

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

λόφοις λαγόνας ἐπίσκοιον, ἱερὸν ἀνεῖς ἀσυλον ἱκέταις  
καὶ ναὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατασκευασάμενος (ὅτι δὲ ἄρα  
θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων οὐκ ἔχω τὸ σαφὲς εἰπεῖν) τοῖς  
καταφεύγουσιν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν ἱκέταις τοῦ τε  
μηδὲν κακὸν ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν παθεῖν ἐγγυητῆς ἐγένετο  
τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας προφάσει καὶ εἰ βούλοιτο  
παρ' αὐτῷ μένειν πολιτείας μετεδίδου καὶ γῆς  
μοῖραν, ἢ κτήσαστο πολέμιους ἀφελόμενος. οἱ δὲ  
συνέρρουσιν ἐκ παντὸς τόπου τὰ οἰκεία φεύγοντες  
κακὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐτι ἐτέρωσεν ἀπανίσταντο ταῖς καθ'  
ἡμέραν ὀμιλίαις καὶ χάρισιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατεχόμενοι.

XVI. Τρίτου ἦν ἐτι Ῥωμύλου πολίτευμα, ὃ πάν-  
των μάλιστα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀσκέειν ἔδει, κράτιστον  
ἀπάντων πολιτευμάτων ὑπάρχον, ὡς ἐμὴ δόξα  
φέρει, ὃ καὶ τῆς βεβαίου Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας ἤρχε  
καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀγόντων οὐκ ἐλαχίστην  
μοῖραν παρέσχε, τὸ μήτε κατασφάττειν ἡβηδὸν τὰς  
ἀλούσους πόλεις μήτε ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι μηδὲ  
γῆν αὐτῶν ἀνιέναι μηλόβοτον, ἀλλὰ κληρούχους εἰς  
αὐτὰς ἀποστέλλειν ἐπὶ μέρει τινὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ  
ποιεῖν ἀποικίας τῆς Ῥώμης τὰς κρατηθείσας, ἐνιαῖς  
2 δὲ καὶ πολιτείας μεταδιδόναι. ταῦτά τε δὴ καὶ  
τᾶλλα τοῖσι δμοῖα καταστησάμενος πολιτεύματα  
μεγάλην ἐκ μικρᾶς ἐποίησε τὴν ἀποικίαν, ὡς αὐτὰ  
τὰ ἔργα ἐδήλωσεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ συνοικίσαντες μετ'  
αὐτοῦ τὴν Ῥώμην οὐ πλείους ἦσαν ἀνδρῶν τρισ-  
χιλίων πεζοὶ καὶ τρακοσίων ἐλάττους ἵππεις, οἱ  
δὲ καταλειφθέντες ὑπ' ἐκείνου, ὅτ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων  
ἠφάνισθη, πεζοὶ μὲν ἑξακισχίλιοι πρὸς τέτταρα

<sup>1</sup> μοῖραν Kiessling: μοίρας O (?); om. Reudler.

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μυριάσιν, ἵππεις δ' οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντες χιλίων.  
3 ἐκείνου δὲ ἄρξαντος τῶν πολιτευμάτων τούτων οἱ  
τε βασιλεῖς οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἡγησάμενοι τῆς πόλεως  
τὴν αὐτὴν ἐφύλαξαν προαίρεσιν καὶ οἱ μετ'  
ἐκείνου τὰς ἐνιαυσίους λαμβάνοντες ἀρχὰς, ἔστιν  
ὃ καὶ προστιθέντες, οὕτως ὥστε μηδεὸς ἔθνους τοῦ  
δοκοῦντος εἶναι πολυανθρωποτάτου τὸν Ῥωμαίων  
γενέσθαι δῆμον ἐλάττονα.

