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AN ANALYSIS

OF THE

FIRST DECADE OF LIVY.

WITH EXAMINATION QUESTIONS
AND NOTES.

BY A

MEMBER OF THE UNIVERSITY.

OXFORD:

C. RICHARDS, HIGH STREET;

LONDON: W. ALLAN, ALDINE CHAMBERS,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

M DCCC XLVIII.

OXFORD:
PRINTED BY E. W. MORRIS.

2045
- 1914/189.
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PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH the author of this "Analysis" has no desire to see it substituted for the text of the writer, yet he trusts that it may prove a useful help to the student of Livy, and that its being thrown into an historical and continuous form may give it some claim to novelty, to which it would otherwise have but small pretensions.

The size of the work has unavoidably exceeded the expectations of the author; but he trusts that the student will not be the loser thereby. Brevity ought never to degenerate into obscurity; and Livy contains too much matter, to admit of the compression which worse writers may suffer without detriment.

The dates are regulated according to popular systems; but as Livy's chronology is at times ob-

scure, indulgence may be claimed for some uncertainties upon this point.

For the notes some apology is perhaps needed; perhaps their omission would please some persons best. But the author could scarcely avoid the temptation of referring to the great discoverer of the Roman history, Niebuhr, and of briefly digressing at times upon topics where the text manifested uncertainty.

The literary credit due to works of this character is so very small, that the author will be amply satisfied should his publisher find no cause to regret the speculation.

ANALYSIS

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BOOK I.

UPON the taking of Troy, Æneas and Antenor were permitted to escape; and, after various wanderings, the latter came with some Heneti^a to the innermost recess of the Hadriatic, drove out the Euganei, and peopled their territory with Trojans and Heneti^b. Æneas first came to Macedonia, thence into Sicily, and thence to Laurentum, where he was at first repelled by King Latinus and the aborigines. Thence accounts differ, some authors

1—2.

Early traditions respecting the first founders of Rome.

^a They were driven from Paphlagonia by a sedition, and had lost their king Pylaemenes under the walls of Troy. On all these early traditions the reader should consult Niebuhr, t. i. p. 180 sqq. The original accounts will mostly be found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Aurelius Victor de origine gentis Romanæ, Virgil's last six books of the Æneid, with the Commentary of Servius. Festus also contains curious information.

Veneti was the name applied to the whole people, Trojanus Pagus to the place where Antenor first landed, as the name of Troy, was assigned to the Ager Laurens.

asserting that Æneas conquered Latinus, and then received the hand of his daughter Lavinia in marriage; others, that they became friends and allies without coming to battle, and that Æneas then married Lavinia, from whom he named the city of Lavinium. From this union sprang Ascanius. Turnus, King of the Rutuli, who had been disappointed of the hand of Lavinia, made war against Æneas. Being defeated, he sought the aid of Mezentius, King of Cære, in Etruria. In order to secure the favour of the aborigines, and thereby meet the enemy with a stronger force, Æneas gave the common name of Latins both to them and to his own followers. With these combined forces he entered the field; success was on the side of the Latins, but Æneas was seen no more, and was enshrined on the banks of the Numicius, under the title of Jupiter Indiges.

3. Ascanius^c being as yet a minor, Lavinia undertook the regency. When he was of age he left the present city to his mother, and founded Long Alba, nearly thirty years after the founding of Lavinium. The river Albula

^c Livy doubts whether this Ascanius, or one born from Creusa at Troy, (called also Julius,) is the author of the Julia Gens.

or Tiber, was now the boundary to the power of the Etruscans and Latins. At his death he was succeeded by his son Sylvius, who was followed by Æneas Sylvius, Latinus Sylvius, (by whom the colonies called the *Prisei Latini* were sent out)^d, Alba, Atys, Capys, Capetus, Tiberinus, Agrippa, Romulus Sylvius, Aventinus, Proca, from whom sprang Amulius and Numitor. Amulius expelled his brother from the throne, and compelled Rhea Sylvia to become a vestal, thereby preventing the chance of opposition from a male heir.

Rhea^e being seduced by Mars, (as she asserted,) gave birth to Romulus and Remus. The king ordered them to be exposed on the banks of the Tiber, but, on the tide retiring, they were taken up by Faustulus, the herdsman, and educated by him and his wife Larentia. When they grew up, they engaged in hunting and in the pursuit of robbers. While engaged in celebrating the *Lupercalia*^f, Remus

Numitor and Amulius.

4—6.

Birth and education of Romulus and Remus.

^d Sylvius thence became a name common to all the kings of Alba.

^e On the fate of the princess, see Niebuhr, p. 221, vol. i.

^f An Arcadian festival, introduced by Evander in honour of Pan Inuus, or Inous. It was not discontinued till the reign of the Emperor Anastasius.

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was taken by some robbers, and accused before Amulius. As the offence was said to be against the land of Numitor, he was brought before him to receive punishment. Faustulus, however, brought about a recognition; and Romulus and Remus attacking Amulius with some bands of shepherds, slew him, and restored Numitor to the throne of Alba. The brothers determined to build a new city on mount Palatine^g, where they had been preserved and brought up.

7—8. A dispute arose as to which of the two brothers should name the new city, and which should be king. On the matter being referred to augury, Remus first beheld six vultures, Romulus then saw twelve. In the skirmish which followed this doubtful augury, Remus fell, and, as some say, Romulus founds Rome alone. by the hand of his brother. Romulus thence fortified the Palatium^h, and instituted sacred rites in honour of the gods, after the

^g This mountain derived its name from Pallanteus, a city of Arcadia. For other derivations see Doujatius, the Delphin editor, on lib. i. cap. 5, note s.

^h The foundation of the city was celebrated on the 21st of April, the day of the Palilia, when the people purified themselves by passing through a straw fire.

A.C. 753-16.

Alban fashion, but to Hercules¹, after the Greek. Thence the twelve lictors (probably of Etruscan origin) were instituted, in order to inspire respect for his person, and obedience to his laws. He also established the asylum, in order to render the city populous by the introduction of strangers, and elected one hundred senators, called Patres.

The neighbouring states, however, refused to intermarry with the people of the new city, and, as there were no women therein, Romulus celebrated the Consualia in honour of Neptune^k the Horseman; and during the games, the Roman youth carried off the virgins of the Cœninenses, Antemnates, Crustumini, and others who had come to the games.

The three states, which had been thus offended, demanded assistance from Tatius, king of the Sabines, but the Cœninenses, hurried on by rage, attacked Rome alone, and were repulsed by Romulus, with the loss of their king^l. The Antemnates

9-13.

Commencement of hostilities with the neighbouring nations.

ⁱ Livy here has a digression concerning the story of Hercules and Geryon, and the subsequent meeting of the former with Evander.

^k Or of Consus, the god of secret deliberation. Perhaps both deities were the same.

^l His name was Acro.

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were next defeated, and, at the intreaty of his wife Hersilia, Romulus received the conquered people into the city, and thence sent colonies to Crustumarium.

At length the Sabines entered the city by the gate of the Tarpeian Mount^m, and possessing themselves of the citadel, a battle was fought in the plain between the Palatine and Capitoline hills. Mettus Curtius led the Sabines, and Hostus Hostilius the Romans. When the Romans were giving way, Romulus vowed a temple to Jove, the Stayer of Flight, attacked Hostus near the gate of the Palatine, and turned the event of the battle. Upon this the women, who had been carried off, rushed between the combatants, and compelled them to desist. So complete was the peace thus established, that they agreed to unite the two people into one kingdom, giving them the joint name of Quirites from Cures, a Sabine town. The thirty Curiaⁿ, into which Romulus

^m Here there is a digression concerning the betrayal of this gate by Tarpeia. On the whole legend, and the superstition concerning the faithless maiden, see Niebuhr, vol. i.

ⁿ i. e. ten in each tribe. It does not necessarily follow that but thirty Spartan women were carried away, since it is probable that the number of curia^e would be regulated by a more

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then divided the people, were named from the women who had thus brought about the peace.

At the same time the three centuries of horse were enrolled, the Ramnenses, so called from Romulus, the Titienses from Titus Tatius, and the Luceres^o.

Political institutions.

Through a quarrel with the Laurentes, respecting an insult offered to their ambassadors by some of his kindred, Tatius was slain at Lavinium, and Romulus was left sole possessor of the united kingdoms. He renewed the treaty betwixt Rome and Lavinium. The Fidenates then ravaged the territory between Rome and Fidenæ, but Romulus drew out his forces, left a few in ambush, and by harassing the enemy with the remainder, led them to the place of ambush. A sudden panic seized them on being suddenly attacked in front, and they were driven back, and pursued into their own city, before they could close its gates^p.

14-16.

Death of Tatius.

War with the Fidenates.

systematic rule than mere chance. See Niebuhr, vol. i., at great length on this subject.

^o Of doubtful origin. Indeed there is great uncertainty on the whole subject. Niebuhr refers the origin of the Titienses to Numa, and that of the Luceres, or Lucertes, to Tullus.

^p Livy here omits to mention the colonization of Fidenæ, but in chap. xxvii. the Fidenatæ are spoken of as a colony of

This led to a war with the inhabitants of Veii, and Veientes. who were compelled to solicit peace, upon which a truce was granted for one hundred years, on condition of their giving up some land as a fine.

The body-guard of three hundred Celeres was instituted by Romulus. He shortly after Romulus disappears. disappeared at the Goat's Marsh during an assembly of the Comitia, having reigned thirty-seven years. By the contrivance of Julius Proculus, who pretended to have witnessed his apotheosis, the people were released from their grief at his death⁹.

17. The Sabines now wished the king to be chosen from their body, but the Romans despised the idea of a foreign ruler. Both, nevertheless, Interregnum. agreed in wishing for a king. An interregnum, however, was arranged, and the hundred senators divided themselves into bodies of ten, called decuriæ, each decuria ruling in turn for five days, one of them possessing the lictors and the Romans, and Dionysius ascribes this act to Romulus. In fact, though not expressed, it may almost be inferred from the text, as the likely result.

⁹ Romulus was subsequently deified under the name of Quirinus.

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insignia of the king. This lasted for one year, but the people grew dissatisfied, and the senate were compelled to elect a king^r.

Numa Pompilius, a Sabine of Cures^s, 18—21. was inaugurated, and accepted as king; Numa is elected king. he laboured to promote the arts of peace, and for that purpose he built the temple of Janus, which was to be open in time of war, but closed during peace^t. To give authority to his decrees, he pretended to hold nightly interviews with the nymph Egeria^u, and that it was by her Egeria. advice that he introduced new sacred rights in honour of the gods.

He re-modelled the year^x, which before contained

^r To obtain favour with the people, the senate affected to yield the right of choosing a king to the people, reserving to themselves the power of confirming such election.

^s Livy refutes the supposition that he was the disciple of Pythagoras, but Niebuhr, vol i. p. 238, shows that such might be the case, if we accept the chronology of Abydenus.

^t The founding of this temple is ascribed to Romulus by other authors. It was closed during the whole of Numa's reign, but only twice afterwards, viz. during the consulship of T. Manlius, after the second Punic war, and after the battle of Actium, by Cæsar Augustus. See, besides Livy, the beginning of Manilius' poem, and the fifteenth book of Ovid's Met.

^u Such was the stratagem of Minos, (Plato, de legg. i. sub. init. with Ast's note,) and Lycurgus. Muller Dor. iii. § 4. 8,

^x On the difficulties respecting the Roman year see Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 271, &c., and a learned article in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities.

A.C. 673.

but ten months, and instituted many new orders in the priesthood. Such was the Flamen Dialis, with the Flamens of Mars and Quirinus^y, the vestal virgins, derived from Alba, the twelve Salii, in honour of Mars Gradivus, who had the bearing of the ancilia. Numa Marcius was created the chief pontiff, who had the arbitration of all doubts respecting religious matters. Numa also erected a temple to Jupiter Elicius on the Aventine, and to Faith, and built the Argei. He died after a reign of forty-three years^z.

22—31.

Upon the death of Numa an interregnum took place, and Tullus Hostilius^a was elected king. He was a warlike prince, and fought with the Albans^b, over whom Cluilus then reigned. The Albans

^y The two first are ascribed to Romulus by others. Niebuhr considers that the founding of three rests on the supposition of each tribe having its own, see Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 302. The number of vestals also fluctuates.

^z On the superstition regarding the sacula of Rome, and the accomplishment of the first of them by the death of Numa, see Niebuhr, p. 204, &c.; and the History of Rome, published by the Society, p. 58-9, note.

^a Grandson of Hostus Hostilius, the Abbé Maio, in his note on Cicero de Rep. 2. 17, considers him to have been the grandson of Romulus by the daughter of Hersilia.

^b This war was brought about by the artful delay of Tullus in giving hearing to the embassy from Alba, see § 22.

A.C. 673-42.

pitched their camps at about five miles from Rome, where they lost their king Cluilus. In his stead Mettus Fuffetius was chosen dictator, who, when Tullus had already made an incursion into Alba, proposed to him to settle the quarrel by a single combat between champions chosen by both sides. The three Horatii on the Roman, the three Curiatii on the Alban side, were chosen, but the Romans proved victorious after two of their champions had been slain^c. Tullus bade the Albans hold themselves ready to assist him against the Veientes, if necessary. The victorious Horatius slew his sister for mourning the death of one of the Curiatii, to whom she had been betrothed, but was saved from punishment by the appeal of her father to the people, and the remembrance of his brave deeds.

Combat of the
Horatii and
Curiatii. The
Romans vic-
torious.

The Albans, however, soon grew tired of this peace, and induced the Fidenates and Veientes to renew hostilities, promising to join in the revolt. Tullus crossed the Anio with the Albans under Mettus, in

Renewal of
the Alban
war. Trea-
chery and
death of Met-
tus Fuffetius.

^c These chapters are valuable for the ancient formulæ preserved in them, as well as for the mention of various officers connected with the transactions of war and peace.

A.C. 673-42.

order to attack the Fidenates; the Veientes crossed the Tiber. Mettus kept inactive, but gradually retired with his forces to the hills, upon which the Romans were stricken with great fear, but being reassured by Tullus, defeated the enemy. Mettus, to cover his treachery, congratulated Tullus on the victory; but the next day, when the two armies were assembled, Tullus denounced his treachery, and punished him with a cruel death in sight of all. The Albans were spared, but their city was razed to the ground, excepting the temples. The inhabitants were removed to Rome. They not only received the privileges of free citizens, but their aristocracy found a place among the Roman Patres^d; ten turmae of horse and fresh legions were also added, and mount Cœlius assigned as the dwelling of the new settlers, which mount Tullus also made the site of his palace.

With this increase of power Tullus warred with the Sabines, who were second to the Etruscans in power and resources. The cause of complaint was the seizure of some Roman

^d Such were the families of the Tullii, (or Julii, which is perhaps the better reading), Servilii, Quintii, Geganii, Curiatii, and Clœlii, § 30.

A.C. 642.

traders at the temple of Feronia; the Sabines made a similar complaint, and called the Etruscans to their aid. The Veientes remained faithful to the Romans: they fought at the Wicked wood, and the Romans proved victorious.

Upon the news of some prodigies^e, the Romans were stricken with great fear, and Tullus Prodigies. consulted the commentaries of Numa^f in order to find instructions. Being led to attempt the rites offered to Jupiter Elicius, through some Death of Tullus. mistake in the sacrifice, he enraged the god, who destroyed him and his whole house with lightning, after a reign of thirty two years.

The new interrex held the comitia, and 32—33. Ancus Ancus Mar- Marcus, the grandson of Numa, tius. was chosen king. He restored many of Numa's religious institutes, which had grown obsolete, and had them written on tablets, in public, that they

^e These were, 1st, a shower of stones on the Alban mount; 2nd, a voice heard commanding the Albans to renew their country rites, which had been disused since their settlement at Rome, in consequence of which the novendiale was ordained. These were succeeded by a pestilence, which seemed to show the anger of the gods.

^f Hence the phrase "ex commentariis Numæ," to denote anything based upon the authority of Numa's institutions. The word belongs particularly to books of rituals.

A.C. 642-17.

might be known by all men. The Latins took advantage of the peaceful habits of the king, and made an incursion into the Roman territory, subsequently refusing satisfaction^g. But Ancus, with unexpected valour, attacked them, took their city Politorium, the inhabitants of which he brought to Rome, and settled on the Aventine, as also the inhabitants of Tellena and Ficana. He then destroyed Politorium, because the Latins had attempted to re-people it. Medullia held out, but was at length reduced, and its inhabitants settled near the temple of Venus Murcia, in the valley between the Aventine and Palatine. Janiculum added to the city. Janiculum was also added to the city, and the bridge of Piles thrown across the Tiber, to connect it with the city. He also built the Fossa Quiritium, the career, took the Mæasian wood from the Veientes, formed the port of Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, with the salt-works around it, and enlarged the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. He died after a reign of twenty-four years.

^g Here follows a valuable account of the "jus res repetundi, or rerum repetundarum, and the *feciales*." See Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 257, &c.; the *Universal History*, vol. ii. p. 314-15, note.

A.C. 617-579.

warred against the Latins, took Apiolæ, and built the circus maximus, for the celebration of the great games. While he was preparing to erect a wall of

War with the Sabines. stone around the city, the Sabines crossed the Anio, and caused great fear at Rome.

A doubtful battle followed, and the enemy retired to their camps. Perceiving his want of horse troops, Tarquin resolved to add other centuries to the three already existing, but was deterred from so doing by the advice of Attus Navius, the augur; he therefore only added to their number^k. With this force he set out against the Sabines, burnt their bridge over the Anio, and routed their infantry, driving great numbers into the stream.

Defeat of the Sabines and taking of Collatia. He thence led his army into the Sabine territory, and compelled them to sue for peace, on condition of giving up Collatia^l and the land surrounding it.

Tarquin then warred with the Latins, state by state; took Corniculum, Ficulnea, Came-
War with the Latins, who are defeated one by one. ria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, and Nomentum. He then re-commenced

^k On the subject of the centuries see Niebuhr.

^l The garrison of Collatia was entrusted to Egerius, whose father, Aruns, dying before he was born, had left him desti-

A.C. 579.

the wall which had been interrupted by the Sabine war, drained the lower parts of the city and the deep places between the hills by sewers Other public works. running into the Tiber, and prepared to build the Capitoline temple, which he had vowed to Jove during the Sabine war. At length, after he had reigned nearly thirty-eight years, he was treacherously slain by two assassins, employed by the sons of Ancus^m, who were enraged at the prospect of Servius being his successor.

Servius Tullius, who had been edu- 39—48.
cated in the house of Tarquin, was, by Servius Tul-
the stratagem of Tanaquilⁿ, elected king. lius.

To avoid the chance of opposition from the two sons of Tarquin, Aruns and Lucius, he gave them his daughters in marriage. After defeating the Veientes, and other Etruscan states, he commenced

tute. See § 34, m, § 38. We have here the "formula deditionis," which deserves attention.

^m They feared that Servius would be made heir to Tarquin, and that they would consequently lose all chance of the kingdom. For the varying accounts of the birth of Servius, see § 39, and the other histories.

ⁿ She persuaded the people that Tarquin was not yet dead, in order to gain time for Servius, who first acted as deputy-king, but in a few days obtained the entire authority.

Census. the great work of the census^o, by which the people were arranged according to their property, and formed the classes and centuries, the people voting according to their centuries; the equites first, and then the foot centuries, in order^p.

Having thus divided the Roman people, he assembled them in the Campus Martius, and purified them by the suovetaurilia^q.
 Lustration in the Campus Martius. Eighty thousand citizens were enrolled in the census, all of whom, according to Fabius

^o According to Livy, the people were divided thus:—

Foot	{	80 centuries, each man possessing above 100,000 asses,	
		the 1st class	
		20	75,000 . .
		the 2nd class	
		20	50,000 . .
		the 3rd class	
		20	25,000 . .
		the 4th class	
		30, including accensi, funditores cornicines	11,000 . .
		the 5th class	

The reading "*in his*" seems incorrect, for the accensi, &c., were *not* included. See Niebuhr, t. i. p. 444, &c. Smith's Dict. in Comitia, &c. Livy's whole account is rather loose. On the equestrian centuries the same authorities may be consulted. See also Dr. Schmitz's History, p. 73-7.

^p On the political reasons for this regulation, see § 43, "*Ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragiis videretur, et vis omnis penes primores civitatis esset,*" which is explained by the authors above quoted.

^q Conditum lustrum.

Pictor, were capable of bearing arms. He then added the Quirinal and Viminal hills, and made the Esquiline his own residence, thereby extending the pomœrium^r, and as the Asiatic states had jointly built a temple to Diana at Ephesus, he persuaded the Latin states to unite with the Romans in building a temple at Rome to the same goddess^s.

Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline hills.

Temple built on the Aventine by the Latins.

Disturbed by the language of young Tarquin^t, Servius desired to know the pleasure of the people, and, having gained the favour of the Plebs, by dividing among them the land he had taken from the enemy, he was unanimously declared king. But Tarquin took every oppor-

Sedition raised by Tarquin.

^r A space round the walls of unbuilt land, on the side towards the city, of unploughed and uncultivated without.

^s Thereby tacitly acknowledging the supremacy of Rome. One of the Sabines had a cow, of unusual size and beauty, and soothsayers asserted that the power would belong to that people, by one of whose citizens it should be immolated. As the Sabine brought it to the city, the Roman priest bade him wash his hands in the river before he attempted to perform the sacrifice; upon this he went down to the Tiber, and the Roman priest slaughtered the victim, and offered it during his absence.

^t Livy is uncertain whether he was the son or grandson of Tarquinius Priscus, but considers authority as favourable to the former opinion.

tunity of exciting ill-will against Servius on the part of the senators.

Aruns and Lucius Tarquin were of different dispositions; the former mild and peaceful, the latter ambitious and violent, while they had married sisters of dispositions equally opposed to their own. The wife of Aruns and Lucius Tarquin formed a guilty attachment, and the death of Aruns and the Tullia, who had been wedded to Lucius, followed. The remaining couple were soon united, and openly conspired against the aged king^u. Tarquin entered the forum with an armed force and convoked the senate as king. While he was haranguing those whom party favour or fear had brought together, Servius entered, and angrily questioned him as to such an assumption of power. With an insolent reply, Tarquin seized the king, and cast him down the steps of the senate-house. On his way home he was slain by the satellites of Tarquin, and his

^u They were probably enraged at the design entertained by Servius of laying aside the kingly power, and entrusting the government to two magistrates. Such was certainly supposed to have been his intention. See § 48 and 60, where Livy states that two consuls were chosen "ex commentariis Ser. Tulli."

A.C. 535.

corpse was barbarously dishonoured by his own daughter Tullia, as she drove through the streets on her way from the senate-house, wither she had gone to congratulate her husband on his newly-acquired power.

Murder of
Servius.

Thus died Servius after a glorious reign of forty-four years, and Tarquin the Haughty^x seized upon the throne without any of the customary forms^y. To inspire all with dread, he took the cognizance and punishment of capital cases and crimes into his own hands, and, having by such means greatly reduced the numbers of the senate, he determined not to elect any new members in their place, thereby nullifying their influence, and even omitting to consult them on public affairs. He sought the friendship of the Latin states, and to that end he gave his daughter in marriage to Octavius Mamilius, the chief prince of the Latins. His power became very great among the Latin chiefs, and he ordered them to meet at the grove of Ferentina. He, however,

49—60.

Tarquin
seizes the
throne.

Reduces the
power of the
senate.

Octavius
Mamilius.

^x So called because he refused burial to the body of Servius.

^y “Neque populi jussu, neque auctoribus Patribus,” § 49.

A.C. 535-10.

came so late, that Turnus Herdonius of Aricia, who
 Turnus Her- opposed his power, inveighed against his
 donius. haughtiness in a bitter speech, and on
 Tarquinius alledging as an excuse that he had been
 engaged in settling a dispute between a father and
 son, Herdonius gave a sarcastic reply, which so
 inflamed Tarquin, that he resolved to plot his
 destruction. He accordingly conveyed a number
 of arms into the dwelling of Herdonius, and then
 charged him with plotting the murder of the
 assembled chiefs. They hastened to his dwelling,
 seized him while asleep, and on their discovering
 His death. the arms, he was drowned in Ferentina
 without even a hearing being granted to him.

Tarquin then claimed power over the Latins, on
 the grounds that as they were all descended from
 Alba, and Alba had yielded to Tullus, they were
 necessarily included in that agreement.
 Treaty with
 he Latins. This treaty was therefore renewed, and
 the young Latins ordered to assemble in arms at
 the wood of Ferentina, when he destroyed even the
 distinction of their forces, by mixing together the
 Roman and Latin manipuli. He then warred with
 Volscian war. the Volsci^z, took Suessa Pometia, and

^z A war which lasted for more than two hundred years
 after his reign.

A.C. 535-10.

devoted the spoils to the building of the temple vowed by his father. He then attacked Gabii, which held out, but was at length brought under by the treachery of his son Sextus, who went over as a deserter, and then, acquiring the ascendancy, betrayed them to his father. He then made peace with the Æqui, renewed the treaty with the Tuscans, and commenced building the temple^a, employing a multitude of Etruscan workmen. But the people grew dissatisfied when employed in constructing the fori of the circus, and the immense sewers. Signia and Circeii were colonised at the same time^b.

Gabii taken
by treachery.

Building of
the Capitol.

Colonies
founded.

^a Livy here relates prodigies connected with the founding of the capitol: 1. when the omens allowed the removal of the other chapels of the gods, they refused that of the temple of Terminus, thereby portending the eternity of the empire. 2. A human head was discovered, fresh and entire, portending that this would be the head of the world. In lib. v. § 54, Livy adds, that the temple of Youth was also excepted, and seems to approve the etymology of Capitolium from caput Toli. See Festus, &c.

^b Here follows the story of the snake crawling from a wooden column in the palace, and the journey of Brutus, the king's nephew, with his sons to Delphi, together with the fulfilment of the Delphian prophecy to them: "Imperium summum Romæ habebit, qui vestrum primus, O juvenes, osculum matri tulerit," which Brutus accomplished by kissing the earth.

A.C. 535-10.

Attracted by the wealth of Ardea, which seemed acceptable when the expenditure was so lavish at home, Tarquin attempted to besiege it. During the military operations, a party of the officers were regaling themselves in company with Sextus Tarquinius, the king's son. The conversation turned upon the beauty and merits of their wives, and Collatinus, the son of Egerius, challenged them to produce one surpassing his own wife, Lucretia. To ascertain this, they returned to Rome, where Sextus, struck with the beauty of Lucretia, formed designs against her honour. Returning in a few days, he accomplished his shameful project by dint of threats; but Lucretia, having exhorted her husband and father to revenge, slew herself in their presence. Brutus, whom all had thought bereft of sense^c, swore by the dagger by which she had perished that no one of the race of Tarquin should escape his vengeance, and that there should no longer be kings at Rome. Collatinus, Lucretius, and Valerius, took the same

^c He had pretended to be short-witted, fearing that his great wealth would expose him to injury from his uncle Tarquin, who had already sacrificed his brother.

oath; they carried the corpse of Lucretia into the forum, and called upon the people to join them in their revenge; part of the youth remained to guard Collatia, the rest hastened to Rome, where Brutus, tribune of the Celeres, roused the anger of the people by enumerating the injuries and oppressions they had endured under Tarquin, and so inflamed their anger, that they proclaimed Tarquin and his family exiles. Brutus set out for Ardea, and Tullia fled from her home, with the curses of all invoked upon her head.

Tarquin, at his return, found the gates closed against him, while Brutus was joyfully received by the army at Ardea, who drove away the king's sons. Two of them retired to Cære, in Etruria. Sextus Tarquinius was killed at Gabii, in revenge for his former treachery and exaction. Thus, in the 25th year of Tarquin's reign, and the 244th of the city, were the kings driven out, and liberty established. L. Junius, Brutus, and L. Tarquinius were first elected consuls at the comitia centuriata.

Tarquin expelled from Rome.

The first Consuls.

ANALYSIS
OF THE
FIRST DECADE OF LIVY.

BOOK II.

A.C. 509. A.U. 245.

1—2. EACH of the kings had, in a measure, contributed to the founding of the city, and extension of its power, and liberty came when it could not prove injurious^a. The consuls retained the power and attributes of kings, but only for one year, and but one was allowed the fasces at a time. The first was Brutus, who bound the people by an oath never to allow any one to be king at Rome
Brutus in- in future; and who raised the senate to
creases the the number of three hundred, the new
senate. members being styled conscripts. The rex sacrificu-
lus was also appointed, whose office it was to take

^a For, had it come sooner, it would have stopped the progress of the city, and the rude inhabitants would have paid but little regard to order and political unity. § i. See the ἀνακεφαλαιώσις of Florus, lib. i.

A.C. 509. A.U. 245.

charge of such sacred rites as had been usually performed by the king. To prevent any semblance of undue power, he was made dependent upon the chief pontiff; but Tarquinius Collatinus, the other consul, grew unpopular, on account of Banishment of Collatinus. his name and descent, which were an object of dread to the people. He, therefore, at the entreaty of Brutus, his colleague, and Sp. Lucretius, his father-in-law, took his pro- P. Valerius chosen in his stead. perty, and withdrew to Lavinium. Valerius was chosen in his place.

The Vitellii, the two sons of Brutus, 3—5. Titus and Tiberius, and the Aquilii, formed a conspiracy of the young nobles, to bring Conspiracy for bringing back the king. back the king; and when a messenger came from Etruria, to demand back the property of Tarquin, they entrusted them with letters to the banished family. But whilst they were its failure. conversing on the plot, at the house of the Vitellii, on the day before the ambassadors quitted Rome, they were overheard by a slave^b, who informed the senate. The conspirators were cast into prison, scourged, and beheaded, in the presence of Brutus.

^b Vindicus was probably his name, whence “vindicta liberatus.” Others think he derived his name from the fact.

The senate then decreed that the goods claimed by Tarquin should be given over to the commons to plunder, thereby shutting out all hope of peace with the king. The field of Tarquin was consecrated to Mars, and became the Campus Martius^c. The corn then standing upon it was cut down and thrown into the Tiber, and, lodging upon the shallows, it caused an accumulation of mud, which afterwards became an island, upon which a temple was built.

6-7. Tarquin then sought the assistance of the Veientes and Tarquinienses, and with their combined forces came to Rome. Valerius came out to meet him, with the foot troops disposed in a square: Brutus went on with the horse, and meeting Aruns, the king's son, they spurred their horses against each other with such violence that they both fell dead at the same moment, pierced by each other's spears. The right wing of each army proved victorious, but the left gave way, for the Romans were used to beating the Veientes, but the Tarquinienses, a new enemy, stood their ground firmly. The enemy,

Battle with the allies of Tarquin, and death of Brutus.

^c But see Dict. Ant. s. v. Campus Martius.

A.C. 509. A.U. 215.

however, retired at night in a sudden panic^d, and Valerius, the next day, returned to Rome in triumph. Brutus was buried with great splendour, and the matrons mourned for him a whole year, as the avenger of violated chastity.

But Valerius fell into ill-will, because he did not immediately demand a colleague, in the place of Brutus, and had built a house on the Velia, which hung over the city beneath it, like a citadel. Upon discovering this, he came into the assembly of the people with the fasces lowered, in token of submission, and cleared himself of the charge of seeking empire, by promising to build a house below the hill. He accordingly removed to the place where the temple of Vicæpota afterwards stood.

Valerius is suspected of aiming at kingly power, but clears himself from the charge.

His popularity was increased by the laws he passed, declaring any one an outlaw who should attempt to obtain the kingly power, and giving all Roman citizens the right of appeal to the assembly of the people

8.

From the popularity of his laws he is called Publícola.

^d It was said that a voice from the Arsian wood proclaimed that the loss on the enemies side exceeded that of the Romans by one.

A.C. 508. A.U. 245.

from the sentence of the magistrate^e. He thence obtained the name of Publicola^f. Sp. Lucretius was elected consul in the place of Brutus, but died in a few days, and was succeeded by M. Horatius Pulvillus. The temple of Jupiter was dedicated by the latter, notwithstanding the stratagem of the friends of Valerius.

9—14 Lars Porsena, King of Clusium, in Etruria, now came to the assistance of Tarquin, and invaded Rome with a great force^g. But when he had taken Janiculum, and was arrived at the pons sublicius, his progress was stopped by the bravery of Horatius Cocles, who, assisted by Sp. Lartius and T. Herminius, resisted the whole force of the enemy, until the bridge was broken down. He then leaped into the Tiber, and swam safely to his own party. His bravery was rewarded

^e This right of appeal was confined to the city, and the district within a mile around it. 3, § 20.

^f See Niebuhr, ap. Hist Soc., p. 29, note.

^g The Patricians not only dreaded the enemy, but likewise feared lest the commonalty might be induced to join them. Accordingly they released them from customs and tribute, asserting "that the rich should furnish such expenses, as being capable of bearing the burthen, but that the poorer classes did enough in bringing up their own children." § 9.

with a statue in the Comitium, and an allowance of land.

Porsena then turned the siege into a blockade, and cut off the supplies of the Romans, ravaging their land at the same time. But Valerius the consul, placing Herminius in ambush with a small force on the road to Gabii, and Lartius at the Colline gate, himself hindered a retreat to the river. The other consul, T. Lucretius, came out from the Nævian gate with some men, and Valerius brought down some select troops from Mount Cœlius. Thus the enemy were cut off on both sides, and their defeat prevented further ravaging.

But the blockade continued, and provisions grew still scarcer, when Mucius, having obtained permission from the senate, crossed the Tiber, and entering the enemy's camp in disguise, he approached the royal tribunal. Mistaking the king's secretary for Porsena, he slew him, and, when aware of his mistake, thrust his right hand into the flames of an altar which stood by, and consumed it to ashes. The king, astonished at his courage, pardoned him, and sent him back to Rome^h.

^h He had intended to have him burnt alive.

Alarmed by the spirit and threats¹ of Mucius, Truce agreed Porsena sent ambassadors to Rome, and upon. made a vain attempt to reconcile them to Tarquin's family^k. The Romans, however, agreed to restore the lands to the Veientes, which Romulus had taken away^l, and to give hostages, upon which the army was to be removed from Janiculum^m.

Clælia. Clælia, one of the female hostages, escaped from her guards, and swam across the Tiber with some of her companions. The Romans restored her to Porsena, but their good faith and her courage were rewarded by the king, who gave her leave to return to Rome, taking such of the females as she wishedⁿ.

ⁱ Viz. "that three hundred young Romans meditated the same designs against his life."

^k Rather because he could not refuse to make such an appeal, than that he expected it to be successful.

^l Lib. i. § 15.

^m Mucius was rewarded with a grant of lands beyond the Tiber, afterwards called the Mucia prata. He received the name of Scævola, i. e. the left-handed.

ⁿ Clælia was honoured with an equestrian statue on the summit of the Via Sacra.

Livy here digresses into an enquiry concerning the custom "Porsenæ bona vendendi." He thinks that it must have been begun in war, and that its omission was forgotten, when peace ensued, or, which is much more probable, that when he retired from Janiculum, Porsena gave up his camp with all

A.C. 507. A.U. 247.

Porsena then turned his arms against Aricia, and sent his son Aruns thither with a part of his forces. But the inhabitants, assisted by the Latins and inhabitants of Cumæ, met him in the field, and, though nearly beaten at the first attack, rallied, and attacked their enemy while pursuing them at random. Aruns fell, and a few only of his men escaped to Rome, where they were received with the greatest kindness, and the Tuscan street assigned them for a dwelling.

Unsuccessful expedition of Aruns against Aricia.

P. Lucretius^o and P. Valerius Publicola Coss. Porsena sent another embassy to Rome respecting the return of Tarquin. The senate gave a positive, but polite refusal, and Porsena gave up the attempt, returned the hostages, and restored the land which had been yielded up to the Veientes. Tarquin, finding no

A.C. 507.

15.

Tarquin returns to his son - in - law Mamilius.

its wealth, as a gift to the Romans ; and that they, to avoid the hostility of seeming to plunder it, exposed the goods to public auction, so that it rather signified gratitude for a friendly gift, than the remembrance of old hostilities.

^o Marcus Horatius, according to Dionys. Hal. v. 21. Livy is suspected of some negligence, by Le Clerc, whose note may be consulted.

hope of return, went to dwell with Octavius Mamilius, his son-in-law^p.

A.C. 505. The consuls, M. Valerius^q and P. Postumius defeated the Sabines, and were honoured with a triumph.

As an invasion of the Sabines was dreaded, and Tusculum seemed uncertain in its intentions, P. Valerius (for the fourth time) was created consul, his colleague being T. Lucretius. Attus

A.C. 504. Clausus^r was driven to Rome by a sedition, and became one of the most powerful of the senators. The consuls routed the Sabines completely, but the public joy was interrupted by the death of Publicola in the following year, during the consulship of Menenius Agrippa and P. Postumius.

Appius Claudius comes to Rome. The Sabines are defeated.

A.C. 503. Death of Publicola.

^p Livy here omits Sp. Lartius and T. Herminius, who were consuls A.C. 506.

I will here remark that the chronology of the consuls is regulated according to the *Fasti Consulares*, published at the end of "Smith's Dictionary," and the Oxford Chronological Tables.

^q Brother of Publicola, and son of Volusus.

^r A wealthy Sabine, who desired peace with the Romans. Being oppressed by the opposite party, he fled, with a train of clients, from Regillus to Rome; where he received lands beyond the Anio; and was afterwards named Appius Claudius.

He was honoured with a public funeral, and the nations mourned for him, as they had done for Brutus. In the same year Pomelia and Cora revolted to the Aurunci, who were, how-
Defeat of the Aurunci at Pomelia.
 ever, beaten, and slaughtered with the greatest fury. A triumph was granted to the consuls.

The consuls, Opiter Virginius, and Sp. Cassius, made a very unsuccessful attempt
A.C. 502.
17.
 upon Pomelia, but upon their renewing the attack with a greater force, and scaling the walls, the enemy surrendered. The chiefs were
Taking of Pomelia.
 beheaded, the inhabitants sold, and the town destroyed. A triumph followed, which was rather a satisfaction to anger, than a compliment to the greatness of the victory.

During the consulship of Postumius Co-
A.C. 501.
18.
 minius and T. Lartius, the indiscretion of some Sabine youth nearly caused a rebellion. The fear of the Romans was increased by the news that Octavius Mamilius had formed a
Dictator chosen to restrain the tumults.
 confederacy of twenty states, and T. Lartius was chosen dictator, Sp. Cassius master of the horse^s. This measure caused some fear on the

^s Such was the general account, according to Livy, who here gives his reasons for rejecting the statement which made

part of the Sabines, a truce was demanded and granted, and a year of perfect tranquillity followed under the consuls Ser Sulpicius and M'Tullius.

A.C. 500. Titus Æbutius and C. Vetusius^t, the
19—20. next consuls, besieged Fidenæ and took
Fidenæ, Cru- Crustumarium. Præneste revolted from
stumerium, the Latins to the Romans.
Præneste.

Now followed the great battle of the lake Regil-
A.C. 499. lus, whither A. Postúmius, the dictator,
Battle of and T. Æbutius, the master of the horse,
Regillus. went to meet the enemy. Hearing that
Tarquin and his family were among the opposite
forces, their anger prompted them to an immediate
battle. The leaders themselves fought with the
greatest valour, and the aged king Tarquin^u
attacked Postumius on horseback, but receiving a
wound, he was rescued by the Latins, who made a

M. Valerius the first dictator, particularly observing “*consulares legere, lex jubebat.*” § 18. On the office of dictator, see Niebuhr; and on that of the master of the horse, t. i. p. 596.

^t The Fasti and others give Veturius; a common variation, but for Carus the same authorities give Publius. See the commentators.

^u See Le Clerc's note. I will not do any intelligent reader the injustice of believing him capable of passing over the beautiful and manly poem of Macauley, on this battle, unread.

sudden charge. On the left wing, Æbutius and Mamilius rushed against each other with great violence, and both were wounded, but Æbutius was obliged to quit the field, through the helplessness of his wounded arm. Mamilius roused the courage of his men, and young Tarquin came to his aid with a cohort of Roman exiles.

