

THE SOURCE AND GROWTH OF THE LEGEND OF THE  
ASSOCIATION OF TROY WITH THE FOUNDATION OF ROME.

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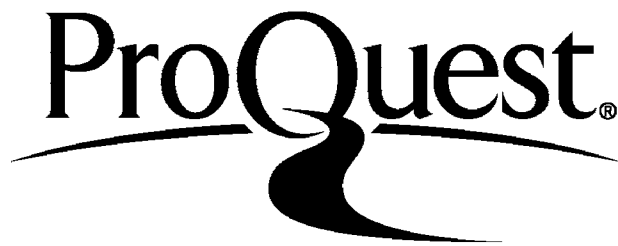
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I.

The Legends of Rome's Foundation.

II.

The Trojans in the West.

III.

The Legend of Aeneas at Rome.

IV.

The Di Penates.

V.

Dido and Aeneas.

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PART ONE .

LEGENDS of the FOUNDATION  
of ROME.

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Before considering in detail the Trojan legend, or the legend that brought the Trojan hero, Aeneas, to Italy and made him the founder of the Roman race, it is necessary to review briefly the various types of traditions that tell of the origin of Rome. We are here faced with a medley of numerous and often conflicting accounts. These may be divided into two classes.

- a). The Indigenous legends that grew up in Italy in early times and were the product of native Italian thought.
- b). The Imported, or foreign, legends, mainly the work of Greek annalists and antiquarians.

Such a division is necessarily arbitrary, firstly because what exactly constitutes the pure Italian legend is, owing to our limited knowledge, a question that is open to a variety of opinions; secondly, because as the Greek writers became acquainted with the Italian myths they sometimes combined native Italian and foreign elements in one particular version of the foundation legend.

The indigenous legends of Rome were probably, like the saga of other nations, preserved in popular poems and so handed down from generation to generation. No poems of this type are now extant, but that some were preserved in the time of

Augustus we know from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, an historian and antiquarian of that age. The most genuine form of the native legend was probably that which is preserved in Plutarch's life of Romulus<sup>(1)</sup>, and which seems to have first been recorded in prose by the historian Fabius Pictor, who wrote a history of Rome in the Greek language at the time of the Second Punic War. Details may perhaps have been introduced by Naevius and taken over by Fabius from Sophocles' Tyro, but as a whole the story seems to be Italian. This version tells of the birth of the twins Romulus and Remus - the sons of Rhea and Mars; their exposure, their preservation by the she wolf; how they were reared by Faustulus, the shepherd, how finally Romulus, after killing his brother in a quarrel, built his city, Rome. The story of the twins cannot indeed be traced back beyond the fourth century B.C. The Lupa Capitolina preserved at Rome in the Palazzo dei Conservatori is dated at about 500 B.C., and would be evidence for the twin story were it not now generally believed that the figures of the children are a later addition to the statue. There has recently been put forward an interesting suggestion that the statue created the legend, not the legend the statue<sup>(2)</sup>. The evidence

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(1) Plut: Rom: ch: 3. ff:

(2) La Louve du Capitoli - Prof: Carcopino.



in support of this view is very slender. Further, though some critics have stressed the Greek character of the exposed children story yet that form of legend is undoubtedly worldwide in type and by no means peculiarly Greek<sup>(1)</sup>. Distinctly Italian is the woodpecker which figured in Umbrian augury<sup>(2)</sup> - at Tiore Matiene, in the Sabine country, there was a woodpecker oracle - the Ficus Ruminalis, and the names employed. It is noteworthy that the ἑπώνυμος is Ῥώμυλος, not Ῥώμος the Greek form<sup>(3)</sup>.

The imported legends may be divided under three headings:-

Firstly there are legends which invent an ἑπώνυμος out of the name of Rome and add a little local detail which was perhaps derived from native tradition.

- 1). Ῥώμυλος tyrant of Latium expels the Tyrrhenians  
Plut: Rom: ch: 2. from an unknown author.

This could have been put together without any local knowledge beyond the fact that the Latins and Tyrrhenians were enemies.

