

Book 1

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

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

Aeneas was an exile from his home because of a similar disaster; but the fates guided him to initiate greater achievements. First he came to Macedonia, then he sailed to Sicily as he sought a place to settle, and from Sicily he held course for the territory of Laurentum.³ This place is also called Troy. There the Trojans disembarked. Having nothing except their arms and ships

1. *there is sufficient agreement that . . .*: with these words Livy begins a long passage in reported speech, thus distancing himself from the stories of early Rome that he is about to tell (cf. Pref. 6). Livy concedes the power of the tradition, but the modifier “sufficient” implies neither his belief nor his disbelief in these particular stories. For discussion of this section, see Miles 1995: 23–31.

Aeneas and Antenor: Trojans who escaped from Troy when it was taken by the Greeks. Aeneas, son of the goddess Venus and the mortal Anchises, eventually arrived in Italy, where his descendant Romulus later founded Rome. Antenor went to a different part of Italy, where he founded Patavium, modern Padua, the birthplace of Livy.

Helen: wife of the Greek Menelaus. She was abducted by the Trojan prince Paris, thus causing the Trojan War.

2. *Paphlagonia*: an area on the southern shore of the Black Sea.

3. *Laurentum*: an area in Latium about fifteen miles south of Rome. The poet Virgil covers this story in the first six books of the *Aeneid*.

after their almost endless wanderings, they began to plunder the fields. King Latinus and the Aborigines, the occupants of the region at that time, armed themselves and rushed from the city and fields to repel the violence of the invaders.

At this point, there are two versions of what happened next. Some sources say that Latinus was conquered in battle, made peace with Aeneas, and contracted a marriage alliance. Others report that when the battle lines were drawn up, Latinus came forward among his chieftains before the signal could be given and summoned the foreigners' leader to discuss the situation. He asked what kind of men they were, where they had come from, what misfortune had caused them to leave their home, and what they wanted in Laurentine territory.⁴ He was told that they were Trojans; their leader was Aeneas, son of Anchises and Venus; their fatherland had been burned; they were exiles from their home and were looking for a place to settle and a site on which to found a city. Latinus marveled at the noble renown of the race and the man, and at his spirit, prepared alike for war or peace. So, he offered his right hand as a pledge of their future friendship. A treaty was made between the leaders, the armies saluted each other, and Aeneas became a guest in the house of Latinus. There, before his household gods, Latinus added a domestic treaty to the public one by giving his daughter in marriage to Aeneas.

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

4. *what kind of men they were*: the Latin *mortales* in this context suggests that Latinus wondered whether they were more than "men"—i.e., immortal or divine; compare 1.7 with n. 26, where Evander recognizes Hercules as being more than a mortal and asks him which hero he was. A hero was an individual who was believed to have been deified after his death and so was worshiped as a demigod, a class between gods and men.

5. *Lavinium*: a town nineteen miles south of Rome. This town was an important federal center of the Latin peoples. Thirteen large altars dating from the sixth to the second centuries BCE and a fourth-century BCE shrine to a hero (*heroon*) built over a seventh-century burial mound have been discovered there; see 1.16 with n. 55, for the likelihood that such a *heroon* was built for Romulus in the Roman forum. The Penates, the ancestral gods of Rome, said to have been brought by Aeneas from Troy, were venerated here, and Roman magistrates and priests were required to attend the annual ceremonies; see Cornell 1995: 66–8, and Beard 1998(2): 12–3.

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

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

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

6. *Rutulians*: an Italic people living in the area of Ardea, south of Lavinium.

7. *Etruscans*: a non-Indo-European-speaking people who, according to the Greek historian Herodotus 1.94, came from Asia Minor (southwest Turkey). They lived to the north of the Tiber and were eventually conquered by the Romans. Scholars continue to debate the origins of the Etruscans, also known as Tuscans.

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

8. *lawful and right*: the Latin *ius* is the law of man, civil law, as opposed to *fas*, what is lawful or right in the eyes of the gods. Livy shows a cautious piety in his handling of Aeneas' deification, perhaps even implying skepticism.

he is buried: see 1.1 with n. 5, on the possible *heroon* at Lavinium.

Numicus: a small river near Lavinium.

Jupiter Indiges: probably a local deified hero, with whom Aeneas became identified.

3. *Ascanius founds Alba Longa. The list of Alban kings, from Ascanius down to Numitor and Amulius, spans the period from the years after the fall of Troy (c. 1200 BCE) through the early eighth century and the traditional date of the founding of Rome by Romulus (c. 753 BCE).*

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

Silvius, the son of Ascanius, was the next to reign; he happened to have been born in the woods.¹² He was the father of Aeneas Silvius. Next came Latinus Silvius. He planted several colonies that were called the Ancient

9. *Creusa*: Aeneas' first wife, who was lost in the flight when Troy was captured. In the *Aeneid*, Virgil follows the tradition that Ascanius was the son of Creusa.

Julian family: Julius Caesar asserted his family's claim to be descended from Venus via Aeneas and his son Ascanius, who is also known as Iulus; see Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.267–8.

10. Note Livy's almost humorous interpolation concerning Ascanius' paternity and the question of whether Lavinia was his mother or stepmother.

11. *Alba Longa*: a Latin town in the Alban hills near modern Castel Gandolfo; see Beard 1998(2): 11–2.

12. *Silvius*: an adjective deriving from *silva*, meaning “woods” or “forest.”

