

# BOOK 1

## Preface<sup>1</sup>

(1) Whether I am going to receive any return for the effort if I record the history (*res*) of the Roman people from the foundation of the city, I do not really know.<sup>2</sup> Nor, if I did know, would I dare to say so. (2) Indeed I see that the subject is both old (*vetus*) and generally known, because new writers always believe either that they are going to bring some greater authenticity to the subject matter or that they will surpass the unpolished attempts of antiquity (*vetustas*) in literary style.<sup>3</sup>

(3) However that will be, it nevertheless will be a pleasure to have celebrated, to the best of my ability, the memory of the past achievements of the greatest people on earth.<sup>4</sup> If my own reputation should remain obscure amid such a crowd of writers, I would console myself with the renown and greatness of those who stand in the way of my fame. (4) The subject, moreover, is an immense undertaking, since it goes back more than 700 years and, having started from small beginnings, has so increased that it is now laboring under its own size.<sup>5</sup> I have no doubt that the earliest origins and the immediately succeeding period will give less delight to the majority of readers who are hurrying to these recent times in which the might of a most powerful people has long been destroying itself.<sup>6</sup>

(5) But, on the contrary, I shall seek this additional reward for my labor so that I may turn away from the contemplation of the evils that our age has seen for so many years and, for the short time that I am absorbed in retracing those early days, be wholly free from the concern, which, even though it could not divert the writer's mind from the truth, might nonetheless cause anxiety.<sup>7</sup>

(6) The intent is neither to affirm nor refute the traditions that belong to the period before the foundation of the city or the anticipation of its foundation, for these are embellished with poetic tales rather than based on uncorrupted records of historical events.<sup>8</sup>(7) To antiquity is granted the indulgence of making the beginnings of cities more impressive by mingling human affairs with the divine.<sup>9</sup> And if any people should be allowed to sanctify their origins and reckon their founders as gods, surely the military glory of the Roman people is such that, when they claim that their father and the father of their founder was none other than Mars, the nations of the world tolerate this claim with the same equanimity with which they tolerate our dominion.<sup>10</sup>(8) But these and similar things, however they will be regarded and judged, I shall

not for my own part regard as of great importance.

(9) The following are questions to which I would have every reader direct close attention: the kind of lives men lived; what their moral principles were; by what individuals and by what skills, both at home and in the field, our dominion was born and grew.<sup>11</sup> Then let him follow how at first, as discipline gradually collapsed, there was, as it were, a disintegration of morals; then note how more and more they slipped and finally began to fall headlong until we have reached the present times in which we can tolerate neither our own vices nor their remedies.<sup>12</sup>

(10) This is the particularly healthy and productive element of history:<sup>13</sup> to behold object lessons of every kind of model as though they were displayed on a conspicuous monument.<sup>14</sup> From this, you should choose for yourself and for your state what to imitate and what to avoid as abominable in its origin or as abominable in its outcome.<sup>15</sup>

(11) But either the love of the task I have undertaken deceives me, or there has never been a state that is greater, or more righteous, or richer in good examples.<sup>16</sup> Nor has there been one where greed and luxury migrated so late into the citizenry, nor where there has been such great respect for small means and thrift.<sup>17</sup>(12) The less men had, the less was their greed. Recently riches have brought in avarice, and excessive pleasures have led to a desire to ruin ourselves and destroy everything through excess and self-indulgence.

But complaints are bound to be disagreeable, even when they will perhaps be necessary; so at least let them be absent from the beginning of this great enterprise. (13) Rather we would begin with good omens and, if we had the same custom as the poets, with prayers and entreaties to the gods and goddesses to grant us the blessing of success as we start this great undertaking.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It was a tradition for ancient historians to set the tone and establish the aims and focus of the work they were undertaking by making some prefatory remarks. The length and elaboration of Livy's Preface, however, sets it apart from those of previous historians, since it forms a separate historiographical essay that is, nonetheless, integral to the understanding of the narrative. For analysis of this Preface, see Moles 1993: 441–68, and also Woodman 1988: 128–34.

<sup>2</sup> The first words of the Latin (*fortissime operae pretium sum*) form the first three and a half feet of a dactylic hexameter, as Quintilian noted (*Training in Oratory* 9.4.74). This hexameter opening poses a question about the relationship between poetry and historiography; see Moles 1993: 463 with n. 3. The final sentence of the Preface (13), noting “if we had the same custom as the poets,” returns to this theme; see n. 18.

*return for the effort*: the Latin *operae pretium* literally means “a return or recompense for effort or trouble (*opera*).” The theme of work, effort, or undertaking recurs throughout the Preface, as evinced in the words *operae, opus, and labor*. The phrase *operae pretium* recurs at 3.26 and 5.21 in the first pentad.

<sup>3</sup> *greater authenticity*: the Latin *certius aliquid* means “more certain, more reliable.”



## Book 1

### 1. The story of the arrival in Italy from Troy of Antenor and Aeneas. Aeneas allies with King Latinus, marries his daughter Lavinia, and founds Lavinium.

Now, first of all, there is sufficient agreement that when Troy was captured, vengeance was visited upon the other Trojans. In the case of Aeneas and Antenor, however, the Greeks observed the ancient right of hospitality and did not impose the right of conquest on these two men, since they had always advocated peace and the return of Helen.<sup>1</sup> Each of them had different adventures. Antenor is said to have come to the uppermost gulf of the Adriatic sea, together with a group of Eneti who had been driven from Paphlagonia by revolution.<sup>2</sup> They had lost their king, Pyramenes, at Troy and were seeking a home and a leader. Driving out the Euganei who lived between the sea and the Alps, the Trojans and Eneti took possession of this territory. The place they first landed is named Troy, and so the district is called Trojan. The entire people are known as Veneti.

Aeneas was an exile from his home because of a similar disaster; but the fates guided him to initiate greater achievements. First he came to Macedonia, then he sailed to Sicily as he sought a place to settle, and from Sicily he held course for the territory of Laurentum.<sup>3</sup> This place is also called Troy. There the Trojans disembarked. Having nothing except their arms and ships after their almost endless wanderings, they began to plunder the fields. King Latinus and the Aborigines, the occupants of the region at that time, armed themselves and rushed from the city and fields to repel the violence of the invaders.

