

001 Q. FABIVS PICTOR

TESTIMONIA

[Note: the *testimonia* are arranged in two groups, the first (1–4) dealing with Fabius' life and career, and listed in chronological order of events referred to, and the second (5–20) dealing with the work, and listed in order of citation.]

Life and career

T1 (= Jacoby T2) = F21 225 BC

a Eutrop. 3.5

. . . traditumque est a Fabio historico, qui ei bello interfuit . . .

. . . it is related by Fabius the historian, who took part in that war [sc. the Gallic war of 225 BC] . . .

b Oros. 4.13.6

. . . sicut Fabius historicus, qui eidem bello interfuit, scripsit . . .

. . . as Fabius the historian wrote, who took part in the same war [sc. the Gallic war of 225 BC] . . .

T2 (= Jacoby T4d) = F23 217 BC

Livy 22.7.4

ego, praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex uano uelim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium, aequalem temporibus huiusce belli, potissimum auctorem habui.

I, besides the fact that I would not want anything magnified groundlessly, a tendency to which the minds of writers generally are unduly disposed, have taken Fabius, a contemporary of this war [sc. the Second Punic War], to be the best qualified authority.

T3 (= Jacoby T3) 216 BC

a Livy 22.57.4–5

hoc nefas, cum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium uersum esset, decemuii libros adire iussi sunt, (5) et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est, sciscitatum quibus precibus supplicisque deos possent placare et quaenam futura finis tantis cladibus foret.

When this sacrilege, among so many disasters, as happens, had been construed as a prodigy, the *decemuii* were ordered to go to the books, (5) and Quintus Fabius Pictor was sent to the oracle at Delphi, to enquire by what prayers and atonements they might find favour with the gods, and what on earth would be the end to such disasters.

b Plut. *Fab.* 18.3

ὅσα μέντοι πρὸς ἰλασμοὺς θεῶν ἢ τεράτων ἀποτροπὰς συνηγόρευον οἱ μάντιες, ἐπράττετο. καὶ γὰρ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπέμφθη θεοπρόπος Πίκτωρ συγγενῆς Φαβίου.

Everything the soothsayers recommended by way of appeasement of the gods or expiation of portents was put in train. And in addition Pictor, a kinsman of Fabius [*sc.* Maximus], was sent as an ambassador to enquire of the oracle at Delphi.

c App. *Hann.* 27.116

ἡ δὲ βουλή Κόιντον μὲν Φάβιον, τὸν συγγραφέα τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων, εἰς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπε χρησόμενον περὶ τῶν παρόντων.

The senate sent Quintus Fabius, the historian of these events, to Delphi to consult about the current situation.

T4 (= Jacoby T3d)

216 BC

Livy 23.11.1–6

... Q. Fabius Pictor legatus a Delphis Romam redi<i>t responsumque ex scripto recitauit. diui di<uae>que in eo erant, quibus quoque modo supplicaretur. (2) tum ‘si ita

faxitis, Romani, uestrae res meliores facilioresque erunt, magisque ex sententia res publica uestra uobis procedet uictoriaque duelli populi Romani erit. (3) Pythio Apollini re publica uestra bene gesta seruataque <e> lucris meritis donum mittitote deque praeda manubiis spoliisque honorem habetote. lasciuiam a uobis prohibetote'. (4) haec ubi ex Graeco carmine interpretata recitauit, tum dixit se oraculo egressum extemplo iis omnibus diuis rem diuinam ture ac uino fecisse, (5) iussumque a templi antistite sicut coronatus laurea corona et oraculum adisset et rem diuinam fecisset, ita coronatum nauem adscendere nec ante deponere eam quam Romam peruenisset; (6) se quaecumque imperata sint cum summa religione ac diligentia exsecutum coronam Romae in ara Apollinis deposuisse. senatus decreuit ut eae res diuinae supplicationesque primo quoque tempore cum cura fierent.

(1) rediit *edd. uett.* : redit *MSS.* diui di<uae>que *Bekker* : diuidique *P* :
 diuinique *P² cett.* (3) <e> *Crévier* : <de> *Weissenborn* : *om. P ara ed. princ.* : aram *P*

. . . Quintus Fabius Pictor, the envoy, returned from Delphi to Rome and read out the answer of the oracle from a written text. Contained in it were the names of the gods and goddesses to whom propitiation should be made, and in what manner. (2) Then he said, 'If you act thus, Romans, your affairs will be better and easier, and your state will advance in a manner more to your liking, and victory in war will belong to the Roman people. (3) When your state has been well governed and preserved, do you send to Pythian Apollo a gift from the deserved gains you have won, and from the booty, plunder, and spoils do you pay him honour. Hold wantonness at a distance from yourselves.' (4) When he read aloud these words, having translated them from Greek verse, he then said that, having left the oracle, he at once made a sacrifice with frankincense and wine to all those deities, (5) and was ordered by the priest of the temple to return to his ship and embark wearing a laurel wreath just as he had when he had approached the oracle and performed a sacrifice, and not to take off the

wreath before he reached Rome; (6) he said that he had carried out with the greatest scrupulousness and care all that had been ordered, and had deposited the wreath on the altar of Apollo at Rome. The senate decreed that these sacrifices and atonements should be carried out with care at the first opportunity.

Work

T5 (= Jacoby T6a)

Pol. 1.14.1–3, 15.12

οὐχ ἦπτον δὲ τῶν προειρημένων παρωξύνθη ἐπιστῆσαι τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐμπειρότατα δοκοῦντας γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, Φιλῖνον καὶ Φάβιον, μὴ δεόντως ἡμῖν ἀπηγγελκέναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. (2) ἐκόντας μὲν οὖν ἐψεῦσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω, στοχαζόμενος ἐκ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς αἰρέσεως αὐτῶν· δοκοῦσι δέ μοι πεποινθέναι τι παραπλήσιον τοῖς ἐρώσι. (3) διὰ γὰρ τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ τὴν ὅλην εὐνοίαν Φιλίνῳ μὲν πάντα δοκοῦσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πεπραῆχθαι φρονίμως, καλῶς, ἀνδρωδῶς, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τάναντία, Φαβίῳ δὲ τοῦμπαλιν τούτων. . . . (14.4–15.11) . . . (15.12) Φιλῖνον μὲν οὖν παρ' ὅλην ἂν τις τὴν πραγματείαν εὔροι τοιοῦτον ὄντα, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ Φάβιον, ὡς ἐπ' αὐτῶν δειχθήσεται τῶν καιρῶν.

No less than by what I have just spoken of, I was spurred on to devote my attention to this war on this account also: that those who are reputed to write about it from the closest acquaintance, namely Philinus and Fabius, have not related the truth to us as they ought to have done. (2) From what I can infer from their manner of life and principles, I do not suppose that these men intentionally lied. They do, however, seem to me to be afflicted by something very closely resembling what lovers suffer. (3) For through his inclination and whole-hearted favour Philinus believes that the Carthaginians did everything prudently,

honourably, and bravely, and the Romans the reverse; but for Fabius the opposite of these judgements holds true. . . . (14.4–15.11) . . . (15.12) Anyone may discover Philinus acting in such a way [sc. writing partially and contradicting himself as a result] throughout the whole of his work, and Fabius equally, as will be shown at the relevant moments themselves.

T6 (= Jacoby T6b) cf. F22

Pol. 3.8.9–9.5

εἰ δέ τις ἔροιτο τὸν συγγραφέα ποῖος ἦν καιρὸς οἰκειότερος τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἢ ποῖον πρᾶγμα τούτου δικαιοτέρον ἢ συμφορώτερον, ἐπεὶπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δυσηρεστοῦντο, καθάπερ οὗτός φησιν, τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀνίβου πραττομένοις, (10) τοῦ πεισθέντας τότε τοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων παρακαλουμένοις ἐκδοῦναι μὲν τὸν αἴτιον τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἐπανελέσθαι δ' εὐλόγως δι' ἐτέρων τὸν κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν τῆς πόλεως, περιποιήσασθαι δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀποτριψαμένους τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον πόλεμον, δόγματι μόνον τὴν ἐκδίκησιν ποιησαμένους, τί ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι πρὸς αὐτά; δηλον γὰρ ὡς οὐδέν. (11) οἷ γε τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχον τοῦ πρᾶξαι τι τῶν προειρημένων ὡς ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη συνεχῶς πολεμήσαντες κατὰ τὴν Ἀνίβου προαίρεσιν οὐ πρότερον κατελύσαντο τὸν πόλεμον ἕως οὗ πάσας ἐξελέγξαντες τὰς ἐλπίδας τελευταῖον εἰς τὸν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ σωματίων παρεγένοντο κίνδυνον.

(9.1) τίνος δὴ χάριν ἐμνήσθην Φαβίου καὶ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου γεγραμμένων; (2) οὐχ ἕνεκα τῆς πιθανότητος τῶν εἰρημένων, ἀγωνιῶν μὴ πιστευθῆ παρά τισιν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ τούτων ἀλογία καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ἐμῆς ἐξηγήσεως αὐτὴ δι' αὐτῆς δύναται θεωρεῖσθαι παρά τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν· (3) ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν ἀναλαμβάνοντων τὰς ἐκείνου βίβλους ὑπομνήσεως, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα βλέπωσιν. (4) ἔνιοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰ λεγόμενα συνεπιστήσαντες, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν λέγοντα, καὶ λαβόντες ἐν νῶ διότι κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ὁ γράφων γέγονε καὶ τοῦ

συνεδρίου μετείχε τῶν Ῥωμαίων, πᾶν εὐθέως ἡγούνται τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τούτου πιστόν. (5) ἔγὼ δὲ φημὶ μὲν δεῖν οὐκ ἐν μικρῷ προσλαμβάνεσθαι τὴν τοῦ συγγραφέως πίστιν, οὐκ αὐτοτελῆ δὲ κρίνειν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον ἔξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας τὰς δοκιμασίας.

If someone should ask the historian [sc. Fabius]: if they were really displeased from the beginning, as this writer says, with what was being done under the command of Hannibal, what manner of opportunity was more suitable for the Carthaginians, or what kind of action more just or more expedient than this: (10) namely obeying injunctions of the Romans, to give up the person responsible for the injustices, to remove reasonably by the agency of others the common enemy of the city, to win security for their territory by averting the impending war, granting satisfaction simply by a decree; what would he have to say to these questions? Clearly, nothing. (11) But so far did they hold back from doing any of the things I have just mentioned, that they fought for seventeen years continuously, following the policy of Hannibal, and did not end the war until, having tried and found wanting every source of hope, they finally reached a point where their fatherland and the lives of those in it were in danger.

(9.1) For what reason have I mentioned Fabius and his account? (2) I have not done it on account of the plausibility of what he says, anxious that he may be credited by some (for the absurdity of his account can, in and of itself, even without my explanation, be observed by the readers), (3) but in order to remind those who take up his volumes that they should have regard not to their title but to the events they record. (4) For some, concentrating not on what is said, but on the person himself who says it, and apprehending that the writer lived during those times, and was a member of the Roman senate, immediately consider everything said by this man to be trustworthy. (5) But I say that it is necessary neither to regard the

authority of the historian as unimportant nor to judge it sufficient by itself, but rather that those reading him should base their scrutiny of him on the events themselves.

T7 (= Chassignet F1)

SEG 26.1122 (with new readings by F. Battistoni, *ZPE* 157 (2006), 175).

[Κοίν]τος Φάβι[ο]ς ὁ Πι

[κτω]ρίνος ἐπικαλού

[μεν]ος, ῥωμαῖος, Γαίου

[υῖό]ς·

[οὔτο]ς ἱστόρηκεν τὴν

[τοῦ Ἡρ]ακλέους ἄφιξιν

[- ca.3 -] .. [Ι]ταλίαν καὶ Ἀ .. Εἰ

[- ca.4 -] .ον Λανοίου συμ

[- ca.4 -] Ἰνὸς Ἀινεία καὶ

[- ca.4 -] πολὺ ὕστε

[ρον ἐγ]έροντο ῥωμύλος

[καὶ ῥ]έμος καὶ ῥώμης

[κτίσις ὑ]πὸ ῥωμύ<λ>ου, [--]

[- ca.6 -] .. ΒΕΒΑΣΙΛΕ/[--]

Quintus Fabius surnamed Pictorinus, a Roman, son of Gaius. He recorded the arrival of Herakles in Italy, and . . . of Lanoios . . . by Aeneas and . . . much later there were Romulus and Remus, and the foundation of Rome by Romulus . . . (?) reigned . . .

T8 (= Jacoby T8b) = GT1

Cic. *de orat.* 2.51–3

'atqui, ne nostros contempnas', inquit Antonius, 'Graeci quoque sic initio scriptitarunt, ut noster Cato, ut Pictor, ut Piso. (52) erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio, cuius rei memoriaeque publicae retinendae causa ab initio rerum Romanarum usque ad P. Mucium pontificem maximum res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat litteris pontifex maximus efferebatque in album et proponebat tabulam domi, potestas ut esset populo cognoscendi; iique etiam nunc annales maximi nominantur. (53) hanc similitudinem scribendi multi secuti sunt, qui sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. itaque qualis apud Graecos Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilas fuit, aliique permulti, talis noster Cato, et Pictor, et Piso, qui neque tenent quibus rebus ornentur oratio—modo enim huc ista sunt importata—et, dum intellegatur quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant esse brevitatem.

(51) sic *M* : ipsi sic *L* (52) efferebatque *MSS.* : referebatque *Lambinus* iique *HE*² :
ii qui *VOPUE*¹

'And yet', said Antonius, 'lest you should disparage our historians, in the beginning the Greeks too used to write like our Cato, Pictor, and Piso. (52) For history was nothing other than a compilation of annals, for the sake of which, and to maintain a public record, from the beginning of Roman affairs until Publius Mucius was Pontifex Maximus, the Pontifex Maximus used to commit to writing all the affairs of each year, copy them out on a white board, and display the tablet at his home, to enable the people to get informed; and even now these are called Annales Maximi. (53) Many have followed this manner of writing, and have bequeathed unadorned records just of dates, persons, places, and events. Thus, what Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilas, and many others were like among the Greeks, Cato, Pictor, and Piso have been for us; they have no grasp of the means by which speech can be adorned—

for such things have only recently been imported here—and, as long as what they say can be understood, they consider brevity to be the only virtue in discourse.

T9 (= Jacoby T8a) = GT2

Cic. *leg.* 1.6

nam post annales pontificum maximorum, quibus nihil potest esse ieiunius, si aut ad Fabium aut ad eum qui tibi semper in ore est, Catonem, aut ad Pisonem aut ad Fannium aut ad Vennonium uenias, quamquam ex his alius alio plus habet uirium, tamen quid tam exile quam isti omnes?

ieiunius *Vrsinus* : iucundius *MSS*.

For after the annals of the Pontifices Maximi, than which nothing could be more arid, when you come to Fabius, or to Cato, whose name is constantly on your lips, or to Piso, Fannius or Vennonius, although one of these might have more vigour than another, yet what could be as thin as the whole lot of them?

T10 (= Jacoby T5a) = F1

Cic. *diu.* 1.43

. . . hisque adiungatur etiam Aeneae somnium, quod + in numerum + Fabi Pictoris Graecis annalibus eius modi est ut . . .

[For apparatus, see F1]

. . . and to these may also be added the dream of Aeneas, which, . . . in the Greek annals of Fabius Pictor, is of such a sort that . . .

[Note: the obelized words are not translated.]

T11 (= Jacoby T4c)

a Livy 1.44.2 (= F10)

adicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor . . .

The most ancient of our writers, Fabius Pictor, adds . . .

b Livy 1.55.8 (= F12)

eo magis Fabio, praeterquam quod antiquior est, crediderim . . . quam Pisoni . . .

For this reason I would rather believe Fabius (apart from the fact that he is the more ancient writer) . . . than Piso . . .

c Livy 2.40.10 (= F16)

apud Fabium, longe antiquissimum auctorem . . . inuenio . . .

I find in Fabius, by a long way the most ancient author . . .

d DH 7.71.1 (Jacoby T4b) = F15

... ἐξ ἐκείνου ποιήσομαι τοῦ χρόνου τὴν τέκμαρσιν, ὅτ' οὐπω τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἶχον ἡγεμονίαν οὐδὲ ἄλλην διαπόντιον οὐδεμίαν ἀρχήν, Κοίντῳ Φαβίῳ βεβαιωτῇ χρώμενος καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἔτι δεόμενος πίστεως ἑτέρας· παλαιότατος γὰρ ἀνὴρ τῶν τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ συνταξαμένων, καὶ πίστιν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἤκουσε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἔγνω παρεχόμενος.

... I shall draw my inferences from that time when they [sc. the Romans] did not yet have the hegemony in Greece, nor any other rule beyond the sea, making use of Quintus Fabius as my authority, and not requiring any further proof. For this man was the most ancient of those who have compiled Roman affairs, and provided proof, not only from the things which he heard, but also from those which he himself knew.

T12 (= Jacoby T4a) = Cincius 2 T2

DH 1.6.2

ὁμοίαις δὲ τούτοις καὶ οὐδὲν διαφόρους ἐξέδωκαν ἱστορίας καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὅσοι τὰ παλαιὰ ἔργα τῆς πόλεως Ἑλληνικῇ διαλέκτῳ συνέγραψαν, ὧν εἰσι πρεσβύτατοι Κόιντος τε Φάβιος καὶ Λεύκιος Κίγκιος, ἀμφότεροι κατὰ τοὺς Φοινικικοὺς ἀκμάσαντες πολέμους. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκάτερος, οἷς μὲν αὐτὸς ἔργοις παρεγένετο, διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἀκριβῶς ἀνέγραψε, τὰ δὲ ἀρχαῖα τὰ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν τῆς πόλεως γενόμενα κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐπέδραμεν.

Similar histories to those of these men [sc. Antigonus, Polybius, Silenus, and others], indeed not at all different, were published also by those of the Romans who related the early deeds of the city in the Greek language. Of these the first were Quintus Fabius and Lucius Cincius, both of whom flourished at the time of the Punic Wars. Each of these men gave a detailed account of the events at which he himself was present, by virtue of personal experience, but ran over summarily the ancient events which happened after the foundation of the city.

T13 = F8

DH 4.6.1

βούλομαι δ' ἐπιστήσας τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον ἀποδοῦναι τὰς αἰτίας δι' ἃς οὔτε Φαβίῳ συγκατεθέμην οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱστορικοῖς, ὅσοι γράφουσιν υἱοὺς εἶναι τοὺς καταλειφθέντας παῖδας ὑπὸ Ταρκυνίου, ἵνα μὴ τινες τῶν ἐκείναις ἐντυχόντων ταῖς ἱστορίαις σχεδιάζωμεν με ὑπολάβωσιν οὐχ υἱοὺς, ἀλλ' υἱωνοὺς αὐτοῦ γράφοντα τοὺς παῖδας. παντάπασι γὰρ ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ῥαθύμως οἱ συγγραφεῖς <περὶ> αὐτῶν ταύτην ἐξενηνόχασιν τὴν ἱστορίαν οὐδὲν ἐξητακότες τῶν ἀναιρούντων αὐτὴν ἀδυνάτων τε καὶ ἀτόπων.

<περὶ> *Stephanus* : om. MSS.

I wish to stop my continuous narrative to explain the reasons for which I have agreed neither with Fabius nor with the other historians who write that the children left by

Tarquinius were his sons; I do this so that none of those who have come across these histories may suppose that I am inventing things, when I write that the children were not his sons, but his grandsons. For wholly thoughtlessly and carelessly have historians published this account concerning them; they have scrutinized none of the impossibilities and absurdities which confute it.

T14 (= Jacoby T7) = F11

DH 4.30.2–3

ἐνταῦθα πάλιν ἀναγκάζομαι μεμνήσθαι Φαβίου καὶ τὸ ῥάθθυμον αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν χρόνων ἐλέγχειν. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς Ἀρροῦντος τελευτῆς γενόμενος οὐ καθ' ἓν ἀμαρτάνει μόνον, ὃ καὶ πρότερον ἔφην . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἕτερον . . . (3) . . . οὕτως ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῆς ἀληθείας ταλαίπωρον.

Here again, I am compelled to make mention of Fabius, and expose his slipshod methods when scrutinising chronology. For having reached the death of Arruns, he does not make one single mistake alone, which I was also talking about earlier . . . but also another . . . (3) . . . So exiguous is the hard work that has gone into the scrutiny of the truth in the histories of that author.

T15 (= Jacoby T9) cf. F25

Pliny *nat.* 1 lists Fabius Pictor as a source for books 10, 14, and 15, and 'Fabius' as a source for book 28 (cf. Fabius Maximus Servilianus 8 T2).

T16 = F4b

Plut. *Rom.* 3.1, 8.9

τοῦ δὲ πίστιν ἔχοντος λόγου μάλιστα καὶ πλείστους μάρτυρας τὰ μὲν κυριώτατα πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐξέδωκε Διοκλῆς <ὁ> Πεπαρήθιος, ᾧ καὶ Φάβιος ὁ Πίκτηρ ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐπηκολούθηκε. γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἕτεραι διαφοραί· τύπῳ δ' εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτός ἐστι. . . . (3.2–8.8) . . . (8.9) ὧν τὰ πλείστα καὶ Φαβίου λέγοντος καὶ τοῦ Πεπαρηθίου Διοκλέους, ὅς δοκεῖ πρῶτος ἐκδοῦναι Ῥώμης κτίσιν, ὑποπτον μὲν ἐνίοις ἐστὶ τὸ δραματικὸν καὶ πλασματώδες, οὐ δεῖ δ' ἀπιστεῖν τὴν τύχην ὀρώντας οἷων ποιημάτων δημιουργός ἐστι, καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα λογιζομένους, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐνταῦθα προὔβη δυνάμεως, μὴ θείαν τιν' ἀρχὴν λαβόντα καὶ μηδὲν μέγα μηδὲ παράδοξον ἔχουσαν.

But the principal elements of the story which has most credibility, and the greatest number of testimonies, were first published amongst the Greeks by Diocles of Peparethos, whom Fabius Pictor also followed closely in most points. There exist different versions of these events also; but in outline the story is as follows. . . . (3.2–8.8) . . . (8.9) Most of these facts are told by Fabius and Diocles of Peparethos, who seems to have been the first to publish a foundation of Rome. The dramatic and fabulous in their accounts are viewed with suspicion by some, but it is not necessary to withhold belief when we see Fortune and the nature of the works of which she is the author, and when we consider that Roman affairs would not have advanced to such a position of power, if they had not had some divine origin, involving great and incredible events.

T17 cf. F31

Gell. 5.4.1–3

apud Sigillaria forte in libraria ego et Iulius Paulus poeta, uir memoria nostra doctissimus, consideramus; atque ibi expositi sunt Fabi annales, bonae atque sinceræ uetustatis libri, quos uenditor sine mendis esse contendebat. (2) grammaticus autem quispiam

de nobilioribus ab emptore ad spectandos libros adhibitus repperisse <se> unum in libro mendum dicebat; sed contra librarius in quoduis pignus uocabat, si in una uspiam littera delictum esset. (3) ostendebat grammaticus ita scriptum in libro quarto . . .

<se> *Hertz : om. MSS.*

It so happened that Julius Paulus the poet, the most learned man I can recall, and I were sitting in a bookshop at the Sigillaria market; and displayed there were the *Annales* of Fabius, books of good and genuine antiquity; the vendor was arguing out that they contained no copyists' errors. (2) But a certain *grammaticus*, one of the better known, employed by a buyer to scrutinise the books, said that he had found one such error in a book. In reply the bookseller began challenging him, for any stake he liked, if a copyist's error had been made in any single letter anywhere. (3) The *grammaticus* pointed out where the following had been written in the fourth book . . . [F31]

T18 (= GT6)

Fronto 134

historiam quoque scripsere . . . Pictor incondite . . .

History, also, was written . . . by Pictor crudely . . .

T19 (= Jacoby T1b)

Hieron. *epist.* 66.12.3

nobilem uirum Quintum Fabium miratur antiquitas, qui etiam Romanae historiae scriptor est, sed magis ex pictura quam litteris nomen inuenit.

Antiquity marvels at the noble man Quintus Fabius, who was also a writer of Roman history, but acquired a name derived from painting rather than from literature.

T20 (= Jacoby T11)

Fabius Pictor is one of the sources listed in the *titulus* of *Origo Rom.* (= GT7).

