

ORIGO GENTIS ROMANAE

The Origin of the Roman Race



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Introduction

T. M. Banchich

The so-called *Origo Gentis Romanae*—a sometimes-etiological and -euhemeristic explication of Rome's distant past to Romulus' foundation of the city—survives only in two 15th-century manuscripts, *Codex Bruxellensis* (*Bibliotheca Regia* 9755-9763, fol. 52^r-56^v) and *Codex Oxoniensis* (*Bodleianus Canon. Class. Lat.* 131, fol. 85^r-95^v). Both contain not only the *Origo* but also the collection of sketches of famous figures of Roman history from Romulus and Remus through Antony and Cleopatra known today as *De Viris Illustribus* and Sextus Aurelius Victor's *De Caesaribus*.¹

The identities of the authors of the *Origo* and *De Viris Illustribus* are a mystery, their connection with Victor's name—as the shared incipit of *Codd. Bruxellensis* and *Oxoniensis* (p. 2, ed. Pichlmayr, translated below, p. 1) illustrate—being the result of their inclusion with the *De Caesaribus* in the tripartite corpus which preserves them. Furthermore, if Arnaldo Momigliano is correct, the application of the manuscript title *Origo Gentis Romanae* (p. 3, ed. Pichlmayr, translated below, p. 1) to the initial component of the corpus may be the result of an inverse error, in this case, the application to its first part alone of a title meant to designate the whole.² In this view, the introductory material on Pichlmayr's p. 3 and a brief transition from the so-called *Origo* to the *De Viris Illustribus* (p. 23, ed. Pichlmayr, translated below, p. 19) represent the work of the anonymous compiler of the corpus, the initial incipit having been added at some point in manuscript transmission. Given these uncertainties, it is no surprise that the dates and geneses of the *Origo*—*i.e.*, the initial treatise in the compendium which the *De Caesaribus* concludes—and of the compendium itself are subjects of learned debate. The thesis that the *Origo* is a humanist forgery of *ca.* 1500 is totally dead, and the notion that the text we have was abbreviated from a longer original only during or after the twelfth century appears weak at best. With respect to the composition of the *Origo*, the chronological parameters currently rest at 360-400; with respect to the formation of the corpus as a whole, 360-580.³

Though the precise identity of the *Origo's* author is unknown, something can be said about the expectations he had of his readership. He assumed a knowledge of the topography of Latium and Rome, some familiarity with the itinerary of Aeneas as related by Virgil and with the personalities of Rome's legendary past, an acquaintance with archaic cults and rituals, an interest in etiology and etymology, and a capacity to recognize at least the names of various authorities on early Rome and her traditions. He also clearly anticipated that he could please these readers by adducing variant traditions and explanations drawn from a range of authorities (on whom see the list appended to the translation and the table at Sehlmeier, p. 25) or sometimes, particularly in matters involving Greek words or phrases, by presenting what appear to be his own deductions. He makes no explicit mention of Christianity, but his (skeptical?) unparalleled notice that Aeneas, after he had been taken up to the heavens, "was seen later by Ascanius and certain others above the bank of the Numicus" (XIV.4, p. 16) may be an allusion to gospel accounts of Jesus post-crucifixion appearance to his followers, a sort of inside joke for the amusement of his learned readers. The *Origo* seems, then, to emerge from the milieu, if not necessarily the moment, known best to us from Macrobius' *Saturnalia*.⁴

Principles of Translation

When Banchich proposed to a select group of Latin students at Canisius College that they undertake a translation of the *Origo*, his goal was the creation of the first version of the work in English.⁵ He assigned various sections of the entire *Origo* as edited by Franz Pichlmayr to the student translators, while he independently produced his own draft of a translation of the whole work. After he had reviewed and modified his draft in light of the work of the student translators, he distributed the result to his students to serve as a guide for their re-translation of the Latin. Midway into the project he learned of Roger Pearse's proposal of a collaborative online English translation.⁶ After some discussion of whether this would render the Canisius translation redundant, the decision was made to push forward. The finished product is, very strictly speaking, a

translation of Pichlmayr's Teubner edition and, in several instances, of supplements included in its *apparatus criticus*.

With the exception of rendering as cardinal the *Origo's* ordinal references to the book numbers of its sources, every effort was made to stay as close to the original as possible. Long, convoluted English sentences were often the result, for the author of the *Origo* seems regularly to have abbreviated his source or sources or to have preserved earlier compression found therein. Much of the *Origo* is couched in the accusative with infinitive construction, which presented another problem. Since it was usually impossible to judge whether the text's *oratio obliqua* signified indirect quotation, albeit perhaps severely abridged, or merely the anonymous author's fondness for the historical infinitive, Banchich decided to include within brackets a translation of the verb which could be taken to govern each particular instance of possible indirect statement.

Though in too many places the translation begs for comment in order to be clearly understood, annotation would exceed the purpose of the *Canisius College Translated Texts* series, the fundamental aim of which is to provide first-ever English translations of select Greek and Latin texts or documents. In addition, such annotation, plus substantial bibliography, already exists.⁷

Since the *Origo* only included Greek words to illustrate through phonetic correspondence alleged etymologies of various Latin words, all Greek has been transliterated. In the case of supposed connections between Latin words, every attempt had been made to make such hypothetical links clear in translation. However, at III.5, the *Origo's navis* and *navia* follow in brackets the translations "ship" and "skiff," as, at IV.4, the bracketed Latin *fandum* follows "report." The opening and closing illustrations, both courtesy of <EdgarLOWen.com>, are the obverse and reverse of the coin type referred to at III.4-5. Responsibility for any errors, infelicities, and oversights rests with Banchich alone.

Notes

¹For descriptions of these manuscripts, see Arnaldo Momigliano, "Some Observations on the 'Origo Gentis Romanae,'" *Journal of Roman Studies* 48 (1958), pp. 56-57, and Jean-Claude Richard, *Les Origines du Peuple Romain* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2002), pp. 7-8 and 65-69. A third manuscript (*Codex Metelli*) has not been seen since the early 1600s.

²Momigliano, pp. 57-59. While allowing that Momigliano may be correct with regard to this specific point, Alan Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 321-327, understands the passage as a whole to be a "segregated bibliography" (p. 324) and "table of contents (p. 325).

