

GCSE (9–1)

*Prescribed Source Booklet*

# ANCIENT HISTORY

J198

For first teaching in 2017

## THE FOUNDATIONS OF ROME FROM KINGSHIP TO REPUBLIC 753-440BC

*Sourcebook and Key Learning*

*Dr Maria Haley  
University of Leeds*

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## The Foundations of Rome from Kingship to Republic 753-440 BC

Key sources:

Source	Period	Aims and agenda	Key problems	Views on Rome
<p>Dionysius (of Halicarnassus*)</p>  <p>*Halicarnassus is modern day Bodrum, Turkey. The same place that the historian Herodotus was from.</p>	Lived 60 BC-7 BC	<p>Wrote the '<i>Roman History</i>' from Rome's mythical beginnings to the first Punic War (264 BC).</p> <p>Emphasises the positive qualities of Roman conquerors and traced their ancestors back to Greeks.</p> <p>His work and Livy's are our only continuous ancient histories of Rome.</p>	<p>Dionysius' history has a huge scope, so he had to collect evidence second hand from earlier texts.</p> <p>Dionysius' Greek background shapes the way he presents the Romans.</p> <p>Dionysius embraces Roman origin <i>myths</i> into his <i>history</i>, such as Romulus and Remus.</p>	Overall, Dionysius makes the point that Romans derive from Greek origins and benefit from Greek virtues.
<p>Livy</p> 	Lived 59 BC-AD 17	<p>Livy's writings contain elementary mistakes on military matters, indicating that he probably never served in the Roman army.</p> <p>Chronological but narrative style that is highly descriptive.</p> <p>Livy's history emphasizes the great triumphs of Rome because he was writing under the reign of Augustus.</p>	<p>Livy is heavily critical of Rome's enemies because of his Roman bias.</p> <p>Like Dionysius, Livy's history includes mythological elements on the founding of Rome, which are based on Greek myths e.g. Aeneas as the Roman founder.</p> <p>Only 35 of Livy's 142 books survive.</p>	In sum, Livy manipulates myth when writing about Rome's early kings, to glorify Roman ancestry.

Time line of the Roman Kings: Legendary (753-616 BC) and Etruscan (616-509 BC)

	Portrait	Name	Lifespan	Reign	Succession
<b>Legendary Kings 753-616 BC</b>		<b>Romulus</b>	c.772 BC to 716 BC (aged 56)	753 BC to 716 BC	Proclaimed himself king after murdering his brother, Remus.
		<b>Numa Pompilius</b>	753 BC to 672 BC (aged 80)	716 to 672 BC	Elected king by the Curiate Assembly, after the death of Romulus. Brother in law of Romulus.
		<b>Tullus Hostilius</b>	? to 642 BC	672 BC to 642 BC	Elected king by the Curiate Assembly, after the death of Numa Pompilius.
		<b>Ancus Marcius</b>	c. 677 to 616 BC	642 BC to 616 BC	Son in law of Tullus Hostilius, grandson of Numa Pompilius; five years old at the time of his grandfathers' death, he was elected king by the Curiate Assembly after the death of Tullus Hostilius.
<b>The Etruscan Kings 616-509 BC</b>		<b>Tarquinius Priscus</b>	? to 578 BC	616 BC to 578 BC	After the death of Ancus Marcius, he became regent due to Marcius' sons being too young, but was soon elected king by the Curiate Assembly. He was the first Etruscan king, and was originally known as Lucumo.
		<b>Servius Tullius</b>	? to 534 BC	578 BC to 535 BC	Son in law of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. He seized the kingship after Ancus' sons had Tarquinius Priscus assassinated.
		<b>Tarquinius Superbus</b>	? to 495 BC	535 BC to 509 BC	Son of Tarquinius Priscus; seized the kingship after the assassination of Servius Tullius which he and his wife (daughter of Tullius) helped orchestrate.

**1.1: The Founder Aeneas and the Legendary Kings (753-616 BC)**

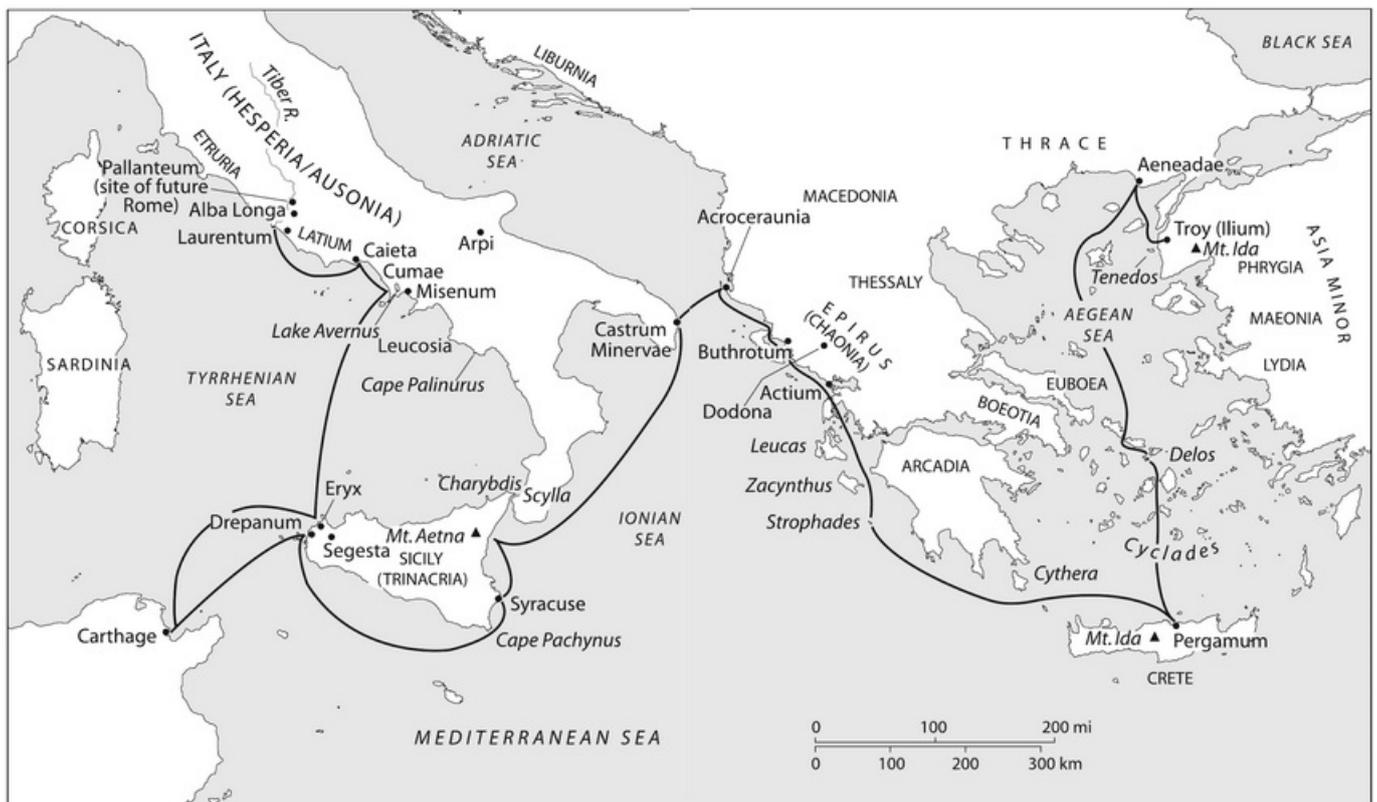
**Aeneas**

**Livy 1.1**

First of all, then, it is generally agreed that when Troy was taken vengeance was wreaked upon the other Trojans, but that two, Aeneas and Antenor, were spared all the penalties of war by the Achivi, owing to long-standing claims of hospitality, and because they had always advocated peace and the giving back of Helen. They then experienced various vicissitudes. Antenor, with a company of Eneti who had been expelled from **Paphlagonia** in a revolution and were looking for a home and a leader—for they had lost their king, Pylaemenes, at Troy—came to the inmost bay of the **Adriatic**. There, driving out the Eugenei, who dwelt between the sea and the **Alps**, the Eneti and Trojans took possession of those lands. And in fact the place where they first landed is called Troy, and the district is therefore known as Trojan, while the people as a whole are called the Veneti. Aeneas, driven from home by a similar misfortune, but guided by fate to undertakings of greater consequence, came first to **Macedonia**; thence was carried, in his quest of a place of settlement, to **Sicily**; and from Sicily laid his course towards the land of Laurentum. This place too is called Troy.



Landing there, the Trojans, as men who, after their all but immeasurable wanderings, had nothing left but their swords and ships, were driving booty from the fields, when King Latinus and the Aborigines, who then occupied that country, rushed down from their city and their fields to repel with arms the violence of the invaders. From this point the tradition follows two lines. Some say that Latinus, having been defeated in the battle, made a peace with Aeneas, and later an alliance of marriage. Others maintain that when the opposing lines had been drawn up, Latinus did not wait for the charge to sound, but advanced amidst his chieftains and summoned the captain of the strangers to a parley. He then inquired what men they were, whence they had come, what mishap had caused them to leave their home, and what they sought in landing on the coast of **Laurentum**. He was told that the people were Trojans and their leader Aeneas, son of Anchises and Venus; that their city had been burnt, and that, driven from home, they were looking for a dwelling-place and a site where they might build a city. Filled with wonder at the renown of the race and the hero, and at his spirit, prepared alike for war or peace, he gave him his right hand in solemn pledge of lasting friendship. The commanders then made a treaty, and the armies saluted each other. Aeneas became a guest in the house of Latinus; there the latter, in the presence of his household gods, added a domestic treaty to the public one, by giving his daughter in marriage to Aeneas. This event removed any doubt in the minds of the Trojans that they had brought their wanderings to an end at last in a permanent and settled habitation. They founded a town, which Aeneas named Lavinium, after his wife. In a short time, moreover, there was a male scion of the new marriage, to whom his parents gave the name of Ascanius.



The Wanderings of Aeneas

## Livy 1.2

War was then made upon Trojans and Aborigines alike. Turnus was king of the Rutulians, and to him Lavinia had been betrothed before the coming of Aeneas. Indignant that a stranger should be preferred before him, he attacked, at the same time, both Aeneas and Latinus. Neither army came off rejoicing from that battle. The Rutulians were beaten: the victorious Aborigines and Trojans lost their leader Latinus. Then Turnus and the Rutulians, discouraged at their situation, fled for succour to the opulent and powerful Etruscans and their king Mezentius, who held sway in **Caere**, at that time an important town. Mezentius had been, from the very beginning, far from pleased at the birth of the new city; he now felt that the Trojan state was growing much more rapidly than was altogether safe for its neighbours, and readily united his forces with those of the Rutulians. Aeneas, that he might win the goodwill of the Aborigines to confront so formidable a force, and that all might possess not only the same rights but also the same name, called both nations Latins; and from that time on the Aborigines were no less ready and faithful than the Trojans in the service of King Aeneas. Accordingly, trusting to this friendly spirit of the two peoples, which were growing each day more united, and, despite the power of **Etruria**, which had filled with the glory of her name not only the lands but the sea as well, along the whole extent of Italy from the Alps to the Sicilian Strait, Aeneas declined to defend himself behind his walls, as he might have done, but led out his troops to battle. The fight which ensued was a victory for the Latins: for Aeneas it was, besides, the last of his mortal labours. He lies buried, whether it is fitting and right to term him god or man, on the banks of the river **Numicus**; men, however, call him Jupiter Indiges.



**Cinerary Urn with Aeneas and Turnus, Etruscan, 200-100 BC, Getty Museum 71.AA.294.**

Etruscans cremated the dead and placed their remains in stone or terracotta urns. Aeneas, crouches on one knee at the centre, over Turnus, who collapses on his shield at the far right. A woman supports Turnus' body, possibly his sister Juturna. King Latinus, raises his hand in a victory salute. Behind him, the agitated woman who gesticulates in anguish may be Lavinia or her mother Amata. A winged female demon stands at left, signalling the funerary character of the scene.

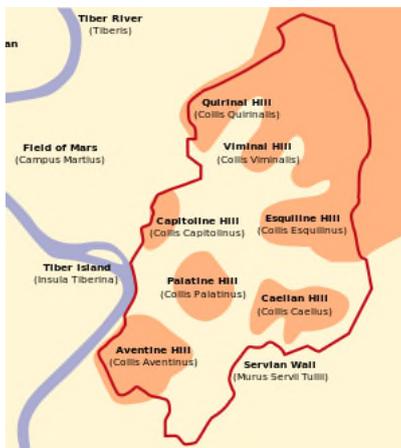
### Key learning:

- **Aeneas travelled from Troy to eventually reach Latium.**
- **Aeneas led his Trojan forces to victory and married Lavinia, after fighting her betrothed Turnus.**
- **Mezentius challenged Aeneas' rule by banding together with neighbouring regions and was overcome.**

## Romulus and Remus

### Dionysius 1.85

I am now going to relate the events that happened at the very time of its founding; for this part of my account still remains. When **Numitor**, upon the death of **Amulius**, had resumed his rule and had spent a little time in restoring the city from its late disorder to its former orderly state, he presently thought of providing an independent rule for the youths by founding another city. At the same time, the inhabitants being much increased in number, he thought it good policy to get rid of some part of them, particularly of those who had once been his enemies, lest he might have cause to suspect any of his subjects. And having communicated this plan to the youths and gained their approval, he gave them, as a district to rule, the region where they had been brought up in their infancy, and, for subjects, not only that part of the people which he suspected of a design to begin rebellion anew, but also any who were willing to migrate voluntarily. Among these, as is likely to happen when a city sends out a colony, there were great numbers of the common people, but there were also a sufficient number of the prominent men of the best class, and of the Trojan element all those who were esteemed the noblest in birth, some of whose posterity remained even to my day, consisting of about fifty families. The youths were supplied with money, arms and corn, with slaves and beasts of burden and everything else that was of use in the building of a city. After they had led their people out of Alba and intermingled with them the local population that still remained in Pallantium and Saturnia, they divided the whole multitude into two parts. This they did in the hope of arousing a spirit of emulation, so that through their rivalry with each other their tasks might be the sooner finished; however, it produced the greatest of evils, discord. For each group, exalting its own leader, extolled him as the proper person to command them all; and the youths themselves, being now



Seven Hills of Rome, Wikimedia

no longer one in mind or feeling it necessary to entertain brotherly sentiments toward each other, since each expected to command the other, scorned equality and craved superiority. For some time their ambitions were concealed, but later they burst forth on the occasion which I shall now describe. They did not both favour the same site for the building of the city; for **Romulus proposed to settle the Palatine hill**, among other reasons, because of the good fortune of the place where they had been preserved and brought up, whereas Remus favoured the place that is now named after him Remoria. And indeed this place is very suitable for a city, being a hill not far from the Tiber and about thirty stades from Rome. From this rivalry their unsociable love of rule immediately began to disclose itself; for on the one who now yielded the victor would inevitably impose his will on all occasions alike.

### Dionysius 1.86

Meanwhile, some time having elapsed and their discord in no degree abating, the two agreed to refer the matter to their grandfather and for that purpose went to Alba. He advised them to leave it to the decision of the gods which of them should give his name to the colony and be its leader. And having appointed for them a day, he ordered them to place themselves early in the morning at a distance from one another, in such stations as each of them should think proper, and after first offering to the gods the customary sacrifices, to watch for auspicious birds; and he ordered that he to whom the more favourable birds first appeared should rule the colony. The youths, approving of this, went away and according to their agreement appeared on the day appointed for the test. **Romulus chose for his station the**

**Palatine hill**, where he proposed settling the colony, and **Remus the Aventine hill adjoining it**, or, according to others, Remoria; and a guard attended them both, to prevent their reporting things otherwise than as they appeared. When they had taken their respective stations, Romulus, after a short pause, from eagerness and jealousy of his brother,—though possibly Heaven was thus directing him,—even before he saw any omen at all, sent messengers to his brother desiring him to come immediately, as if he had been the first to see some auspicious birds. But while the persons he sent were proceeding with no great haste, feeling ashamed of the fraud, six vultures appeared to Remus, flying from the right; and he, seeing the birds, rejoiced greatly. And not long afterwards the men sent by Romulus took him thence and brought him to the Palatine hill. When they were together, Remus asked Romulus what birds he had been the first to see, and Romulus knew not what to answer. But thereupon twelve auspicious vultures were seen flying; and upon seeing these he took courage, and pointing them out to Remus, said: “Why do you demand to know what happened a long time ago? For surely you see these birds yourself.” But Remus was indignant and complained bitterly because he had been deceived by him; and he refused to yield to him his right to the colony.

**Key learning:**

- **The Trojans spread throughout Alba Longa and aim to select leaders for different regions.**
- **Romulus and Remus consult bird augury to determine who should rule.**
- **Romulus receives the signal that he is the ruler but Remus, disbelieves him and refuses to believe in him.**

## Dionysius 1.87

Thereupon greater strife arose between them than before, as each, while secretly striving for the advantage, was ostensibly willing to accept equality, for the following reason. Their grandfather, as I have stated, had ordered that he to whom the more favourable birds first appeared should rule the colony; but, as the same kind of birds had been seen by both, one had the advantage of seeing them first and the other that of seeing the greater number. The rest of the people also espoused their quarrel, and arming themselves without orders from their leaders, began war; and a sharp battle ensued in which many were slain on both sides. In the course of this battle, as some say, Faustulus, who had brought up the youths, wishing to put an end to the strife of the brothers and being unable to do so, threw himself unarmed into the midst of the combatants, seeking the speediest death, which fell out accordingly. Some say also that the stone lion which stood in the principal part of the Forum near the rostra was placed over the body of Faustulus, who was buried by those who found him in the place where he fell. Remus having been slain in this action, Romulus, who had gained a most melancholy victory through the death of his brother and the mutual slaughter of citizens, buried Remus at Remoria, since when alive he had clung to it as the site for the new city. As for himself, in his grief and repentance for what had happened, he became dejected and lost all desire for life.

But when Laurentia, who had received the babes when newly born and brought them up and loved them no less than a mother, entreated and comforted him, he listened to her and rose up, and gathering together the Latins who had not been slain in the battle (they were now little more than three thousand out of a very great multitude at first, when he led out the colony), he built a city on the Palatine hill.

The account I have given seems to me the most probable of the stories about the death of Remus. However, if any has been handed down that differs from this, let that also be related. Some, indeed, say that Remus yielded the leadership to Romulus, though not without resentment and anger at the fraud, but that after the wall was built, wishing to demonstrate the weakness of the fortification, he cried, “Well, as for this wall, one of your enemies could as easily cross it as I do,” and immediately leaped over it. Thereupon **Celer**, one of the men standing on the wall, who was overseer of the work, said, “Well, as for this enemy, one of us could easily punish him,” and striking him on the head

with a mattock, he killed him then and there. Such is said to have been the outcome of the quarrel between the brothers.

**Key learning:**

- Romulus and Remus' surrogate father Faustulus kills himself because he cannot resolve their war.
- Remus is killed in the civil war with his brother.
- Romulus wins, but is comforted by his surrogate mother Laurentia over the death of Faustulus and Remus.
- An alternative form is suggested in which Remus mocks Romulus' fortifications and is killed by Celer the wall builder.

## Dionysius 1.88

When no obstacle now remained to the building of the city, Romulus appointed a day on which he planned to begin the work, after first propitiating the gods. And having prepared everything that would be required for the sacrifices and for the entertainment of the people, when the appointed time came, he himself first offered sacrifice to the gods and ordered all the rest to do the same according to their abilities. He then in the first place took the omens, which were favourable. After that, having commanded fires to be lighted before the tents, he caused the people to come out and leap over the flames in order to expiate their guilt. When he thought everything had been done which he conceived to be acceptable to the gods, he called all the people to the appointed place and described a quadrangular figure about the hill, tracing with a plough drawn by a bull and a cow yoked together a continuous furrow designed to receive the foundation of the wall; and from that time this custom has continued among the Romans of ploughing a furrow round the site where they plan to build a city. After he had done this and sacrificed the bull and the cow and also performed the initial rites over many other victims, he set the people to work. This day the Romans celebrate every year even down to my time as one of their greatest festivals and call it the **Parilia**. On this day, which comes in the beginning of spring, the husbandmen and herdsmen offer up a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the increase of their cattle. But whether they had celebrated this day in even earlier times as a day of rejoicing and for that reason looked upon it as the most suitable for the founding of the city, or whether, because it marked the beginning of the building of the city, they consecrated it and thought they should honour on it the gods who are propitious to shepherds, I cannot say for certain.

**Key learning:**

- Dionysius explains the origins of the Parilia festival, which commemorates the building of Romulus' city.

## Romulus' Political Initiatives

### Livy 1.8

When Romulus had duly attended to the worship of the gods, he called the people together and gave them the rules of law, since nothing else but law could unite them into a single body politic. But these, he was persuaded, would only appear binding in the eyes of a rustic people in case he should amplify his own importance, by adopting emblems of authority. He therefore put on a more august state in every way, and especially by the assumption of twelve lictors. Some think the twelve birds which had given him an augury of kingship led him to choose this number. For my part, I am content to share the opinion of those who derive from the neighbouring Etruscans (from which were borrowed the curule chair and purple-bordered toga) not only the type of attendants but their number as well—a number which the Etruscans themselves are thought to have chosen because each of the twelve cities which united to elect the king contributed one lictor.

Meanwhile the City was expanding and reaching out its walls to include one place after another, for they built their defences with an eye rather to the population which they hoped one day to have than to the numbers they had then. Next, lest his big City should be empty, Romulus resorted to a plan for increasing the inhabitants which had long been employed by the founders of cities, who gather about them an obscure and lowly multitude and pretend that the earth has raised up sons to them. In the place, which is now enclosed, between the two groves as you go up the hill, he opened a sanctuary. There fled, from the surrounding peoples, a miscellaneous rabble, without distinction of bond or free, eager for new conditions; and these constituted the first advance in power towards that greatness at which Romulus aimed. He had now no reason to be dissatisfied with his strength and proceeded to add policy to strength. He appointed a hundred senators, whether because this number seemed to him sufficient, or because there were no more than a hundred who could be designated Fathers. At all events, they received the designation of fathers from their rank, and their descendants were called patricians.

#### Key learning:

- Romulus opened up a refuge sanctuary in order to populate the city.

### Dionysius 2.4

Such was the speech that Romulus, following the instructions of his grandfather, as I have said, made to the people. And they, having consulted together by themselves, returned this answer:

“We have no need of a new form of government and we are not going to change the one which our ancestors approved of as the best and handed down to us. In this we show both a deference for the judgment of our elders, whose superior wisdom we recognize in establishing it, and our own satisfaction with our present condition. For we could not reasonably complain of this form of government, which has afforded us under our kings the greatest of human blessings—liberty and the rule over others. Concerning the form of government, then, this is our decision; and to this honour we conceive none has so good a title as you yourself by reason both of your royal birth and of your merit, but above all because we have had you as the leader of our colony and recognize in you great ability and great wisdom, which we have seen displayed quite as much in your actions as in your words.”

Romulus, hearing this, said it was a great satisfaction to him to be judged worthy of the kingly office by his fellow men, but that he would not accept the honour until Heaven, too, had given its sanction by favourable omens.

## Dionysius 2.5

And when the people approved, he appointed a day on which he proposed to consult the auspices concerning the sovereignty; and when the time was come, he rose at break of day and went forth from his tent. Then, taking his stand under the open sky in a clear space and first offering the customary sacrifice, he prayed to King Jupiter and to the other gods whom he had chosen for the patrons of the colony, that, if it was then pleasure he should be king of the city, some favourable signs might appear in the sky. After this prayer a flash of lightning darted across the sky from the left to the right. Now the Romans look upon the lightning that passes from the left to the right as a favourable omen, having been thus instructed either by the Tyrrhenians or by their own ancestors. Their reason is, in my opinion, that the best seat and station for those who take the auspices is that which looks toward the east, from where both the sun and the moon rise as well as the planets and fixed stars; and the revolution of the firmament, by which all things contained in it are sometimes above the earth and sometimes beneath it, begins its circular motion. Now to those who look toward the east the parts facing toward the north are on the left and those extending toward the south are on the right, and the former are by nature more honourable than the latter. For in the northern parts the pole of the axis upon which the firmament turns is elevated, and of the five zones which girdle the sphere the one called the arctic zone is always visible on this side; whereas in the southern parts the other zone, called the antarctic, is depressed and invisible on that side. So it is reasonable to assume that those signs in the heavens and in mid-air are the best which appear on the best side; and since the parts that are turned toward the east have preëminence over the western parts, and, of the eastern parts themselves, the northern are higher than the southern, the former would seem to be the best. But some relate that the ancestors of the Romans from very early times, even before they had learned it from the Tyrrhenians, looked upon the lightning that came from the left as a favourable omen. For they say that when **Ascanius**, the son of **Aeneas**, was warred upon and besieged by the Tyrrhenians led by their king **Mezentius**, and was upon the point of making a final sally out of the town, his situation being now desperate, he prayed with lamentations to Jupiter and to the rest of the gods to encourage this sally with favourable omens, and thereupon out of a clear sky there appeared a flash of lightning coming from the left; and as this battle had the happiest outcome, this sign continued to be regarded as favourable by his posterity.

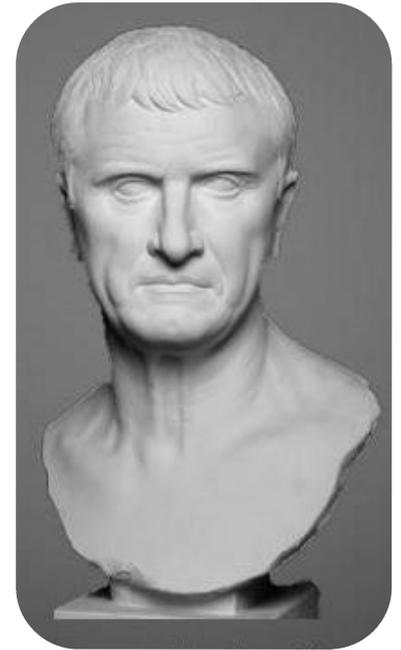
### Key learning:

- **Romulus is selected as king by his people, but he asserts that he cannot assume the role without a good omen.**
- **The origin of the omen is traced to Ascanius' good fortune defeating Mezentius.**

## Dionysius 2.6

When Romulus, therefore, upon the occasion mentioned had received the sanction of Heaven also, he called the people together in assembly; and having given them an account of the omens, he was chosen king by them and established it as a custom, to be observed by all his successors, that none of them should accept the office of king or any other magistracy until Heaven, too, had given its sanction. And this custom relating to the auspices long continued to be observed by the Romans, not only while the city was ruled by kings, but also, after the overthrow of the monarchy, in the elections of their consuls, praetors and other legal magistrates; but it has fallen into disuse in our days except as a certain semblance of it remains merely for form's sake. For those who are about to assume the magistracies pass the night out of doors, and rising at break of day, offer certain prayers under the open sky; whereupon some of the

augurs present, who are paid by the State, declare that a flash of lightning coming from the left has given them a sign, although there really has not been any. And the others, taking their omen from this report, depart in order to take over their magistracies, some of them assuming this alone to be sufficient, that no omens have appeared opposing or forbidding their intended action, others acting even in opposition to the will of the god; indeed, there are times when they resort to violence and rather seize than receive the magistracies. Because of such men many armies of the Romans have been utterly destroyed on land, many fleets have been lost with all their people at sea, and other great and dreadful reverses have befallen the commonwealth, some in foreign wars and others in civil dissensions. But the most remarkable and the greatest instance happened in my time when **Licinius Crassus**, a man inferior to no commander of his age, led his army against the Parthian nation contrary to the will of Heaven and in contempt of the innumerable omens that opposed his expedition. But to tell about the contempt of the divine power that prevails among some people in these days would be a long story.



Crassus 115-53 BC Roman General

## Dionysius 2.7

Romulus, who was thus chosen king by both men and gods, is allowed to have been a man of great military ability and personal bravery and of the greatest sagacity in instituting the best kind of government. I shall relate such of his political and military achievements as may be thought worthy of mention in a history; and first I shall speak of the form of government that he instituted, which I regard as the most self-sufficient of all political systems both for peace and for war. This was the plan of it: He divided all the people into three groups and set over each as leader its

**Phylê**= an ancient Greek term for tribe/clan.

**Trittys**= population divisions in ancient Attica, meaning third.

**Phratra**= every Spartan graduating the **agogê** school system had to be accepted into a mess, or Phatra.

**lochos** = ancient Greek for ambush and the men carrying out the ambush.

**Lochagoi**= general of a **lochos** (above).

most distinguished man. Then he subdivided each of these three groups into ten others and appointed as many of the bravest men to be the leaders of these also. The larger divisions he called tribes and the smaller curiae, as they are still termed even in our day. These names may be translated into Greek as follows: a tribe by **phylê** and **trittys**, and a curia by **phratra** and **lochos**; the commanders of the tribes, whom the Romans call tribunes, by **phylarchoi** and **trittycharchoi**; and the commanders of the curiae, whom they call **curiones**, by **phratriarchoi** and **lochagoi**. These curiae were again divided by him into ten parts, each commanded by its own leader, who was called decurio in the native language. The people being thus divided and assigned to tribes and curiae, he divided the land into thirty equal portions and assigned one of them to each curia, having first set apart as much of it as was sufficient for the support of the temples and shrines and also reserved some part of the land for the use of the public. This was one division made by Romulus, both of the men and of the land, which involved the greatest equality for all alike.

## Dionysius 2.8

But there was another division again of the men only, which assigned kindly services and honours in accordance with merit, of which I am now going to give an account. He distinguished those who were eminent for their birth, approved for their virtue and wealthy for those times, provided they already had children, from the obscure, the lowly and the poor. Those of the lower rank he called “plebeians” (the Greeks would call them *dêmotikoi* or “men of the people”), and those of the higher rank “fathers,” either because they were older than the others or because they had children or from their distinguished birth or for all these reasons. One may suspect that he found his model in the system of government which at that time still prevailed at Athens. For the Athenians had divided their population into two parts, the *eupatridai* or “wellborn,” as they called those who were of the noble families and powerful by reason of their wealth, to whom the government of the city was committed, and the *agroikoi* or “husbandmen,” consisting of the rest of the citizens, who had no voice in public affairs, though in the course of time these, also, were admitted to the offices. Those who give the most probable account of the Roman government say it was for the reasons I have given that those men were called “fathers” and their posterity *patricians*; but others, considering the matter in the light of their own envy and desirous of casting reproach on the city for the ignoble birth of its founders, say they were not called patricians for the reasons just cited, but because these men only could point out their fathers,—as if all the rest were fugitives and unable to name free men as their fathers. As proof of this they cite the fact that, whenever the kings thought proper to assemble the patricians, the heralds called them both by their own names and by the names of their fathers, whereas public servants summoned the plebeians *en masse* to the assemblies by the sound of ox horns. But in reality neither the calling of the patricians by the heralds is any proof of their nobility nor is the sound of the horn any mark of the obscurity of the plebeians; but the former was an indication of honour and the latter of expedition, since it was not possible in a short time to call every one of the multitude by name.

## Dionysius 2.9

After Romulus had distinguished those of superior rank from their inferiors, he next established laws by which the duties of each were prescribed. The patricians were to be priests, magistrates and judges, and were to assist him in the management of public affairs, devoting themselves to the business of the city. The plebeians were excused from these duties, as being unacquainted with them and because of their small means wanting leisure to attend to them, but were to apply themselves to agriculture, the breeding of cattle and the exercise of gainful trades. This was to prevent them from engaging in seditions, as happens in other cities when either the magistrates mistreat the lowly, or the common people and the needy envy those in authority. He placed the plebeians as a trust in the hands of the patricians, by allowing every plebeian to choose for his patron any patrician whom he himself wished. In this he improved upon an ancient Greek custom that was in use among the Thessalians for a long time and among the Athenians in the beginning. For the former treated their clients with haughtiness, imposing on them duties unbecoming to free men; and whenever they disobeyed any of their commands, they beat them and misused them in all other respects as if they had been slaves they had purchased. The Athenians called their clients *thêtes* or “hirelings,” because they served for hire, and the Thessalians called theirs *penestai* or “toilers,” by the very name reproaching them with their condition. But Romulus not only recommended the relationship by a handsome designation, calling this protection of the poor and lowly a “patronage,” but he also assigned friendly offices to both parties, thus making the connexion between them a bond of kindness befitting fellow citizens.

**Key learning:**

- **Romulus divides the society in different classes with various political responsibilities.**
- **This class system was based on Greek equivalents and becomes the prototype for the Roman class system.**

## Dionysius 2.10

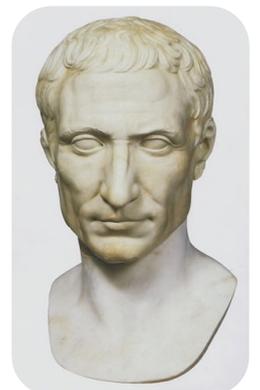
The regulations which he then instituted concerning patronage and which long continued in use among the Romans were as follows: It was the duty of the patricians to explain to their clients the laws, of which they were ignorant; to take the same care of them when absent as present, doing everything for them that fathers do for their sons with regard both to money and to the contracts that related to money; to bring suit on behalf of their clients when they were wronged in connexion with contracts, and to defend them against any who brought charges against them; and, to put the matter briefly, to secure for them both in private and in public affairs all that tranquillity of which they particularly stood in need.

It was the duty of the clients to assist their patrons in providing dowries for their daughters upon their marriage if the fathers had not sufficient means; to pay their ransom to the enemy if any of them or of their children were taken prisoner; to discharge out of their own purses their patrons' losses in private suits and the pecuniary fines which they were condemned to pay to the State, making these contributions to them not as loans but as thank-offerings; and to share with their patrons the costs incurred in their magistracies and dignities and other public expenditures, in the same manner as if they were their relations. For both patrons and clients alike it was impious and unlawful to accuse each other in law-suits or to bear witness or to give their votes against each other or to be found in the number of each other's enemies; and whoever was convicted of doing any of these things was guilty of treason by virtue of the law sanctioned by Romulus, and might lawfully be put to death by any man who so wished as a victim devoted to the Jupiter of the infernal regions.

For it was customary among the Romans, whenever they wished to put people to death without incurring any penalty, to devote their persons to some god or other, and particularly to the gods of the lower world; and this was the course which Romulus then adopted. Accordingly, the connexions between the clients and patrons continued for many generations, differing in no wise from the ties of blood-relationship and being handed down to their children's children. And it was a matter of great praise to men of illustrious families to have as many clients as possible and not only to preserve the succession of hereditary patronages but also by their own merit to acquire others. And it is incredible how great the contest of goodwill was between the patrons and clients, as each side strove not to be outdone by the other in kindness, the clients feeling that they should render all possible services to their patrons and the patrons wishing by all means not to occasion any trouble to their clients and accepting no gifts of money. So superior was their manner of life to all pleasure; for they measured their happiness by virtue, not by fortune.

## Dionysius 2.11

It was not only in the city itself that the plebeians were under the protection of the patricians, but every colony of Rome and every city that had joined in alliance and friendship with her and also every city conquered in war had such protectors and patrons among the Romans as they wished. And the senate has often referred the controversies of these cities and nations to their Roman patrons and regarded their decisions as binding. And indeed, so secure was the Romans' harmony, which owed its birth to the regulations of Romulus, that they never in the course of six hundred and thirty years proceeded to bloodshed and mutual slaughter, though many great



Gaius Gracchus  
Tribune 123-2 BC

controversies arose between the populace and their magistrates concerning public policy, as is apt to happen in all cities, whether large or small; but by persuading and informing one another, by yielding in some things and gaining other things from their opponents, who yielded in turn, they settled their disputes in a manner befitting fellow citizens. But from the time that **Gaius Gracchus**, while *tribune*, destroyed the harmony of the government they have been perpetually slaying and banishing one another from the city and refraining from no irreparable acts in order to gain the upper hand. However, for the narration of these events another occasion will be more suitable.