And now the Romans began to give way; when Marcus Valerius, the brother of Publicola, beheld the young Tarquin at the head of his troop, and rushed at him on horseback. Tarquin retreated back, and Valerius was thereby carried into the enemy's ranks, where he received his death stroke. Postumius bade his men spare none who fled, and, with his chosen band, compelled the exiles to give way. Titus Herminius killed Mamilius by a single stroke of his spear, but while stripping the corpse was himself wounded, and expired while his wounds were being dressed. The dictator then ordered the horsemen to dismount: they did so, and fought bravely on foot. This restored the courage of the Romans:

Final defeat
of the king,
Tarquin.

Indeed, the spirit of ancient Rome has been so happily caught by the author, that we may suppose that had Ennius written in English, it would have been the English of Macauley.

the Latins gave way, and were completely routed, their camps being lost at the moment of their defeat. A triumph followed this victory, which was succeeded by a negative kind of peace during the space of three years⁷.

A.C. 497. In the consulship of A. Sempronius and 21—22. M. Minucius a temple was dedicated to Saturn, and the Saturnalia instituted.

A.C. 496. Aulus Postumius and T. Virginus were the next consuls: after them Appius Claudius and

A.C. 495. P. Servilius. In this year Tarquin died. Tarquin dies. at Cumæ, whither he had retired after his defeat. The colony of Signia was replenished, the tribes increased to the number of one and twenty, and a temple dedicated to Mercury.

⁷ According to the Fasti, Q. Clælius and T. Lartius were consuls at the time of this battle; and Livy's enumeration of consuls in § 21, seems to fix the battle in A.C. 498. I have assigned no date in the text, for the whole matter is uncertain. Livy himself tells us that some fixed it in the consulship of A. Postumius and T. Virginus, A.C. 496. The uncertainty in circumstances, the very existence of which it has become the fashion to question, will, I trust, excuse me leaving the point still at issue. But I think that when Livy, § 21, says "triennio deinde nec certa pax, nec bellum fuit," his enumeration of consuls can scarcely include Clælius and Lartius, as he again resumes in § 22, "neque pax neque bellum fuerat;" which seems to mark the limitation I mention; otherwise, the battle of Regillus appears to fall A.C. 499.

A.C. 495. A.U. 259.

The Volscians had intended to assist the Latins in the late war, but before they could send any forces, the war was ended by the dictator.

War with the
Volscians.

The consuls, in revenge for the intended hostility, made war upon them, and in the sudden terror they forgot their arms, and gave three hundred children of the chief men of Cora and Pometia as hostages. They shortly regained their courage, made an alliance with the Hernici, and sought assistance from the Latins, who were, however, so disgusted with war, after the recent defeat at Regillus, that they even offered violence to the ambassadors, whom they seized and brought to Rome. In gratitude for the intelligence thus received, the senate restored six thousand captives to the Latins, and renewed the question of forming a treaty. The captives afterwards visited Rome, bearing a crown of gold for Jupiter, and public confidence was strengthened by private hospitality.

Friendship
formed be-
tween the
Romans and
Latins.

But the dread of the Volscian war was increased by the domestic discontent, and the complaints of the poor debtors^z. A veteran soldier, who

23.

^z Nexos. See Dic. Ant. s. v.

had gained military distinctions, placed himself in the forum, in a most deplorable state, and by his bitter complaints, raised a sedition, and violence would have ensued, but for the interference of the consuls. The people demanded redress, and on being told that there were not sufficient members present in the senate, proceeded to violence. At length the full number were convened, but doubts arose as to the measures necessary; even the consuls were at variance in their opinions, Appius wishing to put down the tumult by exercising the consular authority, Servilius preferring milder measures.

24—25. And now the Volscians were on their way to the city. The people heard of their approach with joy, and thought that a time of revenging themselves upon the Patricians was arrived. The senate, in their terror, bade Servilius attempt some pacifying measures, and he harangued the people, promising that their case should be considered. He then proclaimed that no one should keep any Roman citizen in bonds, thereby hindering him from enrolling his name before the consuls. The Nexi immediately swore the military oath, and set out under

Sedition on account of the laws of debt.

Temporary quiet, and relief of the Nexi.

A.C. 495. A.U. 259.

the consul, and no men distinguished themselves more in the Volscian war. The Volscians, the next night, attacked the Roman camps, hoping that the discord at Rome would lead to desertion on the part of the soldiers; but in this they were deceived. In the morning they filled up the trenches and attacked the rampart; but the Roman general, having kept his soldiers from the attack until he thought their ardour sufficiently excited, gave the signal, when they rushed upon the Volscians, routed them, and pursued them as far as their camps, which they took. On the next day they attacked Suessa: Pometia, Defeat of the Volscians. which was speedily reduced, and given up for the army to plunder. As they returned to Rome they were met by the ambassadors of the Volsci Ece-trani, to whom the senate granted a peace, on condition of their land being surrendered.

The alarm of a nightly incursion of the Sabines next excited the attention of A. Postumius and the consul Servilius, who routed them on the same night the report was first heard. Then the Aurunci sent ambassadors with their army, to demand back the Volscian land. The consuls set out, met their 26. Victories over the Sabines and Aurunci.

troops at Aricia, and routed them in a single battle.

27. Appius was resolved to nullify the attempts of his colleague, and renewed the laws of debt with greater severity than before. The sufferers complained bitterly of the deception, and represented their miseries to Servilius in strong language. By his tergiversation Servilius lost all credit with both parties, and soon became as unpopular as his colleague^a. At last the people became infuriated, and open violence was practised against the creditors; and when a war with the Sabines was threatened, they refused to enlist. Appius reproached his colleague, and attempted to quell the sedition by force, not even allowing the appeal to the people. Public sedition and private conspiracy lasted till the consuls were out of office.

A.C. 494.
28—30.

Further seditions and intemperate conduct of the people and senate.

A. Virginius and Titus Vetustus^b were the next consuls. The plebs now began to hold nightly meetings in the Esquiline and Aventine mounts. On the consuls

^a As appeared by the conduct of the people respecting the dedication of the temple of Mercury, which they gave to Lætorius, a centurion.

^b Or Veturius.

bringing this matter before the senate, they received an angry reply; the senate blaming them for not using a strong hand to appease the seditions. The consuls then held a levy, but no one would give in his name, the people declaring that they would be deceived no longer, and that they would have their liberty before they took up arms. They again referred to the senate, who bade them lay down the office they had not the courage to sustain.

They then cited a man by name, he refused to attend the summons, and resisted the lictor. The senate was then hastily convened. P. Virginius thought that the case of those who had been led by the promises of Servilius to fight against the Sabines and others, deserved consideration. Titus Lartius wished to relieve the distress of all, alleging that the discontent would be increased by favour shown to any particular persons. Appius Claudius was for violent measures, and proposed that they should elect a dictator with absolute power. The opinion of Virginius seemed most judicious; but Appius prevailed by force of private interest, and a dictator was chosen. The senate, however, chose M. Valerius, a man of mild habits, and whom

Three opi-
nions.

Appius pre-
vails, and a
dictator is
chosen.

the people respected as the brother of Publicola. He confirmed their good will by an edict similar to that of Servilius; they speedily enlisted, and the largest army ever known, consisting of ten legions, was formed. The Latins being oppressed by the Æqui, entreated the Romans either to come to their assistance, or to allow them to take up arms in their own defence. Thinking the former the safest plan, the Romans sent Vetusius, who put an end to the ravages of the Æqui. The other consul was engaged against the Volsci, who, trusting to the superiority of their numbers, began battle in a disorderly and hurried manner, but were repelled by the Romans, who had kept steady at the beginning of the battle, pursued as far as Velinæ, and slain almost to a man.

31. About the same time, the dictator routed the Sabines in a grand battle, the greatest since that of Regillus. A triumph was decreed to him, and a curule chair in the circus. Velitræ was taken from the Veientes, and colonized with Romans. The Æqui were also defeated by the consul, having, through cowardice, quitted the camps which they held on high and safe ground. Valerius, finding the senate deaf to all appeals on

Defeat of the
Æqui and
Volsci.

Defeat of the
Sabines and
Æqui.

A.C. 494. A.U. 260.

behalf of the people, notwithstanding their late conduct in battle, resigned office.

Valerius resigns office.

The senate then pretended that the Æqui had renewed hostilities, and ordered the legions to be led out of the city. This hastened the sedition, and the people even meditated the murder of the consuls. At the advice, however, of Sicinius, they retired to the Mons Sacer^c, three miles from Rome, formed a camp, and remained some days in a state of quiet. In the city fear and mutual distrust reigned, and the senate at length determined to send Menenius Agrippa, who being himself of plebeian origin, and possessed of eloquence, persuaded the insurgents to come to terms. The senate proposed that the plebs should appoint their own magistrates as a defence against the consuls, restricting such office to members chosen from the plebs. Accordingly C. Licinius and L. Albinus^d were

32—33.

Secession of the Plebs to the Mons Sacer.

Menenius Agrippa.

Tribunes of the people.

^c Piso said the Aventine.

^d All agree that two was the number first chosen, see Niebuhr, t. i. note 1356. But there is some variation as to the names. It is also uncertain when the number was increased to five. Piso, in Liv. ii. 58, asserts that it was at the time of the Publilian law, A.C. 471.

chosen tribunes of the plebs, and they named three colleagues, one of whom was Sicinius.

A.C. 493. During the secession of the plebs, Sp. Cassius and Postunius Cominius entered upon the consulship. A treaty was concluded with the Latins, and while Sp. Cassius remained at home for the purpose of ratifying the alliance, the other consul had defeated the Antiates and Volsci, and taken Longula, Volusca, and besieged Corioli. Here C. Marcius^e distinguished himself by routing the Volscian legions from Antium, and thereby securing the capture of the town. In this year Menenius Agrippa died, and the poorer orders contributed jointly to the expenses of his funeral.

Treaty with the Latins, defeat of the Volscians.

Coriolanus takes Corioli.

A.C. 492.
34—35.

Famine.

In the consulship of T. Geganius and P. Minucius, a famine, arising from the neglect of the lands during the secession of the people, compelled the Romans to send to Etruria, Cumæ, and even to Sicily for corn. At Cumæ their ships were seized by Aristodemus as compensation for the goods taken from king Tarquin. The miseries of scarcity were increased by the

^e Afterwards surnamed Coriolanus.

A.C. 491. A.U. 263.

prospect of a war with the Volscians, which was however removed by a pestilence breaking out in the enemy's country. Velitræ was more strongly garrisoned, and a new colony sent to Norba.

M. Minucius and A. Sempronius being A.C. 491. consuls, a great supply of wheat arrived from Sicily, and many, especially Coriolanus, wished to seize this opportunity of subjecting the Harsh measures proposed by Coriolanus. people, by refusing them provision at a cheaper rate unless they restored the ancient power of the senate, and consented to the abolishing of the late popular measures.

But even the senate thought these measures too atrocious, and the plebs would have slain Coriolanus but for the interference of the tribunes, who summoned him to stand his trial. Meanwhile the senate made every attempt to appease the wrath of the commonalty, but on the day of He is exiled and joins the Volscians. trial he was not present; in their rage they condemned him, and he went into exile among the Volscians, where he was kindly received by Attius Tullius. These two The Volscians excited to war. men forthwith laboured hard to rekindle the spirits of the oft-defeated Volscians,

and at length succeeded through the stratagem of Coriolanus^f.

39—40. Accordingly Coriolanus and Tullius set out with an army; the former expelled the Roman colonists from Circeii, and re-
Victories of Coriolanus. covered the city for the Volscians. He then retook Satricum, Longula, Polusca, Corioli, Lavinium, Corbio, Vitellia, Trebia, Lavici, Pedum, pitched his camp five miles from the city, and ravaged the Roman lands; sparing those of the Patricians^g. The plebs were unwilling to fight,
A.C. 488. Distress at Rome. and when Sp. Nautius and Sex. Furius the consuls^h, were arranging the soldiers, in order to guard the city, they demanded peace in a seditious manner. The senate then sent ambassadors to Coriolanus, and afterwards their priests; who, however, obtained nothing but haughty replies. Upon this, Veturia, the mother,

^f Here follows the dream of T. Atinius, and the institution of expiatory games to Jupiter. A number of the Volscians were, through the insidious advice of Tullius, excluded from witnessing these games, and ordered to quit the city before night. This stratagem succeeded in inflaming the minds of the Volscians against the apparent authors of such an insult: 36—38.

^g To excite the jealousy of the Plebs.

^h Livy omits the consuls of the two previous years. See Fasti.

A.C. 487-6. A.U. 267-8.

and Volumnia, the wife, of Coriolanus, were sent at the head of the Roman matrons; they were at first refused an audience; but when Coriolanus perceived his mother, wife, and children, his anger was softened, he yielded to her prayers and reproaches, and drew off the legionsⁱ. In memory of this circumstance, a temple was erected, in honour of *Fortuna Muliebris*. The Volsci again returned with the *Æqui*, but the latter disliked Tullius as their leader; a sedition, then a battle arose between the two armies, and the leaders of both A.C. 487. perished. In the following consulship of T. Sicinius and C. Aquilius, the Hernici were conquered, and a doubtful battle fought with the Volscians.

Sp. Cassius^k was now consul for the A.C. 486. third time, his colleague being Proculus⁴¹.
Virginius. He made a treaty with the Hernici; depriving them of two-thirds^l of their territory; which

ⁱ Some say that Coriolanus was slain immediately, on account of his defection. Fabius asserts that he lived to old age. Niebuhr settles all disputes on the subject, by making Coriolanus a legendary hero. Verily, these legends are capital helps to fall back upon in our historical difficulties!

^k The life of Cassius is pleasantly sketched by Dr. Arnold in his *History*, vol. i.

^l “Henceforth the armies of the Romans, Latins, and Hernicans took the field conjointly, and a third of the spoils and

A.C. 485. A.U. 269.

he wished to divide equally between the Latins and the Roman plebs; as also some public land, which was then held by private individuals. This Agrarian law^m terrified the senate; and even the plebs, moved by the representations of the other consul, Virginius, regarded the gift as an attempt at sovereignty. Virginius said that he would grant the law, provided its advantages were confined to Roman citizens. Cassius proposed giving a sum of money to the people, in lieu of the corn from Sicily. The plebs regarded this as a mere purchase of kingly power; and he immediately quitted office. In the consulship of Ser. Cornelius and Q. Fabius he was impeached by the quæstors, K. Fabius and L. Valerius, executed, and his house publicly destroyedⁿ.

42. But the people soon repented their rash

the conquered territory fell to the lot of each. The misrepresentation of Livy arises from his belief that the treaty was one of peace, and was concluded after a war; but that war is a mere fiction." Dr. Schmitz's History, p. 122.

^m This was not the earliest law so called. Cf. Niebuhr, t. ii. p. 129.

ⁿ Some assert that he was scourged and slain by his own father, who dedicated his goods to Ceres. Livy prefers the other account.

A.C. 484-2. A.U. 270-2.

decision, for they were defrauded of the spoil taken in a war with the Æqui and Volsci, it being sold by the consul Fabius, and the money deposited in the treasury. Conduct of the Patricians.

Notwithstanding the unpopularity of the Fabian name, K. Fabius and L. Æmilius were the next consuls chosen. A.C. 484. The domestic discord was, however, interrupted by a war with the Volsci and Æqui, who were defeated by Æmilius. In this year a temple was dedicated to Castor, which had been vowed by the dictator Postumius during the Latin war. Continued discord at Rome. The tribunes and consuls renewed the disputes respecting the agrarian laws, but the patrician party prevailed; they accordingly the next year chose M. Fabius^o and L. Valerius consuls. A.C. 483. Further disputes ensued. A war was begun with the Veientes, and the Volsci rebelled. The people were terrified by prodigies, and Oppia, the vestal, was put to death for incontinence. Oppia.

Q. Fabius and C. Julius Coss. The discord continued, as also the hostilities with the Æqui and Veientes. A.C. 482. 43. In the succeeding

^o The consulship remained in the Fabian family for seven successive years. See Schmitz, p. 123-4.

consulship of K. Fabius and Sp. Furius the
A.C. 481. Æqui besieged Cortona, and the Veientes
ravaged the country, and threatened an attack
upon Rome. The people refused to enlist, being
supported by their tribune Sp. Sicinius. Two
armies were notwithstanding raised, and Fabius led
his against the Æqui, Furius against the Veientes.

The foot sol- The former routed the enemy by means
diers refuse of his horse alone, but the foot refused to
to pursue the of his horse alone, but the foot refused to
conquered. follow up the attack, and even execrated
A.C. 480. the conduct of the horse in gaining the victory.
M. Fabius and Cn. Manlius were then consuls.

44—47. In this year L. Pontificius also at-
Battle with tempted to hinder the enlistments. To
the Veientes overcome his influence the senate, at the
and Etru- advice of Ap. Claudius, carried favour with the
rians. other four tribunes, and thereby rendered his efforts
for the public good of no avail. In the troops
thus raised, the consuls felt but little confidence,
while the enemy relied upon the internal discord
in the city as the only means of subverting the
power of Rome, and were as anxious to come to
battle as the consuls to defer it. Their insolence
at length made the Romans forget their private
grievances, they sought the prætorium, and de-

manded to be led to battle. The consuls asserted that it was not yet time, and the insolence of the enemy increased to the greatest height. Fabius then bade them swear that they would not return from the field, unless victorious. They took the oath, and both armies were soon in array, although the anger of the Romans scarce permitted the enemy to arrange their forces. They threw their darts at random, and then came to fight sword in hand. The Fabii were most distinguished, but while the former consul Quintus was leading on the attack, he received a mortal wound. Upon this the Romans were giving way, when his brother the consul leaped forward, and, calling upon the soldiers to remember their oath, renewed the contest. A similar fear was excited on the other wing by the supposed death of Cn. Manlius, who was forced to leave the field by a wound. But on his return, and the appearance of the other consul, their courage was restored. At last Cn. Manlius attacked the enemy who had taken up quarters in the camp of his colleague, and enclosed them, but was slain by a sudden eruption from one of the gates. Then one of the legati bade them open a

Death of
Q. Fabius.

Death of the
consul C.
Manlius.

way for the enemy; they did so, and the Tuscans were cut off by the other consul, who was returning to relieve his camp, and the victory was thereby obtained for the Romans.

The Romans
victorious.

A triumph was decreed to M. Fabius, but he declined it on account of the deaths of his brother and colleague; and by this act, as well as the kindness he shewed towards the wounded soldiers, he deserved and obtained popularity for the Fabian name.

A.C. 479.
48—50. K. Fabius and T. Virginius were the next consuls. Fabius endeavoured to persuade the senate to divide the captured territory equally amongst the Plebs. But they despised his advice. The Latins were harassed by the incursions of the Æqui, and Kæso sent to their relief. He ravaged the lands of the enemy, and compelled them to seek shelter within their own walls. The temerity, however, of the other consul caused a serious loss to the army at the hands of the Veientes, and they were only saved through the intervention of Fabius. As other wars demanded the attention of the army,

The Fabii
undertake the
Veian war.

and the Veientes still continued to ravage the land, the Fabian house offered to take the conduct of the Veian war into their own

hands. The offer was thankfully accepted, and the next day the Fabii assembled. The consul and 306 Patricians of this family, accompanied by a crowd of dependants and connections^p, set out amidst the prayers and acclamations of their fellow citizens. They took up their position on the banks of the Cremera, and, during a part of the con- A.C. 478.
sulship of L. Æmilius and C. Servilius, they not only safely guarded the place, but ravaged the borders of the Tuscan territory. The Veientes then attacked them at Cremera, and the Roman legions under L. Æmilius fought with the Etruscans, and defeated them. They demanded and obtained peace, which they speedily repented, and renewed battle with the Fabii from day to day. But the latter, becoming over-confident from frequent success, at length wandered too far on a prædatory excursion, and the Etruscans fell upon them from an ambush, when they were scattered about. They succeeded in forming a wedge, and passing through the force of the enemy to a neighbouring hill, but the Veians came round, and took them in the rear.

^p To the number of 4,000 says Dionysius. See Doujat, on § 49.

Every man of them was massacred, and but one remained at Rome to perpetuate the glorious name of the Fabii. The news of this slaughter reached Rome during the consulship of C. Horatius and T. Menenius. The latter was immediately sent against the Tuscans, who, however, succeeded in seizing Janiculum and crossing the Tiber. The other consul, returning from a Volscian campaign, saved the city, for the battle was under its very walls. The next consuls were A. Virginus and Sp. Servilius. The Veientes avoided battle, but continued their prædatory incursions. They were then deceived by the same stratagem by which they had themselves overcome the Fabii, for the Romans scattered some cattle astray, in order to attract them to a spot where they fell upon them in ambush. A great slaughter ensued, and enraged them so much, that they attempted the camp of Servilius by night, whence they were again driven back to Janiculum, after sustaining a great loss. The consul crossed the Tiber, but the enemy had the advantage of ground, and his army was only saved from destruction by the intervention of his

Death of the
Fabii.

slaughter

A.C. 477.

51.

The Tus-
cans invade
Rome.

A.C. 476.

A.C. 475. A.U. 279.

colleague. The Etruscan army was thus Their defeat. thrown between two enemies, and completely routed.

Plenty and cheapness of provisions 52. succeeded, but the tribunes continued to excite the plebs against the senate, and Q. Considius and T. Genucius, the movers of the agrarian law, summoned T. Menenius to stand his trial for not assisting the Fabii at Cremera. The earnest endeavours of the senate, and the Impeachment and death of T. Menenius. memory of his father Agrippa, obtained a commutation of the sentence to a fine of 2,000 asses; but the grief and shame resulting from this sentence speedily put an end to his life. Sp. Servilius was the next man impeached, in the consulship A.C. 475. of C. Nautius and P. Valerius, by the Impeachment of Sp. Servilius. tribunes L. Cædicus and T. Staius. The battle on the Janiculum was the alleged cause of the impeachment; but Servilius defended His successful defence. himself with a manful boldness that bore down all that his accusers could allege.

The Veian war again broke out, and 53. the Sabines joined the enemy. P. Valerius set out with some auxiliaries of the Grand defeat of the Veii, Æqui, and Volsci. Latins and Hernicans, attacked the Sabine camps

before Veii with such violence, that he speedily seized one of the gates, and slaughtered the enemy in great numbers. The Veians in the city came to their assistance, and the Romans were compelled to turn, fighting with the enemy on both sides. A complete victory was gained, and the Latins and Hernicans had meanwhile stripped the Volsci and Æqui of their camps, taking a great booty. C. Nautius was then sent against the Volscians, who could not, however, be brought to contest again in open field.

A.C. 474.

The next consuls were L. Furius and

54—57.

C. Manlius^q. To the latter Veii was al-

lotted, with which a truce for forty years was concluded. Meanwhile the tribunes continued to excite the minds of the people respecting the agrarian laws. The consuls remained firm, but on going out of office, in the consulship of L. Æmilius and

A.C. 473. Opiter Virginius^r, they were impeached

Conduct and
death of Ge-
nucius.

by the tribune Cn. Genucius, and went

about deploring the fall of the consular

power, even entreating the support of the plebs.

On the day of trial, Genucius was found dead in

^q Aulus Manlius, according to some.

^r Vopiscus Julius, in other annals.

A.C. 472. A.U. 282.

his own house, which caused great fear on the part of the other tribunes. A levy was then held, and the people, enraged at the cowardly silence of their tribunes, meditated violence. P. Volero, who had been a centurion, was called upon to serve in the ranks; he refused, and called upon the tribunes for protection. They remained inactive, and the consuls order him to be stripped and scourged by the lictors. He then called upon the people, dashed away the lictors, and rushed into a dense crowd of the commonalty. In their rage the people maltreated the lictors; and the consuls, after a few complaints in the senate, abandoned the levy.

Publius Volero, who had now become a favourite of the plebs, was created tribune the following year, in the consulship of L. Pinarius and P. Furius. Instead of revenging himself upon the consuls of the last year, he immediately set about measures for the public good, proposing in the popular assembly, that the tribunes should be elected at the Comitia tributa, in order to prevent the Patricians influencing the election by means of their

Bravery of
Publius
Volero.

A.C. 472.

He proposes
new regula-
tions regard-
ing the elec-
tion of tri-
bunes.

A.C. 471. A.U. 283.

clients^s, and in the following year Volero was again created tribune. In order to oppose him, the senate elected Ap. Claudius, the son of the great oppressor, and T. Quintius consuls. While Volero contented himself with urging the law, his colleague Lætorius attacked Appius and his family with bitter invectives, and at length declared that he would either carry the law, or die on the spot. The next day the tribunes assembled in the temple^t, the consuls and nobility also came to oppose the law. Lætorius ordered the viatores to dismiss every one but the voters^u, and, on their refusal to move, bade them seize the refractory. Appius denied the tribune's right to seize any one but a plebeian, the other retorted, and sent a viator to seize the consul, Ap. Claudius also desired his lictors to arrest Lætorius, who was, however, rescued by the populace. T. Quintius exhorted

^s See the articles Comitia Centuriata and Tributa in Dict. of Antiquities, p. 273-5.

^t Probably the capitol. See Doujat, note 5.

^u Dionysius tells us that one of the rules agreed to on the Mons Sacer was that the Patricians should not take part in the assemblies convoked by the tribunes.

A.C. 471. A.U. 283.

the plebeians to moderation, and the senate with difficulty appeased the other consul. They returned thanks to Quintius for his conduct, and desired Appius to consider the extent of the consular power as bounded by the concord of the city. Appius reviled them as cowards, but was overcome by the unanimous voice of the senate. The *lex Publilia* was accordingly carried*.

During these seditions the war with the Volsci and Æqui again broke out, Quintius was sent against the Æqui, while the Volsci were entrusted to the management of Appius. The latter consul gave way to his natural cruelty, and caused sedition and disturbance throughout the army, while he sneered at them, as corrupted by the centurions, and ridiculed the tribunes with the epithet of *Volerones*.

58—60.
Quintius is
sent against
the Æqui,
Appius
against the
Volsci.

Of this the Volsci were aware, and hoped it

* Livy omits to add that the plebeian *ædiles* were also to be elected in the assembly of the tribes. He observes, however, that three were added to their number, according to *Piso*, who says that the first five elected according to this law were *C. Sicinius*, *L. Numitorius*, *M. Duilius*, *Sp. Scilius*, *L. Mæcilius*. See note 2, on § 32. On the power thus acquired for the tribes, which now took the place of the centuries, see *Schmitz*, p. 128-9. The latter history deserves commendation for its satisfactory narrative, and terse, though far from jejune brevity.

A.C. 470. A.U. 284.

would prove advantageous to themselves, as in the case of Fabius^y. When the Romans were led out, they fled back to their camps, and only offered resistance when the enemy attacked the fortifications. Upon this Appius called an assembly of the soldiers, which they refused to attend, and fled in disorder. A court martial was held, and those centurions who had deserted their standards, the *duplicarii* who had quitted their posts, and every tenth soldier was beheaded. The other consul met with great success against the *Æqui*, and obtained great popularity among the soldiers.

The army desert.
Punishment of the mutineers.
 A.C. 470.
 61—62. In the consulship of L. Valerius and T. *Æmilius*, great excitement was caused by the question of the agrarian law, and the trial of Appius, who was summoned by M. *Duilius* and C. *Sicinius*. Appius behaved with undaunted insolence and violence, and so astonished the people and tribunes by the virulence of his recriminations, that they of their own accord delayed the trial. Before this day came Appius died^z, and when the tribunes wished to deprive

Trial and death of Appius.

^y See § 43.

^z According to *Dionysius*, by his own hand.

A.C. 469. A.U. 285.

him of the honour of a funeral panegyric, the people were unwilling to refuse the tribute to the dead, and even celebrated his funeral with honours^a. In the same year Valerius attacked the Wars with the Æqui and Volsci. and was on the point of besieging their camps, when he was interrupted by a violent storm of hail and thunder. Immediately he desisted from the attempt, perfect tranquillity succeeded. He, therefore, contented himself with ravaging the country. The other consul Æmilius ravaged the land of the Sabines, and burnt their villages, but, since they avoided battle, he left as though victorious.

In the consulship of T. Numicius Priscus and A. Virginius, the agrarian question was again renewed, and sedition was only repressed by the approach of the Volsci. Wars continued. The consuls led out the youth against the enemy, who quickly retired. Numicius then went against the Volsci at Antium, and Virginius against the Æqui. An injudicious measure of the latter, who was entrapped by the snares of the

^a The people had the law on their side, for as Appius was not condemned, the punishment due to a condemned person could scarcely be inflicted with propriety.

enemy, was only prevented proving fatal by the bravery of the soldiers. The other consul defeated the Volsci, and drove them into Antium. He then

Defeat of the Sabines. took Ceno, and, at the return of the two consuls, the Sabines, who had approached the gates of the city, were driven back with great slaughter, and injury to their own lands.

The year ended with some disputes, which ended Refusal of the plebs to attend the comitia. in the refusal of the plebs to attend the comitia for electing the consuls^b. Ac-

A.C. 468. cordingly the patres and their clients elected T. Quintius and Q. Servilius. The year commenced with seditious, which were appeased by the wars with the neighbouring states. The

Defeat of the Sabines Sabines ravaged the country about the Anio, and carried away great booty, but were pursued by Servilius, who, although he could not bring them to battle in open field, yet ravaged their country most violently, and returned loaded with the spoils. The Romans also met with great and Volsci. success against the Volsci, who were defeated in a great battle by the successful stratagem of the consul. A few days of quiet succeeded,

For an explanation of this conduct see Schmitz, p. 131.

A.C. 468. A.U. 286.

during which a number of Volsci and Æqui besieged the Roman camp by night. Quintius appeased the fear excited, and ordered the soldiers to remain quiet, whilst he led out a guard of Hernicans, and, by causing the trumpets to sound, kept the enemy in suspense until dawn. The Volscians, supposing that the troops they saw were a large body of Romans, and alarmed by the snorting of the horses, (who were unused to such riders as the trumpeters,) kept on their guard, expecting the attack of the enemy.

Stratagem of the Volsci defeated by Quintius.

At dawn the Romans' troops, refreshed by rest, attacked the enemy, who were fatigued with watching. But the Volscians had a safe retreat to some hills in their rear, and the consul endeavoured to restrain his soldiers from fighting on disadvantageous ground. His efforts were in vain, and they rushed upon the enemy, who received them with a heavy shower of darts and stones. The Romans began to give way, when the consul appeared. He reproached them with their former temerity and present want of courage, and their efforts were renewed, and they had nearly succeeded in reaching the summit of

Complete defeat of the Volsci.

the ground, when the enemy yielded, and the Romans pursued them into their camps, which they took. The Volsci who escaped, retired to Antium, whither the Romans immediately followed them. After a few days the inhabitants, dispirited by the late defeat, yielded the city to the Romans.

Capture of
Antium.

ANALYSIS
OF THE
FIRST DECADE OF LIVY.

BOOK III.

A.C. 467. A.U. 237.

QUINTUS FABIVS, the last of the Fabia gens, and T. Æmilius were now consuls, the latter of whom strove to procure the passing of the agrarian law, by which he became very unpopular with the landholders and senate. Q. Fabius then proposed that the dissatisfied plebs should migrate to Antium, and T. Quintius, A. Virginius, and P. Furius were chosen triumviri, for the purpose of dividing the land. The people despised the proposal, wishing for lands at Rome, and so few gave their names as emigrants, that the number was filled up from the Volsci. The Æqui made a peace with Q. Fabius, which they immediately afterwards broke.

A.C. 467.

1.

Proposed
migration to
Antium.

A.C. 466.

2—3.

In the following year the consuls were Q. Servilius and Sp. Postumius. During an expedition against the Æqui the army were detained in their camps through disease.

A.C. 465. The next consuls were Q. Fabius and T. Quintius, to the former of whom the war with the Æqui was entrusted.

He sent a stern message to the enemy, requiring them to atone for their perfidy, but they received the messengers with insult, and sent an army to Mount Algidus against the Romans. Both armies encamped in sight of each other, but the Romans, despite the taunts of the enemy, kept quiet until the next day, when a desperate battle was fought. The Romans proved victorious, and the Æqui reproached their general for bringing them to open battle, as they were more used to ravaging and scouring the country at random. They then made their way towards

They come as far as the city.

the city, causing the greatest dread to the husbandmen and citizens. Quintius however returned from Algidus, guarded the gates, and having ordained a justitium^a, and left Q. Servilius as prefect, set out, but found that the

^a Which was only done in times of great danger.

A.C. 464. A.U. 290.

Æqui had disappeared. The other consul defeated the enemy completely, and brought away great booty. The census was then ascertained^b, and the number of citizens was found to be 104,240, besides orphans of both sexes. The Æqui remained quiet, suffering their lands to be ravaged without offering resistance. In the consulship of A. Postumius Albus and Sp. Furius Fusus^c, the Æqui sought assistance from Ectra, a Volscian town. The Hernici informed the Romans of this, and suspicions were also attached to Antium, which were strengthened by the language of their chief men before the Roman senate. Sp. Furius set out against the Æqui, and rashly attacked them while ravaging the land of the Hernici. His troops were overpowered by numbers, and driven back, and their camps surrounded, so that they could not even send a messenger to Rome. The Hernici communicated the news, and Postumius was ordered to see lest the state suffered any injury^d. He remained at Rome in order to collect

A.C. 464.

4—5.

War with
the Æqui.
Failure of
Furius.

^b Conditio lustris. Cf. lib. i. § 44, and Varro de L. L. 5. 2.

^c The Furii are also called the Fusii. See Perijonius on Valer. Max. p. 876, ed. Torr.

^d A customary formula in times of danger.

new forces, while T. Quintius was sent as proconsul with troops, part of which were furnished by the allies. Meanwhile the enemy began to ravage the lands in the neighbourhood of Rome, and Postumius, leaving the city to the care of Valerius, set out to defend the lands; the justitium was also renewed. Furius at length attacked the enemy from the Decuman gate with success, but desisted from pursuing them; but his brother Furius, who did not perceive that the Romans were retiring, was hurried on by desire of pursuing the enemy, and perished bravely in a fruitless attempt to get back to the camp. The consul also received a wound while rushing into the foremost of the fight, and his troops were thereby so dispirited, that great danger would have ensued, but for the arrival of T. Quintius with an army of Hernici and Latins. He attacked the enemy in the rear, and succeeded in surrounding them. Postumius meanwhile continued to harass the Æqui in the Roman lands, but on the arrival of the victorious Quintius, they were completely routed^e. The Latin and the

Success of
Quintius.

^e Valerius Antias computes the slain at 5,300 Romans, 2,400 Æqui, besides 4,230 who were cut off by Quintius. Some prodigies succeeded this battle, and feriæ were held for three days in order to avert the impending evil.

A.C. 463. A.U. 291.

Hernican cohorts were dismissed with the thanks of the senate, but the Antiates, who had come too late, were treated with little short of ignominy.

Under the next consuls, L. Æbutius and P. Servilius, a dreadful pestilence broke out at Rome amongst men and cattle, the violence of which was increased by the numbers of both which had been received into the city for protection. In the midst of this calamity, the Hernici besought assistance against the Æqui and Volsci, who were ravaging their lands. The Romans declared their utter helplessness and inability to render the desired relief, and the enemy, emboldened by this, proceeded to attack the Roman territory, and came, without meeting with any resistance, within three miles of the city. Æbutius was already dead, and his colleague's life was despaired of, and the soldiers had scarce sufficient strength to guard their posts. The senators, who were as yet free from disease, acted as guards, while the Ædiles undertook the duties of the consuls.

A.C. 463.

6—8.

Pestilence at Rome. Invasion of the Æqui and Volsci. Distress of the Romans and Hernici.

The enemy, however, behaved rather like mere plunderers than invaders, and instead of besieging the city, they passed through the Lavicane hills to

the Tusculan territory. The Hernicans and Latins, who had come to the assistance of Rome, followed them, and fought, with ill fortune, in the Alban vale. At Rome both consuls died of the pestilence, together with the augurs and Curio Maximus. Public supplications were ordered, and at length health began to return to the people. P. Valerius Publicola, the Interrex, created L. Lucretius Tricipitinus and T. Veturius Geminus consuls.

The Æqui defeat the Roman allies.
The pestilence ceases.
 A.C. 462. The Romans had now recovered themselves, and Veturius was sent against the Volsci; Tricipitinus to the relief of the Hernicans. The former was victorious in the first battle, but Lucretius lost sight of a horde of the enemy, who ravaged the Prænestine and Sabine lands, and thence turned towards the Tusculan hills. Q. Fabius guarded the city, and thereby caused them to retire. On their march homeward they were met by Lucretius, who was prepared for battle. He attacked and drove them into the valleys where they were so effectually surrounded that the Volseian name had liked to have perished. It is said that 13,470 were slain, 1250 taken prisoners, and 27 standards captured.

Further hostilities, and grand defeat of the Volsci.

The consuls then united their camps, and the Volsci and Æqui the relict of their forces. A third battle then ensued, in which the Romans were also victorious.

This same year C. Terentillus Arsa 9.
was tribune, and seized the opportunity afforded by external tranquility to excite the people against the consular power. He proposed that five officers should be appointed to limit the consular power by certain laws. He was sharply answered by Q. Fabius in the absence of the consuls, and by the advice of his colleague withdrew the motion.

Lucretius returned to Rome with great glory, and the spoils were exposed in the Campus Martius, that each man might claim and receive his own; the rest being sold. His triumph was deferred until the question raised by the tribune was settled. He was then honoured with a triumph, being accompanied by his legions; the other consul received the same honour, but without the procession of soldiers.

The next year, in the consulship of P. Volumnius and Ser. Sulpicius, the Terentillan

A.C. 461. A.U. 293.

law was again proposed, but laid aside on account of some prodigies^f. News was brought from the Hernici that the Volsci and Æqui were making preparations for fresh hostilities at Antium, and that at Ecetra the colonists of Antium were plotting a revolt. A levy was immediatly held, notwithstanding the opposition of the tribunes, who asserted that the whole affair was a fiction, designed for the purpose of drawing away the attention of the people from vindicating their liberty. They then ordered those whom the lictors seized to be let free, and thus the tribunes laboured to prevent the levy, while the senate hindered the passing of the law. On the tribunes ordering the people to remove, the senate refused to do so, and Kæso Quintius, who headed the aristocratic party, behaved with such intrepidity that he awed the tribunes and people almost into submission. The law would have been negatived had not A. Virginius, one of the tribunes, summoned Kæso to take his

^f A bull spoke, a shower of flesh descended, and, on consulting the Sibylline books, the Romans were ordered to beware of the conspiracies of their neighbours, and sedition at home. The tribunes considered this advice as purely fictitious.

Further dis-
putes upon
the lex
Terentilla.

Conduct and
trial of Kæso
Quintius.

trial. Both parties continued a violent opposition till the day of trial; when T. Quintius Capitolinus, Sp. Furius, L. Lucretius, and his father L. Quintius Cincinnatus, attempted to make interest for the accused by their praises and intreaties, but the popular hatred was aggravated by the statement of M. Volscius Fictor, who asserted that his elder brother, when he had but just quitted a bed of sickness, was struck by Kæso during a quarrel in Subura, and had died in consequence. Virginius ordered Kæso to be seized and imprisoned; T. Quintius denied that such conduct could be used towards a person not tried and convicted on a capital charge. The other said that he did not desire to punish Kæso untried, but to keep him in custody till the day of trial. Bail was determined upon, and ten of the friends of Kæso were held sureties, each for three thousand asses. The accused escaped by night into Etruria, and his father was compelled to pay the money, retiring to a small cottage beyond the Tiber. The patricians then adopted a quiet and polite system of behaviour, the tribunes grew negligent in the confidence of success, and the law was thus delayed during the whole year. The same conduct continued under the consulship of

A.C. 460. A.U. 294.

