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FROM THE ESTATE OF
THE LATE
MRS. W. E. BENNETT
TITI LIVII HISTORIÆ

LIBRI TRES PRIORES,

CUM ANNOTATIONIBUS

PROBATISSIMIS ET UTILISSIMIS,

EX

OMNIBUS PRIORIBUS COMMENTATORIBUS

ACCURATE SELECTIS ET ANGLICE REDDITIS;

QUIBUS ET NONNULLE SUÆ SUNT ADJECTÆ.

A JACOBO PRENDEVILLE,
Universitatis Dublinitensis Scholare.

LOCI OMNES DIFFICILES EXPLICANTUR; ET TEXTUS MAXIME EMENDATUS DATUR.

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LIFE OF LIVY.

Titus Livius, the great author of the Roman History, which the unanimous consent of all ages has judged to be one of the noblest productions of human genius, was born at Patavium, now Padua, in Italy, in the 694th year of Rome, 58 years before the birth of Christ. Few details of his life and actions have been preserved to us from the ravages of time; but it is known that his family at that period held a dignified station among the high nobility of Rome, when that nobility was in the fulness of their pride, and Rome in the zenith of her glory. Besides his history, it is said by Seneca, that he composed another work consisting of moral and philosophical dialogues, together with some admirable essays on rhetoric for the use of his son, which were all worthy of his great name, but which have since perished in the wreck, that time, barbarism, and superstition, have made of some of the noblest fabrics of the human mind. That he might have a better opportunity of consulting the records of the times, and acquiring other facilities of information necessary for so laborious and momentous an undertaking, he fixed his residence at Rome. And we may form a just estimate of the great esteem and admiration in which he was held, by these facts, that Augustus, in the same spirit that induced Philip of Macedon to place his son Alexander the Great under the instruction and care of Aristotle, appointed him tutor to his grandson Claudius, afterwards emperor, as the fittest person among the bright array of literary names, that encircled his court, to enlighten the mind, cultivate the taste, and form the
morals of one, who was destined to be a ruler of the world; and that a Spanish prince, actuated by the great celebrity of his name, came from Cadiz, (then considered the utmost boundary of the globe,) for the mere purpose of seeing him; and, when he had gratified his curiosity, returned home contented. For some time he prosecuted his work, of which, as they were finished, he read parts before Augustus, Mæcenas, and the greatest men of the empire, and of that age. But distracted and wearied with the political tumults, factious cabals, and court intrigues, that at that time ruffled the public peace, disorganized society, poisoned social intercourse, and withered private happiness, he withdrew from Rome, the great theatre of agitation, and sought tranquillity and retirement in the mild climate and delightful country of Naples. There, unmolested and at ease, he finished his immortal work, comprising, in one hundred and forty-two books, the history, or annals, (as he* calls them,) of Rome, from the foundation of the city to the death of Drusus, comprehending a period of seven hundred and forty-three years, and ending nine years before the birth of Christ.

His labours now ended, and having performed more exalted and more lasting services to his country than any other citizen, who ennobled the character, or promoted the interests of Rome, he returned to close the calm evening of his life in his native country, where he died A D. 17, at the age of seventy-five years. It appears that he divided his history into portions called décades, comprising in each ten books, from his having prefixed prefatory observations to each. Of one hundred and forty-two books, thirty-five only have come down entire to us. However the contents of the whole, under the name of epitomes, have been preserved, with the exception of the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth books, compiled according to some, (but without any good authority for the supposition,) by Livy himself; according to others, with as little grounds of probability, by Lucius Florus, author of a portion of Roman history.

* Lib. 43. c. 13.
The first *decade* is extant, commencing with the history of Rome, and embracing a period of four hundred and sixty years; the second, which comprehended a period of only seventy-five years, and the principal occurrences of which were the first Punic war, is lost; the third, containing a minute and eloquent detail of the second Punic war, the longest, and most hazardous, as he says, in which the fortunes of the state were ever committed, is extant; the fourth, embracing a space of twenty-three years only, from the variety and importance of the events which are recorded, and containing an account of the Macedonian war against Philip, and the Asiatic against Antiochus, is also extant; of the fifth, only the first five books are preserved, and these very imperfect. They give an account of the war with Perseus, King of Macedon, whose kingdom, after various vicissitudes of defeat and success, is at length reduced to a Roman province; of the third Punic war, which lasted only five years; and of the corruption, cruelty, and extortion of several Roman governors in the provinces, and their subsequent punishment. The rest, except the epitomes, are all lost.

Livy employed forty-five books in the history of six centuries; but so important, so various, and numerous, were the events, which the subsequent period presented to him, that he bestowed more than double the number of books on the occurrences of about one hundred and twenty years. But, unfortunately, at a most interesting crisis, when curiosity had been raised to the highest pitch of excitement, when the rich and minute narration of the destinies of the mightiest empire, that human arms or human wisdom ever erected, was about to be wound up, ruin set her iron hand upon the work. The materials, which he had ready for use at this epoch, were more numerous and certain than at any former period. He could not only consult the ordinary annals of the times, and the records of the senate, but could draw from the ample fountains of his own knowledge, and of that of his illustrious cotemporaries, who mixed and figured in the occurrences of those important and stormy times. Besides, he could find easy access to the Memoirs
of Sylla, Cæsar, Labienus, Pollio, Augustus, and many others, which were then extant, and traced from their remotest origin, with nice and scrutinizing accuracy, the progress of things through all their wide and varied diversions. This irreparable loss has been deplored by the world.

I own, says Bolingbroke, that I should be glad to exchange what we have of this history, for what we have not. The authors, from which he drew his information, were Fabius Pictor, the oldest of the Roman writers, Macer Licinius, and Q. Tubero, among the Latins; and Polybius among the Greeks. He also made frequent mention of libri lintei. Asinius Pollio, a writer of the Augustan age, says that in his writings there was what he calls Patavinitas. What the precise meaning of this expression is has not been well ascertained; but most persons imagine that it means a provincial and impure peculiarity of diction. However, Pollio appears to stand alone in his opinion. The objections made to his frequent introduction of long speeches, a charge to which all the writers of antiquity are as liable as Livy, of prodigies and superstitious stories, which were unavoidable in the history of a superstitious and credulous people, and his partiality to his countrymen, particularly Scipio Africanus, and Pompey, are so futile, that it is unnecessary to dwell on the subject. All posterity have subscribed to the opinion of Quinctilian, who thus pronounces on him: "... quum in narrando miræ jucunditatis clarissimique candēris, tum in concionibus, supra quâm enarrari potest, elquentem."—B. 10. c. 1.
Facturusne operæ pretium sim², si à primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim, nec satis scio, nec, si sciam, dicere ausim: quippe qui³, quum veterem, tum vulgatam esse rem, videam; dum novi semper scriptores, aut in rebus certius aliquid allatus se, aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superatus, credunt. Utceunque erit⁴, juvabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili⁵ parte et ipsum consuluisse⁶; et, si in tantâ scriptorum turbâ mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum, meo qui nomini officient⁷, me consoler. Res est praeterea et immensi operis, ut quæ supra septingentesimum⁸ annum repetatur; et quæ, ab exiguis profecta initii, eò creverit, ut jam magnitudine laboret sua; et legentium plerisque, haud dubito, quin primæ origines proximaque originibus minus praebitura voluptatis sint, festinantibus ad hæc nova, quibus jam pridem praeventis populi vires se ipsæ conficiunt. Ego contrâ hoc quoque, laboris præmium petam, ut me conspectu malorum, quæ nostra tot per annos vidit ætas, tantisper certè dum præca illa totâ mente repeto, avertam, omnis expers curæ, quæ scribentis animum, etsi non flectere à vero, sollicitum tamen efficere possit. Quæ ante conditam condendamve⁹ urbem, poëticis magis decora fabulis¹⁰ quàm incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis, traduntur, ea nec affirmare nec refellere in animo est. Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut, miscendo humana divinis, primordia urbsm augustiora faciat. Et, si cui populo licere oportet¹¹ consecrare origines suas, et ad deos referre auctores, ea belli gloria est populo Romano, ut, quum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem
potissimum ferat, tam et hoc gentes humanae patiantur aequo animo, quam imperium patiuntur. Sed haec et his similia, utcunque animadversa aut existimata erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine. Ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint; per quos viros, quibusque artibus domi militiaeque, et partum et auctum imperium sit; labante deinde paulatim disciplinâ, velut desidentes, primò mores sequatur animo; deinde, ut magis magisque lapsi sint; tum, ut ire cœperint præcipes; donec ad hæc tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec remediam pati possimus, perversus est. Hoc illud est præcipuè in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiærum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque reipublicæ, quod imitere, capias; inde, foedum exitu, quod vites. Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla unquam respublica nec major, nec sanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit; nec in quam civitatem tam seræ avaritia luxuriaeque immigravit; nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit. Adeò, quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat. Nuper divitiae avaritiam, et abundantes voluptates desiderium, per luxum atque libidinem perundique omnia, invexère. Sed querelæ, ne tum quidem gratæ futurae, quum forsitan et necessariae erunt, ab initio certè tantæ ordiendæ rei absint. Cum bonis potius omnibus votisque ac precationibus deorum dearumque, si, ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentiús inciperemus, ut orsis tanti operis successus prosperos darent.
NOTES TO PREFACE.

1 The dignity and modesty of this preface, says Walker, is quite in unison with the character which Horace (Art. Poet.) gives of a good writer: Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lum, cogitat.

2 Facturusne opera pretium sim.] The best editions and MSS. read, facturus sim opera pretium, by which the hiatus of the present reading would be avoided; but the authority of Quintilian, who asserts that Livy commences with part of an hexameter line, is sufficient to decide that this reading should not be introduced into the text, and considered genuine.

3 Quippe qui.] Livy says, that he is not certain whether he will obtain any reward for his labour in writing this history—whether its merits be such as to secure the approbation of the present age and posterity; and that, even if he were, he would not venture to say so, because it has been, from time immemorial, a practice with every new writer of history, to boast that "his" work must excel that of his predecessors, as the facts are to be detailed with more certainty and truth, and "their" unpolished and antiquated style of writing (rudem vetustatem,) excelled by the superior strength and elegance of the new production; and that, as the practice is so old (veterem), it has become vulgar and contemptible (vulgatum). Vulgatus, in Livy and Pliny, often has the same signification as vilis. In this way facturus opera pretium, and vulgatum, are explained by Walker and others; but on reflection it appears very doubtful, whether the first does not mean, "to make it worth the reader's trouble and perusal," and the second, "common or general," which is the usual signification of vulgatus.  

4 Utunque erit.] This refers to the first line. "However that shall be."

5 Pro virili parte.] To the utmost of my power, like pro me, or χαριζω, in Greek.

6 Et ipsum consultuisse.] "That I also (as well as other writers) have provided for the recollection of a people that ruled the world;" i. e. have taken care that they should be recollected. Me is sometimes, as here, suppressed before ipsum.—So Virg. Ecl. 1.:

"Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum
Ludere, quae velis, calamo permisit agresti."

* Esse opera pretium is what is generally employed to signify "to be worth one's own trouble."
NOTES TO PREFACE.

7 Nomini efficient.] Shall be a bar to my celebrity.

8 Ut quae supra septemgentesimum.] "As it is a subject that must be carried back beyond the seven hundredth year." There are two reasons why the subject is said to be one of immense labour; first, it must be carried back to the darkness of antiquity, where there can be but little light to guide a writer, and must embrace all the events that have taken place for seven hundred years; secondly, rising from small beginnings, when, in the early ages of the city, the facts of its history were neither numerous nor important, it has by degrees, according as the empire has become great, grown to such an extent, as to become unmanageable from the number and importance of the facts to be detailed. Prævalentis, "grown to an excess of power." Walker says, that the construction of the sentence is, res est et immensi operis, ut quæ sup. sep. an. repet. et (immensi operis) ut quæ ab exquis, &c. But Crevier, I think more correctly, says, that either et before immensi is to be expunged, or that the arrangement is this: res est et immensi operis (ut quæ sup. sep. an. rep., et ut quæ ab ex. pr. in. eð cr. ut jam mag. lab. surd) et legentium plerisque—. The et before immensi operis refers to the et before legentium; and thus the two clauses are connected. Livy mentions the difficulties and disadvantages he has to encounter in his undertaking. It is one of immense labour, for which he gives two reasons; and it is one, he is sure, in which his taste and feelings would not correspond with those of most of his readers; as they carelessly and impatiently hurry over the first periods of the history, that they may arrive at those late and interesting events, during the occurrence of which the state fell a victim to its own overwhelming power. But he, on the contrary, would dwell with more pleasure on those distant scenes; for then he would be relieved from the painful view of the evils to which the age he lived in was a witness; and also from an uneasy apprehension (cura) of incurring, by the facts he should detail, the displeasure or hostility of any man or party of his time. Præterea refers to the first line, facturusne, &c.

9 Condendamve.] "Or about to be built," i. e. before the time of Romulus.

10 Magis decora fabulis.] "More worthy to embellish the fables of poets, than the pure records of history." So e. 42. hunc ordinem vel pace decorum vel bello.

11 Si cui populo licere oportet.] "If any people ought to be allowed to represent their origin as sacred, and attribute it to the agency of the gods, the Romans are that people; for so great is the military glory they have acquired, that foreign nations allow as calmly, as they submit to their dominion, that they were descended from the god of war, whom, above all others, they represent as their own parent, and that of their founder Romulus."

12 Utunque animadversa aut existimata.] "However they
will be attended to, (whether diligently or carelessly,) or judged of, (whether as true or false)."

13 *Ad illa m. pro se.*] "Let every one, to the utmost of his power, turn his thoughts to the following considerations:—What the mode of life was, and what the manners, of the people; by what sort of men, and by what measures in peace and war, their power was both established and extended;* pro se *is the same as *pro sua virili parte; "mihi" is often introduced superfluously.

14 *Velut desidentes.*] A metaphor borrowed from an old house which at first gives way or yields a little, then sinks more and more, until at last it tumbles headlong. *Desidentes* from *desido.*

15 *Nec vitia nec remedia.*] Neither the vices, says Walker, by which the public liberty was lost, nor the absolute powers of the Caesars, by which it was asserted that those vices would be remedied. But I do not think Livy limits his views to that.

16 *Omnis te exempli documenta.*] "This is that which above all other things is salutary and profitable in the study of history, that you see instances of every kind of conduct put on open record; from these you can select for yourself and the state you belong to, whatever you would avoid, as being disgraceful in its effects." So Herodotus: '*Ως οἱ σοι καὶ αὐτίς πα ὡμια καταλάκει, πρὸς τὰ γεγραμμένα ἀπεξελίπτοις, εἰ κρῆσθαι τοῖς εἰ ποσί.'

17 *Nec in quam civitatem.*] A Greek idiom for *nec ulla civitas in quam.* The Greeks often made the antecedent agree in case with the relative, and also put the relative in the same case with the antecedent: this is called attraction by the grammarians.—See B. 2. c. 47.—and c. 3. n. 45, of this book.

18 *Divitiae avaritiam.*] "Riches introduced avarice; (i. e. a thirst for riches) and abundant pleasures introduced a longing for pleasure, during a state of general luxury, and a blind love of running headlong to destruction and destroying every thing else." Such was the general corruption of the times, that even in the midst of pleasures, men, from their great thirst for them, seemed to want them. *Desiderium* is an uneasy longing after an absent good. Others connect the words thus:—*Desiderium pereundi perdendique omnia, per luxum et libidinem.*

19 *Orsis.*] "To an undertaking of such labour."
Jam primum omnium satís constat, Trojà captā, in ceteros sævitum esse Trojanos; duobus, Æneā et vetusti jure hospitii, et quia pacis redendaeque Helenæ semper auctores fuerant, omne jus belli Achivos abstinuisse. Casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Henetūm, qui, seditione ex Paphlagoniā pulsi, et sedes et duces, rege Pylemene ad Trojam amisso, quærebant, venisse in intimum maris Hadriatici simum: Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsis, Henetos Trojanosque eas tenuisse terras: et in quem primūm egressi sunt locum, Troja vocatur, pagoque inde Trojano nomen est; gens universa Veneti appellati. Ænean, ab similī clade domo profugum, sed ad majora initia rerum ducentibus fatis, primò in Macedoniam venisse; inde in Siciliam, quærentem sedes, delatum; ab Siciliā classe Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Trojæ et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Trojani, ut quibus ab immenso propē errore nihil, praeter arma et naves, superesset, quum prædam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui tum ea tenebat loca, ad arcendam vim advenarum armati ex urbe atque agris concurret. Duplex inde fama est: aliī prælio victum Latinum pacem cum Æneā, deinde affinitatem, junxisse tradunt: aliī, cūm instructæ acies constitissent, priusquam signa canerent, processisse Latinum inter primores, duemque advenarum evocāsse ad colloquium; percunctatum deinde, qui mortales essent, unde, aut quo casu profecti domo, quidve quærentes in agrum Laurentem exissent? postquam audierit multitudinem Trojanos esse; ducem Ænean, filium Anchisse et Veneris; crematā patriā, et domo profugos, sedem condendāque urbi locum quærerē; et nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique, et animum vel bello vel paci paratum, dexterā datā fidem futuræ amicitiae sanxisse. Inde fœdus iectum inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam. Ænean apud Latinum fuisse in hospitio; ibi Latinum apud Penates deos domesticum publico adjunxisse fœdus, filiā Ænæe in matrimonium datā: ea res utique Trojanis spem affirmat tandem stabili certāque sede finiendi erroris. Oppidum condunt. Æneas ab nomine uxoris Lavinium appellat. Brevi stirps quoque
virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit, cui Ascanium parentes
dixere nomen.

II. Bello deinde Aborigines Trojanique simul petiti.

Turnus, rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adventum
Æneæ fuerat, prælatum sibi advenam ægrè patiens, simul
Æneæ Latinoque bellum intulerat. Neutra acies lœta
ex eo certamine abìvit; victi Rutuli; victores Aborigines
Trojanique ducem Latinum amisere. Inde Turnus Ru-
tulique, diffusi rebus, ad florentes Etruscorum opes,
Mezentiumque eorum regem, confugiunt; qui, Cære opulento
tum oppido imperitans, jam inde ab initio
mætimæ lœtas novæ origine urbis, et tum nimio plus,
quæm satis tumet esset accolis, rem Trojanam crescere
ratus, haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis junxit. Æneas,
adversùs tanti belli terrem ut animos Aboriginum sibi
conciliaret, ne sub eodem jure silvæ solùm, sed etiam nomine,
ominem essent, Latinos utramque gentem appellavit.
Nec deinde Aborigines Trojanis studio ac fide
in dies magis Æneorum populorum, Æneas, quanquam
in totam Ætruria erat, ut jam non terras solùm, sed
mare etiam per totam Italiam longitudinem, ab Alpibus
ad fretum Siculum, famà nominis sui implèsset, tamen,
quum mcenibus bellum propulsare posset, in aciem
eduxit. Secundum inde prælimium Latinis Æneæ
etiam ultimum operum mortalium fuit; situs est, quem-
unque eum dicer jureque est, super Numiciunm
flumen. Jovem Indigetem appellant.

III. Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius Æneæ filius
erat; tamen id imperium ei ad puberem ætatem in-
colume mansit: tantisper tutelâ muliebri (tanta indoles
in Lavinia erat) res Latina et regnum avitum patern-
umque puero stetit. Haud nihil ambigam, (quis enim
rem tam veterem pro certo affirmet?) hicine fuerit
Ascanius, an major quàm hic, Creûsâ matre Ilio in-
columi natus, comesque inde paternæ fugæ, quem Julum
eundem Julia gens auctore nominis sui nuncupat. Is
Ascanius, ubicunque et quâcunque matre genitus, (certe
natum Æneâ constat) abundante Lavinii multitudine,
florentem jam (ut tum res erant) atque opulentam
urbem materi, seu novercae, reliquit: novam ipse aliam

IV. Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantæ origo urbis, maximique secundùm deorum opes imperii principium. Vi compressa Vestalis, quem geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpæ honestior erat, Martem incertæ stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec dìi, nec homines, aut ipsam, aut stirpem à crudelitate regiâ vindicant: sacerdos vincuta in custodiam datur: pueros in profluentem aquam mitti jubet. Forte quâdam divinitûs super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis, nec adiri usquam ad justi cursum poterat amnis; et posse, quamvis languidâ, mergi aquâ infantes sper ferentibus dabat; ita, velut defuncti regis imperio, in proximâ alluvie, ubi nunc
ficus Ruminalis est (Romularem vocatam ferunt) pueros exponunt. Vastae tum in iis locis solitudines erant. Tenet fama, quum fluitantem alveum, quo expositi erant pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sitientem expositi erant, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sitientem ex montibus, qui circa sunt, ad puerilem vagitum cursum flexisse: eam summissas infantibus adeo mitem præbuisse mammas, ut languia lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris invenerit. Faustulo fuisse nomen fenmt: ab eo ad stabula Laurentiae uxori educandos latos. Sunt qui Laurentiam, vulgato corpore, lupam inter pastores vocatam putent; inde locum fabulæ ac miraculo datum. Ita geniti, itaque educati, quum primum adolevit setas, nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes, venando peragrare circa saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto, jam non feras tantuni subsistere, sed in latrones, præda onustos, impetus facere, pastoribusque rapta dividere; et cum his, crescente in dies greges juvenum, seria ac jocos celebrare.

V. Jam tum in Palatino monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt, et à Palanteo urbe Arcadicâ Pallantium, dein Palatum, montem appellatum. Ibi Evandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadum multis antè tempestatibus tenuerat loca, solenne allatum ex Arcadiâ instituisset, ut nudi juvenes, Lyceum Pana venerantes, per lusum atque lasciviam currerent: quem Romani deinde vocarunt Inuum. Huic deditis ludicrum, quum solenne notum esset, insidiosus ob iram prædæ amisse latrones, quum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse; captum regi Amulio tradidisse, ultro accusantes. Crimini maximè dabant, in Numitoris agros ab his impetum fieri: inde eos, collectâ juvenum manu, hostilem in modum praedas agere: sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus deditur. Jam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat, regiam stirpem apud se educari; nam et expositos jussu regis infantes sciebat, et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id ipsum congruere; sed rem immaturam, nisi aut per occasionem, aut per necessitatem, apério noluerat; necessitas prior venit: ita, metu subactus, Romulo rem aperit. Forte et Numitori, quum in custodiâ Remum haberet, audissetque geminos esse fratres, comparando et ætatem eorum et ipsum minimè servilem indolem, tetigerat animum me-
moria nepotum; sciscitandoque eódem pervenit, ut haud procul esset, quin Remum agnosceret. Ita undique regi dolus nectitur. Romulus, non cum globo juvenum, (nec enim erat ad vim apertam par) sed aliis alio itinere jussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus, ad regem impetum facit; et à domo Numitoris alia comparatá manu adjuvat Remus: ita regem obturcunt.

VI. Numitor, inter primum tumultum hostes invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, quum pubem Albanam in Arcem presidio armisque obtinendum avocasset, posteaquam juvenes, perpetrata ceæde, pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplò advocato concilio, scelera in se fratris, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, ceædem deinceps tyranni, seque ejus auctorem ostendit. Juvenes, per medium concionem agmine ingressi, quum avum regem salutassent, secuta eorum multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi effect. Ita Numitori Albanà permíssà re, Romulum Remumque cupido cepit, in iis locís, ubi expositi, ubique educati erant, urbís condendís; et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latinorumque. Ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes facile speram facerent, parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium, præ ea urbe, quæ conderetur, fore. Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni cupido; atque inde fœdum certain coortum à satis miti principio, (quoniam gemini essent, nec ætatis verecundia discrimen facere posset,) ut Dii, quorum tutelæ ea loca essent, auguris legerent, qui nomen novæ urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret. Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum, ad inaugurandum templam capiunt. Priori Remo augurium venisse furtur, sex vultures; jamque, nunciato augurio, quum duplex numerus Romulo se ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalutaverat: tempore illi praecipto, at hi numero avium, regnum trahebant. Índe, cum altercatione congressi, certamine irarum ad ceædem vertuntur: íbi in turbâ ictus Remus cecidit. Vulgatior fama est, ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo (quum verbis quoque increpitans adjecisset, Sic deinde, quicunque alius transiliet monia mea) interféctum.
VII. Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata. Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit; sacra diis aliis Albano ritu; Graeco, Herculi, ut ab Evandro instituta erant, facit. Herculem in ea loca, Geryone interempto, boves mira specie abegisse memorant; ac prope Tiberim fluvium, quà præ se armentum agens nando trajecerat, loco herbido, ut quiete et pabulo læto reficeret boves, et ipsum fessum viā procubuisse. Ibi quaerere eam prædam vellet, (quia, si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset, ipsa vestigia quærentem dominum eò deductura erant,) aversos boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine, caudis in speluncam traxit. Hercules, ad primam auroram somno exitus, quam gregem perlustrasset oculos, et partem abesse numerum sensisset, pergat ad proximam speluncam, si fortè eò vestigia ferrent; quæ ubi omnia forâs versa vidit, nec in partem aliam ferre, confusus atque incertus animi, ex loco infesto agere porrò armentum occipit. Inde quaerere boves quædam ad desiderium, ut fit, relictarum mugissent, reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boves, vocisque Herculæ convertit; quem quem vadentem ad speluncam Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus clavæ, fidem pastorum nequicquam invocans, morte occubuit. Evander tum ea, profugus ex Peloponneso, auctoritate magis quam imperio, regebat loca; vene
rabilis vir miraculo literarum, rei novæ inter rudes artium homines; venerabilibus divinitate creditâ Car
tæ matris, quam fati loquam, ante Sibyllæ in Italiam adventum, miratæ hægentes fuerant. Is tum Evander, concursu pastorum trepidantium circa advenam mani
festæ reum caedis excitus, postquam facinus facinorisque causam audivit, habitum formamque viri aliquantûm am
plorem augustioremque humanâ intuens, rogitat, qui vir esset? Ubi nomen patremque ac patriam accipit, “Jove
“nate, Hercules, salve,” inquit, “te mihi mater, veridica
“interpres deûm, aucturum cælestium numerum eccinit;
“tibique aram hic dicitum iri, quam opulentissima olim
“in terris gens Maximam vocet, tuoque ritu colat.”
Dextrà Hercules datà, "accipere se omen, impleturum-
"que fata, arà conditā atque dicatā," ait. Ibi tum pri-
mùm, bove eximià² captā de grege, sacrum Herculi,
adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque Potitiis⁹ ac Pinariis,
qua tum familiae maximè inclytæ ea loca incolebant,
factum. Fortè ita evenit, ut Potitii ad tempus praestò
essent, iisque exta apponentur; Pinarii, extis adesis,
ad ceteram venirent dapem. Inde institutum mansit,
donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne extis sollemni vesce-entur. Potitii, ab Evandro edocti, antistites⁶ sacri ejus
per multas ætates fuerunt: donec, tradito servis⁵ publicís
sollenni familiae ministerio, genus omne Potitiorum in-
terit. Hæc tum sacra Romulus una ex omnibus pere-
grina suscepit, jam tum immortalitatis virtute parte, ad
quam eum sua fata ducebant, fautor.

VIII. Rebus divinis rìtè perpetratis, vocatâque ad
concilium multitudine, quæ coalescere in populi unius
corpus nullà re, præterquam legibus, poterat, jura dedit⁶;
quæ ita sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se
ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, quam cetero
habitù se augusiorem, tum maximè lictoribus⁷ duodecim
sumptis, fecit. Allì ab numero avium, quæ augurio
regnum portenderant, eum secutum numerum putant;
me haud pœnitet eorum sententiae esse, quibus et ap-
paritore hoc genus⁸ ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella
curulis⁹, unde toga praetexta, sumpta est, numerum
quoque ipsum ductum placet; et ita habuisse Etruscos,
quod, ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege, sin-
gulos singuli populi lictores dederint. Crescebat in-
terim urbs, munitionibus alia atque alia appetendo loca,
quum in spem magis futuræ multitudinis, quàm ad id
quod tum hominum¹⁰ erat, munirent. Deinde, ne vana
magnitudo esset, adjiciendæ multitudinis causâ, vetere
consilio contentium urbes, qui, obscaram atque humilem
concìendo ad se multitudinem, natam è terrâ sibi prolem
eminentiabantur, locum, qui nunc septus descendentibus
inter duos lucos est, Asylum aperit¹¹. Eò ex finitimis
populis turba omnis, sine discrimine liber an servus
esset¹², avida novarum rerum perfugit; idque primum ad
ceptam magnitudinem roboris fuit. Quum jam virium
haud pœnitetet, oonsilium deinde viribus¹³ parat. Centum

²
creat senatores\(^{14}\), sive quia \textit{is numeros sati\(\textit{s} is erat, sive quia soli centum erant, qui ciere \textit{patres}\(^{15}\) possent. Patres cert\(\textit{e} ab honore, patrici\(\textit{que} progenies eorum, appellati.}

**IX.** Jam res Romana ade\(\textit{o} erat valida, ut cuilibet fini\(\textit{timarum civitatium bello par esset; sed, penuri\(\textit{a mulierum}\(^{16}\), hominis ætatem duratura magnitudo erat; quippe quibus nec domi \textit{spes pro\(\textit{l} o\(\textit{s} is sati, nec \textit{cum finitimi} connubia essent. Tum ex consilio Patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas gentes misit, qui \textit{novis societatem connubiumque novo populo peterent.}

"Urbes quoque, ut cetera, \textit{ex infimo nasci: deinde, qu\(\textit{a} sua virtus ac deos adfuisse, et non futuram virtutem; proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus " sanguinem et genus miscere."}

Nusquam benignè legatio audita est: ade\(\textit{o} simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi \textit{ac posteris suis metuebant.}

A plerisque rogitantibus dimissi, "Ecquod feminis quoque asylum aperuissent? id enim demum compar con\(\textit{nubium fore}\(^{19}\)." \(\textit{Ægrè} id Romana pubes passa, et haud dubiè ad vim spectare res cœpit; cui tempus locumque aptum ut dare Romulus, agritudinem animi dissimulans, ludos ex industriâ parat, Neptuno Equestri solennes\(^{20}\): Consualia vocat. Indici deinde finitimis spectaculum jubet; quantoque apparatu tum sciebant, aut poterant, concelebrant\(^{21}\), ut rem claram exspectatamque facerent. Multi mortales\(^{22}\) convenere, studio etiam videndæ novæ urbis; maximè proximi quique, Caeninenses, Crustumini, Antemnates. Jam Sabinorum omnis multitudo, cum liberis ac conjugibus, venit: invitati hospitaliter per domos, quem situm mœniaque et frequentem tectis urbem vidissent, \emph{mirantur tam brevi \textit{romanam crevisse.}}

Ubi spectaculi tempus venit, deditæque \emph{eò mentes} \textit{cum oculis erant, tum ex composito orta vis; signoque dato juventus Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrigit; magna pars fortè, ut in quem quæque inciderat, rapta; quasdam formà excellente primoribus Patrum destinatas, \textit{ex plebe homines, quibus datum negotium erat, domos deferebant.} Una, longè ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem, \emph{à globo Talassii cujusdam}\(^{23}\) raptam ferunt; multisque sciscitantibus, cuinam eam
ferrent, identidem, ne quis violaret, Talassio ferri clamitatum: inde nuptialem hanc vocem factam. Turbato per metum ludicro, moesti parentes virginum profugium, incusantes violati hospitii foedus, deumque invocantes, cujus ad solenne ludosque, per fas ac fidem decepi, venissent; nec raptis aut spes de se melior, aut indignatio est minor. Sed ipse Romulus circuiba, dicbatque "patrum id superbiâ factum, qui connubium finitimos negassent: illas tamen in matrimonio, in societate fortunarum omnium civitatisque, et, quo nihil carius "humano generi sit, liberum fore. Mollirent modò "iras; et, quibus fors corpora dedisset, darent animos. "Sæpe ex injuria postmodum gratiam ortam: eoque "melioribus usuras viris, quod adnissurus pro se quisque "sit, ut, quum suam vicem functus officio sit, parentum "etiam patriæque expleant desiderium." Accedebant blanditiae virorum factum purgantium cupiditate atque amore; quæ maximè ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt.

X. Jam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant; at raptarum parentes tum maximè sordidà veste lacrymisque et querelis civitates concitabant; nec domi tantum indignations continebant, sed congregabantur undique ad Titum Tatium regem Sabinorum; et legationes eò, quod maximum Tati nomen in his regionibus erat, conveniebant. Cæninenses Crustuminique et Antennates erant, ad quos ejus injuriae pars pertinebat. Lentè agere iis Tarius Sabinique visi sunt. Ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant. Ne Crustumini quidem atque Antennates, praæ ardores irâque Cæninensium, satís se impigre movent; ita per se ipsum nomen Cænim nium in agrum Romanum impetum facit. Sed effusè vastantibus fit obvius cum exercitu Romulus, levique certamine docet, vanam sine viribus iram esse: exercitum fundit fugatque: fuserunt persequitur: regem in prælio obrutuncat et spoliat: duce hostium occiso, urbe primo impetu capit. Inde exercitu victore reducto, ipse, cùm factis vir magnificus, tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium cæsi suspensa fabricato ad id aptè ferculo gerens, in Capitolium ascendit: ibique ea quum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset,
simul cum dono designavit templo Jovis fines, cognomenque addidit deo. "Jupiter Feretri\textsuperscript{31}," inquit, "haec " tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque " iis regionibus, quas modo animo metatus sum, dedico, " sedem optimis\textsuperscript{32} spoliis, quæ, regibus ducibusque hostium " caesis, me auctorem sequentes, posteri ferent." Hæc templi est origo, quod primum omnium Romæ sacratum est. Ita deinde diis visum, nec irritam conditoris templi vocem esse, qua laturos ea spolia\textsuperscript{33} posteros nuncupavit; nec, multitudine compotum, ejus doni vulgaris laudem\textsuperscript{34}; bina postea, inter tot annos\textsuperscript{35}, tot bella, opima parta sunt spolia: adeò rara ejus fortuna decoris fuit.

XI. Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antennatium exercitus per occasionem ac solitudinem\textsuperscript{36} hostiliter in fines Romanos incursionem facit; raptim et ad hos Romana legio dux\textsuperscript{37} palatos in agris oppressit. Fusi igitur primo impetu et clamore hostes: oppidum captum: duplicique victoria ovantem Romulum Hersilia conjux, precibus raptarum fatigata, orat, ut parentibus earum det veniam, et in civitatem accipiat; ita rem coalescere concordiâ posse. Facilè impetratum. Inde contra Crustuminos profectus, bellum inferentes. Ibi minus etiam\textsuperscript{38}, quod alienis cladibus ceciderant animi, certaminis fuit. Utróque coloniae missae. Plures inventi, qui, propter ubertatem terræ, in Crustuminum nomina darent\textsuperscript{39}; et Romam inde\textsuperscript{40} frequenter migratum est, à parentibus maximè ac propinquis raptarum. Novissimum ab Sabinis\textsuperscript{41} bellum ortum, multoque id maximum fuit; nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem actum est; nec osten- derunt\textsuperscript{42} bellum priùs, quàm intulerunt. Consilio etiam additus dolus. Sp. Tarpeius Romanæ præerat arci. Hujus filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatius, ut armatos in arcem accipiat; aquam fortè ea tum sacris extra mœnia petitum ierat. Accepti obrutam armis necave, seu ut vi capta potius arx videretur, seu prodendi exempli causâ, ne quid usquam fidum proditori esset\textsuperscript{43}. Additur fabulae\textsuperscript{44}, (quod vulgò Sabini aureas armillas magni ponderis brachio laeo, gemmatosque magnâ specie annulos habuerint,) pepigisse\textsuperscript{45} eam, quod in sinistris manibus haberent: eò scuta ills pro aureis donis congesta. Sunt, qui eam, ex pacto tradendi quod in sinistris manibus
esset, directo arma petisse dicant; et, fraude visam agere, suâ ipsam peremptam mercede.

XIII. Tum Sabinæ mulieres, quarum ex injuriâ bellum ortum erat, crinibus passis scissâque veste, victo malis muliebri pavore, ausæ se inter tela volantia inferre, ex transverso impetu facto, dirimere infestas acies, dirimere iras, hinc patres, hinc viros orantes, "ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent: ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum pro- geniem. Si affinitatis inter vos si connubii piget, "ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent: ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum pro- geniem. Si affinitatis inter vos si connubii piget, "ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent: ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum pro- geniem. Si affinitatis inter vos si connubii piget, "ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent: ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum pro- geniem. Si affinitatis inter vos si connubii piget, "ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent: ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum pro- geniem. Si affinitatis inter vos si connubii piget, "ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent: ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum pro- geniem. Si affinitatis inter vos si connubii piget, "ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent: ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum pro- geniem. Si affinitatis inter vos si connubii piget, "ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent: ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum pro- geniem. Si affinitatis inter vos si connubii piget, "ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent: ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum pro- geniem. Si affinitatis inter vos si connubii piget, "ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent: ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum pro- geniem. Si affinitatis inter vos si connubii piget, "ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent: ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum pro- geniem. Si affinitatis inter vos si connubii piget, "ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent: ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum pro- geniem. Si affinitatis inter vos si connubii piget, "ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent: ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum pro- geniem. Si affinitatis inter vos si connubii piget, "ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent: ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum pro-

Castra a Fidenis mille passuum locat. Ibi modico praedicto, egressus omnibus copiis, partem militum locis circâ densa ob sita virgulta obscuris subsidere jussit. Cum parte majore atque omni equitatu profectus, id quod querebat, tumultuoso et minaci g^ere pugnae, adequitando eis hostem excivit; fugae quoque, quae simulanda erat, eadem equestris pugna causam minûs mirabilem dedit; et quum, velut inter pugnae fugaeque consilium trepidante equitatu, pedes quoque referret gradum, plenis repent^ portis effusi hostes, impulsa Romana acie, studio instandi seendique trahuntur ad locum insidiarum. Inde subitò exorti Romanì transversam invadunt hostium aciem. Addunt pavorem mota e castris signa eorum, qui in praedicio relictì fuerant. Ita multipli terrore perculsi Fidenates, prius penè quàm Romulus, qui cum eo equi ìerant, circumagerent frenis equos, terga vertunt; multoque effusiûs, (quippe vera fuga) qui simulantes paullo ante securi erant, oppidum retinuere; non tam eripuere se hosti. Hærens in terga Romanus, prius quàm fores portarum objicerentur, velut agmine uno irrumpit.

XV. Belli Fidenatis contagione irritati Veientium animi, et consanguinitate, (nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci fuerunt) et quod ipsa propinquitas loci, si Romana arma omnibus infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat. In fines Romanos excucurrerunt, populabundì magîs, quàm justi more belli. Itaque, non castris positis, non expectato hostium exercitu, raptam ex agris prædam portantes, Vejos rediere. Romanus contra, postquam hostem in
agrīs non invenit, dimicationi ultimae instructus inten-
tusque, Tiberim transit. Quem postquam castra ponere, et ad urbem accessurum Vejentes audīvere, obviān
egressi, ut potiūs acie decernerent, quàm inclusi de tectis mé nibusque dimicarent. Ibi, viribus nullā arte adjūtis, tantùm veterani robore exercitūs rex Romanus vicit; persecutusque fusos ad mé nia hostes, urbe validā muris ac situ ipso munitā abstinuit. Agros rediens vastat, ulciscendi magis, quàm prædæ, studio. Eaque clade haud minus quàm adversā pugnā subacta Vejentes pa-
cem petītum oratores Romam mittunt. Agri parte muletatis, in centum annos inducīae datē. Hæc ferme, Romulo regnante, domi militiāque gesta; quorum nihil absonum fidei divināe originis, divinitatisque post mortem credītē, fuit; non animus in regno avito recuperando, non condendāe urbis consilium, non bello ac pace firmandāe; ab illo enim profectu viribus datīs tantùm valuit, ut in quadraginta deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. Multitudini tamen gratior fuit, quàm Patribus; longē ante alios acceptissimus militum animis; trecento-
tosque armatos ad custodiām corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solūm, sed etiam in pace, ha-
būt. 

XVI. His immortalibus editis operibus, quum ad ex-
ercitum recensendum concionem in campo ad Caprē
paludem haberet, subītō coorta tempestās, cum magnō
fragore tonītibusque, tam denso regem operuit nimbo,
ut conspectum ejus concionī abstulerit; nec deinde in
terris Romulus fuit. Romana pubes, sedato tandem pa-
vore, postquam ex tam turbīdo die serena et tranquilla
lux reōit, ubi vacuam sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis cre-
debat Patribus, qui proximi steterant, sublimem raptum
procellā, tamen velut orbitatis metu icta, moēstum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde, à paucis initio
facto, deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbī Ro-
manae, salvere universi Romulum jubent; pacem pre-
cibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitēt progeniem. Fuisset credo tum quoque aliquos, qui discerptum regem Patrum manibus taciti arguerent; manavit enim hæc quoque, sed perobscura, fama. Illam alteram admiratio virī et pavor præsens nobilitavit.

XVII. Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cu- pido versabat; necdum ad singulos, quia nemo magnopere eminebat in novo populo, pervenerat9; factionibus inter ordines certabatur. Oriundi ab Sabinis, ne, quia post Tati mortem ab suā parte non erat regnatum, in soci- etate aequā4 possessionem imperii amitterent, sui corporis creari regem volebant. Romani veteres peregrinum re- gem aspernabantur. In variis voluntatibus regnari ta- men omnes volebant5, libertatis dulcedine nondum expertā. Timor deinde Patres incessit, ne civitatem sine imperio, exercitum sine duce, multarum circā civitatum irritatīs animis, vis aliqua externa adoriretur; et esse igitur aliquod caput placebat; et nemo alteri concedere in animum inducebat. Ita rem inter se centum Patres6, decem decuriiis7 factis, singulisque in singulas decurias creatis qui summæ rerum præessent, consociant; decem imperitabant; unus cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus erat; quinque dierum spatio finiebatur imperium8, ac per omnes in orbem ibat; annuumque intervallum regni fuit. Id ab re, quod nunc quoque tenet nomen, interreg- num appellatum. Fremere deinde plebs multiplicatam servitutem, centum pro uno dominos factos: nec ultrā, nisi regem, et ab ipsis creatum, videbantur passuri9. Quum sensissent ea moveri Patres, offerendum ulteri- rati, quod amissi erant, ita gratiam ineunt10, summā
potestate populo permissâ, ut non plus darent juris, quàm detinerent; decreverunt enim, ut, cùm populus regem jussisset, id sic ratum esset, si Patres auctores fíérent⁰¹; hodieque in legibus magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem jús¹², ví ademptá; priusquam populus suffragium ineat, in incertum comitiorum eventum Pa-
tres auctores fiunt¹³. Tum interrex, concione advocatâ, “Quod bonum, faustum, felixque sit¹⁴,” inquit, “Qui-
rites, regem create; ita Patribus ^isum est. Patres”
“deinde, si dignum, qui secundus ab Romulo numeretur, “creаратis, auctores fíent.” Adeò id gratum plebi fuit, ut, ne victi beneficio viderentur, id modo sciscerent jube-
rentque, ut senatus decernet, qui Romæ regnaret.

XVIII. Inclyta justitia religioque eâ tempestate Nu-
mae Pompilii era.t. Curibus Sabinis habitabat, consul-
tissimus vir, ut in illâ quisquam ætate esse poterat, omnis divini atque humani juris. Auctorem doctrínæ ejus, quia non exstat alius, fálso Samium Pythagoram edunt; quem, Servio Tullio regnante Romæ, centum ampliùs post annos¹⁵, in ultimâ Italíae orá, circa Meta-
pontum Heracleamque et Crotona, juvenum æmulantium studia¹⁶ cóetus habuisse constat. Ex quibus locis, etsi ejusdem ætatis fuisse, quæ fama in Sabinos, aut quo línguæ commercio, quenquam ad cupiditatem discendi excívisset¹⁷? quove præsidio unus per tot gentes, dis-
sonas sermonem moribusque, perveníisset? Suopte igitur ingenio¹⁸ temperatum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor magis, instructumque non tam peregrinís artibus, quàm disciplínâ tetrícâ ac trísti veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit. Audió nomine Numæ, Patres Romani, quamquam inclinari opes ad Sabinos, rege inde sumpto, videbantur, tamen, neque se quisquam, nec factionis suæ aliun, nec denique Patrum aut cívium quenquam, preferre illi viro ausi, ad unum omnes Numæ Pompilio regnum deferendum decernunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus auguratô urbe condendâ regnum adeptus est, de se quoque deos consuli jussit. Inde, ab augure (cui deinde, honoris ergó, publicum id perpetu-
umque sacerdotium fuit) deductus in arcem, in lapide ad meridiem versus consedit. Augur ad lævam ejus, capite velato¹⁹, sedem cepit, dextrâ manu baculum sine nodo
aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellaverunt. Inde, ubi, prospectu in urbem agrumque capto, deos precatus, regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septentrionem esse dixit. Signum contra, quod longissime conspectum oculi feroc-bant, animo finivit. Tum, lituo in laevam manum trans-lato, dextrâ in caput Numae impositâ, precatus est ita: "Jupiter pater, si est fas hunc Numam Pomplium, ejus ego caput teneo, regem Româ esse, uti tu signa nobis certa adclarassis inter eos fines, quos feci." Tum peregit verbis auspicia, quae mitti vellet; quibus missis, declaratus rex Numa de templo descendit.

XIX. Qui, regno ita potitus, urbem novam, conditam vi et armis, jure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat. Quibus quum inter bella assuesecerat videret non posse, quippe efferatos militiâ, animos, mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Janum ad infimum Argiletum, indicem pacis bellique, fecit: aper-tus, ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus, pacatos circum omnes populos, significaret. Bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit; semel, T. Manlio consule, post Punicum primum perfectum bellum; iterum, quod nostra ætati dìi dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actia-cum, ab imperatore Cæsare Augusto, pace terrâ marique partât. Claudio eo, quum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac foederibus junxisset animos, positis externorum periculorum curis, ne luxuriarentur otio animi, quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continuarat, omnium primum, rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis seculis rudem efficacissimam, deorum metum injiciendum ratus est. Qui quum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum deā Egeriā congressus nocturnos esse; ejus se monitu, quae acceptissima diis essent, sacra instituere; sacerdotes suos cuique deorum praeficer. Atque omnium primum, ad cursum lunae, in duodecim menses descript annum; quem (quia tricios die singularis mensibus luna non explet, desuntque dies solido anno, qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe), intercalaribus mensibus interponendis, ita dispensavit, ut, quarto et vigesimo anno, ad metam eandem solis unde orsi essent, plenis annorum
omnium spatiis, dies congruerent. Idem nefastos dies fastosque fecit, quia aliqvando nihil cum populo agi utile futurum erat.

XX. Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adjecit, quamquam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maximè, quae nunc ad Dialem flaminem pertinrent. Sed, quia in civitate bellicosâ plures Romuli quâm Numæ similès reges putabat fore, ituroqve ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiæ vicis desrerentur, flaminem Jovi assiduüm sacerdotem creavit, insigne eum veste et curuli regiâ sellâ ornâvit. Huic duo flamines adjecit, Marti unum, alterum Quirino; virginesque Vestæ legît, Albâ oriundum sacerdotium, et genti conditoris haud alienum. His, ut assidue templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit; virginitate aliisique ceremoniis venerables ac sanctas fecit. Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legit, tunicâeque pictae insigne dedit, et super tunicam æneum pectori tegumen; celestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur, ferre, ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiiis solennique saltatu, jussit. Pontificem deinde Numam Marciun, Marci filium, ex Patriibus legit, eique sacra omnia exseripta exsignataque attribuit, quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quæ templâ sacra fient, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur. Cetera quoque omnia publica privataque sacra Pontificis seitis subjecit, ut esset, quò consultum plebes veniret, ne quid divini juris, negligendo patrios ritus, peregrinosque adsciscendo, turbaretur; nec celestes modò ceremonias, sed justa quoque funebria placandosque Manes, ut idem Pontifex edoceret; quaeque prodigia, fulminibus alioque visu missa, susciperentur atque curarentur. Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis, Jovi Elicio ara in Aventino dicavit; deumque consuluit auguriis, quae suscipienda essent.

XXI. Ad hæc consultanda procurandaque multitudine omni à vi et armis conversâ, et animi aliciquo agendo occupati erant, et deorum assidue insidens cura, quum interesse rebus humanis celestè Numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac jusjurandum, proximo legum ac poenarum metu, civitatem regerent; et, quum ipsi se homines in regis, velut unici
exempli, mores formarent, tum finitimi\textsuperscript{49} etiam populi, qui ante castra, non urbem, positam in medio ad sollicitandum omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatem, totam in culsum versam deorum, violari duerent nefas. Lucus erat, quem medium ex opaco specus fons perenni rigabat aqua; quod quia se persepe Numa sine arbitris, velut ad congressum deae, inferebat, Camenis eum lucum sacravit, quod earum ibi concilia cum conjuge sua Egerià essent. Et soli Fidei\textsuperscript{40} solenne instituit. Ad id sacrarium flamines bigis currù arcuato\textsuperscript{41} vehi jussit, manuque ad digitos usque involutâ rem divinam facere, significantes fidem tutandam sedemque ejus etiam\textsuperscript{42} in dextris sacratam esse. Multa alia sacrificiala locaque sacris faciendis, quae Argeos\textsuperscript{43} pontifices vocant, dedicavit. Omnium tamen maximum ejus operum fuit tutela, per omne regni tempus, haud minor pacis quam regni. Ita duo deinceps reges,\textsuperscript{44} alius alia vià, ille bello, hic pace, civitatem auxerunt. Romus septem et triginta regnavit annos; Numa, tres et quadraginta. Tum valida, tum temperata\textsuperscript{45} et belli et pacis artibus, erat civitas.

XXII. Numæ morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde Tullum Hostiliun, nepotem Hostilii, cujus in infimâ arce\textsuperscript{46} clara pugna adversús Sabinos fuerat, regem populos jussit. Patres auctores facti\textsuperscript{47}. Hic non solùm proximo regi dissimilis, sed ferccior etiam Romulo, fuit; tum ætas viresque, tum avita quoque gloria animum stimulabat. Senescere igitur civitatem otio ratus, undique materiam excitandi belli quærebat. Fortè evenit, ut agrestes Romani ex Albano agro, Albani ex Romano, praedas inductæ agerent. Imperitabat tum C. Clülius Albae. Utrinque legati ferè sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi. Tullus præceperat suis, ne quid priùs, quàm mandata, agerent; satis sciebat negaturum Albanum; ita piè bellum indicì posse. Ab Albanis socordiùs res acta. Excepti hospitio ab Tullo blandè ac benignè, comiter regis convivium celebrant\textsuperscript{43}. Tantisper Romani et res repetiverant priores\textsuperscript{49}, et negenti Albam bellum in trigesimum diem indixerant\textsuperscript{50}. Hæc renunciant Tullo. Tum legatis Tullus dicendi potestatem, quid petentes vernerint, facit. Illi, omnium ignari, primùm purgando

XXIII. Hæc nunciant domum Albani52. Et bellum utrinque summat opere parabatur, civili simillimum bello, propè inter parentes uatosque, Trojanam utramque pro- lem, quum Lavinium ab Trojâ, ab Lavinio Alba, ab Albannorum stirpe regum oriundi Romani, essent. Eventus tamen belli minus miserabilem dimicationem fecit, quod nec acie certatum est, et, tectis modò dirutis alterius urbis, duo populi in unum confusi sunt. Albani priores uigenti exercitu in agrum Romanum impetum fecerè; castra ab urbe haud plus quinque millia passuum locant; fossâ circumdant; fossa Chnha ab nomine ducis per aliquot secula appellata est, donec cum re nomen quoque vetustate abolèvit. In his castris Chuiusa, Alba- nus rex, moritur; dictatorem Albani etettum Fufietium creant. Interim Tullus ferox, praecipuè morte regis, magnamque deorum numen53, ab ipso capite orsum, in omne nomen Albanum expetiturum pœnas ob bellum impium dictitans, nocte praeritis hostium castris in- festo exercitu in agrum Albanum pergit. Ea res ab stativis excivit Mettum; ducit quàm proximè ad hostem potest54; inde legatum præmissum nunciare Tullo jubet, priesquam dimicent, opus esse colloquo; si secum con- gressus sit, satis scire ea se allaturum, quæ nihilis minus ad rem Romanam, quàm ad Albanam, pertineant. Haud aspernatus Tullus, tametsi vana affert rebatur55, in aciem edeit56. Exeunt contrà et Albani. Postquam instructi utrinque stabant, cum paucis procerum in medium duces procedunt. Ibi inèt Alb anus: "Injurias "et non redditas res ex fœdere, quæ repetita sint, et " ego regem nostrum Cluiium, causam hujusce esse " belli, audisse videor; nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem præ " te ferre. Sed, si vera potius, quàm dictu speciosa, " dicenda sunt, cupidò imperii duos cognatos vicinosque
populos ad arma stimulat. Neque rectè, an perperam, "interpretor"; fuerit ista ejus deliberatio, qui bellum "suscepit; me Albani gerendo bello ducem creavere, "Illud te, Tulle, monitum velim; Etrusca res, quanta "circa nos, teque maximè, sit, quò propiores vos, hoc "magis scis; multùm illì terrà, plurùmùm mari pollent. "Memor esto, jam, quum signum pugnæ dabis, has duas "acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos confectosque, simul "victorem ac victum, aggrediantur. Itaque, si nos dii "amant, quoniam, non contenti libertate certà, in dubiam "imperii servitiique aleam imus, ineamus aliquam viam, "quà, utrùi utris imperent, sine magnà clade, sine multò "sanguine utriusque populi, decerni possit." Haud dis- "plicet res Tulló, quanquam, tum indole animi, tum spe "victoriae, ferciòr erat. Querentibus utrinque ratio "initur, cui et fortuna ipsa præbuit materiam.

caput capillosque tangens. Pater patratus ad jusjurandum patrandum, id est, sanciendum fit foedus; multisque id verbis, que, longo effata carmine, non operae est referre, peragit. Legibus deinde recitatis, "Audi," inquit, "Jupiter; audi, pater patratus ad jusjurandum, id est, sanciendum fit foedus, ut ego hunc porcum hie hodie feriam; tantoque magis ferito, quam magis "potes pollesque." Id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice percussit. Sua item carmina Albani suumque jusjurandum per suum dictatorem suosque sacerdotes peregrunt.

XXV. Fœedere icto, trigemini, sicut convenerat, arma capiunt. Quum sui utroque adhortarentur, "deos patris, patriam ac parentes, quidquid civium domi, quid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus," feroces et suopte ingenio, et pleni adhortantium vocibus, in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Consederant utrinque pro castris duo exercitus, periculi magis presentis, quam curae, expertes; quippe imperium agebatur, in tam paucorum virtute et fortuna positum. Itaque ergo erecti suspensique in minimè gratum spectaculum animo intenduntur. Datur signum; infestisque armis, velut acies, terni juvenes, magnorum exercitum animos gerentes, concurrunt; nec his nec illis periculum suum; publicum imperium servitiumque observatur animo, futuraque ea deinde patriæ fortuna, quam ipsi fecissent. Ut primo statim concursu increpuere arma, micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantes perstringit; et, neutro inclinatâ spe, torpebat vox spiritusque. Consortis deinde manibus, quum jam non motus tantum corporum agitatioque aniceps telorum armorumque, sed vulnera quoque et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani, super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, exspirantes corrurunt; ad quorum casum quum conclamasset gudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legiones jam spes tota, nondum tamen cura, deseruerat,

XXVI. Priusquam indè digredentur, roganti Metto ex foedere icto quid imperaret, imperat Tullus, uti juventutem in armis habeat; usurum se eorum operá, si bel lum cum Vejentibus fores. Ita exercitus inde domos abducti. Princeps Horatius ibat, trigemina spolia pre se gerent; cui soror virgo, quæ desponsa uni ex Curiatiis fuerat, obvia ante portam Capenam fuit; cognitoque super humeros fratris paludamento sponsi, quod ipsa fecerat, solvit crines, et flebitur nomine sponsum mortuam appellat. Movet feroci juveni animum com-
T. LIVII.

ploratio sororis in victoriam suae tantoque gaudio publico. Stricto itaque gladio, simul verbis increpans, transfigit puellam. "Abi hinc cum immaturo amore ad spon-
"sum," inquit, "obleta fratrum mortuorum vivique,
"obleta patriae. Sic eat, quaeunque Romana lugebit
"hostem." Atrox visum id facinus Patribus plebique;
"sed recens meritum facto obstabat; tamen raptus in jus
ad regem. Rex, ne ipse tam tristis ingratique ad vulgus
judicii, aut, secundum judicium, supplicii auctor esset,
concilio populi advocato, "Duumviro," inquit, "qui
"Horatio perduellionem judicent, secundum legem
"facio." Lex horrendi carminis erat: "Duumviri per-
"duellionem judicent. Si à duumviris provocaret, pro-
"vocatione certato: si vincent, caput obnubito: infelici
"arbori 99 reste suspendito: verberato vel intra pomœrium
"vel extra pomœrium." Hac lege duumviri creati, qui
se absolvere non rebantur e a lege, ne innoxium quidem,
posse, quem condemnaverint; tum alter ex his, "P. Ho-
rati, tibi perduellionem judico," inquit. "I, lctor,
"colliga manus." Accesserat lctor, injiciebatque la-
queum. Tum Horatius, auctore Tullo, clemente legis
interprete, "Provoco," inquit. Ita demum provocatione
certatum ad populum est. Moti homines sunt in eo
judicio, maximè P. Horatio patre proclamante se filiam
jure caesam judicare; ni ita esset, patrio jure in filium
animadversurum fuisse. Orabat deinde, ne se, quem
paulo antè cum egregia stirpe conspexisset, orbam liberi
facerent. Inter haec senex, juvenem amplexus, spolia
Curiatiorum fixa eo loco, qui nunc Pila Horatiae appel-
latur, ostentans, "Huncine," aiebat, "quem modò de-
"coratum ovantemque victoriam incidissent inviditis,
"Quirites, eum sub furca vincit inter verbera et
"cruciatus videre potestis? quod vix Albanorum oculi
"tam deformem spectaculum ferre possent. I, lctor,
"colliga manus, quæ paulo antè armatæ imperium po-
"pulo Romano pepererunt. I, caput obnube liberatoris
"urbis hujus: arbori infelici suspende: verbera, vel
"intra pomœrium, modò inter illa pila et spolia hos-
tium; vel extra pomœrium, modò intra* se pulchra Curi-
"atiorum. Quò enim ducere hunc juvenem potestis,
"ubi non sua decora eum à tantâ fœditate supplicii vin-
"dicent?" Non tulit populus nec patris lacrymas, nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum; absolveruntque admiratione magis virtutis, quam jure cause. Itaque, ut caedes manifesta aliquo tamen piaculo luertur, imperatum patri, ut filium expiaret pecuniā publicā. Is, quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis factis, quae deinde genti Horatiae tradita sunt, transmisso per viam tigillo, capite adoperto, velut sub jugum misit juvenem. Id hodie quoque, publicè semper reflectum, manet. Sororium tigillum vocant. Horatiae sepulcrum, quo loco constitutum est, saxo quadrato.

XXVII. Nec diu pax Albana mansit; invidia vulgi, quòd tribus militibus fortuna publica commissa fuerit, vanum ingenium dictatoris corrupit; et, quoniam recta consilia hæc bene evenerant, pravis reconciliare popularium animos cœpit. Igitur, ut prius in bello pacem, sic in pace bellum quærens, quia suæ civitati animorum plus quæm virium cernebat esse, ad bellum palam atque ex edicto gerundum alios concitat populos: suis per speciem societatis prōditionem reservat. Fidenates, colonia Romana, Veientibus sociis consiliis assumptis, pacto transitionis Albanorum, ad bellum atque arma incitat. Hi et in acie prope flumen tenuere dextrum comitum: in sinistro Fidenates propter montes consistunt. Tullus adversus Vejentem hostem dirigit suos: Albanos contra legionem Fidenatium collocat. Albano non plus animi erat, quàm fidei; nec manere ergo, nec transire apertè, ausus, sensim ad montes succedit. Inde, ubi satís subisse sese ratus est, erigit totam acièm: fluctuansque animo, ut tereret tempor, ordines explicat. Consilium erat, quà fortuna rem daret, eà inclinare vires. Miraculo primò esse Romanis, qui proximi steterant, ut nudari latera sua sociorum digressu sensorunt: inde eques citato equo nunciat regi abire Albanos. Tullus in re trepidà duodecim vovit Salios, fanaque Pallori ac Pavori; equitem, clarà increpans voce, ut hostes exaudirent, redire in prælium jubet; "nihil
T. LIVII.


XXVIII. Tum Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis, deductus in campos. Mettus Tullio devictos hostes gratulatur: contrā Tullus Mettum benignè alloquitur. "Quod bene vertat, castra Albanos Romanis castris jungere" jubet: sacrificium lustrale in diem posterum parat. Ubi luxit, paratis omnibus, ut assolet, vocari ad concionem utrumque exercitum jubet. Praecones, ab extremo orsi, primos excivere Albanos: hi, novitate etiam rei moti, ut regem Romanum concionantem audirent, proximi constituere. Ex composito armata circumdatur Romana legio; centurionibus datum tugurium erat, ut sine morā imperia exsequeruntur. Tum ita Tullus inagit: "Romani, si unquam antē aliās ullo in bello fuit, quōd primūm diēs immortalibus gratias ageritis, deinde vestrē ipsorum virtūti, hester- num id praelium fuit. Dimicatum est enim non magis cum hostibus, quàm, quae dicematio major atque periculosior est, cum pridionem ac perfidiā sociorum. Nam, ne vos falsa opinio teneat, injussu meo Albani subiere ad montes; nec imperium illud meum, sed consilium et imperii simulatio fuit: ut nec, vobis ignorantibus deserī vos, averteretur à certamine animus; et hostibus, circumveniri se à tergo ratis, terror ac fuga injiceretur. Nec ea culpa, quam arguo, om-
niwm Albanorum est; ducem seuti sunt, ut et vos, 
"si qu6 ego inde agmen" declinarre voluissem, fecissetis. 
"Mettus ille est ductor itineris hujus, Mettus idem 
hujus machinator belli, Mettus f4deris Romani Alb-
"nique ruptor. Audeat deinde talia alius, nisi in hunc 
"insigne jam documentum mortalibus dedero." 
Centuriones armati Mettum circumstisunt; rex cetera, ut 
orsus erat, peragit. "Quod bonum, faustum, fexque 
"sit populo Romano ac mihi vobisque, Albani, popu-
"lum omnem Albanum Romam traducere in animo est; 
civitatem dare plebi; primores in Patres legere; 
"unam urbem, unam rempublicam facere. Ut ex uno 
"quondam in duos populos divisa Albana res est, sic 
"nunc in unum redeat." Ad haec Albana pubes, iner-
mis, ab armatis septa, in variis voluntatibus, communi-
tamen metu cogente, silentium tenet. Tum Tullus: 
"Mette Fuffeti," inquit, "si ipse discere posses 
fidem 
"ac fœdera servare, vivo tibi ea disciplina à me adhibita 
"esse35. Nunc quoniam tuum insanabile ingenium est, 
"at tu tuo supplicio doce humanum genus ea sancta 
"credere, quae à te violata sunt. Ut igitur paulo antè 
"animum inter Fidenatem Romanamque rem ancipi-

tem36 gessisti, ita jam corpus passim distraherandum 
"dabis." Exinde, duabus admotis quadrigis39, in currus 
earum distentum illigat Mettum; deinde in diversum 
iter equi concitati, lacerum in utroque currus corpus, quâ 
inhaeserant40 vinculis membra, portantes. Avertete om-
nes à tantà foeditate spectaculi oculos. Primum ulti-
mumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum 
memoris legum humanarum41 fuit; in aliis gloriari licet, 
nulli gentium mitiores placuisse pœnas. 

XXIX. Inter haec45 jam præmissi Albam erant equites, 
qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde 
ductae ad diruendum urbem. Quæ ubi intravere portas, 
non quidem fuit tumultus ille, nec pavor, qualis capta-
rum esse urbium solet, quum, effectis portis, stratisve 
ariete muris, aut arce vi captâ, clamor hostillis et cursus 
per urbem armatorum omnia ferro flammæque miscet: 
sed silentium triste ac tacita mœstitia ita defixit omnium 
animos, ut, præ metu oblitæ quid relinquereat, quid 
secum ferrent, deficiente consilio, rogantæsque alii alios,
nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas, ultimum illud visuri, pervagarentur. Ut verò jam equitum clamor exire jubentium instabat, jam fragor tectorum, quae diruebantur ultimis urbis partibus, audiebatur, pulvisque, ex distantibus locis ortus, velut nube inductā omnia impleverat, raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis, quum larem ac penates tectaque, in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset, relinquentes exirent; jam continentis agmen migrantium impleverat vias, et conspectus aliorum mutuā miseratione integrabat lacrymas, vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur, mulierum praecipue, quum obsessa ab armatis templarum et penatarum apparuitur, velut captos reliquerent deos. Egressis urbem Albanis, Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adequant solo; unaque hora quadringentorum annorum opus, quibus Alba steterat, excidio ac ruinis dedit. Templis tamen deūm temperatum (ita enim edictum ab rege fuit) temperatum est.

licitatis ad defectionem animis, voluntarios traxere; et apud vagos quosdam ex inopi plebe etiam merces valuit. Publico auxilio nullo adjuti sunt; valuitque apud Vejentes (nam de ceteris minùs mirum est) pacta cum Romulo induciarum fides. Quum bellum utrinque summâ ope pararent, vertique in eo res videretur, utri priùs arma interferent, occupat Tullus in agrum Sabinum transire. Pugna atrox ad Sylvam Malitiosam fuit, ubi et peditum quidem robore, ceterùm equitatu aucto nuper plurimum Romana acies valuit. Ab equitibus repente invectis turbati ordines sunt Sabinorum: nec pugna deinde illis constare, nec fuga explicari sine magnà cæde potuit.

XXXI. Devictis Sabinis, quum in magnâ gloriâ magistisque opibus regnum Tulli ac tota res Romana esset, nunciatum regi Patribusque in monte Albano lapidibus pluisse. Quod quum credivi xix posset, missis ad id visendum prodigium, in conspectu, haud aliter quàm quum grandinem venti glomeratam in terras agunt, crebri cecidere coelo lapides. Visi etiam audire vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco, ut patrio ritu sacra Albani facearent, quæ, velut diis quoque simul cum patriâ relictis, oblivioni dederant, et aut Romana sacra susceperant, aut, fortunæ, ut fit, obirati, cultum reliquerant deùm. Romanis quoque ab eodem prodigio novendiale sacram publicè susceptrim est, seu voce celesti ex Albano monte missa, (nam id quoque traditur) seu aruspicum monitu. Mansit certè solenne, ut, quandoque idem prodigium nunciaretur, ferise per novem dies ageretur. Haud ita multo pòst pestilentiam laboratum est; unde quum pigritia militandi oriretur, nulla tamen ab armis quies dabatur ab bellico so rege, salubriora etiam credente militiae, quàm domi, juvenum corpora esse, donec ipse quoque longinquus morbo implcitus. Tunc adeò fracti simul cum corpore sunt spiritus illi feroces, ut, qui nihil antè ratus esset minùs regium, quàm sacrís dedere animum, repentè omnibus magnís parvisque superstitionibus obnoxius degeret, religionibusque etiam populum impleret. Vulgò jam homines, eum statum rerum, qui sub Numa rege fuerat, requirentes, unam opem aegris corporibus relictam, si pax veniaque
à diis impetrata esset, credebant. Ipsum regem tradunt, volventem commentarios Numæ, quum ibi quædam occulta solennia sacrificia Jovi Elicio facta invenisset, operatum his sacris se abdidisse, sed non riti initum aut curatum id sacrum esse; nec solùm nullam ei oblatam celesium speciem, sed irâ Jovis, sollicitati pravâ religione, fulmine ictum cum domo conflagrassæ. Tullus magnâ gloriâ belli regnavit annos duos et triginta.

justè piëque legatus venio, verbisque meis fides sit." 
Peragit deinde postulata. Inde Jovem testem facit: 
"Si ego injustè impiëque illos homines illasque res dedier 
"nuncio populi Romani mihi exposco, tum patriae com-
"potem me nunquam sìris 

Hæc, quum fines suprascandit, hæc, quicumque ei primus vir obvius fuerit, 
haec, portam ingrediens, haec, forum ingressus, paucis 
verbis carminis concipiendique jurisjurandi mutatis, pera-
git. Si non deductur, quos exposcit peractis, bellum ita 
indicit: "Audi, Jupiter, et tu, Juno, Quirine, diique 
omnes celestes, vosque terrestres, vosque inferni, 
audite. Ego vos testor, populum illum" (quicumque 
est, nominat) "injustum esse, neque jus persolvere.
" Sed de istis rebus in patria majores natu consulemus, 
quos expono nostrum adjicerem. Cum his nunci-
cius Romam ad consulendum redit. Confestim rex 

ferme verbis Patres consulebat: "Quarum rerum, 
"litium, causarum condixit pater patruus populi Ro-
"mani Quiritium patri patrado priscorum Latinorum 
"hominibusque priscis Latinis, quas res dari, fieri, solvi 
"opportunt, quas res nec dederunt, nec fecerunt, nec 
"solverunt, dic," inquit ei quem primum sententiam 
robagat, "quid censes?" Tum ille: "Puro piique duello 
querendas censeo, itaque consentio, consciscoque. Inde 
ordine alii rogabatur: quandoque pars major eorum, 
qui aderant, in eandem sententiam ibat, bellum erat con-
sensu. Fieri solitum, ut fecialis hastam ferratum aut 
sanguineam præstam ad fines eorum ferret, et, non 
minus tribus puberibus præsentibus, diceret: "Quod 
populi priscorum Latinorum hominesque prisci Latinii 
adversus populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt, deli-
querunt; quod populus Romanus Quiritium bellum 
cum priscis Latinis jussit esse, senatusque populi Ro-
mani Quiritium censuit, consensit, conscivit, ut bellum 
cum priscis Latinis fieret; ob eam rem ego populus-
que Romanus populus priscorum Latinorum homini-
busque priscis Latinis bellum indico facioque." Id ubi 
dixisset, hastam in fines eorum emittebat. Hoc tum 
modo ab Latinis repetitae res, ac bellum indictum: 
moremque eum posteri acceperunt. 

LIBER I. C. XXXII. 33

XXXIV. Anco regnante, Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit cupidine maximè ac spe magni honoris, cujus adipsis Jovis et Tarquiniiis (nam ibi quoque peregrinâ stirpe oriundus erat) facultas non
adjuvabat; donec in regiam quoque de eo fama perlata est, notitiamque eam brevi, apud regem liberaliter dextraque obeundo officia, in familiaris amicitiae adduxerat jura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis consiliis bello domique interesser: et, per omnia expertus, postremo tutor etiam liberis regis testamento institueretur.

XXXV. Regnavit Ancus annos quatuor et viginti, cuilibet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloria par. Jam filii non prope puereram etatem erant. Eo magis Tarquiniius instare, ut quæ primùm comitia regi creando fierent. Quibus indictis, sub tempus pueros venatum ablegavit; isque primus et petisse ambitios regnum, et orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis animos; quum, "se non rem novam petere, quippe qui non primus, quod quisquam indignari mirarive posset, sed tertius Romæ peregrinus regnum affectet: et Tatiun non e peregrino solum, sed etiam ex hoste, regem factum: et Numam, ignoram urbis, non petentem, in regnum ultro accitum. Se, ex quo sui potens fuerit, Romam cum conjuge ac fortunis omnibus com-migrasse. Majorem partem ætatis ejus, quâ civilibus officiis fungantur homines, Romæ se, quàm in vetere patriâ, vixisse. Domi militiaeque, sub haud penitenti magistro, ipso Anco rege, Romana se jura, Romanos ritus, didicisse. Obsequio et observantia in regem cun omnibus, benignitate erga alios cum rege ipso, certasse." Haec eum haud falsa memorantem ingenti consensu populus Romanus regnare jussit. Ergo virum, cetera egregium, secuta, quam in petendo habuerat, etiam regnantem ambitio est; nec minùs regni sui firmandi, quàm augendæ reipublicæ, memor, centum in Patres legit, qui deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati: factio haud dubia regis, cujus beneficio in curiam venerant. Bellum primum cum Latinis gessit, et oppidum ibi Apioles vi cepit; prædâque inde majore, quàm quanta belli fama fuerat, revectâ, ludos opulentius instructiusque, quàm priores reges, fecit. Tum primùm circo, qui nunc maximus dicitur, designatus locus est. Loca divisa Patribus equitibusque, ubi spectacula sibi quisque facerent; fori appellati. Spectaverè furcis duodenos ab terrâ spectacula alta sustinentibus pedes. Ludicum fuit equi pugilesque, ex
Etruriâ maximè accitì. Sollennes deinde annui mansêre ludi, Romani magnique variè appellati. Ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis ædificanda divisa sunt loca; porticus tabernæque factæ.


XXXVII. Hac parte copiarum auctà, iterum cum Sabinis conßigitur. Sed, præterquam quod viribus creverat Romanus exercitus, ex occulto etiam additur dolus, missis, qui magnam vim lignorum, in Anienis ripà Jacentem,
ardentem in flumen conjicerent; ventoque juvante accessa ligna, et pleraque in ratibus, impacta sublicis, quum hærent, pontem incidunt. Ea quoque res in pugnâ terrem attulit Sabinis, et fusis eadem fugam impedit; multique mortales, quum hostem effugissent, in flumine ipso periēre; quorum fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi, prius penè quàm nunciari posset, insignem victoriam fecère. Eo praeho præcipua equitum gloria fuit. Utrinque ab comibus positos, quum jam pelletur media peditum acies, ita incucurrisse ab lateribus ferunt, ut non sisterentmodo Sabinas legiones, ferociter instantes cedentibus, sed subito in fugam averterent. Montes effuso cursu Sabini petebant, et pauci tenuere; maxima pars, ut antè dictum est, ab equitibus in flumen acti sunt. Tarquinius, instandum perterritus ratus, prædâ captivisque Romam missis, spoliis hostium (votum id Vulcano erat) ingenti cumulo accensis, pergit porrò in agrum Sabinum exercitum inducere; et, quamquam malè gesta res erat, nec gesturos melius sperare poterant, tamen, quia consulendi res non dabat spatium, ière obviàm Sabinii tumultuario milite; iterumque ibi fusi, perdítis jam propè rebus, pacem petiere.

mole gesserat bella, ut non quietior populus domi esset, quàm militiae fuisset. Nam et muro lapideo, cujus exordium operis Sabino bello turbatum erat, urbem, quà nondum munierat, cingere parat; et infima urbis loca circa forum aliasque interjectas collibus convalles, (quia ex planis locis haud facile odehant aquas,) cloacis in Tiberim ductis, siccat; et aream ad ædem in Capitolio Jovis, quam voverat bello Sabino, jam praesagiente animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci, occupat fundamentis.

XL. Duodequadragesimo ferme anno, ex quo regnare coeperat Tarquinius, non apud regem modò, sed apud Patres plebemque, longè maximo honore Ser. Tullius erat. Tum Anci filii duo, etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habuerant 60, se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romæ advenam, non modò 61 civicæ, sed ne Italicæ quidem, stirpis, tum impensiûs his indignitas 62 crescere, si ne ab Tarquiniuo quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed praecps indè porror ad servitùria caderit, ut in éadem civitate post centesimum ferè annum 63, quàm Romulus, deo prognatus, deus ipse, tenuerit regnum, donec in terris fuerit, id servus servâ natus possidet. Tum commune Romani nominis, tum præcipue id domis sue dedecus fore, si, Anci regis tribu stirpe salvâ, non modò advenis, sed servis etiam, regnum Romæ pateret. Ferro igitur eam arcere statuunt. Sed et injuriâ dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis, quàm in Ser. Tullium, eos stimulabat; et quia gravior ultor cedis, si superesset, rex futurus erat, quàm privatus; tum, Servio occiso, quemcunque alium generum delegisset; eundem regni haeredem facturus videbatur. Ob haec ipsi regii insidia parantur. Ex pastoribus duo ferocissimi, delecti ad facinus, quibus consueti uterque agrestibus 65 ferramentis, in vestibulo regii, quàm potuère tumultuosissimè, specie rixæ in se omnes apparitores regios convertunt; inde, quem ab regem appellarent, clamorque eorum penitus in regiam pervinisset, vocati ad regem pergunt. Primò uterque vociferari, et certatim alter alteri obstrepere. Coerciti ab hctore, et jussi invicem 66 dicere, tandem obloqui desistunt. Unus rem ex composito orditur. Cùm intentus in eum se rex totus averteret 67, alter elatam securim in caput dejecti; relictoque in vnume telo, ambo se foras ejicunt.

XLI. Tarquinium moribundum quum qui circà erant excepsissent, illos fugientes licentores comprehendunt. Clamor inde concursusque populi 68, mirantium quid rei esset. Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam jubet; arbitros 69 ejectit; simul, quæ curando vulneri opus sunt, tanquam spes subesseì, sedulù comparat; simul, si destituat spes, alia praesidia molitur 70. Servio properè accito quum penè exsanguem virum ostendisset, dextram tenens orat, ne inulturn mortem soceri, ne socium inimicis ludibrio, esse 71 sinat. "Tuum est," inquit, "Servi, si vir es, regnum;
"non eorum, qui alienis manibus pessimum facinum fecerè. "Erige te, deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc fore "caput divino quondam circumfuso igni portenderunt. "Nunc te illa cælestis excitet flamma; nune expersgis- "cere verè. Et nos peregrini regnavimus. Qui sis, "non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subitâ consilia "torpent, at tu mea sequere." Quum clamor impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte ædium per fenestras, in novam viam versas, (habitabat enim rex ad Jovis Statoris populum Tanaquil alloqui- tur; jubet "bono animo esse; sopitum fuisse regem "subito ictu; ferrum haud altè in corpus descendisse; jam "ad se redisse; inspectum vulnus, absterso cruore; "omnia salubria esse; confiderc, propediem ipsum eos "visuros. Interim Ser. Tullo jubere populum dicto "audientem esse. Eum jura redditurum, obiturumque "alia regis munia esse." Servius cum trabè et lictori- bus prodit; ac, sede regii sedens, alia decernit, de aliiis consulturum se regem esse simulat. Itaque, per aliquot dies, quam jam expræasset Tarquiniius, celatâ morte, per speciem alienæ fungendæ vicis suas opes firmavit. Tum demum palam facto, et comploratione in regiâ ortâ, Servius, præsidio firme munitus, primus injussu populi, voluntate Patrum, regnavit. Anci liberî jam tuit, comprehensis sceleris ministris, ut vivere regem et tantas esse opes Servii nunciatum est, Suessam Pometiam ex- sulatum ierant.

XLII. Nec jam publicis magis consiliis Servius, quàm privatis, munire opes; et ne, qualis Anci liberûm animus adversus Tarquinium fuerat, talis adversùs se Tarquinii liberûm esset, duas filias juvenibus regiis, Lucio atque Arunti Tarquiniiis, jungit. Nec rupit tamen fati necessi- tatem humanis consiliis, quin invidia regni etiam inter domesticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret. Peroppor- turnè ad presentis quietem statús, bellum cum Vejen- tibus (jam enim inducitæ exierant) aliisque Etruscis sumptum. In eo bello et virtus et fortuna enuit Tullii; fusoque ingenti hostium exercitu, haud dubius rex, seu Patrum, seu plebis, animos periclitaretur, Romam reedit. Aggrediturque inde ad pacis longè maximum opus; ut, quemadmodum Numa divini auctor juris fuisset, ita Ser-
vium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis ordinumque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunaeque aliquid interlucet, posteri fama ferrent. Censum enim instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio; ex quo beli pacisque munia non viritim, ut antè, sed pro habitu pecuniarum, fierent. Tum classes centuriasque et hunc ordinem ex censu descripsit, vel paci decorum, vel bello. XLIII. Ex iis, qui centum millium æris, aut majorem, censum haberent, octoginta centuriasque et hunc crinem ex censu descripsit, vel paci decorum vel bello. Prima classis omnes appellati; seniores, ad urbis custodiam ut præstò essent; juvenes, ut foris bella gererent. Arma his imperata, galea, clypeum, ocreæ, lorica, omnia ex ære; hæc ut tegumenta corporis essent; tela in hostem, hastaeque et gladius. Additæ huic classi duæ fabrûm centuriae, quæ sine armis stipendia facerent; datum munus, ut machinas in bello ferrent. Secunda classis intra centum usque ad quintæ septuaginta millium censum instituta; et ex his, senioribus junioribusque, viginti conscriptæ centuriae. Arma imperata, scutum pro clypeo, et, præter loricae, omnia eadem. Tertiae classis in quinquaginta millium censum esse voluit; totidem centuriae et hæ, eodemque discrimine ætatum, factæ; nec de armis quidquam mutatum; ocreæ tantùm ademptæ. In quartâ classis quinquæ et viginti millium; totidem centuriae factæ. Arma mutata; nihil præter hastam et verutum datum. Quinta classis aucta; centuriae triginta factæ; fundas lapidesque missiles hi secum gerebant. In his accensi cornicines tubicinesque in tres centurias distributi. Undécim millibus hæc classis censebatur. Hoc minor census reliquam multituidinem habuit; indù una centuria facta est, immunes militiam. Ita pedestri exercitu ornato distributoque, equitum ex primoribus civitatis duodecim scripsit centurias. Sex item alias centurias tribus ab Romulo institutis, sub iisdem, quibus inauguratæ erant, nominibus, fecit. Ad equos emendos dena millia æris ex publico data; et, quibus equos alerent, viduae attributa, quæ bina millia æris in annos singulos penderent. Hæc omnia in dites à pauperibus inclinata onera. Deinde est honos additus; non enim (ut ab Romulo traditum ceteri servaverant reges) viritim suffragium eadem vi
eodemque jure promiscuè omnibus datum est; sed gradus facti, ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur, et vis omnis pænes primores civitatis esset. Equites enim vocabantur primi; octoginta inde primæ classis centuriae; ibi si variaret, quod rarè incidebat, ut secundæ classis vocarentur; nec ferè unquam infrà ita descenderent, ut ad infimos pervenirent. Nec mirari oportet, hunc ordinem, qui nunc est, post expletas quinque et triginta tribus, duplicato earum numero, centuriis juniorum seniorumque ad institutam ab Ser. Tullio summam non convenire. Quadrifariam enim urbe divisæ regionibus collibusque, quæ habitabantur partes, Tribus eas appellavit, ut ego arbitror, ab tributo; nam ejus quoque æqualiter ex censu conferendì ad eodem inita ratio est. Neque hæ tribus ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quæcumque pertinuere.

XLIV. Censu perfecto, quem maturaverat metu legis de incensis latæ cum vincularum minus mortisque, edixit, ut omnes cives Romani, equites peditesque, in suis quique centuriis, in campo Martio primæ luce adessent. Ibi instructum exercitum omnem suovetaurilibus lustravit; idque conditum lustrum appellatum, quia is censendo finis factus est. Millia octoginta eo lustro civium censa dicuntur. Adjecti scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor, eorum, qui ferre arma possent, eum numerum fuisse. Ad eam multitudinem urbs quoque amplificanda visa est. Addit duo colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque; inde deinceps auget Esquilias; ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat. Aggere et fossis et muro circumdat urbem; ita pomœrium profert. Pomœrium, verbi vim solam intuentes, postmœrium interpretantur esse. Est autem magis circa murum locus, quem in condendis urbis quondam Etrusci, quà murum ducturi erant, certis circà terminis inauguratò consecrabant, ut neque interiore parte edificia mœnibus continuarentur, quàe nunc vulgò etiam coniungunt; et extrinsecus puri alicud ab humano cultu pateret soli. Hoc spatium, quod neque habitari, neque arari, fas erat, non magis quòd post murum esset, quàm quòd murus post id, pomœrium Romani appellârunt; et in urbis incremento semper, quantum
mænia processura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur.


XLVI. Servius, quanquam jam usu haud dubium regnum possederat, tamen, quia interdum jactari voces à juvente Tarquinio audiebat se injuus populi regnare, conciliatâ priùs voluntate plebis, agro capto, ex hostibus viritim diviso, ausus est ferre ad populum, “vellent,

XLVII. Tum vero in dies infestior Tullii senectus 44, infestius cepit regnum esse. Jam enim ab scelere ad alium spectare mulier scelus; nec nocte, nec interdiu,
virum conqüiescere pati, ne gratuita praeterita parricidia essent. "Non sibi defuisses, cui nupta dicere tur, nec cum quo tacita serviret; defuisses, qui se regno dignum putaret; qui mениnisset se esse Prisci Tarquinii filium; qui habere, quàm sperare, regnum mallet. Si tu is es, cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello; sin minus, eo nunc pejus mutata est res, quod isthich cum ignaviа est scelus. "Quin accingeris? Non tibi ab Corintho, nee ab "Tarquiniiis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri necesse est. Dii te penates patriæque, et patris imago, et domus regia, et in domo regale solium, et nomen Tarquinium, creat vocatque regem. Aut si ad hæc parum est animi, quid frustraris civitatem? quid te ut regium juvenem conspici sinis? Facess "hinc Tarquinios, aut Corinthum. Devolvere retro ad "stirpem, fratri similior, quàm patri." His aliisque increpando juvenem instigat, nec conqüiescere ipsa potest; si, quum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier, tantum moliri potuisset animo, ut duo continua regna viro ac deinceps genero dedisset, ipsa, regio semine orta, nullum momentum in dando adìmendoque regno faceret. His muliebribus instinctus furiis Tarquinii circumire et prœsare, minorum maximè gentium, Patres admirandus instigat, ac pro eo gratiam repetere; allicere donis juvenes; tum de se ingentia pollicendo, tum regis criminibus omnibus locis, crescere. Postremo, ut jam agendæ rei tempus visum est, stipatus agmine arma-torum, in forum irrupit: inde, omnibus perculsis pavore, in regia sede pro curiа sedens, Patres in curiam per præ conem ad regem Tarquinium citari jussit. Convenère exemplò, aliù jam antè ad hoc praeparati, aliù metu, ne non venisses fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo attoniti, et jam de Servio actum rati. Ibi Tarquinius, maledicta ab stirpe ultimà orsus: "Servum, servâque natum, "post mortem indignam parentis sui, non interregno, ut "antea, inito, non comitis habitis, non per suffragium "populi, non auctoribus Patribus, muliebri dono regi num occupàsse. Ita natura, ita creatum regem, fœ "torem infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit, odio "alienæ honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sor-
didissimo cuique divisisse; omnia onera, quae communia
quondam fuerint, inclinásses in primores civitatis; in-
stituisse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum
fortuna esset, et parata, unde, ubi vellet, egentissimus
largiretur.

XLVIII. Huic orationi Servius quum intervenisset,
trepidó nuncio excitatus, extemplò à vestibulo curiæ
magnà voce, "Quid hoc," inquit, "Tarquini, rei est?
quæ tu audacià me vivo vocare ausus es Patres? aut
in sedé considere mea?" Quum ille ferociter ad læc:
"Se patris sui tenere sedem, multo quàm servum po-
tiorem, filium regis, regni hæredem; satis illum diu
per licentiam eludentem insultasse dominis," clamor
ab utriusque fætoribus oritur, et concursus populi fiebat
in curiæ, apparebatque regnaturum, qui Ticisset.
Tum Tarquinius, necessitati jam ipsâ cogente ultima
audere, multó et ætate et viribus validior, medium arripit
Servium; elatumque à curiæ ad inferiorem partem per
gradus dejicit. Inde ad cogendum senatum in curià
redit. Fit fuga regis apparitorum atque comitum. Ipse
propè exsanguis, quum semianimi regio comitatu do-
mum se recipercet, pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium
vicum, ab iis, qui missi ab Tarquinio fugientem conse-
cuti erant, interficitur. Creditur, quia non abhorret à
cetero scele, admonitu Tulliae id factum. Carpento
certè (id quod sætis constat) in forum inicta, nec re-
verita cætum vironum, evocavit virum à curià; regem-
que prima appellavit; à quo facessere jussa ex tanto
tumultu quum se domum recipercet, pervenissetque ad
summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit,
flectenti carpentum dextrâ in Orbium clivum, ut in
collem Esquilianum eyheretur, restitit pavidus atque
inhibuit frenos is qui jumenta agebat, jacentemque do-
mine Servium trucidatum ostendit. Fædum inhu-
manumque inde traditur scelus, monumentoque locus est.
Sceletratum vicum vocant, quo amens, agitantibus
furiis sororis ac viri, Tullia per patris corpus carpentum
egisse furtur; partemque sanguinis ac cædis paternæ
cruento vehiculo, contaminata ipsa respersaque, tulisse
ad penates suos virique sui: quibus iratis, malo regni
principio similès propediem exitus sequentur.
Tullius regnavit annos quatuor et quadranginta ita, ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis aemulatio esset. Ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quod cum illo simul justa ac legitima regna occiderunt. Id ipsum tam mite ae tam moderatum imperium, tamen, quia unius esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse, quidam auctores sunt, ni sclerus intestinum liberandae patriae consilia agitanti intervenisset.

XLIX. Inde L. Tarquinius regnare occipit, cui Superbo cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener sepultura prohibuit, "Romulum quoque inspultum perisse" dictitans. Primores Patrum, quos Servii rebus favisse credebat, interfecit. Consicius deinde malè quaerendi regni ab se ipso adversus se exemplum capi posse, armatis corpus circumsepsit; neque enim ad jus regni quicquam præter vim habebat, ut qui neque populi jussu, neque auctoribus Patribus, regnaret. Eo accedebat, ut in caritate civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum esset; quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercetabat; perque eam causam occidere, in exsilium agere, bonis mulctare, poterat, non suspectos modò aut invisos, sed unde nihil aliud quàm prædam speraret. Ita Patrum præcipue numero imminuto, statuit nullos in Patres legere; quod contemptior paucitatem ipsa ordine esset, minusque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hie enim regum primus traditum à prioribus morem de omnibus senatum consulendi solvit; domesticis consiliis rempublicam administravit; bellum, pacem, fœdera, societates per se ipse, cum quibus voluit, iussu populi ac senatūs, fecit diremitque. Latinorum sibi maximè gentem conciliabat, ut peregrinis quoque opibus tutior inter cives esset; neque hospitia modò cum primoribus eorum, sed affinitates quoque, juugebat. Octavio Mamilio Tusculano (is longè princeps Latinī nominis erat, si famae credimus, ab Ulixe deæque Circe oriundus) ei Mamilio filiam nuptam dat; perque eas nuptias multos sibi cognatos amicosque ejus conciliat.

L. Jam magna Tarquinii auctoritas inter Latinorum proceres erat, quum, in diem certam ut ad lucum
Ferentiniae conveniant, indicit; esse, quae agere de rebus communibus velit. Conveniunt frequentes primâ luce. Ipse Tarquinius diem quidem servavit; sed, paullo antè quàm sol occideret, venit. Multa ibi total die in concilio variis jactata sermonibus erant. Turnus Herdonius ab Aricià ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus: "Haud mirum esse Superbo inditum "Romæ cognomen." (Jam enim ita clam quidem mus-sitantes, vulgò tamen, eum appellabant,) "An quicquam superbius esse, quæ ludificari sic omne nomen "Latinum? Principibus longè ab domo excitis, ipsum, "qui concilium indixerit, non adesse: tentari profectò "patientiam, ut, si jugum acceperint, obnoxios pre- "mat. Cui enim non apparere, affectare eum imperium "in Latinos? Quòd si sui bene crediderint cives, "aut si creditum illud, et non raptum parricidio, sit, "credere et Latinos (quanquam ne sic quidem alieni- "genæ) debere. Si sunt ejus pœniteat, (quippe qui "alii super alios trucidentur, exsulatum eant, bona "amittant,) quid spei melioris Latinis portendi? Si "se audiant, domum suam quemque inde abituros: "neque magis observavero diem concilii quàm ipse, "qui indixerit, observet." Hæc atque alia códem pertinentia seditionos facinorosusque homo, hisque artibus opes domi nactus, quum maximè dissereret, intervenit Tarquinius. Is finis orationi fuit. Aversi omnes ad Tarquiniunm salutandum; qui, silentio facto, monitus à proximis ut purgaret se, quod id temporis venisset, "disceptatorem," ait, "se sumptum inter "patrem et filium; curà reconciliandi eos in gratiam "moratum esse; et, quia ea res exemisset illum diem, "posterò die acturum, quæ constituisset." Ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum ferunt; dixisse enim, "Nullam breviorem esse cognitionem, quàm inter "patrem et filium, paucisque transigi verbis posse; ni "pareat patri, habiturum infortunium esse."

