in agrum Nolanum exercitum traducit, ut non hostiliter statim, quia non desperabat voluntariam ditionem, ita, si morarentur spem, nihil eorum, quae pati aut timere possent, praetermissurus. Senatus, ac maxime primores eius, in societate Romana cum fide perstare; plebs novarum, ut solet, rerum atque Hannibalis tota esse metumque agrorum populationis et patienda in obsidione multa gravia indignaque proponere animo; neque auctores defectionis deereant. Itaque ubi senatum metus cepit, si propalam tenderent, resisti multitudini concitatae non posse, secunda simulando dilationem mali inveniunt. Placere enim sibi defectionem ad Hannibalem simulant; quibus autem conditionibus in foedus amicitiamque novam transeant, parum constare. Ita spatio sumpto legatos propere ad praetorem Romanum Marcellum Claudium, qui Casilini cum exercitu erat, mittunt docentque, quanto in discrimine sit Nolana res: agrum Hannibalis esse et Poenorum, urbem extemplo futuram, ni subveniat; concedendo plebei senatum, ubi velit, defecturos se, ne deficere praefestinarent, efficisse. Marcellus, collaudatis Nolanis, eadem simulatione extrahi rem in suum adventum iussit; interim celari, quae secum acta essent, spernque omnem auxilii Romani. Ipse a Casilino Caiatiam petit, atque inde Vulturno annis traiecto, per agrum Saticulanum


Trebianumque super Suessulam per montes Nolam pervenit.

Ch. 15. §§ 1, 2. Just before his arrival Hannibal went towards Naples, but finding that it was impossible for him to gain possession of that city, he went to Nuceria, § 3. which he at last starved into surrender. §§ 4-6. None of the inhabitants would accept his offer of service under him. The city was destroyed. §§ 7-15. On the other hand the generosity of Marcellus was able to win back an influential young Nolan to the allegiance of Rome.

1 Sub adventum praetoris Romani Poenus agro Nolano excessit et ad mare proxime Neapolim descendit, cupidus maritimis oppidi potiundi, quo cursus navibus tutus ex Africa esset; ceterum postquam Neapolim a praefecto Romano teneri accepiit (M. Iunius Silanus erat, ab ipsis Neapolitanis accitus), Neapoli quoque, sicut Nola, omissa petit Nuceriam. Eam quem aliquidem circumseisset, saepe vi, saepe sollicitandis nequicquam nunc plebe, nunc principibus, fame demum in deditionem accepiit, pactus, ut inermes cum singulis abirent vestimentis. Deinde, ut qui a principio mitis omnibus Italicis praeter Romanos videri vellet, praemia atque honores, qui remanserint ac militare secum voluissent, proposuit. Nec ea spe quemquam tenuit; dilapsi omnes, quocunque hospitia aut fortuitus animi impetus tulit, per Campaniae urbes, maxime Nolam Neapolimque. Quum ferme triginta senatores, ac forte primus quisque, Capuam petissent, exclusi inde, quod portas Hannibali clausissent, Cumas se contulerunt. Nuceriae praeda militi data est, urbs direpta atque incensa.

7 Nolam Marcellus non sui magis fiducia praesidii quam voluntate principum habebat; plebs timebatur, et ante omnes L. Bantius, quem conscientia tentatae defectionis
ac motus a praetore Romano nunc ad priditionem patriae, nunc, si ad id fortuna defuisset, ad transfugiendum stimulabat. Erat iuvenis acer et sociorum ea tempestate 8 prope nobilissimus eques. Seminecem eum ad Cannas in acervo caesorum corporum inventum curatumque beneigne, etiam cum donis Hannibal domum remiserat. Ob eius 9 gratiam meriti rem Nolanam in ius dicionemque dare voluerat Poeno, anxiomque eum et sollicitum cura novandi res praetor cernebat. Ceterum quum aut poena cohiben- 10 dus esset aut beneficio conciliandus, sibi assumpsisse quam hosti ademisse fortem ac strenuum maluit socium, accitumque ad se beneigne appellat: Multos eum invidos 11 inter populares habere, inde existimatu facile esse, quod nemo civis Nolanus sibi indicaverit, quam multa eius egregia facinora militaria essent; sed qui in Romanis 12 militaverit castris, non posse obscuram eius virtutem esse. Multos sibi, qui cum eo stipendia fecerint, referre, qui vir esset ille, quaeque et quoties pericula pro salute ac dignitate populi Romani adisset, utique Cannensi proelio non 13 prius pugna abstiterit, quam prope exsanguis ruina superincidentium virorum, equorum armorumque sit oppressus. 'Itaque macte virtute esto' inquit. 'Apud me tibi omnis 14 honos atque omne praemium erit, et quo frequentior mecum fueris, senties eam rem tibi dignitati atque emolumento esse.' Laetoque iuveni promissis equum eximium 15 dona dat bigatosque quingentos quaestorem numerare iubet; lictoribus imperat, ut eum se adire, quoties velit, patiantur.
Hannibal now returned to Nola, and for a long time skirmishes took place between his soldiers and those of Marcellus. But finding that the democratical party were negotiating with Hannibal, Marcellus thought it time to risk a battle. By a well-timed sally he surprised the Carthaginians, and gained a success, which, if a small one, was yet important as being in a sense the turning point of the war.

1 Hac comitate Marcelli ferox is iuuenis animus adeo est mollitus, ut nemo inde sociorum rem Romanam fortius ac fidelius iuverit.

2 Quum Hannibal ad portas esset (Nolam enim rursus a Nuceria movit castra) plebesque Nolana de integro ad defecti onem spectaret, Marcellus sub adventum hostium intra muros se recepit, non castris metuens, sed ne prodendae urbis occasionem nimis multis in eam imminentibus daret. Instrui deinde utrinque acies coeptae, Romano-rum pro moenibus Nolae, Poenorum ante castra sua. Proelia hinc parva inter urbem castraque et vario eventu fiebant, quia duces nec prohibere paucos temere provocantes nec dare signum universae pugnae volebant. In hac quotidiana iam duorum exercituum statione principes

3 Nolanorum nuntiant Marcello, nocturna colloquia inter plebem ac Poenos fieri, statutumque esse, ut, quum Romana acies egressa portis staret, impedimenta eorum ac sarcinas diriperent, clauderent deinde portas murosque occuparent, ut potentes rerum suarum atque urbis

4 Poenum inde pro Romano acciperent. Haec ubi nuntiata Marcello sunt, collaudatis senatoribus Nolanis, priusquam aliqui motus in urbe oreretur, fortunam

5 pugnae experiri statuit. Ad tres portas in hostes versas tri pertito exercitum instruxit; impedimenta subsequi iussit, calones lixasque et invalidos milites vallum
ferre. Media porta robora legionum et Romanos equites, duabus circa portis novos milites levemque armaturam ac sociorum equites statuit. Nolani muros portasque adire vetiti, subsidiaque destinata impedimentis data, ne occupatus proelio legionibus in ea impetus fieret. Ita instructi intra portas stabant. Hannibali sub signis, id quod per aliquid dies fecerat, ad multum diei in acie stanti primo miraculo esse, quod nec exercitus Romanus porta egredieretur nec armatus quisquam in muris esset. Ratus deinde, prodita colloquia esse, metuque resedes factos, partem militum in castra remittit iussos propere apparatus omnem oppugnandae urbis in primam aciem asserre, satis fidens, si cunctantibus instaret, tumultum aliquem in urbe plebem moturam. Dum in sua quique ministeria discursu trepidat ad prima signa succeditque ad muros acies, patefacta repente porta Marcellus signa canere clamoremque tolli ac pedites primum, deinde equites, quanto maximo possent impetu, in hostem erumpere iubet. Satis terroris tumultusque in aciem mediam intulerant, quum duabus circa portis P. Valerius Flaccus et C. Aurelius legati in cornua hostium erupere. Addidere clamorem lixae calonesque et alia turba custodiae impedimentorum apposita, ut paucitatem maxime spernentibus Poenis ingentis repente exercitus speciem fecerit. Vix equidem ausim affirmare, quod quidam auctores sunt, duo millia et octingentos hostium caesos, non plus quingentis Romanorum amissis; sed, sive tanta sive minor victoria fuit, ingens eo die res ac nescio an maxima illo bello gesta est; non vinci enim ab Hannibale vincentibus difficilium fuit quam postea vincere.
Hannibal then went to Acerrae, and Marcellus punished
with death those Nolans who had been intriguing with him.

The people of Acerrae, finding resistance hopeless,
abandoned their city. Thence Hannibal moved to Casilinum,
of which the northern division was held by
soldiers from Praeneste and Perusia.

Hannibal, spe potiundae Nolae adempta, quum Acerras
recessisset, Marcellus extemplo clausis portis custodibus-
que dispositis, ne quis egrederetur, quaestionem in foro
de iis, qui clam in colloquiiis hostium fuerant, habuit.

Supra septuaginta damnatos proditionis securi percussit,
bonaque eorum iussit publica populi Romani esse, et,
summa rerum senatui tradita, cum exercitu omni profectus
supra Suessulam castris positis consedit. Poenus Acerras
primum ad voluntarium deditionem conatus pellicere,
postquam obstinatos in fide videt, obsidere atque oppug-
nare parat. Ceterum Acerranis plus animi quam virium
erat; itaque desperata tutela urbis, ut circumvallari
moenia viderunt, priusquam continuarentur hostium opera,
per intermissa munimenta neglectasque custodias silentio
noctis dilapsi, per vias inviaque, qua quemque aut con-
silium aut error tuit, in urbes Campaniae, quas satis
certum erat non mutasse fidem, perfugerunt.

Hannibal, Acerris direptis atque incensis, quum a
Casino dictatorem Romanum legionesque nimis accipi
nuntiassent, ne quid, tam propinquis hostium castris,
Capuae quoque moveretur, exercitum ad Casilinum ducit.

Casilinum eo tempore quingenti Praenestini habebant
cum paucis Romanis Latinique nominis, quos eodem
audita Cannensis clades contulerat. Hi, non confecto
Praeneste ad diem dilectu, serius profecti domo quum
Casilinum ante famam adversae pugnae venissent et,
aliis aggregantibus sese Romanis sociisque, profecti a
Casilino quum satis magno agmine irent, avertit eos retro Casilinum nuntius. Cannensis pugnae. Ibi quum dies aliquot, suspecti Campanis timentesque, cavendis ac struendis in vicem insidiis traduxissent, ut de Capuae defectione agi accipiique Hannibalem satis pro certo habuere, interfectis nocte oppidanis, partem urbis, quae sis Vulturnum est (eo enim dividitur amni), occupavere, idque praesidii Casilini habebant Romani. Additur et Perusina cohors, homines quadringenti sexaginta, eodem nuntio, quo Praenestini paucos ante dies, Casilinum compulsi. Et satis ferme armatorum ad tam exigua moenia et flumine altera parte cincta taenda erat; penuria frumenti, nimium etiam ut videretur hominum, efficiebat.

§§ 1–4. Two attacks on Casilinum having been repulsed by its defenders, §§ 5–8. Hannibal encamped before the city and tried to take it by storm. § 9. But failing to do so he left a small force to blockade it, and went into winter quarters at Capua. §§ 10–16. The luxury of that voluptuous city seriously injured the efficiency of Hannibal’s army.

Hannibal quum iam inde haud procul esset, Gaetulos cum praefecto nomine Isalca praemittit ac primo, si fiat colloquii copia, verbis benignis ad portas aperiundas praesidiumque accipiendum pellicere iubet, si in pertinacia perstent, vi rem gerere ac tentare, si qua parte invadere urbem possit. Ubi ad moenia accessere, quia silentium erat, solitudo visa; metuque concessum barbarus ratus moliri portas et claustra restringere parat, quum patefactis repente portis cohortes duae, ad id ipsum instructae intus, ingenti cum tumultu erumpunt stragemque hostium faciunt. Ita primis repulsi, Maharbal cum maiori robore virorum missus nec ipse eruptionem
cohortium sustinuit. Postremo Hannibal, castris ante ipsa moenia positis, parvam urbem parvumque praesidium summa vi atque omnibus copiis oppugnare parat, ac dum instat lcessitque, corona undique circumdatis moenibus, aliquot milites et promptissimum quemque e muro turribusque ictos amisit. Semel ultro crumpentes agmine elephantorum opposito prope interclusit, trepidosque compulit in urbem, satis multis ut ex tanta paucitate interfectis; plures cecidissent, ni nox proelio intervenisset. Postero die omnium animi ad oppugnandum accenduntur, utique postquam corona aurea muralis proposita est atque ipse dux castelli plano loco positi segnem oppugnationem Sagunti expugnatoribus exprobrabat, Cannarum Trasumennique et Trebiae singulos admonens universosque. Inde vineae quoque coeptae agi cuniculique; nec ad varios conatus hostium aut vis ulla aut ars deerat sociis Romanorum. Propugnacula adversus vineas statuere, transversis cuniculis hostium cuniculos excipere, et palam et clam coeptis obviam ire, donec pudor etiam Hannibalem ab incepto avertit, castrisque communitis ac praesidio modico imposito, ne omissa res videretur, in hiberna Capuam concessit.

Ibi partem maiorem hiemis exercitum in tectis habuit, adversus omnia humana mala saepe ac diu duratum, bonis, inexpertum atque insuetum. Itaque, quos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates immodicae, et eo impensius, quo avidius ex insolentia in cas se merserant. Somnus enim et vinum et epulae et scorta balineaque et otium consuetudine in dies blandius ita enervaverunt corpora animosque, ut magis deinde praeteritae victoriae eos quam praesentes tutarentur vires, miusque id peccatum ducis apud peritos artium milita-
rium haberetur, quam quod non ex Cannensi acie protinus ad urbem Romanam duxisset; illa enim cunctatio distulisse modo victoriam videri potuit, hic error vires ademisse ad vincendum. Itaque hercule, velut si cum alio exercitu a Capua exiret, nihil usquam pristinae disciplinae tenuit. Nam et redierunt plerique scortis impliciti et, ubi primum sub pellibus haberí coepti sunt, viaque et alius militaris labor excepit, tironum modo corporibus animisque deficiebant, et deinde per omne aestivorum tempus magna pars sine commeatibus ab signis dilabebantur, neque aliae latebrae quam Capua desertoribus erant.

§§ 1-7. With the beginning of spring Hannibal appeared again before Casilinum. The garrison had been reduced to a pitiable condition, and Gracchus could not relieve them, because in the absence of his dictator he was not allowed to fight a battle; §§ 8-12. so that it was only by stratagems that he was able to send in some provisions. § 13. The sufferings of the garrison continued. §§ 14-18. Yet their determined resistance induced Hannibal to treat with them, and a capitulation was effected.

Ceterum mitescente iam hieme, educto ex hibernis milite, Casilinum redit, ubi, quanquam ab oppugnatione cessatum erat, obsidio tamen continua oppidanos praesidiumque ad ultimum inopiae adduxerat. Castris Romanis Ti. Sempronius praerat, dictatore auspiciorum repetendorum causa profecto Romam. Marcellum et ipsum cupientem ferre auxilium obsessis et Vulturnus amnis inflatus aquis et preces Nolanorum atque Acerranorum tenebant, Campanos timentium, si praesidium Romanum abscessisset. Gracchus assidens tantum Casilino, quia praedictum erat dictatoris, ne quid absente eo rei gereret, nihil movebat, quanquam, quae facile
omnem patientiam vincerent, nuntiabantur a Casilino; nam et praecipitasse se quosdam non tolerantes famem constabat, et stare inermes in muris, nuda corpora ad missilium telorum ictus praebentes. Ea aegre patiens Gracchus, quum neque pugnam conserere dictatoris iniussu auderet (pugnandum autem esse, si palam frumentum importaret, videbat) neque clam importandi spes esset, farre ex agris circa undique convecto quum complura dolia complesset, nuntium ad magistratum Casilinum misit, ut exciperent dolia, quae amnis deferret. Insequenti nocte, intentis omnibus in flumen ac spem ab nuntio Romano factam, dolia medio missa amni defluxerunt; aequaliterque inter omnes frumentum divisum. Id postero quoque die ac terto factum est; nocte et mittebantur et perveniebant; eo custodias hostium fallebant. Imbribus deinde continuis citatior solito amnis transverso vertice dolia impulit ad ripam, quam hostes servabant. Ibi haerentia inter obnata ripis salicta conspiciuntur, nuntiatumque Hannibali est, et deinde intentiore custodia cautum, ne quid falleret Vulturno ad urbem missum. Nuces tamen fusae ab Romanis castris, quum medio amni ad Casilinum defluerent, cratibus excipiebantur. Postremo ad id ventum inopiae est, ut lora detractasque scutis pelles, ubi fervida mollissent aqua, mandere conarentur nec muribus aliove animali abstinerent et omne herbarum radicumque genus aggeribus infimis muri eruerent. Et quum hostes obarassent, quicquid herbidi terreni extra murum erat, raporum semen iniecerunt, ut Hannibal ‘Eone usque, dum ea nascantur, ad Casilinum sessurus sum?’ exclamaret; et qui nullam antea pactio-nem auribus admiserat, tum demumagi secum est passus de redemptione liberorum capitum. Septunces auri in
singulos pretium convenit. Fide accepta tradiderunt sese. Donec omne aurum persolutum est, in vinculis habiti; tum remissi summa cum fide. Id verius est quam ab equite in abeuntes immisso interfector. Praenestini maxima pars fuere. Ex quingentis septuaginta, qui in praesidio fuerunt, haud minus dinidium ferrum famesque absumpsit; ceteri incolumnes Praeneste cum praetore suo M. Anicio (scriba is antea fuerat) redierunt. Statua eius indicio fuit, Praeneste in foro statuta, loricata, amicta toga, velato capite, [et tria signa] cum titulo lamnae aceneae inscripto, M. Anicum pro militibus, qui Casilini in praesidio fuerint, votum solvisse. Idem titulus tribus signis in aede Fortunae positis fuit subjectus.

§ 1. Hannibal restored the town to its original possessors, §§ 2, 3. Ch. 20. while the brave defenders were rewarded by the Romans. §§ 4-10. The people of Petelia, though Rome was unable to defend them, determined to make a gallant resistance against their enemies.

Casilinum oppidum redditum Campanis est, firmatum septingentorum militum de exercitu Hannibalis praesidio, ne, ubi Poenus inde abscessisset, Romani oppugnarent. Praenestinis militibus senatus Romanus duplex stipendium et quinquennii militiae vacationem decrevit; civitate quam donarentur ob virtutem, non mutaverunt. Peru-3

Eodem tempore Petelinos, qui uni ex Bruttiiis manse-rant in amicitia Romana, non Carthaginienses modo, qui regionem obtinebant, sed Bruttii quoque ceteri ob separata ab se consilia oppugnabant. Quibus quam obsistere malis nequirent Petelini, legatos Romam ad praesidium petendum miscrunt. Quorum preces lacrimaeque (in
questus enim flebiles, quum sibimet ipsi consulere iussi sunt, sese in vestibulo curiae profuderunt) ingentem misericordiam patribus ac populo moverunt, consultique iterum a M. Aemilio praetore patres, circumspectis omnibus imperii viribus, fateri coacti, nihil iam longinquus sociis in se praesidii esse, redire domum, fideque ad ultimum expleta, consulere sibimet ipsos in reliquum pro praesenti fortuna iusserunt. Haec postquam renuntiata legatio Petelinis est, tantus repente maeror pavorque senatum eorum cepit, ut pars profugiendi, qua quisque posset, ac deserendae urbis auctores essent, pars, quando deserti a veteribus sociis essent, adiungendi se ceteris Bruttiis ac per eos dedendi Hannibali. Vicit tamen ea pars, quae nihil raptim nec temere agendum consulendum dumque de integro censuit. Relata posterò die per minorem trepidationem re, tenuerunt optimates, ut, convectis omnibus ex agris, urbem ac muros firmarent.

Ch. 21. §§ 1–5. The Roman treasury could give no funds to the praetors of Sicily and Sardinia, § 6. and measures had to be taken to remedy the scarcity of money in the city. § 7. A temple was dedicated to Concord, and three pontiffs were elected.

1 Per idem fere tempus litterae ex Sicilia Sardiniaque Romam allatae. Prioress ex Sicilia T. Otacilii praetoris in senatu recitatae sunt: P. Furium praetorem cum classe ex Africa Lilybaeum venisse; ipsum graviter saucium in discrimine ultimo vitae esse; militi ac navalibus sociis neque stipendium neque frumentum ad diem dari neque, unde detur, esse; magnopere suadere, ut quam primum ea mittantur, sibique, si ita videatur, ex novis praetoribus successorem mittant. Eademque ferme de stipendio frumentoque ab A. Cornelio Mammula praetore ex Sardinia scripta. Responsum utrique, non esse,

§§ 1–5. The Senate now met to consider plans for filling up their vacancies. A proposal made by Carvilius to elect distinguished Latins §§ 6–9. was treated with universal scorn. §§ 10, 11. It was resolved to elect a dictator for the purpose of filling up the Senate, and the consul Varro, summoned from Apulia, nominated M. Fabius Buteo.

Quum cetera, quae continuis cladibus fortuna minuerat, quantum consiliis humanis assequi poterant, patres explessent, tandem se quoque et solitudinem curiae paucitatem convenientium ad publicum consilium respexerunt; neque enim post L. Aemilium et C. Flaminium censores senatus lectus fuerat, quam tantum senatorum adversae pugnae, ad hoc sui quemque casus per quinquennium absumpsissent. Quum de ea re M. Aemilius praetor, dictatore post Casilinum amissum profecto iam ad exercitum, exposentibus cunctis ret tulisset, tum Sp.
Carvilius quum longa oratione non solum inopiam senatorem, sed paucitatem etiam civium, ex quibus in patres legerentur, conquestus esset, explendi senatus causa et iungendi artius Latini nominis cum populo Romano magnopere se suadere dixit, ut ex singulis populis Latinorum binis senatoribus, quibus patres Romani censuissent, civitas daretur, atque ei in demortuorum locum in senatum legerentur. Eam sententiam haud aequioribus animis quam ipsorum quondam postulatum Latinorum patres audierunt; et quum fremitus indignantium tota curia esset, et praecipue T. Manlius esse etiam nunc eius stirpis virum diceret, ex qua quondam in Capitolio consul minatus esset, quem Latinum in curia vidisset, eum sua manu se interfecerunt, Q. Fabius Maximus nunquam rei ulla elaboriare tempore mentionem factam in senatu dicit, quam inter tam suspensos sociorum animos incertamque fidem id iactum, quod insuper sollicitaret eos; eam unius hominis temerariam vocem silentio omnium extinctam esse, et, si quid unquam arcani sanctive ad silendum in curia fuerit, id omnium maxime tegendum, occultandum, obliviscendum, pro non dicto habendum esse. Ita eius rei oppressa mentio est. Dictatorem, qui censor ante fuisset vetustissimusque ex iis, qui viverent, censoriis esset, creari placuit, qui senatum legeret, accirique C. Terentium consulem ad dictatorem dicendum iussuerunt. Qui ex Apulia, relictto ibi praesidio, quum magnis itineribus Romam redisset, nocte proxima, ut mos erat, M. Fabium Butonem ex senatus consulto sine magistro equitum dictatorem in sex menses dixit.
§§ 1-8. He fulfilled his invidious task with moderation and despatch; Ch. 23.
and then promptly resigned his office. § 9. Varro returned to his army.

Is ubi cum lictoribus in rostra escendit, neque duos 1 dictatores tempore uno, quod nunquam antea factum esset, probare se dixit, neque dictatorem [se] sine magistro equitum, nec censoriam vim uni permissa et eidem iterum, nec dictatori, nisi rei gerendae causa creato, in sex menses datum imperium. Quae immoderata fors 3 tempus ac necessitas fecerit, iis se modum impositurum; nam neque senatu quemquam moturum ex iis, quos C. Flaminius, L. Aemilius censores in senatum legissent; transcribi tantum recitarique eos iussurum, ne penes unum hominem iudicium arbitriumque de fama ac moribus senatoris fuerit; et ita in demortuorum locum sublecturum, ut ordo ordini, non homo homini praelatus videretur. Recitato vetere senatu, inde primos in demortuorum 5 locum legit, qui post L. Aemilium, C. Flaminium censores curulem magistratum cepissent nectum in senatum lecti essent, ut quisque eorum primus creatus erat; tum legit, qui aediles, tribuni plebis quaestoresve fuerant; tum ex 6 iis, qui magistratus non cepissent, qui spolia ex hoste fixa domi haberent aut civicam coronam accepissent. Ita 7 centum septuaginta septem cum ingenti approbatione hominum in senatum lectis, extemplo se magistratu abdicavit, privatusque de rostris descendit, lictoribus abire 8 iussis, turbæque se immiscuit privatas agentium res, tempus hoc sedulo terens, ne deducendi sui causa populum de foro abduceret. Neque tamen elanguit cura hominum ea mora, frequentesque eum domum deduxerunt. Consul nocte insequenti ad exercitum rediit, non facto 9 certiore senatu, ne comitiorum causa in urbe retineretur.
The dictator, M. Junius Pera, was then summoned to Rome to hold the consular elections. There were elected his Master of the Horse, Gracchus, and L. Postumius, who was then commanding in Gaul. But immediately the terrible news came of the destruction of Postumius and his army.

Postero die consultus a M. Pomponio praetore senatus decrevit, dictatori scribendum, uti, si e re publica censeret esse, ad consules subrogandos veniret cum magistro equitum et praetore M. Marcelllo, ut ex iis praesentibus noscere patres possent, quo statu res publica esset, consiliaque ex rebus caperent. Qui acciti erant, omnes venerunt, relictis legatis, qui legionibus praesentibus. Dictator de se paucis ac modice locutus, in magistrum equitum Ti. Sempronium Gracchum magnam partem gloriae vertit, comitiaque edixit, quibus L. Postumius tertium absens, qui tum Galliam provinciam obtinebat, et Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, qui tum magister equitum et aedilis curulis erat, consules creantur. Praetores inde creati M. Valerius Laevinus iterum, App. Claudius Pulcher, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, Q. Mucius Scaevola. Dictator, creatis magistratibus, Teanum in hiberna ad exercitum reedit, relecto magistro equitum Romae, qui, quem post paucos dies magistratum initurus esset, de exercitibus scribendis comparandisque in annum patres consuleret.

Quum eae res maxime agerentur, nova clades nuntiata, aliam super aliam cumulante in eum annum fortuna, L. Postumium consulem designatum in Gallia ipsum atque exercitum deletos. Silva erat vasta (Litanam Galli vocabant), qua exercitum traducturus erat. Eius silvae dextra laevaque circa viam Galli arbores ita incidierunt, ut immotae starent, momento levi impulsae acciderent. Legiones duas Romanas habebat Postumius, sociumque ab superno mari tantum conscripserat, ut viginti quinque millia arma-
torum in agros hostium induxerit. Galli oram extremae silvae quum circumseadissent, ubi intravit agmen saltum, tum extreman arborum succisarum impellunt; quae alia in aliam, instabilem per se ac male haerentem, incidentes anicipiti strage arma, viros, equos obruerunt, ut vix decem homines effugerent. Nam quum examinati plerique esset arbore truncis fragmentisque ramorum, ceteram multitudinem, inopinato malo trepidam, Galli, saltum omnem armati circumseadentes, interfecerunt, paucis e tanto numero captis, qui pontem fluminis petentes, obsesso ante ab hostibus ponte, interclusi sunt. Ibi Postumius omni vi, ne caperetur, dimicans occubuit. Spolia corporis caputque praecisum ducis Boii ovantes templo, quod sanctissimum est apud eos, intulere. Purgato inde capite, ut mos iis est, calvam auro caelavere, idque sacrum vas iis erat, quo sollemnibus libarent, poculumque idem sacerdotibus ac templi antistitibus. Praeda quoque haud minor Gallis quam victoria fuit; nam etsi magna pars animalium strage silvae oppressa erat, tamen ceterae res, quia nihil dissipatum fuga est, stratae per omnem iacentis agminis ordinem inventae sunt.

§§ 1-6. Gracchus convened the Senate, and on his advice they gave their whole attention to the war against Hannibal, deferring their revenge upon the Gauls. §§ 7-11. Accordingly they passed several resolutions for next year's campaign.

Hac nuntiata clade, quum per dies multos in tanto pavor fuisset civitas, ut, tabernis clausis, velut nocturna solitudine per urbem acta, senatus aedilibus negotium daret, ut urbem circumirent aperirie tabernas et maestitiae publicae speciem urbi demi iuberent, tum Ti. Sempronius senatum habuit, consolatusque patres est et adhortatus ne, qui Cannensi ruinae non succubuissent, ad minores 3
calamitates animos summitterent: quod ad Carthaginenses hostes Hannibalemque attineret, prospera modo essent, sicut speraret futura, Gallicum bellum et omittituto et differri posse, ultionemque eam fraudis in deorum ac populi Romani potestate fore; de hoste Poeno exercitibusque, per quos id bellum gereretur, consultandum atque agitandum. Ipse primum, quid peditum equitumque, quid civium, quid sociorum in exercitu esset dictatoris, disseruit; tum Marcellus suarum copiarum summam exposuit. Quid in Apulia cum C. Terentio consule esset, a peritis quaestium est, nec, unde duo consulares exercitus satis firmi ad tantum bellum efficerentur, inibatur ratio. Itaque Galliam, quanquam stimulabat iusta ira, omitti eo anno placuit. 7 Exercitus dictatoris consuli decretus est. De exercitu M. Marcelli, qui eorum ex fuga Cannensi essent, in Siciliam eos traduci atque ibi militare, donec in Italia bellum esset, placuit. Eodem ex dictatoris legionibus reiici militem minimi quemque roboris, nullo praestituto militiae tempore, nisi quod stipendiorum legitimorum esset. Duae legiones urbanea alteri consuli, qui in locum L. Postumii suffectus esset, decretae sunt, eumque, quem primum salvis auspicis posset, creari placuit. Legiones praeterea duas primo quoque tempore ex Sicilia acciri, atque inde consulem, cui legiones urbaneae evenissent, militum sumere quantum opus esset. C. Terentio consuli prorogari in annum imperium neque de eo exercitu, quem ad praesidium Apuliae haberet, quicquam minui.

Ch. 26. §§ 1-3. Meanwhile in Spain, Hasdrubal, at last reinforced from Carthage, was preparing to attack the Romans, §§ 4-11. when he was called away by an insurrection among the Tartesii.

1 Dum haec in Italia geruntur apparanturque, nihilo
segnius in Hispania bellum erat, sed ad eam diem magis prosperum Romanis. P. et Cn. Scipionibus inter se par-titis copias, ut Gnaeus terra, Publius navibus rem gereret, Hasdrubal, Poenorum imperator, neutri parti virium satis fidens, procul ab hoste intervallo ac locis tutus tenebat se, quoad multum ac diu obtestanti quattuor millia peditum, mille equites in supplementum missi ex Africa sunt. Tum refecta tandem spe, castra propius hostem movit, classem-que et ipse instrui pararique iubet ad insulas maritimamque oram tutandam. In ipso impetu movendarum de in-tegro rerum perculit eum praefectorum navium transitio, qui post classem ad Hiberum per pavorem desertam graviter increpiti nunquam deinde satis fidi aut duci aut Carthaginiensium rebus fuerant. Fecerant hi transfugae motum in Tartesiorum gente, desciverantque iis auctoribus urbes aliquot; una etiam ab ipsis vi capta fuerat. In eam gentem versum ab Romanis bellum est, infestoque exercitu Hasdrubal ingressus agrum hostium pro captae ante dies paucos urbis moenibus Chalbum, nobilem Tartesiorum ducem, cum valido exercitu castris se tenentem, aggredi statuit. Praemissa igitur levi armatura, quae eliceret hostes ad certamen, equitum partem ad populandum per agros passim dimisit et ut palantes exciperent. Simul et ad castra tumultus erat et per agros fugaque et caedes; deinde undique diversis itineribus quam in castra se recepissent, adeo repente decessit animis pavor, ut non ad munimenta modo defendenda satis animorum esset, sed etiam ad lacesendum proelio hostem. Erumpunt igitur agmine e castris, tripudiantes more suo, repentinaque corum audacia terrorem hosti paulo ante ultro lacesenti incussit. Itaque et ipse Hasdrubal in collem satis arduum, flumine etiam obiecto tutum, copias subducit, et praemis-
Postquam neque elicere Poenum ad certamen obversati castris poterant neque castrorum oppugnatio facilis erat, urbem Ascuam, quo fines hostium ingrediens Hasdrubal frumentum commetatusque alios convexerat, vi capiunt omnique circa agro potiuntur; nec iam aut in agmine aut in castris ullo imperio contineri. Quam ubi negligentiam ex re, ut fit, bene gesta oriri senserat Hasdrubal, cohortatus milites, ut palatos sine signis hostes aggrederentur, degressus colle pergit ire acie instructa ad castra. Quem ut adesse tumultuose nuntii refugientes ex speculis stationibusque attulere, ad arma clamatam est. Ut quisque arma ceperat, sine imperio, sine signo, incompositi, inordinati in proelium ruunt. Iam primi conseruerant manus, quum alii catervatim currerent, alii nondum et castris exissent; tamen primo ipsa audacia terruere hostem; deinde rari in confertos illati, quum paucitas parum tuta esset, respicere alii alios et undique pulsi coire in orbem, et dum corpora corporibus applicant armaque armis iungunt, in artum compulsi, quum vix movendis armis satis spatii esset, corona hostium cincti ad multum
diei caeduntur; exigua pars eruptione facta silvas ac 8 montes petit. Parique terrore et castra sunt deserta et universa gens postero die in deditiorem venit.

Nec diu in pacto mansit; nam subinde ab Carthagine 9 allatum est, ut Hasdrubal primo quoque tempore in Italiam exercitum duceret, quae vulgata res per Hispaniam omnium ferme animos ad Romanos avertit. Itaque Has- 10 drubal extemplo litteras Carthaginem mittit, indicans, quanto fama profectionis suae damno fuisset; si vero inde pergeret, priusquam Hiberum transiret, Romanorum Hispaniam fore; nam praeterquam quod nec praesidium nec 11 ducem haberet, quem relinquueret pro se, eos imperatores esse Romanos, quibus vix aequis viribus resisti posset. Itaque si ulla Hispaniae cura esset, successorem sibi cum 12 valido exercitu mitterent; cui ut omnia prospere evenirent, non tamen otiosam provinciam fore.

§§ 1-4. So Himilco was sent to take his place, §§ 5, 6. and Has- drubal marched to the Ebro, §§ 7-12. where the Scipios prepared to resist him.

Eae litterae quanquam primo admodum moverunt sena- 1 tum, tamen, quia Italiae cura prior potiorque erat, nihil de Hasdrubale neque de copiis cius mutatum est; Himilco 2 cum exercitu iusto et aucta classe ad retinendam terra marique ac tuendam Hispaniam est missus. Qui ut 3 pedestres navalesque copias traiecit, castris communitis navibusque subductis et vallo circumdatis, cum equitibus delectis ipse, quantum maxime accelerare poterat, per dubios infestosque populos iuxta intentus ad Hasdrubalem pervenit. Quum decreta senatus mandataque exposuisset 4 atque edoctus esset ipse in vicem, quemadmodum tractan- dum bellum in Hispania foret, retro in sua castra reedit, nulla re quam celeritate tutior, quod undique abierat, ante-
5 quam consentirent. Hasdrubal, priusquam moveret castra, pecunias imperat populis omnibus suae dicionis, satis gnarus, Hannibalem transitus quosdam pretio mercatum nec auxilia Gallica aliter quam conducta habuisse; 6 inopem tantum iter ingressum vix penetraturum ad Alpes fuisse. Pecuniis igitur raptim exactis, ad Hiberum descendit.

7 Decreta Carthaginiensium et Hasdrubalis iter ubi ad Romanos sunt perlata, omnibus omissis rebus, ambo duces iunctis copiis ire obviam coeptis atque obsistere parant, rati, si Hannibali, vix per se ipsi tolerando Italiae hosti, Hasdrubal dux atque Hispaniensis exercitus esset iunctus, illum finem Romani imperii fore. His anxii curis ad Hiberum contrahunt copias, et transito amne, quum diu consultassent, utrum castra castris conferrent an satis haberent sociis Carthaginiensium oppugnandis morari ab itinere proposito hostem, urbem a propinquo flumine Hiberam appellatam, opulentissimam ea tempestate regionis eius, oppugnare parant. Quod ubi sensit Hasdrubal, pro ope ferenda sociis pergit ire ipse ad urbem deditam nuper in fidem Romanorum oppugnandam. Ita iam coepta obsidio omissa ab Romanis est et in ipsum Hasdrubalem versum bellum.

Ch 29. *Which they effectually did, inflicting on him a crushing defeat.*

1 Quinque millium intervallo castra distantia habuere paucos dies, nec sine levibus proeliis nec ut in aciem 2 exirent; tandem uno eodemque die velut ex composito utrinque signum pugnae propositum [est] atque omnibus 3 copiis in campum descensum est. Triplex stetit Romana acies; velitum pars inter antesignanos locata, pars post 4 signa accepta; equites cornua cinxere. Hasdrubal me-
15 cornua, elephantis quoque prae se actis, deseruere. Has-
drubal usque ad ultimum eventum pugnae moratus e
media caede cum paucis effugit. Castra Romani cepere
16 atque diripuere. Ea pugna, si qua dubia in Hispania
erant, Romanis adiunxit, Hasdrubalique non modo in
Italiam traducendi exercitus, sed ne manendi quidem satis
17 tuto in Hispania spes reliqua erat. Quae posteaquam litte-
ris Scipionum Romae vulgata sunt, non tam victoria quam
prohibito Hasdrubalis in Italiam transitu laetabantur.

Ch. 30. §§ 1–4. About this time Petelia, after a most gallant resistance, was
taken by Hannibal's general Himilco, § 5. who next obtained
possession of Consentia, §§ 6, 7. while his Bruttian allies
took Croton. §§ 8, 9. Loeri went over to the Carthaginians,
but Rhegium remained faithful to Rome. §§ 10–12. Even
Hiero's eldest son espoused Hannibal's cause, but death pre-
vented him from carrying out his plans. §§ 13–17. Games
were held at Rome and other religious ceremonies performed.
§§ 18, 19. Next year Gracchus entered on his consulship, on
the 15th of March, and Marcellus was made pro-consul.

1 Dum haec in Hispania geruntur, Petelia in Bruttiiis
aliquot post mensibus, quam coepta oppugnari erat, ab
2 Himilcone praefecto Hannibalis expugnata est. Multo
sanguine ac vulneribus ea Poenis victoria stetit, nec ulla
3 magis vis obsessos quam fames expugnavit. Absump-
tis enim frugum alimentis carnisque omnis generis quad-
rupedum suetae insuetaeque, postremo coris herbisque et
4 radicibus et corticibus teneris strictisque foliis vixere, nec
ante, quam vires ad standum in muris ferendaque arma
5 deerant, expugnati sunt. Recepta Petelia, Poenus ad
Consentiam copias traducit, quam minus pertinaciter de-
6 fensam intra paucos dies in deditionem accepit. Iisdem
ferme diebus et Bruttiorum exercitus Crotonem, Graecam
urbem, circumsedit, opulentam quondam armis virisque,

Exitu anni Q. Fabius Maximus a senatu postulavit, ut aedem Veneris Erycinae, quam dictator vovisset, dedicare liceret. Senatus decrevit, ut Ti. Sempronius, consul designatus, quum honorem inisset, ad populum ferret, ut Q. Fabium duumvirum esse iuberent aedis dedicandae causa. Et M. Aemilio Lepido, qui bis consul augurque fuerat, filii tres, Lucius, Marcus, Quintus, ludos funebres per triduum et gladiatorum paria duo et viginti in foro dederunt. Aediles curules C. Laetorius et Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, consul designatus, qui in aedilitate magister equitum fuerat, ludos Romanos fecerunt, qui per triduum instaurati sunt. Plebeii ludi aedilium M. Aurelii Cottaet M. Claudii Marcelli ter instaurati.

Circumacto tertio anno Punici belli, Ti. Sempronius consul idibus Martiis magistratum init. Praetores Q.
Fulvius Flaccus, qui antea bis consul censorque fuerat, urbanam, M. Valerius Laevinus peregrinam sortem in iurisdictione habuit; App. Claudius Pulcher Siciliam, Q. Mucius Scaevola Sardiniam sortiti sunt. M. Marcello pro consule imperium esse populus iussit, quod post Cannensem cladem unus Romanorum imperatorum in Italia prospere rem gessisset.

Ch. 31. §§ 1-6. It was decreed to raise a property-tax of double the ordinary amount, and various arrangements were made for the command of the different armies. §§ 7-14. Marcellus having been sent to Campania, it was thought that there was a plot to prevent his election to the consulship. He was, however, elected on his return; but had to resign on account of some technical flaw, and Fabius was elected in his stead. § 15. Several portents occurred.

1 Senatus, quo die primum est in Capitolio consultus, decrevit, ut eo anno duplex tributum imperaretur, simplex
2 confestim exigeretur, ex quo stipendium praesens omnibus militibus daretur, praeterquam qui milites ad Cannas fuissent. De exercitibus ita decreverunt, ut duabus legionibus urbanis Ti. Sempronius consul Cales ad conveniendum diem ediceret; inde eae legiones in castra Claudiana supra
3 Suessulam deducerentur. Quae ibi legiones essent (erant autem Cannensis maxime exercitus), eas App. Claudius Pulcher praetor in Siciliam traiceret, quaeque in Sicilia
4 essent, Romam deportarentur. Ad exercitum, cui ad conveniendum Cales edicta dies erat, M. Claudius Marcellus missus,isque iussus in castra Claudiana deducere
5 urbanas legiones. Ad veterem exercitum accipiendum deducendumque inde in Siciliam Ti. Maccilius Croto
6 legatus ab App. Claudio est missus. Taciti primo expectaverant homines, uti consul comitia collegae creando
haberet; deinde, ubi ablegatum velut de industria M. Marcellum viderunt, quem maxime consulem in eum annum ob egregie in praetura res gestas creari volebant, fremitus in curia ortus. Quod ubi sensit consul, 'Utrumque' inquit 'e re publica fuit, patres conscripti, et M. Claudium ad permutandos exercitus in Campaniam proficisci, et comitia non prius edici, quam is inde confecto, quod mandatum est, negotio revertisset, ut vos consulem, quem tempus rei publicae postularet, quem maxime vultis, haberetis.' Ita de comitiis, donec reedit Marcellus, silenti fuit. Interea duumviri creati sunt Q. Fabius Maximus et T. Otacilius Crassus aedibus dedicandis, Menti Otacilius, Fabius Veneri Erycinae; utraque in Capitolio est, canali uno discretae. Et de trecentis equitibus Campanis, qui in Sicilia cum fide stipendiis emeritis Romam venerant, latum ad populum, ut cives Romani essent; item ut municipes Cumani essent pridie, quam populus Campanus a populo Romano defecisset. Maxime, ut hoc ferretur, moverat, quod, quorum hominem essent, scire se ipsi negabant, vetere patria relict, in eam, in quam redu rant, nondum adsciti. Postquam Marcellus ab exercitu rediit, comitia consuli subrogando in locum L. Postumii edicuntur. Creatur ingenti consensu Marcellus, qui ex templo magistratum occiperet. Cui ineunti consulatum quum tonuisset, vocati augures vitio creatum videri pronuntiaverunt; vulgoque patres ita firma ferebant, quod tum primum duo plebeii consules facti essent, id des cordi non esse. In locum Marcelli, ubi is se magistratu abdica vit, suffectus Q. Fabius Maximus tertium.

Mare arsit eo anno; ad Sinuessam bos eculeum peperit; signa Lanuvii ad Iunonis Sospitae cruore manavere, lapidibusque circa id templum pluit, ob quem imbrem nove n-
diale, ut assolet, sacrum fuit; ceteraque prodigia cum cura expiata.

Ch. 32. §§ 1-4. *The Roman generals made arrangements for the command of the armies; §§ 5-12. while the Carthaginians sent Mago, with the forces that had been destined for Hannibal, to reinforce Hasdrubal in Spain. They also sent a force to Sardinia. §§ 13-20. Careful preparations were made for the defence of Italy.*

1 Consules exercitus inter sese diviserunt. Fabio exercitus Teani, cui M. Iunius dictator praefuerat, evenit; Sempronio volones, qui ibi erant, et sociorum viginti quinque millia, M. Valerio praetori legiones, quae ex Sicilia redissent, decretae; M. Claudius pro consule ad eum exercitum, qui supra Suessulam Nolae praesideret, missus; praetores in Siciliam ac Sardiniam profecti. Consules edixerunt, quoties in senatum vocassent, uti senatores, quibusque in senatu dicere sententiam liceret, ad portam Capenam convenirent. Praetores, quorum iurisdictio erat, tribunalia ad Piscinam publicam posuerunt; eo vadimonia fieri iusserunt, ibique eo anno ius dictum est.

5 Interim Carthaginem, unde Mago, frater Hannibalis, duodecim millia peditum et mille quingentos equites, viginti elephantos, mille argenti talenta in Italiam transmissurus erat cum praesidio sexaginta navium longarum, nuntius affertur, in Hispania rem male gestam omnesque ferme eius provinciae populos ad Romanos defecisse.

7 Erant, qui Magonem cum classe ea copiisque, omissa Italia, in Hispaniam averterent, quum Sardiniae recipiendae repentina spes affulsi: parvum ibi exercitum Romanum esse; veterem praetorem inde A. Cornelium provinciae peritum decedere, novum exspectari; ad hoc fessos iam animos Sardorum esse diuturnitate imperii, et
proximo iis anno acerbe atque avare imperatum; gravi tributo et collatione iniqua frumenti pressos; nihil deesse aliud quam auctorem, ad quem deficerent. Haec clandestina legatio per principes missa erat, maxime eam rem moliente Hampsicora, qui tum auctoritate atque opibus longe primus erat. His nuntiis prope uno tempore tur- bati erectique Magonem cum classe sua copiosique in Hispaniam mittunt, in Sardiniam Hasdrubalem deligunt ducem et tantum ferme copiarum, quantum Magoni, decernunt.

Et Romae consules, transactis rebus, quae in urbe agendae erant, movebant iam sese ad bellum. Ti. Sem- pronius militibus Sinuessam diem ad conveniendum edixit, et Q. Fabius, consulto prius senatu, ut frumenta omnes ex agris ante calendas Iunias primas in urbes munitas conve- herent; qui non invexisset, eius se agrum populaturum, servos sub hasta venditurum, villas incensurum. Ne praetoribus quidem, qui ad ius dicendum creati erant, vacatio a belli administratione data est. Valerium praetorem in Apuliam ire placuit ad exercitum a Terentio accipiendum: quum ex Sicilia legiones venissent, iis potissimum uti ad regionis eius praesidium. Terentianum exercitum Tarentum mitti cum aliquo legatorum; et viginti quinque naves datae, quibus oram maritimam inter Brundisium ac Tarentum tutari posset. Par navium numerus Q. Fulvio praetori urbano decretus ad suburbana litora tutanda. C. Terentio proconsuli negotium datum, ut in Piceno agro conquisitionem militum haberet locisque his praesidio esset. Et T. Otacilius Crassus, postquam aedem Mentis in Capitolio dedicavit, in Siciliam cum imperio, qui classi praesesset, missus.
Ambassadors sent by Philip of Macedon to Hannibal were captured by a Roman outpost, but managed through the cunning and assurance of their leader to get away to Hannibal, with whom they concluded an alliance.

1 In hanc dimicationem duorum opulentissimorum in terris populorum omnes reges gentesque animos intende-rant, inter quos Philippus Macedonum rex eo magis, quo propior Italiae ac mari tantum Ionio discretus erat. Is ubi primum fama acceptit, Hannibalem Alpes transgressum, ut bello inter Romanum Poenumque orto laetatus erat, ita, utrius populi mallet victoriam esse, incertis adhuc viribus fluctuatus animo fuerat. Postquam tertia iam pugna, tertia victoria cum Poenis erat, ad fortunam inclinavit legatosque ad Hannibalem misit; qui vitantes portus Brundisinum Tarentinumque, quia custodiis navium Romanarum tenebantur, ad Laciniarum Iunonis templum in terram egressi sunt. Inde per Apulum petentes Capuam media in praesidia Romana illati sunt deductique ad Valerium Laevinum praetorem, circa Luccriam castra habentem. Ibi intrepidis Xenophanes, legationis princeps, a Philippo rege se missum ait ad amicitiam societatemque iungendam cum populo Romano; mandata habere ad consules ac senatum populumque Romanum. Praetor inter defectiones veterum sociorum nova societate tam clari regis laetus admodum hostes pro hospitibus comiter accepit. Dat, qui prosequuntur; itinera cum cura demonstrat, quae loca quosque saltus aut Romanus aut hostes teneant. Xenophanes per praesidia Romana in Campaniam, inde, qua proximum fuit, in castra Hannibalis pervenit, foedusque cum eo atque amicitiam iungit legibus his, ut Philippus rex quam maxima classe (ducentas autem naves videbatis effecturus) in Italam traiiceret et vastaret
maritimam oram, bellum pro parte sua terra marique gereret; ubi debellatum esset, Italia omnis cum ipsa urbe 11 Roma Carthaginiensium atque Hannibalis esset, prae- daque omnis Hannibali cederet; perdomita Italia, navi- 12 garent in Graeciam bellumque, cum quibus regi placeret, gererent; quae civitates continentis quaeque insulae ad Macedonianiam vergunt, eae Philippi regni eiu essent.

§§ 1-6. But they were captured again on their way back, and this time some Carthaginian envoys who accompanied them betrayed their real character. §§ 7-9. Their despatches were then read, and they were put on board ship to be sent to Rome. §§ 10-15. On the advice of Cornelius Mammula the Romans ordered a force to be despatched to Sardinia. §§ 16, 17. A fleet sent to the same place by the Carthaginians under Hasdrubal the Bald, was damaged by a storm, and thus delayed.

In has ferme leges inter Poenum ducem legatosque Macedonum iuctum foedus; missique cum iis ad regis ipsius firmandam fidem legati, Gisgo et Bostar et Mago, eodem ad Iunonis Laciniac, ubi navis occulta in statione erat, perveniunt. Inde profecti quem altum tenerent, 3 conspecti a classe Romana sunt, quae praesidio erat Calabriae litoribus. Valerius Flaccus cercuros ad perse- quendam retrahendamque navem quem misisset, primo fugere regii conati, deinde, ubi celeritate vinci se senserunt, tradunt se Romanis, et ad praefectum classis adducti, quum quaereret, qui et unde et quo tenderent cursum, 5 Xenophanes primo satis iam semel felix mendacium struer, a Philippo se ad Romanos missum ad M. Valerium, ad quem unum iter tutum fuerit, pervenisse, Campaniam superare nequisse, s eptam hostium praesidiis. Deinde ut Punicus cultus habitusque suspectos legatos fecit Hannibalis, interrogatosque sermo prodidit, tum comi- 7 tubis eorum seductis ac metu territis, litterae quoque ab
Hannibale ad Philippum inventae et pacta inter regem
Macedonum Poenumque ducem. Quibus satis cognitis,
optimum visum est captivos comitesque eorum Romam ad
senatum aut ad consules, ubicunque essent, quam primum
deportare. Ad id celerrimae quinque naves delectae ac
L. Valerius Antias, qui praeesset, missus, eique mandatum,
ut in omnes naves legatos separatim custodiendos divideret
daretque operam, ne quod iis colloquium inter se neve
quae communicatio consilii esset.

