Introduction to Livy

Titus Livius, known to us today as Livy, was born in 59 BC in Northern Italy in the town of Patavium (modern day Padua) and died in AD 17. Although we know little of Livy’s own life, Seneca (4 BC – AD 65), a Roman writer and philosopher, tells us that he studied philosophy and other traditional subjects. Unlike many educated Romans, we have no record of Livy aiming at a political career because no records exist of his holding any public office. Much of Livy’s life was devoted to writing his history of Rome, *Ab Urbe Condita*. However, it is important to note that many significant and influential events occurred during Livy’s lifetime: the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey and the subsequent battles that led to the downfall of the Republic and the establishment of the Empire with the reign of Augustus. Although he was not involved directly in these events, they likely had an impact on Livy’s attitudes and may have directed his purpose in writing.

Livy spent much of his life writing his history of Rome, *Ab Urbe Condita*. He began writing this work between 30 BC and 29 BC and did not finish or publish completely until after the death of Augustus. This work included 142 books, of which 1 through 10, and 21 through 45 survive today in their entirety. For the remainder of the books, only short summaries still survive for all except 136 and 137.

Livy’s history begins with the earliest foundations of Rome and ends with the death of Drusus in 9 BC.

Although we do not know the particularities about Livy’s education and exactly when he came to Rome, it is likely that the majority of his education took place in Patavium. Due to the civil wars ravaging Rome and all of Italy, it would have been unsafe to travel through Italy and subsequently to expose a young boy to the upheaval that was occurring in Rome. Thus Livy probably arrived to Rome, either to finish his studies under a *rhetor*, or simply to utilize the more extensive libraries available there in order to find sources for his history. At that time, Livy would have come to a more peaceful Rome, rejuvenated by the end of years of civil strife, the victory of Augustus, and Augustus’ dedication to revitalize Rome in every way.

This optimism present in Rome would undoubtedly have had some effect on Livy and influenced his greater purpose in writing Rome’s history. Some scholars maintain that Livy must have had a close relationship with Augustus because they believe that Augustus was the driving force behind his writing a Roman history with stories based on Roman morals as exempla for the restoration of a once great nation. However, there is no historical proof that Livy and Augustus had such a relationship. However, many scholars maintain that Patavium was a town of moral rectitude that upheld the former virtues...
of Romans past, despite the increased lack of such morals in Rome. The influence of those historical morals is very apparent in Livy’s extant writing as he portrays a strict code of morals that regulated the great Republican (and pre-Republican) leaders in his history. Therefore, due to Livy’s background in Patavium and the general sense of reformation in Rome to its former glory, it is probable that his decision to write with a strong moral tone was completely his own.

Because Livy published after the death of Augustus and the books containing the history of his own contemporary time are no longer extant, we can only guess the content of those books and how they reflected his feelings about his own time period and about Augustus himself. Nevertheless, in what is available today, Livy expresses great patriotism and emphasizes qualities that have made Rome great such as robur (firmness), sapientia (wisdom), vires (strength), and ferocia (ferocity).

Before reading ancient history, it is important to recognize the difference between modern, documentary histories and ancient, rhetorical histories as well as the sources used to write each. In general, modern historians have greater access to truth and fact. The purpose, for the most part, of modern history is to document those facts with the intention of being informational. On the contrary, ancient historians often wrote using an assortment of sources which contained varied purposes, audiences, and levels of inclusivity. It was customary for ancient historians to write a history in such a way that it emphasized or downplayed specific details in order to highlight their purpose in writing. These purposes varied from author to author, whether it was to frame a particular group of people in a certain way, to make their own people seem superior, or, in the case of Livy, to highlight moral exempla from earlier Romans so that Romans may learn how to return to their former moral glory.

Therefore, it is important to take into consideration the sources available to Livy when researching for Ab Urbe Condita and understand the nature of Roman historiography in general. Before Romans began their own tradition of historiography, the Greeks had long established their own. Thus, in his search for Roman history, Livy would have had access to Greek writers such as Polybius (c. 200 – c. 118 BC), Timaeus (345 BC – c. 250 BC), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (c. 60 BC – after 7 BC). These writers, although writing about Rome, were writing in Greek to a particularly Greek audience. Consequently their purpose was not necessarily to create an accurate or even kind representation of Romans and their past. Instead, as is the case with Timaeus, they wrote Roman history as it related to and diverged from their own Greek ideals so that they could bolster pride in their own people and times.
The Romans did not begin their own tradition of historiography until much later than the Greeks. The earliest accounts of Roman history were written by Fabius Pictor (c. 270 BC – c. 200 BC). Fabius Pictor wrote one of the first known accounts of Roman history from the time of Aeneas through the Second Punic War. Although Roman, Fabius Pictor wrote his history in Greek, and although his work does not survive today, scholars believe he was presenting Rome to the greater world in a more favorable light. Fabius Pictor, whose work influenced the Greek writer, Polybius, also became a source for later Roman writers such as Ennius (c. 239 BC–c. 169 BC) and Sallust (86 BC–c. 35 BC). In turn, these works provided chronicles from which Livy was able to write his Roman history.

Livy is unique in his *Ab Urbe Condita* in that, unlike his predecessors who sought more extensive detail, fact, and truth, Livy contented himself to utilize his resources to achieve his personal aim. Livy’s approach to historical writing was unique and harkened to the writings of Aristotle and Thucydides. His writing focuses on the characters of persons rather than simple, annalistic approaches of his predecessors, who were largely influenced by politics. Due to his lack of involvement in political life, Livy therefore was less inclined to use politics as the backbone of his history.

In contrast, Livy’s history, although it does follow the general timeline of Rome, focuses on specific episodes and events centered around a main historical character. Livy’s chosen episodes are often brought to climax when his centrally chosen character delivers a speech. In order to recreate such speeches, Livy employed the styles of famous orators, such as Cicero, and fit the oral style to each particular character. By doing so, Livy connects his audience more deeply with the characters as they become relatable to known figures from their own time.

Livy tended to modify the stories in order to fit his moral purposes rather than verifying facts and simply relating his sources to the reader. In his earliest books (from which we will read the story of the Horatii and Curiatii), Livy’s evidence for history is based upon fables, legends, and traditions passed through many preceding writers and oral tradition. Livy does choose specific characters and episodes to highlight in his history but tends to express only vague instances of doubt about accuracy or gloss over discrepancies in his early stories as a reflection of the incongruities in such legends. He does, nevertheless, write his history with imagination and excitement to draw in his readers to the glorious development of Rome that he believes should and can now be returned to. In doing so, he makes clear that his audience is his contemporary Romans. He describes laws, monuments, ideals, and legends with which his contemporary Romans
would be familiar and have a nostalgic affection towards and strong knowledge of. In this way, Livy contradicts the present state of Rome with the glory of the past and the possibility of renewing that glory in the present dawning of Augustus’ Golden Age.

Livy’s *Ab Urbe Condita* quickly became a standard for Roman history. It was accepted by many important Romans including writers such as Tacitus (c. AD 56 – after AD 117) and Quintilian (c. AD 35 – c. AD 100). The importance of his work is clear as it was regarded as a great source for later Roman historians such as Aurelius Victor (c. AD 320 – c. AD 390), Cassiodorus (c. AD 485 – c. AD 585), Festus (4th century AD), and Florus (c. AD 74 – c. AD 130). It is also logical that Livy’s *Ab Urbe Condita* became the primary history of Rome due to the fact that much of what was written about Rome before his history no longer survives today. With Livy’s being the primary text, the previous histories would not have been deemed important enough to continue to be copied and taken care of.

Furthermore, the impact of Livy went beyond the realm of Roman historians and writers. His focus on morals and reverence of the past became its own exemplum from which later cultures learned about morality and to respect their own heritage. Additionally, Livy’s epodic style of history provided an abundance of topics for artists, such as Jacques-Louis David (AD 1748 – AD 1825), who painted the “Oath of the Horatii” (slide 51), Niccolo Machiavelli (AD 1469 – AD 1527), an Italian writer and political theorist, who wrote *Discourses on Livy*, and French dramatist, Pierre Corneille (AD 1606 - AD 1684), who composed the play *Horatius* about the famous battle between the Horatii and Curiatii.
How To Use These Materials
In the following pages you will find chapters 1 through 23 of Book 1 of Livy’s *Ab Urbe Condita* in English accompanied by review questions. These chapters are to be read prior to translating the story of the Horatii and Curiatii. You should look up any terms with which you are unfamiliar. Pay special attention to Livy’s purpose as outlined in the *Praefatio*. Livy makes clear that in all history there are abundant examples of actions and behaviors to imitate and those to avoid. As you continue reading, note how Livy portrays historical figures and their actions as to what type of example they are setting. With this in mind, the story of the Horatii and Curiatii will prove to be a great conundrum for his audience.

Following this pre-reading, you will translate the beginning of Chapter 24, which introduces the battle of the Horatii and Curiatii, and all of Chapters 25 and 26 which portray the battle and the murder of Horatia (the second half of Chapter 24 is provided, and should be read, in English). There is a complete vocabulary list containing every glossed term at the end of the Latin text. As with traditional Latin texts, no macrons will be used in the Latin. Following each page of Latin text are comprehension questions that should be answered to aid your translation. Accompanying each page of Latin text, there is a commentary which contains vocabulary, grammar, and historical notes. The numbers indicate the corresponding lines of Latin text on that page. Use the following guide to use the commentary:
- all Latin terms are in italics
- basic definitions follow the dictionary forms of Latin terms
- translations of confusing Latin phrases are written inside quotation marks
- an ‘=’ indicates a better ordering of Latin terms in a phrase or clause or a clarification of a syncopated Latin term
- Latin terms in parentheses are those that have been omitted from the original Latin text but which are necessary for the understanding of the sentence.
- the only usage of macrons is in the commentary and vocabulary to distinguish second conjugation verbs
- all historical and cultural explanations will be in plain text
Praefatio  Whether the task I have undertaken of writing a complete history of the Roman people from the very commencement of its existence will reward me for the labour spent on it, I neither know for certain, nor if I did know would I venture to say. For I see that this is an old-established and a common practice, each fresh writer being invariably persuaded that he will either attain greater certainty in the materials of his narrative, or surpass the rudeness of antiquity in the excellence of his style. However this may be, it will still be a great satisfaction to me to have taken my part, too, in investing, to the utmost of my abilities, the annals of the foremost nation in the world with a deeper interest; and if in such a crowd of writers my own reputation is thrown into the shade, I would console myself with the renown and greatness of those who eclipse my fame. The subject, moreover, is one that demands immense labour. It goes back beyond 700 years and, after starting from small and humble beginnings, has grown to such dimensions that it begins to be overburdened by its greatness. I have very little doubt, too, that for the majority of my readers, the earliest times and those immediately succeeding, will possess little attraction; they will hurry on to these modern days in which the might of a long paramount nation is wasting by internal decay. I, on the other hand, shall look for a further reward of my labours in being able to close my eyes to the evils which our generation has witnessed for so many years; so long, at least, as I am devoting all my thoughts to retracing those pristine records, free from all the anxiety which can disturb the historian of his own times even if it cannot warp him from the truth.