LI. Hæc Aricinus in regem Romanum increpans, ex concilio abitit. Quam rem Tarquinius aliquanto quàm videbatur ægriùs fœrens, confestim Turno necem machinatur, ut eundem terrem, quo civium animos domi oppresserat, Latinis injiceret; et, quia pro im-

LII. Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis, Tarquiniius, collaudatisque qui Turnum novantem res pro manifesto parricidio meritâ penâ affecissent, ita verba fecit: “Posse quidem se vetusto jure agere; quòd, quem omnes Latini ab Albâ oriundi sint, in eo fœedere teneantur, quo ab Tullo res omnis Albana cum colonis suis in Romanum cesserit imperium.
Ceterum se utilitatis id magis omnium causa centere, ut renovetur id foedus: secundâque potius for tum populi Romani ut participes Latini fruantur, quam urbium excidia vastationesque agrorum, quas Anco prius, patre deinde suo regnante, perpessi sint, semper aut exspectent, aut patiantur. Haud difficulter persusam Latinis, quamquam in eo foedere superior Romana res erat; ceterum et capita nominis Latini stare ac sentire cum rege videbant, et Turnus sui cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens erat documentum. Ita renovatum foedus, indicatumque junioribus Latinorum, ut ex foedere die certa ad Lucum Ferentinæ armati frequentes adessent. Qui ubi ad edictum Romani regis ex omnibus populis convenere, ne ducem suum, neve secretum imperium, propriave signa, haberent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque, ut ex binis singulos faceret, binosque ex singulis; ita geminatis manipulis centuriones imposuit.

LIII. Nec, ut injustus in pace rex, ita dux bellii pravus fuit. Quin ea arte æquasset superiores reges, ni degeneratum in alii huic quoque decori officisset. Is primus Volscis bellum in ducentos amplius post suam ætatem annos movit, Suessamque Pometiam ex his vi cepit; ubi quam divendendâ prædâ quadranginta talenta argenti [aurique] recepisset, concepit animo eam amplitudinem Jovis templi, quæ digna deum hominumque rege, quæ Romano imperio, quæ ipsius etiam loci majestate esset. Captivam pecuniam in ædificationem ejus templi seposuit. Exceptit deinde eum lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios, propinquam urbem, nequicquam vi adortus, quam obсидendi quoque urbem spes pulso à mœnibus adempta esset, postremo minimè arte Romanâ, fraudè ac dolo, aggressus est. Nam quom, velut posito bello, fundamentis templi jacendiis aliusque urbanis operibus intentum se esse simularet, Sextus filius ejus, qui minimus ex tribus erat, trans fugit ex composito Gabios, patris in se sævitiam intolerabilem conquerens: "Jam ab alienis in suos vertisse superbiam, et liberorum quoque eum frequentiæ tædere", ut, quam in curiâ solitudinem fecerit, domi
"quoque faciat; ne quam stirpem, ne quam hæredem "regni, relinquat. Se quidem, inter tela et gladios "patris elapsum, nihil usquam sibi tutum, nisi apud "hostes L. Tarquiniì, credidisse. Nam, ne errarent, "manere his bellum, quod positum simuletur; et per "occasionem eum incatos invasurum. Quòd si apud "eos supplicibus locus non sit, pererraturum se omne "Latium; Volscosque se inde, et Æquos, et Hernicos, "petiturum, donec ad eos perveniat, qui à patrum "crudelibus atque impiis suppliciis tegere liberos sciant. "Forstian etiam ardoris aliud ad bellum armaque se "adversus superbissimum regem ac ferocissimum popu- "lum inventurum 10." Quum, si nihil morarentur 11, "insensus irà porrò inde abiturus videretur, benignè ab "Gabinis excipitur. Vetant mirari 12, si, qualis in cives, "qualis in socios, talis ad ultimum in liberos esset. In "se ipsum postremò sæviturum, si alia desint 13. Sibi "verò gratum adventum ejus esse; futurumque credere "brevi, ut, illo adjuvante, ab portis Gabinis sub Romana "mœnia bellum transsferatur.

LIV. Indè in concilia publica adhiberi; ubi, quum "de aliis rebus assentire 14 se veleribus Gabinis diceret, "quibus hæ notiores essent, ipse identidem belli auctor "esse; in eo sibi præcipuam prudentiam assumere, quòd "utriusque populi vires nösset, seiretique invasam pro- 
"fectò superbiam regiam civibus esse, quam ferre ne "liberi quidem potuissent. Ita quum sensim ad rebell-
"landum 15 primores Gabinorum incitaret, ipse cum "promptissimis juvenum praedatum atque in expedi-
"tiones iret, et dictis factisque omnibus ad fallendum "instructis vana accresceret fides, dux ad ultimum bellè "legitur. Ibi quum, inscià multitudine quid ageretur 16, "prælia parva inter Romam Gabiosque fierent, quibus "plerumque Gabina res superior esset, tum certatim "summi inçîmique Gabinorum Sex. Tarquinium òono "deùm sibi missum ducem credere. Apud milites verò "obeundo pericula ac labores, pariter praedam munificè "largiendo, tantà caritate esse, ut non pater Tarquiniius "potentior Romæ, quàm filius Gabiis, esset. Ìtaque, "postquam satis virium collectum ad omnes conatus "videbat, tum è suis unum sciscitatum Romam ad pa-

LV. Gabiiis receptis, Tarquinius pacem cum Æquorum gente fecit; fœdus cum Tuscis renovavit. Inde ad negotia urbana animum convexit; quorum erat primum, ut Jovis templum in monte Tarpejo, monumentum regni sui nominisque, relinqueret: Tarquinios reges ambos, patrem vouisse, filium perfecisse. Et, ut libera à ceteris religionibus area esset tota Jovis templique ejus, quod inaedificaretur, exaugurare faua sacellaque statuit, quæ aliquid ibi à Tatio rege, primùm in ipso discrimine adversus Romulum pugnæ vota, consecrata inaugurataque postea fuerant. Inter principia condendi hujus operis movisse numen ad indicandam taht imperii molem traditur deos. Nam quum omnium sacellarum exaugurationes admitterent aves, in Termini fano non addixère. Id omen auguriumque ita acceptum est:—non motam Termini sedem, unumque eum deorum non evocatum sacris sibi finibus, firma stabiliaque cuncta portendere. Hoc perpetuitatis auspicio accepto, secutum aluid, magnitudinem imperii portendens, prodigium est. Caput humanum integrâ facie aperientibus fundamenta
templi dicitur appaerisse. Quae visa species, haud per ambages, arcem am imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat: idque ita cecinere vates, quique in urbe erant, quosque ad eam rem consultandam ex Etruria accicerant. Augebatur ad impensas regis animus. Itaque Pometinæ manubiae, quæ perducendo ad culmen operi destinatae erant, vix in fundamenta suppeditavere. Eò magis Fabio, praeterquam quod antiquior est, crediderim quadraginta ea sola talenta fuisse, quam Pisoni, qui quadraginta millia pondo argenti seposita in eam rem scribit, summam pecuniae neque ex uniis tum urbis prædâ specrandam et nullius, ne horum quidem magnificitiae operum, fundamenta non exsuperaturam. Intentus perfeiendo templo, fabris undique ex Etruria accitis, non pecunia solùm ad id publicâ est usus, sed operis explebe. Qui quem haud parvus et ipse militiae adderetur labor, minus tamen plebs gravabatur se tempta deùm exædificare manibus suis; quæ posthaec et ad alia, ut specie minora, sic laboris aliquanto majoris, traducebatur opera:—foros in circo faciendos, cloacamque maximam, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub terram agendam; quibus duobus operibus vix nova hæc magnificentia quidquam adequare potuit. His laboribus exercitâ plebe, quia et urbi multitudinem, ubi usus non esset, oneri rebatur esse, et colonis mittendis occupari latiûs imperii fines volebat, Signiam Circejosque colonos misit, præsidia urbi futura terrâ marique.

LVI. Hæc agenti portentum terrible visum; anguis, ex columnâ ligneâ elapsus, quem terrorem fugamque in regiam fecisset, ipsius regis non tam subito pavore perculit pectus, quàm anxiis implevit curis. Itaque, quem ad publica prodigia Etrusci tantum vates adhiberentur, hoc velut domestico exterritus visu, Delphos ad maximè incly tum in terris oraculum mittere statuit; neque responsa sortium ulli alii committere ausus, duos filios per ignotas eâ tempestate terras, ignotiora maria, in Græciâm misit. Titus et Aruns profecti. Comes his additus L. Junius Brutus, Tarquinia sorore regis natus, juvenis longè alius ingenio, quàm cujus simulationem induerat. Is, quem primores civitatis, in quibus fratrem suum ab avunculo interfec tum, audisset, neque in
animo suo quidquam regi timendum, neque in fortunā concupiscendum, reliquere statuit, contemptuque tutus esse, ubi in jure parum præsidii esset. Ergo ex industriā factus ad imitationem stultitiae, quem se suaque prædæ esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque hand abnuit cognomen, ut sub ejus obtentu cognominis liberator ille populi Romani animus latens opperiretur tempora sua. Is tum ab Tarquiniiis ductus Delphos, ludibrium veriūs, quàm comes, aureum baculum, in inclusum corneo cavato ad id baculo, tulisse donum XV pollini dicitur, per ambages effigiem ingenii sui. Quo postquam ventum est, perfectis patris mandatis, cupidō incessit animos juvenum, ad quorum regnum Romanum esset venetur. Ex infimo specu vocem reddītam ferunt: "Imperium summum Romae habebit, qui vestrūm primus, quæ tua osculum matri tulerit." Tarquinii, ut Sextus, qui Romæ relicus fuerat, ignarus respondei etque imperii esset, rem summam ope taceri jubent; ipsi inter se, uter prior, quum Romam redissent, matri osculum darent, sorti permittunt. Brutus aliō ratus spectare Pythicam vocem, velut si prolapsus cecidisset, terram osculo contigit, scilicet, quod ea communis mater omnium mortalium esset. Redītum inde Romam, ubi adversūs Rutulos bellum summam vi parabatur.

LVII. Ardeam Rutulī hābebant, gens, ut in ea regione atque in eā aestate, divitiis præpollens; eaque ipsa causa belli fuit, quōd rex Romanus tum ipse dītari, exhausīt magnificiētiam publicorum operum, tum prædā delinire popularium animos, studebat, praeter aliam superiam, regno infestos etiam, quōd se in fabrorum ministeriis ac servili tamdiu habitos opere ab rege indignabantur. Tentata res est, si primo impetu capi Ardea posset. Ubi id parum processit, obsidione munitionibusque cepti premi hostes. In iis statīvis, ut fit longo magnis quām aceri bello, satīs liberi commeatus erant, primoribus tamen magnis, quàm militibus. Regii quidem juvenes interdum otiūm convivii commessationibusque inter se terebant. Forte potantibus his apud Sex. Tarquiniun, ubi et Collatinus coenabat Tarquiniius, Egerii filius, incidit de uxoribus mentio; suam quisque laudare mirīs modis. Inde certamine accenso, Collatinus negat verbis
opus esse; paucis id quidem horis posse sciri, quantum ceteris præstet Lucretia sua. "Quin, si vigor juventæ "inest", conscendimus equos, invisisimusque præsentes "nostrarum ingenia? Id quique spectatissimum sit, "quod necopinato viri adventu occurrerit oculis." In-
avolant Romam. Quō quum, primis se intendentibus
tenebris, pervenissent, pergunt inde Collatiam; ubi
Lucretiam, haudquaquam ut regias nurus, quas in con-
vivio luxuque cum aequalibus viderant tempus terentes,
se nocte seret deditam lanæ inter lucubrantes ancillas in
medio sœdium sedentem, inveniunt. Muliebris certaminis
laus penès Lucretiam fuit. Adveniens vir Tarquiniiique
excepti benignè. Victor maritus comiter invitat regios
juvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquiniun mala libido Lucretiae
per vim stuprandæ capi; tum forma, tum spectata
castitas, incitat. Et tum quidem ab nocturno juvenili
ludo in castra redeunt.

LVIII. Paucis interjectis diebus, Sex. Tarquinius,
inscio Collatino, cum comite uno Collatiam venit; ubi
exceptus benignè ab ignaris consilii, quum post cœnæm
in hospitale cubiculum deductus esset, amore ardens,
postquam satis tuta circà sopitéque omnes videbantur,
stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit, sinistrâ-
que manu mulieris pectore oppresso, "Tace, Lucretia,"
inquit; "Sex. Tarquinius sum; ferrum in manu est;
"moriere, si emiseris vocem." Quum pavida ex somno
mulier nullam opem propè, mortem imminentem, vi-
deret, tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare, miscere
precibus minas, versare in omnes partes muliebrem
animum. Ubi obstinatam videbat, et ne mortis quidem
metu incluari, addit ad metum dedecus; cum mortuâ
jugulatum servum nudum positurum ait, ut in sordido
adulterio necata dicatur. Quo terrore quum vicisset
obstinatam pudicitiam velut vietrix libido, profectus-
que inde Tarquinius, ferox expugnato decore mulie-
бри, esset, Lucretia, мœsta tanto malo, nuncio Rom-
am eundem ad patrem, Ardeamque ad virum, mittit,
ut cum singulis fidellibus amicis veniant; ita facto
maturatoque opus esse; rem atrocem incidisse. Sp.
Lucretius cum P. Valerio Volesi filio, Collatinus cum
L. Junio Bruto, venit; cum quo fortè Romam rediens, ab nuncio uxoris erat conventus. Lucretiam sedentem moestam in cubiculo inveniunt. Adventu suorum lacrymæ abortae; quaerentique viro, "Satin' salve?" Minimè, inquit; "quid enim salvi est mulieri, amissâ pudicitia? Vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt tuo. Ceterum corpus est tantùm violatum, animus insons; mors testis erit. Sed date dextras fidemque baud impune adultero fore. Sex. est Tarquinius, qui hostis pro hospite priore nocte, vi armatus, mihi sibique, si vos viri estis, pestiferum hinc abstulit gaudium." Dant ordine omnes fidem. Consolantur aegram animi avertendo noxam ab coacta in auctorem delicti; mentem peccare, non corpus; et, unde consilium abfuerit, culpam abesse. "Vos," inquit, "videritis, quid illi debetur: ego me, etis pecato absulvo, supplicio non libero; nec ulla deinde impudica, Lucretiae exemplo, vivet." Cultrum, quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit; prolapsaque in vulnerum, moribunda ceedit. Conclamant vir paterque.

et cetera juventus. Inde, pari præsidio relictō Collatiae ad portas, custodibusque datis, ne quis eum motum regibus nunciaret, ceteri armati, duce Bruto, Romam profecti. Ubi eō ventum est, quácumque incedit, armata multitudo pavorem ac tumultum facit. Rursus, ubi anteire primores civitatis vident, quicquid sit, haud temere esse rentur. Nec minorem motum animorum Romæ tam atrox res facit, quàm Collatiae fecerat. Ergo ex omnibus locis urbis in forum curritur. Quò simul ventum est, præco ad tribunum Celerum, in quo tum magistratu fortē Brutus erat, populum advocavit. Ibi oratio habita, nequaquam ejus pectoris ingeniique, quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac libidine Sex. Tarquinii, de stupro infando Lucretiae et miserabili caede, de orbitate Tricipitini, cui morte filiæ causa mortis indignor ac miserabilior esset. Addita superbia ipsius regis, miseriæque et labores plebis in fossas cloacasque exhauriendas demersæ. "Romanos homines, victores omnium circà populorum, opifices ac lapicidas pro bellatoribus factos." Indigna Ser. Tullii regis memorata caedes, et inæcta corpori patris nefando vehiculo filiæ; invocatique ulores parentum dii. His atrociorrisque credo, aliis, quæ præsens rerum indignitas, haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus facilia, subjicit, memoratis, incensam multitudinem perpulit, ut imperium regi abrogaret, exsulesque esse juberet L. Tarquinium cum conjuge ac liberis. Ipse, junioribus, qui ultro nomina dabant, lectis armatisque, ad concitandum indē adversās regem exercitum Ardeam in castra est profectus; imperium in urbe Lucretio, præfecto urbis jam antē ab rege instituto, relinquit. Inter hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit, exsecrantibus, quàcumque incedebat, invocantibusque parentum furias viris mulieribusque. 

LX. Harum rerum nunciis in castra perlatis, quum re novā trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus, flexit viam Brutor, (senserat enim adventum) ne obvius fieret; eodemque fere tempore, diversis itineribus, Brutor Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam, venerunt. Tarquinio clausæ portæ, exsiliumque indictum; libera- torems urbis laeta castra accepere; exactique indē liberi
NOTES TO BOOK I.

Chap. I. — voxvitum esse.] "That cruelty was practised towards the other Trojans—that the Greeks refrained from exercising all the right of war against two, Æneas and Antenor, both on account of an old tie of hospitality, and because," &c. Most MSS. and old editions read Æneæ Antenorique. "Jus belli," in Livy, means in general the right which the more powerful party has to exercise his superiority, and also the consequences of exerting such right, viz. punishment by death, slavery, &c., which the laws of war warrant the conqueror in inflicting; in this sense the word is used here.—So, B. 2. c. 12, Porsena says to Scævola, jure belli liberum te—dimitto, "I dismiss you released from the punishment, which by the right of war I could inflict on you." Several similar instances of the word occur. Abstinuit; so, B. 2. c. 16, "ne ab obsidibus—iram belli hostis abstinuit." So, Hor. B. 2. Sat. 3. 202, "abstinuit vim uxore et gnatis."

Σêned.] Antenor, who was the particular friend of Æneas, entertained Meuælaus and Ulysses, when they went as ambassadors (see II. 3. 207,) to Troy to demand Helen and her property. As a great proof how sacred the laws of hospitality in those days were held, we find Diomedes and Glæucus, when about to engage in mortal combat, parting as devoted friends, on finding that their fathers were pledged to each other by the ties of hospitality.

Pacis.] See II. 7. 348—Æneas and the sons of Antenor commanded the Dardanians, the people who inhabited the country round the city, II. 2. 819. —Hector commanded the Trojan citizens.

Casibus variis.] "Various vicissitudes of fortune." The words apply to Æneas and Antenor, says Crevier; but Walker thinks variis means "of a different kind;" for Antenor, immediately on arriving at the country, established a settlement; whereas Æneas, on the contrary, suffered many difficulties by
sea and land, before he effected this object; we know varius has this meaning, Horace, B. 2. Sat. 3, "alterum, et huic varium, et nihilo sapientius."

24 Henetum.] See II. 2. 551.

25 Pagoque inde Trojano nomen est.] "From this the Trojan canton derives its name." There was a canton of that name in Livy's time. Pagus is a tract of territory containing many villages: a gens, contained many pagi. According to the text, there is here a remarkable instance of variety of construction, not unusual in Livy, as it connects the indicatives vocatur—est—appellati (sunt) with the preceding infinitives saevitum esse—abstinuisse—venisse—tenuisse. Some, for et in quem, read is in quem; others would reject et, and read the following words, down to appellati inclusive, in a parenthesis.—Some read Troja here for Troiano.

26 Majora initia rerum.] The same as majorum initia rerum, which some copies read—so, B. 7. c. 2, parva principia rerum.

27 In Macedoniam venisse.] These infinitives depend on constat in the beginning of the chapter.

28 Classe.] This word shows that he did not go directly from Sicily to the nearest part of Italy, and thence proceed by land to Laurentum; but that he sailed direct from Sicily to Laurentum. Livy speaks as a historian, there being no sure historical evidence that Eneas was driven from Sicily to Africa. For Troja, which is quite in Livy's style, most MSS. and old editions read Troja.

29 Ut quibus ab immenso prope errore nihil—superesset.] "As being persons who had, after their almost boundless wanderings, nothing left."—This he mentions to show why they plundered the country.

30 Tradunt.] On this depend percunctatum (esse)—sanxisse—ictum (esse)—factum (esse)—fuisse—and adjunxisse, which come after.

31 Inter primores.] "Attended by the chief men of his court."

32 Admiratum.] "That he, being struck with admiration both at the noble character of the nation and their chief, and at their spirit—"

33 Fædus ictum.] "That a league was struck." The expression is derived from striking or slaying the victim sacrificed on the occasion; it comes from ico, "to strike."

Chap. II.—34 Care.] This was then the most flourishing town of Etruria, and the grand seat of the religion of those days; hence it is said that ceremonia, "forms of religion," are derived from it.

35 Opulento tum.] This was an opulent town at that time, though not so in Livy's days.

36 Quam saeis tutum.] He thought the growing power of
Æneas' colony would soon destroy his own and all the neighbouring states, *accolis.*

37 *Sub eodem jure.*] "That they should not only have the same laws, but also the same name."

38 *Mænibus.*] "He might, by remaining within his strong walls, bid defiance to the enemy."

39 *Secundum inde prælium.*] Crevier says, that *secundum* is "the second," and that *ultimum* is opposed to it. But Walker says, that this is contrary to the truth of history, as this was really the first battle between the Trojans and Laurentines, now incorporated under one common name of Latins. He explains the passage thus:—"From this, *i. e.* from his having marched out his forces, there ensued a battle *successful* to the Latins, but one in which Æneas lost his life." So Tacitus, Hist. 4. 79, *secundum prælium* fecit.

40 *Situs est.*] "Was buried." Hence those who sung over the dead, were called *Sitticines.*

41 *Quemcunque cum dici jus fasque est.*] "*Sive virum, sive herou, sive deum: religionem vulgarem leviter perstringit Livius,*" says Walker. But others think that this is straining the obvious and natural meaning of the passage, which appears to be:—"By whatever epithet the "human law" (*jus*) and the "divine law" (*fás*) require him to be designated." According to the religion of the Romans, a mortal, raised after death to the rank of a divinity, according to his various attributes and functions, had many names, each of which, at certain times, according to circumstances, he was thought to prefer. So Livy here, in compliance with the national custom or prejudice, observes this religious caution, when speaking for himself; but gives the name which he was commonly called by, *Jovem Indigetem.*

42 *Super Numiciam flumen.*] "Above." "On an eminence over the river Numicius."

43 *Indigetem.*] "Terrestrial or canonized Jove." Dionysius calls him Θεός Ὁίν.  

CHAP. III.—44 *Tantis cræp tutelâ muliebri.*] "So long, under the guardianship of a woman, (so great was Lavinia's talent,) did the Latin state, and the kingdom of his father and grandfather, continue secure for him:" — *i.e.* so long did the people remain firm in their allegiance.

45 *Haud nihil ambigam—hicine fucrit Ascanius.*] "I have some doubts whether it was this Ascanius who succeeded his father, or one older than he, who was born of Creusa, while Troy flourished, and then attended his father in his exile; the same, whom, under the name of Iulus, the Julian family represent as their founder." Another account of this matter is, that Ascanius, the son by Creusa, was the father of Iulus, though Virgil makes them the same; and that the son by Lavinia was Sylvius (from *Sylva*); because his
mother, after the death of Äneas, fled through fear of Ascanius to the woods, when pregnant, to the protection of the shepherd Tyrhenus; and that this Sylvius, after the death of Ascanius, was raised by the people to the throne of Alba to the exclusion of Iulus. Observe the idiom, quem ïtum eundem, for idem quem.

45 Ut tum res erant.] It was a flourishing city, considering the barbarous condition of those places at that time; he does not mean that it was in a more flourishing condition than after.

47 Sub Albano monte.] i. e. The mountain, which, from this city, was afterwards called Albanus mons. Sub here, I think, means “close by, at the foot of,” as Æn. 5. 323, sub ipso volat Diores. There were a number of little hills at the foot of this mountain, called Albani tumuli, on the ridge of one of which this city was built; it was not built on what was properly termed Mons Albanus, as most commentators seem to think.

48 Dorso.] This means the ridge of a hill, or any long and elevated body. Virgil applies the word to a high wave. It was called longa from its situation on this hill; why it was called alba is uncertain. Virgil says it was from a white sow found there by Äneas.

49 Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam coloniam deductam.] i. e. There was an interval of about thirty years between the building of Lavinium and the leading out of the colony to found Alba.

50 Fluvius Albula, quem.] Quem here refers to fluvius; quam, referring to Albula, is another reading.

51 Colonie.] These colonies, that were sent out, were called prisci Latini; the ordinary style would be appellata.”

52 Mansit Sylviiis postea omnibus cognomen.] The name of Sylvius continued with all the subsequent kings of Alba. So B. 1. c. 7, Troja loco nomen est—c. 39, puero, cui Servio Tullio nomen fuit—c. 49, cui Superbo nomen facta indiderunt—c. 50, Superbo inditum Romæ cognomen—B. 2. c. 16, Attus Clausus, cui postea Appio Claudio fuit Romæ nomen. Sylvius is the reading of several MSS. and most old editions. Sylvium, taken adjectively to agree with nomen, is the reading of Lipsius and others; but Gronovius says, that though a proper name may be so joined to nomen, when nomen means the name of a “family” or “clan,” as B. 1. c. 47, nomen Tarquinium, B. 2. c. 42, Fabium nomen, it cannot, when nomen means the name of “an individual.”

53 Celebre ad posteros nomen.] The new name (the Tiber) was the name that was celebrated in after ages.

54 Per manus.] In the regular order of succession; from hand to hand, as we say.

55 Verecundia ætatis.] “Reverence due to age,” i. e. to his priority of birth.

56 Per speciem honoris.] “Under the pretext of conferring honour on her.”
57 Vestalem.] See ch. 20.

Chap. IV.—58 Debebatur fatis.] The machinations of Amulius were ineffectual; for the origin of the city, and consequently the birth of Romulus, who was destined to be its founder, was an event that was decreed by the fates. It was due to them; it was a debt that should be paid to them; therefore it was an event which no human power could prevent.—See Ἀιν. 4. 276; 12. 795.

59 Secundum deorum opes.] "Next to the power of the gods."

60 Vi compressa.] "The vestal being embraced by force."

So Gray:

"By Odin's fierce embrace compress'd."

61 Seu ita rata.] "Whether it was that she really imagined it so, or because it was considered more creditable to commit such a crime with a god than with a man." Proles incerta, "an illegitimate offspring;" one about the certainty of whose father there is some doubt. Proles is a word that refers either to posterity or ancestors.

62 Forte quddam divinitus, § c.] "By some chance, which Providence seemed to direct, the river Tiber (was) spread over its banks in one still lake, and could not be approached at the course of its proper and full channel;" its regular channel was inaccessible. Forte quddam divinitus, like ἐκ ταύτης ἡ γῆ, in Plutarch. Some read an or seu divinitus, to mark an opposition between forte and divinitus. Justus, whatever arrives at its proper height or fulness. In general, whatever is fair, proper, or complete; so Livy often uses these phrases, justus exercitus, justa atas, justum praelium, justus delectus, and the like.

63 Quamvis languidō—aquā.] "In water, however still;" "in water, although calm;"—let the young reader mark that quamvis is often used thus.—See ch. 16. n. 99.

64 In proximā alluvie.] Alluvies or eluvies is the overflowing or spreading of water above its natural boundaries or banks; here it is the stagnant water on land.—Illuvies is the soil or filth cast out.

65 Ficus Ruminalis.] This was afterwards in the middle of the city; it was formerly Romularis, not Ruminalis, which is the modern name; it was the tree under which he was suckled.

66 Vulgato corpore.] "From prostituting her body."

67 Inde locum fabule.] This double meaning of lupa gave rise to the fable and miracle of the infants being suckled by a wolf.

68 Ita geniti.] See Dionysius, B. l, and Plutarch, in his life of Romulus, for a full account of their education, recognition by their grandfather, &c.

69 Nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes.] "They did not lead a life of inactivity within their folds, or with their cattle; but, in
NOTES TO BOOK I. C. 4, 5.  65

hunting parties, scoured the forests that were all around them."  

Segnis, from se, i. e. sine, and gnarus.

70 Subsistere.] "Checked, resisted;" so, B. 9. c. 31, Romanum nec acies subsistere ulete nec castra poterant.

71 Seria.] Their encounters with robbers and wild beasts; iocos, their games and festivals. Some read ferias. Celebrare, when referred to actions, means to do a thing often and in company with many others.

Chap. V.—72 Lupercal hoc.] This Lupercal which we celebrate even at this day. This usually meant the "place" on the Aventine Hill, sacred to Pan, sometimes called Faunus, the tutelar divinity of flocks and their keepers: thus Virgil describes him:

Pan primus calamos cerà conjungere plures
Instituit—Pan curat oves oviumque magistros.

So, Hor. B. 1. Od. 17:—

—— Faunus et igneam
Defendit aetatem capellis
U-que meis, pluviosque ventos.
*N * Nec vindes metuunt colubros
Nec Martiales hadilia lupos.

Here the word means the "festival" or "game" sacred to him on the 15th of February, when his votaries ran about naked, lashing every person they met with goat-skin thongs, particularly women, who, it was believed, were, by these blows, rendered more prolific, and relieved when in travail. The word comes from lupus, "a wolf," and arceo, to "ward off." He was called λύκαιος, in Greek, from λύκος, lupus. Lyceus, a mountain in Arcadia, was sacred to him, and called from him. Mythologists say that he was called from πάρ, omne, as he was the symbol of the universe. He was usually painted half man and half goat. The epithet Inuus was given him, ab ineundo animalia, from a belief that flocks and herds were rendered fruitful by his influence.

73 Ex eo genere.] Of that race who inhabited Pallanteum.

74 Deditis ludicrō, &c.] "That a band of robbers, enraged against them for having deprived them of some booty, having made a sudden attack on them when engaged in this game, as it was a well known anniversary festival,—"; they fixed on this as a proper time for attack. For notum here several editions incorrectly read votum.—Quum Romulus vi se defendisset, "as Romulus saved himself by a vigorous defence."

75 Ultro.] This word means, contrary to what may be expected or ought to be done. Hor. Od. 4. 4.—Sectamur ultro quos opimus effugere triumphus. The robbers, who themselves desired to be punished, unexpectedly brought the first charge. So Æn. 5. 55, nunc utro (unexpectedly) ad cineres ipsius etossa parentis—adsumus.

76 Crimini maxime dabant.] "They made it the principal charge."
Comparando.] "By comparing their present age with the time when they were exposed, and the noble disposition and spirit, which they now evinced, with what he would expect from his grandchildren, if alive."

Sciscitandoque eodem pervenit.] "By all the inquiries he made he came to the conclusion he did before, that they were his grandchildren, so that he was very near openly acknowledging them;" for it appears, by the attack made on the king, that he acknowledged them privately. Crevier says that eodem means "to the same conviction" as Faustulus felt, though he thinks eō demum would be a better reading. Some read eō dein; in either case eō refers to the following words.

Ita undique regi dolus nexitur.] Ita here (as before, ita, metu subactus, and often elsewhere,) means "therefore"—the word "so" in English is sometimes used in this way. This acceptance of ita will render it unnecessary to suppose with some, that there is an omission after agnosceret.

Et à domo.] Remus also assists him with another band brought from the house of Numitor.

Chap. VI.—Acocasset.] "Called them off" into another quarter, lest they should assist the king. Some inaccurately read advocasset.

Agmine ingressi.] "Coming in attended by a body of their guards or followers through the midst of the assembly."

Secuta ex omni.] "A succeeding shout of approbation, issuing from the whole multitude, established for him the name and authority of sovereign."

Qui omnes facile sper facerent.] "All of whom freely entertained the hope that Alba and Lavinium would be insignificant in comparison to that city, which was to be built;" or, the words may mean, that "they easily inspired a hope that, &c."

Principio.] The amicable arrangement between the two brothers, of determining by auguries who should give a name to the city. Some editors have a full stop at principio and only a comma after regeret. The arrangement of the present reading is this, principio, nempe, ut, quoniam—posset, dii legerent, &c.

Quorum tutelae eaacula essent.] So B. 24. c. 22, corpus suum, catervaque omnii, qua sue fidei tutelae essent. B. 42. c. 19, petere ut eum non sub hospitum modò privatorum custodiad, sed publica velut cura atque tutelae esse vellent."—B. 21. c. 41, pacem cum victis fecimus: tutela nostra (sciil. esse) duximus, cùm Africo bello urgerentur;—so the phrases esse juris, esse arbitrii. Some copies have in quorum tutela.

Palatium.] This is a substantive; its corresponding adjective is Palatinus; so also Aventinus is a substantive, and its adjective is Aventinensis.

Templa.] This word means "a certain portion of the hea-
vons or earth marked out, in order to take an augury, by the augur uttering a certain form of words:” hence contemplor. Ad inaugurandum, “to take the omen.” Sometimes the verb means “to consecrate a place or person,” as in B. 3. ch. 20. Templo, “consecrated stands.”

90 Tempore illi praecepto.] Remus and his followers claimed the sovereign power from priority of time in seeing the birds; Romulus, from his having seen twice as many as Remus.

90 Sic deinde.] “So perish hereafter, whoever else, &c.”

CHAP. VII.—91 Condita urbs.] Rome was built, according to Cato’s calculation, on the 11th before the Calends of May, (i. e. the 21st of April) the festival of Pales, in the 1st year of the 7th Olymp. b.c. 751; according to Varro, in the 3d of 6th Olymp. b.c. 753. Dodwell endeavours to show that Livy followed Cato.

92 Graco, Herculi.] i. e. Graco ritu. Most old copies have Graco Herculi, improperly connecting these words.

93 Aversos.] “With their faces turned off in a direction opposite to the cave.” Avertere, in a former clause, has not this force; it merely means “to turn off,” or “drive away.”

94 Agere porrò.] “To drive on.” Infestus is applied to whatever brings evil on another.

95 Fidem.] “The friendly aid.” The word has sometimes this meaning.—See Ter. And. 3. 4. 43.

96 Auctoritate.] “More from the high authority and influence that his unstained character and noble qualities gave him, than by any absolute power he had as king.”

97 Literarum.] The introduction of letters, which to the uncivilized inhabitants was quite a new thing, procured for him great reverence from their surprising novelty. Literarum here means the alphabet. Tacitus, An. 11. 14, states the same fact.

98 Carmenta.] She was also called Nicostrata.

99 Olim.] “A nation that will hereafter be the most powerful on earth.” Olim has sometimes this meaning.—See Æn. 1. 293. Quintil. 10. 1.

1 Accipere se omen, impleturumque fata, ará conditâ atque dicatâ, ait.] “Says that he accepts the prophetic intimation, and will fulfil the fates, (i. e. those fates, which Evander’s mother said ordained that he should be worshipped,) by building and dedicating an altar;” i. e. an altar to himself.—See B. 9. c. 34. Some would connect ará conditâ atque dicatâ (making the act Evander’s) with the following words, and place ait after fata, or expunge it, for which some MSS. give authority. Dionysius, B. 2, says, that Hercules erected an altar and sacrificed an ox to Jupiter Inventor, on account, I suppose, of having “found” his cattle; and then that Evander, on account of the prediction of his mother, erected another, called maxima, to himself, and likewise sacrificed an ox; and that Hercules also offered on it some oxen, and the tithe of his other spoil.
Eximid.] Like τιλιος in Greek—none but the choicest and best victims were sacrificed. Eximius, from eximo, "to take out;" for such only were taken out of the flock or herd for sacrifice.

Potitius.] From potior, as they were in time enough to "enjoy" the feast. Pinartiis, from πιναυω, esurio, as they were obliged to "fast" on account of their delay. So say the commentators; but it is a question whether it may not be inferred from Livy, that they were so called before the event occurred.

Antistites.] These were the chief priests of the temple; from ante and sto. It generally means a person superior in any thing.

Servis.] Executioners, lictors, &c.

Chap. VIII.—Jura dedit.] See Dionysius, B. 2.

Lictoribus.] From ligo, "to bind," because each carried an axe "tied up" in a bundle of rods, the iron being visible. Their office was to disperse the multitude, to flog, and to behead. Others say the word is derived from their being appointed to bind the hands and feet of criminals.

Et apparitores hoc genus.] For apparitorum hoc genus, &c. which some would read; so Cicero ad Attic. B. 13, orationes aut aliquid id genus scribere; Varro, coramenta omne genus—innumerus genus frumento poscuntur.—It is an idiom common in Latin. "That both this sort of beadles, and the number also of them, were borrowed from the Tuscan." This is the reading and explanation of Gronovius. The following would, says Walker, be a better reading, quibus ut apparitores et hoc genus ab Etruscis—numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet—"who are of opinion that, as even this kind of public servants was derived from the Etrurians, so was the number of them also." The former reading was, et apparitores et hoc genus, which must be wrong, as it would appear from it that the kings of Alba had no attendants, until this kind was taken from the Etrurians; but this was not the case. Apparitores, from apparere, were public servants, that always "appeared" with the magistrates, and attended to and executed their orders.

The toga was the characteristic dress of the Romans, as the pallium was of the Greeks: it was a loose robe worn over the tunica, the coat or jacket which had no sleeves: during war it was exchanged for the paludamentum. Magistrates and the sons of the nobility, until the age of seventeen, wore one that had a fringe or border of purple all round, and this was called toga praetexta, or "the bordered gown."

Sella Curulis.] This was an ivory seat, somewhat in the form of the letter X, supported by four crooked legs, and carried folded up in their chariots (hence curulis) originally by kings; afterwards by consuls, dictators, censors, prætors, and chief ædiles (who were thence called curule ædiles,) and on which they sat in the senate house, rostra, and tribunal of justice.
Notes to Book I. c. 8, 9.

16 Ad id quod tum hominum.] “For that number of persons that was in the city then.” Muniret, “fortified,” made it secure and fit to dwell in.

11 Locum, qui nunc septus descendentibus inter duos lucos est, asylum aperit.] “He opens for an asylum the place called ‘between the two groves,’ which is now enclosed, and which people meet as they go down to the forum.”—That the name itself of the place was called inter duos lucos is evident from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, B. 2. p. 88. Χωρίον δι καλλιτεί νυν... “μιθρίσ των δεμών.” So Cicero B. 4. ad Attic. Ep. 3, assequitur inter lucos hominem Milo—Descendentibus; so B. 32. c. 4, Thaumast à Pythis sinuque Meliaco per Samios “eunti,” loco alto siti sunt—B. 42. c. 15, descendentibus à Cirrhâ maceria erat ab lavâ semita.

19 Liber an servus esset.] “Whether freeman or slave.” Scil. an liber, an servus esset.—An and such particles are frequently omitted in the first clause.—See B. 1. c. 46.

13 Consilium parat viribus.] “He forms or devises a system of government for his strength,” or the number of persons he had under his dominion.—Qui virium haud pænitetur, “when he was well satisfied with his strength.”

14 Centum creat senatores.] The opinion most generally received is, that he only appointed one senator, who was to rule the city in his absence; each of the three tribes, three, and each of the thirty curie, three.

15 Ciere patres.] “Name their fathers;” prove their descent from respectable fathers. So B. 10. c. 8. Dionysius, B. 2. p. 88, and Plut. vita Romuli. The ancient reading was creari patres. Drakenborch would prefer cieri patres, “who could be called fathers,” or had child:en.

Chap. IX.—16 Penuriâ mulierum, &c.] “From the scarcity of women, the present strength of the city was not likely to last longer than the existing generation.”

17 Nec domi spes prolis.] This must be understood in a qualified sense, as there must have been some women there.

19 Quâ.] “As far as.” Quas, the common reading, is wrong.

19 Id enim demum compar connubium fôre.] i. e. That vagabond and abandoned women would be the only wives fit for vagabond slaves and outlaws, like the majority of the Roman citizens.

Solennes.] He established games then, which he intended should be solemnized every year in future; he called them the games of Consus, or the god of good counsel, who was the same as Neptune. The temple of Consus was also covered in, to show that good stratagem should be close and concealed. These games at first occupied only one day; their celebration was afterwards extended to nine days, and they were called, by way of eminence, the Roman or great games, and consisted chiefly of
horse and chariot races. They were celebrated in the month of August in the great circus. See ch. 35.—Equestri Neptuno; it was Neptune, as the fables say, produced the first horse, in his contest with Minerva about giving a name to, and being consid-
ered the patron divinity of, Athens.

Quantumque apparatu tum sciebant—concelerant.] "So-
lemnize them with all the pomp of preparation they were then ac-
quainted with." The force of the con is, that they all contributed
their united endeavours to make them as splendid as possible.
So B. 8. c. 7.

Mortales.] This word is more emphatic than homines, as
it includes persons of every order, age, and sex.

A globo Talassii cujusdam.] "By a body of men that
belonged to a certain person of the name of Talassius."

Inde nuptialem hanc vocem factam.] "That this expres-
sion was ever after used in the ceremony of marriage."

Per fas et fidem decepti.] They allege that they came,
trustling to the reverence due, and generally paid, to the sanctity
of religion, this being professedly a religious rite; and also, relying
on the faith of hospitality, having been invited to become guests of the Romans; but that in both these expectations they
had been deceived. Per fas et fidem decepti; so B. 6. c. 29,
"adeste, dii, nobis per vestrum numen deceptis;" B. 38. c. 25,
"major pars per fidem violati collegui panas morte luerunt."

Melioribus usuras uris.] "They would find them better
husbands, than if they married them voluntarily; as each of them
would to the utmost of his power endeavour, in discharging,
so far as his part was concerned, the duty and relation of husband,
to make amends to his wife for the loss of country and parents."

Suam vicem, i. e. secundum suam vicem, for pro sua vice. Caesar,
B. G. 4. 1, uses magnam partem for magnae ex parte. Some
copies read in this passage suad vice.—Dionysius, B. 2, says that
six hundred and eighty-three women were carried off.

Chap. X.—Legationes ed conveniebant.] "Embassies crowd-
ed thither," i. e. to Tatus, who was king of Cures, a powerful
state and town of the Sabines.

Injuria pars.] Pratipua, or some such word, must be
understood.

Pre ardore, &c.] In comparison with the Cænenses, the
Crustumini and Antemnates were inactive and slow.

Nomen Cænatum.] "The people of Cænina." Cænus
is the same as Cænnensis, an adjective.

Feretri.] So called from the bier, feretrum, (from fero) on
which the spoils of king Acron were "carried" by him to the
oak held saered by the shepherds, pastoribus sacrum, that he
might there consecrate them to Jupiter.

Opimis.] This word, derived from ops, a name given to
the earth, the source of all wealth, properly means, whatever is
rich and well conditioned; hence, in general, whatever is excels-
lent and superior in its kind. The *spolia opima* were the arms which a Roman commander took from the general of the enemy, whom he slew in battle. The *spolia opima* were gained only three times during the history of the republic; the first, by Romulus, from Acror; the second, by Corn. Cossus, from Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, A. U. C. 318; the third, by Marcellus, from Viridomarus, king of the Gauls, A. U. C. 530.

23 *Latuors ea spolia.*] Several MSS. and old copies read *eo* for *ea*, from which it would be inferred that "any" spoils might be carried thither; but *ea* shows that "these" spoils "only" were to be carried thither.

34 *Vulgari laudem.*] "Nor the honour made common, and thereby depreciated, by the 'number' of those who enjoyed it."

35 *Inter tot annos.*] "During so many years."—Some MSS. and copies incorrectly read *intra* for *inter*, i.e. within: *intra*, *citra*, *ultra*, always mean a "limit" of time or place.

36 *Per occasionem et solitudinem.*] "Seizing the opportunity when the Roman territories were left deserted and unguarded."

37 *Et ad hos Romana legio ducia.*] "A Roman legion led against these too!" i.e. as well as against the Cæninenses. *Legio from legere, "to choose;" because the men were chosen man by man. A legion was divided into 10 cohorts, each cohort into 3 *manipuli*, each *manus* into two centuries. In the time of Romulus it consisted of but 3000 foot and 300 horse; but, after the time of Marius, it consisted, when complete, of 6000 foot and about 600 horse.

38 *Ibi minus etiam.*] Little difficulty as he found in conquering the Antennates, he had even less with the Crustuminiens.

39 *In Crustuminirom nomina darent.*] i.e. To give their names to be enrolled in the colony to be sent to Crustumium. It appears Crustumium and Crustumieri are used indifferently to signify the capital of the Crustumini.

40 *Et Romam inde, &c.*] The frequent emigrations from this place to Rome, chiefly of the parents and relations of the Sabine women, was another reason why there was a prejudice in favour of going to it.

41 *Sabinis.*] The people of Cures. It appears the other little states that were conquered were not really Sabines. Pliny, B. 3. c. 5, says they were Latins.

42 *Nec ostenderunt, &c.*] i.e. Their attack was simultaneous with their first indication of hostility.

43 *Seu prodendi exempli causâ, ne quid usquam fidum proditori estet.*] "Or for the sake of 'betraying' an example, that no faith should ever be placed in a 'betrayer.'"—*Prodendi* and *proditori* here appear to have different significations; but these
significations are really only different emanations from the original meaning of prodere, which is, "to give forth," "to discover," to show what was kept faithfully concealed; the verb "betray," in English, is susceptible of the same modifications.

Additur fabula.] "An addition is made to the story, that because the Sabines, &c." Fabula is another reading.

Pepigisse.] "That she bargained for."

Directó.] "In express terms."—Decreto and delecto are the readings of several MSS. and old editions.

Chap. XII.—\textit{Tamen.} However, be the story about her what it may, the Sabines held the hill.

Quod—campi est.] "The whole of the plain that is, &c."

Non priús descenderunt in aquum, quàm in adversum Romani subière.] "They no sooner descended into the level plain than the Romans advanced against them;" like nec ostenderunt, &c. note 42 ch. 11.—Descendere—subire, which amount to the same, are other readings.

Hostus Hostilius.] Dionysius, B. 2. p. 108, calls him Lucumo Tusces; Varro, B. 4. p. 16, says, that one of the centuries of horse derived its name from him.

Scelere emptam.] Alluding to the treacherous way in which they induced the daughter of Tarpeius to admit them.

Statort.] "From statum, sup. of sisto, "to check or stop."

Primores.] The van; the word is used in this sense by Tacitus.—Hist. 3. c. 21.

Toto quantum foro spatium est.] "Had driven the routed Romans over the whole space that the forum now occupies."

Eo pelli facilius.] Because, if the horse was once wounded or put to flight, he could not command him or keep his ground.

Trepidante equo.] "The horse taking fright." Conjecit sese; he was on horseback at the time.—See note 64. c. 13.

Adverterat.] The circumstance arrested the attention of the dying Sabines also, as well as of the Romans; averterat, which is evidently incorrect, is the reading of most old copies.

Favore.] "From the encouraging shouts of acclamation raised by many of his friends, he got additional spirit, and escaped."

Chap. XIII.—\textit{Mulieres, quarum ex injuriâ bellum ortum.} Let the reader observe that injuria, followed by a genitive, sometimes means injury offered "to" the person expressed by that genitive, as here; sometimes, injury offered "by" that person.

Victo malis muliebri favore.] "The timidity natural to women being now overcome by their sense of their calamities."

Ne parricidio macularent partus suos.] "Not to affix the stain of murder, i.e. of being the descendants of murderers, upon the offspring they themselves were then bearing in their wombs, one side (the Sabines) on their grandchildren, the other (the Romans) on their children." Parricidium, the murder of a father, relation, or any citizen. Nepotum et liberum progeniem,
is the same as nepotes et liberos. So in Greek, 
νεπότης 'Αχαιῶν, νεπότης Λατερῶν, &c. for 'Αχαιῶν, λατερῶν, &c.

61 Si affinitatis inter vos.] This sudden and unexpected transition from the third to the second person is strongly expressive of the hurry and ardour of the speaker; it is considered a great beauty in poetry. See instances of it in the notes on ch. 57.

62 Vidua aut orba.] Widows, if we lose our husbands; orphans, if we lose our fathers.

63 Tamen.] “However, that some benefit may be conferred on the Sabines by the union,” Rome having derived the chief advantage from it.

64 Ubi primùm ex profundâ emersus palude equus Curtium in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appelârunt.] “As a memorial of that battle, they called the place, where his horse, after having emerged from the deep morass, placed Curtius in a shallow (i.e. a safe) place, lacus Curtius.” The place afterwards retained this name even when filled up and dry. Livy. B. 7. c. 6, gives another reason for the name, viz. that it was called from Curtius springing in armed and on horseback, several hundred years after, into a gulph that suddenly opened in the forum; it being imagined that it would not close until an offering was made of what was most valuable in the state, i.e. a warrior armed and on horseback. Equum Curtius ... statuit is another reading.—Sigonius would read equum Curtius in vado destituit, because Plutarch says, καὶ λάσας τὸν ἵππον, ἱππόν ἵππως. But Livy and Plutarch may give different accounts of the occurrence, by following different authorities.

65 Curias triginta.] First, he divided the whole body of the people into three tribes, (so called either from their number, or the tribute which they paid,) and each tribe, into ten curiae.

66 Nomina earum curiis imposuit.] Varro and Plutarch deny this fact.

67 Id non traditur, &c.] “As the number of Sabine women was undoubtedly somewhat greater than this number of curiae, it is not handed down to us whether they, who should give names to the curiae, were appointed from their age, &c.”

68 Ramnenses, &c.] These were the names of the three tribes from which these centuries were taken. The Ramnenses were those who came with Romulus from Alba; Tatienses, those who came with Tatius; Luceres were all other strangers, so called, either from Lucumo, a Tuscan, who joined Romulus with a powerful force; (see c. 12, n. 50;) or from lucus, “the grove or asylum” to which most of those foreigners had at first fled for protection. Dion, who is followed by Plutarch in his Life of Romulus, says, that the people were divided into tribes before this. It would, says Crevier, appear from Livy, that this was the first time the division was made. The two authors may be thus reconciled, by supposing that, though the division was made before, yet, as by
the accession of Tatius' men the number was considerably increased, a new division was made, and names given to the tribes anew.

Chap XIV.—* Jure gentium agerent.*] They wanted to demand that right, which the law of nations grants to the injured, *i.e.* the right of address; but Tatius was too partial to his people to grant it, and therefore the vengeance, which was levelled against them, he brought by his conduct upon himself.

79 *Infidam societatem.*] Because partnership in sovereign power is never kept up with fidelity or friendship. This seems to contradict what was said at the close of the last ch. *concors etiam regnum duobus regibus fuit.* The contradiction may be thus explained:—Though there was apparent concord, yet there was latent distrust; or, though at first they agreed together, they afterwards quarrelled.

71 *Expiarentur legatorum injuria, &c.*] As a league was always struck with sacrifices and other rites of religion, it was considered necessary, whenever either party violated it by any outrage, to expiate the crime by new sacrifices and new religious rites, and go through the form of striking another league. Glareanus asks how this guilt could be expiated by the simple renewal of a league; and Sigonius says, that either there is some omission in the text, as the ceremony of expiation, which Dionysius and Plutarch mention, is not here described, or that the ceremony is contained in the word *fædus.* But Gronovius well observes, that Livy does not speak here of a "religious" expiation, when atonement was made to the gods, but of a "civil" expiation, (as there were two kinds,) where atonement is made to injured man. Both parties here suffered injury from each other; this was mutually redressed, and the ties of friendship renewed.

74 *Et cum his.*] "With these also," as well as with the Sabines, "there was an unexpected peace."

79 *Prope se.*] The commentators think these words should be expunged.

73 *Occuant bellum facere.*] "They anticipate the Romans, and are the first themselves to make war."

74 *Vastatur agri quod—est.*] "All the territory that lies between the city and Fidenae is laid waste."

75 *Arcebat.*] "Served as a barrier to the Romans against them."

76 *Mille passuum.*] Scil. *ad mille passuum.* *Mille* here is a substantive governing *passuum.* *Mille passuum, mille hominum,* and the like, are the same as *mille passus, mille homines,* &c.

77 *Locis circà densa ob sita virgulta obscuris.*] "In the places round about, which were dark on account of the thick brushwood that grew there."—Some connect *circa* with *obscuris*; some with *sita.*—The general reading is, *circa densa obsita virgulta,* which Crevier thus explains; "among the thick shrubs that were planted
all about," obsta: circa sometimes means "in" or "among." In English, "about" has sometimes the same force as "among." However he says, that obstus is rather applied to a "place" planted, than to trees or shrubs planted. Gronovius corrects the passage thus:—"denso obstus virgulto obscuram."

78 Adequitando ipsis prope portis.] "By riding up almost to the very gates." So B. 10. c. 32.—B. 22. c. 42.

79 Transversam invadunt hostium aciem.] "Attack the enemy's army in flank."

80 Simulantes . . . secuti erant.] Simulantes is the object of secuti erant. Walker would prefer quà to qui, i.e. in the direction through which.

81 Irrumpit.] Dionysius says, that a colony was sent at this time to Fidenae.—See c. 27.

CHAP. XV.—82 Vejentium animi.] "In the contagion of the Fidenatian war (which spread to them) the minds of the Vejentes were exasperated, both on account of the proximity of blood, and because, &c." According to the common reading there was only a comma after stimulabat, and animi was made the subject to exercurrunt; some read invitatī for irritatī.

82 Justi belli.] "A fair and regular war."

83 Dimicationi ultima.] "A final and decisive conflict."

84 Nulla arte adjutis.] As was the case in their attack upon the Fidenates, See last chap. Some incorrectly read parte for arte.

85 Muletatis.] "Deprived by fine or penalty." Some copies connect in centum annos with muletatis, or multātis.

86 Hac ferme gesta.] "These were almost all the events that occurred, &c."

87 Viribus datīs.] The power which Romulus gave it.

88 Nihil absonum fidei divinae originis, &c.] "There was no part of Romulus's character, that did not warrant the belief of his divine origin and divinity; neither his spirited recovery of his father's kingdom, nor his wisdom in building the city, or afterwards strengthening and protecting it in war and peace." Absonum, "jarring with."

89 Celeres. ] Vel à celeritate; vel à viribus, eques. These were afterwards the knights.—See B. 2. c. 1. n.

CHAP. 16.—91 His immortalibus editis operibus.] Crevier says the reading should be mortalibus. "Respiciebat enim (he says) Livius Romuli divinitatem, cui opponit mortalitatem opus." Sic c. 2, "secundum inde praeditum Latinis, Æneas etiam ultimum operum mortalitatem fuit."

92 Patriibus.] Supply dicentibus.

93 Orbitatis.] Such consternation as seizes persons on the loss of a parent.

94 Salvatore Romuli jubent.] "Bid Romulus hail."

95 Pacem precibus exposcunt.] Pacem deum poscere, or exposcere, are words often found in the classics to signify "to ask
for the divine favour." They now pray to Romulus as a god. Some copies omit pacem.

96 *Volens propitiis.* "Willingly and propitiously;" a form of words usual in prayer.

97 *Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos.* "Then too," i.e. as well as afterwards, when it was the generally received opinion among the rational. Dionysius, Valerius, Maximus, Plutarch, and others, state the fact; to this Tarquinius Superbus alludes, c. 49, when he says that Romulus was never buried.

98 *Pavor præsens.* The awe they felt at the time naturally led them to a superstitious belief that he was carried to heaven.

99 *Gravis quanvis magna rei auctor,* &c. "Weighty authority for any fact, however important it might be."

100 *Contra intueri fas esset.* "That it may be allowed without sustaining any injury to look him in the face." The ancients had a belief that it was not safe for a mortal to look at a divinity.

N. B. In page 17, of text, line 9, for *Romani* read *Romanis.*

2 *Mirum, quantum * ... * fidei fuerit.* Most editions read *fides.* Though *mirum quantum,* *immane quantum,* and such expressions, are highly classical, when used by way of parenthesis; as in Greek, *τευμαστὶν ἐσο, ἡμὴχανὸν ἐσο,* yet Walker thinks they are joined always to an indicative; as, *id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam,* B. 2. c. 1; and that we must either read *mirum quantum illi fides fuit,* or adopt the present reading. Some would read *quanta fides.* Duker says *quantum fides* may be justified by taking *quantum* to be the same as *in quantum*; so we find *parum fidem,* *satis atium,* *satis tempus habere.*

CHAP. XVII. — 3 *Nec dum ad singulos . . . pervenerat.* Understand certain *regnii ac cupidii*; the original reading was *ad singulis . . . pervenerant factiones.*

4 *In societate aequa.* Though both enjoyed an even share in the rights and privileges of government.

5 *Regnari tamen omnes volebant.* So Plutarch, in his life of Numa, says, *si μὲν ἐλλὰ μαθινίσκει μὴν ἵκην πάσιν.* *Regem* and *regnare* are other readings.

6 *Centum patres.* Dionysius says the senate at this period consisted of two hundred, as one hundred had been added by Tatus to the old senate of one hundred.

7 *Decurii.* "Decury," was a name often given to a number greater than ten.

8 *Imperium.* The opinion of Dionysius, who says *imperium* here means each senator's power, seems entitled to greater credit than that of Plutarch, who says it means each Decury's power; for, whenever an interrex was at any after period appointed, (as was often the case when there was no chief magistrate,) his power lasted five days, and no longer.

9 *Nec ultra, nisi regem . . . videbantur passivi.* "They did not seem likely any longer to submit to any one but a king, and that king appointed by themselves."
NOTES TO BOOK I. C. 17, 18.

10 Gratiam ineunt, &c.] "They gain favour with the people by rendering up the sovereign power; but in such a way as to retain as much as they surrendered."

11 Auctores fierent.] "If they give it the sanction of their authority."

12 Idem juss.] The same form of law is retained; but it lost its power, as, by the Publian and Mænian laws, the patricians were bound to ratify every decree of the people.—See B. S. c. 12.

13 In incertum comitiorum eventum patres auctores iungi.] i.e. Even when the decision of an election is uncertain, the patricians beforehand gave the sanction of their authority to whatever measure may be afterwards carried.

14 Quod bonum, iustum, felixque sit.] "A thing which I pray may be advantageous, auspicious, and fortunate." This is a usual form used in prayer before entering on any business.—See Brisson, B. 1.

Chap. XVIII.—15 Centum amplius post annos.] "More than a hundred years after."

16 Emulantium studia.] Adopting his principles or tenets. So Cicero pro Murenâ, c. 29, "Zeno, cujus inventorum amuli Stoici nominantur."—Tacit. Hist. B. 3. c. 81, Studia philosophiae et placita studiorum emulatus.

17 Ex quibus locis, qua fama in Sabinos, aut quo lingue commercio—quenquam excivisset? &c.] "From which distant places what report of his great talents extending as far as the Sabines, or by means of what intercourse of language, even though he did live in the same age, could have excited any one to a desire of learning? or under what protection could an individual, &c." This is rather unusual, and no simple Latin. The distance between the places was so considerable, and the intercourse between them so little, on account of the difference of language in these barbarous times, (for in these cities Greek was the language,) that it was not likely that the reputation of Pythagoras could have reached the Sabines, or that any Sabine would have gone to him; aut I think shows that different reasons are implied in quibus locis, and commercio lingue. Qua fama is the reading of several old and respectable copies, in which case Pythagoras must be the subject to excivisset.—Grovonius, as quoted by Drakenborch, would read quâ famâ tum Sabinos, &c. Others would transpose in Sabinos, and read the passage thus: quâ famâ, aut quo. . . excivisset; quove presidio. . . in Sabinos pervenisset?

19 Ingenio.] His own innate qualities.

19 Ad lavam ejus, capite velato.] "The augur, with his head covered, took his station on the king's left." The augur faced the east, and the king the south.—Plutarch says the augur stood behind him, αὐτῷ ἔσται παραστάσις ἵξωριόθεν. The words, signum contra, quò longissimè oculi ferebant, show that the augur's eyes were
not covered. Some would read ad lavam, ejus capite velato, to show that it was Numa's head that was covered.

20 Regiones.] A certain space marked out by his eye. It was necessary that the appearance, or sign, from which he was to draw his omen, should present itself to him within this space.

21 Contra.] Opposite to him; at the utmost extent of his view.

22 Uti.] Seil. precor uti. Adclarâssis for acclaraveris, "that you would manifest."

23 Peregit.] "He stated in express words."

CHAP. XIX.—24 Jure eam legibus.] Eam here is superfluous. Livy often uses such redundancies, in imitation of the Greeks. Several copies omit eam.

25 Efferatos militiâ animos.] Some books have efferos—animos; some efferari—animos; some efferatis—animis.

26 Janum ad infimum Argiletum.] "A temple to Janus at the foot of Argiletsus." This was a little eminence to the east of the Palatine Hill, so called from Argus, who was murdered there, Άγγεως Λήσιν. Or perhaps from letum, "death."

27 Bellum Actiacum.] It appears that Livy began his work about this time, (as the temple was shut five years after, on the defeat of the Cantabrians;) but did not finish it until about twenty years after this event, as the death of Drusus, which happened twenty-one years after this battle, is mentioned in the epitome to the last book.

28 Ad cursum lune.] "He divides the year into twelve months, according to the course of the moon; which year (because the moon does not fill up the number of thirty days in each month, and some days are wanting to make up the complete year, which is brought round by the sun's revolution) he so regulated, by inserting intercalary months, that every twenty-fourth year (the space of all the intermediate years being then filled up) the days coincided with the same position of the sun from which they had set out." For a full and satisfactory account of the change introduced by Numa, and indeed of the Roman calendar in general, see the calendar prefixed to the proper names in the late larger edition of Ainsworth's Dictionary.

CHAP. XX.—29 Dialem flaminem.] "The priests of Jupiter," from Δείς. The flamen could not divorce his wife, and she shared in his sacred office. He was so called from flus or pileus; because he wore a cap which had a tuft of wool on the top of it. In summer, when the cap was too distressing to wear, he wore a woollen thread wound round his head.

30 Sacra regis vicis.] "Those sacred rites which belonged to the king's office."

31 Quirino.] This is the Mars who was thought to preside over peace, and was the same as the deified Romulus, and was worshipped inside the city; the Mars who was the president of
war, had his temple outside the city. He was usually called Mars
Gradius; so called either from gradior, "to stalk as a warrior," or
from κραδαυ, "to brandish." Homer's description corresponds
with this:

Βῦ δὲ μακαί βιβάς, κραδάων δολιχόσκιον ῥυχος.

38 Virginesque Vesta, &c.] He elected four; Tarquinius Pris-
cus added two more. At the period of their election they could
not be younger than the age of six years, nor older than ten;
for thirty years, during which time they were bound to officiate,
they could not marry. After the expiration of that time they
might marry.

39 Pontificem deinde Numam.] The pontifex maximus is here
meant; for there were four pontifices at first created, whose
number was afterwards increased. Many copies read Numa, i.e.
Pompilius.

34 Sacra exscripta exsignataque, &c.] He gave him a written
and sealed copy of those institutions that concerned all the sacred
rites. Crevier says, exsignata means "bearing the same seal as
the original copy."

35 Susciperentur atque curarentur.] "Should be attended to
and expiated."—There were some prodigies of such a nature as
to be disregarded.—Some think procurarentur (as this is the
word generally, if not always, used in this sense by Livy) should
be the reading here.

36 Deum consultit, &c.] "Consulted the god by auguries
respecting what prodigies should be attended to."

Chap. XXI.—37 Ad hac consultanda procurandaque.] This
clause depends on the following multitudine ... conversā.

38 Proximo—metu.] "Their dread of laws and punishment
being next or secondary, or inferior to their religious scruples."
In Crevier's edition, and others of character, the words are
proxime—metum—"next to the fear of law and punishment."
But Livy's meaning is directly the opposite to this; he says that
their dread of laws and punishment was inferior, in its influence
on their conduct, to their regard for good faith and the obligation
of an oath; and not the contrary, as Crevier says. The
readings and opinions on this passage are various—for proximo
several copies read pro ipso, to make the sentence agree with

Proque metu populum sine vi pudor ipse regebat.

Others have propulso for proximo.

39 Quam ipsi se homines ... formarent, tum finitimi.] Quum,
when followed by its corresponding tum, usually governs an
indicative; sometimes, however, a subjunctive.—See B. 3. c. 34.
—B. 4. c. 60.—B. 8. c. 21.

40 Sunt fidei.] These words, Walker thinks, must be con-
sidered as one compound word, like *solieuria, soliferrea, solitaurilia,* and mean "public faith," or the faith which the whole state pledges. The old word *solus,* or *sollus,* among the Osii, meant the same as the Greek ἕλασσ. Others say *soli* is *seorsum à religuis deabus.* A religious ceremonial was instituted to the muses conjointly; and an anniversary sacrifice was appointed to Faith by herself. Others for *soli* would read *simul.*

41 *Curru arcuato.* "A roofed chariot."

42 *Sedemque etiam.* "And that even its seat in the right hand was consecrated."

43 *Argeos.* Argei is the same as Argivi, so called from some chiefs who came with Hercules the Argive, and were buried in those places, according to Festus and Varro. Many places, even after the abolition of those sacrifices, still retained the name.

44 *Duo deinceps reges.* "Two kings in succession."

45 *Temperata.* "Attempered."

CHAP. XXII.—46 *Infimá arce.* "At the bottom of the citadel."—See c. 12.

47 *Patres auctores facti.* "The fathers gave it the sanction of their authority."

48 *Comiter regis convicium celebrant.* "With good-humoured politeness partake of the king's hospitality."

49 *Res repetiverant priores.* "Were the first to demand restitution."

50 *Bellum in trigesimum diem indixerant.* Livy, c. 32, says, that war was not usually proclaimed for thirty-three days. Though Dionysius agrees with him here, yet perhaps he uses only a round number, or there was here some deviation from the regular rule.

51 *Expetant hujusce clades belli.* "Require atonement of that people for all the havoc of this war." Crevier and others take this verb in a neuter signification, thus: "that all the calamities of this war may fall or recoil upon that people." The verb is elsewhere found in this sense, as Plaut. Amphitr. Act 1. sc. 2. v. 32, delictum suum, suamque culpam expetere in mortalem ut sinat. Act 5. 1. 75, illius ira in hanc et maledicta expetent. Act 2. 1. 42, cvjus ego hodie in tergo faxo ista expetant mendacia. They accordingly imagine that in next c. n. 54, the word *panas* should be expunged, and *expetiturum* taken in the same sense as here. Others would in that passage read *expetituras panas.*

CHAP. XXIII.—53 *Hac nunciand domum Albani.* Nunciare means to "bring" news "to" a place. So B. 3. c. 2.—B. 5. c. 36.—B. 9. c. 6.—B. 38. c. 18. et alibi.

53 *Deorum numen,* &c.] "Frequently asserting that the great power of the gods, which had already begun with the head (i. e. by cutting off the king), would take vengeance on the whole Alban nation for this impious war." He calls it impious, as they
violated religion by refusing to make just restitution.—See last c. n. 51.

54 Ductit quâm proximè ad hostem potest.] i. e. He encamps, or leads his troops, as near the enemy as possible.—Gronovius would prefer quâ proximè, i. e. he marches by the nearest or shortest possible road.—So B. 9. c. 44.

55 Afferti rebatur.] Faber, followed by Drakenborch, proposed this reading; the general reading is afferebantur.

56 In aciem educit.] “Leads forth into line of battle.”

57 Et ego regem, &c.] The construction is, “I both fancy I heard our king Cluilius declare that injuries, &c.; and I doubt not that you declare the same.” Prae se ferre is understood to the first clause.

58 Neque, rectè, an perperam, interpretor.] “I do not judge whether that was right or wrong; let that consideration rest with him who commenced the war,” i. e. Tullus.

59 Etrusca res.] “How powerful the Etrurian state is about us, and especially about you, you know better than we, as you are nearer to them.”

Chap. XXIV.—60 Trigemini fratres.] “Three brothers born at one birth.” Some maintain a distinction between trigemini and tergemini: the first, they say, is applied only to three animals born at one birth; the second not only has this signification, but is also applied to other things, as tergemina victoria, tergemini honores, &c. Dionysius says, the Horatii and Curiatii were cousin-germans, the sons of two sisters.

61 Nec ferme res antiqua alia est nobilior.] Res nobilior, a more celebrated or better known event.

62 Auctores utroque traheunt.] So we literally say in common phraseology, “authors pull both ways;” i. e. give both statements, one one, and another another.

63 Cujuusque populi.] “Of whichever nation.” Quique is here used for cuicumque; so quandoque for quandocunque.

64 Aliis legibus.] On different terms or conditions.

65 Fecialis.] This was a priest whose peculiar office it was to declare war, and strike truces (from ferire,) with the proper ceremonies. Dionysius says it was Numa, and Livy says it was Ancus, who first instituted this office.—See c. 32.

66 Patre patrato.] He was called patratus from patro, “to execute or ratify,” because his duty was to attend the making of the treaty, and ratify it by oath; and he had the title of pater from his authority.

67 Sagmina.] Vervain—qu. sancimina, à sancio. It was a species of herb used for religious purposes, plucked up by the roots out of consecrated ground, loco sancto. It was carried by ambassadors to protect them from violence; on this occasion the pater patratus made a garland of it.

68 Puram.] Seil. herbam, or verbenam, vervain.
NOTES TO BOOK I. C. 24, 25.

80 Quiritium.] Is put in apposition with pop. Romani.
70 Vasa.] "Do you, my implements and attendants?" i. e. do you include them in my sacred commission and privileges?
71 Quod sine fraude mea fiat, facio.] "I do appoint you, and may it be without injury to me and the Roman people, the Quirites." Fraus is a loss sustained by treachery, or even in any other way.
72 Multisque id verbis.] "And this (the truce) he executed in a great many words, which being expressed in a long set form, (carmine) it is not worth while to repeat."
73 Ut illa palam.] "As those conditions, both first and last, have been publicly recited out of those tables or that wax, (i. e. whether bare table or covered with wax,) without any wicked treachery, and as they have been understood, &c.
74 Defexit.] For defecerit.
75 Tu illo die Jupiter.] The reading in most MSS. was, tum ille dies Jupiter. Whence Sigonius and others would read tum ille diespiter, scl. diei pater.
76 Hunc porcum.] This is masc. and femin.; it means here a sow, which was the animal offered in such sacrifices; hunc, another reading, is a better word.
77 Saxo silice.] "A large flint stone." Saxo, it is said, expresses the size, and silice the hard quality of the stone.

CHAP XXV.—78 Et suopte ingenio.] "Both courageous from their own natural disposition, and animated by the shouts, &c."
79 Imperium agebatur.] "Sovereign power was at stake."—Let the young reader observe, that agor is often used thus, as res, fortuna, honor, agitur.
80 Itaque ergo.] Livy often uses such synonymous words as these; so, jam nunc, ita sic, &c.
81 Minimè gratum spectaculum.] This was far from being a show calculated to amuse, such as a show of gladiators, or the like.
82 Nec his nec illis periculum suum; publicum imperium ser-vitiumque obversatur animo.] Sed is understood before publicum, an omission not unusual in Livy in passages like this. Some late copies introduce it, though it is not to be found in the best MSS. and old editions.
83 Perstringit.] "Stuns;" or "wrings." Torpebat, "was suspended."
84 Telorum armorumque.] "Weapons and armour." Arma from armus, "the shoulder," or άρμός, "to fit on," meant what protected the body. Tela, from τῆλις, procul, properly meant "missile weapons." Arma was a general epithet to express every thing that defended the person, and annoyed the enemy; but it was often taken in a limited sense, as here, to signify defensive armour, and is then opposed to tela. So cognatus properly meant any relation by blood, and was often taken in a limited sense to
signify a relation by the mother, and was then opposed to *agnatus*, a relation by the father. *Greæx*, a collection of any animals, was often restricted to a collection of smaller animals; such as sheep, goats, birds, &c. to distinguish it from *armenium*, a herd of larger animals; such as horses, oxen, &c. *Adoptio*, the adoption, in any way, of any person by another, as heir, lest his name and rights should be lost, was taken in a particular sense to signify the adoption of a person yet under his father’s control, which was performed before a magistrate with the same formalities as were used by a father in making his son free, (which was called *emancipatio,* and was then opposed to *arrogatio,* which was the adoption of one who was his own master, *sui juris,* and was made at the *com. cur.* by proposing a bill to the people, *per populi rogationem.*

85 *Exanimes vice unius.*] Literally “frightened out of their lives at the lot of this one man.”—Many copies read *vicem,* scil. *secundum vicem.*—The word, which means one’s lot, turn, condition, or situation, is, no doubt, frequently used thus; but I apprehend it will not, according to the rules of good Latinity, be considered admissible here in the accusative.

86 *Segregaret pugnam eorum.*] Might divide their assault; might induce them to attack him separately.

87 *Ex insperato faventium.*] This word fav. is often applied to the favouring acclamations of the circus. The shout is greatest then, when he, who was supposed to be conquered, becomes unexpectedly conqueror.

88 *Victusque fratrum ante se strage.*] *i.e.* His courage failed him when he saw his brothers slain. *Strages* from *sterno,* according to some, properly applies to the felling of trees; according to others, the laying of corn flat by a storm.

89 *Quod prope metum res fuerat.*] “According to the quickness with which it succeeded fear;” for joy immediately succeeded fear, and therefore was more lively. Some read *propius*.

90 *Et ut pugnatum.*] Their sepulchres were in different places, and according to the separate ground which each occupied as he fought and fell.

Chap. XXVI.—91 *Princps Horatiusibat.*] “Horatius marched in front of the Romans.”

92 *Paludamento.*] This word, though properly a general’s cloak, is often used to signify any soldier’s garment.

93 *Immaturo amore.*] “Premature love;” because she had not been married to him. According to others, the words signify “ill-timed, unseasonable love.”

94 *Quaecunque Romana lugebit hostem.*] “Whatever Roman women will lament an enemy.”—*Romandum hostem* is the reading of many MSS. and old copies, but is not, I think, pure Latin.

95 *Recens meritum facto obstabat.*] “Thwarted or outweighed
the act; counterbalanced its enormity." So B. 2, c. 2, *id officere, id obstare, libertati.*

56 *Qui Horatio perduellionem judicent.* "I appoint Dumnviri, as the law directs, to pass sentence, in this case of murder, against Horatius." *Perduellio* is properly treason, and includes murder; for any one, who killed a citizen, was considered as guilty of treason against the state. Gronovius says we should read *perduellionis*; as we find *alicui capitis judicare, pecuniae judicare,* &c.

57 *Carminis.* This word often, as here, means a set form of words.—See c. 24. 32.

58 *Provocatione certato.*—"Try the thing by appeal."

59 *Infelici arbori.* "A barren tree." Most interpreters say the word *infelix* is applied to trees from which criminals were hanged.

1 *Pomarium.* See c. 44, qu. *post murum.*

2 *Ne innoxium quidem.* "Who imagined that they could not acquit even a guiltless person after they had found him guilty." They were bound by law to condemn a person clearly convicted of the act of treason or murder, even though he were justified in the act.

3 *Auctore Tullo clemente legis interprete.* "Influenced by the advice or authority of Tullus, who wished to give a mild interpretation to the law." Tullus, in his partiality, wished that he should avail himself of the privilege of appeal warranted by law.

4 *Ita demum provocatis certatum.* "The thing at last was tried according to the appeal before the people." So before *provocatione certato,* n. 98. Most editions read *ita de provocatis*; which conveys a different idea; it would then mean that the question of appeal itself, or concerning the appeal, was tried.

5 *Patrio jure in filium animadversum.* "By a father's privilege he would punish his son." By the laws of Romulus a father had the power of life and death over his children. Some read *filiam.*

6 *Pila Horatia.* "The spears of Horatius." *Pila* is erroneously supposed to be singular, and the same as *στενα, "a pillar;" whence some, for *illa pila,* in a subsequent passage, would read *illam pilam;* it is here plural, and comes from *pilum,* "a spear." There was a pillar erected, on which the spoils of the Curiatii were fixed; but it was from the "arms," and not the "pillar," that the place derived its name. He afterwards uses the words *pila et spolia hostium.*

7 *Huncine—eum.* These words imply the same thing. The reader will see the demonstrative pronoun often used superfluously.

8 *Sub furcâ.* See B. 2, c. 36.
NOTES TO BOOK I. C. 26, 27. 85

9 Quod vix Albanorum oculi tam deforme spectaculum ferre posseit.] So Milton, Paradise Lost, B. 11. 1. 494,

Sight so deform, what heart of rock could long
Dry-eyed behold—

9 * Modò intra.] Inter would appear a better reading, as inter pila above.

10 Parem animum.] "A soul the same in every danger;" his intrepidity of mind, under his present circumstances, was equal to what he evinced in battle.

11 Pecunià publicà.] Money given out of the public treasury for the expiatory sacrifices.

13 Publicè... repectum.] "This beam, always repaired 'at the public expense,' remains even to this day." Publicè is frequently used thus.

CHAP XXVII.—14 Invidia vulgi.] "The displeasure of the Alban multitude against the dictator, because the fortune of the state had been through him hazarded on three champions, warped from that allegiance which he now owed the Romans, his mind naturally fickle."

15 Pravis.] This properly means crooked, distorted, and, in a moral sense, treacherous, &c.; it is opposed to rectus, which properly means straight, and hence, in a moral sense, honest, &c. So in English we say "a crooked fellow," "a straight-forward fellow," signifying "a treacherous man," "an honest man."

16 Suis per speciem societatis proditionem reservat.] "He reserves to his own people the work of succeeding by treachery, under the show of alliance with the Romans."

17 Colonia Romana.] A colony had been planted at Fidenæ, after that town was taken by Romulus.—See c. 14.

18 Pacto transitionis Albanorum.] "By virtue of the agreement that the Albans would desert over to them."

19 Ad confluentes.] At the conflux of the Anio and Tiber.

20 Hi et in acie dextrum tenuere cornu.] "These (the Veientes) in the line of battle also (as well as in their passage over the river) occupied the right, the Fidenatians the left."

21 Sensim ad montes succedit.] "Files off slowly to the mountains." These lay on his right.

22 Erigit totam aciem.] "When he thought he advanced to a sufficient distance from the Romans, he hurries on his whole force up the mountain." See B. 3. c. 18.—B. 2. c. 31. Crevier says erigit means "he draws up, or makes it halt."

23 Miraculo primò esse Romanis.] "It was at first a matter of wonder to the Romans."—The infinitive, as here, is often used for the imperfect indicative.

24 Salios.] These were called Agonales or Agonenses and Collini, because they performed their ceremonies and had their chapel on the Colline Hill, which was the same as the Quirinal Hill, (or at least was a part of it,) formerly called the Agonal Hill. Those
instituted by Numa, who were different from these, were called Palatini, because they performed their ceremonies, and had their chapel on the Palatine Hill.—See Crevier. Servius thinks, Æn. S. v. 285, that both the Salii and the temples were vowed to Paleness and Terror, and that these Salii were called Pallorii and Pavorii. Others say the “shrines” only were offered to them.

Idem imperat.] Scil. rex imperat. “He also commands this horseman to bid the cavalry raise their spears.” Eidem (scil. equiti) would perhaps be a better reading, which Gronovius and others mention.

Et audiverant.] “The Fidenatians both heard what was thus spoken in a loud voice, and many of them understood Latin, as they were intermixed with Romans in the colony.” When a Roman colony had been planted in their town, they formed a part of it. The commentators imagine the passage to be faulty. Faber corrects it thus: Ut quibus coloni additi Romani essent. Doujatius, thus: ut qui coloni additi e Romanis essent. But the following passages justify, says Gronovius, the present reading, B. 3, c. 1, (talking of the colony to be sent to Antium) adeoque pauci nomina dedere, ut ad explendum numerum coloni Volsci adderentur.—B. S. c. 14, Antium nova colonia missa cum eo, ut Antatibus permetteretur, si et ipsi adderent coloni vellent.

Ab effusâ fugâ.] It may appear to a tyro that there is a contradiction here. It is said that the river behind them, which lay in their way, prevented them from flying; and in the next sentence, that their flight took a direction towards it. But Livy only says, that it prevented them from flying in “disorder,” ab effusâ fugâ; it was so close to them that they had not time to scatter.

Inter consilium.] “While wavering between the resolution whether they should fight or fly.”

Chap. XXVIII.—Quod bene vertat.] A usual form of words adopted in praying for success.

Sacrificium lustrale.] “A purificatory sacrifice,” the same probably as suovetaurilia.—See ch. 44.

Novitate etiam.] Not only induced by the command, but also excited by the novelty of such a circumstance, as hearing a Roman king deliver a speech.

Ex composito.] “According to previous arrangement, the Roman forces under arms are drawn round the Albans.” Romana legio, the Roman army; so last ch. legionem Fidenatium.

Si unquam antè aliùs in ullo bello.] “If there was ever at any time before in any war, O Romans! a reason that you should return thanks, first to the gods, and next to your own valour, it was yesterday’s battle.”

Si quò ego inde agmen.] “If I wished to draw off my army to any direction from that ground.”

Quod bonum fiantum felixque sit.] See ch. 17, n. 14.

Civitatcm.] “The privileges of citizenship.”
Vico tibi ea disciplina à me adhibita esset.] "I would allow you to live, and have given you such a lesson."

Animum ancipitem.] "A mind divided between the interests of the Romans and the Fidenatians."

Quadrigis.] This word means four horses joined by one yoke; sometimes the chariot drawn by them. But here it means "a team of four horses."

Quod incæserant.] "Bearing off the mangled body on each chariot, where the limbs had been tied by the chords."

Supplicium exempli parum memoris legum humanarum.] "A punishment that established a precedent, which showed a disregard for the laws of humanity."

Chap. XXIX.—Inter hac.] The superior elegance of this description is well worth the reader's attention. For Albam some copies have Albanis.

Silentium triste ac tacita maestitia.] These words are not synonymous; their silence did not proceed from quietness, but deep sorrow and affliction; and their grief was not expressed in shrieks or lamentations, but buried deep within their breasts.


Ultimis urbis partibus.] It is better to connect these words with diruebantur than with audiebatur; and the next words, ex distantibus locis, justify this opinion. The work of demolition commenced on the skirts of the city; and the crash, heard from thence, conveyed the news.

Quibus quisque poterat elatis.] A Græcism for tis, qua quisque poterat, elatis. So B. 4. c. 3, quibus poterat saucis ductis secum. In Greek the relative commonly agrees with its antecedent in case.

Larem ac penates.] Lar was a Tuscan word, signifying head of his family, or prince of his people. The head of any family or tribe was generally deified after death, and thought to protect the family, and his image was kept in the house. The Lares therefore were of human origin, being no more than the deified ancestors of the family. The Penates were the tutelary gods of the family, and were of divine origin.

Quadringentorum.] Livy agrees with Virgil, who counts three hundred years from the foundation of Alba to the time of Romulus, Æn. 1. 272. But Dionysius and others say it flourished 487 years.

Templis temperatum est.] Templis is here a dative. A templis would be equally good Latin. So we say to spare a thing, or esfrain from it.

Chap. XXX.—Frequentius habitaretur.] "That it may be more thickly inhabited."
NOTES TO BOOK I. C. 30.

51 In Patres.] "Into the body of patricians." And if there were any vacancies in the senate, he appointed Albans to fill them.

52 Tullios.] In place of this family, Dionysius mentions the Julian family, Julios; but Livy and others show that these came to Rome before this time; indeed Tullios and Julios are often confounded in MSS.

53 Templumque ordini ab se aucto curiam fecit.] "And, as a consecrated place of meeting for this order thus augmented by himself, he built a senate-house, which was called the Hostilian, even to the time of our fathers."—See Æn. 7. 174. He calls the senate-house templum to show that it was a consecrated place, where the senators were to assemble under the sanction and sacred character of religion. This, which was a ruin, was in the time of Julius Caesar repaired and called Julia, scil. curia.—Curia is derived from curare, "to manage the public business." As there is no mention made in any other author that he increased the number of senators, Crevier imagines that the words imply that he increased the number of families from whom senators were chosen.

54 Equitum decem turmas.] Turma (qu. terna, à ter et deni.) was a body of thirty horse. Milton, Paradise Regained, B. 4. 66, uses the word turm:

"Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings."

Here it may not be improper to observe, that legions and cohorts mean the infantry of Romans and allies; turms of horse and wings, the cavalry of Romans and allies. The cavalry of the Roman army were generally called ala, "wings," though, according to Lipsius, De Militiâ Românda, B. 2. c. 7, the word was sometimes used to signify any body of troops, whether horse or foot, posted to defend the flanks; and such troops were generally those of the allies, because they were mostly, if not always, posted on both flanks, and so formed a sort of wings to the main body. When legions and cohorts are mentioned together, legions usually meant the Roman foot, and cohorts meant the infantry of the allies; so the cavalry of the allies were mostly called alarî, or alarî equites, to distinguish them from the Roman cavalry, who were called legionarii equites. This is the view in which this passage of Milton must be taken, which has, like many others, been overlooked or misunderstood by his commentators.

55 Eodem supplemento.] i. e. "The Albans."

56 Feronia.] The same as Juno. She was worshipped by the Latins and Sabines in common at the foot of the hill Soracre.

57 Suos prius in lucum confugisse.] "The Sabines complained that, before that event, their own people fled into the asylum." The Sabines alleged that they had the first cause of complaint.

58 Et ipsi.] i. e. As the Romans had been strengthened by
the accession of the Albans and the forces of Tatius, they too
looked about for foreign aid.

39 Proximi Etruscorum Vejentes.] “Of all the Etrurian states,
the Vejentes were the nearest to them.”

60 Etiam merces.] Some of the poor Vejentian rabble, who
had no certain residence, were influenced by pay, as others had
been influenced by old animosities and recent defeat. These
latter were the voluntarii.

61 Publico auxilio.] Assistance from the government of th
Vejentes.

62 De ceteris minus mirum.] It is less surprising that the rest of
the Etrurians, who had no quarrel with the Romans, did not
aid the Sabines. The treaty which Romulus entered into with
the Vejentes, (see ch. 15,) had been violated.—See ch. 27. It
appears that Tullus renewed it for a hundred years, on the con-
c. 4, says, we should read, in place of pacta cum Romulo, pacta
cum Tullio; for Livy says, ch. 42, bellum cum Vejentibus (jam
enim inducia exierant) sumptum, scil. à Servio Tullio.—He
calculates that a hundred years intervened between this time and
that event in the reign of Servius Tullius.

63 Verti in eo res videretur.] “The event seemed to turn on
this.” It appeared to contribute materially to the general
success.

64 Occupat Tullus . . . transire.] “Tullus is the first to pass
over.”—occupo, like φέλω or φθίηει, generally means to anticip-
pate another, to take previous possession of a thing.—So ch. 14.
38.—B. 4. ch. 29.—B. 5. ch. 55.

Chap. XXXI.—65 Lapidibus pluissae.] “That it rained
stones.” Al. lapides.

66 Visi etiam audire.] “They imagined that they even heard
a voice from the grove on the top of the hill, commanding that
the Albans, &c.”

67 Novendialae sacrum.] “A festival of nine days.” This was
of two kinds: one in honour of the dead on the ninth day after
burial; the other (which is alluded to here) was held for nine
successive days, for the purpose of expiating a prodigy.

n. 63. Some copies read quandocunque.

69 Ab armis quies daretur ab bellico rege.] Mark the dif-
ferent meanings here of ab; the first means “from,” the second
“by.”

70 Salubriora.] “Were in better health when engaged in war
than when at home.”

71 Longinquus morbo.] “A lingering or tedious disease.”
Longinquus is sometimes used to signify “of long duration,” so
longinquus obsidio, longinquum bellum, &c.

72 Obnoxius degeret.] “Became a slave to.”
NOTES TO BOOK I. c. 31, 32.

73 Unam opem.] "The only relief." Livy often uses unus in the sense of unicus.

71 Iovi Elicio.] Ab elicio, i.e. evoce; praefatis enim quibusdam votis Jovem calo elici posse putabant. But Plutarch says it comes from ?l?us, propitius.—See ch. 20.

73 Operatum, &c.] "That he concealed himself in order to perform these solemnities." Operari is a word particularly used to signify the performance of sacred rites.

76 Celestium speciem.] "Appearance of objects sent by heaven."

77 Cum domo.] Most writers say that he was slain by Ancus Marcius, and his palace burned.

Chap. XXXII.—75 Res ad patres redierat.] "The government of the state devolved on the senators again," as it did after the death of Romulus.

79 Fuere auctores.] See ch. 17, n. 11.

80 Ab una parte.] "In one particular," i.e. in the affairs of religion.

81 Longe antiquissimum.] "A thing of the utmost importance by far:" ?e?ovr?rov is used in the same sense. Antiquus sometimes means what is of prime importance, what is chiefly to be regarded.—See B. 3. c. 10.—B. 6. c. 40.—B. 7. c 31.—B. 9. c. 31.

82 Pontificem, in album relata.] "Transcribed on a white tablet;" i.e. such a one as they wrote on with ink, says Walker; or one which was not already written on; a blank one; parma alba, in Virgil, is a shield without a device. The pontifex maximus is sometimes simply styled pontifex.—See c. 20.—B. 2. c. 2. 87 The epithet maximus is not found applied to him earlier than in B. 3. c. 24. In some copies, however, the epithet maximum is used here. The word is derived from pons and facio, as they were the persons who first built, and afterwards kept in repair, the pons sublicius, or wooden bridge built over the Tiber. Posse and facere is another derivation, as they were thought the only priests who could sacrifice, facere being sometimes particularly applied to the performance of sacred rites, as Virg. Ecl. faciam vitulâ.

83 Medium erat in Anco ingenium, &c.] "The genius of Ancus was of a middle kind, partaking both of the disposition of Numa and Romulus; and besides his believing that peace was more necessary in the reign of his grandfather than in his own, as the people were then newly incorporated and barbarous, he also (believed) that he himself could not easily, without submitting to injuries, maintain the tranquillity which had fallen to the others lot; that his patience was tried, and, when tried, was despised: and that the times were fitter for a king like Tullus than Numa." The structure of this sentence is somewhat complicated and obscure. Repeat credebat with etiam.
NOTES TO BOOK I. C. 32.

81 *Jus descript*it.] "He copied, or borrowed the form." *Jus* is "the legal and established form or ceremony" used in doing any thing; *carmen*, a few sentences after, is "the language or words" used in going through it.

82 Capite velato filo (lanae velamen est).] "His head being covered with a thread (the covering is of wool)." So Tibull, L. I. Eleg. 3, *velatus filo*, and Virg. *Æn.* 5. 366, *vittis velatus*. *Velare* is used to signify "to cover the head with chaplets, fillets, garn-lands, &c. in sacrifice." Some read *filum*, and connect it with *lanae*.

83 *Fas.*] The divine law, which was violated by the aggressors.

84 *Dedier . . . siris.*] For *dedi* and *siveris*. There is another reading—*dedier* populo Romano mihi, "to be given up to me, the representative of the Roman people."

85 *Si non deduntur, quos exposcit.*] Scil. *quos homines dedi exposcit*; he uses here the more worthy gender, as grammarians say; as he had said before, *illos homines illasque res dedier*. Duker would prefer *quae*, which would include persons and things.

86 *Sole* nnes sunt.] So many are allowed by established rule, before war is proclaimed.

87 *Cum his nuncius redit.*] "He returns with this news."

88 *Quarum rerum, litium, causarum, condixit.*] "With respect to the matters, controversies, and arguments about which the *pater patratus* of the Romans negotiated with the *pater patratus*, &c." These genitives are a Græcism, where *luxa* is often understood. *Condivit*, "treated with," alludes to the negotiation about the breach of the league, and the demand of the restitution, which was rejected. As it was the *pat. patr.* who ratified the truce, it is natural he should be the person sent to complain of its violation, and require redress; though Livy does not mention the *pater pat.* of the Latins, we must suppose he was the person to treat with the Roman *pat. patr.*, who is styled *legatus* above. Gronovius and Crevier imagine that *condixit* means "entered into a covenant with," and that it alludes to the league entered into between the two states, and ratified by the *pater patr.* of each, whose proper office it was to make peace. They think the king consulted the senate only about the violation of the league, and not the refusal of restitution.

89 *Consenti*o consciscoque.*] "I am of opinion that they should be sought by fair and holy combat, and consent and vote with those who think so." Crevier says the words *consentio consciscoque* allude to the consent given by the senate to the people, whose business, he says, it was to declare war; but it does not appear the people were at all consulted, as Walker, I think, well observes.

90 *Bellum erat consensu.*] "War was declared by common con- sent," i.e. the vote of the majority was as effectual as if all
NOTES TO BOOK I. C. 32, 33.

were unanimous. Crevier reads consensus. "The war was unanimously agreed on." This phrase occurs B. 8. c. 6.

54 Sanguineam.] "Smeared with blood;" or "whose bark was naturally of a blood-red colour."

55 Quod populi . . . fecerunt.] "Because, or, for as much as the Latins have acted, transgressed against, &c."

CHAP. XXXIII.—56 Circa Palatium, sedem veterum Romanorum.] "And since the Sabines had taken up the capitol and citadel, and the Albans, Mount Coelius, which were the places situated round the Palatium, the seat of the original Romans." Many old copies read veteres Romani.

97 Aventinum novæ multitudini datum.] Aventinum is sometimes used thus in the neuter gender, as after, and B. 3. c. 67, adversus nos Aventinum capitur. Dionysius calls it frequently τὸ Ἀβεντίνιον.

58 Omni bello Latino Medulliam compulsu.] "The whole force of the belligerent Latins being brought together to Medulla, the contest was carried on there for some time with various success, while the general issue of the war remained uncertain."

Mars, in Livy, when opposed to victoria, means the whole success and termination of a campaign or battle; though each party may at different times gain some advantage, yet the general issue may be uncertain. Variá victoria; æquo, or, incerto Marte, are phrases often used by Livy. See B. 2. c. 16.

99 Aliquoties . . . signa contulerat.] "Fought the Romans several times in close engagement." Conferre signa is a phrase that means to come to close battle.