Per idem tempus Romae quam A. Cornelius Mammula,
ex Sardinia provincia decedens, retulisset, qui status rerum
in insula esset: bellum ac defectionem omnes spectare; Q.
Mucium, qui successisset sibi, gravitate caeli aquarumque
advenientem exceptum, non tam in periculosum quam
longum morbum implicitum, diu ad belli munia sustinenda
inutilem fore, exercitumque ibi ut satis firmum pacatae
provinciae praesidem esse, ita imparem bello, quod motum
iri videretur, decrerunt patres, ut Q. Fulvius Flaccus
quinque millia peditum, quadringentos equites scriberet
camque legionem primo quoque tempore in Sardiniam
traiciendam curaret, mitteretque cum imperio, quem ipsi
videretur, qui rem gereret, quoad Mucius convaluisse.
Ad eam rem missus est T. Manlius Torquatus, qui bis
consul et censor fuerat subegeratque in consulatu Sardos.
Sub idem fere tempus et a Carthagine in Sardiniam classis
missa duce Hasdrubale, cui Calvo cognomen erat, foeda
tempestate vexata ad Baliares insulas deictur, ibique
(adeo non armamenta modo, sed etiam alvei navium quassati erant) subductae naves, dum reficiuntur, aliquantum
temporis triverunt.
§§ 1–4. A plot of the Capuans to surprise Cumae during a religious festival was frustrated by the consul Gracchus.

In Italia quam post Cannensem pugnam, fractis partis alterius viribus, alterius mollitis animis, segnius bellum esset, Campani per se adorti sunt rem Cumanam suae dicionis facere, primo sollicitantes, ut ab Romanis defe- rent; ubi id parum processit, dolum ad capiendos eos comparant. Campanis omnibus statum sacrificium ad Hamas ad. Eo senatum Campanum venturum certiores Cumanos fecerunt, petieruntque, ut et Cumanus eo senatus veniret ad consultandum communiter, ut eosdem uterque populus socios hostesque haberet; praesidium ibi arma- tum se habituros, ne quid ab Romano Poenove periculi esset. Cumani, quanquam suspecta fraus erat, nihil ab- nuere, ita tegi fallax consilium posse rati. Interim Ti. Sempronius consul Romanus Sinuessa, quo ad convenien- dum diem edixerat, exercitu lustrato, transgressus Vultur- num flumen circa Liternum posuit castra. Ibi quia otiosa stativa erant, crebro decurrere milites cogebat, ut tirones (ea maxima pars volonum erant) assuescerent signa sequi et in acie agnoscere ordines suos. Inter quae maxima erat cura duci, itaque legatis tribunisque praeceperat, ne qua exprobratio cui quam veteris fortunae discordiam inter ordines sereret; vetus miles tironi, liber voloni sese exae- quari sineret; omnes satis honestos generososque ducerent, quibus arma sua signaque populus Romanus commisisset; quae fortuna coegisset ita fieri, eandem cogere tueri fac- tum. Ea non maiore cura praecepta ab ducibus sunt quam a militibus observata, brevique tanta concordia coalu- erant omnium animi, ut prope in oblivionem veniret, qua ex condicione quisque esset miles factus. Haec agenti Graccho legati Cumani nuntiarunt, quae a Campanis
legatio paucos ante dies venisset et quid iis ipsi respondis-
11 sent: triduo post eum diem festum esse; non senatum
solum omnem ibi futurum, sed castra etiam et exercitum
12 Campanum. Gracchus, iussis Cumanis omnia ex agris
in urbem convehere et manere intra muros, ipse pridie,
quam statum sacrificium Campanis esset, Cumas movet
13 castra. Hamae inde tria millia passuum absunt. Iam
Campani eo frequentes ex composito convenerant, nec
procul inde in occulto Marius Alfius medix tuticus (iis
summus magistratus erat Campanis) cum quattuordecim
14 millibus armatorum habebat castra, sacrificio apparando
et inter id instruendae fraudi aliquanto intentior quam
15 muniendis castris aut ulli militari operi. [Triduum sacrif-
icatum ad Hamas.] Nocturnum erat sacrum, ita ut ante
16 medium noctem compleveretur. Huic Gracchus insidian-
dum tempori ratus, custodibus ad portas positis, ne quis
cnuntiare posset coepta, et a decima diei hora coactis
17 militibus corpora curare somnoque operam dare, ut primis
18 tenebris convenire ad signum possent, vigilia ferme prima
tolli iussit signa, silentique prefectus agmine quam ad
Hamas media nocte pervenisset, castra Campana ut in
pervigilio neglecta simul omnibus portis invadit; alios
somno stratos, alios perpetrato sacro inermes redeuntes
19 obtruncat. Hominum eo tumultu nocturno caesa plus
duo millia cum ipso duce Mario Alfio; capti* et signa
militaria quattuor et triginta.
§§ 1–6. Hannibal then came to attack Gracchus, but found him safe within the walls ofCumae. So he retired, §§ 7, 8. but returned the next day with his siege-engines. §§ 9, 10. Fabius, who was at Cales, was prevented by religious reasons from coming to the help of the city,

Gracchus minus centum militum iactura castris hostium 1 potitus Cumas se propere recepit, ab Hannibale metuens, qui super Capuam in Tifatis habebat castra. Nec cum 2 provida futuri fefellit opinio. Nam simul Capuam ea clades est nuntiata, ratus Hannibal, ab re bene gesta insolenter lactum exercitum, tirum magna ex parte et servorum, spoliandem victos praedasque agentem ad Hamas se inventurum, citatum agmen praeter Capuam rapit, 3 obviosque ex fuga Campanorum dato praesidio Capuam duci, saucios vehiculis portari iubet. Ipse Hamis vacua 4 ab hostibus castra nec quicquam praeter recentis vestigia caedis strataque passim corpora sociorum inventit. Auctores crant quidam, ut protinus inde Cumas duceret urbemque oppugnaret. Id quanquam haud modice Hannibal cupiebat, ut, quia Neapolim non potuerat, Cumas saltem maritimam urbem haberet, tamen, quia praeter arma nihil secum miles raptim acto agmine extulerat, retro in castra super Tifata se recepit. Inde fatigatus Cam- 7 panorum precibus sequenti die cum omni apparatu oppugnandae urbis Cumas reedit, perpopulatoque agro Cumano, mille passus ab urbe castra locat, quam Gracchus magis verecundia in tali necessitate deserendi socios implorantes fidem suam populique Romani substitisset quam satis fidens exercitui. Nec alter consul Fabius, qui 9 ad Cales castra habebat, Vulturnum flumen traducere audebat exercitum, occupatus primo auspiciis repetendis, dein prodigiis, quae alia super alia nuntiabantur; expiantique ea haud facile litari haruspices respondebant.
and so Gracchus had to submit to being besieged. §§ 2–7. By a well-timed sally he inflicted great loss upon the enemy. §§ 8, 9. But he refused to risk a pitched battle, and Hannibal had to abandon the siege. §§ 10, 11. About the same time Ti. Sempronius Longus won a victory over Hanno in Lucania, §§ 12, 13. and M. Valerius captured three towns of the Hirpini which had revolted from Rome.

1 Eae causae quem Fabium tenerent, Sempronius in
2 obsidione erat et iam operibus oppugnabatur. Adversus
3 ligneam ingentem admotam urbi aliam turrem ex ipso
4 muro excitavit consul Romanus, aliquanto altiorem, quia,
5 muro satis per se alto, subiectis validis sublicis pro solo
6 usus erat. Inde primum saxis sudibusque et ceteris mis-
7 silibus propugnatores moenia atque urbem tuebantur;
8 postremo, ubi promovendo adiunctam muro viderunt
9 turrem, facibus ardentibus plurimum simul ignem con-
10 iecerunt. Quo incendio trepida armatorum multitudo
11 quam de turre sese praecipitaret, eruptio ex oppido
12 simul duabus portis stationes hostium fudit fugavitque
13 in castra, ut eo die obsesso quam obsidenti similior esset
14 Poenus. Ad mille trecenti Carthaginiensium caesi et un-
15 desexaginta vivi capti, qui circa muros et in stationibus
16 solute ac negligenter agentes, quam nihil minus quam
17 eruptionem timuissent, ex improviso oppressi fuerant.
18 Gracchus, priusquam se hostes ab repentino pavore
colligerent, receptui signum dedit ac suos intra muros
19 receptit. Postero die Hannibal, laetum secunda re con-
20 sulum iusto proelio ratus certaturum, aciem inter castra
21 atque urbem instruxit; ceterum, postquam neminem
22 moveri ab solita custodia urbis vidit nec committi quic-
23 quam temerariae spei, ad Tifata redit infecta re.
24 Quibus diebus Cumae liberatae sunt obsidione, ii dem
25 diebus et in Lucanis ad Grumentum Ti. Sempronius,
cui Longo cognomen erat, cum Hannone Poeno prospere pugnat. Supra duo millia hominum occidit, et ducentos octoginta milites, signa militia ad quadraginta unum cepit. Pulsus finibus Lucanis Hanno retro in Bruttios sese recepit. Et ex Hirpinis oppida tria, quae a populo Romano defecerant, vi recepta per M. Valerium praetorem, Vercellium, Vescellium, Sicilinum, et auctores defectionis securi percussi. Supra quinque millia captivorum sub hasta venierunt; praeda alia militi concessa, exercitusque Luceriam reductus.

§§ 1–5. When the captive envoys and Hannibal's despatches had reached Rome, §§ 6–13, the Senate determined to keep off Philip by acting on the offensive against him.

Dum haec in Lucanis atque in Hirpinis geruntur, quinque naves, quae Macedonum atque Poenorum captos legatos Romam portabant, ab supero mari ad inferum circumvectae prope omnem Italiae oram, quum praeter Cumas velis ferrentur neque, hostium an sociorum essent, satis sciretur, Gracchus obviam ex classe sua naves misit. Quum percontando in vicem cognitum esset, consulem Cumis esse, naves Cumas appulsae captivique ad consulem deducti et litterae datae. Consul, litteris Philippi atque Hannibalis perlectis, consignata omnia ad senatum itinere terrestri misit, navibus devehil legatos iussit. Quum codem fere die litterae legatique Romam venissent, et, percontatione facta, dicta cum scriptis congruerent, primo gravis cura patres incessit, cernentes, quanta vix tolerantibus Punicum bellum Macedonici belli moles instaret; cui tamen adeo non succubuerunt, ut extemplo agitaretur, quemadmodum ulterior inferendo bello averterent ab Italia hostem. Captivis in vincula condi iussis comitibusque 7
eo rum sub hasta venditis, ad naves viginti quinque. quibus P. Valerius Flaccus praefectus praerat, viginti
8 quinque parari alias decernunt. His comparatis deduc-
tisque et additis quinque navibus, quae advexerant cap-
tivos legatos, triginta naves ab Ostia Tarentum prosectae,
iussusque P. Valerius, militibus Varronianis, quibus L.
Apustius legatus Tarenti praerat, in naves impositis,
quinquaginta quinque navium classe non tueri modo
10 Italiae oram, sed explorare de Macedonico bello; si
congruentia litteris legatorumque indiciis Philippi consilia
essent, ut M. Valerium praetorem litteris certiorem faceret,
isque, L. Apustio legato exercitui praesipeto, Tarentum
ad classem prefectus primo quoque tempore in Mace-
doniam transmitteret daretque operam, ut Philippum in
12 regno contineret. Pecunia ad classem tuendum bellumque
Macedonicum ea decreta est, quae App. Claudio in Si-
ciliam missa erat, ut redderetur Hieroni regi; ea per L.
13 Antistium legatum Tarentum est delecta. Simul ab
Hierone missa ducenta millia modium tritici et hordei
centum.

Ch. 39. § 1. Meanwhile the ship in which the Macedonian envoys had come
escaped to Philip, with the news of the capture of his messengers.
§§ 2–4. So he sent another embassy to Hannibal, which was
more fortunate than the first. However, the war had been
delayed. §§ 5–8. To keep in check the democratical party at
Nola, Fabius sent Marcellus to garrison that city.

1 Dum haec Romani parant aguntque, ad Philippum cap-
tiva navis una ex iis, quae Romam missae erant, ex cursu
2 refugit; inde scitum, legatos cum litteris captos. Itaque
ignarus rex, quae cum Hannibale legatis suis conven-
issent, quaeque legati eius ad se allaturi fuissent, lega-
3 tionem aliam cum eisdem mandatis mittit. Legati ad
Hannibalem missi Heraclitus, cui Scotino cognomen erat, et Crito Boeotus et Sositheus Magnes. Hi prospere tulerunt ac rettulerunt mandata; sed prius se aestas circumegit, quam movere ac moliri quicquam rex posset; tantum navis una capta cum legatis momenti fecit ad dilationem imminentis Romanis belli.

Et circa Capuam, transgresso Vulturnum Fabio post expiata tandem prodigia, ambo consules rem gerebant. Combuleriam et Trebulam et Austiculam urbes, quae ad Poenum defecerant, Fabius vi cepit, praesidiaque in iis Hannibalis Campanique permulti capti. Et Nolae, sicut priore anno, senatus Romanorum, plebs Hannibalis erat, consiliaque occultae de caede principum et proditione urbis inibantur. Quibus ne incepta procederent, inter Capuam castraque Hannibalis, quae in Tifatis erant, traducto exercitu Fabius super Suessulam in castris Claudianis consedit; inde M. Marcellum propraetorem cum iis copiis, quas habebat, Nolam in praesidium misit.

§§ 1-5. In Sardinia, Manlius won a brilliant victory over Hostus, Ch. 40. the son of the rebel Hampsicora, §§ 6-8. and would have thereby put down the native rising had not Hasdrubal appeared with his fleet. §§ 9-12. But Manlius, after some hard fighting, won a decisive victory over the combined Carthaginian and Sardinian forces,

Et in Sardinia res per T. Manlius praetorem administrati coeptae, quae omissae erant, postquam Q. Mucius praetor gravi morbo est implicitus. Manlius, navibus longis ad Carales subductis navalibusque sociis armatis, ut terra rem gereret, et a praetore exercitu accepto, duo et viginti millia peditum, mille ducentos equites confecit. Cum his equitum peditumque copiis profectus in agrum hostium haud procul ab Hampsicorae castris castra

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posuit. Hampsicora tum forte profectus erat in Pellitos Sardos ad iuventutem armandam, qua copias augeter; filius nomine Hostus castris praerat. Is adolescentia ferox temere proelio inito fusus fugatusque. Ad tria millia Sardorum eo proelio caesa, octingenti ferme vivi capti; alius exercitus primo per agros silvasque fuga palatus, dein, quo ducem fugisse fama erat, ad urbem nomine Cornum, caput eius regionis, confugit; debellatumque eo proelio in Sardinia esset, ni classis Punica cum duce Hasdrubale, quae tempestate deiecta ad Baliares erat, in tempore ad spem rebellandi advenisset. Manlius post famam appulsae Punicae classis Carales se recepit; ea occasio Hampsicorae data est Poeno se iun-gendi. Hasdrubal, copiis in terram expositis et classe remissa Carthaginem, duce Hampsicora ad sociorum populi Romani agrum populandum profectus, Carales perventurus erat, ni Manlius obvio exercitu ab effusa cum populatione continuisset. Primo castra castris modico intervallo sunt obiecta; dein per procursationes levia certamina vario eventu inita; postremo descensum in aciem. Signis collatis iusto proelio per quattuor horas pugnatum. Diu pugnam ancipitem Poeni, Sardis facile vinci assuetis, fecerunt; postremo et ipsi, quam omnia circa strage ac fuga Sardorum repleta essent, fusi; ceterum terga dantes circumducto cornu, quo pepulerat Sardos, inclusit Romanus. Caedes inde magis quam pugna fuit. Duodecim millia hostium caesa, Sardorum simul Paenorumque, ferme tria millia et septingent capti et signa militaria septem et viginti.
§§ 1, 2. making Hasdrubal himself prisoner, together with other Carthaginian nobles. §§ 3, 4. Hostus fell in the battle, and Hampsicora killed himself. §§ 5-7. After this, Manlius took the city of Cornus, and the submission of Sardinia followed. §§ 8, 9. As the Carthaginian fleet was returning from Sardinia, Otacilius captured seven of their ships. §§ 10-12. Meanwhile Bomilcar made his way to Hanno with reinforcements and supplies from Carthage. §§ 13, 14. Marcellus now began to ravage the country of the Hirpini and Samnites,

Ante omnia claram et memorabilem pugnam fecit i Hasdrubal imperator captus et Hanno et Mago, nobiles Carthaginienses, Mago ex gente Barcina, propinquus cognitio Hannibali iunctus, Hanno auctor rebellionis Sardis bellique eius haud dubie concitor. Nec Sar- 3 dorum duces minus nobilem eam pugnam cladibus suis fecerunt; nam et filius Hampsicorae Hostus in acie cecidit, et Hampsicora cum paucis equitibus fugiens, 4 ut super afflictas res necem quoque filii audivit, nocte, ne cuius interventus coepa impediret, mortem sibi conscivit. Ceteris urbs Cornus eadem, quae ante, fugae 5 receptaculum fuit; quam Manlius victore exercitu aggressus intra dies paucos recept. Deinde aliae quoque civitates, 6 quae ad Hampsicoram Poenosque defececent, obsidibus datis dediderunt sese; quibus stipendio frumentoque imperato pro cuiusque aut viribus aut delicto, Carales exercitum reduxit. Ibi navibus longis deductis impositoque, 7 quem secum advexerat, milite, Romam navigat, Sardiniamque perdomitam nuntiat patribus; et stipendium quae storibus, frumentum aedilibus, captivos Q. Fulvio praetori tradit.
fama erat Hasdrubalem a Balaribus nuper traiecisse, classi Africam repetenti occurrit, levique certamine in alto commisso, septem inde naves cum sociis navalibus cepit. Ceteras metus haud secus quam tempestas passim disiecit.

10 Per eosdem forte dies et Bomilcar cum militibus ad supplementum Carthagine missis elephantisque et com-
11 meatu Locros accessit. Quem ut incautum opprimeret App. Claudius, per simulationem provinciae circum-
eundae Messanam raptim exercitu ducto, vento aestuque
12 suo Locros traiecit. Iam inde Bomilcar ad Hannonem in Bruttios profectus erat, et Locrenses portas Romanis clauuserunt; Appius, magno conatu nulla re gesta, Mess-

sanam repetit.

13 Eadem aestate Marcellus ab Nola, quam praesidio obtinebat, crebras excursiones in agrum Hirpinum et
14 Samnites Caudinos fecit, adeoque omnia ferro atque igni vastavit, ut antiquarum cladium Samnio memoriam re-

novaret.

Ch. 42. who therefore sent to Hannibal to entreat him to despatch to their aid a small force, by which, they said, Marcellus' careless raids could easily be stopped.

1 Itaque extemplo legati ad Hannibalem missi simul ex
2 utraque gente ita Poenum allocuti sunt. 'Hostes populi Romani, Hannibal, fuimus primum per nos ipsi, quoad nostra arma, nostrae vires nos tutari poterant. Post-
3 quam iis parum fidebamus, Pyrrho regi nos adiun-
4 ximus; a quo relictii pacem necessariam accepimus, fuimusque in ea per annos prope quinquaginta ad id tem-
4 pus, quo tu in Italiam venisti. Tua nos non magis virtus fortunaque quam unica comitas ac benignitas erga cives nostros, quos captos nobis remisisti, ita conciliavit tibi, ut,
te salvo atque incolumi amico, non modo populum Romanum, sed ne deos quidem iratos, si fas est dici timeremus. At hercule non solum incolumi et victore, sed praesente te, quum ploratum prope coniugum ac liberorum nostrorum exaudire et flagrantia tecta posses conspicere, ita sumus aliquoties hac aestate devastati, ut M. Marcellus, non Hannibal vicisse ad Cannes videatur glorianturque Romani, te, ad unum modo ictum vigentem, velut aculeo emisso torpere. Per annos centum cum populo Romano bellum gessimus, nullo externo adiuti nec duce nec exercitu, nisi quod per biennium Pyrrhus nostro magis militae suas auxit vires quam suis viribus nos defendit. Non ego secundis rebus nostris gloriarbor, duos consules ac duos consulares exercitus ab nobis sub iugum missos, et si quaelia aut laeta aut gloriosa nobis evenerunt. Quae aspera adversaque tunc acciderunt, minore indignatione referre possimus, quam quae hodie eveniunt. Magni dictatores cum magistris equitum, bini consules cum binis consularibus exercitibus ingrediebantur fines nostros; ante explorato et subsidiis positis et sub signis ad populandum ducebant; nunc propraetoris unius et parvi ad tuendam Nolam praesidii praeda sumus; iam ne manipulatim quidem, sed latronum modo percursant totis finibus nostris negligentius, quam si in Romano vagarentur agro. Causa autem hacc est, quod neque tu defendis et nostra iuventus, quae, si domi esset, tutaretur, omnis sub signis militat tuis. Nec te nec exercitum tuum norim, nisi, a quo tot acies Romanas fusas stratasque esse sciam, ei facile esse ducam opprimere populatores nostros vagos sine signis palatos, quo quemque trahit quamvis vana praedae spes. Numidarium paucorum illi quidem praeda crunt, praesidiumque miseris simul nobis et Nolae ad-
ememis, si modo, quos, ut socios haberes, dignos duxisti, haud indignos iudicas, quos in fidem receptos tuearis.'

Ch. 43. §§ 1–4. Hannibal promised to draw off Marcellus by attacking the Roman allies, § 5. and started for Nola, § 6. where he was joined by Hanno with the reinforcements that Bomilcar had brought from Carthage. §§ 6, 7. He found that the stories about Marcellus' carelessness were false. §§ 8, 9. Marcellus now kept his forces within the walls of Nola, but permitted two Nolan senators to hold a colloquy with Hanno. §§ 10, 11.

Hanno's promises §§ 12–14. and threats

1 Ad ea Hannibal respondit, omnia simul facere Hirpinos Samnitesque, et indicare clades suas et petere prae-
2 sidium et queri indefensos se neglectosque. Indicandum autem primum fuisse, dein petendum praesidium, postremo, ni impetraretur, tum denique querendum, frustra
3 opem imploratam. Exercitum sese non in agrum Hirpinum Samnitemve, ne et ipse oneri esset, sed in proxima loca sociorum populi Romani adducturum. Iis populandis et militem suum repleturum se et metu procul ab ipsis sum-
4 moturum hostes. Quod ad bellum Romanum attineret, si Trasumenni quam Trebiae, si Cannarum quam
Trasumenni pugna nobilior esset, Cannarum quoque se memoriam obscuram maiore et clariore victoria fac-
5 turum. Cum hoc responso muneribusque amplis legatos dimisit; ipse, praesidio modico relecto in Titatis, profectus
6 cetero exercitu ire Nolam pergit. Eodem Hanno ex Bruttiis cum supplemento Carthagine advento atque
elephantis venit. Castris haud procul positis, longe alia omnia inquirenti comperta sunt, quam quae a legatis
7 sociorum audierat. Nihil enim Marcellus ita egerat, ut aut fortunae aut temere hosti commissum dici posset. Explorato cum firmisque praesidiis, tuto receptu praedatum
ierat, omniaque velut adversus praesentem Hannibalem cauta provisaque fuerant. Tum, ubi sensit hostem ad-ventare, copias intra moenia tenuit; per muros inambulare senatores Nolanos iussit et omnia circa explorare, quae apud hostes fierent. Ex his Hanno, quem ad murum successisset, Herennium Bassum et Herium Pettium ad colloquium evocatos permissuque Marcelli egressos per interpretem alloquitur. Hannibalis virtutem fortunamque extollit; populi Romani obterit senescentem cum viribus maiestatem. Quae si paria essent, ut quondam fuissent, tamen expertis, quam grave Romanum imperium sociis, quanta indulgentia Hannibalis etiam in captivos omnes Italici nominis fuisset, Punicam Romanae societatem atque amicitiam praeoptandam esse. Si ambo consules cum suis exercitibus ad Nolam essent, tamen non magis pares Hannibali futuros, quam ad Cannas fuissent, nedum praetor unus cum paucis et novis militibus Nolam tutari possit. Ipsorum quam Hannibalis magis interesse, capta an tradita Nola poteretur; potitum enim, ut Capua Nuceriaque potitus esset; sed quid inter Capuae ac Nuceriae fortunam interesset, ipsos prope in medio sitos Nolanos scire. Nolle ominari, quae captae urbi casura forent, et potius spondere, si Marcellum cum praesidio ac Nolam tradidissent, neminem alium quam ipsos legem, qua in societatem amicitiamque Hannibalis venirent, dicturum.

§§ 1, 2. were alike unavailing; § 3. and Hannibal determined to use force. §§ 4–6. Marcellus made a sally, and a fierce battle began: but a storm of rain put an end to it. §§ 6–9. Two days afterwards an obstinate battle was fought.

Ad ea Herennius Bassus respondit, multos annos iam inter Romanum Nolanumque populum amicitiam esse,
cuius neutros ad eam diem paenitere, et sibi, si cum fortuna mutanda fides fuerit, sero iam esse mutare. An dedituris se Hannibali fuisse accersendum Romanorum praesidium? Cum iis, qui ad sese tuendos venissent, omnia sibi et esse consociata et ad ultimum fore.

3 Hoc colloquium abstulit spem Hannibali per pro- ditionem recipiendae Nolae. Itaque corona oppidum circumdedit, ut simul ab omni parte moenia aggredaretur. 

4 Quem ut successisse muris Marcellus vidit, instructa intra portam acie cum magno tumultu erupit. Aliquot primo impetu perculsi caesique sunt; dein concursu ad pugnantes facto aequatisque viribus atrox esse coepit pugna, memorabilisque inter paucas fuisset, ni ingenti- bus procellis effusus imber diremisset pugnantes. Eo die commisso modico certamine atque irritatis animis in urbem Romani, Poeni in castra receperunt sese; nam Poenorum prima eruptione perculsi ceciderunt haud plus quam triginta, Romani quinquaginta. Imber continens per noctem totam usque ad horam tertiam diei insequantur tenuit. Itaque, quanquam utraque pars avidi certaminis erant, co die tenuerunt sese tamen munimentis. Tertio die Hannibal partem copiarum praedatum in agrum No-

7 lanum misit. Quod ubi animadvertit Marcellus, extemplo in aciem copias eduxit; neque Hannibal detrectavit. Mille fere passuum inter urbem erant castraque; eo spatio (et sunt omnia campi circa Nolam) concurrerunt. 

8 Clamor ex parte utraque sublatus proximos ex cohortibus iis, quae in agros praedatum exierant, ad proelium iam commissum revocavit. Et Nolani aciem Romanam auxerunt, quos collaudatos Marcellus in subsidiiis stare et saucios ex acie efferre iussit, pugna abstinere, ni ab se signum accepissent.
§§ 1–4. Marcellus encouraged his soldiers by telling them that Capua had destroyed the efficiency of Hannibal’s army; §§ 5–10. while Hannibal tried to urge on his men with bitter taunts.

Proelium erat aniceps; summa vi et duces hortabantur et milites pugnabant. Marcellus victis ante diem tertium, fugatis ante paucos dies a Cumis, pulsis priore anno ab Nola ab eodem se duce, milite alio, instare iubet. Non omnes esse in acie; praedantes vagari in agro; et qui pugnent, marcere Campana luxuria, vino et scortis omnibusque lustris per totam hiemem confectos. Abisse illam vim vigoremque, dilapsa esse robora corporum animorumque, quibus Pyrenaei Alpiumque superata sint iuga. Reliquias illorum virorum vix arma membraque sustinentes pugnare. Capuam Hannibali Cannas fuisses. Ibi virtutem bellicam, ibi militarem disciplinam, ibi praeteriti temporis famam, ibi spem futuri extinctam. Quum haece exprobrando hosti Marcellus suorum militum animos erigeret, Hannibal multo gravioribus probris increpabat: Arma signaque cadem se noscere, quae ad Trebiam Tra-sumennumque, postremo ad Cannas viderit habueritque; militem alium profecto se in hiberna Capuam duxisse, alium inde eduxisse. ‘Legatumne Romanum et legionis unus atque alae magno certamine vix toleratis pugnam, quos binae acies consulares nunquam sustinuerunt? Marcellus tirone milite ac Nolanis subsidiiis inultus nos iam iterum lacescit. Ubi ille miles meus est, qui derepto ex equo C. Flaminio consuli caput abstulit? ubi, qui L. Paulum ad Cannas occidit? Ferrum nunc hebet? an a dextrae torpert? an quid prodigii est aliud? Qui pauci plures vincere soliti estis, nunc paucis plures vix restatis. Romam vos expugnaturos, si quis duceret, fortes lingua iactabatis. En, in minore re experiri vim virtutemque
volo. Expugnate Nolam, campestrem urbem, non flumine, non mari saeptam. Hinc vos ex tam opulenta urbe praeda spoliisque onustos vel ducam, quo voletis, vel sequar.'

Ch. 46. §§ 1-5. The battle ended in a victory for the Romans; who thereby regained the allegiance of the Nolan democratical party. §§ 6, 7. After the battle some of Hannibal's cavalry deserted to the Romans, § 8. Hannibal then went to Arpi in Apulia. §§ 9-11. Whereupon Fabius appeared before Capua, and by ravaging their land, compelled the Capuans to come out in force to resist him. §§ 12-14. As the two armies lay encamped opposite to each other, Vibellins Taurea, a Capuan trooper, challenged Claudius Acellus, an old rival of his, to single combat.

1 Nec bene nec male dicta profuerunt ad confirmandos animos. Quum omni parte pellerentur, Romanisque crescenter animi, non duce solum adhortante, sed Nolanis etiam per clamorem favoris indicem accendentibus ardorem pugnae, terga Poeni dederunt atque in castra compulsi sunt. Quae oppugnare cupientes milites Romanos Marcellus Nolam reduxit cum magno gaudio et gratulacione etiam plebis, quae ante inclinatior ad Poenos fuerat.

2 Hostium plus quinque millia caesa eo die, vivi capti sextcenti et signa militaria undeviginti et duo elephanti; quattuor in acie occisi; Romanorum minus mille interfecti.

Hannibal, ab Nola remisso in Bruttios Hannone cum quibus venerat copiis, ipse Apuliae hiberna petit circaque Arpos consedit. Q. Fabius ut profectum in Apuliam Hannibalem audivit, frumento ab Nola Neapolique in ea castra convecto, quae super Suessulam erant, munimentisque firmatis et praesidio, quod per hiberna ad obtinendum locum satis esset, relictó, ipse Capuam propius movit castra, agrumque Campanum ferro ignique est depopulatus, donee coacti sunt Campani, nihil admodum viribus suis fidentes, egredi portis et castra ante urbem in aperto communire. Sex millia armatorum habebant, peditem imbellem, equitatu plus poterant; itaque equitribus proeliis lacessebant hostem. Inter multos nobiles equites Campanos Cerrinum Vibellius erat, cognomine Taurea. Civis indidem erat, longe omnium Campanorum fortissimus eques, adeo ut, quum apud Romanos militaret, unus cum Romanus Claudius Asellus gloria equestri aequaret. Tunc Taurea, quum diu perlustrans oculis obequitasset hostium turmis, tandem silentio facto, ubi esset Claudius Asellus, quaesivit et, quoniam verbis secum de virtute ambigere solitus esset, cur non ferro decerneret dareique opima spolia victus aut victor caperet.

§§ 1, 2. The Roman accepted the challenge. §§ 3, 4. After some fruitless maneuvering in the open plain, Taurea proposed to do battle in a hollow road. §§ 5-8. But when his adversary acted on his proposal, he pretended that he had been joking, and rode away.

Haec ubi Asello sunt nuntiata in castra, id modo moratus, ut consulem percontaretur, liceretne extra ordinem in provocantem hostem pugnare, permissu eius arma extemplo cepit, provectusque ante stationes equo Tauream nomine compellavit congredique, ubi vellet, iussit. Iam 3
Romani ad spectaculum pugnae eius frequentes exierant, et Campani non vallum modo castrorum, sed omenia etiam urbis prospectantes repleverant. Quum iam ante ferocibus dictis rem nobilitassent, infestis hastis concitabant equos; dein libero spatio inter se ludificantes sine vulnere pugnam extrahere. Tum Campanus Romano 'Equorum' inquit 'hoc, non equitum erit certamen, nisi e campo in cavam viam demittimus equos. Ibi nullo ad evagandum spatio cominus conserentur manus.' Dicto prope citius equum in viam Claudius deiecit. Taurea, verbis ferocior quam re, 'Minime, sis' inquit, 'cantherium in fossam'; quae vox in rusticum inde proverbium prodita est. Claudius quum ea via longe perequitasset, nullo obvio hoste in campum rursus evectus, increpans ignaviam hostis, cum magno gaudio et gratulatione victor in castra redit. Huic pugnae equestri rem, quam vera sit, communis existimatio est, miraculam certe adiciunt quidam annales: quum refugientem ad urbem Tauream Claudius sequeretur, patenti hostium porta invectum per alteram, stupentibus miraculo hostibus, intactum evasisse.

Ch. 48. §§ 1, 2. After carrying off the crops of the Capuans, Fabius went into winter quarters in Marcellus' old camp; § 3. and Gracchus went from Cumae to Luceria. §§ 4, 5. Despatches now came from the Scipios in Spain, saying that money and supplies were running very short. §§ 6-9. It was found impossible to raise any more money by taxation, which was already weighing over-heavily on the diminished number of tax-payers. §§ 10-12. So Fulvius the praetor was ordered to invite the 'publicani' to contract for supplying the troops in Spain with stores.
pabulum praebere poterant. Id convexit in Claudiana castra super Suessulam, ibique hiberna aedificavit. M. Claudio proconsuli imperavit, ut, retento Nolae necessario ad tuendam urbem praesidio, ceteros milites dimitteret Romam, ne oneri sociis et sumptui rei publicae essent. Et Ti. Gracchus a Cumis Luceriam in Apuliam legiones quum duxisset, M. Valerium inde praetorem Brundisium cum eo, quem Luceriae habuerat, exercitu misit, tuerique oram agri Sallentini et providere, quod ad Philippum bellumque Macedonicum attineret, iussit.

Exitu aestatis eius, qua haec gesta perscripsimus, litterae a P. et Cn. Scipionibus venerunt, quantas quamque prosperas in Hispania res gessissent; sed pecuniam in stipendium vestimenta ex exercitui et sociis navalibus omnia deesse. Quod ad stipendium attineat, si aerarium inops sit, se aliquam rationem inituros, quomodo ab Hispanis sumant; cetera utique ab Roma mittenda esse, nec aliter aut exercitum aut provinciam teneri posse. Litteris recitatis, nemo omnium erat, quin et vera scribi et postulari aequa fateretur; sed occurrebat animis, quantos exercitus terrestres navalesque tuerentur, quantaque nova classis mox paranda esset, si bellum Macedonicum moveretur: Siciliam ac Sardiniam, quae ante bellum vectigales fuissent, vix praesides provinciarum exercitus alere; tributo sumptus suppeditari; [eum] ipsum tributum confe rentium numerum tantis exercituum stragibus et ad Trasimenum lacum ad Cannas imminutum; qui superessent pauci, si multiplici gravarentur stipendio, alia perituros peste. Itaque nisi fide staret res publica, opibus non staturam. Prodeundum in contionem Fulvio praetori esse, indicandas populo publicas necessitates cohortandosque, qui redempturis auxissent patrimonia, ut rei
11 publicae, ex qua crevissent, tempus commodarent, conduc cerentque ea lege prae benda, quae ad exercitum Hispaniensem opus essent, ut, quum pecunia in aerario esset, 12 iis primis solveretur. Haec praetor in contione edixit, et quo die vestimenta ac frumentum Hispaniensi exercitui praebenda, quaeque alia opus essent navalibus sociis, esset locaturus.

Ch. 49. §§ 1-4. And the ‘publicani’ liber ally answered to his invitation. §§ 5-11. On the arrival of the supplies the Scipios were able to inflict a crushing defeat on the Carthaginian forces which were besieging Iliturgi, and to raise the siege of that city. §§ 12-13. An attempt of the Carthaginians to take Intibili was frustrated in a like manner, § 14. and almost the whole of Spain went over to the side of Rome.

1 Ubi ea dies venit, ad conducendum tres societates 2 aderant hominum undeviginti, quorum duo postulata fuere, unum, ut militia vacarent, dum in eo publico essent, alterum, ut, quae in naves imposuissent, ab hostium 3 tempestatisque vi publico periculo essent. Utroque impertrato, conduserunt, privataque pecunia res publica administrata est. Ii mores eaque caritas patriae per omnes 4 ordines velut tenore uno pertinebat. Quemadmodum conducta omnia magno animo sunt, sic summa fide prae bita, nec quicquam parcius militibus datum, quam si ex opulento aerario, ut quondam, alerentur. 5 Quum hi commeat us venerunt, Iliturgi oppidum ab Hasdrubale ac Magone et Hannibale Bomilcaris filio ob 6 defectionem ad Romanos oppugnabatur. Inter haec trina castra hostium Scipiones quum in urbem sociorum magno certamine ac strage obsistentium pervenissent, frumentum, 7 cuius inopia erat, advexerunt, cohortatique oppidanos, ut eodem animo moenia tutarentur, quo pro se pugnantem
Romanum exercitum vidissent, ad castra maxima oppugnanda, quibus Hasdrubal praerat, ducunt. Eodem et duo duces et duo exercitus Carthaginiensium, ibi rem summam agi cernentes, convenerunt. Itaque eruptione ex castris pugnatum est. Sexaginta hostium millia eo die in pugna fuerunt, sedecim circa a Romanis; tamen adeo haud dubia victoria fuit, ut plures numero, quam ipsi erant, Romani hostium occiderint, ceperint amplius tria millia hominum, paulo minus mille equorum, undesexaginta militaria signa, septem elephanto, quinque in proelio occisis, trinisque eo die castris potiti sint. Illiturgi obsidione liberato, ad Intibili oppugnandum Punici exercitus traducti, suppletis copiis ex provincia, ut quae maxime omnium, belli avida, modo praeda aut merces esset, et tum iuventute abundante. Iterum signis collatis eadem fortuna utriusque partis pugnatum. Supra tredecim millia hostium caesa, supra duo capta cum signis duobus et quadraginta et novem elephantis. Tum vero omnes prope Hispaniae populi ad Romanos defecerunt, multoque maiores ea aestate in Hispania quam in Italia res gestae.
§ 1. In parte operis, &c. Lit. 'I may say as preface in a section of my work,' i.e. 'by way of preface to a section of my work.'

plerique ... rerum scriptores; especially Thucydides, who began to write the history of the Peloponnesian war because he expected it to be ἡξιολογῶσαν τῶν προγεγενημένων.

quod, 'I mean the one which.'

§ 2. Nam neque. Supply 'unquam.' It has been observed that four reasons are given for the importance of the Second Punic War, two introduced by 'neque,' and two by 'et.'

virium aut roboris: 'vires' is here the power of attack, 'robur' the power of resistance.

belli artes ... conferebant. The 'arts of war' are spoken of as if they were the weapons used. Cf. 'inter se conterulerunt arma' above.

propius periculum. The allusion is to the time immediately after the battle of Cannae. 'Propius' and 'proxime,' when used with a case, are generally regarded as prepositions, and thus they regularly take the accusative and not the dative. Cf. 23. 12. 3 and 15. 1, 'propius spem' and 'proxime Neapolim.' Curiously enough Silius Italicus, in imitating this passage, writes 'propiusque fuere periculo, Quis superare datum' (1. 13-14). On the other hand, the construction with the accusative is sometimes extended to the adjectives: thus Sallust writes 'propior montem,' and Caesar 'proximus mare.'

§ 3. ultro. The meaning of this word, so inadequately represented by 'of his own accord,' may be thus explained. Where to yield is pardonable or natural, and to stand one's ground praiseworthy or astonishing, if an advance is made it is made 'ultro.' Here 'ultro inferrent arma' may be translated 'were actually attacking,' or 'dared to attack.' Cf. 23. 18. 6, and more especially Horace, Odes, 4. 4. 49 foll.:—

'Dixitque tandem perfidus Hannibal:
Cervi, luporum praeda rapacium,
Sectamur ultro, quos opimus
Fallere et effugere est triumphus.'

inferrent. The subj. is here used because the reason is presented as a thought in the minds of the Romans. False analogy between the two clauses must have made Livy write 'crederent' in the next sentence.
Notes to Book XXI.

§ 4. annorum ferme novem. Cicero would have written 'puerum annorum ferme novem,' but Livy does not mind hanging the genitive of quality on to the proper name. Cf. 3. 27. 1.

blandientem, 'coaxing.'

Africo bello. The war with the mercenaries and Libyans. See Introduction.

adaetum, sc. 'esse.'

§ 5. spiritus, 'pride.'

nam et Siciliam. Some verb of thinking must be supplied. It is doubtful whether Hamilcar can have thought that Sicily had been needlessly abandoned, though he knew that it had been lost by the carelessness of the Carthaginians, in not taking proper precautions against the possibility of the Romans again putting a fleet on the sea. But after the victory of Catulus he had himself agreed to abandon the island. Nevertheless he was no doubt eager to win it back again. On the other hand, the annexation of Sardinia was a shameless piece of robbery on the part of the Romans. See Introduction.

stipendio, the additional indemnity of 1200 talents.

interceptam, 'had been stolen.'

§ 1. quod fuit sub, &c., 'which followed immediately after the conclusion of peace with Rome.'

per quinque annos. Inaccurate: the war with the mercenaries lasted about four years; less according to Polybius.

§ 2. (ita) ut appareret, 'in a manner that made it clear.'

agitare. The word means to 'move about' or 'turn over.'

§ 3. obtinuit, 'held.' This is the usual meaning of the word.

flore aetatis, &c., 'having first, so the story goes, become Hamilcar's favourite on account of his youthful beauty, and having certainly in after years received his daughter in marriage, for different, that is to say for mental, qualities.' 'Animi' explains 'aliam.' For the use of 'alius' in the sense of the Greek ἀλλος, cf. 46. 9.

§ 4. factionis Barcinae opibus, by the influence of Hamilcar's party, Barca (lightning) being Hamilcar's surname.

principum, 'the leading men' in Carthage. Livy represents Hamilcar as the champion of the people against the aristocracy. See on 'optimus quisque' (4. 1). We know that Augustus used to call Livy a Pompeian, and we can well believe that the historian saw in Hanno the Pompey, and in Hamilcar (or Hannibal) the Caesar of Carthage.

in imperio positus, 'was placed in command of the army.'

§ 5. regulorum . . . principum. The 'reguli' would be monarchs, the 'principes' leading men in republican states (Weissenborn). Hasdrubal seems to have occasionally secured the adherence of the Spaniards
by intermarriage. Livy tells us that Hannibal’s wife was a lady of Castulo (24. 41. 7).

rem Carthaginiensem auxit. Especially by the foundation of New Carthage, the modern Cartagena.

§ 6. haud alio, quam si evasisset, vultu. A short way of saying ‘haud alio, quam eo quo fuisse, si evasisset, vultu.’ ‘With an expression such as he would have worn if he had escaped.’

§ 7. Saguntinisque mediis. Not ablative absolute, but dative after ‘libertas servaretur.’ Polybius mentions the treaty about the Ebro, but nothing about a clause securing the independence of Saguntum. We cannot accept Livy’s testimony on the point as trustworthy; it seems like an afterthought to explain the not very intelligible relations of Rome with Saguntum.

§ 1. In Hasdrubalis locum. There is nothing in the sentence to justify these words except the general sense. But some words have probably been lost before ‘favor plebis,’ the restoration of which might make all clear. Drakenborch’s reading ‘praerogativam militarem... sequeretur’ makes grammar out of the main part of the sentence, but does not properly account for the opening words. It is quite possible, however, that Livy may have written an anacoluthic sentence. With Drakenborch’s reading we may translate:—‘With regard to Hasdrubal’s successor, it was plain that the affections of the people centred on the object already pointed out by the choice of the soldiers, who had at once carried off the young Hannibal to the general’s tent and declared him their commander-in-chief with loud and universal applause.’

praerogativa means properly the tribe or century that voted first in the Roman comitia, and thus carried the most weight by influencing the succeeding votes; it is also used for the vote itself. Here its use is metaphorical as applied to Carthaginian affairs, but it appears that this nomination of Hannibal by the troops was no mere informal act, but that the army, or rather the Carthaginians in it, had a legal right at this time to nominate its general, subject to the approval of the people and the council of elders.

§ 2. accersierat. Notice the tense. Livy is going back to explain how Hannibal happened to be in Spain at the time of Hasdrubal’s assassination. He seems to have forgotten that he went there originally with his father. In fact he has probably followed a different account here from that which he had before him in writing ch. 1. and 30. 37. 9, where he makes Hannibal say at Carthage, ‘Novem annorum a vobis profectus post sextum et tricesimum annum redii.’

in senatu, ‘in the council of elders.’ See Introduction.

§ 4. Quum admiratione, &c. ‘Having attracted the attention of all by startling them by (lit. ‘by their wonder at’) this ambiguous remark.’
Chap. 3. pro militari rudimento, 'by way of military training.'
praetorium, 'generals.' The word 'praetor' is often used of generals and supreme magistrates of foreign states. Cf. 'praetorem Saguntinum' (12.7; where see note), and 'praetorem Campanum' (23.7.8).
§ 5. regni'paterni speciem, 'the display of the kingly power that he is to inherit.'
parum mature, 'not soon enough.'

Chap. 4. § 1. optimus quisque, 'all the best men.' This to a Roman of Livy's sympathies would be the same thing as saying 'all the aristocratical party.' Cicero uses 'optimates' frequently, and 'optimi' sometimes, to indicate the senatorial party in Rome. That party had no particular right to the term, and Hanno's party had still less.
in se convertit. As in § 4 of the last chapter.
§ 2. Dein brevi, &c. 'But soon he brought it about that to be Hamilcar's son was the least among his many claims to popularity.'
'So' is abl., not acc, here.
§ 3. ingenium idem, 'one and the same nature.'
haud facile discerneres. Since we use 'You could not tell' of present time, we are obliged to say 'You could not have told' in translating the past 'discerneres.'
§ 6. patientia, 'his endurance.'
vigiliarum somnique, &c. The sentence means only that Hannibal's times for sleeping and waking did not correspond to the divisions of night and day.
§ 8. conspiciebantur, i.e. they were the most splendid in the army.
Equitum peditumque, &c. 'He was by far the best soldier whether on foot or on horseback; he was the first to go into battle and the last to leave it when fighting had begun.'
§ 9. perfidia plus quam Punica. Cf. Horace's 'perfidus Hannibal.' There is little in Livy's narrative to bear out what he says about Hannibal's vices. When Roman writers talk about 'Punica fides' or 'Punica perfidia,' we should compare English accounts of the French in the earlier part of this century. Southey, for instance, in his 'Life of Nelson,' ch. iii., says, 'The French, who have never acted a generous part in the history of the world.' Polybius' in his discussion of Hannibal's character (9.22-26), says that it is very difficult to form an estimate of him, or indeed of any great man, on account of the exceptional circumstances among which their lives are passed. He does not notice the charge of perfidy, but admits that the general impression among the Romans was that Hannibal was cruel, while the Carthaginians thought him rapacious. As to his' rapacity, Mommsen well observes that as he had to support his army by plunder he can hardly have been otherwise than rapacious; as to his cruelty, while admitting
Polybius' defence that much of what is attributed to him (especially a suggestion that the troops must turn cannibals if they wished to cross the Alps) was really due to his friend Hannibal Monomachus, we must confess that Hannibal was cruel, but not cruel for a Carthaginian. It is unfair to give him no credit for his clemency to prisoners, or for his kindness to the young Italian trooper whom he found half dead upon the field of Cannae. There can have been no brutality in one who took such pains to bury the bodies of Roman generals opposed to him. Hannibal had many enemies at Carthage, and none but enemies at Rome; and therefore his character should be rather judged by the facts of his life as far as we can learn them, than from the rhetorical summary of a Roman, in spite of the perfection of his style.

nulla religio, ' (he had ...) no scruples of any kind,' 'Religio' is the widest word in Latin for man's belief in the supernatural and its effect upon him.

§ 10. triennio. This proves that the account given in 3. 2 (see note on that passage), which Livy is still following, cannot be reconciled with the account given in ch. 1. For, according to the earlier account, Hannibal was nine years old when Hamilcar went to Spain (1. 4), therefore eighteen years old at Hamilcar's death nine years afterwards (2. 1), and therefore nearly twenty-six at the time of Hasdrubal's death, for Hasdrubal was 'octo ferme annos' (2. 3) in Spain. Hence if he began to serve only three years before Hasdrubal's death he must have been at least twenty-two years old when he went to Spain, at which age no one could call him 'vixdum puberem.' So that it is impossible to reconcile the two accounts.

meruit, sc. stipendia, 'served.'

§ 1. provincia. A metaphor from Roman custom, by which each consul had his province, or sphere of action, assigned to him at the beginning of his year of office.

§ 3. Quibus oppugnandis quia, &c. 'And since an attack on Saguntum must necessarily rouse Rome to arms.'

duces, 'the territory.' A common use of the word, especially in Caesar.

ultra Hiberum ea gens, &c. 'A state which was on the farther side (from Rome) of the Ebro, and in Carthaginian territory, though not under Carthaginian rule,' i.e. Rome and Carthage had agreed that the Olcades should be subjects of the latter, but the Olcades had not as yet consented. The Olcades inhabited the district to the W. and S.W. of Saguntum.

ut non petisse Saguntinos, &c. 'so as to seem not to have intended to attack Saguntum, but to have been drawn into war with it by the chain of events following from the conquest of neighbouring nations and the consolidation of the empire.'
NOTES TO BOOK XXI.

Chap. 5. § 4. quo metu stands for ‘cuius rei metu.’

Victor. The use of such words in an adjectival sense is common in Latin. Cf. 13. 8; 40. 11; 41. 11.

§ 5. stipendioque, &c. ‘And by scrupulously discharging all arrears of pay.’ The end of the sentence is anacoluthic. To make it grammar we ought to have either ‘in ducem firmatis,’ or (retaining ‘in se’) ‘promovit bellum.’

§ 9. valloque ita producto, &c. ‘not having extended his entrenchments further than would give the enemy room to cross.’ I.e. Hannibal left a clear space opposite the ford on the further bank. Notice the limiting sense of ‘ita.’ The following explanation may make the rest of the chapter clear. Hannibal first halted on the north bank of the Tagus. Then, watching his opportunity, he crossed and entrenched himself without bringing his lines quite up to the bank. He then placed his forty elephants on the south bank, and sent his cavalry to attack the enemy as they crossed. Lastly, he recrossed the river with his infantry and attacked and routed the remnant of the enemy who were collected on the north bank.

§ 10. impeditum agmen, ‘the column at this disadvantage.’

§ 11. invicta, here ‘invincible.’

§ 12. feroes, ‘warlike.’

et, quod metu, &c. ‘and (since they believed that fear had made the enemy retreat) thinking that the fact of the river being between them was the thing that delayed their victory.’ The third ‘et’ in the sentence couples ‘rati’ to ‘ingenio feroes’ and ‘multitudine freti,’ the first ‘quod’ gives the reason for the Spaniards thinking as they did, the second ‘quod’ introduces the subject to ‘morari,’ for which we are already prepared by ‘id.’

qua cunque proximum est: lit., ‘by the way by which it (impers.) was nearest for each man.’ An inverted way of saying ‘each man by the way which was shortest for him.’

§ 13. ex parte altera ripae. ‘Ripae’ is the ‘genitive of apposition’ (cf. ‘the city of London’), and the phrase simply means ‘from the opposite bank.’

concursum, sc. est, ‘the conflict took place.’

§ 14. quippe ubi, ‘since there.’ So ‘quippe qui’ means ‘since he.’

vado here means not merely ‘ford,’ but the shallower parts of the ford near the banks, and is opposed to ‘medios gurgites,’ the strong deeper stream in the middle of the river. The foot-soldier would not find it easy to stand firm in three feet of water where the stream was strong, the trooper would be safe in four.

temere, ‘at random.’ No special attack was needed, an unarmed horseman could ride anyhow at a foot-soldier and knock him over.

