

LIVY
HISTORY OF ROME
BOOKS I-II

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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LIBER II

A. V. C.
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I. LIBERI iam hinc populi Romani res pace bello-
que gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum
2 potentiora quam hominum peragam. Quae libertas
ut laetior esset proximi regis superbia fecerat. Nam
priores ita regnarunt ut haud immerito omnes dein-
ceps conditores partium certe urbis, quas novas ipsi
3 sedes ab se auctae multitudinis addiderunt, nume-
rentur. Neque ambigitur quin Brutus idem qui
tantum gloriae Superbo exacto rege meruit pessimo
publico id facturus fuerit, si libertatis immaturae
cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum extorsisset.
4 Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convena-
rumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutela
inviolati templi aut libertatem aut certe impunitatem
adepta, soluta regio metu, agitari coepta esset tri-
buniciis procellis et in aliena urbe cum patribus
5 serere certamina, priusquam pignera coniugum ac
liberorum caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore
6 adsuescitur, animos eorum consociasset? Dissipatae
res nondum adultae discordia forent, quas fovit tran-
quilla moderatio imperii, eoque nutriendo perduxit

¹ This statement is too sweeping, for Livy nowhere attri-
butes any enlargement of the City to Numa.

BOOK II

I. THE new liberty enjoyed by the Roman people, B.C. 509
their achievements in peace and war, annual magis-
tracies, and laws superior in authority to men will
henceforth be my theme. This liberty was the more
grateful as the last king had been so great a tyrant.
For his predecessors so ruled that there is good reason
to regard them all as successive founders of parts,
at least, of the City, which they added to serve as
new homes for the numbers they had themselves re-
cruited.¹ Nor is there any doubt that the same
Brutus who earned such honour by expelling the
haughty Tarquinius, would have acted in an evil
hour for the commonwealth had a premature eager-
ness for liberty led him to wrest the power from any
of the earlier kings. For what would have happened
if that rabble of shepherds and vagrants, having de-
serted their own peoples, and under the protection
of inviolable sanctuary having possessed themselves
of liberty, or at least impunity, had thrown off their
fear of kings only to be stirred by the ruffling storms
of tribunician demagogues, breeding quarrels with
the senators of a city not their own, before ever the
pledges of wife and children and love of the very
place and soil (an affection of slow growth) had
firmly united their aspirations? The nation would
have crumbled away with dissension before it had
matured. But it was favoured by the mild restraint
of the government, which nursed it up to the point

- ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis iam viribus ferre
 7 possent. Libertatis autem originem inde magis quia
 annum imperium consulare factum est quam quod
 deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate, numeres.
 8 Omnia iura, omnia insignia primi consules tenuere;
 id modo cautum est ne, si ambo fasces haberent,
 duplicatus terror videretur. Brutus prior concedente
 collega fasces habuit; qui non acrior vindex libertatis
 9 fuerat quam deinde custos fuit. Omnium primum
 avidum novae libertatis populum, ne postmodum
 flecti precibus aut donis regis posset, iure iurando
 10 adegit neminem Romae passuros regnare. Deinde,
 quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis
 faceret, caedibus regis deminutum patrum numerum
 primoribus equestribus gradus lectis ad trecentorum
 11 summam explevit; traditumque inde fertur ut in
 senatum vocarentur qui patres quique conscripti
 essent: conscriptos, videlicet novum senatum, ap-
 pellabant lectos. Id mirum quantum profuit ad
 concordiam civitatis iungendosque patribus plebis
 animos.

II. Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura; et quia
 quaedam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant,

¹ Later any senator might be called *pater conscriptus*, and it is possible that Livy and Festus (p. 254 M) were misled in supposing that originally the *patres* were one class of senators and the *conscripti* another. See Conway's note.

² Livy appears to have assumed that the new senators were plebeians, but this is almost certainly wrong. The first

where its ripened powers enabled it to bear good fruit of liberty. Moreover you may reckon the beginning of liberty as proceeding rather from the limitation of the consuls' authority to a year than from any diminution of their power compared with that which the kings had exercised. All the rights of the kings and all their insignia were possessed by the earliest consuls; only one thing was guarded against—that the terror they inspired should not be doubled by permitting both to have the rods. Brutus was the first to have them, with his colleague's consent, and he proved as determined in guarding liberty as he had been in asserting it. To begin with, when the people were still jealous of their new freedom, he obliged them to swear an oath that they would suffer no man to be king in Rome, lest they might later be turned from their purpose by the entreaties or the gifts of princes. In the next place, that the strength of the senate might receive an added augmentation from the numbers of that order, he filled up the list of the Fathers, which had been abridged by the late king's butcheries, drawing upon the foremost men of equestrian rank until he had brought the total up to three hundred. From that time, it is said, was handed down the custom of summoning to the senate the Fathers and the Enrolled, the latter being the designation of the new senators, who were appointed.¹ This measure was wonderfully effective in promoting harmony in the state and attaching the plebs to the Fathers.²

II. Matters of worship then received attention. Certain public sacrifices had habitually been performed by the kings in person, and that their definite notice of a plebeian senator occurs at v. xii. 11 (400 B. C.).

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necubi regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificolum
 2 creant. Id sacerdotium pontifici subiecere, ne addi-
 tus nomini honos aliquid libertati, cuius tunc prima
 erat cura, officeret. Ac nescio an nimis undique eam
 minimisque rebus muniendo modum excesserint.
 3 Consulis enim alterius, cum nihil aliud offenderet,¹
 nomen invisum civitati fuit: ninium Tarquinius reg-
 no adsuesse; initium a Prisco factum: regnasse dein
 Ser. Tullium; ne intervallo quidem facto oblitum,
 tamquam alieni, regni Superbum Tarquinium velut
 hereditatem gentis scelere ac vi repetisse; pulso
 Superbo penes Collatinum imperium esse; nescire
 4 Tarquinius privatos vivere. Non placere nomen,
 periculosum libertati esse. Hic² primo sensim temp-
 tantium animos sermo per totam civitatem est datus,
 sollicitamque suspicione plebem Brutus ad contionem
 5 vocat. Ibi omnium primum ius iurandum populi
 recitat neminem regnare passuros nec esse Romae
 unde periculum libertati foret. Id summa ope tuen-
 dum esse neque ullam rem quae eo pertineat con-
 temnendam. Invitum se dicere, hominis causa, nec
 dicturum fuisse ni caritas rei publicae vinceret: non
 6 credere populum Romanum solidam libertatem reci-
 peratam esse; regium genus, regium nomen non

¹ offenderet *Bauer*: offenderit Ω . ² hic *Gruter*: hinc Ω .

B. C. 509

absence might nowhere be regretted, a "king of sacrifices" was appointed. This priesthood they made subordinate to the pontifex, lest the office, in conjunction with the title, might somehow prove an obstacle to liberty, which was at that time their chief concern. Perhaps the pains they took to safeguard it, even in trivial details, may have been excessive. For the name of one of the consuls, though he gave no other offence, was hateful to the citizens. "The Tarquinii had become too used to sovereignty. It had begun with Priscus; Servius Tullius had then been king; but not even this interruption had caused Tarquinius Superbus to forget the throne or regard it as another's; as though it had been the heritage of his family, he had used crime and violence to get it back; Superbus was now expelled, but the supreme power was in the hands of Collatinus. The Tarquinii knew not how to live as private citizens. Their name was irksome and a menace to liberty." Beginning in this way, with a cautious sounding of sentiment, the talk spread through the entire nation, and the plebs had become anxious and suspicious, when Brutus summoned them to an assembly. There he first of all recited the oath which the people had taken, that they would suffer no king in Rome, nor any man who might be dangerous to liberty. This oath they must uphold, he said, with all their might, nor make light of anything which bore upon it. He spoke with reluctance, on the man's account, nor would he have broken silence unless he had been forced to do so by his love of country. The Roman people did not believe that they had recovered absolute freedom. The royal family, the royal name