C. Claudius and P. Valerius Publicola. But the
 A.C. 460. tribunes^s endeavoured to excite suspicion
 15—18. against the Patricians, asserting that
 Fresh jea- Kæso was employed in a conspiracy with
 lousies ex- the aristocracy for the purpose of cutting
 cited. off the tribunes and friends of the plebs, and restoring
 the old oppressions. Fears of the Volsci and
 The Capitol Æqui were entertained; and they were
 taken by night, alarmed one night by the seizure of the
 capitol by 4500 slaves and exiles, headed by
 Appius Herdonius, a Sabine. They slaughtered
 all the guards who refused to join them, while the
 consuls dreaded to arm the plebs, and remained in
 incertitude, contenting themselves with raising a
 guard for the city posts. In the morning Her-
 donius proclaimed that he wished to restore the
 exiles and relieve the enslaved, and threatened, if
 the Romans opposed their return, to rouse the
 Volsci and Æqui against them. Each man began
 to fear his own slaves, and to doubt their fidelity,
 and the tribunes persisted in their assertion that
 the whole war was merely brought about for the
 purpose of diverting the people from attention to
 the law, and called an assembly for the purpose of

^s They were the same as those of the preceding year

A.C. 460. A.U. 294.

passing it, while the consuls declared their fear of the tribunes to be greater than that inspired by the nocturnal attack of the enemy. When the men now began to desert their stations and lay down their arms, P. Valerius implored them by their reverence of the gods and regard for themselves and country to desist, and come to the rescue of the capitol. At night the news was brought to the Tusculans, and Mamilius the dictator proposed instantly to hasten to the relief of Rome. They did so, but were at first mistaken for the enemy. When they were admitted into the city, Valerius called the people to arms, promising that he would not hinder their voting, if they wished to pass the law. but recovered by the conduct of Valerius. Despite the resistance of the tribunes the plebs followed him, and the capitol was soon recovered. Valerius was slain among the foremost, and his place taken by P. Volumnius. Herdonius also fell. After this the capitol was purified from the defilement of the slain, the Tusculans received thanks for their assistance, and the people contributed a sum for the funeral of the consul.

The tribunes now urged the passing 19—21.
the law, as promised by the deceased consul, but

A.C. 460. A.U. 294.

Claudius refused to do so until he had chosen a colleague, and at length L. Quintius Cincinnatus, the father of Kæso, was elected.

L. Quintius Cincinnatus chosen consul.

He reproached the senate with their want of firmness and activity, and derided the tribunes for their conduct during the seizure of the capitol, and proposed an immediate attack upon the Volsci and Æqui. The tribunes demanded

His dispute with the tribunes, and unpopular measures.

how he would raise an army, as the levy would be impeded. L. Quintius replied that he would depend upon the plebs, as

Valerius had done, and bade all, who had taken the oath, assemble at the lake Regillus. The tribunes urged that the people were not obligated by that oath, because Quintius was a private man at the time it was taken, but this excuse was of little importance. The tribunes then tried to hinder the

army from marching out, as a report was current, that the augurs were about to consecrate a place

Consternation of the plebs.

of counsel at the lake, for the purpose of destroying the whole power of the

tribunes, and reducing the plebs to the same state of dependance as they had suffered before the secession. The tribunes then went, followed by the plebs, into the Curia, and at length persuaded

the consul to desist from his measures, by the tribunes promising to obey the authority of the senate. The senate then proclaimed an edict that during that year the tribunes should not pass the law, and the consuls should not lead out an army. They also condemned the practice of continuing the same tribunes from year to year, but in vain. The next consuls were Q. Fabius Vibulanus and L. Cornelius Maluginensis. The tribunes continued to excite the lower orders, and the Hernici brought news of hostilities on the part of the Æqui and Volsci. Fabius set out with part of the army against Antium, while Cornelius remained at home to guard the city from incursions. Fabius, whose army was tripled by the Hernican and Latin allies, proceeded from the Capene gate to Antium, and pitched his camp at a short distance from the town and quarters of the enemy. The Volsci, who were waiting for a detachment from the Æqui, avoided battle; but Fabius the next day surrounded their camp, and attacked them on all sides at once, placing the horse belonging to each party in the rear. He drove the enemy back from the barrier,

An accommodation effected.

A.C. 459.

22—23.

Fresh hostilities with the Æqui and Volsci.

Their defeat at Antium.

A.C. 459. A.U. 295.

passed it, and routed them. As they fled, they were easily cut off by the horse, who being unable to cross the barrier, had remained till then inactive. The spoil taken was very great, and the whole of the enemy would have perished, but for the safety afforded them by the neighbouring woods.

Meanwhile the Æqui had taken the citadel of
Taking of
Tusculum. Tusculum, leaving a large portion of their
 army at a short distance to divert the
 attention of the enemy. The news rapidly spread
 from Rome to Antium, and Fabius, leaving the
 spoils with a guard at Antium, set out with his army
 unincumbered by baggage, while Cornelius fur-
 nished supplies from Rome. After some months the
Its recovery,
and defeat of
the enemy. enemy were dislodged from the citadel by
 famine, and they were all sent under the
 yoke by the Tusculans. On their way home, the
 consul met them in Algidus, and slew every man.
 He then pitched his camp at Colume, while his
 colleague, the enemy being driven from the walls
 of Rome, set out, and joining their forces, they
 ravaged the lands both of the Æqui and Volsci^h.

^h Some say that Antium revolted this year, and that L. Cornelius conducted the war. Livy has some uncertainty on the subject.

A.C. 458. A.U. 296.

The tribunes now renewed their complaints, but P. Lucretius, the præfect, persuaded them to wait till the return of the consuls. The quæstors A. Cornelius and Q. Servilius impeached M. Volsciusⁱ on a charge of false accusation against Kæso, but the tribunes hindered the trial. The consuls on their return thought all was quiet, but the tribunes, aiming at a fourth year of office, turned the dispute upon the question of the comitia. The consuls attempted to hinder their re-election, but the tribunes were victorious. In this same year peace was granted to the Æqui, the census, which had been commenced in the former year, was taken, and the ceremony "condendi lustrum" celebrated^k for the tenth time since the founding of the city. The number of citizens enrolled was 117,319.

L. Minucius and C. Nautius, the next consuls, undertook the opposition of the law, and the prosecution of Volscius; but the quæstors M. Valerius and T. Quintius Capito

24.

Fresh disputes at Rome.

A.C. 458.

25—29.

Prosecution of Volscius.

ⁱ See above, A.C. 461. He probably obtained the title of Fictor from his conduct. The whole accusation was proved to be entirely false, and would not have been believed at the time, had not the subject of it been an unpopular character.

^k See the commentators upon this passage.

linus were very powerful, and the latter conducted the prosecution with great spirit. The consuls then promised to consider the law for a month, in order to detect any latent fraud in its purpose, and then to submit it to suffrage. The Æqui broke their treaty, and came under the guidance of Gracchus Clælius to Tusculum, and pitched their camps on Mount Algidus. Q. Fabius, P. Volunnus, and A. Postumius were sent thither to demand satisfaction, but received an impertinent reply. Upon their return the senate ordered one consul to lead an army against Gracchus, while the other ravaged the land of the Æqui. The tribunes tried to oppose the enlistment, but the plebs were incited to arms by a sudden attack of the Sabines. Nautius led his army against the Sabines and ravaged their lands, but Minucius conducted his share of the business without any spirit, and was at length besieged in his camp. Upon the news of this, the fear at Rome was so great, that Q. Cincinnatus was taken from the plough to act as dictator. He chose L. Tarquitius master of the horse, proclaimed a justitium, ordered the shops to be closed, and all public business

War with the Æqui.

Danger of the Roman army.

Cincinnatus chosen dictator,

suspended. They then set out in perfect order, and reached Mount Algidus at midnight. On their approaching the enemy, they stood still, and the dictator reconnoitered the position of relieves the troops by stratagem. the camps. He then surrounded the enemy, ordering all his men to raise a shout upon a given signal, and then to commence forming a trench and embankment before them. They did so, and the noise speedily reached the camp of the besieged Romans, and the consul bade his men immediately take arms and follow him. The Æqui tried to hinder the dictator from surrounding them, but they were drawn off by the consular troops attacking them from within, and were therefore obliged to leave the dictator to carry on the works without interruption. In the morning they were pressed hard, and found themselves surrounded. The troops of Quintius passed the entrenchment, and forced the enemy to cry for quarter. Defeat of the Æqui. The consul bade them entreat the dictator, who ordered Gracchus and the other leaders to be brought to him in chains, and desired them to evacuate Corbio, compelling them to pass under the yoke. He divided all the booty amongst his own soldiers, blaming the conduct of Minucius

A.C. 457. A.U. 297.

and his troops, and bidding him regard himself merely as legatus. They bore this in good part, and Minucius abdicated the consulship. The præfect bade Quintius enter the city in triumph, and the city was filled with feasting and joy. L. Mamilius received the freedom of the city. Volscius was shortly after condemned and exiled to Lanuvium. Quintius laid down the dictatorship after sixteen days government. Meanwhile Nautius met with great success over the Sabines at Eretum. Fabius Quintus was sent to Algidus in place of Minucius. At the conclusion of the year the people re-elected the same tribunes a fifth time.

Triumph of
Cincinnatus.
Condemna-
tion of Vol-
scius.

Tribunes
continued in
office.

A.C. 457.

30.

Under the next consuls, Q. Minucius, and C. Horatius Pulvillus, the tribunes continued their agitation, but the news of renewed hostilities at Corbio required a sudden enlistment. This was opposed, and it was only on the second alarm of a Sabine incursion that the tribunes consented to allow the levy. They stipulated, however, that their numbers should be increased to ten, and two were elected from each class. The Sabines had meanwhile left, but Horatius defeated the Æqui, and destroyed Corbio. In

The tribunes
increased to
ten.

the consulship of M. Valerius and Sp. Virginius
a law was carried respecting dividing A.C. 456.
the Aventine¹ among the plebeians. 31.

Under the next consuls T. Romilius and C. Veturius, the tribunes being a second year elected^m,
urged the same measure. The Æqui were Defeat of the
defeated in Algidus, and lost more than Æqui.

7000 men. The booty was sold on account of the
poorness of the revenue, which offended the soldiers,
and the next year, in the consulship of A.C. 454.

Sp. Tarpeius and A. Aterius, the consuls were
tried and fined. The new consuls pro- Senators sent
posed that the laws should be remodelled, to Athens.
reserving to the senate the right of mak- Proposed al-
ing the new code. Three senators were terations in
then sent to Athens to enquire into the constitution the constitu-
of Solon, and the systems of other Greek statesⁿ.

The hope of reform quieted the people A.C. 453.
during the consulship of P. Curiatius and 32-35.
Sex. Quintilius, but a fearful pestilence broke out.
Some slight disturbances however took place the

¹ The Icilia lex, so called from the tribune who was its first mover.

^m Contrary to stipulation. See § 30.

ⁿ The reality of this expedition has been questioned, but see Schmitz, p. 137-8.

next year, under the consuls C. Menenius^o and P.

A.C. 452. Sestius. At the return of the ambassadors from Athens, the decemviri were established as sole magistrates^p, and they entered upon office in

A.C. 451. the following year, being invested with
Decemviri supreme power and authority, as the
created. framers of the intended alterations in the

constitution. Of the number were Ap. Claudius and Genucius, who had been the consules designati, Sestius, and the three senators who had visited

Their popu- Athens. Appius held the chief power,
larity. and became by his conduct a popular favourite, and the whole of the decemviri behaved with great equity^q.

The decemviri then proposed ten tables of laws, containing the whole foundation of the subsequent Roman jurisprudence. They were passed successfully by the assembly of the centuries, but a report

^o Or T. Menenius.

^p Whether the tribunes went out of office in the first year, or merely lost the power of proposing new measures, is uncertain. On the whole subject of the decemviri see Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 309, &c.

^q Of this Livy adduces a curious example, the prosecution of Sestius by C. Julius, a fellow decemvir. These stratagems had their effect in gaining the popular favour, and blinding the eyes of the plebs to the real intentions of the aristocracy.

was spread that two additional tables were still wanting, and this made the people wish to elect decemviri for the next year also. The decemviri, especially Appius, solicited the votes of the plebs by every art. Appius by improper practice excluded all such decemviri as were friendly to the people, and secured the election of the most haughty of the aristocracy.

Appius forms a cabal against the plebs.

A.C. 450.
36—41.

The mask was now thrown off, and the decemviri exhibited their haughtiness on the day of entering office, each of them being accompanied at once by twelve lictors, which had only been allowed to each in turn. Even the senate dreaded their power, since the appeal to the people was taken away; but the plebs suffered most, for all consideration of right was abolished, and personal hatred cherished without restraint. Nay, fears were entertained that they had conspired to retain that power perpetually, without any reference to the will of the people. Two tables were now added to the laws, and the comitia for electing the consuls were anxiously expected, while the plebs looked for the restoration of the tribunes. The decemviri, however, made no mention of such

Change of conduct in the decemviri.

A.C. 449. A.U. 305.

matters, but surrounded themselves with the young aristocracy, and practised the most wanton cruelty in their treatment of the plebs. The Ides of May arrived, and the decemviri shewed no disposition to resign office. The Sabines took ad-

Incursions of the enemy. vantage of the panic at Rome, and ravaged the lands, pitching their camps at

Eretum. The Æqui also made incursions from Algidus, and ambassadors came from Tusculum, with the news of its being ravaged. The decemviri

were compelled to consult the senate, who at first refused to assemble, and the plebs determined to resist any levy that might be made. But the ap-

paritores were sent to collect the senators, who assembled the next day, much to the dissatisfaction of the plebs. In the curia there were however

Disputes in the senate house. Conduct of Valerius and Horatius. violent disputes: L. Valerius Potitus boldly avowed his resolution to speak

“for the republic,” and raised a great tumult. M. Horatius Barbatus reviled

the decemvirs as ten Tarquins, and bade them call to mind the expulsion of the kings by the Valerii and Horatii, as similar conduct would be their

Claudius. ruin. C. Claudius intreated the decemvirs to adopt a different line of conduct, if only for

their own sakes, and then proposed that there should be no decree of the senate passed^r, which was approved by a large party. Others proposed that the patricians should choose an interrèx^s, but with less effect. L. Cornelius Maluginensis L. Cornelius was the last who spoke; he entreated them to quiet domestic disputes, and think of resisting the enemy, deferring the question of the decemvirs until the war was settled.

The younger senators agreed to this, but Valerius and Horatius continued their opposition. Appius sent the lictor to seize Valerius, but L. Cornelius broke up the quarrel, and obtained leave for Valerius to speak. This was however rendered fruitless, and the levy was ordered in silence. The decemvirs then agreed that Q. Fabius, whose character had been spoiled by office, should conduct the army against the Sabines, with two colleagues. M. Cornelius and four others were sent against the Æqui, and Sp. Oppius remained with Appius to guard the city.

Arrange-
ments a-
gainst the
enemy.

^r Which was thought tantamount to denying that the decemvirs were magistrates at all, § 40.

^s This was in the same spirit but less violent than the former measure.

42. All fell out ill, the soldiers suffered themselves to be defeated, both armies were overcome, and the camps in Algidus lost, the soldiers flying to Tusculum. The terror at Rome was great, and the senate guarded the city posts, and sent a supply of arms to Tusculum, ordering the decemvirs to harass the enemy openly, to hinder them from besieging the city.

43—54. L. Siccus Dentatus, a friend of the plebs, who threatened another secession and the re-establishment of the tribunes, was sent into the Sabine land, under pretence of reconnoitering the place, and murdered by the soldiers who accompanied him. A report was spread that he had been surprised by the enemy, but the corpse was not stripped, and the odium of his death fell upon the decemvirs.

L. Virginus, a plebeian soldier of tried merit, had a daughter Virginia betrothed to Icilius, who had been a tribune. Upon her beauty Appius cast a lustful eye, and finding solicitations and promises alike fruitless, he desired his client M. Claudius to assert that she was his slave. She was seized by a minion of the decemvir, whilst walking in the forum with her nurse. The multi-

Conduct of
the soldiers.

Shameful
conduct of
the decem-
virs and
Appius.

tude preserved her from violence, but she was summoned to the tribunal of Appius; where Claudius made a fictitious claim to her, declaring that she had been born in his own house, and was the suppositious child of Virginius. The friends of the girl pleaded the absence of the father, and begged Appius to grant the *vindicix secundum libertatem*^t, according to his own law. Appius evaded this, and asserted that in the absence of the supposed father the master who claimed her had no right to yield her to the care of another, and bade Claudius detain her to appear at the return of Virginius. P. Numitorius, her uncle, and Icilius came in, but Appius ordered the lictors to remove them, the latter loudly protesting against the outrage upon modesty and liberty. Appius retorted upon him as aiming at popular influence, but pretended to defer judgment till the next day. The brother of Icilius and son of Numitorius set out to bring Virginius from the camp, in order that he might appear the next day. Appius sent to forbid leave of absence being granted, but the message arrived too late, and Virginius appeared with his daughter

^t The advantage taken of the law is cleverly explained by the Delphin editor, note f, on § 45.

A.C. 449. A.U. 305.

in the forum at dawn, beseeching the help of his fellow citizens. The madness of Appius however doomed her to servitude. Virginius resisted the lictor, but finding no help, he changed his manner, and implored Appius to allow him to take a short farewell, and to enquire from her nurse whether she was really his own child, or not. Upon this being granted, he led his daughter aside, and slew her

with a knife seized from a butcher's shop, devoting Appius to the infernal gods with her blood. Sedition speedily arose

in the whole city, L. Valerius and M. Horatius openly resisted the lictors, who were sent to seize Icilius; the fasces were broken, and Appius lapsed from the council. The senate was hastily convened, and orders sent to the camps to restrain the soldiers from sedition. But all was in confusion, and the soldiers refused to obey the decemvirs. They then set out for the city, seized the Aventine, and bade the people create tribunes. Sp. Tarpeius, C. Julius, and P. Sulpicius were then sent to expostulate with them, but they desired that L. Valerius and M. Horatius should be sent to them. On the advice of Virginius ten military tribunes were elected, but he refused to be of the number. Icilius created

Death of Vir-
ginia, and se-
dition thence
arising.

the like number over his party, and joined the other army on the Aventine; and out of the twenty thus chosen two were elected with chief power, M. Oppius and Sex. Manilius. Valerius and Horatius were ordered to go to the army by the senate, but they refused to do so unless

Conduct of
Valerius and
Horatius.

the decemvirs laid down the insignia of their power. They refused to do so until they should have passed the laws, for the establishment of which they had entered office. M. Duilius, a former tribune, then advised the plebeians to quit the city, and they set out for the sacred mount by the Nomentane road, while the senate remained deserted and terrified. The decemvirs were compelled to place themselves in the power of the senate. Valerius and Horatius were then sent with full power to treat with the army upon any terms. They were joyfully received, and Icilius spoke on the part of the plebs, demanding the restoration of the tribuneship and right of appeal, impunity for those who had excited the people to attempt the recovery of their rights, but that the decemvirs should suffer at the stake. The deputies replied favourably to all the first requests, but opposed the severity of the punishment, promising however

that they should have free power to impeach the decemvirs separately. The reply was favourable; they returned to Rome, where Appius still laboured to oppose the intended measures. The decemvirs were ordered to quit office, and the chief pontiff, Q. Fabius, to appoint the tribunes of the people, and an amnesty was granted to the leaders of the secession. The decemvirs resigned office, and the ambassadors set out to recal the people home to their city. The tribunes were created on the Aventine, the first being A. Virginius, Icilius, and Numitorius, the authors of the secession; two others were C. Sicinius and M. Duilius, the latter of whom held the comitia in the Flaminian meadow, when L. Valerius and M. Horatius were chosen consuls.

55. The new consuls passed a law that bills passed by the plebs in the comitia tributa^u should be held binding to all classes, and that no one should henceforth create a magistrate from whom there was no appeal; if he did so, he was to be accounted an outlaw. A

^u That is, if sanctioned by the curiæ, for this was necessary even in a measure passed by the centuries.

further law was passed rendering the persons of the tribunes and other officers^x sacred.

Appius was then prosecuted by Virginius. He attempted to appeal to the tribunes, but in vain. Equally fruitless were his entreaties to the people. He was cast into prison to await his final trial^y. Meanwhile his uncle C. Claudius, who had retired to Regillus, returned to Rome, and attempted to excite the compassion of the multitude; but the juster tears of Virginius prevailed, and the despairing Appius slew himself before the day of trial arrived. Sp. Oppius^z met with the same fate. The rest of the decemvirs, with M. Claudius, were driven into exile, and the manes of the unhappy Virginia at length rested^a.

56—8.

Trial and
punishment
of the decem-
virs.

The fears of the patricians were how- 59.

^x On the doubts respecting some of these laws Livy has a slight digression. For “decemvirus” we must surely read “duumviris” with Bäuier, for the explanations of the common reading seem hardly satisfactory.

^y About this time the Hernicans and Latins offered public congratulations for the renewal of union at Rome, also giving information of the intended attacks of the Æqui and Volsci. A speedy levy followed.

^z Or Appius.

^a I think Livy rather speaks rhetorically here, than, as the Delphin editor supposes, with a view to the Platonic doctrine.

Duilius. ever set at rest by Duilius, who declared that he would allow of no further prosecutions. The consuls were looked upon with suspicion by the senate, as having endangered the safety of the aristocracy by their excessive regard for the people.

60—3. Valerius then set out against the Æqui and Volsci, restraining his troops however from fighting until the enemy retired to ravage the territory of the Latins and Hernicans, leaving a guard in their camps. Valerius then attacked them, judging that they would be an easy prey, enclosed within their entrenchment. A few of the enemy were re-collected from the nearest places, but the consul attacked the camp; and whilst the enemy were sallying out of its gates, he fell upon them before they could form right order of battle. At length they regained their strength, but the oration of the Roman consul so inspirited his soldiers that a complete victory was the result, and the camp of the enemy was taken. The news of this victory spread to the other army, and Horatius, who had accustomed his troops to forget their disgrace under the decemvirs by successful skirmishes with

Defeat of the
Æqui and
Volsci by
Valerius,

the enemy, now ventured to lead them into the field. The Sabines kept a reserve of 2,000 men, who attacked the left wing of the Romans with such violence, that they were almost surrounded; but 600 Roman cavalry leaped from ^{and of the} their horses, restored the vigour of the ^{Sabines by} Horatius. foot, and compelled the enemy to give way. They persevered in the attack, and the Sabines left their camps a prey to the enemy, by which the Romans recovered the property which had been taken from them. The senate ungratefully refused a triumph to the victorious consuls, and ordered the supplications^b to be held on only one day. The people disobeyed the latter order, and the consuls convened the senate in the Campus Martius. They however complained that the place was chosen in order to intimidate them, being amongst the soldiery. The consuls then called them to the Flaminian meadows, and when the triumph was still refused, Icilius brought the matter before ^{The first tri-} the popular assembly, and the consuls ^{umph injussu} senatus. celebrated their triumph without the order of the senate, a thing hitherto unknown.

^b Solemn thanksgivings to the gods after a victory, the magnitude of which determined the duration of the offering. Cf. *Cæsar de Bello Gall.* 2. 35. 7. 90.

64—5.

Attempts to
continue the
officers.

The tribunes^c then attempted to continue themselves in office, as well as the then popular consuls, but the perseverance of Duilius, and the honest principle of the consuls, hindered the execution of this dangerous measure. The five new tribunes chose among the

A.C. 448.

supplementary number two patricians, Sp. Tarpeius and A. Aterius; the new consuls were Lar. Herminius and T. Virginius Cœlimontanus.

Lex Trebo-
nia.

L. Trebonius, disliking the admission of patricians, proposed a decree that if the number of consuls was not filled up, the comitia should be continued, and the choice of the remainder not left to those already elected.

A.C. 447.

In the next consulship of M. Geganius and C. Julius the disputes were set at rest, and the

Discontent of
the Plebs.

plebs employed against the Æqui and Volsci. Some discord was however excited by the conduct of the younger patricians, and the people murmured at the weakness of their tribunes.

A.C. 446.

The next consuls, T. Quintius Capito-

^c So Livy clearly states. Dr. Schmitz, History, p. 147, ascribes the measure solely to the people, but I think the ambitious character of Icilius warrants Livy's view of the case.

A.C. 446. A.U. 308.

linus and Agrippa Furius, found war 66.
 threatened abroad, sedition at home. The trial of
 a nobleman was anticipated, when the
 Æqui and Volsci, having ravaged the
 surrounding country, arrived at the very
 walls of Rome, and returned to Corbio with a great
 booty. The consul Quintius harangued the Romans
 with great bitterness, but they resolved to make
 common cause against the enemy, and lay aside
 their private grievances. His popularity was
 established, a levy immediately held, and the youth
 were assembled in the Campus Martius at day-
 break. Two senators were placed over each co-
 hort, and within four hours they were on the
 march. Agrippa submitted to his colleague in
 every thing, while the courtesy of Quintius was
 proportionate to his own humility. Quintius
 headed the right, Agrippa the left wing. Sp. Pos-
 tumius had charge of the centre, and Ser. Sulpicius
 of the cavalry. The latter made a tremendous
 charge through the midst of the enemy's ranks,
 and routed them effectually. The news of his
 success inspired the foot, who first defeated the
 centre, which Sulpicius had broken up; Quintius
 then routed their left wing; and Agrippa, enraged

War with
 and defeat of
 the Æqui
 and Volsci.

at the little success on his own side, seized some of the colours and threw them amongst the enemy. The desire of recovering them renewed the vigour of his men, and success was equal on all sides. The two consuls then joined forces, attacked the camps, and recovered an immense booty.

71-2. Meantime the inhabitants of Aricia and Ardea had referred the question of some disputed land to the Romans for arbitration. When the matter was going to be put to the vote, P. Scaptius, an aged plebeian, rose up and demanded leave to speak upon the subject, and, on the consuls refusing, was supported by the plebs and tribunes. He asserted that his military experience at Corioli enabled him to prove that the land in question belonged to Corioli, and that as Corioli was now in the possession of the Romans, it also was their property, and he called upon the people to persevere in claiming their own. The consuls called upon the senate and tribunes to avoid offending their allies by such an appropriation, but all was in vain, and the assembly of the tribes declared the land Roman property.

Dispute
respecting
some doubt-
ful land.
Statement of
P. Scaptius.

ANALYSIS
OF THE
FIRST DECADE OF LIVY.

BOOK IV.

A.C. 445. A.U. 309.

IN the consulship of M. Genucius and C. Curtius the tribune C. Canuleius brought forward a bill demanding the right of connubium between the patricians and plebs, whilst his colleagues demanded that one of the consuls should always be plebeian, which was commuted to a request that the people might elect consuls either from the patricians or plebeians. The rumour of hostilities in the Roman territory and of the expulsion of the inhabitants from Ardea rendered a levy necessary. The tribunes violently opposed it, and the consuls harangued the senate, while Canuleius was equally bitter in his attacks upon the patricians in his speech to

A.C. 445.

1—6.

Disputes
concerning
the Canuleia
lex.

the plebs, whom he bade remember the honours which aliens, such as L. Tarquin and Servius, had received, whilst they were excluded from the common right of marriage with their superiors. An open dispute ensued, and when the tribune demanded to know why a plebeian ought not to be made consul, an injudicious answer^a was returned, that "no plebeian could take auspices, and that the decemvirs had therefore deprived them of the right of *connubium*^b, lest a disturbance in the auspices should arise from family uncertainty." The idea of being excluded even from sacred rites increased the rage of the multitude, and the senate were compelled to grant the *connubium*, trusting that the people would rest contented with this concession, without urging the other question of the plebeian consuls. But they were disappointed in their hopes, and were compelled to modify the law proposed, to the effect that three military tribunes of consular power should be elected. Notwithstanding the canvassing of the former tribunes and leaders of the sedition, the people chose three patricians,

Military tri-
bunes.

A.C. 444.
Patricians
chosen.

^a See Schmitz, p. 148.

^b By the law of the twelve tables.

A.C. 443. A.U. 311.

A. Sempronius, L. Atilius, and T. Cæcilius^c; but they were compelled to lay down office after three months, on account of a flaw in their election^d.

Ambassadors came from Ardea, complaining of the verdict given by the Romans^e respecting the disputed land, and were dismissed with a promise that the senate would not forget their interests. An interrex was then created, and the senate succeeded in obtaining the election of two consuls, S. Papirius and L. Sempronius Atratinus^f.

In the succeeding consulship of M. Geganius Macerinus and T. Quintius Capitolinus, two censors were for the first time created^g, Papirius and Sempronius, whose

^c Or Clælius.

^d C. Curtius, the augur, had made a mistake in pitching his tent of augury. The election of Marcellus was declared void in a similar manner, lib. viii. § 23. Cf. Cicero de Nat. D. 2, 4.

^e Lib. iii. § 71, 2.

^f Under their consulship the treaty with Ardea was renewed. Livy here notices the omission of these consuls in some of the annals, which he thinks arose from the supposition that the military tribunes continued in office the whole year.

^g This tended to reduce the consular power, and was a preliminary step to the granting plebeian consuls. See Schmitz, p. 149. The reading "dubitabatur," or "dubitatur," seems very doubtful.

office was to hold the census, and settle the position in society of each individual.

9—10. Sedition at Ardea. Meanwhile the inhabitants of Ardea besought the aid of the Romans under the following circumstances. A plebeian virgin of great beauty was wooed by two suitors, the one a patrician, favoured by her mother, the other a youth of her own station, relying upon the influence of her guardians. On referring the matter to law, the verdict was favourable to the wealthy suitor, but the other party resorted to violence, and on being defeated, ravaged the land of the rich. The artisans were excited to attack the city, and the Volscians called to their assistance, whilst the aristocracy sent in terror to Rome. Geganius immediately set out, and found Ardea blocked up by the enemy under Clælius. He succeeded in surrounding them, throwing a line of communication from the walls to his own camp, by which the inhabitants might escape. Defeat of the Volscians. The Volscian general finding himself thus cut off from supplies, offered to go away, if the Romans intended putting an end to the sedition; but the consul ordered the Volscians to surrender their arms, and give up their general. A battle ensued, but the Volsci laboured

under every disadvantage, and were speedily defeated. They were made to pass under the yoke, and sent away in disgrace, falling a prey to the anger of the Tusculans on their return. The chiefs of the sedition were beheaded, and tranquillity restored at Ardea, and the consul returned to Rome in triumph, with Clœlius in front of the chariot. His military glory was equalled by that of Quintius at home.

M. Fabius Vibulanus, and Postumius A.C. 442.
 Æbutius, resolved to wipe out entirely 11.
 the memory of the treatment of Ardea in A.C. 446;
 and therefore proposed that colonies should be sent
 out to replenish the reduced population of Ardea,
 contriving that the Rutuli should get the first and
 largest share of the territory divided. Agrippa
 Menenius, T. Clœlius Siculus, M. Æbu-
 tius Elva were sent out to divide the land, The land is
 indirectly re-
 stored to the
 Ardeans.
 but they displeased the populace, and as
 the tribunes summoned them to trial, they preferred
 remaining at Ardea to returning to Rome.

Under the succeeding consulship of A.C. 441.
 C. Furius Pacilus and M. Papirius 12.
 Crassus the games were held, which had been pro-
 mised by the decemvirs. Petilius the tribune made

a vain attempt to excite sedition by moving for a division of land among the plebs, and then endeavouring to procure the election of military tribunes. The year of the next consuls, Proculus Geganius A.C. 440. and L. Menenius Lavatus, was replete with famine and sedition. L. Minucius was created præfect of the corn-market, who vainly tried to purchase corn from the foreign markets, and the people began to commit suicide rather than starve by degrees.

13—16.
Sp. Mælius
relieves the
public dis-
tress, A wealthy plebeian of the equestrian order, Sp. Mælius, purchased a large quantity of corn from Etruria at his own expense, and divided it among the poor. His popularity thereby became so great, that the patri- cians dreaded his growing power, and he appeared to be aiming at sovereignty. His supposed plans A.C. 439. were hindered by the election of T. Quintius for the sixth time, whose colleague was Agrippa Menenius. L. Minucius, who is accused by
Minucius, was still in office, impeached Mælius on a charge of aiming at kingly power, and reproached the consuls with neglecting to observe his conduct. T. Quintius defended the consuls, and laid the blame upon their want of influence,

proposing the aged L. Quintius Cincinnatus as dictator, who was accordingly elected with C. Servilius Ahala as master of the horse. On the next day Ahala summoned Mælius before the dictator, he fled into a crowd for safety, and when the servant of the dictator came to apprehend him, he called loudly upon the people to save him from the fury of the senate. Ahala pursued him with some patrician youths, slew him, and on returning to the dictator, was complimented by him as the liberator of the republic. Quintius pronounced Mælius lawfully slain, and accused him of treasonable designs before the sorrowing multitude, bidding them call to mind the expulsion of Tarquin and death of Spurius. He also ordered his goods to be confiscated, and his house razed to the ground^h. L. Minucius sold out the supplies of corn found therein at one *as* the modius, and was honoured with a gilt statue of a bull at the Porta Trigeminaⁱ. Q. Cæcilius, Q. Junius, and Sext. Titinius however opposed Minucius and Servilius, and represented

^h The place was thence called Æquimælium.

ⁱ Some say that Minucius was made an eleventh tribune, and in that capacity quelled the insurrection caused by the death of Mælius; but Livy refutes this opinion.

the death of Mælius as a political murder. They
 Tribunes obtained the election of military tribunes
 elected. instead of consuls, and L. Quintius, the
 son of Cincinnatus, Mam. Æmilius, and L. Julius
 were chosen.

A.C. 438. Fidenæ revolted to Lar. Tolumnius,
 17-20. king of Veii, by whose order the Roman
 ambassadors were shamefully murdered^k.
 Revolt of Under these circumstances M. Geganius,
 Fidenæ. and L. Sergius Fidenas, were chosen
 A.C. 437. consuls, the latter of whom defeated the enemy,
 but with a great loss. The senate then ordained
 Mam. Æmilius dictator, and L. Quintius, the son
 of Cincinnatus, master of the horse. An addi-
 tional force was raised, and Quintius Capitolinus
 and M. Fabius ordered to follow the dictator. The
 enemy then removed beyond the Anio, and took
 their station on a hill between that river and
 Fidenæ. Being joined by some Faliscan legions,
 they pitched their camps below the walls of
 Fidenæ. The dictator followed near at hand, se-
 curing himself against attacks by an entrenchment.

^k A report existed that some words of the king during a game of chance were misconstrued into an order for their death. But see Schmitz, p. 152.

A.C. 437. A.U. 317.

On the morrow he led out his troops, and the Veientes and Fidenates wished to delay battle, but Tolumnius was obliged to promise to fight the next day, in order to satisfy the impatience of the Falisci. On coming to battle, the Veientes sent a detachment round the hills, to attack the Roman camps during the battle, and took their stand on the right wing, whilst the Falisci held the left, and the Fidenates the centre. Immediately the augurs declared the omens favourable, the horse rushed upon the enemy with great violence, while their attack was supported by that of the foot, and the enemy were forced to give way. Their horse however stood ground, headed by king Tolumnius. Cossus, a tribune¹, directed his horse with violence against him, struck him to the ground, and, hastily dismounting, slew the king, and spoiled his corpse. Bearing the head of the slain chieftain on his spear, he rode through the ranks, striking terror into the enemy on all sides. Meantime the dictator had routed the legions, and Fabius Vibulanus put the

Battle between the Romans and insurgents.

Cossus slays the king.

¹ Doubts exist as to the time of this exploit. See § 20. Probability inclines to that statement which places this deed in the time of his consulship.

troops, who had been sent to attack the camps, to flight. A triumph was decreed to the dictator, the greatest ornament of which was the brave and dedicates the spolia opima. Cossus, bearing the opima spolia, and whom the soldiers in rude songs compared to Romulus. The spoils were fixed near those of Romulus, in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, and the dictator offered a golden crown to Jupiter in the Capitol.

A.C. 436.

21—2.

Under the next consuls, M. Cornelius and L. Papirius Crassus, the lands of the Veientes and Falisci were ravaged, and a sedition excited by the tribune Sp. Mælius, who summoned Minucius to stand his trial on a charge of falsehood, and proposed the confiscation of Ahala's property for the slaying of a citizen not condemned. He was, however, unsuccessful^m. A pestilence raged with great violence, and shocks of an earthquake were felt in the land around the city. The pestilence which

A.C. 435. continued in the following year, under the consuls C. Julius and L. Virginus, was so violent as to hinder all attempts at war. The Hostilities renewed against Rome. usual enemies were active, and approached

^m But Ahala was exiled, according to Valerius Max. 5. 3.

the Colline gate. Q. Servilius was then chosen dictator, Postumius Æbutius master of the horse. At dawn the Romans started from the Colline gate, and the enemy immediately retired to higher ground, but were overtaken by the dictator near Nomentum, and shut up into Fidenæ. The strength of the city defied all efforts to besiege it, but the dictator effected an entrance by mining, and it was thus taken. Fidenæ re-taken. The censors C. Furius Pacilus and M. Geganius examined and approved the public villa erected in the Campus Martius, and the census was now held therein.

Macer says the same consuls continued in office during the next year, Valerius Antias and Q. Tubero make M. Manlius and Q. Sulpicius the consuls instead. A.C. 434. 23-4. But there is a great probability that three militaryⁿ tribunes were in office. To quell an anticipated revolt of the Etrurian states, Mam. Æmilius was chosen dictator, A. Postumius master of the horse, and preparations made with great activity. But upon the news of the refusal of the other states to join

ⁿ M. Manlius Capitolinus, Ser. Cornelius Cossus, and Q. Sulpicius Prætextatus, according to the Fasti.

the Veientes, the dictator, desiring to perform some remarkable work, attempted the reduction of the censorship to a year and a half, it having hitherto lasted for five years. Æmilius limits the office of censor to one year and a half. The bill was successfully passed, and he laid down office the next day. This so offended the censors, that they degraded him from his tribe, increased his tribute eightfold, and made him an *ærarius*°.

A.C. 433. The tribunes succeeded in preventing
25. the election of consuls the following year, but the military tribunes were all patricians. A pestilence raged with great violence, and the decemvirs laboured to appease the anger of the gods, while a temple was vowed to Apollo. Supplies of corn were procured from Etruria, Cumæ, and Sicily.

A.C. 432. The tribunes for the following year were also patricians, which caused great discontent among the plebs, and a law was passed forbidding candidates to canvass in white garments.

A.C. 431. Titus Quintius Pennus Cincinnatus
26—29. and C. Julius Mento were chosen consuls, and the war with the *Æqui* and
War with the Æqui and Volsci.

° This was a species of disfranchisement. See *Diet. Ant.* s. v. p. 19.

Volsci, threatened in the preceding year, was prosecuted with vigour. A levy was held by the enemy under the *sacrata lex*, and two great armies came to Algidus, and pitched their camps apart from each other. The disagreement of the consuls demanded the election of a dictator, and the senate appealed to the tribunes, requesting them to enforce the election against the wish of the consuls. T. Quintius then chose A. Postumius Tubertus, by whom L. Julius was made master of the horse. A *justitium* was also proclaimed, and the Hernicans and Latins ordered to furnish troops.

The consul C. Julius was left in charge of the city, and the dictator, having vowed some games, set out with Quintius. Their army was divided into two parts, like that of the enemy, the dictator's portion being drawn up near Tusculum, the consul's near Lanuvium. Light skirmishes ensued in the plain between the four camps, in which the Romans were successful. The enemy then attacked the consul's camp, but gave the alarm to the whole army as well as to the dictator. The consul's army quickly guarded their camp, and Sp. Postumius

Postumius
chosen dic-
tator.

Battle near
Tusculum
and Lanu-
vium.

came up with a detachment, while the dictator came round with another, and lay concealed at some distance from the place of contest. Q. Sulpicius was placed over the camp, Q. Fabius over the horse, but with orders not to move till morning. He then sent Geganius to attack the camp of the Æqui^p, and took possession, almost before they were aware of his approach. The dictator was acquainted of his success by the smoke of the signal fires. At dawn Fabius gave the attack with his cavalry, and the consul also made an onslaught. The dictator then attacked the reserve and second line with great success, but was hindered in his progress by the valour of Vectius Messius, a Vol-
Messius. scian, who drove back the cohorts of Postumius. The dictator however restored success, although wounded in the shoulder. All the chief leaders were wounded, and Sp. Postumius was carried from the field, having received a fracture of the head from a stone. Messius then broke through the ranks of the enemy, and joined the Volscian camp, which was besieged by the dictator and consul, and taken. All the army, except the

^p This seems probable from the next chapter, for the *Volscian* camp does not appear to have been yet captured.

senators, were sold for slaves, the Hernicans and Latins received back whatever had been taken from them by the enemy, and the dictator returned in triumph to Rome, where he laid down office⁹. He was vexed by finding on his return that the temple had been dedicated to Apollo by his colleague. In this same year the Carthaginians joined the adverse party in Sicily, of which the Romans took no notice.

