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## THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

OF

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

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THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF<br>\section*{dIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS}<br>WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY EARNEST CARY, Ph D. ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF EDWARD SPELMAN IN SEVEN VOLUMES I<br><br>CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS<br>HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS<br>LONDON<br>WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD momlx



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## CONTENTS



## INTRODUCTION

## Life of Dionysius

The few facts known about the life of Dionysius are virtually all given us by the author himself. At the close of the preface to the Roman Antiquities (chap. 8) he announces himself as Dionysius, the son of Alexander, and a native of Halicarnassus. He also informs us (chap. 7) that he had come to Italy at the time when Augustus Caesar put an end to the civil war in the middle of the 187th Olympiad (late in 30 b.c. or in 29), and that he had spent the following twenty-two years in acquainting himself with the language and the literature of the Romans, in gathering his materials, and in writing his History. The preface is dated (chap. 3) in the consulship of Nero and Piso ( 7 b.c.), and the first part, at least, of the work must have been published at that time. It is generally assumed that the entire History appeared then; but in Book VII. $(70,2)$ Dionysius refers to Book I. as having been already published. This leaves it an open question in how many instalments and at what intervals be issued the work. We do not know the exact date of his birth ; but two casual statements in the History enable us to fix it within certain limits. He cites the disastrous

## INTRODUCTION

campaign of Crassus against the Parthians as an event of his own lifetime (ii. 6,4 ) ; and in describing the erection of the original Capitol he states that the new edifice, ' built in the days of our fathers,' stood on the same foundations as the old (iv. 61, 4). The first of these passages shows that he was born at least as early as 53 , and perhaps as early as 54 or 55 , since the reference may very well be to the whole Parthian expedition. The second allusion is more indefinite. The new Capitol, begun by Sulla shortly after the burning of the old structure in 83, was formally dedicated by Catulus in 69 ; nevertheless, as late as the beginning of 62 Caesar. in bringing charges of embezzlement against Catulus, claimed that many parts of the tem; !e were still but halffinished and accordingly wished to have Pompey entrusted with the completion of the work. ${ }^{1}$ We do not know how much justification there was for Caesar's action, though it is evident that it was primarily a political move; in any case, he was unsuccessful, and Catulus' name remained on the pediment of the temple. Whether Dionysius knew of Caesar's charges or attached any importance to them we can only conjecture. Egger, ${ }^{2}$ taking these charges seriously, argued that Dionysius must have been born after 63; yet it is just as natural to believe that the historian dated the temple by the official dedication. The two passages, then, give as extreme limits for the date of Dionysius' birth 69 and 53 , with some possibility of the narrower limits of 62 and 55. Modern scholars have generally

[^0]
## INTRODUCTION

assumed a date between 60 and 55, from the feeling that Dionysius must have been a fairly young man when he came to Rome and undertook to master a new language and literature. The only other reference in an ancient author to the time when Dionysius lived is even more indefinite than those just quoted. Strabo (ca. 63 b.c.-ca. 21 A.D.), in speaking of Halicarnassus, names, as authors who claimed that city as their birthplace, Herodotus, Heracleitus the poet, and, 'in our time,' Dionysius the historian (xiv. 2, 16).

Halicarnassus had declined greatly in importance after the time of Maussolus, and finally suffered grievously at the hands of the pirates not far from the time when Dionysius was born. It was given a new lease of life by Quintus Cicero while he was serving as governor of Asia (61-58), if we may believe the enthusiastic tribute paid him by his brother. ${ }^{1}$ Such was the city in which Dionysius apparently spent his youth and early manhood. Whether he composed any of his rhetorical treatises while still residing there is uncertain; but it is generally held that they were all written at Rome.

In Rome Dionysius was a teacher of rhetoric, probably giving private lessons; in one of his treatises addressed to a pupil he refers to 'our daily exercises.' ${ }^{2}$ From these shorter works. which took the form of letters addressed to friends, patrons

[^1]
## INTROLUCTION

or pupils, we learn the names of a number of his friends and associates; but unfortunately they are, with one or two exceptions, otherwise unknown to us. Aelius Tubero may have been the historian and jurist who was consul in 11 b.c., the same historian who is praised in the Antiquities (i. 80, 1). Melitius Rufus, a pupil, and his father, whom Dionysius calls a most valued friend. were evidently Romans. Cn. Pompcius Geminus may well have been a Greek. in spitc of his name; Ammaeus also was probably a Greek, and so almost certainly were Demetrius and Zeno. Caecilius of Calacte, who is styled a dear friend, was a rhetorician and historian of whom a good deal is known In the introduction to the History (chap. 7) Dionysius states that he gained some of his information orally from most learned men (Romans by implication) with whom he came in contact. It would be interesting indeed to know the names of some of these men and how intimately he associated with them; but, with the possible exception of Aelius Tubero, he nowhere names a contemporary Roman author, although he pays tributc to the many excellent works that were being produced in his day,-histories, speeches and philosophical treatises,-by both Romans and Greeks. ${ }^{1}$ From the circumstance that he gives particular credit to the ruling classes of Rome for the recent purification of literary taste, Roberts suggests that he may have been 'influenced more directly . . . by the Roman men of affairs with whom (or with whose sons) his vocation brought him

[^2]
## INTRODUCTION

into contact than by any Roman man of letters.' ${ }^{1}$ One avowed purpose in writing his History was to make a grateful return to Rome for the education and other advantages he had enjoyed there ; ${ }^{2}$ and this certainly suggests that he felt he had been made welcome in Rome.

We have no information regarding the date of his death. If he was the author of the summary of his History in five books which Photius (Cod. 84) attributes to him, he doubtless wrote this after the publication of the large work, and so must have lived for some little time at least after 7 в.с. There are several passages in his shorter works in which he promises to discuss this or that topic 'if I have the time,' or 'if it is possible,' or 'if Heaven keeps us safe and sound.' These have sometimes been taken to indicate that he was already an old man or in poor health; but it is by no means necessary to put such a construction upon his words.

## The Roman Antiquities

The wo: $k$ which Dionysius undoubtedly regarded as his masterpiece and the practical embodiment of his theories regarding historical writing was the Roman Antiquities. ${ }^{3}$ It treated the history of Rome from the earliest legendary times down to the

[^3]
## INTRODUCTION

beginning of the First Punic War, the point at which Polybius' history began. The work was in twenty books, ${ }^{1}$ of which the first ten are preserved, together with the greater part of the eleventh. Of the remaining books we have fragments amounting all told to a little more than the average length of one of the earlier books. Most of these fragments come from the great collection of historical extracts made at the direction of the emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetus in the tenth century.

In his preface Dionysius lays down two principles as fundamental for historians, first, that they should choose subjects noble and lofty and of great utility to their readers, and, second, that they should use the greatest care and discrimination in gathering their materials. He then proceeds to justify his own choice of subject and to describe the careful preparation he had made for his task. In two chapters, obviously imitated from Polybius' introduction, he gives a brief survey of the empires of the past, from the Assyrian to the Macedonian, with a glance at the Greek hegemonies, and points out how greatly Rome had surpassed them all, both in the extent of her dominion and in the length of time it had already endured. He then undertakes to answer the anticipated criticism of those who might censure him for choosing the humble beginnings of Rome as his particular theme when there were so many glorious periods in her later history

[^4]
## INTRODUCTION

that would furnish excellent subjects. He declares that the Greeks for the most part were ignorant of Rome's early history, having been misled by baseless reports that attributed the fuonding of the city to some homeless wanderers, at once barbarians and slaves, and hence were inclined to rail at Fortune for unfairly bestowing the heritage of the Greeks upon the basest of barbarians. He promises to correct these erroneous impressions and to prove that Rome's founders were in reality Greeks, and Greeks from no mean tribes; he will also show that Rome from the very beginning produced countless instances of men as pious, just and brave as any other city ever did, and that it was due to these early leaders and to the customs and institutions handed down by them that their descendants advanced to so great power. Thus he hopes to reconcile his Greek readers to their subjection to Rome. He points out that there had been no accurate history of Rome written by Greeks, but only summary accounts, and even the Romans who had written histories of their country in Greek had passed lightly over events occurring before their own days. He feels, therefore, that in this earlier period of Rome's history he has found a noble theme virtually untouched as yet. By treating this period adequately he will confer immortal glory upon those worthy men of early Rome and encourage their descendants to emulate them in leading honourable and useful lives; at the same time he will have the opportunity of showing his goodwill toward all good men who delight in the contemplation of great and noble deeds, and also of

## INTRODUCTION

making a grateful return to Rome for the cultural advantages and other blessings that he had enjoyed while residing there. He declares, however, that it is not for the sake of flattering the Romans that he has turned his attention to this subject, but out of regard for truth and justice, the proper objects of every history. He then describes his preparation for his task,-the twenty-two years he had spent in familiarizing himself with the language and literature of the Romans, the oral information he had received from the most learned men, and the approved Roman histories that he had read. Finally, he announces the period of Roman history to be covered in his work ${ }^{1}$ and the topics to be treated. He will relate the wars waged by Rome with other peoples and the seditions at home, her various forms of government, the best of her customs and the most important of her laws; in short, he will picture the whole life of the ancient city. As regards the form of his History, it will not be like the works of those who write of wars alone or treat solely of political constitutions, nor will it be monotonous and tiresome like the annalistic histories of Athens; but it will be a combination of every style, so as to appeal

[^5]
## INTRODUCTION

alike to statesmen and to philosophers as well as to those who desire mere undisturbed entertainment in their reading of history.

More than once in the course of his History (v. 56, xi. 1; ef. vii. 66) Dionysius interrupts his narrative to insist on the importance of acquainting the reader not only with the mere outcome of events, but also with the causes, remote as well as proximate, that led up to them, the circumstances in which the events occurred and the motives of the chief par-ticipants,-in fact, the whole background of the action. Such information, he says, is of the utmost importance to statesmen, in order that they may have precedents for the various situations that may confront them and may thus be able to persuade their fellow-citizens when they can adduce numerous examples from the past to show the advantage or the harm of a given course of action. Dionysius here shows an understanding of the true function of history, as he does also, in a measure, in his various protestations of devotion to the truth, though he nowhere sets up such a strict standard of absolute impartiality as did Polybius (i. 14, 4).

Unfortunately, in spite of these high ideals which Dionysius tried to keep before him, his Antiquities is an outstanding example of the mischievous results of that unnatural alliance between rhetoric and history which was the vogue after the time of Thucydides. The rhetoricians regarded a history as a work of art whose primary purpose was to give pleasure. Events in themselves seem to have been considered as of less importance than the manner in which they were presented. Hence various liberties

## INTRODUCTION

could be taken with the facts in order to produce a more telling effect; and as long as this was done not out of fear or favour, but simply from the desire to make the account more effective, the writer was not conscious of violating the truth. Dionysius doubtless thought that he was living up to his high ideals; but he was first and foremost a rhetorician and could see history only through a rhetorician's eyes. The desire to please is everywhere in evidence; there is a constant straining after rhetorical and dramatic effects.

In conformity with the rhetorical tradition, he interlarded his narrative with speeches which he managed to insert on every possible occasion from the third book onward. One technical purpose which they were intended to serve-to give variety to the narrative-is clear from the very circumstance that there are scarcely any speeches at all in Books I. and II., which have a sufficiently diversified narrative to require no further efforts at variety, whereas from Book III. onward the speeches occupy very nearly one-third of the total text. Dionysius himself occasionally felt the need of some justification of his insertion of so many speeches and argued that, inasmuch as the crisis under consideration was settled by discussion, it was therefore important for the reader to know the arguments that were advanced on both sides (vii. 66 ; xi. 1). Yet he had no adequate conception of the talents required for carrying out this ambitious programme successfully. Possessing neither the historical sense nor psychological insight, nor even any special gift of imagination, he undertook to compose speeches for
xvi

## INTRODUCTION

any and all occasions by the simple process of following certain stereotyped rhetorical rules. The main argument of many of his speeches he doubtless found already expressed in his sources, either in some detail or in the form of a brief résumé, while in other cases there was probably a mere form of statement that implied a speech at that point, numerous instances of each of these methods can be seen in Livy (who was not one of his sources) on the occasions where Dionysius inserts a speech. But it was little more than the main argument at best that he took over from his sources in most of the speeches of any length. The speeches were the part of a history in which the author was expected to give the freest reign to his rhetorical talents; and that Dionysius did not fail to make full use of this opportunity is evident from the many imitations of the classical Attic prose writers that are found in his speeches. One of his fundamental principles for the acquiring of a good style was the imitating of classical models, and in the speeches of the Antiquities we see how it was to be done. Not only do we find single phrases and sentences from Demosthenes, Thucydides and Xenophon paraphrased and amplified, but even the tenor of entire passages in those authors is imitated. ${ }^{1}$ It is not at all surprising, therefore, that these speeches fail aimost completely to perform their true function of
${ }^{1}$ His imitations of the authors named have been analysed by Flierle, Ueber Nachahmungen des Demosthenes, Thucydides und Xenophon in den Reden der Röm. Archäologie des Dionysius con Halicarnass, Leipzig, 1890. The investigation should be continued to include Lysias and other orators.

## INTRODUCTION

revealing the character and the motives of the different speakers. Nor are they redeemed by any profound thoughts, unless in the imitated passages, or by any original sentiments; for the most part they are little more than a succession of cheap platitudes and rhetorical commonplaces. Indeed, we might almost believe at times that we were reading the declamations of Dionysius' own pupils.

It has generally been suspected that Dionysius invented a good many of his speeches outright, inserting them at points where there was no indication of any speech in his sources. One fairly clear instance of the sort is found in his account of Coriolanus (viii. 5-8). After giving much the same account as Livy does of the trick played on the Romans by Attius Tullus at Coriolanus" suggestion in order to provoke them into giving the Volscians a just cause for going to war, Dionysius then represents Coriolanus as summoned by the Volscian leaders to advise them how best to prosecute the war. Coriolanus, in a speech clearly modelled upon the one addressed to the Spartans by the exiled Alcibiades (Thuc. vi. 89 ff .), says much by way of self-justification, and finally offers a fresh plan for providing the Volscians with a just ground for war. There is no valid excuse for this second plan, the first one having already proved successful; Dionysius clearly wished to offer a parallel in his History to the famous episode in Thucydides. It is quite probable that several other speeches in this long account of Coriolanus also originated with Dionysius. Yet it must be remembered that he drew largely on the late annalists, some of whose xviii

## INTRODUCTION

histories were very voluminous; and he may have found at least hints of speeches more frequently than has generally been supposed.

Quite in keeping with the tiresome speeches of the Antiquities are the long, circumstantial accounts of such events as Dionysius chose to emphasize in his narrative, and the cumulation of pathetic or gruesome details in tragic situations. His account of the combat between the Horatii and the Curiatii, followed by Horatius' slaying of his sister, occupies ten chapters (iii. 13-22) as against but three in Livy (i. 24-26) ; and there is even a greater disproportion in the length of their accounts of the events leading up to the combat (Dionys. iii. 2-12, Livy i. 22 f.) due in part to several long specehes in Dionysius. The outstanding instance of prolixity in the Antiquities is the account of Coriolanus. The events leading up to his exile (including 15 speeches) require 48 chapters (vii. 20-67), whereas Livy relates them in one-half of a single chapter (ii. 34, 7-12) ; the remaining events to the end of his life are told by Dionysius in 62 chapters (viii. 1-62), and by Livy in 6 (ii. 35-40). Almost everywhere in the extant portions of Dionysius his account is longer than that of Livy; but this relative fullness of detail was not maintained to the end of the History. To the struggle between the orders and to the Samnite wars he devoted less than four books (part of xiv. and xv.-xvii), where Livy has more than six (vi.-xi. and part of xii.). In other words, for events nearer his own day, for which the traditions should have been fuller and more reliable, he contented himself with a briefer narrative than for

## INTRODUCTION

the earlier periods, which for most historians had been full of doubt and uncertainty, thereby exactly reversing the logical procedure of Livy. An exception is seen in his detailed account of the war with Pyrrhus, a war which aroused his special interest for more reasons than one. Nowhere is his fondness for minute detail more out of place than in his accounts of tragic events, such as the encounter of the triumphant Horatius with his sister, Tullia's behaviour when she forces the driver of her car to continue on his way over the dead body of her father, the grief of Lucretius when his daughter slays herself, Verginius' slaying of his own daughter, and Veturia's visit to the camp of her son Coriolanus. By his constant effort to make us realize the full pathos or horror of the scene he defeats his own purpose. The dignified restraint shown by Livy in relating these same events is far more impressive.

Dionysius perhaps felt that he was making a distinct contribution toward the solidarity of the Graeco-Roman world when he undertook to prove, as his principal thesis, the Greek origin of Rome's founders. Not only did he trace the Aborigines back through the Oenotrians to Arcadia, but he even showed that the ancestors of the Trojans had come originally from that same district of Greece; other Greek elements represented in the population of early Rome were the Pelasgians, naturally of Greek origin, Evander and his company from Arcadia, and some Peloponnesian soldiers in the following of Hercules, who had remained behind in Italy when that hero passed through the peninsula on his return from Spain to Argos. None of the

## INTRODUCTION

various details of this theory was original with Dionysius. for he cites his authorities at every step; but he may have been the first to combine these separate strands of tradition into a single, comprehensive argument. The entire first book is devoted to the proving of this thesis; and the argument is further strengthened at the end of Book VII. by a detailed comparison of the ceremonies at the Ludi Romani with early Greek religious observances. As we saw from his introduction, he hoped by this demonstration to reconcile his fellow Greeks to Rome's supremacy ; at the same time, he obviously understood the Romans of his day well enough to realize that, far from regarding Rome's glory as thereby diminished in any way, they would feel flattered by the thought of such a connexion with the heroic age of Greece. Incidentally, the proving of his thesis afforded him an excellent opportunity for dealing with the legendary period and thus giving greater variety to his work. But the acceptance of this theory was bound to give him an inverted view of the course of Roman history. Instead of recognizing the gradual evolution of the people and their institutions from very rude beginnings, he sees an advanced stage of civilization existing from the very first ; and Rome's kings and later leaders are in such close contact with the Greek world that they borrow thence most of the new institutions that they establish from time to time. Thus he assumes that the celeres, the senate, the two consuls with joint powers, and the custom whereby the members of each curia dined together on holy days, were all based on Spartan models;

## INTRODUCTION

that the division of the citizens into patricians and plebeians followed a similar division at Athens; that Servius Tullius organized a Latin League on the analogy of the Amphictyonic League of Greece, and that even the dictatorship was suggested by the practice followed in various Greek cities of appointing an aisymnetes to deal with a particular emergency. Dionysius probably found most, if not all, of these institutions thus explained in his sources; in about half of the instances he qualifies his statement by the words ' in my opinion,' but this does not seem a sufficient criterion for deciding the authorship of these views.

Dionysius is so ready to praise Rome's ancient heroes and institutions on every occasion. with never a word of disapprobation, that his impartiality may well be questioned. On a number of occasions he praises the piety and other virtues of the early Romans, which secured for them the special favour of Heaven; once ( xx .6 ) he styles them the most holy and just of Greeks. A number of their laws and practices, especially some of those said to have been instituted by Romulus, are declared to be superior to those in vogue among the Greeks. Thus, Romulus' policy of colonizing captured cities and sometimes even granting them the franchise is contrasted with the ruthless practices of the leading Greek states and their narrow-minded policy of withholding the rights of citizenship from outsiders (ii. 16 f., xiv. 6) ; and his laws regarding marriage and the patria potestas are described as better than the corresponding Greek practices (ii. 24-27). Romulus is praised also for rejecting such of the xxii

## INTRODUCTION

myths as attributed any unseemly conduct to the gods and all grosser forms of religious worship (ii. 18 f .). Indeed, our historian even approves of the Roman censorship, the inquisitorial powers of which were not limited, as in Athens and Sparta, to the public behaviour of the citizens, but extended even inside the walls of private homes (xx. 13). But it is not the Greeks alone who are contrasted unfavourably with the old Romans; Dionysius is just as ready to point out to the Romans of his own day their failure to maintain the high standards set by their ancestors. He contrasts the spirit of mutual helpfulness and forbearance that characterized the relations of the plebeians and patricians in the early days with the era of bloodshed that began under Gaius Gracchus (ii. 11) ; similarly, he praises the simplicity of the first triumph (ii. 34), the excellent grounds on which Servius Tullius granted the franchise to manumitted slaves (iv. 24), the deference shown by the early consuls to the authority of the senate ( v .60 ), and the lawful and modest behaviour of the dictators down to the time of Sulla (v. 77), contrasting each of these practices and institutions with the evil forms they assumed in later days. In one instance (viii. 80) he leaves it to the reader to decide whether the traditional Roman practice or the practice of the Greeks which some had recently wished to introduce at Rome, was the better. The pointing of all these contrasts is part of the historian's function as moralist, the function which he had in mind when in his Letter to Pompeius (chap. 3) he said that the attitude of Herodotus toward the events he was describing was

## INTRODUCTION

everywhere fair, showing pleasure in those that were good and grief at those that were bad. Dionysius doubtless endeavoured to be fair and sincere in his judgments; but he was, nevertheless, biased in favour of the Romans and in favour of the senatorial party, the Optimates of his own day. He even attempts to palliate one or two of the less savoury incidents associated with Rome's beginnings: he pictures Romulus as plunged into the depths of grief and despair at the death of Remus; and again, as addressing words of comfort and cheer to the captured Sabine maidens, assuring them that their seizure was in accordance with a good old Greek custom, and that it was the most distinguished way for women to be married! Livy makes no attempt to save the character of Romulus in the first instance, and in the second stops far short of Dionysius.

In the matter of religion, also, Dionysius makes no concealment of his attitude. He frequently refers to a divine providence. He speaks scornfully of the professors of atheistic philosophies, 'if philosophies they should be called,' who deny that the gods concern themselves with the affairs of mortals (ii. 68, 2 ; viii. 56,1 ). He, for his part, is assured that the gods do sometimes intervene on behalf of the righteous (ii. 68 f .) and also to punish the wicked, as in the case of Pyrrhus (xx. 9 f.). The Romans, in particular, because of their piety and other virtues, had frequently been the recipients of divine favour, while the designs of their enemies were brought to naught (v. 54,1 ; vi. 13 ; vii. 12,4 ; viii. 26,3 ). The gods, he holds, manifest their will through portents, and the disregarding of these may

## INTRODUCTION

be severely punished, as in the case of Crassus (ii. 6.4). Hence he recorded from time to time a goodly number of portents which he regarded as particularly noteworthy. With respect to the myths, he looked upon many of them, in which the gods played shameful parts, as blasphemous (ii. 18, 3) ; and, though he recognized that some of the Greek myths had a certain value as allegorical interpretations of natural phenomena, or as consolations in misfortune or other similar ways, he nevertheless felt that for the ignorant mass of mankind they did more harm than good, and he was more inclined himself to accept the Roman religion (ii. 20). It is to be observed that in relating myths he nowhere implies his own belief in them, but generally introduces them with some qualifying phrase, such as 'it is said,' ' they say,' etc.

Dionysius doubtless made what he considered to be a thorough study of Roman political institutions; but his narrative constantly shows that he came far short of a real understanding of many of them. His failure to distinguish accurately between patricians and senators and between the patrum auctoritas and a senatus consultum is a source of no little confusion; but, worse still, he often uses the Attic term $\pi \rho \circ \beta$ oúлєv $\mu a$ (preliminary decree) both for senatus consultum and for patrum auctoritas. His frequent use of 'patricians' for 'senators' is easily explained when we compare Livy, who constantly uses the word patres for both patricians and senators. This ambiguous term was doubtless found by both historians in their sources; indeed, in a few instances Dionysius carelessly retained the word

## INTRODUCTION

as 'fathers' (v. 33, 2; vi. 69, 2). In making his choice between the renderings 'patricians' and 'senators' he seems to have adopted the former wherever the patres seemed to be opposed as a class to the plebeians (e.g., iv. 8, 2 ; viii. 82, 4 ; ix. 42, 3). The term patrum auctoritas was apparently no better understood by Livy than by Dionysius; even for the early period he several times represents the auctoritas as preceding the vote of the comitia, and after the Publilian law of 339, which required the auctoritas to be given before the people voted, he uses patrum auctoritas and senatus consultum indiscriminately. There is, in fact, every reason for believing that the term patrum auctoritas had become obsolete even in the time of the older annalists who were Livy's chief sources. But Dionysius, with sources before him that probably showed no greater misunderstanding of this term than does Livy, made matters much worse as the result of his assumption that the patrum auctoritas, and indeed any decree of the senate, was usually a preliminary decree to be ratified by the people. This view justified him in using the word $\pi \rho \circ \beta$ oú $\lambda \in v \mu a$, the name given to the programme of business prepared by the Athenian Boulê for the consideration of the Ecclesia. It can hardly have been the desire to use the word $\pi \rho \circ$ $\beta o v i \lambda \epsilon v \mu a$ that led him to adopt its essential implications; for he often uses $\delta o ́ \gamma \mu a$ or $\psi \eta$ 'фөб $\mu a$ in the same way for a decree of the senate that was to be ratified by the people. He must have had some reason in the first place for believing that the patrum auctoritas was a necessary preliminary to xxvi

## INTRODUCTION

action by the people. We know that it was customary for the consuls, as a matter of practical convenience, to ask the senate's advice and secure its approval before bringing any important matter before the people, inasmuch as the action taken in the comitia would have to receive the patrum auctoritas later in order to be valid. If Dionysius was aware of this custom but not of its purpose, he might well reason that it was absurd for the senate to give its approval more than once to the same business, and hence, since he knew the patrum auctoritas was required for all votes of the people, he would naturally identify this term with the preliminary approval of the senate. It is true this view of the matter seems to be directly opposed to an important statement which he makes at the very outset. When defining the powers of the senate and of the people as established by Romulus, he states that the senate was to ratify the decisions of the people, but adds that in his own day the reverse principle was followed, the decrees of the senate then requiring the approval of the people (ii. 14, 3). The natural implication of his statement is that the change-had come about in fairly late times, but he nowhere in the extant books has anything more definite to say on the subject. In a very few instances he speaks of the 'patricians' (doubtless to him identical with the senators) as ratifying a vote of the people afterwards, e.g., in the case of the election of Numa (ii. 60,3 ) and the appointment of the first tribunes (vi. 90,2 ); but as early as the election of Ancus Marcius he represents the people as ratifying the choice of the senators (iii. 36, 1), and a little later

## INTRODUCTION

speaks of this as the normal procedure (iv. 40, 2 ; $80,2)$. In the last passage he is more explicit, declaring it to be the duty of the senate to consider in advance ( $\pi \rho \circ \beta o v \lambda \epsilon \dot{v} \epsilon \tau$ ) all matters relating to the general welfare, and the duty of the people to ratify their decision. It is fairly evident, then, that Dionysius' own theory was that a $\pi \rho \circ \beta$ oúגєv $\mu a$ of the senate had been necessary from the beginning. If his narrative occasionally violates this theory in practice, it is probably either because his sources were so explicit in particular instances that he felt he could not contradict them, or because he was negligent now and then and forgot to make his practice conform consistently to his theory. Another important matter in which he failed to make theory and practice coincide at all times will be mentioned a little later. It is not clear whether he believed the plebiscita, also, required a $\pi \rho \circ \beta o u ́ \lambda \in v \mu \alpha$; his language is at times ambiguous and his accounts of the procedure in the case of various plebiscita are inconsistent with one another. He held the mistaken view that all senators were patricians, even undèr the republic; for he believed that plebeians were made patricians before being admitted to the senate (ii. 47,$1 ; \mathrm{v} .13,2$ ). But it is not in constitutional matters only that he made serious errors; there is confusion also in his account of religious matters. Thus, he uses 'haruspex' for 'augur' in ii. 22, 3, and his account of the duties of the pontifices (ii. 73) contains many errors. ${ }^{1}$

[^6]
## INTRODUCTION

A few words must be said about Dionysius' chronology. His date for the founding of Rome was 751 b.c., two years later than that adopted by Varro; and this difference between the two chronologies remains constant for the first 304 years of the city down to the time of the decemvirs (the period covered by Books I.-X.). At that point the gap widens: Dionysius represents the decemviral rule as continuing for a third year, while Varro assigned to it only two years. Accordingly, for the halfdozen years covered by Book XI. Dionysius' dates are three years later than those of Varro. The fragments of the last nine books do not give any dates; but three sporadic references in the earlier books to events of the third and first centuries b.c. show that for this late period his dates are the same as Varro's. ${ }^{1}$ Dionysius devotes two chapters (i. 74 f .) to explaining how he arrived at the date 751 for the founding of the city, and for fuller information refers the reader to a separate work ${ }^{2}$ that he had published to show how the Roman chronology was to be reduced to the Greek. There are other passages also which bear witness to the particular interest he felt in matters of chronology. ${ }^{3}$ Notwithstanding all the attention he devoted to this side of his work, modern scholars have for the most
${ }^{1}$ i. 8,1 ( 265 в.c.) ; ii. 25,7 ( 231 в.c.); i. 3,4 ( 7 в.с.). See O. Leuze, Die röm. Jahrzählung, pp. 189-93, for a plausible explanation of the closing of the gap between the two chronologies before the end of the fourth century.
${ }^{2}$ X $\rho$ óvol, or $\Pi_{\epsilon \rho i} X \rho o ́ v \omega \nu$, cited by Clemens Alexandr., Strom. i. 102.
${ }^{3}$ i. 63 ; ii. 59 ; iv. 6 f., 30,64 ; vi. 11 ; vii. 1.

## INTRODUCTION

part been very harsh in their judgments of him in this very regard, accusing him of carelessness generally in the matter of his dates and, in particular, of following one system of chronology for the period treated in his History and another for events nearer his own day. Our historian had to wait long for his vindication ; but one of the most recent investigators in the field of Roman chronology, Oscar Leuze, has come ably to his defence and shown that at least the more important of these charges of inaccuracy rest upon misunderstanding of Dionysius' real meaning or of his usage. ${ }^{1}$

Like most of the later Greek historians, Dionysius uses the reckoning by Olympiads, usually adding the name of the Athenian archon. From the beginning of the republic he normally gives the Greek date only for the first year of each Olympiad, identifying the intervening years merely by the names of the Roman magistrates. As the Athenian official year began in mid-summer and the Olympiadic year of the historians either in mid-summer or early autumn, whereas the Roman consular year began, in later times, on January 1, though in
${ }^{1}$ Die röm. Jahrzählung, pp. 177-99. Of particular interest is his defence of Dionysius' date for the beginning of the First Punic War (pp. 184-87). Leuze argues that Dionysius is here following a usage of Polybius and Diodorus, who in a number of instances regard as the beginning of a war, not the formal declaration of war or the first armed clash, but the event that was the immediate cause of the conflict. In the case in question this was Rome's decision to aid the Mamertines, apparently at the end of the year 265. The Antiquities naturally included the events of the year 265 up to the sending of the Mamertine embassy to Rome.

## INTRODUCTION

earlier times at various seasons of the year, the Grcek historians were confronted with an awkward problem in synchronizing Roman and Greek dates. The solution apparently followed by Dionysius, and probably by Polybius and Diodorus also, was to adopt the later Roman year of uniform length for all periods of Roman history, and to identify a given Roman year with the Olympiadic year in the course of which it began, rather than with that in which it ended (as is the modern practice). The dates given in the notes of the present edition follow this principle, only a single year being indicated as the modern equivalent of the Greek year, instead of parts of two years. Thus Olymp. 7, 1 is identified as 751 B.C. instead of $752 / 1$. The only exceptions are a few dates of non-Roman events, where Dionysius was probably not concerned with the exact Roman equivalent.

Dionysius was in theory opposed to the annalistic method of writing history. In his Letter to Pompeius (chap. 3) he criticized Thucydides' chronological arrangement of events, by winters and summers, as seriously interrupting the continuity of the narrative, and praised Herodotus for adopting the topical order. Yet when he himself was to write a history of Rome he evidently found it impracticable to avoid following the annalistic method in vogue among the Romans. For the regal period, it is true, he arranges the events of each reign under the two headings of wars and peaceful achievements. But beginning with the establishment of the republic, he treats the events of each year by themselves, first naming the consuls or

## INTRODUCTION

other chief magistrates. For the greater part of the period that he covers this method could cause no confusion, as the military campaigns were of short duration; and it had the further advantage of avoiding monotony, since the narrative was constantly alternating between wars abroad and dissensions at home.

As regards his sources, Dionysius states in his preface (chap. 7) that he had consulted the works of the approved Roman historians, -Cato, Fabius Maximus (Servilianus ?), Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, Aelius (Tubero), Gellius, Calpurnius (Piso) and many others,-and that he had also derived information from conversations with the most learned men. And at the end of Book I. (chap. 89) he refers to his careful reading of many works by both Greek and Roman writers on the subject of the origin of the Romans. His claim certainly appears to be justified, so far at least as Book I. is concerned. In this one book he cites no fewer than thirty Greek authors, most of them historians or logographers, and seven Roman writers, - Cato, Tubero and Piso, of those named above, and Fabius Pictor, Lucius Alimentus, C. Sempronius (Tuditanus) and Varro. To the last-named he owns his indebtedness for his account of the old cities of the Aborigines (chaps. 14 f.) ; but he probably owes considerable more to him in this book in places where he has not named his source. After the birth of Romulus and Remus there was scarcely any further occasion for using Greek sources; and he usually mentioned the Roman historians only in cases where there were divergent traditions. He

## INTRODUCTION

naturally considered it to be his task as a historian to reconcile the different traditions so far as possible and present a smooth, uninterrupted narrative; and in the main he has succeeded very well in doing so. ${ }^{1}$ But now and then he found such divergences among his sources that he could not ignore them. In such cases he presents the two or more versions and either expresses his own preference or, quite often, leaves the decision to the reader. At times he makes the decision with the greatest confidence, especially in matters of chronology. He is prompt to discover anachronisms, and rebukes rather sharply the historians who have carelessly perpetuated them; Licinius Macer and Cn. Gellius are thus censured on two occasions (vi. 11, 2; vii. 1, 4), also Fabius Pictor (iv. 6 f. ; 30, 2 f.), while Calpurnius Piso Frugi is named in one instance (iv. 7,5 ) as the only one to give the correct version. It is generally recognized that he followed the late annalists as his principal sources; their histories were generally very voluminous, and in them he could find the full, detailed accounts which he frequently gives. His political orientation is that of the annalists of Sulla's time, who were strong champions of the senate's supremacy. They wrote their annals as propaganda, deliberately falsifying their account of events from time to time in order to make it appear that the senate had held from the first, or at least from the beginning of the republic, the same dominant position in the State

[^7]
## INTRODUCTION

that it held in the second and first centuries before Christ. They did this by representing the senate as having been consulted in early times on various occasions where tradition made no mention of any action on its part. ${ }^{1}$ Dionysius seems to have held the extreme view that even under the monarchy the senate had played a dominant part, the king's power being limited much as at Sparta (ii. 14, 1 f .; $c f$. vi. 66,3 ). This was his theory ; but in actual practice his narrative mentions very few specific occasions where the senate was consulted by the king, and we gain the impression that the power of the latter was virtually supreme. But from the moment of the establishing of the republic his account of events is in strict agreement with his theory. His failure to reconcile practice and theory earlier argues a lack of inventiveness either on his part or on that of his sources ; it probably did not seem worth the trouble to work out the details. This view of the senate's original supremacy was the view taken also by Cicero in his De Republica; but it was not the view of Livy, who followed earlier annalists and rightly held that the senate had only gradually gained its wide powers. It is just such differences in orientation as this that make it fairly certain that Dionysius was not using Livy as his source in the numerous passages where their accounts seem at first sight strikingly similar. ${ }^{2}$ Besides the authors cited by Dionysius, he also

[^8]xxxiv

## INTRODUCTION

mentions a number of inscriptions, both at Rome and elsewhere, and there are sporadic references to the annales maximi, the records of the censors, etc.; but he does not say that he had seen any of these himself, and it is probable that he found the references in the amnalists.

The first historian to cite Dionysius was Plutarch, who modelled his style upon that of the Antiquities. ${ }^{1}$ Schwartz held that Dionysius was Plutarch's sole source for his Coriolanus, but this view is opposed by Bux. The Romulus and Numa may each contain a little from the Antiquities, the Camillus is chiefly based on Livy. ${ }^{2}$ Dionysius is twice quoted in the Pyrrhus, but not enough of his account is preserved to enable us to make any accurate comparison between the two.

## Scripta Rhetorica

The shorter works of Dionysius have generally gone under the name of Scripta Rhetorica; but they contain more of literary criticism than of technical rhetoric. They are all in the form of letters addressed to some literary friend, patron or pupil. There is no internal evidence to show whether they were composed before or after the History was published ; but it is generally assumed that Dionysius wrote them from time to time during the years that he was engaged upon his great work. Although no absolute dates can be assigned to these several treatises, the relative order in which

[^9]
## INTRODUCTION

they were composed can be determined in most cases by means of the frequent references in one to what the writer has already discussed or proposes to discuss in another. The order in which Roberts arranges them is as follows:

> 1. First Letter to Ammaeus.
> 2. On the Arrangement of Words.
> 3. On the Ancient Orators.
> 4. On the Style of Demosthenes.
> 5. On Imitation : Books I., II.
> 6. Letter to Cn. Pompeius.
> 7. On Imitation: Book III.
> 8. On Dinarchus.
> 9. On Thucydides.
> 10. Second Letter to Ammaeus.

Egger would transpose the second and third items, seeing a greater maturity of judgment in the treatise on the Arrangement of Words. As regards the Dinarchus, he says we can be sure only that it was later than the Ancient Orators.

The treatise on Imitation is known to us only from fragments. Only the first half of the study of the Ancient Orators is preserved, treating of Lysias, Isocrates and Isaeus; in the second part Demosthenes, Hyperides and Aeschines were discussed. The treatise on the Style of Demosthenes is thought to be an enlarged edition of the discussion of Demosthenes in the carlier series. Other Works which have been lost were on the Choice of Words, on Figures, and on Political Philosophy, the latter a defence of the rhetoric of Isocrates and his school

## INTRODUCTION

against its Epicurean detractors. The early editions attributed to Dionysius an Ars Rhetorica, but this is no longer held to be his work.

For a detailed account of the Scripta Rhetorica the reader is referred to Max. Egger, Denys d' Halıcarnasse, pp. 20-246; a briet survey of these works may be found in W. Rhys Roberts, Dionysius of Halicarnassus: The Three Literary Letters, pp. 4-34. Roberts also gives (pp. 209-19) a bibliography of the Scripta Rhetorica down to the year 1900.

To his labours as literary critic Dionysius brought a wide and thorough acquaintance with the works of the Attic prose writers, a discriminating taste, and great industry and zeal. His chief merit as a critic lies in his purity of taste; he rejoiced in the recent triumph of Atticism over Asianism and did his best to strengthen that victory. His rhetorical works have much in common with those of Cicero, due to their both using many of the same sources. Like Cicero, Dionysius held Demosthenes in the greatest admiration; but this excessive admiration for one man seems to have made him unfair in his judgment of others: he tended to judge all the prose writers by the standards he set up for the orators. In other respects as well he is often narrow and superficial in his criticisms, and his manner is too dogmatic.

The first reference to Dionysius as a rhetorician in any extant author is in Quintilian, who merely names him three times in lists of rhetoricians. In the third century the circle of Libanius paid some attention to him. From the fifth century onward

## INTRODUCTION

he was regarded by the Byzantines as the supreme authority on rhetoric.

## Manuscripts

The manuscripts used by Jacoby for the first ten books of the Antiquities are as follows:
A. Chisianus 58,10 th cent.
B. Urbinas 105,10 th-11th cent.
C. Coislinianus 150 , 16 th cent.
D. Regius Parisinus 1654 and 1655 , 16 th cent.
E. Vaticanus 133, 15 th cent.
F. Urbinas 106, 15th cent.

C and E also contain Book XI.; F contains only I.-V.

The MSS. used for Book XI. and those for the Fragments of XII.-XX. will be listed in Vol. VII.
$A$ and B are by far the best of the MSS.; the others are all late, and some of them, especially C and D , contain numerous interpolations. The editio princeps was based on D. B was first used by Hudson, but he contented himself with giving its readings in his notes. The translators Bellanger and Spelman were prompt to adopt most of the good readings of B , and many were taken into the text by Reiske. Ritschl was the first to make a comparative study of A and B. As a result of his first investigation, based on insufficient evidence, he was inclined to rate A much higher than B; but later he showed a better appreciation of the good readings found only in B , and concluded that a sound text must rest upon a judicious use of both

## INTRODUCTION

A and B, ${ }^{1}$-a conclusion in which Jacoby heartily concurred. Kiessling based his edition on B so far as possible.

The individual symbols of the late MSS. appear very infrequently in Jacoby's (and the present) critical apparatus, since these MSS. are rarely of any service in establishing the text. An occasional good reading found only in the margin of D ( Dmg ) may have been entered by R. Stephanus himself; in any event such readings are evidently based on conjecture rather than on the authority of any manuscript.

## Editions

The important editions of the Antiquities follow: Robert Estienne (Stephanus), Paris. 1546. The editio princeps of the Greek text. Books I.-XI. Based on the very inferior Cod. Reg. Paris. 1654-55.

Friedrich Sylburg. Frankfort, 1586. Books I.-XI. and the Excerpta de Legatiombus, translation (Gelenius' version revised) and notes. Sylburg made use, chiefly in his notes. of two MSS., a Romanus (not to be identified) and a Venetus (272). Reprinted in careless form at Leipzig in 1691.

John Hudson. Oxford, 1704. Books I.-XI. with the Excerpta de Legationibus and Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis, a revision of Portus' Latin translation, and notes of varions scholars. Hudson was the first to use the Urbinas (which be called
${ }^{1}$ His monographs on Dionysius were reprmted in his Opuscula, Vol. i., pp. 471-5 $\ddagger 0$.

## INTRODUCTION

Cod. Vaticanus), but cited its readings only in the notes.
J. J. Reiske, Leipzig, 1774-75. The text and translation of Hudson's edition with Reiske's own notes added. Too late to accomplish much in Vol. I., Reiske discovered that the printer was faithfully reproducing all the typographical errors of Hudson's edition; but from Book III. 21 onward he corrected the proof sheets and also for the first time inserted the good readings of B in the text. Dionysius is often cited by the pages of this edition.

Adolf Kiessling, Leipzig (Teubner), 1860-70. Based on B, so far as possible.

Carl Jacoby, Leipzig (Teubner), 1885-1905; Index, 1925.

Adolf Kiessling-Victor Prou, Paris (Didot), 1886. Greek text and Latin translation (Portus revised). An unfortunate edition. Kiessling, after getting the work fairly started, dropped it completely; and Prou, who was called upon to complete the task, was far from possessing Kiessling's critical ability. Jacoby recognized the hand of Kiessling through the greater part of Books I.-III.; from that point on the edition has virtually no critical value.

Besides these complete editions of the Antiquities, selected chapters were edited by D. C. Grimm (Archaeologiae Romanae quae ritus Romanos explicat Synopsis), Leipzig, 1786 ; J. J. Ambrosch (i. 9-38; ii. 1-29; ii. $30-56$; ii. 64-74) in four academic Festschriften, Breslau, 1840-46; Fr. Ritschl (i. 1-30), Bonn, 1846. Angelo Mai published at Milan, in 1816, some fragments from an epitome contained xl

## INTRODUCTION

in a Milan MS., Cod. Ambrosianus Q 13 sup., and its copy, A 80 sup. These are now included (as the Excerpta Ambrosiana) among the Fragments of Books XiI.-XX.

## Translations

The first Latin translation of the Antiquities (Books I.-XI.) was that of Lapus (or Lappus) Biragus, published at Treviso in 1480, three-quarters of a century before the first edition of the Greek text appeared. It possesses a special interest because it was based on two MSS., not as yet identified with any now extant, which were placed at the translator's disposal by Pope Paul II. Ritschl argued that one of these must have belonged to the better class of MSS. now represented by A and $B$, since the translation contains most of the additions to the text of the editio princeps that are found in one or both of the older MSS. ${ }^{1}$ Lapus'
${ }^{1}$ Opuscula, i. pp. 489, 493. Since some of the interpolations now found in C and D are included by Lapus, Ritschl concluded that he now and then consulted his later MS. for help (p. 530). Had Ritschl carried his investigation a little farther, he would have discovered that Lapus made diligent use of his older MS., closely related to B, only for Books I., II. and the first third of III., after which he practically ignored it. (The good readings which he has in common with $B$ in the later books are in virtually every instance found also in C.) Down to iii. 23 he has most of the good readings of $B$, including a goodly number that appear in no other MS., but he avoids nearly all of B's errors ; he also ignores the interpolations of C. From iii. 24 through Book XI. he nearly always agrees with C's readings, including a number of the marginal interpolations; in a

## INTRODUCTION

translation was reprinted, 'with corrections,' but also with a multitude of fresh typographical errors, at Paris in 1529, and again, as revised by Glareanus, at Basle in 1532. A fresh translation of Books I.-X. by Gelenius, based on the text of the princeps, appeared at Basle in 1549 ; for Book XI. he merely reprinted Lapus' translation. Sylburg (1586) revised the translation of Gelenius and added his own version of Book XI. Aemilius Portus brought out a new translation (Lausanne, 1588) ; and this translation was adopted in the editions of Hudson and Reiske, and, with numerous corrections, in that of Kiessling-Prou.

An Italian translation by Francesco Venturi appeared at Venice in 1545, one year before the editio princeps. The translator names as his sources a Greek copy, very difficult to read, and a Latin translation [Lapus] full of errors. Apparently no serious use was made of the manuscript ; it may well have proved to be generally inferior to Lapus' reading. In any case, Venturi's translation, with the exception of a few minor changes which were probably due to conjecture, presupposes the same Greek text as that of Lapus. Another Italian translation was published by M. Mastrofini, Rome, 1812-13.
very few cases he supplies a few words missing in both $B$ and $C$, so that one or the other of his MSS. must have been better than its present representative. Since he refers to the confused order of the text in both his MSS. at the end of Book XI., his older MS. cannot have been B ; and the interpolated one cannot have been C , if C is correctly assigned to the sixteenth century.

## INTRODUCTION

A French version by G. F. le Jay (Paris, 1722) was loudly acclaimed by the admirers of the translator as representing perfection itself; but the two men who next translated the Antiquities, Bellanger and Spelman, showed that it was a servile translation of Portus' Latin version, errors and all. The following year Bellanger brought out, anonymously, his own translation, based on Hudson's text and the good readings of B contained in Hudson's notes. It is a smooth, fluent translation, but often rather free and at times little more than a paraphrase. It was reprinted later under Bellanger's own name.

In German there have been translations by J. L. Benzler (1752 ; reprinted 1771-72) and by G. J. Schaller and A. H. Christian (Stuttgart, 1827-50). Benzler's version was quite free, that of Schaller (Books I.-IV.) accurate and scholarly; the part translated by Christian has not been seen by the present translator.

The only English version to appear hitherto is that of Edward Spelman, which was published with notes and dissertations at London in 1758. It is a good and, for the most part, fairly close translation of Hudson's text (Books I.-XI.) as improved by the good readings of the Urbinas and occasional conjectural emendations. See further on p. xlv.

The Greek text here presented is based on the edition of Jacoby, but departs rather frequently from his text. All significant departures are indicated in the critical notes, but not, as a rule, minor details of orthography, elision and crasis, or correc-

## INTRODUCTION

tions of obvious typographical errors that appear in his edition. Jacoby was fairly consistent in following out the principles which he had established with greater or less probability in two preliminary studies of Dionysian usage. ${ }^{1}$ But in the case of some phrases and combinations of vowels for which he could not show that elision or crasis is normally to be expected, he vacillated in his attitude toward the MSS., sometimes following them in permitting hiatus and at other times emending; the present edition follows the MSS. (or some MS.) in all such cases. The MSS. are likewise followed in their spelling of the various forms of adjectives such as $\chi$ a入ко仑ิs and $\chi$ puбoûs, which appear in the contracted and the uncontracted forms with about equal frequency; Jacohy occasionally emended an uncontracted form. He adopted the late spellings $\dot{\epsilon} \pi a v \sigma \theta \eta \nu$ and $\dot{\eta} \lambda a ́ \sigma \theta \eta \nu$ wherever they have the authority of any MS., ${ }^{2}$ and occasionally elsewhere; in the present text the Attic forms $\dot{\epsilon} \pi a v \dot{v} \eta \nu$ and $\eta^{\lambda} \lambda \alpha^{\prime} \theta \eta \nu$ are everywhere restored.

The present editor has permitted himself the liberty of spelling a few Latin proper names in the Greek text in the manner that many an editor would have liked to spell them, but as only a few of the earlier editors ventured to do in actual
${ }^{1}$ (a) Observationes criticae in Dionysii Hal. Antiquitates Romanas, in Acta Socieiatis Philol. Lipsiensis, i. (1871), 287-344. (b) Ueber die Sprache des Dionysios von Halikarnassos in der Röm. Archäologie, Aarau, 1874.
${ }^{2}$ In one instance $C$ alone seems to show the $\sigma$; elsewhere the only MS. giving it is B (about half the time), but even in this MS. the $\sigma$ has usually been deleted by a correcting hand.

## INTRODUCTION

practice, and then only in the case of part of the names. It is hard to believe that Dionysius would have written such forms, for example, as $\Phi$ atotúdos for $\Phi$ avatúdos (compare his correct form Фavatîvos), ^敃єvtóv (in Book I.) for Mav́pєvtov (the form found in Book V.; cf. Мavpєvtivoı and $\Lambda a v \rho \epsilon \nu \tau i a)$, or Mav̂va for Maovïvía in such a context as i. 59, 3 (and if he wrote the correct form here, he must have used it elsewhere).

The critical apparatus lists only the more important variants and emendations; many simple emendations made by the early editors and adopted in subsequent editions are passed over in silence. No fresh collations of the MSS. have been available; but here and there an obvious error in Jacoby's report has been corrected or a suspicious entry queried.

The present translation is based on that of Spelman. His rendering of numerous passages, more especially in the speeches, is so spirited and so idiomatic, and often requires so few changes to make it seem thoroughly modern in tone, that it seemed desirable to use what was best of it in preparing this version for the Loeb Classical Library. If Spelman had been at his best more uniformly, a mild revision, to bring his translation into accord with the present Greck text, would have been all that was required. But the quality of his English is very uneven. He constructs a good many long, cumbersome sentences, in imitation of the Greek, shows an excessive fondness for the absolute use of the participle, and at times uses a vocabulary that seems more Latin than English. Where he thus

## INTRODUCTION

departs from a good English style, and wherever his rendering is not sufficiently close to the Greek for the present purpose, changes have been freely made, some of them very drastic. No attempt has been made to preserve the antique flavour that characterizes Spelman's rendering, as a whole, inasmuch as the passages which he has rendered most successfully from other points of view are usually the most modern in diction. He did not translate the fragments; they appear here in English for the first time. The notes with which Spelman accompanied his version were scholarly and useful in their day, but have not the same interest now; accordingly, an entirely new set of notes has been prepared for this edition.

For the convenience of the reader parallel passages from Livy have been indicated in the notes, beginning with i. 64.

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A bibliography of the Roman Antrquities covering the period from 1774 to 1876 was published by Jacoby in Philologus, xxxvi. (1877), pp. 129-31, 152-54. It was continued in the introductions to the several volumes of his edition, including the Index (1925). To the lists there given should be added:

Edw. Schwartz, in Pauly.Wissowa, Real-Encyclopadie, s.v. Dionysius, cols. 934-61.

Max. Egger, Denys d'Halicarnasse (Paris, 1902) pp. 1-19, 247-98. An excellent study of Dionysius, more particularly as rhetorician.
H. Liers, Die Theorie der Geschichtsschreibung des Dionys von Halikarnass. Waklenburg, 1856.

Eiliv Skard, Eprgraphische Formeln ber Dionys von Halikarnass, in Symbolae Osloenses xi. (1932). 55-60.
E. Gaida, Die Schlachtschilderungen in den Antiquitates Romanae des Dionys ron Halikarnass, Breslau, 1934.

## SIGLA

$\mathrm{A}=$ Chisianus 58.
$B=$ Urbinas 105 .
$\mathrm{C}=$ Coislinianus 150 .
$\mathrm{D}=$ Regius Parisinus 1654 and 1655.
$\mathrm{E}=$ Vaticanus 133 .
$\mathrm{F}=$ Urbinas 106 .
$\mathrm{O}=\mathrm{All}{ }^{1}$ the MSS.
$R=$ All ${ }^{1}$ the MSS. not otherwise cited.
$\mathrm{a}, \mathrm{b}$, and occasionally c , added to the symbol of a MS. indicate the successive hands; mg denotes a marginal entry.

Steph. = editio princeps of R. Stephanus. Steph. ${ }^{2}=$ notes of H. Stephanus.
${ }^{1}$ But there is good reason for suspecting that Jacoby usually ignored E and F : in fact, he nowhere seems to cite the latter individually.

## THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF

 DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
## $\triangle$ IONY IIOY

A AIKAPNA工E $\Omega$

## P＠MAIKHさ APNAIOAOCIAS

## АOFOさ ПP











 $2 \epsilon \ddot{\epsilon} \lambda \alpha \beta o \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \nu \rho a \phi \eta \sigma o \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu$ ．$\dot{\epsilon}^{\pi} \pi \epsilon i \sigma \theta \eta \nu \gamma \grave{\alpha} \rho$ ö $\tau \iota \delta \epsilon \hat{\imath}$ тov̀s $\pi \rho \circ \alpha \iota \rho o v \mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \mu \nu \eta \mu \epsilon i ̂ a ~ \tau \hat{\eta} S$ є́aut $\hat{\nu} \nu \psi \chi \chi \hat{\eta} S$
${ }^{1}$ è Steph. ${ }^{2}$ : om O, Jacoby.
${ }^{2}$ C. Müller, Usener : ávał́i丸aos O .

[^10]
## THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

## B00K I

I. Although it is much against my will to indulge in the explanatory statements usually given in the prefaces to histories, yet I am obliged to prefix to this work some remarks concerning myself. In doing this it is neither my intention to dwell too long on my own praise, which I know would be distasteful to the reader, nor have I the purpose of censuring other historians, as Anaximenes and Theopompus ${ }^{1}$ did in the prefaces to their histories but I shall only show the reasons that induced me to undertake this work and give an accounting of the sources from which I gained the knowledge of the things I am going to relate. For I am convinced that all who propose to leave such monuments of their minds to posterity as time shall
of Macedon; also an epic on Alexander. Theopompus in his Hellenica continued the history of Thucydides from 411 down to the battle of Cnidus in 394; his Philippica, in 58 books, treated not only of Philip but of contemporary events elsewhere.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 $\sigma \theta \eta \dot{\eta \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota} \tau 0 i ̂ s ~ \sigma \omega ́ \mu a \sigma \iota \nu ~ a u ̉ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ v i \pi o ̀ ~ \tau o v ̂ ~ \chi \rho o ́ v o v, ~$ каì $\pi \alpha ́ v \tau \omega \nu \mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau \alpha$ тоv̀s ảvaүрáфovтas iotopias,






 $\dot{v} \pi \epsilon \dot{\epsilon} \rho$ á $\delta o ́ \xi \omega \nu \quad \pi \rho a \gamma \mu \alpha ́ \tau \omega \nu$ そ̈ $\pi о \nu \eta \rho \hat{\omega} \nu$ そ̈ $\mu \eta \delta \in \mu i \hat{a} s$








 voui'̧ovaıv єikóvas єival $\tau \hat{\eta} s$ є́кáбтov $\psi v \chi \hat{\eta} s$ ioùs





 $\tau \omega \nu$ ảvaүрафонє́vas iбторias $\tau a v ิ \tau \alpha$ $\grave{̀} \nu \nu \mu i ́ \sigma a s$


## BOOK I. 1, 2-4

not involve in one common ruin with their bodies, and particularly those who write histories, in which we have the right to assume that Truth, the source of both prudence and wisdom, is enshrined, ought, first of all, to make choice of noble and lofty subjects and such as will be of great utility to their readers, and then, with great care and pains, to provide themselves with the proper equipment for the treatment of their subject. For those who base historical works upon deeds inglorious or evil or unworthy of serious study, either because they crave to come to the knowle, ige of men and to get a name of some sort or other, or because they desire to display the wealth of their rhetoric, are neither admired by posterity for their fame nor praised for their eloquence; rather, they leave this opinion in the minds of all who take up their histories, that they themselves admired lives which were of a piece with the writings they published, since it is a just and a general opinion that a man's words are the images of his mind. Those, on the other hand, who, while making choice of the best subjects, are careless and indolent in compiling their narratives out of such reports as chance to come to their ears gain no praise by reason of that choice; for we do not deem it fitting that the histories of renowned cities and of men who have held supreme power should be written in an offhand or negligent manner. As I believe these considerations to be necessary and of the first importance to historians

[^11]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

єival каi $\pi о \lambda \lambda \eta ̀ \nu \quad \pi о \iota \eta \sigma \alpha ́ \mu \epsilon \nu$ оs ả $\mu \phi о \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega \nu \quad$ є́ $\pi \iota-$ $\mu \epsilon ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota a \nu$ oưтє $\pi a \rho \epsilon \lambda \theta \epsilon i ̂ \nu$ тòv vimè $\rho$ aữ $\hat{\omega} \nu$ 入órov
 $\mu \hat{a} \lambda \lambda \frac{\nu}{\eta} \tau \hat{\omega} \pi \rho о о \iota \mu i \varphi$ т $\hat{\eta}_{S} \pi \rho a \gamma \mu a \tau \epsilon i ́ a s$.
 $\mu \epsilon \gamma а \lambda о \pi \rho \epsilon \pi \hat{\eta}$ каi $\pi о \lambda \lambda о i ̂ s ~ \omega ் ф \epsilon ́ \lambda \iota \mu о \nu ~ o v ̉ ~ \mu а к р \hat{\nu} \nu$









 $\mu \epsilon ́ v a s, ~$ ỏ $\mu$ óvov катà тò $\mu \epsilon \in \gamma \epsilon \theta$ оs $\tau \hat{\eta} S$ ả $\rho \chi \hat{\eta} s$ каi






 Svva⿱亠тєiav $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \beta a \lambda о \mu \epsilon ́ v \eta$ Х $\rho o ́ v o \nu ~ o v ̉ ~ \pi о \lambda u ̀ v ~ к а \tau-~$





## BOOK I. 1. 4-2, 2

and as I have taken great care to observe them both, I have felt unwilling either to omit mention of them or to give it any other place than in the preface to iny work.
II. That I have indeed made choice of a subject noble. lofty and uscful to many will not. I think. require any lengthy argument, at least for those who are not utterly unacquainted with universal history. For if anyone turns his attention to the successive supremacies both of cities and of nations, as accounts of them have been handed down from times past, and then, surveying them severally and comparing them together, wishes to determine which of them obtained the widest dominion and both in peace and war performed the most brilliant achievements, he will find that the supremacy of the Romans has far surpassed all those that are recorded from earlier times, not only in the extent of its dominion and in the splendour of its achievements-which no account has as yet worthily celebrated-but also in the length of time during which it has endured down to our day. For the empire of the Assyrians, ancient as it was and running back to legendary times, held sway over only a small part of Asia. That of the Medes, after overthrowing the Assyrian empire and obtaining a still wider dominion, did not hold it long, but was overthrown in the fourth generation. ${ }^{1}$ The Persians, who conquered the Medes, did, indeed, finally become masters of almost all Asia; but when they attacked the nations of Europe also, they did not reduce many of them to
${ }^{1}$ In 550 b.c., in the reign of Astyages, the fourth Median king according to Herodotus.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

$\pi \circ \lambda \lambda \grave{\alpha}$ vi $\pi \eta \gamma \alpha ́ \gamma o v \tau o, \chi \rho o ́ v o \nu ~ \tau \epsilon$ ov̉ $\pi \circ \lambda \lambda \hat{\varphi} \pi \lambda \epsilon i o v a$





 خं $\gamma \epsilon \mu$ óvas $\epsilon \dot{v} \theta \dot{v} s$ ảmò $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta \iota \alpha \delta o ́ \chi \omega \nu$ каi $\mu \in \tau^{\prime} \epsilon \in \kappa \epsilon i v o v s$

 4 $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v \tau \hat{\omega} \sigma \alpha$ vimò ' $P \omega \mu a i \omega \nu$ ท̀ $\phi a \nu i ́ \sigma \theta \eta$. каi oủঠè



 av่тท̂s $\mu \epsilon \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \mu \epsilon ́ \chi \rho \iota ~ \Theta \rho a ̆ \kappa \eta s ~ \pi \rho o \hat{\eta} \lambda \theta \epsilon$, $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \delta^{\prime}$










[^12]
## ${ }^{1} 550-330$ в.с.

${ }^{2}$ i.e. "Successors," the term applied to the generals

## BOOK I. 2, 2-3, 2

submission, and they continued in power not much above two hundred years. ${ }^{1}$ The Macedonian dominion, which overthrew the might of the Persians, did, in the extent of its sway, exceed all its predecessors, yet even it did not flourish long, but after Alexander's death began to decline; for it was immediately partitioned among many commanders from the time of the Diadochi, ${ }^{2}$ and although after their time it was able to go on to the second or third generation, yet it was weakened by its own dissensions and at the last destroyed by the Romans. ${ }^{3}$ But even the Macedonian power did not subjugate every country and every sea; for it neither conquered Libya, with the exception of the small portion bordering on Egypt, nor subdued all Europe, but in the North advanced only as far as Thrace and in the West down to the Adriatic Sea.
III. Thus we see that the most famous of the earlier supremacies of which history has given us any account, after attaining to so great vigour and might, were overthrown. As for the Greek powers, it is not fitting to compare them to those just mentioned, since they gained neither magnitude of empire nor duration of eminence equal to theirs. For the Athenians ruled only the sea coast, during the space of sixty-eight years, ${ }^{4}$ nor did their sway extend even over all that, but only to the part
of Alexander who divided his empire among themselves after his death.
${ }^{3}$ By the overthrow of Perseus in 168 , or possibly by the defeat of Philip V in 197, followed by that of Antiochus in 190 . Compare chap. 3 (end).
${ }^{4}$ From ca. 472 to 404.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 $\pi \epsilon \lambda a ́ \gamma o v s$ ，ӧтє $\mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau \alpha$ є่ $\theta a \lambda a \sigma \sigma о к р а ́ т о v \nu . ~ М а к \epsilon-~$

 $\pi \rho o v{ }^{\beta} i \not \beta a \sigma \alpha \nu, ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi a v ́ \theta \eta \sigma \alpha \nu ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$ vimò $\Theta \eta \beta a i \omega \nu$ ov̉ס̀̀


 $\pi \alpha ́ \sigma \eta s ~ \delta \grave{~ к р а т \epsilon i ̂ ~ \theta a \lambda a ́ \sigma \sigma \eta \zeta, ~ o v ̉ ~ \mu o ́ v o v ~ \tau \eta ̂ s ~ \epsilon ̀ v \tau o ̀ s ~}$













 $\tau \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$＇Iта入ías каi є̇ $\pi i \tau \eta ̀ \nu$ á $\pi \alpha ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ є’ $\theta$ á $\rho \rho \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$ ả $\rho \chi \eta{ }^{\prime} \nu$
${ }^{1} \dot{v} \pi a \tau \in \dot{v} \circ v \tau a$ deleted（with Suidas）by Reudler，Jacoby．

[^13]
## BOOK I. 3, 2-5

between the Euxine and the Pamphylian scas, when their naval supremacy was at its height. The Lacedaemonians, when masters of the Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece, advauced their rule as far as Macedonia, but were checked by the Thebans before they had held it quite thirty years. ${ }^{1}$ But Rome rules every country that is not inaccessible or uninhabited, and she is mistress of every sea, not only of that which lies inside the Pillars of Hercules but also of the Ocean, except that part of it which is not navigable ${ }^{2}$; she is the first and the only State recorded in all time that ever made the risings and the settings of the sun the boundaries of her dominion. Nor has her supremacy been of short duration, but more lasting than that of any other commonwealth or kingdom. For from the very beginning, immediately after her founding, she began to draw to herself the neighbouring nations, which were both numerous and warlike, and continually advanced, subjugating every rival. And it is now seven hundred and forty-five years from her foundation down to the consulship of Claudius Nero, consul for the second time, and of Calpurnius Piso, who were chosen in the one hundred and ninety-third Olympiad. ${ }^{3}$ From the time that she mastered the whole of Italy she was emboldened to aspire to
north. From Eratosthenes we learn also that that other early navigator, the Carthaginian Hanno, who sailed far south along the west coast of Africa, was finally forced by many difficulties (of what sort we are not told) to turn back.
${ }^{3}$ Nero and Piso were consuls in 7 b.c. This was the year 745 of the City according to Dionysius, who assigns its founding to the year 751. See chap. 74.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS














 ơ $\tau \iota \delta \epsilon i \not \pi \lambda \epsilon i ́ \omega \lambda \epsilon \in \epsilon \epsilon \nu$.
IV. "Oть $\delta$ ' oủk ăvยv $\lambda о \gamma \iota \sigma \mu$ о̂ каi $\pi \rho о \nu o i ́ a s$



 $\phi \iota \lambda a \iota \tau i \omega \nu$, ov̉ $\delta \in ́ v ~ \pi \omega^{1}$ $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mu \epsilon \lambda \lambda o ́ v \tau \omega 1$, $\delta \eta \lambda o v ิ \sigma \theta a \iota$
 ŋ̀ $\mu a ̂ s ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega s ~ a ̉ \delta o ́ \xi o v s ~ к а i ~ \pi a ́ v v ~ \tau a \pi \epsilon \iota \nu a ̀ s ~ \tau a ̀ s ~$




$$
{ }^{1} \pi \omega \text { Cobet : oű } \pi \omega \mathrm{O} \text {. }
$$

[^14]
## BOOK I. 3, 5-4, 1

govern all mankind, and after driving from off the sea the Carthaginians, whose maritime strength was superior to that of all others, and subduing Macedonia, which until then was reputed to be the most powerful nation on land, she no longer had as rival any nation either barbarian or Greek; and it is now in my day already the seventh generation ${ }^{1}$ that she has continued to hold sway over every region of the world, and there is no nation, as I may say, that disputes her universal dominion or protests against being ruled by her. However, to prove my statement that I have neither made choice of the most trivial of subjects nor proposed to treat of mean and insignificant deeds, but am undertaking to write not only about the most illustrious city but also about brilliant achievements to whose like no man could point, I know not what more I need say.
IV. But before I proceed, I desire to show in a few words that it is not without design and mature premeditation that I have turned to the early part of Rome's history, but that I have well-considered reasons to give for my choice, to forestall the censure of those who, fond of finding fault with everything and not as yet having heard of any of the matters which I am about to make known, may blame me because, in spite of the fact that this city, grown so famoue in our days, had very humble and inglorious beginnings, unworthy of historical record, and that it was but a few generations ago, that is,
at less than twenty-eight years (his usual estimate) : but he may have felt that the Macedonian power was broken at Cynoscephalae (197). Or the seven generations may have been actually counted in some important family.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 $\tau \alpha \iota \pi \alpha \rho a ̀ ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ " E \lambda \lambda \eta \sigma \iota \nu ~ o ̉ \lambda ı ́ \gamma o v ~ \delta \epsilon i ̂ \nu \pi a ̂ \sigma \iota \nu ~ \eta ं ~ \pi a \lambda a i a ̀ ~$

 a’ $\rho \chi \eta ̀ \nu ~ \lambda \alpha \beta o v ̂ \sigma \alpha \iota ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \pi o \lambda \lambda o u ̀ s ~ \epsilon ’ \xi \eta \pi \alpha \tau \eta ́ к \alpha \sigma \iota \nu, ~ \omega ं s ~$











 $\tau \alpha \hat{\tau} \alpha$ रрáభavтєS ката入ıтєîv，$\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \hat{\sigma} \sigma \iota \beta a \rho \beta a ́ \rho o \iota s$

 ои้тє ả̉ŋ $\theta \epsilon i ̂ s ~ i \sigma \tau о р i ́ a s ~ \chi a p ı \zeta o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o \iota ; ~$
 סєxouévŋs Reiske：єủXouévŋs AB，Jacoby．
${ }^{2}$ Schwartz：торıらouévŋs O，Jacoby．
${ }^{3}$ каíro九 Capps ：каі O，Jacoby．
${ }^{1}$ Sylburg suggested that Hieronymus and Timaeus （see beginning of chap．6）were among the writers

## BOOK I. 4, 1-3

since her overthrow of the Macedonian powers and her success in the Punic wars, that she arrived at distinction and glory, nevertheless, when I was at liberty to choose one of the famous periods in her history for my theme, I turned aside to one so barren of distinction as her antiquarian lore. For to this day almost all the Greeks are ignorant of the early history of Rome and the great majority of them have been imposed upon by sundry false opinions grounded upon stories which chance has brought to their ears and led to believe that, having come upon various vagabonds without house or home and barbarians, and even those not free men, as her founders, she in the course of time arrived at world domination, and this not through reverence for the gods and justice and every other virtue, but through some chance and the injustice of Fortune, which inconsiderately showers her greatest favours upon the most undeserving. And indeed the more malicious are wont to rail openly at Fortune for freely bestowing on the basest of barbarians the blessings of the Greeks. And yet why should I mention men at large, when even some historians have dared to express such views in the writings they have left, taking this method of humouring barbarian kings who detested Rome's supremacy, princes to whom they were ever servilely devoted and with whom they associated as flatterers, -by presenting them with "histories" which were neither just nor true? ${ }^{1}$

Dionysius here had in mind and that Pyrrhus was one of
the kings.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

V. Taú $\alpha \alpha s$ $\delta \grave{\eta} \tau \alpha ̀ s ~ \pi \epsilon \pi \lambda \alpha \nu \eta \mu \epsilon ́ v a s, ~ \check{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$ Єैф $\eta \nu$,













人 $\pi \rho \circ \sigma \eta \eta_{\kappa} \epsilon \iota \quad \pi \epsilon \rho i \quad \tau \hat{\eta} s \quad \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega s$ $\tau \hat{\eta} \sigma \delta \epsilon \pi \alpha \rho \alpha \sigma \tau \hat{\eta}$ фроvєîv, $\epsilon i \mu \grave{\eta} \pi \alpha \nu \tau \alpha ́ \pi \alpha \sigma \iota \nu$ ả $\gamma \rho i \omega s$ каi $\delta v \sigma \mu \in \nu \omega \hat{s}$





 $3 \pi \rho о i ̂ \kappa \alpha ~ \delta \omega \rho \eta \sigma \alpha \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta S^{\cdot} \mu \alpha \theta 0 \hat{v} \sigma i \quad \gamma \epsilon \delta \eta ̀ ~ \pi \alpha \rho \alpha ̀ ~ \tau \eta{ }^{\prime} S$

 ov̋тє Sıкаוотє́povs ov้тє $\sigma \omega \phi \rho \circ \sigma u ̛ v \eta ~ \pi \lambda \epsilon i o \nu l ~ \pi a \rho a ̀ ~$

$$
{ }^{1} \pi 0 \lambda \lambda \omega \hat{\omega} \nu \mathrm{~B}: \pi 0 \lambda \iota \tau \bar{\omega} \nu \mathrm{R} .
$$

## BOOK I. 5, 1-3

V. In order, therefore, to remove these crroneous impressions, as I have called them, from the minds of the many and to substitue true ones in their room, I shall in this Book show who the founders of the city were, at what periods the various groups came together, and through what turns of fortune they left their native countries. By this means I engage to prove that they were Greeks and came together from nations not the smallest nor the least considerable. And beginning with the next Book I shall tell of the deeds they performed immediately after their founding of the city and of the customs and institutions by virtue of which their descendants advanced to so great dominion; and, so far as I am able, I shall omit nothing worthy of being recorded in history, to the end that I may instil in the minds of those who shall then be informed of the truth the fitting conception of this city,-unless they have already assumed an utterly violent and hostile attitude toward it,-and also that they may neither feel indignation at their present subjection, which is grounded on reason (for by an universal law of Nature, which time cannot destroy, it is ordained that superiors shall ever govern their inferiors), nor rail at Fortune for having wantonly bestowed upon an undeserving city a supremacy so great and already of so long continuance, particularly when they shall have learned from my history that Rome from the very beginning, immediately after its founding, produced infinite examples of virtue in men whose superiors, whether for piety or for justice or for

[^15]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 крєítтovs ả $\gamma \omega \nu \iota \sigma \tau \alpha \dot{s}$ ov̉ $\delta \epsilon \mu i ́ a ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \iota s ~ \eta ้ \nu \epsilon \gamma \kappa \epsilon \nu$ oű $\tau \epsilon$

 4 ठóछ $\omega \nu$ каi $\theta a v \mu a \sigma \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ vitóб $\chi \in \sigma \iota s$. oi $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \sigma v ́ \mu \pi a \nu-$


 aưт $\omega \bar{\nu}$ ' $E \lambda \lambda \eta \nu i s ~ i \sigma \tau о \rho i ́ a ~ \mu \epsilon ́ \chi \rho \iota ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ к а \theta ' ~ \grave{\eta} \mu a ̂ s ~ \chi \rho o ́-~$

VI. $\pi \rho \omega ́ \tau o v ~ \mu \epsilon ́ \nu, ~ o ̈ \sigma \alpha ~ к а ̉ \mu \epsilon ̀ ~ є i ̉ \delta \epsilon ́ v a l, ~ \tau \grave{\eta \nu ~}{ }^{\text {' } P \omega \mu а і ̈-~}$





 ä $\mu a$ סє̀ тои́тoıs 'Avтıरóvov $\tau \epsilon$ каi Mo入иßiov каi








[^16]
## BOOK I. 5, 3-6, 2

life-long self-control or for warlike valour, no city, either Greek or barbarian, has ever produced. This, I say, is what I hope to accomplish, if my readers will but lay aside all resentment; for some such feeling is aroused by a promise of things which run counter to received opinion or excite wonder. And it is a fact that all those Romans who bestowed upon their country so great a dominion are unknown to the Greeks for want of a competent historian. For no accurate history of the Romans written in the Greek language has hitherto appeared, but only very brief and summary epitomes.
VI. The first historian, so far as I am aware, to touch upon the early period of the Romans was Hieronymus of Cardia, in his work on the Epigoni. ${ }^{1}$ After him Timaeus of Sicily related the beginnings of their history in his general history and treated in a separate work the wars with Pyrrhus of Epirus. ${ }^{2}$ Besides these, Antigonus, Polybius, Silenus ${ }^{3}$ and innumerable other authors devoted themselves to the same themes, though in different ways, each of them recording some few things compiled without accurate investigation on his own part but from reports which chance had brought to his ears. Like to these in all respects are the histories of those Romans, also, who related in Greek the early achievements of the
histories of Italy and Carthage; hence Dionysius describes it as a "general history."
${ }^{3}$ Antigonus, ctted by Plutarch on early Roman history, is otherwise unknown. Polybius is too well known to require comment here. Silenus was one of the historians in the suite of Hannibal: his history of the Second Punic War was praised by Cicero and Nepos.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

















 $\beta i ́ \omega \nu, ~ a ̀ \lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \epsilon ن ̉ \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau а т о \nu ~ к а i ~ ф \iota \lambda о т \iota \mu o ́ т а т о \nu, ~$










$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{2} \text { Ritschl : } \epsilon \pi \pi \iota \delta \epsilon i \xi a \sigma \theta a \iota \text { O, Jacohy. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## BOOK I. 6, 2-5

city; the oldest of these writers are Quintus Fabius ${ }^{1}$ and Lucius Cincius. ${ }^{2}$ who both flourished during the Punic wars. Each of these men related the events at which he himself had been present with great exactness, as being well acquainted with them, but touched only in a summary way upon the early events that followed the founding of the city. For these reasons, therefore, I have determined not to pass over a noble period of history which the older writers left untouched. a period, moreover, the accurate portrayal of which will lead to the following most excellent and just results: In the first place, the brave men who have fulfilled their destiny will gain immortal glory and be extolled by posterity, which things render human nature like unto the divine and prevent men's deeds from perishing together with their bodies. And again, both the present and future descendants of those godlike men will choose, not the pleasantest and easiest of lives, but rather the noblest and most ambitious, when they consider that all who are sprung from an illustrious origin ought to set a high value on themselves and indulge in no pursuit unworthy of their ancestors. And I, who have not turned aside to this work for the sake of flattery, but out of a regard for truth and justice, which ought to be the aim of every history, shall have an opportunity, in the first place, of expressing my attitude of goodwill toward all good men and toward all who take pleasure in the

[^17]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS










 $\sigma \epsilon \sigma \nu \rho \kappa о ́ \tau \omega \nu$ т $\nu \nu ~ \gamma \rho a \phi \eta ́ \nu, ~ \pi о \lambda \lambda \dot{\alpha} ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \dot{v} \pi{ }^{\prime} \epsilon \in \mu о \hat{v}$














 $\lambda о \gamma \iota \omega \tau \alpha ́ \tau \omega \nu$ áv $\delta \rho \bar{\omega} \nu$, oîs єis ópı入íav $\eta \hat{\lambda} \lambda$ ov, $\delta i \delta a \chi \hat{n}$


[^18]
## BOOK I. 6, 5-7. 3

contemplation of great and noble deeds; and, in the second place, of making the most grateful return that I may to the city in remembrance of the education and other blessings I have enjoyed during my residence in it.
VII. Having thus given the reason for my choice of subject, I wish now to say something concerning the sources I used while preparing for my task. For it is possible that those who have already read Hieronymus. Timaeus. Polybius, or any of the other historians whom I just now mentioned as having slurred over their work, since they will not have found in those authors many things mentioned by me, will suspect me of inventing them and will demand to know how I came by the knowledge of these particulars. Lest anyone, therefore, should entertain such an opinion of me, it is best that I should state in advance what narratives and records I have used as sources. I arrived in Italy at the very time that Augustus Caesar put an end to the civil war, in the middle of the one hundred and eighty-seventh Olympiad ${ }^{1}$; and having from that time to this present day, a period of twenty-two years, lived at Rome, learned the language of the Romans and acquainted myself with their writings, I have devoted myself during all that time to matters bearing upon my subject. Some information I received orally from men of the greatest learning, with whom I associated ; and the rest I gathered from

[^19]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

âs oi $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a v ̀ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \alpha \iota \nu o v ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o \imath ~ ' P \omega \mu a i ́ \omega \nu ~ \sigma v \nu e ́-~$ रраұа⿱ По́ркıós тє Кáтшv каi Фáßıos Máझıноs





 $\delta_{\iota \epsilon i ́ \lambda \epsilon \gamma \mu \alpha \iota \text { ．入о七тòv } \delta^{\prime}{ }^{\prime \prime} \epsilon \iota \iota^{3} \mu о \iota \text { каi } \pi \epsilon \rho i \quad \tau \hat{\eta} S}$
 $\beta \alpha ́ \nu \omega$ хрóvoıs каi $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ тív $\omega \nu$ тоьô̂ $\mu \iota \iota \pi \rho \alpha \gamma \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$
 $\pi \rho a \gamma \mu a \tau \epsilon i ́ a$.
 $\pi a \lambda a \iota o \tau \alpha ́ \tau \omega \nu ~ \mu v ́ \theta \omega \nu$ ，ov̂s $\pi a \rho \epsilon ́ \lambda \iota \pi o \nu$ oi $\pi \rho o ̀ ~ \epsilon ́ \mu о \hat{v}$
 $2 \mu a \tau \epsilon i ́ a s \mu \epsilon \gamma \alpha ́ \lambda \eta s{ }_{\epsilon} \epsilon \xi \in v \rho \epsilon \theta \hat{\eta} \nu \alpha \iota \cdot \kappa а \tau \alpha \beta \iota \beta \alpha ́ \zeta \omega \delta \epsilon \dot{\epsilon} \tau \nu$






${ }^{1}$ ó added by Bücheler．
${ }^{2}$ גıcivvos O （and so nearly always）：Mikivios Jacoby（here only）．
 ${ }^{4}$ övous Krüger ：oûs 0 ．

## BOOK I. 7, 3-8, 2

historics written by the approved Roman authorsPorcius Lato, Fabius Maximus, ${ }^{1}$ Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, the Aelii, Gellii and Calpurnii, ${ }^{2}$ and many others of note; with these works, which are like the Greek annalistic accounts, as a basis, I set about the writing of my history. So much, then, concerning myself. But it yet remains for me to say something also concerning the history itself-to what periods I limit it, what subjects I describe, and what form I give to the work.
VIII. I begin my history, then, with the most ancient legends, which the historians before me have omitted as a subject difficult to be cleared up without diligent study ; and I bring the narrative down to the beginning of the First Punic War, which fell in the third year of the one hundred and twentyeighth Olympiad. ${ }^{3}$ I relate all the foreign wars that the city waged during that period and all the internal seditions with which she was agitated,

[^20]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
















 סıaтрíßovaı 入ójovs каi тоîs $\pi \epsilon \rho i ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ \phi \iota \lambda o ́ \sigma о ф о \nu ~$






${ }_{2}^{1}$ нóvous added by Steph. ${ }^{2}$.
${ }^{2} \tau \epsilon \gamma$ à $\rho$ éкєîval Pflugk: $\gamma$ à $\rho$ éкєîvaí $\tau \epsilon$ O, Jacoby; $\gamma$ à $\rho$ є́кєivaí $\gamma \in$ Reiske.
${ }^{3}$ каi $\delta \iota \eta \gamma \eta \mu a \tau \iota \kappa \hat{\eta} s$ added by Cary, кai $\dot{\eta \delta \epsilon i a s ~ b y ~ S t e p h . ~}{ }^{2}$, Jacoby.

## BOOK I. 8, 2-4

showing from what causes they sprang and by what methods and by what arguments they were brought to an end. I give an account also of all the forms of government Rome used, both during the monarchy and after its overthrow, and show what was the character of each. I describe the best customs and the most remarkable laws; and, in short, I show the whole life of the ancient Romans. As to the form I give this work, it does not resemble that which the authors who make wars alone their subject have given to their histories, nor that which others who treat of the several forms of government by themselves have adopted, nor is it like the annalistic accounts which the authors of the Atthides ${ }^{1}$ have published (for these are monotonous and soon grow tedious to the reader), but it is a combination of every kind, forensic, speculative and narrative, to the intent that it may afford satisfaction both to those who occupy themselves with political debates and to those who are devoted to philosophical speculations, ${ }^{2}$ as well as to any who may desire mere undisturbed entertainment in their reading of history. Such things, therefore, will be the subjects of my history and such will be its form. I, the author, am Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the son of Alexander. And at this point I begin.

[^21]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

IX．Tìv $\dot{\eta \gamma \epsilon \mu o ́ v a ~} \gamma \hat{\eta} s$ каi $\theta a \lambda a ́ \sigma \sigma \eta s ~ a ́ \pi a ́ \sigma \eta s ~$
 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mu \nu \eta \mu о \nu \in v o \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma о \nu \tau \alpha \iota ~ к а \tau \alpha \sigma \chi \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu \beta a ́ \rho \beta \alpha \rho о \iota$







 $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ т o v ̀ s ~ o ́ \mu о т є ́ \rho \mu о \nu а s ~ \pi о \lambda є ́ \mu о v, ~ т o ̀ ~ \sum \iota к є \lambda є к o ̀ v ~$





 Sıa⿱亠ávтєs ס̀̀ катà тàs є́кßо入às óктако́бıá тоv
 रovial $\pi \in ́ \lambda a \gamma o s, ~ \dot{a} \pi o ̀ ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \beta о р \epsilon i ́ \omega \nu ~ \mu \epsilon \rho \hat{\omega} \nu ~ o ́ ~$
 то仑̂ $\mu \in \sigma \eta \mu \beta \rho \iota v o \hat{v}$ к入íرatos ó Mîpıs Mivtovpvav



 $\mu \epsilon \nu \circ \iota, \mu \epsilon ́ \chi \rho \iota \mu \epsilon ่ \nu \tau о \hat{v} T \rho \omega \iota \kappa о \hat{v} \pi о \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu \circ v \tau \eta ̀ \nu$ ảpХaíav
${ }^{1}$ T＇${ }^{\prime} \beta \in \rho$ Ritschl：ti $\beta_{\epsilon \rho \iota s} \mathrm{O}$（and so just below；but in later passages tépepis is the more common form）．

## BOOK I. 9, 1-3

IX. This city, mistress of the whole earth and sea. which the Romans now inhabit, is said to have had as its earliest known occupants the barbarian Sicels, a native race. As to the condition of the place before their time. whether it was occupied by others or uninhabited, none can certainly say. But some time later the Aborigines gained possession of it, having taken it from the occupants after a long war. These people had previously lived on the mountains in unwalled villages and scattered groups; but when the Pelasgians, ${ }^{1}$ with whom some other Greeks had united, assisted them in the war against their neighbours, they drove the Sicels out of this place, walled in many towns, and contrived to subjugate all the country that lies between the two rivers, the Liris and the Tiber. These rivers spring from the foot of the Apennine mountains, the range by which all Italy is divided into two parts throughout its length, and at points about eight hundred stades from one another discharge themselves into the Tyrrhenian Sea, the Tiber to the north, near the city of Ostia, and the Liris to the south, as it flows by Minturnac, both these cities being Roman colonies. And these people remained in this same place of abode, being never afterwards driven out by any others; but, although they continued to be one and the same people, their name was twice changed. Till the time of the Trojan war they preserved their ancient name

[^22][^23]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 є้Xov

 $\nu \omega \nu$ оікท́ $\sigma \epsilon \omega$ s $\pi \alpha \rho a ̀ ~ \sigma \phi i \sigma \iota ~ \phi ı \lambda a \nu \theta \rho \omega ́ \pi \omega ~ v i \pi o \delta o \chi \hat{\eta}$ каi $\pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon i ́ a s ~ \mu \epsilon \tau a \delta o ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota ~ \tau о i ̂ s ~ \mu \epsilon \tau \dot{\alpha}$ тồ $\gamma \in \nu \nu a i o v$











 фa⿱i $\tau \in \theta \hat{\eta} v a \iota ~ \delta ı a ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \epsilon \omega s ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ \mu \epsilon \tau ~ a u ̉ \tau o u ̀ s ~$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{1} \text { Steph.: oiкท́баитos } \mathrm{O} \text {. }
\end{aligned}
$$

${ }^{1}$ This clause is added, possibly by a scribe, as a definition of the well-known Greek word autochthones, here rendered " natives." The word means literally " sprung from the land itself," corresponding to the Latin indigenae.

## BOOK I. 9, 3-10, 1

of Aborigines; but under Latinus, their king, who reigned at the time of that war, they began to be called Latins, and when Romulus founded the city named after himself sixteen generations after the taking of Troy, they took the name which they now bear. And in the course of time they contrived to raise themselves from the smallest nation to the greatest and from the most obscure to the most illustrious, not only by their humane reception of those who sought a home among them, but also by sharing the rights of citizenship with all who had been conquered by them in war after a brave resistance, by permitting all the slaves, too, who were manumitted among them to become citizens, and by disdaining no condition of men from whom the commonwealth might reap an advantage, but above everything else by their form of government, which they fashioned out of their many experiences, always extracting something useful from every occasion.
X. There are some who affirm that the Aborigines, from whom the Romans are originally descended, were natives of Italy, a stock which came into being spontaneousiy ${ }^{1}$ (I call Italy all that peninsula which is bounded by the Ionian Gulf ${ }^{2}$ and the Tyrrhenian Sea and, thirdly, by the Alps on the landward side); and these authors say that they were first called Aborigines because they were the founders of the

It was the proud boast of the Athenians that they were autochthones.

2 "The Ionian Gulf" or simply "the Ionian " is Dionysius' usual term for the Adriatic, or more particularly perhaps for the entrance to this sea.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 $\pi \lambda a ́ v \eta \tau a s$ є́к $\pi \quad \lambda \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma v \nu \epsilon \lambda \theta$ óvтas $\chi \omega$ рícuv катà






 тoîs $\gamma$ àp à $\nu \in \sigma \tau i o \iota s$ кai $\mu \iota \gamma a ́ \sigma \iota ~ \kappa \alpha i ~ \mu \eta \delta \epsilon \mu i a \nu ~ \gamma \eta ̂ \nu$



 каi тท̂s＇Iта入ías mo入入ахŋ̂，vє́ $\mu о \nu \tau a \iota ~ \delta \epsilon ́ ~ \tau \iota \nu a ~ к а i ~ \tau \eta ̂ S ~$

 бафѐs ov̉ $\delta \in ́ v$ ．

XI．Oí $\delta є$ є̀ $\lambda о \gamma \iota \omega ́ \tau а \tau о \iota ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ ' P \omega \mu а і ̈ к \kappa ิ \nu ~ \sigma v \gamma-~$


> ${ }^{1}$＇A $\beta \in \rho \rho \imath \gamma i v a s ~ S t e p h .: ~ a ́ \beta o \rho \rho ı \gamma i v a s ~ B, ~ a ́ \beta o \rho ı \gamma i v a s ~ A . ~$
> ${ }^{2} \Lambda \epsilon \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \omega \nu$ Dmg．，Steph．${ }^{2}: \delta \grave{\eta} \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \omega 0$ ．
> ${ }^{3}$ Schwartz：$\epsilon \pi \epsilon \tau i \theta \epsilon \nu \tau 0$ O，Jacoby．

1 ＂Founders of families＂and＂first－born＂respectively．
${ }^{2}$ From the Latin aberrare（＂wander＂）．
${ }^{3}$ Strabo cites（vii．7，2）some verses of Hesiod in which
 gathered out of earth，＂an eiymological word－play which

## BOOK I. 10, 1-11, 1

families of their descendants, or, as we should call them, genearchai or prôtogonoi. ${ }^{1}$ Others claim that certain vagabonds without house or home, coming together out of many places, met one another there by chance and took up their abode in the fastnesses, living by robbery and grazing their herds. And these writers change their name, also, to one more suitable to their condition, calling them Aberrigines, ${ }^{2}$ to show that they were wanderers; indeed, according to these, the race of the Aborigines would seem to be no different from those the ancients called Leleges; for this is the name they generally gave to the homeless and mixed peoples who had no fixed abode which they could call their country. ${ }^{3}$ Still others have a story to the effect that they were colonists sent out by those Ligurians who are neighbours of the Umbrians. For the Ligurians inhabit not only many parts of Italy but some parts of Gaul as well, but which of these lands is their native country is not known, since nothing certain is said of them further.
XI. But the most learned of the Roman historians, among whom is Porcius Cato, who compiled with the greatest care the "origins " ${ }^{4}$ of the Italian cities,
he thinks shows that Hesiod regarded them as having been from the beginning a collection of mixed peoples. This derivation of the name from the root $\lambda_{\epsilon \gamma}$ ("gather ") is the only one the ancients have handed down.
${ }^{4}$ Cato's history seems to have consisted at first of one book, in which Rome's beginnings and the regal period were recounted, followed by two books devoted to the origin of the various Italian cities; hence the title Origines. Later he added four more books, in which an account was given of the Punic Wars and subsequent events.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 то仑̂ Тршєко̂̂ $\mu є \tau \alpha \nu a \sigma \tau \alpha ́ v \tau ג s . ~ о ข ̉ к є ́ т \iota ~ \mu \epsilon ́ v \tau о \iota ~ \delta \iota о-~$ píGovaıv oű $\epsilon \epsilon$ ûhov 'Eג



















 ápкои́ $\mu \in \operatorname{vos~\tau \eta ̂~\mu оípa~\delta úo~\gamma à\rho ~каi~\epsilon ïко\sigma \iota ~\pi аí\delta \omega \nu ~}$




Gaius Sempronius ${ }^{1}$ and a great many others, say that they were Greeks, part of those who once dwelt in Achaia, and that they migrated many generations before the Trojan war. But they do not go on to indicate either the Greek tribe to which they belonged or the city from which they removed, or the date or the leader of the colony, or as the result of what turns of fortune they left their mother country ; and although they are following a Greek legend, they have cited no Greek historian as their authority. It is uncertain, therefore. what the truth of the matter is. But if what they say is true, the Aborigines can be a colony of no other people but of those who are now called Arcadians; for these were the first of all the Greeks to cross the Ionian Gulf, under the leadership of Oenotrus, the son of Lycaon. and to settle in Italy. This Oenocrus was the fifth from Aezeius and Phoroneus, who were the first kings in the Peloponnesus. For Niobê was the daughter of Phoroneus, and Pelasgus was the son of Niobê and Zeus, it is said; Lycaon was the son of Aezeius and Deïanira was the daughter of Lycaon; Deïanira and Pelasgus were the parents of another Lycaon, whose son Oenotrus was born seventeen gencrations before the Trojan expedition. This, then, was the time when the Greeks sent the colony into Italy. Oenotrus left Greece because he was dissatisfied with his portion of his father's land; for, as Lycaon had twenty-two sons. it was necessary to divide Arcadia into as many shares. For this reason Oenotrus left the Pe oponnesus,

[^24]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS











 $\tau o ̀ v ~ a ̉ \pi o ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ є́ $\sigma \pi \epsilon \rho i ́ \omega \nu \quad \mu \epsilon \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \pi a \rho a ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ ' I \tau a \lambda i ́ a \nu ~$


 тробпүорíav.

 $\pi \lambda \epsilon i ́ \sigma \tau \eta \nu$ каi оv̉סढ̀ $\tau \eta ̀ \nu$ oíкоv $\mu \epsilon ́ v \eta \nu ~ \pi о \lambda \nu a ́ v \theta \rho \omega \pi о \nu$,

 ő $\sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$ خे $\tau$ тоîs $\pi \alpha \lambda a \iota o i ̂ s ~ \tau \rho o ́ \pi o s ~ o i к \eta \prime \sigma \epsilon \omega s ~ \sigma v \nu \eta ं \theta \eta s . ~$
 $\kappa \alpha \tau \epsilon ́ \sigma \chi \in \nu$ Oiv





## BOOK I. 11, 3-12, 1

prepared a fleet, and crossed the Ionian Gulf with Peucetius, one of his brothers. They were accompanied by many of their own people-for this nation is said to have been very populous in early timesand by as many other Greeks as had less land than was sufficient for them. Peucetius landed his people above the Iapygian Promontory, which was the first part of Italy they made, and settled there: and from him the inhabitants of this region were called Peucetians. But Oenotrus with the greater part of the expedition came into the other sea that washes the western regions along the coast of Italy; it was then called the Ausonian Sea, from the Ausonians who dwelt beside it, but after the Tyrrhenians became masters at sea its name was changed to that which it now bears.
XII. And finding there much land suitable for pasturage and much for tillage, but for the most part unoccupied, and even that which was inhabited not thickly populated, he cleared some of it of the barbarians and built small towns contiguous to one another on the mountains, which was the customary manner of habitation in use among the ancients. And all the land he occupied, which was very extensive, was called Oenotria, and all the people under his command Oenotrians, which was the third name they had borne. For in the reign of Aezeius they were called Aezeians, when Lycaon succeeded to the rule, Lycaonians, and after Oenotrus

[^25]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 $\rho \omega \nu$ тoîs $\delta \circ \theta \epsilon i ̂ \sigma \iota v$ vi ' aủ $\bar{\eta} s$ картоîs $\delta \iota \epsilon \xi \in \lambda \theta \epsilon i ̂ \nu$.
 a’ $\pi$ ' ăкраs 'Ia

 $\mu \epsilon ́ \gamma \iota \sigma \tau \alpha ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ оiккои́vт $\omega \nu \tau \grave{\eta \nu} \pi \alpha \rho a ́ \lambda \iota o \nu \tau \alpha u ́ \tau \eta \nu$ Є่ $\theta \nu \omega \hat{\omega} \nu$

 ia $\mu \beta \epsilon i \omega \nu$, द̇v ois $\phi \eta \sigma \iota$.
Oivштрía $\tau \in \pi$ âба каi Tvррŋขıкòs
ко́лтоs $\Lambda \iota \gamma v \sigma \tau \iota \kappa \eta$ ' $\tau \epsilon \gamma \hat{\eta} \sigma \epsilon \delta \epsilon \in \xi \in \tau a \iota$.

3 'Avtioxos $\delta$ є̀ ó $\Sigma v \rho a \kappa о v ́ \sigma ı o s, ~ \sigma v \gamma \gamma \rho a \phi \epsilon u ̀ s ~ \pi a ́ v v ~$ ápxaîos, '̀v 'Iта入ías oiкı$\sigma \mu \hat{\omega}$ тov̀s тa入aıoтáтovs
 катєîхov, Oivผ́троvs $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \iota ~ \pi \rho \omega ́ \tau o v s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \mu \nu \eta-$




${ }^{1}$ Jacoby : $\mu$ о O.<br>${ }^{2}$ Kiessling : ảvtıкрı̀ O, Jacoby.

## BOOK I. 12. 1-3

led them into Italy they were for a while called Oenotrians. What I say is supported by the testimony of Sophocles. the tragic poet. in his drama entitled Triptolemus; for he there represents Demeter as informing Triptolemus how large a tract of land he would have to trave' over while sowing it with the seeds she had given him. For, after first referring to the eastern part of Italy, which reaches from the Iapygian Promontory to the Sicilian Strait, and then touching upon Sicily on the opposite side, she returns again to the western part of Italy and enumerates the most important nations that inhabit this coast. beginn ng with the set lement of the Oenotrians. But it is enough to quo: merely the rambics in which he says:
" And after this,-first, then, upon the right, Ocnotria wide-outstretched and Tyrrhene Gulf, And next the Ligurian land shall welcome thee." ${ }^{1}$
And Antiochus of Syracuse, ${ }^{2}$ a very early historian, in his account of the settlement of Italy, when enumerating the most ancient nhabitants in the order in which each of them held possession of any pa-t of it, says that the first who are reported to have inhabited that country are the Oenotrians. His words are these: "Antiochus, the son of Xenophanes, wrote this accourt of Italy, which comprises all that is most credible and certain cut of
${ }^{1}$ Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. ${ }^{2}$, p. 262, frg. 541.
${ }^{2}$ Antiochus (latter half of fifth century) wrote a history of Sicily and a history of Italy. The former was used by Thucydides, and the latter is frequently cited by Strabo. The quotation here given is frg. 3 in Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. i. p. 181.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 'Iтa入oí, тои́тov $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \tau \eta \grave{\nu}$ à $\rho \chi \eta ̀ \nu ~ M o ́ \rho \gamma \eta s ~ \delta i \epsilon \delta \epsilon ́ \xi a \tau о$,













 $\sigma \kappa \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \omega \nu \hat{\omega} \delta \epsilon$. "каi $O_{i}^{\prime \prime} \nu \omega \tau \rho о s, a ̉ \phi$ ' о $\hat{v} O_{i}^{\prime \prime} \nu \omega \tau \rho о \iota$






${ }^{1}$ Cobet: itadía O.<br>${ }^{3}$ Casaubon : $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{a} \theta \eta \nu a i ́ \omega \nu 0$.<br>${ }^{2}$ Dobree : ő oัг O .<br>${ }^{4}$ Krüger : $\dot{\omega} \delta \in \Theta$.

[^26]
## BOOK I. 12, 3-13, 2

the ancient tales; this country, which is now called Italy, was formerly possessed by the Oenotrians." Then he relates in what manner they were governed and says that in the course of time Italus came to be their king, after whom they were named Italians; that this man was succeeded by Morges, after whom they were called Morgetes, and that Sicelus, being received as a guest by Morges and setting up a kingdom for himself, divided the nation. After which he adds these words: "Thus those who had been Oenotrians became Sicels, Morgetes and Italians."
XIII. Now let me also show the origin of the Oenotrian race, offering as my witness another of the early historians, Pherecydes of Athens, ${ }^{1}$ who was a genealogist inferior to none. He thus expresses bimself concerning the kings of Arcadia: "Of Pelasgus and Deïamra was born Lyraon; this man married Cyllenê, a Naiad nymph, after whom Mount Cyllenê is named." Then, having given an account of their children and of the places each of them inhabited, he mentions Oenotrus and Peucetius, in these words: "And Oenotrus, after whom are named the Oenotrians who live in Italy, and Peucetius, after whom are named the Peucetians who live on the Ionian Gulf." Such, then, are the accounts given by the ancient poets and writers of legends concerning the places of abode and the origin of the Oenotrians; and on their authority
beginning with a brief theogony, but largely devoted to the genealogies of the great families of the heroic age. The following quotations appear as frg. 85 in Müller, F.H.G. i. p. 92.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 ஸ́s Kátcul каi $\sum_{\epsilon} \mu \pi \rho \omega \nu i \nprec$ каi $\pi$ о $\lambda \lambda$ оîs ä $\lambda \lambda$ доь
















 $\mu a \theta \epsilon i ้ \nu ~ к \rho \iota \nu \epsilon ́ \tau \omega \sigma \alpha \nu$ є́ $\xi$ á $\pi \alpha ́ v \tau \omega \nu$ тò $\pi \iota \theta a \nu \omega ́ \tau a \tau o \nu$.