FRAGMENTS

F1 (Peter F3, Jacoby F1, Chassignet F3) = T10

Cic. *diu.* 1.43

sint haec, ut dixi, somnia fabularum, hisque adiungatur etiam Aeneae somnium, quod
+ in numerum + Fabi Pictoris Graecis annalibus eius modi est ut **omnia quae ab Aenea
gesta sunt quaeque illi acciderunt ea fuerint, quae ei secundum quietem uisa sunt.**

in numerum *AVB* (numerum *secl. von Gutschmid*) : nimirum in *Dederich* : in Numerii
Sigonius : in nostri *Hertz* : in ueterrumis *Plüss* : inclusum in *van den Bergh* : inuentum in
Woodman

Admittedly these are dreams in myths, as I have said, and to these may also be added
the dream of Aeneas, which, . . . in the Greek annals of Fabius Pictor, is of such a sort that
**everything that was done by Aeneas and everything that happened to him were things
that appeared to him in his sleep.**

[Note: the obelized words are not translated.]

F2 (= Peter (Lat.) F1, Jacoby F29, Chassignet F6)

Serv. *Aen.* 12.603

(V) et nodum informis leti . . .

(DS) Fabius Pictor dicit quod **Amata** (S) alii dicunt quod inedia se interemit.

inedia se interemerit.

(V) . . . and the knot of unseemly death . . .

(DS) Fabius Pictor says that **Amata** (S) others [sc. in contrast to Virgil] say

starved herself to death. that she starved herself to death.

F3 (Peter F4 , Jacoby F2, Chassignet F5a) = Fabius Maximus Servilianus 8 F6

Diod. 7.5.3–6 = Syncell. 229–30 (3–5 only), Euseb. *chron.* (*Arm.*) 137

τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος Ἀσκάσιος υἱὸς ἔκτισεν Ἄλβαν τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Λόγγαν, ἣν ὠνόμασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ τότε μὲν Ἄλβα καλουμένου, νῦν δὲ Τιβέρεως ὀνομαζομένου. (4) περὶ δὲ τῆς προσηγορίας ταύτης Φάβιος ὁ τὰς Ῥωμαίων πράξεις ἀναγράφας ἄλλως μεμυθολόγηκε. φησὶ γὰρ Αἰνεΐα γενέσθαι λόγιον, τετράπουν αὐτῷ καθηγήσεσθαι πρὸς κτίσιν πόλεως· μέλλοντος δ' αὐτοῦ θύειν ἕν ἔγκυον τῷ χρώματι λευκὴν, ἐκφυγεῖν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, καὶ διωχθῆναι πρὸς τινα λόφον, πρὸς ᾧ κομισθεῖσαν τεκεῖν τριάκοντα χοίρους. (5) τὸν δὲ Αἰνεΐαν τό τε παράδοξον θαυμάσαντα καὶ τὸ λόγιον ἀνανεούμενον ἐπιχειρήσαι μὲν οἰκῆσαι τὸν τόπον, ἰδόντα δὲ κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ὄψιν ἐναργῶς διακωλύουσιν καὶ συμβουλεύουσιν μετὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη κτίζειν, ὅσοσπερ ὁ τῶν τεχθέντων ἀριθμὸς ἦν, ἀποστῆναι τῆς προθέσεως. (6) [Armenian text]

(4) καθηγήσεσθαι *Wesseling* : καθηγήσασθαι *MSS*.

Having succeeded to the rule, his son Ascanius founded Alba, now called Longa, which he named from the river then called Alba, and now named Tiber. (4) About this name, Fabius, who recorded the achievements of the Romans, relates a different legend. For he says

that Aeneas received an oracle, to the effect that a four-footed animal would lead him to the place for the foundation of a city. When he was about to sacrifice a pregnant sow, white in colour, it escaped from his hands, was pursued to a certain hilltop, and, having reached it, gave birth to thirty piglets. (5) Aeneas was astonished at this remarkable event, and, recalling the oracle, he set to work on founding a city on the spot. But in his sleep he saw a vision which clearly prohibited him from doing so, and counselled him to carry out the foundation after thirty years, corresponding to the number of piglets born, and he accordingly abandoned the project. (6) After Aeneas' death, Ascanius, his son, took over the rule, and, after the thirty years had elapsed, built on the hill, and named the city Alba, after the colour of the sow (the Latins in their language call 'the white' Alba). He gave it another name as well, Longa, which, translated, means 'the long', because it was narrow in breadth and great in length.

F4 (Peter F5, Jacoby F4, Chassignet F7)

a DH 1.75.4–84.1 = Cincius Alimentus 2 F1, Cato 5 F14, Piso 9 F5

οἰκιστὰ δ' αὐτῆς οἵτινες ἦσαν καὶ τίσι τύχαις χρησάμενοι τὴν ἀποικίαν ἔστειλαν ὅσα τε ἄλλα περὶ τὴν κτίσιν ταύτην ἰστοροῦνται πολλοῖς μὲν εἴρηται καὶ διαφόρως τὰ πλεῖστα ἐνίοις, λεχθήσεται δὲ κάμοι τὰ πιθανώτατα τῶν μνημονευομένων. ἔχει δὲ ὧδε·

(76.1) Ἀμόλιος ἐπειδὴ παρέλαβε τὴν Ἀλβανῶν βασιλείαν τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἀδελφὸν Νεμέτορα τῷ κατισχύσαι τῆς πατρίου τιμῆς ἀπείρξας, τὰ τε ἄλλα κατὰ πολλὴν ὑπεροψίαν τῶν δικαίων ἔδρα καὶ τελευτῶν ἔρημον γένους τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Νεμέτορος ἐπεβούλευσε ποιῆσαι, τοῦ τε δίκην ὑποσχέειν φόβῳ καὶ ἔρωτι μὴ παυσθῆναί ποτε τῆς ἀρχῆς. (2) βουλευσάμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐκ πολλοῦ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Νεμέτορος Αἴγεστον ἄρτι γ

ενειάζοντα φυλάξας ἔνθα ἐκνηγέται, προλοχίσας τοῦ χωρίου τὸ ἀφανέστατον, ἐξελθόντα ἐπὶ θήραν ἀποκτείνει καὶ παρεσκεύασε λέγεσθαι μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ὡς ὑπὸ ληστῶν ἀναιρεθείη τὸ μειράκιον. οὐ μέντοι κρείττων ἢ κατασκευαστὴ δόξα τῆς σιωπωμένης ἀληθείας ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐτολμᾶτο λέγεσθαι τὸ πραχθέν. (3)

Νεμέτωρ δὲ ἦδει μὲν τὸ ἔργον, λογισμῷ δὲ κρείττωνι τοῦ πάθους χρώμενος ἄνοιαν ἐσκήπτετο εἰς ἀκινδυνότερον ἀναβαλέσθαι χρόνον τὴν ὄργην βουλευσάμενος. Ἀμόλιος δὲ τὰ τοῦ μειρακίου ὑπολαβὼν λεληθέναι δεύτερα τάδε ἐποίει· τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Νεμέτορος Ἰλίαν, ὡς δὲ τινες γράφουσι Ῥέαν ὄνομα, Σιλουΐαν δ' ἐπὶ κλησιν, ἐν ἀκμῇ γάμου γενομένην ἰέρειαν ἀποδείκνυσιν Ἐστίας, ὡς μὴ τάχιον εἰς ἀνδρὸς ἐλθοῦσα τέκη τιμωροῦς τῷ γένει. πενταετοῦς δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττω χρόνου ἔδει τὰς ἱεράς κόρας ἀγνάς διαμεῖναι γάμων, αἷς ἀνατέθειται τοῦ τε ἀσβέστου πυρὸς ἢ φυλακῆ καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο θρησκευέσθαι τῷ κοινῷ διὰ παρθένων νόμιμον ἦν. (4) ἔπραττε δὲ Ἀμόλιος τοῦτο μετ' ὀνομάτων καλῶν, ὡς τιμῆν τῷ γένει καὶ κόσμον περιτιθείς, οὔτε αὐτὸς εἰσηγησάμενος τὸν νόμον τόνδε οὔτε κοινῷ ὄντι πρῶτον ἀναγκάσας τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι χρῆσθαι τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἐν ἔθει δὲ τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς καὶ ἐν καλῷ ὄν τὰς εὐγενεστάτας ἀποδείκνυσθαι κόρας τῆς Ἐστίας προπόλους. ὁ δὲ Νεμέτωρ αἰσθόμενος οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου ταῦτα πράττοντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὄργην φανεράν οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο, ἵνα μὴ τῷ δήμῳ ἀπέχθοιτο, ἀπόρρητον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐφύλαττε τὸ ἔγκλημα. (77.1) τετάρτῳ δ' ὕστερον ἔτει τὴν Ἰλίαν ἐλθοῦσαν εἰς ἱερὸν ἄλσος Ἄρεος ὕδατος ἀγνοῦ κομιδῆς ἕνεκα, ᾧ πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ἔμελλε χρήσασθαι, βιάζεται τις ἐν τῷ τεμένει. τοῦτον δὲ τινες μὲν ἀποφαίνουσι τῶν μνηστήρων ἕνα γενέσθαι τῆς κόρης ἐρώντα τῆς παιδίσκες, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀμόλιον οὐκ ἐπιθυμίας μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιβουλῆς ἕνεκα φραξάμενόν τε ὄπλοις ὡς ἐκπληκτικώτατος ὀφθήσεσθαι ἔμελλε καὶ τὸ τῆς ὕψεως γνώριμον εἰς ἀσαφὲς ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο καθιστάντα· (2) οἱ δὲ πλείστοι μυθολογοῦσι τοῦ δαίμονος εἶδωλον, οὗ τὸ χωρίον ἦν, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα τῷ πάθει δαιμόνια ἔργα <προσάπτοντες> ἡλίου τε ἀφανισμόν αἰφνίδιον καὶ ζόφον ἐν οὐρανῷ κατασχόντα·

ὄψιν δέ, ἦν καὶ τὸ εἶδωλον εἶχε, θαυμασιωτέραν μακρῶ δὴ τι κατὰ μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος ἀνθρώπων· φασὶ τε εἰπεῖν τῇ κόρῃ παρηγοροῦντα τὴν λύπην τὸν βιασάμενον, ἔξ οὗ γενέσθαι δῆλον ὅτι θεὸς ἦν, μηδὲν ἄχθεσθαι τῷ πάθει. τὸ γὰρ κοινώνημα τῶν γάμων αὐτῇ γεγονέναι πρὸς τὸν ἐμβατεύοντα τῷ χωρίῳ δαίμονα, τέξεσθαι δ' αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ βιασμοῦ δύο παῖδας ἀνθρώπων μακρῶ κρατίστους ἀρετῆν καὶ τὰ πολέμια. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντα νέφει περικαλυφθῆναι καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς ἀρθέντα φέρεσθαι δι' ἀέρος ἄνω.

(3) ὅπως μὲν οὖν χρὴ περὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε δόξης ἔχειν, πότερον καταφρονεῖν ὡς ἀνθρωπίνων ῥαδιουργημάτων εἰς θεοὺς ἀναφερομένων, μηδὲν ἂν τοῦ θεοῦ λειτούργημα τῆς ἀφθάρτου καὶ μακαρίας φύσεως ἀνάξιον ὑπομένοντος, ἢ καὶ ταύτας παραδέχεσθαι τὰς ἱστορίας, ὡς ἀνακεκραμένης τῆς ἀπάσης οὐσίας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ μεταξὺ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θνητοῦ γένους τρίτης τινὸς ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως, ἦν τὸ δαιμόνων φύλον ἐπέχει, τοτὲ μὲν ἀνθρώποις, τοτὲ δὲ θεοῖς ἐπιμιγνύμενον, ἔξ οὗ ὁ λόγος ἔχει τὸ μυθεύμενον ἡρώων φύναι γένος, οὔτε καιρὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι διασκοπεῖν ἀρκεῖ τε ὅσα φιλοσόφοις περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέχθη. (4) ἢ δ' οὖν κόρῃ μετὰ τὸν βιασμὸν ἀρρωστεῖν σκηψαμένη (τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῇ παρήνευσεν ἡ μήτηρ ἀσφαλείας τε καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὁσίων ἔνεκα) οὐκέτι προσῆει τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγένετο παρθένων, αἷς τὸ αὐτὸ προσέκειτο ἔργον, ὅσα λειτουργεῖν ἐκείνην ἔδει.

(78.1) Ἀμόλιος δὲ εἶτε κατὰ τὴν συνείδησιν τῶν πραχθέντων εἶτε ὑπονοῖα τῶν εἰκότων προαχθεὶς ἔρευναν ἐποιεῖτο τῆς χρονίου τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστάσεως κατὰ τίνα γίνεται μάλιστ' αἰτίαν, ἰατροῦς τε οἷς μάλιστα ἐπίστευεν εἰσπέμπων καὶ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν νόσον αἱ γυναῖκες ἀπόρρητον ἀνθρώποις ἠτιῶντο εἶναι, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα φύλακα τῆς κόρης καταλιπών. (2) ὡς δὲ κατήγορος αὕτη τοῦ πάθους ἐγένετο γυναικεία τεκμάρσει τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνευροῦσα, τῆς μὲν παιδός, ὡς μὴ λάθῃ τεκοῦσα (ἦν δὲ οὐ πρόσω τοῦ τόκου) φυλακὴν ἐποιεῖτο δι' ὄπλων· αὐτὸς δὲ καλέσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον τῆς τε λαιθανούσης τοὺς ἄλλους φθορᾶς

μηρυτῆς γίνεται καὶ ἠτιᾶτο συγκακουργεῖν τῇ κόρῃ τοὺς γονεῖς ἐκέλευέ τε μὴ κρύπτειν τὸν εἰργασμένον, ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον ἄγειν. (3) Νεμέτωρ δὲ παραδόξων τε λόγων ἀκούειν ἔφη καὶ παντὸς ἀναίτιος εἶναι τοῦ λεγομένου χρόνον τε ἡξίου βασάνου τῆς ἀληθείας ἔνεκα λαβεῖν· τυχῶν δὲ ἀναβολῆς μόλις, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔμαθεν ὡς ἡ παῖς ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἀφηγήσατο, τὸν τε βιασμὸν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γινόμενον ἀπέφαινε καὶ τοὺς λεχθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν διδύμων παίδων λόγους διεξῆλθεν ἡξίου τε πίστιν ποιήσασθαι ταύτην τῶν λεγομένων, εἰ τοιοῦτος ὁ τῆς ὠδίνος ἔσται γόνος, οἷον ὁ θεὸς ὑφηγήσατο. καὶ γὰρ ὁμοῦ τι τῷ τίκτειν εἶναι τὴν κόρην, ὥστε <οὐκ εἰς> μακρὰν ῥαδιουργεῖν φανήσεται. παρεδίδου δὲ καὶ τὰς φυλαττούσας τὴν κόρην καὶ ἐλέγχων οὐδενὸς ἀφίστατο. (4) ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τῶν συνέδρων πλῆθος ἐπείθετο, Ἀμόλιος δὲ οὐδὲν ὑγιᾶς ἀπέφαινε τῶν ἀξιουμένων, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς ὄρητο τρόπου τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἀπολέσαι. ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο παρήσαν οἱ τὴν ὠδίνα φρουρεῖν ταχθέντες ἀποφαίνοντες ἄρρενα βρέφη δίδυμα τεκεῖν τὴν κόρην, καὶ αὐτίκα Νεμέτωρ μὲν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πολὺς ἦν λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ τε ἀποδεικνύς τὸ ἔργον καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τὴν κόρην ἀναίτιον οὔσαν τοῦ πάθους παρανομεῖν ἀξιῶν· Ἀμολίῳ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρωπειῶν τι μηχανημάτων καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν τόκον ἐδόκει γενέσθαι παρασκευασθέντος ἑτέρου ταῖς γυναιξὶ βρέφους ἢ κρύφα τῶν φυλάκων ἢ συγκακουργούντων, καὶ πολλὰ εἰς τοῦτο ἐλέχθη. (5) ὡς δὲ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ βασιλέως ἔμαθον οἱ σύεδροι ἀπαραιτήτῳ <τῇ> ὀργῇ χρωμένῃ ἐδικαίωσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος ἡξίου χρήσασθαι τῷ νόμῳ κελεύοντι τὴν μὲν αἰσχύνασαν τὸ σῶμα ῥάβδοις αἰκισθεῖσαν ἀποθανεῖν, τὸ δὲ γεννηθὲν εἰς τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βάλλεσθαι ῥεῖθρον· νῦν μέντοι ζώσας κατορύττεσθαι τὰς τοιαύτας ὁ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγορεύει νόμος.

(79.1) μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων οἱ πλείστοι τῶν συγγραφέων τὰ αὐτὰ ἢ μικρὸν παραλλάττοντες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μυθωδέστερον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἑοικὸς μᾶλλον ἀποφαίνουσι, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξῆς διαφέρονται. (2) οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ἀναιρεθῆναι λέγουσι

τὴν κόρην, οἱ δ' ἐν εἰρκτῇ φυλαττομένην ἀδήλω διατελέσαι δόξαν τῷ δήμῳ
παρασχούσαν ἀφανοῦς θανάτου. ἐπικλασθῆναι δὲ τὸν Ἀμόλιον εἰς τοῦτο ἰκετευούσης
τῆς θυγατρὸς χαρίσασθαι τὴν ἀνεψιᾶν αὐτῇ· ἦσαν δὲ σύντροφοί τε καὶ ἡλικίαν
ἔχουσαι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀσπαζόμεναί τε ἀλλήλας ὡς ἀδελφάς. χαριζόμενον οὖν ταύτῃ
Ἀμόλιον, μόνη δ' ἦν αὐτῷ θυγάτηρ, θανάτου μὲν ἀπολύσαι τὴν Ἰλίαν, φυλάττειν
δὲ καθεῖρξαντα ἐν ἀφανεῖ· λυθῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν ἀνὰ χρόνον Ἀμολίου τελευτήσαντος. (3)
περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἰλίας οὕτω διαλλάττουσιν αἱ τῶν παλαιῶν γραφαί, λόγον δ' ἔχουσι
ὡς ἀληθεῖς ἑκάτεραι. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γὰρ μνήμην ἀμφοτέρων ἐποιησάμην, ὅποτέρᾳ δὲ
χρῆ πιστεύειν αὐτὸς τις εἴσεται τῶν ἀναγνωσομένων. (4) περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλίας
γενομένων Κόιντος μὲν Φάβιος ὁ Πίκτωρ λεγόμενος, ᾧ Λεύκιός τε Κίγκιος καὶ
Κάτων Πόρκιος καὶ Πείσων Καλπούριος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγγραφέων οἱ πλείους
ἠκολούθησαν, γέγραφε· ὡς κελεύσαντος Ἀμολίου τὰ βρέφη λαβόντες ἐν σκάφῃ
κείμενα τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινες ἔφερον ἐμβαλοῦντες εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπέχοντα
τῆς πόλεως ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι σταδίους. (5) ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγύς ἐγένοντο καὶ
εἶδον ἔξω τοῦ γησιῶν ρείθρου τὸν Τέβεριν ὑπὸ χειμῶνων συνεχῶν
ἐκτετραμμένον εἰς τὰ πεδία, καταβάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παλλαντίου τῆς κορυφῆς ἐπὶ
τὸ προσεχέστατον ὕδωρ (οὐ γὰρ ἔτι προσωτέρω χωρεῖν οἶοίτε ἦσαν), ἔνθα
πρῶτον ἢ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλήμῃ τῆς ὑπωρείας ἦπτετο, τίθενται τὴν σκάφην ἐπὶ
τοῦ ὕδατος. ἢ δὲ μέχρι μὲν τινος ἐνήχετο, ἔπειτα τοῦ ρείθρου κατὰ μικρὸν
ὑποχωροῦντος ἐκ τῶν περιεσχάτων λίθου προσπταίσει περιτραπέισα ἐκβάλλει τὰ
βρέφη. (6) τὰ μὲν δὴ κινυζόμενα κατὰ τοῦ τέλματος ἐκυλινδέϊτο, λύκαινα δὲ τις
ἐπιφανείσα νεοτόκος σπαργῶσα τοὺς μαστοὺς ὑπὸ γάλακτος ἀνεδίδου τὰς θηλάς
τοῖς στόμασιν αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ τὸν πηλόν, ᾧ κατάπλεοι ἦσαν, ἀπελίχμα.
ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τυγχάνουσιν οἱ νομεῖς ἐξελαύνοντες τὰς ἀγέλας ἐπὶ νομὴν (ἤδη
γὰρ ἔμβατόν ἦν τὸ χωρίον) καὶ τις αὐτῶν ἰδὼν τὴν λύκαιναν ὡς ἠσπάζετο τὰ
βρέφη τέως μὲν ἀχαιῆς ἦν ὑπὸ τε θάμβους καὶ ἀπιστίας τῶν θεωρουμένων·

ἔπειτ' ἀπελθὼν καὶ συλλέξας ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους τῶν ἀγχοῦ νεμόντων (οὐ γὰρ ἐπιστεύετο λέγων) ἄγει τοῦργον αὐτὸ θεασομένους. (7) ὡς δὲ κάκεινοι πλησίον ἐλθόντες ἔμαθον τὴν μὲν ὥσπερ τέκνα περιέπουσαν, τὰ δ' ὡς μητρὸς ἐξεχόμενα, δαιμόνιον τι χρῆμα ὄραν ὑπολαβόντες ἐγγυτέρω προσήεσαν ἀθρόοι δεδιπτόμενοι βοῆ τὸ θηρίον. ἡ δὲ λύκαινα οὐ μάλα ἀγριαίνουσα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῇ προσόδῳ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀν χειροθήης ἀποστᾶσα τῶν βρεφῶν ἡρέμα καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν ἀλογίαν τοῦ ποιμενικοῦ ὄμιλου ἀπήει. (8) καὶ ἦν γὰρ τις οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχων ἐκείθεν ἱερὸς χῶρος ὕλη βαθεῖα συνηρεφῆς καὶ πέτρα κοίλη πηγᾶς ἀνιείσα, ἐλέγετο δὲ Πανὸς εἶναι τὸ νάπος, καὶ βωμὸς ἦν αὐτόθι τοῦ θεοῦ· εἰς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐλθοῦσα ἀποκρύπτεται. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄλσος οὐκέτι διαμένει, τὸ δὲ ἄντρον, ἐξ οὗ ἡ λιβάς ἐκδίδεται, τῷ Παλλαντίῳ προσωκοδομημένον δείκνυται κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππόδρομον φέρουσαν ὁδόν, καὶ τέμενός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ πλησίον, ἔνθα εἰκὼν κείται τοῦ πάθους λύκαινα παιδίους δυσὶ τοὺς μαστοὺς ἐπίσχουσα, χαλκᾶ ποιήματα παλαιᾶς ἐργασίας. ἦν δὲ τὸ χωρίον τῶν σὺν Εὐάνδρῳ ποτὲ οἰκισάντων αὐτὸ Ἀρκάδων ἱερὸν ὡς λέγεται. (9) ὡς δὲ ἀπέστη τὸ θηρίον αἴρουσιν οἱ νομεῖς τὰ βρέφη σπουδῆν ποιούμενοι τρέφειν ὡς θεῶν αὐτὰ σώζεσθαι βουλομένων. ἦν δὲ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς σοφορβίων βασιλικῶν ἐπιμελούμενος ἐπεικῆς ἀνὴρ Φαιστύλος ὄνομα, ὃς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατὰ δὴ τι ἀναγκαῖον ἐγεγόνει καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἡ φθορὰ τῆς Ἰλίας καὶ ὁ τόκος ἠλέγχετο, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κομιζομένων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τῶν βρεφῶν τοῖς φέρουσιν αὐτὰ κατὰ θείαν τύχην ἅμα διεληλύθει τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν εἰς τὸ Παλλάντιον ἰών· ὃς ἦκιστα τοῖς ἄλλοις καταφανῆς γενόμενος ὡς ἐπίσταταί τι τοῦ πράγματος ἀξιώσας αὐτῷ συγχωρηθῆναι τὰ βρέφη λαμβάνει τε αὐτὰ παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ φέρων ὡς τὴν γυναῖκα ἔρχεται. (10) τετοκυῖαν δὲ καταλαβὼν καὶ ἀχθομένην ὅτι νεκρὸν αὐτῇ τὸ βρέφος ἦν παραμυθεῖται τε καὶ δίδωσιν ὑποβαλέσθαι τὰ παιδιά πάσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διηγησάμενος τὴν κατασχούσαν αὐτὰ τύχην. αὐξομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ὄνομα τίθεται τῷ μὲν Ῥωμύλον, τῷ δὲ Ῥέμον. οἱ δὲ ἀνδρωθέντες γίνονται κατὰ τε ἀξίωσιν μορφῆς καὶ φρονήματος ὄγκον οὐ