## Dionysius 2.12

As soon as Romulus had regulated these matters, he determined to appoint senators to assist him in administering the public business, and to this end he chose a hundred men from among the patricians, selecting them in the following manner. He himself appointed one, the best out of their whole number, to whom he thought fit to entrust the government of the city whenever he himself should lead the army beyond the borders. He next ordered each of the tribes to choose three men who were then at the age of greatest prudence and were distinguished by their birth. After these nine were chosen he ordered each curia likewise to name three patricians who were the most worthy. Then adding to the first nine, who had been named by the tribes, the ninety who were chosen by the curiae, and appointing as their head the man he himself had first selected, he completed the number of a hundred senators. The name of this council may be expressed in Greek by *gerousia* or “council of elders,” and it is called by the Romans to this day; but whether it received its name from the advanced age of the men who were appointed to it or from their merit, I cannot say for certain. For the ancients used to call the older men and those of greatest merit *gerontes* or “elders.” The members of the senate were called Conscript Fathers, and they retained that name down to my time. This council, also, was a Greek institution. At any rate, the Greek kings, both those who inherited the realms of their ancestors and those who were elected by the people themselves to be their rulers, had a council composed of the best men, as both Homer and the most ancient of the poets testify; and the authority of the ancient kings was not arbitrary and absolute as it is in our days.

### Key learning:

- **Romulus introduces a government structure whilst retaining authority as king.**
- **Dionysius contrasts Romulus’ functioning government with contemporary dysfunction.**

## Dionysius 2.13

After Romulus had also established the senate, consisting of the hundred men, he perceived, we may suppose, that he would also require a body of young men whose services he could use both for the guarding of his person and for urgent business, and accordingly he chose three hundred men, the most robust of body and from the most illustrious families, whom the curiae named in the same manner that they had named the senators, each *curia* choosing ten young men; and these he kept always about his person. They were all called by one common name, *celereres*; according to most writers this was because of the “celerity” required in the services they were to perform (for those who are ready and quick at their tasks the Romans call *celereres*), but **Valerius Antias** says that they were thus named after their commander. For among them, also, the most distinguished man was their commander; under him were three centurions, and under these in turn were others who held the inferior commands. In the city these *celereres* constantly attended Romulus, armed with spears, and executed his orders; and on campaigns they charged before him and defended his person. And as a rule it was they who gave a favourable issue to the contest, as they were the first to

Valerius Antias 1C BC  
Ancient Roman annalist Livy mentions as a source. No complete works of his survive but 65 fragments do. It seems he wrote a chronicle of ancient Rome.

engage in battle and the last of all to desist. They fought on horseback where there was level ground favourable for cavalry manoeuvres, and on foot where it was rough and inconvenient for horses. This custom Romulus borrowed, I believe, from the Lacedaemonians (Spartans), having learned that among them, also, three hundred of the noblest youths attended the kings as their guards and also as their defenders in war, fighting both on horseback and on foot.

## Dionysius 2.14

Having made these regulations, he distinguished the honours and powers which he wished each class to have. For the king he had reserved these prerogatives: in the first place, the supremacy in religious ceremonies and sacrifices and the conduct of everything relating to the worship of the gods; secondly, the guardianship of the laws and customs of the country and the general oversight of justice in all cases, whether founded on the law of nature or the civil law; he was also to judge in person the greatest crimes, leaving the lesser to the senators, but seeing to it that no error was made in their decisions; he was to summon the senate and call together the popular assembly, to deliver his opinion first and carry out the decision of the majority. These prerogatives he granted to the king and, in addition, the absolute command in war. To the senate he assigned honour and authority as follows: to deliberate and give their votes concerning everything the king should refer to them, the decision of the majority to prevail. This also Romulus took over from the constitution of the Lacedaemonians; for their kings, too, did not have arbitrary power to do everything they wished, but the *gerousia* exercised complete control of public affairs. To the populace he granted these three privileges: to choose magistrates, to ratify laws, and to decide concerning war whenever the king left the decision to them; yet even in these matters their authority was not unrestricted, since the concurrence of the senate was necessary to give effect to their decisions. The people did not give their votes all at the same time, but were summoned to meet by curiae, and whatever was resolved upon by the majority of the curiae was reported to the senate. But in our day this practice is reversed, since the senate does not deliberate upon the resolutions passed by the people, but the people have full power over the decrees of the senate; and which of the two customs is the better I leave it open to others to determine. By this division of authority not only were the civil affairs administered in a prudent and orderly manner, but the business of war also was carried on with dispatch and strict obedience. For whenever the king thought proper to lead out his army there was then no necessity for tribunes to be chosen by tribes, or centurions by centuries, or commanders of the horse appointed, nor was it necessary for the army to be numbered or to be divided into centuries or for every man to be assigned to his appropriate post. But the king gave his orders to the tribunes and these to the centurions and they in turn to the decurions, each of whom led out those who were under his command; and whether the whole army or part of it was called, at a single summons they presented themselves ready with arms in hand at the designated post.

### Key learning:

- Romulus imposes a voting system inspired by the Spartans.

## Religious Initiatives

### Livy 1.7

Remus (c.753 BC) is said to have been the first to receive an augury, from the flight of six vultures. The omen had been already reported when twice that number appeared to Romulus. Thereupon each was saluted king by his own followers, the one party laying claim to the honour from priority, the other from the number of the birds. They then engaged in a battle of words and, angry taunts leading to bloodshed, Remus was struck down in the affray. The commoner story is that Remus leaped over the new walls in mockery of his brother, whereupon Romulus in great anger slew him, and in menacing wise added these words withal, "So perish whoever else shall leap over my walls!" Thus Romulus acquired sole power, and the city, thus founded, was called by its founder's name.

His first act was to fortify the Palatine, on which he had himself been reared. To other gods he sacrificed after the **Alban** custom, but employed the **Greek** for Hercules, according to the institution of Evander. The story is as follows: Hercules, after slaying Geryones, was driving off his wondrously beautiful cattle, when, close to the river Tiber, where he had swum across it with the herd before him, he found a green spot, where he could let the cattle rest and refresh themselves with the abundant grass; and being tired from his journey he lay down himself. When he had there fallen into a deep sleep, for he was heavy with food and wine, a shepherd by the name of Cacus, who dwelt hard by and was insolent by reason of his strength, was struck with the beauty of the animals, and wished to drive them off as plunder. But if he had driven the herd into his cave, their tracks would have been enough to guide their owner to the place in his search; he therefore chose out those of the cattle that were most remarkable for their beauty, and turning them the other way, dragged them into the cave by their tails. At daybreak Hercules awoke. Glancing over the herd and, perceiving that a part of their number was lacking, he proceeded to the nearest cave, in case there might be foot-prints leading into it. When he saw that they were all turned outward and yet did not lead to any other place, he was confused and bewildered, and made ready to drive his herd away from that uncanny spot. As the cattle were being driven off, some of them lowed, as usually happens, missing those which had been left behind. They were answered with a low by the cattle shut up in the cave, and this made Hercules turn back. When he came towards the cave, Cacus would have prevented his approach with force, but received a blow from the hero's club, and calling in vain upon the shepherds to protect him, gave up the ghost.

Evander, an exile from the Peloponnese, controlled that region in those days, more through personal influence than sovereign power. He was a man revered for his wonderful invention of letters, a new thing to men unacquainted with the arts, and even more revered because of the divinity which men attributed to his mother Carmenta, whom those tribes had admired as a prophetess before the Sibyl's coming into Italy. Now this Evander was then attracted by the concourse of shepherds, who, crowding excitedly about the stranger, were accusing him as a murderer caught red-handed. When he had been told about the deed and the reason for it and had marked the bearing of the man and his figure, which was somewhat ampler and more august than a mortal's, he inquired who he was. Upon learning his name, his father, and his birth-place, he exclaimed,

"Hail, Hercules, son of Jupiter! You are he, of whom my mother, truthful interpreter of Heaven, foretold to me that you should be added to the number of the gods, and that an altar should be dedicated to you here which the nation one day to be the most powerful on earth should call the Greatest Altar, and should serve according to your rite."

Hercules gave him his hand, and declared that he accepted the omen, and would fulfil the prophecy by establishing and dedicating an altar. Then and there men took a choice victim from the herd, and for the first time made sacrifice to Hercules. For the ministry and the banquet they employed the Potitii and the Pinarii, being the families of most distinction then living in that region. It so fell out that the Potitii were there at the appointed time, and to them were served the inwards; the Pinarii came after the inwards had been eaten, in season for the remainder of the feast. Thence

came the custom, which persisted as long as the Pinarian family endured, that they should not partake of the inwards at that sacrifice. The Potitii, instructed by Evander, were priests of this cult for many generations, until, having delegated to public slaves the solemn function of their family, the entire stock of the Potitii died out. This was the only sacred observance, of all those of foreign origin, which Romulus then adopted, honouring even then the immortality won by worth to which his own destiny was leading him.

**Key learning:**

- **Romulus appropriates religious practices from local and Greek religions, including Herculean cult practice.**

**Livy 1.10**

The resentment of the brides was already much diminished at the very moment when their parents, in mourning garb and with tears and lamentations, were attempting to arouse their states to action. Nor did they confine their complaints to their home towns, but thronged from every side to the house of **Titus Tatius**, king of the Sabines; and thither, too, came official embassies, for the name of Tatius was the greatest in all that country.



**Roman Republic: denarius of L. Titurius L.f. Sabinus, 89 B.C.**

Obverse: bare head of king Tatius right, "SABINI" behind, palm before.

Reverse: Tarpeia between two soldiers who are about to cast their shields upon her, star and crescent above. "L. TITVRI" in exergue.

**Wikimedia Commons.**

The men of Caenina, Crustumium, and Antemnae, were those who had had a share in the wrong. It seemed to them that Tatius and the Sabines were procrastinating, and without waiting for them these three tribes arranged for a joint campaign. But even the Crustuminians and Antemnates moved too slowly to satisfy the burning anger of the Caeninenses, and accordingly that nation invaded alone the Roman territory. But while they were dispersed and engaged in pillage, Romulus appeared with his troops and taught them, by an easy victory, how ineffectual is anger without strength. Their army he broke and routed and pursued it as it fled; their king he killed in battle and despoiled; their city, once their leader was slain, he captured at the first assault. He then led his victorious army back, and being not more splendid in his deeds than willing to display them, he arranged the spoils of the enemy's dead commander upon a frame, suitably fashioned for the purpose, and, carrying it himself, mounted the Capitol. Having there deposited

his burden, by an oak which the shepherds held sacred, at the same time as he made his offering, he marked out the limits of a temple to Jupiter and bestowed a title upon him. "Jupiter Feretrius," he said, "to thee I, victorious Romulus, myself a king, bring the panoply of a king, and dedicate a sacred precinct within the bounds which I have even now marked off in my mind, to be a seat for the spoils of honour which men shall bear hither in time to come, following my example, when they have slain kings and commanders of the enemy."

This was the origin of the first temple that was consecrated in Rome. It pleased Heaven, in the sequel, that while the founder's words should not be in vain, when he declared that men should bring spoils thither in the after time, yet the glory of that gift should not be staled by a multitude of partakers. Twice only since then, in all these years with their many wars, have the spoils of honour been won; so rarely have men had the good fortune to attain to that distinction.

## Livy 1.12

Be that as it may, the Sabines held the citadel. Next day the Roman army was drawn up and covered the ground between the Palatine Hill and the Capitoline, but the Sabines would not come down till rage and eagerness to regain the citadel had goaded their enemy into marching up the slope against them. Two champions led the fighting, the Sabine **Mettius Curtius** on the one side, and the Roman **Hostius Hostilius** on the other. Hostius held the Romans firm, despite their disadvantage of position, by the reckless courage he displayed in the thick of the fray. But when he fell, the Roman line gave way at once and fled towards the old gate of the Palatine. Romulus himself was swept along in the crowd of the fugitives, till lifting his sword and shield to heaven, he cried:

"O Jupiter, it was your omen that directed me when I laid here on the Palatine the first foundations of my City. The fortress is already bought by a crime and in the possession of the Sabines, whence they are come, sword in hand, across the valley to seek us here. But do thou, father of gods and men, keep them back from this spot at least; deliver the Romans from their terror, and stay their shameful flight! I here vow to you, Jupiter the Stayer, a temple, to be a memorial to our descendants how the City was saved by your present help."

Having uttered this prayer he exclaimed, as if he had perceived that it was heard, "Here, Romans, Jupiter Optimus Maximus commands us to stand and renew the fight!" The Romans did stand, as though directed by a voice from Heaven, Romulus himself rushing into the forefront of the battle. **Mettius Curtius**, on the Sabine side, had led the charge down from the citadel, and driven the Romans in disorder over all that ground which the Forum occupies. He was not now far from the gate of the Palatine, shouting, "We have beaten our faithless hosts, our cowardly enemies! They know now how great the difference is between carrying off maidens and fighting with men!" While he pronounced this boast a band of gallant youths, led on by Romulus, assailed him. It chanced that Mettius was fighting on horseback at the time and was therefore the more easily put to flight. As he fled, the Romans followed; and the rest of their army, too, fired by the reckless daring of their king, drove the Sabines before them. Mettius plunged into a swamp, his horse becoming unmanageable in the din of the pursuit, and even the Sabines were drawn off from the general engagement by the danger to so great a man. As for Mettius, heartened by the gestures and shouts of his followers and the encouragement of the throng, he made his escape; and the Romans and the Sabines renewed their battle in the valley that lies between the two hills. But the advantage rested with the Romans.



**Augustan Roman relief, white marble, found in 1553 in the Tabularium (records office) of the Capitoline.** The Sabine champion was Mettius Curtius, but during the battle, he got stuck in the marsh; therefore, it was called Lake of Curtius.

Image source: [www.livius.org](http://www.livius.org)

**Key learning:**

- **Romulus establishes an invocation of Jupiter to commemorate his triumph.**

**Livy 1.16**

When these deathless deeds had been done, as the king was holding a muster in the Campus Martius, near the swamp of Capra, for the purpose of reviewing the army, suddenly a storm came up, with loud claps of thunder, and enveloped him in a cloud so thick as to hide him from the sight of the assembly; and from that moment Romulus was no more on earth. The Roman soldiers at length recovered from their panic, when this hour of wild confusion had been succeeded by a sunny calm; but when they saw that the royal seat was empty, although they readily believed the assertion of the senators, who had been standing next to Romulus, that he had been caught up on high in the blast, they nevertheless remained for some time sorrowful and silent, as if filled with the fear of orphanhood. Then, when a few men had taken the initiative, they all with one accord hailed Romulus as a god and a god's son, the King and Father of the Roman City, and with prayers besought his favour that he would graciously be pleased forever to protect his children. There were some, I believe, even then who secretly asserted that the king had been rent in pieces by the hands of the senators, for this rumour, too, got abroad, but in very obscure terms; the other version obtained currency, owing to men's admiration for the hero and the intensity of their panic. And the shrewd device of one man is also said to have gained new credit for the story. This was **Proculus Julius**, who, when the people were distracted with the loss of their king and in no friendly mood towards the senate, being, as tradition tells, weighty in council, were the matter never so important, addressed the assembly as follows:

"Quirites, the Father of this City, Romulus, descended suddenly from the sky at dawn this morning and appeared to me. Covered with confusion, I stood reverently before him, praying that it might be vouchsafed me to look upon his face without sin. 'Go,' said he, 'and declare to the Romans the will of Heaven that my Rome shall be the capital of the world; so let them cherish the art of war, and let them know and teach their children that no human strength can resist Roman arms.' So saying," he concluded, "Romulus departed on high."

It is wonderful what credence the people placed in that man's tale, and how the grief for the loss of Romulus, which the plebeians and the army felt, was quieted by the assurance of his immortality.

**Key learning:**

- **Romulus becomes a divine figure after death.**
- **Dionysius expresses scepticism about the story but suggests it is a reflection of Romulus' prominence as a figure.**

## Dionysius 2.21

But let the consideration of these matters be left to those who have set aside the theoretical part of philosophy exclusively for their contemplation. To return to the government established by Romulus, I have thought the following things also worthy the notice of history. In the first place, he appointed a great number of persons to carry on the worship of the gods. At any rate, no one could name any other newly-founded city in which so many priests and ministers of the gods were appointed from the beginning. For, apart from those who held family priesthoods, sixty were appointed in his reign to perform by tribes and curiae the public sacrifices on behalf of the commonwealth; I am merely repeating what **Terentius Varro**, the most learned man of his age, has written in his *Antiquities*. In the next place, whereas others generally choose in a careless and inconsiderate manner those who are to preside over religious matters, some thinking fit to make public sale of this honour and others disposing of it by lot, he would not allow the priesthoods to be either purchased for money or assigned by lot, but made a law that each curia should choose two men over fifty years of age, of distinguished birth and exceptional merit, of competent fortune, and without any bodily defects; and he ordered that these should enjoy their honours, not for any fixed period, but for life, freed from military service by their age and from civil burdens by the law.

## Dionysius 2.22

And because some rites were to be performed by women, others by children whose fathers and mothers were living, to the end that these also might be administered in the best manner, he ordered that the wives of the priests should be associated with their husbands in the priesthood; and that in the case of any rites which men were forbidden by the law of the country to celebrate, their wives should perform them and their children should assist as their duties required; and that the priests who had no children should choose out of the other families of each curia the most beautiful boy and girl, the boy to assist in the rites till the age of manhood, and the girl so long as she remained unmarried. These arrangements also he borrowed, in my opinion, from the practices of the Greeks. For all the duties that are performed in the Greek ceremonies by the maidens whom they call *kanêphoroi* and *arrhêphoroi* are performed by those whom the Romans call *tutulatae*, who wear on their heads the same kind of crowns with which the statues of the Ephesian Artemis are adorned among the Greeks. And all the functions which among the Tyrrhenians and still earlier among the Pelasgians were performed by those they called *cadmili* in the rites of the Curetes and in those of the Great Gods, were performed in the same manner by those attendants of the priests who are now called by the Romans *camilli*. Furthermore, Romulus ordered one soothsayer out of each tribe to be present at the sacrifices. This soothsayer we call *hieroskopos* or "inspector of the vitals," and the Romans, preserving something of the ancient name, *aruspex*. He also made a law that all the priests and ministers of the gods should be chosen by the curiae and that their election should be confirmed by those who interpret the will of the gods by the art of divination.

*Kanêphoroi*= carriers of the sacrificial basket  
*Arrhêphoroi*= girls who carried a secret burden  
*Tutulatae*= the carriers  
*Camilli*= priests' attendants

**Key learning:**

- Romulus adopts ritual practice from Greek religion.
- Romulus instates priests.

## Dionysius 2.23

After he had made these regulations concerning the ministers of the gods, he again, as I have stated, assigned the sacrifices in an appropriate manner to the various curiae, appointing for each of them gods and genii (noble families) whom they were always to worship, and determined the expenditures for the sacrifices, which were to be paid to them out of the public treasury. The members of each curia performed their appointed sacrifices together with their own priests, and on holy days they feasted together at their common table. For a banqueting-hall had been built for each curia, and in it there was consecrated, just as in the Greek *prytanea* (town hall), a common table for all the members of the curia. These banqueting-halls had the same name as the curiae themselves and are called so to our day. This institution, it seems to me, Romulus took over from the practice of the Lacedaemonians in the case of



their *phiditia* (common meals for men), which were then the vogue. It would seem that Lycurgus, who had learned the institution from the Cretans, introduced it at Sparta to the great advantage of his country; for he thereby in time of peace directed the citizens' lives toward frugality and temperance in their daily repasts, and in time of war inspired every man with a sense of shame and concern not to forsake his comrade with whom he had offered libations and sacrifices and shared in common rites. And not alone for his wisdom in these matters does Romulus deserve praise, but also for the frugality of the sacrifices that he appointed for the honouring of the gods, the greatest part of which, if not all, remained to my day, being still performed in the ancient manner. At any rate, I myself have seen in the sacred edifices repasts set before the gods upon ancient wooden tables, in baskets and small earthen plates, consisting of barley bread, cakes and spelt, with the first-offerings of some fruits, and other things of like nature, simple, cheap, and devoid of all vulgar

display. I have seen also the libation wines that had been mixed, not in silver and gold vessels, but in little earthen cups and jugs, and I have greatly admired these men for adhering to the customs of their ancestors and not degenerating from their ancient rites into a boastful magnificence. There are, it is true, other institutions, worthy to be both remembered and related, which were established by **Numa Pompilius**, who ruled the city after Romulus, a man of consummate wisdom and of rare sagacity in interpreting the will of the gods, and of them I shall speak later; and yet others were added by **Tullus Hostilius**, the second king after Romulus, and by all the kings who followed him. But the seeds of them were sown and the foundations laid by Romulus, who established the principal rites of their religion.

**Key learning:**

- Romulus includes his citizens in religious practices using feasting halls for common rites.
- Dionysius respects the rustic origins of these religious practices.

## Impact of Warfare and Military Change

### Dionysius 2.14

Having made these regulations, he distinguished the honours and powers which he wished each class to have. For the king he had reserved these prerogatives: in the first place, the supremacy in religious ceremonies and sacrifices and the conduct of everything relating to the worship of the gods; secondly, the guardianship of the laws and customs of the country and the general oversight of justice in all cases, whether founded on the law of nature or the civil law; he was also to judge in person the greatest crimes, leaving the lesser to the senators, but seeing to it that no error was made in

their decisions; he was to summon the senate and call together the popular assembly, to deliver his opinion first and carry out the decision of the majority. These prerogatives he granted to the king and, in addition, the absolute command in war. To the senate he assigned honour and authority as follows: to deliberate and give their votes concerning everything the king should refer to them, the decision of the majority to prevail. This also Romulus took over from the constitution of the Lacedaemonians; for their kings, too, did not have arbitrary power to do everything they wished, but the *gerousia* (Spartan council of elders) exercised complete control of public affairs. To the populace he granted these three privileges: to choose magistrates, to ratify laws, and to decide concerning war whenever the king left the decision to them; yet even in these matters their authority was not unrestricted, since the concurrence of the senate was necessary to give effect to their decisions.

The people did not give their votes all at the same time, but were summoned to meet by curiae, and whatever was resolved upon by the majority of the curiae was reported to the senate. But in our day this practice is reversed, since the senate does not deliberate upon the resolutions passed by the people, but the people have full power over the decrees of the senate; and which of the two customs is the better I leave it open to others to determine. By this division of authority not only were the civil affairs administered in a prudent and orderly manner, but the business of war also was carried on with dispatch and strict obedience. For whenever the king thought proper to lead out his army there was then no necessity for tribunes to be chosen by tribes, or centurions by centuries, or commanders of the horse appointed, nor was it necessary for the army to be numbered or to be divided into centuries or for every man to be assigned to his appropriate post. But the king gave his orders to the tribunes and these to the centurions and they in turn to the *decurions* (members of a city senate in the Roman Empire), each of whom led out those who were under his command; and whether the whole army or part of it was called, at a single summons they presented themselves ready with arms in hand at the designated post.

**Key learning:**

- Romulus introduces Spartan infrastructure by allowing votes within the council

**Livy 1.14**

Some years later the kinsmen of King Tadius maltreated the envoys of the Laurentians, and when their fellow-citizens sought redress under the law of nations, Titus yielded to his partiality for his relations and to their entreaties. In consequence of this he drew down their punishment upon himself, for at Lavinium, where he had gone to the annual sacrifice, a mob came together and killed him. This act is said to have awakened less resentment than was proper in Romulus, whether owing to the disloyalty that attends a divided rule, or because he thought Tadius had been fairly slain. He therefore refused to go to war; but yet, in order that he might atone for the insults to the envoys and the murder of the king, he caused the covenant between Rome and Lavinium to be renewed.

Thus with the Laurentians peace was preserved against all expectation; but another war broke out, much nearer, and indeed almost at the city gates. The men of Fidenae, perceiving the growth of a power which they thought too near themselves for safety, did not wait till its promised strength should be realized, but began war themselves. Arming the young men, they sent them to ravage the land between the City and Fidenae. Thence they turned to the left—for the Tiber stopped them on the right—and by their devastations struck terror into the farmers, whose sudden stampede from the fields into the City brought the first tidings of war. Romulus led forth his army on the instant, for delay was impossible with the enemy so near, and pitched his camp a mile from Fidenae. Leaving there a small guard, he marched out with all his forces. A part of his men he ordered to lie in ambush, on this side and on that, where thick underbrush afforded cover; advancing with the greater part of the infantry and all the cavalry, and delivering a disorderly and provoking attack, in which the horsemen galloped almost up to the gates, he accomplished his purpose of drawing out

the enemy. For the flight, too, which had next to be feigned, the cavalry engagement afforded a favourable pretext. And when not only the cavalry began to waver, as if undecided whether to fight or run, but the infantry also fell back, the city gates were quickly thronged by the enemy, who poured out and hurled themselves against the Roman line, and in the ardour of attack and pursuit were drawn on to the place of ambush. There the Romans suddenly sprang out and assailed the enemy's flanks, while, to add to their terror, the standards of the detachment which had been left on guard were seen advancing from the camp; thus threatened by so many dangers the men of Fidenae scarcely afforded time for Romulus and those whom they had seen riding off with him to wheel about, before they broke and ran, and in far greater disorder than that of the pretended fugitives whom they had just been chasing—for the flight was a real one this time—sought to regain the town. But the Fidenates did not escape their foes; the Romans followed close upon their heels, and before the gates could be shut burst into the city, as though they both formed but a single army.

### Livy 1.15

From **Fidenae** the war-spirit, by a kind of contagion, spread to the **Veientes**, whose hostility was aroused by their kinship with the Fidenates, **Etruscans** like themselves, and was intensified by the danger which lay in their very proximity to Rome, if her arms should be directed against all her neighbours. They made an incursion into Roman territory which more resembled a marauding expedition than a regular campaign; and so, without having entrenched a camp or waited for the enemy's army, they carried off their booty from the fields and brought it back to Veii. The Romans, on the contrary, not finding their enemy in the fields, crossed the Tiber, ready and eager for a decisive struggle. When the Veientes heard that they were making a camp, and would be advancing against their city, they went out to meet them, preferring to settle the quarrel in the field of battle rather than to be shut up and compelled to fight for their homes and their town. Without employing strategy to aid his forces, the Roman king won the battle by the sheer strength of his seasoned army, and routing his enemies, pursued them to their walls. But the city was strongly fortified, besides the protection afforded by its site, and he refrained from attacking it. Their fields, indeed, he laid waste as he returned, more in revenge than from a desire for booty, and this disaster, following upon their defeat, induced the Veientes to send envoys to Rome and sue for peace. They were deprived of a part of their land, and a truce was granted them for a hundred years.



Such were the principal achievements of the reign of Romulus, at home and in the field, nor is any of them incompatible with the belief in his divine origin and the divinity which was ascribed to the king after his death, whether one considers his spirit in recovering the kingdom of his ancestors, or his wisdom in founding the City and in strengthening it by warlike and peaceful measures. For it was to him, assuredly, that Rome owed the vigour which enabled her to enjoy an untroubled peace for the next forty years. Nevertheless, he was more liked by the commons than by the senate, and was pre-eminently dear to the hearts of his soldiers. Of these he had three hundred for a bodyguard, to whom he gave the name of Celeres, and kept them by him, not only in war, but also in time of peace.

**Key learning:**

- **Fidenae revolt against Romulus, provoking local tribes to rise up.**
- **Veientes engage with the Romans in the open to avoid a siege and were defeated by Romulus.**
- **Romulus' strength and desire for revenge is emphasised in Livy's account, rather than any sense of strategy.**

## Social and Religious Change

### Livy 1.9

Rome was now strong enough to hold her own in war with any of the adjacent states; but owing to the want of women a single generation was likely to see the end of her greatness, since she had neither prospect of posterity at home nor the right of intermarriage with her neighbours. So, on the advice of the senate, Romulus sent envoys round among all the neighbouring nations to solicit for the new people an alliance and the privilege of intermarrying, Cities, they argued, as well as all other things, take their rise from the lowliest beginnings. As time goes on, those which are aided by their own worth and by the favour of Heaven achieve great power and renown. They said they were well assured that Rome's origin had been blessed with the favour of Heaven, and that worth would not be lacking; their neighbours should not be reluctant to mingle their stock and their blood with the Romans, who were as truly men as they were. Nowhere did the embassy obtain a friendly hearing. In fact men spurned, at the same time that they feared, both for themselves and their descendants, that great power which was then growing up in their midst; and the envoys were frequently asked, on being dismissed, if they had opened a sanctuary for women as well as for men, for in that way only would they obtain suitable wives. This was a bitter insult to the young Romans, and the matter seemed certain to end in violence. Expressly to afford a fitting time and place for this, Romulus, concealing his resentment, made ready solemn games in honour of the equestrian Neptune, which he called *Consualia*. He then bade proclaim the spectacle to the surrounding peoples, and his subjects prepared to celebrate it with all the resources within their knowledge and power, that they might cause the occasion to be noised abroad and eagerly expected. Many people—for they were also eager to see the new city—gathered for the festival, especially those who lived nearest, the inhabitants of **Caenina**, **Crustumium**, and **Antemnae**. The **Sabines**, too, came with all their people, including their children and wives. They were hospitably entertained in every house, and when they had looked at the site of the city, its walls, and its numerous buildings, they marvelled that Rome had so rapidly grown great. When the time came for the show, and people's thoughts and eyes were busy with it, the preconcerted attack began. At a given signal the young Romans darted this way and that, to seize and carry off the maidens. In most cases these were taken by the men in whose path they chanced to be. Some, of exceptional beauty, had been marked out for the chief senators, and were carried off to their houses by plebeians to whom the office had been entrusted. One, who far excelled the rest in mien and loveliness, was seized, the story relates, by the gang of a certain Thalassius. Being repeatedly asked for whom they were bearing her off, they kept shouting that no one should touch her, for they were taking her to Thalassius, and this was the origin of the wedding-cry. The sports broke up in a panic, and the parents of the maidens fled sorrowing. They charged the Romans with the crime of violating hospitality and invoked the gods to whose solemn games they had come, deceived in violation of religion and honour. The stolen maidens were no more hopeful of their plight, nor less indignant. But Romulus himself went amongst them and explained that the pride of their parents had caused this deed, when they had refused their neighbours the right to intermarry; nevertheless the daughters should be wedded and become co-partners in all the possessions of the Romans, in their citizenship and, dearest privilege of all to the human race, in their children; only let them moderate their anger, and give their hearts to those to whom fortune had given their persons. A sense of injury had often given place to affection, and they would find their husbands the kinder for this reason, that every man would earnestly endeavour not only to be a good husband, but also to console his wife for the home and parents she had lost. His arguments were seconded by the wooing of the men, who excused their act on the score of passion and love, the most moving of all pleas to a woman's heart.

### Livy 1.13

Then the Sabine women, whose wrong had given rise to the war, with loosened hair and torn garments, their woman's timidity lost in a sense of their misfortune, dared to go amongst the flying missiles, and rushing in from the side, to part the hostile forces and disarm them of their anger, beseeching their fathers on this side, on that their husbands, that

fathers-in-law and sons-in-law should not stain themselves with impious bloodshed, nor pollute with parricide the suppliants' children, grandsons to one party and sons to the other.

"If you regret," they continued, "the relationship that unites you, if you regret the marriage-tie, turn your anger against us; we are the cause of war, the cause of wounds, and even death to both our husbands and our parents. It will be better for us to perish than to live, lacking either of you, as widows or as orphans."

It was a touching plea, not only to the rank and file, but to their leaders as well. A stillness fell on them, and a sudden hush. Then the leaders came forward to make a truce, and not only did they agree on peace, but they made one people out of the two. They shared the sovereignty, but all authority was transferred to Rome. In this way the population was doubled, and that some concession might after all be granted the Sabines, the citizens were named Quirites, from the town of Cures. As a reminder of this battle they gave the name of Curtian Lake to the pool where the horse of Curtius first emerged from the deep swamp and brought his rider to safety.

The sudden exchange of so unhappy a war for a joyful peace endeared the Sabine women even more to their husbands and parents, and above all to Romulus himself. And so, when he divided the people into thirty curiae, he named these wards after the women. Undoubtedly the number of the women was somewhat greater than this, but tradition does not tell whether it was their age, their own or their husbands' rank, or the casting of lots, that determined which of them should give their names to the wards. At the same time there were formed three centuries of knights: the **Ramnenses** were named after Romulus; the **Titienses** after Titus Tatius; the name and origin of the **Luceres** are alike obscure. From this time forth the two kings ruled not only jointly but in harmony.

**Key learning:**

- Romulus tries to forge alliances with neighbours through marriage to boost the population of Rome.
- Romulus facilitates this by hosting games, which culminates in the rape of the Sabine women.

## Numa

### Political Change

#### Livy 1.17

The senators meanwhile were engaged in a struggle for the coveted kingship. So far it had not come to a question of any one person, for nobody stood out with special prominence in the new nation; instead, a strife of factions was waging between the two stocks. Those of Sabine origin, having had no king on their side since the death of Tattius, feared that despite their equal rights they might lose their hold upon the sovereign power, and hence desired that the king should be chosen from their own body. The original Romans spurned the idea of an alien king. Various, however, as were men's inclinations, to be ruled by a king was their universal wish, for they had not yet tasted the sweetness of liberty. Then the senators became alarmed, lest the state wanting a ruler and the army a leader, and many neighbouring states being disaffected, some violence might be offered from without. All therefore were agreed that there should be some head, but nobody could make up his mind to yield to his fellow. And so the hundred senators shared the power among themselves, establishing ten decuries and appointing one man for each decury to preside over the administration. Ten men exercised authority; only one had its insignia and lictors.

Five days was the period of his power, which passed in rotation to all; and for a year the monarchy lapsed. This interval was called, as it was, an interregnum, a name which even yet obtains. Murmurs then arose among the plebs that their servitude had been multiplied; that a hundred masters had been given them instead of one. No longer, it seemed, would they endure anything short of a king, and a king, too, of their own choosing. Perceiving that such ideas were in the wind, the senators thought it would be well to proffer spontaneously a thing which they were on the verge of losing, and obtained the favour of the people by granting them supreme power on such terms as to part with no greater prerogative than they retained. For they decreed that when the people should have named a king, their act should only be valid in case the senators ratified it. Even now, in voting for laws and magistrates, the same right is exercised, but is robbed of its significance; before the people can begin to vote, and when the result of the election is undetermined, the Fathers ratify it. On the present occasion the interrex summoned the assembly and spoke as follows: "May prosperity, favour, and fortune attend our action! Quirites, choose your king. Such is the pleasure of the Fathers, who, in their turn, if your choice fall upon one worthy to be called Romulus' successor, will confirm your election."

This so pleased the plebs, that, unwilling to appear outdone in generosity, they merely resolved and ordered that the senate should decree who should be king in Rome.

#### Livy 1.18

A great reputation for justice and piety was enjoyed in those days by **Numa Pompilius**. Cures, a town of the Sabines, was his home, and he was deeply versed, so far as anyone could be in that age, in all law, divine and human. The teacher to whom he owed his learning was not, as men say, in default of another name, the Samian Pythagoras; for it is well established that Servius Tullius was king at Rome, more than a hundred years after this time, when Pythagoras gathered about him, on the farthest coasts of Italy, in the neighbourhood of Metapontum, Heraclea, and Croton, young men eager to share his studies (716 BC). And from that country, even if he had been contemporary, how could his fame have reached the Sabines? Again, in what common language could he have induced anyone to seek instruction of him?

Or under whose protection could a solitary man have made his way through so many nations differing in speech and



customs? It was Numa's native disposition, then, as I incline to believe, that tempered his soul with noble qualities, and his training was not in foreign studies, but in the stern and austere discipline of the ancient Sabines, a race incorruptible as any race of the olden time. When Numa's name had been proposed, the Roman senators perceived that the Sabines would gain the ascendancy if a king were to be chosen from that nation; yet nobody ventured to urge his own claims in preference to those of such a man, nor the claim of any other of his faction, nor those, in short, of any of the senators or citizens. And so they unanimously voted to offer the sovereignty to Numa Pompilius. Being summoned to Rome he commanded that, just as Romulus had obeyed the augural omens in building his city and assuming regal power, so too in his own case the gods should be consulted. Accordingly an augur (who thereafter, as a mark of honour, was made a priest of the state in permanent charge of that function) conducted him to the citadel and caused him to sit down on a stone, facing the south. The augur seated himself on Numa's left, having his head covered, and holding in his right hand the crooked staff without a knot which they call a lituus. Then, looking out over the city and the country beyond, he prayed to the gods, and marked off the heavens by a line from east to west, designating as 'right' the regions to the south, as 'left' those to the north, and fixing in his mind a landmark opposite to him and as far away as the eye could reach; next shifting the crook to his left hand and, laying his right hand on Numa's head, he uttered the following prayer:

"Father Jupiter, if it is Heaven's will that this man Numa Pompilius, whose head I am touching, be king in Rome, do thou exhibit to us unmistakable signs within those limits which I have set."

