

EXTRACTS
FROM
L I V Y
PART II



H. LEE-WARNER

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Don Hatcher

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EXTRACTS FROM LIVY

EDITED

WITH ENGLISH NOTES AND MAPS

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PART II

HANNIBAL'S CAMPAIGN IN ITALY

New Edition

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M D C C C C V I I

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IN this Edition, besides alterations in the Notes, a view is taken of the battles of Trebia and Trasymene different from that supported by Mr. Lee-Warner in the first edition. The Maps also are new: the two first have been reduced from the Italian Ordnance Survey; the third is copied, by the kind permission of the Author, from Mr. Strachan-Davidson's 'Selections from Polybius.'

E. A.

May, 1889.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Third Samnite War ended in the year 290 B. C. and resulted in the complete occupation of Samnium by Rome. The continued resistance of the Samnites has been compared by Arnold to the fortitude shown by La Vendée in resisting the Republican Convention during the French Revolution. Heroic as it was, the resistance of Samnium was at last crushed by the death of G. Pontius and the occupation of Venusia as a military colony by 20,000 Romans. The final reduction of this part of Italy closes the first period of Roman history. If the second decade of Livy's history were still extant, the most interesting portion would be the story of Pyrrhus, the adventurer King of Epirus, and of his attempt to rival in the West what Alexander the Great had done in the East. The story of the aged Appius Claudius going into the senate house, escorted by his sons and sons-in-law, to protest against the Romans making peace after the battle of Herakleia, might have read like the episode in our own annals when Lord Chatham used his dying voice to protest against England's yielding to France and America. Appius' harangue was successful: the Romans declined to make peace; the battle of Beneventum was fought in 275 B. C.; and the Carthaginians lived to repent that they had taken part with the Romans instead of with the Greeks. Had they thrown their forces into the scale of Pyrrhus' fortunes, the battle of Beneventum might have had a different result.

But the Carthaginians had taken a totally different line of policy. In the very heat of the war with Pyrrhus a Carthaginian fleet had appeared off the coast of Latium and had offered assistance to the Romans. The offer was then refused, but their gratitude remained. The two peoples had sworn eternal friendship, and in the year 275 B. C. no alliance could have seemed more likely to last. In spite of this, two events led quite surely to the inevitable conflict between Rome and Carthage. The first was the subjugation of Tarentum, after it had been held for four years by one of Pyrrhus' generals; the second was the reduction of Rhegium, where some rebellious soldiers of the eighth legion had taken refuge. By these acts the Romans trenched on the sphere of Carthaginian in-

fluence in Italy. The whole extent of Italy, from the Macra and the Rubicon to Rhegium and Brundisium, was now more or less subject to Rome. A career of aggrandizement necessarily modifies the nation which enters upon it. The overthrow of the Athenian empire changed the habits and character of the Spartans. So the conquest of Italy had a lasting effect on the aims and institutions of the Romans. The ten years preceding the first Punic War (274-264 B.C.) increased the wealth, enlarged the views, and changed the whole purpose of the Roman republic. Arnold says, 'So passes away what may be called the springtime of the Roman people. Wealth and power and dominion have brought on the ripened summer, with more of vigour indeed but less of freshness. Beginning her career of conquest beyond the limits of Italy, Rome was now entering upon her appointed work, and that work was undoubtedly fraught with good.'

The cause of the first conflict with Carthage, though inconsiderable enough, shews clearly the aims of the Roman people. Sicily had now come within the scope of their ambition. The Mamertines of Messana, a horde of adventurers, were being punished by the Carthaginians for having attempted at Messana what the Romans had just forbidden on their side of the strait at Rhegium. To save their independence, they appealed, true to their Italian blood, to the Roman senate. The Roman senate however, after long debate, refused to interfere. The consuls Appius Claudius Caudex and M. Fulvius Flaccus then brought the matter before the people. The assembled tribes overruled the authority of the senate. Polybius imagines that the people, oppressed by debt, were anxious to enrich themselves with the plunder which the fertility of Sicily and the riches of Carthage promised. If so they reckoned very falsely. The Carthaginians were masters of the sea. Rome had not a single ship of war. The generation which declared war was sure to suffer severely. But in all probability the Roman equites saw that sooner or later they must cross swords with the 'London of antiquity,' and they did not wish Messana to pass out of their own hands meanwhile.

The Carthaginians were a commercial people, like the English; but, unlike the English, they were dead to all feelings of honour in political life. Their highest offices went to the highest bidder. Added to this they were unwarlike and regarded money as a means of dispensing with personal military service. They therefore employed mercenaries; but, as their generals were not also magistrates, they were able, unlike

the Romans, to keep on the same commander for any number of years. It is hardly necessary to follow the stages of the first Punic War (264-241). At first the Carthaginian fleet carried everything before it; till the Romans built a fleet, and their general Regulus was even able to carry on a campaign in Africa. At last he was taken and his army destroyed; the Romans lost two fleets by storms; and the war was again confined to Sicily. Roman patriotism determined to build a third fleet, and with this fleet was at last established the ascendancy of Rome on the sea. The final battle of the Aegates Islands was fought, Sicily was given up, and became a Roman province. Carthage was obliged to pay an enormous fine and could only bide her time, if ever she wished to get her revenge. It was after this that the noble family of the Barcidæ shewed their indomitable patience while they established a Carthaginian empire in Spain. They had two enemies to fear, the peace party in Carthage, and the Romans. Hannibal, however, with marvellous judgment gradually kindled the war which he knew it was his best policy to bring on. When the Roman ambassadors came to complain about Hannibal's treatment of Saguntum, they were met with recriminations about Sardinia. Thus war was declared. Hannibal was ready: with the utmost rapidity he led his army from the banks of the Ebro to the banks of the Rhone, and from thence, in defiance of Scipio, across the Little St. Bernard. It is not within the scope of this little volume to trace his march, to picture the distress of his troops, or to enlarge upon the sufferings of an advance which rival those of the retreat of the French from Russia.

It is hoped that the omission of the intervening portion of history will not lessen the interest of those beginners in Latin for whom it is specially intended. The following extracts from Livy do not profess to give more than an account of Hannibal's four great victories. The mature mind seeks to know the causes and occasions of everything. To youth the simplicity of ancient history is one of its greatest charms. Our memories, by a process of natural selection, retain or reject respectively the more or less striking facts of bygone ages. In reading this second Punic War our sight is not dazzled by the blaze of light, our memories are not burdened by the mass of names which modern correspondents shower around the feats of their contemporaries. The consequence is that we lose enormously in copiousness of detail. But we gain equally in dramatic effect. Such lessons as we learn from Greece or Rome are generally obvious; the characters which we read of have often helped

to supply our language. The sceptic who would try to prove Carthaginians honest has to compete with a belief which is fossilized in the words 'Punic faith.' The reader who takes up a book labelled Hannibal knows that he has to read the story of a man who was influenced by one great hate, who waged for some years a successful war against the one power which was to save Europe's future, and who seemed to fail only in arousing his countrymen to efforts worthy of themselves in their own interests. Even to this day he succeeds in attracting the sympathies of posterity, though we know that his success would have been the worst calamity that could have happened to all that we love most.

But it is not only the distance of ages which lends this grand enchanting simplicity to the second Punic War; the forces called into play, the stage, the number of characters employed in the drama of ancient warfare, have an unity about them which of necessity helps to concentrate our interest. If Hannibal's great effort had been spread over Europe like Napoleon's; if Rome and Carthage had met as rarely single-handed on the same element as France and England; if, besides the one great general, we had had to follow the fortunes of a Massena and a Murat, a Lannes and a Desaix, or to estimate the comparative shares which a Moltke and a Bismarck had in bringing on the situation; the story of Hannibal would not be what it is. It might have had a different sequel, but Hannibal would not stand out as he does.

In speaking of the invasion of Italy, the parallel between Napoleon and Hannibal is too real to be missed. The general resemblance of Napoleon's campaign in Lombardy in 1796 or 1800 to that of Hannibal in B. C. 216 is capable of being pressed in many ways. And so the great Napoleon himself felt. Over and over again in his proclamations, in his despatches, he compares himself to, or contrasts himself with, Hannibal. The French soldiers of the first Army of Italy must have known the names of the second Punic War. Hannibal won his spurs at the siege of Saguntum, Napoleon at the siege of Toulon; neither of them seems to have had patience for much siege work afterwards. The army of each was trained in Spain. Each pointed out Italy to his troops as the reward of all their labours, the latter specially reminding his of Virgil's lines:—

' Videmus

Italiam. Italiam primus conclamat Achates:
Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant.'

The victorious march of Napoleon after Montenotte, the passages of the Po at Piacenza and of the Adda at Lodi, remind us of the advance of Hannibal, while the wary and astute policy with which they were met by Wurmser may seem to be a repetition of the useful caution displayed by Fabius the Delayer.

But here the parallel stops. The conditions of the attack were quite different as far as politics were concerned. Hannibal was attacking a youthful aristocracy, whose only weakness was that they put politics above military success, so that they had to be frightened into victory. Napoleon was attacking a set of states so diverse that he himself believed that both geography and genealogy intended them to be always apart.

But Napoleon could afford to wait; Hannibal could not. Napoleon led an army of enthusiasts, Hannibal an army of mercenaries. Napoleon in his earlier years had at his back a government which trusted him; Hannibal knew that if he could not organize an insurrection against Rome in Italy itself, he must fail.

As Arnold has well said, the man who struggles against the nation must eventually fail. As soon as Napoleon represented only himself, his work fell to pieces.

The very greatness of the barriers which nature had erected for the protection of Italy seems to have invited invasion. Hannibal took the Alps by storm. Napoleon the Great turned their flank. Napoleon the Third, with more lasting effect, flooded Italy with troops both through the passes and round by sea.

HANNIBAL'S CAMPAIGN IN ITALY.

B.C. 218—216.

I. THE ENGAGEMENT ON THE TICINUS.

B.C. 218.

1. *Before the Fight.*

Quum utrinque ad certamen accensi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum iungunt, tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper imponunt; Poenus, hostibus opere occupatis, Maharbalem cum ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Romani agros 5 mittit; Gallis parci quam maxime iubet, principumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto tractus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque millia passuum ab Ictumulis consedit.

2. *In Hannibal's Camp.*

Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; revocatoque propere Ma- 10
harbale atque equitibus, quum instare certamen cerneret, nihil unquam satis dictum praemonitumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis ad contionem certa praemia pronuntiat, in quorum spem pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque velit, immunem 15
ipsi, qui accepisset, liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum malisset, ei se argento satisfacturum; qui sociorum cives

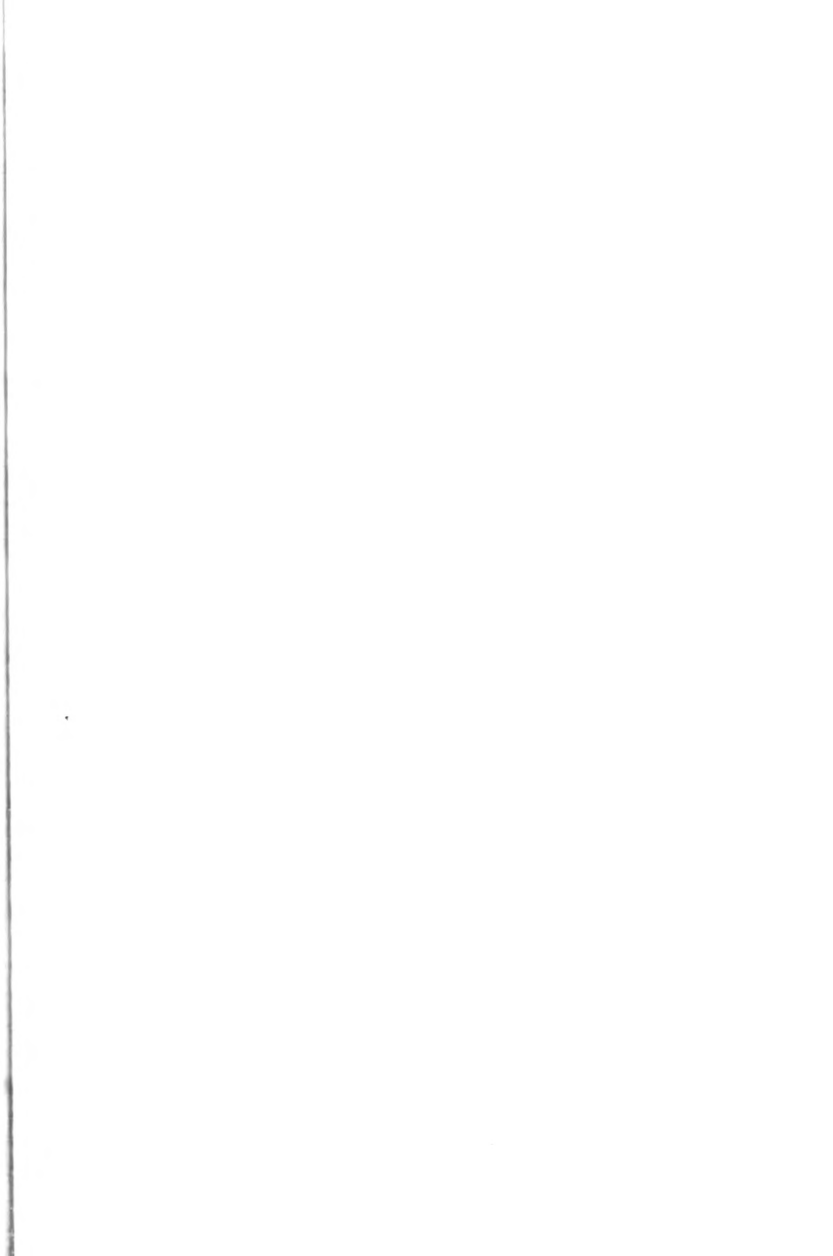
Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum; qui domos redire mallent, daturum se operam, ne cuius suorum popularium mutata secum fortunam esse vellent. Servis quoque dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit, binaque pro his mancipia dominis se redditurum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum laeva manu, dextera silicem retinens, si falleret, Iovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent, quemadmodum ipse agnum mactasset, secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo elisit. Tum vero omnes, velut diis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis, id morae, quod nondum pugnarent, ad potienda sperata rati, proelium uno animo et voce una poscunt.