§ 15. ab elephantis obtriti sunt, ‘were trodden to death by the
§ 1. cum finitimis means between the Saguntines and their neighbours.

§ 2. Quibus quum adesset, &c. 'And since the originator of the quarrel (i.e. Hannibal) appeared on the side of the Turdetani, and it was clear that,' &c.

§ 3. Consules . . . erant P. Cornelius Scipio, i.e. it was the year 218 B.C., the year of Ticinus and Trebia. This cannot have been the case, as we shall see in the notes on ch. 15, where Livy confesses that he has got confused between his authorities on the subject of the chronology. Livy ought to have given here the consuls of B.C. 219, M. Livius Salinator and L. Aemilius Paulus.

de re publica rettulissent, 'had brought forward the question of state affairs' (i.e. foreign policy). It was the duty of the presiding magistrate to propose the subjects that the senate was to discuss. Theoretically he asked the senators' advice, but the advice of a majority had the force of law. He asked them ('sententias rogavit') in turn. The order in which he thus called on them to vote and speak was apparently to some extent a matter of his own choice, at least this was the case in later Republican times, but it was customary for him to observe throughout his year of office the order which he had observed on the first day. Any speaker then might make a motion, and take the sense of the house upon it.

plaucissetque, 'and it had been decreed.'

§ 4. quibus si, for 'qui, si iis.'

et Hannibali. This 'et' merely prepares the way for the 'et' before 'Carthaginem.' Its force is best given by translating the second 'et' by 'and also.'

sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent. Carthage, being at peace with Rome, ought, the Romans said, to listen to com-
NOTES TO BOOK XXI.

Chap. 6. plaints that allies of Rome made at being threatened by a Carthaginian general.

§ 5. hae legatione decreta, &c. These words sum up as it were the sense of the long preceding paragraph, and prepare us for the apodosis. omnium spe celerius, 'sooner than anyone expected.' relata de integro res, 'the subject was proposed for discussion afresh.'

§ 6. decernentes. An imperfect present, 'proposing to decree.' censebant, 'voted.' Each said, 'censeo terra marique rem gerendum.' intendebant, 'were for directing.' Notice that the proposals were made by the other senators, and not by the consuls.

§ 8. Haec sententia, 'this proposal.' atque inde Carthaginem; i.e. they were to proceed to Carthage and demand the surrender of Hannibal, if hostilities were not abandoned ('si non absisteretur bello').

Chap. § 2. passus mille, 1618 English yards. A Roman pace was counted from one heel-mark to the next heel-mark of the same foot; thus it was what we should call two paces. It was exactly 5 Roman feet, the Roman foot being 11.6496 inches.

Oriundi. 'Oriundus' from 'orior,' like 'secundus' ('sequundus') from 'sequor,' is a participial form. Thus we find 'volvendus' used as a present participle by Virgil and Lucretius.

Zacyntho. Zacynthus and Saguntum are merely two different Latinised forms of Zákynthos.

§ 3. in tantas . . . opes, 'to this pitch of wealth;' 'tantas' refers to the statement in § 2, 'Civitas ea longe opulentissima ultra Hiberum fuit.' fructibus, produce. The 'produce of the sea' is of course foreign importations.

disciplinae sanctitate. 'Their national integrity' (lit. 'the purity of their training,' i.e. 'the integrity in which the state trained its citizens').

fidem socialem. The commentators point out that the Saguntines fought for themselves, and not for Rome. The really pathetic part of their situation was that the Romans gave them no help.

§ 4. infesto exercitu ingressus fines, 'having entered their territory with a hostile army,' i.e. having invaded it.

§ 5. in planiorem, &c., 'abutting on a part of the valley more level and open than the rest.'

§ 6. ut . . . ita, 'whereas . . . yet.' A common Latin formula by which the writer merely points out that two statements are equally true, while he leaves it to his reader to contrast them.

It is a curious fact that sometimes 'ita . . . ut' can be used to express
the same idea as 'ut...ita.' Thus, 'though I like him, I am sometimes angry with him,' may be either, 'ut hominem amo, ita ei nonnunquam subirarcor,' or 'ita hominem amo, ut ei nonnunquam subirascar;' 'ita' in the latter version having a limiting sense, as in 'vallo...ita producto, ut locum...hostes haberent' (5. 9).

coeptis succedebat, 'did the undertaking succeed.' 'Succedebat is here used impersonally, as in 24. 38. 3: 'Cui (fraudi) quoniam parum succedit.'

§ 7. ceterae...altitudinis, 'the height of the rest (of the wall'). A condensed expression, like 'quo metu' in 5. 4.

§ 8. nec quicquam satis tutum, &c., 'and made every place dangerous to the pioneers of the enemy.'

§ 9. quibus tumultuariis, 'and in these skirmishes almost as many fell on the Carthaginian side as on the Saguntine.'

§ 10. adversum femur, 'full on the thigh.'

§ 1. dum...curaretur. 'Dum' with the subjunctive expresses a purpose (Madvig's Lat. Gr., English Translation, § 360, obs. 2). Nevertheless we must construe, not 'until the general's wound was cured' (which would require 'sanata esset'), but 'while the general's wound was being treated.' In such sentences as this the Romans pointed out by the use of the subjunctive mood a connection which Englishmen leave to speak for itself.

ut...ita. See note on § 6 of last chapter.

munitionum (cf. 'munientibus' in § 8 of last chapter), as well as 'operum,' refers to the Carthaginian works.

§ 2. vix accipientibus, &c. 'although some places scarcely admitted of,' &c.

§ 3. satis creditur, 'it is nearly certain.'

§ 4. ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda, most probably means 'in order to defend and watch (go round) every point.' It might mean 'in order to defend every point and discharge every duty.' The words depend equally on 'distineri' and 'non sufficiebant.'

multifariam distineri, &c. In order 'to defend every point,' &c., they began 'to be separated in many directions.' Having been thus separated 'non sufficiebant,' there were not enough of them for the task. 'The Saguntines having now to divide their strength, so as to defend and watch every point, found that their numbers were inadequate.'

§ 5. quassatae, 'shattered.'

una continentibus ruinis, lit. 'one (part thus shattered) by its continued breach had exposed the city;' i.e. 'at one point the breach was so wide as to make the city defenceless.'

deinceps, 'in succession' (in space). They may have fallen simultaneously.
Chap. § 6. crediderant. Notice the pluperfect. They soon found that they were wrong.

qua, 'and yet the result of it was' (that the Saguntines behaved just as if they had made a breach in a Carthaginian wall).

§ 7. per occasionem partis alterius, 'when either side has seized an opportunity.'

iustae acies . . . constiterant, 'the armies stood in regular battle array.'

§ 8. Poeno cepisse, &c. Lit. 'the Carthaginians believing that they had already taken the city if they were to make a slight effort;' 'cepisse' being epigrammatically put for 'capturum esse' to express the confidence of the Carthaginians. Or we may say that 'si paulum an- nitatur' is added as an afterthought to qualify the too strong 'cepisse.'

§ 9. vano. A predicate, 'without effect.'

§§ 10, 11. Phalarica. This weapon had a handle which was rounded except at the part into which the long steel head was fixed. This part was square, and round it tow smeared with pitch was wound.

§ 11. Sed id maxime . . . pavorem faciebat, quod, &c., 'but the most alarming thing was that even if . . . &c., yet since it was sent with its middle part alight and the flame that it brought was made much fiercer by its motion through the air, it caused shields to be thrown away, thus leaving the soldier unprotected against the next blow.'

§ 12. conceptum can hardly be translated, but 'concipere ignem' is 'to catch fire,' and therefore 'conceptum ignem' is 'the fire that it had caught.' 'Maiorem' is equivalent to 'auctum,' and is therefore constructed with an ablative. Livy uses ablatives with great freedom.

Chap. § 1. pro victo, 'as good as conquered.'

§ 2. impeditum trepidantemque, 'entangled and confused,' i.e. thrown into confusion by the difficult ground.

fusum fugatumque. A formula, 'in rout.'

§ 3. nec Hannibali . . . operaes esse, lit. 'and that it was not worth Hannibal's while' ('operae' for 'operae pretium'), i.e. 'Hannibal had no time.' Polybius makes the envoys come to Hannibal while he is still at New Carthage and before he attacks Saguntum (3. 15).

§ 4. ne quid pars altera, &c. 'in order to prevent the opposition from making any concessions to Rome.'

Chap. § 1. ea quoque . . . legatio: 'quoque' means 'as well as the one to hannibal.' The ambassadors were the same in each case, so 'legatio' may be translated 'journey of the envoys.'

§ 3. supersit. In strict grammar 'superesset' ought to be used
here. For Hanno said 'that the treaty with Rome would never be safe, as long as there was anyone left of the race and name of Barca.' The oratio obliqua depends on 'obtestans,' which takes its character from 'egit,' and is therefore historic.

§ 4. viamque unam ad id cernentem, si, &c., lit. 'and seeing (only) one way to this, (namely) if he ...' i.e. 'and seeing that the only way to obtain it is to live ...' Livy is thinking of Julius Caesar's policy of prolonging his command in Gaul.

§ 5. rupta foederis sunt ulti. See on 'ex foedere' in § 8. 'Ulti' agrees with 'Romani' implied in 'Romanae legiones.'

§ 6. bonus, of course ironical.

sustulit, 'has abrogated,' i.e. 'has disregarded.'

res ex foedere repetunt, 'they demand restitution' (or 'compensation') according to the treaty.

ut publica fraus absit, 'so that the state may be free from guilt,' which it would not be if it made itself responsible for the action of Hannibal.

§ 7. Aegates insulas. These were off Lilybaeum. The Carthaginian fleet was defeated there in an action which ended the First Punic War. Erycem. The mountain held by Hamilcar at the end of the First Punic War. See Introduction.

§ 8. Mars alter, 'a second Mars.'

isti is often a contemptuous word, and applied to opponents.

volunt, 'will have it.'

ex foedere, 'as we ought to have done according to the treaty.' The Epitome of Livy's XIVth book says 'Carthaginiensium classis auxilio Tarentinis venit, quo facto ab iis foedus violatum est.' Nevertheless no notice was taken of this (which happened in B.C. 272) until it was raked up as a grievance before the beginning of the First Punic War. Polybius shows, by quoting treaties between Rome and Carthage, that there was no clause in any treaty binding the Romans to keep out of Sicily and the Carthaginians out of Italy (καθ' ἡς ἐδει Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι Σικελίας ἀπάσης, Καρχηδονίους δ' Ἰταλίας, 3. 26).

The whole speech is of course Livy's. It is thoroughly Roman in feeling. Notice, besides the expression commented on in § 4, the tone of abject subservience to Rome, which could not possibly have had effect in a Carthaginian assembly. But neither Livy nor any other ancient historian ever meant us to suppose that the speeches which they put into their characters' mouths were really spoken by them. They are much too short, and correspond to the reflections and digressions of modern histories.

§ 9. id de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus, &c., has no grammatical connection with the rest of the sentence. Translate, 'and
the disputed point as to which of the two nations had broken the treaty was settled by the fortune of the war, which, like a just judge, gave victory to those who had justice on their side.'

§ 10. Carthagini, &c. 'It is against Carthage that Hannibal,' &c.

§ 11. in eo, masc., 'in his case.'

paternas inimicitiias, 'my quarrel with his father.' This quarrel between Hanno and Hamilcar had arisen in the war with the mercenaries. For some time the two generals had commanded jointly, but they could not agree, so the government allowed the soldiers to choose which general they would have. They chose Hamilcar, and Hanno was recalled. Subsequently Hanno was again sent out to help Hamilcar, and the two were ordered to be reconciled to each other; but their friendship apparently did not last beyond the end of the war.

§ 12. nec dedendum. Supply 'censeo.'
ad piaeculum, 'to be an atonement.'
sollicitare, 'trouble.'

Chap. 11.

§ 1. nemini . . . necesse fuit, 'no one thought it necessary.'
adeo prope omnis, lit. 'so almost entirely was the senate on Hannibal's side;' i.e. 'so overwhelming a majority had Hannibal's party in the senate.'

Flaccum Valerium. The usual order is 'Valerium Flaccum.' The ambassador's full name was 'Publius Valerius Flaccus,' Publius being his own name ('praenomen'), Valerius the name of his 'gens' ('nomen'), and Flaccus what we may call his family name ('cognomen').

§ 2. bellum ortum ab Saguntius. Hannibal had contrived that this should appear to be the case. See 6. 1, 'certamina cum finitimis serebanur,' &c. He had done this in order to justify his conduct to the Carthaginian government: he did not wish to justify his conduct to Rome. According to Livy he refused to see the Roman ambassadors (9. 3); according to Polybius (who makes them come to him before the siege) he received them, but answered them with absurd charges against Rome, being 'full of unreasonableness and violent anger,' while he repeatedly sent to Carthage for instructions, telling them that the Saguntines had been emboldened by their alliance with Rome to injure some of the subjects of Carthage (πρὸς δὲ Καρχηδόνιους διεπιμπέτον πυθανόμενος τί δεί ποιεῖν, ὧτα Ζακανθαίων . . . τινάς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ταττομένων ἀδικοῦσιν, Polyb. 3. 15).

vetustissimae Carthaginienšium societatì. The first treaty between Rome and Carthage was made, Polybius tells us, in the con-
sulship of Lucius Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius, the first consuls (i.e. B.C. 509. According to the ordinary account Horatius was never Brutus’ colleague, but was elected to fill his place when he was dead).

§ 3. quia fessum militem... habebat. ‘because he found his soldiers tired.’

pro contione, ‘before the assembled army.’

§ 5. ut... ita. Notice the frequency of this formula in Livy. It is almost like the μεν... δέ of Greek writers. The Saguntines had rest from battle, but not from engineering.

ut novum murum... referrent. The ‘novum’ is proleptic.

§ 6. oppugnatio eos, &c. They were attacked by an assault fiercer than any that had gone before.

qua primum aut potissimum, &c. ‘what place demanded their help first and most urgently.’

satis scire poterant, ‘could they know for certain.’ ‘Satis’ has a stronger meaning in negative (where it often means ‘satisfactorily’) than it has in positive sentences (where it often means ‘tolerably,’ see ‘satis creditur,’ 8. 3).

§ 7. turris mobilis, a tower on wheels. These were regular siege-engines and seem to have been of enormous size, the smallest used being nearly ninety feet in height and having a square base of which the side measured twenty-five feet. They tapered slightly towards the top. They were divided into several stories (‘tabulata’). They carried slingers, archers, and engines of war, and in the lowest story there was a battering-ram. There were one or more drawbridges affixed to the tower by which the besiegers might pass on to the ramparts or towers of the besieged city.

Vergil (Aen. 12. 672 foll.) describes such a tower on fire:—

‘Ecce autem, flammis inter tabulata volutus
Ad cachum undabat vertex turrimque tenebat,
Turrim, compactis trabibus quam eduxerat ipse
Subdideratque rotas pontesque instraverat altos.’

catapultis ballistisque. The former threw darts, the latter stones. The propelling power was thongs or ropes (apparently of horse-hair). Probably a bar was inserted between two of these, twisted round and then secured by a catch, so as to be ready on being released to hurl forwards the stone or dart that was placed on one end of it.

§ 8. occasionem ratus, ‘thinking that the time for this had come.’

quod caementa, &c. ‘because the stones were not firmly fixed together with mortar, but merely joined with clay, according to an old fashion of building.’

§ 9. latius, quam qua caederetur, ruebat, lit. ‘it fell down more widely than where it was being struck,’ i.e. ‘more fell down than was
Chap. actually assailed.' The part battered by the Africans brought down
with it a great deal more of the hastily constructed 'new wall.'

\[\text{patentia ruinis, 'the breach thus made.'}\]

§ 10. velut arecem. There was a real Saguntine 'arx' in the town
that we shall find mentioned below.

\[\text{Saguntini murum interiorem ... ducunt. The object of this}\]

was to put the Carthaginian 'arx' outside the diminished city.

§ 11. muniunt. The word is akin to 'moenia' (cf. Punicus and
Poeni), 'raise walls.'

\[\text{interiora tuendo. 'In dies' qualifies 'interiora' as well as 'mino-}\]

rem;' 'the Saguntines, by constantly contracting their line of defence,
made their city smaller day by day,' i.e. their walls were constantly
taken and they had each time to repeat the manœuvre of putting the Car-
thaginians outside their city, and thus constantly lessened Saguntum.

§ 12. inopia omnium, 'the want of all necessaries' (objective

\[\text{genitive). quum tam procul, &c., 'since the Romans, their sole hope, were}\]

so far away, and all around was in the power of the enemy.'

§ 13. affectos animos recreavit, 'revived their drooping spirits.'

\[\text{qui duo populi, &c. 'two tribes, who, terrified by the rigour}\]

with which troops were levied from them, seized the recruiting officers
and showed alarming signs of revolt, when they were surprised by
Hannibal's promptness and laid down their arms again.'

Chap.

§ 1. cives, 'his own soldiers.'

§ 2. aliquot, 'several;' aliquantum, 'a considerable part.'

§ 3. ad ipsam arecem. The real Saguntine citadel.

\[\text{Tentata deinde per duos, &c. 'Two men tried to make peace,}\]

small hope as there was of it.'

§ 4. precibus aliquid moturum ratus. 'Se' is understood:
'thinking that he would effect something by his prayers,' i.e. 'thinking
that his prayers would have some effect.'

\[\text{condiciones ... tristes, 'harsh terms.' ut ab irato victore, &c. 'as might be expected from an exaspe-}\]

rated conqueror.'

\[\text{transfuga ex oratore, &c. 'the ambassador turned deserter and}\]

stayed.' 'Ex oratore' means 'from being an ambassador.' For the
sense of 'orator,' cf. 24. 3, 'oratores et regulos eorum misit;' and—

\[\text{Centum oratores augusta ad moenia regis}\]

\[\text{Ire iubet} \text{(Verg. Aen. 7. 153).}\]

\[\text{Ipse oratores ad me regnique coronam}\]

\[\text{Cum sceptro misit} \text{(Ib. 8. 505).}\]

\[\text{lamque oratores aderant ex urbe Latina} \text{(Ib. 11. 100).}\]

\[\text{moriturum, 'that any one would be put to death who,' &c.}\]

\[\text{Centum oratores augusta ad moenia regis}\]

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\[\text{moriturum, 'that any one would be put to death who,' &c.}\]
§ 5. Postulabatur autem, 'The demands made were,' &c. 'Autem' is explanatory here, corresponding to the 'now' of old English, but is not to be translated in modern English.

redderent res, 'that they should make restitution,' as in 10. 13. This implies that some actual wrong had been done to the Turdctani by the Saguntines.

cum singulis vestimentis. This may possibly mean 'with one change of clothes besides what they had on.' Otherwise it will contradict 'cum binis vestimentis' in § 7 of the next chapter.

iussisset. We say 'should order,' the more logical Romans said 'should have ordered.'

§ 6. abnuente is here practically equivalent to 'negante,' but Livy naturally employed a word that implied refusal.

vini animos, &c., a universal proposition ('that courage is subdued when,' &c.). From which Alorus meant the inference to be drawn that the Saguntine courage was subdued in the present case.

interpretem. The negotiator.

publice Saguntinis, 'of the city of Saguntum.'

§ 7. praetorem Saguntinum. Cf. 'praetorem Campanum' (23. 7. 8). This 'praetor' was probably both commander-in-chief and supreme magistrate at Saguntum. The Roman consuls were originally called 'praetors,' and the 'praetorship' (in the narrower sense) was instituted after the consulship had been opened to the plebeians, to provide as it were a third consul who must be a patrician. Cicero (ad Att. 9. 9. 3) says of the praetors, 'cum ita rogantur ('are proposed for election') ut collegae consulibus sint,' though he adds 'quorum est mains imperium.'

(et ipse ita iubebat.) These parentheses are common in classical Latin. Cf. '(cum praefecerat Hannibal),' in § 1 of this chapter.

§ 8. senatus Alorco datus est, 'Alorus was given leave to address the senate.'

§ 2. pro, 'in consideration of.'

§ 3. Vestra autem causa, &c. 'That what I am now saying to you is said for your sakes, and yours only, let this fact prove,' (or 'this fact may prove'), 'the fact that I never,' &c. 'Vel' gives emphasis to 'ea,' 'even this.'

dum . . . restitistis . . . dum . . . sperastis, 'as long as you held out,' &c.

'When the particle "dum" denotes what happens while something else happens (consequently contemporary), and especially what happens, because something else happens (occasioned by it), it is usually constructed with the present, although the action be past and the perfect (sometimes the pluperfect) used in the leading proposition . . . When "dum" signifies as long as, it never has the present, except of actually
NOTES TO BOOK XXI.

Chap. 13. present time; Hoc feci, dum licuit (Cic. Phil. iii. 13), Madvig, Lat. § 336, obs. 2.

§ 4. pacem... magis necessariam quam aequam, 'terms of peace, which are all that you can demand, if not all that you might expect.'

'aequam' differs from 'iustam.' Alorcus would not charge Hannibal with injustice.

§ 5. Cuius ita aliqua spes est, &c. 'There is no hope of this unless you listen to the terms with the belief that you are vanquished, just as Hannibal offers them with the knowledge that he is victorious, and unless, remembering that all you have belongs to the conqueror, you look not upon what you forfeit as a fresh loss, but regard all that is left to you as left out of generosity.' The whole sentence is in the manner of Thucydidès.

§ 6. dirutam, captam... habet. 'Habet' implies possession, or a lasting condition (cf. 'fessum habebat,' 11. 3), but it is used here almost as an auxiliary; a use which must have been very common in vulgar Latin, and which has passed into Italian. In the English phrase 'I have taken the city,' 'taken' agrees with 'city' and is the past participle passive.

§ 7. servat, he promises to keep.

cum binis vestimentis. One on and one for change. See note on 'singulius vestimentis' in 12. 5. If the words will bear the meaning suggested there (which is very doubtful), we can easily understand that Alorcus used the word 'binis' so as to make the terms appear as good as possible to the besieged. Otherwise, we must suppose that Livy has made a slip of the pen.

§ 8. haec, ... fortuna vestra vobis suadet, 'to this your misfortunes counsel you to submit.'

Equidem is generally, but not always, used with the first person singular.

§ 9. rapi trahique. The words are often thus coupled.

Chap. 14. § 1. concilium, 'a meeting.'

plerique. Notice the position of the word. All the 'primores' were concerned in throwing the gold and silver into the fire, but they did not all throw themselves in.

§ 2. per... ruinam eius, through the breach made by its fall.

signum... dedisset. By no special sign, but by the mere fact of their charge.

§ 3. non cunctandum in tali occasione. This is merely an ornamental way of saying 'thinking that it was a good opportunity.' Livy does not mean that Hannibal was taking an unfair advantage. It would have been more generous to wait, but Alorcus was not an ambassador, nor was there a truce.

Quod imperium crudele, ceterum. To make the sentence
strictly grammatical, either 'ceterum' should be left out or 'fuit' inserted after 'crudele.'

Livy here himself excuses Hannibal's cruelty; on which see note on 4. 9.

We find instances in Livy's history of like massacres committed by the Romans, but there is generally more excuse for them. But if the cultured Athenians on the surrender of Melos put all the adult males to death, and made slaves of the women and children (ἀπέκτειναν Μηλίων ὄσον ἡβώντας ἐλαβον, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναικές ἴπτεραπόδισαν, Thuc. v. 116), we cannot think conduct of the same kind atrocious in a Phoenician, brought up among a people who thought lightly of mutilation and torture.

§ 1. corrupta, 'destroyed' or 'spoil.' Fire would not actually destroy gold or silver, though it would spoil works of art in those metals.

§ 2. tamen et ex pretio, &c. 'yet it is certain that a large sum of money was realised from the sale of the goods.'

§ 3. Octavo mense, quam. Weissenborn compares iii. 8. 2, 'tertio die, quam interregnum inserat.'

inde ... deinde mark successive stages, here of time.

ab Carthagine, from New Carthage.

§ 4. in suo magistratu, in their own year of office, i.e. not as proconsuls, in which case they would have fought during the consulship of others. Livy's argument is that if Hannibal took eight months over the siege of Saguntum, say three or four in winter quarters and five on the march to Italy, altogether at least sixteen months, the men who fought against him as consuls in Italy could not have been consuls at the beginning of the siege of Saguntum, since the consuls held office for only a year. Livy must be allowed to have proved his point that he has got into difficulties with his chronology. A reference to Polybius might have helped him out of them, but he preferred to follow some more imaginative, if less accurate, historian, who gave a stirring account of the siege and capture.

According to the careful Polybius, Saguntum was taken in the consulship of M. Livius Salinator and L. Aemilius Paulus (B.C. 219), after eight months' siege. The end of that year and the beginning of the next were spent by Hannibal in winter quarters at New Carthage.

He began his march shortly before the spring of B.C. 218, the year of the consulship of Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus, the former of whom he defeated at the Ticinus, and both at the Trebia in the autumn of the same year.

§ 5. aliquanto, 'considerably.' Events would have had to be very considerably shorter to bring nearly all the siege of Saguntum and Hanni-
Chap. 15. balloon's march into the space between March 15th (the day on which the consuls entered on office) and the beginning of winter. Livy's other alternative, Weissenborn remarks, would not agree with Hannibal's going into winter quarters immediately after the capture of Saguntum, for it would make him take Saguntum in the spring.

§ 6. excessissse... non potest, lit. 'cannot have slipped out into,' i.e. 'cannot have happened so late as.' Livy here disposes (quite justly) of the only means, except the right one, now left him of escaping out of his difficulties; namely, a suggestion that Trebia may have been fought in B.C. 217 (Scipio and Sempronius being proconsuls and not consuls at the time). His answer to this suggestion is, that at the battle of Trebia Cn. Servilius Geminus and C. Flaminius Nepos cannot have been consuls. For they were not elected until after Trebia, because it was after Trebia that Sempronius came to Rome to hold as consul the comitia in which Flaminius was elected.

creatus a Ti. Sempronio consule, 'having been elected under the presidency of the consul Ti. Sempronius.' So also below, 'ad creandos consules' means to preside at the consular elections. At the time of the Second Punic War these elections seem, as a rule, to have been held in December.

Chap. 16. § 2. patres, 'the Senators.'
de summa rerum, 'for the welfare of Rome.'
§ 3. nam, 'for they were convinced that.'
rem Romanam, 'Rome.'

§ 4. Sardos Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios. All the wars here mentioned took place between the First and Second Punic Wars. Corsica had been annexed shortly after Sardinia had been stolen; both islands had subsequently rebelled, and were subdued in B.C. 234.

The war against the Illyrians was begun in B.C. 229 to stop their piracy and to avenge the murder of a Roman envoy by Teuta their queen-regent. It was finished soon afterwards, the Romans making Demetrius of Pharos regent in place of Teuta for her son Pineus; but in B.C. 219, the Romans finding that Demetrius was attacking their subjects in Illyria, sent against him the consuls Lucius Aemilius Paulus and Marcus Livius Salinator, who took Pharos, Demetrius escaping to Philip of Macedon. It was this war which prevented the Romans from helping Saguntum.

The Histri were subdued in B.C. 221.
et eum Gallis tumultuatum, &c. (cf. S. 7, 'tumultuariae pugnae'), 'and with the Gauls there had been more of skirmishing than war.' A rhetorical exaggeration, which is not meant as a statement of Livy's own opinion, but as an indication of the tone of speeches in the Senate. No doubt in the last war the Gauls had not been nearly so
formidable as Hannibal now was; nevertheless, the war had been a serious one. On the other hand, we should notice that 'tumultus' is specially used of civil war or war against the Gauls of Northern Italy.

§ 5. trium et viginti. Like us the Romans said 'three-and-twenty' or 'twenty-three.' Though three-and-twenty years elapsed between the First and Second Punic Wars, the Carthaginian campaigns in Spain had not occupied all that time. Hamilcar went to Spain in B.C. 238, not B.C. 241.

'\textit{recentem ab, 'fresh from.'}
\textit{trahere secum, &c. 'already they were bringing with them numbers of Spanish nations whom they had persuaded to join them, to these they would add the tribes of Gaul, tribes ever hungry for battle; and the Romans would have to fight in Italy, and fight to save Rome with the whole world arrayed against them.'}

§ 1. Nominatae, &c. The two provinces which Scipio and Sempronius were to divide had already been decided on by the Senate, they were now to draw lots to determine who was to have which.

\textit{consulibus. It was now the winter of B.C. 219, therefore Scipio and Sempronius cannot have been consuls, though they may have been consuls elect ('consules designati').}

§ 2. socium. Gen. plur.
\textit{ipsis. The consuls.}

§ 3. millia . . . mille. For the construction of these words, see Madvig's Lat. Gr. § 72.
\textit{quinqueremes. Here an adjective agreeing with 'naves,' often used as a substantive.}

\textit{deducti. Sc. sunt, 'were launched.' The word agrees with the nearer substantive 'celoces,' which in Livy is masculine, but in other writers feminine.}

§ 4. vellent iuberent. \textit{Oratio obliqua. What the magistrate said was 'Velitis iubeatis, Quirites,' the 'ct' being omitted, as is usual in such formulae.}

\textit{supplicatio. A solemn service of prayer and thanksgiving, generally connected with a lectisternium, for which see ch. 62. 8-9.}

\textit{quod bellum. Notice that 'bellum' is inserted in the relative and omitted in the antecedent clause.}

§ 5. quaterna . . . treceni. Distributives. Each legion consisted of 4000 foot and 300 horse. See notes on 22. 36. 4.

§ 6. ita, restrictive, 'with orders not to cross into Africa unless his colleague was able unaided to keep the Carthaginians out of Italy.'

§ 7. quia L. Manlius praetor, &c. 'because the praetor, Lucius Manlius, had orders to go to (Cisalpine) Gaul, and he too was to have a strong force under him.'
Chap. § 8. maxime . . . deminutus, lit. 'was especially cut down.' The sentence may be translated, 'It was the number of Scipio's ships that was especially small.'

aut ea parte belli dimicaturum, 'or would choose that element as his field of action.'

eum suo iusto equitatu, 'with their regular complement of cavalry.' This was 200 to each legion. See on 22. 36. 4.
equitibus, i.e. 'sociis.'

§ 9. eodem versa in Punicum bellum, 'all ready for the same purpose, namely, war with Carthage.' This seems the only possible sense to be got out of a hard and probably corrupt passage. As the passage stands, we must suppose 'versa' to agree with 'millia.' The forces mentioned in this section were under the command of the praetor, L. Manlius. See § 7.

Chap. § 1. maiores natu. Men of advanced age were sent, as being more dignified.

§ 2. et si, id quod facturi videbantur, &c. 'and to declare war against the people of Carthage, in event of their admitting that the attack had been made with the authority of the State, and defending it on that ground, a course which it was thought they would adopt.' 'Defenderent' means '(if) they should say in vindication,' and the acc. and inf. depend upon it just as much as they do on 'faterentur.'

§ 3. quum senatus datus esset. Cf. 12. 8 'senatus Alorco datus est.' The arrangement of the whole sentence is very idiomatic. We should make the clauses hang together in a different way in English: 'As soon as the Roman ambassadors arrived at Carthage, they were admitted to audience by the Senate, whereupon Quintus Fabius merely put to them the question that he had been instructed to ask.'
tum ex Carthaginiensisibus unus, a verb of saying is understood.

§ 4. Praeeeps, 'peremptory' (Church and Brodribb, and Capes).
tanquam . . . oppugnantem, 'on the ground that he was attacking,'

verbis adhuc, &c. 'if so far its words are milder, has yet a more hostile intent.'

§ 5. insimulabatur, 'was accused.'

confessio culpae exprimitur, 'you try to extort a confession of guilt;' 'ex-primere' is 'to squeeze out.' The whole paragraph means, 'All you ask is, "Are you guilty?" What you mean is, "You are guilty, and must repair the wrong."'

§ 6. Ego . . . non . . . censeam, 'I should not think.'
iure an injuria, 'rightly or wrongly.'

§ 7. animadversio (punishment). The words 'atque animadversio' can have no grammatical connection with 'quid . . . fecerit,' and refer
only to the possibility of Hannibal having done something 'suo arbitrio.' The sentence is literally, 'To us belongs this inquiry (about) and punishment of our countryman, (to see) what he has done by our authority or (what) by his own.' This, Weissenborn observes, is short for 'To us belongs this inquiry into the conduct of our countryman, to see . . . own, and to us belongs the punishment of him, if he is found to have done anything on his own authority.'

quid nostro aut suo must stand for 'quid nostro aut quid suo.' The expression is slightly contemptuous.

vobisca una disceoptatio est, &c. 'the only question that we have to discuss with you is whether the treaty allowed the attack to be made.'

§ 8. Itaque quoniam discerni placet, &c. Ironical. The speaker proceeds to show that Hasdrubal had made his treaty with Rome 'sua sponte,' and that therefore that treaty could not be regarded as valid any more than the one concluded by C. Lutatius Catulus, which the Romans refused to recognise. Though the Romans did not ratify that treaty, they ratified a slightly altered form of it. C. Lutatius himself helped to negotiate this, the treaty mentioned in the present section ('nobis vobisca foedus est a Lutatio consule ictum'). It is distinguished from the treaty which was annulled ('quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobisca foedus ict,' § 10; cf. 'Lutatii priore foedere, quod mutatum est,' ch. 19, sec. 2). C. Lutatius was not really consul when the second of those treaties, the valid one, was concluded. His year of office had just expired. See Introduction.

§ 9. At enim introduces a supposed objection of the opponent.

Saguntini excipiuntur, 'the Saguntines are protected by a special clause.' We noticed on 2.7 that there was no such clause in the treaty with Hasdrubal. Polybius tells us that the Saguntines had put themselves under Roman protection several years before 'Hannibal's time,' i.e. before Hannibal's attack on their city. It must have been, therefore, very soon after the treaty with Hasdrubal that Saguntum became an ally of Rome. By making the alliance, the Romans certainly broke the spirit of their agreement with Hasdrubal. On the other hand, Hannibal did not violate that agreement in any way by attacking Saguntum, but he broke the earlier treaty (made at the end of the Second Punic War), in which Rome and Carthage agreed not to attack each other's allies. He did not break Hasdrubal's treaty until he crossed the Ebro on his march towards Italy.

§ 10. quod C. Lutatius . . . foedus ict . . . negastis vos eo teneri. For 'negastis vos eo foedere teneri, quod C. Lutatius nobisca ict,' 'ict' is a rare form, 'perceussi' being generally used for the perfect (as 'serio' is for the present) of the supine 'ictum.'

aliud de integro foedus, i.e. Catulus' second treaty (B.C. 241).
Chap. 18.

§ 12. aliquando, 'at last.'

§ 13. Sub hanc vocem, 'As soon as he had uttered these words.' feroxiter, 'boldly.'

daret, utrum vellet. Livy means that their words (translated into Latin) were 'Da, utrum vis.' Polybius says that when the Roman ambassador offered peace or war it was one of the Carthaginian kings who told him ὑπόθετον αὐτοῖς φαίνεται, τούτ' ἐκβαλεῖν (to throw out whichever the Romans thought best). Otherwise his account of the proceeding agrees with Livy's, except that he says πλείονως where Livy says 'omnes.'

Chap. 19.

§ 1. Ex, 'in accordance with.'

de foederum iure, 'about the rights of the case according to the treaties.'

quum ante, tum maxime, &c. 'especially now that Saguntum was destroyed.' 'quum ante, tum' is just like ἀλλὰς τέ καὶ. We need not take 'excisa' (or 'excidium' in 16. 1) too literally.

excisa. The fem. form Saguntus is late, so we must suppose this to be a 'construction according to the sense' ('urbe').

§ 2. Nam: this explains what is implicitly but not explicitly told us in § 1, viz. that the Romans could have answered the Carthaginians 'de foederum iure,' if they had cared to do so.

si verborum disceptationis res esset, 'if the matter had been one to be discussed by words.' quid foedus . . . comparandum erat. Illogically put for 'Romani rogare potuissent quid foedus . . . comparandum esset.' A like figure of speech is common in colloquial English.

§ 3. diserte, 'expressly.'

ita . . . si populus censuisset. Here again (as in 17. 6) 'ita' is strongly restrictive; 'that it was not to become valid, unless the people assented to it.'

The words of the treaty as given by Polybius were as follow:—

'Friendship to be on these terms between the Carthaginians and Romans, if the people of Rome agree to it. The Carthaginians are to evacuate Sicily, and not to make war upon Hiero, nor attack the Syracusans or their allies. The Carthaginians are to restore to the Romans all their prisoners of war without ransom. The Carthaginians are to pay to the Romans in 20 years 2200 Euboic silver talents.' This treaty '(Lutatii) prius foedus' was not ratified.

In the amended treaty the amount of the war indemnity was increased to 3200 talents, to be paid in ten years, and it was also added that the Carthaginians should evacuate all the islands lying between Italy and Sicily. There seems to have been also a clause to the effect that each party should abstain from attacking the allies of the other.
nec... quiequam is equivalent to 'et nihil.'

ut ne mortuo quidem, &c. 'that nothing in it was changed even when the man responsible for it was dead.'

§ 4. Quanquam, 'And yet.'

iis qui tune essent, &c. These are quotations in oratio obliqua, representing imagined clauses in the treaty, which would be 'iis, qui nunc sunt, (sociis) exceptis,' and 'ne qui (socii) postea assumantur,' (let no allies be subsequently enrolled).

§ 5. quis aequum censurset. We should have expected 'censuisset.' The argument is 'a fortiori.' If allowed to make new 'socii,' of course the Romans might take anyone into their 'fides' or 'amicitia' (a weak form of 'societas').

tantum ne, 'provided only that...not.' Livy's answer to the Carthaginian arguments, as they are given in the last chapter and in Polybius 3. 21, is very just. It may, as was said in a former note, be doubtful how far the acceptance of Saguntum into the Roman People's 'fides et amicitia' was consistent with the treaty with Hasdrubal, but the Carthaginians who now repudiated that treaty could not object to Rome regarding Saguntum as her friend.

Carthage became the aggressor the instant that she made herself responsible for the attack on Saguntum. Hannibal, though for other reasons he had done what he could to put the Saguntines in the wrong, had certainly meant that attack to be a declaration of war against Rome. Polybius says that the attack on Saguntum certainly broke the treaty made with Lutatius, and that the Carthaginians were the beginners of the Second Punic War; but that they were quite justified in beginning it considering the way in which Rome had robbed them of Sardinia in the time of their distress.

§ 8. celebre has here almost the force of a participle.

§ 9. Poenus hostis perdidit, vos socii prodideritis. Each of the words in the first clause has a corresponding word opposed to it in the second. The opposition of 'perdo' to 'prodo' has especial force.

§ 10. documentum, 'a lesson' or 'a warning.'

§ 11. ab nullo deinde, &c. 'they met with no less hostile answers from any Spanish people, of whom they afterwards received audience.'

§ 1. In his. Sc. 'gentibus' (implied in 'Gallia' in the last sentence).

§ 3. tantus cum fremitu risus, 'such loud laughter.'

§ 4. adeo gives the reason for the laughter. 'So stupid and impudent a request did it seem to suppose that the Gauls ought to bring the war upon themselves...so as to prevent it from reaching Italy.'

As the dependent sentence with 'ne' comes first in the Latin, we have 'Galli' there instead of having 'Gallos' before 'ipsos.' The appo-
Chap. 20. sition of 'postulatio' and 'censere' is somewhat illogical, but not too illogical to be preserved in translation.

§ 5. meritum is here a substantive.

§ 6. contra ea is equivalent to 'contra,' 'on the contrary.'

gentis suae homines, &c. Probably this alludes to the foundation of the Roman colonies, Placentia and Cremona, in Cisalpine Gaul. Preparations were being already made for the colonisation, which does not, however, seem to have been actually effected till B.C. 218. See chap. 25.

stipendium, here 'tribute.'

cetera, not merely 'other,' but 'the (i.e. all) other.'

§ 7. Massiliam. This town (now Marseilles) had long been an ally of Rome.

§ 8. Ibi omnia. &c. 'There the Romans learnt the result of the careful and faithful inquiries of their allies, namely, that Hannibal had already won over the minds of the Gauls.'

ni subindec auro, &c. 'unless he from time to time secured the good-will of the chieftains by gold.'

§ 9. satis constante fama, &c. 'for nearly all reports agreed in stating that the Carthaginians had already crossed the Ebro.'

Chap. 21. § 1. non ducem solum, &c. Hannibal may have sometimes feared that he would be dismissed from his command for attacking Saguntum, now he learnt that not only was he to be general, but that his surrender had been demanded and refused. Livy seems here to be following Polybius' account, who (with much greater probability) regards the demand for Hannibal's surrender to have been made by the second Roman embassy to Carthage, that is to say, by the embassy which was sent after the fall of Saguntum.

§ 3. pacatis, here 'having been subdued,'

§ 4. ita ... si. Here again 'ita' is strongly restrictive.

§ 5. commeatum, 'leave of absence.'

§ 6. edico adsitis. Understand 'ut.' 'I give you notice to be here.' bellum ingentes gloriae praedaeque futurum, 'a war (that will be one of, i.e.) that will bring ns great renown and plunder.'

§ 7. ultro. See note on 1. 3. As a rule, a soldier asks for furlough (and may have some difficulty in obtaining it), here no one asked and the general went so far as to offer it himself.

desiderantibus, desiderium. These words express the longing for anything lost or absent. Sometimes 'desidero' is merely 'I miss,'

§ 8. inter labores, &c., i.e. 'between their past hardships before Saguntum and the fresh ones that awaited them on their march to Italy.' 'Aut ... aut' is used curiously here, when a single 'et' would be more natural.
ad edictum, i.e. 'diem' or 'locum,' (Capes).

§ 9. recensuisset, 'had reviewed.'

auxilia, 'the contingents.'

Herculi. This means the Tyrian god Melcarth. Gades was an old colony of the Tyrians.

votis, si, 'vows, to be performed if.'
cetera means all his schemes of working vengeance on Rome. It was no doubt at Melcarth's altar that Hannibal had taken his first vow at his father's request. What the new vow was Livy does not tell us.

§ 11. pro eo supplementum, 'a force to fill their place.' This tells us that the 'validum praesidium' for Africa, mentioned in the last section, was to be taken from Hannibal's Spanish troops. This is told us again in the sentence 'ut Afri in Hispania,' &c.

levium armis, 'with light armour.'

velut mutuis pigneribus obligati. It is not easy to see what the 'mutua pignera' were. If they were the soldiers themselves, then it was rather the Africans and Spaniards who stayed in their country who were thus bound to each other as if by an exchange of hostages. But possibly Livy meant the 'pignera' to be the wives, children, and property of the absent soldiers, which were in each case confided to the protection of a force levied from those foreigners in whose country they were going to serve.

stipendia faccrent, 'should serve.'

§ 12. caetratos, 'armed with light shields.'
mixtos ex multis gentibus, 'composed of contingents from many different clans.'

§ 13. Has copias partim ... partim, 'Some of those troops ... some ...'

praesidium eosdem et obsides, 'to serve at once as garrison and hostages.'

§ 2. Hasdrubali fratri, viro impigro, 'to his brother, the brave Hasdrubal.'

Africis ... praesidiis, 'troops taken from Africa,' not all Africans, as we see from the explanation that follows.

§ 3. Libyphoenices. 'These included, on the one hand, the smaller settlements sent forth from Carthage along the whole north and part of the north-west coast of Africa ... and on the other hand, the old Phoenician settlements' (i.e. the Phoenician settlements older than Carthage). Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, English Translation, vol. ii. pp. 9, 10. The 'Liby-phoenicians' were subjects of Carthage, but there was an equality of law between them and the Carthaginians.

§ 4. qua parts belli vicerant. The naval victory won by Lutatius
Chap. off the Aegates insulae had brought the First Punic War to an end. For 22. ‘qua parte belli,’ cf. ‘ea parte belli,’ i. 7, 8.

sed aptae, &c. ‘but only thirty-two quinqueremes and the five tri-remes were equipped and supplied with crews.’

§ 5. Carthaginem. New Carthage is meant.

ducit, sc. ‘exercitum,’ ‘marches.’

§ 6. in quiete, ‘in a dream.’ For this use of the word, cf. Tac. Ann. i. 65, ‘ducemque terruit dira quies.’

§ 7. cura ingenii humani, ‘through natural curiosity.’ ‘Cura’ is ablative and may be taken either with ‘temperare nequivisse,’ or with ‘agitaret animo,’ according as we put a comma after ‘humani’ or after ‘deinde.’ There is no comma after either word in Madvig’s text. This (if it be not a printer’s error) will throw the ‘deinde’ into the ‘quum’ sentence, which seems awkward.

§ 8. fragore coeli, ‘loud thunder.’

§ 9. moles, ‘monster.’

pergeret porro ire represents the ‘perge porro ire’ which are supposed to be the actual words that Hannibal heard in his dream.

Chap. § 1. Hoc visulastus. Here then Livy accepts the story of the dream as authentic, though in the last chapter he only said ‘fama est.’

Gallorum, . . . qua, ‘of the Gauls, who lived where,’

§ 2. orae, ‘region.’

Hannonem, not of course his enemy, Hanno.

fauces, ‘the passes.’

§ 3. ad praesidium obtinendae regionis, ‘as a force to hold the district.’

§ 4. Pyrenaeum saltum, ‘the pass over the Pyrenees.’

inde . . . iter averterunt, ‘deserted:’ lit. ‘turned aside their course from that place’ (‘inde’).

non tam bello motos quam, ‘that they were not so much alarmed at the idea of the war as,’ &c.

§ 5. anceps, ‘dangerous.’

§ 6. et ipsos, i. e. as well as the Carpetani.

Chap. § 1. Iliberrim. Accusative. Here the word is indeclinable, though in §§ 3 and 5 we have an accusative ‘Iliberrim.’

§ 2. metu servitutis, &c. ‘roused to arms by the fear of being enslaved.’

Ruscinonem. Now ‘La tour de Roussillon.’

§ 3. colloqui semet ipsum. The oratio obliqua depends on the words ‘oratores misit.’ Hannibal is supposed to have sent the following message by his ambassadors: ‘Colloqui cum vobis volo, (itaque) vel vos propius Hiliberrim accedite, vel ego Ruscinonem procedam, ut ex
propinquo congressus facilior sit.' The 'ipsum' is added to show that 'semel' is singular and therefore refers to Hannibal, and not to the 'oratores.'

§ 4. et ... nec. Cf. 'nec ... et' in 19. 3: 'In Hasdrubalis foedere nec exceptum tale quiequam facerit, et ... ita vivo eo comprobatum sit foedus.' &c.

nec stricturum ante, &c. 'and he would not draw his sword, unless the Gauls forced him to do so, before he came to Italy.'

§ 5. haec. Supply 'egit' or 'acta sunt.'

cum bona pace. A formula, 'in peace.'

§§ 1. 2. perlatum erat, quum. This is like the English, but unlike the more ordinary Latin, idiom. See 11. 13, 'metum defectionis quum praebuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota arma.'

§ 2. circa Padum. Cremona on the north, Placentia about sixteen miles E. S. E. of it on the south bank.

colonias ... deductas. 'Deducere' is the regular word for founding a colony. Such colonies as Placentia and Cremona (which were Latin colonies, to be distinguished from the old colonies 'civium Romanorum') were planted as garrisons in newly conquered land.

§ 3. ipsi triumviri Romani, 'the Roman committee of three.'

ad agrum ... assignandum, i.e. to divide the land among the colonists.

Mutinam. This was about seventy miles S.W. of Placentia.

§ 5. Id quoque dubium est, &c. 'It is also doubtful whether the men who were ill-used were envoys sent to the Boii to remonstrate, or whether the commissioners were attacked in the act of measuring the land.' However, in §§ 7 and 8 Livy calls them 'legati.'

§ 7. fide, 'promise.'

obsides. The hostages given to the Romans by the Gauls at the end of the last war.

redderentur. We should expect 'redditi essent.' For the Gauls said 'non eos dimittemus, nisi obsides nobis redditi essent.'

§ 8. effusum, 'in loose order.'

§ 9. praecipitat. Here intransitive.

aegre, 'with difficulty.'

§ 10. satis constabat, 'there was little doubt.' Cf. 'satis constante fama,' 20. 9.

§ 13. Gallis territandi et pavendi ... Romanis. Notice the use of the figure 'chiasmus,' by which the order observed in the first two words here is reversed in the two last.

§ 14. ad tempus, 'temporary.'

commeatibusque fluminis, 'and by means of the supplies brought by the river.'
Brixianorum. Brixia was the capital of the Cenomani, who are here meant.

§ 1. tumultus. The word is specially used of a rising of the Gauls; see on 16. 4.

§ 2. conscriptis refers to the five thousand allies only.

§ 3. eius. sc. 'legionis.'

§ 4. pluribus enim divisus. 'Pluribus' is an ablative of description, and 'divisus' is used absolutely. Otherwise it would have to be followed by 'in' with the accusative.

§ 5. Quem ut de Rhodani, &c. 'When he discovered that he was actually ("quoque") thinking about crossing the Rhone.'

quonam ei loco occurreret. This can only mean 'where to meet him.'

auxiliaribus Gallis. These were mercenaries in the service of the Massilians (Pol. 3. 41).


citeriore. From Hannibal's point of view. So also 'ulteriorem' below.

suis, 'their property.'

§ 7. et eorum ipsorum. The Volcae are meant; understand 'illos.'

quos sedes suae tenuerant, &c. 'who had been kept from crossing by the love of home.'

simul et ipsi. This is an anacoluthon. In strict grammar 'Hannibal' should have been made the subject of this sentence.

tanta hominum urgende turba, 'from the burden of having so large an army quartered on them.'

§ 8. temere, 'roughly.'

novasque alias. Though in strict grammar these words are the object of 'cavabant' only, yet their sense affects the whole sentence; and this should be brought out in translation. Indeed the structure of the sentence, though not its descriptive force, would have been improved if Livy had omitted the words 'alveos informes.'

cavabant, Weissenborn says, is equivalent to 'cavando faciebant.'

§ 1. hostes. Nominative.

equites virique, 'horse and foot,' or, as we should say, 'with their horse and foot.' The apposition of 'viri' to 'equites' is strange; we should expect either 'equites peditesque' or 'equi virique.'

§ 2. Quos ut averteret, 'To distract them.'

§ 3. adverso flumine, 'up stream.'

quum opus facto sit, 'when the time came for striking a blow.'

§ 4. Ad id, 'for that purpose.'

inde ... supra, 'above the place where they were.' The sense of
the passage is that about twenty-five Roman miles above Hannibal’s camp there was an island and shallow water round it.

transitum. This word is the object of ‘ostendere,’ and is qualified by the words ‘latiore, ubi dividebatur, coque minus alto alveo.’ The subject to ‘ostendere’ is ‘amnem.’

§ 5. in quibus ... traiicerentur, ‘for transporting.’ It is hard to see what was the advantage of choosing a broad and shallow part of the stream since it was not to be forded but crossed on rafts.

sine ulla mole, ‘without any difficulty.’ Apparently the Spaniards put their clothes on these inflated skins so as not to have to carry them. Then resting their shields on the top of the clothes and their bodies on their shields they paddled across with their feet.

§ 6. alius exercitus means the rest of Hanno’s detachment.

opportune, ‘at the right moment.’

§ 7. edito belongs to ‘loco,’ not ‘fumo.’

e ne temporí deesset, ‘not to miss his opportunity.’ Church and Brodribb.

§ 8. adversí impetum fluminis, ‘the rush of the stream.’

parte superíore, ‘at a point further up.’

§ 9. instratos, ‘saddled.’

ut ex templo, &c. ‘so as to be ready for their riders as soon as they landed.’

§ 2. ex altera ripa. The right bank.

traiciéntes is accusative.

§ 3. anceps, ‘on both sides.’