He then specified the auspices which he desired should be sent, and upon their appearance Numa was declared king, and so descended from the augural station.

**Key learning:**

- Numa is chosen as Romulus' successor.
- Numa is of Sabine origin, affirming the connection between Rome and the surrounding cities.
- Notice again the importance of augury in selecting a king, just as Romulus and Remus consulted bird augury to determine who should be king.

## Social and Religious Change

### Livy 1.19

When he had thus obtained the kingship (715-672 BC), he prepared to give the new City, founded by force of arms, a new foundation in law, statutes, and observances. And perceiving that men could not grow used to these things in the midst of wars, since their natures grew wild and savage through warfare, he thought it needful that his warlike people should be softened by the disuse of arms, and built the temple of Janus at the bottom of the Argiletum, as an index of peace and war, that when open it might signify that the nation was in arms, when closed that all the peoples roundabout were pacified. Twice since Numa's reign has it been closed: once in the consulship of Titus Manlius, after the conclusion of the First Punic War; the second time, which the gods permitted our own generation to witness, was after the battle of Actium, when the emperor Caesar Augustus had brought about peace on land and sea. Numa closed the temple after first securing the good will of all the neighbouring tribes by alliances and treaties. And fearing lest relief from anxiety on the score of foreign perils might lead men who had hitherto been held back by fear of their enemies and by military discipline into extravagance and idleness, he thought the very first thing to do, as being the most efficacious with a populace which was ignorant and, in those early days, uncivilized, was to imbue them with the fear of Heaven. As he could not instil this into their hearts without inventing some marvellous story, he pretended to have nocturnal meetings with the goddess Egeria, and that hers was the advice which guided him in the establishment of rites most approved by the gods, and in the appointment of special priests for the service of each.

And first of all he divided the year into twelve months, according to the revolutions of the moon. But since the moon does not give months of quite thirty days each, and eleven days are wanting to the full complement of a year as marked by the sun's revolution, he inserted intercalary months in such a way that in the twentieth year the days should fall in with the same position of the sun from which they had started, and the period of twenty years be rounded out. He also appointed days when public business might not be carried on, and others when it might, since it would sometimes be desirable that nothing should be brought before the people.

### Livy 1.20

He then turned his attention to the appointment of priests, although he performed very many priestly duties himself, especially those which now belong to the **Flamen Dialis (high priest of Jupiter)**. But inasmuch as he thought that in a warlike nation there would be more kings like Romulus than like Numa, and that they would take the field in person, he did not wish the sacrificial duties of the kingly office to be neglected, and so appointed a flamen for Jupiter, as his perpetual priest, and provided him with a conspicuous dress and the royal curule chair. To him he added two other flamens, one for Mars, the other for Quirinus. In like manner he designated virgins for Vesta's service—a priesthood, this, that derived from Alba and so was not unsuited to the founder's stock. That they might be perpetual priestesses of the temple, he assigned them a stipend from the public treasury, and by the rule of virginity and other observances invested them with awe and sanctity. He likewise chose twelve Salii for Mars Gradivus, and granted them the distinction of wearing the embroidered tunic and over it a bronze breastplate, and of bearing the divine shields which men call ancilia, while they proceeded through the City, chanting their hymns to the triple beat of their solemn dance. He next chose as pontifex Numa Marcius, son of Marcus, one of the senators, and to him he intrusted written directions, full and accurate, for performing the rites of worship; with what victims, on what days, in what temple, sacrifices should be offered, and from what sources money was to be disbursed to pay their costs. All other public and private sacrifices he likewise made



Roman coin from 97 BCE showing Numa presiding over a sacrifice.

subject to the decrees of the *pontifex* (high priest), that there might be someone to whom the commons could come for advice, lest any confusion should arise in the religious law through the neglect of ancestral rites and the adoption of strange ones. And not merely ceremonies relating to the gods above, but also proper funeral observances and the propitiation of the spirits of the dead were to be taught by the *pontifex* as well, and also what prodigies manifested by lightning or other visible sign were to be taken in hand and averted. With the purpose of eliciting this knowledge from the minds of the gods, Numa dedicated an altar on the Aventine to Jupiter Elicius, and consulted the god by augury, that he might learn what portents were to be regarded.

**Key learning:**

- Numa secures peace and establishes a calendar.
- Numa selects priests affiliated with the senate and prescribed religious practices.

## Impact of War and Military Change: The Three Albans

### Livy 1.22

At **Numa's** death the state reverted to an interregnum (672–640 BC). Then **Tullus Hostilius**, grandson of that Hostilius who had distinguished himself in the battle with the Sabines at the foot of the citadel, was declared king by the people, and the senate confirmed their choice. This monarch was not only unlike the last but was actually more warlike than Romulus had been. Besides his youth and strength, the glory of his grandfather was also an incentive to him. So, thinking that the nation was growing decrepit from inaction, he everywhere sought excuses for stirring up war. It happened that the Roman rustics were driving off cattle from Alban territory, while the Albans were treating the Romans in the same way. The man who was then in power in Alba was Gaius Cluilius. Each side, at about the same time, sent envoys to demand restitution. Tullus had commanded his envoys to do nothing else till they had carried out his orders; he felt convinced that the Albans would refuse his demands, in which case he could declare war with a good conscience. The Alban representatives proceeded rather laxly. Received by Tullus with gracious and kindly hospitality, they attended in a friendly spirit the banquet which he gave in their honour. Meanwhile the Romans had been beforehand with them in seeking redress, and, being denied it by the Alban leader, had made a declaration of war, to take effect in thirty days. Returning, they reported these things to Tullus, who thereupon invited the Alban envoys to inform him of the object of their mission. They, knowing nothing of what had happened, at first spent some time in apologies. They said they should be sorry to utter anything which might give offence to Tullus, but that they were compelled to do so by their orders; they had come to seek restitution; if it should be denied them, they were commanded to declare war. To this Tullus replied:

“Tell your king the Roman king calls the gods to witness which people first spurned the other’s demand for redress and dismissed its envoys, that they may call down upon the guilty nation all the disasters of this war.”

#### Key learning:

- **Grandson of a war hero succeeds Numa.**
- **Tullus Hostilius is even more war like than Romulus.**
- **Tullus provokes Alban kings to war by entrapping them with unreasonable demands.**

### Livy 1.23

With this answer the Albans returned to their city, and both sides prepared for war with the greatest energy—a civil war, to all intents and purposes, almost as if fathers were arrayed against sons; for both were of Trojan ancestry, since Lavinium had been planted from Troy, Alba from Lavinium, and from the line of the Alban kings had come the Romans. Still, the issue of the war made the struggle less deplorable, for no battle was fought, and when only the buildings of one of the cities had been destroyed, the two peoples were fused into one. The Albans were first in the field, and with a great army invaded the Roman territory. Their camp they pitched not more than five miles from the City and surrounded it with a trench. (This was known for some centuries as the Cluilian Trench, from the name of the general, until in the course of time both trench and name disappeared.) In this camp Cluilius the Alban king died, and the Albans chose as dictator Mettius Fufetius. Meantime Tullus, emboldened principally by the death of the king, and asserting that Heaven’s great powers would take vengeance upon all of the Alban name, beginning with their king himself, for their unscrupulous war, made a night march past the enemy’s camp and led his army into the country of the Albans. This move drew Mettius out from his fortifications. Leading his troops the shortest way towards the enemy, he sent an envoy on ahead to say to Tullus that before they fought it was well that they should confer together; if Tullus would meet him he was confident he had that to say which would be of no less moment to the Roman state than to the Alban. Without rejecting this suggestion, Tullus nevertheless drew up his men in line of battle, in case the proposals should

prove impracticable. On the other side the Albans also formed up. When both armies had been marshalled, the leaders, attended by a few of their nobles, advanced to the middle of the field. Then the Alban began as follows:

“Pillage and failure to make the amends demanded in accordance with our treaty I think I have myself heard named by our king, Cluilius, as the occasion of this war, and I doubt not, Tullus, but you make the same contention. But if truth is to be spoken, rather than sophistries, it is greed for dominion that is goading two kindred and neighbouring peoples into war. Whether rightly or wrongly I do not attempt to determine; that is a question that may well have been considered by him who undertook the war; I am only the general appointed by the Albans to prosecute that war. But this is the point, Tullus, which I wish to suggest to you: Of the magnitude of the Etruscan power which encompasses us, and you especially, you are better aware than we, in proportion as you are nearer to that people. Great is their strength on land, exceedingly great on the sea. You must consider that the instant you give the signal for battle, the Tuscans will be watching our two armies, so that, when we have become tired and exhausted, they may attack at once the victor and the vanquished. In Heaven’s name, therefore, since we are not content with unquestioned liberty, but are proceeding to the doubtful hazard of dominion or enslavement, let us adopt some plan by which we may decide the question which nation shall rule the other, without a great disaster and much carnage on both sides.”

Tullus made no objection, though inclined to war by nature no less than by his anticipation of victory. While both parties were considering what to do, a plan was hit upon for the execution of which Fortune herself supplied the means.

## Livy 1.24

It chanced that there were in each of these armies triplet brothers, not ill-matched either in age or in physical prowess. That they were Horatii and Curiatii is generally allowed, and scarcely any other ancient tradition is better known; yet, in spite of the celebrity of the affair, an uncertainty persists in regard to the names—to which people, that is, the Horatii belonged, and to which the Curiatii. The writers of history are divided. Still, the majority, I find, call the Roman brothers Horatii, and theirs is the opinion I incline to adopt. To these young men the kings proposed a combat in which each should fight for his own city, the dominion to belong with that side where the victory should rest. No objection was raised, and time and place were agreed on.

Before proceeding with the battle, a treaty was made between the Romans and the Albans, providing that the nation whose citizens should triumph in this contest should hold undisputed sway over the other nation. One treaty differs from another in its terms, but the same procedure is always employed. On the present occasion we are told that they did as follows, nor has tradition preserved the memory of any more ancient compact. The *fetial* (priests who advised the senate on foreign affairs and international treaties) asked King Tullus, “Dost thou command me, King, to make a treaty with the pater patratus of the Alban People?” Being so commanded by the king, he said, “I demand of thee, King, the sacred herb.” The king replied, “Thou shalt take it untainted.” The fetial brought from the citadel an untainted plant. After this he asked the king, “Dost thou grant me, King, with my emblems and my companions, the royal sanction, to speak for the Roman People of the Quirites?” The king made answer, “So far as may be without prejudice to myself and the Roman People of the Quirites, I grant it.”

The *fetial* was Marcus Valerius; he made Spurius Fusius *pater patratus* (the fetials’ lead representative in foreign affairs), touching his head and hair with the sacred sprig. The *pater patratus* is appointed to pronounce the oath, that is, to solemnize the pact; and this he accomplishes with many words, expressed in a long metrical formula which it is not worth while to quote. The conditions being then recited, he cries,

“Hear, Jupiter; hear, *pater patratus* of the Alban People: hear ye, People of Alba: From these terms, as they have been publicly rehearsed from beginning to end, without fraud, from these tablets, or this wax, and as they have been this day clearly understood, the Roman People will not be the first to depart. If it shall first depart from them, by general consent, with malice aforethought, then on that day do thou, great Diespiter, so smite the Roman People as I shall here to-day smite this pig: and so much the harder smite them as thy power and thy strength are greater.”

When Spurius had said these words, he struck the pig with a flint. In like manner the Albans pronounced their own forms and their own oath, by the mouth of their own dictator and priests.

**Key learning:**

- **The Alban king dies and is replaced, providing an opportunity for Tullus to strike.**
- **The Alban dictator convinces Tullus to strike establish a pact which is secured by the priest (*fetial*) responsible for foreign affairs.**
- **This pact ensures that any king who triumphs in single combat would hold authority without further war.**

**Livy 1.25**

When the treaty had been established, the brothers armed themselves, in accordance with the agreement. On either side the soldiers urged on their champions. They reminded them that their fathers' gods, their native land, their parents, and all their countrymen, whether at home or with the army, had their eye only on their swords and their right hands. Eager for the combat, as well owing to their native spirit as to the shouts of encouragement filled their ears, the brothers advanced into the space between the two lines of battle. The two armies were drawn up, each in front of its own camp, no longer in any immediate danger, but their concern as great as ever; and no wonder, since empire was staked on those few men's valour and good fortune! Alert, therefore, and in suspense, they concentrated their attention upon this unpleasing spectacle. The signal was given, and with drawn steel, like advancing battle-lines, the six young men rushed to the charge, breathing the courage of great armies. Neither side thought of its own danger, but of the nation's sovereignty or servitude, and how from that day forward their country must experience the fortune they should themselves create. The instant they encountered, there was a clash of shields and a flash of glittering blades, while a deep shudder ran through the onlookers, who, as long as neither side had the advantage, remained powerless to speak or breathe.

Then, in the hand-to-hand fight which followed, wherein were soon exhibited to men's eyes not only struggling bodies and the play of the sword and shield, but also bloody wounds, two of the Romans fell, fatally wounded, one upon the other, while all three of the Albans were wounded. At the fall of the Romans a shout of joy burst from the Alban army, while the Roman levies now bade farewell to all their hopes; but not to their anxiety, for they were horror-stricken at the plight of the single warrior whom the three Curiatii had surrounded. He happened to have got no hurt, and though no match for his enemies together, was ready to fight them one at a time. So, to divide their attack, he led, thinking that each of them would pursue him with what speed his wounds permitted. He had already run some little distance from the spot where they had fought, when, looking back, he saw that they were following at wide intervals and that one of them had nearly overtaken him. Facing about, he ran swiftly up to his man, and while the Alban host were calling out to the Curiatii to help their brother, Horatius had already slain him, and was hastening, flushed with victory, to meet his second antagonist. Then with a cheer, such as is often drawn from partisans by a sudden turn in a contest, the Romans encouraged their champion, and he pressed on to end the battle. And so, before the third Curiatius could come up—and he was not far off—Horatius dispatched the second. They were now on even terms, one soldier surviving on each side, but in hope and vigour they were far from equal. The one, unscathed and elated by his double victory, was

eager for a third encounter. The other dragged himself along, faint from his wound and exhausted with running; he thought how his brothers had been slaughtered before him, and was a beaten man when he faced his triumphant foe. What followed was no combat. The Roman cried exultantly,

“Two victims I have given to the shades of my brothers: the third I will offer up to the cause of this war, that Roman may rule Alban.”

His adversary could barely hold up his shield. With a downward thrust Horatius buried his sword in the Alban’s throat, and despoiled him where he lay. The Romans welcomed their hero with jubilations and thanksgivings, and their joy was all the greater that they had come near despairing. The burial of their dead then claimed the attention of the two armies, —with widely different feelings, since one nation was exalted with imperial power, the other made subject to a foreign sway. The graves may still be seen where each soldier fell: two Roman graves in one spot, nearer Alba; those of the three Albans towards Rome, but separated, just as they had fought.

### Livy 1.27

But the peace with Alba did not last long. The discontent of the people, who criticized the dictator for having confided the nation’s welfare to three soldiers, broke down his weak character, and since honest measures had proved unsuccessful, he resorted to evil ones to regain the favour of his countrymen. Accordingly, just as in war he had sought peace, so now in time of peace he desired war. But seeing that his own state was richer in courage than in strength, he stirred up other tribes to make war openly after due declaration; while for his own people he reserved the part of the traitor under the disguise of friendship. The men of Fidenæ, a Roman colony, and the Veientes, whom they admitted to a share in their designs, were induced to commence hostilities by a promise that the Albans would go over to their side. Fidenæ having openly revolted, Tullus summoned Mettius and his army from Alba, and led his forces against the enemy. Crossing the Anio, he pitched his camp at the confluence of the rivers.



The Veientine army had crossed the Tiber between that place and Fidenæ. These troops, drawn up next the river, formed the right wing; on the left the Fidenates were posted, nearer the mountains. Tullus marshalled his own men against the Veientine enemy; the Albans he posted opposite the army of Fidenæ. The Alban commander was as wanting in courage as in loyalty. Not daring, therefore, either to hold his ground or openly to desert, he drew off by imperceptible degrees in the direction of the mountains. Then, when he thought he had got near enough to them, he brought up his whole battle-line to an elevated position, and still irresolute, deployed his ranks with the object of consuming time. His purpose was to swing his forces to the side which fortune favoured. At first the Romans posted next to the Albans were amazed when they perceived that their flank was being uncovered by the withdrawal of their allies; then a horseman galloped up to the king and told him that the Albans were marching off. In this crisis Tullus vowed to establish twelve Salian priests, and to build shrines to Pallor and Panic.

The horseman he reprimanded in a loud voice, that the enemy might overhear him, and ordered him to go back and fight; there was no occasion for alarm; it was by his own command that the Alban army was marching round, that they might attack the unprotected rear of the Fidenates. He also ordered the cavalry to raise their spears. This manœuvre hid the retreat of the Alban army from a large part of the Roman foot-soldiers; those who had seen it, believing what the king had been heard to say, fought all the more impetuously. The enemy in their turn now became alarmed; they

had heard Tullus's loud assertion, and many of the Fidenates, having had Romans among them as colonists, knew Latin. And so, lest the Albans should suddenly charge down from the hills and cut them off from their town, they beat a retreat. Tullus pressed them hard, and having routed the wing composed of the Fidenates, returned, bolder than ever, to the Veientes, who were demoralized by the panic of their neighbours. They, too, failed to withstand his attack, but their rout was stopped by the river in their rear. When they had fled thus far, some basely threw away their arms and rushed blindly into the water, others hesitated on the bank and were overtaken before they had made up their minds whether to flee or resist. Never before had the Romans fought a bloodier battle.

**Key learning:**

- **The Alban dictator has to defer to Roman control following the loss of his champion in single combat.**
- **As a result, the Albans are discontented and wage war against the Romans, only for their allies to desert them.**
- **The Alban commander mismanages the attack.**

**Tullus****Political Change****Livy 1.26**

Before they left the field Mettius asked, in pursuance of the compact, what Tullus commanded him to do, and the Roman ordered him to hold his young men underarms, saying that he should employ their services, if war broke out with the Veientes. The armies then marched home. In the van of the Romans came Horatius, displaying his triple spoils. As he drew near the Porta Capena he was met by his unwedded sister, who had been promised in marriage to one of the Curiatii. When she recognized on her brother's shoulders the military cloak of her betrothed, which she herself had woven, she loosed her hair and, weeping, called on her dead lover's name. It enraged the fiery youth to hear his sister's lamentations in the hour of his own victory and the nation's great rejoicing. And so, drawing his sword and at the same time angrily upbraiding her, he ran her through the body.

"Go" he cried, "to your betrothed, with your ill-timed love, since you have forgotten your brothers, both the dead and the living, and forgotten your country! So perish every Roman woman who mourns an enemy!"

Horrid as this deed seemed to the Fathers and the people, his recent service was an off-set to it; nevertheless, he was seized and brought before the king for trial. The king, that he might not take upon himself the responsibility for so stern and unpopular a judgement, and for the punishment which must follow sentence, called together the council of the people and said: "In accordance with the law I appoint duumvirs to pass judgement upon Horatius for treason." The dread formula of the law ran thus:

"Let the *duumvirs* pronounce him guilty of treason; if he shall appeal from the duumvirs, let the appeal be tried; if the duumvirs win, let the lictor veil his head; let him bind him with a rope to a barren tree; let him scourge him either within or without the pomerium."

**Duumvirs**= two magistrates holding a joint office.  
**Lictor**= an officer attending the consul or other magistrate.

By the terms of this law *duumvirs* were appointed. They considered that they might not acquit, under that act, even one who was innocent, and having given a verdict of guilty, one of them pronounced the words, "Publius Horatius, I adjudge you a traitor; go, *lictor*, bind his hands." The *lictor* had approached and was about to fit the noose. Then Horatius, at the prompting of Tullus, who put a merciful construction upon the law, cried, "I appeal!" And so the appeal was tried before the people. What influenced men most of all in that trial was the assertion of Publius Horatius, the father, that his daughter had been justly slain; otherwise he should have used a father's authority and have punished his son, himself. He then implored them not to make him childless whom they had beheld a little while before surrounded by many children. So saying, the old man embraced the youth, and pointing to the spoils of the Curiatii set up in the place which is now called "the Horatian Spears," he exclaimed,

"This man you saw but lately advancing decked with spoils and triumphing in his victory; you bear, Quirites, to see him bound beneath a fork and scourged and tortured? Hardly could Alban eyes endure so hideous a sight. Go, lictor, bind the hands which but now, with sword and shield, brought imperial power to the Roman People! Go, veil the head of the liberator of this city! Bind him to a barren tree! Scourge him within the pomerium, if you will—so it be amidst yonder spears and trophies of our enemies—or outside the pomerium—so it be amongst the graves of the Curiatii! For where can you lead this youth where his own honours will not vindicate him from so foul a punishment?"

The people could not withstand the father's tears, or the courage of Horatius himself, steadfast in every peril; and they acquitted him, more in admiration of his valour than from the justice of his cause. And so, that the flagrant murder

might yet be cleansed away, by some kind of expiatory rite, the father was commanded to make atonement for his son at the public cost. He therefore offered certain piacular sacrifices, which were from then on handed down in the Horatian family, and, erecting a beam across the street, to typify a yoke, he made his son pass under it, with covered head. It remains to this day, being restored from time to time at the state's expense and is known as "the Sister's Beam." Horatia's tomb, of hewn stone, was built on the place where she had been struck down.

### Key learning:

- **Horatius kills his sister for mourning her betrothed, because her fiancée fought against the Romans.**
- **Tullus appoints duumvirs to try Horatius, but his triumphs in war ensured his acquittal.**

## Livy 1.28

Then the Alban army, which had been a spectator of the battle, was led down into the plain. Mettius congratulated Tullus on the conquest of his enemies; **Tullus** replied kindly to Mettius and commanded the Albans in a good hour to join their camp to that of the Romans. He then made preparations to perform, on the morrow, a sacrifice of purification. At dawn, when all things were in readiness, he issued to both armies the customary order, convoking them to an assembly. The heralds, beginning at the outskirts of the camp, called out the Albans first, who being moved by the very novelty of the occasion, took their stand close to the Roman king, that they might hear him harangue his army. The Roman troops, by previous arrangement, were armed and disposed around them, and the centurions were bidden to execute orders promptly. Then Tullus began as follows:



"Romans, if ever anywhere in any war you have had reason to give thanks, first to the immortal gods and then to your own valour, it was in the battle of yesterday. For you fought not only against your enemies, but a harder and more dangerous fight—against the treachery and the perfidy of your allies. For, to undeceive you, I gave no orders that the Albans should draw off towards the mountains. What you heard was not my command, but a trick and a pretended command, devised in order that you might not know you were being deserted, and so be distracted from the fight; and that the enemy, thinking that they were being hemmed in on the rear, might be panic-stricken and flee.

And yet this guilt which I am charging does not attach to all the Albans; they but followed their general, as you, too, would have done, had I desired to lead you off anywhere. It is Mettius yonder who led this march; Mettius, too, who contrived this war; Mettius who broke the treaty between Roman and Alban. Let another dare such a deed hereafter if I do not speedily visit such a punishment on him as shall be a conspicuous warning to all mankind."

Thereupon the centurions, sword in hand, surrounded **Mettius**, while the king proceeded:

"May prosperity, favour, and fortune be with the Roman people and myself, and with you, men of Alba! I purpose to bring all the Alban people over to Rome, to grant citizenship to their commons, to enroll the nobles in the senate, to make one city and one state. As formerly from one people the Alban nation was divided into two, so now let it be reunited into one."

Hearing these words the Alban soldiers, themselves unarmed and fenced in by armed men, were constrained, however their wishes might differ, by a common fear, and held their peace. Then Tullus said:

“Mettius Fufetius, if you were capable of learning, yourself, to keep faith and abide by treaties, you should have lived that I might teach you this; as it is, since your disposition is incurable, you shall yet by your punishment teach the human race to hold sacred the obligations you have violated. Accordingly, just as a little while ago your heart was divided between the states of Fidenae and Rome, so now you shall give up your body to be torn two ways.”

He then brought up two four-horse chariots and caused Mettius to be stretched out and made fast to them, after which the horses were whipped up in opposite directions and bore off in each of the cars fragments of the mangled body, where the limbs held to their fastenings. All eyes were turned away from so dreadful a sight. Such was the first and last punishment among the Romans of a kind that disregards the laws of humanity. In other cases we may boast that with no nation have milder punishments found favour.

#### Key learning:

- **Tullus reveals his deception of the Albans, which secured his triumph in war.**
- **Mettius plans integration of the Albans into Rome.**
- **Mettius is quartered as punishment for breaking his treaty with Rome.**

### Livy 1.29

While this was going on, horsemen had already been sent on to Alba to fetch the inhabitants to Rome, and afterwards the legions were marched over to demolish the city. When they entered the gates there was not, indeed, the tumult and panic which usually follow the capture of a city, when its gates have been forced or its walls breached with a ram or its stronghold stormed, when the shouts of the enemy and the rush of armed men through the streets throw the whole town into a wild confusion of blood and fire.

But at Alba oppressive silence and grief that found no words quite overwhelmed the spirits of all the people; too dismayed to think what they should take with them and what leave behind, they would ask each other's advice again and again, now standing on their thresholds, and now roaming aimlessly through the houses they were to look upon for that last time. But when at length the horsemen began to be urgent, and commanded them to come out; when they could now hear the crash of the buildings which were being pulled down in the outskirts of the city; when the dust rising in different quarters had overcast the sky like a gathering cloud, then everybody made haste to carry out what he could, and forth they went, abandoning their *lares* (guardian deities) and *penates* (household gods), and the houses where they had been born and brought up. And now the streets were filled with an unbroken procession of emigrants, whose mutual pity, as they gazed at one another, caused their tears to start afresh; plaintive cries too began to be heard, proceeding chiefly from the women, when they passed the venerable temples beset by armed men, and left in captivity, as it seemed to them, their gods. When the Albans had quitted the city, the Romans everywhere levelled with the ground all buildings, both public and private, and a single hour gave over to destruction and desolation the work of the four hundred years during which Alba had stood. But the temples of the gods were spared, for so the king-had decreed.

### Livy 1.30

Rome, meanwhile, was increased by Alba's downfall. The number of citizens was doubled, the Caelian Hill was added to the City, and, that it might be more thickly settled, Tullus chose it for the site of the king's house and from that time onwards resided there. The chief men of the Albans he made senators, that this branch of the nation might grow too. Such were the **Julii**, the **Servilii**, the **Quinctii**, the **Geganii**, the **Curiatii**, and the **Cloelii**. He also built, as a consecrated place for the order he had enlarged, a senate-house, which continued to be called the **Curia Hostilia** as late as the time

of our own fathers. And that all the orders might gain some strength from the new people, he enrolled ten squadrons of knights from among the Albans, and from the same source filled up the old legions and enlisted new ones.

Confiding in these forces, Tullus declared war on the Sabines, a nation second only at that time to the Etruscans in its wealth of men and arms. On either side there had been aggressions and refusals to grant satisfaction. Tullus complained that at the shrine of Feronia, in a crowded fair, Roman traders had been seized; the Sabines alleged that, before this, refugees from their country had fled to the grove of sanctuary and had been detained in Rome. These were put forward as the causes of war. The Sabines, not forgetting that a portion of their own forces had been settled in Rome by Tatius and that the Roman state had recently been further strengthened by the addition of the Alban people, began themselves to look about for outside help. Etruria was close by, and the nearest of the Etruscans were the Veientes. There the resentment left over from the wars was the strongest incentive to revolt and procured them some volunteers; while with certain vagrant and poverty-stricken plebeians even the prospect of pay was effectual. Official aid there was none, and the Veientes (for there is less to surprise us in the others) held firmly to the truce they had agreed upon with Romulus.

While preparations for war were making on both sides with the greatest energy, and success appeared to hinge upon which should first take the field, Tullus anticipated his enemies and invaded the Sabine country. A desperate battle was fought near the Silva Malitiosa, where, owing partly, it is true, to the strength of their infantry, but most of all to their newly augmented cavalry, the Roman army gained the mastery. The cavalry made a sudden charge; the ranks of the Sabines were thrown into disorder, and from that moment were unable, without heavy loss, either to hold their own in the fight or to extricate themselves by a retreat.

#### Key learning:

- Tullus absorbs Albans into the Roman army and wages war with the Sabines.
- Tullus invades the Sabines and triumphs, partly due to his new Alban recruits.

## Ancus' Reign (640–616 BC)

### Livy 1.32

On the death of Tullus, the government reverted, in accordance with the custom established in the beginning, to the senators, who named an *interrex*. This official called together the *comitia*, and the people elected Ancus Marcius king, a choice which the Fathers ratified. Ancus Marcius was a grandson, on the mother's side, of King Numa Pompilius. When he began to rule he was mindful of his grandfather's glory, and considered that the last reign, excellent in all else, had failed to prosper in one respect, owing to neglect or misconduct of religious observances. Deeming it therefore a matter of the utmost consequence to perform the state sacrifices as Numa had established them, he bade the *pontifex* copy out all these from the commentaries of the king and display them in public on a whitened table. This act led the citizens, who were eager for peace, and also the neighbouring nations, to hope that he would adopt the character and institutions of his grandfather.



Hence the Latins, with whom a treaty had been made in the time of Tullus, plucked up courage, and raided Roman territory, and when called on by the Romans to make restitution, returned an arrogant answer, persuaded that the Roman king would spend his reign in inactivity amid shrines and altars. But the character of Ancus was well balanced, and he honoured the memory of Romulus, as well as Numa. And besides having a conviction that peace had been more

necessary to his grandfather's reign, when the nation had been both young and mettlesome, he also believed that the tranquillity, so free of attack, which had fallen to the lot of Numa would be no easy thing or himself to compass; his patience was being tried, and when proved would be regarded with contempt, and in short the times were better suited to the rule of a Tullus than a Numa. In order however that, as Numa had instituted religious practices in time of peace, he might himself give out a ceremonial of war, and that wars might not only be waged but also declared with some sort of formality, he copied from the ancient tribe of the Aequicoli the law, which the *fetials* now have, by which redress is demanded.

When the envoy has arrived at the frontiers of the people from whom satisfaction is sought, he covers his head with a bonnet—the covering is of wool—and says:

“Hear, Jupiter; hear, ye boundaries of”—naming whatever nation they belong to;—“let righteousness hear! I am the public herald of the Roman People; I come duly and religiously commissioned; let my words be credited.”

Then he recites his demands, after which he takes Jupiter to witness:

“If I demand unduly and against religion that these men and these things be surrendered to me, then let me never enjoy my native land.”

These words he rehearses when he crosses the boundary line, the same to whatever man first meets him, the same when he enters the city gates, the same when he has come into the market-place, with only a few changes in the form and wording of the oath. If those whom he demands are not surrendered, at the end of three and thirty days—for such is the conventional number—he declares war thus: “Hear, Jupiter, and thou, Janus Quirinus, and hear all heavenly gods, and you, gods of earth, and you of the lower world; I call you to witness that this people”—naming whatever people it is—“is unjust, and does not make just reparation. But of these matters we will take counsel of the elders in our country, how we may obtain our right.” Then the messenger returns to Rome for the consultation. Immediately the king would consult the Fathers, in some such words as these:

“Touching the things, the suits, the causes, concerning which the pater patratus of the Roman People of the Quirites has made demands on the pater patratus of the Ancient Latins, and upon the men of the Ancient Latins, which things they have not delivered, nor fulfilled, nor satisfied, being things which ought to have been delivered, fulfilled, and satisfied, speak,”—turning to the man whose opinion he was wont to ask first,—“what think you?”

Then the other would reply:

“I hold that those things ought to be sought in warfare just and righteous; and so I consent and vote.”

The others were then asked the question, in their order, and when the majority of those present went over to the same opinion, war had been agreed upon. It was customary for the fetial to carry to the bounds of the other nation a cornet-wood spear, iron-pointed or hardened in the fire, and in the presence of not less than three grown men to say:

“Whereas the tribes of the Ancient Latins and men of the Ancient Latins have been guilty of acts and offences against the Roman People of the Quirites; and whereas the Roman People of the Quirites has commanded that war be made on the Ancient Latins, and the Senate of the Roman People has approved, agreed, and voted a war with the Ancient Latins; I therefore and the Roman People declare and make war on the tribes of the Ancient Latins and the men of the Ancient Latins.”

Having said this, he would hurl his spear into their territory. This is the manner in which at that time redress was sought from the Latins and war was declared, and the custom has been received by later generations.

#### Key learning:

- **Ancus is Numa's grandson: he inherits a time of war, rather than peace.**
- **War with the Latin tribes persists.**

### Livy 1.33

Ancus delegated the care of the sacrifices to the *flamens* and other priests, and having enlisted a new army proceeded to Politorium, one of the Latin cities. He took this place by storm, and adopting the plan of former kings, who had enlarged the state by making her enemies citizens, transferred the whole population to Rome. The Palatine was the quarter of the original Romans; on the one hand were the Sabines, who had the Capitol and the Citadel; on the other lay the Caelian, occupied by the Albans. The Aventine was therefore assigned to the newcomers, and thither too were sent shortly afterwards the citizens recruited from the captured towns of Tellenae and Ficana. Politorium was then attacked a second time, for having been left empty it had been seized by the Ancient Latins, and this gave the Romans an excuse for razing the town, lest it should serve continually as a refuge for their enemies. In the end the Latin levies were all forced back upon Medullia, where for some time the fighting was indecisive and victory shifted from one side to the other; for the city was protected by fortifications and was defended by a strong garrison, and from their camp in the open plain the Latin army several times came to close quarters with the Romans. At last, throwing all his troops into the struggle, Ancus succeeded first in defeating the enemy's army, and then in capturing the town, whence he returned to Rome enriched with immense spoils. On this occasion also many thousands of Latins were granted citizenship. These people, in order that the Aventine might be connected with the Palatine, were made to settle in the region of the Altar of Murcia. Janiculum was also annexed to the city, not from any lack of room, but lest it might some day become a stronghold of Rome's enemies. It was decided not only to fortify it, but also to connect it with the city, for greater ease in passing to and fro, by a bridge of piles, the first bridge ever built over the Tiber. The Quirites' Ditch also, no small protection on the more level and accessible side of town, was the work of King Ancus.

A *flamen* was a priest of the ancient Roman religion who was assigned one of the fifteen deities with official cults.

When these enormous additions to the community had been effected, it was found that in so great a multitude the distinction between right and wrong had become obscured, and crimes were being secretly committed. Accordingly, to overawe men's growing lawlessness, a prison was built in the midst of the city, above the Forum. And this reign was a period of growth, not only for the City, but also for her lands and boundaries. The Maesian Forest was taken from the Veientes, extending Rome's dominion clear to the sea; at the Tiber's mouth the city of Ostia was founded, and salt-works were established near-by; while in recognition of signal success in war the temple of Jupiter Feretrius was enlarged.

#### Key learning:

- Through war, Rome expands, but with a lawless society.

## 1.2 The Etruscan Kings 616-509 BC

### Livy 1.34

In the reign of Ancus one Lucumo (Etruscan ruler), a man of energy and wealth, took up his residence in Rome, chiefly from ambition and the hope that he might there achieve a station such as he had found no opportunity of attaining in Tarquinii; for though he had been born there himself, his race was alien to that place also. He was the son of Demaratus of Corinth, who had been driven from home by a political upheaval. Happening to settle in Tarquinii, he had married there and had two sons, named Lucumo and Arruns. Lucumo survived his father and inherited all his property; Arruns died before his father, leaving his wife with child. Demaratus did not long survive Arruns, and, unaware that his son's wife was to become a mother, he died without making provision for his grandson in his will. When the child was born his grandfather was dead, and having no share in the inheritance, he was given the name of *Egerius* (the needy one), in consequence of his penniless condition.

Lucumo, on the other hand, was heir to the whole estate. The self-confidence implanted in his bosom by his wealth was heightened by his marriage with Tanaquil, who was a woman of the most exalted birth, and not of a character lightly to endure a humbler rank in her new environment than she had enjoyed in the condition to which she had been born. The Etruscans looked with disdain on Lucumo, the son of a banished man and a stranger. She could not endure this indignity, and forgetting the love she owed her native land, if she could only see her husband honoured, she formed the project of emigrating from Tarquinii. Rome appeared to be the most suitable place for her purpose; amongst a new people, where all rank was of sudden growth and founded on worth, there would be room for a brave and strenuous man; the city had been ruled by Tadius the Sabine, it had summoned Numa to the sovereignty from Cures, even Ancus was the son of a Sabine mother, and could point to no noble ancestor but Numa. She had no trouble in persuading a man who was eager for distinction, to whom Tarquinii was only his mother's birthplace. They therefore gathered their possessions together and removed to Rome.

