

## Servius Tullius' Imperial *Nachleben*<sup>1</sup>

**1. Tacitus, *Annals* 3.26.6:** *nobis Romulus ut libitum imperitaverat. dein Numa religionibus et divino iure populum devinxit, repertaque quaedam a Tullo et Anco. sed praecipuus Servius Tullius sanctorum legum fuit quis etiam reges obtemperarent.*

Romulus ruled over us as he pleased. Next, Numa bound the people with religious scruples and divine law, and certain other things were devised by Tullus and Ancus. But Servius Tullius was especially an enactor of laws even kings would obey.

**2. Tacitus, *Annals* 3.28.3:** *sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae securus, quae triumviratu iusserat abolevit deditque iura quis pace et principe uteremur.*

In his sixth consulship and his power secure, finally, Caesar Augustus abolished what he had commanded as a triumvir and gave laws we would use in peace and under a princeps.

**3. Tacitus, *Annals* 12.8.1-3:** *die nuptiarum Silanus mortem sibi conscivit, sive eo usque spem vitae produxerat, seu delecto die augendam ad invidiam. Calvina soror eius Italia pulsa est. addidit Claudius sacra ex legibus Tulli regis piaculaque apud locum Dianae per pontifices danda, inridentibus cunctis quod poenae procurationesque incesti id temporis exquirentur.*

On the day of [Claudius & Agrippina's] wedding Silanus committed suicide, whether he had held out hope for his life up to that point, or that by choosing that day he might increase resentment. His sister Calvina was banished from Italy. Claudius added that sacrifices prescribed by King Tullius and expiations be carried out in the precinct of Diana by the pontiffs, amid universal ridicule that at this of all times penalties and propitiations for incest were being unearthed.

**4. Florus 1.1.6:** *Servius Tullius deinceps gubernacula urbis invadit, nec obscuritas inhibuit quamvis matre serva creatum. nam eximiam indolem uxor Tarquini Tanaquil liberaliter educaverat, et clarum fore visa circa caput flamma promiserat. ergo inter Tarquini mortem adnitente regina substitutus in locum regis quasi in tempus, regnum dolo partum sic egit industrie, ut iure adeptus videretur. ab hoc populus Romanus relatus in censum, digestus in classes, decuriis atque collegiis distributus, summaque regis sollertia ita est ordinata res publica, ut omnia patrimonii, dignitatis aetatis, artium officiorumque discrimina in tabulas referentur, ac sic maxima civitas minimae domus diligentia contineretur.*

Servius Tullius next took over the City's helm, and although born of a slave mother obscurity did not hinder him. For Tarquin's wife Tanaquil had given his exceptional in-born talent a free person's education, and after seeing the flame around his head promised he would be famous. So then when Tarquin was dying, and at the queen's urging, he was substituted in the king's place as though temporarily, and though his kingship was acquired by deceit he exercised it so diligently that he seemed to have acquired it legally. The people of Rome was registered in a census, divided into ranks, and organized by decuries and colleges. Thanks to the king's supreme ingenuity the commonwealth was ordered in such a way that all distinctions of inheritance, rank, age, skills, and offices were recorded on tablets, and thus a very large society was bound together by the diligence of the smallest household.

**5. Florus 2.14.4-6:** *nam aliter salvus esse non potuit, nisi confugisset ad servitutem. gratulandum tamen ut in tanta perturbatione est, quod*

For [the people of Rome] could not otherwise have been preserved, had it not taken refuge in servitude. But we must be grateful that it happened in so great an

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<sup>1</sup> All translations are my own.

*potissimum ad Octavium Caesarem Augustum summa rerum redit, qui sapientia sua atque sollertia percussum undique ac perturbatum ordinavit imperii corpus, quod haud dubie numquam coire et consentire potuisset, nisi unius praesidis nutu quasi anima et mente regeretur.*

**6. Appian, Pun. 27.112:** παρανόμου δ' ὄντος καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων προφερόντων αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον, ἐλπάρουν καὶ ἐνέκειντο, καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν ἐκ τῶν Τυλλίου καὶ Ῥωμύλου νόμων τὸν δῆμον εἶναι κύριον τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν νόμων ἀκυροῦν ἢ κυροῦν ὃν ἐθέλοιεν.

**7. Appian, Civil Wars 1.59.1:** εἰσηγοῦντό τε μηδὲν ἔτι ἀπροβούλευτον ἔς τὸν δῆμον ἐσφάρεσθαι, νενομισμένον μὲν οὕτω καὶ πάλαι, παραλελυμένον δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ τὰς χειροτονίας μὴ κατὰ φυλάς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόχους, ὡς Τύλλιος βασιλεὺς ἔταξε, γίνεσθαι, νομίσαντες διὰ δυοῖν τοῖνδε οὔτε νόμον οὐδένα πρὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἔς τὸ πλῆθος ἐσφερόμενον οὔτε τὰς χειροτονίας ἐν τοῖς πένησι καὶ θρασυτάτοις ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν περιουσίᾳ καὶ εὐβουλίᾳ γιγνομένων δώσειν ἔτι στάσεων ἀφορμὰς.

