Teaching From Past Example: Various Interpretations of Livy's Rape of Lucretia

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Abstract

The final kings of Rome were expelled in 509 B.C.E. after one of their princes raped a woman, driving her to end her own life. Pure and chaste, this woman was the utmost model of feminine virtue. Her death would bring great political change at the end of the sixth century B.C.E., but her story would be carried on and projected to provoke something similar for millennia. One significant driver of this was Titus Livius, who wrote of her in the first book of his *Ab Urbe Condita*, a history of Rome written c. 29 B.C.E. His account showcased a model of feminine morality, a reminder of the great foundations of Rome. To begin to amend his nation's current state, Livy pulled a past reference. His reference of Lucretia, however, would go much further than the pages of his book, being picked up by numerous varied successors. St. Augustine of Hippo would analyze her sanctity shortly after Rome's sack in 410 C.E. to introduce new Christian values to a shaken nation. Christine de Pizan would use her example 1405 C.E. to grant women their exodus from a misogynistic culture and in 2015 C.E. Fiona Shaw would expand upon her story in opera to tie together the women of the past and present. Through the ages there have been countless renditions of Lucretia's tale, but each could be linked in their edifying goal. Livy's account of Lucretia granted scholars, writers, poets and playwrights of future millennia a malleable medium for aiding their circumstance.

Introduction

Through the years, the field of history has been referenced by politicians, philosophers and historians themselves as a well of knowledge from which solutions to current issues can be drawn. Abraham Lincoln emphasized its lessons in human nature and George Santayana urged people and societies to learn from the examples it presented.[1, 2] Recently, Jerry Bentley argued that the study of history could prove beneficial for teaching the next generation of thinkers to creating a better, more unified world.[3]

This approach could be tied back millennia, and the most notable of these roads bring it to Rome — Livy, for instance, would write a history of the nation over 2,000 years ago. But he and his contemporaries practiced a history quite different from the modern idea. Broadly speaking, Roman histories of the state aimed not to document a series of factual past events so much as to comment on the state of their own context.[4] They may have retained a factual core, but unlike today's textbooks, showcased overtones of political or social commentary. The end product was a sort of reflection on the often idealized past from the typically poorer present. They were written as an escape from current conditions, but also crafted to provoke within the reader a perceived contrast so apparent that it would be perhaps capable of inciting some change. This is how Livy described his motivation to write an account of the state.[5]

He would not be the first: There are countless versions of these reflections on Rome, the earliest generally credited to Quintius Fabius Pictor sometime before 200 B.C.E., but Livy's is the version which would ring through most clearly today. This was in his *Ab Urbe Condita*, a 142-part history of the nation written around the rocky rise of the Roman Empire c. 29 B.C.E.[6] Like his predecessors, Livy saw the influence which these tales had on the attitudes of his nation — he recognized the tradition's worth, and saw an area in which he sincerely believed it could be of aid. Livy would adopt it to reestablish the moral foundations of the new Roman Empire, for it was a loosening of those which he believed had caused its state of disarray.

Though this tradition, he could craft a calculated story which would reflect back to the reader the nation's great foundations, allowing them to observe in chronological order the errs which had led to its current, contrasting condition; "first, the sinking of the foundations of morality as our old teachings were allowed to lapse, then the rapidly increasing disintegration."[7] In doing so, perhaps he could at least prevent their repetition, if not aid in the fixing of their results.

In a time when Romans, in the words of Livy, "can neither endure our vices nor face the remedies needed to cure them," he saw it vital to direct attention instead to their moral foundations.[8] This motive would be carried on in later retellings of his episodes, but few tales would resurface so consistently as that of Lucretia. Reverberating through the ages, her story would become an obvious tool for addressing conflict. From its writing and for millennia, Livy's account of the rape of Lucretia would serve as an enduring medium for public edification and societal critique.