BOOK II. 15, 4-16, 2

where it joined the hills,—and made it an asylum  
for suppliants. And building a temple there,—  
but to what god or divinity he dedicated it I cannot  
say for certain,—he engaged, under the colour of  
religion, to protect those who fled to it from suffer-  
ing any harm at the hands of their enemies; and  
if they chose to remain with him, he promised them  
citizenship and a share of the land he should take  
from the enemy. And people came flocking thither  
from all parts, fleeing from their calamities at home;  
nor had they afterwards any thought of removing  
to any other place, but were held there by daily  
instances of his sociability and kindness.

XVI. There was yet a third policy of Romulus,  
which the Greeks ought to have practised above all  
others, it being, in my opinion, the best of all  
political measures, as it laid the most solid foundation  
for the liberty of the Romans and was no slight  
factor in raising them to their position of supremacy.  
It was this: not to slay all the men of military age or  
to enslave the rest of the population of the cities  
captured in war or to allow their land to go back  
to pasturage for sheep, but rather to send settlers  
thither to possess some part of the country by lot  
and to make the conquered cities Roman colonies,  
and even to grant citizenship to some of them. By  
these and other like measures he made the colony  
great from a small beginning, as the actual results  
showed; for the number of those who joined with  
him in founding Rome did not amount to more  
than three thousand foot nor quite to three hundred  
horse, whereas he left behind him when he disappeared  
from among men forty-six thousand foot and about

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BOOK II. 16, 5-17, 3

a thousand horse. Romulus having instituted these  
measures, not alone the kings who ruled the city  
after him but also the annual magistrates after them  
pursued the same policy, with occasional additions,  
so successfully that the Roman people became  
inferior in numbers to none of the nations that were  
accounted the most populous.

XVII. ... the systems of the ...

5 dituros. Non tamen puto dubites, Vinici, quin magis pro re publica fuerit manere adhuc Corinthiorum intellectum quam in tantum ea intellegi, et quin hac prudentia illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior.

- 1 XIV. Cum facilius cuiusque rei in unam contracta species quam divisa temporibus oculis animisque inhaereat, statui priorem huius voluminis posteriorremque partem non inutiles rerum notitiam in artum contracta distinguere atque huic loco inserere, quae quoque tempore post Romam a Gallis captam deducta sit colonia iussu senatus; nam militarium et causae et auctores ex ipsarum praeferentibus nomine. Huic rei per idem tempus civitates propagatas auctumque Romanum nomen communione iuris haud intempestive subtexturi videmur.
- 2 Post septem annos quam Galli urbem ceperant,<sup>1</sup> Sutrium deducta colonia est et post annum Setia novemque interiectis annis Nepe, deinde interpositis duobus et triginta Aricini<sup>2</sup> in civitatem recepti.
- 3 Abhinc annos autem trecentos et sexaginta<sup>3</sup> Sp. Postumio Veturio Calvino consulibus Campanis data est civitas partique Samnitium sine suffragio, et eodem

<sup>1</sup> ceperant *Madvig*; ceperunt *AP*.

<sup>2</sup> Aricini et *A*; *Orelli* supponit that one or more names have dropped out.

<sup>3</sup> cccxix *Laurent*; cccx *AP*.

<sup>4</sup> I am inclined to think that Velleius had in mind the fact for collecting Corinthian bronze referred to in Petronius, ch. 50. It is possible that he even means this in *Corinthiorum*, in which case he is in error. For the sentiment cf. Plutarch, *Marcellus*, ch. 27.