§ 4. utroque goes with ‘vim facere.’ ‘The Gauls finding themselves repulsed in whichever direction they tried to charge.’

§ 5. varia consilia fuisse. Livy, finding different accounts of the way in which the elephants crossed the Rhone, thinks that possibly several different methods were employed.

**variant memoria actae rei,** ‘there are different accounts of the method adopted.’

ferocíssimum here means ‘the fiercest,’ but only because it means ‘the most high-spirited,’ the two qualities being identical in an angry elephant.

tráxisse gregem, &c. ‘drew all the others after him, the stream carrying each animal to the opposite bank, as soon as it lost its foothold, frightened though it was at the deep water.’

§ 6. id, i.e. ‘ratibus traiicere elephatos,’ but in the next sentence the ‘id’ (understood) will mean ‘eos ratibus traiectos esse.’

§ 7. ducentos longam pedes. It stretched 200 feet out into the river and was 50 feet ‘broad,’ i.e. when measured along the bank,
in which direction both the fixed and the moveable raft described in
the next section were equal, so as to fit exactly.

a terra in amnem goes with ‘porrexerunt.’
secunda aqua, ‘down stream.’
parte superiore ripae, ‘a part of the bank higher up (stream).’
pontis in modum goes with ‘constraverunt.’
humo, ‘earth.’
solum, ‘land.’

§ 8. tum elephanti. The sentence will begin in English, ‘then, when (‘ubi’) the elephants.’

§ 10. donee . . . agerentur. The subjunctive here with ‘donee’ in
the sense of ‘so long as’ is irregular, for the animals did not keep quiet
in order to walk on the rafts; see Madvig’s Latin Grammar. § 360, obs. 2.
ab eeteris, ‘from its surroundings’ (Church and Brodribb), i.e.
from the fixed raft.

§ 11. inter se (ἀλλὰς, ‘each other’) is the object here, as if it
were one word, of ‘urgentes.’

donee . . . fecisset. With ‘donee’ in the sense of ‘until,’ even
where no design is expressed, the subjunctive, though less usual than the
indicative, is not irregular; see Madvig’s Latin Grammar, § 360.

§ 12. saevientes. Frightened animals are often described as
‘infuriated.’

pedetentim. Here in its literal sense. Polybius, from whom
Livy probably took the account of the passage of the elephants by
means of rafts, says that those which fell into the water waded most of
the way across, holding only the tips of their trunks out of the water
(a well-known habit of elephants). But Livy does not seem to know
that elephants can swim (‘nantem’ in § 5 has probably crept into the
text from a commentator’s marginal note).

§ 2. alae. The word was originally used to denote one division of
the legionary cavalry, which was drawn up on both flanks (wings) of
the infantry. Hence it is used generally for a detachment of horse.

quam pro, lit. ‘than in proportion to.’

§ 3. praeter multa vulnera means ‘besides the fact that many
were wounded.’

fugaque et pavor, &c. ‘and it was only the panic of the Numi-
dians that gave,’ &c. (Weissenborn).

Victores. The nominative here and in ‘victi’ is used, instead of
the more natural genitive, because the genitives of the two words are
identical in form.

sed pars Gallorum, ‘but part consisted of Gauls.’ Here we
might have expected ‘sed pars Galli,’ but Livy probably wished to
avoid the jingle ‘Romani . . . Galli, victi.’
amplius. For 'amplius quam.'
§ 4. ut . . . ita, 'although . . . yet.'
ancipitisque. 'Sed' would be more logical than 'que,' as a negative has gone before, but 'haud sane incruentam' is equivalent to 'admodum cruentam.'

ancipitis . . . certaminis victoriam means 'victory won by a severe (lit. doubtful) struggle.'

§§ 5, 6. nee Scipioni, &c. 'Scipio could decide on no course other than that of regulating his movements by the plans and conduct of the enemy, while Hannibal, who had been doubtful whether at once to press on his march to Italy, or fight with the Roman army which had been the first to offer itself, was at last determined to avoid an immediate contest by the arrival of Boian envoys with the chief Magalus. These promised to be his guides and to share his dangers, and advised him to let his attack on Italy be the beginning of the war, without impairing his strength in any previous struggle.'

§ 5. stare sententia poterat. Cf. § 1 of the next chapter: 'ipsi sententia stetit.'

§ 6. nusquam, 'nowhere.'
§ 7. iter immensum Alpesque. A hendiadys, 'the endless journey over the Alps.'

utique qualifies 'inexpertis,' 'to the inexperienced; at any rate.'

§ 1. pergere ire. Cf. 'pergeret porro ire' (22, 9).

varie . . . versat, 'tries to work upon . . . in various ways,' viz. 'castigando adhortandoque' (Weissenborn).

The speech which follows in the oratio obliqua depends on Hannibal 'versat castigando,' &c., i.e. on a historic present, which may be regarded either as a primary or a historic tense. Which Livy meant it to be is not clear, for he has been fairly impartial between the primary and the historic tenses in the subordinate clauses of the speech. Nevertheless such a variation is common even when the oratio obliqua depends on a verb actually past, and corresponds to the change from the perfect to the historic present in oratio recta (see Dean Bradley's edition of Arnold's Lat. Prose Comp. § 525, p. 328).

§ 2. facere. The use of the present must be justified by the fact that the soldiers were still serving. It is however harsh.

§ 3. quicunque, 'all who,' an exaggeration.

§ 4. ab occasu solis ad exortus. From New Carthage to the Rhone. The direction was more north than east.

§ 5. superatum and traiteetum depend like 'emensam' on 'cernant.' Notice the asyndeton throughout this section.

quarum alterum latus, &c. 'the other side of which was Italian.'

§ 6. quid Alpes, &c. 'and yet what did they think the Alps were
Chap. except lofty mountains? This sentence introduces a fresh argument, and it is to this sentence alone that the note of interrogation belongs.

§ 7. Fingerent represents the 'fingite' ('suppose') of oratio recta. profecto, 'at any rate.' pervias fauces, &c. 'their defiles were passable for armies.'

§ 8. pannis sublime elatos, &c. 'borne aloft on wings.' Ne maiores quidem, &c. The Boii (of whom Hannibal is speaking) now dwelt in Cisalpine Gaul, and had migrated thither across the Alps, therefore the Alps were not impassable. The opposition is between 'indigenas' and 'advenas.'

migrantium modo is a comment on 'cum liberis,' &c.

tuto. Adverb.

§ 9. quidem is not to be translated, for it merely gives emphasis to 'milite armato.' exhaustum esse. 'The questions which occur in the oratio directa in the indicative are expressed in the oratio obliqua by the accusative with the infinitive, if the first or third person was employed in the direct style, but in the conjunctive, if the second person was made use of.' (Madvig, Lat. Gram. § 405 a).

§ 10. quod is equivalent to 'ut id' ('that it'), but usually we have simply 'ut' after 'adeo.'

§ 11. cederent . . sperent. See note on § 1. 'Cedere' here means to confess one's self inferior.

genti. The Gauls.
campum. The Campus Martius.

Chap. § 2. adversa ripa, lit. 'up the bank,' i.e. along the bank, up stream.

non quia . . . esset. The subj. implies that the way was not more direct. (It was, in fact, less direct.) The indicative ('non quia . . . erat') would imply that the way was more direct, but that its directness was not Hannibal's reason for choosing it.

quantum. From this word supply its antecedent 'tanto' before 'minus.'

§ 4. Quartis castris, 'after four days' march.'

Isara, the Isère.

agri . . . amplexi, 'amplexi' agrees with 'Isara Rhodanusque;' 'agri' is the genitive after 'aliquantum.'

Insulae is not genitive, but dative, as in the phrase 'mihi nomen est Caio.'

§ 5. iam inde, 'which had even then begun to be.'

§ 6. discors, i.e. with itself.

fratres, 'two brothers.'

pellebatur. Strictly imperfect.

§ 7. peropportuna has the force of an adverb.
reiecta esset, 'had been entrusted.'

§ 8. infames frigoribus Alpes is a poetical way of saying, 'the reports of the intense cold of the Alps.'

§ 9. non recta, &c., 'did not begin his march in a direct line (for the Alps).'</n
d laevam. From the place where the Isère joins the Rhone Hannibal must have turned to the right to go to the country of the Tricastini, unless, as Capes suggests, he first marched down stream.

Druentiam. The Durance.

§ 10. et ipse, as well as the Rhone and the Isère.

fluminum difficilimus. For the masculine, Weissenborn compares Cic. de Natura Deorum, 'Indus, qui est omnium fluminum maximus.'

quum, 'although.'
vim, here 'quantity,' not 'force.'

§ 11. neque iisdem alveis means that the Durance often formed new channels, leaving the old ones.

vada and gurgites are governed by 'praebet.' They mean respectively shallow and deep water, as in 5. 14, and we are to understand that the deep places became shallow, and the shallow deep, from time to time.

pediti quoque, 'even to a man on foot,' i.e. not only to ships.

ad hoc saxa glareosa volvens, &c. Supply a conjunction. 'And since besides all this it brings along with it stones and gravel, it affords no firm or safe footing.'

§ 12. forte . . . auctus, 'happening to be swollen.'

super cetera. 'Super' here means 'besides,' and governs 'cetera,' which is neuter plural.

§ 1. quadrato agmine, 'with his army moving in line of battle,' as in 5. 16.

facturus expresses Scipio's intention.

§ 2. tutius faciliusque . . . occursurus, 'because he knew that in this way he would meet,' &c.

§ 3. sortitus erat, 'had obtained by lot.'

§ 4. conciliaudosque novos, 'and winning others.'

§ 5. defensurus, like 'facturus' in § 1. On the free use of these future participles in Livy see Excursus, p xxiii.

§ 6. campestri, 'over a flat country.'

cum bona pace. A formula, as in 24. 5 'cum bona pace exercitum per fines suos praeter Kuscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.'

§ 7. fama . . . praeecepta res erat, lit. 'the reality had been anticipated by means of rumour.'

torrida frigore, 'parched with cold.'

foedioara, 'more horrible.' Livy does not explain why there was such a hard frost on the lowest slopes of the Alps at that time of year.
Chap. 32. But he was not acquainted with the Alps except on their Italian side, and knowing that their further slopes were colder, he seizes an opportunity for a description of the effects of a severe climate.

§ 8. imminentes, agrees with 'tumulos.'

§ 9. transitum ea non esse, 'that he could not pass that way.'

§ 10. haud sane multum is something like our colloquial 'not so very much.'

lingua moribusque, 'in their language,' &c.

abhorrentes, 'different.'

§ 11. Die deinde simulando aliud, &c. Livy's solemnity here suggests that he thought this an instance of 'perfidia plus quam Punica.'

§ 13. cum expeditis, acerrimo, &c. 'with a light-armed force, consisting of all his bravest soldiers.'

Chap. 33. § 2. quum repente conspiciunt. The ordinary Latin idiom would place the 'quum' in the previous sentence, as has been noticed before.

via, 'by the road,' i.e. by the path through the valley below.

§ 3. immobiles. Predicate.

misceri, 'thrown into disorder.'

§ 4. quicquid. As with our word 'whatever,' the antecedent (which forms the subject to 'fore') is understood.

per diversis rupibus iuxta invia. &c. The 'per' is out of its natural position, for it belongs to 'invia ac devia,' 'iuxta' being here an adverb and not a preposition; 'iuxta invia ac devia' means 'pathless places just as much as difficult places,' and the whole passage means that the Gauls ran down over places where the scattered rocks not only made the path difficult, but often made it impossible that there should be any path at all. 'Knowing the ground well, they ran down slopes which the scattered crags made always difficult, and often precipitous.'

§ 5. tendente. Intransitive.

evaderet. This verb is constructed with the ablative (with or without 'ex') and the accusative, as in § 13 of the last chapter. However, the construction with the accusative is not Ciceronian.

§ 6. infestum . . . faciebant, 'endangered.'

clamoribus dissonis, i.e. the cries raised by the men. Ablative of instrument after 'territi.'

repercussae. In reality it was not the valleys but the sounds that were 'beaten back.'

§ 7. quum praecipites deruptaeque utrinque, &c. 'since the defile was precipitous on both sides.' It is hard to see what can have been the exact idea in Livy's mind as he wrote this. The Carthaginians were apparently going along a valley, and even if we suppose them some way up the slopes on one side, the precipitous nature of the hills on the other side could not affect them now, though it no doubt determined their
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choice of a path. There was certainly only one way in which they could fall, unless it is meant that they were on the ridge which separated one valley from the next, in which case Livy is very far from explicit.

quosdam et armatos, 'some of whom were armed soldiers;' 'et' (which is not to be translated) means 'even' or 'actually,' not 'and.' It is implied that the rest of the 'multi' were drivers of the pack-horses, and so forth.

sed ruinae maxime modo, &c. 'while the pack-horses fell over the cliffs like stones from a shattered wall,' i.e. they fell down one after another in quick succession.

§ 8. foeda, 'horrible;' cf. 'foediora,' 32. 7.
§ 9. ne ... traduxisset. Notice the tense, 'that he would find he had brought ... through the pass.'

exutum impedimentis, 'if the baggage-train were lost' (Capes).

et, quum impetu, &c. Lit. 'and though he put to rout ... he increased the confusion of his own men also.' Translate, 'and routed the enemy at the first onset, though he also added to the confusion of his own soldiers.'

§ 11. magno opere. Often written 'magnopere.'

§ 1. ut inter montanos. Lit. 'considering that (it was) among highland (districts).' Translate, 'for an Alpine one.'

populum, 'district.'
suis artibus, fraude, &c. Livy has as yet given us no examples of 'fraus' on Hannibal's part.

§ 2. alienis malis... doctos memorantes, &c. 'saying that taught by the misfortunes of others ... they preferred,' &c.

§ 3. ad fídem promissorum, 'as a guarantee of their promises.'

acciperet, 'and they begged him to accept.'

§ 4. ne repudiati, &c. explains 'nec asperandum ratus' only.

aperte goes with 'hostes.'

nequaquam ut inter pacatos, &c. 'with his army by no means in the formation adopted among a friendly people.'

§ 5. post. Adverb.

§ 6. parte altera, 'on one side.'

§ 7. hædu dubium fecit, i.e. proved by the stubborn resistance which they encountered,

§ 8. ípse, i.e. with his infantry. The sense is that the infantry could protect the rear of the cavalry, but in so doing must leave their own rear exposed.

§ 9. occurrantes per obliqua, 'attacking him in flank.'

§ 2. Inde, 'After this.'
concursabánt. With 'in,' this means 'made rapid attacks upon.'

progressi morative, 'men who had,' &c.
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§ 4. iugum, 'the ridge,' i.e. the highest point in their ascent.
errors means 'strayings from the right path.' Livy means that the Carthaginian army was delayed by marching over difficult ground where there was no track (invia), and often by going the wrong way and having to retrace its steps.
temere, 'at random.'

§ 5. in rupibus. Not 'in rupes' or 'ex rupibus.' These were not the animals who had fallen over the precipices, none of whom would be at all in a position to follow up the army, but others who had fallen in passing over rough ground and had been left behind.

§ 6. Vergiliarum. The Pleiades. The time of their setting was the end of October, but Livy does not mean any more than that their setting was near. The time that Hannibal arrived at the summit need have been no later than the end of September.

§ 7. pigritia, 'listlessness.'

§ 8. Circumpadanos campos. It is impossible that these could have been seen from the top of any pass which Hannibal is likely to have followed. Polybius has the same account, which is too definite to justify us in saying with Capes that 'the description of Polybius does not imply any such actual view of the plains of Lombardy.'

§ 9. proclivia, uniting as it does the ideas of 'sloping' and 'easy,' to some extent begs the question. See the end of the chapter.
uno aut summum altero, &c. 'after one battle or at most two.'
Notice the use of the cardinal 'uno' with the ordinal 'altero.'

§ 10. parva forta, 'insignificant surprises.'

§ 11. sicut breviora, ita, 'have shorter and therefore steeper slopes.'

§ 12. ut neque, &c. 'so that neither could they keep themselves from slipping, nor when they had once stumbled could they plant their feet so as to avoid a fall.'

§ 1. multo angustiorem rupem, &c. 'a much narrower rocky path among crags so perpendicular,' &c. Livy's descriptions of the Alps are throughout vague. Apparently the army are now descending from the ridge by a path obliquely crossing the steep slope on its Italian side.
aegre, 'with difficulty.'
expeditus miles, 'even a light-armed foot-soldier.'
tentabundus, 'cautiously feeling his way.'
circa. Adverb.

§ 2. Natura ... iam ante praeceps, 'always naturally precipitous,' not perpendicular, which neither 'praeceps' nor 'precipitous' reed mean. 'Rectis' in § 1 is an exaggeration, as is shown by its being qualified by 'ita.'
admodum, 'about.'
§ 4. Haud dubia res visa, quin, 'There was no doubt that (he must).’
Note the use of 'res' here.

per invia circa nee trita antea, 'through the trackless and as yet un trodden wilds around.'

§ 5. nam... insistebant. Though apparently introduced by 'nam' it is not this clause, but the one which ends with 'ingrediebantur,' which gives the reason why the way was 'inexsuperabilis.' The 'insistebant' clause ought logically to be subordinate to the 'ingrediebantur' clause (§ 6). The sense is, 'the difficulties were now insurmountable, for though the first few who attempted to pass could find a firm footing in the new snow which lay on the top of the old hardened snow, yet when this covering had disappeared there was no possibility of standing.

§ 7. Taetra, 'terrible."

ut a lubrica, &c. 'such as would naturally be caused by slippery ice which gave no foot-hold (lit. took no foot-mark), and was the more treacherous as it was on a slope.' But the sense is much improved by the omission of the doubtful words 'ut a.'

ad quas, &c. 'for a man to push against with foot or hand,'

ita in levi. 'Ita' here introduces the consequence, 'and so.'

tantum, best translated by 'mere:,' 'on mere smooth ice,'

§ 8. iactandis gravius, &c. 'by striking out violently with their hoofs in their efforts to rise.'

§ 1. nequicquam, 'without producing any effect.'

aegerrime, with great difficulty." 'Tantum' in the next sentence introduces the reason for this difficulty, 'so great was the quantity of snow which had to be,' &c.

§ 2. ad rupem muniendam, 'to make a road through the rock.'

ducti is here a participle, and does not stand for 'dueti sunt.'

arboribus circa immanibus. Yet we learn from § 4 that 'nuda fere... caumina sunt,' and even supposing that Livy means they were bare of grass, a fortiori they would be bare of trees. Besides, not far from this point there were not even any 'stirpes circa radicesve' (36. 7).

saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. If this was really done by Hannibal, the rock must probably have been limestone, for only this or some other form of chalk would be rapidly decomposed by vinegar. The question where the vinegar came from is difficult to answer. Hannibal could not have brought it with him on purpose. It has been suggested that the sour wine of the soldiers was used, but this would make rather weak vinegar, and further Plato mentions a law of the Carthaginians forbidding their soldiers to drink any wine during a campaign (Laws, 2. 674 A). Perhaps the Spanish troops may have been allowed to bring wine with them. Polybius does not mention the use of vinegar at all.
§ 3. molliuntque anfractibus, &c. 'making the slopes gentler by means of winding paths.'

§ 5. prope, 'almost.' Livy, who was a native of Patavium, seems to have had some knowledge of the Italian slopes of the Alps. But he never thought of crossing them, as Polybius did, to improve his knowledge of Hannibal's route.

§ 1. Hoc maxime modo. Lit. 'Pretty much in this way.'

quinto mense, 'in five months.' Polybius agrees with this. It would bring Hannibal to Italy in October, for he started from New Carthage in May.

quinto decimo die. So Polybius. But this does not agree with the time specified in Livy's detailed account. According to Polybius, who is more consistent, only one day was spent at the landslip before the main body of the army were able to cross it, while it took three days more to widen the road enough to let the elephants pass.

§ 2. qui minimum. Polybius agrees with this smaller estimate, giving the infantry as 12,000 Africans and 8000 Spaniards, and the cavalry as 'not more than six thousand in all.' And he adds the convincing words, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ στῆλῃ τῇ περὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ἔχουσῃ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἐπὶ Λακινίῳ διασαφεῖ ('as Hannibal himself declares on the column at Lacinium which bears the inscription about the numbers of his army'), Pol. 3. 56.

§ 3. L. Cincius Alimentus. He was praetor of Sicily in B.C. 210. He wrote a Roman history in Greek.

maxime me auctor moveret, 'would have the greatest weight with me as an authority.'

§ 4. cum his, &c. 'he (Cincius) says that, including these, eighty thousand,' &c.

magis goes with 'veri simile.'

et ita quidam auctores sunt. Lit. 'and to this effect (i.e. that the Gauls and Ligurians joined Hannibal in Italy) some (writers) are authorities.'

§ 5. triginta sex millia hominum, &c. According to Polybius (3. 60), Hannibal after crossing the Rhone had 38,000 infantry and more than 8000 cavalry. As he arrived in Italy with 20,000 foot and 'not more than 6000 horse,' he lost at the island and in crossing the Alps 18,000 foot and rather more than 2000 horse. This cannot be reconciled with Hannibal's statement to Cincius as given by Livy.

However, when Hannibal left the Pyrenees he had 50,000 foot and 9000 horse (Pol. 3. 35, end), so that between the Pyrenees and Italy he must have lost 30,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, which would be fairly near to the estimate given in this section, especially as 'hominum' no
doubt includes horsemen. 'Rhodanum' might be a mistake either of Livy or of Cincius.

\textit{et aliorum iumentorum.} Probably mules.

§ 6. \textit{ambigi, quanam Alpes transierit.} The doubt has not been settled yet. But the best authorities are agreed that Polybius' account points to the pass over the Graian Alps, now known as the Little St. Bernard. Polybius was a friend of the younger Scipio, and an accurate and painstaking historian. He travelled over the Alps himself to gain a more accurate knowledge of the pass, and he learnt the facts from eyewitnesses. Hence his testimony is beyond all suspicion. But unfortunately he does not mention any names of places or tribes between the Allobroges where Hannibal enters, and the Insubres where he leaves the Alps. His reason for reticence is that the Alps were so little known that the names would convey no meaning. However, his description of the pass—though but little can be argued from that—as different mountain valleys have many features in common—will certainly suit the Little St. Bernard, and that pass did actually lie between the territories of the two tribes that Polybius specifies. Further, the measurements that he gives are consistent with this route, though they can be made to suit others.

Livy, misled by knowing that the Taurini were the first Italian Gauls with whom Hannibal came in conflict, makes him descend into their territory over the Cottian Alps (i.e. by Mont Genèvre), forgetting that Hannibal would wish to bring his tired men into the land of a friendly and not an unfriendly tribe. (Mommsen, \textit{Hist. of Rome, Engl. Trans.} vol. ii. p. 106, and Capes' Livy [Bks. xxi and xxii], Appendix 'on the Route of Hannibal."

\textit{et vulgo eredere}, lit. 'and that (men) commonly believe.' Notice the change of voice, but translate, 'and that it is commonly believed.' The words show that the 'omnes' mentioned above—in any case an exaggeration—must mean 'all the learned.'

\textit{Poenino, sc. 'iugo,'} the Great St. Bernard.

§ 7. \textit{Caelium.} L. Caelius Antipater, fl. circ. B.C. 140. He wrote in Latin. His history of the war with Hannibal seems to have been one of Livy's chief authorities.

\textit{Cremonis iugum.} It is not known what pass is here meant, but possibly it is the Little St. Bernard itself.

\textit{Salassos.} This tribe lived in the valley of the Doria Baltea, along which Hannibal must have passed if he crossed by the Little St. Bernard.

\textit{Libuos.} A tribe dependent on the Insubres.

§ 9. \textit{Neque hercule montibus iis, &c.} 'Nor indeed, according to the account of its inhabitants, the Seduni and Veragri, was the name (Poenine) given to that range . . . , if any one is influenced by that consideration, but,' &c.
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38. Chap. The apodosis to 'si quem,' &c., is the suppressed 'I will state that.'
    ab eo, sc. 'deo.'

39. § 1. armare, 'prepare for action' (Capes).
    in reficiendo, 'in the process of recovery.'
    contraota . . mala. Cf. 'contrahere morbum' ('to catch a disease'), and 'colligere frigus' ('to catch cold').

§ 2. otium enim ex labore, &c. 'For the change from toil to rest, from want to plenty, from neglect and filth to the comforts of civilisation, affected in different ways the worn and wild-looking men.'

§ 3. in novis ignominiis, 'in their new disgrace;' i.e. 'on account of their late disasters,' viz. the defeats described in chap. 25.

§ 6. incertos, &c. 'thinking that the Gauls, who were hesitating with which party to side, would side with those who were on the spot.'

§ 7. sicuti . . ita, 'although . . yet.'
    uterque is in apposition to 'duces.'

§ 8. celeberrimum, 'very well known.'

§ 9. inter se here stands for a genitive of a reciprocal, as in 28. 11 it stood for an accusative ('urgentes inter se'). In 43. 18 we shall find it standing for a dative reciprocal with one verb and an accusative with another, 'ignotos inter se ignorantesque.'

The present passage, however, does not mean merely 'they had increased their good opinion of each other,' but 'each had increased the other's good opinion of him.' This is shown by what follows.

§ 10. Occupavit . . traicere. A quasi-imitation of ἐφθασεν υπερβαλὼν, 'was the first to cross.'

40. Chap. § 1. supersedissem. 'I should have refrained from.'
    apud vos. These words are not wanted, and make the sentence a comic truism if it be put literally into English.

§ 2. quid . . referret? 'What would be the use of,' &c.

§ 3. Nunc quia ille exercitus, &c. See chap. 32. 3-5.
    meis auspiciis. Gnaeus Scipio was acting as his brother's legatus and had not the 'auspices' himself. 'To have the auspices' must be understood to mean to have the right of consulting the gods. The censors, consuls, and praetors were said to have 'auspicia maiora,' the quaestors and curule aediles 'auspicia minora.'

§ 4. ego. Notice the asyndeton. The apodosis does not begin here, but at the word 'novo.'

§ 5. No genus, &c. This clause depends according to an ellipse, like those pointed out on 38. 9 and 19. 2, on the words 'I will state that.'
    per viginti annos. Catulus' original treaty, as we have seen, fixed a period of twenty years in which the war indemnity was to be paid after the First Punic War, but this term was reduced to ten years in the treaty ultimately adopted.
\[\text{§ 7.} \] \text{duabus partibus, 'two thirds.' So 'tres partes' means } \frac{3}{4}, \text{ and so on. (In the same way we talk of 'three parts full.' \) The exaggeration is considerable. According to Polybius' estimate (see note on 38. 5) Hannibal had lost less than half his army in the passage of the Alps.}

\[\text{§ 8.} \] \text{At enim (like } \alpha\alpha\lambda\alpha \nu \Delta\alpha) \text{ introduces a supposed objection.}

\[\text{§ 9.} \] \text{Effigies immo. 'No, they are ghosts,' &c.}

\[\text{eneeti, from 'eneco.'}

\[\text{praeusti artus, &c. 'their limbs are frost-bitten, their sinews stiffened by the snows, their bodies parched with cold.'}

\[\text{§ 11.} \] \text{secundum, 'next to.'}

\[\text{§ 1.} \] \text{vestri. Though used as a genitive of 'vos' is really the genitive singular neuter of 'vester,' so that 'vestri adhortandi' is good grammar.}

\[\text{§ 3.} \] \text{huius hostis, Hannibal.}

\[\text{§ 4.} \] \text{qua parte, in apposition to the 'equitibus' implied in 'equestri proelio.'}

\[\text{obvius fui. 'I have come to oppose.'}

\[\text{§ 5.} \] \text{quum declinarem eertamen, 'while avoiding a contest.'}

\text{The words belong only to 'im providus incidisse.'}

\[\text{occurrere in vestigiis means that Scipio dogged Hannibal's footsteps so as to be ready to face him at any moment. As a matter of fact, he was not even now as near to him as he ought to have been.}

\text{The alternative introduced by 'an' is, of course, the one that Scipio wishes his soldiers to believe.}

\[\text{lacessere, 'to provoke.'}

\[\text{§ 6.} \] \text{Experiri iuvat. 'I am glad to make the experiment.'}

\[\text{quos ab Eryce, &c. The reference is to the soldiers of Hamilcar, who had so long resisted the Romans in Sicily, and were at length forced to capitulate through no fault of their own or of their general, but solely on account of the defeat of the Carthaginian fleet at the Aegates Insulae.}

\[\text{duodevicenis denariis is about twelve shillings. The smallness of the ransom does not show, as Scipio pretends, that the Carthaginian prisoners were not worth a large one, but that the Romans were not in a position to exact it.}

\[\text{§ 7.} \] \text{vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus. A great exaggeration. Carthage had never paid a 'vectigal.' 'Vectigalia' were of the nature of tithes, and paid by conquered countries. Nor was Hannibal left even a 'stipendiarius' by his father. Hamilcar died in B.C. 229. Before that time the ten yearly instalments of the war indemnity fixed in B.C. 241 would have been paid off, so that no Carthaginian was 'stipendiarius populi Romani' at the time of Hamilcar's death. 'Servus' is, of course, the merest rhetoric.}

\[\text{§ 8.} \] \text{Saguntinum seclus agitaret. Hannibal's attack on Sagun-}
Chap. 41. tum is feigned to be a crime, the guilt of which becomes a power to drive him blindfold on his ruin.

§ 9. fremens, 'chafing,'

§ 11. Licuit . . . fame interficere. Possibly. But the Romans, anxious to seize the opportunity of making peace, could have had no object in thus prolonging the war. The rest of this section, as well as the next, is empty boasting.

§ 12. tutelae. Genitive. 'We recognised them as under our protection.' There is some slight basis of truth for this statement, but the 'protection' ended in the annexation of Sardinia. See Introduction.

§ 13. Pro his impertititis. 'In return for these favours.'

§ 16. agitet, lit. 'turn over,' i.e. 'reflect upon.'

Chap. 42. § 1. ecquis, &c. 'if any of them would fight on the condition that (if victorious) he should be freed from his bonds,' &c.

To us this exhibition of single combats seems a cruel one, especially when we read in Polybius that the prisoners had beforehand been purposely kept in a miserable condition. But it is clearly not regarded as cruel by Livy, who would not have failed to point out any instance of cruelty in Hannibal, and in this respect we must not judge a Phoenician of the third century B.C. by a standard at all higher than that of Augustan Rome.

§ 2. et deiecta in id sors esset, 'and lots had been thrown for that purpose,' i.e. to determine which of the prisoners were to be allowed to fight. 'Thrown down' means thrown into a helmet. Each captive would select and mark a pebble, the pebbles would then be shaken in a helmet, and the owners of the first two that jumped out would have to fight together.

In such cases a coward could sometimes make himself safe by treacherously putting in a lump of earth instead of a pebble.

Some readers will remember the lines—

οὐ δραπέτην τὸν κλήρον ἐς μέσον καθελ,

ἐγράφα ἄροιφας βῶλον, ἄλλ' ὃς εὐλόφον

κυνῆς ἐμελλὲ πρῶτος ἀλμα κοφιειν.

(Soph. Ajax 1285).

'For in the midst no shirking lot he flung,
No clod of crumbling glebe, but one that should
Leap lightly first out of the well-plumed helm.'

(Mr. Whitelaw.)

After one of these duels had been decided the lots would be shaken again. According to Polybius, however, only one pair of combatants was selected to fight.

se quisque eum optabat, &c. 'each longed to be the man whom fortune should choose,' &c., i.e. they felt this wish before the
lots were shaken. The behaviour of the captives after the lots were shaken is described in the next section.

§ 4. eiusdem ... condicionis homines means the other captives.
   bene, 'bravely.'

§ 1. paribus, 'pairs.'
§ 2. habueritis, fut. pf.
   quaedam. 'Quidam' is often used to apologise for a metaphor or simile.

§ 3. nescio an means 'I am inclined to think that.'
   maiora vincula maiioresque, &c. 'heavier chains and a more desperate position.'

§ 4. habentes is accusative agreeing with the object of 'claudunt' ('vos' understood).

§ 5. optare, 'to pray for;' cf. 'Desire of me.'

§ 7. agite dum, lit. 'come now,' or rather 'bestir yourselves now.'

§ 8. Satis adhuc. 'Long enough.'
   consectando nullum emolumentum ... vidistis. 'You have hunted ... without seeing any reward,' &c.

§ 10. emeritis stipendiis, lit. 'when your pay has been won,' i.e. 'at the end of the campaign.'

§ 11. Nee, quam magni, &c. 'And do not think that victory will be as difficult to attain as the words "War with Rome" would suggest.'
   existimaritís. 'Existimate,' in a prohibition would not be prose Latin.

§ 13. Ut ... taceam. 'Supposing that I am silent about,' i.e. 'Not to mention.'

viginti annorum militiae vestram. Those of Hannibal's army who had served under Hamilcar from the beginning of his career in Spain would have served nineteen years at the time of the fall of Saguntum. To these veterans the general is now addressing himself.

Herculis columnis. Calpe (Gibraltar) and Abila on the opposite African coast.

§ 14. ignoto and ignoranti are ablatives agreeing with 'exercitus,' and governing 'duci' and 'ducem' respectively; cf. § 18 'ignotos inter se ignorantesque.'

§ 15. semestri. The consuls began their term of office in March, and it was now October.

desertore exercitus sui. Scipio had left his old army with his brother Cneius to carry on the war against Hasdrubal in Spain; 32. 3-5.

§ 17. facinus, 'exploit.'
notata temporibus locisque means 'giving the date of each exploit and the place where it was performed.'
decora, 'brave deeds.'
Chap. § 18. inter se here stands for a dative after ‘ignotos,’ and an accusative after ‘ignorantes;’ see note on 39. 9. The addition of ‘ignorantes’ adds nothing to the sense. It is enough to say that A and B are unknown to each other, we need not add that they do not know each other.

Chap. § 1. infrenatos. Not the participle of ‘infreno,’ which would mean the same as ‘frenatos,’ but an adjective meaning the opposite.

‘Infrenos’ would be the ordinary word, as in Verg. Aen. 4. 41, where it is used, as ‘infrenati’ here, of the Numidians:

‘Et Numidae infreni cingunt.’

§ 3. inferentis vim quam arcentis, ‘in those who attack than in those who defend.’

§ 4. Accendit praeterea, &c. ‘Besides, to make our courage more ardent and more keen, we have been wronged, we have been ill-treated, we have been insulted.’

deinde vos omnes. This was not the case; but cf. 30. 3 ‘qui-cunque Saguntum obsedisent, velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus.’ Livy is a thorough rhetorician and intentionally makes his speakers exaggerate.

§ 5. cum quibus, &c. ‘and thinks fit to regulate for us our relations of peace and war.’

quos non excedamus, ‘beyond which we must not go.’

neque, ‘and yet . . . not.’

§ 6. Ne transieris and Nusquam . . . moveris are supposed commands of Rome. At non ad Hiberum and ‘Parum est,’ in § 7, are Hannibal’s rejoinders.

§ 7. in Africam transcendes. Here Hannibal ends his apostrophe to Rome. With the words ‘transcendisse dico’ he resumes his direct speech to his soldiers. The words ‘Transcendes autem’ mark the transition, and, though grammatically still part of the ‘apostrophe,’ correspond to the English ‘will cross over?’ do I say?’

nisi quod armis vindicarimus, ‘except what we hold (lit. shall have held) by force of arms.’

§ 8. respectum, ‘means of escape.’

certa desperatione means a conviction that there is nothing left to choose except one of the alternatives mentioned.

si fortuna dubitabit. An euphemistic expression, ‘if we cannot make sure of success.’

§ 9. destinatum. If this word be retained, it is best to insert ‘si’ before it with Weissenborn, putting a comma after ‘omnibus.’ ‘Destinatum’ then becomes an emphatic repetition of ‘fixum.’

Chap. § 1. ponte . . . iungunt, ‘bridged.’ The banks are the things joined.

45. Scipio had marched up the Po, after crossing it—at Placentia, Mommsen
thinks—as far as the mouth of the Ticinus. That river he now prepares to cross from the left to the right bank.

§ 5. pecuniam quam agrum. There is no ellipse of 'potius' or 'magis' here, for 'magis' is contained in 'maluisset.'

§ 6. potestatem facturum. Supply 'se iis.'

qui domos redire, &c. 'and he would take care that those who preferred to return to their homes should have no cause to wish that their lot had been changed for that of any of their countrymen' (lit. 'that the lot of any of their countrymen had been changed with them').

§ 8. silicem, a flint-knife. These were retained for sacrifice when metal knives had long superseded them for ordinary purposes.

si falleret, 'if he should break his oath.' In translating, these words come after 'ita se mactarent.'

ita se mactarent. Supply 'ut,' the ellipse of which after 'precor' is a common one.

secundum, 'immediately after.'

§ 9. quisque is really without construction. But 'suusquisque' is here regarded as one word in which the 'quisque' is a mere suffix.

id morae, quod . . . rati, 'thinking that the fact that they were not already fighting was a hindrance to their realising their hopes;' cf. 'id morari victoriam rati, quod interesseret amnis,' 5.12.

In the sentence before us 'morae' is genitive, and 'id morae rati' means 'classing the fact (of not having yet begun to fight) under the category of delay.'

uno animo et voce una. Chiasmus.

§ 1. territos, 'since they were frightened.'

§ 3. Quibus proeuratis. 'Having duly averted these omens.' 'Procurare' (generally governing an accusative of the portent itself) means to go through the rites necessary to avert the misfortunes which the portents were sent to foreshadow. Scipio would consult his augur on the point, and the latter would tell him what was the proper course of expiation to adopt.

§ 4. densior, 'more and more densely;' Church and Brodribb.

§ 5. in subsidii, 'as a reserve,' and therefore in rear.

frenatos. Here contrasted with the Numidians, as in 44. 1.

§ 6. fugerunt inter subsidia, &c. 'took refuge among the reserves in the second line' (N.B. not 'second rank.' Each line would be several ranks deep.)

premi circumventos, 'surrounded and hard pressed.'

ad pedes pugna venerat. The obvious meaning of this is the right one.

§ 7. paulum is to be taken with 'circumveeti.'

tum primum pubescentis, 'who was then hardly out of his boyhood.' It is meant that he was sixteen years old.
Chap. § 8. penes quem, &c. 'to whom belongs the glory of having finished this war.'

§ 9. alius . . . equitatus, 'the rest of the cavalry.' That some—Polybius says most—of the cavalry had fled is implied by the words 'iaculatorum maxime.'

§ 10. malim equidem, &c. 'for my part I would rather accept the story ascribing it to the son, which most of our authorities have given us and which tradition has preserved.'

Chap. § 2. vasa, 'their baggage.'

§ 3. Prius Placentiam pervenere, quam, &c. If this is not mere hyperbole, Scipio crossed the Trebia twice, once before reaching Placentia, and once as related in § 6 of the next chapter. It is, as Capes and Mommsen point out, impossible that Scipio should have placed himself on the left (west) bank of the Trebia and allowed Hannibal to occupy the right (see note on 56. 3). This is just what he wished to prevent Hannibal from doing. The probability is that the Roman camp was on the right and the Carthaginian camp on the left bank, and that the battle of Trebia was fought on the Carthaginian side.

satis sciret, 'knew for certain.' After the virtual negative 'prius . . . quam,' 'satis' has its strong force of 'satisfactorily.' Its strong force with negatives has already been noticed.

ad, 'about.'

in citeriore ripa Padi. According to Polybius the event recorded in this section happened on the Ticinus, which Scipio had to recross in his retreat to reach his floating bridge over the Po. Livy takes the recrossing of the Ticinus for granted. Citeriore ripa is from Hannibal's point of view.


in ordinem practically means 'in line,' but Livy is thinking of the animals being forced into a certain formation.

§ 5. Ea peritis amnis, &c. 'This story is hardly likely to obtain belief from those who know that river.' Livy probably knew it well himself. Polybius states that Hannibal crossed by a bridge.

ut iam Hispanos omnes, &c. 'even supposing that all the Spaniards had already passed across on inflated skins' (lit. 'that inflated skins had already carried across all the Spaniards').

et multorum dicrum, &c. 'and a circuitous march of several days would have had to be made in order to reach,' &c.

qua. This adverbial relative is often used instead of an adjectival one agreeing with a definite antecedent.

§ 6. Hispanorum expeditos. These were infantry, as we learn from their being contrasted with 'gravius peditum agmen' in the next section.
§ 2. et ... accensos. ‘Et’ here irregularly couples the (grammatically) unlike words ‘allocutus’ and ‘accensos.’ Translate, ‘and having inflamed,’ &c. Livy is led to this breach of grammar by the fact of ‘alloquor’ being deponent and therefore having no passive.

§ 3. contactosque eo seelere, ‘and that those who caught the infection of the crime would,’ &c. For the sentiment in this sentence, cf. 41. 8 ‘Quem nisi Saguntinum seclus agitatert.’

§ 4. ad Trebiam fluvium, ‘by the river Trebia.’

§ 5. fefellit; ἑλαθε. Thus ‘minus fefellit’ means ‘he did not so well succeed in escaping observation.’

utique is to be taken with ‘novissimum agmen.’ ‘At any rate the rear.’

§ 6. emissus hostis est de manibus, ‘they let the enemy escape from their grasp.’

citra. On Hannibal’s side.

§ 7. nec ... et. Cf. 19. 3.

collegam. Sempronius.

iam enim et revocatum, &c. ‘for he had heard that he had now been positively recalled from Sicily.’

§ 8. quae ... maius in dies, &c. Lit. ‘which encountered him with greater force day by day,’ i.e. ‘which he found to press more severely on him day by day.’

§ 9. mittit, here used absolutely.

pararent, sc. Hannibal’s soldiers.

horreum, ‘a magazine.’

§ 10. nihil saevitum est, ‘no cruelty was practised.’ The reason given for this is in accordance with Livy’s preconceived idea of Hannibal’s character.

§ 1. constitisset, ‘had come to a standstill.’

imminentes, ‘close to.’

§ 2. Liparas ... tenuerunt, sc. ‘cursum,’ ‘steered to the Liparae.’ Observe that no preposition is used. Weissenborn says that Livy especially means the largest island or its capital. Indeed the contrast between ‘Liparas’ and ‘insulam Vulcani’ would otherwise be meaningless, the latter being itself one of the Liparae.

ad insulam Vulcani. It was also called ‘Thermissa.’ The preposition is used because ‘insulam’ is not regarded as a proper name.

fretum. The Straits of Messina.

avertit aestus. There is not enough tide for this in the Mediterranean, and so the word ‘aestus’ must mean, as Church and Brodribb translate it, ‘a heavy sea.’ This is made certain by ‘eadem tempestate’ in § 5.

§ 3. nullo repugnante, ‘without resistance.’
NOTES TO BOOK XXI.

Chap. 49. § 4. veteres socios, i. e. 'their old allies.'

§ 5. Lilybaei occupandii, &c. 'their main object was to seize Lilybaeum.'

§ 6. M. Aemilio praetori. Capes points out that Aemilius must have been appointed to Sicily in event of the consul, Sempronius, whose province it really was, having to leave for Africa. See chap. 17, where it is said that Sempronius was to cross to Africa, provided that Scipio was equal to the task of 'keeping the Carthaginians out of Italy.' Scipio had not shown himself equal to that task.

§ 7. legati, lieutenant-generals serving under consul, praetor, pro-consul, &c.

tribuni. There were six of these officers to every legion.

suos ad curam custodiae intende, 'awoke the Roman allies to the importance of keeping themselves on their guard' (i. e. against surprise). 'Intende' might be the third person plural of the perfect indicative, but is shown to be the historic infinitive by being coupled with 'teneri.'

§ 8. socii navales means the sailors and marines, who were chiefly drawn from the allies.

ut . . . ne quid. 'So that nothing.' The redundant use of 'ut' with 'ne' is rare in Livy.

perque omnem oram. The 'que' couples the ablative absolute 'missis' to the ablative absolute 'edicto proposito.'

§ 9. moderati erant, 'had regulated.'

sublatis armamentis, 'with their sails set;' lit. 'with their tackle hoisted.' The yard and sail were hauled up together. The converse of this is 'demendis armamentis' in § 11.

§ 13. circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum, i. e. the battle at the Aegates Insulac, which are near to Lilybaeum.

Chap. 50. § 2. naviumque quam virorum, &c. This was better seamanship. In fact, as Thucydides would say, the Romans were trying to have a land battle at sea.

§ 3. sociis navalibus here means merely 'sailors,' as opposed to marines. That the words are used of the Carthaginian navy shows how far they had lost their original meaning.

conserta, i. e. was fastened to a Roman ship by the grappling irons.

par, i. e. to that on board its enemy.

§ 6. una tantum perforata, &c. 'one ship only having been rammed, and that managing to get back with the rest.'

§ 7. nondum gnaris. Supply 'ius' from the 'qui' in the relative clause.

ornatamque. Simply 'and equipped.'

§ 8. praetoriam. Not 'the praetor's,' but 'the general's' (or rather 'the admiral's'), i. e. Sempronius' ship.
§ 10. et quibusdam volentibus, &c. ‘and some people would be very glad of a revolution.’ Weissenborn compares the Greek construction \( \text{βουλομένως μοι ἐστιν} \), but Capes thinks it more probable that the construction is ablative absolute. In Tacitus one would have less scruple in pronouncing the words to be an imitation of the Greek idiom.

§ 1. Melitam, Malta.
§ 2. traditur. It is meant that the Carthaginian surrendered himself and his garrison, &c., not that he was betrayed.

sub corona venierunt, ‘were sold by auction.’ Festus says, ‘sub corona venire dicuntur, quia captivi coronati solent venire.’
§ 3. insulas Vulcani. The Liparæ in general were so called.
§ 4. Viboniensi agro. The land round Vibo Valentia, the ‘urbs’ mentioned immediately afterwards. It lay on the West Bruttian coast.
§ 5. de . . . et ut, &c. ‘telling of . . . and ordering him to,’ &c.
§ 6. mari supero. The Adriatic.
longis navibus, ‘ships of war.’
§ 7. M. Aemilio praetori quinquaginta. This means that he made up Aemilius’ fleet to the number of fifty vessels.

§ 1. Iam ambo consules, &c. Translate, ‘The fact of both consuls and all the forces of Rome being pitted against Hannibal, made it clear that if Rome could not be protected by those troops, no hope for her was left.’ All that Livy means is to deny the possibility of any hope being left, if the combined consular armies were found unequal to resisting Hannibal. But if we translate the sentence word for word into English, we put into Livy’s mouth the absurdity of declaring that the fact of all Rome’s strength being opposed to Hannibal could prove that her strength was superior to his. The co-ordinate form of sentence would imply this in English, though it need not do so in Latin. However, ‘spem nullam aliam esse’ is a great exaggeration.

opperita. This word, as well as ‘declarabat,’ agrees with the antecedent (understood) to ‘quicquid.’
§ 2. minutus. The MSS. have ‘et minutus,’ which is clearly corrupt. ‘Minutus’ is not very satisfactory. It has been rendered ‘dispirited’ or ‘disheartened,’ which is by no means a natural sense for the word to bear. Madvig suggests ‘admonitus.’

recentis animi alter, &c. ‘the other whose ardour had suffered no check, and who therefore felt more warlike.’
§ 3. per ambiguum favorem, &c. ‘showing by their hesitation in declaring their sympathies that their aim was to stand well with the conquerors.’
§ 5. deinceps . . . usque ad, ‘right up to.’
§ 6. ad id, ‘up to that time.’
coacti is to be taken with 'declinant,' 'were forced to turn.'
ab, 'from,' not 'by.' The word depends on 'declinant.'
ad vindices futuros, 'to those who would be their protectors.'
terrae ob nimiam, &c. 'for a land that was suffering because its
occupiers had been only too true to Rome.'
§ 7. ut alia vetustate obsolevissent, 'even supposing that all their
other misdeeds had been buried in the past.'
§ 8. Sempronius contra, &c. 'on the other hand, Sempronius
thought that to defend the first who wanted help would be the surest
way to keep the allies in their allegiance.'
primos . . . defensos. For the construction, cf. 'oppositum' in
§ 1 and Horace Od. 2. 4. 10-12:
'et ademptus Hector
Tradidit fessis leviora tolli
Pergama Grais.'
§ 9. mille peditum, &c. 'together with about a thousand javelin-
men from the infantry.'
§ 10. Sparsos et incompositos. These accusatives refer to the
enemy. Translate, 'Having suddenly attacked the enemy while they
were scattered and in no formation, and besides in most cases loaded
with plunder.'
§ 11. ad extremum, 'at last.'
penes Romanos. Cf. 46. 8 'penes quem perfecti huiusce belli
laus est.'

§ 1. iustiorque, 'and more complete.' Livy is laughing at Sempro-
nius.
qua parte, &c. 'that he had been victorious, with precisely the
arm, with which the other consul had been defeated.' 'Gaudio efferri,'
like 'gaudere,' is constructed with the accusative and infinitive.
§ 3. Quid, 'why?'
differri aut teri. Notice the infinitive in the questions which in
the orat. rect. would have the third person of the indicative.
§ 4. Siciliam ac Sardiniam, victis ademptas. Sempronius means
that as these islands had once belonged (Sardinia wholly and Sicily
partly) to Carthage, to see Carthaginians in either of them would not
be so very terrible.
§ 5. Poenum . . . fecisse, 'while they see that the Carthaginian has
made,' &c.
§ 6. agere, 'he would repeat.'
ne, 'which made him fear that.'
in novos consules, 'to another year.' But in so translating we
sacrifice the suggestion of new consuls which is prominent in the Latin
words. 'To the next official year' will perhaps better represent the
meaning. However, the distinction is of small importance, for no military operations could be conducted between the first of January and the fifteenth of March (see 63. 1), when the new consuls took office. The fear of leaving the glory ‘confecti belli’ to a successor often damaged the military operations of Roman generals.

occasio is coupled to ‘tempus propinquum.’

§ 7. quid optimum foret hosti, viz. to remain in their camp. ‘Foret’ is subj. because of the dependent question, and means ‘was,’ not ‘would be.’

§ 8. quum, ‘but when.’

adesse gerendae rei; &c. ‘he began to have hopes that an opportunity for striking a blow was at hand.’

§ 9. Cuius ne quod praetermitteret tempus depends on ‘sollicitus intentusque erat.’

dum, (throughout the section) ‘while . . . still;’ inutilem . . . face-ret, ‘disabled.’

§ 11. et facere, si cessaretur, euperetet, ‘and he was eager to force it’ (i.e. an engagement) ‘if there was any hesitation.’ (Church and Brodribb.)

ad ea exploranda depends on ‘tutiores.’

quia in utrisque castris militabant, ‘since there were Gauls serving in,’ &c.

Poenus here means Hannibal.

§ 1. perlustravit cannot mean ‘saw to be,’ though the sentence implies that Hannibal observed that the place would be suitable for a cavalry ambush. But all that Livy says is, ‘and when he had in person ridden round and examined the place which had enough cover to hide even cavalry.’

§ 2. centenos viros. This means a hundred cavalry and a hundred infantry.

corpora curare. The last five words of Hannibal’s speech are addressed to his staff generally.

§ 3. Ita praetorium missum. ‘With these words he dismissed his council of war’ (or ‘staff’).

singulis vobis novenos, &c. ‘let each of you choose as his comrades nine men of the same sort as yourselves from your troops and companies’ (i.e. from the cavalry and the infantry). ‘Turmae’ and ‘manipuli’ were, of course, divisions of the Roman and not of the Carthaginian army.

quem insideatis, ‘which you are to occupy.’

§ 4. iniecto deinde certamine. The Numidians are spoken of as if they were going to stir up a quarrel between the two armies. Translate, ‘having started the battle.’
Chap. 54. § 5. intrstratisque equis, 'and with their horses saddled.' For 'in- 
stratis' cf. 27. 9.

§ 6. ferox, 'confident.'

a, 'in consequence of.'

§ 7. etiam, 'moreover.'