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

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

To the fates, as I suppose, was owed the origin of this great city and the beginning of the mightiest empire that is second only to that of the gods.¹⁴ The Vestal was raped and produced twins. She claimed that Mars was the father of her doubtful offspring, either because she believed this or because it was more honorable to put the blame on a god.¹⁵ But neither gods nor men protected her or her children from the king's cruelty. The priestess was put in chains and imprisoned, and the king ordered the baby boys to be thrown into the current of the river. By some heaven-sent chance, the Tiber

13. *Vesta*: goddess of the hearth who was worshiped as a living flame in a circular shrine in the Roman forum. This flame was tended by her priestesses, the Vestals, who had to remain chaste for the duration of their service to the goddess. The penalty for unchastity was burial alive. In historical times the Vestals were chosen from young girls of Roman noble families. They entered the goddess' service between the ages of six and ten, and were free to leave and marry after thirty years. The original number of four Vestals was later raised to six.

14. *as I suppose*: note the implied skepticism of the authorial first person. Also to be noted throughout this episode is the variety of attributions to different anonymous sources that distances Livy from the tales that he is reporting.

15. *Mars*: originally an Italic god of vegetation who soon became associated with the Greek war god Ares. See Pref. 7 for Livy's comment on the Roman claim that Mars was the founder of the Roman people.

had overflowed its banks, forming stagnant pools that made it impossible to approach the actual river. The men who brought the children hoped they might be drowned despite the sluggish water. Making a pretense of discharging the king's orders, they exposed the children on the edge of the floodwater where the Ruminialis fig tree now stands. Formerly, they say, it was called the Romularis.

The area at that time was a vast deserted region. The story persists that the floating basket in which the children had been exposed was left high and dry by the receding water. Coming down from the surrounding mountains, a thirsty she-wolf heard the infants' cries and turned in their direction. She gave the infants her teats so gently that the master of the royal flock found her licking them with her tongue. This man's name was Faustulus, as the story goes. He took the children to his hut to be reared by his wife Larentia. There are some who think that this miraculous story originated because Larentia was called "she-wolf" among the shepherd community, since she had been a prostitute.¹⁶ This, then, was the birth and rearing of the boys. As soon as they were grown to manhood, they began to hunt in the forests, while also working on the farm and with the flocks. In this way they achieved strength of body and mind. They not only confronted wild beasts but attacked robbers who were laden with plunder. What they took they divided among the shepherds, joining them in work and play as their group daily grew larger.

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

Tradition has it that the merry festival of the Lupercalia was already established on the Palatine. This hill was named Pallantium after Pallanteum, a city in Arcadia; it later became Palatium.¹⁷ Evander, an Arcadian who in-

16. she-wolf: *lupa* is also the Latin word for "prostitute."

17. *Lupercalia*: an ancient festival of purification celebrated annually on February 15, the origins and purpose of which are obscure. The name evidently derives from *lupus* ("wolf"), though goats and dogs were sacrificed as part of the celebration. Young men, naked except for goatskin girdles, ran around striking bystanders, especially women, with goatskin thongs, perhaps to promote fertility.

Palatine: the derivation of Palatine, one of the seven hills of Rome, from Pallanteum is dubious, but Livy is especially fond of giving explanations for the names of well-known locations. From Palatium derives our word "palace," since it was on the Palatine that prominent wealthy Romans, and subsequently the emperors, had their palatial dwellings.

habited the area many years before, is said to have established the annual rite, importing it from Arcadia. At this festival young men run about naked, sporting and frolicking as they honor Lycaean Pan, whom the Romans afterward called Inuus.¹⁸ The day of the ritual was generally known. So when Romulus and Remus were engrossed in this celebration, they were ambushed by some robbers who were angry at the loss of their plunder. Romulus forcibly defended himself, but Remus was captured and handed over as a prisoner to King Amulius. Accusations were freely made, the main charge being that the youths had attacked Numitor's fields and plundered them with an organized gang of youths, just like an enemy. And so, Remus was handed over to Numitor for punishment.

Now right from the start Faustulus had hoped that the children he was rearing were of royal birth. He knew that children had been exposed on the king's order and that the time matched the very time that he rescued them. He had, however, been unwilling to reveal the matter prematurely until either opportunity or necessity intervened. Necessity came first. Forced by fear, he revealed the facts to Romulus. By chance Numitor was also reminded of his grandsons. For he had heard of the twin brothers while Remus was in his custody. Then he had thought about their age and temperament, which was not at all slavelike. And so, after making further enquiries, he had all but acknowledged Remus. From all sides, a net of guile was being woven against King Amulius. Romulus made his attack on the king, though not with his band of youths—he was not yet strong enough to use open violence. He ordered his men to come by different routes to the king's palace at an appointed time. Remus collected another group and came to their assistance from Numitor's house. And so he killed the king.¹⁹

18. *Arcadia*: a mountainous area of the Peloponnese in Greece.

Lycaean: the name derives from a mountain in Arcadia where Pan was worshiped.

Pan: a Greek god whose name means "guardian of flocks." He was represented as half man, half goat. His father was Hermes.

Inuus: the fertilizing god; literally, "the one who enters."

19. *he killed*: Livy does not specify the subject of this verb, perhaps intentionally. Since Remus is the subject of the last clause, he would seem to be the killer and thus both a regicide and the killer of his great-uncle. Foster's Loeb translation and the Luce translation (1998), however, assume that Romulus did the deed, presumably because Romulus' actions dominate the rest of the section.