They had come, as it happened, as far as Janiculum, when, as they were sitting in their covered wagon, an eagle poised on its wings gently descended upon them and plucked off Lucumo's cap, after which, rising noisily above the car and again stooping, as if sent from heaven for that service, it deftly replaced the cap upon his head, and departed on high. This augury was joyfully accepted, it is said, by Tanaquil, who was a woman skilled in celestial prodigies, as was the case with most Etruscans. Embracing her husband, she bade him expect transcendent greatness: such was the meaning of that bird, appearing from that quarter of the sky, and bringing tidings from that god; the highest part of the man had been concerned in the omen; the eagle had removed the adornment placed upon a mortal's head that it might restore it with the divine approbation. Such were their hopes and their reflections as they entered the city. Having obtained a house, they gave out the name of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. The Romans regarded him with special interest, as a stranger and a man of wealth, and he steadily pushed his fortune by his own exertions, making friends wherever possible, by kind words, courteous hospitality, and benefactions, until his reputation extended even to the palace. He had not long been known in this way to the king before the liberality and adroitness of his services procured him the footing of an intimate friend. He was now consulted in matters both of public and private importance, in time of war and in time of peace, and having been tested in every way was eventually even named in the king's will as guardian of his children.

### Livy 1.35

Ancus reigned four and twenty years, a king inferior to none of his predecessors in the arts of peace and war and in the reputation they conferred. By this time his sons were nearly grown. Tarquinius was therefore all the more insistent in

urging that the comitia should be held without delay to choose a king. When the meeting had been proclaimed, and the day drew near, he sent the boys away on a hunting expedition. Tarquinius was the first, they say, to canvass votes for the kingship and to deliver a speech designed to win the favour of the commons. He pointed out that it was no new thing he sought; he was not the first outsider to aim at the sovereignty in Rome—a thing which might have occasioned indignation and astonishment, —but the third. Tatius indeed, had been not merely an alien but an enemy when he was made king; while Numa was a stranger to the City, and, far from seeking the kingship, had actually been invited to come and take it. As for himself, he had no sooner become his own master than he had removed to Rome with his wife and all his property. For the greater part of that period of life during which men serve the state he had lived in Rome, and not in the city of his birth. Both in civil life and in war he had had no mean instructor—King Ancus himself had taught him Roman laws and Roman rites. In subordination and deference to the king he had vied, he said, with all his hearers; in generosity to his fellow-subjects he had emulated the king himself. Hearing him advance these not unwarranted claims, the people, with striking unanimity, named him king. The result was that the man, so admirable in all other respects, continued even after he had obtained the sovereignty to manifest the same spirit of intrigue which had governed him in seeking it; and being no less concerned to strengthen his own power than to enlarge the state, he added a hundred members to the senate, who were known thenceforward as Fathers of the “lesser families,” and formed a party of unwavering loyalty to the king, to whom they owed their admission to the Curia.

His first war was with the Latins, whose town of Apiolae he took by storm. Returning thence with more booty than the rumours about the war had led people to expect, he exhibited games on a more splendid and elaborate scale than former kings had done. It was then that the ground was first marked out for the circus now called Maximus. Places were divided amongst the Fathers and the knights where they might each make seats for themselves; these were called ‘rows.’ They got their view from seats raised on props to a height of twelve feet from the ground. The entertainment was furnished by horses and boxers, imported for the most part from Etruria. From that time the Games continued to be a regular annual show and were called indifferently the Roman and the Great Games. It was the same king, too, who apportioned building sites about the Forum among private citizens, and erected covered walks and booths.

**Key learning:**

- Etruscan rulers live in Rome during Ancus’ reign.
- Following Ancus’ death Tarquinius puts himself forward to become king, having been trained by Ancus in Roman values.

**Livy 1.36**

He was also preparing to build a stone wall around the City, when a Sabine war interrupted his plans. And so sudden was the invasion, that they had crossed the Anio before the Roman army was able to march out and stop them, so that the City was thrown into a panic. The first battle was indecisive, with heavy losses on both sides. The enemy then withdrew into their camp, affording the Romans an opportunity to renew their preparations for the war. Tarquinius believed that cavalry was what he chiefly lacked. To the Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres, the centuries which Romulus had enrolled, he therefore determined to add others, and to give them his own name as a permanent distinction. But since this was a matter in which Romulus had obtained the sanction of augury before acting, it was asserted by Attus Navius, a famous *augur* (prophet who reads bird omens) of those days, that no change or innovation could be introduced unless the birds had signified their approval. The king’s anger was aroused by this, and he is reported to have said, in derision of the science,

“Come now, divine seer! Inquire of your augury if that of which I am now thinking can come to pass.”

When Attus, having taken the auspices, replied that it would surely come to pass, the king said,

“No, but this is what I was thinking of, that you should cleave a whetstone with a razor. Take them and accomplish what your birds declare is possible!”

At which point, they say, the augur, without a sign of hesitation, cut the whetstone in two. There was a statue of Attus standing, with his head covered, on the spot where the thing was done, in the *comitium* (assembly), even at the steps on the left of the senate-house; tradition adds that the whetstone also was deposited in the same place, to be a memorial of that miracle to posterity. However this may be, auguries and the augural priesthood so increased in honour that nothing was afterwards done, in the field or at home, unless the auspices had first been taken: popular assemblies, musterings of the army, acts of supreme importance—all were put off when the birds refused their consent. Neither did Tarquinius at that time make any change in the organization of the centuries of knights. Their numerical strength he doubled, so that there were now eighteen hundred knights, in three centuries. But though enrolled under the old names, the new men were called the “secondary knights,” and the centuries are now, because doubled, known as the “six centuries.”

### Livy 1.37

When this arm of the service had been enlarged, a second battle was fought with the Sabines. And in this, besides being increased in strength, the Roman army was further helped by a stratagem, for men were secretly dispatched to light a great quantity of firewood lying on the bank of the Anio, and throw it into the river. A favouring wind set the wood in a blaze, and the greater part of it lodged against the boats and piles, where it stuck fast and set the bridge on fire. This was another source of alarm to the Sabines during the battle, and upon their being routed the same thing hindered their flight, so that many of them escaped the Romans only to perish in the stream; while their shields floated down the Tiber toward the City, and, being recognized, gave assurance that a victory had been won almost sooner than the news of it could be brought. In this battle the cavalry particularly distinguished themselves. They were posted on either flank of the Romans, and when the centre, composed of infantry, was already in retreat, they are said to have charged from both sides, with such effect that they not only checked the Sabine forces, which were pressing hotly forward as their enemy gave way, but suddenly put them to flight. The Sabines made for the mountains in a scattered rout, and indeed a few gained that refuge. Most of them, as has been said before, were driven by the cavalry into the river. Tarquinius thought it proper to follow up his victory while the other side was panic-stricken; he therefore sent the booty and the prisoners to Rome, and after making a huge pile of the captured arms and setting fire to it, in fulfilment of a vow to Vulcan, pushed forward at the head of his army into the enemy’s country. Although defeat had been the portion of the Sabines, and another battle could not be expected to result in better success, still, as the situation allowed no room for deliberation, they took the field with what soldiers they could hastily muster, and being then routed a second time and fairly reduced to extremities, they sued for peace.

#### Key learning:

- Tarquinius allots property in the forum to private citizens and plans to build a city wall.
- This building project is interrupted by war with the Sabines who are eventually forced to sue for peace.

### Livy 1.38

Collatia, and what land the Sabines had on the other side of Collatia, was taken from them, and **Egerius (a.k.a Arruns Tarquinus)**, the son of the Etruscan king's brother, was left in the town with a garrison. The surrender of the Collatini took place, I understand, in accordance with this formula: the king asked,

"Are you the legates and spokesmen sent by the People of Collatia to surrender yourselves and the People of Collatia?"

"We are."

"Is the People of Collatia its own master?"

"It is."

"Do you surrender yourselves and the People of Collatia, city, lands, water, boundary marks, shrines, utensils, all appurtenances, divine and human, into my power and that of the Roman People?"

"We do."

"I receive the surrender."

Upon the conclusion of the Sabine war Tarquinius returned to Rome and triumphed. He then made war against the Ancient Latins. In this campaign there was no general engagement at any point, but the king led his army from one town to another until he had subdued the entire Latin race. Corniculum, Ficulea Vetus, Cameria, Crustumarium, Ameriola, Medullia, and Nomentum—these were the towns which were captured from the Ancient Latins, or from those who had gone over to the Latins. Peace was then made.

From that moment the king devoted himself to peaceful undertakings with an enthusiasm which was even greater than the efforts he had expended in waging war, so that there was no more rest for the people at home than there had been in the field. For he set to work to encircle the hitherto unfortified parts of the city with a stone wall, a task which had been interrupted by the Sabine war; and he drained the lowest parts of the city, about the Forum, and the other valleys between the hills, which were too flat to carry off the flood-waters easily, by means of sewers so made as to slope down toward the Tiber. Finally, with prophetic anticipation of the splendour which the place was one day to possess, he laid foundations for the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, which he had vowed in the Sabine war.

### Livy 1.39

At this time there happened in the house of the king a portent which was remarkable alike in its manifestation and in its outcome. The story is that while a child named **Servius Tullius** lay sleeping, his head burst into flames in the sight of many. The general outcry which so great a miracle called forth brought the king and queen to the place. One of the servants fetched water to quench the fire, but was checked by the queen, who stilled the uproar and commanded that the boy should not be disturbed until he awoke of himself. Soon afterwards sleep left him, and with it disappeared the flames. Then, taking her husband aside, Tanaquil said:

"Do you see this child whom we are bringing up in so humble a fashion? Be assured he will one day be a lamp to our dubious fortunes, and a protector to the royal house in the day of its distress. Let us therefore rear with all solicitude one who will lend high renown to the state and to our family."



It is said that from that moment the boy began to be looked upon as a son, and to be trained in the studies by which men are inspired to bear themselves greatly. It was a thing easily accomplished, being the will of Heaven. The youth turned out to be of a truly royal nature, and when Tarquinius sought a son-in-law there was no other young Roman who could be at all compared to Servius; and the king accordingly betrothed his daughter to him. This great honour, for whatever cause conferred on him, forbids us to suppose that his mother was a slave and that he himself had been in a

state of servitude as a child. I am rather of the opinion of those who say, that on the capture of Corniculum, when Servius Tullius, the chief man of that city, had been slain, his wife, who was great with child, had been recognized amongst the other captive women, and on the score of her unique nobility had been rescued from slavery by the Roman queen, and had brought forth her child at Rome in the house of Priscus Tarquinius; in the sequel this act of generosity led to a growing intimacy between the women, and the boy, as one reared from childhood in the palace, was held in affection and esteem; it was his mother's misfortune, who by the capture of her native town came into the power of its enemies, which gave rise to the belief that Servius was born of a slave woman.

### Livy 1.40

It was now about thirty-eight years since **Tarquinius** had begun to reign, and not only the king, but the Fathers and the commons too, held **Servius Tullius** in the very highest honour. Now the two sons of Ancus had always considered it a great outrage that they had been ousted from their father's kingship by the crime of their guardian, and that Rome should be ruled by a stranger whose descent was derived from a race not only remote but actually not even Italian. But their indignation was vastly increased by the prospect that even after Tarquinius' death the sovereignty would not revert to them, but, plunging down to yet baser depths, would fall into the hands of slaves; so that where, a hundred years before, Romulus, a god's son and himself a god, had borne sway, so long as he remained on earth, in that self-same state a slave and the son of a slave woman would be king. It would be not only a general disgrace to the Roman name, but particularly to their own house, if during the lifetime of Ancus' sons it should be open not only to strangers, but even to slaves to rule over the Romans. They therefore determined to repel that insult with the sword.

But resentment at their wrong urged them rather against **Tarquinius** himself than against **Servius**, not only because the king, if he survived, would be more formidable to avenge the murder than a subject would be, but because if **Servius** should be dispatched it seemed probable that the kingdom would be inherited by whomsoever else **Tarquinius** might choose to be his son-in-law. For these reasons they laid their plot against the king himself. Two very desperate shepherds were selected to do the deed. Armed with the rustic implements to which they were both accustomed, they feigned a brawl in the entrance-court of the palace and, making as much noise as possible, attracted the attention of all the royal attendants; then they appealed to the king, until their shouts were heard inside the palace and they were sent for and came before him. At first each raised his voice and tried to shout the other down. Being repressed by the *lictor* and bidden to speak in turn, they finally ceased to interrupt each other, and one of them began to state his case, as they had planned beforehand. While the king, intent upon the speaker, turned quite away from the other shepherd, the latter lifted his axe and brought it down upon his head. Then, leaving the weapon in the wound, they both ran out of doors.

#### Key learning:

- **Tarquinius wages war with the Ancient Latins, but is able to build his city wall.**
- **The child Servius Tullius displays a prodigal flame, since he is the child of the king of Corniculum, seized in the recent conflict.**
- **Ancus' sons resent Tarquinius' reign and aim to attack Tarquinius rather than Servius Tullius.**

### Livy 1.41

The dying Tarquinius had hardly been caught up in the arms of the bystanders when the fugitives were seized by the *lictors*. Then there was an uproar, as crowds hurried to the scene, asking one another in amazement what the matter was. In the midst of the tumult Tanaquil gave orders to close the palace and ejected all witnesses. She busily got together the remedies needful for healing a wound, as if there were still hope, taking at the same time other measures

to protect herself in case her hope should fail her. Having hastily summoned Servius, she showed him her husband's nearly lifeless body, and grasping his right hand, besought him not to suffer the death of his father-in-law to go unpunished, nor his mother-in-law to become a jest to her enemies.

"To you, Servius," she cried, "if you are a man, belongs this kingdom, not to those who by the hands of others have committed a dastardly crime. Arouse yourself and follow the guidance of the gods, who once declared by the token of divine fire poured out upon this head that you should be a famous man. Now is the time for that heaven-sent flame to quicken you! Now wake in earnest! We, too, were foreigners, yet we reigned. Consider what you are, not where you were born. If your own counsels are benumbed in this sudden crisis, at least use mine."

When the shouting and pushing of the crowd could hardly be withstood, Tanaquil went up into the upper storey of the house, and through a window looking out upon the Nova Via—for the king lived near the temple of Jupiter the Stayer—addressed the populace. She bade them be of good cheer: the king had been stunned by a sudden blow; the steel had not sunk deep into his body; he had already recovered consciousness; the blood had been wiped away and the wound examined; all the symptoms were favourable; she trusted that they would soon see Tarquinius himself; meanwhile she commanded that the people should obey Servius Tullius, who would dispense justice and perform the other duties of the king. Servius went forth in the royal robe, accompanied by lictors, and sitting in the king's seat rendered judgment in some cases, while in regard to others he gave out that he would consult the king. In this way for several days after Tarquinius had breathed his last he concealed his death, pretending that he was merely doing another's work, while he was really strengthening his own position; then at last the truth was allowed to be known, from the lamentations which arose within the palace. Servius surrounded himself with a strong guard and ruled at first without the authorization of the people, but with the consent of the Fathers. The sons of Ancus, upon the arrest of the agents of their crime and the report that the king was alive and that Servius was so strong, had already gone into voluntary exile at Suessa Pometia.

#### Key learning:

- **Tanaquil aims to calm the crowd whilst her husband struggles for his life.**
- **Tanaquil hands over rule to Servius Tullius whilst Tarquinius is wounded.**
- **Servius Tullius establishes his power whilst pretending to the public that Tarquinius is still alive.**
- **Tarquinius dies and his death is eventually announced to his people.**
- **The sons of Ancus go into voluntary exile.**

#### Livy 1.42

Servius now took steps to assure his position by private as well as public measures. In order that the sons of Tarquinius might not show the same animosity towards himself which the sons of Ancus had felt towards Tarquinius, he married his two daughters to the young princes, Lucius and Arruns Tarquinius. But he could not break the force of destiny by human wisdom; and jealousy of his power, even among the members of his household, created an atmosphere of treachery and hostility. Most opportune for the tranquil preservation of the existing state of things was a war which was undertaken against the people of Veii—for the truce had now run out—and the other Etruscans. In this war the bravery and good fortune of Tullius were conspicuous; and when he had utterly defeated the vast army of his enemies, he found on returning to Rome that his title to the kingship was no longer questioned, whether he tested the feeling of the Fathers or that of the commons. He then addressed himself to what is by far the most important work of peace: as Numa had established religious law, so Servius intended that posterity should celebrate himself as the originator of all distinctions among the citizens, and of the orders which clearly differentiate the various grades of rank and fortune. For he instituted the census, a most useful thing for a government destined to such wide dominion, since it would enable the burdens of war and peace to be borne not indiscriminately, as they had before, but in proportion to men's wealth.

He then distributed the people into classes and centuries according to the following scale, which was based upon the census and was suitable either for peace or war.

**Key learning:**

- **Servius Tullius marries his daughters to Tarquinius' sons to improve their alliance.**
- **Servius Tullius issues a census to monitor the wealth of his citizens.**

### Livy 1.43

Out of those who had a rating of a hundred thousand asses or more he made eighty centuries, forty each of seniors and of juniors; these were all known as the first class; the seniors were to be ready to guard the city, the juniors to wage war abroad. The armour which these men were required to provide consisted of helmet, round shield, greaves, and breast-plate, all of bronze, for the protection of their bodies; their offensive weapons were a spear and a sword. There were added to this class two century of mechanics, who were to serve without arms; to them was entrusted the duty of fashioning siege-engines in war.

The second class was drawn up out of those whose rating was between a hundred thousand and seventy-five thousand; of these, seniors and juniors, twenty centuries were enrolled. The arms prescribed for them were an oblong shield in place of the round one, and everything else, save for the breast-plate, as in the class above. He fixed the rating of the third class at fifty thousand; a like number of centuries was formed in this class as in the second, and with the same distinction of ages; neither was any change made in their arms, except that the greaves were omitted. In the fourth class the rating was twenty-five thousand; the same number of centuries was formed, but their equipment was changed, nothing being given them but a spear and a javelin. The fifth class was made larger, and thirty centuries were formed. These men carried slings, with stones for missiles. Rated with them were the horn-blowers and trumpeters, divided into two centuries. Eleven thousand was the rating of this class. Those who were assessed at less than this amount, being all the rest of the population, were made into a single century, exempt from military service.

When the equipment and distribution of the infantry had been thus provided for, Servius enrolled twelve centuries of knights out of the leading men of the state. He likewise formed six other centuries—three had been instituted by Romulus—employing the same names which had been hallowed to their use by augury. For the purchase of horses, they were allowed ten thousand asses each from the state treasury, and for the maintenance of these horses unmarried women were designated, who had to pay two thousand asses each, every year. All these burdens were shifted from the shoulders of the poor to those of the rich. The latter were then granted special privileges: for manhood suffrage, implying equality of power and of rights, was no longer given promiscuously to all, as had been the practice handed down by Romulus and observed by all the other kings; but gradations were introduced, so that ostensibly no one should be excluded from the suffrage, and yet the power should rest with the leading citizens. For the knights were called upon to vote first; then the eighty centuries of the first class: if there were any disagreement there, which rarely happened, it was provided that the centuries of the second class should be called; and they almost never descended so far as to reach the lowest citizens. Nor ought it to cause any surprise that the present organization, which exists since the increase of the tribes to thirty-five, and the doubling of their number in the matter of the junior and senior centuries, does not correspond with the total established by Servius Tullius. For, having divided the City according to its inhabited regions and hills into four parts, he named them “tribes,” a word derived, I suppose, from “tribute”; for this

likewise the same king planned to have apportioned equitably, on the basis of the census; nor had these tribes anything whatever to do with the distribution or the number of the centuries.

## Livy 1.44

Upon the completion of the census, which had been expedited by fear of a law that threatened with death and imprisonment those who failed to register, Servius issued a proclamation calling on all Roman citizens, both horse and foot, to assemble at daybreak, each in his own century, in the Campus Martius. There the whole army was drawn up, and a sacrifice of a pig, a sheep, and a bull was offered by the king for its purification. This was termed the “closing of the lustrum,” because it was the last act in the enrolment. Eighty thousand citizens are said to have been registered in that census; the most ancient of the historians, Fabius Pictor, adds that this was the number of those capable of bearing arms. To meet the wants of this population it was apparent that the City must expand, and so the king added two hills, the Quirinal and the Viminal, after which he proceeded to enlarge the Esquiline, going there to live himself, that the place might obtain a good reputation. He surrounded the city with a rampart, trenches, and a wall, and so extended the “pomerium.” This word is interpreted by those who look only at its etymology as meaning “the tract behind the wall,” but it signifies rather “the tract on both sides of the wall,” the space which the Etruscans used formerly to consecrate with augural ceremonies, when they proposed to erect their wall, establishing definite limits on either side of it, so that they might at the same time keep the walls free on their inward face from contact with buildings, which now, as a rule, are actually joined to them, and on the outside keep a certain area free from human uses. This space, which the gods forbade men to inhabit or to till, was called “pomerium” by the Romans, quite as much because the wall stood behind it as because it stood behind the wall; and as the city grew, these consecrated limits were always pushed out for as great a distance as the walls themselves were to be advanced.

### Key learning:

- **Servius Tullius divides Rome into tribes based on the census.**
- **Servius establishes the pomerium, a consecrated city wall.**

## Livy 1.45

When the king had promoted the grandeur of the state by enlarging the city, and had shaped all his domestic policy to suit the demands of peace as well as those of war, he was unwilling that arms should always be the means employed for strengthening Rome’s power, and sought to increase her sway by diplomacy, and at the same time to add something to the splendour of the city.

Even at that early date the temple of Diana at Ephesus enjoyed great renown. It was reputed to have been built through the cooperation of the cities of Asia, and this harmony and community of worship Servius praised in superlative terms to the Latin nobles, with whom, both officially and in private, he had taken pains to establish a footing of hospitality and friendship. By dint of reiterating the same arguments he finally carried his point, and a shrine of Diana was built in Rome by the nations of Latium conjointly with the Roman People. This was an admission that Rome was the capital—a point which had so often been disputed with force of arms.

But though it seemed that the Latins had lost all interest in this contention after the repeated failure of their appeals to war, there was one man amongst the Sabines who thought that he saw an opportunity to recover the empire by a shrewd plan of his own. In the Sabine country, on the farm of a certain head of a family, there was born a heifer of

extraordinary size and beauty; a marvel to which the horns afterwards bore testimony, for they were fastened up for many generations in the vestibule of Diana’s temple. This heifer was regarded as a prodigy, as indeed it was; soothsayers prophesied that the state whose citizens should sacrifice the animal to Diana would be the seat of empire, and this prediction had reached the ears of the priest of Diana’s shrine. On the earliest day which seemed suitable for the sacrifice, the Sabine drove the heifer to Rome, and bringing her to the shrine of Diana, led her up to the altar. There the Roman priest, moved by the great size of the victim, which had been much talked of, and recalling the prophecy, asked the Sabine,

“What is this that you are doing, stranger? Would you sacrifice, unpurified, to Diana? Not so! First bathe in a running stream; the Tiber flows by in the bottom of the valley.”

The stranger, touched by a scruple and wishing to do everything according to ritual, that the prodigy might be answered by the event, at once descended to the Tiber. Meanwhile the Roman offered the heifer to Diana, an act which was exceedingly acceptable to the king and the citizens.

**Key learning:**

- **Servius Tullius establishes Rome as the capital of the empire, aiming to base Rome’s influence in religious practice and culture, rather than the threat of war alone.**
- **A Sabine aims to sacrifice a prodigal cow to undermine Rome but is duped by a Roman priest. The story serves as an analogy for Rome’s religious and cultural supremacy.**

**Dionysius 3.47-8**

When they were come to the hill called Janiculum, from which Rome is first discerned by those who come from **Tyrrhenia**, an eagle, descending on a sudden, snatched his cap from his head and flew up again with it, and rising in a circular flight, hid himself in the depths of the circumambient air, then of a sudden replaced the cap on his head, fitting it on as it had been before. This prodigy appearing wonderful and extraordinary to them all, the wife of **Lucumo**, **Tanaquil** by name, who had a good understanding.



Lucumo simply means Etruscan King  
it is NOT a proper name!  
Here Dionysius discusses Tarquinus Priscus and his wife Tanaquil.



Lucumo was overjoyed at this omen, and as he was now approaching the gates he begged the gods to fulfil the prediction and support his return home with good fortune; then he entered the city. After this, gaining an audience with **King Marcius**, he first informed him who he was and then told him that, being desirous of settling at Rome, he had brought with him all his paternal fortune, which, as it exceeded the limits suitable for a private citizen, he said he proposed to place at the disposal of the king and of the Roman state for the general good. And having met with a favourable reception



from the king, who assigned him and his Tyrrhenian followers to one of the tribes and to one of the curiae, he built a house upon a site in the city which was allotted to him as sufficient for the purpose, and received a portion of land.

After he had settled these matters and had become one of the citizens, he was informed that every Roman had a common name and, after the common name, another, derived from his family and ancestors, and wishing to be like them in this respect also, **he took the name of Lucius instead of Lucumo as his common name, and that of Tarquinius as his family name**, from the city in which he had been born and brought up. In a very short time he gained the friendship of the king by presenting him with those things which he saw he needed most and by supplying him with all the money he required to carry on his wars. On campaigns he fought most bravely of all, whether of the infantry or of the cavalry, and wherever there was need of good judgment he was counted among the shrewdest counsellors. Yet the favour of the king did not deprive him of the goodwill of the rest of the Romans; for he not only won to himself many of the patricians by his kindly services but also gained the affections of the populace by his cordial greetings, his agreeable conversation, his dispensing of money and his friendliness in other ways.

### Dionysius 3.67

These are the military achievements of **Tarquinius** which are recorded; those that relate to peace and to the civil administration (for these too I do not wish to pass over without mention). As soon as he had assumed the sovereignty, being anxious to gain the affections of the common people, after the example of his predecessors, he won them over by such services as these: He chose a hundred persons out of the whole body of the plebeians who were acknowledged by all to be possessed of some warlike prowess or political sagacity, and having made them patricians, he enrolled them among the senators; and then for the first time the Romans had three hundred senators, instead of two hundred, as previously.

Next, he added to the four holy virgins who had the custody of the perpetual fire two others; for the sacrifices performed on behalf of the state at which these priestesses of Vesta were required to be present being now increased, the four were not thought sufficient. The example of Tarquinius was followed by the rest of the kings and to this day six priestesses of Vesta are appointed. He seems also to have first devised the punishments which are inflicted by the pontiffs on those Vestals who do not preserve their chastity, being moved to do so either by his own judgment or, as some believe, in obedience to a dream; and these punishments, according to the interpreters of religious rites, were found after his death among the Sibylline oracles. For in his reign a priestess named **Pinaria**, the daughter of **Publius**, was discovered to be approaching the sacrifices in a state of unchastity. The manner of punishing the Vestals who have been debauched has been described by me in the preceding Book.



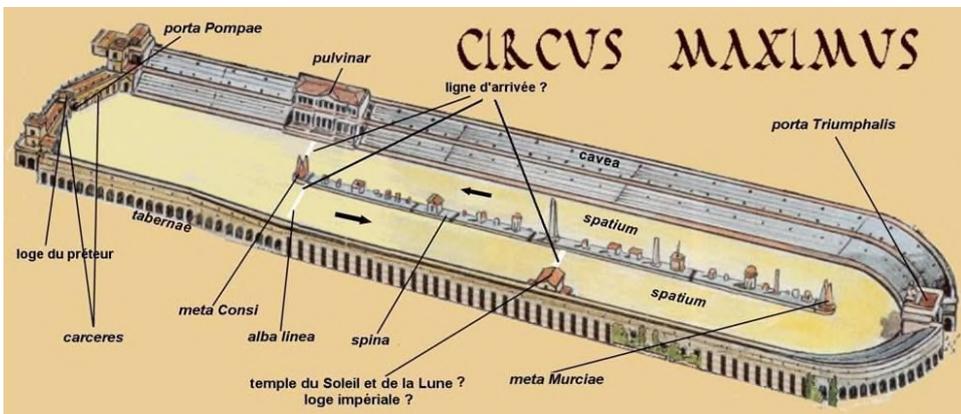
Vesta (seated on the left) with Vestal Virgins, classical relief sculpture; Palermo Museum, Italy.

Tarquinius also adorned the Forum, where justice is administered, the assemblies of the people held, and other civil matters transacted, by surrounding it with shops and porticos. And he was the first to build the walls of the city, which previously had been of temporary and careless construction, with huge stones regularly squared. He also began the digging of the sewers, through which all the water that collects from the streets is conveyed into the Tiber—a wonderful work exceeding all description. Indeed, in my opinion the three most magnificent works of Rome, in which the greatness of her empire is best seen, are the aqueducts, the paved roads and the construction of the sewers. I say this with respect not only to the usefulness of the work (concerning which I shall

speak in the proper place), but also to the magnitude of the cost, of which one may judge by a single circumstance, if one takes as his authority **Gaius Acilius (senator and historian)**, who says that once, when the sewers had been neglected and were no longer passable for the water, the censors let out the cleaning and repairing of them at a thousand talents.

### Dionysius 3.68

Tarquinius also built the **Circus Maximus**, between the Aventine and Palatine Hills, and was the first to erect covered seats round it on scaffolding (for till then the spectators had stood). And dividing the places among the thirty curiae, he assigned to each curia a particular section, so that every spectator was seated in his proper place. This work also was destined to become in time one of the most beautiful and most admirable structures in Rome. For the Circus is 3 stades and a half in length and 4 plethra in breadth.



Round about it on the 2 longer sides and one of the shorter sides a canal has been dug, 10 feet in depth and width, to receive water. Behind the canal are erected porticos 3 stories high, of which the lowest story has stone seats, gradually rising, as in the theatres, 1 above the other, and the 2 upper stories wooden seats. The 2 longer porticos are united into 1 and joined together by means of the shorter 1, which is crescent-

shaped, so that all 3 form a single portico like an amphitheatre, 8 stades in circuit and capable of holding 150,000 persons. The other of the shorter sides is uncovered and contains vaulted starting-places for the horses, which are all opened by means of a single rope. On the outside of the Circus there is another portico of 1 story which has shops in it and habitations over them. In this portico there are entrances and ascents for the spectators at every shop, so that the countless thousands of people may enter and depart without inconvenience.

1C AD Relief of Circus Maximus, available [here](#).



**Key learning:**

- Here Lucius Tarquinius is the first to build Rome's city walls.
- Lucius Tarquinius is responsible for many building projects in Rome. Such good deeds can be called acts of *euergetism*.

**Dionysius 4.21**

In establishing this political system, which gave so great an advantage to the rich, **Tullius** outwitted the people, as I said, without their noticing it and excluded the poor from any part in public affairs. For they all thought that they had an equal share in the government because every man was asked his opinion, each in his own century. But they were deceived, because the whole century, whether it consisted of a small or a very large number of citizens, had but one vote.

Moreover, the centuries which voted first, though they were more in number than all the rest, contained fewer citizens. What is worse, the poor, who were very numerous, had but one vote and were the last called. When this had been brought about, the rich, though paying out large sums and exposed without intermission to the dangers of war, were less inclined to feel aggrieved now that they had obtained control of the most important matters and had taken the whole power out of the hands of those who were not performing the same services. The poor, who had but the slightest share in the government, finding themselves exempt both from taxes and from military service, prudently and quietly submitted to this diminution of their power.

The commonwealth itself had the advantage of seeing the same persons who were to deliberate concerning its interests allotted the greatest share of the dangers and ready to do whatever required to be done. This form of government was maintained by the Romans for many generations, but is altered in our times and changed to a more democratic form, some urgent needs having forced the change, which was effected, not by abolishing the centuries, but by no longer observing the strict ancient manner of calling them—a fact which I myself have noted, having often been present at the elections of their magistrates. But this is not the proper occasion to discuss these matters.

**Dionysius 4.43**

For the laws drawn up by Tullius, by which they all received justice alike from each other and by which they were secured from being injured by the patricians, as before, in their contracts with them, were all abolished by Tarquinius, who did not leave even the tables on which the laws were written, but ordered these also to be removed from the Forum and destroyed. After this he abolished the taxes based on the census and revived the original form of taxation; and whenever he required money, the poorest citizen contributed the same amount as the richest. This measure ruined a large part of the plebeians, since every man was obliged to pay ten drachmae as his individual share of the very first tax.

He also forbade the holding in future of any of the assemblies to which so far the inhabitants of the villages, the members of the curiae, or the residents of a neighbourhood, both in the city and in the country, had resorted in order to perform religious ceremonies and sacrifices in common, lest large numbers of people, meeting together, should form secret conspiracies to overthrow his power. He had spies scattered about in many places who secretly inquired into everything that was said and done, while remaining undiscovered by most persons; and by insinuating themselves into the conversation of their neighbours and sometimes by reviling the tyrant themselves they sounded every man's sentiments. Afterwards they informed the tyrant of all who were dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs; and the punishments of those who were found guilty were severe and relentless.

**Key learning:**

- **Tullius introduced a political system that favoured the wealthy.**
- **Here Lucius Tarquinius is responsible for abolishing many laws and taxes based on the Roman census. Instead both rich and poor paid the same fixed taxes.**
- **Lucius Tarquinius forbade local meetings and sent out spies to monitor conspiracies.**

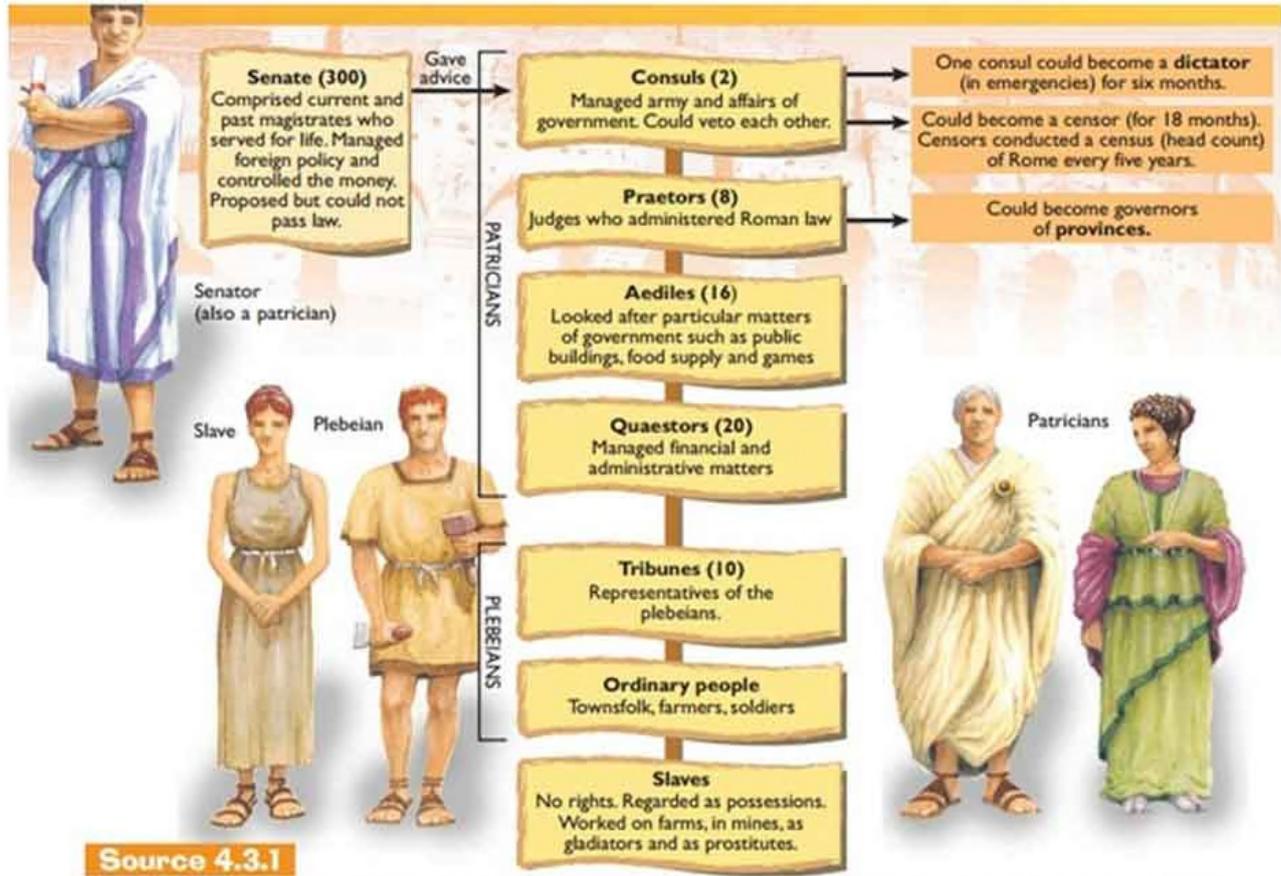
**Dionysius 4.44**

Nor was he (**Lucius Tarquinius**) satisfied merely with these illegal vexations of the plebeians, but, after selecting from among them such as were loyal to himself and fit for war, he compelled the rest to labour on the public works in the city; for he believed that monarchs are exposed to the greatest danger when the worst and the most needy of the citizens live in idleness, and at the same time he was eager to complete during his own reign the works his grandfather had left half finished, namely, to extend to the river the drainage canals which the other had begun to dig and also to surround the Circus, which had been carried up no higher than the foundations, with covered porticos. At these undertakings all the poor laboured, receiving from him but a moderate allowance of grain.