Livy's Account

The first five books of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* focus on Rome's early years — from the time of the kings to the birth of the republic, periods of internal and external affairs concluding in the Gallic sack in 390 B.C.E. As he combined the voices of a variety of sources in his own, sometimes poetic and almost Vergilian style, Livy's reflections would grow to be recognized as *the* early Roman history.[9] His approach to this, however, was somewhat unconventional to modern standards, and even those of his contemporaries. To begin to understand this, the context of their writing must be taken into consideration. Livy was fourteen at the time of Caesar's assassination and lived thus through the civil wars and drastic, rapid shifts in government and tradition which brought Rome from republic to empire. This state of affairs would influence his motivation to write, for the "sinking of the foundations of morality" which he spoke of in his preface had a more literal meaning, and been caused by these military conflicts: They had greatly affected the city in which he was born, Padua, a city revered for its prosperity, intellect and most notably moral discipline.

Here, Livy had been long familiarized with what ideal morality looked like, and thus the contrast which had come in recent years was apparent to him.[10] He could identify solutions to these issues which he saw as he sought for order and reparation, approaching his national reflection as orators had verbal speech in earlier years, and as preceding writers such as Pictor had centuries prior.[11] Livy began writing his reflection c. 29 B.C.E. to a republic which had just fallen and tumbled, leaving a country torn at the seams. The topics he collected were not merely chapters of past happenings, but a series of moral lessons written to advise and amend the new Rome, providing an "infinite variety of human experience plainly set out for all to see; and in that record you can find for yourself and your country both examples and warnings; fine things to take as models, base things, rotten through and through, to avoid."[12]

This very motivation, which made his writings so powerful, would further compromise their viability as a historical source. As many before him, his accounts could stray from fact; but what set Livy apart from Pictor or Cato was his moral focus, present especially through the people which he wrote of. His accounts were a loose lesson of the past and a strong tool for the mind: In telling Lucretia's tale, for instance, Livy could both explain the shift of Rome from monarchy to empire, but also further the social lessons which he aimed to teach. To Livy, she was a model citizen, a physical representation of central Roman values who had been wronged by a corrupt authority, and her avenging emphasized the action which could, and should, be drawn from turmoil.[13]

But, as has been well established, Livy had a tendency to bend history.[14] While it is already likely that Lucretia's tale originated in oral tradition, it is equally probable that Livy would deviate however slightly from that narrative, exaggerating characters to make more obvious his lesson. In his reflection of Rome, he focused greatly on the people which made up the nation — yet in this moral focus, he would represent more a calculated cast of characters designed by himself than one representing real people as they were. Even in his greatest focus, his motivation for writing his reflection of Rome would only direct him away from writing a factual history. Thus, given Livy's abstract sense of history, as many scholars have agreed, it would be better to treat his writings as such.[15] One should see his account of Lucretia and its many retellings not so much a record of history but as the evolution and recycling of one person's reflection on it. Livy's reflection begins thus.

One day in about 510 B.C.E., during leisure granted by the monotonous siege of Ardea, a group of Roman officers and princes drank and discussed their wives. Among them were Sextus Tarquinius — son of King Tarquinius Superbus — and Collatinus, a distant relative to the royal family. The latter would suggest a bet to prove the unparalleled greatness of his Lucretia, and the men thereupon left to unexpectedly visit their wives' rooms. There they would find all revelling with guests but Lucretia, who instead sat and spun alongside her maids. For this she had won the contest of feminine virtue, and upon their arrival greeted them and invited them to dinner. Unbeknownst to her, however, this act would prove fatal, for the king's son would later return to her bedroom and rape her. Urging her silence with the blade of a sword, he would begin his attempt with confessions of his love. She withheld. He threatened to kill her if she did not submit, but even for her own life she would not give in. Sextus then came upon something which

would sway her. He presented Lucretia with two options: submit, and accept his rape, or have a naked, slain slave laid beside her dead body, so it should appear that she had committed adultery. Her chastity at stake, Lucretia yielded to the former.