solum in civitate sed etiam in imperio esse; id offi-
 7 cere, id ob stare libertati. "Hunc tu," inquit, "tua
 voluntate, L. Tarquini, remove metum. Memini-
 mus, fatemur, eiecisti reges; absolve beneficium
 tuum, aufer hinc regium nomen. Res tuas tibi non
 solum reddent cives tui auctore me, sed, si quid
 deest, munifice augebunt. Amicus abi; exonera
 civitatem vano forsitan metu; ita persuasum est
 animis, cum gente Tarquinia regnum hinc abitu-
 8 rum." Consuli primo tam novae rei ac subitae
 admiratio incluserat vocem; dicere deinde incipien-
 tem primores civitatis circumsistunt, eadem multis
 9 precibus orant. Et ceteri quidem movebant minus:
 postquam Sp. Lucretius, maior aetate ac dignitate,
 socer praeterea ipsius, agere varie rogando alternis
 10 suadendoque coepit, ut vinci se consensu civitatis
 pateretur, timens consul ne postmodum privato sibi
 eadem illa cum bonorum amissione additaque alia
 insuper ignominia acciderent, abdicavit se consulatu
 rebusque suis omnibus Lavinium translatis civitate
 11 cessit. Brutus ex senatus consulto ad populum
 tulit ut omnes Tarquiniae gentis exsules essent.
 Collegam sibi comitiis centuriatis creavit P. Vale-
 rium, quo adiutore reges eiecerat.

were not only present in the state, but were actu- B.C. 509
 ally in authority, an obstacle and a stumbling-block
 in the way of liberty. "This fear," he cried, "do
 you yourself remove, Lucius Tarquinius, of your own
 free will! We are mindful—we confess it—that you
 drove out the kings; complete the good work you
 have begun, and rid us of the royal name. Your
 possessions shall not only be granted you by the
 citizens, at my instance, but if they are in any way
 inadequate they shall be generously increased. De-
 part our friend, and relieve the state of what is,
 perhaps, an idle fear. The people are persuaded
 that with the family of Tarquinius the kingship will
 vanish from amongst us." The consul was at first
 prevented from uttering a word by his astonishment
 at this strange and unexpected turn; then, when he
 tried to speak, the chief men of the state surrounded
 him, and with many entreaties made the same request.
 The others had little influence over him, but when
 Spurius Lucretius, his superior in years and dignity,
 and his father-in-law besides, began to urge him,
 with mingled entreaty and advice, to permit himself
 to yield to the unanimous wish of his fellow-citizens,
 Collatinus became alarmed lest when his year of office
 should have ended, his misfortunes might be increased
 by the confiscation of his property and the addition
 of yet other ignominies. He therefore resigned the
 consulship, and transferring all his possessions to La-
 vinium, withdrew from the Roman state. In pursu-
 ance of a resolution of the senate, Brutus proposed
 to the people a measure which decreed the exile of
 all the Tarquinian race. To be his colleague the cen-
 turiate comitia, under his presidency, elected Publius
 Valerius, who had helped him to expel the kings.

III. Cum haud cuiquam in dubio esset bellum ab
 Tarquiniis imminere, id quidem spe omnium serius
 fuit; ceterum, id quod non timebant, per dolum ac
 2 proditionem prope libertas amissa est. Erant in
 Romana iuventute adulescentes aliquot, nec ii tenui
 loco orti, quorum in regno libido solutior fuerat,
 aequales sodalesque adulescentium Tarquiniorum,
 3 adsueta more regio vivere. Eam tum aequato iure
 omnium licentiam quaerentes, libertatem aliorum in
 suam vertisse servitutem inter se conquerebantur:
 regem hominem esse, a quo impetres, ubi ius, ubi
 iniuria opus sit; esse gratiae locum, esse beneficio,
 et irasci et ignoscere posse, inter amicum atque
 4 inimicum discrimen nosse; leges rem surdam, inex-
 orabilem esse, salubriorem melioremque inopi quam
 potenti, nihil laxamenti nec veniae habere, si modum
 excesseris; periculosum esse in tot humanis erroribus
 5 sola innocentia vivere. Ita iam sua sponte aegris
 animis legati ab regibus superveniunt sine mentione
 reditus bona tantum repetentes. Eorum verba post-
 quam in senatu audita sunt, per aliquot dies ea con-
 sultatio tenuit, ne non reddita belli causa, reddita
 6 belli materia et adiumentum essent. Interim legati

III. Although no one doubted that the Tarquiniis B.C. 509
 would presently go to war, their attack was delayed
 beyond all expectation; while a thing men did not
 fear at all, to wit a treasonable plot, almost cost
 Rome her liberty. There were among the young
 men a number of youths, the sons of families not
 unimportant, whose pleasures had been less confined
 under the monarchy, who, being of the same age as
 the young Tarquiniis, and their cronies, had grown
 used to the untrammelled life of princes. This
 licence they missed, now that all enjoyed equal
 rights, and they had got into the way of complain-
 ing to each other that the liberty of the rest had
 resulted in their own enslavement. A king was a
 man, from whom one could obtain a boon, whether
 it were just or unjust; there was room for counte-
 nance and favour; a king could be angry, could for-
 give, could distinguish between friend and enemy.
 The law was a thing without ears, inexorable, more
 salutary and serviceable to the pauper than to the
 great man; it knew no relaxation or indulgence, if
 one exceeded bounds; and, inasmuch as man is so
 prone to blunder, it was dangerous to rely on inno-
 cence alone. Thanks to such reflections, they were
 already infected with disloyalty when envoys from
 the royal family appeared, who without saying any-
 thing about the return of the Tarquiniis, sought merely
 to recover their property. The senate, having given
 them a hearing, debated the question for several
 days; for they feared that if they refused to make
 restitution it would be a pretext for war, if they
 consented it would be to furnish means and assist-
 ance for its prosecution. Meantime the envoys were

alia¹ moliri, aperte bona repetentes clam recipiendi regni consilia struere, et tamquam ad id quod agi videbatur ambientes, nobilium adolescentium animos
 7 pertemptant. A quibus placide oratio accepta est, iis litteras ab Tarquiniis reddunt et de accipiendis clam nocte in urbem regibus conloquuntur. IV. Vitelliis Aquiliisque fratribus primo commissa res est. Vitelliorum soror consuli nupta Bruto erat, ianque ex eo matrimonio adulescentes erant liberi, Titus Tiberiusque; eos quoque in societatem consilii avunculi adsumunt. Praeterea aliquot nobiles adulescentes conscii adsumpti, quorum vetustate memoria
 3 abiit. Interim cum in senatu vicisset sententia quae censebat reddenda bona, eamque ipsam causam morae in urbe haberent legati, quod spatium ad vehicula comparanda a consulibus sumpsissent quibus regum asportarent res, omne id tempus cum coniuratis consultando absumunt, evincuntque instando ut
 4 litterae sibi ad Tarquinius darentur: nam aliter qui credituros eos non vana ab legatis super rebus tantis adferri? Datae litterae, ut pignus fidei essent, mani-
 5 festum facinus fecerunt. Nam cum pridie quam legati ad Tarquinius proficiscerentur cenatum² forte apud Vitellios esset, coniuratique ibi remotis arbitris multa inter se de novo, ut fit, consilio egissent, ser-

¹ alia *Crevier*: alia alia *P*: alii alia *Q*.