§ 8. Ad hoc. 'Besides.'

raptim, 'hurriedly.'

non ope ulla, &c. 'without anything having been done to keep out 
the cold.'

quicquid is adverbial, or more properly speaking a cognate ac-
cusative after 'apropinquabant.' 'And the nearer they approached to the 
wind off the river, the colder were the blasts to which they were exposed.' If 
instead of 'quicquid appropinquabant' Livy had written 'quo magis 
apropinquabant' the sentence would be straightforward enough.

§ 9. utique egressis, 'especially when they had come out of the 
water.' On a windy day the air feels colder than the water to the wet body. 

Chap. 55. § 1. per manipulos ... misso, 'having been served out to the 
companies.'

per otium, 'at leisure.'

§ 2. quod, i.e. 'id quod,' 'his heavier infantry, which was the flower 
and strength of his army.'

in utramque partem divisos means simply that there were two 
divisions of elephants, one for each flank.

§ 3. circumdedit peditibus, 'placed on the flanks of his infantry,' 
'peditibus,' being dative. As far as the words go, it might be ablative, 
in which case the sense would be 'surrounded with his infantry,' but 
that the cavalry were placed on the flanks is shown by §§ 5, 6.

§ 4. socium nominis Latini, 'of Latin allies.' The name 'Latins' 
was at this time given to all the allies of Rome who had not obtained 
the full 'civitas,' but had been admitted to the rights which had been 
formerly granted to the towns of Latium.

in fide, 'loyal.'

§ 5. urgeretur, 'was hard pressed.'

§ 6. per se must grammatically refer to 'quattuor millia,' and it 
can be so translated with apparently good sense owing to a confusion of 
thought as usual in English as in Latin. Logically it ought to refer to 
'decem millibus,' as it was these who were eventually reinforced.

§ 10. maxime praeter spem omnium, &c. 'showing, to the surprise 
of all, their greatest steadiness in repelling the elephants.' Another way 
of translating the passage is to take 'maxime' with 'praeter spem.'

§ 11. avertère is the 3rd plur. pf. ind. act., and must not be read as 
the historic infinitive (avertère).
§ 1. Trepidantesque, &c. ‘They were thrown into confusion and were on the point of rushing in their terror upon the Carthaginian, when Hannibal ordered them to be marched,’ &c.

The elephants were more of a trouble to Hannibal than a help. They had been a difficulty at the Rhone, and again at the landslip, they were dangerous in the battle, and they nearly all (Polybius says ‘all but one,’ but see § 6) died after it.

eoque, ‘and thus.’

§ 2. in orbem. The accusative is used as if Livy had written ‘glomerati essent’ instead of ‘pugnarent.’ The formation corresponds to the ‘square’ of modern days.

§ 3. Placentiam. As Mommsen and Capes point out, if the battle was fought on the Western side of the Trebia, the retreating force must have crossed that river to reach Placentia. Livy here implies that they had not to cross the river to get to Placentia, but that they would have had to cross it to reach their camp, i.e. that the Roman camp was on the side of the Trebia remote from Placentia, viz. the Western side. If so, the Carthaginian camp must have been on the Eastern side, and the battle will have been fought on the Eastern side (see note on 47. 3). This supposition is not only extremely unlikely in itself, but it is at variance with the account of Polybius, though the latter historian does not mention the fact that the retreating ‘ten thousand’ crossed the Trebia.

§ 4. Plures ... eruptiones factae, by those not included in the ‘decem millia.’

opressi, ‘cut down.’

§ 7. torpentes, ‘benumbed.’

§ 8. quum praesidium castrorum, &c. This, as Capes observes, seems to prove conclusively that Livy thought the Roman camp to have been on the West of the Trebia.

saciorum ex magna parte is parenthetical. ‘And all the soldiers—chiefly wounded men—that were left there.’


§ 1. infestis signis. ‘The enemy would come to Rome with hostile standards,’ means, ‘The enemy would come to attack Rome.’

§ 2. duobus consulibus, &c. ‘but when two consuls,’ &c.

§ 3. fallendi, ‘of passing unperceived.’

§ 4. comitiis consularibus habitis. Livy, as we have seen (15. 6), lays stress on this occurrence to prove that the battle of Trebia must have taken place in Sempronius’ year of office. The consular elections were held in December, but the new consuls did not enter upon their office until the following March. Hence Sempronius was still consul for more than two months after holding the elections.
NOTES TO BOOK XXI.

§ 5. ut quaeque iis impeditiora erant, 'wherever the ground was too difficult for them' (the Numidians).
   clausi, 'cut off.'

§ 6. Emporium means 'a trading centre,' 'factory.' Possibly it is a proper name here, 'Emporium.'
   firmatum, 'made secure,' i.e. 'held.'

Eius castelli, &c. 'In the hopes of taking this fortress Hannibal started with his cavalry and light troops. It was by concealing his attack that he thought himself most likely to capture the place, and he accordingly made an assault by night, but could not contrive to surprise the guard.'

§ 7. consul. This cannot have been Sempronius, for from 59. 2 we infer that he had not returned from Rome when Hannibal tried to take this stronghold. Scipio then must have moved from Cremona to Placentia in the absence of his colleague.

quadrate agmine, as in 5. 16, 'in order of battle,' not 'in square,' for which formation—or rather the corresponding one in their tactics—we have seen that the Romans used 'orbis' (56. 2).

§ 8. quia ... Hannibal pugna excessit explains 'pavore hostibus iniccto.'
   praesidium, 'the fortress.'

§ 9. satis, 'thoroughly.'

§ 10. mixti, &c. 'who were a mixture of men from all the neighbouring tribes.'

§ 11. praesidii, in the same sense as 'praesidium' in § 8.

§ 12. Magis agmina quam acies, 'In anything but battle order.'
   inconditam turbam, 'an undisciplined mob.'

§ 13. praesidium here means 'a garrison' (Carthaginian), the nominative to 'accepere' being the occupants of Victumviae understood.
   iussique. The sentence will begin in English with 'and when,' or 'but when.'

§ 14. clades, 'outrage' or 'atrocity.'
   adeo omnis, &c., lit. 'so true is it that (adeo) upon these unhappy people an instance was given of every kind of licentiousness, cruelty, and brutal oppression.' A condensed sentence which must be expanded to make English, though its meaning is clear.
   If Livy's account is correct, these outrages are unpardonable. Polybius does not mention these 'hibernae expeditiones.'

§ 1. longi ... temporis depends on 'quies.'
   inde is temporal here.

§ 2. adiuncturus, 'intending to secure the help of.'

§ 3. foeditatem, 'the horrors.'
   contra, adverb, 'against the wind.'
vertice intorti affligebantur, 'they were hurled violently to the
ground by the hurricane.'
§ 4. spiritum includeret. The wind in their teeth prevented them
from breathing out the air in their lungs. Most people have experienced
this in a high wind,
reciprocare animam, 'to fetch their breath,'
aversi a vento, 'they turned their backs to the wind and,' &c.
§ 5. capti auribus et oculis, cf. 'altero oculo capitur,' 22. 2. 11.
§ 6. tandem effuso imbre, 'at last when the shower had spent itself.'
accensa, 'increased.'
§ 7. nec explicare, &c. This means that they could neither unroll
(explicare) the canvas (or rather 'skins') nor fix (statuere) the tent-poles.
nec quod statutum esset, manebat. This is not quite logical
after what has gone before, but the sense is clear. For 'esset,' see Ex-
cursus.
§ 8. Et mox aqua levata vento, &c. is Livy's explanation of the phe-
nomenon of hail, his idea being that the moisture which the wind carried
with it was frozen into hail as it passed over the cold ridge of the Apennines.
tegminibus suis, &c. This must mean that they abandoned all
idea of putting up their tents, and crept under the coverings.
§ 10. movere ac recipere. Supply 'coeperunt' from 'est coeptus.'
raris locis, 'here and there.'
ad alienam opem, &c. 'every one who could not help himself
sought help from 'others.' 'Tendere,' of course, from its form must be
the (historic) infinitive.
§ 11. septem absumpti. According to this at least eight must have
survived the effects of Trebia.

§ 1. ad decem millia, 'about ten miles.'
§ 6. recessum may either be for 'recessum esse,' or may be the
accusative of 'recessus,' 'a retreat.'
§ 7. Pugna raro magis ulla * aut. The MS. reading is 'pugna
raro magis ullae antutriusque.' Madvig leaves a gap in his text, but
suggests 'Pugna raro magis ulla saevo, et aut alterius, aut utriusque partis,'
&c., which would mean, 'Seldom has there been fought a fiercer battle
than this, and it would have been rendered still more famous by heavy
losses to one or both armies if,' &c.
§ 8. accensum, 'kindled,' i. e. 'begun,' not 'increased,' like 'accensa'
in the last chapter.
et dimidium eius means half six-hundred. Notice the change of
construction from 'peditibus' to 'dimidium,' both constructions being
permissible with 'plus' and 'minus' (Madvig's Lat. Gram. § 305).
§ 9. sed maior Romanis, &c. 'but Rome suffered a loss out of all
proportion to the numbers slain.'
Chap. 59. equestris ordinis. This means men, other than senators, who possessed a fortune of at least 400,000 sesterces, and were for that reason liable to be called on to serve in the cavalry. The term 'equester ordo' in this sense properly belongs only to the time after Cains Gracchus, who first gave political existence to this 'order' by enacting that the jurors should be chosen from men who were not of Senatorial rank, but possessed the property qualification mentioned above. Livy's commenting on the fact of several of the slain being 'equestris ordinis' shows that even at the time of this battle the cavalry was by no means even chiefly composed of those on whom the burden of cavalry service legally fell.

praefecti sociorum. These corresponded to the tribunes of the Roman troops.

§ 10. Secundum, 'Immediately after.'
per insidias, 'by treachery.'

Chap. 60. § 1. Cn. Cornelius Scipio in Hispaniam...missus. As related in 32. 3.

§ 2. Emporiis, 'at Emporiae.'
§ 4. Inde conciliata clementiae fama. 'The reputation for clemency which he there won.'
apud, 'with.'
auxiliorum cohortes, 'auxiliary cohorts.'
§ 5. cis. Here from the natural (i.e. the Roman) point of view.
priusquam alienarentur, &c. 'thinking that he ought to offer resistance to the enemy before the whole country was lost.'
eduxit, sc. 'exercitum.'
§ 8. parvi pretii rerum fuit, 'consisted of things of little value.'
supellex barbarica is in apposition to 'praeda.' vilium mancipiorum to 'rerum.'
§ 9. caris here, like our word 'dear,' means 'costly.'
ne gravia impedimenta ferentibus essent. Not 'in order that they (the valuables) might not be heavy incumbrances for them,' but 'in order that the baggage might not be too heavy for them.' 'Ferentibus' need not be translated.
citra. On the Spanish side.

Chap. 61. § 1. tanquam ad primum adventum, &c. 'thinking to meet the Romans directly that they had landed.' The use of 'tanquam' here is something like that of ős with the future participle in Greek.
ad Cissim, 'at Cissis.'
accept, 'received tidings of.'
§ 2. classicos milites navalesque socios, 'marines and sailors.'
ut secundae res negligentiam creent. This clause, not very
logically inserted to explain ‘quod ferme fit,’ spoils the grammar of the sentence. By translating ‘quod ferme fit, ut.’ &c., by ‘success, as it generally does, having made them careless,’ we can get an intelligible rendering of the passage.

§ 4. animadvertisset. ‘Animadvertere in’ means ‘to punish,’ and often, as here, ‘to punish with death.’

§ 6. compulsis omnibus, &c. ‘shut them all up in (lit. ‘drove them all to’) Atanagrum and laid siege to that city, which,’ &c.

§ 9. exuti . . . armis. This means that they threw away their arms so as to be able to run the faster.

§ 10. obsidio. There are two words for ‘siege’ or ‘blockade’ in Latin, ‘obsidio’ and ‘obsidium.’ ‘Obsidio’ here is, of course, the nominative of the former.

 minus quattuor pedes, ‘less than four feet.’ Cf. ‘plus . . . dimidium’ (59. 8).

pluteos. These differed from the ‘vineae’ in being smaller and being semicircular in shape. The meaning of this sentence and what follows is, that, the sheds and mantlets being buried in the snow, the snow itself was the only thing to protect the Romans against the fire thrown by the enemy.

etiam here means ‘actually,’ but it must be omitted in translating the sentence, or its force must be given by a periphrasis.

§ 11. viginti argenti, &c. ‘after stipulating to pay twenty talents of silver.’

deduntur is middle, ‘they surrendered.’

§ 1. motis semel in religionem, ‘when men’s thoughts have once turned to the supernatural.’

 temere, ‘too readily.’

§ 2. in quis, sc. ‘nuntiatum est et temere creditum est.’ On some such clause understood all the infinitives from ‘clamasse’ down to ‘abstulisse’ in § 5 depend.

§ 5. hominum specie, &c. ‘apparitions had been seen in the distance of human form and clad in white robes.’

 sortes extenuatas, ‘the oracular tablets had shrunk.’ These tablets were slips of wood on which were carved ‘ancient letters.’ They were consulted by means of drawing some of them like lots and interpreting the inscriptions on those drawn. One such inscription is mentioned in 22. 1. 11.

§ 6. libros. The Sibylline books. These were in the charge of the ‘decemviri’ here mentioned, whose full title was ‘decemviri sacris faciendis.’ Livy calls them (10. 8. 2) ‘carminum Sibyllae ac fatorum populi huius (i.e. Romani) interpretes.’

 novendiale sacrum edictum, ‘a holy festival of nine days was
proclaimed.' The first shower of stones happened on the Alban Mount in the reign of Tullus Hostilius. At that time (according to one tradition, by the advice of a voice speaking on the Mount) a nine days' sacred festival was publicly held, and the custom was preserved ever afterwards that there should be such a festival whenever showers of that nature were reported.

*aliis procurandis,* 'in performing the rites necessary for the expiation of the other omens.' For 'procuru' see 46. 3.

§ 7. *hostiae ... maiores,* 'full-grown victims.' 'Maiores' is opposed to 'lactentes.'

*quibus editum est,* 'to whom they were enjoined (by the sacred books) to offer them.' (Capes, who observes that 'edere' is a word specially used of these oracular warnings.) 'Quibus' refers to 'dis.'

§ 8. *ex auri pondo quadraginta,* 'of forty pounds of gold.' 'Pondo,' originally the ablative of an old substantive 'pondus' with gen. 'pondi,' meant 'by weight,' and then from being used with 'libra,' 'librae,' &c. became an indeclinable substantive meaning 'a pound' or 'pounds.'

*lectisternium.* In this ceremony images of the gods in whose honour it was performed were placed on couches (pulvinaria) and food was set before them.

*ssequicatio,* a processional service either of thanksgiving or prayer (here the latter). A 'lectisternium' and 'ssequicatio' were often connected, as in the case of those mentioned in the next section.

§ 9. *nominatim* is best translated as if it were an adjective belonging to 'lectisternium.' 'At Rome, too, a special festival and service were ordained to be held by the youth at the temple of Hercules, and others by all the people at the couches of all the gods.'

§ 10. *C. Atilius Serranus praetor.* The praetor has to take the vow because there is no consul at Rome. Otherwise one of the consuls would have taken it.

*si in decem annos,* &c. is the condition on which the offerings vowed by the praetor were to be paid to the gods.

*stetisset* represents the fut. perf. of oratio recta.

§ 11. *Haec procurata votaque,* &c. 'The performance of these atonements and the offering of these vows according to the Sibylline books.'
§ 2. Hic in provincia. 'At this place (Ariminum) in his province,' (instead of at Rome, where, according to the constitutional practice, the consul ought to enter on his office).

veterum certaminum cum patribus. As tribune of the plebs in B.C. 232, Flaminius had brought in an agrarian law for colonizing Picenum. This law the Senate, probably regarding it as a demagogue's bid for popularity, had resisted, but Flaminius persevered in it and carried it 'contra senatus auctoritatem.' In doing this he kept within his legal rights, but acted unconstitutionally in refusing to obey the Senate. Polybius says that the Gallic war was brought about by this measure.

After this Flaminius had been consul in B.C. 223. The Senate had passed a decree requiring him to lay down his office as being 'vitio creatus,' i.e. elected with faulty auspices. He refused to comply, and subsequently won a victory over the Insubres. The Senate refused him a triumph, but he triumphed without their leave.

qui abrogabatur. Lit. 'which was being taken away from him,' i.e. 'of which they tried to deprive him.' As Capes remarks, the Senate could not do more than declare Flaminius to be 'vitio creatus' (cf. 'inauspicato factum' § 7), and call upon him to resign, for his office could only be taken away by 'the people.' The reader should notice that 'the People' is the legal sovereign of Rome, governing by means of its magistrates, but that the real power is in the hands of the Senate, a body which according to the letter of the law can only advise. In England the legal sovereign is the Queen, but the real power is in the hands of her ministers, who are elected not by her but by the representatives of the people. As in England all measures before they become law must receive the assent of the Queen, so in Rome the only way in which a law could be made was by a magistrate of the people asking the people to enact it, or by a magistrate of the plebs, whose decrees (plebiscita) had the force of law, asking the plebs to enact it. But magistrates, who were not revolutionary, never brought measures before the people or the plebs, except by the direction of the Senate.

§ 3. invisus. Strict grammar would require 'inviso."

§ 4. quaestus omnis, &c. 'trade was thought altogether beneath the dignity of a senator.'

nobilitatem. This must not be supposed to mean the patricians. The distinction between patricians and plebeians was now in great measure forgotten. A noble at Rome was a man whose ancestors had held curule offices, and he might be either a patrician like Scipio, or a plebeian like Flaminius or Sempronius.

apud plebem. 'Plebs' is not used in its strict sense here, but denotes the Romans who were not 'nobiles.'
inde, as a result of this (the 'favor apud plebem').

§ 5. auspiciis ementiendis, 'by falsely declaring the auspices unfavourable.' It was a usual party manœuvre to declare that something was wrong with the auspices with which a member of the opposite party had been elected or had entered on his office.

Latinarumque feriarum mora, 'and by the delay which the Latin festival would cause.' The consuls on entering upon office had to determine the time of this festival, and had to offer the sacrifices in the festival.

et consularibus aliis impedimentis, 'and by other hindrances which could be put in a consul's way.'

retenturos se, 'that his enemies would keep him.'
simulato itinere, 'pretending that he had to take a journey;'
i.e. pretending that he was called away by private affairs.

privatus means that he was not yet consul.

§ 6. cum dis immortalibus. In setting out for his province 'inauspicato.'

§ 7. nunc conscientia, &c. 'now remembering how he had despised them (the gods and men spoken of in the last section), he had fled from the ceremony on the Capitol, and the time-honoured taking of the vows.' It was on the Capitol that the auspices and the vows were taken.

§ 8. senatum. It was usual for the consul to hold a meeting of the senate on the first day of his year of office.

invisus ipse et sibi ... invisum. For the 'et' coupling dissimilar words, cf. 48. 2 'quos Poenus benigne allocutus et spe ingentium donorum accensos ... dimisit.'

Latinas, sc. 'ferias.'
in monte. On the Alban Mount, where the Feriae Latinae were held.

§ 9. auspicato. This must mean auspiciously in a general sense, as the auspices were not taken until the consul had gone up into the Capitol.

paludatus, 'in his general's cloak.'

haud aliter quam si exiliis, &c. 'just as if he had left his country to live abroad.' 'Solum vertere' is to change the land you live in, and 'exilium' means the abandonment of the rights of citizenship at Rome in order to live in some allied town.

§ 10. Magis pro maiestate, &c. 'No doubt it would better accord with the dignity of his high command to enter upon his office at Ariminum than at Rome, and to put on his robes in a public inn rather than among the gods of his household.' The sentence is, of course, ironical.

praetextam. This (civic) robe of office must be distinguished from the military 'paludamentum.'
NOTES TO BOOK XXII.

§ 13. immolanti . . . ei. A sort of dativus incommodi after 'sece proripuisset.'
§ 14. procul, 'at a distance' (from the place of sacrifice).
etiam maior. This implies that those immediately round the altar had not taken to flight, though we have not been told this.
apud ignaros, quid trepidaretur, 'among the people there, who did not know what the cause of the confusion was.'

BOOK XXII.

§ 1. et nequicquam. The first 'et' prepares the way for the second, and is not to be translated.
moratus. Hannibal had had to stop two days in one place on the Apennines (21. 58. 11) 'Biduum eo loco velut obsessi mansere.'
§ 2. pro eo, ut . . . raperent agerentque, 'instead of their being able to carry off plunder,' &c.
§ 3. levitate, 'faithlessness.'
tegumenta capitis. Not 'hats,' but 'wigs.' By 'changing . . .
his wigs,' Livy does not mean to imply that Hannibal ordinarily wore a wig, but that he now made use of several for the purposes of disguise. According to Polybius the wigs differed in the ages that they represented, and the rest of the disguise always corresponded to the wig, the whole being so cleverly contrived that Hannibal's friends could hardly recognise him. This Polybius calls a 'Phoenician stratagem;' it certainly seems characteristic of Hannibal.
errore etiam, 'by puzzling his foes.' 'Etiam' emphasizes 'errore,' and should not be translated.
§ 5. Ibi quum de re publica, &c. 'When he had there (i.e. in Rome) brought the question of State affairs before the Senate' (see note on 21. 6. 3). This was the proper thing for the new consul to do; it was exactly what Flaminius had neglected to do (21. 63. 8), naturally then 'redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est.'
iustum, 'proper.' Flaminius had not waited to have the 'lex curiata' passed, without which he could not have the 'imperium,' at least not constitutionally.
§ 6. id. The auspices. The reader will notice that 'to have the auspices,' though it implies the power of taking them, and results from taking them at the beginning of the year of office, is yet quite a different thing from taking the auspices.
ferre, i.e. when they acted as they ought.
§ 7. nee privatum, &c. 'no auspices attended a man without office, nor could he who had left Rome without them take them afresh on a foreign soil.'
§ 8. spicula ... arsisse. In some states of the atmosphere an electric discharge from the points of the javelins might be distinctly luminous, and possibly the same phenomenon might occur in the case of the 'scipio,' if it was tipped with metal.

§ 9. et solis orbem minui visum. This may have been a partial eclipse. This phenomenon might also make it appear that the sun was 'fighting with the moon.' For though the ignorant spectator would not recognise the dark body as the moon, he might mistake for the moon the undarkened part of the sun, which during part of the eclipse would be in the shape of a crescent. Some of the other portents related, for instance the 'ardentes lapides' (meteoric stones), may have had foundation in fact.

§ 12. simulacra luporum. The statues of these animals were probably close to the temple of their patron Mars, on the Appian Way, outside the Porta Appia.

§ 13. minoribus ... dictu, 'less romantic.' They were meaner and less interesting, and so it was less likely that they should obtain credit.

lanatas ... factas. This means that their hair became wool, not that they became sheep.

§ 15. maioribus hostiis, &c. For the religious terms employed in this section and the next, see notes on 21. 62. 6-8.

§ 16. cetera. In translating, 'ut' must be taken before 'cetera.'

cordi esse, 'to be pleasing.'

§ 17. maioribus hostiis sacrificaretur, lit. 'sacrifice should be made with full-grown victims.'

§ 18. libertinae et ipsae, 'even the very freedwomen' (Church and Brodribb).


§ 20. Saturnalia ... clamata. This was done by calling out 'Io Saturnalia!' and was a regular practice at the festival thus advertised. The Saturnalia were always celebrated in December.

§ 1. dilectu, dative.

§ 2. quam aliud, &c. 'although another route, more easy, if longer, was pointed out to him.'

inundaverat, here absolute, 'had overflowed.' So 'solito magis inundaverat' will mean 'had caused greater floods than usual.'

§ 3. id omne veterani, &c. 'these formed the whole strength of his veteran army.' Notice the (so-called) attraction, by which we have 'id erat,' instead of 'li erant.' Cf. 'ut id medium agminis esset' in this same section.

necubi is ne-cubi ('cubi' being the original form of 'ubi') and means 'lest ... anywhere.' In this sentence the 'anywhere' practically belongs
to 'consistere coactis.' 'So that if they were forced to halt anywhere, they might not be without the necessaries of life.'

novissimos ire, 'to close the rear.' As Weissenborn remarks, it is difficult to see how, if the cavalry came last, Mago and his Numidian horse could come after them ('inde' § 4), and close the rear. He suggests that the words 'novissimos ire equites' are pleonastic. Polybius puts the matter clearly, saying that Hannibal put the cavalry in the rear under the command of Mago.

§ 4. Gallos is governed by 'cohibentem.'

ut est mollis ad talia gens, 'with their characteristic impatience of exertion.'

§ 5. Primi. The Spaniards and Africans.

hausti paene, 'almost swallowed up.'

§ 7. et ipsa. As well as the men; cf. 'et ipsae' in § 18 of the last chapter.

§ 8. nihil, ubi in sicco. 'We should say, 'no dry place where.'

§ 9. tantum, quod extaret aqua, quae erentibus, 'to men whose only wish was to find something that stood above the water.'

ad quietem parvi temporis goes with 'cubile.'

necessarium; ἀναγκαῖον. It means the only one that could be had, and that a bad one.

dabant. Notice that this verb has a subject different from that of 'incumbebant.'

§ 10. variante calores frigoraque, 'with its alternations of heat and cold.'

§ 11. palustri ... caelo, 'marshy (i.e. marsh-poisoned) climate,' hence 'malaria.'

altero oculo capitur, 'lost the sight of one of his eyes.'

§ 1. ubi primum in sicco potuit, lit. 'where he could first do so on dry land,' i.e. 'on the first dry spot that he could find.'

§ 2. copias ad commenat us expediendos, 'facilities for obtaining supplies.'

quae cognosse in rem erat, 'an acquaintance with which was likely to be useful.' 'In rem' is rather like our expression 'to the purpose.'

§ 3. Regio erat, &c. 'The district—the Etruscan plains which lie between Faesulae and Arretium—was one of the most fertile in Italy.' 'Opulenti' may be translated as if it agreed with 'regio.' This section and the next give a summary of the information that Hannibal obtained.

§ 4. ferox, 'arrogant.'

§ 5. quo-que. Two words.

§ 6. laeva relictio hoste. How Hannibal could have done this, or why he should have marched towards Faesulae and away from Arretium,
Chap. 3. which lies to the south of Faesulae, it is impossible to understand. Livy, whose geography is not accurate, has made some mistake.

§ 7. ferri agique, a formula, ‘being plundered.’

suum id dedecus ratus. ‘Id’ is in apposition to and anticipates the sentence ‘per... oppugnanda,’ just as we anticipate a clause by ‘it’ (‘thinking it a reproach to himself that,’ &c.)

§ 10. Immo. ‘By all means.’ Of course ironical.

Camillum ab Veiiis. According to the account given in Livy 5. 46, foll. it was ordained by a senatusconsultum passed in the besieged Capitol (while the Gauls were in possession of the rest of Rome), ‘uti comitiis curiatis revocatus de exilio iussu populi Camillus dictator extemplo diceretur,’ and that he was thereupon summoned from Ardea, the place of his exile, to Veii, where most of the Romans had collected after the destruction of their city by the Gauls.

§ 12. velut foedo omine, &c. ‘by what they thought a fearful omen for the beginning of the campaign.’

omni vi moliente signifero. Ablative absolute, ‘though the standard-bearer pulled at it with all his might.’

§ 13. ‘Num litteras quoque, &c.’ As had happened to Flamininus in his Gallic campaign.

effodiant, supply ‘ut.’

§ 14. milite in vulgus, &c. ‘while the common soldiers (or ‘the soldiers generally’) were delighted with the spirited behaviour of their general, for they thought a great deal about his confidence and very little about his reasons for it.’

Chap. 4. § 2. maxime... subit, ‘approaches most closely to.’ Mommsen thus describes the scene of this famous battle. ‘A narrow defile between two steep mountain walls closed at its outlet by a high hill and at its entrance by the Trasimene lake.’ The way into the defile was by the ‘via perangusta,’ mentioned in the next sentence, which skirted the N. W. corner of the lake, passing between it and the hills.

inde, ‘from that place,’ i. e. from the ‘campus.’

§ 4. pridie. Only so in reference to ‘postero die’ in the next sentence, not in reference to the movements of Hannibal, who reached the lake before Flaminius.

inexplorato. A quasi-adverb, ‘without reconnoitring.’

angustiis. These were the ‘via perangusta’ which led into the defile itself. The defile is described as ‘patentiorem campum’ in this section and as ‘paulo latior campus’ in § 2. It had, of course, hills on both sides; the ‘via perangusta’ had hills on one side and the lake on the other.

deceptae insidia. The MS. reading will give no sense and is probably corrupt. Lipsius suggested ‘decepere,’ in the sense of ‘cecel-
lere' ('escaped notice') instead of 'deceptae.' This would give sense, Chap. 4.

§ 5. clausum . . . habuit. 'Habuit' is no mere auxiliary here. The phrase means not 'had shut in,' but 'had shut in and caught.' simul goes with 'invadendi;' 'gave a signal to all his troops to attack the enemy together.'

§ 6. qua cuique proximum fuit. Cf. 21. 5. 12 'qua cuique proximum est.'

eo prepares us for the 'quod' in the next sentence.

satis conspecta, 'pretty clearly visible.' But in the next section 'satis,' being virtually negativd by 'priusquam' and 'antequam,' will have a stronger force thus—

§ 7. prius . . . quam satis ntereret is 'before they (lit. 'he') could see clearly' and

ante . . . quam satis instrueretur acies is 'before line could be properly formed.'

§ 1. satis, ut in re trepida, impavidus, 'with considerable bravery under the circumstances.' Livy has certainly used the word 'satis' too often in the last few lines.

§ 2. nee enim inde votis, &c. Livy keeps up to the end the character of Flaminius as a 'contemptor deum.' fieri, 'could be made.'

§ 3. tantumque aberat. In the idiom 'tantum abest ut . . . ut,' the first 'ut' depends on the 'abest,' the second on the 'tantum.' Thus the sentence before us literally means, 'that they should know their own standards . . . was so much out of the question, that they had hardly the presence of mind to,' &c.

opprimerentur, 'were cut down'

§ 6. ab lateribus montes ac lacus. Those in the 'paolo latior campus' had hills on both sides, those in the 'via perangusta' had hills on one side and the lake on the other.

dux adhortatorque factus. Supply 'est.'

§ 7. non illa ordinata, &c., lit. 'not the usual battle that was arranged with first, second, and third lines,' i. e. not one in which the usual order of first, second, and third lines was kept. At this time the 'hastati' formed the first line, the 'principes' the second, and the 'triarii' (also called 'pilani') the third. Each line was about four deep, and there were spaces between the separate lines, and also spaces between the different maniples in the lines.

The first two lines were called 'antepilani' and the third 'pilani,' from a now obsolete system of equipment, for at this time the 'pilani' were not armed with the 'pilum,' but with the 'hasta,' while the 'antepilani' were armed with the 'pilum.'
Chap. 5. antesignani means 'hastati,' the standards being carried between them and the 'principes.'
§ 8. ante aut post, 'whether in the front or the rear.'

Chap. 6.
§ 1. atrociter, 'fiercely.'
§ 3. Ducario. Dative.
popularibus suis, 'to his countrymen.'
mānibus, not 'mānibus.'
§ 4. qui se infesto, &c. 'who had put himself in the way of his charge.'
triarii, i.e. men who ordinarily fought as 'triarii.' All was confusion at the battle of Lake Trasimenus, but the consul had some of his best soldiers round him, (see § 2), and these would be 'triarii.'
§ 6. ubi, 'finding that.'
paludis depends on 'aquam.'
quoad capitibus, &c., lit. 'as far as they could keep their heads and shoulders above water,' i.e. they went to the furthest point which would allow of their heads and shoulders being above water.
sese immergunt does not mean 'drowned themselves,' but merely 'immersed themselves.' They tried to escape death by going as far out into the water as they safely could. Most of them were probably cut down by the cavalry.
§ 7. quae. Their 'fuga' (escape) by swimming.
immensa, 'endless,' i.e. 'impossible.'
equicquam fessi, 'after exhausting themselves in vain.'
aegerrime, 'with the greatest difficulty.'
ab . . . equitibus . . . trucidabantur. For the advantage possessed by cavalry over infantry in water shallow enough for both to stand in, see 21. 5. 14.
§ 8. per adversos hostes. These were Hannibal's heavy Spanish and African infantry.
ex saltu. The 'saltus' is the 'paulo latior campus.'
prae caligine. The morning mist was still lying on the valley.
§ 9. Inclinata . . . re. 'When victory was decided.'
perditas res, &c. 'the ruin and horrible slaughter of the Roman army.'
§ 12. quae Punicæ religione, &c. 'The promise was kept by Hannibal with Carthaginian good faith; all the prisoners were put in chains.' The promise was not Hannibal's own, and (according to Polybius) he maintained that Maherbal had not the right to make it.

Chap. 7.
§ 1. nobilis, 'famous.'
§ 3. Multiplex, 'Many times as great.'
§ 4. ego praeterquam quod, &c. 'I, besides the fact that I dislike all absurd exaggeration, a fault to which writers are so often inclined, have
preferred the authority of Fabius, who lived at the time of the war, to that of all others.'

**Fabius.** The historian Fabius Pictor.

§ 5. *captivorum qui Latini nominis essent.* With *captivorum* understand *iis.* Polybius adds that Hannibal said, 'I have come to make war not upon the Italians, but upon Rome, in order to set the Italians free.' His policy was to win the Italians from their alliance with Rome. He knew that his ultimate success depended chiefly on this, and that but little help was likely to come to him from Carthage.

**Flaminii quoque corpus, &c.** The fact speaks well for Hannibal's generosity, and the record of it for Livy's candour.

§ 6. *ad primum nuntium,* 'on the first news.' So also *nuntios,* in § 11, means 'tidings.'

§ 7. *repens* is to be taken with *allata* and translated 'suddenly.'

§ 12. *nuntiiis* here may be either *messages* or *messengers.*

§ 14. *praetores.* Here again we find the *praetor* appearing as the head of the republic when there is no consul in Rome; see 21. 62. 10.

§ 1. *Servilio consule.* He was at or near Ariminum.

§ 2. *ducere,* as also *aestimare* in the next section, is a historic infinitive.

§ 3. *sed.* After this word supply *they thought.*

*magis* . . . *gravior* has been strangely taken by some of the best critics to be a double comparative, the sense, according to them, being 'is more heavily felt.' Even if this is Latin there can be no doubt that *magis* is to be taken with *sentiretur,* and that Livy meant *they thought that,* as on a body weakened by disease a disturbing influence, however slight, has more effect than a more powerful one has on a robust frame,' &c.

§ 4. *non rerum magnitudine,* 'not by its actual importance.'

§ 5. *neque desideratum nec,* &c. 'that had been neither needed nor applied.'

*quia et consul aberat, a quo uno,* &c. The dictator was nominated by one of the consuls (according, be it observed, to the senate's direction), and there was no other means by which he could be appointed. The consul should if possible be present in Rome, but this was not absolutely necessary (see 33. 11) provided that the consul who made the nomination was within the *ager Romanus,* which included all Italy at this time. Ariminum, however, could hardly count as Italian yet, and in 31. 9 Livy says that at this time Servilius *procul in Gallia provincia aberat.' Anyhow rapid communication with him was out of the question. The natural conclusion is that a dictator could not possibly have been appointed at this time, and in chap. 31. 8–10 Livy solves the difficulty by suggesting that the Romans to avoid
delay adopted the expedient of making Fabius a pro-dictator by a decree of the people. It is curious that Livy should not have reconciled the present passage with his mature views, but no doubt he here had Caelius open before him, the passage in ch. 31. being afterwards added to save the trouble of correction.

non consulto senatus is a conjecture of Madvig’s. For the ‘populo’ or ‘populus’ of the MSS. ‘praetor’ has been suggested as an emendation.

§ 6. magistrum equitum. A dictator properly had always a ‘magister equitum’ (originally to command the cavalry under him) appointed either with him, as in this case, or by him (see 33. 11). All the other magistrates of the ‘populus’ became powerless and subject to the dictator’s authority, but this was not the case with the officers of the plebs (the tribunes and plebeian aediles). In the dictator’s absence the Master of the Horse was the supreme magistrate, and he was responsible to the Dictator only. The rank of the magister equitum was probably equal—perhaps slightly superior—to that of a praetor.

§ 7. quibus locis videretur, ‘in whatever places they should think fit.’

§ 2. urbem. Spoletium.

conieetans ex unius, &c. It is most unlikely that Hannibal had not discovered until now what it would cost him to besiege Rome, or that he had ever intended to lay siege to Rome at this stage of his operations.

§ 4. per dies aliquot stativa habita. Polybius tells us that Hannibal employed this holiday time, not only in restoring the health and spirits of his horses and men, but in re-arming his African infantry after the Roman fashion with the arms that he had taken in his victories.

magis ad eventum secundo quam. This sentence constructed ‘more Liviano’ can be rendered in English only by some such paraphrase as ‘which, though it had ended in victory, had not been by any means light and easy work.’

§ 5. Praetutianum Hadrianumque agrum, ‘the Praetutian land round Hadria.’ Hadria or Hatria was in Picenum; the Praetutii were a people living near.

Marsos . . . Marrucinosque et Pelignos. These are also the names of peoples. They lived between Samnium on the south-east, Latium on the south, Latium and the Sabine territory on the west, and Picenum on the north.

Arpos et Luceriam. These were towns in Apulia, hence ‘proximam Apuliae regionem’ means ‘the nearest portions of Apulia,’ and by ‘nearest’ Livy means ‘nearest to Rome.’
NOTES TO BOOK XXII.

§ 6. moenibus... metuens is like our own idiom.

ad urbem iter intendit, 'directed his march towards the city.'

§ 7. dictator iterum, 'now dictator for the second time.' Though technically a pro-dictator, Fabius would no doubt always be spoken of as 'the dictator.'

§ 8. non ferme, 'hardly ever.'

taetra is the emphatic word in the sentence.

§ 9. quod eius belli causa votum Marti foret. Unless the 'vota' made by C. Atilius the praetor (21. 62. 10) were made to Mars (as Weissenborn suggests), we have no record of this vow. The sentence is literally, 'that that which had been vowed to Mars on account of the war, having been not rightly done, must be done afresh,' &c., i.e. 'that the vow which had been made to Mars on account of the war must, since it had not been made with the proper observances, be made afresh and with greater solemnity.'

§ 10. ver sacrum. To vow a 'ver sacrum' had once meant to vow to sacrifice to the gods, in event of success, all that should be born during the coming March and April. It seems to have been originally a Sabine custom, at one time involving human sacrifice, for which was afterwards substituted the practice of sending away the young men and women so vowed in their twentieth year to seek new homes. The 'ver sacrum' vowed at Rome in B.C. 217 did not apply to human beings. See the third section of the next chapter.

si bellatum prospere esset, &c. The tense represents the 'bellatum erit' of oratio recta. Cf. the similar passage in 21. 62. 10 'si in decem annos res publica eodem stetisset statu.'

§ 11. ex collegii pontificum sententia is to be taken with 'iubet,' 'ordered according to the direction of the college of pontiffs.'

§ 2. Rogatus, sc. 'est.'

Velitis iubeatisne. For 'velitisne et iubeatis.' The words depend, says Weissenborn, on 'rego vos' or some such words understood, while the rest of the question put by the magistrate is in oratio recta.

ad quinquennium proximum, 'up to the next period of five years;' i.e. 'through the present period of five years;' in other words, 'through the next five years.' But it must not be supposed that 'ad' could possibly mean 'through.' Observe that Aemilius counts by 'lustra.'

duellis...duellum, &c. Old forms of 'bellis,' 'bellum,' &c. The question put to the people is no doubt quoted from a genuine archaic document, and is not, like the speeches, a composition by Livy.

§ 3. duit, old pres. subj. of 'do.'

attulerit, fut. perf. ind., not perf. subj.
quaeque profana erunt. A proviso. ‘Not being already consecrated’ (Church and Brodribb).

ficri, ‘to be sacrificed.’ The word depends on ‘duit.’ In classical Latin we should have the gerundive instead of the infinitive here.

Further, ‘fio’ in the sense of ‘I am offered in sacrifice’ is strange Latin, for ‘I offer an ox’ is not ‘facio bovem’ but ‘facio bove.’

§ 4. quo modo faxit, &c. ‘in whatever way we shall perform the sacrifice be it reckoned fairly performed;’ ‘faxit’ is an old form of future perfect from ‘facio’ (fasso, faxis, faxit).

§ 5. profanum esto, ‘it shall be held not to have been vowed.’ This means that the owner would not have to supply its place by a fresh victim.

rumpet, ‘shall hurt.’ The object to this verb is ‘id, quod fieri oportebit’ understood.

clepsit, formed from ‘clepo’ (κλέπτω), like ‘faxit’ from ‘facio.’

§ 6. Si atrō die, &c. ‘If anyone shall unwittingly offer his sacrifice on an evil day, be it held to have been rightly offered.’

antidea, an old form of ‘antea.’

faxitur is the passive of ‘faxit.’

eo populus solutus, &c. ‘the people shall be free and clear of it,’ i.e. the fault of the individual shall not vitiate the atonement of the nation. In this particular case the man who committed the error is not protected from the divine wrath by any saving clause.

§ 7. aeris trecentis, &c. ‘at a cost of 333,333½ ases.’ It will be noticed that this fanciful number is exactly one third of a million. Weissenborn thinks that the ‘as’ here meant is the old one, worth four times the value of the reduced ‘as’ used at this time, and equivalent to the current ‘sesterces.’ During the course of Fabius’ pro-dictatorship the ‘as’ was still further reduced.

bubus Iovi trecentis. Supply ‘votum est fieri.’

§ 8. sed agrestium etiam, sc. ‘multitudo.’

quos in aliquā sua fortuna, & c. ‘who were beginning to feel the state’s danger as soon as it affected in any way their own prosperity.’

§ 10. aedes, ‘temples.’

ex fatalibus libris, &c. ‘it had been proclaimed in accordance with the Prophetic Books.’ The Sibylline books are meant. The ‘ita’ which precedes the words quoted merely prepares the way for the clause ‘ut is voveret,’ &c.

§ 1. tum de bello, &c. ‘turning to the war and the state business relating to it, the dictator put the question as to how many legions and what legions ought in the opinion of the Senate to be employed against their victorious foe.’
§ 2. scriberet, 'that he should levy.'
quantum equitum, &c. 'as large a force of cavalry and infantry as should seem good to him.'

ut e re publica duceret, 'as he should think to be for the interests of the state.' The phrase 'e re publica' is a usual but remarkable one.

§ 4. immunita essent, 'were not properly fortified.' 'Ut' is only a repetition of the preceding 'ut.'

§ 5. viatorem, 'an attendant,' probably not one of his lictors.

§ 6. vetustate, 'from its long disuse.'

§ 7. Itaque extemplo, &c. The general is expected to turn admiral at a moment's notice.

§ 8. libertini etiam, quibus liberi essent. These freedmen were allowed to serve as being fathers of children who would have a right to do so. The sons of 'libertini' were 'ingenui' (free-born), but the 'libertini' themselves were not.

§ 2. in viam Latinam. To reach this he would have to march South from Praeneste.
ducit, sc. 'exercitum.'
nullo loco, &c. 'resolved never to accept battle—unless forced to do so—where he could not make sure of success.'

§ 3. nulla mora facta, quin, &c. 'Hannibal at once formed line, and offered battle.'

§ 4. nee castraullo tumultu mota videt means merely that Hannibal saw that the Roman camp was quiet and still.
quidem (μέν) prepares us for 'ceterum' (ἄυτ) at the beginning of the next sentence.

quo is clearly corrupt, and must either be altered or omitted.
debellatumque, &c. 'and they had been beaten, and had acknowledged themselves inferior in valour and prestige.'

§ 5. futura sibi res esset, 'he would have to do.'
parem Hannibali. These patriotic exaggerations are a serious defect in Livy as a historian. In point of generalship none of the Roman commanders opposed to Hannibal were in the least comparable to him, and the services which Fabius rendered to his country at this time were of a decidedly negative character.

§ 6. constantiam, 'his firmness.'

§ 7. si exeipere degressum, &c. 'in hopes of catching him when he had descended to the plain.'

§ 8. ut neque omitteret eum, &c. 'so as to keep him in sight while avoiding an engagement.'
NOTES TO BOOK XXII.

Chap. 12. § 9. suo militi, 'to their comrades.' For the whole sentence, cf. 21. 7. 8 'neu quicquam satis tutum munientibus pati.'

§ 10. committebatur is strictly imperfect. Fabius was resolved not to stake the fortune of the campaign (summa rerum) on one pitched battle (universo periculo).

et parva momenta, &c. 'and by small successes won in skirmishes, always begun with caution and with a strong position to fall back on, the troops, at first cowed by their former defeats, gradually learnt to feel less dissatisfied with themselves and the prospects of the war.'

§ 11. qui nihil aliud, &c. 'whose subordinate position was the only thing which prevented him from ruining his country.'

§ 12. pro, 'instead of.'

cunctatore. 'Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.'

affingens vicina virtutibus vitia, 'falsely attributing to him the faults that resembled his virtues.'

premendo, 'by depreciating.'

quae pessima ars, &c. 'a wicked practice, which has been encouraged by many instances of undeserved success.'

Chap. 13. § 1. indignatibus, 'insults.'

§ 3. quum res maior, &c. gives the reason for 'dubium.

tamen is to be taken with 'moverunt.'

§ 4. utiam atque etiam, 'again and again.'

rebus, 'by performance.'

§ 5. duci, 'his guide.'

§ 6. os. We should say 'tongue.'

Casilinum on the Volturnus was about 30 miles S.S.W. of Casinum, and close to Capua. Casinum was in Latium near the Samnite border.

ab suo itinere, from the route that he had meant to take.

§ 8. et Casinum, &c. 'and (it was discovered that) Casinum was far away in a different part of Italy.'

§ 9. virgisque caeso duce, &c. This, if true, was a horrible piece of injustice and cruelty. It would have been bad policy too, as the man was, presumably, an Italian. However, it does not seem at all likely that Hannibal can ever have meant to go to Casinum.

agrum Falernum. This was the district of the famous 'Faler- nian' wine.

§ 10. aquas Sinuessanas. 'The Baths of Sinuessa' (Church and Brodribb); cf. such names as Aquae Sextiae, Eaux Bonnes, Matlock Bath, &c.

§ 11. quum, though doubtless in part explanatory of 'is terror,' had best be translated by 'although,' on account of its reference to what follows.
§ 1. Massiei montis. This was between Latium and Campania. de integro is a hint that even before this time Minucius' insinuations had had their effect on Fabius' soldiers.

§ 5. progressus, on account of its construction with the ablatives 'cunctatione' and 'socordia' must be translated as if it were a passive verb, 'having been allowed to advance.'

§ 6. praeter quam oram, &c. If this refers to any supposed treaty, it is a mistake. There was no treaty to prevent Carthaginians from coasting along Italy. See on 21. 10. 8.

plenam hostium, &c. 'overrun by our foes and in the possession of Numidians and Moors.'

§ 7. Saguntum, &c. 'in our indignation at the storming of Saguntum.' Notice that Livy prefers 'indignando' to 'indignantes,' and cf. the French use of 'en souriant,' &c., instead of 'souriant.'

Romanae coloniae, i.e. Sinuessa.

§ 8. pecorum modo refers not to 'nos,' but to 'exercitum.'
aestivos saltus means 'highland pastures,' it being the custom to take the cattle from the hot plains to the hills during the summer months. Hence the force of 'pecorum modo.'

§ 9. M. Furius, i.e. Camillus.

§ 11. vir. Emphatic here.

quo die dictatorem, &c. 'on the very day that the news of his being appointed dictator ... was brought to Veii.' It has been pointed out in a former note that Camillus, according to the account given in 5. 46, was at Ardea, not at Veii, and was summoned from Ardea to Veii.

quum esset satis altum Janiculum, &c. 'though Janiculum was quite high enough to give him a view of the enemy at his leisure.' Of course ironical.

busta Gallia. 'The Gauls' burying ground,' so called, Livy tells us, because the Gauls who were besieging the Capitol burnt there many of their own number who died of a pestilence.

§ 12. Ad Fureulis Caudinas. The Caudine Forks were a defile in Samnium where the Roman army was enclosed by the Samnites in B.C. 321. They had to capitulate, the condition being that they should pass under the yoke 'inermes cum singulis vestimentis,' evacuate Samnium, and make peace. Accordingly they were sent under the yoke, but the Romans afterwards repudiated the peace, contenting themselves with giving up to the Samnites in the next year those who had sworn to the treaty. In that same year L. Papirius Cursor took Luceria from the Samnites and forced its garrison to go under the yoke.

§ 13. C. Lutatius, who ended the First Punic War by the victory at the Aegates Insulae.
quod, 'for.'

NOTES TO BOOK XXII.


equitumque Romanorum. This term, as has been explained, does not mean cavalry, but men of a particular social rank. The 'tribunes' mentioned with them are, of course, 'tribuni militum.'

ac si militaris suffragii, &c. 'and they unhesitatingly said, that if the matter depended on the votes of the soldiers, they would make Minucius general over Fabius' head.'

Chap. 15. § 1. prius ab illis, &c. 'first showed that his resolution was not overcome by the former.'

§ 2. quia ea regio. This sentence explains why Hannibal had to look about him for a place for his winter quarters, and could not find one ready at hand.

praesentis erat copiae. This means, says Weissenborn, that the neighbourhood offered subsistence 'only for the summer, not for the whole year.'

arbusta vineaeque, &c. is in apposition to 'ea regio.'

§ 4. iugis iisdem, i.e. those of M. Massicus by which he had come (14. 3).

§ 5. Qui, ex turba. 'He, being one of the,' &c. saepe goes with 'audientium.'

§ 6. excideruntque, sc. 'ex animo.' quantum tuto posset, progressum was part of the dictator's orders, 'to advance as far as he could with safety, and then retreat before,' &c.

§ 7. alii atque alii implies that the Numidians relieved each other, and thus were able to tire out the enemy's cavalry.

ad castra prope ipsa goes not with 'refugientes,' but with 'per-traxere.'

§ 8. prius, quam ad coniectum teli veniret. This is explained 'before he came within weapon's throw.'

continenti cursu, 'without halting once.'

§ 9. omni parte virium impar means nothing more than 'though his force was altogether inferior (to that of the enemy).'</n
§ 10. delecti equitum. These probably formed a body-guard round Mancinus.

§ 11. ad firmandum, 'to secure.'

saltum. The pass of Lautulac in Latium.

in artas coactus fauces, &c. 'contracts into a narrow gorge as it approaches the sea.'

agrum Romanum, 'the neighbourhood of Rome.'

§ 12. deferunt, i.e. from the heights on which they were.
§ 2. sub ipso . . . vallo, 'close to their entrenchments.'

haud dubie aequiore loco, 'and had certainly a better position.'

successit, 'came up.'

Carptim means that they made a succession of short attacks.

§ 4. per, 'among.'

§ 6. ludibrium oculorum . . . ad frustrandum hostem, 'a plan to deceive the eyes of the enemy.'

§ 8. effecta, 'were got together.'

Hasdrubali. Not, of course, Hannibal's brother, but the officer in command of his pioneers, &c.

accessis cornibus of course means no more than that the fagots, &c., on their horns were to be lighted. It is noticeable that neither Livy nor Polybius expresses any pity for the oxen, which, according to the Roman's account at any rate, must have suffered terribly. Similarly the author of the book of Judges expresses no pity for the foxes which Samson treated in a still more cruel manner (Judges 15. 4, 5). It has been remarked that the deeds of Samson may have been well known to the Phoenicians and their colonists at Carthage, and that Samson's device may therefore have suggested Hannibal's.

si posset. No doubt there would be a difficulty in directing the frightened animals with any nicety.

§ 2. ad vivum ad imaque cornua. A hendiadys.