anno Cales deducta colonia. Interiecto deinde triennio Fundani et Formiani in civitatem recepti, 4 eo ipso anno, quo Alexandria condita est. Insequentibusque consulibus a Sp. Postumio Philone Publilio censoribus Acerranis data civitas. Et post triennium Tarracina<sup>1</sup> deducta colonia interpositoque quadriennio Luceria ac deinde interiecto triennio Suessa Aurunca et Saticula, Interamnaque post biennium. Decem deinde hoc munere anni vacaverunt: 5 tunc Sora atque Alba deductae coloniae et Carscoli 6 post biennium. At Q. Fabio quintum<sup>2</sup> Decio Mure quartum consulibus, quo anno Pyrrhus regnare coepit, Sinuessam Minturnasque missi coloni, post quadriennium Venusiam: interiectoque biennio M. Curio et Rufino Cornelio consulibus Sabinis sine suffragio data civitas: id actum ante annos ferme tre- 7 centos et viginti. At Cosam<sup>3</sup> et Paestum abhinc annos ferme trecentos Fabio Dorso et Claudio Canina consulibus, interiectoque<sup>4</sup> quinquennio Sempronio Sopho et Appio Caeci filio consulibus Ariminum et<sup>5</sup> Beneventum coloni missi et suffragii ferendi ius 8 Sabinis datum. At initio primi belli Punici Firmum et Castrum colonis occupata, et post annum Aesernia postque septem et decem<sup>6</sup> annos Aefulum et Alsiurn Fregenaque post<sup>7</sup> biennium proximoque anno Tor-

<sup>1</sup> Tarracina *Lipsius*; Tarracinam *AP*.

<sup>2</sup> ad quintum *fabioque AP*.

<sup>3</sup> Cosa *B. A.*; Cossa *P*.

<sup>4</sup> interiectoque *Madvig*; interiecto *AP*.

<sup>5</sup> et omitted in *P*.

<sup>6</sup> xvii *Albius*; xxii *AP*.

<sup>7</sup> post *Gelivius*; anno post *AP*.

<sup>8</sup> 334 B.C.

<sup>9</sup> 332 B.C.

<sup>10</sup> 295 B.C.

<sup>11</sup> 290 B.C.

<sup>12</sup> 270 B.C.

<sup>13</sup> 266 B.C.

factum est initium. Postque biennium deducta<sup>4</sup> Valentia et sub adventum in Italiam Hannibalis Cremona atque Placentia.

- 1 XV. Deinde neque dum Hannibal in Italia moratur, neque proximis post excessum eius annis vacavit Romanis colonias condere, cum esset in bello conquiritus potius miles quam dimittendus et post bellum vires refovendae magis quam spargendae.
- 2 Ca. autem Manlio Volsono et Fulvio Nobiliore consulibus Bononia deducta colonia abhinc annos ferme ducentos septendecim, et post quadriennium Pisaurum ac Potentia interiectoque triennio Aquileia et 3 Gravisca et post quadriennium Luca. Eodem temporum tractu, quamquam apud quosdam ambigitur, Puteolos Salernumque et Buxentum missi coloni, Auximum autem in Picenum abhinc annos ferme centum octoginta quinque,<sup>2</sup> ante triennium quam Cassius censor a Lupercali in Palatium versus theatrum facere instituit, cui in eo moliendo<sup>3</sup> eximia civitatis severitas et consul Scipio restitere, quod ego inter clarissima publicae voluntatis argumenta 4 numeraverim. Cassio autem Longino et Sextio Calvino, qui Sallues apud aquas, quae ab eo Sextiae appellatur, devicit, consulibus Fabratia deducta est abhinc annos ferme centum quinquaginta tris.<sup>4</sup>
- <sup>1</sup> ducta *AP*. <sup>2</sup> cxxxv *Burman*; cxxxvii *AP*. <sup>3</sup> in eo moliendo *Salmasius*; in demolendo *AP*.

they would have to replace them by new ones. Yet I do not think, Vinicius, that you would hesitate to concede that it would have been more useful to the state for the appreciation of Corinthian works of art to have remained uncultivated to the present day, than that they should be appreciated to the extent to which they now are, and that the ignorance of those days was more conducive to the public weal than our present artistic knowledge.<sup>4</sup>

XIV. Inasmuch as related facts make more impression upon the mind and eye when grouped together than when they are given separately in their chronological sequence, I have decided to separate the first part of this work from the second by a useful summary, and to insert in this place an account, with the date, of each colony founded by order of the senate since the capture of Rome by the Gauls; for, in the case of the military colonies, their very names reveal their origins and their founders. And it will perhaps not seem out of place, if, in this connexion, we weave into our history the various extensions of the citizenship and the growth of the Roman name through granting to others a share in its privileges.

