

may have assisted in loosening the fetters of anarchy and licentiousness, under the fatal mistake, that these fiends when liberated would obey their voices, and return at their command to their prison houses.

It cannot be within the compass of this address, to go up to the source of all the circumstances which conduced to the overthrowing of ranks and orders in the state, the demolition of the monarchy, and the casting out of religion and the worship of God. Their progress has fallen within the compass of our own observation, and the detail would in this place be impertinent. How soon the powers of regulation and intentional amendment were torn from the hands of those who entertained the hope of sober reform ; how soon plants of the most poisonous quality sprung from a soil that seemed prepared for more useful vegetation ; remains a melancholy task for the historian of these times ; and a sad tissue of guilt and folly has he to hold up to the doubting eyes of posterity.

It is to the consideration of the calamities and undeserved fate of Louis the Sixteenth, I demand your particular attention.

If I am to mark the commencement of his afflictions, I must take the period when he first beheld his expectations blasted, his endeavours to promote the happiness of his people frus-

trated, and when, instead of his invited guests, order, peace, and security, he saw rush into his hall the furies of anarchy, discord, and contention. Then indeed he began to taste the bitter draught of disappointment, and then commenced those sufferings which pursued him, through different gradations of misery, to the grave.

Depressed by the failure of all his projects for relieving and satisfying his people, and seeing that, by his acquiescence and resignation, he was only levelling the road for desperate ambition, irreconcilable hatred, and inveterate malice, to march with a prouder and a securer step; under the consternation (too strong for human nature to resist) at perceiving the blackest arts employed to poison the minds of his subjects, to rouse them into madness, to inspire them with an appetite for murder and human blood, to marshal them into rank and file of assassins, holding out to their fury all the moderate men of France, as proper objects of extermination, but particularly those who maintained any fidelity or attachment to his person; we must thus figure to ourselves the condition of this persecuted king, when he was besieged by a savage rabble in his palace of Versailles, and afterwards borne away in captivity to Paris.

We must also represent to ourselves the condition of his unfortunate queen, nursed in the lap of royal ease and splen-

dour, whose hours had till lately danced with down upon their feet, in the same tremendous night suddenly roused from her slumber by the yellings of desperate vengeance, the screams of pain, the discharge of fire-arms, the breaking down of the doors of the royal apartments; the groans of death re-echoing from all the courts and passages of the palace; a moment only given her to escape from her chamber to that of her husband, in the dreadful incertitude of finding him alive, still able to afford protection to herself and family, or sinking under the knife of the assassin, and mixing his blood with that of his children!—Gracious heaven! am I to lament that the mercy of death was then denied him?—whether from cowardice, mistaken orders, or refinement of cruelty, as yet has not been ascertained.

But his hour was not then come: for she found him surrounded by his servants, and his children clinging to him for safety; himself standing in the midst of them, like Troy's devoted monarch, with resignation and calmness expecting his fate. But no Pyrrhus at that time appeared, who had either the humanity or the courage to save the nation of France from the indelible stain of cold, useless, and premeditated murder.

After submitting to the ignominy of pleading for the lives of the remainder of his guards who had not that night

perished in his defence, he obeyed the order of the rabble, left his palace forever, and the regicide triumph (for death headed that procession) bore him away to the capital. On the road, nothing was left untried to destroy manly fortitude, or to shake the weaker frame of female softness and sensibility. The most atrocious and indecent expressions, the most horrid imprecations and barbarous threats rent the air from Versailles to Paris. Women, acting the parts of the most frantic priestesses of Bacchus, but with more tremendous orgies, surrounded the royal carriage ; and, instead of the vase, the chaplet of the rose and the vine, came steeped in gore, and decorated with garlands of human intestines !

On entering the palace of the Tuilleries, the door of his freedom closed upon him forever. Though, perhaps, this house had not its chains and its dungeons, nor other scenery of a prison, yet his solitary walk in his garden was restricted to a certain and early hour ; exercise, from habit necessary to his health, was denied him, and he was condemned still to act the solemn farce of majesty, at the bidding of those who by this time had usurped the government of the country. In this condition he remained till an occasion offered itself favourable for his regaining, what every creature in this country would have wished him to regain,—his liberty. The

attempt however failed. Various causes were assigned for that failure, and various suspicions rose upon the circumstances which defeated it.

Whatever advantage was afforded to his enemies by this natural effort to free himself from so unjust a confinement, remained with them but for a moment ; for the offer, on the part of the people, of the crown, on his subscribing to the terms of the constitution, immediately followed ; and which of necessity either did away all pretended charge of anterior known offence, or we must admit the gross absurdity, on the part of the people, that they spontaneously sought the rule of a detected criminal and approved tyrant. From September, 1791, therefore, we must suppose his guilt commenced ; or that there was a clear detection, upon substantial proof, of former criminality. Every cool and dispassionate reader of that strange proceeding, his trial, is able to decide this question.

It is observable that, so late as the July of the following year, a fresh proof of the confidence which the nation continued to repose in the monarch of their *free choice* and *deliberate will*, was evinced by the renewal of the oath of fidelity to him. Well impowered to observe and watch his conduct, (for he was still a prisoner ; still the boundaries of his captivity were not extended) the people give him this

additional testimony of their loyalty and attachment: but, strange to relate, in a short space afterwards, the populace had become so tutored into disaffection, that, without alledging any specific charge of misrule, or infraction on his part of the compact so lately entered into, the mayor of Paris is deputed to carry to the bar of the Convention the arrogant and perfidious resolution of the Sections, no longer to recognize Louis the Sixteenth for their king.

The arrival of an armed banditti from the south, still more practised in murder and inured to blood than even the rabble of the metropolis, and invited as pioneers to hew their way up to the throne, through every obstacle that justice, humanity, or religion, feebly opposed to them, brings us to the contemplation of those horrors which immediately succeeded.

With a trembling hand I draw aside the veil that opens to our view these terrible transactions. Upon this bloody threshold, human nature trembles to advance. The same inscription, which the poet read on the outward gate of Hell, seems here again engraved, to drive away the visitor of these detestable abodes of horror and of blood:

“ Per me si va nella città dolente ;
 Per me si va nell’ eterno dolore ;
 Per me si va tra la perdute gente.”*

• Dante, Canto III.

Through these dreadful scenes, and this disgusting recital of improved barbarity, I shall hurry with all possible dispatch. The present age requires no further information on this sad subject ; the milk of human softness, I fear, insensibly dries up as these horrors become familiar ; and I trust that posterity, from an acquaintance with better times, will reject as fiction the detail which unbiassed truth must shudder to transmit.

The description of this last attack upon his inoffensive repose, will only appear a repetition, perhaps an exaggeration, of the terrific scenes he had already witnessed. The last was only marked with this distinction : more of his defenders fell in his defence ; a larger stream of blood stained the capacious building he inhabited ; helpless women, and even children, were added to the stouter and more obvious victims of loyalty, and of conscientious duty to their sovereign, and, what remains difficult to understand, whilst cruelty seemed most unrestrained, and wanton in its sport, assassination did not a moment forget the cold mandate of orderly proscription. The work of death was regular ; though, like the eccentric march of a comet, seemingly licentious and ungovernable, yet in reality taking its departure, and returning, under given laws of systematic murder.

Finding his palace stormed, and that the bodies of his slaughtered guard formed no longer a bulwark of defence, the king quickly adopted the resolution of suing for protection to the sitting Assembly, and, at the risk of life, arrived at the bar to implore it for himself and family. The request came too suddenly for the most prudential wickedness to be prepared to resist: a sanctuary was granted to his prayer; and, incredible as it may seem, it was not violated. His escape appeared supernatural to all, but particularly to those whose black designs were for a moment frustrated. He entered like a ghost of the dead amongst them. For a moment, I repeat it, the projects of his merciless persecutors seemed disconcerted; who, missing the principal object, almost repented the useless effusion of so much human blood. But, soon recollecting themselves, they resumed their cowardly triumph in the deaths of the many brave and faithful men who perished that day by the side of their king; and were not displeased to find that the lamb had run for shelter into the den of the lion, and that the dove had flown for safety into the eagle's nest.

After a detention of three days in the apartment contiguous to the Assembly, he, with the queen, and their children, was removed to the Temple. If his condition, for this short period

was somewhat softened, by still being permitted to behold the faces of some of his faithful attendants, that little comfort was not with-held.