1 Acie.] "In a pitched battle." Dionysius says he took Medullia at this time.

2 Ad Murcia.] "At the temple of Venus." Murcia sitve Murtia, quasi Myrtea, an epithet given to Venus either from myrtus, because the myrtle was sacred to her, or from murcus, "slothful," because she was the goddess of sloth—idleness being an incentive to lust. The myrtle was sacred to her, as it usually grows on the sea shore; and she was said to spring from the sea.

3 Non muro solûm, sed etiam ponte subsilio conjungi urbi, &c.] Cingi, or some such word, is understood to muro. This is a very common kind of ellipsis, when only one verb is joined to many substantives, while the verb, which properly agrees with some of them, is suppressed. Muro cannot depend on conjungi, as it is not likely the Janiculum was joined to it at this time, as the Piræus was to Athens. See B. S. c. 68. In Tiberim is another reading; both forms are used.

4 Sublici[o.] "Wooden," from sublicio, "piles" driven into the water to prop the bridge. See Cæsar, Bell. Gall. B. 4. c. 17.

5 Haud parvum munimentum à planioribus aditus locis.] "No trifling defence in places which were low in situation, or level of approach." Ab ed parte, says Rhenanus, quà erant loca planiora
et additum faciliōrā.—Some copies incorrectly read additum in place of additu.

6 Discrimine recte an perperam facti confuso.] "The distinction of right and wrong being confounded," and consequently disregarded.

Chap. XXXIV.—7 Ignorans nurum ventrem ferre.] "When he died without noticing his grandchild in his will, as he did not know that his daughter-in-law was pregnant." Venter and uterus are often figuratively used to signify partus. So Tacit. Annal. B. 1. c. 59, subjectus servitio uxoris uterus.—An. 15. c. 29, senatus uterum Poppiae commendaverat diis.—See Drakenborn for an account of the variation here in the statements of Livy and Dionysius.

9 Divitiae animos facerent.] "When riches gave him high notions, Tanaquil enlarged those high notions."

9 Haud facile tis.] "Who could not easily bear that her condition after marriage should be lower than that in which she was born," i.e. that her husband should be inferior to her family. Rhenanus reads innupsisset in place of illi nupsisset. Gronovius, who is followed by others, reads humiliae sineret ea qua innupsisset. Spernentibus, &c. According to him, qua innupsisset must be used for quibus innupsisset.

9 * In novo.] We must conceive volvebat in animo Tanaquil, or the like, understood. Futurum—understand esse depending on the suppressed clause.

10 Sabina matre.] As she was the daughter of Numa, who was a Sabine. No mention being any where made of the father of Ancus, Seneca says, Ep. 108, Anci pater nullus.

11 Unda imagine.] "He could only produce the single image of Numa to entitle him to nobility." No one was considered noble who could not show images of his ancestors; and no one was allowed to have an image, who had not filled one of the highest offices in the state.

12 Ut cupidō honorum."

13 Ministerio.] "As if sent by divine command to perform that office."

14 Excelsa et alta.] In this sense μντίωψα and ἰτηνα are used together by Longinus and others.

15 Eam alitem.] "That such a bird from such a quarter of the sky, and the messenger of such a deity, (i.e. Jupiter, to whom the eagle was sacred,) had come." All these were omens of his future greatness. An accusative with an infinitive, when the verb on which it depends is understood, is very usual in exclamations, or to express any quick or strong emotion. So Virgil, Æn. 1. 41, mene incepto desistere victam.
NOTES TO BOOK I. C. 34, 35, 36.

16 Levasse—decus.] "Lifted the ornament," i. e. his cap.——Divinitus, "by the will of heaven."

17 L. Tarquinium Priscum edidere nomen.] As he did not take this name until afterwards, this expression should be rejected: yet it must be confessed Livy uses the figure prolepsis not unfrequently. See B. 8. c. 13.

18 Noticitamque eam.] "And that acquaintance with the royal family he in a short time, by paying his court to the king with politeness and address, had improved so far, as to be admitted to the privileges of familiar friendship."

19 Expertus.] "Being proved faithful."

Chap. XXXV.—20 Ablegavit.] This properly signifies "to send out of the way whatever may be an annoyance or impediment." Sub tempus, "a little before the time of the comitia."

21 Quum, se non rem novam petere, &c.] Either quum must be expunged, or some such word as diceret, or memoraret, must be understood.

22 Ultro.] Without the thing being expected by him. See c. 5. n. 75.

23 Sui potens.] "Ever since he became his own master."

24 Minorum gentium.] "Of younger or inferior families." This name was given to those more meritorious and opulent plebeians, who were elected into the order of the patricians, and afterwards into the senate. At this time the number of 300 senators was made up. Majorum gentium patres were those whose fathers were patricians under Romulus and Tatius.

25 Factio haud dubia regis.] "Undoubtedly a faction belonging to the king."

26 Praedâ majore, quâm quanta belli fama fuerat.] "Having brought back from it a greater share of booty than could be expected from a war of such little notoriety." The ellipsis is thus filled up:——Majore prædâ, quâm tanta prædâ erat, quanta belli fama fuerat.

27 Spectacula.] "Seats," from which they may see the games.

28 Spectavere.] They remained during the games on these seats, supported by props twelve feet high from the ground.——Literally, "They beheld the games, props supporting the seats, which were in height twelve feet from the ground." Dionysius, B. 3. p. 200, says that this circus lay between the Aventine and Palatine; that the seats were covered overhead with a separate division for each fratria; and that, before this, the spectators stood up.

Chap. XXXVI.—29 Divine tu, inaugurare.] "Come, you diviner, tell me by your augury."——So ch. 6, ad inaugurandum templa capiunt. Several copies and MSS. read divina inauguratò; but inaugurare, when transitive, in the common grammatical sense of the word, means "to choose or consecrate a place for taking omens."——So B. 3. c. 20.
80 Comitio.] A part of the forum, where in early times the assemblies of the people, called comitia, convened for public purposes, were held. After the people assembled in the Campus Martius, the assemblies of the curia were still held here. It comes from cōēō.

31 Certē.] This is opposed to memorant before. Whether the story about the whetstone be true or false, this is certain, &c.

32 Summa rerum dirimerentur.] "The most important concerns of the state were put off." Gronovius would read, exercitus vocati de summar rerum.

33 Alterum tantum.] "As many more." Like τοσοῦτοι τεσσαρείς. Numerum is understood. So B. S. c. 8.—B. 10. c. 46.—B. 45. c. 10.

34 Posteriores.] Those, who were added, were called juniors, but under the same name as they had before, i.e. Ramnenses posteriores, Luceres posteriores, Tatienses posteriores. Crevier and others connect modo with posteriores appellati sunt; thus "they were only distinguished by the name of 'juniors' prefixed to their original name." For mille et octingenti, some read mille et ducenti; some, mille et trecenti.—The commentators are diffuse, and indeed not very clear, each in support of his favourite reading.—Drakenborch supports the present reading thus:—Romulus had three centuries of horse, or 300; Tatius added as many more; Tullius (ch. 30,) added ten turms, i.e. 300, making in all 900 horse.—So that when Tarquin doubled the number in his time, there were 1800.—But, as Walker observes, be the number what it may, Livy says that Tarquin only doubled it.

25 Geminate sunt.] i.e. by Serv. Tullius. See ch. 43.—Sex centurias, "the six centuries," by way of pre-eminence.

Chap. XXXVII.—36 Pleraque in ratibus.] "And when most of it, driven against the piles, stuck in the timber of which the bridge was made." Gronovius, Drakenborch, and Crevier read, et pleraque ratibus impacta subelicisque cùm hærerent. Others say that in ratibus means "placed on rafts."

37 Pontem.] A bridge which the Sabines built over the Anio.

36 Et fuisis.] The common reading, effusis, is manifestly incorrect. Effundo, effluo, effringo, exprorno, and the like, are often corruptly introduced into MSS. for et fundo, et fluo, et frango, et exprorno, and the like.

39 Insignem victorian, fecēre.] "Made the victory known."

40 Tenēre.] "Reached them." So portum tenere.

41 Vulcano.] As it was by his agency the bridge was consumed.

Chap. XXXVIII.—42 Collatia.] Hence, says Dionysius, he and his posterity were called Collatini: for circa some read citra.

43 In sua potestate.] "At their own disposal."

44 Utensilia.] This means generally any thing for use; in Tacitus the word means "provisions."
45 Tarquinius triumphant.] This is the first instance of a regular triumph recorded in Roman history, the introduction of which ceremony is by some ascribed to Tarq. Priscus; Dionysius and Plutarch ascribe it to Romulus.

46 Quietior.] "So that the people did not enjoy more rest."

47 Quo.] Scil. parte, "where."

48 E. fastigio.] "By sewers led down into the Tiber from the high ground," from which the water used to flow into the hollows. Gronovius thinks the passage means, that these sewers were drawn only through the flat ground, but "on a slope," and would prefer the rejection of è before fastigio.

49 Occupat.] "Takes previous possession of the place (before it could be appropriated to any other purpose) by laying the foundation."

Chap. XXXIX.— 50 Prodigium.] See a somewhat similar one, Æn. 2. 682.

51 Reges.] "The king and queen."

52 Familiarium.] "Of the domestics." This word was originally used for famulus.

53 Scire licet.] "Be assured (from this omen) that this boy will hereafter be to us a light in our adversity." Lumen, like φάς in Homer, is used to signify "comfort, hope, or protection;" columnen is another reading.

54 Materiem.]] "Let us, with all the attention we can bestow, rear him up, who is to be the source of great glory to our family and our state."

55 Ingenia ad magna fortune cultum excitantur.] "By which noble minds are roused to maintain exalted rank with dignity." Some read culmen for cultum.

56 Evasit vere indulis regiae.] "The youth proved to be of a mind truly royal."

57 Quodicumque de causâ.] "This great honour conferred upon him, from whatever cause it was so conferred, prevents us from believing that he was born of a slave, and was himself a slave, when a child."

58 Unicam nobilitatem.] "The extraordinary nobility of her rank."

59 Mulieres.] "The queen and the widow of Ser. Tullius.

Chap. XL.— 60 Pro indignissimo habuerant.] "Although they had deemed it the greatest indignity, that they were driven from the throne of their father by the treachery of their guardian; that a stranger, who was not only not of citizen origin, but not even of Italian, should be king at Rome."

61 Non modâ.] This expression is very frequent for non modò non, when ne quidem is used in the next clause; so is also non solùm; see B. 5. c. 43. οὐκ ἐπω is used in the same sense, when ἀλλ. ἀντ. is in the next clause: οὐκ ἐπω ἀπήπεξεν ἡ διεκάλυσεν, ἀλλ. αὐτῷ ἡγιασμ. γεγινηται.—Demos.
62 Indignitas.] "Indignation," or a sense of the indignity.
63 Centesimum ferè annum.] "After about the hundredth year."
Ferè here, as elsewhere, is used for circiter, and means "a little more," or "a little less," as occasion may require. Though one hundred and forty years elapsed since the death of Romulus, yet they limit the time to one hundred, to excite greater odium against Tarquin.
64 Et quia.] "And also this consideration stimulated them against him, that the king, if he survived, would take severer vengeance for the murder, than a private individual; besides (tum) if Servius was killed, &c." This was a third consideration. Walker says the sentence is elliptical, and thus fills it up:—Et (regi insidias parabunt) quia, &c. May it not be more simply explained thus:—et hoc stimulabat eos, scil. quia gravior, &c., quia being the same as quod which some read here? Gronovius, followed by Drakenborch and Crevier, thinks quia should be expunged.
65 Ferramentis quibus consueti erant agrestibus.] "Armed with the iron tools of husbandmen, which they used to carry, or were acquainted with." This clause depends on convertunt; qui for quibus is erroneously found in some copies.
66 Invicem.] "By turns," one after the other.
67 Se rex totus averteret.] "When the king, attentive to him, turned off entirely from the other, then this other, &c."—Some copies read averteret.

Chap. XLI.—68 Populi.] This, being a noun of multitude, agrees with mirantium; mirantis and mirari are other readings.
69 Arbitros.] This word elsewhere, as here, means a stranger or person who may afterwards be brought as evidence. In Salust, Bell. Cat. arbitris procul amotis, refers to those who were not in the secret of the conspiracy.
70 Alia molitar.] "Provides other safeguards," other means of protecting her person, and securing her power.
71 Socrum ludibrio esse.] "His mother-in-law to be a sport."
72 Flamma.] Alluding to the lambent flame that played around his head in his sleep, when a boy.
73 Et nos peregrini regnavimus.] i. e. Our example, who were foreigners like you, should also stimulate you. For verè, before, some read verere? some, quid verere?
74 Ad Jovis Statoris.] Scil. aedem; so ch. 33, ad Murcia—sic et alibi saep.
75 Sopitum fuisse.] "Was only stunned." Thrown into a trance or sleep.
76 Salubria.] That all the symptoms showed he was safe.
77 Servio Tullio jubere populum dicto audientem esse.] "That he ordered the people to obey, or listen to, the command of Servius Tullius'—dicto audiens esse alicui, is a phrase commonly used to signify, to obey or hearken to the mandate of one.
This was a streaked robe, of a purple and white colour, worn by kings; it comes from *trabs*. After the expulsion of the kings, it was worn during the republic by consuls on the day of triumph, and by knights when reviewed by the censor. There was another kind, all purple, sacred to the gods; and a third of purple and scarlet, worn by augurs.

"For some days after he had already expired."

"Of discharging another person's duty."

"The thing being made public." This use of the participle in the abl. absolute is quite common—some read *palam factum ex comploratione*.

Chap. XLII.—"Publicis magis consiliis quidm privatìs." "Servius began now to secure his power, not more by schemes of a public than of a private nature." His public schemes were the *census* and *com. centuriata*; his private schemes were the marriage of his daughters. For next reference in text, in place of 88, read 83.

"But that envy of the sovereign power should produce general treachery and hostility, even among the members of his own family;" this was the *fati necessitatem* just mentioned.

"Very opportunely for preserving the tranquillity of the present state of things."

*i. e.* The treaty renewed by Tullus. See ch. 30. n. 61.

"Acknowledged undoubtedly now as king, whether he should try the affections of the patricians or populace." *Periclitari* often means to "hazard" an experiment, or "to try."

"He proceeds to a work of peace (i. e. of civil policy) of the greatest importance."

"Servius conditorem omnìs discriminis ordinumque." "So posterity may celebrate Servius as the founder of all distinction in the state, and of the several orders, by means of which any difference appears between the degrees of rank and fortune."

This was a quinquennial registering of every man's age, family, profession, property and residence, by which the amount of his taxes was regulated. Every man was obliged on oath to give a fair return.

The centuries of horse, which at first consisted of one hundred, did not consist of a fixed number of persons; the first class, though not containing more individuals, contained more centuries than any other class.

*i. e.* This arrangement which subsists at present, calculated to preserve propriety and regularity in all transactions either of peace or war.
Chap XLIII.—98 Centum rhiium æris.] "A fortune of one hundred thousand asses, or pounds weight of brass." This does not mean their yearly income, but their whole property. The value of money (which was mostly brass) at this time was estimated by weight; an as was about three farthings of our money.

99 Quadragesenas seniorum ac juniorum.] "Forty of the elder, and forty of the younger." The elder were those who had attained the age of forty-six; the younger (juvenes or juniores) from seventeen to forty-six.

94 Fabrûm centuriae.] Dionysius says these belonged to the second class.

95 Ut machinas in bello ferrent.] Lipsius (B. 3. Poliorcet. Dial. 6,) thinks, with great justice, that we should read facerent here for ferrent. Dionysius, B. 4. p. 222, says, there were two centuries ὀπλαστών καὶ πικτώνων.

96 Senioribus junioribusque.] "Ten senior and ten junior."

97 Clypeo.] This was round and shorter than the scutum, which was oblong. Livy B. 8. c. 8, says that all soldiers, after they began to receive pay, used the scutum. Polybius, B. 6, says, that this was four feet long and two and a half broad, and covered the whole body, which Homer expresses by the words ἢμφιβότος, "covering the man all over," and πολυκιθής, "reaching to the feet." He describes Hector’s shield, when slung on his back, reaching from head to foot, B. 6. 117, as follows:

'Αμφί θύμος σφεδάντος, καὶ αἰχμὴ δειμνά κάλαινον
"Αντρώ, ή πυματὴ θίν ασπίδων ἰμφαλαίοναν.

98 Præter loricam, omnia eadem.] This second class had all the armour and weapons of the first, except the lorica; the third class wanted the loricæ and ocrea.

99 Tertiar classis in quinquaginta millium censum esse.] "He enacted that the fortune of the third class should be from seventy-five to fifty thousand asses." The words, as they stand, are obscure; it is likely that censum is understood. Crevier says centurias is the word understood. Drakenborch says that no word is understood, but that millia should be written for millium, as it was originally written in L. M. in the MSS. which gave rise to the mistake. This is quite probable. Some copies read tertiam clássem in quinquaginta : some, in tertiâ classe quinquaginta, &c. The explanation in Walker’s edition is decidedly wrong; it says, certè Livius voluit tertiam classem institutam fuisset intra septuaginta usque ad quinquaginta millium censum. Surely it should be, intra quinque et septuaginta usque ad. Seventy-five thousand asses constituted the minimum property as a qualification for the second class; and from that down to fifty thousand was the property of the third class. One of Vossius’s MSS. has, tertia classis, quam intra quinque et septuaginta usque in quinquaginta millium
censum esse voluit, totidem, &c. This evidently is the meaning of the passage, whatever be the reading.

1 Armamutata, nihil prater hastam et verutum datum.] Verutum was a short dart, headed with a piece of iron resembling a spit (veru); it is supposed to be a casting dart, hurled by means of a string. The spear (hasta) was given for close fight. See B. S. c. 24. Though the arms of this class were lighter than those of the former, yet they were not properly velites, or light-armed troops. The hasta was not always used in close fight, as Cic. (de Senectute, c. 6.) shows: nec eminus hastis, nec cominus gladiis uteretur.—As be here mentions hasta and verutum for different purposes, so he mentions hasta and gasa, B. S. c. 8. Dionysius says, this class had ἑφίονες τί, καὶ ἔρφη, καὶ δόγανα, scutaque, gladiosque, pilaque. So after he attaches the musicians not to the fifth class, like Livy, but to the fourth.

2 Aucta.] Increased in the number of centuries.

3 In his accensi cornicines tubicinesque in tres centurias distributi.] This passage has opened to the commentators a wide field for criticism. Most of them, as the words thus stand, think that these three centuries consisted of three kinds of persons, horn-blowers, trumpeters, and extraordinaries, or superno-numeraries, accensi. These accensi, of whom Livy speaks, B. S. c. 8, were kept for the purpose of filling any vacancies caused by death, &c.; they were also the coadjutors or servants of the centuriae and other officers; they were sometimes posted among the light-armed troops. Some think that in his means, “included among the centuries of the fifth class;” and, according to these, the entire number of centuries must be one hundred and ninety-one. Others again think that these three centuries were additional; and that in before his should be expunged. And some go so far as to imagine that in duas should be substituted for in tres, because Dionysius says, there were only two centuries consisting of horn-blowers, trumpeters, and other musicians, which were added to the fourth class. I think this would better correspond with the distribution of the centuries into senior and junior, and with the two centuries of mechanics. But if, says Walker, we make accensi, according to Perizonius, a verb, and read (according to a MSS. of Vossius, which, I think, he means by unus codex manuscriptus,) the whole passage thus, in his accensi cornicines tubicinesque inter centurias distributi, it will be very plain—“among these, (i. e. the centuries of the fifth class) were reckoned the horn-blowers and trumpeters, who were distributed through all the centuries.” They were obliged to have the same property as the centuries of the fifth class, and paid the same tax, yet they formed no distinct body by themselves, but were distributed through the centuries of the several classes, as there was occasion for them. Even by retaining tres, if we make accensi a verb, we can suppose that
cornices tubicinesque include others, and mean all the musical performers of the army, which were divided into three centuries. *Tubicines,* "sifers," is the common reading, which is wrong, as there were no sifiers in the Roman army. Dionysius calls them *tubicinai.*

4 *Censebatur.* "Was rated at."

5 *Tribus ab Romulo.* i.e. "Out of" the three. Gronovius says we should read *et tribus.* Salmassius (de milit. Rom. c. 20,) understands the words as meaning "in addition" to the three centuries of Romulus.

6 *Iisdem . . . nominibus.* They were called *Rhamnenses primi et secundi; Tatienses primi et secundi; Luceres primi et secundi.*

7 *Ad equos emendos dena millia æris ex publico data.* "Ten thousandasses." It is incredible, according to Walker, that each horseman, as all the commentators imagine, got such a considerable sum, as this must be at this time, to purchase a horse. Livy himself, B. 4. c. 45, calls this sum *divitiae* at a time when money was in much greater abundance. From a calculation of the value of money, he thinks it more probable that such a sum was given to each century.

8 *Et, quibus equos alerent, viduae attributa, quæ bina millia æris in singulos annos penderent.* "Widows were appointed to pay every year two thousand pounds weight of brass, by means of which the horsemen might support their horses."—Drakenborch says, this means that the widow’s tax formed a sort of fund, out of which each horseman every year got two thousand *asses*; not that each widow paid so much every year, as this would be an enormous severity.—Gronovius thinks *qui* would be better here than *quibus.*—No doubt, *qui* here would be very good to express the "means," as grammarians say, if there were the authority of respectable MSS. for it.

9 *Inde primæ classis centuriae.* "After these the eighty centuries of the first class were called on." The knights belonged to these.

10 *Ibi si variaret . . . ut.* "If there occurred a difference of opinion among these, the practice was, that those of the second class should be called." But if the eighteen centuries of knights, and the eighty centuries of the first class were unanimous, as these constituted the majority, it was unnecessary to poll any more. Sigonius says *ut* here depends on *gradus facti* above.

11 *Nec mirari oportet, hunc ordinem.* "Nor should we be surprised at this arrangement, which subsists at present, now that the tribes have been increased to thirty-five, and the original number of them doubled, does not correspond with the centuries of senior and junior, according to the amount of those instituted by Servius Tullius." Servius made four city tribes, or districts, denominated from the different quarters of the city which were inhabited, i.e. the Palatine, Suburran, Collinian, and Esqui-
line. Now this distribution by districts or tribes, which were merely certain portions of ground with the inhabitants, had nothing to do with the centuries. But afterwards the tribes became not portions of the city or country, but of the state; i.e. they were a sort of fraternity of citizens, connected by a participation in the common rights of the tribe, without any reference to their places of residence; (see B. 3. ch. 51. n.) and the centuries were included among them. Therefore, as the number of tribes increased, so did the number of centuries, but not the number of centuries in the several classes, according to the original proportion under the system of Servius; for if so, the superiority of the first class would still continue. And the consequence of this was, according to Dionysius, that the influence of the lower orders in political matters became predominant, as their centuries out-numbered, and out-voted those of the first class. He appointed country tribes or districts also; their number seems to have been about fifteen or sixteen.—See B. 2, c. 21. These country tribes were considered more honourable than the city tribes, because the employment of agriculture was held in the highest estimation, and because freedmen, mechanics, people in every kind of trade, and all the lowest of the community, were enrolled in the latter; so that when the number of tribes increased to thirty-five, it was about double what it was in the reign of Servius Tullius.

18 Tributo.] Others think the word comes from tres, because there were three tribes first appointed by Romulus; but Livy calls these “centuries of horse,” and they differed totally not only in name but in nature too from the tribes of Servius, because they only regarded the stock or origin of the constituent members.

13 Nam ejus quoque . . . . ratio inita est.] “For the system of contributing this too in even proportion, according to every one’s property, was established by him.

CHAP. XLIV. —14 Quem maturaverat metu legis de incensis latae.] “Which he had brought to a speedy close by means of the dread of the law that was passed about those who were not registered.”—It was this dread of the law that made them register so soon.—Donatus would read metus, which would certainly make the passage plainer.—Deinceps was the common reading of the old copies for de incensis.

15 Campo Martio.] This is a figure called prolepsis, or anticipation, as the place did not get this name until afterwards.—See B. 2. c. 5.

16 Suovetaurilibus.] A ceremony of purification, from sus, ovis, and taurus, “a swine, a sheep, and a bull,” properly “a boar, a ram, and a bull,” which, after being three times led round the army, were sacrificed to Mars.

17 Idque condition lustrum appellatum.] “And that (the cere-
mony or sacrifice of the suovetaurilia) was called the closing of
the lustrum.” Lustrum included every thing belonging to the
census, as appears by the next line.—Quia refers to conditum,
from condere “to end,” so Virg. Ecl. 9. 52, cantando puerum
memini me condere soles.
19 Fabius Pictor.] The most ancient of the Roman historians.
He lived in the second Punic war. There were however certain
chronicles and annals before his time.—See B. 4. c. 3.
19 Deinceps auget Esquilias.] “Then in continuation he en-
larges the Esquiline,” i. e. with more buildings and inhabitants.
Gronovius reads Esquiliis, i. e. he enlarges the city by taking in
the Esquiline. Deinceps means that the Esquiline was a conti-
nuation of the Viminal.
30 Postmarium.] i. e. The space “behind” or outside the wall.
Livy says that it is not the “only” meaning of the word, but
that it properly means the space on both sides of the wall. He
does “not” deny that the word comes from post and murus, but
he denies the correctness of the interpretation of these words.
31 Continuarentur.] Should be erected close to the walls.
32 Conjunctur.] Form a part of them.
CHAP. XLV.—23 Quum consensum deosque consociatos laudaret
mirè Servius inter proceres Latinorum.] Servius admired the
great concord and the friendly alliance, as it were, between their
gods, i. e. the unanimity in point of religion, that subsisted be-
tween the Latin chiefs.—Now this union in religion he saw
was the foundation and best cement of political alliance, and it
was for the purpose of attaching to himself these states of the
Latin by the bond of a common religion, that he prevailed on them
to build in conjunction with the Romans a temple at Rome
to Diana, whom they were to worship together; and as Rome
was thus made the seat of their common religion, it was a con-
fession that it was the capital of their united states. This, I
think, is the meaning of this passage.
24 Roma fanum Diana. ] This, says Dionysius, was on the
Aventine.
25 Id quanquam.] Though the Latins gave up all thoughts of
this pre-eminence.
26 Fors dare.] “An accidental opportunity of recovering
power by a scheme of his own seemed to offer itself to one of
the Sabines.” These, as well as the Latins, were struggling with
the Romans for pre-eminence. This, which the Latins had re-
signed all hope of, the Sabine thought he could obtain for his
own state. I do not think, as most commentators suppose, that
he here confounds the Latins and Sabines.
27 Fixa.....cornua.] They were hung up after she was slain.
28 Diana immolasset.] i. e. To Diana, whose temple was built
on the Aventine.
29 Incesté.] “Without previous purification.”
"Ex templo.] "Out of the temple." Ex templo, "immediately," would be a better reading, though ex templo is often used in this sense. When the sacrifice was over, the priest uttered the words ex templo, which was a signal for the people to retire; in the same way, when the business of the court was over, the crier pronounced ilicet (ire licet;) and as the people all at once retired, the words came to signify "at once." Some think that, as templum means "a place marked out by the augur for taking his omens," ex templo is the same as ilico, scil. e loco.

1 Immolat.] This properly means "to sprinkle meal mixed with salt on the head of the victim," which was the ceremony by which it was consecrated to the gods; hence it signifies "to sacrifice," and in general "to slay." It comes from in and mola, "meal mixed with salt."

Chap. XLVI.—Usu hand dubium regnum possederat.] "Though he had now an undoubted title to the kingdom in consequence of his possession of it." The Romans considered that possession for a certain time gave a right. So Horace, Ep. 2. B. 2. 150, quaedam mansipat usus. Some read dubie for dubium.

2 Affectandi regni.] "Of seizing on the sovereign power." So, Virg. Æn. 3. 670, ubi nullâ datur affectare dextrâ potestas. So in English we say "affected with disease, affected with melancholy," or the like.

3 De agro plebis adversâ patrum voluntate senserat agi.] "He was sensible, that the business of distributing the land among the populace, was opposed by the wishes of the patricians." Adversâ..... voluntate is an abl. absolute. Most old copies and MSS. read adversum (some, adversius) patrum voluntatem.—But the adjective adversus is often elegantly used by Livy and others to form an ablative absolute.

35 Et Romana regia.] "The palace of the Roman kings too (as well as that of other kings) presented an instance of tragic atrocity."

36 Filius neposne... ediderim.] Dionysius, arguing from the long reigns of Ancus, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius and Tarquinius Superbus, says he was his grandson; but this reasoning is overthrown by Newton in his chronology. Ediderim, "I may or can have pronounced him;" the same as edere licet. An is understood after filius; the omission of this particle an after a word, when ne is joined to a following word to which the preceding is opposed, is often met with. So B. 9, c. 32, Etrusci diem primum consultando, maturarent traherentne bellum, traducerunt.

37 Nuperant.] This word is properly applied to a woman, and strictly means "to put on the bridal veil." Ducere uxorem (to lead home his wife) was applied to the man.

38 Fortunâ.] Because the marriage of two such violent spirits would accelerate the king’s death, which would be an injurious event to the state, before his measures were established, and a taste for freedom given.
39 *Muliebri cessaret audaciā.*] "Wanted that daring enter prise which a woman ought to have." She imagined that this was a necessary qualification in a woman, as she herself pos- sessed it. *Cesso* sometimes means "to be free from," "to want;" so Lucan, *cessare Marte cruento; scil. à Marte cruento.*

40 *Sed initium.*] Though they both possessed such congeni- ality of sentiment, yet the woman was the first to begin the disturbance. Such is the force of *sed.*

41 *De viro ad fratrem.*] "About her own husband to his brother, about her sister to her (sister's) husband."

42 *Viduam.*] This word is sometimes, as here, applied to a woman who never married. *So virgo* sometimes means "a married woman." Hor. Od. B. 2, Od. 8. 22, *miseræque nuper virgines nuptae.* See also B. 3. Od. 11. 35.

43 *Aruns Tarquinius et Tullia minor prope continuatis funeribus quam domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, junguntur nuptiis.*] "When Aruns Tarquinius and the younger Tullia had by their deaths, which happened almost in succession, left their houses free for a new marriage, they (Lucius Tarquinius, and the elder Tullia) are united in matrimony, Servius rather not preventing, than approving of, the match." Dionysius says that the elder Tullia was the first wife of Lucius Tarquinius. Whence Sabellicus, Glareanus, and others, would read here *Tullia major.* According to this first explanation of the passage, the two verbs *fecissent* and *junguntur,* though apparently united in sense, must have different subjects. Such a peculiarity occurs elsewhere in Livy, where the subject of one of two verbs, (generally the latter verb) thus apparently connected, is supplied from the context, as *c. 4,* *sacerdos vineta in custodiam datur; pueros in profluentem aquam mitti jubet,* scil. *rex jubet—B. 2. c. 28, correpit consules quam, quid ergo se facere vellet, percunctarentur, decernunt ut,* &c. *scil. patres decernunt—B. 4. c. 48, presuntur à principibus tribunī.....sex ad intercessionem comparavère,* scil. *principes senatorum.* *Lucius Tarquinius et Tullia minor* is another reading sanctioned by almost all MSS.; and, according to this, the translation is, "after Lucius Tarquinius and the younger Tullia had by their murders, which happened almost in succession, (one by the murder of his wife, the elder Tullia; the other by the murder of her husband, Aruns Tarquinius) made their houses open for a new marriage, they are then joined in matrimony." This is the more probable reading, as the phrase *facere domos vacuas novis nuptiis* is applied rather to the "murderers" than the "murdered." So *Cic. Catil. 1. c. 6, cum morte superioris uxoris domum vacuum novis nuptiis fecisses.*—Sall. Catil. c. 15, *pro certo creditur, necato filio, domum vacuum scelestis nuptiis fecisse.*

**Chap. XLVII.—**44 *Infestior senectus.*] "More hated." This word is sometimes used in an active, sometimes, as here, in a passive sense.
45 Ne gratuita praterita parricidia essent.] "That their past murders may not be unrewarded."
46 Nupta dicetur.] i. e. Married nominally, not in reality. She calls her present marriage a nominal one from the pusillanimitiy of her husband. Tacita, "in silence," without murmuring against the king.
47 Isthec.] In your present condition the crime of murder is accompanied by inactivity.
48 Quin accingeris.] Literally "why are you not girded up?" why not prepare yourself for this enterprise? The expression is borrowed from the practice among the ancients, when about to enter on a journey or other active business, of tying up with a girdle the outside robe, which was usually loose and flowing.
49 Peregrina regna moliri.] You are not obliged like your father to set out from Corinth or Tarquinii "to struggle for" (moliri) foreign kingdoms: i. e. to which a foreigner you can have no claim.
50 Dii te penates...... et nomen Tarquinium creat.] Here the number of the last of several subjects determines the number of the verb. This is a remarkable instance of deviation from one of the first principles of grammar, where it is laid down, that, if a verb have several nominative cases, it must be plural. See B. 3. c. 50. n.
51 Nullum momentum.] "No influence." Momentum is properly whatever gives one scale of a balance its preponderance. We find "moment" in English used in a similar sense. The Almighty, speaking of the fall of man, says, (Paradise Lost, B. 10. l. 43.)

No decree of mine
Concurring to necessitate his fall,
Or touch with slightest "moment" of impulse
His free will to her own inclining left
In even scale——

52 Minorum gentium patres.] See ch. 35. n. 24. They were indebted to his father for their elevation, and ought to be the more anxious to support him.
53 Regis criminibus... crescere.] "He grew into popularity and power by accusations against the king." Crimen is often used in this sense; the verb "rise," in English, has often the force of crescere here.
54 Fraudi.] "Lest it should prove dangerous to them not to have come." Fraus in Livy often signifies "injury," "harm."—See ch. 24.
55 Stirpe ultimâ.] "The first origin of Servius."
56 Ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna esset.] That the fortune of the more wealthy might be made conspicuous for the purpose of exciting odium"—insignis here is the same as conspectus or conspicus (words often used in Livy,) and designates a marked or distinguished object, which ought to arrest men's notice.
CHAP. XLVIII.—57 Multo quâm servum potiorem, filium regis, regni haredem.] "Who, as being a king's son, would be a much fitter heir for the kingdom than a slave."

58 Per licentiam.] "By permission, with impunity;" or "by arbitrary insolence." Eludentem. This properly means "to parry off a blow" from an antagonist in a gladiator's fight.—See B. 2. c. 36. n.

59 Ad cogendum senatum.] It appears that the senators fled in the tumult.

60 Semianimi regio comitatu.] Livy mentioned their flight in the preceding sentence; probably, therefore, we should read se minime regio comitatu, says Walker; this reading of the passage, which most commentators say is corrupt, offers less violence to the text than any other which has been proposed, and furnishes the same meaning as most of them. Many reject the words as an interpolation of some transcriber. In many MSS. and copies semianinis regio comitatu is used.

61 Cyprium vicum.] "The top of street Cyprius." This was inhabited by Sabines. Cyprius, in the Sabine dialect, is the same as bonus, according to Varro.

62 Non abhorret à cetero scelere.] "It is not inconsistent with the rest of her atrocious conduct." Abhorrire is sometimes joined to a dative; so we say in English, "abhorrent from," or "abhorrent to," a thing, in the same sense.

63 Nec reverita.] "Not abashed at such a multitude of men."

64 Regemque prima appellavit.] "Was the first to salute him by the name of king."

65 Dianium.] A place consecrated to Diana. So Vulcainum, Mineratium.

66 Flectenti.] (Scil. Tulliae.) This may depend on restitit or ostendit. Flectente, taken absolutely, is the common reading. Gronovius would read flectens or flectendo, and refers it to auriga. —Most MSS. read flectere carpentum in dextram jussit auriga, ut in circum, &c.

67 Orbium.] This was so called on account of its circular windings (orbes). Virbium is the common reading, which is quite incorrect, as the hill Virbius is between Bovillæ and Aricia; and Bovillæ was eleven miles from Rome on the Appian road.

68 Feadum.] "The shocking and inhuman wickedness of her conduct is handed down to us ever since; and the place serves as a monument to record it."

69 Quibus iratis......exitus sequeruntur.] "Through whose vengeance events were likely soon to follow."

70 Quia unius esset.] "Because it was vested in one person."

CHAP. XLIX.—71 Superbo.] This sometimes, as here, means "inhuman." See Æn. 8. 118 and 196.

72 Ed accedebat.] "To this was added the fact, that a man
who placed no hope in the love of his fellow-citizens, should defend his kingdom by striking terror into them."

73 *Consilii.] This word frequently in Cicero means counsellors, as here. See B. 3. c. 15. n.

74 *Pergue eam causam.] "And under that pretext."

75 *Sed unde.] "But persons from whom," Unde is often applied to persons. So is *ibi* and other adverbs of place.

76 *Octavio Mamilio.] Sigonius, who is supported by others, thinks that, as *Octavius* was the common name of a family at Rome, and as Dionysius and Festus assert that *Mamilius* here designates the name of that which he belonged to, we should here read *Octavo,* for a *nomen* was never used as a *prænomen,* or private name, of an individual. But Gronovius well replies, that what may be a *nomen,* or the name of a whole family at Rome, may be used as the *prænomen* of an individual amongst some of the other states of Italy.

77 *Ulyse.] Commonly written *Ulysses.*

CHAP. L.—79 *Ad lucum Ferentinæ.]* This was at the foot of the Alban hill. The Latins, from the destruction of Alba until the consulsip of P. Decius Mus, (when they were finally subdued) used to hold their general councils here, to deliberate on all matters that concerned their common government. There was here a sacred fountain. See next chapter.

80 *Diem servavit.] "Kept or observed the day."

81 *Quidem mutsitanter, vulgo tamen.]* Most MSS. and old copies have *quidam* ; but *vulgo* evidently opposes this; what only a "few" persons do, cannot be said to be done "commonly."

82 *Obnoxios.] *"When in his power, at his mercy." So Sall. Juz., qui ne nunc quidem, obnoxii inimicit, exsurgitis.

83 *Bene crediderint.] *"Which if his own people did well to entrust to him, or if it was in fact entrusted to him, and not seized on by murder, so ought the Latins to entrust it to him; and yet not even so indeed ought they entrust it to him as being a stranger. But if even his own people rue his power,"—Most MSS. have *alienigena deberent.*

84 *Facinorosus.] *"Daring." *Facinus* always means "a bold and daring deed," but not always "a wicked one."

85 *Disceipatorem se sumptum.] *"He was chosen arbitrator." See B. 5. c. 4.

86 *Tulisse tacitum.] He did not state this without a remark from Tullus. *Tacitum ferre* and *impunitum ferre aliquid,* are applied to a person who says or does any thing without recrimination, and punishment. See B. 3. c. 45.

87 *Nullam breviorem esse cognitionem.] *"That no investigation could be sooner decided."

CHAP. LI.—88 *Pro imperto.] *"By virtue of his own power."

89 *Adversa factionis quosdam.] *"Some of a party among the Latins opposed to Turnus."

90 *Diversorium.] *"His lodging." *Diversorium, or diverti-
culum, is properly, 'a hotel or inn on the way,' to which people turn aside (diverto) from the road.

Vim.] "Quantity." So, Sall. Jug., vim magnam pulveris. See B. 29. c. 36. So also in English we use "power" in vulgar phraseology for "quantity" or "number."

Auctor concili.] The person who convened the meeting, i. e. Tarquin himself.

Spem destituerit.] He (Tarquin) defeated his hopes by his delaying. So B. 35. c. 39, si tu spem meam destiteris.

Non dubitare.] "That he himself had no doubt, if truth were reported to him, but that Turnus intended to come—_."

Quod videbatur ob eam differri cædes potuisse.] "Because it seemed that the murder might have possibly been deferred by reason of that delay."

Chap. LII.—Novantem res.] "Plotting innovation or sedition."

Vetusto jure.] "A right long since established."

Eo fœdere.] See c. 24.

Utilitatis . . . omnium causâ.] "But for the sake of the interest of all, he rather wished that the league should be renewed."

1 Stare ac sentire cum rege videbant.] Scil. Latini videbant. Videbantur is another reading, scil. capita Latini nominis videbantur.

2 Ne ducem suum . . . habearent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque, ut ex binis singulos faceret, binosque ex singulis.] "In order that they should have no leader of their own, or a separate command, or private colours of their own, he mixed up the companies of Romans and Latins, so as out of a pair of companies to make single companies, and of single companies to make a pair," i. e. Out of a pair of companies, one Roman and one Latin, he took half of each, and so made up one; and of a single Roman or Latin company he made a pair, by distributing the two parts of it between to separate new ones.

3 Centuriones.] After this junction of the two armies, all the companies were considered as Roman companies, and as every Roman company before became now two, by joining each half of it to half a Latin company, the number of Roman companies was doubled, and each was commanded by a Roman centurion. But afterwards, as the number of men in a manipulus increased, there were two centurions to each. Manipulus, so called because its standard was originally a handful (manipulus, qu. manum impleo) of hay tied to a pole.

Chap. LIIII.—Ni degeneratum in aliis huic quoque decori offecisset.] "Had not his degeneracy in other points counter-balanced even this merit,"—this use of the participle as a noun substantive, is found elsewhere in Livy, as B. 4. c. 49, tentatum ab L. Sextio, ut rogationem ferret, per intercessionem collegarum discussum est.—B. 7. c. 22, tentatum domi per dictatorem, ut
ambo patricii consules crearentur, rem ad interregnum perduxit.—
See B. 4. c. 59. n. for more instances.

5 In ducentos amplius post suam ætatem.] “Which was to last for two hundred years longer after his time.”

6 Divendendá praedá quadraginta talenta argenti (aurique,) receptisset.] “When he had reserved (or saved) forty talents of silver by the sale of the plunder.” Some read dividendā—quadringlenta. But it is not likely that he distributed this immense sum among his soldiers. Aurique in the text is considered as spurious. Dionysius, B. 4. p. 251, says, the sum was four hundred talents of silver, which was the tithe of the whole plunder—τὸ εἰ τοῖς δικαιοῦσιν ἀργυρὸν τιτρακόσιων οὐ μιᾶν γίνεται τάλαντον. This appears to be a prodigious sum in those days, particularly as being the tenth of the spoils of one small town. Refecisset, which Brisson shows often means the same as colligere, is a very common reading.—See ch. 55. n. 33.

7 Obsidendi quoque.] Trying it by blockade too, as well as (vit) by storm.

8 Minimus.] Dionysius says he was the eldest.

9 Frequentiæ teedere.] “He was dissatisfied even with the great number of his own children.”

10 Ardoris aliquid . . . . inventurum.] That perhaps he would find persons, who would not only protect him, but even feel an ardour to engage in war, &c.

11 Morarentur.] “If they should pay him no attention, or detain him.” Moror may signify either. Moverentur is another reading.

12 Vetant mirari.] “They bid him not to be surprised.”

13 Si alia desint.] “If other objects for exercising his cruelty upon failed him.”

CHAP. LIV.—14 Ubi, quum de aliis rebus assentire.] “After that he was admitted to their public councils: where, while he declared that he would submit in other matters to the opinions of the Gabinian elders, who were better acquainted with them, he assumed to himself the privilege of perpetually recommending war, and claimed for himself superior knowledge in this, because he was “acquainted with” (nóset) the strength of both people, and “knew” (sciret) that the tyranny of a king, which even his own children had been unable to endure, was surely an object of hate to free citizens.” Mark the different use and signification here of noscere and scire. All that I think necessary to say here is, that noscere, in general, is to know or be “acquainted with” any thing as an object of perception, as, novi cedes, hominem, vultus, vires, &c. Novi the perfect denotes present knowledge and past perception; though properly referring to substance and its attributes as objects of perception, yet it sometimes refers metaphorically to any other object apprehended by the mind.—Scire is to know any thing as a matter of fact, or any truth as an object of
conviction, as, Plaut. Cas. prol. non nòrant, scio, "they are not acquainted with the play, I know as a fact," or "am convinced of."—Ter. Andr. A. 5, Sc. 4. Ch. Phanta île frater meus fuit. Sim. Nóram et scio. "I knew the man, and know as a fact, or am convinced, that he was your brother."—Scire seldom or never denotes acquaintance with a sensible object as apprehended by the mind.

15 Rebellandum.] "To renew the war." This is the proper meaning of the word; and the expression is now used, because Tarquin had suspended hostilities, which were now revived. Cre- vier thinks it means to "rebel," because they were before this under subjection to the Romans, and the words Gabiis receptis, in beginning of next chapter, seem to justify this interpretation.

16 Quid ageretur.] "What scheme was in contemplation."

17 Tacitis ambagibus.] "Silent intimations." See c. 56. n. 7.

19 Suâ ipsâ invidiâ opportunos.] "Others of themselves fit for his purpose from the odium excited against them," i. e. who could be safely attacked, for their want of popularity.

19 In quibus minus speciosa crimina.] With regard to whom impeachment would appear less plausible.

50 Patuit volentibus füga.] Some, who wished to fly, were allowed.

51 Divisi.] Were distributed among the people. See B. 33. c. 36. The common reading is disiva.

Chap. LV.—22 Receptis.] "Recovered," because it was one of those Latin cities, that had, before this, become subject to the Romans. Yet, see B. 2. c. 30.

23 Jovis Templum.] This consisted of three parts; the middle was sacred to Jove, that on the right to Minerva, and that on the left to Juno.

24 Monte Tarpeio.] So called from Tarpeia, who was buried there; (see ch. 11. ;) it was before that time called Saturnius: it was afterwards generally known by the name of the Capitoline Hill; the name Tarpeian was confined to a high precipice on one side of it, from which malefactors, especially those, guilty of treason, were thrown, as a punishment, and were dashed to pieces.

25 Tarquinios.] Let the young reader observe this peculiarity of style; this is the collocation of the words, Tarquinios, ambos reges, vouisse et perfecisse, scil. patrem vouisse, filium perfecisse. Some make Tarquinios ambos reges depend on secundum understood. See ch. 38, at the end.

26 Ut libera à ceteris religionibus area esset.] "And that the ground might be free from consecration to all other gods, and be appropriated entirely to Jupiter, and to the temple which was to be built thereon, he determined to cancel the inauguration of the shrines and chapels, several of which, &c."

27 Movisse numen.] "Exerted or showed their power." Numen, from nuo, is properly the nod, hence the will and power of the divinity; sometimes it means the divinity itself.
28 Termini.] This was the god of boundaries; he was represented by a stone placed erect, large stones being in early times the chief boundaries and landmarks; he was worshipped, according to Numa's institution, with the first fruits. Livy, Epitome, and B. 5. c. 54, and Dionysius, B. 3. p. 202, mention, that the shrine of Juventus (or god of youth) also was not molested.

29 Caput rerum.] Hence the place was called capitol. Others imagine that the word "capitol" comes from Caput Toli; and that Tolus was the man's name, whose head was dug up there.

30 Destinata erant.] See ch. 38, at the end, and ch. 53, at the beginning.

31 Crediderim.] See ch. 46. n. 36. Gronovius says, that 400,000 lbs. of silver are about 666 talents and 40 minae. Walker, I think, judiciously observes, that as Livy thought such a sum so incredibly enormous, quadrinagenta talenta here and ch. 53, which some give, is an improbable reading.

32 Pisoni.] L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, the historian, flourished in the time of the third Punic war.

33 Fundamenta non exsuperaturam.] "And a sum that would be more than sufficient for laying the foundation of any building, even these magnificent buildings of the present day."

34 Operis.] "Labourers," the word has often this meaning. See B. 3. c. 15. n.

35 Qui quum haud parvus et ipse......labor.] "Though this labour, which was not trifling in itself, was added to the hardships of military service."

36 Foros.] Benches to sit on. Livy, c. 35 and 38, says, that Tarquiniius Priscus erected these seats and built these sewers. But it appears from this and Dionysius Halic. Antiq. B. 4. p. 246, that these works were not finished until the time of Tarquiniius Superbus.

37 Nova hac magnificentia.] "These magnificent buildings of modern times." See n. 33.

38 Terrâ marique.] Signia was an inland town in the middle of Latium, and Circeii was on the sea coast.

Chap. LVI.—39 Elapsus.] Let the young reader observe, that most verbs compounded with e or ex are sometimes found with an ablative with a preposition, as here; sometimes with an ablative without a preposition; sometimes with an accusative with a preposition; sometimes with an accusative without a preposition. See B. 2. c. 37. n.

40 Sortium.] These were billets somewhat like dice, on which the answers of the gods were often written; they were thrown into an urn, and then drawn out, or sometimes cast like dice, and their import was explained by the priest. Hence the word came to signify generally an oracle, or any response of the gods.—See Vandale on Oracles, c. 14.

41 Sorore regis natus.] Dionysius says that she was his father's sister, and the daughter of Tarquiniius Priscus.
Juvenis longe alius ingenio quam cujus simulationem indue-rat.] “A man of a far different cast of mind from that which he had assumed the disguise of.” This name, like junior, was given from the age of twenty-five to the age of forty-five. Brutus at this time had two sons grown up to manhood.—See B. 2. c. 4. Puer was given up to the age of seventeen; adolescents, from seventeen to twenty-five.

Primores civitatis.] Scil. interfector esse “ab avunculo, inque tuis fratrem suum interfertum esse audisset.”—See B. 3. c. 50. n.

In animo suo quidquam regi timendum.] “He resolved to leave the king nothing to dread from his talents, or wish for from his fortune.”

Oppriretur tempora sua.] “Wait for his proper opportunity.” See B. 4. c. 7. Tempus is sometimes used in this sense. So Sall., (Cesar’s speech) says, tempus, dies, fortuna. Here tempus means “opportunity,” and dies “length of time.”

Corneo.] “Made of cornelian wood.”

Per ambages effigiem animi sui.] “Which was mystically a representation of his own mind.” See ch. 54. tacitis ambagi- bus. Horace says, ingenium ingens inculto latet hoc sub corpore.

Incessit.] “Seized,” from incesso.—See B. 3. c. 59. n.

Pythiacam vocem.] The answer of the Pythian, or priestess of Apollo at Delphos, who was called Pythicus, either from the monster Python, which he slew after the deluge, or from ὕπθισθα, “to ask, or consult,” as his oracles were those mostly consulted.

Chap. LVII.—Ut in ea regione.] “Considering the barbarous state of that country and that age.”

Prater aliam superbiam.] “Detesting his government, independently of the other instances of his tyranny, because they felt ignignant, &c.” Infestos refers to animos popularium.

Commeatus.] “Furloughs,” leaves of absence given to the soldiers.

Egerii filius.] Dionysius says he was his grandson.

Certamine accenso.] “When a dispute was kindled between them.”

Quin si vigor juvenis inest.] “Why do we not, since we possess vigour of youth, mount our horses, and inspect in person the dispositions of our wives? Let that be the surest proof to every one, which shall meet his eyes, when the arrival of her husband is not expected by the wife.” Quin is often interroga-tively used in Livy in the commencement of a sentence, to signify “why not rather.” Let the reader remark this abrupt and unexpected introduction of the speaker’s words; it is a pecu- liarity of which instances are to be found in the best classic writers. It is, says Longinus, c. 27, a lively burst of impasioned eloquence.—See Quinctil. B. 9. c. 3. Virgil, speaking of the labours of Hercules, B. 8. i. 291, says:

ut duros mille labores
Rege sub Eurystheo, fatis Junonis inique,
NOTES TO BOOK I. C. 57, 58.

"Tu nubigenas, invictae, bimembres, Hyleumque Pholumque manu; tu Cressia mactas Prodigia, et vastum Nemeæ sub rupe leonem, &c."

And B. 9. l. 634,

Et fugit horrendum stridens elapsa sagitta, Perque caput Remuli venit, et cava tempora ferro Trajicit. "I, verbis virtutem illude superbis, &c."

Milton has instances of it. Thus speaking of Adam and Eve
Paradise Lost, B. 4. l. 720, he says:

Thus at their shady lodge arrived, both stood,
Both turn'd and under open sky ador'd
The God that made both sky, air, earth, and heaven,
Which they beheld, the moon's resplendent globe,
And stary pole. "Thou also mad'st the night,
Maker omnipotent, and thou the day, &c."

Homer also gives instances of it.—So, II. B. 15. l. 346,

"Exterg ò ò Tèmposin εικίκλιτο μακρων ἄσσος,
Νήσειν ἵππον ἱππητηθή, ἰδον αὖ ναμα βρασίντα.
"Ον θ' ἐξ ἐγων ἀτάνως ποιῶν ἰτίπωλον νόον,
Αυτῶ τί δάνατον μπρώσημαι, &c."

There are also instances of it in Horace, as B. 1. Ep. 7,

— — — — conspezit, ut aiunt,
Adrasum quandam, vacua tonsoris in umbrâ
Cubello proprios purgantem lenitier ungues,
"Demetri, puer, * * * * * * * * * 
* * abi, quaere, et refer, unde domo, quis, &c."

See Livy B. 1. c. 13. n. 61.

56 Age sand, omnes.] "Come on, indeed, they all exclaim."

57 In convivio luxuque.] The same as convivio luxuriosio, by a figure called ἐξ ἐπαγγελματίων, which is employed by the best writers in every language. But I do not see the absolute necessity of supposing that figure here. Luxus may signify indulgence of any kind and so differ from convivium.

CHAP. LVIII.—58 Hospitale cubiculum.] "The chamber appropriated to strangers;" hospites.

59 Nullam open propé.] "No aid near her."

60 Velut victrix libido.] His lust triumphing, as if it gained, forsooth, a noble victory.

61 Ferox expugnato.] "Elated at having overpowered a woman's honour." Expugnare is properly "to take a place by storm." Oppugnare, "to attack a place."—See B. 3. c. 39. n.

62 Nuncium eundem.] "The same message."

63 Cum singulis fidelibus amici.] "Each with a faithful friend.

64 Ita facto maturatque opus.] "That it was necessary they should do so, and use dispatch."—See B. 3. c. 27. n. 5.

65 Cum quo fortè Romam rediens.] "In company with whom perchance returning to Rome, he was met by his wife's messenger.

66 Satin' salva.] Scil. res—"is all well?"
NOTES TO BOOK I. C. 58, 59.

67 Pestiferum.] "Which was destructive to me, and, if you be men, to himself also."

68 Mentem peccare.] "That it is the mind, and not the body, that commits crime; and that, where there is no intention, there is no guilt."

69 Cultrum, quem—eum defigit.] Eum is not necessary here, either for syntax or meaning; its introduction is a pleonasm borrowed from the Greeks, particularly the Attics, who at the conclusion of a sentence or member, introduce the demonstrative pronoun, to add emphasis to the substantive it agrees with. To the reader of Demosthenes, such a pleonasm is familiar.—See B. 3. c. 64. n.

CHAP. LIX.—70 Exsecuturum.] "That I will pursue." This verb is similarly used elsewhere.

71 Expugnandum regnum.] "To destroy kingly power."—See c. 58. n. 61.

72 In forum.] i. e. The forum of Collatia.

73 Castigator.] "Who rebuked them for their tears."

74 Pari prasidio relicito Collatiae ad portas.] Equal to the number that went to Rome, say the commentators. Gronovius and others would prefer par prossidio reliciti. I think these words simply mean "an adequate" or "sufficient guard;" par, frequently, in Livy and other authors, means what is a "match;" what is "adequate or sufficient for" a thing. There appears to me no good reason why he should make an even division of his forces (as the commentators explain the passage,) and besides Collatia, from its comparative insignificance, did not require as many men to keep down Tarquin's party, as was necessary to be sent to the capital city, Rome. Custodibus datis; the custodes here seem to be commanders of this guard.

75 Regibus.] The king and his children.

76 Primores civitatis.] These, it seems, were Lucretius, Collatinus, and Brutus, and not the patricians generally. This was on the first appearance of the armed multitude from Collatia; it is not even hinted that this body was as yet joined by the Romans; on the contrary, it is said they were terror-struck by it.

77 Haud temere.] "Not without some good cause."

78 Tribunum Celerum.] "The master of the horse." The horse were called celeres, ch. 15. This Livy mentions to show that he could convene a meeting of the people, as being a magistrate, nobody else having authority to do so. See Dionysius, B. 4. p. 266.

79 Tricipitini.] Lucretius.

80 Cui morte filiae causa mortis.] "Who must feel the cause of his daughter's death a source of greater indignation and misery than her death itself."

81 His atrocioribusque.] "By detailing these, and, I believe, other facts still more shocking, which the then heinous state of
things suggested, though not easy to be related by writers, he worked on the inflamed multitude so far, that they deprived the king of his power." Livy says that there were other atrocities stated by Brutus and believed by the people, which the historian cannot state with sufficient authenticity, as not possessing, at such a distance of time, sufficient information about them. Gebhardus, on the authority of some MSS., would read subjicit. This, in my opinion, is a better reading than subjicit.

52 *Ut imperium regi abrogaret.* Rogo signified, to ask of the people, in the usual form (*jubeatis velitisque, Quirites*) at the public assembly, according to the object for which it may be convened, to enact some law, elect a magistrate, &c. Abrogo, was properly "to ask the people to annul some decision of theirs;" it mostly signified "to ask for the annulling of some law;" hence it comes to signify (generally) "to annul," to take away. Arrogo, was properly "to ask for some addition to a law." Derogo, "to ask that some part of a law may be annulled." Subrogo, "to ask that a part of a law may be substituted for another." It was mostly used to signify, "to ask for the substitution of one magistrate for another." *Suggerere or suffectere* meant the "act" of substituting such magistrate. These words are taken in a general sense to refer to other things. See Baxter’s Reliquiae.

53 *Prefecto.* This was an extraordinary magistrate appointed to govern the city in the absence of the king, and afterwards of the consuls. This office lasted until the appointment of praetors; and, after that time, the *Prætor Urbanus,* in the absence of the consuls, discharged their duties, except when they went to the Alban Hill on the "Latin holidays;" and, on this occasion, the *praefectus urbis* was still appointed, merely to keep up the old form, and without possessing any substantial power.—See Tacit. Ann. 6. 11.

54 *Furias.* "The furies that avenge the injuries offered by children to their parents." These were a little before called *parentum ultores.*—See also c. 48.

Chap. LX.—55 *Exsilium indictum.* "A proclamation of banishment issued against him." This year was also famous for the expulsion of the *Visistratida* from Athens.

56 *Sex. Tarquinius Gabios tanquam in regnum suum praefectus.* Dionysius says that he was made king of Gabii by his father.

57 *A praefecto urbis ex commentariis.* This means that the plan of the consular government was found in the commentaries of the king, and had been drawn out, when he intended to resign his power;—see ch. 48, at the end; or that the form of elections at the *comitia centuriata* was according to the plan he established;—see ch. 43; or it may signify both. Dionysius (B. 4. p. 269,) says, that the *comitia* were held by Lucretius not as prefect of the city, but as interrex.
Brutus jure jurando populum adstrinxit, neminem regnare Romæ passuros: Tarquiniwm Collatinum, collegam suum, propter affinitatem Tarquiniorum suspectum, coegit consulatu se abdicare, et civitate cedere. Bona regum diripi jussit; agrum Marti consecravit, qui Campus Martis nominatus est. Adolescentes nobiles, in quibus suos quoque et sororis filios, quia conjuraverant de recipiendis regibus, securi percussit. Servo indici, cui Vindicio nomen fuit, libertatem dedit; ex ejus nomine vindicta est appellata. Quum adversus reges, qui, contractis Vejentium et Tarquiniiensium copiis, bellum intulerant, exercitum duxisset, in acie cum Arunte, filio Superbi, commortuus est; eumque matronae annum luxerunt. P. Valerius consul legem de provocacione ad populum tulit. Capitolium dedicatum est. Porsena, rex Clusinorum, bello pro Tarquiniiis suscepto, quum ad Janiculum venisset, ne Tiberim transiret virtute Coelitis Horatii prohibitus est; qui, dum alii pontem sublicium rescindunt, solus Etruscus sustinuit: et, ponte rupto, armatus se in flumen misit, et ad suos tranavit. Alterum accessit virtutis exemplum à Mucio, qui, quum ad feriendum Porsenam castra hostium intrasset, occiso scriba, quem regem esse putabat, comprehensus impositam altaribus manum, in quibus sacrificatum erat, exuri passus est; dixitque tales trecentos esse conjuratos in mortem ipsius regis. Quorum admiratione coactus Porsena pacis conditiones ferre, bellum omisit, acceptis obsidibus; ex quibus virgo una
I. LIBERI jam hinc populi Romani res, pace belloque gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque¹ legum potentiara quam hominum, peragam. Quae libertas ut laetior esset, proxima regis superbia² fecerat; nam priores ita regnarunt, ut haud immeritò omnes deinceps conditores partium certe urbis³, quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctae multitudini addiderunt, numerentur; neque ambigitur, quin Brutus idem, qui tantum gloriæ Superbo exacto rege meruit, pessimo publico id facturus fuerit⁴, si libertatis immature cupidine priorum regum alculi regnum extorsisset. Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, transguga ex suis populis, sub tutelâ inviolati templi⁵, aut libertatem aut certe impunitatem adepta, sohuta regio metu, agitari cæpta esset tribuniciis procellis? et in alienâ urbe cum Patribus serere certamina, priusquam pignora conjugum ac liberorum, caritasque eis, cui longo tempore assuescit⁶, animos eorum consociasset? Dissipatæ res nondum adultæ discordiâ forent, quas fovit⁷ tranquilla moderatio imperii, cœque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis jam viro orbis ferre possent. Libertatis autem originem indè magis, quia annuum imperium consulare factum est, quàm quod diminutum⁸ quidquam sit ex regiâ potestate, numeres. Omnia jura, omnia insignia⁹, primi consules tenuère; id modò cautum est, ne, si ambo fasces haberent, duplicatus terror videretur. Brutus prior, concedente collegâ, fasces habuit, qui non acrior vindex libertatis fuerat, quàm deinde custos fuit. Omnium primùm auidum novæ libertatis populum, ne postmodum fleti precibus aut donis regis posset, jurejurando adegit neminem Romæ passuros regnare. Deinde, quò plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, cædibus regis diminutum Patrum numerum primoribus equestris gradûs lectis ad trecentorum summam¹⁰ explievit; traditumque¹¹ inde furtur, ut in senatum vocarentur, qui patres, quique conscripti, essent; conscriptos, videlicet, in novum senatum appellabant lectos. Id mirum quantùm¹² profuit ad concordiam civitatis, jungendosque Patribus¹³ plebis animos.
se consenso civitatis pateretur, timens consul, ne postmodum privato sibi eadem illa, cum bonorum amissione additāque aliā insuper ignominia, acciderent, abdicavit se consulatu; rebusque suis omniōs Lavinium translatis, civitate cessit. Brutos ex senatusconsulto ad populum tulit, ut omnes Tarquiniae gentis exsules essent. Collegam sibi comitiiis centuriiatis creavit P. Valerium, quo adiutore reges ejecerat.

III. Quam haud cuiquam in dubio esset, bellum ab Tarquiniiis imminere, id quidem spē omnium serius fuit. Ceterum, id quod non timebant, per dolum ac prōditionem propē libertas amissa est. Erant in Romanā juventute adolescentes aliquot, nec ii tenui loco orti, quorum in regno lubido solutior fuerat, æqualis sodalesque adolescentium Tarquiniorum, assueti more regio vivere. Eam tum, æquato jure omnium, licentiam quaerentes, libertatem aliōrum suam vertisse servitutem inter se conquerebantur. "Regem hominem esse, á quo impetres, ubi jus, ubi injuria, opus sit; esse gratiae locum, esse beneficio; et irasci et ignoscere posse; inter amicum atque inimicum discrimen nōsse. Leges rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salubriōrem melioremque inopī, quam potenti; nihil laxiamenti nec veniē habere, si modum exsesseris. Periculum esse, in tot humanis erroribus, solā innocentiā vivere." Ita, jam suā sponte ægris animis, legati ab regibus superveniunt, sine mentione reditus, bona tantum repentes. Eorum verba postquam in senatu audita sunt, per aliquot dies ea consulta tenuit; ne non reddita, belli causa; reddita, belli materia et adjumentum essent. (Interim) legati alii alia moriunt, apertē bona repentes, clam recuperandi regni consilia struere; et, tanquam ad id quod agi videbatur, ambientes nobilium adolescentium animos pertendant. A quibus placide oratio accepta est, his literas ab Tarquiniiis redunt; et de accipiendis clam nocte in urbem regibus colloquuntur.

IV. Vitelliiis Aquiliiisque fratibus primō commissa res est. Vitelliorum soror consului nupta Bruto erat; jamque ex eo matrimonio adolescentes erant liberi. Titus Tiberiusque. Eos quoque in societatem consilii
avunculi assumunt. Præterea et nobiles aliquot adolescentes consci assumpti, quorum vetustate memoria abit. Interim, quum in senatu vicisset sententia, que censebat reddenda bona, eamque ipsam causam moræ in urbe haberent legati, quod spatium ad vehicula comparanda à consulibus sumpsissent, quibus regum asportarent res, omne id tempus cum conjuratis consultando assumunt; evincuntque instando, ut literæ sibi ad Tarquinios darentur; nam aliter qui creditus eos, non vana ab legatis super rebus tantis afferrí? Datæ literæ, ut pignus fidei essent, manifestum facinus fecerunt. Nam, quum, pridie quam legati ad Tarquinios proficiscerentur, et consuetum fortè apud Vitellios esset, conjuratique ibi, remotis arbitris, multa inter se de novo, ut fit, consilio egissent, sermonem eorum ex servis unus exceptit, qui jam antea id senserat agì; sed eam occasionem, ut literæ legatis darentur, que deprehensæ rem coarguere possent, expectabat. Postquam datas sensit, rem ad consules detulit. Consules, ad deprehendendos legatos consuratorumque profecti domo, sine tumultu rem omnem oppressère; literarum in primis habita cura, ne intercidere. Proditoriibus extemplo in vincula conjectis, de legatis paululum addubitatum est; et, quanquam visi sunt commississe ut hostium loco essent, jus tamen gentium valuit.

V. De bonis regiis, quæ reddi antè censuerant, res integra refertur ad Patres. Illi victi ira vetuère reddi, vetuère in publicum redigi. Diripiendâ plebi sunt data, ut, contacta regiæ prædæ, spem in perpetuum cum his pacis amitteret. Ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti, Martius inde Campus fuit. Fortè ibi tum seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi; quem campi fructum quia religiosum erat consumere, desectam cum stramento segetem magna vis hominum simul immissa coribus fudère in Tiberim, tenui fluentem aqua, ut mediùs calorisibus solet; ita in vadis hæsitantis frumenti acervos sedisse illitos limo; insulam inde paullatim, et aliis, que fort temere flumen, eódem invectis, factam. Postea crede additas moles manuque adjutam, ut tam eminens area firmaque templis quoque ac porticibus sustinendis
esset. Direptis bonis regum, damnati prodotores, sump-tumque supplicium, conspectius eò, quod pœnæ capiendæ ministerium patri de liberis consulatus imposuit; et, qui spectator erat amovendus, cum ipsum fortuna ex-actorem supplicii dedit. Stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi juvenes. Sed à ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitis, consulis liberi omnium in se averterant oculos; miserebatque non pœnæ magis homines, quàm sceleris, quo pœnam meriti essent: illos, eo potissimum anno patriam liberatam, patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum ex domo Juniâ, Patres, plebem, quidquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum, ut superbe quondam regi, tum infesto exsuli, proderent. Consules in sedem processere suam, missique Hctores ad sumendum supplicium nudatos virgis sedunt, securi et feriunt; quum inter omne tempus pater, vultusque, et os ejus, spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio inter publice pœnæ ministerium. Secundùm pœnam no-centium, ut in utramque partem arcendis sceleribus ex-emplum nobile esset, præmium indici, pecunia ex ærario, libertas, et civitas, data. Ille primus dicitur vindicta liberatus. Quidam vindictæ quoque nomen tractm ab illo putant; Vindicio ipsi nomen fuisse. Post illum observatum, ut, qui ita liberati essent, in civitatem accepti viderentur.

VI. His, sicut acta erant, nunciatis, incensus Tarquinii non dolore solùm tantæ ad irritum cadentis spei, sed etiam odio iraque, postquam doló viam obsep-tam vidit, bellum apertè moliendum ratus, circumire supplex Etrurie urbes; orare maximè Vejentes Tar-quiniienseque, "ne se ortum, ejusdem sanguinis, ex-torem, egentem, ex tanto modò regno, cum liberis adolescensibus ante oculos suos perire sinerent. Alios "peregrè in regnum Romam accitos; se regem, au-"gentem bello Romanum imperium, à proximis sceleratâ "conjuratione pulsùm. Eos inter se, quia nemo unus "satis dignus regno visus sit, partes regni rapuisse; "bona sua diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis expres "sceleris esset. Patriam se regnumque suum repetere, "et persequi ingratos cives velle. Ferrent opem, ad-"juvarent; suas quoque veteres injurias ultum irent,

VII. Ita quam pugnatum esset, tantus terror Tar- quiniun atque Etruscos incessit, ut, omissá irritat re, nocte ambo exercitus, Vejens Tarquiniiensisque, suas quisque abirent domos. Adjiciunt miracula huic pugnae, silentio proximae noctis ex sylvā Arsiá ingentem editam vocem; Sylvani vocem eam creditam; hæc dicta: "Uno " plus61 Etruscorum cécidisse in acie; vincere bello " Romanum." Ita certè inde abière Romani, ut vic- tores; Etrusci, pró victis. Nam, postquam iluxit, nec quisquam hostium in conspectu erat, P. Valerius consul
spolia legit, triumphansque in I Roma redivit. Collegæ funus, quanto tum potuit apparatu, fecit. Sed multo
majus morti decus publica fuit meestitia, eò ante omnia
insignis, quia matronæ annum, ut parentem, eum
luxerunt, quod tam acer ulter violatæ pudicitie fuisset.
Consulì deinde, qui superfluerat, ut sunt mutabiles vulgi
animi, ex favore non invidia modò, sed suspicio etiam
cum atroci crímine, orta. Regnum eum aíectare fama
ferbat, quia nec collegam subrogaverat in locum Bruti,
et ædificabat in summan Velii; ibi alto atque munito
loco arcem inexpugnabilem fore. Hæc dicta vulgò
creditaque quum indignitate angerent consulis animum,
vocato ad concilium populi, summisis fascibus in
cacionem escendit. Gratum id multitudini spectaculum
fuit, summissa sibi esse imperii insignia, confessionemque
factam, populi, quum consulis, majestatem virumque ma-
jorem esse. Ubi audire jussi, consul "laudare fortunam"
"collegæ, quod, libertat patriæ, in summo honore, pro
"republicâ dimicans, maturâ gloria, needum se vertente
"in invidiam, mortem occubisset; se, superstitem
"gloriar suæ, ad crimen atque invidiam superesse; ex
"liberatore patriæ, ad Aquilios se Vetelliosque reci-
disse. Nunquamne ergò," inquit, "ulla adeò à vobis
"spectata virtus erit, ut suspicione violari nequeat?
"Ego me, illum acerrimum regum hostem, ipsum cupi-
ditatis regni crimen subitum timerem? Ego, si in
"ipsa arce Capitolioque habitarem, metui me crederem
"posse à civibus meis? tam levi momento mea apud
"vos fama pendet? Adeöne est fundata leviter fides,
"ut, ubi sim, quàm qui sim, magis referat? Non ob-
"stabunt P. Valerii ædes libertati vestrae, Quirites;
"tuta erit vobis Velia. Deferam non in planum modò
"ædes, sed colli etiam subjiciam, ut vos supra sus-
"pectum me civem habitetis. In Velia ædificent,
"quibus meliùs, quàm P. Valerio, creditur libertas." De-
leta confestim materia omnis infra Veliam; et, ubi
nunc Vicæpota est, domus in infimo clivo ædificata.

VIII. Latæ deinde leges, non solùm quæ regni sus-
picione consulem absolverent, sed quæ adeò in contra-
rium vererent; ut popularem etiam facerent; inde
cognomen factum Publicolæ est. Ante omnes de pro-
vocatione adversis magistratus ad populum, sacrandoque
cum bonis capite\textsuperscript{74} ejus, qui regni occupandi consilia
inisset, gratae in vulgus leges fuere. Quas quum solus
pertulisset, ut sua unius in his gratia esset, tum deinde\textsuperscript{75}
comitia collegae subrogando habuit. Creatus Sp. Lu-
cretius consul, qui, magno natu, non sufficientibus jam
viribus ad consularia munera obunda, intra paucos dies
moritur. Suffectus in Lucretii locum M. Horatius Pul-
villus. Apud quosdam veteres auctores non invenio
Lucretium consulem. Bruto statim Horatium sug-
gerunt; credo, quia nulla gesta res insignem fecerit
consulatum, memoria intercidente\textsuperscript{76}. Nondum dedicata
erat in Capitolio Jovis xedes. Valerius Horatiiusque
consules sortiti, uter dedicaret. Horatio sorte evenit.
Publicola ad Vejentium bellum profectus. \textit{Egrius}
qu
dignum erat tulère Valerii necessarii dedicationem tam
inclyti templi Horatio dari. Id omnibus modis impedire
conati, postquam alia frustra tentata erant, postem jam
tenenti\textsuperscript{77} consuli foedum inter precationem deim
nuncium incutiunt, \textit{“mortuum ejus filium esse, funestaque”}
\textit{“familia dedicare eum templum non posse.” Non}
crediderit\textsuperscript{79} factum, an tantum animo roboris fuerit, nec
traditur certum, nec interpretatio est facilis. Nihil
aliud ad eum nuncium à proposito aversus, quàm ut
\textit{cadaver efferri juberet, tenens postem, precationem
peragit, et dedicat templum. Haec post exactos reges
domi militæque gesta primo anno. Inde P. Valerius
iterum, T. Lucretius consules facti.}

\textbf{IX. Jam Tarquinii ad Larterm\textsuperscript{81} Porsenam, Clusinum
regem, perfugerald. Ibi, miscendo consilium precesque,
nunc orabant, \textit{“ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, ejusdem
sanguinis nominisque, egentes exsulare pateretur;”
nunc monebant etiam, \textit{“ne orientem morem pellendi
reges inultum sineret. Satis libertatem ipsam habere
dulcedinis. Nisi, quantâ vi civitates eam expetant,
tantà regna reges defendant, æquari summa infinis;
nihil, quod supra cetera emineat, in civitatibus fore.
Adesse finem regnis, rei inter deos hominesque pul-
cherrimæ.” Porsena, tum regem esse Romæ, tum
Etruscæ gentis regem, amplum\textsuperscript{82} Tuscis ratus, Romam
infesto exercitu venit. Non unquam aliàs antè tantus}


XI. Porsena, primo conatu repulsus, consiliis ab oppugnandâ urbe ab obsideuam versis, præsidio in Janiciulo locato, ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra posuit; navibus undique accitis, et ad custodiæm, ne quid Romam frumenti subvehi sinceret, et ut prædatum milites trans flumen per occasiones aliis atque aliis locis trajeiceret; brevique adeo infestum omnem Romanum agrum reddi- dit, ut nou cetera solùm ex agris, sed pecus quoque omne, in urbem compelleretur, neque quisquam extra portas propellere auderet. Hoc tantum licentiae Etruscis, non metu magis, quam consilio, concessum; namque Valerius consul, intentus in occasionem multos simul et effusos improviso adoríundi, in parvis rebus negligens uitor, gravem se ad majora vindicem servabat. Itaque, ut eliceret predatores, edicit suis, postero die frequentes portâ Esquilinâ, quæ aversissima ab hoste erat, expelle- rent pecus; scituros id hostes ratus, quòd in obsidione
et fame servitia invida transfugerent. Et sciēre perfugē
indicio; multōque plures, ut in spem universāe prædae,
flumen trajeciunt. P. Valerius inde T. Herminium cum
modicis copiis ad secundum lapidem Gabinā viā occul-
tum considerē jubet: Sp. Lartium cum expeditā juven-
tute ad portam Collinam stare, duncē hostis praetereat;
deinde se objicere, ne sit ad flumen reditus. Consulum
alter T. Lucretius portā Næviā cum aliquot manipulis
militum egressus; ipse Valeriuς Cælio Monte cohortēs
delectas educit; hique primi apparuēre hosti. Herminius,
ubi tumultum sensit, concurrē ex insidiis, versisque in
Valerium Etrusci tergac edit; dextra Iseviaque, hinc
porta Collinæ, hinc ab Xævia, redditus clamor. Ita cæsi
in medio praedatores, neque ad pugnam viribus pares,
et ad fugam septis omnibus viis; finisque ille tam effusē
evagandi Etrusci fuit.

XII. Obsidio erat nihilominus, et frumenti cum summā
caritate inopia; sedendoque expugnaturum se urbem
spem Porsena habebat; quum C. Mucius, adolescens
nobilis, cui indignum videbatur, populum Romanaum ser-
vientem, quum sub regibus esset, nullo bello, nec ab hos-
tibus ullis, obsessum esse: liberum eundem populum ab
iisdem Etrusci obsideri, quorum sæpe exercitus fuderit,
itaque, magno audacique aliquo facinore eam indignita-
tem vindicandam ratus, primō suā sponte penetrare in
hostium castra constituit. Dein metuens, ne, si consulum
injussu et ignaris omnibus iret, forte deprehensus à cus-
todibus Romanis retraheretur ut transfuga, fortunā tum
urbis crimen affirmante, senatum adjit: — "Transire
"Tiberim," inquit, "Patres, et intrare, si possim, castra
"hostium volo, non prædo, nec populationum in vicem
"ultor; majus, si Dii juvant, in animo est facinus." Appro-
probant Patres. Abdito intra vestem ferro, proficiscitur.
Ubi eō venit, in confertissimā turbā prope regium tri-
ibunum constitit. Ibi quum stipendium forte militibus da-
retur, et scriba, cum rege sedens pari ferē ornatu, multa
ageret, eum milites vulgō adirent, timens sciscitari, uter
Porsena esset, ne ignorando regem semet ipse aperiret
quis esset, quō temerē traxit fortuna facinus, scribam pro
rege obturcat. Adwentem inde, quā per trepidam tur-
bam crucento mucrone sibi ipse fecerat viam, quum, con-
T. LIVII.


XIII. Mucium dimissum, cui postea Scævolæ à clade dextræ manūs cognomen inditum, legati à Porsenâ Romam seceri sunt. Adeò moverat eum et primi periculi casus, quo nihil se praeter errorem insidiatoris texisset, et subeunda dimicatio toties, quot conjurati superessent, ut pacis conditiones ulterius ferret Romanis. Jactatum in conditionibus nequiquam de Tarquinis in regnum restituiandis, magis quia id negare ipse nequiverat Tarquiniiis, quàm quod negatum iri sibi ab Romanis.
ignoraret. De agro Vejentibus restituendo\(^23\) imperaturn; expressaque necessitas\(^24\) obsides dandi Romanis, si Janiculo præsidium deduci vellent. His conditionibus composita pace, exercitum ab Janiculo deduxit Porsena, et agro Romano excessit. Patres C. Mucio virtutis causâ trans Tiberium agrum dono dedère, quæ postea sunt Mucia prata appellata. Ergo, ita honoratâ virtute, femina quœque ad publica decora excitæ. Et Clœlia virgo, una ex obsidibus, quorum castra Etruscorum fortè haud procul ripâ Tiberis locata essent, frustrata custodes, dux agminis virginis inter tela hostium Tiberim tranvít, ipsasque omnes Romam ad propinquos restituit. Quod ubi regi nunciatum est, primò incensus irà oratores Romam misit ad Clœliam obsidem deposcendam; alias haud magni facere\(^25\). Deinde in admirationem versus, "supra Coelites Muciosque" dicere "id facinus esse," et præ se ferre\(^26\), quemadmodum, si non deda-
"tur obses, pro rupto se fœdus habiturum; sic, deditam, inviolatam ad suos remissurum." Utrinque constitit fides; et Romani pignus pacis ex fœdere restituerunt; et apud regem Etruscam non tutà solùm, sed honorata etiam, virtus fuit; laudatamque virginem parte obsidum\(^27\) se donare dixit; ipsa, quos vellet, legeret. Prodjectis omnibus, elegisse impubes dicitur, quod et virginitati decorum\(^28\), et consensu obsidum ipsorum probable erat, eam ætatem potissimum liberari ab hoste, quæ maximè opportuna injuriae esset. Pace redintegratâ, Romani novam in feminâ virtutem novo genere honoris, statuatæ equestri, donavère. In summâ Sacra via fuit posita virgo insidens equo.

XIV. Huic tam pacatae profectioni\(^29\) ab urbe regis Etrusci abhorrens mos, traditus ab antiquis, usque ad nostram ætatem inter cetera solennia manet bonis vendsdís, bona Porsenæ regis vendendi. Cujus originem moris, necesse est, aut inter bellum natam esse, neque omissam in pace, aut à mitore crevisse principio, quâm hic præ se ferat titulus bona hostiliter vendendi. Proxi-mum vero\(^30\) est ex iis quæ traduntur, Porsenam, discendentem ab Janiculo, castra opulentæ, convecto ex propinquis ac fertilibus Etruriae arvis commetatu, Romanis dono dedisse, inopi tum urbe ab longinquâ obsidione; ea

XV. P. Lucretius\(^{35}\) inde et P. Valerius Publicola consules facti. Eo anno postremum legati à Porsena de reducendo in regnum Tarquinio venerunt. Quibus quum responsum esset, missurum ad regem senatum legatos, missi confestim honoratissimus quisque ex Patribus. "Non, quin\(^{36}\) breviter redderis responsum potuerit, non "recipi reges, ideo potius delectos Patrum ad eum mis- "sos, quàm legatis ejus Romæ daretur responsum; sed "ut in perpetuum mentio ejus rei finiretur, neu in tantis "mutuis beneficiis in vicem animi sollicitarentur; quum "ille peteret, quod contra libertatem populi Romani "esset; Romani, nisi\(^{37}\) in pericem suami facile esse "vellent, negarent, cui nihil negatum vellent. Non in "regno populum Romanum, sed in libertate, esse\(^{38}\). "Ita induxisse in animum, hostibus potius, quàm regi- "bus, portas patefacere. Eam esse voluntatem omnium, "ut qui libertati erit in illâ urbe finis, idem urbi sit. "Proinde, si salvam esse vellet Romam, ut patiatur li- "beram esse, orare." Rex verecundìa victus, "Quando "id certum atque obstinatum est," inquit, "neque ego
obtundam sæpius eadem nequicquam agendo, nec "Tarquinios spe auxiliō, quod nullum in me est, frus-

XVI. Consules M. Valerius, P. Postumius. Eō anno bene pugnatum cum Sabinis. Consules trium-
phārunt. Majore indē mole Sabini bellum parabānt. Adversūs eos, ne quid simul ab Tusculo (unde, etsi non apertum, suspicio tamen bellum erat,) repen-
tiī periculi oriretur, P. Valerius quartūm, T. Lucre-
tius iterum, consules factī. Seditio, inter belli pacis-
que auctores orta in Sabinis, alienum ītē virium transtulīt ad Romanos. Namque Attus Clausus, cui postea Ap. Claudio fuit Romæ nomen, cum pacis ipse auctor à turbatoribus bellī premetur, nec par fa-
tioni esset, ab Regillo, magnā clientium comitatu
manu, Romam transīgīt. Ilīs civitās data agerque trans Aniēnem. Vetus Claudia tribus, additis postea novis tribulibus, qui ex eo venirent agrīc, appellāta. Appius, inter Patres lectus, haud ītā multō post in prin-
cipum dignationem pervenīt. Consules, infesto exer-
cītū in agrum Sabinum profecti, quum īta vastatione,
deīn praelio, afflixissent opes hostium, ut diu nihil īndē rebelliones timere possent, triumphantes Romam redie-
runt. P. Valerius, omnium consensu princeps belli pacisque artībus, anno post, Agrippā Menenio, P. Pos-
tium consulibus, moritur, gloriā ingenti, copiīs familiarī-
bus adeō exiguis, ut funeri sumptus deesset. De publico est ēlatus. Luxēre matronē, ut Brutum. Eōdem anno duae coloniāe Latīnāe, Pomētia et Cora, ad Auruncos deficiunt. Cum Auruncīs bellum initur; fusque ingenti exercitu, igitur, ingenti exercitu, qui se ingredientibus fines consulibus ferociter obtulerat, cumne Auruncīum bellum Pometiam compulsūm est. Nec magis post praelium, quàm in praelio, cædibus temperatum est; et ēēī aliquanto plures
erant, quàm capti; et captos passim trucidaverunt. Ne ab obsidibus quidem, qui trecenti accepti numero erant, iram belli hostis abstinuit. Et hoc anno Romæ triumphantum.

XVII. Secuti consules, Opiter Virginius et Sp. Cassius, Pometiam primò vi, deinde vineis aliisque operibus, oppugnaverunt. In quos Aurunci, magis jam inexpiable odio, quàm spe aliquá aut occasione, coorti, quam plures igni quàm ferro armati excrucierissent, cæde incendioque cuncta complent. Vineis incensis, multis hostium vulneratis et occisis, consulmn quoque alterum, (sed utrum, nomen auctores non adjiciunt) gravi vulnere ex equo dejectum, propè interfecerunt. Romam indè, malè gestà re, reditum. Inter multis saucios consul spe incerta vitae relietus. Interjecto deinde haud magno spatio, quod vulneribus curandis supplendoque exercitu satis esset, tum irà majore belli, tum viribus etiam auctis, Pometiæ arma illata; et, quam, vineis reflectis aliàque mole belli, jam in eo esset, ut in muros evaderet miles, deditio est facta. Ceterum nihilominus fædè, dedità urbe, quàm si capta foret, Aurunci passim principes securi percussi; sub coronà venierunt coloni alii; oppidum dirutum; ager veniit. Consules, magis ob iras graviter ultras, quàm ob magnitudinem perfecti belli, triumphantur.

XVIII. Insequens annus Postumum Cominium et T. Lartium consules habuit. Eo anno Romæ, quem per ludos ab Sabinorum juventute per lasciviam scorta rapientur, concursu hominum rixa ac prope præedium fuit; parváque ex re ad rebellionem spectare res videbatur. Supra belli Latini metum id quoque accessorat, quòd triginta jam conjurássæ populos, concitante Octavio Ma-mio, satís constabat. In hác tantarum expectatione rerum sollicità civitate, dictatoris primum creandi mentio orta; sed nec quo anno, nec quibus consulibus, quia ex factione Tarquinia essent, (id quoque enim traditur) parum creditum sit, nec quis primum dictator creatus sit, satís constat. Apud veterímos tamen auctores T. Lartium dictatorem primum, Sp. Cassium magistrum equitum, creatos invenio. Consulares legere; ita lexis jubebat, de dictatore creando lata. Eò magis adducor,
ut credam Lartium, qui consularis erat, potius quam Manium Valerium, M. filium, Volesi nepotem, qui nondum consul fuerat, moderatorem et magistrum consulis apposita; qui, si maximè ex ea familia legi dictatoriorem vellent, patrem multo potius M. Valerium, spectatæ virtutis et consularem virum, legissent. Creato dictatori primum Romae, postquam praeferri secures viderunt, magnus plebem metus inessit, ut intentiores essent ad dicto parendum; neque enim, ut in consulis, qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium, neque provocati erat; neque ullum usquam, nisi in curà parendi, auxilium. Sabinis etiam creatus Romae dictator (eò magis, quòd propter se creatum crediderant) metum inessit. Itaque legatos de pace mittunt, quibus, orantibus dicta, senatumque, ut veniam erroris hominibus adolescentibus daret; neque ullum usquam, nisi in curà parendi, auxilium. Sabinis etiam creatus Romae dictator (eo magis, quod propter se creatum crediderant) in animum induisset. Bellum indictum. Tacitae induciae quietum annum tenuere. XIX. Consules Ser. Sulpicius, Manius Tullius. Nihil dignum memorìa actum. T. Aebuti deinde et C. Vetusius. His consulis Fidenæ obsessæ, Crustumeria capta, Prænestæ ab Latinis ad Romanos descivit; nec ultra bellum Latinum, gliscens jam per aliquot annos, dilatum. A. Postumius dictator, T. Aebuti magister equitum, magnis copiis peditum equitumque profecti, ad lacum Regillum in agro Tusculano agmini hostium occurrerunt; et, quia Tarquinios esse in exercitu Latinorum auditum est, sustineri ira non potuit, quin exemplum conflagerent. Ergo etiam praelium aliquanto, quàm cetera, gravius atque atrocior fuit; non enim duces ad regendam modò consilio rem affuerè, sed, suismet ipsis corporibus dimicantes, miscuère certamina; nec quisquam procerum fèrmè aut hac aut illà ex acie sine vulnere, præter dictatorem Romanum, excessit. In Postumium, primà in acie suos adhortantem instruentemque, Tarquinius Superbus, quamquam jam ætate et viribus erat gravior, equum infestus admisit; ictusque ab latere, concursu suorum receptus in tutum est. Et ad alterum cornu
Æbutium magister equitum in Octaviun Mamilium impetum dederat; nec fessilli veniens Tusculanum ducem, contra quem et ille concitat equum; tantaque vis infestis venientium hastis fuit, ut brachium Æbutio trajectum sit, Mamilio pectus percussum. Hunc quidem in secundam aciem Latini recepère; Æbutius, quum saucio brachio tenere telum non posset, pugná exessit. Latinus dux, nihil deterritus vulnere, præelium ciet; et, quia suos perculsos videbat, accessit cohortem exsulum Romanorum, cui L. Tarquiniæ filius præerat. Ea, quod majore pugnabat irá ob erepta bona patriamque ademptam, pugnam parumper restituit.

exspiraverit. Tum ad equites dictator advolat, obstans, ut, fessum jam pedite, descendant ex equis, et pugnam capessant. Dicto paruère; desiliunt ex equis; provolant in primum, et pro antesignanis\textsuperscript{31} parmas obiciunt. Recipit extemplo animum pedestris acies, postquam juventutis proceres, æquato genere pugnæ\textsuperscript{32}, secum partem periculi sustinentes vidit. Tum demum impuls Latini, perculsaque inclinavit acies. Equiti admoti equi\textsuperscript{33}, ut persequiri hostem posset. Secuta et pedestris acies. Ibi, nihil nec divinæ nec humanæ opis Dictator praetermittens, ædem Castori vovisse fertur, ac pronunciassit militi præmia, qui primus, qui secundus, castra hostium in râsset; tantusque arduor fuit, ut eodem impetu\textsuperscript{34}, quo fuderant hostem, Romani castra carenter. Hoc modo ad lacum Regillum pugnatum est. Dictator et magister equitum triumphantes in urbem rediérè.

XXI. Triennio\textsuperscript{35} deinde nec certa pax, nec bellum fuit. Consules Q. Clœlius et T. Lartius. Inde A. Sempronius et M. Minucius. His consulilibus Ædes Saturno dedicata\textsuperscript{36}: Saturnalia\textsuperscript{37} institutus festus dies. A. deinde Postumius et T. Virginini consules facti. Hoc demum anno\textsuperscript{38} ad Regillum lacum pugnatum apud quosdam invenio; A. Postumium, quia collega dubiae fidei fuerit, se consulatu abdicasse\textsuperscript{39}; dictatorem inde factum. Tanti errores implicant\textsuperscript{40} temporum, aliter apud alios ordinatis magistratibus, ut, nec qui consules secundùm quosdam\textsuperscript{41}, nec quid quoque anno actum sit, in tantâ vetustate, non rerum modo, sed etiam auctorum, digere possis. Ap. Claudius deinde et P. Servilius consules facti. Insignis hic annus est nuncio Tarquinii mortis. Mortuus est Cumis, quo se post fractas opes Latinorum ad Aristodemum tyrannum contulerat. Eo nuncio erecti Patres, erecta plebes. Sed Patribus nimis luxuriosæ\textsuperscript{42} ea fuit lætitia. Plebi, cui ad eam diem summâ ope inservitum erat, injuriæ à primoribus fieri coepère. Eodem anno Signia colonia, quam rex Tarquinius deduxerat, suppleto numero colonorum, iterum deducta est. Romæ tribus\textsuperscript{43} una et viginti factæ. Æedes Mercurii\textsuperscript{44} dedicata est idibus Maiis.

XXII. Cum Volscorum gente, Latino bello, neque pax neque bellum fuerat. Nam et Volsci comparatorant
auxilia, quæ mitterent Latinis, ni maturatum ab dictatore Romano esset; et maturavit Romanus, ne prælio uno cum Latino Volscisque contenderect. Hæc irà consules in Volscum agrum legiones duxère. Volscos, consilii præ
nam non metuentes, necopinata res percullit. Armorum immemores, obsides dant trecentos principum à Corâ atque Pometiâ liberos. Ìta sine certamine inde abductæ legiones. Nec ìta multò pòst Volscis levatis seu sum redivit ingenium. Rursus occultum parant belum, Herni
cis in societatem armorum assumptis. Legatos quoque ad sollicitandum Latium passim dimitunt. Sed recens ad Regillum lacum accepta ciades Latinos, irà odioque ejus quicunque arma suaderet, ne ab legatis quidem viol
dis abstinuit. Comprehensos Volscos Roman duxère. Ibi traditi consulis; indicatumque est, Vol
cos Hernicosque parare bellum Romanis. Relatà re ad senatum, adeò iuit gratum patribus, ut et captivorum sex millia Latinis remitterent, et de fideere, quod propè in perpetuum negatum fuerat, rem ad novos magistratus rejicere
t. Enimvero latini gaudere facto; pacis auctores in ingenti gloria esse. Coronam auream Jovi donum in Capitolium mittunt. Cum legatis donoque, qui captivorum remissi ad suos fuerant, magna circumfusa multitudo venit. Pergunt domos eorum, apud quem quique servierant; gratias agunt, liberaliter habitæ cult
tique in calamitate sua; inde hospitia jungunt. Nun
quam aliàs autè publicè privatimque Latinum nomen Roman império conjunctius fuit.