Seven years after the capture of the city by the Gauls a colony was founded at Sutrium, another a year later at Setia, and another after an interval of nine years at Nepe. Thirty-two years later the Aricians were admitted to the citizenship. Three hundred and sixty years from the present date, in the consulship of Spurius Postumius and Veturius Calvinus, the citizenship without the right of voting was given to the Campanians and a portion of the Samnites, and in the same year a colony was

established at Cales.<sup>8</sup> Then, after an interval of three years, the people of Fundi and of Formiae were admitted to the citizenship, in the very year of the founding of Alexandria. In the following year the citizenship was granted to the inhabitants of Acerra by the censors Spurius Postumius and Philo Publilius.<sup>9</sup> Three years later a colony was established at Tarracina, four years afterwards another at Luceria; others three years later at Suessa Aurunca and Saticula, and another two years after these at Interamna. After that the work of colonization was suspended for ten years. Then the colonies of Sora and Alba were founded, and two years later that of Carscoli. But in the fifth consulship of Quintus Fabius, and the fourth of Decius Mus,<sup>10</sup> the year in which King Pyrrhus began his reign, colonists were sent to Minturnae and Sinuessa, and four years afterwards to Venusia. After an interval of two years the citizenship without the right of suffrage was given to the Sabines in the consulship of Manius Curius and Rufinus Cornelius.<sup>11</sup> This event took place three hundred and twenty years ago. In the consulship of Fabius Dorso and Claudius Canina, three hundred years before the present date, colonies were established<sup>12</sup> at Cosa and Paestum. After an interval of five years, in the consulship of Sempronius Sophus<sup>13</sup> and Appius, the son of Appius the Blind, colonists were sent to Ariminum and Beneventum and the right of suffrage was granted to the Sabines. At the outbreak of the First Punic War Firmum and Castrum were occupied by colonies, a year later Aesernia, Aefulum and Alsiurn seventeen years later, and Fregena two years afterward. Brundisium was established in the next year in the

coloniae were instituted. Two years afterwards a colony was established at Valentia, and Cremona and Placentia were established just before Hannibal's arrival in Italy.

XV. Thereafter, during Hannibal's stay in Italy, and in the next few years subsequent to his departure, the Romans had no leisure for the founding of colonies, since, while the war lasted, they had to find soldiers, rather than muster them out, and, after it was over, the strength of the city needed to be revived and concentrated rather than to be dispersed. But, about two hundred and seventeen years ago, in the consulship of Manlius Volso and Fulvius Nobilior,<sup>2</sup> a colony was established at Bononia, others four years later at Pisaurum and Potentia, others three years later still at Aquileia and Gravisca, and another four years afterwards at Luca. About the same time, although the date is questioned by some, colonists were sent to Puteoli, Salernum, and Buxentum, and to Auximum in Picenum, one hundred and eighty-five years ago, three years before Cassius the censor began the building of a theatre beginning at the Lupercal and facing the Palatine. But the remarkable austerity of the state and Scipio the consul successfully opposed him in its building, an incident which I regard as one of the clearest indications of the attitude of the people of that time. In the consulship of Cassius Longinus and Sextius Calvinus—the Sextius who defeated the Sallues at the waters which—

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3 iuventutis erat unde scriberent milites. Itaque colonos etiam maritimos, qui sacrosanctam vacationem dicebantur habere, dare milites cogebant. Quibus recusantibus edixere in diem certam ut quo quisque iure vacationem haberet ad senatum deferret. 4 Ea die ad senatum hi populi venerunt: Ostiensis Alsiensis Antias Anxurnas Minturnensis Sinuessanus, 5 et ab supero mari Senensis. Cum vacationes suas quisque populus recitaret, nullius, cum in Italia hostis esset, praeter Antiatem Ostiensemque vacatio observata est; et earum coloniarum iuniores iure iurando adacti supra dies triginta non pernoctaturos se<sup>1</sup> extra moenia coloniae suae, donec hostis in Italia esset.