I shall not invite you to explore the dismal recesses of his prisons; but shall briefly remark, with what patient fortitude he endured an interval of suspense the most awful and irreconcilable to the strongest mind; and that all the indignities which low malice, invested with authority, exercised against him, only taught him to recollect to how much greater humiliation the Saviour of the world had submitted without a murmur. What dungeon but has witnessed the agonies of husbands and of fathers, struggling in the last embraces of wives and children? The condition of royalty can add nothing to such extremes of human misery. Nay, it is even possible that this exalted station, not always depending for happiness on such domestic props as are required to cheer and sustain common life, may be spared a pang in such tremendous moments. But alas! it was reserved for Louis the Sixteenth alone, when pursued to death as a king, to be exempt from no suffering of a private man. No ceremonious observance of address and approach had ever secluded him from the society of his family. The guide of youthful innocence, the paternal teacher of science and religion, fled with the expiring breath of the monarch; and the first separation of

the husband from the wife, was that which severed them in this world for ever.

Wherefore should we dwell upon the cruel mockery of his trial. Prejudged and condemned before he was dragged to the bar of that tribunal which sentenced him to death, he seemed only produced to shew, that equity and justice were not to be suffered to fade away, and sink in silence and oblivion, but that their downfall should be manifest, avowed, and public; and that by this murder, all fear of their return should be removed from those so much interested in their extinction.

Here might one pause, and raise a hope that human depravity, having advanced so far in the demolition of all order, rule, social happiness, and security, in the overthrow of all morality and religion, in the shameless practice of every art that can corrupt and debase the public mind; and depending upon plunder, proscription, terror, and slaughter, for the execution of all its projects, had, by this last atrocious deed, reached that point from whence it could not rise, but must of necessity return. Alas! like a journey through a mountainous country, high as the hill may be which we have ascended, another still towers above it: if we labour to the summit of *that*, another and another rise before us. When we imagine that, in viewing these horrors, we have been carried up to the

utmost pinnacle of human guilt and corruption, another mountain of superior wickedness unexpectedly starts up to astonish and to terrify.

It only remains to observe, that in his last moments he behaved with modest firmness, and philosophical resignation. Religion had put a staff into his hands, and it did not bend beneath his weight. Peace to his manes! His sufferings are at an end. He hears no more the cries of his faithful domestics; he views no longer the inevitable destruction of his children in their innocence and their virtues. The horrid picture is no longer before him, that, in his daily vision and nightly dream, shewed the partner of his bed and of his throne, cast to the female furies of the streets; and her limbs strewed about that city, of which the other day she was both the ornament and the pride. To have known that she was to meet with comparatively a mild termination of her sorrows; that human nature was not to be outraged by brutal indignities offered to her person; and that the stroke of death would be swift and complete; might have somewhat abated those apprehensions which pursued him to the hour when fear and misery sink for ever. But this, even this, was denied him.

I must now dismiss this melancholy subject; but not without exhorting an English audience, to turn their eyes to

their own condition, and to profit by the example of the calamities which I have been detailing. The commiseration of Britons may be ample and sincere, though they derive from such errors and such guilt a cautionary light, to mark the rocks on which this neighbouring nation has been shipwrecked. They may behold the miserable consequences of hasty and violent innovation. They may see what hands seize on power, when integrity and moderation are obliged to stop, and refuse to follow when presumptuous vice takes the lead. They may witness the wretched policy of attempting to bring every thing to the touchstone of theoretic perfection. Sitting under the shelter of their own free and happy constitution, which has covered them and their ancestors with so broad a shade, they will not patiently suffer the petulance of conceit to mutilate its boughs, under the specious pretence of improvement ; and much less the desperate hand of ambition to be busy with its roots.

THE END.

DE LEGIONE MANLIANA

QUÆSTIO

EX LIVIO DESUMPTA.

DE LEGIONE MANLIANA

Q U Æ S T I O

E X L I V I O D E S U M P T A,

E T

REI MILITARIS ROMANÆ STUDIOSIS

P R O P O S I T A.

AUCTORE GULIELMO VINCENT.

L O N D I N I I:

Impensis T. CADELL, Strand.

M D C C X C I I I.

DIRECTION TO THE BOOK-BINDER.

Please to insert the Plate facing p. 23.

DE LEGIONE MANLIANA

Q U Æ S T I O

EX LIVIO DESUMPTA

E T

REI MILITARIS ROMANÆ STUDIOSIS

P R O P O S I T A.

NEMINI Romanæ Rei militaris studioſo ignotum eſt quantis tenebris Caput octavum octavi Libri Hiſtorie Livianæ obſcuretur, quas ſi diſcutiendas ſuſcepero, pace viro- rum illuſtrium Lipſii, Fabricii, Drakenborekii priùs impetrata, felicio- re auſpicio progrediar.

Hi omnes, et reliqui univerſi qui in hoc nodo ſolvendo verſati ſunt, obſcuretatem Loci fatiſ agnoſcunt, et ſemet ipſi ſere operam luſiſſe conſitentur. Lipſius nihil non immutatum re- linquit, quippe qui *triginta*, bis in *viginti* convertit; qui pro *quinis* millibus, *quaternis* legit; qui Manipulos Ordinibus, & Ordines Manipulis paſſim commutat. Eadem chorda oberrat Fabricius, quem audi ipſum mirè prædicantem. “ Deſcrip-
“ tionem hanc rei militaris veterum Romanorum, Livius valde

“ obscuram, et ambiguum reddit, per vocem *Ordines*, utpote
 “ quam ipse *quatuor* significationibus maximè diversis donat.”

Drakenborckius in splendidissimâ et celeberrimâ suâ Livii editione, inter hunc locum tractandum, quem justo ferè commentariorum volumine illustravit, omnes omnium potius conjecturas coacervavit, quam quidquam de proprio penu deprompsit. Creverius adeò non plus præcursoribus suis profecit, ut totum locum Lipsii lectionibus correctum contextui Liviano subjecit.

Neque hæc obtrectandi causâ profero, quippe homines in re criticâ plurimum meritos, & in veterum scriptorum for-
 dibus purgandis felicissimè occupatos, non sine reverentiâ quâdam suspicio. Neque hisce me paro æmulum aut adversarium, quem casu tantùm aliquo, et vento usum secundo portum occupasse credo, ubi plurimi naufragium fecerunt.

Guischartum inter Tacticos, Lipsium et Fabricium inter Criticos, principes duco; horum vero commentarios claros utcunque & perspicuos admiror, plura tamen ab his proferri ex Veterum scriptis videre videor, quàm ipsi Veteres dixerunt. Id mihi ne vitio detur, in Liviano resolvendo nodo, ipso Livio interprete, & commentatore solo usus sum.

Ita enim se res habet, ut Libri Manuscripti in hoc exhibendo Loco plurimùm consentiant. Hoc Drakenborckius confitetur, qui medicam manum suspectis lectionibus admove-
 vere veritus est; hoc Hearnius agnoscit, qui nihil omninò immutavit. Quapropter id primum mihi statuendum decrevi, ut nullam alicujus novam lectionem admitterem, si ex Historici verbis sensus aliquis legitimus elici potuerit. Hoc fretus consilio, ad calculos me contuli, ratus, si numeros ritè

scirem digerere, cætera in propatulo fore. Nec falsa spes est. Pulchrè omnia sensim et pedetentim cessere, ex fumo dari lucem videbam, et quò longiùs processerim, eò veriùs huic casui, et fortunæ propitiæ credebam me jure eventus prosperos acceptos retulisse.

Quod viros Criticos tanti nominis fefellit, nihil aliud fuit, quam vulgata Legionis ordinatio. Non satis senserant Historicum, in speciali belli ratione, speciali Legionis instructione occupatum. Namque communem Legionis formam Livio, utpote qui Romanos Lectores habiturus erat, vix tangere licuisset. Scilicet dum rem omnibus compertam tractaret fastidium potius moturus fuerit, quam laudem adepturus.

Huic rei cùm sexcentis argumentis fidem facere possem, unum impræsentia sufficiat. Dico enim Rorarios et Accensos, ex quorum militum nominibus hic adscitis, plurimum obscuritatis oritur, apud cæteros auctores, aut apud ipsum Livium, nusquam alias occurrere; et eosdem affirmo nisi in hoc bello contra Latinos, nisi in hac ipsissimâ Legionem Manlianâ, Romanæ militiæ penitus esse ignotos. Testem habeo ipsum Fabricium, scribit* enim “Nomen Rorariorum si
“ ab hoc loco discedas, nec apud Livium neq̃ alium quen-
“ quam Auctorem invenitur,—Accensorum quidem mentio-
“ nem facit Livius in censu quintæ classis, sed non tanquam
“ ordinis alicujus militum, sed tanquam ordinis ministrorum.”

