

READING LIVY'S ROME

Selections from Books I–VI of
Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*



MILENA MINKOVA AND TERENCE TUNBERG

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Milena Minkova
and
Terence Tunberg



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**OPERAЕ PRETIUM EST ... HISTORIAM
ROMANORUM LEGERE***

* "It is worth while to read Roman history."

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PREFACE

Livy begins the preface of his vast history of the Roman people with the following words:

Facturusne operae pretium sim si a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim nec satis scio nec, si sciam, dicere ausim... "I am not sufficiently certain whether it will be worth the effort to describe the history of the Roman people from the beginnings of the city of Rome, nor, should I be certain, would I dare to speak..."(Preface 1).

He professes to doubt whether his effort will be worth while if he writes the history of the Roman people from the very beginnings of the city, largely because so many other authors have treated the theme, who claim either to present a more accurate account, or to surpass their predecessors in writing skill. As we read the rest of the preface, however, we can hardly doubt that Livy did consider his effort worth while (*operae pretium*). For even if his work were to be overwhelmed by the mass of other writings, Livy could console himself not only by considering the greatness of the authors whose works obscured his own, but also because in writing about the history of early Rome he could call his mind away from the difficulties that beset his own time and be inspired by the virtues of the early Romans. In our book, which introduces readers to reading Latin and to Livy at the same time, we deliberately recall these words in our epigraph—*Operae pretium est... historiam Romanorum legere* or "it is worth while to read Roman history"—because we are convinced that it is worth while not only to read history, and to read this particular monument of historical writing, but also to acquire the ability to read Latin and thereby gain access to the vast store of literary and cultural riches contained in Latin texts written not only in ancient times, but in later periods also.

Livy (59 B.C.–A.D. 17) was born at Patavium, which is now Padua. At some point, probably in early manhood, he migrated to Rome. We have no evidence that he held any public office, but he was introduced

to the circle of the emperor Augustus, and apparently devoted his life to writing. He won fame for his vast history of Rome in 142 books, entitled *Ab urbe condita* ("From the Foundation of the City"). Of the entire work, only a small part has come down to us: Books 1–10, which treat the history of the Roman state down to 293 B.C., and 21–45, which cover Roman history from 219 B.C. to 167 B.C. Of these, books 41 and 43 are incomplete. There also survives a fragment of book 91. At a rather early date in the transmission of the text of Livy, a series of abstracts or short summaries of all the books, called *periochae*, was drawn up. The *periochae* of all the books are extant, except those of books 136 and 137.

In his preface, Livy explains his purpose. He wishes to hand down to posterity a record of the way of life of earlier Romans who brought Rome to a height of power and greatness, while he deplores the decline of morals that led to the troubles of the period immediately preceding and including his own lifetime. Livy makes no attempt to vouch for the truth of the stories about early Rome. For Livy, the fact that these stories illustrate the virtues and attitudes of the early Romans is more important than their historical truth in every detail. Although Livy deplores the signs of moral decay prevalent in the period of Roman history closer to his own times, we can detect through the work signs of a firm belief in the essential excellence of the Roman people and the strength of its values.¹ While he does not deny the negative elements in the Roman past, he prefers to concentrate on examples of this excellence and virtue. This point of view perhaps sets Livy apart from two other outstanding exponents of historical writing in the late republic and early empire, Sallust and Tacitus.

¹ For example: *Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla unquam res publica nec maior nec sanctor nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam tam serae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit.* "Moreover, either I am deluded by my partiality for the project that I have undertaken, or there has never existed another state which was greater or more observant of religion or richer in good examples, nor into which greediness and opulent excess infiltrated so late, nor where poverty and frugality were honored so much and for such a long time." (Preface 11)

Livy made use of earlier historians for their narratives. A comparison between Livy and the Hellenistic Greek historian Polybius, for example, would suggest that for large sections of his work, Livy merely reworked the Polybian narrative, and modified it purely for literary reasons. Livy perhaps read earlier historians quite extensively, but seems to have had a tendency to follow one account, and to have made little attempt to use a variety of records in any systematic way. This approach makes more sense if we constantly remind ourselves that for Livy the moral lessons of his narrative were always more important than creating the most accurate possible chronicle of events. Livy, moreover, lacked any special knowledge of politics or military affairs. Hence his narrative in itself and unsupported by other evidence rarely gives us much insight into actual political, military, and economic conditions. However, though a pro-senatorial bias often seems to show through his narrative, he is often unbiased to the extent that he usually informs his readers about variant versions of events, if more than one narrative of the same story is known to him.

Livy's work is remarkable as a monument of Latin prose and literary artistry. Especially noteworthy are the brilliance and vividness of his descriptions and characters, as well as the rhetorical skill of the speeches given by the leading personae in his narrative. We are probably not misrepresenting Livy's work, if we conceive of it as a kind of epic in prose that celebrates the glory of the Roman people, a line of thought that Livy himself encourages, when, at the end of his preface, he mentions the custom of poets, who begin by calling upon the gods to give success to their works.²

² *Sed querellae, ne tum quidem gratae futurae cum forsitan necessariae erunt, ab initio certe tantae ordiendae rei absint: cum bonis potius ominibus votisque et precationibus deorum dearumque, si, ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentius inciperemus, ut orsis tantum operis successus prosperos darent.* "But let disputes—not even agreeable when perhaps they shall be necessary—be absent from the beginning of such a great project: we would more willingly begin with good wishes, vows and prayers to the gods and goddesses, if we had the custom <of beginning this way>, as the poets do, so that the gods would give good success to a work that is just in its beginnings." (Preface 12–13)

How to use this edition:

For several reasons the text of Livy offers appropriate material for those who are beginning to read Latin prose. Livy's narrative is intimately concerned with the traditions of the Roman state itself and the Roman people, and the stories told by Livy are repeated or echoed in countless ways not only throughout the subsequent Latin tradition, but also in European art and in various European national literatures. Moreover, Livy's language is complex and rich, and introduces the reader to a wide range of constructions and vocabulary that may also be encountered in other Latin authors.