The traditions of what happened prior to the foundation of the City or whilst it was being built, are more fitted to adorn the creations of the poet than the authentic records of the historian, and I have no intention of establishing either their truth or their falsehood. This much license is conceded to the ancients, that by intermingling human actions with divine they may confer a more august dignity on the origins of states. Now, if any nation ought to be allowed to claim a sacred origin and point back to a divine paternity that nation is Rome. For such is her renown in war that when she chooses to represent Mars as her own and her founder's father, the nations of the world accept the statement with the same equanimity with which they accept her dominion. But whatever opinions may be formed or criticisms passed upon these and similar traditions, I regard them as of small importance. The subjects to which I would ask each of my readers to devote his earnest attention are these - the life and morals of the community; the men and the qualities by which through domestic policy and foreign war dominion was won and extended. Then as the standard of morality gradually lowers, let him follow the decay of the national character, observing how at first it slowly sinks, then slips downward more and more rapidly, and finally begins to plunge into headlong ruin, until he reaches these days, in which we can bear neither our diseases nor their remedies.
There is this exceptionally beneficial and fruitful advantage to be derived from the study of the past, that you see, set in the clear light of historical truth, examples of every possible type. From these you may select for yourself and your country what to imitate, and also what, as being mischievous in its inception and disastrous in its issues, you are to avoid. Unless, however, I am misled by affection for my undertaking, there has never existed any commonwealth greater in power, with a purer morality, or more fertile in good examples; or any state in which avarice and luxury have been so late in making their inroads, or poverty and frugality so highly and continuously honoured, showing so clearly that the less wealth men possessed the less they coveted. In these latter years wealth has brought avarice in its train, and the unlimited command of pleasure has created in men a passion for ruining themselves and everything else through self-indulgence and licentiousness. But criticisms which will be unwelcome, even when perhaps necessary, must not appear in the commencement at all events of this extensive work. We should much prefer to start with favourable omens, and if we could have adopted the poets' custom, it would have been much pleasanter to commence with prayers and supplications to gods and goddesses that they would grant a favourable and successful issue to the great task before us.

**Review Questions**

1. To what subjects does Livy ask his readers to pay attention? Why?
2. Livy suggests that Romans now (in his era) are different from the way they were in the past. What does he say accounts for this change?

**Book 1.1** To begin with, it is generally admitted that after the capture of Troy, whilst the rest of the Trojans were massacred, against two of them - Aeneas and Antenor - the Achivi refused to exercise the rights of war, partly owing to old ties of hospitality, and partly because these men had always been in favour of making peace and surrendering Helen. Their subsequent fortunes were different. Antenor sailed into the furthest part of the Adriatic, accompanied by a number of Enetians who had been driven from Paphlagonia by a revolution, and after losing their king Pylaemenes before Troy were looking for a settlement and a leader. The combined force of Enetians and Trojans defeated the Euganei, who dwelt between the sea and the Alps and occupied their land. The place where they disembarked was called Troy, and the name was extended to the surrounding district; the whole nation were called Veneti. Similar misfortunes led to Aeneas becoming a wanderer, but the Fates were preparing a higher destiny for him. He first visited Macedonia, then was carried down to Sicily in quest of a settlement; from Sicily he directed his course to the Laurentian territory. Here, too, the name of Troy is found, and here the Trojans disembarked, and as their almost infinite wanderings had left
them nothing but their arms and their ships, they began to plunder the
eighbourhood. The Aborigines, who occupied the country, with their
king Latinus at their head, came hastily together from the city and the
country districts to repel the inroads of the strangers by force of arms.

From this point there is a twofold tradition. According to the
one, Latinus was defeated in battle, and made peace with Aeneas, and
subsequently a family alliance. According to the other, whilst the two
armies were standing ready to engage and waiting for the signal,
Latinus advanced in front of his lines and invited the leader of the
strangers to a conference. He inquired of him what manner of men
they were, whence they came, what had happened to make them leave
their homes, what were they in quest of when they landed in Latinus'
territory. When he heard that the men were Trojans, that their leader
was Aeneas, the son of Anchises and Venus, that their city had been
burnt, and that the homeless exiles were now looking for a place to
settle in and build a city, he was so struck with the noble bearing of the
men and their leader, and their readiness to accept alike either peace or
war, that he gave his right hand as a solemn pledge of friendship for
the future. A formal treaty was made between the leaders and mutual
greetings exchanged between the armies. Latinus received Aeneas as a
guest in his house, and there, in the presence of his tutelary deities,
completed the political alliance by a domestic one, and gave his
daughter in marriage to Aeneas. This incident confirmed the Trojans in
the hope that they had reached the term of their wanderings and won a
permanent home. They built a town, which Aeneas called Lavinium
after his wife. In a short time a boy was born of the new marriage, to
whom his parents gave the name of Ascanius.

Review Questions
1. Who are the Achivi?
2. Who are the two Trojans that managed to escape destruction after
   the Trojan war? Why?
3. When Aeneas and his men arrived in Laurentium, who was the local
   king? What are the two traditions held by Romans for which they
came to an alliance?
4. What town do Aeneas and his men found? What is Aeneas’ wife’s
   name? What is Aeneas’ son’s name?

Book 1.2 In a short time the Aborigines and Trojans became
involved in war with Turnus, the king of the Rutulians. Lavinia had
been betrothed to him before the arrival of Aeneas, and, furious at
finding a stranger preferred to him, he declared war against both
Latinus and Aeneas. Neither side could congratulate themselves on the
result of the battle; the Rutulians were defeated, but the victorious
Aborigines and Trojans lost their leader Latinus. Feeling their need of
allies, Turnus and the Rutulians had recourse to the celebrated power
of the Etruscans and Mezentius, their king, who was reigning at Caere,
a wealthy city in those days. From the first he had felt anything but
pleasure at the rise of the new city, and now he regarded the growth of the Trojan state as much too rapid to be safe to its neighbours, so he welcomed the proposal to join forces with the Rutulians. To keep the Aborigines from abandoning him in the face of this strong coalition and to secure their being not only under the same laws, but also the same designation, Aeneas called both nations by the common name of Latins. From that time the Aborigines were not behind the Trojans in their loyal devotion to Aeneas. So great was the power of Etruria that the renown of her people had filled not only the inland parts of Italy but also the coastal districts along the whole length of the land from the Alps to the Straits of Messina. Aeneas, however, trusting to the loyalty of the two nations who were day by day growing into one, led his forces into the field, instead of awaiting the enemy behind his walls. The battle resulted in favour of the Latins, but it was the last mortal act of Aeneas. His tomb - whatever it is lawful and right to call him - is situated on the bank of the Numicius. He is addressed as "Jupiter Indiges."

Review Questions
1. Who was Turnus? Why did he wage war on Aeneas and Latinus? What was the result of this war?
2. To whom did Turnus look to for help? Why would these people be inclined to help Turnus?
3. Aeneas began to call the Trojans the Aborigines the “Latins.” Why?

Book 1.3 His son, Ascanius, was not old enough to assume the government; but his throne remained secure throughout his minority. During that interval - such was Lavinia's force of character - though a woman was regent, the Latin State, and the kingdom of his father and grandfather, were preserved unimpaired for her son. I will not discuss the question - for who could speak decisively about a matter of such extreme antiquity? - whether the man whom the Julian house claim, under the name of Iulus, as the founder of their name, was this Ascanius or an older one than he, born of Creusa, whilst Ilium was still intact, and after its fall a sharer in his father's fortunes. This Ascanius, where ever born, or of whatever mother - it is generally agreed in any case that he was the son of Aeneas - left to his mother (or his stepmother) the city of Lavinium, which was for those days a prosperous and wealthy city, with a superabundant population, and built a new city at the foot of the Alban hills, which from its position, stretching along the side of the hill, was called "Alba Longa." An interval of thirty years elapsed between the foundation of Lavinium and the colonisation of Alba Longa. Such had been the growth of the Latin power, mainly through the defeat of the Etruscans, that neither at the death of Aeneas, nor during the regency of Lavinia, nor during the immature years of the reign of Ascanius, did either Mezentius and the Etruscans or any other of their neighbours venture to attack them. When terms of peace were being arranged, the river Albula, now
called the Tiber, had been fixed as the boundary between the Etruscans and the Latins.

Ascanius was succeeded by his son Silvius, who by some chance had been born in the forest. He became the father of Aeneas Silvius, who in his turn had a son, Latinus Silvius. He planted a number of colonies: the colonists were called Prisci Latini. The cognomen of Silvius was common to all the remaining kings of Alba, each of whom succeeded his father. Their names are Alba, Atys, Capys, Capetus, Tiberinus, who was drowned in crossing the Albula, and his name transferred to the river, which became henceforth the famous Tiber. Then came his son Agrippa, after him his son Romulus Silvius. He was struck by lightning and left the crown to his son Aventinus, whose shrine was on the hill which bears his name and is now a part of the city of Rome. He was succeeded by Proca, who had two sons, Numitor and Amulius. To Numitor, the elder, he bequeathed the ancient throne of the Silvian house. Violence, however, proved stronger than either the father's will or the respect due to the brother's seniority; for Amulius expelled his brother and seized the crown. Adding crime to crime, he murdered his brother's sons and made the daughter, Rhea Silvia, a Vestal virgin; thus, under the presence of honouring her, depriving her of all hopes of issue.

Review Questions
1. Explain the discrepancy in Ascanius’ birth? Who was Creusa?
2. What is another name for Ascanius? Who claims their ancestry from him? What famous Romans, known to Livy’s contemporaries, are a part of this group?
3. What city did Ascanius found? What was the border between the Latin and Etruscan territories?
4. Who are the sons of Proca? To which son did Proca leave the reign of the Silvian line? What was the result of this?
5. Why did Amulius kill Numitor’s sons and make his daughter a Vestal Virgin?