3. *In the Camp of the Romans.*

Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat, super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis; nam et lupus intraverat castra laniatisque obviis ipse intactus evaserat, et examen apum in arbore praetorio imminente consederat. Quibus procuratis, Scipio cum equitatu iaculatoribusque expeditis profectus ad castra hostium ex propinquo copiasque, quantae et cuius generis essent, speculandas obviis fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa loca progresso.

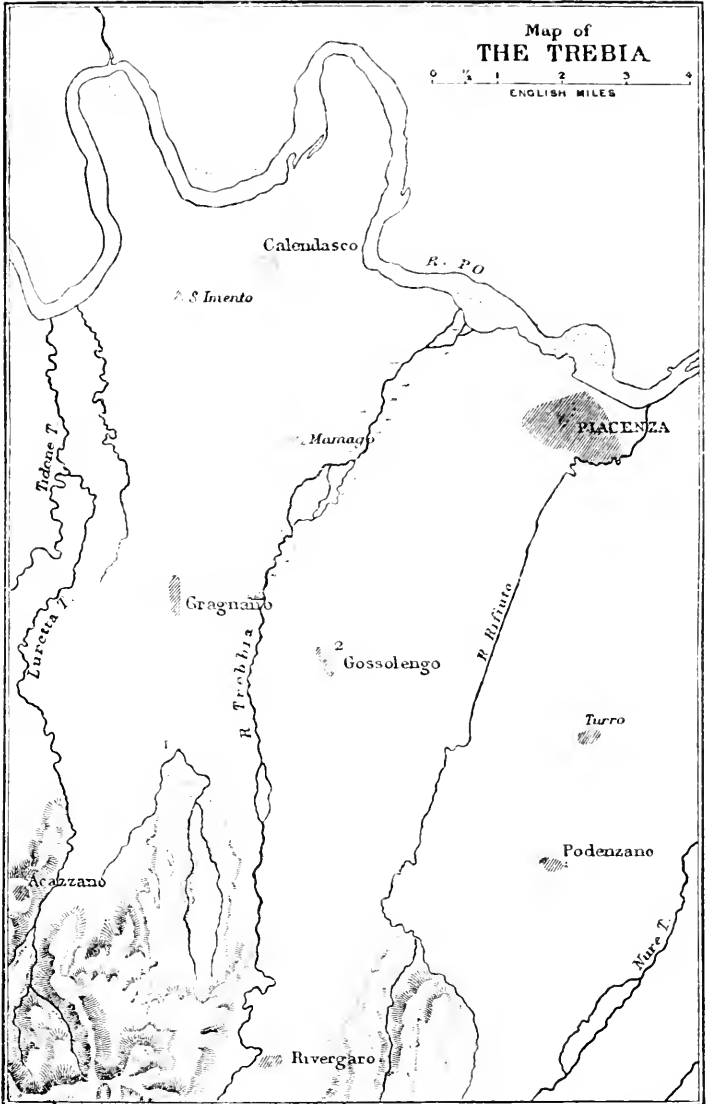
4. *The Engagement. Flight of the Romans.*

Neutri alteros primo cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot hominum equorumque oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen, et ad proelium sese expediebant. Scipio iaculatores et Gallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque quod roboris fuit, in subsidiis. Hannibal frenatos equites in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore sublato, iaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem.



Map of THE TREBIA

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ENGLISH MILES



Oxford University Press

1. Scipio's camp?
Livy, Part II.

2. Scene of the Battle?

3. Mago in ambush?

Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu anceps; dein, quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multis labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi suos premi circumventos vidissent, iam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna venerat, 50 donec Numidae, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculit Romanos, auxitque pavorem consulis vulnus periculumque intercursum primum pubescentis filii propulsatum. Hic erit iuvenis, penes quem perfecti huiusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Poenisque appellatus. Fuga tamen effusa iaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos Numidae invaserunt; alius confertus equitatus consulem in medium acceptum, non armis modo, sed etiam corporibus suis protegens, in castra nusquam trepide neque 60 effuse cedendo reduxit. Servati consulis decus Caelius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat; malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores et fama obtinuit.

II. BATTLE OF THE TREBIA.

B.C. 218.

1. *The two Consuls unite.*

Consul alter, compositis Siciliae rebus, decem navibus 65 oram Italiae legens Ariminum pervenit. Inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen collegae coniungitur. Iam ambo consules et quicquid Romanarum virium erat, Hannibali oppositum, aut illis copiis defendi posse Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliam esse, satis de- 70 clarabat. Tamen consul alter, equestri proelio uno et vulnere suo minutus, trahi rem malebat; recentis animi alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur.

2. *Sempronius anxious to engage.*

Collega cunctante, equitatum suum, mille peditum iacu-
 75 latoribus ferme admixtis, ad defendendum Gallicum agrum
 trans Trebiam mittit. Sparsos et incompositos, ad hoc
 graves praeda plerosque quum inopinato invasissent, in-
 gentem terrorem caedemque ac fugam usque ad castra
 stationesque hostium fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsi
 80 rursus subsidio suorum proelium restituere. Varia inde
 pugna sequentes cedentesque quum ad extremum aequas-
 sent certamen, maior tamen hostium caedes, penes Romanos
 fama victoriae fuit. Ceterum nemini omnium maior iustior-
 que quam ipsi consuli videri; gaudio efferri, qua parte
 85 copiarum alter consul victus foret, ea se vicisse: restitutos
 ac reffectos militibus animos, nec quemquam esse praeter
 collegam, qui dilatam dimicationem vellet; eum, animo
 magis quam corpore aegrum, memoria vulneris aciem ac
 tela horrere. Sed non esse cum aegro senescendum.
 90 Quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus? quem tertium
 consulem, quem alium exercitum exspectari? Castra Car-
 thaginiensium in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis esse.
 Non Siciliam ac Sardiniam, victis ademptas, nec cis Hibe-
 rum Hispaniam peti, sed solo patrio terraque, in qua geniti
 95 forent, pelli Romanos. 'Quantum ingemiscant' inquit
 'patres nostri, circa moenia Carthaginis bellare soliti, si
 videant nos, progeniem suam, duos consules consularesque
 exercitus, in media Italia paventes intra castra, Poenum,
 quod inter Alpes Appenninumque agri sit, suae dicionis
 100 fecisse?'

3. *The Ambuscade.*

Erat in medio rivus praealtis utrinque clausus ripis et
 circa obsitus palustribus herbis et, quibus inculta ferme

vestiuntur, virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equites quoque tegendo satis latebrosum locum circumvectus ipse oculis perlustravit, 'Hic erit locus' Magoni fratri ait, 105 'quem teneas. Delige centenos viros ex omni peditate atque equite, cum quibus ad me vigilia prima venias; nunc corpora curare tempus est.' Ita praetorium missum. Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. 'Robora virorum cerno' inquit Hannibal; 'sed uti numero etiam, non animis modo 110 valeatis, singulis vobis novenos ex turmis manipulisque vestri similes eligit. Mago locum monstrabit, quem insideatis; hostem caecum ad has belli artes habetis.' Ita mille equitibus Magoni, mille peditibus dimissis, Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam 115 flumen obequitare iubet hostium portis, iaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, iniecto deinde certamine, cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. Haec mandata Numidis; ceteris ducibus peditum equitumque praeceptum, ut prandere omnes iuberent, armatos deinde 120 instratisque equis signum exspectare.

4. *Sempronius' Men.*

Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex millia peditum, postremo omnes copias, a destinato iam ante consilio avidus certaminis, eduxit. Erat forte brumae tempus et 125 nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Appenninoque interiectis, propinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludum praegelidis. Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat, et quicquid aerae fluminis appropinquabant, 130 afflabat acrior frigoris vis. Ut vero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam ingressi sunt (et erat pectoribus tenuis aucta nocturno imbri), tum utique egressis rigere omnibus

corpora, ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia essent, et
 135 simul lassitudine et, procedente iam die, fame etiam deficere.

5. *Hannibal's Men.*

Hannibalis interim miles, ignibus ante tentoria factis
 oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso et cibo
 per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostes nuntiatum
 est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem
 140 procedit. Baliarum locat ante signa, levem armaturam,
 octo ferme millia hominum, dein graviorem armis peditem,
 quod virium, quod roboris erat; in cornibus circumfudit
 decem millia equitum, et ab cornibus in utramque partem
 divisos elephantos statuit.

6. *The Fight.*

145 Consul effuse sequentes equites, quum ab resistantibus
 subito Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato
 revocatos circumdedit peditibus. Duodeviginti millia Ro-
 mana erant, socium nominis Latini viginti, auxilia prae-
 terea Cenomanorum; ea sola in fide manserat Gallica
 150 gens. Iis copiis concursus est. Proelium a Baliaribus
 ortum est; quibus quum maiore robore legiones obsisterent,
 diducta prope in cornua levis armatura est, quae res
 effecit, ut equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur. Nam
 quum vix iam per se resisterent decem millibus equitum
 155 quattuor millia, et fessi integris plerisque, obruti sunt
 insuper velut nube iaculorum a Baliaribus coniecta. Ad
 hoc elephantum eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxi-
 me non visu modo, sed odore insolito territisi, fugam late
 faciebant. Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam viri-
 160 bus erat, quas recentes Poenus, paulo ante curatis cor-
 poribus, in proelium attulerat; contra ieiuna fessaque
 corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpebant. Restitissent
 tamen animis, si cum peditibus solum foret pugnatum; sed

et Baliares, pulso equite, iaculabantur in latera, et elephanti iam in mediam peditum aciem sese tulerant, et 165 Mago Numidaeque, simul latebras eorum improvida praeterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu immota acies, maxime praeter spem omnium adversus elephantos. Eos velites ad id ipsum 170 locati verutis coniectis et avertere et insecuti aversos sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute vulnera accipiunt, fodiebant.

7. *The Flight.*

Trepidantesque et prope iam in suos consternatos e media acie in extremam ad sinistrum cornu adversus 175 Gallos auxiliares agi iussit Hannibal. Ibi extemplo haud dubiam fecere fugam novusque additus terror Romanis, ut fusa auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque quum iam in orbem pugnarent, decem millia ferme hominum, quum alia evadere nequissent, media Afrorum acie, qua Gallicis auxiliis 180 firmata erat, cum ingenti caede hostium perrupere, et, quum neque in castra reditus esset flumine interclusis, neque prae imbri satis decernere possent, qua suis opem ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones factae; et qui flumen petiere, 185 aut gurgitibus absumpti sunt aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab hostibus oppressi; qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis Placentiam contendere; aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit, transgressique in castra pervenerunt. 190 Imber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homines multos et iumenta et elephantos prope omnes absumpsit. Finis insequendi hostis Poenis flumen Trebia fuit, et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere, ut vix laetitiam victoriae sentirent.

III. DISASTER OF LAKE THRASYMENUS.

B.C. 217.

I. *The gods warn Flaminius in vain.*

Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit, suum id dedecus ratus, per mediam Italianam vagari Poenum atque obsistente nullo ad ipsa
 200 Romana moenia ire oppugnanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa suadentibus, collegam exspectandum, ut coniunctis exercitibus, communi animo consilioque rem gererent, interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohi-
 205 bendum, iratus se ex consilio proripuit, signumque simul itineris pugnaeque quum proposuisset, 'Immo Arretii ante moenia sedeamus' inquit; 'hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpopuletur Italianam vastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana moenia per-
 210 veniat, nec ante nos hinc moverimus, quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veiiis, C. Flaminium ab Arretio patres acciverint.' Haec simul increpans quum ocius signa convelli iuberet et ipse in equum insilisset, equus repente corruit consulemque lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omni-
 215 bus, qui circa erant, velut foedo omine incipiendae rei, insuper nuntiatur, signum omni vi moliente signifero convelli nequire. Conversus ad nuntium 'Num litteras quoque' inquit 'ab senatu affers, quae me rem gerere vetent? Abi, nuntia, effodiant signum, si ad convellendum manus
 220 prae metu obtorpuerunt.'

2. *The Defile.*

Hannibal, quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasumennumque lacum, omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum iniurias acuat; et iam pervenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit. Via tantum interest 225 perangusta, velut ad id ipsum de industria relicto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles insurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret; Baliares ceteramque levem armaturam post montes circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces 230 saltus, tumulis apte tegentibus, locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani, obiecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

3. *The Surprise.*

Flaminius quum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato postero die vixdum satis certa luce angustiis 235 superatis, postquam in patentiorem campum pandi agmen coepit, id tantum hostium, quod ex adverso erat, conspexit; ab tergo ac super caput decepere insidiae. Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omni- 240 bus dat simul invadendi. Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter 245 decucurrerant. Romanus clamore prius undique orto, quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est, quam satis instrueretur acies aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent.