Several features of this book are designed specifically to benefit those who have just learned the essentials of Latin grammar, and are undertaking for the first time, or nearly the first time, to read a Latin author. Extensive glossaries are added to each chapter. The glossaries include all words not found in the main glossary in the back of *Wheelock's Latin*, by Frederick M. Wheelock, and revised by Richard A. LaFleur (New York, Harper Resource, 6th edition, 2000). Inserts are found at various points in our text of Livy that explain different features of Livy's language. Each chapter in our selections from Books I–III of Livy is preceded by a Latin paraphrase of that chapter. The language of the paraphrases is simple, and in the paraphrases readers will find fuller explanations of elements that are expressed elliptically in the Livian text. We recommend that students read the paraphrases before reading each chapter. Teachers may find it useful to ask students in class to read a paraphrase at sight and interpret it, and then study outside class the chapter of Livy which is the basis for the paraphrase and prepare to explicate that chapter in the next class period. Readers should note that in the paraphrases the Livian narrative is often retold with vocabulary other than that found in the corresponding part of the Livian texts. This will augment the opportunities for the beginning reader to increase her/his vocabulary quickly. Not only the Livian text itself, but also the paraphrases are equipped with glossaries that explain every word not found in the vocabulary to the edition of *Wheelock's Latin* mentioned above.

Each chapter of Livy's text, as well as the corresponding paraphrase, is divided into several parts, each of which has a title in English. The titles are designed in such a way that they immediately reveal to the reader the contents of the passage in question. Furthermore, throughout the book, there are English summaries of the events that occur in the chapters of the same book not included in the present selections.

Throughout this book we have arranged the Livian material according to a progression, designed to bring the reader to a level at which she or he can read the unaltered text of Livy with some confidence and enjoyment. We recommend that instructors who use this book keep this progression in mind, which is as follows:

Books I and II: Our selected passages from these two books of Livy have been very slightly simplified. Each chapter from Books I and II of Livy is preceded by a Latin paraphrase which is even simpler than the modified text of Livy. The paraphrases, moreover, are usually characterized by a somewhat fuller mode of expression than the Livian text. In this section, there are copious grammatical footnotes that help the reader quickly understand the structure of sentences (the footnotes become less frequent in Book II). In the appendix at the end of this book the reader will find the same passages from Livy, but in their original and unsimplified form.

Book III: Here the reader will find the first transition to a more advanced level. The passages from Livy selected from Book III are entirely unadulterated and unsimplified, even if here and there sections within chapters have been omitted due to considerations of length. All of the passages from Livy are preceded by simple and full Latin paraphrases, as in the case of Books I and II. Notes designed to help the student understand the grammar and syntax of Livy are ample, but slightly less copious than in Books I and II.

Book IV: Here the reader finds the second transition to a higher level. Our selections from Book IV consist of unadulterated passages from Livy, without any Latin paraphrases to accompany them. As in the case of Books I and II, the selections from Book IV are provided with very full notes on syntax and grammar, to help the reader who has for the first time progressed to the (unsimplified) Livian text without the help of a paraphrase.

Books V and VI: Our selections from Books V and VI consist of unaltered passages from Livy, with no accompanying Latin paraphrases. Here and there (as in the case of our selections from previous books of Livy) a few sections of very long passages have been omitted to keep length within bounds. Grammatical notes are still present in this section, but they are not as extensive as the notes that accompany the selections from the previous books. The amount of grammatical assistance provided in this section is approximately comparable to that found in intermediate-level school editions of classical authors.

We have often, but not exclusively, followed the text in the Oxford edition of Livy by Conway and Walters: *Titi Livi Ab Urbe condita*, edd. R.S. Conway, C. F. Walters, voll. I–II (Oxonii, e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1965, reprint of 1914 edition). We have also consulted the Livy's edition by Ogilvie: *Titi Livi Ab Urbe condita, libri I–V*, ed. R. M. Ogilvie, vol. I (Oxonii, e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1974). The following work has proved very useful in the discussion of the first five books: R.M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy, Books 1–5* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965).

Milena Minkova prepared the selections from Book I, 4–7; 24–26 (with paraphrases); Book II (with paraphrases); Book III, 26–29 (with paraphrases); Book IV, 13–14; and Book V. Terence Tunberg prepared the selections from Book I, 8–9; 55–60 (with paraphrases); Book III, 33–38 (with paraphrases); Book IV, 8; and Book VI. Both authors together composed the preface, the glossaries, and the inserts pertaining to Livian language, and each constantly benefited from the ideas and advice of the other at every stage in the composition of this book.