² cenatum *5 Duker*: et cenatum (or cae-) *Q*.

exerting themselves to a different purpose. Ostensibly B.C. 509 seeking to recover the property, they secretly laid their plans for winning back the kingdom; and, as if in furtherance of their apparent object, they went about sounding the disposition of the youthful nobles. To those who gave them a friendly hearing they delivered letters from the Tarquini, and plotted with them to admit the royal family secretly by night into the City. IV. The brothers Vitellii and Aquilii were the first to be entrusted with the project. A sister of the Vitellii had married the consul Brutus, and there were sons of this marriage who were now young men, Titus and Tiberius; these were also admitted by their uncles to a share in the design. There were besides several other young nobles taken into the secret, but their names are lost in antiquity. The senate meantime had acquiesced in the opinion of those who were in favour of giving back the property. This very fact gave the agents of the exiles an excuse for lingering in the City, for the consuls had granted them time for obtaining vehicles with which to carry away the belongings of the royal family. All this time they spent in consultation with the conspirators, whom they urged and at length persuaded to give them letters for the Tarquini: for otherwise how could the princes be convinced that the statements of their agents regarding matters of such importance were to be relied on? These letters, being given as a pledge of sincerity, furnished clear proof of the crime. For on the eve of the envoys' setting out to rejoin their masters it happened that they were dining at the house of the Vitellii, where the conspirators, having dismissed all witnesses, had much talk together, naturally enough, about their

monem eorum ex servis unus excepit, qui iam antea
 6 id senserat agi, sed eam occasionem, ut litterae
 legatis darentur quae deprehensae rem coarguere
 possent, exspectabat. Postquam datas sensit, rem ad
 7 consules detulit. Consules ad deprehendendos lega-
 tos coniuratosque profecti domo sine tumultu rem
 omnem oppressere; litterarum in primis habita cura
 ne interciderent. Proditoribus extemplo in vincla
 coniectis, de legatis paululum addubitatum est, et
 quamquam visi sunt commisisse ut hostium loco
 essent, ius tamen gentium valuit. V. De bonis
 regiis,¹ quae reddi ante censuerant, res integra re-
 fertur ad patres. Ibi victi ira² vetuere reddi, vetuere
 2 in publicum redigi: diripienda plebi sunt data, ut
 contacta regia praeda spem in perpetuum cum iis
 pacis amitteret. Ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter ur-
 bem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti Martius
 3 deinde campus fuit. Forte ibi tum seges farris
 dicitur fuisse matura messi. Quem campi fructum
 quia religiosum erat consumere, desectam cum stra-
 mento segetem magna vis hominum simul immissa
 corbibus fudere in Tiberim tenui fluentem aqua, ut
 mediis caloribus solet. Ita in vadis haesitantis fru-

¹ regiis *Gruter*: regis Ω .

² Ibi victi ira (ibi victâ ra *M*) Ω : ii victi ira *Weissenborn*: ibi vicit ira *Frey*.

¹ Ordinarily the Roman farmer cut the stalk close to the ear, but this time it was cut near the ground, that the crop might be completely destroyed.

new design. This conversation one of the slaves over-
 heard. He had for some time perceived what was in
 the wind, but was waiting for the opportunity which
 the delivery of the letters to the envoys would
 provide, that their seizure might make good his ac-
 cusation. When he saw that the letters had been
 given, he laid the matter before the consuls. The
 consuls left their houses, arrested the agents and
 the conspirators, and, without making any disturb-
 ance, completely crushed the plot, being especially
 careful not to lose the letters. The traitors were
 thrown into prison forthwith. As for the envoys, it
 was uncertain for a little while what would be done
 with them, but, notwithstanding they appeared to
 have deserved no less than to be treated as enemies,
 the law of nations nevertheless prevailed. V. The
 question of the royal property, which they had before
 voted to return, was laid before the Fathers for fresh
 consideration. This time anger won the day. They
 refused to return it, and refused to confiscate it to
 the state, but gave it up to the plebeians to plunder,
 that having had their fingers in the spoils of the
 princes they might for ever relinquish hope of making
 their peace with them. The land of the Tarquinii,
 lying between the City and the Tiber, was consecrated
 to Mars and became the Campus Martius. It hap-
 pened, they say, that there was then standing upon
 it a crop of spelt, ripe for the harvest. Since this
 produce of the land might not, for religious reasons,
 be consumed, the grain was cut, straw and all,¹ by a
 large body of men, who were set to work upon it
 simultaneously, and was carried in baskets and thrown
 into the Tiber, then flowing with a feeble current,
 as is usually the case in midsummer. So the heaps

4 menti acervos sedisse inlitos limo; insulam inde paulatim, et aliis quae fert temere flumen eodem investis, factam. Postea credo additas moles man- que adiutum, ut tam eminens area firmaque templis
5 quoque ac porticibus sustinendis esset. Direptis bonis regum damnati proditores sumptumque suppli- cium, conspectius eo quod poenae capiendae minis- terium patri de liberis consulatus imposuit, et qui spectator erat amovendus, eum ipsum fortuna ex-
6 actorem supplicii dedit. Stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi iuvenes; sed a ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberi omnium in se averterant oculos, miserebatque non poenae magis homines
7 quam sceleris quo poenam meriti essent: illos eo potissimum anno patriam liberatam, patrem libera- torem, consulatum ortum ex domo Iunia, patres, plebem, quidquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum ut superbo quondam regi,
8 tum infesto exsuli proderent. Consules in sedem processere suam, missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium. Nudatos virgis caedunt securique feri- unt, cum inter omne tempus pater voltusque et os eius spectaculo esset eminente animo patrio inter
9 publicae poenae ministerium. Secundum poenam

of grain, caught in the shallow water, settled down in the mud, and out of these and the accumulation of other chance materials such as a river brings down, there was gradually formed an island. Later, I suppose, embankments were added, and work was done, to raise the surface so high above the water and make it strong enough to sustain even temples and porticoes. When the chattels of the princes had been pillaged, sentence was pronounced and punish- ment inflicted upon the traitors—a punishment the more conspicuous because the office of consul im- posed upon a father the duty of exacting the penalty from his sons, and he who ought to have been spared even the sight of their suffering was the very man whom Fortune appointed to enforce it. Bound to the stake stood youths of the highest birth. But the rest were ignored as if they had been of the rabble: the consul's sons drew all eyes upon them- selves. Men pitied them for their punishment not more than for the crime by which they had deserved that punishment. To think that those young men, in that year of all others, when their country was liberated and her liberator their own father, and when the consulship had begun with the Junian family, could have brought themselves to betray all—the senate, the plebs, and all the gods and men of Rome—to one who had formerly been a tyrannical king and was then an enemy exile! The consuls advanced to their tribunal and dispatched the lictors to execute the sentence. The culprits were stripped, scourged with rods, and beheaded, while through it all men gazed at the expression on the father's face, where they might clearly read a father's anguish, as he administered the nation's retribution. When the

nocentium, ut in utramque partem arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset, praemium indici pecunia ex aerario, libertas et civitas data. Ille primum
10 dicitur vindicta liberatus. Quidam vindictae quoque nomen tractum ab illo putant; Vindicio ipsi nomen fuisse. Post illum observatum ut qui ita liberati essent in civitatem accepti viderentur.

VI. His sicut acta erant nuntiatis incensus Tarquinius non dolore solum tantae ad iritum cadentis spei sed etiam odio iraque, postquam dolo viam obsaepam vidit, bellum aperte moliendum ratus
2 circumire supplex Etruriae urbes; orare maxime Veientes Tarquiniensesque, ne ex se¹ ortum, eiusdem sanguinis, extorrem, egentem ex tanto modo regno cum liberis adolescentibus ante oculos suos perire sinerent. Alios peregre in regnum Romanum accitos: se regem, augentem bello Romanum imperium a proximis scelerata coniuratione pulsum.
3 Eos inter se, quia nemo unus satis dignus regno visus sit, partes regni rapuisse; bona sua diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis expers sceleris esset. Patriam se regnumque suum repetere et persequi ingratos

¹ ne ex se *Drakenborch*: ni (or ne) se Ω.

¹ A staff with which the slave was touched in the ceremony of manumission. The etymology suggested in the next sentence is wrong; *Vindicius*, like *vindicta*, is derived from *vindeax*.

guilty had suffered, that the example might be in both respects a notable deterrent from crime, the informer was rewarded with money from the treasury, emancipation, and citizenship. He is said to have been the first to be freed by the *vindicta*.¹ Some think that even the word *vindicta* was derived from his name, which they suppose to have been Vindicius. From his time onwards it was customary to regard those who had been freed by this form as admitted to citizenship.