4. *The gods help those who help themselves.*

250 Consul, percussis omnibus, ipse satis, ut in re trepida, impavidus turbatos ordines, vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores, instruit, ut tempus locusque patitur, et quacun- que adire audiri- que potest, adhortatur ac stare ac pugnare iubet: nec enim inde votis aut imploratione deum, sed vi
255 ac virtute evadendum esse; per medias acies ferro viam fieri et, quo timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse. Ceterum prae strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat, tantumque aberat, ut sua signa atque ordines et locum noscerent, ut vix ad arma
260 capienda aptandaque pugnae competeret animus, opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis his quam tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine maior usus aurium quam oculorum.

5. *Every man a Captain.*

Ad gemitus vulnerum ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos strepentium paventiumque clamores circumfere-
265 bant ora oculosque. Alii fugientes pugnantium globo illati haerebant; alios redeuntes in pugnam avertebat fugientium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnes partes nequicquam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat, apparuitque,
270 nullam nisi in dextera ferroque salutis spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam, et nova de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua
275 legione miles aut cohorte aut manipulo esset; fors conglobabat et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat, tantusque fuit ardor animorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus, ut eum motum terrae, qui mul-

tarum urbium Italiae magnas partes prostravit avertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus invexit, montes 28c lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

6. *The Consul sacrificed to the ghosts of the Gauls.*

Tres ferme horas pugnatum est et ubique atrociter; circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est. Eum et roborum virorum sequebantur, et ipse, quacunque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre ferebat 285 opem, insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant et tuebantur cives, donec Insuber eques (Ducario nomen erat) facie quoque noscicans consulem, 'En' inquit 'hic est' popularibus suis, 'qui legiones nostras cecidit agrosque et urbem est depopulatus; iam ego hanc victimam 290 manibus peremptorum foede civium dabo.' Subditisque calcaribus equo per confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit, obruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam obiecerat, consulem lancea transfixit; spoliare cupientem triarii obiectis scutis arcuere. 295

7. *The Flight through the Mist.*

Magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit; et iam nec lacus nec montes pavori obstabant; per omnia arta prae-ruptaque velut caeci evadunt, armaque et viri super alium alii praecipitantur. Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capiti- 300 bus humerisque exstare possunt, sese immergunt; fuere, quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam capessere fugam impulerit; quae ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientibus animis hauriebantur gurgitibus aut nequicquam fessi vada retro aegerrime repetebant, atque ibi ab ingres- 305 sis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur. Sex millia ferme primi agminis, per adversos hostes eruptione

impigre facta, ignari omnium, quae post se agerentur, ex saltu evasere, et quum in tumulto quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quae fortuna pugnae esset, neque scire nec perspicere prae caligine poterant. Inclinata denique re, quum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere foede Romanam aciem. Itaque ne in conspectos procul immitteretur eques, sublatis raptim signis, quam citatissimo poterant agmine, sese abripuerunt. Postero die, quum super cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt; quae Punica religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes coniecit.

IV. THE BATTLE OF CANNAE.

B.C. 216.

1. *Which to imitate, Flaminius or Fabius?*

Consules, satis exploratis itineribus, sequentes Poenum, ut ventum ad Cannas est et in conspectu Poenum habebant, bina castra communiunt, eodem ferme intervallo, quo ad Gereonium, sicut ante, copiis divisas. Aufidus amnis, utrisque castris affluens, aditum aquatoribus ex sua cuiusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium praesidium. Hannibal spem nactus, locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, dirigit aciem lacessitque Numidarum procursatione hostes. Inde rursus sol-

CANNAE

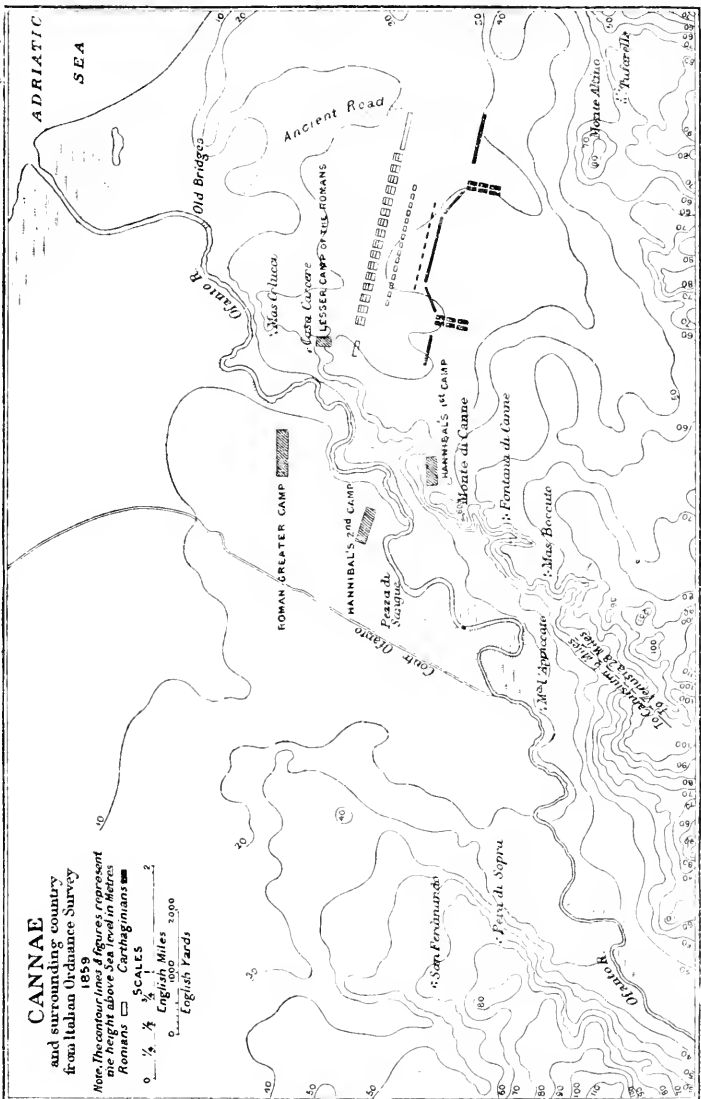
and surrounding country
from Italian Ordnance Survey
1859

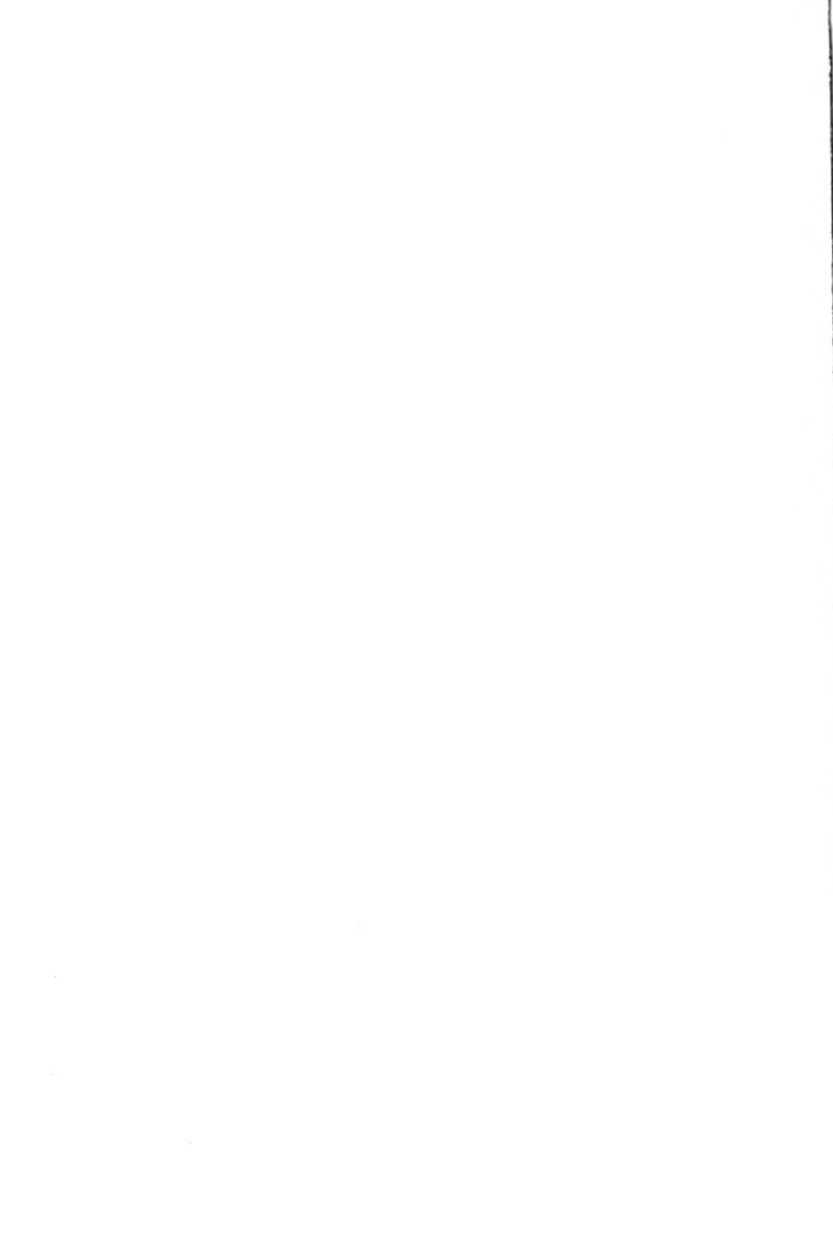
Note: The contour lines & figures represent
the height above Sea level in Metres

Romans □ Carthaginians ■

0 1/4 1/2 3/4 SCALES

0 1000 2000
English Miles
0 1000 2000
English Yards





licitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, quum Paulus Sempronique et Flamini temeritatem Varroni, Varro speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium obiiceret, testareturque deos hominesque hic, nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam 340 velut usu cepisset Italiam; se constrictum a collega teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, si quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpae exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore diceret; 345 videret, ut, quibus lingua tam prompta ac temeraria, aequè in pugna vigerent manus.

2. *Varro gives the sign for Battle.*

Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, quum in castra ceteras reciperet copias, Numidas ad 350 invadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam turbam quum vixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in stationem quoque pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas evecti sunt. Id vero indignum visum, ab tumul- 355 tuario auxilio iam etiam castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa, ne extemplo transirent flumen dirigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit. Itaque postero die Varro, cui sors eius diei imperii erat, nihil consulto collega signum pro- 360 posuit instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare quam non adiuvere consilium poterat.

3. *The Order of Battle.*

Transgressi flumen eas quoque, quas in castris minoribus habuerant, copias suis adiungunt atque ita instruunt aciem: 365

in dextro cornu (id erat flumini propius) Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites; laevum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites, ad medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt; iaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis
370 prima acies facta. Consules cornua tenuerunt, Terentius laevum, Aemilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data. Hannibal luce prima, Baliaribus levique alia armatura praemissa, transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat, Gallos Hispanosque equites
375 prope ripam laevo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros Romanam magna ex parte crederes aciem; ita armati
380 erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formae fere erant, dispaes ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam caesim assueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et
385 cum mucronibus. Ante alios habitus gentium harum quum magnitudine corporum, tum specie terribilis erat: Galli super umbilicum erant nudi; Hispani linteis praetextis purpura tunicis, candore miro fulgentibus, constiterant. Numerus omnium peditum, qui tum steterunt in acie,
390 millium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces cornibus praeerant, sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal; mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. Sol seu de industria ita locatis, seu quod forte ita stetere, peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat, Romanis in
395 meridiem, Poenis in septentrionem versis; ventus (Vulturum regionis incolae vocant) adversus Romanis coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

4. *The Romans victorious over the Europeans.*

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

5. *The Africans victorious over the Romans.*

Iam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites
 adversus Numidas steterant, consertum proelium erat, segne
 430 primo et a Punica coeptum fraude. Quingenti ferme
 Numidae, praeter solita arma telaque gladios occultos
 sub loriceis habentes, specie transfugarum quum ab suis,
 parmas post terga habentes, adequitassent, repente ex
 equis desiliunt, parmisque et iaculis ante pedes hostium
 435 proiectis, in mediam aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos
 considerare ab tergo iubentur. Ac dum proelium ab omni
 parte conseritur, quieti manserunt; postquam omnium
 animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum arreptis
 scutis, quae passim inter acervos caesorum corporum strata
 440 erant, aversam adoriuntur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferien-
 tes ac poplites caedentes stragem ingentem ac maiorem
 aliquanto pavorem ac tumultum fecerunt. Quum alibi terror
 ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala iam spe proelium esset, Has-
 drubal, qui ea parte praeerat, subductos ex media acie
 445 Numidas, quia segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad
 persequendos passim fugientes mittit, Hispanos et Gallos
 equites Afris prope iam fessis caede magis quam pugna
 adiungit.