Some of them were employed in quarrying stone, others in hewing timber, some in driving the wagons that transported these materials, and others in carrying the burdens themselves upon their shoulders, still others in digging the subterranean drains and constructing the arches over them and in erecting the porticos and serving the various artisans who were thus employed; and smiths, carpenters and masons were taken from their private undertakings and kept at work in the service of the public. Thus the people, being worn out by these works, had no rest; so that the patricians, seeing their hardships and servitude, rejoiced in their turn and forgot their own miseries. Yet neither of them attempted to put a stop to these proceedings.

**Key learning:**

- **Here Lucius Tarquinius subjects the rest of the plebeians to exhausting labour in order to develop Rome's building works.**
- **For an overview of Roman class structure, see the infographic below.**



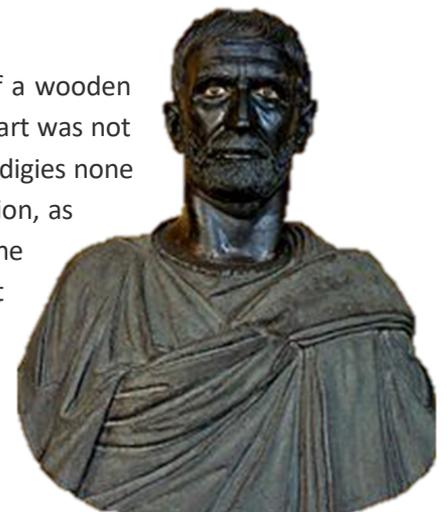
**Class structure of Rome.**

**1.3 Origins of the Republic 509-494 BC**

**Livy 1.56**

Intent upon completing the temple, the king Tarquinius called in workmen from every quarter of Etruria and used not only the state funds, but labourers drawn from the commons. This work was far from light in itself and was added to their military service. Yet the plebeians felt less abused at having to build with their own hands the temples of the gods, than they did when they came to be transferred to other tasks also, which, were more laborious, such as the erection of seats in the circus, and the construction underground of the Great Sewer —two works for which the new splendour of these days has scarcely been able to produce a match. After making the plebeians toil at these hard tasks, the king felt that a populace which had now no work to do was only a burden to the City; he wished, moreover, by sending out settlers, to extend the frontiers of his dominions. He therefore sent colonists to **Signia** and **Circei**, to safeguard the City by land and sea.

While he was thus occupied, a terrible portent appeared. A snake glided out of a wooden pillar, causing fright and commotion in the palace. As for the king himself, his heart was not so much struck with terror as filled with anxious forebodings. Now for public prodigies none but Etruscan soothsayers were wont to be employed, but this domestic apparition, as he regarded it, so thoroughly alarmed him that he determined to send to the Delphic oracle; and, not daring to trust the oracle’s reply to anybody else, he sent two of his sons, through strange lands, as they were then, and over stranger



seas, to Greece. **Titus** and **Arruns** were the ones who went; and, to bear them company, **Lucius Junius Brutus** (right) was sent too, the **son of Tarquinia, sister of the king**, a young man of a very different mind from that which he pretended to bear. Having heard that the leading men of the state, and among them his own brother, had been put to death by his uncle, he determined to leave nothing in his disposition which the king might justly fear, nor anything in his fortune to covet, resolving to find safety in contempt, where justice afforded no protection. He therefore deliberately assumed the appearance of stupidity and permitted himself and his property to become the spoil of the king; he even accepted the surname Brutus, that behind the screen afforded by this title the great soul which was to free the Roman People might bide its time unseen. It was he who was then taken by the Tarquinius to Delphi, more as a butt than as a comrade; and he is said to have carried a golden staff enclosed within one of cornel wood, hollowed out to receive it, as a gift to Apollo, and a roundabout indication of his own character. When they came there, and had carried out their father's instructions, the youths aimed to find out which one of them should be king at Rome. From the depths of the cavern this answer, they say, was returned:

"The highest power at Rome shall be his, young men, who shall be first among you to kiss his mother."

The Tarquinius, anxious that Sextus, who had been left in Rome, might know nothing of the answer and have no share in the rule, gave orders that the incident should be kept strictly secret; as between themselves, they decided by lot which should be first, upon their return to Rome, to give their mother a kiss. Brutus thought the Pythian utterance had another meaning; pretending to stumble, he fell and touched his lips to Earth, evidently regarding her as the common mother of all mortals. They then returned to Rome, where preparations for war with the Rutuli were being pushed.

**Key learning:**

- **Tarquinius' sons go to Delphi with their cousin Brutus.**
- **They receive portent that the first to kiss their mother will rule Rome, Brutus interprets this as a call to kiss mother earth.**
- **This demonstrates Brutus' public-mindedness, he does not think of his own lineage, but rather the mother of himself and his fellow man.**

## Livy 1.57

Ardea belonged to the Rutuli, who were a nation of commanding wealth, for that place and period. This very fact was the cause of the war, since the Roman king was eager not only to enrich himself, impoverished as he was by the splendour of his public works, but also to appease with booty the feeling of the common people; who, besides the enmity they bore the monarch for other acts of pride, were especially resentful that the king should have kept them employed so long as artisans and doing the work of slaves. An attempt was made to capture Ardea by assault. Having failed in this, the Romans invested the place with entrenchments and began to beleaguer the enemy. Here in their permanent camp, as is usual with a war not sharp but long drawn out, furlough was rather freely granted, more freely however to the leaders than to the soldiers; the young princes for their part passed their idle hours together at dinners and drinking bouts. It chanced, as they were drinking in the quarters of **Sextus Tarquinius**, where **Tarquinius Collatinus**, son of **Egerius**, was also a guest, that the subject of wives came up. Every man fell to praising his own wife with enthusiasm, and, as their rivalry grew hot, Collatinus said that there was no need to talk about it, for it was in their power to know, in a few hours' time, how far the rest were excelled by his own Lucretia.



“Come! If the vigour of youth is in us let us mount our horses and see for ourselves the disposition of our wives. Let every man regard as the surest test what meets his eyes when the woman’s husband enters unexpected.”

They were heated with wine. “Agreed!” they all cried and clapping spurs to their horses were off for Rome. Arriving there at early dusk, they thence proceeded to Collatia, where Lucretia was discovered very differently employed from the daughters-in-law of the king. These they had seen at a luxurious banquet, whiling away the time with their young friends; but Lucretia, though it was late at night, was busily engaged upon her wool, while her maidens toiled about her in the lamplight as she sat in the hall of her house. The prize of this contest in womanly virtues fell to Lucretia. As Collatinus and the Tarquinius approached, they were graciously received, and the victorious husband courteously invited the young princes to his table. It was there that **Sextus Tarquinius** was seized with a wicked desire to debauch Lucretia by force; not only her beauty, but her proved chastity as well, provoked him. However, for the present they ended the boyish prank of the night and returned to the camp.

### Key learning:

- **Collatinus’ bragging about his wife Lucretia provokes the lust of Sextus Tarquinius.**
- **Note that Tarquinius does not rape Lucretia here, but plans to.**
- **Consider why Livy is adding this to the narrative without evidence and how it might reflect on both Tarquinius’ character and Collatinus’ role in provoking the rape of Lucretia.**

### Livy 1.58

When a few days had gone by, **Sextus Tarquinius**, without letting **Collatinus** know, took a single attendant and went to Collatia. Being kindly welcomed, for no one suspected his purpose, he was brought after dinner to a guest-chamber. Burning with passion, he waited till it seemed to him that all about him was secure and everybody fast asleep; then, drawing his sword, he came to the sleeping **Lucretia**. Holding the woman down with his left hand on her breast, he said, "Be still, Lucretia! I am Sextus Tarquinius. My sword is in my hand. Utter a sound, and you die!" In affright the woman started out of her sleep. No help was in sight, but only imminent death. Then Tarquinius began to



declare his love, to plead, to mingle threats with prayers, to bring every resource to bear upon her woman's heart. When he found her obdurate and not to be moved even by fear of death, he went farther and threatened her with disgrace, saying that when she was dead he would kill his slave and lay him naked by her side, that she might be said to have been put to death in adultery with a man of base condition. At this dreadful prospect her resolute modesty was overcome, as if with force, by his victorious lust; and Tarquinius departed, exulting in his conquest of a woman's honour. Lucretia, grieving at her great disaster, dispatched the same message to her father in Rome and to her husband at Ardea: that they should each take a trusty friend and come; that they must do this and do it quickly, for a frightful thing had happened.

**Spurius Lucretius** came with **Publius Valerius**, Volesus' son. **Collatinus** brought **Lucius Junius Brutus**, with whom he chanced to be returning to Rome when he was met by the messenger from his wife. Lucretia they found sitting sadly in her chamber. The entrance of her friends brought the tears to her eyes, and to her husband's question, "Is all well?" she replied,

"Far from it; for what can be well with a woman when she has lost her honour? The print of a strange man, Collatinus, is in your bed. Yet my body only has been violated; my heart is guiltless, as death shall be my witness. But pledge your right hands and your words that the adulterer shall not go unpunished. Sextus Tarquinius is he that last night returned hostility for hospitality, and brought ruin on me, and on himself no less—if you are men—when he worked his pleasure with me."

They give their pledges, every man in turn. They seek to comfort her, sick at heart as she is, by diverting the blame from her who was forced to the doer of the wrong. They tell her it is the mind that sins, not the body; and that where purpose has been wanting there is no guilt.

"It is for you to determine," she answers, "what is due to him; for my own part, though I acquit myself of the sin, I do not absolve myself from punishment; nor in time to come shall ever unchaste woman live through the example of Lucretia."

Taking a knife which she had concealed beneath her dress, she plunged it into her heart, and sinking forward upon the wound, died as she fell. The wail for the dead was raised by her husband and her father.

### Livy 1.59

Brutus, while the others were absorbed in grief, drew out the knife from Lucretia's wound, and holding it up, dripping with gore, exclaimed,

“By this blood, most chaste until a prince wronged it, I swear, and I take you, gods, to witness, that I will pursue Lucius Tarquinius Superbus and his wicked wife and all his children, with sword, with fire, with whatever violence I may; and that I will suffer neither them nor any other to be king in Rome!”

He passed the knife to Collatinus, and from him to Lucretius and Valerius. They were dumbfounded at this miracle. Where did this new spirit in the breast of Brutus come from? They swore as he bid them to. Grief was swallowed up in anger; and when Brutus summoned them to make war from that very moment on the power of the kings, they followed his lead. They carried Lucretia’s corpse from the house and to the market-place, where men crowded about them, attracted, as they were bound to be, by the amazing heinousness of the strange event. Every man had his own complaint to make of the prince’s crime and his violence. They were moved, not only by the father’s sorrow, but by the fact that it was Brutus who chided their tears and urged them to take up the sword, as befitted men and Romans, against those who had dared to treat them as enemies. The boldest of the young men seized their weapons and offered themselves for service, and the others followed their example. Then, leaving Lucretia’s father to guard Collatia, and posting sentinels so that no one might announce the rising to the royal family, the rest, equipped for battle and with Brutus in command, set out for Rome.

Once there, wherever their armed band advanced it brought terror; but, when people saw that in the van were the chief men of the state, they concluded that whatever it was it could be no meaningless disturbance. There was no less resentment at Rome when this dreadful story was known than there had been at Collatia. So from every quarter of the City men ran to the Forum. No sooner were they there than a crier summoned the people before the Tribune of the Celeres, which office Brutus then happened to be holding. There he made a speech by no means like what might have been expected of him before that day. He spoke of the violence and lust of **Sextus Tarquinius**, of the shameful defilement of Lucretia and her deplorable death, of the bereavement of Tricipitinus, in whose eyes the death of his daughter was not so outrageous and deplorable as was the cause of her death. He reminded them of the pride of the king himself and the wretched state of the commons, who were plunged into ditches and sewers and made to clear them out. The men of Rome, he said, the conquerors of all the nations round about, had been transformed from warriors into artisans and stone-cutters. He spoke of the shameful murder of King Tullius, and how his daughter had driven her accursed chariot over her father’s body, and he invoked the gods who punish crimes against parents. With these and, I fancy, even fiercer reproaches, such as occur to a man in outrage, but are far from easy for an historian to reproduce, he inflamed the people, and brought them to abolish the king’s authority and to exile Lucius Tarquinius, together with his wife and children. Brutus then enrolled the juniors, who volunteered their names, and arming them set out for the camp at Ardea to arouse the troops against the king. The command at Rome he left with Lucretius, who had been appointed Prefect of the City by the king, some time before. During this confusion Tullia fled from her house, cursed wherever she went by men and women, who called down upon her the furies that avenge the wrongs of kindred.

## Livy 1.60

When the news of these events reached the camp, the king, in alarm at the unexpected danger, set out for Rome to put down the revolt. Brutus, who had perceived the king’s approach, made a circuit to avoid meeting him, and at almost the same moment, though by different roads, Brutus reached Ardea and Tarquinius Rome. Against Tarquinius the gates were closed and exile was pronounced. The liberator of the City was received with rejoicings in the camp, and the sons of the king were driven out of it. Two of them followed their father, and went into exile at Caere, in Etruria. **Sextus Tarquinius** departed for Gabii, as though it had been his own kingdom, and there the revengers of old quarrels, which he had brought upon himself by murder and rapine, slew him.

**Lucius Tarquinius Superbus** ruled for five and twenty years. The rule of the kings at Rome, from its foundation to its liberation, lasted two hundred and forty-four years. Two consuls were then chosen in the *centuriate comitia*, under the presidency of the Prefect of the City, in accordance with the commentaries of **Servius Tullius**. These were **Lucius Junius Brutus** and **Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus**.

**Key learning:**

- **Tarquinius rapes Lucretia, provoking her suicide.**
- **Lucretia asks Collatinus to vow revenge before she kills herself in front of Collatinus and Brutus.**
- **Brutus takes control of the situation, draws the weapon from Lucretia and uses his office to speak out against Tarquinius.**
- **Hearing this, Tarquinius returns to Rome only to discover he has been exiled and he was then killed when returning to his former kingdom.**
- **Brutus and Collatinus become consuls and rule Rome together: the Republic is founded.**

**Livy's Summary of Book One**

*(Translated from Latin, primary text organised into bullet points).*

- Arrival of Aeneas in Italy and his deeds.
- Reign of Ascanius, and after him of the Silvii, at Alba.
- Romulus and Remus born to Mars by the daughter of Numitor.
- Amulius killed.
- The City founded by Romulus.
- The senate chosen.
- War with the Sabines.
- Spolia opima dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius.
- The people divided into wards.
- The Fidenates and Veientes conquered.
- Romulus deified.
- **Numa Pompilius** handed on religious rites.
- The door of Janus's temple closed.
- **Tullus Hostilius** ravaged the country of the Albans.
- Battle of the triplets.
- Punishment of Mettius Fufetius.
- Tullus slain by a thunderbolt.
- **Ancus Martius** conquered the Latins; founded Ostia.
- **Tarquinius Priscus** defeated the Latins; made a circus; conquered the neighbouring peoples; built walls and sewers.
- The head of Servius Tullius gave forth flames.
- Servius Tullius conquered the Veientes and divided the people into classes; dedicated a temple to Diana.
- Tarquinius Superbus slew Tullius and seized the kingship.
- Tullia's crime against her father.
- Turnus Herdonius killed by the machinations of Tarquinius.
- War with the Volsci. Gabii sacked, in consequence of the fraud of Sextus Tarquinius.
- The Capitol commenced.
- The altars of Termo and Juventa could not be moved.
- Lucretia slew herself. Expulsion of Superbus.
- The kings reigned



Having beaten the Latins, he assigned them the Aventine Hill; planted a colony at Ostia; extended the boundaries and revived the ceremonies established by Numa.

It was he who is said to have asked the augur, Attus Navius, to test his skill, whether the thing he was thinking of could be accomplished and, when Attius replied that it could, to have bid him cut a whetstone in two with a razor, which Attius is said forthwith to have done.

He reigned 24 years. In his reign Lucumo, son of the Corinthian Demaratus, came from Tarquinii, an Etruscan city, to Rome, and being received into the friendship of Ancus began to bear the name of Tarquinius Priscus, and after the death of Ancus succeeded to the kingship. He added a hundred members to the senate; subjugated the Latins; gave games in the circus; increased the centuries of knights; surrounded the city with a wall; made sewers. He was killed by the sons of Ancus after ruling 38 years.

His successor was **Servius Tullius**, son of a noblewoman, a captive from Corniculum. It is related that when he was still a babe, lying in the cradle, his head burst into flames. He conducted the first census and closed the lustrum, and it is said that 80,000 were assessed. He enlarged the pomerium; added to the city the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline Hills; and with the Latins erected a temple to Diana on the Aventine. He was killed by Lucius Tarquinius, son of Priscus, on the advice of his own daughter Tullia, after reigning 44 years.



After him **Lucius Tarquinius Superbus** seized the kingdom, without the authorization of either Fathers or People. He kept armed men about him to protect him. He waged war with the Volsci, and out of their spoils built a temple to Jupiter on the Capitol. He brought Gabii under his sway by guile. When his sons had gone to Delphi and were consulting the oracle as to which of them should be king in Rome, answer was made that he should reign who should first kiss his mother. This response the princes themselves explained otherwise, but Junius Brutus, who had accompanied them, pretended to fall upon his face, and kissed the earth. And the outcome sanctioned his act. For when **Tarquinius Superbus** had brought all men to hate him by the violence of his behaviour, and finally Lucretia, whose chastity had been violated at night by the king's son Sextus, summoned her father Tricipitinus and her husband Collatinus and, adjuring them not to leave her death unavenged, killed herself with a knife, Tarquinius was expelled, chiefly through the efforts of Brutus, after a reign of 25 years. Then the first consuls were chosen, Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus.



## Livy 2.1

The new liberty enjoyed by the Roman people, (509 BC) their achievements in peace and war, annual magistracies, and laws superior in authority to men will henceforth be my theme. This liberty was the more grateful as the last king had been so great a tyrant. For his predecessors so ruled that there is good reason to regard them all as successive founders of parts, at least, of the City, which they added to serve as new homes for the numbers they had themselves recruited. Nor is there any doubt that the same Brutus who earned such honour by expelling the haughty Tarquinius, would have acted in an evil hour for the commonwealth had a premature eagerness for liberty led him to wrest the power from any of the earlier kings. For what would have happened if that rabble of shepherds and vagrants, having deserted their own peoples, and under the protection of inviolable sanctuary having possessed themselves of liberty, or at least impunity, had thrown off their fear of kings only to be stirred by the ruffling storms of *tribunes* (legion commanders), breeding quarrels with the senators of a city not their own, before ever the pledges of wife and children and love of the very place and soil (an affection of slow growth) had firmly united their aspirations? The nation would have crumbled away with dissension before it had matured.



**Senatus Populus Que Romanus**  
**Senate and the People of Rome**  
Republican phrase minted on coins like this well into the Imperial period.(68-9 AD)  
British Museum. 1925,0405.1.

But it was favoured by the mild restraint of the government, which nursed it up to the point where its ripened powers enabled it to bear good fruit of liberty. Moreover, you may reckon the beginning of liberty as proceeding rather from the limitation of the consuls' authority to a year than from any diminution of their power compared with that which the kings had exercised. All the rights of the kings and all their insignia were possessed by the earliest consuls; only one thing was guarded against—that the terror they inspired should not be doubled by permitting both to have the rods. Brutus was the first to have them, with his colleague's consent, and he proved as determined in guarding liberty as he had been in asserting it. To begin with, when the people were still jealous of their new freedom, he obliged them to swear an oath that they would suffer no man to be king in Rome, lest they might later be turned from their purpose by the entreaties or the gifts of princes. In the next place, that the strength of the senate might receive an added augmentation from the numbers of that order, he filled up the list of the Fathers, which had been abridged by the late king's butcheries, drawing upon the foremost men of equestrian rank until he had brought the total up to three hundred. From that time, it is said, was handed down the custom of summoning to the senate the Fathers and the Enrolled, the latter being the designation of the new senators, who were appointed. This measure was wonderfully effective in promoting harmony in the state and attaching the plebs to the Fathers.

## Livy 2.2

Matters of worship then received attention. Certain public sacrifices had habitually been performed by the kings in person, and that their absence might nowhere be regretted, a "king of sacrifices" was appointed. This priesthood they made subordinate to the pontifex, lest the office, in conjunction with the title, might somehow prove an obstacle to liberty, which was at that time their chief concern. Perhaps the pains they took to safeguard it, even in trivial details, may have been excessive. For the name of one of the consuls, though he gave no other offence, was hateful to the citizens.

“The Tarquinius had become too used to sovereignty. It had begun with Priscus; Servius Tullius had then been king; but not even this interruption had caused Tarquinius Superbus to forget the throne or regard it as another’s; as though it had been the heritage of his family, he had used crime and violence to get it back; Superbus was now expelled, but the supreme power was in the hands of Collatinus. The Tarquinius knew not how to live as private citizens. Their name was irksome and a menace to liberty.”

Beginning in this way, with a cautious sounding of sentiment, the talk spread through the entire nation, and the plebs had become anxious and suspicious, when Brutus summoned them to an assembly. There he first of all recited the oath which the people had taken, that they would suffer no king in Rome, nor any man who might be dangerous to liberty. This oath they must uphold, he said, with all their might, nor make light of anything which bore upon it. He spoke with reluctance, on the man’s account, nor would he have broken silence unless he had been forced to do so by his love of country. The Roman people did not believe that they had recovered absolute freedom. The royal family and the royal name were not only present in the state, but were actually in authority, an obstacle and a stumbling-block in the way of liberty.

“This fear,” he cried, “do you yourself remove, Lucius Tarquinius, of your own free will! We are mindful—we confess it—that you drove out the kings; complete the good work you have begun and rid us of the royal name. Your possessions shall not only be granted you by the citizens, at my instance, but if they are in any way inadequate, they shall be generously increased. Depart our friend, and relieve the state of what is, perhaps, an idle fear. The people are persuaded that with the family of Tarquinius the kingship will vanish from amongst us.”

The consul was at first prevented from uttering a word by his astonishment at this strange and unexpected turn; then, when he tried to speak, the chief men of the state surrounded him, and with many entreaties made the same request. The others had little influence over him, but when Spurius Lucretius, his superior in years and dignity, and his father-in-law besides, began to urge him, with mingled entreaty and advice, to permit himself to yield to the unanimous wish of his fellow-citizens, Collatinus became alarmed lest when his year of office should have ended, his misfortunes might be increased by the confiscation of his property. He therefore resigned the consulship, and transferring all his possessions to Lavinium, withdrew from the Roman state. In pursuance of a resolution of the senate, Brutus proposed to the people a measure which decreed the exile of all the Tarquinian race. To be his colleague the *centuriate comitia* (assembly of 100 men), under his presidency, elected **Publius Valerius**, who had helped him to expel the kings.

### Livy 2.3

Although no one doubted that the Tarquinius would presently go to war, their attack was delayed beyond all expectation; while a thing men did not fear at all, to wit a treasonable plot, almost cost Rome her liberty. There were among the young men a number of youths, the sons of families not unimportant, whose pleasures had been less confined under the monarchy, who, being of the same age as the young Tarquinius, and their cronies, had grown used to the untrammelled life of princes. This licence they missed, now that all enjoyed equal rights, and they had got into the way of complaining to each other that the liberty of the rest had resulted in their own enslavement. A king was a man, from whom one could obtain a boon, whether it was just or unjust; there was room for countenance and favour; a king could be angry, could forgive, could distinguish between friend and enemy. The law was a thing without ears, inexorable, more salutary and serviceable to the pauper than to the great man; it knew no relaxation or indulgence, if one exceeded bounds; and, inasmuch as man is so prone to blunder, it was dangerous to rely on innocence alone. Thanks to such reflections, they were already infected with disloyalty when envoys from the royal family appeared, who without saying anything about the return of the Tarquinius, sought merely to recover their property. The senate, having given them a hearing, debated the question for several days; for they feared that if they refused to make restitution it would be a pretext for war, if they consented it would be to furnish means and assistance for its prosecution. Meanwhile the

envoys were exerting themselves to a different purpose. Ostensibly seeking to recover the property, they secretly laid their plans for winning back the kingdom; and they went about sounding the disposition of the youthful nobles. To those who gave them a friendly hearing they delivered letters from the Tarquinius and plotted with them to admit the royal family secretly by night into the City.

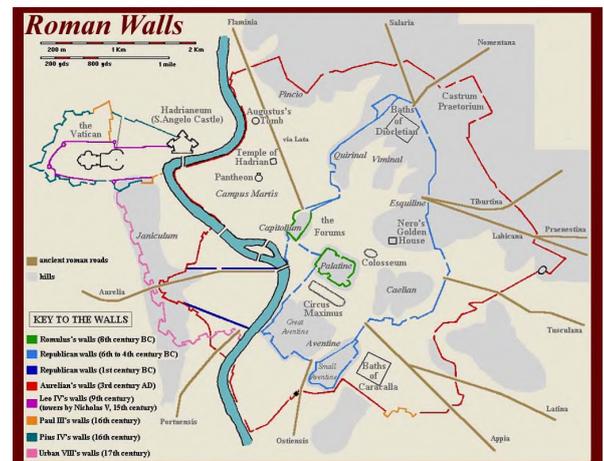
### Livy 2.4

The brothers Vitellii and Aquilii were the first to be entrusted with the project. A sister of the Vitellii had married the consul Brutus, and there were sons of this marriage, Titus and Tiberius; these were also admitted by their uncles to a share in the design. There were besides several other young nobles taken into the secret, but their names are lost in antiquity. The senate meantime had acquiesced in the opinion of those who were in favour of giving back the property. This very fact gave the agents of the exiles an excuse for lingering in the City, for the consuls had granted them time for obtaining vehicles with which to carry away the belongings of the royal family. All this time they spent in consultation with the conspirators, whom they urged and at length persuaded to give them letters for the Tarquinius: for otherwise how could the princes be convinced that the statements of their agents regarding matters of such importance were to be relied on? These letters, being given as a pledge of sincerity, furnished clear proof of the crime, For on the eve of the envoys' setting out to rejoin their masters they were dining at the house of the Vitellii, where the conspirators, having dismissed all witnesses, were plotting but one of the slaves overheard and laid the matter before the consuls. The consuls left their houses, arrested the agents and the conspirators, and, without making any disturbance, crushed the plot, being especially careful not to lose the letters. The traitors were thrown into prison. As for the envoys, it was uncertain for a little while what would be done with them, but, the law of nations nevertheless prevailed.

### Livy 2.5

The question of the royal property, which they had before voted to return, was laid before the Fathers for fresh consideration. This time anger won the day. They refused to return it, and refused to confiscate it to the state, but gave it up to the plebeians to plunder, that having had their fingers in the spoils of the princes they might for ever relinquish hope of making their peace with them. The land of the Tarquinius, lying between the City and the Tiber, was consecrated to Mars and became the **Campus Martius**. It happened, they say, that there was then standing upon it a crop of spelt, ripe for the harvest. Since this produce of the land might not, for religious reasons, be consumed, the grain was cut, straw and all, by a large body of men, who were set to work upon it simultaneously, and was carried in baskets and thrown into the Tiber, then flowing with a feeble current, as is usually the case in midsummer. So the heaps of grain, caught in the shallow water, settled down in the mud, and out of these and the accumulation of other chance materials such as a river brings down, there was gradually formed an island.

Later, I suppose, embankments were added, and work was done, to raise the surface so high above the water and make it strong enough to sustain even temples and porticoes. When the chattels of the princes had been pillaged, sentence was pronounced and punishment inflicted upon the traitors—a punishment the more conspicuous because the office of consul imposed upon a father the duty of exacting the penalty from his sons, and he who ought to have been spared even the sight of their suffering was the very man whom Fortune appointed to enforce it. Bound to the stake stood youths of the highest birth. But the rest were ignored as if they had been of the rabble: the consul's sons drew all eyes upon themselves. Men pitied them for their punishment not more than for the crime by which they had deserved that



punishment. To think that those young men, in that year of all others, when their country was liberated and her liberator their own father, and when the consulship had begun with the Junian family, could have brought themselves to betray all—the senate, the plebs, and all the gods and men of Rome—to one who had formerly been a tyrannical king and was then an enemy exile!

The consuls advanced to their tribunal and dispatched the lictors to execute the sentence. The culprits were stripped, scourged with rods, and beheaded, while through it all men gazed at the expression on the father's face, where they might clearly read a father's anguish, as he administered the nation's retribution. When the guilty had suffered, that the example might be in b.c. 509 both respects a notable deterrent from crime, the informer was rewarded with money from the treasury, emancipation, and citizenship. He is said to have been the first to be freed by the *vindicta* (ceremonial act claiming as free one contending wrongly enslaved). Some think that even the word *vindicta* was derived from his name, which they suppose to have been Vindicus. From his time onwards it was customary to regard those who had been freed by this form as admitted to citizenship.

## Livy 2.6

When these occurrences had been faithfully reported to Tarquinius, he was stirred not only by disappointment at the collapse of so great hopes, but also by hatred and anger. He saw that the way was now closed against trickery, and believed it was time to contrive an open war. He therefore went about as a suppliant amongst the cities of Etruria, directing his prayers chiefly to the Veientes and the Tarquinienses. Reminding them that he had come from them and was of the same blood as themselves, and that exile and poverty had followed hard upon his loss of what had been but now great power, he besought them not to let him perish, with his youthful sons, before their very eyes. Others had been called in from abroad to be kings in Rome: he himself, while actually king, and enlarging Rome's sway by war, had been driven out by his next-of-kin in a wicked conspiracy. His enemies, perceiving that no single claimant was fit to be king, had seized and usurped the power amongst themselves, and had given up his goods to be plundered by the people, that none might be without a share in the guilt. He wished to regain his country and his sovereignty, and to punish the ungrateful Romans. Let them succour and support him, and avenge, as well, their own long-standing grievances, the destruction of their armies, and seizure of their lands. This last plea moved the men of Veii, and they threatened that they should, with a Roman for their commander, wipe out their disgraces and recover what they had lost in war. The Tarquinienses were influenced by his name and kinship: it seemed a fine thing to them that one of their blood should be king in Rome.

So it came about that two armies, representing two nations, followed Tarquinius, to regain his kingdom for him and to chastise the Romans. When they had come into Roman territory the consuls went out to meet the enemy: **Valerius** led the foot in defensive formation; **Brutus**, with the cavalry, went ahead to scout. In the same fashion the enemy's horse headed their march, commanded by **Arruns Tarquinius**, the king's son, while the king himself followed with the legions. Arruns, perceiving a long way off by the consul's lictors that it was he, and then, as they drew nearer together, recognizing Brutus more unmistakably by his countenance, blazed with resentment.

"Over there," he cried, "is the man who drove us into exile from our native land. Look! He is himself decked out with our trappings, as he comes proudly on! O gods, avengers of kings, be with us!"

Spurring his horse, he charged straight at the consul. Brutus saw that he was the object of the man's attack. In those days it was to a general's credit to take part in the actual fighting, so he eagerly accepted the challenge, and they rushed at one another with such desperation, neither of them taking thought for his own defence if only he might wound his adversary, that each was pierced right through his shield by the other's thrust, and, impaled upon the two spears, they fell dying from their horses. At the same time the rest of the cavalry as well began to fight, and not long after the infantry also appeared. In this battle the advantage was divided, and the fortune of war seemed equally balanced: the right wing on each side was victorious, while the left was defeated. The Veientes, used to being beaten by

the Roman troops, were routed and dispersed; the men of Tarquinius, a new enemy, not only stood their ground, but drove back the Roman forces which opposed them.

## Livy 2.7

Yet despite the indecisive character of the battle, so great a panic came over Tarquinius and the Etruscans that they gave up the enterprise for lost, and that same night both armies, the Veientine and the Tarquiniensian, marched off every man to his own home. To the story of this fight common report adds a prodigy: that in the silence of the following night a loud voice was heard coming out of the Arsian forest, which was believed to be the voice of Silvanus, and that this was what he said: "The Tuscans have lost one more man in the battle-line; the Romans are conquerors in the war." At all events the Romans left the field like victors, and the Etruscans like an army that has been defeated. For when it grew light and not a single enemy was to be seen, **Publius Valerius** the consul gathered up the spoils and returned in triumph to Rome. His colleague's funeral he celebrated with all the pomp then possible; but a far greater honour to the dead man was the general grief, which was particularly conspicuous inasmuch as the matrons mourned a year for him, as for a father, because he had been so spirited an avenger of outraged modesty.

Soon after this the surviving consul, so fickle are the affections of the mob, became unpopular; not only did the people dislike him, but they actually suspected him and made cruel charges against him. It was noised about that he was aspiring to the power of a king, since he had not caused a colleague to be elected in the place of **Brutus**, and was building a house on the highest part of the Velia, an elevated position of natural strength, men said, which he was converting into an impregnable citadel. The frequency of these remarks and the general acceptance they met with, shamefully unjust as they were, distressed the consul. He summoned the people to a council, and with lowered *fasces* (bundles of rods carried before the highest magistrates of Rome) mounted the speaker's platform. It was a welcome spectacle to the multitude when they beheld the emblems of authority there abased before them, in acknowledgment that the people's majesty and power were superior to the consul's. Then, bidding them attend, the consul extolled the good fortune of his colleague, who, after his country had thrown off the yoke, had held the highest office in her gift, and, fighting for the state, at the height of a reputation as yet untarnished by envy, had met his death. He had himself outlived his glory, and survived to face accusations and ill-will. From being the saviour of his country he had sunk to the level of the Aquilii and Vitellii.

"Will there never be worth and merit, then," he exclaimed, "so established in your minds that suspicion cannot wrong it? Could I possibly have feared that I, well known as the bitterest enemy of kings, should myself incur the charge of seeking kingly power? Could I have believed that, though I dwelt in the very Citadel and on the Capitol itself, I could be feared by my fellow-citizens? Can so trivial a cause ruin my reputation with you? Does your confidence rest on so slight a foundation that it makes more difference where I am than who I am? There shall be no menace in the house of Publius Valerius to your liberties, Quirites; your Velia shall be safe. I will not only bring my house down on to level ground, but will even place it under a hill, that you may live above me, the citizen whom you suspect. Let those build on the Velia who can better be trusted with men's liberty than can Publius Valerius!"

Immediately the materials were all brought down below the Velia, and the house was erected where the temple of Vica Pota is now, at the bottom of the slope.

## Livy 2.8

Laws were then proposed which not only cleared the consul from the suspicion of seeking kingly power but took such an opposite turn that they even made him popular and caused him to be styled *Publicola*, the People's Friend. Above all, the law about appealing from the magistrates to the people, and the one that pronounced a curse on the life and property of a man who should plot to make himself king, were welcome to the commons. When he had carried through

these measures alone, that he might enjoy without a rival all the favour arising out of them, he finally held an election to choose a colleague for the unexpired term. The choice fell upon **Spurius Lucretius**, who by reason of his great age was no longer strong enough for the duties of the consulship and died within a few days. They elected in Lucretius's place **Marcus Horatius Pulvillus**. In some ancient authorities I do not find Lucretius given as consul, but Brutus is followed immediately by Horatius; I suppose that because no exploit lent distinction to Lucretius's consulship men forgot it.