VI. When these occurrences had been faithfully reported to Tarquinius, he was stirred not only by disappointment at the collapse of so great hopes, but also by hatred and anger. He saw that the way was now closed against trickery, and believed it was time to contrive an open war. He therefore went about as a suppliant amongst the cities of Etruria, directing his prayers chiefly to the Veientes and the Tarquinienses. Reminding them that he had come from them and was of the same blood as themselves, and that exile and poverty had followed hard upon his loss of what had been but now great power, he besought them not to let him perish, with his youthful sons, before their very eyes. Others had been called in from abroad to be kings in Rome: he himself, while actually king, and enlarging Rome's sway by war, had been driven out by his next-of-kin in a wicked conspiracy. His enemies, perceiving that no single claimant was fit to be king, had seized and usurped the power amongst themselves, and had given up his goods to be plundered by the people, that none might be without a share in the guilt. He wished to regain his country and his sovereignty, and to punish the ungrateful Romans. Let them

cives velle. Ferrent opem, adiuvarent; suas quoque
veteres iniurias ultum irent, totiens caesas legiones,
4 agrum adeptum. Haec moverunt Veientes, ac pro
se quisque Romano saltem duce ignominias demendas
belloque amissa repetenda minaciter fremunt. Tar-
quinienses nomen ac cognatio movet: pulchrum
5 videbatur suos Romae regnare. Ita duo duarum civi-
tatum exercitus ad repetendum regnum belloque
persequendos Romanos secuti Tarquinium. Post-
quam in agrum Romanum ventum est, obviam hosti
6 consules eunt: Valerius quadrato agmine peditem
ducit; Brutus ad explorandum cum equitatu ante-
cessit. Eodem modo primus eques hostium agminis
fuit; praeerat Arruns Tarquinius, filius regis; rex
7 ipse cum legionibus sequebatur. Arruns ubi ex lic-
toribus procul consulem esse, deinde iam propius ac
certius facie quoque Brutum cognovit, inflammatus
ira "Ille est vir," inquit, "qui nos extorres expulit
patria. Ipse en ille nostris decoratus insignibus
8 magnifice incedit. Di regum ultores adeste." Con-
citatus calcaribus equum atque in ipsum infestus con-
sulem derigit. Sensit in se iri Brutus. Decorum
erat tum ipsis capessere pugnam ducibus; avide
9 itaque se certamini offert, adeoque infestis animis
concurrerunt, neuter, dum hostem vulneraret, sui
protegendum corporis memor, ut contrario ictu per

succour and support him, and avenge, as well, their own long-standing grievances, the oft-repeated destruction of their armies, and seizure of their lands. This last plea moved the men of Veii, and they cried out with threatenings that they ought, at all events with a Roman for their commander, to wipe out their disgraces and recover what they had lost in war. The Tarquinienses were influenced by his name and kinship: it seemed a fine thing to them that one of their blood should be king in Rome. So it came about that two armies, representing two nations, followed Tarquinius, to regain his kingdom for him and to chastise the Romans. When they had come into Roman territory the consuls went out to meet the enemy: Valerius led the foot in defensive formation; Brutus, with the cavalry, went ahead to scout. In the same fashion the enemy's horse headed their march, commanded by Arruns Tarquinius, the king's son, while the king himself followed with the legions. Arruns, perceiving a long way off by the consul's lictors that it was he, and then, as they drew nearer together, recognizing Brutus more unmistakably by his countenance, blazed with resentment. "Yonder," he cried, "is the man who drove us into exile from our native land. Look! He is himself decked out with our trappings, as he comes proudly on! O gods, avengers of kings, be with us!" Spurring his horse, he charged straight at the consul. Brutus saw that he was the object of the man's attack. In those days it was to a general's credit to take part in the actual fighting, so he eagerly accepted the challenge, and they rushed at one another with such desperation, neither of them taking thought for his own defence if only he might wound his adversary, that

10 *parmam uterque transfixus duabus haerentes hastis moribundi ex equis lapsi sint. Simul et cetera equestris pugna coepit, neque ita multo post et pedites superveniunt. Ibi varia victoria et velut aequo Marte pugnatum est: dextera utrimque cor-*

11 *nua vicere, laeva superata. Veientes, vinci ab Romano milite adsueti, fusi fugatique; Tarquiniensis, novus hostis, non stetit solum, sed etiam ab sua parte Romanum pepulit. VII. Ita cum pugnatum esset, tantus terror Tarquinium atque Etruscos in-*

2 *cessit ut omissa inrita re, nocte ambo exercitus, Veiens Tarquiniensisque, suas quisque abirent domos. Adiciunt miracula huic pugnae: silentio proximae*

3 *noctis ex silva Arsia ingentem editam vocem; Silvani vocem eam creditam; haec dicta: uno plus Tusco-*

4 *rum cecidisse in acie; vincere bello Romanum. Ita certe inde abiere Romani ut victores, Etrusci pro victis. Nam postquam inluxit nec quisquam hostium in conspectu erat, P. Valerius consul spolia legit triumphansque inde Romam rediit. Collegae funus*

quanto tum potuit apparatu fecit; sed multo maius morti decus publica fuit maestitia, eo ante omnia insignis quia matronae annum ut parentem eum

each was pierced right through his shield by the other's thrust, and, impaled upon the two spears, they fell dying from their horses. At the same time the rest of the cavalry as well began to fight, and not long after the infantry also appeared. In this battle the advantage was divided, and the fortune of war seemed equally balanced: the right wing on each side was victorious, while the left was defeated. The Veientes, used to being beaten by the Roman troops, were routed and dispersed; the men of Tarquini, a new enemy, not only stood their ground, but drove back the Roman forces which opposed them. VII. Yet despite the indecisive character of the battle, so great a panic came over Tarquinius and the Etruscans that they gave up the enterprise for lost, and that same night both armies, the Veientine and the Tarquiniensian, marched off every man to his own home. To the story of this fight common report adds a prodigy: that in the silence of the following night a loud voice was heard coming out of the Arsian forest, which was believed to be the voice of Silvanus, and that this was what he said: "The Tuscans have lost one more man in the battle-line; the Romans are conquerors in the war." At all events the Romans left the field like victors, and the Etruscans like an army that has been defeated. For when it grew light and not a single enemy was to be seen, Publius Valerius the consul gathered up the spoils and returned in triumph to Rome. His colleague's funeral he celebrated with all the pomp then possible; but a far greater honour to the dead man was the general grief, which was particularly conspicuous inasmuch as the matrons mourned a year for him, as for a father, because

luxerunt, quod tam acer ultor violatae pudicitiae fuisset.

- 5 Consuli deinde qui superfuerat, ut sunt mutabiles
volgi animi, ex favore non invidia modo sed suspicio
6 etiam cum atroci crimine orta. Regnum eum ad-
fectare fama ferebat, quia nec collegam subrogaverat
in locum Bruti et aedificabat in summa Velia: ibi
alto atque munito loco arcem inexpugnabilem fieri.¹
7 Haec dicta vulgo creditaque cum indignitate ange-
rent consulis animum, vocato ad concilium populo
submissis fascibus in contionem escendit. Gratum
id multitudini spectaculum fuit, submissa sibi esse
imperii insignia confessionemque factam populi quam
8 consulis maiestatem vimque maiorem esse. Ibi au-
dire iussis consul laudare fortunam collegae, quod
liberata patria, in summo honore, pro re publica
dimicans, matura gloria necdum se vertente in in-
vidiam, mortem occubisset: se superstitem gloriae
suae ad crimen atque invidiam superesse, ex libera-
tore patriae ad Aquilios se Vitelliosque recidis-
9 "Numquamne ergo," inquit, "ulla adeo vobis² spec-
tata virtus erit, ut suspicione violari nequeat? Ego
me, illum acerrimum regum hostem, ipsum cupidi-

¹ fieri *Conway and Walters*; fieri fore Ω ; fore D^1 or D^2 , *Weissenhorn-Müller*.