Quid significant voces Rorarii et Accensi, res est satis cum tædio apud omnes disputata, neque ipsis Romanis bene comperta, ut videre licet, ex Auctoribus Festo et Varrone quos Stephanus laudat, sub voce *Rorarii*; namque quod Festus eos *Rorarios* nominat, qui levi armaturâ instructi prælium primi committebant, nihil est ad rem, nihil ad hunc locum

Livianum ; quippe certo certius est ex Livii verbis, Rorarios in hac legione Manlianâ non fuisse levis armaturæ milites, sed procucurrisse inter Antepilanos, et vires Hastatis Principibusque addidisse. De Accensis* fortasse minor est disceptatio, ipsa enim vox innuit Milites extraordinarios, suffectos, aut (si ita dicam) supernumerarios, sed vocis usus, pro milite acceptæ, extra hunc locum non occurrit.

De his alii disceptent, meâ parum interest quo sensu voces accipiuntur, qui statuo Rorarios et Accensos utrosque esse gravis armaturæ milites, de nomine parum sollicitus, si res ipsa pro comperto habeatur. Rorarios graves fuisse supra dictum est, Accensos itidem fuisse, ex hoc colligo. Nempe sub fine prælii cum “ Accensos ab novissimâ acie ante figura “ procedere Manlius jussisset,” speciem et simulacrum Triariorum hostibus objecturus, credo neque Latinos Romanæ militiæ gnaros, ita decipi potuisse, ut *Leves* pro *gravibus* acciperent, neque ita explicari posse summi Ducis pulcherrimum *σπῆλινγμα*.

Hac disceptatione absolutâ, ad Legionis Manlianæ conformationem accedamus, sed prius (tritum etsi videatur) communi Legionis ordinatione via præmunienda est. Scilicet ex communi formâ, specialem constituemus.

Legio Romana eo temporis de quo nunc agimus, quinque millia peditum, trecentos equites numerabat. Equites latera claudabant, Pedites per Cohortes, Manipulos, et Ordines distribuebantur. Cohortes decem, Manipuli triginta, Ordines sexaginta numerabantur. Cohors ergo, decima pars Legionis, continebat viros quingentos. Manipulus, pars tertia cohortis, circiter centum sexaginta sex. Ordo, Manipuli dimidium, tres et octoginta.

Acies

Acies Romanæ Legionis primò continua fuit sine intervallo, postea in partes distracta, et manipulatim constituta; partes denique imminutæ sunt, et ordinatim (id est non per Manipulos, sed Ordines) acies distributa est. Hâc ultimâ divisione Romanos usos esse arbitror, eo consilio quo partes minores facilius constituerentur, et explicarentur, quam majores.

Huic partium distributioni si non consentanea est Legio Manliana, in causa est belli modus cum Latinis gerendî, qui, si *Ordines non turbati essent*, aut immutati, probe scirent et cuique centurioni, et fere militi singulo gregario locum, per totam aciem attributum. Quod si numerus Manlianae, communis Legionis numero parum respondeat, id postea fusiùs explicabitur.

Alia res est, quam, seu communi usui sit consona seu dissona, non fatis exploratam habeo. Distributio enim generalis Legionis in triginta manipulos, nescio an more Militiæ Romanæ semper comprehendebat Triarios, an enumeratione excludebat. In prælio contra Latinos procul est omni dubio Triarios non numerari inter Manipulos, quæ res Lipsium præcipuè fessellit, qui plus semel *viginti* pro *triginta* legit, et quindecim *Ordines* Triariorum pro quindecim *Manipulis* admisit. In cæteris præliis, non me movet Criticorum Auctoritas, ut facile credam triginta Manipulos ad Triarios pertinuisse, neque si apud veteres mentio Triariorum inciderit, cum voce (Manipulis) conjunctâ, lubenter manus dederò, nisi prælii ipsius ratio ita posceret.

Ordo (vox quæ offendiculo fuit Criticis plerisque in hoc loco Liviano versatis) neque quatuor habet sensus ut Fabricius bonus vir commentus est, neque duplicem ut Lipsius somniavit, qui passim Manipulos et Ordines, uti res poscit, ad libitum

libitum transmutavit. Vox simplex est, simplicem habet usum et significationem,—*Manipuli dimidium*, quod nisi luce clarius ostendero, actum est de quaestione.

Quantum a communi distat Manlianæ Legionis forma, ratio, et instructio, & quæ sit causa distantiae hujus, ac natura, jam proponam.

Bellum gerendum et prælio decertandum fuit cum Sociis Latini nominis. Romanis nihil adminiculi fuit superioris, nisi nomen patrium, majorum gloria, Urbis splendidissimæ claritas; Latinis nihil adversabatur præter usum inveteratum et consuetudinem parendi. Armis, corporis atque animi viribus, exercitus instructione, castrorum formâ ac munitione, usu pariter et experientiâ militari, pares congressuri erant, neque parti alterutri victoriam promiseris, nisi Ducum virtutem et solertiam militarem prius perspexisses.

Manlius, uti res ipsa indicat, et Historia Liviana impensè declarat, difficultatem tam novi belli fati præviderat, et proinde, ut videtur, priusquam ex urbe progressus fuerat, in delectu habendo, inusitato numero militum Legionem auxerat. Hos, inusitato nomine usurpato, *Rorarios* et *Accensos* vocitabat, quos sive Legionariis adnumeres, sive extraordinarios omnino ducas, parum interest. Hos non in supplementum Legionis, non in Triariorum loco successos (nam Rorarii minoris roboris milites erant, Accensi minimæ fiduciæ manus) sed in usum hujus præsertim belli, et ad pulcherrimum *σπαρτήγῃμα* exhibendum, comparaverat.

Exercitus enim Latinus pariter ac Romanus, triplici acie instructus prælium commissurus fuit, nempe secundum usum et exemplum ævi Manliani, prima acies Hastati erant, secundam

dam Principes implebant, novissimam Triarii. Res omnibus vulgata est Triarios fuisse veteranos milites spectatæ virtutis, Principes robustæ ætatis viros, Hastatos florem juvenum pubescentium. De Rorariorum et Accensorum usu, loco, et ordinatione, novi aliquid prolaturi sumus.

Non facile quidem persuasos habebō Criticos rei Militaris peritos, si quartam et quintam aciem Rorariis et Accensis assignavero, nec dico justam aciem. Nam profecto neque Dux ipse fortasse tam pulchro nomine copias minimæ fiduciæ dignatus fuisset, verbo tamen absit invidia, et quoniam non aliud est, quo quod sentio aptè possim exprimere, veniâ prius impetratâ, Manlianæ Legionis quintuplam fuisse aciem statuo.

Quod si quartam et quintam aciem non justas nomino, id velim intelligi, tanquam statuissem Rorarios et Accensos tam prope Triariis subiectos esse, tam cautè hostibus celatos, ut dolus exinde oriundus nequaquam in suspicionem veniret. Eodem consilio usum esse Manlium arbitror, cum Rorarios subsidio Principum submisit, simul tuorum animos confirmaturus, et numerum novissimi agminis celaturus.

Satis acriter pugnatum est ex utrâque parte, Hastatis et Principibus; in utroque congressu verò Latini superiores evaserant,—“tum demum Accensos ab novissimâ acie ante signa
“procedere Manlius jubet. Qui ubi subiere, extemplo La-
“tini, tanquam idem adversarii fecissent, Triarios suos exci-
“taverunt; qui aliquandiu pugnâ atroci quum et semet ipsi
“fatigassent, et hastas aut præfregissent, aut hebetassent, pel-
“lerent vi tamen hostem, debellatum jam rati, perventum-
“que ad *extremam* aciem, tum Consul Triariis, confurgite
“nunc inquit, integri adversus fessos.”—Hoc consilio

Versa est fortuna diei.

Eventus

Eventus prælii, et consilium quo consul usus est fatis ex Livii narratione perspiciuntur. De exercitu instruendo locus tractandus restat, quem ex ipsius Historici verbis primò explicabimus, et postea locum ipsum Lectoris oculis subjiciemus.

Livius Legionem ævi Manliani ex *quinis* millibus peditum, equitibus trecentis constare disertè pronuntiat; pro *quinis*, Lipsius *quaternis* legit, nullâ Manuscriptorum Auctoritate fretus, sed quoniam ita postulat fuorum ratio calculorum. Summâ ergo totius Legionis ex Historici fide constitutâ, ad partes descendamus. *Ordo*, dimidium *Manipuli*, pars legionis minima est; *Ordini* Livius attribuit milites sexagenos, duos centuriones, vexillarium unum. Lipsius legit *milites sexagenos duos, Centurionem et Vexillarium unum*. Utrumvis accipe, non magni interest; quandoquidem vero profiteor nihil mutatione opus esse in toto loco Liviano, quod scriptum est tunc; et postea uti rem expositurus sum, facile comparebit numerum constare, si excipias vel addas Vexillarium.