§ 3. visa, 'seemed.'

irrita means that they were unable to shake off the burning wood.

§ 4. Qui ad transitum, &c. 'Those who had been placed to hold the pass.'

Qua refers to 'montium iuga.'

§ 5. veluti flammis spirantium, &c. 'they were spell-bound at the sight, thinking that the animals were breathing out flames.'

§ 6. cum maiore tumultu, 'in still greater panic than before.'

incurrere, perf., not hist. inf.

ceterum nox aequato timore, &c. 'but night coming on made each party afraid of the other, so they remained as they were until dawn, neither liking to begin an attack.' Livy has, by a remarkable and puzzling condensation, put 'neutros' in apposition to 'utrosque,' which is to be supplied out of 'neutros' itself.

§ 1. utique, 'in any case.'

§ 3. concursandum, 'skirmishing.'

pugnae genere, 'in an engagement of that kind,' or 'by their own method of fighting.'

§ 4. aliquot suis, 'a considerable number of their men.'
Chap. 18. § 5. super Allifas belongs to 'consedit,' not to 'saltum.'

§ 7. Gereonium and Larinum were both in the country of the Fren-tani, though Livy seems to regard Gereonium as being in Apulia. So in 39. 16 it is spoken of by Fabius as 'Castelli Apuliae inopis.' However, Livy does not intend his speeches to be accurate, while in the passage before us he may mean no more than this, that Gereonium was in the direction of Apulia from the land of the Peliagni.

§ 9. ut plus consilio, &c. 'to trust more to prudence than to chance, and to imitate his (Fabius') generalship rather than that of Sempronius and Flamininus; he was not to think that nothing had been done when nearly the whole summer had been spent in making game of the enemy.'


§ 3. Carthagine. New Carthage is meant.

paratus configere, &c. 'thus prepared to give battle, whatever should be the nature of the force with which the enemy opposed him.'

§ 4. primo idem consilii fuit, 'was at first of the same mind,' i.e. he also had meant to make a combined advance with army and fleet.

ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum need mean nothing more than 'the great reputation of Hasdrubal's new allies,' though the commentators say that it means 'the report that Hasdrubal had a large number of new allies.'

§ 5. Altero ab Tarracone die. 'On the day after leaving Tarraco,' stationem, 'a roadstead.'

Massiliensium. The people of Massilia were very faithful allies of Rome. See 21. 20, 7-8.

§ 6. utuntur, sc. Hispani.

§ 7. Inde, 'From one of these.'

nondum ... aperientibus classem. Livy says that the pro-montories 'did not yet reveal the fleet,' meaning that they still concealed it.

§ 8. classem Romanam. Supply 'saying that.'

§ 10. resolutis oris ... evehuntur. See Smith's Latin Dictionary s. vv. 'eveho' and 'ora.'

§ 12. adversi had best be left untranslated. Church and Brodribb give 'in their rear.'

hand sane intrabile, lit. 'not so very easy to enter.' Translate, 'and since it was no easy matter for such a broad column,' &c.

Chap. 20. § 1. hostium erat, 'was in the power of the enemy.'

armatamque aciem, &c. reads like the 'disiecti membra poetae,' whom we may fancy to have written 'armatamque aciem praetentam litore toto Cernebant.' This tendency to run into metre is by no means uncommon in animated descriptions by Roman prose writers. See 50. 10.
NOTES TO BOOK XXII.

§ 2. puppibus. Ablative, ‘by their sterns.’

§ 3. Neque id pulcherrimum, &c. Cf. our colloquial expression, ‘And that wasn’t the finest thing about the victory.’

§ 5. iniuncta, ‘adjoining.’

§ 6. ad rem nauticam, i.e. for ropes.

sublato, understand ‘hoc’ as the antecedent to ‘quod.’

§ 7. Ebusum insulam. The modern ‘Iviza.’ We reckon it as one of the Balearic islands; the ancients placed it and Colubraria in a group by themselves, which they called Pityussae (Πυτυούσσαι), ‘the Pine Islands.’

§§ 7-9. Ibi urbe, &c. Observe the various ways in which temporal clauses can be expressed in Latin. We have here (i.) ablative absolute, ‘urbe ... oppugnata;’ (ii.) ‘ubi’ with the perfect indicative; (iii.) passive (or rather middle) participle (‘versi’) agreeing with the subject of ‘recepissent;’ (iv.) ablative absolute again, ‘direptis ... vicis;’ and lastly (v.), ‘quum’ with the pluperfect subjunctive. The ablative absolute ‘maiore ... praeda parta’ belongs in sense too closely to ‘in naves se recepissent’ to be regarded as a separate temporal clause in relation to the apodosis ‘ex Baliaribus insulis legati ... venerunt.’

§ 11. populi, ‘tribes.’ Notice that ‘amplius’ here does not affect the structure of the rest of the sentence.

§ 12. saltum Castulonensem. The Sierra Morena, at the North of Andalusia. Castulo itself lay to the south of the ‘saltus.’ It is mentioned in 24. 41. 7 as ‘urbs Hispaniae valida ac nobilis et adeo coniuncta societate Poenis, ut uxor inde Hannibali esset.’

Lusitaniam. This corresponds, roughly speaking, to Portugal.

Oceanum. The Atlantic.

§ 1. per Poenum hostem, as far as the Carthaginians were concerned.

§ 2. qui refers to ‘Indibilis.’

§ 3. pacatum, ‘peaceful.’

§ 4. ut tumultuariam manum (‘as might be expected in fighting with so undisciplined a force’) explains ‘levi.’

fudere, understand ‘eos.’

armis exuta. This expression, as in 21. 61. 9, means that the men threw away their arms in order the better to save themselves by flight.

§ 6. Ilergavonensium. These people are supposed to have lived near the coast, and just to the South of the Ebro.

§ 1. prorogato post consulatum. He was ‘pro consule,’ not ‘consul.’ This extension of the term of command was at this date exceptional, though not unprecedented.
NOTES TO BOOK XXII.

§ 2. tenuit, 'reached.'

§ 5. ne sanguine, &c. This clause explains how the 'pignus' prevented the Spaniards from going over to Rome. We must supply in thought some such words as 'for they feared,' on which the 'ne' clause may depend.

§ 6. sollerti magis quam fidei. The sentence is ironical. Livy does not mean to suggest the slightest doubt of Abelux' perfidy.

qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia. To make this strictly grammatical, we must supply 'tali ingenio' in the sentence 'cum fortuna mutaverat fidem.'

cum fortuna, &c. 'when fortune changed he had transferred his allegiance.'

§ 7. id agebat, ut. Not an uncommon Latin expression: 'He made it his object to.'

maximum emolumentum is the complement, not the subject, of the sentence.

§ 8. potestatis eius. N. B. not 'suae,' which would mean 'in Fortune's power.'

conciliaturam, 'would win.'

§ 11. metum is the subject of its sentence, and 'animos' the object.

cis. Of course from a Carthaginian point of view.

non teneat represents the 'non tenet' of oratio recta. Notice that the oratio obliqua depending on 'monet' passes, like that in 21. 30, from primary to historic tenses and back again. That 'continuisse' is as much historic as 'abessent' is shown by the use of 'eam diem' instead of 'hanc diem.'

§ 13. 'quorum maximum,' &c. 'whose influence in their own states is very great.'

§ 15. non ad cetera Punica, &c. 'who was by no means as cunning as most Carthaginians' (lit. who was not cunning in comparison with other Carthaginian intellects). Polybius (3. 98) describes Bostar as being of an innocent and mild disposition (άκακον ὄντα τὸν ἀνδρα καὶ πρᾶον τὴν φύσει).

§ 17. cum iis, with the Romans. The words belong to 'com-positam.'

excitatis custodibus puerorum, 'after awaking the men who had charge of the boys.'

§ 18. acta per eundem ordinem, &c. 'were done in exactly the same way as (they would have been done) if they had been done in the name of the Carthaginians,' i.e. the whole programme of restoring the hostages was carried out as designed, with the sole exception that they were restored in the name of the Romans instead of in that of the Carthaginians.

§ 19. futura...fuerat. This is rather more than a periphrasis for
'fuisset' and means 'had been going to be' (from the point of view of Abelux' suggestions to Bostar). Still we must translate it 'would have been.'

videri poterat, 'might have seemed.'

§ 20. et Abelux, &c. 'Et' introduces a new reason: 'besides they thought that a cautious man like Abelux must have had good reason for changing sides,' (or 'would not have changed sides without good reason').

§ 2. sollieitum ... habebat, 'constantly troubled.'
militiae magistrum, 'director of their military operations.'

§ 3. ita, ('yet') answers to the 'ut' ('though') in § 2.
contempta erat, &c. 'was treated with equal scorn in the camp and in the city.'
utique, 'especially.'
laeo verius dixerim, &c. 'with an issue which should be called successful rather than fortunate.'

§ 4. una. Notice that this is here put for 'altera,' as in a modern language.

fraude ac dolo Hannibalis. For this trick, cf. Thucydides, 2. 13, where Pericles is said to have suspected that Archidamus would leave his property unravaged, either because he was Pericles' personal friend, or for the sinister motive of bringing him into suspicion with the Athenians (ei διαβολή τῇ ἱοτοῦ), on which passage Grote quotes Tacitus, Hist. 5. 23 'Cerialis, insulam Batavorum hostiliter populalus, agros villasque Civilis intactos nota arte ducum sinebat.'

ea. 'Attracted' into the gender of 'merces.'

§ 5. in maximam laudem, 'to his great glory.'

§ 6. convenerat, 'an agreement had been made.'

argentii pondo bina et selibras, &c. 'two pounds and a half of silver for every soldier.' For 'pondo,' which is here regarded as a neuter plural, see note on 21. 62. 8 ('auri pondo quadraginta').

§ 7. tardius erogaretur, 'was not voted soon enough.'

§ 8. fidemque publicam, &c. 'Thus at his own expense discharging a national obligation.'

§ 9. cuius urbis captae atque incensae. This does not at all agree with the account of Gereonium in 18. 7. Polybius says that Hannibal took Gereonium, but left the walls and most of the houses standing.
in usum horreorum, to serve as magazines.

§ 10. cum tertia ipse, &c. 'he himself kept watch (in statione erat) with the remainder, which was ready for action.'
et circumspectans. Here we have another instance of 'et' coupling words of unlike construction.
NOTES TO BOOK XXII.

Chap. 24.

§ 1. Larinati. Larinum was about ten miles North of Gereonium.

§ 2. Ceterum. 'Besides.'

agitatabantque. 'Agitare' means literally 'to set going.'

pro, 'as might be expected from,' 'in accordance with.'

ut impetus . . . fieret, '(the more adventurous plan) of making an attack,' &c.

§ 4. quum, 'although.' The clause introduced by 'quum' qualifies the 'dimisit'—not the 'crederet'—clause.

§ 5. propius hostem, see on 21. 1. 2 'propius pericum.'

§ 6. ei, i.e. 'hosti.'

ad quem capiendum, 'quem' is equivalent to 'et eum;' but the 'et' thus contained in the word has no special connection with the clause in which it occurs. Livy is fond of such harsh inversions. The whole sentence, if arranged naturally, would be 'et, quia, si ad eum capiendum luce palam iretur, haud dubie hostis . . . praeventurus erat, nocte clam missi,' &c.

praeventurus erat. Here again the pluperfect subjunctive would not have served Livy's turn (see 22. 19, note). Hannibal knew that the enemy meant to occupy the hill if they saw him make any attempt on it. The periphrasis 'praeventurus erat' has, however, a conditional force. Cf. 'tutari poterat' in § 9.

§ 8. [Tum ut] must certainly be omitted.

compleverat. By the use of the pluperfect tense, and the word 'acies,' Livy tells us that the Romans marched out of their camp and formed in order of battle.

per aversa a castris, &c. Lit. 'though the (places) remote from Hannibal's camp,' i.e. 'from the side which was furthest from Hannibal's camp.'

§ 9. tutari poterat. Perhaps the indicative is used, because the statement 'Hannibal could hardly defend his camp,' is really unconditioned, 'si oppugnarentur' being added as an afterthought. His inability to defend the camp was a fact; it could only be shown if the camp were attacked. But from another point of view, it may be said that 'poterat,' is here used like our 'could,' in a strictly auxiliary sense.

§ 12. Hunc principem. These words are the subject of 'praebuisse,' the oratio obliqua (depending on 'quidam auctores sunt' in § 11) being continued to the end of the chapter. 'Principem' means 'the first man.'

§ 13. duo castella. Of the Carthaginians.

Chap 25.

§ 1. in contione, 'in public meetings.'

§ 2. ut vera omnia essent, 'granted that all were true.'

§ 3. id enimvero ferendum, &c. 'said that it was really not to be endured that,' &c.
§ 4. sedulo, 'on purpose.'

§ 5. Quippe, corresponding to the 'why' of our colloquial rhetoric, can hardly be translated here.

alterum...ablegatum. See 11. 7.

§ 6. duos praetores. T. Otacilius Crassus and A. Cornelius Mammula.

§ 7. agrum suum tutante. This is said because Hannibal had left Fabius' estate untouched (23. 4).

§ 8. clausos prope intra vallum retentos, 'had been kept almost shut up within their entrenchments.'

§ 9. ut...ut. The first 'ut' means 'when,' the second 'as if.'

§ 10. modicam rogationem, 'a moderate bill.' It was in reality a most preposterous one. The chief advantage of the dictatorship was the avoidance of divided command in times of emergency.

iure, 'power.'

§ 11. Nec tamen ne ita quidem. The negatives here do not cancel, but intensify each other.

suffecisset. This is the regular word for appointing a consul to hold office for part of a year in the room of one who had died, and a consul so appointed was called 'consul suffectus.' N. B. Where Livy speaks of one consul 'appointing' another, he must be understood to mean 'holding the comitia for his election.' All the ordinary magistrates of the people were elected by the people. The extraordinary supreme magistrate (the dictator) was, on the other hand, not elected by the people, but nominated by one of the consuls. See note on 8. 5.

§ 12. contionibus. Here the word means 'public speeches.'

in actione minime populari, 'since the people were by no means inclined to side with him;' lit. 'being (engaged) in a by no means popular course of action,' viz. in opposing the tribune's bill.

quum hostem verbis extolleret. It is interesting to notice that Livy's dislike of Hannibal seems to give way gradually to admiration in the course of the history.

acceptas referret. Constructed with the dative this phrase would have its ordinary sense of 'set down to the credit of,' a metaphor from book-keeping. But it cannot mean this as constructed with 'per,' and so we must translate 'maintained that the defeats of the last two years had been incurred through the rashness;' &c. Livy may have had the other meaning of the words in his mind.

§ 15. in tempore, 'in a time of emergency.'

§ 16. ne praesens de iure, &c. 'so as not to have to struggle for his rights on the spot.'

rogationis ferendae dies, 'the day fixed for proposing the bill.'

§ 17. plebis concilium. There could be no 'comitia' of the plebs,
but only of the whole people. Nevertheless a ‘plebiscitum’ had the force of law, and it was by a ‘plebiscitum’ that Minucius’ ‘imperium’ was to be made equal to that of Fabius. No *lae* (‘lex’) to this effect could possibly have been passed, for Fabius could have forbidden any magistrate of the people to bring a bill before them.

*ad suadendum.* This depends on ‘prodire,’ which depends on ‘audefbant.’

*vulgo* is here the dative of ‘vulgus.’

*favore superante,* &c. ‘though the bill had plenty of partisans, people were backward in openly seconding it.’

§ 18. *loco* non *humili,* &c. ‘a man of not merely undistinguished, but actually low origin.’

§ 19. *ipsum institorem mercis,* (‘himself the retailer of his goods,’ i. e.) ‘who kept a retail shop,’ which our courtly author naturally considers an aggravation of Varro’s low character.

§ 1. *liberalioris fortunae,* ‘of a more honourable career.’

*togaque et forum* means ‘the profession of an advocate.’ Varro, while still a tradesman, would have worn a ‘tunica.’ For ‘toga,’ cf. the expression ‘his cloth’ as used to indicate a clergyman’s profession; and for ‘forum,’ cf. ‘the bar’ as used to indicate a barrister’s.

§ 2. *proclamando,* ‘by bawling.’

*adversus rem et famam honorum,* ‘against the reputation and fortunes of respectable citizens,’ who, it is implied, ought always to obtain a favourable decision in a court of law, while the ‘sordidi homines’ ought as certainly to have the decision given against them. It is not difficult to see with what class in the republic Livy sympathizes, and we must be no less cautious in believing all he tells us about Varro and Flaminius, than in adopting his judgment on the character of Hannibal.

*honores,* ‘offices.’ A Roman, if he wished to become consul, had to work his way upwards from serving on the ‘vigintiviratus’ through the quaestorship, aedileship, and praetorship. Only in extraordinary cases was anyone who had not been praetor allowed to stand for the consulship. It was not usual for a Roman to hold both aedileships, and only a plebeian could possibly do so.

§ 4. *scitique plebis.* The ordinary form is ‘plebiscitum’ or ‘plebeiscitum,’ as in 30. 4.

§ 2. non Hannibale magis, ‘boasted quite as much of his victory over Fabius as of that over Hannibal.’

§ 3. *parem ... Hannibali,* ‘a match for Hannibal.’

§ 4. tantum introduces the reason that Minucius gives for his preceding reflections.

*deorum hominumque.* Heaven had condemned Fabius’ strategy
by giving the victory to Minucius, who acted on the opposite plan, and men had condemned it by passing the `plebiscitum.'

§ 6. se optimum ducere, &c. `he thought it best that they should be in command on alternate days, or, if that was thought too short a time, during alternate periods, each being absolute and supreme in turn.'

§ 8. sibi communicatum cum illo, &c. `he had been forced to share his command with Minucius, but he had not been deprived of it altogether.'

§ 9. qua posset, i.e. `non cedere.'
consilio, `with prudence.'

exercitum. Supply `sed.'

§ 10. evenerunt implies that they cast lots for them.

§ 11. sociumque for `sociorumque.'

§ 1. eum fallebat, `escaped his notice.'

§ 2. nam et liberam, &c. `for he knew that he would be able to lay one of his traps for the rash Minucius, whereas the crafty Fabius had lost half of his strength.'

§ 3. locum, `position.'

§ 5. non modo, as is often the case, stands for `non modo non.'
vestitum agrees with `quicquam,' to be supplied from the sentence before.

§ 6. re ipsa natus, &c. `but in reality perfectly adapted for concealing an ambuscade.'
anfractibus. The windings of the valley.

ut, `of such size that.'
ducenos. Notice the use of the distributive.

§ 7. In has latebras. The accusative is used because the word `conduntur' implies motion. Still it is perfectly good Latin to write `condo me in silva.'

quot quemque locum, &c. is a condensed expression for `tot in quemque locum, quot eum locum apte insidere poterant,' where `tot' would be in agreement with the `pedites equitesque' implied in `quinque millia peditum peditique equitique.'

§ 9. ad arma vocat, &c. Here we have again, as in 20. 1, a suggestion of metre, e.g.

`Ad arma
Ipse vocat vanisque minis dux increpat hostem.'

§ 11. iam iustam explerat aciem, `had at last mustered his army in full strength.'

§ 12. succedens, `trying to scale,' but

succeedentem, `following in their rear.'
Chap. § 13. si iusta ac directa, &c. ‘if the battle were to be of a regular and straightforward kind.’

haulquaquam impar futura, ‘likely to be quite a match for the enemy.’

ante paucos dies, ‘a few days before.’ ‘Ante’ is an adverb here, and ‘paucos dies’ the accusative of duration of time.

Chap. § 1. Ita est. ‘Yes’ (in the sense of ‘It is just as I thought’).

depreduct fortuna temeritatem. Cf. what Livy has said of Fabius, ‘nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunae se commissurus.’ Chance was to be eliminated, Fabius thought. Minucius had not done this, and chance had caught him. Translate, ‘fortune has seized the opening that rashness has given.’

§ 3. magna ex parte belongs to the second ‘aliis’ as much as to the first, and makes them both mean ‘many.’

§ 5. plures simul is contrasted with ‘vage dissipati.’

volventes . . orbem, ‘forming circle’ (our ‘square’).

§ 6. palam ferente, ‘openly declaring.’

§ 8. eum primum esse virum, &c. is a translation of Hesiod, Works and Days, 293, foll.:—

 oùtôs µêv πανάριστος δε αυτός πάντα νοήσην, εσθλός δ’ αὐ κάκεινος, δε εὗ εἰπόντι πίθαι ταί: δὲ δὲ κε μὴτ αυτός νοέῃ, μήτ’ ἄλλοι ἀκούων ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, δ’ αὐτ’ ἀχρητος ἀνήρ’

which speaks well for the education of Minucius, if the reader can believe that he really said it. The passage from Hesiod is given in this note as quoted by Aristotle in Ethics, 1. 4. 7.

extremi ingenii, ‘of the feeblest capacity of all.’

§ 9. in animum inducamus, ‘let us make it our principle.’

§ 10. dignum, ‘befitting.’

§ 11. patronos, ‘by the name of “protectors”’ (‘authors of your freedom,’ Church and Brodribb).

certe, ‘at any rate,’ ‘at least.’

Chap. § 1. conclamatur, ‘the word was given.’

vasa, in the military sense, is everything which the soldier had to carry on the march.

§ 2. tribunal, i.e. that of Fabius.

circumfusos . . . militum eius means those of Fabius’ soldiers who had thronged round the new comers.

totum agmen means the whole of Minucius’ division.

§ 3. modo, ‘just now.’

quod fando possum, ‘and I can say no more than that.’

§ 4. quo oneratus sum magis quam honoratus. All such
translations as 'which has been onerous rather than honourable to me,' must be carefully avoided. No English pun can represent Minucius' (or rather Livy's) solemn play upon words. Translate, 'which has given me a burden rather than an honour.'

antiquo abrogoque, 'I reject and cancel.' Not a mere tautology, though really an impossible combination, 'antiquo' being applicable to a bill, 'abrogo' to a law.

exercitibusque his tuis. Minucius means that both armies (which he specifies severally as 'servato' and 'conservatori') were now Fabius'.

§ 5. hos ordines suos quemque. 'Hos' is the subject, 'ordines' the object of 'tenere,' and 'quemque' explains 'hos.' 'Suum quemque' would be more natural and usual. But see 21. 48. 2 'in civitates quemque suas,' and 23. 22. 3 'sui quemque casus.'

§ 6. laetusque dies, &c. 'and a day so lately one of melancholy and almost disastrous failure, was changed to one of rejoicing.'

§ 9. a patribus. The reader will recollect that more than twenty years elapsed between the First and Second Punic Wars.

§ 1. utrinque. Both from Sardinia and Corsica.
§ 2. Menige. The island of Meninx, or, as Livy has it, of Menix, lies near the south, as Cercina lies near the north, of the little Syrtis.
§ 3. duci is probably a participle and 'effusi' the finite verb.
iuxta ... ac si, 'just as if.'
culturæ egentibus, 'uninhabited.'
§ 4. temere, 'carelessly.'
§ 5. Ad mille hominum. It is more probable that this forms one indeclinable expression, '(men) towards the number of one thousand men,' with which 'amissis' (understood from 'amisco') agrees, than that 'ad' is here an adverb, and 'mille' the ablative case, for the substantive 'mille' is not used in any other case but the nom. and acc. unless in combination with 'milia' in the same case, as in 21. 61. 1 'cum octo millibus peditum, mille equitum.'
et ipse et collega eius, 'as was also his colleague.'

semestri imperio. Six months was fixed by law as the maximum duration of a dictator's office.

§ 9. fugit, 'it has escaped the notice of,' i.e. 'Cacilius and the other historians have failed to notice.'
uni, 'only.' 'That only the consul Cn. Servilius . . . had the power to nominate a dictator.'

§ 10. quam moram means the delay of sending to Servilius.
qui pro dictatore esset, 'an officer to act as pro-dictator.'

§ 11. et augentes titulum, &c. Lit. 'and descendants who ampli-
Chap. 31. fixed the title on his bust,' i.e. 'and the wish of his descendants to inscribe the higher title on his bust.' The hall of a noble Roman was adorned with the busts of his ancestors, his family portraits, as it were, and these busts would be carried in procession at his funeral. Only 'nobiles' had the 'iuss imaginum,' or right to possess these 'imagines.' Under the busts were written the 'tituli' of the deceased. In the case of Fabius, Livy suggests, his descendants may have written 'dictator' where they should have written 'pro dictatore.'

obtinuisse, 'brought it about.' The oratio obliqua in the last two sections of the chapter depends on 'fugit' in § 9.

Chap. 32. § 1. Consules, &c. They would now resume their power, which had been in abeyance during Fabius' term of office.

Geminus Servilius. An inversion. His full name was Gnaeus Servilius Geminus; see last chapter. In 21. 57. 4 he is called Gnaeus Servilius, which would be the most usual way of describing him.

§ 2. Frumentatum exeunti, &c. 'When Hannibal made foraging excursions they would seize their opportunity to attack him at various points, annoying his column on the march and cutting off stragglers.'

in casum... non veniebant, 'they would not risk (a general engagement).

§ 3. nisi cum fugae specie, &c. 'but for the fact that his retreat would have looked like flight.'

insequentes consules, 'next year's consuls.'

§ 4. ita verba facta, ut dicerent is a very pleonastic way of saying 'they said.'

§ 5. iuxta... ac, 'just as much... as.'

§ 6. subsidium fortunae, 'a reserve fund.' For this view of gold offerings in temples cf. Thucydides, 2. 13. 4, where Pericles is said, in pointing out to the Athenians their resources for the war against the Peloponnesians, to have told them that 'there was uncoined gold and silver in the form of private and public offerings, sacred vessels used in processions and games, the Persian spoil, and other things of the like nature, worth at least five hundred talents more. There was also at their disposal, besides what they had in the Acropolis, considerable treasures in various temples. If they were reduced to the last extremity they could even take off the plates of gold with which the image of the goddess 1 was overlaid.' (Prof. Jowett's translation.)

§ 7. in sese, 'in their power.'

§§ 7, 8. duxissent... indicaverint. Livy, as we have already seen, uses his tenses somewhat loosely in oratio obliqua.

1 Athene.
§ 8. dignosque iudicaverint ab quibus... acciperent, 'and should think fit to accept from them.'

quam re, 'than in its intrinsic worth.'

§ 9. quae ponderis minimi fuit, i. e. the smallest of those which the Neapolitans offered.

§ 1. speculator Carthaginensis. This gives us a hint as to how Hannibal was kept so well informed about the character of the several commanders opposed to him. No doubt he had other spies who escaped detection altogether.

praecisis... manibus. This seems a very cruel action in a civilised European nation. We find no instances of such mutilation in the most bloody scenes of the Peloponnesian war. Yet a Roman spy at Carthage would have met with treatment at least as cruel, and possibly the spy may have thought himself lucky to escape with his life, which according to the rules of war his captors would have had every right to take. However the unhappy man must soon have died, unless he could find some one to take care of him.

§ 2. quod in campo Martio coniurasset. They were crucified for having made a conspiracy, not for having made it in the Campus Martius.

aeris gravis means 'of the old heavy "ases."' See note on 10. 7.

§ 3. Demetrium Pharium. Pharos was an island off the Dalmatian coast. Demetrius had gone over from the service of the queen regent Teuta to that of the Romans, and had been rewarded with the regency over Illyria and the adjacent islands. However, when he knew that Hannibal was preparing to attack Italy, he turned against the Romans and began to attack their allies. He was conquered in B.C. 219, by the consul Lucius Aemilius Paulus and took refuge at the court of Macedon.

§ 4. opibus means 'money,' auxiliis 'troops.'

§ 5. Pineum... regem. He was the son of Teuta, who was regent for him during his minority, as Demetrius was afterwards. Pineus was allowed to reign in Illyria as tributary king after the defeat of Demetrius.

§ 6. terrarum, 'in the world.' Partitive genitive after 'usquam.'

§ 7. In religionem etiam venit. 'They further remembered as a point of ceremonial that,' &c.

per seditionem, 'on the occasion of a mutiny.' Of this mutiny nothing is known.

biennio ante. Manlius was praetor in Cisalpine Gaul one year before this (see 21. 17. 7 and 25. 8), but, as Capes points out, Livy here reckons inclusively.
NOTES TO BOOK XXII.

Chap. 33. locatam. 'Locare aedem faciendam' is to let out the building of a temple to some one who contracts to perform it.

§ 9. ex, 'in accordance with.'

ad consules creandos. This, as has been already remarked, means 'to preside at the consular elections.'

se in eam diem, &c. 'adding that he would announce the election for the day that they should appoint.'

§ 10. per interregem. The 'interrex' could exist only when there was no consul, i.e. when the year of office had gone by without the election of new consuls. The 'dictator comitiorum habendorum causa' was (like a dictator 'rei gerendae causa') nominated by one of the consuls. Hence the senate's decision would have saved more time than the expedient suggested by the consuls, had not the dictator been 'vitio creatus.'

§ 11. magistrum equitum. The 'magister equitum' to a dictator appointed to hold the comitia would a fortiori have no military authority.

§ 12. vitio creatis. The 'vitium' would be some flaw in the religious ceremonies attending their appointment. Such 'vitia' were often of an imaginary nature, even from a Roman point of view. See Flaminius' views on the subject, as given in 21. 63. 5.

Chap. 34. § 1. prorogatum in annum imperium. This would mean that they were made proconsuls. However, Polybius says that they were made propraetors.

proditi sunt a patribus, 'were appointed by the patricians.' The 'interrex' had to be a patrician, and he was elected by the patrician senators. It is possible therefore that the consuls may, as is suggested in 34. 9-10, have had some party reason for wishing the 'comitia' to be held by an 'interrex,' especially as a contested election was anticipated.

C. Claudius App. filius Cento. 'Caius Claudius Cento, son of Appius Claudius.'

patrum ac plebis. These terms are here metaphorical, if not inaccurate. The contest was now no longer between patricians and plebeians, but between the 'nobiles' (those whose ancestors had held curule offices), whether patrician or plebeian, and those who were not 'nobiles.' On the other hand, the patricians among the 'nobiles' may have looked upon the struggle to exclude 'novi homines' from the ranks of the nobility as a struggle against plebeians as such, for certainly all 'novi homines' would be plebeians, though many plebeians were 'nobiles.'

§ 2. sui refers to 'vulgus' below.

popularibusque artibus, 'by the arts of a demagogue.'
ab Q. Fabii opibus, &c. ‘popular through another’s unpopularity, the result of his damaging machinations against the position and dictatorial authority of Quintus Fabius.’

§ 3. prohibitissent. By deciding that he was ‘vitio creatus.’ Of course the dictator here alluded to is the L. Vcturius Philo mentioned in the last chapter.

c onciliabat, ‘was trying to win.’

§ 4. debellari is here impersonal, ‘when the war might be finished.’

§ 5. universis, ‘together.’

apparuisset, ‘it had been clearly proved.’ The argument in this section is as follows. In Fabius’ absence Minucius with all four legions was successful over Hannibal. Fabius separated the army into two divisions, so as to let Minucius be worsted and then get the credit of having rescued him.

§ 7. hominem novum. This means a man who is the first of his family to hold curule office. He would not be ‘ignobilis,’ nor would he be ‘nobilis,’ but his descendants would be ‘nobiles,’ so that he would come into the circle of noble families as a ‘new man.’

§ 8. eisdem initiatos ... sacris, ‘initiated in the same mysteries.’ Metaphorical.

§ 9. Cui non apparet: ‘Was there a man to whom it was not clear that an interregnum had been brought about and contrived, in order that the ‘comitia’ should be in the hands of the patricians?’

The first ‘ut’ is explanatory (that), the second final (in order that).

in patrum potestate, ‘in the power of the patricians.’ Because, as was observed above, the interrex was a patrician and elected by patricians.

§ 10. ambos ... morando, ‘by both staying.’ If one had returned he could have held the ‘comitia.’ For the loose construction of ‘ambos’ with the gerund see Excursus, pp. xix, xx.

id postea. This second ‘id,’ if it is to correspond to its predecessor in this sentence, can be made logical only by regarding ‘expugnatum-esse-ut-vitiosus-dictator-per-augures-fieret’ as one verb.

§ 11. consulatum unum. It had been enacted by the ‘Licinian Rogations’ in B.C. 367 that one of the consuls must always be a plebeian.

§ 2. duobus nobilibus iam, ‘two men noble by birth.’ Livy adds ‘iam’ to show that the ancestors of Serranus and Paetus had held curule office. However, had it been otherwise they would not have been strictly ‘nobiles.’

ut, ‘so that.’

in manu eius, ‘in his power.’ The presiding officer had considerable influence over the result of an election.

rogando, lit. ‘for proposing,’ i.e. ‘for electing.’
§ 3. prope ambustus, ‘half ruined’ (Church and Brodribb). M. Livius Salinator and L. Aemilius Paulus were consuls in B.C. 219. After the capture of Pharos they were accused of embezzling the spoil, and Livius had been found guilty.

§ 4. par magis, &c. ‘was appointed as a match to thwart the consul, rather than as his colleague.’

§ 5. Philo Romae iuri dicundo, &c. i.e. he was ‘praetor urbanus,’ while Pomponius was ‘praetor peregrinus.’ ‘Romae iuri dicundo sors’ belongs to both clauses, while ‘urbana’ in the first is contrasted with ‘inter cives Romanos et peregrinos’ in the second.

§ 6. additi duo praetores. Simply, ‘two other praetors were elected.’ Livy does not mean that there was any innovation; there had been four praetors ever since B.C. 227.

§ 1. satis certum, ‘with certainty.’

§ 2. alii. The predicate to this is ‘auctores sunt’ at the end of the next section.

ut octo legionibus rem gererent. Polybius (3. 107) tells us that the Romans on this occasion took the field with eight legions each 5000 strong. Also that a legion consisted ordinarily of 4000 foot and 200 horse, but in times of emergency (such as the present) of 5000 foot and 300 horse. As a rule each consul had two legions together with a force of allied infantry equal to the number of his legionaries, and of allied cavalry treble the number of his Roman troopers. But probably the allied cavalry was never more than 600 strong in each legion, so that the whole cavalry of a legion—Romans and allies together—was never more than 900 strong.

§ 3. millibus is here equivalent to ‘singulis millibus.’

§ 4. septem et octoginta millia . . . et ducentos. According to the estimate given in § 3 there would have been in every legion 5300 Romans (5000 foot and 300 horse) with a complement of 5600 allies (5000 foot and 600 horse), making a total of 10,900 for each legion. This (which agrees with Polybius’ estimate, according to the explanation given at the end of the note on § 2), when multiplied by eight, gives 87,200. This then was probably the exact number of the army as originally levied, though a somewhat smaller number—at any rate of cavalry—fought at Cannae.

§ 5. Illud haudquaquam discrepat. ‘There is no question as to the fact.’

§ 8. etiam . . . magis terrebat, ‘was still more alarming’ (than the rest). in via fornicata, &c. ‘in the colonnade which used to lead to the Campus Martius.’

de caelo tacti, ‘struck by lightning.’

§ 9. sicut Neapolitanis. See 32. 4-9.
§ 1. Hierone. Hiero, king of Syracuse, had been a faithful ally of the Romans, ever since he had gone over to their side in the First Punic War.

§ 3. probe sciat. Cf. the provincial expression, 'I don't rightly know.'

admirabiliorem prope adversis, &c. Of course 'prope' is adverbial and qualifies 'admirabiliorem.' The reader of Horace will remember the sentiments about the Romans which the poet puts into the mouth of Hannibal (Odes, 4. 4. 53-68).

§ 5. pondo duecentum ae viginti, 'of two hundred and twenty pounds weight.' 'Ducentum' stands for 'ducentorum,' which agrees with the indeclinable 'pondo,' here a genitive plural.

sese refers to Hiero's envoys though they have hitherto spoken in Hiero's person. 'Acciperent ... perpetuam' represents Hiero's own words. Then § 6 is spoken in the person of the envoys, and the rest of the speech is that of Hiero.

§ 6. modium for 'modiorum.'

§ 7. milite here means 'foot-soldier,' i.e. 'infantry.'

levium armorum auxilia. Light-armed troops are regarded by Hiero as being neither cavalry nor infantry.

etiam externa, i.e. 'not even Italian.'

§ 8. pugnaces, 'who fight with.'

§ 9. minus ... laxamenti, 'less leisure.'

§ 11. et, 'also.' The word emphasizes 'civitatibus' ('by some states as well as by king Hiero'). The 'civitates' in question were Naples and Paestum.

§ 12. dare dicare. Notice the asyndeton, so common in these formulae.

templum, 'the sanctuary.'

§ 1. dum, 'until.'

§ 3. sacramentum. The ordinary oath of obedience to the 'imperatorem.'

ad decuriam aut centuriam, 'to be formed into their tens of horse or centuries of foot.'

§ 4. ergo. An archaic word. Doubtless we have here the words of the oath translated into oratio obliqua.

sumendi aut petendi. To take a fresh 'pilum' from the rear, or fetch from the front one already hurled. Accordingly 'recessuros,' above must be taken in a rather wide sense.

civis, 'a comrade.'

§ 5. ad tribunos ac, &c. A hendiadys.

legitimam, 'formal.'

§ 7. haberet. Sc. 'res publica.'
perfecturum, 'would finish it' (the war).

§ 9. quod ne should be omitted.

qui, 'how.'
togatus, 'while still a civilian.'

§ 12. ad id locorum, 'up to the present time.'

§ 13. id, 'in that course.' 'Perseveraret' is transitive here.

§ 1. id quod mallem, 'as I should prefer.'

§ 2. duo boni consules. Translate this 'if you were both good consuls,' and 'mali' (below) 'if you were both bad consuls.'
etiam me indicente, 'without any words of mine.' 'Indicens' for 'non dicens' is very rare.

e re publica fideque vestra, 'in accordance with the interests of the state and the dictates of your own consciences.'

§ 3. Nunc. 'But as things are.'
collegam tuum et te, &c. 'when I look upon your colleague and upon a man like you.'

claudente. Some readers may find a dictionary useful here. The word does not mean 'shutting,'
idem... iuris et potestatis, 'as much authority and force.'

§ 4. nescio an, 'I rather think.'
hic adversarius. Terentius.

§ 6. Ominis etiam tibi causa absit. 'For good luck's sake among other reasons I would have you forget C. Flaminus.'
priusquam peteret. The subjunctive here (and in 'videat' below) adds a concessive sense to 'priusquam,' 'although he was not yet standing for.' Still we cannot translate it otherwise than 'before he stood for.'
nunc quoque consul, 'and now too, when he is consul.'

§ 8. aut nobilior, &c. 'or some other place will be made more famous by a defeat of ours than ever Lake Trasimenus was.'

§ 9. adversus unum, probably means 'to one man.'

potius... modum excesserim, 'I would rather go too far.'
una ratio, &c. 'the only plan of carrying on war with Hannibal is the one which I followed.'

§ 10. sed eadem ratio, sc. 'hoc docet.' The words mean 'but that same consideration.' Notice the different senses of the word 'ratio' in this section and the last.

quae fuit futuraque, &c. 'which was and always will be unchanged, as long as the conditions remain the same.'

§ 12. id is here equivalent to 'tantum.'

fidei documentum, 'proof of their loyalty.'
tempus diesque, 'lapse of time.'

§ 13. in diem is, say the commentators, to be taken with 'rapto.'
§ 14. partem vix tertiam. This is in one sense no exaggeration. Hannibal entered Italy with 20,000 foot and 6000 horse, in all 26,000 men. He must have lost many of these in his battles especially at Lake Trasimenus, and many in the marshes of Etruria, in which case he would now have decidedly less than a third left of the actual 90,000 foot and 12,000 horse with which he crossed the Ebro. But Fabius is forgetting that he had been strengthened by Gallic and Ligurian reinforcements, which had brought up his strength to more than 40,000 foot and 10,000 horse, for such were the numbers that fought at Cannae.

suppeditat. Intransitive.

§ 15. sedendo, 'by sitting still.'

senescat in dies, 'grows weaker day by day.'

supplementum, 'means of recruiting' or 'means of getting reinforcements.'

§ 16. Gereonii, castelli Apuliae. It has already been pointed out that Gereonium was, strictly speaking, not in Apulia, but in the country of the Frentani.

§ 17. adversus te; cf. 'adversus unum;' § 9.

proximi consules, 'last year's consuls.'

difficilem infestamque, 'full of difficulty and danger.'

§ 18. Resistes autem, 'And you will hold out.'

gloria, 'ambition.'

falsa, 'undeserved.'

§ 19. Veritatem laborare, &c. 'There is a saying that the light of truth is only too often eclipsed, but that it can never be put out.' 'Luna laborat' means 'the moon is eclipsed.'


imbellem pro perito belli, 'a coward instead of a good general.'

§ 21. armatus intentusque sis is a poetical way of saying 'always keep your soldiers and yourself in readiness for a battle.'

§ 1. magis belongs to 'vera.'

§ 3. se populare incendium, &c., see on 35. 3.

§ 4. Ab, 'Immediately after.'

turba is ablative, 'conspectior' agreeing with 'plebes.'

quum, 'although'

§ 5. permixto. Rather a strong word considering that the veterans ('omne robur virium') were kept quite distinct from the new troops,

ut, 'in such a way that,'

propius Hannibalem. See on 21. 1. 2 'propius periculum.'

§ 6. aetatem excusantem, 'when he pleaded his age as a reason (for not serving').

Geminum Servilium. An inversion, as in 32. 7.
§ 8. superabat, 'was left.'

sed ne unde raperet quidem, &c. 'but there was not even anything left which he could plunder,' lit. 'from which (unde) he could carry off plunder.'

§ 9. parata fuerit, 'was ready, and would have been carried out' (Weissenborn), i.e. '(the Spaniards) were prepared to desert and would have done so.'

si maturitas temporum, &c. 'if the Romans had waited for the development of events.'

§ 1. etiam emphasizes 'fortuna.'

proelio ac. This 'ac' couples 'orto' to 'tumultuario,' and the words between 'ac' and 'orto' qualify the latter.

ex praeparato. Livy uses these neuter participles where we should use abstract substantives; 'ex' belongs only to 'praeparato' and does not govern 'iussu.'

haudquaquam par Poenis dimicatio, 'an engagement in which the Carthaginians were decidedly worsted.'

§ 2. Ad is here used as an adverb. Otherwise we should have 'ad mille et septingentos caesi.'

§ 3. ni cessatum foret, 'if they had not hung back.' The verb is used impersonally here, as is also 'debellari.'

§ 4. Hannibal id damnun haud aegerrime pati. He may have remembered how a slight success proved the ruin of Sempronius.

§ 5. duas prope partes, &c. 'that almost two-thirds of the army consisted of recruits,' lit. 'that there were in the army almost two-thirds (consisting) of recruits.'

§ 6. fortunae, 'property,' i.e. everything not needed for the march, for we see from § 7 that the 'impedimenta' were not left behind.

§ 7. trans, 'behind.'

medium means 'which lay between the hills,' and shows that it is meant that the infantry were behind the hills on the left, and the cavalry behind the hills on the right, not both behind the same range of hills as the words 'trans proximos montes,' &c. might otherwise mean.

§ 8. ut introduces the result of Hannibal's whole stratagem, not merely of the action described in the last clause.

§ 9. Crebri relicti, &c. 'Many fires were left burning in the camp to give the impression that Hannibal had intended (by a repetition of the plan with which he had tricked Fabius the year before) to make the consuls think that he was still encamped there, and thus to keep them from moving, until he had got a good start in his flight.' This stratagem of Hannibal's was a double one, such as those performed in 'dodging,' or fencing, where not the first feint, but a second feint, is often the
really illusory one. Hannibal left the fires burning to make the Romans think that he was pretending to be there while he was far away. In reality he had not gone far away, but was hiding in the neighbourhood of his camp.

§ 1. subductae, 'were led up' toward Hannibal's empty camp.

§ 3. ducerentque, sc. 'exercitum.'

§ 4. sustinere, 'to restrain.'

præfectum, 'a cavalry officer.' The commander of a 'turma' was so called.

§ 5. cum cura goes with 'speculatus.'

§ 6. in promptu, 'exposed to view.'

vidisse. Supply 'se.'

§ 8. sua sponte, i.e. apart from any divine warning.

pulli quoque, &c. 'the sacred fowls also were unfavourable,' i.e. they would not eat greedily, or perhaps refused to eat at all.

efferenti. Not of course with his own hand.

§ 9. Claudiique consulis. P. Claudius Pulcher, when in command of the Roman fleet off Lilybaeum, had determined to attack the Carthaginian fleet in the harbour of Drepanum. He was told that the sacred chickens would not eat. 'Then let them drink,' said Claudius, and he had the poor birds thrown overboard. A crushing defeat was the natural result of such impiety (B.C. 249).

§ 10. Di prope ipsi, &c. 'An almost providential occurrence postponed on that day, though it did not prevent the disaster that was impending upon the Romans.'

§ 11. Servilio atque Atilio consulibus, 'in the consulship of Servilius and Atlius.'

§ 12. Horum opportunus, &c. 'The timely arrival of these men restored their authority to the consuls, one of whom had, in the spirit of a demagogue, already damaged his own position in the soldiers' eyes by means of a shameful concession.'

§ 1. postquam motos magis, &c. 'when he saw that the Romans, in spite of their unthinking eagerness at the first, had not persisted in their rashness.'

nequicquam, 'without having accomplished anything.' It is to be taken with 'rediit.'

§ 3. annonam, 'scanty rations' (Church and Brodribb). It means literally here 'the price of food.'

§ 4. agitasse, 'to have thought.' It is not likely that Hannibal really entertained any such idea.

ita ut, lit. 'in such a way as to.'
§ 5. movere inde statuit. According to Polybius this movement took place before the new consuls Aemilius and Terentius took command of the army.

**maturiora messibus,** 'more ripe for harvest.'

**Apuliea loca.** If this is a mere periphrasis for 'Apuliam,' it will imply that Livy did not regard Geronium as being strictly in Apulia. However, the words may mean, 'into a part of Apulia that was warmer, and therefore,' &c.

**quo longius ab hoste recessisset.** This clause rather spoils the logic of the sentence, 'ut . . . essent,' which, as it stands, is a mixture of the two sentences, 'quia, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, eo transfugia impeditiora levibus ingeniis futura erant,' and 'ut transfugia impeditiora levibus ingeniis essent.'

**transfugia impeditiora.** &c. 'It might be less easy for the more fickle among his followers to desert.'

§ 6. ut insidiarum. This stratagem of Hannibal's was one step more complex than the last (41.9).

**piori.** The alarm they had felt in finding out Hannibal's last deception.

§ 9. sententia. Ablative.

§ 10. eum vicum. Cannae. The place lay on the right bank of the Aufidus, a few miles from its mouth.

**avera a Vulturno vento,** i. e. looking north-west, for this wind (now called the Sirocco) blew from the south-east.

§ 11. aversi qualifies 'pugnaturi,' and is itself further explained by 'terga tantum affluente vento.'

§ 1. eodem ferme intervallo. This is to be taken with 'divisis,' which means 'being separated.'

§ 2. **ex sua cuiusque opportunitate** means that each man had to seize his moment for getting water. 'Ex sua cuique opportunitate' would be more natural, 'cuique' being in apposition to 'aquatoribus.'

§ 3. **trans.** From the point of view of Hannibal, and the larger Roman camp, which were both on the right bank of the river.

**Ripa ulterior.** Still from the same point of view; it therefore means the left bank.

§ 5. obiiceret. Cf. our expression 'to throw in one's teeth.' It is meant that Paulus said, 'Look at what happened to Sempronius and Flaminius,' and that Varro retorted, 'It is a very fine thing for a man who is afraid to fight to say that he is following Fabius' example.'

§ 6. hic. Varro.

**nullam penes se culpam esse,** 'that it was no fault of his.'

**usu cepisset,** &c. 'had acquired a prescriptive right to Italy. 'Usu capere' is a legal phrase denoting the acquisition of anything by a
process, such as that by which a right of way is acquired. In translating omit the 'velut.' We use metaphors where the Romans used similes. § 7. ille. Paulus.

videret, ut... vigerent represents 'vide, ut... vigeant' in the oratio recta of Paulus' supposed words.

§ 1. ad multum diei, 'until late in the day.'
§ 4. tumultuario auxilio, 'such an irregular force.'

ut ea modo una, &c. 'that no other reason kept the Romans from at once crossing the river and forming in order of battle, but the fact that,' &c. summa imperii, 'the supreme command.'

§ 5. sors. The consuls may have cast lots at the beginning of the campaign for the first day of command. But 'sors' is often used rather loosely.

nihil consulto collega, 'without asking any advice from his colleague.' This gives us a hint as to how wise generals may often have minimised the inconveniences arising from the alternations of supreme command.

§ 6. Romanos equites. Not 'equites Romanos' in the technical sense (see on 21. 59. 9), but Roman cavalry as opposed to that of the allies.

§ 8. Gemino Servilio, &c. 'the command of the centre was entrusted to Servilius Geminus.'

§ 3. utraque cornua. Of the infantry, not of the whole army. This formation must be carefully remembered, otherwise it will be difficult to understand ch. 47.

§ 4. ita armati erant. During the halt on the shores of the Adriatic, as has been mentioned in the note on 9. 4.

et at Trebiam, ceterum, &c. Lit. 'taken also at Trebia, but chiefly,' &c. The meaning is clear.

§ 5. eiusdem formae fere. As the Roman shields with which the Africans were armed, i.e. they were long and narrow. On the other hand, both the Gallic and Spanish swords differed from the Roman, the Gallic swords in being extremely long and in having no points, so as to be useless for thrusting; the Spanish swords in being so short as to be useless for cutting (the Roman sword could be used either for cutting or thrusting). Possibly, however, Livy throughout this passage, is merely contrasting the Gallic and Spanish arms 'inter se.' mucronibus, 'points.'

§ 6. praetextis purpura, 'with purple borders.'

§ 1. levibus... armis, 'the light-armed troops.'
§ 3. nitentes is nom., agreeing with a plural word that was to have come instead of 'vir.'
NOTES TO BOOK XXII.

Chap. 47. stantibus ac confertis, &c. ‘the horses being brought to a stand-still, and at last packed close together in the struggle.’
§ 4. Sub equestris, &c. ‘Just as the cavalry engagement was finished.’ constabunt, ‘remained unbroken.’
§ 5. obliqua fronte here seems to mean with a line curved by advancing the wings into such a formation as would be best adapted for attacking the enemy’s centre (i.e. the Gauls and Spaniards), which Livy here describes as formed in the shape of a wedge, while Polybius describes it as in the shape of a crescent, convex in front. The Roman formation for attack was consequently concave in front.
§ 6. Impulsis. ‘Impellere’ is often used in the sense of ‘to break’ an enemy’s line.
pavore is to be taken with ‘praeceps.’
medium ... aciem must mean the middle of the ‘cuneus,’ and thus would imply that the Romans cut their way into the middle of it. This seems hardly consistent with § 8.
subsidia. They were not strictly speaking in ‘reserve,’ but were acting in support of their allies.
§ 7. reductis alis, ‘the wings being thrown back,’ i.e. ‘having been thrown back,’ for the Africans were the wings. More properly speaking, the centre of the Gauls and Spaniards had been advanced, so that they formed a curved line, while the Africans were drawn up in straight lines on either flank of them.
§ 8. aequavit frontem primum. First the Gauls, who had offered a convex front to the enemy, fell back till they formed a straight line with the African divisions on their flanks, then they fell back still more, so as to offer a concave front to the enemy.
(Afri) circa iam cornua fecerant, ‘had already wheeled round to outflank the Romans.’ Polybius tells us that as soon as the Romans had got between the two divisions of Africans, the latter—who were probably in a very deep formation, if not actually in column—faced inwards, so that the Romans were at once enclosed on two sides. Livy, however, makes the Africans wheel inwards, so that he clearly regards them as having been drawn up in line.
circumdedere alas means ‘enclosed them’ (lit. ‘threw their wings round them’). Livy only means here that they barred their way in front, for he afterwards adds, ‘clausere et ab tergo hostes,’ as a distinct manoeuvre.