XXIII. Sed et bellum Volscum imminebat, et civitas, secum ipsa discors, intestino inter Patres plebemque flagrabat odio, maximè propter nexos ob aès alienum. Fremebant, “se, foris pro libertate et império dimi
cantes, domi à civibus captos et oppressos esse ; tutio-
remque in bello, quàm in pace, inter hostes, quàm “inter cives, libertatem plebis esse.” Invidia
dique eam, suà sponte gliscentem, insignis unius calamitas ascendit. Magna nata quidam cum omnium malorum suorum in
signibus se in forum proiect. Obsita erat squalore vestis, fœdior corporis habitus pallore ac macie perempti. Ad hoc, promissa barba et capilli effraverant speciem oris. Noscitabatur tamen in tantà deformitate, et ordines.
duxisse aiebant, aliaque militiae decora vulgò, miserantes eum, jactabant. Ipse, testes honestarum aliquot locis pugnarum, cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat. Sciscitautibus "unde ille habitus? unde deformitas?" quum circumfusa turba esset propè in concionis modum, "Sabino bello," ait, "se militantem, quia propter po-
"pulationes agri non fructu modò carnerit, sed villa 
"incensa fuerit, direpta omnia, pecora abacta, tributum 
"iniquo suo tempore imperatum, æs alienum fecisse: 
"id, cumulatum usuris, primò se agro paterno avitoque 
"exuisse, deinde fortunis aliis: postremò, velut tabem,
"pervenisse ad corpus. Ductum se ab creditore, non in 
"servitium, sed in ergastulum et carnificinam, esse." 
Inde ostentare tergum, fœdum recentibus vestigiis ver-
berum. Ad hæc visa auditaque clamor ingens oritur. 
Non jam foro se tumultus continet, sed passim totam urbem pervadit. Nexu vineti solutique se undique in 
publicum proripiant; implorant Quiritium fidem. 
Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius comes. Multis passim 
agminibus per omnes vias cum clamore in forum curritur. 
Magna cum periculo suo, qui fortè Patrum in foro erant, 
in eam turbam inciderunt; nec temperatum manibus 
foret, ni propere consules, P. Servilius et Ap. Claudius, 
ad comprimendam seditionem intervenissent. In eos 
multitudo versa ostentare vincula sua de formitatemque 
aliam. Hæc se meritos dicere, exprobantes suam quisque 
alius alibi militiam. Postulare multò minaciter magis, 
quàm suppliciter, ut senatum vocarent; curiamque ipsi, 
futuri arbitri moderatresque publici consili, circumis-
tunt. Pauci admodum Patrum, quos casus obtulerat, 
contracti ad consules; ceteros metus non curià modò, 
se etiam foro, arcebát; nec agi quicumque per infrequen-
tiam poterat senatús. Tum verò eludi atque extrahi se multitudo putare; et Patrum qui abessent, non casu, 
non metu, sed impediendæ rei causà, abesse, et consules 
ipsos tergiversari; nec dubiè ludibrio esse miserias suas. 
Jam prope erat, ut ne consulum quidem majestas coer-
ceret iras hominum; quum, incerti, morando, an veniendo, 
plus periculi contraherent, tandem in senatum veniúnt; 
frequentique tandem curià, non modò inter Patres, sed 
ue inter consules quidem ipsos, satís conveniebat.
Appius, vehementis ingenii vir, imperio consulari rem agendam censebat; uno aut altero arrepto, quieturos alios. Servilius, lenibus remediis aptior, concitatos animos flecti, quàm frangi, putabat quem tutius, tum facilius, esse.

XXIV. Inter hæc major alius terror. Latini equites cum tumultuoso advolant nuncio: "Volscos infesto "exercitu ad urbem oppugnandam venire." Quæ audita (adeò duas ex unâ civitate discordia fecerat) longè aliter Patres ac plebem affècère. Exsultare gaudio plebes; "ultores superbiae Patrum adesse" dicere "deos." Alius alium confirmare, ne nomina darent: "cum omnibus "potius, quàm solos, perituros. Patres militarent, "Patres arma caperent, ut penes eosdem pericula belli, "penes quos praemia essent." At verò curia, moesta ac trepida ancipiti metu et ab cive et ab hoste, Serviliun consulem, cui ingenium magis populare erat, orare, ut tantis circumventam terroribus expediret rem-publicam. Tum consul, misso senatu, in concionem prodit. Ibi "curæ esse Patribus," ostendit, "ut consu-"latur plebi; ceterum deliberationi de maximâ quidem "illâ, sed tamen parte civitatis, metum pro universâ "republicâ intervenisse; nec posse, quam hostes prope "ad portas essent, bello prævertisse quidquâm: nec, "si sit laxamenti aliquid, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi "mercede prius acceptâ, arma pro patriâ non cepisse; "neque Patribus satìs decorum, per metum potius, quàm "postmodo voluntate, afflictis civium suorum fortunis "consuluisse." Concioni deinde edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit, "Ne quis civem Romanum vincat aut "clausum teneret, quo minus ei nominis edendi apud "consules potestas fieret. Ne quis militia, donec in cas-"tris esset, bona possideret, aut venderet: liberos nepo-"tesve ejus moraretur." Hoc proposito edicto, et qui aderant nexi profiteri extemplo nomina, et undique ex totâ urbe præpientium se ex privato, quem retiündi jus creditorìi non esset, concursus in forum, ut sacra-mento dicerent, fieri. Magna ea manus fuit; neque aliorum magis in Volscro bello virtus atque opera eminiit. Consul copias contra hostem educit; parvo dirimente intervallo castra ponit.
XXV. Proximā inde nocte Volsci, discordiā Romanā treti, si qua nocturna transitio\textsuperscript{19} proditiove fieri possit, tentant castra. Sensēre vigiles; excitatus exercitus; signo dato concursum est ad arma. Ita frustra id inceptum Volscis fuit; reliquum noctis utrinque quieti datum. Postero die primā luce Volsci, fossis repletis, vallum invadunt. Jamque ab omni parte munimenta vellebantur\textsuperscript{20}, quum consul, quanquam euncti undique, et nêxi ante omnes, ut signum daret, clamabant, experiendi animos militum causā parumper moratus, postquam satis apparebat ingens ardor, dato tandem ad erumpendum signo, militem avidum certaminis emittit. Primo statim incursu pulsi hostes; fugiēntibus, quoad insequi pedes potuit, terga cessa; eques usque ad castra pavidos egit. Mox ipsa castra, legionibus circundatis\textsuperscript{21}, quum Volscos inde etiam pavor expulisset, capta direptaque. Postero die ad Suessam Pometiam, quod configurant hostes, legionibus ductis, intra panceos dies oppidum capitur; captum prædæe datum; indè paullum recreatus\textsuperscript{22} egens miles. Consul cum maximā gloriā suā victorem exercitum Romam reducit. Decedentem Romam Eetrarorum Volscorum legati, rebus suis timentes post Pometiam captam, adeunt. His ex senātusconsulto data pax, ager ademptus.

XXVI. Confestim\textsuperscript{23} et Sabini Romanos territavere: tumultus enim fuit verius, quàm bellum\textsuperscript{24}. Nocte in urbe nunciatum est, exercitum Sabinum prædabundum ad Anienem ammem pervenisse; ibi passim diripi atque incendi villas. Missus extemplo eō cum omnibus copiis equitum A. Postumius, qui dictator bello Latino fuerat. Sèectus consul Servilius cum delectā peditum manu. Plerosque palantes eques circumvenit. Nec advenienti peditum agmini restitit Sabina legio. Fessi, tum tinere, tum populatione nocturnā, magna pars in villis repleti cibo vinoque, vix fugēr\textsuperscript{25} quod satis esset virium habuère. Nocte unā audito perfectoque bello Sabino, postero die, in magnā jam spe undique partē pacis, legati Aurunci senatum adeunt, ni decedatur Volso agro, bellum indicentēs. Cum legātis simul exercitus Auruncorum domo profectus erat; cujus fama, haud procul jam ab Ariciā visi, tanto tumultu concivit Romanos, ut nec consuli
ordine Patres, nec pacatum respondum arma inferentibus arma ipsi capientes dare possent. Ariciam infesto agmine itur; nec procul indè cum Auruncis signa collata, prælioque uno debellatum est

XXVII. Fusis Auruncis, victor tot intra paucos dies bellis Romanus promissa consulis fidemque senatús exspectabat; quum Appius, et insitá superbiá animo, et ut collegæ vanam faceret fidem, quàm asperrimè poterat, jus de creditis pecuniis dicere. Deinceps et, qui antè nexi fuerant, creditoribus tradebantur, et nectebantur alii. Quod ubi cui militi inciderat, collegam appellabat et, qui antè nexus fuerant, creditoribus tradebantur, et nectebantur alii. Quod ubi cui militi inciderat, collegam appellabat. Postulabant, ut aut referret ad senatum, aut, ut auxilio esset consul civilibus, imperator militibus. Movebant consulem hæc; sed tergiversari res coegerat; adeò in alteram causam non collega solum præceps ierat, sed omnis factio nobilium. Ita, medium se gerendo, nec plebis vitavit odium, nec apud Patres gratiam iniit. Patres mollem consulem et ambitiosum ratì; plebes fallacem; breviqve apparuit, æquasse eum Appii odium. Certamen consulis inciderat, uter dedicaret Mercurii ædem. Senatus a se rem ad populum rejecit. Utrorum dedicatio jussu populi data esset, eum præesse annonas, mercatorum collegium instituire, sollemnia pro pontifice jussit suscipere. Populus dedicationem ædis dat M. Laetorio, primi pili centurioni; quod facile appareret non tam ad honorem ejus, cui curatio altior fastigio suo data esset, factum, quàm ad consulum ignominiam. Sævire indè utique consulum alter Patresque; sed plebi creverant animi; et longè alia, quàm primò instituerant, viá grassabantur. Desperato enim consulum senatusque auxilio, quum in jus duci debitorem vidissent, undique convolabant. Neque decre tum exaudiri consulis præ strepitu et clamore poterat, neque, quum decreßset, quisquam obtemperabat. Vi agebatur, metusque omnis et periculum libertatis, quum in conspectu consulis singuli à pluribus violarentur, in creditoribus à debitoribus verterant. Super hæc timor incessit Sabini belli; delectuque decreto, nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio, et insectante ambitionem col-
legæ, qui populari silentio rempublicam proderet, et ad id\textsuperscript{36}, quòd de creditâ pecuniâ jus non dixisset, adjicet, ut ne delectum quidem ex senatûsconsulto haberet. "Non esse tamen desertam omnino rempublicam, "neque projectum consulare imperium. Se unum et suæ "et Patrum majestatis vindicem fore.” Quum circumsta-
ret quotidianâ multitudo\textsuperscript{37} licentiâ accensâ, arripi unum
insignem ducem seditionum jussit. Ille, quum à lictori-
bus jam traheretur, provocavit; nec cessisset provoca-
tioni consul, quia non dubium erat populi judicium, nisi 
agrè victa pertinacia foret consilio magis et auctoritate
principum, quam populi clamore; adeò supererant animi\textsuperscript{38} 
ad sustinendam invidiam. Crescere indè malum in dies,
non clamoribus modò apertis, sed, quod multo perni-
ciosius erat, secessione occultisque colloquiis. Tandem
invisi plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Servilius neutris,
Appius Patribus mirè gratus.

XXVIII. A. Virginius indè et T. Vetusius consu-
latum inuenit. Tum verò plebes, incerta quales habitura
consules esset, cœtus nocturnos, pars Esquilîis, pars in
Aventino, facere, ne in foro\textsuperscript{39} subitis trepidaret consiliis,
et omnia temerè ac fortuitò ageret. Eam rem consules
rati, ut erat, perniciosam, ad patres deferunt; sed 
delatam\textsuperscript{40} consulere ordine non licuit, adeò tumultuosè
excepta est clamoribus undique et indignatione Patrum,
sì, quod imperio consulari exsequendum\textsuperscript{41} esset, invidiam
ejus consules ad senatum rejicerent. "Protector si esset
in republicâ magistratus, "nullum futurum fuisset Romæ,
"nisi publicum, concilium. Nunc in mille curias con-
cionesque (quum alia in Esquiliis, alia in Aventino, fiant 
"concilia) dispersam et dissipatam esse rempublicam.
"Unum, Hercule, virum (id enim\textsuperscript{42} plus esse, quàm con-
sulem) qualis Ap. Claudius fuerit, momento temporis
"discussurum illos cœtus fuisse.” Correpti consules
quum, quid ergo se facere vellent, (nihil enim segniûs 
molliusve, quàm Patribus placeat, acturos) puncta-
rentur, decernunt\textsuperscript{43}, ut delectum quàm acerrimum habeant;
ochio lascivire plebem. Dimisso senatu, consules in tri-
bunal ascendunt; citant nominatim juiiores. Quum ad
nomen nemo responderet, circumfusa multitudo in con-
cionis modum negare, "Ultrà decipi plebem posse.
Nunquam unum militem habituros, ni præstaretur "fides publica". Libertatem unicuique prius reddendam "esse, quàm arma danda, ut pro patria civibusque, non "pro dominis, pugnent." Consules, quid mandatum esset à senatu, videbant, sed eorum, qui intra parietes curiæ ferociter loquerentur, neminem adesse, invisibiæ suæ participem; et apparebat atroX cum plebe certamen. Prius itaque, quàm ultima experirentm- senatum iterum consulere placuit. Tum vero ad sellas consulem prope conyolavere minimus quique natum, abdicare consulatum jubentes, depouere imperium, ad quod tue-dum animus deesset.

XXIX. Utráque re satís expertā, tum demum consules: "Ne prædictum negetis, Patres conscripti, adestr "ingens seditio. Postulamus, ut ii, qui maximè igna- "viam increpant, adsint nobis habentibus delectum. "Acerrimi cujusque arbitrio, quando ita placet, rem "agemus." Redeunt in tribunal; citari nominatim unum ex iis, qui in conspectu erant, dedita opera jubent. Quum staret tacitus, et circa eum aliquot hominum, ne fortè violaretur, coustitisset globus, hctorem ad eum consules mittunt. Quo repulso, tum verò, "indiguum faci-nus esse," clamantantes, qui Patrum consulibus aderant, devolant de tribunali, ut lictori auxilio essent. Sed ab lictore, nihil aliud quàm prehendere prohibito, quum conversus in Patres impetus esset, consulum intercursu rixa sedata est; in quà tamen, sine lapide, sine telo, plus clamoris atque irarum, quàm injuriae, fuerat. Se-natus, tumultuosè vocatus, tumultuosiùs consulitum, quæestionem postulantibus iis qui pulsati fuerant, decer-nente feroçissimo quoque, non sententiis magis, quàm clamore et strepitu. Tandum, quum irae resedissent, exprobrantibus consulibus nihilò plus sanitatis in curià, quàm in foro, esse, ordine consuli cœpit. Tres fuère sententiae. P. Virginius rem non vulgabat; "de iiς "tantùm, qui, fidem secuti P. Servili consulis, Volsco, "Aurunco, Sabinoque militássent bello, agendum" cen-sebat. T. Lartius, "Non id tempus esse, ut merita "tantummodo exsolverentur; totam plebem ære alieno "demersam esse; nec sisti posse, ni omnibus consu- "latur; quin, si alia aliorum sit conditio, accendi

XXX. Multis, ut erat, horrida et atroc videbatur Appii sententia; rursus Virginii Lartiique exemplo haud salubres; utique Lartii putabant sententiam, quæ totam fidem tolleret; medium maxime et moderatum utroque consilium Virginii habebatur. Sed factione respectuque rerum privatamar, quæ semper officere opportune publicis consiliiis, Appius vicit; ac propè fuit, ut dictator ille idem crearetur; quæ res utique alienasset plebem periculosissimo tempore, quam Volsci Aëquique et Sabini fortè unà omnes in armis essent. Sed curæ fuit consulibus et senioribus Patrum, ut imperium, suó vehemens, mansuetò permitteretur ingénio. Manium Valerium dictatorem, Volesi filium, creant. Plebes, etsi adversùs se creatum dictatorem videbat, tamen, quum provocationem frater lege haberet, nihil ex ea familiâ triste nec superbum timebat. Edictum deinde, à dictatorem propositum, confirmavit animos, Servilii fere consulis edicto conveniens. Sed et hominì et potestati melius rati credi, omissa certamine, nomina dedère. Quantus nuncam antè exercitus, legiones decem effectæ; ternae indè datæ consulibus; quatuor dictator usus. Nec poterat jam bellum differri. Aëquii Latinum agrum invaserant; oratores Latinorum à senatu petebant, ut aut mitterent subsidium, aut se ipsos tuendorum finium causâ capere arma sinerent. Tutius visum est defendi inermes Latinos, quàm pati retractare arma. Vetusius consul missus est; is finis populationibus fuit. Cessère Aëqui campis; locoque magis, quàm armis, freti, summis se jugis montium tutabantur. Alter consul, in

XXXI. Dum hæc in Volscis gerantur, dictator Sabinos, ubi longè plurimum belli fuerat, fundit fugatque, exuitque castris. Equitatu immisso mediam turba verat hostium aciem, quàd dum se cornua latiùs pandunt, parum aptè introrsum ordinibus aciem firmaverant. Turbatos pedes invasit. Eodem impetu castra captâ, debellatumque est. Post pugnam ad Regillum lacum non alia illis annis pugna clarius fuit. Dictator triumphans urbem invehitūr. Super solitos honores locus in circo ipsi posterisque ad spectaculum datus; sella in eo loco curulis posita. Volscis devictis Veliternus ager ademptus; Velitras coloni ab urbe missi, et colonia deductâ. Cum Æquis post aliquanto pugnam est, invitò quidem consulè, quàd loco iniquo subeundum erat ad hostes; sed milites, extraìi rem criminantes, ut dictator, priusquam ipsi redirent in urbem, magistratu abiret, irritaque, sicut ante consulès, promissa ejus caderent, perpulère, ut forte temere in adversos montes agmen erigeret. Id, malè commissum, ignaviā hostium in bonum vertit; qui, priusquam ad conjectum teli veniretur
obstupefacti audaciā Romanorum, relictis castris, quae munitissimis tenuerant locis, in adversas valles desideravere; ubi satis praeclara et victoria incruenta fuit. Ita trifariam re bello bene gesta, de domesticarum rerum eventu nec Patribus nec plebi cura dedit, sed ipsum etiam dictatorem, frustrarentur. Namque Valerius, post Vetusii consulis reeditum, omnium actionum in senatu primam habuit pro victore populo, retulitque quid nisi fieri deberet; quae quum rejecta relatio esset, *Non placeo,* inquit, *concordiā auctor; optabitis, me Dius fidius pro pedium, ut mei similes Romana plebes patronos habeant.*

Quod ad me attinet, neque frustrabo ulterius cives meos, *neque ipse frustra dictator ero. Discordiā tissue,* *bellum externum, fecerit, ut hoc magistratu ingereret* *respublica. Pax foris parta est, domi impeditur.* *Privatus potius, quam dictator, seditioni interero.* Ita, curia egressa, dictatura se abruptavit. Apparuit causa plebi suam vicem indignantem magistratu abisse. Itaque, velut persolutā fide, quoniam per eum non stetisset, quin praestaretur, decedentem domum cum favore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

XXXII. Timor inde Patres incessit, ne, si dimissus exercitus forerit, rursus eōtus occulti conjurationesque fient. Itaque, quanquam per dictatorem deflectus habitus esset, tamen, quoniam in consulum verba jurāissent, sacramento teneri militem rati, per causam renovati ab Aequis bellis, educi ex urbe legiones jussēre; quo facto maturata est seditio. Et primō agitatum dicitur de consulum cæde, ut solverentur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam scelere religionem eoxolvī, Sicinio quodam auctore, injussu consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse (trans Anienem annem est,) ab urbe tria millia passuum. Ea frequentior fama est, quàm cujus Piso auctor est, in Aventinum secessionem factam esse. Ibi sine ullo duce, vallo fossâque communitis castris, quieti, rem nullam nisi necessariam ad victum sumendo, per aliquot dies, neque lacesiti neque laccesentes, sese tenuere. Pavor ingens in urbe, metuque mutuo suspensa erant omnia. Timere relictā ab suis plebes violentiam Patrum; timere Patres resider in urbe plebem, incerti
manere eam an abire mallent; quamdiu autem tranquillam, quae secesserit, multitudinem fore; quid futurum deinde, si quod externum interim bellum existat; nullam profectò, nisi in concordià civium, spem reliquam ducere; eam per aqua, per iniquam94, reconciliandam civitati esse. Placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti Menenium Agrippam93, facundum virum, et, quòd inde oriundus96 erat, plebi carum. Is intromissus in castra, prisco illo dicendi et horrido97 modo, nihil aliud, quàm hoc, narràsse fertur: "Tempore, quo in homine non, ut nunc, omnìa "in unum consentiebant98, sed singulis membris suum "cuique consilium, suus sermo, fuerat, indignatas reliquas "partes, sua curá, suo labore ac ministerio, ventri omnia "querì; ventrem, in medio quietum, nihil aliud, quàm "datis volupiatibus frui; conspiràsse indè, ne manus ad "os cibum ferret, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes "conficerent. Hác irá, dum ventrem99 fame domare "vellent, ipsa unà membra totumque corpus ad extremam "tabem venisse. Indè apparuisset ventris quoque haud "segne ministeriìm esse: nec magis ali, quàm alere, eum1 "reddentem in omnes corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus "vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas, maturum, con- "fecto cibo, sanguinem." Comparando hinc quàm intestina corporis seditio similis9 es set irae plebis in Patres, flexisse mentes hominum.

XXXIII. Agi deinde de concordià cæptum, conco- sumque in conditiones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti, quibus auxiliìi latìo adversùs consules esset; neve cui Patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Ita tri- buni plebei3 creatì duo C. Licinius et T. Albinus; hi tres collegas sìbi creaverunt4; in his Sicinium fuisse, sediti- onis auctorem. De duobus qui fuerint, minus convenit. Sunt, qui duos tantùm in Sacro monte creatos5 tribunos esse dicant, ibique sacramat legem6 latam. Per secessio- nem7 plebis Sp. Cassius et Postumius Cominius8 consul- latum inierunt. His consulibus cum Latinis populus ictum fœdus; ad id feriendum consul alter Romæ mansit; auster, ad Volscum bellum missus, Antiates Volscos fun- dit fugatque; compulsos in oppidum Longulam persequutus mœnibus potitur. Inde Poluscum, item Volscorum, cepit9: tum magnâ vi adortus est Coriòlos. Erat tum in castris inter primores juvenum C. Marcius, adolescens et con-
silio et manu promptus, cui cognomen postea Coriolano fuit. Quum subitò exercitum Romanum, Coriolos obi-
dentem, atque in oppidanos, quos intus clausos habebat, intentum, sine ullo metu extrinsecus imminentis belli, Volscæ legiones, profectæ ab Antio, invasissent, eodemque tempore ex oppido erupissent hostes, fortè in sta-

XXXIV. Consules deinde T. Geganius, P. Minucius facti. Eo anno, quum et foris quieta omnia à bello essent, et domi sanata discordia, aliud multo gravius malum civitatem invasit, caritas primùm annonnae, ex incultis per secessionem plebis agris, fames deinde, qualis clausis solet; ventumque ad interitum servitiorum utique et plebis esset, ni consules providissent, dimissis passim ad frumentum coëmendum, non in Etruriam modò dextris ab Ostià litoribus, lævoque per Volscos mari usque ad Cumas, sed quæsitum in Siciliam quoque, adeò fiutí-
morum odia longinquus coëgerant indigere auxiliis. Frum-
mentum Cumis quem coëmpit esset, naves pro bonis Tarquiniorum ab Aristodemo tyranno, qui hæres erat, retentæ sunt. In Volscis Pomptinoque ne emi quidem potuit; periculum quoque ab impetu hominum ipsis frumentatoribus fuit. Ex Tusci frumentum Tiberi venit;

XXXV. Et senatui nimis atrox visa sententia est, et plebem ira propē arnavit. "Fame se jam, sicut hostes, peti; cibo victuque fraudari; peregrinum frumentum, quàe sola alimenta ex insperato fortuna dederit, ab ore rapi, nisi C. Marcio vincti dedantur tribuni, nisi de tergo plebis Romanae satisfiat. Eum sibi carnificem novum exortum, qui aut mori, aut servire, jubeat." In exeuntem è curiā impetus factus esset, nī peropportunē tribuni diem dixissent. Ibi ira est suppressa; se judicem quisque, se dominum vitae necisque inimici, factum videbat. Contemptim primō Marcius audiebat minas tribunicias: "auxili, non pœnē, jus datum illi potestati; plebisque, non Patrum, tribunos
"esse." Sed adeò infensa erat coorta plebs, ut unius pœnâ defungendum esset\textsuperscript{35} Patribus. Restiterunt tamen\textsuperscript{39} adversâ invidiâ, usique sunt, quà suis quisque, quà\textsuperscript{40} totius ordinis, viribus. Ac primò tentata res est, si, dispositis clientibus, absterrendo singulos à coitionibus conciliisisque, disjicere rem\textsuperscript{41} possent. Universi deinde processère, (quidquid erat Patrum, reos dicerès\textsuperscript{42}) precibus plebem expossentes, "unum sibi civem, unum senatorem, si innocentem absolvere nollent, pro nocente donarent\textsuperscript{43}."

Ipse quem die dictâ non adset, perseveratum in irâ est. Damnatus absens\textsuperscript{44} in Volscos exsulatum abìt, mìnitans patrice, hostilesque jam tum spiritus gerens. Venientem Volschi benignè exceptè; benigniusque in dies coelebant, quo major ira in suos emebat, crebœque nunc quœræ, nunc minæ, percipiebantur. Hospitio utebatur Attii Tulli\textsuperscript{45}. Longe is tum princeps Volschi nominis erat, Romanisque semper infestus. Ita, quam alterum vetus odium, alterum ira recens, stimularet, consilia conferunt de Romano bello. Haud facilè credebant plebem suam impelli posse ut, toties infeliciter tentata, arma caperent; multis sæpe bellis, pestilentia postremò amissâ juventute, fractos spiritus esse; arte agendum in exoleto jam vetsus odio\textsuperscript{46}, ut recenti aliqùa irâ exacerbarentur animi.

XXXVI. Ludi\textsuperscript{47} fortè, ex instauratione, magni Romæ parabantur. Instaurandi hæc causa fuerat. Ludis\textsuperscript{48} manè servum quidam pater familie, nondum commiso spectaculo\textsuperscript{49}, sub furcâ\textsuperscript{50} cæsum, medio egerat circo. Cœpti inde ludi, velut ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset. Haud ita multo post T. Atinio, de plebe homini, somnium fuit. Visus Jupiter dicere, "Sibi "ludis præsultatorem displicuisse\textsuperscript{51}; nisi magnificè in-"staurarentur hi ludi, periculum urbi fore; iret, ea "consulibus nunciaret." Quanquam haud sæne liber erat religionè animus, verecundia tamen majestatis magistratum timorem vicît\textsuperscript{52}, ne in ora hominum pro ludibrio abiret. Magno illi ea cunctatio stetit\textsuperscript{53}; filium namque intra paucos dies amisit; cujus repentine cladis ne causa dubia esset, ægro animi\textsuperscript{54} eadem illa in somnis obversata species visa est rogitare, "Satin' magnam "spreti numeris haberet mercedem? majorem instare,

XXXVII. Ludi quàm amplissimi ut fierent, senatus decrevit. Ad eós ludos, auctore Attio Tullo, vis magna Volscorum venit. Priusquam committerentur ludi, Tullus, ut domi compositum cum Marcio fierat, ad consules venit; dicit esse, quae secretò agere de republicâ velit. Arbitris remotis, “Invitus,” inquit, “quod sequius sit, de meis civibus loquor. Non tamen admissum quidquam ab iis criminatum venio; sed cautum, ne admittant. Nímio plus, quàm velim, nostrorum ingenia sunt mobilia. Multis id cladibus sensimus, quippe qui non nostro merito, sed vestra patientiâ, incolutes simus. Magna hie nune Volscorum multitudo est; ludì sunt; spectaculo intenta civitas erat. Memini quid per eandem occasionem ab Sabinorum jüventute in hác urbe commissum sit; horret animus ne quid inconsiderè ac temere fiat. Hæc, nostra vestrâque causâ, priùs dicenda vobis, consules, ratus sum. Quod ad me attinet exemplè hinc domum abire in animo est, ne cujus facti dictive contagione præsens violer.” Hæc locutus abiit. Consules quum ad Patres rem dubiam sub auctore certo detulissent, auctor magis, ut fit, quàm res, ad præcavendum vel ex supervacuo movit; factoque senatusconsulto, ut urbe excederent Volsci, præcones dimittuntur, qui omnes eos proficisci ante noctem juberent. Ingens pavor primò discurrentes ad suas res tollendas in hospitia percult. Proficiscens eisinde indignatio oborta: “Se, ut con-
"sceleratos contaminatosque, ab ludis, festis diebus, 
"cætu quodammodo hominum deorumque, abactos esse."

XXXVIII. Quam propè continuato agmine irent, 
prægressus Tullus ad caput Ferentinum, ut quisque 
veniret, primores eorum excipiens, querendo indignan-
doque, et eos ipsos sedulò audientes secunda iræ verba, 
et per eos multitudo iniam, in subjectum vix campus 
deduxit. Ibi in concionis modum orationem exorsus, 
"Veteres populi Romani injurias, cladesque gentis 
"Volscorum, ut omnia," inquit, "obliviscamini alia, 
hodiernam hanc contumeli quem tandem animo fertis, 
quà per nostram ignominiam ludos commisere? 
"non sensistis triumphatam hodie de vobis esse? vos 
"omnibus, civibus, peregrinis, tot finitimis populis, 
spectaculo abentes fussis? vestras conjuges, vestros 
"liberos, traductos per ora hominum? Quid eos, qui 
audivère vocem praeconis? quid, qui vos vidère 
"abentes? quid eos, qui huic ignominioso agmini fuère 
obvii, existimáisse putatis? nisi aliquod profectò nefas 
esse, quo, si intersumus spectaculo, violaturi simus 
ludos, piaeculumque merituris; ideo nos ab sede 
piorum, cætu, concilioque, abigi. Quid deinde? illud 
"non succurrít, vivere nos, quod maturavimus pro-
ficisci? si hoc profectio, et non fuga, est. Et hanc 
"urbem vos non hostium ducitis, ubi, si unum diem 
morati essetis, moriendum omnibus fuit? Bellum vobis 
"indictum est, magnò eorum malo, qui indixere, si 
"viri estis." Ita et suá sponte irarum pleni, et incitati, 
domos inde digressi sunt; instigandoque suos quisque 
populos effecerè, ut omne Volscum nomen deficeret.

XXXIX. Imperatores ad id bellum de omnium popu-
lorum sententiâ lecti Attius Tullus et C. Marcius, exsul 
Romanus, in quo aliquanto plus spei repositum. Quam 
spem nequaquam fecellit; ut faciè appareret, ducibus 
validiorem, quât exercitu, rem Romanam esse. Circejos 
profectus, primùm colonos inde Romanos expulit, libe-
ramque eam urbem Volscis tradidit. Unde, in Latinam 
viam transversis transtibus transgressus, Satricum, 
Longulum, Poluscam, Coriolos, novella hæc Romanis 
oppida ademité. Unde Lavinium recepit; tunc dein-
ceps Corbionem, Vitelliam, Trebiam, Lavicos, Pedum,
cepit. Postremum ad urbem à Pedo ducit; et, ad fossas Cluiliad quinque ab urbe millia passuum castris positis, populatur indè agrum Romanum, custodibus inter populatores missis, qui patriciorum agros intactos servarent, sive infensus plebi magis, sive ut discordia indè inter Patres plebemque oriretur. Quæ prefecto orta esset, adeò tribuni jam feroce per se plebem criminando in primores civitatis instigabant; sed externus timor, maximum concordiae vinculum, quamvis suspectos infensosque inter se, jungere animos. Id modo non conveniebat, quod senatus consulesque nusquam alibi spem, quàm in armis, ponente; plebes omnia, quàm bellum, malebat. Sp. Nautiusjam et Sex. Furius consules erant. Eos, recensentes legiones, praesidia per muros aliaque, in quibus stationes vigiliasque esse placuerat, loca distribuentes, multitudo ingens pacem poscentium primum seditioso clamore conturrat; deinde vocare senatum, referre de legatis ad C. Marcium mittendis, coegit. Acceperunt relationem Patres, postquam apparuit labare plebis animos; missique de pace ad Marcium oratores atroxe responsum retulerunt: "Si Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace; si prædâ bellî per otium frui velint, memorem se et civism injuria, et hospitium beneficii, adnisurum ut appareat, exsilio sibi irritatos, non fractos, animos esse:" Iterum deinde idem missi non recipiuntur in castra. Sacerdotes quoque, suis insignibus velatos, ìsse supplices ad castra hostium traditum est; nihiló magis, quàm legatos, flexisse animum.

XL. Tum matronae ad Veturiam, matrem Coriolani, Volumniamque uxorem frequentes coèunt. Id publicum consilium, an muliebris timor fuerit, parum invenio. Pervicère certè, ut et Veturia, magno natu mulier, et Volumnia, duos parvos ex Marcio ferens filios, secum in castra hostium irent; et, quam armis viri defendere urbem non possent, mulieres precibus lacrymisque defenderent. Ubi ad castra ventum est, nunciatumque Coriolano adesse ingens mulierum agmen, in primo (ut qui nec publica majestate in legatis, nec in sacerdotibus tantà offusâ oculis animoque religione motus esset,) multo obstinatior adversus lacrymas muliebres erat. Dein fami-
Eo anno Hernici devicti; cum Volscis aequo Marte discessum est 93.


Qui terrores tamen eò evaséré\textsuperscript{17}, ut Oppia, virgo Vestalis, damnata incesti, pœnas dederit.

"quàm indici ostendique bellum; cetera suá sponte fata "et deos gesturos." Ëa spes Etruscos armaverat, multis
invicem casibus victos victoresque"54.

XLV. Consules quoque Romani nihil præterea alium,
quàm suas vires, sua arma, horrebant. Memoria pes-
simi proximo bello exempli terrebat, ne rem commit-
terent eò55, ubi duæ simul acies timendæ essent. Itaque
castris se teneabant, tam ancipiti periculo aversi56, "diem
"tempusque57 forsitan ipsum lenitum iras, sanitatem-
"que animis allaturum." Vejens hostis Etruscique eo
magis præpropere agere; laccere ad pugnam; primò
obequendo castris provocandoque; postremò, ut nihil
movebant, quà consules ipsos, quà exercitum, increpando:
"Simulationem intestinæ discordiæ remedium timoris58
"inventum; et consules magis non confidere, quàm non
"credere, suis militibus59. Novum seditionis genus,
"silentium otiumque inter armatos." Ad hæc in novi-
tatem generis originisque, quà falsa, quà60 vera, jacere.
Hæc quum sub ipso vallo portisque streperent, haud
aegrè consules pati41; at imperitæ multitudinis nunc
indignatio, nunc pudor, pectora versare42, et ab intestinis
avertere malis; nolle inultos hostes; nolle successum43,
non Patribus, non consulibus; externa et domestica odia
certare in animis. Tandem superant externa: adeò su-
perlè insolenterque hostis eludebat. Frecuentes in præ-
torium conveniunt; poscunt pugnam; postulant ut sig-
num detur. Consules, velut deliberabundi, capita con-
ferunt44; diu colloquuntur. Pugnare cupiebant; sed
retro revocanda et addenda cupiditas45 erat, ut adversando
remorandoque incitato semel militi addenter impetum.
Redditur responsum immaturum rem agi; nondum
tempus pugnæ esse; castris se tenerent. Édicuut indè,
ut abistineant pugnâ; si quis injuus pugnaverit, ut in
hostem animadversuros46. Ita dimissis, quo minùs
consules47 velle credunt, crescit ardom pugnandi. Acce-
dunt insuper hostes ferociùs multo, ut statuisse non
pugnare consules cognitum est. Quippe "impunè se
"insultaturos; non credi militi arma; rem ad ultimum
"seditionis45 erupturam; finemque venisse Romano
"imperio." His freti occursant portis; ingerunt probra;
aegrè abstinent quin castra oppugnent. Ënimvero non

XLVI. Propè certa spes erat non magis secum pugnaturos, quàm pugnaverint cum Æquis; majus quoque aliquid, in tam irritatis animis et occasione ancipiti, haud desperandum esse facinus. Res longè aliter evenit; nam non alio antè bello infestior Romanus (adeò hinc contumeliis hostes, hinc consules morà, exacerbaverant) prelium iniit. Vix explicandi ordinis spatium Etruscis fuit, quum, pilis inter primam trepidationem abjectis temere magis, quàm emissis, pugna jam in manus, jam ad gladios, ubi Mars est atrocissimus, venerat. Inter primores genus Fabium insigne spectaculo exemplque civibus erat. Ex his Q. Fabium, (tertio hic anno antè consul fuerat) principem in confertos Vejentes euntem, ferox viribus et armorum arte Tuscius, incautum inter multas versantem hostium manus, gladio per pectus transfigit; telo extracto, præceps Fabius in vulnus abiit. Sensit utraque acies unius viri casum, cedebatque inde

XLVII. Praēio ex parte unâ restituto, nihilo segniūs in altero cornu Cn. Manlius consul pugnam ciebat, ubi propê similis fortuna est versata. Nam, ut altero in cornu Q. Fabium, sic in hoc ipsum consulem Manlium, jam velut fusos agentem hostes, et impigrè milites securi sunt; et, ut ille gravî vulnere ictus ex acie cessit, interfectum rati, gradum retulère, cessissentque loco, ni consul alter, cum aliquot turnis equitum in eam partem citato equo advocet, vivere clamitans collegam, se victorem fuso altero cornu adesse, rem inclinatam sustinuisset. Manlius quoque ad restituendam aciem se ipse coram offerit. Duorum consulum cognita ora accendunt militum animos; simul et vanior jam erat hostium acies, dum, abundante multitudine freti, substracta subsidia mittunt ad castra oppugnanda. In quæ haud magno certamine impetu facto, dum praedæ magis quàm pugnæ memores, terunt tempus, triarii Romani, qui primam irruptionem sustinerem non potuerant, missis ad consules nuncius, quo loco res essent, conglobati ad pretorium redeunt, et suâ sponte ipsi prælium renovant; et Manlius consul, revectus in castra, ad omnes portas milite opposto, hostibus viam clauserat. Ea desperatio Tuscis rabiem magis quàm audaciam accendit. Nam, quem incursan-tes, quâcumque exitum ostenderet spes, vano aliquoties impetu issent, globus juvenum unus in ipsum consulem insignem armis invadit. Prima excepta à circumstan-tibus tela; sustineri deinde vis nequit. Consul mortifero vulnere ictus cadit, fusique circà omnes. Tuscis crescit

XLVIII. Igitur non Patrum magis, quàm plebis, studiis K. Fabius cum T. Virginio consul factus, neque bella, neque delectus, neque ullamiam priorem curam agere, quàm ut, jam aliquà ex parte inchoatà concordìae spe, primo quoque tempore cum Patribus coalescent animi plebis. Itaque principio anni censuit, priusquam quisquam agrario lègis auctor tribunus existert, occuparent Patres ipsi suum munus facere; captivum agrum plebì quàm maximè æqualiter darent; "verum esse habere eos, quorum sanguine ac sudore partus sit." Aspernati Patres sunt; questi quoque quidam, nimià glorià luxuriarie et evanescere vividum quondam illud Kæsonis ingenium. Nullæ deinde urbanae factiones fuère. Vexabantur incursionibus Æquorum Latini; eò cum exercitu Kæso missus in ipsorum Æquorum agrum depopulandum transit. Æqui se in oppida receperunt, mirisque se tenebant; eò nulla pugna memorabilis fuit. At à Vejente hoste clades accepta temeritate alterius consulis; actumque de exercitu fores, ni K. Fabius in
tempore subsidio venisset. Ex eo tempore neque pax neque bellum cum Vejentibus fuit; res proximè formam latrocinii venerat. Legionibus Romanis cedebant in urbem; ubi abductas senserant legiones, agros incursabant, bellum quiete, quietem bello, invicem eludentes. Ita neque omitti tota res, nec perfici, poterat. Et alia bella aut præsentia instabant, ut ab Aquis Volscisque, non diutius, quàm recens dolor proximæ cladis transiret, quiescentibus; aut mox moturos se apparet, abductis senserant legiones, agros incursabant, bellum quiete, quietem belli. invicem eludentes. Ita neque omitti tota res, neque perficere poterat. Et alia bella aut præsentia instabant, ut ab Aquis Volscisque, non diutius, quàm recens dolor proximæ cladis transiret, quiescentibus.
cognatorum sodaliumque, nihil medium, nec spem, nec curam, sed immensa omnia, volventium animo; alia publica, sollicitudine excitata, favore et admiratione stupens. "Ire fortes, ire felices" jubent; "inceptis eventus pares reddere; consulatus inde ac triumphos, omnia præmia "ab se, omnes honores, sperare." Pretereauntibus Capitolium arcemque et alia templaque, quicquid deorum oculis, quicquid animo, occurrat, precantur, ut illud agmen famatum atque felix mittant, suspites brevi in patriam ad parentes restituant. Incassum missæ preces. Infelici via dextro Jano portæ Carmentalis profecti, ad Cremaram flumen perveniunt. Is opportunus visus locus communicando presidio. L. Æmilius inde et C. Servilius consules facti; et, donec nihil aliud quàm in populazioniibus res fuit, non ad præsidium modò tutandum Fabii satis erat, sed tota régione, quà Tuscus ager Romano adjunct, sua tuta omnia, infesta hostium, vagantes per utrumque finem, fecerè. Intervallum deinde haud magnum populationibus fuit; dum et Vejentes, acie ex Etruriâ exercitu, præsidium Cremerse oppugnant; et Romanae legiones, ab L. Æmilio Consule adducæ, cum Etruscis dimicant acie; quamquam vix dirigendi aciem spatium Vejentibus fuit: adeò inter primam trepidationem, dum post signa ordines introœunt, subsidiaque locant, invecta subito ab latere Romanae equitum ala, non pugnæ modò incipiendæ, sed consistendi, ademit locum. Ita, fusi retro ad saxa Rubra, (ibi castra habeant) pacem supplices petunt; cujus impetratae, ab insitâ animis levitate, ante deductum Cremerâ Romanum præsidium, pœnituit.

L. Rursus cum Fabiis erat Vejenti populo, sine ullo majoris belli apparatu, certamen; nec erant incursiones modò in agros, aut subiti impetus incursantium, sed aliquoties æquo campo collatisque signis certatum; gensque una populi Romani sœpe ex opulentissimâ, ut tum res erant, Etruscâ civitate victoriæ est. Id primò acerbum indignumque Vejentibus visum; inde consilium ex re natum insidiiis ferocem hostem captandi; gaudere etiam multo successu Fabiis audaciam crescere. Itaque et pecora preda Phocis aliquoties, velut casu incidissent, obviàm acta; agrestium fugae vasti rælictì agri; et subsi-
acceptam proximam pugnæ cladem\textsuperscript{12} Vejentes abstinuère acie; populationes erant, et velut ab arce Janiculi\textsuperscript{13} passim in Romanum agrum impetus dabant; non usquam pecora tuta, non agrestes, erant. Capti deinde eâdem arte sunt, quà ceperant Fabios. Secuti deditä operä passim ad illecebros propulsâ pecora, praecipitavère in insidias\textsuperscript{14}; quo plures\textsuperscript{15} erant, major caedes fuit. Ex hâc clade atrox ira majoris cladis causa atque initium fuit; trajecto enim Tiberi, castra Servilii consulis adorti sunt oppugnare; indè fusi magnâ caede in Janiculum se aegræ recepere. Confestim consul et ipse transit Tiberim; castra sub Janiculo communit. Postero die, luce ortâ, nonnihil et hesternâ felicitate pugnæ ferox, magis tamen, quà inopia frumenti, quamvis in precipitâ, dum celriora essent, agebat consilia\textsuperscript{16}, temerè adverso Janiculo ad castra hostium aciem erexit, fœdiusque indè pulsus, quàm pridie pepulerat, interventu collegæ ipse exercitusque ejus est servatus. Inter duas acies Etrusci, quum invicem his atque illis terga darent, occidione occis\textsuperscript{17}. Ita oppressum temeritate felici Vejens bellum.

\textit{LII.} Urbi cum pace laxior\textsuperscript{18} etiam annona rediit, et advecto ex Campaniâ frumento, et, postquam timor sibi cuique futuræ inopiae abiit, eo, quod abditum fuerat, prolato. Ex copiâ deinde otioque lascivire rursus animi; et pristina mala, postquam foris deæant, domi quaerere. Tribuni plebeem agitare suo veneno, agrariâ lege; in resistentes incitare Patres, nec in universos modo, sed in singulos. Q. Considius et T. Genucius, auctores agrariae legis, T. Menenio diem dicunt. Invidiæ erat amissum Cremeræ præsidium, quum haud procur indè stativa consul habuisset. Eum oppresserunt\textsuperscript{19}. Quum et Patres haud minus, quàm pro Coriolano, annisi essent, et patris Agrippae favor haud dum exolevisset, in mulctâ temârârunt\textsuperscript{20} tribuni. Quum capitis anquisissent\textsuperscript{21}, duo millia æris damnato mulctam dixerunt; ea in caput vertit\textsuperscript{22}. Negant tulisse\textsuperscript{23} ignominiam ægritudinemque; inde morbo absumptum esse. Alius deinde reus Sp. Servilius, ut consulatu abiit, C. Nautio et P. Valerio consulibus, initio statim anni, ab L. Caedicio et T. Statio tribunis die dictâ, non, ut Menenius, precibus suis aut Patrum, sed cum multâ fiduciâ innocentiae gratiaeque,\textsuperscript{24} tribunicios
impetus tulit. Et huic\textsuperscript{25} praelium cum Tuseis ad Janiculum erat crimini. Sed fervidi animi vir, ut in publico periculo antè, sic tum in suo, non tribunos modò, sed plebem, oratione feroci refutando, exprobrandoque T. Menenii damnationem mortemque, (cujus patris munere restituta quondam plebs eos ipsos, quibus tum seviret, magistratus, eas leges\textsuperscript{26}, haberet) periculum audacia di discussit. Juvit et Virginius collega, testis productus, participando laudes\textsuperscript{27}: magis tamen Menenianum (adeò mutaverant animum\textsuperscript{28}) profuit judicium.

LIII. Certamina domi finita. Vejens bellum exortum; quibus Sabini arma conjunxerant\textsuperscript{29}. P. Valerius consul, accitis Latinorum Hercorumque auxiliis, cum exercitu Vejos missus, castra Sabina, quae pro mónibus sociorum locata erant, confestim aggradit; tantamque trepidationem inject, ut, dum dispersi alii alia manipulam exturrunt\textsuperscript{30} ad arcendam liostium vim, ea porta, cui signa primum intulerat, caperetur. Intra vallum deinde caedes magis, quàm praelium, esse; tumultus è castra et in urbem penetrat; tanquam Vejis captis, ita pavidì Vejentes ad arma currunt; pars Sabinis eunt subsidio; pars Romanos, toto impetu intentos in castra, adorintur. Paullisper aversi\textsuperscript{31} turbatique sunt; deinde et ipsis utroque versis signis resistunt\textsuperscript{32}; et eques, ab Æonsule immissus, Tuscos fundit fugatque; eàdemque horà duo exercitus, duæ potentissimæ et maximæ gentes superatae sunt\textsuperscript{33}. Dum hæc ad Vejos geruntur, Volsci Æquique in Latino agro posuerant castra, populatique fines erant. Eos per se ipsis Latinis, assumptis Hercinis, sine Romano aut ducet auxilio, castris exuerunt. Ingenti prædà, præter suas recuperatas res, potiti sunt; missus tamen ab Româ consul in Volscos C. Nautius. Mos, credo, non placebat sine Romano duce exercituque socios propriis viribus consiliisque bella gerere. Nullum genus calamitatis contumeliæque non editum in Volscos est: nec tamen perpelli potuère, ut acie dimicarent.

LIV. L. Furius inde et C. Mauius consules. Manlio Vejentes provincia evenit; non tamen bellatum; inducæ in annos quadraginta petentibus datæ, frumento stipendioque imperato. Paci externæ confestim continuatur\textsuperscript{34} discordia domi; agrariae legis tribuniciiæ stimulis plebs
furebat. Consules, nihil Menenii damnatione, nihil periculo deterriti Servilii, summâ vi resistunt. Abeuntes magistratu Cn. Genucius\textsuperscript{35}, tribunus plebis, arripuit\textsuperscript{36}. L. Æmilius et Opiter Virginius consulatum ineunt. Vopiscum Julium pro Virginio in quibusdam annalibus consulem invenio. Hoc anno (quoscunque consules habuit) rei ad populum\textsuperscript{37} Furius et Manlius circumueunt sordidati non plebem magis, quàm juniores Patrum\textsuperscript{38}. Suadent, moment, "Honoribus et administratione rei-\textsuperscript{"}publicæ abstineant; consulares verò fasces, prætextam, "curulemque sellam, nihil aliud quàm pompam funeris, "putent; claris insignibus, velut infulis, velatos\textsuperscript{39} ad "mortem destinari. Quòd si consultatús tanta dulcedo "sit, jam nunc ita in animum inducant consulatum "cumpt et oppressum ab tribunicia potestate esse; "consuli, velut apparitori tribunicio, omnia ad nutum "imperiumque tribuni agenda esse. Si se commoverit\textsuperscript{40}, "si respexerit Patres, si aliud, quàm plebem, esse in "república crediderit, exsilium C. Marci, Menenii dam-"nationem et mortem, sibi proponat ante oculos." His accensi vocibus Patres consilia inde, non publica, sed in privato, seductaque\textsuperscript{41} à plurimum conscientiâ, habere; ubi quum id modò constaret jure an injuria\textsuperscript{42} eipiendos esse reos, atrocissima quæque maximè placebat sententia; nec auctor quamvis audaci\textsuperscript{43} facinori deerrat. Igitur judicîi die, quum plebs in foro erecta expectatione\textsuperscript{44} staret, mirari primò, quòd non descederet tribunus; deinde, quum jam mora suspicior fieret, deterriùm à primoribus credere, et desertam ac proditam causam publicam queri. Tandem, qui obversati\textsuperscript{45} vestibulo tribuni fuerant, nunciant domi mortuum esse inventum; quod ubi in totam concionem pertulit rumor, sicut acies funditur duce occiso, ita dilapsi passim aliùs aliò. Præcipuus pavor tribunos invaserat, quàm nihil auxiliis sacratæ leges haberent, morte collegiæ monitos. Nec Patres satis moderatè ferre lætitiam; adeòque neminem noxieæ poenitetebat\textsuperscript{46}, ut etiam insontes fecisse videri vellent, palamque ferretur malo domandam\textsuperscript{47} tribuniciam potestatem.

LV. Sub hâc pessimi exempli victoria\textsuperscript{48} delectus edictur; paventibusque tribunis, sine intercissione ullâ consules rem peragunt. Tum verò irasci plebes tribunorum
magis silentio, quam consulum imperio, et dicere "Ac-
tum esse de libertate sua; rursus ad antiqua reditum;
cum Genucio una mortuam ac sepultam tribuniciam
potestatem; aliud agendum, ac cogitandum, quomodo
resistatur Patribus. Id autem unum consilium esse, ut
se ipsa plebs, quando aliud nihil auxiliis habeat, defen-
dat. Quatuor et viginti lictores apparere consulibus,et
eos ipsos plebis homines. Nihil contemptius, neque
infirmius, si sint qui contemniant. Sibi quemque
ea magna atque horrenda facere." His vocibus aliis
alios quam incitasset, ad Voleronem Publilium, de plebe
hominem, quia, quod ordines duxisset, negaret se milit-
tem fieri debere, lictor missus est a consulibus. Volero
appellat tribunos. Quum auxilio nemo esset, consules
spoliari hominem, et virgas expediri, jubent. "Provo-
cis," inquit, "ad populum," Volero, "quoniam tribuni
civem Romanum in conspectu suo virgis caedi malunt,
quam ipsi in lecto suo a vobis trucidari." Quo fero-
cius clamitabat, eo infestiis circumscindere et spoliare
lictor. Tum Volero, et praevaleps ipse, et adjuvantis
advocatis, repulso lictore, ubi indignantium pro se acer-
rimus erat clamor, eò se in turbam confertissimam
recipit, clamitans, "Provoço, et fidem plebis imploro;
"adeste cives! adeste commilitones! nihil est, quòd
"exspectetis tribunos, quibus ipsis vestro auxilio opus
"est." Concitati homines, veluti ad prælium, se expe-
dunt; apparebatque omne discrimen adesse; nihil
cuiquam sanctum, non publici fore, non privati juris.
Huic tante tempestatem quam se consules obtulissent,
facile experti sunt parum tutam majestatem sine viribus
esse. Violatis lictoribus, fascibus fractis, è foro in curiam
compelluntur, incerti, quatenus Volero exerceret victo-
rium. Conticescente deinde tumultu, quem in senatum
vocari jussissent, queruntur injurias suas, vim plebis,
Voleronis audaciam. Multiis feroçiter dictis sententiis,
vicere seniores, quibus irà Patrum adversus temeritatem
plebis certari non placuit.

LVI. Voleronem amplexa favore plebs proximis comi-
tis tribunum plebi creat in eum annum, qui L. Pina-
rium, P. Furium consules habuit; contraque omnium opinio-
nonem, qui eum vexandis prioris anni consulibus
permissonurum tribunatum credebat, post publicam causam privato dolore habito, ne verbo quidem violatis consulibus, rogationem tulit ad populum, ut plebii magistratus tributis comitiis fierent. Haud parva res sub titulo primâ specie minimè atroci ferebatur; sed quae patriciis omnem potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi, quos vellent, tribunos auferret. Huic actioni, gratissimæ plebi, quem summâ vi resisterent Patres, nec, (quæ una vis ad resistendum erat,) ut intercederet, aliquis ex collegio auctoritate aut consulum aut principum adduci posset, res tamen, suo ipsa molimine gravis, certaminibus in annum extrahitur. Plebs Volero nem tribu min reficit. Patres, ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem venturam, Ap. Claudium, Appii filium, jam indè à paternis certaminibus invisum infestumque plebi, consulem faciunt. Collega ei T. Quinctius datur. Principio statim anni nihil priús, quàm de lege, agebatur; sed, ut inventor legis Volero, sic Lætorius, collega ejus, auctor quo recentior, tum acrior, erat. Ferocem faciebat belli gloria ingens, quod ætatis ejus haud quisquam manu promptior erat. Is, quem Volero nihil, præterquam de lege, loqueretur, insectatione abstinens consulum, ipse in accusationem Appii familiæque superbissimæ ac crudelissimæ in plebem Romanam exorserat, quum à Patri bus non consulem, sed carnificem ad vexandum et lace randam plebem, creatum esse contenderet, rudis in militari homine lingua non suppœtabat libertati animoque. Itaque, defectio oratione, "Quandoquidem non facile " loquor," inquit, "Quirites, quàm, quod locutus sum, " præsto, crastino die adeste. Ego hic aut in conspectu " vestro moriar, aut perfœram legem." Occupant tribuni templum postero diæ. Consules nobilitasque ad impediendum legem in concione consistunt. Submovei Lætorius jubet, præterquam qui suffragium ineant. Adolescentes nobiles stabant, nihil cedentes viatori. Tum ex his prehendi quosdam Lætorius jubet. Consul Appius negare jus esse tribuno in quemquam, nisi in plebeium; non enim populi, sed plebis, cum magistratum esse; nec illum ipsum submovere pro imperio posse more majorum; quia ita dicatur: "Si vobis videtur, disce: " dite, Quirites." Facilè et contemptim de jure disse-
T. LIVII.

rendo perturbare Lætorium poterat. Ardens igitur irâ tribunus viatorem mittit ad consulem; consul lectorem ad tribunum, privatum esse clamitans, sine imperio, sine magistratu\(^79\); violatusque esset tribunus, ni et concio omnis atrox coorta pro tribuno in consulem esset; et concursus hominum in forum ex totâ urbe concitatae multitudinis fieret. Sustinebat tamen Appius pertinaciâ tantam tempestatem; certatumque haud incruento prælio foret, ni Quinctilius, consul alter, consularibus negotio dato, ut collegam vi, si aliter non possent, de foro abducerent, ipse nunc plebem saevientem precibus lenisset, nunc orâset tribunos, ut concilium dimitterent. " Da-rum, sed consilium viribus additurum; et Patres in "populi, et consulem in Patrum fore potestate."

LVII. Ægrè sedata ab Quinctio plebs, multo ægrièus consul alter à Patribus. Dimisso tandem concilio plebis, senatum consules habent; ubi, quem timor atque ira invicem sententias variassent, quo magis, spatio interpósito, ad impetu ad consultandum advocabantur, eo plus abhorrebat à certatione animi\(^50\); adeò ut Quinctio grárias agerent, quod ejus operâ mitigata discordia esset. Ab Appio petitur, "Ut tantam\(^51\) consularem majestatem "esse vellet, quasi esse in concordi civitate posset. "Dum tribuni consulesque ad se quisque omnia trahunt, "nihil relictum esse virium in medio\(^52\); distractam\(^53\) "laceratamque rempublicam; magis quorum in manu "sit, quàm ut incolmis sit, quæri." Appius contrà testari Deos atque homines, "Rempublcam prodi per "metum ac deserì; non consulem senatui, sed senatum "consuli, deesse; graviore accipi leges quàm in Sacro "monete acceptæ sint." Victus tamen Patrum consensu quievit. Lex silentio perfertur.

in Volscos missus. Quinoctio Equi provincia evenit. Eadem in militia sevitatione Appii, quae domi, esse liberior, quod sine tribuniciius vinculis erat. Odisse plebem plusquam paterno odio: "Se victum ab eâ; se unico consule objecto adversus tribuniciam potestatem, perlatam legem esse, quam minore conatu, nequaquam tantâ Patrum spe, priores impedierint consules." Hæc ira indignatioque feroce animus ad vexandum sævo imperio exercitum stimulabat, nec ullâ vi domari poterat, tantum certamen animis imbibebat, nec nulla domari poterat, tantum certamen animis imbiberant. Segniter, otiosè, negligenter, contumaciter, omnia agere; nec pudor, nec metus, coercet. Si citiûs agit vellet agmen, tardius sedulus incedere; si adhortator operis adesset, omnes suâ sponte motam remittere industriae; præsenti vultus demittere, tacite prætererunt exsecreari, ut invictus ille odio plebeio animus interdum moveretur.

Omni nequissimâ acerbitate promptâ, nihil jam cum militibus agere; à centurionibus corruptum exercitum dicere; "tribunos plebi" cavillans, interdum et "Volerones," vocare. LIX. Nihil eorum Volsi nesciebant, instabantque eo magis, sperantes idem certamen animorum adversus Appium habiturum exercitum Romanum, quod adversus Fabium consulem habuisset. Ceterum multo Appio, quàm Fabio, violentior fuit. Non enim vincere tantum noluit, ut Fabianus exercitus, sed vinci vouluit. Productus in aciem turpi fugâ petit castra; nec antè restitit, quàm signa inferentem Volscum munimentis videt, foedamque extremi agminis eædem. Tum expressa vis ad pugnandum, ut victor jam à vallo submovetur hostis; satis tamen apparerit capi tantâm castra militem Romanum noluisset; alii gaudere suas clade atque ignominia. Quibus nihil infractus ferox Appii animus. Quum insuper sævire vellet, concionemque advocaret, concurruent ad eum legati tribunique, monentes ne utique experiri vellet imperium, cuius vis omnis in consensu obedientium esset. "Negare vulgò milites se ad concionem ituros; "passimque exaudiri voces postulantium, ut castra ex Volsco agro moveantur. Hostem victorem paullo antè "propè in portis ac vallo fuisse; ingentísque mali non "suspicionem modò, sed apertam speciem obversari ante "oculos." Victus tandem, (quandoquidem nihil, præter
tempus noxæ, lucrarentur\textsuperscript{94}) remissâ concione, iter in
insequentem diem pronunciari quum jussisset, primâ luce
classico signum profectionis dedit. Quum maximè\textsuperscript{95}
agmen è castris explicaretur, Volsci, ut eodem signo ex-
citati, novissimos adoriantur. A quibus perlatus ad
primos tumultus eo\textsuperscript{95*} pavore signaque et ordines\textsuperscript{96} turba-
vit, ut neque imperia exaudiri, neque instrui acies, pos-
sent; nemo ullius, nisi fugae, memor. Ita effuso agmine
per stragem\textsuperscript{97} corporum armorumque evasere, ut priùs
hostis desisteret sequi, quàm Romanus fugere. Tandem,
collectis ex dissipato cursu militibus, consul, quum revo-
cando nequequam suos persecutus esset\textsuperscript{95}, in pacato agro
casta posuit; advocataque concione, invectus haud falsò
in proditione exercitum militaris disciplinæ, desertorem
signorum, ubi signa, ubi arma essent, singulos rogitans,
inermes milites, signo amisco signiferos, ad hoc centu-
ritiones duplicariosque\textsuperscript{1}, qui reliquerant ordines, virgis
caesos securi percussit; cetera multitudo, sorte decimus
quisque, ad supplicium lecti.

LX. Contra ea in Æquis inter consulem ac militem
comitate ac beneficiis certatum est. Et naturâ Quinctius
erat lenior, et sævitia infelix collegæ, quò is magis gau-
deret ingenio suo, effecerat. Huic tantæ concordiæ
ducis exercitùisque non ausi offerre se Æqui, vagari popu-
labundum hostem per agros passi. Nee ullo ante bello
latiùs índet actæ praedæ; omnis militi data est. Adde-
bantur et laudes, quibus, haud minus quàm premio,
gaudent militum animi. Tum duci\textsuperscript{2}, tum propter ducem
Patribus quoque placator exercitus rediit, sibi parentem,
alteri exercitui dominum, datum ab senatu, memorans.
Varià fortunà belli, atroci discordià domi forisque annum
exactum, insignem maximè comitia tributa efficiunt: res
major\textsuperscript{3} victorìa suscepi certaminis, quàm usu; plus enim
dignitatis comitiis ipsis detractum est, Patribus ex con-
cilio submovendis, quàm virium aut plebi additum est,
aut demptum Patribus.

LXI. Turbulentior inde annus excepit, L. Valerio,
Ti. Æmilio consulibus, cùm propter certamina ordinum
de lege agrarià, tum propter judicium Ap. Claudii, cui,
acerrimo adversario legis, causamque possessorum pub-
lici agri, tanquam tertio\textsuperscript{4} consuli, sustinenti, M. Duilius

LXII. Eodem anno Valerius consul, cum exercitu in Æquos profectus, quem hostem ad prælium elicere non posset, castra oppugnare est adortus. Prohibuit fœda tempestas, cum grandine ac tontribus coelo dejecta. Admiracionem deinde auxit, signo receptui dato, adeò tranquilla serenitas reddita, ut, velut numine aliquid den-sa, castra oppugnare iterum religio fuerit; omnis ira bellī ad populationem agri vertit. Alter consul, Æmilius, in Sabinis bellum gessit. Et ibi, quia hostis mœnibus se tenebat, vastati agri sunt. Incendiis deinde non villarum modō, sed etiam vicorum, quibus frequenter habitabatur, Sabini exciti, quem praedatoribus occurrissent, ancipiti prælio digressi, postero die reguläre castra in tutiora loca. Id satīs consuli visum,
cur pro victo relinqueret hostem, integro indē decedens bello


sentiendo propior erat, gradum retulissent, ni salubri
mendacio consul, fugere hostes ab cornu altero clamitans,
concitasset aciem; impetu facto, dum se putant vincere,
vicère 24. Consul, metuens ne nimis instando renovaret
certamen, signum receptuì dedit. Intercessère pauci
dies, velut tacitis induciis, utrinque quieta sumptà; per
quos ingens vis hominum ex omnibus Volscis Æquisque
populis in castra venit, haud dubitans, si senserint 25,
Romanos nocete abituros. Itaque tertià ferè vigilia 26 ad
castra oppugnanda veniunt. Quinctius, sedato tumultu,
quam terror subitus exciverat, quam manere in ten-
torìis quietum militem jussisset, H hernicorum cohor-
tem in stationem 27 educit; corniciones tubicinesque, in
equis impositos, canere ante vallum jubet, sollicitumque
hostem ad lucem tenere. Reliquum noctis adè tran-
quilla omnia in castris fuère, ut somni quoque Romanis
copia esset. Volscos species armatorum peditum, quos
et plures 23 esse, et Romanos putabant, fremitus hinni-
tusque equorum, qui, et insueto 29 sedente equite, et
insuper aures agitante sonitu, sæviebant, intentos 30 velut
ad impetum hostium tenuit.

LXV. Ubi illuxit, Romanus, integer satiatusque som-
no, productus in aciem, fessum stando et vigiliis Volscum
primo impetu percult; quamquam cessere magis, quàm
pulsi, hostes sunt, quia ab tergo erant clivi, in quos post
principia 31 integris ordinibus tutus receptus fuit. Con-
sul, ubi ad iniquum locum ventum est, sistit aciem;
miles áegrè teneri; clamare et poscere, ut perculis in-
stare liceat. Ferociùs agunt equites; circumfusi duci
vociferantur se ante signa 32 ituros. Dum cunctatur
consul, virtute militiae mitem fretus, loco parum fidens,
conclamant se ituros; clamoremque res est secuta. Fixis in
terram pilis, quò leviores 33 ardua evaderent, cursu subeunt.
Volscus, effusis ad primum impetum missilibus telis, saxa
objicientia pedibus ingerit in subeuntes, turbatosque icti-
bus erebris urget ex superiore loco. Sic propè oneratum
est sinistrum Romanis cornu, ni referentibus jam gradum
consul, increpando simul temeritatem, simul ignaviam,
pudore metum excussisset. Restitère primò obstinatis
animis; deinde, ut in obtinentes locum vires 31 ferebant,
audent ultro gradum inferre; et, clamore renovato, com-
movent aciem\textsuperscript{34}; tum rursus, impetu capto\textsuperscript{36}, enituntur, atque exsuperant iniquitatem loci. Jam propè erat, ut in summum clivi jugum evaderent, quam terga hostes dedère; effusoque cursu penè agmine uno fugientes sequentesque castris incidère. In eo pavore castra capiuntur; qui Volscorum effugere potuerunt, Antium petunt. Antium et Romanus exercitus ductus; paucos circum sessum dies deditur, nullà oppugnantium novà vi\textsuperscript{37}, sed quòd jam inde ab infelici pugnâ castrisque amissis ceciderant animi.
NOTES TO BOOK II.

Chap. I.—1 Imperia.] This is not taken here in its proper sense, which is "military command."
2 Proxima regis superbia.] Proximi is another reading, perhaps a more natural one.
3 Omnes deinceps conditores partium certè urbis.] "That they may all in succession be deservedly counted founders of the several parts, at least, of the city, which they added to it, as being intended as new seats for the multitude, which was increased by themselves." Certè means, that though they were not entitled to be counted founders of the whole city, they ought to be considered founders of parts of it at least. Multitudini depends on sedes, not on addiderunt. Sedes multitudini.—So we find locum seditionis, insidiis, lubidini, criminationi; monumentum miraculo; urbi fundamenta; dies judicio; remedium timori; finis populationibus; omen concordiae; veniam errori; materia orationi; and many similar phrases which render the substitution of multitudinis here for multitudini, according to Rhenanus and others, unnecessary, and indeed incorrect, unless backed by the authority of many and respectable MSS. Captae urbis was the reading of some MSS, which is incorrect.
4 Pessimo publico id facturus fuerit.] "Would have done it to the very great injury of the state, or of the public interest."—So Varro de re Rust. B. 1. c. 13, cum Metelli et Lucilli villis, pessimo publico adificatis, certant.—Gell. B. 7. c. 3. Catone id, quod optimum esse publicum existimabat, suadente.—Tacit. Annal. B. 3. c. 70. Capito insignitor infamia fuit, quod egregium publicum et bonus domi artes dehonestavisset:—bonum publicum and malum publicum are phrases often used.
5 Sub tutelâ inviolati templi.] i. e. The asylum.
6 Cui longo tempore assuescitur.] "To which people become familiarized only by length of time." Let the young reader mark, that assuescitur, an impersonal passive, is an unusual expression.
"Nurtured." A metaphor borrowed from the insensible growth of trees, say some commentators.

* Deminutum.* Deminuere is simply "to reduce," "to lessen by taking off a part;" but diminuere is "to make a thing smaller by breaking it into pieces." However, the words are often confounded. *Diminutum* is another reading.

9 *Omnia insignia.* Except the crown and sceptre.—See B. 3. c. 36. n.

10 *Primoribus equestris gradás lectis ad trecentorum summam.* "To the full number of three hundred senators." This was the regular number of senators fixed by Tarquinius Priscus.—See B. 1. ch. 37. note 24. By the tyranny of Tarquin the Proud they were reduced to one hundred and thirty-six. The number of three hundred lasted, with small variation, to the age of Sylla. In the time of J. Caesar they amounted to nine hundred. Augustus reduced them to six hundred. It is not certain at what time (but by these words it must have been before this) the *equites*, or those who were originally the cavalry, called also *celeres*, became a distinct order under the state. Perhaps it was under Ser. Tullius.—See B. 1. c. 43. After the order became established, all those, who served on horseback, were not properly called *equites*, or "knights," but only those who were elected into it, and presented with a horse at the public expense, and with a gold ring, which they always wore. Their tunic was ornamented in front with a line or stripe of small purple studs or buttons, *angusti clavi*, and was thence called *angusticlavus*, or *tunica angusticlavata*, to distinguish it from the senator's tunic, called *laticlavus*, because it had a similar ornament, but much broader. According to a law proposed by L. Roscius Otho, A. U. 686, they sat at the theatre and all the public shows behind the orchestra (which was the place set apart for the senators) on fourteen seats; hence the phrases *annulo aureo*, or *equo donari*, *sedere in quatuordecim, spectare in equite*, signified to hold the rank of knight. They were chosen promiscuously from the patricians and plebeians. Those of them, who were descended from noble families, were distinguished by the epithets of *illustres, splendidi, speciosi*. The age requisite for election was about eighteen years; hence they were called *juvenes* and *adolescentes*; and they should possess a certain fortune, which, towards the end of the republic, and under the emperors, should be 400 sestertia, (that of the senators being 1200,) or about £3,230. After the appointment of censors, the election was usually made by them. At first their office was to serve in the army, but afterwards they acted as judges or jury-men; (see B. 3. c. 24. n.) and were mostly the persons who farmed the public revenues, *publicani, vectigalium conductores*. Every year, on the 15th of July, they all rode in procession (called *transvectio*) from the temple of Mars, outside the city, to the capitol; and every fifth year, on
this occasion, dismounting, led along (traducebant) their horses before the Censor, who was seated in his curule-chair; and thus they were reviewed (recognoscebantur) by him. If a knight was corrupt in morals, or diminished his fortune, or even neglected his horse, the Censor ordered him to sell his horse, and he was thus removed from the order; hence adimere equum. The first knight in the Censor's list was called princeps juven-
tutis.

11 Traditum.] "From this is said to have been handed down the practice of summoning (by the public crier, see B. 3, c. 38, or by proclamation, edictum) into the senate those who were fathers, and those who were conscript." This word conscripti was afterwards applied to all the senators. Conscripiti properly meant those who were enrolled with the old senators, from conscribere, "to enrol." Patres conscripti properly meant patres et conscripti.

12 Mirum quantum.] See B. 1. c. 16, n. 2.

13 Patribus.] Livy had just mentioned that the chiefs of the equestrian order were chosen into the senate; Dionysius says they were plebeians; hence we may suppose that they were mostly, if not all, plebeians, but possessing the fortune of knights. Festus, B. 15, says, that one hundred and sixty-four plebeians were at this time admitted into the senate. This seems to agree with Dionysius.

CHAP II.—14 Ne ubiubi.] "Lest there should be felt a want of kings in any matter whatever, they appoint a king of the sacrifices." Ubiubi, like qualsqualis, quantusquantus, undeunde, for qualiscunque, &c. This king of the sacrifices, whom they made subject to the jurisdiction of the pontiff, was not allowed to hold any civil office, or harangue the people. The readings are various, such as necubi, necubi ibi, necubi ubi; ne ubiubi seems to be most approved of; but I confess, though I have given ubiubi in the text, and also the explanation of it which I have found in the commentators, I think the word at best an awkward one. Ne ullam ibi, or ne ibi simply, which some MSS. warrant would in my judgment be a better reading.—Regem sacrificulm; he is elsewhere called regem sacrificialum, regem sacrificiorum, and regem sacrorum.

15 Nescio an modum exisserint.] "I do not know but that they exceeded the proper bounds."

16 Ne intervallo quidem facto, oblitum, tanquam alieni, regni.] "That Tarquin the Proud did not even, in consequence of the interval that elapsed, (i. e. the reign of Serv. Tullius,) give up all thoughts of the kingdom, as of a thing which really belonged to another, (as he ought,) but that he thought to regain it by guilt and violence, as if it were the inheritance of his family."

17 Tentantium animos sermo.] "This language, used by persons at first gradually sounding the dispositions of the people, was circulated,"
NOTES TO BOOK II. C. 2, 3.


19. Regium nomen.] His name was L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

20. Obstatre libertati.] See B. 1. c. 26. n. 95; B. 2. c. 33. n.

21. Absolve beneficium.] Complete the favour you have conferred on your country.

22. Major.] Superior to the rest in age and respectability; or it may mean "superior to him," by taking dignitas to signify not high rank or office, but respectability, high character, and influence in general, which is here the proper meaning of the word, according to Crevier and Doujatius.


24. Cessit.] Plutarch, in his life of Publicola and Dionysius, B. 5, says, that he was not expelled until he attempted to save his nephews, the Aquillii, who were concerned in the conspiracy formed to restore Tarquin. And it is also stated that he got twenty talents out of the public treasury, and five from Brutus out of his own property, as compensation.

CHAP. III.—25. In regno.] "During the king's reign."

26. Æquales sodalesque.] "Being of the same age, and the convivial companions of the young Tarquins."

27. Libertatem aliorum . . . . vertisse.] The verb here, as elsewhere, is taken in a neuter or passive sense.

28. Regem hominem esse à quo impetres.] There is a forcible opposition between hominem and leges, implied by the words rem surdam—a king is but a man, and man may be swayed by favour; not so the laws, which are deaf to expostulation.—Perizonius.

29. Gratiae locum.] "That with him there was room for favour, for good offices;" i. e. that he could be swayed and influenced by both.

30. Solâ innocentiâ vivere.] To have no security for life but innocence.

31. Legati alii alia moliri.] Doujatius, Crevier, and others, consider the present reading incorrect, as the ambassadors had not each of them a separate plan to pursue; but "all" demanded "in a body," publicly before the senate, restitution of the king's property, and privately organised the conspiracy with the young nobles. So they propose either of the following readings: legati cum alis alia moliri; i. e. the ambassadors were pursuing one course with the senate, and another with the young nobles; or legati alia moliri, the ambassadors began to plan another course of operation, besides the open demand of restitution; i. e. the conspiracy.

32. Tanquam ad id quod agi videbatur.] "As if to promote
the business which seemed to be carrying on; i.e. the restitution of the king’s property.”

Chap. IV. — 83 Adolescentes liberi. “Sons grown up to manhood.” — See B. I. c. 56. n. 42.

84 Quis creditus eos non vana . . . . . . asseriri. “How could they (the Tarquins) otherwise believe that false representations were not made to them.” The different readings of this passage are numerous, of which the most rational are, “quis creditus eos non nisi vana, &c.; quid creditus eos nisi vana, &c.

35 Quum pridie.] Walker says that Crevier and others reject the et before canatum; but he says the common reading can be thus explained, quum pridie (esset) ejus dies quo legati ad Turquinos proficisci sunt et canatum esset. This, however, is rather forced. If the clauses et canatum . . . esset, and conjurati-que . . . . . . egissent, from the supposed impropriety of making que follow et, be thought not to be good Latin, and not correspond one with another, as I think they do, and that any change be made, I think et conjurati ibi would be the simplest; et, as being only a repetition of the last syllable of esset, may have been easily omitted by transcribers through ignorance or carelessness, and que introduced to complete the sentence. However this is only a conjecture: indeed it is not clear to me whether et . . . . que may not be used as et . . . . et; nothing is more common in the classics than such variation of phrase.

86 Commisisse.] “Though they seemed to furnish grounds for being considered in the light of enemies, yet the law of nations (which makes the character of an ambassador inviolable) prevailed.” Committere often means, in Cicero, to furnish grounds, or afford an occasion for a thing.

Chap. V. — 57 Res integra referatur ad patres.] “The question is laid anew before the senate.”

38 In publicum redigi.] Rendered public property. Scil. in publicum ararium. — See ch. 43. n. 7.

59 Contacta regid prædâ.] “Touched or infected with the king’s plunder.” Polluted, as it were, and rendered criminal in the eyes of the king by their plundering his property. Contacta is often used in this sense. B. 31. c. 8, multis in Italid contactis gentibus Punici belli societate. — And B. 38. c. 55, ut omnia contacta societate peculatâs viderentur. — B. 4. c. 9, velut contactâ civitate rable duorum juvenum. — c. 15, bonaque contacta vretis regni mercandi publicarentur Contractâ et contractatâ (abl. abs.) are other readings.

46 Martius deinde campus fuit. — Dionysius says that this place was consecrated to Mars long before this, but that Tarquin, who disregarded all religion, tilled it and took possession of it.

41 Religiosum.] “Religious scruples prevented them from making use of.” Religio, religioni esse, and religiosum esse, are indiscriminately used to signify the prohibition of religion.
NOTES TO BOOK II. C. 5.

"Desectam."

"A great number of men, sent into it in a body, cut it down, both grain and straw, and threw it with baskets into the Tiber."

"Inde paullatim et aliis."

"Gradually by means of this and other things."

"Manuque adjutam."

"It was aided by the labour of human hands. This island lay between Rome and the Janiculum; it was called the sacred island, insula sacra, from the number of temples on it.

"Miserebatque non paenae magis homines, quàm sceleris."

"And men felt pity not more on account of their punishment than their guilt," because they looked upon this guilt as proceeding not so much from any bad principle, as from some blind infatuation.

"Illos, eo."

"These are the reflections of the people.

"Eminente."

"While the feelings of parental affection appeared evident during the discharge of his duty in inflicting public punishment." Drakenborch says the passage means, that, while he superintended the public punishment of his sons, his stern mind, though he was their father, was a more remarkable spectacle than his stern countenance; i.e. animo eminente supra spectaculum oris. But, though Dionysius and others represent him as obdurate and unmoved, this meaning seems improbable, as how could his firmness of mind be seen except by his steadiness of countenance? besides, it is scarcely credible that on such an occasion he did not evince some symptoms of humanity and fatherly love. Eminere usually means "to be conspicuous or remarkable." Walker, with great probability, imagines that Livy intended to convey a different idea of Brutus from what Dionysius did.

"Secundum paenam."

"Next after punishing the guilty, in order that there may be a signal example on both sides for the prevention of crimes, there were given, as a reward to the informer, a sum of money out of the treasury, his freedom, and admission to the privileges of a citizen.

"Vindictâ."

"This was the rod which was laid on the head of a slave by the prætor before he emancipated him. When a master wished to emancipate a slave, the usual method was, to bring him before the magistrate, and say, "I wish this man to be free." The magistrate then, putting a rod on his head, said "he is free." Whereupon the lictor, or the master, turning him round in a circle (which was called vertigo) and giving him a blow on the cheek, (alapa,) let him go.

"Post illum."

"After him it became a rule duly observed, that those who were emancipated in this way, should be considered as admitted to the privileges of the state." He uses the word ita, as there was another mode of emancipation instituted by Servius, called per censum, when the name of a slave, with the
consent of his master, was registered, according to the amount of property he could produce in the public registry of property. There was a third species of emancipation, called per testamen-
tum, when a master gave a slave his liberty by his will.

Chap. VI.— 51 Ad irritum cadentis.] "Sinking to disap-
pointment." There are numerous instances among the best writers
of participles taken as substantives; so Virg. Æn. 5, sorbet in
abruptum fluctus.—So Milton's Paradise Lost, "down the vast
abrupt,"—"o'or the palpable obscure."

52 Se ortum.] "A man sprung from themselves."

53 Ex tanto modò regno.] "From a kingdom lately so
flourishing."

54 Romano saltem duce.] "That they should wipe off their
disgrace now at least, when under a Roman general;" as they
were not able to do so before, when under a leader of their own.
They insinuate that they have now no excuse. Pro se quis-
que, every one with all possible earnestness. Pro se, pro
me, pro te, always mean to the utmost of one's individual power.
Like κατ' ιΔων, κατ' ιΔων, κατά ιΔων. These words are
explained by commentators to signify "alone" or "with the
utmost exertion." The reason is, that they give only a part of
their signification. The words properly mean, to exert one's
power to the utmost, independently of the co-operation of any
other.

55 Tarquiniienses.] See B. 1. c. 24.

56 Eodem modo.] "In the same way the enemy's cavalry
formed the front of the army." Eques is sometimes used for
equitas.

57 Ipse, en, ille . . . . magnificè incedit.] "He is the very
man; behold, the villain marches in state." Ille is often used
to designate one as remarkable either in a good or bad sense.
Such is the force of the word here.

58 Decorum erat tum.] "It was honourable in those days."

59 Herenties hasis.] i. e. The spears which were implanted
in them.

60 Æquo marte.] See B. 1. c. 33. n. 98.

Chap. VII.— 61 Uno plus.] "That more of the Etrurians
than of the Romans, by one man, fell in the battle; that the
Romans gained the victory in the general issue of the war."
Bello is here the same as Marte.—See B. 1. c. 33. n. 98.

62 Annum.] Some say this means a year of ten months, because
this was the length of time appointed by Numa for widows to
continue in mourning for their husbands.

63 Ex favore.] "After popularity."

64 Atroci crimini.] "A heinous charge." Crimen here, as
elsewhere, is the same as criminatio.

65 Summà Vélià.] This was the summit of the Palatine Hill.

66 Quum indignitate angerent.] Indignitate quoque is considered
by Crevier and others a better reading; as Valerius was annoyed by two reflections—first, by the danger of incurring popular odium, and secondly, by the heinousness of the charge.

67 Summissis fascibus.] The fasces being lowered, (in token of respect to the people,) being made to bow as it were before the majesty of the people. Dionysius says the axes were taken out of the fasces, and were never after carried in them before the consuls inside the city; this was to show that, at least within the city, they could not behead, and could only flog.

68 Ad Aquillios se Vitelliosque recidisse.] That he had fallen back to a level with the Aquilii and the Vitellii in their estimation, from being thought the liberator of his country.

69 Si in ipsâ arce Capitolioque habitarem.] Crevier says that, properly speaking, these were different parts of the same hill, but which of them contained the temple of Jupiter is doubtful, though the greater probability is, that it was the part called the capitol. But I think arx here is not a part, but the whole mountain, called arx Tarpeia, (of which rupes Tarpeia was a part,) and formerly mons Saturnius, from a town built there by Janus and called Saturnia, to commemorate his alliance with Saturn, and that the capitolium was properly the fortress or citadel (of which the temple formed a part) built on it, though the name capitolium was sometimes given to the whole hill. In this I am supported by the authority of Milton, Paradise Regained, B. 4, l. 48,—

Great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth,
So far renown’d, and with the spoils enrich’d
Of nations; there the capitol thou seest
Above the rest lifting his stately head
On the Tarpeian rock, her citadel
Impregnable.

So Virgil, B. 8, l. 652, describing the shield of Æneas,

In summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis
Stabat pro templo, et Capitolia celsa tenebat.

Livy often uses these words together.—See B. 5, c. 39, 40, 41, et alibi; see also B. 1, c. 55.

10 Momento.] The MSS. reading is, tam levi momentaneâque apud vos famâ pendere. But momentaneus is not considered pure Latin. The meaning of the present reading is, has my character such little weight with you?—See B. 1, c. 47, n. 51.

71 Vice potesta.] "Where now the temple of victory is;” so called from vinco and potior; ades is understood.—See B. 3, c. 48, n. This word has been miserably mutilated in most MSS.

Chap. VIII.—72 Vererent.] Rem, or some such word, is understood.

73 Popularem.] "Popular." Popularis was used to signify
one who supported the rights of the people, and was in favour with them. Optimas, the supporter and favourite of the senate.

"Sacrandoque cum bonis capite." "Devoting the life and property." Such a person as this may be killed with impunity.—See ch. 33. n. B. 3. c. 55.

"Tum deinde." Pleonasm of this kind are common in Livy. So he uses "itaque ergo, ita sic, jam nunc, and the like.

"Memorid intercidisse." "Dropped or faded away from the recollection." Memoriam intercidisse is used to express the same sentiment.

"Postem jam tenenti." The person, who dedicated a temple, held the door-post during the ceremony.

"Funestà." "Polluted by death." This pollution lasted while the corps remained unburied.—See Æn. 6. 150.

"Non crediderit." "Whether he disbelieved the fact, or, having believed it, possessed such strength of mind as not to be disconcerted, is not handed down to us as certain, nor is it easy to conjecture," i. e. by explaining his conduct properly.—See B. 1. c. 46. n. 36.

"Nil aliud ad eum nuncium à proposito aversus quàm ut." "Without turning off his attention from the business he was engaged in to that news, in any other way than to order the body to be taken away to be buried." If any omen was unexpectedly presented to a man, while his thoughts were employed on some other subject, this was called augurium oblavitum, and he was at liberty not to receive it, as was the case with Horatius. But if he asked for an omen from the gods, and got one, it was called impetratium, and he was bound to obey it.—See c. 29. n.

Chap. IX.—"Lartem." Some say this means "prince," i. e. one of the twelve princes of Etruria.—See B. 4. c. 17. For Etruria was divided into twelve principalities at this time. Others think the word a proper name.

"Amplum." "Porsena, thinking it a great thing for the Tuscans both that there should be a king at Rome, and a king too of Tuscan origin—"

"Vel cum servitude pacem acciperet." "Would accept of peace, even though it were attended with slavery."

"Salis vendendi." "Also the license of selling salt, as it was sold at an exorbitant price, was taken away from private individuals, and placed under the management of the government." Arbitrium means not only a right and power granted to do a thing, but also the price paid for such right and power. Arbitria funeris, in Cicero, is the tax or duty paid by the undertakers of funerals. Omni sumptu was the usual reading.—See B. 1. c. 33, end.

"Portoriiis." "The people were released from port duties and taxes in order that the rich, who were able to bear the burden, might defray the public expenses." There are several
phrases similar to esse ferendo, as esse solvendo, esse pascendo, and the like. In these, idoneus, sufficiens, or some such word, is understood.—See Sanctius Minerva, B. 4. c. 4.

Chap. X.—Presidio.] i. e. The Janiculum, where they were stationed to guard the place.

Transitum pontem.] "If they crossed the bridge, and left it behind them." So Alpes transitae, B. 21. c. 43. Amne transit, B. 23. c. 28. Some read transitui; some, transitum per; some make transitum a substantive in apposition with pontem.

Insignis.] "Conspicuous among those whose backs were seen, as they retreated from the battle:" i. e. by his maintaining his ground, he was easily distinguished from those who fled. Pugna would be a better reading.

Quod tumultuosissimum pugna.] "And what was the most furious part of the battle."

Servitia.] "Slaves."—See B. 3, c. 15, n.

Ingenti gradu.] This is what Homer expresses by οὐδὲνάς, "parting wide his feet for vantage sake," as Cowper translates it. It does not mean, "with vast strides," as some think, since he remained in one fixed and firm position. Gradus is sometimes applied to a fixed position; so in gradu stare; de gradu movere, &c.—See B. 6, c. 32.

Pavore subito.] "Gave a momentary check to the assault of the Tuscans, in consequence of the sudden consternation they were thrown into."

Tiberine.] This was the tutelar divinity of the river.—So En. S. 31,

His deus ipse loci fluvio Tiberinus amans
Populeas inter senior se attollere frondes.

Ita sic armatus.] "Armed as he was." Οὐτῶς is often used in a similar sense.—See the Gospel by St. John, c. 1, v. 6, and Elsner's remarks on it; so Walker; but Drakenburch and others say the words are a pleonasm, like itaque ergo, jam nunc, &c.; some reject sic; some for ita read inde and retain sic.

Statua in comito.] It was afterwards struck with lightning and removed into the temple of Vulcan.—See Gell. 4. 5.

Quantum uno die circumaravit.] "As much as 'he drew a furrow round' in one day with a plough." Dionysius says that Scævola got the same.

Chap. XI.—Ab oppugnandâ urbe ad obsidionem.] "Changing his plan from storming to blockading the city."

Adeo infestum—reddidit.] "He so harassed."—See B. 3, c. 24, n.

Aversissima a hostile.] "Completely at the opposite side from the enemy."

1 In obsidione.] "Because, during the siege and scarcity of provisions, faithless slaves were in the habit of deserting. And they did discover it by the information of a deserter."
"At the two-mile stone on the road to Gabii."

This gate was between the Tiburtian and Esquilian gates.

Leads out from Mount Cœlius, i.e. through the gate called Cœlimontana, which was between the Porta Nævia and the Porta Collina; so that when the enemy passed out through the Porta Collina, they were hemmed round on every side.

Rushes from his ambush on the enemy. Crevier says consurgit is more correct.

"As the forlorn state of the city at this time would stamp credibility on the charge." So B. 32, c. 35, opinionem affirmare, "to confirm the opinion."

"By showing his ignorance of the king." So Ter. Andr. Prol., nœ faciunt intelligendo ut nihil intelligent.

"To whom (i.e. the secretary,) chance blindly directed the stroke."

"Placed." The word properly means to fix down or station.—See B. 23. c. 10.

With bravery. In Greek and Latin the neuter of adjectives, particularly in the plural, is often used adverbially.

"That you may be in danger of losing your life."—See B. 3. ch. 44, at the end. Duker and Crevier think de should be used before capite; but the verb is sometimes found without the preposition. Verbs, compounded with prepositions, are used, as has been before shown, with or without the repetition of such prepositions.

"You alone must decide the affair with us, aye, and with us one by one." Such is the force of et singulis; the words represent the perpetual danger the king would be in, as he would always have a new enemy to encounter in each person.

"Fires to be kindled round him."—See B. 3. c. 26, 28.

"Who have great glory in view." There are many instances of video in this sense; petunt is another reading.
NOTES TO BOOK II. C. 12, 13.

17 **Attonitus.**] “This properly means “thunderstruck,” rendered powerless by a stroke of lightning; hence “stupified.”

18 **Juberrn macte virtute esse.**] “I would bid you increase or prosper in bravery.” Macte, from *magis auctus*, is a vocative case, or an interjection formed from it. The phrase *macte virtute*, or, *virtulis*, as it is sometimes in poetry, is used in praising, congratulating, or exhorting one; the word is sometimes plural, *macti.—*See B. 7. c. 36. Some insert *te here*; some reject *esse."

19 **Jure belli liberum.**] “Released from the law of war;” or the consequences of that law; *i. e.* from the punishment, which by the laws of war I could inflict on you as an enemy. So B. 4. c. 33, *liberi fransis equi.—*See B. 1. c. 1. n. 20.

20 **Ut unicue ceciderit primo, quoad te opportunum fortuna dederit.**] “The rest, according as it shall have fallen to each man’s lot first, (*i. e.* before the rest of his associates,) shall be with you, each at his proper time, until fortune, on some favourable opportunity, shall have given you into their power.” *Primo* is by many considered faulty. Another reading is *ut unicue ceciderit primo*, which is thus explained: “according to the success that shall attend me, who drew the first lot.” I think the present reading makes good sense. The readings of this passage are various; some reading *primum*; some, *primi* (genit.), connecting it with the following words; and some, *quod for quoad.*

**Chap. XIII.—**21 **Scaevola.**] A left-handed man was called *scaevola* from *σκαίος;* “left.” Mutius now had only the use of his left hand.

22 **Quo nihil se...... texisset.**] “From which nothing but the mistake of the assassin had sheltered him.” *A quo* would be the ordinary style.

23 **De agro Vejentinibus restituendo.**] Dionysius says that Porsena required this land to be given to himself as a requital for granting peace. This seems the more probable account, as Livy himself, ch. 15, says that he gave it back to the Romans.