At this point, there are two versions of what happened next. Some sources say that Latinus was conquered in battle, made peace with Aeneas, and contracted a marriage alliance. Others report that when the battle lines were drawn up, Latinus came forward among his chieftains before the signal could be given and summoned the foreigners' leader to discuss the situation. He asked what kind of men they were, where they had come from, what misfortune had caused them to leave their home, and what they wanted in Laurentine territory.<sup>4</sup> He was told that they were Trojans; their leader was Aeneas, son of Anchises and Venus; their fatherland had been burned; they were exiles from their home and were looking for a place to settle and a site on

the Latin *illustre* literally means "bright, pervaded with light" (OLD 1). As Kraus and Woodman (1997: 35) note, *monumentum* is a word that can denote either a physical structure or a literary work. This, moreover, is a "conspicuous" *monumentum* on which *exempla* are to be viewed and contemplated. On the theme of the commemorative monument in Livy; see Jaeger 1997. On a different level, Moles (1993: 154–5) sees Livy's use of *monumentum* as possibly deriving from the poet Ennius, while also evoking Thucydides' claim (1.21) that his work would be a possession forever. Thus, despite the disclaimer in the second sentence of the Preface, Livy wants his history to be a *monumentum* forever.

15. *you should choose for yourself and for your state*: note the change to the second-person singular, as Livy addresses and thus involves both the reader and his state in the study of the lessons of history; see Kraus and Woodman 1997: 33–4. *abominabile*: the Latin adjective *foedus* means "foul, loathsome, shameful, unseemly, appalling"; it, or the cognate noun, recurs in a number of particularly shocking incidents, e.g., 1.6 and 1.28, the deaths of Ramnus and Mettius Fufetius.

16. *task*: the Latin *negotium* literally means "business, occupation."  
*more righteous*: the Latin *sanctus* is connected with the verb *scrivere*, "to make sacred or inviolable," and means being conscientious in religious matters, doing the right thing, and thus being "pious" or "dutiful."

17. *migrated so late into the citizenry*: a marked metaphor, implying that greed and luxury were alien characteristics that eventually became Roman, in the same way that many immigrants and foreign peoples were granted Roman citizenship.

18. *Rather we would begin ...*: note the shift back to the first-person plural in these concluding remarks, as Livy becomes more explicit about the relationship between historiography and poetry.

*if we had the same custom ...*: writing in the late first century CE, Quintilian (*Training in Oratory* 10.1.31) says that historiography is very close to poetry and, in a sense, a poem in prose, written to tell a story, not to prove a point. See also n. 2 on the opening words of the Preface, which form the first three and a half feet of a dactylic hexameter, the meter of epic poetry.

*great undertaking*: in this final sentence, the Latin *tantum operis* recalls the "immense undertaking" (*immensi operis*) of (4); see n. 5.



which to found a city. Latinus marveled at the noble renown of the race and the man, and at his spirit, prepared alike for war or peace. So, he offered his right hand as a pledge of their future friendship. A treaty was made between the leaders, the armies saluted each other, and Aeneas became a guest in the house of Latinus. There, before his household gods, Latinus added a domestic treaty to the public one by giving his daughter in marriage to Aeneas.

This event strengthened the Trojans in the hope that their wanderings were at last ended and that they were settled in a permanent abode. They established a town that Aeneas called Lavinium after the name of his wife, Lavinia.<sup>5</sup> Soon a child was born of the recent marriage, a boy whom his parents named Ascanius.

## 2. Aeneas fights with the Rutulians and Etruscans. He is killed in battle and subsequently worshiped as a local version of Jupiter.

War was soon made on the Aborigines and Trojans alike. Turnus, the king of the Rutulians, had been engaged to Lavinia before Aeneas' arrival.<sup>6</sup> Angry that a foreigner had been preferred to him, he attacked both Aeneas and Latinus. The outcome of the conflict did not bring joy to either side. The Rutulians were conquered; the Aborigines and Trojans, though victorious, lost their leader Latinus. Discouraged by the situation, Turnus and the Rutulians turned for help to the realm of the Etruscans and their king, Mezentius, who ruled over Caere, a wealthy town at that time.<sup>7</sup> From the beginning, Mezentius had been by no means pleased with the birth of the new city, thinking that the Trojan state was growing far too much for the safety of its neighbors. So, he readily joined forces with the Rutulians.

Confronted with such a formidable war and the need to win over the minds of the Aborigines, Aeneas called both peoples Latins so that everyone would not only be under the same law, but also the same name. From that time on, the Aborigines' dedication and loyalty to King Aeneas was no less than those of the Trojans. Aeneas relied on the spirit of these two peoples, who daily became more united. But Etruria was so powerful that not only the lands, but also the sea along the extent of Italy from the Alps to the straits of Sicily were filled with the glory of her name. Although he had the power to drive an enemy from the city walls, Aeneas nonetheless led his troops into the field to fight. The Latins were successful in battle, but it was the last of Aeneas' mortal labors. Whatever it is lawful and right that he be called, be it god or man, he is buried by the river Numicus. Men call him Jupiter Indiges.<sup>8</sup>

## 3. Ascanius founds Alba Longa. The list of Alban kings, from Ascanius down to Numinus and Amulius, spans the period from the years after the

## fall of Troy (c. 1200 BCE) through the early eighth century and the traditional date of the founding of Rome by Romulus (c. 753 BCE).

Aeneas' son Ascanius was not yet old enough to rule. Nonetheless his realm remained intact until he reached manhood, thanks to Lavinia. She was such a strong character that the Latin state and kingdom of Ascanius' grandfather and father stood firm in the meantime, under a woman's guardianship. I shall not dispute this matter—for who could confirm as a certainty something that is so ancient?—whether it was this Ascanius or an elder brother whom Creusa bore while Troy still was intact, the one who was his father's companion in his flight and whom the Julian family claims as the founder of its name.<sup>9</sup> This Ascanius, wherever he was born and whoever his mother was—it is certainly agreed that his father was Aeneas—left Lavinium to his mother (or stepmother),<sup>10</sup> since it was already a comparatively flourishing and wealthy city with an excess of people. He founded another new town at the foot of the Alban Mount, which was called Alba Longa because it stretched along a ridge. Between the foundation of Lavinium and the establishing of the colony of Alba Longa, there was a period of thirty years.<sup>11</sup> Their resources had increased so greatly, especially after the defeat of the Etruscans, that neither Mezentius nor the Etruscans nor any other neighbors dared stir up war; not even after Aeneas' death, nor later during the woman's guardianship and the young man's first attempts at ruling. Under a peace treaty, the river Albula, which men now call the Tiber, became the boundary between the Etruscans and Latins.

