
THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

MONARCHY, therefore, having continued two hundred and forty four years from the foundation of Rome, and, under the last king, degenerated into tyranny, was, for these reasons, and by these persons, abolished just before the sixty eighth Olympiad, in which Ischomachus of Croton won the prize of the stadium, Isagoras being annual archon at Athens. An aristocracy being, now, established, and Lucius Junius Brutus, and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, the first consuls, invested with the regal power, when there yet remained about ¹ four

ANNOTATIONS on the Fifth Book.

¹. Τετάρων τινῶν μηνῶν εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὑπολειπομένων. If we could, certainly, know when the Roman year began, at this time, among the Romans,

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it would be very easy to ascertain the month of the year, when the two first consuls entered upon their magistracy; because we find, by this passage, that

Qq

months

months to complete that year (which magistrates the

four months were then wanting to complete the year. ^a Plutarch is of opinion that the first consuls were chosen on the kalends of January. And this opinion, I find, M. * * * has espoused. However, it is liable to many objections: For, if, as Plutarch says, in the same place, the Roman year began, according to the institution of Romulus, on the first of March, and, according to That of Numa, on the first of January; and, if, according to our author, four months were wanting to complete the year, when the first consuls entered upon their magistracy, it is plain they did not enter upon it on the first day of January. Besides, it is allowed by all authors that this day was not the fixed day for the consuls to begin their administration till the consulship of Q. Fulvius Nobilior, and T. Annius Luscus, in the year of Rome 601. Le Jay thinks the Roman year began the first of October, and, consequently, that the first consuls began their magistracy on the first day of June. This opinion he supports by a proof, which, he says, admits of no answer: This proof is taken from Livy, who says that, when it was proposed to restore to the Tarquins their effects, the Romans pulled up the ripe corn, that was growing in the field between Rome, and the Tiber, and threw it into the river. From whence he concludes that, as June is the time, when the harvest *begins* to be ripe, that must be the month, when the first consuls began their magistracy. But this argument,

which he thinks unanswerable, may be turned against him. This I shall shew, even, from Livy, from whom he derives his proof. This historian, therefore, says, that, after the Tarquins were expelled, and Brutus, and Collatinus chosen consuls, the first thing these magistrates did, was to make the people take an oath, that they would suffer no more kings at Rome ^b. After which, they supplied the vacancies in the senate, occasioned by the murders of Tarquinius. The next thing of moment was the resignation of Collatinus, and the election of Valerius in his room. Then, follows the embassy, sent by Tarquinius, to desire his effects might be restored to him. This embassy occasioned a debate of some days continuance in the senate: In the mean time, the ambassadors engaged many of the Roman youth in a conspiracy to restore the tyrant, and, among the rest, the consul's sons. After the senate had ordered the effects of Tarquinius to be restored, the ambassadors staid some time at Rome, pretending to be employed in preparing carriages to transport them. However, they made use of this delay to hold frequent meetings with the conspirators, and to procure letters from them to Tarquinius. This produced a discovery, and the discovery occasioned the abandoning these effects, and, among the rest, the corn, to the people. Now, it is submitted to the reader whether all these transactions did not, probably, take up more time than is requisite to bring corn to its maturity after it

^a Roman. Quaest. p. 268.

^b B. ii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

Romans, in their own language, call *Consules*, as I said)

begins to be ripe, as le Jay says. In the common course of things, they must have taken up some weeks, and, possibly, two, or three months from the creation of the consuls. There is another argument, made use of by le Jay, which would, most certainly, prove, that the first consulship ended with the month of September (for he supposes that it lasted sixteen months) if the fact was as he states it. He asserts, from Plutarch, and Livy, that Horatius consecrated the capitol on the ides of September *in the last month* of his consulship, though Livy does not mention any month. But the misfortune is, that neither of these authors say that this happened *in the last month* of that consulship. I have those passages of ^c Plutarch, and ^d Livy, now, before me, and neither of them say one word of it. They take notice, indeed, of the account brought to Horatius of the death of his son, when he was going to consecrate the capitol; but, once more, I aver that neither of those authors say that Horatius performed this consecration in the *last* month of his consulship. I acknowledge that I find it easier to object to the opinions of Plutarch, and le Jay, than to advance one of my own, that shall be liable to no objections. However, the first thing, that seems necessary, is to fix the time, when the year began, at that period, among the Romans. I shall not take upon me to shew when the institution of Numa, by which the year began on the first of January, was altered: All I can