² vobis *Gron. L ζ* : a vobis Ω .

¹ Bundles of rods which symbolized the magistrate's authority to scourge, as the axes (*securae*) did his right to put to death.

he had been so spirited an avenger of outraged B.C. 509
modesty.

Soon after this the surviving consul, so fickle are the affections of the mob, became unpopular; not only did the people dislike him, but they actually suspected him and made cruel charges against him. It was noised about that he was aspiring to the power of a king, since he had not caused a colleague to be elected in the place of Brutus, and was building a house on the highest part of the Velia, an elevated position of natural strength, men said, which he was converting into an impregnable citadel. The frequency of these remarks and the general acceptance they met with, shamefully unjust as they were, distressed the consul. He summoned the people to a council, and with lowered fasces¹ mounted the speaker's platform. It was a welcome spectacle to the multitude when they beheld the emblems of authority there abased before them, in acknowledgment that the people's majesty and power were superior to the consul's. Then, bidding them attend, the consul extolled the good fortune of his colleague, who, after his country had thrown off the yoke, had held the highest office in her gift, and, fighting for the state, at the height of a reputation as yet untarnished by envy, had met his death. He had himself outlived his glory, and survived to face accusations and ill-will. From being the saviour of his country he had sunk to the level of the Aquilii and Vitellii. "Will there never be worth and merit, then," he exclaimed, "so established in your minds that suspicion cannot wrong it? Could I possibly have feared that I, well known as the bitterest enemy of kings, should myself incur the charge of

- 10 tatis regni crimen subituum timerem? Ego si in ipsa arce Capitolioque habitarem, metui me crederem posse a civibus meis? Tam levi momento mea apud vos fama pendet? Adeone est fundata leviter fides
- 11 ut ubi sim quam qui sim magis referat? Non obstabunt P. Valeri aedes libertati vestrae, Quirites; tuta erit vobis Velia. Deferam non in planum modo aedes, sed colli etiam subiciam, ut vos supra suspectum me civem habitetis; in Velia aedificent quibus
- 12 melius quam P. Valerio creditur libertas." Delata confestim materia omnis infra Veliam et, ubi nunc Vicae Potae¹ est, domus in infimo clivo aedificata.

VIII. Latae deinde leges, non solum quae regni suspicione consulem absolverent, sed quae adeo in contrarium verterent ut popularem etiam facerent.

- 2 Inde cognomen factum Publicolae est. Ante omnes de provocatione adversus magistratus ad populum sacrandoque cum bonis capite eius qui regni occupandi consilia inisset gratiae in vulgus leges fuere.
- 3 Quas cum solus pertulisset, ut sua unius in his gratia esset, tum demum² comitia collegae subrogando
- 4 habuit. Creatus Sp. Lucretius consul, qui magno natu non sufficientibus iam viribus ad consularia munera obeunda intra paucos dies moritur. Suffec-
- 5 tus in Lucreti locum M. Horatius Pulvillus. Apud

¹ Vicae Potae *Lipsius and Klock*: vice (or -ae) potae (or -e) Ω: Vicae Potae aedes *Siesebye*.

² demum *Alschevski*: deinde Ω.

seeking kingly power? Could I have believed that, though I dwelt in the very Citadel and on the Capitol itself, I could be feared by my fellow-citizens? Can so trivial a cause ruin my reputation with you? Does your confidence rest on so slight a foundation that it makes more difference where I am than who I am? There shall be no menace in the house of Publius Valerius to your liberties, Quirites; your Velia shall be safe. I will not only bring my house down on to level ground, but will even place it under a hill, that you may live above me, the citizen whom you suspect. Let those build on the Velia who can better be trusted with men's liberty than can Publius Valerius!" Immediately the materials were all brought down below the Velia, and the house was erected where the temple of Vica Pota is now, at the bottom of the slope.

VIII. Laws were then proposed which not only cleared the consul from the suspicion of seeking kingly power, but took such an opposite turn that they even made him popular and caused him to be styled Publicola, the People's Friend. Above all, the law about appealing from the magistrates to the people, and the one that pronounced a curse on the life and property of a man who should plot to make himself king, were welcome to the commons. When he had carried through these measures alone, that he might enjoy without a rival all the favour arising out of them, he finally held an election to choose a colleague for the unexpired term. The choice fell upon Spurius Lucretius, who by reason of his great age was no longer strong enough for the duties of the consulship, and died within a few days. They elected in Lucretius's place Marcus Horatius

quosdam veteres auctores non invenio Lucretium consulem; Bruto statim Horatium suggerunt; credo quia nulla gesta res insignem fecerit consulatum memoriam¹ intercidisse.

- 6 Nondum dedicata erat in Capitolio Iovis aedes. Valerius Horatiusque consules sortiti uter dedicaret. Horatio sorte evenit: Publicola ad Veientium bellum
7 profectus. Aegrius quam dignum erat tulere Valeri necessarii dedicationem tam incliti templi Horatio dari. Id omnibus modis impedire conati, postquam alia frustra temptata erant, postem iam tenenti consuli foedum inter precationem deum nuntium incutiunt mortuum eius filium esse, funestaque familia
8 dedicare eum templum non posse. Non crediderit factum, an tantum animo roboris fuerit, nec traditur certum nec interpretatio est facilis; nihil aliud ad eum nuntium a proposito aversus, quam ut cadaver efferri iuberet, tenens postem precationem peragit et dedicat templum.
9 Haec post exactos reges domi militiaeque gesta primo anno.

IX. Inde P. Valerius iterum T. Lucretius consules facti. Iam Tarquinii ad Lartem Porsinam,² Clusi-

¹ memoriam γ: memoria Ω.

² This name has everywhere in this edition been spelled with an i, though here and in some other places Ω read Porsennam, etc. Probably Livy's own usage varied. cf. Conway and Walters ad loc.

¹ Dion. Hal. (v. 21) says that Valerius was consul for the third time, and Horatius for the second time, when the war with Porsinna came. Mommsen thought the MSS. had lost

Pulvillus. In some ancient authorities I do not find Lucretius given as consul, but Brutus is followed immediately by Horatius; I suppose that because no exploit lent distinction to Lucretius's consulship men forgot it. B.C. 509

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

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

IX. Next Publius Valerius (for the second time) and Titus Lucretius were made consuls.¹ By this time the Tarquinii had sought refuge with Lars these names, and proposed to insert them directly after those in the text. But in chap. xi. 8, T. Lucretius is still the colleague of Valerius. B.C. 508

num regem, perfugerant. Ibi miscendo consilium
 precesque nunc orabant ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis,
 eiusdem sanguinis nominisque, egentes exulare pate-
 2 retur, nunc monebant etiam ne orientem morem
 pellendi reges inultum sineret. Satis libertatem
 3 ipsam habere dulcedinis. Nisi quanta vi civitates
 eam expetant, tanta regna reges defendant, aequari
 summa infimis; nihil excelsum, nihil quod supra
 cetera emineat in civitatibus fore; adesse finem reg-
 4 nis, rei inter deos hominesque pulcherrimae. Por-
 sinna cum regem esse Romae tutum, tum¹ Etruscae
 gentis regem amplum Tuscis ratus, Romam infesto
 5 exercitu venit. Non unquam alias ante tantus terror
 senatum invasit; adeo valida res tum Clusina erat
 magnumque Porsinnae nomen. Nec hostes modo
 timebant, sed suosmet ipsi cives, ne Romana plebs,
 metu perculsa receptis in urbem regibus, vel cum
 6 servitute pacem acciperet. Multa igitur blandimenta
 plebi per id tempus ab senatu data. Annonae in
 primis habita cura, et ad frumentum comparandum
 missi alii in Volscos, alii Cumas. Salis quoque ven-
 dendi arbitrium, quia impenso pretio venibat,² in
 publicum omne sumptum,³ adeptum privatis; por-
 torisque et tributo plebes⁴ liberata, ut divites con-
 ferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent: pauperes satis
 7 stipendii pendere si liberos educent. Ita que haec

¹ tutum tum *Conway*: tum Ω : fateretur tum *DL*.