The next day, Lucretia would call her father and husband to their home, and asked for them to bring with them two trusted friends. Her husband came alongside Lucius Junius Brutus — a general from whom the king had taken all earthly possessions and the life of a brother. Under a mask of lunacy, he had long waited to avenge him. Upon arriving, the men saw Lucretia's obvious distress, and asked if she was alright. "No," she would say, "What can be well with a woman who has lost her honor?"[16] She confessed to the men what had happened the previous night, and demanded they promise to punish the perpetrator. Though she believed in her own innocence, she would not allow her experience to serve as an excuse for other women, and despite the men's protests, she pierced a knife into her heart and killed herself.

All the men wept, but Brutus would take the blade and pledge to expel not only the Tarquins from Rome but the monarchical system of government as a whole. He declared this to the three men beside him and they would take to the town square, presenting Lucretia to the public. The the sight of her body provoked horror at the Tarquin's barbarity and grief for the victim's father, reactions which would be wrought into political action when Brutus called out that "it was time for deeds not tears," and begged them, "like true Romans, to take up arms against the tyrants who had dared to treat them as a vanquished enemy."[17] He would continue further to other cities, prefacing his critiques against the monarchy with Lucretia's tale, a unanimously understood horror. It was through starting with this common ground that he and his men could expel the Tarquins and instate a new form of government. As opposed to kings, two consuls were elected by popular vote: Brutus and Collatinus. They had brought Rome from monarchy to republic.

Livy's Lucretia was a martyr for the moral system of the nation — she would not submit to the Tarquin under the threat of death, but when it was her virtue at stake. Though her suicide brought great grief, the correct line of action for the men was arbitrary: In a time of unrest, focus not on the emotion and strife but the action and solution. Lucretia's — and Rome's — great avenger was able to see clearly through this mist. He could draw from sadness a path toward action and bring justice to the victim. It is this clear action which founded the republic.

Livy presented through Lucretia and Brutus model characters and ethics which had aided Rome through previous hardships. Perhaps returning to these historic ideals could prove useful in his contemporary Rome.

When he became the first emperor in 27 B.C.E., Augustus would see eye to eye with Livy on this matter. He established codes of law addressing issues such as adultery to uphold moral values, ordered the renovation of faded shrines to *pudicitia* — an integral value of sexual virtue personified in a goddess — and erected monuments which interwove associations between figures of historical past with current leaders: In his Forum Augustum, statues of Romulus and Fortuna lined the same hall as the Julians.[18, 19] Here, his rule was integrated into those of Rome centuries prior, as opposed to the reverse.

This is interesting: He had officially dismantled Rome's republic and become its emperor, so why would he not strive to dissociate his rule from the previous? To establish his reign, why would he choose to renovate old instead of construct new shrines to further cement the new era? Why did he not throw out images of past rulers, instead ordering for their statues to be showcased alongside his? Though his rule would mark the beginning of a new era, Augustus made sure to maintain active links to the former, preserving instead of iconoclastically burning the past in the paving of a new Roman road.

Both Augustus and Livy had harnessed their nation's past as a tool for their own motives — Augustus, framing it to familiarly establish his dominance as emperor, and Livy, picking it apart and writing it into a comprehensible moral tale. The political over historical motivation of the former is near certain: His and his predecessors' calculated use of imagery suggest that the forum's layout is more indicative of how he chose to further his image than an interest in spreading awareness of the antiquities.[20] The methods by which Livy wrote of Lucretia went similarly beyond documenting the past. He *designed* it, taking care to package the tale in such a manner that its message would unravel perfectly upon a reader's opening it. Livy's writings thus, like Augustus' imagery, should be categorized as something separate from history.

Livy had intended for Lucretia's story to unravel into a model of the ideal Roman woman. At first, this would go as planned: Her image and association would remain untouched, practically pristine, for the first four centuries after his account. This would shift, however, when her example was picked up by one Christian commentator.