³ For discussion, see Momigliano, pp. 59-73, and Richard, pp. 8-38 and 64-65.

⁴See further Richard, pp. 54-64, along with Nicholas Horsfall's observations on the first edition of Richard in *Classical Review* 37 (1987), pp. 192-194.

⁵There are French translations—*e.g.*, N. A. Dubois, *Sextus Aurelius Victor. Origine du peuple romain, Hommes illustres de la ville de Rome, Histoire des Césars, Vies des empereurs romains* (Paris: C. L. F. Panckoucke, 1846) and Richard's Budé—; the Italian version of G. D'Anna, *Anonimo, Origine del popolo romano* (Rome: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla; Milan: Mondadori, 1992); and the German of Hans Jürgen Hillen, *Von Aeneas zu Romulus: Die Legenden von der Gründung Roms* (Düsseldorf: Artemis & Winkler, 2003) and Markus Sehlmeier, *Origo Gentis Romanae* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004).

⁶Pearse issued his invitation to any who wished to participate in his project on January 31, 2004. The finished work was posted at http://www.tertullian.org/fathers#origo_gentis_romanae on March 6, 2004.

⁷*E.g.*, the commentaries of Richard, G. D'Anna, and Sehlmeier, the last of which contains especially useful maps of Latium (p. 129), the northern portion of the Gulf of Puteoli (p. 130), and the territory of Rome (p. 132).

Sigla and Abbreviations

[] Enclose page references to Pichlmayr's Teubner text; the locations of passages from ancient authors quoted or referred to in the *Origo*; several Latin words employed in the *Origo* the sound of which is required for the understanding of a passage; and the names of several editors of the *Origo*. The bibliography provides full references to the last.

< > Enclose conjectures.

*OCD*³ *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

[P. 2]

THE ABBREVIATED HISTORIES

OF

AURELIUS VICTOR

FROM AUGUSTUS OCTAVIANUS—THAT IS, FROM THE END OF TITUS LIVIUS—ALL THE WAY TO THE TENTH CONSULATE OF CONSTANTIUS AUGUSTUS AND THE THIRD OF JULIANUS CAESAR.

[P. 3]

THE ORIGIN OF THE ROMAN RACE

FROM JANUS AND SATURNUS, THE FOUNDERS, THROUGH THE RULERS SUCCEEDING THEM, ALL THE WAY TO THE TENTH CONSULATE OF CONSTANTIUS

RELATED FROM THE AUTHORS

VERRIUS FLACCUS, ANTIAS—AS, INDEED, VERRIUS PREFERRED TO CALL THE SAME, IDENTICAL WITH ANTIA—, THEN FROM THE *ANNALS OF THE PONTIFS*, THEN FROM CINCIUS, EGNATIUS, VERATIUS, FABIUS PICTOR, LICINIUS MACER, VARRO, CAESAR, TUBERO, AND FROM EVERY HISTORY OF FORMER TIMES; IN LIKE MANNER, AS EACH OF THE MODERNS—THAT IS, BOTH LIVIUS AND VICTOR THE AFRICAN—HAS AFFIRMED.

I.1. The first to have come to Italy is believed to have been Saturnus, as even the Muse of Maro testifies in these verses:

First from heavenly Olympus came Saturnus,
Fleeing the arms of Jove, *et cetera* [*Aen.* VIII. 319-320, ed. Hirtzel].

2. However, the simplicity recorded to have existed in the time of men of old was so great that outsiders coming to them who, endowed with intelligence and wisdom, merely contributed something toward providing for livelihood and fashioning customs they themselves, because they were ignorant of their parentage and origin, not only believed, but also affirmed to their descendants, had been brought forth from heaven and earth, just as this Saturnus himself, whom they said was the son of Caelus and Terra. 3. But while this is reckoned so, it is nevertheless certain that Janus had reached Italy earlier and Saturnus, arriving afterward, was received by him. 4. Whence Virgil, too, must be understood, not by ignorance of ancient history, but by his own [p. 4] usage, to have termed Saturnus "first," not "before whom, no one," but "foremost" — as:

Who, *first* from the port of Troy [*Aen.* I.1]—,

5. since it is agreed beyond doubt that Antenor had reached Italy before Aeneas and that he, not on the coast near a shore, but in areas inland, that is, in Illyricum, had founded the city Patavia, as, indeed, likewise aforementioned Virgil in those verses spoken by the character Venus, lamenting before Jove about the tribulations of her Aeneas:

Antenor, having escaped through the midst of the Achaeans,
Was able to pass through Illyrian bays and places within safe,
et cetera [*Aen.* I.242-243].

6. Why, however, he added "safe" we have commented on most fully in its own spot in a treatise which we have begun to write about this, having learned about it from a book which is titled *Concerning the Patavian Origin*. 7. Now accordingly, for the present, "first" is likewise from the meaning which is also in that [passage] in *Aeneid* II concerning the enumeration of those who were descending from the wooden horse. 8. For when he has named Thessander, Sthenelus, Ulysses, Acamas, Thoas, Neoptolemus, he produced "and Machaon first [*Aen.* II.259-264]." 9. With regard to this, one may ask: "In what way can he be called 'first' after so many who have been spoken of before?" In fact, we shall understand "first" as synonymous with "foremost," or since he is said to have been in those times distinguished to perfection about the expertise of the art of medicine.

II.1. But to get back to the subject, they say that Creusa, a most beautiful daughter of Erechtheus, King of Athens, having been defiled by Apollo, bore a son, and that at some point he was sent to Delphi to be raised. [They say], in truth, that she was given in marriage by her father to a certain companion Xythus, who was ignorant of those matters. 2. When he was unable to become a father from her, [p. 5] [they say] he petitioned Delphi to consult the oracle about how he was able to become a father. [They say] the god then responded to him that whomever he encountered on the next day he should adopt. 3. And thus, [they say], the aforementioned boy who had been fathered by Apollo was encountered by that man and that he was adopted. 4. When he had grown up, not content with his father's realm, [they say] he sailed with a great fleet to Italy and, when a hill had been occupied, he founded a city on that spot and from his own name called it the Janiculum.