Lipsius non finit sexagenis militibus *duos* Centuriones attribui; rem inusitatam esse confiteor, nec pro comperto duxero binos fuisse Centuriones cuique *Ordini* assignatos, bello licet tam peculiari urgente;—nec fatis causæ est, ut ita judicem exemplo *Primi pili* Romani persuasus, qui certè Sub-centurionem sibi subjunxit; quoniam id, ut videtur, factum est speciali veniâ impetratâ. Utut hæc sint, aliis disceptanda relinquo, de cæteris, si numeri aptè respondeant, parum sollicitus.

Ut numeri invicem respondeant, et ut Livius sibi constet, sexagenos duos *homines* *Ordini* annumeres, non dico *milites*, nam duos, si milites dixero, centuriones (vel centurionem Lipsianum) et vexillarium de numero *Ordinis* excipiam necesse

cesse est, Livius enim ipse tres Ordines continere homines centum octoginta sex palam declarat.

Quod si Ordo dimidium erat Manipuli: Manipulus homines centum viginti quatuor erant. Manipulus (tertia pars Cohortis) ter repetitus, Cohortem efficit, trecentos septuaginta duos homines continentem. Decem Cohortes (Cohors enim decima pars est Legionis) tria millia septingentos et viginti comprehendunt.

At numerum oportuit, inquit Lipsius, ad quina millia impleri,—“age, age, jam expediam.” Quindecim Ordines Triariorum, id est quindecies sexaginta duo, numerum efficiunt noningentorum triginta hominum, quos si addas tribus millibus septingentis et viginti, habebis quater mille sexcentos quinquaginta. Hoc propius accedit ad quina millia, quam ut Lipsius audeat legere *quaternis*, pro *quinis*.—Alterum vero numerum adducendum habeo, quem nemo Militiæ Romanæ peritus temerè rejiciet. In hoc præsertim bello, in hac Legionem Manlianâ (utcumque res aliter fuit, aliis temporibus, aliâ Militiæ ratione) Livius disertis verbis pronunciat, quindecim Manipulos Hastatorum singulos, habuisse leves vicos milites;—nullos vero leves attribuit aut Principibus aut Triariis. Addamus ergo quindecies viginti (id est trecentos) numero supra recenso, et summam efficiamus quater mille noningentos quinquaginta, quæ summa quantum à quinis millibus decedat, qui volunt, computent.

Novam hîc quæstionem candidis et ingenuis propono. Namque si ita res est, ut jam commemoravi, nullus locus est Triariis, inter Manipulos et Cohortes. Scorsim numerantur, et æstimantur,—ita credo, et in causa est cur credam, Contextus ipse Livianus, qui si, hoc postulato concesso, legitur,

luce clarior est, hoc negato, tenebris Lipsianis etiam nunc obfufcatur. His dictis, cætera omittam ufque dum ipfius Contextûs explicatio, idem fufius manifefterit.

Reftat de Rorariis et Accenfis aliquid dicendum, quos huic foli bello, huic foli prælio proprios arbitror; qui aliter fenferit, producat neceffe est testimonia, ex historicis Polybio, Livio, Tacito, aliifve paris nominis; aut ex Tacticis, quales Vegetius, Arrianus, et Hyginus, quod fi apud hos omnes nulla mentio occurrit Legionis itidem inftitutæ, nullum testimonium Rorariorum et Accenforum cum Legione conjunctorum, nihil impedit quin quod ftatui, ex Livio folo confirmem.

Rorarios et Accenfos ut fupra memoratum eft, Milites effe extraordinarios aut supernumerarios exiftumo, gravis effe armaturæ res ipfa indicat, quippe Rorarii cum Principibus conjuncti dimicabant, Accenfi vicem Triariorum obibant; horum numerum, ut ex calculis facillimè fubjectis patebit, non minorem fuiſſe mille octingentis ſexaginta, ut puto, comprobabo.

Quindecim Ordines Triariorum defcribit Livius, ex quibus, tres partes Ordo unusquifque habebat. Hoc eft, quinque triades ex quindecim Ordinibus conficiebantur, unamquamque Triadem Vexillo donat Historicus; Vexillum, centum octoginta ſex homines erant. Par igitur Vexillo Trias eft, fupradictum hominum numerum, aut tres Ordines comprehendens: priorem Ordinem in quaque Triade aut Vexillo primum pilum vocabant. Acies Triariorum quindecim Ordines, quinque Vexilla aut Triadas, hoſtibus objiciebat. Totidem Ordines Rorariorum, (totidem vexilla aut triades,) Triarios fequebantur. Et deinceps totidem Ordines Accenforum agmen claudabant. Ipſum audi Livium. “ *Primum Vexillum Triarios*
“ ducebat,

“ ducbat, veteranum militem spectatæ virtutis, *secundum*
 “ Rorarios, minus roboris ætate factisque, *tertium* Accensos
 “ minimæ fiduciæ manum, eo et in *POSTREMAM* aciem rejicie-
 “ bantur.” His verbis si non indicatur triplex acies, Triari-
 orum prima, secunda Rorariorum, tertia Accensorum, ipsi
 Livii Auctoritatem abrogemus. Unaquæque Acies compre-
 hendens quindecim Ordines, homines noningentos et triginta
 habebat, Et duæ acies Rorariorum et Accensorum mille oc-
 tingentos sexaginta, hoc numero auctam esse Manlianam Le-
 gionem censeo, hoc incremento partam victoriam, hoc com-
 mento Manlii gloriam stetisse credo.

Plurimum vereor, ne videar numerum Legionis præter mo-
 dum auxisse, alii enim rei novitate perculsi non extemplo
 fidem adhibebunt; alii Livium, qui quinis Millibus Legionem
 constare prædicat, nostræ sententiæ adversari conjicient. Immo
 autem non solum rem novam, sed semel factam ostento;—et
 Livianum numerum adeò non adversum huic sententiæ dūco,
 ut ex ipso Livio sententiam potius confirmem. Quippe qui
 Rorarios et Accensos extraordinarios habens, inter Legiona-
 rios non numerabat;—et eà potissimum causâ Legionariorum
 numerum designasse videtur, ut supernumerariis compararetur.

Nunc demum Livii ipsius verba subjiciam :

Fuit enim civili maximè
 bello pugna similis. Adeo
 nihil apud Latinos dissonum
 ab Romanâ re, præter animos,
 erat. Clypeis antea Romanis¹
 usi sunt, postquam Stipendi-
 arii facti sunt, scuta pro cly-
 peis fecere, et quod antea
 Phalanges

¹ Romani. in Editt. Sigonii et Gro-
 novii. quibus assentio. quoniam Vox
 dominans sequentibus desideratur. præ-
 terea autem ex Lipsii auctoritate disci-
 mus Latinos stipendium non à Roma-
 nis

Phalanges similes Macedonicis¹, hoc postea manipulatim structa acie coepit esse. Postremo in plures *Ordines*² instructebantur. Ordo sexagenos milites, duos Centuriones, vexillarium unum habebat. Prima acies Hastati erant, Manipuli quindecim, distantes inter se modicum spatium. Manipulus leves³ videnos Milites, aliam turbam scutatorum habebat. Leves autem qui hastam tantum gæsaque gererent, vocabantur. Hæc prima frons in acie florem juvenum pubescentium ad militiam habebat.

Robustior inde ætas totidem Manipulorum⁴, quibus Principibus est nomen, hos sequebantur, Scutati omnes⁵, insignibus maxime armis, hoc triginta Manipulorum agmen antepilanos⁶ appellabant.

nis sed à civitatibus suis acceperunt. Romani stipendiarii facti sunt Veienti bello flagrante.

¹ Nihil est hic obscuri, non farissam Macedonicam innuit Historicus, aut armaturæ cujuslibet modum. Perpetuam, et sine intervallis instructam aciem modo designat.

² Post Manipulos, Ordinum facta est mentio. Ordo enim Manipuli dimidium, et *Ordini* (ut primum occurrit) continuo numerum subjicit Historicus.