Silvius, the son of Ascanius, was the next to reign; he happened to have been born in the woods.<sup>12</sup> He was the father of Aeneas Silvius. Next came Latinus Silvius. He planted several colonies that were called the Ancient Latins. All those who ruled at Alba had the name Silvius. From Latinus came Alba; from Alba, Atys; from Atys, Capys; from Capys, Capetus; from Capetus, Tiberinus. This last king was drowned while crossing the river Albula, thus giving to posterity the river's famous name. Then came Agrippa, the son of Tiberinus. Romulus Silvius ruled after Agrippa, receiving the kingship from his father. He was struck by a thunderbolt and was succeeded by Aventinus, who is buried on that hill which is now part of the city of Rome, thus giving his name to the hill. Proca, the father of Numinus and Amulius, was the next ruler. He bequeathed the ancient kingdom of the Silvian family to Numinus, his eldest son. But violence was more powerful than the father's wishes or respect for age. Amulius drove his brother out and became king. Adding crime to crime, he killed his brother's male children and, under the pretext of honoring his brother's daughter Rhea Silvia, selected her to be a priestess of Vesta.<sup>13</sup> By condemning her to perpetual virginity, he deprived her of the hope of bearing children.



#### 4. *The story of the birth of Romulus and Remus, their exposure, and their rescue.*

To the fates, as I suppose, was owed the origin of this great city and the beginning of the mightiest empire that is second only to that of the gods.<sup>44</sup> The Vestal was raped and produced twins. She claimed that Mars was the father of her doubtful offspring, either because she believed this or because it was more honorable to put the blame on a god.<sup>45</sup> But neither gods nor men protected her or her children from the king's cruelty. The priestess was put in chains and imprisoned, and the king ordered the baby boys to be thrown into the current of the river. By some heaven-sent chance, the Tiber had overflowed its banks, forming stagnant pools that made it impossible to approach the actual river. The men who brought the children hoped they might be drowned despite the sluggish water. Making a pretense of discharging the king's orders, they exposed the children on the edge of the floodwater where the Ruminalis fig tree now stands. Formerly, they say, it was called the Romularis.

The area at that time was a vast deserted region. The story persists that the floating basket in which the children had been exposed was left high and dry by the receding water. Coming down from the surrounding mountains, a thirsty she-wolf heard the infants' cries and turned in their direction. She gave the infants her teats so gently that the master of the royal flock found her licking them with her tongue. This man's name was Faustulus, as the story goes. He took the children to his hut to be reared by his wife Larentia. There are some who think that this miraculous story originated because Larentia was called "she-wolf" among the shepherd community, since she had been a prostitute.<sup>46</sup> This, then, was the birth and rearing of the boys. As soon as they were grown to manhood, they began to hunt in the forests, while also working on the farm and with the flocks. In this way they achieved strength of body and mind. They not only confronted wild beasts but attacked robbers who were laden with plunder. What they took they divided among the shepherds, joining them in work and play as their group daily grew larger.

#### 5. *While celebrating the festival of the Lupericalia, Romulus and Remus are ambushed by robbers. The capture of Remus leads to the discovery of the twins' parentage and the killing of Amulius.*

Tradition has it that the merry festival of the Lupericalia was already established on the Palatine. This hill was named Pallantium after Pallanteum, a city in Arcadia; it later became

Palatium.<sup>47</sup> Evander, an Arcadian who inhabited the area many years before, is said to have established the annual rite, importing it from Arcadia. At this festival young men run about naked, sporting and frolicking as they honor Lycaean Pan, whom the Romans afterward called Inuus.<sup>48</sup> The day of the ritual was generally known. So when Romulus and Remus were engrossed in this celebration, they were ambushed by some robbers who were angry at the loss of their plunder. Romulus forcibly defended himself, but Remus was captured and handed over as a prisoner to King Amulius. Accusations were freely made, the main charge being that the youths had attacked Numitor's fields and plundered them with an organized gang of youths, just like an enemy. And so, Remus was handed over to Numitor for punishment.

Now right from the start Faustulus had hoped that the children he was rearing were of royal birth. He knew that children had been exposed on the king's order and that the time matched the very time that he rescued them. He had, however, been unwilling to reveal the matter prematurely until either opportunity or necessity intervened. Necessity came first. Forced by fear, he revealed the facts to Romulus. By chance Numitor was also reminded of his grandsons. For he had heard of the twin brothers while Remus was in his custody. Then he had thought about their age and temperament, which was not at all slavish. And so, after making further enquiries, he had all but acknowledged Remus. From all sides, a net of guile was being woven against King Amulius. Romulus made his attack on the king, though not with his band of youths—he was not yet strong enough to use open violence. He ordered his men to come by different routes to the king's palace at an appointed time. Remus collected another group and came to their assistance from Numitor's house. And so he killed the king.<sup>49</sup>

#### 6. *Numitor is restored to the kingship. Romulus and Remus decide to found a new city but then quarrel. They consult the gods to resolve who should give his name to this city and who should be king.*

At the beginning of the disturbance, Numitor kept insisting that an enemy had invaded the city and attacked the palace. He drew off the Alban fighting men to defend and garrison the citadel. After the killing of Amulius, he saw the young men approaching to congratulate him. He immediately summoned a council and revealed his brother's crimes against him, his grandsons' parentage—how they had been born, reared, and recognized—and lastly the killing of the tyrant, for which he was responsible. Romulus and Remus marched with their men through the midst of the assembly and saluted their grandfather as king. From the entire crowd there arose a unanimous shout of assent, thus ratifying the king's name and his power.

After entrusting the government of Alba to Numitor, Romulus and Remus were seized by a



desire to establish a city in the places where they had been exposed and raised. The number of Albanians and Latins was more than enough; in addition to this group, there were also the shepherds. All of these men easily created the hope that Alba and Lavinium would be small in comparison with the city that they were founding. But these thoughts were interrupted by the ancestral evil that had beset Numitor and Amulius—desire for kingship. From quite a harmless beginning, an abominable conflict arose.<sup>20</sup> Since Romulus and Remus were twins and distinction could not be made by respect for age, they decided to ask the protecting gods of the area to declare by augury who should give his name to the new city and who should rule over it after its foundation. Romulus took the Palatine and Remus the Aventine, as the respective areas from which to take the auspices.<sup>21</sup>

### 7. *Livy gives two versions of the death of Remus. In context of Romulus' fortification of the Palatine, Livy tells the story of the institution of the cult of Hercules at the Great Altar in Rome by Evander, a Greek exile.*

Remus is said to have received the first augury, six vultures. This augury had already been announced when twice the number appeared to Romulus. Each man was hailed as king by his own followers. Remus' men based their claim to the throne on priority; Romulus' followers on the number of birds. Arguments broke out, and the angry conflict resulted in bloodshed. Amid the throng, Remus was struck dead. The more common story is that Remus leaped over the new walls, jeering at his brother. He was killed by the enraged Romulus, who added the threat, "So perish whoever else shall leap over my walls."<sup>22</sup> Thus Romulus became the sole ruler and the city, so founded, was given its founder's name.