<u>Christian Commentaries</u>

Many Christian writers would revisit the story of Lucretia presented by Livy in the centuries following its publication. The lessons which they taught would build off of but also refute each other. While each of these perspectives added influential insight and detail to the discussion, the writing of one individual which would starkly overshadow the others.

Lucretia was the first of many women told of in Tertullian's *Ad Martyres,* a book written in light of the persecution of Christians provoked by the threat which the religion's rise posed to the empire in 197 C.E.[21] While it is clear from his many uses of her story that he saw Lucretia as an exemplary image of chastity, he seemed to introduce the notion that her suicide was for glory. This idea would be picked up by St. Augustine of Hippo, who vehemently opposed the act of suicide for which Lucretia had been so ubiquitously praised — Jerome, for instance, would imply that suicide was the expected path for a woman of her circumstance to take if she wished to prove her purity: "the soul's death is more to be feared than the body's demise."[22] Augustine would be the first to so directly scrutinize Lucretia, and did so in his *City of God*, promising Roman readers that they will assuredly "find it impossible to defend her before the judges of the realms below, if they be such as your poets are fond of representing them."[23]

The first of the 22 books of the *City of God* was written to address the social issues which had arisen as a result of the sack of Rome by the Alarics in 410 C.E. Augustine did this in part by retelling well-known episodes of Rome's history from the perspective of his time, a method long extant in Rome, and one similar to Livy's. One of these episodes which he had chosen to represent was the story of Lucretia. Familiar to Pagans and Christians alike, she had been a symbol of chastity since the early republic, and it was perhaps through such a ubiquitous, yet also indirect, medium that Augustine could begin to introduce new Christian values to the unstable religious scene of the time. But Lucretia had long served as an unrelenting symbol of virtue, and Augustine's retelling would question her foundations.

In the city's sack, Augustine had seen many Roman women be placed in situations similar to that which Lucretia had been centuries prior. He felt compelled to speak out against the harmful standard which Lucretia set for Rome's surviving victims. To do this, he broke his argument up into two main parts, first clarifying the vital distinction between body and soul which should prove her innocent in her rape, second, acknowledging the legal implications of her suicide: If Lucretia was not guilty in her rape, then she was in the murder of an innocent woman. Her suicide did nothing to prove her character: Even if she had done it out of shame, this was

also incorrect. Chastity, virtue, purity and *pudicitia* were values which could only be judged by God; importance placed in anyone else's view — For Lucretia, her husband or the townspeople, perhaps — were misguided. True Christians would not be driven to kill themselves for another human's view of them: "Within their own souls, in the witness of their own consciousness, they enjoy the glory of chastity. In the sight of God, too, they are esteemed and pure, and this contents them; they ask no more: it suffices them to have the opportunity of doing good."[24] Thus, in his critique of Lucretia's suicide, he could speak against past and present flaws he saw in both Pagan and Christian ideas regarding purity, "refuting those who are unable to comprehend true sanctity."[25]

Tertullian, Jerome, Augustine and the many other commentators of this era, though representing different values, would use the story of Lucretia to serve a similar purpose to Livy — as a lesson in morality: An attempt to better the people, a critique of their current society. Their use of the allegory had similar motivation, but its plot had begun to evolve in each retelling. Lucretia, as she was recycled through the ages, would bear the scars of her use — her allegory had started to become a perpetual platform for discussion, and with time, its journey from the initial Roman reflection would only branch further.