³ Manipulus Hastatorum solus *Leves* habebat. Res præcipuè observatu digna. Quoniam hinc constant numeri Legionis, et quoniam Principibus *omnes scutati* erant. Quindecim Manipuli Hastatorum, videnos Levibus adjunctis, singuli instructi, *Leves* trecentos exhibent.

⁴ Hoc Lipsium mirè torquet, qui negat bis quindecim, aut triginta Manipulos assignari posse Hastatis et Principibus solis. Ut ut res fuerit in aliis bellis, in aliâ Militiæ ratione, non quaeremus. In Legione Manliana, Hastati et Principes per Manipulos numerantur, Triarii *ordinatim* instruuntur. Hoc disertè prædicat Historicus, sed Lipsius qui *Ordines* Manipulis commutat enarrationem totam pessum dedit.

⁵ Principes, *scutati* omnes. Vide quod de Hastatis dictum est.

⁶ Antepilanos quare potius quam Antesignanos, quâ voce Auctores plerique usi sunt? Eodem res redit. Triarii *sub signis* erant, Triarii soli in hoc prælio, (et in cæteris ævi Manliani, quod credo) pila gestabant. Hastati

Quia

ergo,

Quia sub signis jam alii quindecim Ordines¹ locabantur, ex quibus Ordo unusquisque² tres partes habebat, earum unamquamque primum pilum vocabant, tribus ex vexillis constabat.

ergo, Principesque ante *pila* pariter ac signa stabant.

¹ Satiùs visum est Historico sensa elicere, quam Lipsii errores (qui hæc conturbat omnia) refellere.

Livius Ordines Triariorum hîc recenset, tertiam aciem totius legionis exhibiturus. Prima acies Hastatorum erat, secunda Principum, tertia erat Triariorum in quindecim *Ordines* distributa, ita ut *Manipulus* singulus Antepilanonum post se haberet *Ordinem* Triariorum.

² Ex quibus Ordo unusquisque tres partes habebat, &c.

Locus sane vexatissimus, quem si enucleatum dederò, res salva est.

In primis, nihil immutandum cenfeo, et unam tantum voculam inferendam, nempe [*primam*] totum ita ordino et vocibus subintellectis suppletum lego.

Quia sub signis jam alii quindecim Ordines locabantur, ex quibus [*Ordinibus*] Ordo unusquisque tres partes habebat. [*Ordo* scilicet Triariorum singulus, habebat duos alteros Ordines sibi subiectos, nempe unum Rorariorum, Accensorum unum] earum [*partium*] unamquamque [*primam*] primum pilum vocabant [*primum pilum*]*] tribus ex vexillis constabat.

* *Primus pilus* de Centurione dicitur, *primum pilum* de ipso *pilo* quod Centurio gestabat.










Atqui si reprehendat aliquis usum vocis, *primus pilus*, vel *primum pilum*, in Nominandi casu, cum proximè in Accusandi casu occurrat, et dicat alterum Nominativum quærendum esse verbo *Constabat*. Hoc respondeo.

Livius hæc formâ locutionis frequentius usus est, et ne exempla longius repetam, in proximâ paginâ occurrit.

“ Si apud Principes quoque haud satis prosperè esset pugnatum à prima acie “ ad Triarios sensim referebantur,”—Quinam?—Principes scilicet.

Loco

Loco ita ordinato, nullus dubio locus est relictus, nisi quod *primum pilum* vel *primus pilus* Nominandi casu *re* *constabat* præpono. Atqui non alia vox est, cui *re* *constabat* referatur nisi *Ordo*, sed Ordo adeo non constat ex *tribus Vexillis*, ut *Vexilli* pars tantummodo *tertia* est. Quod si dixerō *primum pilum* ex *tribus Vexillis* constare id melius ex figurâ subjectâ comparebit, quam verbis disertissimis.

Triarii				Vexillum Triariorum, primum pilum
Rorarii				Vexillum Rorari.
Accensi				Vexillum Accens.

Primum pilum *tribus partibus*, novem *Ordinibus* præfectum, quomodo ex *tribus Vexillis* constat, hinc facile apparet.

In hac figurâ laterculus unusquisque pro uno Ordine locatur—novem Ordines idem valent ac tria Vexilla. Quippe unum Vexillum continet centum octoginta sex homines aut tres Ordines. Et tria Vexilla summam hominum efficient quingentorum quinquaginta octo.

Age vero, quando huc devenimus, rem omnem expediamus.

Repetatur ergo quinquies figura Laterculorum supra posita, habebis quindecim Ordines Triariorum in prima acie, Rorariorum totidem in secundâ, totidem Accensorum in tertiâ. In triplici acie habebis quindecim Vexilla, aut homines bis mille septingentos nonaginta.

Huic

Vexillum centum Octoginta sex homines erant. Primum¹ Vexillum Triarios ducebat, veteranum militem spectatæ virtutis; secundum Rorarios, minus roboris ætate factisque; tertium Accensos, minimæ fiduciæ manum, eò et in postremam aciem² rejiciebantur.

Ubi his Ordinibus³ exercitus instructus esset, Hastati omnium primi pugnam inibant. Si Hastati profligare hostem non possent, pede pressos eos retrocedentes in intervalla Ordinum³ Principes recipiebant; tum Principum pugna erat. Hastati sequebantur.

Triarii sub Vexillis confidebant sinistro crure porrecto, scuta innixa humeris, hastas subrectâ cuspide in terrâ fixas, haud secus quam vallo septa inhorreret

Huic numero si subducas summam Triariorum, quod restat, mille est octingenti sexaginta. Tantum esse numerum Rorariorum et Accensorum, et tanto numero auctam esse Legionem Manlianam censeo.

¹ Si quis dubio locus est relictus in supra memoratis, hic disertissimè declarat Livius, tria esse Vexilla, Triariorum unum, Rorariorum et Accensorum duo. Posteriora bina ex loco ubi steterant, ad frontem Triariorum translata, pugnae ratio demonstrat.—Rorarios, ut Principibus subsidio essent, Accensos, ut Triariis Latinis opponerentur.

² POSTREMAM aciem. Quid aliud his verbis indicari velit Livius, nisi triplicem *aciem* Triariorum, Rorariorum et Accensorum? Quod clarius in figurâ exhibetur, quam ut verbis explicari possit. Nec voce *Acie* dedignatus est uti.

³ Si quis *Ordinibus* et *Ordinum*—laxiori sensu velit accipi, non valdè repugno.—Sed quia ordinatim instructa est *Acies*, Ordines etiam hic iusto sensu interpretandos censeo.

inhorreret acies, tenentes. Si apud Principes quoque haud satis prosperè esset pugnatum à prima acie ad Triarios fensim referebantur¹. Inde rem ad Triarios rediisse, quum laboratur, proverbio increbuit. Triarii¹ confurgentes ubi in intervalla Ordinum suorum Principes et Hastatos recepissent extemplo compressis Ordinibus velut claudebant vias, unoque continente agmine, jam nullâ spe post relictâ, in hostem incedebant. Id erat formidolosissimum hosti quum velut victos insecuti, novam repente aciem insurgentem auctam numero cernebant.—Scribebantur autem quatuor ferè Legiones *quinis*² millibus peditum, equitibus in singulas Legiones trecentis. Alterum tantum ex Latino delectu adjiciebatur: qui eâ tempestate hostes erant Romanis eodemque Ordine instruxerant aciem. Nec vexilla cum vexillis tantum, universi Hastati cum Hastatis, Principes cum Principibus, sed Centurio quoque cum Centurione, si Ordines turbati

¹ Hæc omnia ita consona sunt communi rationi Militiæ Romanæ ut explicatione nihil opus est.

² Lipsius legit *quaternis* nullo Manuscriptorum testimonio fretus.

turbati non essent, concurrendum sibi esse sciebat.

Post commissum prælium cum Hastati Romani cæperant se ad Principes recipere, jamque Decius se pro legionibus devoverat. Romani, exsolutis religione animis, velut tum primum signo dato coorti, pugnam integram ediderunt. Nam et Rorarii¹ procurrebant inter Antepilanos, addiderantque vires Hastatis ac Principibus et Triarii genu dextro innixi nutum Consulis ad confurgendum expectabant.

Procedente deinde certamine, quum aliis partibus Multitudo superaret Latinorum, Manlius Consul, audito eventu Collegæ . . . paulisper addubitavit, an confurgendi jam Triariis tempus esset: deinde, melius ratus integros eos ad ultimum discrimen fervari, *ACCENSOS² ab novissimâ acie ante signa* procedere jubet. Qui ubi subîere, extemplo Latini tanquam idem adversarii fecissent, triarios suos excitaverunt: qui aliquamdiu pugna atroci quum et semet ipsi fatigassent, et hastas aut præfren-

D

¹ Rorarii videntur à proprio loco ubi posttergum Triariorum constiterant, procucurrisse inter Antepilanos, ut intervalla complerent, et aciem fere plenam hostibus objicerent.