6. *'Prodigus animae Paulus.'*

Parte altera pugnae Paulus, quanquam primo statim
 450 proelio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et occurrit saepe
 cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis proelium restituit,
 protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omissis postremo
 equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum vires deficie-
 bant. Tum renuntianti cuidam, iussisse consulem ad pedes
 455 descendere equites, dixisse Hannibalem ferunt: 'Quam
 malle, victos mihi traderet.' Equitum pedestre proelium,

quale iam haud dubia hostium victoria, fuit, quum victi mori in vestigio mallent quam fugere, victores morantibus victoriam irati trucidarent, quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt tamen iam paucos superantes et labore ac 460 vulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad fugam, qui poterant, repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum quum praetervehens equo sedentem in saxo cruore opletum consulem vidisset, 'L. Aemili' inquit, 'quem unum insontem culpae cladis hodiernae dei respicere debent, cape 465 hunc equum, dum et tibi virium aliquid superest et comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris; etiam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est.' Ad ea consul: 'Tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute esto; sed cave, frustra miserando exiguum 470 tempus e manibus hostium evadendi absumas. Abi, nuntia publice patribus, urbem Romanam muniant ac, priusquam hostis victor advenit, praesidiis firment; privatim Q. Fabio, L. Aemilium praeceptorum eius memorem et vixisse adhuc et mori. Me in hac strage militum meorum patere ex- 475 spirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim aut accusator collegae existam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam.'

7. *Varro reserves himself.*

Haec eos agentes prius turba fugientium civium, deinde hostes oppressere; consulem ignorantes, quis esset, obrue- 480 runt telis, Lentulum inter tumultum abripuit equus. Tum undique effuse fugiunt. Septem millia hominum in minora castra, decem in maiora, duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt, qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equitibus, nullo munimento tegente vicum, circumventi sunt. Consul 485 alter seu forte seu consilio, nulli fugientium insertus agmini,

cum quinquaginta fere equitibus Venusiam perfugit. Quadraginta quinque millia quingenti pedites, duo millia septingenti equites, et tanta prope civium sociorumque pars, 490 caesi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, et undetriginta tribuni militum, consulares quidam praetoriiue et aedilicii (inter eos Cn. Servilium Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, aliquot annis ante 495 consul fuerat), octoginta praeterea aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent, quum sua voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo proelio tria millia peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.

HANNIBAL'S CAMPAIGN IN ITALY.

B.C. 218-216.

I. THE ENGAGEMENT ON THE TICINUS, B.C. 218.

AT last the Romans and Carthaginians are in sight of one another. P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Lucius Scipio, and grandson of L. Scipio Barbatus, whose services in the Samnite War are recorded on the famous sarcophagus, after letting Hannibal slip through the Pyrenees, had also allowed him to cross the Rhone. He had then sent on his consular army under command of his brother Gn. Scipio to Spain, and had returned himself to Pisa to take command of the forces in the North of Italy under the two praetors Manlius and Atilius. Meanwhile Hannibal, after crossing the Alps, had descended into the plains of Lombardy, and was advancing through the territory of the Insubrians, in the direction of Placentia. Scipio, on arriving in Northern Italy, crossed the Po at Placentia, 'and was ascending the left (or northern) bank of the river in order to prevent a general rising of the Gauls by his presence. Hannibal, for the opposite reason, was equally anxious to meet him, being well aware that the Gauls were only restrained from revolting to the Carthaginians by fear, and that on his first success in the field they would hasten to join him.'—Arnold, *History of Rome*, vol. iii. pp. 92-93.

'On the first news of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, the senate had sent orders to the other consul, Ti. Sempronius, to return immediately (from Sicily) to reinforce his colleague. He accordingly left part of his fleet with the praetor in Sicily, and part he committed to Sex. Pomponius, his lieutenant, for the protection of the coasts of Lucania and Campania; while, from a dread of the dangers and delays of the winter navigation of the Adriatic, his army was to march from Lilybaeum to

Messana, and after crossing the strait to go by land through the whole length of Italy, the soldiers being bound by oath to appear on a certain day at Ariminum—a march which they accomplished in forty days.—Arnold, *l.c.* p. 94.

Polybius (iii. 65) gives the following account of the battle of Ticinus. 'On the next day (after Scipio had crossed the Ticinus) both armies were marching along the river (the Padus), on the bank which is nearest the Alps (i.e. the northern bank), the Romans with the stream on their left (i.e. marching west), the Carthaginians with the stream on their right (i.e. marching east). On the next day, discovering from their foragers that they were near each other, they went into camp on the spot and there remained. On the morrow each side called out all the horse—and Scipio in addition the javelin men of his infantry—and advanced through the plain, each anxious to spy out the forces of the other. As soon as they approached each other, and saw the dust rising, they at once drew out for battle. Scipio put his javelin men in front, and the Gaulish cavalry who were with them; the rest of his force he ranged in line; and in this order advanced slowly forward. Hannibal drew up his bridled horse and heavy cavalry opposite the enemy and advanced against him, while he arranged the Numidian horse on either wing in order to surround the Romans. As both the generals and the cavalry on each side were eager for battle, the first shock was so severe that the javelin men had hardly thrown their first weapons ere they retired and fled into cover of their own horse, through the interstices between the troops, scared at the onset, and afraid lest they should be trampled down by the charging cavalry. But the cavalry in the front who had met in the charge fought an equal battle for a long time. And the conflict was at once an engagement on horse and on foot, owing to the great number of men who dismounted in the course of the struggle. But when the Numidians came round and charged the Romans in the rear, the javelin men who had at first escaped the shock of the horse, were trampled down by the multitude of the charging Numidians. Those who had fought from the first in the front with the Carthaginians, after losing many of their own men, and slaying yet more of the Carthaginians, when the Numidians set upon them in the rear, were put to flight; some left the field as they could, others in a compact body round their general.'

Comparing this with our text, we see that the Roman historian has spoiled the simple and intelligible narrative of Polybius, (1) by speaking of the charge of Maharbal; (2) by the speech of Hannibal on the return of Maharbal; (3) by the mention of the prodigies of the Roman camp. On the other hand, Polybius does not mention the fact that Scipio was

wounded, though he speaks of the wound in a subsequent chapter, and tells us in a later book (x. c. 3) that Scipio Africanus saved his father.

TICINUS.

The order of the Battle was as follows:—

Romans.*Second line.*

Romani (equites) sociorumque quod roboris fuit.

First line.

Jaculatores (on foot) et Galli equites.



Numidians.

Frenati equites (heavy cavalry).



Numidians.

Hannibal.

The following movements took place:—

(1) The jaculatores having discharged their weapons at once retired to gain the shelter of the cavalry.

(2) The two opposing lines of heavy horse, Roman and Carthaginian (for the Romans now formed but one line), fought an equal battle for some time; a great many of the riders dismounting and fighting on foot.

(3) The Numidians on Hannibal's wings close round and take the Roman cavalry in the rear.

(4) The jaculatores (who are now in the rear) are first trampled down; the Roman horse are put to flight: but a considerable body retreat in good order to the camp, protecting Scipio, who is wounded.

Line 1. **utrinque**, 'on either side respectively.' 'Uterque' means 'each,' not 'both.' 'Ambo' regards the two as two halves of one whole, whereas 'uterque' always regards them as two separate unities. Hence 'uterque' may have either a singular or plural verb, but 'ambo' always takes the plural.

1. 2. **Ticinum**. The Ticino, one of the northern tributaries of the Po, runs through Lake Maggiore. The engagement must have taken place in the plain between the Sesia and the Ticino, not far from Vercelli.

iungunt, 'span.' Cp. Statius, 'fossas saltu iungere,' 'to leap over the ditches.'

1. 3. **insuper imponunt**, 'erect a fort thereupon besides.'

occupatis, 'engrossed in the work.' Cicero uses 'occupatus' absolutely in opposition to 'otiosus.'

1. 4. **Maharbalem.** Arnold calls Maharbal the best cavalry officer of the best cavalry service in the world. It was he who after the battle of Cannae urged Hannibal to march on Rome, and when Hannibal refused, Maharbal made the famous remark, 'Vincere scis, victoria uti nescis.' Livy, 21. 12. On the present occasion he seems to have been making a reconnoissance in force, with the double object of concealing his general's advance and of making friends among the Gauls. Scipio, however, by his advance, compels Hannibal to withdraw Maharbal at once.

ala (Cic. Orat. c. 45. § 153) for 'axilla.' So 'bruma' for 'brevima' (the shortest day), 'carcer' from 'coarceo,' 'imus' for 'infimus,' 'mala' for 'maxilla,' 'pauillus' for 'pauillus,' 'velum' for 'vexillum,' and many others, *infr.* ll. 13. 33. These clipt forms are emphatically the language of practical and busy men, who hurry through their talking. The 'ala' was generally 500, sometimes 1000, strong.

1. 5. **depopulandos.** N.B. The gerundive attraction is almost invariable after a preposition, and quite invariable after the *accusative* with a preposition. Thus, such an expression as 'in laudando victorem,' must be avoided, and 'ad placandum deos' is impossible. In English the seeming participle present is really a corruption of the Anglo-Saxon infinitive. In Latin the idea of the verb becomes so closely limited to the object mentioned, that a combination is effected by making the object take the case of the gerund and the gerund the gender and number of the object. Thus, 'equites tegendo' would become 'equibus tegendis,' unless the writer wished to keep the two ideas somewhat apart. 'This is a good place for a horse-show,' would be undoubtedly 'aptus est locus equis monstrandis,' but 'this is a good place for showing off a gladiator' might be, 'gladiatorem monstrando.'

1. 7. **ponte perfecto.** In translation break up the participial style of Livy. 'The bridge was now finished; the army was led across into the territory of the Insubres, and encamped five miles from Ictumulae,' &c. See Potts' 'Hints,' p. 68.

1. 10. **revocato,** not 'revocatis.' The order was given to Maharbal, 'Sent speedily for Maharbal back again, and the horsemen.'

1. 11. **instare,** 'since he saw that a battle was imminent.'

1. 13. **contionem.** 'Contio' = 'conventio,' shortened form of 'coventio,' as 'nundinae' of 'novendinae,' 'nuntius' possibly of 'noviventius.' As we say 'Covent Garden,' for 'convent,' 'Coblentz' for 'confluentes,' so here the 'n' drops out before 'v.' Translate, 'He called them together to an audience, where he promised openly to them definite rewards, in the hope of which they might fight.'

in, with accusative, represents the aim, the object of effort, 'towards the hope.' In English we say 'in hope.'

l. 14. **esse**. Note the omission of the verb on which this depends. We must supply 'saying.'

l. 15. **velit**, for 'vellet.' The leading verb is 'pronuntiat.' In oratio obliqua the historic present may be treated as an actual present or as a past. Sometimes, as here, both constructions are intermixed. Compare Caesar, B. G. i. 7, 'Helvetii legatos mittunt, qui dicerent sibi in animo esse iter facere; rogare ut liceat.' This is, however, not to be imitated.

immunem, 'as a freehold, without service, for himself and for his heirs for ever.'

l. 16. **ipse**, unlike 'idem,' which is equally derived from 'is,' is declined in the second syllable. The '-pse' is originally an indeclinable affix, like $\pi\sigma\tau\epsilon$, assimilated from '-pte' ('ispte').

l. 17. **maluisset**, 'if any one chose to have money rather than land, him he would satisfy with coin.' Note how entirely 'pecunia' has here lost its original meaning of 'property in stock.' For the form 'maluisset' compare note on 'ala,' line 4. The Roman rapidity of pronunciation is applied to compound as well as simple words. 'Thus 'non volo' becomes 'nolo,' 'scire licet' is made into 'scilicet.'

sociorum, 'such of the allies as might wish to become citizens of Carthage, he would give them the opportunity.' So 'facio mei potestatem,' means, 'I allow others to have access to me.' Hannibal here is taking upon himself what no Roman general in those days would have dared to promise. But the citizen of Carthage had a very slight amount of practical influence. He had a right to vote or rather to sell his vote in the elections to the Gerusia, or twenty-eight elders; he could vote 'aye' on questions which the Gerusia had decided; but the idea of free 'comitia' was unknown.

l. 21. **quoque**, 'further, to the slaves who had attended their masters he offers freedom, and promises, in lieu of every slave so liberated, to give the master two slaves from the captives taken in war.'

mancipium, a purchased slave, as opposed to one reared on the estate. 'Manu capere' was the symbol of accepting a sale. In this case Hannibal would have sold the captives into slavery, but he offers to present them to the masters whose slaves he had freed.

l. 22. **reddo**, here, as often, not of restoring, but of giving what is due. So 'reddere votum.'

l. 23. **rata**. 'Ratus,' the participle of 'reor,' is used both passively and deponently. Here it means 'realized.'

l. 24. **falleret**, 'if he were swearing falsely.' The full form was, 'Si sciens fallo, tum me Diespiter,' &c.

l. 25. **mactasset**. The Romans never sacrificed a beast without first sprinkling it with wine, incense, and bruised corn mixed with salt, between the horns, and saying, 'macte hoc vino et ture esto.' So, to avoid the use of the word 'caedere,' they used 'mactare.'

secundum, 'after.' 'Secundus' is merely a lengthened form of the present participle of 'sequor,' as the gerundive is of the present participle generally.

l. 27. **velut**, 'each thinking that the gods would support his hope, and supposing that the only bar of the enjoyment of what they prayed for was that they were not already fighting, all with one heart and one voice demand battle.'

auctor means 'a proposer of the law,' 'a trustee,' 'a witness of a marriage contract,' generally 'a backer,' 'supporter.'

l. 30. **alacritas**, from 'alacer,' 'eager,' 'spirited,' opp. 'languidus.'

l. 31. **territos**, 'dismayed.'

l. 32. **obviis**, 'after tearing in pieces those that came in his way, had himself escaped unhurt.'

l. 33. **examen**. 'Exagimen,' 'a swarm of bees.' Primarily of a mass issuing forth. Compare Virg. Aen. 7. 67:—

'Examen subitum ramo frondente pependit.'