Book 1.4 But the Fates had, I believe, already decreed the origin of this great city and the foundation of the mightiest empire under heaven. The Vestal was forcibly violated and gave birth to twins. She named Mars as their father, either because she really believed it, or because the fault might appear less heinous if a deity were the cause of it. But neither gods nor men sheltered her or her babes from the king's cruelty; the priestess was thrown into prison, the boys were ordered to be thrown into the river. By a heaven-sent chance it happened that the Tiber was then overflowing its banks, and stretches of standing water prevented any approach to the main channel. Those who were carrying the children expected that this stagnant water would be sufficient to drown them, so under the impression that they were carrying out the
king's orders they exposed the boys at the nearest point of the overflow, where the Ficus Ruminalis (said to have been formerly called Romularis) now stands. The locality was then a wild solitude. The tradition goes on to say that after the floating cradle in which the boys had been exposed had been left by the retreating water on dry land, a thirsty she-wolf from the surrounding hills, attracted by the crying of the children, came to them, gave them her teats to suck and was so gentle towards them that the king's flock-master found her licking the boys with her tongue. According to the story, his name was Faustulus. He took the children to his hut and gave them to his wife Larentia to bring up. Some writers think that Larentia, from her unchaste life, had got the nickname of "She-wolf" amongst the shepherds, and that this was the origin of the marvellous story. As soon as the boys, thus born and thus brought up, grew to be young men they did not neglect their pastoral duties, but their special delight was roaming through the woods on hunting expeditions. As their strength and courage were thus developed, they used not only to lie in wait for fierce beasts of prey, but they even attacked brigands when loaded with plunder. They distributed what they took amongst the shepherds, with whom, surrounded by a continually increasing body of young men, they associated themselves in their serious undertakings and in their sports and pastimes.

Review Questions
1. Who fathered the twins born to Rhea Silvia? What did the king do to the twins?
2. How were the twins saved?
3. In what type of activities did the twins spend their time?
4. The twins apprehended thieves in their youth and redistributed money and spoils to the shepherds. Can you think of any similar stories? Do you think this moral behavior?

Book 1.5 It is said that the festival of the Lupercalia, which is still observed, was even in those days celebrated on the Palatine hill. This hill was originally called Pallantium from a city of the same name in Arcadia; the name was afterwards changed to Palatium. Evander, an Arcadian, had held that territory many ages before, and had introduced an annual festival from Arcadia in which young men ran about naked for sport and wantonness, in honour of the Lycaean Pan, whom the Romans afterwards called Inuus. The existence of this festival was widely recognised, and it was while the two brothers were engaged in it that the brigands, enraged at losing their plunder, ambushed them. Romulus successfully defended himself, but Remus was taken prisoner and brought before Amulius, his captors impudently accusing him of their own crimes. The principal charge brought against them was that of invading Numitor's lands with a body of young men whom they had got together, and carrying off plunder as though in regular warfare.
Remus accordingly was handed over to Numitor for punishment. Faustulus had from the beginning suspected that it was royal offspring that he was bringing up, for he was aware that the boys had been exposed at the king's command and the time at which he had taken them away exactly corresponded with that of their exposure. He had, however, refused to divulge the matter prematurely, until either a fitting opportunity occurred or necessity demanded its disclosure. The necessity came first. Alarmed for the safety of Remus he revealed the state of the case to Romulus. It so happened that Numitor also, who had Remus in his custody, on hearing that he and his brother were twins and comparing their ages and the character and bearing so unlike that of one in a servile condition, began to recall the memory of his grandchildren, and further inquiries brought him to the same conclusion as Faustulus; nothing was wanting to the recognition of Remus. So the king Amulius was being enmeshed on all sides by hostile purposes. Romulus shrunk from a direct attack with his body of shepherds, for he was no match for the king in open fight. They were instructed to approach the palace by different routes and meet there at a given time, whilst from Numitor's house Remus lent his assistance with a second band he had collected. The attack succeeded and the king was killed.

**Review Questions**

1. Describe the festival of Lupercalia? Who introduced this festival?
2. Romulus and Remus were ambushed during the Lupercalia festivities. What happened to each?
3. With their true identity known, how did the twins proceed?

**Book 1.6** At the beginning of the fray, Numitor gave out that an enemy had entered the City and was attacking the palace, in order to draw off the Alban soldiery to the citadel, to defend it. When he saw the young men coming to congratulate him after the assassination, he at once called a council of his people and explained his brother's infamous conduct towards him, the story of his grandsons, their parentage and bringing up, and how he recognised them. Then he proceeded to inform them of the tyrant's death and his responsibility for it. The young men marched in order through the midst of the assembly and saluted their grandfather as king; their action was approved by the whole population, who with one voice ratified the title and sovereignty of the king. After the government of Alba was thus transferred to Numitor, Romulus and Remus were seized with the desire of building a city in the locality where they had been exposed. There was the superfluous population of the Alban and Latin towns, to these were added the shepherds: it was natural to hope that with all these Alba would be small and Lavinium small in comparison with the city which was to be founded. These pleasant anticipations were
disturbed by the ancestral curse - ambition - which led to a deplorable quarrel over what was at first a trivial matter. As they were twins and no claim to precedence could be based on seniority, they decided to consult the tutelary deities of the place by means of augury as to who was to give his name to the new city, and who was to rule it after it had been founded. Romulus accordingly selected the Palatine as his station for observation, Remus the Aventine.

Review Questions

1. Once Numitor had been restored to the throne of Alba Longa, what did Romulus and Remus set out to do?
2. The twins intended to choose a ruler and namesake for their new city by means of augury. What is augury? What sites did each choose from which they would obtain their omens?

Book 1.7 Remus is said to have been the first to receive an omen: six vultures appeared to him. The augury had just been announced to Romulus when double the number appeared to him. Each was saluted as king by his own party. The one side based their claim on the priority of the appearance, the other on the number of the birds. Then followed an angry altercation; heated passions led to bloodshed; in the tumult Remus was killed. The more common report is that Remus contemptuously jumped over the newly raised walls and was forthwith killed by the enraged Romulus, who exclaimed, "So shall it be henceforth with everyone who leaps over my walls." Romulus thus became sole ruler, and the city was called after him, its founder. His first work was to fortify the Palatine hill where he had been brought up. The worship of the other deities he conducted according to the use of Alba, but that of Hercules in accordance with the Greek rites as they had been instituted by Evander. It was into this neighbourhood, according to the tradition, that Hercules, after he had killed Geryon, drove his oxen, which were of marvellous beauty. He swam across the Tiber, driving the oxen before him, and wearied with his journey, lay down in a grassy place near the river to rest himself and the oxen, who enjoyed the rich pasture. When sleep had overtaken him, as he was heavy with food and wine, a shepherd living near, called Cacus, presuming on his strength, and captivated by the beauty of the oxen, determined to secure them. If he drove them before him into the cave, their hoof-marks would have led their owner on his search for them in the same direction, so he dragged the finest of them backwards by their tails into his cave. At the first streak of dawn Hercules awoke, and on surveying his herd saw that some were missing. He proceeded towards the nearest cave, to see if any tracks pointed in that direction, but he found that every hoof-mark led from the cave and none towards it. Perplexed and bewildered he began to drive the herd away from so dangerous a neighbourhood. Some of the cattle, missing those which were left behind, lowed as they often do, and an answering low sounded from the cave. Hercules turned in that direction, and as Cacus
tried to prevent him by force from entering the cave, he was killed by a blow from Hercules' club, after vainly appealing for help to his comrades.

The king of the country at that time was Evander, a refugee from Peloponnesus, who ruled more by personal ascendancy than by the exercise of power. He was looked up to with reverence for his knowledge of letters - a new and marvellous thing for uncivilised men - but he was still more revered because of his mother Carmenta, who was believed to be a divine being and regarded with wonder by all as an interpreter of Fate, in the days before the arrival of the Sibyl in Italy. This Evander, alarmed by the crowd of excited shepherds standing round a stranger whom they accused of open murder, ascertained from them the nature of his act and what led to it. As he observed the bearing and stature of the man to be more than human in greatness and august dignity, he asked who he was. When he heard his name, and learnt his father and his country he said, "Hercules, son of Jupiter, hail! My mother, who speaks truth in the name of the gods, has prophesied that thou shalt join the company of the gods, and that here a shrine shall be dedicated to thee, which in ages to come the most powerful nation in all the world shall call their Ara Maxima and honour with shine own special worship." Hercules grasped Evander's right hand and said that he took the omen to himself and would fulfil the prophecy by building and consecrating the altar. Then a heifer of conspicuous beauty was taken from the herd, and the first sacrifice was offered; the Potitii and Pinarii, the two principal families in those parts, were invited by Hercules to assist in the sacrifice and at the feast which followed. It so happened that the Potitii were present at the appointed time, and the entrails were placed before them; the Pinarii arrived after these were consumed and came in for the rest of the banquet. It became a permanent institution from that time, that as long as the family of the Pinarii survived they should not eat of the entrails of the victims. The Potitii, after being instructed by Evander, presided over that rite for many ages, until they handed over this ministerial office to public servants after which the whole race of the Potitii perished. This out of all foreign rites, was the only one which Romulus adopted, as though he felt that an immortality won through courage, of which this was the memorial, would one day be his own reward.

Review Questions
1. What were the auguries of each twin? Why were these confusing?
2. What two stories are handed down for the death of Remus?
3. From what sources did Romulus take the religious rites for his new city?

Book 1.8

After the claims of religion had been duly acknowledged, Romulus called his people to a council. As nothing could unite them into one political body but the observance of common laws and customs, he gave them a body of laws, which he thought would only
be respected by a rude and uncivilised race of men if he inspired them with awe by assuming the outward symbols of power. He surrounded himself with greater state, and in particular he called into his service twelve lictors. Some think that he fixed upon this number from the number of the birds who foretold his sovereignty; but I am inclined to agree with those who think that as this class of public officers was borrowed from the same people from whom the "sella curulis" and the "toga praetexta" were adopted - their neighbours, the Etruscans - so the number itself also was taken from them. Its use amongst the Etruscans is traced to the custom of the twelve sovereign cities of Etruria, when jointly electing a king, furnishing him each with one lictor. Meantime the City was growing by the extension of its walls in various directions; an increase due rather to the anticipation of its future population than to any present overcrowding. His next care was to secure an addition to the population that the size of the City might not be a source of weakness. It had been the ancient policy of the founders of cities to get together a multitude of people of obscure and low origin and then to spread the fiction that they were the children of the soil. In accordance with this policy, Romulus opened a place of refuge on the spot where, as you go down from the Capitol, you find an enclosed space between two groves. A promiscuous crowd of freemen and slaves, eager for change, fled thither from the neighbouring states. This was the first accession of strength to the nascent greatness of the city. When he was satisfied as to its strength, his next step was to provide for that strength being wisely directed. He created a hundred senators; either because that number was adequate, or because there were only a hundred heads of houses who could be created. In any case they were called the "Patres" in virtue of their rank, and their descendants were called "Patricians."

Review Questions
1. Having established a codes of laws for his new population, what did Romulus introduce? How many were there? From where did this number come?
2. Rather than admit that his population was comprised of thieves, shepherds, and outcasts, how did Romulus describe his population? What other mythological cities made this claim?
3. What was the original term for the senators? What term, describing the Roman upper class, derives from this? How many original senators did Romulus appoint?