 ن̇тó $\tau \epsilon \pi о \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu \omega \nu$ каi ä $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu$ как $\omega \nu$ оікофөор $\eta \epsilon \epsilon і \sigma \alpha \iota$


[^27]
## BOOK I. 13, 2-14, 1

I assume that if the Aborigines were in reality a Greek nation, according to the opinion of Cato, Sempronius and many others, they were descendants of these Oenotrians. For I find that the Pelasgians and Cretars and the other nations that lived in Italy came thither afterwards; nor can I discover that any other expedition more ancient than this came from Greece to the western parts of Europe. I am of the opinion that the Oenotrians, besides making themselves masters of many other regions in Italy, some of which they found unoccupied and others but thinly inhabited, also seized a portion of the country of the Umbrians, and that they were called Aborigines from their dwelling on the mountains ${ }^{1}$ (for it is characteristic of the Arcadians to be fond of the mountains), in the same manner as at Athens some are called Hyperakrioi, ${ }^{2}$ and others Paralioi. ${ }^{3}$ But if any are naturally slow in giving credit to accounts of ancient matters without due examination, let them be slow also in believing the Aborigines to be Ligurians, Umbrians, or any other barbarians, and let them suspend their judgment till they have heard what remains to be told and then determine which opinion out of all is the most protable.
XIV. Of the cities first inhabited by the Aborigines few remained in my day; the greatest part of them, having been laid waste both by wars and other calamities, are abandoned. These cities were in the Reatine territory, not far from the Apennine

[^28]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 тоîs єїкобь $\sigma \tau \alpha \delta i o \iota s ~ a ̉ \phi \epsilon \sigma \tau \hat{\omega} \sigma \alpha ~ ' P \epsilon a ́ \tau o v, ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega s ~$










 'Opovîvıov, $\epsilon i$ каí $\tau \iota s$ ä $\lambda \lambda \eta \eta$ т $\omega \hat{\nu}$ av̇тó $\theta \iota ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \epsilon \omega \nu$




${ }^{1}$ This monumental work of antiquarian lore is no longer extant. Varro was a native of Reate ( 49 Roman miles north-east of Rome), and may well have taken a particular interest in these old sites of the Aborigines. The latest discussion of this chapter is to be found in Nissen, Italische Landeskunde, ii. 1, pp. 471-6; Bunsen's article appeared

## BOOK I. 14, 1-3

mountains, as Terentius Varro writes in his Antiquities, ${ }^{1}$ the nearest being one day's journey distant from Rome. I shall enumerate the most celebrated of them, following his account. Palatium, twenty-five stades distant from Reate (a city that was still inhabited by Romans down to my time), ${ }^{2}$ near the Quintian Way. ${ }^{3}$ Tribula, about sixty stades from Reate and standing upon a low hill. Suesbula, at the same distance from Tribula, near the Ceraunian Mountains. Suna, a famous city forty stades from Suesbula; in it there is a very ancient temple of Mars. Mefula, about thirty stades from Suna; its ruins and traces of its walls are pointed out. Orvinium, forty stades from Mefula, a city as famous and large as any in that region; for the foundations of its walls are still to be seen and some tombs of venerable antiquity, as well as the circuits of buiying-places ${ }^{4}$ extending over lofty mounds; and in the Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, vi. (1834), pp. 129 ff . See also Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography, s.v. Aborigines.
${ }^{2}$ Bunsen emended the text so as to make the clause here included in parentheses refer to Palatium; he held that Reate was too well known to call for such an explanation.
${ }^{3}$ The Via Quintia is not elsewhere mentioned, but seems to have been the more direct of two roads leading down the valley to the north-west of Reate. The names of the towns that immediately follow are probably corruptions of Trebula and Suessula. The Ceraunian Mountains are tentatively identified by Nissen with the Monte Rotondo of to-day.
${ }^{4}$ The word polyandrion usually means a place where many are buried together ; it is contrasted, as here, with individual tombs by Aelian, Var. Hist. xii. 21, and Pausanias ii. 22, 9.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



＇A $A$ ò $\delta$ є̀ $\sigma \tau \alpha \delta i ́ \omega \nu$ o’ $\gamma \delta о \eta$ когота＇Pєáтоv тоîs
 Kóp $о ⿱ 亠 乂 \lambda \alpha^{3} \nu \epsilon \omega \sigma \tau i{ }^{3} \delta \iota \phi \theta a \rho \mu \epsilon ́ v \eta$ ．$\delta \epsilon i ́ \kappa \nu v \tau \alpha \iota \delta \epsilon ́ \tau \iota ร$




 à $\pi \epsilon ́ \chi о v \sigma a ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa \alpha \lambda о v \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$＇$E \pi \tau \alpha ̀ ~ v ́ \delta \alpha ́ \tau \omega \nu . ~$
＇A


${ }^{1}$ Kovpias Chaupy，＇Iov入ias Portus，Ovalıpias Sylburg， इaגapias Gelenius：ioupias 0.
${ }^{2}$ Kópıtov Cluver．
${ }^{3}$ Kapoov̀a Cluver．
${ }^{4}$ roîs Kiessling：om．O，Jacoby．
${ }^{5}$ Nissen：$\lambda_{\iota \tau i} \nu \eta \nu \mathrm{~A}, \lambda a \tau i \nu \eta \nu \mathrm{R}$ ；$\lambda_{i} \mu \nu \eta \nu$ Bunsen．
${ }^{6}$ iov̂aı Kiessling ：iov̂aıv $\dot{\eta} \mathrm{O}$ ．
${ }^{1}$ The Via Curia is thought to have been a second road leading north－west from Reate but running round the east and north sides of the chain of small lakes called by the collective name of Lacus Velinus or Palus Reatina． M＇．Curius Dentatus in 272 drained the lowlands at the northern end of the valley，and he may well have con－ structed this road at that time．Mount Coretus is un－ known．The Maruvium here named is not to be confused with the Marsian capital on the Fucine Lake．Cicero mentions the Septem Aquae in a letter to Atticus（iv．15，5）．
${ }^{2}$ This reading is due to Nissen，who believes that Listina （the district of Lista）was an earlier name for the district of Amiternum．In view of the story related at the end of the

## BOOK I. 14, 3-5

there is also an ancient temple of Minerva built on the summit.

At the distance of eighty stades from Reate, as one gues along the Curian Way ${ }^{1}$ past Mount Coretus, stood Cossula, a town but resently destroyed. There is also pointed out an island, called Issa, surrounded by a ake; the Aborigines are said to have lived on this island without any artificial fortification, relying on the marshy waters of the lake instead o: walls. Near Issa is Maruvium, situated on an arm of the same lake and distant foriy stades from what they call the Septem Aquae.

Again, as one gees from Reate by the road towards the Listine district, ${ }^{2}$ there is Batia, ${ }^{3}$ thirty stades distant; then Tiora, called Matiene, at a distance of
chapter Lista must have been fairly close to Amiternum, which was 33 miles east of Reate. The vulgate reading with Aativqv, " the road to Latium" or possibly " to the Latin Way," has been taken to mean a road leading southeast from Reate towards the Fucine Lake, and Bunsen's emendation $\lambda^{\prime} \mu \nu \eta \nu$ was designed to make that direction still plainer. But the site, a few miles north-west of that lake, which various scholars have selected for Lista is more than 20 miles distant from Amiternum across a mountain pass; moreover, it lies in the country of the Aequians, which is not reported to have been occupied by the Sabines at any time. Nissen's view likewise places Lista distinctly outside the Reatine territory. But it is quite possible that the distance of 300 stades assigned to Tiora is seriously in error; we might then look for Tiora and Lista a little east of Interocreum, or somewhat more than half-way from Reate to Amiternum. Nissen unjustifiably assumes that in this entire section Dionysius is counting the stade as only one-tenth of a Roman inile, instead of one-eighth of a mile, as he usually does.
${ }^{3}$ Or Vatia.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
















 aủァウ̀ $\nu$ ข゙ $\sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \circ \nu$.

XV．＇A




 Sintenis；$\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \dot{\alpha}$ added by Steph．

[^29]
## BOOK I. 14, 5-15, 1

three hundred stades. In this city, they say, there was a very ancient oracle of Mars, the nature of which was similar to that of the oracle which legend says once existed at Doduna ; only there a prgeon wes said to prophesy, sittung on a sacred oak, ${ }^{1}$ whereas ameng the Aborigines a heaven-sent bird, which they call picus and the Greeks dryokolaptês, ${ }^{2}$ appearing on a pillar of wood, did the same. 'Twentyfour stades from the afore-mentioned city ${ }^{3}$ stood Lista, the mother-city of the Aborigines, which at a still earlier time the Sabines had captured $k y$ a surprise attack, having set out against it from Amiternum by night. Those who survived the taking of the place, after being received by the Reatines, made many attempts to retake their former home. but being unable to do so, they consecrated the country to the gods, as if it were still their own, invoking curses against those who should enjoy the fruits of it.
XV. Seventy stades from Reate stood Cutilia, ${ }^{4}$ a famous city, beside a mountain. Not far from it there is a lake, four hundred feet in diameter, filled by everflowing natural springs and, it is said, bottomless. This lake, as having something divine about
${ }^{2}$ Both the Greek and Latin words mean "woodpecker."
${ }^{3}$ The context certainly suggests Tiora as the city referred to; but Holstenius understood Reate, and thus brought Lista between Cutilia and Reate, where the name Monte di Lesta is found to-day.
${ }^{4}$ Also called Cutiliae. Its approximate site is determined by the remains of Aquae Cutiliae near by, a wateringplace that was especially favoured by the Flavian emperors. It lay east of Reate, on the road last mentioned, if Nissen's identification of that road is correct. He suggests that the place is mentioned last, out of its natural order, in view of the important rôle the lake was to play later (see chap. 19).

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS









 ä入lous тóтоиs $\eta \rho \epsilon ́ \mu \alpha ~ \tau о \hat{\imath} \pi \nu \epsilon \cup ́ \mu a \tau o s . ~ \chi \lambda o ́ \eta ~ \delta \epsilon ́ ~ \tau \iota S$
 тivès ov̉ $\mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda o \iota, ~ \pi \rho a ̂ \gamma \mu a ~ k \rho \epsilon i ̂ \tau \tau o \nu ~ \lambda o ́ \gamma o v ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~$
 $\delta \in u ́ \tau \in \rho o \nu$.
XVI. Tì $\nu \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \delta \grave{\eta} \pi \rho \omega \dot{\tau} \eta \nu$ оїк $\quad \sigma \iota \nu$ oi ' $A \beta$ орı $\gamma \hat{\imath} \nu \in$







 ai $\pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota s ~ \tau \iota \sigma i ~ \lambda a ́ \beta o ı \epsilon \nu ~ \check{\omega ̈ \sigma \tau \epsilon ~ \mu \eta к \epsilon ́ \tau \iota ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ o i к к є i a s ~}$
${ }^{1}$ Smit : $\sigma \tau \epsilon ́ \mu \mu a \sigma \iota ~ O, ~ J a c o b y, ~$
${ }^{2} \tau \iota \sigma \iota \nu$ єंт $\tau \sigma i o \iota s ~ B: ~ \tau \iota \sigma \iota ~ \delta \iota \epsilon \tau \eta \sigma i o \iota s ~ R, ~ J a c o b y . ~$

## BOOK I. 15, 1-16, 2

it, the inhabitants of the country look upon as sacred to Victory ; and surrounding it with a palisade, so that no one may approach the water, they keep it inviolate; except that at certain times each year those whose sacred office it is go to the little island in the lake and perform the sacrifices required by custom. This island is about fifty feet in diameter and rises not more than a foot above the water; it is not fixed, and floats about in any direction, according as the wind gently wafts it from one place to another. An herb grows on the island like the flowering rush and also certain small shrubs, a phenomenon which to those who are unacquainted with the works of Nature seems unaccountable and a marvel second to none. ${ }^{1}$
XVI. The Aborigines are said to have settled first in these places after they had driven out the Umbrians. And making excursions from there, they warred not only upon the barbarians in general but particularly upon the Sicels, their neighbours, in order to dispossess them of their lands. First, a sacred band of young men went forth, consisting of a few who were sent out by their parents to seek a livelihood, according to a custom which I know many barbarians and Greeks have followed. ${ }^{2}$ For whenever the population of any of their cities increased to such a degree that the produce of their
${ }^{1}$ The fullest account and explanation of this strange islet is given by Seneca (Nat. Quaest. iii. 25, 8). The lake is still to be seen, but the islet has disappeared.
${ }^{2}$ The only recorded instance from the Greek world is that of the Chalcidians, who dedicated to Apollo one man in every ten and sent them to Delphi; these men later founded Rhegium (Strabo vi. 1, 6). Compare chap. 24 and note.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 ov̉pavious $\mu \in \tau \alpha \beta$ o入aîs $\dot{\eta} \gamma \hat{\eta}$ otavious tov̀s єicu日ótas






 oíwvois $\tau$ व̀s ảmoъкias $\pi \rho о \pi \epsilon ́ \mu \pi о \nu \tau \epsilon s^{*} \epsilon i \delta^{\prime} \epsilon \pi i \mu \eta \nu i-$ $\mu a \sigma \iota$ סalpovioıs àma入入aүàs aitov́ $\mu \in \nu o \iota ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ к а т \epsilon-~$




 $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ ф i \lambda i ́ a \nu ~ \epsilon i ̈ \tau \epsilon ~ \epsilon ̇ \nu ~ \pi о \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu \omega ~ к р а т \eta \theta \epsilon i ̂ \sigma a \nu ~ \pi а \tau р i ́ \delta a ~$










${ }^{1}$ Jacoby : ${ }^{\epsilon} \xi \eta \dot{\eta} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{\gamma} \kappa \epsilon \nu \mathrm{O}$.
${ }^{2}$ ä $\gamma$ os R : árous B, Jacoby.

## BOOK I. 16. 2-4

lands no longer sufficed for them all, or the earth, injured by unseasonable changes of the weather, brought forth her fruits in less abundance than usual, or any other occurrence of like nature, either good or bad, introduced a necessity of lessening their numbers, they would dedicate to some god or other all the men born within a certain year, and providing them with arms, would send them out of their country. If, indeed, this was done by way of thanksgiving for populousness or for victory in war, they would first offer the usual sacrifices and then send forth their colonies under happy auspices; but if, having incurred the wrath of Heaven, they were seeking deliverance from the evils that beset them, they would perform much the same ceremony, but sorrowfully and begging forgiveness of the youths they were sending away. And those who departed, feeling that henceforth they would have no share in the land of their fathers but must acquire another, looked upon any land that received them in friendship or that they conquered in war as their country. And the god to whom they had been dedicated when they were sent out seemed generally to assist them and to prosper the colonies beyond all human expectation. In pursuance, therefore, of this custom some of the Aborigines also at that time, as their places ivere growing very populous (for they would not put any of their children to death, looking on this as one of the greatest of crimes), dedicated to some god or other the offspring of a certain year and when these children were grown to be men they sent them out of their country as colonists; and they, after leaving their own land, were

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS












 $\tau \in \rho \circ \nu \quad \gamma \in \nu 0 \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu$ ढ̀v＇Iтa入ía，каi $\pi \rho \circ \hat{\eta} \lambda \theta \in \nu$ ä $\chi \rho \iota$ то入入о仑 хро́vov ${ }^{1} \mu \eta \kappa v \nu o ́ \mu \in \nu$ оs．
















[^30]
## BOOK I. 16. 5-17, 2

continually plundering the Sicels. And as soon as they became masters of any places in the enemy's country the rest of the Aborigines, also, who needed lands now attacked each of them their neighbours with greater security and built various cities, some of which are inhabited to this day-Antemnae, Tellenae. Ficulea, which is near the Corniculan mountains, as they are called, and Tibur, where a quarter in the city is even to this day called the Sicel quarter ${ }^{1}$; and of all their neighbours they harassed the Sicels most. From these quarrels there arose a general war between the nations more important than any that had occurred previously in Italy, and it went on extending over a long period of time.
XVII. Afterwards some of the Pelasgians who inhabited Thessaly, as it is now called. being obliged to leave their country, settled among the Aborigines and jointly with them made war upon the Sicels. It is possible that the Aborigines received them partly in the hope of gaining their assistance, but I believe it was chiefly on account of their kinship; for the Pelasgians, too, were a Greek nation originally from the Peloponnesus. They were unfortunate in many ways but particularly in wandering much and in having no fixed abode. For they first lived in the neighbourhood of the Achaean Argos, as it is now called, being natives of the country, according to most accounts. They received their name originally from Pelasgus, their king. Pelasgus was the ${ }^{2}$ Cary : тồ Пєגacүoû O, Jacoby.

[^31]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 Aipoviav, vv̂v ठè $\Theta \epsilon \tau \tau а \lambda i ́ a \nu ~ o ̉ v o \mu a \zeta o \mu \epsilon ́ v \eta \nu ~ \mu є \tau а \nu \epsilon ́-~$
 каi Пє入абүòs oi Мapíqךs каi Побєıঠ̂̀vos vioí





 $\Theta \epsilon \tau \tau a \lambda i ́ a ~ \pi \epsilon \delta i ́ \omega \nu$ картои́ $\mu \epsilon \nu \circ \iota, \pi \epsilon \rho i$ тウ̀ $\nu \not ้ \kappa \tau \eta \nu$





 $\epsilon i s ~ K \rho \eta ́ \tau \eta \nu ~ a ̀ \pi \eta ̂ \lambda \theta o \nu$, oi $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu K v \kappa \lambda \alpha ́ \delta \omega \nu \nu \eta \prime \sigma \omega \nu$









$$
{ }^{1} \tau \dot{\eta} \nu \text { added by Ritschl. }
$$

## BOOK I. 17, 3-18, 1

son of Zeus, it is said, and of Niobê, the daughter of Phoroneus, who, as the legend goes, was the first mortal woman Zeus had knowledge of. In the sixth generation afterwards, leaving the Peloponnesus, they removed to the country which was then called Haemonia and now Thessaly. The leaders of the colony were Achaeus, Phthius and Pelasgus, the sons of Larisa and Poseidon. When they arrived in Haemonia they drove out the barbarian inhabitants and divided the country into three parts, calling them, after the names of their leaders, Phthiotis, Achaia and Pelasgiotis. After they had remained there five generations, during which they attained to the greatest prosperity while enjoying the produce of the most fertile plains in Thessaly, about the sixth generation they were driven out of it by the Curetes and Leleges, who are now called Aetolians and Locrians, and by many others who lived near Parnassus, their enemies being commanded by Deucalion, the son of Prometheus and Clymenê, the daughter of Oceanus.
XVIII. And dispersing themselves in their flight, some went to Crete, others occupied some of the islands called the Cyclades, some settled in the region called Hestiaeotis near Olympus and Ossa, others crossed into Boeotia, Phocis and Euboea; and some, passing over into Asia, occupied many places on the coast along the Hellespont and many of the adjacent islands, particularly the one now called Lesbos, uniting with those who composed the first colony that was sent thither from Greece under

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


2 тò $\delta \epsilon ́ \pi \lambda \epsilon i ̂ o v ~ a u ̉ \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ \mu \epsilon ́ p o s ~ \delta i a ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̂ s ~ \mu \epsilon \sigma o \gamma \epsilon i ́ o v ~ \tau \rho a-~$





 3 'Iта入íav, $\hat{\eta}$ то́тє $\Sigma a \tau о р \nu i ́ a ~ \epsilon ’ \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \tau о . ~ к а \tau а \sigma к є v а \sigma \alpha ́-~$



 $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \in ́ v i ~ \tau \omega ̂ \nu ~ \tau o v ̂ ~ \Pi a ́ \delta o v ~ \sigma \tau о \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu ~ o ́ p \mu \iota \sigma a ́ \mu \epsilon v o \iota ~$




 $\chi \omega \rho i ́ \varphi, \tau \in i ̂ \chi o s ~ \tau \hat{\omega}, \sigma \tau \rho a \tau о \pi \epsilon ́ \delta \omega, \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \beta a \lambda о ́ \mu \in \nu \circ$ каи таîs vavoiv єiбко $\mu i \sigma a \nu \tau \in s ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \epsilon i s ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \beta i ́ o \nu ~ \epsilon u ̉ \pi о р i ́ a s, ~$

 $\pi о \tau \alpha \mu \circ \hat{\text {. }} \epsilon \dot{\tau} \tau u ́ \chi \eta \sigma a ́ \nu ~ \tau \epsilon{ }^{4} \mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau \alpha ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \rho i$ тòv


[^32]
## BOOK I. 18. 1-4

Macar, the son of Crinacus. ${ }^{1}$ But the greater part of them, turning inland, took refuge among the inhabitants of Dodona, their kinsmen, against whom, as a sacred people, none would make war; and there they remained for a reasonable time. But when they perceived they were growing burdensome to their hosts, since the land could not support them all, they left it in obedience to an oracle that commanded them to sail to Italy, which was then called Saturnia. And having prepared a great many ships they set out to cross the Ionian Gulf, endeavouring to reach the nearest parts of Italy. But as the wind was in the south and they were unacquainted with those regions, they were carried too far out to sea and landed at one of the mouths of the Po called the Spinetic mouth. In that very place they left their ships and such of their people as were least able to bear hardships, placing a guard over the ships, to the end that, if their affairs did not prosper, they might be sure of a retreat. Those who were left behind there surrounded their camp with a wall and brought in plenty of provisions in their ships; and when their affairs seemed to prosper satisfactorily, they built a city and called it by the same name as the mouth of the river. ${ }^{2}$ These people attained to a greater degree of prosperity than any others who dwelt on the Ionian Gulf; for they had the mastery at sea for a long time, and
${ }^{1}$ This is the form of the name given by Diodorus (v. 81) and others; the son's name usually appears as Macareus.
${ }^{2}$ In reality it was, of course, the town Spina that gave its name to the ostium Spineticum.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

$\kappa \alpha i \delta_{\epsilon \kappa \alpha ́ \tau \alpha а s ~}^{\epsilon i s} \Delta \epsilon \lambda \phi o v ̀ s ~ \dot{\alpha} \nu \eta \gamma \gamma \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \theta \epsilon \hat{\omega}{ }^{1} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{\alpha} \pi \dot{o}$
 ${ }_{5} \lambda \alpha \mu \pi \rho \circ \tau \alpha ́ \tau \alpha s$. v̈ $\sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \circ \nu \mu \epsilon ́ v \tau o \iota ~ \mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda \eta$ $\chi \epsilon \iota \rho i ̀ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ $\pi \rho о \sigma о \iota к о и ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \beta \alpha \rho \beta \alpha ́ \rho \omega \nu$ є̇ $\pi \iota \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \epsilon v \sigma \alpha ́ v \tau \omega \nu$ av̉тоîs


 $\epsilon \notin \theta$ áp $\eta$.







 $\sigma v \nu \epsilon \lambda$ Өóvtos $\delta^{\prime}$ є่ $\pi^{\prime}$ aủzov̀s $\mu \epsilon \gamma$ ádov oтpazov̂ $\delta \epsilon i-$

 äтє $\pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu i o \iota s ~ \epsilon ́ \delta \iota к а i ́ o v \nu ~ a v ̉ \tau о i ̂ s ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \phi \epsilon ́ \rho \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota ~ к а i ~$









[^33]
## BOOK I. 18, 4-19, 2

out of their revenues from the sea they used to send tithes to the god at Delphi, which were among the most magnificent sent by any people. But later, when the barbarians in the neighbourhood made war upon them in great numbers, they deserted the city; and these barbarians in the course of time were driven out by the Romans. So perished that part of the Pelasgians that was left at Spina.
XIX. Those, however, who had turned inland crossed the mountainous part of Italy and came to the territory of the Umbrians who were neighbours to the Aborigines. (The Umbrians inhabited a great many other parts of Italy also and were an exceeding great and ancient people.) At first the Pelasgians made themselves masters of the lands where they first settled and took some of the small towns belonging to the Umbrians. But when a great army came together against them, they were terrified at the number of their enemies and betook themselves to the country of the Aborigines. And these, seeing fit to treat them as enemies, made haste to assemble out of the places nearest at hand, in order to drive them out of the country. But the Pelasgians luckily chanced to be encamped at that time near Cutilia, a city of the Aborigines hard by the sacred lake, and observing the little island circling round in it and learning from the captives they had taken in the fields the name of the inhabitants, they concluded that their oracle was now fulfilled.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS












 каi $\delta \epsilon o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu$ っı $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \phi \iota \lambda i ́ a \nu ~ \delta \epsilon ́ \xi \alpha \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \sigma \phi a ̂ s ~ \sigma v v o i ́ к о v s ~$ ov̉ $\lambda v \pi \eta \rho o \imath ̀ s ~ \epsilon ̇ \sigma o \mu \epsilon ́ v o v s, ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \epsilon i ~ к а i ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \delta a ı \mu o ́ v ı o v ~$
 $\mu \in v o \iota ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \lambda o ́ \gamma ı o \nu . ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ \delta e ̀ ~ ' A \beta o p \imath \gamma i ̂ \sigma \iota ~ \tau \alpha u ̂ \tau a ~ \pi v \theta o-~$


 $\pi о \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu \omega . \quad \sigma \pi \epsilon ́ v \delta o \nu \tau \alpha i ́ ~ \tau \epsilon$ ס̀̀ $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \Pi \epsilon \lambda a \sigma \gamma o v ̀ s$


${ }^{4}$ кроvíঠŋ $\mathrm{O}: \underset{a}{a} \delta \eta$ Macrobius.
${ }^{5}$ Colet: movov $\mu$ '́voıs 0 .

[^34]
## BOOK I. 19. 3-20, 2

For this oracle, which had been delivered to them in Dodona and which Lucius Mallius, ${ }^{1}$ no obscure man, says he himself saw engraved in ancient characters upon one of the tripods standing in the precinct of Zeus, was as follows:
"Fare forth the Sicels' Saturnian land to seck, Aborigines' Cotylê, ${ }^{2}$ too, where floats an isle ; With these men mingling, to Phoebus send a tithe,
And heads to Cronus' son, and send to the sire a man." ${ }^{3}$
XX. When, therefore, the Aborigines advanced with a numerous army, the Pelasgians approached unarmed with olive branches in their hands, and telling them of their own fortunes, begged that they would receive them in a friendly manner to dwell with them, assuring them that they would not be troublesome, since Heaven itself was guiding them into this one particular country according to the oracle, which they explained to them. When the Aborigines heard this, they resolved to obey the oracle and to gain these Greeks as allies against their barbarian enemies, for they were hard pressed by their war with the Sicels. They accordingly made a treaty with the Pelasgians and assigned to them

Kpoviðŋ. He says the oracle was at first taken to call for human heads as an offering to Dis and the sacrifice of men to Saturn. But several generations later Hercules taught the people a more humane interpretation: to Dis they should offer little images made in the likeness of men and Saturn should be honoured with lighted candles, since $\phi \hat{\omega} \tau \alpha$ meant " light " as well as " man."

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 3 Ov̇é入ıa ỏvo $\mu a ́ \zeta \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota$ ．$\sigma v ́ v \eta \theta \epsilon s$ रàp $\mathfrak{j} \nu \tau o i ̂ s ~ a ̉ \rho \chi a i o ı s ~$ ${ }^{\circ} E \lambda \lambda \eta \sigma \iota \nu$ ஸ́s $\tau \dot{\alpha} ~ \pi о \lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \pi \rho о \tau \iota \theta \epsilon ́ v a \iota ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ o ̉ \nu о \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$,


 таîs $\pi \lambda a \gamma i o \imath s, ~ \omega i s ~ F \epsilon \lambda \epsilon ́ v \eta ~ к а i ~ F a ́ v a \xi ~ к а i ~ F o i ̂ к о s ~$

 $\pi \epsilon i \sigma a \nu \tau \epsilon s$ тov̀s＇Aßopıyivas ovvápac日aí oфıo＇$\tau \hat{\eta} s$








 5 pas．каi тódєıs то入入ás，тàs $\mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ oiкоинє́vas каì $\pi \rho o ́ \tau \epsilon \rho о \nu$ ن́тò $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \sum \iota \kappa \in \lambda \omega \nu$ ，тàs $\delta^{\prime}$ av̇тoi ката－




[^35]
## BOOK I. 20, 2-5

some of their own lands that lay near the sacred lake; the greater part of these were marshy and are still called Velia, in accordance with the ancient form of their language. For it was the custom of the ancient Greeks generally to place before those words that began with a vowel the syllable ov, written with one letter (this was like a gamma, formed by two oblique lines joined to one upright line), as $F_{\epsilon} \lambda \epsilon ́ v \eta$, Fávag, Foîkos, F'́a and many such words. ${ }^{1}$ Afterwards, a considerable part of the Pelasgians, as the land was not sufficient to support them all, prevailed on the Aborigines to join them in an expedition against the Umbrians, and marching forth, they suddenly fell upon and captured Croton, a rich and large city of theirs. And using this place as a stronghold and fortress against the Umbrians, since it was sufficiently fortified as a place of defence in time of war and had fertile pastures lying round it, they made themselves masters also of a great many other places and with great zeal assisted the Aborigines in the war they were still engaged in against the Sicels, till they drove them out of their country. And the Pelasgians in common with the Aborigines settled many cities, some of which had been previously inhabited by the Sicels and others which they built themselves; among these are Caere, then called Agylla, and Pisae, Saturnia, parts of Greece; its value was that of the Latin $v$. or English w. See Kühner-Blass, Griech. Gram. i. 1, § 16 f. Dionysius assumes that Velia is an early form of $\varepsilon \in \epsilon \epsilon a$ (" marshy "). In his day the Latin $v$ was usually represented in Greek by ov, sometimes by $\beta$.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 Tvррך $\omega \hat{\nu}$ ảф $\eta \rho \epsilon ́ \theta \eta \sigma a \nu$.
XXI. Фа入є́pıov ס̀̀ каi Фабкє́vvıov ёть каi єis

 viாáp $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ à $\rho \chi \alpha i \omega \nu$ ठıaı $\tau \eta \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$, oîs тò ' $E \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota \kappa o ́ v ~ \pi о \tau ' ~$




 ióvтєs $\sigma \pi \sigma \nu \delta o \phi o ́ \rho o \iota, \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \epsilon$ i $\epsilon \rho \hat{\omega} \nu$ ai катабкєvai









 oữo九 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa \alpha \lambda о \nu \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu ~ K a \mu \pi \alpha \nu \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \epsilon \dot{\beta} \beta o ́ \tau \omega \nu \pi \alpha ́ \nu \nu$


${ }^{1}$ ímepópiov Kiessling : vimèp $\tau \omega \hat{\nu}$ oipuv O.
${ }^{2}$ Av́póy

[^36]
## BOOK I. 20, 5-21, 3

Alsium and some others, of which they were in the course of time dispossessed by the Tyrrhenians.
XXI. But Falerii and Fescemium were even down to my day inhabited by Romans and preserved some small remains of the Pelasgian nation. though they had earlicr belonged to the Sicels. In these cities there survived for a very long time many of the ancient customs formerly in use among the Greeks, such as the fashion of their arms of war, like Argolic bucklers and spears; and whenever they sent out an army beyond their borders, either to begin a war or to resist an invasion, certain holy men, unarmed, went ahead of the rest bearing the terms of peace ${ }^{1}$; similar, also, were the struccure of their temples, the images of their gods, their purifications and sacrifices and many other things of that nature. But the most conspicuous monument which shows that those people who drove out the Sicels once lived at Argos is the temple of Juno at Falerii, built in the same fashion as the one at Argos; here, too, the manner of the sacrificial ceremonies was similar, holy women served the sacred precinct, and an unmarried girl, called the canephorus or " basket-bearer," performed the initial rites of the sacrifices, and there were choruses of virgins who praised the goddess in the songs of their country. These people also possessed themselves of no inconsiderable part of the Campanian plains, as they are called, which afford not only very fertile pasturage but most pleasing prospects as well. having driven the Auronissi, ${ }^{2}$ a barbarous
${ }^{2}$ The name occurs nowhere else and is very probably a corruption of Aurunci.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 + $\sigma \phi \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \mu \eta \tau \rho о \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega s$ oैvo $\mu \alpha$ $\theta \epsilon \epsilon \mu \epsilon \nu 0 \iota ~ \alpha v ่ \tau \hat{\eta}$. $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mu \epsilon ่ \nu$

 ठє̀ $\Lambda \alpha ́ \rho \iota \sigma \alpha ~ \epsilon ’ \kappa ~ \pi о \lambda \lambda \omega ิ \nu ~ \pi a ́ v v ~ \chi \rho o ́ v \omega \nu ~ \epsilon ’ \rho \eta \mu \omega \theta \epsilon i ̂ \sigma \alpha$


 $\pi \rho o ́ \sigma \omega . ~ \pi о \lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \delta \grave{~ к а i ~ a ̈ \lambda l a ~ \tau \hat{\eta} s \tau \epsilon \pi \alpha \rho a \theta a \lambda a \tau \tau i ́ o v ~}$
 тov̀s $\sum \iota \kappa \in \lambda$ oús.

 $\mu \epsilon \nu \circ \iota) \tau \epsilon ́ \kappa \nu \alpha$ каi $\gamma v \nu \alpha i ̂ \kappa \alpha s ~ к а i ~ \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ \chi \rho \eta \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu ~ o ̈ \sigma \alpha ~$












[^37]nation, out of part of them. There they built various other cities and also Larisa, which they named after their mother-city in the Peloponnesus. Some of these cities were standing even to my day, having often changed their inhabitants. But Larisa has been long deserted and shows to the people of to-day no other sign of its ever having been inhabited but its name, ${ }^{1}$ and even this is not generally known. It was not far from the place called Forum Popilii. ${ }^{2}$ They also occupied a great many other places, both on the coast and in the interior, which they had taken from the Sicels.
XXII. The Sicels, being warred upon by botk the Pelasgians and the Aborigines, found themselves incapable of making resistance any longer, and so, taking with them their wives and children and such of their possessions as were of gold or silver, they abandoned all their country to these foes. Then, turning their course southward through the mountains, they proceeded through all the lower part of Italy, and being driven away from every place, they at last prepared rafts at the Strait and, watching for a downward current, passed over from Italy to the adjacent island. It was then occupied by the Sicanians, an Iberian nation, who, fleeing from the Ligurians, had but lately settled there and had caused the island, previously named Trinacria, from its
${ }^{1}$ Larisa originally meant "citadel." Places with this name, of which there were several in Greece and Asia, seem to have been of Pelasgic origin.
${ }^{2}$ This Forum Popilii was in the Falernian district at the northern end of the Campanian plain, a few miles south of Teanum.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 3 тои́т $\omega \nu$ ท้ $\rho \xi a \tau о$ इıкє $\lambda i ́ a ~ к а \lambda \epsilon i ̂ \sigma \theta a \iota . ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \mu \grave{̀ \nu} \delta \grave{\eta}$



 ＇Iта入ıко⿱亠乂s $\delta \iota \beta$ ßávтas єis $\sum_{\imath \kappa \in \lambda i ́ a \nu . ~ т o ̀ v ~}^{\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu} \pi \rho o ́-$

 Av̉oóv $\omega \nu$＇Iáтvүas $\phi \epsilon v \gamma o ́ v \tau \omega \nu$ ．Baбı入éa $\delta$ є̀ тoúт $\omega \nu$




 $\nu \omega \nu^{3}$ ov้т＇＇$E \lambda u ́ \mu \omega \nu, \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \grave{\alpha} \Lambda \iota \gamma v ́ \omega \nu$ ，á $\gamma o v \tau o s ~ a v ̉ \tau o v ̀ s ~$
${ }^{1} \delta \dot{\epsilon}$ added by Ritschl．${ }^{2}$ Kiessling：є̈ $\gamma \rho a \psi \in$ O，Jacoby．
${ }^{3}$ Before ou้т $A$ v̉𧰨óv $\omega \nu$ Stephanus inserted ou้т $\sum_{\iota \kappa \epsilon \lambda}^{\omega} \nu$ ． Kiessling was the first editor to bracket these words，which appear in none of the MSS．By a strange inadvertence Jacoby replaced them in the text，attributing them to Kiessling！
${ }^{1}$ Hellanicus（fifth century），the most prominent of the logographers，wrote histories of various Greek lands，in－ cluding an Atthis for Attica and a Phoronis for Argos （cf．chap．28，3），as well as accounts of the Trojan ex－ pedition and the Persian invasion．He also compiled some chronological lists，such as The Priestesses of Hera at Argos

## BOOK I. 22, 2-4

triangular shape, to be called Sicania, after themselves. There were very few inhabitants in it for so large an island, and the greater part of it was as yet unoccupied. Accordingly, when the Sicels landed there they first settled in the western parts and afterwards in several others; and from these people the island began to be called Sicily. In this manner the Sicel nation left Italy, according to Hellanicus of Lesbos, ${ }^{1}$ in the third generation before the Trojan war, and in the twenty-sixth year of the priesthood of Alcyonê at Argos. ${ }^{2}$ But he says that two Italian expeditions passed over into Sicily, the first consisting of the Elymians, who had been driven out of their country by the Oenotrians, and the second, five years later, of the Ausonians, who fled from the Iapygians. As king of the latter group he names Sicelus, from whom both the people and the island got their name. But according to Philistus of Syracuse ${ }^{3}$ the date of the crossing was the eightieth year before the Trojan war ${ }^{4}$ and the people who passed over from Italy were neither Ausonians nor Elymians, but Ligurians, whose (cf. chap. 72, 2), with the apparent purpose of devising a scientific chronology. The present quotation appears as frg. 53 in Müller, $F$.H.G. i. p. 52 .
${ }^{2}$ Probably in the second quarter of the thirteenth century b.c.; but it is not certain that Hellanicus is here using the generation as a definite measure of time (usually reckoned as one-third of a century). Unfortunately the date of Alcyonê's priesthood is not known.
${ }^{3}$ Philistus (first half of fourth century) stood high in the counsels of the elder Dionysius, for a time, and particularly of the younger Dionysius. He was famous for his history of Sicily, which closely imitated the style of Thucydides. Müller, F.H.G. i. p. 185, frg. 2.
${ }^{4}$ cи. 1263 в.c.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

$\sum \iota \kappa \in \lambda 0 \hat{v}$ ．тoûtov $\delta^{\prime}$ єivai $\phi \eta \sigma \iota \nu$ viòv＇Ita入ô，














XXIII．Oi $\delta \grave{\epsilon}$ Пє $\lambda a \sigma \gamma o i \quad \pi о \lambda \lambda \hat{\eta} s$ каi à $\alpha a \theta \hat{\eta} s$
 $\lambda \alpha \beta o ́ v \tau \epsilon \varsigma,{ }^{3}$ ä入入as $\delta^{\prime}$ aủтоi катабкєváбаขтєऽ，$\mu \epsilon-$





 $\pi \lambda \epsilon i ̂ \sigma \tau o \nu ~ a u ̀ \tau \omega ิ \nu \mu \epsilon ́ \rho o s ~ \epsilon i s ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ ‘ E \lambda \lambda a ́ \delta \alpha ~ к а i ~ т \eta ̀ \nu ~$



[^38]
## BOOK I. 22, 4-23, 1

leader was Sicelus; this Sicelus, he says, was the son of Italus and in his reign the people were called Sicels, and he adds that these Ligurians had been driven out of their country by the Umbrians and Pelasgians. Antiochus of Syracuse ${ }^{1}$ does not give the date of the crossing, but says the people who migrated were the Sicels, who had been forced to leave by the Oenotrians and Opicans, and that they chose Straton ${ }^{2}$ as leader of the colony. But Thucydides writes ${ }^{3}$ that the people who left Italy were the Sicels and those who drove them out the Opicans, and that the date was many years after the Trojan war. Such, then, are the reports given by credible authorities concerning the Sicels who changed their abode from Italy to Sicily.
XXIII. The Pelasgians, after conquering a large and fertile region, taking over many towns and building others, made great and rapid progress, becoming populous, rich and in every way prosperous. Nevertheless, they did not long enjoy their prosperity, but at the moment when they seemed to all the world to be in the most flourishing condition they were visited by divine wrath, and some of them were destroyed by calamities inflicted by the hand of Heaven, others by their barbarian neighbours; but the greatest part of them were again dispersed through Greece and the country of the barbarians (concerning whom, if I attempted to give a particular account, it would make a very

[^39]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS








 $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ o v ̉ \kappa \epsilon ́ \tau \iota ~ \pi i \nu \epsilon \sigma \theta \alpha \iota ~ \sigma \pi o v \delta \alpha i ̂ \alpha ~ \hat{\eta} \nu, \tau \grave{\alpha} \delta^{\prime}$ vं $\pi \epsilon \lambda i ́ \mu \pi \alpha \nu \epsilon$
 тои́тоıs є́үірєто $\pi \epsilon \rho i \quad \tau \epsilon \pi \rho \circ \beta \alpha ́ \tau \omega \nu$ каi $\gamma v \nu \alpha \iota \kappa \omega ิ \nu$
 тóкоиs $\delta \iota \epsilon \phi \theta \epsilon i \rho \epsilon \tau о$ Єै $\sigma \tau \iota \nu$ â каi $\tau$ às $\phi \in \rho о$ v́баs $\sigma v \nu-$




 $4 \mu a \nu \tau \epsilon v o \mu \epsilon ́ v o ı s \delta^{\prime}$ av̉тoîs tiva $\theta \in \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \dddot{\eta} \delta \alpha \mu o ́ v \omega \nu$


 5 офєíhovaı $\tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \lambda \epsilon i ́ \sigma \tau o v ~ a ̈ \xi \iota a$. oi $\gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho \prod_{\epsilon} \lambda a \sigma \gamma o i$
 $\tau \omega \nu \in \ddot{\jmath} \xi a \nu \tau о \quad \tau \hat{\varphi} \tau \in \Delta i$ каi $\tau \hat{\varphi}$ ' $A \pi o ́ \lambda \lambda \omega \nu \iota$ каi тоîs
${ }^{1}$ Similar calamities are mentioned, much more briefly, in Sophocles, Oed. Rex 25-27.

## BOOK I. 23. 1-5

long story), though some few of them remained in Italy through the care of the Aborigines. The first cause of the desolation of their cities seemed to be a drought which laid waste the land, when neither any fruit remained on the trees till it was ripe, but dropped while still green, nor did such of the seed corn as sent up shoots and flowered stand for the usual period till the ear was ripe, nor did sufficient grass grow for the cattle; and of the waters some were no longer fit to drink, others shrank during the summer, and others were totally dried up. And like misfortunes attended the offspring both of cattle and of women. ${ }^{1}$ For they were either abortive or died at birth, some by their death destroying also those that bore them; and if any got safely past the danger of their delivery, they were either maimed or defective or, being injured by some other accident, were not fit to be reared. The rest of the people, also, particularly those in the prime of life, were afflicted with many unusual diseases and uncommon deaths. But when they asked the oracle what god or divinity they had offended to be thus afflicted and by what means they might hope for relief, the god answered that, although they had obtained what they desired, they had neglected to pay what they had promised, and that the things of greatest value were still due from them. For the Pelasgians in a time of general scarcity in the land had vowed to offer ${ }^{2}$ to Jupiter, Apollo and the

[^40]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

Kaßєiроıs катаӨv́бєьข $\delta \epsilon к а ́ \tau \alpha s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \rho о \sigma \gamma \epsilon \nu \eta \sigma о-$

 $\lambda \alpha ́ \chi o s ~ a ̀ \pi \epsilon ́ \theta v \sigma a \nu ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ \theta \epsilon o i ̂ s, ~ c ́ s ~ \delta \grave{\eta} \kappa \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} ~ \tau о u ́ \tau \omega \nu$



 v̌ vт $\tau \rho \circ \nu$ є’ $\rho \hat{\omega}$.

 av̇тoìs т $\omega \nu \nu \quad \gamma \epsilon \rho \alpha \iota \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega \nu$ тıs $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \iota \quad \sigma \nu \mu \beta a \lambda \omega ̀ \nu$ тò





 $\mu o i ̂ p a \nu, ~ \tau \epsilon ́ \lambda o s ~ \epsilon ́ \xi \epsilon є \nu ~ \sigma \phi i ́ \sigma \iota ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \lambda o ́ \gamma \iota o v . ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ \mu e ̀ \nu ~$



 тò $\delta \in u ́ \tau \epsilon \rho \circ \nu$ $\theta \epsilon o \pi \rho o ́ t o v s$. кai ò $\theta \epsilon o ̀ s ~ a ̉ \nu \epsilon i ̂ \lambda \epsilon \nu$ ov̋т $\omega$

[^41]
## BOOK I. 23, 5-24, 2

Cabeiri tithes of all their future increase; but when their prayer had been answered, they set apart and offered to the gods the promised portion of all their fruits and cattle only, as if their vow had related to them alone. This is the account related by Myrsilus of Lesbos, ${ }^{1}$ who uses almost the same words as I do now, except that he does not call the people Pelasgians, but Tyrrhenians, of which I shall give the reason a little later. ${ }^{2}$
XXIV. When they heard the oracle which was brought to them, they were at a loss to guess the meaning of the message. While they were in this perplexity, one of the elders, conjecturing the sense of the saying, told them they had quite missed its meaning if they thought the gods complained of them without reason. Of material things they had indeed rendered to the gods all the first-fruits in the right and proper manner, but of human offspring, a thing of all others the most precious in the sight of the gods, the promised portion still remained due; if, however, the gods received their just share of this also, the oracle would be satisfied. There were, indeed, some who thought that he spoke aright, but others felt that there was treachery behind his words. And when some one proposed to ask the god whether it was acceptable to him to receive tithes of human beings, they sent their messengers a second time, and the god ordered them so to do. ${ }^{3}$
cated these to Mars, and when the children had grown up, sent them out as colonists. Dionysius has already narrated (in chap. 16) a like procedure on the part of the Aborigines. This form of vow, when it involved the increase of a particular year, was called a ver sacrum, as we [Note continiced on p. 79.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




















${ }^{1}$ тò Sintenis: то́тє O .
 Jacoby.
${ }^{3}$ тò aủ $o$ ò O : тaủzòv Jacoby.


## BOOK I. 24, 2-4

Thereupon strife arose among them concerning the manner of choosing the tithes, and those who had the government of the cities first quarrelled among themselves and afterwards the rest of the people held their magistrates in suspicion. And there began to be disorderly emigrations, such as might well be expected from a people driven forth by a frenzy and madness inflicted by the hand of Heaven. Many households disappeared entirely when part of their members left; for the relations of those who departed were unwilling to be separated from their dearest friends and remain among their worst enemies. These, therefore, were the first to migrate from Italy and wander about Greece and many parts of the barbarian world; but after them others had the same experience, and this continued every year. For the rulers in the cities ceased not to select the first-fruits of the youth as soon as they arrived at manhood, both beeause they desired to render what was due to the gods and also because they feared uprisings on the part of lurking enemies. Many, also, under specious
learn from Paulus Diaconus in his abridgment of Festus, p. 379. He states that it was a custom of the Italian peoples in times of dire peril to vow to sacrifice (immolaturos) all the living things that should be born to them during the following spring; but that, since it seemed to them cruel to slay innocent boys and girls, they reared these and then drove them forth, with their heads veiled, beyond the boundaries. It is not altogether clear in the case of the Pelasgians what the fate of the human tithes was, whether mere expulsion or actual sacrifice. In favour of the former view may be urged the fact si cheir respite until they had grown up; yet the violent disturbances that accompanied the selection of the tithes would seem to point to a more cruel fate.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




XXV. ${ }^{5} H \sigma \alpha \nu ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \tau \alpha ́ \quad \tau \epsilon{ }^{2} \pi o \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu \iota \alpha$ Є̇к $\tau 0 \hat{v} \mu \epsilon \tau \alpha ̀$





















## 

${ }^{2} \tau \epsilon$ placed after $\tau \alpha ́$ by Kiessling: after $\kappa \iota \nu \delta u ́ v \omega \nu$ in B; A omits.
${ }^{3}$ Steph. ${ }^{2}$ : ảmo入є入аuкótєs O.
 Jacoby.

## BOOK I. 24, 4-25, 3

pretences were being driven away by their enemies through hatred; so that there were many emigrations and the Pelasgian nation was scattered over most of the earth.
XXV. Not only were the Pelasgians superior to many in warfare, as the result of their training in the midst of dangers while they lived among warlike nations, but they also rose to the highest proficiency in seamanship, by reason of their living with the Tyrrhenians; and Necessity, which is quite sufficient to give daring to those in want of a livelihood, was their leader and director in every dangerous enterprise, so that wherever they went they conquered without difficulty. And the same people were called by the rest of the world both Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians, the former name being from the country out of which they had been driven and the latter in memory of their ancient origin. I mention this so that no one, when he hears poets or historians call the Pelasgians Tyrrhenians also, may wonder how the same people got both these names. Thus, with regard to them, Thucydides has a clear account ${ }^{1}$ of the Thracian Actê and of the cities situated in it, which are inhabited by men who speak two languages. Concerning the Pelasgian nation these are his words: "There is also a Chalcidian element among them, but the largest element is Pelasgian,

$$
{ }^{1} \text { iv. } 109 .
$$

[^42]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

4 тотє каi 'AӨク́vas оік $\eta \sigma a ́ v \tau \omega \nu ~ T v \rho \rho \eta \nu \omega ̂ \nu . " ~ \Sigma о-~$


${ }^{2} I \nu a \chi \in \nu \hat{\tau} \tau о \rho,{ }^{1} \pi a \hat{\imath} \tau 0 \hat{v} \kappa \rho \eta \nu \hat{\omega} \nu$
$\pi \alpha \tau \rho o ̀ s, ~ ` \Omega \kappa \epsilon \alpha \nu о \hat{v}, \mu \epsilon ́ \gamma \alpha \pi \rho \in \sigma \beta \epsilon v ́ \omega \nu$
каi Tvрбךvoîбь ${ }^{2}$ Пє $\lambda \alpha \sigma \gamma o i ̂ s . ~$








 $\dot{\omega} \nu \alpha^{\prime} \sigma \theta \eta$.







 тò $\pi a \lambda a \iota o ̀ \nu ~ \sigma \chi \hat{\eta} \mu a$ Х $\rho o ́ v o s ~ o v ̉ ~ \pi o \lambda u ̀ s ~ \epsilon ' \xi ~ o v ̂ ~ \tau \eta ́ \nu ~ \tau \epsilon ~$
${ }^{1}$ Meineke: várop $\mathrm{Ba}, ~ \gamma \in v \nu a ́ \tau o \rho ~ A B b . ~$
${ }^{2}$ Meineke : rupp $\quad$ voîs AB.
${ }^{3} \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ Ambrosch : каі т $\grave{\nu} \nu \mathrm{O}$.

- каі added by Reiske.
${ }^{6} \delta \epsilon \nu \tau \in \rho a \quad \gamma \in \nu \in \hat{a}$ B.


## BOOK I. 25, 4-26, 1

belonging to the Tyrrhenians who once inhabited Lemnos and Athens." And Sophocles makes the chorus in his drama Inachus speak the following anapaestic verses :
" O fair-flowing Inachus, of Ocean begot,
That sire of all waters, thou rulest with might
O'er the Argive fields and Hera's hills
And Tyrrhene Pelasgians also." ${ }^{1}$
For the name of Tyrrhenia was then known throughout Greece, and all the western part of Italy was called by that name, the several nations of which it was composed having lost their distinctive appellations. The same thing happened to many parts of Greece also, and particularly to that part of it which is now called the Peloponnesus; for it was after one of the nations that inhabited it, namely the Achaean, that the whole peninsula also, in which are comprised the Arcadian. the Ionian and many other nations, was called Achaia.
XXVI. The time when the calamities of the Pelasgians began was about the second generation before the Trojan war; and they continued to occur even after that war, till the nation was reduced to very inconsiderable numbers. For, with the exception of Croton, the important city in Umbria, ${ }^{2}$ and any others that they had founded in the land of the Aborigines, all the rest of the Pelasgian towns were destroyed. But Croton long preserved its ancient form, having only recently changed
${ }^{1}$ Nauck, T.(7.F. ${ }^{2}$, p. 189, frg. 248.
${ }^{2}$ See chap. $20,4$.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS











 रovaı• тúpбєıs $\gamma$ à $\rho$ каi, $\pi \alpha \rho a ̀ ~ T u \rho \rho \eta \nu o i ̂ s ~ a i ~ \epsilon ̀ \nu-~$




 $\mu o ́ \sigma \sigma v v a s{ }^{2}$ aủ $\tau \dot{\alpha}$ ка入oûvтєs.








${ }^{2}$ дó $\sigma \sigma v v a s ~ B: ~ \mu o ́ \sigma v v a s ~ R . ~$
${ }^{3} \mu \epsilon \tau a \nu a ́ \sigma \tau \eta \nu$ övтa Sintenis: $\mu \epsilon \tau a v a \sigma \tau a ́ v \tau a \mathrm{O}$.
${ }^{4}$ Sylburg: $\mu$ áovq» O (and similarly in §3).
${ }^{5}$ Cary : Kallıpóns O, Jacoby.

## BOOK I. 26, 1-27, 1

both its name and inhabitants; it is now a Roman colony, called Corthonia. ${ }^{1}$ After the Pelasgians left the country their cities were seized by the various peoples which happened to live nearest them in each case, but chicfly by the Tyrrhenians, who made themselves masters of the greatest part and the best of them. As regards these Tyrrhenians, some declare them to be natives of Italy, but others call them foreigners. Those who make them a native race say that their name was given them from the forts, which they were the first of the inhabitants of this country to build; for covered buildings enclosed by walls are called by the Tyrrhenians as well as by the Greeks tyrseis or "towers." ${ }^{2}$ So they will have it that they received their name from this circumstance in like manner as did the Mossynoeci ${ }^{3}$ in Asia; for these also live in high wooden palisades resembling towers, which they call mossynes.
XXVII. But those who relate a legendary tale about their having come from a foreign land say that Tyrrhenus, who was the leader of the colony, gave his name to the nation, and that he was a Lydian by birth, from the district formerly called Maeonia, and migrated in ancient times. They add that he was the fifth in descent from Zeus; for they say the son of Zeus and Gê was Manes, the first king of that country, and his son by Callirrhôe, the daughter
${ }^{1}$ i.e. Cortona. Compare the name Corythus used by Virgil (Aen. iii. 170).
${ }^{2}$ The form Tyrrhênoi is the Attic development of Tyrsênoi, the form used by most of the Greeks.
${ }^{3}$ This people lived on the shore of the Euxine, a short distance west of Trapezus. Xenophon mentions them in the Anabasis (v. 4).

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 каi Ka入lı日є́as тท̂s Xwpaiov $\Lambda v \delta o ̀ ̀ v ~ \phi u ̂ v a \iota ~ к а i ~ T v \rho-~$






 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ Mnóv $\omega \nu$ єis＇I I $\alpha \lambda i ́ a \nu ~ o v ̉ \chi ~ є ́ к о v ́ \sigma \iota o s . ~ \phi \eta \sigma i ~ \gamma a ̀ \rho ~$





 $\delta \epsilon \iota \nu 0 \hat{v} \delta_{\epsilon \iota \nu \in i \mu \alpha \nu \tau a s}$ ä $\pi \alpha \nu \tau \alpha$ đòv $\delta \hat{\eta} \mu \circ \nu \delta \iota \chi \hat{\eta}^{2} \kappa \lambda \eta_{\eta}^{-}$

 4 тòv $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \tau \hat{\eta} \pi \rho \circ \sigma v \epsilon i ̂ \mu a \iota$ ，$\tau \grave{\nu} \nu \delta \grave{\epsilon} \tau \hat{\eta}{ }^{4}$ 入axov́ons $\delta \grave{\epsilon}$


 ${ }^{2} \delta i x \hat{\eta} \mathrm{BmgCD}$ ， ià AB ．
${ }^{8} \kappa \lambda \eta \dot{\prime} \rho o v s$ Steph．：к $\lambda \eta{ }^{\prime} \rho \circ=0$.
 $\mu \grave{\eta}$ R．
 т $\dot{\chi} \chi \eta \nu \mathrm{O}$ ．

## BOOK 1. 27, 1-4

of Oceanus, was Cotys, who by Haliê, the daughter of earth-born Tyllus, had two sons, Asies and Atys, from the latter of whom by Callithea, the daughter of Choraeus, came Lydus and Tyrrhenus. Lydus, they continue, remaining there, inherited his father's kingdom, and from him the country was called Lydia; but Tyrrhenus, who was the leader of the colony, conquered a large portion of Italy and gave his name to those who had taken part in the expedition. Herodotus, however, says ${ }^{1}$ that Tyrrhenus and his brother were the sons of Atys, the son of Manes, and that the migration of the Maeonians to Italy was not voluntary. For he says that in the reign of Atys there was a dearth in the country of the Maeonians and that the inhabitants, inspired by love of their native land, for a time contrived a great many methods to resist this calamity, one day permitting themselves but a moderate allowance of food and the next day fasting. But, as the mischief continued, they divided the people into two groups and cast lots to determine which should go out of the country and which should stay in it; of the sons of Atys one was assigned to the one group and the other to the other. And when the lot fell to that part of the people which was with Lydus to remain in the country, the other group departed after receiving their share of the common possessions; and
${ }^{1}$ i. 94. But the quotation is inaccurate in two important details: Herodotus mentions only one son of Atys, Tyrrhenus, and says that Atys joined himself to the group destined to remain at home, but assigned his son to the other.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

$\tau \grave{\alpha} \mu \epsilon ́ \rho \eta$, ó $\rho \mu \iota \sigma a \mu \epsilon ́ \imath \eta \nu \delta^{\prime}$ є̇ $\pi i$ тoîs є́ $\sigma \pi \epsilon \rho i o \iota s \mu \epsilon ́ \rho \in \sigma \iota$



 $\sigma v \gamma \gamma \rho a \phi \in i ̂{ }^{1}{ }^{1} \pi \epsilon \rho i$ тov̂ Tup $\quad \pi \nu \omega ̂ \nu \gamma \epsilon ́ v o u s ~ \chi \rho \eta \sigma a-$ $\mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi i \sigma \tau a \mu a l, ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ к а \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \tau a v ̉ \tau \alpha ́, ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \delta \epsilon ̀ ~$





 фov $\pi a i ̂ \delta a ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ T u \rho \rho \eta \nu o ̀ \nu ~ a ̉ \pi o \phi a i v o v \sigma \iota \nu, ~ \epsilon ̉ \lambda \theta \epsilon i ̂ \nu ~ \delta \grave{~}$


 סєє́бтє


 $\nu о \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega \nu$ ä $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu \quad \mu \epsilon \mu \nu \eta \mu \epsilon ́ \nu$ оs ov̉ $\delta \epsilon \mu i ́ a \nu \pi \epsilon \pi о i ́ \eta \tau \alpha \iota$. "A $A$ vos $\delta \grave{\text { è }} \pi \alpha i ̂ \delta a s ~ \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \iota ~ \Lambda v \delta o ̀ v ~ к а i ~ T o ́ p \eta \beta o \nu, ~$

 $\hat{\eta} \rho \xi \alpha \nu \quad \epsilon \pi \pi^{\prime} \epsilon \in \kappa \epsilon i \nu \omega \nu \quad \phi \eta \sigma i \quad \tau \epsilon \theta \hat{\eta} \nu \alpha \iota \quad \tau \dot{\alpha} s$ ỏvopaбías,


$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{2} \mu \in \tau \dot{\alpha} \text { O : } \mu \in \tau \dot{\alpha} \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \text { Jacoby. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## BOOK I. 27, 4-28, 2

landing in the western parts of Italy where the Umbrians dwelt, they remained there and built the cities that still existed even in his time.
XXVIII. I am aware that many other authors also have given this account of the Tyrrhenian race, some in the same terms, and others changing the character of the colony and the date. For some have said that Tyrrhenus was the son of Herakles by Omphalê, the Lydian, and that he, coming into Italy, dispossessed the Pelasgians of their cities, though not of all, but of those only that lay beyond the Tiber toward the north. Others declare that Tyrrhenus was the son of Telephus and that after the taking of Troy he came into Italy. But Xanthus of Lydia, ${ }^{1}$ who was as well acquainted with ancient history as any man and who may be regarded as an authority second to none on the history of his own country, neither names Tyrrhenus in any part of his history as a ruler of the Lydians nor knows anything of the landing of a colony of Maeonians in Italy; nor does he make the least mention of Tyrrhenia as a Lydian colony, though he takes notice of several things of less importance. He says that Lydus and Torebus were the sons of Atys; that they, having divided the kingdom they had inherited from their father, both remained in Asia, and from them the nations over which they reigned received their names. His words are these: "From Lydus are sprung the Lydians, and from Torebus

[^43]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


















 $\mu$ évoıs $\pi \epsilon \lambda a p \gamma o i ̂ s ~ \epsilon i k a \sigma \theta e ́ v \tau a s, ~ w i s ~ к а \tau^{\prime}$ ày élas

 Sintenıs, ovvą́Sovaı Jacoby (in note), छ̧vvoûaıv Meineke, छขvıâoıv Naber.
 note), ad $\lambda \dot{\eta}_{\dot{\prime}}^{\lambda} \omega \boldsymbol{\omega}$ Namer. The construction required by the rare verb oidlów is uncertain, but the double accusative is
 thous cis $\dot{\rho} \eta \dot{\mu} \alpha \tau \alpha$ should be read.

## BOOK I. 28. 2-4

the Torebians. There is little difference in their language and even now each nation scoffs at many words used by the other, ${ }^{1}$ even as do the Ionians and Dorians." Hellanicus of Lesbos says that the Tyrrhenians, who were previously called Pelasgians, received their present name after they had settled in Italy. These are his words in the Phoronis : ${ }^{2}$ "Phrastor was the son of Pelasgus, their king, and Menippê, the daughter of Peneus; his son was Amyntor, Amyntor's son was Teutamides, and the latter's son was Nanas. In his reign the Pelasgians were driven out of their country by the Greeks, and after leaving their ships on the river Spines ${ }^{3}$ in the Ionian Gulf, they took Croton, an inland city ; and proceeding from there, they colonized the country now called Tyrrhenia." But the account Myrsilus gives is the reverse of that given by Hellanicus. The Tyrrhenians, he says, ${ }^{4}$ after they had left their own country, were in the course of their wanderings called Pelargoi or "Storks," from their resemblance to the birds of that name, since they swarmed in flocks both into Greece and into the barbarian
${ }^{1}$ In other words, they simply spoke different dialects of a common language and each nation jested at the "provincialisms" of the other. This explanation obviates the numerous emendations that have been offered for the rare word $\sigma \iota \lambda l o v \sigma o v$.
${ }^{2}$ Müller, F.H.G. i. p. 45 , frg. 1.
${ }^{8}$ The Spinetic mouth of the Po. See chap. 18, 3.
${ }^{4}$ Müller, F.H.G. iv. p. 457 frg. 3.

[^44]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 тò Пєларүєкòv ка入ои́ $\mu \epsilon \nu о \nu$ ，тоútovs $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \beta a \lambda \epsilon i ̂ v$ ．
















 $\ddot{\epsilon} \theta \nu \in \sigma \iota \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \in \sigma \theta a l$ ．коıvov̂ $\delta \grave{\epsilon}$ ä $\mu \phi \omega \quad \mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon \iota \lambda \eta \phi \in ́ \nu a \iota \gamma \epsilon ́-$ vovs ov̉ $\pi \epsilon \iota$ Өopal，$\pi$ о入入oîs $\tau \epsilon$ ä入loıs каi $\mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a$



$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{1} \text { тaủzò } \mathrm{O} \text { : тaủтòv Jacoby. }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{3} \text { каi Herodutus : } \vec{\eta} \mathrm{AB} \text {. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## BOOK I. 28, 4-29, 3

lands; and they built the wall round the citadel of Athens which is called the Pelargic wall. ${ }^{1}$
XXIX. But in my opinion all who take the Tyrrhenians and the Pelasgians to be one and the same nation are mistaken. It is no wonder they were sometimes called by one another's names, since the same thing has happened to certain other nations also, both Greeks and barbarians,-for example, to the Trojans and Phrygians, who lived near each other (indeed, many have thought that those two nations were but one, differing in name only, not in fact). And the nations in Italy have been confused under a common name quite as often as any nations elsewhere. For there was a time when the Latins, the Umbrians, the Ausonians and many others were all called Tyrrhenians by the Greeks, the remoteness of the countries inhabited by these nations making their exact distinctions obscure to those who lived at a distance. And many of the historians have taken Rome itself for a Tyrrhenian city. I am persuaded, therefore, that these nations changed their name along with their place of abode, but can not believe that they both had a common origin, for this reason, among many others, that their languages are different and preserve not the least resemblance to one another. "For neither the

[^45]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS












 $\nu о \mu i \zeta \epsilon \iota \nu \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \mu о ́ \tau \epsilon \rho a$. каi $\gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho \delta \dot{\eta} \tau o ̀ ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \stackrel{7}{\epsilon} \tau \epsilon \rho \circ \nu$


 $\kappa \tau \hat{\rho} \rho a$ סıà $\tau a ̀ s ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \pi \epsilon ́ \lambda a s ~ o ́ \mu ı \lambda i a s ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \delta e ̀ ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~$

 $\gamma \epsilon ́ v o u s ~ o u ̉ \delta \in ́ v a ~ \lambda o ́ \gamma o \nu ~ \epsilon ้ \chi \in \iota$.
XXX. Toú $\underset{\sim}{\omega} \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \delta \grave{\eta} \tau \hat{\varphi} \tau \epsilon \kappa \mu \eta \rho i ́ \omega ~ \chi \rho \omega ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s$


[^46]Crotoniats," says Herodotus, ${ }^{1}$ " nor the Placians agree in language with any of their present neighbours, although they agree with each other ; and it is clear that they preserve the fashion of speech which they brought with them into those regions." However, one may well marvel that, although the Crotoniats had a speech similar to that of the Placians, who lived near the Hellespont, ${ }^{2}$ since both were originally Pelasgians, it was not at all similar to that of the Tyrrhenians, their nearest neighbours. For if kinship is to be regarded as the reason why two nations speak the same language, the contrary must, of course, be the reason for their speaking a different one, since surely it is not possible to believe that both these conditions arise from the same cause. For, although it might reasonably happen, on the one hand, that men of the same nation who have settled at a distance from one another would, as the result of associating with their ne:ghbours, no longer preserve the same fashion of speech, yet it is not at all reasonable that men sprung from the same race and living in the same country should not in the least agree with one another in their language.
XXX. For this reason, therefore, I am persuaded that the Pelasgians are a different people from the
${ }^{1}$ i. 57. Since Niebuhr first championed (Rom. Gesch. i. note 89, p. 39) the form of the name given by Dionysius as against Crestoniats (and Creston) found in Herodotus, the belief has steadily gained ground that the MSS. of Herodotus are in error. The latest editor of Herodotus,
 text.
${ }^{2}$ Placia lay to the east of Cyzicus, at the foot of Mt. Olympus. It disappeared at an early date.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 $\pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega{ }^{1}{ }^{1} \mu \eta \nu v ̌ \mu a \tau \alpha$. ov̋тє $\gamma$ à $\theta \epsilon o v ̀ s ~ \Lambda \nu \delta o i ̂ s ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~$
 $\kappa \in ́ \chi \rho \eta \nu \tau \alpha \iota \pi \alpha \rho a \pi \lambda \eta \sigma i o \iota s, a ̉ \lambda \lambda \alpha ̀$ ката́ $\gamma \epsilon \tau \alpha \hat{v} \tau \alpha \pi \lambda \epsilon ́ \sigma \nu$


 $\nu 0 \nu \tau \epsilon S$, є่ $\pi \epsilon \iota \delta \dot{\eta}$ ảpхaióv $\tau \epsilon \pi a ́ v v$ каi oủ $\delta \epsilon \nu i$ ă $\lambda \lambda \omega$


 $\tau \alpha i ̂ s ~ \tau v ́ \rho \sigma \epsilon \sigma \iota \nu ~ о і к \eta ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota s ~ к а i ~ a ̉ \pi ’ ~ a ̉ \nu \delta \rho o ̀ s ~ \delta v v a ́ \sigma \tau о v . ~$



 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ \tau \dot{\alpha}$ $\theta \epsilon i ̂ \alpha ~ \sigma \epsilon \beta \alpha ́ \sigma \mu a \tau \alpha ~ \lambda \epsilon \iota \tau о v \rho \gamma \iota \omega \hat{\nu}$, $\delta \iota \alpha-$




${ }^{1} \gamma \hat{\eta}$ after $\mu \eta \tau \rho \circ \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega s$ deleted by Madvig.
${ }^{2}$ oi added by Reiske. ${ }^{3}{ }_{o}{ }^{2} \nu$ added by Cobet.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{6} \text { Tapaó̇va or Tapoéva Lepsius. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## BOOK I. 30, 1-3

Tyrrhenians. And I do not believe, either, that the Tyrrbenians were a colony of the Lydians; for they do not use the same language as the latter, nor can it be alleged that, though they no longer speak a similar tongue, they still retain some other indications of their mother country. For they neither worship the same gods as the Lydians nor make use of similar laws or institutions, but in these very respects they differ more from the Lydians than from the Pelasgians. Indeed, those probably come nearest to the truth who declare that the nation migrated from nowhere else, but was native to the country, since it is found to be a very ancient nation and to agree with no other either in its language or in its manner of living. And there is no reason why the Greeks should not have called them by this name, both from their living in towers and from the name of one of their rulers. The Romans, however, give them other names: from the country they once inhabited, named Etruria, they call them Etruscans, and from their knowledge of the ceremonies relating to divine worship, in which they excel others, they now call them, rather inaccurately, Tusci, ${ }^{1}$ but formerly, with the same accuracy as the Greeks, they called them Thyoscoï. ${ }^{2}$ Their own name for themselves, however, is the same as that of one of their

[^47]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS







 $\delta \iota \in \sigma \pi \alpha ́ \sigma \theta \eta, \delta i \epsilon ́ \mu \epsilon \iota \nu \in \delta \dot{\epsilon}$ ỏdíyov àmò $\pi \circ \lambda \lambda 0 \hat{v}, \mu \in \tau \alpha ̀$



 тoıá $\epsilon_{\epsilon}$ є̇ $\sigma \tau i ́$.
XXXI. Metà $\delta e ̀ ~ o v ̉ ~ \pi o \lambda u ̀ v ~ \chi \rho o ́ v o v ~ \sigma \tau o ́ \lambda o s ~ a ̈ \lambda \lambda o s ~$






 ${ }^{\text {'P }}$.





[^48]leaders, Rasenna. In another book ${ }^{1}$ I shall show what cities the Tyrrhenians founded, what forms of government they established, how great power they acquired, what memorable achievements they performed, and what fortunes attended them. As for the Pelasgian nation, however, those who were not destroyed or dispersed among the various colonies (for a small number remained out of a great many) were left behind as fellow citizens of the Aborigines in these parts, where in the course of time their posterity, together with others, built the city of Rome. Such are the legends told about the Pelasgian race.
XXXI. Soon after, another Greek expedition landed in this part of Italy, having migrated from Pallantium, a town of Arcadia, about the sixtieth year before the Trojan war, ${ }^{2}$ as the Romans themselves say. This colony had for its leader Evander, who is said to have been the son of Hermes and a local nymph of the Arcadians. The Greeks call her Themis and say that she was inspired, but the writers of the early history of Rome call her, in the native language, Carmenta. The nymph's name would be in Greek Thespiôdos or "prophetic singer"; for the Romans call songs carmina, and they agree that this woman, possessed by divine inspiration, fore-
${ }^{1}$ Nothing of the sort is found in the extant portions of the Antiquities. It is hardly probable that Dionysius intended to devote a separate work to the Etruscans.
${ }^{2}$ ca. 1243 в.с.

[^49]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS











 $3 \chi \omega ́ \rho a s$ óто́бך $\epsilon$ є́



 vavtıкоîs ${ }^{2} \pi \lambda \eta \rho \omega ́ \mu \alpha a \iota \iota ~ \epsilon ่ \nu ~ o i ̂ s ~ a ̉ \pi a \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau \eta \sigma \alpha \nu ~ \tau \eta ̂ S ~$









 $\lambda о \gamma \iota \omega \bar{\nu}$ ảфор $\mu a ́ s$.

[^50]
## BOOK I. 31, 1-4

told to the people in song the things that would come to pass. This expedition was not sent out by the common consent of the nation, but, a sedition having arisen among the people, the faction which was defeated left the country of their own accord. It chanced that the kingdom of the Aborigines had been inherited at that time by Faunus, a descendant of Mars, it is said, a man of prudence as well as energy, whom the Romans in their sacrifices and songs honour as one of the gods of their country. This man received the Arcadians, who were but few in number, with great friendship and gave them as much of his own land as they desired. And the Arcadians, as Themis by inspiration kept advising them, chose a hill, not far from the Tiber, which is now near the middle of the city of Rome, and by this hill built a small village sufficient for the complement of the two ships in which they had come from Greece. Yet this village was ordained by fate to excel in the course of time all other cities, whether Greek or barbarian, not only in its size, but also in the majesty of its empire and in every other form of prosperity, and to be celebrated above them all as long as mortality shall endure. They named the town Pallantium after their mothercity in Arcadia; now, however, the Romans call it Palatium, time having obscured the correct form, and this name has given occasion to many to suggest absurd etymologies.

[^51]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
















 Kaтıтш入íc $\pi \alpha \rho a ̀ ~ \tau \alpha i ̄ s ~ K a \rho \mu є \nu \tau i \sigma \iota ~ \pi u ̛ \lambda a \iota s, ~ E u ̉ a ́ v \delta \rho \omega ~$











[^52]
## BOOK I. 32, 1-4.

XXXII. But some writers, among them Polybius of Megalopolis, relate that the town was named after Pallas, a lad who died there; they say that he was the son of Hercules and Lavinia, the daughter of Evander, and that his maternal grandfather raised a tomb to him on the hill and called the place Pallantium, after the lad. But I have never seen any tomb of Pallas at Rome nor have I heard of any drink-offerings being made in his honour nor been able to discover anything else of that nature, although this family has not been left unremembered or without those honours with which divine beings are worshipped by men. For I have learned that public sacrifices are performed yearly by the Romans to Evander and to Carmenta in the same manner as to the other heroes and minor deities; and I have seen two altars that were erected, one to Carmenta under the Capitoline hill near the Porta Carmentalis, and the other to Evander by another hill, called the Aventine, not far from the Porta Trigemina; but I know of nothing of this kind that is done in honour of Pallas. As for the Arcadians, when they had joined in a single settlement at the foot of the hill, they proceeded to adorn their town with all the buildings to which they had been accustomed at home and to erect temples. And first they built a temple to the Lycaean Pan by the direction of Themis (for to the Arcadians Pan is the most ancient and the most honoured of all the gods), when they had found a suitable site for the purpose. This place the Romans call the Lupercal, but we should call it Lykaion or "Lycaeum." Now, it is true, since the district about

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
















$$
{ }^{1} \tau \hat{\varphi} \kappa \rho \eta \mu \nu \hat{\omega} \text { Kiessling : } \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa \rho \eta \mu \nu \hat{\omega} \nu \mathrm{O} .
$$

${ }^{1}$ The Lupercal was situated at the foot of the Palatine, probably at the south-west corner; it is further described in chap. 79,8 , and the Lupercalia in 80,1 . For a discussion of the various theories respecting the origin of the Lupercalia the reader is referred to Sir James Frazer's note on Ovid, Fasti ii. 267 (vol. ii. pp. 327 ff . $=$ pp. 389 ff . in his L.C.L. edition). When once the adjective Auкaios (really " of Mt. Lycaeus," in Arcadia) was taken as the equivalent of Lupercalis and Lycaean Pan identified with the god worshipped at the Lupercalia, Мúкаьov and Múкаıa would naturally be equated with Lupercal and Lupercalia, in spite of the fact that these words as used in Greece meant the shrine and games of Zeus Lycaeus.
${ }_{2}$ With the present passage should be compared three others in the Antiquities where Dionysius, for the benefit of his Greek public, indicates the season of the year in which a Roman date fell. Just below, in chap. 38, 3, he speaks of the Ides of May as being a little after the vernal equinox ; in chap. 88, 3, he places the Parilia (April 21) in 104

## BOOK I. 32, 4-5

the sacred precinct has been united with the city, it has become difficult to make out by conjecture the ancient nature of the place. Nevertheless, at first, we are told, there was a large cave under the hill overarched by a dense wood; deep springs issued from beneath the rocks, and the glen adjoining the cliffs was shaded by thick and lofty trees. ${ }^{1}$ In this place they raised an altar to the god and performed their traditional sacrifice, which the Romans have continued to offer up to this day in the month of February, after the winter solstice, ${ }^{2}$ without altering anything in the rites then performed. The manner of this sacrifice will be related later. Upon the summit of the hill they set apart the precinct of Victory and instituted sacrifices to her also, lasting throughout the year, which the Romans performed even in my time.
the beginning of spring; and in ix. 25,1 , he says the new consuls assumed office near the summer solstice in the month of Sextilis (probably on the Calends of August). At first sight it might be thought that he was following an early Roman calendar that was a month or a little more in advance of the seasons. But the only calendar with which he can have had any personal acquaintance at Rome was the calendar as reformed by Julius Caesar, in effect since the year 46 ; and in three of the four passages he is describing a festival as it was still celebrated in his own day. We are almost forced, then, to one of two conclusions, either that he was content to define the season very, roughly, or else that he was using the term "solstice" loosely for the middle of winter or summer and "equinox" for a period midway between-a usage that it would be hard to parallel-and even delaying " spring " correspondingly. Yet when it came to a Greek date as far back as the fall of Troy he could write with the greatest precision (chap. 63, 1).

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

入avtos єivaı Өvरatépa тô̂ \vкáovos．тı $\mu a ̀ s ~ \delta e ̀ ~ \pi a \rho ' ~$








 $\kappa \alpha ́ \delta \omega \nu, K \omega \nu \sigma o v a ́ \lambda \iota a ~ \delta є ̀ ~ \dot{v} \pi o ̀ ~ ' P \omega \mu a i ́ \omega \nu ~ \lambda \epsilon \gamma o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu а$



 $\tau \epsilon$ каi Өvoías катєбтท́ба⿱亠䒑o $\pi a \tau \rho i ́ o v s, ~ a i ̂ ~ \mu \epsilon ́ \chi \rho \iota ~$
 ov̉ Өavдáбаıци $\delta$ ’ ằ єi каi тарєivzaí тıvєs $\delta \iota a-$





${ }^{3}$ ai Ambrosch，ai каі Reiske：каi O．

## ${ }^{3}$ Poseidon Hippios of the Greeks．

${ }^{2}$ See note on ii．31， 2.
${ }^{3}$ Dionysius perhaps is thinking particularly of the passage in Book VII（72，14－18），where he points out the 106

## BOOK 1. 33 1-3

XXXIII. The Areadians have a legend that this goddess was the daughter of Pallas, the son of Lycaon, and that she received those honours from mankind which she now enjoys at the desire of Athena, with whom she had been reared. For they say that Athena. as soon as she was born, was handed over to Pallas by Zeus and that she was reared by him till she grew up. They built also a temple to Ceres, to whom by the ministry of women they offered sacrifices without wine, according to the custom of the Greeks, none of which rites our time has changed. Moreover, they assigned a precinct to the Equestrian Neptune ${ }^{1}$ and instituted the festival called by the Arcadians Hippocrateia and by the Romans Consualia, ${ }^{2}$ during which it is customary among the latter for the horses and mules to rest from work and to have their heads crowned with flowers. They also consecrated many other precincts, altars and images of the gods and instituted purifications and sacrifices according to the customs of their own country, which continued to be performed down to my day in the same manner. Yet I should not be surprised if some of the ceremonies by reason of their great antiquity have been forgotten by their posterity and neglected; however, those that are still practised are sufficient proofs that they are derived from the customs formerly in use among the Arcadians, of which I shall speak more at length elsewhere. ${ }^{3}$ The Arcadians
close agreement even in details between a Roman and a Greek sacrifice. See also i. 80, 1 (the Lupercalia) and i. 34,4 ; $38,2-3$; $40,3-5$.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 $\tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha a i \tau \rho i ̀ \gamma \omega \nu \alpha$ каi av̉入oi ${ }^{1}$ ка入о仑ิขтаl，$\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \rho о \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega \nu$


 $\tau \eta \tau \alpha \mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \gamma a \gamma \epsilon i v \quad \tau \epsilon ́ \chi \nu a s, \tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha i$ є̇ $\pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \epsilon \cup ́ \mu a \tau \alpha$ каi







XXXIV．＇Oגı́yoıs $\delta^{\prime}$ v̈ $\sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \circ \nu$ ë $\tau \epsilon \sigma \iota \mu \epsilon \tau \dot{\alpha}$ тov̀s ＇Aркáסas ä入los єis＇Iта入íav ảфєкvєìzaı oтó入os
 $\tau \dot{\alpha} \mu \epsilon ́ \chi \rho \iota \delta v \sigma \mu \hat{\omega} \nu$ ŋ̀ $\lambda i o v \pi \alpha ́ \nu \tau \alpha \quad \chi \epsilon \iota \rho \omega \sigma \alpha ́ \mu \epsilon \nu 0 s \hat{\eta} \kappa \in \nu .{ }^{3}$








${ }^{1}$ aủ ${ }^{2} o i$ Camerarius：$\lambda v \delta o i ~ O . ~$
${ }^{2} \mu \epsilon \tau \grave{\alpha} \tau \bar{\omega} \nu \mathrm{Bb}$（？），Steph．：$\mu \epsilon \tau \grave{\alpha} \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \mathrm{ABa} ; \mu \epsilon \tau \grave{\alpha} \tau \eta ̀ \nu \tau \omega ̂ \nu(s i c)$
Jacoby，who probably meant to print $\mu \epsilon \tau \grave{\alpha} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$＇$A$ ．т $\grave{\nu}$ оїк $\eta \sigma \iota \nu$ ．
${ }^{\mathrm{a}} \boldsymbol{\eta}^{\boldsymbol{K}} \kappa \in \nu$ Kiessling：$\eta_{\nu} \nu \mathrm{O}$ ．
are said also to have been the first to introduce into Italy the use of Greek letters, which had lately appeared among them, and also music performed on such instruments as lyres, trigons ${ }^{1}$ and flutes; for their predecessors had used no musical invention except shepherd's pipes. They are said also to have established laws, to have transformed men's mode of life from the prevailing bestiality to a state of civilization, and likewise to have introduced arts and professions and many other things conducive to the public good, and for these reasons to have been treated with great consideration by those who had received them. This was the next Greek nation after the Pelasgians to come into Italy and to take up a common residence with the Aborigines, establishing itself in the best part of Rome.
XXXIV. A few years after the Arcadians another Greek expedition came into Italy under the command of Hercules, who had just returned from the conquest of Spain and of all the region that extends to the setting of the sun. It was some of his followers who, begging Hercules to dismiss them from the expedition, remained in this region and built a town on a suitable hill, which they found at a distance of about three stades from Pallantium. This is now called the Capitoline hill, but by the men of that time the Saturnian hill, or, in Greek, the hill of Cronus. The greater part of those who stayed behind were Peloponnesians - people of

[^53][^54]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS













 'A入фєıô, каi av̇тòv iєpòv тоv̂ Kpóvov vouiלovтєs



 ó $\mu \circ$ óт $\eta \tau \alpha$ то仑 $\pi \alpha \rho a ̀ ~ \sigma \phi i ́ \sigma \iota ~ K \rho o v i o v ~ \tau \epsilon \theta \hat{\eta} v a \iota ~ \tau \hat{\omega}$








$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{1} \text { oi } \mathrm{O}: \text { om. Reudler, Jacoby. }{ }_{3} \text { Kiessling: ó } \pi o \iota \eta \tau \eta{ }^{2} \text { S } \mathrm{O} \text {. }
\end{aligned}
$$

${ }^{1}$ No poet of this name is known, and Sylburg was perhaps right in proposing to read Ennius. Strictly speaking, 110

## BOOK I. 34, 2-5

Pheneus and Epeans of Elis, who no longer had any desire to return home, since their country had been laid waste in the war against Hercules. There was also a small Trojan element mingled with these, consisting of prisoners taken from Ilium in the reign of Laomedon, at the time when Hercules conquered the city. And I am of the opinion that all the rest of the army, also, who were either wearied by their labours or irked by their wanderings, obtained their dismissal from the expedition and remained there. As for the name of the hill, some think it was an ancient name, as I have said, and that consequently the Epeans were especially pleased with the hill through memory of the hill of Cronus in Elis. This is in the territory of Pisa, near the river Alpheus, and the Eleans, regarding it as sacred to Cronus, assemble together at stated times to honour it with sacrifices and other marks of reverence. But Euxenus, ${ }^{1}$ an ancient poet, and some others of the Italian mythographers think that the name was given to the place by the men from Pisa themselves, from its likeness to their hill of Cronus, that the Epeans together with Hercules erected the altar to Saturn which remains to this day at the foot of the hill near the ascent that leads from the Forum to the Capitol, and that it was they who instituted the sacrifice which the Romans still performed even in my time, observing the Greek ritual. But from the

Ennius was an Italian rather than a Roman, though it may be questioned whether Dionysius would have made this distinction. In the extant fragments of Ennius there is no reference to Hercules visit, to say nothing of the Epeans.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 ＇Ita入íal iєpòs ท̂̀ ó тómos tov̂ Kpóvov ка入oúrєшоs








 $\kappa \alpha i$ тà $\mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon \in \omega \rho \alpha$ ．
 ả $\nu \delta \rho o ̀ s ~ \delta v \nu a ́ \sigma \tau o v ~ o ̋ \nu о \mu a ~ ' I \tau \alpha \lambda o v ̂ . ~ \tau о и ̂ \tau o v ~ \delta \epsilon ́ ~ ф \eta \sigma \iota \nu ~$ ＇Avтioхos ó $\sum$ vракои́бъos à $\gamma$ аӨòv каi бофòv $\gamma \epsilon \gamma \epsilon \nu \eta$－


 $\pi \omega \nu$ то仑 $\tau \epsilon$ Naтŋтivov ${ }^{2}$ каi $\tau о \hat{v}$ Ккv $\lambda \lambda \eta \tau i v o v{ }^{3}$





${ }^{1}$ Reiske: 入óyoıs O.
${ }^{2}$ Namŋтivov O: Мацךтıкov̂ Aristotle, Pol. vii. 9, 2.
${ }^{3} \Sigma_{\text {кu }} \lambda \lambda \eta \tau \ldots \kappa$ и̂ Hudson.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{5} \text { Usener: } \sigma u{ }^{2} \gamma \in \sigma \theta a \iota \text { O, Jacoby. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## BOOK I. 34, 5-35, 2

best conjectures I have been able to make, I find that even before the arrival of Hercules in Italy this place was sacred to Saturn and was called by the people of the country the Saturnian hill, and all the rest of the peninsula which is now called Italy was consecrated to this god, being called Saturnia ${ }^{1}$ by the inhabitants, as may be found stated in some Sibylline prophecies and other oracles delivered by the gods. And in many parts of the country there are temples dedicated to this god; certain cities bear the same name by which the whole peninsula was known at that time, and many places are called by the name of the god, particularly headlands and eminences.
XXXV. But in the course of time the land came to be called Italy, after a ruler named Italus. This man, according to Antiochus of Syracuse, ${ }^{2}$ was both a wise and good prince, and persuading some of his neighbours by arguments and subduing the rest by force, he made himself master of all the land which lies between the Napetine and Scylacian bays, ${ }^{3}$ which was the first land, he says, to be called Italy, after Italus. And when he had possessed himself of this district and had many subjects, he immediately coveted the neighbouring peoples and brought many cities under his rule. He says further that Italus was an Oenotrian by birth.

[^55]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

入aúvovia єis "Apyos, Є่ $\pi \epsilon \iota \delta \dot{\eta}$ тıs av̉т $\hat{\omega}$ $\delta a ́ \mu a \lambda \iota s$



 үі้оוто $\delta \iota \omega ́ \kappa \omega \nu$ тòv $\delta \alpha ́ \mu a \lambda \iota \nu, \epsilon i ̆ ~ \pi \eta \prime ~ \tau \iota s ~ a v ̉ \tau o ̀ v ~$


 $\mu a \lambda \iota \nu$ ov̉íтov $\lambda_{0} \nu, \stackrel{\omega}{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$ каì $\nu \hat{v} \nu \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota, \epsilon \grave{\epsilon} \pi i$ то仑

















[^56]But Hellanicus of Lesbos ${ }^{1}$ says that when Hercules was driving Geryon's cattle to Argos and was come to Italy, a calf escaped from the herd and in its flight wandered the whole length of the coast and then, swimming across the intervening strait of the sea, came into Sicily. Hercules, following the calf, inquired of the inhabitants wherever he came if anyone had scen it anywhere, and when the people of the island, who understood but little Greek and used their own speech when indicating the animal, called it vitulus (the name by which it is still known), he, in memory of the calf, called all the country it had wandered over Vitulia. ${ }^{2}$ And it is no wonder that the name has been changed in the course of time to its present form, since many Greek names, too. have met with a similar fate. But whether, as Antiochus says, the country took this name from a ruler, which perhaps is more probable, or, as Hellanicus believes, from the bull. yet this at least is evident from both their accounts, that in Hercules' time, or a little earlier, it received this name. Before that it had been called Hesperia and Ausonia by the Greeks and Saturnia by the natives, as I have already stated.
XXXVI. There is another legend related by the inhabitants, to the effect that before the reign of Jupiter Saturn was lord in this land and that the celebrated manner of life ${ }^{3}$ in his reign, abounding
${ }^{2}$ Hesychius cites the Greek word icalós (originally Fita入ós) for "bull," and Timaeus, Varro and Festus state that Italia came from this root.
${ }^{3}$ In Greek ó éni Kpóvov Bios was proverbial for the Golden Age ; compare the Latin Saturnia regna.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS









 3 кат' є́ $\mu \grave{\eta} \nu$ Sójav є́бтiv 'Iта入ía. каíтоь $\mu \epsilon$ оv̉












 фvтà $\mu$ ѐv iкаబ̀̀ $\pi \alpha \nu \tau o i ̂ a ~ \theta \rho \epsilon ́ \psi a \sigma \theta a \iota, ~ \sigma \pi \epsilon i \rho \in \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \delta ' ~$




[^57]
## BOOK I. 36, 1-37, 1

in the produce of every season, was enjoyed by none more than by them. And, indeed, if anyone, setting aside the fabulous part of this account, will examine the merit of any country from which mankind received the greatest enjoyments immediately after their birth, whether they sprang from the earth, according to the ancient tradition, or came into being in some other manner, he will find none more beneficent to them than this. For, to compare one country with another of the same extent, Italy is, in my opinion, the best country, not only of Europe, but even of all the rest of the world. And yet I am not unaware that I shall not be believed by many when they reflect on Egypt, Libya, Babylonia and any other fertile countries there may be. But I, for my part, do not limit the wealth derived from the soil to one sort of produce, nor do I feel any eagerness to live where there are only rich arable lands and little or nothing else that is useful ; but I account that country the best which is the most self-sufficient and generally stands least in need of imported commodities. And I am persuaded that Italy enjoys this universal fertility and diversity of advantages beyond any other land.
XXXVII. For Italy does not, while possessing a great deal of good arable land, lack trees, as does a grain-bearing country; nor, on the other hand, while suitable for growing all manner of trees, does it, when sown to grain, produce scanty crops, as does a timbered country; nor yet, while yielding both grain and trees in abundance, is it unsuitable for the grazing of cattle; nor can anyone say that, while it bears rich produce of crops and timber

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS






 ápov́pas $\theta \epsilon \rho \iota \nu o ̀ v ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi i ~ \chi ~ \chi \epsilon \mu \epsilon \rho \iota \nu \hat{\omega}$ каi $\mu \epsilon \tau о \pi \omega \rho \iota \nu o ̀ v \epsilon \in \pi i$













 $\mu a \sigma \iota \omega ́ \tau \alpha \tau о \iota \quad \pi \epsilon \rho i ́ \quad \tau \epsilon \tau \dot{a}$ кр $\eta \mu \nu \omega ́ \delta \eta$ хшрía каi $\tau \grave{\alpha} s$



${ }^{1}$ каi $\pi о \lambda v \delta \delta \epsilon \nu \delta \rho o v$ added by Bücheler.

${ }^{3}$ Sylburg : á $\lambda \beta$ avoì O. $\quad{ }^{4} \tau a ̀$ added by Ambrosch.
${ }^{5}$ ö $\sigma \eta$ Sylburg: $\hat{\eta} \mathrm{ABa}, \hat{\eta} \mathrm{Bb}$.
${ }^{6}$ тє каi $\chi \epsilon \iota \omega \hat{\omega} \iota$ Meutzner: om. O, Jacoby.
${ }^{7}$ vi $\lambda \eta$ s added here by Krüger, after кa入ท̂s by Casaubon, Jacoby.

## BOOK I. 37, 1-4

and herds, it is nevertheless disagreeable for men to live in. Nay, on the contrary, it abounds in practically everything that affords either pleasure or profit. To what grain-bearing country, indeed, watered, not with rivers, but with rains from heaven, do the plains of Campania yield, in which I have seen fields that produce even three crops in a year, summer's harvest following upon that of winter and autumn's upon that of summer? To what olive orchards are those of the Messapians, the Daunians, the Sabines and many others inferior? To what vineyards those of Tyrrhenia and the Alban and the Falernian districts, where the soil is wonderfully kind to vines and with the least labour produces the finest grapes in the greatest abundance? And besides the land that is cultivated one will find much that is left untilled as pasturage for sheep and goats, and still more extensive and more wonderful is the land suitable for grazing horses and cattle; for not only the marsh and meadow grass, which is very plentiful, but the dewy and well-watered grass of the glades, infinite in its abundance, furnish grazing for them in summer as well as in winter and keep them always in good condition. But most wonderful of all are the forests growing upon the rocky heights, in the glens and on the uncultivated hills, from which the inhabitants are abundantly supplied with fine timber suitable for the building of ships as well as for all other purposes. Nor are

[^58]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 $\pi \rho o ́ \sigma \omega ~ \tau \hat{\eta} s ~ \stackrel{\alpha}{\alpha} \theta \rho \omega \pi i \nu \eta s$ र $\rho \in i a s ~ к \epsilon i \mu \epsilon \nu о \nu, \dot{a} \lambda \lambda ’ \epsilon \dot{v}-$ калє́ $\rho \gamma а \sigma \tau \alpha$ каi $\rho a ́ \delta \iota a \quad \pi \alpha \rho \epsilon i v a \iota ~ \pi a ́ v \tau \alpha ~ \delta ı a ̀ ~ \pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \theta$ оs








 таīs ढ̈paıs $\sigma \nu \mu \mu \epsilon ́ \tau \rho \omega s$, oiov ท̈кıбта $\pi \eta \mu \alpha i v \in \iota \nu$
 $\tau \epsilon \gamma \epsilon ́ v \in \sigma \iota \nu \kappa \alpha i^{2} \zeta \underline{\omega} \omega \nu$ фv́бוv.
 $\lambda \alpha \iota o v ̀ s ~ i \in \rho a ̀ \nu ~ v i \pi o \lambda a \beta \epsilon i ̂ \nu ~ \tau o ̂ ~ K \rho o ́ v o v ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu ~ \chi \omega ́ \rho \alpha \nu ~ \tau a u ́-~$










${ }^{1} \eta$ Ambrosch : каi O .
${ }^{3}$ Kpóvov Sylburg: xpóvò O
${ }^{4}$ Eátopvov Sylburg (after Lapus), Eátovpvov Jacoby, Oípavò̀ Usener: крóvò AB.
${ }^{2}$ каi Reiske: $\hat{\eta} \mathrm{O}$.

## BOOK I. 37, 4-38, 1

any of these materials hard to come at or at a distance from human need, but they are easy to handle and readily available, owing to the multitude of rivers that flow through the whole peninsula and make the transportation and exchange of everything the land produces inexpensive. Springs also of hot water have been discovered in many places, affording most pleasant baths and sovereign cures for chronic ailments. There are also mines of all sorts, plenty of wild beasts for hunting, and a great varicty of sea fish, besides innumerable other things, some uscful and others of a nature to excite wonder. But the finest thing of all is the climate, admirably tempered by the seasons, so that less than elsewhere is harm done by excessive cold or inordinate heat either to the growing fruits and grains or to the bodies of animals.
XXXVIII. It is no wonder, therefore, that the ancients looked upon this country as sacred to Saturn, since they esteemed this god to be the giver and accomplisher of all happiness to mankind, -whether he ought to be called Cronus, as the Greeks deem fitting, or Saturn, as do the Romans,-and regarded him as embracing the whole universe, by whichever name he is called, and since they saw this country abounding in universal plenty and every charm mankind craves, and judged those places to be most agreeable both to divine and to human beings that are suited to them-for example, the mountains and woods to Pan, the meadows and

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 2 oikєîov. $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma o v \sigma \iota ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$ каì $\tau$ às $\theta v \sigma i ́ a s ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon i ̂ \nu ~$ $\tau \hat{\varphi}$ K $\rho o ́ v \omega$ тov̀s $\pi a \lambda a \iota o v ́ s, ~ \check{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho ~ \epsilon ̇ v ~ K a \rho \chi \eta \delta o ́ v \iota ~$
 $\chi \rho o ́ v o v ~ \gamma i \nu \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota ~ к a i ~ \epsilon ̇ \nu ~ a ̆ \lambda \lambda o \iota s ~ \tau \iota \sigma i ~ \tau \omega ̂ \nu ~ \epsilon ́ \sigma \pi \epsilon \epsilon i ́ \omega \nu$ є́ $\theta \nu \omega \hat{\omega}$ ', ảv



 $\theta v \sigma \iota \omega ิ \nu, \delta \iota \delta a ́ \xi a \iota ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota x \omega p i o v s ~ a ̀ \pi o \mu \epsilon \iota \lambda \iota \tau \tau о \mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~$





 $\psi v \chi a i ̂ s ~ \pi \alpha \rho a \mu \epsilon ́ v o v ~ \epsilon ́ \xi a \iota \rho \in \theta \hat{\eta}$ т $\omega$ v $\epsilon i \kappa o ́ v \omega \nu ~ \tau о \hat{v}$


 $\mu \eta \nu i$ Maìu тaîs ка入ov $\mu \in ́ v a i s ~ \epsilon i \delta o i ̂ s, ~ \delta ı \chi o \mu \eta ́ v ı \delta a ~$
 баעтєS iєpà $\tau \grave{\alpha}$ катà тov̀s vó $\mu$ оиs oi ка入оú $\mu \in \nu$ о

 Reiske: á $\zeta_{0} \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \omega \nu \mathrm{AB}$.