Changing Genres

Beginning in the early fourteenth century C.E., a series of commentaries would be made addressing the arguments regarding Lucretia that had been presented in the *City of God* — one of such was by the Oxford friar John Ridevall. In his note on Augustine's view, he pointed out the importance of setting: To accurately assess the quality of her character, the context of Lucretia's time had to be taken into account.[26] Her story had to be seen through the eyes of Lucretia, not from the writer's current conditions. After hearing Augustine's view, Ridevall had suggested a new approach to analyzing Lucretia, and it was one which piqued the interest of historian Ranulph Higden. He would use Ridevall's approach when writing his account of Lucretia in a universal history which would become immensely popular in England. It was at this moment that Lucretia's story would be truly made available to the broader public — no longer just an ancient niche of religious circles or historians.[27] Her tale had been revived and transformed, and each subsequent retelling would continue to ripple into new forms of representation.

One of the first writers to pick up Lucretia's story in an explicitly fictitious setting would be Geoffrey Chaucer in his *Legend of Good Women*, a drama written 1386 C.E. He presented an

entertaining tale of romance and chivalry to the upper and middle class men and women of England, his characters representing ideals for both sexes of his audience — Lucretia, a true woman who had fallen victim to immoral men: not only her rapist, but also her husband, whose proposed bet and failure to protect his wife in their own home had allowed for the event to occur in the first place.[28] But Chaucer was a poet, not a friar, saint nor orator: In his writing, he still aimed largely to cater to the literary tastes of his audience as opposed to changing their lifestyles.

This did not mean, however, that his additions to the story would not have an impact on differently motivated retellings. John Gower, an English poet and companion of Chaucer, would take his poem alongside Livy's account and expand it once more to a tale of morality, only this time directed towards men, giving them a "guide to correct living" in part through the negative example of Sextus, in the seventh book of his *Confessio Amantis*.[29] Gower, like Livy, had a more edifying intent than the entertaining one of Chaucer, and like Livy, his moral scrutiny focused on Sextus, the perpetrator, as opposed to the victim questioned in Augustine's account.

The latter direction of blame, or the questioning of Lucretia's role in general, would be first criticized by one Italian-French writer in 1405. Versed as a scribe, Christine de Pizan was long familiar with the story's context and the many commentaries on it by her predecessors and contemporaries. As a woman, she was also long familiar with the misogynistic notions which were apparently just as present in societal norms as in literature: De Pizan would both to speak to the flaws she saw in her peers' writings and deconstruct the notion that women bear responsibility in, consent to, want or enjoy rape, presenting Lucretia as the first proof in *The Book of The City of Ladies*.[30]

In her retelling of the story, she spoke for the victims of her time and argued against past accounts, criticizing the two main points where Lucretia had been previously condemned: in her rape and in her death. De Pizan also used Lucretia's suicide to exemplify the atrocity which rape is as a stark contrast to the notion that it was enjoyable, also mentioning that Lucretia only felt she had to kill herself to prove her purity after such an event as a result of the standards of her time. Furthermore, de Pizan concluded her tale in a way different from her predecessors, replacing Lucretia's call to expel the kings with one instead directed towards perpetrators of rape: "Some say that because of the outrage done to Lucretia, a law was passed which sentenced to death any man who raped a woman, a law which is moral, fitting, and just."[31]

Like Augustine, she aimed to address the harmful notions which other uses of Lucretia implied, and like Livy, she wished to address social flaws through past example — representing model women of history, she sought to grant exodus to the sex which had so long been left undefended.[32] Rosalind Brown-Grant would describe this motivation in the book's introduction: De Pizan wrote because she understood that "it was only when a woman put a pen to the paper that a more positive view of the female sex would emerge."[33] De Pizan used Livy's Lucretia in a new field while sticking to previous guidelines, but her perspective would be overshadowed by later uses — Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece* and the many baroque and renaissance paintings which portrayed her are much more recognized by the general public. Her arguments ring through in a somber tone: Her voice seems to address modern issues, though perhaps it is really that our current world has failed to solve them in the past six centuries.