Book 1.9 The Roman State had now become so strong that it was a match for any of its neighbours in war, but its greatness threatened to last for only one generation, since through the absence of women there was no hope of offspring, and there was no right of intermarriage with their neighbours. Acting on the advice of the senate, Romulus sent envoys amongst the surrounding nations to ask for alliance and the right of intermarriage on behalf of his new community. It was
represented that cities, like everything else, sprung from the humblest beginnings, and those who were helped on by their own courage and the favour of heaven won for themselves great power and great renown. As to the origin of Rome, it was well known that whilst it had received divine assistance, courage and self-reliance were not wanting. There should, therefore, be no reluctance for men to mingle their blood with their fellow-men. Nowhere did the envoys meet with a favourable reception. Whilst their proposals were treated with contumely, there was at the same time a general feeling of alarm at the power so rapidly growing in their midst. Usually they were dismissed with the question, "whether they had opened an asylum for women, for nothing short of that would secure for them intermarriage on equal terms." The Roman youth could ill brook such insults, and matters began to look like an appeal to force. To secure a favourable place and time for such an attempt, Romulus, disguising his resentment, made elaborate preparations for the celebration of games in honour of "Equestrian Neptune," which he called "the Consualia." He ordered public notice of the spectacle to be given amongst the adjoining cities, and his people supported him in making the celebration as magnificent as their knowledge and resources allowed, so that expectations were raised to the highest pitch. There was a great gathering; people were eager to see the new City, all their nearest neighbours - the people of Caenina, Antennae, and Crustumerium - were there, and the whole Sabine population came, with their wives and families. They were invited to accept hospitality at the different houses, and after examining the situation of the City, its walls and the large number of dwelling-houses it included, they were astonished at the rapidity with which the Roman State had grown.

When the hour for the games had come, and their eyes and minds were alike riveted on the spectacle before them, the preconcerted signal was given and the Roman youth dashed in all directions to carry off the maidens who were present. The larger part were carried off indiscriminately, but some particularly beautiful girls who had been marked out for the leading patricians were carried to their houses by plebeians told off for the task. One, conspicuous amongst them all for grace and beauty, is reported to have been carried off by a group led by a certain Talassius, and to the many inquiries as to whom she was intended for, the invariable answer was given, "For Talassius." Hence the use of this word in the marriage rites. Alarm and consternation broke up the games, and the parents of the maidens fled, distracted with grief, uttering bitter reproaches on the violators of the laws of hospitality and appealing to the god to whose solemn games they had come, only to be the victims of impious perfidy. The abducted maidens were quite as despondent and indignant. Romulus, however, went round in person, and pointed out to them that it was all owing to the pride of their parents in denying right of intermarriage to their neighbours. They would live in honourable wedlock, and share all their property and civil rights, and - dearest of all to human nature -
would be the mothers of freemen. He begged them to lay aside their feelings of resentment and give their affections to those whom fortune had made masters of their persons. An injury had often led to reconciliation and love; they would find their husbands all the more affectionate, because each would do his utmost, so far as in him lay, to make up for the loss of parents and country. These arguments were reinforced by the endearments of their husbands, who excused their conduct by pleading the irresistible force of their passion - a plea effective beyond all others in appealing to a woman's nature.

**Review Questions**

1. Why did the Romans send ambassadors to the surrounding cities? How were they received?
2. To what festival did the Romans invite their neighbors? Whom did this festival honor? Which nations attended this festival?
3. What transpired at this festival?

**Book 1.10** The feelings of the abducted maidens were now pretty completely appeased, but not so those of their parents. They went about in mourning garb, and tried by their tearful complaints to rouse their countrymen to action. Nor did they confine their remonstrances to their own cities; they flocked from all sides to Titus Tatius, the king of the Sabines, and sent formal deputations to him, for his was the most influential name in those parts. The people of Caenina, Crustumerium, and Antemnae were the greatest sufferers; they thought Tatius and his Sabines were too slow in moving, so these three cities prepared to make war conjointly. Such, however, were the impatience and anger of the Caeninensians that even the Crustuminians and Antemnates did not display enough energy for them, so the men of Caenina made an attack upon Roman territory on their own account. Whilst they were scattered far and wide, pillaging and destroying, Romulus came upon them with an army, and after a brief encounter taught them that anger is futile without strength. He put them to a hasty flight, and following them up, killed their king and despoiled his body; then after slaying their leader took their city at the first assault. He was no less anxious to display his achievements than he had been great in performing them, so, after leading his victorious army home, he mounted to the Capitol with the spoils of his dead foe borne before him on a frame constructed for the purpose. He hung them there on an oak, which the shepherds looked upon as a sacred tree, and at the same time marked out the site for the temple of Jupiter, and addressing the god by a new title, uttered the following invocation: "Jupiter Feretrius! these arms taken from a king, I, Romulus a king and conqueror, bring to thee, and on this domain, whose bounds I have in will and purpose traced, I dedicate a temple to receive the 'spolia opima' which posterity following my example shall bear hither, taken from the kings and generals of our foes slain in battle." Such was the origin of the first temple dedicated in Rome. And the gods decreed that though its
founder did not utter idle words in declaring that posterity would thither bear their spoils, still the splendour of that offering should not be dimmed by the number of those who have rivalled his achievement. For after so many years have elapsed and so many wars been waged, only twice have the "spolia opima" been offered. So seldom has Fortune granted that glory to men.

Review Questions
1. Who was Titus Tatius? Who fled to him? Why?
2. Who first attacked the Romans? What was the result of this attack?
3. What were the ‘spolia opima’?

Book 1.11  Whilst the Romans were thus occupied, the army of the Antemnates seized the opportunity of their territory being unoccupied and made a raid into it. Romulus hastily led his legion against this fresh foe and surprised them as they were scattered over the fields. At the very first battle-shout and charge the enemy were routed and their city captured. Whilst Romulus was exulting over this double victory, his wife, Hersilia, moved by the entreaties of the abducted maidens, implored him to pardon their parents and receive them into citizenship, for so the State would increase in unity and strength. He readily granted her request. He then advanced against the Crustuminirians, who had commenced war, but their eagerness had been damped by the successive defeats of their neighbours, and they offered but slight resistance. Colonies were planted in both places; owing to the fertility of the soil of the Crustumine district, the majority gave their names for that colony. On the other hand there were numerous migrations to Rome mostly of the parents and relatives of the abducted maidens. The last of these wars was commenced by the Sabines and proved the most serious of all, for nothing was done in passion or impatience; they masked their designs till war had actually commenced. Strategy was aided by craft and deceit, as the following incident shows. Spurius Tarpeius was in command of the Roman citadel. Whilst his daughter had gone outside the fortifications to fetch water for some religious ceremonies, Tatius bribed her to admit his troops within the citadel. Once admitted, they crushed her to death beneath their shields, either that the citadel might appear to have been taken by assault, or that her example might be left as a warning that no faith should be kept with traitors. A further story runs that the Sabines were in the habit of wearing heavy gold armlets on their left arms and richly jewelled rings, and that the girl made them promise to give her "what they had on their left arms," accordingly they piled their shields upon her instead of golden gifts. Some say that in bargaining for what they had in their left hands, she expressly asked for their shields, and being suspected of wishing to betray them, fell a victim to her own bargain.
**Review Questions**

1. Who implored Romulus to grant citizenship to the conquered peoples of Caenina, Crustumierum, and Antemnae?
2. Whose daughter was bribed by Titus Tatius to admit the Sabines onto the Roman citadel? What happened to her?

**Book 1.12** However this may be, the Sabines were in possession of the citadel. And they would not come down from it the next day, though the Roman army was drawn up in battle array over the whole of the ground between the Palatine and the Capitoline hill, until, exasperated at the loss of their citadel and determined to recover it, the Romans mounted to the attack. Advancing before the rest, Mettius Curtius, on the side of the Sabines, and Hostius Hostilius, on the side of the Romans, engaged in single combat. Hostius, fighting on disadvantageous ground, upheld the fortunes of Rome by his intrepid bravery, but at last he fell; the Roman line broke and fled to what was then the gate of the Palatine. Even Romulus was being swept away by the crowd of fugitives, and lifting up his hands to heaven he exclaimed: "Jupiter, it was thy omen that I obeyed when I laid here on the Palatine the earliest foundations of the City. Now the Sabines hold its citadel, having bought it by a bribe, and coming thence have seized the valley and are pressing hitherwards in battle. Do thou, Father of gods and men, drive hence our foes, banish terror from Roman hearts, and stay our shameful flight! Here do I vow a temple to thee, 'Jove the Stayer,' as a memorial for the generations to come that it is through thy present help that the City has been saved." Then, as though he had become aware that his prayer had been heard, he cried, "Back, Romans! Jupiter Optimus Maximus bids you stand and renew the battle." They stopped as though commanded by a voice from heaven - Romulus dashed up to the foremost line, just as Mettius Curtius had run down from the citadel in front of the Sabines and driven the Romans in headlong flight over the whole of the ground now occupied by the Forum. He was now not far from the gate of the Palatine, and was shouting: "We have conquered our faithless hosts, our cowardly foes; now they know that to carry off maidens is a very different thing from fighting with men." In the midst of these vaunts Romulus, with a compact body of valiant troops, charged down on him. Mettius happened to be on horseback, so he was the more easily driven back, the Romans followed in pursuit, and, inspired by the courage of their king, the rest of the Roman army routed the Sabines. Mettius, unable to control his horse, maddened by the noise of his pursuers, plunged into a morass. The danger of their general drew off the attention of the Sabines for a moment from the battle; they called out and made signals to encourage him, so, animated to fresh efforts, he succeeded in extricating himself. Thereupon the Romans and Sabines renewed the fighting in the middle of the valley, but the fortune of Rome was in the ascendant.
**Review Questions**

1. What two men fought in a duel between the Sabines and Romans? What was the result?
2. How did the Romans regain their courage and fervor for battle?
3. Who fell into a swamp? Why?