We hear in the year 223 B.C. of similar alarms created in the minds of the Romans by a vulture seen in the Forum, and three moons in the sky. On that occasion Flaminius, a plebeian free-thinker, had made the gods testify against their interpreters by gaining a complete victory over the Gauls.

l. 34. **procuratis**, 'when expiation had been made for these portents.' In some cases it was possible for the augurs not to take up an omen, as referring to the State; in which case they were said 'non suscipere,' but on this occasion the omen could only refer to the army.

l. 36. **speculandas**, 'to reconnoitre their forces from near at hand, and to see how many and of what sort they were.'

l. 37. **et ipsi**, 'who had also in person gone forward.'

l. 39. **neutri** (N.B. plural), 'neither party.'

primo, 'at the first.'

densior, comparative, 'exceptionally thick.' 'The unusual thickness of the rising dust, as so many men and horses marched up, was a sure sign of an approaching foe.'

l. 41. **consistit**, sing. **expediebant**, plur. 'The army on each side made a stand. and the men proceeded to prepare for action.'

l. 42. **Gallos**. These were evidently placed in the front to prevent their desertion.

l. 43. **roboris**, 'the strength of the allies.' So we have 'senatus robur,' 'the flower of the senate.'

l. 44. **subsidiis**. Livy uses this word generally of the 'triarii' or third line of battle, the first two being the 'hastati' and 'principes,' and making up the 'frons prima.' Thus in 6. 13, he says, 'Impulsa frons prima et trepidatio subsidiis inlata.' Here, however, the word means no more than the main body of cavalry.

frenatos, 'set his bridled horsemen in the centre of his line, and strengthened his wings with Numidian horsemen.' The Numidian cavalry 'rode without saddle or bridle, as if the rider and his horse were one creature, and scoured over the country with a speed and impetuosity defying escape or resistance.'

l. 45. **vixdum**, 'scarce was the battle cry raised, when,' &c.

l. 46. **secunda acies** is no more than 'the rear,' for there was no 'secunda acies' distinct from the subsidia.

l. 47. **inde**, 'then followed an engagement of the cavalry which for some time was undecided.'

l. 48. **multis**, 'then the horses were thrown into confusion by the intermixture of men on foot because many fell from their horses, others alighted to go where they saw their friends surrounded, and the fight had in great measure become a fight on foot.'

l. 51. **circumvecti**, 'wheeling round slightly.'

l. 53. **periculum**, 'a danger averted by the interference of his son, then a mere stripling.'

l. 54. **erit**. Past when Livy wrote, but future in his story.

l. 55. **penes**, 'who has the honour of having finished this very war.'

l. 56. **de**, i.e. 'reportatam.'

l. 57. **effusa**, 'scattered,' 'disordered.'

l. 58. **alius**, 'the rest, however, being cavalry, closed their ranks and received the consul into their midst, and so,' &c.

equitatus here is in apposition to 'alius,' both referring to the same idea; those who were not 'iaculatores.' So too the Greek ἄλλος.

l. 62. **natione**, 'by birth.' Cicero generally uses the word specially of barbarous nations.

malim. This story of young Africanus is supported by Polyb. x. 3, who had it on the authority of Laelius.

l. 63. **fama**, ablative case, 'has held its ground in general report.' Compare 'pro vero antea obtinebat regna Fortunam dono dare,' for this use of 'obtineo.' 'Fama' might also be nominative.

II. BATTLE OF THE TREBIA, B. C. 218.

AFTER the engagement near Ictumulae Scipio broke up his camp, retired over the Ticinus through the plain to the bridge over the Po, and crossed the river with all speed. He recognized the superiority of Hannibal's cavalry, for which the country was admirably adapted, being a wide plain; he had also received a severe wound in the engagement. It was necessary to place his forces in a secure position; and with this object he proceeded along the south bank of the Po to Placentia, a Roman colony (Polyb. iii. 66).

Meanwhile Hannibal remained for a short time in his position expecting that Scipio would attack him with his infantry, but when he found that the Romans had abandoned their camp he advanced to the Ticinus. Here he seized the bridge, by which Scipio had crossed, in time to save it from destruction, and also cut off 600 men who had been left to defend it. But on hearing that the rest of the Roman force were far in advance, he changed the direction of his march, and having reached the Po, marched up the north bank of the stream in the hope of finding a place where the river could be crossed. On the second day (after leaving his camp) he halted, and having thrown a bridge of boats across the stream, left Hasdrubal to superintend the passage of the main body of the army, at once crossed the river, and entered into negotiations with envoys from the neighbouring places who, after this success, were ready to join him. When the army had accomplished the passage he joined it, and led it *down* the river on the south bank, seeking an engagement with the enemy. On the next day he found himself in the neighbourhood of Scipio at Placentia; and on the third day he drew out his forces in sight of the Romans, but as no one came out to meet him, he went into camp about fifty stades (six miles) from the Romans. (Polyb. iii. 66. Unfortunately Polybius has not stated whether Hannibal did or did not cross the Trebia. Placentia was on the east bank of the river, so we should suppose that Scipio would not put the river between himself and the town when seeking the shelter of it. *But if Scipio is on the east bank of the Trebia, Hannibal is so also.*)

In the following night the Gauls who were in the Roman camp attacked the Romans who were nearest to them, and having killed a considerable number, cut off their heads, and went over to Hannibal (2000 infantry and nearly 200 horse). This alarmed Scipio, who reflected that the Gauls in the neighbourhood would now inevitably take the

part of Hannibal. Under cover of the night he advanced to the Trebia and the adjacent hills, where he would be in a strong position and surrounded by allies of Rome (Polyb. iii. 67). Hannibal hearing of the movement at once sent his Numidian horse, and then his heavy cavalry, in pursuit; afterwards he followed with his army. The Numidians, finding the camp deserted, burnt it. This delay saved the Romans; had the Numidians pressed on at once they would have caught the Romans in the plain, and cut them down. As it was the bulk crossed the Trebia in safety; only the rear was overtaken. Once across the river, Scipio fortified a camp on the adjacent hills, waiting for his colleague Sempronius. Hannibal now brought his camp within five miles of the Romans, the Gauls supplying him liberally with provisions (Polyb. *l.c.* 68).

Sempronius now arrives from Ariminum (p. 20), and joins Scipio. Hannibal meanwhile gains Clastidium, a town considerably to the west of Placentia, by treachery, and is enabled to draw supplies from it. Then he lays waste, with his Numidians, the territory of some Gauls, inhabitants of the regions between the Trebia and the Po, who after joining him had thought to save themselves by sending an embassy to Scipio. The Gauls fly to the Romans for refuge. Sempronius, who is eager to bring on an engagement, sent a large body of cavalry and some javelin men on foot across the river, and drove the Numidians back to their camp. But Hannibal was not yet fully prepared, and would not risk a general engagement. The Romans returned to their camp.

In the next night Hannibal sent Mago to form an ambuscade in the bed of a stream, between his camp and the Trebia, and on the next day he sent his Numidians to draw the Romans across the Trebia into a battle.

That Livy regarded the battle as taking place on the Placentia (eastern) bank of the Trebia is clear (see II. 182-184), and there is nothing in Polybius which compels us to contradict this. But the view is not without difficulties. For (1) Sempronius marches to join Scipio from the *east*, i. e. across the front of Hannibal's position; (2) Hannibal draws his supplies from the *west* (Clastidium); (3) the Gauls whom he harries, who are on the opposite side of the river from the Roman camp, dwell between the Trebia and the Po, an expression which is thought to suit the western side of the river better than the eastern, for the river runs N.E. (but see map, p. 3). This would indicate that the (second) camp of the Romans was on the eastern bank, and the battle certainly took place on the side opposite to the camp. Nevertheless, it is impossible to suppose that Livy did not know on which side of the river

Placentia was, and he makes the Romans march straight from the battle-field to the town. The battle was probably fought near Gossolengo.

TREBIA.

Order of Battle.

Hannibal.

Infantry 20,000.

Cavalry 5,000.	Spaniards.	Gauls.	Africans.	Cavalry 5,000.
Elephants (?).		Light-armed.		Elephants (?).



Cavalry 2,000.	Infantry 38,000	Cavalry 2,000.
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(drawn up in the usual way).

Sempronius.

Movements of the battle (*according to Polybius*):—

- (1) It opened with skirmishes of the light-armed.
- (2) These retire through the heavy armed Carthaginians, and the two main lines meet.
- (3) The Roman cavalry driven in on the wings, leaving the flanks open.
- (4) The Carthaginian light-armed advance from the rear, and with the Numidians attack the flanks; but the Roman heavy armed hold their ground on the centre, till
- (5) Mago comes upon the rear from his ambuscade.
- (6) The two wings of Sempronius' heavy-armed infantry are defeated (*a*) by the elephants; (*b*) by the light-armed attacking in flank, and driven into the river, but
- (7) The Roman centre keeps together, and fights its way through the Carthaginian line to Placentia, where it is joined by a number of stragglers.

(8) The Carthaginians pursue the defeated army to the river.

Livy *differs from* Polybius in regard to the position of the elephants and the part which they took in the battle, representing them as coming in from the extreme wings upon the centre, and then recalled by Hannibal to the left wing, and also crowds the details of the battle together.

l. 65. **consul alter.** Ti. Sempronius Longus. He had sent his troops round by the Adriatic to Ariminum, as Livy says, or, as others say, had disbanded them in the south of Italy after taking their oaths to muster at Ariminum in forty days. All writers agree, however, that they did

muster at Ariminum, and that, however they managed to evade Hannibal on the plains round Placentia, they did join Scipio's troops.

Siciliae rebus. Sicily had been Sempronius' original province. The senate had intended him even to attack Carthage from there.

1. 66. **legens**, 'coasting.' The dangers of winter navigation in the Adriatic are often alluded to by Horace. Cf. *Od.* 3. 3. 5.

'Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae.'

1. 70. **declarabat**, singular. Translate, 'Now were both consuls and the whole present force of the Romans opposed to Hannibal, so as to make it quite clear that either with that power the empire of Rome could be defended, or that all hope was gone.' For the use of the neuter, compare 'Romani regem regnumque Macedoniae sua futura sciunt.' The singular is here used as for one idea. Here the subject to 'declarabat' is the idea of matching. For a similar use of the participle, compare 'Angebant virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae,' 'the loss of Sicily and Sardinia grieved the hero.' 'Pudor non lati auxilii patres cepit,' 'the fathers were ashamed of their refusal to help.' The Latin language therefore avoids verbal substantives so far as possible. 'Abstract words are of a scientific nature and presuppose education in the reader. Oratory (and all Latin language is oratorical in its character) appeals to the public, and consequently employs simple phrases.'—Potts.

1. 72. **minutus**, 'brought low,' 'disheartened.' So in Greek *μυνύθειν*. The opposite word is 'augeo,' e.g. 'tanta laetitia auctus sum, ut pil constet.' Madvig suggests 'admonitus,' on the ground that it is not Latin 'minuere hominem,' but 'animum.'

recentis animi, 'with his spirits quite fresh, and so feeling more confident.'

1. 73. **patiebatur**, 'would brook no delay.'

1. 74. **suum**, 'his own' cavalry. Sempronius was proud of the fact that his cavalry had not suffered the defeat of the Ticinus.

1. 76. **sparsos**, 'coming suddenly on some of their detachments and charging them at unawares, as they were straggling and out of order, and most of them too laden with spoil.'

ad hoc, 'besides.'

1. 77. Madvig reads **inopinato** for 'inopinatos,' which he maintains can never be used for 'inopinantes.'

1. 79. **stationes**, 'sentries.'

unde, 'beaten back from thence by the mere numbers of those that swarmed forth, they waited for new succours and soon renewed the fight.'

l. 80. **varia**, ablative with 'sequentes cedentesque.' Tr. 'the fight after this was variable, and although, at one time pursuing, at another yielding, they had at the last made the contest pretty even, yet the slaughter of the enemy was the greater, and so the tide of victory remained with the Romans.'

l. 83. **maior iustiorque**, 'no man, however, reckoned it as greater or more natural than the consul himself.'

l. 84. **gaudio**, 'he was elated with joy that he had come off better in that very arm of the service in which his colleague had come off worse;' i.e. on the Ticinus, when the cavalry was worsted.

l. 85. N. B. **foret**, in the sense of 'esset.' Generally 'forem' is only used for 'essem' in conditional or final language. Sallust, Livy, and the poets, however, use it in the compound tenses exactly like 'essem.' As a rule, 'forem' should never be used in Latin Prose except to mean 'would be,' or after 'ut,' 'ne,' or 'qui,' expressive of a purpose.

restitutos ac refectos, 'comforted and refreshed.'

l. 87. **dilatam**; we should rather expect 'differri,' but the perfect passive often expresses a will that something should be done; e.g. 'sociis maxime lex consultum esse vult.'

eum, 'he, more sick in spirit than in body, with the memory of his wound still fresh, quaked to hear of a battle and arms.'

l. 89. **sed**, 'but they must not lose their vigour like a wounded man.'

l. 90. **differri**, impersonal, 'for why was there further delay or more time wasted?' A question in a long indirect speech is put in the infinitive, if the first or third person is employed in the direct, in the subjunctive, if the second. So the Romans say after the battle, 'Duobus consulibus, duobus consularibus exercitibus victis, quos alios duces, quas legiones esse, quae arcessantur?'

l. 95. **forent**. See note on l. 85.

l. 98. **paventes**, 'cowering' (participle after 'videant'). **Nos** object to 'vidcant.' **Poenum** subject to 'fecisse' (infinitive after 'videant').

