
THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE FIRST BOOK.

THOUGH no friend to the discourses usually employed in the prefaces to histories, yet I am obliged to speak of myself: In doing which I shall neither dwell too long on my own praise, which I know would be

ANNOTATIONS on the First Book.

¹· Της ειωθόλης αποδίδοθαι τοις προοιμιοις λογος. This first period has occasioned great difficulty; and, consequently, great diversity of opinions both in the translators and commentators. Henry Stephens, as we call him, who was a man of great parts as well as great learning (which qualities are not always such inseparable companions as they may be thought) contends that we ought to read εν τοις προοιμιοις, because, says he, it is too hard an expression to say λογοι αποδιδοθαι τοις προοιμιοις, as if the historian was to give an account

to the preface of his history; when, on the other side, the preface itself is the thing, that gives the account. This is confining the sense of the word αποδιδοναι to a single signification; whereas it is capable of many, and, particularly, of That, which our author has given to it in this passage. Plato has taken it in the same sense, where he says, ^a Και ομολογεμεν μη παραφυσιν ειναι ταις των φυλακων γυναιξι μεσικην τε και γυμνασικην ΑΠΟΔΙΔΟΝΑΙ. I agree, indeed, with him that ηκιστα βεβλομενος should be understood as if

^a Plato B. v. Περι πολιτ. p. 654. Edit. of Marfil.

disagreeable to the reader, neither shall I censure other historians, ² as Anaxilaus and Theopompus have done in the prefaces to their histories; but shall only shew the reasons, that induced me to undertake this work, and give an account of the means, by which I was furnished with the knowledge

the author had said *καίπερ ἤκιστα βελο-
μενος*; but I cannot agree with him in joining *της ειωθίας λογος* with *ειπειν*, because I often find *βελομαι* governing an accusative case in the best authors, and applied in the same sense our author uses it upon this occasion: Thus, Thucydides uses the word in giving an account of the unfortunate expedition of the Athenians to Sicily under Nicias, Lamachus, and Alcibiades, ^b *Και ως αυτης οι Καλαναιοι εκ εδεχοντο (ενησαν γαρ αυθοι ανδρες τα Συρακυσσιων ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΙ) εκομιθησαν επι τον Τηριαν ποταμον.*

² *Ωσπερ Αναξιλαος και Θεοπομπος εν τοις προοιμιοις των ιστοριων εποησαν.* As to the first of these historians, I can find nothing relating to him, that is worth mentioning. The other was an historian of great merit, and treated as such by many ancient authors both Greek and Latin, particularly by Dionysius of Halicarnassus himself in his letter to Cn. Pompeius; in which he gives the character of the most celebrated historians; and, among the rest, of Theopompus, “ who, he says, “ was the most illustrious of all the “ scholars of Isocrates; and, after “ enumerating the many advantages “ he had of being well informed of “ what he writ, he says, that the “ greatest characteristic of his writing, “ and That, in which he was more

“ exact than all the other historians, “ either ancient or modern, was this, “ that he observed, and related, not “ only those things, that were observ- “ able by others, but, also, searched “ into the hidden motives both of the “ actions, and of the actors, and into “ the passions of the soul, which are “ not easily discovered by the gene- “ rality of mankind; and that he “ unfolded all the mysteries both of “ seeming virtue, and of latent vice.”

It is no wonder that so free a searcher into the springs of Philip’s policy, whose affairs were the subject of one of his histories, and with whom he was cotemporary, should pass for a censorious writer. But the truth is, that the iniquitous designs of Philip to enslave Greece; the corrupt methods, made use of by him to accomplish that design; the disorders of his court; his personal prostitution to every vice, sometimes, through intemperance, and sometimes, through policy, were so flagrant, that a naked relation of all these excesses might make his history appear a satire. This Philippic history of Theopompus contained fifty eight books, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, who says that five of them were suspected not to be genuine. ^c *Γεγραφε (Θεοπομπος) βιβλος οκτω προς ταις πενήκοντα, εξ ων πέντε διαφωνοσι.*

^b Thucyd. B. vi. c. 50.

^c Diod. Sic. B. xvi. p. 511. Edit. of Steph.

of those things, I am going to relate. For I am of the opinion that all, who propose to leave such monuments of their minds to posterity, as time shall not involve in one common ruin with their bodies, and, particularly, those, who write histories, which we look upon as the repositories of truth, ³ the source both of prudence and wisdom, ought, first of all, to make choice of worthy and grand subjects, and such as are of great utility to their readers; then, with great care and pains, provide themselves with proper materials. For those, who build their histories upon subjects inglorious, wicked, or of no importance, either fond of being known, and of getting a name of any kind, or desirous to display the abundance of their oratory, ⁴ are neither known by posterity to their advantage, or commended for their eloquence, leaving this opinion in the minds of all, who are conversant with their histories, that their lives, and their writings were of a piece; since it is a just, and a general observation, that the works of an author are the images of his mind. There are others, who make choice indeed of the best subjects; but, by founding their relations upon common reports through precipitancy and carelessness, lose

³ Αρχην Φρονησεως τε και σοφιας εσαν.
Le Jay has left out this fine observation in his paraphrase on this passage. The other French translator has not left it out in his.