_Book 1.13_  

Then it was that the Sabine women, whose wrongs had led to the war, throwing off all womanish fears in their distress, went boldly into the midst of the flying missiles with dishevelled hair and rent garments. Running across the space between the two armies they tried to stop any further fighting and calm the excited passions by appealing to their fathers in the one army and their husbands in the other not to bring upon themselves a curse by staining their hands with the blood of a father-in-law or a son-in-law, nor upon their posterity the taint of parricide. "If," they cried, "you are weary of these ties of kindred, these marriage-bonds, then turn your anger upon us; it is we who are the cause of the war, it is we who have wounded and slain our husbands and fathers. Better for us to perish rather than live without one or the other of you, as widows or as orphans." The armies and their leaders were alike moved by this appeal. There was a sudden hush and silence. Then the generals advanced to arrange the terms of a treaty. It was not only peace that was made, the two nations were united into one State, the royal power was shared between them, and the seat of government for both nations was Rome. After thus doubling the City, a concession was made to the Sabines in the new appellation of Quirites, from their old capital of Cures. As a memorial of the battle, the place where Curtius got his horse out of the deep marsh on to safer ground was called the Curtian lake. The joyful peace, which put an abrupt close to such a deplorable war, made the Sabine women still dearer to their husbands and fathers, and most of all to Romulus himself. Consequently when he effected the distribution of the people into the thirty curiae, he affixed their names to the curiae. No doubt there were many more than thirty women, and tradition is silent as to whether those whose names were given to the curiae were selected on the ground of age, or on that of personal distinction - either their own or their husbands' - or merely by lot. The enrolment of the three centuries of knights took place at the same time; the Ramnenses were called after Romulus, the Titienses from T. Tatius. The origin of the Luceres and why they were so called is uncertain. Thenceforward the two kings exercised their joint sovereignty with perfect harmony.

**Review Questions**

1. What is the significance of the women rushing into the battle “with disheveled hair and rent garments?”
2. How did the women end the war between the Romans and Sabines?
3. What honor was bestowed upon these women by Romulus?
4. What were the three classes of knights and for whom were they named?
Some years subsequently the kinsmen of King Tatius ill-treated the ambassadors of the Laurentines. They came to seek redress from him in accordance with international law, but the influence and importunities of his friends had more weight with Tatius than the remonstrances of the Laurentines. The consequence was that he brought upon himself the punishment due to them, for when he had gone to the annual sacrifice at Lavinium, a tumult arose in which he was killed. Romulus is reported to have been less distressed at this incident than his position demanded, either because of the insincerity inherent in all joint sovereignty, or because he thought he had deserved his fate. He refused, therefore, to go to war, but that the wrong done to the ambassadors and the murder of the king might be expiated, the treaty between Rome and Lavinium was renewed. Whilst in this direction an unhoped-for peace was secured, war broke out in a much nearer quarter, in fact almost at the very gates of Rome. The people of Fidenae considered that a power was growing up too close to them, so to prevent the anticipations of its future greatness from being realised, they took the initiative in making war. Armed bands invaded and devastated the country lying between the City and Fidenae. Thence they turned to the left - the Tiber barred their advance on the right - and plundered and destroyed, to the great alarm of the country people. A sudden rush from the fields into the City was the first intimation of what was happening. A war so close to their gates admitted of no delay, and Romulus hurriedly led out his army and encamped about a mile from Fidenae. Leaving a small detachment to guard the camp, he went forward with his whole force, and whilst one part were ordered to lie in ambush in a place overgrown with dense brushwood, he advanced with the larger part and the whole of the cavalry towards the city, and by riding up to the very gates in a disorderly and provocative manner he succeeded in drawing the enemy. The cavalry continued these tactics and so made the flight which they were to feign seem less suspicious, and when their apparent hesitation whether to fight or to flee was followed by the retirement of the infantry, the enemy suddenly poured out of the crowded gates, broke the Roman line and pressed on in eager pursuit till they were brought to where the ambush was set. Then the Romans suddenly rose and attacked the enemy in flank; their panic was increased by the troops in the camp bearing down upon them. Terrified by the threatened attacks from all sides, the Fidenates turned and fled almost before Romulus and his men could wheel round from their simulated flight. They made for their town much more quickly than they had just before pursued those who pretended to flee, for their flight was a genuine one. They could not, however, shake off the pursuit; the Romans were on their heels, and before the gates could be closed against them, burst through pell-mell with the enemy.
Review Questions
1. How did Titus Tatius die?
2. Who next attacked the Romans? Why? What was the result?

Book 1.15 The contagion of the war-spirit in Fidenae infected the Veientes. This people were connected by ties of blood with the Fidenates, who were also Etruscans, and an additional incentive was supplied by the mere proximity of the place, should the arms of Rome be turned against all her neighbours. They made an incursion into Roman territory, rather for the sake of plunder than as an act of regular war. After securing their booty they returned with it to Veii, without entrenching a camp or waiting for the enemy. The Romans, on the other hand, not finding the enemy on their soil, crossed the Tiber, prepared and determined to fight a decisive battle. On hearing that they had formed an entrenched camp and were preparing to advance on their city, the Veientes went out against them, preferring a combat in the open to being shut up and having to fight from houses and walls. Romulus gained the victory, not through stratagem, but through the prowess of his veteran army. He drove the routed enemy up to their walls, but in view of the strong position and fortifications of the city, he abstained from assaulting it. On his march homewards, he devastated their fields more out of revenge than for the sake of plunder. The loss thus sustained, no less than the previous defeat, broke the spirit of the Veientes, and they sent envoys to Rome to sue for peace. On condition of a cession of territory a truce was granted to them for a hundred years. These were the principal events at home and in the field that marked the reign of Romulus. Throughout - whether we consider the courage he showed in recovering his ancestral throne, or the wisdom he displayed in founding the City and adding to its strength through war and peace alike - we find nothing incompatible with the belief in his divine origin and his admission to divine immortality after death. It was, in fact, through the strength given by him that the City was powerful enough to enjoy an assured peace for forty years after his departure. He was, however, more acceptable to the populace than to the patricians, but most of all was he the idol of his soldiers. He kept a bodyguard of three hundred men round him in peace as well as in war. These he called the "Celeres."

Review Questions
1. Why did the Veientes attack Rome? What was the result?
2. Who were the “celeres?”

Book 1.16 After these immortal achievements, Romulus held a review of his army at the "Caprae Palus" in the Campus Martius. A violent thunderstorm suddenly arose and enveloped the king in so dense a cloud that he was quite invisible to the assembly. From that hour Romulus was no longer seen on earth. When the fears of the Roman youth were allayed by the return of bright, calm sunshine after
such fearful weather, they saw that the royal seat was vacant. Whilst they fully believed the assertion of the senators, who had been standing close to him, that he had been snatched away to heaven by a whirlwind, still, like men suddenly bereaved, fear and grief kept them for some time speechless. At length, after a few had taken the initiative, the whole of those present hailed Romulus as "a god, the son of a god, the King and Father of the City of Rome." They put up supplications for his grace and favour, and prayed that he would be propitious to his children and save and protect them. I believe, however, that even then there were some who secretly hinted that he had been torn limb from limb by the senators - a tradition to this effect, though certainly a very dim one, has filtered down to us. The other, which I follow, has been the prevailing one, due, no doubt, to the admiration felt for the man and the apprehensions excited by his disappearance. This generally accepted belief was strengthened by one man's clever device. The tradition runs that Proculus Julius, a man whose authority had weight in matters of even the gravest importance, seeing how deeply the community felt the loss of the king, and how incensed they were against the senators, came forward into the assembly and said: "Quirites! at break of dawn, to-day, the Father of this City suddenly descended from heaven and appeared to me. Whilst, thrilled with awe, I stood rapt before him in deepest reverence, praying that I might be pardoned for gazing upon him, 'Go,' said he, 'tell the Romans that it is the will of heaven that my Rome should be the head of all the world. Let them henceforth cultivate the arts of war, and let them know assuredly, and hand down the knowledge to posterity, that no human might can withstand the arms of Rome." It is marvellous what credit was given to this man's story, and how the grief of the people and the army was soothed by the belief which had been created in the immortality of Romulus.

Review Questions
1. What are the two versions of Romulus’ death? Which is more accepted?
2. What man soothed the worried Romans at Romulus’ disappearance? How?

Book 1.17  Disputes arose among the senators about the vacant throne. It was not the jealousies of individual citizens, for no one was sufficiently prominent in so young a State, but the rivalries of parties in the State that led to this strife. The Sabine families were apprehensive of losing their fair share of the sovereign power, because after the death of Tatius they had had no representative on the throne; they were anxious, therefore, that the king should be elected from amongst them. The ancient Romans could ill brook a foreign king; but amidst this diversity of political views, all were for a monarchy; they had not yet tasted the sweets of liberty. The senators began to grow apprehensive of some aggressive act on the part of the surrounding
states, now that the City was without a central authority and the army without a general. They decided that there must be some head of the State, but no one could make up his mind to concede the dignity to any one else. The matter was settled by the hundred senators dividing themselves into ten "decuries," and one was chosen from each decury to exercise the supreme power. Ten therefore were in office, but only one at a time had the insignia of authority and the lictors. Their individual authority was restricted to five days, and they exercised it in rotation. This break in the monarchy lasted for a year, and it was called by the name it still bears - that of "interregnum." After a time the plebs began to murmur that their bondage was multiplied, for they had a hundred masters instead of one. It was evident that they would insist upon a king being elected and elected by them. When the senators became aware of this growing determination, they thought it better to offer spontaneously what they were bound to part with, so, as an act of grace, they committed the supreme power into the hands of the people, but in such a way that they did not give away more privilege than they retained. For they passed a decree that when the people had chosen a king, his election would only be valid after the senate had ratified it by their authority. The same procedure exists to-day in the passing of laws and the election of magistrates, but the power of rejection has been withdrawn; the senate give their ratification before the people proceed to vote, whilst the result of the election is still uncertain. At that time the "interrex" convened the assembly and addressed it as follows: "Quirites! elect your king, and may heaven's blessing rest on your labours! If you elect one who shall be counted worthy to follow Romulus, the senate will ratify your choice." So gratified were the people at the proposal that, not to appear behindhand in generosity, they passed a resolution that it should be left to the senate to decree who should reign in Rome.

Review Questions

1. What is the meaning in this quote of Livy: “all were for a monarchy; they had not yet tasted the sweets of liberty.”?

2. What was the “interregnum”? How were men chosen for this?

3. How did the senate react to the growing discontent of the people over the lack of a sole king?

Book 1.18 There was living, in those days, at Cures, a Sabine city, a man of renowned justice and piety - Numa Pompilius. He was as conversant as anyone in that age could be with all divine and human law. His master is given as Pythagoras of Samos, as tradition speaks of no other. But this is erroneous, for it is generally agreed that it was more than a century later, in the reign of Servius Tullius, that Pythagoras gathered round him crowds of eager students, in the most distant part of Italy, in the neighbourhood of Metapontum, Heraclea, and Crotona. Now, even if he had been contemporary with Numa, how could his reputation have reached the Sabines? From what places, and
in what common language could he have induced any one to become his disciple? Who could have guaranteed the safety of a solitary individual travelling through so many nations differing in speech and character? I believe rather that Numa's virtues were the result of his native temperament and self-training, moulded not so much by foreign influences as by the rigorous and austere discipline of the ancient Sabines, which was the purest type of any that existed in the old days. When Numa's name was mentioned, though the Roman senators saw that the balance of power would be on the side of the Sabines if the king were chosen from amongst them, still no one ventured to propose a partisan of his own, or any senator, or citizen in preference to him. Accordingly they all to a man decreed that the crown should be offered to Numa Pompilius. He was invited to Rome, and following the precedent set by Romulus, when he obtained his crown through the augury which sanctioned the founding of the City, Numa ordered that in his case also the gods should be consulted. He was solemnly conducted by an augur, who was afterwards honoured by being made a State functionary for life, to the Citadel, and took his seat on a stone facing south. The augur seated himself on his left hand, with his head covered, and holding in his right hand a curved staff without any knots, which they called a "lituus." After surveying the prospect over the City and surrounding country, he offered prayers and marked out the heavenly regions by an imaginary line from east to west; the southern he defined as "the right hand," the northern as "the left hand."