III.1. Therefore, while Janus was reigning among unrefined and unpolished natives, Saturnus, having fled his realm, was warmly received with hospitality when he had arrived in Italy and there, not far from the Janiculum, founded a stronghold with his own name, Saturnia. 2. And he first taught agriculture and introduced to a settled life men savage and accustomed to live by plunder, in accordance with which Virgil in Book VIII speaks thus:

These spots native Fauns and Nymphs used to hold,

And a race of men from trunks and rough wood born,
Who knew neither tradition nor reverence nor how to yoke bulls
Nor to lay away resources or to preserve a part of what had been obtained,
But fed from the bough and fierce victim of the hunt [*Aen.* VIII.314-318].

3. And with Janus, who had introduced nothing other than the practice of reverence of the gods and religious ceremonies, omitted, he preferred to turn his attention to Saturnus, who, as we said above, introducing to minds even then savage a way of life and habits conducive to the common good, taught the art of tending the field, as, indeed, these verses demonstrate:

He this race, restless and scattered in lofty mountains,
Did unify and gave them laws and preferred it to be called
Latium [*Aen.* VIII.321-323].

4. Then, too, he is said to have introduced the practice of marking bronze and of striking coinage in a die in which from one [p. 6] his head was imprinted, from the other the ship by which he had been borne there. 5. Whence even to this day gamblers, when a coin has been set down and covered, lay as a wager to players the option of declaring what they think is underneath, a head or a ship [*navis*], which now, commonly adulterating, they pronounce "skiff" [*navia*]. 6. Also, the building beneath the Capitoline slope in which he used to keep the coinage which had been produced is to this day called Saturnus' Treasury. 7. In fact, because, as we said above, Janus had arrived before him, when, after their deaths, they reckoned that these men must be loaded with divine honors, in all religious ceremonies they assigned first place to Janus, with the result that, even when a sacrifice is made to other gods, when incense has been offered at the altars, Janus is named first, with the cognomen "Father" also added, in accordance with which our man did thus produce:

This base did Father Janus, this did Saturnus found [*Aen.* VIII.357].

And immediately thereafter:

Janiculum was the name for the one, Saturnia for the other [*Aen.* VIII.358].

And to him, because of a wondrous memory of things past as well as of the future, <there is joined a two-headed visage [Sylburg]>.

<But since Virgil wrote [Smit]:>

King Latinus, now an old man, was ruling
Farms and cities serene in a long peace [*Aen.* VII.45].

—He states that the Trojans arrived in Italy while he [Latinus] was reigning—, it poses the question: "In what way does Sallustius say: '... and with these were Aborigines, a savage race of men, without laws, without government, free and unfettered' [*Bell. Cat.* VI.1, ed. Kurfess]?"

IV.1. Some, however, relate that, when the earth had everywhere been covered by a deluge, many of diverse locales settled in the mountains to [p. 7] which they had fled: certain of them, seeking a home, having arrived in Italy, were called Aborigines, evidently from the Greek term, from mountains' peaks, which they term *orê*. 2. Others, because they came **err**ant to that place, wish them first to have been named **Aberr**igines, afterward—with one letter changed, another removed—Aborigines. 3. Picus received those arriving, who were permitted to live as they wished. 4. After Picus, there reigned in Italy Faunus, whom they wish to have been named from "report" [*fandum*], because he was accustomed to foretell coming events in verses which we call Saturnians, a type of meter which was first produced in a prophecy at Saturnia. 5. Of this matter Ennius is a witness, when he says:

In verses, which once Fauns and prophets used to sing [*Ann.* 214, ed. Vahlen].

6. This Faunus many have said is the same as Silvanus—from woods—, as the god Inuus, some, too, as Pana or Pan.

V.1. Therefore, while Faunus was reigning, before about sixty years, as Aeneas was being brought to Italy, Evander Arcas, son of Mercury and Carmentis, a nymph, came to him, together with his mother. 2. Some have handed down to memory that she was originally called Nicostrate, afterward Carmenta, from songs, evidently because, most accomplished in every literature and knowledgeable of the future, she was accustomed to sing in verses, with the result that many prefer that she was not named Carmenta so much from songs as that songs were named from her. 3. By her admonition, Evander, having crossed to Italy, on account of his singular erudition and knowledge of literature, in a brief time insinuated himself into the friendship of Faunus and, having been hospitably and courteously received, accepted from him for settlement no small portion of land, which he apportioned to his companions after dwellings had been erected on the mount [p. 8] which they then originally called the Pallantium from Pallas, which afterwards we called the Palatine. And there he dedicated an altar to the god Pan, since he is a special god of Arcadia, with Maro, too, a witness, who says:

You, Luna, having been captured, did Pan, Arcadia's god, deceive.

[*Georgics* 3.392, ed. Hirtzel]

And so Evander, first of all, taught men of Italy to read and write in letters, in part which he himself had previously learned. And likewise he introduced crops first found in Greece and taught the practice of planting and, for the purpose of cultivating the land, he first yoked cattle in Italy.

VI.1. While he was reigning, by chance a certain Recaranus, of Greek origin, a shepherd of imposing physique and immense strength who surpassed others in stature and courage, called Hercules, came there. 2. And while his herds were grazing around the Albula River, Cacus, a slave of Evander, well versed in idleness and, on top of everything else, most thievish, stole the cattle of Recaranus the stranger and, lest there be a track, dragged them backward into a cave. 3. And after the neighboring regions had been traversed and all the hiding-places had been inspected in such a way that he had abandoned hope that he would find them, Recaranus, bearing loss, as best one can, with equanimity, had resolved to depart these regions. 4. But, in truth, Evander, a man of

most excellent justness, after he detected just how the affair had been accomplished, delivered up the slave for punishment and caused the cattle to be restored. 5. Then Recaranus dedicated beneath the Aventine an altar of the Father Discoverer and called it Maximus and dedicated at it a tenth of his herd. 6. And since it was previously a custom that men offer to their rulers a tenth of the harvest, he very equitably said that it seemed to him preferable that gods, rather than kings, partake of that honor, whence it clearly came to pass that to Hercules [p. 9] it became a custom that a tenth be dedicated, in accordance with which Plautus says: "In a Herculean part [*Bacch.* 666; *Stich.* 233 and 386; and *Truc.* 562, ed. Lindsey]," that is, a tenth. 7. Therefore, when the Altar Maximus had been consecrated and a tenth had been dedicated at it, Recaranus, because Carmentis, who had been invited to the ceremony, had not been present, decreed that it not be permissible for any female to partake from that which had been consecrated on that altar. And thus women have been totally removed from the divine affair.