## BOOK I. 38, 1-3

verdant places to the nymphs, the shores and islands to the sea-gods, and all the other places to the god or genius to whom each is appropriate. It is said also that the ancients sacrificed human victims to Saturn, as was done at Carthage while that city stood and as is still done to this day among the Gauls ${ }^{1}$ and certain other western nations, and that Hercules, desiring to abolish the custom of this sacrifice, erected the altar upon the Saturnian hill and performed the initial rites of sacrifice with unblemished victims burning on a pure fire. And lest the people should feel any scruple at having neglected their traditional sacrifices, he taught them to appease the anger of the god by making effigies resembling the men they had been wont to bind hand and foot and throw into the stream of the Tiber, and dressing these in the same manner, to throw them into the river instead of the men, his purpose being that any superstitious dread remaining in the minds of all might be removed, since the semblance of the ancient rite would still be preserved. This the Romans continued to do every year even down to my day a little after the vernal equinox, in the month of May, ${ }^{2}$ on what they call the Ides (the day they mean to be the middle of the month); on this day, after offering the preliminary sacrifices according to the laws, the pontifices, as the most important of the priests are called, and with

[^59][^60]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 бтратךүоí $\tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha i$ т $\hat{\omega} \nu$ ă $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ov̂s $\pi a \rho \epsilon i ̂ v a \iota$
 єiккабнє́va, трıáкоvта тòv ảpı $\theta \mu o ́ v, ~ a ̀ \pi o ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̂ s ~ i \in p a ̂ s ~$ $\gamma \epsilon \phi$ úpas $\beta$ ádlovaıv єis тò $\rho \in v ̂ \mu a ~ \tau o \hat{v} T \epsilon \beta \epsilon ́ p ı o s$,
 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ Өvoı $\omega \hat{\nu}$ кai $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ä $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu$ i $\in \rho о v \rho \gamma \iota \omega \hat{\omega}$, âs $\dot{\eta}$






XXXIX. "Eбт८ $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ vitè $\rho \tau o \hat{v}$ Saípovos $\tau 0 \hat{\imath} \delta \epsilon$





 тท̂s 'Iта入ías ảфiкєто каi $\tau \hat{\eta} s$ 'Aßорıүivшv $\gamma \bar{\eta} s$ єis





$$
{ }^{1} \nu \circ \mu \eta^{\prime} \nu \text { L. Dindorf : є́кขо } \mu \dot{\eta} \nu \mathrm{O} .
$$

${ }^{1}$ According to Varro the number of these effigies, made of bulrushes, was twenty-seven, equal to the number of the chapels, also called Argei, situated in various parts of the city. The number thirty given by Dionysius would

## BOOK I. 38, 3-39, 2

them the virgins who guard the perpetual fire, the praetors, and such of the other citizens as may lawfully be present at the rites, throw from the sacred bridge into the stream of the Tiber thirty effigies made in the likeness of men, which they call Argei. ${ }^{1}$ But concerning the sacrifices and the other rites which the Roman people perform according to the manner both of the Greeks and of their own country I shall speak in another book. ${ }^{2}$ At present, it seems requisite to give a more particular account of the arrival of Hercules in Italy and to omit nothing worthy of notice that he did there.
XXXIX. Of ${ }^{3}$ the stories told concerning this god some are largely legend and some are nearer the truth. The legendary account of his arrival is as follows: Hercules, being commanded by Eurystheus, among other labours, to drive Geryon's cattle from Erytheia ${ }^{4}$ to Argos, performed the task, and having passed through many parts of Italy on his way home, came also to the neighbourhood of Pallantium in the country of the Aborigines; and there, finding much excellent grass for his cattle, he let them graze, and being overcome with weariness, lay down and gave himself over to sleep. Thereupon a robber
mean one for each curia; but this does not seem so probable. The sacred bridge was the pons sublicius. For a full discussion of the Argei see Sir James Frazer's note on Ovid, Fasti v. 621 (vol. iv. pp. 74 ff ., condensed in his L.C.L. edition, pp. 425 ff .). ${ }^{2}$ In vii. 72, 14-18.
${ }^{3}$ For chaps. 39-40 cf. Livy i. 7, 4-14.
Erytheia ("Red" Island) was perhaps originally the fabulous land of the sunset glow. Later it was usually placed somewhere near the Pillars of Hercules.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS























 $\tau \hat{\varphi} \pi \rho a ́ \gamma \mu a \tau \iota ~ \epsilon i s ~ v o ̂ ̂ v ~ \beta a ́ \lambda \lambda \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \epsilon \lambda \alpha ́ \sigma a \iota ~ \tau \hat{\omega}$




$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{1}{ }^{\circ} \mathrm{V} v \text { added by Usener, Cobet. }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{8} \text { тıvas Cobet: tàs O. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## BOOK I. 39, 2-3

of that region, named Cacus, chanced to come upon the cattle feeding with none to guard them and longed to possess them. But seeing Hercules lying there asleep, he imagined he could not drive them all away without being discovered and at the same time he perceived that the task was no easy one, either. So he secreted a few of them in the cave hard by, in which he lived, dragging each of them thither by the tail backwards. This might have destroyed all evidence of his theft, as the direction in which the oxen had gone would be at variance with their tracks. Hercules, then, arising from sleep soon afterwards, and having counted the cattle and found some were missing, was for some time at a loss to guess where they had gone, and supposing them to have strayed from their pasture, he sought them up and down the region; then, when he failed to find them, he came to the cave. and though he was deceived by the tracks, he felt, nevertheless, that he ought to search the place. But Cacus stood before the door, and when Hercules inquired after the cattle, denied that he had seen them, and when the other desired to search the cave, would not suffer him to do so, but called upon his neighbours for assistance, complaining of the violence offered to him by the stranger. And while Hercules was puzzled to know how he should act in the matter, he hit upon the expedient of driving the rest of the cattle to the cave. And thus, when those inside heard the lowing and perceived the smell of their companions outside, they bellowed to them in turn and thus their lowing

[^61]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



















 oí $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon ́ v \eta \tau \epsilon s$ av̇т $\hat{\nu} \nu \kappa \lambda a ́ \delta o v s ~ \delta \rho \epsilon \psi a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu \circ \iota ~ \delta a ́ \phi \nu \eta s, \hat{\eta}$


 каi тò үє́vos av̉тоv̂ каi $\tau a ̀ s ~ \pi \rho a ́ \xi \epsilon \iota s ~ \delta \iota \epsilon \xi \iota o ́ v \tau о s ~$




[^62]
## BOOK I. 39, 4-40, 2

betrayed the theft. Cacus, therefore, when his thievery was thus brought to light, put himself upon his defence and began to call out to his fellow herdsmen. But Hercules killed him by smiting him with his club and drove out the cattle; and when he saw that the place was well adapted to the harbouring of evil-doers, he demolished the cave, burying the robber under its ruins. Then, having purified himself in the river from the murder, he erected an altar near the place to Jupiter the Discoverer, ${ }^{1}$ which is now in Rome near the Porta Trigemina, and sacrificed a calf to the god as a thank-offering for the finding of his cattle. This sacrifice the city of Rome continued to celebrate even down to my day, observing in it all the ceremonies of the Greeks just as he instituted them.
XL. When the Aborigines and the Arcadians who lived at Pallantium learned of the death of Cacus and saw Hercules, they thought themselves very fortunate in being rid of the former, whom they detested for his robberies, and were struck with awe at the appearance of the latter, in whom they seemed to see something divine. The poorer among them, plucking branches of laurel which grew there in great plenty, crowned both him and themselves with it ; and their kings also came to invite Hercules to be their guest. But when they heard from him his name, his lineage and his achievements, they recommended both their country and themselves to his friendship. And Evander, who had even before this heard Themis relate that it was ordained

[^63]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS







 $3 \delta \epsilon \eta \theta \epsilon i s \quad \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad i \in \rho \hat{\nu} \nu$ катáp $\xi \alpha \sigma \theta a \iota$. ả $\gamma a \sigma \theta \epsilon i s \delta_{\epsilon}$













4 єival $\delta \grave{\epsilon}$ тoùs $\mu a 0$ óv $\alpha a s ~ \tau o ́ \tau \epsilon ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ ' E \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota \kappa \eta ̀ \nu ~ i \epsilon p o v \rho-~$ रíav Потıтiovs $\tau \epsilon$ каi Пıvapiovs, à ${ }^{\prime}$ ' $\hat{\omega} \nu \tau$ тà $\gamma \epsilon ́ v \eta$


 $\chi \circ \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu$, Пıvapícuv $\delta \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \pi \lambda a ́ \gamma \chi \nu \omega \nu \quad \tau \epsilon \mu \epsilon \tau о v \sigma i ́ a s$


[^64]
## BOOK I. 40, 2-4

by fate that Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena. changing his mortal nature, should become immortal by reason of his virtue, as soon as he learned who the stranger was, resolved to forestall all mankind by being the first to propitiate Hercules with divine honours, and he hastily erected an improvised altar and sacrificed upon it a calf that had not known the yoke, having first communicated the oracle to Hercules and asked him to perform the initial rites. And Hercules, admiring the hospitality of these men, entertained the common people with a feast, after sacrificing some of the cattle and setting apart the tithes of the rest of his booty; and to their kings he gave a large district belonging to the Ligurians and to some others of their neighbours, the rule of which they very much desired, after he had first expelled some lawless people from it. It is furthermore reported that he asked the inhabitants, since they were the first who had regarded him as a god, to perpetuate the honours they had paid him by offering up every year a calf that had not known the yoke and performing the sacrifice with Greek rites; and that he himself taught the sacrificial rites to two of the distinguished families, in order that their offerings might always be acceptable to him. Those who were then instructed in the Greek ceremony, they say, were the Potitii and the Pinarii, whose descendants continued for a long time to have the superintendence of these sacrifices, in the manner he had appointed, the Potitii presiding at the sacrifice and taking the first part of the burnt-offerings, while the Pinarii were excluded from tasting the inwards and held second rank in those ceremonies which had to be performed by both of

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

$\tau \eta ̀ \nu \delta \epsilon v \tau \epsilon ́ p a \nu ~ \tau \iota \mu \eta ̀ \nu$ є́ $\chi o ́ v \tau \omega \nu$. $\tau \alpha u ́ \tau \eta \nu ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$ av̉тoîs


















 $\pi a \rho ’$ ódoús, кai $\sigma \pi \alpha \nu i \omega \omega s$ ăv єűpoı $\tau \iota s$ 'Iта入ías
 $\mu \epsilon ̀ v$ oủv $\mu v \theta \iota \kappa o ̀ s ~ \lambda o ́ \gamma o s ~ v i \pi \epsilon ̀ \rho ~ a u ̉ \tau o v ̂ ~ \tau o เ o ́ \sigma \delta є ~ \pi a \rho a-~$ $\delta$ Є́סoтаи.
 iбторías $\sigma \chi \eta \dot{\eta} \mu \tau \iota \tau \dot{\alpha}$ s $\pi \rho a ́ \xi \epsilon \iota s$ aủzô̂ $\delta ı \eta \gamma \eta \sigma a \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu$

${ }^{1}$ aủràs Bb : aủvaîs Ba , aủroîs A .
${ }^{2}$ Krüger : ढ́ $\pi$ é $\theta$ vácv O .
${ }^{8} \tau \eta$, added by Kiessling.

## BOOK I. 40, 4-41, 1

them together. It is said that this disgrace was fixed upon them for having been late in arriving; for though they had been ordered to be present early in the morning, they did not come till the entrails had been eaten. To-day, however, the superintendence of the sacrifices no longer devolves on these families, but slaves purchased with the public money perform them. For what reasons this custom was changed and how the god manifested himself concerning the change in his ministers, I shall relate when I come to that part of the history. ${ }^{1}$ The altar on which Hercules offered up the tithes is called by the Romans the Greatest Altar. ${ }^{2}$ It stands near the place they call the Cattle Market ${ }^{3}$ and no other is held in greater veneration by the inhabitants; for upon this altar oaths are taken and agreements made by those who wish to transact any business unalterably and the tithes of things are frequently offered there pursuant to vows. However, in its construction it is much inferior to its reputation. In many other places also in Italy precincts are dedicated to this god and altars erected to him, both in cities and along highways; and one could scarcely find any place in Italy in which the god is not honoured. Such, then, is the legendary account that has been handed down concerning him.
XLI. But the story which comes nearer to the truth and which has been adopted by many who have narrated his deeds in the form of history is as follows: Hercules, who was the greatest

[^65]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS














 $\gamma \hat{\eta}$ каi $\theta a ́ \lambda a \tau \tau \alpha$ коıท̀̀ $\tau \alpha i ̂ s ~ a ́ \pi a ́ v \tau \omega \nu ~ \chi \rho \epsilon i ́ a ı s ~ \gamma \epsilon v \eta '-~$ боוто. àфíкєто סє̀ єis 'Iта入íav ov̉ povóбто入os





 $\pi \lambda \epsilon i ́ \omega$ र $\rho o ́ v o \nu ~ \eta ̉ \nu a \gamma \kappa \alpha ́ \sigma \theta \eta ~ \tau о \hat{v} ~ \tau \epsilon ~ \nu а ข \tau i к о \hat{v} ~ \tau \hat{\eta}$


[^66]
## 134

## BOOK I. 41, 1-2

commander of his age, marched at the head of a large force through all the country that lies on this side of the Ocean, destroying any despotisms that were grievous and oppressive to their subjects, or commonwealths that outraged and injured the neighbouring states, or organized bands of men who lived in the manner of savages and lawlessly put strangers to death, and in their room establishing lawful monarchies, well-ordered governments and humane and sociable modes of life. Furthermore, he mingled barbarians with Greeks, and inhabitants of the inland with dwellers on the sea coast, groups which hitherto had been distrustful and unsocial in their dealings with each other; he also built cities in desert places, turned the course of rivers that overflowed the fields, cut roads through inaccessible mountains, and contrived other means by which every land and sea might lie open to the use of all mankind. And he came into Italy not alone nor yet bringing a herd of cattle (for neither does this country lie on the road of those returning from Spain to Argos nor would he have been deemed worthy of so great honour merely for passing through it), but at the head of a great army, after he had already conquered Spain, in order to subjugate and rule the people in this region; and he was obliged to tarry there a considerable time both because of the absence of his fleet, due to stormy weather that

[^67]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS







 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \beta \epsilon \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$. ठ $\eta \lambda \circ \hat{\imath}$ ठ̀̀ $\tau \grave{\nu} \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \mu о \nu$ тóv $\delta \epsilon \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$









 $\pi \alpha \rho o ́ \delta \omega \nu$ є́кра́т $\eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$, oi $\mu \epsilon ́ \nu ~ \tau \iota \nu \epsilon s$ є́коv́वıo $\pi \alpha \rho \epsilon \delta i ́-$


 2 оркías тарíatavтo. Є̀v $\delta \dot{\eta}$ тоútoıs тоîs ${ }^{1} \mu a ́ \chi \eta$





[^68]
## BOOK I. 41, 2-42, 2

detained it, and because not all the nations of Italy willingly submitted to him. For, besides the other barbarians, the Ligurians, a numerous and warlike people seated in the passes of the Alps, endeavoured to prevent his entrance into Italy by force of arms, and in that place so great a battle was fought by the Greeks that all their missiles gave out in the course of the fighting. This war is mentioned by Aeschylus, among the ancient poets, in his Prometheus Unbound; for there Prometheus is represented as foretelling to Hercules in detail how everything else was to befall him on his expedition against Geryon and in particular recounting to him the difficult struggle he was to have in the war with the Ligurians. The verses are these :
" And thou shalt come to Liguria's dauntless host,
Where no fault shalt thou find, bold though thou art,
With the fray: 'tis fated thy missiles all shall fail." ${ }^{1}$
XLII. After Hercules had defeated this people and gained the passes, some delivered up their cities to him of their own accord, particularly those who were of Greek extraction or who had no considerable forces; but the greatest part of them were reduced by war and siege. Among those who were conquered in battle, they say, was Cacus, who is celebrated in the Roman legend, an exceedingly barbarous chieftain reigning over a savage people, who had set himself to oppose Hercules; he was established in the fastnesses and on that account

$$
{ }^{1} \text { Nauck, T.G.F. }{ }^{2} \text {, p. 66, irg. } 199 .
$$

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

тоîs $\pi \lambda \eta \sigma \iota \circ \chi \omega ́ \rho o \iota s$ o้vта $\lambda v \pi \eta \rho o ̛ v$. ôs є̇ $\pi \epsilon \iota \delta \dot{\eta}$ ката－




 $\sigma \theta \epsilon i s ~ v i \pi \grave{~} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$＇$E \lambda \lambda \eta{ }^{\nu} \nu \omega \nu$ єis то入ьоркià，$\tau \alpha ́ \tau \epsilon$



 $\tau \epsilon ่ ~ \tau i v \epsilon s$ oi ov̀v Eủávסpu кai Фav̂vos ò $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$＇$A \beta$ o－ $\rho \iota \gamma i v \omega \nu$ ßaбı入єús．єiка́ $\sigma \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \delta^{\prime}$ a้v тıs каi то̀̀s






 тov̀s mo入є́ $\mu$ оvs $\sigma u v \delta \iota \epsilon \nu \epsilon ́ \gamma \kappa \alpha \iota \epsilon \nu$ єis $\tau \grave{\alpha}$ סорíкт $\eta \tau a$


 $\kappa \alpha i$ ov̉ $\tau \hat{\eta} S \pi \alpha \rho o ́ \delta o v \chi \alpha ́ \rho(\nu, \hat{\eta} \sigma \epsilon \mu \nu o ̀ \nu$ ov̉ $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \nu \pi \rho o \sigma \hat{\eta} \nu$ ．

[^69]
## BOOK I. 42, 2-4

was a pest to his neighbours. He, when he heard that Hercules lay encamped in the plain hard by, equipped his followers like brigands and making a sudden raid while the army lay sleeping, he surrounded and drove off as much of their booty as he found unguarded. Afterwards, being besieged by the Greeks, he not only saw his forts taken by storm, but was himself slain amid his fastnesses. And when his forts had been demolished, those who had accompanied Hercules on the expedition (these were some Arcadians with Evander, and Faunus, king of the Aborigines) took over the districts round about, each group for itself. And it may be conjectured that those of the Greeks who remained there, that is, the Epeans and the Arcadians from Phencus, as well as the Trojans, were left to guard the country. For among the various measures of Hercules that bespoke the true general none was more worthy of admiration than his practice of carrying along with him for a time on his expeditions the prisoners taken from the captured cities, and then, after they had cheerfully assisted him in his wars, settling them in the conquered regions and bestowing on them the riches he had gained from others. It was because of these deeds that Hercules gained the greatest name and renown in Italy, and not because of his passage through it, which was attended by nothing worthy of veneration.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

XLIII. Мє́रova九 $\delta \epsilon ́ ~ \tau \iota \nu \epsilon s ~ a u ̛ t o ̀ v ~ к а i ~ \pi a i ̂ \delta a s ~ \epsilon ̇ \nu ~$








 $\hat{\eta} \nu$ aitian tov̀s modloùs tòv Mativov toútov viòv


 $\delta \dot{\epsilon}$ ä $\pi \alpha เ \delta o s ~ a ̉ \rho \rho \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu ~ \pi \alpha i ́ \delta \omega \nu ~ \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v \tau \eta ́ \sigma \alpha \nu \tau o s ~ \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \tau \hat{\eta}$ $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ o ́ \mu o ́ \rho o v s ~ ' P o \tau o ́ \lambda o u s ~ \mu a ́ \chi \eta ~ \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \sigma \tau \eta ̂ v a \iota ~ \tau \grave{\eta \nu}$

 $\epsilon \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \epsilon \in \nu \in \tau O$.
XLIV. 'Нрак $\lambda \hat{\eta} S \delta^{\prime} \epsilon \in \pi \epsilon i \tau \alpha ́ \tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ ' I \tau \alpha \lambda i ́ a \nu$
 av่т仑̂ $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau o ̀ s ~ \sigma \hat{\omega} o s ~ \epsilon ’ \xi ~ ' I ß \eta \rho i a s ~ a ̀ \phi i к є \tau о, ~ \theta u ́ \sigma a s ~$ тоîs $\theta \epsilon$ ois тàs $\delta \epsilon к а ́ т а s ~ \tau \omega ̂ \nu ~ \lambda a \phi u ́ \rho \omega \nu ~ к а i ~ \pi о \lambda i ́ \chi \nu \eta \nu ~$






[^70]
## BOOK I. 43, 1-44, 1

XLIII. Some say that he also left sons by two women in the region now inhabited by the Romans. One of these sons was Pallas, whom he had by the daughter of Evander, whose name, they say, was Lavinia; the other, Latinus, whose mother was a certain Hyperborean girl whom he brought with him as a hostage given to him by her father and preserved for some time untouched; but while he was on his voyage to Italy, he fell in love with her and got her with child. And when he was preparing to leave for Argos, he married her to Faunus, king of the Aborigines; for which reason Latinus is generally looked upon as the son of Faunus, not of Hercules. Pallas, they say, died before he arrived at puberty; but Latinus, upon reaching man's estate, succeeded to the kingdom of the Aborigines, and when he was killed in the battle against the neighbouring Rutulians, without leaving any male issue, the kingdom devolved on Aeneas, the son of Anchises, his son-inlaw. But these things happened at other times.
XLIV. After Hercules had settled everything in Italy according to his desire and his naval force had arrived in safety from Spain, he sacrificed to the gods the tithes of his booty and built a small town named after himself ${ }^{1}$ in the place where his fleet lay at anchor (it is now occupied by the Romans, and lying as it does between Neapolis and Pompeii, has at all times secure havens) ; and having gained fame and glory and received divine honours from

[^71][^72]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 $\lambda \epsilon \iota \phi \theta \epsilon ́ v \tau \epsilon s$ v́m＇aútov̂ фроироí каi оiкท＇торєs＇Iта入ías










 $\nu \omega \nu$ रु̀ $\Lambda a t i ̂ v o s ~ o ́ ~ \Phi a u ́ v o v, ~ \gamma o ́ v o s ~ \delta e ̀ ~ ' Н р а к \lambda \epsilon ́ o u s, ~$














[^73]
## BOOK I. 44, 2-45, 2

all the inhabitants of Italy, he set sail for Sicily. Those who were left behind by him as a garrison to dwell in Italy and were settled around the Saturnian hill lived for some time under an independent government ; but not long afterwards they adapted their manner of life. their laws and their religious ceremonies to those of the Aborigines, even as the Arcadians and, still earlier, the Pelasgians had done, and they shared in the same government with them, so that in time they came to be looked upon as of the same nation with them. But let this suffice concerning the expedition of Hercules and concerning the Peloponnesians who remained behind in Italy.

In the second generation after the departure of Hercules, and about the fifty-fifth year, according to the Romans' own account, the king of the Aborigines was Latinus, who passed for the son of Faunus, but was actually the son of Hercules: he was now in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.
XLV. At that time the Trojans who had fled with Aeneas from Troy after its capture landed at Laurentum, which is on the coast of the Aborigines facing the Tyrrhenian sea, not far from the mouth of the Tiber. And baving received from the Aborigines some land for their habitation and everything else they desired, they built a town on a hill not far from the sea and called it Lavinium. Soon after this they changed their ancient name and, together with the Aborigines, were called Latins, after the king of that country. And leaving Lavinium, they joined with the inhabitants of those parts in building a larger

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS









 тov̀s тómovs $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \lambda a \beta o ́ v \tau \epsilon s ~ \tau \epsilon i ́ \chi \epsilon \sigma \iota ~ \tau o ̀ ~ П a \lambda \lambda a ́ v \tau \iota o \nu$, $\check{\omega} \sigma \tau \epsilon \lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon \hat{\iota} \nu \pi$ то́ $\lambda \epsilon \omega s$ $\sigma \chi \hat{\eta} \mu \alpha$ то́тє $\pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau о \nu . \quad \tau i \theta \epsilon \nu \tau \alpha \iota$


 Aiveiov $\pi \alpha \rho o v \sigma i a s ~ \epsilon i s ~ ' I \tau a \lambda i ́ a \nu, ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \epsilon i ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \sigma v \gamma \gamma p a-$


 $\pi \iota \sigma \tau \epsilon v \circ \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu$ íтторías $\pi \alpha \rho a \beta a \lambda \omega ́ \nu \nu{ }^{3} \quad$ єौ $\chi \in \iota ~ \delta є ̀ ~ \tau \alpha ̀ ~$ $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ aủтov̂ $\lambda \epsilon \gamma o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu a \hat{\omega} \delta \epsilon$.



${ }^{1} \mu \epsilon \tau \dot{\alpha} \mathrm{O}: \mu \epsilon \tau \grave{\alpha} \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ Jacoby.
${ }^{2} \epsilon \check{\epsilon} \tau \iota \mathrm{~B}: \epsilon \check{\epsilon} \tau \iota \epsilon \in \pi{ }^{\prime}$ av่̉ $\omega \bar{\nu} \mathrm{R}$.
${ }^{8}$ Reiske: тара入аßผ́л O .

## BOOK I. 45, 2-46, 1

city, surrounded by a wall, which they called Alba; and setting out thence, they built many other cities, the cities of the so-called Prisci Latini, of which the greatest part were inhabited even to my day. Then, sixteen generations after the taking of Troy, ${ }^{1}$ sending out a colony to Pallantium and Saturnia, where the Peloponnesians and the Arcadians had made their first settlement and where there were still left some remains of the ancient race, they settled these places and surrounded Pallantium with a wall, so that it then first received the form of a city. This settlement they called Rome, after Romulus, who was the leader of the colony and the seventeenth in descent from Aeneas. But also concerning the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, since some historians have been ignorant of it and others have related it in a different manner, I wish to give more than a cursory account, having compared the histories of those writers, both Greek and Roman, who are the best accredited. The stories concerning him are as follows:
XLVI. When Troy had been taken by the Achaeans, either by the stratagem of the wooden horse, as Homer represents, or by the treachery of the

[^74]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS










 тоîs $T \rho \omega \sigma i ้ ~ \eta ̉ \nu \nu ~ к а i ~ \chi \rho \eta \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu ~ o ́ ~ \pi о \lambda ̀ ̀ s ~ \pi \lambda о \hat{\tau о s, ~}$




 $\pi \lambda \epsilon i ̂ \nu \tau$ тò $\delta \iota a \phi v \gamma o ́ v$. $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \mu \dot{v} \nu \delta \grave{\eta}$ av̉тiка óp $\mu \grave{\eta} \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$

 тоиิто тò $\mu \eta \chi a ́ \nu \eta \mu a$ є́ $\xi \in v \rho \omega ̀ \nu$ Aivєías є̇тє́ $\sigma \chi \epsilon$.



${ }^{1}$ Pflugk: ${ }_{\alpha} \pi \epsilon \lambda \alpha ́ \mu \beta a \nu o \nu \mathrm{AB}$.

${ }^{1}$ The tradition that Antenor proved a traitor to his country is late, appearing first in Lycophron's Alexandra (verse 340), where the scholiast explains the cryptic words as meaning that Antenor raised a signal fire to the Greeks waiting at Tenedos and also released the Greek warriors from the wooden horse. Dictys relates (v. 8) that Antenor,

## BOOK I. 46, 1-2

Antenoridae, ${ }^{1}$ or by some other means, the greatest part of the Trojans and of their allies then in the city were surprised and slain in their beds; for it seems that this calamity came upon them in the night, when they were not upon their guard. But Aeneas and his Trojan forces which he had brought from the cities of Dardanus and Ophrynium to the assistance of the people of Ilium, and as many others as had early notice of the calamity, while the Greeks were taking the lower town, fled together to the stronghold of Pergamus, ${ }^{2}$ and occupied the citadel, which was fortified with its own wall; here were deposited the holy things of the Trojans inherited from their fathers and their great wealth in valuables, as was to be expected in a stronghold, and here also the flower of their army was stationed. Here they awaited and repulsed the enemy who were endeavouring to gain a foothold on the acropolis, and by making secret sallies they were able, through their familiarity with the narrow streets, to rescue the multitude which was seeking to escape at the taking of the city; and thus a larger number escaped than were taken prisoner. By hitting upon this plan Aeneas checked the immediate purpose of the enemy, which was to put all the citizens to the sword, and prevented them from taking the whole city by storm. But with respect to the future he reasoned very properly that it would be impossible to with the aid of his wife Theano, handed over the Palladium to Odysseus and Diomed; and Dares (41) represents Antenor and Aeneas as opening the Scaean gate to the enemy.

[^75]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 $\mu \epsilon ̀ v ~ \tau \epsilon i ́ \chi o v s ~ \epsilon ́ \rho \eta ́ \mu о v ~ \pi а р а \chi \omega \rho \eta ิ \sigma a \iota ~ \tau о \hat{\varsigma} \pi о \lambda є \mu i o \iota s$,










 $\tau$ к̀ картєри́тата ката入аßє́ $\sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau \hat{\eta} S$ "I $I \eta s$. тò $\delta$ є̀
 Є̇ $\pi i$ то̂ $\tau \in i ́ X o v s ~ к а i ~ \pi \alpha \rho \epsilon i ̂ \chi \epsilon ~ \tau о i ̂ s ~ \pi \rho о є \xi \in \lambda 0 о \hat{v} \sigma \iota \nu$


 каi $\pi \rho \circ \sigma \beta \circ \eta \theta \eta \sigma \alpha \dot{\nu} \tau \omega \nu$ av่тоîs ' $A \chi \alpha \iota \omega ิ \nu$ á $\pi \alpha ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$


 каi $\theta \epsilon o v ̀ s ~ \tau о v ̀ s ~ \pi a \tau \rho u ́ o v s ~ \gamma v \nu а i ̂ к a ́ ~ \tau \epsilon ~ к а i ~ \tau \epsilon ́ к \nu а ~ к а i ~$



${ }^{1} \dot{\eta}$ added by Sintenis.
 $\tau$ às $\phi \eta \gamma a ́ \delta a s \pi$. Meineke, тàs фuүaঠıкàs $\pi$. Madvig.

## BOOK I. 46, 2-47, 1

save a city the greater part of which was already in the possession of the enemy. and he therefore decided to abandon the wall, bare of defenders, to the enemy and to save the inhabitants themselves as well as the holy objects inherited from their fathers and all the valuables he could carry away. Having thus resolved, he first sent out from the city the women and children together with the aged and all others whose condition required much time to make their escape, with orders to take the roads leading to Mount Ida, while the Achaeans, intent on capturing the eitadel, were giving no thought to the pursuit of the multitude who were escaping from the city. Of the army, he assigned one part to escort the inhabitants who were departing, in order that their flight might be as safe and free from hardships as the circumstances would permit; and they were ordered to take possession of the strongest parts of Mount Ida. With the rest of the troops, who were the most valiant, he remained upon the wall of the citadel and, by keeping the enemy occupied in assaulting it, he rendered less difficult the flight of those who had gone on ahead. But when Neoptolemus and his men gained a foothold on part of the acropolis and all the Achaeans rallied to their support, Aeneas abandoned the place; and opening the gates, he marched away with the rest of the fugitives in good order, carrying with him in the best chariots his father and the gods of his country, together with his wife and children and whatever else, either person or thing, was most precious.
XLVII. In the meantime the Achaeans had taken the city by storm, and being intent on plunder,

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

кóтєs $\pi 0 \lambda \lambda \eta े \nu$ a̋ $\delta \epsilon \iota a \nu \sigma \omega ́ \zeta \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ \phi \epsilon u ́ \gamma o v \sigma \iota ~ \pi \alpha \rho \hat{\eta}-$


















 $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ ठıa入v́ $\sigma \epsilon \omega \nu$ каì $\delta \epsilon о \mu \epsilon \in v \omega \nu \mu \eta ̀ ~ \sigma \phi a ̂ s ~ \epsilon i s ~ a ̉ \nu a ́ \gamma \kappa \eta \nu$

 Aiveíav $\mu \dot{\epsilon} v$ каi $\tau o v ̀ s ~ \sigma u ̀ v ~ a u ̉ \tau ஸ ̂ ~ \tau a ̀ ~ \chi р \eta \prime \mu а \tau а ~ ф \epsilon ́ \rho о \nu-~$
 $\tau \iota \sigma i ̀ ~ \chi \rho o ́ v o \iota s ~ \epsilon ’ \kappa ~ \tau \eta ̂ s ~ T \rho \omega a ́ \delta o s ~ a ̀ \pi \epsilon \lambda \theta \epsilon i v, ~ \pi a \rho a \delta o ́ v \tau a s ~$

 5 Өa入áттŋs àmıỗı катà $\tau \alpha ̀ s ~ o ́ \mu о \lambda о \gamma i a s . ~ \delta \in \xi \alpha ́-~$
² oi added by Sintenis.
gave those who fled abundant opportunity of making their escape. Aeneas and his band overtook their people while still on the road, and being united now in one body, they seized the strongest parts of Mount Ida. Here they were joined not only by the inhabitants of Dardanus, who, upon seeing a great and unusual fire rising from Ilium, had in the night left their city undefended,-all except the men with Elymus and Aegestus, who had got ready some ships and had departed even carlier,-but also by the whole populace of Ophrynium and by those of the other Trojan cities who clung to their liberty; and in a very short time this force of the Trojans became a very large one. Accordingly, the fugitives who had escaped with Aeneas from the taking of the city and were tarrying on Mount Ida were in hopes of returning home soon, when the enemy should have sailed away; but the Achaeans, having reduced to slavery the people who were left in the city and in the places near by and having demolished the forts, were preparing to subdue those also who were in the mountains. When, however, the Trojans sent heralds to treat for peace and begged them not to reduce them to the necessity of making war, the Achaeans held an assembly and made peace with them upon the following terms: Aeneas and his people were to depart from the Troad with all the valuables they had saved in their flight within a certain fixed time, after first delivering up the forts to the Achaeans; and the Achaeans were to allow them a safe-conduct by land and sea throughout all their dominions when they departed in pursuance of these terms. Aeneas, having accepted these

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 $\kappa \rho a ́ \tau \iota \sigma \tau \alpha$ єỉval 'Aбка́vıov $\mu$ ย̀v $\tau$ òv $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta$ v́татоข $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$



















[^76]
## BOOK I. 47, 5-6

conditions, which he looked upon as the best possible in the circumstances, sent away Ascanius, his eldest son, with some of the allies, chiefly Phrygians, to the country of Dascylitis, ${ }^{1}$ as it is called, in which lies the Ascanian lake, since he had been invited by the inhabitants to reign over them. But Ascanius did not tarry there for any great length of time; for when Scamandrius and the other descendants of Hector ${ }^{2}$ who had been permitted by Neoptolemus to return home from Greece, came to him, he went to Troy, in order to restore them to their ancestral kingdom. Regarding Ascanius, then, this is all that is told. As for Aeneas, after his fleet was ready, he embarked with the rest of his sons and his father, taking with him the images of the gods, and crossing the Hellespont, sailed to the nearest peninsula, which lies in front of Europe and is called Pallenê. ${ }^{3}$ This country
of Hector ( $c f$. Euripides, Androm. 224). There were various accounts of their return to the neighbourhood of Troy, or eventually to Troy itself, of which we have but a few brief fragments preserved. Two of these are found in Strabo (xiii. 1, 52 f. ; xiv. 5, 29).
${ }^{3}$ This is certainly a strange way of describing Pallenê, the westernmost of the three Chalcidic peninsulas, but the description evidently goes back to Hellanicus (see chap. $48,1)$ or even earlier ; before the Peloponnesian war this region was often regarded as part of Thrace. Furthermore, Aeneia, the town the Trojans were said to have built during their stay there (chap. 49, 4), was not in Pallenô at all, but lay only a few miles south of Thessalonica, in the northwest corner of Chalcidicê. It would seem as if Pallenê were used loosely here for the whole eastern shore of the Thermaic gulf. This is not the part of Thrace that Virgil had in mind as the first stopping-place of the Trojans (Aen. iii. 13-68) ; for the tomb of Polydorus was shown at Aenus, at the mouth of the Hebrus.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



XLVIII. 'O $\mu \epsilon ̀ v$ ổv $\pi \iota \sigma \tau o ́ \tau \alpha \tau o s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \lambda o ́ \gamma \omega \nu, \hat{\omega}$
 тоîs Tршєкоîs, $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ $\tau \hat{\eta} s$ Aiveiov $\phi v \gamma \eta \hat{\eta}_{s} \tau о \iota o ́ \sigma \delta \epsilon$






 то仑 $\pi \alpha \tau \rho o ̀ s ~ ' A \gamma \chi i ́ \sigma o v ~ к \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ \mu \nu \eta \prime \mu \eta \nu$ ஸ̂̀ 'Aфроסíт $\eta$




 $\pi \alpha ́ \rho \epsilon \sigma \tau^{\prime} \epsilon \epsilon^{\prime} \omega^{\omega \prime} \mu \omega \nu \pi \alpha \tau \epsilon \rho^{\prime}$ ' $\epsilon \chi \chi \omega \nu$ кєраvviov vи́тоv катабта́לоขта $\beta$ v́ббıvov фápos,


${ }^{2} \kappa \dot{\kappa} \kappa \lambda \omega \mathrm{~B}: \kappa v \kappa \lambda \epsilon i ̂ \mathrm{R}$.
${ }^{1}$ Müller, F.H.G. i. pp. 61 f., frg. 127. For Hellanicus see p. 71, n. 2.
${ }^{2}$ It is not certain whether калабтálovтa is to be taken here literally ("dripping") or figuratively ("letting drop"); the construction of the sentence is without exact parallel, but there are analogies for interpreting it to mean simply " letting his robe stream, or fall, down his back." Plutarch (De Virtute et Vitio, 2) took the participle in a literal sense 154

## BOOK I. 47, 6-48, 2

was occupied by a Thracian people called Crusaeans, who were allies of the Trojans and had assisted them during the war with greater zeal than any of the others.
XLVIII. This, then, is the most credible account concerning the flight of Aencas and is the one which Hellanicus, among the ancient historians, adopts in his Troica. ${ }^{1}$ There are different accounts given of the same events by some others, which I look upon as less probable than this. But let every reader judge as he thinks proper. Sophocles, the tragic poet, in his drama Laocoön represents Aeneas, just before the taking of the city, as removing his household to Mount Ida in obedience to the orders of his father Anchises, who recalled the injunctions of Aphroditê and from the omens that had lately happened in the case of Laocoön's family conjectured the approaching destruction of the city. His iambics, which are spoken by a messenger, are as follows:
"Now at the gates arrives the goddess' son, Aeneas, his sire upon his shoulders borne Aloft, while down that back by thunderbolt Of Zeus once smit the linen mantle streams; ${ }^{2}$ Surrounding them the crowd of household slaves.
(" bedewing the robe down his back ") and adds the explanation that the body of Anchises gave off a foul exudation. Whether he had any evidence before him, other than this passage of Sophocles, we can only conjecture. We are told that Anchises was struck, or grazed, by lightning because he foolishly boasted of his intimacy with Aphroditê. There were various stories concerning the permanent disability suffered by him in consequence, but the early tradition represented him as lamed.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

















 $\chi \rho \epsilon i a \nu$ бт $\rho a \tau \iota \omega \tau \iota \kappa \eta{ }_{\eta} \nu \quad \epsilon i \sigma i \delta^{\prime}$ oí $\mu \nu \theta \omega \delta \in \sigma \tau \epsilon ́ \rho a \nu$ av̉тov





${ }^{1}$ д̀кєєîs, oi Reiske: ठокєî бо九 O.
${ }^{2}$ ámò O : ảmò $\uparrow \hat{\mathrm{y}} \mathrm{S}$ Reiske, Jacoby.
${ }^{8}$ Bin Schaller, $\tau \hat{\eta}$ Reiske: $\gamma \hat{\eta} \mathrm{AB}$.

- $i \in \rho \hat{\omega} \nu$ deleted after $\gamma \in \rho \in \bar{\epsilon} \omega \nu$ by Kiessling.

[^77]
## BOOK I. 48, 2-49, 1

There follows a multitude beyond belief Who long to join this Phrygian colony." ${ }^{1}$

But Menecrates of Xanthus ${ }^{2}$ says that Aeneas betrayed the city to the Achaeans out of hatred for Alexander and that because of this service he was permitted by them to save his household. His account, which begins with the funcral of Achilles, runs on this wise: "The Achaeans were oppressed with grief and felt that the army had had its head lopped off. However, they celebrated his funeral feast and made war with all their might till Ilium was taken by the aid of Aeneas, who delivered it up to them. For Aeneas, being scorned by Alexander and excluded from his prerogatives, overthrew Priam; and having accomplished this, he became one of the Achaeans." Others say that he chanced to be tarrying at that time at the station where the Trojan ships lay; and others that he had been sent with a force into Phrygia by Priam upon some military expedition. Some give a more fabulous account of his departure. But let the case stand according to each man's convictions.
XLIX. What happened after his departure creates still greater difficulty for most historians. For some, after they have brought him as far as Thrace, say he died there; of this number are Cephalon of Gergis ${ }^{3}$ and Hegesippus, ${ }^{4}$ who wrote concerning

[^78]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 $\dot{\alpha} \pi \grave{o}^{4} \tau \epsilon \lambda \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ каi $\pi о \tau \alpha \mu о \hat{v}$. $\tau \alpha ́ s ~ \tau \epsilon ~ к а \lambda о v \mu \in ́ v a s ~$ Kanv́as Aiveíov $\tau \epsilon$ каi Tpúwv ảтóктıбıv єival, Kamv́as ${ }^{5}$ ỏvo $\mu a \sigma \theta \epsilon$ ívas ảmc̀ $\tau 0 \hat{v}$ Tpwıко̂ Kámvos. $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \tau a \iota ~ \delta \grave{~ \tau \alpha v ̂ \tau \alpha ~ a ̈ \lambda \lambda о \iota s ~ \tau \epsilon ~ к а i ~ ' A p ı a i \theta \omega ~ \tau ب ̣ ̂}{ }^{6}$

 $\gamma \epsilon \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ av̉ $\frac{\hat{\omega}}{}$ тô̂ ßiov $\sigma v \mu \pi \epsilon \sigma \epsilon i ̂ v ~ \epsilon ่ \nu ~ \tau o ̂ ̂ \sigma \delta \epsilon ~$

 $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \omega \nu \hat{\omega} \delta \epsilon$.


 ${ }^{\text {' }} \mathrm{P} \omega \mu$ úлог.


${ }^{1}$ ó added by Kiessling.

${ }^{\text { }}$ каітєр Steph.: каі O.
${ }^{4}$ Bücheler, Meineke : ímò O.
${ }^{5}$ Kadúas Sylburg.
${ }^{6} \tau \hat{\text { a }}$ added by Kiessling.

## BOOK I. 49, 1-3

Pallenê, both of them ancient and reputable men. Others make him leave Thrace and take him to Arcadia, and say that be lived in the Arcadian Orchomenus, in a place which, though situated inland, yet by reason of marshes and a river, is called Nesos or "Island"; ${ }^{1}$ and they add that the town called Capyae ${ }^{2}$ was built by Aeneas and the Trojans and took its name from Capys the Trojan. This is the account given by various other writers and by Ariaethus, the author of Arcadica. ${ }^{3}$ And there are some who have the story that he came, indeed, to Arcadia and yet that his death did not occur there, but in Italy; this is stated by many others and especially by Agathyllus of Arcadia, the poet, who writes thus in an elegy :
"Then to Arcadia came and in Nesos left his two daughters,
Fruit of his love for Anthemonê fair and for lovely Codonê ;
Thence made haste to Hesperia's land and begat there male offspring,
Romulus named."
The arrival of Aeneas and the Trojans in Italy is attested by all the Romans and evidences of it are to be seen in the ceremonies observed by them both
${ }^{1}$ The city of Orchomenus, built on a hill between two plains, one of which was often a lake, and with a deep gorge on a third side, may perhaps answer this description. Or Nesos may have been in the northern plain (to-day a lake) near Caphyae.
${ }^{2}$ More correctly Caphyae (Pausan. viii. 23. 2).
${ }^{3}$ A history of Arcadia. We know nothing more about Ariaethus (Araethus ?) and Agathyllus than is told here.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 $\dot{v} \pi \epsilon \rho i ́ \delta o \iota . \quad \pi о \lambda \lambda \dot{\alpha}$ $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \kappa \alpha i \quad \pi \alpha \rho$ " $E \lambda \lambda \eta \sigma \iota \quad \gamma \nu \omega \rho i \sigma \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$










${ }^{1}$ In the " digression," as Dionysius calls it (chap. 53, 4), which begins at this point, he gives a confident, straightforward account of the wanderings of Aeneas from Troy to Lavinium, without once naming a source or hinting at any variations in the legend. Kiessling (De Dionysi Hal. Antiquitatum auctoribus Latinis, p. 40) argued that he was here following Varro as his authority, as he does silently in various other places, and many scholars have accepted his conclusions; but unfortunately, for our knowledge of Varro's account, we have to depend on a few scattered quotations, found chiefly in Servius' commentary on the Aeneid. The route of Aeneas as traced by Virgil agrees so closely for the most part with that given by Dionysius as to suggest that both authors were drawing largely on the same source. The differences in their accounts can easily be explained when we bear in mind that one was a historian who prided himself on his chronological studies (chap. 74, 2) and the other a poet who gave free rein to his imagination. Thus, Dionysius was bound to reject the visit of Aeneas to Carthage if, as seems probable, he

## BOOK I. 49, 3-4

in their sacrifices and festivals, as well as in the Sibyl's utterances. in the Pythian oracles, and in many other things, which none ought to disdain as invented for the sake of embellishment. Among the Greeks, also, many distinct monuments remain to this day on the coasts where they landed and among the people with whom they tarried when detained by unfavourable weather. In mentioning these, though they are numerous, I shall be as brief as possible. ${ }^{1}$ They first went to Thrace and landed on the peninsula called Pallenê. It was inhabited, as I have said, ${ }^{2}$ by barbarians called Crusaeans, who offered them a safe refuge. There they stayed the winter season and built a temple to Aphroditê on one of the promontories, and also a city called Aeneia,
accepted Timaeus' date for the founding of that city ( 813 ; see chap. 74, 1). Chronological considerations may also account in part for Dionysius' silence concerning Cumae and Crete, though the Cumaean episode is evidently a late addition to the legend, perhaps due to Virgil himself; we shall see (chap. $\overline{5}, 4$ ) that Dionysius connected another Sibyl, living in the neighbourhood of Mt. Ida, with the destiny of the Trojan exiles, and this is doubtless the original form of the legend. One very important difference between the stories of Dionysius and Virgil is seen in the length of time assigned to the voyage from Troy to Lavinium ; the historian allows just two years, the poet seven. For brief discussions of the growth of the Aeneas legend see Glover, Vergil, chap. iv. ; Nettleship, Virgil, pp. $47-50$; Prescott, Development of Virgil's Art, pp. 153168. A detailed comparison of the accounts of Dionysius and Virgil may be found in Wörner, Die Sage von den Wanderungen des Aeneas bei Dionysios und Vergilius, and also in his article on Aineias in Roscher's Lexikon der griech. und rōm. Mythologie, i. pp. 165-78.
${ }^{2}$ Chap. 47, end.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 tovs $\pi \lambda \epsilon i ̂ v ~ \kappa a i ~ o ̈ \sigma o ı s ~ a v ̉ т o v ̂ ~ \mu \epsilon ́ v \epsilon \iota \nu ~ \beta o v \lambda o \mu \epsilon ́ v o ı s ~ \hat{\eta} \nu$,

 катà тoùs $\delta \iota a \delta o ́ \chi o v s ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ ' A \lambda \epsilon \xi \alpha ́ v \delta \rho o v ~ \gamma \epsilon v o \mu \epsilon ́ v \eta s . ~$







 $\kappa \epsilon \iota \tau \alpha \iota$ Пєлотогvท́боv, тараүєvó $\epsilon \in \nu$ о८ $i \in \rho o ̀ v ~ ' A \phi \rho о-~$
 $\pi \lambda \circ \hat{v}$ ov̉ $\pi \rho o ́ \sigma \omega ~ \tau \hat{\eta} s ~ \Pi \epsilon \lambda о \pi о \nu \nu \eta \dot{\sigma} \sigma o v ~ \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v \tau \eta \prime \sigma \alpha \nu \tau \alpha$




 ठıaтрíభavтєs каi viто入ıாó $\mu \in v o i ́ ~ \tau i v a s ~ \sigma \phi \hat{\omega \nu}$ av̉т $\hat{\nu}$


 тíoos Sv́o $\gamma \in \nu \epsilon \in \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \phi a \sigma i v ~ \epsilon ̇ \kappa ~ B a \tau \epsilon i a s ~ \pi a i ̂ \delta a s, ~$


[^79]
## BOOK I. 49, 4-50, 3

where they left all those who from fatigue were unable to continue the voyage and all who chose to remain there as in a country they were henceforth to look upon as their own. This city existed down to that period of the Macedonian rule which came into being under the successors of Alexander, but it was destroyed in the reign of Cassander, when Thessalonica was being founded; and the inhabitants of Aeneia with many others removed to the newly-built city. ${ }^{1}$
L. Setting sail from Pallenê, the Trojans came to Delos, of which Anius was king. Here there were many evidences of the presence of Aeneas and the Trojans as long as the island was inhabited and flourished. Then. coming to Cythera, another island, lying off the Peloponnesus, they built a temple there to Aphroditê. And while they were on their voyage from Cythera and not far from the Peloponnesus, one of Aeneas' companions, named Cinaethus, died and they buried him upon one of the promontories, which is now called Cinaethion after him. And having renewed them kinship with the Arcadians, concerning which I shall speak in a later chapter, ${ }^{2}$ and having stayed a short time in those parts, they left some of their number there and came to Zacynthus. The Zacynthians. also, received them in a friendly manner on account of their kinship; for Dardanus, the son of Zeus and Electra, the daughter of Atlas. had, as they say. by Bateia two sons, Zacynthus and Erichthonsus of whom the

[^80]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 रคóvov $\sigma v \nu \tau \epsilon \lambda о \hat{\sigma} \sigma \iota ~ \kappa о \iota \nu \hat{\eta}$ Zaкúv $\theta \iota \circ$, каi ả $\gamma \omega \hat{v}$ а



 4 є่кєîقєข $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon \lambda a ́ \gamma \iota \nu \quad \pi о \iota \eta \sigma a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu \circ \iota$ тòv $\pi \lambda o u ̂ \nu ~ \epsilon i s$












[^81]
## BOOK I. 50, 3-4

latter was the ancestor of Acneas, and Zacynthus was the first settler of the island. In memory, therefore, of this kinship and by reason of the kindness of the inhabitants they stayed there some time, being also detained by unfavourable weather; and they offered to Aphroditê at the temple they had built to her a sacrifice which the entire population of Zacynthus performs to this day, and instituted games for young men, consisting among other events of a foot-race in which the one who comes first to the temple gains the prize. This is called the course of Aeneas and Aphroditê, and wooden statues of both are erected there. From there, after a voyage through the open sea, they landed at Leucas, which was still in the possession of the Acarnanians. Here again they built a temple to Aphroditê, which stands to-day on the little island between Dioryctus ${ }^{1}$ and the city ; it is called the temple of Aphroditê Aeneias. ${ }^{2}$ And departing thence, they sailed to Actium and anchored off the promontory of the Ambracian Gulf; and from there they came to the city of Ambracia, which was then ruled by Ambrax, the son of Dexamenus, the son of Herakles. Monuments of their coming are left in both places: at Actium, the temple of Aphroditê Aeneias, and near to it that of the Great Gods, both of which existed
${ }^{2}$ This cult-title of Aphroditê has been variously explained. See Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, ii. 638 ff., and Rossbach in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Enc.,s.v. Aineias, pp. 1018 f. Malten, the latest to discuss the problem (Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, xxix. (1931), pp. 33-59), regards this goddess as the mother of the race of the Aeneadae, and identifies her with the Mater Idaea, a variant form of the Great Mother ; she is not to be confused with the Phoenician Astartê.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 калои́ $\mu \in \nu a \iota ~ \pi а \rho ’$ aưтоîs á $\mu \phi і т о \lambda о \iota$.






 àто九кías каi тòv $\theta є o ̀ v ~ a ̀ v a \theta \eta ́ \mu а \sigma \iota ~ \delta \omega \rho \eta \sigma a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \iota ~$


 $\nu 0 \hat{v} v \tau a \iota ~ \tau \epsilon \tau \tau \alpha ́ \rho \omega \nu$ $\mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau \alpha$ ทं $\mu \epsilon \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \delta \iota \epsilon \lambda \theta$ óv $\tau \epsilon S$ ó óóv.










[^82]
## BOOK I. 50, 4-51, 2

even to my time; and in Ambracia, a temple of the same goddess and a hero-shrine of Aeneas near the little theatre. In this shrine there was a small archaic statue of wood, said to be of Aeneas, that was honoured with sacrifices by the priestesses they called amphipoloi or " handmaidens."
LI. From Ambracia Anchises, sailing with the fleet along the coast, came to Buthrotum, a seaport of Epirus. But Aeneas with the most vigorous men of his army made a march of two days and came to Dodona, in order to consult the oracle; and there they found the Trojans who had come thither with Helenus. Then, after receiving responses concerning their colony and after dedicating to the god various Trojan offerings, including bronze mixing bowls, some of which are still in existence and by their inscriptions, which are very ancient, show by whom they were given,-they rejoined the fleet after a march of about four days. The presence of the Trojans at Buthrotum is proved by a hill called Troy, where they encamped at that time. From Buthrotum they sailed along the coast and came to a place which was then called the Harbour of Anchises but now has a less significant name; ${ }^{1}$ there also they built a temple to Aphroditê, and then crossed the Ionian Gulf, having for guides on the voyage Patron the Thyrian ${ }^{2}$ and his men, who
${ }^{1}$ Onchesmus, opposite the northern point of Corcyra.
${ }^{2}$ Ooúpos generally means a man from Thurii in Italy. But Androtion is cited by Stephanus of Byzantium as using it for Ovpıє⿱́s, a man of Thyrium (or Thyreum) in Acarnania. Virgil (Aen. v. 298) names Patron, an Acarnanian, as one of the contestants in the funeral games in honour of Anchises.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS












 'Ita入ias, àd入à тaîs $\mu \grave{v} \nu \quad \pi \lambda \in i \sigma \tau a l s ~ v a v \sigma i ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~$ a้краข 'Iaтvүías óp $\mu \iota \sigma \alpha ́ \mu \in \nu o \iota, \hat{\eta}$ то́тє $\sum a \lambda \epsilon \nu \tau i v o s$





 Kiessling: $\dot{\epsilon} \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \sigma i \lambda \omega \mathrm{AB}$.

[^83]
## BOOK I. 51, 2-3

accompanied them of their own accord. ${ }^{1}$ The greater part of these, after the army had arrived safely in Italy, returned home; but Patron with some of his friends, being prevailed on by Aencas to join the colony, stayed with the expedition. These, according to some, settled at Aluntium in Sicily. In memory of this service the Romans in the course of time bestowed Leucas and Anactorium, which they had taken from the Corinthians, upon the Acarnanians; ${ }^{2}$ and when the latter desired to restore the Oeniadae to their old home, ${ }^{3}$ they gave them leave to do so, and also to enjoy the produce of the Echinades jointly with the Aetolians. ${ }^{4}$ As for Aeneas and his companions, they did not all go ashore at the same place in Italy, but most of the ships came to anchor at the Promontory of Iapygia, which was then called the Salentine Promontory, and the others at a place named after Minerva, ${ }^{5}$ where Aeneas himself chanced to set foot first in Italy. This place is a promontory that offers a harbour in the summer, which from that time has been called the Harbour of Venus. ${ }^{6}$ After this they sailed along
${ }^{3}$ Or, " restore Oeniadae to its old status." Oeniadae was the name of both town and people. Our only other sources for this incident (Livy xxxviii. 11, 9 ; Polybius xxi. 32, 14) merely state that in the peace terms between Rome and the Aetolians in 189 it was provided that the city and territory of Oeniadae should belong to the Acarnanians.
${ }^{4}$ We have no further information concerning this arrangement with regard to the Echinades. Oberhummer (op. cit., p. 186, n. 4) suggests that these islands must have been divided up between the Aetolians and Acarnanians.
${ }^{6}$ Castrum Minervae. The temple on this promontory was a well-known landmark. ${ }^{\text {B Portus Veneris. }}$

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS










 oî тúxךs $\tau \epsilon$ каi $\pi \nu \epsilon$ úpaтоs ov̉piov $\lambda \alpha \beta o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \iota ~ к а i ~$




 2 катà тоוóvסє $\tau \iota \pi \alpha ́ \theta$ оs. $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \rho \circ \gamma o ́ v \omega \nu$ aủ $\tau 0 \hat{v} \tau \iota s$







 баıs бטvєктлєі̂ $\mu \epsilon \iota \rho a ́ \kappa เ o ́ v ~ \tau \iota ~ \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota ф а \nu \omega ิ \nu ~ к \rho a \tau о v ́-~$


[^84]
## BOOK I. 51. 3-52, 3

the coast until they reached the strait, having Italy on the right hand, and left in these places also some traces of their arrival, among others a bronze patera in the temple of Juno, on which there is an ancient inscription showing the name of Aeneas as the one who dedicated it to the goddess.
LII. When they were off Sicily, whether they had any design of landing there or were forced from their course by tempests, which are common around this sea, they landed in that part of the island which is called Drepana. Here they found the Trojans who with Elymus and Aegestus had left Troy before them and who, being favoured by both fortune and the wind, and at the same time being not overburdened with baggage, had made a quick passage to Sicily and were settled near the river Crimisus in the country of the Sicanians. For the latter had bestowed the land upon them out of friendship because of their kinship to Aegestus, who had been born and reared in Sicily owing to the following circumstance. One of his ancestors, a distinguished man of Trojan birth, became at odds with Laomedon and the king seized him on some charge or other and put him to death, together with all his male children, lest he should suffer some mischief at their hands. But thinking it unseemly to put the man's daughters to death, as they were still maidens, and at the same time unsafe to permit them to live among the Trojans, he delivered them to some merchants, with orders to carry them as far away as possible. They were accompanied on the voyage by a youth of distinguished family, who was in love with one of them; and he married the girl when she arrived in

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS











 ảvסрáбı фı入офроvєīтаí $\tau \epsilon$ av̉тоùs каi катабкєvá－ らєтal aủzoîs mó入єıs Ai้ $\gamma \in \sigma \tau \alpha \nu$ каi＂E $E \nu \mu \alpha{ }^{1}$ каí







 o้ $\chi \lambda о \nu \epsilon \in \kappa \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \kappa \epsilon \kappa \alpha \nu \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu \nu \epsilon \omega ิ \nu$ ảvá $\gamma \kappa \eta$ ката－ $\lambda \iota \pi \omega \dot{\nu}$ ．

${ }^{1}$ The incident here mentioned does not seem to be recorded by any other extant writer．The sacking of the Trojan cities was described in the lost Cypria．
${ }^{2}$ Called Segesta by the Romans．
${ }^{3}$ Some of the early editors proposed to read Eryx for Elyma here and for Elymus in the next chapter，but later editors have retained the readings of the MSS．Neither

Sicily. And during their stay among the Sicels they had a son, named Aegestus, who learned the manners and language of the inhabitants; but after the death of his parents, Priam being then king of Troy, he obtained leave to return home. And having assisted Priam in the war against the Achaeans, he then, when the city was about to be taken, sailed back again to Sicily, being accompanied in his flight by Elymus with the three ships which Achilles had had with him when he plundered the Trojan cities and had lost when they struck on some hidden rocks. ${ }^{1}$ Aeneas, meeting with the men just named, showed them great kindness and built cities for them, Aegesta ${ }^{2}$ and Elyma, ${ }^{3}$ and even left some part of his army in these towns. It is my own surmise that he did this by deliberate choice, to the end that those who were worn out by hardships or otherwise irked by the sea might enjoy rest and a safe retreat. But some writers say that the loss of part of his fleet, which was set on fire by some of the women, who were dissatisfied with their wandering, obliged him to leave behind the people who belonged to the burned ships and for that reason could sail no longer with their companions.

Elyma nor Elymus is found anywhere else as the name of a city or mountain in Sicily, though Silius Italicus (Pun. xiv. 46 ff.) seems to state that both Acestes and Halymus (his names for the two Trojans) built cities named after themselves. There can be little doubt that Eryx, with the neighbouring mountain famous for its altar or temple of Aphroditê, was the place really meant ; and it seems strange that Dionysius should have failed to make the identification, especially as he often gives both the earlier and later names of a place.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 oavtos Aiveiou тर̂ $\mu \eta \tau \rho i$, тò $\delta$ è $i \in \rho o ̀ \nu ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ v i \pi o \lambda \epsilon \iota-~$




















 Aiveiov $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \tau a l ~ \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a l, \dot{\eta}$ סє̀ $\tau \rho \circ$ фós. $\tau \epsilon \lambda \in v \tau \hat{\omega} \nu-$

[^85]LIII. There are many proofs of the coming of Aeneas and the Trojans to Sicily, but the most notable are the altar of Aphroditê Aeneias erected on the summit of Elymus and a temple erected to Aeneas in Aegesta; the former was built by Aeneas himself in his mother's honour, but the temple was an offering made by those of the expedition who remained behind to the memory of their deliverer. The Trojans with Elymus and Aegestus, then, remained in these parts and continued to be called Elymians; for Elymus was the first in dignity, as being of the royal family, and from him they all took their name. But Aencas and his companions, leaving Sicily, crossed the Tyrrhenian sea and first came to anchor in Italy in the harbour of Palinurus, which is said to have got this name from one of the pilots of Aeneas who died there. After that they put in at an island which they called Leucosia, from a woman cousin of Aeneas who died at that place. From there they came into a deep and excellent harbour of the Opicans, and when here also one of their number died, a prominent man named Misenus, they called the harbour after him. Then, putting in by chance at the island of Prochyta and at the promontory of Caieta, they named these places in the same manner, desiring that they should serve as memorials of women who died there, one of whom is said to have been a cousin of Aeneas and the other his nurse. At last they arrived at

[^86]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 тoùs тє́ттараs $\sigma \tau \alpha \delta i o v s$.



 каi 'A $\gamma \chi$ íбоv $\gamma \in \nu o ́ \mu \in \nu о \nu$, oi $\delta$ ' 'Aбка́vıov тò Aiveiov, oi $\delta^{\prime}$ ă $\lambda \lambda$ lovs $\tau \iota v a ́ s . ~ \epsilon i \sigma i ~ \delta ' ~ o i ̂ ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \epsilon ' \xi ~$ 'Aфpoঠítทs Aivєiav $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma o v \sigma \iota ~ к а т а \sigma т \eta ́ \sigma \alpha \nu \tau а ~ т o ̀ \nu ~$







 є́кєivov $\gamma \epsilon \nu \eta \sigma o \mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota 申 a ́ v \epsilon \iota a \nu ~ \hat{\omega} \delta \epsilon ́ ~ \pi \omega s . ~$

$\kappa \alpha i ̀ \pi a i ̂ \delta \epsilon s ~ \pi \alpha i ̂ \partial \omega \nu$, тoí $\kappa \in \nu \mu \epsilon \tau o ́ \pi \iota \sigma \theta \in \gamma \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu \tau \alpha l$.


 $\delta \grave{\eta} \nu$ тô̂ Aiveiov à $\nu \epsilon ́ \pi \lambda a \sigma a \nu . ~ a ̈ \rho \chi \epsilon \iota \nu ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \delta \grave{\eta} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$


${ }^{1} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ added by Pflugk.

Laurentum in Italy, where, coming to the end of their wandering, they made an entrenched camp, and the place where they encamped has from that time been called Troy. It is distant from the sea about four stades.

It was necessary for me to relate these things and to make this digression, since some historians affirm that Aeneas did not even come into Italy with the Trojans, and some that it was another Aeneas, not the son of Anchises and Aphroditê, while yet others say that it was Ascanius, Aeneas' son, and others name still other persons. And there are those who claim that Aeneas, the son of Aphroditê, after he had settled his company in Italy, returned home, reigned over Troy, and dying, left his kingdom to Ascanius, his son, whose posterity possessed it for a long time. According to my conjecture these writers are deceived by mistaking the sense of Homer's verses. For in the Iliad he represents Poseidon as foretelling the future splendour of Aeneas and ${ }^{\text {iis }}$ posterity on this wise :
"On great Aeneas shall devolve the reign,
And sons succeeding sons the lasting line sustain." ${ }^{1}$ Thus, as they supposed that Homer knew these men reigned in Phrygia, they invented the return of Aeneas, as if it were not possible for them to reign over Trojans while living in Italy. But it was not impossible for Aeneas to reign over the Trojans he had taken with him, even though they were settled
${ }^{1}$ Iliad xx. 307 f . (Pope's translation).


## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 aitias $\lambda \alpha \beta \in i v$.
LIV. Ei $\delta \epsilon ́ \tau \iota \nu a s ~ \tau \alpha \rho a ́ \tau \tau \epsilon \iota ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \pi o \lambda \lambda а \chi \hat{\eta} \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \in \sigma \theta a i ́$ $\tau \epsilon$ каi $\delta \epsilon i ́ \kappa v v \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau a ́ \phi o v s ~ A i v \epsilon i ́ o v, ~ a ̉ \mu \eta \chi a ́ v o v ~ o ̋ v \tau о s ~$





 $\lambda \epsilon i ́ a \iota s ~ \tau \iota \sigma i ~ \delta i ̀ ~ a v ̉ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \gamma \epsilon \nu o \mu e ́ v \omega \nu, ~ \mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a ~ \epsilon i ~ \tau o v ̂ ~$


 $\mu \epsilon ̀ v ~ \gamma \grave{a} \rho$ тò $\mu \eta ̀ ~ \pi a \sigma \sigma v \delta i ~ \delta \iota a \phi \theta a \rho \eta ̂ \nu a \iota ~ к а \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \tau \grave{\eta \nu}$








 $3 \mu \nu \eta \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \sigma \kappa \in v a i ̂ s ~ \pi o \lambda \lambda a \chi \hat{\eta}$. Є̇тєi фє́pє тivas


[^87]
## BOOK I. 53, 5-54, 3

in another country. However, other reasons also might be given for this error.
LIV. But if it creates a difficulty for any that tombs of Aeneas are both said to exist, and are actually shown, in many places, whereas it is impossible for the same person to be buried in more than one place, let them consider that this difficulty arises in the case of many other men, too, particularly men who have had remarkable fortunes and led wandering lives; and let them know that, though only one place received their bodies, yet their monuments were erected among many peoples through the gratitude of those who had received some benefits from them, particularly if any of their race still survived or if any city had been built by them or if their residence among any people had been long and distinguished by great humanity-just such things, in fact, as we know are related of this hero. For he preserved Ilium from utter destruction at the time of its capture and sent away the Trojan allies safe to Bebrycia, ${ }^{1}$ he left his son Ascanius as king in Phrygia, built a city named after himself in Pallenê, married off his daughters in Arcadia, left part of his army in Sicily, and during his residence in many other places had the reputation of conducting himself with great humanity; thus he gained the voluntary affection of those people and accordingly after he left this mortal life he was honoured with heroshrines and monuments erected to him in many places. What reasons, pray, could anyone assigu for
${ }^{1}$ Bebrycia was an early name for the district about Lampsacus on the Hellespont. The incident here mentioned is otherwise unknown.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 $\delta \eta \lambda \omega \theta \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota \dot{\alpha} \pi \alpha \iota \tau \hat{\eta}$.
LV. Tồ $\delta \dot{\epsilon} \mu \eta \kappa \in ́ \tau \iota ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \omega \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega ~ \tau \eta ̂ s ~ E v ̉ \rho \omega ́ \pi \eta \eta s$ $\pi \lambda \epsilon \hat{\sigma} \sigma a \iota ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ T \rho \omega \iota \kappa o ̀ v ~ \sigma \tau o ́ \lambda o \nu ~ o i ̀ ~ \tau \epsilon ~ \chi \rho \eta \sigma \mu о i ~ a i ̈ \tau \iota o \iota ~$

 $\dot{\epsilon} \nu \delta \epsilon \iota \kappa \nu \cup ̛ \mu \epsilon \nu \circ \nu \cdot \epsilon ̇ \pi \epsilon \iota \delta \grave{\eta} \gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho$ ö $\rho \mu \omega \quad \chi \rho \eta \sigma \alpha ́ \mu \epsilon \nu 0 \iota \tau \hat{\omega}$


 є่ $\gamma \chi \omega \rho i(\omega \nu \pi \alpha \rho \epsilon ́ \lambda a \beta o v) ~ \lambda \iota \beta a ́ \delta \epsilon s ~ a u ̉ \tau o ́ \mu a \tau o \iota ~ v a ́ \mu a \tau о s ~$
 бтратià $\pi \hat{\alpha} \sigma \alpha$ v́ठ $\rho \epsilon$ v́бато каi ó то́тоs $\pi \epsilon \rho i \rho \rho v т о s$






 Aiveíav $\mu \nu$ Өо入oүov̂бı $\pi \rho \omega ́ \tau \eta \nu ~ \theta v \sigma i ́ a \nu ~ \pi о \iota \eta ́ \sigma a \sigma \theta a \iota ~$




 180

## BOOK I. 54, 3-55, 3

his monuments in Italy if he never reigned in these parts or resided in them or if he was entirely unknown to the inhabitants? But this point shall be again discussed, according as my narrative shall from time to time require it to be made clear.
LV. The failure of the Trojan fleet to sail any fartber into Europe was due both to the oracles which reached their fulfilment in those parts and to the divine power which revealed its will in many ways. For while their flect lay at anchor off Laurentum and they had set up their tents near the shore, in the first place, when the men were oppressed with thirst and there was no water in the place (what I say I had from the inhabitants), springs of the sweetest water were seen rising out of the earth spontaneously, of which all the army drank and the place was flooded as the stream ran down to the sea from the springs. To-day, however, the springs are no longer so full as to overflow, but there is just a little water collected in a hollow place, and the inhabitants say it is sacred to the Sun; and near it two altars are pointed out, one facing to the east, the other to the west, both of them Trojan structures, upon which, the story goes, Aeneas offered up his first sacrifice to the god as a thank-offering for the water. After that, while they were taking their repast upon the ground, many of them strewed parsley under their food to serve as a table; but others say that they thus used wheaten cakes, in order to keep their victuals clean. When all the

[^88]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS














 $\mu a ́ \theta \omega \sigma \iota \quad \gamma \epsilon \nu o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu \circ \nu$, $\mathfrak{\eta} \gamma \epsilon \mu$ óva $\tau \epsilon \tau \rho a ́ \pi о \delta \alpha$ тоьךбанє́-




${ }^{1}$ ย̇v тои́т $\omega$ Reiske: тои́т B , тоиิто R.
${ }^{2}$ ' $\rho v \theta \rho a i ̂ s ~ A: ~ \epsilon ं \rho v \theta \rho a ̂ ~ B, ~ J a c o b y . ~$
${ }^{3} \chi \omega$ pi $\omega$ Portus: $\sigma \chi \in \sigma^{\prime} \omega$ AB; $\sigma \chi \in \delta o ̀ v$ Sylburg, $\sigma \chi \in \delta i \omega \omega$ Steph., $\sigma \pi \eta \lambda \alpha i \not \omega$ Reiske, $\chi \rho \eta \sigma \tau \eta \rho i \not \omega$ Sintenis, $\pi \epsilon \delta_{i} \dot{\omega}$ Schaller, Є́ $\chi \cup \rho \hat{\omega}$ Meutzner, $\chi \epsilon ́ \rho \sigma \omega$ Jacoby.


[^89]
## BOOK I. 55, 3-5

victuals that were laid before them were consumed, first one of them ate of the parsley, or cakes, that were placed underneath, and then another. Thereupon one of Aeneas' sons, as the story goes, or some other of his messmates, happened to exclaim, "Look you, at last we have eaten even the table." As soon as they heard this, they all cried out with joy that the first part of the oracle was now fulfilled. For a certain oracle had been delivered to them, as some say, in Dodona, ${ }^{1}$ but, according to others, in Erythrae, a place ${ }^{2}$ on Mount Ida. where lived a Sibyl of that country, a prophetic nymph, who ordered them to sail westward till they came to a place where they should eat their tables; and that, when they found this had happened, they should follow a four-footed beast as their guide, and wherever the animal grew wearied, there they should build a city. Calling to mind, then, this prophecy, some at the command of Aeneas brought the images of the gods out of the ship to the place appointed by him, others prepared
of any Erythrae near Ida; conjectures as to the meaning of the following word vary from " near " to " oracle" and "cave." For the two words together Jacoby reads "red land." If Erythrae is the correct reading here, it would seem that Dionysius confused the Sibyl of Marpessus in the Troad with the famous Sibyl of Erythrae in Ionia. With this exception, the story here related may be assumed to be approximately the original form of the legend, which would naturally represent Aeneas as receiving the oracle from the local Sibyl before setting out on his voyage; later, when her fame became eclipsed by that of the Erythraean Sibyl, her rôle in the legend may have been transferred to the latter. For a recent discussion of the Sibyls see Buchholz in Roscher's Lexikon der griech. und rom. Mythologie, s.v. Sibylla.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 $\mu i \zeta o v ~ \tau \grave{\alpha}$ i $\in \rho \alpha$, oi $\delta$ è ả $\mu \phi i$ тòv Aiveíav $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha-$
 тòv $\beta \omega \mu$ òv є̈ $\sigma \tau \eta \sigma \alpha \nu$.

























$$
{ }^{1} \text { ă้ } \omega \omega \text { Jacoby : ă } \nu \omega \text { Өa入áтrخs } \mathrm{O} \text {; ámò } \theta a \lambda a ́ \tau \tau \eta s \text { Kiessling. }
$$ 184

## BOOK I. 55, 5-56, 3

pedestals and altars for them, and the women with shouts and dancing accompanied the images. And Aeneas with his companions, when a sacrifice had been made ready, stood round the altar with the customary garlands on their heads.
LVI. While these were offering up their prayers, the sow which was the destined victim, being big with young and near her time, shook herself free as the priests were performing the initial rites, and fleeing from those who held her, ran back into the country. And Aeneas, understanding that this, then, was the four-footed beast the oracle indicated as their guide, followed the sow with a few of his people at a small distance, fearing lest, disturbed by her pursuers, she might be frightened from the course fate had appointed for her. And the sow, after going about twenty-four stades from the sea, ran up a hill and there, spent with weariness, she lay down. But Aeneas,-for the oracles seemed now to be fulfilled,-observing that the place was not only in a poor part of the land, but also at a distance from the sea, and that even the latter did not afford a safe anchorage, found himself in great perplexity whether they ought in obedience to the oracle to settle there, where they would lead a life of perpetual misery without enjoying any advantage, or ought to go farther in search of better land. While he was pondering thus and blaming the gods, on a sudden, they say, a voice came to him from the wood,-though the speaker was not to be seen,-commanding him to stay there and build a city immediately, and not, by giving way to the difficulty occasioned by his present opinion, just

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS







 $\mu \epsilon ่ \nu$ oủv $\epsilon_{\epsilon} \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \pi \alpha \rho o ́ v \tau \iota ~ к а \tau а \gamma \omega \gamma \eta ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon ้ \sigma \in \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~$


 $\mu a \theta o ́ v \tau a ~ \delta \grave{~ \tau o ̀ v ~ A i v e i ́ a v ~ к а i ~ v o \mu i ́ \sigma a v \tau a ~ \delta a u ı o ́ v ı o ́ v ~ \tau \iota ~}$


 тò $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau o ́ \pi \epsilon \delta о \nu^{3}$ катаßávть ov̋тє бîта $\pi \rho \circ \sigma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \gamma-$










${ }^{2}$ тò added by Bücheler.
 $A B$.
${ }^{4} \tau \hat{\varphi}$ added by Grasberger.

## 186

because he would be establishing his abode in a barren country, to reject his future good fortune, that was indeed all but actually present. For it was fated that, beginning with this sorry and, at first, small habitation, he should in the course of time acquire a spacious and fertile country, and that his children and posterity should possess a vast empire which should be prolonged for many ages. For the present, therefore, this settlement should be a refuge for the Trojans, but, after as many years as the sow should bring forth young ones, another city, large and flourishing, should be built by his posterity. It is said that Aeneas, hearing this and looking upon the voice as something divine, did as the god commanded. But others say that while he was dismayed and had neglected himself in his grief, to such a degree that he neither came into the camp nor took any food, but spent that night just as he was, a great and wonderful vision of a dream appeared to him in the likeness of one of his country's gods and gave him the advice just before mentioned. Which of these accounts is the true one the gods only know. ${ }^{1}$ The next day, it is said, the sow brought forth thirty young ones, and just that many years later, in accordance with the oracle, another city was built by the Trojans, concerning which I shall speak in the proper place. ${ }^{2}$
${ }^{1}$ Virgil (Aen. viii. 42-48) represents the river-god Tiberinus as announcing the omen of the sow and her young to Aeneas and this omen is seen the very next day (vs. 81-85).
${ }^{2}$ Chap. 66.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS











 2 тарабкєvás. Матivщ $\delta$ '́, ôs गु̀ тóтє ßaбı入єús,


 бтатоs av̉тоv̂ үivєтal $\pi \hat{a} \sigma a$ ท̀ $\pi a \rho a ́ \lambda \iota o s ~ v i \pi \epsilon \rho о р i ́ \varphi ~, ~$





${ }^{1}$ xpuaòs Cobet: óxupòs AB. Cobet, in his Variae Lectiones, pp. 235 f., points out several passages in Greek authors where $\chi \rho v \sigma o ́ s$ has been similarly corrupted (among them Dionysius ix. 25, 1, where only Ba reads xpuaós, the others xpךaтós). The expression first appears in Euripides, Troades 431 ff .:
סójєє пот' єivau.

## BOOK I. 57, 1-3

LVII. Aeneas sacrificed the sow with her young to his household gods in the place where now stands the chapel, which the Lavinians look upon as sacred and preserve inaccessible to all but themselves. Then, having ordered the Trojans to remove their camp to the hill, he placed the images of the gods in the best part of it and immediately addressed himself to the building of the town with the greatest zeal. And making descents into the country round about, he took from there such things as were of use to him in building and the loss of which was likely to be the most grievous to the owners, such as iron, timber and agricultural implements. But Latinus, the king of the country at that time, who was at war with a neighbouring people called the Rutulians and had fought some battles with ill success, received an account of what had passed in the most alarming form, to the effect that all his coast was being laid waste by a foreign army and that, if he did not immediately put a stop to their depredations, the war with his neighbours would seem to him a joy ${ }^{1}$ in comparison. Latinus was struck with fear at this news, and immediately abandoning the war in which he was then engaged, he marched against the Trojans with a great army. But
${ }^{1}$ Literally "gold." This expression seems to have become proverbial in comparisons between a lesser and a greater evil. See critical note.

[^90]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

$\dot{\omega} \pi \lambda \iota \sigma \mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \tau \epsilon \dot{\omega}{ }^{\circ}{ }^{\circ} E \lambda \lambda \eta \nu a s$ каi $\grave{\epsilon} \nu \tau a ́ \xi \epsilon \iota \epsilon \dot{\kappa} \kappa o ́ \sigma \mu \omega$






 4 є่ $\gamma \epsilon ́ v \epsilon \tau \sigma$. av̉ $\lambda \iota \sigma a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu 0 s^{4} \delta \grave{\epsilon} \delta \iota a ̀ \nu v \kappa \tau o ̀ s ~ a v ̉ \tau o ́ \theta \iota ~ \gamma \nu \omega ́ \mu \eta \nu$












入órous. каi є่ $\gamma$ '́vєто тоиิто.




${ }^{1}$ Madvig: $\chi \epsilon \iota \rho \omega \sigma o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s$ O.
${ }^{2} \kappa \alpha \theta^{\prime} \eta_{\nu} \mathrm{O}$ : $\hat{\eta}_{\nu}$ Kiessling, Jacoby.
${ }^{8}$ ठıávoıav Reiske : doav ABa, סógav Bb.
${ }^{4}$ Steph. : av̉丸ıбадévoıs AB.
seeing them armed like Greeks, drawn up in good order and resolutely awaiting the conflict, he gave up the idea of hazarding an immediate engagement, since he saw no probability now of defeating them at the first onset, as he had expected when he set out from home against them. And encamping on a hill, he thought he ought first to let his troops recover from their present fatigue, which from the length of the march and the eagerness of the pursuit was very great; and passing the night there, he was resolving to engage the enemy at break of day. But when he had reached this decision, a certain divinity of the place appeared to him in his sleep and bade him receive the Greeks into his land to dwell with his own subjects, adding that their coming was a great advantage to him and a benefit to all the Aborigines alike. And the same night Aeneas' household gods appeared to him and admonished him to persuade Latinus to grant them of his own accord a settlement in the part of the country they desired and to treat the Greek forces rather as allies than as enemies. Thus the dream hindered both of them from beginning an engagement. And as soon as it was day and the armies were drawn up in order of battle, heralds came to each of the commanders from the other with the same request, that they should meet for a parley; and so it came to pass.
LVIII. And first Latinus complained of the sudden war which they had made upon his subjects without any previous declaration and demanded that Aeneas tell him who he was and what he meant by plundering the country without any provocation, since he

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 то入є́ $\mu$ оv $\pi$ âs ó $\pi \rho о \pi a \theta \dot{\omega} \nu ~ \grave{a} \mu v ́ v \epsilon \tau \alpha l \cdot \pi a \rho a \sigma \chi o ́ v ~ \tau \epsilon$






 $\theta \epsilon ́ \nu \tau \epsilon s$ ن́ $\pi^{\prime}$ ' $A \chi \alpha \iota \omega \hat{\omega} \delta \epsilon \kappa \alpha \epsilon \tau \epsilon \hat{\imath} \pi о \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu \omega$ Х $\chi \iota \rho \omega \theta \epsilon \hat{\iota} \sigma \alpha \nu$,







 $\mu a \tau \alpha$ каi $\psi v \chi \grave{\alpha} s \epsilon \underset{u}{ } \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau \grave{a} \delta \epsilon \iota \nu a ̀ ~ \pi \epsilon \pi a \imath \delta \epsilon v \mu \epsilon ́ v a s$




 192

## BOOK I. 58. 1-3

could not be ignorant that every one who is attacked in war defends himself against the aggressor; and he complained that when Aeneas might have obtained amicably and with the consent of the inhabitants whatever he could reasonably desire, he had chosen to take it by force, contrary to the universal sense of justice and with greater dishonour than credit to himself. After he had spoken thus Aeneas answered: "We are natives of Troy, not the least famous city among the Greeks; but since this has been captured and taken from us by the Achaeans after a ten-years' war, we have been wanderers, roving about for want both of a city and a country where we may henceforth live, and are come hither in obedience to the commands of the gods; and this land alone, as the oracles tell us, is left for us as the haven of our wandering. We are indeed taking from the country the things we need, with greater regard to our unfortunate situation than to pro-priety,-a course which until recently we by no means wished to pursue. But we will make compensation for them with many good services in return, offering you our bodies and our minds, well disciplined against dangers, to employ as you think proper in keeping your country free from the ravages of enemies and in heartily assisting you to conquer their lands. We humbly entreat you not to resent what we have done, realizing, as you must, that we did it, not out of wantonness, but constrained by

[^91]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS






 ov̉ $\gamma a ̀ \rho$ äv vv̂v $\pi \rho \omega ́ \tau o v^{2}$ ov̉סє́ $\mu \epsilon \gamma i ́ \sigma \tau o v ~ \pi o \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu о v ~$

 єข้voıáv $\tau \epsilon \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a ̈ \pi \alpha \nu ~ \tau o ̀ ~ ' E \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota \kappa o ̀ \nu ~ \gamma \epsilon ́ v o s ~ Є ้ \chi \omega ~$






入aßєiv, aî фu入áछovaıv ท̂ $\mu i ̂ v ~ a ́ \delta o ́ \lambda o v s ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ o ́ \mu o \lambda o \gamma i ́ a s . " ~ " ~$
LIX. Aiveíov $\delta \grave{\epsilon}$ є́ $\pi a \imath \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma a \nu \tau o s ~ \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \lambda \epsilon \gamma o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu a ~ \gamma i-~$





${ }^{2}$ Sylburg : $\pi \rho \bar{\omega} \tau \circ \nu$ O.
${ }^{3} \epsilon \phi^{\prime}$ Kiessling : $\dot{v} \phi$ ' O .

[^92]
## BOOK I. 58, 4-59, 1

necessity: and everything that is involuntary deserves forgiveness. ${ }^{1}$ And you ought not to take any hostile resolution concerning us as we stretch forth our hands to you; but if you do so, we will first beg the gods and divinities who possess this land to forgive us even for what we do under the constraint of necessity and will then endeavour to defend ourselves against you who are the aggressors in the war; for this will not be the first nor the greatest war that we have experienced." When Latinus heard this he answered him : "Nay, but I cherish a kindly feeling towards the whole Greek race and am greatly grieved by the inevitable calamities of mankind. And I should be very solicitous for your safety if it were clear to me that you have come here in search of a habitation and that, contented with a suitable share of the land and enjoying in a spirit of friendship what shall be given you, you will not endeavour to deprive me of the sovereignty by force; and if the assurances you give me are real, I desire to give and receive pledges which will preserve our compact inviolate."
LIX. Aeneas having accepted this proposal, a treaty was made between the two nations and confirmed by oaths to this effect : the Aborigines were to grant to the Trojans as much land as they desired, that is, the space of about forty stades in every direction from the hill ; the Trojans, on their part,
older historian. He believes, rather, that the source of both was a verse of some poet, probably छú $\gamma \gamma \mathrm{v} \omega \mu$ óv $^{\prime} \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \tau^{\prime}$ u- ámav тáкоv́aov. The same sentiment, though not expressed in exactly the same words, is met with in Thuc. iv. 98, 6, Plato, Phaedrus 233c, and Aristotle, Eth. Nicom. iii. 1,1 .

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 $\tau \grave{\alpha} \kappa \rho \alpha ́ \tau \iota \sigma \tau \alpha$ vinধ̀ $\rho \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \eta ́ \lambda \omega \nu \pi \rho a ́ \tau \tau \epsilon \iota \nu$ каi $\chi \epsilon \iota \rho i$ каi


 $\pi \alpha ́ v \tau \alpha \quad \chi \epsilon \iota \rho \omega \sigma \alpha ́ \mu \epsilon \nu \circ \iota \pi \alpha \rho \hat{\eta} \sigma \alpha \nu$ モ́ $\pi i$ тò $\pi o ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \mu \alpha$ тò





 $\Delta \eta \lambda i i_{\nu}{ }^{4} \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon ́ \omega s$ Ovjaтрós，Maovïvías каi $\tau \hat{\eta} \sigma \delta \epsilon$



 то仑 $\pi a \tau \rho o ̀ s ~ A i v \epsilon i ́ a ~ \delta \epsilon \eta \theta \epsilon ́ v \tau \iota ~ \mu a \nu \tau \iota \kappa \eta ̀ \nu ~ o v ̂ \sigma a v ~ к а i ~$
 ovïvió o $\eta \mu \epsilon i ̂ a ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ T \rho \omega \sigma i ~ \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a l ~ \tau o เ a ́ \delta \epsilon . ~ \pi v \rho o ́ s ~$




[^93]
## BOOK I. 59, 1-4

were to assist the Aborigines in the war they were then engaged in and also to join them with their forces upon every other occasion when summoned; and, mutually, both nations were to aid each other to the utmost of their power, both with their arms and with their counsel. After they had concluded this treaty and had given pledges by handing over children as hostages, they marched with joint forces against the cities of the Rutulians; and having soon subdued all opposition there, they came to the town of the Trojans, which was still but half-finished, and all working with a common zeal, they fortified the town with a wall. This town Aeneas called Lavinium, after the daughter of Latinus, according to the Romans' own account; for her name, they say, was Lavinia. But according to some of the Greek mythographers he named it after the daughter of Anius, the king of the Delians, who was also called Lavinia; for as she was the first to die of illness at the time of the building of the city and was buried in the place where she died, the city was made her memorial. She is said to have embarked with the Trojans after having been given by her father to Aeneas at his desire as a prophetess and a wise woman. While Lavinium was building, the following omens are said to have appeared to the Trojans. When a fire broke out spontaneously in the forest, a wolf, they say, brought some dry wood in his mouth and threw it upon the fire, and an eagle, flying thither, fanned the flame with the

[^94]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

$\tau \hat{\eta} \kappa \iota \nu \eta ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \tau \epsilon \rho u ́ \gamma \omega \nu \tau \eta ̀ \nu \quad \phi \lambda o ́ \gamma \alpha \cdot \tau 0 \cup ́ \tau o \iota s ~ \delta \epsilon ่$







 סє̀ тoîs $\pi \epsilon \in \lambda a s ~ a v j \xi ̇ o \mu \epsilon ́ v \eta ~ к а i ~ \lambda u \pi \eta \rho a ́, ~ к \rho a \tau \eta ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota ~ \delta ' ~$


 $\mu \eta \nu v ́ \mu \alpha \tau \alpha \lambda^{\prime} \gamma \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota \quad \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \in \sigma \theta \alpha \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma v \mu \beta \eta \sigma \circ \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu \tau \hat{\eta}$ $\pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota$, каi ${ }^{\prime \prime} \sigma \tau \iota \nu$ av̉ $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mu \nu \eta \mu \epsilon i ̂ a ~ \epsilon ่ v \tau \hat{\eta}$ ムaovïvıaт $\hat{\nu} \nu$
 хро́vov ठıат $р \rho о$ и́ $\mu \in \nu a$.









 $\pi \circ \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu \omega \nu^{3}$ à $\nu \alpha \kappa \epsilon p a \sigma \theta \epsilon ́ v \tau \epsilon S$, oi ${ }^{4} \sigma v ́ \mu \pi \alpha \nu \tau \epsilon S$ коו $\nu \hat{\eta}^{5}$
${ }^{1}$ ï $\sigma \in \nu$ ioxvpà Bb : í $\sigma \chi \nu \rho \dot{\mathrm{Ba}} \mathrm{Ba}$, ï $\sigma \chi \in \iota \mathrm{A}$.
${ }^{2} \tau \epsilon$ added by Kiessling.
${ }^{3} \pi о \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu \omega \nu \mathrm{Bb}: \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega \nu \mathrm{Ba}, \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega s \mathrm{~A}$.
motion of his wings. But working in opposition to these, a fox, after wetting his tail in the river, endeavoured to beat out the flames; and now those that were kindling it would prevail, and now the fox that was trying to put it out. But at last the two former got the upper hand, and the other went away, unable to do anything further. Aeneas, on observing this, said that the colony would become illustrious and an object of wonder and would gain the greatest renown, but that as it increased it would be envied by its neighbours and prove grievous to them; nevertheless, it would overcome its adversaries, the good fortune that it had received from Heaven being more powerful than the envy of men that would oppose it. These very clear indications are said to have been given of what was to happen to the city; of which there are monuments now standing in the forum of the Lavinians, in the form of bronze images of the animals, which have been preserved for a very long time.
LX. After the Trojans' city was built all were extremely desirous of enjoying the mutual benefit of their new alliance. And their kings setting the example, united the excellence of the two races, the native and the foreign, by ties of marriage. Latinus giving his daughter Lavinia to Aeneas. Thereupon the rest also conceived the same desire as their kings; and combining in a very brief time their customs, laws and religious ceremonies, forming ties through intermarriages and becoming mingled together in the wars they jointly waged,

[^95]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS







 'Aßорıүìvєs $\mu \hat{\epsilon} \nu \pi \rho \bar{\omega} \tau o \nu$, oî $\sum \iota \kappa \epsilon \lambda o v ̀ s ~ \epsilon ' \xi a \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau \eta \sigma \alpha \nu$ є́к тоv́т $\omega \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \chi \omega \rho i ́ \omega \nu,{ }^{\circ} E \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \epsilon s$ oैv $\nu \epsilon s$ тò à $\rho \chi \alpha i ̂ \nu$






 'Нраклєí $\sigma \tau \rho а \tau є v о \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu ~ П є \lambda о \pi о \nu \nu \eta \sigma i \omega \nu ~ ' E \pi \epsilon \iota o i ́$

 'İiov $\tau \epsilon$ каi $\Delta a \rho \delta \alpha ́ v o v ~ к \alpha i ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ a ̈ \lambda \lambda \omega \nu ~ T \rho \omega \iota \kappa \omega ̂ \nu ~$ $\pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega \nu$.









[^96]
## BOOK I. 60, 2-61, 1

and all calling themselves by the common name of Latins, after the king of the Aborigines, they adhered so firmly to their pact that no lapse of time has yet severed them from one another.

The nations, therefore, which came together and shared in a common life and from which the Roman people derived their origin before the city they now inhabit was built, are these : first, the Aborigines, who drove the Sicels out of these parts and were originally Greeks from the Peloponnesus, the same who with Oenotrus removed from the country now called Arcadia, according to my opinion; then, the Pelasgians, who came from Haemonia, as it was then called, but now Thessaly; third, those who came into Italy with Evander from the city of Pallantium ; after them the Epeans and Pheneats, who were part of the Peloponnesian army commanded by Hercules, with whom a Trojan element also was commingled; and, last of all, the Trojans who had escaped with Aeneas from Ilium, Dardanus and the other Trojan cities.
LXI. That the Trojans, too, were a nation as truly Greek as any and formerly came from the Peloponnesus has long since been asserted by some authors and shall be briefly related by me also. The account concerning them is as follows. Atlas was the first king of the country now called Arcadia, and he lived near the mountain called Thaumasius. ${ }^{1}$ He had seven daughters, who are said to be numbered

[^97]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 $2 \Delta$ áp $\delta a v o v$. "Ia⿱os $\mu \epsilon ̀ v$ oûv ク̉i $\theta$ єos $\mu \epsilon ́ v \epsilon \iota, \Delta a ́ p \delta a v o s$










 катабт $\eta \sigma \alpha ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \iota{ }^{2} \Delta \epsilon i ́ \mu \alpha \nu \tau \alpha$ тòv $\Delta a \rho \delta a ́ v o v$, oi $\delta \epsilon ̀$





 каi тóтоv, $\sum_{\alpha \mu \circ \theta \rho a ̨ ́ к \eta \nu ~ \tau o ̀ ~}^{\mu \epsilon ̇ \nu ~ \gamma a ̀ \rho ~ \chi \omega \rho i ́ o \nu ~ \tau \eta ̂ s ~}$


 ó Bios aưzoîs $\gamma \hat{\eta}$ тє $\lambda v \pi \rho a ̂$ кai $\theta a \lambda a ́ \tau \tau \eta$ ảypía
 àmavíqтavтaı $\pi a ́ \lambda \iota \nu$ oi $\pi \lambda \epsilon i o v s ~ \epsilon i s ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ ' A \sigma i a \nu ~$

> 1 oviroı Kiessling: oi (oî B) тò AB , ô̂ $\tau \omega \mathrm{Bb}$.
> ${ }^{2}$ Peiske : $\sigma \tau \eta \sigma a ́ \mu \in \nu o \iota \mathrm{O}$.

## BOOK I. 61. 1-4

now among the constellations under the name of the Pleiades; Zeus married one of these, Electra, and had by her two sons, Iasus and Dardanus. Iasus remained unmarried, but Dardanus married Chrysê, the daughter of Pallas, by whom he had two sons, Idaeus and Deimas; and these, succeeding Atlas in the kingdom, reigned for some time in Arcadia. Afterwards, a great deluge occurring throughout Arcadia, the plains were overflowed and for a long time could not be tilled; and the inhabitants, living upon the mountains and eking out a sorry livelihood, decided that the land remaining would not be sufficient for the support of them all, and so divided themselves into two groups, one of which remained in Arcadia, after making Deimas, the son of Dardanus, their king, while the other left the Peloponnesus on board a large fleet. And sailing along the coast of Europe, they came to a gulf called Melas and chanced to land on a certain island of Thrace, as to which I am unable to say whether it was previously inhabited or not. They called the island Samothrace, a name compounded of the name of a man and the name of a place. For it belongs to Thrace and its first settler was Samon, the son of Hermes and a nymph of Cyllenê, named Rhenê. Here they remained but a short time, since the life proved to be no easy one for them, forced to contend, as they were, with both a poor soil and a boisterous sea; but leaving some few of their people in the island, the greater part of them removed once more and went to Asia under Dardanus

[^98]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



















 $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \gamma \in \nu o ́ \mu \in \nu о \nu$ ' $E \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota \kappa o ́ v, \tau \omega \nu \tau \epsilon \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \beta \alpha \rho-$
 ท̉ є" $\rho \eta \mu$ оs.




 the form $\Xi_{u \pi \epsilon \tau a \iota \epsilon u ́ s}$ is questionable, even as a noun; elsewhere the word for an inhabitant of the deme $\Xi_{v \pi \epsilon} \boldsymbol{\tau} \eta$ (also spelled $\Xi_{v \pi \epsilon \tau \epsilon ́ a}$ or $\Xi_{v \pi \epsilon \tau a i a}$ ) is $\Xi_{v \pi \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota} \dot{v}$. The normal con-


## BOOK I. 61, 4-5

as leader of their colony (for Iasus had died in the island, being struck with a thunderbolt for desiring to have intercourse with Demeter), and disembarking in the strait now called the Hellespont, they settled in the region which was afterwards called Phrygia. Idaeus, the son of Dardanus, with part of the company occupied the mountains which are now called after him the Idaean mountains, and there built a temple to the Mother of the Gods and instituted mysteries and ceremonies which are observed to this day throughout all Phrygia. And Dardanus built a city named after himself in the region now called the Troad; the land was given to him by Teucer, the king, after whom the country was anciently called Teucris. Many authors, and particularly Phanodemus, who wrote about the ancient lore of Attica, ${ }^{1}$ say that Teucer had come into Asia from Attica, where he had been chief of the deme called Xypetê, and of this tale they offer many proofs. They add that, having possessed himself of a large and fertile country with but a small native population, he was glad to see Dardanus and the Greeks who came with him, both because be hoped for their assistance in his wars against the barbarians and because he desired that the land should not remain unoccupied.

[^99]in the parallel passage in Strabo xiii. 1, 78); other possible readings are $\Xi_{u \pi \epsilon \tau a i o ́ v o s, ~ i f ~ t h i s ~ f o r m ~ c a n ~ b e ~ u s e d ~ a s ~ a n ~}^{\text {a }}$ adjective, and Euteraías.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS







 $\nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau \eta ̂ S ~ \tau \epsilon \pi \alpha \tau \rho \not ̣ а я ~ к а i ~ \tau \eta ̂ S ~ \dot{v} \pi \grave{̀} \tau \hat{\varphi} \mu \eta \tau \rho о \pi \alpha ́-$







 $\chi \hat{\eta} \theta \in \nu \hat{\eta} \nu \nu \delta \epsilon \delta \eta \eta^{\prime} \lambda \omega \tau \alpha i ́ \mu o \iota$.









4 ĕapos Camerarius: $\theta$ épous O, Jacoby.
${ }^{1}$ This would be 1181 b.c. according to Dionysius, since Eratosthenes, whose chronology he follows (chap. 74, 2), placed the fall of Troy in 1183.

## BOOK I. 62, 1-63, 1

LXII. But the subject requires that I relate also how Aeneas was descended: this, too, I shall do briefly. Dardanus, after the death of Chrysê, the daughter of Pallas, by whom he had his first sons, married Bateia, the daughter of Teucer, and by her had Erichthonius, who is said to have been the most fortunate of all men, since he inherited both the kingdom of his father and that of his maternal grandfather. Of Erichthonius and Callirrhoê, the daughter of Scamander, was born Tros, from whom the nation has received its name ; of Tros and Acallaris, the daughter of Eumedes, Assaracus; of Assaracus and Clytodora, the daughter of Laomedon, Capys; of Capys and a Naiad nymph, Hieromnemê, Anchises; of Anchises and Aphroditê, Aeneas. Thus I have shown that the Trojan race, too, was originally Greek.
LXIII. Concerning the time when Lavinium was built there are various reports, but to me the most probable seems to be that which places it in the second year after the departure of the Trojans from Troy. ${ }^{1}$ For Ilium was taken at the end of the spring, seventeen days before the summer solstice, and the eighth from the end of the month Thargelion, ${ }^{2}$ according to the calendar of the Athenians; and

[^100]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSU̇S





 $\delta \epsilon ́ \xi \alpha \sigma \theta a \iota \tau \dot{\alpha} s \pi \alpha \rho \dot{\alpha} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{\alpha} \phi \epsilon \sigma \tau \eta \kappa о ́ \tau \omega \nu$ каі $\tau \dot{\alpha}$ öркєа

















 $\delta \in \delta \eta \dot{\eta} \lambda \omega \tau a i ́ \mu o \iota$.
LXIV. Aiveías $\delta є$ к̀ катабкєváбаs iєpoîs $\tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha i$



[^101]there still remained twenty days after the solstice to complete that year. During the thirty-seven days that followed the taking of the city I imagine the Achaeans were employed in regulating the affairs of the city, in receiving embassies from those who had withdrawn themselves, and in concluding a treaty with them. In the following year, which was the first after the taking of the city, the Trojans set sail about the autumnal equinox, crossed the Hellespont, and landing in Thrace, passed the winter season there, during which they received the fugitives who kept flocking to them and made the necessary preparations for their voyage. And leaving Thrace in the beginning of spring, they sailed as far as Sicily; when they had landed there that year came to an end, and they passed the second winter in assisting the Elymians to found their cities in Sicily. But as soon as conditions were favourable for navigation they set sail from the island, and crossing the Tyrrhenian sea, arrived at last at Laurentum on the coast of the Aborigines in the middle of the summer. And having received the ground from them, they founded Lavinium, thus bringing to an end the second year from the taking of Troy. With regard to these matters, then, I have thus shown my opinion.
LXIV. But ${ }^{1}$ when Aencas had sufficiently adorned the city with temples and other public buildings, of which the greatest part remained even to my day, to the initial word of a chapter or series of chapters in Dionysius.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 тov̂ $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ a ́ \sigma \tau v \gamma \epsilon i ́ \tau o v a s ~ \pi o \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu o v ~ \tau \eta ̂ s ~ \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta-~$








 $\gamma \in \nu о \mu e ́ v o v ~ к а i ~ \mu a ́ \chi \eta s ~ i o \chi v \rho a ̂ s ~ \Lambda a t i v o ́ s ~ \tau \epsilon ~ a ̉ \pi о-~$

 $\tau \eta े \nu$ vinò $\tau \hat{\varphi} \kappa \eta \delta \epsilon \sigma \tau \hat{\eta} \quad \gamma \in \nu 0 \mu \epsilon \in \nu \eta \nu$ á $\rho \chi \eta ̀ \nu$ Aivєías

 $4 \mu о \nu$. 'Ро́тодоí $\tau \epsilon \gamma$ à $\epsilon^{\epsilon} \kappa \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi$ то́入 $\epsilon \omega \nu$ бт $\rho a \tau \epsilon$ v́ov $\sigma \iota \nu$
${ }^{1}$ 'Auátas Cobet, 'A $A$ át $\eta s$ Steph. : ả ${ }^{\prime} i \tau a s$ O, Jacoby (and so just below).
 ${ }^{3}$ j̀ $\theta v$ eios B : ó $\theta v$ cious R .