Romulus' first act was to fortify the Palatine where he himself had been raised.<sup>23</sup> He offered sacrifice to the other gods according to the Alban ritual, and to Hercules according to the Greek ritual instituted by Evander.<sup>24</sup> There is a tradition that, after killing Geryon, Hercules drove his cattle into this area.<sup>25</sup> He swam across the Tiber river, driving his exceptionally fine cattle in front of him. Weary from his journey, he lay down near the river in a grassy spot where he could let the cattle rest and refresh themselves with the abundant pasture. Heavy with food and wine, he fell into a deep sleep. A ferociously strong shepherd called Cacus, an inhabitant of the area, was taken with the beauty of the cattle and wanted to steal them. But he realized that if he drove them directly into his cave, the tracks would lead their master there when he began to look for them; and so he dragged the finest animals backward by the tail into the cave. At dawn Hercules awoke, looked over the herd and realized that some were missing. He went to the nearest cave to see whether by chance the tracks led in that direction. But all

the tracks faced in the opposite direction and did not lead anywhere. Confused and puzzled, he began to lead the herd out of the strange place. While they were being driven away, some of the cows lowed because, as often happens, they missed the bulls that were left behind. The responding low of those that were shut in the cave caused Hercules to turn around. As he advanced to the cave, Cacus forcibly tried to keep him off. Calling in vain for the shepherds to help him, he was struck by Hercules' club and fell dead.

At that time, Evander, an exile from the Peloponnese, controlled the area more by personal authority than sovereign power. He was revered for his wonderful skill with the alphabet, a novelty among men who were untutored in such arts. He was even more revered on account of his mother, Carmenta, who was believed to be divine and was admired as a prophetess before the Sibyl's arrival in Italy.<sup>25</sup> Evander was aroused by the throng of shepherds who were excitedly mobbing the foreigner and accusing him of blatant murder. Seeing that the man's bearing and stature were greater and more impressive than those of a human, Evander listened to what had happened and the reason for the deed. Then Evander asked which hero he was.<sup>26</sup> On hearing his name, father, and country of origin, he said, "Hail Hercules, son of Jupiter! My mother, a truthful interpreter of the gods, declared that you would increase the number of the gods and that here an altar would be dedicated to you, which the race that was destined one day to be the most powerful on earth would call the Greatest Altar, tending it with rites in your honor."<sup>27</sup>

Hercules offered his right hand, saying that he accepted the omen and would fulfill the prophecy by establishing and dedicating an altar. A fine cow was taken from the herd, and the first sacrifice was made to Hercules. Officiating at the feast were the Potitii and Pinarii, families who at that time were especially prominent in the area. By chance it happened that the Potitii arrived on time and were offered the victim's entrails. The Pinarii, however, came after the entrails had been eaten but in time for the rest of the feast. Thus, as long as the family of the Pinarii endured, the practice remained that they did not eat entrails at this festival. Trained by Evander, the Potitii officiated at this sacrifice for many generations until the whole family died out when this solemn family function was handed over to public slaves.<sup>27</sup> This was the only foreign rite undertaken by Romulus. Even then Romulus was already honoring the immortality that is won by valor, an honor to which his own destiny was leading him.<sup>28</sup>

### 8. *After attending to religious matters, Romulus gives his people laws and assumes symbols of authority. He increases the population by opening a refuge for slaves and freemen alike and appoints a hundred senators.*



After duly performing the religious observances, Romulus summoned his men to an assembly and gave them laws, since there was no way other than by law that they could become a unified community. He thought the rustic population more likely to be bound by these laws if he made himself venerable by adopting symbols of office. Not only did he make himself more impressive in his way of dressing, but he also assumed a retinue of twelve lictors.<sup>29</sup> Some sources think that this number derived from the number of birds that had augured and portended his rule. But I have no problem with the opinion of those who consider that the attendants and their number derive from the neighboring Etruscans, who also are the source of the magistrates' curule chair and the *toga praetexta*.<sup>30</sup> The Etruscans had this number because each of their twelve communities contributed one lictor after they united to elect a king.

Meanwhile the city was growing as the Romans included one area after another within the city's defenses. They were building more in expectation of a future population than for the number of men they currently had. Then, so that this large city was not empty, Romulus resorted to a plan for adding to the population that had long been used by founders of cities, who gather a host of shady, low-born people and put out the story that children had been born to them from the earth. In this way, Romulus opened a place of asylum in the area that is now enclosed between the two groves as you come down the Capitoline. The entire rabble from the neighboring peoples fled there for refuge. They came without distinction, slaves and freemen alike, eager for a fresh start. This was the first move toward beginning the increase of Rome's might.

Now that he was satisfied with Rome's strength, Romulus prepared to add deliberation to strength. He appointed a hundred senators, either because that number was sufficient or because there were only a hundred men who could be made senators. They were called "fathers" (*patres*) because of their rank, and their descendants were called "patricians."

### 9. Denied intermarriage with the neighbors, the Romans invite them to a festival and carry off their women.

Already Rome was so strong that she was the equal of any of the neighboring states in war. But the lack of women meant that Rome's greatness would only last for the current generation, since the Romans neither had the hope of offspring at home nor intermarriage with their neighbors. On the advice of the senators, Romulus sent ambassadors around the neighboring tribes to seek alliance and intermarriage for the new people. The envoys argued that cities too, like everything else, start from the most humble beginnings; that great wealth and a great

name are achieved by those cities that are helped by their own valor and the gods. It was enough to know that the gods had attended Rome's birth and that its people's valor would not fail. The Romans were men like themselves, and so, as neighbors, they should not be reluctant to mingle their blood and stock with them.

Nowhere did the embassy get a kindly reception. The neighboring peoples rejected them, at the same time fearing, for both themselves and their descendants, the great power that was growing in their midst. Dismissing the envoys, many asked whether the Romans had also opened a refuge for women, since that at least would be a way to get wives who were their equals. The young Romans resented this attitude, and things were undoubtedly beginning to look violent. In order to arrange an appropriate time and place for his plan, Romulus hid his resentment and carefully prepared a solemn festival in honor of Neptune as patron of horses, which he called the *Consualia*.<sup>31</sup> Then he ordered that the spectacle be announced to the neighboring peoples. With all the pageantry within the knowledge and resources of those times, the Romans prepared to celebrate this festival, publicizing it to create expectation.