² Hinc liquido apparet et Accensos separatâ acie instructos fuisse, et posttergum Triariorum locatos; ab hoc loco suo jussi procedere, ante signa, id est ante Triarios steterunt. Nam Triarii *sub* signis instructi sunt. Hos, Latini, Triarios rati velut ultimam aciem adorti sunt. Quos cum pepulissent et Victoriam se esse adeptos credidissent,

cum

gissent, aut hebetassent, pellerent vi tamen hostem, debellatum jam rati, perventumque ad extremam aciem: tum Consul Triariis, “ confurgite
 “ nunc, inquit, integri adversus fessos, memores patriæ
 “ parentumque et conjugum
 “ ac liberorum, memores Consulis pro vestrà victoriâ
 “ morte occumbentis.”

Ubi¹ Triarii confurrexerunt integri, refulgentibus armis, nova ex improvîso exorta acies. Receptis in intervalla Ordinum Antepilanis, clamore sublatò, principia Latinorum perturbant; hastisque ora fodièntes, primo robore virorum cæso, per alios Manipulos, velut inermes prope intacti evasere. Tantâque cæde percurrere cunctos, ut vix quartam partem relinquerent hostium.

— — — — câ virtute eoque *consilio*² in prælio fuit [Manlius] ut facile convenerit inter Romanos Latinosque, qui ejus pugnx memoriam posteris tradiderunt, utrius partis T. Manlius dux fuisset, ejus futuram haud dubiè fuisse victoriam.

cum jam Triarios integros cernerent, et sibi hastas præfractas, vires imminutas sentirent, percussî rei novitate, facilem prædam se hostibus præbuerunt.

¹ Reliqua in proclivi sunt.

² Videre videor, etiam in *consilio* Consulîs laudato, aliquid jam ante dicta confirmaturum.

Si jam rogetur quid meâ operâ in hoc Marte confectum sit, quod respondeam habeo. Credo me omnes falebras Lipsii, Fabricii, Drakenborckii amovisse, omnia commenta criticorum refellisse, Codicum fidem stabilivisse, Historicumque ex omni parte absolutum, et ubique sibi constantem exhibuisse. Quod si aliis aliter visum est, quæso ut locum ipsum Historici vexatissimum iterum adeant, et mecum quæ dicta sunt perpendant. Viri in Re Criticâ provectiores non ignorant quantâ cum difficultate eruditorum consultis obviam eundum est; et quanto cum periculo novus homo principum virorum honoribus sese ingerit; hos omnes mihi propitios fore confido, si profitear, totam hanc disceptationem, quæstionis ritu ingenuis bonarum literarum cultoribus propositam esse, et, si quid obscuri restat, liberiùs discutiendam. Hoc vero præcæteris excusatum iri velim, nempe si primâ personâ licentiùs usus sim, id ne arrogantiae aut superbiae arguatur, sed perspicuitatis causâ assumptum existimetur.

DE ICONISMO LEGIONIS MANLIANÆ.

PLURIMA perperam exhibita in Iconismo adjecto confiteor, neque enim eo consilio delineatur, ut veram Legionis effigiem referat, sed ut difficultates in ordinandis Triariis explicet, ideòque magis viris Criticis, quam Militaribus placiturus.

Præ cæteris volui acies exhiberi ordinatim instructas, quam formam neque ex Lipsio defumi licuit, quippe qui suam aciem per Cohortes distribuit, contra usum Romanorum; neque ex Guischarto, de his minutiis non ita sollicito.

Hastatos et Principes ita constitui, ut *intervalla*, par spatium atque ipsi *Ordines*, occuparent. Namque eo consilio usos esse Romanos arbitror, ut Acie in plures partes distributâ, pars singula facilius explicaretur et verteretur. Tum autem ex Tacticæ Rei ratione, cum ex Geometricæ liquidò apparet nullam posse partem in minore spatio* circumverti, quam pars ipsa occupat.



Porro ipse Livius disertè affirmat Hastatos et Principes in intervalla Triariorum receptos fuisse, et aciem continentem effecisse, id quo pacto fieri possit non facile est intellectu, nisi intervalla Ordinibus respondeant. His persuasus eâdem ratione (etsi Livium Auctorem non habeo) Principes pone Hastatos ita collocavi ut singulus Ordo Principum, singulo intervallo Hastatorum responderet.

sponderet. Ita faciliùs receptui locus est, ita acies extemplò continens efficitur, ita receptus secundus ad Triarios luculentiùs explicatur.

Hanc veram esse Legionis instructionem non ausim affirmare, at viri rei Tacticæ periti consiteantur necesse est multa obscura et difficilia intellectu hâc præcipuè Ratione amoveri posse. Neque verò celabo difficultatem, quæ me male habet. Hastati scilicet inter Principes recepti, aciem continentem efficiunt; acies autem semel continens facta, neque locum Rorariis præbet *qui inter Antepilanos procurrebant*. Neque ipsa acies continens, inter Triarios recipi potest, nisi Ordines qui abundant per intervalla Triariorum traducti, pone Triarios sistantur. Hæc ut potui, explicavi, ratus post acerrimam dimicationem Hastatorum et Principum, ut strage jam factâ, opus esset supplemento, quod ex Rorariis compararetur. Si quis has tenebras feliciùs discussit, lubenter manus dederò.

De Aquilæ loco, cum bono Lipsio ἐπέχω, credo enim ex multis veterum testimoniis primum pilum Triariorum juxta Aquilam constituisse, sed quoniam Livius quinque primos pilos Triariorum in hac Legione constituit, nescio ex his quem primum pilum κατ' ἐξοχήν nominare. Honoris gratiâ, cæpi a dextro cornu numerare. Et in dextro Ordine Vexilli uniuscujusque Primum pilum collocavi. Hæc vero ipse Livius non tetigit, et frustra auxilium aliunde quærendum est; itaque pro parum compertis habeantur.

De instructione Rorariorum et Accensorum paucula dicenda sunt, quos aliter pone Triarios collocavi, quam Principes pone Hastatos. Id eo consilio feci, non quia ita collocandos censui, sed quod faciliùs Triadas Vexillorum constituerem, et clariùs
instructionis

instructiōnis rationem ostenderem. Rorarios et Accensos ita instituendos conjicio, ut ad intervalla Triariorum rectâ viâ succedant, eo proposito ut si Hastati et Principes penitus profligati fuerant, continens tamen acies Triariorum propemodum existeret.

Hæc tecum, Lector ingenue, et benevole, magis candidè egi, quàm ut scire profitear quæ planè nescio. Quæstio proposita est, qui velit, disceptet.

I N I C O N I S M O

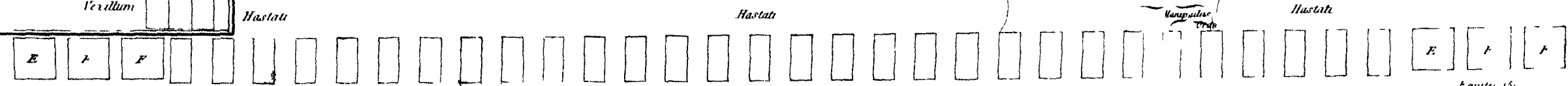
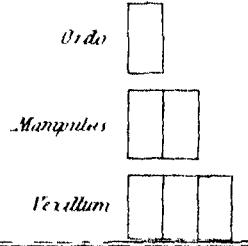
TRIARIORUM quindecim sunt Ordines, vel quinque Vexilla, in primâ Acie; Rorariorum totidem in secunda; totidem Accenforum in tertiâ. Ordo primus Vexilli uniuscujusque habet Primum-pilum. Primum-pilum constat ex tribus Vexillis, vel novem Ordinibus. Tria Vexilla, vel novem Ordines comprehendunt homines quingenos quinquaginta octo.

Laterculus unusquisque pro uno Ordine ponitur, comprehendens	-	-	-	-	homines,	62
Unumquodque Vexillum,	-				homines,	186
Unumquodque Primum-pilum, tria						
Vexilla,	-	-	-	-	homines,	558
Quindecim Vexilla,	-				homines,	2790
Quadraginta quinque Ordines,	-				homines,	2790
<hr/>						
Quindecim Ordines Triariorum,	-				homines,	930
Quindecim Ordines Rorariorum,	-				homines,	930
Quindecim Ordines Accenforum,	-				homines,	930
<hr/>						
						2790
Numero Triariorum detracto,	-				homines,	930
<hr/>						
Supernumerarii in Legione,	-				homines,	1860
1860 quater repetitus,	-	-			homines,	7440

Quatuor Legiones numero 7440 auctæ sunt.