l. 99. **dicionis**, possessive genitive, (cf. 'Ego totus Pompeii sum'), 'had brought under his own power.'

l. 101. **erat**. Hannibal, aware of his opponent's eagerness, and aware too that the days of his consulship were numbered, determines to bring on an engagement. The Gauls, who served in both camps, were equally ready to oblige either side with information.

rivus does not refer to the watercourse of the Trebia itself, but to some tributary; of course the Trebia and its feeders would be much more swollen in the *spring*, and, being a short stream, it would be subject to very sudden rises, which would make waste places on either

bank. These would soon be 'overgrown with weeds, and briars, and brushwood, with which, for the most part, such uncultivated spots are clad.' Polybius talks of *βείθρον τε, ἔχον ὄφρον, ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτης ἀκάνθας καὶ βάτους συνεχεῖς ἐπιπεφυκότας*. He adds that the Romans were the more taken off their guard because there was no wood near, and so they did not expect an ambush, whilst, on the other hand, it was easier for Mago to see over reeds than it would have been through a wood.

l. 103. **quem**, 'and when Hannibal had ridden round this place, and perceived that it afforded cover enough even for hiding men on horse-back,' &c.

l. 104. **tegendo**, not 'tegendis,' for Livy, unlike Cicero and Caesar, seems to prefer the gerund to the gerundive attraction. See note on l. 5.

l. 106. **centenos**, 'a hundred picked men of each.'

l. 108. **corpora curare**, 'to refresh ourselves.' The realistic character of Latin expression, says Potts, in his 'Hints,' is shown by the introduction of words like 'corpora' and 'animos.' Cf. 'Ille morte proposita facile dolorem corporis patitur.' So, too, where we say 'ear,' they say 'ears,' 'eyes.'

ita, 'on this understanding.'

praetorium, 'council of war.'

l. 109. **robora**. 'strength,' 'flower.' So Cicero, 'Illa robora populi Romani.'

l. 110. **numero**, 'in order to be as overpowering in numbers as in courage, choose you each his nine from the squadrons and companies, such as yourselves.'

l. 111. **turma** was the tenth part of an 'ala,' about thirty men, *infr.* 273.

manipulus, a company. 'The Hastati Principes and Triarii were each divided into ten manipuli, and each manipulus into two centuriae, so that every legion contained thirty manipuli, and sixty centuriae.' Ramsay, *Rom. Ant.* p. 384.

l. 114. **Magoni**, general dative of reference, 'for Mago's use or convenience.'

l. 116. **obequitare**, 'ride up to.'

l. 117. **iniecto**, 'when once the engagement was brought on.' So Cicero, 'Inicere tumultum civitati.'

l. 121. **instratis**, 'saddled.' The Numidae were a corps apart, and rode without saddles. See note on l. 11.

l. 122. **tumultum**, 'a rising,' then 'an alarm,' 'impetuous fight:' specially used of the border warfare of the Gauls, or civil war.

l. 123. **ferox**, 'having special reliance on that branch of the service.' See l. 84.

l. 124. **destinato**, 'being eager for fight, in accordance with his long settled purpose.'

l. 126. **nivalis**, 'the day was threatening sleet or snow.' The time being about mid-winter, and the day snowy and exceedingly cold. Polyb. iii. 72, 3.

l. 127. **ad hoc**, 'moreover.' See note on l. 76.

l. 129. **nihil**, 'there was no warmth left in them.'

l. 130. **quicquid**, 'the more they approached the moist air of the river.' Here 'quicquid' = 'quanto magis.' So, too, Livy says, at the beginning of Book 31, after finishing the Second Punic War in his history, 'Iam provideo animo, velut qui proximis litori vadis inducti mare pedibus ingrediuntur, quicquid progredior, in vastiorem me altitudinem ac velut profundum inveni.' In both 'progredior' and 'appropinquabant' there is a distinctly comparative sense. But in Catullus we have,

'Ride, quicquid amas, Cato, Catullum,'

where 'quicquid' = 'as much as,' without any idea of an increasing scale; **aurae**, dative after 'appropinquabant.'

l. 133. **aucta**, 'and by reason of the rain which fell in the night it had been swollen breast high.'

utique, 'be it as it may,' 'in any case,' restrictive and confirming. 'They were cold enough to start with, but when they were clean out of the river, then most certainly, if not before, they were so numbed.' It is to be taken closely with the word preceding. Compare 'Velim Varonis et Lollii mittas laudationes, Lollii utique' ('in any case Lollius's').

l. 134. For **corporum**, compare l. 108, n. **potentia**, adj., from 'potens' **armorum**. Here Livy uses the gerundive attraction. The expression 'armorum potentes' would be quite sufficient by itself. See note on l. 5.

l. 138. **per otium**, 'at leisure.'

l. 142. **quod virium**, 'the very strength and manhood of his forces.'

l. 143. **ab cornibus** may mean simply 'on the wings;' here, however, it seems 'away from the wings,' i. e. on the outer edge of the wings, so that the elephants were to the left of the cavalry on the left, and to the right of the cavalry on the right (in utramque partem). See l. 157. [Polybius describes their position thus, iii. 72, 9, τὰ θηρία μερίσας πρὸ τῶν κέρατων δι' ἀμφοτέρων προεβάλετο, where δι' ἀμφοτέρων seems to mean 'between the infantry and cavalry.']

l. 145. **consul**. In translation be careful to break up this sentence. 'The cavalry were pursuing in disorder, when the Numidian horse suddenly turned upon them. The Consul then gave the signal for retreat, and, as they returned, posted them on the flanks of his infantry.'

l. 146. **incauti**, 'charged at unawares,' 'taken at a disadvantage.'

l. 147. **peditibus** is here the dative case.

l. 148. **socium nominis Latini**. Either, like 'Patres conscripti,' 'Fathers and conscripts,' 'allies and Latin name,' in which case the allies would mean Italians not in the Latin name, or simply, 'allies of the Latin name.' In the former case we should have here a case of asyndeton, in the latter the genitive would be simply a genitive of quality. The Latin name, as opposed to the Etruscan or Sabellian and Campanian allies, denoted not only the members of the old Latin union, like Tibur and Praeneste, but also those colonies which were distributed through Italy with Latin rights, e.g. Circeii and Ardea, Cora and Norba, Fregellae and Interamna, Sutrium and Nepete, Cales, Suessa, and Saticula, Alba, Aesernia and Beneventum, Narnia and Spoletum, Luceria and Venusia, Hadria and Firmum, and finally Brundisium in the South and Ariminum in the North. All these States had two privileges,—(1) that every Latin who left a son behind him to keep up his family might go to Rome and possess the franchise; (2) that every Latin magistrate might at once be a Roman citizen.

l. 150. At the Battle of Cannae there were eighty thousand engaged on the side of the Romans, half burghers and half allies.

l. 151. **obsisterent**, 'the legions resisted, owing to their greater strength.'

l. 152. **diducta**, 'drawn off so as to reinforce the two wings.' In other words, the slingers and light-armed troops left off fighting with the legions and joined their cavalry on the wings, confining their attentions to the Roman cavalry. These, already outnumbered, were soon utterly overwhelmed.

l. 157. **eminentes**, 'standing out clear,' i. e. to left and right of the horse.

l. 160. **curatis**. See note on l. 108.

l. 161. **contra**, 'on the contrary, the Romans were fasting and weary, and stiff and numbed with cold.'

l. 163. **animis**, 'still their courage would have helped them to withstand to the end if they had only had to fight with the foot.'

l. 168. **in**, 'in the midst, however, of such a stress of misfortune on all sides, the line remained for some time unbroken.'

l. 170. **velites**, 'skirmishers,' who fought in scattered parties where required. They were armed with a buckler and a javelin, the iron of which was formed with a fine point, in order that it might be bent on the first discharge, and thus rendered useless to the enemy.

l. 171. **veru**, 'a javelin.' So 'Volscosque verutos,' 'armed with javelins,' Verg. Georg. 2. 168.

avertere, 'forced them to turn, and as soon as they turned, followed close up and stabbed them under the tail, where the tenderness of their skin specially admits of wounds.'

l. 174. **consternatos in**, lit. 'excited against.' Translate, 'When Hannibal saw them thus affrighted, and rushing wildly against their own side, he ordered them to be driven from the centre to the flanks to the left wing upon our Gallic auxiliary forces.' Note the position of the subject 'Hannibal,' which is rendered necessary by the prominence given to the object, which has to come as near as possible to the previous sentence.

l. 176. **exemplo**, adverb formed from preposition and case. So too 'coram,' 'illico,' 'cominus,' &c.

l. 178. **in orbem**, 'on every side,' in front, in the rear, on both flanks,' 'an all-round fight.'

l. 179. **alia**, ablative case.

l. 180. **nequissent**, not 'nequirent,' 'being unable, after trial made.'

qua. So Madvig for 'quae.' We have already seen that the 'media Afrorum acies' was made up of Spaniards and Gauls as well as Africans; so here he says, 'They broke through in the centre of the African line, just where it was strengthened by Gauls.' If we had 'quae,' we should expect 'mediam aciem,' not the local ablative. The Gauls appear to have suffered the most in both armies. In fact, they hardly knew on which side to fight.

l. 183. **prae**, 'nor could they see for the storm, in which direction to help their friends.'

l. 184. **recto itinere**, 'went straight off to Placentia.'

l. 187. **oppressi**, 'overtaken and slain.'

l. 189. **aliis**. 'Some few, for fear of the enemy, were the more bold to take to the river, and being once over, recovered their camp.'

l. 192. **prope omnes**. Polybius tells us 'all but one.' He omits, however, to tell us what happened to the two consuls, and passes on to the next year's appointment without mention of Scipio's removal of his camp, or of Sempronius' holding the election. This is just the kind of accuracy which Livy is able to supply. In military details it is better to trust the friend of the Scipio family. Hence we must decline to believe that Hannibal made any attempt this winter to cross the Apennines. If he did, it is probably true that the winds and the rains protected Italy from further invasion, where the consuls did not. He had quite enough to do to organize the insurrection of the Gauls in Lombardy. The passage of the Alps and one successful battle thus put Hannibal in

possession of North Italy, just as the turning of the flank of the Alps and the battles of Montenotte and Dego put Napoleon in the year 1796. In the words which follow the text in Livy, we are told that the Romans who had been left in charge of the camp, and the wounded, crossed the Trebia on rafts, the Carthaginians being too weary to attack them, 'quietisque Poenis tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus.'

III. DISASTER OF LAKE THRASYMENUS, B.C. 217.

l. 196. After the defeat on the Trebia Scipio retreated to Ariminum, Sempronius to Etruria. Hannibal remained in Gaul, against his will, for the Gauls were impatient of supporting his army. In the next year, 217 B.C., C. Flaminius and Cn. Servilius Geminus were chosen consuls. **Flaminius**, the people's friend, had already been victorious in Lombardy. He at once joined Sempronius' army in Etruria. Servilius took Scipio's place at Ariminum. 'The harvests of Arretium' were again in danger. Hannibal had crossed the Apennines suddenly, and was on his way, not to Lucca by the sea-road, but towards the upper valleys of the Arno, between Florence and the mountains. Whilst Flaminius was still waiting at the terminus of the Via Cassia at Arezzo, Hannibal encamped at Fiesole, after a march of four days, over ground so wet that the troops had to rest by night on the field baggage and dead mules. Meanwhile Servilius remained on the terminus of the Via Flaminia, recently made, at Ariminum. (Cf. 'The Second Punic War,' Arnold, 1886, pp. 39-45 and Note E.)

ll. 196 f. The translator must be careful to break up this sentence in English. Flaminius was not the man to keep still, even had his enemy remained inactive. 'All the more now, when, &c., did he take the disgrace on himself, that, &c. In vain did all his counsellors, &c. They reminded him, &c. He flung himself out of,' &c.

l. 197. **tum vero**, 'all the more now when,' &c.

l. 198. **ferri agique**, 'plundered and harried;' where 'ferre,' like $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\upsilon\nu$, applies to portable things; 'agere,' like $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\nu$, to cattle and men.

mediam. Hannibal had passed Fiesole (Faesulae) and Cortona, and was on his way to Perugia.

l. 201. **salutaria**, 'when all the rest were in favour of safe rather than brilliant tactics.'

l. 206. **Arretii**. He means, 'We might just as well make up our minds to settle at Arezzo and give up Rome;' an allusion to the idea

of settling at Veii after the Gallic invasion. This had been checked by a speech from Camillus, and an omen from the gods,—when the officer of a regiment was passing through the forum at the moment of the debate,—was heard to say, 'Signifer, statue signum; hic manebimus optime.'

l. 210. **moverimus**, perfect used prohibitively, as generally in the second person, 'nor let us once stir from hence, till,' &c.

l. 211. **Veis**; really from Ardea. His army was at Veii.

l. 212. **convelli**, 'to be plucked up from the ground,' as decamping.

l. 213. **equus**, 'the horse stumbled and fell, threw his rider over his head, and there lay the consul of Rome on the ground.'

l. 218. **senatu**. See note on l. 289. So often had augury been used by the senate to oppose Flaminius, that he had come to despise it altogether. He therefore, the late censor, at once assigns a rationalistic cause for the standard's being immovable, and starts off to fight. One can hardly help comparing his conduct with that of Fabius, who, with equal disbelief, used current beliefs to help on his victory. Flaminius 'put his sickle to the corn before it was ripe, and reaped only mischief to himself and no fruit for the world.' But the picture which Livy gives of him is such as the aristocrats naturally drew of the plebeian consul.