Many people came in their eagerness to see the new city, particularly the nearby inhabitants of Caenina, Crustumium, and Antemnae.<sup>32</sup> All the Sabines came too, together with their children and wives. They were hospitably entertained in every home, and, after seeing the layout of the city with its walls and numerous buildings, they marveled at the rapidity of Rome's growth. The time for the show arrived, and, while everyone's eyes and thoughts were intent upon it, the prearranged violence broke out. At a given signal, the Roman youths rushed in every direction to seize the unmarried women. In most cases the maidens were seized by the men in whose path they happened to be. But some exceptionally beautiful girls had been marked out by the leading men of the senate and were carried off by plebeians who had been given that task.<sup>33</sup> One girl who far outshone the rest in appearance and beauty was seized, as the story goes, by the gang of a certain Thalassius. When asked to whom they were taking her, they kept shouting "To Thalassius" to prevent anyone else from violating her. This is the origin of the wedding cry.<sup>34</sup>

The games broke up in fear and confusion. The maidens' parents fled, charging the Romans with the crime of violating hospitality. They invoked the god to whose solemn rite they had come only to be deceived in violation of religion and good faith.<sup>35</sup> The abducted maidens were no more hopeful of their plight, nor less enraged. But Romulus himself went around, telling them that this had happened because of their parents' arrogance in refusing intermarriage with neighbors. Nevertheless, he said, women would have the full rights of marriage, having a share in their possessions, Roman citizenship, and the dearest possession that the human race has—children.<sup>36</sup> They should calm their anger and give their hearts to those to whom chance



had given their bodies. For, he said, often affection has eventually come from a sense of injustice. They would find their husbands kinder because each would try not only to fulfill his obligation, but also to make up for the longing for their parents and homeland. The men spoke sweet words to them, trying to excuse their action on the grounds of passionate love, a plea that is particularly effective where a woman's heart is concerned.

#### 10. *Romulus kills the king of Caenina and dedicates the spoils of honor (spolia opima) to Jupiter Feretrius.*

The resentment of the abducted women had already been greatly mollified, but their bereft parents, wearing squalid garments, were arousing their states to action with tears and lamentations.<sup>37</sup> Nor did they confine their expressions of anger to their hometowns, but converged from all directions on the house of Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines. Embassies also came there because of the greatness of Tatius' name in the area. The people of Caenina, Crustumium, and Antemnae who were most affected by this injustice thought that Tatius and the Sabines were slow in taking action. So, these three peoples prepared a joint campaign. Yet not even the peoples of Crustumium and Antemnae moved quickly enough to satisfy the burning anger of the people of Caenina, who invaded Roman territory on their own. But Romulus encountered them with his army as they were scattered and engaged in plundering. In a quick fight he taught them the futility of anger without strength. He routed their army, put them to flight, and pursued them in their disarray. In the fighting, he killed the king and stripped the armor from the corpse. Once the enemy leader was dead, Romulus took the city at the first attack.

Romulus then led back the victorious army. Magnificent in action, he was no less eager to publicize his achievements. So, he hung the spoils of the slain enemy commander on a frame made to fit the purpose and went up to the Capitol, carrying it himself. He set it down by an oak tree sacred to the shepherds and, at the same time as he made his offering, marked out the boundary of a temple to Jupiter and gave the god an additional title, declaring: "To you, Jupiter Feretrius, I, Romulus, victor and king, bring spoils taken from a king."<sup>38</sup> On this site that I have just marked out in my mind, I dedicate a precinct to be a place for the spoils of honor (*spolia opima*) that men of the future, following my example, will bring to this place when they have slain kings and enemy commanders.<sup>39</sup> This was the origin of the first temple that was consecrated in Rome.

In the ensuing years, it has been the will of the gods that the words of the temple's founder were not in vain when he declared that posterity would bring spoils to this place; nor has the

honor of the gift been cheapened by many sharing it. Twice since then, over so many years and so many wars, have the spoils of honor been won: so rare is the good fortune of winning that distinction.<sup>39</sup>

#### 11. *Antemnae and Crustumium are defeated and colonized. Romulus grants amnesty and citizenship to the parents of the abducted Sabine women, but the traitor Tarpeia enables the Sabines to enter the Roman citadel. Livy gives three different versions of her death.*

While the Romans were busy in Rome, the army of the Antemnates took the opportunity of their absence to raid Roman territory. But a Roman legion was quickly led against them; scattered in the fields, the Antemnates were overwhelmed.<sup>40</sup> At the first shout and attack, the enemy was routed and their town taken. As Romulus was exulting in his double victory, his wife Hersilia, wearied by the entreaties of the abducted women, begged him to grant amnesty to their parents and grant them citizenship, saying that by this means the state would grow in strength and harmony. Her request was easily granted. Romulus then set out against the people of Crustumium who were marching on Rome. In this case, there was even less of a struggle, because their spirit had collapsed as a result of the defeat of the others. Colonists were sent to both places, although more people were found to enroll their names for Crustumium because of the fertility of its soil. On the other hand, a number left and migrated to Rome, particularly parents and relatives of the abducted women.

The last war was with the Sabines, and it was by far the greatest. These people were not acting through anger or greed. Nor did they show any hint of war before the actual attack. Deception was also added to their strategy. Spurius Tarpeius was in command of the Roman citadel. With gold Tatius bribed this man's maiden daughter to let armed men into the citadel. By chance the girl had gone outside the walls to get water for a sacrifice.<sup>41</sup> Once inside, they overpowered her with their weapons and killed her, either to make it appear that the citadel had been taken by force or to set an example that no one should anywhere keep faith with a traitor. There is also a tale that, because the Sabines generally wore heavy gold bands on their left arms and magnificently studded rings, she made a deal for what they had on their left hands. But instead of gifts of gold, they piled their shields on her. There are those who say that, in keeping with the agreement to hand over what they had in their left hands, she asked outright for their weapons, and, when it was apparent that she was tricking them, she perished by the reward she had demanded.



12. *In the struggle between the Sabines and Romans, Romulus vows a temple to Jupiter the Stayer. The Sabine leader, Mettius Curtius, is plunged into a swamp.*

Whatever the case, the Sabines got control of the citadel. The next day, when the Roman army was drawn up, covering the ground between the Palatine and the Capitoline hill, the Sabines did not come down to level ground until the Romans were coming up the hill on the attack, their minds goaded by anger and eagerness to recover the citadel. On either side the commanders led the fighting: Mettius Curtius leading the Sabines, and Hostius Hostilius the Romans. In the front line, though on unequal ground, Hostius upheld the Roman cause with courage and daring. When he fell, the Roman line immediately collapsed and was routed. Even Romulus himself was driven by the mob of fugitives to the old gate of the Palatine. Raising his weapons to the sky, he said, "Jupiter, it was at the bidding of your augural birds that I laid the city's first foundations here on the Palatine. The citadel has been bought by a crime and is in the hands of the Sabines. They have conquered the valley between the two hills and are now upon us, sword in hand. But, father of gods and men, keep them back, at least from here. Rid the Romans of their terror and stay their shameful flight! I hereby vow a temple to you as Jupiter the Stayer, to be a memorial for posterity that the city was saved by your presence and help." With this prayer, as if he realized that his words had been heard, he cried, "It is here, Romans, that Jupiter the Best and Greatest bids us stand and renew the fight!" As if bidden by a voice from the sky, the Romans made a stand, and Romulus himself rushed into the front line of battle.