M.M. and T.T.
Lexington, KY
2004

LIBER PRIMUS



The Capitoline Wolf. She-wolf suckling mythological founders of Rome, Romulus and Remus. Etruscan bronze sculpture, 6th–5th century BCE. The twins were added during the Renaissance. Musei Capitolini, Rome, Italy. Alinari / Art Resource, NY

(Livy's text is slightly adapted at times. The original text is in an appendix at the back of this book.)

Aeneas arrives in Italy and establishes himself there. His descendants reign in the city of Alba. Numitor succeeds to the throne, but is expelled by his brother Amulius, who murders Numitor's sons and forces Numitor's daughter Rhea Silvia to become a Vestal virgin, thus depriving her of hope of offspring.

I, 4 PARAPHRASIS: *The Vestal Rhea Silvia gives birth to Romulus and Remus, and Amulius orders her sons to be exposed*

De origine urbis Romae opinionem meam afferre volo. Roma est urbs permagna. Imperium quoque Romanum est maximum omnium, imperio deorum excepto. Talis urbis talisque imperii origo fatis debetur, a fato ipso decernitur. Vestalis violata est et
 5 hanc ob causam prolem, duos scilicet filios, edidit. Mater dixit patrem esse Martem. Huius rei causa poterat esse duplex. Nam aut hoc revera credebat, aut putabat culpam huius rei immi-
 10 nui posse, si deus hoc fecisset. Nemo tamen Rheam Silviam a crudeli rege servare poterat; nec di nec homines hoc facere
 10 valebant. Amulius Rheam Silviam (sacerdotem, id est Vestae sacratam) catenis vincit et in carcerem mittit. Filios autem eius in aquam eici iubet.

- 1 **origo, inis f.** – origin
opinio, onis f. – opinion
 2 **permagnus, a, um** – very large
 4 **Vestalis, is f.** – vestal virgin (priestess)
violo, are (1) – violate
 5 **proles, is f.** – offspring
scilicet (adv.) – namely, that is to say
 6 **duplex, icis** – double

- 7 **revera (adv.)** – really, in fact
imminuo, ere, minui, minutum (3)
 – diminish
 10 **valeo, ere (2) + infinitive** – be able to
 11 **sacratum, a, um** – consecrated
vincio, ire, vinxi, vinctum (4)
 – bind, chain up
carcer, eris m. – prison

I, 4. TEXT: *The Vestal Rhea Silvia gives birth...*

Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium. Cum Vestalis vi compressa geminum partum edidisset, Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat, seu ita rata seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat. Sed nec di nec homines aut ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate regia vindicant: sacerdos vincta in custodiam datur, pueros in profluentem aquam mitti iubet.

2	secundum (preposition + acc.) – following, after, according to ops, opis f. – wealth, influence, power	4	seu... seu – whether... or reor, reri, ratus sum (2) – think, believe, suppose
3	comprimo, ere, pressi, pressum (3) – press, suppress, restrain edo, ere, didi, ditum (3) – set forth, produce, beget stirps, stirpis f. – stalk of plant or tree, lineage, offspring	5	honestus, a, um – honorable, worthy, proper
		6	crudelitas, atis f. – cruelty vindico, are (1) – lay claim to, liberate, defend, avenge
		7	profluo, ere, fluxi, fluxum (3) – flow forth, flow along

1 **ut** – followed by the indicative, with the meaning ‘as’.

origo – subject of *debebat*.

2 **secundum deorum opes** – ‘after the power of the gods’ (i.e., in the second place to the empire of the gods).

cum...edidisset – a temporal clause in which time prior to the main verb *nuncupat* is indicated; the mood is subjunctive and the tense is pluperfect; *cum* means ‘when’. See Gildersleeve/Lodge, p. 374.

Vestalis – Rhea Silvia, a descendant of Aeneas and a daughter of Numitor, the king of Alba. Her uncle Amulius, trying to usurp the throne, forced her into becoming a Vestal. The Vestals were supposed to keep their virginity, and thus Amulius hoped to prevent any legitimate claims to the throne.

vi – ablative of means or instrument, from the noun *vis*. See Gildersleeve and Lodge, *Latin Grammar* (New York, 1895; reprinted and enlarged Wauconda, Illinois by Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2000, with forward by W. Briggs and bibliography by W. E. Wycislo), pp. 257–59. We henceforth refer readers to this manual for further discussion of certain

features of Latin grammar and usage. From here on we cite this work in the abbreviated format ‘Gildersleeve/Lodge’, along with the appropriate page numbers.

4 **nuncupat** – here and in many instances afterwards, Livy employs a present historic tense for a more vivid description.

rata – a perfect passive participle with an active sense, because the verb *reor* is deponent. It has not only a temporal, but a causal meaning: ‘having thought’. See Gildersleeve/Lodge, p. 153.

quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat – more honorable than if it were a deed of a mortal man.

6 **regia** – this adjective modifies *crudelitate*. ‘The royal cruelty’ refers to the cruel actions that Amulius is about to perpetrate.

sacerdos – could be either masculine or feminine. Here it refers to the Vestal and is feminine.

7 **iubet** – the subject is Amulius. This verb takes the accusative (*pueros*) and infinitive (*mitti*) to indicate an indirect command. The infinitive *mitti* is passive.