² venibat $R^2\zeta$: veniebat (-bant *M*) Ω .

³ omne sumptum *Gronov.*: omni sumptum *B*: omni
 sumptu Ω . ⁴ plebes *Gronov.*: plebe Ω .

Porsinna, king of Clusium. There they mingled advice B.C. 508
 and entreaty, now imploring him not to permit them,
 Etruscans by birth and of the same blood and the
 same name as himself, to suffer the privations of
 exile, and again even warning him not to allow the
 growing custom of expelling kings to go unpunished.
 Liberty was sweet enough in itself. Unless the
 energy with which nations sought to obtain it were
 matched by the efforts which kings put forth to
 defend their power, the highest would be reduced
 to the level of the lowest; there would be nothing
 lofty, nothing that stood out above the rest of the
 state; there was the end of monarchy, the noblest
 institution known to gods or men. Porsinna, believ-
 ing that it was not only a safe thing for the Etruscans
 that there should be a king at Rome, but an honour
 to have that king of Etruscan stock, invaded Roman
 territory with a hostile army. Never before had such
 fear seized the senate, so powerful was Clusium in
 those days, and so great Porsinna's fame. And they
 feared not only the enemy but their own citizens,
 lest the plebs should be terror-stricken and, admit-
 ting the princes into the City, should even submit to
 enslavement, for the sake of peace. Hence the senate
 at this time granted many favours to the plebs. The
 question of subsistence received special attention,
 and some were sent to the Volsci and others to
 Cumae to buy up corn. Again, the monopoly of
 salt, the price of which was very high, was taken
 out of the hands of individuals and wholly assumed
 by the government. Imposts and taxes were removed
 from the plebs that they might be borne by the well-
 to-do, who were equal to the burden: the poor paid
 dues enough if they reared children. Thanks to this

indulgentia patrum asperis postmodum rebus in obsidione ac fame adeo concordem civitatem tenuit ut regium nomen non summi magis quam infimi horrent, nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset quam tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.

X. Cum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex agris demigrant, urbem ipsam saepiunt praesidiis.
2 Alia muris, alia Tiberi obiecto videbantur tuta: pons sublicius iter paene hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset, Horatius Cocles; id munimentum illo die fortuna
3 urbis Romanae habuit. Qui positus forte in statione pontis, cum captum repentino impetu Ianiculum atque inde citatos decurrere hostes vidisset trepidamque turbam suorum arma ordinesque relinquere, reprehensans singulos, obsistens obtestansque deum
4 et hominum fidem testabatur nequiquam deserto praesidio eos fugere; si transitum ponte¹ a tergo reliquissent, iam plus hostium in Palatio Capitolioque quam in Ianiculo fore. Itaque monere, praedicere ut pontem ferro, igni, quacumque vi possint, interrumpant: se impetum hostium, quantum corpore
5 uno posset obsisti, excepturum. Vadit inde in pri-

¹ ponte *Postgate*: pontem Ω .

liberality on the part of the Fathers, the distress which attended the subsequent blockade and famine was powerless to destroy the harmony of the state, which was such that the name of king was not more abhorrent to the highest than to the lowest; nor was there ever a man in after years whose demagogic arts made him so popular as its wise governing at that time made the whole senate.

X. When the enemy appeared, the Romans all, with one accord, withdrew from their fields into the City, which they surrounded with guards. Some parts appeared to be rendered safe by their walls, others by the barrier formed by the river Tiber. The bridge of piles almost afforded an entrance to the enemy, had it not been for one man, Horatius Cocles; he was the bulwark of defence on which that day depended the fortune of the City of Rome. He chanced to be on guard at the bridge when Janiculum was captured by a sudden attack of the enemy. He saw them as they charged down on the run from Janiculum, while his own people behaved like a frightened mob, throwing away their arms and quitting their ranks. Catching hold first of one and then of another, blocking their way and conjuring them to listen, he called on gods and men to witness that if they forsook their post it was vain to flee; once they had left a passage in their rear by the bridge, there would soon be more of the enemy on the Palatine and the Capitol than on Janiculum. He therefore warned and commanded them to break down the bridge with steel, with fire, with any instrument at their disposal; and promised that he would himself receive the onset of the enemy, so far as it could be withstood by a single body. Then, striding to the

mum aditum pontis, insignisque inter conspecta
cedentium pugnae terga obversis comminus ad in-
eundum proelium armis ipso miraculo audaciae ob-
stupefecit hostis. Duos tamen cum eo pudor tenuit,
Sp. Larcium¹ ac T. Herminium, ambos claros genere
factisque. Cum his primam periculi procellam et
quod tumultuosissimum pugnae erat parumper susti-
nuit; deinde eos quoque ipsos exigua parte pontis
relicta revocantibus qui rescindebant cedere in tutum
coegit. Circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos
ad proceres Etruscorum nunc singulos provocare,
nunc increpare omnes: servitia regum superborum,
suae libertatis immemores alienam oppugnatum ve-
nire. Cunctati aliquamdiu sunt, dum alius alium, ut
proelium incipiant, circumspectant. Pudor deinde
commovit aciem, et clamore sublato undique in unum
hostem tela coniciunt. Quae cum in obiecto cuncta
scuto haesissent, neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti
pontem obtineret gradu, iam impetu conabantur
detrudere virum, cum simul fragor rupti pontis,
simul clamor Romanorum alacritate perfecti operis
sublatus, pavore subito impetum sustinuit. Tum
Cocles "Tiberine pater," inquit, "te sancte precor,
haec arma et hunc militem propitio flumine acci-
pias." Ita sic armatus in Tiberim desiluit multisque
superincidentibus telis incolumis ad suos tranavit,

¹ Larcium Ω (and *Dion. Hal.* v. 23, 2): Lartium O^1 (or
O) *RDL*: Largium *F*²⁵.

head of the bridge, conspicuous amongst the fugitives who were clearly seen to be shirking the fight, he covered himself with his sword and buckler and made ready to do battle at close quarters, confounding the Etruscans with amazement at his audacity. Yet were there two who were prevented by shame from leaving him. These were Spurius Larcus and Titus Herminius, both famous for their birth and their deeds. With these he endured the peril of the first rush and the stormiest moment of the battle. But after a while he forced even these two to leave him and save themselves, for there was scarcely anything left of the bridge, and those who were cutting it down called to them to come back. Then, darting glances of defiance around at the Etruscan nobles, he now challenged them in turn to fight, now railed at them collectively as slaves of haughty kings, who, heedless of their own liberty, were come to overthrow the liberty of others. They hesitated for a moment, each looking to his neighbour to begin the fight. Then shame made them attack, and with a shout they cast their javelins from every side against their solitary foe. But he caught them all upon his shield, and, resolute as ever, bestrode the bridge and held his ground; and now they were trying to dislodge him by a charge, when the crash of the falling bridge and the cheer which burst from the throats of the Romans, exulting in the completion of their task, checked them in mid-career with a sudden dismay. Then Cocles cried, "O Father Tiberinus, I solemnly invoke thee; receive these arms and this soldier with propitious stream!" So praying, all armed as he was, he leaped down into the river, and under a shower of missiles swam across unhurt

rem ausus plus famae habituram ad posteros quam
 12 fidei. Grata erga tantam virtutem civitas fuit : statua
 in comitio posita ; agri quantum uno die circumaravit
 13 datum. Privata quoque inter publicos honores studia
 eminebant ; nam in magna inopia pro domesticis
 copiis unusquisque ei aliquid, fraudans se ipse victu
 suo, contulit.