VII.1. These things Cassius relates in Book I. But, in truth, it is related in the books of *Pontifical Matters* that Hercules, having been born from Jove and Alcmena, after Geryon had been defeated, leading the noble herd, desirous of introducing to Greece cattle of its kind, came by chance to the locale and, pleased by the rich fodder, in order that his men and cattle be refreshed from the long journey, established a base there for a while. 2. While they were pasturing in the vale where the Circus Maximus is now, protection having been neglected because it was believed that no one would dare to violate Hercules' property, a certain bandit of the same region, surpassing others in the size of his body and in courage, dragged eight of the cattle away to a cave by the tails so that the theft be less able to be solved by the tracks. 3. And when Hercules, setting out from there, was moving the rest of the herd by accident past the same cave, by chance some of the cattle inside lowed to those passing and the theft was thus detected. 4. And when Cacus had been killed, [it is related] that Evander, when the affair had been ascertained, went to meet the stranger, giving thanks because his own territories had been freed from so great an evil, and when he had ascertained from which parents Hercules had been born, the matter was brought exactly as it had transpired to the attention of Faunus. [It is related that] then he also sought most desirously the friendship of Hercules. This opinion our Maro hesitated to follow.

VIII.1. Therefore, when Recaranus, or Hercules, had consecrated the Altar Maximus of the Father Discoverer, he approved two men from Italy, Potitius and Pinarius, whom he instructed in administering these same ceremonies by a precise ritual. 2. But of these, while Potitius, since he had come earlier, [p. 10] was granted permission to consume the organs, Pinarius, because he had come later, and his descendants were excluded. Whence even today is in force: "No one of the Pinarian clan is allowed to eat in these ceremonies." 3. And some maintain that these were earlier named from another word, but, in truth, afterward were called Pinarii *apo tou peinan*, evidently because they departed from sacrifices of this sort unfed and, through this, famished. 4. And it remained a custom up to Appius Claudius, the censor, that, when the Potitii were conducting the ceremonies and eating from the cattle which they had immolated, afterward, as soon as nothing remained, the Pinarii were then admitted. 5. But subsequently Appius Claudius, when a payment had been received, enticed the Potitii to instruct public slaves in the administration of the ceremonies as well as also to admit women. 6. When this had been done, they say that within thirty days the whole family of the Potitii, which previously was held foremost in the ceremonies, was extinct, and that thus did the Pinarii assume control of the ceremonies, and that these, thoroughly instructed both by reverence as well as by piety, faithfully supervised the mysteries of this sort.

IX.1. After Faunus, while Latinus, his son, was reigning in Italy, Aeneas, as he was departing by night carrying his household gods before him and his father Anchises on his shoulders and dragging his little son by the hand as well after Ilium had been betrayed to the Achaeans by Antenor and other leaders, when he had been recognized by the enemy when dawn had risen, not only unhindered by anyone but also permitted by King Agamemnon to go where he wished because he had been so greatly weighted down by a burden of piety, sought Italy. And thereupon, after ships had been constructed, on the advice of an oracle he sought Italy with many of each sex, as Alexander of Ephesus instructs us in Book I of the *Marsic War*. 2. But, in truth, Lutatius relates that not only Antenor, but also Aeneas himself, was a traitor to his fatherland: when King Agamemnon had allowed him to go where he wished and he was bearing on his shoulders that which he thought most important, that man carried out with him nothing except [p. 11] the

household gods and his father and two small sons, as some relate; but, in truth, others relate that he carried out one, the cognomen for whom was Iulus, for whom afterward it also became Ascanius. 4. [They relate that] the leaders of the Achaeans, moved by this piety, had granted that he return to his house and carry away with him from there everything he wished. And [they relate that] thus, having departed Troy with great resources and many companions of both sexes, when a vast sea had been traversed, he arrived in Italy, and, having landed at Thrace first, that he founded Aenus from his own name. 5. Then, when Polymestor's treachery had become known through the murder of Polydorus, [they relate that] he set out from there and sailed to the island Delos and from that place was received by him in marriage Lavinia, daughter of Anius, a priest of Apollo, by whose name the Lavinian shores were called. 6. Afterward, having traversed many seas, he was brought to the promontory of Italy which is in Baianum around the lake of Avernus, and [they relate that] there his navigator Misenus, who had been carried off by disease, was buried by him. From his name [they relate] that the city was called Misenon, as in Book I of *Pontifical Affairs* writes Caesar, who, nevertheless, relates that this Misenus was not a navigator but a trumpeter. 7. Maro, then, not without reason, having followed each view, did thus produce:

And pious Aeneas set over the place a grave of massive size,
And his own weapons for the man, and an oar and trumpet [*Aen.* VI.232-233].

8. Yet some assert with the author Homer that the use of the trumpet was in Trojan times then still unknown.

X.1. Some add besides that Aeneas buried on the shore the mother of Euxinus, one of his comrades, who had been carried off by old age, around the marsh which is between Misenon and Avernus, and that, thence, the name was assigned to the spot. And when he had discovered that in that very place a Sibyl foretold future events to mortals in the city which is called Cimbarionis, [they add that] he came [p. 12] to it, having inquired about the state of his own fortunes and, by additional utterances, having been forbidden to bury in Italy his relative Prochyta, related to him by blood, whom he had left in good health. 2. And afterward he returned to the fleet and found that she, having died, had

been buried on the nearest island, which is now also called by the same name, as Vulcatius and Acilius Piso write. 3. Having set forth from there, [they add that] he arrived at the place which is now called Portus Caietae from the name of his nurse, whom, having been lost, he buried in that very place. 4. But, in truth, Caesar and Sempronius say that Caieta was a cognomen, not a name, evidently assigned because, at his advice and command—evidently in Greek pronunciation *apo tou kaiein*, that is, "to burn"—, the Trojan mothers, through loathing of a long voyage, burned the fleet in that very place. 5. [They add that], while Latinus was reigning, having sailed from there to the border of Italy which was called Laurens from a grove of the same kind, when he had disembarked with his father Anchises and his son and others from their ships, they reclined on the shore and, after the food which was on hand had been consumed, even ate the surface from sacrificial tables made of grain, consecrated objects which he had with him.