Romulus and Remus are left floating in the Tiber, but are washed up on dry land

Omnia postea facta divinitus imperata videntur. Eo enim tempore Tiberis extra ripas diffundebatur et stagna formabat. Ergo
 15 nemo ad ipsius fluvii cursum appropinquare poterat. Homines, qui infantes ferebant, putaverunt eos mergi posse etiam aqua leniore quae inveniebatur in stagnis extra cursum fluvii. Itaque ii homines putantes se iussa regis exsequi infantes in aqua superfluenti reliquerunt. Illo in loco invenitur arbor ficus Ruminialis nuncupata, quam dicunt antea esse appellatam ficum
 20 Romularem. Illic pueri exponuntur. Tempore quo pueri sunt expositi iis locis vastae erant solitudines.

13 **divinitus** (adv.) – divinely

14 **ripa**, ae f. – bank

diffundo, ere, fudi, fustum (3)
– pour out

stagnum, i n. – pool

15 **fluvius, i** m. – river

16 **infans, fantis** – infant

mergo, ere, mersi, mersum (3) – immerse, sink

18 **exsequor, i, secutus** (3) – follow up, carry out

19 **superfluens, entis** – overflowing
ficus, i f. – fig tree

20 **nuncupo, are** (1) – name

21 **illic** (adv.) – in that place

22 **vastus, a, um** – immense

Romulus and Remus are left floating in the Tiber...

Forte quadam divinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis adiri usquam ad iusti amnis cursum non poterat, sed spem ferentibus dabat posse quamvis languida mergi aqua infantes. Ita velut defuncti regis imperio in proxima alluvie ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est—Romularem vocatam ferunt—pueros exponunt. Vastae tum in his locis solitudines erant.

8 **super** (preposition + acc.) – over, upon, beyond
effundo, ere, fudi, fusum (3) – pour out, spread out

9 **usquam** (adv.) – anywhere
amnis, is m. – stream, river

10 **languidus, a, um** – slow, sluggish, languid

11 **defungor, i, functus** (+ abl.) – finish, discharge

alluvies, ei f. – a pool of water made by overflowing sea or river

12 **ferunt** – people say

8 **forte quadam divinitus** – i. e., *forte quadam divinitus* <data>...

Tiberis – the subject of both *adiri non poterat* and *dabat spem*.

10 **ferentibus** – its object is understood to be the children. The participle here is being used as a noun meaning ‘the bearers’ or ‘the ones carrying <the children>’.

posse quamvis languida mergi aqua infantes – an accusative with infinitive depending on *spem* and explaining the hope: ‘that the infants could be submerged by even sluggish water’. *Aqua* is ablative of means.

11 **defuncti** – this perfect participle has an active sense (‘having fulfilled’),

because the verb *defungor* is deponent. The verb *defungor* takes the ablative, in this case *imperio*.

12 **Ruminalis** – the Romans connected *Ruminalis* with the goddess *Rumina*, a nursing goddess (*rumis* means ‘a breast’), since figs were often conceived symbolically as human breasts; furthermore perhaps it was thought that Romulus and Remus sucked on the she-wolf’s teats for the first time under that tree. Perhaps the name refers to a place where flocks used to graze (*ruminor* means ‘to ruminant’). Livy also calls the place *Romularis* because of the desired connection with Romulus.

Romulus and Remus are fed by a she-wolf, and afterwards recovered by a shepherd

Haec quoque in fabula narrantur. Alveus in quo pueri iacebant
 in fluvio huc atque illuc fluebat. Aqua tamen minimae erat alti-
 tudinis. Itaque alveum in terram siccam exposuit. Haec quoque
 25 fabula narratur. Lupa quaedam in montibus qui circa hunc lo-
 cum siti sunt vagabatur et desiderio aquae laborabat. Vagitus
 sive eiulatum infantium audivit et ad eos venit. Illa mammas
 suas pendentes infantulis praebuit. Tam tenera erat lupa ut pas-
 30 tor (qui pecora regia curabat; nomen eius erat Faustus) inve-
 nerit eam pueros lingua sua lambentem sive lingentem. Pastor
 ad stabula rediit una cum infantibus et eos Larentiae uxori de-
 dit. Propositum erat ut Larentia pueros educaret. Alia fabula
 de eadem re narratur. Quidam dicunt Larentiam modo minus
 35 casto vixisse et corpus suum inter omnes divulgasse. Hac de
 causa a pastoribus Lupa est nominata. Inde fabula de vera lupa
 et de miraculo est excogitata.

23	alveus, i m. – hollow vessel		tener, era, erum – tender
24	altitudo, inis f. – depth		pastor, oris m. – shepherd
25	siccus, a, um – dry	30	pecus, pecoris n. – herd
27	situs, a, um – located	31	lambo, ere (3) – lick
	vagor, ari (1) – wander		sive (conj.) – or, or if
	desiderium, i n. – desire		lingo, ere, linxi (3) – lick
	vagitus, us m. – squalling of children	32	stabulum, i n. – stable, stall, dwelling
28	eiulatus, us m. – wailing	33	educor, are (1) – rear
	mamma, ae f. – breast	35	castus, a, um – chaste
29	pendeo, ere, pependi (2) – hang, be suspended, depend on		divulgo, are (1) – disseminate, prostitute; publish
	infantulus, i m. – tiny child	37	excogito, are (1) – contrive

Romulus and Remus are fed by a she-wolf...

Tenet fama cum tenuis aqua fluitantem alveum, quo expositi
 erant pueri, in sicco destituisset, lupam sitientem ex montibus, 15
 qui circa sunt, ad puerilem vagitum cursum flexisse; eam adeo
 mitem submissas mammas infantibus praeuisse ut lingua
 lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris invenerit— Faustus
 fuisse nomen ferunt; ab eo ad stabula Larentiae uxori educan-
 dos datos. Sunt qui Larentiam vulgato corpore lupam inter pas- 20
 tores vocatam putent; inde locum fabulae ac miraculo datum.