⁴ Ουτε της γνωσεως ζηλευται παρα τοις επιγνωμενοις. Both the French translators have applied ζηλευται in this place to *imitation* and *emulation*, which is, no doubt, one sense of the word, but

not the sense it bears here, where it plainly implies *admiration*, *praise*; and, in this sense, it agrees very well with what goes before: These men, says our author, are fond of being known, and they are so, but it is to their disadvantage. And thus Suidas explains the word ζηλωτος. μακαριστος. επαινετος.

the merit of that choice. ⁵ For we do not allow the histories of renowned cities, and of men who have governed nations, to be written in a hasty, and negligent manner. As therefore I am convinced that these considerations are necessary to, and ought first to be regarded by, historians, and, as I have taken great care to observe them both, I would neither omit the mention of them, nor ⁶ give it any other place than in the preface to this work.

II. That I have made choice of a subject, worthy, grand, and useful, will be readily granted by all, who are not utterly unacquainted with ⁷ general history: For, if any one, who has considered the ancient empires both of cities and of nations, as delivered down to us by history, and, after that, in surveying them severally, and comparing them together, desires to be satisfied which of them obtained the most extensive dominion, and, both in peace and war, performed the most glaring achievements, he will find the empire of the Romans to have far exceeded all those that preceded it, not only in the extent of their dominion, and in the splendor of their actions (⁸ which no history has hitherto

⁵ Ου γὰρ ἀξίεμεν ἀυλοχεδισ, etc. I am sensible that the general signification of the word ἀυλοχεδισ is *extemporary*: but, as it, also, signifies *sudden, hasty*, I have chosen to give it this sense, because it agrees better with εικη, which our author had employed, just before, to signify the same thing.

⁶ Καταχωρησαι. I have followed the common editions in reading καταχωρησαι rather than καταχωρησαι with the Vati-

can manuscript; the first being an active verb, and signifying *to place, to dispose*; and the other, if there is such a word, a neuter, in which sense it can have nothing to do here.

⁷ Της κοινης ιστοριας. Casaubon very well observes, upon this place, that κοινή ιστορία signifies καθολική ιστορία, in opposition to τη των καταμερος συνταξει.

⁸ As εγω κεκοσμηκε λογος εδεις αξιως, *Que personne jusqu'ici n'a vantées comme*

worthily

worthily celebrated) but also in the length of time, that has handed it down to our days: For the empire of the Assyrians,

elles le meritent in Le Jay, is, by much, too vain a translation of the word *κοσμειν*: The other French translator has translated, or, rather, paraphrased this passage with more modesty, *Qu'aucun auteur n'a traitées jusqu'ici avec toute la dignité, et toute l'éloquence qu'elles demandent*. When I read this expression in our author, I cannot help being surpris'd at his censuring, at one dash, all the writers of the Roman history; particularly, if, as it is generally thought, Livy's history appeared before his. For, if ever an historian had the talent of *adorning* the actions he relates, I really think that Livy possessed it in the highest degree. For this reason, Caligula, that mad emperor, whose sayings, though destitute of reason, were not destitute of the appearance of it, called Livy *verbosum in historiâ*^a. However, I have great reason to think that Livy's history did not make its appearance in the world so early as the consulship of Claudius Nero, and Calpurnius Piso, which was in the year of Rome 745, according to Cato. Vossius, I know, contends that Livy must have finished his history before the year 730^b; because he says, that, after Numa, the temple of Janus was twice shut, once, in the consulship of Titus Manlius, after the end of the first Punic war; and, the second time, by Augustus, after the battle of Actium. ^c *Bis deinde post Numae regnum (Janus) clausus fuit: semel, Tito Manlio consule, post Punicum primum perfectum*

bellum; iterum, quod nostrae aetati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto, pace terrâ marique partâ. Vossius goes on, and says, It is well known that the temple of Janus was shut a second time, by Augustus in the year 730; and, also, a third time, by the same emperor, the following year; and, says he, What can be plainer, when Livy says That temple was shut, *but once*, in his time, that he writ those words, before it was shut the second, and third time? I will not quarrel with Vossius for making Livy say more than he does, in order to favour his argument: Livy does not say, *but once*, though, what he says, seems to imply it. This argument of Vossius proves, most certainly, that, when Livy writ those words, the temple of Janus had been only shut once by Augustus, but it is very far from proving that Livy finished his history before it had been shut, the second and third time. I find by ^d Dion Cassius that, after Caius Antistius had obtained a victory over the Astures and Cantabri (Augustus having left the command of the army to him by reason of his indisposition) the temple of Janus was shut by this emperor, for the second time, during his reign, which happened in the 729th year of Rome, Augustus being consul for the ninth time together with Marcus Silanus. Now, it is impossible that Livy could have finished his history before

^a Sueton. Life of Calig. c. 34.
^b B. liii. p. 589. Edit. Steph.