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

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

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

20. *abominable conflict*: the adjective *foedus* means “loathsome, shameful, shocking”; see Pref. 10 with n. 15.

21. *augury*: a sign from the gods that indicated their approval of a proposed course of action. Compare English “to augur well” and “to inaugurate.”

auspices: literally, “the observation of birds,” but also more widely applied to other types of divination—i.e., interpreting the will of the gods from various signs.

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

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

Romulus' first act was to fortify the Palatine where he himself had been raised.²² He offered sacrifice to the other gods according to the Alban ritual, and to Hercules according to the Greek ritual instituted by Evander.²³ There is a tradition that, after killing Geryon, Hercules drove his cattle into this area.²⁴ He swam across the Tiber river, driving his exceptionally fine cattle in front of him. Weary from his journey, he lay down near the river in a grassy spot where he could let the cattle rest and refresh themselves with the

22. *fortify the Palatine*: the Latin verb *munire* can mean "to fortify, build, strengthen, or protect." Recent excavations have uncovered the remains of a wall built of clay and timber on a stone foundation, dating c. 730–720 BCE, along the lower northeast slope of the Palatine hill. The question is whether this was the *pomerium* (the sacred boundary of the city) or simply a fortification wall; see Grandazzi (1997: 148–59 with bibliography), who strongly favors the hypothesis that this is the *pomerium* attributed to Romulus by the literary sources. Thus "fortify the Palatine" could well be an allusion to the story of Romulus' establishing the *pomerium*, which is related in detail by Plutarch, *Life of Romulus* 11.

23. *the Alban ritual*: the Alban, later the Roman, mode of sacrifice was with the head covered, whereas in Greek practice the head was uncovered.

Hercules: a Greek hero who was worshiped in Rome at the Great Altar (*Ara Maxima*) in the Cattle Market (*Forum Boarium*) near the Tiber. After his death he was recognized as the son of Jupiter (Zeus), deified and worshiped as a hero; compare the deification and subsequent hero-worship of Aeneas, who also had a divine parent.

Evander: a Greek who had come to Rome from Arcadia; see 1.5. The name means "Goodman," as opposed to the shepherd called Cacus, "Badman."

24. *Geryon*: the killing of Geryon, a triple-bodied or triple-headed monster, was the tenth of Hercules' labors and is said to have taken place in Spain. Compare Virgil's version of this story in *Aeneid* 8.184–279.

abundant pasture. Heavy with food and wine, he fell into a deep sleep. A ferociously strong shepherd called Cacus, an inhabitant of the area, was taken with the beauty of the cattle and wanted to steal them. But he realized that if he drove them directly into his cave, the tracks would lead their master there when he began to look for them; and so he dragged the finest animals backward by the tail into the cave. At dawn Hercules awoke, looked over the herd and realized that some were missing. He went to the nearest cave to see whether by chance the tracks led in that direction. But all the tracks faced in the opposite direction and did not lead anywhere. Confused and puzzled, he began to lead the herd out of the strange place. While they were being driven away, some of the cows lowed because, as often happens, they missed the bulls that were left behind. The responding low of those that were shut in the cave caused Hercules to turn around. As he advanced to the cave, Cacus forcibly tried to keep him off. Calling in vain for the shepherds to help him, he was struck by Hercules' club and fell dead.

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

Hercules offered his right hand, saying that he accepted the omen and would fulfill the prophecy by establishing and dedicating an altar. A fine cow was taken from the herd, and the first sacrifice was made to Hercules. Offi-

25. *Sibyl*: the Sibyl of Cumae, the priestess of Apollo. Cumae, a Greek colony in southern Italy near Naples, was founded c. 730 BCE. In Virgil's *Aeneid* (Book 6), the Sibyl gives Aeneas an inspired prophecy and is his guide to the underworld. On the Sibylline books of prophecy, see 3.10 and 5.13 with notes.

26. *which hero he was*: Evander recognizes the extraordinary nature of Hercules, calling him a "hero" (*vir*); compare Latinus' greeting of Aeneas at 1.2, n. 4.

ciating at the feast were the Potitii and Pinarii, families who at that time were especially prominent in the area. By chance it happened that the Potitii arrived on time and were offered the victim's entrails. The Pinarii, however, came after the entrails had been eaten but in time for the rest of the feast. Thus, as long as the family of the Pinarii endured, the practice remained that they did not eat entrails at this festival. Trained by Evander, the Potitii officiated at this sacrifice for many generations until the whole family died out when this solemn family function was handed over to public slaves.²⁷ This was the only foreign rite undertaken by Romulus. Even then Romulus was already honoring the immortality that is won by valor, an honor to which his own destiny was leading him.²⁸

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

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

27. Livy tells this story at 9.29. In 312 BCE, the censor Appius Claudius taught the ritual to the public slaves. The tradition is that this change in the ritual caused offense to the gods. As a result of the gods' anger, the family of Potitii died out within the year, and Appius later became blind.

28. *immortality*: Livy here foreshadows the deification of Romulus reported in 1.16, as Romulus pays cult to the deified Hercules. Note also in the text that Evander immediately recognized Hercules' superhuman nature, as Evander asked Hercules which hero he was.

29. *lictors*: minor state officials who preceded the king, and later the consuls, carrying axes and rods (*fascēs*) to symbolize the right to execute and flog wrongdoers.

