"Rome is our point of departure, our reference point. It is our symbol, or, if you will, our myth." – Mussolini

Livy’s purpose: Both Peterson and Sailor agree that Livy was more dedicated to providing moral lessons to his fellow Romans (and perhaps to Augustus) through the *exempla* of history rather than to flattering Augustus and playing into his propaganda. Syme agrees: Livy was “not writing a biography of the First Citizen. He was writing a *Res Romanae.*”

Intro: We do not have the books, CXXXIV-CXLII, which address the actual years of Augustus’ rule. However, we do have the *Periochae*, which, according to Syme, is a poorly edited and often anachronistic epitome.
Important to note:
The first pentad was published between 27-25 BC, and it was probably published separately from the rest of the books. Peterson argues that the separation of the first pentad is important because it sets up a comparison with a monarchy and sets the tone for the rest of the work.

Possible Allusions to Augustus and Livy’s treatment of them:

LAWS
I. *Praefatio*. 9: alludes to *lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus*(1)
   - Refers to the “moral laws”
   - This law forbids senatorial class from marrying freemen or actors
   - Livy’s *nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus* is “a condemnation of the contemporary move toward similar measures that may very well have already been in the air” (Milnor 19).

II. *Liv*. 4.3.4: Debate over the laws of the Twelve Tables
   - Tribune Canuleius argues against a similar law prohibiting intermarriage.

III. *Liv*.1.8.1: Laws are a benefit to the lower classes.
   - Although Livy may be commenting on the resentment of the aristocrats in the face of restrictions, he uses the story of Romulus bringing the people together with laws as an *exemplum* of the importance of having laws.

SPOLIA OPIMA (2)
IV. *Liv*.4.20: The dedication of the spolia opima by Cossus
   - Crassus would be making a dedication there for defeating in *his* battle a very foreign leader while Augustus, as Octavian, technically fought a civil war which puts him far from being in running with Crassus’s achievement
   - Tone: tongue-in cheek
   - There is a very cohesive flow from the old books to the annals to Livy as authority on the matter. Livy, instead of creating a parallel flow of authority for Augustus’s research, uses Augustus’s discovery to “undo” the authority of all those before. This makes it less believable.
   - Sailor does not believe that Livy is trying to come out and tell Augustus that he is a liar. He is simply having to deal with including a piece of information that does not go along with his research while simultaneously trying not to give up his own *auctoritas* of the matter and of his history.
NEW ROMULUS (3)

Liv 5.51-54: Camillus urging the Romans not to migrate to Veii, leaving the city behind, could allude to Antony trying to move the seat of Rome to Egypt.
  • Camillus says that if they leave the city, they will be a vanquished people. He says that everything that is Rome is there. In this way, Camillus is seen as a second founder of Rome, making Augustus the third. Even if this is not an allusion to Marc Antony, it still suggests Augustan patriotism and the man’s works.

Liv. 1.3.2: Here Livy says that the Julian family connects their name with Ascanius-Julius.
  • The problem is the Ascanius-Iulus, son of Creusa, is not mixed blood as Silvius is (son of Lavinia), and so Augustus cannot connect his right to rule with Aeneas. However, this does establish a divine connection since Aeneas is the son of Venus.

Liv. 1.4.2: Rhea Silva claims that Mars is the father.
  • The same word *nuncupat* is used here and in the Julii claiming connection to Julius.
  • An interesting note: The Cella of Augustus Forum held Mars Ultor, Venus, and the deified Julius.

Liv 1.16: Romulus’ apotheosis
  • Livy writes with length on the shady circumstances in which Romulus was deified and on the shady character Proculus Iulus.
  • At Liv.1.16.4, Livy says that some authorities say that the senators tore him to pieces. He mentions that some senators were unhappy with Romulus, but he does not mention why, and Livy does not need to do so according to Peterson because Livy is using this *exemplum* to allude to Julius Caesar’s unfortunate end.
  • Essentially, Livy is using the *exempla* as a warning to Augustus as the use of *exempla* from Roman mythology to teach morals to the Roman people is Livy’s purpose.

OTHER ALLUSIONS

Liv 1.7.8: Livy could be comparing Augustus to Evander by using the terms *auctoritas* and *imperium*, which would suggests Augustus’ role and designs in ruling and rebuilding Rome. They both lived on the Palatine, and they both
claimed divine origin. Peterson implies that the argument is weak, but the *miraculo literrarum* could refer to Augustus attempt at literature.

*Liv* 1.19.2-3 Directly says that Augusts closed the gates of Janus. This evidence is used to date the first book since he later closed the gates of Janus again.

*Liv* 1.54.10 Livy might compare Augustus to Sextus Tarquinius in trying to “buy” the people to himself. Tarquinius also decreased the number of the Senate to weaken it, and he often did official business at home. This argument is weaker because it assumes that Livy is attacking Augustus moral agenda to do the best for Rome.

*Liv* 4.20.7 Augustus is the *templorum omnium conditor ac restitutor* (“the founder and rebuilders of all temples”).

*Liv*. 1.7.9, 5.41.8, 7.6.9, 8.9.10, and Praefatio. 7: Livy uses the words *augustior* and *humanus* together.

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**Works Cited**

Livy, T. *Periochae*: 134-142.