l. 222. **quo**, 'in order the more to whet the edge of the consul's anger and stir him to avenge the wrongs done to the allies.'

l. 224. **nata**, 'made by nature for ambuscade.'

ubi maxime, 'at the exact point where the lake nestles close under the hills.'

l. 226. **de industria**, 'purposely;' 'as if there had been left room only for that purpose and nothing else.'

l. 228. **in aperto**, 'on the clear space,' 'on the open ground.'

l. 231. **locat**, the historic present, here takes the past subjunctive.

l. 232. **obiecto**; 'he might put forth his horsemen to occupy the neck of the glade, and all might thus be enclosed within the lake and the mountains.' In other words, he barred the outlet with his infantry; the entrance of the pass was to be closed by the cavalry, who advanced behind the heights as soon as the Romans were well in.

l. 233. **essent**, imperfect subjunctive.

l. 235. **inexplorato**, adverb, 'the morrow after, before it was full daylight, without any reconnoitering, he made his way through the pass, and as soon as his columns began to open out into the wider ground, he saw only those enemies who were in front of him, whilst the ambushes behind and above him were concealed from his notice.'

l. 238. So most editors for **deceptae**, which is in the MSS. Madvig, however, argues that we never find 'decipio' in prose in the sense of

λανθάνειν (a very broad assertion of a negative), and that 'deceptae,' could never have crept in for 'decepere.' He proposes 'acceptae,' 'taken to himself,' implying that Flaminius had actually courted his environment.

l. 239. **id.** Break up the sentence in translation: 'The Carthaginian had now exactly what he had wished. The enemy was in his power, shut in by the lake and the mountains, and surrounded by his own troops. He at once gave,' &c.

clausum. The lake was on their right; the mountains on their left; the consul himself, at the head of his forces, was facing the flower of Hannibal's infantry; and the Numidian cavalry had closed the inlet. The precise site of the battle has been much discussed. The evidence is given very completely in W. Arnold's edition of Dr. Arnold's Second Punic War, Note E. It seems pretty clear that the open plain between Tuoro and the Lake is the 'paullo latior campus' of Livy. The van of the Roman army may have been allowed to march towards Passignana, but the fighting took place in the open space. The army was cut off at Borghetto in the rear, and at Passignana in the van. When Polybius speaks of Flaminius leading his troops 'along the lake into the adjacent glen' (παρὰ τὴν λίμνην εἰς τὸν ὑποκείμενον ἀλλῶνα) we must suppose that he alludes to the march past Borghetto into the 'paullo latior campus.'

l. 242. **decucurrerunt**, 'they charging each man the nearest enemy he could;' i.e. not forming in any order, but in a kind of guerilla fight, for which the Spaniards would be specially fit.

l. 244. **agmina**, 'the companies of the enemy, running from several hills, were seen well enough of one another, and so were the more able to combine in their attack.'

l. 246. **priusquam**, with the subjunctive, implies an action which could not possibly have commenced, and was intended not to have commenced. 'Before they could possibly use their eyes sufficiently.'

l. 247. **satis cerneret**, used absolutely. Comp. 'Si satis cerno, is hercest,' Ter. Ad.

l. 248. **instrueretur** is also subjunctive, to imply the design of the enemy.

l. 250. **perculsis**, 'when all were thus at their wits' end, the consul alone kept his composure tolerably, considering how imminent was the danger.'

l. 251. **turbatos**, 'marshalled his ranks when disordered, as each kept turning at the varied noises.' 'Quoque' abl. of 'quisque.'

l. 254. **nec enim**, 'for, he assured them, they could not hope to

escape thence by vows and entreaties to the gods, but by proving their might and manhood.'

l. 256. **feri**. N.B. not 'faciendam esse.' 'It is with the sword that men force their way through the centre of a host.'

quo, 'the less men fear, the less danger commonly betides them.'

l. 257. **ceterum**, 'for the rest,' like ἀλλά. 'Howbeit, by reason of the noise, neither word of advice nor word of command could reach them.'

l. 258. **tantum**, 'so far were the soldiers from recognizing their own standards, that scarce had they spirit enough to take up arms, and some were surprised and slain, finding them more of a burden than a defence.'

l. 259. **ut noscerent** is a substantive sentence subject to 'aberat.' Hence, we do not find this construction with any other person of 'absum,' the subject in each case being the substantival 'ut' clause. 'I am so far from assisting those wretches that I can hardly help hating them,' 'Ego vero istos tantum *abest* ut ornem ut effici non possit quin eos oderim.'

l. 260. **ut competeret** is an adverbial sentence defining 'tantum.' 'Competo,' literally = 'to correspond,' 'to be adequate.'

l. 264. **streptentium**; more often used of things than persons. Here it might refer to the noise of the blow resounding on the rattling armour. But it is better to refer to the 'bawling' of the victors.

l. 266. **avertebat**, 'were swept away by the stream of those in flight.'

l. 269. **claudibat**. Note the change of tense in translation. 'In vain had they tried sallies in all directions. Still the mountains and the lake on either flank, the enemy before and behind, hemmed them in. It was quite clear,' &c.

l. 272. **de integro**, 'afresh, not in due order by the Principes, Hastati, and Triarii, nor according to the accustomed manner, that the vanguard should fight before the main battle and the standards, and behind them the rearguard, and that the soldier should keep each his own legion, his own cohort, and his own company.'

illa = 'that well-known.'

l. 273. **hastatos**. The whole infantry of the legion was drawn up in three lines. In the first were the 'hastati,' or pikemen. These were the youngest of the soldiers. The second line was formed of the 'principes,' men of mature age, who in older times were in the front. In the third were the 'triarii,' so called from their position, who carried two long 'pila' or javelins. The usual depth of each line was ten men. The

divisions of the second line, equal in extent to a 'manipulus,' were in general placed opposite the intervals of the first. The cavalry were divided into ten 'turmae' of thirty men. A 'cohors' comprised three 'manipuli,' and was the tenth part of a legion. See note on l. 111.

l. 280. **mare**, 'forced the sea up the streams,' i. e. against the current.

l. 281. **senserit**. 'None felt, not for a moment.' Stronger than 'sentiret.'

l. 283. **infestior**, 'more openly hurtful.' 'Infensus' seems used to express hostile disposition, 'infestus' hostile attack. Cp. 'In ipsum infestus consulem dirigit equum, adeoque infensis animis concurrerunt ut duabus haerentes hastis moribundi ex equis lapsi sint.'

l. 284. **robora**. See note on line 43.

l. 286. **insignem**, 'and being as he was specially noticeable in his rich armour, he was assailed most furiously by the enemy, and defended as furiously by his fellow-citizens.'

l. 287. **Insuber**. This tribe occupied what is now called Lombardy.

l. 288. **quoque**, as well as by his arms already mentioned.

l. 289. **cecidit**. Flaminius had been consul in 223 B.C., and was already in the field when the senate's scruples were aroused by prodigies. They at once sent orders to recall him. He took the despatches, put them in his pocket unread, and went to the battle. Having gained a complete victory over the Insubres, he declared, when he did read the despatches, that the gods themselves had solved the senate's scruples, and that it was needless to return.

l. 291. **manibus**. Dative of 'manes.'

l. 293. **infesto**, (see note on line 283), 'in form of attack.'

l. 294. **spoliare**, 'when he tried, however, to take his spoils, the triarii stepped over the corpse with their targets and kept him off.'

l. 296. **et iam**, 'and soon neither the lake nor the mountains could check their rout.'

l. 297. **per omnia**, 'were the defile never so narrow, were the crags never so steep, they marched blindly on, only to be dashed down, arms and men together, one upon the other.'

l. 300. **prima**, 'entering at the edge of the pool where it was shallow.'

l. 301. **fuere**, 'some there were whom the heedlessness of fear urged to take to flight by swimming.' For this poetic infinitive after 'impello,' compare Virg. Aen. I. 9, 10:—

'Quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus
Insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
Impulerit?'

l. 302. **capessere**, 'take to,' inchoative. So 'faccio,' 'I set about,' 'laccio,' 'I provoke,' 'arcesso,' 'I send for.'

l. 303. **immensa**, 'endless.'

l. 304. **necquicquam**, 'after tiring themselves to no purpose.'

l. 307. **primi**, 'vanguard.'

l. 311. **nec**, 'nor yet.' 'They could not know (by hearing) nor yet, so dark was it, make out by sight.'

l. 312. **re**. Mr. Potts, in his excellent 'Hints towards Latin Prose Composition,' (page 30), illustrates the simplicity of the Roman style by the use of the word 'res,' which he likens to a blank cheque to be filled up from the context to the requisite amount of meaning. Here translate, 'At last as the scale began to sink.' For a long time 'res aequatae fuere,' 'at last one side kicked the beam.'

l. 313. **nebula**, 'the mist, dispelled by the gradually-increasing heat of the sun, discovered the day.' Properly speaking, the mist hides the day, but the Romans recognized the claims of the negative agent as much as of the positive. Compare Virg. Ecl. 2. 26 :—

'Quum placidum ventis staret mare.'

liquida, 'as the light cleared.'

l. 314. **perditas res**, 'utter havoc and foul discomfiture of the Roman host.'

l. 316. **citatissimo**, 'get themselves away with all the manner of haste they could.' So 'citato equo,' 'at full gallop.'

l. 318. For **super cetera**, compare l. 30. **extrema** goes with 'fames.'

l. 321. **Punica**. The writer of the history of the Caudine Forks ought to be more careful before bringing a charge of bad faith in the matter of capitulation. It is obvious that the Romans could not help themselves. Probably Maharbal had overstepped his powers in offering the terms he did. It would have been easy for them to send to Hannibal who was close by. And Hannibal was acting on a settled line of policy in his treatment of Roman prisoners as opposed to Italian.

l. 323. **coniecit**. Note the abrupt change of subject, and how awkward it makes the sentence. Livy is generally more careful.

IV. THE BATTLE OF CANNAE, B. C. 216.

l. 324. **consules**. The death of Flaminius at Thrasymentus had been followed by the defeat of part of Servilius' army, and the people had, in their first alarm, elected a dictator for the defence of the city itself, on which every one expected Hannibal would march at once. Their choice had fallen on Q. Fabius Maximus, a moderate aristocrat, and on M. Minucius Rufus (Livy, 22. 8, 6), for on this occasion

the usual rule was departed from, by which the consul named the dictator, and the dictator the master of horse, and both were elected by the people ('quod nunquam antea factum,' Livy, *l. c.*). Meanwhile on swept the torrent of Hannibal's invading army, over the rich plains of Spoletum, over the rich pastures where fed the oxen of the Clitumnus, 'dear to the herdsman,' along the left bank of the Tiber, on the road towards the Allia, replete with such glorious memories to the Gauls, swelling into a mighty flood, and threatening to submerge the little rock on which were gathered the traditions of Rome. But Hannibal knew better; his was not a mind which could become intoxicated with success: he knew that no mere army could conquer Rome, and waited till he could effect some political combination. Meantime he would march to the South, where Rome had hardly yet had time to weld her different subjects into Roman unity. Striking, therefore, across the Apennines, he marched towards the Adriatic, and, when followed by Fabius, endeavoured to provoke that cautious old soldier to battle by devastating the Samnite and Apulian territory. And so the year wore to a close, Fabius withstanding, with equal firmness, the attacks of his political enemies at home, who called him Hannibal's lackey, and the provoking sallies of Hannibal's cavalry, and justifying the title (Virg. *Aen.* 6. 846):—

'Unus qui nobis cunctando restituit rem,'

which he has kept in all history. The next year found the reins of government in the hands of two very different men, Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the hero of Illyria, and M. Terentius Varro. These consuls, as usual, being elected for the year, felt they must do something. The city was in very much the same position as Athens during the first years of the Peloponnesian War, with this aggravation, that all the Romans whom Hannibal seized were instantly put to death. The yeomen of the Roman territory no doubt blamed the mercantile party for having provoked such an implacable enemy by their greed. But of this we have no record; the struggle between the aristocrats and popular party for the distribution of the *Ager Publicus* throws all other divisions into the shade, till even this disappears for some time under the stern determination of all parties to combine to preserve the unity of Italy.

l. 325. **Cannas.** Hannibal had seized the magazines at this place, and consequently the Romans were obliged either to retreat nearer their supplies or to offer battle. Their army amounted to 80,000. Cannæ was on the Aufidus, the only river which, rising on the west of the Apennines, runs into the sea on the east.

l. 326. When a substantive is used only in the plural, or has a

different sense in the plural from what it has in the singular, the distributive 'bini' is used with it instead of 'duo,' to mean two. Thus 'bina castra' = 'two sets of castrums' = 'two camps.' So 'binae literae,' 'binae hostium copiae.' But 'binos scyphos' means 'a pair of similar goblets.' Polybius says, τοῖς μὲν δυοῖ μέρεσι κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ τὸν Αὐφίδιον, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ πέραν πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς, κ.τ.λ.

l. 328. **aditum**, 'allowed the watermen access to water, as each could seize a lucky moment.' 'Sua' is reflexive to 'cuiusque.'

l. 330. **trans Aufidum**, i.e. east of the Aufidus. The course of the river is from S.W. to N.E., but the ancient writers speak of the eastern and western banks of the river for the right and left banks, as if the course lay from south to north.

l. 331. Paulus had wished to draw Hannibal on to the higher ground before fighting; but Varro was determined to fight; so he plants himself between the enemy and the sea. Whereupon Paulus, when his day of command came, unable any longer to withdraw his forces, formed two camps, a larger one on the western and a smaller one on the eastern bank of the river. At this time Hannibal was encamped on the eastern or right bank, close to Cannae, but on the same day that Paulus pitched his camps, he moved his camp to the left bank, so as to bring it opposite to the Romans.