[^102]
## BOOK I. 64, 1-4

the next year, which was the third after his departure from Troy, he reigned over the Trojans only. But in the fourth year, Latinus having died, he succeeded to his kingdom also, not only in consideration of his relationship to him by marriage, Lavinia being the heiress after the death of Latinus, but also because of his being commander in the war against the neighbouring tribes. For the Rutulians had again revolted from Latinus, choosing for their leader one of the deserters, named Tyrrhenus, ${ }^{1}$ who was a nephew of Amata, ${ }^{2}$ the wife of Latinus. This man, blaming Latinus in the matter of Lavinia's marriage, because he had ignored his kinsmen and allied his family with outsiders, and being goaded on by Amata and encouraged by others, had gone over to the Rutulians with the forces he commanded. War arose out of these complaints and in a sharp battle that ensued Latinus, Tyrrhenus and many others were slain; nevertheless, Aeneas and his people gained the victory. Thereupon Aeneas succeeded to the kingdom of his father-in-law; but when he had reigned three years after the death of Latinus, in the fourth he lost his life in battle. For the Rutulians marched out in full force from their cities against

Turnus nothing but a modified form of Tyrrhenus, may have preferred to use the normal form ; we have already met with a Tyrrhenus as the eponymous founder of the Tyrrhenian race (chaps. 27 f.). Yet for Turnus Herdonius (iv. 45,47 f.) Dionysius evidently used the spelling Tv́pros (corrupted to Túpoos in the MSS.).
${ }^{2}$ In the case of this name we may emend to Amata with little hesitation, since the form Amita (" paternal aunt '") is not appropriate as a proper name and is unlike any Greek name.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS











 $\chi$ Өovíov，ôs $\pi$ отано仑 Nou七кíov $\rho \in \hat{v} \mu a$


 тוov ov̉ $\mu \epsilon ́ \gamma a$ каi $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ av̉тò $\delta \in ́ v \delta \rho a ~ \sigma \tau о \iota \chi \eta \delta o ̀ v ~$ $\pi \epsilon ф$ vкóта Ө́áas ả乡ıa．

LXV．Aivєiov $\delta^{\prime}$ є́ $\xi$ ảv $\theta \rho \dot{\omega} \pi \omega \nu \quad \mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \sigma \tau \alpha ́ v \tau o s$







 $\pi$ одє $\mu$ iovs oi $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ тòv＇Aбкávıov • ̀̀s $\delta$＇ov̉ $\delta$ èv



## BOOK I. 64, 4-65, 2

him, and with them Mezentius, king of the Tyrrhenians, who thought his own country in danger; for he was troubled at seeing the Greek power already making rapid headway. A severe battle took place not far from Lavinium and many were slain on both sides, but when night eame on the armies separated; and when the body of Aeneas was nowhere to be seen, some concluded that it had been translated to the gods and others that it had perished in the river beside which the battle was fought. And the Latins built a hero-shrine to him with this inscription: "To the father and god of this place, ${ }^{1}$ who presides over the waters of the river Numicius." But there are some who say the shrine was erected by Aeneas in honour of Anchises, who died in the year before this war. It is a small mound, round which have been set out in regular rows trees that are well worth seeing.
LXV. Aeneas having departed this life about the seventh year after the taking of Troy, Euryleon, who in the flight had been renamed Ascanius, succeeded to the rule over the Latins. At this time the Trojans were undergoing a siege; the forces of the enemy were increasing daily, and the Latins were unable to assist those who were shut up in Lavinium. Aseanius and his men, therefore, first invited the enemy to a friendly and reasonable accommodation, but when no heed was paid to them, they were forced to allow their enemies to put an end to the war upon their own terms. When,
> ${ }^{1}$ Dionysius evidently uses $\chi$ Øóvos here to translate the Latin term indiges. Livy (i. 2, 6) does not specifically cite the inscription, but says Iovem Indigitem appellant.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 $\tau \epsilon$ ă $\lambda \lambda a$ wis $\delta \epsilon \delta o v \lambda \omega \mu \epsilon ́ v o \iota s ~ a ̉ \phi o ́ \rho \eta \tau а ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota \tau a ́ \sigma \sigma o v \tau o s ~$




 $\pi \rho \circ \theta v^{\mu} \mu \iota s$ à $\gamma \omega \nu \iota \sigma \tau a i ̂ s ~ \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ к а i ̀ ~ \theta \epsilon o ̀ ̀ s ~ a i \tau \eta \sigma \alpha ́-~$





 ท̂s $\dot{\eta} \gamma \epsilon i ̂ \tau o ~ M \epsilon \sigma \epsilon \nu \tau i o u ~ \pi a i ̂ s ~ \Lambda a v ̂ \sigma o s ~ o ̂ \nu o \mu a, ~ o u ̉ \delta \epsilon v o ̀ s ~$





 ย̇v vvктi кıvov $\mu \in ́ v \eta s ~ \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \iota a ̂ s, ~ \omega ่ s ~ a u ̉ \tau i ́ \kappa \alpha ~ \mu a ́ \lambda a ~ \tau \omega ̂ \nu ~$



 aủтоis ктєivovтєs каi $\delta \iota \omega ́ \kappa о \nu \tau \epsilon s$. $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta^{\prime}$ оủ ö ö $\pi \omega s$

[^103]
## B00K I. 65, 2-4

however, the king of the Tyrrhenians, among other intolerable conditions that he imposed upon them, as upon a people already become his slaves, commanded them to bring to the Tyrrhenians every year all the wine the country of the Latins produced, they looked upon this as a thing beyond all endurance, and following the advice of Ascanius, voted that the fruit of the vine should be sacred to Jupiter. Then, exhorting one another to prove their zeal and valour and praying the gods to assist them in their dangerous enterprise, they fixed upon a moonless night and sallied out of the city. And they immediately attacked that part of the enemy's rampart which lay nearest to the city and which, being designed as an advanced post to cover the rest of their forces, had been constructed in a strong position and was defended by the choicest youth of the Tyrrhenians, under the command of Lausus, the son of Mezentius; and their attack being unforeseen, they easily made themselves masters of the stronghold. While they were employed in taking this post, those of the enemy who were encamped on the plains, seeing an unusual light and hearing the cries of the men who were perishing, left the level country and were fleeing to the mountains. During this time there was great confusion and tumult, as was but natural with an army moving at night; for they expected the enemy would every moment fall upon them while they were withdrawing in disorder and with ranks broken. The Latins, after they had taken the fort by storm and learned that the rest of the army was in disorder, pressed after them, killing and pursuing. And not

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 ßov каì ả $\mu \eta \chi$ vías oi $\mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu \kappa \alpha \tau a ̀ ~ к \rho \eta \mu \nu \omega ̂ \nu ~ \phi \in \rho o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \iota$

 ả $\lambda \lambda \eta$ خ́dovs ảvà тò $\sigma \kappa o ́ \tau o s ~ o ̋ \sigma a ~ \pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu i o v s ~ \delta i \epsilon ́ ~ \theta \epsilon \sigma \alpha \nu, ~$

${ }_{5} M \epsilon \sigma \epsilon ́ v \tau \iota o s ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$ ov̀v ỏ入íyoıs $\lambda o ́ \phi o \nu ~ \tau \iota v a ̀ ~ к а \tau а \lambda а \beta \omega ́ \nu, ~$ $\epsilon ่ \pi \epsilon \iota \delta \grave{\eta}$ то̂̂ $\pi a \iota \delta o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \mu o ́ p o \nu ~ \epsilon ́ \pi v ́ \theta \epsilon \tau о ~ к а i ~ o ̈ \sigma o s ~$




 $\mu \in \mathcal{V}$ os $\dot{a} \pi \hat{\eta} \lambda \theta \epsilon \nu$ vimóбтov


LXVI. Tрıакобт $\hat{\varphi} \delta \dot{\epsilon}$ v̈бтєроע ${ }^{\prime \prime} \tau \epsilon \iota \mu \epsilon \tau \dot{\alpha} \tau \dot{\eta} \nu$









[^104]
## BOOK I. 65, 4-66, 1

only did none of the enemy attempt to turn and resist, but it was not even possible for them to know in what evil plight they were, and in their confusion and helplessness some were falling over precipices and perishing, while others were becoming entangled in blind ravines and were being taken prisoner; but most of them, failing to recognize their comrades in the dark, treated them as enemies, and the greatest part of their loss was due to their slaying of one another. Mezentius with a few of his men seized a hill, but when he learned of the fate of his son and of the numbers he had lost and discovered the nature of the place in which he had shut himself up, realizing that he was lacking in everything needful, he sent heralds to Lavinium to treat for peace. And since Ascanius advised the Latins to husband their good fortune, Mezentius obtained permission to retire under a truce with the forces he had left; and from that time, laying aside all his enmity with the Latins, he was their constant friend.
LXVI. In the thirtieth year ${ }^{1}$ after the founding of Lavinium Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, in pursuance of the oracle given to his father, built another city and transferred both the inhabitants of Lavinium and the other Latins who were desirous of a better habitation to this newly-built city, which he called Alba. Alba means in the Greek tongue Leukê or "White"; but for the sake of clearness it is distinguished from another city of the same name by the addition of an epithet descriptive of its shape,
${ }^{1} C f$. Livy i. 3, 3-4. According to Dionysius' reckoning (see p. 206, n. 1), Alba was founded in 1151 b.c.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS















 $\pi \epsilon \delta i ́ a$ Өavpaбтà $\mu \epsilon ̀ v ~ i \delta \epsilon i ̂ v, \pi \lambda o v ́ \sigma \iota a ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$ каi oïvovs


 $\tau \circ \hat{v} \Phi a \lambda \epsilon p i ́ v o v ~ \lambda \epsilon \gamma \circ \mu \epsilon ́ v o v ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \gamma o u ̂ v ~ a ̈ \lambda \lambda \omega \nu ~ a ́ \pi \alpha ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ ठıффорúzатоv.
 $\mu \epsilon ́ \gamma \iota \sigma \tau о \nu \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \in \sigma \theta a \iota$. катабкєvaбӨє́vтоs тоîs





[^105]
## BOOK I. 66, 1-67, 1

and its name is now, as it were, a compound, made up of the two terms, Alba Longa, that is Leukê Makra or "Long White (town)." This city is now uninhabited, since in the time of Tullus Hostilius, king of the Romans, Alba seemed to be contending with her colony for the sovereignty and hence was destroyed; but Rome, though she razed her mother-city to the ground, nevertheless welcomed its citizens into her midst. But these events belong to a later time. To return to its founding, Alba was built near a mountain and a lake, occupying the space between the two, which served the city in place of walls and rendered it difficult to be taken. For the mountain is extremely strong and high and the lake is deep and large; and its waters are received by the plain when the sluices are opened, the inhabitants having it in their power to husband the supply as much as they wish. Lying below the city are plains marvellous to behold and rich in producing wines and fruits of all sorts in no degree inferior to the rest of Italy, and particularly what they call the Alban wine, which is sweet and excellent and, with the exception of the Falernian, certainly superior to all others.
LXVII. While the city was building, a most remarkable prodigy is said to have occurred. A temple with an inner sanctuary had been built for the images of the gods which Aeneas had brought with him from the Troad and set up in Lavinium, and the statues had been removed from Lavinium to this

[^106]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 Ovaiais à $\rho \in \sigma \tau \eta p i o t s ~ \epsilon i s ~ т o ̀ ~ a u ̉ t o ̀ ~ \chi \omega p i o v ~ o ́ \mu o i ́ \omega s ~$






 av̇т $\hat{\nu}$ ढ̇к $\tau \hat{\eta} s$ "A



 Пєvátas ка入ov̂бıv oi $\delta$ ' є' $\epsilon \in \rho \mu \eta \nu \in$ v́ovtєs $\epsilon i s ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$
 фaívovaıv, oi $\delta \epsilon ̀ ~ \Gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \theta \lambda i ́ o u s, ~ \epsilon i \sigma i ~ \delta ' ~ o i ̂ ~ K \tau \eta \sigma i o u s, ~$



 каi $\mu о \rho \phi \hat{\eta} s$ aùт $\hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \in \rho \iota$ Típaıos $\mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ ó $\sigma v \gamma \gamma \rho a \phi \in \dot{v} s$

${ }^{1}$ Schwartz: ката́ O, Jacoby.


${ }^{3}$ Schwartz : áтофаivєтаı O, Jacoby.
${ }^{4}$ кпри́кєьа ABa : кпри́кьа Bb, Jacoby.
sanctuary ; but during the following night, although the doors were most carefully closed and the walls of the enclosure and the roof of the temple suffered no injury, the statues changed their station and were found upon their old pedestals. And after being brought back again from Lavinium with supplications and propitiatory sacrifices they returned in like manner to the same place. Upon this the people were for some time in doubt what they should do, being unwilling either to live apart from their ancestral gods or to return again to their deserted habitation. But at last they hit upon an expedient which promised to meet satisfactorily both these difficulties. This was to let the images remain where they were and to conduct men back from Alba to Lavinium to live there and take care of them. Those who were sent to Lavinium to have charge of their rites were six hundred in number; they removed thither with their entire households, and Aegestus was appointed their chief. As for these gods, the Romans call them Penates. Some who translate the name into the Greek language render it Patrôoi, others Genethlioi, some Ktêsioi, others Mychioi, and still others Herkeioi. ${ }^{1}$ Each of these seems to be giving them their name from some one of their attributes, and it is probable that they are all expressing more or less the same idea. Concerning their figure and appearance, Timaeus, the historian, makes the statement that the holy objects preserved
${ }^{1}$ These Greek terms, all adjectives in form, mean the gods, respectively, ( $a$ ) of the race, (b) of the family, (c) of house and property, (d) of the inner house, (e) of the front court.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 $\kappa \alpha i$ тoîs ä入入oเs, ő́оо $\pi \lambda \epsilon i \omega \omega ~ \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ \sigma v \gamma \chi \omega \rho о \nu \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu$








 Є’Xovoaı $\delta \eta \lambda o v ̂ \sigma a \nu ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \Pi \epsilon v a ́ \tau a s . ~ . ~ \epsilon i \sigma i ~ \delta e ̀ ~ v \epsilon a v i ́ a \iota ~$
${ }^{1}$ oũ̃є O : oủסढ̀ Sauppe.

${ }^{3}$ Kapivas Steph.: kaıpávas AB.





 in my opinion, the letter $\theta$ being not yet discovered, the ancients expressed its force by the letter $\delta$ "), which Ambrosch deleted as the comment of an early scribe. He argues that the text of Dionysius originally read eikóves
 $\delta \eta \lambda o u ̂ a \alpha$ toùs $\Pi$ evátas, that the Latin words became corrupted into $\triangle E M A \Sigma$ (so in A) and $\triangle E M I \Sigma$, and that the second form, taken for a variant of $\theta$ é $\mu$ s, inspired the scribe's remark. Inserted later in the text, $\theta$ épls called for the addition of as. But Ambrosch admits that this would 222

## BOOK I. 67, 4-68, 2

in the sanctuary at Lavinium are iron and bronze caducei or "heralds" wands," and a Trojan earthenware vessel ; this, he says, he himself learned from the inhabitants. ${ }^{1}$ For my part, I believe that in the case of those things which it is not lawful for all to see I ought neither to hear about them from those who do see them nor to describe them; and I am indignant with every one else, too, who presumes to inquire into or to know more than what is permitted by law.
LXVIII. But the things which I myself know by having seen them and concerning which no scruple forbids me to write are as follows. They show you in Rome a temple ${ }^{2}$ built not far from the Forum in the short street that leads to the Carinae; it is a small shrine, and is darkened by the height of the adjacent buildings. The place is called in the native speech Velia. In this temple there are images of the Trojan gods which it is lawful for all to see, with an inscription showing them to be the Penates.
${ }^{1}$ Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. i. 197, 20. For Timaeus see p. 19, n. 2.
${ }^{2}$ The aedes deum Penatium in Velia (Livy xlv. 16, 5 ; Mon. Ancyr. iv. 7; Varro, de Ling. Lat. v. 54). The statues really represented the Dioscuri, but had long been identified with the Penates. Servius (on Aen. iii. 12), citing Varro, says that on the base of the statues was the inscription MAGNIS Dils; but there was probably more to the inscription, including penatibvs.

[^107]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS










 $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ Пá入入аvтos Өvүaтє́ $\rho a \quad \gamma \eta \mu a \mu \epsilon ́ v \eta \nu \quad \triangle a \rho \delta \alpha ́ v \omega$ $\phi \epsilon \rho \nu a ̀ s ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \epsilon \nu \epsilon ́ \gamma \kappa \alpha \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \delta \omega \rho \epsilon a ̀ s ~ ’ A \theta \eta \nu a ̂ s ~ \tau \alpha ́ ~ \tau \epsilon ~ П a \lambda-$ $\lambda a ́ \delta \iota a$ каi $\tau \grave{\alpha}$ i $\epsilon \rho a ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda \omega \nu \quad \theta \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \delta \iota \delta \alpha \chi \theta \epsilon \hat{\imath} \sigma \alpha \nu$


 $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \sigma \kappa \epsilon v a ́ \sigma \alpha \iota ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \triangle a ́ p \delta a \nu o v ~ \epsilon ' v \tau \alpha \hat{v} \theta a ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \theta \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu$









$$
{ }^{1} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \text { added by Reiske. }
$$

[^108]They are two seated youths holding spears, and are pieces of ancient workmanship. We have seen many other statues also of these gods in ancient temples and in all of them are represented two youths in military garb. These it is permitted to see, and it is also permitted to hear and to write about them what Callistratus, ${ }^{1}$ the author of the history of Samothrace, relates, and also Satyrus, who collected the ancient legends, and many others, too, among whom the poet Arctinus is the earliest we know of. At any rate, the following is the account they give. Chrysê, the daughter of Pallas, when she was married to Dardanus, brought for her dowry the gifts of Athena, that is, the Palladia and the sacred symbols of the Great Gods, in whose mysteries she had been instructed. When the Arcadians, fleeing from the deluge, ${ }^{2}$ left the Peloponnesus and established their abode in the Thracian island, ${ }^{3}$ Dardanus built there a temple to these gods, whose particular names be kept secret from all others, and performed the mysteries in their honour which are observed to this day by the Samothracians. Then, when he was conducting the greater part of the people into Asia, he left the sacred rites and mysteries of the gods with those who remained in the island, but packed up and carried with him the Palladia and the images of the gods. And upon consulting the oracle concerning the place

Satyrus is unknown, but was probably not the same as the biographer of that name. Arctinus was regarded in later times as the author of two of the poems in the Epic Cycle, the Aethiopis and the Iliou Persis; but classical writers cited the poems anonymously.

[^109]${ }^{3}$ Samothrace.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 $\lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon i ̀ v$.














 á $\delta v ́ \tau \omega \nu \tau \alpha ́ \quad \tau \epsilon$ i $\epsilon \rho \dot{\alpha} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \mu \epsilon \gamma \alpha ́ \lambda \omega \nu \quad \theta \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu$ каi ő $\pi \epsilon \rho$
 $\Delta \iota \rho \mu \delta^{\delta} \eta \nu$ vvктós фа⿱ı兀 єis "İıov àфıконє́vovs






$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{8} \text { Cobet: } \dot{v} \mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon ́ \rho a \nu \text { O. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## BOOK I. 68, 4-69. 3

where he should settle, among other things that he learned he received this answer relating to the custody of the holy objects :
" In the town thou buildest worship undying found To gods ancestral ; guard them, sacrifice, Adore with choirs. For whilst these holy things In thy land remain, Zeus' daughter's gifts of old Bestowed upon thy spouse, secure from harm Thy city shall abide forevermore."
LXIX. Dardanus, accordingly, left the statues in the city which he founded and named after himself, but when Ilium was settled later, they were removed thither by his descendants; and the people of Ilium built a temple and a sanctuary for them upon the citadel and preserved them with all possible care, looking upon them as sent from Heaven and as pledges of the city's safety. And while the lower town was being captured. Aeneas, possessing himself of the citadel, took out of the sanctuary the images of the Great Gods and the Palladium which still remained (for Odysseus and Diomed, they say, when they came into Ilium by night, had stolen the other away), and carrying them with him out of the city, brought them into Italy. Arctinus, however, says that only one Palladium was given by Zeus to Dardanus and that this remained in Ilium, hidden in the sanctuary, till the city was being taken; but that from this a copy was made, differing

[^110]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 4 тà $\mu$ èv oûv єis＇Ita入íav ữ＇Aiveiov ко $\mu \iota \theta$ ย́́vта
 $\tau \epsilon \mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda \omega \nu$ $\theta \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu$ єiккóvas єîval，ov̂s $\Sigma a \mu o \theta \rho a ̂ k \epsilon s$
 Пa入入ádıov，ö фа⿱ı兀 $\tau \alpha ̀ s ~ i \epsilon \rho a ̀ s ~ \phi u \lambda a ́ \tau \tau \epsilon \iota \nu ~ \pi a \rho \theta \epsilon ́ v o v s ~$



 $i \in \rho \hat{\omega} \nu$ тобаиิта єipグбӨ $\omega$ ．
 $\tau \hat{\eta} S$ ßaбi $\lambda \epsilon i ́ a s ~ \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v \tau \eta ́ \sigma \alpha \nu \tau o s ~ \pi a \rho \epsilon ́ \lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon ~ \tau \grave{\eta \nu} \nu \hat{\eta} \gamma \epsilon-$




 Sєıvòv ن̛̃＇aủтô $\pi \alpha \dot{\theta} \theta_{\eta}$ катà тò $\tau \hat{\eta} S$ رทтрvıâs

 $\gamma \in \nu o ́ \mu \in \nu \circ \nu$ є̇v тоîs $\mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau \alpha$ тробท＇үороข．ó $\delta$＇єis

[^111]
## BOOK I. 69, 3-70, 2

in no respect from the original, and exposed to public view, on purpose to deceive those who might be planning to steal it, and that the Achaeans, having formed such a plan, took the copy away. I say, therefore, upon the authority of the men abovementioned, that the holy objects brought into Italy by Aeneas were the images of the Great Gods, to whom the Samothracians, of all the Greeks, pay the greatest worship, and the Palladium, famous in legend, which they say is kept by the holy virgins in the temple of Vesta, where the perpetual fire is also preserved; but concerning these matters 1 shall speak hereafter. ${ }^{1}$ And there may also be other objects besides these which are kept secret from us who are not initiated. But let this suffice concerning the holy objects of the Trojans.
LXX. Upon ${ }^{2}$ the death of Ascanius in the thirtyeighth year of his reign, Silvius, his brother, succeeded to the rule. He was born of Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, after the death of Aeneas, and they say that he was brought up on the mountains by the herdsmen. For when Ascanius took over the rule, Lavinia, becoming alarmed lest her relationship as step-mother might draw upon her some severity from him, and being then with child, entrusted herself to a certain Tyrrhenus, ${ }^{3}$ who had charge of the royal herds of swine and whom she knew to have been on very intimate terms with Latinus. He, carrying

[^112]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 є̀v $\tau \hat{\eta}$ váтŋ катабкєváбаs оїк $\eta \sigma \iota \nu$ оv̉ то入loîs $\gamma \nu \omega \dot{\rho} \iota \mu о \nu$, каi $\tau$ ò $\pi \alpha \iota \delta i o \nu ~ \gamma \epsilon \nu o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \nu{ }^{1}$ ảvaıрєî $\alpha$ í $\tau \epsilon$








 $\stackrel{a}{\alpha} \pi \alpha \nu$, $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \delta \grave{\epsilon}^{2} \beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon i \alpha \nu \pi \alpha \rho \epsilon ́ \lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon \nu$, $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \epsilon \delta \grave{\eta}$ тòv





 $\delta \epsilon ̀ ~ \alpha ̉ \nu \tau i ~ \tau \hat{\eta} S \beta a \sigma i \lambda \epsilon i a s ~ i \epsilon \rho a ́ ~ \tau \iota s ~ \epsilon ’ \xi o v \sigma i a ~ \pi \rho o \sigma \epsilon \tau \epsilon ́ \theta \eta$





 áтокиŋба́оŋs CmgD .
${ }^{2} \delta e ̀$ added by Gelenius.
${ }^{3} \tau \hat{\eta} s \dot{\alpha} \rho \chi \eta \hat{\eta}$ Reiske : $\tau \hat{\eta} \alpha{ }^{\alpha} \rho \chi \hat{\eta} \mathrm{O}$.
her into the lonely woods as if she were an ordinary woman, and taking care that she was not seen by anyone who knew her, supported her in a house he built in the forest, which was known to but few. And when the child was born, he took it up and reared it, naming it, from the wood, Silvius, or, as one might say in Greek, Hylaios. But in the course of time, finding that the Latins made great search for the woman and that the people accused Ascanius of having put her to death, he acquainted them with the whole matter and brought the woman and her son out of the forest. From this experience Silvius got his name, as I have related, and so did all his posterity. And he became king after the death of his brother, though not without a contest with one of the sons of Ascanius,-Iulus, the eldest,-who claimed the succession to his father's rule; the issuc was decided by vote of the people, who were influenced chiefly by this consideration, among others, that Silvius' mother was heiress to the kingdom. Upon Iulus was conferred, instead of the sovereignty, a certain sacred authority and honour preferable to the royal dignity both for security and ease of life, and this prerogative ${ }^{1}$ was enjoyed even to my day by his posterity, who were called Julii after him. This house became the greatest and at the same time the most illustrious of any we know of, and

[^113][^114]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


入ó $\gamma \omega$ тà $\pi \rho о \sigma \eta ́ к о \nu \tau \alpha$.






 трıа́коขта. $\mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha}$ ठє̀ Káтuv Káлтєтоs ăхрı трıбкаí-

 Є̀v $\mu a ́ \chi \eta ~ \pi \alpha \rho a ̀ ~ \pi о \tau а \mu \hat{\varphi} \gamma \epsilon \nu о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta ~ \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota \cdot \pi a \rho \epsilon \nu \epsilon-$














produced the most distinguished commanders, whose virtues were so many proofs of their nobility. But concerning them I shall say what is requisite in another place. ${ }^{1}$
LXXI. Silvius, after holding the sovereignty twenty-nine years, was succeeded by Aeneas, his son, who reigned thirty-one years. After him, Latinus reigned fifty-one, then Alba thirty-nine; after Alba, Capetus reigned twenty-six, then Capys twenty-cight, and after Capys, Calpetus held the rule for thirteen years. Then Tiberinus reigned for a period of cight years. This king, it is said, was slain in a battle that was fought near a river, and being carried away by the stream, gave his name to the river, which had previously been called the Albula. Tiberinus' successor, Agrippa, reigned fortyone years. After Agrippa, Allodius, a tyrannical creature and odious to the gods, reigned nineteen years. Contemptuous of the divine powers, he had contrived imitations of lightning and sounds resembling thunder-claps, with which he proposed to terrify people as if he were a god. But rain and lightning descended upon his house, and the lake beside which it stood rose to an unusual height, so that he was overwhelmed and destroyed with his whole household. And even now when the lake is clear in a certain part, which happens whenever the flow of water subsides and the depths
${ }^{1}$ This promise is not fulfilled in the extant portions of the history.

[^115]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS







 ท́коvสav, ôs ท้̉v av่т仑̂ $\pi \rho \in \sigma \beta$ v́т $\epsilon \rho$ os ả $\delta \in \lambda \phi$ ós, $\delta$ v́o











 ठєкаєтías $\pi \rho \bar{\omega} \tau о \nu$.



${ }^{1} \dot{\rho} \dot{\epsilon} \mu$ оv A (a spelling found in several later passages, now in A , now in B$)$.

[^116]are undisturberl, ${ }^{1}$ the ruins of porticoes and other traces of a dwelling appear. Aventinus, after whom was named one of the seven hills that are joined to make the city of Rome, succeeded him in the sovereignty and reigned thirty-seven years, and after him Proca twenty-three years. Then Amulius, having unjustly possessed himself of the kingdom which belonged to Numitor, his elder brother, reigned fortytwo years. But when Amulius had been slain by Romulus and Remus, the sons of the holy maiden, as shall presently be related, Numitor, the maternal grandfather of the youths, after his brother's death resumed the sovereignty which by law belonged to him. In the next year of Numitor's reign, which was the four hundred and thirty-second after the taking of Troy, the Albans sent out a colony, under the leadership of Romulus and Remus, and founded Rome, in the beginning of the first year of the seventh Olympiad, when Daïcles of Messenê was victor in the foot race, and at Athens Charops was in the first year of his ten-year term as archon. ${ }^{2}$
LXXII. But as there is great dispute concerning both the time of the building of the city and the founders of it, I have thought it incumbent on me also not to give merely a cursory account of these
ordinary meaning of "spring " or "running water," and oratєpós is used with particular appropriateness of the depths of this lake.
${ }_{2} 751$ B.c. According to the common tradition the archonship, which was at first held for life, was in 752 limited to a ten-year term, and finally, ca. 683, to a single year. See Grote, History of Greece, Part ii., chap. x. (beginning); von Schoeffer in Pauly-Wissowa, RealEncyclopädie, s.v. Archontes, cols. 569 f.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 $\tau \hat{s}$ aंтоккías 'P $\omega \mu$,



 2 aưтós. ó $\delta$ è $\tau$ às $i \in \rho \in i ́ a s ~ \tau \alpha ̀ s ~ \epsilon ̇ v ~ " A \rho \gamma є \iota, ~ к \alpha i ~ \tau a ̀ ~ \kappa \alpha \theta " ~$




 av่т $\omega \nu$ ढ́ $\mu \pi \rho \eta \hat{\sigma} \alpha \iota \tau \dot{\alpha} \sigma \kappa \alpha ́ \phi \eta ~ \beta a \rho v \nu о \mu \epsilon ́ v \eta \nu ~ \tau \eta ̂ ~ \pi \lambda \alpha ́ \nu \eta . ~$



${ }^{1}$ See p. 157, n. 3.
${ }^{2}$ 'P $\hat{\omega} \mu \mathrm{os}$ was the name invented by the Greeks for the founder of Pome before they had heard of any Romulus or Remus; later they used it as the equivalent of Remus. It seems best to translate it as Romus (or Romos), except where we are clearly dealing with the Roman legend of the twin brothers. See recent discussions of the growth of the legend by Carter in Roscher's Lexikon der griech. u. rōm. Mythologie, s.v. Romulus, cols. 167-83; Rosenberg in PaulyWissowa, Real-Enc., s.v. Romulus, cols. 1074-92; De Sanctis, Storia dei Romani, i. pp. 206-17.

## BOOK I. 72, 1-3

things, as if they were universally agreed on. For Cephalon of Gergis, ${ }^{1}$ a very ancient writer, says that the city was built in the second generation after the Trojan war by those who had escaped from Troy with Aeneas, and he names as the founder of it Romus, ${ }^{2}$ who was the leader of the colony and one of Aeneas' sons; he adds that Aeneas had four sons, Ascanius, Euryleon, Romulus and Romus. And Demagoras, ${ }^{3}$ Agathyllus and many others agree with him as regards both the time and the leader of the colony. But the author of the history of the priestesses at Argos ${ }^{4}$ and of what happened in the days of each of them says that Aencas came into Italy from the land of the Molossians with Odysseus ${ }^{5}$ and became the founder of the city, which he named after Romê, one of the Trojan women. He says that this woman, growing weary with wandering, stirred up the other Trojan women and together with them set fire to the ships. And Damastes of Sigeum ${ }^{6}$ and some others agree with him. But Aristotle, the philosopher, relates?
${ }^{3}$ Demagoras of Samos apparently wrote a work on Trojan or Samothracian antiquities. Agathyllus has already been cited in chap. 49, 2.
${ }^{4}$ The author of this work was Hellanicus (see p. 71, n. 1). The present quotation is frag. 53 (end) in Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. i. 52.
${ }^{5}$ A variant reading is "after Odysseus." See critical note.
${ }^{6}$ Damastes (ca. 400) wrote the genealogies of the Greek leaders before Troy ; also a description of the earth and its peoples, to accompany his map of the world.
${ }^{7}$ Probably in his Instituta Barbarica. Müller, Fraj. Hist. Graec. ii. 178, 242.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 $\tau \epsilon ́ \omega s ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ ن ́ \pi o ̀ ~ \tau \omega ̂ \nu ~ \pi \nu \epsilon v \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu ~ \phi \epsilon \rho o \mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \pi o \lambda \lambda a \chi n ̂ ~$








 тoîs тoûto סıà $\gamma v v a i ̂ k a s ~ a i \chi \mu a \lambda \omega ́ \tau o v s, ~ a ̂ s ~ \epsilon ̈ \tau v \chi o v ~$

 5 єis $\delta o u \lambda \epsilon i a v ~ a ̉ \phi \iota \xi o \mu e ́ v a s . ~ K a \lambda \lambda i ́ a s ~ \delta e ̀ ~ o ̀ ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ ' A \gamma a-~$








[^117]
## BOOK I. 72, 3-5

that some of the Achaeans, while they were doubling Cape Malea on their return from Troy, were overtaken by a violent storm, and being for some time driven out of their course by the winds, wandered over many parts of the sea, till at last they came to this place in the land of the Opicans which is called Latinium, ${ }^{1}$ lying on the Tyrrhenian sea. And being pleased with the sight of land, they hauled up their ships, stayed there the winter season, and were preparing to sail at the beginning of spring; but when their ships were set on fire in the night and they were unable to sail away, they were compelled against their will to fix their abode in the place where they had landed. This fate, he says, was brought upon them by the eaptive women they were carrying with them from Troy, who burned the ships, fearing that the Achaeans in returning home would carry them into slavery. Callias, ${ }^{2}$ who wrote of the deeds of Agathocles, says that Romê, one of the Trojan women who came into Italy with the other Trojans, married Latinus, the king of the Aborigines, by whom she had three sons, Romus, Romulus and Telegonus, . . . and having built a city, gave it the name of their mother. Xenagoras, the historian, ${ }^{3}$ writes that Odysseus and Cire $\hat{e}$ had

[^118]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 'HuaӨíwlos єival $\pi \alpha i ̂ \delta a$. єívi $\delta \epsilon ́$ тives oî $\tau \grave{\nu} \nu$


 ' $E \lambda \lambda \eta \iota \kappa \omega \bar{\nu} \pi \alpha \rho \epsilon ́ \chi \in \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \sigma v \gamma \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \epsilon ́ \omega \nu$, oî Sıaфópovs

 бvүүрафєîs. $\pi a \lambda a ı o ̀ s ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ v ~ o u ̂ v ~ o u ̋ \tau \epsilon ~ \sigma v \gamma \gamma \rho a \phi \epsilon ข ̀ s ~$


 $\mu \epsilon ̀ v$ Aiveiov $\gamma \in \nu \epsilon$ є́ $\theta a \iota ~ v i o u ̀ s ~ \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma o v a \iota ~ ' P \omega \mu u ́ \lambda o v ~ \tau \epsilon ~$
 Ovyatpòs Aiveiov maîठas, ӧтоv סє̀ тaтрòs ov̉кє́ть


 є่ $\gamma \epsilon ́ v o \nu \tau o . ~ a ̀ \sigma \pi a \zeta o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o \nu ~ \delta e ́ ~ a u ̉ t o v ̀ s ~ \Lambda a \tau i ̂ v o \nu ~ \tau ท ̂ ~ \tau \epsilon ~$


${ }^{1}$ 'Avtєial Steph. Byz. : àvrial O.
${ }^{2}$ á $\rho \delta \epsilon i a \nu \mathrm{~B}: ~ a ̉ \rho \delta i a \nu ~ A . ~$
${ }^{3}$ Kiessling: $\eta \lambda_{\epsilon \epsilon \kappa \tau \rho a s ~} \mathrm{~A}, \lambda \epsilon u ́ \kappa \tau \rho a s \mathrm{~B}$.
${ }^{4}$ Bücheler: ঠó乡aıцı AB.

## BOOK I. 72, 5-73, 2

three sons, Romus, Anteias and Ardeias, who built three cities and called them after their own names. ${ }^{1}$ Dionysius of Chalcis ${ }^{2}$ names Romus as the founder of the city, but says that according to some this man was the son of Ascanius, and according to others the son of Emathion. There are otbers who declare that Rome was built by Romus, the son of Italus and Leucaria, the daughter of Latinus.
LXXIII. I could cite many other Greek historians who assign different founders to the city, but, not to appear prolix, I shall come to the Roman historians. The Romans, to be sure, have not so much as one single historian or chronicler who is ancient ; however, each of their historians has taken something out of ancient accounts that are prescrved on sacred tablets. ${ }^{3}$ Some of these say that Romulus and Remus, the founders of Rome, were the sons of Aeneas, others say that they were the sons of a daughter of Aeneas, without going on to determine who was their father; that they were delivered as hostages by Aeneas to Latinus, the king of the Aborigines, when the treaty was made between the inhabitants and the new-comers, and that Latinus, after giving them a kindly welcome, not only did them many other good offices, but, upon dying without male issue, left them his successors to some part
${ }^{1}$ Rome, Antium and Ardea.
${ }^{2}$ Dionysius of Chalcis (fourth century ?) wrote several books of Kríধıs or " Foundings of Cities." Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec: iv. 395, 11.
${ }^{3}$ This probably refers to the annales maximi, the brief record of magistrates, prodigies and important public events of each year kopt by the pontifex maximus. Cf. iv. $30,3$.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
























${ }^{1}$ ovo $\mu a \sigma \theta$ cioas added by Sauppe, who assumed the loss of several lines here, in which mention was made of the cities founded by Romulus. But it is quite probable that in this earlier tradition, which would appear to be more Greek than Roman, Romulus played somewhat the same subordinate rôle that Remus did at a later stage ; he may simply have aided his brother (who might better be called Romus here) in founding the four cities named. In deed, the Etymologicum Magnum (s.v. Kanúך et 'P白 $\eta$ ) states

## BOOK I. 73, 3-4

of his kingdom. Others say that after the death of Aeneas Ascanius, having succeeded to the entire sovereignty of the Latins, divided both the country and the forces of the Latins into three parts, two of which he gave to his brothers, Romulus and Remus. He himself, they say, built Alba and some other towns; Remus built cities which he named Capua, after Capys, his great-grandfather, Anchisa, after his grandfather Anchises, Aeneia (which was afterwards called Janiculum), after his father, and Rome, after himself. ${ }^{1}$ This last city was for some time deserted, but upon the arrival of another colony, which the Albans sent out under the leadership of Romulus and Remus, it received again its ancient name. So that, according to this account, there were two settlements of Rome, one a little after the Trojan war, and the other fifteen generations after the first. ${ }^{2}$ And if anyone desires to look into the remoter past, even a third Rome will be found, more ancient than these, one that was founded before Aeneas and the Trojans came into Italy. This is related by no ordinary or modern historian, but by Antiochus of Syracuse, whom I have mentioned before. ${ }^{3}$ He says that when Morges reigned in Italy (which at that time comprehended all the seacoast
${ }^{1}$ Anchisa and Aeneia are otherwise unknown. See critical note.
${ }^{2}$ See chap. 45, 3.
${ }^{3}$ Chap. 12, $3 ; 22,5 ; 35,1$. The present quotation is found in Müller, Frag. Hist. Grcec. i. 182, 7.
on the authority of Greek writers that Capua and Rome were founded by Romus and Romulus, the sons of Aeneas. ${ }^{2}$ Schwartz: ктíøv O, Jacoby.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


















 ỏ̀v $\mu \pi \iota a ́ \delta o s ~ K o ́ i ̈ v \tau o s ~ \delta e ̀ ~ Ф a ́ \beta ı o s ~ к а \tau a ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \pi \rho \omega ̂ т о \nu ~$

 $\gamma \epsilon \nu o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu$ оs $\epsilon i$ каí $\tau \iota s$ ä $\lambda \lambda$ оs $\pi \epsilon \rho i^{3} \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ бvva $\omega \gamma \dot{\eta} \nu$
 ঠvбi каi трıа́коута каi тєтракобio七s viбтєроиิба⿱
 244

## BOOK I. 73, 4-74, 2

from Tarentum to Posidonia ${ }^{1}$ ), a man came to him who had been banished from Rome. His words are these: "When Italus was growing old, Morges reigned. In his reign there came a man who had been banished from Rome; his name was Sicelus." According to the Syracusan historian, therefore, an ancient Rome is found even earlier than the Trojan war. However, as he has left it doubtful whether it was situated in the same region where the present city stands or whether some other place happened to be called by this name, I, too, can form no conjecture. But as regards the ancient settlements of Rome, I think what has already been said is sufficient.
LXXIV. As to the last settlement or founding of the city, or whatever we ought to call it, Timaeus of Sicily, ${ }^{2}$ following what principle I do not know, places it at the same time as the founding of Carthage, that is, in the thirty-eighth year before the first Olympiad ${ }^{3}$; Lucius Cincius, a member of the senate, places it about the fourth year of the twelfth Olympiad, ${ }^{4}$ and Quintus Fabius in the first year of the eighth Olympiad. ${ }^{5}$ Porcius Cato does not give the time according to Greek reckoning, but being as careful as any writer in gathering the data of ancient history, he places its founding four hundred and thirty-two years after the Trojan war; and this

[^119][^120]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS








 $\pi \epsilon i$ 'Өо $\mu \alpha \iota$, ov̉ $\delta^{\prime} \epsilon \in \pi i$ тоv $\pi \alpha \rho a ̀ ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ a ̉ \rho \chi \iota \epsilon \rho \in \hat{v} \sigma \iota{ }^{1}$
 áßaбávıбтоv ката入ıтєìv, ả $\lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \tau о v ̀ s ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota \lambda о \gamma \iota \sigma \mu о v ́ s, ~$







 ỏ $\lambda v \mu \pi \iota a ́ \delta o s . ~ o ̀ ~ \delta \grave{̀} \pi \rho o ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̂ S ~ к а \tau а \lambda \eta ́ \psi \epsilon \omega s ~ \chi \rho o ́ v o s ~$ àvayópevos єis $\Lambda \epsilon u ́ k \iota o v ~ ' I o u ́ v i o v ~ B \rho o u ̂ \tau o v ~ к a i ~$




$$
{ }^{1} \text { Niebuhr : } \dot{a} \gamma \chi \iota \sigma \tau \epsilon \hat{v} \sigma \iota \mathrm{AB} .
$$

${ }^{1}$ Eratosthenes was perhaps the most versatile scholar of antiquity. Eminent not only as an astronomer, mathematician and geographer, he also won distinction as an historian, philosopher and grammarian. His Chronographiae was an annalistic history, both political and literary, in which especial attention was devoted to the 246
time, being compared with the Chronicles of Eratosthenes, ${ }^{1}$ corresponds to the first year of the seventh Olympiad. ${ }^{2}$ That the canons of Eratosthenes are sound I have shown in another treatise, ${ }^{3}$ where I have also shown how the Roman chronology is to be synchronized with that of the Greeks. For I did not think it sufficient, like Polybius of Megalopolis, ${ }^{4}$ to say merely that I believe Rome was built in the second year of the seventh Olympiad, ${ }^{5}$ nor to let my belief rest without further examination upon the single tablet preserved by the high priests. the only one of its kind, but I determined to set forth the reasons that had appealed to me, so that all might examine them who so desired. In that treatise, therefore, the detailed exposition is given; but in the course of the present work also the most essential of the conclusions there reached will be mentioned. The matter stands thus: It is generally agreed that the invasion of the Gauls, ${ }^{6}$ during which the city of Rome was taken, happened during the archonship of Pyrgion at Athens, in the first year of the ninety-eighth Olympiad. ${ }^{7}$ Now if the time before the taking of the city is reckoned back to Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, the first consuls at Rome after the overthrow of the kings, it comprehends one hundred accurate determination of the chronology. The work began with the fall of Troy, which he placed in 1183 b.c.
${ }_{2} 751$ b.c.
${ }^{3}$ This work, now lost, is cited by Clement of Alexandria (Strom. i. 102) as X Xóvoc.
${ }^{4}$ Probably in a lost portion of his Book V1.
${ }^{5} 750$ в.с.
${ }^{6}$ Literally "Celts." See p. 123, n. 1. ${ }^{7} 387$ в.c.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 ．$\mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu \tau \iota \mu \eta \tau \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu \nu \dot{v} \pi о \mu \nu \eta \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu, \hat{a} \delta \iota \alpha \delta \epsilon ́ \chi \in \tau \alpha \iota \pi a i ̂ S$ тара̀ татрòs каi $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ то入入ô $\pi о \iota \epsilon i ̂ \tau a \iota ~ \tau о i ̂ s ~ \mu \epsilon \theta^{\prime}$
 $\pi о \lambda \lambda o i \delta^{\prime} \epsilon i \sigma i \nu$ àmò $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \iota \mu \tau \iota \kappa(\hat{\omega} \nu$ оıк $\omega \nu \stackrel{\alpha}{\alpha} \nu \delta \rho \epsilon s$



 tos $\Lambda$ єuкiov Ov̉a入єpiov Motítov кai Títov Ma入入iov







 ＇Ioaүópov ${ }^{3} \pi \alpha \rho \epsilon \iota \lambda \eta \phi \epsilon ́ v a \iota ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ a ̉ \rho \chi \eta ̀ \nu ~ к \alpha \tau a ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \pi \rho \omega ิ-~$


LXXV．Kai $\mu \eta ̀ \nu ~ a ̉ \pi o ́ ~ \gamma \epsilon ~ \tau \eta ̂ S ~ \epsilon ́ \kappa \beta o \lambda \eta ̂ s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$

 $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau о і ̂{ }^{4}{ }^{4} \tau \epsilon \tau \tau а \rho а ́ к о \nu \tau а ~ к а і ~ \delta ı а к о б і о \iota s ~ д ̉ \pi о т є \lambda \epsilon і . . ~$


 248

## BOOK I. 74, 5-75, 1

and twenty years. This is proved in many other ways, but particularly by the records of the censors, which the son receives in succession from the father and takes great care to transmit to his posterity, like family rites; and there are many illustrious men of censorian families who preserve these records. In them I find that in the second year before the taking of the city there was a census of the Roman people, to which, as to the rest of them, there is affixed the date, as follows: "In the consulship of Lucius Valerius Potitus and Titus Manlius Capitolinus, in the one hundred and nineteenth year after the expulsion of the kings." So that the Gallic invasion, which we find to have occurred in the second year after the census, happened when the hundred and twenty years were completed. If, now, this interval of time is found to consist of thirty Olympiads, it must be allowed that the first consuls to be chosen entered upon their magistracy in the first year of the sixty-eighth Olympiad, the same year that Isagoras was archon at Athens. ${ }^{1}$
LXXV. And, again, if from the expulsion of the kings the time is reckoned back to Romulus, the first ruler of the city, it amounts to two hundred and fortyfour years. This is known from the order in which the kings succeeded one another and the number of years each of them ruled. For Romulus, the founder

$$
{ }^{1} 507 \text { в.с. }
$$

[^121]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS






 ßабı入єv́баs "Аүкоs Ма́ркıоs тє́ттара тоо̀s тоîs





 $3 \pi \rho \circ \alpha \gamma \alpha \gamma \epsilon i ̂ \nu \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ á $\rho \chi \eta \dot{\eta} \nu . \quad \tau \epsilon \tau \tau \alpha ́ \rho \omega \nu \delta \epsilon \grave{\kappa} \kappa \alpha i \quad \tau \epsilon \tau \tau \alpha \rho \alpha ́-$







 גoûtaí $\mu$ oı тồ $\lambda o ́ \gamma o v$.
4








## ВооК I. 75, 1-4

of Rome, reigned thirty-seven years, it is said, and after his death the city was a year without a king. Then Numa Pompilius, who was chosen by the people, reigned forty-three years; after Numa, Tullus Hostilius thirty-two ; and his successor, Ancus Marcius, twenty-four; after Marcius, Lucius Tarquinius, called Priscus, thirty-eight; Servius Tullius, who succeeded him, forty-four. And the slayer of Servius, Lucius Tarquinius, the tyrannical prince who, from his contempt of justice, was called Superbus, extended his reign to the twenty-fifth year. As the reigns, therefore, of the kings amount to two hundred and forty-four years or sixty-one Olympiads, it follows necessarily that Romulus, the first ruler of the city, began his reign in the first year of the seventh Olympiad, when Charops at Athens was in the first year of his ten-year term as archon. ${ }^{1}$ For the count of the years requires this; and that each king reigned the number of years stated is shown in that treatise of mine to which I have referred.

This, therefore, is the account given by those who lived before me and adopted by me concerning the time of the settlement of the city which now rules supreme. As to its founders, who they were and by what turns of fortune they were induced to lead out the colony, and any other details told concerning its settlement, all this has been related by many, and the greatest part of it in a different manner by

$$
{ }^{1} 751 \text { в.с. }
$$

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 Єै $\chi \epsilon \iota \delta \epsilon \hat{\omega}^{\omega} \delta \epsilon$.
LXXVI. 'A $\mu$ ó 1 ıos є́ $\pi \epsilon \iota \delta \grave{\eta} \pi \alpha \rho \epsilon ́ \lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ ' $A \lambda \beta \alpha \nu \omega \bar{\omega}$




 каi ${ }^{\epsilon} \rho \omega \tau \iota ~ \tau о \hat{v}^{1} \mu \grave{\eta} \pi a v \theta \hat{\eta} v a i ́ \pi о \tau \epsilon \tau \hat{\eta} s$ ả $\rho \chi \hat{\eta} s$.
 viòv той $N \epsilon \mu \epsilon ́ \tau о \rho o s ~ A i ้ \gamma \epsilon \sigma т о \nu ~ a ̆ \rho \tau \iota ~ \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \iota a ́ \zeta о \nu \tau a ~$


 $\sigma \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ảvaıpє $\Theta \epsilon i ́ \eta ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \mu \epsilon \iota \rho a ́ к \iota o \nu . ~ o v ̉ ~ \mu \epsilon ́ v \tau о \iota ~ к р є i ́ \tau \tau \omega \nu ~$ $\dot{\eta} \kappa \alpha \tau a \sigma \kappa \in v a \sigma \tau \grave{\eta}$ ठóza $\tau \hat{\eta} s \quad \sigma \iota \omega \pi \omega \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta s$ ảd $\eta \theta \epsilon i ́ a s$








 סєíкvvaıv 'Eбтias, wis $\mu \grave{\eta} \tau \alpha ́ \chi เ o \nu ~ \epsilon i s ~ a ̉ \nu \delta \rho o ̀ s ~ \epsilon ’ \lambda \theta o v ̂ \sigma a ~$

> 1 ${ }^{1}$ qov̂ added by Steph. ${ }^{2}$; om. Jacoby. ${ }^{2}$ inovíav Glareanus: iovdíav A, ỉhovià B.

## BOOK I. 75, 4-76, 3

some; and I, also, shall relate the most probable of these stories. They are as follows:
LXXVI. When ${ }^{1}$ Amulius succeeded to the kingdom of the Albans, after forcibly excluding his elder brother Numitor from the diguity that was his by inheritance, he not only showed great contempt for justice in everything else that he did, but he finally plotted to deprive Numitor's family of issue, both from fear of suffering punishment for his usurpation and also because of his desire never to be dispossessed of the sovereignty. Having long resolved upon this course, he first observed the neighbourhood where Aegestus, Numitor's son, who was just coming to man's estate, was wont to follow the chase. and having placed an ambush in the most hidden part of it, he caused him to be slain when he had come out to hunt; and after the deed was committed he contrived to have it reported that the youth had been killed by robbers. Nevertheless, the rumour thus concocted could not prevail over the truth which he was trying to keep concealed, but many, though it was unsafe to do so, ventured to tell what had been done. Numitor was aware of the crime, but his judgment being superior to his grief, he affected ignorance, resolving to defer his resentment to a less dangerous timc. And Amulius, supposing that the truth about the youth had been kept secret, set a second plan on foot, as follows: he appointed Numitor's daughter, Ilia,-or, as some state, Rhea, surnamed Silvia, -who was then ripe for marriage, to be a pricstess of Vesta, lest, if she first entered a husband's house, she might bring

$$
{ }^{1} C f . \text { Livy i. 3, } 11 .
$$

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 $\gamma$ á $\mu \omega \nu$ ，aîs ảvaтé $\theta \epsilon \iota \tau \alpha \iota \tau o \hat{v} \tau \epsilon$ ả $\sigma \beta \epsilon \in \sigma \tau o v \pi \nu \rho o ̀ s ~ \dot{\eta}$

 $\mu \epsilon \tau^{\prime}$ ỏvо $\mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ ка入⿳⺈ $\nu, ~ \omega \dot{s} \tau ı \mu \eta ̀ \nu ~ \tau 仑 ̂ ~ \gamma \epsilon ́ \nu \epsilon \iota ~ к а i ~$



 àтобєiкvvбӨaı кópas $\tau \hat{\eta} s$＇Eбтias $\pi \rho о \pi o ́ \lambda o v s . ~ o ́ ~$


 каi тоиิто є่фú入аттє тò Є’ $\gamma \kappa \lambda \eta \mu \alpha$ ．









${ }^{2}{ }^{\epsilon} \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \alpha \quad \tau \hat{\eta} s$ тaı $\delta i ́ \sigma \kappa \eta s$ rejected by Urlichs as a gloss； Sauppe rejected $\tau \hat{\rho} \boldsymbol{\pi} \alpha \iota \delta i ́ \sigma \kappa \eta s$, Bücheler $\tau \hat{\eta} s$ кóp $\eta s$.

${ }^{1}$ Thirty years was the period required at Rome from the time of Numa；cf．ii．67，2．Some early editors wished to emend the present passage to agree with the later practice．

## BOOK I. 76, 3-77, 1

forth avengers for her family. These holy maidens who were intrusted with the custody of the perpetual fire and with the carrying out of any other rites that it was customary for virgins to perform in behalf of the commonwealth, were required to remain undefiled by marriage for a period of not less than five ${ }^{1}$ years. Amulius was carrying out his plan under specious pretences, as if he were conferring honour and dignity on his brother's family; for he was not the author of this law, which was a general one, nor, again, was his brother the first person of consideration whom he had obliged to yield obedience to it, but it was both customary and honourable among the Albans for maidens of the highest birth to be appointed to the service of Vesta. But Numitor, perceiving that these measures of his brother proceeded from no good intention, dissembled his resentment, lest he should incur the ill-will of the people, and stifled his complaints upon this occasion also.
LXXVII. The ${ }^{2}$ fourth year after this, Ilia, upon going to a grove consecrated to Mars to fetch pure water for use in the sacrifices, was ravished by somebody or other in the sacred precinct. Some say that the author of the deed was one of the maiden's suitors, who was carried away by his passion for the girl ${ }^{3}$; others say that it was Amulius himself, and that, since his purpose was to destroy her quite as much as to satisfy his passion, he had arrayed himself in such armour as would render him most terrible
${ }^{2} C f$. Livy i. 4, 1-3.
${ }^{3}$ The last clause (literally, "loving the girl") may well be a gloss to explain the preceding words " one of the maiden's suitors." See critical note.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS






 $\epsilon^{i} \chi \epsilon, \theta \alpha \nu \mu a \sigma \iota \omega \tau \epsilon ́ \rho a \nu \mu а к р \hat{\varphi} \delta \eta \eta^{\prime} \tau \iota \nu \iota^{3} \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \mu \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \theta$ os каi ка́योоs à $\nu \theta \rho \omega ́ \pi \omega \nu$ ．фа⿱i $\tau \epsilon \epsilon i \pi \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu$ т $\hat{\eta}$ ко́р？


 रovéval $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \epsilon ' \mu \beta a \tau \epsilon v ́ o v \tau \alpha ~ \tau \hat{u} ~ \chi \omega \rho i ́ \omega ~ \delta \alpha i ́ \mu о \nu а, ~$
 $\dot{\alpha} \nu \theta \rho \omega ́ \pi \omega \nu \quad \mu \alpha \kappa \rho \hat{\omega}$ кратíवтovs $\dot{\alpha} \rho \epsilon \tau \eta \grave{\eta} \nu \kappa \alpha i ~ \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi о \lambda \epsilon ́-$







 каi $\mu \in \tau \alpha \xi \grave{v}$ то仑̂ $\theta \in i ́ o v ~ к а i ~ \theta \nu \eta \tau о 仑 ̂ ~ \gamma \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \tau \rho i ́ т \eta s ~$ $\tau \iota v o ̀ s ~ \dot{v} \pi a \rho \chi o v ́ \sigma \eta s$ фv́r $\epsilon \omega s, \hat{\eta} \nu$ тò $\delta a \iota \mu o ́ v \omega \nu$ ф $\hat{v} \lambda o \nu$




${ }^{1} \pi \rho \circ \sigma a ́ \pi \tau o v \tau \epsilon s$ added by Casaubon.
${ }^{2}$ кai placed here by Urlichs: after $\hat{\eta} \nu$ by O, Jacoby.
${ }^{3}$ Schwartz: $\tau \iota$ O, Jacoby. $\quad{ }^{4}$ Steph. ${ }^{2}$ : is O.

## BOOK I. 77, 1-3

to behold and that he also kept his features disguised as effectively as possible. But most writers relate a fabulous story to the effect that it was a spectre of the divinity to whom the place was consecrated; and they add that the adventure was attended by many supernatural signs, including a sudden disappearance of the sun and a darkness that spread over the sky, and that the appearance of the spectre was far more marvellous than that of a man both in stature and in beauty. And they say that the ravisher, to comfort the maiden (by which it became clear that he was a god), commanded her not to grieve at all at what had happened, since she had been united in marriage to the divinity of the place and as a result of her violation should bear two sons who would far excel all men in valour and warlike achievements. And having said this, he was wrapped in a cloud and, being lifted from the earth, was borne upwards through the air. This is not a proper place to consider what opinion we ought to entertain of such tales, whether we should scorn them as instances of human frailty attributed to the gods,-since God is incapable of any action that is unworthy of his incorruptible and blessed nature,-or whether we should admit even these stories, upon the supposition that all the substance of the universe is mixed, and that between the race of gods and that of men some third order of being exists which is that of the daemons, who, uniting sometimes with human beings and sometimes with gods, beget, it is said, the fabled race of heroes. This, I say, is not a proper place to consider these things, and, moreover, what the philosophers have said

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS







 $\tau \hat{\nu} \pi \pi \alpha \chi \theta \epsilon ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ єïтє نimovoía $\tau \hat{\nu} \nu$ єiкóт $\omega \nu \pi \rho о-$

 $\tau \epsilon$ oîs $\mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau \alpha$ є̇ $\pi i \sigma \tau \epsilon \cup \epsilon \nu \quad \epsilon \dot{i} \sigma \pi \epsilon ́ \mu \pi \omega \nu$ каí, Є̇ $\pi \epsilon \iota \delta \grave{\eta}$









 3 єip $\alpha a \sigma \mu \epsilon ́ v o \nu$, ả $\lambda \lambda$ ’ $\epsilon i s ~ \mu \epsilon ́ \sigma o \nu ~ a ̈ \gamma \epsilon \iota \nu . ~ N \epsilon \mu \epsilon ́ \tau \omega \rho ~ \delta \epsilon ̀ ~$






[^122]
## BOOK I. 77, 4-78, 3

concerning them is sufficient. But, be that as it may, the maid after her violation feigned illness (for this her mother advised out of regard both for her own safety and for the sacred services of the gods) and no longer attended the sacrifices, but her duties were performed by the other virgins who were joined with her in the same ministry.
LXXVIII. But Amulius, moved either by his own knowledge of what had happened or by a natural suspicion of the truth, began to inquire into her long absence from the sacrifices, in order to discover the real reason. To this end he kept sending in to her some physicians in whom he had the greatest confidence; and then, since the women alleged that her ailment was one that must be kept secret from others, he left his wife to watch her. She, having by a woman's marking of the signs discovered what was a secret to the others, informed him of it, and he, lest the girl should be delivered in secret, for she was now near her time, caused her to be guarded by armed men. And summoning his brother to the council, he not only announced the deflowering of the girl, of which the rest knew naught, but even accused her parents of being her accomplices; and he ordered Numitor not to hide the guilty man, but to expose him. Numitor said he was amazed at what he heard, and protesting his innocence of everything that was alleged, desired time to test the truth of it. Having with difficulty obtained this delay, and being informed by his wife of the affair as his daughter had related it in the

[^123]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

тóv $\tau \in \beta \iota a \sigma \mu o ̀ v ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ v i \pi o ̀ ~ \tau o v ̂ ~ \theta \epsilon o ̂ ̂ ~ \gamma \epsilon \nu o ́ \mu \epsilon v o v ~ a ̉ \pi-~$























 $\nu \alpha \sigma \alpha \nu$ тò $\sigma \hat{\omega} \mu \alpha$ ค́áßठoıs aiкıб $\theta \epsilon i \sigma \alpha \nu$ ảmo日avєiv, тò
${ }^{1}$ oúk єis added by Steph.
${ }^{2} \epsilon i$ í $\rho a \delta \iota o u \rho \gamma \epsilon i ̂$ Reiske : $\dot{\rho} a \delta \iota o v \rho \gamma \epsilon i ̂ \nu$ O, Jacoby.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{4} r \hat{\eta} \text { added by Grasberger. }
\end{aligned}
$$

beginning, he acquainted the council with the rape committed by the god and also related what the god had said concerning the twins, and asked that his story should be believed only if the fruit of her travail should prove to be such as the god had foretold; for the time of her delivery was near at hand, so that it would not be long, if he were playing the rogue, before the fact would come to light. Moreover, he offered to put at their disposal for examination the women who were watching his daughter, and he was ready to submit to any and every test. As he spoke thus the majority of the councillors were persuaded, but Amulius declared that his demands were altogether insincere, and was bent on destroying the girl by every means. While this was taking place, those who had been appointed to keep guard over Ilia at the time of her delivery came to announce that she had given birth to male twins. And at once Numitor began to urge at length the same arguments, showing the deed to be the work of the god and demanding that they take no unlawful action against his daughter, who was innocent of her condition. On the other hand, Amulius thought that even in connexion with her delivery there had been some human trickery and that the women had provided another child, either unknown to the guards or with their connivance, and he said much more to the same purport. When the councillors found that the king's decision was inspired by implacable anger, they, too, voted, as he demanded, that the law should be carricd out which provided that a Vestal who suffered herself to be defiled should be scourged with rods and put to death and her offspring thrown

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 $\nu \hat{v} \mu \epsilon ́ v \tau o \iota ~ \zeta \omega ́ \sigma a s ~ к а т о р v ́ \tau \tau \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \tau o \iota a v ́ \tau a s ~ o ́ ~$


 $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ ढ́mi тò $\mu v \theta \omega \delta \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \circ \nu$ ，oi $\delta^{\prime} \epsilon \in \pi i$ тò $\tau \hat{\eta}$ ả $\lambda \eta \theta \epsilon i ́ a, ~$
 2 фє́povтal．oi $\mu \epsilon ̀ v ~ \gamma a ̀ \rho ~ \epsilon v ̀ \theta ̀ ̀ s ~ a ̉ \nu a \iota \rho \epsilon \theta \hat{\eta} v a \iota ~ \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma o v \sigma \iota ~$

 Oavátov．Є̇ $\pi \iota \kappa \lambda a \sigma \theta \hat{\eta} v a \iota ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \tau o ̀ \nu{ }^{2}$＇$A \mu$ ó入ıov єis то仑̂тo






 $\mu \epsilon ̀ v$ oûv $\tau \hat{\eta} S$＇I入ías ovit $\omega$ ठıa入入áттovoเv ai $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ $\pi \alpha \lambda \alpha \iota \omega ิ \nu ~ \gamma \rho a \phi a i ́, ~ \lambda o ́ \gamma o \nu ~ \delta ' ~ \epsilon ' \chi o v \sigma \iota \nu ~ \omega i s ~ a ̉ \lambda \eta \theta \epsilon i ̂ s$



4

 Kíкıоs каі Ка́тшу По́ркьоs каі Пєібшу Kад－ $\pi о$ о́pvıos каi $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ä $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu$ бvүүраф＇є́ $\omega \nu$ oi $\pi \lambda \epsilon$ єiovs


$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{2} \text { тòv U : om. Sintenis, Jacoby. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## BOOK I. 78, 5-79, 4

into the current of the river. To-day, however, the sacred law ordains that such offenders shall be buried alive.
LXXIX. UP ${ }^{1}$ to this point the greater part of the historians give the same account or differ but slightly, some in the direction of what is legendary, others of what is more probable; but they disagree in what follows. Some say that the girl was put to death immediately; others that she remained in a secret prison under a guard, which caused the people to believe that she had been put to death secretly. The latter authors say that Amulius was moved to do this when his daughter begged him to grant her the life of her cousin; for, having been brought up together and being of the same age, they loved each other like sisters. Amulius, accordingly, to please her,-for she was his only daughter,-saved Ilia from death, but kept her confined in a secret prison; and she was at length set at liberty after the death of Amulius. Thus do the accounts of the ancient authors vary concerning Ilia, and yet both opinions carry with them an appearance of truth; for this reason I, also, have mentioned them both, but each of my readers will decide for himself which to believe.

But concerning the babes born of Ilia, Quintus Fabius, called Pictor, whom Lucius Cincius, Porcius Cato, Calpurnius Piso and most of the other historians have followed, writes thus: By the order

$$
{ }^{1} C f . \text { Livy i. } 4,3-9
$$

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS













$6 \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \tau \rho \alpha \pi \epsilon \hat{\imath} \sigma \alpha$ є่к $\beta \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \epsilon \iota \tau \dot{\alpha} \quad \beta \rho \epsilon ́ \phi \eta$. $\tau \dot{\alpha} \quad \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \quad \delta \grave{\eta}$









 є̇ठ́́vaтo $\pi \lambda \epsilon$ íatovs $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ả $\gamma \chi$ र̂̂ $\nu \epsilon \mu o ́ v \tau \omega \nu$ (oủ $\gamma$ à $\rho$




[^124]
## BOOK I. 79, 4-7

of Amulius some of his servants took the babes in an ark and carricd them to the river, distant about a hundred and twenty stades from the city, with the intention of throwing them into it. But when they drew near and perceived that the Tiber, swollen by continual rains, had left its natural bed and overflowed the plains, they came down from the top of the Palatine hill ${ }^{1}$ to that part of the water that lay nearest (for they could no longer advance any farther) and set down the ark upon the flood where it washed the foot of the hill. The ark floated for some time, and then, as the waters retired by degrees from their extreme limits, it struck against a stone and, overturning, threw out the babes, who lay whimpering and wallowing in the mud. Upon this, a she-wolf that had just whelped appeared and, her udder being distended with milk, gave them her paps to suck and with her tongue licked off the mud with which they were besmeared. In the meantime the herdsmen happened to be driving their flocks forth to pasture (for the place was now become passable) and one of them, seeing the wolf thus fondling the babes, was for some time struck dumb with astonishment and disbelief of what he saw. Then going away and getting together as many as he could of his fellows who kept their herds near at hand (for they would not believe what he said), he led them to see the sight themselves. When these also drew near and saw the wolf caring for the babes as if they had been her young and the

[^125]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
























[^126]
## BOOK I. 79, 7-9

babes clinging to her as to their mother, they thought they were beholding a supernatural sight and advanced in a body, shouting to terrify the creature. The wolf, however, far from being provoked at the approach of the men, but as if she had been tame, withdrew gently from the babes and went away, paying little heed to the rabble of shepherds. Now there was not far off a holy place, arched over by a dense wood, and a hollow rock from which springs issued; the wood was said to be consecrated to Pan, and there was an altar there to that god. ${ }^{1}$ To this place, then, the wolf came and hid herself. The grove, to be sure, no longer remains, but the cave from which the spring flows is still pointed out, built up ${ }^{2}$ against the side of the Palatine hill on the road which leads to the Circus, and near it is a sacred precinct in which there is a statue commemorating the incident; it represents a she-wolf suckling two infants, the figures being in bronze and of ancient workmanship. ${ }^{3}$ This spot is said to have been a holy place of the Arcadians who formerly settled there with Evander.

As soon as the beast was gone the herdsmen took up the babes, and believing that the gods desired their preservation, were eager to bring them up. There was among them the keeper of the royal herds of

295 в.c. (Livy x. 23). Another similar group stood on the summit of the Capitol, and was struck by lightning in 65 в.с. The wolf of this second group is almost certainly the famous one still preserved in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, since the animal's hind legs show the effects of lightning; the wolf is dated about 600 в.с., but the infants are a modern restoration.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 каîov є่ $\gamma \epsilon \gamma$ о́vєє ка日＇ôv $\chi$ ро́vov $\dot{\eta}$ ф $\phi$ ора̀ $\tau \hat{\eta} s$＇I入ías

 $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \theta \epsilon i ́ a \nu ~ \tau u ́ \chi \eta \nu ~ a ̈ \mu \alpha ~ \delta \iota \epsilon \lambda \eta \lambda v ́ \theta \epsilon \iota ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu ~ a v ̉ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ o ́ \delta o ̀ v$





 $\mu \nu \theta \epsilon i \tau \alpha i ́ \quad \tau \epsilon$ каi $\delta i \delta \omega \omega \sigma \iota \nu$ vimoßa入є́ $\sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \alpha \iota \delta i ́ a$

 $\tau \hat{\varphi} \mu \epsilon ̀ v{ }^{~} P \omega \mu u ́ \lambda o v, \tau \hat{\varphi} \delta_{\epsilon}$＇$P \hat{\omega} \mu o v$ ．oi $\delta \grave{\epsilon}$ ả $\nu \delta \rho \omega$－


 фúvтas $\gamma \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ к а i ~ a ̉ \pi o ̀ ~ \delta a ı \mu o ́ r ~ \omega \nu ~ \sigma \pi о \rho a ̂ s ~ \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota ~$




${ }^{1}$ Steph．（cf．Фavativos，84，3）：фaıavúlos O（and similarly elsewhere），Jacoby．

[^127]
## BOOK I. 79, 9-11

swine, whose name was Faustulus, an upright man, who had been in town upon some necessary business at the time when the deflowering of Ilia and her delivery were made public. And afterwards, when the babes were being carried to the river, he had by some providential chance taken the same road to the Palatine hill and gone along with those who were carrying them. This man, without giving the least intimation to the others that he knew anything of the affair, asked that the babes might be delivered to him, and having received them by general consent, he carried them home to his wife. And finding that she had just given birth to a child and was grieving because it was still-born, he comforted her and gave her these children to substitute in its place, informing her of every circumstance of their fortune from the beginning. And as they grew older he gave to one the name of Romulus and to the other that of Remus. When they came to be men, they showed themselves both in dignity of aspect and elevation of mind not like swineherds and neatherds, but such as we might expect those to be who are born of royal race and are looked upon as the offspring of the gods; and as such they are still celebrated by the Romans in the hymns of their country. But their life was that of herdsmen, and they lived by their own labour, generally upon the mountains in huts which they built, roofs and all, ${ }^{1}$
roofless. But the thatched roof of the "hut of Romulus" was to the Romans one of its most striking features; see next note. ка入á $\omega \omega \nu$, here rendered "reeds," in accordance with its usual meaning, is also used sometimes for " straw," which may be what Dionysius intended.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS






 єis $\delta$ v́vauiv.

 тoùs $N \epsilon \mu \epsilon ́ \tau o \rho o s ~ \beta o v к o ́ \lambda o v s, ~ o i ̂ ~ \pi \epsilon \rho i ~ \tau o ̀ ~ A v ̀ \epsilon \nu \tau i ̂ v o v ~$
 ßovaтá


 $13 \chi \epsilon \iota \rho \hat{\omega} \nu$, єîтa $\delta \iota^{\prime}$ ö $\pi \lambda \omega \nu$. т $\tau \alpha u ́ \mu a \tau \alpha ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \pi о \lambda \lambda \grave{\alpha} \pi \rho o ̀ s$ $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \mu \epsilon \iota \rho a \kappa i \omega \nu$ 入aßóvтєs oi то̂ $N \epsilon \mu \epsilon ́ т о \rho о s ~ к а i ́$ $\tau \iota v a s ~ к а i ~ a ं \pi о \lambda \epsilon ́ \sigma \alpha \nu \tau \epsilon s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma \phi \epsilon \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega \nu$ каi $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$






${ }^{1}$ The present passage gives us our most detailed account of the casa Romuli. Plutarch (Rom. 20) adds the detail that it stood near the scalae Caci, a landmark on the south-

## BOOK I. 79, 11-13

out of sticks and reeds. One of these, called the hut of Romulus, ${ }^{1}$ remained even to my day on the flank of the Palatine hill which faces towards the Circus, and it is preserved holy by those who have charge of these matters; they add nothing to it to render it more stately, but if any part of it is injured, either by storms or by the lapse of time, they repair the damage and restore the hut as nearly as possible to its former condition.

When Romulus and Remus were about eighteen years of age, they had some dispute about the pasture with Numitor's herdsmen, whose herds were quartered on the Aventine hill, which is over against the Palatine. They frequently accused one another either of grazing the meadow-land that did not belong to them or of monopolizing that which belonged to both in common, or of whatever the matter chanced to be. From this wrangling they had recourse sometimes to blows and then to arms. Finally Numitor's men, having received many wounds at the hands of the youths and lost some of their number and being at last driven by force from the places in dispute, devised a stratagem against them. They placed an ambuscade in the hidden part of the ravine and having concerted the time of the attack with those who lay in wait for the youths, the rest in a body
west corner of the Palatine hill. There was also another casa Romuli on the Capitoline, probably a replica of the first. Vitruvius (ii. 1, 5), after mentioning the primitive custom of constructing roofs out of reeds, brushwood or straw, cites the hut of Romulus on the Capitoline as a good example of the ancient practice. Cf. Virgil (Aen. viii. 654), Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo ; and Ovid's similar description of the original temple of Vesta (Fasti vi. 261 f.).

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 $\kappa \omega \mu \eta \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \pi о \rho \in \nu \mu \epsilon$ 'vos $\epsilon i$ is $\tau \iota \chi \omega \rho i o \nu K \alpha \iota \nu i v \eta \nu^{1}$


 $\kappa \omega ́ \mu \eta s$ фӨávavтаs ка日' Єैv $\gamma \in \nu \in ́ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \pi а р а \lambda \alpha \beta \omega ́ \nu$. ка̉кєivoı ov̉ ठ́́Xovтal av̉тóv, ả $\lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \phi \epsilon u ́ \gamma o v \sigma \iota v ~ v i \pi a \gamma o ́-~$






 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta \epsilon \sigma \pi \sigma \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi \alpha \rho \alpha \kappa \epsilon ́ \lambda \epsilon v \sigma \nu \nu$, そิิขтas av่тoîs


LXXX. ' $\Omega_{s}$ סє̀ Touß $\rho \rho \omega \nu$ Aỉdıos $\delta \epsilon \iota \nu o ̀ s ~ a ̉ \nu \eta ̀ \rho ~$






${ }^{1}$ Kavivivy (as in ii. 32, 35, and Steph. Byz.) Cary, Kaivıvav Cobet, Jacoby: каıvцầ A, каıvца̀̀ B.

[^128]
## BOOK I. 79, 13-80, 1

attacked the others' folds by night. No wit happened that Romulus, together with the chief men of the village, had gone at the time to a place called Caenina to offer sacrifices for the community according to the custom of the country; but Remus, being informed of the foe's attack, hastily armed himself and with a few of the villagers who had already got together went out to oppose them. And they, instead of awaiting him, retired, in order to draw him to the place where they intended to face about and attack him to advantage. Remus, being unaware of their stratagem, pursued them for a long distance, till he passed the place where the rest lay in ambush; thereupon these men rose up and at the same time the others who had been fleeing faced about. And having surrounded Remus and his men, they overwhelmed them with a shower of stones and took them prisoners; for they had received orders from their masters to bring the youths to them alive. Thus Remus was captured and led away.
LXXX. But ${ }^{1}$ Aelius Tubero, ${ }^{2}$ a shrewd man and careful in collecting his historical data, writes that Numitor's people, knowing beforehand that the youths were going to celebrate in honour of Pan the Lupercalia, ${ }^{3}$ the Arcadian festival as instituted by Evander, set an ambush for that moment in the celebration when the youths living near the Palatine were, after offering sacrifice, to proceed from the
${ }^{3}$ For a detailed discussion of the Lupercalia the reader is referred to Sir James Frazer's note on Ovid's Fasti ii. 267 (Vol. ii. pp. 327 ff.; condensed in his Loeb Classieal Library edition, pp. 389 ff.).

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 $\dot{v} \pi \epsilon \zeta \omega \sigma \mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu$ aí $\delta \hat{\omega}$ таîs $\delta$ opaîs $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \nu \in \circ \theta v i \tau \omega \nu$.









 ผ́s є̈каотоí $\tau \iota \delta i a ̀ ~ \chi \epsilon \iota \rho o ̀ s ~ \epsilon i ́ \chi o \nu . ~ o i ~ \delta ' ~ \epsilon ́ \kappa \pi \lambda a \gamma \epsilon ́ \nu \tau \epsilon s ~$ $\tau \hat{\varphi} \pi \alpha \rho a \delta o ́ \xi \varphi$ то仑 $\pi \alpha \dot{\theta}$ ovs каi $\dot{\alpha} \mu \eta \chi \alpha \nu о \hat{v} \nu \tau \in S$ ő $\tau \iota$














${ }^{1} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ added by Kiessling.
${ }^{2}$ oũtos added here by Jacoby, after óp $\omega \hat{\nu} \gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho$ by Schnelle.

## BOOK I. 80, 1-3

Lupercal and run round the village naked, their loins girt with the skins of the victims just sacrificed. This ceremony signified a sort of traditional purification of the villagers, and is still performed even to this day. On this occasion, then, the herdsmen lay in wait in the narrow part of the road for the youths who were taking part in the ceremony, and when the first band with Remus came abreast of them, that with Romulus and the rest being behind (for they were divided into three bands and ran at a distance from one another), without waiting for the others they set up a shout and all rushed upon the first group, and, surrounding them, some threw darts at them, others stones, and others whatever they could lay their hands on. And the youths, startled by the unexpected attack and at a loss how to act, fighting unarmed as they were against armed men, were easily overpowered. Remus, therefore, having fallen into the hands of the enemy in this manner or in the way Fabius relates, was being led away, bound, to Alba. When Romulus heard of his brother's fate, he thought he ought to follow immediately with the stoutest of the herdsmen in the hope of overtaking Remus while he was still on the road, but he was dissuaded by Faustulus. For sceing that his haste was too frenzied, this man, who was looked upon as the father of the youths and who had hitherto kept everything a secret from them, lest they should venture upon some hazardous enterprise before they were in their prime, now at last, compelled by necessity,

[^129]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 $\tau \cup ́ \chi \eta \nu \tau \hat{\eta} s \tau \epsilon \mu \eta \tau \rho o ̀ s$ оîkтоs $\epsilon i \sigma \epsilon \in \rho \chi \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota$ каi $N \epsilon \mu \epsilon$ -




 ảvappîభal, $\pi \rho \alpha ́ \tau \tau \epsilon \iota \nu ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \mu \in \tau \grave{\alpha}$ то仑 $\mu \eta \tau \rho о \pi \alpha ́ \tau о \rho o s o ̃$


 каi $\delta \epsilon \eta \theta \epsilon i s ~ \epsilon i s ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ " $A \lambda \beta \alpha \nu$ є̇ $\pi \epsilon i \gamma \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$ סıà $\tau \alpha \chi \epsilon \in \omega \nu$ $\mu \eta ̀ ~ \kappa a \tau a ̀ ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ a u ̉ \tau a ̀ s ~ \pi u ́ \lambda a s ~ a ̈ \pi a \nu \tau a s ~ \mu \eta \delta ' ~ a ̀ ~ \theta \rho o ́ o v s ~$






 $\tau \iota \mu \omega \rho i ́ a s ~ \epsilon i \quad \mu \eta ̀ ~ \tau \epsilon v ́ \xi о \nu \tau \alpha \iota ~ к а \tau \alpha \lambda \epsilon i \psi \epsilon \epsilon \nu \pi \rho о \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma о \nu \tau \epsilon s$








## BOOK I. 80, 4-81, 2

took Romulus aside and told him everything. When the youth heard every circumstance of their fortune from the beginning, he was touched both with compassion for his mother and with solicitude for Numitor. And after taking much counsel with Faustulus, he decided to give up his plan for an immediate attack, but to get ready a larger force, in order to free his whole family from the lawlessness of Amulius, and he resolved to risk the direst peril for the sake of the greatest rewards, but to act in concert with his grandfather in whatever the other should see fit to do.
LXXXI. This ${ }^{1}$ plan having been decided upon as the best, Romulus called together all the inhabitants of the village and after asking them to hasten into Alba immediately, but not all by the same gates nor in a body, lest the suspicions of the citizens should be aroused, and then to stay in the marketplace and be ready to do whatever should be ordered, he himself set out first for the city. In the meantime those who had carried off Remus brought him before the king and complained of all the outrageous treatment they had received from the youths, producing their wounded, and threatening, if they found no redress, to desert their herds. And Amulius, desiring to please both the countrymen, who had come in great numbers, and Numitor (for he happened to be present and shared the exasperation of his retainers), and longing to see peace throughout the country, and at the same time suspecting the boldness of the youth, so fearless was he in his answers, gave judgment against him; but he left his ${ }^{1}$ For chaps. $81-83 \mathrm{cf}$. Livy i. 5, 4-6, 2.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 $\tau \hat{\omega \nu}$ то仑̂ $N \epsilon \mu \epsilon ́ \tau о \rho o s ~ \beta o v к o ́ \lambda \omega \nu ~ \eta ้ \gamma \epsilon \tau о ~ \delta \epsilon \delta \epsilon \mu \epsilon ́ v o s ~ \tau \epsilon$







 $\mu \in \tau \alpha \sigma \tau \eta ̂ v a \iota ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ a ̈ \lambda \lambda o v s ~ к \epsilon \lambda \epsilon u ́ \sigma \alpha s ~ \mu о \nu \omega \theta \epsilon ́ v \tau \alpha a ~ \tau o ̀ \nu$





 $\chi \rho o ́ v o \nu ~ \epsilon i ̈ \tau \epsilon ~ \dot{v} \pi о \tau о \pi \eta \theta \epsilon i ́ s ~ \tau \iota ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ả $\lambda \eta \theta \hat{\omega} \nu \epsilon і ̈ \tau \epsilon \tau о \hat{v}$









$$
{ }^{1} \pi \rho o ̀ ̀ s \mathrm{~B}: \text { द́ } \pi i \mathrm{R} \text {. }
$$

## 1300K I. 81, 2-5

punishment to Numitor, saying that the one who had done an injury could be punished by none so justly as by the one who had suffered it. While Numitor's herdsmen were leading Remus away with his hands bound behind him and mocking him, Numitor followed and not only admired his grace of body, so much was there that was kingly in his bearing, but also observed his nobility of spirit, which he preserved even in distress, not turning to lamentations and entreaties, as all do under such afflictions, but with a becoming silence going away to his fate. As soon as they were arrived at his house he ordered all the rest to withdraw, and Remus being left alone, he asked him who he was and of what parents; for he did not believe such a man could be meanly born. Remus answered that he knew this much only from the account he had received from the man who brought him up, that he with his twin brother had been exposed in a wood as soon as they were born and had then been taken up by the herdsmen and reared by them. Upon which Numitor, after a short pause, either because he suspected something of the truth or because Heaven was bringing the matter to light, said to him: "I need not inform you, Remus, that you are in my power to be punished in whatever way I may see fit, and that those who brought you here, having suffered many grievous wrongs at your hands, would give much to have you put to death. All this you know. But if I should free you from death and every other punishment, would you show your gratitude and serve me when I desire your assistance in an affair that will conduce to the advantage of us

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 єंтaípєı, $\lambda \hat{v} \sigma \alpha \iota ~ к \in \lambda \epsilon$ v́бas av̉тòv ó $N \epsilon \mu \epsilon ́ \tau \omega \rho$ каì
 шंs 'A $A$ ódıos av̉тòv ả $\delta \epsilon \lambda \phi o ̀ s ~ \ddot{\omega} \nu ~ a ̉ \pi \epsilon \sigma \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \eta \sigma \epsilon ~ \tau \eta ิ S$

 $\delta \in \mu \in ́ \nu \eta \nu$ фида́тт $\omega \nu$, та́ $\tau \in$ ä $\lambda \lambda \alpha$ о́то́ба $\delta \in \sigma \pi о ́ \tau \eta s$ $\chi \rho \omega ́ \mu \in \nu \circ s$ סov́ $\omega \omega$ $\delta \iota a \tau \epsilon \lambda \in \hat{\imath} .{ }^{2}$
LXXXII. Tâ̂̃' єimc̀v кai $\pi$ ò̀̀v $\theta \rho \hat{\nu} \nu o \nu ~ a ̈ \mu a$






 à $\gamma \gamma \epsilon \lambda i ́ a \nu \pi \epsilon ́ \mu \psi о \nu$, ӧть $\sigma \omega ́ \zeta \eta \tau \epsilon \delta \eta \lambda \omega \hat{\nu}$ каi סıà $\tau \alpha \chi \epsilon ́ \omega \nu$




 $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \quad \pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau о \nu, \stackrel{้}{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon \iota \tau \alpha \quad \phi \rho a ́ \zeta \epsilon \iota \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \stackrel{้}{\epsilon} \kappa \theta \epsilon \sigma \iota \nu \quad \sigma \phi \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa \alpha i$

${ }^{1} \tau \epsilon$ Meutzner : $\delta \grave{\text { è }} \mathrm{O}$.
${ }^{2} \delta$ дat $\epsilon \epsilon \epsilon i$ added by Sintenis, $\lambda \omega \beta$ âraı by Meutzner, Jacoby.
${ }^{3}$ кат’ оікор Kiessling: катоі́коь ABa, кат оікоия Bb .
${ }^{4}$ aúvoû Kiessling : aủ̃ov̂ AB.
${ }^{5}$ какоîs added by Kiessling; Peiske had suggested какоїs for катоікоия of the MSS.
280

## BOOK I. 81, 6-82, 2

both?" The youth, having in answer said evervthing which the hope of life prompts those who are in despair of it to say and promise to those on whom their fate depends, Numitor ordered him to be unbound. And commanding everybody to leave the place, he acquainted him with his own misfortuneshow Amulius, though his brother. had deprived him of his kingdom and bereft him of his children, having secretly slain his son while he was hunting and keeping his daughter bound in prison, and in all other respects continued to treat him as a master would treat his slave.
LXXXII. Having spoken thus and accompanied his words with many lamentations, he entreated Remus to avenge the wrongs of his house. And when the youth gladly embraced the proposal and begged him to set him at the task immediately, Numitor commended his eagerness and said: "I myself will determine the proper time for the enterprise; but do you meanwhile send a message privately to your brother, informing him that you are safe and asking him to come here in all haste." Thereupon a man who seemed likely to serve their purpose was found and sent; and he, meeting Romulus not far from the city, delivered his message. Romulus was greatly rejoiced at this and went in haste to Numitor; and having embraced them both, he first spoke words of greeting and then related how he and his brother had been exposed and brought up and

[^130]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS







 a้vєv $\sigma \eta \mu \epsilon i ́ \omega \nu$ ढ’ $\mu \phi a \nu \hat{\omega} \nu \mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda o v \pi \rho a ́ \gamma \mu a \tau o s ~ \mu \eta \nu v \tau \eta ̀ \zeta$


 $\chi \omega \delta \omega \hat{s} \pi a ́ v v$ каi $\pi \epsilon \rho i \quad \pi \circ \lambda \lambda \circ \hat{v} \pi о \iota o v ́ \mu \epsilon \nu \circ \nu \mu \eta \delta \epsilon \nu i$


 є́фрои́povı) $\sigma \nu \lambda \lambda a \mu \beta a ́ \nu \epsilon \iota ~ \tau \epsilon ~ к а i ~ \tau o ̀ ~ к р v \pi \tau o ̀ v ~ o ̋ ~ \tau \iota ~$






 $\pi a \iota \delta i ́ a ~ к о \mu i ́ \sigma а s ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi i ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \pi о \tau а \mu o ̀ v ~ к а i ~ ф р а ́ \zeta є \iota ~ \pi о o ̀ s ~$ тov̀s тapóvтas. oi Sє̀ $\sigma u \lambda \lambda a \beta o ́ v \tau \epsilon s ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ Ф a v \sigma \tau u ́ \lambda o v ~$


> 1 inv added by Steph.
> ${ }^{2}$ Sylburg: ф́фacuúlos AB.
all the other circumstances he had learned from Faustulus. The others, who wished his story might be true and needed few proofs in order to believe it, heard what he said with pleasure. And as soon as they knew one another they proceeded to consult together and consider the proper method and occasion for making their attack. While they were thus employed, Faustulus was brought before Amulius. For, fearing lest the information given by Romulus might not be credited by Numitor, in an affair of so great moment, without manifest proofs, he soon afterwards followed him to town, taking the ark with him as evidence of the exposing of the babes. But as he was entering the gates in great confusion, taking all possible pains to conceal what he carried, one of the guards observed him (for there was fear of an incursion of the enemy and the gates were being guarded by those who were most fully trusted by the king) and laid hold of him; and insisting upon knowing what the concealed object was, he forcibly threw back his garment. As soon as he saw the ark and found the man embarrassed, he demanded to know the cause of his confusion and what he meant by not carrying in openly an article that required no secrecy. In the meantime more of the guards flocked to them and one of them recognized the ark, having himself carried the children in it to the river; and he so informed those who were present. Upon this they seized Faustulus, and carrying him to the king himself, acquainted him with all that had

[^131]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS






 $\phi \rho a ́ \sigma o v ~ o ̋ \pi o v ~ v \hat{v} v$ ăv $\epsilon \dot{v} \rho \in \theta \in i ̂ \epsilon \nu$. ov̉ $\gamma$ à $\rho$ є้ $\tau \iota$ ठíкаьoí


LXXXIII. Фаvбтúnos $\delta$ ѐ тท̂s ả入óरov $\pi \rho a o ́ t \eta т о s$
















284

## BOOK I. 82, 6-83, 2

passed. Amulius, having terrified the man by the threat of torture if he did not willingly tell the truth, first asked him if the children were alive; and learning that they were, he desired to know in what manner they had been preserved. And when the other had given him a full account of everything as it had happened, the king said: "Well then, since you have spoken the truth about these matters, say where they may now be found; for it is not right that they who are my relations should any longer live ingloriously among herdsmen, particularly since it is due to the providence of the gods that they have been preserved."
LXXXIII. But Faustulus, suspecting from the king's unaccountable mildness that his intentions were not in harmony with his professions, answered him in this manner: " The youths are upon the mountains tending their herds, which is their way of life, and I was sent by them to their mother to give her an account of their fortunes; but, hearing that she was in your custody, I was intending to ask your daughter to have me brought to her. And I was bringing the ark with me that I might support my words with a manifest proof. Now, therefore, since you have decided to have the youths brought here, not only am I glad, but I ask you to send such persons with me as you wish. I will point out to them the youths and they shall acquaint them with your commands." This he said in the desire to discover some means of delaying the death of the youths and at the same time in the hope of making his own escape from the hands of those who were conducting him, as soon as he should arrive upon the mountains. And Amulius speedily sent the most

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS









 тòv катєі入ךфо́та кivסvvov aủтoùs каi $\pi \alpha \rho а к \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v \sigma a ́-$
 $\sigma \mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \grave{\epsilon} \pi i \quad \tau \dot{\alpha} \beta \alpha \sigma i ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota a \quad \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \epsilon \alpha{ }_{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \omega \nu \pi \epsilon \lambda a \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa \alpha i$










 vimŋคє́тaıs $\gamma \in \nu о \mu \epsilon ́ v \eta \nu ~ a ̀ \pi i \theta a v o \nu ~ \epsilon i v a i ́ ~ \phi а \sigma \iota, ~ к а i ~$



[^132][^133]trustworthy of his guards with secret orders to seize and bring before him the persons whom the swineherd should point out to them. Having done this, he at once determined to summon his brother and keep him under mild guard ${ }^{1}$ till he had ordered the present business to his satisfaction, and be sent for him as if for some other purpose; but the messenger who was sent, yielding both to his good-will toward the man in danger and to compassion for his fate, informed Numitor of the design of Amulius. And Numitor, having revealed to the youths the danger that threatened them and exhorted them to show themselves brave men, came to the palace with a considerable band of his retainers and friends and loyal servants. These were joined by the countrymen who had entered the city earlier and now came from the market-place with swords concealed under their clothes, a sturdy company. And having by a concerted attack forced the entrance, which was defended by only a few heavy-armed troops, they easily slew Amulius and afterwards made themselves masters of the citadel. Such is the account given by Fabius.
LXXXIV. But others, who hold that nothing bordering on the fabulous has any place in historical writing, declare that the exposing of the babes by the servants in a manner not in accordance with their instructions is improbable, and they ridicule the tameness of the she-wolf that suckled the children as a story full of melodramatic absurdity. In place of
persons of rank were often thus kept under surveillance in their own houses or in the house of a magistrate.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 $\epsilon і ̈ \tau \epsilon ~ \chi \rho \eta \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ тò $\pi \iota \sigma \tau o ̀ v ~ \tau \eta ิ S ~ \chi \rho \epsilon i ́ a s ~ a v ̇ \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ \pi \rho \iota \alpha ́-$




 єivaí фабı тò $\gamma \epsilon ́ v o s$ ảmò $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ бv̀v Eủávסp̣，като七－
 ＇A $\mu$ о入iov кт $\eta \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ ．харі́бабӨal $\delta$ є̀ $N \epsilon \mu \epsilon ́ \tau о \rho \iota ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~$


$4{ }^{2} \epsilon \mu \epsilon ́ \tau o \rho o s ~ a ̀ \gamma \epsilon ́ \lambda \alpha a s ~ \epsilon ่ \pi \iota \tau \rho о \pi \epsilon \cup ́ o v \tau \iota \cdot \tau \eta ́ \nu ~ \tau \epsilon \tau \iota \theta \eta \nu \eta \sigma \alpha-$ $\mu \epsilon ́ v \eta \nu ~ \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \pi \alpha \iota \delta i ́ a ~ к \alpha i ~ \mu a \sigma \tau o v ̀ s ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota \sigma \chi \circ v ̂ \sigma \alpha \nu ~ o v ̉ ~ \lambda u ́-~$ каıvav єivaí $\phi а \sigma \iota \nu, \dot{a} \lambda \lambda ’ \stackrel{\omega}{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$ єiкко̀s $\gamma v \nu а i ̂ \kappa \alpha ~ \tau \hat{\varphi}$




${ }^{1}$ Hertlein ：$\alpha \delta \in \lambda \phi \bar{\omega} \mathrm{O}$ ．
${ }^{2}$ 入oúriav AB（and similarly just below）．

[^134]
## BOOK I. 84, 2-4

this they give the following account of the matter : Numitor, upon learning that Ilia was with child, procured other new-born infants and when she had given birth to her babes, he substituted the former in place of the latter. Then he gave the supposititious children to those who were guarding her at the time of her delivery to be carried away, having either secured the loyalty of the guards by money or contrived this exchange by the help of women; and when Amulius had received them, he made away with them by some means or other. As for the babes that were born of Ilia, their grandfather, who was above all things solicitous for their preservation, handed them over to Faustulus. This Faustulus, they say, was of Arcadian extraction, being descended from those Arcadians who came over with Evander; he lived near the Palatine hill and had the care or Amulius' possessions, and he was prevailed on by his brother, named Faustinus, who had the oversight of Numitor's herds that fed near the Aventine hill, to do Numitor the favour of bringing up the children. They say, moreover, that the one who nursed and suckled them was not a she-wolf, but, as may well be supposed, a woman, the wife of Faustulus, named Laurentia, who, having formerly prostituted her beauty, had received from the people living round the Palatine hill the niekname of Lupa. ${ }^{1}$ This is an ancient Greek ${ }^{2}$ term applied

[^135]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 $\lambda \nu \kappa \alpha i ้ \eta s \quad \mu \hat{v} \theta o \nu, ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \epsilon \iota \delta \grave{\eta} \kappa \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \gamma \lambda \omega \bar{\omega} \tau \alpha \nu, \eta_{\eta} \nu \tau o ̀$

 $\lambda \alpha ́ \gamma \eta ~ \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \alpha \iota \delta i ́ a, ~ \delta o \theta \hat{\eta} r \alpha a ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau \omega \bar{\omega} \tau \rho \in \phi o ́ v \tau \omega \nu \in i s$「aßiovs mó̀ıv ov̉ $\mu а к р а ̀ \nu ~ a ̉ \pi o ̀ ~ \tau o ̂ ~ \Pi a \lambda \lambda a \nu \tau i ́ o v ~$

 үра́ $\mu \mu \tau \alpha$ каі $\mu о v \sigma \iota к \grave{\nu ~ к а і ~ \chi р \eta ิ \sigma \iota \nu ~ o ̈ \pi ~} \pi \omega \nu$ ' $E \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota-$
 коขто $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \nu о \mu i \zeta o \mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \gamma o v \epsilon i s ~ \sigma v \mu \beta \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota ~ \tau \grave{\nu} \nu$ סıaфорàv av̉тoîs $\pi \rho o$ òs тov̀s $N \epsilon \mu \epsilon ́ \tau о \rho o s ~ \beta o v к o ́ \lambda o v s ~$
 av̉тoîs $\delta o ́ v \tau \alpha s ~ c i s ~ a v ̉ \tau o v ̀ s ~ a ̉ \pi \epsilon \lambda a ́ \sigma \alpha \iota ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ a ̉ \gamma \epsilon ́ \lambda a s, ~$





 Sov̂val тòv $\beta$ ovфop $\beta o ̀ v{ }^{3}$ avitê kai $\tau$ ov̀s viov̀s $\grave{\epsilon} \pi i$




${ }^{1} \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota \kappa \omega ิ \nu \mathrm{~B}: \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota \kappa \grave{\eta} \nu \mathrm{R}$.
${ }^{2}$ aïтıós Kiessling: ai้тьos є̇кєívov A , aïтıos $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ย̇кєívov B .