24 **Expressaque necessitas.**] Walker says a thing may be said *expressi necessitate, vi, metu,* “to be extorted by necessity, or fear, or violence;” see B. 3. c. 28 and 30, B. 4. c. 55; B. 8. c. 2, *et alibi;* but that *expressanecessitas,* “necessity was extorted,” is a strange and unclassical phrase, and he proposes *expressitque,* i. e. the necessity of giving hostages to the Romans, wrung them from them.

25 **Alias haud magni facere.**] “The others he set no high value on.”

26 **Præ se ferre.**] “Openly declared.”

27 **Parte obsidum.**] “Half the hostages.”—So B. 8. c. 4, *et alibi. In English “share” is sometimes used in this sense.

28 **Virginitati decorum.**] “A selection, which both reflected
honour on her virgin delicacy, and was one, that would be approved of by the unanimous consent of the hostages themselves.”

Chap. XIV.—Pacata profectioni.] “The custom handed down from the ancients, (and, among other established usages, it still continues even to the present time at every sale of public property,) ‘of selling king Porsena’s goods,’ is inconsistent with this peaceful departure of the Etrurian king from the city.” The public crier, before the sale began, repeated this form of words, which seem to breathe a hostile spirit, though they did not, as appears from the king’s peaceful departure, originate from any hostile proceeding. Titulos is a “form of words” used to show or explain any thing, a title, an inscription; as titulus libri, sepulchri, imaginis, &c.; hence it often signifies “a sign or indication.”

Proximum vero.] “Of all the accounts that are given, this seems nearest to the truth, that Porsena, &c.”

Ventisse.] “Were sold,” from venco, ire, ivi, um.

In potestatem populi Romani esset.] “Which was not even in the power of, &c.” So we find in custodiam habere, in amicitiam esse, and such phrases; this is an idiom borrowed from the Greeks, who often used it “towards,” for iv, “within.”

Declinavère.] “Turned aside.”

Praelatos hostes.] “And having wheeled about, attacked on the rear the enemy, who dashed beyond them in loose array.”

Chap. XV.—P. Lucretius.] There is an omission here of the consuls of one year. According to Dionysius, M. Horatius and P. Valerius were consuls, and after them Sp. Lartius and T. Herminius.

Non quin.] “It was not because this answer could not be briefly returned, ‘that the king would not be received,’ that a select number of the patricians was for this purpose sent to him, rather than this answer at once given to his ambassadors at Rome; but——”

Romani, nisi.] “And when the Romans should, unless they wished to be accessory to their own destruction, give a refusal to one, to whom they would wish to refuse nothing.”

Non in regno populum Romanum, sed in libertate, esse.] The obvious, and, I think, the most natural, meaning of the words is this, “the Romans were no longer under the dominion of their kings, but in the enjoyment of liberty,” and that therefore they were resolved to maintain that liberty, and have no more kings; but Walker says that Porsena already knew this, and that it was unnecessary to tell him so. He says the clause is introduced to give a reason for the preceding one, “nisi in p. s. f. e. v.,” and that it means “that the Roman people, under the government of the kings, did not exist as a people,” i.e. had no power.
or influence; but that now, in a free state, and in the enjoyment of liberty, they did exist as a people, i. e. had influence and power.

Chap. XVI.—39 Adversis eos.] To oppose these, and at the same time to prevent any sudden danger that might arise from Tusculum.

40 Belli pacisque auctores.] "Those who were the advocates for peace, and those who were the advocates for war."
41 Turbatoribus belli.] "The agitators of war."
42 Par factioni.] "A match for the faction opposed to him."
43 Claudia tribus.] It is probable that the Claudian tribe was not formed until nine years after this, when Claudius was consul.—See ch. 21. It is said that not less than five thousand families accompanied him. This in some measure accounts for his rapid elevation.—See B. 4. c. 4
44 Principum dignationem.] "The respectability or rank of the first men in the state." Dignatio, αξίωμα.
45 Colonie.] See B. 1. c. 3.
46 Compulsum est.] All the Auruncian forces were obliged to collect at Pometia, and make their last stand there.—See B. 1. c. 33.
47 Iram belli.] "The enemy (the Romans) did not withhold the fury of war even from the hostages."—See B. 1. c. 1. n. 20. Ira belli hostilis is the more general reading.

Chap. XVII.—48 Vineis.] Vinea was a machine constructed of timbers strongly framed together, mounted on wheels, and covered with hurdles, over which was put a quantity of earth; thus protected against the missile weapons of the enemy, the assailants moved forward the machine, and, under cover of it, endeavoured to beat down or undermine the wall.
49 Reditum.] Intell. est. "They returned."
50 Relictus.] i. e. In the camp at Pometia.
51 Pometiea.] "Against Pometia."
52 Colonii alii.] "The rest who were colonists (i. e. the citizens of Pometia) were sold by auction." There are many instances of this kind of construction, as Walker rightly observes, so B. 17. c. 19, ex ingenti captivorum numero trecenti quinquaginta octo delecti, nobilissimus quisque, qui Romam mittentur; vulgus alius trucidatum; "the other portion, which consisted of the rabble;" we cannot say "the other rabble," for that would be making the nobles a rabble. So in Luke, c. 23. v. 32, ἄγωντες δὲ οἱ ἑρμοὶ δυὸ κακότητι σὺν αὐτῷ, "two others, who were malefactors, were brought along with him;" we cannot say "two other malefactors," for that would be making Christ a malefactor. So Odys. 1. 132. So in this case, if we say, "the other colonists," we must imagine the Aruncians to be colonists; but for this we have no authority. Some MSS. read alique. Sub coronā, either because captives, while exposed to sale, were
a sort of crown, or because a guard of soldiers stood round them in a ring.—See Gell. 7. 4.

53 Dirutum.] Yet, in ch. 22, he speaks of Pometia and Cora as places that then flourished, and, in ch. 25, talks of the capture and plunder of Susseca Pometia; in consequence of which inconsistency, it is considered probable that Livy, following different writers, described the same war in two different places. Dionysius makes no mention of this war with the Aurunci.

Chap. XVIII.—54 Rebellionem.] “A renewal of war.” The word has often this meaning in Livy.

55 Latini belli.] It appears that we should, according to some MSS., read Sabini, as the thirty states, which are presently said to have conspired, were not Latins. And also read super, “besides,” as this is the word Livy generally makes use of.—Ch. 27 and 51.—B. 22. 61.—B. 25. c. 20, et alibi.

56 Mamilio.] This is the man to whom Tarquinius retired.—Ch. 15.

57 Nec quo anno, nec quibus consulibus, quia ex factione Tarquiniid essent, ... parum creditum sit.] “But it is not sufficiently clear in that year; or what consuls were distrusted, as being of Tarquin’s party; for that too is handed down to us as a reason for appointing one.” If a semicolon were placed after anno, the much-talked-of difficulty of this passage would, in my opinion, be diminished. Dionysius says that a dictator was appointed four years before this, when Lartius and Clavius were consuls. The people, complaining during the war with Tarquin of some oppression on the part of the senate, refused to enlist; and, as the consuls, in consequence of the privilege of appeal from their decisions, which was granted to the people by Valerius, could not compel them, a dictator was appointed. They willingly submitted to an absolute master, in order to abridge the power of the senate and consuls. The authority of the dictator lasted but six months. Sylla was the first to extend the time. He could not go out of Italy, or march on horseback, without the permission of the people. He was elected by night, and the nomination had to be confirmed by auspices. He commanded the infantry, and appointed a person called “master of the horse” to command the cavalry. He was himself sometimes called magister populi.

55 Consulares legere.] “Men of consular rank elected him.” Crevier and others say the words mean, “they (the patri- cians) appointed men of consular rank to the office;” but in that case Manius Valerius Postumius, next ch., could not possibly be dictator.

59 Lex jubebat.] This law was afterwards somewhat altered. He was elected by one of the consuls, or military tribunes, during the period of their substitution for the consuls.

60 Consularis.] Dionysius says he was consul. But as Livy
is not certain about the year of his consulship, he speaks indefinitely.

61 Qui.] i.e. The men of consular rank who elected him.
62 Preferri.] The axes were not carried before the consuls within the city.—See ch. 7, note.
63 Auxilium.] This word, after the appointment of tribunes, was applied to express their peculiar province, which was, "giving 'support' to the people."
64 Provocatio.] But an appeal from the dictator was afterwards granted.—See B. 3. c. 55.
65 Adolescentibus.] See the beginning of this chapter.
66 Quod impensa factum in bellum erat.] "The expense that was incurred for the war."
67 Tacita.] With the tacit consent of both parties, i.e. without any formal ratification of it.

CHAP. XIX.—68 Gliscens.] "Kindling." This properly means "to gather strength like a fire."—See preface, n.
69 Postumius.] He was not yet consul; and this fact shows that the dictator should not necessarily be a consular man.—See last ch. n. 58.

Æstate gravior.] He was about ninety years of age; therefore Dionysius says he was not at the battle.
71 Admisit.] This is often the same as immisit, "urged on."
72 Fefellit.] "Escape the notice of."
73 Contra quem.] Scil. Æbutium. Et ille, scil. Mamilius, Tusculanus dux.

CHAP. XX—74 Ut cujus familiae.] "That the family (i.e. his own) which gained glory by expelling the kings, should be the same to gain the glory of destroying them."
75 Infenso cessit hosti.] "Shrunk from his infuriated enemy."
76 Nec quiequam......equo retardato.] The galloping of the horse contributed to his fall. This is his reason for saying that the speed of the horse was not in any way checked by the rider's wound.
77 Dat signum.] "He issues his orders."—So B. 5. c. 36; B. 21. c. 14.
78 Metu ancipiti.] i.e. Fear both from the enemy, and their own party.
79 Exules.] The body mentioned at the end of the last chapter.
80 Tanto vi majore.] "Encountered the commander of the enemy with strength so much greater, than the master of the horse showed a little before, that——"
81 Pro antesignanis.] "As a front line." The antesignani were a body of brave and active young men, armed with pikes, and placed in front of the colours, ante signa. Lipsius says the name was given to the whole front line, otherwise called hastati. These were not the same as the velites.
By foregoing the advantage of their horses, and forgetting their superiority of rank. Their horses were brought to those horsemen who had dismounted, as above. They never halted until they took the camp.

CHAP. XXI.—

Triennio.] "During three years."

Ædes Saturno dedicata.] It was in this temple the public money and public records were kept.

Saturnalia.] "A festival day called Saturnalia." This festival, which afterwards lasted for several days, commenced on the 14th of the calends of January; it was one of general meriment and cessation from all serious business, and, while it lasted, the distinction between master and slave was forgotten.

Hoc demum anno.] "Only this year;" i. e. not till this year. This is the account of Dionysius.

Se consulatu abdicasse.] "He resigned the consulship," as he would not act with a man, whose sincerity in the cause of the people against the Tarquins was doubtful.

Implicant.] "Such mistakes about dates involve the fact in obscurity."

Qui consules secundum quosdam.] "Who were the consuls that came after certain consuls;" i. e. there were some consuls whose successors could not be clearly ascertained.

Nimis luxuriosus.] "Too intemperate."

Tribus.] This was perhaps by the addition of the Claudian tribe.—See c. 16. n. 43.—B. 1. c. 43. n. 11.

Mercurii.] See ch. 27.

CHAP. XXII.—

Consilii paenam.] "This unexpected event (the invasion of their territories) struck terror into the Volscians, who apprehended no punishment for their mere design," as they did not execute it.

Armorum immemores.] Like λατινοὶ ἐφίλοντο ἀλληλοὺς, Hom., which does not mean, properly speaking, "to forget," but "not to exert or use."

Sed recens ad Regillum lacum accepta clades Latinos......

ne ab legatis quidem violandis abstinuit.] "But the recollection of the recent defeat, which they sustained at Lake Regillus, induced the Latins not to refrain even from violating the persons of ambassadors, in consequence of their rage and animosity against any one who would recommend war." Abstinere in Livy often means to "cause to refrain from."—See B. 4. c. 59.—B. 8. c. 24.—B. 40. c. 14. He uses the word violandis, as the persons of ambassadors were held sacred. Homer calls them ἄργος ἔγγελως.

In perpetuum negatum.] "Which was nearly refused them for ever."

Latini gaudere facto.] "The Latins rejoiced at the part
they acted; those among them, who were the authors of peace, were in high esteem."

1 *Qui captivorum.* "A great multitude, i. e. the captives who had been sent back to their friends, came attending them." Others read *captivorum qui remissi,* &c., and, according to this, the meaning is, "a great number of captives, who were sent back." Walker prefers this, as he does not think it likely that "all" those who had been sent back, to the number of six thousand, came to Rome.

CHAP. XXIII.—2 *Nexos.* If a debtor did not discharge a debt within thirty days after it was demanded of him, he was summoned before the praetor, (before the appointment of praetors, he was summoned before the consul,) who delivered him up to the creditor. He was kept in chains by him for sixty days; and then he was brought for three successive market days before the praetor's tribunal, where a crier proclaimed the debt; and after the third market day, if the debt was not paid, (sometimes he rich redeemed the poor by paying their debts,) the creditor had a right to keep him in slavery until the debt was paid, (such were the *nexi,* or even sell him. Banishment became afterwards the punishment of the insolvent debtor.

3 *Ordines.* Ordo was half a manipulus, and commanded by a centurion.—See B. 3. c. 44, notes.

4 *Concio.* Concio is properly an assembly attending to a public harangue, or any meeting for a public purpose. It sometimes means a public harangue itself.

5 *Iniquo suo tempore.* "At a time so distressing to him." The ordinary consequences of war, and his incurring debt, by the levying of the tax, were the ruin of his property.

6 *Tabem.* "A consumption."—In B. 7. c. 38, he applies the word to usury.

7 *Nexu vinceti.* These were the *nexi.* *Nexu soluti* were those who were released from confinement by the payment of their debts.

8 *Voluntarius.* Who had suffered no injury, and therefore had nothing to complain of. This word sometimes means one who does a thing wantonly, and without provocation.

9 *Infrequentiam.* "The small attendance." No business could be done without the attendance of a certain number of senators; before the time of Sylla it was one hundred; under Augustus it was four hundred.

10 *Extrahi.* "Put off or delayed." The phrases *tempus extrahi,* res *extrahi,* are oftener used than *persona extrahi.* Livy often uses *differri* in the sense in which he uses *extrahi* here.—So B. 26. c. 51, and several other places.

11 *Et patrum qui.* "And they thought that those of the patricians, who were absent, had absented themselves, &c."

12 *Non modd.* There was not only not sufficient unanimity
among the patricians, but not even among the consuls themselves.—See B. l. c. 40. n. 61.

Chap. XXIV. — 13 Nomina darent.] i. e. To be registered as soldiers.

14 Maximâ illâ, sed tamen parte.] “That fear for the safety of the commonwealth interrupted their deliberation concerning that portion (i. e. the plebeians) of the state, which, though indeed the greatest portion, was yet but a portion.” He says that they constituted but a part, and not the whole, of the state, as they themselves, by their violence, would seem to believe they did.

15 Bello pravertisse quicquam.] “That no consideration could take precedence of that war: and even though there was some respite from the enemy’s attack, that it would be dishonourable for the plebeians not to have taken up arms for their country, until they first received hire, and that it would reflect on the dignity of the patricians to have relieved the fallen fortunes of the plebeians through fear, rather than afterwards through inclination.” Walker says that nec aut plebi is equivalent to neque plebi. Servilius, in order to awaken the pride and shame of the people, artfully uses the word mercede, as it would be a base and heartless thing to have felt no more generous incentive than “hire” to fight for their liberty and country. Mercede here alludes to the granting of their demands.—See B. 3. c. 40. n.

16 Addidit fidem.] “He gave the stamp of sincerity to his speech by an edict.”

17 Moraretur.] “Or keep his children or grandchildren in custody,” as a pledge for his debt; because a man’s children and grandchildren were by the law in a state of slavery to him, and of course considered as part of his property.

18 Ut sacramento dicerent.] “To take the military oath.” After the levy was completed, one soldier was chosen to repeat over the words of the military oath, (qui reliquis verba sacramenti praeiret,) and the rest swore after him (in verba ejus jurabant). Every one, as he passed along, said idem in me. Sacramentum dicere is another way of expressing it. Sacramento appears to be an ablative, governed by ex or some such preposition understood.

Chap. XXV. — 19 Transitio.] “Desertion.” Proditio, “the abandoning of one’s post.”

20 Vellebantur.] “The fortifications were being demolished;” i. e. they began to pull up the stakes of which chiefly they were built.

21 Circumdatis.] “Being drawn round it.”

22 Recreatus.] “By this the needy soldiers were relieved a little.”

Chap. XXVI. — 23 Confestim.] “Immediately after, the Sabines also;” i. e. as well as the Volscians.

24 Tumultus enim fuit verius quam bellum.] Tumultus was often, as here, taken in a loose and general sense to signify any
sudden and disorderly taking up of arms, and was then con-
idered of a less formidable nature than bellum, which was a war
regularly denounced and waged. But what was in a peculiar
sense termed tumultus, is thus described by Cicero, Phil. 8. 2. 3,
potest bellum esse sine tumultu; tumultus esse sine bello non
potest. Quid enim est aliud tumultus, nisi perturbatio tanta, ut
major timor oriatur? Unde etiam nomen ductum est tumultus.
Itaque maiores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus;
tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italicus finitimus; praeterea nullum
tumultum nominabant. Gravius autem tumultus esse quam bellum
hinc intelligi licet, quod bello vacationes valent, tumultu non va-
 lent. Tumultus is derived from timor and multus, as appears
from this passage; others say, from tumor and multus. The
vacationes mentioned here were just causes of exemption from
military service.

25 Vix fugae.] "Had scarcely what was sufficient strength for
flight."
26 Debellatum est.] See c. 31. n. 75.
Chap. XXVII.— Appellat.] See B. 3. c. 36. n.
27 Aut, ut auxilio.] "Or, that as a consul he would assist
his fellow citizens; as a commander, his soldiers." i. e. By
receiving appeals from his colleague's decisions. Gronovius
and Crevier think that aut—aut should be expunged.
28 Ambitioum.] "Aiming at popularity."—See B. 3. c. 47. n.
29 Equusse.] "He became as unpopular as Appius."
30 Soennia.] Perform the usual ceremonies, either of dedi-
cating the temple, or establishing the college or guild of mer-
chants. Pro pontifice, either "in place of the pontiff," or "in
presence of the pontiff," who was to go before him (praire,)
and direct him; pro can bear either meaning.
31 Primi pili centurion.] "The centurion of the first rank."
He was the centurion who commanded the first rank or company
of the third line of the army. He had the command of the
eagle, and ranked before all the centurions of the legion. This
third line was called triarit, or pilarit, because the pilum was at
first their peculiar weapon. This centurion was also called pri-
 mipilus, or centurio primus, or primi ordinis. He ranked among
the equites; and, in the council of war, had a place with the
consul and tribunes of the soldiers. The other centurions were
called minores, or inferiores ordine.—See c. 45. n.—B. 3. c. 44.
32 Curatio altior fastigio.] "A commission too high for his rank."
33 Consulatum alter.] i. e. Appius Claudius.
34 Metusque omnis.] "And all the dread and danger, re-
specting their liberty, were transferred from the debtors to the
creditors, when they were individually assaulted by numbers."
Verto is often used in a passive or neuter sense.—See ch. 3. and
62, and elsewhere. The creditors now in turn were seized, and
dragged off by the debtors.
"And to the criminality of his not having enforced the law respecting debtors, added that of not holding a levy of troops in obedience to the decree of the senate."

The multitude which assembled every day.

"Such a superabundance of courage had he to withstand public odium."

"Lest, when they assembled in the forum, they should be thrown into confusion by being obliged to adopt hasty measures."

"But about it, when laid before them, they could not take their opinions regularly."

One of the most ordinary idioms in Greek is two accusatives following a verb, one being governed by the verb, the other by the preposition κατά "with respect to," or the like, understood. This idiom is often introduced into Latin in the same manner as here, and also in English poetry.—See c. 57. n.

"That they should throw the odium of a measure on the senate, which should be attended to by the consular authority."

For that that (i.e. a man of courage) was worth more than a nominal consul.

"When the consuls, thus rebuked."—See B. i. c. 46. n.

Until the engagement was fulfilled which was made through the public faith.—See c. 24.

"All the young patricians flew in a body almost to the very seats of the consuls."

Walker would prefer explaining the words thus: "flew almost in one body."

The obstinacy of the plebeians and patricians.

"Intentionally." i.e. In order that the senate might witness the refusal of the people.

"Who was merely hindered from arresting him." He met with no other opposition.—See c. 8. n.

"An inquiry into the tumult."

"The most violent of them attempting to carry his object, not more by vote than by clamour and bustle."

"Did not extend the case to the whole body of the people."

"And that a check could not be given to the evil."

A phrase which signifies that an impending evil cannot be remedied or stayed.
53 *Quin.*] This word has the force of an adversative, and means "nay rather."

54 *Quippe minas esse consulum, non imperium.*] That the consuls could only utter mere threats, and not exercise real power over the people, in consequence of the privilege of appeal granted by Valerius.

55 *Ardent, conticecet.*] Walker considers these two metaphors, applied to one thing, objectionable.

56 *Pulset tum mihi lictorem.*] "Let me see then the man who shall strike the lictor, when he shall know that that man alone, (i. e. the dictator,) whose majesty he shall have violated, (by striking his lictor,) has power to flog and behead him."

**Chap. XXX.**—57 *Exemplo.*] "The propositions of Virginius and Lartius were injurious by means of the precedent they would establish," as it would appear that the sedition of the people had wrested concession from the patricians, and this would be encouraging sedition.

58 *Fidem.*] "One that would destroy all credit," by releasing debtors from the necessity of paying their debts.

59 *Moderatum utroque.* i. e. Remote from excess on either side, wisely regulated between both; i. e. the opinions of Appius and Lartius.

60 *Factione.*] "Through faction, and men's regard for their own private interests."—See B. 3. c. 64. n.

61 *Imperium, suo vehemens.*] "That a power, which was in its own nature uncontrollable, should be given to a man of mild disposition."

62 *Sed et homini.*] "But thinking that this man (whose disposition was conciliatory and mild, and whose family was ever friendly to them) and his power (which was beyond control) could be more safely relied on, than Servilius, (who was temporising and lukewarm, and whose power was overruled by the senate,) they quietly gave in their names." The adversative *sed* implies the contrast between Servilius and Valerius.

63 *Quantus.*] "Ten legions were levied; such a numerous army as was never before raised. Of this force three legions were given to each of the consuls." Such is the force of *ternae*

64 *Oratores.*] *Orator* was a person delegated to plead a cause *Legati,* who were properly persons sent to treat about peace or war, would be incorrect here.

65 *Retractare arma.*] "To handle arms again." They feared they might employ them against themselves.

66 *Ne et ipse.*] "Lest he, too, (as well as his colleague,) should waste his time, he provoked the enemy, especially by laying waste their lands, to pitch their camp nearer, and decide the affair by a regular battle." *As the Æqui* took shelter in the fastnesses of their hills, and gave Vetusius no opportunity of coming to an engagement, he was obliged to remain inactive.
Medio campo.] "In the interjacent plain between the camps." So media planitieis, Sall. Jug. Medius signifies sometimes "lying between;" sometimes, "in the middle of."

Coortos.] He very correctly uses this word, as he before described them to have stood with their pikes fixed in the ground. The word consurgere he also applies to the charge of the triarii, who waited the enemy with the left leg extended.—See B. 8. c. 8.

Velut stupentibus.] "Who appeared to them as if they were paralyzed by fear."

Impressionem.] "A charge."

Adepti fessos.] "Having easily overtaken the exhausted fugitives, they both took the camp by assault, and, &c."

Plus sanguinis......factum.] "More blood was shed." The phrase facere sanguinem, to shed blood, occurs also in B. 9. c. 13.—B. 35. c. 51.—And in Ovid, ep. 14. Her. v. 82.

Chap. XXXI.—Fundit.] "Breaks their lines," fugatque, "and puts them to flight."

Qua, dum se cormv latiue pandunt.] "In the part where, while the wings extended too widely, they had not properly strengthened with companies their line of battle in the centre." Some read quam, and reject the second aciem, from a dislike of the repetition of the same word. But Livy shows numerous instances of similar repetitions.

Debellatumque est.] "And the war was ended."—See c. 26; i. e. the war was concluded by the subjugation of the enemy; for the word means not to put an end to the war in any way, such as, by peace.

Colonia deducta.] In leading out a new colony a great deal of form was observed. A decree of the senate or people should be first passed, and the auspices, when consulted, should be favourable. The names of the colonists were regularly enrolled, and certain commissioners, generally three, called triumviri coloniae deducende, sometimes more, were appointed to lead it out; and they marched on under flying colours. When arrived at the place of destination, the founder, dressed in the Gabinian cincture, marked with a plough the boundary of their city and territory. A new colony could not be led out to a place, where a colony had formerly been planted, according to the regular ceremonies; but, if the original colony was falling off, it was usual to reinforce it by enrolling new colonists; this was called adscribere colonos. Some colonies consisted of Roman citizens only; some, of Latins, and other natives of Italy. Most writers are of opinion that the Roman colonists had not the right of voting or bearing offices at Rome. The Latin and other Italian colonists were in a worse condition. The coloniae differed from the municipia in this, that they used the laws prescribed to them by the Romans, but had almost the same kind of magis-
trates as the municipia; whereas the municipia had their own laws.

Post aliquanto.] "Some time after." So Cic. Orat. 3. Catil. c. 5.—Thus we meet also post paullo, ante multo, and the like.

Fortè temere.] "That at all hazards he would march his army up the mountains, that were opposite them. That rash act turned to advantage through the cowardice of the enemy."—See B. 1. c. 27. n.—B. 3. c. 18.

Adversas valles.] In Walker's edition, and most others, it is said that the words should be, adversas valles, "the valleys which lay, à tergo, behind them;" for that the front of the camp was towards the Romans, and in a direction opposite the valleys. But I think that adversas is fully intelligible. It is said the position was a hill, and a very secure one, munitissimis locis; no mention is made of its being fortified by art; it must then be fortified by nature. Loco summè munito, is used by Sallust to signify a place admirably secured by nature; so that we must imagine it to be a steep hill surrounded on all sides by precipices and valleys. Now, when the Romans had gained possession of the hill, the Equi were so astounded at the desperate boldness of the act, that they dashed down the precipices in different directions into the valleys, that were "opposite" or "before" them as they fled, in order to save themselves. We cannot suppose that in their consternation they all took one direction; therefore he uses the word valles, "valleys," which word must embrace more directions than one. But if he meant that they all took "one" way, i. e. on the "rear" of the camp down to the low ground, he would probably have used the singular, vallem; as how, on one side, could there be more valleys than one? Or the word adversas may be taken, as it often is, to signify an opposite direction to the Romans, and this would amount to what adversas would signify: adversas is the reading of the MSS., and therefore individual authority is not enough to change it.

Ubi satis praeda.] In Walker's edition and others, it is said that the reading should be ibi, as the word alludes to the camp, and not to the valleys. This alteration appears unnecessary. Ibi very often is considered rather as an adverb of time and circumstances, than of place, signifying "thereupon, then, &c." We have instances of it, ch. 20, ibi (then) alia—coortia pugna; ch. 35, ibi tra est suppressa; and several other places; so ubi, which is here the reading of almost all MSS., and is the relative of ibi, often implies time and circumstance rather than place, and signifies (as here) "thereupon," "on which occasion," or "by which means."—See Faciolati's Lexicon, Omnibus Latinitatis. The reading of most MSS. and old copies is, ubi satis praeda ex victoriad, &c. i. e. says Drakenborch, considering their bloodless victory, they got booty enough.
Tantâ quum gratiâ, tum arte preparaverant Faneratores, quae . . . . frustarentur.] “With so much influence and art had the usurers concerted measures, that defeated——.” The usurers were chiefly patricians, and that is the reason why he says plebeians and patricians were still anxious about the result of their private concerns, i. e. the subject of debts.

Actionum in senatu primam habuit.] “Of all his public acts in the senate, he made that, in favour of the victorious people, the first; and proposed the question, what would they wish should be done to the condemned debtors?” Any act or measure of a magistrate, before the senate or people, is called actio. De nexit would be a better reading. However the preposition is elsewhere omitted in such a case. So B. 27. c. 16, interroganti scribæ quod fieri signis vellet.

Me dius fidius.] There are various explanations for these words. Some say dius is deo (i. e. Jove) ortus scil. Hercules; and fidius is fidei præses, and that the phrase is elliptical; thus ita me dius fidius (scil. deo ortus Hercules fidei præses) juvet. Others say me is the same as μὰ, per, and dius.fidius is dei fīlius, scil. Hercules, as the ancients often used d for l——Thus the phrase would mean per dei (Jovis) filium, scil. Herculem. So we find me Hercule, me Castor.

Mei similis.] See B. 3. c. 41. n.

Seditio interero.] “I shall witness sedition rather as a private individual.”

Apparuit causa plebis.] “The cause was evident to the people;” i. e. that he resigned his office through indignation at the wretched condition they were reduced to by the tyranny of the patricians. Most of the old copies read plebis.

Chap. XXXII.—In consulum verba jurassent.] See c. 24. n

Per causam.] “Under the pretext.” Causari means “to allege as an excuse, or pretext.”—See B. 3. c. 64.

Nullam . . . religionem exsolvi.] “That no religious obligation is dissolved.” Nullâ religione exsolvi, “to be released from no religious obligation,” is another way of expressing this sentiment. So solvere obsidionem and obsidione are the same.—See B. 44. c. 30.

Sacrum montem.] So called because the people, on their return to the city, dedicated it to Jupiter. See a full account of this event in Dionysius, B. 6. p. 375, who coincides with Livy, as also Plut. in Vit. Coriol., and Appian Alex. in Hannib.

Piso auctor est, in Aventinum.] Sallust adopts this opinion, Bell. Jug. c. 31, and says, that the people retired to it twice, i. e. at this time, and after the death of Virginia.—See B. 3. c. 50.

Relicta ab suis plebes.] “The part of the people who were left behind in the city by their friends.” Residem, “who remained peaceably.”
Per aqua, per iniqua.] "That that unanimity should be restored to the state on any terms, fair or foul;" whether the demands of the people were reasonable or unreasonable, they should be granted.

Menением Agrippam.] More correctly, Agrippam Menением, as Agrippa is the praenomen.—See next ch.—So B. 3. c. 1, Quintus Fabius is called Fab. Quintus. So also in this book, ch. 35, Tullus Attius is called Att. Tullus. So B. 4. c. 22, Licinius Macer is called Macer Licinius.

Inde oriundus.] "Descended from them." He had been consul; see ch. 16; Dionysius, B. 5. c. 44; and, as the consulship at this time was open to patricians only, we must suppose him to be descended from the plebeian order only by the mother, and to be a patrician by the father; or that he was one of those whom Brutus, ch. 1, is said to have elected into the senate.—See notes on that ch. Nine other deputies from the senate attended him.


Omnia in unum consentiebant.] "All the members agreed together."

Dum ventrem.] When dum indicates any action in the present tense, it always requires an indicative mood; therefore we should read rather cùm.

Nec magis ali, quàm alere eum.] "And that it does not receive nourishment more than it gives it, by sending to all parts of the body that blood, from which we derive life and vigour, distributed evenly through the veins, when brought to maturity by the digestion of food."

Quàm ...... similis.] "How very like."

Chap. XXXIII.—² Tribuni plebei.] So called because they were chosen from the tribunes of the soldiers, according to Varro, de Lingua Lat. B. 4. 14. Plebei, the genitive from plebes. The tribunes of the soldiers were so called, because they were persons who originally commanded the three tribes in the time of Romulus. There were three to each tribe during the war. Afterwards each legion had usually six.

Tres collegas sibi creaverunt.] This may signify that these two presided over an assembly of the people, where the other three were then elected. The words creare magistratum are applied to one who presides at an election for a magistrate.—See B. 25. c. 41.—B. 23. c. 10, et alibi. This explanation is supported by the testimony of Dionysius, who asserts that there were five tribunes of the people elected at the comitia curiata, (see ch. 58) namely, L. Junius, C. Sicinius, C. and P. Licinius, Sp. Icilius Ruga.—The names here in Livy vary from those in other authors also. Drakenborch has a long and perplexing
dissertation about them. There were also two aediles of the people created at this time to serve and assist the tribunes.  

5 Duos tantum in sacro monte creatos.] And that the remaining three were elected in the city, after the people returned.  

6 Sacratam legem.] “Devoting law.” A lex sacra meant in general any law, the violation of which was punished by devoting the violator, with his family and property, to some god. There were many such laws. It was by virtue of one of these that the tribunes were sacred and inviolable, sacrosancti.—There is mention made of them several times in Livy.—See B. 3. c. 32.—B. 4. c. 26.—B. 7. c. 41. See also B. 2. c. 8. n.  

7 Per secessionem.] Dionysius says this lasted three months. They retired about the first of September, and returned about the first of December.  

8 Sp. Cassius et Postumius Cominius.] Glareanus observes that we should read here iterum, as these were consuls before.  

9 Inde Poluscam, item Volscorum, cepit.] “After that he took Polusca, which also belonged to the Volsci.”—See ch. 39. Several old copies and MSS. read inde protinus Mucamitem (some, Ulscamitem; some, Novocamitem) Volscorum cepit.  

10 Cædeque in proxima urbis factâ.] Rhenanus, Walker, and Doujetius, say the words mean, that the slaughter of the citizens, who sallied out, was not only carried to the gates, but even to the parts of the city which were near the gates. This appears to me a strange interpretation. In note 32. ch. 14, it is seen that the accusative after the preposition in, in imitation of the Greeks, who often used si for i, has sometimes the same signification as the ablative; hence some, in a passage higher up, read in stationem Marciius fuit. So here, in proxima urbis means “in the parts of the city which were next the gate.” He pursued them into the city, and there, where it is natural to think they faced about to make resistance, they were slaughtered. In proximâ urbe is the reading of some copies and MSS., i. e. in primâ urbe, primâ signifying “the first part of.” One MS. has in proximâ parte urbis, which makes all quite plain.  

11 Primo ortu.] Ad terorem (ut solet) primum ortâs is considered the most correct reading. Rhenanus says primo ortu means statim.  

12 Obtittit.] “Eclipsed or weighed down.” This verb properly means to stand in the way of any thing so effectually as to impede its progress, and render it nugatory; hence to counterbalance.—See B. 1. c. 26. n.—B. 2. c. 2. n.  

13 Ab Sp. Cassio uno, quia collegera absuerat, ictum.] Quia here explains uno. Cominius at this time was among the Volscians. The inscription on the column, it appears, contained only the name of Cassius. Were it not that the absence of the other consul on a military enterprise (except on such an occasion, the consul was never out of Rome in those times) was notified
by this omission of his name, it would be thought in after times
that it was Coriolanus conducted the war, and not Cominius.

14 Interpret.] "Mediator."
15 Sextantibus in capita collatis.] "Two ounces of brass being
 collected from each person." Sextans was the sixth part of an
 as, or, pound weight of brass.

CHAP. XXXIV.—16 Clausis.] "When people are besieged.
17 Quasitum in Sicilliam quoque.] "But despatched into Sicily
 also to look for it." In Sicilliā is the reading of some copies.
18 Frumentum . . . coëmptum.] Coēmere means to buy from
 several, or in several places, and, when so bought, to collect
 together.

19 Pompitno.] Scil. campo; qu. Pometino, from Suessa Po-
 metia, the capital city.
20 Remissiset.] Scil. se, "abated."
21 Velitris.] A colony was planted there before.—See c. 31.
22 Norbae.] Walker explains this by in Norba. It may how-
 ever be simply rendered "into the mountains of Norba."
23 Que arx.] "Which might serve as a barrier or fortification
 in the Pometian territory."

24 M. Minucio et A. Sempronio coss.] We should read iterum
 here. But once for all it be observed, that, until after the
 expulsion of the Decemviri, Livy often omits to mention the
 number of consulships that one or other of the party named may
 have filled, (if the MSS. be correct,) as ch. 21, 23, 34, 41, 42,
 48, 49, 54, 61, 64.—B. 3. c. 1, 2, 15, 25. In all of which iterum
 or tertium should be used.

25 Quanti . . . daretur.] "At what price it should be given or sold."
26 Sub jugum missus.] He speaks figuratively, i. e. being
 obliged to submit to such humiliating terms as the patricians
 were obliged to submit to.—See B. 3. c. 28. He compares the
 plebeians to robbers, from whom the patricians were, as it were,
 forced to ransom themselves by acceding to their demands.

27 Qui non tulerim.] "Who would not have submitted to—.
 Some imagine that he here speaks in his own character; others,
 that he speaks as the representative of the whole patrician order.
 Plutarch says that his first campaign, while a youth, (τιτι μεγάλοι
 Σχ.) was at lake Regillus, i. e. according to Livy, (c. 19,) in the
 year 255 of the city, ten years after the expulsion of the kings;
 but according to Dionysius, (B. 6, Antiq.) in the year 258. At
 that time he could be no more than eighteen years old; so that
 he was a mere child in the time of Tarquin; and therefore, non
 tulerim cannot, as some think, mean "have not submitted to,"
 or "did not submit to."

28 Tertio anno.] Three years before.
29 Utantur annonā.] i. e. Let them reap the fruits of their
 own madness. The lands were left uncultivated in consequence
 of their sedition
Haud tam facile diutum est, faciendumme fuerit.] "It is not so easy to say whether this thing 'ought' to have been done, as I am of opinion it could have been done, namely, that the patricians, on condition of reducing the price of provisions, might have freed themselves from the tribunician power, and all the laws imposed upon them against their will."

Chap. XXXV.—Fame se jam, sicut hostes, peti.] "That they were assailed by the patricians with famine, as if they were public enemies."

Nisi de tergo...... satiisiat.] "Unless corporal punishment were inflicted on (or satisfaction taken on the backs of) the Roman populace." The surrender of the tribunes, their only protectors, would lead to this. The words de tergo are used by Livy in several places to imply the punishment of flogging.—See c. 29, at the end; they are opposed to caput, which meant "beheading," or any punishment that took away life.

Carnificem.] "Executioner." Coriolanus is meant.

Diem dixissent.] "Appointed him a day to stand his trial." These words are often used by Livy to signify this.

Ibi.] "Thereupon."—See c. 31. n. 80.

Auxili.] See B. 3. c. 30. n.

Plebisque.] That they were elected to assist and protect the plebeians, not to punish the patricians.

Unius paenae defungendum esset.] "That the patricians were obliged to escape danger by giving up one to punishment."—See a similar use of the verb, B. 4. c. 52. B. 3. c. 5;—αὐταλλάττων and αὐταλλάττωσιν are used in the same sense. The charge against Coriolanus was "treason."

Restiterunt tamen.] "They made a stand, however, notwithstanding the public odium which was excited against them; and they all exerted as well the powers of the whole order, as, every individual, his own." Adversā invidiā is an abl. absolute, like adversā voluntate before, B. 1. c. 46.

Quā—qua.] Scil. parte; usi viribus ea temus parte, quatenus possidebant vires, is the way in which this ellipsis is filled up. The words are taken adverbially, and signify the same as tum—tum, "as well—as."

Disjicere rem.] "To prevent or quash the business." So disjicere consilium, B. 25. c. 14.

Quicquid erat patrum, reos diceres.] "You would say that all the patricians, that were in existence, were under impeachment." Thus Hor. B. 2. Sat. 6. Lydorum quicquid.—So also ch. 49. Quicquid deorum.—See B. 3. c. 17. Quod has often the same force.

Pro nocente donarent.] "Make his pardon, as a guilty man, a present to themselves."—Pardon him, as if guilty, in compliment to themselves.—See the same use of the word, B. 8. c. 12, 35, and condonare, B. 3. c. 12, and in Cæsar, Bell. Gall. B. 1. c. 20.
44**Damnatus absens.** Dionysius says that this sentence was passed by the *comitia tributa*, where the influence of the plebeians was predominant. But Livy makes no mention of the *comitia tributa* being held for twenty years after this time.—See ch. 56. Plutarch says he was present, when the sentence was passed.

45**Tulli.** This is the prænomen.—See ch. 32. n. 95.

46**In exolèto jam vetustate odio.** "As their hatred died away by time."

**Chap. XXXVI.** 47**Ludi.** i. e. Preparations were being made to revive the great games.—See B. I. c. 35.

48**Ludis.** "On the day of the games.** *Ludis* is elsewhere found to mean the time or day for celebrating games.—So B. 32, c. 26.—B. 34. c. 44.—B. 39. c. 7. Cic. de Harusp. c. 12; de Senect. c. 18.—B. 10. ad. famil. ep. 32. So Cicero uses *gladiatoribus*, "On the day of the gladiators' shows." So also Livy uses *Latiinis* (*feriis, scil.*) for "the time" of celebrating the Latin holidays.—See B. 32. c. 1.—B. 44. c. 22.

49**Nondum commissò spectaculo.** "The show being not yet commenced.** *Committo* is the word used in expressing the celebration of a show of gladiators, which was termed ludus. *Committere* is applied to a right of any kind.

50**Furçà.** This was a piece of wood like a fork, which slaves were obliged to carry about on their necks, and were thence called *furciferi*, as a token of their having committed some disgraceful act. The malefactor's neck was thrust into it, and the prongs of it hung down his body, and were tied to his arms.

51**Sibi ludis præsultatorem displicuisse.** *Ludis, "on the day of the games." It was usual to commence these games, and certain processions, as those of the Salii, by the exhibition of a sort of dancer, called *præsultator, præsultor, or præsul*. Here the name is ironically given to the flogged slave.

52**Timorem victi.** "His reverence for the dignity of the *magistrates*, lest he might be in the months of all men as a subject for ridicule, conquered his religious fears." *Verecundia*, when followed by a genitive, means "respect or reverence for."

—See B. 1. c. 3. n.—B. 4. c. 45. n.—B. 6. c. 33. *In ora hominum abiret.* So, Hor. B. 1. Ep. 3. 9. *Quid Titius Romana brevi venturus in ora.*

53**Magno—stetit.** "Cost him dearly;" lit. stood him in a high price.—So B. 34. c. 50. *Polybius scribit centum talentis eam rem Achaeis stetisse.*—Hor. Sat. 2, magno stet pretio.—So, Livy, B. 3. c. 60, *magno detrimento certamen staturum.*

54**Ægro animi.** "While troubled in mind."

55**Praesentior res erat.** "The thing was brought more home to him." Was rendered more undeniable. *Præsens* is applied to what furnishes immediate and direct proof. He before thought the danger remote and contingent, but he now found it certain, and at his door. He was seized with paralysis.
Drakenborch (c. 56,) in accusatioTiem Appii .... exorsus, scil. orationem exorsus.

Drakenborch says that, by reading ut before veteres, the sentence will be quite simple. Certainly the repetition of such words is

NOTES TO BOOK II. c. 36, 37, 38. 209

56 Cunctantem.] "Hesitating;" prtakenetem, "procrastinating." 57 Repræsentatas.] "Speedily fulfilled." This word is applied to things which are not deferred, but put into execution at once.

—So, Cic. Phil. 2, peroration, ego corpus libenter obtulerim, si repræsentari morte mode libertas civitatis posset. Repræsentare prætium means "to pay down the price of a thing at once." So, repræsentare paenam, "to punish at once;" repræsentare præmium, "to reward at once."

CHAP. XXXVII.—58 Sequius.] "What may stigmatize." This is the same as deterius. Secus is used in somewhat a similar sense, and sometimes means non bene.—See B. 8. c. 33.—Tacit. An. 2. 50. In sequior, sequius, secius, the e is long; in secus it is short. There are various corrupt readings to be found in the MSS. and old copies; as, secus jus, sequi jus, sequi vis, sevi, &c.

59 Admissum ab iis criminatum.] "To accuse them of any crime already committed, but to take care, &c.;" or, perhaps, "to caution them, &c." When admitto means "to commit a crime," in se, in te, or in me, according to the person of the agent, is generally connected with the verb.

60 Sabinorum.] See ch. 18. B. 2.

61 Ne cujus.] "Lest I may be tainted with the suspicion of any word or act, if I remain here." Lest any word or act may taint my character and thereby injure me in your estimation.

62 Ut urbe excederent Volsci.] "That the Volsci should leave the city;" urbe excederent, is another and very general reading, t. e. extra urbe excederent. So, B. 3. c. 41, ultra vocem exces-sisset. Egredi is also found often with an accusative, which is explained in the same way.—So B. 3. c. 57, urbeb egredentur. So is elabi, evadere, and most verbs compounded with e or ex.—See B. 1. c. 56. n. 39.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—63 Caput Ferentium.] The fountain of Ferentina.—See B. 1. c. 50 and 51.

64 Et eos ipsos.] "Led both those themselves, who anxiously listened to words that favoured their resentment, and through them the rest of the multitude, into a field that lay near the road."

65 Orationem exorsus, "Veteres populi, &c."] Gronovius thinks the proper reading is oratione exorsus veteres pop. Rom. injurias, cladesque gentis Volscorum. And he imagines that the words of Tullus commence at ut omnia. But Walker imagines that the abrupt and elliptical style, as the words stand, is well adapted to an exasperated mind; he says ut obliviscamini is understood before veteres injurias. According to the reading of Gronovius, oratione exorsus means "having prefaced his address with a detail of." Duker would read orationem exorsus in veteres, &c. as (c. 56,) in accusationem Appii .... exorsus, scil. orationem exorsus.
quite common; so B. 4. c. 4, _ut hominum, ut civium, numero similis._ Various other corrections and explanations of the passage are proposed.

65 Qua.] "With which they commenced their games by visiting us with ignominy." Gronovius and Crevier would prefer _qui_, scil. _Romani_, as (c. 18.) _qui, si maximè ex et familiar._

66 Traductos per ora hominum._ He uses this form of expression to rouse them the more, as it was properly applied to captives, who were led in triumph before the face of the people.

67 _Piaculum merituri._ "And do what would deserve an expiation on our part." The expiation or atonement to the gods should be made, not by the Romans, but the offending Volscians. _Mereor_, often means "to earn," "to deserve by his conduct any evil to one's self;" _in malam saepè sumitur partem_, say the grammarians. So in English we say "to earn or deserve a curse, misery, punishment, &c."

69 Non fuga._ "And not a flight" from our enemies, as it ought rather be called

70 Et incitati._ "And incited by Tullus."

71 _Quam spem nequaquam fefellit._ Sigonius and others would read _qua spes_; this form of expression is equally classical.

72 _Transgressus._ He did not march towards Rome in a direct line, but turned across the country to the Latin road.

73 _Novella hæc._ "These newly-acquired possessions."—See ch. 33. The common reading makes this _Novella_, a town; thus, _Novellam_._hæc Romanis_, &c. The elder Gronovius would read _Bovillas_, _hæc_, &c.; the younger, _Mugillam_, _hæc_, &c.

74 _Recept._ Drakenborch and Doujatius say that this means, "took under his protection;" for, as Lavinium was never subject to the Volscians, the word cannot mean, as it generally does, "retook or recovered." But, says Walker, may not the word here, as elsewhere, mean simply "made himself master of?" It is taken in this sense, B. 3. c. 29, _castris hostium receptis._ Lavinium was subject to the Romans. Some verbs compounded with _re_ are, no doubt, often taken for their simples, as _Sall._ _Preface, nunc ad inceptum redeo_. So, _Cæs._ _Bell._ _Gall._ _Labienus civitatem recept._ Dionysius and Plutarch say he only besieged it.

75 _Citius._ See B. 1. c. 33.

76 _Id modò non conveniebat._ "In this point alone they did not agree, that the senate, &c." Most copies and MSS. have _sicut aliàs_ after _modò._

77 _Sp._ _Nautilus._ Dionysius mentions two pairs of consuls before these. In the year 264, when the games were disapproved of by the gods (see c. 36;) he says Q. Sulpicius and _Sp._ _Lartius_ were consuls; and in the following year, when they were renewed, he mentions C. _Julius_ and P. _Pinarius_; and it appears that Livy himself, B. 3. c. 30, has taken these into account.
NOTES TO BOOK II. C. 39, 40.

75 Stationes.] These were a kind of out-posts, or guards, placed before the gates.—See B. 4. c. 40. Vigiliae were held within the camp at night. Excubiae were watches either by day or night. Custodiae or præsidia, guards on the ramparts.—See B. 3. c. 5.

79 Traditum est; nihil magis.] Gronovius would read traditum (scil. traditum est;) et nihil magis, &c. This would make the sentence somewhat more simple, though there are instances of the present reading.

Chap. XL.—80 Id publicum consilium.] Dionysius, B. 8, says that this measure was recommended by Valeria, the sister of Publcola. Plutarch says that his wife's name was Virgilia. An is understood to id. So also farther down at ad hostem, an ad filium.

81 In primo.] “In the beginning;” so, à primo means “from the beginning.”—Cic. Att. 8. 11. Some old copies read primó.

82 Prope ut amens, consternatus.] “Confounded, almost like one who had lost his reason.”

83 Sine...... sciam.] “Let me know;” i. e. sine me ut sciam.

84 Non...... succeurrit.] “Did not this thought occur to you?”

85 Sed ego nihil jam pati, nec tibi turpius, quam mihi miserius, possum.] “But I can now suffer nothing, that will not bring more disgrace on you, than misery on me; nor, though I am now most miserable, am I likely to be long so.” She alludes, in consequence of her old age, to the speedy prospect of death. De his sideris, “look to these;” i. e. your wife and children. Nec tibi turpius, nec mihi miserius is another reading of the passage.

86 Invidiâ rei oppressum.] “That he was murdered by the Volsciants on account of the odium excited against him by this act.

87 Alii alio leto.] “Different authors say that he died by a different kind of death.” Cicero (in Bruto, c. 10,) says, that, like his cotemporary Themistocles, he died by his own hand.

88 Fabium.] See B. 1. c. 44.

89 Monumento quoque.] i. e. The men were not only lavish of their praises of the women, but even dedicated a temple to female for one, as a lasting monument of their meritorious conduct. Gronovius proposes que for quoque, which certainly is a more natural expression here; unless, according to some commentators, we believe that some words have fallen out of the text, which are to be found in Cujatius, B. 12. c. 24, purporting that the women were thenceforward to wear purple robes and golden necklaces, and that the men were to leave the way for them if they met them. This is asserted by Valer. Max. B. 5. c. 2. But it is not mentioned by Dionysius or Plutarch. This temple, says Valer. Max., (B. 1. c. 8.—B. 5. c. 2,) was built on the spot where the women had the successful interview with Coriolanus; no one but a woman, who was only once married, could touch the statue.
Volsci æquines. ["Whether it should be the Volsci or the æqui that would appoint a commander over their united army."]

Fortuna populi. [He elegantly represents the good fortune of Rome as the agent of their destruction. Let not the young reader imagine that the Romans attacked them.]

Hernici provincia evenit. ["The Hernici fell to Aquilius as his province." Many such phrases occur in Livy.]

Cum Volscis æquo Marte discessum est. [There is an ellipsis here; i. e. ex prælio cum Volscis. This may be literally translated thus, "they parted with the Volsci on even terms, or with equal advantage on both sides."—Dionysius (B. 8,) says that Sicinius gained a signal victory over the Volsci; that their leader Attius Tullus fell in the battle; and that Sicinius obtained the honours of a triumph; whereas Aquilius enjoyed only an ovation.]

Chap. XLI.—Agri duas partes. ["Two thirds of the captured land were taken away; the other third was given back to the Hernici, which is a charge brought soon after by his colleague against Cassius.]

Sed et publica Patribus. ["Apprehension for the public safety also seized the fathers."]

Fastidire munus vulgatum à civibus òsse in socius. ["Who felt disgusted that his gift should have gone from the citizens to the allies, having thus become common and contemptible." Some editions for òsse, read esse; some, egisse. Gronovius thinks the word òsse should be expunged. Walker proposes to read the passage thus: fastidire munus vulgatum à civibus òsse in socios. Drakenborch thinks that òsse should be read for esse, i. e. à civibus sese, "from themselves who were citizens." He says very truly, that there are numberless instances of this transposition of letters.]

Quid ... attinuisse reddi. ["What purpose could it serve to restore, &c." Attinet often means "to contribute to a purpose, to be necessary."—See B. 3. c. 36.]

Ambitosus in sociis. ["Anxious to be popular with the allies."

Siculo frumento. [See ch. 34.]

Peculium. [This properly means the private property, which a slave possesses with the consent of his master; and, as a father at this time had the power of life and death over his children, who were in a state of absolute slavery to him, their property was called peculium. But the word is often taken in a wider sense to signify in general the property of a father of a family. It may be observed that familia sometimes means one's whole property; so, familia in an after passage must be used in the same sense as peculium here.]

3 Propius fideim. “More credible.” Fidem, say the commentators, is governed by ad, understood. So, ch. 40, proximē formam latrociniī. Propius and proximē are often thus joined to an accusative.

4 K.] Censure for Censure. K. is the ancient abbreviation for this praesomen. This is the first mention of quæstors we find in Livy. Tacitus (Annal. B. 11. c. 22.) says that there were quæstors under the kings, and that they were continued by Brutus and the following consuls.

5 Diem dictam perduellionis.] “That a day of trial for treasors was appointed him.” So Val. Max. B. 6. c. 5, diem his P. Rutilius tribunus plebis perduellionis ad populum dixit.—Diem dicere is often used to mean “to appoint a day of trial.”—See B. 1. c. 26. n. 96. 2.

Chap. XLII.—6 Malignitate.] “Parsimony.” This is the sense in which this word is generally used in Livy.—See B. 3. c. 63.—B. 5. c. 20. 22.—B. 2. c. 3.

7 Rededit in publicum.] Lodged the price of it in the public treasury; reduced it to public property.

8 Tenuere.] This verb, like obtineo, often means, in Livy, “to succeed, to carry one’s point.”

9 Postumio.] See ch. 20.

10 Popularem potestatem lege populi celebrabant.] Their power and office, which of themselves were agreeable to the people, they were every day recommending more to their favour by this law.—See B. 3. c. 31. n.

11 Gratutii.] Voluntary or gratuitous.

12 Fabium.] He was also the brother of Q. Fabius, who was consul three years before this.

13 Expertos tribunicis certaminibus.] Expertos here appears to mean not so much that during his consulsips he was well practised or versed in the disputes with the tribunes—that his successive offices were one series of struggles with the tribunes, and of experience in these struggles—as that his “fidelity” to the cause of the patricians was “tried” and established.—See B. 1. c. 34, end.

14 Prope supererant vires.] “They had almost a superabundance of strength.”—See c. 27.

15 Accessēre ad Ægras jam omnium mentes prodigia caelestia.] “In addition to the agitation of all men’s minds, there appeared prodigies from heaven. These increased the general alarm.”

16 Vates caneabant . . . nunc extis, nunc per aves, consulti.] The commentators are diffuse in talking of the intricacy of this passage, without giving any rational solution of it. In Walker’s edition, and others, these words are thus explained, consulti (vates) ut rescirent, per exta et per aves, quid dii vellent. This appears rather a forced explanation; and, indeed, it is immediately after added, queritur an dixi possint vates consulti extis, quum ipse ex extis fata prædicum. Drakenborch thinks the
connexion should be, *numinis consulti nunc extis,* &c., employing *consulti* in the sense of "being advised or directed, or answered." So Virg. *Æn.* 3. 452, *inconsulti abeunt, sedemque odère Sibylla*; where *inconsulti* refers to the strangers who received no answer or counsel. In English the word "counsell’d" is applied to a person who receives an answer for his advice or direction. According to this explanation the meaning of the passage is, "the soothsayers being answered or directed by the gods, publicly and privately, *i.e.* in their public and private sacrifices, at one time by means of entrails, at another time through birds, declared that there was no other cause for the resentment of the divinity (*moti irá numinis*) than, &c."

17 *Eò evasère.*] "Went so far." Although the soothsayers declared that the sole cause of the anger of the deity was, that the sacred rites were not properly performed, from which was to be inferred, that the immorality of individuals had no connexion with it; yet the people, not satisfied with this, were carried so far by their fears, that they punished Oppia for an alleged violation of chastity, under the impression that this might have contributed to the anger of the gods. Such appears to be the force of *tamen.* The punishment was, burying alive.

**CHAP. XLIII.—**18 *Vejentes agrum quoque.*] Aldus was the first to introduce this reading. The reading previously used was, *Vejentes quoque agrum,* which, in my opinion, is the more natural one.

19 *Non suá sponte.*] "Not of their own accord," but by the agency of Licinius.

20 *Tota invidia tribuniciae potestatis.*] "All the odium, raised against the tribunician power, was now directed against (Licinius,) the author of this turbulent opposition."

21 *Ducendus Fabio in Æquos,* in *Vejentes Furio,* datur.] This reading, which was first established by Sigginsus, on the authority of one or two ancient copies, preserves a consistency in Livy’s statement; for he says in the next chapter, *Proximo bello, in ipsâ acie,* *consensu exercitús, traditam ultero victoriam victis Æquis.* The old reading of almost all the MSS. and printed copies, viz. *Fabio in Vejentes,* in *Æquos Furio,* datur, destroyed this consistency.

22 *Nec illos, etsi non adhortatio ducis, suum saltem flagitium... cogere potuit.*] "Nor, although the exhortation of their general, whom they hated, had no effect on them, (which was not to be wondered at) could their own infamy at least, (which might have been expected) and the public disgrace at present, and danger soon after, if the enemy would have rallied their courage, compel them to accelerate their pace, or, if they did nothing else, even stand in order of battle."

23 *Instare.*] This means "to stand in the same place;" as *immunire* means "to fortify in the same place," Tac. *An.* 11. 19; and *inconare,* "to sup in the same place," Suet. *Tib.* 39—Muretus and Crevier think the reading should be *stare.*
Notes to Book II. C. 44, 45.

Chap. XLIV.—34 Ti.] This always stands for Tiberius.
35 Processisset.] "As if it had succeeded with." This word has frequently this signification in Livy, and other authors. So Sall. Jug. 35, parum procedere means, "to have little success." Cede re too is often used in the same sense.
36 In presentia re ipsâ.] "For the present by the very act (i. e. by the defeat of Licinius the year before) and to all future times by the precedent which was thereby established," i. e. when the patricians had once found that the tribunician power could be defeated, they would always have recourse to the same method of defeating it. Reipublicae is the reading of most old copies and MSS. in place of re ipsâ.
37 Bono publico.] "By promoting the public good."
38 Ut cique privatim aliquid juris adversus singulos erat.] "According as each had in his personal capacity any influence with them individually." Jus often signifies "power or influence," and adversus does not always imply "hostile opposition or injury." So B. 5. c. 35, adversus Romanos nullum iis jus societatis amicitiaeque erat; see also Ter. And. 1. 1. 15.
39 Quaturoque tribunorum.] In the MSS. and old editions, the reading was novemque tribunorurn, which is quite incorrect, as at this time there were only five tribunes. Signius has well observed that the mistake arose from the inaccuracy of transcribing IV, V being written X, as it often was, through igno- rance or carelessness.
40 Id unum venenum.] i. e. Internal dissession.
41 Sustentatum.] "Retarded in its progress."
42 Sisti.] See ch. 29. n. 52.
43 Non parendi magistratibus morem.] "That the custom of disobeying the magistrates, &c."
44 Multis invicem casibus victos victoresque.] "Who by many vicissitudes were vanquished and victors by turns." Livy appears to mean, that they expected some decisive advantage now from the divisions of the Romans, especially as they were sometimes successful against them, even when united.

Chap. XLV.—35 Ne rem committerent eō.] "Lest they should bring the affair to a state of things where they would have two armies to fear at the same time." i. e. their own and the enemy's.
Aversi.] "Keeping aloof from."—So Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 107, aversus mercaturis. Sometimes the preposition à is expressed; as, Milites aversi à praelio.—Cæs. Bell. Gall.
37 Dies—tempus.] See B. 1. c. 56. n. 45. Supply sperantes or dicitum alius alii.
38 Remedium timoris.] "An artifice to conceal their cowardice." This is the usual explanation of these words; and it accords with the context. But it is a question whether remedium can be taken to signify "a cloak, or stratagem of concealment;" its proper and ordinary meaning is "a remedy to cure any evil, or
prevent any bad consequences." May not the words then mean "a remedy to prevent the consequences of their cowardice," i. e. defeat and destruction?

"Rather distrusted the valour, than disbelieved the sincerity, of the soldiers." This appears to be the real and obvious meaning of these words; yet Nannius, Klockius, and Drakenborch, think—because Fabius, in the sequel of this chapter, is made to say: ego istos posse vincere scio; velle ne scirem, isti fecerunt—that it follows that non confidere means, "not to believe their inclination to fight;" and non credere, "not to trust their valour." But surely it does not appear that the enemy and the consuls must have necessarily said, or even thought, the same thing. The enemy say it was cowardice, the consul ascribes it to want of inclination on the part of the Romans. Each had his own motive for what he says.

"As well—as." "Bore it quietly." "Agitated." This word is often confounded with vexare. Virg. Æn. 5, pulsatque versatque Dareta.

"They wished not success either to the consuls or the patricians." There are many similar instances of non after a negative.

"Put their heads together," as we say. "But this wish was to be restrained and concealed."

"That they would inflict punishment on him as on an enemy." "In proportion as they believe the consuls less inclined for battle."

"That the thing would break out into the extreme of sedition;" i. e. into a desperate sedition.

"The first centurions of the three lines, the hastati, principes, and triarii, of each legion. They were also called principes ordinum, or primi ordinis, or centuriones primorum ordinum. The companies commanded by these chief centurions were called honesti ordinis; see B. 3. c. 44; or, honesta loca, B. 42. c. 34.

"Tergiversantur tamen. Fabius deinde." "As his colleague began to yield on account of the dread of sedition, that was now growing with the tumult." Tumultum...metu was the general reading of the old copies.—Accrescense tumultu jam metu seditionis collegà concedente, was another reading authorized by several MSS., where some had a comma after tumultu, others, after seditionis. According to the present reading ad is used for propter, as it frequently is.
58 Ego istos.] "I know that these soldiers can conquer the enemy; but, by their conduct, they themselves caused me not to be certain that they wished to do it."
53 Inter primores pugnae flagi
tator.] "Among the principal persons in calling for a battle.
54 Iratos invocat deos.] "And impregates on himself, should he deceive, the anger of Jove, Mars Gradivus, and the other gods." Gradivus, see B. 1. c. 20. n. 31.
55 In se quisque jurat.] See B. 2. c. 24. n. 18.
56 Nunc armatis sibi quisque.] "Now that they are under arms, they bid, every man of them, the enemy, who was so bold in tongue, to present himself before them." I am not certain whether the words, sibi quisque, may not mean that every Roman should have his man (as we say) among the enemy.
57 Etrusceque legiones.] The Etrurian forces are called legiones, Hor. Sat. 1. 6. 4. Legio seems to be used generally for exercitus.—See B. 1. c. 30. n. 54.
CHAP. XLVI.—58 Majus quoque aliquod.] "That some greater deed also was not to be despaired of, in such a state of irritated feeling, and on so doubtful an occasion." As the Romans before, when sure of success against the Æqui, gave up the advantage, it was not likely they would now hazard a battle, when they could not be certain of the successful issue of it, and were besides in such a state of discontent. Thus the enemy calculated on an easy victory.
59 Explicandi ordinis.] Explicandi ordines, or explicandis ordinibus, would perhaps be a better reading. The first is proposed by Gronovius; the other, by Drakenborth.
60 Abjectis.] "Rather thrown off at random, than aimed at the enemy.
61 Pugna jam in manus, jam ad gladios, venerat.] Though some editions read ad manus, and Livy, ch. 30, has, ad manum venisset hostis, yet in manus here is more correct; it is the reading of the MSS.; and the phrase, in manus venire, "to come to close engagement," is a very common one. Livy is very fond of varying his expressions, particularly prepositions. B. 6. ch. 8, terremque non in primam tantum aciem, sed etiam ad subsidiarios, perlatum.—B. 4. c. 56, seu...in spem, seu ad iram, compulisset. B. 7. c. 13, ad bellum, non in exilium, missos. B. 5. c. 7, ut diverse legiones, aliae adversus Capenatem, aliae contra eruptionem oppidanorum, pugnarent. B. 27. c. 50, nunquam...aut senator quisquam à curiá atque ab magistratibus abscessit, aut populus è foro.
62 Principem.] "Before the rest."
63 Preceps in vulnus abit.] When the Tuscan plucked out the sword, Fabius fell forward on his breast, where he received the wound. The word abit, says Burman ad Quinctil. declam. 9. c. 5, is expressive of the force and quickness with which he fell. So, B. 1. c. 58, prolapsaque in vulnus. So, cadere in vulnus, Statius,
Thebaid, 4. 463. Homer usually describes his warriors as falling in the direction where the wound was received.

64 *Injuratus.* Dionysius, B. 9. p. 567, says that the consuls too took the oath.

65 *Consuli tum K. Fabius.* "Then Kaeso Fabius says to the consul."

CHAP. XLVII.—66 *In primum infestis hastis provolant.* Livy often uses *primum* without a substantive, to signify "the front." *Infestus* is often applied to weapons; so we often find *infesta signa* also.

67 *Ut ille.* i. e. Manlius.


69 *Dum terunt.* Others read *tererent*, which is incorrect.—See ch. 32. n. 99. *Cum tererent* would be correct.

70 *Missis ad consules nunciis, quo loco res essent.* Sal. Bell. Cat. *nuncius in castra pervenit, Romæ conjurationem patefactam.* B. 38. c. 1, *remissique nunci ab eo ad principes...Athamaniam se venturum.*

71 *Ad praetorium.* "To the quarter where the general's tent was."

72 *In ipsam consulsem invadit.* *Invadere* is often used with *in.*

73 *Funera.* Then he celebrates the two funerals of his colleague and his brother in regular succession, (*deinceps,*), or one after the other. The funeral of his colleague, as being a consul, was the first.

74 *Idem laudator.* Fabius pronounced the funeral oration, or eulogy, over both.

75 *Imbibert.* "That determination which he had indelibly impressed on his mind."—See a similar use of the word in Cic. for Quinct. c. 6, and Act. pr. in Ver. c. 14, *et alibi.*

CHAP. XLVIII.—76 *Neque bella.* Hearne, Duker, and Crevier, say this should be *belli.*

77 *Occuparent.* i. e. Should be beforehand in conferring the favour themselves on the people.—See B. 1. c. 30. n. 64.

78 *Verum esse.* Scil. *aequum esse*; this word often has this meaning.—See B. 3. c. 40.—B. 32. c. 33.—B. 49. c. 16.—B. 35. c. 8.—Cass. B. Gal. 4. 8.—Æn. 12. 696.—Hor. B. 1. Ep. 7. 98, *et alibi.*

79 *Nimis gloriâ luxuriare.* "That the once lively spirit of Kaeso was sinking into indolence, and decaying through a surfeit of glory." Here *luxuriare* means "to run waste," "to become dissipated."

80 *Depopulandum.* *Depopulatum* is the more probable reading, which is proposed by Heumanus. Sigonius, on the authority of an old copy, would read *depopulabundus*; Gronovius and others approve of this. So, *populabundus* is used actively.—B. 3. c. 3.—B. 1. c. 16.—B. 2. c. 60.

81 *Proximè furman.* See c. 41. n. 3.
NOTES TO BOOK II. C. 48, 49.

82 Eludentes.] This word properly means to parry off or get rid of a blow in a gladiator's fight, which was called ludus.

83 Praesentia instabant, ut.] "Were pressing on them at that very time, as, for instance, from the Æqui, &c."

84 Quod nullo tempore negligi poterat, aut averteri alió sinebat.] "Because they could not be neglected at any time (i. e. it would be unsafe not to mind them,) and they did not allow the Romans to turn off their attention to any other matter." Though perhaps this way of writing is not unusual in English, yet I apprehend it to be so in Latin. Mark the peculiarity of averti here; it is the same as avertere se; this is expressed by the middle voice in Greek. We often meet this idiom in Latin.

CHAP. XLIX.—85 Deposcant, hæc Volscos.] Scil. hæc deposcat Volscos, illa deposcat Æquos.

86 Paludatus.] "Dressed in his military costume."—See B. 1. c. 26. n. 92.

87 Egregius senatus.] "Not one of whom would an honest senate at any time deem unworthy to be the leader of an army." Tanaquil, Faber, Dujatius, and Crevier, think that for senatus we should read exercitus. See Dionysius, B. 9. p. 581. Perizon. Animadver. Histor. c. 5. p. 194. Walker successfully maintains against Perizonius, that this number of the Fabii clan is correct. The Fabii were an original Roman family; here their connexion by blood and marriage in the remotest degree are included; they were not cut down by Tarquin, who only attacked the wealthiest; so it is not too much to say that the Fabii amounted to 306. Festus says that a body of 5000 clansmen or dependants accompanied them.

88 Propria.] "One part belonging to themselves, composed of their relations and acquaintances." Propria is opposed to publica, which latter means those who had no private tie with the Fabii. Crevier joins publica with solicitudine.

89 Fortes ... felices.] He very elegantly applies to them these expressions as he before applied the word ducem; for virtus et felicitas were words applied to the commanders of armies; to allies, subordinate officers, and soldiers virtus et fides were the words employed.

90 Infelici viâ dextro Jano porta Carmentalis.] This word Janus sometimes means an arch or arcade. Cic. de Nat. Deor. L. 2. 27, transitiones perviae Jani nominantur. There was a celebrated one of these near the forum, where money-brokers assembled. Hence, Horace, Sat. 2. 3. 18, postquam omnis res mea Janum ad medium fracta est. Et. ep. 1. 54, hoc Janus summus ab ino producit. Janus summus, medius, imus, mean "the highest, middle, and lowest parts of it." The gate Carmentalis had two or three of these archways; the Fabii went through the right. Ovid, Fast. B. 2. v. 201.

Carmenitis portae dextro est via proxima Jano, 
Ire per hanc noli, quisquis es; omen habet.
Populationibus.] "The depredations were not long discontinued."

Ordines introeunt.] "While the lines following their colours are advancing to the ground." See B. 3. c. 38. n. Walker thinks ordines is the acc. case, and explains it thus: dum Veientes introeunt ordines post signa, i. e. dum aciem dirigunt. But he has given no instance of this most strange and unnatural use of the word introeunt, nor have I met with this use of it.

Chap. I.—Majoris bellii apparatu.] For majore bellii appara- ratu. So B. 1. c. 1, majora initia rerum, for majorum initia rerum.—B. 2. c. 51, proximam pugnæ cladem, for proximae pugnæ cladem; hesternâ felicitate pugnæ, for hesterna felicitate pugnæ.—B. 28. c. 17, consummata belli gloria, for consummati belli gloria.

Ex opulentissimâ, ut tum res erant, Etruscula civitate.] So B. 1. c. 3, florentem, ut tum res erant, atque opulentam civitatem.

Ex re natura.] "Suggested by present circumstances."

Quoquam rara hostium apparebant arma.] i. e. The appearance of some scattered bodies of the enemy did not teach them caution.

Superâssent.] "Had passed; left them behind."—So, Æn. l. 244, fontem superare Timavi. Livy often uses the word in this sense.

Et adversi et undique.] "Both in front and on every side of them."

Tela accidebant.] "Weapons were falling." So, Caes. Bell. Gall. B. 3. c. 14, and 25, tela acciderent : accidebant was the reading of the MSS. and old copies.

Multitudinem.] Scil. insignem faciebat.

Multiplicatis in arcto ordinibus.] Because the lines of the Tuscans grew more numerous, as the space grew narrower. Robortellus, on the other hand, B. 2. annot. c. 30, says multipli- catis here means, not "more numerous," but "condensed," den- satis; to signify that the Tuscans, who before, when scattered, appeared few, now appeared numerous when wedged closely to- gether. He says, quo enim breviore in spatio cogit tur acies, eo pauciores ordines esse, necesse est

Inclinat.] "They bend their force."

Eò, nisi corporibus armisque.] "Towards that place they, exerting the force of their bodies and arms, and forming them- selves into the shape of a wedge, burst a passage."

Vincebatque auxilio loci paucitas, ni jugo circummissus Vejens in verticem collis evasisset.] This passage exemplifies what I have noticed elsewhere, namely, that ni refers to a verb in a preceding clause in the indicative, as if that verb were in the subjunctive. Jugum means the sloping termination of a mountain, or one of those hillocks at its commencement, and is thereby distinguished from vertex. It properly meant "a yoke connecting oxen" and formed thus, ζ ζ, where the middle part, between their necks,
was higher than the ring through which their necks were thrust. In the heroic ages the "draught" (as we say,) was on the head, not on the breast and shoulders, the trace or band coming round the forehead.

6 Fabii caesi ad unum.] i.e. Q. Fab. Vibulanus, son to M. Fab., who was consul ten years after.—See B. 3. c. 1. Dionysius thinks it very unlikely that he should be the only survivor. Walker imagines that the belief, that he was so, originated in the fact, that he was the only surviving son of the three brothers of consular rank, and that from him were descended the famous Fabii of after times.

7 Stirpem . . . futurum.] "Who was the stock to propagate the Fabian family, and to prove even the greatest support, &c."

Chap. LI.—8 Clades esset.] Crevier thinks the word should be est; but this, Walker says, would destroy Livy’s meaning, which is, that these entered on their consulship after the disaster happened. He says, Livii verba innuunt Horatium et Menenium non ante consulatum inisse, quam clades hae accepta fuit. But surely Walker must have seen that Livy asserts, next ch., that Menenius was consul at that time.

9 Super bellum amonâ premente.] "A scarcity of provisions distressing them in addition to the war."

10 Ad Spei sit aquo Marte.] "At the temple of Hope," which was one mile from the city Äledem or templum is often suppressed. So, B. 1. c. 41, ad Jovis Statoris.—B. 2. c. 7, ubi nunc Vicopotæ est.—B. 3. c. 48, prope Clucine; et alibi. Dionysius, B. 9, says that the Romans were the conquering party here.

11 Parvo momento.] "By but a trifling advantage." See B. 1. c. 47. n. 51.—B. 2. c. 7. n. 70.

12 Proximam pugna cladem.] See c. 50. n. 93.

13 Vetut ab arce Janiculi.] From the Janiculum, as if it were their fortress.

14 Secuti deditâ opera . . . pracipitavère in insidias.] "Pursuing some cattle which were intentionally driven out in every direction to decoy them, they fell into an ambuscade." Pracipitare is sometimes used in this sense. See B. 5. 18.—B. 6. 30. So Plaut. Trinumm. 2. 1. 30.

qui in amorem
Pracipitavit, pejûs perit, quam si saxo saliat.

15 Plures.] More numerous than the Fabii.

16 Quod inopia frumenti, quamvis in praecipitia, &c.] "Because want of provisions drove him to adopt plans, however rash, provided they were expeditious, he marched his army, at all hazards, up the Janiculum, which lay opposite to him."—See ch. 31. n. 79. It would appear from this, that the Janiculum at this time was detached from the city. Dionysius expressly states, that it was two miles from it; and when Livy, B. 1. c. 33, says, that Ancus added it to the city, we must only suppose that he merely fortified it, or drew a line of communication between it and the
city, and made some of the citizens reside there. This passage is very inaccurately given in most MSS. and editions—some reject in; and others, in addition to this, read agebant.

17 Occidione occisi.] "Were slain with great slaughter." Were cut to pieces.—This expression is used elsewhere. See B. 3. c. 10.—B. 4. 58.—B. 9. 38. Justin, B. 2. c. 14.

Chap. LII. — 18 Luxior.] "More plentiful," in opposition to arctior, which is used to signify scarcity.

19 Eum oppresserunt.] Ea (scil. invidia) oppressit Menenium, is the reading preferred by Gronovius. Before him this was the punctuation, eum oppresserunt; quum . . . . . favor haud dum exolevisset. In muletâ temperârunt tribuni.—Haud dum the same as nondum, as B. 28. c. 2.—B. 29. c. 11.

20 Temperârunt in muletâ.] "Acted with moderation, by only inflicting a fine."

21 Capitis anquisissent.] "Though they prosecuted him for a capital offence, when he was found guilty, they only imposed a fine of 2000 asses," i. e. about £5. Capitis anquiere, i. e. actionem capitalem intendere, Budæus. The words are used elsewhere in this sense, B. 6. c. 20.—B. 8. c. 33.—B. 26. c. 3.—Capitis quasissent, ante quasissent, acquisissent, accisciisset, and accessissent, have been the corrupt readings of almost all MSS. and old copies; mulctam dixerunt and edixerunt, were the general readings of the old copies. Dicere mulctam is the phrase used to mean "to impose or appoint a fine."

22 In caput vertit.] "This proved fatal to him."

23 Negant tulisse.] "They say that he was unable to bear."

24 Gratiaeque.] "And his popularity." Crevier says that this word is improperly introduced, as it is ill suited to a man who in peace opposed the Agrarian law, and in war was guilty of misconduct.

25 Et huic.] i. e. As Menenius was charged with the loss sustained at Cremera.

26 Magistratus . . . . . leges.] The tribunes of the people, and the laws they were the means of introducing.

27 Participando laudes.] By attributing to him a share of the glory which he gained by conquering the Tuscan.

28 Mutaverant animum.] Mutaverant animi would be more in Livy's style.

Chap. LIII. — 29 Vejens bellum exortum, quibus Sabini arma conjuncerant.] Quibus, scil. Veientibus. Let the young reader observe this peculiarity of expression

30 Dum dispersi alii alii manipulatim excurrunt.] They did not sally out in a body through one gate, but, scattered in small parties, rushed out through several. Rhenanus, on the authority of some MSS., first introduced this reading, which is since adopted. Before him the reading most adopted was, dum dispersi alii, alii, &c.

31 Aversi.] They were diverted from their attack on the camp,
and obliged to face the Veientes: *i. e.* the part of the Veientes who attacked their rear.

22 *Et ipsi utróque versis signis resistunt.*] They also show two fronts, and make resistance.

23 *Duae potentissimae et maximæ finitimæ gentes superate sunt.*] It is better to separate *maximæ* (which many MSS. indeed reject,) from *finitimæ* by the intervention of a comma. Some read *maximæ*.

CHAP. LIV. 24 *Continuatur.*] “Follows in close succession.”

26 *Abeuntes magistratu On. Genucius arripuit.*] In most editions, we find *consules* in place of *Cn.,* but erroneously. Glareanus gives an important passage from Dionysius, B. 8. p. 544, which throws great light on the history of this period, and supplies a serious omission of Livy here and in chapter 41. In the year 269, during the consulship of Sp. Cassius and Proc. Virginius, a decree of the senate was passed, appointing ten commissioners of consular rank to mark out the public lands, and determine how much should be divided between the people and allies, (both to have an equal right to it,) and what should be each man’s share. The consuls of the subsequent years were annually to appoint such commissioners, who should in the same way regulate any land that might from time to time be gained by the Romans and allies conjointly. This decree was allowed by all the consuls after to remain a dead letter; and it was for not enforcing it that Genucius arraigned the last consuls. Probably he wished, by this example, to terrify into a compliance the present consuls, who, while in office, could not be impeached.

28 *Arripuit.*] This word is applied to a person who is virulently and suddenly accused. *So,* B. 3. 58.—Suet. in *Cæs.* c. 23. It properly means to snatch at or seize quickly and violently, perhaps like a dog.

29 *Rei ad populum.*] “Impeached before the people.

30 *Circumvent . . . . . . non plebem magis quâm juniores patrum.*] Though this is the reading of all the editions and commentators, yet I cannot avoid expressing my opinion, that, in place of *plebem, patres,* (which three MSS., *i. e.* Palat. Secund., Harlej. Secund., and Haverk. give,) would be better, and agree more with the whole scope of the following statement. Livy does not give their address to the plebeians, (a presumptive proof that they did not address them,) and the address to the patricians is a severe attack on the plebeians. It is not likely they would supplicate and abuse them at the same time. It is equally manifest that the plebeians were highly incensed against them; and that their supporters, the patricians, intended to carry the point, not by supplicatory appeal or reasoning with the people, but by violence and treachery. The consuls, not calculating on the populace, rested their only hope in enlisting on their side the “whole” strength of the patrician interest, not only the “elder” pa-
tricians, (which was quite ordinary and fair in such a case,) but, what was unusual, even the "younger" of them. Besides, if they address, according to the reading of the text, only the "plebeians" and "younger" patricians, the necessary inference is, that they pass the "elder" patricians by, who could naturally assist them more; whereas, it appears that the elder patricians were the chief agents.

89 *Infidis velatos.* An elegant allusion to the custom of decking victims with fillets before sacrifice. *Velari* is the verb generally used to express that.

40 *Se commoverit.* "Should rouse himself;" *i.e.* the patrician they were addressing, or, perhaps, the consul.

41 *Seducta.* "Kept aloof from;" *i.e.* few were privy to them.

42 *Jure an injurid.* "By right or wrong."

43 *Quamvis audaci.* "However daring."

44 *Erecta expectatione.* "On the tiptoe of expectation."

45 *Obversati.* "Those who had appeared at the tribune's door."—See c. 59.

46 *Pantebat.* "So far was any of them from feeling sorrow for the crime." *Noxa* and *noxia* are often indiscriminately used to signify "fault or misdemeanor."

47 *Malo domandam.* "Should be subdued, even by bad or criminal means."

**CHAP. LV.—**48 *Sub hac victoriad.* "Immediately after this victory."—So, B. 45. c. 10, *sub adventu Romanorum,—*B. 25. c. 24, *sub luce.* *Sub,* with an accus. and referring to time, generally means "during, at;" sometimes, "before."

49 *Quatuor et viginti lictores apparere consulibus.* Livy said before, c. 1, that the two consuls could not have their *fasces* together. But Suetonius, in Cæsar, c. 20, says, that his lictors followed the consul on the month on which he had not the *fasces* carried before him; hence it appears how twenty-four are mentioned here; one of the consuls had twelve lictors with their fasces marching "before" him, the other had twelve, without the fasces, "behind" him. *Apparere* is the word used to signify the attendance of an inferior officer (*apparitor*) on a magistrate.—See B. 1. c. 8. n. 8.

50 *Nihil contemptius.* *i.e.* Than the consuls.

51 *Sibi quemque ea magna atque horrenda facere.* They said the power of the consuls existed merely in the imaginations of the people.

52 *Ordines.* See ch. 23, n. 3.

53 *Spoliari hominem, virgasque expediri.* "The man to be stripped and the rods to be got ready" to flog him with. Hence *spolia,* as distinguished from *praeda,* meant the clothes, arms, &c. stripped off an enemy. As no victory was thought complete without this proceeding, *spoliari* came to be taken in a general sense to mean, "to despoil in any way." *Circumscindere* is nearly
synonymous with spoliari in this passage, except that in circum-
scindere more violence is implied.

54 Advocatis. "And those, whom he called on to help him,
giving him their assistance."

55 Ubi indignantium . . . . ed.] "Retired thither into the
thickest throng, where the outcry of those, who expressed
their indignation for him, was most violent."

56 Omne discrimen adesse.] "A general crisis was at hand."

57 Nil cuiquam.] "That no one would respect any thing,
either of public or private right."

58 In senatum vocari.] "When he ordered the fathers to be
summoned into the senate." This form of words, in this sense,
is often found in Livy; so vocare ad concilium, advocare ad con-
cionem. Many copies reject in here.

Chap. LVI.—59 Tribunum plebi.] Plebi is sometimes put for
plebei, the genitive of plebes; or it may be the dative from plebs,
as the dative is often put for the genitive. Some read plebis;
and some omit the word.

60 Contraque omnium.] For a similar use of que, see B. 3.
ch. 38. n.

61 Permissurum tribunatum.] "Would give loose rein to his
tribuneship." Permitto is used to signify giving loose rein to a
horse, and inciting him.—See B. 3. c. 61.

62 Post publicam causam.] "Postponing private resentment
to the public cause."

63 Plebei magistratus tributis comitiis.] Dionysius says that these
were first created at the comitia curiata. At the comitia tributa,
all the people, whether resident or not, voted in their proper
tribes (see B. 1. c. 43. n. 11.) individually; here each man's vote
was equally effectual; so that the patricians, even if they attended
them (which some doubt), had little influence. They were held
without the authority of the patricians, and for the purpose of
creating the inferior magistrates, such as tribunes of the people,
seiles, questors, &c., also proconsuls, proprætors, &c.; electing
certain priests, and holding trials. Their decrees were called
plebiscita, which, after the year 306, (see B. 3. c. 55,) bound the
whole Roman people. Before that they bound only the plebians.

64 Haud parva res sub titello minime atroc.] "Under a title,
at first appearance not at all formidable, was this measure pro-
posed—no trifling one, but one which took away, &c." The resi-
dent plebeian citizens were the only persons who voted at the
comitia curiata; these were less hostile to the patricians, and fewer
than the non-residents, who were ranked among the tribes (and
voted at the comitia tributa) and not among the curiae, as the resi-
dents were; hence the patricians were less influential in the
comitia tributa than at the comitia curiata. At the comitia
curiata, the people voted by curiae, of which a majority, sixteen,
(there were only thirty,) decided every question. Here also pro-
property had no lawful weight; as they voted man by man without
distinction. Yet the poor freemen were often influenced by the
rich.

68 Quæ una vis ad resistendum erat.] "Which was the only
power (i. e. the tribunes) that could make resistance."

66 Collegio.] The college of tribunes.

67 Suo ipsa molimine gravis.] i. e. One which, from its own
weight, required time and exertion to conclude it.

68 Ad ultimum dimicationis.] "To a desperate conflict."—
See c. 45. n. 48.

69 Invisum infestumque.] "Hated by, and hostile to." These
words are sometimes used in an active, sometimes in a passive
sense, to signify "hating, or hated by."—See B. 1. c. 7. n. 94.—
B. 2. c. 61.—B. 4. c. 53.—B. 5. c. 8. Infestus, vel qui infect
malum, vel cui malum infectur.—See Gell. 9. 12, Invisus, vel qui
invidet, vel cui invidetur, scil. qui odio habetur.

70 Auctor.] "As he was a more recent, so he was a more
spirited, promoter of the law." Auctor sometimes means "one
who advises or authorizes a thing;" also "one who promotes,
revives, or restores a thing."—See c. 44. 48.—B. 4. c. 20. n.

71 In accusationem Appii . . . . . . exorsus.] "Broke out at
once into an accusation of Appius." Gronovius thinks the word
should be incusationem, and that the preposition in should be
rejected. According to this the translation would be, "having
commenced an accusation of."

72 Rudis in militari homine lingua.] He could not speak with
the copiousness and freedom he wished. Suppetere means "to
have a sufficient abundance of a thing in readiness." This pas-
sage reminds one of Othello's defence:

"Rude am I in speech,
"And little blessed with the set phrase of peace."

73 Non faciè.] Tam is understood—an ellipsis usual with the
best writers.

74 Templum.] "Take previous possession of the place for
assembling." The people could not assemble anywhere for the
transaction of public business, except on consecrated ground,
templum. The comitium, and the suggestum or rostra, (the place
from which harangues were delivered to the people,) were so
called.—See B. 8. c. 14.—B. 3. c. 17.—Cic. in Vatin. 24.

75 Submoveri.] One of the concessions made to the people at
Mons Sacer was, that, whenever the tribunes summoned an
assembly, the patricians should not interfere with it.

76 Viator.] This was the name given to the subordinate
officer that attended a tribe, a sort of running footman, (from
via,) employed to bear his commands; especially, to go through
the country and public ways to summon thenon-reside freemennt
to the city.—See Cic. de Senectute, 56.
Non populi, sed plebis.] Populus means the whole people, including patricians and plebeians; plebs, the plebeians only.—See ch. 35.—B. 3. c. 19.

Facit et contemptim.] "By arguing lightly and contemptuously about his authority." Drakenborch would rather reject et, and join facit in the explanation of the passage to perturbare or poterat.

Sine imperio, sine magistratu.] "Without military authority, without civil office." This is the proper signification of these words. Imperium sometimes means "civil power," "the right of taking auspices," and "the power of dispensing justice." Let the reader mark, that Livy here speaks in the person of Appius, who denies the tribunes were "regular" magistrates, as being their enemy. But Livy in this chapter, speaking as a historian, calls them magistratus.—(See also ch. 33, 35.—B. 4. c. 2.—B. 23. c. 23.—B. 39. c. 52.) So the Latin historians call them. All the Greek historians call them ἀξιωματικός. They did not wear the same badges of office, namely, the praettexa, &c. as the other magistrates; nor, like them, did they enter on their office at the beginning of the year; nor administer justice, sitting on a regular chair or bench; nor cease from their functions during a dictatorship; besides, they were properly magistratus plebis, not magistratus populi. It is I think from these considerations that Appius speaks.

Chap. LVII.—Ab impetu ad consultandum advocabantur . . . . animi.] "The more their minds were called off from violence to cool deliberation, some time having intervened, the more did they shrink (or were abhorrent) from contention." One MS. has advocabantur, which, says Drakenborch, (and very justly,) is the word often used elsewhere in such circumstances. These words, like advertere and avertere, are often confounded.—See B. 1. c. 40. n. 67.—ch. 6. n. 81.

Tantam.] "Only so great;" i. e. not to carry it so far as to breed discord.

Dum tribuni consulesque ad se quisque omnia trahunt, nihil relictum esse virium in medio.] So, Sall. Jug. c. 41, cæpère nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem, in lubidinem vertere; sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partes abstracta sunt; respublica, que media fuerat, dilacerata.

Distractam.] The accus. for the nom. by Enallage, say the commentators. There are many instances of such peculiarities of phrase.—B. 31. c. 27. Hic metus Cordrionem oppidum ut dederetur Romanis effectit.—Virg. Æn. 1. 573; urbem, quam statuo, vestra est;—Ter. Adelph. 5. 4, illum ut vivat optant.—Eun. 4. 3. 11; eunuchum, quem dedisti nobis, quas turbas dedit. I think such accusatives may be governed by secundum, or some such preposition understood; such an idiom is very common in Greek, and has been adopted into the English
language.—See c. 28. n. 40. Might not plebs querebatur, or the like, be understood before nihil relictum, and its influence continued?

Chap. LVIII.—84 Numero etiam addito.] “We have the authority of Piso that the number also was increased at that time by the addition of three, as if there were only two before.” So the commentators explain these obscure words. Additos tres, which is another reading, and much the more probable one, would make the construction plainer.

85 Eadem in militiâ saevitia.] “The same severity, which Appius exercised at home, he began to exercise with less restraint in the camp.” Odisse, “he began to hate.”

86 Se uniso consule object.] That, when he was set up as consul, as the only man able to oppose the power of the tribunes,—” So objectus is used B. 4. c. 13. 44. Oppositus is used in a similar sense in c. 61 of this book.

87 Poterat . . . . . imbiberant.] Scil. exercitus.—See B. 3. c. 38. n. for a similar use of the conjunction. Some read imbiberat.

88 Sud sponte motam remittere industriam.] “The diligence, which they would use of their own accord, they would relax, should he exhort them to work.” Presenti, “when he was present.”

89 Nequicquam acerbitate promptâ.] “Having tried every species of severity without effect.”

Chap. LIX.—90 Fabium.] See c. 43.

81 Expressa vis.] Then they were obliged to put forth their strength. The force of these words is, that this effort was reluctantly made, as it were “wrung” from them, and only through the fear of losing their camp.

91 Alii.] “Crevier thinks the word should be aliâ; of any other loss or disgrace, that they may suffer, they were glad, and were unwilling that their camp should be taken, only because, as Roman soldiers, that would reflect indelible shame on them.” This, I think, far a more rational mode of explaining the passage than Walker’s, who says, ni fallor, vulgatum (i. e. aliî) defendi potest. Vulgò milites vinci voluerunt, esque clades sua nullo dolore affecit; quosdam autem alias, etiam gaudio. Even if this explanation make common sense, it is not in my opinion warranted by the genius or usage of the Latin tongue, or even by Livy’s words. Alius in a latter clause of a sentence, implying a part of a whole, has reference to alius expressed or understood in the preceding, and expressing the other part; and the clauses must be in immediate juxta-position, or evident contrast. (See B. 3. c. 61. n.) Now where is the preceding clause to which this alii refers? Or where is the juxta-position or contrast? Is it vinci voluit? for there can be no other. Not to say that, in this case, alii cannot be joined to voluit, or that there intervene two sen-
theses, the language of Livy, who speaks of all the army without reserve or exception, opposes such an unnatural junction and reference. Indeed Walker, by the words defendi potest, seems to have some misgivings as to the correctness of the word alii. One MS. has alio, which in the margin is corrected to alioguin. Perizonius corrects the word to at. Now I cannot help observing, that, if those readings be thought objectionable, at ille (scil. miles Romanus or exercitus), or at hi, would be better than this untenable word alii. No mistake could more easily occur in MSS. where words are abbreviated; a point, or stroke, serving for a letter; and one compound letter for many. So the sense of the passage I take to be this. The whole army were glad to be defeated to spite their commander, and fled before the enemy. When their entrenchments were attacked, they reluctantly exerted themselves to repulse the enemy, so that it was evident, that Roman soldiers (a word equivalent to men of superior valour, unused to defeat or shame,) were willing to submit to every thing except the capture of their camp. But their defeat and disgrace they were glad of, aye, the Roman soldiers were glad of it. Their unwillingness that the camp should be taken, did not, I think, proceed, as Crevier imagines, from any feeling of pride, (for that it appears they had not, and, if they had, it was sufficiently humbled by their defeat,) but a selfish self-interest. At this time every Roman soldier was obliged to support himself, and had with him in the camp some of his property, his food, his arms, vessels, and furniture; so that the loss of the camp, not to say that it would expose him to the inclemency of the weather, would deprive him of a portion of his fortune. However, I wish the reader to consult his own taste and judgment on this point. The only thing contended for is the incorrectness of the word alii and of Walker's explanation.