Leaving the Page

Still, however, these public portrayals of Lucretia would hold power. Shakespeare's account would bring her story even closer to the broader reading public, but the artists which brought Lucretia to the canvas would present her to a wholly new audience; the image of Lucretia's body, at the moment of the rape, with the blade in her hand or as a corpse upon the floor, surrounded by men, was intertwined into political and social reform.[34] From the early fourteenth century C.E. in Italy through the late eighteenth in France, Lucretia had been brought off of the written page and into a new context. By the twentieth century, this expansion had reached the stage.

In 1931, French playwright André Obey completed his *Le Viol De Lucrece,* a drama based upon the Livian and Shakespearean accounts. However, in this new format of the story, he had the liberty to introduce new styles of narration, this time giving Lucretia's mind a voice through a female choir who directly posed to the audience previously unasked questions: "You tire me out with your History. What can Death do? What kind of remedy is that?"[35] Obey used this Lucretia to critique previous uses of the tale, examining and arguing the precedents which it had set for women and victims of his time.

Just over a decade later, a new version of the tale would be introduced: Created in collaboration, the 1946 opera *The Rape of Lucretia* would showcase two contrasting views. Its composer, Benjamin Britten, would use Lucretia to represent individuals who had been wronged by their society, or conditions, following a visit to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.[36] The

librettist, Ronald Duncan, however, would write a text which differed in tone from Obey's previous argument, instead glorifying Sextus, or men of his character, and villainizing Lucretia, or women of her circumstance — for instance, Brutus, Lucretia's traditional avenger, would say, "Lucretia's beautiful but she's not chaste. Women are all whores by nature."[37] Another change of significance in this version was in its plot. Though any retelling altered the story in some capacity, Duncan would cut a critical component: the threat by Sextus which precipitated Lucretia's yield. Instead, she would submit to the rape willingly, in a frame of mind like the supposed one which de Pizan had centuries prior argued against. Many commentaries on the opera note the apparent dissonance on this matter between the perspective of the librettist, Duncan, and the composer, Britten, who would somewhat contrastingly conclude the performance in a hymn praising the chastity of the Virgin Mary.[38]

These operatic retellings are developing still: Irish actress and director Fiona Shaw would create her own in 2015. She too would deviate from the typical storyline, writing in the characters of a prostitute and Lucretia's young daughter, a decision which enabled her to comment on relations between women in the present as well as the recent and ancient past. Shaw focused not on bringing Lucretia's example to the current, but bringing Lucretia's character to life: She used Lucretia onstage to examine and portray the enduring psychology of women.[39] Lucretia was a victim, doubtless, but she was also *human* — she had been brought down from the divine martyric pedestal which so many retellings had elevated her to. She was grounded and alive: She was real — just as much today as she was under the Romans. Shaw's depiction of Lucretia's story ties back to the tradition of Livy in a new manner: The present and past, no matter how far, are really quite similar. Instead of focusing on the contrast and differences which could be learned from history, Shaw focused on the similarities and what they meant.

Livy initially used Lucretia to draw a model for the present from history, but each retelling would build off previous ones to find their own, new means of using their voice.

Conclusion

Though he was not the first to write of her, Livy's account of Lucretia would provide scholars, writers, poets and playwrights of future millennia with an enduring yet malleable medium for addressing current conditions and future hopes. Just as Livy had used Lucretia as a clear model of morality in the final decades B.C.E., thinkers through the centuries have revisited her story as a familiar allegory.

Tertullian and Jerome brought her into a religious light, and Augustine shifted their praising tone to reflect issues of his time. Later friars would commentate on his views and offer new, more sensitive perspectives which would ultimately lead to her story's introduction into the broader public as she appeared in the pages of Higden's history book. From there, she would be taken into fictional dramas and collections of poems offering lessons to the English middle class. Her story would be used literally to refute the previous accounts themselves but largely the perspective of society in a sadly familiar revisiting by de Pizan that is often overshadowed by later ones. Notably, she would be picked up by Shakespeare and a number of French and Italian painters, and from here her story would leave the written page. In the past century she has been represented on the stage of many operas, beginning with Obey and most recently with Smith, and though they came in relatively quick succession, she would serve in each retelling a different purpose.