l. 334. **facturos**, 'that the consuls would give him a chance of a pitched battle on ground naturally fitted for a cavalry engagement.'

dirigit, 'sets in battle array.'

laccessit. See line 302, n.

l. 335. **sollicitari**, 'disquieted.' The historic infinitive expresses rapid succession.

l. 339. **obiceret**, 'twit him with the example of Fabius, who gave so goodly a pretence and show to lazy and cowardly leaders.'

l. 340. **hic**, Varro.

l. 341. **velut**, 'as if by prescription.' He had used it so much that it had almost become his. A man who had used a field for two years, without being objected to, might claim it as his own.

constrictum, 'he was kept tied by his colleague.'

l. 342. **adimi**, 'his soldiers, though their blood was up and they were all eager to fight, had their weapons taken from them.'

proiectis, 'offered wilfully, nay, even betrayed.'

l. 343. **ille**, Paulus.

l. 344. **omnis**, 'though entirely free from blame, he would share in the event whatever it was.'

l. 346. **videret, ut**, 'let his colleague look to it, and see that those

who were so ready to speak and hasty of their tongue, might be as nimble with their hands when the time came.' Compare Cicero, 'Navem idoneam ut habeas, diligenter videbis.'

l. 348. **altercationibus**, 'wranglings.'

l. 349. **instructam**, 'which he had kept in battle array for a great part of the day, whilst he was strengthening his camp with other forces.'

l. 353. **egressi**, 'they had scarce crossed the river to the other bank before they put to flight this disorderly rabble by their mere shout and rush, and so they rode further, even to the guard-house in front of the rampart, and to the very gate of the camp. The 'castra minora' of the Romans were on the other or right bank of the Aufidus. The Numidians had therefore to cross the river to get at them.

l. 355. **tumultuario**, 'brought hastily together, detached on any service as occasion arose.' Translate, 'That Romans should actually be bearded even in their camp by a mere irregular force of reserves.'

l. 359. **Paulum**. Paulus' hope evidently was that Hannibal, being unable to forage near the sea, would fall back on the hills, where his cavalry would not have ground so favourable. Meanwhile his smaller camp was distressed for water, unless reinforced from the other bank of the river.

l. 362. **quia**, 'disallowing indeed and misliking his plan, yet unable to choose but second him.'

l. 366. The **Romans** are facing south up the stream of the Aufidus. They are drawn up thus:—

Right.		Left.
Roman Cavalry.	Infantry.	Allied Cavalry.
	Jaculatores and light-armed.	
To these Hannibal opposes:—		
	Baleares and light-armed.	
Cavalry.	Infantry.	Cavalry.
Gauls and Spaniards.	Gauls, Spaniards,	Numidian.
	Afri.	Afri.

The Gauls and Spaniards were advanced before the rest in a crescent or wedge (infr. 379, 417). See map, p. 12.

l. 373. **praemissa**. He sends them forward to cover his advance.

ut quosque, 'even as he brought each across he drew them up in line.'

l. 376. **media**, 'the centre of his line being held strong by his infantry, so arranged that the Africans might flank the Gauls and

Spaniards, who were placed in the midst.' He could not trust the Gauls, who had given way in all his battles hitherto.

l. 379. **crederes**, 'anyone who had seen the Africans might have taken them for a Roman line, so armed were they with Roman armour, taken some at the Trebia, but the greater part at lake Thrasymene.' Polybius' account is almost word for word the same here. He adds, however, that Hannibal led forward the Spaniards and the Gauls in front of the rest, so as to make his centre in the form of a crescent, *μηνοειδὲς ποιῶν τὸ κέρτωμα*. Thus the native Africans would give confidence to the weaker Europeans, and also prevent their desertion. Besides, Hannibal could least spare Africans, and the first shower of darts might as well fall on the least valuable of his forces.

l. 382. **dispares ac dissimiles**, 'differing both in size and fashion.' Compare Livy 45. 43, 'Similia omnia magis visa hominibus quam paria,' 'The likeness of show was there, but the substance did not countervail much.'

l. 384. **assueto**, 'accustomed more to stab than to slash.'

habiles, 'shorter so as to be more easily handled, and pointed.'

l. 387. **umbilicum**, 'waist.'

linteis, 'in linen tunics, glittering wondrous bright, embroidered with scarlet.'

l. 391. **Hasdrubal**, not Hannibal's brother, but the manager of his commissariat.

l. 392. **Mago**. The Rupert of the invaders, who had led the ambush at the Trebia.

l. 394. **peropportune**, 'obliged both sides by shining only on their flanks, either because they had so placed themselves on purpose, or had first taken their stand at adventure.' The Carthaginians faced the North: so the early sun would shine on their right flank.

l. 396. **adversus**, 'blowing full upon their faces.' Blowing from the mountain, now called Voltore, celebrated by Horace, it would be a South-East-by-one-third-South wind.

l. 401. **minime . . . pugnare**, 'by no means in the style of a cavalry engagement.'

frontibus, 'they had to charge front to front, because, as there was no room left about them to make evolutions, they were flanked and hemmed in, on the one side by the river, on the other by the array of foot, each stretching in straight lines directly parallel on either side of them.'

l. 404. Madvig takes **nitentes** with 'virois' understood from 'virum' in the next sentence, but **utrinque** seems to make better sense, if

'nitentes' is made to agree with 'amnis' and 'acies.' In this latter case 'nitentes' would be used by a kind of zeugma with 'amnis' as well as 'acies.' In Madvig's reading, however, there is a full stop after 'claudabant,' and the sense proceeds, 'As the equites were struggling on straightforwards from both Roman and Carthaginian lines, when the horses at last came to a halt,' &c. Compare the sham-fight in Virg. Aen. 5. Polybius says οὐ γὰρ ἦν κατὰ νόμους ἐξ ἀναστροφῆς καὶ μεταβολῆς ὁ κίνδυνος.

stantibus, 'at last, when their horses were brought to a standstill and wedged together by the mass, every man began to clasp his enemy and drag him from his horse.'

l. 405. The cavalry of the Romans on the right are thus defeated by the Gauls and Spaniards under Hasdrubal.

l. 407. **acrius**, 'the conflict was rather sharp than long.' A comparison of two qualities found in the same action in unequal degrees is denoted either by the positive with 'magis,' or by two comparatives, as 'Triumphus Camilli clarior erat quam gratior.'

l. 408. **sub**, 'immediately following.'

l. 410. **par, dum**. So Madvig reads for 'parum,' which is simply nonsense. Translate, 'At first even enough both in strength and spirit, so long as the ranks of the Gauls and Spaniards kept together.'

l. 411. **connisi, obliqua**. Here again Madvig has come to the rescue, and having 'consilioque' in the text, suggests, instead of 'aequa,' which Gronovius read, and which would be a queer way of breaking up a crescent, 'connisi obliqua.' Translate, 'After long and repeated efforts they formed themselves into a sloping wedge and packed closer their lines of attack, and so drove the crescent of the enemy, which was ranged very thin and so the weaker, and somewhat advanced from the rest of the battle.' Dr. Arnold compares the Roman advance to that of the English at Fontenoy. They had acted as if the Gauls and Spaniards were the whole centre, and by packing their columns of advance too close had allowed themselves to be overlapped on either side by the Africans. They were therefore doomed to victory and failure, much in the same way as the Greeks at Cunaxa. The Persians at Marathon were defeated in a similar manner. They broke the Greek centre, but their wings were repulsed by the Greeks, who then closed upon the centre. Livy in saying **nimis tenuem** hardly gives Hannibal as much credit for foresight as he deserves.

l. 414. **institere**. So Madvig, for 'insistere.' The historic infinitive cannot be used between two finite verbs in close connection.

tenore uno, 'without a break.'

l. 417. **alis**, 'had been placed on the wings on either side, which were thrown back from the centre.'

l. 418. **media**. Polybius calls this line the crescent (*μηρίσκος*), and says that the crescent had its *κύρτωμα* towards the Romans.

l. 419. **aequavit**, 'made itself even with the whole line.'

l. 420. **sinum**, 'gave way so as to leave an opening for them to pass in the midst.'

l. 422. **circumdedere**, 'wheeled round and closed in upon them.'

l. 424. **omissis**, 'had to leave the Gauls, whom they had put to flight.'

l. 427. **recentibus**, 'newly come into action.'

vegetis, 'fresh in body.' The gallantry of the Roman legions in sustaining the conflict at all needs no praise. They were in a worse position than they were at Lake Thrasymene, simply from being out-generalled. The Roman centre, infantry, at first apparently victorious, is now utterly defeated.

l. 430. **coeptum**, 'at first cold and faint, and originating in truly Carthaginian treachery.' This story is only told by Livy, who is the main purveyor of stories about Punic faith. There is no reason to doubt that Polybius would have told it if he thought it true. What he says is, that the Numidians simply detained the Romans till Hannibal was ready to attack them.

l. 436. **considerere**, 'to take post.'

dum, expressing time simply with no idea of aim, 'until.' Compare 'Tu hic nos, dum eximus, interea opperibere.'

l. 440. **aversam**, 'from behind.'

terga, 'what with wounding their backs and cutting their ham-strings.'

l. 442. The left wing (cavalry) of the Romans is defeated.

l. 443. **pertinax**, 'fighting was continued with the obstinacy now given by despair.'

l. 444. The Numidians are sent in pursuit of the foe; the Spaniards and Gauls assist the infantry in slaughtering the enemy.

l. 445. **segnis**, 'without decisive result.' The Numidians in fact had been only employed to divert the attention of the cavalry on the left Roman wing, whilst Hasdrubal destroyed the Roman right, who were crushed in between their own centre and the river. As soon as he has destroyed the Roman right, he passes behind the centre of the battle and crushes the left wing under Varro. Then a third time he forms his victorious squadrons, and sending the Numidians ('subductos ex media acie') in pursuit of the fugitives, takes their place in attacking

the Roman centre. This last charge is decisive. The cavalry in fact beat the legions.

l. 449. **parte altera**. Paulus had been in command of the Roman right.

l. 451. **confertis**, 'keeping his men in close array.'

l. 453. **et**, 'even for sitting his horse.'

l. 455. **quam mallem**, 'he might as well have handed them over to me ready bound;' it is very good of him to have done what he has, but I had rather he had gone a little way further and bound them ready.

l. 457. **quale**, like Greek *οἶος*, used with its own verb omitted, 'in fact the fight on foot of the horsemen was such as you would expect where victory was no longer to be hoped, for the conquered chose rather to die where they stood than to fly, and the conquerors, angered with those who thus delayed their victory, butchered where they could not put to flight.'

l. 460. **superantes**, 'howbeit they did force a few survivors to retreat.' Dr. Arnold says, 'Then followed a butchery such as has no recorded equal, except the slaughter of the Persians in their camp, when the Greeks forced it after the battle of Plataea.'

l. 463. **tribunus militum**. There were six in each legion, whose duties were to keep order in the camp and generally superintend the soldiers. They commanded in turn as colonels of the legion.

praetervehens. 'Pratervehor,' from constant use in the passive of a rider, had come to be regarded as a deponent. Hence the present participle is here used in the sense of riding, though 'veho' means 'to carry.'

l. 464. **oppletum**, 'covered;' lit. filled up.

l. 465. **respicere**, 'remember in your favour that you alone are guiltless,' &c. This verb is rarely used in a bad sense.

l. 467. **protegere**, here, as before, used in its special sense of 'to shield.'

funestam, 'do not make this battle a day of mourning by the death of a consul.' 'Funestus' implies a day when the State had a personal loss.

l. 468. **feceris**. In good Latin the second person of the *present* conjunctive is only found in prohibitions, which are directed to an assumed subject, e.g. 'quum absit, ne requiras;' Gallicè, *on ne doit pas*.

l. 470. **macte . . . esto**, 'go on and prosper in your courage.' 'Mactus' only occurs in the vocative, or in the nominative used as the vocative: *macte* or *mactus esto*. The vocative is perhaps to be explained by attraction, as in *Persius*, 3. 27:—

'Stemmate quod Tusco ramum millesime ducis,
Censorem fatuum vel quod trabeate salutas;'

and in a less degree, Virg. Aen. 9. 485 :—

'Heu, terra ignota, canibus date praeda Latinis
Alitibusque inaces!'

l. 474. **praeceptorum**, i. e. not to fight. Aemilius Paulus' martyrdom certainly had its reward. The Fabian policy was adopted after his death.

l. 476. **reus**, 'lest I have a second time to stand on my defence on vacating my consulship.' In 219 B. C. Paulus and M. Livius had finished the Illyrian War, and had been charged afterwards with misappropriation of the spoils. Livius was fined, and retired into private life, till he consented to come forward again and share with Claudius Nero the glory of the battle of the Metaurus. Aemilius had been acquitted.

l. 477. **crimine**, 'by bringing a charge against another.'

l. 479. **eos**. The MSS. have 'exigentes,' which would mean 'accurately examining.' But, as this is not what they were doing, Madvig reads 'eos.'

Thus ended the battle of Cannae; 80,000 men were lost for Rome that day; the city expected its conqueror at once. 'But he came not; and if panic had for one moment unnerved the iron courage of the Roman aristocracy, on the next their inborn spirit revived; and their resolute will, striving beyond its present power, created, as is the law of our nature, the power which it required.'

THE END.

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