He then fixed upon an object, as far as he could see, as a corresponding mark, and then transferring the lituus to his left hand, he laid his right upon Numa's head and offered this prayer: "Father Jupiter, if it be heaven's will that this Numa Pompilius, whose head I hold, should be king of Rome, do thou signify it to us by sure signs within those boundaries which I have traced." Then he described in the usual formula the augury which he desired should be sent. They were sent, and Numa being by them manifested to be king, came down from the "templum."

Review Questions
1. Who was Numa Pompilius? What qualities of character awarded him the position of second king of Rome?
2. By what means was Numa inducted into the kingship of Rome?

Book 1.19   Having in this way obtained the crown, Numa prepared to found, as it were, anew, by laws and customs, that City which had so recently been founded by force of arms. He saw that this was impossible whilst a state of war lasted, for war brutalised men. Thinking that the ferocity of his subjects might be mitigated by the disuse of arms, he built the temple of Janus at the foot of the Aventine as an index of peace and war, to signify when it was open that the State was under arms, and when it was shut that all the surrounding nations were at peace. Twice since Numa's reign has it been shut, once
after the first Punic war in the consulship of T. Manlius, the second time, which heaven has allowed our generation to witness, after the battle of Actium, when peace on land and sea was secured by the emperor Caesar Augustus. After forming treaties of alliance with all his neighbours and closing the temple of Janus, Numa turned his attention to domestic matters. The removal of all danger from without would induce his subjects to luxuriate in idleness, as they would be no longer restrained by the fear of an enemy or by military discipline. To prevent this, he strove to inculcate in their minds the fear of the gods, regarding this as the most powerful influence which could act upon an uncivilised and, in those ages, a barbarous people. But, as this would fail to make a deep impression without some claim to supernatural wisdom, he pretended that he had nocturnal interviews with the nymph Egeria: that it was on her advice that he was instituting the ritual most acceptable to the gods and appointing for each deity his own special priests. First of all he divided the year into twelve months, corresponding to the moon's revolutions. But as the moon does not complete thirty days in each month, and so there are fewer days in the lunar year than in that measured by the course of the sun, he interpolated intercalary months and so arranged them that every twentieth year the days should coincide with the same position of the sun as when they started, the whole twenty years being thus complete. He also established a distinction between the days on which legal business could be transacted and those on which it could not, because it would sometimes be advisable that there should be no business transacted with the people.

**Review Questions**

1. What temple did Numa first found? What was the purpose of founding this temple? What was its significance?
2. When in Rome’s history were the doors shut?
3. How did Numa convince the Romans of his divine enlightenment?
4. How did Numa divide the year?

**Book 1.20** Next he turned his attention to the appointment of priests. He himself, however, conducted a great many religious services, especially those which belong to the Flamen of Jupiter. But he thought that in a warlike state there would be more kings of the type of Romulus than of Numa who would take the field in person. To guard, therefore, against the sacrificial rites which the king performed being interrupted, he appointed a Flamen as perpetual priest to Jupiter, and ordered that he should wear a distinctive dress and sit in the royal curule chair. He appointed two additional Flamens, one for Mars, the other for Quirinus, and also chose virgins as priestesses to Vesta. This order of priestesses came into existence originally in Alba and was connected with the race of the founder. He assigned them a public stipend that they might give their whole time to the temple, and made their persons sacred and inviolable by a vow of chastity and other
religious sanctions. Similarly he chose twelve "Salii" for Mars Gradi"us, and assigned to them the distinctive dress of an embroidered tunic and over it a brazen cuirass. They were instructed to march in solemn procession through the City, carrying the twelve shields called the "Ancilia," and singing hymns accompanied by a solemn dance in triple time. The next office to be filled was that of the Pontifex Maximus. Numa appointed the son of Marcus, one of the senators - Numa Marcius - and all the regulations bearing on religion, written out and sealed, were placed in his charge. Here was laid down with what victims, on what days, and at what temples the various sacrifices were to be offered, and from what sources the expenses connected with them were to be defrayed. He placed all other sacred functions, both public and private, under the supervision of the Pontifex, in order that there might be an authority for the people to consult, and so all trouble and confusion arising through foreign rites being adopted and their ancestral ones neglected might be avoided. Nor were his functions confined to directing the worship of the celestial gods; he was to instruct the people how to conduct funerals and appease the spirits of the departed, and what prodigies sent by lightning or in any other way were to be attended to and expiated. To elicit these signs of the divine will, he dedicated an altar to Jupiter Elicius on the Aventine, and consulted the god through auguries, as to which prodigies were to receive attention.

**Review Questions**

1. What priesthoods did Numa establish?
2. What were the duties of the Pontifex Maximus?

**Book 1.21** The deliberations and arrangements which these matters involved diverted the people from all thoughts of war and provided them with ample occupation. The watchful care of the gods, manifesting itself in the providential guidance of human affairs, had kindled in all hearts such a feeling of piety that the sacredness of promises and the sanctity of oaths were a controlling force for the community scarcely less effective than the fear inspired by laws and penalties. And whilst his subjects were moulding their characters upon the unique example of their king, the neighbouring nations, who had hitherto believed that it was a fortified camp and not a city that was placed amongst them to vex the peace of all, were now induced to respect them so highly that they thought it sinful to injure a State so entirely devoted to the service of the gods. There was a grove through the midst of which a perennial stream flowed, issuing from a dark cave. Here Numa frequently retired unattended as if to meet the goddess, and he consecrated the grove to the Camaenae, because it was there that their meetings with his wife Egeria took place. He also instituted a yearly sacrifice to the goddess Fides and ordered that the Flamens should ride to her temple in a hooded chariot, and should perform the service with their hands covered as far as the fingers, to
signify that Faith must be sheltered and that her seat is holy even when it is in men's right hands. There were many other sacrifices appointed by him and places dedicated for their performance which the pontiffs call the Argei. The greatest of all his works was the preservation of peace and the security of his realm throughout the whole of his reign. Thus by two successive kings the greatness of the State was advanced; by each in a different way, by the one through war, by the other through peace. Romulus reigned thirty-seven years, Numa forty-three. The State was strong and disciplined by the lessons of war and the arts of peace.

Review Questions
1. Why was Rome not attacked during the reign of Numa?
2. How long were the reigns of Romulus and Numa?

Book 1.22   The death of Numa was followed by a second interregnum. Then Tullus Hostilius, a grandson of the Hostilius who had fought so brilliantly at the foot of the Citadel against the Sabines, was chosen king by the people, and their choice was confirmed by the senate. He was not only unlike the last king, but he was a man of more warlike spirit even than Romulus, and his ambition was kindled by his own youthful energy and by the glorious achievements of his grandfather. Convinced that the vigour of the State was becoming enfeebled through inaction, he looked all round for a pretext for getting up a war. It so happened that Roman peasants were at that time in the habit of carrying off plunder from the Alban territory, and the Albans from Roman territory. Gaius Cluilius was at the time ruling in Alba. Both parties sent envoys almost simultaneously to seek redress. Tullus had told his ambassadors to lose no time in carrying out their instructions; he was fully aware that the Albans would refuse satisfaction, and so a just ground would exist for proclaiming war. The Alban envoys proceeded in a more leisurely fashion. Tullus received them with all courtesy and entertained them sumptuously. Meantime the Romans had preferred their demands, and on the Alban governor's refusal had declared that war would begin in thirty days. When this was reported to Tullus, he granted the Albans an audience in which they were to state the object of their coming. Ignorant of all that had happened, they wasted time in explaining that it was with great reluctance that they would say anything which might displease Tullus, but they were bound by their instructions; they were come to demand redress, and if that were refused they were ordered to declare war. "Tell your king," replied Tullus, "that the king of Rome calls the gods to witness that whichever nation is the first to dismiss with ignominy the envoys who came to seek redress, upon that nation they will visit all the sufferings of this war."
Review Questions

1. Who was chosen as the third king of Rome? What was his character?

2. On what nation did Tullus bring war? Why? How was the war declared?

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Book 1.23 The Albans reported this at home. Both sides made extraordinary preparations for a war, which closely resembled a civil war between parents and children, for both were of Trojan descent, since Lavinium was an offshoot of Troy, and Alba of Lavinium, and the Romans were sprung from the stock of the kings of Alba. The outcome of the war, however, made the conflict less deplorable, as there was no regular engagement, and though one of the two cities was destroyed, the two nations were blended into one. The Albans were the first to move, and invaded the Roman territory with an immense army. They fixed their camp only five miles from the City and surrounded it with a moat; this was called for several centuries the "Cluilian Dyke" from the name of the Alban general, till through lapse of time the name and the thing itself disappeared. While they were encamped Cluilius, the Alban king, died, and the Albans made Mettius Fufetius dictator. The king's death made Tullus more sanguine than ever of success. He gave out that the wrath of heaven which had fallen first of all on the head of the nation would visit the whole race of Alba with condign punishment for this unholy war. Passing the enemy's camp by a night march, he advanced upon Alban territory. This drew Mettius from his entrenchments. He marched as close to his enemy as he could, and then sent on an officer to inform Tullus that before engaging it was necessary that they should have a conference. If he granted one, then he was satisfied that the matters he would lay before him were such as concerned Rome no less than Alba. Tullus did not reject the proposal, but in case the conference should prove illusory, he led out his men in order of battle. The Albans did the same. After they had halted, confronting each other, the two commanders, with a small escort of superior officers, advanced between the lines. The Alban general, addressing Tullus, said: "I think I have heard our king Cluilius say that acts of robbery and the non-restitution of plundered property, in violation of the existing treaty, were the cause of this war, and I have no doubt that you, Tullus, allege the same pretext. But if we are to say what is true, rather than what is plausible, we must admit that it is the lust of empire which has made two kindred and neighbouring peoples take up arms. Whether rightly or wrongly I do not judge; let him who began the war settle that point; I am simply placed in command by the Albans to conduct the war. But I want to give you a warning, Tullus. You know, you especially who are nearer to them, the greatness of the Etruscan State, which hems us both in; their immense strength by land, still more by sea. Now remember, when once you have given the signal to engage, our two armies will fight under their eyes, so that when we are wearied and exhausted they may attack us..."
both, victor and vanquished alike. If then, not content with the secure freedom we now enjoy, we are determined to enter into a game of chance, where the stakes are either supremacy or slavery, let us, in heaven's name, choose some method by which, without great suffering or bloodshed on either side, it can be decided which nation is to be master of the other." Although, from natural temperament, and the certainty he felt of victory, Tullus was eager to fight, he did not disapprove of the proposal. After much consideration on both sides a method was adopted, for which Fortune herself provided the necessary means.