## BOOK I. 84, 4-8

to women who prostitute themselves for gain ; but they are now called by a more respectable name, hetacrae or "companions." But some who were ignorant of this invented the myth of the she-wolf, this animal being called in the Latin tongue lupa. The story continues that after the children were weaned they were sent by those who were rearing them to Gabii, a town not far from the Palatine hill, to be instructed in Greek learning; and there they were brought up by some personal friends of Faustulus, being taught letters, music, and the use of Greek arms until they grew to manhood. After their return to their supposed parents the quarrel arose between them and Numitor's herdsmen concerning their common pastures; thereupon they beat Numitor's men so that these drove away their cattle, doing this by Numitor's direction, to the intent that it might serve as a basis for his complaints and at the same time as an excuse for the crowd of herdsmen to come to town. When this had been brought about, Numitor raised a clamour against Amulius, declaring that he was treated outrageously, being plundered by the herdsmen of Amulius, and demanding that Amulius, if he was not responsible for any of this, should deliver up to him the herdsman and his sons for trial ; and Amulius, wishing to clear himself of the charge, ordered not only those who were complained of, but all the rest who were accused of having been present at the conflict, to come and stand trial before Numitor. Then,

[^136]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 ठíкךs фрáбаขта тоîs vєavíбкоьs тòv $\mu \eta \tau \rho о \pi a ́ \tau о р а ~$


 $\pi \epsilon \rho i \quad \mu \epsilon ่ \nu$ ởv $\gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \in \sigma \epsilon \omega s$ каi $\tau \rho \circ \phi \hat{\eta} s \tau \hat{\nu} \nu$ оiкьбт $\omega \bar{\nu}$ $\tau \hat{\eta}{ }^{\text {' }} P$ ' $\omega \mu \eta s ~ \tau \alpha \hat{v} \tau \alpha ~ \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota . ~$
LXXXV. Tà $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \kappa \alpha \tau a ̀ ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \kappa \tau i \sigma \iota \nu \alpha u ̉ \tau \eta ̀ \nu \gamma \epsilon \nu o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu a$













 $\epsilon \mu \epsilon \lambda \lambda \epsilon \quad \nu \epsilon \omega \tau \epsilon \rho \iota \sigma \mu \circ \hat{v} \epsilon i \sigma \alpha \hat{v} \theta_{\iota}$ ă $\rho \chi \epsilon \iota \nu$, каi $\epsilon$ ĭ $\tau \iota$




[^137]when great numbers came to town together with the accused, ostensibly to attend the trial, the grandfather of the youths acquainted them with all the circumstances of their fortune, and telling them that now, if ever, was the time to avenge themselves, he straightway made his attack upon Amulius with the crowd of herdsmen. These, then, are the accounts that are given of the birth and rearing of the founders of Rome.
LXXXV. I ${ }^{1}$ am now going to relate the events that happened at the very time of its founding; for this part of my account still remains. When Numitor, upon the death of Amulius, had resumed his rule and had spent a little time in restoring the city from its late disorder to its former orderly state, he presently thought of providing an independent rule for the youths by founding another city. At the same time, the inhabitants being much increased in number, he thought it good policy to get rid of some part of them, particularly of those who had once been his enemies, lest he might have cause to suspect any of his subjects. And having communicated this plan to the youths and gained their approval, he gave them, as a district to rule, the region where they had been brought up in their infancy, and, for subjects, not only that part of the people which he suspected of a design to begin rebellion anew, but also any who were willing to migrate voluntarily. Among these, as is likely to happen when a city sends out a colony, there were great numbers of the common people, but there were also a sufficient number of the prominent men of

[^138]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
















 av̉тòs a้ $\rho \xi \omega \nu$ є́кáтєроs $\theta a \tau \epsilon ́ \rho o v, \pi \alpha \rho \omega ́ \sigma \alpha \nu \tau \epsilon s$ тò










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{ }^{1} \text { Schwartz: є̈каото८ O, Jacoby. }
$$

[^139]
## BOOK I. 85. 3-6

the best class, and of the Trojan element all those who were esteemed the noblest in birth, some of whose posterity remained even to my day, consisting of about fifty families. The youths were supplied with money, arms and corn, with slaves and beasts of burden and everything else that was of use in the building of a city. After they had led their people out of Alba and intermingled with them the local population that still remained in Pallantium and Saturnia, they divided the whole multitude into two parts. This they did in the hope of arousing a spirit of emulation, so that through their rivalry with each other their tasks might be the sooner finished; however, it produced the greatest of evils, discord. For each group, exalting its own leader, extolled him as the proper person to command them all; and the youths themselves, being now no longer one in mind or feeling it necessary to entertain brotherly sentiments toward each other, since each expected to command the other, scorned equality and craved superiority. For some time their ambitions were concealed, but later they burst forth on the occasion which I shall now describe. They did not both favour the same site for the building of the city; for Romulus proposed to settle the Palatine hill, among other reasons, because of the good fortune of the place where they had been preserved and brought up, whereas Remus favoured the place that is now named after him Remoria. ${ }^{1}$ And indeed this place is very suitable for a city, being a hill not far given (according to Paulus in his epitome of Festus, p. 276) to a site on the summit of the Aventine where Remus was said to have taken the auspices (chap. 86).

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS






 á $\phi$ оі̂v $\tau \hat{\omega} \mu \eta \tau \rho \circ \pi \alpha ́ \tau о \rho \iota ~ \epsilon ่ \pi \iota \tau \rho \epsilon ́ \psi \alpha \iota ~ \pi \alpha \rho \eta ิ \sigma \alpha \nu ~ \epsilon i \widehat{s} \tau \dot{\eta} \nu$




 $\pi \rho \circ \theta \dot{v} \sigma \alpha \nu \tau a s ~ \delta \grave{~ \tau o i ̂ s ~} \theta \epsilon \circ i ̂ s ~ i \in \rho a ̀ ~ \tau \grave{\alpha}$ vо $\mu i \zeta o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu \alpha$


 баขтєS каі кат⿳亠 $\tau \dot{\alpha}$ бvүкєі́ $\epsilon \nu \alpha \pi \alpha \rho \hat{\eta} \sigma \alpha \nu$ є่ข $\tau \hat{\eta}$


 Av̉єขтivos ка入ov́ $\mu \in \nu 0 s$ ，ஹ̀s $\delta \dot{\epsilon}$ тוvєs iotopov̂бıv $\dot{\eta}$






${ }^{2} \tau \hat{\eta} s \mathrm{O}$ ：$\tau \grave{\tau} \tau \hat{\eta} s$ Hertlein，Jacoby．

## BOOK I. 85, 6-86, 3

from the Tiber and about thirty stades from Rome. From this rivalry their unsociable love of rule immediately began to disclose itself; for on the one who now yielded the victor would inevitably impose his will on all occasions alike.
LXXXVI. Meanwhile, some time having elapsed and their discord in no degree abating, the two agreed to refer the matter to their grandfather and for that purpose went to Alba. He advised them to leave it to the decision of the gods which of them should give his name to the colony and be its leader. And having appointed for them a day, he ordered them to place themselves early in the morning at a distance from one another, in such stations as each of them should think proper, and after first offering to the gods the customary sacrifices, to watch for auspicious birds; and he ordered that he to whom the more favourable birds first appeared should rule the colony. The youths, approving of this, went away and according to their agreement appeared on the day appointed for the test. Romulus chose for his station the Palatine hill, where he proposed settling the colony, and Remus the Aventine hill adjoining it, or, according to others, Remoria; and a guard attended them both, to prevent their reporting things otherwise than as they appeared. When they had taken their respective stations, Romulus, after a short pause, from eagerness and jealousy of his brother,-though possibly Heaven was thus directing

[^140]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

















 ov่ $\mu \epsilon \theta \eta$ 'б $\sigma \sigma \theta a \iota ~ a v ่ \tau \hat{\omega} \phi \eta \sigma \iota \nu$.
LXXXVII. 'Avíवтaтal $\delta \grave{\eta}$ є̇к тov́тov $\mu \epsilon i \zeta \omega \nu \tau \hat{\eta} S$

 $\kappa \alpha \iota \omega ́ \sigma \epsilon \omega s$ тoıâ $\sigma \delta \epsilon \epsilon ่ \pi \iota \sigma v v a ́ \pi \tau о \nu \tau o s . ~ \epsilon i \rho \eta \mu \epsilon ́ v o \nu \gamma$ д̀̀ $\rho$




${ }^{1} \hat{\eta}$ added by Jacoby.



298
him,-even before he saw any omen at all, sent messengers to his brother desiring him to come immediately, as if he had been the first to see some auspicious birds. But while the persons he sent were proceeding with no great haste, feeling ashamed of the fraud, six vultures appeared to Remus, flying from the right; and he, seeing the birds, rejoiced greatly. And not long afterwards the men sent by Romulus took him thence and brought him to the Palatine hill. When they were together, Remus asked Romulus what birds he had been the first to see, and Romulus knew not what to answer. But thereupon twelve auspicious vultures were seen flying; and upon seeing these he took courage, and pointing them out to Remus, said: "Why do you demand to know what happened a long time ago ? For surely you sce these birds yourself." But Remus was indignant and complained bitterly because he had been deceived by him; and he refused to yield to him his right to the colony.
LXXXVII. Thereupon greater strife arose between them than before, as each, while secretly striving for the advantage, was ostensibly willing to accept equality, for the following reason. Their grandfather, as I have stated, had ordered that he to whom the more favourable birds first appeared should rule the colony; but, as the same kind of birds had been seen by both, one had the advantage of seeing them first and the other that of seeing the greater number.

[^141]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS






 oîós $\tau$ ' $\hat{\eta} \nu$ ảvv́ral, єis $\mu \epsilon ́ \sigma o v s ~ \omega ̈ \sigma a \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \mu a \chi o-~$ $\mu \in ́ v o v s ~ a ้ v o \pi \lambda o v ~ \theta a v a ́ \tau o v ~ \tau o v ̂ ~ \tau \alpha \chi i ́ \sigma \tau o v ~ \tau v \chi \epsilon i ̂ v ~ \pi \rho o-~$




 $\mu a ́ \chi \eta ~ ' P \omega ́ \mu о v ~ \nu і к \eta \nu ~ о і к \tau і \sigma \tau \eta \nu ~ o ́ ~ ' P \omega \mu v ́ \lambda o s ~ a ̉ \pi o ́ ~ \tau \epsilon ~$ $\tau \circ \hat{v}$ à $\delta \in \lambda \phi \circ \hat{v}$ каi $\pi о \lambda \iota \tau \iota \kappa \hat{\eta} s$ à $\lambda \lambda \eta \lambda о к \tau о \nu i a s ~ a ̉ \nu \in \lambda o ́-$




 каi $\mu \eta \tau \rho o ̀ s ~ o u ̉ \chi ~ \tilde{\eta} \tau \tau о \nu \eta$ ท̇бтáלєто, $\delta \in о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta s$ каi $\pi \alpha \rho \eta-$



 а’тоькіал єै $\sigma \tau \epsilon \lambda \lambda \epsilon, \pi о \lambda i \zeta \epsilon \iota ~ \tau o ̀ ~ П а \lambda \lambda \alpha ́ v \tau \iota o v . ~$



$$
{ }^{1} \text { ӧ } \pi \epsilon \rho \mathrm{O}: \text { ö } \pi \epsilon \rho \text { каі Cobet, Jacoby. }
$$

300

## BOOK I. 87, 1-4

The rest of the people also espoused their quarrel, and arming themselves without orders from their leaders, began war; and a sharp battle ensued in which many were slain on both sides. In the course of this battle, as some say, Faustulus, who had brought up the youths, wishing to put an end to the strife of the brothers and being unable to do so, threw himself unarmed into the midst of the combatants, seeking the speediest death, which fell out accordingly. Some say also that the stone lion which stood in the prineipal part of the Forum near the rostra was placed over the body of Faustulus, who was buried by those who found him in the place where he fell. Remus having been slain in this action, Romulus, who had gained a most melancholy victory through the death of his brother and the mutual slaughter of citizens, buried Remus at Remoria, since when alive he had clung to it as the site for the new city. As for himself, in his grief and repentance for what had happened, he became dejected and lost all desire for life. But when Laurentia, who had received the babes when newly born and brought them up and loved them no less than a mother, entreated and comforted him, he listened to her and rose up, and gathering together the Latins who had not been slain in the battle (they were now little more than three thousand out of a very great multitude at first, when he led out the colony), he built a city on the Palatine hill.

The account I have given seems to me the most probable of the stories about the death of Remus.

[^142]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS









 $\chi \alpha \lambda \epsilon \pi \hat{\omega} s \alpha^{\alpha} \nu \tau \iota \varsigma \dot{\eta} \mu \hat{\omega} \nu$ á $\mu$ úvaıто," $\epsilon i \pi o ́ v \tau \alpha, \pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \xi \alpha \iota \tau \hat{\varphi}$

 $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota \gamma \in \nu \epsilon \in \sigma \theta a \iota$.


 $\pi о \iota \eta$ әабӨal, тарабкєvaбá $\mu \in \nu$ ós $\tau \epsilon$ ö $\sigma \alpha$ єis $\theta v \sigma i a s$

 $\theta \epsilon o i ̂ s ~ к a i ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ a ̈ \lambda l o u s ~ к \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v ́ \sigma a s ~ к а \tau a ̀ ~ \delta v ́ v a \mu ı \nu ~ \tau o ̀ ~$







${ }^{1}$ Kiessling: mapadíootaı O.
${ }^{2}{ }^{2} \mu \epsilon ́ \rho a \nu$ added by Reiske.
${ }^{8}$ aíoious Kiessling : ảєтov̀s 0.

## BOOK I. 87, 4-88, 2

However, if any has been handed down that differs from this, let that also be related. Some, indeed, say that Remus yielded the leadership to Romulus, though not without resentment and anger at the fraud, but that after the wall was built, wishing to demonstrate the weakness of the fortification, he cried, "Well, as for this wall, one of your enemies could as easily cross it as I do," and immediately leaped over it. Thereupon Celer, one of the men standing on the wall, who was overseer of the work, said, " Well, as for this enemy, one of us could easily punish him," and striking him on the head with a mattock, he killed him then and there. Such is said to have been the outcome of the quarrel between the brothers.
LXXXVIII. When no obstacle now remained to the building of the city, Romulus appointed a day on which he planned to begin the work, after first propitiating the gods. And having prepared everything that would be required for the sacrifices and for the entertainment of the people, when the appointed time came, he himself first offered sacrifice to the gods and ordered all the rest to do the same according to their abilities. He then in the first place took the omens, which were favourable. After that, having commanded fires to be lighted before the tents, he caused the people to come out and leap over the flames in order to expiate their guilt. When he thought everything had been done which he conceived to be acceptable to the gods, he called all the people to the appointed place and described a quadrangular figure about the hill, tracing with a plough drawn by a bull and a cow yoked

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
















 ßaíws єimeîv.







${ }^{2}$ Sylburg : $\pi a \rho \in \nu \tau a ́ \lambda \iota a ~ O . ~$
${ }^{3}$ diáyovtes added by Sintenis.
together a continuous furrow designed to receive the foundation of the wall; and from that time this custom has continued among the Romans of ploughing a furrow round the site where they plan to build a city. After he had done this and sacrificed the bull and the cow and also performed the initial rites over many other vietims, he set the people to work. This day the Romans celebrate every year even down to my time as one of their greatest festivals and call it the Parilia. ${ }^{1}$ On this day, which comes in the beginning of spring, the husbandmen and herdsmen offer up a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the increase of their cattle. But whether they had celebrated this day in even earlier times as a day of rejoicing and for that reason looked upon it as the most suitable for the founding of the city, or whether, because it marked the beginning of the building of the city, they consecrated it and thought they should honour on it the gods who are propitious to shepherds, I cannot say for certain.
LXXXIX. Such, then, are the facts concerning the origin of the Romans which I have been able to discover after reading very diligently many works written by both Greek and Roman authors. Hence, from now on let the reader forever renounce the views of those who make Rome a retreat of barbarians, fugitives and vagabonds, and let him confidently affirm it to be a Greek city, -which will be easy when
${ }^{1}$ The Parilia, or more properly Palilia, was an ancient festival celebrated by the shepherds and herdsmen on the 21st of April in honour of the divinity Pales. See the detailed description of its observance in Ovid, Fasti iv. 721 ff ., with Sir James Frazer's note on that passage (vol. iii. pp. 336-42; condensed in his L.C.L. edition, pp. 411-13).

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS











 $\tau \circ i ̂ s ~ \pi \rho \circ \tau \epsilon ́ \rho o \iota s . ~ \tau о v ́ \tau \omega \nu ~ \gamma \alpha ̀ \rho ~ a ̆ \nu ~ o v ̉ \delta e ̀ v ~ \epsilon v ̋ \rho o \iota ~ \tau \omega ิ \nu$ 3 є่ $\theta \nu \hat{\omega} \nu$ ov้т ${ }^{\alpha} \rho \chi a \iota o ́ \tau \epsilon \rho \circ \nu$ ov゙тє ' $E \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota \kappa \omega ́ \tau \epsilon \rho \circ \nu$. ai
 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{\alpha} \rho \chi \alpha i ́ \omega \nu$ ढ่ $\pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \epsilon v \mu \alpha ́ \tau \omega \nu \dot{a} \pi \epsilon \epsilon \mu \alpha \theta \epsilon$, $\sigma v ̀ \nu \quad \chi \rho o ́ v \omega$


 oov̀s каi इavvíтаs каi Tuррךขоv̀s каi Bрєттiovs
 $\sigma v \chi \nu a ̀ s ~ \mu v p ı a ́ \delta a s ~ a ̈ \lambda \lambda a ~ \tau \epsilon ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ \epsilon i p \eta \mu \epsilon ́ v o ı s ~ " ̈ \theta \nu \eta, ~$
 то́т $\omega \nu$, $\mu v р i ́ a ~ o ̋ \sigma \alpha ~ o v ̋ \tau \epsilon ~ o ́ \mu o ́ \gamma \lambda \omega \tau \tau \alpha ~ o v ̋ \tau \epsilon ~ o ́ \mu о \delta i ́-~$





[^143]306

## BOOK I. 89. 1-4

he shows that it is at once the most hospitable and friendly of all cities, and when he bears in mind that the Aborigines were Oenotrians, and these in turn Arcadians, and remembers those who joined with them in their settlement, the Pelasgians who were Argives by descent and came into Italy from Thessaly; and recalls, moreover, the arrival of Evander and of the Arcadians, who settled round the Palatine hill, after the Aborigines had granted the place to them; and also the Peloponnesians, who, coming along with Hercules, settled upon the Saturnian hill ; and, last of all, those who left the Troad and were intermixed with the earlier settlers. For one will find no nation that is more ancient or more Greek than these. But the admixtures of the barbarians with the Romans, by which the city forgot many of its ancient institutions, happened at a later time. And it may well seem a cause of wonder to many who reflect on the natural course of events that Rome did not become entirely barbarized after receiving the Opicans, the Marsians, the Samnites, the Tyrrhenians, the Bruttians and many thousands of Umbrians, Ligurians, Iberians and Gauls, besides innumerable other nations, some of whom came from Italy itself and some from other regions and differed from one another both in their language and habits; for their very ways of life, diverse as they were and thrown into turmoil by such dissonance, might have been expected to cause many innovations in the ancient order of the city. For many others by living among barbarians have in a short time forgotten all their

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS








 $\mu \in \nu o \iota, \beta a \rho \beta \alpha ́ \rho \omega \nu$ סє̀ $\sigma v \mu \pi \alpha ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \nu v ิ \nu{ }^{5}$ oै $\nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma^{6}$ ả $\gamma \rho \iota \omega$ татоь.









${ }^{1} \epsilon \lambda \lambda \eta \eta_{\nu} \nu \nu \mathrm{B}: ~ \epsilon ่ \lambda \lambda \eta \eta_{\nu} \omega \nu \stackrel{\epsilon}{\epsilon} \tau \iota \mathrm{R}$.
${ }^{2}$ о́тьov̂ Steph. ${ }^{2}$ : oั̃ $\tau$ єiđiv O .
${ }^{3} \dot{\omega}$ s $\alpha \lambda_{\eta} \theta \hat{\eta}$ єival after róv $\delta \epsilon$ deleted by Cobet.
${ }^{4}$ Kiessling: $\eta^{i} \epsilon^{i} \omega \nu \mathrm{Bb}$, Jacoby, $\eta^{\circ} \lambda \omega \nu \mathrm{Ba}$ (Kiessling reports $\dot{\lambda} \lambda \sigma i ̂$ for B), o̊̀ $\lambda \omega \nu \mathrm{A}$; фúd $\omega \nu$ Sintenis, $\pi a ́ \lambda a \iota ~ U r l i c h s . ~$
${ }^{5} v \hat{v} \nu \mathrm{O}: \tau \hat{\omega} \nu v v \hat{\nu}$ Meutzner, Jacoby.
${ }^{6}$ Sylburg: öv ${ }^{2}$ т $\omega \nu$ O.
${ }^{7}$ Reiske : ӑкрал O .

${ }^{1}$ These Asiatic Achaeans were a barbarian people of the Caucasus, whose name was made to coincide with that of the Greek Achaeans; hence the belief arose that they were

## BOOK I. 89, 4-90, 1

Greek heritage, so that they neither speak the Greek language nor observe the customs of the Greeks nor acknowledge the same gods nor have the same equitable laws (by which most of all the spirit of the Greeks differs from that of the barbarians) nor agree with them in anything else whatever that relates to the ordinary intercourse of life. Those Achaeans who are settled near the Euxine sea are a sufficient proof of my contention; for, though originally Eleans, of a nation the most Greek of any, they are now the most savage of all barbarians. ${ }^{1}$
XC. The language spoken by the Romans is neither utterly barbarous nor absolutely Greek, but a mixture, as it were, of both, the greater part of which is Acolic ${ }^{2}$; and the only disadvantage they have experienced from their intermingling with these various nations is that they do not pronounce all their sounds properly. But all other indications of a Greek origin they preserve beyond any other colonists. For it is not merely recently, since they have enjoyed the full tide of good fortune to instruct them in the amenities of life, that they have begun to live humanely; nor is it merely since they first
an offshoot of the latter. Strabo connected them either with the Boeotian Orchomenus (ix. 2, 42) or with Phthiotis (xi. 2, 12); other writers do not go into the same detail. The name "Eleans" in the text must be regarded as very uncertain; see the critical note.
${ }^{2}$ Dionysius is probably thinking particularly of the letter digamma ( $c f$. p. $65, \mathrm{n} .1$ ) which Quintilian (i. 4, 8 ; i. 7,26 ) calls the Aeolic letter, and the preservation in Aeolic, as well as Doric, of the original $\bar{a}$, as in фá $\mu \alpha$ (Lat. $f \bar{a} m a), \mu a ́ \tau \eta \rho$ ( $m a \bar{t} e r$ ), as contrasted with the Ionic $\phi \eta \dot{\eta \eta}, \mu \eta \prime \tau \eta \rho$. Quintilian, too, regards the Aeolic dialect as being closest to Latin (i. 6, 31).

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \iota \nu$ Є’ $\chi \omega \nu$ каі то入入оîs $\tau \epsilon \kappa \mu \eta \rho i o \iota s ~ \chi \rho \eta ิ \sigma \theta \alpha \iota ~ \delta v \nu \alpha ́-$ $\mu \epsilon \nu$ os ảv $\nu \rho \bar{\omega} \nu \quad \tau \epsilon \mu a \rho \tau v \rho i ́ a s ~ \phi \epsilon ́ \rho \epsilon \iota \nu$ ov̉к ảkicuv $\dot{\alpha} \pi \iota \sigma \tau \epsilon \imath \sigma \theta a \iota, \pi \alpha ́ v \tau \alpha$ ảvaßá入入орає $\tau \alpha \hat{v} \tau \alpha$ єis тòv

 $\kappa \epsilon \phi a \lambda \alpha i ́ \omega \sigma \iota \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \epsilon \in \nu \tau a v ́ \tau \eta \delta \epsilon \delta \eta \lambda \omega \mu \epsilon \in \nu \omega \nu \tau \hat{\eta} \beta i \beta \lambda \omega$

aimed at the conquest of countries lying beyond the sea, after overthrowing the Carthaginian and Macedonian empires, but rather from the time when they first joined in founding the city, that they have lived like Greeks; and they do not attempt anything more illustrious in the pursuit of virtue now than formerly. I have innumerable things to say upon this subject and can adduce many arguments and present the testimony of credible authors; but I reserve all this for the account I propose to write of their government. ${ }^{1}$ I shall now resume the thread of my narrative, after prefacing to the following Book a recapitulation of what is contained in this.
${ }^{1}$ See especially vii. 70 ff ., where Dionysius reminds the reader of the promise made here. As contrasted with Book I, which deals with the origin of the Romans. all the rest of the work could be thought of as an account of their government.

## $\triangle$ IONYミIOY

A 1 IKAPNA工E $\Omega$

## POMAIKHさ APNAIOAOГIAミ

## ムOГO』 $\triangle$ EYTEPO乏

 $\mu \epsilon ́ \rho \in \sigma \iota$ т $\bar{s}$＇Iта入ías $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ тотанòv $T \epsilon \in \beta \in \rho \iota \nu$ ，ôs кат $\dot{\alpha}$









 като七кои́vт $\omega \nu \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ ảтò Tápavтоs ä $\chi \rho \iota ~ \Pi о \sigma \epsilon \iota \delta \omega v i a s$
 $\kappa \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota \chi \omega ́ \rho \iota o \nu ~ \nu o ́ \mu о \nu ~ ن ́ \pi o ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \alpha \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega \nu ~ a ̉ \pi o-$


 312

## THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

## OF

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

## BOOK II

The city of Rome is situated in the western part of Italy near the river Tiber, which empties into the Tyrrhenian sea about midway along the coast ; from the sea the city is distant one hundred and twenty stades. Its first known occupants were certain barbarians, natives of the country, called Sicels, who also occupied many other parts of ltaly and of whom not a few distinct memorials are left even to our times; among other things there are even some names of places said to be Sicel names, which show that this people formerly dwelt in the land. They were driven out by the Aborigines, who occupied the place in their turn; these were descendants of the Oenotrians who inhabited the seacoast from Tarentum to Posidonia. They were a band of holy youths consecrated to the gods according to their local custom and sent out by their parents, it is said, to inhabit the country which Heaven should give them. The Oenotrians were an Arcadian tribe who had of their own accord left

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS













 ov̉ то入入оîs v̈бтєроข＇Нрак入є́ovs катахӨ́vтоs єis ＇Iта入íav，ӧтє тウ̀v $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \iota a ̀ v ~ \epsilon ’ \xi{ }^{\prime} E \rho v \theta \epsilon i a s$ оїка $\delta \epsilon$
 $\delta v \nu a ́ \mu \epsilon \omega s$＇$E \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota \kappa \eta$ $\pi \lambda \eta \sigma i o v ~ i \delta \rho v ́ \epsilon \tau a \iota ~ \tau о \hat{v} ~ П а \lambda-~$ $\lambda \alpha \nu \tau i o v, \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \epsilon ̇ \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega \tau \omega \bar{\omega} \nu \dot{\epsilon} \mu \pi \epsilon \pi \pi \circ \lambda \iota \sigma \mu \epsilon \in \nu \omega \nu \tau \hat{\eta} \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota{ }^{1}$


 бтávтєs $\delta \iota a \pi \epsilon \pi \sigma \rho \theta \eta \mu \epsilon ́ v \eta s$ av̉тoîs $\tau \hat{\eta} s \pi a \tau \rho i \delta o s$ vi ${ }^{\prime}$ ＇Нраклє́ovs．






$$
{ }^{1} \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota \text { B : } \dot{\rho} \omega \dot{\mu} \mu \eta \mathrm{R} .
$$

## BOOK II. 1. 2-2, 1

the country then called Lycaonia and now Arcadia, in search of a better land, under the leadership of Oenotrus, the son of Lycaon, from whom the nation received its name. While the Aborigines occupied this region the first who joined with them in their settlement were the Pelasgians, a wandering people who came from the country then called Haemonia and now Thessaly, where they had lived for some time. After the Pelasgians came the Arcadians from the city of Pallantium, who had chosen as leader of their colony Evander, the son of Hermes and the nymph Themis. These built a town beside one of the seven hills that stands near the middle of Rome, calling the place Pallantium, from their mother-city in Arcadia. Not long afterwards, when Hercules came into Italy on his return home with his army from Erytheia, a certain part of his force, consisting of Greeks, remained behind and settled near Pallantium, beside another of the hills that are now inclosed within the city. This was then called by the inhabitants the Saturnian hill, but is now called the Capitoline hill by the Romans. The greater part of these men were Epeans who had abandoned their city in Elis after their country had been laid waste by Hercules.
II. In the sixteenth generation after the Trojan war the Albans united both these places into one settlement, surrounding them with a wall and a ditch. For until then there were only folds for cattle and sheep and quarters of the other herdsmen,

[^144]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 2 таs av̇тท้̀ $\pi о \tau \alpha \mu o v ́ s . ~ \gamma \epsilon ́ v o s ~ \delta \grave{~} \tau$ ò $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu{ }^{1}$ ' $A \lambda \beta \alpha \nu \hat{\omega} \nu{ }^{2}$





















${ }^{1} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ added by Grasberger.
${ }^{2} \alpha \dot{\alpha} \lambda \beta \alpha \nu \omega ิ \nu \mathrm{~B}: \dot{\alpha} \lambda \beta \alpha \nu \grave{\nu} \nu \mathrm{R}$.
${ }^{3}$ є́к $\tau \epsilon$ Пє

 $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon \iota \hat{\omega} \nu \mathrm{R}$.
${ }^{4} \mu \epsilon \tau \dot{\alpha}$ ìiou $\mathrm{O}: \mu \epsilon \tau \dot{\alpha} \tau \eta \dot{\eta} \nu$ 'Iníou Jacoby.

## BOOK II. 2. 1-4

as the land round about yielded plenty of grass, not only for winter but also for summer pasture, by reason of the rivers that refresh and water it. The Albans were a mixed nation composed of Pelasgians, of Arcadians, of the Epeans who came from Elis, and, last of all, of the Trojans who came into Italy with Aeneas, the son of Anchises and Aphroditê, after the taking of Troy. It is probable that a barbarian element also from among the neighbouring peoples or a remnant of the ancient inhabitants of the place was mixed with the Greek. But all these people, having lost their tribal designations, came to be called by one common name, Latins, after Latinus, who had been king of this country. The walled city, then, was built by these tribes in the four hundred and thirty-second year after the taking of Troy, and in the seventh Olympiad. ${ }^{1}$ The leaders of the colony were twin brothers of the royal family, Romulus being the name of one and Remus of the other. On the mother's side they were descended from Aeneas and were Dardanidae; it is hard to say with certainty who their father was, but the Romans believe them to have been the sons of Mars. However, they did not both continue to be leaders of the colony, since they quarrelled over the command; but after one of them had been slain in the battle that ensued, Romulus, who survived,

$$
{ }^{1} 751 \text { в.с. }
$$

[^145]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

$\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ \mu a ́ \chi \eta \nu ~ o i ́ \kappa \iota \sigma \tau \eta ̀ s ~ \gamma i v \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota ~ \tau \eta ̂ s ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega s ~ к а i ~$
 $\dot{\alpha} \rho \iota \theta \mu$ òs $\delta$ è $\tau \hat{\omega} v \mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \sigma \chi o ́ v \tau \omega \nu$ av̉ $\hat{\omega}^{1} \tau \hat{\eta} S$ ảтоккías

 трьако́бьоь.
III. 'E $\pi \epsilon i$ oûv $\eta^{\prime \prime} \tau \epsilon \tau \alpha ́ \phi \rho o s$ aủzoîs $\epsilon \in \xi \in i \rho \gamma a \sigma \tau o$
 ảvaүкаíovs катабкєvàs $\dot{\alpha} \pi \epsilon \iota \lambda \eta \eta^{\prime} \phi \epsilon \sigma \alpha \nu^{\prime}, \dot{\alpha} \pi \eta \eta^{\prime} \tau \epsilon \iota \quad \delta^{\prime}$ ó



 каi таîs idíaıs катабкєvaîs $\dot{\text { és }} \nu \in о ́ к т \iota \sigma \tau о \nu ~ a ̀ \pi о-~$ $\chi \rho \omega ́ \nu \tau \omega s$ кєкоб $\mu \hat{\eta} \sigma \theta a \iota \cdot \eta ’ \xi i o v \delta^{\prime}$ є̀v $\nu v \mu \epsilon i ̂ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \pi a ́ v \tau a s$


 є้ $\nu \delta o v ~ a ̉ \pi \rho a ́ \gamma \mu о \nu a ~ \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho i ́ a s ~ i ́ \pi o ́ \lambda \eta \psi \iota \nu ~ \pi a \rho a \sigma \chi \epsilon i ̂ \nu$,








 318

## BOOK II. 2, 4-3. 3

became the founder of the city and called it after his own name. The great numbers of which the colony had originally consisted when sent out with him were now reduced to a few, the survivors amounting to three thousand foot and three hundred horse.
III. When, therefore, the ditch was finished, the rampart completed and the necessary work on the houses done, and the situation required that they should consider also what form of government they were going to have, Romulus called an assembly of the people by the advice of his grandfatber, who had instructed him what to say, and told them that the city, considering that it was newly built, was sufficiently adorned both with public and private buildings; but he asked them all to bear in mind that these were not the most valuable things in cities. For neither in foreign wars, he said, are deep ditches and high ramparts sufficient to give the inhabitants an undisturbed assurance of their safety, but guarantee one thing only, namely, that they shall suffer no harm through being surprised by an incursion of the euemy; nor, again, when civil commotions afflict the State, do private houses and dwellings afford anyone a safe retreat. For these have been contrived by men for the enjoyment of leisure and tranquillity in their lives, and with them neither those of their neighbours who plot against them are prevented from doing mischief nor do those who are plotted against feel any confidence that they are free from danger ; and no

|  | 2 |
| :---: | :---: |
| ${ }^{3} \beta$ í $\omega \nu \mathrm{Bb}$ : $\beta$ iov ABa . | ${ }^{4} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mathrm{~B}: \tau \hat{\omega} \mathrm{A}$. |

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 $\gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \mu \epsilon \gamma \alpha ́ \lambda \eta \nu$, ov̉ $\delta$ ' av̉ $\pi \alpha \rho a ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \mu \eta ̀ ~ \tau v \chi \epsilon i ̂ \nu ~$ $\tau \iota v \alpha ̀ ~ к а т \alpha \sigma \kappa \epsilon v \eta ̂ s ~ i \delta i a s ~ \tau \epsilon ~ к а i ~ \delta \eta \mu о \sigma i a s ~ \pi о \lambda v \tau \epsilon \lambda о \hat{s}$ $\kappa \epsilon \kappa \omega \lambda \hat{v} \sigma \theta a \iota \mu \epsilon \gamma \alpha ́ \lambda \eta \nu \quad \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \in \sigma \theta a \iota ~ к \alpha i ~ \epsilon v ̇ \delta a i ́ \mu о \nu a \cdot \alpha \grave{\lambda} \lambda{ }^{\prime}$











 $\tau \grave{\alpha} s$ ä入las $\dot{\alpha} \rho \in \tau \dot{\alpha} s ~ \epsilon ่ \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \epsilon v ́ o v \tau \alpha s ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\eta} s ~ \pi o \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon i a s ~$
 $\mu a \lambda \theta a \kappa о$ и́s $\tau \epsilon$ ẩ каi $\pi \lambda \epsilon о \nu$ є́ктаs каi Sov́dovs ai-
 6 є’ф $\eta \quad \tau \epsilon \pi \alpha \rho \dot{\alpha} ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \nu \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega \nu$ каі $\delta \iota \grave{\alpha} \pi о \lambda \lambda \hat{\eta} s$
 $\mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda a \iota ~ к а i ~ \epsilon i s ~ \epsilon u ̛ \delta a i ́ \mu о \nu а s ~ a ̉ \phi \iota к o ́ \mu \epsilon v a \iota ~ \tau o ́ т о и s, ~ a i ~$ $\mu \epsilon ̀ v$ av̉тiка $\delta \iota \epsilon \phi \theta a ́ p \eta \sigma \alpha \nu$ єis $\sigma \tau \alpha ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota \varsigma ~ \epsilon ’ \mu \pi \epsilon \sigma o \hat{v} \sigma \alpha \iota$, ai
 $\chi \omega ́ \rho о \iota s ~ \eta ̉ \nu \alpha \gamma к \alpha ́ \sigma \theta \eta \sigma a \nu ~ \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ к а i ~ a ̉ \nu \tau i ~ к р є i ́ \tau \tau о \nu о s ~$



$$
{ }^{1} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \text { Reiske: } \tau \dot{\alpha} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mathrm{O}
$$

city that has gained splendour from these adornments only has ever yet become prosperous and great for a long period, nor, again, has any city from a want of magnificence either in public or in private buildings ever been hindered from becoming great and prosperous. But it is other things that preserve cities and make them great from small beginnings : in foreign wars, strength in arms, which is acquired by courage and exercise; and in civil commotions, unanimity among the citizens, and this, he showed, could be most effectually achieved for the commonwealth by the prudent and just life of each citizen. Those who practise warlike exercises and at the same time are masters of their passions are the greatest ornaments to their country, and these are the men who provide both the commonwealth with impregnable walls and themselves in their private lives with safe refuges; but men of bravery, justice and the other virtues are the result of the form of government when this has been established wisely, and, on the other hand, men who are cowardly, rapacious and the slaves of base passions are the product of evil institutions. He added that he was informed by men who were older and had wide acquaintance with history that of many large colonies planted in fruitful regions some had been immediately destroyed by falling into seditions, and others, after holding out for a short time, had been forced to become subject to their neighbours and to exchange their more fruitful country for a worse fortune, becoming slaves instead of free men; while others, few in numbers and

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

Өр $\omega \pi$ ои каi $\epsilon i s ~ \chi \omega \rho i ́ a ~ o v ̉ ~ \pi a ́ v v ~ \sigma \pi о v \delta \alpha i ̂ a ~ \pi \alpha \rho a \gamma \epsilon v o ́-~$



 oûv $\mu$ ía $\tau \iota s$ ท̉̉v $\pi \alpha \rho a ̀ ~ \pi a ̂ \sigma \iota \nu ~ a ̀ \nu \theta \rho \omega ́ \pi o ı s ~ \beta i ́ o v ~ \tau \alpha ́ \xi ı s ~ \dot{\eta}$




 $\kappa \alpha i$ тои́т $\omega \nu$ оủ $\delta \epsilon \mu i a \nu$ єîval $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon \iota \omega ิ \nu \epsilon i \lambda \iota \kappa р \iota \nu \eta ิ$, $\pi \rho о \sigma \epsilon i ̂ v a \iota ~ \delta \epsilon ́ ~ \tau \iota v a s ~ \epsilon ́ \kappa a ́ \sigma \tau \eta ~ к \eta ̂ p a s ~ \sigma v \mu \phi v ́ т o v s, ~ 山 ̈ \sigma \tau \epsilon ~$


 $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \sigma \tau \eta \sigma \alpha ́ \mu \epsilon \nu 0 \iota ~ \pi \hat{\alpha} \sigma \iota \nu \dot{\alpha} \pi o \delta o \hat{v} \nu \alpha \iota \tau \grave{\nu} \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa о \iota \nu \omega \bar{\omega}$


 $\mu о \iota \pi \rho о \sigma \epsilon \theta \dot{\eta} \kappa \alpha \tau \epsilon \dot{\eta} \gamma \epsilon \mu$ о́va $\mu \epsilon \pi \rho \bar{\omega} \tau о \nu$ ả $\pi о \delta \in i \dot{\xi} \alpha \nu \tau \epsilon S$


 $\pi \alpha ́ v \tau \alpha ~ \mu \alpha \rho \alpha i ̂ \nu \omega \nu ~ \tau \alpha ̀ ~ к а \lambda \alpha ̀ ~ \chi \rho o ́ v o s ~ a ̀ \phi a \iota \rho \eta \sigma \sigma є \tau i ́ ~ \mu \epsilon$

 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \iota \mu \hat{\nu} \pi \alpha a \rho \alpha ̀ ~ \pi \alpha ́ \nu \tau \alpha ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \lambda o \iota \pi o ̀ v ~ a i ̂ \omega v a ~ \tau v \gamma \chi a ́ v \in \iota \nu . " ~$

[^146]settling in places that were by no means desirable. had continued, in the first place, to be free themselves, and, in the second place, to command others; and neither the successes of the smaller colonies nor the misfortunes of those that were large were due to any other cause than their form of government. If, therefore, there had been but one mode of life among all mankind which made cities prosperous, the choosing of it would not have been difficult for them ; but, as it was, he understood there were many types of government among both the Greeks and barbarians, and out of all of them he heard three especially commended by those who had lived under them, and of these systems none was perfect, but each had some fatal defects inherent in it, so that the choice among them was difficult. He therefore asked them to deliberate at leisure and say whether they would be governed by one man or by a few, or whether they would establish laws and entrust the protection of the public interests to the whole body of the people. "And whichever form of government you establish," he said, "I am ready to comply with your desire, for I neither consider myself unworthy to command nor refuse to obey. So far as honours are concerned, I am satisfied with those you have conferred on me, first, by appointing me leader of the colony, and, again, by giving my name to the city. For of these neither a foreign war nor civil dissension nor time, that destroyer of all that is excellent, nor any other stroke of hostile fortune can deprive me; but both in life and in death these honours will be mine to enjoy for all time to come."

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ каしขท̂S ov̉ $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \nu \delta \epsilon o ́ \mu \epsilon \theta a, \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \delta^{\prime}$ vimò $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi a \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega \nu$ סокıцабAєîनav єival кратíaтๆv тара入aßóvтєs ov





2 ढ’ $\lambda \epsilon v \theta \epsilon \rho i ́ a \nu \quad \tau \epsilon$ каi ä $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu$ á $\rho \chi \eta{ }_{\eta} \nu . \quad \pi \epsilon \rho i \quad \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu \quad \delta \grave{\eta}$








 $\theta \in \sigma \pi i \sigma \eta \iota_{\imath}{ }^{\prime}$ oic $\omega \nu \omega \bar{\omega}$ aioi $i \omega \nu$.







$$
{ }^{1} \text { oûs Steph.: } \dot{\omega} \text { O. }
$$

324

## BOOK II. 4, 1-5, 1

IV. Such was the speech that Romulus, following the instructions of his grandfather, as I have said, made to the people. And they, having consulted together by themselves, returned this answer: "We have no need of a new form of government and we are not going to change the one which our ancestors approved of as the best and handed down to us. In this we show both a deference for the judgment of our elders, whose superior wisdom we recognize in establishing it, and our own satisfaction with our present condition. For we could not reasonably complain of this form of government, which has afforded us under our kings the greatest of human blessings-liberty and the rule over others. Concerning the form of government, then, this is our decision; and to this honour we conceive none has so good a title as you yourself by reason both of your royal birth and of your merit, but above all because we have had you as the leader of our colony and recognize in you great ability and great wisdom, which we have seen displayed quite as much in your actions as in your words." Romulus, hearing this, said it was a great satisfaction to him to be judged worthy of the kingly office by his fellow men, but that he would not accept the honour until Heaven, too, had given its sanction by favourable omens.
V. And when the people approved, he appointed a day on which he proposed to consult the auspices concerning the sovereignty; and when the time was come, he rose at break of day and went forth from his tent. Then, taking his stand under the open sky in a clear space and first offering the customary sacrifice, be prayed to King Jupiter and to the

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 2 б $\eta \mu \epsilon i ̂ a$ ov̉pávıa фаvท̂vaı ка入á．$\mu \epsilon \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \delta \epsilon ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̀ v ~ \epsilon v ̉ \chi \eta ̀ \nu ~$


 $\delta \iota \delta \alpha \chi \theta \epsilon \in \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$ ，єйтє $\pi \alpha \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega \nu$ каӨךүךбацє́v $\omega \nu$ ，кат $\dot{\alpha}$

 $\mu a \nu \tau \epsilon v o \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu$ ท̀ $\beta \lambda \epsilon ́ \pi о v \sigma a$ трòs ảvaтo入ás，ö $\theta \epsilon \nu$




 àvaтo入̀̀s $\beta \lambda \epsilon ́ \pi о v \sigma \iota \nu$ ả $\rho \iota \sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \dot{\alpha} \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu \gamma^{\prime} \nu \in \tau \alpha \iota \tau \dot{\alpha}^{1} \pi \rho o ̀ s$

 $\pi \epsilon ́ \phi v \kappa \epsilon \nu$ єỉval $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ vi $\sigma \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega \nu$ ．$\mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon \omega \rho i \zeta \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota ~ \gamma \grave{a} \rho$
 ôv $\dot{\eta}$ то仑 кó$\sigma \mu$ оv $\sigma \tau \rho \circ \phi \dot{\eta}$ үivє $\tau \alpha \iota$ ，каi $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon ́ \nu \tau \epsilon$



4 ảфаvخ̀s катà тоиิто то̀ $\mu \epsilon ́ \rho о s . ~ є i к o ̀ s ~ \delta \eta ̀ ~ к р а ́ т \iota \sigma \tau \alpha ~$ $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ov̉paví $\omega \nu$ кai $\mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \rho \sigma i ́ \omega \nu$ $\sigma \eta \mu \epsilon i ́ \omega \nu$ viாá $\rho \chi \epsilon \iota \nu$ ，

 $\mu \circ \hat{\rho} \alpha \nu$＇ै $\chi \in \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \rho o \sigma \epsilon \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho i \not \omega \nu$ ，av̉ $\pi \hat{\omega} \nu \delta \epsilon \in \gamma \epsilon \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$
 ${ }^{1} \tau \dot{\alpha}$ added by Sylburg．

## BOOK II. 5. 1-4

other gods whom he had chosen for the patrons of the colony, that, if it was their pleasure he should be king of the city, some favourable signs might appear in the sky. After this prayer a flash of lightning darted across the sky from the left to the right. Now the Romans look upon the lightning that passes from the left to the right as a favourable omen, having been thus instructed either by the Tyrrhenians or by their own ancestors. Their reason is, in my opinion, that the best seat and station for those who take the auspices is that which looks toward the east, from whence both the sun and the moon rise as well as the planets and fixed stars; and the revolution of the firmament, by which all things contained in it are sometimes above the earth and sometimes beneath it, begins its circular motion thence. Now to those who look toward the east the parts ${ }^{1}$ facing toward the north are on the left and those extending toward the south are on the right, and the former are by nature more honourable than the latter. For in the northern parts the pole of the axis upon which the firmament turns is elevated, and of the five zones which girdle the sphere the one called the arctic zone is always visible on this side; whereas in the southern parts the other zone, called the antarctic, is depressed and invisible on that side. So it is reasonable to assume that those signs in the heavens and in mid-air are the best which appear on the best side; and since the parts that are turned toward the east have preëminence over the western parts, and, of the eastern parts themselves, the northern are hiqher than
" Parts" in this chapter means regions of the sky.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS













 oŋ $\mu \in i=\nu$.
VI. Tótє $\delta$ ' oûv o ' 'P $\omega \mu$ úlos є́ $\pi \epsilon \iota \delta \grave{\eta} \tau \alpha ̀$ a $\pi \alpha \rho \dot{\alpha}$ тоv̂


 тoîs $\mu \in \tau$ ' av̉тòv ä äavt $\mu \eta{ }^{\prime} \tau \in \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon i ́ a s ~ \mu \eta \prime \tau \epsilon ~ a ̉ \rho \chi a ̀ s$


 $\mu o ́ v o v ~ \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon v o \mu \epsilon ́ v \eta s ~ \tau \hat{\eta} s$ пódє $\omega$ s, à àdà каi $\mu \in \tau \grave{\alpha}$
 $\kappa \alpha i$ т $\bar{\omega} \nu a ̈ \lambda \lambda \omega \nu \tau \bar{\omega} \nu \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~ v o ́ \mu o v s ~ a ̉ \rho \chi o ́ v \tau \omega \nu ~ \alpha i p e ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota . ~$





328

## BOOK II. 5, 5-6, 2

the southern, the former would seem to be the best. But some relate that the ancestors of the Romans from very early times, even before they had learned it from the Tyrrhenians, looked upon the lightning that came from the left as a favourable omen. For they say that when Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, was warred upon and besieged by the Tyrrhenians led by their king Mezentius, and was upon the point of making a final sally out of the town, his situation being now desperate, he prayed with lamentations to Jupiter and to the rest of the gods to encourage this sally with favourable omens, and thereupon out of a clear sky there appeared a flash of lightning coming from the left; and as this battle had the happiest outcome, this sign continued to be regatded as favourable by his posterity.
VI. When Romulus, therefore, upon the occasion mentioned had received the sanction of Heaven also, he called the people together in assembly; and having given them an account of the omens, he was chosen king by them and established it as a custom, to be observed by all his successors, that none of them should accept the office of king or any other magistracy until Heaven, too, had given its sanction. And this custom relating to the auspices long continued to be observed by the Romans, not only while the city was ruled by kings, but also, after the overthrow of the monarchy, in the elections of their consuls, praetors and other legal magistrates; but it has fallen into disuse in our days except as a certain semblance of it remains merely for form's sake. For those who are about to assume the magistracies pass the night out of doors, and rising at break of

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

$\mu \in \nu o \iota ~ \pi o \iota o v ̂ \nu \tau \alpha i ́ ~ \tau \iota v a s ~ \epsilon u ̉ \chi a ̀ s ~ \dot{v} \pi a i ̂ \theta \rho ı o \imath, ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$

 $3 \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \alpha \dot{\alpha} \rho \iota \sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \phi a \sigma \iota \nu \tau \eta ̀ \nu$ ov̉ $\gamma \epsilon \nu \circ \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta \nu$. oí $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \tau o ̀ \nu$







 $\lambda \alpha ́ \tau \tau \eta$ бтódoı $\delta \iota \epsilon \phi \theta \alpha ́ \rho \eta \sigma \alpha v a v ̌ \tau \alpha \nu \delta \rho o \iota$, a้ $\lambda \lambda \alpha \iota \tau \epsilon \mu \epsilon-$ үáخaı каì $\delta \epsilon \iota \nu a i l \pi \epsilon \iota \pi \epsilon \in \tau \epsilon \iota a \iota{ }^{3} \tau \hat{\eta} \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota ~ \sigma v \nu \in ́ \pi \epsilon \sigma o \nu$ ai












${ }^{1}$ Cobet: $\mu \eta \nu v \in \epsilon \nu$ O, Jacoby. Perhaps oŋ $\mu \eta \hat{\nu}$ at is the true form.
${ }^{2}$ Schwartz: тov̂ $\theta$ єov̂ к $\omega \lambda$ v́ovtos O, Jacoby.
${ }^{3} \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \pi \epsilon ́ \tau \epsilon \iota a \iota \mathrm{Bb}:$ om. ABa. Steph. added $\boldsymbol{\sigma} \mu \phi$ opai before $\mu \in \gamma$ áda.
330
day, offer certain prayers under the open sky; whereupon some of the augurs present, who are paid by the State, declare that a flash of lightning coming from the left has given them a sign, although there really has not been any. And the others, taking their omen from this report, depart in order to take over their magistracies, some of them assuming this alone to be sufficient, that no omens have appeared opposing or forbidding their intended action, others acting even in opposition to the will of the god; indeed, there are times when they resort to violence and rather seize than receive the magistracies. Because of such men many armies of the Romans have been utterly destroyed on land, many fleets have been lost with all their people at sea, and other great and dreadful reverses have befallen the commonwealth, some in forcign wars and others in civil dissensions. But the most remarkable and the greatest instance happened in my time when Licinius Crassus, a man inferior to no commander of his age, led his army against the Parthian nation contrary to the will of Heaven and in contempt of the innumerable omens that opposed his expedition. But to tell about the contempt of the divine power that prevails among some people in these days would be a long story.
VII. Romulus, who was thus chosen king by both men and gods, is allowed to have been a man of great military ability and personal bravery and

[^147]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 $\phi \rho о \nu \iota \mu \dot{\tau} \tau a \tau о s . \delta \iota \epsilon \in \xi \epsilon \mu \iota \delta^{\prime}$ av̉тov̂ $\tau \grave{\alpha} s \pi \rho a ́ \xi \epsilon \iota s \tau \alpha ́ s$


 $\pi \alpha ́ v \tau \omega \nu$ ท่ $\gamma \circ \hat{\nu} \mu \alpha \iota ~ \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu$ ко́б $\mu \omega \nu$ aủтаркє́ $\sigma \tau а \tau о \nu$





















[^148]
## BOOK II. 7, 1-4

of the greatest sagacity in instituting the best kind of government. I shall relate such of his political and military achievements as may be thought worthy of mention in a history; and first I shall speak of the form of government that he instituted, which I regard as the most self-sufficient of all political systems both for peace and for war. This was the plan of it: He divided all the people into three groups, and set over each as leader its most distinguished man. Then he subdivided each of these three groups into ten others, and appointed as many of the bravest men to be the leaders of these also. The larger divisions he called tribes and the smaller curiae, as they are still termed even in our day. These names may be translated into Greek as follows: a tribe by phylê and trittys, and a curia by phratra and lochos ${ }^{1}$; the commanders of the tribes, whom the Romans call tribunes, by phylarchoi and trittyarchoi; and the commanders of the curiae, whom they call curiones, by phratriarchoi and lochagoi. These curiae were again divided by him into ten parts, each commanded by its own leader, who was called decurio in the native language. The people being thus divided and assigned to tribes and curiae,
meaning a " third"; in actual practice, however, trittys was used of the third of a tribe. Phratra or phratria, " brotherhood" or " clan," was also the third of a tribe, and the phratries in their organization and rites offer a number of parallels to the curiae (cf. chap. 23). Lochos is a military term, " company" of indefinite size. The phylarchoi were the commanders of the cavalry contingents furnished by each tribe, and the lochagoi were infantry captains. The trittyarchoi and phratriarchoi were simply the heads of their respective political divisions.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 $\kappa \alpha i \tau_{\epsilon} \tau \in ́ \nu \eta \kappa \alpha i ́ ~ \tau \iota \nu \alpha \kappa \alpha i \tau \hat{\varphi} \kappa о \iota \nu \hat{\varphi} \gamma \hat{\eta} \nu \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \lambda \iota \pi \omega ́ \nu$. $\mu i a \alpha \mu \epsilon ̀ v ~ a v ̃ \tau \eta ~ \delta \iota a i \rho \epsilon \sigma \iota s ~ v i \pi o ̀ ~ ' P \omega \mu v ́ \lambda o v ~ \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ \tau \epsilon$


 фı入ávӨpwтa каi $\tau \alpha ̀ s ~ \tau \iota \mu a ̀ s ~ \delta \iota \alpha \nu \epsilon ́ \mu о v \sigma \alpha ~ к а \tau \grave{\alpha} \tau \eta ̀ \nu$

















[^149][^150]
## BOOK II. 7, 4-8, 2

he divided the land into thirty equal portions and assigned one of them to each curia, having first set apart as much of it as was sufficient for the support of the temples and shrines and also reserved some part of the land for the use of the public. This was one division made by Romulus, both of the men and of the land, which involved the greatest equality for all alike.
VIII. But there was another division again of the men only, which assigned kindly services and honours in accordance with merit, of which I am now going to give an account. He distinguished those who were eminent for their birth, approved for their virtue and wealthy for those times, provided they already had children, from the obscure, the lowly and the poor. Those of the lower rank he called " plebeians" (the Greeks would call them démotikoi ${ }^{1}$ or " men of the people "), and those of the higher rank " fathers," either because they were older than the others or because they had children or from their distinguished birth or for all these reasons. One may suspect that he found his model in the system of government which at that time still prevailed at Athens. For the Athenians had divided their population into two parts, the eupatridai or "wellborn," as they called those who were of the noble families and powerful by reason of their wealth, to whom the government of the city was committed, and the agroikoi ${ }^{2}$ or "husbandmen," consisting of the rest of the citizens, who had no voice in public

[^151]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 то入ıтєias iotopoûv $\tau \in s$ סıà тav́tas $\tau a ̀ s$ aiтias к $\lambda \eta \theta \hat{\eta}-$

 фӨóvov ảvaфє́povтєs тò $\pi \rho \hat{\gamma} \gamma \mu \alpha$ каi ठıаßádlovтєs єis $\delta v \sigma \gamma \epsilon ́ v \epsilon \iota a \nu ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu$ ov̉ $\delta i a ̀ ~ \tau \alpha \hat{v} \tau \alpha ~ \pi a \tau p \iota \kappa i o v s ~$
 $\dot{\alpha} \pi о \delta \in i \hat{\xi} \alpha \iota \mu o ́ v o \iota, \dot{\omega} s \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \gamma \epsilon \not{ }^{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \omega \nu \delta \rho a \pi \epsilon \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ oै $\nu \tau \omega \nu$















> ${ }^{1}$ Schwartz: $\pi$ аре́ $\chi$ оибı O, Jacoby.
> ${ }^{2}$ Reiske : á $\theta$ póó AB.

[^152]
## BOOK II. 8, 2-9, 1

affairs, though in the course of time these, also, were admitted to the offices. ${ }^{1}$ Those who give the most probable account of the Roman government say it was for the reasons I have given that those men were called "fathers" and their posterity " patricians ${ }^{"}{ }^{2}$; but others, considering the matter in the light of their own envy and desirous of casting reproach on the city for the ignoble birth of its founders, say they were not called patricians for the reasons just cited, but because these men only could point out their fathers, ${ }^{3}$ - as if all the rest were fugitives and unable to name free men as their fathers. As proof of this they cite the fact that, whenever the kings thought proper to assemble the patricians, the heralds called them both by their own names and by the names of their fathers, whereas public servants summoned the plebeians en masse to the assemblies by the sound of ox horns. But in reality neither the calling of the patricians by the heralds is any proof of their nobility nor is the sound of the horn any mark of the obscurity of the plebeians; but the former was an indication of honour and the latter of expedition, since it was not possible in a short time to call every one of the multitude by name.
IX. After Romulus had distinguished those of superior rank from their inferiors, he next established laws by which the duties of each were prescribed. The patricians were to be priests, magistrates and

[^153]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

$\mu \epsilon \theta^{\prime}$ є́avто仑̂ $\tau \dot{\alpha}$ коьvà $\pi \rho a ́ \tau \tau \epsilon \iota \nu$ є่ $\pi i$ т $\omega \hat{\nu} \kappa \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu{ }^{1}$


 סє̀ каi ктŋротрофєîv каi тàs $\chi \rho \eta \mu а т о \pi о \iota о v ̀ s ~ \epsilon ́ \rho \gamma a ́-~$



2 таîs vi $\pi \epsilon \rho \circ \chi \alpha i ̂ s ~ \phi \theta о \nu о v ́ v \tau \omega \nu . ~ \pi а р а к а \tau а \theta \eta ́ к а s ~ \delta є ̀ ~$

 $\nu \epsilon ́ \mu \epsilon \iota \nu \pi \rho о \sigma \tau \alpha ́ \tau \eta \nu,{ }_{\epsilon}{ }^{\prime} \theta$ оs ${ }^{〔} E \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota \kappa \grave{\nu}$ каi $\alpha \rho \chi \alpha i ̂ o v, ~ \hat{\omega}$ $\Theta \epsilon \tau \tau \alpha \lambda о i ́ ~ \tau \epsilon ~ \mu \epsilon ́ \chi \rho \iota ~ \pi о \lambda \lambda о \hat{v} \chi \rho \omega ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \iota ~ \delta \iota \epsilon \tau \epsilon ́ \lambda \epsilon \sigma \alpha \nu$


 óто́тє $\mu \eta ̀ ~ \pi \rho a ́ \xi \epsilon \iota \alpha ́ \nu ~ \tau \iota ~ \tau \hat{\omega \nu} \kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v o \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu, \pi \lambda \eta \gamma \grave{a} s$




3 ó $\delta \epsilon ̀ ~ ' P \omega \mu u ́ \lambda o s ~ \epsilon ́ \pi \iota \kappa \lambda \eta ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota ~ \tau \epsilon ~ \epsilon u ̛ \pi \rho \epsilon \pi \epsilon \hat{\imath}$ тò $\pi \rho \hat{\alpha} \gamma \mu \alpha$ є́ко́б $\mu \eta \sigma \epsilon \pi \alpha \tau \rho \omega \nu \in i ́ a \nu$ ỏvo $\mu a ́ \sigma \alpha s ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \nu \eta ं \tau \omega \nu$




[^154]
## BOOK II. 9, 1-3

judges, and were to assist him in the management of public affairs, devoting themselves to the business of the city. The plebeians were excused from these duties, as being unacquainted with them and because of their small means wanting leisure to attend to them, but were to apply themselves to agriculture, the breeding of cattle and the exercise of gainful trades. This was to prevent them from engaging in seditions, as happens in other cities when either the magistrates mistreat the lowly, or the common people and the needy envy those in authority. He placed the plebeians as a trust in the hands of the patricians, by allowing every plebeian to choose for his patron any patrician whom he himself wished. In this he improved upon an ancient Greek custom that was in use among the Thessalians for a long time and among the Athenians in the beginning. For the former treated their elients with haughtiness, imposing on them duties unbecoming to free men; and whenever they disobeyed any of their commands, they beat them and misused them in all other respects as if they had been slaves they had purchased. The Athenians called their clients thêtes or "hirelings," because they served for hire, and the Thessalians called theirs penestai or "toilers," by the very name reproaching them with their condition. But Romulus not only recommended the relationship by a handsome designation, calling this protection of the poor and lowly a "patronage," but he also assigned friendly offices to both parties, thus making the connexion between them a bond of kinduess befitting fellow citizens.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 $\pi \epsilon \rho i \quad \tau \alpha ̀ s ~ \pi a \tau \rho \omega \nu \epsilon i ́ a s ~ \tau o 九 a ́ \delta \epsilon \cdot$ тoùs $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu \pi a \tau \rho \iota \kappa i o v s$


 ä $\pi \alpha \nu \tau \alpha$ тра́ттоvтаs，ӧ $\sigma \alpha \pi \epsilon \rho i \quad \pi \alpha i ́ \delta \omega \nu ~ \pi \rho a ́ \tau \tau о v \sigma \iota ~$ $\pi \alpha \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \epsilon S, ~ \epsilon i s \quad \chi \rho \eta \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu \quad \tau \epsilon$ каi $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \rho i \quad \chi \rho \eta \eta^{\prime} \mu a \tau \alpha$



 $\epsilon i \rho \eta \eta^{\prime} \eta \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \epsilon i \delta i \omega \nu$ каi $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ коเข $\omega \nu \nu \rho \alpha \gamma \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ ，


 хрךна́тн⿱，каi $\lambda \dot{\tau} \tau \rho \alpha$ катаßа́ $\lambda_{\epsilon \iota \nu}^{\pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu i o \iota s, ~}$


 $\chi \rho \eta \mu \alpha ́ \tau \omega \nu$ ，ov̉ $\delta \alpha \nu \epsilon i \sigma \mu a \tau \alpha \pi o \iota o \hat{v} \tau \tau \alpha, \dot{a} \lambda \lambda \grave{\alpha} \chi a ́ p \iota \tau \alpha{ }^{\text {．}}$
 $\tau \alpha i ̂ s ~ \epsilon i s ~ \tau a ̀ ~ \kappa o ı v a ̀ ~ \delta a \pi a ́ v a ı s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ảva入 $\omega \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ 3 ผ́s тov̀s $\gamma \in ́ \nu \epsilon \iota ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \eta ́ \kappa о \nu \tau a s ~ \mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon ́ \chi \epsilon \iota \nu . ~ \kappa о \iota \nu \hat{\eta} \delta^{\prime}$
 $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \eta \dot{\eta} \lambda \omega \nu \quad \dot{\epsilon} \pi i$ ठíкаוs $\hat{\eta}$ катацартvрєîv $\hat{\eta} \psi \hat{\eta} \phi о \nu$
${ }^{1}$ This word does not occur elsewhere，but two inscrip－ tions have yielded the adjectival forms $\gamma \in \rho \eta \phi$ ópos and $\gamma \in \rho \in a \phi$ ópos；see the latest revision of Liddell and Scott＇s Lexicon．Kiessling proposed to read ípaфopiaus，and Jacoby （in a note）$\tau \in \lambda \epsilon \sigma \phi \circ \rho i ́ a l s$.

## BOOK II. 10, 1-3

X . The regulations which he then instituted concerning patronage and which long continued in use among the Romans were as follows: It was the duty of the patricians to explain to their clients the laws, of which they were ignorant; to take the same care of them when absent as present, doing everything for them that fathers do for their sons with regard both to money and to the contracts that related to money; to bring suit on behalf of their clients when they were wronged in connexion with contracts, and to defend them against any who brought charges against them; and, to put the matter briefly, to secure for them both in private and in public affairs all that tranquillity of which they particularly stood in need. It was the duty of the clients to assist their patrons in providing dowries for their daughters upon their marriage if the fathers had not sufficient means; to pay their ransom to the enemy if any of them or of their children were taken prisoner; to discharge out of their own purses their patrons' losses in private suits and the pecuniary fines which they were condemned to pay to the State, making these contributions to them not as loans but as thank-offerings; and to share with their patrons the costs incurred in their magistracies and dignities ${ }^{1}$ and other public expenditures, in the same manner as if they were their relations. For both patrons and clients alike it was impious and unlawful to accuse each other in law-suits or to bear
${ }^{2}$ The word $\gamma \epsilon \rho \eta \phi$ opia should mean literally the " bearing, or enjoyment, of privileges," hence a " position of honour" or a "dignity." Presumably the reference is to priesthoods.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS









 ov̉ס̀̀v Sıaфє́povaal $\sigma v \gamma \gamma \epsilon \nu \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu$ ảvaүкаєот $\eta \boldsymbol{\tau} \omega \nu$ ai $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \lambda a \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha i \quad \pi \rho о \sigma \tau \alpha \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma v \zeta v \gamma i a l ~ \pi a \iota \sigma i$



 $\mu \epsilon ́ v o \iota s, ~ o ̊ ~ \tau \epsilon ~ a ̉ \gamma \grave{\omega} \nu ~ \tau \hat{\eta} s ~ \epsilon u ̛ v o i ́ a s{ }^{2}$ vinধ̀ $\rho$ тô̂ $\mu \eta े$
 ả $\mu \phi о \tau \epsilon ́ \rho o \iota s ~ \grave{j} \nu, ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ v ~ \pi \epsilon \lambda a \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ a ̈ \pi a \nu \tau \alpha ~ \tau о i ̂ s ~$

 $\pi \epsilon \lambda \alpha ́ \tau \alpha \iota s$ є̇vo $\chi \lambda \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu \quad \chi \rho \eta \mu a \tau \iota \kappa \eta \eta^{\nu} \tau \epsilon$ ov̉ $\delta \epsilon \mu i a \nu \delta \omega \rho \epsilon \grave{\alpha} \nu$

 тú $\chi$ !



[^155]
## BOOK II. 10, 3-11, 1

witness or to give their votes against each other or to be found in the number of each other's enemies; and whoever was convicted of doing any of these things was guilty of treason by virtue of the law sanctioned by Romulus, and might lawfully be put to death by any man who so wished as a victim devoted to the Jupiter of the infernal regions. ${ }^{1}$ For it was customary among the Romans, whenever they wished to put people to death without incurring any penalty, to devote their persons to some god or other, and particularly to the gods of the lower world; and this was the course which Romulus then adopted. Accordingly, the connexions between the clients and patrons continued for many generations, differing in no wise from the ties of blood-relationship and being handed down to their children's children. And it was a matter of great praise to men of illustrious families to have as many clients as possible and not only to preserve the succession of hereditary patronages but also by their own merit to acquire others. And it is incredible how great the contest of goodwill was between the patrons and clients, as each side strove not to be outdone by the other in kindness, the clients feeling that they should render all possible services to their patrons and the patrons wishing by all means not to occasion any trouble to their clients and accepting no gifts of money. So superior was their manner of life to all pleasure ; for they measured their happiness by virtue, not by fortune.
XI. It was not only in the city itself that the plebeians were under the protection of the patricians,

[^156]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS














 3 каi $\mu \epsilon \gamma$ ádaıs $\pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \sigma \iota \nu \cdot a ̉ \lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \pi \epsilon i \emptyset о \nu \tau \epsilon s ~ \kappa а i ~ \delta \iota \delta a ́ \sigma к о \nu-$





 $\tau \hat{s} s \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega s$ каi oủ $\delta \epsilon \nu o ̀ s \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ả $\nu \eta \kappa \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau \omega \nu$ ả $\pi \epsilon \chi o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu 0 \iota$




${ }^{1}$ єїкоขтєs R : є̇ко́ขтєs Bb .
${ }^{2}$ єіُко́vт $\omega \nu$ Reiske : є́ко́ขт $\omega \nu$ O.

[^157]
## BOOK II. 11, 1-12, 1

but every colony of Rome and every city that had joined in alliance and friendship with her and also every city conquered in war had such protectors and patrons among the Romans as they wished. And the senate has often referred the controversies of these cities and nations to their Roman patrons and regarded their decisions as binding. And indeed, so secure was the Romans' harmony, which owed its birth to the regulations of Romulus, that they never in the course of six hundred and thirty years ${ }^{1}$ proceeded to bloodshed and mutual slaughter, though many great controversies arose between the populace and their magistrates concerning public policy, as is apt to happen in all cities, whether large or small; but by persuading and informing one another, by yielding in some things and gaining other things from their opponents, who yielded in turn, they settled their disputes in a manner befitting fellow citizens. But from the time that Gaius Gracchus, while holding the tribunician power, destroyed the harmony of the government they have been perpetually slaying and banishing one another from the city and refraining from no irreparable acts in order to gain the upper hand. However, for the narration of these events another occasion will be more suitable.
XII. As ${ }^{2}$ soon as Romulus had regulated these matters he determined to appoint senators to assist
of many Gracchans that followed. The overthrow of Gaius Gracchus occurred at the very beginning of the year 121, which was the year 631 of the City according to Dionysius' reckoning.
${ }^{2}$ Cf. Livy i. 8, 7.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

$\pi \rho \alpha ́ \tau \tau \epsilon \iota \nu \tau \dot{\alpha} \kappa о \iota \nu \dot{\alpha}$ є้ $\mu \epsilon \lambda \lambda \epsilon \nu$, ढ’к $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \alpha \tau \rho \iota \kappa i ́ \omega \nu$ ă้ $\nu-$










 ov̂s ai ф́ $\rho \hat{\alpha} \tau \rho a \iota ~ \pi \rho о \in \chi \in \iota \rho i ́ \sigma a \nu \tau о$, каi тоv́т $\omega \nu$, ôv







 $\gamma \epsilon ́ \rho o \nu \tau a s ~ \epsilon i \omega ́ \varrho \theta \epsilon \sigma a \nu$ oí $\pi a \lambda a w o i$ ка入єîv. oi $\delta$ '̀ $\mu \in \tau \epsilon ́-$

 $\pi \rho о \sigma \eta \gamma о \rho i ́ a s . ~ ‘ E \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota \kappa o ̀ v ~ \delta \grave{̀ ~ a ̀ ~} \rho a$ каi тои̂то тò ${ }^{4}$


[^158]
## BOOK II. 12, 1-4

him in administering the public business, and to this end he chose a hundred men from among the patricians, selecting them in the following manner. He himself appointed one, the best out of their whole number, to whom he thought fit to entrust the government of the city ${ }^{1}$ whenever he himself should lead the army beyond the borders. He next ordered each of the tribes to choose three men who were then at the age of greatest prudence and were distinguished by their birth. After these nine were chosen he ordered each curia likewise to name three patricians who were the most worthy. Then adding to the first nine, who had been named by the tribes, the ninety who were chosen by the curiae, and appointing as their head the man he himself had first selected, he completed the number of a hundred senators. The name of this council may be expressed in Greek by gerousia or "council of elders," and it is called by the Romans to this day ${ }^{2}$; but whether it received its name from the advanced age of the men who were appointed to it or from their merit, I cannot say for certain. For the ancients used to call the older men and those of greatest merit gerontes or "elders." The members of the senate were called Conscript ${ }^{3}$ Fathers, and they retained that name down to my time. This council, also, was a Greek institution. At any rate, the Greek kings, both those who inherited the realms

[^159]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ápxàs $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \lambda \alpha ́ \beta o t \in \nu ~ к а i ~ o ̋ \sigma o v s ~ \dot{\eta} \pi \lambda \eta \theta \dot{v} s$ aủtخ̀















 $\pi \lambda \epsilon i o v s ~ \gamma \rho a ́ \phi o v \sigma \iota \nu ~ \epsilon ่ \pi i ~ \tau \eta ̂ s ~ o ̀ \xi u ́ t \eta \tau o s ~ \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ v i \pi \eta \rho \in \sigma \iota \omega \nu \nu$









${ }^{1}$ є́ка́aтך . . . véovs deleted by Kiessling.


${ }^{3}$ Kiessling: є́катоутápхац 0.

## BOOK II. 12, 4-13, 3

of their ancestors and those who were elected by the people themselves to be their rulers, had a council composed of the best men, as both Homer and the most ancient of the poets testify; and the authority of the ancient kings was not arbitrary and absolute as it is in our days.
XIII. After ${ }^{1}$ Romulus had also instituted the senatorial body, consisting of the hundred men, he perceived, we may suppose, that he would also require a body of young men whose services he could use both for the guarding of his person and for urgent business, and accordingly he chose three hundred men, the most robust of body and from the most illustrious families, whom the curiae named in the same manner that they had named the senators, each curia choosing ten young men; and these he kept always about his person. They were all called by one common name, celeres; according to most writers this was because of the " celerity" required in the services they were to perform (for those who are ready and quick at their tasks the Romans call celeres), but Valerius Antias says that they were thus named after their commander. For among them, also, the most distinguished man was their commander; under him were three centurions, and under these in turn were others who held the inferior commands. In the city these celeres constantly attended Romulus, armed with spears, and exccuted his orders; and on campaigns they charged before him and defended his person. And as a ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Livy i. 15, 8.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS






 oi $\gamma \in \nu \nu a \iota o ́ t a \tau o \iota ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \nu \epsilon ́ \omega \nu$ трıако́бъo九 фv́خакєs $\hat{\eta} \sigma \alpha \nu$
 $\pi \alpha \rho a \sigma \pi \iota \sigma \tau \alpha i ̂ s, ~ i \pi \pi \epsilon \hat{v} \sigma i ́ ~ \tau \epsilon$ ov̂бı каi $\pi \epsilon \zeta$ Һîs.
 $\tau \iota \mu \alpha ̀ s ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \tau \alpha ̀ s ~ \epsilon ’ \xi o v \sigma i a s, ~ a ̂ s ~ \epsilon ́ \kappa \alpha ́ \sigma \tau o v s ~ \epsilon ’ \beta o v ́ \lambda \epsilon \tau о ~ \epsilon ้ \chi є \iota \nu . ~$








 каi $\gamma \nu \omega ́ \mu \eta s$ ă $\rho \chi \epsilon \iota \nu$ каi $\tau \alpha ̀ ~ \delta o ́ \xi \alpha \nu \tau \alpha ~ \tau о i ̂ s ~ \pi \lambda \epsilon i ́ o \sigma \iota \nu ~$ є̇ $\pi \iota \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu$. $\tau \alpha \hat{v} \tau \alpha \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \dot{\alpha} \pi \epsilon \in \delta \omega \kappa \epsilon \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon i ̄ \tau \grave{\alpha} \gamma \epsilon ́ \rho \alpha$ каì






 350

## BOOK II. 13, 3-14, 2

rule it was they who gave a favourable issue to the contest, as they were the first to engage in battle and the last of all to desist. They fought on horseback where there was level ground favourable for cavalry manœuvres, and on foot where it was rough and inconvenient for horses. This custom Romulus borrowed, I believe, from the Lacedacmonians, having learned that among them, also, three hundred of the noblest youths attended the kings as their guards and also as their defenders in war, fighting both on horseback and on foot.
XIV. Having made these regulations, he distinguished the honours and powers which he wished each class to have. For the king he had reserved these prerogatives : in the first place, the supremacy in religious ceremonies and sacrifices and the conduct of everything relating to the worship of the gods; secondly, the guardianship of the laws and customs of the country and the general oversight of justice in all cases, whether founded on the law of nature or the civil law; he was also to judge in person the greatest crimes, leaving the lesser to the senators, but seeing to it that no error was made in their decisions; he was to summon the senate and call together the popular assembly, to deliver his opinion first and carry out the decision of the majority. These prerogatives he granted to the king and, in addition, the absolute command in war. To the senate he assigned honour and authority as follows: to deliberate and give their votes concerning everything the king should refer to them, the decision of the majority to prevail. This also Romulus took over from the constitution of the Lacedaemonians; for their kings, too, did not have

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

$\hat{\eta} \sigma \alpha \nu$ ö $\tau \iota$ ßоúخoıvтo $\pi \rho \alpha ́ \tau \tau \epsilon \iota \nu, \dot{a} \lambda \lambda^{\prime} \dot{\eta} \gamma \epsilon \rho о v \sigma i a \operatorname{\pi \alpha 人\nu }$



 $\dot{\alpha} \nu \in \pi i \lambda \lambda \eta \pi \tau \nu$, äv $\mu \grave{\eta}$ каi $\tau \hat{\eta}$ ßои入 $\hat{\eta}$ тav̉тà ठок $\eta$ ．

 $\pi \lambda \epsilon i ́ o \sigma \iota ~ \delta o ́ \xi \epsilon \iota \epsilon$ фра́траıs то̂̂то є่ $\pi i \quad \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ ßоv入ウ̀v





 бш́фроvas $\epsilon^{\lambda} \lambda \alpha ́ \mu \beta a \nu \epsilon$ каì $\tau \epsilon \tau а \gamma \mu \epsilon ́ v a s ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \delta \iota o \iota к \eta ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota s, ~$











[^160]352

## BOOK II. 14, 2-4

arbitrary power to do everything they wished, but the gerousia exercised complete control of public affairs. To the populace he granted these three privileges: to choose magistrates, to ratify laws, and to decide coucerning war whenever the king left the decision to them; yet even in these matters their authority was not unrestricted, since the concurrence of the senate was necessary to give effect to their decisions. The people did not give their votes all at the same time, but were summoned to meet by curiae, and whatever was resolved upon by the majority of the curiae was reported to the senate. But in our day this practice is reversed, since the senate does not deliberate upon the resolutions passed by the people, but the people have full power over the decrees of the senate; and which of the two customs is the better I leave it open to others to determine. By this division of authority not only were the civil affairs administered in a prudent and orderly manner, but the business of war also was carried on with dispatch and strict obedience. For whenever the king thought proper to lead out his army there was then no necessity for tribunes to be chosen by tribes, or centurions by centuries, or commanders of the horse appointed, nor was it necessary for the army to be numbered or to be divided into centuries or for every man to be assigned to his appropriate post. But the king gave his orders to the tribunes and these to the centurions and they in turn to the decurions, each of whom led out those who were under his command; and whether the whole army or part of it was called, at a single

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



XV. Tє $\tau \alpha \gamma \mu \in ́ v \eta \nu \mu \epsilon ̇ \nu$ oủv каi кєкоб $\mu \eta \mu$ év $\nu \quad \pi \rho o ̀ s$



$2 \pi o \nu$ Є่к $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta \epsilon \cdot \pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau о \nu \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ єis ảvá $\gamma \kappa \eta \nu$ катє́ $\sigma \tau \eta \sigma \epsilon$




 $\mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota \delta \epsilon i \xi a \nu \tau \alpha s ~ \pi \rho o ́ \tau \epsilon \rho o v ~ \pi \epsilon ́ \nu \tau \epsilon ~ a ̉ \nu \delta \rho a ́ \sigma \iota ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~$












 Kaтıтш入íov каi $\tau \hat{\eta} s$ äкраs, ô ка入єīal vv̂v ката̀




## BOOK II. 14, 4-15, 4

summons they presented themselves ready with arms in hand at the designated post.
XV. By these institutions Romulus sufficiently regulated and suitably disposed the city both for peace and for war: and he made it large and populous by the following means. In the first place, he obliged the inhabitants to bring up all their male children and the first-born of the females, and forbade them to destroy any children under three years of age unless they were maimed or monstrous from their very birth. These he did not forbid their parents to expose, provided they first showed them to their five nearest neighbours and these also approved. Against those who disobeyed this law he fixed various penalties, including the confiscation of half their property. Secondly, finding that many of the cities in Italy were very badly governed, both by tyrannies and by oligarchics, he undertook to welcome and attract to himself the fugitives from these cities, who were very numerous, paying no regard either to their calamities or to their fortunes, provided only they were free men. His purpose was to increase the power of the Romans and to lessen that of their neighbours; but he invented a specious pretext for his course, making it appear that he was showing honour to a god. For he consecrated the place between the Capitol and the citadel which is now called in the language of the Romans " the space between the two groves," ${ }^{1}$-a term that was really descriptive at that time of the actual conditions, as the place was shaded by thick woods on both sides

[^161]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 катафєúzovaıv єis тоиิто тò iєрòv iкє́таıs то仑 $\tau \epsilon$













 $\gamma \eta ̂ \nu$ aủt $\hat{\omega} \nu$ àvtéval $\mu \eta \lambda$ óßoтov, ả $\lambda \lambda \alpha$ к к $\eta \eta \rho o u ̛ \chi o v s ~ \epsilon i ' s ~$

 2 ठє̀ каi тодıтєías $\mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \delta \iota \delta o ́ v a \iota . ~ \tau а и ิ \tau a ́ ~ \tau \epsilon ~ \delta \grave{\eta}$ каi



 $\chi \iota \lambda i ́ \omega \nu \pi \epsilon \zeta о i$ каi трьакобí $\omega \nu$ є̀入áттоvs imדєis'. oi

 ${ }^{1} \mu$ oipav Kiessling: $\mu$ oipas O (?); om. Reudler.
356

## BOOK II. 15, 4-16, 2

where it joined the hills,-and made it an asylum for suppliants. And building a temple there,but to what god or divinity he dedicated it I cannot say for certain,-he engaged, under the colour of religion, to protect those who fled to it from suffering any harm at the hands of their enemies; and if they chose to remain with him, he promised them citizenship and a share of the land he should take from the enemy. And people came flocking thither from all parts, fleeing from their calamities at home; nor had they afterwards any thought of removing to any other place, but were held there by daily instances of his sociability and kindness.
XVI. There was yet a third policy of Romulus, which the Greeks ought to have practised above all others, it being, in my opinion, the best of all political measures, as it laid the most solid foundation for the liberty of the Romans and was no slight factor in raising them to their position of supremacy. It was this: not to slay all the men of military age or to enslave the rest of the population of the cities captured in war or to allow their land to go back to pasturage for sheep, but rather to send settlers thither to possess some part of the country by lot and to make the conquered cities Roman colonies, and even to grant citizenship to some of them. By these and other like measures he made the colony great from a small beginning, as the actual results showed; for the number of those who joined with him in founding Rome did not amount to more than three thousand foot nor quite to three hundred horse, whereas he left behind him when he disappeared from among men forty-six thousand foot and about

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS







 $\gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \delta \bar{\eta} \mu о \nu$ є́خáттоva.
XVII. Tà $\delta$ ' ${ }^{`} E \lambda \eta \eta{ }^{\prime} \nu \omega \nu$ e’ $\theta \eta \pi \alpha \rho \alpha ̀ ~ \tau \alpha v ̂ \tau \alpha ~ \epsilon ' \xi \epsilon \tau \alpha ́ \zeta \omega \nu$


 $\kappa \alpha i \quad \mu \eta \delta \epsilon \nu i \quad \mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \delta \iota \delta o ́ v \tau \epsilon s \in i \quad \mu \eta$ бтavioıs $\tau \hat{\eta} s \pi \alpha \rho{ }^{\prime}$









 є́ $\lambda \epsilon v \theta \epsilon \rho i ́ a \nu ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ \pi a ́ \tau p ı o v ~ v i \pi o ̀ ~ M a \kappa \epsilon \delta o ́ v \omega \nu ~ a ̀ \phi \eta \rho \epsilon ́-~$



 $\pi \epsilon \pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu \omega \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu$ тоòs аủ $\grave{\eta \nu}$ каі KарХךסóvos є̇ $\pi i$
 oủ $\mu$ óvov à $\phi \epsilon \sigma \tau \omega ́ \sigma \eta s$ ỏ入íyov $\delta \in i ̂ v \pi a ́ \sigma \eta s, ~ a ̉ \lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ к а i ̀ ~$ 358

## BOOK II. 16, 3-17, 3

a thousand horse. Romulus having instituted these measures, not alone the kings who ruled the city after him but also the annual magistrates after them pursued the same policy, with occasional additions, so successfully that the Roman people became inferior in numbers to none of the nations that were accounted the most populous.
XVII. When I compare the customs of the Greeks with these, I can find no reason to extol either those of the Lacedaemonians or of the Thebans or of the Athenians, who pride themselves most on their wisdom; all of whom, jealous of their noble birth and granting citizenship to none or to very few (I say nothing of the fact that some even expelled foreigners), not only received no advantage from this haughty attitude, but actually suffered the greatest harm because of it. Thus, the Spartans after their defeat at Leuctra, ${ }^{1}$ where they lost seventeen hundred men, were no longer able to restore their city to its former position after that calamity, but shamefully abandoned their supremacy. And the Thebans and Athenians through the single disaster at Chaeronea ${ }^{2}$ were deprived by the Macedonians not only of the leadership of Greece but at the same time of the liberty they had inherited from their ancestors. But Rome, while engaged in great wars both in Spain and Italy and employed in recovering Sicily and Sardinia, which had revolted, at a time when the situation in Macedonia and Greece had become hostile to her and Carthage was again contending for the supremacy, and when all but a small portion of Italy was not only in open

$$
{ }^{1} 371 \text { в.с. } \quad{ }^{2} 338 \text { в.с. }
$$

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 $\mu \epsilon i \zeta o v a \tau \hat{\eta} s \pi \rho о \tau \epsilon ่ \rho a s, \tau \hat{\varphi} \pi \lambda \eta \eta^{\prime} \theta \epsilon \iota \tau 0 \hat{v} \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \iota \omega \tau \iota \kappa о \hat{v}$
 $\ddot{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$ vimo入a $\beta$ ávovaí тlves єủvoía $\tau \cup ́ \chi \eta s ~ \chi \rho \eta \sigma \alpha-~$




 $\tau \rho \iota \sigma \chi \iota \lambda i \omega \nu$ є́ $\sigma \omega ́ \theta \eta \sigma \alpha \nu$.
 $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau о и ́ т о \iota s ~ a ̂ ~ \mu \epsilon ́ \lambda \lambda \omega \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \iota \nu$ ，öт८ то̂̂ ка入へ̂s оiкє̂̂－




 $\hat{\eta} \tau \tau o \nu ~ a ̉ \lambda \lambda \eta ́ \lambda o v s ~ \beta \lambda a ́ \pi \tau о \nu \tau \epsilon S ~ \mu a ̂ \lambda l o v ~ o ́ \mu о \nu o o v ̂ \sigma \iota ~ к а i ~$



 $\tau \alpha v ̇ \tau о \mu a ́ \tau o v ~ \pi \alpha \rho а \gamma і \nu \in \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau о и ́ т \omega \nu ~ \epsilon ̈ к а \sigma \tau о \nu ~ \tau \omega ิ \nu$


 360

## BOOK II. 17, 3-18, 2

rebellion but was also drawing upon her the Hannibalic war, as it was called,-though surrounded, I say, by so many dangers at one and the same time, Rome was so far from being overcome by these misfortunes that she derived from them a strength even greater than she had had before, being enabled to meet every danger, thanks to the number of her soldiers, and not, as some imagine, to the favour of Fortune; since for all of Fortune's assistance the city might have been utterly submerged by the single disaster at Cannae, where of six thousand horse only three hundred and seventy survived, and of eighty thousand foot enrolled in the army of the commonwealth little more than three thousand escaped.
XVIII. It is not only these institutions of Romulus that I admire, but also those which I am going to relate. He understood that the good government of cities was due to certain causes which all statesmen prate of but few succeed in making effective : first, the favour of the gods, the enjoyment of which gives success to men's every enterprise; next, moderation and justice, as a result of which the citizens, being less disposed to injure one another, are more harmonious, and make honour, rather than the most shameful pleasures, the measure of their happiness; and, lastly, bravery in war, which renders the other virtues also useful to their possessors. And he thought that none of these advantages is the effect of chance, but recognized that good laws and the emulation of worthy pursuits render a State pious, temperate, devoted to justice, and brave

[^162]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 $\theta \epsilon i ̂ \alpha ~ к а i ~ \delta \alpha \iota \mu o ́ v ı \alpha ~ \sigma \epsilon \beta a \sigma \mu \hat{\nu}$. iєpà $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ оûv каì



 Өvoias, aîs रaípovaı $\gamma \in \rho \alpha \iota \rho o ́ \mu \in \nu o \iota ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a ̉ \nu \theta \rho \omega ́ \pi \omega \nu$,


3 тоîs краті́бтоьs $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \alpha \rho$ " "E $\lambda \lambda \eta \sigma \iota$ vоцíншข тоѝs סè $\pi \alpha \rho a \delta \epsilon \delta o \mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ ~ a v ̉ \tau \omega ̂ \nu ~ \mu u ́ \theta o v s, ~ \epsilon ̇ v ~ o i ̂ s ~$







XIX. Ov̌тє $\gamma$ à $O$ Ơpavòs $\epsilon \in \kappa \tau \epsilon \mu \nu o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu$ os vimò $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$







 $\theta \epsilon o i ̂ s ~ a ̀ \phi a v ı \zeta о \mu \epsilon ́ v o \iota s, ~ w i s ~ \pi a p ’ ~ " E \lambda \lambda \eta \sigma \iota \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon i ̂ \tau a \iota ~$ $\pi \epsilon \rho i ́ \tau \epsilon \Phi_{\epsilon \rho \sigma \epsilon ф o ́ v \eta s} \dot{\alpha} \rho \pi a \gamma \eta \grave{\nu} \kappa \alpha i$ тà $\Delta \iota o v v ́ \sigma o v ~ \pi \alpha ́ \theta \eta$
${ }^{1}$ Meineke : катךүорiá O. ${ }^{2} \tau$ à added by Kiessling.
in war. He took great care, therefore, to encourage these, beginning with the worship of the gods and genii. He established temples, sacred precincts and altars, arranged for the setting up of statues, determined the representations and symbols of the gods, and declared their powers, the beneficent gifts which they have made to mankind, the particular festivals that should be celebrated in honour of each god or genius, the sacrifices with which they delight to be honoured by men, as well as the holidays, festal assemblies, days of rest, and everything alike of that nature, in all of which he followed the best customs in use among the Greeks. But he rejected all the traditional myths concerning the gods that contain blasphemies or calumnies against them, looking upon these as wicked, useless and indecent, and unworthy, not only of the gods, but even of good men ; and he accustomed people both to think and to speak the best of the gods and to attribute to them no conduct unworthy of their blessed nature.
XIX. Indeed, there is no tradition among the Romans either of Caelus being castrated by his own sons or of Saturn destroying his own offspring to secure himself from their attempts or of Jupiter dethroning Saturn and confining his own father in the dungeon of Tartarus, or, indeed, of wars, wounds, or bonds of the gods, or of their servitude among men. And no festival is observed among them as a day of mourning or by the wearing of black garments and the beating of breasts and the lamentations of women because of the disappearance of deities, such as the Greeks perform in commemorating the rape of Persephonê and the adventures of

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 $\tau \in \lambda \epsilon \tau \dot{\alpha} s$ ảmopp $\eta$ тovs, ov̉ $\delta \iota a \pi a v \nu v \chi \iota \sigma \mu o v ̀ s ~ \epsilon ̉ v ~ i \in \rho o i ̂ s ~$

 $\pi \rho a \tau \tau o ́ \mu \epsilon v a ́ \quad \tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha i ̀ \lambda \epsilon \gamma o ́ \mu \epsilon v a$ тà $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ тoùs $\theta \epsilon o v ́ s$, ẃs


 ảvá $\gamma \kappa \eta$ бє́ $\beta \in \iota \nu$ тоѝs $\pi a \tau \rho i ́ o v s ~ \theta \epsilon o u ̀ s ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ o i ̈ к о ~ \theta \epsilon \nu ~$







 каi $\gamma v v \grave{\eta}$ Фрvүía каi $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota a ́ \gamma о v \sigma \iota \nu ~ a ̉ v a ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu ~$
${ }^{1}$ The Bacchic rites, introduced into Rome shortly after the close of the Second Punic War, were soon being celebrated with such licentious excesses and were accompanied by the plotting of so many crimes that the most drastic action was taken by the senate and consuls in 186 to punish the guilty and prevent all further celebration of the rites. An abstract of the decree passed by the senate (the Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus), contained in an official letter of the consuls to some local magistrates in southern Italy, is still preserved on a bronze tablet and is one of our earliest Latin documents. It appears in the

## B00K II. 19, 2-4

Dionysus and all the other things of like nature. And one will see among them. even though their manners are now corrupted, no ecstatic transports, no Corybantic frenzies, no begging under the colour of religion, no bacchanals ${ }^{1}$ or secret mysteries, no all-night vigils of men and women together in the temples, nor any other mummery of this kind; but alike in all their words and actions with respect to the gods a reverence is shown such as is seen among neither Greeks nor barbarians. And,-the thing which I myself have marvelled at most,-notwithstanding the influx into Rome of innumerable nations which are under every necessity of worshipping their ancestral gods according to the customs of their respective countries, yet the city has never officially adopted any of those foreign practices, as has been the experience of many cities in the past; but, even though she has, in pursuance of oracles, introduced certain rites from abroad, she celebrates them in accordance with her own traditions, after banishing all fabulous clap-trap. The rites of the Idaean goddess ${ }^{2}$ are a case in point; for the practors perform sacrifices and celebrate games in her honour every year according to the Roman customs, but the priest and priestess of the goddess are Phrygians, and it is they who carry her image in procession through Corpus Inscript. Lat. i. 196 and x. 104, also in F. D. Allen's Remnants of Early Latin, pp. 28-31.
${ }^{2}$ The official title of Cybelê in Rome was Mater Deum Magna Idaea, commonly shortened to Mater Magna or Mater Idaea. The sacred black stone, which was her symbol, was brought from Pessinus in Asia Minor in 204 b.c., in response to a Sibylline oracle which declared that only thus could Hannibal be driven out of Italy. The games established in her honour were the Megalesia.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS











XX. Kai $\mu \eta \delta \in i s$ vimo入áß $\eta \mu \epsilon$ à $\gamma \nu 0 \in i ̂ \nu$ ő ơ $\tau$ т $\omega \nu$



 $\psi \cup \chi \eta ̂ s ~ к а i ~ \delta \epsilon i ́ \mu а т а ~ к а i ~ \delta o ́ \xi а s ~ к а Ө a i ́ \rho о \nu \tau \epsilon s^{3}$ о’’






 үivє $\nu \alpha<$, $\sigma \pi \alpha ́ v \iota o \iota ~ \delta ' ~ \epsilon i \sigma i v ~ o i ~ \mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon \iota \lambda \eta \phi o ́ \tau \epsilon s ~ \tau a u ́ \tau \eta S ~$

${ }^{2}$ каi Kiessling: $\tilde{\eta}$ O.
${ }^{3}$ каӨaípovtєs A: каӨaıpôvvєєs R, Jacoby.

## BOOK II. 19, 4-20, 2

the city, begging alms in her name according to their custom, and wearing figures upon their breasts ${ }^{1}$ and striking their timbrels while their followers play tunes upon their flutes in honour of the Mother of the Gods. But by a law and decree of the senate no native Roman walks in procession through the city arrayed in a parti-coloured robe, begging alms or escorted by flute-players, or worships the goddess with the Phrygian ceremonies. So cautious are they about admitting any foreign religious customs and so great is their aversion to all pompous display that is wanting in decorum.

XX Let no one imagine, however, that I am not sensible that some of the Greek myths are useful to mankind, part of them explaining, as they do, the works of Nature by allegories, others being designed as a consolation for human misfortunes, some freeing the mind of its agitations and terrors and clearing away unsound opinions, and others invented for some other useful purpose. But, though I am as well acquainted as anyone with these matters, nevertheless my attitude toward the myths is one of caution, and I am more inclined to accept the theology of the Romans, when I consider that the advantages from the Greek myths are slight and cannot be of profit to many, but only to those who have examined the end for which they are designed; and this philosophic attitude is shared by few. The great multitude, unacquainted with philosophy,

[^163]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ aioxíбт $\omega \nu \quad \tau \epsilon$ каi $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \nu о \mu \omega \tau \alpha ́ \tau \omega \nu$ ov̉ $\epsilon \nu$ òs ảmє́ $\chi \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota \quad \theta \epsilon o i ̂ s ~ a v ̉ \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \kappa \epsilon i \mu \epsilon \nu a$ ò $\rho \hat{\omega} \nu$.


 бךs $\pi$ о入ıтєias каi тádє $\dot{\eta \gamma \eta \sigma \alpha ́ \mu \eta \nu ~ i \sigma \tau о р i a s ~ a ̈ \xi ı a . ~}$












 $\tau \omega \nu$ ảтокпри́т $\tau \epsilon \iota \nu, \tau \omega ิ \nu \delta \grave{\epsilon} \kappa \lambda \eta \eta_{\rho} \omega$ dıaıроv́v $\tau \omega \nu,{ }^{2} \epsilon \in \kappa \epsilon \hat{\imath}-$





[^164]
## BOOK II. 20, 2-21, 3

are prone to take these stories about the gods in the worse sense and to fall into one of two errors: they either despise the gods as buffeted by many misfortunes, or else refrain from none of the most shameful and lawless deeds when they see them attributed to the gods.
XXI. But let the consideration of these matters be left to those who have set aside the theoretical part of philosophy exclusively for their contemplation. To return to the government established by Romulus, I have thought the following things also worthy the notice of history. In the first place, he appointed a great number of persons to carry on the worship of the gods. At any rate, no one could name any other newly-founded city in which so many priests and ministers of the gods were appointed from the beginning. For, apart from those who held family priesthoods, sixty were appointed in his reign to perform by tribes and curiae the public sacrifices on behalf of the commonwealth; I am merely repeating what Terentius Varro, the most learned man of his age, has written in his Antiquities. In the next place, whereas others generally choose in a careless and inconsiderate manner those who are to preside over religious matters, some thinking fit to make public sale of this honour and others disposing of it by lot, he would not allow the priesthoods to be either purchased for money or assigned by lot, but made a law that each curia should choose two men over fifty years of age, of distinguished birth and

[^165]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS








 каi таûта $\gamma$ '́vŋтal катà тò крáтьбтоv, тás $\tau \epsilon$


 $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon i ̂ v$ каi $\pi a i ̂ \delta a s ~ a u ̉ \tau \omega ิ \nu \tau \grave{\alpha} \kappa а \theta \dot{\eta} \kappa о \nu \tau \alpha$ $\lambda \epsilon \iota \tau о v \rho \gamma \epsilon i ̂ v$.
 тovs ката入єүє́vтаs є’\} éка́бтךs фрáтраs, ко́роv каi

 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ' $Е \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu \nu$ vó $\mu \omega \nu$ каi таvิта $\mu \leqslant \tau \epsilon \nu \epsilon \gamma \kappa \alpha ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о$,





${ }^{3}$ тovto入âtaı Kiessling, tovtólaı Köstlin : тоûto dè . . . A, тоขิто $\delta$ è B .