**Spurius Lucretius Tricipitinus**

First suffect consul of Rome (509 BC) and father of Lucretia, who was raped by Sextus Tarquinius.

The temple of Jupiter on the Capitol had not yet been dedicated. **Valerius** (Lucius Valerius Potitus) and **Horatius** (Marcus Horatius Barbatus) the consuls drew lots to determine which should do it. Horatius received the lot, and **Publicola** set out to conduct the war against the Veientes. With more bitterness than was reasonable, the friends of Valerius resented that the dedication of so famous a temple should be given to Horatius. They tried in all sorts of ways to hinder it, but their schemes all came to naught. Finally, when the consul's hand was on the door-post and he was in the midst of his prayers to the gods, they broke in upon the ceremony with the evil tidings that his son was dead, averring that whilst the shadow of death was over his house he could not dedicate a temple. Whether he did not believe the news to be true, or possessed great fortitude, we are not informed with certainty, nor is it easy to decide. Without permitting himself to be diverted from his purpose by the message, further than to order that the body should be buried, he kept his hand upon the doorpost, finished his prayer, and dedicated the temple.

Such were the achievements, at home and in the field, of the first year after the expulsion of the kings.

**Key learning:**

- **Brutus establishes the Republic by introducing a civic oath forbidding kings in Rome.**
- **The Romans are uncomfortable with Collatinus as a consul, because he is from the Tarquin's family.**
- **Collatinus is asked to leave office and his place is taken by Publius Valerius who was instrumental in overthrowing the kings and present at Lucretia's suicide.**

## Livy 2.9

Next **Publius Valerius** (for the second time) and **Titus Lucretius** were made consuls. By this time the Tarquiniis had sought refuge with Lars Porsinna, king of Clusium. There they mingled advice and entreaty, now imploring him not to permit them, Etruscans by birth and of the same blood and the same name as himself, to suffer the privations of exile, and again even warning him not to allow the growing custom of expelling kings to go unpunished. Liberty was sweet enough in itself. Unless the energy with which nations sought to obtain it were matched by the efforts which kings put forth to defend their power, the highest would be reduced to the level of the lowest; there would be nothing lofty, nothing that stood out above the rest of the state; there was the end of monarchy, the noblest institution known to gods or men.

**Porsinna**, believing that it was not only a safe thing for the Etruscans that there should be a king at Rome, but an honour to have that king of Etruscan stock, invaded Roman territory with a hostile army. Never before had such fear seized the senate, so powerful was Clusium in those days, and so great Porsinna's fame. And they feared not only the enemy but their own citizens, lest the plebs should be terror-stricken and, admitting the princes into the City, should even submit to enslavement, for the sake of peace. Hence the senate at this time granted many favours to the plebs. The question of subsistence received special attention, and some were sent to the Volsci and others to Cumae to buy up corn. Again, the monopoly of salt, the price of which was very high, was taken out of the hands of individuals and wholly assumed by the government. Imposts and taxes were removed from the plebs that they might be borne by the well-to-do, who were equal to the burden: the poor paid dues enough if they reared children. Thanks to this liberality on the part of the Fathers, the distress which attended the subsequent blockade and famine was powerless to destroy the harmony of the state, which was such that the name of king was not more abhorrent to the highest than to the lowest; nor was there ever a man in after years whose demagogic arts made him so popular as its wise governing at that time made the whole senate.



Lars Porsinna was an Etruscan king of Clusium. There are no established dates for his rule, but Roman sources often place his war with Rome at around 508 BC.

Year	<i>Consul prior</i>	<i>Consul posterior</i>
509	L. Junius Brutus	L. Tarquinius Collatinus
suff.	Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus	P. Valerius Poplicola
suff.	M. Horatius Pulvillus	
508	P. Valerius Poplicola II	T. Lucretius Tricipitinus
507	P. Valerius Poplicola III	M. Horatius Pulvillus II <sup>[18]</sup>
506	Sp. Lartius (Rufus or Flavus)	T. Herminius Aquilinus <sup>[19]</sup>
505	M. Valerius Volusus	P. Postumius Tubertus
504	P. Valerius Poplicola IV	T. Lucretius Tricipitinus II
503	Agrippa Menenius Lanatus	P. Postumius Tubertus II
502	Opet. Verginius Tricostus	Sp. Cassius Viscellinus
501	Post. Cominius Auruncus	T. Lartius (Flavus or Rufus)

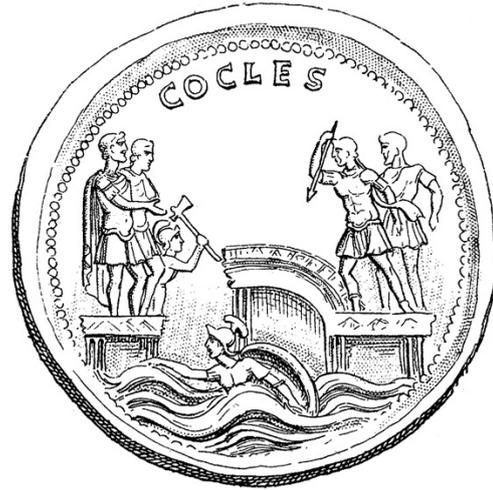
## Livy 2.10

When the enemy appeared, the Romans all, with one accord, withdrew from their fields into the City, which they surrounded with guards. Some parts appeared to be rendered safe by their walls, others by the barrier formed by the river Tiber. The bridge of piles almost afforded an entrance to the enemy, had it not been for one man, **Horatius Cocles**; he was the bulwark of defence on which that day depended the fortune of the City of Rome. He chanced to be on guard at the bridge when Janiculum was captured by a sudden attack of the enemy. He saw them as they charged down on the run from Janiculum, while his own people behaved like a frightened mob, throwing away their arms and quitting their ranks. Catching hold first of one and then of another, blocking their way and conjuring them to listen, he called on gods and men to witness that if they forsook their post it was vain to flee; once they had left a passage in their rear by the bridge, there would soon be more of the enemy on the Palatine and the Capitol than on Janiculum. He therefore warned and commanded them to break down the bridge with steel, with fire, with any instrument at their disposal; and promised that he would himself receive the onset of the enemy, so far as it could be withstood by a single body. Then, striding to the head of the bridge, conspicuous amongst the fugitives who were clearly seen to be shirking the fight, he covered himself with his sword and buckler and made ready to do battle at close quarters, confounding the Etruscans with amazement at his audacity. Yet were there two who were prevented by shame from leaving him. These were **Spurius Larcius** and **Titus Herminius**, both famous for their birth and their deeds. With these he endured the peril of the first rush and the stormiest moment of the battle. But after a while he forced even these two to leave him and save themselves, for there was scarcely anything left of the bridge, and those who were cutting it down called to them to come back.

Then, darting glances of defiance around at the Etruscan nobles, he now challenged them in turn to fight, now railed at them collectively as slaves of haughty kings, who, heedless of their own liberty, were come to overthrow the liberty of others. They hesitated for a moment, each looking to his neighbour to begin the fight. Then shame made them attack, and with a shout they cast their javelins from every side against their solitary foe. But he caught them all upon his shield, and, resolute as ever, bestrode the bridge and held his ground; and now they were trying to dislodge him by a charge, when the crash of the falling bridge and the cheer which burst from the throats of the Romans, exulting in the completion of their task, checked them in mid-career with a sudden dismay. Then Cocles cried,

“O Father Tiberinus, I solemnly invoke thee; receive these arms and this soldier with propitious stream!”

So praying, all armed as he was, he leaped down into the river, and under a shower of missiles swam across unhurt to his fellows, having given a proof of valour which was destined to obtain more fame than credence with posterity. The state was grateful for so brave a deed: a statue of Cocles was set up in the *comitium*, and he was given as much land as he could plough around in one day. Private citizens showed their gratitude in a striking fashion, in the midst of his official honours, for notwithstanding their great distress everybody made him some gift proportionate to his means, though he robbed himself of his own ration.



See: Roller, M.B. 2018. *Models from the Past in Roman Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Cocles saves the Romans on a bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius (140-4 AD).

## Livy 2.11

Porsinna, repulsed in his first attempt, gave up the plan of storming the City, and determined to lay siege to it. Placing a garrison on Janiculum, he pitched his camp in the plain by the banks of the Tiber. He collected ships from every quarter, both for guarding the river, to prevent any corn from being brought into the City, and also to send his troops across for plundering, as the opportunity might present itself at one point or another; and in a short time he made all the territory of the Romans so unsafe that not only were they forced to bring all their other property inside the walls, but even their flocks too, nor did anybody dare to drive them outside the gates. This great degree of licence was permitted to the Etruscans not so much from timidity as design. For Valerius the consul, who was eager for an opportunity of assailing a large number at once, when they should be scattered about and not expecting an attack, cared little to avenge small aggressions, and reserved his punishment for a heavier blow. Accordingly, to lure forth plunderers, he issued orders to his people that on the following day a large number of them should drive out their flocks by the Esquiline Gate, which was the most remote from the enemy, believing that they would hear of it, since the blockade and famine were causing desertions on the part of faithless slaves. And in fact, the enemy did hear of it from a deserter's report, and crossed the river in much greater force than usual, in the hope of making a clean sweep of the booty. Consequently **Publius Valerius** directed **Titus Herminius** to lie in ambush with a small force two miles out on the Gabinian Way, and **Spurius Larcus** with a body of light-armed youths to take post at the Colline Gate, until the enemy should pass, and then to throw themselves between him and the river, cutting off his retreat. Of the two consuls, Titus Lucretius went out by the Naevian Gate with several maniples of soldiers, Valerius himself led out some picked cohorts by way of the Caelian Mount. These last were the first to be seen by the enemy. Herminius had no sooner perceived that the fight had begun than he rushed in from his ambush and fell upon the rear of the Etruscans, who had turned to meet Valerius. On the right hand and on the left, from the Naevian Gate and from the Colline, an answering shout was returned. Thus, the raiders were hemmed in and cut to pieces, for they were no match for the Romans in fighting strength, and were shut off from every line of retreat. This was the last time the Etruscans roamed so far afield.

### Key learning:

- **Publius Valerius and Titus Lucretius are elected consuls and make taxes fairer for the poor, allowing Rome to remain harmonious despite war with Etruscan King Porsinna.**

- **Cocles is cited as a war hero in the fight against Porsinna, because Cocles blockades a bridge whilst others destroy it, to prevent the Etruscans from crossing.**
- **Porsinna's forces are ambushed by Titus Herminius and Spurius Larcius on the orders of consul Publius Valerius.**
- **Porsinna's forces are defeated, showing the strength of Rome and the ingenuity of Publius Valerius.**

## Livy 2.12

Nevertheless, the blockade went on. The corn was giving out, and what there was cost a very high price, and Porsinna was beginning to have hopes that he would take the City by sitting still, when **Gaius Mucius**, a young Roman noble, thinking it a shame that although the Roman People had not, in the days of their servitude when they lived under kings, been blockaded in a war by any enemies, they should now, when free, be besieged by those same Etruscans whose armies they had so often routed, made up his mind that this indignity must be avenged by some great and daring deed.

At first he intended to make his way to the enemy's camp on his own account. Afterwards, fearing that if he should go unbidden by the consuls and without anyone's knowing it, he might chance to be arrested by the Roman sentries and brought back as a deserter—a charge which the state of the City would confirm—he went before the senate.

"I wish," said he, "to cross the river, senators, and enter, if I can, the enemy's camp—not to plunder or exact reprisals for their devastations: I have in mind to do a greater deed, if the gods grant me their help."

The Fathers approved. Hiding a sword under his dress, he set out. Arrived at the camp, he took up his stand in the thick of the crowd near the royal tribunal. It happened that at that moment the soldiers were being paid; a secretary who sat beside the king, and wore nearly the same costume, was very busy, and to him the soldiers for the most part addressed themselves. **Mucius** was afraid to ask which was Porsinna, lest his ignorance of the king's identity should betray his own, and following the blind guidance of Fortune, slew the secretary instead of the king. As he strode off through the frightened crowd, making a way for himself with his bloody blade, there was an outcry, and then the royal guards came running in from every side, seized him and dragged him back before the tribunal of the king. But friendless as he was, even then, when Fortune wore so menacing an aspect, yet as one more to be feared than fearing,

"I am a Roman citizen," he cried; "men call me Gaius Mucius. I am your enemy, and as an enemy I would have slain you; I can die as resolutely as I could kill both to do and to endure valiantly is the Roman way. Nor am I the only one to carry this resolution against you: behind me is a long line of men who are seeking the same honour. Gird yourself therefore, if you think it worth your while, for a struggle in which you must fight for your life from hour to hour with an armed foe always at your door. Such is the war we, the Roman youths, declare on you. Fear no serried ranks, no battle; it will be between yourself alone and a single enemy at a time."

The king, at once hot with resentment and aghast at his danger, angrily ordered the prisoner to be flung into the flames unless he should at once divulge the plot with which he so obscurely threatened him. **Mucius**, exclaimed,

"Look, that you may see how cheap they hold their bodies whose eyes are fixed upon renown!"

thrust his hand into the fire that was kindled for the sacrifice. When he allowed his hand to burn as if his spirit were unconscious of sensation, the king was almost beside himself with wonder. He bounded from his seat and bade them remove the young man from the altar.

"Go free," he said, "who have dared to harm yourself more than me. I would invoke success upon your valour, were that valour exerted for my country; since that may not be, I release you from the penalties of war and dismiss you uninjured."

Then Mucius, as if to requite his generosity, answered,

"Since you hold bravery in honour, my gratitude shall afford you the information your threats could not extort: we are three hundred, the foremost youths of Rome, who have conspired to assail you in this fashion. I drew the first lot; the

others, in whatever order it falls to them, will attack you, each at his own time, until Fortune shall have delivered you into our hands.”

**Key learning:**

- **Gaius Mucius challenges Porsinna to single combat in order to lift the blockade on Rome.**
- **Mucius burns his hand to prove his commitment to Rome, Porsinna releases Mucius in admiration for his valour.**
- **Mucius reveals the selection of 300 assassins who will be sent to kill Porsinna.**

**Livy 2.13**

The release of Mucius, **who was afterwards known as Scaevola**, from the loss of his right hand, was followed by the arrival in Rome of envoys from Porsinna. The king had been so disturbed, what with the hazard of the first attack upon his life, from which nothing but the blunder of his assailant had preserved him, and what with the anticipation of having to undergo the danger as many times more as there were conspirators remaining, that he voluntarily proposed terms of peace to the Romans. In these terms Porsinna suggested, but without effect, that the Tarquiniis should be restored to power, more because he had been unable to refuse the princes this demand upon their behalf than that he was ignorant that the Romans would refuse it. In obtaining the return of their lands to the Veientes he was successful; and the Romans were compelled to give hostages if they wished the garrison to be withdrawn from Janiculum. On these terms peace was made, and Porsinna led his army down from Janiculum and evacuated the Roman territory. The Fathers bestowed on Gaius Mucius, for his bravery, a field across the Tiber, which was later known as the Mucian Meadows.

Now when courage had been thus distinguished, even the women were inspired to deeds of patriotism. Thus the maiden **Cloelia**, one of the hostages, eluded the sentinels, when it chanced that the Etruscans had encamped not far from the bank of the Tiber, and heading a band of girls swam the river and, under a rain of hostile darts, brought them all back in safety to their kinsmen in Rome. When this had been reported to the king, he was at first enraged and sent emissaries to Rome to demand that the hostage Cloelia be given up, for he made no great account of the others. Then, admiration getting the better of anger, **he asserted that her feat was a greater one than those of Cocles and Mucius**, and declared that although in case the hostages were not returned he should regard the treaty as broken, yet if she were restored to him he would send her back safe and inviolate to her friends. Both parties kept their word. The Romans returned the pledge of peace, as the treaty required; and the Etruscan king not only protected the brave girl but even honoured her, for after praising her heroism he said that he would present her with half the hostages, and that she herself should choose the ones she wished. When they had all been brought out it is said that she selected the young boys, because it was not only more seemly in a maiden, but was unanimously approved by the hostages themselves, that in delivering them from the enemy she should give the preference to those who were of an age which particularly exposed them to injury. When peace had been established the Romans rewarded this new valour in a woman with a new kind of honour, an equestrian statue, which was set up on the summit of the Sacred Way, and represented the maiden seated on a horse.

**Key learning:**

- **Roman women captured by the Etruscans were inspired by Gaius Mucius' bravery and fled their captors, led by Cloelia.**
- **Cloelia's escape is said to surpass Cocles' blocking of the bridge and Mucius' attempted assassination, so she is pardoned by Porsinna for fleeing, but forced to return.**

## Livy 2.14

This peaceful departure of the Etruscan king from Rome is inconsistent with the custom handed down from antiquity even to our own age, among other formalities observed at sales of booty, of proclaiming “the goods of King Porsinna.” Such a practice must either have arisen during the war and have been retained when peace was made, or else have had its origin in some kindlier circumstance than would be suggested by the notice that an enemy’s goods were to be sold. The most credible of the traditional explanations is that when Porsinna retired from Janiculum he handed over his camp, well stocked with provisions brought in from the neighbouring fertile fields of Etruria, as a gift to the Romans, who were then in a destitute condition after the long siege. These supplies were then sold, lest, if people were given a free hand, they might plunder the camp like an enemy; and they were called the goods of Porsinna rather by way of implying thankfulness for the gift than an auction of the king’s property, which was not even in the possession of the Roman People.

On relinquishing his campaign against the Romans, Porsinna was unwilling that he should appear to have led his army into that region to no purpose, and accordingly sent a part of his forces, under his son Arruns, to besiege Aricia. At first the Aricini were paralysed with surprise. Afterwards the auxiliaries whom they called in from the Latin peoples, and also from Cumae, so encouraged them that they ventured to measure their strength with the enemy in the open field. When the battle began, the attack of the Etruscans was so impetuous that they routed the Aricini at the first charge. The Cumaean levies, employing skill to meet force, swerved a little to one side, and when the enemy had swept by them, faced about and attacked them in the rear, with the result that the Etruscans, caught between two lines, almost in the moment of victory, were cut to pieces. A very small number of them, having lost their leader and finding no nearer refuge, drifted to Rome, unarmed and with all the helplessness and the dejected aspect of suppliants. There they were kindly received and were quartered about among the citizens. When their wounds had healed, some departed for their homes to report the hospitality and kindness they had met with, but many were persuaded to remain in Rome by the affection they felt for their hosts and for the City. To these a place of residence was allotted which was afterwards called the Vicus Tuscus.

## Livy 2.15

**Spurius Larcius** and **Titus Herminius** were the next consuls, and after them came **Publius Lucretius** and **Publius Valerius Publicola**. In the latter year an embassy was sent to Rome for the last time by Porsinna to negotiate for the restoration of Tarquinius to power. To these envoys the senate replied that they would send representatives to the king, and they forthwith dispatched those of the Fathers who were held in the highest esteem. It would not have been impossible, they said, to reply shortly that the royal family would not be received. It was not for that reason that they had preferred to send chosen members of the senate to him rather than to give their answer to his ambassadors in Rome. But they had desired that for all time discussion of that question might be ended, and that where there were so great obligations on both sides there might not be mutual irritation, from the king’s seeking that which was incompatible with the liberty of the Roman people, while the Romans, unless they were willing to sacrifice their existence to their good nature, denied the request of a man whom they would not willingly have denied anything. The Roman people were not living under a monarchy but were free. They had resolved to throw open their gates to enemies sooner than to kings; in this prayer they were all united, that the day which saw the end of liberty in their City might also see the City’s end. They therefore entreated him, if he desired the welfare of Rome, to permit her to be free. The king, yielding to his better feelings, made answer:

“Since this is your fixed resolve, I will neither importune you with repeated insistence upon a hopeless plea, nor will I deceive the Tarquini with the hope of aid which it is not in my power to grant. Let them seek elsewhere, whether war or peace be their object, for a place of exile, that nothing may hinder my being at peace with you.”

His words were followed by yet more friendly deeds. The hostages remaining in his hands he returned, and he gave back the Veientine land which he had taken from the Romans by the treaty made on Janiculum. Tarquinius, cut off from

all hope of returning, departed for Tusculum, to spend his exile in the home of his son-in-law, Mamilius Octavius. The Romans enjoyed an unbroken peace with Porsinna.

**Key learning:**

- **A small cohort of defeated Etruscans were healed in Rome before returning home.**
- **The Romans brokered peace with Porsinna and return captives to establish this.**
- **The monarchy was completely dissolved and Tarquinius was exiled.**

**Livy 2.19**

In the consulship of **Servius Sulpicius** and **Manius Tullius** nothing worthy of note occurred. They were succeeded by **Titus Aebutius** and **Gaius Vetusius**. During their year of office Fidenae was besieged, Crustumeria taken; Praeneste went over from the Latins to the Romans, and it was no longer possible to postpone the Latin war, which had now been smouldering for several years. Aulus Postumius as dictator, and Titus Aebutius as master of the horse, set out with large forces of infantry and cavalry, and at Lake Regillus, in the territory of Tusculum, met the enemy's advancing column. The Romans had learned that the Tarquinius were with the Latin army and were so enraged that they could not be withheld from instantly attacking, and the battle itself, in consequence of this report, was fought with a good deal more determination and bitterness than any other had been. For the leaders were not only in the field to direct the engagement with their strategy but joined battle and fought in their own persons. Almost none of the nobles on either side came off unscathed, except the Roman dictator. Postumius was in the front rank encouraging his men and forming them, when Tarquinius Superbus, though now burdened with years and broken in strength, rode full-tilt against him. But the old man received a thrust in the side, and his followers rushed in and rescued him. Similarly, on the other wing, Aebutius, the master of the horse, charged Octavius Mamilius. But the Tusculan commander saw him coming, and he too spurred his horse to the encounter; and so great was the force in their levelled lances as they met, that the arm of Aebutius was transfixed, while Mamilius was struck in the breast. Mamilius was received by the Latins within their second line: Aebutius, being unable to manage a weapon with his wounded arm, retired from the battle. The Latin leader, not discouraged by his wound, urged on the fighting, and, because he saw that his men were in retreat, called up a cohort of Roman exiles, commanded by a son of Lucius Tarquinius, and these, fighting with greater fury on account of the loss of their property and native land, restored the battle for a while.

**Livy 2.20**

When the Romans were now beginning to give way in that part of the field, Marcus Valerius, Publicola's brother, espied the young Tarquinius, who was boldly inviting attack in the front rank of the exiles. Valerius found in his brother's glory an additional incentive and resolving that the family which had the honour of expelling the tyrants should also gain the credit for their death, he dug his spurs into his charger and rode at Tarquinius with levelled spear. The Etruscan drew back within the company of his followers to avoid his desperate antagonist. Valerius was plunging blindly into the exiles' line when one of them attacked him in the flank and ran him through the body. But the rider's wound did not check the career of his horse, and the dying Roman came down in a heap upon the ground with his arms upon him. When the dictator Postumius perceived that so brave a soldier had fallen, that the exiles were advancing boldly at the double, and that his troops were checked and were giving ground, he issued orders to his own cohort, a picked body of men which he kept about his person as a guard, that if they saw any Roman running away they should treat him as an enemy. Being thus between two dangers, the Romans faced about to meet the foe, and the battle-line was formed again. The cohort of the dictator then entered the engagement for the first time. With fresh strength and spirit, they attacked the weary exiles and cut them to pieces. Then began another combat between leaders. The Latin general, perceiving that the cohort of the exiles was nearly cut off by the Roman dictator, took a few companies of his reserves and hurried

them to the front. As they came marching up, Titus Herminius, the lieutenant, caught sight of them, and in their midst, conspicuous in dress and accoutrements, he saw and recognized Mamilius. Whereupon he hurled himself upon the enemy's commander with so much more violence than the master of the horse had done a little before, that not only did he pierce Mamilius through the side and slay him with a single lunge, but in the act of stripping the body of his antagonist he was himself struck by a hostile javelin, and after being borne off in the moment of victory to the Roman camp, expired just as they began to dress his wound. The dictator then dashed up to the knights and besought them, since the foot-soldiers were exhausted, to dismount and enter the fight. They obeyed: they leaped down from their horses, hastened to the front, and covered the front-rankers with their shields. It restored at once the courage of the foot to see the young nobles on even terms with themselves and sharing in the danger. Then at last the Latins received a check, and their battle-line was forced to yield. The knights had their horses brought up that they might be able to pursue the enemy, and they were followed by the infantry. Then the dictator, neglecting no help, divine or human, is said to have vowed a temple to Castor, and to have promised rewards to the soldiers who should be first and second to enter the camp of the enemy; and so great was the ardour of the Romans, that with a single rush they routed their opponents and took their camp. Such was the battle at Lake Regillus. The dictator and his master of the horse returned to the City and triumphed.

## Livy 2.21

For the next three years there was neither a stable peace nor war. The consuls **Quintus Cloelius** and **Titus Larcus** were followed by **Aulus Sempronius** and **Marcus Minucius**. In the latter year a temple to Saturn was dedicated and the Saturnalia was established as a festal day. Next **Aulus Postumius** and **Titus Verginius** were made consuls. It was not until this year, according to some authorities I have consulted, that the battle of Lake Regillus was fought. They say that **Aulus Postumius**, because his colleague was of doubtful loyalty, resigned the consulship, and was then made dictator. One is involved in so many uncertainties regarding dates by the varying order of the magistrates in different lists that it is impossible to make out which consuls followed which, or what was done in each particular year, when not only events but even authorities are so shrouded in antiquity.

At the next election **Appius Claudius** and **Publius Servilius** were chosen consuls. This year was marked by the announcement of Tarquinius's death. He died at Cumae, whither he had gone to the court of Aristodemus after the downfall of the Latin cause. These tidings cheered the Fathers and encouraged the plebs. But the Fathers were too inconsiderate, in consequence of their rejoicing at this event; and the plebs, who up to this time had been most studiously deferred to, began to feel the oppression of the nobles. The same year the colony of Signia, which King Tarquinius had planted, was recruited with new colonists and established for the second time. At Rome twenty-one tribes were formed. The temple of Mercury was consecrated on the fifteenth of May.

Year	<i>Consul prior</i>	<i>Consul posterior</i>
500	Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus Cornutus	M'. Tullius Longus
499	T. Aebutius Elva	C. Veturius Geminus Cicurinus
498	Q. Cloelius Siculus	T. Lartius (Flavus or Rufus) II
497	A. Sempronius Atratinus	M. Minucius Augurinus
496	A. Postumius Albus Regillensis	T. Verginius Tricostus Caeliomontanus
495	Ap. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis	P. Servilius Priscus Structus

## Livy 2.22

With the Volscian race there had been during the Latin war neither peace nor open hostilities; for while the Volsci had raised levies to send to the aid of the Latins, had the Roman dictator not moved quickly, yet the Romans did move quickly, that they might not have to fight both nations in the same battle. Upon this quarrel the consuls led their legions into the country of the Volsci, who, not expecting to be held to account for their design, were surprised and overwhelmed. They had no thought of resisting and surrendered as hostages three hundred children of the nobility of Cora and Pometia, and so the legions were withdrawn without a conflict. Yet it was not long before the Volsci, being relieved of their alarm, resumed their native duplicity; again, they made secret preparations for war, and formed a military alliance with the Hernici, while they also sent out envoys, this way and that, to instigate the Latins to rebellion.

But the disaster which had recently befallen the Latins at Lake Regillus so filled them with rage and hate against anyone who advised them to go to war, that they did not even abstain from violating an embassy but seized the Volsci and brought them to Rome. There they delivered them up to the consuls with the information that the Volsci and the Hernici were preparing to attack the Romans. When this service had been reported to the senate the Fathers were so grateful that they released to the Latins six thousand captives, and referred the question of a treaty, which they had all but refused in perpetuity, to the incoming magistrates. Then, indeed, the Latins rejoiced at the action they had taken, and the advocates of peace were in great repute. They sent a golden crown as a gift to the Capitoline Jupiter. With the envoys who brought the gift came the captives who had been restored to their friends, a vast attendant multitude. Proceeding to the homes of those whom they had severally served, they thanked them for the liberality and consideration which had been shown them in their adversity and entered into covenants of hospitality with them. Never before had there been so close a union, both official and personal, between the Latin name and the Roman state.

### Key learning:

- **Romans continue to clash with Latins following the Battle of Regillus in which the Romans were triumphant. Rome is ordered into tribes.**
- **The Latins warn the Romans that the Volsci and Hernici are preparing to attack. Rome rewards the Latins by releasing captives,**

## 1.4 Securing the Republic 494-440 BC

### Livy 2 23

But not only was war with the Volsci imminent; the citizens were at loggerheads among themselves, and internal dissensions between the Fathers and the plebs had burst into a blaze of hatred, chiefly on account of those who had been bound over to service for their debts. These men complained loudly that while they were abroad fighting for liberty and dominion they had been enslaved (495 BC) and oppressed at home by fellow-citizens, and that the freedom of the plebeians was more secure in war than in peace, amongst enemies than amongst citizens. This bitter feeling, which was growing spontaneously, the notable calamity of one man fanned into a flame. Old, and bearing the marks of all his misfortunes, the man rushed into the Forum. His dress was covered with filth, and the condition of his body was even worse, for he was pale and half dead with emaciation. Besides this, his straggling beard and hair had given a savage look to his countenance. He was recognized nevertheless, despite the hideousness of his appearance, and the word went round that he had commanded companies; yet other military honours were openly ascribed to him by the compassionate bystanders, and the man himself displayed the scars on his breast which bore testimony to his honourable service in various battles. When they asked the reason of his condition and his squalor, he replied, while the crowd gathered about him much as though it were an assembly, that during his service in the Sabine war not only had the enemy's depredations deprived him of his crops, but his cottage had been burnt, all his belongings plundered, and his flocks driven off. Then the taxes had been levied, in an untoward moment for him, and he had contracted debts. When these had been swelled by usury, they had first stripped him of the farm which had been his father's and his grandfather's, then of the remnants of his property, and finally like an infection they had attacked his person, and he had been carried off by his creditor, not to slavery, but to the prison and the torture-chamber.

He then showed them his back, disfigured with the wales of recent scourging. The sight of these things and the man's recital produced a mighty uproar. The disturbance was no longer confined to the Forum but spread in all directions through the entire City. Those who had been bound over, whether in chains or not, broke out into the streets from every side, and implored the Quirites to protect them. At no point was there any lack of volunteers to join the rising; everywhere crowds were streaming through the different streets and shouting as they hurried to the Forum. Great was the peril of those senators who happened to be in the Forum and fell in with the mob, which would not indeed have stopped short of violence had not the consuls, **Publius Servilius Priscus Structus** and **Appius Claudius Crassus**, hurriedly intervened to put down the insurrection. But the crowd turned on them and displayed their chains and other hideous tokens. These, they cried, were the rewards they had earned, and they bitterly rehearsed the campaigns they had each served in various places. They demanded, in a manner much more threatening than suppliant, that the consuls should convene the senate; and they surrounded the Curia, that they might themselves witness and control the deliberations of the state. The consuls succeeded in collecting only a few of the senators whom chance had thrown in their way. The rest were afraid to enter not only the Curia but even the Forum, and nothing could be done because those present were too few. Whereat the people concluded they were being flouted and put off, and that the missing senators were absent not from accident, nor fear, but with the intent to hinder action, and that the consuls themselves were paltering; nor did they doubt that their misery was made a jest. A little more and not even the majesty of the consuls could have held in check the angry crowd, when the absent Fathers, uncertain whether they should incur more danger by holding back or by coming forward, finally came into the senate, and the required number being at length assembled, not only the senators, but even the consuls themselves were unable to agree. Appius, a headstrong man, was for settling the matter by the exercise of consular authority; when one or two men had been arrested, the others, he said, would calm down. Servilius, more inclined to gentle measures, believed that it was safer, as well as easier, to assuage their fury than to quell it.

## Livy 2 24

In the midst of the debate a greater alarm arose from a new quarter, for some Latin horsemen galloped up with the disquieting news that a Volscian army was advancing to attack the City. This report awoke very different feelings—so completely had their dissensions divided the state into two—in the Fathers and the plebs. The commons were jubilant; they said that the gods were taking a hand in punishing the arrogance of the senators. They encouraged one another not to give in their names; it would be better to perish all together than alone. Let the Fathers serve, let the Fathers take up arms, that those might incur the hazards of war who received its rewards. The Curia, on the other hand, was downcast and dismayed. In their twofold fear—of their fellow-citizens and of the enemy—they begged Servilius the consul, whose character appealed more to the people than did that of his colleague, that he would extricate the state from the fearful perils with which it was beset. Thus the consul adjourned the senate and went before the people. There he declared that the Fathers were anxious to consult the interests of the plebs, but that their deliberations concerning that very important part—but only a part after all—of the state had been broken off by their fears for the entire nation. It was impossible, when the enemy was almost at the city gates, to consider anything before the war; and even if there should be some slight respite in that regard, it was neither to the credit of the plebs to refuse to arm for their country, unless they should first receive a recompense, nor honourable to the Fathers to be driven by fear into passing measures for the relief of their fellow-citizens which they would have passed later of their own free will. He then confirmed his speech by a proclamation in which he commanded that no one should hold a Roman citizen in chains or durance so that he should not be able to give in his name to the consuls, and that none should seize or sell a soldier's property so long as he was in camp, or interfere with his children or his grandchildren. When this edict had been published, the debtors who were present at once enlisted, and from every quarter, all over the City, they hastened from the houses where their creditors no longer had the right to detain them, and rushed into the Forum to take the military oath. It was a great throng, nor were there any soldiers whose courage and usefulness in the Volscian war were more conspicuous. The consul led his troops against the enemy, and pitched his camp at a short distance from, theirs.

### Key learning:

- Roman class structure causes a clash between the Fathers (patricians) and the plebs.
- The Volsci prepare to attack Rome and again the Latins warn the Romans, dividing the opinion of the populace.

## Livy 2 25

The next night the Volsci, relying on the lack of harmony among the Romans, attacked their camp on the chance that the darkness might encourage desertions or treachery. But the sentries perceived them, the army was roused, and, the signal being given, rushed to arms. Thus the design of the Volsci came to nothing, and the remainder of the night was devoted by both armies to sleeping. On the following day at dawn the Volsci filled up the trenches and assaulted the rampart, and soon they were everywhere pulling down the palisades. On every side the consul's men were clamouring for the signal—none more loudly than the debtors. He waited a moment, to test the temper of the soldiers. When there could no longer be any doubt of their great ardour, he finally gave the command for a sortie and released them, eager for the fray. At the very first onset the enemy were routed. While they ran, the foot-soldiers struck at them from behind as long as they could keep up the pursuit; then the horsemen drove them panic-stricken clear to their camp. Soon the camp itself had been surrounded by the legions, and when the Volsci had fled from it in terror, it was taken

and plundered. Next day Servilius led his forces to Suessa Pometia, where the enemy had taken refuge, and within a few days took the town and gave it up to be sacked. This yielded some slight relief to the soldiers, who needed it badly. The consul led his army back to Rome, with great honour to himself. As he was setting out on his return thither ambassadors approached him from the Volsci of Ectra, who were alarmed at their own prospects, in view of the capture of Pometia. A decree of the senate granted them peace, but took away their land.

## Livy 2 26

Directly after this the Sabines also caused an alarm at Rome—for it was indeed a turmoil rather than war. One night the City got word that a Sabine army bent on pillage had come as near as the river Anio and there was plundering and burning farmhouses right and left. The Romans at once dispatched in that direction all their cavalry, under Aulus Postumius, who had been dictator in the Latin war. He was followed by the consul Servilius with a picked body of foot-soldiers. Many stragglers were cut off by the cavalry and, when the column of infantry drew near, no resistance was offered by the Sabine troops. Exhausted not only by their march but by their night of pillage as well, a great part of them had gorged themselves in the farmhouses with food and wine, and had scarcely vigour enough to run away. A single night having sufficed for hearing of the Sabine war and ending it, men's hopes next day ran high that peace was now assured in every quarter, when legates from the Aurunci appeared before the senate to say that unless the territory of the Volsci were evacuated they should declare war. The Auruncan army had set out from home at the same time with the legates, and the report that it had already been seen not far from Aricia threw Rome into such a state of confusion that it was impossible to bring the matter regularly before the senate, or to return a peaceful answer to a people who had already drawn the sword, while they themselves were also arming. They marched on Aricia in fighting order, joined battle with the Aurunci not far from the town, and in a single engagement finished the war.