30. *curule chair* and *toga praetexta*: a chair inlaid with ivory and a toga with a broad purple

because each of their twelve communities contributed one lictor after they united to elect a king.

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

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

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

Already Rome was so strong that she was the equal of any of the neighboring states in war. But the lack of women meant that Rome's greatness would only last for the current generation, since the Romans neither had the hope of offspring at home nor intermarriage with their neighbors. On the advice of the senators, Romulus sent ambassadors around the neighboring tribes to seek alliance and intermarriage for the new people. The envoys argued that cities too, like everything else, start from the most humble beginnings; that great wealth and a great name are achieved by those cities that are helped by their own valor and the gods. It was enough to know that the gods had attended Rome's birth and that its people's valor would not fail. The Romans were men like themselves, and so, as neighbors, they should not be reluctant to mingle their blood and stock with them.

stripe were the insignia, under the republic, of the most important magistrates—censors, consuls, praetors, and curule aediles.

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

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

31. *Neptune*: Poseidon, later identified with the Roman Neptune, is said to have produced a horse by striking the ground with his trident.

Consualia: a festival in honor of Consus, a Roman god of the granary. Horse races were held in his honor, hence the association with Neptune.

32. *Caenina*: probably northeast of the site of Fidenae in the Tiber valley.

Crustumium: some three miles farther east of Caenina.

Antemnae: probably near the mouth of the Anio, where it joins the Tiber.

33. *plebeians*: the less privileged group of Roman citizens, as opposed to the senators or patricians.

34. An etiology invented to explain the origin of the Roman wedding cry *Talassio*, which could be the dative of the name *Thalassius*, meaning "to Thalassius."

The games broke up in fear and confusion. The maidens' parents fled, charging the Romans with the crime of violating hospitality. They invoked the god to whose solemn rite they had come only to be deceived in violation of religion and good faith.³⁵ The abducted maidens were no more hopeful of their plight, nor less enraged. But Romulus himself went around, telling them that this had happened because of their parents' arrogance in refusing intermarriage with neighbors. Nevertheless, he said, women would have the full rights of marriage, having a share in their possessions, Roman citizenship, and the dearest possession that the human race has—children.³⁶ They should calm their anger and give their hearts to those to whom chance had given their bodies. For, he said, often affection has eventually come from a sense of injustice. They would find their husbands kinder because each would try not only to fulfill his obligation, but also to make up for the longing for their parents and homeland. The men spoke sweet words to them, trying to excuse their action on the grounds of passionate love, a plea that is particularly effective where a woman's heart is concerned.

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

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

35. *religion and good faith*: an old legal formula.

36. Romulus' offer articulates the Roman ideal of family and civic values.

37. *wearing squalid garments*: the ritual dress of mourners who traditionally wore soiled and torn clothing.

them in their disarray. In the fighting, he killed the king and stripped the armor from the corpse. Once the enemy leader was dead, Romulus took the city at the first attack.

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

In the ensuing years, it has been the will of the gods that the words of the temple's founder were not in vain when he declared that posterity would bring spoils to this place; nor has the honor of the gift been cheapened by many sharing it. Twice since then, over so many years and so many wars, have the spoils of honor been won: so rare is the good fortune of winning that distinction.³⁹

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

While the Romans were busy in Rome, the army of the Antemnates took the opportunity of their absence to raid Roman territory. But a Roman legion was quickly led against them; scattered in the fields, the Antemnates were overwhelmed.⁴⁰ At the first shout and attack, the enemy was routed

38. Livy here connects the title *Feretrius* with the verb *fero, ferre* (bring or carry) and the noun *ferculum*, meaning "the frame on which the spoils were carried."

39. *twice since then*: Aulus Cornelius Cossus won the spoils of honor in 437 BCE; see 4.20 and 4.32 with notes. Marcus Claudius Marcellus won them in 222 BCE after killing the king of the Insubrian Gauls, an event recorded in a lost book of Livy; see also Appendix 2, pp. 422–4.

40. *legion*: a smaller group of soldiers than an army. With considerable hyperbole, Livy attributes to Romulus an army to deal with the Caenenses (1.10) and now a mere legion to deal

and their town taken. As Romulus was exulting in his double victory, his wife Hersilia, wearied by the entreaties of the abducted women, begged him to grant amnesty to their parents and grant them citizenship, saying that by this means the state would grow in strength and harmony. Her request was easily granted. Romulus then set out against the people of Crustumerium who were marching on Rome. In this case, there was even less of a struggle, because their spirit had collapsed as a result of the defeat of the others. Colonists were sent to both places, although more people were found to enroll their names for Crustumerium because of the fertility of its soil. On the other hand, a number left and migrated to Rome, particularly parents and relatives of the abducted women.

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

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

Whatever the case, the Sabines got control of the citadel. The next day, when the Roman army was drawn up, covering the ground between the Palatine

with the army of the Antemnates. In both cases, Roman discipline triumphs over the disarray of the enemy, who are indulging in plunder.

41. One of the Vestals' tasks was to draw water from a spring outside the Capena Gate. But, unlike Virgil and Plutarch, Livy does not specifically identify the girl as a priestess of Vesta,

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

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

nor does he name her. In other versions of the story her name is Tarpeia, the feminine form of her father's name, Tarpeius. The story of her treachery was probably invented to explain the name of the Tarpeian Rock from which traitors were traditionally thrown.