Under the consulship of L. Papirius A.C. 430.
 Crassus and L. Julius the Æqui sent to 30.
 propose a treaty, but the senate required a sur-
 render; they therefore made a truce for eight
 years. A law regulating the amount of fines was
 meditated by the tribunes, but carried Law con-
 cerning fines.
 into effect by the consuls. The next con- A.C. 429.
 suls were L. Sergius and Hostus Lucretius Tricip-
 tinus. After them A. Cornelius Cossus, A.C. 428.
 and T. Quintius Pennus. Some of the Fide-
 nates were suspected of joining the Veientes (who
 were ravaging the country), and were banished to

⁹ Some say he put his own son to death for fighting, though successfully, against his orders. Livy thinks that if this had been the case, the proverb relative to such cruelty would have referred to him, and not to Manlius. See § 29.

Ostia. Fidenæ was itself strengthened by a new colony. At Rome a drought raged violently, and the introduction of foreign superstitions into religion demanded the attention of the ædiles. Under C. Servilius Ahala and L. Papirius, the Fetiales were sent to demand satisfaction from the Veientes. Their message was slighted, and the centuries, to whom the tribunes had caused the matter to be referred, declared war.

A.C. 426.
31—4.
Four mili-
tary tribunes
elected.

The plebs secured the election of four military tribunes the next year. Of these A. Cornelius Cossus was left in charge of the city, C. Furius, M. Postumius, and T. Quintius Pennus set out to Veii, but their disagreement led to an inglorious defeat. The city then demanded a dictator, and A. Cornelius^r chose Mam. Æmilius, notwithstanding his former disgrace^s. The Fidenates were the only people who joined the Veientes, but a number of volunteers were enticed by hope of plunder. Fidenæ was the seat of war, whilst at

^r By permission of the augurs; for it was usual for the consul to elect the dictator.

^s See § 34.

Rome all were in terror, a justitium was ordered, and the shops closed. The dictator however called the people together, rebuked them for their want of courage, and having offered the usual prayers, set out and pitched his camp about a mile and a half on this side of Fidenæ, with the Tiber on his left hand, some mountains at his right. He then ordered T. Quintius Pennus to take possession of the summit of a mountain behind the enemy, and near the citadel of Fidenæ. On the morrow he desired Cossus to keep the horse quiet till he should give the signal, and then rushed upon the enemy. At the first onset they were routed; but a multitude, armed with firebrands, came rushing from the gates of Fidenæ, and struck terror and confusion into their foes. The dictator then called Quintius and his troops from the hills, as also the master of the horse, and ordered them to drive the flames back upon the enemy. Cossus ordered the cavalry to take the bridles from their horses^t, and rush upon the enemy. They bore down all before them, while Quintius attacked in the rear. A few Fidenates escaped to the city, and a few only of the Volscians suc-

Defeat of the
enemy, and
capture of
Fidenæ.

^t See the commentators on the passage.

ceeded in swimming across the Tiber, whilst the victorious army rushed on to Fidenæ, which was speedily taken. After a violent slaughter the enemy begged their lives, and surrendered. The dictator returned to Rome in triumph, with a large booty, and laid down office on the sixteenth day. Some assert that a naval^u victory was obtained over the Veientes at Fidenæ, but this seems unlikely from the narrowness of the river, and it was perhaps only a dispute between some few vessels about the right of passing over.

A.C. 425.

35-6.

Under the next tribunes, A. Semp-
nius Atratinus, L. Quintius, L. Furius,
L. Horatius, a truce for twenty years was con-
cluded with the Veientes, and another for three
years with the Æqui. In the following year,
under Ap. Claudius Crassus, Sp. Nautius, L. Ser-
gius, and Sex. Julius, games were cele-
brated at Rome, which were visited by
the inhabitants of neighbouring states.
The tribunes of the people renewed the agitation
respecting plebeian consuls, or at least plebeian

Games at
Rome and
renewal of
agitation.

A.C. 424.

^u The conjecture of Le Fevre, that this statement arose from Livy's misunderstanding the word "classis" in some older account, seems ingenious.

A.C. 423. A.U. 331.

military tribunes; and numbers sought popularity and power by promising, if elected, a tax out of which the soldiers should be paid, a division of land, and some new colonies. But the military tribunes, taking advantage of the absence of the tribunes of the people, procured the election of consuls.

The consuls elected were C. Sempronius and Q. Fabius Vibulanus^x. In this year Vulturum was taken from the Etruscans by the Samnites, and received the name of Capua. The allies brought word of an impending attack from the Volscians, but Sempronius, to whom the matter was entrusted, behaved with great carelessness and temerity, and a total defeat would have ensued but for the bravery of the decurion Sex. Tempanius, who called upon a party of horse to dismount, and rushing upon the enemy, threw them into confusion. The Volscians however closed upon them, and they were thus cut off from the help of their own party. The consul with his legions attacked the enemy on the other side, and Tempanius and

A.C. 423.

37—41.

Mal-admini-
stration of
Sempronius.Sex. Tempa-
nius.

^x They entered office on the Ides of December, which was an unusual period.

his party seizing a small hill, formed themselves into a thick mass, and resisted the enemy till night-fall. Both parties were then panic stricken, and retired to the neighbouring mountains, as if conquered. At dawn Tempanius learnt from some wounded stragglers that the Volscians had deserted their camp, but on going to the Roman he found that the same thing had happened, and set off for the city immediately. He found all in terror; Fabius guarded the gates, and the cavalry had been given up as lost. The tribunes of the people, who had summoned M. Postumius and T. Quintius to answer for their conduct at Veii, seized this opportunity to bring discredit upon them, and C. Julius demanded of Tempanius his opinion of the conduct of Sempronius. He disdained to magnify his own merits by enlarging upon the indiscretion of his general, and assured the people that the Volscians were in as sad a plight as the Romans, and that much of the error was unavoidable. Meantime the consul returned, and did justice to the intrepidity of Tempanius. M. Postumius and Quintius were then arraigned for their conduct at Veii: the former was fined 10,000 pounds of brass, but his colleague escaped through

Prosecution
of Postumius
and Quintius.

the remembrance of his former merits, and those of his father.

The following year Sex. Tempanius, A.C. 422.
 A. Sellius, Sex. Antistius, and Sp. Icilius 42.
 were created tribunes of the people, in their absence. The consular power was unpopular, and L. Manlius Capitolinus, Q. Antonius Merenda, L. Papi-
 rius^y were elected to the military tribuneship. The tribune Hortensius summoned C. Sempronius to stand trial for the mismanagement of the last war, but desisted from his purpose at the entreaty of his colleagues.

The next year N. Fabius Vibulanus A.C. 421.
 and T. Quintius Capitolinus were con- 43.
 suls. Fabius obtained a trifling victory over the Æqui, and was rewarded with an ovation^z. The consuls moved for the election of two
 additional quæstors, which the senate Proposal to double the number of quæstors.
 approved, but the tribunes insisted upon the plebs furnishing part of the proposed number^a. The consuls at length consented to leave the election to the choice of the people, but the tribunes pressed for a positive clause respecting the election

^y And L. Servilius Structa.

^z Cf. Dict. Antiq. s. v. It was inferior to a triumph.

^a Probably two. See Niebuhr, v. 2. p. 430, etc.

of plebeians, and the bill was abandoned. The year was spent in various disputes, until the interrex Papirius proposed that the two parties should accommodate each other's views; the senate by allowing the election of military tribunes, the tribunes by leaving the choice of quæstors open to the will of the people.

Papirius effects an accommodation.
 A.C. 420. The military tribunes were L. Quintus Cincinnatus, L. Furius, M. Manlius, and A. Sempronius. The latter held the comitia for electing the quæstors; and the son of Antistius, and the brother of Sex. Pompilius, though thus connected with the tribunes, failed in obtaining their election. The rage of the tribunes knew no bounds, and they turned their anger against C. Sempronius, the cousin-german of A. Sempronius, whom they prosecuted^b and fined. This same year was distinguished by the prosecution, but subsequent acquittal, of the vestal Postumia, whose manner of life had excited suspicion. Cumæ was also taken from the Greeks by the Campanians.

^b They artfully contrived to increase his unpopularity by renewing the question of dividing the land, to which C. Sempronius had always opposed himself.

A.C. 419-8. A.U. 335-6.

The next military tribunes were A.C. 419.
 Agrippa Menenius, P. Lucretius, and 45-7.
 Sp. Nautius. The slaves attempted to burn the
 city, and seize the capitol, but their design was
 frustrated. The Lavicans joined the Æqui, and
 war was threatened. The tribunes of the A.C. 418.
 succeeding year, L. Sergius, M. Papirius, and
 C. Servilius disputed who should take the military
 command, each being unwilling to be left to super-
 intend the home service. Q. Servilius exerted his
 paternal authority, and compelled his son Conduct of
 C. Servilius to remain at home. But the Q. Servilius.
 dissension extended itself to the conduct of the
 war, they differed upon every point, and at last
 officiated in turn for each day. Under Mal-ad-
 L. Sergius, the army was led into a dan- ministration
 gerous attempt upon the enemies' camp, of the tri-
 driven into the valley, and compelled to desert bunes.
 their camp. They fled to Tusculum, but the
 foresight of Q. Servilius had provided Q. Servilius
 against the calamity he anticipated from chosen dic-
 the dissension of the tribunes. He was created tator.
 dictator by his own son^c, whom he in turn named

^c Others say that Ahala Servilius was master of the horse.

as master of the horse, set out and routed the enemy, whose late success had rendered them negligent. He then pursued them to Lavici, which he captured. Upon his return, he abdicated office after continuing therein eight days. A colony was sent to Lavici.

He defeats the enemy, and takes Lavici.

Lavici colonized.

A.C. 417 and 416.

During the two next years, under the tribuneship of Agrippa Menenius, C. Servilius Crassus, and P. Lucretius, and of A. Sempronius, Papirius, and Nautius^d, Rome was troubled with sedition excited by the Agrarian laws.

48.

The measure of Mæcilius and Metilius negated through the contrivance of Appius.

The movers of the tumult were the tribunes Mæcilius and Metilius. The property of the patricians was endangered by the proposed division of land, but Ap. Claudius proposed making interest with the other tribunes by affecting to commit the public weal to their responsibility. They were accordingly persuaded to make an intercessio, and the movers of the bill found themselves deserted by their own party.

A.C. 415.
49-50.

Under the next tribunes, P. Cornelius Cossus, C. Quintius, N. Fabius, and C.

^d Also Q. Fabius Vibulanus. See Sigonius.

Valerius Potitus, the Veientes were prevented from war by the superstitious fears excited by an inundation of the Tiber, while the Æqui were so dispirited by their previous defeat, that they were unable to defend Bolæ, the inhabitants of which lost their town, in revenge for the attack they had made upon the Roman colony at Lavici. The plebeian tribune L. Sextius wished a colony to be sent to Bolæ, but his colleagues again made an intercessio on behalf of the senate. In A.C. 414. the following year the Æqui regained Bolæ, and the care of the war was entrusted to the military tribune M. Postumius Regillensis. He defeated the enemy, and re-took Bolæ, but disgracefully defrauded his soldiers of their booty. His consequent unpopularity was increased by his insolent remark in the council: "that it would be the worse for his soldiers, if they did not keep quiet." The tribune Sextius informed the people of his conduct, the news spread to the soldiers; and when the quæstor P. Sestius attempted to put down the sedition by violence, he was struck by a stone, and compelled to quit the crowd. Postumius himself proceeded to the greatest cruelties, and ordered some of the

Infamous
conduct of
M. Postu-
mius.

soldiers to be drowned in baskets. Their cries
His death. aroused their comrades, and the cruel
tribune was stoned to death.

A.C. 413. Under the succeeding consuls A. Cor-
nelius Cossus and L. Furius, some of the
51. persons concerned in the death of Postu-
Further dis-
content. mius were brought to justice. The peo-
ple were enraged at this, especially as no notice
was taken of the proposed allotments of land.
This feeling might have been appeased by giving
up *Bolæ* to colonists, but the senate still persevered
in retaining it. Furius made a successful cam-
paign against the Volscians, and took
Capture of
Ferentinum. Ferentinum, which was given to the
Hernicans.

A.C. 412. The following year, under the consuls
52. Q. Fabius Ambustus and C. Furius Paci-
lus, was disturbed by the agitation of the tribune
L. Icilius, which was in turn stopped by
Pestilence
and famine. a pestilence, which, in the consulship of
M. Papirius and C. Nautius, was succeeded by a
famine. The Samnites refused to furnish corn, but
A.C. 411. the Etrurian states supplied it liberally.

A.C. 410. Coss. M. Æmilius and C. Valerius Po-
titus. A war with the Volsci and Æqui
53.

A.C. 410-9. A.U. 344-5.

was threatened, but, although the enemy had descended upon the Latin and Hernican territory, the tribune M. Mænius hindered the levy and urged the agrarian law. His colleague however sided with the senate, on learning that the citadel of Carventus was taken, and the refractory were compelled to give in their names. The citadel was quickly re-taken, but Valerius, never popular, increased the dislike of the people by ordering the quæstors to deposit the booty there taken in the treasury, asserting that the people should not have booty until they enlisted without opposition. Consular comitia were held to prevent the chance of Mænius being elected military tribune, which his popularity seemed to render probable.

War with the Æqui and Volsci.

Carventus taken but recovered.

Unpopular conduct of Valerius.

Accordingly Cn. Cornelius Cossus and L. Furius were chosen consuls. The people revenged themselves by electing three plebeians among the new quæstors, Q. Silius, P. Ælius, P. Pupius, probably at the instigation of the Icilii, three of whom were tribunes this year. The rage of the senate was excessive, but the people thought they had gained one step towards the participation of all public honours.

A.C. 409.

54-7.

Three plebeian quæstors elected.

A.C. 408. A.U. 346.

Meantime the usual enemies of Rome commenced hostilities, and the three tribunes earnestly strove to hinder the levy, and to prevent the re-election of consuls. Carventus was re-taken by the Æqui, but they remained firm to their purpose, and the senate was compelled to allow comitia for electing military tribunes, stipulating however that none of the present tribunes of the plebs should be accepted as candidates, or should continue in their present office during the next year. The new tribunes were C. Julius, P. Cornelius Cossus, and C. Servilius Ahala, all patricians^e. Meantime the enemy had made Antium the seat of their operations, and were exciting all their neighbours to hostilities. The alarm of the senate led them to desire a dictator: Julius and Cornelius were offended at being deprived of what they considered their lawful power, and the senate in vain appealed to the tribunes of the plebs to compel the election of a dictator. At this juncture Servilius interposed, and declared that he would create

Carventus recovered by the enemy. Opposition of the tribunes.

Dispute respecting the election of a dictator.

^e The plebs were disgusted into this choice by the number of improper candidates set forth by the stratagem of the senate.

A.C. 407-6. A.U. 347-8.

one upon the authority^f of the senate, if any opposition was made to their decree. He accordingly chose P. Cornelius dictator, who in turn named him master of the horse. An easy victory was obtained over the enemy at Antium, and a castle near the Fucine lake captured. The military tribunes, out of spite to the senate, made no attempt to hold the consular comitia, and four tribunes were accordingly elected, L. Furius, C. Valerius, N. Fabius, and C. Servilius.

Servilius puts an end to it.

A.C. 407.

As the truce with Veii had expired, ambassadors were sent thither to demand redress for past injuries, but were met by a deputation from Veii, complaining that they were in a state of domestic sedition, and begging the senate to desist from their demand, which was granted. Through the delay of the senate in sending assistance the garrison at Verugo was cut off by the Volscians.

58—9.

Leniency towards the Veientes.

Disaster at Verugo.

The next tribunes were P. and Cn. Cornelius Crassus, N. Fabius, and L. Valerius. On the senate sending a fresh embassy to Veii, they were sent back with an insolent answer, and threatened with the same

A.C. 406.

Conduct of the Veientes.

^f See the note of Doujatius.

fate which had befallen those sent to Tolumnius. The plebs were unwilling to engage in further wars, and made bitter complaints, whilst Discontent at Rome. the tribunes increased their unwillingness. A levy was however held, and Cn. Cornelius being left at Rome, the other three tribunes set out against the Volsci. Valerius went to Antium, Cornelius to Ecetræ, and Fabius to Anxur. The latter town was taken by storm, for C. Servilius seized a hill at the back part of the city, which had been left unguarded, and thereby diverted the attention of the enemy. The multitude Anxur taken. accepted quarter, and 2,500 of them were taken alive. Fabius gave up the city for plunder to all the three divisions of the army, asserting that they had equally contributed to the taking of Anxur, by hindering the other Volscians coming to its rescue.

60. But a highly popular measure was set Military pay introduced. on foot by the senate, who voluntarily offered to pay the soldiers, who had hitherto been compelled to support themselves by their own resources. The tribunes vainly cautioned the people against accepting the proposed indulgence, and the liberality of the senate

in furnishing the requisite funds was speedily imitated by the wealthy party among the plebs. A large army was then raised, and war declared against the Veientes.

War declared against Veii.

The next tribunes were T. Quintius Capitolinus, Q. Quintius Cincinnatus, C. Julius, A. Manlius, L. Furius, M. Æmilius. Siege was laid to Veii, but partly interrupted by the Volscian war in the following year. Under the following tribunes, the Romans were successful against the Volsci. Arteria was taken by a sudden eruption, but its citadel held out, and was at length betrayed to the Romans by a slave, and totally destroyed.

A.C. 405.
61.

The siege commenced.

A.C. 404.

ANALYSIS
OF THE
FIRST DECADE OF LIVY.

BOOK V.

A.C. 403. A.U. 351.

A.C. 403. THE number of military tribunes was
1—7. increased to eight, and the war with
Siege of Veii. Veii carried on with great spirit. The
Veientes had chosen a king, which gave great
offence to the neighbouring states, and the person
elected had himself offended the Etrurians by in-
terrupting some public games, because another
man had been chosen high-priest on the occasion.
The Romans kept a double rampart, one turned
towards the besieged city, the other facing the
country, so as to oppose any troops who might
come to relieve the besieged. They then
proposed to build temporary barracks,
and to continue the siege during the
Winter quar-
ters proposed
at Veii, but
opposed by
the tribunes.

winter. This measure was violently opposed by the plebeian tribunes, who asserted that the military pay was a mere blind to cover the enslavement of the people, whose youth being engaged in war at a distance from the city, were thereby prevented from defending the public liberty at home.

Upon this the tribune, Ap. Claudius, Oration of Appius. harangued the people with great ability, charging the plebeian tribunes with opposing the senate for the mere sake of creating dissension between the upper and lower classes, representing the munificence and liberality of the aristocracy in furnishing the military stipend, entreating them to consider the impropriety of breaking up a war for which such splendid preparations had been made, and which seemed likely to be shortly concluded, and enlarging upon the advantage of pursuing the attack during the present unpopularity of the Veientes with their neighbours. He concluded with an appeal to the courage of the Romans, exhorting them to preserve their ancient reputation for military obedience, and that concord to which alone the state could trust for defence and victory.

The measure
is put into
execution
with great
spirit.

This harangue had the desired effect, which was aided by the news of the burning of the works by a sudden onslaught of the enemy from the town, and a consequent heavy loss on the Roman side. Those of equestrian fortune, but who were not allowed a horse by the state, volunteered to serve with their own horses^a, and the poorer party of the plebs, animated by their example, declared themselves ready to march against Veii immediately. The senate were not backward in acknowledging the nobleness of their behaviour, and a compensation was allowed to the equites, and a stipend to the foot thus raised. On their arrival, they speedily retrieved the previous misfortune.

A.C. 402. Under the next tribunes Anxur was
8-9. recovered by the enemy, and the dissen-
Misconduct of the tri- sions of the military tribunes, especially
bunes Virgi- of L. Virginus and M. Sergius, caused
nius and Ser- great mischief at Veii. A new enemy appeared in
gius. the Falisci and Capenates, who attacked the camps, and caused great fear and disorder. The greater camp was under the charge of Virginus, who

^a See Dict. Antiq. s. v. Equites, p. 3946, and the notes of the commentators.

A.C. 401. A.U. 353.

refused to go to the assistance of Sergius, who in turn was equally determined not to solicit his colleague's aid, and at length deserted the works, and returned to Rome with the greater part of his troops. He threw the whole blame upon Virginus, who was recalled from the camps, and the senate desired the tribunes to lay down office, that new ones might be immediately created, and enter office on the Calends of October. The other tribunes consented, but Sergius and Virginus refused. The plebeian tribunes then threatened them with imprisonment, and C. Servilius, one of the military tribunes, declared that he would create a dictator, if his colleagues persisted in remaining in office. They are discharged from office. By this threat they were compelled to resign.

The next tribunes were L. Valerius, A.C. 401.
 M. Furius Camillus, M. Æmilius, Cn. 10-12.
 Cornelius Cossus, K. Fabius Ambustus, and L. Julius. The war was carried on at once against Veii, Capena, and Faleria, and Anxur was retaken. But the levies and taxation for furnishing the military pay pressed heavily upon those at home, and while even the senators were compelled to enlist, the sum requisite

Fresh disputes at Rome.

for the military expences grew greater. The tribunes of the plebs were loud in their outcries against these proceedings, and accused the aristocracy of detaining the people from home by a tedious and ill-conducted war, and purchasing an unconditional obedience by a stipend. Meantime the number of plebeian tribunes was incomplete, and an attempt was made to fill up the two vacant places from the patricians. This failed, but C. Lacerius and M. Acutius were elected into the number (cooptati), contrary to the Trebonian law^b. It chanced that Cn. Trebonius was one of the tribunes of the people; and his vexation at seeing a law, passed by one of his own family, laid aside, displayed itself in violent attacks both upon the senate and his colleagues. The latter, fearing for their own safety, drew the attention of the people to the prosecutions of Sergius and Virginus, whose mutual recriminations proved their error. The people, worked up by the violent representations of the patricians, condemned them to a heavy fine, and the tribunes, having gained their end, increased their popularity by raising the agrarian question,

Violation of
the lex Tre-
bonia.

Prosecution
and punish-
ment of Ser-
gius and Vir-
ginus.

^b A.C. 448. See lib. iii. § 65.

A.C. 400-399. A.U. 354-5.

and hindering further payment of tribute for the support of the soldiers. The camps at Veii had been recovered, and were under the care of the military tribunes M. Æmilius and K. Fabius, and M. Furius was ravaging the lands of the Falisci, while Cn. Cornelius burnt and destroyed the houses and fields of the Capenates. Valerius Potitus was engaged in blockading Anxur, which still held out against the attempts to besiege it. But the soldiers now began to demand their Military discontent. customary pay, and confusion spread through the camps. The tribunes of the people took advantage of the excitement, and succeeded in procuring the election of P. Licinius Calvus, First plebeian military tribune. a plebeian, amongst the military tribunes. The people, pleased at having obtained this concession, ceased to refuse tribute.

Anxur was shortly re-taken during a A.C. 400. festival of the inhabitants. The winter 13. of this year was uncommonly severe, and the Tiber was frozen over. So great was the popularity of P. Licinius in his new administration, that M. Veturius was the only patrician chosen tribune the succeeding year, the others, M. Pomponius, C. Duilius, Volero Publilius, A.C. 399. Plebeian tribunes.

Cn. Genucius, L. Atilius, being all plebeians. But a sudden change of weather produced a fearful pestilence, and the anger of the gods appeased by Lectisternia, and an universal accommodation of private disputes, whilst all the captives were unfettered during the days of the festival. The Veientes were joined by the Falisci and Capenates, but when the latter had attacked the Roman entrenchments, a detachment from the greater camps fell upon them in the rear, and they were thrown into confusion. The Falisci were then routed, and lost great numbers, whilst their remaining party was cut off by those who had been engaged in ravaging the lands of Capena, and many of the Veientes were slain while vainly striving to escape into the city, the gates having been closed upon them.

A.C. 398. The senate worked upon the superstition of the people so effectually, that the next tribunes elected were all patricians: two of them, Potitus and Camillus, carried off great booty from Capena. The people were alarmed by various prodigies, and the want of Etruscan haruspices was felt. A lake in the Alban wood suddenly swelled to an unusual height, with-

A.C. 397. A.U. 357.

out any rain or apparent cause for its increase. A deputation was sent to Delphi, to enquire the meaning of this portent, but an aged haruspex of Veii being heard to declare that the fortunes of this city would be at an end when the Romans should draw off the waters of that lake; a Roman soldier led him from the city by stratagem, and he was sent to Rome, where he repeated his prophecy, also detailing the manner in which the waters were to be drawn off.

New military tribunes were then chosen. The Tarquinienses taking advantage of the engaged state of the Roman forces, sent some cohorts to ravage the country. They were however routed and stripped of their spoil by some volunteers, under A. Postumius and L. Julius. The ambassadors returned from Delphi, bearing a promise of success against Veii, if the waters of the Alban lake were dispersed by channels, and not allowed to flow down to the sea, and if some neglected rites^c were restored. The captive pro-

A.C. 397.

16—17.

The Tarquinienses shew hostilities.

The Delphian answer.

^c These were the *Feriæ Latinæ*, or *Latiar*, usually attributed to Tarquin the Haughty. But see Niebuhr, t. ii. p. 34, &c. *Dict. Ant. s. v. Feriæ*.

A.C. 396. A.U. 358.

phet received great honour, and was ordered to perform the proper expiations. Accordingly, as there had been some flaw in their election, the military tribunes were ordered to resign office, and L. Valerius, Q. Servilius, and Camillus were named interreges. The tribunes of the people began to urge the election of the majority of the military tribunes from among the plebs, but the news of a new organization of volunteers^d, for the relief of Veii, called away the attention of the plebs from the subject.

A.C. 396. Among the next tribunes was the plebeian Licinius. He however pleaded the infirmity of age, and was permitted to resign office in favour of his son P. Licinius. Titinius and Genucius made an unfortunate attempt against the Falisci and Capenates, and the latter fell fighting in the foremost ranks. Great fear pervaded both the city and the camps upon news of this defeat; and public prayers were offered in all places for the safety of the city.

19—22. After the due expiations and procurations had been performed, M. Furius

^d For the Etrurian states refused to join actively in a war which had been undertaken without their opinions being taken on the subject.

Measures taken in consequence.

Disasters and fear at Rome.

Camillus dictator.

Camillus was chosen dictator, C. Cornelius Scipio master of the horse. He immediately punished those who had deserted the camps in the late panic, held a levy, and publicly thanked the Latin and Hernican youth for the assistance they proffered. He then vowed great games, and the restitution of the temple of Matuta^e, if he returned victorious. A successful battle immediately followed at Nepete, where the Falisci and Capenates were routed, and stripped of their camps, but the greater part of the booty was given up to the quæstor. The dictator then proceeded to Veii, restrained the troops from loose skirmishes, and proceeded to carry a mine into the citadel^f. This being completed, and confident that the city was now in his power, he sent to Rome to know the will of the senate respecting the booty, which he foresaw would be great. The aged Licinius, on being asked by his son, advised that all the people, who wished to share the booty, should be permitted to go to the camps at Veii. Ap. Claudius wished it to be expended in military

^e The Greek *Ino*. Cf. Orelli on Hor. A. P. 124.

^f Niebuhr's disbelief (see *Hist. Rom.* V. ii. p. 483) seems more reasonable than the circumstantial gravity of Livy's account.

pay, thereby relieving the people from tribute. The opinion of Licinius however prevailed, and an immense multitude set out for the camps. The dictator having vowed a tenth of the spoil to Pythian Apollo, and a temple at Rome to the Veian Juno, attacked the city in all parts, in order to divert the attention of the besieged from the mine^g. The temple of Juno in the citadel was quickly filled with armed men, and the walls cleared of the enemy. At length the dictator ordered his men to give quarter, and the Veientes surrendered themselves captives. The city was then given up to plunder. On the next day the captives were sold, and the profits of the sale placed in the treasury. This offended the people, who had also been displeased by the dictator's reference to the senate respecting the booty. The gods were then removed from the conquered city with great pomp^h, and Juno accompanied the

Veii is taken
after a siege
of ten years.

Camillus be-
comes unpopu-
lar.

^g The king of Veii was sacrificing at this moment in the temple, and the priest declared that whoever should bring the goddess her *prosciæ*, would prove victorious. The Romans burst from their hiding place, and accomplished the omen. § 20. See Schmitz, p. 154-5.

^h It is said that the goddess herself expressed a wish for the removal, when asked the question.

victors to the Aventine, where Camillus afterwards honoured her with a temple in fulfilment of his vow.

The joy at Rome was great, and the senate decreed a supplicatio for four days; but the ostentation of the dictator, who triumphed in a chariot drawn by white steeds, gave offence, and it was thought a presumptuous attempt to arrogate to himself the dignity of Jove or of the Sun. After dedicating a temple to Juno under the title of Mater Matutaⁱ, he laid down office. Meantime the tithe of the spoils was demanded for Apollo. The people were ordered to estimate their respective shares, and give up one tenth; which excited still further dissatisfaction. Peace was granted to the Æqui and Volsci, at their own request.

In the following year the tribunes Cornelius Cossus and Scipio were entrusted with the charge of the Falerian war, Valerius and Servilius with that of Capena. They ravaged the lands with such fury, that the latter place solicited peace; but the Falisci held out. To quiet a sedition at Rome, a colony

ⁱ There seems some mistake here. See above, § 19.

was proposed to be sent into the Volscian territory, and three jugera and seven twelfths were offered to each colonist. But the people wished for the rich lands and fine city of Veii, and despised the proffered gift. The plebeian tribune T. Sicinius urged the people to migrate to Veii, but the Patricians opposed the measure with the greatest warmth.

The dispute raged with such violence, that the persons of the magistrates were scarcely safe. Camillus attributed the whole evil to the neglect in fulfilling his vow, which had brought down the anger of the gods. He also required that a tithe of the land should be sold, and gold bought with the money, from whence a gift befitting Apollo might be made. But as there was not sufficient for the purpose, the matrons brought their ornaments to supply the deficiency^k, and a golden bowl was made.

A.C. 394. As the same party of plebeian tribunes
26-8. remained in office, the senate procured the election of Camillus as one of the military

^k They were thence honoured by riding in the *pilenta* during the times of public games, and *carpenta* during festivals. On the former see Nieb. T. i. note 977.

tribunes, pretending that a leader was wanted for the war, when they really required his political services in opposing the plebeian tribunes. The war with the Falisci went on with great spirit. They had taken up an advantageous position about a mile from their city, but Camillus came upon them by night, and forced them to quit their camps, and seek safety in the city. The booty was given over to the quæstors. He then blockaded the city, but the inhabitants were well provided with necessaries, and the siege would have proved a tedious one, had not the generosity of Camillus in sending back the children of the chief citizens, who had been betrayed by their schoolmaster, and punishing the traitor, so overcome the minds of their parents, that they voluntarily surrendered, and sought alliance with Rome.

Faleria surrenders, through the noble conduct of Camillus.

The conduct of Camillus so pleased the Romans, that they felt ashamed at the non-fulfilment of his vow, and immediately sent the golden bowl to Delphi. On their way, the legates were stopped by pirates, and brought to Liparæ. But the religious fears of their chief Timasitheus¹ prevented

¹ A name probably invented to suit the circumstance.

injury being offered to the legates, and they were Timasitheus. safely conducted to Delphi. The conduct of Timasitheus was rewarded by the senate with gifts and hospitium.

War with
the Æqui. C. Æmilius and Sp. Postumius jointly carried on the war against the Æqui; the former then took charge of the garrison at Verrugo, while the latter ravaged the country. Postumius was however surprised by the enemy, and driven to some hills, while the terror of the sudden attack reached Verrugo. But the troops were quickly rallied, and just as the senate had given up the army for lost, the letters of Postumius, wrapped in laurel branches, announced their victory.

A.C. 393.
29. As the plebs persisted in re-electing the same tribunes, the senate procured Consuls. the election of L. Lucretius Flavius and Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus^m as consuls. During an agrarian dispute, Vitellia, a Roman colony, was taken, but the inhabitants escaped under cover of night. Lucretius set out, and defeated the enemy, but on his return he found the city in a state of

^m Two consuls, who abdicated before these, are mentioned in the Fasti.

A.C. 393-2. A.U. 361-2.

excitement from the trial of A. Virginius and Q. Pomponius, who had been plebeian tribunes two years before, and were accused of sacrificing the public interest by hindering the bill brought forward by their colleagues. Despite the intercession of the senate, they were heavily fined, and Camillus severely reproached the plebs for turning against their own magistrates, and the consuls with allowing the public faith to be broken by the neglect of those tribunes, who had followed the authority of the senate.

Prosecution
of Virginius
and Pompo-
nius.

Camillus also exhorted the senate to withstand the proposed measure, and prevent the migration of the people to a city which its own gods had deserted. The patricians then began to implore the plebeians of their respective tribes, representing the crime of offending the gods by deserting their old city. This procured the rejection of the bill, and the senate were so pleased with their success, that they ordered the Veian territory to be divided among all the plebeians in lots of seven acres.

30.

The proposed
migration
rejected.

Division of
the Veian
lands.

L. Valerius Politus and M. Manlius were elected consuls without opposition.

A.C. 392.

31.

The games, which Camillus had vowed, were celebrated, and the temple dedicated to Queen Juno. An easy victory was obtained over the Æqui in Algidus, and Valerius received a triumph, his colleague an ovation. A new war broke out with Vulsinii, but a pestilence kept the Roman army at home. The enemy then joined with the Salpinates, and ravaged the country round Rome. The censor C. Julius died, and M. Cornelius was chosen in his placeⁿ. As the consuls were sick, they laid down office, and M. Furius was made interrex, then P. Cornelius Scipio, then L. Valerius, who created six military tribunes.

A.C. 391. The charge of the Vulsinian war was
32. entrusted to L. Lucretius and C. Æmilius, the Salpinates to Agrippa Furius and Ser. Sulpicius. The defeat of the former prevented the Salpinates hazarding a battle, and the Romans ravaged the lands until the Vulsinienes stipulated for a twenty years' truce, giving satisfaction for injuries, and a year's pay to the soldiers. A plebeian, M. Cædicius, informed the tribunes that he had heard a more than human

ⁿ Which was never afterwards allowed, for during this lustrum was Rome taken.

A.C. 391. A.U. 363.

voice proclaim amidst the silence of night, that the Gauls were coming. His information was despised, and the plebeian tribune L. Apuleius prosecuted Camillus on account of the Veian booty. Finding his condemnation inevitable, Camillus went into exile, praying that the city might soon have cause to repent its ingratitude. Meantime the inhabitants of Clusium^o came to Rome, soliciting aid against the

The approach
of the Gauls
threatened.

Banishment
of Camillus.

33—6.

^o The Gauls are said to have crossed the Alps, desiring the rich fruits and wines of the country beyond them, and to have possessed themselves of some lands before held by the Etruscans. They were led by Aruns, in revenge for the violation of his wife by his pupil Lucumo. Livy however denies that the Gauls, who had now attacked Clusium, were those who first crossed the Alps, since 200 years had elapsed since the first descent of the Gauls into Italy, and they had often fought with the people dwelling between the Alps and Apennines before they besieged Clusium. From the names applied to the upper and lower seas (i. e. the Hadriatic and Tuscan) Livy argues the extent of the Tuscan dominion before it fell under the Roman influence. The Tuscans first dwelt in twelve cities between the Apennines and the Tuscan sea, and then sent out a like number of colonies, who dwelt in the country beyond the Po as far as the Alps, leaving however the Venetian territory unmolested. To the same origin Livy attributes the Alpine nations, especially the Rhætians.

In the reign of Tarquinius Priscus the Celts were governed by a Biturigian king named Ambigatus, who, finding the population of his dominions far exceeding their resources, bade his sister's sons, Bellovesus and Sigovesus, take as many as they wished of the surplus population, and colonize such

A.C. 391. A.U. 363.

The inhabi-
tants of Clu-
sium seek aid
against the
Gauls.

Gauls. The senate refused this, but sent the three sons of M. Fabius to treat with the Gauls, desiring them, under pain of the Roman displeasure, to quit the lands of their allies, at the same time expressing a wish for pacific, rather than hostile measures.

The Gauls replied by offering to abstain from hostilities if the Clusines would share their territory with them, as they had more land than they required. If this were refused they said they would decide their claims by war. On the Romans questioning their right to the country of another nation,

places as the oracles of the Gods might point out. The Hercynian wood fell to the lot of Sigovesus, but Italy to Bellovesus, who set out with a number of the Bituriges, Arverni, Senones, Ædui, Ambarri, Carnutes, and Aulerci, and came to the country of the Tricastini, where their progress was stopped by the Alps. After aiding the Massilienses, who had come hither from Phocæa, they penetrated the country of the Taurini, and crossed the Alps. Near the river Ticinus they defeated the Tuscans, and hearing that the place bore the same name as one of their own cantons, (Insubris), they founded Mediolanum. They were then joined by a band of Cenomani, under Elitovius, who settled in Brixia and Verona. The Salluvii then settled near the Lævi. The Boii and Lingones crossed the Pennine Alps and the river Po, drove out the Etruscans and Umbri, but dwelt within the Apennines. Lastly, the Senones dwelt in the country between the Litis and the Æsis, and thence attacked Clusium, afterwards coming to Rome. § 33-5.

A.C. 391-90. A.U. 363-4.

they replied that their right was in their arms, and a battle immediately ensued, in which, contrary to the law of nations, the Roman ambassa- Misconduct of the Roman ambassadors and anger of the Gauls.
 dors took part, and Q. Fabius slew a leader of the Gauls, and was recognised by the enemy while spoiling the corpse. The Gauls immediately ceased fighting, and would have proceeded to Rome instantly, but their leaders persuaded them first to demand the persons of the Fabii. Although displeased at their conduct, the senate refused, and they were even created tribunes the succeeding year, together with Q. Sul- A.C. 390.
 picus Longus, Q. Servilius, and Ser. Cornelius. The Gauls now openly threatened war.

The carelessness of the Romans in en- 47—49.
 trusting such a war to the very men who had caused it by their temerity, was only Mismanagement of the Romans.
 equalled by their negligence in providing troops and means of defence. The news of the approach of the Gauls filled the city with terror, and the tribunes set out with a hastily levied army, and met the enemy when they were within eleven miles of the city, near the Allia. Without even performing the customary sacrifices, or taking the auspices, the tribunes drew up their army, placing some reserve

A.C. 390. A.U. 364.

troops on a raised ground at their right. But Brennus, thinking they were placed there with the view of falling upon his troops in the rear, attacked them first; while the other part of the Roman army gave way and fled, almost without striking a blow. A number perished by the sword, or were drowned in the river; but others escaped to Veii and Rome.

The Gauls
come to
Rome.

The Gauls straightway set out for the city, and arrived there on the evening of the same day. They found the city unguarded, and the gates left open. Fearing some stratagem, they remained between the city and the Anio till day-break. The Romans, believing that those who had escaped to Veii, were mourning them as dead, but the presence of the enemy quickly compelled them to forget their private griefs. Finding that there was no hope of defending the city with the small body of men left, the youths resolved to take their wives and children, and such of the senate as were able-bodied, ascend into the Capitol, and there hold out, while the aged expressed their willingness to meet death, and not burthen the falling republic with an useless weight. A large body of the plebs, whom the Capitol could

Rome is de-
serted, except
the Capitol.

not accommodate, retired to Janiculum, and thence spread themselves over the neighbouring cities. The Flamen Quirinalis and Vestals buried such images of the gods as they could not take with them, and carried the rest to Janiculum. On the road they met with L. Albinus, who gave up his waggon to their use.

Meantime the aged senators awaited their death^P in their houses. The barbarians entered the Forum by the Colline gate, and struck with admiration at the majesty of the aged patricians, would have revered them as gods, but on one of them offering to stroke the beard of M. Papirius, the patrician struck him, and the whole of the chief citizens were slaughtered forthwith.

Slaughter of the patricians.

At first the Gauls refrained from destroying the whole city, but finding the guard of the Capitol still held out, they carried on the work of devastation, and plundered and burnt the city in all directions. Then, forming a testudo, they attempted to storm the Capitol. Failing in this, they blockaded the citadel with a portion of

Siege of the Capitol.

^P Some say they devoted themselves to the infernal gods, and that the formula of devotion was pronounced by the Pontiff M. Fabius Maximus, § 41.