^c De Hist. Latin. B. i. c. 19.

^d Liv. B. i. c. 19.

ancient as it was, and running back as far as the fabulous times, spread itself no farther than over a small part of Asia. That of the Medes, who overthrew the Assyrian empire, and ⁹attained still greater power, lasted not long, but was dissolved in the fourth generation: the Persians, indeed, after they had conquered the Medes, at last, became masters of almost all Asia; but, having also invaded the European nations, they did not ¹prevail on many of them to submit

that year; since it, plainly, appears, by the epitome, that he extended it to the death of Drusus, which happened in the 744th year of Rome, Drusus himself and Crispinus being consuls. Nay, there are some authors, who carry his history even to the time of Tiberius, in the fourth year of whose reign he is said by Eusebius to have died in his 76th year^h. As the words quoted by Vossius out of Livy, are in his first book, it is very possible he might afterwards forget to alter them.

⁹ Μειζονα δυνασειαν περιβαλομενη. Περιβαλοισο. επεκλησαισο. Suidas. I shall defer taking notice of the ancient empires, here mentioned by our author, till he has gone through them; as I shall, also, considering the sense he gives to the word γενεα, till I come to the place, where he applies it to the duration of the Roman empire.

¹⁰ Ου πολλα επηγαγοισο. Le Jay has translated this *qui subjuguarent mesme une partie de l'Europe*; which is neither agreeable to the sense of the Greek word, nor to the fact, as it stands recorded in history. Επαγεσθαι signifies *to prevail on any one by money, promises*

or persuasion. Επαγομενας, εφολκα, η, απαληικα. Hefychius. Επηγαγοισο. προσωκειωσαλο. ιδιοποιησαλο. Suidas. In this sense, it is, frequently, used, by Thucydides; particularly, in relation to the Acanthians who were *persuaded* by a speech of Brasidas to revolt from the Athenians, as the Boeotians had, before, been, by the Persians, to abandon the cause of the Greeks. The Acanthians, says Thucydidesⁱ, δια τε τα ΕΠΑΓΩΓΑ ειπεν τον Βρασιδαν, και περι τε καρπη φοβω εγνωσαν οι πλειεις αφισσθαι Αθηναιων. I said that Le Jay's translation was not agreeable to the truth of history. For the Persians never made any conquests in Europe under Darius, the son of Hytaspes; they advanced no further than Marathon, where they were defeated by the Athenians, and Datis, their general, was slain. In their second expedition, when Xerxes commanded in person, they were far from making conquests in Europe. They were defeated at Salamis by sea, and at Plataea by land; and Xerxes himself was forced to fly into Asia with ignominy. But, if the Persians were unsuccessful in their

^h In Chronic.

ⁱ Thuc. B. iv. c. 88.

to their obedience, and continued not in power much above two hundred years. The Macedonian empire itself, which overthrew the Persian, and, in the extent of its dominion, exceeded all before it, did not flourish long, but, after Alexander's death, began to decline: For, being immediately divided into many kingdoms by his successors; and, after them, supporting itself to the second or third generation, it was weakened by its own hands, and, at last, destroyed by the Romans. But, even, the Macedonian empire did not subdue every country, and every sea. Of the wide-extended region of Libya, only that part, which borders upon Aegypt, obeyed their power; neither did they subdue all Europe, Thracia being the limits of their European conquests to the north, and the Adriatic to the west.

III. The most famous empires, therefore, we have any account of in history, "after they had arrived to so great a maturity and power, have mouldered away. As for the empire of the Greeks, it does not deserve to be compared

attempts to conquer Greece, they were not so in their attempts to corrupt it, as every one knows, who has read the Greek history. By their intrigues, they prevailed on the Boeotians, the Macedonians, and Theffalians to espouse their cause against the Greeks, in the expedition of Xerxes: and this is what our author means by *επηγαγοντο*, in translating which Sylburgius has been much more cautious than Le Jay; he has said *non multum proccesserunt*, which, though it is far from expressing the sense of the word, made use of by our author, shews, at least,

that he did not look upon this expression to carry with it any idea of a conquest. But, as bad as that translation of Sylburgius is, the other French translator has translated it literally: For he has said, *ils ne firent plus de grands progrès*.

¹¹⁰ Τοσαυτην ακμην και ισχυν λαβησαι. Intirely left out by Le Jay. His countryman has said very well *après être parvenus au degré de puissance que nous avons dit*; which, if it does not, absolutely, come up to the author's sense, is very near it.

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