92 Experiri.] “Put his power to the proof.”

94 Nihil prater tempus noxa lucrarentur.] “Since they gained nothing but a respite of their punishment. Noxa sometimes means “punishment for an act.” So, B. 8. c. 33, eximere noxa. Ovid, noxae deditus hostis. Crevier thinks noxa is the subject to lucrarentur, and here means “the guilty soldiers,” as servitia is sometimes put for servi, operae for operarit, &c. See B. 3. c. 15 n. Walker rejects this interpretation, not knowing of any authority for this use of the word; yet Cic. (Ver. 5. 75,) gives it this meaning, noxa est corpus quod nocuit, id est, servus; noxia ipsum maleficium, veluti fur tum; and Justinian, Institut. 4. 8, gives the word a like definition.—See Faciolati’s Lexicon.

93 Quum maximè.] “Particularly at the time when.”

95* Eo pavore . . . . ut.] “With such fear . . . that——”

96 Signaque et ordines.] “Both the battalions and companies.” As each manipulus had a standard, (signum), signum is sometimes used in the sense of manipulus.—See B. 25. c. 23.—B. 33. c. 9.
So Sall. Cat. c. 65, reliqua signa in subsidii s arctius collocat. This is the explanation generally given for signa in this place. But I think the word ought rather to be taken in its usual sense, to mean the standards; accordingly he says after, signo amisso signiferus, &c. As each manipulus consisted of two companies, ordines or centuriae, it is natural to think it had one standard for each.

Stragem.] This word sometimes means a heap of any bodies thrown down.—See B. 7. c. 23.—B. 8. c. 30.—B. 35. c. 30.—B. 40. c. 2.—Virg. Æn. 12. 453. Here the soldiers, who in their hurry and confusion were thrown down, are called strages.

Quum revocando . . . . . . persecutus esset.] "After he had in vain persisted in calling back his men."—See B. 3. 20. n.

Haud falsò.] He was true in calling them deserters.

Duplicarios.] These were soldiers who were rewarded for some services with a double allowance of bread. It was usual with the Romans and Spartans to reward valour in this way. See B. 7. c. 37.—B. 24. c. 47.—Herod. B. 6. 57. The Spartan king had always a double portion of food at the public feast, that he might be able to reward any person he pleased for his merit.

Chap. LX.—Tum duci.] Walker explains this passage (in my opinion, very strangely,) thus: duci nempe addictus, Patribus placator: namque exercitus Quinctio nunquam fuerat iratus. De hac specie ellipsos vid. Sanct. Min. 1. 4. c. 8. I think it more simple and consistent with the genius of the language to make duci governed by placator, thus: Quinctianus exercitus reedit tum duci placator, tum propter ducem Patribus quoque placator, quàm Appianus exercitus.

Res major.] "A matter which was more important from the victory gained by the plebeians in the contest they engaged in, than from any real advantage accruing from it;" though Livy said before, that it was an important matter, as the patricians lost all power of creating whatever tribunes they pleased; see c. 56. He does not however here contradict himself; because, though they did lose it, yet, as they generally found one or more of the tribunes to lend themselves to them in thwarting the measures of the rest by the power of intercession, that loss was of little consequence. Thus Walker explains the passage.

Chap. LXI.—Tanquam tertio.] The consuls were favourable to the law; but Appius, as if he were a third consul, opposed the tribunes.

Diem dixère.] "Appointed him a day to stand his trial." The charges against him were, that he proposed in the senate measures injurious to the people; that he had been exciting sedition; that he had laid violent hands on the sacred person of a tribune (see c. 56); and that through his means the Roman arms were defeated and disgraced.
9 Plenus suarum.] Crevier thinks these words mean “the resentment of the people against himself and his father;” but Walker says that, though ira rei alicujus generally means “resentment on account of any thing,” just as, in Livy, ira uxoris corruptæ means “resentment on account of a wife being debanched,” and ira equeæ provinciæ means “resentment on account of a province being taken away;” yet it is very questionable whether sua paternaque ira can mean “resentment against himself and his father.” He says that plenus iræ undoubtedly always means “a person burning with rage,” not “one against whom the rage of another burns.”—See B. 6. c. 18.—B. 27. c. 40. Invisus here can be taken in an active sense to mean “one who hates, or is hostile to,” as B. 4. c. 53.—B. 5. c. 8. See c. 56. n. 69.

7 Non temerè.] Hardly ever, seldom; perhaps, more literally, “did not, at all hazards, exert themselves as much for any one.”

8 Oppositum.] “Opposed as a sort of barrier.” Opponere and objicere are often applied to barriers raised to prevent inundations, &c.

9 Modum duntaxat . . . . . egressum.] “Who only out-stepped the bounds of moderation a little.”

15 Vestem mutaret.] It was usual with persons under impeachment, and their relations and near friends, to go about in a shabby garb, and also to let their beard and hair grow, to show their affliction, and excite pity.

11 Diem . . . producent.] “Prolonged the day of trial.”—So B. 3. c. 57, and elsewhere. Most old copies read producerent. So, for predicta farther down, predicta is sometimes read.

12 Trahi rem . . . . . ] “The affair to be spun out, or die away.” Walker thinks it means not so much what did actually happen, as what the tribunes intended, or were going to allow. I think it more natural to say, that they first put off the trial, and then showed great carelessness and inactivity about bringing it on at the appointed time; showed no disposition to agitate the question any more. I think it refers to their acts rather than their intentions.—See B. 3. c. 9. n.

13 Laudationem.] “The funeral oration.”—See c. 46. n.

Chap. LXII.—14 Religio fuerit.] “They felt religious scruples.”—See c. 5.

15 Verit.] Scil. se.—See c. 27.

16 Vicorum.] Plutarch, in his Life of Romulus, says that the Sabines, as being descended from the Lacedemonians, never fortified their towns.

17 Integro . . . . bello.] “Though the war was not finished.” Res integra means “a thing about which nothing has been done;” it is opposed to res peracta.—See c. 5. The consul thought the retreat of the enemy was a proof of their defeat, and so drew off his troops.
NOTES TO BOOK II. C. 63, 64, 65.

CHAP. LXIII.—18 Coacti . . . . ad bellum.] "Being compelled by a decree of the senate to set out at once to the war."—So, Cic. in Cat. 2. cur cogerer in senatum.

19 Nihil aliud quàm.] "Without performing any more than exciting a groundless fear in the Romans." In the same way are used the words nec quicquam aliud quàm, B. 31. c. 24. Nihil prius quàm, B. 35. c. 12. Nihil amplius quàm, Suet. in Calig. c. 44.

20 Populantes.] "Proceeded in their depredations."—See B. 3. c. 48.

CHAP. LXIV.—21 Multiplici.] Many times greater than the spoil carried off by the enemy.—See B. 4. c. 60, efficiebat multiplia gaudio.

22 Ingenti cade.] These words allude to the slain; plurimo sanguine, to the wounded. These expressions are often found together.—See B. 9. c. 13.—B. 27. c. 49.

23 Quia paucitatis.] Because their small numbers made their loss be more sensibly felt; literally, "were nearer feeling the loss."

24 Dum se putant vincere, vicère.] So, Virg. Æn. 5. 231, possessunt, quia posse videntur.—See Flor. B. 4. c. 2.

25 Si senserint.] If the Romans discovered this great accession to the numbers of their enemies.

26 Tertid vigiliâ.] The Romans divided the night into four divisions, called watches, of three hours each; a sound of trumpet announced the change of each: the third watch began at midnight. The length of these hours varied according to the length of the night.

27 Stationem.] See c. 39. n. 78.

28 Plures.] "To be more numerous than they were, and to be Romans."

29 Insueto.] Riders with whom they were unacquainted.

30 Intentos.] Kept the Volscians in expectation, as it were, of an attack from the enemy.

CHAP. LXV.—31 In quos post principia.] "Into which the unbroken lines behind the front rank had a safe retreat." Originally the Roman army, when drawn up, consisted only of two lines parallel to each other; the first of which was called principes, or sometimes principia; but after a third rank called hastati, and placed in front, was added, the front was still sometimes called principia.—So B. 3. c. 22.—Tacit. Hist. 2. c. 43.—Sall. Jug. c. 49, transversis principiis.

32 Ante signa.] In front of the infantry. Their proper station was in the wings of the army; hence they were sometimes called alae.—See c. 59.—B. 3. c. 50. n.

33 Lectores.] "That they may be the lighter to pass the heights," Cursuque subeunt, "they advance at full speed."

34 Vires.] "When their strength enabled them to meet those
who were in possession of the place, they venture voluntarily to advance."

25 *Commovent aciem.*] They put the whole body in motion.

26 *Impetu capto.*] "Having made an effort."—So, B. 22. c. 5.

—B. 3. c. 5, *conatibus captis.*

27 *Novē vi.*] Crevier thinks the words mean, "not that the besiegers possessed any new or additional force to what they possessed the year before, but because, &c." Walker thinks the words mean, "not that the besiegers made any new attack on them."
Seditiones de agrariis legibus factae. Capitolium, ab exsulibus et servis occupatum, caesis iis, receptum est. Censu bis actus est; priore lustro censa sunt circium capita centum quatuor millia ducenta quatuordecim, praeter orbos orbasque; sequenti, centum septemdecim millia ducenta novebdecim. Quum adversus Equos res malè gesta esset, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator factus, quum rure intentus rustico operi esset, ad id bellum gerendum arcessitus est. Is victos hostes sub jugum misit. Tribunorum plebis numerus ampliatus est, ut essent decem, trigesimo sexto anno à primis tribunis plebis. Petitis per legatos et allatis Atticis legibus, ad constituendas eae proponendasque decemviri pro consulibus sine ullis aliis magistratibus creati, altero et trecentesimo anno, quum Roma condita erat; et, ut à regibus ad consules, ita à consulibus ad decemviro, translatum imperium. Hi, decem tabulis legum positis, quum modestè se in eo honore gessisset, et ob id in alterum quoque annum eundem esse magistratum placuisset, duabus tabulis ad decem adiectis, quum complura impotenter fecissent, magistratum solvere non potuerunt, et in tertium annum reinerunt: donec inviso eorum imperio finem attulit libido Ap. Claudii. Qui, quum in amorem virginis incidisset, submissus qui eam in servitutem peteret, necessitatem patri ejus Virgini imposuit, rapto ex taberná proximá cultro, ut fíliam interimeret, quum aliter eam tueri non posset, ne in potestatem stuprum illaturi veniret. Hoc tam magnae luxuriae exemplum plebs incitata montem Aventinum occupavit, coègitque decemviro abdicare se magistratu; ex

I. Antio capto, Ti. Æmilius et Q. Fabius consules sunt. Hic erat Fabius Quintus, qui unus extincte ad Cremeram genti superfuerat. Jam priore consalatu Æmilius dandi agri plebi fuerat auctor. Itaque secundo quoque consalatu ejus et agrario se in speciem legis et rerum, et tribuni rem, contra consules sepe tentatam, adjutore utique consalatu, obtineri posse rati, suscipiunt; et consul manebat in sententia sua. Possessores et magna pars Patrum, tribunicii se jactare actionibus principem civitatis, et largiando de alieno populi fierent, totius invidiam rei a tribunis in consalum averterant. Atrox certamen aderat, ni Fabius consilio neutri partii acerbo rem expedisset: "T. Quinctii ductu et auspicio agri capit priore anno aliquanto à Volsci esse; Antium, propinquam, opportunam, et maritimam urbem, coloniam deduci posse; ita sine querelis "possessorum plebem in agros ituram, civitatem in con- cordia fore." Haec sententia accepta est. Triumviro agro dando creat T. Quinctium, A. Virginium, P. Furium; jussi nomina dare, qui agrum accipere vellent. Fecit statim (ut fit) fastidium copia; adeoque pauci nominata, ut ad explendum numerum coloni Volsci adderentur; cetera multitudine poscere Rome agrum malle, quàm alibi accipere. Æqui à Q. Fabio (is eò cum exercitu venerat) pacem petiere, irritanque eam ipsi subita incursione in agrum Latinum fecère.

II. Q. Servilius, insequenti anno, (is enim cum Sp. Postumio consul fuit) in Æquos missus, in Latino agro stativa habuit; intra castra quies necessaria moribus implicitum exercitum tenuit. Extractum in tertium annum bellum est, Q. Fabio et T. Quinctio consulibus. Fabio extra ordinem, quia is victor pacem Æquis dederat, ea provincia data. Qui, haud dubià spe profectus famam nominis sui pacaturam Æquos, legatos in concilium gentis
missos nunciare jussit, “Q. Fabium consulem dicere se ex Æquis pacem Romam tulisse, ab Româ Æquis bellum afferre, cædem dextrâ armatâ, quam pacatam illis antea dederat. Quorum id perfidiâ et perjurio fiat, deos nunc testes esse, mox fore ultores. Se tamen, utecunque sit, etiam nunc pœnitere suâ sponte Æquos, quàm pati hostilia, malle. Si pœnitetat, tum recep-tum ad expertam cementiam fore; sin perjurio gau-deant, diis magis iratis, quam hostibus, gesturos bellum.” Haec dicta adeò nihil moverunt quemquam, ut legati propè violati sint, exercitusque in Algídum adversûs Romanos missus. Quæ ubi Romam sunt nunciata, indignitas rei, magis quàm periculum, consulem alterum ab urbe excivit; ìta duo consulares exercitus ad hostem accessère acie instructâ, ut confestim dimicarent. Sed, quum fortè haud multum diei superesset, unus ab statione hostium exclamat: “Ostentare hoc est, Romani, non gerere, bellum; in noctem imminentem aciem instruitis; longiore luce ad id certamen, quod instat, nobis opus est. Crastino die oriente sole redite in aciem; erit copia pugnandi, ne timete.” His vocibus irritatus miles in diem posterum in castra reducit, longam venire noxem, quse moram certamini faceret. Tum quidem corpora cibo somnoque curant. Ubi illuxit postero die, prior aliquanto constitit Romana acies; tandem et Æqui processère. Præclium fuit utriunque vehemens, quòd et Romanus irâ odioque pugnabat, et Æquos conscientia contracti culpâ periculi, et desperatio futuræ sibi postea fidei, ultima audere et experiri cogebat. Non tamen sustinuère aciem Romanam Æqui; pulsiue quum in fines suos se recepissent, nihilò inclinationibus ad pacem animis, ferox multitudo increpare duces, quòd in aciem, quà pugnandi arte Romanus excellat, commissa res sit. “Æquos populationibus incursionibusque meli-ores esse, et multas passim manus, quàm magnam molem unius exercitìis, rectiùs bella gerere.”

III. Relicto itaque castris praedia, egressi tanto cum tumultu inãsère fines Romanos, ut ad urbem quoque terrem pertulerint; necopinata etiam res plus trepåtionis fecit, quòd nihil minus, quàm ne victus ac propè in castris obsessus hostis memori populationis esset, timeri
poterat; agrestesque, pavidi incidentes portis, non popula-
tionem, nec prædonum parvas manus, sed, omnia vano
augentes timore, exercitus et legiones adesse hostium,
et infesto agmine ruere ad urbem, clamabant. Ab his
proximi audita incerta\(^{14}\), eoque vaniera, ferre ad alios;
cursus clamorque vocantium ad arma haud multum à
pavore captae urbis abesse. Fortè ab Algido Quinctius
consul redierat Romam, (id remedium timori fuit) tu-
multaque sedato, victos timeri increpans\(^{15}\) hostes, præ-
sidia portis imposuit. Vocato dein senatu, quum, ex
auctoritate Patrum justitio\(^{16}\) indico, praefectus ad tutan-
dos fines esset, Q. Servilio praefecto\(^{17}\) urbis relictio, hostem
in agris non invenit. Ab altero consule res gesta egregiè
est; qui, quà venturum hostem sciebat, gravem prædâ,
eoque impeditiore agmine incidentem, aggressus, funes-
tam ei populationem fecit. Pauci hostium evasere ex
insidiis; præda omnis recepta est. Sic finem justitio,
quod quatrodiuim fuit, reditus Quinctii consulis in urbem
fecit. Censū\(^{18}\) deinde actus, et conditum ab Quinctio
lustrum. Censā civium capita centum quatuor millia et
ducenta quatuordecim dicuntur, praeter orbos orbasque\(^{19}\).
In Æquis nihil deinde memorabile actum; in oppida
sua se recepère, uria sua popularique passi. Consul,
quum aliquoties per omnem hostium agrum infesto
agmine populabundus isset, cum ingenti laude prædâque
Romam rediit.

IV. Consules indè A. Postumius Albus, Sp. Furius
Fusus. Furios Fusios\(^{20}\) scripsère quidam; iœ admoneo,
ne quis immutationem virorum ipsorum esse, quæ
nominum est, putet. Haud dubium erat, quin cum
Æquis alter consulum bellum gereret. Itaque Æqui ab
Ecetranis Volscis præsidium petiere; quo cupide rblato,
(adeò civitates hæ perpetuo in Romanos odio certâvère\(^{21}\))
bellum summâ vi parabatur. Sentiunt Hernici, et
prædicant Romanis Ecetranum\(^{22}\) ad Æquos descísse;
suspecta et colonia Antium fuit, quòd magna vis homi-
num indè, quum oppidum captum esset, confugisset ad
Æquos; isque miles per bellum Æquicum vel acerrimus
fuit. Compulsis deinde in oppida Æquis, ea multitudo
dilapsa, quum Antium redisset, suà sponte jam infidos\(^{23}\)
colonos Romanis abalienavit. Necdum maturâ re, quum
defectionem parari delatum ad senatum esset, datum negotium est consulibus, ut, principibus coloniæ Romam excitís, quærerent, quidnam rei esset. Qui quum haud gravati venissent, introducti à consulibus ad senatum ita responderunt ad iutergagata, ut magis suspexi, quàm venerant, dimitterentur. Bellum indè haud dubium haberi. Sp. Furius consulum alter, cui ea provincia evenerat, profectus in Æquos, Hernicorum in agro popula
tundum hostem invenit; ignarusque multitudinis, quia nusquam universa conspecta fuerat, imparem copiis exercitum temerè pugnae commissit. Primo concursu pulsus se in castra recepit, neque is finis periculi fuit; namque et proximâ nocte et postero die tantâ vi castra sunt circumcessa atque oppugnata, ut ne nuncius quidem indè mitti Romam posset. Heriici, et malè pugnationem, et consulem exercitumque obsideri, nunciauerunt; tantumque terrem incusseri Patribus, ut (quæ forma senatus-consulti ultimæ semper necessitatis habita est) Postumio alteri consulum negotium daretur, "Videre, ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet." Ipsum consulem Romæ manere et conscribendos omnes, qui arma ferre possent, optimum visum est; pro consule T. Quinctium subsidio castris cum sociâli exercitu mitti. Ad eum explendum Latini, Hernicique, et colonia Antium dare Quinctio subitarios milites (ita tum repentina auxilia appellabant) jussi.

V. Multi per eos dies motus multique impetus hinc atque illinc facti, quia, superante multitudine, hostes carpere multisariam vires Romanas, ut non suffecturas ad omnia, aggressi sunt; simul castra oppugnabantur, simul pars exercitus ad populantum agrum Romanum missa, urbemque ipsam, si qua fortuna daret, tentandam. L. Valerius ad præsidium urbis relictus; consul Postumius ad arcendas populationes finium missus. Nihil remissum ab ullâ parte curæ aut laboris; vigiliae in urbe, stationes ante portas, præsiddiaque in muris disposita, et, quod necesse erat in tanto tumultu, justitium per aliquot dies servatum. Interim in castris Furius consul, quum primò quietus obsidionem passus esset, in incærum hostem decumânà portâ erupit, et, quum persequi posset, metu substitit, ne qua, ex parte alterâ, in castra
vis fierit. Furium legatum (frater idem consulis erat) longius exulit cursus; nec suos ille redeuntes, perse-
quendi studio, neque hostium ab tergo incursum vidit. Ita exclusus, multis sæpe frustra conatibus captis, ut viam sibi ad castra faceret, acriter dimicavit. Et consul, nuncio circumventi fratris conversus ad pugnam, dum se temerè magis, quàm satís caute, in medium dimicationem infert, vulnere accepto, ãgrè ab circum-
stantibus eruptus, et suorum animos turbavit, et feró-
ciores hostes fecit. Qui, cæde legati et consulis vulnere accensi, nullâ deinde vi sustineri potuère, quam compulsi
in castra Romani rursus obsiderentur, nec spe, nec viribus pares²⁹; venissetque in periculum summa rerum, ni T. Quinctius peregrinis copiis³⁰ cum Latino Hernico-
que exercitu subvenisset. Is, intentos in castra Romana
Æquos legatique caput ferciter ostentantes, ab tergo
adortus, simul ad signum³¹ a se procul editum ex castris
 eruptione factâ, magnam vim hostium circumvenit.
Minor cædes, fuga effusior, Æquorum in agro fuit
Romano; in quos palatos, prædam agentes, Postumius
aliquot locis, quibus opportuna imposuerat præsidia,
impetum dedit. Ti vagi, dissipato agmine fugientes, in
Quinctium victorem, cum saucio consule revertentem,
incidère. Tum consularis exercitus egregia pugnâ con-
consulis vultur, legati et cohortium cædem, ultus est;
magna clades ultrò citróque illis diebus et illatæ et
acceptæ. Difficile ad fidem est in tam antiquâ re, quot
pugnaverint ceciderintve, exacto affirmare numero; audet
tamen Antias Valerius³² concipere summas. Romanos
cecidisse in Hernico agro quinque millia ac trecentos;
ex prædatoribus Æquorum, qui populabundi in finibus
Romanis vagabantur, ab A. Postumio consule duo
millia et quadringentos cæsos; ceteram multituidinem,
prædam agentem, quæ inciderit in Quinctium, nequa-
quam pari defunctam esse cædê³³; interfecta indè quatuor
millia, et, exsequendo subtiliter numerum, ducentos, ait,
et triginta. Ut Romam reeditum et justitium remissum
est, cælum visum est ardere plurimo igni; portentaque
alia aut obversata oculis, aut vanas exteritis ostentavère
species. His avertendis terroribus in triduum fériae
indictæ, per quas omnia delubra pacem deūm exposcen-
tium virorum molierumque turbâ implebantur. Cohortes inde Latinê Hercineque ab senatu, gratiis ob impigram militiam actis, remissê domos. Antiates, mille militês34, quia serum auxilium post proelium venerant, propè cum ignominia dimissi.

VI. Comitia inde habita; creati consules L. Æbutius, P. Servilius, Kalendis Sextibus, ut tune principium anni35 agebatur, consulatum ine rent. Grave tempus36 et fortê annus pestilens erat urbi agrisque, nec hominibus magis, quàm pecoris; et auxère vim morbi, terrore populationis pecoribus agrestibusque in urbem acceptis. Ea colluvio mixtorum omnis generis animantium, et odore insoletos urbanos, et agrestem, confertum in arcta tecta, septemvigiles, angebat; ministeria et contagio ipsa vulgabant morbos. Vix instantes sustinentibus33 clades repente Hernici nunciant, in agrum suo Æquos Volscosque conjunctis copiis castra posuisse; inde exercitum ingenti fines suos depopulari. Praeterquam quod infrequens senatus indicio erat sociis afflictam civitatem pestilentiam esse, vastum etiam responsum tutère, "Ut per se ipsi Hernici cum Latinis res suas "tutarentur. Urbem Romanam subita deum ira morbo "populari. Si qua ejus mali quies veniatur, ut anno antè, "ut semper aliàs, sociis opem latus." Discessere socii, pro tristi nuncio39 tristiorem domum referentes, quippe quibus per se sustinendum bellum erat, quod vix Romanis fulti viribus sustinuissent. Non diutiûs se in Hernico hostis continuiât; pergit inde infestus in agros Romanos, etiam sine belli injuriâ vastatos40. Ubi quum obvius nemo, ne inermis quidem, fieret, perque omnin, non praesidiis modò deserta, sed etiam cultu agresti, transirent, pervenêre ad tertium lapidem Gabinûvià. Mortuus Æbutius erat Romanus consul; collega ejus Servilius exiguâ in spe trahebat animam; affecti plerique principum, Patrum major pars, militaris ferè ætas omnis; ut non modò ad expeditiones, quas in tanto tumultu res poscebat, sed vix ad quietas stationes, viribus sufficienter41. Munus vigiliarum senatores, qui per ætatem ac valetudinem poterant, per se ipsi obibant; circuitio ac cura ædilium plebei erat42; ad eos summa rerum ac majestas consularis imperii venerat.
VII. Deserta omnia, sine capite, sine viribus, dii præsides ac fortuna urbis tutata est, quæ Volscis Æquisque, prædonum potiûs mentem, quâm hostium, dedit. Adèò enim nulla spes non potiûs modò, sed ne adeundi quidem, Romana nœnia, animos eorum cepit, tectaque procul visa atque imminentes tumuli avertère mentes eorum, ut, totis passim castris fremitu
tur: "Quid in vasto ac deserto agro inter tabem pecorum hominum-que desides sine preeda tempus tererent, quam integra "loca, Tusculanum agrum, opimum copiis, petere pos-
"sent?" signa repente convellerent, transversisque
 itineribus per Lavicanos agros in Tusculanos colles
 transirent; eò vis omnis tempestasque belli conversa est. Interim Hernici Latinique, pudore etiam, non misericor-
diâ solûm, moti, si nec obstitissent communibus hostibus
 infesto agmine Romanam urbem petentibus, nec oper
 uallam obsessis sociis ferrent, conjuncto exercitu Romam
 peregrat. Ubi quum hostes non invenisset, secuti
 famam ac vestigia, obvii sunt descendentibus ab Tuscu-
lano in Albanam vallem; ibi haudquaquam æquo prælio
 pugnam est, fidesque sua sociis parum felix in præ-
 sentia fuit. Haud minor Romæ fit morbo strages, quàm
 quanta ferro sociorum facta erat; consul, qui unus
 supererat, moritur; mortui et alii clari viri, M. Valerius,
 T. Virginius Rutilus, augures; Ser. Sulpicius, curio
 maximus; et per ignota capita late evagata est vis
 morbi; inopsque senatus auxilli humani, ad deos popu-
 lum ac vota vertit; jusse cum conjugibus ac liberis
 supplicatum ire, pacemque exponere deûm. Ad id,
quod sua quemque malà cogebant, auctoritate publicâ
 evocati, omnia delubra implent; stratæ passim matres,
erinibus templâ verrentes, veniam irarum caelestium,
finemque pesti, exponunt.

VIII. Índê paullatim, seu pace deûm impetratâ, seu
 graviore tempore anni jam circuâcto, defuncta morbis
 corporâ salubriœ esse incipere; versisque animis jam
 ad publicam curam, quum aliquot interregna exissent,
P. Valerius Publicola tertio die, quàm interregnum
 inierat, consules creat L. Lucretium Tricipitum et T.
 Veturium Geminum; sive ille Vetusius fuit. Ante
diem tertium Ídus sextiles consulatum ineunt, jam satis
valida civitate, ut non solum arcere bellum, sed ultrò etiam inferre, posset. Igitur nunciantibus Herniciis in fines suos transcendisse hostes, impigrè promissum auxilium; duo consulares exercitus scripti. Veturius missus in Volscos ad bellum ultrò inferendum. Tricipitinus, populationibus arcendis sociorum agro oppositus, non ultrò, quàm in Hernicos, procedit. Veturius primo prælio hostes fundit fugatque. Lucretium, dum in Herniciis sedet, prædonum agmen fœellit, supra montes Prænestinos ductum, inde demissum in campos. Vasta-vère agros Prænestinum Gabinumque; ex Gabino in Tusculanos flexère colles. Urbi quoque Romæ ingens praebitus terror, magis in re subitá, quàm quòd ad arcendam vim parùm virium esset. Q. Fabius præerat urbi. Is, armatâ juventute, dispositisque præsidius, tutâ omnia ac tranquilla fecit. Itaque hostes, prædâ ex proximis locis raptâ, appropinquare urbi non ausi, quàm circumacto agmine redirent, quànto longius ab urbe hostium abscederent, eo solutione curâ in Lucretium incidunt consulem, jam ante exploratis itineribus suis, instructum et ad certamen intentum. Igitur, præparatis animis, repentinò pavore perculsos adorti, aliquantò pauciores multitudinem ingentem fundunt fugantque; et compulsos in eavas valles, quàm exitus haud in facili esset, circumveniunt. Ibi Volscum nomen propè deletum est; tredecim millia quadringentos septuaginta cecidisse in acie ac fugâ, mille ducentos quinquaginta vivos captos, signa viginti septem militaria relata, in quibusdam annalibus invenio; ubi etsi adjectum aliiquid numero sit, magna certè cedes fuit. Victor consul, ingenti prædâ potitus, eadem in stativa redidit. Tum consules castra conjungunt; et Volsci Aequique afflictas vires suas in unum contulère. Tertia illa pugna eo anno fuit; eadem fortuna victoriam dedit; fusis hostibus, etiam castra capta.

IX. Sic res Romana in antiquum statum rediit; secundæque belli res exemplò urbanos motus excitaverunt. C. Terentillus Arsa tribunus plebis eo anno fuit. Is, consulibus absentibus, ratus locum tribuniciis actionibus datum, per aliquot dies Patrum superbiam ad plebem criminatus, maximè in consulare imperium, tanquam
nimium, nec tolerabile libere civitati, invehebatur: "No-
mine enim tantum minus invidiosum, re ipsa propè
atrocis, quam regum, esse. Quippe duos pro uno
domo acceptos, immoderata, infinita potestate; qui,
soluti atque effrænati ipsi, omnes metus legum om-
niaque supplicia verterent in plebem. Quæ ne æterna
illis licentia sit, legem se promulgaturum, ut quinque
viri creentur legibus de imperio consulari scribendis.
Quod populus in se jus dederit, eo consulem usurum;
non ipsos libidinem ac licentiam suam pro lege habitu-
ros." Quæ promulgatæ lege, quum timerent Patres,
ne, absentibus consulis, jugum acciperent, senatus à
praefecto urbis Q. Fabio vocatur; qui adeò atrocius
in rogationem latoremque ipsum est invenctus, ut nihil,
ani consules infesti circumstarent tribunum, relictum
marum atque terroris sit: "Insidiatum eum, et, tem-
pore capto, adoptum rempublicam. Si quem similem
ejus priore anno, inter morbem bellumque, irati dii
tribunum dedissent, non potuisse sisti; mortuis du-
obus consulis, jacentes ægri civitate in colluvione
omnia rerum, ad tollendum è repellatur consolare
imperium latumur leges suisse; ducem Volscis Æqui-
que ad oppugnandam urbem futurum. Quid tandem?
illî non licere, si quid consules superbe in aliquem
civium aut crudeler fecerint, diem dicere? accusare
his ipsis judicibus, quorum in aliquem sevita sit?
Non illud consulare imperium, sed tribuniciam potes-
tatem invisam intollerandamque, facere; quam pacatam
reconciliatamque Patribus de integro in antiqua redigi
mala; neque illum se deprecari, quo minus pergat, ut
coeperit. Vos," inquit Fabius, "ceteri tribuni, ora-
mus, ut primum omnium cogititis potestatem istam
ad singulorum auxilium, non ad perniciem universorum,
comparatam esse; tribunos plebis vos creatos, non
hostes Patribus. Nobis miserum, invidiosum vobis,
est desertam rempublicam invadì; non jus vestrum,
sed invidiam, minueritis. Agite cum collega, ut rem
integram in adventum consulum differat; ne Æquì,
quidem ac Volsci, morbo absumptis priore anno cons-
sulibus, crudeli superboque nobis bello institiere."
Agunt cum Terentillo tribuni; dilatâque\textsuperscript{63} in speciem actione, re ipsâ sublatâ, consules extemplô arcessiti.

X. Lucretius cum ingenti prædâ, majore multo gloriâ, redit, et auget\textsuperscript{64} gloriâm adveniens, exposiât omni in campo Martio prædâ, ut suum quisque per triduum cognitum abduceret; reliqua vendita, quibus domini non exstitère. Debebatur omnium consensu consuli triumphus; sed dilata res est, tribuno de lege agente; id antiquius\textsuperscript{65} consuli fuit. Jactata per aliquot dies quum in senatu res, tum ad populum, est; cessit ad ultimum majestati consulis tribunus, et destitit; tum imperatori exercitique honos suus redditus. Triumphavit de Volscis \AEquisque; triumphantem secutæ suæ legiones; alteri consuli datum, ut ovans\textsuperscript{66} sine militibus urbem iniret. Anno deinde insequenti lex Terentilla, ab toto relata collegio, novos aggressa consules est; erant consules P. Volumnius, Ser. Sulpicius. Eo anno cœlum ardebat visum; terra ingenti concussa motu est; bovem locutam\textsuperscript{67}, cui rei priore anno fides non fuerat, creditum. Inter alia prodigia et carnem pluit\textsuperscript{68}; quem imbrem ingens numeros avium intervolutando rapuisse fertur; quod intercidit, sparsum ita jacuisse per aliquot dies, ut nihil odor mutaret\textsuperscript{69}. Libri\textsuperscript{70} per duumviro sacrorum aditi; pericula à conventu alienigenarum praeda, ne qui in loca summa urbis impetus\textsuperscript{71}, cædesque in die, fierent; inter caetera monitum, ut seditionibus abstineretur. Id factum ad impediendum legem tribuni criminaabantur, ingensque aderat certamen. Ecce (ut idem\textsuperscript{72} in singulos annos orbis volveretur) Hernici nunciant Volscos et \AEquos, etsi accisciæ res sint, refœcre exercitus; Anti summam rei positam; \Ecetrae\textsuperscript{73} Antiates colonos palam concilia facere; id caput, eas vires, belli esse. Ut hæc dicta in senatu sunt, delectus edicitur; consules belli administrationem inter se dispartiri jussi, alteri ut Volsci, alteri ut \AEqui, provincia esset. Tribuni coram\textsuperscript{74} in foro personare, "Fabulam compositam Volsci bellì, Hernicos ad partes paratos. Jam ne virtute quidem premi libertatem populi Romani, sed arte eludi; quia\textsuperscript{75} occidione propè occisos Volscos et \AEquos movere suâ sponte arma posse jam fides abierit, novos hostes quaerì; colo-
niam fidam, propinquam, infamem fieri; bellum innox-iis Antiatibus indici, geri cum plebe Romanâ; quam, oneratam armis, ex urbe præcipiti agmine acturi essent, exsilio et relegatione civium ulciscentes tribunos. Sic, ne quid aliud actum putent, victim legem esse; nisi, dum in integro res sit, dum domi, dum togati, sint, caveant, ne possessione urbis pellantur, ne jugum accipiant. Si animus sit, non defore auxilium; consentire omnes tribunos; nullum terrorem externum, nullum periculum, esse. Cavisse deos prior anno, ut tutò libertas defendi posset. Hæc tribuni.

XI. At ex parte alterâ consules, in conspectu eorum positis sellis, delictum habebant. Eò decurrunt tribuni, concionemque secum trahunt; citati pauci, velut rei experiundæ causâ; et statim vis coorta. Quemcunque, lictor jussu consulisprehendisset, tribunus mitti jubebat; neque suum cuique jus modum faciebat, sed virium spe et manu obtinendum erat, quod intenderes. Quemadmodum se tribuni gessissent in prohibendo delictu, sic Patres in lege, quæ per omnes comitiales dies ferebatur, impediendâ gerebant. Initium erat rixæ, quum discensus populum jussissent tribuni, quod Patres se submoveri haud sinebant; nec fère seniores rei intererant, quippe quæ non consilio regenda, sed permissa temeritati audaciaeque esset. Multùm et consules se abstinebant, ne cùi in colluvione rerum majestatem suam contumeliæ offerrent. Kæso erat Quinctius ferox juvenis, quà nobilitate gentis, quà corporis magnitudine et viribus; ad ea munera, data à diis, et ipse addiderat multa belli decora, facundiamque in foro; ut nemo, non lingua, non manu, promptior, in civitate haberetur. Hic, quum in medio Patrum agmine constitisset, eminens inter alios, velut omnes dictaturas consulatusque gerens in voce ac viribus suis, unus impetus tribunicios popularesque processillas sustinebat. Hoc duce, sœpe pulsi foro tribuni, fusa ac fugata plebs est; qui obvius fuerat, muletatus nudatusque abibat; ut satis appareret, si sic agi liceret, victam legem esse. Tum, propè jam perculsis aliis tribunis, A. Virginius, ex collegio unus, Kæsoni capitis diem dicit; atrox ingenium accederat eo facto magis, quàm conturrerat: eo acriüs obstare legi, agitare ple-
bem, tribunos velut justo persequi bello. Accusator pati reum ruere, invidiæque flammam ac materiam criminibus suis suggerere; legem interim, non tam ad spem perferendi, quam ad lacessendam Kæsonis temeritatem, ferre. Ibi multa, sepe ab juventute in consortu factaque, in unius Kæsonis suspectum incidunt ingenium; tamen legi resistebatur. Et A. Virginius identidem plebi: "Ecquid sentitis jam vos, Quirites, Kæsonem simul civem et legem, quam cupitis, habere non posse? Quanquam quid ego legem loquor? liber tati obstat, omnes Tarquinios superbia exsuperat. "Exspectate, dum consul aut dictator fiat, quem privatum viribus et audaciam regnantem videtis." Assentientur multi, pulsatos se querentes, et tribunum ad rem peragendam ultrò incitabant.

XII. Jam aderat judicio dies, apparebatque vulgò homines in damnatione Kæsonis libertatem agi credere. Tum demum coactus cum multâ indignitate presbatab singulos; sequebantur necessarii, principes civitatis. T. Quinctius Capitolinus, qui ter consul fuerat, quum multa referret sua familiaeque decora, affirmabat, "Neque in "Quintiâ gente, neque in civitate Romanâ tantam "inolem tam mature virtutis unquam exstississe. "Suum primum militemuisse; se sœpè vidente pug- "nasse in hostem." Sp. Furius, "missum ab Quinctio "Capitolino sibi eum in dubiis suis rebus venisse sub- "sidio; neminem unum esse, cujus magis operâ putet "rem restitutam." L. Lucretius, consul anni prioris, recenti gloriâ nitens, suas laudes participare cum Kæsone, memorare pugnas, referre egregia facinora, nunc in expeditionibus, nunc in acie; suadere et monere, "Juvenem egregium, instructum naturæ fortunæque "omnibus bonis, maximum momentum rerum ejus civitatis, in quamcunque venisset, suum, quàm alienum, "mallet civem esse. Quod offendat in eo, fervorem et "audaciam, stetatem quotidie auferre; quod desideretur "consilium, id in dies crescere. Senescentibus vitis, "maturescente virtute, sinereunt tantum virum senem in "civitate fieri." Pater inter hos L. Quinctius, cui Cincinnato cognomen erat, non iterando laudes, ne cumularet invidiam, sed veniam errori atque adolescentiæ
petendo, sibi, qui non dicto, non facto, quemquam offentĭsset, ut condonarent filium97, orabat. Sed alii averse-
abantur98 preces, aut verecundia, aut metu; alii, se suosque mulctatos querentes, atroci risponso judicium
suum praeferebant99.

XIII. Premebat reum, praeter vulgatam invidiam, crimen unum: quòd M. Volsceius Fictor, qui antē aliquot
annostrubus plebis fuerat, testis extiterat, “Se, haud “ multo post quàm pestilentia in urbe fuerat, in juve-
“nem, grassantem in Suburra, incidisse; ibi rixam “ natam esse, fratremque suum majorem natu, nequid “ ex morbo satıis validum, pugno ictum ab Kæsone,
“ecdisse semianimem. Inter manus domum ablatum, “ mortuurnque indē arbitrari, nec sibi rem exsequi2 tam “ atrocem per consules superiorum annorum licuisse.”
Hœc Volsceio clamitante, adeò concitati homines sunt, ut haud multum abfuerit, quin impetu populi Kæso in-
tiret. Virginius arripi jubet hominem, et in vincula duci; patricii contrà vi resistunt. T. Quinctius clamitat,
“Cui rei capitalis dies dicta3 sit, et de quo futurum “ propediem judicium, eum indemnatum indctā causā “ non debere violari.” Tribunus “supplicium” negat “ sumpturum se de indemnato; servaturum tamen in “ vinculis esse ad judicium diem, ut, qui hominem neca-
“verit, de eo supplicijsaumendi copia populo Romano “ fiat.” Appellati tribuni medio decreto jux auxilii sui expediunt4; in vincula conjici vetat; sisti reum5 pecu-
niamque, nisi sistatur, populo promitt, placere pronunci-
ant. Summam pecuniae quantam æquum esset pro-
mitti, veniebat in dubium; id ad senatum rejicitur.
Reus, dum consulerentur Patres, retentus in publico6 est; vades dare placuit; unum vadem7 tribus millibus æris obligārunt; quot darentur, permissum tribunis est; decem finierunt8; tot vadibus9 accusator vadatur est reum. Hic primus vades publicos10 dedit. Dimissus è foro nocte proximâ in Tuscos in exsilium abīt. Judicii die quum excusaretur11 solum vertisse exsilii causâ, nihil minus, Virginio comitia habente, collegae appellati 
demisère consilium: pecuniae12 à patre exacta crudeliter, ut, divenditis omnibus bonis, aliquamdiu trans Tiberim, veluti relegatus, devio quodam tugurio viveret.
XIV. Hoc judicium et promulgata lex exercuit civitatem; ab externis armis oitium fuit. Quum, velut victores, tribuni, perculsis Patribus Kæsonis exsilio, propè perlatam esse cределent legem, et, quod ad seniores Patrum pertineret, cessissent possessione reipublicae, juniores, id maxime quod Kæsonis sodalium fuit, auxère iras in plebem, non minuerunt animos; sed ibi plurimum profectum est, quod modo quodam temperavère impetus suos. Quum primò post Kæsonis exsilium lex cœpta ferri est, instructi paratique cum ingenti clientium exercitu, sic tribunos, ubi primum submoventes præbuerent causam, adorti sunt, ut nemo unus indœ præcipuum quicquam gloriae domum invidiaeve ferret; mille pro uno Kæsones exstississe, plebes quereretur. Mediis diebus, quibus tribuni de legе non agerent, nihil eisdem illis placidius aut quietius erat; benignè salutare, alioqui plebis homines, domum invitare, adesse in foro, tribunos ipsos cetera pati sine interpellatione concilia habere; nunquam ulli, neque publicè, neque privatim, truces esse, nisi quum de lege agi cœptum esset. Alibi popularis juventus erat; nec cetera modo tribuni tranquillè peregère, sed reflecti quoque in sequentem annum; ne voce quidem incommoda, sed unum ut ullas vis fieret, paullatim permulcendo tractandoque mansuefecerunt plebem. Hic per totum annum artibus lex elusa est.

XV. Accipiunt civitatem placidiorem consules C. Claudius, Appii filius, et P. Valerius Publicola. Nihil novi novus annus attulerat; legis ferundæ aut accipiendæ cura civitatem tenebat. Quantùm juniore Patrum plebi se magis insinuabant, eo acrius contrà tribuni tendebant, ut plebi suspectos eos criminando facerent. "Conjurationem factam; Kæsonem Romæ esse; interficiendorum tribunorum, trucidandæ plebis, consilia inita. Id negotii datum ab senioribus Patrum, ut juventus tribunitiam potestatem è republicâ tollerat, formaque eadem civitatis esset, quæ ante sacrum montem occupatum fuerat." Et ab Volscis et Æquis statum jam ac propè sollemne in singulos annos bellum timebatur; propriusque aliud novum malum necopinato exortum. Exsules servique, ad quatuor millia hominum et quingenti, duce Ap. Herdonio Sabino, nocte Capito-

XVI. Dilucere res magis Patribus atque consulibus; praeter ea tamen, quae denunciabantur, ne Veientium, ne Sabinorum, id consilium esset, timere; et, quam tantum in urbe hostium esset, mox Sabinae Etruscaeque legiones ex composito adessent; tum æterni hostes Volsci et Æqui, non ad populandos, ut antè, fines, sed urbem, ut ex parte captam, venirent. Multi et varii timores; inter ceteros eminebat terror servilis, ne suus cuique domi hostis esset; cui nec crederé, nec non credendo, ne infestior fieret, fidem abrogare, satis erat tutum. Vixque concordiā sisti videbatur posse. Tantum superantibus aliis ac emergentibus malis, nemo tribunos aut plebem timebat; mansuetum id malum, et per aliorum quietem malorum semper exorients, tumque esse peregrino terrore sopitum videbatur. At id propè unum maximè inclinatis rebus incubuit; tantus enim tribunos furor tenuit, ut non bellum, sed vanam imaginem belli, ad avertendos ab legis cura plebis animos, Capitolium insedisse contendereant; patriciorum hospites clien-
tesque, si perlatâ lege frustra tumultuatos esse se sentiant, majore, quàm venerint, silentio abituros. Concilium indè legi perferendæ habere, avocato populo ab armis. Senatum interim consules habent, alio se majore ab tribunis metu ostendente, quàm quem nocturnus hostis intulerat.

esset." Vim ultimam apparebat futuram, spectaculo seditionem Romanam hostibus fore; nec lex tamen ferri, nec ire in Capitolium consul potuit; nox certaminacepta oppressit; tribuni cessère nocti, timentes consulum arma. Amotis indè seditionis auctoribus, Patres circumire plebem, inerentesque se in circulos, sermones temporipratos serere: admonere,*' Ut viderent, in quoediscriminem rempublicam adducerent. Non inter Patres "ac plebem certamen esse; sed simul Patres plebemque," arcem urbis, templaque deorum, penates publicos privato**tosque, hostibus dedi." Dum hæc in foro sedandae discortiae causâ aguntur, consules interim, ne Sabini, ne Vejens hostis moveretur, circa portas murosque disesserant.

XVIII. Eádem nocte et Tusculum de arcé captâ, Capitolioque occupato, et alió turbatæ urbis statu, nuncii veniunt. L. Mamilius Tusculi tum dictator erat. Is, confestim convocato senatu, atque introductis nuncis, magno opere censet,*' "Ne exspectent, dum ab Româ" legati, auxilium petentes, veniant; periculum ipsum "discremenque," ac sociales deos," fidemque fœderum, "id poscere. Dumerendi beneficio tam potentem, tam "propinquam civitatem, nunquam parem occasionem "daturos deos." Placet ferri auxilium; juventus conscribitur, arma dantur. Romam primâ luce venientes, procul speciem hostium præbúere. Æqui aut Volsci venire visi sunt; deinde, ubi vanus terror abiit, accepti in urbem, agmine in forum descendunt.49 Ibi jam P. Valerius, relictó ad portarum præsidia collegà, instruent aciem. Auctoritas viri moverat, affirmantis, "Capi-"tolio recuperato, et urbe pacatâ, si edocerì se sissent, "quæ fraus ab tribunis occulta in lege feretur, memo-"rem se majorum suorum, memorem cognominis, quod "populi colendi velut hereditaria cura sibì à majoribus," tradita esset, concillium plebis non impediturum." Hunc ducem secuti, nequicquam reclamantibus tribunis, in clivum Capitolinum erigunt aciem. Adjungitur et Tusculana legio. Certare socii civesque, utri recuperàe arcis suum decus facerent; dux uterque suos adhortatur. Trepidare tum hostes, nec ulli satis rei, præterquam loco, fidere; trepidantibus inferunt signa Romani socii-
que. Jam in vestibulum perruperant templi, quum P. Valerius, inter primores pugnam ciens, interficitur. P. Volumnius consularis vidit cadentem. Is, dato negotio suis, ut corpus obtegerent, ipse in locum vicemque consulis provolat. Præ ardores impetuque, tantei rei sensus non pervenit ad militem; prius vicit, quàm se pugnare sine duce sentiret. Multi exulum cadebatur; multi vivi capti; Herdonius interfactus. Ita Capitolium recuperatum. De captiris, ut quisque liber aut servus esset, suæ fortunæ a quoque sumptum supplevit. Tusculanis gratia actae; Capitolium purgatum atque lustratum. In consulis domum plebes quadrantes, ut funere ampliore efferretur, jactasse fertur.

ademit, nudosque servis vestris et exsulibus objecit. 
Et vos (C. Claudii pace65; et P. Valerii mortui, loquar) 
primus63 in clivum Capitolinum signa intulistis, quam 
~hos hostes de foro tolleretis? Pudet54 deorum homi- 
numque; quam hostes in arce, in Capitolio, essent, 
exsulum et servorum dux, profanatis omnibus, in 
cellâ65 Jovis optimi maximi habitaret, Tusculi ante, 
quam Romae, sumpta sunt arma. In dubio fuit, uträm 
L. Mamilius Tusculanus dux, an P. Valerius et C. 
Claudius consules, Romanam arcem liberarent; et, qui 
ant85 Latinos, ne pro se quidem ipsis, quam in finibus 
hostem haberent, attingere arma passi sumus, nunc, 
nisi Latini suâ sponte arma sumpsissent, capti et deleti 
aramus. Hoc est, tribuni, auxilium plebi ferre, iner- 
mem eam hosti trucidandam objicere? Scilicet, si 
quis vobis humilimissimo homo de vestrâ plebe, (quam 
partem, velut abruptam à cetero populo, vestram 
patriam peculiaremque reinpublicam fecistis) si quis ex 
his domum suam obsessam à familiâ armâtâ67 nunciaret, 
ferendum auxilium putaretis. Jupiter optimus maxi- 
mus, exsulum atque servorum septus armis, nullâ 
humanâ ope dignus erat? et hi postulant, ut sacro- 
sancti habeantur, quibus ipsi dìi neque sacri, neque 
sanci68, sunt? At enim, divinis69 humanisque obruti 
sceleribus, legem vos hoc anno perlatus quotitatis? 
Tum Hercole illo die, quo ego consul sum creatus, màlè 
gesta respublica est, pejùs multo, quam quum P. 
Valerius consul perìt, si tuleritis7°. Jam primum 
"omnia," inquit, "Quirites, in Volscos et Æquos 
mili atque collegae legiones ducere in animo est. 
Nescio quo71 fato magis bellantes, quam pacati, pro- 
!pitios habemus deos; quantum periculum ab illis 
"populis fuerit, si Capitolium ab exsulibus obsessum 
"scissent, suspicari de præterito, quàm re ipsâ experiri, 
"est melius."

XX. Moverat plebem oratio consulis; erecti Patres 
restitutam credebant rempublicam; consul alter, comes 
animosior, quàm auctor, suscepisse collegam priorum 
actionem tam gravis rei facile passus, in peragendis72 
consularis officii partem ad se vindicabat. Tum tribuni, 
eludentes velut vana dicta, persequi quârendo73, "quo-
nam modo exercitum educturì consules essent, quos 
"delectum habere nemo passurus esset? Nobis verò,"
inquit Quinctius, "nihil delectus opus est, quum, quo 
"tempore P. Valerius ad recipiendum Capitolium arma 
"plebi dedit, omnes in verba juraverint, conventuros se 
"jussu consulis, nec injussu abituros. Edicimus itaque, 
"omnes, qui in verba jurástis, crasti nà die armati ad 
"lacum Regillum adsitís." Cavillari tum tribuni, et pop-
pulum exsolvere religionem velle: "Privatum eo tempore 
"Quinctium fuisse, quem sacramentum adacti sint." 

Sed nondum hæc, quæ nunc tenet seculum, negligentia 
deum venerat; nec interprétando sibi quisque jusju-
randum et leges aptas faciebat, sed suos potiús mores ad 
ea accommodabat. Igitur tribuni, ut impedienda rei 
nulla spes erat, de proferendo exercitu agere; eo magis 
quod, "et augures jussos adesse ad Regillum lacum, 
fama exierat," "locumque inaugurari, ubi auspiciátò cum 
"populo agì possèt, ut qui quid Româe vi tribuniá 
"rogatum" esset, id comitiis ibi abrogaretur. Omnes id 
"jussuros, quod consules vellet; neque enim provoca-
tionem esse longius ab urbe mille passuum; et tribu-
"nos, si eò adveniant, in alià turbâ Quiritium subjectos 
"fore consulari imperio." Terrebant hæc; sed ille 
maximus terror animos agitabat, quod sæpius Quinctius 
dicitabat, "Se consulum comitia non habiturum. Non 
"ita civitatem ægram esse, ut consuetis remediis sisti 
"possit; dictator opus esse reipublicæ, ut, qui se 
"moverit ad sollicitandum statum civitatis, sentiat, sine 
"provocatione dictaturam esse."

XXI. Senatus in Capitolio erat; eò tribuni cum 
perturbatà plebe veniunt; multitudo clamore ingenti, 
nunc consulum, nunc Patrum, fidem implorant; nec antè 
moverunt de sententia consulem, quàm tribuni se in 
auctoritate Patrum futuro esse polliciti sunt. Tunc, 
referente consule de tribunorum et plebis postulatis, 
senatùs consulta fiunt, "Neque tribuni legem eo anno 
"ferrent, neque consules ab urbe exercitum educerent. 
"In reliquum, magistratus continuari, et eosdem tribu-
"nos réfici, judicare senatum contra rempublicam esse.
Consules fuère in Patrum potestate; tribuni, recla-
mantibus consulibus, reflecti. Patres quoque, ne quid
cederent plebi, et ipsi L. Quinctium consulem reficiabant. Nulla toto anno vehementior actio consulis fuit. "Mixer," inquit, "si vana vestra, Patres Cons. scripti, auctoritas ad plebem est? Vos elevatis eam; quippe, quia plebs senatusconsultum in continuandis magistratibus solvit, ipsi quoque solutum vultis, ne temeritatis multitudinis cedatis, tanquam il sit plus posse in civitate, plus levitatis ac licentiae habere; levius enim vaniusque profectò est, sua decreta et consulta tollere, quàm aliorum. Imitamini, Patres Cons. scripti, turbam inconsultam; et, qui exemplo aliis esse debetis, aliorum exemplo peccetis potius, quàm alii vestro rectè faciant, dum ego ne imiter tribunos, nec me contra senatusconsultum consulem renunciari patiar. Te verò, C. Claudi, adhortor, ut et ipse populum Romanum hâc licentiâ arceas; et de me hoc tibi persuadas, me ita accepturum, ut non honorem meum à te impeditum, sed gloriam spreti honoris auctam, invidiamque, quæ ex continuato eo impenderet, levatam, putem." Communiter inde edicunt, "Ne quis L. Quinctium consulem faceret; si quis fecisset, se id suffragium non observatus." XXII. Consules creati Q. Fabius Vibulanus tertium, et L. Cornelius Maluginensis. Censum actus eo anno; lustrum, propter Capitolium captum, consulem occasum, condi religiosum fuit. Q. Fabio, L. Cornelio consulibus, principio anni statim res turbulentæ. Instigabant plebem tribuni. Bellum ingens à Volscis et Æquis Latini atque Hernici nunciabant: jam Antii Volsorum legiones esse; et ipsam coloniam ingens metus erat defecturam; ægréque impetrum à tribunis, ut bellum præverti singulari. Consules indè partiti provincias. Fabio, ut Antium legiones duceret, datum; Cornelio, ut Romæ præsidio esset, ne qua pars hostium, qui Æquis mos erat, ad populandum veniret. Hernici et Latinii jussi milites dare ex Æque; duxque partes sociorum in exercitu, tertia civium fuit. Postquam ad diem præstitutum venerunt socii, consul extra portam Capenam castra locat. Indè, lustrato exercitu, Antium profectus, haud procul oppido stativisque hostium consedit. Ubi quum Volsci, quia nondum ab Æquis venisset exercitus,
dimicare non ausi, quemadmodum quieti vallo se tuta-rentur, pararent, postero die Fabius, non permixtam unam sociorum civiumque, sed trium populorum tres separatim acies, circa vallum hostium instruxit. Ipse erat medius cum legionibus Romanis; indè signum observare jussit\textsuperscript{94}, ut pariter et socii\textsuperscript{95} rem inciperent, referrentque pedem, si receptui ecinisset; equites item suæ cuique partì\textsuperscript{96} post principia collocat. Ita trifariam adoptus castra circumvenit; et, quum undique instaret, non sustinentes impetum Volscos vallo deturbat. Transgressus inde munitiones, pavidam turbam inclinatamque in partem unam castris expellit. Indè effusè fugientes eques, cui superare vallum haud facile fuerat, quum ad id spectator pugnæ adstitisset, libero campo adeptus, parte victoriae fruitor territos cædendo. Magna et in castris et extra munimenta cædes fugientium fuit; sed praæda major, quia vix arma secum efferre hostis potuit; deletusque exercitus fort, ni fugientes sylva texissent.

XXIII. Dum ad Antium hæc geruntur, interim Equi, robore juventutis premisso, arcem Tusculamam improvisò nocte capiunt. Reliquo exercitu haud procul mœnibus Tusculi considunt, ut distenderent\textsuperscript{97} hostium copias. Hæc celeriter Romam, ab Româ in castra Antium, perlata, movent Romanos haud securum, quam si Capitolium captum nunciatur; adeò et recens erat Tusculanorum meruitum, et similitudo ipsa periculi reposcere datum auxilium videbatur. Fabius, omissis omnibus, praedam ex castris raptim Antium convenit. Ibi modico præsidio relecto, citatum agmen Tusculum rapid\textsuperscript{98}; nihil, præter arma, et quod cocti\textsuperscript{99} ad manum fuit cibi, ferre militi licuit. Commeatum ab Româ consul Cornelius subvehit; aliquot menses Tusculi bellatum; parte exercitus consul castra Equorum oppugnabat; partem Tusculanis dererat ad arcem recuperandam. Vi nunquam\textsuperscript{1} eò subiri potuit; fames postremò indè detraxit hostem. Quò postquam\textsuperscript{2} ventum ad extremum est, inermes nudique omnes sub jugum ab Tusculanis missi. Hos ignominiosà fugà domum se recipientes, Romanus consul in Algido consecutus ad unum omnes occidit. Victor ad Columen (id loco nomen est) exercitu relecto\textsuperscript{3} castra locat. Et alter consul, postquam mœnibus jam Romanis,
pulso hoste, periculum esse\textsuperscript{4} desierat, et ipse ab Rom\ae\ profectus. Ita bifariam consules ingressi hostium fines, ingenti certamine\textsuperscript{5} hinc Volscos, hinc \AE quos, populantur. Eodem anno descisse Antiates apud plerosque auctores inveno; L. Cornelium consulem id bellum gessisse, oppidumque cepisse. Certum affirmare, quia nulla apud vetustiores scriptores ejus rei mentio est, non ausim.

XXIV. Hoc bello perfecto, tribunitium domi bellum Patres territat. Clamant, "fraude fieri, quod foris teneatur exercitus; frustrationem eam\textsuperscript{6} legis tollendae esse; nihilominus rem suspetam peracturos." Obtinuit tamen P. Lucretius\textsuperscript{7} praefectus urbis, ut actiones tribuniciae in adventum consulum differentur. Erat et nova exorta causa motus. A. Cornelius et Q. Servilius questores M. Volscio, quod falsus hand dubi\`{e} testis in K\`aesonom exstitisset, diem dixerant; multis enim emana-bat\textsuperscript{8} indicis, neque fratrem Volscii, ex quo semel fuerit aeger, unquam non mod\`{o} visum in publico, sed ne assur-

rexisse quidem ex morbo, multorumque tabe mensium mortuam; nec his temporibus, in que testis crimen conjecisset, K\`aesonom Rom\ae\ visum, affirmantibus, qui una\textsuperscript{9} meruerant, secum eum tum frequentem ad signa sine ullo commenatu suisse. Ni ita esset, multi privatim ferebant Volscio judices\textsuperscript{10}. Quum ad judicium ire non auderet, omnes eae res, in unum congruentes, hand magis dubiam damnationem Volscii, qu\`a K\`aesonis Volscio\textsuperscript{11} teste fuerat, faciebant. In mora tribuni erant, qui comitia questores habere de reo, nisi pri\`{u} habita de lege essent, passuros negabant; ita extracta utraque res in consulum adventum est. Qui ubi triumphantes victore cum exercitu urbem inierunt, quia silentium de lege erat, perculsos magna pars credebant tribunos. At illi, (etenum extremum anni jam erat,) quartum affectan-
tes tribunatum, in comitiorum disceptationem\textsuperscript{12} ab lege certamen averterant; et, quum consules nihilominus adversus continuationem tribunat\`{u}s, qu\`a si lex minu-
endae sue majestatis caus\`a promulgata ferretur, teten-
dissent, victoria certaminis penes tribunos fuit. Eodem anno \AE quos pax est petentibus data. Census, res prior\`{e} anno inchoata, perfectur; idque lustrum ab origine urbis decimum conditum. Fuerunt censa civium capita
centum septemdecim millia trecenta novemdecim. Consulum magna domi bellique eo anno gloria fuit, quod et foris pacem peperere, et domi, etsi non concors, minus amen quan alias infesta\textsuperscript{13}, civitas fuit.

XXV. L. Minucius indè et C. Nautius consules facti, duas residuas\textsuperscript{14} anni prioris causas exceperunt. Eodem modo consules legem, tribuni judicium de Volscio, impediebant: sed in quae stiribus bus major vis, major auctoritas, erat. Cum M. Valerio, Valerii filio\textsuperscript{15}, Volesi nepote, quaestor erat T. Quinctius Capitolinus, qui ter consul fuerat. Is, quoniam neque Quinctiae familie, Kæso, neque reipublicae maximus\textsuperscript{16} juvenum, restituit posset, falsum testem, qui dicendae causa innixio potestatem ademisset, justo ac pio bello\textsuperscript{17} persequebatur. Quum Virginii maximæ et tribuni\textsuperscript{18} de lege agerent, duum mensium spatium consulibus datum est ad inspectandam legem, ut, quum edocuissent\textsuperscript{19} populum quid fraudis occultæ ferretur, sinerent deinde suffragium inire. Hoc intervalli datum res tranquillas in urbe fecit. Nec diuturnam quietem Aequi dederunt; qui, rupto fœdere, quod iacet erat priore anno cum Romanis, imperium ad Gracchum Clœlium deferunt; is tum longè princeps in Aequis erat. Gracco duxce, in Lavicanum agrum\textsuperscript{20}, inde in Tusculanum, hostili populatione veniunt, plenique praedae in Algido castra locant. In ea castra Q. Fabius, P. Volumnius, A. Postumius, legati ab Româ venerunt: questum injurias, et ex fœdere res repetitum; eos Aequorum imperator, "que mandata habeant ab senatu "Romano, ad quercum" jubet "dicere; se alia\textsuperscript{21} interim "acturum." Quercus, ingens arbor, praetorio imminebat, cujus umbrà opaca sedes erat. Tum ex legatis unus abiens, "Et haec," inquit, "sacrae quercus, et "quidquid deorum est, audiant fœdus a vobis ruptum; "nostrisque et nunc querelis adsint, et mox armis, "quum deorum hominumque simul violata jura exse- "quemur\textsuperscript{22}." Romam ut redire legati, senatus jussit alterum consulem contra Gracchum in Algidad exercitum ducere; alteri populationem finium Aequorum provinciam dedit\textsuperscript{23}. Tribuni suo more impedire delectum; et forsitan ad ultimum impedissent; sed novus subitó additus terror est.
XXVI. Vis Sabinorum ingens propè ad mœnia urbis infestâ populatione venit; foedati agri, terror injectus urbi est. Tum plebs benignè arma cepit; reclamantibus frustra tribunis, magni duo exercitus scripti; alterum Nautius contra Sabinos duxit; castrisque ad Eretum postis, per expeditiones parvas, plerumque nocturnis incursionibus, tantam vastitatem in Sabino agro reddidit, ut, comparati ad eam, propè intacti bello fines Romani viderentur. Minucio neque fortuna nec vis animi eadem in gerendo negotio fuit; nam, quum haud procul ab hoste castra posuisset, nullâ magnopere clade acceptâ, castris se paulatim tenebat. Quod ubi senserant hostes, crevit ex metu alieno, ut fit, audacia; et, nocte adorti castra, postquam parum vis aperta profecerat, munitiones posterio die circumdant; quæ priusquam, undique vallo objecto, clauderent exitus, quinque equites, inter stations hostium emissi, Romam pertulere, consulem exercitumque obsideri. Nihil nec tam inopinatum, nec tam insperatum, accidere potuit. Itaque tantus pavor, tantatrepidatio, fuit, quanta si urbem, non castra, hostes obsiderent. Nautium consulem arcessunt, in quo quum parum præsidii videretur, dictatoremque dici placeret, qui rem perculsam restitueret, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus consensu omnium dicitur. Operæ pretium est audire, qui omnia præ divitiis humana spernunt, neque honoris magno locum neque virtutis putant esse, nisi ubi effusè affluant opes. Spes unica imperii populi Romani L. Quinctius trans Tiberim, contra eum ipsum locum, ubi nunc navalia sunt, quatuor jugem colebat agrum, quæ prata Quinctia vocantur. Ibi ab legatis, seu fossam fodiens palœ inmisus, seu quum araret, operi certè, id quod constat, agresti intentus, salutem datæ in invicem redditaque, rogatus, “ut, quod bene verteret ipsi reque “publice, togatus mandata senatus audiret,” admiratus, rogitanisque, “satin' salva essent omnia?” togam propere è tugurio proferre uxorem Raciliam jubet. Quà simul, absterso pulvere ac sudore, velatus processit; dictatorem eum legati gratulantes consalutant; in urbem vocant; qui terror sit in exercitu, exponunt. Navis Quinctio publicè parata fuit; transvectumque tres obviam egressi, filii excipiunt; indè alii propinquù atque amici;
tum Patrum major pars. Eâ frequentià stipatus, antecedentibus lictoribus, deductus est domum\textsuperscript{55}; et plebis concursus ingens fuit; sed ea nequaquam\textsuperscript{35} tam læta Quinctium vidit, et imperii nimium, et virum in ipso imperio vehementiorem rata. Et illâ quidem nocte nihil praeterquam vigilatum est in urbe.

XXVII. Postero die dictator, quum ante lucem in forum venisset, magistrum equitum dicit L. Tarquitium patriciæ gentis, sed qui, quum stipendia pedibus\textsuperscript{37} propert paupertatem fecisset, bello tamen primus longè Romanæ juventutis habitus esset. Cum magistro equitum in concionem venit, justitium edicit, claudi tabernas totâ urbe jubet, vetat quemquam privatâe quidquam rei agere. Tum, quicumque ætate militari essent, armati, cum cibariis in dies quinque coctis vallisque\textsuperscript{38} duodenis, ante solis occasum Martio in campo adessent; quibus ætas ad militandum gravior esset, vicino militi, dum is arma pararet vallumque peteret, cibaria coquere, jussit. Sic juventus discurrît ad vallum petendum; sumpsère, unde cuique proximum fuit; prohibitus nemo est; impigréque omnes ad edictum dictatoris præstò fuere. Índè, composito agmine, non itineri magis apti\textsuperscript{39}, quam prælo, si res ita tulisset, legiones ipse dictator, magister equitum suos equites, ducit\textsuperscript{50}. In utroque agmine, quas tempus ipsum poscebat, adhortationes erant: "Adderent "'gradum; maturato opus esse"\textsuperscript{41}, ut nocte ad hostem "pervenire possent; consulem exercitumque Romanum "obsideri; tertium diem jam clausos esse; quid queaque "nox aut dies ferat, incertum esse; puncto sæpe tempuris maximarum rerum momenta verti\textsuperscript{42}". "Accelera, "signifer; sequere, miles," inter se quoque, gratificantes ducibus, clamabant\textsuperscript{43}. Medià nocte in Algidum pervenient, et, ut sensère se jam prope hostes esse, signa constituunt.

XXVIII. Ibi dictator, quantùm nocte prospici poterat, equo circumvectus, contemplatusque\textsuperscript{44}, qui tractus castorum, queaque forma esset, tribunis militum imperavit, ut sarcinas in unum conjici jubeant, militem cum armis valloque\textsuperscript{45} redire in ordines suos. Facta, que imperavit. Tum, quo fuerant ordine in viâ, exercitum omnem longo agmine circumdat\textsuperscript{46} hostium castris; et, ubi signum
datum sit, clamorem omnes tollere jubet; clamore sublato, ante se quemque ducere fossam, et jacere val-"num.\textsuperscript{47} Edito imperio, signum secutum est; jussa miles exsequitur; clamor hostes circumsonat. Superat\textsuperscript{48} inde castra hostium, et in castra consulis venit; alibi pavo-"rem\textsuperscript{49}, alibi gaudium ingens, facit. Romani, "civilem "esse clamorem\textsuperscript{50}, atque auxilium adesse," inter se gratulantes, ultr\textsuperscript{51} ex stationibus ac vigiliis territant hostem. Consul differendum\textsuperscript{52} negat. "Illo clamore "non adventum modò significari, sed rem ab suis cœp-"tam; mirumque esse, ni jam exterioire parte castra "hostium oppugnentur." Itaque arma suos capere, et se subsequi jubet. Nocte initum prœlium est à legi-"onibus\textsuperscript{53}; dictatori clamore significant, ab eâ quoque parte rem in discrimine\textsuperscript{54} esse. Jam se ad prohibenda circumdari\textsuperscript{55} opera Æqui parabant, quam, ab interioire hoste prœlio cœpto, ne per media sua castra fieret eruptio, à munientibus ad pugnantes introrsum\textsuperscript{56} versi, vacuum noctem operi dedere, pugnatumque cum consule ad lucem est. Luce primâ jam circumvallati ab dictatore erant, et vix adversùs unum exercitum pugnam sustinebant. Tum à Quinctiano exercitu, qui confestim à perfecto opere ad arma rediit, invaditur vallum\textsuperscript{57}; híc instabat nova pugna; illa nihil remiserat prior\textsuperscript{58}. Tum, ancipiti malo urgente, à prœlio ad preces versi, hinc dic-"tatorem, hinc consulem, orare, ne in occidione victoriam ponerent, ut inermes se inde abire sinerent. Ab consule ad dictatorem ire jussis, ignominiam infusionus\textsuperscript{59} addidit. Gracchum Clœelium ducem principesque alios vincitos ad se adduci jubet; oppido Corbione decessi\textsuperscript{60}; "sanguinis "se Æquorum non egere; licere abire; sed, ut exprim-"matur tandem confessio subactam domitamque esse "gentem, sub jugum abituros." Tribus hastis jugum fit, humi fixis duabus, superque eas transversà unà deli-"gatâ; sub hoc jugo dictator Æquos misit.

XXIX. Castris hostium receptis, plenis omnium rerum, (nudos enim emiserat) prædam omnem suo tan-"tum militi dedit. Consularem exercitum ipsumque con-"sulem increpans, "Carebis," inquit, "prædæ parte, "miles, ex eo hoste, cui propè prædæ fuisti\textsuperscript{61}; et tu, L. "Minuci, donec consularem animum\textsuperscript{62} incipias habere,

XXX. Sequuntur consules Q. Minucius, C. Horatius Pulvillus. Cujus initio anni, quam foris otium esset, domi sédìtiones idem tribuni, eadem lex, faciebat; ulteriusque ventum foret, (adeò exarserant animis) ni, velut dedità operâ, nocturno impetu Æquorum Corbione amissum præsidium nunciatum esset. Senatum consules vocant; jubentur subitarium scribere exercitum, atque in Algidum ducere. Indè, posito legis certamine, nova de delectu contentio orta; vincubaturque consulare imperium tribunicio auxilio, quam alius additus terror, Sabinum exercitum prædatum descendisse in agros Romanos, indè ad urbem venire. Is metus perpulit, ut scribi militem tribuni sinerent, non sine pactione tamen,
"Finem tandem certaminum facerent. Si plebeiae leges "displicerent, at illi communiter legum latores, et ex "plebe, et ex Patribus, qui utrisque utilia ferrent, quæ-"que aequandæ libertatis essent\textsuperscript{65}, sinerent creari." Rem non aspernabatur Patres; "daturum leges\textsuperscript{86} neminem, "nisi ex Patribus," aiebant. Qum de legibus conveniret, de latore tantum discreparet. Missi legati\textsuperscript{37} Athenas Sp. Posthumius Albus, A. Manlius, P. Sulpicius Camerinus; jussique inclytas leges Solonis describere, et aliarum Graeciae civitatum instituta, mores, juraque, noscere.

XXXII. Ab externis bellis quietus annum fuit; quie-
tior insequens, P. Curiatio et Sex. Quinctilio consulibus, perpetuo silentio tribunorum; quod primò legatorum, qui Athenas ierant, legumque peregrinum, expectatio præbuit; dein duo simul mala ingentia exorta, fames pestilentiaque, fœda homini, fœda pecori. Vastati agri sunt; urbs assiduis exsconsta funeribus; multæ et claræ lugubres\textsuperscript{38} domus. Flamen Quirinalis Ser. Cornelius mortuus; augur C. Horatius Pulvillus; in cujus locum C. Veturium eo cupidius, quia damnatus à plebe erat, augures legere. Mortuus consul Quinctilius; quatuor tribuni plebis. Multiplici clade fœdatus annus; ab hoste otium fuit. Inde consules C. Menenius, P. Sestius Capitolinus. Neque eo anno quicquam belli externi fuit; domi motus oriri. Jam redierant legati cum Atticis legibus; eo intentiùs\textsuperscript{69} instabunt tribuni, ut tandem scri-
endarum legum initium fieret. Placeat creari decemviro-
sine provocacione, et ne quis eo anno alias magistratus esset. Admiserenturne plebei, controversia aliquamdiu fuit; postremò concessum Patribus, modò ne lex Icilia\textsuperscript{90} de Aventino, aliæque sacratae leges\textsuperscript{91}, abrogarentur.

XXXIII. Anno trecentesimo altero\textsuperscript{92}, quàm condita Roma erat, iterum mutatur forma civitatis; ab consulibus ad decemviro, quemadmodum ab regibus antè ad con-
sules, venerat, translato imperio. Minùs insignis, quia non diuturna, mutatio fuit; leta enim principia magis-
tratùs ejus nìms luxuriavère\textsuperscript{93}. Eo cítius lapsa res est, repetitumque\textsuperscript{54}, duobus uti mandetur consulum nomen imperiumque. Decemviri creati Ap. Claudius, T. Genu-
cius, P. Sestius, L. Veturius, C. Julius, A. Manlius, Ser.
Sulpicius, P. Curiatius, T. Romilius, Sp. Postumius. Claudio et Genucio, quia designati consules in eum annum fuerant, pro honore honos redditus; et Sestio, alteri consulum prioris anni, quod eam rem, collega invito, ad Patres retulerat. His proximi habiti legati tres, qui Athenas ierant, simul ut pro legatione tam longinquâ præmio esset honos, simul quia peritos legum peregrinarum ad condenda nova jura usui fore credebant. Supplevère ceteri numerum. Graves quoque ætateelectos novissimis suffragiis ferunt, quo minus feroxiter aliorum scitis adversarentur. Regimen totius magistratús penès Appium erat favore plebis; adeòque novum sibi ingenium induerat, ut plebicola repente omnisque aærae popularis captator; pro truci sævoque insectatore plebis. Decimo diejus populo singuli reddebant. Eo die penès praefectum juris fæces duodecim erant; collegis novem singuli accensi apparebant; et in unica concordiâ inter ipsos (qui consensus privatis interdum inutilis esset,) summa adversâs alios æquitas erat. Moderationis eorum argumentum exemplo unius rei notasse satìs erit. Quum sine provocatâone creati essent, defosso cadavere domi apud P. Sestium, patricie gentis virum invento, prolatoque in concionem, in re juxta manifestâ atque atrocì C. Julius decemvir diem Sestium dixit, et accusator ad populum exstitit, cuius rei judex legitimus erat; decessitque jure suo, ut demptum de vi magistratûs populi libertati adiiceret.

XXXIV. Quum promptum hoc jus velut ex oraculo incorruptum pariter ab his summi inimique ferrent, tum legibus condendis opera dabatar; ingenti spe hominum exspectatione propositis decem tabulis, populum ad concionem ad vocaverunt; et, "quod bonum, faustum, felix, quæ reipublice, ipsis, liberisque eorum, esset, ire et legere leges propòitas" jussère; "se, quantûm decem hominum ingenii provideri potuerit, omnibus summis inimisque jura æquâsse; plus pollere multorum ingenii consiliaque. Versarent in animis secum unamquamque rem; agitarent deinde sermonibus; atque in medium, quid in quâque re plus minusve esset, conferrent. Eas leges habiturum populum Romanum, quas consensus omnium non jussisse latas magis,
T. LIVII.

"quam tulisse, videri posset." Quum ad rumores\textsuperscript{7} hominum de unoqueque legum capite edito satis correctae viderentur, centuriatis comitiis decem tabularum leges perlatae sunt; qui nunc quoque, in hoc immenso aliarum super alias acervatarum legum cumulo, bons omnis publici privataque est juris. Vulgatur deinde rumor duas deesse tabulas; quibus adjectis, absolvi posse velut corpus omnis Romani juris. Ea exspectatio, quam dies comitiorum appropinquaret, desiderium decemviros iterum creandi fecit. (Jam plebs, præterquam quod consulum nomen, haud secus quam regum, perosa erat, ne tribunicium quidem auxilium, cedentibus invicem appellatione decemviris, quærebat.)

XXXV. Postquam vero comitia decemviris creandis in trinum nundinum\textsuperscript{9} indicata sunt, tanta exarsit ambitio, ut primores quoque civitatis (metu, credo, ne tanti possession imperii, vacuo ab se relictu loco, haud satis dignis patet) presarant homines, honorem, summae ope a se impugnatum\textsuperscript{10}, ab eâ plebe, cum quâ contenderat, suppliciter petentes. Demissa jam in discrimen\textsuperscript{11} dignitas, eâ ætate, iisque honoribus actis, stimulabat Ap. Claudium; nescires utrum inter decemviris, an inter candidatos, numerares. Proprior interdum petendo\textsuperscript{12}, quam gerendo, magistratui erat; criminari optimates\textsuperscript{13}; extollere candidatorum levissimum quemque humanissimum. Ipse medius inter tribunicios Duilios Iciliisque in foro volitare; per illos se plebi venditare; donec college quoque, qui unice illi dediti fuerant ad id tempus, conjecère in eum oculos, mirantes quid sibi vellet. Apparere nihil sincer esse. "Profecto haud gratuitam\textsuperscript{14} in tantâ "superbiâ comitatem fore. Nimiùm in ordinem\textsuperscript{15} se "ipsam cogere, et vulgari cum privatis, non tam "properantis abire magistratu, quâm viam ad continuandum magistratum quærentis, esse." Propalam obviâm ire cupiditati parum ausi, obsecundando mollire impetum aggregiuntur. Comitiorum illi habendorum, quando minimus natu sit, munus consensu inungunt. Ars haec erat, ne semet ipse creare posset; quod, præter tribunos plebis, (et id ipsum pessimum exemplo,) nemo unquam fecisset. Ille enimvero, quod bene vertat, habiturum se comitia professus, impedi-
mentum pro occasione\textsuperscript{16} arripuit; dejectisque honor per coitionem\textsuperscript{17} duobus Quinctii, Capitolino et Cincinnato, et patruo suo C. Claudio, constantissimo vire in optimatum causâ, et aliis ejsodem fastigii civibus, neququam splendore vitae pares decemviros creat\textsuperscript{18}, se in primis, quod haud secus factum\textsuperscript{19} improbabant boni, quàm nemo facere ausurum crediderat. Creati cum eo M. Cornelius Maluginensis, M. Sergius, L. Minucius, Q. Fabius Vibulanus, Q. Pætelius, T. Antonius M- renda, K. Duilius, Sp. Oppius Cornicen, M\textsuperscript{20} Rabuleius.

XXXVI. Ille finis Appio alienæ personæ ferendæ fuit. Suo jam indè vivere ingenio cœpit, novosque collegas jam prius, quàm inirent magistratum, in suos mores formare. Quotidie coibant, remotis arbitris; indè impotentibus instructi consiliis\textsuperscript{21}, quæ secretò ab aliis coquebant\textsuperscript{22}, jam haud dissimulando superbia, rari aditus\textsuperscript{23}, colloquentibus difficiles, ad Idus Maias rem perdixere. Idus tum Maiæ sollemnes ineundis magistratibus erant. Initio igitur magistratus, primum honoris diem denunciatione ingentis terroris insignem fecere; nam, quum ita priores decemviri servassent\textsuperscript{24}, ut unus fasces haberet, et hoc insigne regium in orbem, suam et suæ vicem, per omnes iret, subito omnes cum duodecim fascibus prodiere. Centum viginti lectores forum impleverant, et fascibus secures illegatas preseverebant; nec attinuisse\textsuperscript{25} demi securim, quum sine provocacione creati essent, interpretabantur. Decem regum species erat, multiplicatusque terror non infinis solùm, sed primoribus Patrum, ratis cædis causam ac principium quæri, ut, si quis memorem\textsuperscript{26} libertatis vocem aut in senatu aut in populo misisset, statim virgæ securesque etiam ad ceterorum metum expedirentur. Nam, preterquam quod in populo nihil erat præsidii, sublatâ provocacione, intercessionem\textsuperscript{27} quoque consensu sustulerat, quum priores decemviri appellatione collegæ corrigi reddita ab se jura tulissent, et quedam, quæ sui judicij videri possent, ad populum rejecissent. Aliquamdi æquatus inter omnes terror fuit; paullatim totus vertere in plebem cœpit. Abstinebatur à Patribus; in humiliores libidinosè crudeliterque consulebatur\textsuperscript{28}; hominum, non causarum\textsuperscript{29}, toti erant, ut apud quos gratia vim æqui haberet. Judicia domi conflabant\textsuperscript{30};
pronunciabant in foro. Si quis collegam appellasset, ab eo, ad quem venerat, ita discedebat, ut poeniteret non prioris decreto stetisse. Opinio etiam sine auctore exierat non in præsentis modò temporis eos injuriam conspirasse, sed fædus clandestinum inter ipsos jurejuro rando ictum, ne comitia haberent, perpetuoque decemviratu possessum semel obtinerent imperium.

XXXVII. Circumspectare tum patriciorum vultus plebeii, et indè libertatis captare auram, unde servitutem timendo in eum statum rempublicam adduxerant. Primores Patrum odisse decemviros, odisse plebem; nec probare, quæ fieren; et credere, haud indignis accidere. Avidè ruendo ad libertatem in servitutem elapsos juvare nolle; cumulare quoque injurias, ut, tædio praeesentium, consules duo tandem et status pristinus rerum in desiderium veniant. Jam et processerat pars major anni, et duæ tabulæ legum ad prioris anni decem tabulas erant adjectæ; nec quicquam jam supererat, si hæ quoque lèges centuriatis comitiis perlatæ esset, cur eo magistratu reipublicæ opus esset. Expectabant quàm mox consulis libetni comitam edicerentur. Id modo plebes agitabat, quonammodo tribuniciam potestatem, munimentum libertati, rem intermissam, repararent; quum interim meuto comitiorum nulla fieri, et decemviri, qui primò tribunicios homines, quia id populare habe batur, circùm se ostentaverant plebei, patricis juvenibus sepserant latera; eorum catervæ tribunalia obserdant. Hi ferre, agere plebem plebisque res; quum fortuna, quà, quicquid cupitum, foret, potentioris esset. Et jam ne tegro quidem abstinebatur; virgis cædi, alii securi subjici; et, ne gratuita crudelitas esset, bonorum donatio sequi domini supplicium. Hac mercede juvenis nobilis corrupta non modò non ire obviam injuriæ, sed propalam licentiam suam malle, quàm omnium libertatem.

XXXVIII. Idus Maiæ venere. Nullis subrogatis magistratibus, privati pro decemviris, neque animis ad imperium inhibendum immunitis, neque ad speciem honoris insignibus, prodeunt; id verò regnum haud dubiè videri. Deploratur in perpetuum libertas; nec vindex quisquam existit, aut futurus videtur. Nec ipsi solùm desponderant animos, sed contemni cœpti erant à finiti-
mis populis; imperiumque ibi esse, ubi non esset libertas, indignabantur. Sabini magnâ manu incursiorem in agrum Romanum fecère; latèque populati, quum hominum atque pecudum inulti prædas egissent, recepto ad Eretum, quod passim vagatum erat, agmine, castra locant, spem in discordiá Romanâ ponentes, eam impedimentum delectui fore. Non nuncii solùm, sed per urbum agrestium fuga, trepidationem injicet. Decemviri consultant, quid opus facto sit; destitutis inter Patrum et plebis odià addidit terrem in suer alium fortuna. æqui alii ex parte castra in Algido locant; depopulatumque inde excursionibus Tusculanum agrum legati ab Tusculo, præsidium orantes, nunciant. Is pavor per pulit decemviro, ut senatum, duobus circumstantibus urbem bellis, consulenter. Citari jubent in curiam Patres, haud ignari, quanta invidiae immerit tempestas; omnes vastati agri periculumque immensitium causas in se congesturos, tentationemque eam fore abolendi sibi magistratûs, ni consensu resisterent, impérioque inhibendo acriter in paucos praefercis animi conatus aliorum comprimerent. Postquam audita vox in foro est præconis, Patres in curiam ad decemviro vocantis, velut nova res, quia intermiserant jam diu morem consulendi senatûs, mirabundam plebeem convertit, "quidnam incidisset, cur ex tanto intervallo rem desue-tam usurparent. Hostibus belloque gratiam habendam, "quod solitum quidquam liberæ civitatis fieret." Circumspectare omnibus fori partibus senatorem, rarâque usquam noscitare; curiam inde, ac solitudinem circa decemviros, intueri; quum et ipsi invisum consensu imperium, et plebs, quia privatis jus non esset vocandi senatum, non convenire Patres interpretarentur; "jam caput fieri libertatem repetentium, si se plebs comitem senatui det, et, quemadmodum Patres vocati non coëant in senatum, sic plebs abnuat delectum." Hæc fremunt plebes. Patrum haud férè quisquam in foro; in urbe rari erant; indignitate rerum cesserant in agros; suarumque rerum erant, amissà publicá; tantùm ab injuriâ se abesse rati, quantûm à cœtu congressuque impotentium dominorum se amovissent. Postquam citati non conveniebant, dimissì circa domos apparitores, simul
ad pignora\textsuperscript{51} capienda, sciscitandumque, num consultò
detractarent? referunt senatum in agris esse. Lætius
id decemviris accidit, quàm si presentes detractare
perimum referrent. Jubent acciri omnes, senatumque in
diem posterum edicunt\textsuperscript{52}. Qui aliquanto spe ipsorum
frequentior convenit; quo facto prodistam à Patribus
plebs libertatem rata, quòd iis, qui jam magistratu
abissent, privatisque\textsuperscript{53}, si vis abesset, tanquam jure
cogentibus, senatus paruiisset.

XXXIX. Sed magis obedienter ventum in curiam est,
quàm obnoxiè\textsuperscript{54} dictas sententias accepimus. L. Vale-
rium Potitum, proditum memorâ est, post relationem\textsuperscript{55}
Ap. Claudii, priusquam ordine sententiæ rogarentur,
postulando ut de republicâ\textsuperscript{56} liceret dicere, prohibentibus
minaciter decemviris, proditurum se ad plebem de-
unciæt excivisse. Nec minus feroeler M. Horatium
Barbatum èsse in certamen, "Decem Tarquinios," appel-
lantem, admonentemque, "Valeriis et Horatiis\textsuperscript{57} ducibus
" pulsos reges. Nec nominis\textsuperscript{58} homines tum pertesum
" esse, quippe quo Jovem appellari fas sit, quo Romu-
" lum conditorem urbis, deincepsque reges appellatos;
" quod sacrís\textsuperscript{59} etiam, ut solenne, retentum sit. Super-
" biam violentiamque tum perosos regis; quæ si in rege
" tum eodem\textsuperscript{60}, aut in filio regis, ferenda non fuerint,
" quem laturum in tot privatis? Viderent, ne, vetando
" in curiâ liberè homines loqui, extra curiam etiam mo-
" verent vocem; neque se videre, qui sibi minûs privato
" ad concertem populum vocare, quàm illis senatum
" cogere licet. Ubi vellent, experientur, quanto fer-
" cior dolor\textsuperscript{61} libertate suà vindicandâ, quàm cupiditas
" injustà dominatione, esset. De bello Sabino eos referre;
" tanquam majus ullum populo Romano bellum sit, quàm
" cum iis, qui, legum ferendarum causâ creati, nihil juris
" in civitate reliquerint; qui comitia, qui annuos magis-
" tratus, qui vicissitudinem imperitandi, (quod unum exè-
" quandæ sit libertatis,) sustulerint; qui privati fases
" et regium imperium habeant. Fuisset, regibus exactis,
" patricios magistratus creatos ; postea, post secessionem
" plebis, plebeios. Cujus illi partis essent, rogitare.
" Populares? quid enim eos per populum egisse? Opti-
" mates? qui anno jam propè senatum non habuerint;
tunc ita habeant, ut de republicâ loqui prohibeant. "Ne nimium in metu alieno spei ponerent; graviora, "quæ patiantur{62}, videri jam hominibus, quàm quàe "metuant."

XL. Hæc vociferante Horatio, quam decemviri nec "ire nec ignoscendì{63} modum reperirent, nec, quà evasura "res esset, cernerent, C. Claudii, qui patruus Appii de- "cemviri erat, oratio fuit precibus, quàm{64} jurgio, similis, "orantis per sui fratris parentisque ejus Manes, "Ut "civilis potiùs societatis, in quà natus esset, quàm "fæderis nefariè icti cum collegis, meminisset. Multo "id magis se illius causâ orare, quàm republìcæ. Quippe "rempublicam, si à volentibus nequeat, ab invitâ jus "expetituram. Sed ex magno certamine magnas excitati "ferme iras; earum eventum se horrere." Quum aliud, "praeterquam de quo retulissent, decemviri dicere pro- "hiberent, Claudium interpellandi{65} verecundia fuit. "Sentiéntiam igitur peregit{66}, nullum placere senatûsconsul- "tum fieri. Omnesque ita accipiebant, privatos eos à "Claudio judicatos; multique ex consularibus verbo as- "sensi sunt. Alia sententia, aspèrior in speciēm, vim "minorem aliquanto habuit, quàe patricios coïrè{67} ad pro- "dendum interregem jubebat; censendo enim{68}, quoscun- "que magistratus esse, quà senatum haberent, judicabat, "quos privatos fecerat auctor nullius senatûsconsulti faci- "endi. Ita labante jam causâ decemviriorem, L. Cornelius "Maluginensis, M. Cornelii decemviri frater, quem ex "consularibus ad ultimum dicendi locum consultò servatus "esset, simulando curam belli, fratrem collegasque ejus "tuebatur: "Quonam fato incidisset{69}, mirari se" dicînta- "ns, "ut decemviris, qui decemviratum petissent, aut "socii, aut hi maxime, oppugnarent? aut quid ita, quàm "per tot menses ,acuà civitate{70} nemo, justine magis- "tratus summæ rerum præcessent, controversiam fecerit, "nuoc demum, quàm hostes propè ad portas sint, civiles "discordias serant; nisi quòd in turbîdo minus perspi- "cuum foie potent, quiêd agatur{71}. Ceterûm neminem, "majore curâ occupàtis animis, verum esse, præjudicium "rei tantæ afferrer{72}. Sibi placere, de eo, quàd Valerius "Horatiusque ante Idus Maias decemviri abisse ma- "gistratu insimulent, bellis, quàe immineant, perfectis,
"republicâ in tranquillum redactâ, senatu disceptante, ""agi; et jam nunc ita se parare Ap. Claudium73, ut eo- ""mitiorum, qua decemviris creandis decemvir ipse ha- ""berit, sciat sibi rationem reddendam esse, utrum in ""unum annum creati sint, an donec leges, quaé deessent, ""perferrentur. In præsentia omnia praeter bellum omitti ""placere; cujus si falsè famam vulgatam, vanaque non ""nuncios solum, sed Tusculanorum etiam legatos, attu- ""lisse putent, speculatores mittendos censere qui certiùs ""explorata referant. Sin fides et nuncis et legatis ha- ""beat, delectum primo quoque tempore haberi; de- ""cemviros, quò cuique eorum videatur, exercitus ducere; "" nec rem aliam praeventi74."