[^166]
## BOOK II. 21, 3-22, 2

exceptional merit, of competent fortune, and without any bodily defects; and he ordered that these should enjoy their honours, not for any fixed period, but for life, freed from military service by their age and from civil burdens by the law.
XXII. And because some rites were to be performed by women, others by children whose fathers and mothers were living, ${ }^{1}$ to the end that these also might be administered in the best manner, he ordered that the wives of the priests should be associated with their husbands in the priesthood; and that in the case of any rites which men were forbidden by the law of the country to celebrate, their wives should perform them and their children should assist as their duties required; and that the priests who had no children should choose out of the other families of each curia the most beautiful boy and girl, the boy to assist in the rites till the age of manhood, and the girl so long as she remained unmarried. These arrangements also he borrowed, in my opinion, from the practices of the Greeks. For all the duties that are performed in the Greek ceremonies by the maidens whom they call kanêphoroi and arrhéphoroi ${ }^{2}$ are performed by those whom the Romans call tutulatae, ${ }^{3}$ who wear on their heads the same kind of
${ }^{2}$ The "basket-bearers" and the "bearers of the symbols (?)" of Athena Polias. But there is great dispute as regards both the spelling ard the meaning of thesecond word.
${ }^{3}$ Tutulatae is due to Kiessling's conjecture. The feminine form does not occur elsewhere, but the masculine tutulati is attested by a gloss in Festus (pp. 354 f.). The word was descriptive of those who wore their hair plaited up in the shape of a cone (tutulus). This was an ancient style of arranging the hair, and was prescribed in the case of the flaminica Dialis.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS






 $\tau 0 i ̂ s ~ i \in p \in v ิ \sigma \iota \nu$ oi $\lambda \in \gamma o ́ \mu \in \nu o \iota ~ \nu v ̂ \nu$ vimò ' $P \omega \mu a i \not \omega \nu \kappa \alpha ́-$








XXIII. Tav̂тa $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ т $\hat{\nu} \nu$ Өрךбкєvóvт $\omega \nu$ тò̀s
 $\kappa \alpha \tau^{\prime} \epsilon \in \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \epsilon \circ o ́ \tau \eta \tau \alpha$ таîs фрáтраıs $\tau \grave{a}$ i $\in \rho \alpha \alpha^{\prime}, \theta \in o u ̀ s$




${ }^{1} \mathrm{G}$. Voss : кá $\delta \omega \lambda$ oı O. ${ }^{2}$ vi $\pi \eta \rho \epsilon \tau \circ \hat{\sigma} \sigma \iota$ Reiske.
${ }^{3}$ Lange emended to av̌aтıка.

${ }^{1}$ Cadmili is another form resting on conjecture. Elsewhere the word occurs only in the singular, as a proper name. Cadmilus (sometimes written Casmilus) was one of the Cabeiri worshipped in Samothrace and was identified with Hermes. The name was probably of Oriental origin. 372

## BOOK II. 22, 2-23, 2

crowns with which the statues of the Ephesian Artemis are adorned among the Greeks. And all the functions which among the Tyrrhenians and still earlier among the Pelasgians were performed by those they called cadmili ${ }^{1}$ in the rites of the Curetes and in those of the Great Gods, were performed in the same manner by those attendants of the priests who are now called by the Romans camilli. ${ }^{2}$ Furthermore, Romulus ordered one soothsayer out of each tribe to be present at the sacrifices. This soothsayer we call hieroskopos or "inspector of the vitals," and the Romans, preserving something of the ancient name, aruspex. ${ }^{3}$ He also made a law that all the priests and ministers of the gods should be chosen by the curiae and that their election should be confirmed by those who interpret the will of the gods by the art of divination.
XXIII. After he had made these regulations concerning the ministers of the gods, he again, as I have stated, ${ }^{4}$ assigned the sacrifices in an appropriate manner to the various curiae, appointing for each of them gods and genii whom they were always to worship, and determined the expenditures for the sacrifices, which were to be paid to them out of the public treasury. The members of each curia performed their appointed sacrifices together with their own
${ }^{2}$ Tho camilli were free-born youths who assisted in the sacrifices of the flamen Dialis; in time, however, the term came to be applied to those assisting in other religious rites. The word was probably introduced from Etruria. Varro connected it with Casmilus (or Cadmilus), but most scholars to-day reject this derivation.
${ }^{3}$ Aruspex or, more properly, haruspex, meant "inspector of the entrails"; but the element haru- is not, as Dionysius supposed, a corruption of hiero-.

- Chap. 21, 2-3.


## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 $\kappa \alpha \theta \omega \sigma i \omega \tau o ́ \quad \tau \iota s, \stackrel{\omega}{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$ ढ̀v $\tau о i ̂ s ~ ‘ E \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \kappa \kappa o i ̂ s ~ \pi \rho v-$





 $\gamma \eta \prime \sigma \alpha \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \delta о к \epsilon i ̂ ~ \pi \alpha \rho \alpha ̀ ~ K \rho \eta \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ \mu \alpha \theta \omega ́ \nu, ~ к а i ~ \mu \epsilon \gamma а ́ \lambda а ~$


 $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \sigma \tau \eta \prime \sigma \alpha s$ є́кабтоv то仑 $\mu \grave{\eta}$ ката入ıтєîv тòv $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha-$
 4 iєp $\hat{\nu} \nu \mu \sigma \tau \epsilon ́ \sigma \chi \in \nu$ ．каi ov̉ $\mu$ óvov $\tau \hat{\eta} S \pi \epsilon \rho i$ $\tau \alpha \hat{\tau} \tau \alpha$
 $\tau \hat{\eta} s \in \dot{\jmath} \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon i a s ~ \tau \omega \hat{\nu}$ Өvaı $\omega \hat{\nu}$ ，aîs $\gamma \epsilon \rho \alpha i \rho \in \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau o v ̀ s$




 каi $\pi \iota \nu а к і ́ \sigma к о ь s ~ к є р а \mu є о і ̂ s, ~ a ̉ \lambda \phi i ́ \tau \omega \nu ~ \mu a ́ \zeta \alpha s ~ к а i ~$




[^167]
## BOOK II. 23, 2-5

priests, and on holy days they feasted together at their common table. For a banqueting-hall had been built for each curia, and in it there was consecrated, just as in the Greek prytanea. a common table for all the members of the curia. These banqueting-halls had the same name as the curiae themselves, and are called so to our day. This institution, it seems to me, Romulus took over from the practice of the Lacedaemonians in the case of their phiditia, ${ }^{1}$ which were then the vogue. It would seem that Lycurgus, who had learned the institution from the Cretans, introduced it at Sparta to the great advantage of his country; for he thereby in time of peace directed the citizens' lives toward frugality and temperance in their daily repasts, and in time of war inspired every man with a sense of shame and concern not to forsake his comrade with whom he had offered libations and sacrifices and shared in common rites. And not alone for his wisdom in these matters does Romulus deserve praise, but also for the frugality of the sacrifices that he appointed for the honouring of the gods, the greatest part of which, if not all, remained to my day, being still performed in the ancient manner. At any rate, I myself have seen in the sacred edifices repasts set before the gods upon ancient wooden tables, in baskets and small earthen plates, consisting of barley bread, cakes and spelt, with the first-offerings of some fruits, and other things of like nature, simple, cheap, and devoid of all vulgar display. I have seen also the libation wines that had been mixed,

[^168]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS







 $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \tau \tau o ̀ s ~ \tau \grave{\nu} \nu \gamma \nu \omega ́ \mu \eta \nu$ ảvท̀ $\rho$ каì $\tau \grave{a} \theta \epsilon i ̂ \alpha ~ \epsilon ’ \xi \eta \gamma \eta \dot{\eta} \sigma \alpha \sigma \theta a \iota$








入ov̀s каì $\sigma v \mu \phi \epsilon ́ \rho о \nu \tau \alpha s, a ̉ \gamma \rho a ́ \phi o v s ~ \mu \grave{̀} \nu \tau o v ̀ s ~ \pi \lambda \epsilon i ́ \sigma \tau o v s$,











## BOOK II. 23, 5-24, 2

not in silver and gold vessels, but in little earthen cups and jugs, and I have greatly admired these men for adhering to the customs of their ancestors and not degenerating from their ancient rites into a boastful magnificence. There are, it is true, other institutions, worthy to be both remembered and related, which were established by Numa Pompilius, who ruled the city after Romulus, a man of consummate wisdom and of rare sagacity in interpreting the will of the gods, and of them I shall speak later; and yet others were added by Tullus Hostilius, the second ${ }^{1}$ king after Romulus, and by all the kings who followed him. But the seeds of them were sown and the foundations laid by Romulus, who established the principal rites of their religion.
XXIV. Romulus also seems to have been the author of that good discipline in other matters by the observance of which the Romans have kept their commonwealth flourishing for many gencrations; for he established many good and useful laws, the greater part of them unwritten, but some committed to writing. There is no need for me to mention most of them, but I will give a short account of those which I have admired most of all and which I have regarded as suitable to illustrate the character of the rest of this man's legislation, showing how austere it was, how averse to vice, and how closely it resembled the life of the heroic age. However, I will first observe that all who have established constitutions, barbarian as well as Greck, seem to me to have recognized correctly the general principle that every State, since it consists of many

[^169]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

оїк $\omega \nu$ $\sigma v \nu \epsilon \sigma \tau \hat{\omega} \sigma \alpha \nu$ ỏp $\theta \dot{\eta} \nu \tau{ }^{1} \pi \lambda \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu$ єiкòs ö $\tau \alpha \nu$ oi $\tau \omega ิ \nu$ iठı $\omega \tau \omega \hat{\nu} \epsilon \dot{\jmath} \sigma \tau \alpha \theta \hat{\omega} \sigma \iota$ ßioo, каi $\chi \epsilon \iota \mu \hat{\nu} \nu a$ то入̀̀v



3 каi бúфpovas $\tau$ ov̀s $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ i $\delta \iota \omega \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ مiovs. $\epsilon \mathfrak{\epsilon} \xi \hat{\omega} \nu \delta^{\prime}$


 ढ̀v тoîs кvрıштáтoıs каi три́тоьs $\mu \epsilon ́ \rho \epsilon \sigma \iota ~ \tau \hat{\eta} s$ vo$4 \mu о \theta \epsilon \sigma i ́ a s ~ a ́ \mu \alpha \rho \tau \epsilon i v . ~ a v ̉ \tau i ́ к а ~ \pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \gamma a ́ \mu \omega \nu ~ к а i ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̂ S ~$ $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \gamma v v a i ̂ k a s ~ o ́ \mu i \lambda i ́ a s, ~ a ̀ \phi ' ~ \eta ̂ ̀ s ~ a ̈ \rho \chi \in \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \delta \in i ̂ ~ \tau o ̀ v ~$







 $\tau \omega ิ \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega \nu^{3} \tau \alpha ̀ s ~ a ̀ \gamma \epsilon \rho \omega ́ \chi o v s ~ к a i ~ \theta \eta \rho \iota \omega ́ \delta \epsilon \iota s ~ \sigma v \nu o v \sigma i a s ~$




${ }^{1} \tau \in$ Bücheler : $\gamma \in \mathrm{O}$.
${ }^{2}$ Kiessling : є̇тoıท́баvтo 0.
${ }^{3} \epsilon^{\epsilon} \kappa \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega \nu \mathrm{~B}: \epsilon \notin \tau \hat{\jmath} s \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega s \mathrm{R}$.
${ }^{4}$ éva ăvopa Kayser.
${ }^{5}$ єis O: $\pi \rho$ òs Reiske.

## BOOK II. 24, 2-6

families, is most likely to enjoy tranquillity ${ }^{1}$ when the lives of the individual citizens are untroubled, and to have a very tempestuous time when the private affairs of the citizens are in a bad way, and that every prudent statesman, whether he be a lawgiver or a king, ought to introduce such laws as will make the citizens just and temperate in their lives. Yet by what practices and by what laws this result may be accomplished they do not all scem to me to have understood equally well, but some of them seem to have gone widely and almost completely astray in the principal and fundamental parts of their legislation. For example, in the matter of marriage and commerce with women, from which the lawgiver ought to begin (even as Nature has begun thence to form our lives), some, taking their example from the beasts, have allowed men to have intercourse with women freely and promiscuously, thinking thus to free their lives from the frenzies of love, to save them from murderous jealousy, and to deliver them from many other evils which come upon both private houses and whole States through women. Others have banished this wanton and bestial intercourse from their States by joining a man to one woman; and yet for the preservation of the marriage ties and the chastity of women they have never attempted to make even the slightest regulation whatsoever, but have given up the idea as something im-

[^170]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS






















 $\pi \rho о \sigma \eta \gamma о \rho i ́ a ~ \pi \epsilon \rho i \lambda a \mu \beta \alpha ́ \nu o \nu \tau \epsilon s$ фаррахєiovs ${ }^{6}$ є́ $\pi i$ $\tau \hat{\eta} s$

${ }^{1} \tau \grave{\eta}_{\nu}$ Ambrosch : $\tau \hat{\omega} \mathrm{B}$, тò A.
${ }^{2}$ vó $\mu$ ò Kiessling : $\mu$ óvo $\mathbf{O}$.
 B, єis єúкооцiаг каi $\pi о \lambda \lambda \grave{\eta} \nu ~ \sigma \omega \phi \rho о \sigma v ́ v \eta \nu ~ A . ~$
${ }^{4}$ रvvaîkas B: үa $\mu \in \tau$ ás R. ${ }^{5}$ дá $\mu$ ovs Sintenis: vó $\mu$ ous O.
${ }^{6}$ фappaxious A, фappayxєious B: фарра́кıа Steph. The correct form would seem to be either фappakious or фарракє́ovs.
380
practicable. Others have neither permitted sexual intercourse without marriage, like some barbarians, nor neglected the guarding of their women, like the Lacedaemonians, but have established many laws to keep them within bounds. And some have even appointed a magistrate to look after the good conduct of women; this provision, however, for their guarding was found insufficient and too weak to accomplish its purpose, being incapable of bringing the woman of unvirtuous nature to the necessity of a modest behaviour.
XXV. But Romulus, without giving either to the husband an action against his wife for adultery or for leaving his home without cause, or to the wife an action against her husband on the ground of ill-usage ${ }^{1}$ or for leaving her without reason, and without making any laws for the returning or recovery of the dowry, or regulating anything of this nature, by a single law which effectually provides for all these things, as the results themselves have shown, led the women to behave themselves with modesty and great decorum. The law was to this effect, that a woman joined to her husband by a holy marriage should share in all his possessions and sacred rites. The ancient Romans designated holy and lawful marriages by the term " farreate," ${ }^{2}$ from the sharing of far, which we call zea ${ }^{3}$; for
${ }^{1}$ The term can also mean the mismanagement of her property.
${ }^{2}$ Farracius or farraceus is an adjective, " of spelt." It is not used by any extant writer in connexion with marriages; but we do find the participles farreatus and confarreatus thus used, and especially the noun confarreatio. See note 2, p. 383.
${ }^{3}$ Both words mean "spelt," a coarse variety of wheat.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 $\kappa \alpha \lambda о \hat{\nu \tau \epsilon s, ~ \text { о̃̃ } \omega \text { ' } P \omega \mu \alpha \text { ioı } \tau \iota \mu \iota \omega ́ \tau \alpha \tau o ́ v ~} \tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha \rho \pi \grave{o} v$
 тои́т $\omega \nu$ á $\pi \alpha ́ \sigma \eta s ~ \epsilon ’ \mu \pi v ́ \rho o v ~ \theta v \sigma i a s ~ к а \tau \alpha ́ \rho \chi o v \tau a \iota . ~ \mu \epsilon ́ v \in \iota ~$


 $\kappa \alpha i ~ \epsilon ่ \pi i ~ \tau \hat{\eta}$ ö $\lambda \eta{ }^{5}$ $\sigma v \nu \in \lambda \theta \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu \tau u ́ \chi \eta$ $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ є̇ $\pi i \kappa \lambda \eta \sigma \iota \nu$


 vó $\mu$ оs $\tau \alpha ́ s ~ \tau \epsilon ~ \gamma v v a i ̂ k a s ~ \eta ᄁ \nu \alpha ́ \gamma к а \sigma \epsilon ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \gamma а \mu \epsilon \tau \alpha ́ s, ~ o i ̂ a ~$



 $\tau \hat{\varphi} \gamma \epsilon \gamma а \mu \eta \kappa о ́ т \iota ~ \pi \epsilon \iota \theta о \mu \epsilon ́ v \eta$ $\gamma v \nu \grave{\eta}$ кขрía тои̂ оїкоv





${ }^{1} \tau \eta े \nu$ ఢ́́av deleted by Reudler, Jacoby.
${ }^{2} \eta \dot{\eta} \mu$ îs oi added by Reiske.
4 ámapxàs Steph. : ápxàs O .
${ }^{5} \tau \hat{\eta}$ ö $\lambda \eta$ Reiske : $\pi \circ \lambda \lambda \hat{\eta} \mathrm{O}$.

382
this was the ancient and, for a long time, the ordinary food of all the Romans, and their country produces an abundance of excellent spelt. And as we Greeks regard barley as the most ancient grain, and for that reason begin our sacrifices with barley-corns which we call oulai, so the Romans, in the belief that spelt is both the most valuable and the most ancient of grains, in all burnt offerings begin the sacrifice with that. ${ }^{1}$ For this custom still remains, not having deteriorated into first-offerings of greater expense. The participation of the wives with their husbands in this holiest and first food and their union with them founded on the sharing of all their fortunes took its name ${ }^{2}$ from this sharing of the spelt and forged the compelling bond of an indissoluble union, and there was nothing that could annul these marriages. This law obliged both the married women, as having no other refuge, to conform themselves entirely to the temper of their husbands, and the husbands to rule their wives as necessary and inseparable possessions. Accordingly, if a wife was virtuous and in all things obedient to her husband, she was mistress of the house to the same degree as her husband was master of it, and after the death of her husband she was heir to his property in the same manner as a daughter was to that of her father ; that is, if he died without children and intestate, she was mistress of all that he left, and if he had children, she shared equally with them. But if she did any

[^171][^172]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS













 каі $\pi \epsilon \nu \tau а к о \sigma i ́ \omega \nu ~ \mu \eta \delta \epsilon i s ~ \epsilon ̇ \nu ~ ' P \omega ́ \mu \eta ~ \lambda \nu \theta \hat{\eta} v a \iota ~ \gamma a ́ \mu о s . ~$


 є́autov̂ रuvaîкa $\Sigma \pi o ́ \rho ı o s ~ K a \rho o v i ̈ \lambda ı o s ~ ² ~ a ̉ \nu \grave{~} \rho$ oủk




${ }^{1}$ є̈бхата O : aïбхเซта Grasberger, Jacoby.
${ }^{2}$ Kapovììos Ambrosch: кai poovìıos AB.

[^173]wrong, the injured party was her judge and determined the degree of her punisliment. Other offences, however, were judged by her relations together with her husband ; among them was adultery, or where it was found she had drunk wine-a thing which the Greeks would look upon as the least of all faults. For Romulus permitted them to punish both these acts with death, as being the gravest offences women could be guilty of, since he looked upon adultery as the source of reckless folly. and drunkenness as the source of adultery. And both these offences continued for a long time to be punished by the Romans with merciless severity. The wisdom of this law concerning wives is attested by the length of time it was in force; for it is agreed that during the space of five hundred and twenty years no marriage was ever dissolved at Rome. But it is said that in the one hundred and thirty-seventh Olympiad, in the consulship of Marcus Pomponius and Gaius Papirius, ${ }^{1}$ Spurius Carvilius, a man of distinction, was the first to divorce his wife, ${ }^{2}$ and that he was obliged by the censors to swear that he had married for the purpose of having children (his wife, it seems, was barren); yet because of his action, though it was based on necessity, he was ever afterwards hated by the people.

604 b.c. and Plutarch 524. Moreover, Valerius states elsewhere (ii. 9, 2) that L. Annius repudiated his wife in $307 / 6$, a date confirmed by Livy (ix. 43, 25). It seems most probable that Dionysius and Gellius are wrong in their date. Scholars who accept this late date admit an earlier voluntary dissolution of marriage or assume that the ancient authors were thinking of different forms of marriage or of different grounds for divorce.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS










 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi a \tau \epsilon ́ p \omega \nu$, oi $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ ढ̈" $\omega s$ трíтov ${ }^{1} \epsilon \in \kappa \pi \lambda \eta \rho \omega ́ \sigma \omega \sigma \iota \nu$
 oi $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \mu \epsilon ́ \chi \rho \iota \tau \hat{\eta} s \epsilon i s \tau \dot{\alpha} \alpha \dot{\alpha} \rho \chi \epsilon i \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \delta \eta \mu o ́ \sigma \iota a$ є’ $\gamma \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \hat{\eta} s$,


 тоîs татрáбıv, ov̉ ßapєías, ढ' $\xi \in \lambda \alpha ́ \sigma \alpha \iota ~ \tau \hat{\eta} s$ oiкías


 $\sigma \hat{\omega} \phi \rho o v$ ả $\gamma \alpha \gamma \epsilon i v$ тov̀s $\grave{\eta} \mu \epsilon \lambda \eta \kappa o ́ \tau \alpha$ s $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ка入ิ̂ $\nu$ ai





 є́áv $\tau \epsilon$ ảтокт८vvv́val $\pi \rho \circ \alpha \iota \rho \eta ิ \tau \alpha \iota, \kappa a ̈ \nu \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \iota \kappa \grave{\alpha}$ $\pi \rho a ́ \tau \tau \omega \nu$ ó $\pi \alpha i ̂ s ~ \eta ้ \delta \eta ~ \tau v \gamma \chi a ́ v \eta ~ \kappa a ̈ \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \nu ~ a ̉ \rho \chi \alpha i ̂ s ~ \tau \alpha i ̂ s ~$

[^174]386
XXVI. These, then, are the excellent laws which Romulus enacted concerning women, by which he rendered them more observant of propriety in relation to their husbands. But those he established with respect to reverence and dutifulness of children toward their parents, to the end that they should honour and obey them in all things, both in their words and actions, were still more august and of greater dignity and vastly superior to our laws. For those who established the Greek constitutions set a very short time for sons to be under the rule of their fathers, some till the expiration of the third year after they reached manhood, others as long as they continued unmarried, and some till their names were entered in the public registers, as I have learned from the laws of Solon, Pittacus and Charondas, men celebrated for their great wisdom. The punishments, also, which they ordered for disobedience in children toward their parents were not grievous: for they permitted fathers to turn their sons out of doors and to disinherit them, but nothing further. But mild punishments are not sufficient to restrain the folly of youth and its stubborn ways or to give self-control to those who have been heedless of all that is honourable; and accordingly among the Greeks many unseemly deeds are committed by children against their parents. But the lawgiver of the Romans gave virtually full power to the father over his son, even during his whole life, whether he thought proper to imprison him, to scourge him, to put him in chains and keep him at work in the fields, or to put him to death, and this even though the son were already engaged in public affairs, though he were numbered among the highest

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \epsilon \in \mu \beta o ́ \lambda \omega \nu$ є่vavтias $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \tau \hat{\eta}$ ßov $\lambda \hat{\eta}, \kappa \in \chi a \rho \iota \sigma \mu \in ́ v a s$
 таи́таıs，катабтабӨє́vтєs àmò то仑̂ $\beta \dot{\eta} \mu a \tau o s ~ a ̀ \pi-$








 каӨа́тєр є̇тi Ma入liov Торкаváтоv каі то入入ิิv
 каıро̀v є’р̂．






${ }^{1}$ каі Peiske ：катд̀ O．


[^175]
## BOOK II. 26, 4-27, 1

magistrates, and though he were celebrated for his zeal for the commonwealth. Indeed, in virtue of this law men of distinction, while delivering specches from the rostra hostile to the senate and pleasing to the people, and enjoying great popularity on that account, have been dragged down from thence and carried away by their fathers to undergo such punishment as these thought fit; and while they were being led away through the Forum, none present, neither consul. tribune, nor the very populace, which was flattered by them and thought all power inferior to its own, could rescue them. I forbear to mention how many brave men, urged by their valour and zeal to perform some noble deed that their fathers had not ordered, have been put to death by those very fathers, as is related of Manlius Torquatus ${ }^{1}$ and many others. But concerning them I shall speak in the proper place.
XXVII. And not even at this point did the Roman lawgiver stop in giving the father power over the son, but he even allowed him to sell his son, without concerning himself whether this permission might be regarded as cruel and harsher than was compatible with natural affection. And,-a thing which anyone who has been educated in the lax manners of the Greeks may wonder at above all things and
pain of death; but this youth could not resist the taunts of a Tusculan foe, and accepted his challenge. When he returned triumphantly with the spoils of his enemy, his father ordered his death. The portion of the Antiquitie.s in which this incident was related is no longer extant.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 $2 \lambda \omega \nu .{ }^{1} \quad \theta \epsilon \rho a \pi o ́ v \tau \omega \nu \quad \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \quad \gamma \dot{a} \rho{ }^{2}$ ó $\pi \rho \alpha \theta \epsilon i \varsigma \quad \ddot{\alpha} \pi \alpha \xi$,







 $\epsilon i \pi \epsilon i v) \dot{\alpha} \pi \alpha \dot{\alpha} \nu \tau \omega \nu$ кра́т८бтоv $\dot{\eta} \gamma о$ v́ $\mu \in \nu \circ \iota \nu o ́ \mu \omega \nu .{ }^{4}$ ката-















[^176][^177]
## BOOK II. 27, 1-4

look upon as harsh and tyrannical,-he even gave leave to the father to make a profit by selling his son as often as three times, thereby giving greater power to the father over his son than to the master over his slaves. For a slave who has once been sold and has later obtained his liberty is his own master ever after, but a son who had once been sold by his father, if he became free, came again under his father's power, and if he was a second time sold and a second time freed, he was still, as at first, his father's slave; but after the third sale he was freed from his father. This law, whether written or unwritten, - I cannot say positively which, - the kings observed in the beginning, looking upon it as the best of all laws; and after the overthrow of the monarchy, when the Romans first decided to expose in the Forum for the consideration of the whole body of citizens all their ancestral customs and laws, together with those introduced from abroad, to the end that the rights of the people might not be changed as often as the powers of the magistrates, the decemvirs, who were authorized by the people to collect and transcribe the laws, recorded it among the rest, and it now stands on the fourth of the Twelve Tables, as they are called, which they then set up in the Forum. And that the decemvirs, who were appointed after three hundred years to transcribe these laws, did not first introduce this law among the Romans, but that, finding it long before in use, they dared not repeal it, I infer from many other considerations and particularly

[^178]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 $\gamma \epsilon ́ \gamma \rho \alpha \pi \tau \alpha l$. " 'Eàv $\pi \alpha \tau \eta \grave{\rho}$ vị̣̂ $\sigma v \gamma \chi \omega \rho \eta$ 'ən $\gamma v \nu a i ̂ \kappa \alpha$
 $\tau \omega \nu$ катà тoùs vó $\mu \circ v s, \mu \eta \kappa \epsilon ́ \tau \iota ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon ́ \xi o v \sigma i ́ a \nu ~ \epsilon i ้ v a \iota ~$
 $\mu \eta \grave{\eta} \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \pi \rho o \tau \epsilon ́ \rho o v s ~ \nu o ́ \mu o v s ~ a ̈ \pi \alpha \nu \tau \alpha s ~ \epsilon ' \xi \eta ̄ \nu ~ \tau \hat{\varphi}$


 є'ко́т $\mu \eta \sigma \epsilon$ ßioovs
 $\tau \alpha$ к каi $\tau \dot{\alpha}$ ठікаиа $\pi \rho o ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ к \epsilon \rho \delta а \lambda \epsilon ́ \omega \nu ~ a i p \epsilon i \sigma \theta a \iota ~$









 $\tau \alpha ́ \tau \epsilon \sigma \omega ́ \mu \alpha \tau \alpha \kappa \alpha i ̀ \tau a ̀ s ~ \psi v \chi \alpha ̀ s ~ \tau \omega ิ \nu \mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \chi \epsilon \iota \iota \zeta о \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu$,




${ }^{1}$ Sylburg : кєфа入aí O.
${ }^{2}$ \#apaүouє́vous Kiessling, Hertlein.

## BOOK II. 27, 4-28, 2

from the laws of Numa Pompilius, the successor of Romulus, among which there is recorded the following: " If a father gives his son leave to marry a woman who by the laws is to be the sharer of his sacred rites and possessions, he shall no longer have the power of selling his son." Now he would never have written this unless the father had by all former laws been allowed to sell his sons. But enough has been said concerning these matters, and I desire also to give a summary account of the other measures by which Romulus regulated the lives of the private citizens.
XXVIII. Observing that the means by which the whole body of citizens, the greater part of whom are hard to guide, can be induced to lead a life of moderation, to prefer justice to gain, to cultivate perseverance in hardships, and to look upon nothing as more valuable than virtue, is not oral instruction, but the habitual practice of such employments as lead to each virtue, and knowing that the great mass of men come to practise them through necessity rather than choice, and hence, if there is nothing to restrain them, return to their natural disposition, he appointed slaves and foreigners to exercise those trades that are sedentary and mechanical and promote shameful passions, looking upon them as the destroyers and corruptors both of the bodies and souls of all who practise them; and such trades were for a very long time held in disgrace by the Romans and were carried on by none of the native-born citizens. The only employments he left to free men were two,

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 каі та̀ катவ̀ то入є́


 $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \dot{\alpha} \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ ả $\pi o ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu i ́ \omega \nu \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \pi o \iota o v \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta \nu \tau \grave{\alpha} s$


 є́тє́poıs סє̀ тà mo入є $\mu i \omega \nu$ фє́ $\rho \in \iota \nu \tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha i$ a้ $\gamma \in \iota \nu$ ćs o





 $\lambda \alpha ́ \beta о \iota ~ \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \epsilon \cup ́ \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \delta \iota \delta a ́ \sigma \kappa \omega \nu ~ к а і ~ \mu \eta ̀ ~ \pi \alpha \rho a \chi \omega р \epsilon i ̂ \nu$

 $\mu i ́ o u s ~ к \alpha i ~ a ̀ \nu \delta \rho a ́ \pi о \delta \alpha ~ к а i ~ \chi \rho \eta ́ \mu \alpha \tau \alpha, ~ к а і ~ \pi \alpha \rho \in \sigma \kappa є v ́ a \zeta \epsilon \nu$ ả $\gamma \alpha \pi \eta \tau \hat{\omega} s \delta^{\prime} \chi \in \sigma \theta a \iota \tau \alpha ̀ s$ отратєías.



${ }^{1} \kappa \alpha \tau \epsilon ́ \lambda \iota \pi \epsilon \tau \alpha ́ ~ \tau \epsilon \kappa a \tau \alpha ̀ ~ A m b r o s c h: ~ к а \tau а \lambda \epsilon i \pi \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota \tau \grave{\alpha} \kappa а \tau \alpha ̀ ~ O ~$


[^179]agriculture and warfare; for he observed that men so employed become masters of their appetite, are less entangled in illicit love affairs, and follow that kind of covetousness only which leads them, not to injure one another, but to enrich themselves at the expense of the enemy. But, as he regarded each of these occupations, when separate from the other, as incomplete and conducive to fault-finding, instead of appointing one part of the men to till the land and the other to lay waste the enemy's country, according to the practice of the Lacedaemonians, ${ }^{1}$ he ordered the same persons to exercise the employments both of husbandmen and soldiers. In time of peace he accustomed them to remain at their tasks in the country, except when it was necessary for them to come to market, upon which occasions they were to meet in the city in ordes to traffic, and to that end he appointed every ninth ${ }^{2}$ day for the markets; and when war came he taught them to perform the duties of soldiers and not to yield to others either in the hardships or advantages that war brought. For he divided equally among them the lands, slaves and money that he took from the enemy, and thus caused them to take part cheerfully in his campaigns.
XXIX. In the case of wrongs committed by the citizens against one another he did not permit the trials to be delayed, but caused them to be held promptly, sometimes deciding the suits himself and sometimes referring them to others; and he

2 " Every ninth day," reckoning inclusively, means every eighth day by modern reckoning. The name of these market-days was nundinae, from novem and dies.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 $\dot{\alpha} \gamma о \rho \hat{s}$, каi $\sigma \tau \rho \alpha \tau \omega \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$, оî $\pi \alpha \rho \eta к о \lambda о v ́ \theta$ оиv аv่т $\hat{\omega}$






 $\gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho$ є́к тои́т $\omega \nu$ каi $\pi \epsilon \rho i ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ä $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu \epsilon i \kappa \alpha ́ \sigma \alpha \iota . ~$
 $\pi$ о入є́ $\mu$ оvs vimò тov̂ ả $\nu \delta \rho o ̀ s ~ \gamma \epsilon \nu o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu a l ~ к а i ~ a i ~ к а \tau \grave{\alpha}$








 סvvaтoîs ov̈тє $\lambda \alpha \mu \pi \rho o ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon ̈ \rho \gamma о \nu ~ a ̉ \pi о \delta є \delta \epsilon \iota \gamma \mu \epsilon ́ v o \iota s{ }^{5}$


[^180]
## BOOK II. 29, 1-30, 2

proportioned the punishment to the magnitude of the crime. Observing, also, that nothing restrains men from all evil actions so effectually as fear, he contrived many things to inspire it, such as the place where he sat in judgment in the most con spicuous part of the Forum, the very formidable appearance of the soldiers who attended him, three hundred in number, and the rods and axes borne by twelve men, ${ }^{1}$ who scourged in the Forum those whose offences deserved it and beheaded others in public who were guilty of the greatest crimes. Such. then, was the general character of the government established by Romulus; the details I have men. tioned are sufficient to enable one to form a judg. ment of the rest.
XXX. The ${ }^{2}$ other deeds reported of this man, both in his wars and at home, which may be thought deserving of mention in a history are as follows. Inasmuch as many nations that were both numerous and brave in war dwelt round about Rome and none of them was friendly to the Romans, he desired to conciliate them by intermarriages, which, in the opinion of the ancients, was the surest method of cementing friendships; but considering that the cities in question would not of their own accord unite with the Romans, who were just getting settled together in one city, and who neither were powerful by reason of their wealth nor had performed any brilliant exploit, but that they would yield to force

> 1 The lictors; cf. Livy i. 8, 2-3.
> ${ }^{2}$ For chaps. $30-31 ~ c f$. Livy i. 9.

[^181]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 $\pi a \rho \theta$ év $\omega \nu$ à $\rho \rho o ́ a s ~ \gamma \in \nu o \mu \epsilon ́ v \eta s ~ \pi o \iota \eta ́ \sigma a \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota-~$









4 iт $\pi \omega \nu \quad \tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha i \stackrel{\alpha}{\alpha} \nu \delta \rho \omega \bar{\omega} \pi \alpha \nu \tau o \delta a \pi o v{ }^{\prime} s . \quad \sigma v \nu \epsilon \lambda \theta$ óv $\tau \omega \nu$
 каi $\tau \epsilon ́ \kappa \nu о \iota s, ~ \grave{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon \iota \delta \grave{\eta} \tau \alpha ́ s ~ \tau \epsilon$ Өvaías $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon \tau \epsilon \in \lambda \epsilon \sigma \epsilon \tau \hat{\omega}$







 $\pi о \nu \tau \alpha \iota \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau \eta े \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \alpha \rho \theta \in ́ v \omega \nu$ á $\rho \pi \alpha \gamma \eta{ }^{\prime} \nu, \tau \alpha \rho a \chi \grave{\eta}$


 398

## BOOK II. 30. 2-5

if no insolence accompanied such compulsion, he determined, with the approval of Numitor, his grandfather, to bring about the desired intermarriages by a wholesale seizure of virgins. After he had taken this resolution, he first made a vow to the god ${ }^{1}$ who presides over secret counsels to celebrate sacrifices and festivals every year if his enterprise should succeed. Then, having laid his plan before the senate and gaining their approval, he announced that he would hold a festival and general assemblage in honour of Neptune, and he sent word round about to the nearest cities, inviting all who wished to do so to be present at the assemblage and to take part in the contests; for he was going to hold contests of all sorts, both between horses and between men. And when many strangers came with their wives and children to the festival, he first offered the sacrifices to Neptune and held the contests; then, on the last day, on which he was to dismiss the assemblage, he ordered the young men, when he himself should raise the signal, to seize all the virgins who had come to the spectacle, each group taking those they should first encounter, to keep them that night without violating their chastity and bring them to him the next day. So the young men divided themselves into several groups, and as soon as they saw the signal raised, fell to seizing the virgins; and straightway the strangers were in an uproar and fled, suspecting some greater mischief. The next day, when the virgins were brought before Romulus, he comforted them in
${ }^{1}$ Consus. See p. 403 and note 1 (end).

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS











 $\tau \in \lambda$ ои̂vтal $\chi$ рóv $\omega \nu$.






 oi $\delta$ ' $\epsilon$ is ả ảoр $\mu \eta ̀ \nu ~ \pi о \lambda є ́ \mu о v ~ o i ́ ~ \delta e ̀ ~ \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \iota \theta \alpha \nu \omega ́ \tau \alpha \tau \alpha$ रрá申оvтєs, oîs кả $\gamma \dot{\omega}$ бvүкатєӨє́ $\mu \eta \nu$, єis тò $\sigma v v a ́ \psi a \iota ~$ ф८入óт $\tau \tau \alpha$ $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau \alpha ̀ s ~ \pi \lambda \eta \sigma \iota о \chi \omega ́ \rho o v s ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota s ~ a ̉ \nu а \gamma к а i ́ a \nu . ~$


${ }^{1} \tau \rho о ́ \pi о \nu \mathrm{~A}: ~ \tau \rho о ́ \pi \omega \nu \mathrm{~B}, \mathrm{Jacoby}$.
${ }^{2}$ Bücheler: єíxє O.

## BOOK II. 30, 5-31, 2

their despair with the assurance that they had been seized, not out of wantonness, but for the purpose of marriage; for he pointed out that this was an ancient Greek custom ${ }^{1}$ and that of all methods of contracting marriages for women it was the most illustrious, and he asked them to cherish those whom Fortune had given them for their husbands. Then counting them and finding their number to be six hundred and eighty-three, he chose an equal number of unmarried men to whom he united them according to the customs of each woman's country, basing the marriages on a communion of fire and water, in the same manner as marriages are performed even down to our times.
XXXI. Some state that these things happened in the first year of Romulus' reign, but Gnaeus Gellius says it was in the fourth, which is more probable. For it is not likely that the head of a newly-built city would undertake such an enterprise before establishing its government. As regards the reason for the seizing of the virgins, some ascribe it to a scarcity of women, others to the seeking of a pretext for war; but those who give the most plausible account-and with them I agree-attribute it to the design of contracting an alliance with the neighbouring cities, founded on affinity. And the Romans even to my day continued to celebrate the festival then instituted by Romulus, calling it the

[^182]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS








 $\tau \epsilon \tau \iota \mu \hat{\eta} \sigma \theta a \iota \beta \omega \mu \hat{\omega} \lambda \epsilon \in \gamma o v \sigma \iota \nu$, on $\tau \iota \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ र $\eta$ ท $\nu$ on $\theta \epsilon o ̀ s$








 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \alpha \rho \theta \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu$ cai $\tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \in \rho i$ тov̀s $\gamma a ́ \mu o v s ~ \epsilon i s ~ \tau a ̀ s ~$ $\pi \lambda \eta \sigma \iota \circ \chi \omega ́ \rho o v s ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota s$, ai $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ aủzò $\tau o ̀ ~ \pi \rho a \chi \theta \epsilon ̀ \nu \pi \rho o ̀ s$


${ }^{1}{ }_{i \pi \pi \omega \nu}$ Sylburg : in $i \epsilon \epsilon \nu$ O.

${ }^{1}$ The Consualia was in origin a harvest festival held in honour of Consus, an ancient Italic god of agriculture. His altar was kept covered with earth except at these festivals (cf. Plutarch, Rom. 14, 3), perhaps to commemorate an ancient practice of storing the garnered grain underground or else to symbolize the secret processes of nature in the production of crops. At the Consualia horses and mules were given a holiday and crowned with flowers, as we have already seen (i. 33, 2). Because of the races held

## BOOK II. 31, 2-32, 1

Consualia, ${ }^{1}$ in the course of which a subterranean altar, erected near the Circus Maximus, is uncovered by the removal of the soil round about it and honoured with sacrifices and burnt-offerings of first-fruits and a course is run both by horses yoked to chariots and by single horses. The god to whom these honours are paid is called Consus by the Romans, being the same, according to some who render the name into our tongue, as Poseidon Seisichthon or the "Earth-shaker"; and they say that this god was honoured with a subterranean altar because he holds the earth. ${ }^{2}$ I know also from hearsay another tradition, to the effect that the festival is indeed celebrated in honour of Neptune and the horse-races are held in his honour, but that the subterranean altar was erected later to a certain divinity whose name may not be uttered, who presides over and is the guardian of hidden counsels; for a secret altar has never been erected to Neptune, they say, in any part of the world by either Greeks or barbarians. But it is hard to say what the truth of the matter is.
XXXII. When, ${ }^{3}$ now, the report of the scizure of the virgins and of their marriage was spread among the neighbouring cities, some of these were incensed at the proceeding itself, though others, considering
on his festival the god came to be identified with Poseidon Hippios. The name Consus is evidently derived from the verb condere (" to store up"); but the Romans connected it with consilium and thought of him as a god of counsels and secret plans.
${ }^{2}$ Or " upholds the earth." Compare his Greek epithet「aınoxos (" Earth-upholding ").
${ }^{3}$ For chaps. 32-36 cf. Livy i. 10 ; 11, 1-5.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS






 каi кıvסv́vovs $\mu \epsilon \gamma$ ádovs $\pi \rho \circ \sigma \eta \mu a i ́ v o v \tau a$, тàs $\delta є ̀$
 $\pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota \varsigma ~ a ้ \rho \xi \alpha \sigma \alpha \iota ~ \tau о v ิ ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a v ̉ \tau o ̀ v ~ \pi о \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu о v ~ K a \iota \nu i v \eta ~$ каi " $A \nu \tau \epsilon \mu \nu \alpha$ каі Kроvбтонєрі́a, $\pi \rho o ́ \phi а \sigma \iota \nu ~ \mu є ̇ \nu ~$








 $\pi \lambda \eta \sigma \iota \circ \chi \omega ́ \rho \omega \nu$ каi оv̉к $\epsilon^{\lambda} \lambda \alpha ́ \chi \iota \sigma \tau \alpha ~ \tau \omega \hat{\nu} \alpha \not ้ \lambda \lambda \omega \nu \pi \epsilon \rho \iota-$ vßрı $\sigma \mu \epsilon ́ \nu$ ovs $\cdot \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \gamma$ à $\rho \hat{\eta} \rho \pi \alpha \sigma \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu$ ai $\pi \lambda \epsilon i ́ o v s ~ \hat{\eta} \sigma \alpha \nu$ $\epsilon \in \kappa \in i \nu \omega \nu$.






[^183]
## BOOK II. 32. 1-33, 1

the motive from which it sprang and the outcome to which it led, bore it with moderation; but, at any rate, in the course of time it occasioned several wars, of which the rest were of small consequence, but that against the Sabines was a great and difficult one. All these wars ended happily, as the oracles had foretold to Romulus before he undertook the task, indicating as they did that the difficulties and dangers would be great but that their outcome would be prosperous. The first cities that made war upon him were Caenina, Antemnae and Crustumerium. They put forward as a pretext the seizure of the virgins and their failure to receive satisfaction on their account; but the truth was that they were displeased at the founding of Rome and at its great and rapid increase and felt that they ought not to permit this city to grow up as a common menace to all its neighbours For the time being, then, these cities were sending ambassadors to the Sabines, asking them to take the command of the war, since they possessed the greatest military strength and were most powerful by reason of their wealth and were laying claim to the rule over their neighbours and inasmuch as they had suffered from the Romans' insolence quite as much as any of the rest ; for the greater part of the virgins who had been seized belonged to them.
XXXIII. But when they found they were accomplishing nothing, since the embassies from Romulus opposed them and courted the Sabine people both by their words and by their actions, they were vexed at the waste of time-for the Sabines were forever affecting delays and putting off to distant

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 $\sigma \tau \rho \alpha \tau o ́ \pi \epsilon \delta \circ \nu \quad \pi \rho \circ \epsilon \xi \alpha \nu \alpha \sigma \tau \alpha ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \quad \pi \rho \circ \chi \epsilon \iota \rho o ́ \tau \epsilon \rho \circ \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$



 ả $\pi \rho о \sigma \delta о к \eta ́ \tau \omega s ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota \tau i \theta \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota ~ к \alpha i ~ \tau о \hat{v} ~ \tau \epsilon ~ \chi a ́ \rho а к о s ~$


 ovuфорáv, $\tau \in i ̂ \chi o ́ s ~ \tau \epsilon ~ a ̉ \phi u ́ \lambda a \kappa \tau о \nu ~ \epsilon \dot{v} \rho \grave{v} \nu ~ \kappa \alpha i ~ \pi u ́ \lambda a s ~$ ảк入єíवтovs aip $\epsilon \hat{\imath} \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu ~ \epsilon ' \xi ~ \epsilon ́ \phi o ́ \delta o v ~ к а i ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \beta a \sigma \iota-~$

 àфаıрєîтац.








 aip $\bar{\sigma} \sigma$ R.
406

## BOOK II. 33. 1-34, 1

dates the deliberation concerning the war-and resolved to make war upon the Romans by themselves alone, believing that their own strength, if the three cities joined forces, was sufficient to conquer one inconsiderable city. This was their plan; but they did not all assemble together promptly enough in one camp, since the Caeninenses, who scemed to be most eager in promoting the war. rashly set out ahead of the others. When these men, then, had taken the field and were wasting the country that bordered on their own, Romulus led out his army, and unexpectedly falling upon the enemy while they were as yet off their guard, he made himself master of their camp, which was but just completed. Then following close upon the heels of those who fled into the city, where the inhabitants had not as yet learned of the defeat of their forces, and finding the walls unguarded and the gates unbarred, he took the town by storm; and when the king of the Caeninenses met him with a strong body of men, he fought with him, and slaying him with his own hands, stripped him of his arms.
XXXIV. The town being taken in this manner, he ordered the prisoners to deliver up their arms, and taking such of their children for hostages as he thought fit, he marched against the Antemnates. And having conquered their army also, in the same manner as the other, by falling upon them unexpectedly while they were still dispersed in foraging, and having accorded the same treatment to the prisoners, he led his army home, carrying with him

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
$\tau \epsilon$ áтò тิ̂v $\pi \epsilon \pi \tau \omega \kappa о ́ \tau \omega \nu^{1}$ кат̀̀ тท̀v $\mu a ́ \chi \eta \nu$ каi


 $\delta a ́ \phi \nu \eta$ ठè катєбтє $\mu \mu \epsilon ́ v o s ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ к o ́ \mu a s ~ к а i, ~ i v a ~ \tau o ̀ ~$

 каі іттєє $\omega \nu$ кєкобرךнє́vך катà тє́ $\lambda \eta$ $\theta \in о$ v́s тє



 $\mu \in \nu$ ои каi тท̀v ã̀ $\lambda \eta \nu$ äт

 т $\rho a \pi \epsilon ́ \zeta \alpha \iota s$ т $\rho \circ \phi \hat{\eta} s$ таитоías $\gamma \in \mu о v ́ \sigma a \iota s$, aî тарà тàs

 т оотаıофо́роs то $\mu \pi \grave{\eta}$ каі $\theta v \sigma i ́ a, ~ \eta ̂ \nu ~ к а \lambda о v ิ \sigma \iota ~ ' P \omega \mu а i ̂ o \iota ~$





${ }^{1} \pi \epsilon \pi \tau \omega \kappa$ ót $\omega \nu$ Bücheler, á áro月avóvt $\omega \nu$ or á入óvг $\omega \nu$ Steph. ${ }^{2}$, á $\pi 0 \lambda \omega \lambda o ́ \tau \omega \nu$ Reiske, $\pi \epsilon \sigma o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ Kiessling: á $\pi о i ́ k \omega \nu$ O.

408

## BOOK II. 34, 1-4

the spoils of those who had been slain in battle and the choicest part of the booty as an offering to the gods; and he offered many sacrifices besides. Romulus himself came last in the procession, clad in a purple robe and wearing a crown of laurel upon his head, and, that he might maintain the royal dignity, he rode in a chariot drawn by four horscs. ${ }^{1}$ The rest of the army, both foot and horse, followed, ranged in their several divisions, praising the gods in songs of their country and extolling their general in improvised verses. They were met by the citizens with their wives and children, who, ranging themselves on each side of the road, congratulated them upon their victory and expressed their welcome in every other way. When the army entered the city, they found mixing bowls filled to the brim with wine and tables loaded down with all sorts of viands, which were placed before the most distinguished houses in order that all who pleased might take their fill. Such was the victorious procession, marked by the carrying of trophies and concluding with a sacrifice, which the Romans call a triumph, as it was first instituted by Romulus. But in our day the triumph has become a very costly and ostentatious pageant, being attended with a theatrical pomp that is designed rather as a display of wealth than as the approbation of valour, and it has departed in every respect from its ancient simplicity. After the procession and the

[^184]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS











 $\tau \eta ̀ \nu \tau \omega ิ \nu$ oैv $\tau \omega \nu$ фv́бıv $\tau \in \kappa \alpha i$ кív$\eta \sigma \iota \nu, ~ ' Y \pi \epsilon \rho \phi \epsilon \rho \epsilon ́ \tau \eta \nu$ ， ở犭 $\dot{\alpha} \mu \alpha \rho \tau \eta \dot{\eta} \sigma \tau \alpha \iota ~ \tau \hat{\eta} s \dot{\alpha} \lambda \eta \theta \epsilon \dot{i} a s$.

XXXV＇$\Omega_{s} \delta^{\prime}$＇ä $\pi \epsilon$＇$\delta \omega \kappa \epsilon$ тoîs $\theta \epsilon o i ̂ s ~ o ́ ~ \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \grave{s}$

 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa \rho a \tau \eta \theta \epsilon \epsilon \sigma \hat{\omega} \nu \pi$ кó $\epsilon \epsilon \omega \nu$ ，őv









 $\mu \epsilon \nu а i ́ \tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha i \quad \pi \rho о к v \lambda \iota o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu \alpha \iota ~ к а i ~ \tau \grave{\alpha} \tau \bar{\omega} \nu \pi \alpha \tau \rho i ́ \delta \omega \nu$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{1} \text { גóфov after Kamıт } \text { 人ióov deleted by Kiessling. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## BOOK II. 34. 4-35. 2

sacrifice Romulus built a small temple on the summit of the Capitoline hill to Jupiter whom the Romans call Feretrius; indecd, the ancient traces of it still remain, of which the longest sides are less than fifteen feet. In this temple he consecrated the spoils of the king of the Caeninenses, whom he had slain with his own hand. As for Jupiter Feretrius, to whom Romulus dedicated these arms, one will not err from the truth whether one wishes to call him Tropaiouchos, or Skylophoros, as some will have it, or, since he excels all things and comprehends universal nature and motion, Hyperpheretês. ${ }^{1}$
XXXV. After the king had offered to the gods the sacrifices of thanksgiving and the first-fruits of victory, before entering upon any other business, he assembled the senate to deliberate with them in what manner the conquered cities should be treated, and he himself first delivered the opinion he thought the best. When all the senators who were present had approved of the counsels of their chief as both safe and brilliant and had praised all the other advantages that were likely to accrue from them to the commonwealth, not only for the moment but for all future time, he gave command for the assembling of all the women belonging to the race of the Antemnates and of the Caeninenses who had been seized with the rest. And when they had assembled, lamenting, throwing themselves at his feet and bewailing the calamities of their native cities, he

[^185]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 ảvтi фi入ías ov̈тє ảvaүкаîov ov̈тє ка入òv ảveíhovтo．
 $\sigma \alpha \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \gamma \nu \omega \prime \mu \eta \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a u ̉ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \theta \epsilon \omega ิ \nu ~ \tau \epsilon ~ v \epsilon ́ \mu \epsilon \sigma \iota \nu ~ v ́ \phi о р \omega ́$－














 єv̉ðoگ̌av тє каi $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a ̉ \sigma \phi a ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota a \nu ~ \tau o ̀ ~ a v ̉ \tau o ̀ ~ \chi \rho \eta ́ \sigma \iota \mu о \nu ~$
 тàs $\pi$ ó入єıs каi ovvoíкоvs av̉таîs $\pi \epsilon ́ \mu \psi a \iota \mu \epsilon \nu$ av̇тó $\theta \in \nu$




$$
{ }^{1} \text { кä้ Kiessling : каi O. }
$$

## BOOK II. 35, 2-4

commanded them to cease their lamentations and be silent, then spoke to them as follows: "Your fathers and brothers and your entire cities deserve to suffer every severity for having preferred to our friendship a war that was neither necessary nor honourable. We, however, have resolved for many reasons to treat them with moderation; for we not only fear the vengeance of the gods, which ever threatens the arrogant, and dread the ill-will of men, but we also are persuaded that mercy contributes not a little to alleviate the common ills of mankind, and we realize that we ourselves may one day stand in need of that of others. And we believe that to you, whose behaviour towards your husbands has thus far been blameless, this will be no small honour and favour. We suffer this offence of theirs, therefore, to go unpunished and take from your fellow citizens neither their liberty nor their possessions nor any other advantages they enjoy; and both to those who desire to remain there and to those who wish to change their abode we grant full liberty to make their choice, not only without danger but without fear of repenting. But, to prevent their ever repeating their fault or the finding of any occasion to induce their cities to break off their alliance with us, the best means, we consider, and that which will at the same time conduce to the reputation and security of both, is for us to make those cities colonies of Rome and to send a sufficient number of our own people from here to inhabit them jointly with your fellow citizens. Depart, therefore, with good courage; and redouble your love and regard for your husbands, to whom your parents

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 a้ $\nu \delta \rho a s ~ \epsilon i s ~ \epsilon ́ к а \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \alpha \nu ~ a ̀ \pi о і к к о \nu s ~ a ̀ \pi \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau \epsilon \iota \lambda \epsilon \nu$, оîs

 тоข̀s ßov入o $\mu$ є́vovs $\mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \theta \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ о і ̈ к \eta \sigma \iota \nu ~ \epsilon i s ~$


 фрáтраs ó ßaбı入єùs катє́ $\quad \rho a \psi \epsilon,{ }^{1}$ т $\tau \iota \sigma \chi \iota \lambda i ́ \omega \nu$ оủк





 $\epsilon і ̈ \rho \eta \tau \alpha i ́ ~ \mu о \iota ~ \pi \rho o ́ \tau \epsilon \rho о \nu, \mu \epsilon \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \tau o ́ v \delta \epsilon ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \mu о \nu$ àтоккіає 'P $P \mu a i ́ \omega \nu \quad \gamma є \gamma$ є́ $\eta \nu \tau о$.









$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{1} \text { Bücheler: катє́ } \gamma \rho \alpha \phi є \mathrm{O} \text {. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## BOOK II. 35, 5-36, 2

and brothers owe their preservation and your countries their liberty." The women, hearing this, were greatly pleased, and shedding many tears of joy, left the Forum ; but Romulus sent a colony of three hundred men into each city, to whom these cities gave a third part of their lands to be divided among them by lot. And those of the Caeninenses and Antemnates who desired to remove to Rome they brought thither together with their wives and children, permitting them to retain their allotments of land and to take with them all their possessions ; and the king immediately enrolled them, numbering not less than three thousand, in the tribes and the curiae, so that the Romans had then for the first time six thousand foot in all upon the register. Thus Caenina and Antemnae, no inconsiderable cities. whose inhabitants were of Greek origin (for the Aborigines had taken the cities from the Sicels and occupied them, these Aborigines being, as I said before, part of those Oenotrians who had come out of Arcadia ${ }^{1}$ ), after this war became Roman colonies.
XXXVI. Romulus, having attended to these matters, led out his army against the Crustumerians, who were better prepared than the armies of the other cities had been. And after he had reduced them both in a pitched battle and in an assault upon their city, although they had shown great bravery in the struggle, he did not think fit to punish them any further, but made this city also a Roman colony like the two former. Crustumerium was a colony of

$$
{ }^{2} \text { i. } 13 .
$$

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 катà то入є́ $\mu$ оиs $\gamma \epsilon \nu v a i o ́ \tau \eta \tau \alpha$ то̂ $\mathfrak{\eta} \gamma \epsilon \mu$ óvos каi $\tau \grave{\eta}{ }^{1}{ }^{1}$











 d’ $\xi\llcorner о \lambda o ́ \gamma o v ~ \delta v \nu a ́ \mu \epsilon \omega s ~ a ̀ \pi о \sigma \tau о \lambda \hat{\eta}$. каi $\mu \epsilon \tau \grave{\alpha}$ тоиิто














$$
{ }^{1} \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \text { Anbrosch : om. O, Jacoby. }
$$

## BOOK II. 36, 2-37, 1

the Albans sent out many years before the founding of Rome. The fame of the general's valour in war and of his clemency to the conquered being spread through many cities, many brave men joined him, bringing with them considerable bodies of troops, who migrated with their whole families. From one of these leaders, who came from Tyrrhenia and whose name was Caclius, one of the hills, on which he settled, is to this day called the Caelian. Whole cities also submitted to him, beginning with Medullia, and became Roman colonies. But the Sabines, seeing these things, were displeased and blamed one another for not having crushed the power of the Romans while it was in its infancy, instead of which they were now to contend with it when it was greatly increased. They determined, therefore, to make amends for their former mistake by sending out an army of respectable size. And soon afterwards, assembling a general council in the greatest and most famous city of the nation, called Cures. they voted for the war and appointed Titus, surnamed Tatius, the king of that city, to be their general. After the Sabines had come to this decision, the assembly broke up and all returned home to their several cities, where they busied themselves with their preparations for the war, planning to advance on Rome with a great army the following year.
XXXVII. In the meantime Romulus also was making the best preparations he could in his turn, realizing that he was to defend himself against a warlike people. With this in view, he raised the wall of the Palatine hill by building higher ramparts upon it as a further security to the inhabitants, and fortified the adjacent hills-the

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

тóv $\tau \epsilon$ Av̉єvтîvov кai $\tau \grave{\nu}$ Kaтıтш入îvov vv̂v $\lambda \epsilon \gamma o ́-$








 $\pi \alpha \rho$＇’A













[^186]Aventine and the one now called the Capitolinewith ditches and strong palisades, and upon these hills he ordered the husbandmen with their flock: to pass the nights, securing each of them by a suffi cient garrison; and likewise any other place that promised to afford them security he fortified wikh ditches and palisades and kept under guard. In the meantime there came to him a man of action and reputation for military achievements, named Lucumo. lately become his friend, who brought with him from the city of Solonium ${ }^{1}$ a considerable body of Tyrrhenian mercenaries. There came to him also from the Albans, sent by his grandfather, a goodly number of soldiers with their attendants, and with them artificers for making engines of war; these men were adequately supplied with provisions. arms and all necessary equipment. When every thing was ready for the war on both sides, the Sabines. who planned to take the field at the beginning of spring, resolved first to send an embassy to the enemy both to ask for the return of the women and to demand satisfaction for their seizure, just so that they might seem to have undertaken the war from necessity when they failed to get justice. and they were sending the heralds for this purpose. Romulus, however, asked that the women, since they themselves were not unwilling to live with
${ }^{1}$ Solonium was an ancient city about twelve miles from Rome, near the Ostian Way. It disappeared at an early date, but its name survived in the Solonius ager. The statement of Dionysius is confirmed by Propertius iv. 1 31, where the latest editions. following the Neapolitan MS., read hinc Tities Ramne»que urr Luceresque Solon (instcad of coloni).

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS











 Kupiviov oü $\pi \omega^{3}$ таúт $\eta \nu^{4}$ є้ $\chi о \nu \tau \alpha ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \eta \gamma о \rho i ́ a \nu, ~$



 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ катà тoùs ảypoùs каi $\pi \rho i \nu$ ảvaтєîda $\tau \grave{\nu}$

 $\pi a ́ v \tau \alpha ~ ф \nu \lambda а \kappa \eta ̂ ~ к а \tau \epsilon \chi o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu \alpha ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau \omega ̂ \nu ~ \pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu i ́ \omega \nu$,



 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ỏ $\chi v \rho \omega \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ катà $\tau \circ \iota a ́ \nu \delta \epsilon \tau \iota \nu \grave{a}$ ovv $\tau v \chi i a \nu$. $\pi a \rho \in \xi \iota o ́ v \tau a s ~ \gamma a ̀ \rho ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu ~ \rho i ́ \zeta a \nu ~ \tau o v ̂ ~ K a \pi ı \tau \omega \lambda i o v ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~$

${ }^{1}{ }_{\eta} \dot{\eta}$ added by Ambrosch. $\quad{ }^{2}$ Cobet: Séoraa O.


- Sylburg: aủ ${ }^{2}{ }^{2} \mathrm{O}$ O.
${ }^{5}$ Steph. : rátıs A titos B (and so elsewhere).


## BOOK II. 37, 4-38, 2

their husbands, should be permitted to remain with them; but he offered to grant the Sabines anything else they desired, provided they asked it as from friends and did not begin war. Thereupon the others, agreeing to none of his proposals, led out their army, which consisted of twenty-five thousand foot and almost a thousand horse. And the Roman army was not much smaller than that of the Sabines, the foot amounting to twenty thousand and the horse to eight hundred; it was encamped before the city in two divisions, one of them, under Romulus himself, being posted on the Esquiline hill, and the other, commanded by Lucumo, the Tyrrhenian, on the Quirinal, which did not as yet have that name.
XXXVIII. Tatius, ${ }^{1}$ the king of the Sabines, being informed of their preparations, broke camp in the night and led his army through the country, without doing any damage to the property in the fields, and before sunrise encamped on the plain that lies between the Quirinal and Capitoline hills. But observing all the posts to be securely guarded by the enemy and no strong position left for his army, he fell into great perplexity, not knowing what use to make of the enforced delay. While he was thus at his wit's end, he met with an unexpected piece of good fortune, the strongest of the fortresses being delivered up to him in the following circumstances. It seems that, while the Sabines were passing by the foot of the Capitoline to view the place and see whether any part

[^187][^188]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 3 Tápтєєа o้vо $\mu \alpha$. каi av̉兀ท́v, wis $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ Фáßıós $\tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha i$ Kì $\gamma \kappa \iota o s ~ \gamma \rho a ́ \phi o v \sigma \iota \nu, ~ " ̈ \rho \omega s ~ \epsilon i \sigma \epsilon ́ \rho \chi \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \psi \in \lambda \lambda i \omega \nu \nu,{ }^{1}$



 Өvцia, $\gamma \nu \mu \nu o u ̀ s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ бкє $\pi \alpha \sigma \tau \eta \rho i \omega \nu$ ö $\pi \lambda \omega \nu$ $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha-$











 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi v \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$ каi $\pi a \rho a \delta \dot{\omega} \sigma \epsilon \iota \nu$ av̉тоîs тò $\epsilon ้ \rho \nu \mu a \nu v \kappa \tau o ̀ s$



$$
{ }^{1} \psi \in \lambda \lambda i \omega \nu \mathrm{Bb}: \psi a \lambda i ́ \omega \nu \mathrm{ABa} .
$$

422

## BOOK II. 38, 2-4

of the hill could be taken either by surprise or by force, they were observed from above by a maiden whose name was Tarpeia, the daughter of a distinguished man who had been entrusted with the guarding of the place. This maiden, as both Fabius and Cincius relate, conceived a desire for the bracelets which the men wore on their left arms and for their rings; for at that time the Sabines wore ornaments of gold and were no less luxurious in their habits than the Tyrrhenians. ${ }^{1}$ But according to the account given by Lucius Piso. the ex-censor, she was inspired by the desire of performing a noble dced, namely, to deprive the enemy of their defensive arms and thus deliver them up to her fellow citizens. Which of these accounts is the truer may be conjectured by what happened afterwards. This girl, therefore, scnding out one of her maids by a little gate which was not known to be open, desired the king of the Sabines to come and confer with her in private, as if she had an affair of necessity and importance to communicate to him. Tatius, in the hope of having the place betrayed to him, accepted the proposal and came to the place appointed ; and the maiden, approaching within speaking distance, informed him that her father had gone out of the fortress during the night on some business, but that she had the keys of the gates, and if they came in the night, she would deliver up the place to them upon condition that they gave her as a reward for her treachery the things which all the Sabines wore
> ${ }^{1}$ It need hardly be pointed out how inconsistent this description of the Sabines is with the traditional view of their character as given below at the end of chapter 49.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 Taтiov $\lambda a \beta o v ̂ \sigma \alpha ~ \tau \alpha ̀ s ~ \pi i \sigma \tau \epsilon \iota s ~ \delta i ' ~ o ̋ \rho к \omega \nu ~ \pi a \rho ' ~ a v ̉ \tau o v ̂ ~$




XXXIX. Мє́ Xpı $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \delta \grave{\eta} \tau о v ́ \tau \omega \nu$ $\sigma u \mu \phi \epsilon ́ \rho о \nu \tau \alpha \iota$

 $\tau \iota \kappa o ́ s, ~$ о̂ं каі $\pi \rho о ́ т \epsilon \rho о \nu$ є́ $\mu \nu \dot{\eta} \sigma \theta \eta \nu$, ă $\gamma \gamma \epsilon \lambda$ óv $\phi \eta \sigma \iota \nu$
 $\chi \omega$ рiov $\delta \eta \lambda \omega ́ \sigma \sigma \frac{\nu}{} \alpha \tau \hat{\omega}$ ' $P \omega \mu u ́ \lambda \omega$ тàs $\gamma \in \nu о \mu \epsilon$ vas $\tau \hat{\eta}$ ко́p! $\pi$ рòs тoùs $\Sigma a \beta i v o u s ~ o ́ \mu o \lambda o \gamma i ́ a s, ~ o ̈ t \iota ~ \mu \epsilon ́ \lambda \lambda o \iota ~$
 коьขóтๆтоs $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ó $\mu о \lambda о \gamma \iota \omega ิ \nu \pi а р а к р о v \sigma а \mu \epsilon ́ v \eta, ~ \delta u ́ v a-~$



 катท́रoроข $\gamma \in \nu \epsilon \in \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ \tau \eta ̂ s ~ T a \rho \pi \epsilon i ́ a s ~ \beta o v \lambda \epsilon v \mu a ́-~$







${ }^{2} \pi a \rho$ ' B : om. R.

## BOOK II. 38, 5-39, 2

on their left arms. And when Tatius consented to this, she received his sworn pledge for the faithful performance of the agreement and gave him hers. Then having appointed, as the place to which the Sabines were to repair, the strongest part of the fortress, and the most unguarded hour of the night as the time for the enterprise, she returned without being observed by those inside.
XXXIX. So far all the Roman historians agree, but not in what follows. For Piso, the ex-censor, whom I mentioned before, says that a messenger was sent out of the place by Tarpcia in the night to inform Romulus of the agreement she had made with the Sabines, in consequence of which she proposed, by taking advantage of the ambiguity of the expression in that agreement, to demand their defensive arms, and asking him at the same time to send a reinforcement to the fortress that night, so that the enemy together with their commander, being deprived of their arms, might be taken prisoners; but the messenger, he says, deserted to the Sabine commander and acquainted him with the designs of Tarpeia. Nevertheless, Fabius and Cincius say that no such thing occurred, but they insist that the girl kept her treacherous compact. In what follows, however, all are once more in agreement. For they say that upon the arrival of the king of the Sabines with the flower of his army, Tarpeia, keeping her promise, opened to the

[^189]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS









 ó ркоия àто入аßєiv.
XL. "ETєıта $\pi a ́ \lambda \iota \nu$ ó $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ П \epsilon i \sigma \omega \nu ~ ф \eta \sigma i ~ \tau \omega ิ \nu$
 тòv $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ тoîs ảpıбтєроîs ß $\rho a \chi i ́ o \sigma \iota ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ Tá $\rho \pi \epsilon \iota a \nu$ ov̉ тòv кóб $\mu$ ov à $\lambda \lambda$ à тov̀s $\theta v \rho \epsilon o v ̀ s ~ \pi a \rho ’ ~ a v ̉ \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ a i \tau \epsilon i ̂ v . ~$







 $\tau \epsilon$ каi i $\sigma \chi$ v́os $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \pi \lambda \eta \gamma \omega \hat{\nu} \pi \epsilon \sigma \epsilon i ̂ \nu ~ к а i ~ \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \sigma \omega \rho \in v-$




 бкєтабтท́pıa кат' aủтท̂s $\beta a \lambda \epsilon i v,{ }^{3}$ ís таûтa öтє 426

## BOOK II. 39, 2-40, 2

enemy the gate agreed upon, and rousing the garrison, urged them to save themselves speedily by other exits unknown to the enemy. as if the Sabines were already masters of the place; that after the flight of the garrison the Sabines, finding the gates open, possessed themselves of the stronghold, now stripped of its guards, and that Tarpeia, alleging that she had kept her part of the agreement, insisted upon receiving the reward of her treachery according to the oaths.
XL. Here again Piso says that, when the Sabines were ready to give the girl the gold they wore on their left arms, Tarpeia demanded of them their shields and not their ornaments. But Tatius resented the imposition and at the same time thought of an expedient by which he might not violate the agreement. Accordingly, he decided to give her the arms as the girl demanded, but to contrive that she should make no use of them ; and immediately poising his shield, he hurled it at her with all his might, and ordered the rest to do the same; and thus Tarpeia, being pelted from all sides, fell under the number and force of the blows and died, overwhelmed by the shields. But Fabius attributes this fraud in the performance of the agreement to the Sabines; for they, being obliged by the agreement to give her the gold as she demanded, were angered at the magnitude of the reward and hurled their shields at her as if they had engaged themselves

[^190]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS








 $\pi \alpha \rho \dot{\alpha} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{\alpha} \pi о \kappa \tau \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \quad \tau v \chi \epsilon i v, \dot{a} \lambda \lambda \grave{\alpha} \kappa \alpha i \not \epsilon i ̆ \tau \iota$




 $\gamma \epsilon \nu o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu \circ \iota$ картєро仑̂ кúpıo九 каi $\tau \grave{a} \pi \lambda \epsilon i ̂ \sigma \tau \alpha ~ \tau \hat{\eta} S$





 $\mu a \tau \alpha, \mu \epsilon ́ \gamma \iota \sigma \tau a \iota \delta^{\prime}$ є่к $\pi \alpha \rho a \tau \alpha ́ \xi \epsilon \omega s$ ö̀als $\tau \alpha i ̂ s$

 $\gamma \nu \omega ́ \mu \eta \nu$ ả $\mu \phi o ́ \tau \epsilon \rho о \iota ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ a u ̉ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon ै \sigma \chi o \nu ~ o ̀ \lambda о \sigma \chi \epsilon \rho \in \hat{\imath े}$ крîval тòv à $\gamma \bar{\omega} \nu \alpha$ $\mu a ́ \chi \eta$, каi $\pi \rho о є \lambda \theta o ́ v \tau \epsilon s$ єis тò


[^191]
## BOOK II. 40, 2-41, 2

by their oaths to give her these. But what followed gives the greater appearance of truth to the statement of Piso. For she was honoured with a monument in the place where she fell and lies buried on the most sacred hill of the city and the Romans every year perform libations to her (I relate what Piso writes); whereas, if she had died in betraying her country to the enemy, it is not to be supposed that she would have received any of these honours, either from those whom she had betrayed or from those who had slain her, but, if there had been any remains of her body, they would in the course of time have been dug up and cast out of the city, in order to warn and deter others from committing the like crimes. But let everyone judge of these matters as he pleases.
XLI. As for Tatius and the Sabines, having become masters of a strong fortress and having without any trouble taken the greatest part of the Romans' baggage, they carried on the war thereafter in safety. And as the armies lay encamped at a short distance from each other and many occasions offered, there were many essays and skirmishes, which were not attended with any great advantages or losses to either side, and there were also two very severe pitched battles, in which all the forces were opposed to each other and there was great slaughter on both sides. For, as the time dragged along, they both came to the same resolution, namely, to decide the issue by a general engagement. Whereupon leaders of both armies, who were masters of the art

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS






 $\mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ катор ${ }^{\circ}$ oûv $\tau \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma \phi \in \tau \epsilon \in \rho \omega \nu \dot{\epsilon} \pi \iota \kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v^{\prime} \sigma \epsilon \iota \quad \tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha i$




 oûv $\tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ \dot{\eta} \mu \epsilon ́ \rho a \nu$ ovíc $\delta_{\iota \epsilon \nu \epsilon ́ \gamma к а \nu \tau \epsilon s}$ à $\gamma \chi \omega \mu a ́ \lambda \omega s$ $\tau \eta \nu$
 єка́тєроь ха́ракаs àтŋ入入а́ббо⿱т兀．



 $\epsilon$ is тò av่тò тب̂ $\pi \rho \circ \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega ~ \chi \omega \rho i o v ~ \sigma v \nu \in \lambda \theta o ́ v \tau \epsilon S ~ a ̈ \chi \rho \iota ~$









$$
{ }^{1} \tau^{\prime} \text { added by Kiessling. }
$$

## BOOK II. 41, 2-42, 2

of war, as well as common soldiers, trained in many engagements, advanced into the plain that lay between the two camps and performed memorable feats both in attacking and receiving the enemy as well as in rallying and renewing the fight on equal terms. Those who from the ramparts were spectators of this doubtful battle, which, often varying, favoured each side in turn, when their own men had the advantage, inspired them with fresh courage by their exhortations and songs of victory, and when they were hard pressed and pursued, prevented them by their prayers and lamentations from proving utter cowards; and thanks to these shouts of encouragement and entreaty the combatants were compelled to endure the perils of the struggle even beyond their strength. And so, after they had thus carried on the contest all that day without a decision, darkness now coming on, they both gladly retired to their own camps.
XLII. But on the following days they buried their dead, took care of the wounded and reinforced their armies; then, resolving to engage in another battle, they met again in the same plain as before and fought till night. In this battle, when the Romans had the advantage on both wings (the right was commanded by Romulus himself and the left by Lucumo, the Tyrrhenian) but in the centre the battle remained as yet undecided, one man prevented the utter defeat of the Sabines and rallied their wavering forces to renew the struggle with the victors. This man, whose name was Mettius Curtius,

[^192]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 ả $\gamma \omega \nu \iota \zeta о \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu$ т $̀ \nu \quad \phi \dot{\alpha} \lambda \alpha \gamma \gamma \alpha$ каi тоѝs ảvтıтєта－



 $\delta a \sigma \mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \kappa a i ~ \mu \epsilon ́ \chi \rho \iota ~ \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ \pi v \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$ av̉тov̀s ${ }^{\eta} \lambda a \sigma \epsilon \nu$ ， $\dot{\omega} \sigma \tau \epsilon \dot{\eta} \nu а \gamma к а ́ \sigma \theta \eta$ ката入ıті̀̀ $\dot{\eta} \mu \iota \tau \epsilon \lambda \hat{\eta} \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \nu і к \eta \nu$ ó
 $4 \pi \circ \lambda \epsilon \mu i \omega \nu$ ढ̈бабӨaı $\mu \epsilon ́ \rho \eta$ ．тò $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu \nu \grave{\eta} \kappa \alpha ́ \mu \nu о \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$










 бv $\mu \pi \epsilon \sigma о ́ v \tau \omega \nu$ à $\lambda \lambda \eta$ ク́doıs $\mu \epsilon ́ \gamma a s ~ к а i ~ к а \lambda o ̀ s ~ a ̉ \gamma \omega ́ \nu . ~$


${ }^{1}$ ávìp after $\pi$ oגv̀s deleted by Kiessling.
${ }^{2}$ Sylburg: катa⿱亠巾刂pai O.

## BOOK II. 42, 2-5

was of great physical strength and courageous in action, but he was famous especially for his contempt of all fear and danger. He had been appointed to command those fighting in the centre of the line and was victorious over those who opposed him ; but wishing to restore the battle in the wings also, where the Sabine troops were by now in difficulties and being forced back, he encouraged those about him, and pursuing such of the enemy's forces as were fleeing and scattered, he drove them back to the gates of the city. This obliged Romulus to leave the victory but half completed and to return and make a drive against the victorious troops of the enemy. Upon the departure of Romulus with his forces those of the Sabines who had been in trouble were once more upon equal terms with their opponents, and the whole danger was now centred round Curtius and his victorious troops. For some time the Sabines received the onset of the Romans and fought brilliantly, but when large numbers joined in attacking them, they gave way and began to seek safety in their camp, Curtius amply securing their retreat, so that they were not driven back in disorder, but retired without precipitation. For he himself stood his ground fighting and awaited Romulus as he approached; and there ensued a great and glorious engagement between the leaders themselves as they fell upon each other. But at last Curtius, having received many wounds and lost much blood, retired by degrees till he came to a deep lake

[^193]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 ท̂ $\nu \pi \epsilon р \iota \kappa є \chi \nu \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu \pi \alpha \nu \tau \alpha \chi o ́ \theta \epsilon \nu$ т $\omega \bar{\nu} \pi \circ \lambda \epsilon \mu i \omega \nu, \delta \iota \epsilon \lambda-$




 бонヒ́vov (каi ä á ${ }^{1}$ ảdúvaтov ท̂̀v катà тє́ $\lambda \mu a \tau o ́ s ~ \tau \epsilon$


 ö $\pi \lambda \alpha$ є" $\chi \omega \nu$ каí єis тòv $\chi$ ápака à $\pi \alpha ́ \gamma \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota$. ồтоs




 aipク́ $\sigma \epsilon \iota \nu$ тò фрои́pıov a้ $\lambda \lambda$ loıs $\tau \epsilon \pi$ то $\lambda$ loîs $\tau \rho a v ́ \mu a \sigma \iota$







 $\tau \grave{\alpha} \pi о \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu \iota \alpha$ à $\nu \delta \rho o ̀ s ~ к \alpha \grave{~} \pi \lambda \epsilon \hat{\imath} \sigma \tau \alpha$ є’рүа ката̀ $\tau о \hat{\tau} \tau о \nu$


$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{2} \text { Naber: как } \omega \theta \text { єís O, Jacoby. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## BOOK II. 12. 5-43. 2

in his rear which it was difficult for him to make his way round, his enemies being massed on all sides of it, and impossible to pass through by reason of the quantity of mud on the marshy shore surrounding it and the depth of water that stood in the middle. When he came to the lake, he threw himself into the water. armed as he was, and Romulus. supposing that he would immediately perish in the lake, moreover, it was not possible to pursue him through so much mud and water,-turned upon the rest of the Sabines. But Curtius with great difficulty got safely out of the lake after a time without losing his arms and was led away to the camp. This place is now filled up, but it is called from this incident the Lacus Curtius, being about in the middle of the Roman Forum. ${ }^{1}$
XLIII. Romulus, while pursuing the others, had drawn near the Capitoline and had great hopes of capturing the stronghold, but being weakened by many other wounds and stunned by a severe blow from a stone which was hurled from the heights and hit him on the temple, he was taken up half dead by those about him and carried inside the walls. When the Romans no longer saw their leader, they were seized with fear and the right wing turned to flight; but the troops that were posted on the left with Lucumo stood their ground for some time, encouraged by their leader, a man most famous for his warlike prowess and who had performed many exploits during the course of this war. But when he in his

$$
\text { ¹ Cf. Livy i. 13, } 5 .
$$

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 $\pi \lambda \eta \sigma \iota a ́ \zeta o v \tau \epsilon s$ тaîs $\pi u ́ \lambda a \iota s ~ a ̉ \pi \eta \lambda a u ́ v o \nu \tau o ~ \tau \eta ̂ s ~ \nu \epsilon o ́-~$








 $\chi \omega \rho \epsilon i ̂ \nu$－oi $\delta \grave{\text { è } \tau \epsilon ́ \omega s ~ к а \tau \epsilon i \rho \gamma o v \tau \epsilon S ~ a v ̉ \tau o v ̀ s ~ к а i ~} \mu \eta \delta \epsilon-$







 оข゙т $\omega$ s á $\gamma \chi \omega \mu \alpha ́ \lambda \omega s$ ả $\gamma \omega \nu \iota \sigma \alpha ́ \mu \epsilon \nu \circ$ каi $\epsilon i s$ тv́犭as $\pi \alpha \rho a \lambda o ́ \gamma o v s$ á $\mu$ о́тєроь катабта́vтєs ท̂入íov $\pi \epsilon \rho i$





${ }^{3}$ ov̉k added by Casaubon．

## BOOK II. 43, 2-5

turn was pierced through the side with a javelin and fell through weakness, they also gave way; and thereupon the whole Roman army was in flight, and the Sabines, taking courage, pursued them up to the city. But as they were already drawing near the gates they were repulsed, when the youths whom the king had appointed to guard the walls sallied out against them with their forces fresh; and when Romulus, too, who by this time was in some degree recovered of his wound, came out to their assistance with all possible speed, the fortune of the battle quickly turned and veered strongly to the other side. For those who were fleeing recovered themselves from their late fear on the unexpected appearance of their leader, and reforming their lines, no longer hesitated to come to blows with the enemy; while the latter, who but now had been driving the fugitives into the city and thought there was nothing that could prevent them from taking the city itself by storm, when they saw this sudden and unexpected change, took thought for their own safety. But they found it no easy matter to retreat to their camp, pursued as they were down from a height and through a hollow way, and in this rout they sustained heavy losses. And so, after they bad thus fought that day without a decision and both had met with unexpected turns of fortune, the sun now being near his setting, they parted.

[^194]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS











 є́avtoîs $\mu a ̂ \lambda l o v ~ そ ั ~ ' P \omega \mu a i o ı s ~ a ́ \rho \mu o ́ \tau \tau \epsilon \iota \nu ~ \dot{v} \pi \epsilon \lambda a ́ \mu-$

 хрク́баıvтo тоîs $\pi \rho a ́ \gamma \mu a \sigma \iota \nu$ ．ov̋тє $\gamma$ à $\rho$ ảmoठıסóvaı







 тaîs av̉ $\theta a \delta \epsilon i ́ a \iota s ~ o v ̉ ~ \mu \epsilon \tau \rho \iota o ́ \tau \eta s ~ \gamma i v \epsilon \tau a \iota ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ ~ a ̉ v \tau i ́-~$ $\pi a \lambda o \nu$ є́mi $\theta \epsilon \rho a \pi \epsilon i a s ~ \tau \rho a \pi o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o \nu ~ a ̉ \lambda l a ̀ ~ \beta a \rho u ́ \tau \eta s . ~$

[^195]
## BOOK II. 44. 1-3

XLIV. But during the following days the Sabines were taking counsel whether they should lead their forces back home, after doing all possible damage to the enemy's country, or should send for another army from home and still hold out obstinately until they should put an end to the war in the most honourable manner. They considered that it would be a bad thing for them either to return home with the shame of having effected nothing or to stay there when none of their attempts succeeded according to their expectations. And to treat with the enemy concerning an accommodation, which they looked upon as the only honourable means of putting an end to the war, they conceived to be no more fitting for them than for the Romans. On the other side, the Romans were not less, but even more, perplexed than the Sabines what course to take in the present juncture. For they could not resolve either to restore the women or to retain them, believing that the former course involved an acknowledgment of defeat and that it would be necessary to submit to whatever else might be imposed upon them, and that the alternative course would necessitate their witnessing many terrible sights as their country was being laid waste and the flower of their youth destroyed; and, if they should treat with the Sabines for peace, they despaired of obtaining any moderate terms, not only for many other reasons, but chiefly because the proud and headstrong treat an enemy who resorts to courting them, not with moderation, but with severity.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 каi оข̛тє $\mu a ́ \chi \eta s$ ä $\rho \chi \epsilon \iota \nu$ то $\lambda \mu \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \epsilon s$ oṽтє $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ фı入ías




 2 фотє́povs aủzai ${ }^{1}$ 入ó $\gamma \omega \nu$. ŋ́ $\delta \dot{\epsilon}$ тои̂то єion $\eta \eta \sigma a \mu$ év








 $\beta \in \hat{\imath} \nu ~ \tau \hat{\eta} s ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ т o v ̀ s ~ o v \gamma \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon i ̂ s ~ \epsilon ́ \xi o ́ \delta o v, ~ \pi o \lambda l a ̀ s ~ к a i ~$



 4 тoûtov ímé̀aßov єival $\mu$ óvov. रivєтal $\delta \grave{\eta} \mu \in \tau \alpha ̀$




${ }^{1}$ Ambrosch : av̌zal B, om. R.
${ }^{2}$ є́роıлia A époıлєía B (and so regularly).
${ }^{3}$ фıлíar Bb: фıлıa Ba, фìıа A.

## BOOK II. 45, 1-4

XLV. While ${ }^{1}$ both sides were consuming the time in these considerations, neither daring to renew the fight nor treating for peace, the wives of the Romans who were of the Sabine race and the cause of the war, assembling in one place apart from their husbands and consulting together, determined to make the first overtures themselves to both armies concerning an accommodation. The one who proposed this measure to the rest of the women was named Hersilia, a woman of no obscure birth among the Sabines. Some say that, though already married, she was seized with the others as supposedly a virgin; but those who give the most probable account say that she remained with her daughter of her own free will, for according to them her only daughter was among those who had been seized. After the women had taken this resolution they came to the senate, and having obtained an audience, they made long pleas, begging to be permitted to go out to their relations and declaring that they had many excellent grounds for hoping to bring the two nations together and establish friendship between them. When the senators who were present in council with the king heard this, they were exceedingly pleased and looked upon it, in view of their present difficulties, as the only solution. Thereupon a decree of the senate was passed to the effect that those Sabine women who had children should, upon leaving them with their husbands, have permission to go as ambassadors to their countrymen, and that those who had several children should take along as many

[^196]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 $\mu \epsilon \nu a i ́ \tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha i \quad \pi \rho о \sigma \pi i \pi \tau о v \sigma \alpha \iota ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ả $\pi \alpha \nu \tau \dot{\omega} \nu \tau \omega \nu{ }^{1}$




 $\pi \rho \in \sigma \beta \epsilon i a s{ }^{`} E \rho \sigma \iota \lambda i ́ a ~ \mu а к р а ̀ \nu ~ к а i ~ \sigma v \mu \pi \alpha \theta \hat{\eta} \delta \iota \epsilon \xi \bar{\eta} \lambda \theta \epsilon$




 о́ $\hat{\omega} v \tau$ аs.
XLVI. To九av̂ta єimov̂бal $\pi \rho \circ \hat{\pi} \pi \epsilon \sigma o \nu$ ä $\pi \alpha \sigma \alpha \iota \tau \omega \hat{\nu}$










## BOOK II. 45, 4-46, 2

of them as they wished and endeavour to reconcile the two nations. After this the women went out dressed in mourning, some of them also carrying their infant children. When they arrived in the camp of the Sabines, lamenting and falling at the feet of those they met, they aroused great compassion in all who saw them and none could refrain from tears. And when the councillors had been called together to receive them and the king had commanded them to state their reasons for coming, Hersilia, who had proposed the plan and was at the head of the embassy, delivered a long and pathetic plea, begging them to grant peace to those who were interceding for their husbands and on whose account, she pointed out, the war had been undertaken. As to the terms, however, on which peace should be made, she said the leaders, coming together by themselves, might settle them with a view to the advantage of both parties.
XLVI. After she had spoken thus, all the women with their children threw themselves at the feet of the king and remained prostrate till those who were present raised them from the ground and promised to do everything that was reasonable and in their power. Then, having ordered them to withdraw from the council and having consulted tagether, they decided to make peace. And first a truce was agreed upon between the two nations; then the kings met together and a treaty of friendship was concluded. The terms agreed upon by the two, which they confirmed by their oaths, were as

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS






 Taтiov $\pi \alpha \tau \rho i ́ \delta o s ~ к о \iota \nu \eta ̂ ~ \pi \epsilon р i \lambda \alpha \mu \beta a \nu o \mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ к \lambda \eta ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota$



 $\mu \epsilon ́ \sigma \eta \nu \quad \mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ к а \lambda о v \mu \epsilon ́ v \eta \nu ~ i \epsilon \rho a ̀ \nu ~ o ́ \delta o ̀ v ~ \sigma v \nu \epsilon-~$ $\kappa \in \rho \alpha ́ \sigma \theta \eta \sigma \alpha \nu$ ả̀ $\lambda \eta$ خ́入oıs．каi oi $\mu \epsilon ̀ v ~ a ̈ \lambda \lambda o \iota ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \delta v-~$



 Ovó久oббos ${ }^{2}$ Ov̉a入є́pıos кai Tá入入os Tvpávvıos ${ }^{3}$ є̇тік $\lambda \eta \sigma \iota \nu$ каi $\tau \in \lambda \epsilon \cup \tau \alpha i ̂ o s ~ M \epsilon ́ \tau \tau \iota o s ~ K o u ́ \rho \tau \iota o s, ~ o ́ ~ \tau \grave{\eta v}$ $\lambda i ́ \mu \nu \eta \nu$ бv̀v тoîs ö $\pi \lambda$ дoıs $\delta \iota a \nu \eta \xi$ द́ $\mu \in \nu 0 s$ ，oîs $\pi a \rho \epsilon ́ \mu \epsilon \iota \nu a \nu$
 $\chi \omega \rho i ́ \omega \nu$ ảpı $\theta \mu$ òv ои̉к є่ $\lambda \alpha ́ \tau \tau о v s$.




[^197]follows: that Romulus and Tatius should te kings of the Romans with equal authority and should enjoy equal honours; that the city, preserving its name, should from its founder be called Rome; that each individual citizen should as before be called a Roman, but that the people collectively should be comprehended under one general appellation and from the city of Tatius ${ }^{1}$ be called Quirites, and that all the Sabines who wished might live in Rome, joining in common rites with the Romans and being assigned to tribes and curiae. After they had sworn to this treaty and, to confirm their oaths, had erected altars near the middle of the Sacred Way, as it is called, they mingled together. And all the commanders returned home with their forces except Tatius, the king, and three persons of the most illustrious families, who remained at Rome and received those honours which their posterity after them enjoyed; these were Volusus ${ }^{2}$ Valerius and Tallus, surnamed Tyrannius, with Mettius Curtius, the man who swam cross the lake with his arms, and with them there remained also their companions, relations and clients, no fewer in number than the former inhabitants.
XLVII. Everything being thus settled, the kings thought proper, since the city had received a great increase of people, to double the number of the
${ }^{1}$ Cures; see chap. 36,3 ; 48. Dionysius is giving the ordinary Roman derivation of Quirites. The word may, however, come directly from the Sabine quiris (chap. 48 end) and mean the " spear men."
${ }^{2}$ The name should probably be Volesins, as spelled by Livy (i. 58,6 ; ii. 18, 6) and other Roman writers.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

$\pi о \iota \eta ิ \sigma \alpha \iota ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \pi а т р \iota \kappa i \omega \omega \nu ~ \alpha ’ \rho \iota \theta \mu o ̀ v ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \kappa а \tau а \lambda \epsilon ́-~$


 ф $\rho \hat{a} \tau \rho a \iota ~ \pi \rho о є \chi \epsilon \iota \rho i ́ \sigma \alpha \nu \tau о, \tau o i ̂ s ~ a ̉ \rho \chi \alpha i o \iota s ~ \beta o v \lambda є v \tau \alpha i ̂ s ~$
 $\pi a ́ v \tau \epsilon s$ oi $\sigma v \gamma \gamma \rho a ́ \psi a v \tau \epsilon S$ тàs 'Pwนаїкàs ioторías



 $\tau \iota \mu \hat{\omega} \nu$, âs $\tau \alpha i ̂ s ~ \gamma v \nu \alpha \iota \xi i v$ oi $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon i ̂ s ~ a ं \pi \epsilon ́ \delta o \sigma \alpha \nu$, ö $\tau \iota$
 $\sigma v \gamma \rho a \phi \in i ̂ s ~ \sigma v \mu \phi \epsilon ́ \rho o \nu \tau \alpha \iota$. $\tau \iota \nu \epsilon ̀ s ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \gamma a ̀ \rho ~ a v ̉ \tau \omega ิ \nu$


 $\nu a \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu \pi о \imath \eta \sigma a \iota \cdot ~ \tau o \sigma a v ́ \tau a s ~ \gamma a ̀ \rho ~ \epsilon i ̂ v a l ~ \gamma u v a i ̂ \kappa a s ~ \tau \grave{\alpha} s$
 aủтoîs тò $\mu \epsilon ́ \rho o s ~ o u ̉ \chi ~ o ́ \mu о \lambda о \gamma \epsilon i ̂ ~ \pi a \lambda a i ́ \tau \epsilon \rho o v ~ \epsilon ̈ \tau \iota ~ \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \omega \nu$



 трıа́коута єîvaí $\phi \eta \sigma \iota \nu$, à $\lambda \lambda \grave{\alpha} \pi \epsilon \nu \tau а к о \sigma i ́ a s ~ \tau \epsilon ~ к а i ̀ ~$
 тобои́т $\omega \nu$ रvvaık $\omega \nu \tau \iota \mu \eta ̀ \nu ~ a ̉ \phi \in \lambda o \mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon i ̂ s ~$


## BOOK II. 47, 1-4

patricians by adding to the most distinguished families others from among the new settlers equal in number to the old, and they called these " new patricians." Of these a hundred persons, chosen by the curiae, were enrolled with the original senators. Concerning these matters almost all the writers of Roman history agree. But some few differ regarding the number of the newly-enrolled senators. for they say it was not a hundred, but fifty, that were added to the senate. Concerning the honours. also, which the kings conferred on the women in return for having reconciled them, not all the Roman historians agree; for some write that, besides many other signal marks of honour which they bestowed upon them, they gave their names to the curiae, which were thirty, as I have said, that being the number of the women who went upon the embassy. But Terentius Varro does not agree with them in this particular, for he says that Romulus gave the names to the curiae earlier than this, when he first divided the people, some of these names being taken from men who were their leaders and others from districts; and he says that the number of the women who went upon the embassy was not thirty, but five hundred and twenty-seven, and he thinks it very improbable that the kings would have deprived so many women of this honour to bestow it upon only a few of them. But as regards these

[^198]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS







 є̇ $\pi \iota \chi \omega \rho i ́ a ~ т о \hat{v} \pi \rho \omega ́ \tau o v ~ \gamma \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \epsilon i s ~ i \epsilon \rho o ̀ v ~ \eta ̉ \lambda ~ \lambda \theta \epsilon \nu ~ ' E v v a-~$





 oi $\delta \epsilon ̀$ катà $\delta$ v́o $\tau \alpha ́ \tau \tau \epsilon \sigma \theta a \ell ~ \delta a \iota \mu o ́ v \omega \nu ~ \pi о \lambda є \mu \iota \sigma \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \alpha ̀$




 $\kappa \lambda \eta \sigma \iota \nu$, ôs ả $\nu \delta \rho \omega \theta \epsilon i s \mu \circ \rho \phi \eta{ }^{2} \nu \tau$ ov̉ кат ä $\nu \theta \rho \omega \pi о \nu$







$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{1} \text { Reiske: ұорєúova } 0 \text {. }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{8} \delta \dot{\eta} \text { Ambrosch : } \delta \text { è O. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## BOOK II. 47 4-18 4

matters, it has not seemed to me fitting either to omit all mention of them or to say more than is sufficient.
XLVIII. Concerning the city of Cures from which Tatius and his followers came for the course of my narrative requires that I should speak of them also, and say who they were and whence), we have received the following account. In the territory of Reate, when the Aborigines were in possession of it, a certain maiden of that country, who was of the highest birth, went into the temple of Enyalius to dance. The Sabines and the Romans, who have learned it from them, give to Enyalius the name of Quirinus, without being able to affirm for certain whether he is Mars or some other god who enjoys the same honours as Mars. For some think that both these names are used of one and the same god who presides over martial combats; others, that the names are applied to two different gods of war. Be that as it may, this maiden, while she was dancing in the temple, was on a sudden seized with divine inspiration, and quitting the dance, ran into the inner sanctuary of the god; after which, being with child by this divinity, as everybody believed, she brought forth a son named Modius, with the surname Fabidius, who, being arrived at manhood, had not a human but a divine form and was renowned above all others for his warlike deeds. And conceiving a desire to found a city on his own account, he gathered together a great number of people of the neighbourhood and in a very short time built the city called Cures: he gave it this name. as some say, from the divinity whose son he was

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 тàs aixpàs ка入ov̂ซıv. таиิта $\mu \dot{\iota} \nu$ oûv Tepévtıos Ovápp $\omega$ र $\rho a ́ \phi \in \iota$.




















[^199]
## BOOK I1. 48. 4-49, 3

reputed to be, or, as others state. from a spear. since the Sabines call spears cures. ${ }^{1}$ This is the account given by Terentius Varro.
XLIX. But Zenodotus of Troezen, a . . . his. torian, ${ }^{2}$ relates that the Umbrians, a native race, first dwelt in the Reatine territory, as it is called, and that, being driven from there by the Pelasgians, they came into the country which they now inhabit. and changing their name with their place of habitation. from Umbrians were called Sabines. But Porcius Cato says that the Sabine race received its name from Sabus, the son of Sancus. a divinity of that country, and that this Sancus was by some called Jupiter Fidius. He says also that their first place of abode was a certain village called Testruna, situated near the city of Amiternum ; that from there the Sabines made an incursion at that time into the Reatine territory, which was inhabited by the Aborigines together with the Pelasgians, ${ }^{3}$ and took their most famous city, Cutiliae, by force of arms and occupied it ; and that, sending colonies out of the Reatine territory, they built many cities, in which they lived without fortifying them, among others the city called Cures. He further states that the
${ }^{1}$ Or quires. The Greek spelling can represent either form.
${ }^{2}$ The Greek text suggests the loss of an adjective or phrase qualifying "historian." See critical note.
${ }^{3}$ The word "Pelasgians" is due to Reiske. See critical note and i. 19 f .

[^200]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




















 $\theta$ évtas aủtề tıvas avvoíkovs тoîs इaßivoıs $\gamma \in-$
 $\sum_{\alpha \beta i v \omega \nu}{ }^{4}$ Дак $\omega \nu \iota \kappa \alpha ́, ~ \mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau а ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$ тò фı入отóлєцóv


```
\({ }^{1}\) тav́тท Reiske: aủrท̂ O.
\({ }^{2}\) Ambrosch: \(\phi \in \rho \omega \nu \epsilon i a \nu \mathrm{~B}, \phi \in \rho \omega \nu i a \nu \mathrm{R}\).
\({ }^{3}\) Ambrosch: форшveías B, фєpwilas R.
\({ }^{4}\) इapiv \(\omega \nu\) B : om. R.
```

[^201]
## BOOK II. 49, 3-5

country they occupied was distant from the Adriatic about two hundred and eighty stades and from the Tyrrhenian Sea two hundred and forty, and that its length was a little less than a thousand stades. There is also another account given of the Sabines in the native histories, to the effect that a colony of Lacedaemonians settled among them at the time when Lycurgus, being guardian to his nephew Eunomus, gave his laws to Sparta. For the story goes that some of the Spartans, disliking the severity of his laws and separating from the rest, quitted the city entirely, and after being borne through a vast stretch of sea, made a vow to the gods to settle in the first land they should reach; for a longing came upon them for any land whatsoever. At last they made that part of Italy which lies near the Pomentine plains ${ }^{1}$ and they called the place where they first landed Foronia, in memory of their being borne ${ }^{2}$ through the sea, and built a temple to the goddess Foronia, to whom they had addressed their vows; this goddess, by the alteration of one letter, they now call Feronia. And some of them, setting out from thence, settled among the Sabines. It is for this reason, they say, that many of the habits of the Sabines are Spartan, particularly their fondness for war and their frugality and a severity
${ }^{2}$ One wonders why the author of this fanciful etymology did not connect Feronia directly with the verb $\phi \in \rho \in \sigma \theta a u$ (" to be borne along "), instead of assuming an earlier spelling Foronia, not otherwise attested, and deriving that form from the abstract noun фópŋots. The name has not as yet been satisfactorily explained.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 таиิ日＊iкаขá．




 ＇P $P \mu$ v́los $\mu$ ѐv тò Палáтьov катє́ $\chi \omega \nu$ каi тò Kaí入ıov










 $\eta$ ทै乡avтo катà тàs $\mu a ́ \chi a s ~ \theta \epsilon o i ̂ s, ~ ' P \omega \mu v ́ \lambda o s ~ \mu e ̀ v ~$









[^202] 454

## BOOK II. 49, 5-50, 3

in all the actions of their lives. But this is enough about the Sabine race.
L. Romulus and Tatius immediately enlarged the city by adding to it two other hills, the Quirinal, as it is called, and the Caelian; and separating their habitations, each of them had his particular place of residence. Romulus occupied the Palatine and Caelian hills, the latter being next to the Palatine, and Tatius the Capitoline hill, which he had seized in the beginning, and the Quirinal. And cutting down the wood that grew on the plain at the foot of the Capitoline and filling up the greatest part of the lake, which, since it lay in a hollow, was kept well supplied by the waters that came down from the hills, they converted this plain into a forum, which the Romans continue to use even now; there they held their assemblies, transacting their business in the temple of Vulcan, which stands a little above the Forum. They built temples also and consecrated altars to those gods to whom they had addressed their vows during their battles: Romulus to Jupiter Stator, ${ }^{1}$ near the Porta Mugonia, as it is called, which leads to the Palatine hill from the Sacred Way, because this god had heard his vows and had caused his army to stop in its flight and to renew the battle; and Tatius to the Sun and Moon, to Saturn and to Rhea, and, besides these, to Vesta, Vulcan, Diana, Enyalius, and to other gods whose names are difficult to be expressed in the Greek language; and in every curia

[^203]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 коьข̀̀ $\pi \rho \hat{\alpha} \xi \iota \nu \dot{a} \pi \epsilon \delta \epsilon i \xi \alpha \nu \tau о \quad \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \quad$ є̇ $\pi i$ Kauєpivovs
 $\kappa \alpha i$ то入入à т $̀ \nu \quad \chi \omega ́ \rho a \nu ~ a u ̛ \tau \omega ̂ \nu ~ к а к о \hat{v \tau \epsilon ร ~ o v ̉ ~ \sigma v \nu-~}$





 $\mu \alpha \iota \nu о \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu{ }^{3}$ є̇ $\pi \epsilon \xi \in \lambda \theta$ óv $\tau \in S$ каi $\tau \rho \epsilon \psi a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu \circ{ }^{4}$ av̉тov́s, $\tau \dot{\alpha} \mu \epsilon ̀ v$ av̉т $\hat{\nu} \nu$ ä $\pi \alpha \nu \tau \alpha$ тoîs $\sigma \phi \epsilon \tau \epsilon ́ \rho o \iota s ~ \pi о \lambda i ́ \tau \alpha ו s ~$









${ }^{1}$ Schömann: кvрıтіа AB.
 Kiessling (who used the form Kautpivai $\omega v$ ).