A.C. 390. A.U. 364.

their troops, while the rest plundered the neighbouring country. Some of them came to Ardea, and caused great terror: but Camillus, forgetting his own wrongs in the calamity of his country, encouraged the Ardeans, and led out a number of them by night, and slaughtered the Gauls in their camps. The Tuscans were also routed in the Veian territory, by the contrivance of the centurion Cædicius, who also, by the information of some captives, discovered another Tuscan detachment at Salinæ, and slew great numbers, returning to Veii with the credit of a double victory. Meantime C. Fabius Dorso boldly passed through the ranks of the enemy, and reached the Quirinal hill, where he performed some sacred rites due from his family, and returned in safety, the enemy being either astonished at his daring, or awed by religious reverence. Meantime the Romans had collected at Veii, and were impatient to attempt the recovery of their city. The soldiers and Cædicius wished Camillus to undertake to head the attempt, and to send to the senate in the citadel to request his recall from banishment. Pontius Cominius ventured

Camillus opposes the Gauls at Ardea.

Fabius Dorso.

Pontius Cominius.

A.C. 390. A.U. 364.

upon the dangerous attempt, and reached the Capitol by a steep ascent, which had escaped the notice of the enemy. The senate immediately recalled Camillus, and ordered him to be chosen dictator. Cominius returned with the news, and Camillus created dictator. Camillus was recalled from Veii, and proclaimed accordingly.

The Gauls however, having discovered a path, (probably the one by which The Capitol invaded unsuccessfully. Cominius had ascended,) invaded the Capitol in the dead of night. They however alarmed some sacred geese, who by their cackling Bravery of Manlius. awoke M. Manlius, who called his comrades to arms, and pushed down the first Gaul who appeared, thereby driving down the rest who followed. On the morrow one of the guards, upon whom the neglect of the watch was unanimously laid, was hurled from the Capitol by order of the tribune Q. Sulpicius; but Manlius received gifts of food from the soldiers, although they could ill afford them in their state of famine.

The Gauls were wasted by a pestilence which had broken out, the Romans by famine; although, when urged to surrender, they threw bread into the plain below, to make the enemy believe they

were well victualled. But while the dictator was preparing for the attack, the Roman senate resolved to ransom the Capitol, and Q. Sulpicius and Brennus, the Gallic king, agreed upon 1000 pounds of gold as the price. The insolence and dishonesty of the Gauls, who brought false weights, was punished by the sudden arrival of Camillus, who

Camillus re-ordered the gold to be taken away, and covers the city, and bade his men recover the Capitol with routs the Gauls to utter iron. destruction.

The Gauls were driven out of the city, and routed at the distance of eight miles on the road to Gabii. Their camps were taken, and not a single Gaul remained to tell the news of their defeat. Camillus, whom the soldiers celebrated as another Romulus, returned in triumph to the city, and the senate, finding the tribunes and people desirous of quitting the ruined city, and migrating to Veii, entreated

The tribunes urge the people to desert the city. him to continue in office, in order to hinder such attempts.

50. The first care of the dictator was the restoration of the temples, and the proper expiations according to the rules of the duumvirs. The freedom of the city was

Camillus re-instates the sacred rites, and restores the temples.

A.C. 390. A.U. 364.

also decreed to the inhabitants of Cære, who had sheltered the images of their gods during the siege, and the Capitoline games decreed to Jove for the recovery of his citadel. A temple was also dedicated to the voice^q which had warned them of the approach of the Gauls, in expiation of their neglect. The gold, which was to have ransomed the citadel, was consecrated to Jove, and as the matrons had contributed to furnish that sum, they were in future honoured with funeral orations, as well as the men.

But the people still desired to leave 51—5.
 the ruins of Rome, and the ancient city would have been deserted but for the earnest oratory of Camillus, who called upon them not Speech of
Camillus.
 to leave a city sanctified to the gods, and made use of every argument that patriotism or religious reverence could suggest. But while these matters were being discussed, the cohorts were returning from their posts of guard; a centurion called out as they passed the senate-house, “Ensign, plant the banner here, for here shall we best remain!” The omen was accepted, and An omen
confirms the
advice of Ca-
millus.
 the people gladly set about the work of

^q Aio Locutio.

restoration, bricks being publicly furnished, and
each man permitted to quarry stone
Restoration of the city. wheresoever he wished. The buildings
were however to be completed in a year.

ANALYSIS
OF THE
FIRST DECADE OF LIVY.

BOOK VI^a.

A.C. 389. A.U. 365.

CAMILLUS had been kept in office by 1. the senate till the expiration of his year, when, to avoid vesting the holding of the comitia in the hands of the tribunes, during whose administration the city had been nearly lost, Cornelius Scipio and then Camillus were appointed interreges, the latter of whom chose L. Valerius, P. Virginus, A.C. 389. P. Cornelius, A. Manlius, L. Æmilius, and L. Postumius military tribunes. Q. Fabius, whose conduct to the Gauls had provoked their hostility, was summoned to stand his trial by C. Marcius, but

^a Livy notices the uncertainty of the records up to this period, a fact which has given birth to the speculations of Niebuhr and others.

died before the day arrived, and, as was thought, by his own hand. The remnants of the old laws and institutes were diligently collected, and the day on which the catastrophe at Allia^b had occurred was declared unlucky.

2. The dread arising from hostilities on the part of the Volscians, and of an Etrurian confederation at the temple of Voltumna, was increased by the defection of the Latins and Hernicans, who had remained faithful since the battle at Regillus. Camillus was straightway re-elected dictator, C. Servilius Ahala master of the horse. An army was levied, one part of which was sent under Æmilius into the Veian territory against the Etrurians, another left under A. Manlius to guard the city, while the dictator himself set out with the third. He came to the Volscian camps near Lanuvium, burnt their barriers, and obtained a complete victory, the plunder being given up to the soldiers. He then proceeded against the Æqui, who were besieging Bolæ, and took the city and their camps at the first attack.

The neighbouring states try to assert their independence.

Fresh victories of Camillus.

^b On this day, respecting which there is some variation, see Schmitz, p. 160, and the commentators.

A.C. 389-8. A.U. 365-6.

Meantime the united forces of Etruria 3-4.
 had besieged Sutrium, and the senate were implored
 to send assistance. Camillus arrived just as the
 wretched inhabitants, driven at length to a sur-
 render, were quitting their town. He bade them
 halt, fell upon the enemy in the city, which was
 unguarded, and the Etruscans were cut to pieces
 before they could form in order of battle. The
 Sutrians recovered their town, and the Sutrium re-
 dictator returned to Rome with a triple covered.
 triumph. The captives were sold, and the gold
 returned to the matrons, which they had contri-
 buted towards ransoming the city, the rest being
 deposited at the feet of Juno, in a chapel sacred to
 Jove. Those of the Veii, Capenates, and Falisci,
 who had come over to the Romans during the
 wars, received land, and all the Romans who had
 sheltered themselves at Veii were compelled to re-
 turn. Thus the city rapidly arose from A.C. 388.
 its ruins. During the next year the lands of the
 Æqui were ravaged; Cortuosa and Con- Cortuosa and
 tenebra, Etruscan towns, were taken and Contenebra
taken.
 destroyed, the latter by separate divisions of the
 army being employed in turn. The Capitol was
 also fortified with hewn stone.

5. The plebeian tribunes now renewed

Agrarian
agitation.

agitation respecting the division of the Pomptine land, which, they complained, the patricians were monopolizing to themselves. The people were however too much occupied in restoring the city to feel much interest in the ques-
A.C. 387. tion. M. Manlius Capitolinus, Ser. Sulpicius, and L. Valerius were named interreges, the latter of whom created six military tribunes. A temple was dedicated to Mars by T. Quintius; four new tribes, the Stellatine, Tromentine, Sabatine, and Arniensian, were also added to the city, making twenty-five in all.

6-8. L. Sicinius now urged the agrarian
New hosti- question with more success, and mention
lities. was made of a war with the Latins and Hernicans. A war with Etruria was also threatened, but public attention was diverted from it by the news that Antium was in arms, aided by some of the Latin youth. Camillus was again tribune, and his col-

A.C. 386. leagues submitted entirely to his discretion, for which behaviour they received the thanks of Camillus, and the praises of the senate. He accordingly ordered Q. Servilius to keep a watch upon the movements of the Etrurians, Latins, and

Hernicans, L. Quintius to guard the city, L. Horatius to attend to the necessary supplies, Ser. Cornelius to attend to the matters of religion, laws, and public meetings, while he himself set out against the enemy, accompanied by Valerius. He came up with the enemy at Satricium, but the defection of their allies had dispirited the Roman soldiers. On learning this, Camillus harangued them in an animated speech, and led the attack in person. The soldiers ardently followed their aged general, who bore victory with him whithersoever he went. A storm interrupted the work of slaughter, but on the succeeding day the Latins and Hernicans deserted the Volscians, who shut themselves up in the town. Camillus Satricium is taken. took it by storm, and the Volscians surrendered.

Camillus then returned to Rome, and 9. encouraged the senate to destroy Antium. But some ambassadors came from Nepete and Sutrium soliciting assistance against the Etruscans, and the senate requested him to undertake the Etruscan war. He had the city legions, which L. Quintius had levied, and which were but inferior troops. He claimed however Valerius as his colleague.

A.C. 385. A.U. 369.

Sutrium was partly taken before they arrived, but
 Sutrium re-
 covered. Camillus drove out the enemy by threat-
 ening a siege, and slaughtered an im-
 mense number about the city, while Valerius cut
 off others as they fled.

10. Nepete was however in the possession
 of the enemy, and the inhabitants chose rather to
 abide by their surrender to the Etruscans than
 their treaty with the Romans. The chief men,
 who sided with the Romans, had no influence.
 Camillus therefore filled up the trenches, and the
 walls were quickly scaled. The Etruscans were
 slain without quarter, and the seditious party of
 the inhabitants beheaded, restitution made to the
 rest, and a guard left. Satisfaction was demanded
 from the Latins and Hernicans, who returned an
 evasive reply.

A.C. 385. Under the tribunes A. Manlius, P. Cor-

11. nelius, T. and L. Quintius Capitolinus,
 L. Papirius Cursor, and C. Sergius, the Volscians,
 assisted by the revolted allies, carried on hostilities
 with Rome. But the greatest fear was excited
 by the sedition raised by the patrician
 M. Manlius Capitolinus, who envied
 the power and popularity of Camillus, deeming

Sedition of
 Manlius.

himself, as the defender of the Capitol, deserving of equal honour. Finding the senate opposed to his views, he sought the favour of the people; and raised great agitation respecting the laws of debt, which had been increased by the expence of rebuilding their dwellings.

A. Cornelius Cossus was created dic- 12—20.
tator, T. Quintius Capitolinus master of the horse. He set out against the combined forces of the enemy^c, who had been joined by Victory over the allies. some Circienses and Roman colonists from Velitræ. After taking the auspices, he bade his soldiers receive the first shock of the enemy sword in hand, but without moving from their station, while Quintius was to throw the hostile ranks into confusion with his cavalry. The enemy, relying on their numbers, discharged their weapons at random, but were forced to give way before the swords of the well-disciplined Romans, whilst their ranks were broken up by the horse. A complete defeat followed, and the pursuit lasted till night. The camps were taken, and the booty given up

^c Livy here attempts to account for a very natural surprise as to whence the Volsci and Æqui found soldiers for so many wars.

to the soldiers, excepting the captives, who were mostly Latins and Hernicans of noble families, thereby shewing that the feeling of those cities was against the Romans. The dictator remained in his camps, expecting that the senate would order him to subdue the revolted states; but the conduct of Manlius excited so much alarm that he was recalled home. Manlius, on seeing a centurion, with whose brave conduct he was acquainted, led to prison, complained bitterly of the oppression, paid the debt, and procured his liberty. The centurion gave vent to his gratitude in expressions which inflamed the multitude in favour of Manlius, and a determination to revolt against the present law. Manlius sold a large farm at Veii, and dedicated the money to the liberation of the poor debtors, at the same time asserting that the patricians had embezzled the gold which had been collected for the ransoming of the city from the Gauls. The dictator summoned him to his tribunal, and desired him to name the parties concerned in such misappropriation of the public money. Manlius replied by declaring that a dictator had been chosen to oppress the people instead of their enemies, and

Sedition of
Manlius.

A.C. 385. A.U. 369.

repeating his assertion. On his refusing to indicate individuals at the pleasure of his enemies, he was seized and ordered into confinement. He appealed in vain against the authority of the dictator, but many of the plebeians put on mourning, and a sedition seemed threatening. The senate attempted to gain favour with the people by sending two thousand of them to colonize Satricum, allowing two acres and a half of land to each. But the people despised the gift as the intended purchase of their desertion of Manlius, and the resignation of the dictator made all eager for sedition. They called to mind the fate of Sp. Cassius and Sp. Mælius, and the sudden liberation of Manlius by a decree of the senate, gave a leader to the sedition, instead of ending it.

He is imprisoned, but released soon after.

About the same time the Hernicians and Latins sent to excuse their conduct, and recover their captives, professing that they intended to bring them to punishment according to their own laws. This was refused, but the ambassadors from Circei and Velitræ were even ordered to hasten their departure from Rome, as the law of nations did not furnish a defence for the perfidy of citizens.

Embassy from the allies who had revolted.

A.C. 384. Sedition re-
newed. The following year the sedition broke out with fresh violence, and Manlius began to hold nightly assemblies at his own house. He excited the people to attempt obtaining their liberty by open force, and to put down the dictatorial and consular dignities, professing himself willing to accept any position the people might be willing to confer upon him^d. The senate began to wish for a second Servius Ahala to rid them of the man they dreaded, and proclaimed a command, "that the magistrates should see that no danger accrued to the republic at the hands of M. Manlius." M. Mænius and Q. Publilius, two of the plebeian tribunes, taking advantage of the report that Manlius was aiming at regal power, resolved to excite the plebeians against him, and summoned him to take his trial, thus making the people sit in judgment upon their benefactor. His friends and relations deserted him, but the people could not condemn him while he remained within sight of the Capitol, which he had saved, and called upon them

^d He was accused of aiming at kingly power, but in § 20 Livy confesses himself ignorant of any charges brought against him, besides the gifts to the people, slander of the senate, and meetings at his own house, although he has no doubt of their existence.

A.C. 384-3. A.U. 370-1.

to remember his deeds in war. The *curiæ* were assembled in the *Campus Martius*, and *Manlius* would have been liberated; but the tribunes deferred the passing sentence till another day, when they assembled at the *Poetaline wood*, where the *Capitol* was no longer visible, and *Manlius* was condemned, and, as some say, by the *duumvirs*. The tribunes cast him headlong down the *Tarpeian rock*, and it was henceforth ordained that no patrician should dwell on the *Capitol*; and his family resolved that none of their members should henceforth be named *Marcus*.

Death of
Manlius.

In the following year a famine and pestilence raged at *Rome*^e, and *Lanuvium* joined the other hostile states. The senate, thinking that their having suffered the inhabitants of *Veliternæ* to escape punishment was the cause of this new desertion, proposed making war against the offenders. To procure favour with the plebs, they divided the *Pomptine land* amongst them, and ordered colonies to be sent to *Nepete*. The leaders of the sedition, fearing that they would fall a sacrifice to the Roman

A.C. 383.

21.

The allies
continue in a
state of re-
volt.

^e Which the people thought were sent to punish them for the condemnation of *Manlius*.

anger, hindered all attempts at accommodation, and persuaded some of the people to make incursions into the Roman territory. This last offence shut out all hope of reconciliation, and Præneste also joined in the revolt.

A.C. 382. The next year Sp. and L. Papirius led
22—5. some legions against Velitræ, leaving the other tribunes to guard the city. Notwithstanding the assistance rendered by the inhabitants of Præneste, the Romans were victorious, but abstained from besieging the city. War was then declared against the Prænestines, who took Sa-

A.C. 381. tricum the next year, and behaved with
Fresh success of Camillus against the Prænestines. great cruelty to the conquered. Camillus was elected tribune with five colleagues, and set out from the Esquiline gate with sixteen thousand men. He wished to restrain the Romans from fighting immediately, as the enemy desired, but the impatience of L. Furius was communicated to the army, and they demanded to be led forth. Camillus yielded an unwilling consent, and leaving the front ranks to his colleague, took up a firm position before the camps, watching the result of the fight from an elevated spot.

Upon the first attack the enemy made a shew of retreat, and went back to an acclivity which fronted their camps; the Romans pursued them, and were met on unfavourable ground by a strong detachment of reserve troops. And now they were flying in all directions, when Camillus, rapidly mounting a horse, and coming to their relief, turned them against the enemy, reproaching them with their former impatience and present cowardice. Thus Camillus restored the success of the foot, while L. Furius urged on the horse, calling upon them to save him from the disgrace of causing a defeat. A complete victory followed, and the number of prisoners taken was great. On the Tusculan prisoners confessing that they had fought against the Romans by the public consent, Camillus left his colleague in care of the camps, and went to Rome with the captives. The senate decreed war against Tusculum, and Camillus was entrusted with the conduct thereof. Contrary to the expectation of all, he generously chose L. Furius his colleague.

The Tusculans, however, received the Romans with open gates, and without any appearance of mistrust or hostility, and Camillus perceiving that they had no intention

War declared against Tusculum.

26.

But not carried into effect.

to revolt, bade them send a deputation to Rome, that the senate might judge of their conduct. They were received with great kindness at Rome, and promises of future fidelity procured pardon for their offence.

A.C. 380.

27.

Fresh sedition respecting the laws of debt.

Under the next tribunes great disputes arose in consequence of the uncertain state of debts, which the creditors wished to seem rather to arise from the bad principle of the people, than their inability to meet them. C. Sulpicius and Sp. Postumius were created censors in order to enquire into the matter, but the death of the latter compelled Sulpicius to resign office, and a flaw in the election of the next censors led to the abandoning of the whole affair. The plebeian tribunes were enraged at this, and asserted that the senate dreaded to lay the public accounts before the people, lest it should be seen that one half the people were overwhelmed in debts to the other; that the wars were directed rather against the people than the enemy. They then opposed the levy ordered against Præneste, and would not allow the debtors to be given over^f to their creditors.

^f Addici.

A.C. 380-79. A.U. 374-5.

The Prænestines took advantage of this dissension, and approached the Coline gate. T. Quintius Cincinnatus was chosen dictator, and the very mention of this magistrate struck such fear into the enemy, that they retired forthwith, and the Roman youth enlisted without offering resistance. The enemy took up their station near the river Allia, boasting that they were on ground fatal to the Romans. Cincinnatus, ordering his master of the horse A. Sempronius to attack them with the cavalry, fell upon them himself with the foot, and speedily convinced them how ill they had calculated upon the place for success. Præneste, with nine other towns, of which Velitræ was one, were taken or surrendered, and the dictator returned in triumph to Rome, where he erected a statue of Jove, taken from the Prænestines, in a chapel in the Capitol.

Half the next military tribunes were plebeians, but the patricians P. and C. Manlius by interest obtained the management of the Volscian war without lot or agreement with their colleagues. Being deceived by a report that a foraging detachment of their own had been

28-9.

Dictator elected against the Prænestines.

His success.

A.C. 379.

30.

Mismanagement of the tribunes.

beset by the enemy, they set out in haste, and fell into the snare from which they thought to relieve their men. The enemy attacked their camps, and the mismanagement of the generals was scarcely corrected by the bravery of their soldiers. The generals were recalled home, and the senate at first thought of creating a dictator, but were hindered by the quiet among the Volsci. The Prænestines rebelled towards the close of the year, and Setia was augmented with a colony, at the request of the inhabitants. The plebeian military tribunes contributed much to maintaining quiet at home.

A.C. 378.

31.

Poverty and
sedition at
Rome.

The succeeding year was consumed in seditions at home and wars with the Volscians. To counteract the measures of the plebeian tribunes, the senate suspended all actions for debt and payment of tribute until the war should be concluded. A levy was then held, and Sp. Furius and M. Horatius took the road to Antium, Q. Servilius and L. Geganius to Ecetra. The enemy did not attempt battle, and their lands were ravaged in all directions.

A.C. 377.

32.

Discontent
at Rome.

The oppressive laws of debt were now renewed in full force, and fresh tribute levied for building the wall for which

the censors had contracted. The interest of the nobility confined the election of military tribunes to patricians, and likewise procured the levying of three armies, one for the home guard, another for any occasion that might present itself, a third, much the greatest, was sent to Satricum under P. Valerius and L. Æmilius. The first battle was broken up by a violent storm of rain, but the Romans were successful on the following day, and the enemy fled first to Satricum, and thence to Antium.

Fresh hostilities at Satricum and Antium.

But there were two parties in the town, and the Latins wished to continue hostilities, the citizens to surrender. The Latins, despising such a peace, quitted the town, and vented their rage upon Satricum, which they burnt to the ground^s. The Antiates yielded up their lands and city. From Satricum the Latins proceeded to Tusculum, which they took by surprise. The inhabitants shut themselves into the citadel, and sent to Rome for assistance, which was promptly rendered by the tribunes L. Quintius and Ser. Sulpicius; and the Latins, exposed to the

Satricum destroyed.

Tusculum taken, but recovered.

^s Sparing however the temple of Matuta, from which a mysterious voice bade them abstain.

A.C. 377. A.U. 377.

attacks of the inhabitants and besiegers at the same time, were slain to a man.

34. Commence-
ment of the
Licinian
struggle a-
gainst the
aristocracy. Meanwhile debt and poverty pressed heavily upon the great mass of the people, but a new champion presented himself in M. Fabius Ambustus, a patrician who had acquired great popularity by uniting his younger daughter to C. Licinius Stolo, an illustrious plebeian. It happened that the wife of Licinius was one day at the house of her sister, who had married the patrician Ser. Sulpicius, who was then tribune. Sulpicius returned, and the noise made by his lictor at the door surprised the younger Fabia. On her sister informing her that it was a mark of honour paid to her husband as tribune, she felt grieved at her own inferior alliance, and at length confessed the cause of her vexation to her father. Ambustus consoled her with the hope of aggrandizement^h, and commenced plotting with Licinius to obtain for the people a share in the honours of the commonwealth.

^h Livy has sadly misrepresented this story, by attributing so contemptible an origin to so patriotic and important a measure.

A.C. 376-70. A.U. 378-84.

Accordingly, C. Licinius and L. Sextiusⁱ were created tribunes of the people the next year, and brought forward three laws, the first requiring that the interest already paid on loans should be deducted from the principal, and that the principal should be paid off by three yearly instalments; the second limited the possession of land to 500 jugera; the third required the restoration of consuls, and that one of them should always be a plebeian^k. The senate vainly attempted to defend themselves by the interference of the other plebeian tribunes; for Licinius and Sextius being re-elected for the next year, refused to allow the election of curule magistrates, and only permitted that of ædiles and plebeian tribunes. Thus Rome continued for five years in a state of anarchy, but was fortunately unmolested by external hostilities.

A.C. 376.

35—7.

Rogationes
Licinianæ.

A.C. 375.

Rome is with-
out magis-
trates five
years.

At length the Veliternians began to ravage the Roman territory, and the elec-

A.C. 370.

Velitræ.

ⁱ Our author here omits the names of the tribunes for this year; but in § 37 he speaks of the plebeian P. Licinius Calvus as one of them.

^k See Niebuhr, t. iii. p. 1—36.

tion of military tribunes was permitted. A levy was formed with some difficulty, and Tusculum was relieved. The siege of Velitræ was prosecuted during this and the following year, but without success.

A.C. 369.

Licinius and Sextius continue their opposition.

Licinius and Sextius still remained in office, and their power was strengthened by the support of Fabius, one of the new military tribunes, and father-in-law of Stolo. Besides his influence, the opposition on the part of the plebeian tribunes was now confined to five, and those inefficient men. Licinius and Horatius now boldly asserted that the people gained no advantage by their tribunes, and pressed the election of consuls, one of whom should of necessity be a plebeian. They also brought forward a fourth bill, that ten men, half of them plebeians, should be appointed to take charge of the Sibylline books and the management of sacred matters, instead of the two patricians with whom that office had hitherto rested.

Decemviri sacris faciundis.

A.C. 368.

38.

Camillus dictator. He resigns,

In the following year the senate in despair chose Camillus dictator. L. Æmilius was master of the horse. Camillus attempted to oppose the voting of the

tribes, and even threatened to resort to force; but the tribunes were too powerful even for him, and he resigned office¹. P. Manlius was chosen dictator in his place, and shewed his kind disposition towards the people by choosing the plebeian C. Licinius master of the horse, which gave great offence to the senate.

Meanwhile the people had grown negligent in supporting their champions, and they were willing to sacrifice lasting advantages in consideration of being freed from their present pecuniary embarrassments. They accordingly passed the two first bills, but negatived the third respecting plebeian consuls. Licinius and Sextius refused to continue in office unless they passed the whole, and, despite the bitter revilings of Ap. Claudius Crassus, the rogationes were only postponed, and Sextius and Licinius entering office for the tenth time, passed the bill for the college of ten keepers of the sacred records, five of them being elected

and P. Manlius succeeds him.

39—42.
Negligence of the plebs, and firm conduct of Sextius and Licinius.

A.C. 367.

¹ He was threatened with a heavy fine by the tribunes, but Livy does not think this would have influenced Camillus. He rather attributes his resignation to the influence of the auspicia. Perhaps he resigned for the common reason, want of support.

from the plebs, and permitted the election of consular tribunes. The report of a Gallic invasion again called Camillus to the dictatorship; he set out with T. Quintius Pennus as master of the horse, and obtained a complete victory near the Anio, in which T. Manlius^m distinguished himself in a battle on the bridge. Camillus returned to Rome in triumph. A violent sedition succeeded, the aristocratic interests were compelled to give way, and the Licinian bills were passed, L. Sextius being the first plebeian consul. The curiæ attempted to negative his election, but were terrified into a consent by the threats of a secession. The plebs in turn granted the election of a prætor, who should always be a patrician, and have the jurisdiction of the city. Grateful for the peace thus restored, the senate ordered games to be celebrated for the space of four days instead of three. This was opposed by

Camillus
again dic-
tator. He
defeats the
Gauls.

A.C. 366.
Sextius the
first plebeian
consul.

^m Such was Claudius' account, whose description of a combat between Manlius and a Gaul was greatly admired. Cf. Gellius 9. 13. But Livy is doubtful whether this combat did not happen ten years after, the present one taking place in the Alban territory.

A.C. 366. A.U. 388.

the ædiles, upon which the patricians increased the number of ædiles to four, two of whom they themselves furnished. The office had been previously confined to plebeians.

Curule
ædiles.

ANALYSIS
OF THE
FIRST DECADE OF LIVY.

BOOK VII.

A.C. 366-5. A.U. 388-9.

A.C. 366.
1.
Fresh concession to the plebs.

THE people had gained a share in the consulship, but every attempt was made by the patricians to negative the authority of L. Sextius, the plebeian consul, and the Gauls and Hernicans escaped notice. The plebeian tribunes were however dissatisfied at the great disproportion of power still existing, and the senate consented to allow the curule ædiles to be elected from the plebs and patricians in turn.

A.C. 365.
Pestilence, and death of Camillus.

In the succeeding consulship of L. Genucius and Q. Servilius, a pestilence ravaged the city, and one of the censors,

a curule ædile, and three tribunes died. But the most regretted victim to its fury was the aged Camillus.

To appease the anger of the gods a lectisternium was held the next year, for the third time since the foundation of the city, and scenic representations were held with great magnificence in the Circus^a. An overflowing, however, of the Tiber, broke up their celebration, and seemed to shew that the offended deities were yet unappeased. L. Manlius was therefore chosen dictator, in order that he might drive the nail^b into the side wall of the temple of Jove the Best and Greatest, the people hoping that the revival of this ancient

A.C. 364.
Festival and
scenic games
at Rome.

A.C. 363.
3-5.
Dictator
clavi figendi.

^a Livy here traces the rise of scenic representations at Rome. They first consisted in the rude mimic dances or ballet introduced from Etruria (Cf. Ovid, *Art. Amat.* lib. i.); verses were then added, which, however, surpassed the Fescueine ribaldry, and the actors were styled *histriones*, from the Tuscan word *hister*. Regular satire thence arose, until Livius Andronicus altered the mode of performance, and introduced a regular fable (Cicero, *Tusc. Q.* i. 1.) On the Oscan farces, which gave rise to the Roman atellanæ, cf. Muller, *Hist. Lit.* c. xxix. § 4.

^b *Clavus Annalis*. The same method of computing the year was practised at the temple of Nortia, the Etruscan Fortune, at Volsinii, according to Cincius.

A.C. 362. A.U. 392.

ceremony (which had formerly served to mark the year of the city) would have some effect in removing the pestilence. Manlius, however, was not contented with this office, but held a very oppressive levy against the Hernicans, and was at length compelled by the tribunes to resign office. At the commencement of the following year he was impeached by the tribune Pomponius. One of the articles of accusation was his cruelty to his son, whom he had banished from home and condemned to a life of servitude merely on account of an impediment in his speech. The noble conduct of that son, who by threats compelled the tribune to stop the proceedings against his father, was rewarded by his being chosen tribune of the legions^c.

Conduct of
Manlius.

A.C. 362.

Manlius
escapes trial
through his
son.

6—8. In the same year a vast gulph suddenly opened in the forum, and every attempt to fill up the chasm failed, and the prophets foretold that the empire would be perpetual, if that upon which the power of Rome depended were thrown into that gulph. Upon this, M. Curtius, a youth of distinguished courage,

Fable of
M. Curtius.

^c Ad legiones.

devoted himself to the infernal gods, and leaped into it on horseback^d.

As the Hernicans refused satisfaction for their offences, war was declared against them, and L. Genucius undertook the expedition. He fell into the snares of the enemy, and lost his life. The senate exulted in the failure of a plebeian consul, and Ap. Claudius was chosen dictator. He doubled the forces, and the enemy followed his example by setting aside a body of 3,200 picked men, who were exempted from all military duties except fighting. The battle was at first doubtful, but the Roman cavalry, having obtained permission from the dictator, dismounted, and attacking the select cohorts of the enemy, at length compelled them to give way. As the battle had been delayed on account of the omens, it was night before the contest ceased. On the next day the Hernicans deserted their camps, and a small body of fugitives were dispersed by the Romans, who had themselves sustained a considerable loss.

War with the
Hernicans,
and failure
of Genucius.
Appius dic-
tator.

Defeat of the
Hernicans.

^d Hence Livy thinks the Curtian lake was called, not from Mettus Curtius.

A.C. 361. C. Sulpicius and C. Licinius Calvus
9-10. were the next consuls. On their return
Tiburtes. from an expedition against the Hernicans, in
which they had taken Ferentinum, the Tiburtes
refused to open their gates to them. War was
accordingly declared against them. T.
War with the Quintius Pennus was created dictator
Gauls, and bravery of against the Gauls^e, who were encamped
T. Manlius. three miles on the Salarian road beyond the bridge
of the Anio. The armies were encamped on either
side of this bridge, when a Gaul of immense stature
challenged any Roman to single combat. T. Man-
lius, the tribune, having obtained leave from the
dictator, encountered the Gallic champion, hand to
hand, slew him, and despoiled him of his gold
chain^f. The dictator rewarded his valour with a
golden crown. The Gauls were so ill pleased with
this specimen of Roman courage, that they drew
off the next night, and retired to Campania.

A.C. 360. As the Tiburtines had assisted the
11. Gauls on their departure, the new consul

^e See lib. v. § 42. This account seems best. Livy accuses the historian Licinius of partiality in the account he gives of his ancestor choosing this dictator in order to restrain his colleague from continuing in office.

^f Whence he was afterwards surnamed Torquatus.

A.C. 360-58. A.U. 394-6.

C. Pœtilius Balbus headed an expedition against them, while M. Fabius Ambustus had the care of the Hernican war. The Gauls came to the assistance of the Tiburtines, and the lands about Lavicum, Tusculum, and Alba were ravaged. Q. Servilius Ahala was then chosen dictator, and he in turn chose T. Quintius master of the horse, vowing, by consent of the senate, to celebrate great games should he prove victorious. Having enlisted the youth, he set out, and a battle took place in sight of the city. The Gauls were driven to Tibur, where the consul Pœtilius fell upon them, and, on the Tiburtes coming out to their relief, they were driven with them into the city. Fabius also routed the Hernicans, and was rewarded with an ovation. But Pœtilius enjoyed a double triumph, which the Tiburtines ridiculed.

In the following year the Tiburtines attempted to surprise Rome by night, but retired upon the first shew of resistance. Their attempt however broke up a dispute between the senate and plebs, but the Tarquinienses also commenced ravaging the country, and the new consuls C. Fabius and C. Plautius were ordered to conduct the war, the former

Defeat of the
Gauls, Ti-
burtes, and
Hernicans.

A.C. 359.
12-15.
Continued
hostilities.

A.C. 358.

against the Tarquinienses, the latter against the Hernicans. The Gauls were also expected to shew hostilities, but Rome was strengthened by the renewal of the ancient league with Latium. Latin league renewed. The Gauls advanced to Præneste and Pedum, and C. Sulpicius was created dictator by Plautius, and having selected the best men from the consular armies, set out against the Gauls. But his delay enraged the soldiers, who were desirous of fighting immediately, and, although he wished to wear out the enemy instead of attacking them immediately, the representations made by the centurion Tullus compelled him to lead them out. The legions however were driven back, and with difficulty rallied by the dictator, who had artfully increased the appearance of his cavalry by dressing up the mules and other beasts belonging to the camp, with the trappings of horses, which surprised and alarmed the enemy, who, fleeing into the woods, were cut off by Valerius, the master of the horse. The dictator received a triumph, and the gold he took from the Gauls was consecrated in the Capitol. C. Plautius defeated the Hernicans, but Fabius made a most unfortunate campaign against the Tarquinienses,

who captured and slaughtered 307 Roman soldiers. In this year two tribes, the Pomptine and Publilian, were added to the city, and the games celebrated which Furius had vowed. The tribune C. Pœtilius also carried a bill for the prevention of illegal canvassing^g, which tended to suppress the unfair aggrandizement of plebeian candidates. Lex de ambitu carried.

In the following year the tribunes M. Duilius and L. Mænius carried a bill establishing the uncial rate of interest^h, which was less pleasing to the patricians than the preceding law. The consul Cn. Manlius was entrusted with the war against the Falerians, who had joined with the Tarquinienses, and had refused satisfaction to the Roman fetiales. Mænius met with complete success against the Privernates, but his colleague accomplished nothing of consequence except passing a law among his troops at Sutrium, as if they had been an assembly of the tribes, to the effect that any one who manumitted a slave should pay a twentieth part of his value to the trea- A.C. 357. 16. Unciarium fœnus. Further hostilities. Lex de manumittendis.

^g De Ambitu.

^h Unciarium fœnus, i. e. ten per cent. for twelve months.

A.C. 356. A.U. 398.

sury. The senate were pleased with the law, because it furnished an ample source of revenue; but the tribunes, dreading the effects of a legislative power vested in the soldiers, passed a law forbidding any one, on pain of death, to transact business with the people anywhere but in the proper place. C. Licinius Stolo suffered from his own law, being compelled to pay a fine for possessing 1,000 jugera conjointly with his sonⁱ.

A.C. 356.

The following year the consul M. Popillius Lænas defeated the Tiburtines, but the army of his colleague Ambustus was at first put to flight by the Falerians and Tarquinenses, who rushed upon them armed with torches and snakes. Recovering their courage, however, they completely routed the enemy. The whole of the Etrurians were roused at the news of this defeat, and assembled at the salt works near the mouth of the Tiber. C. Marcius Rutilius, a plebeian, was for the first time raised to the dictatorship, who chose the plebeian C. Plautius master of the horse. The senate of course endeavoured to hinder his success by cramping his resources, but the people voted all that was neces-

First plebeian
dictator.

ⁱ By which partnership he had hoped to evade the law.

sary. He attacked and slaughtered different detachments of the enemy which he found about the country, and, falling unexpectedly on their camps, he took 8,000 prisoners, and triumphed without the consent of the senate. Interreges were however appointed, and disputes ensued, *Disputes.* which ended in the election of two patrician consuls, C. Sulpicius and M. Valerius Publicola.

Empulum was taken from the Tiburtines in a slight contest, but the great struggle was at Rome, between the patricians, who strove earnestly to retain the consulships they had thus recovered, and the tribunes, who supported the Licinian law. At length the people gave up the contest in despair, and M. Fabius and T. Quintius^k, both patricians, were elected.

A.C. 355,
18.

Both consuls
again patri-
cians.

The Tiburtines were compelled to surrender, and Sassula, one of their towns, was taken. The Tarquinienses had also been defeated, and the revenge of the Romans was fearful, for 358 of the most distinguished captives were publicly scourged and beheaded at Rome.

A.C. 354.
19.

The Romans
revenge
themselves
on the Tar-
quinienses.

^k Or M. Popillius.

Treaty with
the Samnites.

The Samnites now entered into a treaty with the Romans, but in all its external prosperity the city did not enjoy tranquillity at home. Although the late law of interest had relieved the debtors, still many of them were unable to pay even the principal, and
A.C. 353. the consulship still remained with the patricians C. Sulpicius and M. Valerius.

20. A rumour that the Cærites had assisted the Tarquinienses against Rome, compelled
War threaten- the Romans to declare war against
ed against Cære. them, and T. Manlius was chosen dictator. But the Cærites, calling to mind the memory of their ancient services¹, and laying the blame upon their neighbours, obtained a pardon and truce for one hundred years. The Falerians were the next object of hostility, but they avoided meeting the Romans. The rest of the year was employed in repairing the walls of the city, and in the dedication of a temple to Apollo.

A.C. 352. The tribunes opposed the election of
21-2. consuls unless the Licinian law was
Disputes re- kept in force, and the confusion thence
specting the Licinia lex.

¹ They had taken care of the Roman gods during the invasion of the Gauls.

A.C. 351. A.U. 403.

ensuing lasted until the senate ordered the eleventh interrex to abide by the Licinian law, and the plebeian C. Marcius was accordingly elected with P. Valerius. These consuls relieved the public distress by appointing five bankers^m, who were to lend money upon security, for the payment of debts; and they also compelled creditors to receive property at a fair valuation, in lieu of money. Upon the alarm of Etruscan hostilities, C. Julius was chosen dictator, but no war ensued. His attempt, however, to bring about the election of two patrician consuls failed, but the interreges, C. Sulpicius and M. Fabius, obtained this end, and C. Sulpicius and T. Quintius Pennus were elected. They ravaged the lands of the Tarquinienses and Falerians with such violence, that a peace was demanded, and agreed upon for forty years. As the late settlement of debts had caused a large amount of property to change hands, a census was required, and C. Marcius Rutilius, who had already been dictator, obtained the office, despite the opposition of the patricians, in conjunction with Cnæus Manlius.

Commissioners for the payment of debts appointed.

A.C. 351.

First plebeian censor, C. Marcius.

^m Mensarii. The first were C. Duilius, P. Decius Mus, M. Papirius, Q. Publilius, and T. Æmilius.

A.C. 350. A.U. 404.

A.C. 350.

23—4.

Success of
M. Popillius
against the
Gauls.

L. Cornelius Scipio and the plebeian M. Popillius Lænas were the next consuls, the latter of whom, through the sickness of his colleague, was entrusted with the defence of Rome against the Gauls, who had encamped in the Latin territory. Having assembled the youth in arms at the Capene gate, he set out with four legions, leaving the rest, under P. Valerius, to guard the city. In order to test the strength of the enemy, he employed his men in forming a rampart on a hill near the Gallic camp. The Gauls, thinking that the Romans shunned battle through fear, rushed upon them with violence, but were repelled by the troops who were not engaged in the works, and driven down the hill with great slaughter. But the troops in the plain were fresh and hearty, and the consul's momentary absence, through a wound, dispirited the Romans. He however speedily reappeared, and the Romans, forming a wedge, dislodged the Gauls from their station, and threw them into confusion. The whole booty was given up to the soldiers, but the wound of the consul delayed his triumph, and L. Furius Camillus was created dictator for holding the elections.