XI.1. Then, with Anchises concluding that that was an end of sufferings and wandering, since he had recalled that Venus had predicted to him that when they had been driven by hunger to a foreign shore and had fallen upon consecrated tables, that would be the fated spot of the establishment of a settlement, 2. when they had brought forth from a ship a sow—pregnant, too—in order to sacrifice her, and she had torn herself from the hands of the attendants, [they add that] Aeneas recollected that once there had been an oracular response to him that a quadruped would be the leader of the establishment of a city; 3. that he followed with the statues of the household gods; [p. 13] and that man, where she reposed and brought forth thirty piglets, having taken auspices in the same place, after <which he immolated the sow, founded a city [Smit]> which he called Lavinium, as Caesar in Book I and Lutatius in Book II write.

XII.1. But, in truth, Domitius [says that] not mounds of grain, as was said above, but, in place of tables for the purpose of selecting the fare, parsley, of which there was the greatest abundance in that very place, was spread underneath, which itself, when the other foods had been consumed, they ate, and that afterward they immediately understood that those were the tables which it had been predicted they would consume. 2. Meanwhile, when the sow had been immolated, while they were conducting the sacrifice on the shore, it is related that by chance an Argive fleet approached, on which was

Ulysses; and since he was worried lest, having been recognized by the enemy, he come into danger, and likewise that to interrupt a divine matter would lead to the utmost abomination, he covered his head with a veil and thus completed the full sacrificial ritual. Thence to posterity was transmitted the custom of conducting sacrifices thus, as Marcus Octavius writes in Book I. 3. But, in truth, Domitius in Book I instructs us that Aeneas was advised by a pronouncement of Delphic Apollo to seek Italy and, when he had come to two seas and consumed a meal with tables, that there he was to establish a city. 4. And thus, having wandered to Laurentine soil, when he had proceeded a little from the shore, [he instructs us] that he arrived at two pools of salt water near one another; and there, when he had bathed himself and, having been refreshed with food, when he had consumed the parsley, too, which he had then placed beneath in place of a table, he calculated that those were without a doubt the two seas, because there were marine species in those pools of water, and that tables, which were from the bedding of parsley, had been consumed, he established a city on the spot and, because he had bathed in the pool, named it Lavinium. Then [he instructs us that] thereafter by Latinus, King of the Aborigines, to him [p. 14] five hundred acres were given, on which he settled. 5. But Cato, in the *Origin of the Roman Race* instructs us thus: that a sow bore thirty piglets in the place where Lavinium now is, and when Aeneas had decided to establish a city there and was lamenting on account of the sterility of the soil, that in sleep there appeared to him likenesses of household gods encouraging him to persevere in the establishment of the city which he had begun; for, after as many years as were the offspring of that sow, Trojans would move to fertile spots and more fruitful soil and would establish the city of the most famous name in Italy.

XIII.1. [He instructs us that] therefore Latinus, King of the Aborigines, when it had been announced to him that a multitude of strangers, conveyed by a fleet, had occupied Laurentine soil, unhesitatingly led forth his forces against the unforeseen and unexpected enemies and that, before he gave the signal of attack, he noticed that the Trojans were drawn up in a military manner, while his own men advance armed with stones and clubs, then, too, with their left hands wrapped with clothing or skins, which were for them a protection. 2. And so, after the battle had been checked, when it had been inquired through parley who they were and what they sought, in as much he was

being compelled to this measure by the authority of divinities (for he had often been warned from entrails and dreams that he would be more secure against enemies if he would link his own forces with strangers), 3. when he learned that Aeneas and Anchises, having been driven by war from their fatherland, wandering with likenesses of the gods, were seeking a place to settle, [he instructs us that], when an agreement had been made by a mutual pledge that each would have common enemies and friends, he entered into a friendship by treaty. 4. And thus [he instructs us] that a spot began to be fortified which Aeneas named Lavinium from the name of his wife, a daughter of King Latinus, who previously had been promised to Turnus Herodonius. 5. But, in truth, [he instructs us] that Amata, wife of King Latinus, since she was taking it as an insult that, when her own kinsman Turnus had been repudiated, Lavinia had been granted to a Trojan stranger, [p. 15] incited Turnus to arms; and that he, as soon as an army of Rutilians had been assembled, had marched to the Larentine territory and that Latinus, together with Aeneas, having advanced against him, had been surrounded in the midst of the fighters and killed. 6. And yet, when his father-in-law had been lost, Aeneas did not desist from opposing the Rutilians, and, in fact, even killed Turnus. 7. When the enemy had been scattered and put to flight, the victor himself, with his own men, recovered Lavinium and by the consent of all was declared King of the Latins, as Lutatius writes in Book III. 8. Piso, however, relates that Turnus was the maternal cousin of Amata and, when Latinus had been slain, committed suicide.