${ }^{4} \tau \rho \in \psi \alpha ́ \mu \in \nu$ о Kayser: $\tau \rho о \pi \omega \sigma a ́ \mu \in \nu \circ$ O.
${ }^{5}$ ảто́ктьбıs $\mathrm{ABa}:$ àтоі́кпбıs Bb .
${ }^{6}$ тois Sintenis: $\tau$ ais O .

## BOOK II. 50, 3-51, 1

he dedicated tables to Juno called Quiritis, ${ }^{1}$ which remain even to this day. For five years, then, the kings reigned together in perfect harmony, during which time they engaged in one joint undertaking, the expedition against the Camerini ; for these people, who kept sending out bands of robbers and doing great injury to the country of the Romans. would not agree to have the case submitted to judicial investigation, though often summoned by the Romans to do so. After conquering the Camerini in a pitched battle (for they came to blows with them) and later besieging and taking their town by storm, they disarmed the inhabitants and deprived them of a third part of their land, which they divided among their own people. ${ }^{2}$ And when the Camerini proceeded to harass the new settlers, they marched out against them, and having put them to flight, divided all their possessions among their own people, but permitted as many of the inhabitants as wished to do so to live at Rome. These amounted to about four thousand, whom they distributed among the curiae, and they made their city a Roman colony. Cameria was a colony of the Albans planted long before the founding of Rome, and anciently one of the most celebrated habitations of the Aborigines.
LI. But ${ }^{3}$ in the sixth year, the government of the city devolved once more upon Romulus alone, Tatius

[^204]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 oi корvфаıóтатои $\sigma \nu \mu \phi \rho о \nu \eta \prime \sigma a \nu \tau \epsilon S$ àmò тoıаv́т $\eta s$


 ả $\gamma \epsilon ่ \lambda a s, \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta^{\prime} \epsilon \in \pi \iota \beta o \eta \theta_{0} \nu \tau \tau \omega \nu$ ov̂s $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \dot{\alpha} \pi \epsilon \in \kappa \tau \epsilon \iota \nu a \nu$,

 $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ ' P \omega \mu u ́ \lambda о s ~ \epsilon ́ \delta ı к а i ́ \omega \sigma є ~ \pi a \rho a \delta o ̂ v v a \iota ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \delta \rho a ́ \sigma a \nu \tau a s ~$ $\tau \circ i ̂ s ~ a ̉ \delta \iota \kappa \eta \theta \epsilon i ̂ \sigma \iota \nu ~ a ̉ \pi a ́ \gamma \epsilon \iota \nu, ~ o ́ ~ \delta \grave{~} T a ́ \tau \iota o s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ є́ $\tau a i ́ \rho \omega \nu$





 Є́ $\sigma \kappa \eta \nu \omega \mu \epsilon ́ v o เ s ~ \pi a \rho a ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̀ v ~ o ̛ ס o ́ v ~(\epsilon ́ \sigma \pi \epsilon ́ \rho a ~ \gamma a ̀ \rho ~ a v ̉ \tau o v ̀ s ~$






 каi $\pi о ́ \lambda \epsilon \mu о \nu ~ \pi \alpha \rho \eta ่ \gamma \gamma є \lambda \lambda о \nu ~ \epsilon i ~ \mu \eta ̀ ~ \tau \epsilon v ́ \xi о \nu \tau \alpha \iota ~ \tau \hat{\eta} S$ бiкŋs.
 $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ тоv̀s $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \epsilon v \tau \alpha ̀ s ~ \epsilon ́ \phi а i v \epsilon \tau о ~ \pi \alpha ́ \theta о s ~ к а i ~ \tau а \chi є i a s ~$

$$
{ }^{1} a \not a \gamma \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota \mathrm{Bb}: \text { Є̇vá }^{2} \gamma \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota \mathrm{ABa} \text {; ả } \pi a ́ \gamma \in \sigma \theta a l \text { Bücheler. }
$$

## BOOK II. 51, 1-52, 1

having lost his life as the result of a plot which the principal men of Lavinium formerl against him. The occasion for the plot was this. Some friends of Tatius had led out a band of robbers into the territory of the Lavinians, where they seized a great many of their effects and drove away their herds of cattle, killing or wounding those who came to the rescue. Upon the arrival of an embassy from the injured to demand satisfaction, Romulus decided that those who had done the injury should be delivered up for punishment to those they had wronged. Tatius, however, espousing the cause of his friends, would not consent that any persons should be taken into custody by their enemies before trial, and particularly Roman citizens by outsiders, but ordered those who complained that they had been injured to come to Rome and proceed against the others according to law. The ambassadors, accordingly, having failed to obtain any satisfaction, went away full of resentment; and some of the Sabines, incensed at their action, followed them and set upon them while they were asleep in their tents, which they had pitched near the road when evening overtook them, and not only robbed them of their money, but cut the throats of all they found still in their beds; those, however, who perceived the plot promptly and were able to make their escape got back to their city. After this ambassadors came both from Lavinium and from many other cities, complaining of this lawless deed and threatening war if they should not obtain justice.
LII. This violence committed against the ambassadors appeared to Romulus, as indeed it was, a

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS















 $\tau \epsilon$ каi $\gamma \epsilon ́ \nu \in \iota \pi \rho о \sigma \eta \kappa o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ тоîs ảvךр $\eta \mu \epsilon ́ v o \iota s ~ \pi \rho \epsilon ́-$

 ס' oi $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ ^ккivvıov रoáфovaıv ov̉ $\mu \epsilon \tau \dot{\alpha}$ 'P $\omega \mu$ úlov




 $\tau \omega \hat{\nu} \pi \rho \circ \sigma \eta \kappa o ́ v \tau \omega \nu \tau 0 \imath \hat{s} \tau \epsilon \theta \nu \epsilon \omega \omega \sigma \iota$ ката̀ $\pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \theta$ оs óp $\mu \eta-$


${ }^{1}$ Bücheler: ката入ขoнévov O .

[^205]
## BOOK II. 52, 1-4

terrible crime and one calling for speedy expiation, since it had been in violation of a sacred law ; and finding that Tatius was making light of it, he himself, without further delay, caused those who had been guilty of the outrage to be seized and delivered up in chains to the ambassadors to be led away. But Tatius not only was angered at the indignity which he complained he had received from his colleague in the delivering up of the men, but was also moved with compassion for those who were being led away (for one of the guilty persons was actually a relation of his) ; and immediately, taking his soldiers with him, he went in haste to their assistance, and overtaking the ambassadors on the road, he took the prisoners from them. But not long afterwards, as some say, when he had gone with Romulus to Lavinium in order to perform a sacrifice which it was necessary for the kings to offer to the ancestral gods for the prosperity of the city, the friends and relations of the ambassadors who had been murdered, having conspired against him, slew him at the altar with the knives and spits used in cutting up and roasting the oxen. But Licinius ${ }^{1}$ writes that he did not go with Romulus nor, indeed, on account of any sacrifices, but that he went alone, with the intention of persuading those who had received the injuries to forgive the authors of them, and that when the people became angry because the men were not delivered up to them in accordance with the decision both of Romulus and of the Roman senate, and the relations of the slain men rushed upon him in great numbers, he was no longer able to escape summary justice and was stoned to death by them.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 б $\eta$ нобía.




 $\dot{\alpha} \pi \circ \theta \alpha \nu \epsilon i ̂ \nu) ~ к а i ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \Lambda a o v ı \nu ı a \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \sigma v \sigma \tau \alpha ́ v \tau a s ~$

 $\tau \dot{\alpha}$ Biaıa $\tau \iota \mu \omega \rho \eta \sigma \alpha ́ \mu \epsilon \nu 0 \iota ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ \beta ı a i o ı s, ~ a ́ \pi \epsilon ́ \lambda v \sigma \epsilon ~ \tau \eta ̂ S ~$






 ả $\gamma о \rho a ̀ \nu ~ \delta \iota \eta \prime \rho \pi a \sigma \alpha \nu ~ к \alpha i ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ a ̉ \nu \theta \rho \omega ́ \pi \omega \nu ~ \tau \iota \nu \grave{s} \tau \omega \hat{\omega}$



 $\zeta \epsilon \tau \circ \tau \eta \grave{\nu} \delta u ́ v a \mu \iota \nu, \epsilon \in \pi \epsilon \xi \epsilon \lambda \theta o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \delta \epsilon ̀ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \Phi_{\iota} \delta \eta \nu \alpha i \omega \nu \nu$

[^206]BOOK II. 52, 5-53, 3
Such was the end to which Tatius came, after he had warred against Romulus for three years and had been his colleague for five. His body was brought to Rome, where it was given honourable burial ; and the city offers public libations to him every year.
LIII. But ${ }^{1}$ Romulus, now established for the second time as sole ruler, expiated the crime committed against the ambassadors by forbidding those who had perpetrated the outrage the use of fire and water; for upon the death of Tatius they had all fled from the city. After that, he brought to trial the Lavinians who had conspired against Tatius and who had been delivered up by their own city, and when they seemed to plead, with considerable justice. that they bad but avenged violence with violence, he freed them of the charge. After he had attended to these matters, he led out his army against the city of Fidenae, which was situated forty stades from Rome and was at that time both large and populous. For on an occasion when the Romans were oppressed by famine and provisions which the people of Crustumerium had sent to them were being brought down the river in boats, the Fidenates crowded aboard the boats in great numbers, seized the provisions and killed some of the men who defended them, and when called upon to make satisfaction, they refused to do so. Romulus, incensed at this, made an incursion into their territory with a considerable force, and having possessed himself of a great quantity of booty, was preparing to lead his army home; but when the Fidenates came out

$$
{ }^{1} C f . \text { Livy i. } 14,4-11
$$

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 $\gamma \in \nu \circ \mu \in ́ v o v ~ к а i ~ \pi о \lambda \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \pi \epsilon \sigma o ́ v \tau \omega \nu ~ a ̉ \phi ’ ~ \epsilon ́ \kappa а \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega \nu$















 ठıaфөapŕ $\sigma \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \gamma \epsilon ́ v o s ~ v i \pi o ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̂ s ~ \sigma v \mu \phi o \rho a ̂ s ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu$











[^207] 464

## BOOK II. 53, 3-54, 2

against him, he gave them battle. After a severe struggle, in which many fell on both sides, the enemy were defeated and put to flight, and Romulus, following close upon their heels, rushed inside the walls along with the fugitives. When the city had been taken at the first assault, he punished a few of the citizens, and left a guard of three hundred men there; and taking from the inhabitants a part of their territory, which he divided among his own people, he made this city also a Roman colony. It had been founded by the Albans at the same time with Nomentum and Crustumerium, three brothers having been the leaders of the colony, of whom the eldest built Fidenae.
LIV. After this war Romulus undertook another against the Camerini, who had attacked the Roman colonists in their midst while the city of Rome was suffering from a pestilence; it was this situation in particular that encouraged the Camerini, and believing that the Roman nation would be totally destroyed by the calamity, they killed some of the colonists and expelled the rest. In revenge for this Romulus, after he had a second time made himself master of the city, put to death the authors of the revolt and permitted his soldiers to plunder the city; and he also took away half the land besides that which had been previously granted to the Roman settlers. And having left a garrison in the city sufficient to quell any future uprising of the inhabitants, he departed with his forces. As the result of this expedition he celebrated a sccond triumph, and out of the spoils he dedicated a chariot and four in

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 3 ' $E \lambda \eta \eta \iota \kappa \circ i ̂ s ~ \gamma \rho a ́ \mu \mu \alpha \sigma \iota ~ \tau \alpha ̀ s ~ \epsilon ́ a v \tau о \hat{~} \pi \rho \alpha ́ \xi \epsilon \iota s$. т тíтоs








 тov̀s $\Phi_{\iota} \delta \eta \nu a i o v s, ~ a ̉ \pi o \delta \iota \delta o ́ v a i ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ \epsilon ’ \xi ~ a ̉ \rho \chi \hat{\eta} s ~ к v p i o r s . ~$





 Өóvтєs $\epsilon i s$ тò $\pi \epsilon \delta i o v ~ \epsilon ๋ \mu a ́ \chi o \nu \tau о ~ к а i ~ \delta \iota \epsilon ́ ~ \mu \epsilon \iota \nu a \nu ~ a ̆ \chi р \iota ~$

 $\gamma \in \nu о \mu \in ́ v o v s . ~ к a i ~ \tau a u ́ \tau \eta \nu ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ v ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ \mu a ́ \chi \eta \nu ~ o v ̃ \tau \omega s ~$ ท̉ $\gamma \omega \nu$ íのаито ${ }^{-}$

 $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \lambda \alpha \beta \circ \mu \epsilon ́ v o v ~ \nu u ́ к \tau \omega \rho ~ o v ̉ ~ \pi o \lambda u ̀ v ~ \tau o v ̂ ~ \sigma \tau \rho a \tau o \pi \epsilon ́ \delta o v ~$


$$
\text { ¹ Jacoby : } \check{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu \text { O. }
$$

## BOOK II. 54, 2-55, 1

bronze to Vulcan, and near it he set up his own statue with an inscription in Greek characters setting forth his deeds. The ${ }^{1}$ third war Romulus engaged in was against the most powerful city of the Tyrrhenian race at that time, called Veii, distant from Rome about a hundred stades; it is situated on a high and craggy rock and is as large as Athens. The Veientes made the taking of Fidenae the pretext for this war, and sending ambassadors, they bade the Romans withdraw their garrison from that city and restore to its original possessors the territory they had taken from them and were now occupying. And when their demand was not heeded, they took the field with a great army and established their camp in a conspicuous place near Fidenae. Romulus, however, having received advance information of their march, had set out with the flower of his army and lay ready at Fidenae to receive them. When all their preparations were made for the struggle, both armies advanced into the plain and came to grips, and they continued fighting with great ardour for a long time, till the coming on of night parted them, after they had proved themselves evenly matched in the struggle. This was the course of the first battle.
LV. But in a second battle, which was fought not long afterwards, the Romans were victorious as the result of the strategy of their general, who had occupied in the night a certain height not far distant from the enemy's camp and placed there in

$$
{ }^{1} \text { For chap. 54, 3-55, } 6 \text { cf. Livy i. 15, 1-5. }
$$

[^208]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

















入oル $\pi$ òv ท̂\}ov ทं $\lambda a v \sigma a \nu$ какоиิ，vûv $\delta \dot{\epsilon}$ àva $\mu a \chi \epsilon i ̂ \sigma \theta a i ́ ~ \tau \epsilon \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \rho o ́ \tau \epsilon \rho a$


 $\gamma \rho a \phi \epsilon i \sigma \eta$ каi $\tau \hat{\eta}^{5}$ є’к $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ó $\mu о \epsilon \theta \nu \hat{\omega} \nu$ катà фı入íav



[^209]
## BOOK II. 55, 1-4

ambush the choicest both of the horse and foot that had come to him from Rome since the last action. The two armies met in the plain and fought in the same manner as before; but when Romulus raised the signal to the troops that lay in ambush on the height, these, raising the battle cry, rushed upon the Veientes from the rear, and being themselves fresh while the enemy were fatigued, they put them to flight with no great difficulty. Some few of them were slain in battle, but the greater part, throwing themselves into the Tiber, which flows by Fidenae, with the intention of swimming across the river, were drowned; for, being wounded and spent with labour, they were unable to swim across, while others, who did not know how to swim and had not looked ahead, having lost all presence of mind in face of the danger, perished in the eddies of the river. If, now, the Veientes had realized that their first plans had been ill-advised and had remained quiet after this, they would have met with no greater misfortune ; but, as it was, hoping to repair their former losses and believing that if they attacked with a larger force they would easily conquer in the war, they set out a second time against the Romans with a large army, consisting both of the levy from the city itself and of others of the same race ${ }^{1}$ who in virtue of their league came to their assistance. Upon this, another severe battle was fought near

[^210][^211]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS










 то仑̂ $\pi о \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu о v ~ к а i ~ \sigma v \gamma \gamma \nu \omega ́ \mu \eta \nu ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ a ́ \mu а \rho \tau \eta \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$



 $\tau \circ \hat{v} \pi \circ \tau \alpha \mu \circ \hat{v}, \tau o v ̂ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \mu \eta \delta \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ 光 $\tau \iota \nu \epsilon \omega \tau \epsilon \rho i ́ \sigma a \iota ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \pi \iota \sigma \tau o ̀ \nu$




 тov̀s $\delta^{\prime}$ av̉тồ $\mu \epsilon ́ v \epsilon \iota \nu \pi \rho \circ a \iota \rho o v \mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \pi o \lambda \lambda \hat{\omega} \pi \lambda \epsilon$ iovs

 $\tau$ т́́ $\epsilon \tau$ то̂ $T \epsilon \beta \epsilon$ є́pıs．

LVI．Oîto九 $\sigma v \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau \eta \sigma a \nu$ oi $\pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \mu \circ \iota ~ ‘ P \omega \mu v ́ \lambda \omega$


> 1 кат $\dot{\chi} x \theta \eta$ Jacoby : $\eta ँ \chi \theta \eta$ O.
> ${ }^{2} \dot{\alpha} \lambda \omega \nu$ Gelenius, Sylburg : äl $\lambda \omega \nu$ O.

## BOOK II. 55, 4-56, 1

Fidenae, in which the Romans were victorious, after killing many of the Veientes and taking more of them prisoners. Even their camp was taken, which was full of money, arms and slaves, and likewise their boats, which were laden with great store of provisions; and in these the multitude of prisoners were carried down the river to Rome. This was the third triumph that Romulus celebrated, and it was much more magnificent than either of the former. And when, not long afterwards, ambassadors arrived from the Veientes to seek an end to the war and to ask pardon for their offences, Romulus imposed the following penalties upon them : to deliver up to the Romans the country adjacent to the Tiber, called the Seven Districts, ${ }^{1}$ and to abandon the salt-works near the mouth of the river, and also to bring fifty hostages as a pledge that they would attempt no uprising in the future. When the Veientes submitted to all these demands, he made a treaty with them for one hundred years and engraved the terms of it on pillars. He then dismissed without ransom all the prisoners who desired to return home; but those who preferred to remain in Rome-and these were far more numerous than the others-he made citizens, distributing them among the curiae and assigning to them allotments of land on this side of the Tiber.
LVI. These ${ }^{2}$ are the memorable wars which Romulus waged. His failure to subdue any more

[^212][^213]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS











 $\sigma \epsilon \omega s$ av̉тô̂ $\phi \epsilon ́ \rho o v \sigma \iota \tau \eta{ }^{\nu} \nu \tau \epsilon$ ä $\phi \epsilon \sigma \nu \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ó $\mu \eta \dot{\rho} \rho \omega \nu$,
 $\gamma \in \nu о \mu \in ́ v \eta \nu$ тарà тò єicuOós, каi тò ${ }^{2} \mu \eta \kappa \in ́ \tau \iota ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~$
 $\tau \alpha \iota s$ каi тoîs $\pi \rho \circ \sigma \gamma \rho a ́ \phi o เ s, a ̀ \lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu ~ \grave{\epsilon} \nu \tau \iota \mu \hat{\eta}$ $\pi \lambda \epsilon i o \nu \iota ~ a ̈ \gamma \epsilon \iota \nu, \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta^{\prime} \epsilon ่ \pi \epsilon \iota \sigma a \chi \theta \epsilon ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ vim $\pi \rho \circ \rho \hat{\alpha} \nu$, $\tau o ́$

 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \lambda \eta \sigma \iota \frac{\chi \omega ́ \rho \omega \nu}{} \kappa \alpha \tau \eta \gamma \circ \rho \eta \theta$ є́v $\tau \alpha s$ ov̋т $\dot{a} \phi a \nu \epsilon i ̂ s$






${ }^{1} \pi \iota \theta a \nu \omega ́ \tau \epsilon \rho a \mathrm{~A}(?)$, Peiske: $\pi \iota \theta a \nu \dot{\tau} \tau a \tau a \mathrm{~B}$.
${ }^{2} \tau$ ò Steph.: om. AB.
${ }^{3}$ ápxaioıs (or ảpxawтє́poıs) Reiske: ápxaютátoıs O .

## BOOK II. 56, 1-4

of the neighbouring nations seems to have been due to his sudden death, which happened while he was still in the vigour of his age for warlike achievements. There are many different stories concerning it. Those who give a rather fabulous account of his life say that while he was haranguing his men in the camp, sudden darkness rushed down out of a clear sky and a violent storm burst, after which he was nowhere to be seen; and these writers believe that he was caught up into heaven by his father, Mars. But those who write the more plausible accounts say that he was killed by his own people; and the reason they allege for his murder is that he released without the common consent, contrary to custom, the hostages he had taken from the Veientes, and that he no longer comported himself in the same manner toward the original citizens and toward those who were enrolled later, but showed greater honour to the former and slighted the latter, and also because of his great cruelty in the punishment of delinquents (for instance, he had ordered a group of Romans who were accused of brigandage against the neighbouring peoples to be hurled down the precipice ${ }^{1}$ after he had sat alone in judgment upon them, although they were neither of mean birth nor few in number), but chiefly because he now seemed to be harsh and arbitrary and to be exercising his power more like a tyrant than a king. For these reasons, they say, the patricians formed a conspiracy against him and resolved to slay him ; and having
${ }^{1}$ The Tarpeian rock.

[^214]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS






 $\rho \epsilon \theta \hat{\eta} \nu \alpha \iota, ~ \in ̇ \pi \iota \chi \epsilon \iota \rho \bar{\eta} \sigma \alpha \iota \delta^{\prime}$ av̉тov̀s $\tau \hat{\varphi}$ фóvఱ $\kappa \alpha \theta^{\prime}$ ôv




















[^215]
## BOOK II. 56, 4-7

carried out the deed in the senate-house, they divided his body into several pieces, that it might not be seen, and then came out, each one hiding his part of the body under his robes, and afterwards burying it in secret. Others say that while haranguing the people he was slain by the new citizens of Rome, and that they undertook the murder at the time when the rain and the darkness occurred, the assembly of the people being then dispersed and their chief left without his guard. And for this reason, they say, the day on which this event happened got its name from the flight of the people and is called Populifugia ${ }^{1}$ down to our times. Be that as it may, the incidents that occurred by the direction of Heaven in connexion with this man's conception and death would seem to give no small authority to the view of those who make gods of mortal men and place the souls of illustrious persons in heaven. For they say that at the time when his mother was violated, whether by some man or by a god, there was a total eclipse of the sun and a general darkness as in the night covered the earth, and that at his death the same thing happened. Such, then, is reported to have been the death of Romulus, who built Rome and was chosen by her citizens as their first king. He left no issue, and after reigning thirty-seven years, died in the fifty-fifth
${ }^{1}$ Or Poplifugia. The same explanation of the origin of this festival is given by Plutarch (Rom. 29), who also records the more common version that the original "flight of the people" occurred shortly after the departure of the Gauls, at a time when several Latin tribes suddenly appeared before the city. According to a third view, found in Macrobius (iii. 2, 14), Etruscans were the invaders.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 $\dot{\alpha} \pi \epsilon \delta \epsilon i \chi \theta \eta{ }^{〔} P \omega \mu a i \omega \nu, \dot{a} \rho \chi \grave{\eta} \delta \epsilon \in \tau \iota, \hat{\eta} \nu$ ка入оv$\sigma \iota$



















 $\pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau о \hat{v} \kappa о ́ \sigma \mu о v ~ \tau \eta ̂ s ~ \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon i ́ a s ~ \sigma к о \pi \epsilon i ̂ \nu, ~ \epsilon i ̈ \tau \epsilon ~ \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon i ̂$

[^216]
## BOOK II. 56, 7-57, 3

year of his age; for he was very young when he obtained the rule, being no more than eighteen years old, as is agreed by all who have written his history.
LVII. The ${ }^{1}$ following year there was no king of the Romans elected, but a certain magistracy, called by them an interregnum, had the oversight of public affairs, being created in much the following manner: The patricians who had been enrolled in the senate under Romulus, being, as I have said, ${ }^{2}$ two hundred in number, were divided into decuriae; ${ }^{3}$ then, when lots had been cast, the first ten persons upon whom the lot fell were invested by the rest with the absolute rule of the State. They did not, however, all reign togetber, but successively, each for five days, during which time they had both the rods and the other insignia of the royal power. The first, after his power had expired, handed over the government to the second, and he to the third, and so on to the last. After the first ten had reigned their appointed time of fifty days, ten others received the rule from them, and from those in turn others. But presently the people decided to abolish the rule of the decuriae, being irked by the changes of power, since the men did not all have either the same purposes or the same natural abilities. Thereupon the senators, calling the people together in assembly by tribes and curiae, permitted them to consider the form of government and determine whether they wished to entrust the public

[^217]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS










 є́ка́خouv．


 $\delta \in i ̄ \xi a \iota \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon ́ a ~ \sigma \phi \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ av̉т $\hat{\nu} \nu \mu \eta \delta \epsilon ́ v a, \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta^{\prime}$
 тov̀s $\nu \epsilon \omega \tau \epsilon ́ \rho o v s ~ \tau o ̀ ~ a u ̉ \tau o ̀ ~ \pi o \iota ท ̂ \sigma a l ~ \tau o v ̂ \tau o . ~ \delta \epsilon ́ \chi o \nu \tau a \iota ~$


 $\mu \eta \delta \grave{\epsilon}^{1} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \epsilon \in \pi \epsilon \iota \sigma a \chi \theta \epsilon \in \nu \tau \omega \nu$ ßоv入єvт $\omega \nu^{2} \mu \eta \delta \epsilon \nu \grave{\imath} \pi \rho о \sigma-$





${ }^{1} \mu \eta \delta \dot{\epsilon}$ Bücheler，Sintenis：$\mu \eta^{\prime} \gamma \epsilon \mathrm{A}, \mu \dot{\eta} \tau \epsilon \mathrm{B}$ ．

 $\beta$ ou $\epsilon \tau \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ Kiessling，$\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ є่ $\tau \in ́ \rho \omega \nu$ ßov $\notin \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ Garrer：$\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ є́тィßоv入єvóvт $\omega \nu$ O．
interests to a king or to annual magistrates. The people, however, did not take the choice upon themselves, but referred the decision to the senators, in timating that they would be satisfied with whichever form of government the others should approve. The senators all favoured establishing a monarchical form of government, but strife arose over the question from which group the future king should be chosen. For some thought that the one who was to govern the commonwealth ought to be chosen from among the original senators, and others that he should be chosen from among those who had been admitted afterwards and whom they called new senators.
LVIII. The contest being drawn out to a great length, they at last reached an agreement on the basis that one of two courses should be followedeither the older senators should choose the king, who must not, however, be one of themselves, but might be anyone else whom they should regard as most suitable, or the new senators should do the same. The older senators accepted the right of choosing, and after a long consultation among themselves decided that, since by their agreement they themselves were excluded from the sovercignty, they would not confer it on any of the newly-admitted senators, either, but would find some man from outside who would espouse neither party, and declare him king, as the most effectual means of putting an end to party strife. After they had come to this resolution, they chose a man of the Sabine race, the son of Pompilius Pompon, a person of distinction, whese

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 Sè aùtov̂ каì к入є́os $\mu \epsilon \gamma \iota \sigma \tau o v$ ov̉ maрà Kvрítaıs $\mu o ́-$

 є́кк $\lambda \eta \sigma i \alpha \nu$, каi $\pi \alpha \rho \epsilon \lambda \theta \dot{\omega} \nu$ द́ $\xi$ av̉т $\omega \nu$ ơ то́тє $\mu \in \sigma о-$







 ПuӨaүópas ${ }^{5}$ Ма́ксшv.






 2 IlvӨaүópov $\dot{\eta} \lambda \iota \kappa i a s ~ \mu a ́ \chi \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ т o ̀ v ~ \lambda o ́ \gamma o v . ~ o v ̉ ~$
${ }^{1} \kappa a \tau^{\prime}$ before ôv $\nu о \mu a$ deleted by Kiessling.
 eкteivovtas Baputoveiv, rejected by Portus.
${ }^{\circ} \tau \eta{ }^{\circ} s$ added by Kiessling.

480
name was Numa. He was in that stage of life, being near forty, in which prudence is the most conspicuous, and of an aspect full of royal dignity ; and he enjoyed the greatest renown for wisdom, not only among the citizens of Cures, but among all the neighbouring peoples as well. After reaching this decision the senators assembled the people, and that one of their number who was then the interrex, coming forward, told them that the senators had unanimously resolved to establish a monarchical form of government and that he, having been empowered to decide who should succeed to the rule, chose Numa Pempilius as king of the State. After this he appoinied ambassadors from among the patricians and sent them to conduct Numa to Rome that he might assume the royal power. This happened in the third year of the sixteenth Olympiad, ${ }^{1}$ at which Pythagoras, a Lacedaemonian, won the foot-race.
LIX. Up ${ }^{2}$ to this point, then, I have nothing to allege in contradiction to those who have published the history of this man ; but in regard to what follows I am at a loss what to say. For many have written that Numa was a disciple of Pythagoras and that when he was chosen king by the Romans he was studying philosophy at Croton. But the date of Pythagoras contradicts this account, since he was

$$
{ }^{1} 713 \text { в.c. } \quad{ }^{2} C f . \text { Livy i. } 18,2-4 .
$$

${ }^{5}$ Steph.: $\pi \iota \sigma a \mu o ́ \rho a s ~ A B a, ~ \pi \epsilon \iota \sigma a \gamma o ́ p a s ~ B b . ~$
 Bücheler.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





















 Nó $\mu$ а бофíav ( $\dot{\omega} \mu о \lambda o ́ \gamma \eta \tau \alpha{ }^{1}{ }^{1} \gamma$ à $\rho$ vimò $\pi \alpha ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ ó ảvخ̀p $\gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota$ бофós) $\grave{\epsilon} \pi \iota \sigma v \nu a ́ \psi \alpha \iota ~ \tau \alpha \hat{v} \tau \alpha$ каi $\pi о \iota \eta ิ \sigma \alpha \iota$
 av̉т $\hat{\nu} \nu \epsilon \mathfrak{\epsilon} \xi \epsilon \tau \alpha ́ \sigma \alpha \nu \tau \epsilon S, \epsilon i$ катà тov̀s av̉тov̀s ${ }^{\prime \prime} \kappa \mu \alpha \sigma \alpha \nu$




[^218]
## BOOK II. 59, 2-4

not merely a few years younger than Numa, but actually lived four whole generations later, as we learn from universal history; for Numa succeeded to the sovereignty of the Romans in the middle of the sixteenth Olympiad, whereas Pythagoras resided in Italy after the fiftieth Olympiad. ${ }^{1}$ But I can advance yet a stronger argument to prove that the chronology is incompatible with the reports handed down about Numa, and that is, that at the time when he was called to the sovercignty by the Romans the city of Croton did not yet exist ; for it was not until four whole years after Numa had begun to rule the Romans that Myscelus founded this city, in the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad. ${ }^{2}$ Accordingly, it was impossible for Numa either to have studied philosophy with Pythagoras the Samian, who flourished four generations after him, or to have resided in Croton, a city not as yet in existence when the Romans called him to the sovereignty. But if I may express my own opinion, those who have written his history seem to have taken these two admitted facts, namely, the residence of Pythagoras in Italy and the wisdom of Numa (for he has been allowed by everybody to have been a wise man), and combining them, to have made Numa a disciple of Pythagoras, without going on to inquire into their lives, as I have now done, to discover whether they both flourished at the same period-unless, indeed, one is going to assume that there was another Pythagoras who taught philosophy before the Samian, and that with him Numa

$$
{ }^{1} 580 / 79 \text { в.с. } \quad{ }^{2} 709 \text { в.о. }
$$

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





LX. 'O $\delta \grave{\text { è }}$ Nó $\mu a s ~ a ̉ \phi ı к о \mu ' є \nu \omega \nu ~ c i s ~ a u ̛ \tau o ̀ v ~ \tau \hat{\omega \nu}{ }^{2}$




 2 бı入єús' тoîs $\delta$ é ' $P \omega \mu a i ́ o \iota s ~ \pi v \theta o \mu \epsilon ́ v o เ s ~ \tau a v ̂ \tau a ~ \pi a \rho a ̀ ~$



 $\tau \alpha u ́ \tau \eta \eta^{3} \tau \iota \theta \epsilon \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu$ нóvos є́кєìvos cis фav́dov тıvòs каi




 ai фu入аi катà фрáтраs каi $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \alpha \tau \rho \iota \kappa i \not \omega \nu$ є̇тькv-

 б $\eta \mu \epsilon i ̂ \alpha ~ a ̉ \pi о ф \eta \nu a ́ v \tau \omega \nu \quad \pi \alpha \rho a \lambda a \mu \beta a ́ v \epsilon \iota ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \quad \dot{\alpha} \rho \chi \eta ́ \nu$.
 $\mu i ́ a \nu ~ \pi о \iota \eta \prime \sigma \alpha \sigma \theta a \iota, ~ \theta \epsilon о \sigma \epsilon \beta \hat{\eta}$ ठє̀ каi ठíкаıоv $\gamma \in \nu$ о́ $\mu \in \nu о \nu$


$$
{ }^{1} \text { ö ба ка̉ } \mu \epsilon \text { B : öбous } \mu \in \mathrm{R} .
$$

## BOOK II. 59, 4-60, 4

associated. But I do not know how this could be proved, since it is not supported, so far as I know, by the testimony of any author of note, either Greek or Roman. But I have said enough on this subject.
LX. When the ambassadors came to Numa to invite him to the sovereiguty, he for some time refused it and long persisted in his resolution not to accept the royal power. But when his brothers kept urging him insistently and at last his father argued that the offer of so great an honour ought not to be rejected, he consented to become king. As soon as the Romans were informed of this by the ambassadors, they conceived a great yearning for the man before they saw him, esteeming it a sufficient proof of his wisdom that, while the others had valued sovereignty beyond measure, looking upon it as the source of happiness, he alone despised it as a paltry thing and unworthy of serious attention. And when he approached the city, they met him upon the road and with great applause, salutations and other honours conducted him into the city. After that, an assembly of the people was held, in which the tribes by curiae gave their votes in his favour; and when the resolution of the people had been confirmed by the patricians, and, last of all, the augurs had reported that the heavenly signs were auspicious, he assumed the office. The Romans say that he undertook no military campaign, but that, being a pious and just man, he passed the whole period of bis reign in peace and caused the

[^219]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

каi $\tau \eta ̀ \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu$ äpıбта $\pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon v o \mu \epsilon ́ v \gamma \nu \nu \pi a \rho a \sigma \chi \epsilon i v$,入óरovs $\tau \epsilon$ vimè $\rho$ aủ

























 $\tau \hat{S}$ iovopias $\pi \epsilon \pi \lambda a ́ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \phi a \sigma i ้ v ~ v i \pi o ̀ ~ \tau o ̂ ~ N o ́ \mu a ~ \tau o ̀ v ~$

$$
{ }^{1} \text { каi after } \dot{\delta} \mu \lambda i a s \text { deleted by Reiske. }
$$

## BOOK II. 60, 4-61, 1

State to be most excellently governed. ${ }^{1}$ They relate also many marvellous stories about him, attributing his human wisdom to the suggestions of the gods. For they fabulously affirm that a certain nymph, Egeria, used to visit him and instruct him on each occasion in the art of reigning, though others say that it was not a nymph, but one of the Muses. And this, they claim, became clear to every one; for, when people were incredulous at first, as may well be supposed, and regarded the story concerning the goddess as an invention, he, in order to give the unbelievers a manifest proof of his converse with this divinity, did as follows, pursuant to her instructions. He invited to the house where he lived a great many of the Romans, all men of worth, and having shown them his apartments, very meanly provided with furniture and particularly lacking in everything that was necessary to entertain a numerous company, he ordered them to depart for the time being, but invited them to dinner in the evening. And when they came at the appointed hour, he showed them rich couches and tables laden with a multitude of beautiful cups, and when they were at table, he set before them a banquet consisting of all sorts of viands, such a banquet, indeed, as it would not have been easy for any man in those days to have prepared in a long time. The Romans were astonished at everything they saw, and from that time they entertained a firm belief that some goddess held converse with him.
LXI. But those who banish everything that is fabulous from history say that the report concerning

[^220]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 є́ $\chi \omega \sigma \iota \nu$ oi $\tau \grave{\alpha} \theta \epsilon i ̂ a ~ \delta \epsilon \delta \iota o ́ \tau \epsilon s$ каi $\pi \rho \circ \theta v ́ \mu \omega s$ $\delta \in ́ \chi \omega \nu \tau \alpha \iota$












 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mu \nu \theta \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu$ iбторך $\mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ каi $\mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau \alpha ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \epsilon i s$













[^221]Egeria was invented by Numa, to the end that, when once the penple were possessed with a fear of the gods, they might more readily pay regard to him and willingly reccive the laws he should enact, as coming from the gods. They say that in this he followed the example of the Greeks, emulating the wisdom both of Minos the Cretan and of Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian. For the former of these claimed to hold converse with Zeus, and going frequently to the Dictaean mountain, in which the Cretan legends say that the new-born Zeus was brought up by the Curetes, he used to descend into the holy cave; and having composed his laws there, he would produce them, affirming that he had received them from Zeus. And Lycurgus, paying visits to Delphi, said he was forming his code of laws under the instruction of Apollo. But, as I am sensible that to give a particular account of the legendary histories, and especially of those relating to gods, would require a long discussion, I shall omit doing so, and shall relate instead the benefits which the Romans seem to me to have received from this man's rule, according to the information I have derived from their own histories. But first I will show in what confusion the affairs of the State were before he came to the throne.
LXII. After the death of Romulus the senate, being now in full control of the government and having held the supreme power for one year, as I have related, ${ }^{1}$ began to be at odds with itself and to split into factions over questions of preeminence and equality. For the Alban clement, who together with Romulus had planted the colony,

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 $\tau \iota \mu \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \alpha ̀ s ~ \mu \epsilon \gamma i \sigma \tau \alpha s$ 入a $\lambda \beta \alpha{ }^{\prime} \nu \epsilon \iota \nu$ каi $\theta \epsilon \rho a \pi \epsilon v \in \sigma \theta a \iota$








 $\kappa \alpha i$ тò $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \lambda a \tau \omega \hat{\nu} \pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \theta$ os $\delta \iota \chi \hat{\eta} \mu \epsilon \rho \iota \sigma \theta \epsilon ̀ \nu$ є́катє́ра $\sigma v \nu \epsilon ́ \beta a \iota \nu \epsilon \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \sigma \tau \alpha ́ \sigma \epsilon \omega \nu$. रुv $\delta \epsilon \in \tau \iota \tau о \hat{v}$ ठ $\eta \mu о \tau \iota \kappa о \hat{v}$ $\mu \epsilon ́ \rho o s ~ o u ̉ \kappa ~ o ̉ \lambda i ́ \gamma o v ~ \epsilon ่ \kappa ~ \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ \nu \epsilon \omega \sigma \tau i ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \epsilon \lambda \eta \lambda v$ Оóт $\omega \nu$ $\tau \hat{\eta} \pi \sigma \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon i a ̨$ ô $\delta \iota a ̀$ тò $\mu \eta \delta \in \nu o ̀ s ~ \sigma v \nu a ́ p a \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau \hat{\varphi}$


 то仑̂ ảvaүкаiov тоîs крєíттобıv ท̂̀v каi $\nu \in \omega \tau \in \rho i \zeta \epsilon \iota \nu$

 $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ a ̉ \pi o ́ p o v s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \delta \eta \mu о \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ảvé $\lambda a \beta \in \delta \iota a \nu \in i ́ \mu a s$


 $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu ~ \epsilon \cup ̛ \rho о \nu \tau о, ~ \tau о \imath ̂ s ~ \delta ' ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi о і ́ к о \iota s ~ \epsilon ́ \tau \epsilon ́ \rho а s ~ \tau \iota v a ̀ s ~$

[^222]
## BOOK II. 62, 1-4

claimed the right, not only of delivering their opinions first and enjoying the greatest honours, but also of being courted by the newcomers. Those, on the other hand, who had been admitted afterwards into the number of the patricians from among the new settlers thought that they ought not to be excluded from any honours or to stand in an inferior position to the others. This was felt particularly by those who were of the Sabine race and who, in virtue of the treaty made by Romulus with Tatius, supposed they had been granted citizenship by the original inhabitants on equal terms, and that they had shown the same favour to the former in their turn. The senate being thus at odds, the clients also were divided into two parties and each joined their respective factions. There were, too, among the plebeians not a few, lately admitted into the number of the citizens, who, having never assisted Romulus in any of his wars, had been neglected by him and had received neither a share of land nor any booty. These, having no home, but being poor and vagabonds, were by necessity enemies to their superiors and quite ripe for revolution. So Numa, having found the affairs of the State in such a raging sea of confusion, first relieved the poor among the plebeians by distributing to them some small part of the land which Romulus had possessed and of the public land; and afterwards he allayed the strife of the patricians, not by depriving them of anything the founders of the city had gained, but by bestowing

[^223]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 $\pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon v \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu \stackrel{\eta}{\eta} \pi \tau \epsilon \tau \circ$ ठv́o $\tau \alpha \hat{v} \tau \alpha \pi \rho a \gamma \mu a \tau \epsilon v o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu 0$,
 $\gamma \epsilon \nu \eta ́ \sigma \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$ каi $\mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda \eta \nu \cdot \epsilon \dot{\sigma} \sigma \epsilon ́ \beta \epsilon \iota \alpha \nu \quad \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu \quad \pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau o \nu$,

 Sıкаıобv́v $\eta \nu, \delta \iota \grave{\eta} \nu$ каi $\tau \dot{\alpha} \pi \alpha \rho \alpha ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \theta \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{\alpha} \pi-$
 ктך $\sigma \alpha \mu$ ย́voıs.





 $\pi \circ \iota \bar{\eta} \sigma \alpha \iota \pi \hat{a} \sigma \alpha \nu \quad \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \quad \pi \rho \circ \alpha i \rho \in \sigma \iota \nu$ тồ $\dot{\alpha} \nu \delta \rho o ̀ s ~ \epsilon ่ \pi i$


 $\pi \alpha \rho \in ́ \lambda \alpha \beta \in \nu$, à $\pi o ̀ ~ \tau o \hat{v}$ кратíaтоv $\tau \epsilon \tau \alpha ́ \chi \theta \alpha \iota ~ \pi \alpha ́ \nu \tau \alpha$




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\({ }^{1}\) кoเท̂̂ Kiessling: кoıvov̂ O.
\({ }^{2}\) ã้ \(\nu\) after \(\dot{v} \pi \epsilon \lambda \alpha ́ \mu \beta a \nu \epsilon \nu\) deleted by Bücheler, Meineko.
\({ }^{3}\) Kiessling : र \(\rho a \phi \grave{\nu} \nu\) O.
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## BOOK II. 62, 5-63, 2

some other honours on the new settlers. And having attuned the whole body of the people, like a musical instrument, to the sole consideration of the public good and enlarged the circuit of the city by the addition of the Quirinal hill (for till that time it was still without a wall), he then addressed himself to the other measures of government, labouring to inculcate these two things by the possession of which he conceived the State would become prosperous and great : first, piety, by informing his subjects that the gods are the givers and guardians of every blessing to mortal men, and, second, justice, through which, he showed them, the blessings also which the gods bestow bring honest enjoyment to their possessors.
LXIII. As regards the laws and institutions by which he made great progress in both these directions, I do not think it fitting that I should enter into all the details, not only because I fear the length of such a discussion but also because I do not regard the recording of them as necessary to a bistory intended for Greeks; but I shall give a summary account of the principal measures, which are sufficient to reveal the man's whole purpose, beginning with his regulations concerning the worship of the gods. I should state, however, that all those rites which he found established by Romulus, either in custom or in law, he left untouched, looking upon them all as established in the best possible manner. But whatever he thought had been overlooked by his predecessor, he added, consecrating many precincts to those gods who had

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 каi тоѝs $\mathfrak{\epsilon} \pi \iota \mu \epsilon \lambda \eta \sigma о \mu$ évovs aủт $\bar{\omega} \nu \quad i \in p \in i ̂ s ~ \kappa \alpha \theta \iota \sigma \tau \alpha ̀ s$
















 є่ $\gamma \in v o ́ \mu \eta \nu$ daí $\mu \omega \nu$ єis $\theta \in o v ̀ s ~ a ้ \gamma \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \theta \nu \eta \tau o ̀ v ~$ є́к $\pi \lambda \eta \rho \omega ́ \sigma \alpha \nu \tau \alpha$ аî̄̀va $\epsilon i \mu i$ ठѐ Kvpivos." $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota-$
 रpaфaîs $\delta \iota \epsilon i ̂ \lambda \epsilon \nu \epsilon i s ~ o ́ \kappa \tau \grave{\omega} \mu о i ́ p a s, ~ o ̈ \sigma \alpha \iota ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ i \in \rho \hat{\omega} \nu$

 $\tau \alpha \xi \iota \nu \tau о i ̂ s ~ \tau \rho \iota \alpha ́ \kappa о \nu \tau \alpha$ коขрí $\omega \sigma \iota \nu$, ov̂s $\epsilon \not \phi \eta \nu \tau \grave{\alpha}$ коьขà

## BOOK II. 63, 2-64, 1

hitherto received no honours, erecting many altars and temples, instituting festivals in honour of each, and appointing pricsts to have charge of their sanctuaries and rites, and enacting laws concerning purifientions, ceremonies, expiations and many other observances and honours in greater number than are to be found in any other city, either Greek or barbarian, even in those that have prided themselves the most at one time or another upon their piety. He also ordered that Romulus himself, as one who had shown a greatness beyond mortal nature, should be honoured, under the name of Quirinus, by the erection of a temple and by sacrifices throughout the year. For ${ }^{1}$ while the Romans were yet in doubt whether divine providence or human treachery had been the cause of his disappearance, a certain man, named Julius, descended from Ascanius, who was a husbandman and of such a blameless life that he would never have told an untruth for his private advantage, arrived in the Forum and said that, as he was coming in from the country, he saw Romulus departing from the city fully armed and that, as he drew near to him, he heard him say these words: "Julius, announce to the Romans from me, that the genius to whom I was allotted at my birth is conducting me to the gods, now that I have finished my mortal life, and that I am Quirinus." Numa, having reduced his whole system of religious laws to writing, divided them into eight parts, that being the number of the different classes of religious ceremonies.
LXIV. The first division of religious rites be assigned to the thirty curiones, who, as I have stated, ${ }^{2}$

$$
{ }^{1} C f . \text { Livy i. } 16,5-8 . \quad{ }^{2} \text { Chap. 23, 1-2. }
$$

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi i \lambda \lambda \omega \nu{ }^{4} \tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha i \quad \sigma \tau \epsilon \mu \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu,{ }^{4}$ каì $\nu \hat{v} \nu{ }^{\prime \prime} \tau \iota$ фороvo $\sigma \iota$










 5 каi $\tau \dot{\alpha} \mu \epsilon \tau \alpha ́ \rho \sigma \iota a$ каi $\tau \alpha ̀ ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi i \gamma \epsilon \iota a . ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ \delta \epsilon ̀ ~ \pi \epsilon ́ \mu \pi \tau \eta \nu$


${ }^{1} \phi \rho a \tau \rho \iota \omega \nu \mathrm{Bb}: \phi \rho a \tau \rho t \epsilon \omega_{\nu} \mathrm{A} . \quad{ }^{2}$ Steph.: $\sigma \tau \epsilon \phi \eta \phi o ́ \rho o \iota s$ O.
${ }^{3}$ Steph. : $\phi \lambda a ́ \mu о \sigma \iota \nu$ AB, Jacoby.
${ }^{4} \pi \iota \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$. . . B : $\pi \iota \lambda \omega \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mathrm{R}$.
${ }^{5}$ The word is corrupt; ф ${ }^{\circ} \lambda a ́ \mu \iota v a$ was proposed by Turnebus, $\phi \lambda a \dot{\mu} \mu a$ by Scaliger. But the word really wanted here is $\phi i \lambda \lambda$; this could easily have been changed to $\phi \lambda a ́ \mu a$ by a scribe who saw no connexion between фì̀a and $\phi \lambda a ́ \mu o v e s$.

[^224]perform the public sacrifices for the curiae. The second, to those called by the Greeks stephanêphoroi ${ }^{1}$ or "wearers of the crown" and by the Romans flamines; ${ }^{2}$ they are given this name from their wearing of caps and fillets, called $\dagger$ flama, ${ }^{3}$ which they continue to wear even to this day. The third. to the commanders of the celeres, who, as I have stated, ${ }^{4}$ were appointed to be the body-guards of the kings and fought both as cavalry and infantry ; for these also performed certain specified religious rites. The fourth, to those who interpret the signs sent by the gods and determine what they portend both to private persons and to the public; these, from one branch of the speculations belonging to their art, the Romans call augurs, and we should call them oiônopoloi or " soothsayers by means of birds"; they are skilled in all sorts of divination in use among the Romans, whether founded on signs appearing in the heavens, in mid-air or on the earth. The fifth he assigned to the virgins who are the guardians of the sacred fire and who are called Vestals by the
${ }^{2}$ Cf. Livy i. 20, 2.
${ }^{3}$ An error for fila? Dionysius is here giving the usual Roman etymology of flamen, which is preserved to us by Varro (de Ling. Lat. v. 84) and by Festus (p. 87). Both authorities state that these priests got their name from the filum, the fillet of wool which they wore round about the top of their caps. It is hard to believe that our author could have confused filum with flammeum, the bridal veil; see the critical note. The true etymology of flamen is disputed; but there is much to be said in favour of deriving it from flare (" to blow "), since one of the first duties of a priest would be to blow up the fire for the sacrifices.
${ }^{4}$ Chap. 13.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


























${ }^{1}$ каi after $\eta \xi \xi i \omega \tau a \iota$ deleted by Ambrosch.
${ }^{2} \dot{v} \pi \dot{\epsilon} \rho$ before $\dot{\mu} \boldsymbol{n}$ deleted by Ambrosch.

[^225]
## 498

## BOOK II. 64, 5-65, 2

Romans, after the goddess whom they serve, he himself having been the first to build a temple at Rome to Vesta and to appoint virgins to be her priestesses. ${ }^{1}$ But concerning them it is necessary to make a few statements that are most essential, since the subject requires it; for there are problems that have been thought worthy of investigation by many Roman historians in connexion with this topic and those authors who have not diligently examined into the causes of these matters have published rather worthless accounts.
LXV. At any rate, as regards the building of the temple of Vesta, some ascribe it to Romulus, looking upon it as an inconceivable thing that, when a city was being founded by a man skilled in divination, a public hearth ${ }^{2}$ should not have been erected first of all, particularly since the founder had been brought up at Alba, where the temple of this goddess had been established from ancient times, and since his mother had been her priestess. And recognizing two classes of religious ceremonies-the one public and common to all the citizens, and the other private and confined to particular families-they declare that on both these grounds Romulus was under every obligation to worship this goddess. For they say that nothing is more necessary for men than a public hearth, and that nothing more nearly concerned Romulus, in view of his descent, since his ancestors had brought the sacred rites of this goddess from Ilium and his mother had been her priestess. Those, then, who for these reasons ascribe the building of the temple to Romulus rather than to Numa

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 $\theta \epsilon \hat{\imath} \alpha$ бофías, $\tau \dot{\alpha} \delta \epsilon ̀ ~ к а \tau \grave{\alpha} ~ \mu \epsilon ́ \rho o s ~ v i \pi \epsilon ́ \rho ~ \tau \epsilon \tau \hat{\eta} s ~ к а \tau \alpha-~$







 $\tau$ às $\theta \epsilon \rho a \pi \epsilon i a s$ катєбтท́nбато $\tau \hat{\eta} \quad \theta \epsilon \hat{\varphi}, \mu \epsilon \mu \nu \eta \mu \epsilon ́ v o s$




 4 ov $\mu \phi$ opaîs ảvá $\mu \nu \eta \sigma \iota \nu$. Sià $\tau a v ̂ \tau a ~ \mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu ~ \delta \grave{\eta}$ коıvòv iєро̀̀ ov่ катєбкєváбато $\tau \hat{\eta} s$ 'Eбтías oủס̀̀ iєрєías




 $\tau \alpha ́ \gamma \epsilon ́ \tau о \iota ~ к а \lambda о \cup ́ \mu \epsilon \nu \alpha ~ \pi \rho v \tau \alpha \nu \epsilon i ̂ a ~ \pi a \rho ’ ~ a v ̉ \tau o i ̂ s ~ ' E \sigma \tau i a s{ }^{2}$

[^226]
## BOOK II. 65, 2-4

seem to be right, in so far as the general principle is concerned that, when a city was being founded, it was necessary for a hearth to be established first of all, particularly by a man who was not unskilled in matters of religion; but of the details relating to the building of the present temple and to the virgins who are in the service of the goddess they seem to have been ignorant. For, in the first place, it was not Romulus who consecrated to the goddess this place where the sacred fire is preserved (a strong proof of this is that it is outside of what they call Roma Quadrata, ${ }^{1}$ which he surrounded with a wall, whereas all men place the shrine of the public hearth in the best part of a city and nobody outside of the walls) ; and, in the second place, he did not appoint the service of the goddess to be performed by virgins, being mindful, I believe, of the experience that had befallen his mother, who while she was serving the goddess lost her virginity; for he doubtless felt that the remembrance of his domestic misfortunes would make it impo-sible for him to punish according to the traditional laws any of the priestesses he should find to have been violated. For this reason, th refore, he did not build a common temple of Vesta nor did he appoint virgins to be her priestesses; but having erected a hearth in each of the thirty curiae on which the members sacrificed, he appointed the chiefs of the curiae to be the pricsts of those hearths, therein imitating the customs of the Greeks that are still observed in the most ancient cities. At any rate, what are called prytanea among
${ }^{1}$ A later name for the old Palatine city, which, according to the theory of the augurs, was quadrangular.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 $\kappa а \tau \epsilon \sigma \tau \eta \prime \sigma a \tau o ~ \pi a ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu ~ \mu i ́ a \nu ~ \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \tau \hat{\varphi} \mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \xi \grave{v} \tau \circ \hat{v} \tau \epsilon$







 то̂̂ фаvєрои̂ $\pi v \rho o ̀ s ~ \epsilon i ̂ v a i ́ ~ \phi а \sigma \iota ~ \tau o ̀ ~ т \eta \rho o v ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o v, ~ т \eta ̀ \nu ~$




 ov̂ซa $\dot{\eta}$ $\theta \epsilon$ ढ̀s каì тòv $\mu \epsilon ́ \sigma о \nu ~ к а т \epsilon ́ \chi о v \sigma a ~ \tau о \hat{v}$ ко́б $\mu$ av тótov тàs ảváభєเs тov̂ $\mu \in \tau \alpha \rho \sigma i ́ o v ~ \pi o \iota \epsilon i ̂ \tau a l ~ \pi v \rho o ̀ s ~$
 ámó $\rho \rho \eta \tau \alpha$ тoîs $\pi 0 \lambda \lambda 0 i ̂ s ~ i \epsilon \rho a ̀ ~ к \epsilon i ̂ \vartheta \theta a i ́ ~ \tau \iota \nu a ~ \grave{\epsilon} \nu ~ \tau \hat{\varphi}$

$$
{ }^{1} \text { 〒ò } \mathrm{O}: \text { тòv Jacoby (typographical error ?). }
$$

[^227]
## BOOK II. 65, 4-66, 3

them are temples of Hestia, and are served by the chief magistrates of the cities. ${ }^{1}$
LXVI. Numa, upon taking over the rule, did not disturb the individual hearths of the curiae, but erected one common to them all in the space between the Capitoline and the Palatine (for these hills had already been united by a single wall into one city, and the Forum, in which the temple is built, lies between them), and he enacted, in accordance with the ancestral custom of the Latins, that the guarding of the holy things should be committed to virgins. There is some doubt, however, what it is that is kept in this temple and for what reason the care of it has been assigned to virgins, some affirming that nothing is preserved there but the fire, which is visible to everybody. And they very reasonably argue that the custody of the fire was committed to virgins, rather than to men, because fire is incorrupt and a virgin is undefiled, and the most chaste of mortal things must be agreeable to the purest of those that are divine. And they regard the fire as consecrated to Vesta because that goddess, being the earth ${ }^{2}$ and occupying the central place in the universe, kindles the celestial fires from herself. But there are some who say that besides the fire there are some holy things in the temple of the goddess that may not be revealed to the public,
early date to the Thesmotheteum and the prytaneis took their meals in the Tholos); and here were entertained foreign ambassadors and also citizens who had deserved well of the State.
${ }^{2}$ Vesta is similarly identified with the earth by Ovid, Fasti vi. 267. See Sir James Frazer's instructive note on that passage (vol. iv. pp. 201 f.).

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




 тоv ovoтávтa＇P $\omega \mu$ aious $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ K a \rho \chi \eta \delta o v i o v s ~ \pi \epsilon p i ~$



 àтò Kарұךঠоvíшv катаүаү⿳亠二兀 о́кт̀̀ каі трьа́когта

 SúvєvGev єis $\tau$ à каเó $\mu \in \nu a$ ßıáбабӨaı каi $\tau \grave{\alpha} \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha-$







 $\kappa \tau \iota \sigma \theta \epsilon i ̂ \sigma \alpha \nu \quad \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu$ ढ่к $\tau \hat{\eta} S \nu \eta{ }^{\prime} \sigma o v ~ \tau \grave{\alpha}$ í $\in \rho a ̀ ~ \mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon \nu \epsilon \gamma-$
 ä $\mu \alpha$ тоîs ä入入oıs каi таv̂та коцíбаขтоs єis＇Iта入íav，

 av̇тò $\delta i '$＇$\mu \pi \tau \epsilon \iota \rho i a \nu, ~ ' A \chi a \iota \omega ̂ \nu ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$ тò $\mu i ́ \mu \eta \mu a ~ a u ̉ \tau o v ̂ ~$
 6 тоっךтаîs $\tau \epsilon$ каi $\sigma v \gamma \gamma \rho a \phi \epsilon \hat{v} \sigma \iota ~ \lambda o ́ \gamma o \iota . ~ \epsilon ’ \gamma \grave{\omega}$ ठє̀ $\tau \grave{~}$

[^228] 504

## BOOK II. 66, 3-6

of which only the pontiffs and the virgins have knowledge. As a strong confirmation of this story they cite what happened at the burning of the temple during the First Punic War between the Romans and the Carthaginians over Sicily. For when the temple caught fire and the virgins fled from the flames, one of the pontiffs, Lucius Caecilius, called Metellus, a man of consular rank, the same who exhibited a hundred and thirty-eight elephants in the memorable triumph which he celebrated for his defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily, ${ }^{1}$ neglecting his own safety for the sake of the public good, ventured to force his way into the burning structure, and, snatching up the holy things which the virgins had abandoned, saved them from the fire; for which he received great honours from the State, as the inscription upon his statue on the Capitol testifies. Taking this incident, then, as an admitted fact, they add some conjectures of their own. Thus, some affirm that the objects preserved here are a part of those holy things which were once in Samothrace ; that Dardanus removed them out of that island into the city which he himself had built, and that Aeneas, when he fled from the Troad, brought them along with the other holy things into Italy. But others declare that it is the Palladium that fell from Heaven, the same that was in the possession of the people of Ilium; for they hold that Aeneas, being well acquainted with it, brought it into Italy, whereas the Achaeans stole away the copy,an incident about which many stories have been related both by poets and by historians. For my part,

[^229]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 vimò $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \alpha \rho \theta \epsilon \in \nu \omega \nu$ каi ov̉ $\tau o ̀ ~ \pi \hat{v} \rho \mu o ́ v o \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \kappa ~ \pi о \lambda \lambda \omega ิ \nu$











 ảvaүкаîov à $\gamma v a ̀ s ~ \gamma a ́ \mu \omega \nu ~ \theta v \eta \pi о \lambda о v ́ \sigma a s ~ \tau \epsilon ~ к а i ~ \tau \hat{d} \lambda \lambda a ~$











 506

I find from very many evidences that there are indeed some holy things, unknown to the public, kept by the virgins, and not the fire alone; but what they are I do not think should be inquired into too curiously, either by me or by anyone else who wishes to observe the reverence due to the gods.
LXVII. The virgins who serve the goddess were originally four and were chosen by the kings according to the principles established by Numa, but afterwards, from the multiplicity of the sacred rites they perform, their number was increased to six, and has so remained down to our time. They live in the temple of the goddess, into which none who wish are hindered from entering in the daytime, whereas it is not lawful for any man to remain there at night. They were required to remain undefiled by marriage for the space of thirty years, devoting themselves to offering sacrifices and performing the other rites ordained by law. During the first ten years their duty was to learn their functions, in the second ten to perform them, and during the remaining ten to teach others. After the expiration of the term of thirty years nothing hindered those who so desired from marrying, upon laying aside their fillets and the other insignia of their priesthood. And some, though very few, have done this; but they came to ends that were not at all happy or enviable. In consequence, the rest, looking upon therr misfortunes as ominous, remain virgins in the temple of the goddess till their death, and then once more another is chosen by the pontiffs to supply the vacancy. Many high honours have been granted

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS


 $\tau \iota \mu \omega \rho i ́ a \iota ~ \tau \epsilon \in ่ \pi i$ тoîs áa $\mu \rho \tau \alpha \nu o \mu \epsilon ́ v o \iota s ~ к \epsilon i ̂ \nu \tau \alpha \iota ~ \mu \epsilon-$






 $\kappa \alpha i$ бv$\gamma \gamma \epsilon \nu \hat{\omega} \nu$, ко $\mu \iota \sigma \theta \epsilon i ̂ \sigma a \iota ~ \delta є ̀ ~ \mu \epsilon ́ \chi \rho \iota ~ \tau \eta ̂ s ~ K o \lambda \lambda i ́ \eta \eta s$


 $5 \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \nu \circ \mu i \mu \omega \nu$ ov̉ $\delta \in \nu o ̀ s ~ \tau v \gamma \chi a ́ v o v \sigma \iota . ~ \pi o \lambda \lambda \grave{\alpha} \mu \epsilon ̀ v$ oûv

 $\pi v \rho o ́ s, ~ \hat{\eta} \nu ~ \dot{v} \pi \grave{\epsilon} \rho$ ä $\pi \alpha \nu \tau \alpha$ тà $\delta \epsilon \iota \nu a ̀ ~ ' P \omega \mu a i ̂ o \iota ~ \delta \epsilon \delta o i ́-$



 каıро̀̀ є́риิ.






508

## BOOK II. 67, 3-68, 2

them by the commonwealth, as a result of which they feel no desire either for marriage or for children ; and severe penalties have been established for their misdeeds. It is the pontiffs who by law both inquire into and punish these offences; those Vestals who are guilty of lesser misdemeanours they scourge with rods, but those who have suffered defilement they deliver up to the most shameful and the most miserable death. For while they are yet alive they are carried upon a bier with all the formality of a funeral, their friends and relations attending them with lamentations, and after being brought as far as the Colline Gate, they are placed in an underground cell prepared within the walls, clad in their funeral attire; but they are not given a monument or funeral rites or any other customary solemnities. There are many indications, it scems, when a priestess is not performing her holy functions with purity, but the principal one is the extinction of the fire, which the Romans dread above all misfortunes, looking upon it, from whatever cause it proceeds, as an omen that portends the destruction of the city; and they bring fire again into the temple with many supplicatory rites, concerning which I shall speak on the proper occasion. ${ }^{1}$
LXVIII. However, it is also well worth relating in what manuer the goddess has manifested herself in favour of those virgins who have been falsely accused. For these things, however incredible they may be, have been believed by the Romans and their historians have related much about them.

[^230]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 фías av̉тàs $\delta \in i ̂$ ка入єîv，ámáбas $\delta \iota a \sigma u ́ p o \nu \tau \epsilon s ~ \tau a ̀ s ~$
 Bápoıs $\gamma \in$ vo $\mu \epsilon ́ v a s ~ к а i ~ \tau a v ́ т a s ~ \epsilon i ́ s ~ \gamma \epsilon ́ \lambda \omega \tau a ~ \pi о \lambda v ̀ v ~$


 тov̀s $\theta \epsilon o v{ }^{\prime}$ ，ảd入̀̀ кai тoîs ả $\gamma a \theta o i ̂ s ~ \epsilon u ̉ \mu \in \nu \epsilon i ̂ s ~ \epsilon i ̂ v a \iota ~$

 3 єंтıфаvєias єỉval ảmi

 $\kappa \alpha \tau \epsilon \iota \lambda \epsilon \gamma \mu \epsilon \in \nu \omega \nu$ каі «̈ $\rho \tau \iota \mu a \nu \theta a \nu о v \sigma \omega ̂ \nu \pi \alpha \rho a \delta o v ́ \sigma \eta s$








 трьакогтаєтои̂s каi $\psi v \chi \eta ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon ้ \chi о v \sigma \alpha ~ к а Ө а \rho a ̀ v ~ к а i ~$




[^231]
## BOOK II. 68, 2-1

To be sure, the professors of the atheistic philo-sophies,-if, indeed, their theories deserve the name of philosophy,-who ridicule all the manifestations of the gods which have taken place among either the Greeks or barbarians, will also laugh these reports to scorn and attribute them to human imposture, on the ground that none of the gods concern themselves in anything relating to mankind. Those, however, who do not absolve the gods from the care of human affairs, but, after looking deeply into history, hold that they are favourable to the good and hostile to the wicked, will not regard even these manifestations as incredible. It is said, then, that once, when the fire had been extinguished through some negligence on the part of Acmilia, who had the care of it at the time and had entrusted it to another virgin, one of those who had been newly chosen and were then learning their dutics, the whole city was in great commotion and an inquiry was made by the pontiffs whether there might not have been some defilement of the priestess to account for the extinction of the fire. Thereupon, they say, Aemilia, who was innocent, but distracted at what had happened, stretched out her hands toward the altar and in the presence of the priests and the rest of the virgins cried: "O Vesta, guardian of the Romans' city, if, during the space of nearly thirty years, I have performed the sacred offices to thee in a holy and proper manner, keeping a pure mind and a chaste body, do thou manifest thyself in my defence and assist me and do not suffer thy priestess to die the most miserable of all deaths; but if I have been guilty of any impious deed, let my punishment

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS










 $\tau \iota v \alpha ́ ~ \phi a \sigma \iota v ~ a ̉ \delta i ́ \kappa \omega s ~ \mu ı a ̂ s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \pi a p \theta \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ i \in \rho \hat{\omega} \nu$

 каї $\mu а \rho \tau v \rho \iota \omega ิ \nu ~ a ̉ \pi о \delta є i \xi \epsilon \iota s ~ ф \epsilon ́ \rho о \nu \tau а ~ о и ̉ к ~ a ̉ \lambda \eta \theta \epsilon i ̂ s . ~$



 $T \epsilon \in \beta \rho \iota \nu$ Є่ $\pi \iota \tau \rho \epsilon \nless \alpha ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \mu \epsilon \nu \nu$ av̉ $\frac{\eta}{\eta} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad i \in \rho \circ \phi a \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$,




 $3 \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad i \epsilon \rho \circ \phi a \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \in \xi \epsilon \rho \hat{a} \sigma \alpha \iota$ тò v́ठ $\omega \rho$. каi $\mu \in \tau \dot{\alpha}$




> 1 á ${ }^{2}$ ázvıoov B : ảфáqvıaaı A ; áфávıoaı Stepl.
> ${ }^{2}$ Kiessling : тvүкias O.

## BOOK II. 68, 5-69, 3

expiate the guilt of the city." Having said this, she tore off the band of the linen garment she had on and threw it upon the altar, they say, following her prayer; and from the ashes, which had been long cold and retained no spark, a great flame flared up through the linen, so that the city no longer required either expiations or a new fire.
LXIX. But what I am going to relate is still more wonderful and more like a myth. They say that somebody unjustly accused one of the holy virgins, whose name was Tuccia, and although he was unable to point to the extinction of the fire as evidence, he advanced false arguments based on plausible proofs and depositions; and that the virgin, being ordered to make her defence, said only this, that she would clear herself from the accusation by her deeds. Having said this and called upon the goddess to be her guide, she led the way to the Tiber, with the consent of the pontiffs and escorted by the whole population of the city; and when she came to the river, she was so hardy as to undertake the task which, according to the proverb, is among the most impossible of achievement: she drew up water from the river in a sieve, and carrying it as far as the Forum, poured it out at the feet of the pontiffs. After which, they say, her accuser, though great search was made for him, could never be found either alive or dead. But, though I have yet many other things to say concerning the

[^232]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 роні弓ш．





 ＇$A \gamma \omega \nu a \lambda \epsilon i ̂ s, ~ v i \pi o ̀ ~ \delta \epsilon ́ ~ \tau \iota \nu \omega \nu ~ K o \lambda \lambda i ̂ v o \iota ~ к а \lambda о v ́ \mu \epsilon v o \iota ~$
入ó申ov，$\mu \epsilon \tau \grave{\alpha}$ Nó $\mu a \nu$ ả $\pi \epsilon \delta \epsilon \iota \chi \neq \eta \sigma \alpha \nu$ vimò $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \in \omega s$



 Maртíw $\mu \eta \nu i$ ठ $\eta \mu о \tau \epsilon \lambda \grave{\eta} s ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi i ~ \pi о \lambda \lambda a ̀ s ~ \dot{\eta} \mu \epsilon ́ \rho a s ~ a ̀ \gamma о-~$

 ä入lovs ioiovs $\tau \epsilon$ каi $\delta \eta \mu$ обíovs тóтоvs，$\chi \iota \tau \hat{\omega} v a s$




${ }^{1}$ älla Bücheler : om. O, Jacoby.
${ }^{2}$ Kvpıviov Cary : ко入lívou O, Jacoby.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{4} \tau \hat{\varphi} \mathrm{O}:{ }^{\epsilon} \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \text { Ambrosch, Jacoby. }
\end{aligned}
$$

${ }^{1}$ Cf．Livy i．20， 4.
${ }^{3}$＂Colline hill，＂the absurd reading of the MiSS．and editors，cannot be from the hand of Dionysius．

## BOOK II. 69, 3-70, 2

manifestations of this goddess, I regard what has already been said as sufficient.
LXX. The sixth division of his religious institutions was devoted to those the Romans call Salii. whom Numa himself appointed out of the patricians, choosing twelve young men of the most graceful appearance. ${ }^{1}$ These are the Salii whose holy things are deposited on the Palatine hill and who are themselves called the (Salii) Palatini; for the (Salii) Agonales, ${ }^{2}$ by some called the Salii Collini, the repository of whose holy things is on the Quirinal hill, ${ }^{3}$ were appointed after Numa's time by King Hostilius, in pursuance of a vow he had made in the war against the Sabines. All these Salii are a kind of dancers and singers of hymns in praise of the gods of war. Their fertival falls about the time of the Panathenaea, ${ }^{4}$ in the month which they call March, and is celebrated at the public expense for many days, during which they proceed through the city with their dances to the Forum and to the Capitol and to many other places both private and public. They wear embroidered tunics girt about with wide girdles of bronze, and over these are fastened, with brooches, robes striped with scarlet and bordered with purple, which they call trabeae ; this garment is peculiar to the Romans and a mark of the greatest honour.

[^233]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS




















 $\mu \in \nu o s ~ \sigma v \mu \beta a \lambda \in i ̂ . ~ к \iota \nu o v ̂ v \tau \alpha l ~ \gamma a ̀ \rho ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a v ̉ \lambda o ̀ v ~ \epsilon ่ v ~$
 סè $\pi \alpha \rho a \lambda \lambda a ́ \xi$, кai $\pi a \tau \rho i o v s ~ \tau \iota \nu a ̀ s ~ v ̌ \mu \nu o v s ~ a ̆ ้ \delta o v \sigma \iota \nu ~$




[^234]
## BOOK II. 70, 2-5

On their heads they wear apices, as they are called, that is, high caps contracted into the shape of a cone, which the Greeks call kyrbasiai. They have each of them a sword hanging at their girdle and in their right hand they hold a spear or a staff or something else of the sort, and on their left arm a Thracian buckler, which resembles a lozenge-shaped shield with its sides drawn in, ${ }^{1}$ such as those are said to carry who among the Greeks perform the sacred rites of the Curctes. And, in my opinion at least, the Salii, if the word be translated into Greek, are Curetes, whom, because they are kouroi or " young men," we eall by that name from their age, whereas the Romans call them Salii from their lively motions. For to leap and skip is by them called salire ; and for the same reason they call all other dancers saltatores, deriving their name from the Salii, because their dancing also is attended by much leaping and capering. Whether I have been well advised or not in giving them this appellation, anyone who pleases may gather from their actions. For they execute their movements in arms, keeping time to a flute, sometimes all together, sometimes by turns, and while dancing sing certain traditional hymns. But this dance and exercise performed by armed men and the noise they make by striking their bucklers with their daggers, if we may base any conjectures on the ancient accounts,

1 "Lozenge-shaped " here doubtless means oval. What have been identified as these sacred ancilia are seen depicted on a few ancient coins and gems. They are of the shape often called "figure of eight." This was not the shape of the Thracian buckler, which is described as crescent-shaped.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

$\tau \epsilon \kappa \mu \eta \rho \iota \frac{v}{\sigma} \theta a \iota ~ \lambda o ́ \gamma o \iota s, ~ K o v \rho \eta ̂ \tau \epsilon s ~ \hat{\eta} \sigma a \nu$ oi $\pi \rho \bar{\omega} \tau о \iota$


LXXI. 'Ev $\delta$ è $\tau a i ̂ s ~ \pi \epsilon ́ \lambda \tau \alpha \iota s, ~ a ̂ s ~ o i ̂ ~ \tau \epsilon ~ \sum a ́ \lambda \iota o \iota ~$



 $\epsilon i \sigma \epsilon \nu \epsilon$ '́रкаข



 каì $\theta v \sigma \iota \omega ิ \nu ~ \epsilon ่ \pi \epsilon \tau \epsilon i ́ \omega \nu ~ \tau v \gamma \chi \alpha ́ \nu \epsilon \iota \nu, ~ \delta \epsilon \delta о \iota к o ́ \tau \alpha ~ \delta \grave{~ \epsilon ̇ ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota-~}$



 каì $\delta v \sigma \delta \iota a ́ \gamma \nu \omega \sigma \tau о \nu$ тоîs $\mu \epsilon ́ \lambda \lambda о v \sigma \iota \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota \beta o v \lambda \epsilon v ́ \epsilon \iota \nu$







[^235]
## BOOK II. 70, 5-71, 4

was originated by the Curetes. I need not mention the legend ${ }^{1}$ which is related concerning them, since almost everybody is acquainted with it.
LXXI. Among the vast number of bucklers which both the Salii themselves bear and some of their servants carry suspended from rods, they say there is one that fell from heaven and was found in the palace of Numa, though no one had brought it thither and no buckler of that shape had ever before been known among the Italians; and that for both these reasons the Romans concluded that this buckler had been sent by the gods. They add that Numa, desiring that it should be honoured by being carried through the city on holy days by the most distinguished young men and that annual sacrifices should be offered to it, but at the same time being fearful both of the plots of his enemies and of its disappearance by theft, caused many other bucklers to be made resembling the one which fell from heaven, Mamurius, an artificer, having undertaken the work; so that, as a result of the perfect resemblance of the man-made imitations, the shape of the buckler sent by the gods was rendered inconspicuous and difficult to be distinguished by those who might plot to possess themselves of it. This dancing after the manner of the Curetes was a native institution among the Romans and was held in great honour by them, as I gather from many other indications and especially from what takes place in their processions both in the Circus and in the theatres. For
said to have clashed their spears against their shields in order to drown the cries of the infant Zeus, lest his whereabouts should be discovered.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS













 $\tau \iota \alpha \lambda i \omega \nu .{ }^{3}$ оข̂тоь $\delta^{\prime}$ ä้ є $\iota \eta \sigma \alpha \nu \kappa \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} \tau \eta े \nu$ ' $E \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \iota \kappa \eta े \nu$ $\kappa а \lambda о ข ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \iota ~ \delta \iota a ́ \lambda \epsilon \kappa \tau о \nu ~ \epsilon i р \eta \nu о \delta i ́ \kappa \alpha \iota . ~ \epsilon i \sigma i \delta^{\prime} \epsilon \in \kappa \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$
 $\mu \in v o \iota ~ \tau o v ̂ ~ \beta i o v, ~ N o ́ \mu a ~ \tau o v ̂ ~ \beta a \sigma ı \lambda є ́ \omega s ~ \pi \rho \omega ́ т o v ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~$

 $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha ́ \delta \epsilon \iota \gamma \mu \alpha$ є’ $\lambda a \beta \epsilon \nu \stackrel{\omega}{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$ őovтаí $\tau \iota \nu \epsilon \varsigma$, そ̈ $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha ̀$




## ${ }^{1}$ qaútaıs Garrer: av̉zaîs O .

${ }^{2}$ тoútovs Ambrosch: av̉тov̀s O .
${ }^{3} \phi \eta \tau \iota a \lambda i \omega \nu$ Kiessling, $\phi \in \tau \iota a \lambda i ́ \omega \nu$ Steph., Jacoby : фıтıa入íw A (?), фıтıád $\omega \nu \mathrm{B}$.
${ }^{4}$ Cluver: $\epsilon$ є́кıкл $\omega \nu \mathrm{AB}$.

## BOOK II. 71, 4-72, 2

in all of them young men clad in handsome tunics, with helmets, swords and bucklers, march in file. These are the leaders of the procession and are called by the Romans, from a game of which the Lydians seem to have been the inventors, ludiones; ${ }^{1}$ they show merely a certain resemblance, in my opinion, to the Salii, since they do not, like the Salii, do any of the things characteristic of the Curetes, either in their hymns or dancing. And it was necessary that the Salii should be free men and native Romans and that both their fathers and mothers should be living; whereas the others are of any condition whatsoever. But why should I say more about them?
LXXII. The seventh division of his sacred institutions was devoted to the college of the fetiales ${ }^{2}$; these may be called in Greek eirênodikai or "arbiters of peace." They are chosen men, from the best families, and exercise their holy office for life; King Numa was also the first who instituted this holy magistracy among the Romans. But whether he took his example from those called the Aequicoli, ${ }^{3}$ according to the opinion of some, or from the city of Ardea, as Gellius writes, I cannot say. It is sufficient for me to state that before Numa's reign the college of the fetiales did not exist among the

[^236]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS







 $\pi \eta \lambda i ́ \kappa \omega \nu$ є̇бтi $\pi \rho a \gamma \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ кúpıov $\delta \iota \epsilon \lambda \theta \in i v$ ，iva тоîs

 av̉тoîs тò кá入lıซтov 入aßєîv тov̀s mo入є́ $\mu$ ovs тє́入os．

 $\mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau \alpha$ тov̀s $\theta \epsilon o v ̀ s ~ \epsilon ’ \sigma \chi \eta \kappa o ́ \tau \epsilon s ~ \epsilon ’ \nu ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ к ı \nu \delta u ́ v o ı s ~$

 $\kappa \in \phi \alpha \lambda \alpha \iota \omega ́ \delta \epsilon \iota \quad \delta^{\prime}$ viтоүраф $\hat{\eta}$ $\delta \eta \lambda \omega \hat{\omega} \alpha \iota ~ \tau о \iota a ́ \delta ' ~ \epsilon ’ \sigma \tau i \cdot$.








 тov̀s évóxovs taîs aitiaus ou入入aßóvтas є̇кঠóтovs


$$
{ }^{1} \tau о ́ \tau \epsilon \mathrm{Bb}: \tau \epsilon \mathrm{ABa} \text {. }
$$

522

## BOOK II. 72, 3-5

Romans. It was instituted by Numa when he was upon the point of making war on the people of Fidenae, who had raided and ravaged his territories. in order to see whether they would come to an accommodation with him without war; and that is what they actually did, being constrained by necessity. But since the college of the fetiales is not in use among the Greeks, I think it incumbent on me to relate how many and how great affairs fall under its jurisdiction, to the end that those who are unacquainted with the piety practised by the Romans of those times may not be surprised $t$ o find that all their wars had the most successful outcome; for it will appear that the origins and motives of them all were most holy, and for this reason especially the gods were propitious to them in the dangers that attended them. The multitude of duties, to be sure, that fall within the province of these fetiales makes it no easy matter to enumerate them all ; but to indicate them by a summary outline, they are as follows: It is their duty to take care that the Romans do not enter upon an unjust war against any city in alliance with them, and if others begin the violation of treaties against them, to go as ambassadors and first make formal demand for justice, and then, if the others refuse to comply with their demands, to sanction war. In like manner, if any people in alliance with the Romans complain of having been injured by them and demand justice, these men are to determine whether they have suffered anything in violation of their alliance; and if they find their complaints well grounded, they are to seize the accused and deliver them up to the injured parties. They are also to take cognizance

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 $\pi \epsilon \pi \rho \hat{\alpha} \theta a \iota ~ \nu o ́ \mu о v s, a ̉ \kappa v \rho о \hat{v} \kappa \alpha i ̀ \tau \grave{\alpha} s \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta-$








 iva $\delta \iota a ́ \delta \eta \lambda o s ~ \hat{\eta} ~ \pi a \rho a ̀ ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ a ̈ \lambda \lambda o v s, ~ \epsilon i s ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$
 ópíors тóv $\tau \epsilon \Delta i ́ a$ каi тov̀s ädlovs є́ $\pi \epsilon \kappa а \lambda \epsilon i ̂ \tau o$

 ảঠıкоv̂ซav $\epsilon \rho \chi \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu ~ к а i ~ a ̉ \rho a ̀ s ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \mu \epsilon \gamma \iota \sigma \tau а s ~ \epsilon i ~$








${ }^{1}{ }^{\text {vimè } \rho}$ Hertlein, following Reiske ; $\pi$ a $\alpha$ Kà Kiessling: $\pi \epsilon \rho \grave{\imath}$ O, Jacoby.
524

## BOOK II. 72, 5-7

of the crimes committed against ambassadors, to take care that treaties are religiously observed, to make peace, and if they find that peace has been made otherwise than is prescribed by the holy laws, to set it aside; and to inquire into and expiate the transgressions of the generals in so far as they relate to oaths and treaties, concerning which I shall speak in the proper places. As to the functions they performed in the quality of heralds when they went to demand justice of any city thought to have injured the Romans (for these things also are worthy of our knowledge, since they were carried out with great regard to both religion and justice), I have received the following account: One of these fetiales, chosen by his colleagues, wearing his sacred robes and insignia to distinguish him from all others, proceeded towards the city whose inhabitants had done the injury; and, stopping at the border, he called upon Jupiter and the rest of the gods to witness that he was come to demand justice on behalf of the Roman State. Thereupon he took an oath that he was going to a city that had done an injury; and having uttered the most dreadful imprecations against himself and Rome, if what he averred was not true, he then entered their borders. Afterwards, he called to witness the first person he met, whether it was one of the countrymen or one of the townspeople, and having repeated the same imprecations, he advanced towards the city. And before he entered it he called to witness in the same manner the gatekeeper or the first person he met at the gates, after which he proceeded to the forum; and taking his

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 таvтаХरी $\tau$ ои́s $\tau \epsilon$ öркоиs каi $\tau$ às ảpàs $\pi \rho о \sigma \tau \iota \theta \epsilon i ' s$.


















 $\pi a \rho a ̀ ~ ' P \omega \mu a i o \imath s ~ i \epsilon p a \tau \epsilon i a \nu ~ к а i ~ \epsilon ́ \xi о v \sigma i ́ a \nu ~ \epsilon ้ \chi о \nu \tau \epsilon s . ~$
 є" $\rho \gamma \omega \nu$ ô $\pi \rho a ́ \tau \tau о v \sigma \iota \nu ~ \grave{\epsilon \pi} \pi \iota \kappa \epsilon v a ́ \zeta о \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu ~ \xi v \lambda i ́ \nu \eta \nu$


[^237]
## BOOK II. 72, 7-73, 1

stand there, he discussed with the magistrates the reasons for his coming, adding everywhere the same oaths and imprecations. If, then, they were disposed to offer satisfaction by delivering up the guilty, he departed as a friend taking leave of friends, carrying the prisoners with him. Or, if they desired time to deliberate, he allowed them ten days, after which he returned and waited till they had made this request three times. But after the expiration of the thirty days, if the city still persisted in refusing to grant him justice, he called both the celestial and infernal gods to witness and went away, saying no more than this, that the Roman State would deliberate at its leisure concerning these people. Afterwards he, together with the other fetiales, appeared before the senate and declared that they had done everything that was ordained by the holy laws, and that, if the senators wished to vote for war, there would be no obstacle on the part of the gods. But if any of these things was omitted, neither the senate nor the people had the power to vote for war. Such, then, is the account we have received concerning the fetiales.
LXXIII. The last branch of the ordinances of Numa related to the sacred offices allotted to those who held the highest priesthood and the greatest power among the Romans. ${ }^{1}$ These, from one of the duties they perform, namely, the repairing of the wooden bridge, ${ }^{2}$ are in their own language called pontifices; but they have jurisdiction over the most that he does not say explicitly that these priests bore the name pontifices from the first.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

$2 \mu \epsilon \gamma i \sigma \tau \omega \nu \pi \rho \alpha \gamma \mu \alpha ́ \tau \omega \nu$ ки́рıоє. каì $\gamma$ à $\delta \iota \kappa \alpha ́ \zeta о \nu \sigma \iota \nu$







 є́ $\xi a \mu a \rho \tau \alpha ́ \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \quad \pi \epsilon \rho i{ }^{2}$ тov̀s iєpoùs vópovs. тoîs $\tau \epsilon$















[^238]
## BOOK II. 73, 2-3

weighty matters. For they are the judges in all religious causes wherein private citizens, magistrates or the ministers of the gods are concerned; they make laws for the observance of any religious rites, not established by written law or by custom, which may seem to them worthy of receiving the sanction of law and custom ; they inquire into the conduct of all magistrates to whom the performance of any sacrifice or other religious duty is committed, and also into that of all the priests; they take care that their servants and ministers whom they employ in religious rites commit no error in the matter of the sacred laws; to the laymen who are unacquainted with such matters they are the expounders and interpreters of everything relating to the worship of the gods and genii; and if they find that any disobey their orders, they inflict punishment upon them with due regard to every offence; moreover, they are not liable to any prosecution or punishment, nor are they accountable to the senate or to the people, at least concerning religious matters. Hence, if anyone wishes to call them hierodidaskaloi, hieronomoi, hierophylakes, or, as I think proper, hierophantai, ${ }^{1}$ he will not be in error. When one of them dies, another is appointed in his place, being chosen, not by the people, but by the pontifices themselves, who select the person they think best qualified among their fellow citizens; and the one thus

[^239]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad i \epsilon p \hat{\omega} \nu, \epsilon \in \xi$ ஸ̂̀ $\quad \epsilon \dot{\jmath} \sigma \epsilon \beta \in \sigma \tau \epsilon ́ \rho a \nu$ $\sigma v \nu \epsilon \in \beta \eta \quad \gamma \in \nu \epsilon \in \sigma \theta a \iota$ $\tau \eta \grave{\nu} \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu, \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ a ้ \lambda l o \iota s ~ \epsilon ̇ \lambda a ́ \tau \tau o \sigma \iota ~ \tau \grave{\alpha} \mu \epsilon ́ \gamma \iota \sigma \tau \alpha$ каі $\phi \alpha \nu \in \rho \omega ́ \tau \alpha \tau \alpha ~ \tau \alpha \hat{v} \tau^{\prime} \eta \hat{\nu}$.
LXXIV. Tà $\delta^{\prime}$ єis $\epsilon v ่ \tau \epsilon ́ \lambda \epsilon ı a ́ \nu ~ \tau \epsilon ~ к а i ~ \sigma \omega ф \rho о \sigma u ́ v \eta \nu ~$

 Sıкаьобúv $\eta s \pi \lambda \epsilon i ̂ \sigma \tau a \stackrel{\circ}{\circ} \sigma a, \tau \dot{\alpha} \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu \epsilon ' \gamma \gamma \rho a ́ \phi o \iota s \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \lambda \eta$ -



 $2 \stackrel{a}{ } \lambda \lambda \omega \nu \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \in \sigma \theta a \iota \cdot \tau \eta ิ s ~ \mu \grave{̀} \nu$ av่таркєías каi тоv̂ $\mu \eta$ -
 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa \tau \eta \dot{\sigma} \sigma \epsilon \omega \nu \nu о \mu \circ \theta \epsilon \sigma i ́ a$. кє入єv́ras $\gamma$ à $\rho$ є́кá $\kappa \tau \omega$




 $3 \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ópíc $\nu \theta \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu$ катабт $\eta \sigma \alpha ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о s . ~ \tau \alpha v ́ \tau \eta \nu ~ ' P \omega \mu a i ̂ o \iota ~$




## ${ }^{1}$ roîs Meineke: raîs O .

${ }^{2}$ каi after $\tau \iota \mu i a \nu$ deleted by Bücheler.
${ }^{3} \tau \epsilon \in \rho \mu \iota \nu a s$ B, тєр $\mu$ ivas A; probably an error for тє́ $\rho \mu \iota \nu a$ or тєриivous.

## BOOK II. 73, 3-74, 3

approved of receives the priesthood, provided the omens are favourable to him. These-not to speak of others less important-are the greatest and the most notable regulations made by Numa concerning religious worship and divided by him according to the different classes of sacred rites; and through these it came about that the city increased in piety.
LXXIV. His regulations, moreover, that tended to inspire frugality and moderation in the life of the individual citizen and to create a passion for justice, which preserves the harmony of the State, were exceedingly numerous, some of them being comprehended in written laws, and others not written down but embodied in custom and long usage. To treat of all these would be a difficult task; but mention of the two of them which have been most frequently cited will suffice to give evidence of the rest. First, to the end that people should be content with what they had and should not covet what belonged to others, there was the law that appointed boundaries to every man's possessions. For, having ordered every one to draw a line around his own land and to place stones on the bounds, he consecrated these stones to Jupiter Terminalis and ordained that all should assemble at the place every year on a fixed day and offer sacrifices to them; and he made the festival in honour of these gods of boundaries among the most dignified of all. This festival the Romans call Terminalia, from the boundaries. and the boundaries themselves, by the change of one letter as compared with our language,

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



















${ }^{1}$ тои́тоv Schmitz: тоиิто O, Jacoby.
${ }^{2}$ Before $\mu \nu \eta \mu \epsilon i ̂ a$ the MSS. have тồ $\chi \rho o ́ v o v, ~ d e l e t e d, ~ h o w-~$ ever, in B. Casaubon regarded these words as corrupt; Reiske emended to $\tau \circ \hat{v}$ ápхaiov or $\tau \circ \hat{v} \tau o ́ \tau \epsilon ~ \chi \rho o ́ v o v, ~ B u ̈ c h e l e r ~$ to $\tau o \hat{v} \nu o ́ \mu o v$.
${ }^{3}$ Meineke: $\delta \eta \eta_{\mu} \eta \tau \rho o s$ O.
${ }^{4}$ aútov́s, oṽ Canter, aủtov́s, o̊tov Portus, aủtó, ov̉ Sylburg, å $\pi a \nu \tau a s$, ov̉ Reiske, $\pi \iota \sigma \tau o ̀ v ~ a u ̛ \tau o u ́ s, ~ o v ̉ ~ J a c o b y, ~ a ́ \pi o ̀ ~ \tau o v ̂ ~ i \sigma o v, ~ o v ̉ ~$ Ambrosch, Sintenis: ảmutováoov A, ảmavtov..ov B (but last ov changed to ov by Bb ).



## BOOK II. 74, 3-5

they call termines. ${ }^{1}$ He also enacted that, if any person demolished or displaced these boundary stones he should be looked upon as devoted to the god, to the end that anyone who wished might kill him as a sacrilegious person with impunity and without incurring any stain of guilt. He established this law with reference not only to private possessions but also to those belonging to the public; for he marked these also with boundary stones, to the end that the gods of boundaries might distinguish the lands of the Romans from those of their neighbours, and the public lands from such as belonged to private persons. Memorials of this custom are observed by the Romans down to our times, purely as a religious form. For they look upon these boundary stones as gods and sacrifice to them yearly, offering up no kind of animal (for it is not lawful to stain these stones with blood), but cakes made of cereals and other first-fruits of the earth. But they ought still to observe the motive, as well, which led Numa to regard these boundary stones as gods and content themselves with their own possessions without appropriating those of others
${ }^{1}$ When Dionysius says that the Latin and Greek words differ by only one letter he is almost certainly referring to the stem (termin-: $\tau \epsilon \rho \mu \mu_{-}$) or to the nominative singular (termen : $\tau \epsilon ́ \rho \mu \omega \nu$ ); he would naturally disregard the case-endings, since he regularly inflects Latin words as if they were Greek. The form $\tau \in \mathfrak{\rho} \rho \mu \nu a s$, i.e. terminēs, can hardly be from the hand of Dionysius, who must have known that most nouns terminating in -men were neuter (compare his кáppıva, carmina, in i. 31). The true form here should evidently be either $\tau \epsilon \prime \rho \mu \iota v a$ or $\tau \in \rho \mu i v o v s$, i.e. termina or termini (to cite them in the nominative).

## DION•YSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS





 єंтє́роьs ${ }^{1} \pi \alpha \rho i ́ \epsilon \mu \epsilon \nu$ бкотєî̀．
 $\sigma \omega \phi \rho \circ \sigma v ́ v \eta \nu$ ठià $\tau \circ \iota \circ v ́ \tau \omega \nu$ $\sigma v \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau \epsilon \iota \lambda \epsilon^{2}$ vó $\mu \omega \nu \tau \eta ̀ \nu$








 $\pi \alpha \nu \tau o ̀ s ~ a ̈ \lambda l o v ~ \mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau \alpha ~ к \alpha i ~ \pi о \iota \eta ̂ \sigma \alpha \iota ~ \theta \epsilon i ́ \omega \nu ~ \sigma \epsilon \beta a \sigma \mu \omega ิ \nu$
 $\tau$ às ка入оvнévas $\pi \alpha \rho$＇${ }^{\circ} E \lambda \lambda \eta \sigma \iota \nu ~ ' E \rho \iota \nu v ́ a s ~ к а i ~ o ̈ \sigma \alpha ~$






 єбтทंбато，каӨа́тєр каi тоîs ä入入oıs $\theta \in о i ̂ s, ~ \delta \eta \mu о-$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{2} \sigma v \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau \epsilon \iota \lambda \epsilon \mathrm{~B}: \quad \sigma v \varepsilon \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau \eta \sigma \epsilon \mathrm{R} \text {. }
\end{aligned}
$$

534

## BOOK II. 74, 5-75, 3

either by violence or by fraud; whereas now there are some who, in disregard of what is best and of the example of their ancestors, instead of distinguishing that which is theirs from that which belongs to others, set as bounds to their possessions, not the law, but their greed to possess everything, -which is disgraceful behaviour. But we leave the considerations of these matters to others.
LXXV. By such laws Numa brought the State to frugality and moderation. And in order to encourage the observance of justice in the matter of contracts, he hit upon a device which was unknown to all who have established the most celebrated constitutions. For, observing that contracts made in public and before witnesses are, out of respect for the persons present, generally observed and that few are guilty of any violation of them, but that those which are made without witnesses-and these are much more numerous than the others-rest on no other security than the faith of those who make them, he thought it incumbent on him to make this faith the chief object of his care and to render it worthy of divine worship. For he felt that Justice, Themis, Nemesis, and those the Greeks call Erinyes, with other concepts of the kind, had been sufficiently revered and worshipped as gods by the men of former times, but that Faith, than which there is nothing greater nor more sacred among men, was not yet worshipped either by states in their public capacity or by private persons. As the result of these reflexions he, first of all men, erected a temple to the Public Faith and instituted sacrifices in her honour at the public expense in the same manner as

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

 то́入є $\omega$ s $\hat{\eta} \theta$ os $\pi \iota \sigma \tau o ̀ v ~ к а i ~ \beta \epsilon ́ \beta a ı o v ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a ̉ \nu \theta \rho \omega ́ \pi т о v s ~$





 $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ Є ้ v a, ~ \dot{\eta}$ Sıaıро仑̂ба тò vєîкоs каi $\pi \rho о \sigma \omega \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega$

 4 $\tau \dot{\alpha}$ ठıкабтท́pıa $\tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \lambda \epsilon \hat{\imath} \sigma \tau \alpha \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{\alpha} \mu \phi \iota \sigma \beta \eta \tau \eta \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$
 ঠウ̀ $\sigma \omega ф \rho о \sigma u ́ v \eta s \quad \tau \epsilon \pi а р а к \lambda \eta \tau \iota \kappa а ̀ ~ к а і ~ \delta \iota к а \iota о \sigma v ́ v \eta s$
 коб $\mu \omega \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \alpha \nu$ оікіаs тท̂s кра́тьота оіккоข $\mu \epsilon ́ v \eta s ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~$


LXXVI．＂A $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \mu \epsilon ́ \lambda \lambda \omega \nu v \hat{v} \lambda \epsilon \in \gamma \epsilon \iota \nu$ ढ̇ $\pi \iota \mu \epsilon \lambda \hat{\eta} \tau \epsilon$ av่тท̀̀ $\dot{\alpha} \pi \epsilon \in \omega \kappa \epsilon \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ảvaүкаícuv каi $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ả $\gamma a \theta \hat{\omega} \nu$



 $\pi a ́ \gamma o v s ~ \kappa \alpha i ~ к а \tau \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu ~ \epsilon ́ \phi ’ ~ є ́ к а ́ \sigma \tau о v ~ \tau \omega ̂ \nu ~ \pi \alpha ́ \gamma \omega \nu$ ă $\rho \chi о \nu \tau \alpha$ є̇ті́бкото́v $\tau \epsilon$ каі $\pi \epsilon р і т о \lambda о \nu ~ \tau \eta ̂ s ~ i \delta i ́ a s ~$


[^240]
## BOOK II. 75, 3-76, 2

to the rest of the gods. ${ }^{1}$ And in truth the result was bound to be that this attitude of good faith and constancy on the part of the State toward all men would in the course of time render the behaviour of the individual citizens similar. In any case, so revered and inviolable a thing was good faith in their estimation, that the greatest oath a man could take was by his own faith, and this had greater weight than all the testimony taken together. And if there was any dispute between one $\cdot$ man and another concerning a contract entered into without witnesses, the faith of either of the parties was sufficient to decide the controversy and prevent it from going any farther. And the magistrates and courts of justice based their decisions in most causes on the oaths of the parties attesting by their faith. Such regulations, devised by Numa at that time to encourage moderation and enforce justice, rendered the Roman State more orderly than the best regulated household.
LXXVI. But the measures which I am now going to relate made it both careful to provide itself with necessaries and industrious in acquiring the advantages that flow from labour. For this man, considering that a State which was to love justice and to continue in the practice of moderation ought to abound in all things necessary to the support of life, divided the whole country into what are called pagi or "districts," and over each of these districts he appointed an official whose duty it was to inspect and visit the lands lying in his own jurisdiction. These men, going their rounds frequently, made a

$$
{ }^{1} C f \text {. Livy i. 21, } 1 \text { and } 4 .
$$

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

каі как $\hat{\omega}$ s $\epsilon i \rho \gamma а \sigma \mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{\alpha} \gamma \rho \hat{\omega} \nu$ à $\pi \epsilon \gamma \rho a ́ \phi о \nu \tau о$ каi $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \beta a \sigma ı \lambda \epsilon ́ a ~ a ̉ \pi \epsilon ́ \phi a \iota v o v, ~ o ́ ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$ тov̀s $\mu \epsilon ̀ v$






 $\dot{\alpha} \pi \alpha ́ v \tau \omega \nu$ oैv $\tau \alpha^{2}$ Sıкаıóтатоv $\tau \hat{\jmath} \quad \sigma \tau \rho \alpha \tau \iota \omega \tau \iota \kappa \hat{\jmath}$ каi





 $\sigma \tau \omega \nu$ каї $Ө \alpha \nu \mu a \sigma \iota \omega \tau \alpha ́ \tau \omega \nu \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \in \nu \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$


 тоîs $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a ̉ \lambda \lambda \eta$ ท̀lovs $\sigma v \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau \eta ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \mu о s ~ \delta \iota a \lambda \lambda а к \tau \hat{\eta} \rho a s$







[^241]
## BOOK II. 76, 2-4

record of the lands that were well and ill cultivated and laid it before the king, who repaid the diligence of the careful husbandmen with commendations and favours, and by reprimanding and fining the slothful encouraged them to cultivate their lands with greater attention. Accordingly, the people, being freed from wars and exempt from any attendance on the affairs of the State, and at the same time being disgraced and punished for idleness and sloth, all became husbandmen and looked upon the riches which the earth yields and which of all others are the most just as more enjoyable than the precarious affluence of a military life. And by the same means Numa came to be beloved of his subjects, the example of his neighbours, and the theme of posterity. It was owing to these measures that neither civil dissension broke the harmony of the State nor foreign war interrupted the observance of his most excellent and admirable institutions. For their neighbours were so far from looking upon the peaceful tranquillity of the Romans as an opportunity for attacking them, that, if at any time they were at war with one another, they chose the Romans for mediators and wished to settle their enmities under the arbitration of Numa. This man, therefore, I should take no shame in placing among the foremost of those who have been celebrated for their felicity in life. For he was of royal birth and of royal appearance; and he pursued an education which was not the kind of useless training that deals only with words, ${ }^{1}$ but a discipline that taught

[^242]
## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS



 av̉т $\hat{\nu} \nu$ ढ่ $\pi i к \lambda \eta \tau о s ~ a ̉ \chi \theta \epsilon i s ~ к а i ~ \delta \iota \epsilon \tau \epsilon ́ \lambda \epsilon \sigma \epsilon ~ \pi \epsilon \iota \theta о \mu \epsilon ́ v o ı s ~$














 $\mu \epsilon ̀ v \pi \epsilon \rho i ~ П о \mu \pi i \lambda i o v ~ N o ́ \mu a ~ \tau о \sigma a v ̂ \tau \alpha ~ \pi \alpha \rho \epsilon \lambda a ́ \beta o \mu \epsilon \nu . ~$

## BOOK II. 76, 4-6

him to practise piety and every other virtue. When he was young he was thought worthy to assume the sovereignty over the Romans, who had invited him to that dignity upon the reputation of his virtue; and he continued to command the obedience of his subjects during his whole life. He lived to a very advanced age without any impairment of his faculties and without suffering any blow at Fortune's hands; and he died the easiest of all deaths, being withered by age, the genius who had been allotted to him from his birth having continued the same favour to him till he disappeared from among men. He lived more than eighty years and reigned forty-three, leaving behind him, according to most historians, four sons and one daughter, whose posterity remain to this day; but according to Gnaeus Gellius he left only one daughter, who was the mother of Ancus Marcius, the second ${ }^{1}$ king of the Romans after him. His death was greatly lamented by the state, which gave him a most splendid funeral. He lies buried upon the Janiculum, on the other side of the river Tiber. Such is the account we have received concerning Numa Pompilius.