14	tenuis, e – light, thin, delicate fluito, are (1) – flow, float		flecto, ere, flexi, flexum (3) – bend, turn, change
15	destituo, ere, ui, utum (3) – set down, abandon	17	submitto, ere, misi, missum (3) – let down
16	circa (adv.) – around (also preposi- tion + acc.)	20	vulgo, are (1) – disseminate, publish, prostitute

- 14 **cum...destituisset** – a temporal clause referring to time prior to the verb *flexisse* on which it depends.
- 15 **lupam...cursum flexisse; eam...mitem...praeuisse mammas; <pueros> educandos datos <esse>** – accusatives with infinitives in indirect speech depending on *tenet fama*. See Gildersleeve/Lodge, pp. 329–37.
- 17 **ut...magister...invenerit** – a result clause; the antecedent in the main clause is *adeo* (related to *mitem*). See Gildersleeve/Lodge, pp. 351–53.
- 18 **lambentem** – a participle that refers to the wolf.
magister regii pecoris – the chief shepherd of the royal flock.
Faustulo – a name-indicating dative. It has virtually the same meaning as the accusative in apposition with
- nomen* (which could also be used in such a sentence): ‘they say his name was Faustulus’. See Gildersleeve/Lodge, p. 224 (section 349, note 5).
- 19 **ab eo** – the pronoun refers to Faustulus.
educandos – gerundive that means ‘to be brought up’.
- 20 **sunt qui...putent** – a relative clause with the subjunctive that indicates a result. Such clauses are often described as consecutive. See Gildersleeve/Lodge, pp. 403–05.
vulgato corpore – an ablative absolute. See Gildersleeve/Lodge, pp. 263–65.
lupam – this word can be used as a derogatory term to mean ‘prostitute’.
- 21 **locum** – i.e., the origin.

Romulus and Remus grow up to be young men

Hoc igitur modo pueri nati atque educati sunt. Postquam ad
 adulescentiam pervenerunt, non erant segnes in rebus ad
 40 stabula et ad pecora pertinentibus. Silvas quoque perlustrabant
 venantes. Ex hac re eorum corpora atque animi fortiores
 sunt facti. Itaque non tantum bestias venabantur, sed latrones
 quoque oppugnabant qui praedam ferebant. Romulus et Re-
 mus praedam ex latronibus sumere et aliis pastoribus tradere
 45 solebant. Una cum pastoribus fratres et res graves peragebant
 et ludicra faciebant. Itaque grex horum iuvenum in dies magis
 numerosus fiebat.

40 **perlustro, are** (1) – wander over

41 **venor, ari** (1) – hunt

42 **latro, onis** m. – robber

43 **praeda, ae** f. – booty, prey

45 **una** (adv.) – together / **una cum** + abl.
 – together with

perago, ere, egi, actum (3) – finish,
 perfect, spend

46 **ludicrum, i** n. – sport

grex, gregis m. – group, gathering

LIVY'S LANGUAGE

HISTORICAL INFINITIVE

Livy, like other historical writers, such as Sallust, makes extensive use of the historical infinitive. This device contributes to the vividness of narration. The historical infinitive may be employed alone, but is typically used when the author describes a series of actions, and it may often denote an action habitually or repeatedly done. The subject of the historical infinitive is nominative, not accusative.

“Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit aetas, ... robore corporibus animisque sumpto iam non feras tantum *subsistere* sed in latrones praeda onustos impetus *facere* pastoribusque rapta *dividere* et cum his crescente in dies grege iuvenum seria ac iocos *celebrare*.” (1,4)

Romulus and Remus grow up to be young men

Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit aetas, nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes venando peragrare saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto iam non feras tantum subsistere sed in latrones praeda onustos impetus facere pastoribusque rapta dividere et cum his crescente in dies grege iuvenum seria ac iocos celebrare. 25

- 22 **gigno, ere, genui, genitum** (3) – beget, produce
adolesco, ere, adolevi (3) – grow, mature
 23 **segnis, e** – slow, sluggish, lazy
peragro, are (1) – cross, wander or travel over
saltus, us m. – woodland pasture, ravine, mountain valley

- 24 **robur, oris n.** – hard wood, strength
fera, ae f. – wild beast
 25 **subsisto, ere, stiti** (3) – stand, remain, (trans.) resist
onustus, a, um – burdened
impetus, us m. – attack
 26 **divido, ere, visi, visum** (3) – divide

- 22 **cum primum** – the phrase means ‘as soon as’. It introduces a temporal clause in which the verb is indicative, as here (*adolevit*). See Gildersleeve/Lodge, pp. 360–61.
 23 **segnes** – this adjective modifies Romulus and Remus.
venando – a gerund in ablative indicating manner. This type of ablative gerund can have a meaning very close to that of a simple present participle in agreement with the subject.

- See Gildersleeve/Lodge, p. 282 (section 431, note 3).
peragrare...subsistere...facere...dividere...celebrare – historical infinitives. See Gildersleeve/Lodge, p. 413.
 24 **robore...sumpto** – an ablative absolute.
 25 **praeda** – an ablative of instrument.
 26 **rapta** – i.e., *res raptas*.
cum his – in this phrase we understand *pastoribus*.