συοφορβοῖς καὶ βουκόλοις ἐοικότες, ἀλλ' οἷους ἂν τις ἀξιώσει τοὺς ἐκ βασιλείου τε φύντας γένους καὶ ἀπὸ δαιμόνων σπορᾶς γενέσθαι νομιζομένους, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πατρίοις ὕμνοις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ᾄδεται. (11) βίος δ' αὐτοῖς ἦν βουκολικὸς καὶ δίαίτα αὐτουργὸς ἐν ὄρεσι τὰ πολλὰ πηξαμένοις διὰ ξύλων καὶ καλάμων σκηναῶν αὐτορόφους· ὧν ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦν τις τοῦ Παλλαντίου <ἐπὶ> τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἵππόδρομον στρεφούσης λαγόνος Ῥωμύλου λεγομένη, ἣν φυλάττουσιν ἱερὰν οἷς τούτων ἐπιμελὲς οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον ἐξάγοντες, εἰ δέ τι πονήσειεν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἢ χρόνου τὸ λείπον ἐξακούμενοι καὶ τῷ πρόσθεν ἐξομοιοῦντες εἰς δύναμιν. (12) ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότες ἦσαν ἀμφίλογόν τι περὶ τῆς νομῆς αὐτοῖς γίνεται πρὸς τοὺς Νεμέτορος βουκόλους, οἳ περὶ τὸ Αὐεντίνον ὄρος ἀντικρὺ τοῦ Παλλαντίου κείμενον εἶχον τὰς βουστάσεις. ἠτιῶντο δὲ ἀλλήλους ἐκάτεροι θαμινὰ ἢ τὴν μὴ προσήκουσαν ὀργάδα κατανέμειν ἢ τὴν κοινήν μόνους διακρατεῖν ἢ ὃ τι δήποτε τύχοι. ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀψιμαχίας ταύτης ἐγένοντο πληγαί ποτε διὰ χειρῶν, εἶτα δι' ὄπλων. (13) τραύματα δὲ πολλὰ πρὸς τῶν μειρακίων λαβόντες οἱ τοῦ Νεμέτορος καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἀπολέσαντες τῶν σφετέρων καὶ τῶν χωρίων ἤδη κατὰ κράτος ἐξειργόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο δόλον τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτούς. προλοχίσαντες δὴ τῆς φάραγγος τὸ ἀφανὲς καὶ συνθέμενοι τοῖς λοχῶσι τὰ μειράκια τὸν τῆς ἐπιθέσεως καιρὸν οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὰ μανδρεύματα αὐτῶν νύκτωρ ἐπέβαλον. Ῥωμύλος μὲν οὖν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἐτύγχανεν ἅμα τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν κωμητῶν πεπορευμένος εἷς τι χωρίον Καινίην ὀνομαζόμενον ἱερὰ ποιήσων ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ πάτρια· (14) Ῥέμος δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν αἰσθόμενος ἐξεβοήθει λαβὼν τὰ ὄπλα διαταχέων ὀλίγους τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης φθάσαντας καθ' ἓν γενέσθαι παραλαβῶν. κάκεῖνοι οὐ δέχονται αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσιν ὑπαγόμενοι ἔνθα ἔμελλον ἐν καλῷ ὑποστρέψαντες ἐπιθήσεσθαι· ὁ δὲ Ῥέμος κατ' ἄγνοιαν τοῦ μηχανήματος ἄχρι πολλοῦ διώκων αὐτοὺς παραλλάττει τὸ λελοχισμένον χωρίον, κὰν τούτῳ ὃ τε λόχος ἀνίσταται καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες ὑποστρέφουσι. κυκλωσάμενοι

δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλοῖς ἀράττοντες λίθοις λαμβάνουσι ὑποχειρίους. ταύτην γὰρ εἶχον ἐκ τῶν δεσποτῶν τὴν παρακέλευσιν, ζῶντας αὐτοῖς τοὺς νεανίσκους κομίσει. οὕτω μὲν δὴ χειρωθεὶς ὁ Ῥέμος ἀπήγετο. (80.1–2) . . .

(80.3) ὁ μὲν οὖν Ῥέμος ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενόμενος οὕτως, εἴθ' ὡς ὁ Φάβιος παραδέδωκε, δέσμιος εἰς τὴν Ἄλβαν ἀπήγετο. Ῥωμύλος δ' ἐπειδὴ τὸ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔγνω πάθος, διώκειν εὐθύς ᾤετο δεῖν τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ἔχων τῶν νομέων, ὡς ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὄντα καταληψόμενος τὸν Ῥέμον· ἀποτρέπεται δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαιστύλου. ὄρων γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν σπουδὴν μανικωτέραν οὖσαν <οὗτος> νομισθεὶς ὁ πατήρ, <ᾶ> τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἀπόρρητα ποιούμενος τοῖς μειρακίοις διετέλεσεν, ὡς μὴ θάπτον ὀρμήσωσι παρακινδυνεῦσαί τι πρὶν ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῆς ἀκμῆς γενέσθαι, τότε δὴ πρὸς τῆς ἀνάγκης βιασθεὶς μονωθέντι τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ λέγει. (4) μαθόντι δὲ τῷ νεανίσκῳ πᾶσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν κατασχούσαν αὐτοὺς τύχην τῆς τε μητρὸς οἶκος εἰσέρχεται καὶ Νεμέτορος φροντίς, καὶ πολλὰ βουλευσαμένῳ μετὰ τοῦ Φαιστύλου τῆς μὲν αὐτίκα ὀρμῆς ἐπισχεῖν ἐδόκει, πλείονι δὲ παρασκευῇ δυνάμεως χρησάμενον ὄλον ἀπαλλάξαι τὸν οἶκον τῆς Ἀμολίου παρανομίας κίνδυνόν τε τὸν ἔσχατον ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἄθλων ἀναρρῖψαι, πράττειν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ μητροπάτορος ὃ τι ἂν ἐκείνῳ δοκῇ.

(81.1) ὡς δὲ ταῦτα κράτιστα εἶναι ἔδοξε συγκαλέσας τοὺς κωμήτας ἅπαντας ὁ Ῥωμύλος καὶ δεηθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἄλβαν ἐπείγεσθαι διαταχέων μὴ κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς πύλας ἅπαντας μὴδ' ἀθρόους εἰσιόντας, μὴ τις ὑπόνοια πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει γένηται, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ὑπομένοντας ἐτοίμους εἶναι δρᾶν τὸ κελευόμενον, ἀπῆει πρῶτος εἰς τὴν πόλιν. (2) οἱ δὲ τὸν Ῥέμον ἄγοντες ἐπειδὴ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα, τὰς τε ὑβρεῖς ἀπάσας, ὅσας ἦσαν ὑβρισμένοι πρὸς τῶν μειρακίων, κατηγόρουν καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας σφῶν ἐπεδείκνυσαν τιμωρίας εἰ μὴ τεύξονται καταλείψειν προλέγοντες τὰ βουφόρβια. Ἀμόλιος δὲ τοῖς χωρίταις κατὰ πλήθος ἐληλυθόσι χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος καὶ τῷ Νεμέτορι

(παρὼν γὰρ ἐτύγχανε συναγανακτῶν τοῖς πελάταις) εἰρήνην τε ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν σπεύδων εἶναι καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὸ αὐθαδὲς τοῦ μειρακίου, ὡς ἀκατάπληκτον ἦν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, δι' ὑποψίας λαμβάνων καταψηφίζεται τὴν δίκην· τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τὸν Νεμέτορα ποιεῖ κύριον, εἰπὼν ὡς τῷ δράσαντι δεινὰ τὸ ἀντιπαθεῖν οὐ πρὸς ἄλλου τινὸς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ πεπονητότος ὀφείλεται. (3) ἐν ὅσῳ δ' ὁ Ῥέμος ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Νεμέτορος βουκόλων ἤγετο δεδεμένος τε ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρε καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἀγόντων ἐπικερτομούμενος, ἀκολουθῶν ὁ Νεμέτωρ τοῦ τε σώματος τὴν εὐπρέπειαν ἀπεθαύμαζεν, ὡς πολὺ τὸ βασιλικὸν εἶχε, καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος τὴν εὐγένειαν ἐνεθυμείτο, ἦν καὶ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ διέσωσεν οὐ πρὸς οἴκτον οὐδὲ λιπαρήσεις, ὡς ἅπαντες ἐν ταῖς τοιαῖσδε ποιουσι τύχαις, τραπόμενος, ἀλλὰ σὺν εὐκόσμῳ σιωπῇ πρὸς τὸν μόνον ἀπιών. (4) ὡς δ' εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφίκοντο μεταστῆναι τοὺς ἄλλους κελεύσας μονωθέντα τὸν Ῥέμον ἤρετο τίς εἶη καὶ τίνων, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων γε ἄνδρα τοιοῦτον γενόμενον. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ῥέμου τοσοῦτον εἰδέναι μόνον κατὰ πίστιν τοῦ τρέφοντος, ὅτι σὺν ἀδελφῷ διδύμῳ ἐκτεθείη βρέφος εἰς νάπην εὐθύς ἀπὸ γονῆς καὶ πρὸς τῶν νομέων ἀναιρεθεὶς ἐκτραφείη, βραχὺν ἐπισχῶν χρόνον εἴτε ὑποτοπηθεὶς τι τῶν ἀληθῶν εἴτε τοῦ δαίμονος ἄγοντος εἰς τοῦμφανὲς τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· (5) ὅτι μὲν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γέγονας, ὦ Ῥέμε, παθεῖν ὃ τι ἂν δικαιώσω, καὶ ὡς περὶ πολλοῦ ποιήσαιντ' ἂν οἱ κομίσαντές σε δεῦρο πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ παθόντα σ' ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδὲν δεῖ πρὸς εἰδότα λέγειν. εἰ δέ σε θανάτου τε καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἐκλυσαιμην κακοῦ, ἄρ' ἂν εἰδείης μοι χάριν καὶ δεομένῳ ὑπουργήσεις ὃ κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν ἔσται ἀγαθόν;' (6) ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ μειρακίου ὁπόσα τοὺς ἐν ἀπογνώσει βίου κειμένους ἢ τοῦ σωθήσεσθαι ἐλπίς τοῖς κυρίοις τούτου λέγειν καὶ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι ἐπαίρει, λῦσαι κελεύσας αὐτὸν ὁ Νεμέτωρ καὶ πάντας ἀπελθεῖν ἐκποδῶν φράζει τὰς αὐτοῦ τύχας, ὡς Ἀμόλιος αὐτὸν ἀδελφὸς ὢν ἀπεστέρησε τῆς βασιλείας ὀρφανὸν τε τέκνων ἔθηκε, τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ θήρᾳ κρύφα

διαχειρισάμενος, τὴν δ' ἐν εἰρκτῇ δεδεμένην φυλάττων, τά τε ἄλλα ὀπόσα δεσπότης χρώμενος δούλῳ <λωβάται>.

(82.1) ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ πολὺν θρήνον ἅμα τοῖς λόγοις καταχεάμενος ἤξιου τιμωρὸν τοῖς κατ' οἶκον αὐτοῦ <κακοῖς> τὸν Ῥέμον γενέσθαι. ἀσμένως δὲ ὑποδεξαμένου τὸν λόγον τοῦ μειρακίου καὶ παραυτίκα τάπτειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀξιούντος ἐπαιέσας ὁ Νεμέτωρ τὴν προθυμίαν, 'τῆς μὲν πράξεως', ἔφη, 'τὸν καιρὸν ἐγὼ ταμιεύσομαι, σὺ δὲ τέως πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπόρρητον ἄπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγγελίαν πέμψον, ὅτι σῶζῃ τε δηλῶν καὶ διαταχέων αὐτὸν ἦκειν ἀξιῶν.' (2) ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμπεται τις ἐξευρεθεὶς, ὃς ἐδόκει ὑπηρετήσῃν, καὶ περιτυχὼν οὐ πρόσω τῆς πόλεως ὄντι Ῥωμύλῳ διασαφεῖ τὰς ἀγγελίας· ὁ δὲ περιχαρῆς γενόμενος ἔρχεται σπουδῇ πρὸς Νεμέτορα καὶ περιπλακεὶς ἀμφοῖν ἀσπάζεται μὲν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα φράζει τὴν ἔκθεσιν σφῶν καὶ τροφήν καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ Φαιστύλου ἐπίθετο. τοῖς δὲ βουλομένοις τε καὶ οὐ πολλῶν ἵνα πιστεύσειαν τεκμηρίων δεομένοις καθ' ἡδονὰς τὸ λεγόμενον ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέγνωσαν ἀλλήλους αὐτίκα συνετάττοντο καὶ διεσκόπουν ὅστις ἔσται τρόπος ἢ καιρὸς εἰς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐπιτήδειος. (3) ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι περὶ ταῦτ' ἦσαν ὁ Φαιστύλος ἀπάγεται πρὸς Ἀμόλιον. δεδοικῶς γὰρ μὴ οὐ πιστὰ δόξῃ τῷ Νεμέτορι λέγειν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἄνευ σημείων ἐμφανῶν μεγάλου πράγματος μηνυτῆς γενόμενος, τὸ γνῶρισμα τῆς ἐκθέσεως τῶν βρεφῶν τὴν σκάφην ἀναλαβὼν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐδίωκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. (4) διερχόμενον δ' αὐτὸν τὰς πύλας ταραχῶδῶς πάνυ καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενον μηδεὶν ποιῆσαι καταφανὲς τὸ φερόμενον τῶν φυλάκων τις καταμαθῶν (ἦν δὲ πολεμίων ἐφόδου δέος, καὶ τὰς πύλας οἱ μάλιστα πιστευόμενοι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐφρούρουν) συλλαμβάνει τε καὶ τὸ κρυπτὸν ὃ τι δήποτ' ἦν καταμαθεῖν ἀξιῶν, ἀποκαλύπτει βίᾳ τὴν περιβολήν. ὡς δὲ τὴν σκάφην ἐθεάσατο καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔμαθεν ἀπορούμενον, ἤξιου λέγειν τίς ἢ ταραχὴ καὶ τί τὸ βούλημα τοῦ μὴ φανερώς ἐκφέρειν σκευὸς οὐδὲν

δεόμενον ἀπορρήτου φορᾶς. (5) ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πλείους τῶν φυλάκων συνέρρου καὶ τις αὐτῶν γνωρίζει τὴν σκάφην αὐτὸς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τὰ παιδιά κομίσας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ φράζει πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας. οἱ δὲ συλλαβόντες τὸν Φαιστύλον ἄγουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ διηγοῦνται τὰ γενόμενα. (6) Ἀμόλιος δὲ ἀπειλῇ βασάνων καταπληξάμενος τὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἰ μὴ λέξοι τὰς ἀληθείας ἐκῶν, πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ζῶσιν οἱ παῖδες ἤρετο· ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἔμαθε τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ὅστις ὁ τρόπος ἐγένετο· διηγησαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα ὡς ἐπράχθη, 'ἄγε δὴ', φησὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς, 'ἐπειδὴ ταῦτ' ἀληθεύσας ἔχεις, φράσον ὅπου νῦν ἂν εὔρεθεῖεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι δίκαιοί εἰσιν ἐν βουκόλοις καὶ ἄδοξον βίον ζῆν ἔμοιγε ὄντες συγγενεῖς, ἄλλως τε καὶ θεῶν προνοία σωζόμενοι.'

(83.1) Φαιστύλος δὲ τῆς ἀλόγου πραότητος ὑποψία κινηθεὶς μὴ φρονεῖν αὐτὸν ὅμοια τοῖς λόγοις ἀποκρίνεται ὧδε· 'οἱ μὲν παῖδες εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι βουκολοῦντες, ὅσπερ ἐκείνων βίος, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπέμφθην παρ' αὐτῶν τῇ μητρὶ δηλώσων ἐν αἷς εἰσι τύχαις· ταύτην δὲ παρά σοι φυλάττεσθαι ἀκούων δεήσεσθαι τῆς σῆς θυγατρὸς ἔμελλον, ἵνα με πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀγάγοι. τὴν δὲ σκάφην ἔφερον, ἵν' ἔχω δεικνύναι τεκμήριον ἐμφανὲς ἅμα τοῖς λόγοις. νῦν οὖν ἐπεὶ δέδοκται σοι τοὺς νεανίσκους δεῦρο κομίσαι χαίρω τε, καὶ πέμψον οὐστίνας βούλει σὺν ἐμοί. δείξω μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι τοὺς παῖδας, φράσουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοι τὰ παρά σου.' (2) ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν ἀναβολὴν εὔρεσθαι βουλόμενος τοῖς παισὶ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς ἀποδράσεσθαι τοὺς ἄγοντας, ἐπειδὴν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι γένηται, ἐλπίσας. Ἀμόλιος δὲ τοῖς πιστοτάτοις τῶν ὄπλοφόρων ἐπιστείλας κρύφα, οὓς ἂν ὁ συφορβὸς αὐτοῖς δείξῃ συλλαβόντας ὡς αὐτὸν ἄγειν, ἀποστέλλει διαταχέων. ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος αὐτίκα γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο καλέσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ ἔχειν, ἕως ἂν εὖ θῆται τὰ παρόντα, καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπ' ἄλλο δὴ τι ἐκάλει. (3) ὁ δὲ ἀποσταλεὶς ἄγγελος εἰνοία τε τοῦ κινδυνεύοντος καὶ ἐλέω τῆς τύχης ἐπιτρέψας κατήγορος γίνεται Νεμέτορι τῆς

Ἄμολιου γνώμης. ὁ δὲ τοῖς παισὶ δηλώσας τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον αὐτοῦς καὶ παρακελευσάμενος ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι παρῆν ἄγων ὠπλισμένους ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια τῶν τε ἄλλων πελατῶν καὶ ἑταίρων καὶ θεραπείας πιστῆς χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην. ἦκον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔχοντες ὑπὸ ταῖς περιβολαῖς ξίφη κεκρυμμένα, στίφος καρτερόν. βιασάμενοι δὲ τὴν εἴσοδον ἀθρόα ὀρμῇ πάντες οὐ πολλοῖς ὀπλίταις φρουρουμένην ἀποσφάττουσιν εὐπετῶς Ἄμολιον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἄκραν καταλαμβάνονται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοῖς περὶ Φάβιον εἴρηται. (84.1) ἕτεροι δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν μυθωδεστέρων ἀξιοῦντες ἱστορικῆ γραφῆ προσήκειν τὴν τε ἀπόθεσιν τὴν τῶν βρεφῶν οὐχ ὡς ἐκελεύσθη τοῖς ὑπηρέταις γενομένην ἀπίθανον εἶναι φασί, καὶ τῆς λυκαίνης τὸ τιθασόν, ἢ τοὺς μαστοὺς ἐπέειχε τοῖς παιδίοις, ὡς δραματικῆς μεστὸν ἀτοπίας διασύροισιν.

- (77.2) <προσάπτοντες> *Casaubonus* : *om. MSS.* (78.3) <οὐκ εἰς> *Stephanus* : *om. MSS.* (5) <τῆ> *Grasberger* : *om. MSS.* (79.2) τὸν *MSS.* : *del. Sintenis* (4) γέγραφε *Plüss* : τῆι γραφῆι *MSS.* (5) περιεσχάτων *Kiessling* : περὶ ἔσχατα *MSS.* (6) ἔπειτ' ἀπελθὼν *Kiessling* : ἔπειτα ἐλθὼν *MSS.* : ἔπειτα δ' ἐλθὼν *F. Jacoby* (7) περιέπουσαν *Sylberg* : περισπῶσαν *MSS.* (8) οἰκισάντων *Stephanus* : οἰκησάντων *MSS.* ἠλέγχετο *A* : ἐγένετο *B* αὐτῷ *Meutzner* : αὐτῷ *MSS.* (10) Ῥέμον *A* : Ῥῶμον *B*; *sic etiam infra nisi 14* (Ῥέμος *ABc* : Ῥ<ῶ>μος *Bb*) (11) <ἐπὶ> τῆς . . . στρεφούσης *Sylberg* : τῆς . . . ἐπιστρεφούσης *MSS.* (13) Καίνινην *Cary* (*cf. 2.32.2*) : Καϊνιμᾶν (-ᾶν) *MSS.* : Καίνιναν *Cobet* (80.3) <οὔτος> *C. Jacoby* : *om. MSS.* <ᾶ> *Kiessling* : *om. MSS.* (81.2) χωρίταις *A* : πολίταις *B* (5) παθόντα σ' *Reiske* : παθόντες *MSS.* : παθόντες σ' *Meutzner* (6) αὐτοῦ *Stephanus* : αὐτοῦ *AB* <λωβᾶται> *Meutzner* : *om. MSS.* (82.1) τοῖς κατ' οἶκον αὐτοῦ <κακοῖς> *Kiessling* : τοῖς κατοίκοις αὐτοῦ *ABa*

: τοῖς κατ' οἴκους αὐτοῦ *Bb* : τοῖς κακοῖς αὐτοῦ *Reiske* : τοῖς κατ' οἶκον <κακοῖς>
αὐτοῦ *Sauppe* παραυτίκα *C. Jacoby* : πάλαι *MSS.* : μάλα *Sauppe* (82.3)

ῥωμύλος *Sylberg* : Φαιστύλος *AB, T* (4) φερόμενον *Gelenius* : λεγόμενον *MSS., T*

(6) ἄδοξον βίον *Usener* : ἀδόξω βίω *MSS., T*

Who the founders were, the chance events that caused them to lead out the colony, and all other matters relating to its foundation have been narrated by many, and with major variations by some; and I too will relate the most believable of the stories that have been handed down. These are as follows:

(76.1) When Amulius took over the kingship at Alba, having forcibly deprived his elder brother Numitor of his inherited position, he not only acted with great contempt for justice in all other matters, but in the end plotted to make Numitor's house bereft of heirs, both from fear of facing justice and from a desire to perpetuate his rule. (2) After considering this plan for a long time, he first took note of where Aegestus, Numitor's son, who was just coming to man's estate, used to go hunting, and laying an ambush in the most concealed part of the place, he killed him as he set off for the chase; and when the deed was done he put about the rumour that the young man had been killed by brigands. But this fabricated story was not able to suppress the unspoken truth, and many dared to speak of the deed, despite the risk of doing so. (3) Numitor knew of the crime, but displaying more calculation than feeling he feigned ignorance, and decided to postpone his anger until the times were less dangerous. And Amulius, assuming that the true facts about the young man had gone unnoticed, embarked upon a second plot, in the following way: he appointed Numitor's daughter, Ilia—or, as some report, Rhea, surnamed Silvia—who was then of marriageable age, to the priesthood of Vesta, so that she would not quickly get married and give birth to avengers of her family. These sacred virgins were obliged to remain unmarried for at least five years,

during which they were entrusted with the care of the perpetual fire and with all the other religious observances that custom requires maidens to carry out for the community.

(4) Amulius was doing this under the fine pretext of conferring honour and distinction on the family: it was not he who had brought in this law, nor, since it applied generally, was his brother the first of those held in esteem whom he had compelled to obey it, but it was both a custom and a fine thing among the Albans for the most well-born girls to be appointed servants of Vesta. But Numitor, perceiving that his brother was not doing this for the best of motives, concealed his anger so as not to alienate the people, and in this instance too kept his unspoken grievance bottled up.

(77.1) In the fourth year after this, when Ilia went to a sacred grove of Mars to fetch holy water intended for use in sacred rites, someone violated her in the sacred precinct. Some say that this person was one of the girl's suitors, who was in love with her; others say that it was Amulius himself, who, motivated not so much by lust as by cunning, had clothed himself in armour so as to appear most frightening and also to make his familiar features as indistinct as possible. (2) But most authorities tell the mythical story that it was an image of the god whose sanctuary it was, and <they attach> to the incident many other supernatural happenings, including a sudden disappearance of the sun and a darkness spreading over the sky. And the appearance that the image had was far more wondrous than that of any man in size and beauty. And they say that the rapist spoke to the girl, soothing her plight and telling her (from which it became clear that he was a god) that she should not be in any way concerned about the experience: what had happened to her was a marriage union with the tutelary deity of the place, and as a result of the rape she would bring forth two sons who would be by far the best of all men in valour and success in war. So saying he was shrouded in mist and, rising from the ground, was borne aloft through the air. (3) How one should form

an opinion about such things, whether to disdain them as attributing human weaknesses to the gods—since no action of the divine being can be unworthy of his incorruptible and blessed nature—or whether to acknowledge even these stories, that the whole nature of the universe is mixed, and that between the race of gods and the race of men there exists some third order of being, namely the race of demons, which, uniting sometimes with humankind and sometimes with gods, brings forth, it is said, the legendary race of heroes, this is not the appropriate place to speculate, and what has been said about these matters by philosophers is sufficient. (4) But as for the girl, after the rape she pretended to be ill (for this was what her mother suggested to her both for her own safety and for the observance of rites to the gods) and was no longer present at the sacrifices, but whatever public duties she was obliged to perform were carried out by the other virgins to whom the same tasks were entrusted.