### Key learning:

- **The Volsci attack the Romans once more, but many Volsci are forced to forfeit land for peace.**
- **The Sabines launch a subsequent raid, which is quelled by Aulus Postumius overnight. The Arunci take up arms whilst the Romans are engaged with the Sabines and the Romans then attack the Arunci to finish the war.**

## Livy 2 27

Having routed the Aurunci, and having been, within a few days, victorious in so many wars, the Romans were looking for the help which the consul had promised and the senate guaranteed, when Appius, partly out of native arrogance, partly to discredit his colleague, began to pronounce judgment with the utmost rigour in suits to recover debts. In consequence, not only were those who had been bound over before delivered up to their creditors, but others were bound over. Whenever this happened to a soldier he would appeal to the other consul. The people flocked to the house of Servilius: it was he who had made them promises; it was he whom they reproached, as each rehearsed his services in the wars and displayed the scars he had received. They demanded that he should either lay the matter before the senate or lend his aid as consul to his fellow-citizens, as general to his soldiers. They moved the consul by this plea, but the situation forced him to temporize, so vehemently was the other side supported, not only by his colleague, but by the entire party of the nobles. And so he steered a middle course, and neither avoided the dislike of the plebs nor gained the goodwill of the Fathers. These considered him a pusillanimous consul and an agitator, while the commons held him to be dishonest; and it was soon apparent that he was as cordially hated as Appius. The consuls had got into a dispute as to which should dedicate the temple to Mercury. The senate referred the case to the people for decision. Whichever consul should, by command of the people, be entrusted with the dedication was to have charge of the corn-supply, to establish a guild of merchants, and perform the solemn rites in the presence of the pontifex.

The people assigned the dedication to **Marcus Laetorius**, a centurion of the first rank—a choice which would readily be understood as intended not so much to honour Laetorius, to whom a commission had been given which was too exalted for his station in life, as to humiliate the consuls. Appius and the Fathers were furious then, if they had not been before; but the plebeians had plucked up heart and threw themselves into the struggle with far more spirit than they had shown at first. For, despairing of help from consuls and senate, they no sooner beheld a debtor being hauled away than they flew to his assistance from every side. It was impossible for the consul's decree to be heard above the din and shouting, and when it had been pronounced nobody obeyed it. Violence was the order of the day, and fear and danger had quite shifted from the debtors to the creditors, who were singled out and maltreated by large numbers in full sight of the consul. To crown these troubles came the fear of a Sabine invasion. A levy was decreed, but no one enlisted. Appius stormed and railed at the insidious arts of his colleague, who, he said, to make himself popular, was betraying the state by his inactivity; and to his refusal to give judgment for debt was adding a fresh offence in refusing to hold the levy as the senate had directed. Nevertheless, the welfare of the state was not wholly forgotten, nor the authority of the consulate abandoned; he would himself, single-handed, assert both his own and the senate's majesty. When the usual daily throng of lawless men was standing about him, he gave orders to seize one who was a conspicuous leader in their disturbances. The lictors were already dragging the man away, when he appealed; nor would the consul have granted the appeal, for there was no question what the decision of the people would be, had not his obstinacy been with difficulty overcome, more by the advice and influence of the nobles than by the popular outcry, so steeled was he to endure men's hate. From that moment the trouble grew worse each day, and not only were there open disturbances, but what was far more pernicious, secret gatherings and conferences. At last the consuls whom the plebeians so hated went out of office. Servilius had the goodwill of neither party, but Appius was in high esteem with the senators.

**Key learning:**

- **Appius and Servilius become increasingly unpopular and Marcus Laetorius is thus asked to dedicated the temple to Mercury instead of them.**
- **The uproar caused by this led to public disturbances until Appius and Servilius stood down from their consular roles.**

## Livy 2 28

**Aulus Verginius** and **Titus Vetustius** then entered upon the consulship. Whereat the plebs, uncertain what sort of consuls they would prove to be, held nightly gatherings, some on the Esquiline and others on the Aventine, to avoid being met in the Forum they and frightened into adopting ill-considered measures. This seemed to the consuls, as indeed it was, a mischievous practice. They laid the matter before the Fathers, but their report could not be discussed in an orderly fashion, so tumultuously was it received, with shouts from every part of the house and expressions of indignation from the senators, that a thing which ought to have been settled by an exercise of consular authority should be invidiously referred by the consuls to the senate. It was evident that if only there were magistrates in the nation there would have been no assembly in Rome but the assembly of the people; as it was, the government was broken up into a thousand separate curias and meetings. One single man—a more significant word than consul—of the type of **Appius Claudius**, would have dispersed those assemblages in a moment. When the consuls, thus upbraided, asked the Fathers what then they desired them to do, and promised that their conduct of the matter should be no whit less strenuous and stern than the senate wished, it was resolved that they should hold a levy with the utmost severity: it was idleness that made the plebeians lawless. Having adjourned the senate, the consuls mounted the tribunal and cited the young men by name. When no one answered to his name, the crowd, which surrounded the speaker as in a public meeting, declared that it was impossible to deceive the commons any longer; the consuls would never have a single soldier unless a public guarantee were given: liberty must first be restored to every man before arms were given him, that he might fight for his country and his fellow-citizens, not for a master. It was clear to the consuls what the senate had bidden them do; but of all those who had uttered truculent speeches within the walls of the curia they found not one at their side to share their odium, and they saw before them a terrible struggle with the people. Accordingly they thought it best, before proceeding to extremities, to consult the senate a second time. When it met, the youngest senators all rushed up in hot haste to the seats of the consuls, bidding them to abdicate their office and to lay down an authority which they lacked the spirit to support.

Year	<i>Consul prior</i>	<i>Consul posterior</i>
500	Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus Cornutus	M'. Tullius Longus
499	T. Aebutius Elva	C. Veturius Geminus Cicurinus
498	Q. Cloelius Siculus	T. Lartius (Flavus or Rufus) II
497	A. Sempronius Atratinus	M. Minucius Augurinus
496	A. Postumius Albus Regillensis	T. Verginius Tricostus Caeliomontanus
495	Ap. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis	P. Servilius Priscus Structus
494	A. Verginius Tricostus Caeliomontanus	T. Veturius Geminus Cicurinus
494	<i>Dictator: M'. Valerius Maximus</i>	

## Livy 2 29

Having sufficiently weighed both the courses open to them, the consuls finally said:

“Lest you should say that you had not been warned, Conscript Fathers, we are on the verge of a great mutiny. We demand that those who are loudest in accusing us of cowardice stand by us while we hold the levy. The most severe amongst you, since such is your pleasure, shall guide our procedure.”

They returned to the tribunal, and purposely commanded to cite by name one of those who were present. When he stood still without answering, in the midst of a little knot of men who, fearing the possibility of violence, had

gathered round him, the consuls sent a lictor to him. The lictor was driven back. Then, with a cry of “Shame!” the senators who were attending the consul rushed down from the tribunal to assist the lictor. But when the mob turned from the officer, whom they had merely prevented from arresting the man, and assailed the senators, the consuls intervened and checked the brawl, in which no stones had been thrown nor any weapons used, and there were more shouts and expressions of rage than hurts. The senate was convened in confusion, and they deliberated in still greater confusion. Those who had been roughly handled demanded an investigation, and all the more violent members urged the resolution, not only with speeches but with shouts and uproar. When at length their passions had subsided, and the consuls berated them for showing as little sanity in the Curia as the people had shown in the Forum, they began to deliberate in an orderly manner. Three proposals were made.

**Publius Verginius** advised against a general relief: only those who, relying on the promise of Publius Servilius the consul, had fought in the Volscian, Auruncan, and Sabine wars should, he thought, be considered.



**Titus Largius** held that this was no time for merely requiring services; the whole commons was submerged in debt, and the situation could not be remedied unless provision were made for all; indeed, if some were treated in one way and some in another, it would heighten the discontent instead of allaying it.

**Appius Claudius**, naturally harsh, and rendered savage by the hatred of the plebs on the one hand and the praises of the Fathers on the other, said that it was not misery but licence that had stirred up so great a hubbub, and that wantonness was what ailed the plebs rather than anger. That was precisely the mischief which the appeal occasioned; for the consuls might threaten but could not command, when those who had shared in the guilt might be constituted the court of appeal. “Come,” said he, “let us appoint a dictator, from whom there is no appeal. At once this frenzy which has now set everything ablaze will be stilled. Let anybody strike a lictor then, knowing that the right to scourge and behead him rests with that one man whose majesty he has violated!”

#### Key learning:

- **Public debt causes the plebs to lash out against the consul.**
- **Each consul suggests a different solution, Publius targets veterans, Titus takes a blanket approach, Appius suggests a dictator be introduced to check the masses.**

## Livy 2 30

Many felt, and with reason, that the proposal of Appius was stern and cruel; on the other hand those of Verginius and Largius were inexpedient because of the precedent; particularly that of Largius, since it destroyed all credit. The most reasonable and moderate plan, in its regard for both sides, was held to be that of Verginius. But owing to party spirit and consideration for private interests, things which have always been hurtful to public deliberations and always will be, Appius prevailed, and came very near to being himself appointed dictator, a step which would infallibly have estranged the commons, and that at a most dangerous moment, since the Volsci, the Aequi, and the Sabines were all, as it chanced, up in arms at once. But the consuls and the older senators saw to it that a magistracy rendered formidable by its paramount authority should be committed to a man of gentle disposition, and chose for dictator **Manius Valerius**, son of Volesus. The plebs, though they perceived that it was against themselves that the creation of a dictator was aimed, still, since it was through a law proposed by a brother of Valerius that they possessed the right of appeal, they had no fear of any harsh or oppressive act on the part of one of that family. An edict which the dictator

soon created strengthened their confidence. It conformed essentially to the edict of Servilius; but Valerius and the office he held commanded greater confidence, and, ceasing to struggle, men gave in their names. So large an army had never been enrolled before. Ten legions were embodied; each consul was given three of these, and the dictator had four.

Nor could war be deferred any longer, for the Aequi had invaded Latin territory. Emissaries from the Latins begged the senate either to send them help or permit them to take up arms themselves in defence of their country. It seemed safer that the Latins should be defended without arming them, than that they should be suffered to resume their weapons. Vetusius the consul was dispatched to them, and this ended the pillaging. The Aequi left the fields, and trusting more to situation than to arms, secured themselves on the summits of the ridges. The other consul marched against the Volsci. Lest he too might waste his time, he provoked the enemy, chiefly by ravaging their lands, to bring their camp nearer and do battle with him. In the plain between the camps the two armies formed their lines, each in front of its own stockade. In numbers the Volsci were somewhat superior, and accordingly they came on in a loose and careless order. The Roman consul did not advance, nor did he allow a response to the enemy's shout. He commanded his men to plant their spears in the ground and stand still until the enemy had come to close quarters; then they were to assail them with all their might and settle the question with the sword. The Volsci, weary with running and shouting, hurled themselves upon the Romans, who seemed to be numb with fear. But when the attackers found that their charge was firmly met and saw the swords flash in their faces, they were no whit less confounded than if they had fallen into an ambush, and turned and fled; and even flight was beyond their strength, since they had been running as they entered the battle. The Romans on the contrary, having stood at ease at the beginning of the fight, were fresh and strong; they readily caught up with the exhausted Volsci, and having taken their camp with a rush, pursued their enemies beyond it to Velitrae, where vanquished and victors burst into the city in one body. More blood was shed there, in the promiscuous slaughter of all sorts of people, than had been in the battle itself. A very few were granted quarter, having come without arms and given themselves up.

**Key learning:**

- **Appius takes over as dictator.**
- **The Aequi invaded Latin territory, the Romans support the Aequi rather than rearming them.**
- **The Volsci clash with the Romans.**

**Livy 2 31**

While these things were going on in the Volscian country, the dictator put to rout the Sabines—by far Rome's most important enemy—and captured their camp. Attacking with his cavalry, he made havoc of their centre, which, in extending their wings too widely, they had unduly weakened; and in the midst of the disorder the infantry assailed them. By a single rush the camp was captured and the war ended. From the time of the fight at Lake Regillus no other battle of those days was more famous. The dictator entered the City in triumph. In addition to the customary honours a place was assigned him in the circus, for himself and his descendants, to witness the games, and a curule chair was put there for him. The Volsci, having been conquered, were deprived of the Veliternian land; colonists were sent from the City to Velitrae and a colony was planted. Soon after this there was a battle with the Aequi, though the consul was against it, for it was necessary to approach the enemy from unfavourable ground; but his men accused him of dragging out the campaign in order that the dictator might relinquish his office before their return to the City, and his promises thus come to naught, as the consul's promises had done before. Verginius was thus driven to order an advance at random, up the mountains which confronted him. This ill-advised measure the enemy's cowardice turned into success, for before the Romans had come within a spear's throw, the Aequi, appalled at their audacity, abandoned the camp

which they had maintained in a highly defensible position, and threw themselves down into the valleys on the other side. There the Romans gained considerable booty and a bloodless victory.

Though a threefold success had thus been gained in the war, neither senators nor plebeians had been relieved of their anxiety respecting the outcome of affairs at home, so great was the artfulness, as well as influence, with which the money-lenders had laid their plans to baffle not only the commons but even the dictator himself. For after the return of the consul Vetusius, the first business which Valerius brought before the senate was in behalf of the victorious people, that the senate might declare its policy regarding the treatment of those bound over for debt. This resolution having failed to pass, the dictator said:

“I do not please you in urging harmony. You will soon wish, I warrant you, that the Roman plebs had men like me for their spokesmen. For my own part I will not be the means of further disappointing my fellow citizens, nor will I be dictator to no purpose. Internal strife and foreign war made this office necessary to the nation; peace has been secured abroad, but at home it is being thwarted; I will play my part as a private citizen rather than as a dictator, when the mutiny breaks out.”

So saying he left the Curia and laid down his office. It was evident to the people that resentment of their wrongs had caused him to resign the magistracy. And so, as though he had kept his pledge (for it had not been his fault that it was not being carried out), they attended him as he retired to his house with manifestations of favour and approval.

#### Key learning:

- Appius secures peace with the Sabines and stands down as dictator.

### Livy 2 32

Then the senators became alarmed, fearing that if the army should be disbanded there would again be secret gatherings and conspiracies. And so, although the levy had been held by order of the dictator, yet because the men had been sworn in by the consuls they regarded the troops as bound by their oath, and, under the pretext that the Aequi had recommenced hostilities, gave orders to lead the legions out of the City. This brought the revolt to a head. At first, it is said, there was talk of killing the consuls, that men might thus be freed from their oath; but when it was explained to them that no sacred obligation could be dissolved by a crime, they took the advice of one Sicinius, and without orders from the consuls withdrew to the Sacred Mount, which is situated across the river Anio, three miles from the City.—This version of the story is more general than that given by Piso, namely that the Aventine was the place of their secession.—There, without any leader, they fortified their camp with stockade and trench, and continued quietly, taking nothing but what they required for their subsistence, for several days, neither receiving provocation nor giving any. There was a great panic in the City, and mutual apprehension caused the suspension of all activities. The plebeians, having been abandoned by their friends, feared violence at the hands of the senators; the senators feared the plebeians who were left behind in Rome, being uncertain whether they had rather they stayed or went. Besides, how long would the seceding multitude continue peaceable? What would happen next if some foreign war should break out in the interim? Assuredly no hope was left save in harmony amongst the citizens, and this they concluded they must restore to the state by fair means or foul. They therefore decided to send as an ambassador to the commons **Menenius Agrippa**, an eloquent man and dear to the plebeians as being one of themselves by birth.



On being admitted to the camp he is said merely to have related the following: In the days when man's members did not all agree amongst themselves, as is now the case, but had each its own ideas and a voice of its own, the other parts thought it unfair that they should have the worry and the trouble and the labour of providing everything for the belly, while the belly remained quietly in their midst with nothing to do but to enjoy the good things which they bestowed upon it; they therefore conspired together that the hands should carry no food to the mouth, nor the mouth accept anything that was given it, nor the teeth grind up what they received. While they sought in this angry spirit to starve the belly into submission, the members themselves and the whole body were reduced to the utmost weakness. Hence it had become clear that even the belly had no idle task to perform, and was no more nourished than it nourished the rest, by giving out to all parts of the body that by which we live and thrive, when

it has been divided equally amongst the veins and is enriched with digested food—that is, the blood. Drawing a parallel from this to show how like was the internal dissension of the bodily members to the anger of the plebs against the Fathers, he prevailed upon the minds of his hearers.

### Livy 2 33

Steps were then taken towards harmony, and a compromise was effected on these terms: the plebeians were to have magistrates of their own, who should be inviolable, and in them should lie the right to aid the people against the consuls, nor should any senator be permitted to take this magistracy. And so they chose two “tribunes of the people,” **Gaius Licinius** (right) and **Lucius Albinus**. These appointed three others to be their colleagues. Amongst the latter, Sicinius, the promoter of the revolt, was one, as all agree; the identity of the other two is less certain. Some hold that there were only two tribunes elected on the Sacred Mount, and that the law of inviolability was enacted there.



494	<i>Dictator: M'. Valerius Maximus</i>	
493	<i>Post. Cominius Auruncus II</i>	<i>Sp. Cassius Viscellinus II</i>

During the secession of the plebs **Spurius Cassius** and **Postumus Cominius** entered upon their consulship. In this year a treaty was made with the Latin peoples. In order to make this treaty one of the consuls remained in Rome, while the other was dispatched to the Volscian war, and defeated and put to flight the Volsci of Antium. Forcing them to take refuge in the town of Longula, he followed them up and captured the place. Thence he proceeded to take Polusca, another Volscian town, after which he directed a strong attack upon Corioli. There was in camp at that time amongst the young nobles Gnaeus Marcius, a youth of active mind and ready hand, who afterwards gained the surname of Coriolanus. The Romans were laying siege to Corioli and were intent upon the townspeople shut up within the walls, with no thought of danger from any attack which might be impending from without, when they found themselves suddenly assailed by a Volscian army from Antium, and simultaneously by the besieged, who made a sortie from the town. It happened that Marcius was on guard. Taking a picked body of men he not only repelled the sally, but boldly forced his way through the open gate, and having spread carnage through the adjacent part of the town, caught up a firebrand on the spur of the moment, and threw it upon the buildings which overhung the wall. Then the townspeople raised a shout, mingled with such a wailing of women and children as is generally heard at the first alarm. This brought new courage to the Romans and covered the Volsci with confusion—as was natural when the city which they had come to relieve was taken. Thus the men of Antium were routed, and Corioli was won. So completely did the glory of Marcius

overshadow the consul's fame, that, were it not for the record on a bronze column of the treaty with the Latins which was struck by Spurius Cassius alone, in the absence of his colleague, men would have forgotten that Postumus Cominius had waged war on the Volsci.

That same year saw the death of **Menenius Agrippa**, a man who throughout his life had been equally beloved by patricians and plebeians, and who after the secession was even dearer to the commons. This mediator and umpire of civil harmony, this ambassador of the senators to the people, this restorer of the plebs to Rome, did not leave sufficient wealth to pay for a funeral. He was buried by the commons, who contributed a sextans each to the cost.

**Key learning:**

- **Agrippa appeals to the plebs for peace.**
- **The plebs were granted representatives to combat political corruption, known as tribunes of the people (Gaius Licinius and Lucius Albinus).**
- **Marcus' defeat of the Volsci becomes infamous.**
- **Agrippa dies and is buried at public expense.**

**Livy 2 34**

The next consuls chosen were **Titus Geganius** and **Publius Minucius**. This year, though there was no war to occasion trouble from without and the breach at home had been healed, another and a much more serious misfortune befell the nation; for first the price of corn went up, from men's failure to cultivate the fields during the withdrawal of the plebs; and this was followed by a famine, such as comes to a beleaguered city. It would have meant starvation for the slaves, at least, and the plebeians, had not the consuls met the situation by sending agents far and wide to buy up corn, not only to Etruria, northwards along the coast from Ostia, and south past the Volsci by sea, all the way to Cumae, but even to Sicily—so far afield had the enmity of Rome's neighbours driven her to seek for help. When grain had been purchased at Cumae the ships were held back by **Aristodemus**, the tyrant, in satisfaction for the property of the Tarquini, whose heir he was. Among the Volsci and Pomptini the agents could not even make any purchases, and they were actually in danger from the violence of the people. From the Tuscans corn came in by way of the Tiber, and with this the plebs were kept alive. A disastrous war would have been added to the distresses arising from the scarcity of provisions, had not a grievous pestilence descended upon the Volsci just as they were beginning hostilities. Its ravages so terrified the enemy that even after the worst of it was over, they did not fully recover from their fear, and the Romans increased the number of colonists at Velitrae and sent out a new colony to Norba, in the mountains, as a stronghold for the Pomptine country.



Next year, in the consulship of Marcus Minucius and Aulus Sempronius, a large quantity of grain was imported from Sicily, and the senate debated at what price it should be sold to the plebeians. Many thought the time had come for repressing the commons and resuming the rights which they had violently extorted from the Fathers by secession. Conspicuous among these was **Marcus Coriolanus (left)**, an enemy to the tribunician power, who said:

“If they want corn at the old price let them restore to the senate its ancient rights. Why do I see plebeian magistrates, why do I, after being sent beneath the yoke and ransomed, as it were, from brigands, behold Sicinius in power? Shall I endure these humiliations any longer than I must? When I would not brook Tarquinius as king, must I brook Sicinius? Let him secede now and call out the plebs; the way lies open to the Sacred Mount and the other hills. Let them seize grain from our fields as they did two years ago. Let them enjoy the corn-

prices they have brought about by their own madness. I make bold to say that this evil plight will so tame them that they will sooner till the land themselves than withdraw under arms and prevent its cultivation by others.”

It is not so easy to say whether it would have been right to do this, as it is clear, I think, that it lay within the Fathers’ power to have made such conditions for reducing the price of corn as to have freed themselves from the tribunician authority and all the terms which they had unwillingly agreed to.

## Livy 2 35

Even the senate deemed the proposal too harsh, and the plebs were so angry that they almost resorted to arms. Starvation, they said, was now being employed against them, as though they were public enemies, and they were being defrauded of their food and sustenance; the imported corn, their only supply, unexpectedly bestowed on them by Fortune, was to be snatched from their mouths unless the tribunes should be delivered up in chains to **Gnaeus Marcius**, unless he should work his will on the persons of the Roman plebeians; in him a new executioner had risen up against them, who bade them choose between death and slavery. When he came out from the Curia they would have set upon him, had not the tribunes, in the nick of time, appointed a day to try him; whereupon their anger subsided, for every man saw that he was himself made his enemy’s judge, and held over him the power of life and death. With contempt at first Marcius heard the threats of the tribunes, alleging that the right to help, not to punish, had been granted to that office, and that they were tribunes not of the Fathers, but of the plebs.

But the commons had risen in such a storm of anger that the Fathers had to sacrifice one man to appease them. For all that, they resisted the hatred of their adversaries and called upon the private resources of the several senators, as well as the strength of the entire order. At first they tried, by posting their clients here and there, to frighten persons from coming together for deliberation, in the hope that they might thereby break up their plans. Then they came out in a body—you would have said all the members of the senate were on their trial—and entreated the plebs to release to them one citizen, one senator; if they were unwilling to acquit him as innocent let them give him up, though guilty, as a favour.

But when Marcius himself, on the day appointed for the hearing, failed to appear, men’s hearts were hardened against him. Condemned in his absence, he went into exile with the Volsci, uttering threats against his country, and even then, breathing hostility. When he came among the Volsci they received him with a kindness which increased from one day to the next, in proportion as he allowed a greater hatred of his own people to appear, and was more and more frequently heard to utter both complaints and threats. His host was **Attius Tullius**, at that time by far the foremost of the Volscian name and ever unfriendly to the Romans. And so, spurred on, the one by his inveterate hatred and the other by fresh resentment, they took counsel together how they might make war on Rome. They believed that it would be no easy matter to induce the Volscian commons to take up the arms which they had so often unluckily essayed; the destruction of their young men in oft-repeated wars, and finally by the plague, had, they supposed, broken their spirit; artifice must be invoked, where hate had grown dull with lapse of time, that they might find some new cause of anger to exasperate men’s hearts.

### Key learning:

- **The plebs withdrawal caused a poor harvest and increased the price of corn.**
- **Trade routes for corn were blocked by the tyrant Aristodemus.**
- **Marcius Coriolanus refuses to broker peace in order to improve the food supply and is exiled by the tribunes as a result.**

## Livy 2 41

**Spurius Cassius** and **Proculus Verginius** were then made consuls. A treaty was struck with the Hernici, and two-thirds of their land was taken from them. Of this the consul Cassius proposed to divide one half amongst the Latins and the other half amongst the plebeians. To this gift he wished to add some part of that land which, he charged, was held by individuals, although it belonged to the state. Whereupon many of the Fathers, being themselves in possession of the land, took fright at the danger which threatened their interests.

But the senators were also concerned on public grounds, namely, that the consul by his largesses should be building up an influence perilous to liberty. This was the first proposal for agrarian legislation, and from that day to within living memory it has never been brought up without occasioning the most serious disturbances. The other consul resisted the largess, and the Fathers supported him; nor were the commons solidly against him, for to begin with, they had taken offence that the bounty had been made general, being extended to include allies as well as citizens; and again, they often heard the consul Verginius declare in his speeches, as though he read the future, that destruction lurked in the gift proposed by his colleague; that those lands would bring servitude to the men who should receive them, and were being made a road to monarchy.

For what reason had there been, he asked, in including the allies and the Latin name, and in restoring to the Hernici, who had been enemies a short time before, a third of the land which had been taken from them, if it were not that these tribes might have Cassius in the room of Coriolanus for their captain? Popular favour now began to go over to the opponent. Each consul then began, as if vying with the other, to pamper the plebs. Verginius said that he would permit lands to be assigned, provided they were assigned to none but Roman citizens. Cassius, having by his proposed agrarian grants made a bid for the support of the allies and thereby lowered himself in the eyes of the Romans, desired to regain the affection of his fellow-citizens by another donation, and proposed that the money received from the Sicilian corn should be paid back to the people. But this the people spurned, as a downright attempt to purchase regal power; to such an extent did their instinctive suspicion of monarchy render them scornful of his gifts, as if they had possessed a superfluity of everything; and Cassius had no sooner laid down his office than he was condemned and executed, as all authorities agree. There are those who say that his father was responsible for his punishment: that he tried the case in his house, and that, after causing his son to be scourged and put to death, he consecrated to Ceres his personal property, from the proceeds of which a statue was made and inscribed "the gift of the Cassian family." **I find in certain authors, and this is the more credible account, that** the quaestors Caeso Fabius and Lucius Valerius brought him to trial for treason, and that he was found guilty by judgment of the people and his house pulled down by popular decree. Its site is now the open space in front of the temple of Tellus. But whether it was a domestic or a state trial, he was condemned in the consulship of **Servius Cornelius** and **Quintus Fabius**.

486	<a href="#">Sp. Cassius Viscellinus III</a>	<a href="#">Proculus Verginius Tricostus Rutilus</a>
485	<a href="#">Q. Fabius Vibulanus<sup>[21]</sup></a>	<a href="#">Servius Cornelius Maluginensis<sup>[21]</sup></a>

### Key learning:

- **Cassius becomes consul and proposed to distribute new lands amongst the Latins and the plebeians, provoking the Fathers (Patricians).**
- **Cassius is accused of trying to win favour with former Latin enemies in order to advance his own power.**
- **Cassius is tried and killed either by his father, or the quaestors and his house was destroyed.**

## Livy 2 54

**Lucius Furius** and **Gaius Manlius** were the (474–473 BC) next consuls. To Manlius fell the command against the Veientes. But there was no war; a truce for forty years was granted, at their solicitation, and corn and a money-indemnity were exacted of them. The foreign peace was immediately succeeded by quarrels at home. The land-law with which the tribunes goaded the plebs excited them to the pitch of madness. The consuls, not a jot intimidated by the condemnation of Menenius, not a jot by the danger of Servilius, resisted the measure with the utmost violence. As their term expired, Gnaeus Genucius, a plebeian tribune, haled them to trial.

Lucius Aemilius and Opiter Verginius entered upon the consulship. Vopiscus Julius I find given as consul in certain annals, instead of Verginius. This year—whoever its consuls were—Furius and Manlius went about among the people as men accused, in garments of mourning, seeking out the younger patricians, as well as the plebeians. They advised them, they warned them to forbear from office-holding and the administration of the public business; as for the consular fasces, the purple-bordered toga, and the curule chair,—these they should regard in no other light than as the pageantry of burial; for splendid insignia, like the fillets placed on victims, doomed the wearer to death. But if the consulship was so alluring to them, let them recognize at once that it had been fettered and enslaved by the might of the tribunes; that the consul, as though an attendant upon those officials, must be subject in all he did to their beck and call; if he should bestir himself if he should show consideration for the patricians, if he should believe that the state comprised any other element than the plebs—let him call to mind the exile of Gnaeus Marcius, the condemnation of **Menenius** and his death.



Fired by these speeches, the senators began to hold councils, no longer publicly, but in private, where the people could not learn their plans. In these deliberations there was but one guiding principle, that by fair means or foul the defendants must be got off. The more truculent a suggestion was, the greater was the favour it evoked, and an agent was not wanting for the most daring crime. Well then, on the day of the trial the plebeians were in the Forum, on tiptoe with expectation. At first they were filled with amazement because the tribune did not come down; then, when at length his delay began to look suspicious, they supposed he had been frightened away by the nobles, and fell to complaining of his desertion and betrayal of the people's cause; finally, those who had presented themselves at the tribune's vestibule brought back word that he had been found dead in his house. When this report had spread through all the gathering, the crowd, like an army which takes to flight at the fall of its general, melted away on every side. The tribunes were particularly dismayed, for the death of their colleague warned them how utterly ineffectual to protect them were the laws that proclaimed their sanctity. Nor did the senators place a proper restraint upon their satisfaction; so far, indeed, was anyone from repenting of the guilty deed that even the innocent desired to be thought its authors, and men openly asserted that chastisement must be employed to curb the power of the tribunes.

## Livy 2 55

Immediately following this pernicious victory (473 BC) a levy was proclaimed, which the fear of the tribunes allowed the consuls to push through without ever a veto. But this time the commons were fairly roused to anger, more by the silence of the tribunes than by the consuls' power. They declared that it was all up with their liberty; that men had gone back to their old ways; that with Genucius the tribunician power had suffered death and burial. They must adopt another course and other plans to resist the patricians; but the only way was this: that the plebs should undertake their own defence, since they had no one else to help them. Twenty-four lictors were all the retinue of the consuls, and even

these were plebeians. Nothing was more contemptible or weaker, if there were any to contemn; it was every man's own imagination that made them great and awe-inspiring. They had incited one another with arguments of this sort when the consuls sent a lictor to arrest Volero Publilius, a plebeian, who, on the ground that he had been a centurion, denied their right to make him a common soldier. Volero called upon the tribunes. When no one came to aid him, the consuls gave orders to strip the man and get out the rods.

"I appeal," cried Volero, "to the people, since the tribunes would rather a Roman citizen should be scourged with rods before their eyes than themselves be murdered in their beds by you."

But the more boldly he shouted the more roughly the lictor fell to tearing off his clothes and stripping him. Then Volero, who was himself a powerful man and was helped by those he had called to his assistance, beat off the lictor and, choosing the place where the uproar of his sympathisers was the angriest, plunged into the thick of the crowd, calling out,

"I appeal, and implore the protection of the plebs; help, citizens! help, fellow-soldiers! It is useless for you to wait for the tribunes, who themselves stand in need of aid from you."

In their excitement men made ready as if to fight a battle, and it was evident that anything might happen, that nobody would respect any right, whether public or private. The consuls, exposed to this furious tempest, were quickly convinced of the insecurity of majesty when unaccompanied with force. The lictors were roughly handled and their rods were broken, while the consuls themselves were driven out of the Forum into the Curia, with no means of knowing how far Volero might use his victory. Afterwards, when the uproar began to die away, they summoned the Fathers into the senate-house and complained of the insults they had suffered, the violence of the plebs, and Volero's outrageous conduct. Though many daring opinions were expressed, the wishes of the older men prevailed, who had no mind to a conflict between an angry senate and a reckless plebs.



John Leech, *A Lictor is sent to arrest Publilius Volero*, from *The Comic History of Rome*. In this account, the powerful Publilius seized the lictor and set him down roughly on the ground.

### Key learning:

- **The consuls begin to conspire in secret.**
- **Menius is killed, frightening the tribunes as they realise they have little protection.**
- **The tribunes become timid and fail to veto the consul's levy, inviting public backlash.**

### Livy 2 56

Volero, having been taken into favour by the plebs, was at the next election made plebeian tribune for that year which had **Lucius Pinarius** and **Publius Furius** for consuls (472 BC). And contrary to the expectation of all, who believed that he would employ his tribuneship in persecuting the consuls of the preceding year, he set the general welfare above his private grievance, and without attacking the consuls by so much as a word, brought a bill before the people providing that plebeian magistrates should be chosen in the tribal assembly. It was no trivial matter which he proposed under this form, which at first sight appeared so harmless, but one that completely deprived the patricians of the power of using their clients' votes to select what tribunes they liked. This measure was extremely welcome to the plebs; the Fathers opposed it with all their might, yet the only effectual resistance—to wit, a veto by some member of the tribunician

college—neither consuls nor nobles were sufficiently influential to command. Nevertheless, the legislation, which its very importance rendered difficult, was drawn out by party strife to the end of the year. The plebs re-elected **Volero** tribune: the senators, thinking the quarrel was sure to proceed to extremities, made **Appius Claudius**, son of Appius, consul, a man whose unpopularity with the plebs and hostility towards them went back to the struggles between their fathers. For colleague they gave him Titus Quinctius.

The new year was no sooner begun than discussion of the law took precedence of everything else, and it was urged not only by its author, Volero, but by his colleague Laetorius as well, whose advocacy of it was at once fresher and more acrimonious. He was emboldened by the great reputation he enjoyed as a soldier, since no one of that generation surpassed him in physical prowess. While Volero spoke of nothing but the law, and forbore to inveigh against the consuls' persons, **Laetorius** launched out into an arraignment of **Appius** and his family, as most cruel and arrogant towards the Roman plebs. But when he strove to show that the patricians had elected, not a consul, but an executioner, to harass and torture the plebeians, the inexperienced tongue of the soldier was inadequate to express his audacity and spirit. Accordingly, when words began to fail him he cried,

"Since speech is not so easy for me, Quirites, as it is to make good what I have spoken, be at hand tomorrow. I will either die here in your sight or carry through the law."

The tribunes were the first on the scene next day and possessed themselves of the rostra; the consuls and nobles took their stand in the assembly, with the purpose of obstructing the passage of the law. **Laetorius** ordered the removal of all but those who were voting. The youthful nobles stayed where they were and would not give way at the officer's behest. Then certain of them were ordered by **Laetorius** to be seized. The consul Appius declared that the tribune had no authority over anybody but a plebeian, seeing that he was not a magistrate of the people, but of the plebs; and even if he were, he could not, consistently with the custom of the Fathers, command the removal of anyone, by virtue of his authority, since the formula ran thus: "If it seems good to you, depart, Quirites." It was an easy matter to throw Laetorius into a passion by these contemptuous remarks about his rights. It was therefore in a blaze of anger that the tribune dispatched his attendant to the consul; while the consul sent his lictor to the tribune, crying out that Laetorius was a private citizen, without power, and no magistrate; and the tribune would have been mishandled, had not the whole assembly rallied fiercely to his support against the consul, while men rushed into the Forum from all over the City, in an excited throng. Still, Appius was obstinately holding out, despite the fury of the tempest, and a sanguinary battle would have ensued, if Quinctius, the other consul, had not entrusted the senators of consular rank with the task of getting his colleague out of the Forum, by force, if they could not achieve it otherwise; while he himself now appealed to the raging populace with soothing entreaties, and now besought the tribunes to dismiss the council. Let them give their anger time: time would not rob them of their power but would add wisdom to their strength; the Fathers would be subject to the people, and the consul to the Fathers.