I, 5 PARAPHRASIS: *During the celebration of games, Remus is snatched away by bandits*

Eo tempore in monte Palatio ludus Lupercal nuncupatus iam exstabat. Ipse autem mons appellatus est primo Pallanteus a nomine urbis Pallantii, quae urbs erat in Arcadia. Deinde nomen in Palatium est mutatum. Multis ante annis Euander Arcadus
 5 ea loca possederat et illic sollemnem cultum ex Arcadia allatum instituerat. In eo cultu iuvenes sine vestimentis Pana Lycaeam adorabant. Currebant enim ludentes atque lascivientes. Quem deum postea Romani Inuum nominaverunt. Ludi omnibus erant noti. Itaque quidam latrones contra duos fratres qui eo
 10 tempore ludo se dedebant insidias posuerunt. Latrones enim irascebantur quod praedam suam amiserant; quam praedam Romulus et Remus iis eripuerant. Romulus vi se defendit, sed Remus ab latronibus est captus. Latrones eum regi Amulio tradiderunt et eum accusaverunt. Dicebant enim fratres in Numi-
 15 toris agros impetum facere. Dicebant quoque fratres gregem iuvenum collegisse et tamquam hostes in illis agris praedari.

2 **exsto, are** (1) – appear, exist

5 **possideo, ere, sedi, sessum** (2)
 – possess, occupy

sollemnis, e – regular, established, solemn, religious

cultus, us m. – cultivation, worship, culture

adfero/affero, ferre, tuli, latum
 – deliver, import, report, allege

6 **vestimentum, i n.** – garment

7 **adoro, are** (1) – worship

lascivio, ire (4) – frolic, frisk, run wild

8 **nomino, are** (1) – name

10 **dedo, ere, didi, ditum** (3) – deliver, apply, dedicate

16 **praedor, ari** (1) – plunder, pillage

I, 5 TEXT: *During the celebration of games...*

Iam tum in Palatio monte ludicrum Lupercal fuisse ferunt, et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium, dein Palatium montem appellatum; ibi ferunt Euandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit loca, sollemne allatum ex Arcadia instituisse ut nudi iuvenes Lycaeam Pana venerantes per lusum atque lasciviam currerent, quem Romani deinde vocarunt Inuum. Cum sollemne omnibus notum esset, ob iram praedae amissae latrones insidiati sunt iuvenibus huic ludicro deditis. Cum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum latrones ceperunt, captum regi Amulio tradiderunt, ultro accusantes. Crimini maxime dabant in Numitoris agros ab iis impetum fieri; inde eos collecta iuvenum manu hostilem in modum praedas agere.

5	nudus, a, um – naked, unarmed veneror, ari (I) – venerate, worship	10	ultro (adv.) – beyond, besides, voluntarily
6	lusus, us m. – jest, play, game lascivia, ae f. – playfulness, sportiveness	11	crimen, inis n. – crime, charge, accusation
8	insidiar, ari (I) – lie in wait for, set an ambush for	12	inde (adv.) – thence, from there (in place or time)
			hostilis, e – hostile

- 1 **Palatio** – *Palatium* is one of the seven hills of Rome; actually the one on which Rome was first built.
Lupercal – (sg.) or *Lupercalia* (pl.) was one of the most primitive Roman rituals, held on February 15. Its name is usually related to *lupus* ('keeping away the wolves'), and thus explains the ritual as averting wolves' depredations on herds.
- 2 **Arcadica** – *Arcadia* is a mountainous province in the Greek Peloponnesus.
- 3 **Euandrum** – *Euander* was a Greco-Roman hero who had settled in Italy as head of a colony of Arcadians several years before the Trojan war.
Arcadum – genitive plural of *Arcades*, *um*, *m.* *pl.*
- 4 **tempestatibus** – means here *aetas*. The ablative indicates degree of difference in time as related to the adverb *ante*.
sollemne – substantive: 'a custom'.
- 5 **ut...currerent** – a clause explaining the contents of *sollemne*: 'established the custom brought from Arcadia, that naked youths would run, venerating...'
- 6 **vocarunt** – a contraction of *vocaverunt*.
- 7 **Inuum** – the origin of this name is not quite clear.
cum sollemne...notum esset – when *cum*, as here, has the meaning 'since,' the verb in the clause which it introduces is normally in the subjunctive. See Gildersleeve/Lodge, pp. 374–75.
- 9 **cum...se defendisset** – understand *cum* as having a meaning contrasting to that of the main clause: 'although Romulus <successfully> defended himself by force, bandits captured Remus'. See Gildersleeve/Lodge, p. 375.
- 10 **captum** – understand *Remum*.
ultro accusantes – 'accusing him too': they were accusing Remus of the things of which they themselves were guilty.
- 12 **eos...agere** – an accusative with infinitive depending on *crimini...dabant* and explaining the contents of *crimen*. *Crimini maxime dabant* means 'They especially brought the charge that...'