L. Furius Camillus and Ap. Claudius Crassus were chosen consuls, much to the dissatisfaction of the people, but the triumph of Popillius was a subject of popular exultation. Meantime the Gauls had been driven from the Alban mountains by the cold, and were ravaging the country, while the sea was infested by the piracies of the Greeks along the coast. With the latter a doubtful battle was fought, but the greatest dread was excited by the Gauls, especially as the Latins openly refused to furnish soldiers, and taunted the Romans with their present weakness. In this distress a general levy was determined upon, and not only the city youth were collected, but likewise those engaged in agriculture, to the number of 42,000 foot and 3,000 horse. Ap. Claudius died during the preparations, but the name of Camillus hindered the appointment of a dictator. Leaving two legions in charge of the city, Camillus set out, and, ordering the prætor to guard the coast with four, he pitched his camp with the remaining four in the Pomptine field. A Gaul of vast stature challenged any one of the enemy to single combat, and was slain by M. Vale-

riusⁿ. A complete victory followed, and the Gauls fled through the country of the Volscians to Apulia. Valerius was rewarded with a golden crown and ten oxen by the consul, who then joined arms with the prætor on the sea coast. As the Greeks delayed to venture battle, T. Manlius Torquatus was chosen dictator, and the young M. Valerius Corvus was elected consul in his absence.

A.C. 348. His colleague was M. Popillius. No war ensued with the Greeks^o.

27. Peace existed during this year, but a pestilence raged at Rome. A lectisternium was accordingly held, Satricum was rebuilt, and a treaty concluded with Carthage^p. Under the following consuls T. Manlius and Plautius, the rate

A.C. 347. of interest was again reduced to one half^q, and the principal ordered to be paid in four instalments within three years.

A.C. 346. Meantime the Antiates were reported to have excited the Latins to revolt, and M. Vale-

ⁿ The legend states that he was assisted in the combat by a crow, whence his surname of Corvus.

^o Livy thinks that these Greeks were sent by the tyrants of Sicily.

^p See Schmitz, p. 185.

^q Semiunciarium fœnus.

rius Corvus was appointed to conduct the war against them. They fled upon the first attack, and took refuge at Satricum. The town was taken, and, with the exception of the temple of Matuta, burnt to the ground, and the consul's triumph was graced by 4,000 prisoners.

Satricum
destroyed.

In the following year^r the dictator Camillus obtained a complete victory over the Aurunci, and a temple was built in honour of Juno Moneta, according to his vow, upon the ground where the house of Manlius had formerly stood. Its dedication took place in the following year, when, in consequence of some prodigies, P. Valerius was appointed dictator, and an universal holiday and supplication proclaimed throughout the Roman territory. Several money lenders were brought to trial for demanding an illegal amount of interest during this year, and the next consuls, M. Valerius and A. Cornelius Cossus, were both patricians.

A.C. 345.

28.

A.C. 344.

A.C. 343.

29.

War with
the Samnites.

In this year the great war with the Samnites was begun. This people, taking advantage of their superiority in strength, made war against the Sidicines, who called in the

^r During which Sora was taken from the Volsci.

Campanians to their assistance. But the weak and enervated Campanians were routed in the first battle, and retreated to Capua. The Samnites, leaving the Sidicines for the present, pitched their camps on the heights of Tifata, which overlooked Capua, and thence ravaged the plains beneath. The Campanians ventured a second battle, but were driven into the city, and, having lost the flower of their youth, they were compelled to seek assistance from Rome.

30—1. The pathetic entreaties of the Campanian ambassadors were at first ineffectual, as the Romans alleged their pledge to the Samnites, promising, however, to intercede in their behalf. Upon this, the chief legate declared that in yielding Samnium to the enemy they would betray Rome itself, to which they now acknowledged themselves a subject state. The Romans then sent a message to the Samnites, requesting them to withdraw hostilities, but they returned an insolent reply, and forthwith commenced ravaging Campania.

32—3. Satisfaction having been demanded in vain, the consuls led out two armies, and Valerius pitched his camp on Mount Gaurus in Campania,

Cornelius at Saticula in Campania. The popularity^s of Valerius, and his animated oratory, inspired great courage in the troops, and, notwithstanding the desperate bravery of the enemy, who renewed the attack from time to time with unabated violence, they at length made a tremendous charge, and the enemy fled. Nightfall hindered the pursuit.

Defeat of the Samnites under Valerius.

Cornelius in the meantime had led his army through a mountain-pass, and was suddenly surprised by seeing the enemy on the heights. P. Decius, a tribune, perceiving a height which the Samnites had to pass, occupied it with a guard, and enabled the consul to recover safe ground, whilst his own small band withstood the enemy with surprising intrepidity. The Samnites surrounded the hill, and Decius could not join the consul till the following night, when he passed through the enemy, and safely arrived at the camps. His return resembled a triumph, and the praises of the consul were liberally bestowed upon his courage and ability. But Decius would not allow a moment's delay, as there was an opportunity for attacking

34—6.

Decius relieves the army of the consul in the passes.

^s See Niebuhr, t. iii. p. 124.

the enemy whilst off their guard, and they accordingly set out immediately, found the enemy scattered and in confusion. Thirty thousand of them, who had taken shelter in the camps, were cut to pieces, and the camps plundered.

87-41. The two armies then joined each other
 Decisive battle at Suessula. at Suessula, whither the Samnites had collected large reinforcements with the view of making a final attempt. Valerius took up a small piece of ground near the enemy with the best of his troops, but avoided battle. The Samnites were anxious to engage immediately, but their leaders would not allow them. At length want of provisions compelled them to disperse themselves over the country, and whilst they were either engaged in foraging, or wandering in disorder, Valerius took their camp, and secured the standards, while the Samnites were routed by the horse, and fled in consternation. 40,000 shields and 170 standards were taken.

38. The consuls received a triumph, and Decius followed them amidst the plaudits of the soldiers, and rich with the gifts of his fellow soldiers and consul. The success of the Romans induced the Falerians to solicit a truce, and the

A.C. 342. A.U. 412.

Latins turned their arms against the Peligni instead of the Romans. Even the Carthaginians sent ambassadors to congratulate the Romans, and bearing a golden crown of twenty-five pounds in weight. The Campanians of Suessa also received, at their request, a Roman garrison to defend them against the incursions of the Samnites.

But the affluence and luxury^t of Capua corrupted the minds of the soldiers, and they formed the design of seizing upon the city they were sent to defend. The new consul C. Marcus Rutilus found them engaged in a decided conspiracy, and endeavoured, by sending the ringleaders home on various excuses, to suppress the power of the malcontents. The pretended indulgences were agreeable to the soldiers at first, but when they found themselves detained at Rome, they perceived that detection was evident, and dreaded the punishments that might ensue. One of the rebellious cohorts settled in a wood at Lautulæ, and persuaded all those soldiers to join them, who were sent to Rome by the consul. A strong force was thereby collected, and having

Effects of the victory.

Insurrection of the army.

A.C. 342.

^t For other causes see Schmitz, p. 191—3.

entered the dwelling of the aged T. Quintius in the Tusculan territory, they compelled him to become their leader, and marched on till they came within eight miles of Rome. Here they stopped, alarmed by the news that Valerius Corvus was appointed dictator, and was coming against them with his army.

When the two armies met, the insurgents began to repent their conduct, and desire peace. Valerius Corvus calms the sedition. Valerius offered them what they now sought, and by the mediation of T. Quintius, an amicable arrangement was effected, and Valerius procured from the senate a general amnesty to all who had been concerned in the secession. It was further ordained that no soldier's name should be struck off the military list without his consent, and that no one who had served as military tribune, should afterwards be a centurion. This latter law was demanded out of spite against P. Salinius, who had served both duties in turn, but was unpopular among the soldiers. It was at first negatived by the senate, but afterwards passed by request of Salinius himself.

42. Besides these laws it is stated that the tribune Genucius carried a law forbidding the

loan of money upon interest, and that it was also ordained that no one should be re-elected to the same magistracy till after an interval of ten years, that no one should hold two curule magistracies the same year, and that it should be lawful for both the consuls to be plebeians. Other authors state that no dictator was appointed, but that the consuls appeased the sedition, and that, when the insurgents had already arrived at Rome. They further assert that C. Manlius was chosen leader, not T. Quintius, and that when the armies met, they were immediately reconciled to each other. The Privernates took advantage of the sedition, and ravaged Norba and Setia.

ANALYSIS
OF THE
FIRST DECADE OF LIVY.

BOOK VIII.

A.C. 341. A.U. 413.

A.C. 341. THE inhabitants of Setia and Norba
1—4. now craved the aid of the Romans
Disturbances through the states of Latium and Roman allies. against the Privernates, and a Volscian encampment at Satricum was also made known. The consul Plautius speedily routed the Privernates, and took and garrisoned their town. At Satricum the contest was more obstinate, but the Volsci, mindful of their former defeats, withdrew to Antium by night, leaving a quantity of baggage and arms, which latter the consul dedicated to Mother Lua. The other consul Æmilius entered the Sabellian territory,

and ravaged the lands of the Samnites, until they were compelled to solicit peace, which was granted, as well as permission to carry on their war against the Sidicinians. The latter then offered to surrender themselves to Rome, but the senate refused to receive them, and they then turned to the Latins, who were already in a state of defection. Even the Campanians joined in this league, and the combined forces ravaged the lands of the Samnites with great violence. The Samnites then sent to solicit assistance from the Romans, entreating them to keep off the Latins and Campanians. The reply of the Romans proved that they possessed little power over the Latins, and excited their hopes of aggrandizement; but their asserting that they would compel the Campanians to be quiet, terrified them to a revolt, and these states now began to plot jointly against Rome. Upon private intelligence of these matters, the consuls were ordered to lay down office, and an interrex appointed to elect the new ones.

These were T. Manlius and P. Decius A.C. 340.

Mus^a. The Romans, concealing their knowledge

^a During this year Alexander, king of Epirus, sailed to Italy with his fleet. Livy also mentions the exploits of Alexander the Great.

of the defection of the Latins, ordered them to send ten of their chief men to Rome, to treat concerning the Samnites. The two prætors of Latium, L. Annius Setinus and L. Numisius Circeiensis, who had excited Signia, Velitræ, and the Volsci to revolt, were named among the ten. As the

Proposal of Annius. prætors knew what the Romans wanted with themselves, they stated the conduct

they intended to pursue, and Annius proposed that they should make amicable terms, that Rome should be the head of the confederacy, but that one of the consuls and part of the senate should be chosen from the Latins.

5—6. It is angrily rejected. Conduct of Manlius. When they entered the senate-house, Manlius remonstrated with them on their hostilities with the Samnites. Annius then proposed his scheme of confederacy, but Manlius with great violence declared that if Rome yielded, he would himself slay the first Latin he beheld in the senate-house. Annius quitted the place, and hurrying down the steps, fell to the bottom, and perished. The consul proclaimed his death a lucky omen for the event of the war, and hostilities were instantly declared against the Latins. The other members of the deputation

were scarcely safe while they remained in Rome. Having raised two armies, the consuls set out for Capua.

It had been predicted to both consuls Predictions. that the general on one side and the army on the other were forfeited to the infernal gods and mother Earth, and that victory would be the lot of that army, whose general devoted himself and the legions of the other side. As the auspices corresponded to these visions, it was determined that that consul who saw his troops yielding, should devote himself for the good of the Roman people.

It chanced that young Manlius, son 7. of the consul, had gone out with his Young Manlius fights without orders. cavalry to reconnoitre. He met some Tusculan horse, commanded by Geminus Metius, who defied Manlius to a combat. Contrary to his father's orders^b, young Manlius accepted the offer, and came off victorious. Laden with the spoils of victory, he returned to the camp, where his father immediately ordered him to be put to

^b The Latins being as well disciplined as the Romans, and equal to them in force, rendered great strictness necessary.

death as a punishment for his breach of discipline. His death. The soldiers burnt his body with the unlucky spoils, and execrated the harsh cruelty of his father^c.

8—10. As the Roman primipilus felt inferior to the Latin one in strength and experience, he was permitted to choose an under-centurion, and the deputy he chose proved victorious over the Latin centurion.

Grand battle near Vesuvius. The battle took place near Mount Vesuvius, on the road to Veseris. The left wing of the Romans began to give way, and Decius, who commanded it, instantly went to the pontiff M. Valerius. Having repeated after him the form of prayer, he bade the lictors acquaint his

^c Livy here gives a valuable account of the disposition of the Roman army, as follows. The army was drawn up in three lines : of which the front or hastati consisted of fifteen manipuli, each containing sixty-two soldiers, a centurion and ensign. The second, or principes, contained a like number ; and these two lines made up the antepilani. The third line, or triarii, contained fifteen divisions, but each triple, containing three manipuli, three vexilla, and 186 men. The front rank of these were styled the triarii proper, the second the rorarii, and the third and hindmost the accensi. The whole four legions, in round numbers, amounted to 20,000 men. On the whole subject see Dict. Ant. p. 95, and 593. The Romans used scuta instead of clypei after they began to receive pay.

colleague with his devotion, and spurred his horse into the midst of the enemy. Terror seized the Latins whithersoever he rushed; but when he fell, pierced by their lances, they rapidly gave way. Manlius then ordered the accensi to come up to the space before the standards; the Latins, by mistake, drew out their triarii against them, and when these had sufficiently tired themselves with fighting, although victorious over the weak force of the accensi, the consul drew out his triarii, who were uninjured and untired. They speedily routed the enemy, and scarcely a fourth part remained, while the number of prisoners, chiefly Campanians, was great. The whole praise of this victory was considered due to the consuls. The body of Decius was found the next day, and honoured as befitted the manner of his death^d.

Some authors assert that the Samnites 11. came to the assistance of the Romans, but after the battle was over, and that the Lavinians also arrived too late to render aid to the Latins. The Latins who had escaped fled to Vescia, where Numisius, their commander, succeeded in collecting

^d Livy here gives an account of the rules connected with the devotion of victims for the public good.

a disorderly army of Volscian and Latin youth. He was met by Torquatus near Minturnæ, and so completely defeated, that the whole Latin confederacy was broken up, and the towns surrendered in turn. The Latin territory was divided among the Roman people, treaty was renewed with the Laurentes, and the 1,600 Campanian equites, who had remained faithful to the Romans, received the citizenship without suffrage, and Capua was obliged to pay each of them an annual pension of 450 denarii.

12. As the ill health of Manlius incapacitated him from service, L. Papirius Crassus was appointed dictator against the Antiates, who had ravaged the Latin territory, and L. Papirius Cursor master of the horse. Nothing, however, transpired worthy of notice.

A.C. 339. The next consuls were Ti. Æmilius Mamercinus and Q. Publilius Philo. The latter defeated the Latins near Pedum, but, as Æmilius heard that a triumph was decreed to his colleague, he gave up the chance of taking Pedum, and went to Rome to solicit a triumph. The senate angrily refused this, unless he should capture the town; and he forthwith proceeded to enrage the people

A.C. 338. A.U. 416.

against the senate, by exciting discontent respecting the allotments in the Latin and Falernian territory. To counteract his influence the senate ordered him to choose a dictator, and he elected his colleague, a plebeian, who, in turn, chose Junius Brutus, likewise a plebeian, master of the horse. The dictator was even more dangerous to the senate, as he passed three laws, one abolishing the negative of the Curiæ on any law carried by the centuries; another, that resolutions of the plebs should bind all Roman citizens; the third, that one of the censors should be a plebeian.

The consuls aim at reducing the patrician influence.

Valeriæ leges.

To the next consuls, L. Furius Camillus and C. Mænius, the capture of Pedum was committed by the enraged senate. The Latins lacked resources for war, but were goaded to it by the remembrance of their lost territory. They accordingly confined themselves to the defence of their towns, and but few came to the assistance of Pedum. Camillus speedily reduced the town, his colleague routed the Aricines, Veliterni, and Lavinii near the Astura, and town after town surrendered to the victorious con-

A.C. 338.
13—14.

Complete conquest of Latium.

suls, who were honoured with a triumph, and equestrian statues in the forum. Camillus recommended a moderate policy in the treatment of the conquered Latins, which was thus carried out. Lanuvium, Aricia, Nomentum, and Pedum, received the Roman franchise and suffrage, and the temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium was thrown open to the Romans and Lanuvians in common. The Campanians, Fundani, Formiani, Cumani, and Suessulani, received franchise without suffrage. But the walls of Velitræ were thrown down, its senate banished, and their lands distributed among the Romans. Antium was colonized, but deprived of its trade by sea. The Tiburtes and Prænestines lost a portion of their lands, in punishment for their former juncture with the Gauls. The Latin diets were abolished, and the right of contracting marriages, and of holding landed property, was confined to each Latin within his own town^c. The beaks of the Antiatian ships were used as an ornament to the rostrum or pulpit in the forum.

A.C. 337.
15.

The next consuls, C. Sulpicius Longus

^c I. e. The commercium, connubium, and concilium, were taken away.

A.C. 336-4. A.U. 418-20.

and P. Ælius Pætus, were ordered to assist the Aurunci against the Sidicines. They were, however, so slow in rendering assistance, that the Aurunci deserted their town, and fortified Suessa. A dictator was then chosen, but the augurs detected some flaw in the election, and he was compelled to lay down office. The Vestal Minucia was soon after buried alive in the Wicked Field near the Colline gate, on a charge of incontinence. In the same year Q. Publilius Philo, a ple-
First ple-
beian prætor.
 beian, was appointed prætor, despite the opposition of Sulpicius.

Under the following consuls, L. Papi-
A.C. 336.
 rius Crassus, and K. Duilius, there was
16.
 a trifling skirmish with the Ausones in
Wars in
Latium.
 Cales and the Sidicines. The senate did not neglect this matter, but appointed Valerius Corvus and M. Atilius Regulus consuls; and
A.C. 335.
 Corvus was entrusted with the war against Cales, which, through the information of M. Fabius, a Roman prisoner, was speedily surprised and reduced. He received a triumph, and both consuls were then ordered to attend to the Sidicine war. A dictator was appointed to hold the comitia, and T. Veturius and Sp. Postumius were
A.C. 334.

chosen consuls. They carried a bill for the colonization of Cales, and 2,500 men were accordingly sent thither.

17. Alarmed by some threatened hostilities from Samnium and the Sidicines, P. Cornelius Rufinus was chosen dictator, but compelled by some superstition to resign office. Interreges succeeded; A.C. 332. the fifth of whom named A. Cornelius and Cn. Domitius^f consuls. The news of Gallic hostilities caused the election of M. Papirius Crassus as dictator, but while they were holding a levy, it was discovered that Gaul was in a state of perfect tranquillity. Alexander king of Epirus, after a victory over the Samnites and Lucanians near Pæstum, made peace with the Romans. In this same year a census was held, and the new citizens enrolled. Two new tribes, the Mœcian and Scaptian, were added to the city, and the Acerrani received franchise without suffrage.

A.C. 331. In the following year great panic was
18. excited by the suspicious deaths of great

^f L. Papirius and C. Pætilius are here omitted. See notes and Fasti.

A.C. 331-30. A.U. 423-4.

numbers of persons at Rome, and, upon the information of a female slave, twenty matrons were accused of poisoning the people. Two of them, Cornelia and Sergia, denied that the preparations discovered were poisonous, and were ordered to drink them. The event proved their falsity, and 170 matrons were condemned.

Inquisitio de
veneficiis.

The affair seemed a prodigy, and Cn. Quintilius was created dictator to drive the nail into the temple of Jupiter.

L. Papirius Crassus and L. Plautius Venuo were the next consuls. Ambassadors were sent by the Fabraterni and Lucanians, entreating alliance, and defence against the Samnites. The Samnites yielded, for the present, to the request of the Romans, and ceased hostilities against those states. Fundi and Priver-

A.C. 330.

19-21.

Revolt of
Fundi and
Privernum.

Vitruvius Vaccus, a man of great influence both at Fundi and Rome. L. Papirius came up with him while he was ravaging the land about Setia, Norba, and Cora, and he fled after a nominal resistance, and took refuge in Privernum. Plautius then turned his arms against the Fundani, but was induced to cease hostilities by their sub-

mission[§]. The two consular armies then joined in the attack upon Privernum, but one of the
 A.C. 329. consuls was forced to return to Rome in order to hold the Comitia. The
 Reduction of Privernum. new consuls, L. Æmilius and C. Plautius, were ordered to choose their provinces on the very day of their election, and Æmilius, in the alarm of Gallic hostilities, proceeded to enroll even the lowest artificers and tradesmen. But on this proving a false alarm, the army was withdrawn to Privernum. It is doubtful whether Vitruvius was taken prisoner after the capture of the city, or surrendered by the Privernates. The senate ordered the walls of Privernum to be pulled down, and a Roman garrison to be left, and granted a triumph to Plautius. Vitruvius was to be scourged and then executed; his house on the Palatine destroyed, and his goods consecrated to Semo Sancus. The senate were to be banished, but at the intercession of the consul, the people received franchise, in order to prevent their joining the Sam-

[§] Claudius Quadrigarius states that 350 of the leaders of the sedition were first sent to Rome, and that that surrender was not accepted.

A.C. 328-7. A.U. 426-7.

nites. During the same year 300 Romans were sent to colonize Anxur.

Under the consuls P. Plautius Proculus and P. Cornelius Scapula, a colony was sent to Fregellæ. L. Flavius, by a public distribution of flesh at the funeral of his mother, became a favourite, and was chosen plebeian tribune. Palæpolis and Neapolis, two colonies of Cumæ^h, had been in alliance with the Samnites, and had committed many acts of violence in the Campanian and Falernian territory. For this satisfaction was in vain demanded in the succeeding year, and war was declared against the Palæpolitans, the consul Publius being entrusted therewith; while his colleague L. Cornelius kept watch upon the Samnites. But 6000 Samnites and Nolanians had thrown themselves into Palæpolis, for its firmer defence, and Cornelius found Samnium in a doubtful state, encouraging Privernum, Fundi, and Formium to revolt. The Romans desired the Samnites to give up Fregellæ; they refused, and avowed themselves prepared to decide the questions by arms. As

A.C. 328.

22-3.

Conduct of
the Greek
towns.

A.C. 327.

^h The colonists had first settled in the islands of Ænaria and Pithecusæ, and thence on the continent.

Publilius had occupied the ground between Pa-læpolis and Neapolis, he thereby deprived them of mutual succour, and, as his success seemed

A.C. 326. inevitable, he was continued in command
Publilius continued in office. as proconsul, as long as he was engaged against the Greeks. As L. Cornelius was unable to leave Samnium, he was ordered to create a dictator. M. Claudius Marcellus was named, but his election was doubtful, and he laid down office at the instigation of the augurs. The tribunes were dissatisfied at their opposition, asserting that it arose from a plebeian having been named. An interregnum succeeded, and C. Pætilius and L. Papirius Mugillanus were at length elected.

24—6. About this time Alexandria was found-
ed in Egypt, and Alexander, king of Epirus, ac-
complished by his death the oracle of Dodona¹.
A lectisternium was also celebrated for the fifth
War with Samnium. time, and war declared against the Sam-
nites. The Romans made an alliance
with the Apulians and Lucanians, and speedily

¹ He met his death at the hands of some conquered Luca-nians, to whose fidelity he had trusted his safety. Read the account at length.

A.C. 326. A.U. 428.

captured the Samnite towns of Allifæ, Callifæ, and Ruffrium, and ravaged the surrounding country. Meantime no relief was sent to Palæpolis by the Samnites, and the garrison already there had become the worst enemies of those they professed to protect. Charilaus and Nymphius^k, the chief men of the city, then Charilaus and Nymphius. determined to open the gates to the Romans, as being the lesser evil, and the former surrendered the city to Publius Philo, while Nymphius had induced the Samnites to quit the city by night under a pretence of ravaging the coast and territory near Rome. Charilaus filled the higher parts of the city with Roman soldiers, and the Nolans, alarmed at their shouts, fled, and the Samnites followed them, leaving their arms and possessions in the hands of the enemy. Publius, although only pro-consul, received a triumph.

The Tarentines, enraged at the sur- 27.
render of Palæpolis, and the treaty of the Romans with the Lucanians, persuaded some of the Lucanian youth to deceive their countrymen into breaking the treaty, by alleging that they had suffered

^k Some ascribe this surrender to the Samnites, § 26.

ill usage from the Romans¹. The cheat was discovered too late, and they went over to the Samnites.

28. The brutal conduct of L. Papirius to
Abolition of his debtor C. Publilius, led to a repeal
Nexus. of the custom which gave the creditor a power
of the custom which gave the creditor a power
over the person of his debtor, and limited his
demands to the property only.

29. The fears of the Roman senate were
A.C. 325. increased by the Vestinians joining with
Defeat of the the Samnites. The consul Junius Brutus
Vestinians. was successful against them, but himself suffered
a heavy loss. He however captured Cutina and
Cingilia, and gave them up to his soldiers for
plunder. His colleague L. Furius was hindered
by illness from undertaking the Samnite war, and
accordingly chose L. Papirius Cursor dictator, who
elected Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus master of
the horse.

30. Auspices compelled the dictator to re-
Fabius fights turn to Rome, and he desired Q. Fabius
contrary to not to engage with the enemy in his
orders. absence. But the careless boldness of the Sam-
nites induced Fabius to fight with them near

¹ But see Schmitz, p. 201.

Imbrinium. He gained a splendid victory, and 20,000 of the enemy fell. Some authors state that he fought twice during the absence of the dictator. The spoils were collected and burnt in honour of the gods, or, as Fabius Pictor supposes, in order to prevent them gracing the triumph of the dictator.

On the news of this successful breach of discipline, the rage of the dictator knew no bounds; he hastened back to the camp, and cited Fabius to appear. After some questioning, he ordered him to be stripped for execution; but he fled, and threw himself upon the protection of his soldiers. Threats of revolt were now mingled with the entreaties of Fabius' party, and night alone put an end to the dispute. Fabius fled by night to Rome, and hastily convoked the senate. He was quickly overtaken by the dictator, but his father M. Fabius defended him, and threatened to appeal to the plebeian tribunes. The dictator replied by representing the danger attendant on military insubordination, and persisted in his determined severity. At length the senate and people united in a request that he would pardon Fabius as a favour to themselves, to which

31—5.
Danger of
Fabius.

he agreed, thereby preserving his dignity uninjured. His severity however had an ill effect upon the minds of the soldiers, and the officers being prevented by his orders from rendering assistance to some foragers, the death of the latter was made a matter of reproach to the dictator.

36. Leaving Fabius at home with orders to remain neutral, Papirius set out for the camp. The news of his approach excited little joy in the soldiers, or terror in the enemy; and his army but half gained a victory the next day, and numbers were wounded. Perceiving the state of feeling, he laboured to regain his popularity by his attention to the wounded soldiers, and with such success, that when he next took the field, the enemy were finally routed. The whole booty was given up to the soldiers, according to promise, and the Samnites obtained a truce on condition of their clothing the whole of the dictator's army, and giving them a year's pay. The dictator received a triumph.

A.C. 324-3. Under the next consuls, C. Sulpicius
37. Longus and Q. Æmilius Cerretanus, the Samnites obtained a year's truce, which they broke^m.

^m But see Niebuhr, t. iii. p. 196, &c.

Apulia was also entrusted to Æmilius, whether for war or for the defence of some Roman allies. A false alarm by night caused some terror at Rome, but its cause was never discovered. M. Flavius the tribune brought forward a bill for the punishment of the Tusculans, who had excited the Veliternians and Privernates to war. The entreaties of the Tusculans however won over the suffrages of all the tribes except the Pollianⁿ.

In the following consulship of Q. Fabius and L. Fulvius, A. Cornelius Arvina was created dictator^o, and M. Fabius

38-39.

A.C. 322.

Victory over
the Samnites

Ambustus master of the horse, on account of the hostilities threatened by the Samnites. The enemy made show of a violent attack upon the Roman camp, but were compelled by the approach of night to await the dawn. Leaving numerous watch fires to deceive them, the dictator tried to draw off his own legions, but was hindered by the cavalry of

ⁿ The Tusculans formed a portion of the Papirian tribe, and hence no candidate of the Pollian tribe could ever obtain their suffrage. Niebuhr, t. i. not. 977, wishes to identify the Pollian tribe with the Poblilian. There is some difficulty about the consuls of this year. See text and the Fasti.

^o It is doubtful whether the war was not conducted by the consuls, and the dictator chosen for the celebration of some games, on account of the illness of L. Plantius.

the Samnites. He therefore attempted to pitch his camp where he was, but being hindered from this also, he drew up in line of battle, removing the baggage out of the way, and a doubtful contest ensued. At length the cavalry of the enemy fell to plundering the Roman baggage, and the dictator ordered the master of the horse to attack them while impeded by the weight, and off their guard. The Samnite cavalry were soon cut to pieces, and Fabius then attacked the rear of the foot; the dictator pressed upon them in front, and so complete was the victory, that the Samnites determined to expiate the crime of the war by sacrificing one of the leaders of the insurrection to the fury of the Romans. Brutulus Papius was fixed upon, who had caused the breaking of the late truce. He saved himself from disgrace by a voluntary death, but his body was sent to Rome, together with his property, and such spoils and captives as had been taken from the Romans. The captives and part of the booty only were accepted. The dictator received a triumph.

ANALYSIS
OF THE
FIRST DECADE OF LIVY.

BOOK IX.

A.C. 321. A.U. 433.

IN the consulship of T. Veturius Cal-
vinus and Sp. Postumius, the Samnite
general, C. Pontius, enraged at the re-
fusal of peace by the Romans, inspired
the Samnites with a determination to
renew the war, and led them to Cau-
dium. From thence he sent twelve soldiers, in
the disguise of shepherds, to Calatia, and ordered
them to mislead the Romans who might fall upon
them, by telling them that the Samnite legions were
besieging Luceria in Apulia. The consuls were
deceived by this stratagem, and set out to relieve

A.C. 321.

1—11.

By the strata-
gem of
C. Pontius,
the Roman
army is shut
up in the val-
ley of Cau-
dium.

Luceria, choosing the dangerous road through the narrow valley of Caudium, where they found themselves surrounded by the enemy, and all power of egress cut off.

The Samnites scarcely knew how to use their good fortune, and resolved to consult Herennius, the aged father of C. Pontius. His first advice was that they should dismiss the whole Roman army uninjured, and thereby secure a perpetual peace from the gratitude of the Romans. This opinion gave dissatisfaction, and on his being again consulted, he advised an universal massaere of the enclosed enemy. Not knowing what to make of such discordant opinions, the Samnites summoned him to the camp, and his son proposed adopting a middle line of conduct: Herennius replied that such behaviour would neither make the Romans friends, nor destroy the spirit of hostility now subsisting.

Meantime the Romans were compelled to send a deputation to Pontius to solicit a peace, or challenge a battle. Pontius would hear of no terms, but insisted that they should be sent under the yoke as conquered, that the colonies should be withdrawn, and that they should eva-

Different opinions of Herennius Pontius.

Surrender of the Romans,

A.C. 321. A.U. 483.

cuate Samnium. L. Lentulus, the chief of the deputation, advised the consuls to accept these miserable proposals, but they could not make the proposed truce without the consent of the people, and the mediation of the *feciales*. An agreement^a was therefore concluded in the names of the consuls, tribunes, and other officers, 600 equites given as hostages, and the whole army sent half naked under the yoke, amidst the taunts of the enemy. They were kindly and respectfully received by their Campanian allies at Capua; but on their departure, some of the youth construed their mute grief and downcast countenances into an evidence of perpetual subjection. But Ofilius Calavius thought their silence and shame boded more evil to the Samnites from their future revenge, and that the peace of Caudium would hereafter be a subject of greater pain to the enemy than to the Romans.

and disgraceful
peace.

Opinions of
the Campanians.

At Rome all was one scene of grief and confusion; a hasty levy had been formed on the news of the army being blocked up, but was dropped when the shameful peace was known. The disgraced soldiers scarcely dared

State of
things at
Rome.

^a Sponsio, in opposition to *fœdus*, a public treaty.

appear in public, and the consuls were ordered to name a dictator. They chose Q. Fabius Ambustus, who was compelled to abdicate by a flaw in his election; then M. Æmilius Papus, but matters came to an interregnum. The interrex Valerius Corvus created Q. Publilius Philo and L. Papirius Cursor consuls.

A.C. 320. Self-devotion of Postumius. Publilius immediately called upon the consul Postumius to speak, and he replied by proposing that himself and colleague, with all those who had ratified the treaty, should be given up to the enemy as persons who had deceived them, in order that the Romans might be released from so disgraceful a peace, and be able to carry on the war. The tribunes L. Livius and Q. Mælius endeavoured to escape by urging the sacredness of their persons, but were compelled to give way by the bitter oration of Postumius.

The officers accordingly laid down office, and were led to Caudium by the *feciales*. The self-devotion of Postumius was loudly praised; he seemed like another Decius; and every preparation was made for war. On arriving at the tribunal of Pontius, the *fecial* A. Cornelius Arvina gave up Postumius and his colleagues, accusing them

A.C. 320. A.U. 434.

of having made a treaty without the consent of, and therefore not binding to the Romans. Postumius even struck the fecial, declaring himself a Samnite, and asserting that after such an insult to their officer, the Romans might more justly make war.

Surrender of Postumius and his colleagues.

Pontius bitterly reproached the Romans for this quibbling breach of faith, and refused to receive the consuls and their companions, and bade the lictors set them at liberty, calling on the offended gods to assist him in his enmity against Rome.

Conduct of Pontius.

The Samnites now began to regret that they had not taken the advice of the aged Herennius, in taking advantage of their opportunity; while the Romans felt confident that they should yet retrieve their disgrace. Meanwhile Satricum revolted to the Samnites, and Fregellæ was surprised by night. The inhabitants were deceived by a proclamation of quarter, and burnt in their houses by the Samnites. A few of them however escaped through a postern.

12—4.
Feelings of both parties.

Revolt of Satricum, and capture of Fregellæ.

Papirius set out for Luceria in Apulia, where the 600 hostages were under guard, while Publilius

awaited the attack of the Samnites on their own ground. The enemy, although they wished to relieve Luceria, were compelled to hazard a battle, and they were speedily routed by the Roman troops, who rushed upon them sword in hand, and scarcely listened to the encouraging words of their general. The Samnites however succeeded in reaching Luceria, leaving their camps to the mercy of the Romans, who slaughtered all they found. The other consular army had meantime arrived at Arpi, the inhabitants of which supplied a scanty provision during their operations against Luceria. The enemy were supplied from the mountainous districts, but these means were cut off by the arrival of the other consul, who, leaving the conduct of the siege to his colleague, ravaged the surrounding country, and compelled the enemy to fight with Papirius.

Conduct of
the Taren-
tines.

Just as they were about to engage, the Tarentines sent to desire them to desist, declaring that they would side with the party who sought peace. But the consuls, encouraged by the auspices, despised their threat, and gave the signal for instant battle. The Samnites placed themselves under the impotent authority of

the Tarentines, refused to fight, and were slaughtered without mercy. The remembrance however of the 600 hostages prevented their total destruction.

Publilius then subdued some of the states of Apulia, while Papirius conducted the siege of Luceria. Pressed by famine, the inhabitants at length capitulated, surrendered the 600 hostages, and 7,000 soldiers were compelled to pass under the yoke. An immense booty was taken, and all the standards and arms, which had been lost at Caudium, were recovered^b.

The consul Aulus Cerretanus reduced Ferentum, and his colleague L. Papirius^c laid siege to Satricum, which had been occupied by a Samnite garrison. They sought peace, which he refused to grant, unless they slew or delivered up the Samnites. Part of the senate favoured the Romans, and privately informed the consul at what hour of night the garrison would quit the city, and by what gate;

^b It is doubtful whether Pontius was sent under the yoke, as also whether this victory was due to the consuls, or to the dictator L. Cornelius.

^c Cursor, most probably. Others say, Mugillanus, § 15.

the other party opened the gates to the Romans. The Samnites were surprised and cut to pieces in the woods, and the city was speedily in the consul's power. The authors of the sedition were scourged and beheaded, and Papirius returned to Rome to enjoy a well earned triumph^d.

A.C. 318. Under the consuls M. Foslius and L.
20.
Extension of the Roman sway in Apulia and Lucania. Plautius a truce was made with the Samnites for two years, and the inhabitants of Teanum and Canusium surrendered. Præfects were ordained at Capua, and their laws arranged by the Roman prætor at their own request. Two more tribes, the Ufentine and Falerine, were also enrolled.

A.C. 317. In the following year the Teates of Apulia and Ferentum came under the Roman sway, and Nerulum in Lucania was captured by Æmilius. The inhabitants of Antium followed the example of Capua, and submitted the re-arrangement of their constitution to a select number of Roman patrons.

^d Livy here gives a sketch of the character of Papirius. The three following chapters contain a digression on the comparative merits of Alexander the Great and the Roman generals; remarkable for its partiality rather than its justice.

A.C. 316-5. A.U. 438-9.

The dictator L. Æmilius next undertook the war, and his attack upon Saticula was a signal to the Samnites for fresh hostilities. The Romans had to contend with two enemies at once, but the dictator had secured safe ground, and a complete, though hard-earned victory was the result. The Samnites fled, and surrounded Plistia^e, a Roman colony.

A.C. 316.

21.

Defeat of the Samnites by Æmilius.

The new dictator Fabius found the Samnites again at Saticula, and urged the siege with violence. The master of the horse, Q. Aulius Cerretanus, without asking permission, fought with the Samnites, who had attacked the camp, slew their general, but himself fell in the midst of victory. The Samnites returned to Plistia, which they took by force, and Saticula was surrendered to the Romans.

A.C. 315.

22.

Siege and surrender of Saticula.

Sora next became the seat of war, its inhabitants having slain the Roman colonists, and gone over to the Samnites. The Romans, having sent out scouts to discover the route of the enemy, came up with them at

23.

Successful battle at Lautulæ.

^e Or Plistica.

Lautulæ, and fought a doubtful battle^f. C. Fabius, the new master of the horse, arrived with a reinforcement from Rome, and remained in ambush by order of the dictator, who concealed his arrival from his soldiers, assuring them that their situation was desperate, unless they recovered themselves by valour alone. The two armies joined, and obtained a splendid victory over the Samnites, capturing a great booty.

A.C. 314. The consuls M. Pætilius and C. Sul-
 24.
 Sora is be- piccius returned to Sora with a re-
 trayed. plenished force. One of the inhabitants
 conducted ten Roman soldiers into the citadel, the
 city was thrown into confusion, and while some
 of the inhabitants attempted to escape by the
 gates, the Roman army effected an entrance. 225
 leaders of the sedition were sent in chains to
 Rome, where they were beheaded, and a garrison
 was left at Sora.

25.
 Betrayal of The Ausonians had also betrayed hos-
 Ausona, tile feelings towards Rome, and even
 Minturnæ,
 and Vescia. Capua was suspected. Twelve of the

^f Some say it was fatal to the Roman side, and that the master of the horse fell in *this* battle. See Schmitz, p. 205.

nobility of Ausona, Minturnæ, and Vescia, opened the gates to some Roman soldiers in disguise. The three cities were taken, and a cruel massacre ensued in the absence of the consuls.

Luceria again revolted, and betrayed 26.
the Roman garrison to the Samnites. Capture of
Luceria.

It was speedily re-taken, and a total massacre of the inhabitants ensued. The hatred of the Romans made them think of destroying the city entirely, but they changed their opinion, and sent thither 2,500 colonists. The uncertain state of Disturbances
at Rome. the Capuan allegiance, and the news of conspiracies amongst its chief men, led to the election of C. Mænius as dictator. At the news of this, some of the suspected parties avoided investigation by suicide, and the question then turned to Rome, and an inquiry into the means by which honours were obtained by individuals rendered Mænius so unpopular, that he retired from office. He was prosecuted by the tribunes, as well as his master of the horse, M. Foslius, and Publilius Philo; but they were all honourably acquitted.

The Samnites took advantage of these 27.
disturbances, and returned to Caudium, Defeat of the
Samnites
near Capua. with the view of obtaining Capua. The

consuls Pætilius and Sulpicius overtook them in some plains near Capua, and a few skirmishes ensued. Tired of delay, the Samnites ventured upon a pitched battle, in which they were completely defeated.

A.C. 313. The seat of war was then transferred

28. to Bovianum, where the dictator C. Pæ-

Recovery of
Fregellæ and
Nola. tilius[§] and M. Foslius the master of the

horse received the army. The dictator went to the relief of Fregellæ, which the Samnites quitted by night without any resistance; and he then went back to Campania, and laid siege to Nola, burning the dwellings erected round the walls. Nola was speedily reduced. In the same

Colonies. year some colonies were sent to Suessa

A.C. 312. and Pontiæ, and in the following year 4,000 were sent to Interamna and Casinum.

