## CLARENDON PRESS SERIES. LIVY, BOOKS V, VI, AND VII. PART I. -INTRODUCTION AND TEXT

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Clarendon Press Series. Livy, Books V, VI, and VII. Part I. - Introduction and Text by Titus Livius & A. R. Cluer & P. E. Matheson

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# CLARENDON PRESS SERIES. LIVY, BOOKS V, VI, AND VII. PART I. -INTRODUCTION AND TEXT



#### Clarendon Press Series

## LIVY

### BOOKS, V, VI, AND VII

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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Second Edition, Revised by

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FELLOW OF NEW COLLEGE

PART I.-INTRODUCTION AND TEXT

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1887

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#### INTRODUCTION.

THE events narrated in the three Books comprised in this edition fall within the dates 403 B.C. to 342 B.C. (A.U.C. 351 to 413). For a summary of them Mommsen, History of Rome, book ii. chapters 3, 4, and 5 may be consulted. Much that is legendary is interwoven with the narrative as presented by Livy. Even when dealing with events of a later date and of comparatively greater importance (e.g. the campaigns of Hannibal), the historian of Rome has been shown to have been more than once wanting in accuracy, even if not inclined to a remissness which one might reasonably expect to be avoided. But criticisms, more or less sweeping and dogmatic, may be found in the works of those able writers who have enriched the literature of the present century with their researches into the truthfulness of Roman history. It is not our intention to repeat them here. Only it may be remarked, in justice to Livy, that he was himself fully aware of the legendary and poetical nature of many of the tales which he had to record, and which had become part of the cherished traditions of his countrymen. He had set himself the task of compiling the records of the Roman people from the earliest times; and the writers of the Augustan period had no tendency to deal with the past in a critical or sceptical spirit. The rules of historical criticism are of modern growth, and are perhaps scarcely yet finally settled; therefore allowance can fairly be made for a writer who, in presence of the world-wide majesty of the nation to which he belonged, declined to startle his readers by refuting or even seriously questioning those facts which threw a glamour over the history of their ancestors, and to whose judgment poetical justice rather than dispassionate investigation seemed best adapted to the traditional records of bygone days.

The chief events included in these books are the siege and capture of Veii by the Romans, and the subsequent capture of Rome by the Gauls: the rise of the city from its ruins, and the conflicts in which it was engaged against the waning power of the Etruscan nation, more than once having again to encounter the forces of the Celts who had inflicted so crushing a defeat on the power of Rome; and the beginning of the war known as the Samnite War. Internally there belongs to this period that portion of the struggle of the Orders, of the Plebs against the Patricians, which Mommsen terms 'the equalization of the orders and the new aristocracy.' The Licinio-Sextian laws which established the absolute right of the plebeians to one of the consulships, the appointment of plebeian Masters of the Horse, and even a plebeian Dictator, broke down the longstanding political distinctions and did away with the class privileges which had long made the patricians as such the dominating power in Rome. The success of Licinius and his colleagues was due to the fact that the leading plebeians (who practically had as little sympathy as the patricians with the special burdens of the proletariate) took advantage of the public indignation against usury and the exactions of the capitalist class to force their way to the highest offices of state. It is remarkable that the Licinian laws were finally carried en massethe bulk of the plebs being indifferent to the political claims of their leaders, provided some genuine relief against the burden of debt were devised for themselves. But the leading plebeians were not eager merely to remove the grievances of their poorer fellow-citizens. To quote the words of Licinius as recorded by Dio Cassius, 'If the people would not eat, they should not drink either;' and in the end, the aims of the compromise were achieved. The first law was directed to a settlement of the question of debt; the interest already paid by debtors was to be deducted from the capital, and the remainder of the debt to be paid within three years in equal instalments. The second (which is not classed as agrarian by Livy) provided that no one should hold as possessor more than 500 jugera of public land; the theory and practice still being that the state owned the publicus ager, and granted it to occupiers, retaining, as we should say, the freehold in itself. The third directed the abolition of the office of military tribunes with consular power, and expressly enacted that of the two consuls one must always be a plebeian. The first caught the votes of the humblest classes; the second was a bait for the more well-to-do and the farmers: the third betrayed the real reason of the attitude of these champions of the plebs.

It is impossible with the scanty materials which we possess to judge accurately of the justice or injustice of the proposals with reference to usury. So far as we can see, the laws of Rome gave an enormous power to the money-lenders—a law of the XII Tables even allowed the creditors to divide among themselves the body of an insolvent debtor; and though a law so atrocious must have virtually defeated itself, its very presence among the statutes of the Romans shows that it was an enactment made by the rich for themselves, and that the debtor was practically at the mercy of a relentless creditor. Even in more enlightened times, when statesmen have attempted to legislate for a financial crisis, the remedies proposed usually betray a strange amount of inability on the part of those who wish to cope with a difficulty which they either do not understand or which they are compelled to meet in such a manner as will satisfy the clamour of ignorance and interested prejudice. The grievance of debt had in earlier days brought about the first secession of the plebs; and even if the measures brought forward by Licinius failed to remove the causes which underlay the financial troubles of Rome, they at least alleviated the distress for a considerable time, while they simultaneously served as a lever to raise the plebs to political equality with the patricians, and to remove the most long-standing source of conflict and dissension between the orders.

Viewed thus, with regard to the internal and constitutional development of the nation, these three books constitute one of the most important chapters of Roman history. The success

of the plebs was indeed a bitter draught for the privileged classes; but it was none the less wholesome and necessary. When on one or two occasions the patricians by an electioneering trick violated the law and chose two of their own body to fill the consulship, the plebs retaliated soon after by electing two plebeians; and this proof of their strength and determination prevented any similar attempt by the patriciate in the future. The mass of the people, as is usual in times when men's feelings are deeply stirred by some question of political reform, were probably disappointed. The conditions of daily life, the supplies of daily necessaries, were not made any easier or more plentiful by the overthrow of privilege. But the enthusiasm and resolute perseverance which had been called into play in order to break down so anomalous an inequality were not without their fruits. Rome, once started in the career of conquest by Camillus, was enabled to present a united front to her enemies during the two centuries of wars which with slight interruptions fill the pages of her history until the final defeat and demolition of Carthage. The old quarrel was at an end. The fusion of classes had a permanent and lasting influence on the destinies of the imperial city. Later on, the scene changed, and the struggle entered upon a worse and more dangerous phase, when social rather than political wrongs brought about a revolution of a far more sweeping kind, and one which was only to be determined, after long years of civil war, by the establishment of a military despotism.

Livy himself anticipates that his readers would be more anxious to peruse that portion of his history which treated of the later days of the Republic. That portion no longer exists for us; but, if we may judge from what remains of his work, this great master of style could hardly have exceeded the power which he displays in dealing with the earlier periods. It is true that some of his finest passages (e.g. the timely intervention of Camillus at the moment when the Romans were bargaining for gold with their barbaric conquerors) are records of