**8. Zonaras 7.9:** κάκεινος τότε τὸν τε θάνατον τοῦ Ταρκυνίου ἐξέφηγε καὶ φανερώς τῆς βασιλείας ἐπέληπτο. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ Ταρκυνίου παῖδας προυβάλλετο ὡς αὐτὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιτροεύων, εἶτα πρὸς θεραπείαν τοῦ δήμου ἐτράπετο, ὡς ῥᾶστα μᾶλλον τὸν ὄμιλον ἢ τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ὑποποιησόμενος, χρήματά τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου καὶ γῆν ἐκάστω προσένειμε καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἐλευθεροῦσθαι καὶ φυλετεύεσθαι παρεσκεύασεν...καὶ πολλὰ ἐπαγωγὰ διαλεχθεὶς αὐτῷ οὕτω διέθετο, ὡς αὐτίκα πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπισηφίσασθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦς ἀμειβόμενος ἄλλα τε ἐφιλοτιμήσατο καὶ ἔς τὸ συνέδριόν τινας αὐτῶν ἐνέγραψεν.

**9. Zonaras 7.9:** ὁ δ' ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τούτους πεποίητο, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πρὸς τὸ δημοκρατικὸν ἐνήγε καὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡσχάλλον οἱ Ταρκύνιοι...καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν τε

upheaval, because supreme power most preferably fell to Octavius Caesar Augustus, who by his wisdom and ingenuity put in order the body of an empire battered on all sides and thrown into disorder, which undoubtedly would never have been able to cohere and harmonize, were it not ruled by the nod of a single presider, as though by a soul and mind.

Although this was illegal and the consuls brought before them the law, they persisted and pressed hard, and exclaimed that, based on the laws of Tullius and Romulus, the people were the ones authorized for the election of magistrates, and they could repeal or ratify what it wished of the laws concerning these elections.

[Sulla and Pompeius Rufus] began proposing that nothing still not deliberated beforehand be introduced to the people—a practice formerly customary and abandoned long ago—and that elections happen not by tribes, but by centuries, as King Tullius ordained, thinking that through these two things neither would any law be introduced to the multitude before the Senate nor would elections, which were in the hands of the poor and most reckless, instead of those possessing much wealth and intelligence, any longer sew the seeds of civil strife .

And at that time [Servius] both revealed Tarquin's death and openly took possession of the kingship. And at first he kept promising to Tarquin's sons that he was acting as regent, but later he turned to the support of the people, since he would most easily win over the mob more than the patricians. He gave them money, parceled out land to each, and made preparations to free slaves and enroll them in the tribes...and with these many attractive statements he so disposed himself to them that they forthwith voted him the kingship. He returned the favor by bestowing them with various gifts and enrolling some of them into the Senate.

[Servius] paid no mind to [Tarquin's sons], and began encouraging the Romans to take up free and democratic government. The Tarquins were all the more enraged at this...and [Lucius] persuaded to join his cause many of the senators and patricians who had grievances against

βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν αἰτίας ἔχοντας κατὰ τοῦ Τουλλίου πείσας συνάρασθαι οἱ, ἔξαπιναιῶς μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον παραγέγονεν, ἐπομένης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς Τουλλίας. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἶπε τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀξίας τοὺς παρόντας ἀναμιμνήσκων, πολλὰ δ' ἀπέσκωψε πρὸς τὸν Τούλλιον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνος ταῦτα μαθὼν ἐπέστη σπουδῇ, καὶ τι δὴ καὶ ἐφθέγγετο, συνήρπασεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξάρας ὥσε κατὰ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἀναβαθμῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν, παραχθεις πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ταρκυνίου τόλμαν καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ τις αὐτῷ ἐπεκούρησεν, οὐτ' εἶπεν ἔτι οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἐποίησε.

**10. Eutropius 1.7:** *post hunc Servius Tullius suscepit imperium, genitus ex nobili femina, captiva tamen et ancilla. hic quoque Sabinos subegit, montes tres, Quirinalem, Viminalem, Esquilinum, urbi adiunxit, fossas circum murum duxit. primus omnium censum ordinavit, qui adhuc per orbem terrarum incognitus erat. sub eo Roma omnibus in censum delatis habuit capita LXXXIII milia civium Romanorum cum his, qui in agris erant. occisus est scelere generi sui Tarquini Superbi, filii eius regis, cui ipse successerat, et filiae, quam Tarquinius habebat uxorem.*

Tullius, and with these arrived unexpectedly at the senate-house, his wife Tullia also following him. And he said many things, reminding those present of the dignity of his father, and he hurled much slander on Tullius. When [Servius] learned of this and appeared in haste, and stated his own case, Tarquin seized him, lifted him up and shoved him down the steps of the senate-house. And [Servius] was alarmed by Tarquin's daring and that nobody came to help him either in word or deed.

After him Servius Tullius took power, born of a noble woman, though a captive and slave. He too subdued the Sabines, added three hills to the City (the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline), and dug trenches around the wall. He was the first of all rulers to organize a census, which had yet been unknown throughout the world. When all were registered in the census under him Rome had a population of 83,000 Romans along with those who lived in the countryside. He was murdered by the crime of Tarquin the Proud, the son of the king he had succeeded, and of his daughter whom Tarquin had for a wife.

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