XIV.1. Therefore, [they say that] when Turnus had been killed, Aeneas took control of affairs. Yet, when memory of provocations had convinced the Rutulians to pursue war, they received and invoked for themselves from Etruria the aid of Mezentius, King of the Agilaeians, having promised that, if a victory should be won, everything which was the Latins' would be ceded to Mezentius. 2. Then Aeneas, because he was inferior in forces, when many supplies which of necessity had to be guarded had been collected in the city, established a base below Lavinium, and, when his son, Euryleo, had been placed in charge of these, he himself, after a time for battle had been chosen, deployed his forces in battle formation around the pool of the Numicus River. There, while a fierce battle was being fought, when the sky had been obscured by a sudden whirlwind, immediately such a great deluge poured from heaven, followed, too, by

thunderclaps and bursts of flame, that not only were everyone's eyes blinded but even their minds, too, became confused. And when a desire to cease from battle was present in all units of each side, nonetheless Aeneas, having been carried off in the tumult of the sudden storm, was afterward nowhere to be seen. 3. Moreover, it is handed down that, without having noticed that he was near the river, when he had been driven back to the bank, he accidentally fell into the river, and that the fighting then was broken off. Then, afterward, when the clouds had been scattered and dispersed, when a serene countenance had shown forth, [p. 16] it was believed that he had been taken up to heaven alive. 4. And yet it is nevertheless affirmed that he was seen later by Ascanius and certain others above the bank of the Numicus with the same garb and weapons in which he had advanced to battle. This event confirmed the rumor of his immortality. And thus it was decided that a temple, consecrated on that spot, be called "The Father Attendant." 5. Then his son Ascanius, who is the same as Euryleo, was made king by the judgment of all the Latins.

XV.1. When, then, Ascanius, having obtained the totality of the rule of the Latins, had resolved to press upon Mezentius with continuous battles, his son Lausus invested the hill of the citadel of Lavinia. And while that city was being held fast, when all the forces of the king had been surrounded, the Latins sent ambassadors to Mezentius, who was asked on what condition he was willing to receive them in surrender. 2. And when that man, among the other burdens, also added that all the wine of the Latin land for several years be brought to him, it was decided by the advice and authority of Ascanius rather to die on account of freedom than to submit to servitude in that fashion. 3. And so, when the wine from the entire vintage had been publicly dedicated and consecrated to Jove, the Latins burst from the city, and, when the garrison had been scattered and Lausus killed, they forced Mezentius to make flight. 4. Afterward, he sought through ambassadors the friendship and alliance of the Latins, as Lucius Caesar instructs us in Book I, and likewise Aulus Postumius in the volume which he wrote and published about the advent of Aeneas. 5. Therefore, the Latins not only believed that Ascanius, because of his outstanding courage, was descended from Jove, but also, through abbreviation, when his name had been altered a bit, first called him Iolus, then

afterward Iulus. From him the Julian family originated, as write Caesar in Book II and Cato in the *Origins*.

XVI.1. Meanwhile, Lavinia, having been left pregnant by Aeneas, as if in fear [p. 17] of Ascanius intending to go after her, fled to the woods, to the master of her father's flock, Tyrrhus, and there bore a son, who, from the nature of the spot, was called Silvius. 2. But in truth, a crowd of Latins, thinking that she had been secretly killed by Ascanius, had kindled great ill will against him to such a degree that it also threatened him with armed violence. 3. Then Ascanius, exculpating himself by oath, since he was offering nothing to them as evidence, weakened the present anger of the crowd somewhat by means of a delay requested for investigation and promised that he would cover with immense rewards he who tracked down Lavinia for him. Presently he led Lavinia, who had been recovered with her boy, back to the city and attended to her with maternal honor. 4. This event regained for him the great favor of the populace, as write Gaius Caesar and Sextus Gellius in the *Origin of the Roman Race*. 5. But, in truth, others relate that, when Ascanius was being compelled by the entire populace to the restitution of Lavinia and was swearing that he had not killed her and did not know where she was, Tyrrhus, when silence had been requested in that throng of an assemblage, promised to volunteer evidence on the condition that a pledge of safety for Lavinia and the boy born from her were given to him. And then, when the pledge had been received, [they relate that] he led Lavinia, with the son, back to the city.

XVII.1. After this, Ascanius, when thirty years had been completed in Lavinium, having thought from the number of piglets which the white sow had borne that the time for the foundation of a new city had arrived, after neighboring regions had been diligently inspected, having examined a mountain which had been mentioned, which now is called Albanus from the city which was established on it, he fortified it and named it Longa from the form of the sow, because she had stretched out so far in length, and Alba, from her color. 2. And when he had transferred the images of the household gods there, on the next day they appeared at Lavinium, and, having been returned back to Alba and after attendants had been appointed—I do not know how many—, they repeatedly betook themselves back to Lavinium, [p. 18] to their original home. 3. And so no one dared to remove them a third time, as has been written in Book IV of the *Annals of the Pontiffs*, in

Book II of Cincius and Caesar, and in Book I of Tubero. 4. And after Ascanius had departed from life, between Iulus his son and Silvius Postumus, who had been born from Lavinia, there arose a disagreement concerning succession to the rule, since it was doubtful whether Aeneas' son or grandson was preferable. When a debate about this matter had been permitted, Silvius was declared king by all together. 5. All the descendants of the same with the cognomen Silvius ruled Alba until the foundation of Rome, as has been written in Book IV of the *Annals of the Pontifs*. 6. While, then, Latinus Silvius was ruling, the colonies Praeneste, Tiber, Gabii, Tusculum, Cora, Pometia, Labici, Crustumium, Cameraia, Bovillae, and other cities on every side were sent forth.

XVIII.1. After him reigned Tiberius Silvius, Silvius' son. When he, waging war against his neighbors, had led forth his forces, having been driven to the Albula River, he perished and a reason arose of changing the name, as write Lucius Cincius in Book I, Lutatius in Book III. 2. After him reigned Aremulus Silvius, who, it is handed down, was of such great haughtiness not only with respect to men but also gods that he declared that he was superior to Jove himself and, with heaven thundering, he commanded soldiers to beat shields with spears and ordered them to make a louder sound. 3. However, he was immediately visited with punishment, for, having been struck by lightning and, snatched by a whirlwind, he was thrown into Lake Albanus, as has been written in Book IV of the *Annals* and in Book II of the *Epitomes* of Piso. 4. Aufidius, of course, in the *Epitomes*, and Domitius in Book I relate that he was not struck by lightning but that the palace, together with him, as a result of a tremor of the earth, slid into [p. 19] Lake Albanus. 5. After that one, Aventinus Silvius regined, and he, waging war with his neighbors, having been surrounded in battle by enemies, was struck down and buried around the foothills of the mountain to which he gave a name from himself, as Lucius Caesar writes in Book II.