(78.1) But Amulius, prompted either by knowledge of what had transpired or by suspicion that it was likely, started to inquire about her prolonged absence from the sacred rites, and to ask for an explanation of what was going on. He sent in doctors whom he especially trusted, and when the women alleged that her illness was one that could not be spoken about in public, he left his wife to keep watch over her. (2) She then informed him of the girl's condition, having discovered by women's intuition what had been kept secret from others; and he, in order to prevent the girl from giving birth in secret, for she was now near her time, set an armed guard over her. And summoning his brother to the council, he disclosed the rape, which no-one else had known about, and accused the girl's parents of complicity; he commanded him not to hide the culprit, but to bring him into the open. (3) Numitor said that what he was hearing was incredible, that he was innocent of everything that was alleged, and that he required time to test the truth of it. Having with difficulty obtained this delay, and having learned from his wife about the affair as his daughter had

related it in the beginning, he proclaimed that the rape had been committed by the god and set out in detail what had been said by him concerning the twins; and he thought it right that the story should be believed if the outcome of her labour turned out to be such as the god had indicated; for the girl was now close to giving birth, so that it would <not> be long before any trickery became apparent. He was also willing to hand over the women who were guarding his daughter, and to undergo any kind of trial. (4) Although a majority of the council was persuaded by his speech, Amulius declared that his claims had absolutely no validity, and determined to destroy the girl by any possible means. While this was going on, those who had been appointed to watch over the girl during her labour came to announce that she had given birth to male twins. Numitor immediately poured forth the same arguments, showing that it was the work of the god, and demanding that no wrongful act should be committed against his daughter, who was not responsible for her condition. Amulius however was of the opinion that some man-made trickery had taken place in relation to the birth, and that another infant had been procured by the women, either without the knowledge of the guards or with their complicity, and he said many things along the same lines. (5) When the councillors learned that the king's opinion was swayed by implacable anger, they gave their judgment, just as he demanded, that they should implement the law which laid down that a disgraced Vestal should be scourged with rods and put to death, and her offspring thrown into the main stream of the river. These days, however, the sacred law states that such persons should be buried alive.

(79.1) Up to this point most of the historians give the same account or diverge only a little, some in a more legendary direction, others towards what is more likely to be true; but they disagree about what happened next. (2) Some say that the girl was done away with at once; others that she was kept under guard in a secluded prison, which caused the rumour to

circulate among the people that she had been secretly put to death. They say that Amulius was moved to do this out of pity when his daughter begged him to show favour to her cousin; they had been brought up together and were of the same age, and they loved each other like sisters. Amulius therefore granted her wish—she was his only daughter—and saved Ilia from death, but kept her locked up in a secret prison; she was eventually released after the death of Amulius. (3) In this way the accounts of ancient writers disagree concerning Ilia; but both versions have the appearance of truth. For this reason I too have recorded both of them, but each of my readers will make up his own mind about which one should be believed. (4) Concerning the children born of Ilia, Quintus Fabius who is called Pictor, whom Lucius Cincius, Cato Porcius, Piso Calpurnius, and the majority of the other historians have followed, has written as follows: **as Amulius ordered, some of his servants, taking the babies, lying in a tub, carried them to the river, which was about a hundred and twenty stades from the city, intending to throw them in. (5) But when they came near, and saw the Tiber exceeding its natural course on account of continuous storms, and turning aside into the plains, they descended from the top of the Palatine, towards the nearest water (for they were not able to go on any further), and there at the first point where the flood waters of the river touched the foot of the hill, they placed the tub on the water. It floated for some time, and then, as the waters receded little by little from their furthest reaches, it struck against a rock, and, turning over, threw out the infants. (6) They lay whimpering and wallowing in the marsh, and a she-wolf which had just whelped appeared, her teats swollen with milk; she gave her teats for them to suck and with her tongue, licked off the mud with which they were covered. Meanwhile, herdsmen happened to be driving out their herds to pasture (for the place was already accessible), and one of them, seeing how the she-wolf fondled the babes, stood there**

gaping for a while in amazement and disbelief at what he was seeing. Then he went away, and gathering as many as he could of those who were grazing their flocks nearby (for they could not believe what he said) he led them to see the thing for itself. (7) But when they too came near and perceived the she-wolf treating the infants as if they were her own children, and how they clung to her as to a mother, supposing that they were seeing something supernatural, approached all together, trying to frighten the creature by shouting. But the she-wolf, far from being provoked at the approach of the humans, just as if she were tame, withdrew slowly from the infants, and paying almost no heed to the crowd of shepherds, went away. (8) Now there was also not far away from there a sacred place, thickly shaded in a deep wood, and a hollow rock giving forth springs. It was said that the grove belonged to Pan, and that there was an altar of the god there. To this spot the she-wolf went, and hid herself away. The grove indeed no longer remains, but the cave, out of which the stream flows, built up against the Palatine, is still pointed out on the road which leads to the circus, and there exists a precinct near it, where an image recording the incident is situated: the she-wolf offering her teats to the two boys, works in bronze of ancient manufacture. This was the holy place, as it is said, of the Arcadians who once settled there with Evander. (9) When the beast was gone the herdsmen picked up the infants, being eager to rear them, on the grounds that, as they thought, the gods wished them to be saved. There was a certain man among them, placed in charge of the royal swineherds, a good man by the name of Faustulus. He had been in the city for some necessary business or other at the time when the seduction of Ilia and the subsequent birth were exposed, and afterwards, when the babes were being conveyed to the river, he had, by a divine chance, passed along the same road, going to the Palatine, at the same time as those who were carrying them. Doing as much as possible to disguise from

the others the fact that he knew anything about the matter, he asked them that the babes be given up to him; by common consent he took them and carried them home to his wife. (10) When, on his arrival, he found that she had just given birth, and was grieving because her child was stillborn, he consoled her, and gave her the boys to bring up as her own, setting out in detail from the beginning the whole of their fortunes. As the boys grew up he gave them names, one Romulus, the other Remus. When they reached manhood, they became, in excellence of appearance and dignity of mind, not like swineherds or cowherds, but such as someone might expect those to be who were believed to be born of royal race and of the seed of the gods; in these terms they are even now sung of by the Romans in their national hymns. (11) Their way of life, however, was that of cattleherds, supported by their own labour, mostly in the mountains, building roof-shaped huts from sticks and reeds. One of these still even down to my time existed on the flank of the Palatine which is turned towards the circus, and is called the hut of Romulus. Those who have charge of these matters preserve it as holy, not expanding it in any way so as to make it more august, but if it suffers any damage from storms or the lapse of time they mend the damage, and make it similar to its former condition as far as possible. (12) When they had reached about eighteen years of age, they had some cause for dispute over pasturage with the cowherds of Numitor, who kept their cattle-sheds on the Aventine mountain which is opposite the Palatine. Each repeatedly accused the other either of grazing meadow-land which did not belong to them, or of occupying for themselves alone the common land, or of any offence whatsoever. From this altercation they came to blows, first with fists, then with weapons. (13) The servants of Numitor, having received many wounds at the hands of the youths, and having lost some of their own number, and by force being kept out by them from the disputed places, began

preparing a strategem against them. Having laid an ambush in the concealed part of the ravine, and having agreed, amongst those who were to lie in wait for the youths, the most suitable moment for the attack, the others in a mass set upon their folds by night. Now Romulus happened at this time to be already on his way, in company with the most distinguished of the villagers, to a place called Caenina to make the ancestral sacrifices on behalf of the community. (14) Remus however, when he learnt of their attack, set out to bring help, taking his weapons in haste, and taking along with him a few of those from the village, who had already banded together. His enemies did not await his attack, but rather fled, drawing him on to where they were planning at the right point to turn about and attack. Remus, in ignorance of their strategem, having pursued them a long way, passed the spot where the ambush had been set, whereupon those lying in wait rose up, and those fleeing turned about. They encircled Remus and his men, struck them with many stones, and took them captive. For they had been advised by their masters to bring the young men to them alive. In this manner Remus was subdued and taken away. (80.1–2 [= Aelius Tubero 38 F3]) . . .

(80.3) **And so Remus fell into the hands of his enemies** in this way, or in the way Fabius has related, **and was being taken as a prisoner to Alba. Romulus, when he became aware of what had happened to his brother, thought he must pursue him at once, taking the most vigorous of the herdsmen, so that he might catch up with Remus while he was still on the road. But he was dissuaded by Faustulus. For, seeing that his haste was too frenzied, Faustulus, who was considered the youths' father, now at last, forced by necessity, took Romulus aside and told him the things which he had hitherto continued to keep secret from them, lest they should hasten to undertake quickly some bold venture before they were fully in their prime. (4) On learning the whole of their fortune**

from the beginning, the young man was filled with pity for his mother and anxiety for Numitor; and having discussed the situation at length together with Faustulus, he decided to hold his immediate impulse in check, but, using a larger armed force, to deliver his whole family from the lawlessness of Amulius, and to run the ultimate risk for the greatest prizes, doing together with his maternal grandfather whatever the latter should see fit.

(81.1) Thus it seemed that these were the best plans; Romulus summoned all the villagers, and begged them to hasten to Alba as quickly as they could, not all entering by the same gates or in a body all together, to prevent any suspicion from arising on the part of those in the city, and then to remain in the forum ready to carry out orders; he himself then set out first for the city. (2) Those who were leading Remus with them, when they brought him before the king, denounced all the outrages they had suffered at the hands of the youths, and displayed their own wounded, and warned him that if they did not get their revenge, they would abandon their herds. Amulius, wishing to oblige the country folk, who had come in great numbers, and Numitor (who happened to be present, sharing the annoyance of his dependants), and also striving after peace throughout the country, and at the same time being suspicious of the young man's resolute spirit, how undaunted he was in his words, found him guilty. He made Numitor responsible for the punishment, however, saying that a wrongdoer ought not to be punished by anyone other than the one who had suffered at his hands. (3) While Remus was being led away, with his hands bound behind his back, by the cowherds of Numitor, who mocked him all the while, Numitor, who was following, began to marvel greatly at Remus' fine physical appearance, how much he had a regal air about him; he began to ponder the nobility of his spirit, which he was maintaining in terrible

circumstances, turning neither to lamentation nor supplications, in the way that all men do in the face of similar misfortunes, but going off to meet his fate in becoming silence.

(4) When they arrived at his house, Numitor ordered the others to withdraw, and asked Remus, who was left alone with him, who he was, and of what parents, as, in his view, such a man could not have been born of ordinary stock. Remus said that he knew only as much as he had been told by the man who had brought him up, that as a baby he had been exposed with his twin brother in a wooded valley immediately after his birth, and was taken up and reared by the herdsmen. After a short pause, either because he suspected something of the truth, or because some deity was bringing the matter to light, Numitor said to him, (5) 'That you are in my power, Remus, to suffer whatever I may think fit, and that those who brought you here would pay a high price for you to be put to death, after suffering many terrible things—these things you already know, and there is no need for me to tell you. If I were to release you from the death penalty and from all other evil, would you then feel gratitude to me, and when I required you, render me a service which will be to the common good of us both?' (6) When the youth in reply said all those things which hope of salvation induces those who are in despair of their lives to say and promise to those who have power over their fates, Numitor ordered him to be set free, and then everyone out of the room; whereupon he told Remus his own fortunes, how Amulius his brother had robbed him of the kingdom and made him bereft of children, having secretly slain his son during a hunt, and keeping his daughter bound in prison, and in all other respects maltreated him as a master would a slave.

(82.1) Having spoken thus, pouring out much lamentation with his words, he begged Remus to become the avenger of the evils which afflicted his house. When the

youth gladly accepted his proposal, and begged to be assigned the task himself at once, Numitor applauded his eagerness, and said, 'I myself will control the right time for the deed; but you must meanwhile send a message to your brother, kept secret from everyone else, making it clear that you are safe, and asking him to come with all haste.'

(2) Thereupon a man was found, who, it seemed, would serve, and was sent; he met up with Romulus not far from the city, and made clear the content of his message.

Romulus, now exceedingly happy, went in haste to Numitor, and having first greeted both of them with an embrace, he then related the story of their exposure and upbringing, and all the other things he had learnt from Faustulus. To the others, who wished this story to be true, and needed few proofs to believe it, his words brought pleasure. Once they had acknowledged each other, they immediately began making arrangements together, and examining what means and occasion would be suitable for their attack. (3) While they were thus engaged, Faustulus was brought before Amulius.

For, being afraid that what Romulus said would not be believed by Numitor, since he was attempting to bring him information on a great matter without clear proofs, Faustulus took up the tub as a token of the exposure of the babes, and set out shortly after Romulus to follow him to the city. (4) But as he was passing through the gates in great agitation, thinking it of great importance to keep his burden concealed from everyone, one of the guards observed him (an enemy attack was feared, and the gates were being guarded by those most trusted by the king). He seized him, and, demanding to inspect whatever it was that he was concealing, pulled back his cloak by force.

Laying eyes on the tub, and noticing that Faustulus was somewhat agitated, he asked him to tell him why he was disturbed, and what was his intention in bringing into the city secretly a piece of equipment which had no need of such secret transport. (5) While

this was going on more of the guards began coming to join them, and one of them identified the tub, the very one in which he himself had carried the children to the river, and he told those who were present. They seized Faustulus, led him to the king himself, and described what had happened. (6) Amulius, having terrified the man with the threat of torture, if he would not volunteer the truth, first of all asked him whether the children were alive. Once he learnt that they were, he wanted to know how they had been saved. When Faustulus had described everything as it had happened, the king said, 'Come now, since you have spoken the truth thus far, tell me where they may be found now; for it is not right for them, as my relations, to live a contemptible life among herdsmen, especially since they have been saved by the providence of the gods.'

(83.1) But Faustulus, suspecting Amulius' unaccountable mildness, was disturbed by the fear that his intentions did not match his words, and answered thus: 'The boys are herding in the mountains—this is their way of life—but I was sent by them to make known their circumstances to their mother. Hearing that she was kept here with you under guard, I was going to beg your daughter to take me to her. I was carrying the tub that I might have some clear proof to show her besides my words. Now then, since you have decided to bring the youths here, I rejoice, but also ask that you send whomsoever you wish with me; I shall show them the boys, and they shall make your wishes known to them.' (2) He said these things wishing to find a means of delaying the death of the youths, and hoping at the same time himself to escape from his escort, as soon as he should get into the mountains. Amulius secretly gave orders to the most trustworthy of his soldiers, that those whom the swineherd should point out to them, they should seize so as to bring them to him; then he dispatched them with all speed. Once he had done this, he immediately decided to summon his brother, and keep

him under guard, but not bound, until he could bring the current business to a satisfactory conclusion; so he summoned him as if for some other reason. (3) But the messenger who was sent, yielding to his goodwill towards the endangered man and to pity for his fate, revealed Amulius' intention to Numitor. The latter, having revealed to the youths the danger which had overtaken them, and encouraged them to be brave men, took with him an armed escort from his other dependants and companions and a loyal band of servants, no small number, and arrived at the palace. There came also men from the fields, who had assembled in the city and now left the forum, carrying swords concealed under their cloaks; they formed a powerful body. Having all forced the entrance, which was guarded by a few soldiers, in a concerted assault, they easily slew Amulius and after that seized the citadel. This is the account given by Fabius and those who follow him. (84.1) But others, who consider that nothing mythical is suitable for a historical narrative, say that the exposure of the infants in a manner not conforming to the orders given to the servants is unbelievable, and ridicule the tameness of the she-wolf who offered them her teats as a story full of theatrical absurdity.

b. Plut. *Rom.* 3–4, 6–8 (cf. Zon. 7.1–2) cf. T16

(3.1) τοῦ δὲ πίστιν ἔχοντος λόγου μάλιστα καὶ πλείστους μάρτυρας τὰ μὲν κυριώτατα πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξέδωκε Διοκλῆς <ὁ> Πεπαρήθιος, ᾧ καὶ Φάβιος ὁ Πίκτωρ ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐπηκολούθηκε. γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἕτεραι διαφοραὶ· τύπῳ δ' εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτός ἐστι. (2) τῶν ἀπ' Αἰνείου γεγονότων ἐν Ἄλβη βασιλέων εἰς ἀδελφοὺς δύο, Νομήτορα καὶ Ἀμούλιον, ἡ διαδοχὴ καθῆκεν. Ἀμουλίου δὲ νείμαντος τὰ πάντα δίχα, τῇ δὲ βασιλείᾳ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸν ἐκ Τροίας κομισθέντα χρυσὸν ἀντιθέντος, εἴλετο τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Νομήτωρ. (3) ἔχων οὖν ὁ Ἀμούλιος τὰ χρήματα καὶ πλεον ἀπ' αὐτῶν δυνάμενος τοῦ Νομήτορος,

τήν τε βασιλείαν ἀφείλετο ῥαδίως, καὶ φοβούμενος ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι παῖδας, ἰέρειαν τῆς Ἑστίας ἀπέδειξεν, ἄγαμον καὶ παρθένον ἀεὶ βιωσομένην. ταύτην οἱ μὲν Ἴλιαν, οἱ δὲ Ῥέαν, οἱ δὲ Σιλουίαν ὀνομάζουσι. (4) φωρᾶται δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον κυοῦσα παρὰ τὸν καθεστῶτα ταῖς Ἑστιάσι νόμον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀνήκεστα μὴ παθεῖν αὐτὴν ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγάτηρ Ἀνθῶ παρητήσατο, δεηθεῖσα τοῦ πατρός, εἴρχθη δὲ καὶ δίαιταν εἶχεν ἀνεπίμεικτον, ὅπως μὴ λάθοι τεκοῦσα τὸν Ἀμούλιον. ἔτεκε δὲ δύο παῖδας ὑπερφυεῖς μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει. (5) δι' ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ Ἀμούλιος φοβηθείς, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ὑπρέτην λαβόντα ῥίψαι. τοῦτον ἔτιοι Φαιστύλον ὀνομάζεσθαι λέγουσιν, οἱ δ' οὐ τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀνελόμενον. ἐνθήμενος οὖν εἰς σκάφην τὰ βρέφη, κατέβη μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ῥίψων, ἰδὼν δὲ κατιόντα πολλῷ ῥεύματι καὶ τραχυνόμενον, ἔδεισε προσελθεῖν, ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς ὄχθης καταθεὶς ἀπηλλάσσετο. (6) τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ κατακλύζοντος ἢ πλημμύρα τὴν σκάφην ὑπολαβοῦσα καὶ μετεωρίσασα πρῶως κατήνεγκεν εἰς χωρίον ἐπιεικῶς μαλθακόν, ὃ νῦν Κερμαλὸν καλοῦσι, πάλαι δὲ Γερμανόν, ὡς ἔοικεν ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς γερμανοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν. (4.1) ἦν δὲ πλησίον ἐρινεός, ὃν Ῥωμινάλιον ἐκάλουν, ἢ διὰ τὸν Ῥωμύλον ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὰ μηρυκώμενα τῶν θρεμμάτων ἐκεῖ διὰ τὴν σκιὰν ἐνδιάζειν, ἢ μάλιστα διὰ τὸν τῶν βρεφῶν θηλασμόν, ὅτι τὴν τε θηλὴν ῥοῦμαν ὠνόμαζον οἱ παλαιοί, καὶ θεὸν τινα τῆς ἐκτροφῆς τῶν νηπίων ἐπιμελείσθαι δοκοῦσαν ὀνομάζουσι Ῥουμῖναν, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῇ νηφάλια, καὶ γάλα τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπισπένδουσιν. (2) ἐνταῦθα δὴ τοῖς βρέφεσι κειμένοις τὴν τε λύκαιναν ἱστοροῦσι θηλαζομένην καὶ δρυοκολάπτην τινὰ παρεῖναι συνεκτρέφοντα καὶ φυλάττοντα. νομίζεται δ' Ἄρεως ἱερὰ τὰ ζῶα, τὸν δὲ δρυοκολάπτην καὶ διαφερόντως Λατῖνοι σέβονται καὶ τιμῶσιν· ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα πίστιν ἔσχεν ἢ τεκοῦσα τὰ βρέφη τεκεῖν ἐξ Ἄρεως φάσκουσα. (3) καίτοι τοῦτο παθεῖν αὐτὴν ἑξαπατηθεῖσαν λέγουσιν, ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμουλίου διαπαρθενευθεῖσαν, ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπιφανέντος αὐτῇ καὶ συναρπάσαντος. οἱ δὲ τοῦνομα τῆς τροφῆς δι' ἀμφιβολίαν ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες

έκτροπήν τῇ φήμῃ παρασχεῖν· (4) λούπας γὰρ ἐκάλουν οἱ Λατῖνοι τῶν τε θηρίων τὰς λυκαίνας καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς ἑταιρούσας· εἶναι δὲ τοιαύτην τὴν Φαιστύλου γυναῖκα τοῦ τὰ βρέφη θρέψαντος, Ἄκκαν Λαρεντίαν ὄνομα. (5) ταύτη δὲ καὶ θύουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ χοὰς ἐπιφέρει τοῦ Ἀπριλίου μηνὸς αὐτῇ ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἱερεὺς, καὶ Λαρενταλίαν καλοῦσι τὴν ἑορτήν. (5.1–5)...

(6.1) τὰ δὲ βρέφη Φαιστύλος Ἀμουλίου συφορβὸς ἀνείλετο λαθῶν ἅπαντας, ὡς δ' ἔνιοί φασι τῶν εἰκότων ἐχόμενοι μᾶλλον, εἰδότος τοῦ Νομήτορος καὶ συγχορηγοῦντος τροφᾶς κρύφα τοῖς τρέφουσι. (2) καὶ γράμματα λέγονται καὶ τᾶλλα μαθάνειν οἱ παῖδες εἰς Γαβίους κομισθέντες, ὅσα χρὴ τοὺς εὖ γεγονότας κληθῆναι δὲ καὶ τούτους ἀπὸ τῆς θηλῆς ἱστοροῦσι Ῥωμόλον καὶ Ῥέμον, ὅτι θηλάζοντες ὤφθησαν τὸ θηρίον. (3) ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν εὐγένεια καὶ νηπίων ὄντων εὐθὺς ἐξέφαινε μεγέθει καὶ ἰδέα τὴν φύσιν, αὐξόμενοι δὲ θυμοειδεῖς ἦσαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ἀνδρώδεις καὶ φρόνημα πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα δεινὰ καὶ τόλμαν ὄλως ἀνέκπληκτον ἔχοντες· ὁ δὲ Ῥωμόλος γνώμη τε χρῆσθαι μᾶλλον ἐδόκει καὶ πολιτικὴν ἔχειν σύνεσιν, ἐν ταῖς περὶ νομᾶς καὶ κνηγίας πρὸς τοὺς γειτιῶντας ἐπιμειξίαις πολλὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρέχων κατανόησιν ἡγεμονικοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ πειθαρχικοῦ φύσει γεγονότος. (4) διὸ τοῖς μὲν ὁμοδόλοις ἢ ταπεινοτέροις προσφιλεῖς ἦσαν, ἐπιστάτας δὲ καὶ διόπους βασιλικούς καὶ ἀγελάρχας ὡς μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ διαφέροντας ὑπερφρονούντες, οὐτ' ἀπειλῆς ἐφρόντιζον οὐτ' ὀργῆς. (5) ἐχρῶντο δὲ διαίταις καὶ διατριβαῖς ἐλευθερίοις, οὐ τὴν σχολὴν ἐλευθέριον ἡγούμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀπουσίαν, ἀλλὰ γυμνάσια καὶ θήρας καὶ δρόμους καὶ τὸ ληστὰς ἀλέξασθαι καὶ κλώπας ἐλεῖν καὶ βίας ἐξελέσθαι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους. ἦσαν δὲ διὰ ταῦτα περιβόητοι.