**Review Questions**

1. After the Albans had encamped themselves outside Rome, their king, Clulius died. Who was appointed dictator of the Albans?
2. The Alban dictator proposed to Tullus that they settle the dispute by means other than war. Why?
Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigemi

fratres, nec aetate nec viribus disparibus. Horatios

Curiatosque fuisse satis constat, nec ferme res antiqua

alia est nobilior; tamen in re tam clara nomenclum

error manet, utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii

fuerint. Auctores utroque trahunt; plures tamen

invenio qui Romanos Horatios vocent; hos ut sequar

inclinat animus. Cum trigeminis agunt reges ut pro

sua quaeque patria dimicent ferro; ibi imperium fore

unde victoria fuerit. Nihil recusatur; tempus et

locus convenit. Priusquam dimicarent foedus

ictum inter Romanos et Albanos est his legibus ut

cuiusque populi cives eo certamine vicissent, is alteri

populo cum bona pace imperitaret.

Comprehension Questions
1. Parse “fuisse” (line 3).
2. Parse “vocent” (line 7).
3. What is the case, number, gender, and usage of “ferro” (line 9)?
4. Which side were the Curiatii? Which side were the Horatii?
Livy: The Horatii & Curiatii

Livy Book 1.24.15-42

This is the earliest treaty recorded, and as all treaties, however different the conditions they contain, are concluded with the same forms, I will describe the forms with which this one was concluded as handed down by tradition. The Fetial put the formal question to Tullus: "Do you, King, order me to make a treaty with the Pater Patratus of the Alban nation?" On the king replying in the affirmative, the Fetial said: "I demand of thee, King, some tufts of grass." The king replied: "Take those that are pure." The Fetial brought pure grass from the Citadel. Then he asked the king: "Do you constitute me the plenipotentiary of the People of Rome, the Quirites, sanctioning also my vessels and comrades?" To which the king replied: "So far as may be without hurt to myself and the People of Rome, the Quirites, I do." The Fetial was M. Valerius. He made Spurius Furius the Pater Patratus by touching his head and hair with the grass. Then the Pater Patratus, who is constituted for the purpose of giving the treaty the religious sanction of an oath, did so by a long formula in verse, which it is not worthwhile to quote. After reciting the conditions he said: "Hear, O Jupiter, hear! thou Pater Patratus of the people of Alba! Hear ye, too, people of Alba! As these conditions have been publicly rehearsed from first to last, from these tablets, in perfect good faith, and inasmuch as they have here and now been most clearly understood, so these conditions the People of Rome will not be the first to go back from. If they shall, in their national council, with false and malicious intent be the first to go back, then do thou, Jupiter, on that day, so smite the People of Rome, even as I here and now shall smite this swine, and smite them so much the more heavily, as thou art greater in power and might." With these words he struck the swine with a flint. In similar wise the Albans recited their oath and formularies through their own dictator and their priests.
Livy Book 1.25 (Latin text from www.thelatinlibrary.com; line
delineations from Gould & Whiteley)

Foedere icto trigemini, sicut convenerat, arma 1

capiunt. Cum sui utrosque adhortarentur, deos

patrios, patriam ac parentes, quidquid civium domi,

quidquid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum

intueri manus, feroces et suopte ingenio et pleni 5

adhortantium vocibus in medium inter duas acies

procedunt. Consederant utrimque pro castris duo

exercitus, periculi magis praesentis quam curae

expertes; quippe imperium agebatur in tam paucorum

virtute atque fortuna positum. Itaque ergo erecti

suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum animo

incenduntur.

Comprehension Questions
5. What is the usage of “foedere icto” (line 1)?
6. Parse “adhortantium” (line 6) and explain its form.
7. Explain the case and usage of “vocibus (line 6)?
Datur signum infestisque armis velut acies terni iuvenes magnorum exercituum animos gerentes concurrunt. Nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo futuraque ea deinde patriae fortuna quam ipsi fecissent. Ut primo statim concursu increpuere arma micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantes perstringit et neutro inclinata spe torpebat vox spiritusque. Consertis deinde manibus cum iam non motus tantum corporum agitatioque aniceps telorum armorumque sed vulnera quoque et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, exspirantes corruerunt.

Comprehension Questions
8. What is the case number, gender, and usage of “gerentes” (line 14)?
9. What is the case, number, gender, and usage of “primo concursu” (line 17)?
10. What is the case, number, gender, and usage of “spectaculo” (line 22)?
11. Parse “essent” (line 23).
Ad quorum

casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus exercitus, 25
Romanas legiones iam spes tota, nondum tamen cura
deseruerat, examines vice unius quem tres Curiatii
circumsteterant. Forte is integer fuit, ut universis
solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox.
Ergo ut segregaret pugnam eorum capessit fugam, 30
ita ratus secuturos ut quemque vulnere adfectum
corpus sineret. Iam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco ubi
pugnatum est aufugerat, cum respiciens videt magnis
intervallis sequentes, unum haud procul ab sese
abesse.

Comprehension Questions
12. Parse “deseruerat” (line 27).
13. Parse “segregaret” and explain its usage (line 30).
In eum magno impetu rediit; et dum
Albanus exercitus inclamat Curiatiis uti opem ferant
fratri, iam Horatius caeso hoste victor secundam
pugnam petebat. Tunc clamore qualis ex insperato
faventium solet Romani adiuvant militem suum; et
ille defungi proelio festinat. Prius itaque quam alter—
nec procul aberat—consequi posset, et alterum
Curiatium conficit; iamque aequato Marte singuli
supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares. Alterum
intactum ferro corpus et geminata victoria ferocem
in certamen tertium dabat: alter fessum vulnere,
fessum cursu trahens corpus victusque fratrum ante
se strage victori obicitur hosti.

Comprehension Questions
14. What is the case, number, gender, & usage of “impetu” (line 35)?
15. What is the case and usage of “Curiatiis” (line 36)?
16. Parse “obicitur” (line 47).

**Comprehension Questions**
17. Parse “dabo” (line 50).
18. What degree is “maiore” (line 53)?
19. What are the case, number, gender, & usage of “loco” (line 57).
Priusquam inde digredentur, roganti Mettio
ex foedere icto quid imperaret, imperat Tullus ut
iuventutem in armis habeat: usurum se eorum

opera si bellum cum Veientibus foret. Ita exercitus
inde domos abducti. Princeps Horatius ibat, trigemina
spolia prae se gerens; cui soror virgo, quae
desponsa, uni ex Curiatiis fuerat, obvia ante portam
Capenam fuit, cognitoque super umeros fratris
paludamento sponsi quod ipsa confecerat, solvit crines et
flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat. movet
feroci iuveni animum comploratio sororis in victoria
sua tantoque gaudio publico.

Comprehension Questions
20. Parse “habeat” and give its usage (line 3).
21. What is the antecedent of “cuii” (line 6)?
22. Parse “cognito” and give its usage (line 8).
Stricto itaque gladio
simul verbis increpans transfigit puellam. "Abi hinc
cum immaturo amore ad sponsum," inquit, "oblita
fratrum mortuorum vivique, oblita patriae. Sic eat
quaecumque Romana lugebit hostem." Atrox visum
id facinus patribus plebique, sed recens meritum
facto obstabat. Tamen raptus in ius ad regem. Rex
ne ipse tam tristis ingratique ad volgus iudicii ac
secundum iudicium supplicii auctor esset, concilio
populi advocato "Duumuiros" inquit, "qui Horatio
perduellionem iudicent, secundum legem facio."

Comprehension Questions
23. Parse “Abi” (line 13).
24. Parse “eat” and give its usage (line 15).
25. Parse “facinus” (line 17).
Lex horrendi carminis erat: "Duumuiri perduellionem iudicent; si a duumuiris provocarit, provocatio certato; si vincent, caput obnubito; infelici arbori reste suspendito; verberato vel intra pomerium vel extra pomerium." Hac lege duumuiri creati, qui se absolvere non rebantur ea lege ne innoxium quidem posse, cum condemnassent, tum alter ex iis "Publi Horati, tibi perduellionem iudico" inquit. "I, lictor, colliga manus." Accesserat lictor iniciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius auctore Tullo, clemente legis interprete, "Provoco" inquit. Itaque provocatio certatum ad populum est.

23. horrendus, -a, -um: horrible, dreadful
24. provoco, -are, -avi, -atus: to appeal from the decision of (+ ab)
   provocarit = provocaverit; understood subject is "quis"
   provocatio, provocations, f.: an appeal
25. certo, -are, -avi, -atus: to contend, contest, dispute
   obnubo, -ere, obnupsi, obnuptus: to cover, veil (the head)
   infelix, infelicis: unlucky; barren
   infelici arbori: In early Roman law, it was common practice to hang criminals from a barren tree (OLD, 895)
25-26. obnubito, suspendito, verberato: These forms are future imperatives. These actions would be carried out by the lictors.
26. restis, -is, f.: rope, cord
   verbero, -are, -avi, -atus: to beat, strike
   vel...vel: either...or
   pomerium, -i, n.:pomerium; The pomerium was the sacred bounds of the city of Rome.
27. creo, -are, -avi, -atus: to appoint, elect, create
27-29. se...posse: non rebantur introduces indirect statement
28. absolvo, -ere, absolvi, absolutus: to free, release, acquit
   reor, rēri, ratus sum: to think, regard
   innoxius, -a, -um: innocent, harmless, unharmed
29. condemno, -are, -avi, -atus: to condemn, convict
   condemnassent = condemnavisserunt
   iis = eis
30. lictor, -is, m.: lictor; an attendant of a magistrate
31. colligo, -are, -avi, -atus: to tie up, bind together
   inicio, -ere, inieci, iniectus: to put on
32. laqueum, -i, n.: noose, tie, bond
   clemens, clementis: merciful, lenient

Comprehension Questions
26. Parse “iudicent” and give its usage (line 24).
27. Parse “I” (line 30).
Moti homines sunt in eo

iudicio maxime P. Horatio patre proclamante se filiam iure caesam iudicare; ni ita esset, patrio iure in filium animadversurum fuisse. Orabat deinde ne se quem paulo ante cum egregia stirpe conspexissent orbum liberis facerent. Inter haec senex iuvenem amplexus, spolia Curiatiorum fixa eo loco qui nunc Pila Horatia appellatur ostentans, "Huncine" aiebat, "quem modo decoratum ovantemque victoria incendentem vidistis, Quirites, eum sub furca vinctum inter verbera et cruciatus videre potestis? Quod vix Albanorum oculi tam deforme spectaculum ferre possent.