On the Sabine side, Mettius Curtius had led the charge from the citadel, driving the Romans in disarray over the whole area of the forum. Now he was not far from the Palatine gate, shouting, "We have beaten our faithless hosts, a cowardly enemy.<sup>42</sup> Now they know that it is one thing to steal maidens, another to fight with men." As he was uttering these boasts, Romulus attacked him with a band of the most ferocious Roman youths. Mettius happened at the time to be fighting on horseback. For that reason, he was more easily driven back. The Romans pursued him in his flight. Fired by their king's audacity, the rest of the Roman battle line put the Sabines to flight. Mettius' horse was terrified by the din of pursuit and plunged him into a swamp. The danger to their great hero caused the Sabines to wheel around. Mettius, his spirit encouraged by the support of the throng as his men gestured and shouted to him, made his escape. Romans and Sabines renewed the fighting in the valley that lies between the two hills. But the Romans had the upper hand.

13. *The Sabine women intervene and stop the battle. Romulus and Tatius are reconciled and rule jointly in Rome. Romulus divides the people into thirty wards and creates three centuries of knights.*

At that point the Sabine women, whose abduction had given rise to the war, dared to advance amid the flying weapons, their womanish fear overcome by the terrible situation. With loosened hair and torn garments, they rushed in from the side, parting the battle lines and checking the battle rage.<sup>43</sup> Appealing on the one side to their fathers, on the other to their husbands, they begged fathers-in-law and sons-in-law not to defile themselves with impious bloodshed, nor stain with parricide the offspring of their blood—grandfathers their grandchildren, fathers their children.<sup>44</sup> "If you cannot bear the relationship between you," they cried, "if you cannot bear the marriage bond, turn your anger upon us. We are the cause of war; we are the cause of wounds and death to our husbands and our fathers. Better that we die than live as widows or orphans, without either of you." Their appeal moved both leaders and the rank and file. There was silence and a sudden hush.

Then the leaders came forward to make a treaty. They made not only peace, but also one state from two. They shared the kingship, transferring all power to Rome. In this way the city was doubled, and, so that the Sabines should be given something, the citizens were called Quirites, a name deriving from Cures.<sup>45</sup> As a memorial (*monumentum*) of the battle, they gave the name of Curtian Lake to the place where Curtius' horse first emerged from the deep swamp and set him in the shallows.<sup>46</sup> The sudden joyful peace after such a grievous war made the Sabine women dearer to their husbands and parents, and above all to Romulus himself. And so, when he divided the people into thirty wards, he named the wards after the women.<sup>47</sup> Although the number of women was undoubtedly considerably more than thirty, the tradition does not say whether those who gave their names to the wards were chosen by lot, age, or according to their own rank or that of their husbands. At the same time, three centuries of knights were formed.<sup>48</sup> The Ramnenses were named for Romulus, the Titienses for Tatius; the reason for the name and origin of the Luceres, however, is unknown.<sup>49</sup> From this time the two kings ruled not only jointly, but also harmoniously.

14. *Death of Tatius and war with Fidenae.*

Several years later, relatives of King Tatius assaulted envoys of the Laurentians who protested under the law of nations. Tatius, however, was more influenced by partiality for his relatives



and their pleas. As a result of this, he got what should have been their punishment. A mob gathered and killed him when he had gone to Lavinium for the annual sacrifice.<sup>50</sup> The story is that Romulus took this less badly than was proper, whether because of the disloyalty that is inherent in shared rule or because he thought that Tatius' murder was not unjustified. Consequently Romulus refrained from war but renewed the pact between Rome and Lavinium in order to expiate the insults to the envoys and the murder of the king.

Against all expectation, there was peace with the Laurentians. But another war broke out much nearer, indeed almost at the very gates of the city. The men of Fidenae,<sup>51</sup> perceiving the increasing strength of such a close neighbor, decided to make war before Rome achieved the might that she clearly would. They sent out an armed band of young men who plundered the territory lying between Rome and Fidenae. Then, because the Tiber prevented them on the right, they turned left, causing devastation and great fear among the farmers. The sudden stampede from the fields into the city served as the announcement of war. Romulus immediately reacted—war with a neighbor made delay impossible. He led out the army and pitched camp a mile from Fidenae. Then, leaving a small guard, he marched on with all his forces, ordering some of the soldiers to lie in ambush in concealed positions amid the dense undergrowth. He himself set out with the greater number of the troops and all the cavalry.

By making a disorderly and menacing assault in which the cavalry rode almost to the very gates, he achieved his aim of drawing out the enemy. The same cavalry engagement provided a less surprising reason for their retreat, which had to be feigned. The cavalry were apparently undecided whether to fight or flee, and the infantry also began to retreat. At this point the enemy suddenly thronged the gates, pouring forth as the Roman battle line gave way. And so, in their eagerness to press on and pursue, the Fidenates were drawn into the place of ambush. There the Romans suddenly sprang out and attacked the enemy's flanks. To add to the panic, the standards of those who had been left on guard were advancing from the camp. Almost before Romulus and his men could rein in their horses and wheel around, the men of Fidenae turned tail and ran, stricken with terror from every direction. They made for the city in much greater disarray than that of the pretended fugitives whom they had previously pursued, though this time the flight was real. But they did not escape the enemy. The Romans followed close behind them, and, before the gates could be closed, both pursuers and pursued burst into the city, as if in a single line.

#### 15. *A Roman success against Veii. The conclusion of Romulus' reign.*

The people of Veii were aroused by the war fever that spread from Fidenae, and by their kinship with the people of Fidenae, for they too were Etruscans.<sup>52</sup> A further stimulus was the

very proximity of Rome, should Roman arms be directed against all their neighbors. The Veientes invaded Roman territory more like marauders than men on a regular campaign. They did not pitch camp or wait for the enemy's army but returned to Veii with the booty they had seized from the fields. The Romans, when they did not find the enemy in the fields, crossed the Tiber, prepared and eager for a decisive fight. On hearing that the Romans were pitching camp and would be making an attack on the city, the people of Veii went out to meet them, preferring to fight a regular battle rather than to be besieged and forced to fight for their homes and city. By sheer force and without employing any strategy, the Roman king prevailed simply by the might of his seasoned army. He routed the enemy and pursued them up to the walls. But he refrained from attacking the city itself, since it was strongly fortified by both its walls and natural position. On his return he plundered the fields, more from a desire for revenge than for booty. The people of Veii, impelled by this disaster no less than by their defeat in battle, sent envoys to Rome to sue for peace. They were deprived of part of their land and given a truce for one hundred years.