42. *hosts . . . enemy*: here Livy plays on the similarity between *hospites* (hosts) and *hostes* (enemy).

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

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

Then the leaders came forward to make a treaty. They made not only peace, but also one state from two. They shared the kingship, transferring all power to Rome. In this way the city was doubled, and, so that the Sabines should be given something, the citizens were called Quirites, a name deriving from Cures.⁴⁵ As a memorial (*monumentum*) of the battle, they gave the name of Curtian Lake to the place where Curtius’ horse first emerged from the deep swamp and set him in the shallows.⁴⁶ The sudden joyful peace after such a grievous war made the Sabine women dearer to their husbands and parents, and above all to Romulus himself. And so, when he divided the people into thirty wards, he named the wards after the women.⁴⁷ Although

43. *loosened hair and torn garments*: ritual signs of mourning; see 1.10 with n. 37.

44. *parricide*: the act of killing one’s father or other close blood relative. Such an act was regarded as impious, incurring religious pollution; see 1.26 with n. 85, and 1.27 with n. 89.

45. *Cures*: a Sabine town. The derivation of *Cures* from *Quirites*, however, is unlikely. Connection with *curiae*, wards, is more probable; thus *Quirites* would mean “wardsmen.”

46. *Curtian Lake*: a depression in the Roman forum. Livy tells a different story about the origin of this name at 7.6; on this and other toponyms, see Introduction, p. xvii.

47. *wards*: Latin *curiae*, these were the oldest units of the Roman people, probably created for political and military purposes. Each ward consisted of a number of families and had its own religious rites. The organization of the people into three tribes (not specifically mentioned

the number of women was undoubtedly considerably more than thirty, the tradition does not say whether those who gave their names to the wards were chosen by lot, age, or according to their own rank or that of their husbands. At the same time, three centuries of knights were formed.⁴⁸ The Ramnenses were named for Romulus, the Titienses for Tatius; the reason for the name and origin of the Luceres, however, is unknown.⁴⁹ From this time the two kings ruled not only jointly, but also harmoniously.

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

Several years later, relatives of King Tatius assaulted envoys of the Laurentians who protested under the law of nations. Tatius, however, was more influenced by partiality for his relatives and their pleas. As a result of this, he got what should have been their punishment. A mob gathered and killed him when he had gone to Lavinium for the annual sacrifice.⁵⁰ The story is that Romulus took this less badly than was proper, whether because of the disloyalty that is inherent in shared rule or because he thought that Tatius' murder was not unjustified. Consequently Romulus refrained from war but renewed the pact between Rome and Lavinium in order to expiate the insults to the envoys and the murder of the king.

Against all expectation, there was peace with the Laurentians. But another war broke out much nearer, indeed almost at the very gates of the city. The men of Fidenae,⁵¹ perceiving the increasing strength of such a close neighbor, decided to make war before Rome achieved the might that she clearly would. They sent out an armed band of young men who plundered the territory lying between Rome and Fidenae. Then, because the Tiber

by Livy) and thirty *curiae* is the oldest political system known at Rome, though it perhaps dates to the period when the Etruscan kings ruled Rome.

48. *centuries*: a military unit, theoretically consisting of one hundred men.

knights: the Latin *equites* literally means "horsemen, cavalry."

49. The names for these centuries may derive from Etruscan family names, although Romulus and his people had not yet encountered the Etruscans. Thus, we are perhaps dealing with an anachronistic tradition attributing this organization to Rome's founder.

50. *Lavinium*: the chief town of Laurentum, where Aeneas is said to have settled; see 1.1 with n. 5.

51. *Fidenae*: an Etruscan city, some five miles to the north of Rome on the left bank of the Tiber.

prevented them on the right, they turned left, causing devastation and great fear among the farmers. The sudden stampede from the fields into the city served as the announcement of war. Romulus immediately reacted—war with a neighbor made delay impossible. He led out the army and pitched camp a mile from Fidenae. Then, leaving a small guard, he marched on with all his forces, ordering some of the soldiers to lie in ambush in concealed positions amid the dense undergrowth. He himself set out with the greater number of the troops and all the cavalry.

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

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

The people of Veii were aroused by the war fever that spread from Fidenae, and by their kinship with the people of Fidenae, for they too were Etruscans.⁵² A further stimulus was the very proximity of Rome, should Roman arms be directed against all their neighbors. The Veientes invaded Roman territory more like marauders than men on a regular campaign. They did not pitch camp or wait for the enemy's army but returned to Veii with

52. *Veii*: a large Etruscan city, ten miles to the north of Rome on the other side of the Tiber. This city was captured by the Romans in 396 BCE after a long siege, one of the two main episodes of Book 5.

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

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

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

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

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

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

53. *on the initiative of a few*: a possible allusion to the decision of the triumvirs Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian to deify the assassinated Julius Caesar; see also nn. 56–7.