## BOOK XXVII. xxxviii. 2-9

and also there were fewer young men from whom to enlist soldiers. Accordingly they compelled even the men of the seaboard colonies, who, it was said, had an exemption that could not be touched, to furnish soldiers. When they refused, the consuls named a date for them to report to the senate on what basis each state had exemption. On that day these came before the senate: Ostia, Alsium, Antium, Anxur, Minturnae, Sinuessa, and from the Upper<sup>1</sup> Sea, Sena. Although each state<sup>2</sup> read the evidence of its exemption, in no case except Antium and Ostia was exemption respected so long as the enemy was in Italy; and in the case of these colonies the younger men were made to swear that they would not pass the night outside the walls of their colony for more than thirty days, so long as the enemy was in Italy.

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## LIVY

frequens dona deae in Palatium tulit, lectisterniumque et ludi fuere, Megalesia appellata.

XV. Cum de supplemento legionum quae in provinciis erant ageretur, tempus esse a quibusdam senatoribus subiectum est, quae dubiis in rebus utcumque tolerata essent, ea dempto iam tandem deum benignitate metu non ultra pati. Erectis expectatione patribus subiecerunt colonias Latinas duodecim quae Q. Fabio et Q. Fulvio consulibus abnuissent milites dare, eas annum iam ferme sextum vacationem militiae quasi honoris et beneficii causa habere, cum interim boni oboedientesque socii pro fide atque obsequio in populum Romanum continuis omnium annorum dilectibus exhausti essent. Sub hanc vocem non memoria magis patribus renovata rei prope iam obliteratae quam ira irritata<sup>1</sup> est. Itaque nihil prius referre consules passi, decreverunt ut consules magistratus denosque principes Nepete, Sutrio, Ardea, Calibus, Alba, Carsioliis, Sora,<sup>2</sup> Suessa, Setia, Circeis, Narnia, Interamna—haec namque coloniae in ea causa erant—Roman excirent; iis imperarent, quantum quaeque earum coloniarum militum plurimum dedisset populo Romano, ex quo hostes in Italia essent, duplicatum eius summae

<sup>1</sup> quam ira irritata (or in-) A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>HJK Froben 2: om. P(1)N, one line.

<sup>2</sup> Sora A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>HJK Aldus, Froben (cf. XXVII. ix. 7): om. P(1)N.

<sup>3</sup> Later the festival was shifted to *pridie nonas*, the 4th of April in place of the 12th. Its name came from her Megalesion at Pergamum, the temple from which she was brought to Rome according to Varro L.L. VI. 15.

## BOOK XXIX. xiv. 14-XV. 6

Palatine bearing gifts for the goddess, and there was a banquet of the gods, and games also, called the Megalesia.<sup>1</sup>

XV. While they were discussing the men needed to recruit the legions in the provinces, certain senators suggested that, since now by favour of the gods fear had at last been removed, it was time for them no longer to tolerate what had been endured as best they could in critical circumstances. As the senate was alert and in suspense, they added that the twelve Latin colonies<sup>2</sup> which had refused to furnish soldiers in the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Quintus Fulvius had been exempt from service for now about five years, as though it were an honour and a favour bestowed upon them, whereas in the meantime good and obedient allies, in return for their loyalty and submission to the Roman people, had been exhausted by successive levies every year. These words revived the memory of an affair almost obliterated and correspondingly inflamed the anger of the senators. Accordingly, allowing the consuls to bring up no other question first, they decreed that the consuls should summon to Rome the magistrates<sup>3</sup> and ten leading citizens in each case from Nepete, Sutrium, Ardea, Cales, Alba, Carsioli, Sora, Suessa, Setia, Circeii, Narnia, Interamna, for these were the colonies concerned; that they should order them to furnish double the maximum number of infantry that each of those colonies had ever furnished to the Roman people since the enemy was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. VII. pp. 242 f. and notes; below, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the two *duumviri iure dicendo*, two *duumviri aediles*, and two quaestors of each colony. The leading citizens are *decuriones*, members of a local senate.