XI. Porsinna primo conatu repulsus, consiliis ab
 oppugnanda urbe ad obsidendam versis, praesidio in
 Ianiculo locato ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra
 2 posuit, navibus undique accitis et ad custodiam, ne
 quid Romam frumenti subvehi sineret, et ut prae-
 datum milites trans flumen per occasiones aliis atque
 3 aliis locis traiceret¹ ; brevique adeo infestum omnem
 Romanum agrum reddidit, ut non cetera solum ex
 agris sed pecus quoque omne in urbem compelle-
 retur, neque quisquam extra portas propellere aude-
 4 ret. Hoc tantum licentiae Etruscis non metu magis
 quam consilio concessum. Namque Valerius consul,
 intentus in occasionem multos simul et effusos im-
 proviso adoriundi, in parvis rebus neglegens ultor,
 5 gravem se ad maiora vindicem servabat. Itaque ut
 eliceret praedatores, edicit suis, postero die fre-

¹ traiceret Gronov.: traicerent Ω.

to his fellows, having given a proof of valour which B.C. 508
 was destined to obtain more fame than credence
 with posterity. The state was grateful for so brave
 a deed : a statue of Cocles was set up in the comitium,
 and he was given as much land as he could plough
 around in one day. Private citizens showed their
 gratitude in a striking fashion, in the midst of his
 official honours, for notwithstanding their great dis-
 tress everybody made him some gift proportionate
 to his means, though he robbed himself of his own
 ration.

XI. Porsinna, repulsed in his first attempt, gave
 up the plan of storming the City, and determined to
 lay siege to it. Placing a garrison on Janiculum, he
 pitched his camp in the plain by the banks of the
 Tiber. He collected ships from every quarter, both
 for guarding the river, to prevent any corn from
 being brought into the City, and also to send his
 troops across for plundering, as the opportunity might
 present itself at one point or another ; and in a short
 time he made all the territory of the Romans so
 unsafe that not only were they forced to bring all
 their other property inside the walls, but even their
 flocks too, nor did anybody dare to drive them out-
 side the gates. This great degree of licence was per-
 mitted to the Etruscans not so much from timidity
 as design. For Valerius the consul, who was eager
 for an opportunity of assailing a large number at
 once, when they should be scattered about and not
 expecting an attack, cared little to avenge small ag-
 gressions, and reserved his punishment for a heavier
 blow. Accordingly, to lure forth plunderers, he issued
 orders to his people that on the following day a large
 number of them should drive out their flocks by the

quentes porta Esquilina, quae aversissima ab hoste erat, expellerent pecus, scituros id hostes ratus, quod in obsidione et fame servitia infida transfugerent.
 6 Et sciere perfugae indicio, multoque plures, ut in
 7 spem universae praedae, flumen traiciunt. P. Valerius inde¹ T. Herminium cum modicis copiis ad secundum lapidem Gabina via occultum considerare iubet, Sp. Larcium cum expedita iuventute ad portam Collinam stare donec hostis praetereat, inde se
 8 obicere ne sit ad flumen reditus. Consulum alter T. Lucretius porta Naevia cum aliquot manipulis militum egressus, ipse Valerius Caelio monte
 9 hortus delectas educit, hique primi apparuere hosti. Herminius ubi tumultum sensit, concurrit ex insidiis versisque in Lucretium Etruscis terga caedit; dextra laevaque, hinc a porta Collina, illinc ab Naevia, red-
 10 ditus clamor: ita caesi in medio praedatores, neque ad pugnam viribus pares et ad fugam saeptis omnibus viis. Finisque ille tam effuse evagandi² Etruscis fuit.

XII. Obsidio erat nihilo minus, et frumenti cum summa caritate inopia, sedendoque expugnaturum se
 2 urbem spem Porsinna habebat, cum C. Mucius, adulescens nobilis, cui indignum videbatur populum

¹ inde *Sobius*: *m* *Ω*: *iñ* *R*.

² *evagandi* *Ω*: *auagandi* *P*: *uagandi* *ς*.

¹ Where there was a gate called *Porta Caelimontana*, south of the *Porta Esquilina*.

² From the standpoint of the inhabitants of the city, looking eastward from the walls.

Esquiline Gate, which was the most remote from the enemy, believing that they would hear of it, since the blockade and famine were causing desertions on the part of faithless slaves. And in fact the enemy did hear of it from a deserter's report, and crossed the river in much greater force than usual, in the hope of making a clean sweep of the booty. Consequently Publius Valerius directed Titus Herminius to lie in ambush with a small force two miles out on the Gabinian Way, and Spurius Larcium with a body of light-armed youths to take post at the Colline Gate, until the enemy should pass, and then to throw themselves between him and the river, cutting off his retreat. Of the two consuls, Titus Lucretius went out by the Naevian Gate with several maniples of soldiers, Valerius himself led out some picked cohorts by way of the Caelian Mount.¹ These last were the first to be seen by the enemy. Herminius had no sooner perceived that the skirmish was begun than he rushed in from his ambush and fell upon the rear of the Etruscans, who had turned to meet Valerius. On the right hand and on the left,² from the Naevian Gate and from the Colline, an answering shout was returned. Thus the raiders were hemmed in and cut to pieces, for they were no match for the Romans in fighting strength, and were shut off from every line of retreat. This was the last time the Etruscans roamed so far afield.

XII. The blockade went on notwithstanding. The corn was giving out, and what there was cost a very high price, and Porsinna was beginning to have hopes that he would take the City by sitting still, when Gaius Mucius, a young Roman noble, thinking it a shame that although the Roman People had not, in

Romanum servientem cum sub regibus esset nullo bello nec ab hostibus ullis obsessum esse, liberum
 3 eundem populum ab iisdem Etruscis obsideri quorum saepe exercitus fuderit,—itaque magno audacique aliquo facinore eam indignitatem vindicandam ratus, primo sua sponte penetrare in hostium castra con-
 4 stituit; dein metuens ne, si consulum iniussu et ignaris omnibus iret, forte deprehensus a custodibus Romanis retraheretur ut transfuga, fortuna tum urbis
 5 crimen adfirmante, senatum adit. “Transire Tiberim,” inquit, “patres, et intrare, si possim, castra hostium volo, non praedo nec populationum in vicem ultor: maius, si di iuvant, in animo est facinus.” Adprobant patres. Abdito intra vestem ferro profi-
 6 ciscitur. Ubi eo venit, in confertissima turba prope regium tribunal constitit. Ibi cum stipendium militibus forte daretur, et scriba cum rege sedens pari fere ornatu multa ageret eumque milites¹ volgo adirent, timens sciscitari uter Porsinna esset, ne ignorando regem semet ipse aperiret quis esset, quo temere traxit fortuna facinus, scribam pro rege ob-
 8 truncat. Vadentem inde, qua per trepidam turbam cruento mucrone sibi ipse fecerat viam, cum concursu ad clamorem facto comprehensum regii satellites retraxissent, ante tribunal regis destitutus, tum quo-