(7.1) γενομένης δὲ τινος πρὸς τοὺς Νομήτορος βουκόλους τοῖς Ἀμουλίου διαφορᾶς καὶ βοσκημάτων ἐλάσεως, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι συγκόπτουσι μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ τρέπονται, ἀποτέμνονται δὲ τῆς ἀγέλης συχνήν. ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ τοῦ

Νομήτορος ὀλιγώρου, συνήγον δὲ καὶ προσεδέχοντο πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπόρους, πολλοὺς δὲ δούλους, θράσους ἀποστατικοῦ καὶ φρονήματος ἀρχὰς ἐνδιδόντες. (2) τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου πρὸς τινα θυσίαν ἀποτραπομένου (καὶ γὰρ ἦν φιλοθύτης καὶ μαντικός), οἱ τοῦ Νομήτορος βοτῆρες τῷ Ῥέμῳ μετ' ὀλίγων βαδίζοντι προστυχόντες ἐμάχοντο, καὶ γενομένων πληγῶν καὶ τραυμάτων ἐν ἀμφοτέροις, ἐκράτησαν οἱ τοῦ Νομήτορος καὶ συνέλαβον ζῶντα τὸν Ῥέμον. (3) ἀναχθέντος οὖν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Νομήτορα καὶ κατηγορηθέντος, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἐκόλασε, χαλεπὸν ὄντα δεδιὼς τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνον ἐδεῖτο τυχεῖν δίκης, ἀδελφὸς ὢν καὶ καθυβρισμένος ὑπ' οἰκετῶν ἐκείνου βασιλέως ὄντος. (4) συναγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν ἐν Ἄλβη καὶ δεινὰ πάσχειν οἰομένων τὸν ἄνδρα παρ' ἀξίαν, κινηθεὶς ὁ Ἀμούλιος αὐτῷ παραδίδωσι τῷ Νομήτορι τὸν Ῥέμον, ὃ τι βούλοιτο χρήσασθαι. (5) παραλαβὼν δ' ἐκείνος, ὡς ἦκεν οἴκαδε, θαυμάζων μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τὸν νεανίσκον, ὑπερφέροντα μεγέθει καὶ ῥώμῃ πάντας, ἐνορῶν δὲ τῷ προσώπῳ τὸ θαρραλέον καὶ ἰταμόν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀδούλωτον καὶ ἀπαθὲς ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων, ἔργα δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πράξεις ὅμοια τοῖς βλεπομένοις ἀκούων, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ὡς ἔοικε θεοῦ συμπάροντος καὶ συνεπευθύνοντος ἀρχὰς μεγάλων πραγμάτων, ἀπτόμενος ὑπονοῖα καὶ τύχη τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀνέκρινεν ὅστις εἴη καὶ ὅπως γένοιτο, φωνῆ τε πρᾶξια καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ βλέμματι πίστιν αὐτῷ μετ' ἐλπίδος ἐνδιδούς. (6) ὁ δὲ θαρρῶν ἔλεγεν· ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἀποκρύψομαί σε· καὶ γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖς Ἀμουλίου βασιλικώτερος. ἀκούεις γὰρ καὶ ἀνακρίνεις πρὶν ἢ κολάζειν· ὁ δ' ἀκρίτους ἐκδίδωσι. πρότερον μὲν ἑαυτοὺς οἰκετῶν βασιλέως Φαιστύλου καὶ Λαρεντίας ἠπιστάμεθα παῖδας, ἐσμέν δὲ δίδυμοι, γενόμενοι δ' ἐν αἰτία πρὸς σὲ καὶ διαβολαῖς καὶ τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς ἀγῶσιν, ἀκούομεν μέγала περὶ ἑαυτῶν· εἰ δὲ πιστά, κρινεῖν ἔοικε νῦν ὁ κίνδυνος. (7) γοναὶ μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν ἀπόρητοι λέγονται, τροφαὶ δὲ καὶ τιθηνήσεις ἀτοπώτεραι νεογνῶν, οἷς ἐρρίφημεν οἰωνοῖς καὶ θηρίοις, ὑπὸ τούτων τρεφόμενοι, μαστῷ λυκαίνης καὶ

δρυκολάπτου ψωμίσμασιν, ἐν σκάφῃ τινὶ κείμενοι παρὰ τὸν μέγαν ποταμόν. (8)
ἔστι δ' ἡ σκάφη καὶ σώζεται, χαλκοῖς ὑποζώμασι γραμμάτων ἀμυδρῶν
ἐγκεχαραγμένων, ἃ γένοιτ' ἂν ὕστερον ἴσως ἀνωφελῆ γνωρίσματα τοῖς τοκεῦσιν
ἡμῶν ἀπολομένων.' (9) ὁ μὲν οὖν Νομήτωρ ἔκ τε τῶν λόγων τούτων καὶ πρὸς
τὴν ὄψιν εἰκάζων τὸν χρόνον, οὐκ ἔφευγε τὴν ἐλπίδα σαίνουσαν, ἀλλ'
ἐφρόντιζεν ὅπως τῇ θυγατρὶ περὶ τούτων κρύφα συγγενόμενος φράσειεν·
ἐφρουρεῖτο γὰρ ἔτι καρτερῶς.

(8.1) ὁ δὲ Φαιστύλος ἀκούσας τὴν τε σύλληψιν τοῦ Ῥέμου καὶ τὴν
παράδοσιν, τὸν μὲν Ῥωμύλον ἠξίου βοηθεῖν, τότε σαφῶς διδάξας περὶ τῆς
γενέσεως· πρότερον δ' ὑπηνίττετο καὶ παρεδήλου τοσοῦτον ὅσον προσέχοντας
μὴ μικρὸν φρονεῖν· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν σκάφην κομίζων ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸν Νομήτορα,
σπουδῆς καὶ δέους μεστὸς ὢν διὰ τὸν καιρόν. (2) ὑποψίαν οὖν τοῖς περὶ τὰς
πύλας φρουροῖς τοῦ βασιλέως παρέχων, καὶ ὑφορώμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ
ταραπτόμενος πρὸς τὰς ἀνακρίσεις, οὐκ ἔλαθε τὴν σκάφην τῷ χλαμυδίῳ
περικαλύπτων. ἦν δὲ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τύχης τῶν τὰ παιδάρια ῥῖψαι λαβόντων
καὶ γεγονότων περὶ τὴν ἔκθεσιν. (3) οὗτος ἰδὼν τὴν σκάφην τότε καὶ γνωρίσας
τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ τοῖς γράμμασιν, ἔτυχεν ὑπονοεῖα τοῦ ὄντος καὶ οὐ
παρημέλησεν, ἀλλὰ φράσας τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ βασιλεῖ κατέστησεν εἰς ἔλεγχον. (4)
ἐν δὲ πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἀνάγκαις ὁ Φαιστύλος οὔτ' ἀήττητον ἑαυτὸν
διεφύλαξεν, οὔτε παντάπασιν ἐκβιασθεῖς, σώζεσθαι μὲν ὠμολόγησε τοὺς παῖδας,
εἶναι δ' ἄπωθεν τῆς Ἄλβης ἔφη νέμοντας· αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν Ἰλίαν
φέρων βαδίζειν, πολλάκις ἰδεῖν καὶ θιγεῖν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι βεβαιοτέρᾳ τῶν τέκνων
ποθήσασαν. (5) ὅπερ οὖν οἱ ταραπτόμενοι καὶ μετὰ δέους ἢ πρὸς ὀργὴν
πράττοντες ὀτιοῦν ἐπεικῶς πάσχουσι, συνέπεσε παθεῖν τὸν Ἀμούλιον. ἄνδρα γὰρ
ἄλλη τε χρηστὸν καὶ τοῦ Νομήτορος φίλον ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἔπεμψε, διαπυθέσθαι
τοῦ Νομήτορος κελεύσας, εἴ τις ἦκοι λόγος εἰς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων ὡς

περιγενομένων. (6) ἀφικόμενος οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεασάμενος ὅσον οὕτω τὸν Ἑρέμον ἐν περιβολαῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύναις τοῦ Νομήτορος, τὴν τε πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν ἐποίησε τῆς ἐλπίδος, καὶ παρεκελεύσατο τῶν πραγμάτων ὁξέως ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ συνῆν αὐτὸς ἤδη καὶ συνέπραττεν. (7) ὁ δὲ καιρὸς οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ὀκνεῖν παρείχεν. ὁ γὰρ Ῥωμύλος ἐγγὺς ἦν ἤδη, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξέθεον οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν πολιτῶν μίσει καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ Ἀμουλίου. πολλὴν δὲ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἤγε συλλελοχισμένην εἰς ἑκατοστύας· ἐκάστης δ' ἀνὴρ ἀφηγεῖτο χόρτου καὶ ὕλης ἀγκαλίδα κοντῷ περικειμένην ἀνέχων· μαίνιπλα ταύτας Λατῖνοι καλοῦσιν· ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς στρατεύμασι τούτους μαιπλαρίουσ ὀνομάζουσιν. (8) ἅμα δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἑρέμου τοὺς ἐντὸς ἀφιστάντος, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου προσάγοντος ἔξωθεν, οὔτε πράξας οὐδὲν ὁ τύραννος οὔτε βουλεύσας σωτήριον ἑαυτῷ διὰ τὸ ἀπορεῖν καὶ ταράττεσθαι, καταληφθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. (9) ὧν τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ Φαβίου λέγοντος καὶ τοῦ Πεπαρηθίου Διοκλέους, ὅς δοκεῖ πρῶτος ἐκδοῦναι Ῥώμης κτίσιν, ὑποπτον μὲν ἐνίοις ἐστὶ τὸ δραματικὸν καὶ πλασματώδες, οὐ δεῖ δ' ἀπιστεῖν τὴν τύχην ὀρώντας οἷων ποιημάτων δημιουργός ἐστι, καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα λογιζομένους, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐνταῦθα προὔβη δυνάμεως, μὴ θείαν τιν' ἀρχὴν λαβόντα καὶ μηδὲν μέγα μηδὲ παράδοξον ἔχουσαν.

(3.1) <ὁ> *Reiske* : *om. MSS.* ὁ Πίκτωρ *Sentenis* : οὐίκτωρ *MSS.* (3.6)

Κερμαλὸν *Xylander* : Κερμανὸν *MSS.* (4.1) Ῥουμῖναν *Ziegler* : Ῥουμιλίαν *MSS.*

(4.5) αὐτῇ *MSS.* : *del. Benseler* Λαρενταλίαν *Ziegler* : Λαρεντίαν *UA* :

ἀκκαλαρεντίαν *M* (6.2) Ἑρέμον *U* : Ῥῶμον *M et (ω in ras.) A; sic etiam infra* (6.3)

φρονήμα *Reiske* : φρονήματα *MSS.* (6.4) ὁμοδούλοις *Lindskog* : ὁμοφύλοις *MSS.*

(6.5) ἀπονίαν *A* : ἀπονοίαν *UM* ἀλέξασθαι *UA* : ἀμύνασθαι *M* (7.1) ἀγέλης

Lindskog ex Zon. : λείας *MSS.* (7.5) ὑπονοία *Stephanus* : ἐπινοία *MSS* καὶ

τύχη *B*: τύχη *UMA*(8.2) ὑφορώμενος *MSS.*: ἐρωτώμενος *Bekker*: φωρώμενος *Naber*

(8.6) αὐτὸς *Sintenis ex Zon.*: αὐτοῖς *MSS.*

(3.1) But the principal elements of the story which has most credibility, and the greatest number of testimonies, were first made known to the Greeks by Diocles of Peparethos, whom Fabius Pictor also followed closely in most points. There exist different versions of these events also; but in outline the story is as follows. (2) **The succession of the kings of Alba, descended from Aeneas, came down to two brothers, Numitor and Amulius. Amulius divided the entire inheritance in half, setting against the kingdom the treasure and gold brought from Troy: Numitor chose the kingdom.** (3) **Thus Amulius, having the money, and being able to do more because of it than Numitor, easily took the kingdom from him; and, fearing that children might be born of Numitor's daughter, appointed her a priestess of Vesta, so that she would always live as an unmarried virgin.** Some call this woman Ilia, others Rhea, and others Silvia. (4) **Not long after, however, she was, contrary to the law established for the Vestals, discovered to be pregnant. And Antho, the king's daughter, having begged her father, successfully interceded for her, so that she should not suffer the fatal punishment; but nevertheless, she was shut away, and lived her life unvisited, so that she might not give birth without Amulius' knowledge. And she gave birth to two boys, extraordinary for their size and beauty.** (5) **This made Amulius even more frightened, so he ordered a servant to take them and cast them out.** Some say that this man was called Faustulus, others say that not this man, but the man who rescued them was called Faustulus. Anyway, **the servant placed the babes in a tub, and went down towards the river with the design of casting them in, but, seeing the river was turbulent and coming down with a heavy current, was afraid to go near it, and, depositing the tub near the bank, went on his way.** (6) **When the river burst its**

banks, the floodwater, taking up the tub, and gently floating it, washed it ashore downstream at a fairly soft spot, which they now call **Cermalus**, but which was formerly called Germanus, because, as it seems, they also call brothers ‘germani’.

(4.1) **And there was nearby a wild fig-tree, which the Romans were in the habit of calling Ruminalis**, either on account of Romulus, as the majority thinks, or because of the way that cud-chewing animals passed the noon-tide there because of the shade, or, rather, on account of the suckling of the babies, because the ancient Romans used to call the teat ‘rouma’, and because a certain deity, who is held to be responsible for the rearing of infants, they still call Rumina, and they sacrifice to her without wine, and pour out instead milk upon the victims. (2) **Here**, then, they relate that **the she-wolf suckled the babes as they lay there; and that a certain woodpecker was present too, helping to rear and protect them. These animals are thought to be sacred to Mars. The Latins especially revere and honour the woodpecker: for this reason most of all the mother was believed whenever she asserted that the babes were sired by Mars.** (3) And yet they say that she suffered her pregnancy having been deceived, and in fact was deflowered by Amulius, who appeared to her in armour and took her. But some say that the name of the childrens’ nurse, on account of its ambiguity, has provided for the tale a diversion into the fabulous. (4) For the Latins used to refer to as ‘lupae’ both she-wolves (among wild beasts), and also those, among women, who practised prostitution. They say that the wife of Faustulus, the man who reared the babes, was this sort of woman; her name was Acca Larentia. (5) But to her also the Romans offer sacrifice, and the priest of Ares brings her drink offerings in the month of April, and they call the festival ‘Larentalia’. (5.1–5) . . .

(6.1) **As to the babies, Faustulus, a swineherd of Amulius, took them to rear them himself, unnoticed by anyone;** but, as some say, being closer to probabilities, Numitor

knew of it, and contributed secretly to the foster parents, for their upkeep. (2) And the boys are said to have learnt letters, and as many other things as are necessary for the well-born, having gone to Gabii for the purpose. **And they also relate that these boys were called Romulus and Remus from the word for teat, since they were seen suckling at the teats of the wild beast.** (3) **Anyway, their physical excellence, even when they were infants, at once revealed their character through their size and appearance. And growing up, both of them were high-spirited and manly, and with courage in the face of what appeared terrifying, and wholly undaunted daring. Romulus seemed to use his judgement more, and to possess political wisdom; his dealings with his neighbours about grazing and hunting offered considerable scope for observing that he was rather a leader by nature than one who readily obeyed.** (4) **Therefore they were dear to their fellow-slaves and to those of humbler status, but they despised the royal overseers and officers and herdsmen as no better than themselves, and they used to give no heed to their threats or their anger.** (5) **Their way of life and occupations were free-spirited, and they did not think that leisure or lack of exertion were worthy of free men, but rather esteemed bodily exercises, hunting, races, providing protection from bandits, capturing robbers and delivering from violence those who were being wronged. And they were famous because of these things.**

(7.1) **When some disagreement arose between the shepherds of Numitor and those of Amulius, with the latter's cattle being rustled, Romulus and Remus did not put up with it, but roughed up their opponents and put them to flight, and intercepted much of the plundered stock. And although Numitor was greatly irritated, they paid him no attention; rather they started to gather together and to take into their company many poor men, and indeed many slaves, thus exhibiting the beginnings of a rebellious**

boldness and high spirit. (2) But when Romulus was giving himself over to a certain sacrifice (for he was devoted to sacrifices and divination), the herdsmen of Numitor, meeting Remus when he was walking with a few companions, began fighting with them. Blows were exchanged and wounds inflicted on both sides, but Numitor's men were victorious, and they took Remus alive. (3) When he was brought before Numitor and accused, Numitor himself did not punish him, being afraid of his brother, who was cruel, but he went before Amulius and said that he required justice to be administered, since he was his brother, and had been treated with contempt by the servants of his brother, who was the king. (4) Since the citizens of Alba were equally annoyed, thinking that Numitor was undeservedly suffering terrible indignities, Amulius was stirred to the point where he handed over Remus to Numitor himself, to deal with as he wished. (5) Numitor, having taken Remus into his custody, once he arrived home, was amazed at how the youth surpassed all in bodily size and strength, observing in his countenance the confidence and vigour of his spirit, unsubdued and impassive in the face of his present circumstances. And hearing that his actions and his deeds accorded with the qualities which were visible in him, but above all, it seems, because a god was accompanying and helping to guide the beginnings of great events, Numitor, by guesswork and by chance started to grasp the truth, and enquired in a mild voice, and with a kind look, so as to give him cause for confidence and hope, who he was and what was the manner of his birth. (6) And Remus, with good courage, said, 'Certainly I will hide nothing from you: indeed you seem to be more kingly than Amulius. For you listen and examine before you punish; but he hands over men for punishment who have not been tried. Formerly we (by the way, we are twins) knew ourselves as the children of servants of the king, Faustulus and Larentia, but now, standing accused and slandered

before you, and in a struggle for life itself, we hear great things about ourselves.

Whether they are credible, it seems this present danger shall decide. (7) Men say that our birth was secret, our rearing and nursing as new-born infants more unusual still. Among the birds and beasts we were cast out, and by them we were nourished, at the teat of a she-wolf, and by the morsels brought by a woodpecker, as we lay in a certain tub beside the great river. (8) The tub exists, and is still preserved; there are faint letters engraved on its bronze braces, which later may perhaps be useless tokens for our parents when we are dead.' (9) At these words, and comparing the time elapsed with Remus' appearance, Numitor did not try to shun the hope which gladdened him, but began to consider how he might secretly arrange a meeting with his daughter and tell her of these things. For she was still strongly guarded.

(8.1) But Faustulus, having heard of the seizure and hand-over of Remus, asked Romulus to go to his aid, instructing him now clearly about their birth; previously he had been hinting at it and intimating as much as might make them ambitious when thinking about it. He himself, carrying the tub, made his way to Numitor, full of solicitude and fear on account of the critical circumstances. (2) In fact he aroused suspicion in the king's guards at the gates, and on being suspected by them, and showing confusion in his answers to them, he was found to have the tub wrapped up inside his short cloak. By chance there was among them one of the men who had taken the children to cast them out, and who had been involved in the exposing of the children. (3) This man, seeing the tub now, and identifying it by its construction and the letters on it, hit upon the truth by conjecture, and did not disregard it, but told the whole business to the king, and brought Faustulus before him for examination. (4) Under such strong necessity, Faustulus did not keep himself unbowed, nor was the story

altogether forced out of him: he admitted that the children had been saved, but said that they were living as shepherds a long way from Alba; he himself was on his way to Iliia, carrying the tub, as she had often been eager to see it and touch it, to give her more certain hope for her children. (5) The very thing that men who are agitated, and act out of fear, or in anger, fall prey to was what now befell Amulius. **For he sent in haste a man who in other respects was worthy and dear to Numitor, under orders to question him and find out whether he had had word to the effect that the children had survived.** (6) **When, then, the man arrived, and saw clearly how little Remus yet lacked of the friendly embraces of Numitor, he both gave a strong assurance for their hopes, encouraging them to take matters in hand quickly, and himself joined and began co-operating with them.** (7) **And the moment offered them no room to hesitate, even had they wished to. For Romulus was already nearby, and not a few of the citizens were running out to meet him, moved by hatred and fear of Amulius. He was also leading a large force with him, marshalled into hundreds. Each hundred was led by a man who held up a bundle of grass and twigs wrapped around a pole. The Latins call these bundles ‘maniples’. For that reason even now in their armies they call these men ‘manipulares’.** (8) **At the same time Remus incited those within the city to revolt, and Romulus attacked it from without; while these things were going on, the tyrant, who neither did anything, nor devised for himself any deliverance, because of his hesitation and confusion, was seized and killed.** (9) Most of these facts are told by Fabius and Diocles of Peparethos, who seems to have been the first to publish a foundation of Rome. The dramatic and fabulous in their accounts are viewed with suspicion by some, but it is not necessary to withhold belief when we see Fortune and the nature of the works of which she is the author, and when we

consider that Roman affairs would not have advanced to such a position of power, if they had not had some divine origin, involving great and remarkable events.

c OGR 20 (= Jacoby F30b, Chassignet F7c) = Vennonius 13 F1

(1) at uero Fabius Pictor libro primo et Vennonius **solito institutoque egressam uirginem in usum sacrorum aquam petitum ex eo fonte qui erat in luco Martis, subito imbribus tonitribusque quae cum illa erant disiectis, a Marte compressam conturbatamque mox recreatam consolatione dei nomen suum indicantis affirmantisque ex ea natos dignos patre euasuros.** (2) primum igitur Amulius rex, ut comperit Rheam Siluiam sacerdotem peperisse geminos, protinus imperauit deportari ad aquam profluentem atque eo abici. (3) tum illi quibus imperatum id erat impositos alueo pueros circa radices montis Palati in Tiberim qui tum magnis imbribus stagnauerat abiecerunt, eiusque regionis subulcus Faustulus speculatus exponentes, ut uidit, relabente flumine, alueum in quo pueri erant obhaesisse ad arborem fici puerorumque uagitu lupam excitam, quae repente exierat, primo lambitu eos detersisse, dein leuandorum uberum gratia mammas praebuisse, descendit ac sustulit nutriendosque Accae Larentiae, uxori suae, dedit, ut scribunt Ennius libro primo, Caesar libro secundo. (4) addunt quidam, Faustulo inspectante, picum quoque aduolasse et ore pleno cibum pueris ingessisse. inde uidelicet lupum picumque Martiae tutelae esse. arborem quoque illam Ruminalem dictam circa quam pueri abiecti erant, quod eius sub umbra pecus adquiescens meridie ruminare sit solitum.

(1) uennonius *M* : uennonius *MSS*. imbribus tonitribusque *P* : in britoni tribusque

O nomen *P* : nomine *O* (3) circa *O* : citra *P*, ut *uid*. subulcus *P* : bubulcus *O*

repente exierat *MSS*. : repente enixa erat *E. Baehrens* : recens enixa erat *Smit* : raptum

exierat *Arntzen* accae larentiae *Schott* : accelerantie *O* : accelerantię *P^l* : accae

laurentiae *P*²*mg.* Ennius *Schott* : aennius *P* : annius *MO*²*mg.* : *om.* *O*¹ : Vennonius *Jordan*
: Fannius *Puccioni*

(1) But on the other hand Fabius Pictor in his first book and Vennonius say that **when in the usual and customary manner the maiden went out to fetch water for use in sacred rites from the spring which was in the grove of Mars, the women with her were suddenly scattered by showers and thunder, and she was raped by Mars; though deeply distressed, she was soon renewed in spirit by the consolation of the god, who revealed his name and declared that those she bore would turn out worthy of their father.** (2)

And so, as soon as king Amulius learned that Rhea Silvia had given birth to twin boys, he immediately ordered them to be taken out to a river and to be thrown in. (3) Then those to whom the order had been given put the boys in a basket and near the foot of the Palatine hill threw them into the Tiber, which had overflowed owing to heavy rain; and a swineherd of the region, Faustulus, who had watched them doing this, saw that, as the river subsided, the basket containing the boys had got stuck against a fig tree, and that the crying of the boys had disturbed a she-wolf, which had unexpectedly come out and with its first lick had cleaned them, and then had exposed its udders in order to relieve its teats; he went down and took them up and gave them to Acca Larentia, his wife, to bring up, as Ennius [*ann.* 68V = 65 Sk] writes in his first book and Caesar in his second. (4) Some add that, with Faustulus looking on, a woodpecker also flew down with its beak full of food and fed the boys, and that consequently the wolf and the woodpecker are under the protection of Mars. They also say that the tree near which the boys were thrown in was named 'Ruminalis', because the herds that rested beneath its shade in the middle of the day used to ruminate there.

d (= Peter (Lat.) F2, Jacoby F31, Chassignet F7e)

Quint. 1.6.12

. . . Varro, in eo libro quo initia Romanae urbis enarrat, *lupum feminam* dicit, Ennium Pictoremque Fabium secutus.