#### Key learning:

- **Volero passes legislation to allow the tribunes to elect plebeian magistrates.**
- **The consuls make the conservative Appius a tribune in order to counter Volero's policy of people-power.**
- **When discussing the law, Volero stays on task but Laetorius launches personal attacks against Appius, which Appius uses to undermine Laetorius' office.**

#### Livy 2 57

It was hard for Quinctius to still the plebs; much harder for the senators to quiet the other consul. At length the council of the plebs was adjourned, and the consuls convened the senate. At this meeting alternating hope and fear gave rise to conflicting opinions. But in proportion as their passions cooled with the lapse of time and gave way to deliberation,

their minds more and more revolted from the struggle; insomuch that they passed a vote of thanks to Quinctius, because it was due to him that the quarrel had been abated. They desired Appius to be content that the majesty of the consul should be no greater than was compatible with harmony in the state, pointing out that while tribunes and consuls were each striving to carry things his own way there was no strength left in the nation at large, and the commonwealth was torn and mangled, the question being rather in whose power it was than how it might be safe. Appius, on the other hand, called gods and men to witness that the state was being betrayed through cowardice, and abandoned; that it was not the consul who was failing the senate, but the senate the consul; that harder terms were being accepted than had been accepted on the Sacred Mount. Nevertheless, he was borne down by the senate's unanimity and held his peace. The law was passed without opposition.

## Livy 2 58

Then for the first time tribunes were elected in the tribal assembly. That their number was also increased by three, as if there had been only two before, is stated by Piso. He also gives the names of the tribunes: **Gnaeus Siccius, Lucius Numitorius, Marcus Duillius, Spurius Icilius, Lucius Maecilius.**

While Rome was thus distracted, the Volsci and the Aequi began war. They had laid waste the fields in order that the plebeians, if they should secede, might find a refuge with them. Then, when the matter was settled, they withdrew their camp. **Appius Claudius** was sent against the Volsci; to Quinctius fell the command against the Aequi. In his conduct in the field Appius displayed the same violence that he had shown in Rome, and it now had freer play because it was not hampered by the tribunes. He hated the plebs with a hatred that surpassed his father's: What? Had he been beaten by them? Was it in his consulship, who had been chosen as pre-eminently fitted to resist the tribunician power, that a law had been passed which former consuls had prevented, with less effort and by no means so much hope of success on the part of the patricians? His wrath and indignation at this thought drove his fierce spirit to torment the army with a savage exercise of authority. Yet he was unable by any violence to subdue them, so deeply had their spirits drunk of opposition. Sloth, idleness, neglect, and obstinacy were in all they did. Neither shame nor fear restrained them. If he wished the column to advance more rapidly, they deliberately retarded their pace; if he stood by to encourage their work, they would all relax the industry they had manifested of their own accord. In his presence they sunk their gaze; as he passed by, they cursed him under their breath; till that proud spirit, which the hatred of the plebs had never broken, was at times disturbed. After exhausting every species of severity without effect, he would have no more to do with the men; the centurions, he said, had corrupted the army, and he sometimes sneeringly dubbed them "tribunes of the plebs" and "Voleros."

### Key learning:

- **The legislation to elect plebeian tribunes is passed.**
- **The infighting between Laetorius and Appius distracts Rome whilst its enemies the Volsci and the Aequi launch an attack.**
- **The army Appius commands to counter this attack despise Appius because of his contempt for the plebs.**

## Livy 2 61

A stormier year succeeded, under the consuls (470 BC) **Lucius Valerius** and **Titus Aemilius**, partly owing to strife between the classes about the land-law, partly to the trial of Appius Claudius. He was the bitterest opponent of the law

and was upholding the claim of those who had possession of the public domain as if he had been a third consul, when **Marcus Duillius** and **Gnaeus Siccus** lodged an accusation against him. Never before had a defendant whom the plebs so detested been brought to trial before the people, burdened as he was with men's hatred, both of himself and of his father. The patricians, for their part, had not lightly put forth such exertions in behalf of any man. They felt that the champion of the senate and the guardian of their own dignity, who had stood firm against all sorts of tribunician and plebeian outbreaks, though he had possibly gone too far in the heat of the struggle, was being exposed to the angry commons. Alone amongst the Fathers, Appius Claudius himself regarded tribunes, plebs, and his own trial with perfect unconcern. He was not one whom the threats of the plebeians or the entreaties of the senate could ever prevail upon, I do not say to put on mourning, or to seek men out with appeals for mercy, but even to soften and subdue in a slight degree the accustomed sharpness of his tongue, though it was before the people he must plead. There was the same expression on his countenance, the same arrogance in his glance, the same fire in his speech; so markedly, in fact, that a great part of the plebs feared Appius no less when a defendant than they had feared him as consul. Once only did he plead his case, in the tone he had been wont to use on all occasions, namely, that of a prosecutor; and so completely did his firmness overwhelm the tribunes and the commons that they themselves voluntarily adjourned the trial to a later day, and then allowed the affair to drag. The interval was not very long, but before the appointed day came around Appius fell sick and died. When his eulogy was being pronounced, the tribunes of the plebs attempted to interfere, but the plebs were not willing that the funeral-day of so great a man should be defrauded of the customary honours. They listened to his praises with as great goodwill, now he was dead, as they had heard the living man accused, and attended his burial in crowds.

**Key learning:**

- **Appius Claudius is now being charged but dies before he goes to trial.**
- **The plebs attend Appius burial for the sake of propriety, despite their alleged hatred of him.**

## Livy Summary of Book 2

Brutus bound the people with an oath to allow no one to reign in Rome. **Tarquinius Collatinus**, his colleague, who had incurred suspicion because of his relationship to the Tarquinius, he forced to abdicate the consulship and withdraw from the state. He ordered the king's goods to be plundered and consecrated his land to Mars. It was named the Campus Martius.

Certain noble youths—among them his own sons and his brother's—he beheaded, because they had conspired to bring back the kings. To the slave who gave the information, a man called Vindicius, he gave his freedom; from his name came the word vindicta. Having led an army against the princes, who had collected forces from Veii and Tarquinius and begun a war, he fell in the battle, together with Arruns, the son of Superbus, and the matrons mourned for him a year. Publius Valerius the consul proposed a law about appealing to the people.

The Capitol was dedicated. Porsenna, king of Clusium, made war in behalf of the Tarquinius and came to Janiculum, but was prevented from crossing the Tiber by the bravery of Horatius Cocles, who, while the others were cutting down the Sublician Bridge, kept the Etruscans at bay, single-handed, and when the bridge had been destroyed, threw himself armed into the river and swam across to his fellows. Another example of courage was exhibited by Mucius. Having entered the camp of the enemy with the purpose of killing Porsenna, he slew a secretary, whom he had taken for the king. Being arrested, he placed his hand upon the altar, where sacrifice had been made, and suffering it to be burned off, declared that there were three hundred others as determined as himself. Overcome with astonishment at their daring, Porsenna proposed terms of peace and, having taken hostages, relinquished the war. One of the hostages, the maiden Cloelia, evaded the sentinels and swam across the Tiber to her people. She was given up to Porsenna, but was restored by him with marks of honour, and was presented with an equestrian statue. Aulus Postumius the dictator fought a successful battle against Tarquinius Superbus, who was advancing with an army of Latins. Appius Claudius came over from the Sabines to the Romans.

On this account the Claudian tribe was added and the number of tribes was increased to twenty-one. The plebs, after seceding to the Sacred Mount because of those who had been enslaved for debt, were induced by the advice of Menenius Agrippa to cease from their rebellion. The same Agrippa when he died was buried, owing to his poverty, at the state's expense.

Five plebeian tribunes were elected. The Volscian town of Corioli was captured by the valiant efforts of Gnaeus Marcius, who acquired from this circumstance the name of Coriolanus. Titus Latinius, a man of the plebs, was warned in a dream to inform the senate regarding certain offences against religion. Having neglected to do it, he lost a son and was paralysed in his feet. When he had been carried to the senate in a litter and had revealed these same matters, he recovered the use of his feet and returned to his house.

When Gnaeus Marcius Coriolanus, who had been driven into exile and had been made general of the Volsci, had led a hostile army nearly to Rome, and when the envoys who had been sent to him at first and afterwards the priests had vainly besought him not to make war upon his native land, his mother Veturia and his wife Volumnia persuaded him to withdraw. For the first time a land-law was proposed. Spurius Cassius, the ex-consul, charged with aspiring to be king, was condemned and put to death. Opillia, a Vestal Virgin, was buried alive for unchastity. The neighbouring Veientes being a troublesome rather than a dangerous enemy, the Fabian family asked to be allowed to carry on that war, and dispatched thither 306 armed men, who were all but one killed by the enemy at the Cremera. When Appius Claudius the consul had sustained a defeat at the hands of the Volsci, owing to the contumacy of his army, he caused every tenth

soldier to be scourged to death. It contains besides campaigns against the Volsci, the Hernici, and the Veientes, and the quarrels between the patricians and the plebs.

### Livy 3 9

Rome was thus restored to her former condition, and the success of the campaign at once occasioned disturbances in the City. **Gaius Terentilius Harsa** was tribune of the plebs that year. Thinking that the absence of the consuls afforded the tribunes an opportunity for action, he complained to the people of the pride of the patricians, and protested against the authority of the consuls, as a thing excessive and intolerable in a free state. For it was only in name, he said, that it was less hateful than that of a king; in reality it was almost crueller, since in place of one master they had now got two, who possessed an unregulated and unlimited power, and while free themselves and without restraint, imposed all the terrors of the law and all its punishments upon the plebs. That they might not for ever have this licence, he was about to propose a law providing for the appointment of five men to write out the statutes pertaining to the consular power. These law writers should enjoy such authority as the people had granted the consuls, but they should not make a law of their own whims and caprices.

When this measure had been proclaimed, the Fathers were concerned that they might be humbled, in the absence of the consuls. The prefect of the City, **Quintus Fabius**, convened the senate, and attacked the measure and Gaius Terentilius Harsa himself with such bitterness that if both the consuls had been present to outface the tribune there was nothing they could have added to his threats and denunciations. Terentilius, he said, had laid an ambush and watching his opportunity had attacked the state. If the angry gods had given them a tribune like him the year before, when they were suffering from war and disease, it would have been impossible to save the situation. Finding both consuls dead, the citizens plague-stricken, and confusion everywhere, he would have proposed a law to do away with consular government and would have led the Volsci and the Aequi to besiege the City.

What did Terentilius want? Was he not at liberty, if the consuls had committed any act of pride or cruelty against a citizen, to call them into court and accuse them where the judges would be the very men against one of whom the injury had been done? It was not the authority of the consul but the power of the tribune that he was making hateful and intolerable; this power had been reconciled and brought into harmony with the senate but was now being degraded again to its former evil state. Yet he would not supplicate Terentilius to abandon the course on which he had embarked. "It is you other tribunes," he cried, "whom we beg to reflect, as a matter of the last importance, that your power was obtained for the purpose of assisting individuals, not for the destruction of us all; that you were elected tribunes of the plebs, not enemies of the senate. To us it is a source of sorrow, to you a source of hate, that the state should be attacked in the absence of its defenders. You will be diminishing, not your authority, but your unpopularity, if you plead with your colleague to postpone the question, as it stands, until the arrival of the consuls. Even the Aequi and the Volsci, when disease last year had carried off the consuls, refrained from pressing a cruel and pitiless war against us." The tribunes pleaded with Terentilius, and the measure having been seemingly postponed, but in reality, killed, the consuls were immediately summoned.

#### Key learning:

- **Livy focuses on Quintus Fabius' opinion of Terentilius.**
- **Quintus Fabius begs the tribunes not to pass Terentilius' legal reforms, which would undermine the power of any future consuls.**
- **The tribunes block the reform until new consuls are appointed to replace those killed in the conflicts with the Aequi and Volsci.**

### Livy 3 31

**Marcus Valerius** and **Spurius Verginius** succeeded to the consulship (456–454 BC). Affairs were quiet both at home and abroad; but there was a shortage in the corn-supply, due to excessive rains. A law was passed opening up the Aventine to settlement. The same tribunes of the plebs were returned; and in the following year, when **Titus Romilius** and **Gaius Veturius** were consuls, they took occasion to urge the law in all their speeches. They were ashamed, they said, of the futile increase in their numbers, if this measure was disregarded during their own two years of office, as it had done throughout the five preceding years.

Just when they became most frustrated, there came a disquieting report from Tusculum that the Aequi were in Tusculan territory. Men were ashamed, in view of the recent service of that nation, to delay in sending aid. Both consuls were dispatched with an army; and finding the enemy on their usual ground, Mount Algidus, they fought them. Above seven thousand of the enemy were slain; the rest were put to flight; and immense spoils were taken. These the consuls sold, owing to the impoverished condition of the treasury. Nevertheless, their action made them unpopular with the army, and it also furnished the tribunes with an occasion for impeaching the consuls before the plebs.

Accordingly, when they laid down their office and **Spurius Tarpeius** and **Aulus Aternius** became consuls, they were brought to trial. Romilius by **Gaius Calvus Cicero**, a plebeian tribune, Veturius by **Lucius Alienus**, an aedile of the plebs. Both were condemned, greatly to the indignation of the patricians; Romilius was fined 10,000 asses, Veturius 15,000. Yet this disaster to their predecessors did not diminish the energy of the new consuls; they said that it was possible that they should themselves be condemned, but that it was not possible that the plebs and the tribunes should carry their law. Then the tribunes, discarding the law, which, in the time it had been before the people, had lost its vitality, began to treat more moderately with the patricians. Let them at last put an end, they said, to these disputes; if the plebeian measure were not agreeable to them, let them permit framers of laws to be appointed jointly from both the plebs and the nobility, that they might propose measures which should benefit both sides, and secure equal liberty. The patricians did not reject the principle; but they declared that only a patrician should propose laws. Since they were agreed in regard to the laws, and only differed about the mover, they sent Spurius Postumius Albus, Aulus Manlius, and Publius Sulpicius Camerinus on a mission to Athens, with orders to copy the **famous laws of Solon**, and acquaint themselves with the institutions, customs, and laws of the other Greek states.

#### Key learning:

- **Plebeian officials Gaius Calvus Cicero (tribune) and Lucius Alienus (tribune) prosecute former consuls (Titus Romilius and Gaius Veturius) for selling war spoils to fund the treasury.**
- **This provokes new consuls Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Aternius to re-examine the laws in order for plebs and patricians to be tried fairly, but only by those of patrician class.**
- **The new consuls send Postumius, Manlius and Camerinus to Athens to copy the laws of Solon.**

### Livy 3 32

No foreign wars disturbed the quiet of that year; but even more quiet was the year that followed, when **Publius Curvius** and **Sextus Quinctilius** were consuls, for the tribunes preserved an unbroken silence. This was due in the first place to their waiting for the commissioners who had gone to Athens, and for the foreign laws; in the second place two terrible misfortunes had come at the same time, famine and pestilence, baneful alike to men and beasts. The fields

were left untenanted; the City was emptied by incessant funerals; many distinguished families were in mourning. The flamen of **Quirinus**, **Servius Cornelius**, died, and the augur **Gaius Horatius Pulvillus**, in whose place the augurs elected **Gaius Veturius**, the more eagerly because of his condemnation by the plebs. Death took the consul **Quinctilius**, and four tribunes of the plebs. The numerous losses made it a gloomy year; but Rome's enemies did not molest her.

The next consuls were **Gaius Menenius** and **Publius Sestius Capitolinus**. In this year likewise there was no foreign war, but disturbances arose at home. The commissioners had now returned with the laws of Athens. The tribunes were therefore the more insistent that a beginning should be made at last towards codification. It was resolved to appoint decemvirs, subject to no appeal, and to have no other magistrates for that year. Whether plebeians should be permitted a share in the work was for some time disputed. In the end they yielded to the patricians, only bargaining that the Icilian law about the Aventine and the other sacred laws should not be abolished.

**Key learning:**

- Whilst waiting for the lawmakers to return from Athens, Romans are wiped out by plague and famine, including Roman officials.
- New laws are recorded by the patricians.

**Livy 3 54**

When the people all consented that they should do as they saw fit, the envoys assured them that they would settle matters and presently return. So, they departed and explained to the Fathers the demands of the plebs. The other decemvirs, when they found that, contrary to their expectation, no mention was made of any punishment of themselves, made no objection to any tiling: **Appius**, hard-hearted, knowing himself peculiarly unpopular, and measuring other men's hatred of himself by his own of them, exclaimed,

"I am not unaware of the lot which threatens me. I perceive that the attack upon us is only being postponed till arms are handed over to our adversaries. Hatred must have its offering of blood. I too am willing to relinquish the decemvirate."

A decree was passed by the senate that the decemvirs should abdicate the magistracy at the earliest possible moment; that **Quintus Furius**, the Pontifex Maximus, should hold an election of plebeian tribunes; and that no one should be made to suffer for the secession of the soldiers and the plebs.

Having so decreed the senate adjourned and the decemvirs went before the people and laid down their office, to the great delight of all. These events were reported to the plebs, the envoys being accompanied by all the people left in the City. The multitude was met by another joyful throng from the camp, and they exchanged congratulations on the restoration of freedom and harmony to the state. The commissioners addressed the people as follows:

"Prosperity, favour, and good fortune to you and the Republic! Return to your native City, to your homes, to your wives, and your children; but let the self-restraint you have shown here, where no man's farm has been violated, though so many things were useful and necessary to so great a multitude, be preserved when you return to the City. Go to the Aventine, whence you set out. There in the auspicious place where you first laid the foundations of your liberty, you shall choose tribunes of the plebs. The Pontifex Maximus will be at hand to hold the election."

With loud applause and great cheer, the people showed their approval of all that had been said. They pulled up their standards from the place and set out for Rome, vying with those whom they met in celebration. Armed, they proceeded in silence through the City to the Aventine. There the Pontifex Maximus at once held the **comitia**, and they elected

tribunes of the plebs; first of all **Lucius Verginius**; then **Lucius Icilius** and **Publius Numitorius**, Verginia's great-uncle, the instigators of the secession; then **Gaius Sicinius**, son of the man who is related to have been the first plebeian tribune chosen on the Sacred Mount; and **Marcus Duillius**, who had filled the tribuneship with distinction before the decemvirs were appointed, and had not failed the plebs in their contentions with the decemvirs.

Then, more by reason of their promise than for any deserts of theirs, they elected **Marcus Titinius**, **Marcus Pomponius**, **Gaius Apronius**, **Appius Villius**, and **Gaius Oppius**. As soon as they had taken office, Lucius Icilius proposed to the people, and they so voted, that no man should suffer for leaving the decemvirs. Immediately a bill that consuls should be elected subject to appeal was offered by Marcus Duillius and was carried. These matters were all transacted by the council of the plebs, in the Flaminian Meadows, which men now call the **Flaminian Circus**.

**Key learning:**

- **The plebs were able to create new laws, allowing them more influence.**
- **This change was brought about by the new plebeian tribunes.**

**Livy 4 1**

**Marcus Genucius** and **Gaius Curtius** succeeded these men as consuls (445 BC). It was a year of quarrels both at home and abroad. For at its commencement **Gaius Canuleius**, a tribune of the plebs, proposed a bill regarding the intermarriage of patricians and plebeians which the patricians looked upon as involving the debasement of their blood and the subversion of the principles held by influential families; and a suggestion, cautiously put forward at first by the tribunes, that it should be lawful for one of the consuls to be chosen from the plebs, was afterwards carried so far that nine tribunes proposed a bill giving the people power to choose consuls as they might see fit, from either the plebs or the patriciate.

To carry out this last proposal would be, in the estimation of the patricians, not merely to give a share of the supreme authority to the lowest of the citizens, but actually to take it away from the nobles and bestow it on the plebs. The Fathers therefore rejoiced to hear that the people of Ardea had revolted because of the unjust decision which deprived them of their land; that the men of Veii had ravaged the Roman frontier; and that the Volsci and Aequi were murmuring at the fortification of Verrugo; so decidedly did they prefer even an unfortunate war to an ignominious peace. Accordingly they made the most of these threats, that the proposals of the tribunes might be silenced amidst the din of so many wars; and ordered levies to be held and military preparations to be made with the utmost energy, and if possible, even more strenuously than had been done when **Titus Quinctius** was consul. Then **Gaius Canauleius** curtly proclaimed in the senate that it was in vain the consuls sought to frighten the plebs out of their concern for the new laws; and, declaring that they should never hold the levy, while he lived, until the plebs had voted on the measures which he and his colleagues had brought forward, at once convened an assembly.

**Livy 4 2**

At one and the same time the consuls were inciting the senate against the tribune, and the tribune was arousing the people against the consuls. The consuls declared that the frenzy of the tribunes could no longer be endured; the end had now been reached, and there was more war being stirred up at home than abroad. This state of things was, to be sure, as much the fault of the senators as of the plebs, and the consuls were as guilty as the tribunes. That tendency which a state rewarded always attained the greatest growth; it was thus that good men were produced, both in peace and in war.

In Rome the greatest reward was given to mutiny, which had, therefore, ever been held in honour by all. Let them recall the majesty of the senate when they had taken it over from their fathers and think what it was likely to be when they passed it on to their sons, and how the plebs could glory in the increase of their strength and consequence. There was no end in sight, nor would be, so long as the instigators of coup were honoured in proportion to the success of their projects. What tremendous schemes had **Gaius Canuleius** set on foot! He was aiming to contaminate the *gentes* and throw the auspices, both public and private, into confusion, that nothing might be pure, nothing unpolluted; so that, when all distinctions had been obliterated, no man might recognise either himself or his kindred.

For what else, they asked, was the object of promiscuous marriages, if not that plebeians and patricians might mingle together almost like the beasts? The son of such a marriage would be ignorant to what blood and to what worship he belonged; he would relate half to the patricians, half to the plebs, and be at strife even with himself. It was not enough for the disturbers of the rabble to play havoc with all divine and human institutions: they must now aim at the consulship. And whereas they had at first merely suggested in conversations that one of the two consuls should be chosen from the plebeians, they were now proposing a law that the people should elect consuls at its pleasure from patriciate or plebs. Its choice would without doubt always fall upon plebeians of the most revolutionary sort, and the result would be that they would have consuls of the type of **Canuleius** and **Icilius**. They called on Jupiter Optimus Maximus to forbid that a power regal in its majesty should sink so low.

For their parts, they would sooner die a thousand deaths than suffer so shameful a thing to be done. They felt certain that their forefathers too, had they divined that all sorts of concessions would make the commons not more tractable but more exacting, and that the granting of their first demands would lead to others, ever more unjust, would rather have faced any conflict whatsoever than have permitted such laws to be imposed upon them. Because they had yielded then, in the matter of the tribunes, they had yielded a second time; it was impossible there should be any settlement of the trouble, if in one and the same state there were both plebeian tribunes and patricians; one thing or the other must go,—the patriciate or the tribunate. It was better late than never to oppose their rashness and boldness.

Were they not to be punished for sowing discord, stirring up neighbouring wars, and then preventing the state from arming and defending itself against the wars they had raised themselves? When they had all but invited in the enemy, should they refuse to allow the enrolment of armies to oppose that enemy; while **Canuleius** had the hardihood to announce in the senate that unless the Fathers permitted his laws to be received, as though he were a conqueror, he would forbid the levy? What else was this than a threat that he would betray his native City to attack and capture? How must that speech encourage, not the Roman plebs, but the Volsci, the Aequi, and the Veientes! Would they not hope that, led by Canuleius, they would be able to scale the Capitol and the Citadel? Unless the tribunes had robbed the patricians of their courage when they took away their rights and their dignity, the consuls were prepared to lead them against criminal citizens sooner than against armed enemies.

**Key learning:**

- **The plebs press to have the right to marry patricians, be represented by a plebeian consul and vote for the consuls themselves.**
- **The patricians used foreign conflicts to distract the plebs from these legal reforms.**

### Livy 4 3

At the very time when these opinions were finding expression in the senate, **Canuleius** held forth in this fashion in behalf of his laws and in opposition to the consuls:

“How greatly the patricians despised you, Quirites, how unfit they deemed you to live in the City, within the same walls as themselves, I think I have often observed before, but never more clearly than at this very moment, when they are rallying so fiercely against these proposals of ours. Yet what else do we intend by them than to remind our fellow citizens that we are of them, and that, though we possess not the same wealth, still we dwell in the same City they inhabit?

In the one bill we seek the right of intermarriage, which is customarily granted to neighbours and foreigners—indeed we have granted citizenship, which is more than intermarriage, even to defeated enemies;—in the other we propose no innovation, but reclaim and seek to exercise a popular right, to wit that the Roman People shall elect who they want. Why should they confound heaven and earth? Why should they almost have attacked me just now in the senate? Why should they declare that they will place no restraint on force, and should threaten to violate our sacrosanct authority? If the Roman People is granted a free vote, that so it may commit the consulship to what hands it likes, if even the plebeian is not cut off from the hope of gaining the highest honours—if he shall be deserving of the highest honours—will this City of ours be unable to endure? Is her dominion at an end? When we raise the question of making a plebeian consul, is it the same as if we were to say that a slave or a freedman should attain that office? Have you any conception of the contempt in which you are held? They would take from you, were it possible, a part of this daylight. That you breathe, that you speak, that you have the shape of men, fills them with resentment.

They say that it is sinning against Heaven to elect a plebeian consul. Tell me, if we are not admitted to consult the *Fasti* or the Commentaries of the Pontiffs, are we therefore ignorant of what all men, even foreigners, know: that the consuls succeeded to the place of the kings, and possess no jot nor title of right or dignity that belonged not to the kings before? Come! Would you believe the story was ever heard how **Numa Pompilius**—not only no patrician, but not even a Roman citizen—was sent for from the country of the Sabines, and reigned at Rome, by command of the people and with the senators’ consent?

And again, how **Lucius Tarquinius**, who was not even of Italian stock—not to mention Roman—being the son of **Demaratus of Corinth**, and an immigrant from Tarquinii, was made king, while the sons of Ancus were still living? And how after him Servius Tullius, son of a captive woman from Corniculum, who had nobody for his father and a bond-woman for his mother, held the royal power by his innate ability and worth? For why should I speak of **Titus Tatius** the Sabine, with whom Romulus himself, the Father of the City, shared his sovereignty? Well then, so long as men despised no family that could produce conspicuous excellence, the dominion of Rome increased.

And are you now to scorn a plebeian consul, when our ancestors were not above accepting alien kings, and when the City was not closed against the meritorious foreigner, even after the expulsion of the kings? The Claudian family at least we not only received from the Sabine country, after the kings had been driven out, and gave them citizenship, but even admitted them to the number of patricians. Shall the son of a stranger become patrician and then consul, but a Roman citizen, if plebeian, be cut off from all hope of the consulship? Do we not believe it possible that a bold and strenuous man, serviceable both in peace and in war, should come from the plebs, —a man like Numa, **Lucius Tarquinius**, or **Servius Tullius**? Or shall we refuse, even if such an one appear, to let him approach the helm of state? Must we rather look forward to consuls like the decemvirs, the vilest of mortals, who nevertheless were all of patrician birth, than to such as shall resemble the best of the kings, new men though they were?

## Livy 4 4

“‘But,’ you will say, ‘from the time the kings were expelled no plebeian has ever been consul.’ Well, what then? Must no new institution be adopted? Ought that which has not yet been done—and in a new nation many things have not yet been done—never to be put in practice, even if it be expedient? There were neither *pontiffs* nor *augurs* in the reign of Romulus; Numa Pompilius created them. There was no census in the state, no registration of centuries and classes; **Servius Tullius** made one.

There had never been any consuls; when the kings had been banished, consuls were elected. Neither the power nor the name of dictator had ever been known; in the time of our fathers they began. Plebeian tribunes, aediles, and quaestors, there were none; men decided to have them. Within the past ten years we have elected decemvirs for drawing up the laws, and removed them from the commonwealth. Who can question that in a city founded for eternity and of incalculable growth, new powers, priesthoods, and rights of families and individuals, must be established? Was not this very provision, that patricians and plebeians might not intermarry, enacted by the decemvirs a few years since, with the worst effect on the community and the gravest injustice to the plebs? Or can there be any greater or more signal insult than to hold a portion of the state unworthy of intermarriage, as though it were defiled? What else is this but to suffer exile within the same walls and banishment? They guard against having us for connections or relations, against the mingling of our blood with theirs. Why, if this pollutes that fine nobility of yours—which many of you, being of Alban or of Sabine origin, possess not by virtue of race or blood, but through co-optation into the patriciate, having been chosen either by the kings, or, after their expulsion, by decree of the people—could you not keep it pure by your own private counsels, neither taking wives from the plebs nor permitting your daughters and sisters to marry out of the patriciate?

No plebeian would offer violence to a patrician maiden: that is a patrician vice. No one would have compelled anybody to enter a compact of marriage against his will. But let me tell you that in the statutory prohibition and annulment of intermarriage between patricians and plebeians we have indeed at last an insult to the plebs. Why, pray, do you not bring in a law that there shall be no intermarrying of rich and poor? That which has always and everywhere been a matter of private policy, that a woman might marry into whatever family it had been arranged, that a man might take a wife from that house where he had engaged himself, you would subject to the restraint of a most arrogant law, that thereby you might break up our civil society and make two states out of one. Why do you not enact that a plebeian shall not live near a patrician, nor go on the same road? That he shall not enter the same festive company? That he shall not stand by his side in the same Forum? For what real difference does it make if a patrician takes a plebeian wife, or a plebeian a patrician? What right, pray, is invaded? The children of course take the father’s rank. There is nothing we are seeking to gain from marriage with you, except that we should be accounted men and citizens. Neither have you any reason to oppose us, unless you delight in vying with each other how you may outrage and humiliate us.

## Livy 4 5

“Finally, I would ask, is it you, or the Roman People, who have supreme authority? Did the banishment of the kings bring you dominion, or to all men equal liberty? Ought the Roman People to be permitted, if it so desire, to enact a law; or shall you, as each proposal is brought up, proclaim a levy by way of penalty, and so soon as I, the tribune, begin to summon the tribes to vote, shall you, the consul, at once administer the oath to those of military age and march them out to camp, with threats against the plebs and with threats against the tribune? How would it be if you had not twice already proved how little those threats of yours are worth against the unanimous will of the plebs? I suppose it was consideration for our good that made you refrain from fighting? Or was this rather the reason there was no strife,

because the stronger side was also the more moderate? Neither will there be any struggle now, Quirites; they will always test your courage; but will never put your strength to the proof. And so the commons are ready, consuls, for those wars you deal in, be they feigned or genuine, if you give them back their right of intermarriage, and make this a single state at last; if you enable them to coalesce, to unite, to merge with you in domestic alliances; if the hope of attaining honours is held out to strenuous men and brave; if they are granted a share in the partnership of government; if, in the enjoyment of equal liberty, they are allowed to govern and obey in turn, with the annual change of magistrates. If anyone shall prevent these reforms, you may talk of wars, and multiply them in the telling; but nobody will give in his name, nobody will take up arms, nobody will fight for haughty masters with whom he has no association in the honours of the state nor in the marriages of private life.”

**Key learning:**

- **Canuleius makes the point that plebeian influence is not an issue, by pointing out that many Roman kings did not come from high-ranking Roman families.**
- **Look back at the Roman kings and consider how they are being used here to discuss the new political structure in Rome and who can participate.**

## Livy 4 6

When the consuls had come forth to the people and set speeches had given place to wrangling, the tribune demanded what reason there was why a plebeian should not be chosen consul; to whom **Curtius** replied, with truth perhaps, yet, in the circumstances, to little purpose,

“because no plebeian has the auspices, and that is the reason the decemvirs have forbidden intermarriages, lest the auspices should be confounded by the uncertain standing of those born of them.”

At this the plebs fairly blazed with indignation, because it was declared that they could not take auspices, as though they were hated by the immortal gods. Nor was the controversy ended—for the plebeians had got a most energetic champion in their tribune, and rivalled him themselves in determination. At last the patricians were beaten, and allowed the law regarding intermarriage to be passed, chiefly because they thought that so the tribunes would either wholly give over their contention for plebeian consuls or would postpone it until after the war, and that the plebs meantime, contented with the right to intermarry, would be ready to submit to the levy.

But since **Canuleius** was grown so great through his victory over the patricians and the favour of the plebs, the other tribunes were encouraged to take up the quarrel; and they fought for their measure with the utmost violence, hindering the levy, though the rumours of war increased from day to day. The consuls held councils of their leading men in private, since they were powerless to do anything through the senate when the tribunes imposed their veto. It was clear that they must submit to be conquered either by the enemy or by their fellow citizens. Of all the consulars only **Valerius** and **Horatius** took no part in their deliberations.

**Gaius Claudius** spoke in favour of arming the consuls against the tribunes; the Quinctii, both **Cincinnatus** and **Capitolinus**, were opposed to bloodshed and to injuring those whom they had acknowledged by a solemn treaty with the plebs to be inviolable. The upshot of these consultations was this, that they permitted military tribunes with consular authority to be chosen indifferently from the patriciate and the plebs but made no change in the election of consuls. With this decision both tribunes and commons were content. An election was called, for choosing three tribunes with consular powers.

No sooner was it proclaimed than everybody who had ever spoken or acted in a seditious manner, especially those who had been tribunes, fell to canvassing voters and bustling about all over the Forum in the white robes of candidates. The patricians were deterred from standing given their despair of obtaining office now that the plebs were so wrought up, and their scorn if they must share its administration with these fellows. At last, however, they were compelled by their leaders to compete, to avoid surrendering the control of the commonwealth. The outcome of this election showed how different are men's minds when struggling for liberty and station from what they are when they have laid aside their animosities and their judgment is unbiased; for the people chose all the tribunes from among the patricians, quite satisfied that plebeians should have been allowed to stand. Where shall you now find in one single man that moderation, fairness, and loftiness of mind, which at that time characterized the entire people?

**Key learning:**

- After winning the plebs the right to marry patricians, Canuleius pushes for the plebs to be eligible for election.
- Canuleius wins, but all of the tribunes are still selected from the patricians.

**Livy 4 7**

In the year three hundred and ten from the founding of Rome (444 BC), military tribunes for the first time took office in place of consuls. Their names were **Aulus Sempronius Atratinus**, **Lucius Atilitis**, and **Titus Cloelius**. During their administration domestic harmony insured peace abroad, as well. Some say that on account of a war with Veii, which broke out in addition to the war with the Aequi and Volsci and the revolt of the men of Ardea, two consuls were unable to cope with so many wars at once, and therefore three military tribunes were created. These writers say nothing of the news of a law about the election of consuls from the plebs but record that the three tribunes enjoyed the authority and insignia of consuls. Still, the power of that magistracy was not yet upon a firm footing, for three months after they had taken up their office they laid it down, the augurs having decreed that there had been a flaw in their election, because **Gaius Curtius**, who had presided over the assembly, had not properly selected the ground for the tent.

Ambassadors from Ardea came to Rome, complaining of the injustice done them, and with such fairness that it was evident that if they were granted redress, through the restoration of their land, they would abide by the treaty and remain friendly. The senate replied that the judgment of the people could not be rescinded by them, not only because they had no precedent or authority for such action, but also because they had regard to the harmony between the orders. If the Ardeates would bide their time and leave the senate to decide upon a remedy for the injury done them, the day would come when they would be glad that they had controlled their anger, and they would learn that the senators had been equally concerned that no wrong should be done them and that what had been done should be speedily redressed. So the ambassadors, having said that they would refer the whole matter to their people, were courteously dismissed.

The patricians, since the state was without any *curule* (*senior*) magistrate, met and chose an *interrex* (*literally a ruler between kings, like a regent*). A dispute whether consuls or military tribunes should be appointed kept the state in an interregnum for several days. The interrex and the senate held out for the election of consuls; the plebeian tribunes and the plebs were for military tribunes. Victory rested with the senators, not only because the plebs gave up the idle contest whether they should confer this honour or that upon the patricians, but also because the leaders of the plebs preferred an election in which they would not be reckoned candidates to one in which they would be passed over as unworthy. The tribunes, too, of the plebs relinquished the unavailing contest in favour of the leaders of the patricians. **Titus Quinctius Barbatus**, as interrex, declared the election of **Lucius Papirius Mugillanus** and **Lucius Sempronius**

**Atratinus.** In their consulship the treaty with the Ardeates was renewed; and in this lies the proof that these men were consuls that year, although their names are found neither in the ancient annals nor in the lists of magistrates; I suppose that, because there were military tribunes in the beginning of the year, the consuls who were elected in their place were passed over as if the tribunes had been in power throughout the year. **Licinius Macer** testifies that the names of these consuls were given both in the treaty with Ardea and in the Linen Rolls in the temple of Moneta. Things were quiet both abroad and at home, despite the numerous alarms which neighbouring states had caused.

**Key learning:**

- **Military tribunes are elected for the first time in order to secure peace.**
- **An interrex (Quinctius Barbatus) is elected and declares the election of the former military tribunes as consuls, apparently to secure a treaty with Ardea.**

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