¹ eumque milites *Ald.*: eumque milites *R.*: eum nomilites *D.*: eum nemilites *L.*: eum milites *Q.*

the days of their servitude when they lived under kings, been blockaded in a war by any enemies, they should now, when free, be besieged by those same Etruscans whose armies they had so often routed, made up his mind that this indignity must be avenged by some great and daring deed. At first he intended to make his way to the enemy's camp on his own account. Afterwards, fearing that if he should go unbidden by the consuls and without anyone's knowing it, he might chance to be arrested by the Roman sentries and brought back as a deserter—a charge which the state of the City would confirm—he went before the senate. “I wish,” said he, “to cross the river, senators, and enter, if I can, the enemy's camp—not to plunder or exact reprisals for their devastations: I have in mind to do a greater deed, if the gods grant me their help.” The Fathers approved. Hiding a sword under his dress, he set out. Arrived at the camp, he took up his stand in the thick of the crowd near the royal tribunal. It happened that at that moment the soldiers were being paid; a secretary who sat beside the king, and wore nearly the same costume, was very busy, and to him the soldiers for the most part addressed themselves. Mucius was afraid to ask which was Porsinna, lest his ignorance of the king's identity should betray his own, and following the blind guidance of Fortune, slew the secretary instead of the king. As he strode off through the frightened crowd, making a way for himself with his bloody blade, there was an outcry, and thereat the royal guards came running in from every side, seized him and dragged him back before the tribunal of the king. But friendless as he was, even then, when

que inter tantas fortunae minas metuendus magis
 9 quam metuens, "Romanus sum," inquit, "civis;
 C. Mucium vocant. Hostis hostem occidere volui,
 nec ad mortem minus animi est quam fuit ad cae-
 10 dem: et facere et pati fortia Romanum est. Nec
 unus in te ego hos animos gessi; longus post me
 ordo est idem petentium decus. Proinde in hoc dis-
 crimen, si iuvat, accingere, ut in singulas horas capite
 11 regiae. Hoc tibi iuventus Romana indicimus bellum.
 Nullam aciem, nullum proelium timueris; uni tibi et
 12 cum singulis res erit." Cum rex simul ira infensus
 periculoque conterritus circumdari ignes minitabun-
 dus iuberet nisi expromeret propere quas insidiarum
 13 sibi minas per ambages iaceret, "En tibi," inquit,
 "ut sentias quam vile corpus sit iis qui magnam
 gloriam vident," dextramque accenso ad sacrificium
 foculo inicit. Quam cum velut alienato ab sensu
 torreret animo, prope attonitus miraculo rex cum ab
 sede sua prosilisset amoverique ab altaribus iuvenem
 14 iussisset, "Tu¹ vero abi," inquit, "in te magis quam
 in me hostilia ausus. Iuberem macte virtute esse,
 si pro mea patria ista virtus staret; nunc iure belli
 liberum te intactum inviolatumque hinc dimitto."
 15 Tunc Mucius quasi remunerans meritum "Quando

¹ tu *M*: tum Ω.

Fortune wore so menacing an aspect, yet as one more to be feared than fearing, "I am a Roman citizen," he cried; "men call me Gaius Mucius. I am your enemy, and as an enemy I would have slain you; I can die as resolutely as I could kill: both to do and to endure valiantly is the Roman way. Nor am I the only one to carry this resolution against you: behind me is a long line of men who are seeking the same honour. Gird yourself therefore, if you think it worth your while, for a struggle in which you must fight for your life from hour to hour with an armed foe always at your door. Such is the war we, the Roman youths, declare on you. Fear no serried ranks, no battle; it will be between yourself alone and a single enemy at a time." The king, at once hot with resentment and aghast at his danger, angrily ordered the prisoner to be flung into the flames unless he should at once divulge the plot with which he so obscurely threatened him. Whereupon Mucius, exclaiming, "Look, that you may see how cheap they hold their bodies whose eyes are fixed upon renown!" thrust his hand into the fire that was kindled for the sacrifice. When he allowed his hand to burn as if his spirit were unconscious of sensation, the king was almost beside himself with wonder. He bounded from his seat and bade them remove the young man from the altar. "Do you go free," he said, "who have dared to harm yourself more than me. I would invoke success upon your valour, were that valour exerted for my country; since that may not be, I release you from the penalties of war and dismiss you scathless and uninjured." Then Mucius, as if to requite his generosity, answered, "Since you hold bravery

quidem," inquit, "est apud te virtuti honos, ut beneficio tuleris a me quod minis nequisti: trecenti coniuravimus principes iuventutis Romanae, ut in te
16 hac via grassaremur. Mea prima sors fuit; ceteri, ut cuiusque¹ ceciderit primi, quoad te opportunum fortuna dederit, suo quisque tempore aderunt."

XIII. Mucium dimissum, cui postea Scaevolae a clade dextrae manus cognomen inditum, legati a
2 Porsinna Romam secuti sunt; adeo moverat eum et primi periculi casus, a quo² nihil se praeter errorem insidiatoris texisset, et subeunda dimicatio totiens quot coniurati superessent, ut pacis condiciones ultro
3 ferret Romanis. Iactatum in condicionibus nequam de Tarquiniis in regnum restituendis, magis quia id negare ipse nequiverat Tarquiniis quam quod
4 negatum iri sibi ab Romanis ignoraret. De agro Veientibus restituendo impetratum, expressaque necessitas obsides dandi Romanis, si Ianiculo praesidium deduci vellent. His condicionibus composita pace exercitum ab Ianiculo deduxit Porsinna et agro
5 Romano excessit. Patres C. Mucio virtutis causa trans Tiberim agrum dono dedere quae postea sunt Mucia prata appellata.

6 Ergo ita honorata virtute feminae quoque ad publica decora excitatae, et Cloelia virgo, una ex obsi-

¹ ut cuiusque *Madvig*: utcumque *Q*.

² a quo *Heumann*: quo *Q*.

¹ i.e. "Left-handed."

in honour, my gratitude shall afford you the information your threats could not extort: we are three hundred, the foremost youths of Rome, who have conspired to assail you in this fashion. I drew the first lot; the others, in whatever order it falls to them, will attack you, each at his own time, until Fortune shall have delivered you into our hands."

XIII. The release of Mucius, who was afterwards known as Scaevola,¹ from the loss of his right hand, was followed by the arrival in Rome of envoys from Porsinna. The king had been so disturbed, what with the hazard of the first attack upon his life, from which nothing but the blunder of his assailant had preserved him, and what with the anticipation of having to undergo the danger as many times more as there were conspirators remaining, that he voluntarily proposed terms of peace to the Romans. In these terms Porsinna suggested, but without effect, that the Tarquiniis should be restored to power, more because he had been unable to refuse the princes this demand upon their behalf than that he was ignorant that the Romans would refuse it. In obtaining the return of their lands to the Veientes he was successful; and the Romans were compelled to give hostages if they wished the garrison to be withdrawn from Janiculum. On these terms peace was made, and Porsinna led his army down from Janiculum and evacuated the Roman territory. The Fathers bestowed on Gaius Mucius, for his bravery, a field across the Tiber, which was later known as the Mucian Meadows.

Now when courage had been thus distinguished, even the women were inspired to deeds of patriotism. Thus the maiden Cloelia, one of the hostages, eluded

- dibus, cum castra Etruscorum forte haud procul ripa Tiberis locata essent, frustrata custodes, dux agminis virginum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit sospi-
 7 tesque omnes Romam ad propinquos restituit. Quod ubi regi nuntiatum est, primo incensus ira oratores Romam misit ad Cloeliam obsidem deposcendam:
 8 alias haud magni facere; deinde in admirationem versus supra Coclites Muciosque dicere id facinus esse, et prae se ferre quemadmodum, si non datur obses, pro rupto foedus se habiturum, sic deditam intactam inviolatamque¹ ad suos remissurum.
 9 Utrumque constitit fides: et Romani pignus pacis ex foedere restituerunt, et apud regem Etruscum non tuta solum sed honorata etiam virtus fuit, laudatamque virginem parte obsidum se donare dixit; ipsa
 10 quos vellet legeret. Productis omnibus elegisse impubes dicitur, quod et virginitati decorum et consensu obsidum ipsorum probabile erat eam aetatem potissimum liberari ab hoste quae maxime opportuna
 11 iniuriae esset. Pace redintegrata Romani novam in femina virtutem novo genere honoris, statua equestri, donavere: in summa Sacra via fuit posita² virgo insidens equo.

XIV. Huic tam pacatae profectioni ab urbe regis Etrusci abhorrens mos traditus ab antiquis usque ad

¹ intactam inviolatamque *Frobenius*: inuiolatamque Ω .

² fuit posita Ω : posita *Novák, Weissenborn-Müller*.

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

XIV. This peaceful departure of the Etruscan king from Rome is inconsistent with the custom handed down from antiquity even to our own age,