XLI. In hanc sententiam75 ut discederetur, juniores Patrum evincebant. Ferociores iterum coorti Valerius Horatiusque vociferari, ""ut de republicâ liceret dicere; ""dicturos ad populum, si in senatu per factionem non ""liceat. Neque enim sibi privatos, aut in curiâ, aut in ""concione, posse obstare; neque se imaginariis fascibus ""eorum cessuros esse."" Tum Appius, jam prope esse ratus, ut, ni violentiae eorum pari resisteretur audacia, victum imperium esset, ""Non erit melius76,"" inquit, "" nisi de quo consulimus, vocem misisse;" et ad Vale- rium, negantem se privato reticere77, licentem accedere jussit. Jam Quiritium fidem implorante Valerio à curiâ limine, L. Cornelius complexus Appium, non cui simulabat78 consulendo, diremit certamen; factâque per Cor- nélium Valerio dicendi gratiâ, quæ vellet, quam libertas non ultra vocem excessisset79, decemvir propositum te- nuère. Consulares quoque ac seniores ab residuo50 tri- buniciae potestatis odio, cujus desiderium plebi multo acerius, quâm consularis imperii, rebantur esse, propè malebant postmodo81 ipsos decemviros voluntate abire magistratu, quàm invidiâ eorum exsurgere rursus ple- bem. ""Si leniter ducta82 res sinè populari strepitu ad ""consules redisset, aut bellis interpositis, aut modera- tione consulum in imperii excercendis, posse in obli- ""vionem tribunorum plebe adduci."" Silentio Patrum edicitur delectus; juniores, quum sine provocatione im- perium esset, ad nomina respondet; legionibus scriptis83, inter se decemviri comparabant, quos ire ad bellum,

XLII. Nihilo militiae, quàm domi, meliùs respublica administrata est. Illa modò in ducibus culpa, quòd, ut odio essent civibus, fecerant; alia omnis penès mildes noxa erat; qui, ne quid ductu atque auspicio decemviorum prosperè usquam gereretur, vincì se per atque illorum dedecus patièbantur. Fusi et ab Sabinis ad Eretum, et in Algido ab Æquis, exercitus erant. Ab Ereto per silentium noctis profugi, proprius urbem, inter Fidenas Crustumeriamque, loco edito castra commiserant; persecutis hostibus nusquam se sequo certamine committentes, natura loci ac vallo, non virtute aut armis, tutabantur. Majus flagitium in Algido, major etiam clades accepta; castra quoque amissa erant; exutusque omnibus utensilibus, miles Tusculum se, fide misericordiâque victurus hospitum, (quæ tamen non fefellerunt) contulerat. Romam tanti erant terrores allati, ut, posito jam decemvirali odio, Patres vigilias in urbe habendas censerent: omnes, qui per ætatem arma ferre possent, custodire mœnia, ac pro portis stationes age, jubœrunt: arma Tusculum ad supplementum decernerent, decemviro, ab arce Tusculi degressos, in castris militem habere: castra alia à Fidenis in Sabinum agrum transferri: belloque ultero inferendo deterreri hostes à consilio urbis oppugnandæ.

XLIII. Ad clades ab hostibus acceptas duo nefanda facinora decemviri belli domique adjiciunt. L. Sicciun in Sabinis, per invidiam decemviralem tribunorum creandorum secessionisque mentiones ad vulgus militum
sermonibus occultis serentem, prospeculatum ad locum castris capiendum mittunt. Datur negotium militibus, quos miserant expeditionis ejus comites, ut eum opportunum adorlo loco interfecerent. Haud ultimum interfecerent; nam circa repugnantem aliquot insidiatores cecidere, quum ipse se prævalidus, pari viribus animo, circumventus tutaretur. Nunciant in castra ceteri praecipitatum in insidias esse; Siccium, egregie pugnante, militesque quosdam cum eo amissos. Primò fides nunciantibus fuit. Profecta deinde cohors ad sepeliendos, qui ceciderant, decemvirorum permisso, postquam nullum spoliatum ibi corpus, Sicciumque in medio jacentem armatumque, omnibus in eum versis corporibus, vidère, hostium neque corpus ullum, nec vestigia abeuntium, profectò ab suis interfectorum memorantes, retulere corpus. Invidiaque plena castra erat, et Romam ferri protinus Siccium placet, non decemviris militare ei publicà impensa facere maturum. Sepultus ingenti militum mœstitià, pessimà decemvirorum in vulgus famá, est.

nutricis, fidem Quiritium implorantis, fit concursus. Virginii patris sponsique Ilcilii popolare nomen celebratur². Notos gratia eorum³, turbam indignitas rei virgini, conciliat. Jam à vi tuta erat, quem assertor nihil opus esse multitudine concitatā ait, se jure grassari, non vi. Vocat puellam in jus, auctoribus, qui aderant⁴, ut seque-retur. Ad tribunal Appii perventum est. Notam judici fabulam petitor, quiœ apud ipsum auctorem argumenti, peragit: “Puellam, domi suæ natam, furtoque inde in “domum Virginii translatam, suppositam ei esse.” Id “se indicio compertum afferre, probaturumque vel ipso “Virginio judice, ad quem major pars injuriae⁵ ejus “pertineat. Interim dominum sequi ancillam, æquum “esse.” Advocati⁷ puellae, quum Virginium reipublicæ causā dixissent abesse, biduo adfuturum, si nunciatum ei sit, iniquum esse absentem de liberis dimicare⁸, postulant, ut rem integram in patris adventum differat; lege ab ipso latā⁹ vindicias det secundum libertatem; neu patiatur virginem adulæm famæ prius, quàm libertatis, periculum adire.

XLV. Appius decreto præfatus¹⁰, “quàm libertati “faverit, eam ipsum legem declarare, quam Virginii “amici postulationi suæ pretendant. Ceterùm ita in “eâ firmum libertati fore presidium, si nec causis, nec “personis, variet. In his enim, quæ asserantur in liber-“tatem, quia quivis lege agere possit, id juris esse; in “eâ, quæ in patris manu sit, neminem esse alium, cui “dominus possessione cedat. Placere itaque patrem “arcessi. Interea juris sui jacturam assertorem non “facere, quin ducat puellam, sistendamque in adventum “ejus, qui pater dicitur, promittat.” Adversus injuriam decreti quum multi magis fremerent, quàm quisquam unus recusare auderet, P. Numitorius, puellæ avunculus, et sponsus Icilius, intervenient; datâque inter turbam viâ, quum multitudo, Iciliii maximè interventu¹¹, resisti posse Appio crederet, lictor “decreßesse” ait, vociferan-
temque Icilium submovet. Placidum quoque¹² ingenium tam atrox injuria accendisset. “Ferro hine tibi sub-

XLVI. Concitata multitudo erat, certamenque instare videbatur. Lictores Icillum circumsteterant; nec ultra minas tamen processum est. Quum Appius, "non Vir- "giniam defendi ab Icilio, sed inquietum hominem, et "tribunatum etiam nunc spirantem, locum seditionis "quærere," diceret. "Non praebiturum se illi eo die "materiam; sed, ut jam sciret non id petulantiae suæ, "sed Virginio absenti et patrio nomine et libertati, "datum, jus eo die se non dicturum, neque decretum "interpositurum; à M. Claudio petiturum, ut decederet "jure suo, vindicarique puellam in posterum diem "pateretur. Quòd nisi pater postero die adfuisset, "denunciare se Icilio similibusque Icilli, neque legi suæ "latores, neque decemviro constantiam, defore; nec se "utique collegarum lictores convocaturum ad coërcen- "dos seditionis auctores; contentum se suis lictoribus "fore." Quum dilatum tempus injuriae esset, secessis- sentque advocati puellæ, placuit omnium primum fratrem Icilli filiumque Numitorii, impigros juvenes, pergere inde rectâ ad portam, et, quantum accelerari posset, Virginium acciri è castris. In eo verti puellæ salutem, si postero die vindex injuriae ad tempus præstò esset. Jussi pergunta, citatisque equis nuncium ad patrem per- ferunt. Quum instaret assertor puellæ, ut vindicaret,
sponsoresque daret, atque id ipsum agi diceret Icilius, sedulù tempus terens, dum præciperent iter. nuncii missi in castra, manus tollere undique multitudo, et se quisque paratum ad spondendum Icilio ostendere. Atque ille lacrymabundus, “Gratum est,” inquit; “crastino “die vestra operâ utar; sponsorum nunc satis est.”

Ita vindicatur Virginia, spondentibus propinquis. Appius, paulisper moratus ne ejus rei causa sideretur, postquam, omissis rebus aliis prae curâ unius, nemo adibat, domum se recepit, collegisque in castra scribit, “ne Virginia commatum dent, atque etiam in "custodiâ habeant.” Improbum consilium serum, ut debutit, fuit; et jam commenatu sumpto prefectus Virginius primâ vigilia erat, quum postero die manœ de retinendo eo nequicquam literæ reduntur.

XLVII. At in urbe primâ luce, quum civitas in foro exspectatione erecta staret, Virginius sordidatus filiam suam obsoletâ veste, comitantibus aliquot matronis, cum ingenti advocacione in forum deducit. Circumire ibi et presare homines ceptit; et non orare solûm precariam opem, sed praebere petere: “Se pro liberis eorum "ac conjugibus quotidie in acie stare; nec aliun virum "esse, cujus strenuæ ac ferociter facta in bello plura "memorari possent. Quid prodesse, si, incolumi urbe, "quæ, captâ, ultima timeantur, liberis suis sint pati- "enda?” Hæ propè concionabundus circumbat homines. Similia his ab Icilio jactabantur. Comitatus muliebris plus tacito fletu, quàm ulla vox, movebat. Adversus quæ omnia obstinato animo Appius (tanta vis amentiæ verius, quàm amoris, mentem turbaverat) in tribunal escendit; et, ultrœ querente paucâ petitore, "quod jus sibi pridie per ambitionem dictum non "esse,” priusquam aut ille postulatum perageret, aut Virginia respondendi daret locus, Appius interfatur. Quem decreto sermonem prætenderit, forsæn aliquem verum auctores antiqui tradiderint. Quia nusquam ullam in tantâ fœitate decreti verisimilem invenio, id, quod constat, nudum videtur proponendum, decrèse vindicias secundùm servitutem. Primò stupor omnes admiratione rei tam atrocis defixit; silentium indè aliquâmdiu tenuit. Dein quum M. Claudius, circum-
T. LIVII.

stantibus matronis, iret ad prehendendam virginem, lamentabilisque eum mulierum comploratio excepisset, Virginius, intentans in Appium manus, "Icilio," inquit, "Appi, non tibi, filiam despondi; et ad nuptias, non ad "stuprum, educavi. Placet pecudum ferarumque ritu "promiscè in concubitus ruere? Passurine hæc isti "sint, nescio; non spero esse passuros illos, qui arma "haberunt." Quum repelleretur assertor virginis à globo mulierum circumstantiumque advocatorum, silentium factum per praecenem.

XLVIII. Decemvir, alienatus ad libidinem animo\(^{44}\), negat, "hesterno tantum convicio Icilli violentiâque "Virginius, cujus testem populum Romanum habeat, sed "certis quoque indicis, compertum se habere nocte totâ "cetut in urbe factos esse ad movendam seditionem. "Itaque se, hand insciun ejus dimicationis\(^{45}\), eum "armatis descendisse\(^{46}\), non ut quemquam quietum vio- "laret, sed ut turbantes civitatis otium pro majestate "imperii coërceret. Proinde quiesse erit melius\(^{47}\). I," inquit, "lictor, submove turbam; et da viam domino ad "prehendendam mancipium." Quum hæc intonuisset plenus iræ, multitudo ipsa se sua sponte dimovit, deser- taque praeda injuriæ puella stabat. Tum Virginius, ubi nihil usquam auxiliis vidit, "Quæso," inquit, "Appi, "primum ignosce patrio dolori, si quid incremenitus in "te sum inventus: deinde sinas hic coram virgine nutri- "cem percontari, quid hoc rei sit? ut, si falsò pater "dictus sum, æquore hic animo\(^{48}\) discedam." Datâ veniâ, seducit filiam ac nutricem prope Cloacinae ad tabernas\(^{49}\), quibus nunc Novis est nomen; atque ibi, ab lanio cultro arrepto, "Hoc te uno, quo possum, ait, "modo, filia, in libertatem vindico." Pectus deinde puellae transfigit, respectansque ad tribunal, "Te," inquit, "Appi, tuumque caput sanguine hoc consecro\(^{50}\)." Clamore ad tam atroc facinus orto excitus Appius pre- reprehendi Virginimum jubet. Ille ferro, quáucunque ibat, viam facere, donec, multitudine etiam prosequentium tuente, ad portam perrexit. Icilius Numitoriusque exsanguem corpus sublatum ostentat populo; scelus Appii, puellæ infeliciem formam, necessitatem patris, deplorant. Sequentes clamitant matronae: "Eamne liberorum pro-
creandorum conditionem? ea pudicitiae praemia esse?

ceteraque, quae in tali re\textsuperscript{51} muliebribis dolor, quo est
mœstior imbecillo animo, eo magis miserabilia, querenti-
bus subjicit. Virorum et maximè Ilci\textsuperscript{52} vox tota
tribuniciæ potestatis ac provocationis ad populum ereptæ,
publicarumque indignationum, erat.

XLIX. Concitat\textsuperscript{tur} multitudo partim atrocitate sceleris,
partim spe per occasionem repetendæ libertatis. Appius
nunc vocari Ilci\textsuperscript{um}, nunc retractantem\textsuperscript{53} arripi, pos-
tremð, quæm locus adeundi apparitoribus non daretur,
ipse, cum amine patriciorum juvenum per turbam
vadens, in vincula duci, jubet. Jam circa Ilci\textsuperscript{um} non
solum multitudo, sed duces quoque multitudinis erant,
L. Valerius et M. Horatius, qui, repulso lictore, “si
“jure ageret, vindicare\textsuperscript{54} se à privato Ilci\textsuperscript{um}” aiebant;
“si vim afferre conaretur, ibi quoque se haud impares
“fore.” Hinc atrox rixa oritur. Valerium Horatiumque
licer decemviri invadit; franguntur à multitudine fases.
In concionem Appius ascendit. Sequuntur Horatius
Valeriusque; eos concio audit: decemviro obstreptur.
Jam pro imperio\textsuperscript{55} Valerius discedere à privato lictores
jubebat; quæm, fractis animis, Appius, vitæ metuens,
in domum se propinquam foro, insciis adversariis, capite
obvoluto, recepit. Sp. Oppius, ut auxilio collegæ esset,
in forum ex alterà parte iirumpit. Videt imperium vi
victum. Agitatus deinde consiliis\textsuperscript{56}, atque ex omni parte
assentiendo multis auctoribus trepidus, senatum postremò
vocari jussit. Ea res, quod magnæ parti Patrum disli-
cere acta decemviro videbantur, spe per senatum
finiendæ potestatis ejus multitudinem sedavit. Senatus
nec plebem irritandam censuit, et multo magis pro-
dendum, ne quid Virginii adventus in exercitu motûs
faceret.

L. Itaque missi juniores Patrum in castra, que tum
in monte Vecilio\textsuperscript{57} erant, nunciant decemviris, “ut omni
ope ab seditione milites contineant;” ubi Virginiius ma-
jorem, quam reliquerat in urbe, motum excivit. Nam,
præterquam quod aminate propè quadringerorum homi-
num veniens, qui à urbe indignitate rei accensi comites
ei se dederant, conspectus est\textsuperscript{58}, strictum etiam telum,
respersusque ipse cruore, tota in se castra convertit\textsuperscript{59}; et
violenta audita est. Senatum Sp. Oppius habet; nihil placet asperè agi, quippe ab ipsis datum locum seditionis esse. Mittuntur tres legati consulares, Sp. Tarpeius, C. Julius, P. Sulpicius, qui quœrerent senatus verbis⁷⁰, "cujus jussu castra deseruissent? aut quid sibi vellent, "qui armati Aventinum obsediissent? belloque averso ab "hostibus, patriam suam cepissent?" Non defuit, quid responderetur; deerat, qui daret responsum, nullum.⁷¹ certo duce, nec satis audentibus singulis invidiæ se offerre. Id modò à multitudine conclamatum est, "ut L. Valerium et M. Horatium ad se mitterent; his "se daturos responsum."

LI. Dimissis legatis, admonet milites Virginius, "in "re non maximâ paullo antè trepidatum esse? quia sine "capite multitudo fuerit; responsumque, quamquam non "inutiliter, fortuito tamen magis consensu, quàm com- "muni consilio, esse. Placece decem creari, qui summæ "rei præcessent, militarique honore tribunos militum "appellari." Quam ad eum ipsum primum is honos "deferetur, "Melioribus meis vestrisque rebus reservate," inquit, "ista de me judicia. Nec mihi filia inulta "honorem ullum jucundum esse patitur; nec in pertur- "batâ republicâ eos utile est præesse vobis qui proximi "invidiæ sint. Si quis usus mei est, nihilominor ex "privato capietur." Ita decem numero tribunos militares creant. Neque in Sabinis quievit exercitus; ibi quoque, auctore Icilio Numitorioque, secessio ab decem- viris facta est, non minore motu animorum Sicciæ caedis memoria revocatâ, quàm quem nova fama de virgine adeò fœdè ad libidinem petità accenderat. Icilius ubi audivit tribunos militum in Aventino creatos, ne comitiorum militari prærogativam urbana comitia iisdem tribunis plebis creandis sequerentur, peritus rerum popularium, imminensque ei potestati, et ipse priùs, quàm iretur ad urbem, pari potestate eundem numerum ab suis creandum curat. Portâ Collinâ urbem intravère sub signis, mediâque urbe agmine in Aventinum pergunt. Ibi, conjuncti alteri exerciti, viginti tribunis militum negotium dede- runt, ut ex suo numero duos crearent, qui summæ rerum præcessent. M. Oppium, Sex. Manilium creant. Patres, solliciti de summâ rerum, quem senatus quotidie esset,
jurgii saepius terunt tempus, quae consiliis. Sicci caedes decemviris, et Appiana libido, et dedecora militiae\^{75}, objiciebantur. Placebat Valerium Horatiumque ire in Aventinum. Illi negabant se aliter ituros, quam si decemviri deponerent insignia magistratus ejus, quo anno jam ante abissent. Decemviri, querentes se in ordinem cogi\^{78}, non ante, quae perlatis legibus, quorum causae creati essent, deposituros imperium se aiebant.

LII. Per M. Duiliium, qui tribunus plebis fuerat, certior facta plebs contentionibus assiduis nihil transigi, in Sacrum montem ex Aventino transit, affirmante Duilio, “Non prius, quam deseri urbe videant, curam in animos Patrum descensuram; admonitorum\^{79} Sacrum montem constantiae plebis; scituros\^{80} quod, sine restitutiona potestate, redigi in concordiam res nequeant.” Vià Nomentana, cui tum Ficulensi\^{81} nomen fuit, profecti, castra in monte Sacro locavere, modestiam patrum suonim niili violando imitati. Secuta exercitum plebs, nullo, qui per aetatem ire posset, retractante\^{82}. Prosequuntur conjuges liberique, cuinam se relinquerent in ea urbe, in qua “nec pudicitia, nec libertas, sancta esset,” miserabiliter rogitantes. Quum vasta Romae omnia insueta solitudo fecisset; in foro præter paucos seniorum nemo esset; vocatis utique in senatum Patribus, desertum apparuisset forum; plures jam, quam Horatius et Valerius, vociferabantur: “Quid exspectabitis, Patres Conscripti? Si decemviri finem pertinaciae non faciunt, ruere ac deflagrare\^{53} omnia passuri estis? Quod autem istud imperium est, decemviri, quod amplexi tenetis? Tectis ac parietibus jura dicturi estis? Non pudet lictorum vestrorum majorem propè numerum in foro conspici, quam togatorem aliorumque? Quid, si hostes ad urbem veniant, facturi estis? quid, si plebs mox, ubi parum secessione moveamur, armata veniat? Occasune urbis vultis finire imperium? Atqui aut plebs non est habenda, aut habendi sunt tribuni plebis. Nos citius caruerimus patriciis magistratibus, quam illi plebeiis. Novam inexpertamque eam potestatem eripuere patribus nostris, ne nunc\^{55}, dulcedine semel capti, ferant desiderium, quum præsertim nec nos temperemus imperiiis, quo minus illi auxillii egeant.”
Quum hæc ex omni parte jactarentur, victi consensus, decemviri futuros se, quando ita videatur, in potestate Patrum affirmant. Id modò simul orant ac moment, ut ipsis ab invidia caveatur; nec suo sanguine ad supplicia Patrum plebem assuefaciant.


LIV. Facerent, ut vellent, permittentibus cunctis, mox redituros se legati, rebus perfectis, affirmant. Pro-

LV. Per interregem deinde consules creati, L. Valerius, M. Horatius, qui extemplò magistratum occuperunt; quorum consulatus popularis, sine ullà Patrum injuriá, nec sine offensione fuit; quicquid enim libertati plebis caveretur, id suis decedere opibus credebant. Omnium primum, quum veluti in controvero jure esset, tene renturne Patres plebiscitis, legem centuriatis comitiis tulère, “Ut, quod tributim plebes jussisset, populum teneret.” Quà lege tribuniciiis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum est. Aliam deinde consularem legem de provocacione, unicum præsidium libertatis, decemvirali potestate eversam, non restituunt modò, sed etiam in posterum muniunt, sanciendo novam legem, “Ne quis ullum magistratum sine provocacione crearet; qui creasset, eum jus fasque esset occidi; ‘neve ea cædes capitalis noxæ haberetur.” Et quum plebem hinc provocatione, hinc tribunicio auxilio, satis firmássent, ipsis quoque tribunis, ut sacrosancti vide rentur, (cujuus rei propè jam memoria aboleverat) latis quibusdam ex magno intervallo ceremoniis, renovárunter; et tum religione inviolatos eos, tum lege etiam, fecerunt, sanciendo, “Ut, qui tribunis plebis, “œdilibus, judicibus, decemviris, nocuisset, ejus caput “Jovi sacrum esset; familia ad ædem Cerezis, Liberi, “Liberæque, venum iret.” Hac lege juris interpretantes negant quemquam sacrosanctum esse; sed eum, qui eorum cuiquam nocuerit, sacrum sanciri; itaque ædilem prehendi ducique à majoribus magistratibus; quod etsi non jure fiat, (noceri enim eì, cui hac lege non liceat) tamen argumentum esse, non haberi pro sacrosancto ædilem; tribunos vetere jureju rando plebis, quum primûm eam potestatem creavit, sacrosancos esse. Fuère, qui interpretarentur eâdem hac Horatii lege consulibus quoque et prætoribus, quia
iiisdem auspiciis, quibus consules, crearentur, cautum esse⁴⁵; judicem enim consulem appellari. Quæ re-
fellitur interpretatio, quod his temporibus nondum consulem judicem, sed prætorem, appellari mos fuerit. Hæ consulares⁴⁶ leges fuère. Institutum etiam ab iiisdem consulibus, ut senatusconsulta in ædem Ceresis ad ædiles plebis deferrentur⁴⁷; quæ anteab arbitrio consulum supprimebantur vitiabanturque⁴⁸. M. Duilius deinde tribunus plebis plebem rogavit, plebesque scilicet, "Qui plebem sine tribunis reliquisset⁴⁹, quique magis-
"tratum sine provocacione créasset, tergo ac capite "puniretur." Hæ omnia ut invitis⁵⁰, ita non adver-
santibus, patriciis transacta, quia nondum in quem-
quam unum sæviabatur.

LVI. Fundatâ deinde et potestate tribuniciâ et plebis libertate, tum tribuni, aggregati singulos tutum maturum-
ríique per biennium alia super alia es ausus, "gratiam facio⁵³. Unius tantum criminis⁵⁴, ni judicem "dices⁵⁵, te ab libertate in servitutem contra leges vindic-
"cias non dedisse, in vincula te duci jubeo." Nec in tribunicio auxilio Appius, nec in judicio populi, ullam spem habebat; attamen et tribunos appellavit, et, nullo morante⁵⁶, arreptus à viatore, "Provoco," inquit. Audita vox, una vindex libertatis, ex eo missa ore, quo vindiciae nuper ab libertate dictae⁵⁷ erant, silentium fecit. Et, dum pro se quisque, "Deos "tandem esse, et non negligere humana," fremunt, "et superbiae crudelitatisque, etsi seras, non leves "tamen venire pœnas; provocare, qui provocationem "sustulisset; et implorare præsidium populi, qui
omnia jura populi obtrisset; rapique in vincula 
"egentem jure libertatis, qui liberum corpus in ser-
vitutem addixisset;" ipsius Appii, inter concionis 
murmur, fidem populi Romani implorantis vox audie-
batur. "Majorum merita in rempublicam domi militiae-
que" commenorabat; "suum infelix erga plebem 
Romanam studium, quod æquandarum legum causâ 
cum maximâ offensione Patrum consulatu abisset;38 
suas leges, quibus maentibus lator earum in vincula 
ducatur. Ceterum sua propria bona malaque, quum 
causa dicendæ data facultas sit, tum se experturum. 
"In presentia se communi jure civitatis cive Rom-
um die dictâ postulare, ut dicere liceat, et judicium 
populi Romani experiri; non ita se invidiam per-
timuisse, ut nihil in æquitate et misericordiâ civium 
suorum spē habeat. Quōd si indictâ causâ in vincula 
ducatur, iterum se tribunos plebei appellare, et 
monere, ne imitentur, quos oderint. Quōd si tri-
buni31 eodem fœdere obligatos se fateantur appellati-
onis causâ, in quam conspirasse decemviro criminati 
sint," ait32 "se provocare ad populum; implorare 
leges de provocatione, et consulares, et tribunicias 
eo ipso anno latas. Quem enim provocatūrum, si 
"huic indemnato, indictâ causâ, non liceat? cui plebeio 
et humili præsidium in legibus fore, si Ap. Claudio 
non sit? se documento futurum, utrūm novis-lectibus 
dominatio, an libertas, firmata sit; et appello pro-
vocatioque33 adversus iuriam magistratuum ostentata 
tantum inanibus literis, an verē data sit."

LVII. Contra ea Virginius, "Unum Ap. Claudium, et le-
gum expertem, et civilis et humani fœderis, esse," aiebat. 
"Respicere tribunal homines, castellum omnium 
scelerum, ubi decemvir ille perpetuus, bonis, tergo, 
sanguini, civium infestus, virgas securesque omnibus 
munitis, deorum hominumque contemptor, carnifici-
bus, non lictoribus, stipatus, jam ab rapinis et caedibus 
animo ad libidinem verso, virgém ingenuam in oculos 
populi Romani, velut bello captam, ab complexu patris 
abreptam, ministro cubiculi sui clienti dono dederit. 
"Ubi crudeli decreto nefandisque vindiciis dextram 
patris in filiam armaverit; ubi, tollentes corpus semia-
"nime virginis, sponsum avunculumque in carcerem "duci jussisset, stupro interpellato\textsuperscript{35} magis, quàm cæde, "motus. Et illi carcerem ædificatum esse, quod domi- "cilium plebis Romanæ vocare sit solitus. Proinde, ut "ille iterum ac sæpius provocet, sic se iterum ac sæpius "judicem illi ferre, ni vindicia\textsuperscript{36} ab libertate in servi- "tutem dederit; si ad judicem non eat, pro damnato in "vincula duci jubere." Ut haud quoquam improbante, sic magno motu animorum, quàm tanti viri supplicio suamet plebi jam nimirum libertas videretur, in carcerem est conjectus. Tribunus ei diem prodixit\textsuperscript{37} Inter hæc ab Latinis et Hernicis legati gratulatum de concordiâ Patrum ac plebis Romam venerunt; domumque ob eam Jovi optimo maximo coronam auream in Capitolium tulère parvi ponderis, prout res haud opulentæ erant, colebanturque religiones piæ magis, quàm magnificè. Iisdem auctoribus cognitionum est Æquos Volscosque summâ vix bellum apparare. Itaque partiri provincias consules jussi. Horatio Sabini, Valerio Æqui Volsceique, evenère. Quum ad ea bella delectum edixissent, favore plebis non juriiores modò, sed, emeritis etiam stipendiis\textsuperscript{38}, pars magna voluntariorum, ad nomina danda praestò fuère; cóque non copiâ modò, sed genere etiam, militum, veteranis admixtis, firmior exercitus fuit. Priusquam urbem egredierentur\textsuperscript{39}, leges decemvirales, quibus \textit{tabulis duodecim} est nomen, in æs incisas in publico propo- suerunt. Sunt, qui jussu tribunorum ædiles functos eo ministerio scribant.

LVIII. C. Claudius, (qui, perosus decemvirorum scelera, et ante omnes fratrii filii superbìae infestus, Regillum, antiquam in patriam\textsuperscript{40}, se contulerat,) is, magnus jam natu, quàm ad pericula ejus decrècanda redisset, cujus vita fugerat, sordidatus cum gentilibus\textsuperscript{41} clientibusque in foro presabat singulos; orabatque, "Ne Claudiae genti eam inustam læcum vellent, ut "carere et vinculis viderentur digni. Virum, honorà- "tissimæ imaginis\textsuperscript{42} futurum ad posteros, legum latorem "conditoremque Romani juris, jaceret vinetum inter fures "nocturnos ac latrones. Averterent ab irá parumper "ad cognitionem cogitationemque animos, et potius "unum tot Claudiiis deprecantibus condonarent, quàm
"propter unius odium multorum preces asperramentur. "Se quoque id generi ac nominì dare\(^4\), nec cum eo in "gratiam redisse, cujus adversae fortunae velit succursum. "Virtute libertatem recuperatam esse; clementiâ con- "cordiam ordinum stabiliri posse." Erant, quos move- ret suà magis pietate\(^4\), quàm ejus, pro quo agebat, causâ; sed Virginius, "sui potius ut miserentur," orabat, "filiaeque : nec gentis Claudiae, regnum in ple- "bem sortitae, sed necessariorum\(^4\) Virginiae et trium "tribunorum, preces audirent, qui, ad auxilium plebis "creati, ipsi plebis fidem atque auxilium implorarent." Justiores hae lacrymse videbantur; itaque, spe incisa\(^4\), "nec gentis Ciaudise, regnum in ple- "bem sortitae, sed necessariorum\(^4\) Virginiae et trium "tribunorum, preces audirent, qui, ad auxilium plebis "creati, ipsi plebis fidem atque auxilium implorarent." Subinde arreptus\(^4\) à P. Numitorio Sp. Oppius, proximus invidiae, quàd in urbe fuerat, quem injustae "vindicie à collegâ dicerentur. Plus tamen facta injuria Oppio\(^4\), quàm non prohibita, invidiae fecit. Testis "productus, qui, septem et viginti enumeratis "stipendiis, octies extra ordinem donatus\(^4\), donaque ea gerens in "conspectu populi, scissa veste, tergum laceratum "virgis ostendit, nihilum deprecans, "quin, si quam suam "noxam reus dicere posset, privatus\(^5\) iterum in se "seviret." Oppius quoque ductus in vincula est, et ante judicii diem "finem ibi vitse fecit. Bona Claudii Oppiique "tribuni publicavere ; collegae eorum exsilu "causa solum verte- runt\(^4\); bona publicata sunt ; et M. Claudius, assertor "Virginiae, die dicta damnatus, ipso remittente Virginioc "ultimam pœnam\(^\text{52}\), dimissus Tibur exulatum abiiit ; Ma- "nesque Virginiae, mortuæ quàm vivæ felicioris, per tot "domos ad petendam pœnas vagati, nullo relictò sente, "tandem quieverunt.

LIX. Ingens metus incesserat\(^53\) Patres, vultusque jam iudem tribunorum erant, qui decemvirorum fuerant, "quum M. Duilius tribunus plebis, inhibito salubriter "modo\(^4\) nimiae potestatis, "Et libertatis," inquit, "nostre et pœnarum ex inimicis satis est. Itaque hoc "anno nec diem dici cuiquam, nec in vincula duci "quemquam, sum passurus. Nam neque vetera peccata "repeti jam obliterate placet, quum nova expiata sint "decemvirorum suppliciis ; et nihil admissum iri, quod "vim tribuniciam desideret\(^5\), spondet perpetua consulum
"amborum in libertate vestrá tuendá cura." Ea primum moderatio tribuni metum Patribus dempserit, eademque auxit consulum invidiam, quòd adeò toti plebis fuissent, ut Patrum salutis libertatisque prior plebs magistratui, quàm patricio, cura fuisset; et antè inimicos satietas pœnarum suarum cepisset, quàm obviām ituros licentiae eorum consules appareret. Multique erant, qui mollius consultum dicerent, quod legum ab is latarum Patres auctores fuissent; neque erat dubium, quin, turbato reipublicae statu, tempore succubiissent.

LX. Consules, rebus urbanis compositis, fundatoque plebis statu, in provincias diversi abiére. Valerius adversùs conjunctos jam in Algido exercitus Æquorum Volscorumque sustinuit consilio bellum. Quòd si extemplò rem fortunae commisisset, haud scio an (qui tum animi ab decemviro rum infelicibus auspiciis Romanis hostibusque erant,) magnò detrimento certamen staturum fuerit. Castris mille passuum ab hoste positis, copias continebat; hostes medium inter bina castra spatium acie instructâ complebant. Provocantisbusque ad prælium responsum Romanus nemo reddebat. Tandem fatigati stando, ac nequicquam exspectando certamen, Æqui Volsciique, postquam concessum prope modum de victoria credebant, pars in Hernicos, pars in Latinos, prædatum abeunt. Relinquitur magis castris præsidium, quàm satis virium ad certamen; quod ubi consul sensit, reddit illatum antea terrem; instructàque acie utrò hostem laciesit. Ubi illi, conscientià quid abesset virium, detractavère pugnam, crevit extemplò Romanis animus, et pro victis habeabant pavesìtes intra vallum. Quum per totum diem stetissent intenti ad certamen, nocti cessò; et Romani quidem pleni spei corpora curabant. Haudquaquam pari hostes animo nuncius passim trepidi ad revocandos praedatores dimitissent; recurritur ex proximis locis; ulteriores non inventi. Ubi illuxit, egregitar castris Romanus vallum invasurus, ni copia pugnæ fieret; et, postquam multa jam dies erat, neque moveri quicquam ab hoste, jubet signa inferri consul; motâque acie, indignatio Æquos et Volscos incessit, si victores exercitus vallum potius, quàm virtus et arma tegerent; igitur et ipsi efflagitatum ab ducibus signum
pugnae accepère. Jamque pars egressa portis erat, dein-
cepque alii servabant ordinem, in suum quique locum
descendentes, quam consul Romanus priùs, quâm toxis
viribus fulta constaret hostium acies, intuitit signa, ador-
tusque nec omnes dum euctos, nec, qui erant, satis
explicatis ordiniibus, propè fluctuans turbam trepidan-
tium huc atque illuc, circumspexitantiumque se ac suos,
addito turbatis montibus clamore atque impetu, invadit.
Retulëre primò pedem hostes; deinde, quum animos
collegissent, et undique duces, "victisne cessuri essent,"
icreparent, restituitur pugna.

LXI. Consul ex alterâ parte Romanos "meminisse"
jugabat, "illo die primùm liberos pro liberâ urbe Romanâ
"pugnare. Sibimet ipsis victuros, non ut decemviorum
"victores præmiendum essent. Non Appio duce rem geri,
"sed consule Valerio, à liberatoribus populi Romani
"orto, liberatore ipso. Ostenderent prioribus præliis
"per duces, non per milites, stetisse, ne vincerent.
"Turpe esse contra cives plus animi habuisse, quàm
contra hostes; et domi, quàm foris, servitutem magis
timuisse. Unam Virginiam fuisse, cujus pudicitiae in
pace periculum esset; unum Appium civeum periculosæ
libidinis; at, si fortuna belli inclinet, omnium libe-
"ris ab tot millibus hostium periculum fore. Nolle
"ominari, quæ nec Jupiter nec Mars pater passuri
"sint urbi iis auspiciis conditæ accidere." Aventini
Sacrique montis admonebat, "ut, ubi libertas parta
esse paucis antè mensibus, eò imperium illibatum
"referrent, ostenderentque cændem indolem militibus
"Romanis post exactos decemvioros esse, quæ ante
"creatæ fuerit, nec æquatis legibus, immintumat virtu-
"tem populi Romani esse." Hæc ubi inter signa
peditum dicta dedit, avolat deinde ad equites: "Agite
"juvenes," inquit; "praestate virtute peditem, ut honore
"atque ordine præstatis. Primo concursu pedes movit
"hostem; pulsum vos, immisissis equis, exigitæ è campo.
"Non sustinebunt impetum, et nunc cunctantur magis,
"quàm resistunt." Concitant equos permittuntque in
hostem, pedestri jam turbatum pugnâ; et, perruptis
ordinibus, elati ad novissimam aciem, pars libero spatio
circumvecti, jam fugam undique capessentes plerosque
à castris avertunt, preterequitantesque absterrent. Peditum acies et consuli ipse visque omnis belli furtur in castra; captisque cum ingenti cæde, majore praedâ, potitur. Hujus pugnae fama perlata non in urbem modò, sed in Sabinos ad alterum exercitum. In urbe lætitiâ modò celebrata est; in castris animos militum ad aemulandum decus fertur; captisque cum ingenti cæde, majore praedâ, potitur. Hujus pugnae fama perlata non in urbem modo, sed in Sabinos ad alterum exercitum. In urbe lætitia modo celebrata est; in castris animos militum ad aemulandum decus accendit. Jam Horatius, eos excursionibus sufficiendo, præliisque levibus experiundo, assuecerat sibi potius fidere, quæ meminisse ignominiae decemvirorum ductu acceptum; parvaque certamina in summam totius profecerant spei. Nec cessabant Sabini, feraces ab re priore anno bene gestâ, lacessere atque instare, rogitantes, "Quid, latrocinii modo, procursantes pauci reurentesque terrentem, et in multa parvaque carperent summam unius belli? Quin illi congerederunt acie, inclinandamque semel "fortunæ rem darent?"

LXII. Ad id, quod suâ sponte satis collectum animorum erat, indignitate etiam Romani accendebantur: "Jam alterum exercitum victorem in urbem reeditur; sibi ulterum per contumelias hostem insultare. Quando "autem se, si tum non sint, pares hostibus fore?" Ubi hæc furentem militem in castris consul sensit, concione advocata, "Quemadmodum," inquit, "in Algido res gesta sit, arbitror vos, milites, audisse; qualem liberi populi exercitum decuit esse, talis fuit; consultum collegë, virtute militum, victoria parta est. Quod ad "me attinet, id consilii animique habiturus sum, quod "vos mihi effeceritis; et trahi bellum salubriter, et "maturè perfici potest. Si trahendum est, ego, ut "in dies spes virtusque vestra crescat, eâdem, quâ "institui, disciplinâ efficiam. Si jam satis animi est "decernique placet, agitendum, clamor, qualèm in "acie sublaturi estis, tollite hic, indicem voluntatis "virtutisque vestrae." Postquam ingenti alacitate clamosor est sublatus, "Quod bene vertat, gesturum se "illis morem, posteroque die in aciem deducturum," affirmat. Reliquum diei apparandis armis consumptum est. Postero die simul instrui Romanam aciem Sabin vidère, et ipsi, jam pridem avidi certaminis, procedunt. Prœlium fuit, quæ inter fidentes sibimet ambo exerci-
tus, veteris perpetuaeque alterum gloriae, alterum nuper nova victoriae elatum. Consilio etiam Sabini vires adjuvère; nam, quum æquassent aciem, duo extra ordinem millia, quæ in sinistrum cornu Romanorum in ipso certamine impressionem facerent, tenuère; quæ ubi, illatis ex transverso signis, degravabant propè circumventum cornu, equites duarum legionum sexcenti serè ex equis desiliunt, cedentibusque jam suis provolant in primum, simulque et hosti se opponunt, et, æquato primum periculo, pudore deinde animos peditum accendunt. Vercundiae erat equitem suo alienique marte pugnare; peditem ne ad pedes quidem degresso equiti parem esse.

Vadunt igitur in prœlimium ab sua parte omissum, et locum, ex quo cesserant, repetunt; momentoque non restituta modò pugna, sed inclinatur etiam Sabinis cornu. Eques inter ordines peditum tectus se ad equos recipit; transvolat inde in partem alteram suis victoriae nuncius; simul et in hostes jam pavidos, quippe fuso suæ partis validiore cornu, impetu facit. Non aliorum eo prœlio virtus magis enituit. Consul providere omnia, laudare fortes, increpare, sicubi segnior pugna esset. Castigati for tum statim virorum operam edebant; tantumque hos pudor, quantum alios laudes, excitabant. Redintegrato clamore, undique omnes connisi hostem avertunt, nec deinde Romana vis sustineri potuit. Sabini, fusi passim per agros, castra hosti ad prædam relinquunt. Ibi non sociorum, sicut in Algido, res, sed suas, populationibus agrorum amissas, Romanus recipit. Geminâ victoriâ duobus bifariam prœliis partâ, malignâ senatus in unum diem supplicationes consulum nomine decrevit. Populus injussu et altero die frequens iit supplicatum; et hac vaga popularisque supplicatio studiis propè celebratior fuit. Consules ex composito eodem biduo ad urbem accessère, senatumque in Martium Campus evocavère. Ubi, quum de rebus ab se gestis agerent, questi primores Patrum senatum inter militès deditâ operâ terroris causâ haberì; itaque inde consules, ne criminationi locus esset, in prata Flaminia, ubi nunc ædes Apollinis est, (jam tum Apollinarem appellant,) avocavère senatum. Ubi, quum ingenti consensu
Patrum negaretur triumphus, L. Icilius tribunus plebis tulit ad populum de triumpho consulum, multis dissuasum prodeuntibus, maximè C. Claudioc vociferante: "De Patribus, non de hostibus, consules triumphare velis; gratiamque pro privato merito in tribunum, non pro virtute homenom, peti. Nunquam antè de triumpho per populum actum; semper aestimationem arbitriumque ejus honoris penes senatum fuisse. Ne reges quidem majestatem summì ordinis imminuisse. Ne ita omnia tribuni potestatis suæ implerent, ut nullum publicum consilium sinerent esse. Ita demum liberam civitatem fóre, ita æquatæ leges, si sua quisque jura ordo, suam majestatem, teneat." In eandem sententiam multa et à ceteris senioribus Patrum quum essent dicta, omnes tribus eam rogationem accepérunt. Tum primum, sine auctoritate senatús, populi jussu triumphatum est.

LXIV. Hæc victoria tribunorum plebisque propè in haud salubrem luxuriam vertit, consiratione inter tribunos facta, ut iidem tribuni refecerunt, et, quo sua minus cupiditas emineret, consulibus quoque continuarent magistratum. Consensum Patrum causabantur, quo per contumeliam consulum jura plebis labefacta essent. "Quid futurum, nondum firmatis legis, si novos tribunos per factiones suas consules adorti essent? non enim semper Valerios Haratiçque consules fore, qui libertati plebis suas opes postferrent." Forte quâdam utili ad tempus, ut comitiis præesset, potissimum M. Duilio sorte evenit, viro prudenti, et ex continuatione magistratús invidiam imminentem cernenti. Qui quum ex veteribus tribunis negaret ulius se rationem habiturum, pugnarentque collegae, ut liberas tribus in suffragium mitteret, aut concederet sortem comitiorum collegis, habituris è lege potius comitia, quàm ex voluntate Patrum, injecta contentione, Duiliis, consules ad subsellia accitos quum interrogasset, quid de comitiis consularibus in animo haberent, respondissentque, se novos consules creaturos, auctores popularis sententiae haud populares nactus, in concionem cum iis processit. Ubi, quum consules, ducèt ad populum, interrogatique, si eos populus Ro-
manus, memor libertatis per illos receptae domi, memor militiae rerumque gestarum, consules iterum faceret, quidnam facturi essent, nihil sententiae suae mutassent, collaudatis consulibus§, quod perseverarent ad ultimum dissimiles decemvirorum esse, comitia habuit; et, quinque tribunis plebis creatis, quum, prae studiis aperte petentium novem tribunorum, aliis candidati tribus non explerent§, concilium dimisit, nec deinde comitiorum causâ habuit. Satisfactum legi§ aiebat, quae, numero nusquam praefinito tribunis, modò ut relinquuerent⁷, sanciret, et ab iis, qui creati essent, cooptari collegas juberet. Recitabatque rogationis carmen^, in quo, "Si tribunos plebei decem rogabo⁹, si quid vos minus "hodie decem tribunos plebei feceritis¹⁰, hi tum uti, "quos sibi collegas cooptâssint, ut illi legantim eâdem "lege tribuni plebei sint, ut illi, quos¹¹ hodie tribunos "plebei feceritis." Duilius, quum ad ultimum perseverasset, negando quindecim tribunos⁰ plebei rem-publicam habere posse, victâ collegarum cupiditate, pariter Patribus plebique acceptus, magistratu abiit.

LXV. Novi tribuni plebis in cooptandis collegis Patrum voluntatem moverunt. Duos etiam patricios consularesque, Sp. Tarpeium et A. Aterium¹³, cooptaverè. Consules creati, Lar. Herminius, T. Virginius Caeli-montanus¹⁴. Nihil magnopere ad Patrum aut plebis causam inclinati, otium domi ac foris habuère. L. Trebonius, tribunus plebis, infestus Patribus, quod se ab iis in cooptandis tribunis fraude captum, pro-ditum à collegis, aiebat, rogationem tuli, "ut, qui "plebem Romanam tribunos plebi rogaret¹⁵, is usque "eò rogaret, dum decem tribunos plebi faceret;" in-sectandisque Patribus, unde Aspero etiam inditum est cognomen, tribunatum gessit¹⁶. Inde M. Geganius Macerinus et C. Julius, consules facti, coitiones tribunorum adversùs nobilium juventutem ortas, sine in-sectionate potestatis ejus¹⁷, conservatâ majestate Patrum, sedavère; plebem, decreto ad bellum Volscorum et Æquorum decetu, sustinendo rem¹⁸, ab seditionibus continuère, "urbano quoque otio¹⁹ foris omnia tran-"quilla esse" affirmantes; "per discordias civiles ex-"ternos²⁰ tollere animos." Cura pacis concordiae
quoque intestinæ causa fuit. Sed alter semper ordo gravis alterius modestiæ erat; quiescenti plebi ab junioribus Patrum injuriae fieri cæptæ. Ubi tribuni auxilio humilioribus essent, in primis parum prodest; deinde ne ipsi quidem inviolati erant, utique postremis mensibus, quum et per coitiones potentiorum injuria fieret, et vis potestatis omnis alicuanto posteriori anni parte languidior erat; jamque plebs ita in tribunatu ponere alicuius spei, si similes Icilio tribunos haberet; nomina tantum se biennio habuisse.

Seniores contrâ Patrum, ut nimirum fercæs suos credere juvenes esse, ita malle, si modus excendendus esset, suis, quàm adversariis, superesse animos; adeò modo ratio tuendae habervit, dum, æquari velle simulando, ita se quisque extollit, ut deprimat alium, in difficili est; cavendoque ne metuant homines, metuendos ulterior se efficiunt; et injuriam a nobis repulsam, tantum aut facere aut pati necesse sit, injungimus aliis.

LXVI. T. Quinctius Capitolinus quartum et Agrippa Furius, consules inde facti, nec seditionem domi, nec foris bellum, acceperunt; sed imminebat utrumque. Jam non ultrâ discordia civium reprimi poterat, et tribunis et plebe incitata in Patres, quum dies alicui nobilium dicta novis semper certaminibus conciones turbaret. Ad quarum primum strepitum, velut signo eccepto, arma cepere qui ac Volsci; simul quod parsuaserant iis duces, cupidæ prædarum, biennio ante dœcitum indictum haberi non potuisse, abnunite jam plebe imperium; "cæ aut adversùs se non esse missos exer.-citus; dissolvi licentiâ militandi morem; nec pro "communi jam patria Romam esse. Quicquid irarum "simultatumque cum externis fuerit, in ipsos verti; oc- "cæcatos lupos intestinâ rabie opprimendi occasionem "esse." Conjuratis exercitibus Latinum primum agrum perpopulati sunt; deinde, postquam ibi nemo vindex occurrebat, tum verò, exsультibus bellì auctori- bus, ad mœnia ipsa Romæ populabundi regione portæ Esquilinæ accessère, vastationem agrorum per contumeliam urbi ostentantes; unde postquam inultì, præ- dam præ se agentes, retro ad Corbinem agmine ière, Quinctius consul ad concionem populum vocavit.
LXVII. Ibi in hanc sententiam locutum accipio:

"Etsi mihi nullius noxæ conscius, Quirites, sum, tamen
cum pudore summo in concionem vestram processi.
"Hoc vos scire, hoc posteris memoriae traditum iri,
Æquos et Volscos, vix Hernicis modò pares, T.
Quinctio quartùm consule, ad mænia urbis Romæ
impunì armatos venisse. Hanc ego ignominiam,
"(quanquam jam diu ita vivitur, is status rerum
est, ut nihil boni divinet animus) si huic potissimum
iminere anno scíssem, vel exsilio, vel morte, si
alia fuga honoris non esset, vitassem. Ergo, si
viri arma illa habuissent, que in portis fuere nostri,
capi Roma me consule potuit. Satis honorum, satis
superque vitae, erat. Mori consulem tertùm oportuit.
"Quem tandem ignavissimi hostium contempsere?
"vos Quirites? Si culpa in nobis est,
auferte imperium indignis; et, si id parum est, in-
super pœnas expetite. Si in vobis, nemo deorum
nec hominum sit, qui vestra puniat peccata, Quirites;
vosmet tantùm eorum pœniteat. Non illi vestrum
ignaviam contempsère, nec suæ virtuti confisi sunt;
quippe, toties fusi fugatique, castris exuti, agro
mulctatì, sub jugum missi, et se et vos novère.
"Discordia ordinum est venenum urbis hujus, Patrum
ac plebis certamina. Dum nec nobis imperii, nec
vobis libertatis, est modus, dum tædet vos patricio-
orum, hos plebeiòrum magistratum, sustulère illi
animos. Prò deûm fidem, quid vobis vultis? Tribu-
nos plebis concupistis; concordiæ causa concessimus.
"Decemviros desiderástis; creari passi sumus. Decem-
virorum vos pertæsum est; coëgimus abire magistratu.
"Manente in eosdem privatos irâ vestrâ, mori atque ex-
sulare nobilissimos viros honoratissimosque passi su-
mus. Tribunos plebis creare iterum voluistis; creatís.
"Consules facere vestrarum partium etsi Patribus
videbamus iniquum, patricium quoque magistratum
plebi donum fieri vidimus. Auxiliìum tribunicium,
provocationem ad populum, scita plebis injuncta
Patribus, sub titulo æquandarum legum nostra jura
oppressa, tulimus et ferimus. Qui finis erit discor-
diarum? Ecquando unam urbem habere, ecquando
o 2

mulierum ritu inter nos altercantes, praesenti pace
laeti, nec cementes ex otio illo brevi multiplex bellum
rediturum. His ego gratiora dictu alia esse scio; sed
me vera pro gratis loqui, etsi meum ingenium non
moneret, necessitas cogit. Velem equidem volis
placere, Quirites; sed multò malo vos salvos esse,
qualunque erga me animo futuri estis. Naturà
hoc ita comparatum est, ut, qui apud multitudinem
súa causâ loquitur, gratior eo sit, cujus mens nihil,
praeter publicum commodum, videt; nisi fortè as-
sentatores publicos, plebicolas istos, qui vos nec in
armis nec in otio esse sinunt, vestrā vos causâ incitare
et stimulare putatis. Conciti, aut honorì, aut
quæstui, illis estis; et quia in concordiâ ordinum
nulos se usquam esse vident, malæ rei se, quàm
nullius, turbarum ac seditionum, duces esse volunt.
Quorum rerum si vos taedium tandem capere potest,
et patrum vestrosque antiquos mores vultis pro his
novis sumere, nulla supplicia recuso, nisi paucis
diebus hos populatores agrorum nostrorum fusos
fugatosque castris exuero, et a portis nostris mœnibus-
que ad illorum urbes hunc belli terrorem, quo nunc
vos attoniti estis, transtulero.

LXIX. Rarò aliás tribuni popularis oratio acceptior
plebi, quàm tunc severissimi consulis, fuit. Juventus
quoque, quæ inter tales metus detractationem militae
telum acerrimum adversùs Patres habere solita erat,
arma et bellum spectabat; et agrestium fuga, spoliati-
que in agris, et vulnerati, fædiora iis, quæ subjicieban-
tur oculis, nunciantes, totam urbem irà implevere. In
senatum ubi ventum est, ibi verò in Quinctium omnes
versi, ut unum vindicem majestatis Romanae intueri
et primores Patrum "dignam" dicere "concionem
imperio consulari, dignam tot consulatibus anteactis,
dignam vità omni, plenà honorum sæpè gestorum,
sæpius meritorum. Alios consules aut per prditionem
dignitatis Patrum plebi adulatos, aut acerbè tuendo
jura ordinis asperiorum domando multitudinem fecisse.
T. Quinctium orationem memorem majestatis Patrum,
concordiaeque ordinum, et temporum in primis
babuisse. Orare eum collegamque, ut capessent
"republicam"; orare tribunos, ut uno animo cum consiliis bellum ab urbe ac mænibus propulsari vellent, plebemque obediendem in re tam trepidâ Patribus praebèrent; appellare tribunos communem patriam, auxiliumque eorum implorare, vastatis agris, urbe "propè oppugnatâ." Consensu omnium delectus decernitur habeturque. Quum consules in concione pronunciassent, "Tempus non esse causas cognoscendi; omnes juniores postero die primâ luce in campo Martio adessent; cognoscendis causis, qui nomina non "dedissent, bello perfecto, se daturos tempus; pro "desertore futurum, cujus non probassent causam," omnis juventus adfuit postero die. Cohortes sibi quæque centuriones legerunt; bini senatores singulis cohortibus praepositi. Haec omnia adeò maturè perfecta accepimus, ut signa eo ipso die à quaestoribus ex aerario prompta delataque in Campum, qua quarta diei hora mota ex Campo, sint; exercitusque novus, paucis cohortibus veterum militum voluntate sequentibus, manserit ad decimum lapidem. Insequens dies hostem in conspectum dedit, castraque ad Corbionem castris sunt conjuncta. Tertio die, quum ira Romanos, illos, quum toties rebellâssent, conscientia culpæ ac desperatio, irritaret, mora dimicandi nulla est facta.

LXX. In exercitu Romano quum duo consules essent potestate pari, quod saluberrimum in administratione magnarum rerum est, summa imperii, concedente Agrippâ, penès collegam erat; et prælatus ille faciliter submittentis se comiter respondebat, communicando consilia laudesque, et æquando imparem sibi. In acie Quinctius dextro cornu, Agrippa sinistrum, tenuit; Sp. Postumio Albo legato datur media acies tuenda; legatum alterum Ser. Sulpicium equitibus praeficiunt. Pedites ab dextro cornu egregie pugnavère, haud segniter resistentibus Volsciis. Ser. Sulpicius per medium hostium aciem cum equitatu perrupit; unde quum eadem reverti posset ad suos, prius quam hostis turbatos ordines reficeret, terga impugnare hostium satiûs visum est; momentoque temporis, in aversam incursando aciem, ancipiti terrore dissipâssé hostes, ni suo proprio eum præfio equites Volscorum et Æquorum exceptum alii-
quamdiu tenuissent. Ibi verò Sulpicius negare, "cunctandi tempus esse; circumventos interclusosque ab suis vociferans, "ni equestre prœlium cognitum omni" vi pericicrent. Nec fugare equitem integrum satis esse; conficerent equos virosque, ne quis reveheretur "inde ad prœlium, aut integratæ pugnam; non posse "illos resistere sibi, quibus conferta pedium acies ces-
"sisset." Haud surdis auribus dicta; impressione una totum equitatum sudere; magnam "sim ex equis prœcipi-
tavere; ipsos equosque spiculis confodere. Is finis pugnæ equestris fuit. Tunc, adorti pedium aciæ, nuncios ad
consules rei gestœ mittunt, ubi jam inclinabatur hostium acies. Nuncius deinde et vincentibus Romanis animos auxit, et referentes gradum perculit Æquos. In mediâ prîmûm acie vincite conçpit, quæ permissus equitatus tur-
baverat ordinæ. Sinistrum deinde conçpavit ab Quinctio
console pellit; in dextro plurimum laboris fuit. Ibi Agrippa, ætate viribusque ferox, quum omni parte
pugnæ melius res geri, quàm apud se, videret, accepta
signa ab signiferis ipse inferre, quàdam jacere etiam in
confertos hostes, coepit. Cujus ignominiae metu conci-
tati milites, invasère hostem; ìta æquata ex omni parte
victoria est. Nuncius tum à Quinctio venit, "victorem
"jam se imminere hostium castris; nolle irrumpere,
"antequam sciat debellatum et in sinistro cornu esse.
"Si jam fudisset hostes, conferret ad se signa, ut simul
"omnis exercitus prædâ potiretur." Victor Agrippa
cum mutuâ gratulatione ad victorem collegam castraque
hostium venit. Ibi, paucis defendentibus momentoque
fusis, sine certamine in munitiones irrumpunt, prædâque
ingenti compotem exercitum, suis etiam rebus recupe-
ratis, quæ populatione agrorum amissæ erant, reducunt.
Triumphum nec ipsos postulâsse, nec delatum iis ab
senatu, accipio; nec traditur causa speri aut non sperati
honoris. Ego quantum in tanto intervalllo temporum
conjicio, quum Valerio atque Horatio consulis, qui,
praeter Volscos et Æquos, Sabini etiam belli perfecti
glomeram pepererant, negatus ab senatu triumphus esset,
verecundia fuit pro parte dimiddâ rerum consulis
petere triumphum; ne etiam, si imperâssent, magis
hominum ratio, quàm meritorum, habita videretur.
LXXI. Victoriam honestam, ex hostibus partam, turpe domi de finibus sociorum judicium populi defor-
mavit. Aricini atque Ardeates, de ambiguo agro quem
sepe bello certássent, multis invicem cládibus fessi,
judicem populum Romanum cepérere. Quum ad causam
orandum venissent, concilio populi à magistratibus dato,
magná contentione actum; jamque editis testibus, quem
tribus vocari, et populum inire suffragium, oporteret,
consurgit P. Scaptius de plebe, magno natu, et, “Si
licet,” inquit, “consules, de republicā dicere, errare
ego populum in hác causâ non patiār.” Quum, ut
vanum, eum negarent consules audiendum esse, vocife-
rantemque, “prodi publicam causam,” submoveri jus-
sissent, tribunos appellat. Tribuni, ut fere semper
reguntur a multitudine magis, quam regunt, dedere
cupidae audiendi plebi, ut, quae vellet, Scaptius diceret.
Ibi infit, “Annun se tertium et octogesimum agere, et
in eo agro, de quo agitur, militasse, non juvenem,
lichesima jam stipendia merentem, quum ad Coriolos
sit bellatum.” Eò rem se vetustate obliterateam, cete-
rüm suae memoriae infixam, affere: agrum, de quo
ambiguitur, finium Coriolanorum fuisse, captisque Corio-
lis, jure belli publicum populi Romani factum. Mirari
se, quonam more Ardeates Aricianique, cujus agri jus
nunquam usurpaverint incolumi Coriolanā re, eum se
à populō Romāno, quem pro domino judicem fecerint,
intercepturos sperent. Sibi exiguum vitæ tempus
superesse ; non potuisse se tamen inducere in animum,
quin, quem agrum miles pro parte virili manu cepisset,
eum senex quoque voce, quà uná posset, vindicaret.
Magnopere se suadere populo, ne inutili pudore suam
ipse causam damnaret.

LXXII. Consules, quum Scaptium non silentio modò,
sed cum assensu etiam, audiri animadvertissent, deos
hominesque testantes flagitium ingens fieri, Patrum pri-
mares arcessunt. Cum his circumire tribunos, orare,
“Ne pessimum facinus pejore exemplo admitterent
judices, in suam rem litem vertendo; quum præ-
sertim, etiamsi fas sit curam emolumenti sui judici
esse, nequaquam tantum agro intercippiendo acqui-
ratur, quantum amittatur alienandis injuriam sociorum
"animis. Nam famæ quidem ac fidei damna majora 
esse, quàm quæ àestimari possent. Hoc legatos 
refere domum; hoc vulgari; hoc socios audire; hoc 
hostes; quo cum dolore hos? quo cum gaudio illos? 
Scaptione hoc, concionali seni, assignaturos puta-
rent finitimos populos? Clarum hác fore imagine 
Scaptium; populum Romanum quadruplatoris et in-
terceptoris litis alienæ personam laturum; quem 
enim hoc privatae rei judicem fecisse, ut sibi contro-
versiosam adjudicaret rem? Scaptium ipsum id 
"quidem, etsi præmortui jam sit pudoris, non factu-
rum." Hæc consules, hæc Patres, vociferantur. Sed 
plus cupiditas, et auctor cupiditatis Scaptius, valet. 
Vocatæ tribus judicaverunt agrum publicum populi 
Romani esse. Nec abnuit ita fuisse, si ad judices 
alios itum foret; nunc haud sanè quidquam bono causæ 
levatur dedecus judicii, idque non Aricinis Ardeaetibus-
que, quàm Patribus Romanis, fœdior atque acerbius 
visum. Reliquum anní quietum ab urbanis motibus et 
ab externis mansit.
NOTES TO BOOK III.

Chap. I.—1 Ad Cremeram.] This event happened ten years before this time; see B. 2. c. 50. He was then near the age of puberty; so that he had not arrived at the usual age for election to the consulship; yet Valerius Corvus was consul at the age of twenty-three; (see B. 7. c. 26;) Scipio Africanus the elder, at the age of twenty-eight; T. Q. Flamininus, before thirty; and Pompey at thirty-six. The legal age for the office was forty-three, and not until the party had passed through the several offices of quaestor, ædile, and prætor.

2 Et agrarii.] "Both the advocates of the Agrarian law, and the tribunes."—See B. 27. c. 21.—Cic. Cat. 4. 2.

3 Tribunicii.] "Complaining that a man, holding the first office in the state, vaunted himself on favouring the proceedings of the tribunes, and, by bestowing favours out of the property of others, was becoming a supporter of the populace."—See Cic Cat. 4. 5.

4 A Volscis esse.] Scil. captum.

5 Creare.] "He gets triumvirs to be created for dividing the land." Creare is often applied to the magistrate who presided at an election, or through whose means the election was decided.—See B. 2. c. 33.—B. 3. c. 35. 54.—B. 5. c. 31.

Chap. II.—6 Intra castra.] "Necessary repose, confined to the camp the army, which was seized with disease." The sentence may, I think, be better explained thus: "inactivity, which within the camp was unavoidable, afflicted the army with sickness." Implicitum tenuit, the same as implicuit. Livy often uses such phrases.

7 Haud dubit spe.] "With a confident hope that the fame of his name would reduce the Æqui to peace." Extra ordinem, synonymous with extra sortem, means "that no lots were cast for it," as was usually the case.

8 Ultores.] This word, like ulciscor, has a twofold signification: it means either "one who punishes an aggressor," as here
NOTES TO BOOK III. C. 2, 3, 4. 305

"who takes vengeance for an act;" or, "one who rescues a man who is injured or oppressed."

9 *Etiam nunc.* "Even now." i. e. After the Æqui had by their misconduct disentitled themselves to his good wishes for them.

10 *Diis magis iratis.*] The gods showing more hostility against them than their enemies.

11 *Longam venire.*] "That a long night was coming," i. e. That the approaching night would be a very long one, as it would delay the battle.

12 *Constitit.*] "Took their ground somewhat sooner than the Æqui."

13 *Et desperatio.*] "And despair of any trust being reposed in them ever after."

CHAP. III.—14 *Audita incerta.*] "Reports, which they could not be certain of;" as they only heard, and did not see the facts.

15 *Increpans.*] "Telling them in terms of reproach, that enemies, whom they had conquered, became objects of terror to them."

16 *Justitio.*] This properly means a public suspension of all law-business: (from *jus* and *sisto*;) an adjournment of court.—See c. 27. It usually took place on occasions of public grief or fear; during its continuance all private business also was wont to be suspended.

17 *Prefecto.*] See B. 1. c. 59.

18 *Census.*] See B. 1. c. 42. 44. Valer. Max. says that the *census* was taken four times by Servius Tullius; in the reign of Tarq. Superbus it was omitted. Dionysius says that, after that reign, it was taken four times. This was the ninth census.

19 *Orbos orbasque.*] "Male and female orphans." Crevier says that women, children, slaves, merchants, strangers, and mechanics, were also excluded; and that their number was treble that of the citizens who were registered. Those mechanics and merchants were mostly strangers, as the early Romans pursued no other profession but agriculture or arms.

CHAP. IV.—20 *Furios.*] "The Furii some writers have written Fusii." The Romans formerly used *s* for *r*; thus, Valerius and Furii were originally written Valesius and Fusius.

21 *Certiavere.*] "Rivalled one another in their hatred to the Romans."

22 *Ecetranum.*] "The inhabitants of Ecetra."

23 *Sud sponte infidos.*] "Who were already faithless of themselves."

24 *Excitis.*] "Being summoned to Rome."

25 *Haud gravati.*] "Without reluctance."

26 *Videre.*] A commission, couched in these words, invested a consul with absolute power, but was resorted to only in cases of extreme public danger.
Pro consul[e].] This is the first mention made in Livy of a proconsul.

Chap. V.—Decumanâ portâ.] The Roman camp was generally square, and had four gates; one in front of the enemy called prætoria, as it was near the prætorium, or general's tent; this was also called extraordinaria; see B. 40. c. 27; two on the sides, right and left, called principales; see B. 34. c. 46; one at the rear called quæstoria, because, in the early ages, the quæstorium, or quæstor's tent, was near it; see B. 10. c. 32.—B. 34. c. 27; this was also called decumana, because the tenth cohorts, decimæ cohortes, were quartered there. There were generally many legions together in one camp in the first ages; in after-times each legion often encamped separately. Every legion was divided into ten cohorts. The first cohorts of these several legions were quartered near the prætorium, so called from the title of prætor, or commander, which was a name at first given to the consul, as he was commander of the army; afterwards it was given to the magistrate appointed to discharge the judicial functions of the consul. Then behind these first cohorts, in regular order of succession, were quartered all the others to the tenth or last, which were quartered in the extreme rear of the camp. In after-times the quæstorium was on one side of the prætorium; and on the other side, the tents of the general officers. Near the quæstorium was the forum or market-place. The camp was divided into two parts, the upper and the lower, which were separated by a broad open space, called principia, running the breadth of the camp, and lying directly between the portæ principiales, which derived that name from it. In this the general's tribunal was erected; the tribunes of the soldiers held their courts, and punishments were inflicted. The principal standards also, and the altars of the gods, stood there. In the lower part of the camp most of the army was quartered, the cavalry occupying the middle. In each tent there were usually ten soldiers, called contubernales. Every camp had eight roads or passages, five running from front to rear, and three from side to side; besides by-ways, and spaces between the tents. See Lipsius on the Roman Art of War.

Nec spe nec viribus pares.] Unequal in hope and strength, to what they were, when besieged the first time.

Peregrinis copitis.] These words are put in apposition with Latino Hernicoque exercitu, which should either be written before peregrinis copitis, or must have been an interpolation of some transcriber, because peregrinis copitis and Latino Hernicoque exercitu are identical expressions, as appears from the preceding chapter. The transposition of cum would fully remove the difficulty, that commentators speak of here, by reading either peregrinis cum copitis, or cum peregrinis copitis.

Simul ad signum.]["At the same time a sally being made from the camp on a signal given by himself at a distance."
Antias Valerius.] This writer lived in the times of the Sibyl. Livy has no great reliance on his regard for truth.—See B. 26. c. 49.—B. 36. c. 38. This word audet here shows that he does not think him entitled to much credit. This word conveys the same sentiment in Juvenal, Sat. 10, 175, et quicquid Gracia mendax audet in historid.

Defunctam ... cade.] "By no means escaped with such little slaughter."—See B. 2. c. 35. n. 38.

Mille milites.] These words are put in apposition to Antiates. So, Galli, magna kominum vis, B. 38. c. 16.

Chap. VI.—Principium anni.] i. e. Of the consular year, not the civil year, which, from the time of Numa, began on the first of January. The time, on which magistrates entered on their office, varied very much until the year 599, (see B. 47. c. 36,) when it was fixed that consuls should ever after enter into office on the calends of January.

Grave tempus.] The season of the year, i. e. the autumn, was unwholesome in itself, and in addition to this there was a plague that year.—See ch. 8, at the beginning.

Ministeria.] "Their attendance on one another, and the mere circumstance of contact, were spreading the infection." Contagio the same here as contactus.

Sustinentibus.] "While they could scarcely bear up against the calamities that pressed upon them, the ambassadors of the Hernici suddenly announce, &c."

Tristi nuncio.] i. e. The tidings of invasion which they had carried to Rome.

Vastatos.] Desolated by the pestilence.

Viribus sufficienter.] "Were sufficient in strength." Vires sufficienter is another way of expressing the same sentiment.

Circuitio ac cura edillum plebi erat.] "The charge of visiting and taking care of the watches was undertaken by the soldiers of the people." This is the first time mention is made of these, though they were created along with the tribunes of the people. See B. 2. c. 33. n. 4.

Chap. VII.—Tumuli.] "The hills of Rome;" they were within three miles of them, and had them in full view.

Frenitu.] "A murmur rising in the camp, (i. e. among the soldiers,) asking why they should waste time, &c."

Obessis.] Livy does not intend to say what really happened, but what the allies thought had happened. Yet Dionysius says, that they had actually attacked Rome, but had failed.

Equo praelio.] This is the same as aquo Marte. The Latins and Hernici were defeated.—See B. 1. c. 33. n. 98.

Quanta.] "The havoc caused by pestilence at Rome was not less than what was caused by the sword among the allies." Strages haeu minor Roma, qu'm tanta strages sociorum fuit; quanta ferro facta erat,
Curio.] Each of the thirty curiae, into which the city was divided by Romulus, had a priest to officiate for them, called curio; and the curio maximus, who was elected at the comitia curiata, presided over them.

Chap. VIII.—Interregna.] See B. 1. c. 17, for the origin of this; the name and office lasted even after the expulsion of the kings. Whenever there happened to be no curule magistrate, the patricians met, coitère, and appointed an interrex, whose power lasted only five days. And they continued to create such temporary magistrates, until the comitia for creating consuls, or military tribunes with consular power, were held.

Vetusius.] See c. 4. n. 20.

In re subitâ.] "More from the suddenness of the circumstance, "—In in Latin and English, and ἐπι in Greek, are sometimes found to signify "cause, manner, or instrument."

Exploratis.] "Having discovered all their lines of march."

Quum exitus haud in facili.] "When an escape was not easy."

Tertia illa pugna.] i. e. The battle between the united forces of the consuls, and the united forces of the Èqui and Volsci.

Chap. IX.—Soluti atque effrãnati.] "Being unrestrained and headstrong themselves."

Legem.] Hitherto all questions of dispute were mostly decided by the will of the kings and consuls; therefore, Terentilus wished that there should be a regular and fixed code of laws, by which the State should in future be governed.

Creentur legibus . . . scribendis.] See a similar structure, ch. 1. n. 5.

Ut nihil.] "That there was no kind of threat or intimidation omitted by him, which, even if both the consuls in the utmost fury stood round the tribune, they could supply." He was as violent as they could possibly be.

Tempore capto.] "Having seized a favourable opportunity."

Sisti.] See B. 2. c. 29. n. 52.

Non illud consulare.] "That such conduct was rendering, not the power of the consuls, but the influence of the tribunes, odious and intolerable; which, from being in a state of peace and reconciliation with the patricians, was about to be driven back into its old mischievous practices; nor would he beg of him not to proceed as he began." Accordingly, in the next sentence, he makes an appeal to the other tribunes.

Æquī.] "Even the Æqui and Volsci did not press upon us, &c." i. e. Even these, our enemies, behaved more humanely to us than this tribune.

Dilatâque.] "Being in appearance put off; but, in reality, withdrawn entirely." It was withdrawn for the present year only; for on the following year it was revived by the whole college of tribunes. But Walker thinks that Livy applies the words to
the "intention" of the patricians. They wished to all appearance that the question should be only put off for a time, but in reality they wished that it should be altogether withdrawn. I think rather that Livy speaks about a real fact, as B. 2. c. 61. n. 12. The tribunes induced Terentillus to allow the consideration of the question to be deferred until the consuls arrived; it was accordingly, to all appearances at that time, only deferred, not abandoned altogether, although it afterwards turned out to be wholly abandoned for that year.

Chap. X.—64 Auget.] "He adds to his glory on his arrival, by exposing, &c. &c."

65 Id antiquius.] The consul thought the affair of his triumph of greater importance, and that it should be determined first. The tribune, on the other hand, thought that it ought to be deferred until the law had been passed; so that the question between the two, whether the law or the triumph should be decided first, was in agitation for some days, until the tribune at last allowed the consuls to carry his point.—See B. 1. c. 32. n. 81. for the meaning of antiquius. It would appear from this contest between the tribune and consul, that the consul was in the city; whereas, generally the consul was obliged to wait outside the city, until the triumph was decreed him.

66 Ovans.] An ovation was an honour inferior to the triumph. In the ovation, the general entered the city, not in a chariot, but on foot; dressed, not in the trabea, but in the praetexta only; crowned with myrtle, in place of laurel; and attended by a band of flute-players; a sheep, ovis, (hence the name) and not a bull, was sacrificed on the occasion.

67 Bovem locutam.] The ox had spoken the year before, a fact which was not then believed; but the appearance of other prodigies this year gained it credit.

68 Carnem pluit.] Pluere is often found with an ablative.—So B. 1. c. 31, lapidibus pluisse.

69 Mutaret.] This verb, like verto and many others, is often neuter.

90 Libri.] It is said that when Tarquinius Superbus was building the capitol, an old woman came and offered him nine books for a certain sum, which he refused to give; on this she retired, and, having burned three, returned, and demanded the same sum for the remaining six, which he again refused to give. She retired a second time, and, having burned three more, still demanded the same sum for the remaining three. Tarquin, struck by the singularity of the circumstance, consulted the augurs, who recommended him to purchase them at any price. These books, which were supposed to contain prophetic information about the fate and fortune of the Roman state, were carefully deposited in a stone chest, in a vault under the capitol; and two officers were chosen from the order of the patrician
called *duumviri sacrorum*, (to distinguish them from other officers, called *duumviri*,) to take care of them. The number of these was afterwards increased to ten, one-half plebeians; and again further increased to fifteen by Sylla, on which occasion they were called *quindecemviri*, which name they retained, even when increased to sixty; their office lasted for life, and they were exempted from civil and military duties. On occasions of extreme danger, pestilence, or any extraordinary prodigy, the duumviri were ordered by the senate to consult these books, and they reported what expiations and other rites were necessary to avert the impending evil. In the Marsic war, A. U. C. 670, the capitol being burned, these books were destroyed. Whereupon, ambassadors were sent everywhere to collect what Sibylline verses could be found, and, out of these, new books were made; which Augustus, after having burned all other prophetic books, deposited in two gilt vases under the statue of Apollo in his temple on the Palatine Hill.

71 *Qui impetus.*] "Any attack." *Qui* for *quis*, and *quinam* for *quisnam*, are often used by Livy.—See B. 6. c. 32.—B. 9. c. 17.

72 *Ut idem.*] "That the same circle of events might revolve every year."

73 *Ecetra.*] "That the colonists of Antium were holding their councils, not at Antium, but Ecetra," in order to avoid the suspicion of the Romans.—See ch. 4.—*Id caput* refers to the Antiates.

74 *Tribuni coram.*] "The tribunes loudly declared before their faces in the forum, that this farce of the Volscian war was a made-up one; that the Hernici were procured to act their part."

75 *Quia.*] "That new enemies were sought for, because it was now incredible that the Volscians, &c."

76 *Relegatione.*] This was a temporary and minor sort of banishment, by which neither civil rights nor property were lost.

77 *Ne quid.*] Let not the people think there was anything else in agitation between the patricians and consuls.

78 *Cavisse.*] i. e. By the defeat of the Equi and Volsci.

Chap. XI.—79 *Coorta.*] The force of this expression is, that they "all arose together" to acts of violence.

80 *Neque suum cuique jus.*] i. e. No one confined himself within the limits of his official authority.

81 *Quod intenderes.*] This means the same as *quod quisque intenderet*. The second person is often thus used for the third. So B. 2. c. 35. 43.

82 *Comitiales.*] These were days on which public assemblies could be held to transact public business.—See B. 1. c. 19. *Dies fasti* were properly those days appointed only to transact court-business, and these were not *dies comitiales*; but on the
dios comitiales, court-business could be transacted, provided no public questions had been agitated in the assembly of the people.

83 Discedere.] "To go for the purpose of giving their votes."
Each tribe passed in succession, according as it was called, through a narrow passage, called pons, into the booth, called ovile, to record its vote.

84 Submoveri.] They remained obstinately in the same place with their dependants, to prevent the people from arranging themselves in their proper tribes to vote; they would not suffer themselves to be removed.

85 Abstinebant.] "Kept themselves very much out of the way."
86 Colluvione rerum.] "In such foul confusion."
87 Non lingued.] "Reader either in tongue or hand."
Many instances of this use of non after a negative occur in Livy and the best writers.

88 Capitis diem.] So B. 2. c. 52, capitis anquisssent.—See c. 13. n. 3.
89 Criminibus suis.] "The charges which he was about to bring against him."
90 Ab juventute.] "By the younger patricians." Livy very often uses this word in this sense.

CHAP. XII.—91 Libertatem agi.] "That their liberty depended on the condemnation of Keso."

92 Indignitate.] Indignation.—See B. 1. c. 40.
93 Suum primum.] "That he himself was the first he served under, and that in his presence he often fought against the enemy." Crevier thinks that suum primum militemuisse, may mean, "that he was his most distinguished soldier."

94 Rem restitutam.] "The honour of the state was restored."
See ch. 4. and 5.

95 Suadere.] "He advised and warned them to prefer that such an extraordinary youth, endowed with all the blessings of nature and fortune, and who would prove the greatest support of whatever state he would go to, would continue rather a citizen of their own, than become a citizen of a foreign state. That his heat and boldness, the qualities in him that give offence, age would daily take away."

96 Senescentibus vitis.] "That as his faults were on the decline, &c."

97 Sibi ut condonaret filium.] "That they would pardon the son in compliment to himself."—See B. 2. c. 35. n. 43.—Caes. Bell. Gall. I. 20. n.

98 Aversabantur.] "Turned away from these entreaties," i. e.
would not make him an answer. So Tac. Ann. 6. 26, aversatus sermonem. They respected or dreaded him too much to give a flat refusal.

99 Praeferebant.] Commentators differ in their explanation of this word. Some say it means, "they publicly avowed," like pra
se ferebant; others interpret it, "they showed beforehand, by their stern answer, the sentence they would give."

Chap. XIII.—Grassantem.] "Rioting in the Suburra." This was the part of the city, from which the first city tribe was called Suburranæ.

Exsequi.] "That he was not allowed to prosecute."

Capitalis rei dies dicta.] A day appointed for the trial of a capital charge.—See c. 11. n. 88.

Medio decreto expedium.] The force of expedium is this: the tribunes were in a sort of dilemma between Kæso and the tribe Virginius; they wished to support the tribune, but had a right to receive the appeal of Kæso; therefore they extricated themselves by passing a decree, which adopted a middle course, i. e. which conciliated something to both.

Sisti reum.] "That the accused should be brought to trial;" placed at the bar, as we say.

In publico.] "In public custody."

Unum vadem.] "Each bail."

Finierunt.] "They fixed the number at ten."

Tot vadibus.] "On so many sureties did the prosecutor admit the accused to bail."

Vades publicos.] Whose money, if forfeited, was to be applied to the use of the public.

Excusaretur.] "When on the day of trial it was offered as a plea that he went into voluntary exile, nevertheless, Virginius presiding in the assembly, his colleagues, when appealed to, dismissed the meeting," i. e. they refused to receive the defence set up against paying the fine. Solum vertere exilii causã is a phrase often used by Livy to signify "to go into voluntary exile."—See c. 58.

Pecunia.] His father indemnified the sureties for the money which they paid for Kæso.

Chap. XIV.—Possessione reipublice cessissent.] "And (when) the senior part of the patricians gave up the administration of affairs,——." Scil. quod patrum pertinere ad seniores.

Id maximè.] These words can admit of two significations; they mean either "particularly that portion of the young nobility that were Kæso's companions," (see B. 5. c. 22. 25.) or, "did what was above all others consistent with the conduct of Kæso's companions."

Sed ibi...quòd.] "But there they gained a very great advantage, in that they in some measure moderated their violence." Drakenborch says ibi is used for tum. But Walker says it is the same as in eo, as in Ter. Adel. 5. 4. 13, uxorem duxi: quam ibi miseriam vidi? So alióbi often means in aliis rebus. Drakenborch and Walker's interpretations of the word however amount to the same.

Submoventes.] "Ordering them to retire."—See c. 11. n. 84.

Ut nemo.] "That no one carried home a greater share than another, either of glory from their own party, or of obloquy from
the plebeians." So completely alike were the efforts of all. Nemo unus, like Romanus nemo, c. 60.

13 Placidius.] "Showed greater meekness of disposition." Quietus, "greater quietness of conduct."

19 Adesse.] "Stood by them;" became their advocates. The word is often taken in this sense.—See B. 3. c. 44.—B. 4. c. 8.—Hor. Sat. 9. B. 1.

20 Alibi.] On other occasions.

21 Tranquillus.] "And the tribunes not only carried their other measures in quietness—. Tranquillus is properly applied to things, as, mare tranquillum, "a sea not disturbed by tempests." It has a meaning purely passive, and is not applied to the body. Quietus has both an active and passive meaning, and is applied to persons as well as things.

22 Ne voce quidem.] "Without one offensive expression, much less any violence being used." It would, say some, be much better to connect these words with the preceding clause, and have a full stop at fieret. But, by understanding sed before paulatin, the present reading is quite natural.—See B. 1. c. 25. n. 82.

23 Mansuefecerunt.] Scll. juvenes patricii.

Chap. XV.—24 Ferendae.] The tribunes "proposed," the people "received," the law.

25 Quantum.] This is often used for quanto, as here.—See B. 5. c. 10.

26 Statum.] "A war from the Equi and Volsci, which became now a stated one, and returned regularly almost every year, was a subject of apprehension."

57 Quingenti.] For quingentos. Livy often writes thus; so Horace uses duo for duos; Hor. Sat. B. 1. 7.

28 Cædes eorum.] It is more likely that these were the inhabitants of the Capitoline Hill, than the guards of the capitol. Dionysius expressly says they were; and Livy himself, B. 6. c. 20, and 5. c. 50, says these parts were inhabited. Arce here means "the hill."

29 Incerto hoste.] "Not knowing who the enemy was;" more literally, "the enemy not being accurately known."—So Sall. Jug. c. 49, incerti, quidnam esset. This word, in the next sentence, and indeed generally, has a different meaning.

30 Ad opportuna.] "In proper places through all the city." Omnis is often put for totus.

31 Servitiis.] For servis. So we find remigium for remiges; ministerium for ministri; ergastula for servi; advocatio for advocati; dominatio for domini; operae for operarit; and the like. So, in Greek, we find διερατία for διεράτοντι.

Chap. XVI.—32 Venirent.] This and adessent depend on ne above.—N. B. For 31 next reference, read 33.

33 Cui nec credere.] "Whom it was neither safe to trust, nor,
by distrusting him, pronounce unworthy of confidence, lest he should prove a more deadly enemy." Crevier says that *fidem abrogare* means "to give up all confidence in one, to distrust him," and therefore thinks *non credendo* an unnecessary tautology. But Walker understands, more correctly, the phrase to mean "to pronounce unworthy of confidence, to destroy one's credit." (see Cic. pro Q. Rosc. n. 44, and 1. 4.—Acad. Quæs. n. 36,) and does not consider *non credendo* useless.—See also B. 1. c. 59. n. 82.

**34 Sisti.]** See B. 2. c. 29. n. 52.

**35 Emergentibus.]** This word is considered faulty. All the best writers of the Augustan age have avoided the use of *ac* before words beginning with a vowel. *Mergentibus* is the word proposed as its substitute. Drakenborch and Crevier imagine that *rempublicam* is the object of it; but Walker thinks this too far-fetched, as this, or a similar word, does not occur before or after; he considers *malum illud tribuniciatum* to be the object; thus "no one feared the tribunes or plebeians, so much did other evils rise above, and sink the consideration of these."—So B. 6. c. 14, *mergentibus sortem usuris.* I conceive Walker's explanation the more natural one, if *emergentibus* be certainly incorrect; if not, as I do not think it is, the passage may, in my opinion, be thus very simply explained: "so much did other evils abound and appear prominent."—See next ch. n. 41, for this use of *supero,* and *emerge* is often used in the same sense.

**36 Ad id prope.]** "But that alone almost proved the greatest aggravation to their distress;" literally, "leaned with heavy weight on their sinking fortunes."

**37 Patriciorum.]** "That the guests and dependants of the patricians, (whom the tribunes pretended to be the persons that seized on the citadel) if they find, after the law is carried, that they have raised a useless tumult, will go off, &c." They want the people to pass the law quickly, in order to put an end to the general tumult.

**Chap. XVII.—38 Templum.]** i. e. The *comitium.*—See B. 2. c. 56. n. 74.

**39 Jupiter optimus.]** See B. 1. c. 55. n. 23.

**40 Tantum hostium.]** "An immense force of the enemy." Tantum may be sometimes considered, as here, not in a relative sense, but merely in the significiation of *multum* or *magna vis.*

**41 Superar.]** "Abounds;" it is the same as *superest.* Livy often uses it in this sense.—See B. 5. c. 21.

**42 Non quicquid patrum.]** "Ought not all the patricians and plebeians, the consuls, tribunes, &c." Gronovius thinks that, in place of *deos,* we should read *cives,* which would render the passage an elegant climax; for there was a great number of citizens who did not reside in the city.

**43 Consularis imperii.]** "Regardless of the limits within which the consular power should be confined."
NOTES TO BOOK III. c. 17, 18, 19. 315

44 Princeps.] This was his father, the famous Publicola, the colleague of Brutus.

Chap. XVIII.—45 L. Mamilius.] The Mamilian family was always very powerful at Tusculum. A daughter of Tarquinius Superbus (see B. 1. c. 49.) married Octavius Mamilius of that place.

46 *Magno opere censet.] "With great earnestness gives his opinion, that they should not wait."

47 Discrimineque.] "And the crisis."

48 Sociales deos.] These words mean those gods who were invoked to witness an alliance, and avenge any violation of it. So, the dii hospitales were the gods who witnessed and protected the bonds and rights of hospitality.

49 In forum descendunt.] The forum was in a hollow.

50 Praxidia.] "With those who were guarding the gates."

51 Si edoceris.] "If they would allow themselves to be shown what secret danger was presented in the law, &c."—See B. 1. c. 47.

52 A majoribus.] Rather from his father.—See last chapter.

53 Erigunt aciem.] See B. 1. c. 27. n. 22.—B. 2. c. 31. n. 78.

54 Praterquam loco.] i. e. As it was a very strong fortress.

55 Sua fortuna.] "Punishment was inflicted on each according to his condition." Slaves were generally punished by crucifixion, and freemen by beheading.

56 Quadrantes.] "Every man a farthing." Quadrans was the fourth of the Roman as. His father, Valerius Publicola, was also buried at the public expense, in consequence of his poverty. —See B. 2. c. 16.

Chap. XIX.—57 Fidem exsolverent.] "Redeem the pledge of Valerius."—See preceding chapter.

58 Fraude liberaret.] "Acquit the sacred Manes of his colleague of a breach of faith;" i. e. by performing the promise which he made.

59 Tenuère contentiones.] See c. 47. n.

60 Perpetui jam tribuni.] "From the inactivity of which order, these tribunes of the people, now become perpetual, exercised sovereign dominion by their language and impeachments, not as if in a republic of the Roman people, but in an ill-governed family." He calls them "perpetual," as the same tribunes were re-elected from year to year.

61 Iterum ac tertium.] "Re-elected tribunes a second and a third time by the worst means."

62 C. Claudii pace.] "I shall speak with all respect to C. Claudius and the departed Valerius."

63 Et vos prius.] He says it was a shame for the Romans not to have routed these intestine enemies of the state, the tribunes, out of the forum, before they marched against Herdonius.

64 Pudet.] "I feel ashamed of gods and men;" i. e. that
NOTES TO BOOK III. C. 19, 20.

gods and men should be witnesses of such infamous conduct. See Ter. Heaut. 2. 2. 8.
65 *In cellâ Jovis.*] "In the chapel of Jupiter."—See B. 1. c. 55. n. 23. 26.
66 *Et, qui ante.*] See B. 2. c. 30.
67 *Familiâ armâtâ.*] "A band of armed slaves." *Familia* (from *famulus*, "a slave,"") properly signified the body of slaves that belonged to any individual; hence it came to be taken, in a more general sense, to signify all the "domestics" of a house, (so to speak,) including wife, children, &c. Sometimes it means a man's whole property.—See c. 55.
68 *Sacri...sancti.*] *Sacer* is what is consecrated by religion; *sanctus*, what is protected, and pronounced inviolable by the law of the land. He thus reproaches the tribunes, because they wished to prevent the people from recovering the capitol.
69 *Divinis.*] He alleges that the tribunes transgressed against gods and men by their dissuading the people from recovering the capitol.
70 *Si tuleritis.*] "If you be permitted to propose it, much less carry it." *Perferre* means "to carry a law."
71 *Nescio quo.*] "I know not from what fatality we find the gods more propitious to us when we are in war, than in a state of peace."

Chap. XX.—72 *In peragendis.*] "In executing those measures he claimed to himself a share of the consular duties." Though he did not agitate them at first, yet he was active in executing them afterwards.
73 *Persequi quarendo.*] "Proceeded to ask." It is otherwise expressed by *exequei quarendo.—See B. 6. c. 14.—B. 9. c. 3.—B. 2. c. 59. n. 98.
74 *Exsolvete religione.*] "And wished to release the people from the religious obligation of their oath."
75 *De proferendo exercitu.*] "Began to exert themselves to delay the marching of the army." This, it must be confessed, is rather a forced explanation of these words, though it is the only one they can bear, as it is evident, from the next chapter, that the tribunes did exert themselves for this purpose. There seems, according to the commentators, to be some error in the text. Gronovius thinks the words should be, *de perterrendo exercitu agere*; others, *de proferendâ (scil. re) agere*; or, *de proferendâ cum exercitu agere*; i. e. to exert themselves "to put off," or "defer" the thing, since they could not "prevent" it.
76 *Fama exierat.*] "A report had gone abroad, that the augurs were ordered to attend at the Lake Regillus."
77 *Rogatum.*] "That whatever was enacted by the influence of the tribunes at Rome, &c."
78 *Non ita civitatem agram esse.*] "That the distemper of the state was not of such an ordinary nature, that it could be checked, &c."
NOTES TO BOOK III. C. 21, 22.

Chap. XXI.—79 Moverunt.] "Nor did they shake the consul from his purpose."
79 In reliquum.] "For the time to come."
80 Fuere in patrum potestate.] "Submitted to the wish of the patricians." Esse in potestate is a phrase that often occurs to imply, "to submit to one's authority or wish." Esse in auctoritate signifies the same.
82 Reficiebant.] "Were going to re-elect."
83 Actio.] Actio and agere are particularly applied to harangues, or any public discussion before the people.
84 Elevatis.] This verb properly means "to lessen the weight of any thing;" hence "to diminish in value and importance." Levaré is sometimes used in the same sense.—See c. 72.
85 Ne temeritati.] "Lest ye may yield to the populace in rashness."
86 Aliorum exemplo.] Rather pursue the bad example of others, than teach them to pursue your good example. This is said in irony.
87 Dum...ne.] "Provided I imitate not the tribunes."—See B. 33. c. 24.
88 Sed gloriam.] "But that the glory of my refusing the honour of continuing in office has been thus augmented."
89 Communiter indè edicunt.] "Then they issue their joint orders." As the consuls presided at the comitia curiata, they could take care that the decree of the senate was not violated in the election of consuls. But over the comitia tributa, where the tribunes were elected, they had no control, as they did not preside or attend there.
Chap. XXII.—90 Tertiûm.] Vibulanus only was created consul a third time.
91 Religiosum fuit.] "There were some religious scruples about closing the lustrum, &c."—See B. 2. c. 5.
92 Præverti.] Scil. lege, "the war to be first attended to."
93 Duæque partes.] "Two-thirds of the army consisted of the allies; one-third, of Roman citizens.
94 Jussit.] Scil. socios. Similar ellipses often occur in Livy.
See B. 34. c. 39.—B. 42. c. 24.
95 Et socii.] "That Romans and allies together."
96 Sue cuique parti.] He posts the proper cavalry of each division behind the first line." Gronovius thinks we should read sua, and refer it to principia; or suos, or suæ quemque, or suæ quosque, and refer the words to equites. But these alterations are unnecessary, as there are many instances of the present style in the best authors. See B. 25. c. 17.—Virg. Ecl. 7. 54.—Cæs. Bell. Civ. 1. c. 83.—Suet. in Aug. c. 40. Post principia; see B. 2. c. 65. He posts the Roman cavalry behind the Roman infantry, the Latin cavalry behind the Latin infantry, &c.
NOTES TO BOOK III. C. 23, 24.