pretend to do, is to shew that there is great reason to believe the beginning of the year fell out, at the time we are speaking of, on the first of August. This is certain that 47 years after the expulsion of the kings, that is, in the year of Rome 291, the Romans began their year on that day. This we know from ^e Livy, who says, that L. Aebutius, and P. Servilius, the consuls of that year, entered upon their magistracy on the first of August, *which was, then, the beginning of the year: creati consules L. Aebutius, P. Servilius kalendis sextilibus, ut tunc principium anni agebatur, consulatum ineunt.* As therefore, neither Livy, nor any other author speaks of any alteration made in the beginning of the year from the expulsion of the kings to the year of Rome 291, we have reason to think that the Romans began their year on the same day in the former of these periods. If this is so, the first consuls must have entered on their magistracy on the first day of April, since our author says they began it four months before the end of that year. There is one objection against the day I have assigned for the beginning of the first consulship, which I think myself obliged not to conceal from the reader, which is, that the *regifugium*, the day on which the Tarquins were banished, was, in the old Roman calendar, on the sixth before the calends of March (the twenty fourth of February) so that, if there was no interval between the banishment of the Tarquins, and the creation of the first consuls, these

^c Life of Poplicola.

^d B. ii. c. 8.

^e B. iii. c. 6.

they, assisted by the ² other citizens, who, having made a truce with the Ardeates a few days after the expulsion of the tyrant, left the camp, and came to the city in great numbers, assembled the people; and, having insisted long upon the advantages of unanimity, they confirmed, by another vote, every thing, which those in the city had, before, decreed, condemning the Tarquini to perpetual banishment. After which, they purified the city, and entered into an engagement, confirmed by their oaths, and the performance of a sacrifice, and they themselves, standing upon the victims, first swore, and prevailed upon the rest of the citizens likewise to swear, that they would never restore Tarquinius, their late king, his sons, or their posterity; and that, from thenceforth, they would neither create any person king of the Romans, nor, suffer others to attempt it.

must have been created on the same day. As for the other festival, celebrated by the Romans on the ninth before the calends of June (the twenty fourth of May) and marked in their calendar by these letters Q. R. C. F. which le Jay mistakes for the *regifugium*, in order to adapt it to his own system, it relates, only, to the *rex sacrificus*, or *sacrorum*, who was appointed after the expulsion of the kings, *ne ubiubi regum desiderium esset*, as ^f Livy says; and those letters signify, according to ^s Varro, *Quando Rex Comitavit Fas*.

² Ετερες παραλαβουτες πολλας εθουλιαν εις την πολιν των απο στρατοπεδου, μετα τας σπουδας τας γενομενας αυτοις προς Αρδεατας. This le Jay has, strangely, translated:

He supposes that the people, who came to Rome in great numbers from the camp, were not Romans, but a colony of the Ardeates, who, after the former had made a truce with them, came to reside at Rome: His words are these: *La trêve faite avec les Ardéates attira dans Rome un grand nombre de nouveaux habitants, qui firent alliance avec les Romains*. If the reader is at a loss to guess how he could mistake the words of the Greek text, which are very easy, I can explain it: He never considered the Greek text at all; but translated the Latin translation of Portus, who has, thus, rendered the beginning of this passage, *assumptis in societatem aliis multis*.

^f B. ii. c. 2. ^s De Ling. Lat. v. 4.

And

And this oath they took, not only for themselves, but, also, for their children, and posterity. However, since it appeared that the kings had been the authors of many considerable advantages to the commonwealth, they desired to preserve the name of that magistracy, as long as their city should subsist, and ordered the priests, and augurs to chuse among the elders the person they looked upon as the most proper for that office, who was to have the superintendence in affairs of religion, and in nothing else, and be discharged of all military, and civil functions, and that his title should be the ³king of religious matters. The first person appointed to this office was Manius Papirius, a patrician, and a lover of quiet.