29. These successes were interrupted by the report that the Etrurians were in arms, and P. Decius, in the absence of his colleague M. Valerius, named C. Junius Bubuleus dictator. Every pre-

§ It is doubtful whether he was elected for carrying on this war, or for driving the nail during a subsequent pestilence. Some say that Nola was taken by the consul C. Junius, as well as Atina and Calatia.

paration was made for war, but hostilities went no further.

This year was distinguished by the Censorship of Ap. Claudius. censorship of Appius Claudius, whose public works^h were unsurpassed, but whose behaviour in excluding his enemies from the senate rendered him an object of dread, as well as his pertinacity in remaining alone in office after the resignation of his colleague. He commanded the Potitian family, who had hitherto been entrusted with the rites offered to Hercules, to instruct public slaves in these ceremonies; in consequence of which the whole twelve families of the Potitian gens became extinct in a short time, and Appius lost his sight.

The next consuls, C. Junius and 30. Q. Æmilius, counteracted the ill effects Preparatory measures for the war. of Appius's policy, by assembling the senate according to the old system. The tribunes L. Atilius and C. Marcius carried a rogation to the effect that sixteen military tribunes should be elected by the peopleⁱ, while their colleague

^h The Appian road, and the grand water-course or aqueduct.

ⁱ Leaving four to the choice of the consuls or dictator. See Doujat.

M. Decius procured the similar election of two officers to superintend the repairs of the fleet. The censors of the last year had hindered the pipers from feasting in the temple^k of Jupiter, as before. Vexed at this invasion of their privileges, they fled to Tibur, but were recovered, while drunk, by an amusing stratagem, and their old indulgence restored.

31. Junius then set out against the Samnites, Æmilius against Etruria. The Reduction of Cluvia and Bovianum. Samnites had compelled the inhabitants of Cluvia by famine to surrender, and had then massacred them with wanton cruelty. In revenge for this Junius captured the city, and slew every man therein. Proceeding to Bovianum, he inspired his soldiers with hope of plunder, and speedily reduced it. The booty was immense, and the Samnites had now no hope but in stratagem.

Dangerous, but successful battle with the Samnites. They succeeded in leading the Romans into a wood, and surprising them; but freeing themselves from their baggage, and encouraged by their consul, they boldly as-

^k For the use of pipers at sacred rites see Varro, R. R. 3. 17; and on their maintenance, the Comm. on Aristoph. Pac. 952.

cended the higher ground, dislodged them from their position, and obtained a splendid victory. 20,000 of the enemy fell, and large herds of cattle were taken.

Meantime all Etruria, with the ex-
ception of Arretium, was in arms, and
hostilities were commenced by the siege of Su-
trium. Æmilius relieved the fortress, and a battle
shortly ensued, which remained doubtful for some
time, but was decided in favour of the Romans by
a judicious change of troops in the front line.
Night put an end to the slaughter of the enemy,
and a larger number of Romans died of their
wounds than had fallen in the field.

In the following year¹ Q. Fabius un-
dertook the war at Sutrium with an
augmented force. It was already be-
sieged by the Etrurians, who took the
field with a superior force. To conceal
his deficiency in numbers, the consul took up
a position upon some rising ground, and drove

32.

Operations at
Sutrium.

A.C. 310.

33—6.

Defeat of the
Etrurians,
and entrance
of the Cimi-
nian wood.

¹ The attempt of Appius to retain the censorship beyond the time allowed by the Æmilian law (4. 24.), was manfully and successfully resisted by the plebeian tribune, P. Sempronius, § 33-4.

back the enemy with such violence that they took flight, and sought the Ciminian wood. The Romans, mindful of the disaster at Caudium, hesitated to enter it; but M. Fabius Kæso^m, who had been educated in the Etrurian language, accompanied by a single slave, boldly penetrated the wood disguised as an Etruscan shepherd, and arrived at the Camertes of Umbria, with whom he successfully treated for alliance. The consul then followed with his army, descended from Mount Ciminus, and ravaged Etruria with great violence. On returning to his camp, laden with the spoils, a deputation arrived from the senate desiring him not to enter the wood, but returned with the news of his success.

37.

Grand defeat of the enemy at Sutrium.

Enraged at the consul's success, an immense army assembled at Sutrium, composed of Etrurian and Umbrian forces, and dared the Romans to the fight with great impetuosity. The Romans were still restrained from battle, and the enemy had advanced to the very ramparts, and declared that they would attack the Roman camp during the night, or at dawn. About the tenth hour the

^m Or Claudius.

consul ordered his men to take refreshment, and await the signal, assuring them that he had a contrivance that would render victory certain. Having rested till the fourth hour, they awoke in silence, demolished the rampart, filled up the trench, and rushed upon the enemy just before day-break. Many were slain while half asleep, and those who succeeded in finding their arms were speedily routed. The loss sustained by the enemy amounted to 60,000 slain and taken. The result of this victory was a truce for thirty years with the chief states of Etruria.

Meantime the other consul had taken 38.
 Allifæ and other Samnite towns, and Various success of the
 the fleet under P. Cornelius came to Romans.
 anchor at Pompeii in Campania, whence they ravaged the country about Nuceria. On their return, however, they were attacked by some peasants, and lost their booty, and some of them their lives.

The fear of the Romans was only The uncertain state of
 equalled by the delight of the Samnites, affairs at the
 who hoped that the Romans, having Ciminian
 passed through the Ciminian forest, forest leads
 would be as easily pent up as at Cau- to the elec-
tion of a dic-
tator.

dium, and they were even jealous of the Etrurians, who they thought would have the whole credit of victory. They hastened, therefore, with their whole force against Caius Marcius, and an indecisive battle ensued, the Romans loosing many of their officers, and the consul being wounded. Upon this the senate determined that Papirius Cursor should be dictator, but as they doubted whether Marcius might be alive to elect him, and as the other consul, Fabius, was at enmity with Papirius, some difficulty ensued. Fabius was unwillingly prevailed upon to sacrifice his private animosity to the public good, and accordingly elected Papirius in the dead of night. Papirius appointed Caius Junius Bubulcus master of the horse, but the assembly of the *Curia* convened respecting the command of the army, was broken up by an unlucky omenⁿ.

39. Having rectified this mishap, the dictator proceeded to Longula, and encamped in sight of the enemy, but without either side beginning battle. Meantime the Umbrians were defeated,

ⁿ The Fancian Curia was on this occasion the first to vote, as at the time of the disasters at the taking of the city, and the Caudine peace.

as also the Etrurians^o, at the Cape of Vadimon. The latter made a desperate resistance, but were at length compelled to yield, losing the flower of their men and their camps.

The Samnites again took the field 40.
with extravagant splendour of arms, but Grand defeat
of the Sam-
nites.
Papirius turned this magnificent display
into ridicule. At the first onset the left wing, commanded by Junius, was most successful, and beat down the devoted party of the Samnite army, who were distinguished by their white armour. The dictator speedily animated the right wing, and, assisted by the cavalry, who were incited to the attack by Marcius Valerius and Publius Decius, they drove the enemy to their camp, which they took, plundered, and burnt. The splendid armour, glittering with gold and silver, adorned the triumph of the dictator, and was then distributed to the silversmiths, to serve as embellishment to the forum. The Campanians used their portion of the captured arms to adorn their gladiators, out of contempt for the Samnites. The consul Fabius obtained a victory over the Etrurians at Perugia,

^o On the *lex sacrata* here mentioned see Comm.

which city had broken truce, but was quickly retaken and garrisoned. The consul triumphed.

A.C. 309.

41.

Success
against Etru-
ria, &c.

In consideration of their merit, Fabius was retained as consul for the next year, and Decius as his colleague, while Valerius was created prætor for the fourth time. Fabius reduced Nuceria, the inhabitants of which had refused peace when offered, defeated the Samnites, who were for the first time joined by the Marsi, and subsequently by the Peligni. Decius compelled the Tarquinienses to supply his army with corn, and to sue for a truce for forty years. He also captured and destroyed several stations of the Volsinians, and terrified the Etrurians into an entreaty for peace. But this tranquillity was disturbed by an insurrection of the Umbrians, who threatened to attack Rome itself. Upon this Decius removed from Etruria towards their city, and settled at Pupinia, and Fabius received orders from the alarmed senate to lead his army into Umbria, if the state of Samnium allowed any respite. He accordingly proceeded to Mevania, and his sudden arrival struck terror into the enemy. The inhabitants, however, of the Materine district fell upon his troops while fortifying their

camp, but the consul, bidding his men quit the works, and encouraging them to bear down the enemy, a speedy victory followed, the Umbrians crying for quarter, almost before they had struck a single blow. The other states surrendered in turn, and the Oericuli were admitted to a friendly treaty under security given.

Fabius frustrates the attempt of the Umbrians.

Fabius, being still retained in the command, (despite the opposition of Appius^p.) led back his troops into Samnium, and as pro-consul defeated the Samnites near Allifæ. The natives of Samnium were allowed to capitulate, and were sent under the yoke, but their allies were publicly sold, to the number of 7,000, and those subject to the Hernicans were sent to Rome under a guard, and kept in custody among the Latin states, while the new consuls P. Corn. Arvina and Q. Marcius Tremulus were ordered to lay the matter before the senate. This gave such offence to the Hernican nations, that, with the exception of the Alatrians,

A.C. 308.

42.

Further successes.

A.C. 307.

^p Some say that the election of Appius was stopped by a protest of the tribune Lucius Furius. His colleague Volumnius was very successful in the war with the Sallentines, while he remained at home devoted to intrigues.

Ferentines, and Verulans, they all declared war against Rome.

43.
Wars with
the Herni-
cans and
Samnites.

On the departure of Fabius, the Samnites took Calatia and Sora, and treated the Roman garrisons with great cruelty. Publius was therefore sent thither, and Marcius was entrusted with the Hernican war. But the enemy contrived to intercept all communication between the two consuls, so that each was in great anxiety respecting his colleague, and two armies were levied at Rome from the youth, to answer sudden emergencies. The Hernicans however sued for a thirty days' truce, while they sent to Rome. Being again referred to the consul, he accepted their submission. Meantime the other consul was cut off from all supplies, and battle was inevitable. Marcius came to his assistance, and despite a sudden attack while he was yet marching, he drew up his men, and his colleague attacked the enemy on the other side, penetrated through their ranks, and burnt their camp. 30,000 of the enemy were quickly slain, and a fresh detachment which appeared, was also beaten down by the veteran troops, who pursued them to the hills to which they fled, and compelled them to cry for quarter.

A.C. 307-5. A.U. 447-9.

Having stipulated to furnish corn for three months, a year's pay and a tunic for each soldier, they sent to Rome to sue for peace. An equestrian statue before the temple of Castor in the forum was decreed to Marcius, the Alatrians, Verulans, and Ferentines received their own laws, and the right of intermarriage with each other. The Anagnians and others received the freedom of the city, without suffrage, but the duties of their magistrates were limited to the performance of sacred rites. During this year the censor Junius contracted for a temple to Health, which he had vowed when consul in the Samnite war. In conjunction with his colleague Valerius Maximus he made roads through the fields at the public expense. A treaty was also renewed with the Carthaginians for the third time.

As the consuls were both engaged in the wars, the dictator P. Corn. Scipio elected Lucius Postumius and Titus Minucius consuls⁹. The Samnites made incursions into Stellæ in Campania, and Postumius

A.C. 305.

44.

Further successes.

⁹ Piso observed a different order, passing over the two preceding consulships. I have adopted the date of the Fasti.

A.C. 304. A.U. 450.

was therefore sent to Tifernum, Minucius to Bovianum. In a battle at the former place the Samnites were defeated with a loss of 20,000 prisoners, although others say that its issue was doubtful, and that Postumius drew off by night, and joined his colleague, leaving some legions at a strong hold at some distance, and with the rest he made an unforeseen attack upon the enemy, who were cut off to a man. They then proceeded to Postumius' station, and the Samnites were exposed to the full force of the victorious armies, losing twenty-six standards, and their general, Statius Gellius, who was taken prisoner with many others. Bovianum was captured the next day, and the consuls received a triumph. Other accounts state that Minucius was mortally wounded, and Marcus Flavius chosen in his stead. Sora, Arpinum, and Censennia were recovered, and a statue dedicated to Hercules the Great.

A.C. 304.

Under the consuls P. Sulpicius Sa-

45.

verrio and P. Sempronius Sophus, the

Subjugation
of the Æqui.

Samnites begged for peace, which the Romans granted, but not until they had ascertained their sincerity, by sending an army into their country. They then renewed the war with

the Æqui, who had rendered assistance to their enemies, and had openly revolted. But the Æqui were ill prepared for battle, and sought refuge in their towns. Upon this the Romans laid siege to their cities, and within fifty days captured and destroyed forty-one of their towns, and nearly extirpated the race of the Æqui. A triumph followed, and the Marrucinians, Marsi, Peligni, and Ferentani were glad to make submission, and be received into alliance.

During this year Caius Flavius, a ^{46.} notary, was elected curule ædile by a ^{Caius Fla-} ^{vius.} cabal, which had sprung up during the censorship of Appius Claudius. Some say that he abandoned the mean profession of a notary, when opposition was made; but Licinius Macer states that he had done so long before, and had served the offices of tribune and triumvir. He was the first to publish the rules of legal proceedings, and hung up the calendar in the forum, that the days of public business might be known. Despite the opposition of the nobles, he dedicated the temple of Concord; and the chief Pontiff C. Barbatus, was compelled to dictate the formula. This led to a law hindering any one from dedicating a

temple without an order from the senate, or the majority of the plebeian tribunes. Faction hence sprung up between the two parties, and the censor Fabius threw all the rabble into four city tribes, purging the rest, and retaining the elective power among the better party. This proceeding gave such satisfaction, that he received the surname of Maximus, which his previous victories had failed to obtain for him. He is also said to have instituted the equestrian review on the Ides of July.

ANALYSIS
OF THE
FIRST DECADE OF LIVY.

BOOK X.

A.C. 303. A.U. 451.

UNDER the consuls L. Genucius and Serv. Cornelius 4,000 colonists were sent to Sora, and 6,000 to Alba. The Arpinians and Trebulani received the freedom of the city, but the Frusinates were fined a third part of their lands, because they had endeavoured to incite the Hernicans to revolt, and the chief conspirators were scourged and beheaded. 2,000 Umbrians, who had been engaged in prædatory incursions, were shut up in a cave, and burnt or suffocated by fires placed at either end.

A.C. 303.

1.

Affairs in the colonies.

Death of
2000 Um-
brians.

A.C. 302.
Rebellion of
the Æqui.

Under the next consuls, Livius Denter and Æmilius Marei, the Æquians rebelled, but were quickly reduced to submission by the dictator C. Junius, who dedicated the temple to Health on his return.

2.
Failure of
Cleonymus.

A Grecian fleet under the command of Cleonymus a Lacedæmonian, took Thuria in the territory of the Sallentines, but Æmilius compelled the enemy to retire to their ships, and restored Thuria to its own inhabitants^a.

3—5.
War with
Etruria.

A treaty was concluded with the Vestinians, but the public tranquillity was disturbed by the news of a rebellion in Etruria, to which the attempted expulsion of the Cilnii and the disputes of the Arretians had given rise; as

^a Some say that Cleonymus was driven away by the arrival of the dictator Junius, and that, having doubled the promontory of Brundisium, he sailed down the middle of the Adriatic to the Venetian coast. Having explored the country, he is said to have sailed up the Meduacus with his lightest vessels, and thence plundered the country. The Patavians then divided their youth into two bands, one of which attacked the guards of the ships, and compelled them to take to the opposite bank, and the others, aided by the Veneti, cut the marauders to pieces on shore. They then boarded some of the light vessels, and pursued the remaining fleet as far as the mouth of the river. The beaks of some of the ships were hung up in the temple of Juno, and a naval combat was annually exhibited at Padua in commemoration.

also that the Marsians held forcible possession of the lands to which the 4,000 colonists of Carseoli had been sent. Marcus Valerius Maximus^b was therefore nominated dictator, who chose A.C. 301 or 300. M. Æmilius Paullus master of the horse.

He defeated the Marsians, took Milonia, Plestina, and Fresilia; and, having mulcted them of some lands, renewed the treaty. War was then directed against the Etruscans, but whilst the dictator had gone to Rome to renew the auspices, the master of the horse was surprised while foraging, and lost many men and standards. At the news of this mishap, Rome was in great fear, and the dictator speedily returned with a large additional force of the youth. But he found the camps removed to safer ground, and everything in good order for war, and he therefore removed to Rusella, whither he was followed by the enemy. A stratagem of the Etruscans was frustrated by the legate Cneius Fulvius, who was then compelled to sustain the whole shock of the enemy till Valerius came up. The battalions moved up slowly, leaving intermediate spaces for the cavalry, who, at a given

^b On the chronological difficulty mentioned by Livy see the note of Sigonius, and the Fasti.

signal, charged the enemy with such violence, that they fled to their camps, where they were hemmed in, and only escaped by the breaking down of a rampart, which made way for their flight. Peace was refused them, but a truce was granted for two years. Some authors assert that the dictator composed the dissensions of the Arretians, and effected an accommodation between the Cilnii and the commons, without battle ensuing.

A.C. 300. The consulship of Marcus Valerius and
6—9. Q. Appuleius was distinguished by peace
Ogulnian laws. abroad, and the sending of colonies had lightened the distress of the plebs. But the two Ogulnii, Quintus and Cneius, plebeian tribunes, determined upon throwing open all the civic and sacerdotal honours to the chief plebeians, and proposed that four additional pontiffs and five augurs should be chosen from the commons^c. The patricians made a feeble resistance, as experience had taught them their inability to contend against the commons, but Appius Claudius was more urgent. Publius Decius was then called to mind the self-devotion of his father, a plebeian, and by his

^c Livy thinks that two of the augurs must have died, as the number in each of the tribes was equal, § 6.

animated oratory procured the passing of the law on the day following. The number of pontiffs was thus augmented to eight; that of the augurs to nine. M. Valerius also passed a bill rendering the inviolability of Roman citizens more secure, declaring the scourging or slaughter of a Roman citizen an act of wickedness^d. A trifling war was transacted by Valerius against the Æqui, who had again revolted, and his colleague besieged Nequinum, which was however so well defended by nature, that it held out till the following year.

The next consuls, Marcus Fulvius Pæ-
tinus and Titus Manlius^e, conducted the
siege of Nequinum, which was at length betrayed
by two of the townsmen, who admitted 300 soldiers
into the city by a mine; and it was colonized under
the surname of Narnia, as a barrier against the
Umbrians.

^d Our author also mentions the Porcian law for the preservation of the persons of Roman citizens.

^e Livy notices some chronological difficulties. Licinius Macer and Tubero state that Q. Fabius was unanimously named by the centuries, but that he declined the office until there was more occasion for his arms, and therefore served as curule ædile. But this statement perhaps arose from the surname of Maximus, which was applied both to Fabius and Sp. Carvilius, one of the ædiles, according to Piso's account.

An attempt of the Etrurians to renew hostilities was hindered by an irruption of the Gauls, to whom they offered a large sum, on condition of their assisting them against the Romans. The Gauls however refused to do so, asserting that the money they received was only the price of their departure from the Etrurian territory.

The Romans had meanwhile concluded an alliance with the Picentians, but the death of the consul Manlius, through a fall from his horse, was regarded by the Etrurians as a lucky omen, and a dictator would have been elected by the senate, had not the people united in naming Marcus Valerius consul, who was the man the senate had in view. The enemy avoided battle, and he ravaged their lands with great violence. The Romans were also alarmed by the Picentians informing them that the Samnites were renewing hostilities, and their care was turned towards Samnium. The public also suffered much distress from the scarcity of provisions, but were relieved, it is said, by the active industry of the ædile Fabius^f.

An interregnum succeeded under Appius Claudius, and then Publ. Sulpicius, the latter of whom

^f See the last note.

A.C. 298. A.U. 456.

chose Lucius Corn. Scipio and Cneius Fulvius consuls. A deputation was sent by the Lucanians, praying for assistance against the Samnites, and pardon for old offences, and a renewal of alliance, promising perfect fidelity. They were favourably received, and heralds were sent to require the Samnites to quit their territory. This deputation was however intercepted by one from the Samnites, threatening their persons if they entered Samnium, and war was declared forthwith. Scipio set out against the Etrurians, and fought a doubtful battle near Volaterra, but the enemy decamped in the night, and left him master of the field and their own camps. He left the baggage at Falerii, and proceeded to ravage the surrounding country, destroying some of the fortresses and smaller towns. The other consul gained a complete victory over the Samnites at Bovianum, which he captured, and soon after it Aufidena. He received a triumph; and a colony was sent to Carseoli.

A.C. 298.

Success
against the
Etrurians
and Sam-
nites.

13—14.

Fabius cho-
sen consul.

A report now prevailed that vast armies were being raised in Etruria, and that hostilities were inevitable. Notwithstanding the disinterested refusal of Fabius Maximus, and the

law which forbade resuming the same office within the space of ten years, he was unanimously
 A.C. 297. chosen consul, and, at his request, Publius Decius was his colleague.

While the consuls were engaged in settling the command, and ascertaining what number of forces would be required respectively for the Etrurian and Samnite wars, ambassadors arrived from Sutrium, Nepete, and Falerii, with the news that the Etrurian states had met respecting the formation of a peace. The consuls then turned their whole attention to Samnium, setting out in different ways in order to deceive the enemy, Fabius going through the territory of Sora, Decius through Sidicinum. They then ravaged the country, sending out scouts to explore it, by which they escaped the snare of the enemy, who had posted themselves in

Battle near
 Tifernum. a valley near Tifernum. Compelled to engage in the field, they offered a firm resistance, and even the cavalry, encouraged as they were by Fabius, could make no impression upon their ranks. Meantime, however, Fabius had sent round the hastati of the first legion under Scipio, to some rising ground behind the enemy, and their appearance terrified the Samnites, while

A.C. 297-6. A.U. 457-8.

the consul exclaiming that Decius and his army were coming, filled his own soldiers with renewed courage, the enemy with dismay. They speedily dispersed, having lost 3,400 men, besides 330 taken prisoners, and 23 standards.

The Apulians had intended joining their forces to the Samnites, but were met at Maleventum, and defeated by Decius with a loss of 2,000 men. The consular armies then united, and for five months ravaged the whole of Samnium, desolating and depopulating whole regions. Fabius also took Cimetre, where he captured 2,400 prisoners, and killed 430 in the attack. He then went to Rome to preside at the elections, and the first centuries united in again naming him consul. Appius Claudius was a candidate, and laboured with the nobility to procure the election of two patrician consuls. But Fabius, foreseeing that he would himself be elected by such a system, refused, and accordingly Appius Claudius and the plebeian Lucius Volumnius were chosen consuls. The senate were vexed with Fabius for declining to act with the clever and eloquent Appius.

15.

Defeat of the
Apulians, and
devastation
of Samnium.

Election dis-
putes.

A.C. 296.

16—17. The last consuls were however re-
 Capture of tained in the command for six months,
 Murgantia, and at last drove the Samnite army
 Romulea, entirely out of the country, who pro-
 and Ferentinum. ceeded to Etruria, and, in a meeting of the chiefs,
 threw themselves upon their protection, and be-
 sought their assistance. Decius took advantage
 of their absence, stormed Murgantia, and took
 2,100 prisoners, with a large booty, which the
 soldiers, by advice of Decius, sold, and proceed-
 ed to Romulea, which also fell into their hands.
 2,300 of the enemy were slain, 6,000 taken pri-
 soners, and having in like manner sold the spoils,
 they proceeded to Ferentinum, which was taken
 after a desperate resistance^s.

18—19. Another combination, headed by Gel-
 Conduct of lius Egnatius, a Samnite, sprung up in
 the consuls against the Etruria, and the Umbrians joined therein,
 Etrurian as also a hired force of the Gauls. Lu-
 league. cius Volumnius had already set out for Samnium
 with the second and third legions, and 15,000
 allies, and Appius Claudius was therefore sent

^s Decius had taught the soldiers to consider Samnium as a mine of wealth, and their efforts were the more earnest in consequence. Some ascribe the two last victories to Fabius.

with the first and fourth, and 12,000 allies, against the Etrurians. His arrival prevented some states from joining the league, but his success in arms was very doubtful, and he is said to have sent a letter to Volumnius, seeking his aid.

Volumnius had taken three fortresses, and had quelled a sedition of the Lucanians by sending Quintus Fabius, the pro-consul, thither, leaving the ravaging of the country to Decius. On arrival at his colleague's camp, Appius denied having sent for him, and an angry altercation ensued. As Volumnius was departing, the officers besought him to stay, and entreated Appius not to refuse his opportune assistance. Volumnius then offered to let Appius take his choice of Samnium or Etruria, but the soldiers, with a shout, desired that the consuls would conjointly carry on the Etrurian war, and Volumnius instantly took the field, Appius at first remaining inactive. Gellius was absent on a foraging excursion, and the Samnites were therefore under no directions, and Volumnius had begun battle before Appius came up, and their front was therefore uneven, and their usual opponents were changed, the Etrurians fighting against Volumnius, the Samnites against Appius. During

the heat of the battle, Appius vowed a temple to Bellona, should victory ensue, and the enemy were at length driven to their camps. Here they rallied under Gellius, but the consuls led their men over ramparts and ditches alike, and obtained a complete victory, 7,300 of the enemy being slain, and 2,120 taken prisoners.

20.

Further de-
feat of the
Samnites.

While the consuls were thus engaged, a new army of Samnites passed through Vescia into the Campanian and Falerian districts, which they ravaged with great violence. Volumnius, who was hastening back to Samnium in order to take the command, (as the six months had expired), altered his intended route, and learnt at Cales that the enemy had gone onward to Samnium in disorder. Having learnt the same account from some stragglers who were taken, he drew near to the Samnite camp, and sent persons skilled in the Oscan language, to ascertain how they were employed. Having thus learnt that the standards and booty were setting out but ill attended, he fell upon them towards day-break. The disorder in the Samnite camp was increased by some of their prisoners getting at liberty, who attacked the general Statius Mina-

cius, and dragged him a prisoner to the Roman consul. The enemy vainly attempted to rally, and their loss amounted to 6,000 slain, 2,500 taken prisoners, including four tribunes, and thirty standards, while the Romans recovered 7,400 prisoners. The spoils, after each man had recovered his own property, were sold by auction.

The news of the depredations in Campania, and of a fresh revolt in Etruria, headed by Gellius, so alarmed the senate, that a justitium was ordered, a levy on a large scale commenced, and the chief guard of the city entrusted to the prætor P. Sempronius. But a letter from Volumnius announced the defeat of the prædatory forces, and public thanksgivings were celebrated with great rejoicing. For the security of the country, they determined to settle two colonies on the Vescian and Falernian frontiers, one at the mouth of the Liris, since called Minturnæ, the other in the Vescian forest, on the site of Sinope, since called Sinuessa. But the danger of the places made the people unwilling to set out to these colonies, and the letters of Appius, announcing a coalition between the Etrurians, Samnites, Umbrians, and Gauls, distracted their

21—2.
Alarm at
Rome, and
subsequent
measures for
the conduct
of the war.

attention. On Volunnius arriving at Rome to hold the elections, he warned them to be careful in their selection, as they might make up their minds for war with four nations at once; and the universal choice fell upon Quintus Fabius and Volunnius, the latter of whom readily gave place to Decius, at the request of Fabius, but was continued in command for another year. Appius Claudius was elected prætor.

23. A supplication held in order to avert
Dedication of some omens, led to the dedication of an
a temple to altar to Plebeian Chastity, by Virginia,
Plebeian Chastity. the daughter of a patrician named Aulus, but who
had been excluded from the rites of the Patrician
Chastity on account of her marriage with the
plebeian consul Volunnius. During the same year
the brothers Ogulnii prosecuted several usurers,
and the ædiles employed the fines in various public
works. The plebeian ædiles did the same with
some fines levied upon the farmers of the public
lands.

A.C. 295. The unanimity of Fabius and Decius
24-6. was disturbed by the interference of con-
Further pro- ceedings of tending parties; the patricians wishing
Fabius. that Fabius should attend to Etruria without

casting lots, and the plebeians insisting that Decius should refer the matter to chance as usual. The interest of Fabius prevailed in the senate, and an altercation ensued before the people, which ended in their unanimously voting Fabius the charge of Etruria. The young men readily enlisted, and Fabius marched to Aharna, and thence to the camp of the prætor Appius. When he came within a few miles of it, he met some soldiers who had come out to cut wood. By his orders they returned, and commenced destroying their own ramparts, to the great terror of their comrades. But the knowledge that this was done by order of Fabius speedily re-assured them; and, Appius being dismissed to Rome, they shifted ground, and thenceforth they were kept in constant motion. Having left the first legion at Clusium, and committed the command of the camp to Lucius Scipio, the proprætor, Fabius returned to Rome, it is said on account of the representations of Appius, who stated that Decius or Volumnius ought to be sent to his assistance. Fabius, on his return, showed plainly that he rather consulted the fears of others than his own doubts in wishing for a colleague, and expressed his desire that Decius might be the

man, but if he were unwilling, Volumnius^h. Fabius and Decius accordingly set out; but before they arrived in Etruria, the Senonian Gauls had attacked the legion left at Clusium, and Scipio, attempting to gain some high ground, was surprised by the enemy, and, according to authors, lost his whole armyⁱ.

27—9. Having crossed the Apennines, the Grand defeat of the united forces. consuls pitched their camp in the territory of Sentinum, about four miles from the enemy. It had been settled that the Samnites and Gauls should sustain the fight, whilst the Etrurians and Umbrians were to attack the Roman camp during the engagement. This being made known to the consuls by three Clusian deserters, they sent to Fulvius and Lucius Postumius, (who were posted with two armies in the Falerian and Vatican territories), to ravage the enemies' country; and the Etrurians were thus drawn from Sentinum to protect their own regions. A few skirmishes

^h Some authors omit the mention of these disputes, and others state that Appius openly charged Fabius with misconduct while absent.

ⁱ Some attribute this defeat to the Umbrians, and make the loss of the Romans less; but Livy thinks that Gaul was far more likely to inflict this blow upon the Romans.

took place, but the Romans could not provoke the enemy to battle until the third day, when a hind, chased by a wolf, ran between the two armies, and the death of the former, while the latter remained unhurt, was construed as a favourable omen by the Romans.

The Gauls occupied the right wing, opposite to the fifth and sixth legions under Decius, the Samnites the left, against Fabius, with the first and third; the two others being employed in Samnium under Volumnius. The enemy offered a stubborn resistance, and Fabius' side stood rather on the defence than the attack, as he wished to wear out the enemy. Decius was more enthusiastic, and charged the Gallic cavalry with success. But the chariots of the enemy caused a panic, and his men began to fly in disorder; upon which Decius commanded Marcus Livius, a pontiff, to repeat the words of devotion, rushed among the enemy and met his death. Despair seemed to seize the Gauls, and the pontiff raised the spirits of the Romans by proclaiming the self-devotion of the consul, and the consequent certainty of victory. Being joined by a reserve under Lucius Scipio and Caius Marcius, they drove back the force of the Gauls

with a shower of javelins; and Fabius, ordering the cavalry to charge the Samnites in flank, attacked the exhausted Samnites with his legions, and drove them to their camp. He then ordered 500 Campanian cavalry to fall back from the ranks, wheel round, and attack the rear of the Gauls, while the chief strength of the third legion followed up the attack. Having vowed a temple and the spoils to Jove the Conqueror, he stormed the camp, and Gellius fell at the foot of the rampart, while the Gauls were forced to give way. The enemy lost 25,000 men, besides 8,000 taken prisoners. Nor was the Roman army unscathed, for Decius' party lost 7,000; Fabius' 1,200. The funeral of the consul was honourably solemnized by Fabius, with high encomiums upon his valour and self-devotion.

30—1.

Further suc-
cesses.

Meanwhile the proprætor Cneius Fulvius had ravaged the lands of the Etrurians with great violence, and had, in a single battle, slain more than 3,000 of the Perusians and Clusians, and taken 20 standards. The Samnites, in their flight, were attacked by the Peligni, and lost 1,000 out of 5,000. Fabius received a triumph^k,

^k Livy here notices the gross exaggerations in some accounts of the battle of Sentinum. Some of them also stated that

but the soldiers bestowed equal praise upon Decius, and each of them received eighty-two *asses*, with cloaks and vests.

Peace was however far from established. The Etrurians, by advice of the Perusians, renewed hostilities, while the Samnites ravaged Vescia, Formiæ, Æsernia, and the country along the banks of the Volturnus. Fabius quickly cut off 4,500 Perusians, and took 1,740 prisoners, who were ransomed at the rate of 310 *asses* each. Although pursued by the prætor Appius, and the proconsul Volumnius, the Samnites joined the Stelatiæ, and a desperate battle was fought, in which the Romans were victors. This year was distinguished by great distress from pestilence, and prodigies, and the Sibylline books were consulted. Q. Fabius Gurges, the consul's son, prosecuted some matrons on the charge of adultery, and built a temple to Venus, near the Circus, out of their fines. Notwithstanding the war had now lasted 46 years, notwithstanding the repeated defeats of the Samnites and the ruin of their allies, they still persisted

Volumnius assisted the consuls, but he is generally said to have been successfully engaged in Samnium, when he drove the enemy to Mount Tifernus,

A.C. 294. A.U. 460.

in continuing hostilities under every disadvantage.

A.C. 294.

32—3.

The Samnites attempt to surprise the Roman camp.

The next consuls, Postumius Megellus and Marcus Atilius, jointly undertook the war against the Samnites, who had mustered three armies, one for recovering Etruria, another to ravage Campania, and a third to defend their frontiers. Postumius was detained at home by sickness, but his colleague went out, and encamped in a situation by which neither army could enter the territory of the enemy. The Samnites, under cover of a thick fog, attempted to surprise the Roman camp by the Decuman gate, and the quæstor Lucius Opimius was slain. The consul immediately sent two Lucanian and Suessian cohorts to defend the head-quarters, and led his legions down the chief street of the camp. Terrified through their ignorance of the enemy's numbers, they at first let them gain ground, but rallied at the voice of the consul and drove out the enemy, not daring to pursue them in the obscurity of the weather. The Romans however lost 230 men, and the Samnites were so emboldened by their success, that they hindered even the foragers from entering their lands. The danger was exaggerated

A.C. 294. A.U. 460.

at Rome, and Postumius was compelled to set out, although as yet scarcely recovered. Before his departure, he dedicated the temple to Victory, for which he had provided funds out of the fines, while ædile, and having joined his troops at Sora, he proceeded towards Samnium, and the enemy, at the news of his arrival, withdrew.

Postumius failed in besieging Milonia, 34—3.
 but at length took it by bringing the vineæ close up to the walls. Taking of Milonia, and 3,200 of desertion of
 the Samnites were killed, 4,200 taken. Ferentinum.

He then proceeded to Ferentinum, and by means of five scouts discovered, that it had been abandoned by its inhabitants at the first watch, and a few old and sick persons only left. From these he learnt that a like conduct had been pursued in other towns, which he also took.

As the other consul Atilius was pro- 35—6.
 ceeding to relieve Luceria, he was met Difficulties
 by the Samnites on the Lucerian borders, encountered
 and a doubtful battle ensued, much to the disad- by Atilius.
 vantage of the Romans. A night of fear and
 anxiety succeeded, and at day-break the consul
 wished to retire without any more fighting, but
 the only open road led close by the post of the

enemy, so that their march would seem like an attack. The soldiers, tired and dispirited, remained insensible to the reproofs of the consul, till at length the enemy appeared in sight, bearing palisades for a rampart, evidently with the view of surrounding the camp. Upon this the energy of the consul rallied the soldiers, and they took up arms, but with little spirit. The enemy perceived that they must fight, and, heaping their baggage into the centre, they formed in line of battle. A trifling engagement commenced, and the consul, in order to give life to the action, sent out a few troops of horse to charge, most of whom being unhorsed or thrown into confusion, drew out the Samnites to the attack, and the Romans to their protection. But the latter were trodden down by the affrighted horses, and were the first to fly, and were followed by the whole army. The Samnites pursued, but the consul galloped on to the gate of his camp with a troop of cavalry, and ordered them to treat every one who fled thither as an enemy. Having thus hindered the retreat of his men, he vowed a temple to Jupiter the Stayer of flight, should victory result; the soldiers redoubled their efforts, and drove the Samnites

back to the original field of battle. They assembled round their baggage, but being vigorously assailed by the infantry in front, and by the cavalry in the rear, they were all slain or made prisoners. 7,300 were taken, and sent under the yoke; the slain were 4,800. The Romans themselves lost 7,300.

On his return the consul met with a 37.
body of the Samnites, who had vainly Success of
attempted to seize Interamna, but had since Postumius.
ravaged the country. He cut them to pieces, and recovered the whole booty, which was restored to the owners at Interamna. The senate refused a triumph to Atilius, on account of the heavy loss he had sustained, and because he had imposed no conditions on the conquered.

Postumius then led his forces into Etruria, laid waste the lands of the Volsinians, and afterwards defeated the Etrurians with a loss of 2,200 men. He next took Rusella, and made upwards of 2,000 men prisoners. The three cities of Volsinii, Perugia, and Arretium made overtures of peace, and were permitted to send to Rome on condition of furnishing clothing and corn for the army. A truce was concluded for forty years, and each state paid

A.C. 293. A.U. 461.

a fine of 500,000 *asses*. Despite the illiberal opposition of the senate, and the disputes of the plebeian tribunes, Postumius triumphed¹.

A.C. 293. The Samnites made grand and solemn
 38. preparations for taking the field: their
 splendid pre- soldiers were splendidly clad, and the
 parations of whole of the youth were levied under
 the Samnites most severe penalties. 40,000 men accordingly
 for war. assembled at Aquilonia, and a space of ground
 was enclosed with hurdles and covered with linen
 cloth, about 800 feet square. Sacrifices were here
 performed by the aged priest Ovinus Paccius, ac-
 cording to the ancient ritual employed by the
 Samnites, when they attempted to take Capua
 from the Etrurians. The most noble of those
 present were then singly introduced, and led up
 to the altars, where each took a solemn oath of
 secrecy, and was compelled to declare himself and
 race accursed, if he fled from battle, or allowed

¹ Claudius states that Postumius, after taking several Samnite cities, was defeated in Apulia, wounded, and compelled to seek refuge in Luceria; and that it was Atilius who conducted the war in Etruria, and received a triumph. Fabius asserts that the consuls acted in conjunction both in Samnium and Etruria, and that the temple vowed to Jupiter Stator in the battle at Luceria served to complete the work of Romulus, who had only marked out the space.

another man to do so. Those who refused the oath, were slain on the spot. The general then nominated ten, whom he desired to choose each a comrade, and so on till 16,000 were levied, called the Linen legion, from the tarpaulin enclosure, and furnished with splendid armour and plumed helmets. There was also another body of upwards of 20,000 men.

The consul Sp. Carvilius had meantime marched with the veteran legions from Interamna, ^{39—42.} and took Amiternum with 4,270 pri- ^{Conduct of the consuls.} soners, while his colleague L. Papirius Cursor had levied a new army, and taken Duronia. Having ravaged Samnium, especially the district of Atinum, Carvilius arrived at Cominium, and Papirius at Aquilonia, where the main force of the Samnites was posted. After vainly trying to harass the enemy to an attack, Papirius sent to request Carvilius to attack Cominium the following day, as he himself intended to fight the enemy next day, if the auspices permitted. The messenger returned at night with an approving reply, and Papirius animated his soldiers with an account of the impious sacrifices of the enemy, and a contemptuous description of their splendid array.

The impatience of the soldiers was with difficulty restrained, and even the keepers of the chickens ventured to misrepresent the auspices, asserting that they had fed voraciously^m, although they had refused food. Just as Papirius was setting out he received intelligence from a deserter, that twenty cohorts of Samnites, containing 3,000 men, had marched towards Cominium. He sent information of this to his colleague, and then ordered his troops to advance quickly. The right wing was commanded by L. Volumnius; the left by Scipio; the cavalry by the legates Caius Cœdicius and Caius Trebonius. Sp. Nautius was ordered to unload the mules, and lead them round with some auxiliary cohorts to a rising ground in view, where he was to appear during the heat of the fight, and raise as much dust as possible. Meantime a doubt had arisen about the auspices, which was communicated to Papirius by his nephew Spurius. But he said the evil was upon the heads of the false auspices, not upon Rome; and ordering the keepers of the chickens to be placed in the front of the line, the false soothsayer was slain by a javelin.