. . . Varro, in that book in which he relates the beginnings of the city of Rome, says *lupus femina* ['she-wolf'], following Ennius [*ann.* 68, 70V = 65, 68Sk] and Fabius Pictor.

e (= Peter (Lat.) F3, Jacoby F32, Chassignet F7f)

Non. 518M = 835L

Fabius Pictor rerum gestarum libro i: *et simul videbant picum Martium.*

Fabius Pictor, *Res Gestae*, book 1: *and at the same time they noticed the woodpecker of Mars.*

F5

a DH 1.74.1; cf. Syncell. 228, Euseb. *chron.* 135 (Peter F6, Jacoby F3, Chassignet F8)

cf. Cincius Alimentus 2 F2a, Cato 5 F13a

748/7 BC

τὸν δὲ τελευταῖον γενόμενον τῆς Ῥώμης οἰκισμὸν ἢ κτίσιν ἢ ὅτι δῆποτε χρῆ καλεῖν Τίμαιος μὲν ὁ Σικελιώτης οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτῳ κανόνι χρησάμενος ἅμα Καρχηδόνι κτιζομένη γενέσθαι φησὶν ὀγδῶ καὶ τριακοστῷ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς πρώτης ὀλυμπιάδος· Λεύκιος δὲ Κίγκιος ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου περὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος τῆς δωδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος. Κόιντος δὲ Φάβιος κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ὀγδῆς ὀλυμπιάδος.

As for the last settlement or foundation of the city, or whatever one ought to call it, Timaeus the Sicilian [*FGrHist* 566 F60], using what chronological system I do not know, says that it was founded at the same time as Carthage, in the thirty-eighth year before the first Olympiad [i.e. 814/3 BC], Lucius Cincius [2 F2], a member of the senate, around the fourth year of the twelfth Olympiad [i.e. 729/8 BC], and Quintus Fabius **in the first year of the eighth Olympiad** [i.e. 748/7 BC].

b Solin. 1.27 (cf. Cincius Alimentus 2 F2b)

Cincio **Romam** duodecima olympiade placet **conditam**, Pictori **octaua** . . .

Cincius holds that **Rome was founded** in the twelfth Olympiad, Fabius **in the eighth**

. . .

F6 (Peter F7, Jacoby F5a, Chassignet F9)

Plut. *Rom.* 14.1

748/7 BC

τετάρτῳ δὲ μηνὶ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν, ὡς Φάβιος ἱστορεῖ, τὸ περὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ἐτολμήθη τῶν γυναικῶν.

In the fourth month after the foundation, as Fabius relates, **the seizure of the women was ventured**.

F7 (Peter F8, Jacoby F6, Chassignet F10) = Cincius Alimentus 2 F3; cf. Piso 9 F7 (full citation)

DH 2.38.2–40.2

ἀμηχανοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ παράδοξος εὐτυχία γίνεται παραδοθέντος τοῦ κρατίστου τῶν ὄχυρωμάτων κατὰ τοιάνδε τινὰ συντυχίαν. παρεξίοντας γὰρ τὴν ρίζαν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τοὺς Σαβίνους εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν εἶ τι μέρος εὐρεθείη τοῦ λόφου κλοπῇ ληφθῆναι δυνατόν ἢ βία, παρθένος τις ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου κατεσκόπει θυγάτηρ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς, ᾧ προσέκειτο ἡ τοῦ χωρίου φυλακή, Τάρπεια ὄνομα· (3) καὶ αὐτήν, ὡς μὲν Φάβιος τε καὶ Κίγκιος γράφουσιν, **ἔρως εἰσέρχεται τῶν ψελλίων, ἃ περὶ τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς βραχίουσιν ἐφόρουν, καὶ τῶν δακτυλίων**· χρυσοφόροι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Σαβίνοι τότε καὶ Τυρρηνῶν οὐχ ἦττον ἀβροδίατοι· ὡς δὲ Πείσων Λεύκιος ὁ τιμητικὸς ἱστορεῖ, καλοῦ πράγματος ἐπιθυμία γυμνοῦς τῶν σκεπαστηρίων ὄπλων παραδοῦναι τοῖς πολίταις τοὺς πολεμίους. ὀπότερον δὲ τούτων ἀληθέστερόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων ἕξεστιν εἰκάζειν. (4)

πέμψασα δ' οὖν τῶν θεραπαινίδων τινὰ διὰ πυλίδος, ἣν οὐδεὶς ἔμαθεν ἀνοιγομένην, ἠξίου τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σαβίνων ἐλθεῖν αὐτῇ δίχα τῶν ἄλλων εἰς λόγους, ὡς ἐκείνῳ διαλεξομένη περὶ πράγματος ἀναγκαίου καὶ μεγάλου. δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Τατίου τὸν λόγον κατ' ἐλπίδα προδοσίας καὶ συνελθόντος εἰς τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον, προελθοῦσα εἰς ἐφικτὸν ἢ παρθένος ἐξεληλυθῆναι μὲν νυκτὸς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς ἔφη χρείας τινὸς ἕνεκα, τὰς δὲ κλείς αὐτῇ φυλάττειν τῶν πυλῶν καὶ παραδώσειν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔρυμα νυκτὸς ἀφικομένοις μισθὸν τῆς προδοσίας λαβοῦσα τὰ φορήματα τῶν Σαβίνων, ἃ περὶ τοῖς εὐωνύμοις εἶχον ἅπαντες βραχίουσιν. (5) εὐδοκούντος δὲ τοῦ Τατίου λαβοῦσα τὰς πίστεις δι' ὄρκων παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτῇ δοῦσα τοῦ μὴ ψεῦδεσθαι τὰς ὁμολογίας τόπον τε ὄρισασα, ἐφ' ὃν ἔδει τοὺς Σαβίνους ἐλθεῖν, τὸν ἐχυρώτατον καὶ νυκτὸς ὥραν τὴν ἀφυλακτοτάτην ἀπήει καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἔλαθε.

(39.1) μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων συμφέρονται πάντες οἱ Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεῖς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον λεγομένοις οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι. Πείσων γὰρ ὁ τιμητικός, οὗ καὶ πρότερον ἐμνήσθη, ἄγγελόν φησιν ὑπὸ τῆς Ταρπέας ἀποσταλῆναι νύκτωρ ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου δηλώσοντα τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ τὰς γενομένας τῇ κόρῃ πρὸς τοὺς Σαβίνους ὁμολογίας, ὅτι μέλλοι τὰ σκεπαστήρια παρ' αὐτῶν αἰτεῖν ὅπλα διὰ τῆς κοινότητος τῶν ὁμολογιῶν παρακρουσαμένη, δυνάμιν τε ἀξιῶσοντα πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον ἑτέραν νυκτὸς, ὡς αὐτῷ στρατηλάτῃ παραληψόμενον τοὺς πολεμίους γυμνοὺς τῶν ὄπλων· τὸν δὲ ἄγγελον αὐτομολήσαντα πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Σαβίνων κατήγορον γενέσθαι τῶν τῆς Ταρπέας βουλευμάτων. (2) οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φάβιον τε καὶ Κίγκιον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ φυλάξαι τὴν κόρην διαβεβαιοῦνται τὰς περὶ τῆς προδοσίας συνθήκας. τὰ δ' ἐξῆς ἅπαντες πάλιν ὁμοίως γράφουσι. φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι παραγενομένου σὺν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρει τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Σαβίνων φυλάττουσα τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἡ Τάρπεια τοῖς μὲν πολεμίους ἀνέψξε τὴν συγκειμένην πυλίδα, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῷ

χωρίω φύλακας ἀναστήσασα διαταχέων σώζειν ἑαυτοὺς ἡξίου καθ' ἑτέρας
ἐξόδους τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀφανείς, ὡς κατεχόντων ἤδη τῶν Σαβίνων τὸ φρούριον·
(3) διαφυγόντων δὲ τούτων τοὺς μὲν Σαβίνους ἀνεωγμένας εὐρόντας τὰς πύλας
κατασχέειν τὸ φρούριον ἔρημον τῶν φυλάκων, τὴν δὲ Τάρπειαν ὡς τὰ παρ'
ἑαυτῆς ὅσα συνέθετο παρεσχημένην ἀξιοῦν τοὺς μισθοὺς τῆς προδοσίας κατὰ
τοὺς ὄρκους ἀπολαβεῖν.

(40.1) ἔπειτα πάλιν ὁ μὲν Πείσων φησὶ τῶν Σαβίνων τὸν χρυσὸν ἐτοίμων
ὄντων δίδοναι τῇ κόρῃ τὸν περὶ τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς βραχίονσι τὴν Τάρπειαν οὐ τὸν
κόσμον ἀλλὰ τοὺς θυρεοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν αἰτεῖν. Τατίω δὲ θυμὸν τε εἰσελθεῖν ἐπὶ
τῇ ἔξαπάτῃ καὶ λογισμὸν τοῦ μὴ παραβῆναι τὰς ὁμολογίας. δόξαι δ' οὖν αὐτῷ
δοῦναι μὲν τὰ ὄπλα, ὥσπερ ἡ παῖς ἡξίωσε, ποιῆσαι δ' ὅπως αὐτοῖς μηδὲν
λαβοῦσα χρήσεται, καὶ αὐτίκα διατεινόμενον ὡς μάλιστα ἰσχύος εἶχε ῥίψαι τὸν
θυρεὸν κατὰ τῆς κόρης καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρακελεύσασθαι ταῦτό ποιεῖν. οὕτω δὲ
βαλλομένην πάντοθεν τὴν Τάρπειαν ὑπὸ πλήθους τε καὶ ἰσχύος τῶν πληγῶν
πεσεῖν καὶ περιωρευθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν θυρεῶν ἀποθανεῖν. (2) οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φάβιον
ἐπὶ τοῖς Σαβίνοις ποιούσι τὴν τῶν ὁμολογιῶν ἀπάτην· δέον γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸν
χρυσὸν, ὥσπερ ἡ Τάρπεια ἡξίου, κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας ἀποδίδοναι, χαλεπαίνοντας
ἐπὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ μισθοῦ τὰ σκεπαστήρια κατ' αὐτῆς βαλεῖν, ὡς ταῦτα ὅτε
ᾤμνυσαν αὐτῇ δώσειν ὑπεσχημένους. ἔοικε δὲ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα γενόμενα τὴν
Πείσωνος ἀληθεστέραν ποιεῖν.

(38.3) ψελλίων *Bb* : ψαλίων *ABa* (5) τὸν ἐχυρώτατον *Kiessling* : τῶν
ἐχυρωτάτων *AB* : τὸν ὀχυρότατον *Reiske* (40.1) χρήσεται *Meineke* : χρήσηται
MSS. ταῦτό *Sylberg* : τοῦτο *MSS.* (40.2) βαλεῖν *Reiske* : βάλλειν *MSS.* ποιεῖν *C.*
Jacoby : ποιεῖν ἀπόκρισιν *MSS.* : ποιεῖν ἀπόφασιν *L. Dindorf*

(38.2) But it was when he [sc. Tatius] was at a loss that he enjoyed some unexpected
good luck, the strongest of the fortresses being delivered in the following circumstances. As

the Sabines were passing by the foot of the Capitolium to investigate whether any part of the hill might be found which could be taken by surprise or by force, a certain maiden was observing them from the high ground. She was the daughter of a distinguished man, to whom the safeguard of the place had been assigned; her name was Tarpeia. (3) **And a longing entered into her**, as Fabius and Cincius [2 F3] write, **for the armlets which they were wearing around their left arms and for their rings**: for the Sabines of those times used to wear ornaments of gold and were no less luxurious than the Tyrrhenians. But Lucius Piso the former censor reports [Piso 9 F7] that what prompted her was her eagerness to perform a noble deed, that of handing over to her fellow citizens the enemy deprived of their defensive shields. Which of these accounts is the truer, it is possible to infer from what happened afterwards. (4) **Tarpeia then, sending one of her maids through a postern-gate, which no one noticed being opened, requested the king of the Sabines to come to speak to her alone, since she intended to discuss a great and pressing matter with him. Tatius accepted her proposal in the hope of some treachery and went to meet her at the appointed place; the maiden, coming forward to within speaking distance, said that her father had gone out from the citadel during the night on some business, but that she was looking after the keys of the gates and would betray the defences to them as they came up under cover of night, if she could take, as the reward for her treachery, the ornaments of the Sabines, which they all had around their left arms.** (5) **When Tatius agreed, she took guarantees from him, by means of oaths, and herself gave them, not to break the agreements. She then ordained the place to which the Sabines had to go, which was the strongest point, and the hour, as the most unguarded hour of the night, and departed, undetected by those inside.**

(39.1) Up to this point all the Roman historians agree, but they do not agree as to what is related next. For Piso the former censor, whom I mentioned earlier, says [Piso 9 F7] that a messenger was sent from the place by Tarpeia during the night to explain to Romulus the agreement between herself and the Sabines, namely that it was her intention to demand from them their defensive shields, deceiving them through the ambiguity of the agreement. The messenger was also to ask him to send another force to the stronghold at night to capture the enemy, together with their general, stripped of their shields. But the messenger deserted to the leader of the Sabines and betrayed Tarpeia's plans to him. (2) Fabius, Cincius, and their followers, however, say nothing of any such occurrence; rather they insist that **the girl adhered to her treacherous deal**. As for what happened next, all again write about this similarly. For they say that **when the king of the Sabines arrived with the strongest part of his army, Tarpeia, keeping her promises, opened the agreed postern-gate to the enemy, and, rousing the guards in the place, urged them to save themselves quickly by other exits unknown to the enemy, as if the Sabines were already occupying the citadel;** (3) **and that when the guards had fled, the Sabines, finding the gates open, occupied the citadel, destitute as it was of its guards; and that Tarpeia, asserting that she, on her side, had provided everything she had agreed to, asked to be given the reward for her treachery, according to the oaths.**

(40.1) Then again Piso says [Piso 9 F7] that when the Sabines were preparing to give the girl the gold on their left arms, Tarpeia demanded from them not their ornaments but their shields. But Tatius became angry at her trickery, and contrived a way of not breaking the agreement. He decided to hand over the shields, as the girl had requested, but to do so in such a way that she would gain no advantage from taking them. Straining with all the strength he possessed he immediately threw his shield onto the girl, and ordered the others to do the

same. Pelted thus from all sides Tarpeia fell beneath the number and force of the blows, and died submerged under the shields. (2) But Fabius and the others make **the Sabines responsible for the deceit over the agreements. For** (they say) **since it was necessary for them to hand over the gold, as Tarpeia required, according to the agreements, and since they were angry at the magnitude of the reward, they threw their shields upon her, as if they had promised to give these to her, when they had sworn the oath.** But it seems that what happened after this makes the version of Piso the truer one. [Piso 9 F7]

F8 (= Peter F11a, Jacoby F7a, Chassignet F12a) cf. T13

DH 4.6.1

βούλομαι δ' ἐπιστήσας τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον ἀποδοῦναι τὰς αἰτίας, δι' ἃς οὔτε Φαβίῳ συγκατεθέμην οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱστορικοῖς ὅσοι γράφουσιν **υἱοὺς εἶναι τοὺς καταλειφθέντας παῖδας ὑπὸ Ταρκυνίου**, ἵνα μὴ τινες τῶν ἐκείναις ἐντυχόντων ταῖς ἱστορίαις σχεδιάζωμεν με ὑπολάβωσιν οὐχ υἱοὺς, ἀλλ' υἱωνοὺς αὐτοῦ γράφοντα τοὺς παῖδας. παντάπασι γὰρ ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ῥαθύμως οἱ συγγραφεῖς <περὶ> αὐτῶν ταύτην ἐξενηνόχασιν τὴν ἱστορίαν οὐδὲν ἐξητακότες τῶν ἀναιρούντων αὐτὴν ἀδυνάτων τε καὶ ἀτόπων.

<περὶ> *Stephanus* : *om. MSS.*

I wish to stop my continuous narrative to explain the reasons for which I have agreed neither with Fabius nor with the other historians who write that **the children left by Tarquinius were his sons**; I do this so that none of those who have come across these histories may suppose that I am inventing things, when I write that the children were not his sons, but his grandsons. For wholly thoughtlessly and carelessly have historians published this account concerning them; they have scrutinized none of the impossibilities and absurdities which confute it.

F9 (= Peter F9, Jacoby F8, Chassignet F13) cf. Cato 5 F17, Vennonius 13 F2

DH 4.15.1–2

διείλε δὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν, ὡς μὲν Φάβιος φησιν, εἰς μοίρας ἕξ τε καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἃς καὶ αὐτὰς καλεῖ φυλάς, καὶ τὰς ἀστικὰς προστιθεὶς αὐταῖς τέτταρας τριάκοντα φυλάς ἐπὶ Τυλλίου τὰς πάσας γενέσθαι λέγει· ὡς δὲ Οὐεινώμιος ἰστόρηκεν, εἰς μίαν τε καὶ τριάκοντα, ὥστε σὺν ταῖς κατὰ πόλιν οὔσαις ἐκπεπληρώσθαι τὰς ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχούσας τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε φυλάς. Κάτων μέντοι τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ἀξιοπιστότερος ὢν οὐχ ὀρίζει τῶν μοιρῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν. (2) διελὼν δ' οἷν ὁ Τύλλιος εἰς ὅποσας δήποτε μοίρας τὴν γῆν κατὰ τοὺς ὄρεινους καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τοῖς γεωργοῖς παρέχειν δυνησομένους ὄχθους κρησφύγετα κατεσκεύασεν, Ἑλληνικοῖς ὀνόμασιν αὐτὰ καλῶν Πάγους . . .

(1) αὐτὰς *B*: αὐτὸς *ACD* τέτταρας τριάκοντα *B*: τέτταρας καὶ τριάκοντα *ACD* Κάτων . . . ἀμφοτέρων *hic, praeunte Sigonio, Niebuhr*: *sic, sed* τριάκοντα . . . λέγει *post* ἀξιοπιστότερος ὢν *C. Jacoby*: ἀμφοτέρων Κάτων μέντοι τούτων *ante* ἐπὶ Τυλλίου *MSS.* οὐχ ὀρίζει *Niebuhr*: καὶ οὐχ ὀρίζει *ACD*: καὶ οὐχ ὀρίζει *B*: καὶ οὐ χωρίζει *C. Jacoby*

He [sc. Servius Tullius] **divided all the land into twenty-six portions**, as Fabius says, and he calls these also **tribes**, and adding the four urban ones he says that **there were in total thirty tribes at the time of Tullius**; Vennonius on the other hand has recorded that he divided it into thirty-one, which, together with the four in the city, make up the thirty-five tribes that still persist in our time; Cato, however, who is more trustworthy than either of these, does not specify the number of portions. (2) So Tullius, having divided the land into however many portions he did, constructed places of refuge on those mountainous hills which would

be able to provide ample security for the husbandmen, calling them by the Greek name of 'pagi' . . .

F10 (= Peter F10, Jacoby F9, Chassignet F14)

Livy 1.44.2

milia octoginta eo lustrum ciuium censa dicuntur; adicit scriptorum antiquissimus

Fabius Pictor, **eorum qui arma ferre possent eum numerum fuisse.**

Eighty thousand citizens are said to have been registered in that *lustrum*. The most ancient of our writers, Fabius Pictor, adds that **this number was that of those able to carry arms.**

F11 (= Peter F11b, Jacoby F7b, Chassignet F12b) cf. T14

DH 4.30.2–3

ἐνταῦθα πάλιν ἀναγκάζομαι μεμνήσθαι Φαβίου καὶ τὸ ῥάθυμον αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν χρόνων ἐλέγχειν. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς Ἀρροῦντος τελευτῆς γενόμενος οὐ καθ' ἓν ἀμαρτάνει μόνον, ὃ καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, ὅτι γέγραφεν **οὐδὲν εἶναι Ταρκυνίου τὸν Ἀρροῦντα· ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἕτερον, ὅτι φησὶν ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Τανακυλλίδος τεθάφθαι**, ἣν ἀμήχανον ἦν ἔτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους περιεῖναι τοὺς χρόνους. (3) ἐδείχθη γὰρ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἐβδομηκοστὸν ἔχουσα καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος ἢ Τανακυλλίς, ὅτε βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος ἐτελεύτα· προστεθέντων δὲ τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἔτεσιν ἐτέρων τετταράκοντα ἐτῶν· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐνιαυσίοις ἀναγραφαῖς κατὰ τὸν τετταρακοστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς Τυλλίου ἀρχῆς τὸν Ἀρροῦντα τετελευτηκότα παρειλήφαμεν· ἐτῶν ἢ Τανακυλλίς ἔσται πεντεκαίδεκα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν. οὕτως ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῆς ἀληθείας ταλαίπωρον.

Here again, I am compelled to make mention of Fabius, and expose his slipshod methods when scrutinizing chronology. For having reached the death of Arruns, he does not make one single mistake alone, which I was also talking about earlier, namely that he has written that **Arruns was the son of Tarquinius** [F9], but also another, in that he says that, **having died, he was buried by Tanaquil, his mother**, who cannot have still been alive during those years as well. (3) For Tanaquil was shown to begin with to have been in her seventy-fifth year when king Tarquinius died [cf. 4.6.5]: if then to these seventy-five years are added another forty (for we have found in the annual records that Arruns died in the fortieth year of Tullius' reign), then Tanaquil will be one hundred and fifteen years old at the time. So exiguous is the hard work that has gone into the scrutiny of the truth in the histories of that author.

F12 (= Peter F13, Jacoby F10, Chassignet F15) = T11b; cf. Piso 9 F19

Livy 1.55.7–8

augebatur ad impensas regis animus; itaque Pometinae manubiae, quae perducendo ad culmen operi destinatae erant, uix in fundamenta suppeditauere. (8) eo magis Fabio, praeterquam quod antiquior est, crediderim **quadraginta ea sola talenta fuisse**, quam Pisoni . . .

The enthusiasm of the king [sc. Tarquinius Superbus] for expenditure on the project was becoming ever more intense; thus the money from the sale of the booty of Pometia, which had been destined for completing the structure roof and all, was scarcely adequate to pay for the foundations. (8) For this reason I would rather believe Fabius (apart from the fact that he is the more ancient writer) when he says that **the sum was only forty talents**, than Piso . . . [Piso 9 F19]

F13 (= Peter F14, Jacoby F12, Chassignet F17)

DH 4.64.2–3

ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ καιρῷ Σέξτος ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Ταρκυνίου παίδων ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς πόλιν ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο Κολλάτεια, χρείας τινὰς ὑπηρετήσων στρατιωτικὰς παρ' ἀνδρὶ κατήχθη συγγενεῖ Λευκίῳ Ταρκυνίῳ τῷ Κολλατίνῳ προσαγορευομένῳ. (3) τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα Φάβιος μὲν **υἷὸν εἶναι** φησιν Ἐγερίου, περὶ οὗ δεδήλωκα πρότερον ὅτι Ταρκυνίῳ τῷ προτέρῳ βασιλεύσαντι Ῥωμαίων ἀδελφόποις ἦν καὶ Κολλατείας ἡγεμῶν ἀποδειχθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει διατριβῆς αὐτὸς τε Κολλατίνος ἐκλήθη καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν κατέλιπεν ἐπίκλησιν· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον υἱὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἐγερίου πείθομαι, εἴ γε **τὴν αὐτὴν εἶχε τοῖς Ταρκυνίου παισὶν ἡλικίαν**, ὡς Φάβιος τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ συγγραφεῖς παραδεδώκασιν· ὁ γὰρ χρόνος ταύτην μοι τὴν ὑπόληψιν βεβαιοῖ.

(2) κατήχθη *Reiske* : κατηνέχθη *ABa*

At this time Sextus, the eldest of the sons of Tarquinius, having been dispatched by his father to the city which was called Collatia to perform certain military tasks, lodged at the house of a kinsman, Lucius Tarquinius, called Collatinus. (3) Fabius says that **this man was the son of Egerius**, about whom I have proved earlier [cf. 3.50.3] that he was the nephew of the first Tarquinius to be king of the Romans, and having been appointed governor of Collatia, he was both called Collatinus himself, because of the time he spent there, and also bequeathed to his descendants the same surname. In this case too I myself am persuaded that Collatinus was a grandson of Egerius, if indeed **he was of the same age as the sons of Tarquinius**, as Fabius and the other historians have recorded; for the chronology confirms this assumption of mine.