Chap. 48. § 1. sinistro cornu Romano, ‘on the left Roman wing.’

1 That ‘facing,’ and not ‘wheeling,’ is the meaning of κλίπαντες in Polybius 3. 115, was pointed out to the writer of these notes by Mr. J. L. Strachan-Davidson, of Balliol College.
§ 3. considere, 'to take their post.'
§ 4. aversam, 'in the rear.'
§ 5. pertinax in mala, &c. 'an obstinate though now hopeless resistance.'

Hasdrubal, qui ea parte praeerat. On the contrary, he was in command of the left wing, i.e. the Gallic and Spanish cavalry. Polybius says that Hasdrubal, after defeating the Roman cavalry, went to help the Numidian horse in their until then doubtful struggle against the cavalry of the Roman allies, and that when these fled before the combined attack, he sent the Numidian horse after the fugitives, and went with his own contingent to help the Carthaginian infantry. The present section of Livy and the next read like a confused summary of Polybius: it is possible that something may have dropped out of the text.

§ 3. omissis postremo equis, 'who finally dismounted.'
et ad regendum equum. He had been for some time weak, but now he was even (et) too weak to guide his horse.

'Quam mallem, vinctos mihi traderet.' According to Plutarch (Life of Fabius Maximus), Hannibal said, 'This pleases me better than if they had been delivered to me bound hand and foot' (τὸντο μᾶλλον ἡδονόμην ἡ εὶ δεδεμένους παρέλαβον). There is, apparently, a great contradiction between the two reports, but Livy's means, 'He might as well have given them up to me bound, to save me the trouble of conquering them, which I shall certainly do;' Plutarch's 'I shall conquer them as easily as if they were bound.'

§ 4. quale iam haud dubia, &c. means the sort that would be expected from men who knew that the enemy must overcome them. 'The dismounted cavalry fought like men who knew that the enemy were certain of victory.'
quum had best be represented in translation by a full stop, or colon, and the beginning of a new sentence without any explanatory particle.
in vestigio, 'where they stood.'

§ 6. praetervehens. The active participle is used as if 'praetervehor' were a strictly deponent verb.

§ 7. quem unum, &c. 'whom the gods ought to protect as being the only man free from all blame for this day's defeat.'

§ 8. et comes ego te tollere possum, &c. 'and I am here to be able to lift you and protect you.' Lentulus must have meant to sit behind him on the horse and hold him up as well as hold the reins. The consul had dismounted because he was too weak to manage his own horse.

§ 9. Tu quidem, &c. 'Bravely said, Cneius Cornelius.' On the word 'maete' Madvig remarks (Lat. Gr. § 268 a. obs. 3 note), 'the word is generally, but without good reason, considered as the vocative of an adjective otherwise unused.'
NOTES TO BOOK XXII.

Chap. 49. Cn. Corneli. The tribune’s full name was Cneius Cornélius Lentulus.

cave. After this word supply ‘ne.’

§ 10. patribus, ‘to the Senate.’

priusquam . . . advenit. See note on ‘oppiminit’ (50. 8).

vixisse adhuc et mori, ‘has lived until to-day and is now dying.’

Paulus speaks as if Lentulus would be at Rome before his own death took place.

§ 11. in, ‘in the midst of.’

e consulatu, ‘for my acts as consul.’

§ 12. oppressere, ‘came upon.’

§ 13. circumventi sunt is shown by the context to mean ‘were surrounded and captured.’

§ 14. Venusiam. This town was Apulian, but on the borders of Lucania. Horace, whose birth-place it was, says that it was doubtful whether he was Lucanian or Apulian:

‘Sequor hunc, Lucanus an Apulus anceps;
Nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus.’

§ 15. Quadragesinta quinque millia quingenti. Polybius makes the total number of slain on the Roman side 70,000.

et tanta. For this, which is nonsense as it stands, Madvig suggests ‘et tantadem,’ ‘and almost the same proportion of Romans as of allies.’

§ 16. consulares quidam, &c. ‘some of whom were ex-consuls, ex-praetors, or ex-aediles.’

§ 17. quum sua voluntate, &c. ‘and had yet volunteered to serve as soldiers in the legions.’ ‘Quum’ is here used in much the same way as in 51. 9.

Chap. 50. § 1. Aliensi cladi. In the battle of the Alia (390 B.C.) the Romans suffered a crushing defeat from the Gauls.

nobilitate par, ‘as famous as.’

levior, i.e. than the battle of the Alia.

§ 3. ad, ‘at.’

ad Cannas, &c. ‘at Cannae hardly fifty men fled with the one consul, and nearly the whole army stayed to die with the other.’

§ 4. proelio, deinde ex laetitia, &c. ‘tired with fighting, and with the revels which they afterwards held in honour of their victory.’

§ 5. quum aeque coniungi possent. In oratio recta: ‘it being just as easy for them to join us.’

§ 6. Romanus civis sis. After the battle of Lake Trasimenus, Hannibal had liberated the Latin prisoners without ransom, but put the Romans in chains (7. 5).

sis . . . tua. The abrupt change from plural to singular in this speech is remarkable. Tuditanus apparently singles out the leader of the oppo-
sition and for a while addresses himself to him only. At the end of the next sentence the plural is as abruptly resumed.

§ 7. eives, ‘the fellow-countrymen.’

§ 8. opprimit, ‘comes upon us.’ ‘Antequam’ and ‘priusquam’ (cf. ‘priusquam ... adventit,’ 49. 10) are usually constructed with the present, though sometimes with the future indicative, where there is an idea of anticipating an event, and the main verb of the apodosis is in the future indicative, or in the imperative. If, however, it be stated that an event will not be anticipated, the ‘antequam’ or ‘priusquam’ will be followed by the future perfect. See 23. 12. 10.

§ 10. Haec ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium, cuneoque. Livy has here given us a complete hexameter.

§ 1. suaderentque, ‘and advised him.’

§ 3. Hannibali nimis laeta, &c. ‘The victory seemed to Hannibal too glorious and too great to be at once realised.’

§ 4. Mora eius diei, &c. Hannibal probably knew what he was about better than Maharbal. It has been observed that his infantry was weak, and his powerful cavalry would be useless in a siege, that the capture of Rome would have been impossible to any but an overwhelming force, which Hannibal’s certainly was not, and that a repulse would have been ruin.

§ 6. tot ... millia, ‘all those thousands.’

ut quem cuique, &c. ‘just as chance had grouped them’ (lit. ‘had put someone next to each’).

pugna ... fuga. Ablatives.

quos stricta, &c. The pain attending on the closing of the wounds aroused them from their torpor.

§ 8. apparebat, ‘it was clear.’

interclusisse spiritum, lit. ‘to have shut in their breath,’ which is what a man actually does when he suffocates himself.

§ 9. convertit, lit. ‘attracted,’ i.e. ‘amazed.’

naso auribusque laceratis refers to the Numidian, the rest of the section to the Roman. 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 ‘quem;’ (3) the two ablatives absolute (‘manibus ... inutilibus’ and ‘in rabiem ira versa,’ and (4) the use of ‘laniando’ (cf. ‘en lacérant’) 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.’
NOTES TO BOOK XXII.

Chap. 52. § 1. brachio obiecto, 'by throwing up an earthwork.'
§ 2. omnibus, 'the whole force' (Church and Brodribb).

Facti, this word is here followed by two constructions, (1) 'ut' with the subjunctive, (2) the ablative. The first construction is interrupted by the second after the word 'traderent,' and is resumed after the word 'eentenis.' 'Having agreed to give up their arms and horses, to pay three hundred "nummi quadrigati" for every Roman citizen... and that when they had paid that price they should be allowed to depart...

nummis quadrigatis. 'Denarii,' which were often stamped with a 'quadriga.'

§ 3. traditique in custodiam... sunt. To stop there, of course, until the ransom agreed upon should be paid. We shall see that the Romans refused to pay it for the captives.

§ 4. interea, resumes, as it were, the idea of 'dum.'
quod hand minus tutum erat. There is no other antecedent to this than the idea conveyed by the sentence 'palati passim per agros.'

§ 5. si quid argentii, sc. 'erat.' Lit. 'if there was any silver,' i.e. 'all the silver that they found.'

ad vescendum facto, '(silver) made for eating purposes,' i.e. 'plate.'

§ 6. ad octo millia fuisse dicuntur. According to Polybius only 5700 fell on the Carthaginian side. On the other hand, his estimate of the Roman slain is larger than Livy's. See note on 49. 15.

fortissimorum virorum. The genitive is required by 'millia,' and does not imply that there were any other slain besides the 'octo millia.' 'All men of tried valour' (Church and Brodribb).

Consulem quoque Romanum. Cf. 7. 5.

Chap. 53. § 2. de, 'of.'

P. Cornelius Scipio. See 21. 46. 7, 8.

§ 4. consultantibus, 'deliberating.'

inter paucos, i.e. with a few others.
comploratam, 'given up for lost' ('bewailed as if dead').

§ 5. quorum principem. Supply 'esse.' We should expect 'quorum princeps sit.' On such constructions as this Madvig remarks (Lat. Gram. § 402 a) 'the accusative with the infinitive is used in relative propositions' (in oratio obliqua), 'if the relative only annexes a continuation of the opinion already expressed, so that it might be changed to a demonstrative with or without ct.'

ad regum aliquem. Capes says that they meant to serve as soldiers in the army of some foreign prince.

§ 6. praeterquam atrox, &c. 'which, besides being terrible, was,' &c. super, 'after.'
negat consilii rem esse, 'said that it was no matter for a council to deliberate upon.'

fatalis, 'destined to be.'

§ 8. ubi means 'ea in quibus.'

§ 9. hospitium, 'lodgings.'

§ 10. 'Ex mei animi sententia.' Supply 'iuro,' 'truly and honestly I swear.' The following 'ut' does not depend on 'iuro' ('iuro ut' would not be Latin), but answers to some such ellipse as 'ita me di amem;' the words 'deseram' and 'patiar' being futures.

§ 11. si ... fallo, 'if I break my oath.'

§ 3. ceteraque ... hospitaliter facta, 'and (the other, i.e.) all other hospitalities were shown.'

§ 4. gravius, 'too heavy.'

multitudo, 'the numbers.'

§ 5. nuntium ... mittunt, 'sent a message to say.'

§ 6. defensuri, 'in a position to defend themselves.'

§ 7. occidione occisum ... exercitum, 'that the army had been utterly destroyed.' The phrase recalls the Hebraisms in the Greek of the New Testament, e.g. Acts of the Apostles, 5. 28: Ou παραγγειλαμεν υμιν μη διαισκειν επι τω νοματι τουτω; 'Did not we straitly command you ... ?' E. V., lit. 'Did not we command you with a command?'

§ 8. neque aggrediar narrare, &c. 'nor will I attempt a detailed account, where the details would lose by being related.' 'Aggrediar' and 'faciam' are futures.

§ 9. Consule exercituque, &c. The sense of the section is as follows: 'So recent was the disaster of Trasimenus, that the battle of Cannae seemed rather to accompany it, than to follow it.'

nec ulla iam castra. This clause and the next depend on an impersonal 'nuntiabatur' to be supplied from 'nuntiabantur' above.

§ 11. vectigales ac stipendiarios. As was said on 21. 41. 7, the Carthaginians, though they became 'stipendiarii,' were not made 'vectigales' after the First Punic War. Livy is hardly fair in comparing the First Punic War with the Second. The objects of the first war were different, and a defeat like that of Cannae would probably have ended it. He is right in saying that the spirit of the Roman people was very different from that of the Carthaginians, but it is not true that Hannibal's spirit was at all that of the great majority of his countrymen. It may almost be said that there was no period in Hannibal's campaigns in Italy, when his position was not more difficult than the Romans thought theirs to be immediately after the defeat of Cannae.
Notes to Book XXII.

Chap. § 3. ne consilium quidem, &c. 'they could not even form any distinct plan.' (The primary meaning of 'expedire' is 'to disentangle,' just as 'impedire' means to 'entangle."

obstreperetque. The 'ob' here implies interruption.

nondum palamfacto, i.e. 'qui vivi qui mortui essent.'

§ 6. illud refers to 'matronas publico arceant,' &c., &c., below.

arceant. The subjunctives depend on 'illud ... agendum ... ut.' Fabius' words are supposed to be 'Haec exploranda ... sunt; illud per vos ipsos, patres, agendum est ut ... tollatis, matronas publico arceatis ...'

§ 7. familiarum, 'of the slaves.'
suae quisque fortunae domi auctorem exspectent, means that each senator was to wait at home for tidings of the fate of anyone about whom he was anxious.

Chap. § 1. pedibus ... issent. Merely voted for it (by moving to one side), i.e. voted for it without any discussion.

§ 3. in, 'about,'

nundinantem, 'bargaining.'

§ 4. matrona. The festival was kept by married women only.

§ 5. diebus is ablative, nevertheless translate 'was limited to thirty days.'

§ 8. provinciamque aliam Romanam, 'and the rest of the Roman province (of Sicily).'

Chap. § 1. praetoris, i.e. 'of the propraetor.'

M. Claudium. M. Claudius Marcellus was praetor of Sicily for this year (see 35. 6), but he had not gone to his province, which was administered by the praetor of B.C. 217, Titus Otacilius Crassus, as propraetor. Marcellus is now practically entrusted with the supreme command, Varro being with great tact recalled to the city on the ground that his presence is urgently needed there.

primo quoque tempore &c., 'at the very first opportunity, in so far as it could be done in accordance with the welfare of the state.'

§ 2. Territi etiam, &c. 'Besides their terrible defeats there were ominous events to alarm the senate, among others the discovery that two Vestals, &c. ...' In the rest of the sentence the grammar is rather curious. The reason of the Romans' terror, viz. the guilt of the Vestals, is put in a participial clause, while the finite verbs 'necata fuerat,' 'consciverat,' 'caesus erat,' which ought grammatically to give the reason for 'territi,' merely give the circumstances of the punishment of the misdemeanor.

sub terra ... necata, 'buried alive.'

§ 3. in comitio. See note on 60. 1.
NOTES TO BOOK XXII.

§ 4. Hoc nefas. Again the reader must beware of thinking that the punishment of the guilty persons is alluded to in terms of censure. ‘Nefas’ refers to the offence.

§ 5. suppliciis, ‘supplications.’

§ 6. locum saxo consaeptum means ‘a stone vault.’

§ 7. Nefas’ refers to the offence.

§ 8. *fit, ‘as is generally the case.’

§ 9. dictus. He must have been nominated by Varro (see 31. 9).

§ 10. ex formula, ‘according to the terms of their alliance.’

§ 11. aliam formam novi dílectus, ‘another kind of new levy.’

§ 12. magis, than the captives.

§ 2. segregatísque. Into Romans and allies.

ad Trebiám. This is the first intimation Livy has given us of Hannibal having adopted this practice after Trebia.

§ 3. imperio. He wished to get back what had been lost in and after the First Punic War.

§ 8. veluti implies the pretext of his return, causa the real reason. Notice that the more important idea of his returning is here subordinated to the less important one of his rejoining his comrades. We have had other instances of this inversion.

§ 9. dictatoris verbis, ‘in the dictator’s name.’

§ 1. senatus . . . dátus est. Cf. 21. 12. 8 ‘Senatus Alorco dátus est.’

§ 2. nisi nobis plus iusto, &c. ‘unless we think too highly of our deserts.’
§ 6. pacti sumus, 'we agreed upon.'
§ 7. asperrimos illos ad, 'with all their hatred of.'

Tarentum. Pyrrhus wintered there after the battle of Heraclea, 280 B.C.

§ 8. nec supersumus pugnae, &c. 'and we survive the battle only because the enemy had not swords enough or strength enough to cut down all the army.'

§ 10. nec premendo alium me extulisse velim. Cf. 12. 12 'premendoque superiorem... sese extollebat.'

ne illi quidem, &c. 'but, unless... let not those who,' &c.
cursus, like 'perniciatis,' depends on 'praemium,' not, like 'pedum,' on 'perniciatis.'
merito, if it means 'rightly' here, is redundant, but it may mean 'in valour.'
§ 12. nam si, i.e. 'I say "price," for if I were to compare our worth...'

§ 13. quod nullo nostro merito faciatis, 'treatment which we have done nothing to deserve.'

§ 14. avarior an crudelior. These, as we have seen, were the stock charges against Hannibal.

vix existimari potest, 'it is almost impossible to judge.' For the sense of 'existimo,' cf. Sall. Jugurtha, ch. 85, § 14 'Nunc vos existumate, facta an dicta pluris sint.'

§ 15. civium vestrorum. Those who were Hannibal's prisoners.

§ 17. in nos mitis... esse velit, i.e. 'should consent to release us.'
quum... visi simus, 'after having been thought...'

§ 18. sine pretio belongs to 'remissi.'
capti is equivalent to 'captivi.'
ad redimendos sese, i.e. though they were sent back without ransom, it was not on account of any backwardness in their countrymen to ransom them.

§ 19. neque enim, &c. 'for it will never be believed that it was the money that you grudged.'

§ 1. in comitio. The comitium adjoined the forum proper, and was often included under the general name of 'forum.' It was the place where the 'comitia curiata' met, and was close to the Senate House.

§ 2. metus ac necessitas, a sort of hendiadys. 'Fear for those they loved.'

§ 3. nec has here the force of 'nec tamen.'

§ 4. si quibus, &c. 'while those who had not at present enough money for the purpose, should have it lent them by the treasury, security being given to the state by bondsmen and their property.' The 'praece'
was the person who pledged his property as security for the money being paid.

§ 7. *exemplo,* 'by setting a precedent.'

*captis... in acie,* see 59. 3.

*iis, qui Venusiam,* &c., see 59. 10.

§ 8. *acturus sum,* 'I am going to speak.'

P. Sempronius. See 50. 6 foll.

§ 9. *tum,* 'and subsequently.'

*et ipsis.* As well as the Romans.

§ 11. P. Decius. His exploit near Saticula in Samnium is described in Livy 7. 34. 3 foll. That of Calpurnius Flamma took place near Camarina in Sicily B. C. 258.

§ 12. *diceret.* We should expect 'dixisset.'

§ 13. *reduces... facit,* 'he offers to bring them back.'

§ 15. *sero,* 'too late.'

*de minimis capite.* Romans captured by the enemy suffered the 'maxima capitis deminutio,' i.e. a total loss of their civil status. Cf. Hor. Odes 3. 5. 41 foll.:

> Fertur pudicae coniugis osculum
> Parvosque natos ut capitis minor
> Ab se removisse et virilem
> Torvus humi posuisse vultum.'

Indeed all that part of the ode which refers to Regulus well deserves to be compared with the speech before us.

§ 16. * Pretio reditur estis eo,* &c. 'Is money to restore you to the position that you lost by cowardice and wickedness?'

§ 17. *quid,* 'why.'

*conati sunt, ni,* &c. 'endeavoured (and would have succeeded) had not,' &c.

§ 18. *desideret.* Ironical.

§ 19. *neque... hostes obstitere.* This does not mean that the enemy did not resist them, but that their resistance was ineffectual. 'And the enemy could not stop these six hundred.'

§ 20. *futurum... fuisset,* 'was going to be,' i.e. 'was likely to have been.'

*Haberetis.* If all the troops in the 'castra minora' had thrown in their lot with the 'six hundred.'

§ 21. *Nisi quis credere potest,* &c. The sense is:—'They cannot be good and loyal citizens) unless it can be believed that men who tried to stop the sally sympathized with those who made it, or that, now that cowardice has brought them to slavery they are not envious of those whose courage has won them liberty,' i.e. 'They are disloyal, for they restrained those who were fighting for Rome; and they are wicked, for they hate the good and brave.'
§ 22. At, as is often the case, introduces the supposed objection of an opponent.

ad erumpendum, &c. ‘if they had not the resolution to make a sally, they had enough to defend the camp bravely.’

§ 23. affectisque, &c. ‘and they were so weakened by hunger that they could hardly hold their swords.’

necessitatibus . . . humanis, ‘the causes which limit human endurance.’

§ 24. Orto sole. With these words Torquatus begins to speak again in propria persona.

nullam fortunam certaminis experti, ‘without even trying the chances of a battle.’

§ 25. istorum, here, as often, has a contemptuous sense.

§ 26. Et, ‘And after this.’

vos. The reader will have noticed that Torquatus sometimes addresses the senators, sometimes the ‘legati.’

§ 1. cognatione attingebant, ‘were related to.’ Livy means that almost every senator had some relation among the prisoners.

exemplum civitatis, &c. ‘the precedent the state had set by behaving with severity,’ &c.

iam inde antiquitus, ‘ever since the earliest times.’

§ 2. huiusce rei, i.e. pecuniae.

§ 3. triste, ‘stern.’

non rediroi captivos. Weissenborn says that the present is put for the future here, but it may mean ‘it was not the practice to ransom prisoners.’

prosecuti sunt. Sc. the people who had been waiting outside the Senate House.


quod . . . iure iurando se exsolvisset, ‘because he considered that he had discharged his oath.’ He had not really done so, and therefore Livy uses the subjunctive of ‘virtual oratio obliqua.’

- relatumque ad senatum est, ‘and had been brought before the Senate.’

§ 5. decem primos, ‘the ten who were highest in rank.’ (Wölflin’s reading ‘decem primo’ gives better sense.)

ita admissos esse, ne tamen. ‘Ne’ is for ‘ut non,’ ‘were admitted, but so as not to be allowed to address the Senate,’ i.e. ‘were allowed to come into the city, but not allowed to address the Senate.’

§ 6. omnium spe, ‘than all (of the prisoners who had remained with Hannibal) had expected.’

§ 7. novos legatos tres, ‘the three last envoys.’
NOTES TO BOOK XXIII.

§ 8. recognoscendi nomina. Of looking over the list of the prisoners' names.

exsolvisserint, like 'exsolvisset' above (§ 4).

§ 9. proximis censoribus, 'under the new censors,' not, 'by the new censors,' which would be 'a novis censoribus.'

omnibus notis ignominisisque, 'by all the disgrace attendant on the censorial mark.' The censors might attach a note to the name of any citizen whose conduct they held to be reprehensible, and such a mark brought 'ignominia' on the person to whose name it was attached, but no other punishment.

caruerint. Voluntarily.

§ 10. vel ea res. 'Vel' gives emphasis. Cf. 21. 13. 3.

imperio, Rome's.

§ 11. Atellani, Calatini. Calatia is about six miles south-east, Atella about ten due south of Capua.

§ 12. praeter hos Uzentini. Here 'praeter' means 'besides,' above ('praeter Pentros') it meant 'except.' Uzentium is one of the most southerly towns in Calabria, the 'heel' of Italy.

§ 14. quod de re publica non desperasset. He had shown this by going to Canusium to take command of the remnants of the army (54. 6), and he showed it now by returning to Rome.

§ 15. nihil reeusandum suppleii. Livy is alluding to the Carthaginian habit of crucifying unsuccessful generals.

BOOK XXIII.

§ 1. moverat. Probably an instance of the intransitive use of the word 'moveo.' For though we might say here that 'castra' or 'exercitum' was to be understood, the same cannot be said of 25. 9. 7, 'Hannibalem exercitumque e castris non movisse.'

§ 2. premebat eum, lit. 'kept him down,' i. e. opposed him.

per gratiam Romanorum, 'on account of the favour shown to them (the Mopsii) by Rome.'

§ 3. Mopsiani. The termination -ani expresses a party. Cf. 'Sullani,' 'Christiani.' So 'Mopsiani' is 'the party of the Mopsii.'

§ 5. ut urbem maritimam haberet. i. e. as a place for disembarking reinforcements, or, in case of defeat, for embarking for Carthage.

§ 6. et pleraeque cavae sunt viae sinusque occulti, 'there are very many hollow ways and hidden recesses (in the hills) there.'

ex agris, depends upon 'praedam.'

§ 7. nee multi, is equivalent to 'et pauci.'

§ 10. prompta oppugnanti, lit. 'practicable to a besieger.'
§ 1. luxuriantem, 'demoralised' (Church and Brodribb).

licentia, like 'felicitate' and 'indulgentia,' is a causal ablative explaining 'luxuriantem.'

sine modo libertatem exercetis, 'who used their liberty without any moderation.' Notice Livy's aristocratical sympathies.

§ 2. Senatum. The Capuan senate is meant.

§ 3. iam diu, goes with 'infestam.'

ut ... trucidato senatu, &c. explains 'facinus.'

§ 4. improbus homo, &c. 'being, though an unprincipled, not an utterly abandoned man.'

quum mallet. This (like 'improbus homo sed,' &c.) gives a reason why Pacuvius 'rationem iniit,' &c.

publico consilio, 'state-council,' i.e. what has been described above as 'the Senate.'

§ 5. quum ... praefatus esset. The apodosis to this is 'inquit' in § 9, though the grammar is interrupted by a second protasis 'quum omnes ... permitterent,' in § 8.

placitum (fuisse), 'would have recommended itself.'

§ 8. si permittant sibi, 'if they would entrust the matter to him.'

§ 9. quibus nequicquam adversarer, 'which it would be useless for me to oppose.'

§ 1. Campani, 'Capuans.' The word is repeatedly used by Livy in this sense.

§ 2. eam, sc. potestatem. We ought in strict grammar to have 'id,' for an antecedent to 'quod' (in § 1) is required.

per tumultum expugnantes is opposed to 'tutam ac liberam' ungrammatically, for 'sed' ought to contrast only words of like construction.

§ 4. hos ... odistis, &c. 'while you hate these particular senators, you do not wish to have no senate at all.'

§ 5. quippe, 'for.'

aut ... aut, marks alternatives.

Itaque duae, &c. 'And so you must do two things at once, depose the old senate, and elect a new one.' The 'ut' is explanatory, as in the phrase, 'id agere ut.'

coopertis. The word is properly used of a body electing its own members, and is not therefore strictly applicable here.

§ 6. dequite eorum capite means 'on the question whether they are to be condemned to lose their lives or not.'
	novum senatorem, 'as a new senator.' 'Strenuum' as well as 'fortem' belongs to 'virum.'

§ 7. citari, 'to be proclaimed.'
ipsum, 'the owner of the name.'

§ 8. malum et improbum, pro se quisque clamare, 'every man of his own accord called out that he was a wicked wretch.'

§ 10. inopia potioris subiectiundi, 'from the fact of there being no better man to put in his place.'

omissa verecundia, 'having overcome his shyness.'

§ 11. humilitatem, 'low-birth.' 'Humilis' and its derivatives never have a good sense in classical Latin.

genus, 'some kind.'

§ 13. nec ... attinebat, 'it was no good.'

§ 14. notissimum quodque malum, &c. 'that the most familiar evils were always the most tolerable.'

§ 1. vitae beneficio, 'by saving their lives.'

§ 3. apparatis, 'choice.'

secundum eam, &c. 'when serving on a jury decided causes in favour of that party which was likely to be most popular,' &c.; 'eam' is equivalent to 'eam partem.' However, the passage may also be rendered 'appointed jurors likely to decide in favour of the cause (eam litem) which ...'

§ 6. accessit ... ut, 'it was added that.'

§ 7. Id modo erat in mora, ne, &c. 'The only thing which prevented them from revolting on the spot was.'

connubium, 'right of intermarriage.'

miscuerat, 'had allied.'

§ 8. maximum vinculum is tautological after 'mora.'

§ 1. aegre, 'with difficulty.'

quam poterat maxime. This is the longer form of the more usual 'quam maxime.' It qualifies 'spernendum' as well as 'misera-bilem.'

§ 4. iubentes. Notice the difference between this verb and 'impero.'

§ 5. Quid enim nobis, &c. 'What was left us at Cannae, to justify us in saying that, since we still have something, our deficiencies must be made up by our allies?'

§ 6. commenatus, 'stores.'

§ 7. non iuvetis, &c., i.e. 'non oportet ut nos in bello iuvetis.'

§ 8. in fidem, 'under our protection,' or rather 'protectorate.' See next note.

ad Saticulam. This was the scene of the exploit of Decius, mentioned in 22. 60. 11. The war with the Samnites, in which the affair at Saticula (B.C. 343) occurred, was begun because 'Campani quum a Samnitibus bello urgerentur, auxilio adversus eos a senatu petito, quum...
id non impetrarent, urbem et agros populo Romano dediderunt; ob quam causam, ea, quae populi Romani facta essent, defendi bello adversus Samnites placuit' (Epitome of Livy, Book VII.)

per centum prope annos. In reality only seventy-one years. There is the same exaggeration in 42. 6.

variante fortuna eventum, practically means, 'with varying fortune.'

§ 9. foedus aequum is an exaggeration. This accusative, as also 'leges vestras,' depends on 'dedimus,' but not on 'communicavimus,' which refers to 'civitatem nostram' only.

deditis, perf. part. pass. of 'dedo.'

magnae partis vestrum. In 8. 11. 16 we are told 'Equitibus Campanis civitas Romana data.' It would appear that this was the full 'civitas,' for we learn from 8. 14. 10 that all the Campanians were afterwards presented with the 'civitas sine suffragio.'

§ 11. ne Africæ quidem indigenam, &c. A large number of Hannibal's troops were Spaniards.

freto Oceani, the straits communicating with the Atlantic.

expertem omnis iuris et conditionis, &c. 'ignorant of the laws, the habits, nay, almost of the language of men.'

§ 12. vesci corporibus humanis. According to Polybius, another Hannibal, surnamed Monomachus, suggested this, as a means of facilitating the march to Italy, but his great namesake refused to entertain the proposal.

§ 13. quos. The antecedent to this is of course 'pastos,' 'men who have fed upon.'

iura petere (a), lit. 'to ask for laws from,' i.e. 'to submit to the dictation of,'

non ... detestabile sit, 'would it not be loathsome?'

genito modo in Italia, 'if only he had been born in Italy.'

§ 14. fide, 'loyalty.'

retentum, 'kept from falling further;' recuperatum, brought back to its old position. The metaphor of 'prolapsum' is kept up in both these words.

§ 1. Ab. 'Immediately after.' Cf. 22. 40. 4 'ab hoc sermone.'

§ 2. legibus, 'terms.'

neque controversiam fore, quin ... relinquitur is a condensed way of saying 'neque controversiam esse quin futurum sit ut ... relinquitur.'

§ 3. ita renuntiant legationem, 'brought back such an account of their embassy.'

§ 5. extracta ... est res, lit. 'the business (preparatory to the revolt) was protracted,' i.e. 'the revolt was postponed.'
NOTES TO BOOK XXIII.

auctoritatibus seniorum, 'through the weight which the opinions
of the older citizens carried.'
§ 6. in quibusdam annalibus. 'In some histories.'
§ 8. nimis, 'suspiciously.'

Latinorum quondam postulatio. One of the requests related
to have been made by the Latins in B.C. 340, and to have been answered
by a declaration of war (§ 5. 5). A fuller account will be found in the
notes on Chap. 22.

§ 1. ne quis, 'that no ...'
§ 2. equitum Campanorum. See 4. 8.
§ 3. insuper, quam quae pacta erant. This does not imply that
they had already agreed on any crime, but that the crime was a work of
supererogation in the Carthaginian cause. 'Facinus,' however, is often
used in a neutral sense (see note on § 6 'malum facinus').

praefectos socium. These were officers commanding the con-
tingent of allies of each legion, and corresponded to the 'tribunes' of
the Roman troops.

balneis. The unhappy men were probably confined in the hot
chamber of the baths.

fervore atque aestu. The tautology is used for greater effect.
§ 4. auctoritatem, 'influence.'
§ 5. exempla referens, 'bringing forward as warnings.'
§ 6. facinus. The word properly means a remarkable deed whether
good or bad, and often, as here, gets its colour from a distinctive epithet.
§ 8. tumultus depends on 'quid,' as does also 'inconsulti certaminis.'

praetorem Campanum. The Campanian name for this officer
was 'medix tuticus' (see 35. 13).
§ 9. favore etiam vulgi, &c. Notice how Livy uses ablatives
exactly as if they were adverbs. 'Vulgi' is emphatic.
§ 10. quo timorem, &c. 'a course which might have argued that he
had good reason for alarm.'
§ 12. ingenio, 'naturally.'

§ 1. Deversatus est apud Ninnios Celeres, &c., i.e. two brothers,
Sthenius Ninnius Celer and Pacuvius Ninnius Celer.
§ 4. deprecando magis quam purgando, 'by making entreaties for
him rather than excuses.'
§ 5. praeterquam hospites, 'except his hosts.'
§ 6. de die, 'early.' The ancient Italian practice was to begin a
luxurious meal earlier, not to carry it on later than an ordinary meal.

ex maxore Punico. The Carthaginians allowed no wine to their
troops while on service.

ut in, 'as might be expected in.'
omnibus voluptatum illecebris instructum, 'furnished with every delicacy that luxury could suggest.'

§ 7. dominorum, 'the masters of the house,' i.e. the hosts.

interdum qualifies 'invitatione,' in relation to 'Hannibalis.'

Translate the sentence, 'Alone of all the guests young Calavius, though repeatedly urged by his hosts and sometimes by Hannibal himself, could not be induced to drink.'

valetudinem excusans, 'pleading ill-health as an excuse.'

causante, 'pleading,' not as a reason why his son should not drink, but as an explanation of his extraordinary conduct. Notice that in thought the phrases 'ipse ... excusans' and 'patre ... causante' are exactly on a level.

animi quoque. The son had alluded to bodily disorder.

§ 8. posticis aedium partibus, 'at the back of the house.'

§ 2. 'Per ego te.' The 'per' governs the antecedent 'ea iura' implied in 'quaecunque.' For the place of 'per,' cf. Verg. Aen. 4. 314:--

'Per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te,

*   *   *   *   *   *

*   *   *   *   *   *

Oro,'

where, however, 'per' is only one place apart from its case 'has lacrimas.'

And for the construction cf. the lines quoted by Weissenborn:--

'Per, si qua est, quae restat adhuc mortalibus usquam Intemerata fides, oro, miserere laborum Tantorum' (Verg. Aen. 2. 142),

and 'per quicquid deorum est' (below, § 2).

et pati. The young man would certainly have been put to death by Hannibal's followers.

§ 3. Paucae horae sunt, intra quas, &c. 'It was only a few hours ago that.'

dextrae dextras. The singular word of course refers to Hannibal, the plural to Pacuvius and his son.

sacratas fide, 'hallowed by that promise.'

§ 5. nihil sancti, non fides, non religio. Cf. 21. 4. 9 'perfidia, ... nihil sancti ... nulla religio.' Translate, 'But dismiss, if you will, all the scruples that religion, honour, conscience, and hospitality suggest.' 'Pietas' means probably here the feelings of duty to a guest, but it may mean those of duty to a father.

§ 7. Ut, 'Supposing that.'

§ 9. medium, 'round the waist' (Church and Brodribb).

§ 10. Tuam ... vicem. 'On thy account.'

§ 13. in publicum, 'into the street.'
NOTES TO BOOK XXIII.

§ 2. Romanum, sc. 'populum.'
§ 3. eum postulare, for 'eum se postulare' (Weissenborn).
de eo referatur, 'a motion should be made about him' (Decius Magius).
§ 4. in eam sententiam, viz. that Decius should be given up to Hannibal.
indignus, 'not deserving of.'
§ 5. templo, 'tribunal.' Apparently any place set apart by a religious ceremony (in Rome by the augurs) would be so called.
destitutum, simply 'placed.'
§ 7. capta Capua, &c. is equivalent to 'si Capua capta esset.'
§ 8. Ite, &c. . . . ut. For these sarcastic imperatives followed by a final clause, cf. Juvenal Sat. 10. 166–167:
'I, demens, et saevas curre per Alpes,
Ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias!'
§ 10. senatum quoqae paeniteret, &c. 'the senate too should repent of having surrendered their leading man,'

negando rem, quam primam peterent, 'by refusing to grant their first request.'

§ 11. Cyrenas. Livy uses a plural form instead of Cyrene. The place was a Greek colony in North Africa.
ad statuam Ptolemaei regis. For this mode of taking sanctuary, cf. Tac. Ann. 3. 36 'Incedebat enim deterrimo cuique licentia impune probra et invidiam in bonos excitandi arrepta imagine Caesaris.'
§ 12. ut rediret, seu Romam, &c. for 'ut rediret Romam, si Romam redire vellet, vel Capuam, si Capuam redire vellet.'
§ 13. Nec Magius sibi Capuam, &c. for 'Magius dicere (dixit) et Capuam sibi non tutam fore et Romam,' &c.

§ 1. recitavit, 'read,' quibus quoque modo supplicaretur, 'to whom the various prayers were to be offered,' faxitis. See notes on 22. 10. 4, &c.
§ 3. deque praeda, &c. The 'que' is explanatory. 'Praeda' is the booty itself; 'manubiae' the money it is sold for; 'spolia' the arms, &c., stripped from the slain.
§ 4. ex Graeco carmine, i.e. Greek hexameters.
interpretata, 'translated.' The word ought to be active in sense, if it comes from the deponent 'interpretor;' we must therefore suppose a form 'interpreto.'
his omnibus divis, the 'divi divaeque' mentioned in the instructions which he had read (§ 1).
§ 5. iussumque, sc. 'esse,' if we keep a semi-colon after 'pervenisset.'
NOTES TO BOOK XXIII.

§ 6. primo quoque tempore, 'as early as possible.'

§ 8. quorum quattuor consules. He might have counted five consuls (Scipio, Sempronius, Flaminius, Aemilius, and Varro) and consequently seven generals in all, and seven consular armies. Apparently Sempronius is forgotten.

§ 9. duos occidisse. Flaminius and Aemilius.

ex duobus, 'of the two others.'

saucium alterum, Scipio.

alterum . . . vix cum quinquaginta hominibus effugisse, Varro (22. 49. 14).

§ 10. quorum consularis potestas sit. 'An officer of consular rank.' It was however uncertain whether a 'magister equitum' was really equal in dignity to a consul.

unicum haber imperatorem, 'was considered (by the Romans) a wonderful general.'

§ 11. partim Samnitium. Madvig (Lat. Gram. § 284, obs. 4) says, 'The adverb partim is used as a partitive adjective in the nominative and accusative with the genitive or a preposition.'

§ 12. verum esse, 'it was right.'

§ 1. Ad fidem, &c. 'Finally to substantiate the good news.'

qui tantus acervus fuit, 'which heap was so great,' by so-called attraction for 'which formed so great a heap.'

§ 2. modio. The 'modius' is nearly two gallons.

atque eorum ipsorum primores, 'and only the highest rank of them,' i.e. says Weissenborn, the 'equites equo publico,' in other words members of the old equestrian centuries.

§ 3. propius spem. See on 21. i. 2 'propius periculum.'

sit, sc. Hannibal.

§ 4. acies, 'battles.'

§ 5. supplementum, 'reinforcements.'

in stipendium refers only to 'pecuniam.'

§ 6. Secundum haec dicta Magonis. 'Upon hearing these words of Mago.'

'Quid est, Hanno ?' 'Well, Hanno ?'


§ 9. aut superbus aut obnoxius videar, &c. 'I should appear to do so either from pride or from servility, from want of respect for him or from want of respect for myself.'

§ 11. Itaque ista, &c. 'And therefore these victories so glowingly described by Mago may possibly please me, as they have already pleased Himilco and the rest of Hannibal's following, for successes in
war, if we have the sense to make the best use of them, will secure us an advantageous peace.'

§ 12. *vereor, ne haec quoque laetitia, &c. 'I fear that we shall have one more instance of joy first becoming exaggerated and then ending in disappointment.'

§ 13. Oeediti exercitus, &c. §§ 13 and 14 each contain a supposed request from Hannibal and a supposed answer from Hanno.

§ 15. *Et ne omnia ipse mirer. Hanno does not wish merely to express his wonder at Hannibal's statements, but definitely to expose what he considers to be their inconsistencies.

quum ad internecionem, &c. 'whether, considering that ..., any Latin people.' Hanno does not of course mean to accept the statement that Rome was ruined by Cannae, or that all Italy was in revolt. In fact, it is just what he wishes to disprove.


§ 2. *Bellum ... tam integrum habemus, &c. Though Hanno's speech is not meant for a historic reality, yet, if we except the ridiculous taunt that a victorious general cannot want reinforcements, it is a fair statement of Hannibal's position. But the deduction to be made was that Hannibal must be plentifully supplied with men and stores from home. None knew better than Hannibal that the army which he had brought from Spain could not by itself conquer Italy. Still, he had hoped for a general rising of the Italians, and for reinforcements from Spain, and he had been disappointed in both these hopes.

§ 3. *priore Punico bello. Livy ought to have made Hanno say 'priore Romano bello.'

§ 5. *nee victoribus mitti attinere puto, 'I think that there is no use in sending them to conquerors.'

§ 6. *nihil, quo vanius fieret gaudium suum, 'nothing that could shake the grounds of their joy.'


ad conducenda, 'to raise.'

§ 1. *ut in secundis rebus, 'as is usually the case in prosperity.'

§ 2. *consul, Varro.

*ut equum escendere liceret. Plutarch mentions this curious custom in his life of Fabius Maximus, with, however, this difference, that he makes him apply to the *Senate for leave to ride. Plutarch distinctly states that it was for permission to ride at the head of his army that the dictator applied, and Livy's language at least does not contradict this view. Some writers say that the dictator applied for leave to ride in
Rome; but the passage quoted from Zonaras (πλήν ὅτι μὴ ἐφ' ἵππῳ ἀναβήναι ὁ δικτάτωρ ἡδύνατο εἰ μὴ ἐκστρατεύεσθαι ἐμέλλε) may very well imply that he could not under any circumstances appear on horseback in the city, and not that he had to ask leave to do so.

ex agro . . . Gallico. The land of the dispossessed Senones on the borders of Umbria.

§ 3. ad ultimum prope, &c. 'was constrained to have recourse to almost the last measures that an afflicted state adopts, at a time when its dignity has to yield to expediency.'

capitalem fraudem. Any offence, condemnation for which involved a loss of caput.

pecuniae iudicati, 'having had debts proved against them.' Such people, after thirty days' grace, if they could not then pay their debts, became the property of their creditor. Their 'vincula' were therefore private ones.

qui eorum. This second 'qui' limits the one in the sentence before.

§ 4. translata erant, 'had been carried in procession.'

triumpho C. Flaminii. After his victory over the Insubres, B.C. 223. He had 'triumphed' in opposition to a decree of the Senate (21. 63. 2).

§ 6. ut non hostiliter statim, 'for though he did not at once attack them, . . . yet he was resolved, should they be slow in fulfilling his expectations, to do all in his power to force or terrify them into submission.'

§ 7. plebs novarum ut solet, &c. 'the popular party was, as usual, altogether on the side of revolution and consequently of Hannibal.'

animo. Their own minds, not other people's.

§ 8. si propalam tenderent, &c. 'a fear) that if they opposed them openly, it would be impossible to withstand the passions of the mob.'

secunda simulando, 'by feigning compliance' (Church and Brodribb).

§ 9. parum constare, 'they could not make up their minds.'

§ 10. Hannibalis, 'in the possession of Hannibal.'

§ 11. concedendo, 'by promising.'

§ 13. agrum . . . Trebianumque. It is uncertain whether this Trebia is or is not the same place as the Trebula mentioned in 39. 6. In any case it ought to lie in a triangle having for its apices Saticula, Suessula, and Nola. Unfortunately the position of Saticula is not accurately known.

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Chap. 15.

§ 1. Sub. 'Just before.'

proxime Neapolim. See on 21. 1. 2.

§ 3. saepe vi saepe sollicitandis, &c. These are descriptive
ablatives describing the manner of Hannibal’s ‘circumsessio.’ Of course they cannot logically depend on ‘circumsedissist.’ A city cannot be blockaded by storm, far less by intrigue. Translate, ‘After he had besieged the city for some time, and had repeatedly tried the effects of storming it, and of negotiations (which proved futile), &c., &c., he at last compelled it to surrender by starvation.’

§ 4. ut qui a princepio . . . videri vellet, ‘in accordance with his original policy of appearing,’ &c.

praemia atque honores. Supply ‘iis.’

§ 5. tenuit, ‘could he keep with him.’

quocunque, &c. ‘To the various cities of Campania (especially Nola and Naples), expecting to find the protection of friends or obeying the merest impulse.’

§ 6. quod . . . clausissent, ‘for having shut.’

§ 7. non . . . magis . . . quam, ‘not so much as.’

metus. Nominative.


§ 9. Ob eius gratiam meriti. ‘In his gratitude for this kindness.’

§ 10. quam hosti ademisse. We should say, ‘(to gain for himself a brave ally rather) than merely deprive the enemy of one.’

appellat, ‘addressed.’ The ‘ad se’ depends on ‘accitum,’ not on this word.

§ 13. utique. Two words here, ‘and how.’

§ 14. senties. Supply ‘eo magis.’

§ 15. bigatos, denarii stamped with a ‘biga.’ See 22. 52. 2 and 54. 2, where the same coin (with a different stamp) is called ‘quadrigatus nummus.’ The ‘denarius’ was worth $\frac{1}{2}$d., so that the present would be equivalent to nearly £18 of our money.

quaestorem. A quaestor attended Marcellus as paymaster of his troops, and general manager of the army’s finances.

§ 1. ferocis. We cannot help feeling that this ‘high-spirited’ young man still owed Hannibal some return in spite of the gifts of Marcellus. The honourable course for him would have been to remain neutral. Plutarch tells substantially the same story of Fabius as is here told of Marcellus.

§ 3. non castris metuens. His camp was then within the walls of Nola.

nimis multis in eam imminentibus, ‘to the dangerously large party who were ready and eager for it.’

§ 4. paucos temere provocantes, ‘the few who challenged the enemy to irregular conflicts.’
NOTES TO BOOK XXIII.

Chap. § 5. In hae, &c. 'When both armies had thus adopted a permanent inaction.'

§ 6. potentem, 'having thus become masters.'

§ 8. calones lizasque. The former were the soldiers' servants, the latter men following the army for purposes of trade.

vallum, 'stakes,' acc. of 'vallus,' which is often used as a collective noun. Livy (33. 5), copying Polybius (18. 1), describes the Roman 'vallus' in contrast with the Greek. Of the Roman 'valli,' each soldier, slinging his shield over his back, could easily carry three or four. Each Roman 'vallus' had two, three, or at most four branches, and when a stockade was formed, they were planted close together with their branches interlacing, so that it was almost impossible to pull one out, and even if one were pulled out, the gap was hardly perceptible, and could easily be closed up again. On the other hand, a Greek 'vallus' was large and had many branches. Hence it was difficult to carry, could not be used to form a very close stockade, could therefore be pulled up with comparative ease, and when pulled up left a gap as wide as a gate.

duabus circa portis, 'at the two other gates.'

§ 9. subsidiaque destinata, &c. 'and the troops intended as a reserve were set to guard the baggage.'

§ 12. Dum in sua quisque ministeria, &c. 'While they were all hastily running in every direction to their various posts.'

signa canere, 'the bugles to sound the advance.'

§ 13. quum. We have already had instances of Livy attaching 'quum' with sensational effect to the clause introducing a surprise, like an English writer, instead of using it with the preceding clause in the Roman fashion, to prepare us for a surprise.

§ 14. fecerit. The subject to this is 'clamor,' to be supplied from 'clamorem.'

§ 15. ausim is a form of perfect subjunctive.

quod is governed by 'auctores sunt,' which is equivalent to 'narrat.'

§ 16. nescio an, 'as I am inclined to think.' When used in this sense 'nescio an' is often, as here, parenthetical, and does not affect the construction of the clause into which it is inserted. Livy's observation that this was the most valuable success that was gained in the war, deserves careful attention. No doubt the real turning-point in Rome's favour was the virtual appointment of Marcellus to the supreme command (see 22. 57. 1).

vincentibus. Madvig marks the word as corrupt. Wölflin thinks that Livy wrote merely 'tunc,' which became corrupted into 'uinc' ('vinc'), and that this, not being understood, was altered to 'vincentibus.'
NOTES TO BOOK XXIII.

§ 2. securi percussit, 'he beheaded.'
§ 3. supra Suessulam, 'on the heights above Suessula.'
§ 5. continuarentur. Subjunctive, because the people of Acerra chose the time when the Cartaginian lines were not finished.

per intermissa munimenta, 'through the gaps in the enemy's lines.'
§ 6. per vias inviaque. Cf. 21. 33. 4 'per diversis rupibus iuxta invia ac devia.'
§ 7. nimis accipi is almost certainly corrupt. Madvig suggests 

venire Numidae citi.'
§ 9. Hi. 'Quum' begins the sentence grammatically. Otherwise it is anacoluthic, 'avertit eos retro, &c. being put for 'iter retro Casilinum verterunt, nuntio Cannensis pugnae allato.'

ad diem, 'by the appointed day.'
§ 10. Campanis, the Campanians of Casilinum. timentesque. Supply 'Campanos.' oppidanis, i.e. the disaffected garrison.

§ 11. Perusina cohors. Perusia (Perugia) was in Etruria on the borders of Umbria, east of Lake Trasimenus.
§ 12. altera parte, 'on one side.' penuria frumenti, &c. 'indeed, the shortness of provisions made the force seem, if anything, too large.' This is not said without humour on Livy's part.

§ 1. primo. This is to be taken with 'verbis benignis ... pellicere,' and there should in strictness be some word answering to it (e.g. 'deinde') placed before 'si in pertinacia.'
§ 2. solitudo visa, 'the place appeared deserted.' metuque concessum barbarus ratus, 'and the African thinking that they had abandoned the town through fear.'
§ 3. ad id ipsum, 'for that very purpose.'
§ 5. corona, of men. et promptissimum quemque. These words define 'aliquot milites.'

e muro turribusque, 'by missiles from the wall,' &c.
§ 6. ultra erumpentes, see on 21. 1. 3. It would have been quite enough to have resisted Hannibal, but the besieged actually attacked him.

agmine elephantorum. Perhaps twenty of the 'quadraginta elephanti,' mentioned in 13. 7, were at once sent to Hannibal; for in 32. 5 we find that Mago has only twenty elephants to bring. All but one of the elephants that Hannibal originally brought to Italy had died.

opposito. He cannot actually have placed his elephants between them and the city, for, if so, he would have succeeded in cutting them
NOTES TO BOOK XXIII.

Chap. 18. off, but he must have tried to effect this manoeuvre. ‘Agnine elephanto-
rum opposito’ must therefore be taken closely with ‘prope interclusit.’

ut ex tanta paucitate, ‘considering their small numbers.’

§ 7. utique, ‘especially.’

corona aurea muralis. This reads like a careless addition of Livy’s or at least an inaccurate account of what Hannibal really offered his soldiers. The ‘golden mural crown’ was a Roman decoration, given to the man who first scaled the walls of a besieged town.

§ 8. cuniculi. ‘Agi’ must be taken in a slightly different sense with this word, from that in which it is taken with ‘vineae.’


§ 10. bonis. It is hard to determine the case of this word. ‘Inex-
pertum’ should take an ablative, ‘insuetum’ a dative. Probably ‘bonis’
is dative, though Livy may perhaps never have thought the question out.

ex insolentia, ‘after not being used to them.’

§ 12. consuetudine in dies blandius, ‘which daily grew more
alluring, as it became more familiar.’ The soldiers, like every man
who has a holiday, would at first have missed their accustomed labours.

§ 13. ex Cannensi acie protinus, ‘straight from the field of Cannae.’

videri potuit, ‘might have seemed.’

hic error. Supply ‘visus est,’ not ‘videri potuit.’

§ 14. tenuit, ‘he was able to keep up.’

§ 15. ubi primum subpellibus haberici coepti sunt, ‘directly that
they began to be kept under canvas’ (lit. ‘under skins’); i.e. as soon
as they left their winter-quarters in Capua.

via, ‘marching.’

exceptit, ‘followed.’