A N

LEGIO MANLIANA ORDINATIM INSTRUCTA.



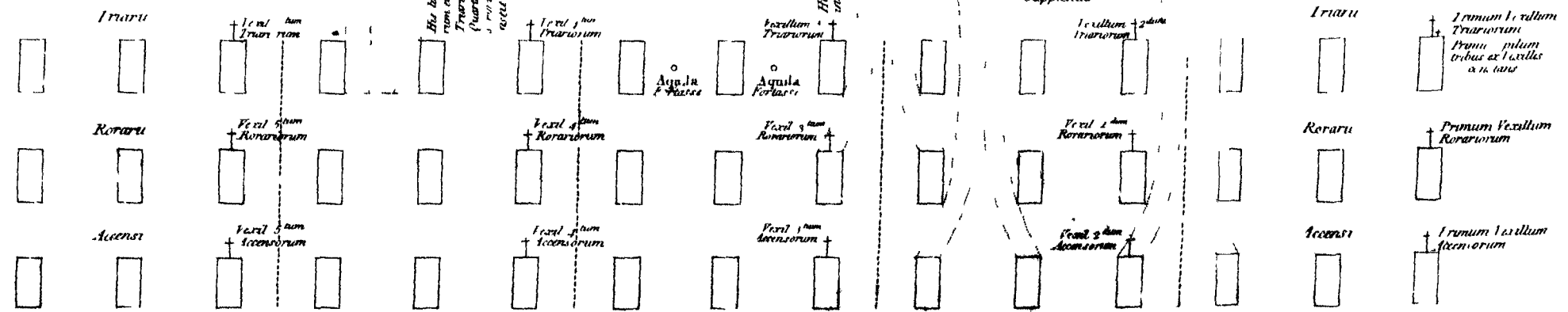
Hic una Ordine hinc inquit
Hastatum (pili) suppleant
intervalla Principum

Hic lineas Ordines terni singulis Ha. r. in
rioni et Principum implent intervalla
Triarii vero minime agunt
Quia utriusque aut numerum pul
sorum impediunt aut pene Triarii sub
oculo

Hic locos Rorarii proceri sunt
inter Principes

Lineas pili productas de signat
Antiquis pulcos et intervalla
In primo Triarii
denique a pluribus quousque
numerus Ordinum abundat pene
Triarii hostes

Quatuor Ordines
Accensorum a
longi Triarii in
producti in intervalla
Accensorum intervalla
In ante pilanorum
Ordinibus pulcos
suppleant



A N
EXPLANATORY TRANSLATION
O F
L I V Y,

BOOK VIII. CHAPTERS VIII. IX. X.

Intended to shew

The Connection between the Disposition of the Legion,

And the

Circumstances of the Battle fought by MANLIUS against the LARINS.

Les Littérateurs, qui n'ont été que Gens de Cabinet, ont cru voir, dans ce Texte, une Preuve de ces Retraites successives des Manipules, indiquées avec *peu de Vérité* par Tite Live. GUICHARDT, Mem. Mil. p. 81.

EXPLANATORY TRANSLATION

O F

L I V Y,

BOOK VIII. CHAPTERS VIII. IX. X.

[In the Year of Rome 414, according to Petavias. Consuls,
T. Manlius Imperiofus Torquatus, P. Decius Mus.]

THE battle between the Romans and Latins, fought at the foot of Mount Vesuvius*, resembled rather the encounter of two opposite Parties engaged in a civil war, where every thing is conducted upon similar principles, than the contest of two rival nations mutually unacquainted with each other's System. In all military arrangements, the Latins differed nothing from the Romans, and were inferior to them in nothing but spirit.

While the Romans' served in the Army at their own expence, the Infantry was armed with the Target²; but, after the siege of Veii, when for the first time they received pay, they changed the Target for the Buckler¹. An alteration also

* Livy interrupts his narration of the battle to introduce a combat between two Centurions, to which he subjoins *pugnatum est haud procul radicibus Vesuvii montis, quâ viâ ad Veferim ferebat*. It is but reasonable to apply this to the battle itself.

had taken place in the disposition of their Line of Battle, which had originally been formed without intervals, like the Macedonian Phalanx; but, previous to the present war, had been separated, first into ¹Companies*, and afterwards into ²Platoons. A Platoon consisted of sixty men, a Centurion, and an Ensign † : a Company was two Platoons.

¹ Manipuli.

² Ordines.

When the Army was drawn out, and the disposition to be made, the first Line consisted of a body called Hastati; of these, there were fifteen Companies, or thirty Platoons †, ranged

* A Legion of five thousand men was divided into ten Cohorts; a Cohort into three *Manipuli*; a *Manipulus* into two *Ordines*; and, generally speaking, each *Ordo* had a Centurion. There were consequently ten Cohorts, thirty *Manipuli*, sixty *Ordines*, and sixty Centurions, in every Legion. A Cohort (consisting of five hundred men) in point of numbers answers sufficiently to an English Regiment; and, as Companies and Platoons are the subdivisions of a Regiment, the translator has ventured to adopt them for the parts of a Cohort, though he is sensible that a Company never amounts to an hundred and twenty-four men, or a Platoon to sixty-two.

† The words of Livy are, *Ordo sexagenos milites, duos Centuriones, Vexillarium unum habebat.*

Lipfius is offended at the idea of an hundred and twenty Centurions in a Legion, and therefore reads *sexagenos milites et duos, Centurionem et Vexillarium unum.*

But if Livy meant to say, that, upon this extraordinary occasion, the Centurions were doubled, then it will immediately appear why he makes a *Vexillum*, of an hundred and eighty-six men, equal to three *Ordines*; for in this case he did not reckon the Centurion extraordinary. Without sufficient grounds, the word *duos* is dropped in the translation in order to make the numbers correspond, which Livy doubtless intended; but the correspondence may be equally preserved by reckoning the Officers inclusively, or exclusively, according as we choose to read the text.

‡ Livy, after mentioning the alteration in the Roman Line, and specifying that it was first broken into *Manipuli*, and lastly into *Ordines*, does not absolutely

ranged at a small distance from each other. A Company* of Hastati contained an hundred and twenty-four men heavy-armed; and attached to each Company was a body of twenty light-infantry, armed with javelins¹ and a spear². Their duty was to skirmish in the front of the Line; and both these bodies, composed of such as were in the flower of youth, and most fit for active service, formed the van, or first line, of the army.

¹ Cæsa.
² Hasta.

The second Line consisted of stouter men, and more advanced in years; they were distinguished by the appellation of Principes, all heavy-armed, well appointed³ and divided, like the first line, into fifteen companies, or thirty platoons. Both these Lines, the Hastati and Principes, were styled *Antepilani*†; because, at the period of the Latin war, the Triarii alone (who were ranged under the Standard, and formed the third Line) bore the *pilum*, or pike.

³ Insignibus
maxime armis.

The third Line was not estimated by Companies, but Platoons; of these, there were fifteen, corresponding with the fifteen Companies of the two first Lines; and each Platoon had two others of an inferior order attached to it, so that it comprized three divisions. The first division or Platoon was

lutely *draw up*, but *count* the two first Lines by *Manipuli*. From his general assertion, we ought rather to conclude, that they were drawn up by *Ordines*, and the detail of the battle seems to require it. The translation leaves the point undefined as well as the Original.

* Livy leaves it doubtful whether the Light Infantry are to be reckoned inclusively or exclusively. From the numbers of the Legion the latter is preferred.

† Other Authors use *Antesignani*; the variation is not of importance; the two first lines were equally *ante Signa* or *ante Pila*. At this period, the two first lines were armed with the *Hasta*; the third only with the *Pilum*.

styled

3 Vexillum.

styled the first pike* or *pilum* ; and led not only its own three platoons, but three Banners¹ ; each Banner comprehending three platoons, or one hundred and eighty-six men. Consequently, the first pike, or *pilum*, commanded in reality nine platoons, or five hundred and fifty-eight men. The first Banner consisted of three platoons of *Triarii*, so called because they formed the third Line of the Legion, all veterans of tried courage. The second Banner contained three platoons of a body called *Rorarii*, neither of equal experience or estimation. The third Banner was formed of a still inferior order, styled *Accensi*, or supernumeraries, on whom there was little dependance, and for which reason they were placed in the rear.