CHAP. XXIII.—97 Ut distenderent.] "To divide." Distinere is used in the same sense.
  98 Citatum agmen ... rapit.] "Hurries on his army by forced marches."—See B. 23. c. 36. This is otherwise expressed by citato agmine ducere, iter ingredi, &c.
  99 Et quod cociti.] "And whatever boiled food they had ready at hand."
  1 Vi nunquam.] "They could never get into it by force."
  2 Quod postquam.] "To which condition when the thing came at last."
  3 Relicto.] This word is considered wrong; it should be reducto.
  4 Periculum esse.] "When the Roman walls ceased to be in danger." The syntax is desierat periculum esse manibus Romanis. As Ter. Heauton. 5. 2. 27, ut periculum etiam à famine mihi sit.
  5 Certamine.] "Emulation;" i.e. to see who would injure the enemy most.

CHAP. XXIV.—6 Frustrationem eam.] "That that deception was intended to prevent the enactment of the law." Esse aliquius rei faciendar is a phrase that signifies "to contribute to do that thing."—See c. 31. and 39.
  7 P. Lucretius.] It is very probable P. (Publius) should be L., i.e. Lucius Lucretius, who was consul three years before this; for all the prefects of the city, up to this time, were consular men. This conjecture is supported by one MS., which has P. L. Lucretius.
  8 Emanabat.] "It became known." Livy often uses emanó in this sense.
  9 Affirmantibus qui una.] "Those, who had served with him in the army, affirming that he regularly attended at his post along with them, without having obtained any leave of absence."
  10 Judices.] As the prætors could not attend the trial of every cause, they had always a list of persons properly qualified, called judices selecti, out of whose number, as occasion required, they delegated judges to aid them (hence called assessores or concilium) or to act in their stead. These select judges, who were men of knowledge, judgment, and integrity, were chosen in an assembly of the tribes; and the prætor, according to the importance or difficulty of the case in dispute, appointed one or more of them to try it. This office was at first confined to the senators; but was afterwards transferred to the knights by a law of C. Sempronius Gracchus, tribune of the people, A. U. C. 630. L. Aurelius Cotta, a prætor, extended the power to the senatorian and equestrian orders, and the tribuni ararit; Sylla confined it to the senators; Pompey extended it to the richest of every century; J. Caesar confirmed the law of Pompey, but excluded the (tribuni ararit). The number varied, by virtue of different laws at different times, from 300 to 600. The usual
method of proceeding was this: the plaintiff either named the judge (which was termed *ferre judicem*) who was to try the cause; or he left the nomination to the defendant, which was styled *ut judicem diceret*; and when they had agreed on a judge, *quum judex convenisset*, they presented a joint petition to the praetor, that he would appoint that person, *ut judicem daret*, to try the cause: and at the same time they bound themselves to pay a certain sum of money,—the plaintiff, if he should not establish his charge, *ni ita esset*; the defendant, if the plaintiff should succeed in establishing his charge, *si ita esset*.

11 *Teste Volscio.* "Than that of Kaeso had been on the evidence of Volscius."

13 *In comitiorum disceptationem.* "To a striving about the election."

12 *Infesta.* "Harassed by dissensions."—See c. 68. n.—B. 2. c. 11. n. 98. Hence the word "infest." *Infestus* is not often used in this sense.

Chap. Xxv.—14 *Duas residuas.* "Found on their hands the two causes that remained undecided from the last year," i. e. the law of Volero and the trial of Volscius. *Excipio* often means, as here, "to receive a thing from one's predecessor, to succeed to a thing;" sometimes it is neutral, and means "to follow."—See B. 2. c. 61.

15 *Valerii filio.* These words should be *M.*, or *Manii filio*, for he is thus designated in the *fasti Capitolini*. The designation of a person was taken from the father's *praenomen*, not from his family name. Sometimes it was taken from the father's *cognomen*, if it was by that he was best known. This M. Valerius was consul two years after this, and his father, M. Valerius, was dictator in the year 260.

16 *Maximus.* "That greatest of the young Romans." i. e. Kaeso. By this it would appear that he died in exile; but Cicero, in his oration *pro suâ domo*, states that he was restored.

17 *Pio bello.* A war dictated by duty, as well to his country as to his family. *Pietas* is that duty which a creature owes to his Creator, a subject to his sovereign or the state, one member of a family to the rest, &c.

18 *Et tribuni.* "And the 'other' tribunes." The word *alius* is often understood in similar phrases.—So B. 2. c. 44, *unum vel adversus omnes satis esse.*—B. 35. c. 34. and 37, *Quinctius legatique.*

19 *Exsequissent.* This is the pledge that Valerius the consul had given.—See c. 18.

20 *In Lavicanum agrum.* *Lavicanum agrum* was the reading of most MSS., which is incorrect.

21 *Se alia.* That he would attend to some other business besides that of listening to them.

22 *Exsequemur.* "We shall avenge."
Chap. XXVI.—Comparati.] "The Roman territories, when compared to that, seemed almost untouched by the war.

Vis animi eadem.] Minucius had not the same energy of mind as his colleague had.

Circumdant.] "Draw a line of circumvallation round it," in order to block it up.—So c. 28, circumdari opera. There are many similar instances of this form of expression.

Vallo objecto.] "By presenting a barrier against them."

Pertulare] Subin. nuncium.

Quanta.] Scil. foret.

Opera pretius.] "The elevation of this man is worth the attention of those who, &c."

Affluant opes.] "Unless where wealth abounds to profusion." Affluere opibus is a phrase applied to a person abounding in riches.

Trans Tiberim.] See ch. 13, at the end.

Seu quum araret.] "Or while he was in the act of ploughing." The reader will observe the change of construction. Seu couples fodiens to quum araret, which is the same here as arans. It will also be observed, that a conjunction does not always couple like cases, moods, and tenses, as the grammarians say.

Togatus.] "Dressing himself in his toga." He was stripped at his work; he only wore his tunica.

Egressi.] "Having come out of the city to meet him."

Domum.] "He was conducted to his former residence in the city."

Sed ea nequaquam.] "But they did not by any means behold Quinctius with the same satisfaction as the patricians did; for they imagined both that he possessed too great a stretch of power, and was himself too violent a man, to be vested with that very power." It is thought that the preposition in should be expunged, in which case the sense would be, "that the man himself was more violent than the great power with which he was armed."

Chap. XXVII.—Stipendia pedibus.] "Though he had served as a foot soldier." Stipendium (from stips, which comes from as and pendo, since their brass money was formerly weighed) is properly a soldier's pay; and, as every soldier was paid from the year 350, when the siege of Veii was commenced, (see B. 4, c. 59,) the word came generally to signify "a campaign," and was used by late writers in that sense, when speaking of events that occurred before that time.

Vallis.] These were stakes to form palisadoes or ramparts outside the camp; the more prongs or branches they had, the fitter they were for the purpose. The word is the diminutive of
warrus; some were stuck in the ground, and others woven across them, and generally secured behind with earth, stones, &c.

This word agrees with dictator and magister equitum; apto was the common reading.

This should be ducunt, according to the ordinary rules of grammar. But a verb, which has many subjects, often agrees in number with the last, whether the former be of the same or a different number.—See c. 50. n.

"That there was need of speed."—So consult opus, mature facto opus, Sall. Catal. ch. 1.—See B. 1. c. 58. n. 64. —Perveniri posse is another reading.

"That the decision of the greatest events often turned on a second of time."

"The soldiers too called out to one another, 'hasten, standard-bearer; soldier, follow."

"And having examined, as well as it was possible that a view could be taken at night, what was the situation of the camp."

"And their bundle of stakes."

"Draws his whole army round the enemy's camp."

"To plant or pitch his stake."

"Then it passes across."

"In one quarter terror, (i. e. among the enemy,) in another, great joy," namely, among the Romans.

"The shout of their fellow citizens."

"Unexpectedly."—See B. 1. c. 5. n. 75. These now in turn became the assailants.

"Says, that the attack should not be delayed."

The consul's troops.

"That the business was put to the trial." i. e. that the action was begun.—See ch. 35. n.—So also B. 1. c. 55, in ipso discrimine pugna."

"To prevent the dictator's line of circumvallation from being drawn round them."

"Having turned their attention to the consul's troops, assoailed them inside, they left the night without interruption to the dictator's work."

"The rampart of the Aequi."

"The former attack," made by the consul.

i. e. Dictator.

"To quit the town of Corbio;" decedii (scil. ab ills) ex oppido. Decedii is an impersonal passive. Livy is fond of such peculiarities of expression.

"You almost became a prey."
Consularem animum.] "A spirit worthy of a consul;" for this disgrace of the army proceeded from his timidity.—See ch. 26.

Libram pondo.] "A pound in weight." Pondo is the ablative of the obsolete word pondus; the phrase is elliptical, which is thus explained: coronam habentem pondus libram pondo. Pondo is often used without libra, as, decem pondo auri, scil. decem libras pondo auri.

Quo veniebat agmine.] "In the same line of march with which he came;" for it was usual for the general to wait outside the city, until the senate decreed that he should enter in triumph.

Epulantesque.] "And, partaking of the feast, while they sung the triumphal hymn, (see Hor. B. 4. Od. 2.) and threw out the customary jests, they followed the chariot after the manner of revellers;" they used to amuse themselves sometimes with the general, sometimes with the captives, or with one another. See B. 4. c. 53. See Milton, Par. Lost, B. 6. 882, &c.—Sueton. Caes. 49, and 51.

L. Mamilio.] See ch. 18.

Ad vastatos agros.] "This calamity too fell on the Sabines in addition to the devastation of their territories."—This devastation is recorded in ch. 26, at the beginning. For instances of the sense in which ad is here taken see Juvenal, Sat. 10. 130.—B. 3. c. 62, beginning.—B. 23. c. 38.

Prodigium.] It was an extraordinary thing to see the wild carnivorous beasts of the forest come into the very heart of the city.

Chap. XXX.—Faciebat.] See ch. 27. n. 40.—c. 50. n.

Ni, velut dedita operâ.] "Had it not been announced, as if intentionally, that, by a nocturnal attack of the Æquii, the garrison at Corbio was cut off."

Vincebaturque.] "The consular authority was on the point of being defeated by the tribuniciai d" Mark the propriety of the epithets; the consular power was called imperium, which properly meant "military command," as the consuls, and military tribunes with consular power, had the command of the army; that of the tribunes, auxilii laito, or auxilium, (see B. 2. c. 33. 56.) as they were intended to be merely the supporters or protectors of the commons against the aristocracy.

Decem deinde tribuni.] This measure weakened the influence of the tribunes, because then the senate could more easily find out of ten than out of five, one to lend himself to them in recording his veto, the word used to express his disapprobation of the measures of his colleagues, which single veto would be enough to render them abortive.

Eosdem tribunos.] These words according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, should mean, "the very tribunes who were then in power." And Livy soon after says that the tribunes, appointed this year, were re-elected in the next, with-
out saying that it violated a decree of the senate, as he did, chap. 21.

71 *Jubertent.* This was the word used to signify the decrees of the people. *Rogo* was the expression applied to the presiding magistrate, who put the question to the people.

72 *Tricesimo sexto anno.* This should be the end of the 36th year, if we take into account the consuls omitted by Livy, B. 2. c. 39; but if not, this would be the beginning of the 35th year.

76 *Singulis classibus.* Each of the five first classes; the sixth was not taken into account,

77 *Itaque.* “And so.”—See B. 1. c. 4. 32.

78 *Propter proditum præsidium.* It appears that the inhabitants assisted the enemy in cutting off the Roman garrison there.

**Chap. XXXI.**—79 *Annöm propter aquarum.* “The people were distressed for provisions, on account of extraordinary falls of rain,” which, of course, injured the crops.

80 *De Aventino publicando.* “About giving up the Aventine as public property to the people to build on.” Though Ancus, (see B. 1. c. 33,) allowed the people to build here, yet the greatest part of it at this time was overgrown with wood, according to Dion. Halic., who also mentions, B. 10, a violent contest this year about the Agrarian law, in which Siccius Denatus signaled himself.

81 *Legem... celebrabant.* “Were recommending the Terentillian law.”—See also B. 1. c. 4. n. 71.—B. 2. c. 42. n. 10.—B. 5. c. 11.

82 *In suâ sede.* “In their old position,” the position which they had often before occupied.

83 *Invitiae tamen.* “Yet the proceeding brought odium on them with the army.”

84 *Itaque ergo.* “And so then.”—See B. 1. c. 25. n. 80.—Livy, as the reader will see, often uses synonymous words of this kind.

85 *Quaque aquandae libertatis essent.* “And what would tend to establish liberty on a principle of equality.”

86 *Daturum leges.* “Should have the propounding of those laws.”

87 *Missi legati.* This happened in the 13th year of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, when Greece was in its most flourishing state.

**Chap. XXXII.**—88 *Lugubres.* “Were in mourning.”

89 *Eo intentiûs.* The tribunes were the more anxious to have the laws transcribed, as the proposition of compiling such a body emanated from themselves.

90 *Lex Icilia.* See last chapter.

91 *Sacraræ leges.* See B. 2. c. 33. n. 6. However, the law about the tribunes, which was a *lex sacrata,* was annulled, as there were no tribunes this year.
Chap. XXXIII.—324 *Trecentesimo altero.*] "In the three hundred and first year after Rome had been built." It was the three hundred and third year, or the end of the three hundred and second year, according to Dodwell.

32 *Luxuriavère.*] "Degenerated into licentious extravagance."

34 *Repetitumque.*] "And the practice was revived."

35 *Graves quoque ætate.*] "They say that there were also elected by the last votes, (i.e. to fill up the last places,) men advanced in years, that they might be less violent in their opposition to the decisions of the others." In the preceding sentences, Livy gave reasons for the election of six of the decemvirs; in this, he says, four others "also" were elected for the reason which he mentions.

36 *Aura popularis captator.*] "That all at once he became a courter of the plebeians, and one that caught at every breath of popular favour;" a metaphor borrowed from one at sea in a calm, catching at every favourable breath of wind to swell his sail. The metaphor is used extensively, as *aura libertatis,* ch. 37; *aura spei,* B. 42. ch. 39, &c. *Aura,* by itself, has sometimes the same meaning; see B. 6. ch. 11.

37 *Decimo die.*] "They administered justice individually every tenth day;" i.e. each of them one day in ten, according as it came to his turn.

38 *Penès prefectum juris.*] "Attended him who in his turn presided over the administration of justice."

39 *Collegis novem.*] "Single beadles attended his nine colleagues;" i.e. each was attended by one. These beadles, or bailiffs, were called *apparitores, accensi, lictores, viatores, antecamulones.*

1 *Et in uníss concomitâ.*] "And notwithstanding the singular unanimity that existed among themselves, (a harmony that sometimes proves injurious to private individuals,) they behaved with the greatest equity to all others." Livy shows that, in the next year, this unanimity among their successors was prejudicial to the people. *Inutilis,* and such expressions that signify the absence of good, are often used by the Latin authors, and not unfrequently English too, in imitation of the Greeks, to express positive evil.—See B. 5. c. 6.

2 *Defosso cadaverè.*] "A dead body being found buried in the house of P. Sestius." This was not the decemvir. *Sextium* is the more general reading; but it appears that, at this time, this was a plebeian name; so that we must read *Sestium.*

3 *Cujus rei.*] This may be translated either "appeared before the people as the prosecutor of an act of which he was the lawful judge;" or "the prosecutor of a criminal, of whom he was the lawful judge;" so that *rei* may be the genitive of *res* or *reus.*

Chap. XXXIV.—4 *Quum promptum hoc jus.*] "While the highest and the lowest were obtaining from them this prompt
administration of justice, pure as if from an oracle; at the same
time their exertions were used in framing the laws.” Promptum,
“ready drawn” as it were for the use of all.

5. *Atque in medium.* "And bring to public discussion what-
ever may be superfluous or defective in each article."

6. *Quas consensus omnium.* "Which the general consent might
appear not more to have ratified when proposed, than to have
itself proposed;" consequently, these laws would be more ac-
tceptable to them, if they appeared in some measure to have
emanated from themselves.

7. *Ad rumores.* "According to the reports of the people
respecting each head of the laws, as it was published." Editos,
agreeing with rumores, would appear a better reading.

8. *Cedentibus invicem.* “Because the decemvirs in turn
allowed an appeal, every one from his own decision to the other
decemvirs.”

*Chap. XXXV._—9. In trinum mundinum.* "For the third
market day following." On every ninth day *(nono die)* there
was a public market in Rome, to which the country people and
citizens resorted to buy and sell, and see what laws, or other
public matters were proposed. Between every two market days
there intervened seven working days. Trinundinum was the
space of time, within which there were three market days, and
this was the space of seventeen days; for, if the first market
day fell on the first of the month, the second would fall on the
ninth, and the third on the seventeenth; because in counting
the nine days, the market days themselves were to be counted
inclusively. Notice, or proclamation *(edictum)*, of every law or
other public matter, which was to be brought under the conside-
ration of the people, was posted up, or otherwise publicly given,
for three market days, that the people might be the better pre-
pared for it. Formerly these market days were reckoned among
the feriae; consequently no public assembly could be held on
them; but by the Hortensian law they were reckoned among the
dies fasti, or days appointed for law business.

10. Impugnatum.* The patricians at first opposed the establish-
ment of the decemvirate.

11. *Demissa jam in discrimen.* Appius was stimulated, when he
beheld men so advanced in age, and who had held such high
offices, “thus lowering their dignity to the hazard of a contest”
for this honour.—See ch. 28. n. 54. This is the explanation
given of the passage by the commentators, but I think it may
be more simply rendered thus: “his dignity at his time of life,
after he had enjoyed such high honours, being now reduced to
jeopardy, excited Appius.” Appius feared that in the great
competition among the patricians for the office, he would be re-
jected, and thus was his dignity in danger of being humbled.
His being called the youngest of his colleagues is no objection
to this interpretation; for, though he was, yet he must at this time have been at least forty-six years old, as he was consul elect two years before this.

12 Propior ... petendo.] "Sometimes he bore a nearer resemblance to one petitioning for, than holding the office."

13 Criminiari optimates.] "He attacked the characters of the patrician candidates."

14 Gratuitam.] "Disinterested."

15 Nimium in ordinem.] "That his reducing himself too much to the common rank, and descending to a vulgar familiarity with private individuals, was characteristic, not so much of a man in a hurry to quit office, as, &c." Appius was raised by his office above the ordinary level of men, but by his conduct he was sinking himself to it. Cogere in ordinem is a phrase particularly used to mean "to deprive an officer of his command, and reduce him to the ranks."

16 Pro occasione.] "As an opportunity for effecting his purpose."

17 Per coitionem.] "By means of a coalition formed with the other candidates."

18 Creat.] "Prosures the election of;" i.e. by his stratagem. So ferre legem is sometimes applied to the person through whose means a law is enacted.

19 Hand securus factum.] "An act, which good men disapproved of as much, as every one had believed he would never dare commit."

20 Mf.] Manius. Dionysius says that Patellius, Duilium, and Oppius, were plebeians.

Chap. XXXVI.—92 Impotentibus ... consiliis.] "Schemes of tyranny."

22 Coquebant.] Coquo and conc quo often are taken metaphorically to mean "to plot, concoct, digest a scheme."

23 Rari aditus.] These words are in the gen. singular.

24 Servassent.] "Had observed the old rule," sc. morem. Within the city the lictors went before only one of the consuls, B. 2. c. 1, and that commonly for a month alternately. An accensus went before the other, and the lictors followed. Dionysius says it was Valer. Publicola passed this law.

25 Nec attinuisse.] "The interpretation they gave the old law was, that there was no use in taking the axes out of the rods, &c." By Valerius's law, B. 2. c. 7, the axes were not to be carried before the magistrates within the city.—See B. 2. c. 41. n. 97.

26 Memorem.] "That showed a remembrance of."—See B. 1. c. 28.—B. 3. c. 69.—B. 4. c. 48.

27 Intercessionem.] "An interference with each other's decrees." This word here has the same force as appellatione at the end of ch. 34; it properly meant opposition or interruption
given by the tribunes to the decrees of the senate. *Appellatio*
was an appeal from an inferior to a superior magistrate; or from
one magistrate or court to another. *Provocatio*, properly, an
appeal to the people.

18 Libidinosè...consulebatur.] "They behaved capriciously."
19 Hominum, non causarum.] "They were altogether influ-
enced by the rank of the parties concerned, and not the nature
of the case."
20 Judicia...confabant.] "Made up their decisions." This
verb properly means "to cast metals;" hence it came metaphorically
to mean, "to forge, to make up."
21 Sine auctore.] Without its being known from what autho-
riy it emanated.
22 Obtinerent.] "Keep a lasting hold of." This verb is often
used in this sense.

Chap. XXXVII.—23 Unde.] "From whom;" *i. e.* from the
patricians. The people were the cause of the appointment of
the decemvirs.

24 Haud indignis.] "That these things happened to them
deservedly."
25 Elapsos.] Walker says that the meaning of this word is,
that, from the anxiety of the people to rid themselves of the
power of the patricians, the "escape" they made was into
slavery. *Lapsos* is the reading of Crevier and others.
26 Expectabant.] "They were expecting how soon," or "that
soon, &c."
27 Agitabat.] "Were considering." This word has often
this meaning.
28 Libertati.] The dative, as here, has often the same signifi-
cation as the genitive.
29 Ferre, agere.] "Carried and drove off." These words,
like ἐφίλου and ἐγνω, are often used together, and denote the
action of plundering. *Ferre* means "to carry off inanimate
things;" *agere*, "to lead or drive away animals."

30 Quum fortuna.] It is thought that there is some error
here in the text. Drakenborch would propose this reading:
*quum fortuna, quid, quiequid caputum, fieret, potentioris esset*
*i. e.* "when Fortune, through whose means whatever was de-
sired was obtained, attended the more powerful." *Fieret* and
*foret*, it is true, are often confounded in MSS. Gronovius pro-
poses the following correction: *plebem plebisque res, et for-
tunas; quum quiequid caputum foret, potentioris esset.*
31 Virgis cædi.] *i. e.* *Alii virgis cædi.* There are very many
instances of this Ellipsis.—See c. 61. n.

Chap. XXXVIII.—32 Idus Maiæ.] This was the day at that
time, when the magistrates quitted office; afterwards, it was
the first of January.
33 Neque animis.] "Still retaining the disposition, to exer-
eis their power, and the ensigns to show it." Livy often uses
the verb inhibere in this sense.—See ch. 50, 59.—B. 4. c. 56, 53.

"Imperiumque... indignabantur." "And they (i. e. the
neighbouring states) thought it a shame that sovereign power,
&c." Though que here couples the verbs æpti erant and indign-
abantur, yet there is a peculiarity in the structure of the
sentence, of which there are other instances; the two verbs
have different subjects.—See B. 2. ch. 49. n.—c. 56. n. 60. and
c. 58. n. 87.—B. 4. c. 17; and Virg. Æn. 6. 283; quam sedem
somnia vulgo... vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus hærent,
i. e. somnia hærent. Vossius and Perizonius think the reading
should be imperium qui ibi esse, &c.

"Quòd solitum quidquam." "That any of the usual prac-
tices of a free state were resorted to."

"Circumspectare." "Looked about for."

"Quum et ipsi invisum." "When the decemvirs themselves
judged from this solitude that their power was detested by
the unanimous consent of the people, and the commons judged
that the senators did not assemble for this reason, because the
decemvirs, now reduced to the rank of private individuals,
had not authority to convene them." This is the way in which
this clause is generally explained. But it may be also, I think,
explained very naturally thus: "when they themselves judged
that the senators did not assemble, because their power was
universally detested, and the commons judged that they did
not assemble, because, &c. The insertion of ob before invisum
would remove every difficulty.

"Jam caput fieri." "That a head was now formed for those
who sought to recover their liberty." This head was the
refusal of the senate to attend.

"Suarumque rerum." "Attended solely to their private
affairs."

"A caetu." Amovere se à caetu, is applied to one who goes
off to a distance from a society or meeting, whether he was
or was not before connected with it; but amovere se à caetu, is
applied to one who quits an assembly, of which he was once
a member; as, amovere se à medio, is "to retire from a society
in which a person has once moved;" abstrahere navim à portu,
"to bring a ship out of the port in which she lay;" therefore, as
the senators did not entirely relinquish their rank or office, à
caetu, which is the reading of Gronovius and others, is incorrect.

"Ad pignora." If a senator did not attend, he was punished
with a fine, unless he had a just excuse, and a pledge was taken
until it was paid; if not paid, the pledge was sold.

"Edicunt." "Issue an edict for." So edicere delectum, c.

10. Comitia indicta, ch. 35.

"Privatisque." "And who were mere private citizens, ex-
cept so far as force prevailed."
chap. xxxix.—54 obnoxii.] with timid submission to the
decemvirs.

55 relationem.] referre is the word used to signify, "to lay
before another, or an assembly, the subject of debate." in the
senate, or assemblies of the people, it was done by the presiding
magistrate.

56 de republicâ.] "concerning the state of the common-
wealth." this was out of order, as the senate was convened to
consider about war.

57 horatiis.] dionysius says that it was horatius induced the
army to revolt from tarquin at ardea; and that porsena in his
consulship was obliged to raise the siege.

60 nec nominis.] "it was not the mere 'name' of king men
were then disgusted with."

59 sacrís.] see b. 2. c. 2. n. 14.

60 in rege tum eodem.] "in that same king, or in the king's
son;" i. e. in tarquin or in his son sextus. crevier thinks the
reading should be in rege tum eodem et filio regis; i. e.
in a man who was both king and the son of a king together.
walker thinks eodem is opposed to tot in the following sense:
as the people at that time would not allow a king, who was
one and the same individual, to commit so many enormities, it
is not to be supposed they will tamely endure them now from so
many, and these, private persons.

61 quanto ferocior dolor.] "how much more forcible would
resentment prove to the people in preserving their liberty,
than ambition would to the decemvirs in preserving their unjust
dominion." ferox often signifies merely "violent, vigorous,
strong;" so does improbus; as, improbus amor, improbus labor,
improbus lapis.—virg. sometimes it signifies a savage joy.—
see b. 1. c. 58.

62 graviora, quae patiantur.] he means that the people felt
more sensibly the weight of their present oppression, than their
apprehension of the danger of attempting to shake it off.

chap. xl.—62 nec tacæ nec ignoscendi.] "when the decem-
virs could not discover the proper measure for their resentment
or forgiveness, (i. e. how far they ought to carry either,) or judge
how the business would end."

64 precibus, quâm.] i. e. precibus magis quàm; the ellipsis of
magis in latin, as of μᾶλλον in greek, is very common.

65 claudium interpellandi.] "they felt a reverential disi-
clination to interrupt claudius."

66 sententiam igitur peregit.] "therefore he went through
with his resolution, that it was their opinion that no decree of
the senate was to be passed;" that, as the senate was not
convened by proper authority, they could pass no resolution.

67 coire.] "to meet." livy uses this word in this particular
sense elsewhere.—b. 4. c. 7; patricii coire et interregem creaverc.
—ch. 48, modò tribunos prohibatibus tribunos coire ad interregnum prodeundum.

Censendo enim.] "For by expressing such an opinion, the author of it judged that there were some magistrates who could hold the senate;" whereas, the motion of Claudius went to show the contrary.

Quonam fato incidisset.] "Saying that he wondered by what fatality it happened, that those who had been themselves canvassing for the decemvirate, or their accomplices, or these, (i. e. Horatius and Valerius,) particularly of their accomplices, should now attack the decemvirs." This is the way in which the passage is generally explained: some think, that aut socii aut hi maxime, means, "either as accomplices, or as these persons who were most active." Crevier thinks we should read, aut soli, aut hi maxime, and thus explains the words, aut soli, aut praeceteris omnes. I think the present reading may be more rationally explained thus: That the decemvirs should be attacked by men, who had been themselves candidates for the office, or who had been their former associates, or above all, by these, i. e. Valerius, Horatius, and others, who were most hostile to them. Socii may mean either the former associates and friends of the present decemvirs, or the associates and friends of men who had once been decemvirs; if hi alludes to Horatius and Valerius, the reason why he alludes to these seems to be, that as the decemvirate was first established for the purpose of giving additional security to the liberties of the people, he thought it surprising that that power should be assailed principally by those, who pretended to be the great champions of those liberties. If the text be incorrect, and that any emendation be introduced, I think the most simple and rational one would be, the changing of the second aut into ut, and making hi maxime an emphatic repetition of the two former classes of persons, i. e. qui decemviratum petissent, and socii; Livy often uses such repetitions.—See c. 64. n.

Vacuâ civitate.] "While the state was at ease;" i. e. free from foreign alarm.

Quid agatur.] "Their mischievous conduct."

Ceterum neminem... verum esse, praecipuitum..... affere.] "That it was not fair that any one should prejudge so important a matter."—See B. 2. c. 48. n. 78.—B. 5. c. 11.

Se parare Ap. Claudium.] Parare is coupled to aqì, and depends on placere in the beginning of the sentence.

Praeverti.] "Should be done first."—See c. 22. n. 92.—B. 2. c. 24. n. 15. This verb, as well as ducere and haberi, depends on censere in the preceding sentence.

Chap. XLI—In hanc sentimentum.] "The younger patricians succeeded in having this resolution passed on a division." Discedere was the word used to express coming to a division on any
subject. When the senate were about to come to a decision, the
presiding magistrate said, *qui hoc censetis, illuc transite; qui alia
omnia, in hanc partem; hence ire, or ire pedibus in sententiam ali-
cujus*, means, to vote with that man’s proposition, and *discedere
v. transire in alia omnia*, (Plin. Ep. 8. 14,) to oppose it. Those,
who voted thus without speaking, were called *pedarii*. Crevier
says, that, though all decrees of the senate were thus passed,
*per discessionem*, yet the phrase *senatusconsultum per discessio-
em factum*, was peculiarly applied to those decrees that were
passed on important or indisputable points, unanimously, or by
a great majority at once, without much debating, or hearing the
individual opinions of all.

75 *Non erit melius.*] “It will be better for you not to utter a
word except about the business under debate.” This is used as
a threat. *Melius* is often used in this sense; see ch. 48, *quièt
erit melius*. Ter. Adelph. 2. 1. 26—σὺν ἀμάντος is used in the
same sense in Greek.

77 *Privato reticere.*] “Declaring that he would not be silent
for a man destitute of lawful authority.”

78 *Non cui simulabat.*] “By taking care, not of the person
whom he pretended anxiety for.” He seized Appius by the
body, under the pretence of preventing him from assailing
Valerius, but really with a view of saving him from the fury of
Valerius.

79 *Ultra vocem excessisset.*] “Had not gone beyond that of
speaking.” So Valer. Max. *excedere ultra fidem, supra rationem.

80 *Residuo.*] This means “inveterate,” “lurking,” or “con-
tinuing to remain behind in their breasts.”

81 *Postmodo.*] “At some future time.”

82 *Ducta.*] “Protracted or spun out.”—So B. 4. c. 53.
Qvrum res diu ducita per alterationem esset—Virg. *Nostros in
longum ducis amores*. The verb is often taken in this sense
*trahere* also is frequently so used.

83 *Legionibus scriptis.*] When a levy of troops was about to
be held, the consuls, or other presiding magistrate, ordered such
as they pleased to be cited out of each tribe, and every one was
obliged to answer to his name under a heavy penalty. They
were careful to choose (*legere*) those first, who had what were
thought lucky names, whence we have the term *legio*. The names
were written down on tablets, hence *scribere*, “to enlist or levy.”

84 *In Fabio minùs in bono constans.*] “Rather inconstant in
doing good than strenuous in doing evil.” *Minùs* is often used
for *magis non*. He was not determined and wicked enough to
quell the turbulence of an exasperated city mob.

85 *Hunc enim.*] *Enim* expresses the reason of *minùs con-
stants.

86 *Similis.*] When this word governs a genitive, it expresses
a very near resemblance; it means, “the very same as, the like
of," as Shakspeare, Hamlet, "we ne'er shall look upon his like again."

Æquo omnium decemvirorum imperio.] The commentators say that these words mean, "that Oppius and Claudius were to have the same authority as if all the decemvirs were present." Then there must be an unclassical ellipsis, and the passage be completed thus: Æquo omnium decemvirorum imperio eorum imperio existente, "their power being equal to the power of all the decemvirs." It appears much more simple and natural to explain the passage thus: "The power of all the decemvirs being the same;" i.e. that the decemvirs, both those who went to the army, and those who remained in Rome, should every one of them alike possess absolute authority; and in this case Oppius and Claudius would have as much power as if all the decemvirs were in the city.

Chap. XLII.—Auspicio.] When the Roman general was about to engage in any important undertaking, he ascertained the will of heaven by making observations on certain birds, which was peculiarly termed auspicium, (qu. avis et aspio;) hence, such an undertaking was said to be carried on under his "auspicies," whether he was present or not; sometimes the omens were taken in his name by his deputy, and the affair was still said to be conducted under his auspices, as was the case in the time of the Roman emperors, under whose auspices the generals were said to carry on war in the distant provinces.

Persecutis hostibus.] "Engaging no where in even combat with the enemy who pursued them." Persecutis hostibus is the dative case.—See B. 5. c. 18; nec se tamen æquo loco hosti commisit.

Utensilibus.] This word signifies "any implement or vessel for use;" it also sometimes means "provisions and money."—See Tacit. B. 1. 70, note, (Oberlin's ed.)—2. 60.—15. 39.

Ad supplementum.] Gronovius thinks the reading should be ac supplementum. Drakenborch explains the present reading thus: "In addition to a reinforcement of troops to supply the places of the slain;" ad certainly sometimes means "in addition to, besides."—See c. 29. n. 67. and next ch. beginning. It may however be simply explained thus: "they decreed to send to Tusculum arms for the purpose of a supply; i.e. to supply those that were lost at Algidus; for in the words utensilibus extitus, a little before, may be included the loss of their arms; supplementum means a supply of any thing, though the usual signification of it is a "supply of men," and ad often means "for, for the sake of." Tusculum arma—decernerent, sell. mittere. So Cic. decerne legiones in Syriam; or, as arma is often taken in a general sense to signify "all kinds of tools for all arts and occupations," it may here include not only arms offensive and defen-
sive, but the furniture, and vessels, and tools for working, necessary in the camp, all of which they had lost.

93 Ul tuo inferendo.] See ch. 28. n. 51.

CHAP. XLIII.—94 L. Sicciuium in Sabinis.] “They send L. Siccius quartered among the Sabines, to make observations for the purpose of choosing a situation for a camp; who, availing himself of the odium agalust the decemvirs, was making mention, in his secret conversations to the common soldiers, of secession and the election of tribunes.” In Sabinis, i. e. he was in the army that acted against the Sabines. Dionysius, B. 10, says, that he was engaged in one hundred and twenty battles; had received forty-five wounds, all in front; had obtained four civic crowns, three mural crowns, eighty-three necklaces, sixty bracelets, eighteen spears, and twenty-five trappings, as rewards of his valour.—See c. 58. n. 49.

94 Pari viribus animo.] “Possessing courage equal to his strength.”

95 Precipitatum in insidias esse.] Scil. ab iis, “that they had fallen into an ambush.” As precipitare is often used in Livy (see B. 2. c. 51.—B. 5. c. 18,) in an absolute or neuter signification, precipitatum esse here is taken impersonally.

96 Placebat, ni decemviri.] “And it was resolved that Siccius should be carried immediately to Rome, (which would have been put into execution,) had not the decemvirs, &c.” The reader will see several instances of such an ellipsis where ni occurs. The verb in the clause antecedent to ni, should be repeated and put in the same mood and tense with the verb that depends on ni. In Livy the imperfect indic. is often used before ni in the same sense as if it had been the pluper. subjunctive.

CHAP. XLIV.—97 Honestum ordinem.] “Led a first rank.” In each manipulus there were two centurions distinguished by the titles prior and posterior, because one was chosen and ranked before the other. These centurions, called ordinum ductores, were chosen from the common soldiers, according to their merit, by the tribunes of the soldiers, sometimes by the consul or pro-consul. The centurion of the first century of the first manipulus of the triarii or pilarii, was called primipilus; see B. 2. c. 27. n. 32.; the centurion of the second century of the first manipulus of the triarii, was called primipilus posterior. The centurions of the second manipulus of the triarii, were called prior centurio et posterior centurio secundi pilii; and so on to the tenth, who were called prior centurio and posterior centurio decimi pilii. In like manner the centurions of the two other lines, which were called principes and hastati, were styled primus princeps, secundus princeps, &c.; primus hastatus, secundus hastatus, &c. Any of the chief centurions was said, honestum ordinem ducere.—See B. 2. c. 45. n. 49.

98 Liberique.] Crevier says that this word was often used with
some latitude, to signify "an only child," whether male or female, and is here applied to Virginia.

9 In servitutem assere reret.] "To demand the girl as a slave, and not submit to those who may claim an action in favour of liberty." Asserere in servitutem, assere in libertatem, (see next ch.) were phrases used to signify "to claim one as a slave, to claim one as free." Vindiciæ was a suit entered into by a person who claimed the possession of any thing either for himself or another; a sort of action of rescue. Vindictas decernere, or dare secundum or in libertatem, "to rule the claim in favour of liberty," secundum or in servitutem, "to rule in favour of slavery," were phrases by which it was meant, that the subject of the action should remain "free" or "in slavery," until the question was finally decided.—Vindiciæ dare or decernere, was applied to the judge who made such a decision. Vindiciæ postulare, was applied to the plaintiff called assertor, who demanded such a decision. Vindiciæ dicere ab libertate, was the same as vindiciæ in servitutem dare. Crevier says that vindiciæ sometimes means the temporary possession of a thing pending the action.

1 In tabernis literarum ludi crant.] "For the schools of literature were held there in sheds."

2 Celebratur.] See c. 31. n. 81.

3 Notos gratia eorum.] "Their affection for them conciliates the favour of their acquaintances for the girl; and the heinousness of the circumstance conciliates the favour of the multitude for her."

4 Auctoribus, qui aderant.] "Her supporters recommending her to follow him."—See B. 3. c. 14. n. 19.—Hor. Sat. B. 9. 1, paulùm híc ades.

5 Suppositam ei esse.] "Became his supposittious child;" suppositum here is the same as supposititiun, such children were called by the Greeks διασματίαν.

6 Apud quem major pars injuria.] "Who would be the principal sufferer."

7 Advocati.] Advocatus (says Ascon. in divin. est qui aut jus sugetur, aut presentiam suam in judicio commodat amico.

8 De liberis dimicare.] "Run the hazard of losing his children." This verb properly means "to combat;" hence it comes often to signify "to encounter danger, to run a risk;" here it is the same as periculum adire below. See a similar use of it, B. 2. c. 12. n. 13.—B. 1. c. 15, inclusi de tectis mænibusque dimicarent.—See also c. 48. n. 45.

9 Lege ab ipso latd.] "That, according to a law framed by himself, he should rule the case in favour of liberty." It seems that Appius on some previous occasion had framed this law.

Chap. XLV.—10 Appius decreto praefatus.] "Appius prefaced lay his decree by observing, that the verb, which the friends of
Virginius hold forth as a plea for their demand, shows clearly how favourable he himself was to liberty. But that liberty would find firm security in it in this way only, if it did not vary in causes or persons;" i. e. to continue undeviating and invariable in the tenor of its operation to those causes and persons only to which it was intended to be applied. Appius says that the friends of Virginius were wresting the law to cases and persons to which it was inapplicable. "For in the case of those who (being in slavery) were claimed as free, that right (which was above demanded by Virginia's advocates) did exist, because any citizen could by law bring such an action; but in the case of her who was in her father's hands, there was no other person to whom her master should yield the custody of her;" consequently she could not, pending the suit, be set at liberty. A slave could not bring an action at law against his master to recover his freedom; some free citizen should do it for him, and any citizen might do it. Appius says, that, if Virginia was living in a state of slavery under Claudius, as any one might institute an action to establish her liberty, she would be entitled to her liberty until the affair was decided; but as she was now living under her father's protection, and he was absent, and as no other person had a right to defend or keep her, she should be given up to the man who claimed to be her master, until the father's arrival.

Maximi interventu. The crowd made way for Icilius, because they imagined that his interference was the chief thing that could resist Appius.

Placidum quoque. "Even a calm temper."

Tacitum feras. See B. 1. c. 50.

Auxilium. See c. 30. n. 71. 72.

Saevice in tergum. "Flog and behead us."

Referes. Walker says this word has here the same force as it has in the phrases, referre spolia, referre victoriam, &c.

Vindiciis cesserit. "If he shall submit to this man's claim to detain her in custody."

Conditionem. "Another match for his daughter." This word sometimes signifies a treaty and union of marriage; sometimes it is used for a bride or bridegroom.—Ter. Phor. 4. 1. 13.

Cic. Phil. 2. c. 38.

Vindicantem sponsam in libertatem. Vindicare in libertatem, is a phrase used to signify "the maintaining or defending of liberty." So Sallust. Jug., Memmius's speech, nisi vosmet in libertatem vindicatis. Cic. Fam. 10. 31, rempublicam in libertatem vindicare; the phrase is similar to asserere in libertatem.

——See ch. 44.

Chap. XLVI. — Tribunatum. Breathing the turbulent spirit of a tribune, even at a time when the office was abolished.

Seditio. The same as seditioni; the genitive and dative are often used for each other in Latin.
22 Vindicari.] "To be kept at liberty;" i. e. allow the \textit{vindicium libertatem}, which was claimed by her friends.

23 Neque legi sue.] "That, as its framer, he would maintain his own law, (i. e. by insisting that it should be carried into effect, as he expounded it in the last chapter,) and, as a deceiver, his own firmness."

24 Nec se collegarum.] He alludes to the words of Icilius.

25 Recta.] Sci. vid. This is often understood with \textit{eddem, quâ, illâ, aliâ, &c.} So the ellipsis of \textit{Scil.} is common in Greek, as \(\ddagger\), scil. \(\ddagger\) \(\ddagger\), scil. \(\ddagger\) \(\ddagger\), &c.

26 Vindex injuria.] The person who was to avenge her wrongs, her defender from injury, i. e. her father.

27 Vindicaret.] "When the claimant of the girl urged him to profess himself her defender, and give bail for her appearance." Let the reader observe the different shades of the same meaning that \textit{vindex} and its derivatives have in these chapters.

28 Precipere iter.] "Should previously finish their journey."

See B. 22. c. 41.—32. c. 16—36. c. 19.

29 Sedisse.] Sedere and considere are often used to signify a judge's sitting on the bench to try cases.


Chap. XLVII.—21 \textit{Expectatione erecta}.] On the tiptoe of expectation, as we say.

32 Sordidatus.] This was for the purpose of enlisting the sympathies of the people. The Romans, and other nations, had constantly recourse to this practice, whenever it was necessary to gain this object. The phrase "mourning in sackcloth and ashes," and its meaning, are familiar to every one.

33 Ingenti advocatone.] "A great crowd of supporters."

34 Precariam opem.] "Voluntary assistance;" assistance granted from a feeling of compassion to his prayers; from \textit{preces}.

35 Strenuè ac ferociter facta.] "Whose bold and vigorous achievements in war were more numerous."—See c. 39. n. 61.

36 Quid prodesse.] "What did this avail, if, while the city was secure from danger, their children were to endure those calamities, which were the worst that could be feared, if it were taken."

37 Concionabundus.] "As if delivering a public harangue."

See B. 5. c. 29.

38 Ultrò.] See B. 1. c. 5.

39 Per ambitionem.] "From a wish to gain popularity." \textit{Ambitio} properly meant the act of going about canvassing for votes, previous to an election; hence it came to mean, an attempt or wish to gain favour or power in any way.

40 Tradiderint.] Gronovius says this means, "could have handed down to us;" i. e. if they pleased; for if they really did hand it down, Livy would see and record it. Walker says that it
means "have handed it down to us;" and that, though they did really hand it down, it perished by time. He says he complains elsewhere of the loss of records. — See B. 8. c. 40.

41 Nudum videtur proponendum.] "I think it best to represent the naked fact, which is evident, namely, that he decreed, & c." See c. 44. n. 99. Nudum may mean "unaccompanied with any preamble or 'charge,'" as our phrase is.

42 Defixit.] This word is applied to persons rendered motionless and bewildered by surprise, fear, grief, or any other strong emotion of the mind. — See B. i. c. 29.— S. c. 7.

43 Tenuit.] "Lasted." Livy often uses the word in this sense. See B. 23. c. 44, imber per totam noctem tenuit. So B. 1. c. 4, tenuet fama.— B. 2. c. 19, he tenuère contentiones usque ad comitia. So in English "to hold" often signifies "to last."

CHAP. XLVIII.— 44 Alienatus ad libidinem animo.] "Being estranged in mind (from all other considerations) to lust." So alienans sensibus, B. 25, c. 29. Alienato— animo, is another reading.

45 Dimicatio.] "Danger." — See c. 44. n. 8. Cic. pro Sullâ. 77. pro Rab. 5.

46 Descendisse.] i. e. To the forum, which was in a valley between the Capitoline and Palatine Hills. Descendere in forum, was the phrase generally used to express "to go to the forum."

47 Quiesse est melius.] See c. 41. n. 76.— B. 44. c. 36.

48 Aequiore animo.] "With a more tranquil mind."

49 Prope Cloacinæ ad tabernas.] "Near the temple of Cloacinæ to the Sheds, which are at present called the New Sheds." Cloacinæ, intell. adem; there are many instances of this ellipsis. — See B. 2. c. 7. n. 71.— B. 1. c. 33. n. 2. This was an epithet of Venus, derived, according to Pliny, (B. 15. c. 29,) from the old verb claeoo, or xλυζεω, "to purify," because the Romans and Sabines, when they became reconciled, were purified by myrtle, which was sacred to Venus; and, in the place where the ceremony was performed, a temple was built to Venus Cloacinæ. Lactantius says the word comes from cloaca "a sewer," because an image of Venus was found in the great sewer. Cicero de Orat. B. 2. c. 66, called these novæ tabernæ simply novæ. — See more about Cloacinæ in Plin. B. 25. c. 29; and Lactantius de falsâ Relig. B. 1. c. 20.

50 Consecro.] "Devote to the infernal gods." Sacro is the verb generally used to express this. — See B. 2. c. 8. Sacer was often applied to a person accursed. Such a person may be slain with impunity, and his goods were devoted to the gods, i. e. set apart to defray the expense of sacrifices to the gods.

51 Cæteraque, quæ in tali re.] "And other reflections, which, on such an occasion, the grief of women suggests to them in their mourning, the more pitiful in proportion as that grief is more pregnant with affliction in a tender mind."
Major privatus ad

advisers is thing conspici Algidus.

legal end pudiccB.

Dream. with subjects, at."—here, our militai-y, Shakspere, Appius, 1. militai-y, Livy, however, to refusal, to disobey;" see c. 52. Detractantem is another reading. Vocari and arripi depend upon jubet at the end of the sentence.

Si jure ageret vindicare. If he intended to proceed in a legal way, that they would become security for Icilius against Appius, who was a mere private citizen." The legitimate power of Appius had expired, see c. 38; he is therefore called privatius.

Pro imperio. By virtue of his own authority."—See B. l. c. 51.—B. 2. c. 56.—B. 4. c. 26. n. Crevier explains these words by aperto jussu.

Aquitatus consiliis. Distracted by the several schemes that were suggested to him, and confused by listening to many advisers on every side.

Chap. L. Monte Vecilio. This was a part of Mount Algidus.

Conspectus est. Was a conspicuous object." The verb conspici often means, in Livy, "to be conspicuous, to be gazed at."—See B. l. c. 47.—B. 4. c. 13.—B. 5. c. 23.

Convertit. For convertunt. When a verb has several subjects, it is sometimes put in the singular, agreeing in number with the nearest. This peculiarity was borrowed from the Greeks, and has been often used by the early English poets. Thus Hom II. 1. 61, si ἐν ἤμοι τὰ λίμνης τι δαμαὶ καὶ λαιμὸς Ἀχαιῶς. Shakspere, "reproach and beggary is crept into the palace of our king." Sometimes the verb is found to agree in number with the remoter subject, as Shakspere, Midsummer-Night’s Dream.

But all the story of the night told o’er
And all their minds transfigured so together,
More witnesseth than fancy’s images,
And grows to something of great constancy.”

Toga. The citizen’s dress differed from that of the military, which was called paludamentum.

Majoris. More numerous." Major is sometimes used in this sense, as Hor. Od. B. 3. 1, turba clientium major.

Vocem misit. Emittere vocem is the more usual phrase; however, Livy often uses mittere vocem; see c. 36, 41, 56, &c.

Pudicce vivere. i. e. Si licitum fuisse filia vivere liberæ ac pudica. Let the reader remember, that verbs neuter generally require the same case after them as they have before them.
Morte amitii melius ratum.] “That, having imagined it better that his children should be lost by death than dishonour, he had fallen, through compassion, into what wore the appearance of cruelty.” Perhaps it would be better to make two sentences of this by a period at liberos, and making ratum a verb.

Mortem occubuisse. Occumbere, occumbere mortem, occumbere morti, and occumbere morte, are phrases indifferently used by the best Latin authors to signify “to die.”

Profligatam.] “Far advanced;” i.e. that the power of the deceivers was nearly destroyed at Rome. Profligare sometimes means “to advance a thing far; to bring it nearly to an end;” as B. 21. c. 40, commissum ac profligatum bellum conficere.—Cic. Tusc. 5. 6, Profogata jam haec et penè ad exitum deducta est quastio. Flor. primo commissum bellum, secundo profligatum, tertio verò confectum est.

Insecutique.] “And others having arrived there after them, who said, &c.” This word and immixti above, which refer to two classes of persons, are the subjects to perpulerunt. Quum—simul here signify the same as quum—tum. Insecutos, which is wrong, is the reading of some copies.

Vellerenque signa.] “To cry out, one and all, to arms, and pluck up their standards.” When a general, after having consulted the auspices, determined to lead forth his troops to battle, a red flag (vexillum) was displayed on a spear from the top of the general’s tent, praetorium; then having called them to assembly by sound of trumpet (classico, i.e. tubâ concione advocatâ) he harangued the soldiers, who answered by shouts of joy, or by beating on the shields with their spears. To this Milton finely alludes B. 1. 1. 669.

“He spoke: and, to confirm his words, out flew
Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs
Of mighty cherubim; the sudden blaze
Far round illumin’d hell; highly they rag’d
Against the Highest, and fierce with grasped arms
Clash’d on their sounding shields the din of war,
Hurling defiance toward the vault of heaven.”

After the harangue all the trumpets sounded (signa caneabant), which was the signal for marching. At the same time the soldiers cried out “to arms” (ad arma conclavem est), and the standards, which during the encampment stood fixed in the ground, were plucked up (signa convellebantur). Signum was the standard of the infantry, each manipulus having one; vexillum was that of the cavalry.

Inhiberet.] See c. 38. n. 43.

Senatûs verbis.] “In the name of the senate.”—See B. 6. c. 17.—B. 7. c. 31.—B. 9. c. 36. So Cic. and Att. 16, 11, meis verbis suavium des.

Nullodum.] “There being no certain leader as yet.” Null-
lodum, for nondum ullo.—See B. 7. c. 33.—E. 29. c. 11. So nec omnes dum, for nec dum omnes, c. 60.

CHAP. LI.—"Paullo ante trepidatum esse." "That, in a case, not of the greatest difficulty, they were embarrassed a short time before;" i. e. when the deputies of the senate spoke to them. Trepidare is generally used to signify that trepidation and turbulence of feeling which is experienced on the eve of a battle.—See B. 2. c. 46, 49.

Proximi invidia.] "Most obnoxious to the animosity of the patricians." Invidia is very often used in a passive sense, to signify that hatred and hostility felt and exercised against one by another.—See c. 54.

Non minore motu.] They were no less exasperated and provoked to secession by the recollection of the murder of Dentatus, than by the attack on Virginia.

Prærogativam.] "Lest the comitia in the city might follow the precedent of the assembly that elected the military tribunes, by creating those same persons tribunes of the people." When the centuries were called on to vote, they originally came according to the institution of Servius Tullius, first the equites, then the centuries of the first class, then the centuries of the second, &c.; afterwards, however, the order (but when is uncertain) was determined by lot. The century first called on by lot was called prærogativa; the rest were styled jure vocata. The vote of the prærogativa was considered of great importance, and it was often followed by the other centuries; hence the word often means "a precedent," "a choice," or "favour," "a pledge or omen of any thing future;" and among later writers, "an exclusive privilege." Sometimes the tribes are mentioned in the omitia centuriata; and then it is supposed that, after the centuries were included in the tribes, (see B. 1. c. 43. n.) the tribes cast lots first, and that tribe, which first came out, was called prærogativa tribus, and the others, jure vocata tribus; then the centuries of the prærogativa tribus cast lots, to ascertain which should be the prærogativa centuria. After the prærogativa centuria of the prærogativa tribus voted, then the other centuries voted according to their property: first the centuries of the first class, then of the second, &c., as they did when there was no mention made of tribes. The jure vocata tribus were those tribes whose centuries voted, not by lot, but in their just and regular order (hence jure vocata) according to their rank and property.—See B. 5. 18.—B. 21. 3.—B. 27. 6.—B. 28. 9.—Cic. Phil. 2.

Inmienensque ei potestati.] "And aiming at that office." See B. 4. c. 25.

Dedecora militiae.] "The disgraces incurred in war."

In ordinem cogi.] See c. 35. n. 15.

CHAP. LII.—Admonitorum.] "That the consecrated mount
would remind them of the perseverance of the people.”—See B. 2. c. 32.

Scituros.] “That they would then know that, without the restoration of the tribuniciun office, matters could not be restored to concord.” Many interpreters think sciturosque, or quâm, would be better, as the propriety of such expressions as seire quod, dicere quod, respondere quod, and the like, is questionable. Potestas is often applied to the office of the tribunes of the people, and imperium always to that of the consuls, or other chief magistrates.

Viâ Nomentâ ... Ficulensi.] This road was so called, because it led to the towns Nomentum and Ficulea; after the destruction of Ficulea, it was called Nomentana.

Retractante.] See c. 49. n. 53.

Ruere ae deflagrare.] “To sink into ruin, and be consumed to ashes.” Metaphorical expressions borrowed from the destruction caused by fire.

Togatorium aliorumque.] Crevier says, that que here, introduced first into the text by Sigonius, (whose readings are often incorrect,) and adopted by succeeding editors, injures the meaning of this passage.

Ne munc.] “So that now, when captivated by its sweetness, they cannot bear its loss, especially when we do not, in the exercise of our power, behave with such moderation, as that they may not stand in need of the assistance of the tribunes.” Crevier says, that ne here is the same as nendum.

In potestate.] See c. 21. n. 81.

Ut ipsi ab invidiâ caveatur.] “That they may be guarded against the animosity of the people.”—See c. 51. n. 73.—c. 55. Cavere, followed by an accusative, or an ablative with the prep. a or ab, generally means, “to guard against,” “to have security from,” followed by a dative, “to guard,” “to insure security or protection to.”

Chap. LIII.—Ea postulavit.] “Made such demands, as that it appeared, —.” Is is often used for talis.

Ne cui fraudi esset.] “And that it should be injurious to no one to have stirred up the soldiers.”—See B. 1. c. 47.

Quae consili.] “Those demands which were the result of cool deliberation.”

Satis superque humilis est.] “That man is sufficiently, quite sufficiently, humbled, who lives with equal privileges as his fellow-citizens in the state, without offering injury, or suffering it.” They say that the decemvirs, even though they may not be punished, are abundantly humbled by having lost the power of doing injury. Walker says, that satis superque mean sometimes what is fully sufficient, not what is too much. As Hor. Epod. 1. satis superque me tua benignitas ditavit.—See c. 67. Crevier thinks there is some mistake in the sentence,
Chap. LIV.—Facerent, ut vellent, permittentibus cunctis.] "All the soldiers allowing them to do as they pleased." Facerent, scil. ut facerent. Permittere is sometimes followed by an infinitive mood, sometimes, and more properly, by a subjunctive with ut.

Haud ignaro imminet fortuna.] This is as much as to say, "I am aware of the doom that hangs over me, and I am prepared to meet it."

Nihil ne ego quidem moror.] The two negatives here add to the force of the negation. See B. 4. c. 38. This is common in Greek, and has been introduced, though sparingly, into Latin. Shakspeare, Spencer, and Milton, and the early English poets, who adopted all the idioms of the ancient languages, have sometimes used this peculiarity; as, Jul. Caesar, Act 3. Sc. 1.

"There is no harm intended to your person, Nor to no Roman ciss."

Macbeth, Act 2.

"Nor tongue nor heart cannot conceive, nor Name thee."

Pontifex maximus... crearet.] He was the only magistrate at this time in Rome.—See c. 1. n. 5. See c. 53. n.

Abdicantque se magistratu.] Abdicare se magistratu, dictaturâ, edilitate, &c. are phrases used to signify "to deprive one's self of all right," (from ab and ăxטn, ġus,) "to resign all claim to these offices," abrogare aliquo magistratum, (see B. 1. c. 59.) "to deprive another of office." Abire magistratu, simply "to quit office."

Legatos.] The deputies from the senate to the camp.

Pro concion.] "At the assembly," i. e. at the camp; pro here has the same force as in the phrases, pro tribunali, pro suggesto.

Convellunt indê signa.] These words are used to signify "to decamp."—See c. 50. n. 68. Convertunt signa is another reading, which is incorrect, as these words mean either "to turn back," or "wheel about on a march," or "to change the charge to another direction in battle."—See B. 8. c. 11.—B. 10. c. 18.

A. Virginium.] These words should very probably be L. Virginium, i. e. Virginia's father.

M. Duilium.] See B. 2. c. 61.

Spē.] "More from the hope that was entertained of their future services than from any past merit of theirs."

Chap. LV.—Quorum consulatus.] "Whose consulship, as being agreeable to the people, though without doing any injury to the patricians, was not without giving them offence; because they believed that whatever security was given to the liberty of the people, was a diminution of their own power."—See c. 52. n.
In controverso jure.] "A disputed point of law."

Plebiscitum.] See B. 2. c. 56. n. 63.

Consularem legem.] This was passed by Publicola, B. 2. c. 8.

Novam legem.] Novâ lege is another reading, and implies the same thing; instances of both forms of expression often occur.

Sine provocatione.] The force of this law was afterwards questioned. The dictator, B. 8. c. 33, refused to allow an appeal.

Renovârunt.] "They also revived the privilege for the tribunes to be considered inviolable."—See B. 2. c. 33.

Ædilibus.] i. e. The plebeian ædiles. Who the judices and decemviri, mentioned here, were, the commentators are at a loss to determine; it is certain they must be some plebeian officers. There were certain officers called decemviri litibus judicandis, who were ten men appointed to assemble the several councils into which the judices selecti, called also centumviri, (because three persons were chosen from each of the thirty-five tribes,) were divided, and preside in them in the absence of the prætor. But it seems that these were created after this time. There were also decemviri agris dividendis.

Familia.] See c. 19. n. 67.

Liber liberaque.] Liber, mentioned here, is said to be the son of Ceres, and Libera her daughter, i. e. Proserpine. They are mentioned elsewhere.—See B. 33. c. 25.—B. 41. c. 24.—T tacit. An. 2. c. 29.—Cic. de Nat. Deor. 1. 2.

Sacrum sanciri.] "Is by law deemed accursed."

Caution esse.] See c. 52. n. 87.

Consulares.] "Proposed by the consuls" at the com. centuriata.

Ad ædiles plebis deferrentur.] "Should be deposited in the temple of Ceres, under the care of the ædiles of the people."

Vitiabanturque.] "And were corrupted" or altered.

Qui relinquisset.] i. e. Whoever would "cause" the commons to be left without tribunes, and would "cause" a magistrate to be created.

Invitis.] "The patricians, though unwilling they should be passed, yet not opposing them. Invitis does not imply that they were carried "in spite of them." Cic. Sapiens nil facit invitis, nil dolens, nil coactus.

Chap. LVI.—In forum descendisset.] See c. 48. n. 46.

Oratio.] "A long harangue is only used in cases of a doubtful nature."

Gratiam facio.] "I grant you pardon for all the impious and nefarious deeds that for two years you have been daring to commit in constant succession." So Sall. Jug. c. 104. Boccho delicti gratiam facit.—See B. 8. c. 34.

Unius tantum crimini.] This may depend on causà or
nomine understood. See a similar ellipsis, B. 1. c. 32.—B. 3. c. 62.—B. 4. c. 30.—B. 8. c. 6, or, by removing the comma, it may depend on judicem.

25 *Ni judicem dices.*] See c. 24. n. 10.

26 *Nullo morante.*] "None of the tribunes regarding his call on them." Moror when joined to a negative, often signifies "to value or regard."

27 *Vindicix ab libertate dictae.*] See ch. 44. n. 99.

28 *Consulatu absisset.*] He was consul elect, and resigned his office.—See c. 33.

29 *Sua propria bona malaque.*] "That he would try all the peculiar advantages or disadvantages of his own case." These he opposes to the general rights of a free citizen, which he now stands on; he says, he should not be thrown into prison before his trial came on.

30 *Quos oderint.*] i. e. The decemvirs.

31 *Quod si tribunâ.*] "But if the tribunes acknowledge that they have been bound by the same kind of confederacy as the decemvirs, for the purpose of abolishing the privilege of appeal, against which they charged the decemvirs with having conspired." See c. 36. Crevier says, the reading should be in quod, scil. fœdus, not in quam, as codem requires a relative.

32 *Ait.*] Gronovius says this should be at, as B. 1. c. 41. Si tua consilia re subitâ torpent, at tu mea sequere.—B. 3. c. 31, si plebeiae leges displicerent, at illi communiter legum latores et ex plebe et ex patribus—sinèrent creari.

33 *Appellatio provocatioque.*] See c. 36. n. 27.

Chap. LVII.—34 *Legum expertem, et civilis et humani fœderis.*] "Cut off from the protection of the laws, or any covenant entered into with citizens or men." So Hom. 11. 9. 1. 63.

"Αφεντης, αδίμιστες, ανίστεις ἑστιν εἰκίνες."

35 *Stupro interpellato.*] "By the interruption given to his lust."

36 *Judicem illi ferre, ni vindicias.*] See c. 24. n. 10.—c. 44. n. 99.

37 *Prodixit.*] See c. 61. n. 8.

38 *Sed, emeritis etiam stipendii.*] Every citizen from the age of 17 to 46, during which time he was called junior, or juvenis, (see B. 1. c. 43, 56,) was obliged to enlist whenever the public service required it; every foot soldier was obliged to serve twenty campaigns, every horseman ten. When a soldier had served his time (stipendia meruiisset,) he was called emeritus, and obtained his discharge, which was called missio honéstâ or justâ; sometimes soldiers were discharged through favour, and this was called missio gratiosâ; sometimes in consequence of some infirmity, and this was called missio causâria; sometimes from,
some misconduct, which was termed missio ignominiosa. Another kind of discharge was introduced under Augustus, called exauctoratio, by which those, who had served sixteen campaigns, were exempted from all military duty, except fighting. These were kept still in the army in a separate body, (sub vexillo seor-sim,) hence they were called vexillarii, or veterani, or subsigiani, till they received a full discharge and reward for their services either in land or money. The sentence may be thus translated: "not only the young men, but even a great number of persons, who volunteered their services after having served their regular time, attended, &c."

39 Egredentur.] See B. 2. c. 37.

Chap. LVIII.— 40 Antiquam in patriam.] See B. 2. c. 16.

41 Gentilibus.] "His clansmen." The Romans were divided into various clans (gentes), each clan into several families. Thus the gens Cornelia was divided into the families of the Scipiones, Cinna, Sylla, Lentuli, Dolobelle, Cethegi, &c.

42 Honoratissimae imaginis.] "A man whose image would be held in the highest honour by posterity."

43 Nominis dare.] "That he also did it in compliment to his own family and name."—So Cic. Att. 1. 9, dabimus hoc Pompeio.

44 Pietate.] This, as has been already shown, often means that duty and affectionate regard and support which one member of a family owes to the rest.

45 Sed necessariorum.] "But the prayers of those, who were the dear friends of Virginia, and were three tribunes," Crevier thinks et should be expunged.

46 Spe incisâ.] "When all hope was cut off;" spe precisâ is another way in which the same sentiment is often expressed.

47 Arreptus.] See B. 2. c. 54. n. 35.

48 Plura tamen facta injuria Oppio.] "However, a positive injury, committed by Oppius, excited more hostility against him than the fact of his not preventing the injury done by Appius."

49 Extra ordinem donatus.] "Rewarded in an extraordinary way." Sometimes whole companies were rewarded together for their valour, sometimes individuals were singled out for peculiar distinction on account of superior merit; a reward conferred in this way is termed γένιζα in Homer. The highest reward was the corona civica, made of oak leaves, given to him who saved the life of "a citizen," and presented personally by the party that was saved; he wore it at the games, and sat at them next the senate. To the person who first mounted the "rampart," or entered the enemy's "camp," was given by the general a golden crown, called corona vallaris or castrensis. To him who first scaled the "walls" of a city in an assault, corona muralis; to him, who first boarded the "ship" of an enemy, corona navalis. There were smaller rewards, such as a spear "without any iron on it," hasta pura; a flag or banner on the end of a spear, vexillum, i. e. quasi partum

q 2
velum; trappings (phalerae), which were ornaments for men and horses, and which hung down the breast; twisted necklaces, torques, from torqueo; bracelets for the arms, armillae; chains made of little rings, catella, qu. catennulae; clasps or buckles (fibulae, from fibra, extremitas,) because used to keep the edges or borders together.

50 Privatus.] "Though now reduced to a private individual."

51 Solum verterunt.] See c. 13. n. 11.


Chap. LIX.—53 Metus incesserat.] This verb comes from incesso, "to seize." Livy often uses this word; as, metus incessit, cura incessit, dolor incessit, indignatio incessit, admiratio incessit, and the like.

54 Inhibito salubriter modo.] "Having exercised a salutary restraint over their excessive power."—See c. 38. n. 43. Crevier and Gronovius say, that the word should be potestati, not potestatis.—See B. 4. 53, 56.

55 Quod vim tribuniciam desideret.] "Which would require the interposition of the tribunician power."

56 Consultum invidiam.] "The animosity against the consuls."

57 Molliùs consultum.] "That they acted with too much imbecility."—So B. 30. c. 7.

58 Neque erat dubium.] "And there was no doubt but that they yielded to the exigency of the times."

Chap. L.X.—59 Sustinuit.] "Delayed," withheld it from coming to the decision of a battle. The word is used in this sense, c. 65, sustinendo rem.—B. 5. c. 54, rem in noctem sustinuere.

60 Haud scio an.] "I do not know but (such was the feeling both of the Romans and the enemy from the misfortunes that attended the command of the decemvirs.—see c. 42,) that a battle would cost him a heavy loss."—See B. 2. c. 36. n. 53.—Crevier says that non is understood after an.—See B. 2. c. 2.

61 Concessum propemodum de victoriâ.] "That the victory was almost yielded up to them."

62 Nocti cessère.] So Hom. νυκτὶ εἰςμυσ; nocte was the common reading.

63 Ulteriores.] "Those who proceeded to a greater distance."

64 Multa dies.] The same as multitum diei, which is the more usual phrase.

65 Adortusque.] "And having attacked them before they were all as yet led forth, or before those, who were, had their lines properly drawn out."—See c. 50. n.


67 Nolle ominari.] "That he was unwilling to forbode what neither Jupiter nor Mars their father would permit to happen to
a city built under such good auspices.” The ancients had a superstitious belief, that it was unlucky to forbode or talk of any calamity. Malè ominatīs parhus verbīs, was a phrase constantly used by them. This was expressed by ἐφησὼν by the Greeks.

68 Illibatum.] “They ought to carry back dominion unimpaired to that very place.”—So B. 42. c. 30, illibātis virtibus, Colum. illibatum robur.

69 Permittantque.] See B. 2. c. 56. n. 61.

70 Elati ad novissimam aciem, pars libero spatio circumvectī.] “And after the ranks were broken, ‘some’ dashing on to the rear of the army, ‘some’ wheeling about in the open space from the flanks, turn most of them off from the camp as they betook themselves to flight in all directions, and, by riding on before, frighten them off from it.” i. e. Pars elati, pars circumvectī, &c. Such an ellipsis is common where the distributive is omitted in the first clause, and used in the second. So Sall. Jug. c. 31, incidunt per ora vestra magnificè (pars) sacerdotia et consulatūs, pars triumphos suos ostentantantes.—So B. 5. c. 21. Jam in partem prădō suse (alios) vocatos deos, alios votos ex urbe suā evocatos. —So B. 3. c. 37, virgīs (alii) cādi, alii securi subjici.—So B. 4. c. 33, obrunctantur (alii) in ripis, alios in aquam compulsos gurgites ferunt.—See c. 37. n.—B. 4. c. 53. n.

71 Ingenti cāde, prădā mājore.] i. e. The plunder was more considerable than the slaughter.

72 Accendit.] Scil. fāma accendit.

73 Excursionibus sufficiendo.] When this verb is taken transitively, and followed by a dative and accusative, it generally means “to supply, to furnish, to provide,” as Virg. Geor. 2. 191, hic tibi ... sufficiet vites ... 424, ipsa satis tellus ... suffiict humorem ... 426, illex pecori frondem, aut pastoribus umbram sufficiunt ... 365, aliam ex alīa generando suffice prolet ... Æn. 2. 617, ipse pater Danais viresque secundas sufficit ; according to this, if excursionibus be made a dative, the words may be explained thus; “by providing, or furnishing, or preparing them for excursions.” Sometimes it is followed by an ablative, and means “to imbue, to die, to season,” as Cic. in Hortens. sufficiunt lanam medicamentis. Ap. Non. it sanè me medicamentis sufficiunt. Virg. Æn. 2. 210, ardentesque oculos susceptī sanguine et igni. According to this meaning they may be thus explained: “by seasoning them with excursions.”

74 Certamina et summam totius profecerant spei.] “And those slight contests had been very beneficial to the sum of their hopes.” Summa means “the conclusion, the whole, or upshot of a thing;” here, summa totius spei means “their hopes with regard to a general and decisive battle.”

75 Carperent.] So c. 5, hostes carpere multifariam vires Romanas.

76 Inclinandum.] “To be turned or decided.”
Chap. LXII.—**Indignitate.] "By indignation."—See B. 1. c. 40.

** Et trahi ... et perfici.] "The war can be both spun out (or protracted) advantageously, and brought to a speedy termination," according as we think fit. *Et ... et* here have the same signification as "either ... or;" the conjunctions copulative *et, atque, que* sometimes convey this meaning.—So, Virg. Æn. 10. 707. *Ac velut ille canum morsu de montibus altis actus aper, multos (vel) vesulus quem pennisfer annos defendit, multosque (i. e. vel) pallus Laurentia, sylvâ pastus arundined.*

** Decerni.] "That the business should be brought to a decision."

** Pretium fuit.] "The battle was such, as is fought between two armies who have both a confidence in themselves, one on account of its ancient and constant career of glory, the other lately elevated by its new victory." *Gloriae* may depend on *causâ* or *nomine, understood, see c. 56. n.; or it may be explained thus: *alterum exercitum vet. per. q. gloriae,* "one being an army of old and constant celebrity," and thus the phrase would be similar to *vir bonæ indolis, priscæ fidei, gens magnæ virtutis,* and the like. Let the reader observe, that *ambo* and *duo* are often used by Latin writers used *duos* and *duae* in the accusative.

** Quum æquâssent aciem.] "When they had drawn up the army in regular line of battle."

** Extra ordinem.] These words have here, in some measure, the same meaning as in *subsidii, "in reserve."*

** Verecundiae erat.] "It was a shame."

** Ad pedes ... degresso.] "Dismounted."

Chap. LXIII.—**Sabinis cornu.] The dative as usual for the genitive.

** Increpare sicubi sequior pugna esset.] i. e. *Increpare seques.* The reader will observe many such peculiarities of style in Livy.

** Malignæ.] "Illiberally."—See B. 2. c. 42.

** Supplicationi studiis prope celebrator.] "This free and popular thanksgiving was, from their zeal, almost more numerously conducted than the former."—See B. 1. c. 6. n.

** Eodem biduo.] i. e. Within a day of each other. They saw, as the senate did not grant two days of public thanksgiving, one in compliment to each of them, as was usual, that it was probable they would refuse them the honour of a triumph; accordingly they came, by private arrangement, within a day of each other, that both together, at the head of their armies, might the more effectually wrest this honour from them. A general could not enter the city at the head of his army without the senate's permission.

** Prata Flaminia.] See c. 54.

** Ædis Apollinis.] See B. 4. c. 25, 29.
NOTES TO BOOK III. C. 63, 64.

52 Dissuasum prodeuntibus.] "Many coming forward to the assembly to give advice to the contrary."

53 C. Claudio.] This was the uncle of Ap. Claudius.

54 Gratiam.] "A requital for their private services to a tribune;" i. e. Virginius.

Chap. LXIV.—55 Prope in haud salubrem luxuriam vertit.] "Turned nearly into pernicious licentiousness."

56 Per contumeliam consulam.] "Through the insult offered to the consuls."—So, c. 59. n. 56. invidiam consulam.

57 Factiones.] This word was generally applied to the confederacies formed among the patricians; partes, to those formed among the plebeians; factio, orfactiones nobilitatis; pars, or partes plebis, are expressions often found in the Latin classics.

55 Negaret ullius se rationem habituram.] "Who, when he declared that he would take no account of any of the former tribunes, ——;" i. e. would admit no vote for them.—See B. 4. c. 7. By this it is seen what power the presiding magistrate had.

59 Pugnaretque collegae, ut liberas tribus in suffragiummitteret.] "And when his colleagues fought with him to allow the tribes to vote independently; i. e. for whomsoever they pleased. Pugno, like μάχομαι, is applied to a struggle or contention of any kind, even to verbal bickering; the word "fight" in English, is often used with the same latitude.

1 Aut concederet sortem comitiorum collegis.] "Or give up to his colleagues the charge of presiding at the election."

2 Injectâ contentione.] "A contest being thus excited." Injicere often means, in Livy, "to excite, to cause, to give," as, injicere aliqui metam, injicere pavorem, fugam, certamen, mutationem, admirationem, ardorem, specm, and the like.

3 Auctores popularis sententia, haud populares nactus.] The text here is undoubtedly wrong; the reading should be, auctores popularis sententia haud popularis; i. e. having got popular supporters (i. e. the consuls) of his unpopular measure; namely, his intention not to re-elect the former tribunes.

4 Collaudatis consulibus.] "After he eulogized the consuls because they persevered to the last to be quite the opposite of the decemvirs, ——." Similis, as has been already shown, when followed by a- genitive, means "the very resemblance or likeness of," and dissimilis, "quite contrary to."

5 Alii candidati tribus non explerent.] "When the other candidates (i. e. besides the five elected) could not make up the requisite number of tribes, (i. e. of votes to elect them,) in consequence of the zeal with which the other nine tribunes (i. e. the colleagues of Duilius), openly pressed their canvass, he dismissed the assembly." Exploere centurias means the same as explere tribus. So, B. 37. c. 47. Fulvius consul unus creatur, cum ceteri centurias non explissent.
NOTES TO BOOK III. C. 64, 65.

6 Satisfectum legi.] "That the law was fulfilled." It appears that this is a part of the law quoted, c. 55.

7 Ut relinquentur.] "Should be left elected—left always in existence and power in the state."


9 Si tribunos plebei decem rogabo.] See c. 30. n. 72.—B. 2. c. 33.

10 Si quî vos minus hodie decem tribunos plebei feceritis.] "If you shall have, from any cause, elected less than ten tribunes at that time." Quâ is sometimes put for the ablative of qui, and is of every gender and number; minus as well as plus and amplius are very often found with an accusative.—Si quos ... fecerint is another reading.

11 Hi tum uti, quos sibi collegas cooptassint, ut illi legitimi eadem lege tribuni plebei sint, ut illi, quos.] "Then that these, whom they shall have appointed as colleagues to themselves, that these (I say) be legitimate tribunes of the people on the same terms as those whom you shall on that day have elected tribunes of the people." Cooptassint for cooptaverint.—So, B. 1. c. 18, adclarassís for adclaraveris. Hi uti ... ut illi; these mean the same. Livy often uses such redundances and repetitions.—See B. 5. c. 21.—B. 34. c. 3. 56.—B. 45. c. 16, where he repeats ut; the demonstrative pronoun is often redundant in Livy.—See B. 1. c. 19, 26, 49, 58.—B. 3. c. 58. et alibi.

12 Quindecim tribunos.] i. e. The ten tribunes of the preceding year, and the five who were elected this year.

Chap. LXV.—13 Sp. Tarpeium et A. Aterium.] Their consulship is mentioned, ch. 31.

14 Cælimontanus.] So called probably from residing in Mount Cælius. In those days the names of persons were often derived from their residences; such were the names Esquilinus, Capitolum, Vaticanus, Aventinensis, &c.

15 Ut, qui plebem Romanam tribunos plebi rogaret.] See B. 2. c. 56. n. 59 In Latin, verbs of asking and teaching have two accusatives after them, in imitation of the Greeks, one of which, the accusative of the thing, is properly governed by a preposition, secundum or zuá understood. In English the same peculiarity is observed, as, "he asks him this, he teaches him this," and the like.

16 Insectandisque patribus ... tribunatum gessit.] "And he carried on his tribuneship in attacking the patricians; whence he even got the name of Asper."

17 Potestati ejus.] i. e. The tribunician power: caitiones before, both in this passage and others, was written conciones in most of the old copies.

18 Sustinendo rem.] "By deferring the thing:" i. e. the levy; for if they pressed it, the people would rise up and refuse to enlist.—See c. 60. n. 59.'
19 Urbano quoque otio.] "That on every occasion of tranquility in the city."
20 Externos.] "The foreign enemies."
21 Gravis.] One party always annoyed or attacked the other in their moderation.
22 In primis parum proderat.] At first the tribunes were not able to be of much service to them, and afterwards, towards the expiration of their office, they were even assailed themselves.
23 Nomina tantum.] Mere nominal tribunes.—See B. 5. c. 18. —B. 7. c. 29. c. 1.—B. 44. c. 41.
24 Adè moderatio tundæ libertatis . . . in difficili est.] "So difficult is moderation in maintaining liberty, while every one, by pretending that he wishes for equality, &c."

Chap. LXVI.—25 Et tribunis et plebe incitatâ.] Incitatâ, according to the ordinary rules of grammar, should be incitatis, to agree with tribunis and plebe; but participles and adjectives sometimes are put in the same number and gender with the nearest substantive.—See c. 50, n. 59.
26 Ad quarum.] Scil. concionum. Quorum scil. certaminum would perhaps be a better reading.
27 Simul quod.] "Also because their leaders, who were anxious for plunder, (and this they expected by invading the Roman territories at a time when the people refused to enlist and defend them,) persuaded them that the levy which was ordered two years before, (rather one year before, this being-only the commencement of the second year,) could not be held, as the plebeians now refused to submit to military authority."
28 Regione portæ Esquilinae.] "In the direction or quarter of the Esquiline gate."

Chap. LXVII.—29 Modò pares.] "Who were lately scarcely a match for the Hernici."—See c. 5. B. 2. c. 64.
30 Ita vivitur.] "Such is the sort of life we lead; such is the state of things."
31 Si alia fuga honoris non esset.] "If there were no other way of escaping from this honour;" i. e. the consulship.
32 Si viri arma illa.] "If men of spirit (i. e. brave Romans) had those arms that were brought to our very gates by the insulting foe, could Rome be taken while I was consul?" Livy often uses vir to signify a person who was deservedly styled "a man," i. e. a man of courage. In English "man" has the same signification.—See c. 50. B. 1. 41, 58, et alibi. He glances at the cowardice of the Romans; in order to rouse them the more, he represents the appearance of the enemy at their gates, as a capture of a city itself.
33 Satis superqué citæ erat.] "I lived long enough, quite long enough." Satis superque satis merely means "abundantly sufficient." See c. 53. n. 91, the words cannot mean here "too long," for, if so, he should have died before his third consulship.
34 Non illi vestram ignaviam.] Their invasions did not proceed from any contempt they felt for your courage, or any confidence in their own valour, but from your dissensions, which left a good opportunity open to them.

35 *Agro mulcati.*] See B. 1. c. 15, this verb properly means, as here, to deprive one of any thing by way of fine or penalty; hence sometimes to punish, from *mulctat*, "a fine"—*sub jugum missi*; see c. 28.

36 *Hos.*] i. e. The patricians.

37 *Consules facere.*] The commentators say that *voluisse*, out of the last clause, is understood. I think it is not necessary to have recourse to an ellipsis; the passage may be simply explained thus: "though we say it was injurious to the patricians that consuls attached to your party should be elected, yet even that patrician magistracy we beheld with resignation conceded as a boon to the commons."

38 *Scita plebis injuncta patribus.*] See c. 55. Drakenborch and others make a period point at *patribus*, and make the preceding words depend on *vidimus*... *sub titulo.*—See B. 2. c. 14.

39 *Aventinum capitum... Sacer occupatur mans.*] See c. 50. 52.—B. 2. c. 32.

40 *Esquilians... captas.*] Scil. *defendit.* Among the best authors in Greek, Latin, and English, a verb is sometimes joined to two clauses, when strictly speaking it agrees only with one of them; the verb that agrees with the other being supplied by the sense.—See B. 1. c. 33. *Janiculum non muro solam (cingi), sed etiam sub oblicio ponte conjungit urbi placuit.* So Cic. 10. ad Att. 4, *fortunam, qua illi florentissimâ (elati), nos duriore conficiati videmur.* Virg. *Æn.* 9. 236, *Rutuli somno (oppressi) vinque sepulti.* Hor. B. 3. Od. 4, *ludo fatigatumque somno (oppressum).* Hom. II. 10. 98, "καμάτῳ ἀδίκοντις, ηδὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ" (διδημησέωι).—II. 3. 326.

"Οι μὲν ἐπιθ Ιѣντο κατὰ στίχας ἧχι ἰκάστῳ
Ιστοι διορίστοις (ισταντο) καὶ πολιά τιβιχ ἐκιτο.*

41 *In aggerem.*] This was a mount built by Tarquin the Proud, by which the Esquiline could be ascended.


43 *Visite.*] Viso generally means "to visit;" here it means merely "to see."

44 *At enim communis res per hac loco est pejore.*] Here Quinctius anticipates an objection that the people might make, that, though the general interests of the state may be injured, yet the interests of private individuals may suffer no loss; but before he states the latter part of the objection, he breaks off with indignant vehemence, and overthrows it in these words: *quid tandem, &c.*
Reddant ac rerstituent.] "Restore you what you lost, and re-establish it in its former security." These words are not purely synonymous here.

Criminum in principex.] "Accusations against the nobles."

Re.] "In property; fortund, in general condition or rank.

A quibus semper . . . tui sitis.] "From the effects of which you have been guarded——." He says that the tribunes were always involving the plebeians with the patricians, that they may always stand in need of their protection.

Stipendia.] See c. 27. n. 37. The best writers are fond of applying the words in use in their time to the times of which they are speaking. Thus Homer in the Iliad speaks of trumpets and dexterous horsemen, though there were no such things known at the time of the Trojan war; and Milton speaks of cannon and all the instruments of modern warfare in his description of the battle of the angels.

Acies.] This word, derived from ἀκή, properly means the "edge" of any thing; hence it means "an army drawn out in even line of battle;" hence "a battle itself;" a cutting edge being the best figurative epithet to apply to the havoc of war. Milton, who has adopted all the metaphors, and idioms, and images of the ancient classics, uses the word in its original sense, Par. Lost, 6, 107;

———" before the cloudy van,
On the rough edge of battle, ere it join'd,
Satan, with vast and haughty strides, advanc'd,
Came tow'ring, armed in adamant and gold."

Here the host is described as wearing a gloomy aspect, which is thought to contradict a description immediately preceding:

"Far in th' horizon to the north appear'd,
From skirt to skirt, a fiery region, stretched
In battailous aspect, and nearer view,
Bristled with upright beams innumerable,
Of rigid spears, and helmets thronged, and shields
Various, with boastful argument pourray'd
The banded pow'rs of Satan, hasting on
With furious expedition."

And, a few lines after, Satan is represented as

"Enclosed with flaming cherubim and golden shields.""

But there is really no contradiction. The gloom is caused mostly by the dense multitude that cast a shade before it; the roughness, by the bristling or irregular appearance which is expressed by horresco in Latin, and ἠφειση in Greek; and the flame, by the
glittering of their burnished arms. The following passages will illustrate this: Paradise regained, B. 3. 326.

"The field all iron, cast a gleaming brown,
Nor wanted clouds of foam, nor on each horn
Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight.”

Virgil, Æn. 7. 793—525:

"Insequitur nimbus pedatum, clupeataque totis
Agmina densantur campis.”

"Sec ferro acipitri decernunt, atroque late
Horrescit strictis seges ensibus, aeraque fulgent
Sole lacessit, et lucem sub nubila jactant.”

Homer, Iliad 4, 274.

"Tω δ' ἐφορσσίσθην: ἀμα δὲ νίφος ἐπιτο πίξων
Δῆτον ἐσ πόλεμων πυκνωτα κίννησο φάλαγγις
Κυάνιαν, σάκισὶν τι, καὶ ἔχχεσε περικυκλῖα.”

In the description of Satan above given the reader will see a resemblance of that of Ajax advancing like Mars to battle, Iliad 7. 211:

"Τετος ἀς Νίας ἀκρο τελώσεις, ἔχκεσε 'Αχαιῶν,
Μεδίων βλυσοφίη σφοσωπαι, νεοδὲ δὲ πεσίν
"Η ἰα μακρὰ μιδάς, κροαδῶν δολίκουσιν ἔχχες.”

"Shields various,” like πωκίλα τιγχ in Homer, and versiculo-
ribus armis, in Virgil. “Boastful argument,” like argumentum ingens (“a proud device, or escutcheon,”) Virgil; “on each horn,” i. e. “on each wing,” cornu; “the field all iron cast a gleaming brown;” this idea is found in Homer, B. 13. 340:

I trust I will not be thought to have introduced a frivolous or useless digression in explaining these passages of our great Milton, which have been overlooked or misunderstood by his commentators. And here let me add, that if teachers introduced to their pupils the study of Milton, and the old English poets, the cause of classical literature would be much advanced.

31 Biennio antè.] “Though a levy of men was ordered two years ago, yet ever since you continue sunk in spiritless in-
activity.”
"Etsi meum ingenium non moneret."

"Even though my disposition should not incline me."

"Malo vos sustos esse, qualicumque erga me animo futuri estis."

Demosthenes has often a sentiment similar to this and the next.

"Volunt."] Scil. magnis volunt.—See c. 40. n. 64.

Chap. LXIX. — 55 Detractationem. [The old copies and manuscripts of Livy indifferently write detracto and detracto, retracto and retracto, attracto and attracto, with their derivatives.

"Spec tabat."

"Began to turn their attention to."

"Ut unum vindicem majestatis Romanae intueri."] "Looked on him as the only defender of the majesty of the Roman name."

"Orationem memorem majestatis Romanae.]

"To assume the management of the republic." So Sall. Bell. C. expurgisciminii aliquando et rempublicam capessit. This verb, which is a frequentative of capto, means properly "to snatch" or "catch up anxiously, and by repeated efforts;" hence, "to take the management of a thing." Livy often uses the word; as, B. I. c. 25, fugam capessit.

B. 2. c. 6, pugnam capessero.

"Appellare tribunos communem patriam."

"That their common country made her appeal to the tribunes." Compare with this passage Cic. Catil. I. 18.

"Causas cognoscendi."

"Of examining the excuses for exemption from military service."

"Cohortes sibi quaeque centuriones legerunt."

Generally the centurions were elected by the general, or, with his consent, by the tribunes of the soldiers. A "cohort" consisted of three manipuli, one out of each of the three lines.

"In Campus."] Livy often uses this word to signify the Campus Martius.

"Paucis cohortibus veterum militum voluntate sequentibus."

See c. 57. n.

"Castraque ad Corbionem castris sunt conjuncta."

See c. 66, at the end. The phrases conferre castra, and conjungere castra, are often used by Livy to signify "to encamp near the enemy."

Chap. LXX. — 66 Quod saluberrimum, est ...... summa imperii."

"The chief command was vested in his colleague, a thing which was most serviceable, &c." The antecedent, as here, sometimes refers to what follows.

"Et praelatus ille."

"And he, thus raised to a superiority, made a polite return to the condescension of the other, who thus humbled himself."

"In adversam incursando aciem."

"And in a moment of time, by making a charge on the line in the rear, he would have routed the enemy by the attack on both sides, had not the cavalry of the Æquii and the Volsci kept him engaged in an
attack like his own; "i. e. a charge of cavalry.—See B. 4. 27. B. 5. c. 21.

60 Interclusos ab suis.] “Cut off from their friends.”—See
B. 27. c. 42.—B. 44. c. 7.

69 Equitem integrum.] “Nor was it enough to rout the cavalry
without disabling them; they should kill the horses and riders,
&c.” Conficere, like the verbs “to finish” and “despatch,”
which are its primary significations, often means “to destroy,”
“to kill.” So does ἐκτίζομαι, “to finish a work;” so we
say in coarse phraseology, “to do one, to do one’s business.”
Here it may not be improper to observe, that very many of those
words and phrases that now, in the great revolution that pub-
lic taste and our language have undergone, bear the stamp of
vulgarity, are the translations of classical idioms.

71 Permissus equitatus.] See B. 2. c. 56. n.

72 Prædâque ingenti compotem exercitum.] “The army in
possession of great plunder.” So Sall. fragm. neque animo
linguâ satis compos. Ter. Adelph. 3. 2. 12. Septiimium neque
animo neque linguâ satis compotem. Compos scientiæ. Cic.—
Compos generally governs a genitive.

73 Causa spreti, aut non sperati honoris.] “The cause either
of their disregarding, or not expecting the honour.”

74 Negatus ab senatu triumphus.] See c. 63. n.

75 Verecundia fuit.] See c. 62. n.

CHAP. LXXI.—76 Quum ad Coriolos sit bellatum.] “When
they fought at Corioli.” This was forty-seven years before
this time. Juvenem here must be taken in a general and
indefinite sense, to signify merely “a young man,” according
to our use of the words; it cannot signify what it does in its
proper signification, “a person from the age of 17 to 46,” as
Scapitius at that period was about 36, and of the class of Juvenes.

77 Quonam more.] Quonam ore, “with what face,” (which is a
phrase often used elsewhere,) is thought a better reading.

CHAP. LXXII.—78 Circumire tribunos.] They went about
to solicit the tribunes, who, from their influence over the people,
were in a great measure the judges of the case. Some com-
mentators think tribus would be a better reading.

79 In rem suam litem vertendo.] “By turning the subject of
the dispute to their own advantage.”

80 Etiamsi fas sit.] “Even though it were lawful for a judge
to show a regard to his own interest.”

81 Hoc socios audire; hoc hostes; quo cum dolore hos? quo
cum gaudio illos?] “With what grief would the one (the
allies), with what joy would the other (the enemy) hear it?”
Generally hic refers to “the latter”—ille to “the former” clause;
sometimes, as here, this rule is not observed. So, Tacit. Hist.
2. 77, Acriore hodie disciplinâ vieti, quâm victores, agunt.
hos (victos) ira, odium, ulterioris cupiditas ad virtutem accendit;
illi (victores) per fastidium et contumaciam hebescunt. Caesar, Bell. Civil. B. 1. c. 31, nam neque pudentis suspicari oporiet, sibi parum credi; neque improbos scire, sese timeri; quod illis (scil. improbis) licentiam timor augeat noster, his (scil. pudentibus) studia diminuat.—See Cic. Fam. 7. 2.—pro Rosc. 86.—See Sanc. Miner. 2. 9.

52 Scaptione hoc, concionali seni.] "Could they imagine that it is to Scaptius, an old frequenter of public assemblies (and consequently an idler, and silly prattler,) they would ascribe this dishonourable act, and not to the whole body of the people."

53 Clarum hac fore imagine Scaptium.] i. e. That this act would serve as an image to ennoble Scaptius hereafter. The images of one's ancestors, as has been observed before, were an evidence of his illustrious birth, because no man, who had not filled a curule office, could have the privilege of setting up his image.

54 Populum Romanum quadruplatoris et interceptoris litis alienae personam laturum.] "That the Roman people would bear the character of corrupt informers and usurpers of the subject in dispute between others." Quadruplatores were certain public informers, so called, either because they obtained as a reward the fourth part (quartam partem) of the criminal's effects, or of the fine imposed on him; or because they accused persons, who, upon conviction, were obliged to pay fourfold, (quadrupli damnabatur,) such as those guilty of gambling, illegal usury, or the like. The word was sometimes used in a general sense, to signify any persons who intended to promote their interest by any artful or dishonourable means, such as corrupt judges (as perhaps here), false and mercenary accusers or litigants, calumniatores, or the like.

55 Ut sibi controversiosam adjudicaret rem.] "To adjudge to himself the property under debate." Controversiosam here is a rare word, and used for controversam, which is the reading of some copies.

56 Haud sanè quicquam bono causa levatur dedecus judicio.] "The infamy of the decision is not indeed in any way diminished by the justice of the cause." Levatur here is the same as elevatur, which is another reading.—See c. 21. n. 84.
Livius, Titus

Ab urbe condita libri.

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Historiae libri tres priores