§ 16. sine commeatibus, ‘without leave of absence.’

Chap. 19.

§ 2. ab oppugnatione cessatum erat, ‘there had been a pause
from active siege operations.’

§ 3. Castris Romanis. We cannot tell for certain where this was,
though the events related in this chapter tell us approximately. Ap-
parently Junius had advanced from Casinum (17. 7) to some place not far
from Casilinum.

Ti. Sempronius. He was master of the horse.

auspiciorum repetendorum causa. This means that Junius had
been unsuccessful against Hannibal, and had consequently remembered
some ill-omened occurrence that happened at the time of his nomina-
tion or of his leaving the city. Accordingly he goes back to take the
auspices afresh, in hopes of making a new start with better luck.

§ 4. et ipsum cupientem, ‘who also desired’ (i.e. as well as Junius
and Sempronius, though Livy has not told us that they wished to
relieve Casilinum).
NOTES TO BOOK XXIII.

§ 5. omnem patientiam, 'the most determined inaction.'
§ 6. et stare, 'and that men were standing.'
§ 8. ad magistratum Casilinum, 'to Casilinum, to the governor,' or, as we say, 'to the governor at Casilinum.'
§ 9. medio missa amni, 'which had been launched in mid-stream.'

'Amni' is ablative, as in 12.
§ 11. transverso vertice, 'by a cross eddy.'

servabant, 'were guarding.'
§ 13. lora, 'thongs.'

ageribus infimis muri, 'at the bottom of the walls.'
§ 14. terreni is a substantive here.

raporum semen, 'turnip seed.'

§ 16. Septuncia. 'Seven ounces.'

remissi, to the Roman camp.
§ 17. verius, 'more probable.'

praetore suo. Not the governor of Casilinum, but a man now chosen to command the Praenestines.

scriba, 'a public notary.'

§ 18. et tria signa, which the editors bracket, cannot well be rejected, unless we suppose that M. Anicius set up a statue to himself. For 'statua' must be a statue of Anicius, because 'eius' cannot be taken with 'indicio,' Latin usage requiring 'eius rei indicium,' for 'a proof of this.'

§ 1. reddidit Campania est. The people of Casilinum had all along been inclined to Hannibal, and in possession of half the city.

§ 2. non mutaverunt, sc. civitatem. They would not change their citizenship, but preferred to remain citizens of Praeneste.

§ 3. casus. Genitive.

§ 4. ob separatam se consilia, 'for not having made common cause with them.'

§ 6. M. Aemilio praetore. There was no praetor of this name, elected for B.C. 216, at least not if Livy is correct in 22. 35, and none of the praetors had died except Postumius, and his death was not yet known (see ch. 24). Marcellus was in Campania, Furius had gone to Sicily, Pomponius, as we find in ch. 24, was still in Rome, and Postumius had gone to Gaul. Possibly Aemilius had been appointed as propraetor to discharge the duties of the absent Furius.

nihil iam longinquus sociis in se praesidii esse, 'that they had no longer any power to protect distant allies.'

fideque ad ultimum expleta, &c. 'to do all that loyalty required of them, and then do what they could for themselves in such an emergency.'

§ 7. renuntiata legatio. Cf. 6. 3.
Chap. 20. § 8. dedendi, i.e. 'se.'

§ 10. Relata postero die, &c. 'The subject was more calmly discussed the next day, and the aristocratical party carried their proposal to bring all property from the country into the town, and strengthen their city and its walls.'

Chap. 21. § 1. T. Otacillii propraetoris. He had been praetor of Sicily in 217, and had his office prolonged, since a successor was not at once sent to take his place.

§ 2. P. Furium praetorem. He had been originally appointed as 'praetor urbans' (22. 35. §), but was sent to Sicily in place of Marcellus (22. 57. §), when the latter, who had been appointed 'praetor of Sicily' at the time of his election (22. 35. §), went to take the command against Hannibal. Livy has given us no account of Furius' campaign. We only know that he went to aid Otacilius when Sicily was threatened by two Carthaginian fleets (22. 56. 6-8, and 57. §).

ad diem, 'on the appointed day.'

§ 3. suadere, 'tried to persuade,' i.e. 'urged' or 'advised.'

§ 4. A. Cornelio Mammula propraetore. The reader will have observed that in the election of praetors for B.C. 216, as related in 22. 35, no praetor was appointed for Sardinia. Mammula then had probably been appointed praetor of Sardinia for B.C. 217, his office having subsequently been 'prorogatum in annum.' This would accord with the spirit of 'in tali tempore nulli novus magistratus videbatur mandamus' (22. 35 end).

§ 5. mensum. This form is not very uncommon.

costulerunt, absol. 'contributed.'

§ 6. argenti triumviri mensarini, 'three state-bankers.' They were appointed to lend money from the treasury to private individuals.

§ 7. demortui, clearly by a natural death.

Chap. 22. § 3. post L. Aemilium, &c. 'Since the censorship of L. Aemilius, &c., i.e. since B.C. 220. As the censors were elected only once in every five years (and not always so often as that), Livy does not mean that there was anything extraordinary in there having been no censors since Aemilius and Flaminius, but merely that as a matter of fact some time had elapsed since the last revision of the Senate. The Aemilius is the L. Aemilius Papus mentioned in § 6 of the last chapter.

senatus lectus fuerat. The Censors' power at this time 'legendi senatum' was limited by the Ovinian law, which bound them to include on the senatorial roll all men who had held curule offices, that is, everyone who had been consul, praetor, or curule aedile, provided that such
a man had not done anything disgraceful which disqualified him from being a senator. As a rule, then, nearly all such ex-magistrates would naturally become senators, but their number would not come up to three hundred, and the Censors had to bring the Senate up to that strength by electing other worthy and distinguished citizens, chiefly, no doubt, those who had held such offices as the tribunate, the plebeian aedileship, and the quaestorship (§ 23. 6). Sulla, by attaching to the quaestorship a right of entry to the Senate, practically abolished the censorship.

ad hoc sui quemque casus, 'besides personal calamities,' or, as we should say, 'natural deaths.'

dictatore, &c. This is added to explain why the dictator himself did not bring the matter before the Senate.
inopiam, not 'neediness,' but 'scarcity.'
paucitatem . . . civium ex quibus, &c. 'the small number of citizens from whom elections could be made into the Senate.' Probably the censors were required to select new citizens only from ex-magistrates or equites.

§ 5. demortuorum, 'those who had died off,' here, by any kind of death.

§ 6. ipsorum quondam postulatum Latinorum. Cf. 6. 8, and see 8. 5. 5.

§ 7. virum, 'a man,' meaning himself.
consul. His name was Titus Manlius. His threat is given in 8. 5. 7 'T. Manlius . . . qui adeo non tenuit iram, ut, si tanta dementia patres consequitos cepisset, ut ab Setino homine' (the Latin envoy was a native of Setia), 'leges acciperent, gladio cinetum in senatum venturum se esse palam dicet et, quemcumque in curia Latinum vidisset, sua manu interempturum.' The Latin envoy Lucius Annius had said 'consulem alterum Roma, alterum ex Latio creari oportet, senatus partem aequam ex utraque gente esse, unum populum, unam rem publicam fieri.'

§ 8. alieniore tempore, 'at a more unseasonable time.'
quam inter tam, &c. 'than that suggestion which must still more unsettle the allies, made, as it was, when they were undecided in their minds and wavering in their allegiance.'

§ 9. si quid unquam, &c. 'if there ever had been any secret in the Senate-house so solemn that it must never be breathed.' The use of 'ad silendum' after the unqualified words 'arcani sanctae' is curious.

§ 10. accirique C. Terentium consulem. When possible, the consul came to Rome in person to appoint a dictator. Notice that the consul, and not Junius the dictator, is sent for, because none but a consul could nominate a dictator.

A a 2
NOTES TO BOOK XXIII.

Chap. § 11. ex Apulia. Livy had not told us that Varro had gone back thither.

nocte ... ut mos erat. Notice this.

Chap. § 2. iterum, 'for a second time.'

§ 3. Quae immoderata forsan, &c. 'A power, which the present crisis had, perhaps inevitably, made absolute, he was resolved to limit.'

§ 4. transcribi ... recitarique, 'to be written down and read out.'

ne, depends not on 'iussurum,' but on the whole of the preceding sentence, in which 'tantum' is emphatic. Translate, 'so as to avoid being sole judge on the reputation and character of a senator.'

§ 6. civicam coronam. This crown, given to a soldier who saved the life of a Roman citizen in battle, was one of the highest military decorations in the Roman army.

§ 7. centum septuaginta septem. These were all new members.

§ 8. cura, 'interest.'

Chap. § 1. M. Pomponio praetore, 'peregrino.'

ad consules subrogandos, 'to hold the consular elections.'

§ 3. gloriae. Livy has told us nothing about these military operations.

L. Postumius. We saw in 22. 35 that he was sent as praetor to Gaul.

tertium, being used in a technical sense, is placed immediately after the name of Postumius. It is, of course, not to be taken with 'absens.'

§ 5. in annum, 'for the year,' i.e. 'for his year of office' (A.D. 215).

§ 6. Quum eae res maxime agerentur. 'Just at the time of these transactions.'

consulem designatum, 'the consul elect.'

§ 7. Litanam Galli vocabant. This forest is supposed to have been in the neighbourhood of Mutina.

Eius silvae depends on 'arbores.'

ut immotae starent, &c. 'that they would stand, if not shaken, while a slight push was enough to make them fall.'

§ 9. extremas, 'the last.'

alia in aliam. Each tree would bring its neighbour down with it, and so on.

ancipiti strage, 'with falling masses from both sides.'

§ 10. obsesso, 'having been occupied.' We should have expected merely 'obsessum ante ab hostibus,' instead of 'obsesso . . . ponte,' but, as Weissenborn remarks, Livy wishes to make it clear that the enemy occupied the bridge when the Romans had already started for it.

§ 12. Purgato. 'Having cleansed' (i.e. cleaned the brains out).
calvam auro caelavere, apparently means that they set the brain-pan in ornamental gold.

sollemnibus, 'at the festivals.'

idem, translate 'also.' Of course it agrees with 'id.'

§ 13. per omnem iacentis, &c. 'throughout the whole column of the fallen army.'

§ 1. tabernis clausis, &c. 'since all shops were shut and the stillness of night reigned throughout the city.'

§ 2. Ti. Sempronius senatum habuit, 'Tiberius Sempronius convoked the Senate,' not as being consul elect, which would give him no such power, but as being Master of the Horse. In the absence of the dictator the Magister Equitum was supreme.

§ 3. ad minores calamitates, 'before lesser misfortunes.'

modo, 'if only.'

§ 4. ultionemque eam fraudis. We should have expected 'eius.'

consultandum atque agitandum, 'they must reflect and deliberate.'

§ 6. a peritis, &c. 'inquiry was made of persons who had accurate information to give.'

nec, unde, &c. 'they could not, however, think of any means by which two consular armies could be raised, strong enough for so severe a war.' For 'rationem inire,' cf. 48. 5.

§ 8. nullo praestituto, &c. 'without having any term other than that of their regular number of campaigns prescribed for their service there,' i.e. they were to serve in Sicily till they had completed their full number of years, which was twenty for a foot-soldier, and ten for a horseman. The disgraced soldiers of Cannae, however, had to serve beyond their 'legitimate' time, if the war in Italy should continue so long. ('Stipendium' in the sense of 'campaign' is common.)

§ 9. qui ... suffectus esset, 'who should be appointed.'

salvis auspiciis, i.e. there must be a decent delay before the election of a consul in Postumius' stead. To elect one too soon after his death would be ill-omened, consequently the new consul might very possibly be 'vitio creatus.'

§ 10. primo quoque tempore, 'as early as possible.'

acciri, sumere, and in § 11 'prorogari' and 'minui;' all depend on 'placuit,' in § 9.

opus, here a predicate.

§ 1. nihilo segnius, i.e. than the war in Italy," as is shown by 'sed ... magis prosperum Romanis.'

ad eam diem, 'up to that time.'

§ 2. Gnaeus, sometimes written 'Cneius,' or 'Cnaeus,' hence the abbreviation 'Cn.'
neutri parti virium. Neither to his army nor his navy, the meaning of 'neutri' being defined by the context.

procul ab hoste, &c. 'kept himself safe by encamping at a distance from the enemy, and in strong positions.'

multum ac diu obtestauti. Notice the remissness of the Carthaginian home government.

§ 4. perculit, 'discouraged.'

praefectorum navium, 'his ships' captains' (Church and Brodribb).

post classem... desertam, 'after abandoning the fleet.' See 22.19.11-12.

deinde, 'subsequently.'

Carthaginiensium rebus, 'the Carthaginian cause.'

§ 5. Tartesiorum. The people of the Bactis (Guadalquivir) basin.

ab ipsis, by the Tartesii.

§ 6. ab, 'from,' not 'by.'

pro captae, &c. 'before the walls of the city that had been captured a few days before.'

§ 8. undique, 'from all sides.'

§ 10. et ipse. He had now to take a strong place, as Chalbus had before. (Weissenborn.)

§ 11. In hoc alterno pavore, &c. 'Though both sides thus in turn declined battle, yet some skirmishes took place.'

ciaetrato, 'to the Spanish targeteer.'

§ 1. obversati castris, 'by constantly appearing before their camp.'

§ 2. nec iam aut in agmine, &c. 'and from that time no authority could preserve discipline among them, either on the march or in camp.'

§ 3. ut fit, 'as is so often the case.'

palatos sine signis hostes, 'the straggling and disordered enemy.'

ad castra, i.e. of the enemy.

§ 5. sine signo, 'without the signal for battle being given.'

catervatim. Sall. Jug. 97. 4. 'Equites Mauri atque Gaetuli, non acie neque ullo more proeli, sed catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros incurrunt.' The word 'caterva' is rarely used of Roman troops. Hence it and its derivatives suggest want of order and discipline.

§ 6. deinde rari, &c. 'then finding that they ran a great risk from attacking the close masses of the enemy in such small numbers.' For the structure of the whole sentence down to 'caeduntur' in § 7, cf. 22.20, §§ 7, 8, 9.

§ 7. dum corpora corporibus, &c. 'man pressed against man, and shield locked with shield.' Below 'armis' means 'swords.'
NOTES TO BOOK XXIII.

§ 9. mansit, sc. 'gens.'
allatum est, 'orders came.'

§ 10. inde, 'from Spain.'

§ 12. ut, 'even if.'
non . . . otiosam . . . fore, 'would be no sinecure' (Stocker's Livy).

§ 2. cum exercitu, &c. 'with an army up to, and a fleet beyond, the usual strength.'

§ 3. per dubios, &c. 'showing as much vigilance when passing through doubtful, as when passing through hostile, tribes.'

§ 4. nulla re quam, &c. 'owing his safety almost entirely to his quickness, for, before any attack could be planned, he was gone.'

§ 5. transitus quosdam pretio mercatum, &c. 'had on some occasions bought a free passage, and had only obtained soldiers from the Gauls by hiring them, while, if he had started on his long march with an empty chest, he would hardly have reached the Alps.'

§ 7. perlata, 'announced.'

§ 9. contrahunt copias. This implies that Publius had disembarked some of his men. (See 26. 2.)

§ 10. Hiberam. Nothing further is known of this place.

§ 11. pro, 'instead of.'

§ 1. nec sine levibus proeliis, &c. 'not without skirmishes, but without any offer of a general battle.'

§ 2. descensum est. The camps were probably on slight eminences.

§ 3. Triplex, 'in three lines' (of hastati, principes, triarii).

inter antesignanos, 'between the maniples of the hastati.' See note on 22. 5. 7.

§ 4. mercenariorumque. Probably these were also Spaniards and Numidians, but they were serving for hire, and not, like their countrymen specified by name, as subjects.

§ 5. sed quibus . . . morari, 'or be contented with keeping.'

§ 9. contrahunt copias. This implies that Publius had disembarked some of his men. (See 26. 2.)

utrum castra castris conferrent. 'Castra,' the Roman camp, 'castris,' the Carthaginian.

an satis haberent . . . morari, 'or be contented with keeping.'

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antes, ἦδε γυναῖκες; ὃ δ' ἐμπέδον ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ  
θράσκων ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ἀμείβεται, οἵ δὲ πέτονται.

binos trahentibus equos, must mean 'riding one horse and  
leading another.' Cf. 35. 28. 8 'quos Tarentinos vocabant equites,  
binos secum trahentes equos.'

equorum genus est, 'is their breed of horses.'

§ 6. ne ... quidem does not here mean 'not even,' but 'not ...  
indeed,' or, in more usual English, 'not.'

genere, 'character' (Church and Brodribb). militibus. Before  
his word supply 'sed.'

§ 7. in eo discrimine pugnae verteretur, 'depended on the issue  
of that battle.'

§ 10. Nihilo segnius, 'none the less stubborn' (than usual), i.e.  
one the less stubborn on account of the want of spirit shown by the  
Carthaginian centre.

et velut in circumventos, 'attacking them on both flanks as  
if they had surrounded them.' They would have surrounded them had  
not the Romans driven back the outflanking troops, as is described in  
the next paragraph.

§ 12. Utroque, sc. proelio.

§ 14. Equestris pugna, &c. 'There was no engagement between  
the cavalry at all.'

simul is equivalent to 'simul atque.'

§ 15. usque ad ultimum eventum pugnae, 'until the battle was  
hopelessly lost.'

§ 16. non modo for 'non modo non.'

tuto. Adverb.

§ 17. laetabantur, sc. Romani.

Chap. 30.

§ 3. strictis, 'stripped from trees.'

§ 6. omnis aetatis, 'counting people of every age.' Weissenborn  
says that only males are meant.

§ 7. a defensoribus vasta, 'empty of defenders.'

arx tantum retenta. We learn from 24. 3. 3 that 'arx procul  
eis, quaer habitatabantur, sex millia aberat.'

§ 9. tantummodo regionis eius. Livy here constructs a genitive  
with 'tantummodo' just as if he had written 'soli.'

in fide erga Romanos et potestatis suae, 'loyal to the Romans  
and masters of their city.'

§ 11. maximus stirpis. Hiero's eldest son.

§ 12. movissetque ... res, 'would have caused a revolution.'

socios probably means 'the allies of Rome,' i.e. the Syracusans.

§ 13. quam dictator vovisset, 'which he had vowed in his dictator-  
ship.' (See 22. 10. 10.)
NOTES TO BOOK XXIII.

§ 14. Senatus decrevit. Notice the complex legal machinery which the Senate has to set going in order to make Fabius ‘duumvir,’ but notice also that the working of the machinery was (at this time) extremely good, so that the Senate was virtually absolute. We learn from 31. 9 that Fabius’ colleague was T. Otacilius Crassus (also mentioned in 22. 10. 10). Apparently only one of ‘duumviri’ accomplished the actual dedication of any particular temple. Cf. 34. 53. 5 ‘Aedem Fortunae Primigeniae . . . dedicavit Q. Marcuis Ralla, duumvirus ad id ipsum creaturus.’

§ 15. M. Aemilio Lepido, ‘in honour of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus,’ bis belongs to ‘consul’ only, not to ‘aunger,’ and the same applies to ‘qui bis consul censorque fuerat,’ in § 18. A man could only be censor once (this was enacted by the law of C. Marcius Rutilus B.C. 265), and the augurs were chosen for life.

§ 16. per triduum instaurati means the same as ‘ter instaurati,’ ‘were repeated on three days.’

§ 17. M. Claudii Marcelli, not the praetor of that name, with whom the fact of Sempronius being Magister Equitum and aedile is no argument for identifying him. For the mastership of the horse was an extraordinary office, and so an aedile might be ‘Magister Equitum,’ though he could not be praetor.

§ 18. circumacto, ‘having been brought to a close.’

sortem is equivalent to ‘provinciam.’

sortiti sunt, ‘obtained by lot.’

§ 19. M. Marcellus, &c. They could not even yet invest him with the consulship ‘salvis auspiciis’ (25. 9), and so he is made proconsul.

pro consule, for ‘ut pro consule esset’ (Weissenborn).

§ 1. tributum, ‘property tax.’ This was usually \( \frac{1}{10} \) per cent. It was now to be \( \frac{3}{4} \) per cent.

§ 2. simplex confestim exigeretur, ‘of which one half was to be raised at once.’

stipendium praesens, ‘the pay that was due to them.’

qui milites ad Cannas fuissent. These were disgraced, and had to serve without pay.

§ 3. duabus legionibus urbanis. They are mentioned in 25. 9 as destined for the consul, who was to be elected in Postumius’ place. Their being given to Marcellus shows that there was at this time no doubt that he was to be consul.

inde. From Cales.

supra Suessulam, ‘on the heights above Suessula.’ Cf. 17. 3.

§ 5. in castra Claudiana. This then must have been a recognised name for Marcellus’ camp; otherwise Livy would have written in this section ‘in castra sua.’
§ 6. veterem exercitum. Marcellus’ old army.

§ 7. exspectaverant...uti, ‘waited for (the consul to hold, &c.).’ Sometimes ‘exspecto ut’ means ‘I expect that.’ ‘Exspecto dum,’ with the subjunctive, has the same meanings.

§ 8. Utrumque...e re publica fuit. Sempronius means, ‘No time could be lost in sending Marcellus to Campania; therefore I did not keep him back for the comitia. On the other hand, as we all rightly wish Marcellus to be consul, I shall not hold the comitia until he returns.’

ut vos consulem, ‘so that you might have for consul a man such as the crisis demanded, the very man whom you wish to be elected.’ Notice the very different force of the imperf. subj. ‘postularet,’ and the pres. ind. ‘vultis.’

§ 9. Menti Otacilius. He had vowed this temple in his praetorship (22. 1o. 10). We have not been told that he had returned to Rome. In chap. 21 he was spoken of as being still in Sicily, but anxious to be relieved.

§ 10. trecentis equitibus Campanis. Mentioned in 4. 8 and 7. 2. In 4. 8 they are described as ‘nobilissimus quisque Campanorum.’ Therefore, being of the aristocratical party in Capua, they were on the side of Rome.

ut cives Romani essent. In B.C. 340 the Roman citizenship had been granted to all Capuan equites (8. 11. 16), but apparently they had lost the right by the revolt of Capua. This right was now to be restored to them. Further, to show that they had had no participation whatever in the revolt, they were to be regarded as having at the time of the revolt been citizens, not of the faithless Capua, but of the faithful Cumae.

municipes. A ‘municipium’ was governed by its own laws, but was subject to Rome.

§ 11. hoc. That they should be made ‘municipes’ of Cumae.

vetere patria, Capua. eam in quam redierant, Rome.

§ 13. Cui ineunti consulatum. Notice the dative (incommodi). It thundered not merely when Marcellus was entering on his office, but thundered at him, i.e. the thunder was sent to him as a warning of evil. If the augurs had not pronounced him ‘vitio creatum,’ he might very possibly have subsequently come to the conclusion that his auspices were faulty, and therefore have returned to Rome ad ‘repetenda auspicia,’ especially if he found himself unsuccessful against Hannibal.

quod tum primum duo plebeii. Mommsen (Rom. Hist. English Translation, vol. i. p. 308) says: ‘To understand rightly the history of Rome in the fifth and sixth centuries, (i.e. A.U.C.) ‘we must never overlook this sulking patricianism; it could indeed do little more than irritate itself and others, but this it did to the best of its ability.’
also 22. 34. and notes. Clearly the patrician jealousy of the plebeians was not altogether extinct even at this time, a century and a half after the Licinian rogations. The Claudii Marcelli were plebeians, and must not be confused with the patrician Claudii (the Pulchri and Nerones). N.B. 'tum primum' must be taken as explanatory and parenthetical. The gods did not like having two plebeian consuls, and this was the first time that such a thing had occurred.

§ 14. suffectus Q. Fabius Maximus tertium, 'Quintus Fabius Maximus was elected, and thus entered upon his third consulship.' A consul elected to fill the place of another who had died or resigned was called 'consul suffectus.' Cf. 22. 25. 11 'Nec tamen ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium, quam consulem in locum C. Flaminii suffectisset.' Marcellus was himself 'in locum L. Postumii suffectus,' 25. 9.

§ 15. ad Junonis Sospitae, 'at the temple of Juno Sospita.'

§ 1. volones. 'Volones dicti sunt milites, qui post Cannensem cladem usque ad octo millia, quem essent servi, voluntarie se ad militiaem obtulerunt.' Their enrolment is mentioned in 22. 57. 11.

§ 2. M. Valerio praetori. He was praetor peregrinus (30. 18). legiones quae ex Sicilia redissent. These were two legions (25. 10).

praesideret, 'protected.' Subj. because the words of the decree are given.

praetores. Appius Claudius Pulcher and Quintus Mucius Scaevola (30. 18).

§ 3. quoties in Senatum vocassent. The words refer not to 'edixerunt' but to 'convenirent,' and grammatically come after 'uti.' quibusque in Senatu, &c. A usual formula, probably meaning those who had held curule offices since the last census, and were therefore qualified to be senators and acted as such without having been formally enrolled. As the Senate had just been 'lectus' by Fabius Buteo, there would now be very few, if any, persons thus qualified, who were not formally enrolled senators.

§ 4. Praetores, quorum iurisdiction erat. 'Those praetors to whom the administration of justice belonged,' i.e. the praetor urbanus and the praetor peregrinus.

Piscinam publicam, 'the public Pond,' i.e. 'the Bathing Pond.' This pond had disappeared in the time of Festus (fourth century A.D.).

eo. People were to come thither and find bail.

vadimonia fieri, 'bail to be found.' The defendant was said 'vadimonium facere,' when he promised before the praetor to appear
NOTES TO BOOK XXIII.

Chap. on the day fixed for trying the case. The promise was given with or without (usually with) sureties (vades).

§ 5. Mago. He appears not to have gone to Spain, though he was ordered to go there (13. 8). The Carthaginian government perhaps altered its plans on despatching Himilco (28. 2).

§ 7. Erant, qui Magonem, &c. 'Some advised Mago to go to Spain instead of Italy, with ...'

Sardiniae recipiendae, 'of recovering Sardinia.' For the means by which the Romans had obtained possession of this island, see Introduction.

§ 9. acerbe atque avare imperatum. For the expression, cf. 21. 3 'quod superbe avarque crederent imperitatum victis esse.'

collatione iniqua frumenti means 'by excessive forced contributions of corn.' Livy means this for a misrepresentation on the part of Mago's advisers. See 21. 5, for what he considers to be the real facts of the case.

_auctorem_, a leader.

§ 10. per principes, 'by the leading men.'

§ 14. militibus. The 'volones' and 'socii' mentioned in § 1.

ut depends on 'edixit,' to be understood with Q. Fabius. Notice 'consulto prius senatu.'

ante calendas Ianuas primas, 'before the first day of next June.'

§ 15. qui non invexisset. This sentence depends on 'edixit,' as a verb of saying.

sub hasta, 'by auction.'

ne praetoribus quidem. (See on 32. 4.) So also last year Furius, the praetor urbanus, had been despatched to Sicily.

§ 16. Tarentum. This town was now in the hands of the Romans, and the statement in 22. 61. 12 that it went over to Hannibal was anticipatory.

§ 19. conquisitionem, 'a special levy' (raised in a particular district for the defence of that district).

§ 20. cum imperio. He was doubtless sent 'propraetore' as before.

Chap. 33.

§ 1. opulentissimorum, 'most powerful.'

§ 3. ut bello inter Romanum, &c. 'though he rejoiced at the outbreak of war between Rome and Carthage, yet, while it was still doubtful which nation was the stronger, was unable to make up his mind which he hoped would be victorious.'

§ 4. Postquam tertia iam pugna. Supply 'had been fought.'

ad fortunam inclinavit, 'he decided to join the winning side.'

Laciniae Iunonis. So called from the promontory of Lacinium, south of Croton. From 24. 3 we gather that the temple and its grove were within the old, though without the present limits of the town.
§ 6. Xenophanes. He was an Athenian, according to Polybius 7. 9. Chap. 33. mandata, 'messages.'

§ 9. qua proximum fuit. Cf. 21. 5. 12 'qua quique proximum est.'

ciastra Hannibalis. See 36. 1.

§ 10. ducentas autem naves, &c. 'it seemed that he meant to raise one of two hundred sail.' This was no doubt discovered from the examination of the Macedonian envoys after their final capture as related in the next chapter.

pro parte sua, 'to the best of his power.'

§ 11. cederet, 'should fall.'

§ 12. bellumque cum quibus, &c. Condensed for 'bellumque cum iis, cum quibus regi placerebellum gerere, gererent.'

quaec civitates . . . vergunt, 'the states which lie.' The pres. indicative is used because the description is Livy's. He gives us a general expression for a number of places mentioned by name in the treaty. In this treaty, as given in Polybius 7. 9, it is stated, that if peace is made with Rome it is to be on the condition, among others, μη δ' εἶναι Ρωμαίους κυρίους Κερκυραίοις μηδ' Ἀπολλονιατῶν καὶ Ἐπιδαμνίων μηδὲ Φάρων μηδὲ Διμάλης καὶ Παρθηνῶν μηδ' Ἀττιναίας.

§ 2. ad regis ipsius firmandam fidem. Lit. 'to make binding the promise of the king himself' (as well as that of his envoys), i.e. 'to administer the oaths to the king also.'

eodem, 'to the same place,' namely, the temple of Juno of Lacinium.

§ 3. quum altum tenerent, &c. It would, as we have seen, been quite in Livy's style to write 'iam altum tenebant, quum.'

§ 4. Valerius Flaccus. Not to be confused with M. Valerius Laevinus who was at Luceria. Flaccus was probably this praetor's legate.

cercuros, κερκοίρους, 'cutters.'

praefectum classis, viz. Valerius Flaccus.

§ 5. satis iam semel felix mendacium, 'the lie which had already proved so successful.'

§ 6. cultus habitusque, 'dress and appearance.'

§ 7. quoque, i.e. besides the discovery of the nationality of Gisgo and his comrades.

§ 9. quinque naves. As one envoy was to be put into each ship, we may gather that there was one Greek envoy besides Xenophanes, so as to make, with the three Carthaginians, five altogether.

§ 10. A. Cornelius Mammula. He had been serving in Sardinia propraetore, none of the praetors of 216 B.C. having been appointed to that province. See note on 21. 4.
NOTES TO BOOK XXIII.

Chap. 34.

§ 11. Q. Mucium, &c. 'that his successor Q. Mucius, had on arriving found both the climate and the waters unhealthy, and had been seized by a very tedious, though not dangerous, illness, which would for a long time make him unable to conduct military operations.'

§ 12. pacatae, 'peaceful.'

§ 14. mitteretque cum imperio, i.e. as 'legatus propraetore.' Fulvius being praetor urbanus (30. 18), could not absent himself from Rome for more than ten days at a time, hence he could not go to Sardinia in person, though he could find time 'ad suburbana litora tutanda.'

§ 15. bis, with 'consul' only as in 30. 15 and 18.


§ 16. Hasdrubale, cui Calvo cognomen erat. The reader must have been already struck with the paucity of names among the Carthaginians. No doubt 'cognomina' served to distinguish the various Hasdrubals, Hannos, and Magos.

Chap. 35.

§ 1. partis alterius. The Romans.

§ 2. Campani. Here 'the Capuans.'

adorti sunt, 'attempted.'

§ 3. Campanis, here 'Campanians,' but 'Senatum Campanum' is 'the Capuan senate.'

ad Hamas. The position of this place is not exactly known. We find from § 13 that it was three miles from Cumae, probably to the north of it.

§ 5. exercitu lustrato, 'having purified and reviewed his army.' All Roman armies were 'purified' before they began a campaign, and were reviewed at the same time.

§ 6. decurrere, 'to practice manoeuvres.'

ea maxima pars is equivalent to 'eorum maxima pars.' Of them (the recruits) the greater part consisted of the slave-volunteers.'

§ 7. itaque can hardly mean 'and in like manner,' but must mean 'and consequently,' while we must supply 'to the same effect' from the context, taking 'itaque . . . praeceperat' as parenthetical.

ordines. Here 'classes,' not 'ranks.'

§ 8. ducerent, 'they were to consider, he said.'

quae fortuna, 'the exigencies which had forced them to take this measure, now forced them to uphold it.'

§ 9. brevique, 'and soon.'

§ 11. triduo post eum diem festum esse, 'that that day of festival was three days afterwards.'

§ 13. Campanis. Here 'the Campanians.' Weissenborn points out that the 'medix tuticus' was not necessarily a Capuan, though Marius
Alfius and Marius Blossius (7. 8) happened to be; a Cneius Magius of Atella being mentioned in 24. 19. 2 as holding this office.

§ 15. Triduum sacrificatum ad Hamas is not very consistent with the context.

ita ut . . . . completeretur, 'but had to be finished before midnight.'

§ 16. Huic Gracchus, &c. 'This (viz. midnight) was the time that Gracchus determined to seize.'

ad portas. Of his camp.

a decima diei hora. From about three o'clock in the afternoon.

§ 17. vigilia prima. The night was divided into four watches, which at this time of year (March or April) would be about three hours each.

§ 18. ut in pervigilio, 'as might be expected during a night-festival.'

§ 19. capti. After this word something—probably the number of the captives—has fallen out of the text.

§ 1. ab Hannibale metuens, cf. 'metus a praetore Romano.'

in Tifatis, 'on Mount Tifata.'

§ 4. sociorum, 'of his allies,' i.e. the Capuans.

§ 5. Auctores erant quidam. 'Some people advised him.'

§ 6. nihil secum, &c. Consequently no provisions and no siege train ('apparatus oppugnandae urbis,' § 7).

§ 7. quum Gracchus. 'Gracchus having halted there, not from any confidence in his troops, but because he was ashamed to desert at such a crisis allies that besought his and his country's protection.'

§ 10. expiantique ea, &c. 'and when he tried to expiate them, the soothsayers reported that there was a difficulty in making acceptable sacrifice.'

§ 2. ligneam ingentem. i.e. 'turrem.'

quia, explains 'altiorem.'

per se, i.e. without having a tower on it.

subiectis validis sublicis, 'having put strong piles under the tower' (i.e. on the wall).

§ 6. Ad mille trecenti. 'Ad' is here used as if it were an adverb.

ex improviso oppressi fuerant, 'had been surprised.'

§ 8. laetum secunda re consulem, &c., like Sempronius Longus and Minucius.

§ 10. Ti. Sempronius, cui Longo cognomen erat, the consul of 218 B.C.

§ 1. prope omnem Italiae oram. This is governed by 'circum-
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Chap. 38. vectae' and qualified by 'ab supero mari ad inferum.' The ships had sailed from somewhere in Calabria, perhaps Tarentum, and had coasted along all the lower part of Italy.

§ 2. ex classe sua. This has not been mentioned before. We gradually learn from Livy's hints how carefully the coasts of Italy were guarded.

§ 6. extemplo agitaretur, 'the question was immediately discussed.'

§ 7. ad, 'to reinforce.'

§ 8. triginta naves, 'the thirty ships.'

§ 9. militibus Varroianis. The 'Terentianum exercitum' of 32. 16.

§ 12. Pecunia, apparently repayment for the loan mentioned in 21. 5.

§ 13. centum, i.e. 'millia modium (modiorum).'</n

Chap. 39.

§ 1. captiva navis una ex iis. The words would naturally mean 'one captive ship of those which were sent to Rome.' Unless Livy has got very much confused between his authorities, this meaning is inadmissible. The ships that were sent to Rome were Roman and not captive ships (34. 9). So we must suppose that the one captive Macedonian ship was sent with the five Roman ships to Rome, and escaped on the way back. We must translate, therefore, 'the one captive ship escaped from the middle of those which had been sent to Rome.' The passage is at best unsatisfactory.

§ 4. tantum navis una, &c. 'so greatly did the capture of this one ship with the envoys on board contribute to delay the war . . . .'

§ 6. Trebulam. This is perhaps the same as the Trebia of 14. 13. The position of the other places mentioned here is not accurately known. Campani, Capuans.

§ 8. inter Capuam castraque Hannibalis, &c. Apparently Fabius was already between Capua and Nola, so that this movement is inexplicable.

M. Marcellum propraetorem. Yet he was made proconsul according to 30. 19. He is called propraetor in 42. 10, and praetor in 43. 12; but both passages are contemptuous in tone. Notice, however, that the consul lawfully exacts obedience from the proconsul. See 48. 2, and 22. 40. 6.

Chap. 40.

§ 1. per T. Manlius praetorem, i.e. propraetorem. See note on 34. 14.

§ 2. navalibusque sociis, 'his sailors.'

§ 3. Pellitos Sardos. The highlanders, so called from their dress.

§ 5. alius exercitus, 'the rest of the army.'

§ 6. debellatumque . . . esset. Impersonal.
in tempore ad spem rebellandi, 'at the right moment to encourage a renewal of the war.'

§ 7. ea occasio, &c. 'thus an opportunity was given.'

§ 10. Sardis facile vinci assuetis, lit. 'the Sardinians being accustomed to be easily conquered.' We are to infer that they were easily conquered on this particular occasion. Translate, 'while the natives, as usual, made but a short resistance.'

§ 4. ut super afflictas res, &c. 'hearing in the midst of his despair about his cause, the news of his son's death.'

§ 5. recepit need mean no more than 'took,' for cf. 'Capua recepta' (14. 5) and 'recipiendae Nolae' (44. 3).

§ 6. pro cuinisque aut viribus aut delicto, i.e. the requisition varied as the wealth and guilt jointly.

§ 7. stipendium quaestoribus, &c. Because the quaestors had charge of the treasury, and the aediles of the distribution of corn, while Fulvius was the highest magistrate and the only military magistrate at Rome.

§ 8. praetor. He was 'propraetor.' Cf. 40. 1.

§ 9. septem inde naves, &c. 'captured seven of the enemy's (inde) ships with their crews.'

§ 10. Bomilcar. In chap. 32 we were told that Mago, Hannibal's brother, who was to have brought troops to Italy, went eventually to Spain.

§ 11. provinciae. Sicily, of which he was praetor.

suo, 'favourable.'

§ 12. inde, i.e. from Locri.

magno conatu nulla re gesta, 'having taken all his trouble for nothing.'


§ 2. Hostes ... fuimus. 'We showed ourselves enemies.'

§ 3. prope, not 'almost,' but 'about.' The exact number of years was fifty-four, for the Samnites finally submitted to Rome in B.C. 272.

§ 4. Tua nos non magis virtus, &c. The whole sentence is a condensed and illogical way of saying 'Tua virtus fortunaque (qua non magis nos, quam unica comitas ... conciliavit tibi) effecit ut te ... amico ... non ... timeremus.'

§ 5. aliquoties, 'several times.'

te, ad unum modo, &c. 'that you (like a bee) can only inflict one wound, and have lost your sting and your vigour.'

§ 6. Per annos centum, an exaggeration. The war lasted from B.C. 343-272. There is the same exaggeration in 5. 8.

§ 7. duos consules. Titus Veturius Calvinus and Spurius Postumius
Chap. 42. Albinus, who were conquered at the Caudine Forks, B.C. 321. Notice the two constructions with 'gloribor,' the ablative and the accusative and infinitive.

§ 9. bini consules, 'two consuls every year.'

ante explorato, 'after previous reconnoitring.'

§ 10. propraetoris unius. See on 39. 8.

ne manipulatim, &c. 'so far from taking proper military precautions, they do not even keep to their maniples, but move in a disorderly manner like brigands.'

percursant. Intransitive.

§ 12. Nee te nee, &c. 'I should know nothing of you and your army, if I did not believe,' &c.

quamvis vana gives a crowning-point to this highly-wrought speech. The Samnites say that they are now so thoroughly plundered that there is no more booty to take.

§ 13. illi quidem. They, however, can be spoiled, though we cannot.

praesidiumque miseris, 'and you will thus send us defenders and at the same time deprive Nola of hers' (i.e. by crushing Marcellus).

Chap. § 2. Indicandum autem primum. 'The facts ought first to have been stated.'

§ 3. proxima. i.e. to the territory of the Samnites and Hirpini.

sociorum populi Romani, 'which belonged to the allies of Rome.'

§ 6. Eodem. 'To the same place.'

haud procul, from Nola.

§ 7. commissum. Impersonal.

tuto recepu, 'with a secure base of operations.'

§ 9. Ex his depends, not of course on 'Hanno,' but on 'Herennium Bassum et Herium Pettium.'

§ 10. obterit, 'he disparages.' Cf. the like use of 'premere' in 22. 12. 12.

§ 11. Quae. Hannibal's power and Rome's.

etiam in captivos omnes Italici nominis, i.e. even to the Latins.

§ 13. capta an, &c. 'whether he (Hannibal) got possession of Nola by capture or capitulation.'

ut, simply 'as.'

Nuceriae. For the fate of this town, see chap. 15.

§ 14. Nolle ominari, &c. 'He did not like to prophesy what would be the fate of the city if Hannibal had to storm it; he preferred to promise that if they would,' &c.

Chap. § 1. esse. The present is here used of a state of things still continuing from a past time with 'multos annos iam,' which is equivalent
to ‘iam pridem.’ ‘Il y a plusieurs années que nous sommes les amis des Romains.’

cuius neutros ad eam diem paenitere, ‘and neither party had repented of it up to that day.’

sero iam esse mutare is explained in the next section.

§ 2. An dedituris, &c. ‘If we had meant to surrender to Hannibal, ought we to have sent for a Roman garrison?’

§ 4. instruxa intra portam acie. As he had done at the time of Hannibal’s previous attack on Nola, related in chap. 16.

concursu ad pugnantes facto, i.e. the whole body of troops on both sides becoming engaged.

memorabilisque inter paucas fuisset, ‘and would have been one of the most famous in history.’

§ 5. prima eruptione percussi belongs to ‘haud plus quam triginta.’ The numbers seem wrong, as the Carthaginians are not likely to have lost less than the Romans. See 45. 1.

§ 6. tenuit. Intransitive. The word is tautological with ‘continens.’

Tertio die, ‘On the second day after the battle.’ Livy is writing according to the Roman inclusive method of counting.

§ 7. detrectavit, sc. ‘pugnam.’

§ 8. ex cohortibus. As Hannibal had adopted the Roman drill the word is appropriate enough, though Livy often uses Roman terms when they are inapplicable.

§ 9. in subsidiiis, ‘in the reserves.’

§ 1. ante diem tertium, lit. ‘the third (i.e. second) day before,’ ‘two days ago.’ The ‘ante’ is an adverb and does not govern ‘diem tertium.’ The really curious thing about the phrase is the use of ‘diem tertium’ instead of ‘tres dies.’ It would otherwise be exactly like ‘ante paucos dies.’

fugatis . . . a Cumis, by Sempronius. See chap. 37.

pulsis . . . ab Nola. See chap. 16.

milite alio. See chap. 31. 3-5.

§ 5. hosti depends on ‘exprobrando.’

§ 7. Legatum. Marcellus was not a ‘legatus,’ but had an independent command.

legionis unius. Marcellus had certainly two legions (see 31. 3), and probably the proper complement of allies.

alae, ‘one contingent of allies.’ (The allies were usually posted on the wings.)

§ 8. qui . . . C. Flaminio . . . caput abstulit? In 22. 6. 4 we were told that the Gaul who killed Flaminius (with a spear-thrust) was prevented from spoiling the body, and in 22. 7. 5 that after the
Chap. 45. battle Flaminius' body could not be found. So 'caput abstulit' is not very accurate.

§ 9. an quid prodigii est aliud? 'or has any other miracle happened?'

Romam vos expugnaturos, &c. See 22. 51. 2-4.

§ 10. campestrum urbem. Whereas Rome was built on hills.

Chap. 46. § 2. per clamorem favoris indicem, 'by cheers which showed on which side their sympathies lay.'

§ 3. etiam goes with 'plebis,' and 'plebis' refers just as much to 'gaudio' as to 'gratulatione.' That these two words must be taken together is proved by their occurrence in the same connection in 47. 7 'cum magno gaudio et gratulatione victor in castra redit.'

§ 4. quattuor, 'elephanti.'
§ 5. tacitis, 'granted by tacit agreement.'

Vulcano votum, 'as an offering to Vulcan.'

§ 6. liberalioris militiae, 'of better pay.'

§ 8. cum quibus venerat copiis. See 41. 10-12, and 43. 6.

§ 9. in ea castra... quae super Suessulam erant, i.e. Marcellus' old camp, into which Fabius had moved (39. 8).

§ 10. nihil admodum, 'nothing at all.'

§ 11. equitatu plus poterant is added as if it had been 'equitatum meliorem,' or as if 'pedite nihil valebant' had preceded.

§ 12. indidem. Of Capua.

quum apud Romanos militaret, i.e. before the defection of Capua.

§ 14. opima spolia. A most inaccurate expression. Livy himself (4. 20. 6) says, 'ca rite opima spolia habentur, quae dux duci detraxit.' Festus says, 'Opima spolia dicitur—quae dux p. R. duci hostium detraxit, quorum tanta raritas est, ut intra annos paulo... trina con-
tigerint nomini Romano: una quae Romulus de Aerone, altera quae Cossus de Tolumnio, tertia quae M. Marcellus Iovi Feretrio de Viridomaro fixerant. M. Varro ait, opima spolia esse etiam si manipularis miles detraxerit, dummodo duci hostium.' In no case could one 'man-
ipularis miles' win the spolia opima from another. The M. Marcellus is the proconsul of whom we are reading, who, when consul, killed Viridomarum (Britomart), King of the Gaesatae, with his own hand at Clastidium (B.C. 222).

Chap. 47. § 1. id modo... ut... percontaretur, 'only long enough to ask.' extra ordinem, 'contrary to regulations.' Church and Brodribb.

§ 4. Quum iam ante ferocibus dictis, &c., i.e. each man extolled his own valour in comparison with that of his enemy before begin-
ning the combat.
infestis, &c. 'they spurred their horses to the attack.'

libero spatio explains how they were able 'inter se Indiscari,' which does not mean 'to make a game of the business,' but simply 'to elude each other's attack.'

§ 6. 'Minime, sis ... cantherium in fossam.' 'By your leave, I will not throw my horse into a ditch.' Some word must be understood to govern the accusative 'cantherium,' and it seems simplest to understand 'deiciam.' 'Sis' is a colloquial contraction for 'si vis.' Taurea, on finding Claudius take him at his word, wishes to pretend that his proposal to fight on the road was a mere joke, being really rather afraid to come to close quarters with his adversary.

quae vox in rusticam, &c. 'a saying which subsequently passed into a country proverb.' Church and Brodribb suggest that it was already a proverb at the time when Taurea used it. In that case his joke consisted in a literal application of a saying generally used metaphorically.

§ 8. quam vera sit, communis existimatio est. Parenthetical, 'as to its truth, everyone is at liberty to form his own opinion.' Cf. 4. 20. 8 'Quis ea in re sit error, ... existimatio communis omnibus est.'

per alteram, 'through the opposite gate.'

miraculo, 'at the exploit.'

§ 1. in segetibus, 'in the corn-fields.'

§ 2. hiberna aedificavit. 'In hiberna huts of turf or stone would be substituted for the open tents of the aestiva (hence aedificare hiberna).'

Dr. Smith's 'Dictionary of Antiquities.'

§ 3. a Cumis. He seems to have stayed there ever since the events related in chs. 36, 37.

agri Sallentini. The promontory of Sallentinum (also called lapygium) was the most southerly point of Calabria.

§ 4. gesta stands for 'gesta esse.'

sed pecuniam in stipendium vestimentaquo et frumentum is what was wanting to the soldiers. Rather more than this, in fact 'omnia,' was wanting to the sailors.

§ 5. se aliquam rationem inituros, 'they would adopt some plan.' Cf. 25. 6 'nee ... inibatur ratio.'

quomodo. We should expect 'qua,' as the antecedent is 'rationem.'

aut exercitum aut provinciam teneri posse. 'Teneri' must be taken in a different sense with its different objects. 'Could the army be maintained or the province held.'

§ 7. Siciliam ac Sardiniam, &c. 'that Sicily and Sardinia, provinces which before the war had been sources of revenue, could now
hardly support the armies that guarded them; thus the expenditure was maintained by the property tax (on Roman citizens) alone.'

§ 8. stipendio, here ' taxation.  
alia ... peste, i.e. ' want.  

§ 9. fide, ' its credit. ' The whole sentence is illogically condensed for ' Itaque quoniam opibus non satura esset, nisi fide staret res publica, nullo modo staturam.'

§ 10. Prodeundum in contionem, &c. ' Fulvius, the praetor (urbanus) must call a public meeting' (lit. ' must appear before a public meeting'). Fulvius is often in Rome (41. 7) in spite of his military duties (32. 18; 34. 13). It has already been mentioned that the 'praetor urbanus' might not be absent from Rome for more than ten days at a time.

qui redempturis auxissent patrimonia, &c. ' (and must exhort) those who had increased their fortunes by state-contracts to trust the country to which they owed their prosperity. ' By 'qui redempturis auxissent patrimonia' the 'publicani' are meant, rich men who formed companies (societates) to farm the public revenues. The agents of these 'publicani' who collected the taxes for them are the 'publicans' (πελαυραί) of the New Testament. The 'publicani' are now called upon, in consideration of the money that they have made out of the state, to make a contract to supply the troops in Spain with stores, and not to require payment until such time as the state shall have recovered from its financial difficulties.

tempus commodarent, lit. ' should give time (to the state), ' i.e. should let the payment stand over.

conduceerentque, &c. ' and should undertake to supply all that was necessary for the army in Spain, on the condition that,' &c.

§ 12. praebenda ... locaturus. Notice that the person who asks for tenders to be offered is said ' locare aliquid faciendum,' while the contractor is said 'conducere aliquid faciendum.'

§ 1. hominum unde viginti, 'of nineteen men each.'

§ 2. dum in eo publice essent, ' while they were engaged in that state service.  

ab hostium tempestatisque vi, &c., lit. ' should be in danger to the nation from injury done by the enemy or... ' ' Publico ' (adjective) is the emphatic word, and it is meant that the state was to bear all the risk of the transport.

§ 3. Illi mores, &c. ' Such was the character and such the patriotism which animated every class of men with, it seemed, the same enthusiasm.

§ 4. Quemadmodum, &c. ' The contract was as conscientiously performed, as it had been generously undertaken.' omnia means all the supplies that the 'publicani' undertook to furnish.
NOTES TO BOOK XXIII.

§ 5. Iliturgi. On the Bactis (Guadalquivir) in the neighbourhood of Castulo.

§ 6. trina. This form of the distributive is more usual than 'terni,' with 'plural substantives which denote a compound object.'

§ 7. pro se, 'for them.' 'Se' refers to the subject of 'vidissent.'

§ 8. duo, 'the other two.'

ruptione. We should have expected 'ruptione facta,' but Livy is fond of using single ablatives in this manner. See Excursus, p. xxi.

§ 9. a Romanis, 'on the Roman side.'

§ 10. quam ipsi erant, i.e. than the whole Roman army.

§ 11. amplius. Notice that (as has been already pointed out) this word and 'plus' are used without altering the grammar of the words with which they are to be taken.

§ 12. Intibili. The word, like Iliturgi, is neuter and indeclinable. (Cf. 'ad oppidum Iliberri,' 21. 24. 1). This can hardly be the Intibili on the coast, south of the mouth of the Ebro, but it is probably a place in the neighbourhood of Iliturgi.

ut quae maxime omnium, belli avida, 'that was as eager as possible (lit. as the province which is most so of all) for war.' Cf. 5. 25. 9 'Grata ea res ut quae maxime senatui unquam fuit.' Cicero uses 'quam qui maxime' in the same sense. 'Tam enim sum amicus rei publicae quam qui maxime' (ad Fam. 5. 2).

modo, 'if only.'

§ 13. eadem fortuna utriusque partis. This, if 'utriusque partis' be not redundant, must mean that, as before, the Carthaginian losses were heavy and the Roman losses slight.

THE END.