[In order to display this arrangement through the whole Line, let us repeat the number of banners five times. We have then fifteen platoons of *Triarii* in front, fifteen platoons of *Rorarii* in the middle, and fifteen platoons of *Accensi* in the rear, five banners in each line ; the whole consisting of fifteen banners, or forty-five platoons. This statement will give us the number of men at one view ; for, multiplying sixty-two

* Mr. Guischart translates *Pilum*, l'Epieu. The word Pike is used in the translation to obtain a distinction between it and the *Hasta*, or Spear, of the two first lines, but perhaps improperly ; for, the word in English seems to imply a weapon to *push*, and not to *throw* ; whereas the *Pilum* was employed both ways. The *Triarii* carried both the *Hasta* and *Pilum*, as appears at the conclusion of this battle—*Hastis ora fodiebant*, See Guisf. p. 17.

The *Pilum* was seven feet long ; the shaft fitted to the grasp of a man's hand ; the iron head, half the length of the whole, fitted exactly to the handle, and fastened with two pegs ; the head was pyramidical, an inch and an half in its greatest thickness, brought to a fine point, &c. Guischart, p. 74. It was a tremendous weapon ; see Cæsar Bel. Gal. Battle with the Helvetii. No Cavalry could stand against it.

by

by forty-five, the result is, two thousand seven hundred and ninety, each line consisting of nine hundred and thirty men. But, as the *Triarii*, or first line, are part of the Legion, and the other two are supernumeraries, by deducting the number of the *Triarii* from the total, we find the remainder to be eighteen hundred and sixty. Such was the augmentation of the Legion in this war; and the manœuvre dependant on this augmentation displays the merit of Manlius in all its splendour.

But it is still necessary, in order to comprehend the detail of the battle, to observe, that although these three bodies, in respect to themselves, are disposed in three lines, still, in respect to the Legion, they are to be considered as one; the whole three together forming the third Line, or reserve of the Legion.

It is likewise to be noticed, that, upon this occasion, the two Consuls were present, and the two Consular Armies joined. There were consequently four Legions of five thousand men each; to which, if we add twelve hundred for the number of the Horse, and seven thousand four hundred and forty* for the supernumeraries, we have then the total of the Roman army, consisting of twenty-eight thousand six hundred and forty men.]

1860
—⁴
7440

As soon as this disposition of the Army was made, and each platoon in its place, the first Line, or *Hastati*, commenced the Attack. If they failed, or were unable to withstand the shock of the Enemy, they drew back gradually till they fell into the intervals between the divisions of the second Line. The second Line then advanced upon the enemy, and the first Line took post in their rear*.

* *Hastati sequebantur.*

During

During the conflict of the two first Lines, the third Line, or *Triarii*, sat under their banners, with their left leg advanced, their buckler resting against their shoulder, their Spears* fixed in the ground with the point upwards, inclining forwards, and presenting to their assailants the resemblance of a palisade. In this position they awaited the issue of the conflict in the second Line; and, if that was obliged to give way, it fell back, as slowly as the case would permit, towards the *Triarii*, who, rising on their approach, received both the front lines between their intervals, and, closing up their own line in one united body, without the smallest space between, advanced upon the enemy for a third and last attack: if this failed, a defeat was inevitable. But this was a disgrace the Romans had not often experienced; for, in general, the appearance of the third Line was formidable in the highest degree. It was a fresh body, rising up with augmented numbers, presented unexpectedly to the adversary, checking him in the career of success, and teaching him that, while he thought he was in pursuit of the vanquished, he was incurring the hazard of a defeat.

At the period we are treating of, the Legion usually consisted of five thousand infantry and three hundred horse; and the proportion from the States of Latium, in alliance with the Romans, amounted to an equal number. But the Latins were now in arms against them, and had formed their army exactly on the Roman model. The result of this naturally was, that, if no disorder took place, not only every banner

* The word here is *Hastæ*, which favours Mr. Guischardt's opinion, that the *Triarii* had both the *Hastæ* and *Pilum*, p. 75; and in this sense perhaps it ought to be rendered towards the close of the battle, *Hastis ora fodiabant*. See note p. 30.

would

would be engaged with its correspondent banner in the opposite army, but Line with Line and Centurion* with Centurion.

When the two Armies were drawn up, the Consuls took their place, Manlius on the right wing, Decius on the left. It fell to the lot of Decius to set an example to his family¹ of devoting themselves to death for the service of their Country. Some omens had occurred, while the Army halted at Capua, which induced the Augurs to declare, that the General of one party was to perish, and the Army of the other; and that, on whichever side the General should devote the troops of the enemy to the infernal Gods, and sacrifice his own life to insure that devotion, his own party should be victorious. The Consuls held a Consultation on this subject, and came to a resolution, that, if either wing gave way, the Consul who commanded it should stand engaged for the performance of this duty, and sacrifice himself for the preservation of his troops. The lot fell to Decius; for, though both parties came into the field, and commenced the attack with equal spirit and animosity, the vigour of the Latins prevailed, and the Roman left wing first gave way. Decius declined not his engagement, but, calling for the proper officer, ordered him to perform the ceremony; which being concluded, he rushed into the thickest of the enemy, and perished, as the nature of his devotion required.

¹ His son and grandson likewise devoted themselves, the son in the Etruscan war, the grandson in the war with Pyrrhus.

Animated by his magnanimity, or absolved from their superstition², the Romans returned to the charge with fresh³ vi-

² Exsoluit Religione animos

³ Pugnam integram ediderunt.

* Livy has descended to these circumstances in order to introduce a single combat between two Centurions. This being considered as mere embellishment is omitted. The introduction itself is preserved as contributing to perspicuity.

gour. And now it was that Manlius, taking advantage of his original disposition, ordered the *Rorarii* to quit their position behind the third Line, and advance in its front, to support the first and second : while the third Line, or *Triarii*, knowing that the moment was arrived when their service must be requisite, sat waiting for the command of the Consul.

Still the Latins had the advantage, and Manlius hesitated whether he should not have recourse to his third Line, and bring it into action immediately ; but, reflecting that they were his last resource, and determined to reserve them for the moment of necessity, he advanced the *Accensi* from the rear, and, ranging them before the Standard in the same manner as the *Triarii* would have stood if *they* had taken their proper post, presented a new Line to the enemy.

The Latins, upon approaching this body, supposed it to be the *Triarii* of the Romans, and immediately brought up their correspondent Line to the assault. Much was not expected by Manlius from the *Accensi*. The Latins advanced impetuously¹ against them, concluding that, after having defeated the two first Lines, they were now come to the last, and that they approached the completion of success.

¹ Feroci pugna.

The resistance of the *Accensi*, however inefficient, was still continued long enough to exhaust the strength of the Latins, to blunt their weapons, and to break their spears.—The stratagem of Manlius was complete. He recalled the *Accensi* from the front, and, turning to the *Triarii*, “ Rise,” says he, “ my brave soldiers, you are fresh, the enemy exhausted. Remember your country, your parents, your wives, your children ; remember your Consul, who has died to insure you the Victory.”

The Triarii sprang up immediately, and presented a fourth Line to the Enemy, totally unforeseen. The contest was no longer equal. The Romans fresh, their ranks in perfect order, their intervals filled up with the remains of the two first Lines, their arms¹ unimpaired, their courage animated by the complete success of their Commander's stratagem. Advancing with a shout, they quickly disordered the first ranks of the enemy, who, having no spears to present, received those of the Romans in their face². Thus fell the Triarii of the Latins; and, when they were dispersed, the defeat of the Companies in their Rear hardly required an effort. The rout was general, and the slaughter such, that scarcely fourth part escaped from the field of Battle.

¹ Refulgentibus armis

² Hæc ora fodient.

The whole honour of the day may be justly attributed to the judicious dispositions of Manlius; and all the writers of both parties, who have recorded this event, confess that, whichever Army Manlius had commanded, would have gained the Victory.

The translator is fully sensible of the surprize which will commence on reading that seven thousand four hundred and forty supernumeraries were added to the four Legions on this occasion; and at the declaration, that they were heavy-armed. But he desires it may be observed, that, unless the *Rorarii* had been thus armed, they could not have partaken in the Combat with the first and second Line, or have been of any service if they had.

In regard to the *Accensi*, he begs leave to propose one single question.

If

If they were not armed in the same manner as the *Triarii*, and consisted not of the same number, how could the deception have been passed upon the Latins, who knew the construction of a Roman Legion as well as the Romans themselves ?

F I N I S.