54. Note the authorial voice, “I suppose” (*credo*), and the implied similarity with the assassination of Julius Caesar.

55. *for the hero*: here Livy uses the same term that he used for Hercules, whom Romulus had worshiped, one of his first actions after fortifying the Palatine; see 1.7 with n. 23. For the heroizing of Aeneas, see 1.2 with n. 5. All three heroes were of divine parentage. Hero-cults had become widespread in Greece in the eighth century BCE, although divine parentage was not claimed for all heroes. In the Roman forum, a sanctuary (c. 580 BCE) was found containing an altar, perhaps a statue base, and the famous Black Stone with an archaic Latin inscription of the early sixth century bearing the word *recei*, from which the Latin *rex* (king) clearly derives. The stone is badly mutilated and difficult to interpret. The ancient sources conflict in their interpretation: some seem to have thought that it was the tomb of Romulus, though it did not contain his body; others that it commemorates the place where he met his death and disappeared. Cornell suggests that the former interpretation indicates that it was a *heroon*, a tomblike shrine to a hero, even though it did not contain a body; see Cornell 1995: 94–5.

56. *Proculus Julius*: the name can hardly be coincidental, thus inviting further comparison with the assassination of Julius Caesar and his subsequent deification that was proclaimed by his adopted son Octavian, who later became Augustus.

what credence was given to this man's story, and how the longing for Romulus felt by the people and army was alleviated by belief in his immortality.⁵⁷

17. *The interregnum.*

Meanwhile an ambitious struggle for the kingship engaged the minds of the senators. It had not yet come to a question of individuals, since no one in the new populace was particularly preeminent. There was a struggle between factions from two groups. Those of Sabine origin wanted the king to be chosen from their own body, because they had had no king from their side since the death of Tadius and so they did not want to lose control of government, despite their equal status. The original Romans, on the other hand, rejected the idea of a foreign king. Nevertheless, despite their different inclinations, all wanted to be ruled by a king, for they had not yet experienced the sweetness of liberty.⁵⁸ Then, since many neighboring states were disaffected, the senators became alarmed that a state without government and an army without a commander would be assailed by violence from outside. It was decided that there should be some head of state, but nobody could make up his mind to yield to another. And so the hundred senators shared the power among themselves, setting up groups of ten and appointing one man for each group to preside over the government. Ten men exercised authority, but only one had the insignia of command and the lictors; the command was limited to a period of five days and passed to all in rotation. For a year the kingship (*regnum*) lapsed. This interval was called an *interregnum*, a name that it still has today.

The people were grumbling that their servitude had been multiplied: they now had a hundred masters instead of one. It was apparent that they would allow nothing except a king, one chosen by them. When the senators realized that these ideas were stirring, they thought that they should spontaneously offer what they were about to lose. So, they won the people's favor by granting them supreme power on such terms that they gave away no more of their privilege than they retained. They decreed that, when the people had chosen a king, their choice should be valid only if it was ratified

57. *It is astonishing what credence . . .*: probably an ironic comment on the effect of Romulus' deification and another possible allusion to Octavian's proclamation of Julius Caesar's deification.

58. *liberty*: Livy here foreshadows the main theme of Book 2.

by the senators. Today also, the same right is exercised in voting for laws and magistrates, though it is robbed of its force because the senators ratify the outcome of an election in advance, before the people can vote.⁵⁹ Then the *interrex* summoned the assembly and said, “Citizens, may what you are about to do be propitious, favorable, and fortunate.⁶⁰ Choose your king! This is the will of the senate. Then, if you choose one who is worthy to succeed Romulus, the senate will ratify your choice.” This so pleased the people that they did not want to give the appearance of being outdone in goodwill, and so they merely resolved that the senate should decide who should be king in Rome.

18. Numa Pompilius is chosen as king. Livy refutes the story that Numa and Pythagoras were contemporaries.

In those days, Numa Pompilius was famed for his justice and his sense of obligation to the gods.⁶¹ He lived in the Sabine town of Cures and was most learned—inasmuch as anyone of that time could be—in all law, both divine and human. In default of another name, people claim that Pythagoras of Samos was his teacher. But it is established that Pythagoras lived in the reign of Servius Tullius, which was more than a hundred years later, and that he gathered bands of devoted disciples on the distant shores of Italy around Metapontum, Heraclea, and Croton.⁶² So, even if he had belonged to that time, how could his fame have reached from that area to the Sabines? What common language would he have used to excite anyone with a desire to learn? How could a solitary man have safely made his way through peoples so different in speech and customs? Therefore, I think that Numa’s mind and moral principles derived from his own native disposition. He was trained not by foreign learning, but by the strict and severe teaching of the Sabines, the most incorrupt of ancient peoples.

59. This change was initiated by the Publilian Law of 339 BCE.

60. *propitious, favorable, and fortunate*: this is the ritual form of prayer that prefaced every public and private undertaking.

61. The Latin *religio* literally means “a sense of obligation to the gods, religious respect, awe.” Other translators often use “piety”; see Appendix 3, pp. 425–6.

62. The traditional dates of Numa’s reign are 715 to 673 BCE, whereas the Greek philosopher Pythagoras came to southern Italy c. 530 BCE. Servius Tullius is said to have reigned from 578 to 535 BCE.

Metapontum, Heraclea, and Croton: Greek colonies in southern Italy.