It is easy to see Livy's approach to writing Lucretia's story as a conflict, for it essentially impeded its historical validity, but in viewing it as wholly negative the contemporary reader would miss another significant part of its legacy. Livy described history in his preface as "the best medicine for a sick mind," and though he wouldn't be considered a historian by modern standards, modern sentiments towards the field echo those motivations.[40] His way of writing Lucretia may not have given later users a strictly historically accurate source, but it would give them one which encouraged a similar use.

The aims of Livy and the many users of Lucretia may have had their differences, some seeming stark opposites to each other, but they could be united under a shared purpose: Healing their world. Livy, through Lucretia, had granted them a base medication.

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13. Dóra Janczer Csikós, "Lucretia's Lines of Flight: Multimodal Representations of the Rape of Lucretia," *The AnaChronist* 21, no. 1 (2023): 45-72, https://doi.org/10.53720/YHBT3090.
14. What to consider Livy's reflections of Romes has been a controversial subject among scholars: The accounts which he provides are fundamental, yet often, as P.G. Walsh, Ann Vassaly and R. M Ogilvie have indicated, driven towards representing a lesson through relations between characters rather than a historical account documenting the complex series of events which made up Rome's history. This interpretation could be corroborated by the fact that the tradition of his predecessors and sources was similarly more of a moral lesson. In their arguments, though the stories which Livy wrote were likely historically based, and retained a core of those basal facts, the details of people and politics were probably molded to his liking as a result of his approach to history — an interpretation which would not be considered history today.
15. P. G. Walsh, "Livy's Preface and the Distortion of History," *The American Journal of Philology* 76, no. 4 (1955): 369-83, https://www.jstor.org/stable/292271.
16. Livius, *The Early History of Rome*, 101.
17. Livius, *The Early History of Rome,* 102.
18. Pudicitia, meaning "morality" or "sexual virtue," served a defining purpose in Roman society. Personified by a goddess of the same name, though it set expectations for the behavior of both sexes — immoral men could be criticized for being lacking of it — the standard was mostly associated with women. It would be upheld in two temples, for instance, each modelling a different class of woman: the temples of Pudicitia Patrona and Pudicitia Plebia were separate and distinguished the kind of chaste women which their values applied to. It would also be upheld by Livy, who used Lucretia to present an example of a true model of pudicitia.
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30. Christine de Pizan, *The Book of The City of Ladies*, trans. Rosalind Brown-Grant (Penguin UK, 1999), ix.
31. De Pizan, *The Book of The City of Ladies*, 44.
32. De Pizan's purpose in writing this book, directed to her by three mythical women, is to defend a sex which had been left defenseless, "like an orchard without a wall, and bereft of a champion to take up arms in order to protect it." This would also be compared to the Israelites' exodus from Egypt: "Now, however, it is time for (women) to be delivered out of the hands of Pharaoh." For more on the purpose given in the text itself see De Pizan, *The Book of The City of Ladies,* 8.
33. De Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, xxiii.
34. Csikós, "Lucretia's Lines of Flight: Multimodal Representations of the Rape of Lucretia," 48.
35. Thornton Wilder, *Lucrece: From 'Le Viol De Lucrèce' by André Obey* (Houghton Mifflin, 1933), 70.
36. Csikós, "Lucretia's Lines of Flight: Multimodal Representations of the Rape of Lucretia," 48.
37. Benjamin Britten et al., *The Rape of Lucretia: A Symposium* (Bodley Head, 1948), 23.
38. Csikós, "Lucretia's Lines of Flight: Multimodal Representations of the Rape of Lucretia," 57.
39. Csikós, "Lucretia's Lines of Flight: Multimodal Representations of the Rape of Lucretia," 58-59.
40. Livius, *The Early History of Rome,* 30.

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