Given to Numitor for trial, Remus is recognized as a royal offspring

Ita Remus traditus est Numitori ut puniretur. Faustulus vero inde ab initio sperabat se regiam prolem educare. Nam sciebat regem infantes exposuisse; sciebat etiam se eodem tempore eos
 20 invenisse. Nolebat tamen rem nimis immature aliis aperire. Hoc fieri poterat per occasionem aptam aut per necessitatem coercentem. Necessitas est prius exorta. Nam Faustulus timebat et propter hunc timorem rem Romulo aperuit. Casu quodam Numitoris quoque animus memoria nepotum est tactus. Nam
 25 Remum apud se in carcere habebat. Audiverat tamen fratres esse geminos. Tunc cogitavit de eorum aetate; cogitavit quoque de eorum indole quae non erat indoles servorum. Rem investigavit et his investigationibus pervenit ad eandem opinionem quam habuit Faustulus, et Remum paene agnovit.

- 20 **immature** (adv.) – untimely
aperio, ire, perui, pertum (4) – open, reveal
 21 **necessitas, atis** f. – necessity
 22 **exorior, iri, ortus** (4) – arise, appear, begin

- 27 **indoles, is** f. – nature, quality, disposition
 28 **investigatio, onis** f. – investigation
 29 **agnosco, ere, novi, nitum** (3) – recognize, acknowledge

Given to Numitor for trial, Remus is recognized...

Sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus deditur. Iam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat regiam stirpem apud se educari; nam et expositos iussu regis infantes sciebat et tempus quo ipse eos sustulisset ad id ipsum congruere; sed rem immaturam nisi aut per occasionem aut per necessitatem aperiri noluerat. Necessitas prior venit: ita metu subactus Romulo rem aperit. Forte, cum Numitor in custodia Remum haberet audissetque geminos esse fratres, et aetatem eorum et ipsam minime servilem indolem comparavit. Iam memoria nepotum animum eius tetigerat; sciscitandoque eodem pervenit ut haud procul esset quin Remum agnosceret.

16 **congruo, ere, grui** (3) – correspond, suit, agree

18 **subigo, ere, egi, actum** (3) – subdue, tame, compel, train

19 **geminus, a, um** – twin, double

20 **servilis, e** – servile

21 **sciscitor, ari** (1) – ask

22 **procul** (adv.) – far off

quin (conj.) – but that, without, from, who...not, that...not

14 **regiam stirpem apud se educari** – an accusative with infinitive depending on *spes fuerat* and explaining the contents of *spes*, i. e., 'Faustus from the very beginning had the hope that...' The dative *Faustulo* may be explained as a dative of possessor. See Gildersleeve/Lodge, pp. 223–24.

16 **ipsum** – refers to the time at which the infants had been exposed.

18 **cum...haberet...audissetque** – here again *cum* is temporal. It means 'when' and indicates time both contemporary and prior.

22 **eodem** – an adverb of place, but used to refer to process of thought: means 'to the same conclusion'.

ut haud procul esset – a result clause.

The usurper Amulius is killed

- 30 Ita insidiae undique regi Amulio parantur. Romulus noluit cum grege pastorum ad regiam venire. Nam ille vix poterat in pugna aperta milites regios superare. Iussit tamen pastores variis itineribus tempore constituto una regiam petere et in regem impetum fecit. Remus adiuvabat cum alio grege iuvenum quem
- 35 paraverat in domo Numitoris. Hac ratione rex est interfectus.
-
-

30 **undique** (adv.) – from all sides, on all sides

31 **regia, ae f.** – palace

33 **constituo, ere, stitui, stitutum** (3) – place, station, decide, establish

The usurper Amulius is killed

Ita undique regi dolus nectitur. Romulus non cum globo iuvenum venit—nec enim erat ad vim apertam par; sed alios pastores alio itinere certo tempore ad regiam venire iussit et ad regem impetum fecit; et a domo Numitoris alia comparata manu adiuvat Remus. Ita regem obtruncat. 25

24 **dolus, i m.** – trick, deception
necto, ere, nexui/nexi (3) – weave,
 join, bind, oblige
globus, i m. – ball, throng

27 **comparo, are (1)** – compare, prepare
 28 **obtrunco, are (1)** – slaughter

27 **alia comparata manu** – ablative absolute.

28 **obtruncat** – an alternate reading is *obtruncant*. If we accept the singular,

Remus is the nearest subject, but the verb could equally refer to Romulus as the principal author of the deed, who brought it about with Remus' help.

I, 6 PARAPHRASIS: *The legitimate king Numitor restores his power*

Inter initium tumultus Numitor dicebat hostes invasisse urbem et oppugnasse regiam. Iuvenes Albanos ab aliis rebus avocavit ut arcem custodia et armis tenerent. Postquam Amulius occisus est, Romulus et Remus Numitorem petiverunt et ei sunt gratulati. Tunc Numitor statim concilium convocavit. In illo concilio narravit de sceleribus fratris in se commissis, de origine nepotum. Narravit quomodo nepotes essent nati, quomodo essent educati, quomodo essent cogniti. Narravit de caede Amulii et dixit se huius rei auctorem fuisse. Dum contio geritur, Romulus et Remus ordine militari introiverunt et avum tamquam regem salutaverunt. Tunc tota multitudo una voce rem approbavit et dixit Numitorem esse regem et eius imperium esse legitimum.

4 **gratulor, ari** (1) (+ dat.) – congratulate

8 **caedes, is** f. – cutting down, slaughter

9 **contio, onis** f. – assembly, oration in an assembly

10 **introeo, ire, ivi, itum** – enter
avus, i m. – grandfather, ancestor

11 **multitudo, inis** f. – crowd

12 **legitimus, a, um** – legitimate

I, 6 TEXT: *The legitimate king Numitor...*

Numitor inter primum tumultum, hostes invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitabat. Cum pubem Albanam in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam avocasset, postquam iuvenes perpetrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo concilium advocavit. In eo concilio scelera in se fratris, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, caedem deinceps tyranni seque eius auctorem ostendit. Iuvenes per mediam contionem agmine ingressi cum avum regem salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi efficit.