When Numa's name was proposed, the Roman senators thought that the power would shift to the Sabines if the king were chosen from them. Nevertheless nobody dared to propose himself, anyone of his own faction, or indeed any other of the senators or citizens in preference to this great man. So they unanimously decided that the kingship be offered to Numa Pompilius. When summoned, Numa ordered that, just as Romulus had assumed the kingship by augury at the foundation of the city, so too the gods should be consulted in his case. Then he was led to the citadel by an augur who thereafter, as a mark of honor, held a sacred office that became a permanent function of the state.⁶³ Numa sat on a stone, facing south. On his left sat the augur, his head covered, holding in his right hand a crooked staff without knots, which is called a *lituus*. There, looking out over the city and countryside, he prayed to the gods and marked the regions from east to west, designating those to the south as "right," and those to the north as "left." He fixed in his mind a sign opposite him, as far as the eye can reach. Then, transferring his staff to his left hand and placing his right hand on Numa's head, he uttered the following prayer: "Father Jupiter, if it is the will of the gods that this man, Numa Pompilius, whose head I am touching, be king in Rome, then reveal to us sure signs within the boundaries that I have set." Then he specified the auspices that he wished to be sent. Sent they were, and so Numa was declared king and came down from the sacred area of augury.

19. To ensure peace, Numa builds a temple to Janus and attempts to replace fear of the enemy with fear of the gods. Livy notes the recent closing of the temple of Janus by Augustus. Numa attributes his religious measures to the advice of a goddess, Egeria.

Having received the kingship in this way, Numa prepared to give the new city that had been founded by force of arms a new foundation in justice, law, and proper observances. But he realized that it was not possible in the midst of wars to accustom men whose minds were brutalized by military service to such changes: the warlike spirit of his people must be softened by their giving up the use of arms. He therefore built a temple of Janus at the foot of the Argiletum, as an indicator of peace and war so that, when open, it

63. *augur*: a specialist in divination. Augurs belonged to one of the four major colleges of priests.

signified that the state was at war; when closed, that all the surrounding people were pacified.⁶⁴ Twice since the reign of Numa, it has been closed: once during the consulship of Titus Manlius after the First Punic War, and the second time, which the gods granted our generation to see, after the war at Actium, when the commanding general Caesar Augustus achieved peace on land and sea.⁶⁵

Numa closed the temple after he had first won over the minds of all the neighboring peoples with alliances and treaties. But he was afraid that relief from foreign dangers might cause the spirit that had been held in check by military discipline and fear of the enemy to become soft from idleness. The first thing to do, he thought, was to instill in them a fear of the gods, on the assumption that it would be most effective with a populace that was unskilled and, for those days, primitive. Since he could not get through to their minds without inventing some miraculous story, he pretended that he had nocturnal meetings with the goddess Egeria. On her advice, he said, he was establishing rites that had the highest approval of the gods and he was appointing priests for each of the gods.

First of all, he divided the year into twelve months, according to the revolutions of the moon. The moon, however, does not supply thirty days for each individual month, and so the lunar year is eleven days short of the full year that is marked by the sun's revolution. Accordingly, he inserted intercalary months in such a way that in the twentieth year, the solar and lunar calendars would again coincide, the days coming round to the same position of the sun from which they had started.⁶⁶ He also appointed days on which state business could or could not be done, since it would be desirable to have times when nothing could be brought before the people.

64. *Argiletum*: an area north of the Roman forum.

65. The First Punic War ended in 241 BCE. Titus Manlius was consul in 235 BCE. Octavian defeated Antony and Cleopatra at Actium, in Greece, in 31 BCE, closed the gates of the temple of Janus in 29 BCE, and took the title *Augustus* in 27 BCE. The gates were closed again in 25 BCE after Augustus' campaign in Spain, thus suggesting that at least this part of Book 1 was written between 27 and 25 BCE; on this problem, see Introduction, p. ix.

66. During the republic, the Roman calendar year consisted of 355 days. Thus it was necessary to add an additional, or intercalary, month on a regular basis in order to maintain a synchronism with the seasonal or solar calendar. This calendar is attributed to Numa but apparently derives from the fifth-century Greek astronomer who devised a nineteen-year intercalary cycle; see Ogilvie 1965: 95–6.

20. *Numa establishes new priesthoods; the flamens of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus; and the office of pontiff. The functions of the pontiffs are elaborated, including their protection of the gods' rights.*

Numa then turned his attention to the appointment of priests, but he himself performed most rites, especially those that now belong to the *flamen Dialis*.⁶⁷ He realized, however, that in a warlike nation there would be more kings like Romulus than like himself, and that they would go off to war. So, he appointed the *flamen Dialis* as a permanent priest, distinguishing him with special dress and a regal curule chair. To him he added two *flamens*, one for Mars and the other for Quirinus.⁶⁸ He chose virgins for the service of Vesta, a priesthood that originated in Alba and was thus associated with the race of Rome's founder. For them, so that they might be perpetual attendants of her temple, he decreed a stipend from the public treasury, marking their revered and inviolable status by their chastity and other signal honors.⁶⁹ Likewise he chose twelve *Salii* for Mars Gradivus, granting them the distinction of wearing an embroidered tunic and, over the tunic, a bronze breastplate. He ordered them to carry the shields from heaven called *ancilia* and to go through the city, singing hymns and dancing their triple-beat war dance.⁷⁰

Next from the senators he chose Numa Marcius, son of Marcius, as pontiff, entrusting to him all the written and authenticated sacred rites that specified with what victims, on what days, and in which temple sacrifices should be made, and from what sources they should be funded. All other public and private rituals he made subject to the decrees of the pontiff, so that there should be somebody to whom the people could come for advice to prevent

67. *flamen Dialis*: a special priest (*flamen*) of Jupiter, who was subject to a number of taboos that made it virtually impossible for him to take part in war. He was not allowed to be absent from Rome for a night, nor touch a corpse, nor see the army arrayed for battle.