These were the main achievements of Romulus' reign, at home and in the field. None of them is incompatible with the belief in his divine origin and the divinity that is attributed to him after his death—neither his spirit in recovering his grandfather's kingdom, nor his wisdom in founding the city and strengthening it by both war and peace. Indeed, the strength that he gave to Rome enabled her to have untroubled peace for the next forty years. He was more popular with the people than with the senators. Far above all, however, he was dearest to the hearts of the soldiers. Not only in war, but also in peace, he had 300 armed men as a bodyguard, whom he called the Swift Ones.

#### 16. *The mysterious disappearance of Romulus and a highly nuanced account of his subsequent deification.*

After accomplishing these mortal deeds, Romulus was one day holding an assembly of the people on the Campus Martius near the Goat Swamp to review the army. Suddenly a storm arose with loud claps of thunder, enveloping him in a cloud so dense that it hid him from the view of the people. From then on Romulus was no longer on earth. The Roman people finally recovered from their panic when the turbulence was succeeded by a bright and sunny day. Seeing the king's throne empty, they readily believed the assertion of the senators who had been standing nearby that he had been snatched up on high by the storm. Nevertheless, they remained sorrowful and silent for some time, stricken with fear as if they had been orphaned. Then, on the initiative of a few, they all decided that Romulus should be hailed as a god, son of



57. *During the siege of Ardea, the young princes engage in a contest to test the virtue of their wives. Sextus Tarquinius becomes obsessed by Lucretia.*

Ardea was held by the Rutulians, a race that, for both that time and place, was extremely wealthy.<sup>158</sup> Their wealth was the cause of the war, since the Roman king, impoverished by his magnificent public works, wanted to enrich himself while also mollifying the feelings of the people with booty. For they were hostile to his rule, not only because of his general arrogance, but also because they were angry that the king had kept them employed for so long, like workmen doing the job of slaves. The Romans tried to capture Ardea at the first assault. When that did not succeed, they began to blockade the city with siegeworks. Here in their permanent camp, as usually happens in a war that is protracted rather than intense, furloughs were rather freely granted; more freely, however, to the leaders than the soldiers. The young men of the royal house were whiling away their free time in feasting and drinking among themselves. They were drinking in Sextus Tarquinius' quarters, where Tarquinius Collatinus, the son of Egerius, was also dining, when the subject of wives happened to come up.<sup>159</sup> Each man praised his own wife in extravagant terms. Then, as the rivalry became inflamed, Collatinus said that there was no need for words: in a few hours they could discover how his Lucretia far excelled the rest. "Come!" he cried. "If we have the vigor of youth, why don't we mount our horses and see for ourselves what kind of women our wives are? Let us each regard as decisive what meets his eyes when the woman's husband shows up unexpectedly." They were heated with wine. "Right! Let's go," they all cried. At full gallop, they flew off to Rome.

Arriving there at early dusk, they went on to Collatia.<sup>160</sup> There they found Lucretia occupying herself differently from the king's daughters—

158. *Ardea*: a town some twenty miles from Rome and three miles from the sea. It served as the port of Latium. On the Rutulians in the legendary time of Aeneas, see 1.2. Archaeology corroborates that they were wealthy in the time of Tarquin.

159. On Egerius, see 1.34 and 1.38. For discussion of this and the following episodes, see Feldherr 1998: 194–203.

160. *Collatia*: a small town about ten miles east of Rome, the home of Collatinus.

a god, king, and father of the city of Rome.<sup>53</sup> With prayers they begged his favor, beseeching him to be willing and propitious toward the Roman people and to protect their descendants forever.

I suppose that there were some, even then, who privately claimed that the king had been torn into pieces by the hands of the senators.<sup>54</sup> This rumor also spread, though in enigmatic terms. But men's admiration for the hero and the panic felt at the time have given greater currency to the other version, which is said to have gained additional credence thanks to the plan of a single man.<sup>55</sup> The citizens, however, were troubled by their longing for the king and were hostile toward the senate. So, Proculus Julius, a man of authority, as the tradition goes—he was, after all, vouching for an extraordinary event—summoned a public assembly.<sup>56</sup> "My fellow citizens," he declared, "Today at dawn, Romulus, the father of this city, suddenly descended from the sky and appeared before me. Overcome with fear and awe, I stood there, beseeching him with prayers that it might be permissible for me to gaze on him. But he said, 'Depart, and proclaim to the Romans that it is the gods' will that my Rome be the capital of the world. So let them cultivate the art of war; let them know and teach their descendants that no human strength has the power to resist the arms of Rome.' With this pronouncement," concluded Proculus, "Romulus departed on high." It is astonishing what credence was given to this man's story, and how the longing for Romulus felt by the people and army was alleviated by belief in his immortality.<sup>57</sup>



in-law. These they had seen whiling away their time at a luxurious banquet with their young friends. In contrast, though it was late at night, they came upon Lucretia sitting in the middle of the house busily spinning, surrounded by her maidservants who were working by lamplight.<sup>161</sup> The prize of honor in this contest about wives fell to Lucretia. As her husband and the Tarquins approached, they were graciously received. The victorious husband court-ously invited the young royals to be his guests. It was there that Sextus Tarquinius was seized by an evil desire to debauch Lucretia by force. Not only her beauty but also her proven chastity spurred him on. Meanwhile they returned to the camp after their youthful nocturnal prank.

*58. Sextus Tarquinius rapes Lucretia. She summons her father and husband and makes them swear to avenge her. She then kills herself, rather than set a precedent for unchastity.*

After the lapse of a few days, Sextus Tarquinius went to Collatia with just one companion. He was graciously received by a household unaware of his purpose. After supper he was led to the guest bedroom. Burning with passion, once he saw that it was safe all around and everyone was asleep, he drew his sword and went to the sleeping Lucretia. Pressing his left hand on her breast, he said, "Keep quiet, Lucretia! I am Sextus Tarquinius. My sword is in my hand. You will die if you utter a sound!" Terrified out of her sleep, Lucretia saw no help at hand, only imminent death. Then Sextus confessed his love and pleaded with her, mingling threats with prayers and trying in every way to play on her feelings as a woman. When he saw that she was resolute and unmoved even by fear of death, he added the threat of disgrace to her fear: after killing her, he would murder a slave and place him naked by her side, as evidence that she had been killed because of adultery of the lowest kind. With this terrifying threat, his lust prevailed as the victor over her resolute chastity. Sextus Tarquinius departed, exulting in his conquest of a woman's honor. Lucretia, grief-stricken at this terrible disaster, sent the same message to her father in Rome and her husband in Ardea, bidding each to come with a trustworthy friend. This they must do and do quickly; a terrible thing had happened. Spurius Lucretius came with Publius Valerius, the son of Volesus;<sup>162</sup> Collatinus with Lucius Junius Brutus, with

161. Etruscan tomb paintings and sarcophagi indicate that Etruscan women generally had a greater freedom than their Roman counterparts.