4 indulgentia plures ad talia audenda impellantur. Et exceperunt et prosecuti cum donis legatos sunt.

M. Claudius consul, Gallis ex prouincia exactis, Histricum bellum moliri coepit, litteris ad senatum missis ut sibi in

5 Histriam traducere legiones liceret. Id senatui (non) placuit; illud agitabant, uti colonia Aquileia deduceretur, nec satis constabat utrum Latinam an ciuium Romanorum deduci placeret. Postremo Latinam potius coloniam deducendam

6 patres censuerunt, triumuirique creati sunt P. Scipio Nasica C. Flaminius L. Manlius Acidinus.

7 Eodem anno Mutina et Parma coloniae ciuium Romanorum sunt deductae, bina milia hominum, in agrum qui proxime Boiorum, ante Tuscorum fuerat; octona iugera

8 Parmae, quina Mutinae acceperunt. Deduxerunt triumviri M. Aemilius Lepidus T. Aebutius Parrus L. Quinctius Cri-

sti, essi loro fine per un anno stato spinto da tale indulgenza a simili audacie. 4 - Accolsero dunque i legati romani e li congedarono con doni.

Espulsi i Galli dalla provincia, il console M. Claudio cominciò a preparare una guerra in Istria,<sup>1</sup> inviando al Senato una lettera per essere autorizzato a trasportare laggiù le sue legioni. 5 - Il Senato non concesse l'autorizzazione. Si stava discutendo sulla fondazione di una colonia ad Aquileia, e non si era ancora concordato se fondare una colonia latina o una colonia di cittadini romani.<sup>2</sup> Alla fine i senatori decisero di fondare una colonia latina. 6 - Furono eletti triumviri P. Scipione Nasica, C. Flaminius e L. Manlio Acidino.

7 - Nello stesso anno furono dedotte le colonie di Modena e di Parma, colonie di cittadini romani.<sup>3</sup> Nel territorio che ultimamente era stato dei Boi e prima dei Tusci, i duemila coloni di ciascuna ricevettero otto iugeri a testa a Parma, cinque a Modena. 8 - Fondarono le colonie i triumviri M. Emilio Lepido,<sup>4</sup> T. Ebuizio Parro e L. Quinzio Crispino. 9 - Nel territo-

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2 Aquileia colonia Latina eodem anno in agrum Gallorum est deducta. Tria milia peditum quinquagena iugera, centuriones centena, centena quadragena equites acceperunt.

3 Tresuiri deduxerunt P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica C. Flaminius

4 L. Manlius Acidinus. Aedes duae eo anno dedicatae sunt, una Veneris Erycinae ad portam Collinam. Dedicauit L. Porcius L. f. Licinus duumuir; uota erat a consule L. Porcio Ligustino

in Pietatis; eam aedem dedicauit

scontri vittoriosi con...

2 - Nello stesso anno fu dedotta nel territorio dei Galli<sup>1</sup> la colonia latina di Aquileia.<sup>2</sup> Tremila fanti ricevettero cinquanta iugeri a testa, i centurioni cento, i cavalieri centoquaranta.<sup>3</sup>

3 - I triumviri che fondarono la colonia furono P. Cornelio Scipione Nasica, C. Flaminius e L. Manlio Acidino.<sup>4</sup> 4 - Quell'anno furono dedicati due templi, uno a Venere Ercina presso porta Collina<sup>5</sup> (lo dedicò il duumviro L. Porcio Licino, fi-

Plin. 3. 99

deduzione colonia Neptunia Tarentina

99 (16) Conectitur secunda regio amplexa Hirpinos, Calabriam, Apuliam, Sallentinos, ~~CC~~ sinu qui Tarentinus appellatur ab oppido Laconum - in recessu hoc intimo situm, contributa eo maritima colonia, quae ibi fuerat. Abest CXXXVI a Lacinio promunturio, aduersam ei Calabriam in paeninsulam emittens. Graeci Messa-