68. *curule chair*: see 1.8 with n. 30.

Quirinus is regularly identified with the deified Romulus, whose father was Mars.

69. On Vesta and the Vestal virgins, see n. 13.

70. *Salii*: the leaping or dancing priests of Mars Gradivus, who presided over the beginning of war. The epithet *Gradivus* is probably to be connected with *gradus* (step).

shields from heaven: these sacred shields (*ancilia*) are said to have fallen into the hands of Numa at a time of plague.

ancilia: one shield is said to have fallen from the sky, and eleven replicas were made to prevent the original from being stolen.

any disturbance of the gods' rights as a result of the neglect of the ancestral rituals and the adoption of foreign ones.⁷¹ The same pontiff was to teach not only the ceremonies of the gods above, but the proper funeral rites and appeasement of the spirits of the dead, and also what prodigies sent by lightning or other visible signs were to be recognized as significant and requiring attention.⁷² To elicit this information from the minds of the gods, Numa dedicated an altar on the Aventine to Jupiter Elicius [the Eliciter or Enticer] and consulted the god by augury to find out what portents were to be recognized.

21. The success of Numa's peaceful policy. He establishes the cult of Faith and of the Argei.

Consideration and attention to these matters turned the thoughts of the entire people away from violence and arms. They had something to occupy their minds, and, since the heavenly powers seemed to have an interest in human affairs, the people's constant preoccupation with the gods had imbued the hearts of all with such devotion (*pietas*) that the state was governed by regard for good faith and oaths, rather than by fear of punishment under the law.⁷³ And since Numa's subjects were modeling themselves on the character of the king as their unique example, so too the neighboring peoples—who had previously felt that a military camp, not a city, had been put in their midst to disturb the general peace—came to feel such a respect for the Romans that they considered it sacrilege to do violence to a nation that had so entirely turned to the worship of the gods.

There was a grove watered by a never-failing spring that flowed through its midst from a dark cave. Here Numa frequently went, without witnesses,

71. *to prevent any disturbance of the gods' rights*: if the gods did not receive the rights or privileges of worship that were traditionally due to them, they would become angry and withdraw their favor from the state. Thus one of the pontiff's duties was to ensure that there was no change in state religion that would jeopardize the favor of the gods (*pax deorum*) on which Rome's well-being depended; see Appendix 3, pp. 426–8.

72. *prodigies . . . to be recognized . . .*: a prodigy (*prodigium*) was an unusual or unnatural phenomenon that was considered to have been sent by the gods as an indication that the *pax deorum* had been broken or was about to be broken. As opposed to a portent (*portentum*), the term “prodigy” should strictly apply to a sign that had been accepted by the state authorities as a sign of the gods' anger. Once a prodigy was “recognized as significant” by the authorities, expiatory measures were recommended for dealing with it in order to restore the gods' favor; see Linderski 1993: 57–9 = 1995: 612–4.

73. On the distinction between *pietas* (devotion) and *religio*, see Appendix 3, p. 426 with n. 6.

as if to meet the goddess. He dedicated this grove to the Camenae, because, he said, they gave advice to his wife Egeria.⁷⁴ He also established an annual cult of Faith.⁷⁵ He ordered that the *flamens* should drive to this shrine in a two-horse, covered carriage, and should make sacrifice with their hands wrapped as far as the fingers, thus signifying that faith must be kept and that, when men clasp hands, there too is the sacred temple of Faith. He established many other rites, as well as the places for sacrifice that the pontiffs call the Argei.⁷⁶

But the greatest of all his works is that, throughout his entire reign, he safeguarded peace no less than he did his kingdom. Thus two successive kings, each in a different way, promoted the state: the one by war, the other by peace. Romulus ruled thirty-seven years, Numa forty-three. The state was not only strong but moderated by the arts of both war and peace.

22. *The accession of Tullus Hostilius, who picks a quarrel in order to declare war on Alba Longa.*

On the death of Numa, the state reverted to an *interregnum*. As their king, the people then chose Tullus Hostilius, grandson of the Hostilius who had fought with distinction against the Sabines at the foot of the citadel. Their choice was ratified by the senate. He was not only unlike the previous king, but even more ferocious than Romulus.⁷⁷ Not only his youth and strength but also the glory of his grandfather were a spur to his spirit. Thinking that the state was becoming enfeebled from inaction, he looked all around for an excuse to stir up war. It so happened that Roman farmers were driving off cattle from Alban territory, while the people of Alba were likewise plundering Roman territory. The ruler of Alba at that time was Gaius Cluilius.

74. *Camenae*: originally Italian deities of springs and fountains who became identified with the Greek muses. Their shrine was outside the Capena Gate.

Egeria: see 1.19, where she is called a “goddess.”

75. *cult of Faith*: the Latin *fides* implies faith, loyalty, trustworthiness, or keeping one’s word.

76. *Argei*: twenty-seven shrines, called Argei, located throughout the city. The name was also given to twenty-seven puppets made of rushes that were thrown into the Tiber annually on May 14 by the Vestal virgins. The significance of this ritual is obscure.

77. *ferocious*: the epithet *ferox* (ferocious or fierce) recurs throughout Livy’s characterization of Tullus Hostilius, whose last name means “the hostile or warlike one.” Ferocity also characterizes the Horatian brothers; see 1.25–6. One of the daughters of Servius Tullius is also characterized as fierce (1.46).