162. *Publius Valerius*: he would later replace Collatinus as consul in 509 BCE; see 2.2.

whom he happened to be returning to Rome when he encountered his wife's messenger.

They found Lucretia sitting in her bedchamber, grieving. At the arrival of her own family, tears welled in her eyes. In response to her husband's question, "Is everything all right?", she replied, "Not at all."<sup>163</sup> What can be well when a woman has lost her honor? The marks of another man are in your bed. But only my body has been violated; my mind is not guilty. Death will be my witness. But give me your right hands and your word that the adulterer will not go unpunished. Sextus Tarquinius is the man. Last night he repaid hospitality with hostility when he came, armed, and forcibly took his pleasure of me, an act that has destroyed me—and him too, if you are men."<sup>164</sup> All duly gave her their pledge. They tried to console her distress by shifting the guilt from the woman who had been forced to the man who had done the wrong, saying that it is the mind that errs, not the body. For where there has been no intent, there is no blame.<sup>165</sup> "You shall determine," she replied, "what is his due. Though I absolve myself of wrongdoing, I do not exempt myself from punishment. Nor henceforth shall any unchaste woman continue to live by citing the precedent of Lucretia."<sup>166</sup> She took a knife that she had hidden in her garments and plunged it in her heart. Falling forward onto the wound, she died as she fell. Her husband and father raised the ritual cry for the dead.

*59. Brutus leads the people against the royal house of the Tarquins, swearing to abolish the monarchy.*

While the rest were absorbed in grief, Brutus took the knife from Lucretia's wound and held it up, dripping with blood, as he proclaimed, "By this blood, most chaste until it was defiled by a prince, I swear and take you, O gods, to witness that I will pursue Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, together with his wicked wife and all his children, with sword, fire, and indeed with whatever violence I can. Nor will I allow them or anyone else to be king at

163. *Is everything all right?*: an archaic greeting that "is only found in deliberately archaic and emotional passages of Livy" (Ogilvie 1965: 224).

164. *repaid hospitality with hostility*: again a pun on the similarity of *hostis* (enemy) and *hostes* (host); see 1.12 with n. 42.

165. Livy has the men invoke the principles of Roman law.

166. *precedent*: here the Latin word is *exemplum*; see Pref. 10 with n. 14.



Rome."<sup>167</sup> Then he handed the knife to Collatinus, and from him to Lucretius and Valerius. They were stunned at the miracle, wondering what was the source of the new spirit in Brutus' heart. They swore as bidden. Switching from grief to anger, they all followed Brutus' lead as he summoned them to overthrow the monarchy. They carried Lucretia's body out of the house and took it down to the forum, attracting crowds in amazement and indignation at this strange event, as generally happens. Everybody made his own complaint about the criminal rape committed by the prince. They were moved not only by the father's grief but also by Brutus, who reprimanded them for their tears and idle complaints, urging them, as befit men and Romans, to take up arms against those who had dared such acts of hostility. All the boldest young men seized their weapons, offering their service, and the rest also followed. Then, leaving a garrison at Collatia and posting guards to prevent anyone taking news of the uprising to the royal family, the rest of the armed force set out for Rome under Brutus' command.

Arriving there, the armed populace caused panic and confusion wherever it advanced. But when the Romans saw the leading men of the state marching at the head of the forces, they realized that, whatever it was, this was no random business. The dreadful event created no less an emotional uproar in Rome than it had in Collatia. People rushed from every part of the city into the forum. As soon as they were assembled there, a herald summoned the people before the tribune of the Swift Ones, an office that Brutus happened to hold at that time.<sup>168</sup>

There he gave a speech that was quite inconsistent with the spirit and disposition that he had feigned up to that day. He spoke of Sextus Tarquinius' violent lust, his unspeakable rape of Lucretia, her pitiful death, and the loss sustained by her father Tricipitinus, for whom the reason for his daughter's death was more outrageous and pitiful than her death itself. In addition, he spoke of the arrogance of the king himself and the wretched forced labor of the people who were plunged into ditches and sewers and forced to clean them out. The Romans, conquerors of all the surrounding peoples, had been changed from fighting men into workmen and stonecutters. Invoking the gods who avenge parents, he recalled the shameful murder of Servius Tullius and how his daughter had driven over her father's body with her accursed carriage. With these and, I suppose, recollections of other more savage deeds, the sort suggested by an immediate feeling of outrage that is by no means

167. Livy's description would have evoked memories of the assassination of Julius Caesar, when another Brutus claimed to be restoring liberty.

168. *Swift Ones*: the king's bodyguard, initiated by Romulus; see 1.15.

easy for historians to relate, he inflamed the people, driving them to revoke the king's power and order the exile of Lucius Tarquinius, together with his wife and children.

Brutus himself enrolled a band of young men who voluntarily offered their names. Arming them, he set out for the camp at Ardea to stir up that army against the king. He left Lucretius in control of Rome as prefect of the city, a position he had been given by the king some time before. In the midst of this revolt, Tullia fled from her house, cursed wherever she went, as men and women called down upon her the furies that avenge the wrongs done to parents.<sup>169</sup>

### 60. *The Tarquins are banished and two consuls chosen in place of a king.*

When news of these events reached the camp, the king, terrified by this unexpected crisis, set out for Rome to suppress the revolt. Brutus had anticipated the king's arrival and so changed his route to avoid encountering him. At almost the same time, though by different routes, Brutus arrived at Ardea and Tarquin at Rome. Tarquin found the city gates closed and his exile pronounced. But the camp received the city's liberator joyfully and the king's sons were driven out. Two followed their father and went into exile at Caere in Etruria.<sup>170</sup> Sextus Tarquinius set out for Gabii, as if returning to his own kingdom, and was killed there by men avenging old feuds that he himself had stirred up by murder and pillage.<sup>171</sup>

Lucius Tarquinius reigned for twenty-five years. The rule of kings at Rome, from the foundation of the city to its liberation, lasted 244 years. Two consuls were then chosen in the *Comitia Centuriata* under the presidency of the prefect of the city, in accordance with the precepts laid down in the commentaries of Servius Tullius.<sup>172</sup> Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus were chosen.

169. *furies*: again a theme from Greek tragedy; see 1.48 with n. 140.

170. *Caere*: modern Cerveteri, an ancient Etruscan city some thirty miles north of Rome.

171. *his own kingdom*: see 1.53-4.

172. *two consuls*: see 3.55, where Livy notes that the original title of the consul was "praetor." *commentaries*: a reference to some kind of procedural manual attributed to Servius Tullius.