XIX.1. After him Silvius Procas, King of the Albans, appointed two sons, Numitor and Amulius, heirs to equal parts. 2. Then Amulius placed in one part rule alone, in the other the sum of the whole patrimony and the entire substance of goods belonging to his father, and to his brother Numitor, who was the older by birth, gave the option to choose from these whichever of the two he preferred. 3. <When [Schroeter]>

Numitor had preferred private luxury with resources to the rule, Amulius obtained the rule. 4. In order to control it as securely as possible, he ordered the son of his own brother Numitor to be done away with while hunting. Then, too, he commanded that the boy's sister, Rhea Silvia, become a priestess of Vesta, after a dream had been feigned by which he had been admonished by the same goddess that he bring it to pass, while, in fact, he reckoned for himself that it must be so done, considering it a threat, lest someone be born from her who would avenge ancestral injuries, as writes Valerius Antias in Book I. 5. But, in truth, Marcus Octavius and Licinius Macer relate that Amulius, the paternal uncle of the priestess Rhea, having been seized by love of her, with heaven dark and the air black, when it first began to grow light, having lain in wait for her, assaulted her in the grove of Mars as she was seeking water for use in ceremonies. Then, when months had passed, [they relate that] twins were born. 6. When he had learned this, for the purpose of concealing a deed which had been conceived through wickedness, he commanded that the priestess be killed, that her offspring be delivered to him. 7. And [they relate that] Numitor, in the hope of the future, that these, if they reached maturity, would someday become avengers of his injuries, then substituted others for these, and that those, his real grandsons, he gave to Faustulus, master of shepherds, for rearing.

XX.1. But, in truth, Fabius Pictor in Book I and Vennonius [p. 20] [relate that] the maiden went forth, according to custom and practice, to fetch water for the performance of the rites from the spring which was in the grove of Mars, that, when showers and thunderclaps had suddenly scattered those who were with her, having been assaulted and raped by Mars, she was immediately restored by the consolation of the god, who was indicating his name and affirming that from her would be born an offspring worthy of their father. 2. Therefore, as soon as King Amulius learned that the priestess Rhea Silvia had borne twins, he immediately commanded that they be carried to flowing water and be cast into it. 3. Then those to whom it had been commanded cast the boys, who had been placed in a basket, into the Tiber, which had then overflowed its banks because of heavy showers, around the foot of the Palatine Hill and a swineherd of the region, Faustulus, who had observed those exposing them, as he saw that the basket in which the boys were had become stuck to a fig tree as the river was receding and that a she-wolf, which, having been disturbed by the boys' wail, had suddenly emerged, first

cleaned them by licking, then, for the sake of lightening their fullness, offered her teats, descended, lifted them up, and gave them for raising to Acca Laurentia, his wife, as Ennius in Book I [*Ann.* 70, ed. Vahlen] and Caesar in Book II write. 4. Some add that, with Faustulus looking on, a woodpecker, too, flew forward and, with a full mouth, brought food to the boys. [They add that] it is from this, evidently, that wolf and woodpecker are under the protection of Mars. Also [they add that] the tree around which the boys had been cast was called the Ruminal because under its shade cattle, resting at midday, were accustomed to ruminate.

XXI.1. But, in truth, Valerius relates that King Amulius gave the boys who had been born from Rhea Silvia to Faustulus, a slave, to be killed, but that he, having been persuaded by Numitor that the boys not be killed, gave them to his friend Acca Laurentia for raising, which woman, because she was accustomed to make her body available to all for a price, was called a she-wolf. 2. [He relates that] it is to be noted, indeed, that women who make profit by the body are thus named; whence, too, spots of this sort in [p. 21] which these women do business are called "Dens of She-Wolves." 3. When, in truth, the boys had become fit for higher education, [he relates that] they sojourned with the Gabii for the sake of learning Greek and Latin literature, with Numitor, their grandfather, secretly providing for everything. 4. And thus, as soon as they had reached maturity, having been informed by the testimony of his preceptor Faustulus who his grandfather was, who his mother was, and what had been done with regard to her, [he relates that] he immediately set straight out for Alba with armed shepherds, and, when Amulius had been killed, restored his grandfather Numitor to kingly power. Moreover, [he relates that] Romulus was named from the magnitude of his strength, for it is certain that in the Greek language "strength" is called *rhomê*. In truth, [he relates that] the other was called Remus, since men of such nature were called by the ancients "remiss."

XXII.1. Therefore, as a result of the actions which we have described above and the divine event which had occurred in the spot which now is called the Lupercal, festive fellows raced about striking with skins of sacrificial victims whomever was approaching them, with the result that they established what is a solemn sacrifice for themselves and for their descendents and separately named their own, Remus the Fabii, Romulus the Quintilii. The name of each of these two survives even now in ceremonies. 2. But, in

truth, in Book II of *Pontifical Matters* it is reported that men had been dispatched by Amulius who were to abduct Remus, a shepherd of flocks. Since they did not dare to use force on him, when, because Remus was then departing, they had obtained an opportune time for themselves for an ambush, [it is reported that] some of them pretended to play a kind of game, bearing as far as possible with their hands tied behind their backs a stone by which wool was wont to be weighed, which had been picked up with their teeth. 3. [It is reported that] then Remus, confident of his strength, had wagered that he could bear it as far as the Aventine. Then, after he had allowed himself to be bound, [it is reported] that he was dragged to Alba. After Romulus had heard about this, [it is reported that], when a force of shepherds had been gathered and these had been divided into groups of one hundred men, he distributed staves fastened at the end to variously formed handfulls of hay in order that each one by means of the standard more easily [p. 22] follow his own leader. Whence [it is reported] that it has been instituted afterward that soldiers who were simultaneously of the same standard were called "handfulls." 4. And so, when Amulius had been deposed by him, [it is reported that] his brother was freed from bonds, his grandfather restored to kingly power.