F14 (= Peter F15, F5(Lat), Jacoby F13a, Chassignet F19) = Cn. Gellius 14 F26, Coelius 15

F48

490 BC Varr.

Cic. *diu.* 1.55

sed quid ego Graecorum? nescio quo modo me magis nostra delectant. omnes hoc historici, Fabii, Gellii, sed proxime Coelius: **cum bello Latino ludi uotiu maximi primum fierent, ciuitas ad arma repente est excitata, itaque ludis intermissis instauratiui constituti sunt. qui ante quam fierent cumque iam populus consedisset, seruus per circum, cum uirgis caederetur, furcam ferens ductus est. exin cuidam rustico Romano dormienti uisus est uenire qui diceret praesulem sibi non placuisse ludis, idque ab eodem iussum esse eum senatui nuntiare; illum non esse ausum. iterum esse idem iussum et monitum ne uim suam experiri uellet; ne tum quidem esse ausum. exin filium eius esse mortuum, eandem in somnis admonitionem fuisse tertiam. tum illum etiam debilem factum rem ad amicos detulisse, quorum de sententia lecticula in curiam esse delatum, cumque senatui somnium enarrauisset, pedibus suis saluum domum reuertisse. itaque somnio comprobato a senatu ludos illos iterum instauratos memoriae proditum est.**

proxi(u)me *MSS.* : maxime V^2

But why am I citing Greek examples? I don't know why, but I find examples from our own history more satisfying. All the historians have told this story, people like Fabius, Gellius, and most recently Coelius: **when, in the Latin war, the greatest votive games were being held for the first time, the state was suddenly called to arms, and so, because the games had been interrupted, repeat ceremonies were ordained. Before these began, and when the people had already taken their seats, a slave, being beaten with rods, was led**

through the circus carrying stocks. Subsequently, there appeared to a certain Roman rustic, while he slept, a figure who said that he had not liked the leading dancer at the games; it also seemed that he was ordered by the same figure to report this to the senate. The rustic did not dare to do it. Again he received the same orders, and was warned not to put his power to the test; not even then indeed did he dare. After that his son died, and a third warning came to him in his dreams, the same as the last. Then, when he too had become crippled, he reported the affair to his friends, on whose advice he was carried in a litter into the senate house, and when he had recounted his dream to the senate, he was restored to health, and made his way back home himself on foot. And thus (so it has been entrusted to tradition), once the dream was accepted by the senate, those games were repeated.

F15 (= Peter F16, Jacoby F13b, Chassignet F20) = T11d 490 BC Varr.

DH 7.71.1–72.2; 72.5–6, 10, 13, 15; 73.1–5

ἕτερος μὲν οὖν ἀποχρῆν ἂν ὑπέλαβε καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ νῦν πραττόμενα ἐν τῇ πόλει μηνύματα οὐ μικρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀπολαβεῖν· ἐγὼ δ', ἵνα μή τις ἀσθενῇ τὴν πίστιν εἶναι ταύτην ὑπολάβῃ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἀπίθανον ὑπόληψιν, ὅτι παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ κρατήσαντες ἀσμένως ἂν τὰ κρείττω μετέμαθον ἔθῃ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὑπεριδόντες, ἐξ ἐκείνου ποιήσομαι τοῦ χρόνου τὴν τέκμαρσιν, ὅτ' οὕτω τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἶχον ἡγεμονίαν οὐδὲ ἄλλην διαπόντιον οὐδεμίαν ἀρχὴν, Κοίντῳ Φαβίῳ βεβαιωτῇ χρώμενος καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἔτι δεόμενος πίστεως ἑτέρας· παλαιότατος γὰρ ἀνὴρ τῶν τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ συνταξαμένων, καὶ πίστιν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἤκουσε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἔγνω παρεχόμενος. (2) ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐψηφίσαστο μὲν ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄγειν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, κατὰ τὰς γενομένας εὐχὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ δικτάτορος Αὔλου

Ποστομίου, ὄτ' ἔμελλεν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἀποστάσας Λατίνων πόλεις κατάγειν ἐπιχειρούσας Ταρκύνιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν· ἀναλοῦσθαι δ' ἔταξε καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν εἷς τε τὰς θυσίας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀργυρίου πεντακοσίας μνᾶς· καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Φοινικικοῦ πολέμου ταῦτ' ἔδαπάνων εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν. (3) ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἐγένετο νόμοις Ἑλληνικοῖς κατὰ τε πανηγυρισμοὺς καὶ ξένων ὑποδοχὰς καὶ ἐκεχειρίας, ἃ πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἶη λέγειν, τὰ δὲ περὶ πομπὴν τε καὶ θυσίαν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας· ἀπόχρη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων καὶ τὰ μὴ λεχθέντα ἐξετάζειν· τοιάδε.

(72.1) πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τῶν ἀγῶνων, πομπὴν ἔστελλον τοῖς θεοῖς οἱ τὴν μεγίστην ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τε καὶ δι' ἀγορᾶς ἄγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν μέγαν ἵππόδρομον. ἡγούντο δὲ τῆς πομπῆς πρῶτον μὲν οἱ παῖδες αὐτῶν οἱ πρόσηβοί τε καὶ τοῦ πομπεύειν ἔχοντες ἡλικίαν, ἵππεῖς μὲν, ὧν οἱ πατέρες τιμήματα ἵππέων εἶχον, πεζοὶ δ' οἱ μέλλοντες ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς στρατεύεσθαι· οἱ μὲν κατ' ἴλας τε καὶ κατὰ λόχους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ συμμορίας τε καὶ τάξεις ὡς εἰς διδασκαλείον πορευόμενοι· ἵνα φανερὰ γίνοιτο τοῖς ξένοις ἢ μέλλουσα ἀνδρουῦσθαι τῆς πόλεως ἀκμὴ πλῆθος τε καὶ κάλλος οἷα τις ἦν. (2) τούτοις ἠκολούθουν ἠνίοχοι <τὰ> τέθριππά τε καὶ <τὰς> συνωρίδας καὶ τοὺς ἀζεύκτους ἵππους ἐλαύνοντες· μεθ' οὓς οἱ τῶν ἀθλημάτων ἀγωνιστὰι τῶν τε κούφων καὶ τῶν βαρέων τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σῶμα γυμνοί, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὴν αἰδῶ καλυπτόμενοι. τοῦτο καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ ἔθος ἐν Ῥώμῃ διέμενεν, ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγένετο παρ' Ἑλλησιν· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταλέλυται Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτὸ καταλυσάντων. (3-4)...

(5) ἠκολούθουν δὲ τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ὄρχηστῶν χοροὶ πολλοὶ τριχῆ νενεμημένοι, πρῶτοι μὲν ἀνδρῶν, δεῦτεροι δ' ἀγενείων, τελευταῖοι δὲ παίδων, οἷς παρηκολούθουν αὐληταὶ τ' ἀρχαίκοις ἐμφυσῶντες αὐλίσκοις βραχέσιν, ὡς καὶ εἰς τὸδε χρόνου γίνεται, καὶ κιθαρισταὶ λύρας ἑπταχόρδους ἐλεφαντίνας καὶ τὰ καλούμενα βάρβιτα κρέκοντες. ὧν παρὰ μὲν Ἑλλησιν ἐκκλέλοιπεν ἡ χρῆσις ἐπ'

έμοῦ πάτριος οὔσα· παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ἀπάσαις φυλάττεται ταῖς ἀρχαίαις
θυηπολίαις. (6) σκευαὶ δὲ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν ἦσαν χιτῶνες φοινίκεοι ζωστήρησι
χαλκείοις ἐσφιγμένοι, καὶ ξίφη παρητημένα, καὶ λόγχαι βραχύτεραι τῶν
μετρίων· τοῖς δ' ἀνδράσι καὶ κράνη χάλκεα λόφοις ἐπισήμοις κεκοσμημένα καὶ
πτεροῖς. ἤγεῖτο δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον χορὸν εἷς ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἐνεδίδου τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ
τῆς ὀρχήσεως σχήματα, πρῶτος εἰδοφορῶν τὰς πολεμικὰς καὶ συντόνους
κινήσεις ἐν τοῖς προκελευσματικοῖς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ῥυθμοῖς. (7–9)...

(10) οὐ μόνον δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐναγωνίου τε καὶ κατεσπουδασμένης ὀρχήσεως τῶν
χορῶν, ἣ παρὰ τὰς θυηπολίας τε καὶ πομπὰς ἐχρῶντο Ῥωμαῖοι, τὸ συγγενὲς ἄν
τις αὐτῶν τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἴδοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς κερτόμου καὶ
τωθαστικῆς. μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς ἐνοπλίους χοροὺς οἱ τῶν σατυριστῶν ἐπόμευον
χοροὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν εἰδοφοροῦντες σίκινιν. σκευαὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ἦσαν τοῖς μὲν
εἰς Σιληνοὺς εἰκασθεῖσι μαλλωτοὶ χιτῶνες, οὓς ἔνιοι χορταίους καλοῦσι, καὶ
περιβόλαια ἐκ παντὸς ἄνθους· τοῖς δ' εἰς Σατύρους περιζώματα καὶ δοραὶ
τράγων καὶ ὀρθότριχες ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φόβαι καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια. οὗτοι
κατέσκωπτόν τε καὶ κατεμιμούντο τὰς σπουδαίας κινήσεις ἐπὶ τὰ γελοιότερα
μεταφέροντες. (11–12)...

(13) μετὰ δὲ τοὺς χοροὺς τούτους κιθαρισταὶ τ' ἀθροοὶ καὶ αὐληταὶ
πολλοὶ παρεξήσαν· καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς οἳ τε τὰ θυμιατήρια κομίζοντες, ἐφ' ὧν
ἀρώματα καὶ λιβανωτὸς παρ' ὄλην ὁδὸν ἐθυμιάτο, καὶ οἱ τὰ πομπεῖα
παραφέροντες ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου πεποιημένα τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ δημόσια.
τελευταῖα δὲ πάντων αἱ τῶν θεῶν εἰκόνες ἐπόμευον ὤμοις ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν
φερόμεναι, μορφὰς θ' ὁμοίας παρέχουσαι ταῖς παρ' Ἕλλησι πλαττομέναις καὶ
σκευὰς καὶ σύμβολα καὶ δωρεὰς, ὧν εὐρεταὶ καὶ δοτῆρες ἀνθρώποις ἕκαστοι
παραδίδονται, οὐ μόνον Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων οὓς Ἕλληνες ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς καταριθμοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν

προγενεστέρων, ἔξ ὧν οἱ δώδεκα θεοὶ μυθολογοῦνται γενέσθαι, Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας καὶ Θέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ Μνημοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὅσων ἐστὶν ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη παρ' Ἑλλησι· καὶ τῶν ὕστερον, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ζεὺς παρέλαβε, μυθολογουμένων γενέσθαι, Περσεφόνης Εἰλειθυίας Νυμφῶν Μουσῶν Ὠρῶν Χαρίτων Διονύσου, καὶ ὅσων ἡμιθέων γενομένων αἱ ψυχαὶ τὰ θνητὰ ἀπολιποῦσαι σώματα εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνελθεῖν λέγονται, καὶ τιμὰς λαχεῖν ὁμοίας θεοῖς, Ἡρακλέους Ἀσκληπιοῦ Διοσκούρων Σελήνης Πανὸς ἄλλων μυρίων.

(14)...(15) συντελεσθείσης δὲ τῆς πομπῆς ἐβουθύτουν εὐθύς οἱ θ' ὑπατοὶ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων οἷς ὄσιον, καὶ ὁ τῶν θηηπολιῶν τρόπος ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν. χερνιψάμενοί τε γὰρ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καθαρῶ περιαγνίσαντες ὕδατι καὶ Δημητρίους καρπούς ἐπιρράναντες αὐτῶν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς, ἔπειτα κατευξάμενοι, θύειν τότε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις αὐτὰ ἐκέλευον. τῶν δ' οἱ μὲν ἐστῶτος ἔτι τοῦ θύματος σκυτάλη τοὺς κροτάφους ἔπαιον, οἱ δὲ πίπτοντος ὑπετίθεσαν τὰς σφαγίδας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δείραντές τε καὶ μελίσσαντες ἀπαρχὰς ἐλάμβανον ἐξ ἐκάστου σπλάγχχνου καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου μέλους, ὡς ἀλφίτοις ζέας ἀναδεύσαντες προσέφερον τοῖς θύουσιν ἐπὶ κανῶν· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐπιθέντες ὑφήηπον καὶ προσέσπεινδον οἶνον κατὰ τῶν ἀγνιζομένων. (16–17)...

(73.1) λοιπὸν δ' ἔτι μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγώνων, οὓς μετὰ τὴν πομπὴν ἐπετέλουν, ὀλίγα διελθεῖν. πρῶτος ὁ τῶν τεθρίππων τε καὶ συνωρίδων καὶ τῶν ἀζεύκτων ἵππων ἐγίνετο δρόμος, ὡς παρ' Ἑλλησι τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ὀλυμπιάσι τε καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος. (2) ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἵππικαῖς ἀμίλλαις ἐπιτηδεύματα δύο τῶν πάνυ παλαιῶν ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνομοθετήθη φυλαττόμενα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων μέχρι τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ διάκειται χρόνιον, τό τε περὶ τὰ τρίπωλα τῶν ἀρμάτων, ὃ παρ' Ἑλλησι μὲν ἐκλέλοιπεν, ἀρχαῖον <ὄν> ἐπιτήδευμα καὶ ἥρωικόν, ᾧ ποιεῖ τοὺς Ἑλληνας Ὀμηρος ἐν ταῖς μάχαις χρωμένους· δυοὶ γὰρ ἵπποις ἐζευγμένοις, ὃν τρόπον ζεύγνυται συνωρίς, τρίτος παρέλιπετο σειραῖος ἵππος ῥυτῆρι συνεχόμενος, ὃν ἀπὸ τοῦ

παρηωρήσθαι τε καὶ <μῆ> συνεζεύχθαι παρήγορον ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοί· ἕτερον δὲ παρ' ὀλίγαις ἔτι φυλαττόμενον πόλεσιν Ἑλληνίσιν ἐν ἱερουργίαις τισὶν ἀρχαίκαϊς, ὁ τῶν παρεμβεβηκότων τοῖς ἄρμασι δρόμος. (3) ὅταν γὰρ τέλος αἱ τῶν ἱππέων ἄμιλλαι λάβωνται, ἀποπηδῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων οἱ παροχούμενοι τοῖς ἡνιόχοις, οὓς οἱ ποιηταὶ μὲν παραβάτας, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καλοῦσιν ἀποβάτας, τὸν σταδιαῖον ἀμιλλῶνται δρόμον αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. τελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἱππικῶν δρόμων οἱ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν σώμασιν ἀγωνιζόμενοι τότε εἰσήεσαν δρομεῖς τε καὶ πύκται καὶ παλαισταί. τρία γὰρ ἀθλήματα παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἑλλήσι ταῦτ' ἦν, ὡς Ὀμηρος ἐπὶ τῇ Πατρόκλου δηλοῖ ταφῇ. (4) ἐν δὲ τοῖς διὰ μέσου τῶν ἀθλημάτων χρόνοις Ἑλληνικώτατον καὶ κράτιστον ἀπάντων ἔθων ἀπεδείκνυντο, στεφανώσεις καὶ ἀναρρήσεις ποιούμενοι τιμῶν, αἷς ἐτίμων τοὺς ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτας, ὡς Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ταῖς Διονυσιακαῖς ἐγένετο θυσίαις, καὶ σκύλων, ὄσων ἐκ πολέμων λάβοιεν, ἐπιδείξεις τοῖς εἰς θέαν συνεληλυθόσιν. (5) ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὔτε μῆθ' ἐνα ποιήσασθαι λόγον ἀπαιτούσης τῆς ὑποθέσεως καλῶς εἶχεν, οὔτε μηκύνειν πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἤρμοττε. καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπολειπομένην διήγησιν ἐπανάγειν.

(71.1) ἀπολαβεῖν *Sintenis* : ὑπολαβεῖν *MSS.* : *del. Kiessling* κατ' *Portus* : εἶτε κατ' *MSS.* : εἶτε <κατ' ἄλλην εἶτε> *Sintenis* (2) ταῦτ' *C. Jacoby* : τοῦτ' *MSS.* (72.2) <τὰ> ... <τὰς> *C. Jacoby* : *om. MSS.* (6) παρηρητημένα *Reiske* : περιρητημένα *MSS.* χορὸν *Sylburg* : χωρίον *AB* ἐνεδίδου *Sylburg* : ἀνεδίδου *MSS.* προκελευσματικοῖς *Stephanus* : προκελεύσασιν *AB* (13) Σελήνης *C. Jacoby* : Ἑλένης *MSS.* : Σειληνοῦ *Kiessling* (15) Δημητρίου *Meineke* : Δήμητρος *MSS.* (73.2) <ὄν> *Kiessling* : *om. MSS.* (4) τιμῶν αἷς *Reiske* : τινὰς οἷς *MSS.*

Another writer might have supposed that the rites now practised in the city were themselves sufficient to allow one to obtain no small indication of the ancient customs. So that, however, no one may suppose that this is a weak proof, according to that improbable notion that, having gained mastery of the whole Greek world, they [sc. the Romans] would have disdained the customs of their own country and learnt instead better ones, I shall draw my inferences from that time when they did not yet have the hegemony in Greece, nor any other rule beyond the sea, making use of Quintus Fabius as my authority, and not requiring any further proof. For this man was the most ancient of those who have compiled Roman affairs, and provided proof, not only from the things which he heard, but also from those which he himself knew. (2) **This festival, then, the Roman senate had voted to hold, as I was saying earlier [cf. 6.10.1, 6.17.2–4], in accordance with the vows made by the dictator Aulus Postumius, when he was on the point of fighting against the cities of the Latins which had revolted, and were attempting to restore Tarquinius to power. And it ordained that five hundred minae of silver be spent each year for the sacrifices and the games. And until the Punic War they used to spend these monies on the festival.** (3) **On these holy days many other things happened according to Greek customs, relating to assemblies, the reception of strangers, and cessations of hostilities, which it would be a substantial task to speak of; and also relating to the procession, the sacrifice and the games.** From the description of these last enough will be said to allow an estimation also of those things not mentioned. They were as follows:

(72.1) **Before the beginning of the games those who held the most powerful offices conducted a procession for the gods, leading it from the Capitolium through the Forum to the Circus Maximus. At the very head of the procession were those sons of the Romans who were near manhood and were of an age to lead the procession, mounted, if**

their fathers possessed sufficient property to be in the cavalry, and on foot those who were going to serve in the infantry. The former made their way in squadrons and troops, the latter marched in divisions and contingents, as if going to their place of training. This was done so that it might be clear to foreigners what was the nature of the flower of the city about to reach manhood, in terms of its numbers and its fine physique. (2) These were followed by charioteers, driving four-horse chariots or pairs, or riding unyoked horses. After them came the competitors in the light and the heavy contests, naked except for covering their private parts. This custom continued to be observed at Rome, even down to my time, as it was originally among the Greeks; but in Greece it has been brought to an end, since the Spartans abolished it. (3–4) . . .

(5) The competitors were followed by many troops of dancers, who were distributed into three groups, the first being of men, the second of youths, the last of boys; they were closely followed by flute-players, who played short reed pipes of an ancient type, as happens even at this time, and *cithara*-players, who plucked seven-stringed lyres of ivory, and the ones called *barbita*. The use of these, despite being ancestral, has died out amongst the Greeks in my time; but among the Romans it is preserved in all the ancient sacrifices. (6) The apparel of the dancers was: crimson tunics fastened tight with bronze belts, and swords hung at their sides, and spears shorter than the average. The men also wore bronze helmets adorned with conspicuous crests and feathers. Each dance-troop would be led by one man, who would give the figures of the dance for the others, expressing first of all the warlike and eager movements, for the most part in prokeleusmatic rhythms. (7–9) . . .

(10) But it is not only from the warlike and serious dance of the troops, which the Romans employed in their sacrifices and processions, that anyone might see their kinship

with the Greeks, but also from their mocking and scornful dance. **For after the armed bands, those of the satyr players marched in the procession, performing the Greek *sikinnis* dance. The apparel of those who resembled the Silenoi was woolly tunics, which some call *hortaioi* ('farmyard tunics'), and capes made from every kind of flower; those who resembled satyrs wore loincloths and the skins of he-goats, and locks of hair on their heads, which stood upright, and other features similar to these. They mocked and burlesqued the serious movements [sc. of the others], transforming them into something more amusing. (11–12) . . .**

(13) **After these troops all the cithara-players together and many flute-players would pass by. And after them came those carrying censers, upon which aromatic herbs and frankincense were burnt along the whole route; then came those exhibiting the processional vessels made from gold and silver, both those sacred and public. Last of all the images of all the gods were paraded, carried on men's shoulders, exhibiting forms similar to those made amongst the Greeks, as to their attire, their insignia and their gifts (gifts which each of them is recorded as inventing and giving to mankind). There were not only the images of Zeus and Hera and Athene and Poseidon and of the others whom the Greeks reckon among the twelve gods, but also images of the older gods, from whom the twelve gods are said in myth to have been born: Kronos and Rhea and Themis and Lato and the Moirai and Mnemosyne and all the others, who have sacred rites and precincts among the Greeks. And of those whom the myths say came later, after the time when Zeus succeeded to power, of these too there were images, of Persephone and Eileithuia and the Nymphs, the Muses, the Horai, the Charites, and Dionysos; and also of those who were demigods, of whom it is said that their souls left behind their mortal bodies and came up to heaven, and that they receive honours**

similar to those of the gods: Herakles, Asklepios, the Dioskouroi, Selene, Pan and countless others. (14) . . . (15) Once the procession had been completed, the consuls, and those of the priests to whom it was not forbidden by sacred law, at once sacrificed oxen, and the manner of the sacrifices was the same as it is with us. For after washing their hands they purified all around the victims with pure water and sprinkled the fruits of Demeter over their heads. Then they prayed, and finally ordered their attendants to sacrifice the victims. Some of the attendants, while the victim was still standing, struck it on the temples with a club, others held out sacrificial knives as it fell, and after this flayed it; having dismembered it, they took first-offerings from each internal organ and from all the other limbs, covered them with grains of wheat, and brought them forward in baskets to those conducting the sacrifice. They in turn placed them on the altar, lit fires underneath them, and poured wine over them while they burnt. (16–18) . . .

(73.1) It still remains for me to recount briefly the nature of the contests which they completed after the procession. **The first were the races of four-horse chariots, of two-horse chariots and of unyoked horses**, as occurred amongst the Greeks both in ancient times at the Olympics, and up to the present day. (2) In the horse racing, two customs which are very ancient have continued down to my times, preserved by the Romans just as they were ordained in the beginning. The first is that relating to the three-horse chariots, which has died out among the Greeks, although it was an ancient custom, and a heroic one, which Homer represents the Greeks as using in their battles. **For two horses, yoked in the way in which a pair is yoked, are accompanied by a third horse, attached by a rope, and kept in line with the reins.** Because it is attached at the side and is not yoked in a pair, the ancients used to call it the *pareoros* ('side runner'). The other custom is still preserved in a few Greek cities in certain ancient sacrifices, and this is **the race of those who have ridden**

beside the driver in the chariot. (3) For when the horse races are completed, those who have ridden with the charioteers (whom the poets call *parabatai* [‘standers beside’], but the Athenians *apobatai* [‘dismounters’]), **dismounting from the chariots, contend in the one-stade race against each other. And when the horse races are over, those who contend with their own bodies for a prize then, in their turn, entered the fray: the runners, the boxers and the wrestlers.** For these were the three athletic contests among the ancient Greeks, as Homer makes clear at the funeral of Patroclus. (4) **And in the periods between the contests,** they exhibited a habit most Greek and most excellent of all, in that **they held crownings and public proclamations of the honours with which they were honouring their benefactors,** as happened at Athens at the festival of the Dionysia, **and also displays of spoils, which they had taken in war, for the benefit of those who had assembled for the spectacle.** (5) But concerning these things, it was not good either to make no mention of them, when my purpose demanded it, nor was it appropriate to speak at greater length than was necessary. Now though it is the right moment to turn back to the narrative which we left behind.

F16 (= Peter F17, Jacoby F14, Chassignet F21) = T11c

c. 488 BC Varr.