Comprehension Questions
28. What type of condition is “ni...fuisse” (lines 36-37)?
29. What is the antecedent of “quem” (line 38)?
30. Parse “eo loco” and give its usage (line 40).
I, lictor, colliga manus, quae paulo ante
armatae imperium populo Romano pepererunt. I,
caput obnube liberatoris urbis huius; arbore infelici
suspende; verbera vel intra pomerium, modo inter
illa pila et spolia hostium, vel extra pomerium, modo
inter sepulcra Curiatiorum; quo enim ducere hunc
iuvenem potestis ubi non sua decora eum a tanta
foeditate supplicii vindicent?" Non tulit populus
nec patris lacrimas nec ipsius parem in omni periculo
animum, absolveruntque admiratione magis virtutis
quam iure causae.

Comprehension Questions
31. Parse “manus” (line 46).
32. Parse “vindicent” and give its usage (line 53).
33. What degree and part of speech is “magis” (line 55)?
Itaque ut caedes manifesta aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, imperatum patri ut filium expiaret pecunia publica. Is quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiiis factis quae deinde genti Horatiae tradita sunt, transmisso per viam tigillo, capite adoperto velut sub iugum misit iuvenem. Id hodie quoque publice semper refectum manet; sororium tigillum vocant. Horatiae sepulcrum, quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est saxo quadrato.

56. *caedis, caedis, f.*: murder, slaughter; This *caedis* was parricide, the murder of a blood relative, which had to be atoned for by ritual purification. In this instance, the *pater familias*, Horatius’ father, carries out this duty.

57. *piaculum, -i, n.*: offering

58. *expio, -are, -avi, -atus*: to atone for

59. *saxo*: covered, veiled

60. *tigillum, -i, n.*: small beam

61. *iugum, -i, n.*: yoke

62. *tigillum sororium*: This was a wooden crossbar supported by two vertical posts under which Horatius had to pass. This stood near the Colosseum. It was a symbolic passing underneath that cleansed Horatius of his guilt (Ogilvie, 117).

63-64. The location of the *Horatiae sepulcrum* is unknown.

64. *quadratus, -a, -um*: squared

Comprehension Questions
34. Parse “lueretur” and give its usage (line 57).
35. Parse “saxo” and give its usage (line 64).
Vocabulary

absolvo, -ere, absolvi, absolutus: to free, release, acquit
acies, aciei, f: battle line
adfectus, -a, -um: impaired, weakened
adhortor, -ari, adhortatus sum: to encourage, urge on
adopertus, -a, -um: covered, veiled
advoco, -are, -avi, -atus: to call, summon, call for
eaquo, -are, -avi, -atus: to make even, equal
aetas, aetatis, f: age
agitatio, agitationis, f: brandishing, waving
alienus, -a, -um: foreign
amplector, -i, amplexus sum: to embrace
anceps, ancipitis: twofold, on two sides
atrox, atrocis: heinous, terrible, cruel
augeo, -ēre, auxi, auctus: to increase
casus, -us, m: fall
certamen, certaminis, n: contest, battle, combat
certo, -are, -avi, -atus: to contend, contest, dispute
clemens, clementis: merciful, lenient
circumsto, -are, circumsteti, circumstatus: to surround
cognosco, -ere, cognovi, cognitus: to recognize, become aware of
colligo, -are, -avi, -atus: to tie up, bind together
complorationis, f: mourning, lamentation
concilium, -i, n: assembly, gathering
concursus, -us, m: charge, attack
condemno, -are, -avi, -atus: to condemn, convict
conficio, -ere, confeci, confectus: to finish off, kill
consequor, consequi, consecutus sum: to follow, pursue
conseso, -ere, consorci, consertus: to press together
consido, -ere, consedi, consessus: to sit down
corruo, -ere, corrui, corrusus: to fall down, collapse
creo, -are, -avi, -atus: to appoint, elect, create
crinis, crinis, m: hair
cruciatus, -us, m: torture, cruelty, suffering
decoro, -are, -avi, -atus: to adorn, glorify, honor
defingo, -ere, defixi, defixus: to thrust
deformis, -e: shameful
defungo, defungi, defunctus sum: to finish; to end (+ abl)
desero, -ere, deserui, desertus: to leave, depart
despondeo, -ère, despondi, desponsus: to promise in marriage
dicio, dicionis, f: authority, power, rule
digredior, digredi, digressus sum: to depart, go away
dispar, dispara: unequal, unlike
disto, distare: to stand apart, be distant

duumvir, duumviri, m.: two man court; duoviri

egregius, -a, -um: singular, distinguished, exceptional

erigo, -ere, erexi, erectus: to excite, rouse

exanimis, -is, -e: terrified

expers, expertis: free from (+. gen)

expio, -are, -avi, -atus: to atone for

expiro, -are, -avi, -atus: to breathe out, die

exsto, -are: to exist, stand out, be visible

exsulto, -are, -avi, -atus: to rejoice, exalt

facinus, facinoris, n.: crime, deed

factum, -i, n.: deed, act

ferme: nearly, almost

figo, -ere, fixi, fixus: to fasten, fix

flebiliter: weepily

foeditas, foeditatis, f.: foulness, shame, disgrace

foedus, foederis, n.: treaty, agreement

fulgeo, -ere, fulsi: to flash, shine

furca, -ae, f.: fork, prop

gemino, -are, -avi, -atus: to double

geruio, -ere, gessi, gestus: to bear, carry

gratulor, -ari, gratulatus sum: to congratulate

horrendus, -a, -um: horrible, dreadful

horror, horroris, m.: shivering, dread

iaceo, -ere, iacui, iacitus: to lie (down)

icio, -ere, ici, ictus: to strike (a treaty)

immaturus, -a, -um: untimely, inappropriate

imperito, -are, -avi, -atum: to command, govern

incendo, -ere, incendi, incensus: to inflame, excite

incino, -are, -avi, -atus: to incline, bend

inclamo, -are, -avi, -atum: to cry out (to)

incopo, -are, increpui, increptus: to racket, clash, roar; berate, rebuke

infelix, infelicis: unlucky; barren

infestus, -a, -um: hostile, dangerous

inicio, -ere, inieci, iniectus: to put on

innoxius, -a, -um: harmless, unharmed

intactus, -a, -um: untouched

integer, -gra, -grum: whole, unharmed

intervallum, -i,n.: interval

iudicum, -i, n.: trial, judgement

iudico, -are, -avi, -atus: to judge, give judgement, sentence

iugulum, -i, n.: neck, throat

iugum, -i, n.: yoke

iure: justly, rightly

ius, iuris, n.: law, right, justice

laqueum, -i, n.: noose, tie, bond

legio, legionis, f.: army, soldiers, levy

lex, legis, f.: condition, law
liberator, -is, m.: liberator, savior

lictor, -is, m.: lictor; an attendant of a magistrate

lugeo, -ēre, luxi, luctus: to mourn, grieve over, lament

luo, -ere, lui, lutus: to pay, fulfill, atone

manifestus, -a, -um: obvious, clear

manes, manium, m.: shades, ghosts

Mars, Martis, m.: Mars, battle

meritum, -i, n.: service, merit

metus, -us, m.: fear

micans, micantis: flashing, gleaming

neququam: by not means

ni: if...not

obicio, -ere, obieci, obiectus: to oppose

obnubo, -ere, obnupsi, obnuptus: to cover, veil (the head)

obsto, -are, obstiti: to hinder, oppose (+ dat.)

opera, -ae, f.: work, service, aid

obversor, -ari, obversatus sum: to be present, appear

obvio, -are, -avi, -atum: to meet (+ dat.)

ops, opis, f.: help

orbus, -a, -um: childless, bereft

oro, -are, -avi, -atus: to beg, ask for, beseech

ostento, -are, -avi, -atus: to show, display

ovo, -are, -avi, -atus: to rejoice

paludamentum, -i, n.: (general’s) cloak

par, paris: equal (to)

pario, -ere, peperi, partus: to bring forth, bear, give birth to

patrius, -a, -um: ancestral, paternal

perduellio, perduellionis, f.: treason

perstringo, -ere, perstrinxi, perstrictus: to come over

peto, -ere, petivi, petitus: to seek

piaculis,-e: atoning, expiatory

piaculum, -i, n.: offering

pila, -ae, f.: pillar, funerary monument

plus, pluriis: many

pomerium, -i, n.:pomerium

praesens, praesentis: present

priusquam: before

pro: in front of

provocatio, provocationis, f.: an appeal

provoco, -are, -avi, -atus: to appeal from the decision of (+ ab)

quadratus, -a, -um: squared

quidam, quaedam, quoddam: a certain

quippe: for

quicquumque, quaequumque, quodcumque: whoever, whatever

ratus, -a, -um: certain, thinking

recens, recentis: fresh, recent

recuso, -are, -avi, -atum: to refuse, object

reor, rēri, ratus sum: to think, regard
respicio, -ere, respexi, respectus: to look back
restis, -is, f.: rope, cord
secundum: according to
secundus, -a, -um: second
segrego, -are, -avi, -atus: to separate
sepulcrum, -i, n.: grave, tomb
sepultura, -ae, f.: burial
sino, -ere, sivi, situs: to allow, permit
solvo, -ere, solvi, solutus: to loosen, untie
spolio, -are, -avi, -atum: to rob, despoil
spolium, -i, n.: spoils, booty; arms taken from an enemy
sponsus, -i, m.: betrothed man; fiance
stirps, stirpis, f.: offspring
strages, -is, f.: slaughter
stringo, -ere, strinxi, strictus: to draw (a sword)
supersum, -esse, -fui, -futurus: to survive
supplicium, -i, n.: punishment, suffering
suspendus, -a, -um: anxious
sustineo, -ère, sustinui, sustentus: to hold, support
ternus, -a, -um: three on each side
tigillum, -i, n.: small beam
torpeo, -ēre: to be numb
transfigo, -ere, transfixi, transfixus: to pierce through
trigeminus, -i, m.: triplet
tunc: then
umerus, -i, m.: shoulder
unde: from where
uter, utra, utrum: which (of two)
vetrimque: on both sides
vel...vel: either...or
verbero, -are, -avi, -atus: to beat, strike
vicis, -is, f.: lot, fate, plight
vincio, -ire, vinxi, vinctus: to bind, restrain
vinco, -ere, vici, victus: to conquer
vindico, -are, -avi, -atus: to vindicate, avenge, punish
vis, viris, f.: strength