XXIII. 1. Therefore, when Romulus and Remus were discussing among themselves the establishment of a city in which they themselves would reign equally, and Romulus was marking on the Palatine Hill the spot which seemed suitable to him and which he was wishing to be called Rome, and in opposition likewise Remus on another hill which was five miles away from the Palatine and, from his own name, was calling the same place Remuria, and the contention between them was not coming to an end, when grandfather Numitor had been adopted as an arbiter, it was resolved to take the immortal gods as judges of the controversy thus: that whomever of the two of them encountered favorable auspices first, would found the city and call it from his own name and hold in it the totality of royal power. 2. And while Romulus was taking auspices on the Palatine, Remus on the Aventine, six vultures flying together from the left were seen first by Remus, and then men were dispatched by him to announce to Romulus that auspices had now been given to him by which he was being ordered to found a city and, thus, that he hasten to come to him. 3. And when Romulus had come to him and had inquired what sort those auspices had been and he had said that six vultures had appeared to him at the

moment he was taking auspices, Romulus replied, "But I shall now show you twelve." And suddenly twelve vultures appeared, with a flash of heaven and simultaneously a thunderclap having followed immediately thereafter. 4. Then Romulus said, "Why do you assert earlier ones when you contemplate those in view?" Remus, after he realized he had been cheated out of kingly power, said, "In this city, many things rashly expected and anticipated will most felicitously come to pass." 5. But, in truth, Licinius Macer in Book I instructs us that there was a baleful outcome of that dispute, for indeed Remus and Faustulus, abiding in that very place, were killed. 6. In contrast, Egnatius in Book I relates that not only was Remus not killed in the dispute but also that he lived longer than Romulus.



[P. 23] But in opposition to the diverse opinions of all these stands Livian history which, crying out to our memory, testifies that, when auspices had been taken, Romulus called Rome from his own name [and, while he was fortifying it] with walls, decreed that no one leap over the rampart; that Remus, mocking this, leapt over and was killed by <Celer [Schott]>, a centurion, by means of an iron spade or mattock.

Authors and Texts Mentioned in the *Origo*

Boldface type indicates the name under which *OCD*³ entries appear. Where no *OCD*³ entries exist, the reader is referred to the appropriate notes in Richard's Budé commentary. Sehlmayer's glossary of republican authors cited in the *Origo* (pp. 161-164) is a valuable complement.

Names from the *Origo* are as they appear in Pichlmayr's edition. Emendation of these names in order to yield known writers or titles sometimes begs the important question of the historicity of *Origo*'s sources and, by extension, the very nature of the work itself. Cameron's forthcoming *Greek Mythography in the Roman World*, pp. 328-334, investigates this issue and concludes that fabrication of source and citation is the rule rather than exception.

Acilius Piso = Gaius **Acilius**. *OCD*³ pp. 7-8. X.2.

Alexander of Ephesus. Richard p. 142, n. 6. IX.1.

Annals of the Pontiffs. Cf. *OCD*³ p. 855, s.v. "*libri pontificales*," and Richard, pp. 38-39 and n. 2, pp. 129-130. P. 3, XVII.3 and 5, XVIII.3.

Antias/Antia. Richard, p. 106, n. 4. P. 3.

Aufidius = Gnaeus **Aufidius**. *OCD*³ p. 214. XVIII.4.

Caesar. Richard p. 139, n. 24. IX.6, X.4, XI.3, XV.5, XVII.3, XX.3.

Caesar, Gaius. Richard p. 162, n. 5. XVI.4.

Caesar, Lucius. Richard p. 158, n. 9-p. 161. P. 3, XV.4, XVIII.5.

Cassius = Lucius **Cassius** Hemina. *OCD*³ p. 300. VII.1.

Cato = Marcus **Porcius** Cato. *OCD*³ pp. 1224-1225. XII.5, XV.5.

Cincius = Lucius **Cincius** Alimentus. *OCD*³ p. 332. P. 3, XVII.3, XVIII.1.

Domitius. Richard p. 147, n. 1. XII.1 and 3, XVIII.4.

Egnatius. Richard p. 180, n. 17. P. 3, XXIII.6.

Ennius = Quintus **Ennius**. *OCD*³ pp. 525-526. IV.5, XX.3.

Fabius Pictor = Quintus **Fabius** Pictor. *OCD*³ p. 583. P. 3, XX.1.

Gellius, Sextus. Richard, p. 162, n. 5. XVI.4.

Homer. *OCD*³ pp. 718-720. IX.8.

Licinius Macer = Gaius **Licinius** Macer. *OCD*³ p. 859. P. 3, XIX.5, XXIII.5.

Livius = **Livy** (Titus Livius). *OCD*³ pp. 877-879. Pp. 2-3, 23.

Lutatius = Quintus **Lutatius** Catullus. *OCD*³ p. 893. IX.2, X.2 [Vulcatius], XI.3, XIII.7, XVIII.1.

Maro = Virgil.

Octavius, Marcus. Richard p. 149, n. 7. XII.2, XIX.5.

Piso = Acilius.

Plautus = Titus Maccius **Plautus**. *OCD*³ pp. 1194-1196. VI.6.

Pontifical Affairs = Caesar. Richard, p. 139, n. 24. IX.6.

Pontifical Matters. Cf. *OCD*³ p. 855, s.v. "*libri pontificales*," and Richard, pp. 38-39 and n. 2, pp. 129-130. VII.1, XXII.2.

Postumius = Aulus **Postumius** Albinus. *OCD*³ p. 1234. XV.4.

Sallustius = **Sallust** (Gaius Sallustius Crispus). *OCD*³ pp. 1348-1349. III.7.

Sempronius = Gaius Sempronius **Tuditanus**. *OCD*³ p. 1385. X.4.

Tubero = Quintus **Aelius** Tubero. *OCD*³ p. 19. P. 3, XVII.3.

Valerius Antias. *OCD*³ p. 1577. XIX.4, XXI.1.

Varro = Marcus Terrentius **Varro**. *OCD*³ p. 1582. P. 3.

Vennonius. Richard p. 172, n. 2. XX.1.

Veratius. Richard p. 106, n. 8. P. 3.

Verrius Flaccus. Richard p. 105, n. 3. P. 3.

Victor = Sextus **Aurelius** Victor. *OCD*³ p. 222. Pp. 2-3.

Virgil = Publius Vergilius Maro. *OCD*³ pp. 1602-1607. I.1, 4-5, 7-8, III.2-3, 7, V.3, VII.4, IX.7.

Vulcatius. Richard n. 6, pp. 141-142.

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