[^243]

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## INDEX

AbORIGINES, origin of, 31-43, 307, 415 ; cities of, 43-49, 51-55, 61, $449,451,457$, cf. 65 f. ; unite with Pelascians, 55, 61-67, 69. 75, $83,315,451$; early dwellers on site of Rome, $29,99,109,125,129$, 307, 313 f. : under rule of Faunus, 101, 139, 141, 143 ; under Latinus, 143, 189 f., 195-201, 209, 239, 241 : called Latins, 31, 201.
Acallaris, ancestress of Aencas, 207
Acarnanians, 165, 169 and notes.
Achacans, take Troy, 145-51, 157. $173,193,209,229,237,505$.

- a nation in the Peloponnesus, 83 ; cf. 309.
a tribe on the eastern shore of the Euxine, 309.
Achaeus, son of Poseidon, 57.
Achaia, in the Peloponnesus, 35, 83.
- in Thessaly, 57.

Achilles, 157, 173.
Actê, peninsula of Chalcidice, 81 .
Actium, 165.
Adriatic sea, 9, 453.
Aegesta (Segesta), city in Sicily, 173 f.
Aegestus, a Trojan, 151, 171-75.

- a priest at Lavinium, 221.
- son of Numitor, 253.

Aelii, the, 25 and n. 2.
Aemilia, a Vestal, 511.
Aeneas, ancestry of, 207, cf. 201 f.; at fall of Troy, 147-51, 157 ; leads Trojans to Italy, 143 f., 153-201, 209 f., 317, 505, cf. 219, 237, 241 f.; death of, 211 f.; shrines and monuments to, $167,175,179$ f., 213.
(different from preceding), leads Trojans to Italy, 177.

- son of Silvius, Alban king, 233.

Aeneia, town in Thrace, 161 f., cf. 179.
town in Latium, 243.

Aeneias, cult-title of Aphroditê, $165,175$.
Aequicoli, Italian tribe, 521.
Aeschylus, tragic poct (525-456), 137.

Aetolians, 57, 169.
tezeians, earlier name of Oenotrians, 37.

Aezeius, early king in Peloponnesus, 35, 37.
Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, 239.
Agathyllus, Arcadian poet, 159, 237.
Agylla, earlier name of Caere, 65.
Alba, Alban king, 233.
Alba Longa, 145, 217 f., 243, 275 , 277, 295, 297.
Alban district, 119, 219.
Albans, found Rome, 235, 243, 315 ; found other cities, 417, 457, 465 ; other allusions to, $253,255,317$, 419, cf. 489.
Albula, old name for the Tiber, 233.
Alcmena, mother of Hercules, 131.
Alcyonê, priestess at Argos, 71.
Alexander (Paris), 157.

- the Great, $9,163$.
- father of Dionysius, 27.

Alimentus, L. Cincius (f. ca. 210), Roman annalist. 21, 245, 263, 423 f.
Allodius, Alban king, 233.
Alpheus. river in Peloponnesus, 111. Alps, 31, 137.
Alsium, ancient city on coast of Etruria, 67.
Aluntium, town in Sicily, 169.
Amata, wife of Latinus, 211.
Ambracia, 165 f .
Ambracian gulf, 165.
Ambrax, king of Ambracia, 165.
Amiternum, old Sabine town, 49, 451.

Amulius, Alban king, 235, 253-63, 277-87, 289-93.
Amyntor, grandson of Pelasgus, 31.

## INDEX

Anactorium, city in Acarnania, 169.
A naximenes, historian (fourth cent.), 3.

Anchisa, town in Italy, 243.
Anchises, father of Aeneas, 141, 155, $167,177,207,213,243,317$; cf. 149, 153.

- Harbour of, in Epirus, 167.

Ancus Marcius. See Marcius.
Anius, king of Delos, 163, 197.
Antemnae, town in Latium, 55, 405, 415.

Antemnates, inhabitants of Antem nae, 407, 411-15.
Anthemonê, wife of Aeneas, 159.
Anteias, founder of Antium, 241.
Antenoridae, treachery of, 147.
Antias, Valerius, historian (early first cent.), 25, 349.
Antigonus, historian (date unknown), 19.
Antiochus of Syracuse, historian (late fifth cent.), 39, 73, 113 f ., 243 f .
Antium, town in Latium, 241, n. 1.
A pennine mountains, 29, 43.
Aphroditê, 155, 161-67, 177, 207, 317 ; surnamed Aeneias, 165, 175.
Apollo, 75, 489 ; cf. 61, 63.
Arcadia, original home (a) of Oenotrians, $35,41,313$ f., 415 ; (b) of Evander and his company, 99, 315 ; (c) of Trojans, 201-05; Aencias in, 159. 179.
Areadians, in the Peloponnesus, 35, $43,83,163$; in Italy with Evander, 99-109, 129-33, 139, $143,145,267,289,307,315 \mathrm{f}$.
Arctinus, epic poet, $225,227$.
Ardea, town in Latium, 521 ; cf. 241, n. 1.
Ardeias, founder of Ardea, 241.
Argos, $55,67,71,83,125,135,141$; cf. 307.
Ariaethus (or Araethus), Arcadian historian (?), 159.
Aristotle, philosopher (fourth cent.), 237 f.
Artemis, 373.
Ascanian lake, in Asia Minor, 153.
Ascanius, son of Aeneas, 153, 177 f ., 213-17, 229 f., 237, 241, 329, $495 ; c f .149$.
Asia, 7, 57, 85, 89, 203 f., 225.
Asies, brother of Atys, 87 .

Assaracus, son of Tros, 207.
Assytians, 7.
Athena, $107,225 \mathrm{f}$.
Athenians, 9, 207, 335, 339, 359.
Athens, 83, $93,235,247 \mathrm{f}$., 251.
Atlas, tirst king of Arcadia, 163, 201 f.
Althides, histories of Attica, 27; cf. 205, n. 1.
Attica, 27, 205.
Atys, Lydian king, 87, 89.
Augustus Caesar, 23, 231, n. 1.
Auronissi (error for Aurunci ?), tribe in Campania, 67.
Aurunci, 67 and note.
Ausonia, Greek name for Italy, 115. Ausonian sea, 37.
Ausonians, 71, 93.
Aventine hill, 103, 235, 271, 289, 297, 419.
Aventinus Alban king, 235.
Babylonia, 117
Bateia, wife of Dardanus, 163. 207.
Batia, town of the Aborigines, 47.
Bebrycia, district on the Hellespont. 179.

Boeotia, 57.
Bruttians, 307.
Brutus, L. Junius (cos. 507), 247.
Buthrotum, town in Epiru*, 167.
CABEIRT, divinities worshipped in Samothrace and neighbouring regions, 77.
Cacus, a robber, 127 f., 137 f.
Caelian hill, 417, 455.
Caelius, an Etruscan, 417.
Caelis (Uranus), 363.
Caenina, town in Latium, 273.405 , 415.

Caeninenses, inhabitants of Caenina, 407, 411-15.
Caere, city in Etruria, 65.
Caesar, Augustus, 23, 231, n. 1.

- Julius, 231, n. 1.

Caieta, Italian promontory, 175.
Callias of Syracuse, historian (fl. ca. 300), 239.

Callirrhoê, daughter of Oceanus, 85.

- daughter of Scamander, 207.

Callistratus, Domitius, historian (date uncertain), 225.
Callithea, mother of Tyrrhenus, 87.

## INDEX

Calpetus, Alban king, 233.
Calpurnii, the 25 and note.
Cameria, town in Latium, 457.
Camerini, 457, 465.
Campanlan plains, 67, 119.
Cannae, battle of, 361 .
Capetus, Alban king, 233.
Caphyae. See Capyae.
Capitol, 111, 355.
Capitoline hill, 103, 109, 315, 419$423,435,455$. See also Saturnian hill.
Capitolinus, T. Manlius (cos. 389), 249.

Сариa, 243.
Capyae, town in Arcadia, 159 and n. 2.

Capys, father of Anchises, 159, 207. 243.

- Alban king, 233.

Carinae, place in Rome, 223.
Carmenta, mother of Evander, 99, 103.

Carthage, 123, 245, 359.
Carthaginians, 13, 311, 505.
Carvilius, Sp., first Roman to divorce his wife, 385.
Cassander, king of Macedonia, 163.
Castrum Minervae, place in Calabria, 169, n. 5.
Cato, M. Porcius (cens. 184), statesman and historian, $25,33,43$, 245, 263, 451.
Celer, slayer of Remus, 303 ; cf. 349.
Cephalon of Gergis, fictitious author. 157 and note, 237 .
Ceraunian mountains, near Reate, 45.

Ceres, 107.
Chaeronea, battle of, 359.
Chalcidians, minor element in population of Actê, 81.
Charondas, Sicilian lawgiver, 387.
Charops, Athenian archon, 235, 251.
Choraeus, grandfather of Tyrrhenus, 87.
Chrysê, wife of Dardanus, 203, 207, 225.

Cinaethion, Laconian promontory, 163.

Cinaethus, companion of Aeneas, 163.

Cincius. See Alimentus.
Circê, 239 f.
Circus Maximus, 267, 271, 403, 519.

Clymenê, wife of Prometheus, 57.
Clytodora, daughter of Laomedon. 207.

Codonè, wite ot Aeneas, 159.
Collatinus, L. Tarquinius (cos. 507), 247.

Colline gate. See Porta Collina.

- hill (error for Quirinal), 515, n. 3.

Consualia, festival in honour of Consus, 107, 403.
Consus, Italic god, 403.
Coretus, mountain near Reate, 47
Corinthians, 169.
Corniculan mountains, in Latium, 55.

Corsula, town of the Aborigines, 47.
Corthonia (Cortona), 85.
Cotylê, variant of Cutilia, 63.
Cotys, son of Manes, 87 .
Crassus, M. Licinius, defeated by Parthians, 331.
Cretans, 375 ; in Italy, 43.
Crete, 57.
Crimisus, river in Sicily, 171.
Crinacus, father of Macar, 59.
Cronus, 63, 111, 121.

- hill of, at Olympia, 111. hill of, at Rome (Capitoline), 109 f. See also Saturnian hill.
Croton (Cortona), 65, 83 f., 91.
- city in southern Italy, 481 t .

Crotoniats, inhabitants of Cortona, 95.

Crusaeans, Thracian tribes, 155. 161.
Crustumerians, 415.
Crustumerium, town in Latium, $405,415,463,465$.
Cures, chief city of Sabines, 417, 449 f., 481.
Curetes, early inhabitants of Aetolia, 57.

- demonic attendants ol Rhea, 489 ; rites of, $373,517-21$.
Curtius, Mettius, Sabine leader, 431-35, 445.
Cutilia (Cutiliae), city of the Ab . origines, 49, 61, 451.
Cybelê], rites of, in Rome, 365 e.; cf. 455.
Cyclades, 57.
Cyllenê, a nymph, 41.
- mountain in Arcadia, 41203.

Cythera, island off southern point of Laconia, 163.

## INDEX

Daícles, Olympic victor, 235.
Damastes of sigeum, genealogist and geographer (fl. ca. 400), 237.
Dardanidae, 317.
Dardauus, ancestor of Aeneas, 163, 203 f., 207, 225 f., 505.

- city in the Troad, 147, 151, 201, 205.
Dascylitis, district on the Propontis, 152.

Daunians, 119.
Deianira, wife of Pelasgus, 35, 41.
Deimas, son of Dardanus, 203.
Delians, 197.
Delos, 163.
Delphi, 61, 489.
Demagoras of Samos, writer on Trojan or Samothracian antiquities (date unknown), 237.
Demeter, 39, 205.
Deucalion, son of Prometheus, 57.
Dexamenus, son of Herakles, 165.
Diadochi, the "Successors" of Alexander the Great, 9,163 ; cf. 19, n. 1.
Diana, 455.
Dictê, mountain in Crete, 489.
Diomed, 227.
Dionysius of Chalcis, historian (fourth cent.), 241.

- of Halicarnassus, historian (late first cent.), 27.
Dionysus, 365 .
Dioryctus, place on canal near Leucas, 165 and note.
Dodona, city in Epirus, 49, 59, 63, 167.

Dorians, 91.
Drepana, town in western Sicily, 171.

Echinades, islands off coast of Acarnania, 169.
Egeria, a nymph, 487 f.
Egypt, 9, 117.
Eleans, 111, 309 and note.
Electra, daughter of Atlas, 163, 203.
Elis, 111, 315 f.
Elyma, city in Sicily, 173 and note.
Elymians, a people in Sicily, 71, 175, 209.
Elymus, a Trojan, 151, 171-75.

- mountain in Sicily, 175 ; cf. 173 , n. 3.
Emathion, father of Romus, 241.

Ennius, Roman poet (239-169), 111, n. 1.
Enyalius, 449, 455.
Epeans, ancient people of Elis, 111, 139, 201, 315 f.
Epigoni, sons of the Diadochi, 19 and note.
Epirus, 19, 167.
Eratosthenes, Greek scientific writer (third cent.), 247.
Erichthonius, son of Dardanus, 163 f., 207.
Erinyes, 535.
Erytheia, island near Spain, 125, 315.

Erythrae, Sibyl of, 183 and note.
Eryx, city and mountain in Sicily, $173, \mathrm{n} .3$.
Esquiline hill 421.
Etruria and Etruscans. See Tyrrhenia and Tyrrhenians.
Euboea, 57.
Eumedes, ancestor of Aeneas, 207.
Eunomus, nephew of Lycurgus, 453.
Europe, 7 f., 43, 117, 153, 181, 203.
Euryleon, earlier name of Ascanius, 213 ; or brother of Ascanius, 237.
Eurystheus, king of Mycenae, 125.
Euxenus (?), unknown mythographer, 111 and note.
Euxine sea, 11, 309.
Evander, 99, 103, 129 f., 139, 141, 201, 267, 273, 289, 307, 315.

Fabidius, Modius, founder of Cures, 449.

Fabius Maximus Servilianus, Q. (cos. 142), author of a work on religious antiquities and a history (?), 25 and n .1.

- Pictor, Q., first Roman annalist (late second cent.), 21, 245, $263,275,423,425.427$.
Faith, Public, divine honours paid to, 535 f .
Falerii, city in Ftruria, 67.
Falernian district, in north-west corner of Campania, 119 cf. 219.
Faunus, king of the Aborigines, 101, 139 f., 143.
Faustinus, brother of Faustulus, 289,
Faustulus, foster-father of Romulus and Remus, 269, 275 f., 283 f., 289 f., 301.


## INDEX

Feronia, goddess, 453.

- town in Latium, 453.

Fescennium, city in Etruria, 67.
Fienlea, town in Latinm, 55.
Fidenae, town in Latium, 463 f ., 467, 469 f.
Fidenates, 463 f.
Foronia, earlier spelling of Feronia, 453.

Forum boarium (cattle market), 133.

Romanum, 223, 301, 391, 397, $435,455,495,515$.

- Popilii, place in Campania, 69.

GABII, town in Latium, 291.
Ganl, 33.
Gauls, 123, 247 f., 307.
Gê, goddess, 85 .
Gellii, the, 25 and note.
Geryon, cattle of, 115-25, 137.
Gracchus, C. (trib. 123), 345.
-Ti . (trib. 133), 345, n. 1.
Great Gods (another name for the Cabeiri), 165, 225 29, 373.
Greece, $11,35,43,57,73,79,83,91$, 101, 153, 359.
Greeks, passim.
Hafmonia, earlier name of Thessaly, 57, 201, 315.
Haliề, ancestress of Tyrrhenus, 87.
Hannibalic war, 361.
Hector, descendants of, 153.
Hegesianax of Alexandria in the Troad, historian (fl. ca. 196), 157, n. 3.
Hegesippus of Mecyberna, historian (fourth or third cent.), 157 f .
Helemis, 167.
Hellanicus of Lesbos, logographer (Afth cent.), 71, 91, 115, 155, 237 and n .4.
Hellespont, 57, 95, 153, 205, 209.
Hera, 83. See also Juno.
Herakles, 89, 165. See also Hercules.
Hercules, 103, 109-15, 123-43, 201, 307, 315.

- Pillars of, 11.

Hermes, 99, 203, 315.
Herodotus, historian (fifth cent.), 87, 95.
Hersiiia. leader of the Sabine women, 443.

Hesperia, Greek name for Italy, $115,159$.
Hestia (Vesta), 503 ; see 499, n. 2.
Hestiacotis, district in Thessaly, 57.
Hicromnemé, mother of Anchises, 207.

Hieronymus of Cardia, historian (ca. 364-ca. 260), 19, 23; cf. 15 n. 1.

Hippocrateia, Arcadian festival, 107.

Homer, 145, 177, 349.
Hostilius, Tullus, third king of Rome, 219, 251, 377, 515.

Iapygian promontory, 37 f., 169.
Iapygians, 71.
Jasus, brother of Dardanus, 203 f .
Iberians, 307.
Ida, mountain in Phrygia, 149 f., 155, 183, 205.
Idaean goddess (Cybelê), 365 f .
Idaeus, soll of Dardanus, 203.
Ilia (Rhea Silvia), 253-263, 269, 289.
llium, 111, 151, 179, 201, 207, 227 ; people of, 147, 505. See also Troy.
Inachus, river of Argos, 83.
inter duos lucos, place on Capitollne hill, 355 and note.
Ionian gulf, 31, 35 f., 41, 59, 91, 167.
Ionians, 91 ; cf. 83.
Isagoras, Athenian archon, 249.
Issa, island near Reate, 47.
Italians, 71, 519; named after Italus, 41.
Italus, early Italian king, 41, 73, 113, 241, 245.
Italy. passim; formerly called Saturnia, 59, 63, 113 f.; named after Italus, 41, 113, or after Hercules' calf (vitulus), 115 ; its manifold attractions, 115-21.
Iulus, son of Ascanius, 231.
Janiculum, the, 541.
_- ancient town, 243.
Julii, illustrious Roman family 231 f .
Julius, reports ascension of Romulus, 495.

- Caesar, 231, n. 1.

Juno, 67, 171 ; J. Quiritis, 457.

## INDEX

Juplter, 75, 115, 12y i., 215, 325, 329. 363 ; J. Feretrius, 411 ; J. Fidius, 451 ; J. Inventor, 129 and note; J. Stator, $455 ; J$. Terminalis, or Terminus, 531. See also Zeus.

Lacedaemonians, 11, 351 f., 359, 375, 381.
Lacus Curtius, lake on site of Roman Forum, 433 f.; cf. 455.
Laocoön and his sons, 155.
Laomedon, king of Troy, 111, 171, 207.

Larisa, mother of Pelasgus, 57.
_- ancient town in Campania, 69.
Latinium (?), place on coast of Italy, 239.

Latins, 93, 213 f., 243, 301, 503 ; named after Latinus, 31, 143, 201, 317.
Latinus, king of the Aborigines, 31, 141 f., 189-201, 211, 229, 239, 241, 317.

- Alban, king, 233.

Laurentia, wife of Faustulus, 289, 301.

Laurentum, town in Latium, 143, 177, 181, 209.
Lausus, son of Mezentius, 215 f.
Lavinia, wife of Evander, 103, 141.
 Delos, 197.

- daughter of Latinus, 197 f ., 211, 229 f.
Lavinians, 189, 199, 459-63.
Lavinium, town in Latium, 143, 197 f., 207 f., 213, 217-23, 459 f.
Leleges, early inhabitants of Greek lands, 33, 57.
Leinnos, 83.
Lesbos, 57.
Leucaria, danghter of Latinus, 241
Leucas, 165, 169.
Leucosia, island off Italian coast, 175.

Leuctra, battle of, 359 .
Libya, 9, 117.
Licinius. See Macer.
Liguria, 39, 137.
Ligurians, 33, 43, 69-73, 137, 307.
Liris, river between Latium and Campania, 29.
Lista, mother-city of the Aborigines, 49 ; cf. 47, n. 2.

Locrians, 57
Lucumo, an Etruscan, 419 1., 431, 435 f.
Lupa, nickname given to Laurentia, 289 f.
Lupercal, grotto on Palatine sacred to Pan, 103 f., 275.
Lupercalia, festival in honour of Pan, 273.
Lycaon, father of Deïanira, 35 ; father of Pallas, 107.
-_ son of Pelasgus and Deīanira, 35, 41, 315.
Lycaonia, old name of Arcadia, 315.
Lycaonians, earlier name of Oenotrians, 37.
Lycurgus, Spartan lawgiver, 375, 453, 489.
Lydia, country in Asia, 87.
Lydians, 89, 97, 521.
Lydus, king of Lydia, 87 f .

Macar, leader of first Greek colony sent to Lesbos, 57.
Macedonia, 11, 13, 359.
Macedonians, empire of, 15, 163, 311, 359.
Macer, C. Licinius (trib. 73), orator and annalist, 25,461 .
Maconia, old name of Lydia, 85.
Maeonians, 87 f.
Malca, Laconian cape, 239.
Mallius (or Manlius?), L., 63.
Mamurius, an artificer, 519.
Manes, first king of Maeonia, 85 f .
Marcius, Ancus, fourth king of Rome, 251, 541.
Mars, 45, 49, 101, 255 f., 317, 449, 473.

Marsians, 307.
Maruvium, city of the Aborigines, 47.

Mater Idaea, 365, n. 2; cf. 205.
Matiene, city of the Aborigines, 47.
Medes, empire of, 7.
Medullia, town in Latium, 417.
Mefula, city of the Aborigines, 45.
Melas, gulf between Thracian Chersonese and mainland, 203.
Menecrates of Xanthus in Lycia, historian (fourth cent. ?), 157.
Menippê, wife of Pelasgus, 91.
Messapians, 119.
Metellus, L. Caecilius (cos. 251), 505.

## INDEX

Mezentius, king of the Etruscans, 213-17, 329.
Minerva, 47 ; cf. 169.
Minos, king of Crete, 489.
Minturnae, town in Latium, 29.
Misenus, companion of Aeneas, 175.
Dodius Fabidius, founder of Cures, 449.

Molossians, a people in Epirus, 237.
Moon, as goduess, 455.
Morges, early Italian king, 41, 243 f .
Morgetes, name given to Oenotrians, 41.

Mossynoeci, Asiatle people living in towers, 85.
Mother of the Gods (Cybelê), 205, $365, \mathrm{n} .2$.
Mugonia. See Porta Mugonia.
Myrsilus of Lesbos, historian (first half of third cent.), 77, 91.
Myscelus, founder of Croton, 483.
Nanas, descendant of Pelasgus, 91.
Napetine bay, in southern Italy, 113.

Neapolis, 141.
Nemesis, worshipped, 535.
Neoptolemus, 149, 153.
Neptune, 107, 399, 403. See also Poseidon.
Nero, Ti. Claudius (cos. 7), the later emperor Tiberius, 11.
Nesos, place in Arcadia, 159.
Niobế, $35,57$.
Nomentum, city in Sabine country, 465.

Numa Pompilins, birth and training of, 479-85, 539 ; chosen king of Rome, 479 f., 485 ; reign of, 485 541; cf. 251, 377, 393.
Numicius, river in Latium, 213.
Numitor, grandfather of Romulus and Remus, 235, 253 f., 259 f., 271, 273, 277-83, 287, 289-93, 297 f., $319,325,399$.

Ocean (Atlantic), 11, 135.
Oceanus, 57, 83, 87.
Odysseus, 227, 237, 239.
Ocniadae, people or town in Acarnania, 169.
Oenotria, name given to region on west coast of Italy, 37.
Oenotrians, ancient race of southern Italy, 37-43, 71 f., 307, 415.

Oenotrus, grandson of Pelasgus, 35 f., 41, 201, 315.
Olympus, mountain In Thessaly, 57.
Omphale, mother of Tyrrhenus, 89.
Ophrynium, elty in the Troad, 147, 151.

Opicans, nation In southern Italy, 73, 175, 239, 307.
Orchomenus, city in Arcadia, 159.
Orvinium, city of the Aborigines, 45.
Ossa, mountain in Thessaly, 57.
Ostia, city at mouth of the Tiber, 29.
Palatine hill, 101 f., 265-73, 289 f., $295-301,307,315,417,455,503$, 515. See also Pallantium.

Palatium, city of the Aborigines, 45. - a corruption of Pallantium, 101,
Palinurus, Harbour of, 175.
Palladium, statue of Pallas Athena, part of dowry brought by Chrysế to Dardantia, 227, 229, 505; originally one of two, 225 f.: cf. 505.

Pallantium, city in Arcadia, 101, 201, 315.
-. town founded by Arcadians on Palatine hill, 101 f., 109, 125, 129, 145, 295, 315.
Pallas, son of Hercules, 103, 141.

- son of Lycaon, 107.
- father of Chrysê, 203, 207, 225.

Pallenê, 153 and note, $159,161 \mathrm{f}$.
Pamphylian sea, 11.
Pan, 103, 121, 267, 273.
Panathenaea (Quinquatria), 515 and n. 4.
Papirius, C. (cos. 231), 385.
Parilia, 305.
Parnassua, 57.
Parthians, 331.
Patron of Thyrium, joins Aeneas, 167 f.
Pelargikon, ancient wall about the Acropolis at Athens, 93 and note.
Pelascians, early history of, 55-59, $91 \mathrm{f} . ;$ in Italy, 29, 43, 55, 59-69, $73-85,91-99,109,143,201,307$, 315 f., 373, 451.
Pelasgiotis, region In Thessaly, 57.
Pelasgus, son of Zeus and Niobê, 35, 41, 55 f.

- son of Poseldon, 57.
- father of Phrastor, 91.


## INDEX

Peloponnesians, settle in Italy, 109, 143 f., 201, 307.
Peloponnesus, 11, 35, 55 f., 67, 83 , 163, 201 f., 225.
Penates, 221-25.
Peneus, father-in-law of Pelasgus, 91.

Pergamus, citadel of Troy, 147 and note.
Persephonê, 863.
Persians, 7 f.
Peucetians, tribe in Apulia, 37, 41.
Peucetius, brother of Oenotrus, 37, 41.

Phanodemus, historian (date uncertain), 205.
Pheneats, Arcadians from Pheneus, 111, 201.
Pheneus, town in Arcadia, 111, 139.
Pherecydes of Athens, logographer (fifth cent.), 41.
Philistus of Syracuse, historian (first half of fourth cent.), 71.
Phocis, 57.
Phoebus, 63. See Apollo.
Phoroneus, father of Niobê, 35, 57.
Phrastor, son of Pelasgus, 91.
Phrygia, 157, 177 f., 205.
Phrygians, 93, 153, 157, 365 f.
Phthiotis, district in Thessaly, 57, 309, n. 1.
Phthius, brother of Pelasgus, 57.
Pinarii, Roman family, 131 f.
Pisa, city in Elis, 111.
Pisae, city in Etruria, 65.
Piso, Cn. Calpurnius (cos. 7), 11.

- Frugi, L. Calpurnius (cos. 133), annalist, 25, n. 2, 263, 423-29.
Pittacus, one of the seven wise men of Greece, 387.
Placians, inhabitants of Placia, near Cyzicus, 95.
Pleiades, constellation, 203.
Pluto, 343, n. 1.
Po, the, 59.
Polybius of Megalopolis, historian (second cent.), 19, 23, 103, 247.
Pomentine (Pomptine) plain, 453.
Pompeii, 141.
Pompo Pompilius, father of Numa, 481.

Pomponius, M. (cos. 231), 385.
Porta Carmentalls, 103.
Collina, 509.

- Mugonia, 455.

Porta Trigemina, 103, 129.
Portus Veneris, in Calabria, 169.
Poseidon, 57, 177, 403. See also Neptune.
Posidonia (Paestum), 245, 313.
Potitii, Roman family, 131 f.
Potitus, L. Valerius (cos. 389), 249.
Priam, 157, 173.
Prisci Latini, 145.
Proca, Alban king, 235.
Prochyta, island off Italian coast, 175.

Prometheus, 57, 137.
Punic wars, 15, 21, 25, 505 ; cf. 361. See also Carthage and Carthaginians.
Pyrgion, Athenian archon, 247.
Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, 19 ; cf. 15, n. 1.

Pythagoras, the philosopher, 481485.

- Olympic victor, 481.

Pythian oracles, 161.
Quirinal hill, 421, 455, 493, 515.
Quirinus, identified with Enyalius, 449.

- the deified Romulus. 495.

Quirites, term for Roman citizens collectively, 445.
Quiritis, surname of Juno, 457.
Rasenya, Etruscan leader from whom the nation derived its name, 99.
Reate, city of the Aborigines, 45-49.
Reatine territory, 43, 449, 451.
Reatines, 49.
Remoria, place near Rome, 295 f., 301.

Remus, 235, 241 f., 263-303, 317. See also Romus.
Rhea, wife of Cronus, 455.

- Silvia. See Ilia.

Rhenê, a nymph, 203.
Roma Quadrata, 501.
Romans, passim.
Rome, before the time of Romulus, 29, 99 f., 109 f., 243 f., 313 f.; colonized by Albans led by Romulus and Remus, 145, 219 , $235,243,293-305,315-19,357$; other traditions coucerning its founding, 235-43; regarded by many Greek historians as an

## INDEX

Etruscan city, 93 : in reality a Greek city, 17, 305-11; named after (a) Romulus, 31, 145, 319, (b) Romus, 241, 243 and note, or (c) Romé, 237,239 ; extent of its dominion, 11, 29, 101, 187.
Romê, one of the Trojan women with Aeneas, 237, 239.
Romulus, son of Acneas, 159, $237,241 \mathrm{f}$; son of Ilia, the Vestal, 255 f., 261 : early life of, 263-77, 281-93: founds Rome, $31,145, \quad 235,243,249$ f., 293-305, $317-23$; chosen king, 325-29 ; political, religious and social institutions of, 329-401, $411-15,445$ f., 455 f., 499 f., cf. 459-63; wars of, 403-11, $415-$ $445,457,463-71$; death of, $471-$ 477; worshipped under name of Quirinus, 495 ; other allusions to, 249 f., 477,489 f., 493.
Romus, founder of Rome in Greek traditions. 237 and n. 2, 239 f., 243, n. 1.
Rutulians, ancient people of Latium, 141, 189, 197, 211.

Sabine women, seized by Roman youths, 399-405; effect peace between the two peoples, 441 f .
Sabines, early history of, 451-55, cf. 49 ; make war upon Rome, 405 f., 417-41, 515 ; conclude peace, 443 f .
Sabus, eponymous hero of the Sabines, 451.
Sal(1)entine promontory, in Calabria, 169.
Salii, dancing priests, 515-21.
Samnites, 307.
Samon, son of Hermes, 203.
Samothrace, 203, 225 and n. 2, 505.
Samothracians, 225, 229.
Sancus, Sabine divinity, 451.
Sardinia, 359.
Saturn, 111 f., 115, 121 f., 363, 455. See also Cronus.
Saturnia, old name for Italy, 59, 113,115 ; cf. 63.
_ town founded on Capitoline by Peloponneslan followers of Hercules, 145,295 . See also Saturnian hill.

- town in Etruria, 65.

Saturnian hill (old name for CapitoIne), settled by l'eloponnesians, $109,113,123,143,307,315$.
Satyrus, mythographer (date unknown), 225.
Scamander grandfather of Tros, 207.

Scamandrius, son of Hector, 153.
Scylacian bay, in southern Italy, 113.

Segesta, city in Sicily, 173, n. 2.
Sempronius, C. See Tuditanus.
Septem Aquae, lake in Reatine territory, 47.
Septem Pagi, region surrendered by Veienter to Rome, 471.
Servius Tullius, sixth king of Rome, 251.

Sibyl of Erythrae, on Mount Ida, 183 and n .2.
Sibylline oracles, 113. 161, 183.
Sicania, earlicr name for Sicily, 71.
Sicanians, 69 f., 171.
Sicels, early inhabitants of Italy, 29, $41,51,55,63-69,201,313,415$; migrate to Sicily, 69-73, 173.
Sicelus, early Italian king, 41, 71 f., 245.

Sicilian quarter, in Tibur, 55.

- strait, $39,69,115,171$.

Sicily, $39,69-73,115,143,169$, $171-75,179,209,359,505$.
Silenus, historian (end of third cent.), 19.

Silvia, Rhea. See Ilia.
Silvius, posthumous son of Aeneas, 229-33.
Solon, 387.
Solonium, ancient town in Latium, 419.

Sophocles, tragic poet (495-406), 39, 83,155 f.
Spain, 109, 135, 141, 359.
Sparta, 453.
Spartans, 359.
Spina, town at mouth of Po, 61.
Spinetic mouth of Po, 59, 91.
Straton, leader of Sicels, 73.
Suesbola (Suessula?), city of the Aborigines, 45.
Sun, as a god, 181, 455.
Suna, city of the Aborigines, 45 .
Talles Tyrannits, a Sabine, 445.
Tarentum, 245, 313.

## INDEX

Tarpeia, betrays citadel to Sabines 423-29.
Tarquinius Collatinus, L. (cos. 507), 247.

- Priscus, L., 251.

Superbus, L., 251.
Tartarus, 363.
Tatius Titus, Sabine leader, 417429, 443-49.
Telegonus, son of Latinus and Romê, 239 .
Telephus, father of Tyrrhenus, 89.
Tellenae, town in Latium, 55.
Terminalia, festival in honour of the gods of boundaries, 531.
Testruna, original home of Sabines, 451.

Teucer, early king in the Troad, 205, 207.
Teucris, old name for the Troad, 205.
Teutamides, descendant of Pelasgus, 91.

Thargelion, Attic month, 207.
Thaumasius, mountain in Arcadia, 201.

Thebans, 11, 359.
Themis, Arcadian nymph, mother of Evander, 99-103, 129, 315.

- goddess, 535.

Theopompus, historian (fourth cent.), 3.
Thessalians, 339.
Thessalonica, 163.
Thessaly, 55 i., 201, 307, 315.
Thrace, 9,157 f., 161, 203, 209 ; cf. 81, 155.
Thyoscoil, earlier form of Tusci, 97.
Tiber, the, 29, $89,101,123,143$, $233,265,269,297,313,469,471$, 513, 541.
Titerinus, Alban king, 233.
Tibur, town in Latium, 55.
Timaeus of Tauromenium in Sicily, historian (ca. 356-ca. 260), 19, 23, 221, 245 ; cf. 15 n .
Tiora, city of the Aborigines, 47.
Torebians, 91.
Torebus, brother of Lydus, 89.
Torquatus, Manlius (cos. 340), 389, n. 1 .

- son of preceding, 389.

Tribula (Trebula?), city of the A borlgines, 45.
Trinacria, early name of Sicily, 69.
Triptolemus, 39.

Troad, the, 151, 205, 219, 307, 505.
Trojan cities, 151, 173, 201.
Trojan war, as date of reference, $29,31,35,71,73,83,99,237$, $243,245,315$.
Trojan women, burn Aeneas' ships, 173,237 ; burn ships of their Greek captors, 239.
Trojans, 93 ; originally Greeks, 201, 207; in army of Hercules, 111, 139, 201 ; with Aeneas, 143-201, 209-13, 243, 307, 317, cf. 295; with Elymus and Aegestus, 151, 171, 175 ; with Helenus, 167.
Tros, ancestor of Aeneas, 207.
Troy, captured by (a) Hercules, 111, (b) Achacans, 143, 145-151, $157,179,207 \mathrm{f}$. ; other allusions to, $153,171 \mathrm{f} ., 177,207,237$, 239 ; capture of, as date of reference, $31,89,145,207$ f., 213, 235, 317. See also Ilium.

- hill near Buthrotum, 167. place near Laurentum, 177.
Tubero, L. Aelius, historian (first cent.), 25, n. 2.
- Q. Aelius, jurist and historian (first cent.), 25, n. 2, 273.
Tuccia, a Vestal, 513.
Tuditanus, C. Sempronius (cos. 129), jurist and annalist, 35,43 .
Tullius, Servius, sixth king of Rome, 251.
Turnus. See Tyrrhenus.
Tusci, Roman name for Tyrrhenians, 97.

Tyllus, ancestor of Tyrrhenus, 87.
Tyrannius, Tallus, a Sabine, 445.
Tyrrhenia (Etruria), 83, 89 f., 119, 417.

Tyrrhenian sea, 29, 31, 39, 143, 175, 209, 239, 313, 453 ; cf. 37.
Tyrrfenians (Etruscans), (a) identical with Pelasgians, 77, 81 f., 91 f., (b) of Lydian origin, 85-89, (c) natives of Italy, 85, 93-97; various names for, 85,97 f.; other allusions to, 37, 67, 85, 99, 213-17, 307, 327, 329, 373, 419, 423.
Tyrrhenus, son of Atys, 85 f . ; or son of Herakles and Omphalê, 89; or son of Telephus, 89.

- (Turnus), leader of Rutulians, 211.
- (Tyrrhus), a swineherd, 229 f.


## INDEX

Umbrians, 33, 43, 51 61,65, 73,83 $89,93,307,451$.

Valerius Astias. See Antias.
Varro, M. Terentius, antiquarian (first cent.), $45,369,447,451$.
Velentes, inhabitants of Veii, 467 471, 473.
Veii, city of Etruria, 467.
Velia, marshy lands in country of Aborigines, 65.

- place in Rome, 223.

Venus, Marbour of, in Calabria, 169
Vesta, 229, $253 \mathrm{f}, 455,.499-515$.
Vestals, 229, 253 f., 261 f., 499-515
Vla Curia, in Reatine teritory, $4 i$ and n .1 .

- Quintia, in Reatine territory 45 and n. 3.
- Sacra, in Rome, 445, 455.

Vistory, as goddess, 51, 105, 107.
Vitulia, name given to Italy by Hercules, 115.
Volusus Valerius, a Sabine. 445.
Vulean, $455,467$.
XANTHUS of Lydia, historian (early fifth cent.), 89.
Senagoras, historian (date uncertain), 239.
Xypetê, Attic deme, 205.
7.aCyNTHIANS, 163 f.

Zacynthus, isiand of, 163 f .

- son of Dardanis, 163 f .

Zenodotus of Troezen, historian (iate second cent. ?), 451 .
Leus, $35,57,63,85,107,163,203$, 227, 489. See also Jupiter.


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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 44 ; cf. xliii. 14, 6.
    ${ }^{2}$ Max. Egger, Denys d' Halicarnasse, p. 3.

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cicero, ad Quint. fratr. 1. 1, 8: urbes complures dirutas ac pacre desertas, in quibus unam Ioniae nobilissimam, alteram Cariae, Samum et Halicarnassum, per te esse recreatas.
    ${ }^{2}$ On the Arrangement of Words, chap. 20.

[^2]:    On the Ancient Orators, chap. 3.

[^3]:    ${ }^{1}$ W. Rhys Roberts, Dionysius of Halicarnassus: The Three Literary Letters, p. 35.
    ${ }^{2}$ Antiq. i. 6, 5.
    ${ }^{3}$ This is the traditional English rendering of the Greek title: if we were translating it to-day for the first time we should probably render it Early History (or Ancient Lore) of Rome.

[^4]:    ${ }^{1}$ Photius, Cord. 83. Stephanus of Byzantium cited numerous Italian place-names from the Autrquities. often giving the number of the book; the last book he names is the nineteenth.

[^5]:    ${ }^{1}$ He does not explicitly state why he terminated his History with the beginning of the First Punic War, but the reasons are not far to seek. With this war Rome emerged from the relative obscurity of her own peninsula and entered upon her struggle for the supremacy of the Mediterranean. There were already histories in Greek, notably that of Polybius, recounting her achievements from this time onward; but for the period preceding the Punic Wars Dionysius could feel that he was virtually a pioneer in his undertaking.

[^6]:    ${ }^{1}$ On the subject of this paragraph see Edw. Schwartz in the Real-Enc., s.v. Dionysius, pp. 940 ff., and E. Bux, Das Probuleuma bei Dionys.

[^7]:    ${ }^{1}$ A number of contradictions that appear in the History are probably due to his using first one source and then another.

[^8]:    ${ }^{1}$ A number of instances of this sort are discussed by Bux, Das Probuleuma, pp. 83-122.
    ${ }^{2}$ See Schwartz, Real-Enc., pp. 946-57, for an analysis of some of these passages.

[^9]:    ${ }^{1}$ Goetzler, Einfluss des Dionys, p. 194.
    ${ }^{2}$ So Schwartz, Real-Enc., pp. 943-45.

[^10]:    ＇Anaxmenes of Lampsacus wrote a history of Greece （down to the kattle of Mantinea）and a history of Philip

[^11]:    ${ }^{2}$ Schwartz: ảmoঠєi'乡acөaı O, Jacoby.

[^12]:    ${ }^{1}$ aüт ${ }^{2}$ Bücheler : aủ ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{O}$. ${ }^{2}$ ov̉ added by Casaubon.

[^13]:    ${ }^{1}$ This statement is puzzling，since the period actually extended from the surrender of Athens in 404 to the battle of Leuctra in 371 ．The text may be corrupt．
    ${ }^{2}$ Dionysius may have had in mind Pytheas＇report of a $\pi \epsilon \pi \eta \gamma v i a$ Oáda⿱宀八弓（a sea filled with floating ice ？）in the far

[^14]:    ${ }^{1}$ This would normally mean six full generations plus part of another. If Dionysius was counting from the battle of Pydna (168), he must have reckoned a generation here

[^15]:    ${ }^{2}$ тoîs $\gamma \epsilon$ Ritschl, $\tau 0 i ̂$ Kiessling : тóтє O .

[^16]:    ${ }^{1}$ Hieronymus wrote a history of the Diadochi (the immediate successors of Alexander) and of their sons, sometimes called the Epigoni (cf. Diodorus i. 3), covering the period down to the war of Pyrrhus in Italy.
    ${ }^{2}$ Timaeus' great work was his history of Sicily down to the overthrow of Agathocles in 289. It included the

[^17]:    ${ }^{1}$ Q. Fabius Pictor.
    ${ }^{2}$ L. Cincius Alimentus.

[^18]:    ${ }^{1} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ added by Reiske. $\quad{ }^{2} \tau \hat{\varphi}$ added by Ritschl.

[^19]:    ${ }^{1}$ Perhaps late in 30 в.c., if Dionysius wrote this preface early in the year 7 (chap. 3, 4); but the closing of the temple of Janus in January, 29, or Octavian's triumph in August may have marked for him the end of the war.

[^20]:    ${ }^{1}$ Probably Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus (cos. 142); but we have very little evidence to go on. See SchanzHosius, Rōm. Litteraturgesch. i. p. 174.
    ${ }^{2}$ As Niebuhr pointed out (Rom. Gesch. ii. note 11), these plurals are not to be taken literally, but in the sense of " men like Aelius," etc. We read of two Aelii, it is true, who were engaged in writing history-L. Aelius Tubero, a boyhood friend of Cicero, and his son, Quintus; but it is doubtful whether the father ever published his work, whereas the son's history is quoted several times. The only Gellius and the only Calpurnius known to have been historians were Cn. Gellius and L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, sometimes styled Censorius (the ex-censor). Both lived in the time of the Gracchi and both wrote histories of Rome from the beginning down to their own day.
    ${ }^{3} 265$ в.с., the date of the casus belli.

[^21]:    ${ }^{1}$ Atthis (an adjective meaning "Attic ") was the name given to histories of Attica; there were many of these written in the fourth and third centuries. They made no pretension to literary style.
    ${ }^{2}$ A comparison of the introductory chapter of Book XI (§§ 1 and 4) makes it probable that the first group mentioned here were those who took an active part in public affairs, the second the political philosophers or theorists.

[^22]:    ${ }^{1}$ As will be seen a little later (chap. 17), Dionysius regarded the Pelasgians as a Greek nation.

[^23]:    ${ }^{2}$ ảdlayaîs Dmg., Steph.: ảdlà raîs O.
    ${ }^{3}$ סıт

[^24]:    ${ }^{1}$ C. Sempronius Tuditanus (cos. 129). Besides his liber magistratuum he seems to have written a historical work.

[^25]:    ${ }^{1}$ 'Ióvıov Kiessling, 'Ióvıov кó入тov Reiske: ióvıov mópov B, ¿óvtov aóvtov R.
    ${ }^{2}$ Steph. ${ }^{2}$ : $\mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon \in \beta a \lambda \epsilon \nu$ O.

[^26]:    ${ }^{1}$ Pherecydes (fifth century) was one of the more prominent of the early logographers and the first prose writer of Athens. His great work was a mythological history,

[^27]:     є̌ $\gamma$ Yovov aủt $\omega$ ข Jacoby.
    
    

[^28]:    ${ }_{2}^{1}$ A hybrid etymology : $a b+$ őpos (mountain).
    ${ }^{2}$ People of the highlands. ${ }^{3}$ People of the coast.

[^29]:    ${ }^{1}$ At Dodona the god was said to dwell in the stem of an oak and to reveal his will from the branches of the tree， probably by the rustling of the leaves．In the time of Herodotus the oracles were interpreted by two or three aged women called $\pi \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota \alpha ́ \delta \epsilon s$ or $\pi \epsilon \in \lambda \epsilon \iota a \iota$ ，both terms meaning＂pigeons．＂According to some it was actually a pigeon that delivered the oracles．

[^30]:    

[^31]:    ${ }^{1}$ This would presumably be vicus Siculus or regio Sicula in Latin; no mention of the quarter is found elsewhere.

[^32]:    ${ }^{1}$ Kрıváкоv Wesseling, Kpıáбov Sylburg, Jacoby : кıрабíov B, крьа⿱іти R.
    ${ }^{2}$ тàs vaûs Hertlein: vav̂s O, Jacoby.
    ${ }^{8}$ '่ $\pi^{\prime}$ aùzaîs Madvig: Є่ $\pi^{\prime}$ av่тov̀s A , av̉zov̂ B .
    

[^33]:    ${ }^{1}$ кai after $\theta \epsilon \hat{\omega}$ deleted by Reiske.
    ${ }^{2} \delta \dot{\eta}$ Ambrosch : $\delta \dot{\epsilon} \mathrm{O}$, Jacoby; deleted by Reudler.

[^34]:    ${ }^{1}$ Or Manlius. Nothing is known of the man beyond what may be inferred from the present passage.
    ${ }^{2}$ A poetic variant of Cotylia, the Greek form of Cutilia.
    ${ }^{3}$ Varro's version of this story is quoted by Macrobius (i. 7, 28 ff .). In the last verse of the oracle he has " $A \iota \delta j$ for

[^35]:    ${ }^{1}$ This letter，vau，later called digamma，has actually been found in numerous early inscriptions from various

[^36]:    ${ }^{1}$ The feliales; see ii. 72.

[^37]:    'Ritschl: dápıaaar O (and sımılarly elsewhere).
    ${ }^{2} \mathrm{~K} 1 \theta=s l i n g: \nLeftarrow \kappa i \sigma \theta \eta \mathrm{O}$.
    ${ }^{8}$ Coteet: ouvoıкךаа́ $\mu \in \nu$ а AB.

[^38]:    ${ }^{1} \Sigma_{\tau}$ а́т $\omega v$ U Urlichs，Пáтошva Bernays，$\Sigma v \rho a ́ к \omega \nu a$ Reiske： $\tau \tau \rho a \tau \omega \hat{\nu} \mathrm{O}$ ．
    $\delta$＇added by Reiske．
    ${ }^{3}$ пódєıs ．тарадаßóvтєs Ambrosch：по́入єıs tє парє́̀aßov （ $\pi \rho \circ \sigma \epsilon \lambda a \beta o \nu$ A）BA，

[^39]:    ${ }^{1}$ See p. 39, n. 2. Müller, F.H.G. i. p. 181, frg. 1.
    ${ }^{2}$ The name rests on conjecture. See critical note. ${ }^{8}$ vi. 2.

[^40]:    ${ }^{2}$ The verbs ката $\theta \dot{v} \sigma \epsilon \iota \nu$ (here) and $\alpha \pi \epsilon \in \theta$ vad (just below) are rendered by the ambiguous word "offer"; for, though both are compounds of $\theta \dot{v} \omega$ (" sacrifice"), they sometimes mean merely " dedicate" or " devote."

[^41]:    ${ }^{1}$ Myrsilus (first half of third century) composed a history of Lesbos. This quotation is frg. 2 in Müller, F.H.G. iv. pp. 456 f.
    ${ }^{2}$ In chaps. 25 and 29.
    ${ }^{3}$ In a similar story related by Strabo (v. 4, 12) the Sabines had vowed to dedicate all their increase of the year, and learning, as the result of a famine that later befell them, that they should have included their children, they dedi-

[^42]:    
    ${ }^{6} \mu \nu \eta \eta^{\prime} \mu \eta \nu$ Steph. : $\mu \nu \eta \eta^{\prime} \mu \iota$ A, $\mu \nu \eta \eta_{\mu} \eta$ B; $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \in \iota$ 人à $\rho$
    غ
    

[^43]:    ${ }^{1}$ Xanthus, an older contemporary of Herodotus, was the first barbarian to write the history of his country in Greek. The passage here cited is given as frg. 1 in Müller, F.H.G. i. p. 36.

[^44]:    ${ }^{3}$ Cobet: $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \epsilon \omega s$ O. To Cobet are aiso due the other Ionic forms in the quotation.
    ${ }^{4}$ Sylburg: iоvıк $\hat{\omega}$ AB.
    

[^45]:    ${ }^{1}$ Pelargikon was the earlier form of the word, perhaps meaning "Stork's Nest"; but its close resemblance to Pelasgikon gave rise in time to the belief that the latter was the true form. The tradition that Pelasgians once dwelt in Athens and built this wall on the Acropolis does not appear to be much older than the time of Herodotus. The next step was to show that even the form Pelargikon had reference to the Pelasgians.

[^46]:     MSS. of Herodotus.
    
    ${ }^{8} \tau \iota \nu{ }^{\prime}$ äv Jacoby, ä้ $\tau \iota v a$ Reiske: $\tau \iota \nu \grave{a} \mathrm{O}$.

[^47]:    ${ }^{1}$ The prevailing view to-day is that Tusci is for Tursci, turs being the same element that is seen in Tuponvós. Etrusci may be simply a lengthened form of Tursci, with $u$ and $r$ interchanged.
    ${ }^{2}$ This statement is not horne out by information we have from any other source. It is merely an attempt to find a Greek etymology for Tusci. Өvooкóo were sacrificing priests.

[^48]:    ${ }^{1}$ Portus: $\ddot{\mu} \kappa \eta \sigma a \nu 0$.
     є́кє́ктәขто Reiske.
    
    ${ }^{4}$ Meineke: $\pi a \tau \rho \omega \dot{\omega} \omega$ AB.

[^49]:    ${ }^{5}$ Urlichs: каонє́vта⿱ A , кариєтîvov B.
    ${ }^{6}$ Steph. : кар ${ }^{\text {iava }} \mathrm{B}, \theta \in \rho \mu i a v a \mathrm{~A}$.

[^50]:    

[^51]:    ${ }^{2}$ §vai vautıкoîs Steph.: $\delta v a i \nu(\delta v a i ~ B) ~ a ̉ \lambda \tau ı к о i ̂ s ~ A B, ~ \delta v a i v ~$ ả入ךтıкоîs Ca, Madvig; Svaiv à̀七єvтıкоîs Kiessling.

[^52]:    ${ }^{1}$ Maouivias Cary (see p. 196, n. 2), ムav́vas Ambrosch : Súvas O .
    
    

[^53]:    ${ }^{1}$ The trigon was a triangular harp.

[^54]:    ${ }^{4}$ aтратєías Naber: $\pi \rho \alpha \gamma \mu a \tau \epsilon i a s$ O, Jacoby.

[^55]:    ${ }^{1}$ Compare Virgil's use of Saturnia tellus (Georg. ii. 173, Aen. viii. 329) and Saturnia arva (Aen. i. 569) for Italy.
    ${ }^{2}$ For Antiochus see p. 39, n. 2. This quotation is frg. 4 in Müller, F.H.G. i. pp. 181 f.
    ${ }^{3}$ In other words, nearly all the " toe " of Italy south of the latitude of the Lacinian promontory.

[^56]:    ${ }^{1}$ For Hellanicus see p. 71, n. 1. The quotation that follows is frg. 97 in Müller, F.H.G. i. p. 58.

[^57]:    ${ }^{1} \epsilon i ँ \tau \iota s \mathrm{~B}: \epsilon i ँ \tau \iota s a ̈ \lambda \lambda o s \mathrm{R}$; $\epsilon i ँ \tau \iota s a ̈ \lambda l \omega s$ Sylburg, Jacoby.
    ${ }^{2}$ Bücheler : хрท́бцдог O .

[^58]:    

[^59]:    ${ }^{1}$ Dionysius regularly uses the word Celts for Gauls; but it seems preferable to follow the English usage in the translation.
    ${ }^{2}$ See p. 105, n. 2.

[^60]:    
    ${ }^{6} \tau \eta{ }_{\eta}$ Ambrosch : om. O, Jacoby.

[^61]:    

[^62]:    ${ }^{1}$ ả $\lambda_{0} \omega \hat{\omega} \nu \mathrm{R}$ : ả $\lambda_{\nu} \omega \nu \mathrm{Bb}$; ả $\lambda_{o} \omega \hat{\nu}$ Reudler.
    ${ }^{2} \tau \hat{\omega} \kappa \lambda \omega \pi i \mathrm{Bb}, \tau \hat{\omega} \kappa a ́ t \omega \pi \iota \mathrm{Ba}: \tau \hat{\eta} \kappa$ калаúpoтı A, Jacoby.
    ${ }^{3}$ Schwartz: ámoßo入ウ̀̀ O, Jacoby.

[^63]:    ${ }^{1}$ Jupiter Inventor.

[^64]:    ${ }^{1}$ aúzòs Reiske : av̉zoùs O. Jacoby.
    

[^65]:    ${ }^{1}$ In a portion of the work now lost.
    ${ }^{2}$ Ara maxima.
    ${ }^{3}$ Forum boarium.

[^66]:    ${ }^{1} \ddot{\eta} \dot{\eta} \gamma \epsilon \mu$ ovía Kiessling, $\hat{\eta} \eta \dot{\eta} \gamma \epsilon \mu \dot{\omega} \nu$ Sintenis, $\ddot{\eta} \mu o v a i$ Meineke: $\dot{\eta} \gamma \epsilon \mu$ оvias R , $\dot{\eta} \gamma \epsilon \mu$ огєías B .
    ${ }^{2}$ Steph. : $\dot{\alpha} \theta \epsilon \mu$ iotos AB , Jacoby.
    
     Kiessling.

[^67]:     àvаүкацонє́voıs AB .
    

[^68]:    ${ }^{1}$ rois added by Reiske.

[^69]:    ${ }^{1}$ Kiessling：каі коь $\mu \omega \mu \dot{\iota} \nu о \nu 0$.
    
    
    
    ${ }^{6}$ каi added by Meineke．
    

[^70]:    ${ }^{1}$ каi Kiessling: $\hat{\eta} \nu$ ка. O.
    

[^71]:    ${ }^{1}$ Herculaneum.

[^72]:    ${ }^{3}$ Bücheler: $\kappa \epsilon \iota \mu \epsilon ์ \nu \eta$ Bb, space left blank in ABa.

[^73]:    ${ }^{1}$ Reiske：toıaûta AB ．
    ${ }^{2}$ Cary（cf．ムavpévtov，v．54．ムavpєvтiv $\omega \nu$, v．61）：$\Lambda \omega \rho \epsilon \nu \tau o ̀ v ~$ O，Jacoby（and so in i． $53,55,63$ ）．

[^74]:    ${ }^{1}$ See chap. 74, 2, and notes. We learn just below how the sixteen generations were reckoned: Romulus is declared to be seventeenth in descent from Aeneas. A comparison of the list of the Alban kings given in chaps. 70 f . shows that, strictly speaking, he was only sixteenth in descent, counting inclusively ; but inasmuch as Ascanius' half-brother Silvius belonged in point of time to the following generation, he was evidently counted as third in the line of descent.

[^75]:    ${ }^{2}$ Pergamus was the citadel of Troy (Iliad iv. 508; vi. 512).

[^76]:    ${ }^{1}$ This was the region about Dascylium on the Propontis, near the Mysian Olympus. The Ascanian lake actually lay some 50 miles to the east, being just west of Nicaea.
    ${ }^{2}$ Scamandrius was Hector's name for Astyanax (Il. vi. 402). According to the usual tradition, he was slain upon the capture of Troy. But the early logographers represented him as surviving and being carried off to Greece by Neoptolemus. And they usually spoke also of other sons 152

[^77]:    ${ }^{1}$ Nauck, T'.G.F. ${ }^{2}$, p. 212, irg. 344.
    ${ }^{2}$ Menecrates (fourth century ?), a Lycian, wrote the history of his own country.

[^78]:    ${ }^{3}$ A fictitious author under whose name Hegesianax of Alexandria in the Troad published some of his own works, especially his Troica (Athenaeus ix. 393d). Dionysius cites him again in chap. 72, 1.
    ${ }^{4}$ Hegesippus of Mecyberna in Chalcidicê probably lived in the fourth or third century.

[^79]:    ${ }^{1}$ éws added by Sylburg.
    

[^80]:    ${ }^{1}$ But Aeneia is mentioned by Livy (xliv. 10, 7) as still in existence at a later time.
    ${ }^{2}$ Chap. 61.

[^81]:    ${ }^{1}$ Dioryctus (literally, a place "dug through ") usually means the canal which made Leucas an island. But as Oberhummer has pointed out (Akarnanien, . . . Leukas im Altertum, p. 10, n. 1) the only place for the little island here named would seem to have been in the canal; hence Dioryctus was evidently the name also of a place on the canal, probably on the Acarnanian side, at the end of the bridge mentioned by Strabo (x. 2, 3).

[^82]:    ${ }^{1} \delta \eta \lambda о \imath ̂$. . . калои́ $\mu \in \nu$ оs $\mathrm{B}:$ om. R. ${ }^{2}$ Kiessling: потє̀ B.
    8 'Aкapvâvas added after vavtıiías by Kiessling.
    ${ }^{4}$ Reiske: $\sigma v \nu \epsilon \pi \iota \sigma \omega \dot{\mu} \mu \varepsilon \nu_{0}$ O, Kiessling.
    ${ }^{6}$ Ovpíu Meineke.

[^83]:    ${ }^{1}$ Kiessling, rejecting this interpretation, supplied the word "Acarnanians" and retained the MS. reading $\sigma v \nu \epsilon \pi \iota \pi \pi \dot{\omega} \mu \in \nu \circ$, the meaning then being: "having for guides . . . some Acarnanians who accompanied them of their own accord, bringing along with them Patron the Thyrian and his men."
    ${ }^{2}$ In 196 B.c. these two cities were apparently recognized by Rome as belonging to the Acarnanian League. The statement that the Romans had taken them from the Corinthians is utterly erroneous; the cities had been founded by the Corinthians, but had long been in the hands of the Acarnanians.

[^84]:    
    ${ }^{2} \epsilon \pi \pi \iota \rho a \phi \hat{\eta} \hat{\delta}$. ảpxaiạ Kiessling, $\gamma \rho a \phi \hat{\eta}$ ס. ápxaiạ Steph.: үрафі̀v $\delta$. $\alpha \rho \chi \alpha i a \nu \mathrm{AB}$.

[^85]:    ${ }^{1}$ є̀ $\lambda \dot{v} \mu$ ои O : "E ev коs Sylburg, Portus.
    ${ }^{2} \pi \rho \circ \epsilon i \chi \in \nu$ Sylburg : $\pi \rho o ́ \sigma \theta \epsilon \nu \mathrm{R}$, $\pi \rho o ́ \sigma \theta \epsilon \mathrm{~B}$.

[^86]:    ${ }^{3}$ Salmasius : $\lambda$ еvкабiav O .
     є่̇ $\pi \tau \cup \chi є i ̂ \mathrm{~A}$.

[^87]:     ${ }^{2}$ modloîs Kiessling: ${ }^{2} \downarrow$ mollois O, Jacoby.

[^88]:    
    ${ }^{2}$ є̀ $\gamma$ '́vєто B : үє́ $\gamma о \nu \epsilon \mathrm{~A}$, Jacoby.

[^89]:    ${ }^{1}$ Varro, according to Servius' comment on the Aeneid, iii. 256, named Dodona as the place where Aeneas received the oracle about the "tables." Virgil (Avn. iii. 253-7), with a poet's licence, put the prophecy into the mouth of Celaeno, the harpy. Cf. p. 187, n. 1.
    ${ }^{2}$ The text is uncertain here; see critical note. Most editors agree on Erythrae, though we do not hear elsewhere 182

[^90]:    " Wretch !-he knows not what sufferings wait for him, Such that my woes and Phrygia's yet shall seem As gold to them."
    (Way's translation in the Loeb Classical Library.)

[^91]:    ${ }^{1} \eta{ }^{\eta} \kappa \iota \sigma \tau \alpha$ O: ${ }^{\circ} \delta \iota \sigma \tau \alpha$ Jacoby.
    ${ }^{2} \because \epsilon \in \omega s \gamma \in$ Schmitz: $\nu \in \omega \sigma \tau i$ O, Jacoby.

[^92]:    ${ }^{1}$ In Thucydides iii. 40, 1, we find the expression $\xi \dot{\gamma} \gamma \gamma \nu \omega \mu$ óv $\delta^{\prime}$ '่aтi тó áкоv́oov. But Jacoby points out that the two passages are otherwise very different in their tenor, and hence concludes that Dionysius was not imitating the

[^93]:    
    ${ }^{2}$ Cary（after Sylburg）：$\lambda a \hat{v} v a \nu \mathrm{Ba}, \lambda$ dávvav A，גavıvíav Bb． Three lines below，and in $64,1 \mathrm{~B}$ has daovivias，in $60,1 \mathrm{Bb}$ has daoviviav；elsewhere B agrees with the other MSS． in reading 入av̂va or Aav́va（ $\delta$ vivas in 32，1）．Mav̂va is not a Greek name，and Dionysius can hardly have written such an inaccurate form．

[^94]:    ${ }^{3} \tau \hat{\eta} s$ 'Aviou Steph. : oaıviou ABa, $\sigma \in \lambda \iota v i ́ o u \mathrm{Bb}$. ${ }^{4} \delta \eta \lambda i \omega \nu \mathrm{~B}: \delta \eta \dot{\lambda} \lambda o v \mathrm{~A}$.
    ${ }^{5}$ गेs added by Steph.

[^95]:    ${ }^{4}$ оi Sintenis: $\tau \epsilon$ oi O . ${ }^{5}$ коเท̂̀ Sintenis: каî R , om. B.

[^96]:    ${ }^{1}$ Glareanus: кquка́бıov O; Kavкஸ́vıov Jacoby.

[^97]:    ${ }^{1}$ This mountain is mentioned by Pausanias (viii. 36, 2) and by Stephanus of Byzantium. Cauconius, suggested by Jacoby, appears to be purely a conjectural name.

[^98]:    

[^99]:    ${ }^{1}$ His work was an Atthis (cf. p. 27, n. 1). Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. i. 367, 8).

[^100]:    ${ }^{2}$ The Athenians divided their months into three periods of ten days each (nine in the last period in the shorter months), in the first two of which they counted the days forwards, as we do, while in the third they reckoned backwards from the end of the month. The eighth from the end of the month, reckoning inclusively, would be the 23 rd (or 22nd). Their year seems to have begun with the new moon immediately following the summer solstice.

[^101]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Livy i. 2. From this point onward parallel passages in Livy will be thus indicated by a note attached 208

[^102]:    ${ }^{1}$ It is perhaps wiser to follow the MSS. in the spelling of this name than to emend to Turnus. Granted that Túpros might easily have been changed to Tupp v vós by a scribe, yet it is just as conceivable that Greek writers, seeing in

[^103]:     є́ $\lambda a \sigma u \mathrm{~A}, ~ \epsilon ̄ \lambda \omega \omega \iota \iota \mathrm{Ba}$, $\epsilon^{\prime} \lambda a ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota \nu \mathrm{Bb}$.

[^104]:    ${ }^{1}$ оis $\eta^{\eta} \sigma а \nu$ какоîs Bb : oís $\eta_{\eta} \nu$ какоîs Ba , оis какоîs $\eta_{\nu} \mathrm{A}$.
    ${ }^{2} \dot{\omega} s \ddot{\omega} \nu \pi a v \tau o ̀ s ~ C a p p s, ~ \pi a v \tau o ̀ s ~ K i e s s l i n g, ~ i ́ s ~ u ̈ \nu ~ J a c o b y ~: ~ i ́ s ~ O . ~$
    
    ${ }^{4}$ mó̀ıl . . . Maoviviov Bmg: om. ABa.
    

[^105]:    ${ }^{1}$ каi ойгоиs каì картоѝs Jacoby : каi оїоия ABa , каі карmov̀s Bmg.

[^106]:     Schmitz.

[^107]:    be the only instance in Dionysius of the citing of the Latin words of an inscription; he usually gives merely the purport. Sauppe's ס́́ovs Mєvátas (i.e., Dis Penatibus put into the accusative, following $\delta \eta \lambda o v o \sigma a v$ ) might have been taken by a scribe, ignorant of Latin, as early Greek for
     the exact words of an inscription.

[^108]:    ${ }^{1}$ Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. iv. 355 f., 10. Domitius Callistratus seems to have been a Roman freedman. 224

[^109]:    ${ }^{2}$ See chap. 61, 2.

[^110]:    ${ }^{6}$ öq ${ }^{\circ}$ Jacoby, $\dot{\omega}$ Cobet: $\hat{\eta}$ A, $\hat{\eta}$ B.
    ${ }^{6}$ тò̀ Aiveiav after кодíбаита deleted by Grimm.

[^111]:    ${ }^{1}$ Schwartz：Є̇ $\pi \iota \beta$ ßùєєоóvт $\omega \nu$ O，Jacoby．
    ${ }^{2}$ Kiessling ：$\mu \epsilon \mu \nu \theta \epsilon v \mu \epsilon ́ v o \nu$ O．
    ${ }^{8}$ Tvр $\rho \eta \nu \hat{\omega}$ Steph．，Túppu Gelenius，Portus：тvpávvwi ABa， ov $\rho \eta \nu \grave{\omega} \mathrm{Bb}$ ．

[^112]:    ${ }^{1}$ ii. $66 . \quad{ }^{2}$ For chaps. 70-71 cf. Livy i. 3, 6-10.
    ${ }^{3}$ The name appears as Tyrrheus or Tyrrhus in Virgil (Aen. vii. 485), the only other author who mentions such an individual. Tyrrh(e)us, like Turnus, is apparently a modified form of Tyrrhenus; cf. p. 211, n. 1.

[^113]:    ${ }^{1}$ The reference is probably to the office of pontifex maximus, held by both Julius Caesar and Augustus.

[^114]:    ${ }^{4}$ ноvapхias B : $\mu о v a \rho \chi \iota \kappa \hat{\jmath}$ R.
    ${ }^{5}$ Gelenius : ̌oudoc O .

[^115]:    ${ }^{1}$ Steph. : ä $\lambda \beta u \lambda \alpha \nu \mathrm{Bb},{ }^{2} \lambda \beta \alpha \nu \mathrm{ABa}$.

[^116]:    ${ }^{1}$ Kirby F. Smith has pointed out (Am. Jour. Philol. xvi., 1895, p. 205) that the Alban Lake is fed entirely from the bottom by gushing springs, so that vâ $\mu$ here has its

[^117]:    ${ }^{1}$ ムativıo O: ムátıov Steph., Maovívıo Kiessling.
    ${ }^{2} \tau \rho$ éis $\mathrm{B}: \delta$ v́o R.
    ${ }^{3}$ каi B : om. R.
    ${ }^{4}$ T $\eta \lambda$ '́ $\gamma o v o r ~ a d d e d ~(f r o m ~ S y n c e l l u s) ~ b y ~ R i t s c h l, ~ w h o ~ i n-~$ dicated the loss of other words following this.

[^118]:    ${ }^{1}$ Probably originally an adjective (like the later Mativn), "the Latin land." Some have wished to read Latium or Lavinium.
    ${ }^{2}$ Callias wrote the history of Agathocles in 22 books. His account was so biased in favour of that tyrant that he was accused of having been heavily bribed by him.
    ${ }^{3}$ Xenagoras (date uncertain) wrote a historical work called Xoóvo and a book about islands. Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. iv. 527, 6.

[^119]:    ${ }^{1}$ Later Paestum. $\quad{ }^{2}$ See p. 19, n. 2.
    ${ }^{3} 813$ в.с.
    42 S в.c.
    5747 в.о.

[^120]:    
    ${ }^{2}$ 'P $\dot{\omega} \mu \eta$ Sylburg, om. Jacoby : $\dot{\eta} \rho \dot{\rho} \omega \prime \mu \eta$ O.
    ${ }^{3} \pi \epsilon \rho i$ B : єis R.

[^121]:    ${ }^{1} \tau o v ̂$ Madvig: víò $\tau o v ̂ \mathrm{~B}, \dot{v} \pi \grave{̀} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mathrm{~A}$.
    ${ }^{2}$ каі є́катобт $\hat{\text { ® }} \mathrm{Bb}$ : om. ABa .
    ${ }^{3}$ 'Ioayópov Sylburg : ióáypov B, єis ảypov̂ A.
    ${ }^{4}$ roîs added by Kiessling.

[^122]:     O, Jacoby.

[^123]:    ${ }^{2}$ Kiessling: катє́ $\lambda_{\iota \pi \epsilon \nu} \mathrm{O}$.
    ${ }^{3}$ тòv $\mathrm{B}:$ то̀ R.

[^124]:     Meutzner: $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \epsilon ́ \sigma \chi a \tau a \mathrm{~A}, \pi \in \rho i$ é $\epsilon \chi \chi a \tau \alpha \mathrm{~B}, \mathrm{Jacoby}$.
    
    ${ }^{3}$ Sylburg: $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \sigma \pi \omega ิ \sigma \alpha \nu$ O.

[^125]:    ${ }^{1}$ From this point the word Ma入lávtıov will be rendered "Palatine hill" instead of "Pallantium," unless the context shows clearly that the village itself is meant.

[^126]:    ${ }^{1}$ Compare the description of the Lupercal already given in chap. 32.
    ${ }_{2}$ The cave became a shrine and received some sort of architectural adornment, which must have included at least a dignified entrance. The Lupercal is named in the Monumentum Ancyranum (4, 2) in a list of public buildings repaired by Augustus.
    ${ }^{3}$ The statue here mentioned is doubtless the one erected by Mn. and Q. Ogulnius near the Ficus Ruminalis in 266

[^127]:    ${ }^{1}$ This meaning（on the analogy of such words as av้т $\alpha \nu \delta \rho o s$, aúтóклабоs，aúтóppı弓os）seems to be the one required here． The only meaning given in the lexicons，＂self－covered＂ or＂roofed by nature，＂would imply huts depending for their roofs on natural shelters，such as overhanging rocks or overarching trees，－in other words，huts technically

[^128]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Livy i. 5, l-3.
    ${ }^{2}$ See p. 25, n. 2.

[^129]:    ${ }^{3}$ a added by Kiessling.
    ${ }^{4} \delta \eta \grave{y}$ Schnelle: $\delta \dot{\epsilon} \mathrm{O}$.

[^130]:    ${ }^{6}$ тараитíка Jacoby: $\pi \alpha ́ \lambda \alpha \iota$ O.
    ${ }^{7}$ After $\epsilon$ є́ס́ккєı Meineke supplied $\epsilon \mathfrak{v}$; Reiske proposed to
    

[^131]:    ${ }^{3} \phi \in \rho o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu \circ \nu$ Gelenius, $\sigma \tau \epsilon \gamma o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu 0 \nu$ Reiske : $\lambda \in \gamma \dot{\prime} \mu \epsilon \nu 0 \nu \mathrm{O}$.
    

[^132]:    ${ }^{1} \delta \rho a \mu a \tau \iota \kappa \eta ิ s \mathrm{~B}: \delta \rho a \sigma \tau \iota \kappa \hat{\eta} \mathrm{R}$.

[^133]:    ${ }^{1}$ Literally " under guard without chains," probably a translation of the Latin libera custodia. In later times 286

[^134]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf．Livy i．4，7．lupa is found in various Latin authors in the sense of＂prostitute，＂and lupanar meant ＂brothel．＂

[^135]:    ${ }^{2}$ It would seem as if "Greek" must be an error here for "Latin." Not even the Greek equivalent of lupa ( $\lambda$ и́каıva) is found used in this sense. Hesychius' gloss, $\lambda_{v ́ \pi \tau \alpha}$ (for $\lambda$ и́тта ?) • Є̇тaípa, по́ $\rho \nu \eta$, may well have been taken from some Roman history.

[^136]:    ${ }^{3}$ Kiessling: ovoфopßòv O.

[^137]:    ' д́коодіая B: ảvoнías R. ${ }^{2}$ тò̀ Kiessling: tò O .

[^138]:    ${ }^{1}$ For chaps. 85-88 cf. Livy i. 6, 3-7, 3.

[^139]:    ${ }^{1}$ This hill cannot be identified. The name was also

[^140]:     фovaa B) O.
    ${ }^{4}$ Hertlein, Kayser: $\lambda \epsilon \in \xi \epsilon \iota$ O, Jacoby.
    ${ }^{5} \dot{\omega} s \delta \epsilon \grave{k a i}$ ó $\phi \theta$ óvos after $\phi \theta$ óvov deleted by Reiske.

[^141]:    ${ }^{3} \delta \dot{\epsilon} \mathrm{D}$ (according to Kiessling), Steph. : om. AB.
    ${ }^{4} \mu \eta \eta^{4} \mu \epsilon i \neq \nu$ Steph., o $\eta \mu \epsilon i o \nu$ Schmitz, Sauppe: $\mu \nu \eta \mu \epsilon i o \nu$ A, $\mu \epsilon i \zeta o \nu \mathrm{~B}$.
    ${ }^{5}$ Reiske: $\pi \rho о т \epsilon ́ \rho \omega$ O.

[^142]:    ${ }^{2}$ Meineke: ámò O.
    ${ }^{\text {s }}$ Cobet: ${ }^{\prime} \phi \theta$ á $\rho \eta \sigma a \nu \mathrm{O}$.

[^143]:    ${ }^{1} \mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ added by Reiske. $\quad{ }^{2} \delta \dot{\epsilon}$ added by Reiske.
    ${ }^{3}$ After $\tilde{\omega}^{\nu}$ the MSS. have ov̌тє $\phi \omega \nu$ às ov̌тє Siaırav, deleted by Ritschl.

[^144]:    ${ }^{2}$ oi $\pi \lambda \epsilon$ 'ous $\tau$ oút $\omega \nu$ Kiessling, тoút $\omega \nu$ oí $\pi \lambda \epsilon$ íous Reiske: $\pi \lambda \epsilon$ iovs тoút $\omega \nu \mathrm{B}$, тoút $\omega \nu \pi \lambda$ єíous R .
    ${ }^{3} \pi \circ \iota \mu \nu i \omega \nu \mathrm{~B}: \pi о \iota \mu \epsilon \in \omega \nu \mathrm{~A}$.

[^145]:    ${ }^{5}$ ov̂s $\eta \boldsymbol{\eta} \gamma \in \nu$ Reiske: ôs $\hat{\eta}^{2} \mathrm{O}$.
    ${ }^{6}$ Bücheler: биуката入єү $\eta$ vaı O .
    
    ${ }^{8}$ каi трıкоот $\hat{\varphi}$ added by Gelenius.

[^146]:    

[^147]:    
    ${ }^{5}$ ката̀ Ambrosch : каі ката̀ O, Jacoby.
    ${ }^{6}$ о́ $\mu о \lambda о \gamma є і ̂ \tau а \iota ~ R: ~ \dot{\omega} \mu о \lambda о ́ \gamma \eta \tau а \iota ~ B . ~$

[^148]:    ${ }^{1}$ Dionysius is here thinking of these divisions of the people both as political and military units. The ordinary Greek equivalent of "tribe" is phylé, but etymologically trittys is probably the same word as tribus, both originally

[^149]:    ${ }^{1} \dot{\eta}$ added by Ambrosch.

[^150]:    ${ }^{1}$ Both the Latin plebeius and the Greek dêmotikos are adjectives, " belonging to the plebs or dêmos."
    334

[^151]:    ${ }^{2}$ Called also geômoroi or geórgoi.

[^152]:    ${ }^{1}$ Dionysius ignores the dêmiourgoi (artisans), the third class of the three into which Theseus, according to tradition, divided the population.

[^153]:    ${ }^{2}$ This is the explanation given by Livy (i. 8, 7).
    ${ }^{8} \mathrm{Cf}$. Livy x. 8, 10 (part of a speech) : patricios . . . qui patrem ciere possent, id est nihil ultra quam ingenuos. This derivation of patricius from pater and cieo is a good instance of Roman etymologizing at its worst.

[^154]:    ${ }^{1} \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu \mathrm{O}: \tau \eta \grave{\nu}$ пó ${ }^{\prime} \iota \nu$ Reiske, Jacoby.
    

[^155]:    
    ${ }^{2} \tau \hat{\eta} s$ єủvoias Kiessling: vinc̀ $\rho$ т $\hat{s}$ єủvoias O ; om. Cobet.

[^156]:    ${ }^{1}$ i.e. Dis or Pluto.

[^157]:    ${ }^{1}$ Dionysius ignores the bloodshed in connexion with the slaying of Tiberius Gracchus in 133 and the execution 344

[^158]:    
    ${ }^{2}$ Kiessling: $\epsilon \pi \pi \lambda \epsilon \epsilon \xi a \iota \mathrm{O}$.
    ${ }^{8}$ After $\sigma v \nu \epsilon ́ \delta \rho \iota o \nu$ Reiske supplied $\epsilon$ є́кá $\lambda_{\epsilon \iota} \boldsymbol{\sigma \epsilon \nu a ̂ t o \nu ~ o ̂ . ~}$
    ${ }^{4}$ tò added by Kiessling.

[^159]:    ${ }^{1}$ The reference is to the praefectus urbi. ${ }^{2}$ i.e. senatus.
    ${ }^{3}$ Literally, "enrolled." For the usual explanation of Patres Conscripti see Livy ii. 1, 11.

[^160]:    
    ${ }^{2}$ Sylburg ：$\delta є к \alpha ́ \rho \chi a \iota \mathrm{~A}, \delta є к а \delta \alpha ́ \rho \chi а \iota ~ B . ~$

[^161]:    ${ }^{1}$ unter duos lucos; cf. Livy i. 8, 5-6.

[^162]:    ${ }^{1} \tau \eta \grave{\nu}$ Naber : om. O, Jacoby. ${ }^{2} \delta_{\iota o ́ \tau \iota} \mathrm{~B}:$ o̊ $\tau \iota \mathrm{R}$.

[^163]:    ${ }^{1}$ Polybius twice (xxi. 6, 7; 37, 5) refers to the "figures and pectorals" of the Galli, the priests of Cybelê; but we have no further information regarding them.

[^164]:    ${ }^{1}$ tò added by Kiessling.
    

[^165]:    ${ }^{3} \gamma$ ย́vєı Kiessling : тov̀s $\gamma \in ́ v \in \iota$ O, Jacoby.

[^166]:    ${ }^{1}$ Patrimi matrimique. This requirement, very familiar in Roman ritual, would not appear to have been so common among the Greeks. Allusions to such a $\pi a i ̂ s ~ a ́ \mu \phi i \theta a \lambda \eta^{\prime} s$ are extremely rare, and then only in connexion with festivals or, in one instance, a wedding.

[^167]:    ${ }^{1}$ Grimm ：$\phi \rho a \tau \rho \iota \omega ิ \nu$ O，Jacoby．
    ${ }^{2}$ Gelenius ：фı入ítia O．
    ${ }^{3}$ Bücheler ：ä $\gamma \omega \nu$ B，Jacoby，ává $\gamma \omega \nu$ R．

[^168]:    ${ }^{1}$ The Spartan name for ovocitıa, the public messes.

[^169]:    ${ }^{1}$ Literally, the " third," counting inclusively.

[^170]:    ${ }^{1}$ Literally, " to sail right," that is, on an even keel. Here, as often in Greek writers, the State is likened to a ship.

[^171]:    ${ }^{1}$ The mola salsa.
    ${ }^{2}$ Confarreatio.

[^172]:    

[^173]:    ${ }^{1} 231$ в.с.
    ${ }^{2}$ Gellius (iv. 3), Valerius Maximus (ii. 1, 4) and Plutarch (Thes. et Rom. 6) give this same tradition regarding Carvilius, but differ widely as to his date. Gellius is in virtual agreement with Dionysius, but Valerius gives

[^174]:    ${ }^{1} \delta \epsilon \dot{\tau} \tau \epsilon \rho \circ \nu$ Bücheler.

[^175]:    ${ }^{1}$ The son of the Manlius Torquatus who was consul in 340 в．c．Just before the battle with the Latins at the foot of Mt．Vesuvius the consuls issued strict orders that no Roman should engage in single combat with a Latin on

[^176]:    ${ }^{1}$ סov́خ $\omega \nu \mathrm{B}:$ Sov́خov A.
    ${ }^{3}$ каi Kayser : кäv 0 .

[^177]:    ${ }^{2} \gamma$ à $\rho$ Reudler: $\gamma \epsilon$ O.
    ${ }^{4}$ vó $\mu \omega \nu$ B : vó $\mu о \nu$ A, Jacoby.

[^178]:    

[^179]:    ${ }^{1}$ The Spartan masters were the warrior class and the Helots were primarily tillers of the soil. Nevertheless, each Spartan soldier was accompanied to war by several Helots, who fought as light-armed troops.
    394

[^180]:     поо́то廿и B, Jacoby.
    ${ }^{2}$ ois B: oi R.
    

[^181]:    ${ }^{4}$ каi 入óyov Steph.: ката́入оуог O.
    ${ }^{6}$ Garrer: $\epsilon \pi \iota \delta \epsilon \delta \epsilon \iota \gamma \mu \epsilon \nu 0 \iota s$ O, Jacoby.

[^182]:    ${ }^{1}$ It is to be regretted that Dionysius did not see fit to cite some specific instances of this practice from the Greek world. But probably he merely inferred such an early custom from some of the marriage rites of a later day, such as the procedure of the Spartan bridegrooms described by Plutarch (Lyeurg. 15).

[^183]:    ${ }^{1} \pi \lambda \epsilon i \sigma \pi o \nu$ Cobet, $\pi \lambda \epsilon \hat{i} \circ \nu$ Steph. ${ }^{2}: \pi \lambda \epsilon i^{\prime} \sigma \sigma \iota$ O.

[^184]:    ${ }^{1}$ Plutarch (Romulus 16) corrects Dionysius on this point, claiming that the first Tarquin, or, according to some, Publicola, was the first to use a chariot in the triumphal procession.

[^185]:    ${ }^{1}$ These three Greek words mean, respectively, "Bearer (or Receiver) of Trophies," "Bearer of Spoils," and "Supreme." Dionysius obviously derived Feretrius from ferre (" to bear'"); but modern scholars agree with Propertius (iv. 10, 46) in connecting it with ferire (" to strike ").

[^186]:    ${ }^{1}$ Ov̉o入aıviov O．Müller，Ov̇єто入んviov Cluver，Поплaniou Casaubon．
    ${ }^{2}$ є́pya after $\pi о \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu \iota a$ deleted by Ambrosch．
    ${ }^{3}$ iкavês Sintenis：каi oís AB．

[^187]:    ${ }^{1}$ For chaps. 38-44 cf. Livy i. 11, 6-12, 10.

[^188]:    6 оцVÓuєvOS BD: oivẃuEvOS Ba, oírevos A.

[^189]:    ${ }^{3}$ тара入ךభонє́vŋ» Reiske (and Lapus in his translation): тара入ךно́лєขоу O, Jacoby.

[^190]:    ${ }^{1}$ Meineke : хрท́бŋтац O. ${ }^{2}$ Sylburg: тоиิто 0. ${ }^{3} \beta$ à $\overline{\text { îl }}$ Reiske : $\beta a ́ \lambda \lambda \epsilon \iota \nu$ O.

[^191]:    
    
    ${ }^{3}$ оข้тє Reudler: oข้тє тà O .
    ${ }^{4} \gamma \mathrm{à} \rho$ Ambrosch, $\delta \grave{\eta}$ Kiessling, Jacoby : $\delta$ è O.

[^192]:    ${ }^{2}$ Kiessling: aủ $\hat{y} \mathrm{O}$.
    ${ }^{3}$ Kiessling: $\mu$ є́ттos A, $\mu$ éóos (?) B.

[^193]:    ${ }^{3}$ Sylburg : тєтараүرє́voıs O.
    ${ }^{4}$ Є̇ס'́́ $\chi \in \tau \circ \mathrm{Bb}: \delta \epsilon ́ \chi \in \tau \alpha \iota \mathrm{ABa}$.

[^194]:    ${ }^{4} \kappa \alpha \theta^{\prime}$ Casaubon, ả $\pi$ ò Kiessling: à $\pi \grave{o}$ ка日’ R , ảmò . . . B.
    
    

[^195]:    ${ }^{1}$ ảmákovoıv Cobet，ảmo入v́aovaı Kiessling．ảmíwoıv Naber： ảmoíaovaı O ，Jacoby．
    ${ }^{2}$ Sylburg：$-\pi \epsilon ́ \mu \pi о \nu \tau a \iota$ O，$-\pi \epsilon ́ \mu \pi \omega \nu \tau a \iota$ Jacoby．
    ${ }^{3}$ Sylburg：－$\mu$ Eívшaı B（？），－$\mu \in ́ v \omega \sigma$ R（？），Jacoby．
    －Kiessling：крáтоs O．${ }^{\text {Tò }}$ deleted by Reiske．

[^196]:    ${ }^{1}$ For chaps. 45-47 cf. Livy i. 13.

[^197]:    ${ }^{1}$ Reiske proposed to read ópors，Naber ópiors．
    
    ${ }^{3}$ Perizonius：túpavvos O．By a typographical error Jacoby cited and adopted Tupávvos as Perizonius＇reading． ${ }^{4}$ ย̇таîpoı Bb ：є̇тєро九 BaR ．

[^198]:    ${ }^{1}$ tois Garrer : ov̀v toîs O, Jacoby.
    
    

[^199]:    $\left.{ }^{1} \delta^{\prime}(\delta \epsilon)^{\prime}\right)$ ò Ambrosch : $\delta$ ç O.
    ${ }^{2}$ Lacuna recognized by Kiessling, who supplied malaios or $\lambda o ́ y o u ~ a ̈ \xi ı o s . ~$
     reveís 0 .
    ${ }^{4}$ Sylburg : apaivou O.

[^200]:    ${ }^{5}$ Meגaoyoîs added by Reiske; Kiessling emended ${ }^{\circ} \mu a$ to aủ่ทั่
    ${ }^{6}$ Gelenius: котv́vas O .

[^201]:    'The Pomptinus ager of Livy (ii. 34; iv. 25). The marginal lands stretching round the Pontine marshes.

[^202]:    
    ${ }^{2}$ Ambrosch ：є́ $\pi a \nu \epsilon \sigma \tau \eta \kappa o ́ \tau \iota ~ O, ~ J a c o b y . ~$
    ${ }^{3}$ Mov $\omega \boldsymbol{\nu}$ íवı Ambrosch ：$\mu о \nu \rho \omega \nu i \sigma \iota \mathrm{ABa}, \mu \nu \rho \omega v i \sigma \iota \mathrm{Bb}$ ．

[^203]:    ${ }^{1}$ The "Stayer " of their flight.

[^204]:    ${ }^{1}$ The name also appears as Quiris, Curis and Cur(r)itis. It was variously derived from currus ("car"), from the Sabine curis ("spear ') and from Cures, the city.
    ${ }^{2}$ More than an entire line is supplied here, following Kiessling's suggestion. See critical note.
    ${ }^{3}$ For chaps. 51-52 cf. Livy i. 14, 1-3.

[^205]:    ${ }^{1}$ Licinius Macer.

[^206]:    ${ }^{1}$ Ambrosch : крогатонє́рь๐ BbR , кробтонє́ $є \iota ๐$ Ва.

[^207]:    ${ }^{1}$ Bücheler: є $\pi \iota \tau \theta \epsilon \mu \epsilon \dot{\nu}$ оиs $\mathrm{O} . \quad{ }^{2}$ кац $\mathrm{Bb}:$ om. BaR.

[^208]:    ${ }^{2} \mu \epsilon \gamma i \sigma \tau \eta v$ ioxùv є̌Xovaav Kiessling: $\mu \epsilon \gamma \iota \sigma \tau \eta \nu$ ioxúovaav AB.
    

[^209]:    
     Jacoby．
    
    ${ }^{8} \pi \rho \circ \iota \delta o ́ v \tau \epsilon \mathrm{ABa}: \pi \rho о \epsilon \iota \delta o ́ \tau \epsilon \epsilon \mathrm{Bb}$ ．

[^210]:    ${ }^{1}$ i.e. Etruscans.

[^211]:    
    ${ }^{5} \boldsymbol{\tau} \hat{\eta}$ added by Kiessling.

[^212]:    ${ }^{1}$ Septem Pagi.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. Livy i. 16, 1-4.

[^213]:    ${ }^{3}$ rov̀s after $\pi \rho \circ \sigma \epsilon ́ v \epsilon \iota \mu \epsilon$ deloted by Jacoby ; Reiske emended to rîs.

[^214]:     (note каi aúӨá $\delta \eta$ f four lines below).

[^215]:    ${ }^{1}$ ŋ̀ 弓á入ך Kiessling（cf．Plut．Rom．27），$\delta \grave{\eta}$ 丂á入 $\eta$ Reiske： $\delta_{\eta \lambda a} \dot{\eta} \mathrm{O}$ ，Jacoby．

[^216]:    ${ }^{1} \check{\omega} \nu$ added by Ambrosch.
    ${ }^{2} \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \hat{\sigma} \sigma \iota$ after $\delta \epsilon ́ \kappa \alpha$ deleted by Bücheler; Reiske emended to $\mu \in \sigma \circ \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \bar{v} \sigma \iota$.
    ${ }^{3}$ є่ $\pi \epsilon i \delta^{\prime}$ Reiske: $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota \tau \alpha ~ O . ~$
    ${ }^{4}$ ঠєкабархі́as B: $\delta є к а \rho \chi i a s ~ R . ~ . ~$

[^217]:    ${ }^{1}$ For chaps. 57-58 cf. Livy i. 17 ; 18, 1 and 5. ${ }^{2}$ Chap. 471.
    ${ }^{3}$ Groups of ten.

[^218]:    ${ }^{1} \dot{\omega} \mu о \lambda o ́ \gamma \eta \tau а \iota \mathrm{Bb}:$ о́ $\mu$ ооуєїтає BaR.

[^219]:    
    ${ }^{3} \epsilon^{\epsilon} \nu \tau \alpha u ́ \tau \eta \mathrm{~B}: ~ \grave{\epsilon} v \tau a \hat{v} \theta a \mathrm{R}$.

[^220]:    ${ }^{1}$ For $\S \$ 4-7$ cf. Livy i. 19, 1-5.

[^221]:    ${ }^{1}$ Chap. 57.

[^222]:    ${ }^{1} \gamma \in \nu o ́ \mu \in \mathcal{V} \circ$ after íooıs deleted by Bücheler: emended є $\mathbf{x}$ о́ $\mu \in \boldsymbol{v}$ o by Portus.
    ${ }^{2}$ каi Sylburg : $\ddot{\eta} \mathrm{AB}$.

[^223]:    ${ }^{3}$ є́סóкоиข added by Kiessling.
    ' oữ’ ä入las $\dot{\omega} \phi \epsilon \lambda \epsilon i ́ a s$ Reiske, oưтє $\lambda \epsilon i a s$ Kiessling.

[^224]:    ${ }^{1}$ Stephanephoros was a title given in various Greek states to magistrates entitled to wear a crown as a symbol of their office: here the word is used as the best Greek equivalent for " wearers of the fillet."

[^225]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Livy i. 20, 3.
    ${ }^{2}$ The word éatía means, as a common noun, "hearth," and, as a proper noun, Hestia, the hearth-goddess, corresponding to the Roman Vesta.

[^226]:    
    ${ }^{2}$ Eatias added by Reiske.

[^227]:    ${ }^{1}$ Apparently each capital city among the Greeks had a prytaneum, containing the common hearth of the State, where the sacred fire was kept burning. This building would serve naturally as the headquarters of the chief magistrates (though in Athens the archons removed at an 502

[^228]:    ${ }^{1}$ кєєцє́vŋs Bücheler，ảvaкєєцє́vŋs Reiske：$\gamma \in \nu о \mu \epsilon ́ v \eta s$ O．

[^229]:    ${ }^{1}$ At Panormus, in 250. The temple of Vesta was burned in 241 .

[^230]:    ${ }^{1}$ This promise is not fulfilled in the extant portions of the history.

[^231]:    ${ }^{1}$ Kiessling：тєтє́ $\lambda_{\epsilon \kappa \alpha} \mathrm{O}$ ．
    ${ }^{2}$ Kiessling：${ }^{\circ} \lambda \imath \gamma \omega$ O．
     $\beta \circ \eta$ 白 $\eta \sigma \circ \nu$ ．．B．

[^232]:    ${ }^{3}$ тoбoûto Jacoby in note : тov̂тo O, Jacoby in text.
    ${ }^{4}$ каıvิ before кобкivผ deleted by Jacoby; emended to $\kappa \epsilon \nu \hat{\omega}$ by Steph.

[^233]:    4 "Panathenaea" does not here mean the well-known Athenian festival (which took place in August), but the Quinquatria, the Roman festival in honour of Minerva (March 19-23). The principal celebration of the Salii began on the first of March and continued until at least the 24th; Polybius (xxi. 10, 12) gives the total period as thirty days.

[^234]:    ${ }^{1} \gamma v \dot{\omega} \mu \eta \nu$ Kiessling : $\gamma \tau \omega \hat{\omega} \tau \nu \mathrm{Bb}$, om. ABa.
    ${ }^{2}$ Portus: oa入átopas AB.

[^235]:    ${ }^{1}$ The legend that made them the protectors of the infant Zeus in the island of Crete; see chap. 61, 2. They were

[^236]:    ${ }^{1}$ From the well-known chapter (vii. 2) in which Livy describes the beginnings of drama at Rome we learn that these ludiones or "players" were at first mere dancers and only later pantomimists.
    ${ }^{2}$ C'f. Livy i. 24 and 32. Livy does not mention the fetiales until the reign of Numa's successor, Tullus Hostilius.
    ${ }^{3}$ Another name for the Aequi; but in time the word seems to have been interpreted as meaning "lovers of justice" (from aequum and colere).

[^237]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Livy i. 20, 5-7.
    ${ }^{2}$ According to Dionysius himself (iii. 45) the pons sublicius was built by Ancus Marcius ; but it will be noted

[^238]:    ${ }^{1}$ крivovtєs âầv after ảvé $\theta \iota \sigma \tau a$ deleted by Kiessling. Reiske
    
     крivovтєs â äv, indicating a lacuna before these words.
    ${ }^{2} \pi \epsilon \rho i \mathrm{Ab}: \pi a \rho a ̀ \mathrm{AaB}$.
    ${ }^{3}$ yoûv Kiessling : oủv O .
    ${ }^{4}{ }_{i} \in \rho \omega \hat{\omega}$ Kiessling: iєpé $\omega \nu$ O.

[^239]:    ${ }^{1}$ These words mean respectively "teachers of religion," "supervisors of religion," "guardians of religion" and " interpreters of religion." The last is the term regularly employed by Dionysius when he translates the word pontifices.

[^240]:     таиิта R．
    ${ }^{2} \mu \in \nu \in i v$ Kiessling ：$\mu \in ́ v \in \iota \nu$ O．

[^241]:    ${ }^{1} \gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma o v ̀ s$ after áp $\gamma o v i s$ deleted by Meineke, Bücheler.
    ${ }^{2} \pi \lambda$ oú $\tau \omega \nu$ after ơv $\nu \alpha \alpha$ deleted by Kiessling.
    ${ }^{3}$ oîv added by Steph. ${ }^{2}$. ${ }^{4}$ 入óyous Steph. : $\lambda o ́ \gamma o v$ O.

[^242]:    ${ }^{1}$ A thrust at the sophists or rhetoricians.

[^243]:    ${ }^{1}$ Literally, " the third," counting inclusively.