^m This was the *tripudium solistimum*, when they eat greedily, so that the grain fell from their mouths.

This the consul regarded as an evidence that the gods were at hand, the clear cawing of a crow confirmed his words, and battle was instantly commenced.

The religious terrors with which they had been threatened had an ill effect upon the minds of the Samnites, and the Romans made desperate havoc upon both wings and centre. But a cloud of dust raised by the detachment under Nautius, deceived both Samnites and Romans, for the consul cried out that "Cominium was taken," and that his colleague was approaching. He then ordered a passage to be opened for the cavalry, and giving the preconcerted signal by waving his spear, they charged the enemy with tremendous force, and their attack was followed by the troops of Volumnius and Scipio. The Linen cohorts fled, regardless of their vow, and the remnant of the infantry were driven into the camp at Aquilonia. The cavalry fled to Bovianum, followed by the Romans. Volumnius took the camp, and Scipio, after some resistance, broke into the city, and seized the walls. The smallness of their numbers prevented their proceeding further, but the consul, who was calling home his troops, heard the noise of contest, and

drew out some troops, who entered the city. The enemy abandoned the place before morning. 30,000 Samnites were slain at Aquilonia; 3,870 taken, with 97 standards. The cheerful firmness of Papirius was never so much displayed as on this occasion.

43.

Taking of
Cominium.

Carvilius had meanwhile invested Cominium on every side at dawn, when he was alarmed by the message respecting the twenty Samnite cohorts, and compelled to call off part of his troops. He ordered Decius Brutus Scæva, a lieutenant, to oppose the said detachment, and even to give them battle rather than allow them to approach the city. He then planted the scaling ladders, and advanced to the gates under the *testudo*. The ramparts were quickly filled with Roman soldiers, and the citizens surrendered to the number of 15,400 men, 4,800 being slain. The twenty cohorts had been recalled by the Samnites, so that no contest ensued with them. When they arrived within sight of Aquilonia, the flames discovered the disaster, and they halted during the night, and at dawn were met by the Roman cavalry, and escaped to Bovianum with a loss of about 280 of their rear.

A.C. 293. A.U. 461.

Aquilonia and Cominium were reduced 44—5.
to ashes, and the plunder given up to the soldiers. Mutual congratulations passed between the consuls and their victorious armies, and Sp. Nautius, Sp. Papirius, and others, received golden crowns and bracelets. Having dispatched letters to the senate and people of Rome, with news of their success, Papirius proceeded to attack Sæpinum, Carvilius to Volana.

The joy of the senate at this success was interrupted by the news that the Etrurians were ravaging the country of their allies, because they had refused to revolt, and they declared that the Etrurians should shortly be in the same condition as the Samnites. At first however they paid little attention to Etruria: but on the news that the Falerians had revolted also, satisfaction was vainly demanded from the latter people, and war declared. Carvilius had meanwhile taken Volana, Palumbinum, and Herculaneum, the latter with some difficulty; and he obtained Etruria for his province by lot, to the great satisfaction of his soldiers, who found the cold of Samnium too severe. Despite of great disadvantages, Papirius reduced Sæpinum by siege, and 7,400 of the

Renewed
hostilities
with Etruria.

enemy were slain at the taking of the town, 3,000 taken prisoners, with a vast booty.

46. Triumphs of the consuls. The snow compelled Papirius to retire from Samnium, and he entered the city in magnificent triumph. But the vast treasure taken either as booty or from the sale of the prisoners, was deposited in the treasury, to the great vexation of the soldiers. The commons were also enraged at being obliged to furnish pay to the soldiers, when the treasure taken would have sufficed, if so spent. Papirius dedicated the temple to Quirinus, which his father had vowed when dictator. adorning it with military spoils, the number of which was so great, as to furnish decorations for the forum, and the public buildings even of the allies. He then led his army into winter quarters in Vescia, to keep off the Samnites.

Carvilius meanwhile besieged Troilium, and 470 of the richest inhabitants having purchased leave to depart, he took it by storm. Five other forts fell into his hands, and 2,400 of the enemy were slain. By him peace was concluded with the Falerians, who stipulated to furnish 100,000 *asses*, and a year's pay for the soldiers. He also received a splendid triumph, and brought a vast

sum into the treasury. He then contracted for the building of a temple to Fors Fortuna, near the one erected by Servius, and gave each soldier the sum of 102 *asses*, and double to the centurion and horsemen, which generosity formed a contrast to the parsimony of Papirius.

Postumius was prosecuted by the tribune Marcus Scantius, but escaped trial by the favour of the consul, by procuring the commission of lieutenantⁿ. The lustrum was closed this year by the censors Publ. Corn. Arvina and C. Marcius Rutilus, and the census was estimated at 262,322 citizens, being the nineteenth lustrum held since the foundation of the city. In this year persons who had received crowns as a reward for their conduct in war, first began to wear them at the public games, the Greek custom of bestowing palms on the victors in those games was introduced, and the curule ædiles completed the paving of the road from the temple of Mars to Bovillæ. Papirius elected Q. Fabius Gurges and Decius Junius Brutus Scæva consuls, himself being chosen prætor. A violent pestilence raged during this year, and the Sibylline books proclaimed that

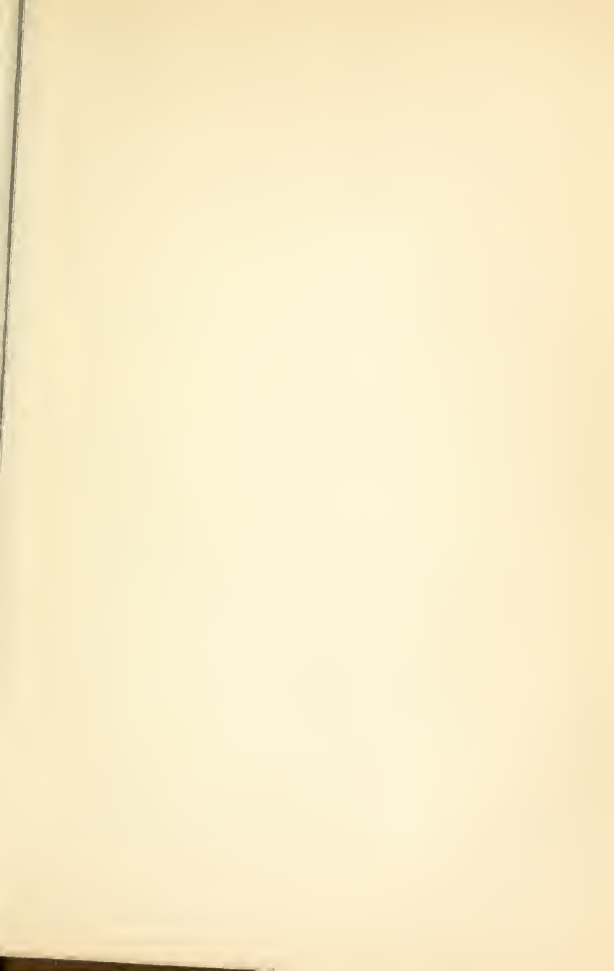
ⁿ See Commentators.

Æsculapius must be brought to Rome from Epidaurus. A supplication was held for one day in honour of that deity, but the war prevented further proceedings.

THE END.

OXFORD :

PRINTED BY E. W. MORRIS.





QUESTIONS

ON THE

FIRST DECADE OF LIVY.

BOOK I.

TRACE the wanderings of Æneas and Antenor.
—1, 2.

By whom, and for what reason, was the name of Latins applied to the ancient dwellers in Latium, and the new comers from Troy?

What are Livy's doubts respecting Ascanius?

What colony did he found?

Give the supposed succession up to the time of Proca.

NOTE. The occasional references to chapters will assist the reader in following the text.

The particulars of the birth of Romulus and Remus.—4—6.

What was the result of their appeal to Augury?

What were the Palilia, and whence were they derived?

Give an account of the civil and religious institutions of Romulus.

What is remarkable in the rites offered to Hercules?—8.

What were the consualia?

Give the story of Hercules and Geryon, and the meeting of the former with Evander.

What states joined in revenging the violence offered to the Sabine women?

Give the story of Tarpeia.

Describe the battle between the Capitoline and Palatine hills.

Give an account of the curiæ, centuriæ, and their origin.—13.

What was the end of Tatius?

Describe the war with, and colonization of, Fidenæ; and the subsequent one with Veii.





Who were the Celeres?

Describe the death of Romulus, and the conduct of Julius Proculus thereon.

Describe the interregnum.

What historical difficulties does Livy mention in connection with Numa and Pythagoras?—18, with note.

Give the history of the temple of Janus.

Who was Egeria?

Give an account of the Roman year.

Describe the flamens, vestals, salii, ancilia, argei, and trace the subsequent change in the numbers of the former.

What is the supposed relationship of Tullus Hostilius to Romulus?—22, note.

Give the story of the Alban war, the Horatii and Curiatii, and treachery of Mettus Fuffetius.

Describe the fecials, and the Roman mode of declaring war.

Were these customs purely Roman?

How were the conquered Albans treated?

Give the names of some Alban families.

What conduct led to the Etruscan war?

Give the circumstances attending the death of Tullus.

Explain the phrase "ex commentariis Numæ."

Give the political acts of Ancus.—32, 33.

What new settlements did he establish, and what people did he subdue?

Describe his public works.

Give an account of the "jus res repetundi."

Trace the descent of Tarquin from Hercules.—34—9.

How did he obtain the throne?

What alteration in the senate, and what public works did he effect?

What mention do you find of Attus Navius?

To whom was Collatia entrusted?

Give the form of surrender.

What Latin towns yielded to his power?

What led to his death, and how was it effected?

Give some account of Servius Tullius.—39—48.

What policy guided his choice of husbands for his daughters?



Give an account of the census, and of the new classification of the people.—Notes, p. 20.

Explain “conditum lustrum,” “suovetaurilia,” and give the names and condition of the different classes.

How many citizens were enrolled, according to Fabius Lictor.

What additions did Servius make to the city, and to what proof of the Roman supremacy did he persuade the Latins?

What was the probable relationship of young Tarquin to Servius?

How was the latter less popular among the higher classes?

What circumstances attended his death?

Describe the political innovations of Tarquin the Haughty.—49, 50.

Who was Octavius Mamilius?

What was the conduct and fate of Turnus Herdonius?

What claim did Tarquin lay to the supremacy of the Latins?

How did he amalgamate the two people into one?

Describe the capture of Suessa and Gabii.

What omens attended the foundation of the Capitol?

Describe the cloacæ.

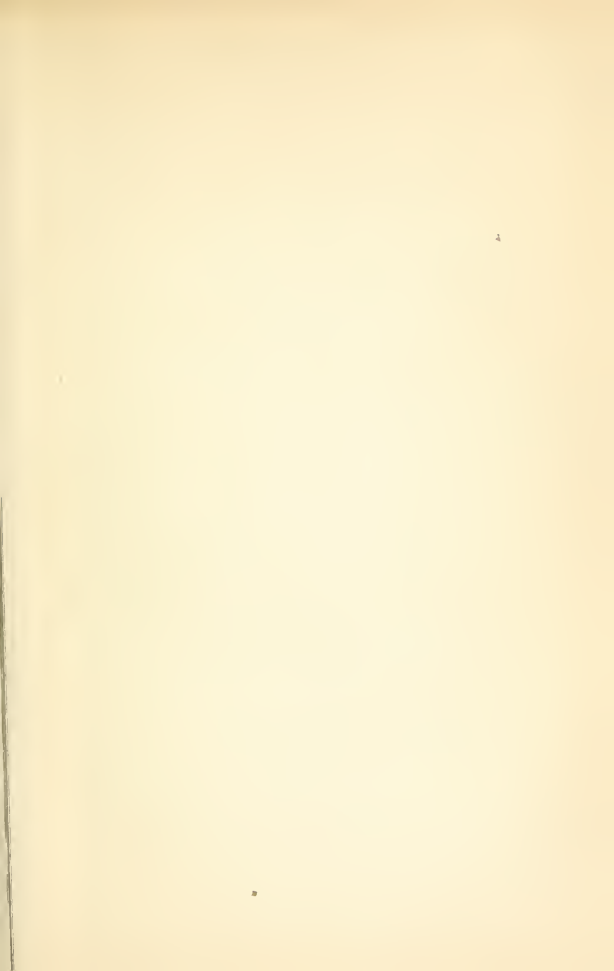
What colonies were now established.

Relate the siege of Ardea, and story of Lucretia.

What was the unexpected conduct of Brutus?

Whither did the king and his family retire?

In what year was the consulship established?





BOOK II.

By what measures did Brutus guard against the restoration of kingly power?

Who was the rex sacrificulus?

Why was Collatinus exiled?

Describe the conspiracy in favour of Tarquin, and the fate of the conspirators.

Whence do you derive vindicta?

Give an account of the Campus Martius.—5.

What was Tarquin's next attempt, and how did it terminate?

How did Valerius become unpopular?

What measures procured him the surname of Publicola?

Who were successively elected consuls in place of Brutus?

Whose assistance was next sought by Tarquin.—9.

How was Porsena resisted ?

What measures had the patricians adopted to guard against the discontent of the plebs ?

How was the ravaging of the enemy hindered, and by whom was Porsena terrified to a peace ?

Upon what terms did Porsena depart ?

How do you derive Scævola ?

What do you know of Clælia, and of the custom “*Porsenæ bona vendendi* ?”

What was the result of the Etrurian expedition against Aricia ?

What was the consequent conduct of Porsena ?

Whither did Tarquin retire ?—15.

Give an account of the wars which threatened Rome about this time.—16.

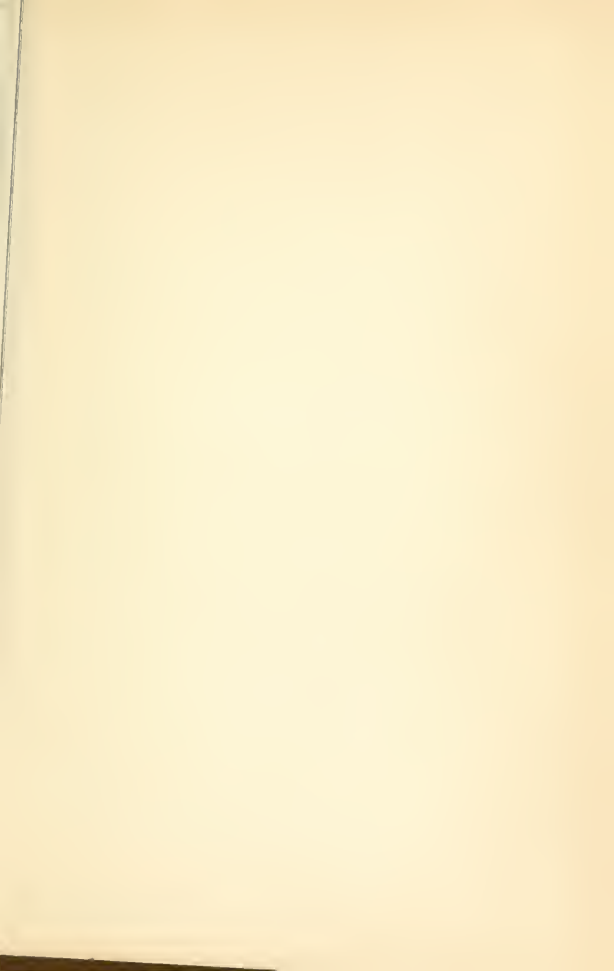
Give a sketch of the arrival of Attus Clausus.

How was the death of Publicola received ?

What colonies revolted ? and what was the success of the attempt for their recovery ?

What are Livy’s statements and doubts regarding the election of the first dictator ?—18.

What colony now joined Rome ?





Give an account of the battle of Regillus, and mention any chronological difficulties?—20.

When were the Saturnalia instituted?

For what was the year A.C. 495 remarkable?

What led to hostility with the Volscians, and what was the result?

What was the conduct of the Hernicans?

Give an account of the state of debtors at this time.—23.

What was the result of the different policies of Appius and Servilius, and the consequent behaviour of the nexi?

Mention the farther hostilities with the Arunci and Sabines.

What was the conduct of Appius?—27.

Can you give any instance of the unjust unpopularity of Servilius?—ib. note.

Describe the nightly risings in the Esquiline, and the conduct of the consuls and senate; detailing the three opinions entertained by the ministry.

How was tranquillity restored?

How did the Romans behave in reference to the Latins?

What successes followed?

How did the senate keep their word with the people, and what was the consequent behaviour of Valerius?—31.

Describe the secession to the sacred mount, the intercession of Menenius, and the election and office of the first plebeian magistrates.—32, 33.

How was Sp. Cassius employed? and what were the successes of his colleague?

Where do we first hear of Coriolanus?

How was Menenius Agrippa honoured?

What Agrarian distresses took place, and whither did the Romans send for corn?

What do you know of Aristodemus?

Relate the dispute respecting the distribution of corn.—35.

How did Coriolanus behave?

Relate the dream of T. Atinius, and the treacherous policy by which Tullius renewed hostilities.—38.



How was the danger averted from the city ?

What accounts are given respecting the fate of Coriolanus ?

What monument of his departure was erected ?

What were the next measures of Sp. Cassius ?
—41.

Give the two accounts of his death.

What were the subsequent feelings of the people ?

Give the events of the years following.

Describe the grand battle with the forces of Veii and Etruria.—44—7.

What remarkable instance of private bravery and devotion succeeded ?

What was the fate of the Fabii ?—50.

How was their death revenged, and by whom ?
—51.

What was the conduct of the tribunes, and the result of the trials of T. Menenius and Sp. Servilius ?

Who was next victorious against the Veientes ?

By whom was the truce with Veii concluded ?
—54.

What do you know of Cn. Genucius and P. Volero?

By whom was the latter opposed?

Describe the *lex Publilia*.—57, with note.

What was the conduct of Appius during the Volscian war, and how were the enemy benefited thereby?—59.

Describe the trial, and circumstances attending the death of Appius.—62—7.

How was the *Æquian* war interrupted?

What misconduct of A. Virginius endangered the Roman army?—63.

How did T. Quintius and Q. Servilius conduct the war against the Volsci, and how was the stratagem of the latter frustrated?

What city yielded to the Romans?



BOOK III.

WHAT was the conduct of T. Æmilius, and its results?

How did the people receive the measure proposed by Q. Fabius?

What was the conduct of the Æqui, and with what success did the Romans war with them during the two following years.—2, 3.

How stood affairs at Ecetra?

What was the conduct of the Hernicans, and how did Sp. Furius conduct the war?

By whom was success restored?—5.

How were the Roman allies treated?

What combination of distresses next harasses the Romans?

What battle took place in the Alban vale?

Describe the conduct of L. Lucretius and T. Ve-turius.

What was the supposed loss of the Volsci?

What was the *lex Terentilla*?—9.

By whom was it opposed, and with what success?

How were the spoils disposed of?—10.

What hindered the prosecution of the *lex Terentilla*?

Under what circumstances did the new disputes at Rome ensue?

What was the conduct of the tribunes, by whom were they opposed, and with what success?

What do you know of M. Volscius?

What was the result of Kæso's trial?—14.

What was the next measure of the tribunes?—15.

Describe the new alarm caused by Herdonius, and the behaviour of the Romans.

By whom was the Capitol relieved?

What remarkable men fell in the attack?—18.

What was the behaviour of L. Q. Cincinnatus, and how, and upon what grounds, was he opposed by the tribunes?



What was the result?—21.

Trace the farther progress of hostilities with the Æqui and Volsci?

Describe the battle at Antium, the seizure of Tusculum, and the defeat at Algidus.—23.

What were the proceedings against M. Volscius?
How did they terminate?

For what else was the year A.C. 459 remarkable?—24.

Detail the further proceedings against Volscius?
—25.

What accommodation resulted?

Describe the rise and progress of the next Æquian war.

How did Minucius endanger the army?

How was the difficulty removed?

Upon what terms were the enemy forced to surrender?

How did Minucius behave?

How was Mamilius rewarded?

What was the fate of Volscius?

Who supplied the place of Minucius?

What is remarkable in the election of Tribunes?
—29.

How stood affairs at Corbio?—30.

How were the tribunes induced to permit the levy?

What was the Icilia lex, and when was it carried?

What gave rise to military discontent, and who were the consuls Sp. Tarpeius and A. Aterius?

What deputation was sent to Athens?—31.

Describe the institution and conduct of the decemvirs down to their abolition.—34—54.

Give a character of Appius.

What was the policy at first adopted by the decemvirs?

Can you mention any remarkable instances?—note, p. 88.

How were foreign affairs during their administration?

Detail the conduct of L. Valerius and M. Horatius.

How did the army behave?—42.



Give the histories of Siccius Dentatus and Virginia, and describe the subsequent rise of the Roman commons.

Who were chosen mediators between the senate and people?

What was the fate of the decemvirs?

Was the advice of Icilius complied with?

What concessions were made, and what old laws revived?—54.

Who were the consuls elected?

What law did they pass respecting plebiscita?
—55.

How did they affect the nature of magistracies?

How were the persons of tribunes secured?

Detail the trial and punishment of the decemvirs.—56—58.

Who appeased the fears of the patricians?—59.

Describe the victories of the consuls over the Æqui, Volsci and Sabines.

What was the supplicatio?—note, p. 99.

What was the conduct of the tribunes?

How did Duilius behave?

What was the *lex Trebonia*?—64.

Describe the state of affairs under T. Quintius and Agrippa Furius.—66.

What was their conduct and success?

Describe the dispute respecting arbitration, and the conduct of P. Scaptius.—71, 72.



BOOK IV.

Give an account of the disputes respecting the Canuleian law.—6.

What demands were made by the other tribunes?

What interruption ensued?

What was remarkable in the subsequent behaviour of the plebs?

Did the next military tribunes remain in office?

What was the business of the embassy from Ardea?—7. with note.

What motive led to the election of censors?

What dispute occurred at Ardea about this time?

To whom was it referred, and what was the result?—10.

Who attempted to make amends for the dishonourable treatment of Ardea?

How were the commissioners treated by the tribunes?—11.

What measures were proposed by Petilius, and with what success?

What great calamity next befell Rome?

By whom, and how was it relieved?

How did the senate treat the popular benefactor?

What was his fate?

How was his slayer treated?

What do you know of Minucius?

How was the death of Mælius afterwards regarded?—16.

Detail the revolt of Fidenæ, and the attempt made against it by the Romans.

What do you know of Cossus?

Are there any chronological doubts as to this exploit?

What was the result of the war with Fidenæ?

Relate the proceedings connected with the trial of Minucius.

What was instrumental to peace at this time?

Detail the further proceedings at Fidenæ.



What doubts are there respecting the consuls of the year A.C. 434?

What led to the election of M. Æmilius as dictator?

How did he conduct himself, and with what results?

Give the events of the subsequent year.

What law was passed respecting canvassing for offices?

Detail the next war with the Æqui and Volsci.

What preparations were made by the Romans?

Describe the battle.—29.

What took place during the dictator's absence?

What strange report exists respecting his son?
p. 107. note.

What terms were proposed by the Æqui?—30.

What led to the next Veian war?

What was the conduct of the next military tribunes?

Detail the proceedings and success of the dictator.—34.

Does any mention of a naval victory occur?

What was the further conduct of the tribunes?
—36.

What do you know of Capua?—37.

How was the bad administration of Sempronius corrected?

Describe the brave attempt of Tempanius.

Was the consul called to account?—42.

What were the disputes respecting quæstors?
—43.

What was the advice of Papirius?

How did the tribunes behave?—44.

What do you know of Postumia?

What do we read of Cumæ this year?

What attempt was made by the slaves?—45.

What disputes took place among the next tribunes, and how were they settled?

What were the results?

Who was chosen dictator?

What was his success?—47.

What was the conduct of Mæcilius and Metilius?

What was the policy of Appius?—18.

How were the Veientes hindered from war?

What was the state of affairs among the Æqui, and how did M. Postumius conduct himself?

What was the behaviour of the tribune Sextius?

What was the fate of Postumius?—50.

Describe the subsequent prosecutions, and their results.

What Volscian town was taken by Furius?—51.

What further agitation ensued?

How did the wars proceed?

By whom was the levy hindered?

How did Valerius become unpopular?

How stood the quæstorship the following years?—54.

What do you know of Carventus?

What disputes were broken up by Servilius?—57.

What was the subsequent treacherous conduct of the Veientes?—59.

What was the feeling at Rome?

Describe the proceedings at the different Volscian towns.

Describe the introduction of military pay.—60.

How did the foreign affairs proceed?—61.



B O O K V.

WHAT was the state of feeling in Etruria ?

How did the Romans prepare for the war ?

How, and on what grounds, did the plebeian tribunes behave ?

What was the advice of Appius ? did it prove successful ?

How did the plebs behave ?

How did the tribunes Virginius and Sergius conduct themselves ?—9.

Give the further progress of the war, and mention the different seats thereof.

What was the feeling of the plebs ?

How was the *lex Trebonia* infringed ?

What prosecutions now took place ?

What led to the election of a plebeian military tribune, and what were its further consequences ?

—13.

To what means did the senate then resort, in order to keep the commons in awe?—15.

What circumstances favoured their attempt?

Who next shewed hostilities?

What was the answer of the Delphic oracle, and what was its political influence?—17.

In whose favour did Licinius resign office?

What disaster befell the army?—18.

What were the measures of the dictator Camillus?

Describe the taking of Veii, and the disputes respecting the disposal of the booty.

What was the result?—22.

What further increased the unpopularity of Camillus?—23.

How did foreign affairs proceed, and what were the feelings at Rome?

What new disaster ensued?

How did the matrons behave on this occasion?—25.

What honour did they receive?—Ibid. note.

What motive led to the election of Camillus as tribune?



How was the surrender of Faleria brought about?

What were the feelings of the Romans?

What do you know of Timasitheus?

How was the *Æquian* war conducted, and what false alarm ensued?—28.

What persecutions caused excitement about this time?

How did Camillus behave in respect of the *Veian* territory, and what was the conduct of the senate?—30.

What was the state of affairs at *Vulsinii*, and at home, previous to the *Gallie* invasion?

What alarm of this invasion was first given?

Whose exile contributed to the misfortune?—32.

Trace the course of the *Gauls* according to *Livy's* account, down to the attack on *Clusium*.—p. 151-2, note.

What misconduct of the *Roman* ambassadors led to hostilities?

Of what strange inadvertency were the *Romans* guilty?

What was the result?

Describe the entry of the Gauls and the desertion of the city, and the siege of the Capitol.

What do you know of Cædicius, Fabius Dorso, and Pontius Cominius?

How did Camillus behave?

Who repulsed the nightly attempt of the Gauls?

What stratagems were adopted by the besieged in order to deceive them, and in what state were affairs at the arrival of Camillus?—49.

What was his success?

What measures did he immediately take?

Explain “templum Aio Locutio.”

How had the inhabitants of Cære behaved, and how were they rewarded?—50.

What was the state of feeling at Rome, and how did Camillus behave?

What omen confirmed his advice?

What measures were taken for the speedy restoration of the city?



BOOK VI.

WHAT are Livy's remarks on the early Roman history?

Why was Camillus retained in office?

What circumstances attended the trial of Q. Fabius?

What superstitious memorial of the late disaster was recorded?

What was the state of foreign affairs?

Detail the further successes of Camillus.—4.

In what agitation did the plebeian tribunes next engage, and with what success?

What additions were made to the city?—5.

Detail the further progress of hostilities.

What was the next seat of success?

What was the advice of Camillus respecting Antium?

By what was its effect hindered?

What war did he undertake, and with what precautions?—9.

What were the different factions at Nepete?

How did their dispute terminate?

Whose popularity now became dangerous?

By what means?

Detail the next victory, with the stratagems of Cossus.

Give the political life, and circumstances attending the death of Manlius.

How were the embassies from the revolted states received?

What are Livy's own statements respecting the charge of Manlius?—20.

What marks of ignominy were bestowed upon his memory?

What peculiar feeling animated the plebs after his death?—21.

What conciliatory measures were adopted by the senate?

In what state were foreign affairs, especially at Nepete?



Detail the progress and successful end of the Prænestine war.

What conduct did the senate observe in respect to Tusculum?

How did Camillus behave to L. Furius?—25.

What was the end of the threatened war against Tusculum?

Describe the state of domestic affairs before the next war with Præneste.—27.

What foolish superstition influenced the enemy?

What was the result?—29.

How did the next tribunes acquit themselves?

What was the domestic influence of the plebeian military tribunes?

How did the senate counteract the further proceedings of the tribunes?

What caused the further progress of discontent?

Detail the affairs at Satricum, Tusculum, and Antium.—33.

What circumstances are said to have given rise to the Rogationes Licinianæ?—34.

What was their aim and effect?—37.

What caused a temporary suspension of the opposition ?

How did Licinius and Sextius carry on their measures ?

What fourth bill was added to the first demands ?

Who was put forward with a view of opposing them ?

With what success ?—38.

What was the behaviour of the plebs regarding the passing of these bills ?

Did the reformers yield to them ?

What was the conduct of Appius ?

For what undertaking was Camillus again appointed dictator ?

Who was the first plebeian consul ?

What resistance was still offered ?

What concession was yielded by the plebs ?

What dispute ensued respecting the games, and what public office was influenced thereby ?



BOOK VII.

How was the plebeian consul treated by the senate?

What was the state of popular feeling, and what regulation was made respecting the curule ædiles?

What calamity next befell Rome?

Describe the origin and progress of scenic representations at Rome.

Why was a dictator now chosen?

Explain the custom.

Did Manlius content himself with this office?

By whom, and on what grounds, was he impeached?

What prodigy is reported to have happened, and how was it expiated?

How was the Hernican war conducted?—8.

What new hostilities ensued, and what remarkable instance of private valour?

Does Livy give any idea of the value of Licinius as an historian?—10.

How did the Tiburtine war proceed?

What contributed to the strength of Rome?

What other campaigns were undertaken, and with what success?

What civic measures were carried?—15.

What was the unciarium fœnus?

By whom was it carried?

What further hostilities ensued?

What new law was passed regarding manumissions?

How was it received by the senate and tribunes respectively?

What happened to C. Licinius?—16.

What circumstances led to the election of the first plebeian dictator?

How was he treated by the senate?

What was his success?

What civic disputes ensued?

What cities were lost by the Tiburtines?

Who else suffered punishment for desertion?



What treaty was formed, and what was the state of the city?

What new alarm of war was given?—20.

How did the fresh struggles for the Licinian law end?

What measure was taken for the relief of debtors?

How were the Tarquinienses and Falerians compelled to a peace?

Who was the first plebeian censor?—22.

Detail the success of M. Pop. Lænas against the Gauls.—24.

What was the state of the Gallic and Greek wars, and what preparations were made for them?

By what instance of personal bravery was this war distinguished, and how did it terminate?—26.

What treaty was next formed?

What further reduction of interest was effected?

Who next revolted?

What became of Satricum?—27.

Give the affairs of the following year.—28.

Trace the origin of the Samnite war.

How did the Campanians behave?

What was the result of their embassy to Rome?
To whom was the war entrusted, and what was
its first issue?—33.

What difficulties were encountered by Cornelius,
and by whom was he relieved?—36.

Describe the battle at Suessula.

How was Decius treated?

What were the effects of this victory upon foreign
states?

What does Livy consider gave rise to the insur-
rection of the Roman army at Capua?

Detail its progress, and different settlements.

Who was pressed into their service as leader?

By whose efforts was the sedition appeased?

What concessions were granted?—41.

What further laws were carried during this
year?

What discrepancy exists in the accounts of au-
thors as to the dictatorship of this year?—42.



BOOK VIII.

WHAT was the present state of Latium, and the different allies of Rome?—4.

What mention does Livy make of Alexander, king of Epirus?

What other great king and warrior is mentioned?

How did the Romans behave with respect to the revolted Latins?

Who proposed terms of accommodation?

How were they received?

By whom were they most vehemently opposed?

Who lost his life in the scuffle?

What forebodings preceded the battle?—6.

Relate the exploits and death of young Manlius.

—7.

How did the Roman primipilus behave?

Describe the battle, and give an account of the disposition of the Roman army.

To whom was the victory chiefly attributed?
—10.

What part did the Samnites and Lavinians take, according to some authorities?

Whither did the Latins take flight?

What further defeat ensued?

How was the captured territory disposed of?

How were the Campanian knights rewarded?
—16.

Of what misconduct was T. Æmilius guilty?

How was he compelled to proceed?

What was the result?

What were the *leges Valeriæ*?—12.

Detail the progress of the war with Latium, and the different alterations made in the constitutions of its towns.

Explain *commercium*, *connubium*, and *concilium*.—14.

What mistakes took place on the part of the next consuls?

What do you know of Minucia?

Who was the first plebeian prætor?—15.



Detail the war at Cales.

What was done with the conquered territory?

—16.

What false alarm ensued the following year?

What do we read of Alexander, king of Epirus?

How was the city augmented?

What led to the *inquisitio de veneficiis*?—18.

Detail the revolt of Fundi and Privernum.

How was Vitruvius punished?—21.

What new colony was sent out?

How did L. Flavius acquire popularity?

What was the conduct of the Greek towns Palæpolis and Neapolis?

In what state did the consuls find Samnium?

What was the issue?—23.

What great city was founded about this time?

Describe the circumstances attending the death of Alexander of Epirus.

How did affairs end at Palæpolis?

What was the behaviour of the Tarentines?—27.

To what law did the conduct of L. Papirius lead?—28.

Who next revolted, and with what success?
—29.

Detail the conduct, trial, and acquittal of Q. Fabius.—35.

How did Papirius regain his popularity?

What was his success?—36.

How were the Tusculans treated?

What tribe resisted the appeal in their favour, and what was the consequence?

What was the next victory over the Samnites?

What was the behaviour of the conquered?

Who was chosen to expiate their defection?





BOOK IX.

DESCRIBE at length the disaster at Caudium.

What were the feelings of the Samnites, especially of the two Pontii?

What terms were made?

How was the news received at Rome and Campania?

What was the behaviour of Publilius?

Who attempted to exempt themselves?

Was the proposed surrender accepted?

How did Postumius further behave?—11.

What was the opinion of the Samnites?

How was Fregellæ treated, and what city revolted?

Detail the proceedings against the Samnites.

How did the Tarentines behave?

What was the result?—14.

Describe the siege of Luceria.—15.

Give an account of the betrayal of Satricum.

What is the subject of Livy's digression in this place?—19.

How were the Roman sway, and the city extended?

What states referred to Rome for constitutional advice?—20.

Describe the progress of affairs at Saticula, Plistia, Lautulæ, Sora, Minturnæ, Vescia, Ausona, and Luceria.—21—6.

What disturbances took place at Rome?

Describe the further progress of the war at Capua, Bovianum, Fregellæ, and Nola.

What colonies were sent out?

What false alarm ensued?

For what was Appius Claudius famous?

How did he behave in respect to the Potitii?

What was the supposed consequence?

What preparations were made, and what new law carried respecting the war?

How did the sacred pipers behave?—30.

Detail the operations of the consul Junius at





Cluvia and Bovianum, and of Æmilius at Sutrium.
—32.

Describe the proceedings under Q. Fabius and the passing of the Ciminian wood.—36.

What further successes ensued ?

Why was a dictator elected ?

Who was chosen, and under what peculiar circumstances ?—38.

What were his proceedings ?

How were the Samnites equipped for their next battle ?

What was its result ?—40.

Who were kept in office ?

What further successes were obtained by Fabius and Decius ?

What occasioned the removal of the former ?

How did he reduce the Umbrians ?

What behaviour was observed towards the prisoners at the battle of Allifæ ?

How did the Hernicans regard this ?

Detail the further successes of the consuls, and

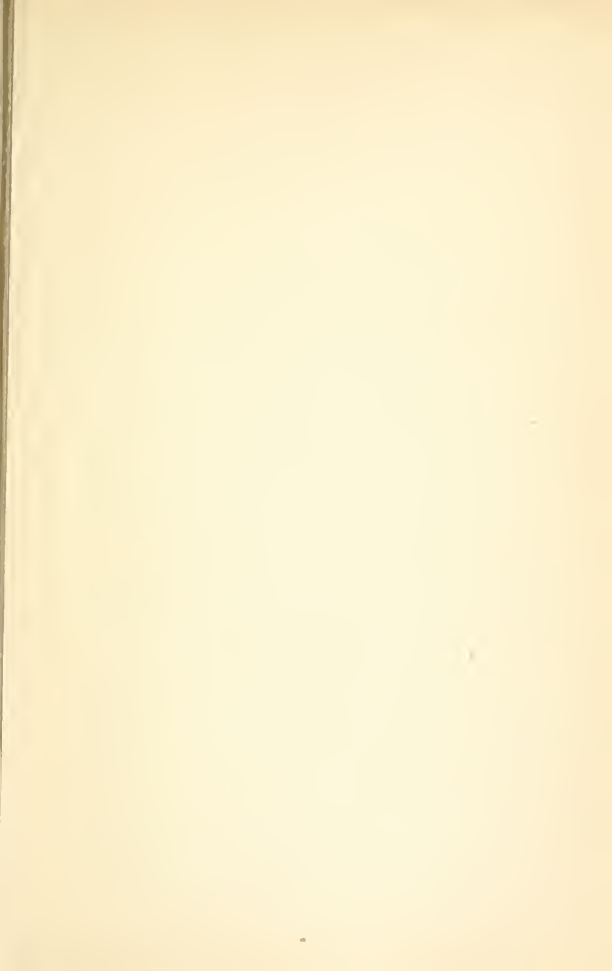
the different accommodation granted to the Alatrians, Ferentines, Anagnians, &c.—43.

Who had the next conduct of the war?

Who made submission after this?—45.

What mention do we find of Caius Flavius, the notary.

To what law did it lead, and what measure did Fabius adopt?





BOOK X.

WHAT colonies were sent out, and how were the Arpinates, Trebulani, Frusinates, and Umbrians treated?

What rebellion broke out?

Give the accounts of Cleonymus' attempted expedition.—2.

Describe the rise and progress of the Etrurian war.

Who greatly distinguished himself therein?—5.

Describe the effects of the Ogulnian laws.

By whom were they opposed?

What other bill was passed by M. Valerius?

Does Livy mention any other law of similar import?—9.

What chronological difficulties occur in § 10?

Describe the siege of Nequinum.

How did the Gauls treat the Etrurians?

What was the state of affairs preparatory to the outbreak of war?

What embassy arrived from the Lucanians?

How did the consuls prosper?—12.

How did Fabius shew his disinterestedness?

What embassies arrived respecting the Etrurian war?

Describe the battle near Tifernum.—14.

Give the next battles at Maleventum and Cimetre.

What electioneering disputes took place?—15.

What cities next yielded to Decius?

How did he influence the minds of his soldiers?
—17.

What fresh combination was formed?

What part did Appius take?

What success did Volumnius obtain, and what disputes ensued?

How did the battle end?—19.

What was the next victory, and what general was taken prisoner?—20.

What new alarm ensued, and how did it terminate?





What colonies were settled, and why?

What statements were made by Appius?

How did the elections fall?—23.

What gave rise to the shrine in honour of Plebeian Chastity?

How were the Ogulnii and the ædiles employed during this year?—23.

What were the further proceedings of Fabius, and what troublesome interference was made?

What was the fate of Scipio's army?—26.

Give the particulars of the battles of Sentinum.
—29.

What other successes ensued?

Was peace established?

What was the next seat of war?

By what events was the public tranquillity disturbed?—31.

What attempt was made to surprise the Romans?

What was its result?—33.

How did affairs proceed at Milonia and Fereuntinum?—34.

What difficulties were encountered by Atilius?
—36.

What success took place at Interamna?

What cities made truce, and what fines were paid?—31.

What strange and unusual preparations were made by the Samnites for war?

How did the consuls behave?

Describe the battle, and the behaviour of Papius and Nautius.

What were the Linen Cohorts?—43.

Describe the further successes at Cominium, Aquilonia, Sæpinum, and the other stations of the war.

What became of the booty taken, and what ill-will was excited thereby?

By whom was peace concluded with Faleria?

How did Carvilius increase his popularity?

What other matters render this year remarkable, and what customs were introduced?—47.