II. After the consuls had settled these things, they were afraid (as I imagine) lest the generality of the people should entertain an ill grounded opinion of their new form of government, and imagine that, as each of the consuls was attended with the twelve axes, like the kings, the city had two sovereigns instead of one; and, in order to quiet the fears of the citizens, and to lessen the envy of their power, they resolved that one of the consuls should be preceded by the twelve axes, and the other by twelve lictors with the fasces only; or, as some write, with clubs also: And that the use of the axes should be alternate, each of them being attended with them, successively, for the space of one month. By this, and several other institutions of the like nature, they ingaged

³. ἱερῶν βασιλευς. In Latin, *rex sacrorum*, and *rex sacrificus*: Thus he is called by Livy, who gives the same reason for his creation, as the reader has seen in the first note.

the plebeians, and the lower sort of people to desire a continuance of the present settlement: For they restored the laws, introduced by Tullius, concerning private contracts; which laws appeared humane, and popular, and had all been abrogated by Tarquinius: They, also, ordered the sacrifices, both in the city, and in the country, which the people, and the tribes, assembling together, used to offer up in common, to be renewed in the same manner, as they had been performed in the reign of Tullius: They restored to the people their right of holding assemblies upon affairs of the greatest consequence; of giving their votes; and of doing every thing they were intitled to do by former customs. These actions of the consuls pleased the generality of the people; who, from a long slavery, now saw themselves in a state of unexpected liberty. Notwithstanding this, there were some, and these no obscure persons, who, either through folly, or ambition, longed for a return of the ⁴ evils resulting from tyranny: These formed a conspiracy

⁴ Τῶν ἐν τυραννίδι κακῶν. These abettors of tyranny disregarded the evils resulting from it, because they looked upon them as general to all: But they set a value upon the advantages they expected from it, because they looked upon these as peculiar to themselves, without considering that, even, the gratifications, they promised themselves from the tyrant, were rendered insecure by the tyranny. Livy makes some reflexions on the motives, that gave birth to this conspiracy,

which I shall lay before the reader in ^h his own words: *Erant in Romanâ juventute adolescentes aliquot, nec ii tenui loco orti, quorum in regno libido solutior fuerat, aequales sodalesque adolescentium Tarquiniorum; assueti more regio vivere. Eam tum aequato jure omnium licentiam quaerentes, libertatem aliorum in suam vertisse servitutem inter se conquerebantur. Regem hominem esse, a quo impetres, ubi jus, ubi injuriâ opus sit: esse gratiae locum, esse beneficio; et irasci et ignoscere posse: inter amicum et inimicum discrimen*

^h B. ii. c. 3.

to betray the city, to restore Tarquinius, and to kill the consuls. Who the heads of this conspiracy were, and, by what unexpected accidents, they were discovered, while they imagined all mankind to be ignorant of their designs, I shall, now, relate, after I have resumed some few things, that were previous to this transaction.

III. Tarquinius, after his expulsion, staid a short time in the city of the Gabini, both to receive such, as came to him from Rome, to whom the tyranny was a more desirable thing than liberty, and to wait the event of the hopes he had formed of being restored to the sovereignty by the assistance of the Latines : But their cities not hearkening to his solicitations, nor being willing to make war with the Romans upon his account, he despaired of any assistance from them, and took refuge in a city of Tyrrhenia, from whence his family by his ⁵ grandmother's side, originally, came ; and, having corrupted the most considerable of the Tarquinienses, and been by them introduced to the assembly of the people, he renewed the memory of his connexion with their city ; recounted the favors his grandfather had conferred on all the Tyrrhenian cities, and reminded them of the treaties

nosse. Leges, rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salubriorem melioremque inopi quam potenti : nihil laxamenti, nec veniae habere, si modum excefferis ; periculosum esse in tot humanis erroribus solâ innocentia vivere. I have, contrary to my custom, transcribed this whole passage, because I look upon it to contain the finest contrast between tyranny, and liberty, that ever I met with.

⁵ Προς μητρος. This must, certainly, be προς μαμμης : Because Tanaquil, who was of Tarquini, was grandmother, not mother, to Tarquinius Superbus, as our author has proved at large. The commentators might have taken notice of this : Indeed, le Jay supposes him to have been the adopted son of Tanaquil.

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