- 2 **adorior, iri, ortus** (4) – approach, assault, undertake a difficult action
dictito, are (1) – say repeatedly
pubes, is f. – youth
3 **obtineo, ere, tinui, tentum** (2)
– hold, possess, gain possession of
4 **perpetro, are** (1) – complete, penetrate
pergo, ere, perrexi, perrectum (3)
– go proceed, continue with something

- extemplo** (adv.) – at once
5 **scelus, eris** n. – crime
6 **deinceps** (adv.) – next, successively
8 **agmen, inis** n. – motion, line of men (especially soldiers) in motion
ingredior, i, gressus (3) – enter, march in
9 **consentio, ire, sensi, sensum** (4)
– agree, consent
ratus, a, um – ratified, made official

- 1 **hostes invasisse urbem atque adortos <esse> regiam** – an accusative with infinitive depending on *dictitabat*.
2 **Cum pubem Albanam in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam avocasset, postquam iuvenes perpetrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo concilium advocavit.** – <Numitor> *concilium advocavit* is the main clause; the action that happened before the action in the main clause is expressed with the *postquam*-clause *postquam...vidit*; on the verb *vidit* in the *postquam*-clause depends an accusative and infinitive (*iuvenes pergere ad se gratulantes*); the ablative absolute *perpetrata caede* within the accusative and infinitive has a temporal meaning ('after the killing had been perpetrated'); the action that happened before the action in the *postquam*-clause is expressed by the *cum*-clause *cum...avocasset*.

- 3 **praesidio armisque** – these words indicate the means by which the citadel was to be held.
4 **perpetrata caede** – an ablative absolute.
5 **In eo concilio scelera in se fratris, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, caedem deinceps tyranni seque eius auctorem ostendit.** – Different objects depend on the verb *ostendit*: two accusative direct objects *scelera* and *originem*; three indirect questions introduced by *ut* (equal to *quomodo*) *ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent*; another accusative direct object *caedem*; an indirect statement in the accusative and infinitive *se auctorem <esse>*. On indirect questions, see Gildersleeve/Lodge, pp. 294–98.
8 **cum...salutassent** – a temporal clause expressing prior time.
10 **regi** – dative of reference with *ratum* 'for the king'. See Gildersleeve/Lodge, pp. 225–26.

Romulus and Remus decide to found a new city

- Regimen Albanum hac ratione Numitori est traditum. Tum Romulus et Remus desiderare coeperunt novam urbem condere.
- 15 Volebant urbem eo loco condere ubi ipsi expositi atque educati erant. Nimis magna quoque turba Albanorum et Latinorum exstabat quae superflua videbatur. Ad hunc numerum accedebant pastores. Tot homines facile spem conditoribus dare poterant novam urbem futuram esse maiorem Alba et maiorem
- 20 Lavinio.
-

13 **regimen, inis** n. – government

18 **conditor, oris** m. – founder

17 **superfluus, a, um** – overflowing

Romulus and Remus decide...

Ita Numitori Albana re permissa Romulum Remumque cupido cepit in iis locis ubi expositi ubique educati erant urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latinorumque; ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes facile spem facerent parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium prae ea urbe quae conderetur fore. 15

13 **supersum, esse, fui** – be left, remain, abound

11 **re Albana permissa** – an ablative absolute.

cupido – to be joined with the objective genitive *urbis condendae*: it means 'desire to found a city in the very place where...' See Gildersleeve/Lodge, p. 232.

13 **Albanorum** – the inhabitants of the city of Alba.

Latinorumque – the inhabitants of Latium.

ad id – refers to the general condition, i.e., of the superfluous multitude.

14 **facerent** – a consecutive subjunctive (meaning result) in a relative clause:

i.e., *tot erant ut spem facerent* ('who all might <were so many as to> create the hope that...').

15 **parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium ...fore** – an accusative with infinitive depending on *spem* and explaining the contents of this *spes*.

Albam – *Alba* is the city founded by Aeneas's son Ascanius, situated between the Alban Lake and *Mons Albanus*.

Lavinium – *Lavinium* is a city near the sea coast founded by Aeneas in honor of his wife Lavinia.

Both Romulus and Remus want to rule the new city

Alia res his cogitationibus addebatur, scilicet desiderium regni, quod vitium maiorum quoque Romuli et Remi erat proprium. De re cuius initium parvi momenti videbatur turpis pugna est
 25 natu esset. Nulla igitur verecundia aetatis exstabat. Itaque consilium ceperunt deos sub quorum tutela ea loca essent consulere. Uter frater nomen novae urbi daturus erat? Uter frater urbem conditam imperio rectorus erat? Has duas res di ipsi auguriis ostendere debebant. Romulus decrevit res sacras in Palatio peragere, Remus vero in Aventino.
 30

- 21 **cogitatio, onis** f. – thought
addo, ere, didi, ditum (3) – add
 23 **momentum, i** n. – importance
 25 **verecundia, ae** f. – reverence

- 26 **tutela, ae** f. – guardianship
 28 **augurium, i** n. – augury, omen
 29 **sacer, sacra, sacrum** – sacred

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