Livy 2.40.10–11

abductis deinde legionibus ex agro Romano, invidia rei oppressum perisse tradunt alii alio leto. apud Fabium, longe antiquissimum auctorem, **usque ad senectutem uixisse eundem** inuenio; (11) refert certe **hanc saepe eum exacta aetate usurpasse uocem multo miserius seni exsilium esse.**

After then leading his forces out of Roman territory, he [sc. Coriolanus] is said to have died weighed down by the resentment his actions had provoked, the manner of his death

being reported differently by various authorities. I find in Fabius, by a long way the most ancient author, that **the same man lived on to old age.** (11) At any rate he reports that **in advanced old age he frequently employed the saying that exile is much more wretched for an old man.**

F17 (= Peter F18, Jacoby F15, Chassignet F24)

325 BC Varr.

Livy 8.30.7–10

auctores habeo bis cum hoste signa conlata dictatore absente, bis rem egregie gestam; apud antiquissimos scriptores una haec pugna inuenitur; in quibusdam annalibus tota res praetermissa est. (8) magister equitum ut ex tanta caede multis potitus spoliis congesta in ingentem acervum hostilia arma subdito igne concremavit, (9) seu uotum id deorum cuiquam fuit seu credere libet Fabio auctori **eo factum ne suae gloriae fructum dictator caperet nomenque ibi scriberet aut spolia in triumpho ferret.** (10) **litterae quoque de re prospere gesta ad senatum, non ad dictatorem, missae argumentum fuere minime cum eo communicantis laudes.**

I have some authorities who state that pitched battle was twice joined with the enemy in the absence of the dictator, and twice carried through to an admirable conclusion; in the most ancient writers the one battle described here is to be found; in certain annals the whole incident is left out. (8) Once the master of the horse [sc. Quintus Fabius Rullianus] had taken possession of many spoils, as one would expect after so great a slaughter, he had the enemy weapons piled up into an enormous heap, and having lit a fire under them he burnt them utterly. (9) Either this was in fulfilment of a vow to one of the gods, or, if one wishes to believe Fabius as an authority here, **so that the dictator should not reap the harvest of his glory and inscribe his name there** [sc. on the arms] **or carry the spoils in a triumph.** (10)

In addition, he sent a letter reporting his success to the senate, not to the dictator, which was an indication that he had no intention of sharing the glory with him.

F18 (= Peter F19, Jacoby F16, Chassignet F25) cf. Claudius Quadrigarius 24 F35

Livy 10.37.13–16

294 BC

et huius anni parum constans memoria est. Postumium auctor est Claudius, in Samnio captis aliquot urbibus, in Apulia fusum fugatumque, saucium ipsum cum paucis Luceriam compulsus: ab Atilio in Etruria res gestas eumque triumphasse. (14) Fabius **ambo consules in Samnio et ad Luceriam res gessisse** scribit **traductumque in Etruriam exercitum**—sed ab utro consule non adicit—**et ad Luceriam utrimque multos occisos inque ea pugna Iouis Statoris aedem uotam**, (15) ut Romulus ante uouerat; sed fanum tantum, id est locus templo effatus, fuerat; (16) ceterum hoc demum anno ut aedem etiam fieri senatus iuberet bis eiusdem uoti damnata re publica in religionem uenit.

(14) adiicit (adicit *Oakley*) *Madvig* : adiecit *Il* (res gessisse . . . ad Luceriam *om. M*)

The tradition about this year too is insufficiently consistent. Claudius reports that Postumius, after capturing a number of cities in Samnium, was routed and put to flight in Apulia, and, himself wounded, driven to Luceria with a few troops: Atilius fought in Etruria, and it was he who triumphed. (14) Fabius writes **that both consuls conducted operations in Samnium and near Luceria and that an army was led to Etruria**—but he does not go on to say by which of the two consuls—**and that near Luceria many were killed on both sides; in that battle a temple of Iupiter Stator was vowed**, (15) as Romulus had vowed one before; but it had been only a sanctuary, that is a space ritually declared a *templum*; (16) at any rate this year, at last, it became a matter of religious principle that the senate should order a temple to be built, since the republic had been obliged twice to fulfil the same vow.

Pol. 1.58.2–6

ὁ γὰρ Ἀμίλκας, τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὸν Ἐρυκα τηρούντων ἐπὶ τε τῆς κορυφῆς καὶ παρὰ τὴν ῥίζαν, καθάπερ εἴπομεν, κατελάβετο τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἐρυκίνων, ἣτις ἦν μεταξὺ τῆς τε κορυφῆς καὶ τῶν πρὸς τῇ ῥίζῃ στρατοπεδευσάντων. (3) ἔξ οὗ συνέβαινε παραβόλως μὲν ὑπομένειν καὶ διακινδυνεύειν πολιορκουμένους τοὺς τὴν κορυφὴν κατέχοντας τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀπίστως δὲ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀντέχειν, τῶν τε πολεμίων πανταχόθεν προσκειμένων καὶ τῶν χορηγιῶν οὐ ῥαδίως αὐτοῖς παρακομιζομένων, ὡς ἂν τῆς θαλάττης καθ' ἓνα τόπον καὶ μίαν πρόσοδον ἀντεχομένοις. (4) οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἐνταῦθα πάσαις μὲν ἀμφότεροι ταῖς πολιορκητικαῖς ἐπινοίαις καὶ βίαις χρησάμενοι κατ' ἀλλήλων, πᾶν δὲ γένος ἐνδείας ἀνασχόμενοι, πάσης δ' ἐπιθέσεως καὶ μάχης πείραν λαβόντες, (5) τέλος οὐχ, ὡς Φάβιος φησιν, **ἑξαδυνατοῦντες καὶ περικακοῦντες**, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ἀπαθεῖς καὶ ἀήττητοὶ τινες ἄνδρες ἱερὸν ἐποίησαν τὸν στέφανον. (6) πρότερον γὰρ ἢ κείνους ἀλλήλων ἐπικρατῆσαι, καίπερ δὴ ἔτη πάλιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ διαγωνισαμένους, δι' ἄλλου τρόπου συνέβη λαβεῖν τὸν πόλεμον τὴν κρίσιν.

(2) τῇ ῥίζῃ *CJ*: τῆς ῥίζης *ADE* (5) ἐποίησαν τὸν *Bekker*: ἐποιήσαντο *MSS*.

For Hamilcar, since the Romans, as I said, were guarding Eryx, both on the summit and along the foot of the mountain, seized the city of the Erycini, which was between the summit and the camp at the foot. (3) As a result it happened that those of the Romans who held the summit held out and ran every risk in a remarkable fashion, while the Carthaginians stood their ground in a manner that passes belief, although the enemy pressed them from all sides, and supplies could not easily be brought to them, since they had access to the sea at one

point and by one road. (4) But, here again, although both sides employed against each other every invention and effort of siege warfare, sustaining every kind of deficiency, and making trial of every form of attack and pitched battle, (5) in the end, not, as Fabius says, **incapable of more and in the depths of misfortune**, but like uninjured and undefeated fighters, they presented the prize to the gods [i.e. left the contest drawn]. (6) For before one was victorious over the other, although they had contended with each other in this place for a further two years, it happened that the outcome of the war was decided in another manner.

F20 (= Peter F24, Jacoby F20, Chassignet F29) cf. T15 ? 230s or 220s BC

Pliny *nat.* 10.71

tradit et Fabius Pictor in annalibus suis, **cum obsideretur praesidium Romanum a Ligustinis, hirundinem a pullis ad se adlatam, ut lino ad pedem eius adligato nodis significaret quoto die adueniente auxilio eruptio fieri deberet.**

significaret *Rd* : significare *cett.* quoto F^2E^2 : quo (*ras.*) R^1 : quo R^2d : quinto F^1a

And Fabius Pictor relates in his annals that **when a Roman garrison was being besieged by the Ligurians, a swallow was taken from her nestlings and brought to him, so that he might make known, by knots on a thread tied to its foot, on exactly which day a sortie should be made to coincide with the arrival of a relieving force.**

F21 (= Peter F23, Jacoby F19, Chassignet F30) = T1 225 BC

a Eutrop. 3.5

L. Aemilio consule ingentes Gallorum copiae Alpes transierunt. sed pro Romanis tota Italia consensit traditumque est a Fabio historico, qui ei bello interfuit, **octingenta milia hominum parata ad id bellum fuisse.**

In the consulship of Lucius Aemilius, huge bands of Gauls crossed the Alps. But all Italy favoured the Romans, and it is related by Fabius the historian, who took part in that war, that **eight hundred thousand men were ready for that war.**

b Oros. 4.13.6–7

itaque permoti consules totius Italiae ad praesidium imperii contraxere vires. quo facto **in utriusque consulis exercitu octingenta milia armatorum fuisse** referuntur, sicut Fabius historicus, qui eidem bello interfuit, scripsit. (7) **ex quibus Romanorum et Campanorum fuerunt peditum trecenta quadraginta octo milia ducenti, equitum uero uiginti sex milia sescenti; cetera multitudo sociorum fuit.**

trecenta quadraginta octo *DUJ* : ccclx octo *L* : cccxlviiii *QCZ* : cccxxxxiii *F* :
ccccxxxxiii *H* : ccxlviiii *Niebuhr* : cclxxxxviii *Mommsen* xxvi milia sescenti *MSS* : xxiii
milia centum *Beloch* : xxvi milia centum *Mommsen*

Therefore, perturbed, the consuls mustered the forces of the whole of Italy for the defence of the empire. Once this had been done, there are said **to be have been eight hundred thousand armed men in the army of the two consuls**; so writes Fabius the historian, who took part in that war. (7) **Of these, three hundred and forty-eight thousand two hundred were foot soldiers of the Romans and Campanians, and twenty-six thousand six hundred were cavalry; the rest of this large number was made up of allies.**

c Livy *per.* 20

Galli transalpini qui in Italiam inruperant caesi sunt. **eo bello populum Romanum sui Latiniq[ue] nominis octingenta milia armatorum habuisse** <Fabius> dicit.

DCCC [+ **macron**] *Mommsen* : aCCC [no **macron**] *MSS*. <Fabius> *Mommsen* : *om.*
MSS

The Transalpine Gauls who had burst into Italy were cut to pieces. **In that war** <Fabius> says that **the Roman people had eight hundred thousand armed men of their own and of the Latin name.**

F22 (= Peter F25, Jacoby F21, Chassignet F31) cf. T6

218 BC

Pol. 3.8.1–8

Φάβιος δέ φησιν ὁ Ῥωμαϊκὸς συγγραφεὺς ἅμα τῷ κατὰ Ζακανθαίους ἀδικήματι καὶ τὴν Ἄσδρούβου πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλαρχίαν αἰτίαν γίνεσθαι τοῦ κατ' Ἀντίβαν πολέμου. (2) ἐκείνον γὰρ μεγάλην ἀνειληφότα τὴν δυναστείαν ἐν τοῖς κατ' Ἰβηρίαν τόποις, μετὰ ταῦτα παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἐπιβαλέσθαι καταλύσαντα τοὺς νόμους εἰς μοναρχίαν περιστῆσαι τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν Καρχηδονίων· (3) τοὺς δὲ πρώτους ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τοῦ πολιτεύματος προΐδομένους αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν συμφρονῆσαι καὶ διαστήναι πρὸς αὐτόν· (4) τὸν δ' Ἄσδρούβαν ὑπιδόμενον, ἀναχωρήσαντ' ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν χειρίζειν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν, οὐ προσέχοντα τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων. (5) Ἀντίβαν δὲ κοινωνὸν καὶ ζηλωτὴν ἐκ μειρακίου γεγονότα τῆς ἐκείνου προαιρέσεως καὶ τότε διαδεξάμενον τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγωγὴν Ἄσδρούβα ποιεῖσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων. (6) διὸ καὶ νῦν τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον ἐξηννοχέειν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν Ῥωμαῖοις παρὰ τὴν Καρχηδονίων γνώμην. (7) οὐδένα γὰρ εὐδοκεῖν τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν ἐν Καρχηδόνι τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀντίβου περὶ τὴν Ζακανθαίων πόλιν πραχθεῖσιν. (8) ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν φησιν μετὰ τὴν τῆς προειρημένης πόλεως ἄλωσιν παραγενέσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, οἰομένους δεῖν ἢ τὸν Ἀντίβαν ἐκδιδόναι σφίσι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἢ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαμβάνειν.

(2) εἰς *Bekker*: ἐπὶ *MSS*.

Fabius the Roman historian says that **as well as the wrong done to the Saguntines, the greed and lust for power of Hasdrubal were also a cause of the war with Hannibal.** (2) **For the former, having got his hands on a great power in the territories in Iberia, subsequently arriving in Libya attempted to annul the laws and to convert the government of the Carthaginians to a monarchy.** (3) **The first men in the state, however, foreseeing his attempt, formed a united front and stood against him.** (4) **Hasdrubal, being suspected, withdrew from Libya and thereafter now controlled the territories in Iberia according to his own inclinations, without paying any heed to the senate of the Carthaginians.** (5) **Hannibal from boyhood had been a partner and emulator of Hasdrubal's policy, and when at that time he succeeded him in the territories in Iberia, he conducted affairs in the same way as Hasdrubal.** (6) **Consequently, now too he had brought about this war against the Romans acting on his own policy and contrary to the wishes of the Carthaginians.** (7) **For not one of the important men in Carthage approved the things which had been done by Hannibal in relation to the city of the Saguntines.** (8) **Having related these things, Fabius says that after the capture of the aforementioned city, the Romans arrived, expressing the view that the Carthaginians must either give up Hannibal or accept war.** [T6]

F23 (Peter F26, Jacoby F22, Chassignet F32) Cf. T3

217 BC

Livy 22.7.1–4

haec est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna atque inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades. (2) **quindecim milia Romanorum in acie caesa sunt; decem milia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam diuersis itineribus urbem petiere;** (3) **duo milia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea ex uolneribus periire.** multiplex caedes utrimque facta traditur ab aliis;

(4) ego, praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex uano uelim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium, aequalem temporibus huiusce belli, potissimum auctorem habui.

(2) caesa sunt *M* : caesas *P* : caesa <totidem capta> *C. Peter* (cf. *Pol.* 3.85.1; *Plut.*

Fab. 3.3) diuersis (*uel auersis*) *dett.* : aduersis *P* (3) duo milia quingenti *P* : mille quingenti *R^xM^xDNA*; sic etiam *Pol.* 3.85.5 postea *Perizonius* : postea utrimque *P*

This is the famous battle fought at Trasimene, and commemorated as one of the few disasters of the Roman people. (2) **Fifteen thousand Romans were killed in the battle; ten thousand, scattered in flight across all of Etruria, made their way by various routes to the city.** (3) **Two thousand five hundred of the enemy fell in battle, many perished afterwards from their wounds.** That there was a slaughter many times as great on both sides is related by some; (4) I, besides the fact that I would not want anything magnified groundlessly, a tendency to which the minds of writers generally are unduly disposed, have taken Fabius, a contemporary of this war, to be the best qualified authority.

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN CONTEXT

F24 (= Peter F20, Jacoby F27, Chassignet F26)

Strabo 5.228

τὴν δ' ἀρχαιότητα τεκμήριον ἂν τις ποιήσαιτο ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς, ἀφ' ἧς ἀντέσχον μέχρι πρὸς τὸν παρόντα χρόνον. φησὶ δ' ὁ συγγραφεὺς Φάβιος Ῥωμαίους αἰσθέσθαι τοῦ πλούτου τότε πρῶτον ὅτε τοῦ ἔθνους τούτου κατέστησαν κύριοι.

And one might use their antiquity as proof of their [sc. the Sabines'] courage and their excellence in other areas, as a result of which they have endured until the present time. Fabius

the historian says that **the Romans first perceived wealth at the time when they became masters of this people.**

F25 (= Peter F27, Jacoby F26, Chassignet F11)

Pliny *nat.* 14.89

Fabius Pictor in annalibus suis scripsit **matronam, quod loculos, in quibus erant claves cellae uinariae, resignauisset, a suis inedia mori coactam . . .**

Fabius Pictor in his annals wrote that **a matron, because she had unsealed the strong-box, in which were the keys to the wine cellar, was compelled by her family to die from starvation . . .**

F26 (= Peter F28, Jacoby F25, Chassignet F18)

Suda *s.u.* Φάβιος Πίκτωρ Φ2 (4.691 Adler)

Φάβιος Πίκτωρ, συγγραφεὺς Ῥωμαίων. οὗτος λέγει ἄρχοντι Ῥωμαίων μὴ ἐξεῖναι μηδενὶ σφετερίσασθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ὀτιοῦν.

Fabius Pictor, Roman historian. He says that **it is not allowed for any Roman magistrate to appropriate anything whatsoever from public funds.**

POSSIBLE FRAGMENTS

(F27) (Peter F1, Jacoby F23, Chassignet F2) = Cincius Alimentus 2 F9, Fabius Maximus

Servilianus 8 F5, Cn. Gellius 14 F12b

Marius Victorinus *GL* 6.23

reptores litterarum Cadmus ex Phoenice in Graeciam et Euander ad nos transtulerunt A B C D E I K <L> M N O P R S T <V> litteras numero xvi. postea

quasdam a Palamede et alias a Simonide adiectas implese numerum **xxiii** grammatici, praeterea Demetrius Phalereus, Hermocrates, ex nostris autem Cincius, Fabius, Gellius, tradiderunt.

I K L M *ed princ.* : H I K M *MSS.* R S T V *Vossius* : Q R S T *MSS.*

As inventors of letters, Cadmus brought across from Phoenicia to Greece, and Evander brought across to us, the letters A B C D E I K <L> M N O P R S T <V>, sixteen in all. Later certain letters added by Palamedes, and others by Simonides, made the number up to twenty-four, as the grammarians have related, and also Demetrius of Phalerum, Hermocrates, and furthermore, amongst our own authorities, Cincius, Fabius, and Gellius.

(F28) (Peter F3a, Jacoby F28, Chassignet F4) = Fabius Maximus Servilianus 8 F7

Serv. Aen. 5.73

(V) hoc Helymus facit, hoc aeui maturus Aestes

(DS + S) 'hoc Helymus facit': princeps Troianorum, qui dicitur (tres S) in Sicilia condidisse ciuitates,

(DS) Ascam, Entellam, Egestam. alii dicunt eum post incensum Ilium cum Aceste in Siciliam uenisse eique participem fuisse. alii Anchisae nothum filium tradunt. Fabius

Helymum regem in Sicilia genitum, Erycis fratrem, fuisse dicit.

(V) This Helymus does, and this Aestes, old in years . . .

(DS + S) 'This Helymus does': a leading man of the Trojans, who is said to have founded (three S) cities in Sicily,

(DS) Asca, Entella and Egesta. Some say that he had come to Sicily after the burning of Troy with Aestes and had shared his exploits. Others relate that he was a bastard son of

Anchises. Fabius says that **Helymus was a king born in Sicily and that he was the brother of Eryx.**

(F29) (= Peter (Lat.) F4, Jacoby F30a, Chassignet F7d) = Fabius Maximus Servilianus 8 F8
Serv. *Aen.* 8.630–1

(V) fecerat et uiridi fetam Mauortis in antro
procubuisse lupam . . .

(DS+S) potest accipi et ‘fecerat lupam Mauortis’ et ‘Mauortis in antro’. (Fabius *spelunca Martis* dixit DS).

(V) He [sc. Vulcan] had also fashioned the newly-whelped she-wolf of Mauors lying down in the green cave [*or*: the newly-whelped she-wolf lying down in the green cave of Mauors] . . .

(DS+S) This can be interpreted as both 'he had fashioned the she-wolf of Mauors' and 'in the cave of Mauors'. (Fabius said, *the grotto of Mars* DS).

(F30) (= Peter F12, Jacoby F11, Chassignet F16) = Fabius Maximus Servilianus 8 F9,
Valerius Antias 25 F69
Arnob. 6.7

regnatoris populi Capitolium qui est hominum qui ignoret Oli esse sepulcrum
Vulcentani? quis est, inquam, qui non sciat ex fundaminum sedibus caput hominis euolutum
non ante plurimum temporis aut solum sine partibus ceteris (hoc enim quidam ferunt) aut
cum membris omnibus humationis officia sortitum? quod si planum fieri testimoniis
postulatis auctorum, Sammonicus, Granius, Valerius Antias et Fabius indicabunt, **cuius
Aulus fuerit filius, gentis et nationis cuius, <cuius> per manus seruuli uita fuerit**

spoliatus et lumine, quid de suis commeruit ciuibus, ut ei sit abnegata telluris patriae sepultura. condiscetis etiam, quamuis nolle istud publicare se fingant, **quid sit capite relecto factum, uel in parte qua arcis curiosa fuerit obscuritate conclusum,** ut immobilis uidelicet atque fixa obsignati ominis perpetuitas staret. quod cum opprimi par esset et uetustatis obliteratione celari, compositio nominis iecit in medium et cum suis causis per data sibi tempora inextinguibili fecit testificatione procedere, nec erubuit ciuitas maxima et numinum cunctorum cultrix, cum uocabulum templo daret, ex Oli capite Capitolium quam ex nomine Iouio nuncupare.

Valerius Antias *Vrsinus* : Valerianus *P* Aulus *P* : Oulus *Briscoe*

<cuius> per manus seruuli *Marchesi* : germani seruuli *P* : <ut a> germani seruulo *Gelenius* :
 <ut a> germani seruulis *Salmasius* : cur manu seruuli *Zink* : <cur a> germani seruulo *Coarelli*
 patriae *Gelenius* : patientiae *P* : paternae *Hildebrand* : patritae *Marchesi, dub.*
 relecto *Zink* : relecto *P* arcis *Hildebrand* : rei *P* : areae *Roth*

Who is there among men who does not know that the Capitolium of the ruling people is the tomb of Oulus of Vulci? Who is there, I say, who does not know that the head of a man rolled out of the very base of the foundations, which not very much earlier had received the rites of burial, either on its own without the other parts of the body (for so some relate) or together with all the limbs? If you demand that this story be made clear by the testimonies of authors, Sammonicus, Granius, Valerius Antias, and Fabius will reveal **whose son Aulus was, of what family and people, at the hands of which mere slave he he was deprived of life and light, how he deserved of his own fellow-citizens the denial of a burial in his ancestral soil.** You shall also learn, although they pretend that they are unwilling to make this fact public, **what was done when the head was uncovered, or in what part of the citadel it was concealed in careful obscurity,** evidently so that the permanence of the omen

attached to it should endure, unmovable and fixed. Although it would be reasonable for the story to be buried and hidden, effaced by age, the composition of the name [sc. the Capitol] made it common knowledge, together with its origins, and prolonged the story through the ages assigned to it with an attestation that could not be extinguished; nor did the greatest state, worshipper of all deities, blush, when giving a name to the temple, to call the Capitolium after the head [*caput*] of Olus, rather than the name of Jupiter.

(F31) (= Peter (Lat.) F6, Jacoby F33, Chassignet F23) cf. T17 = Fabius Maximus

Servilianus 8 F10

367/366 BC Varr.

Gell. 5.4.1–3

apud Sigillaria forte in libraria ego et Iulius Paulus poeta, uir memoria nostra doctissimus, consideramus; atque ibi expositi sunt Fabi annales, bonae atque sinceræ uetustatis libri, quos uenditor sine mendis esse contendebat. (2) grammaticus autem quispiam de nobilioribus ab emptore ad spectandos libros adhibitus repperisse <se> unum in libro mendum dicebat; sed contra librarius in quoduis pignus uocabat, si in una uspiam littera delictum esset. (3) ostendebat grammaticus ita scriptum in libro quarto: ***quapropter tum primum ex plebe alter consul factus est duouicesimo anno postquam Romam Galli ceperunt.***

(2) <se> Hertz : om. MSS. (3) duouicesimo Iunius ad Non. 100M = 142L (cf. Cato

5 F77) : duo et uicesimo VPR

It so happened that Julius Paulus the poet, the most learned man I can recall, and I were sitting in a bookshop at the Sigillaria market; and displayed there were the *Annales* of Fabius, books of good and genuine antiquity; the vendor was arguing that they contained no copyists' errors. (2) But a certain *grammaticus*, one of the better known, employed by a buyer

to scrutinize the books, said that he had found one such error in a book. In reply the bookseller began challenging him, for any stake he liked, if a copyist's error had been made in any single letter anywhere. (3) The *grammaticus* pointed out where the following had been written in the fourth book: *wherefore then for the first time one of the two consuls was appointed from the plebs, in the twenty-second year after the Gauls captured Rome.*

(F32) (= Peter F2, Jacoby F24, Chassignet F22) = Fabius Maximus Servilianus 8 F11

Isid. *etym.* 4.7.34

Alexander historiographus ait: Vulscos quidam appellatos aiunt a Vulso Antiphatae Laestrygonis filio. Fabius quoque **a Siculis profectos corrupto nomine Vulscos ait dictos.**

a Siculis *Haupt* : sicolicis *TV* : siccolicis *U*

Alexander the history-writer says: some say that the Vulscians are so-called from Vulscus, the son of Antiphates the Laestrygonian. Fabius also says that **they were descended from the Siculi, and from the corruption of that name were called Vulsci.**