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- (1) A Greek instance close resembling the Italian story is the legend of Neleus and Pelias; but of a similar character are the stories of the early adventures of Cyrus, the rescue of Sharrukin by Acci, Moses in the bullrushes, and perhaps the tradition of the house of the Aztecs in Mexico.
  - (2) See Aurelius Victor. Origo gentis Romanae. 20. 4.  
Ovid. Fast: III. 54.
  - (3) The form Ῥώμος is found only in Greek tradition; it found no acceptance in Latium. Perhaps the Romans chose Romulus through familiarity with a name which appears in Etruscan inscriptions as Rumla and in later Latin as Rumilius or Romilius.

11). Ῥώμος is a son of Italus and Leucaria.

Dion: A.R. I. 72. cf: Plut: Rom: 2.

This again was probably the fiction invented by a man who had heard that Rome was an Italian town in Latium.

Secondly there are legends in which an Ἐπώνυμος is linked with a Greek hero.

1). Ῥώμος son of Emathion is sent by Diomedes to Italy. Plut: Rom: 2. (source unknown).

11). Ῥώμος Ἀρτείας, (i.e. Antium) and Ἀρδείας (i.e. Ardea) are the sons of Odysseus and Circe. Xenagoras, (quoted by Dion: A.R. I. 72).

111). Ῥώμανος is represented as son of Odysseus and Circe. Plut: Rom: 2. (source unknown).

To this class may perhaps be added the story quoted by Dionysius<sup>(1)</sup>, and attributed by him to Aristotle, that some Achaeans, driven out of their course on their voyage from Troy, reached Latium and that as they waited there for the return of spring some captive Trojan women burnt their ships. The woman responsible for the deed was called Ῥώμη. This legend is recorded again by Plutarch at the beginning of his Romulus and again by Heraclides Lembus who wrote at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes<sup>(2)</sup>.

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(1) Dion: A.R. I. 72.

(2) Fast: p. 268. Müller, and Solinus I. 2.

The introduction of a Greek hero is not difficult to explain. Greek legend tended to represent all the barbarian world as having either sprung from the Greek or as having been conquered by Greece. The arrival of the Greeks in the West meant that Italy was to be included in the range of Greek myth. This was done largely by an extension of the Nostoi legends. For example, the introduction of Odysseus<sup>(1)</sup> would naturally be suggested by the Homeric stories of the wanderings of Odysseus in the West, and down to the time of Alexander the Great the region around the Tyrrhenian Sea belonged in myth to the realm of Odysseus. With the legends already mentioned may be compared the various Greek founders given to other Italian towns. Arpi and Lanuvium are founded by Diomedes<sup>(2)</sup>, Tusculum and Praeneste by Telegonus, Ardea (as we have seen) by a son of Circe, or of Danae, and Petelia by Philoctetes, Salentini by Idomeneus, Metapontum by Metalus.

Thirdly - and in the present enquiry these are the legends that are of real interest and importance - we find:-

An Ἐπώρουος linked with a Trojan hero.

1). Πύρου is the wife of Ascanius, or of Aeneas.

Plut: Rom: 2. (also mentioned by Heraclides Lembus.

Fest: p. 268. Müller. Solinus. 1. 2)

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(1) See above, sections ii and iii.

(2) Appian. B. Av: II. 20. for Diomedes cf: Timaeus. Müller 13. Serv: Aen: XI. 543.

- ii). Ῥώμολος is the son of Aeneas. Agathyllus -  
quoted by Dionysius. I. 72.
- iii). Ῥώμυλος is the son of Aeneas and Dixithea.  
Plut: Rom: 2.
- iv). Ῥώμυλος is the son of Aemilia, daughter of  
Aeneas and Lavinia. Plut: Rom: 2.
- v). Ῥώμος is the son of Aeneas. Cephalo Gergithius.  
quoted by Dionysius. I. 72.

Again we find both Greek and Trojan mingled in the strange statement of Hellanicus, recorded by Dionysius<sup>(1)</sup>, that Rome was founded by Odysseus and Aeneas. This is important as being probably the earliest mention of the foundation of Rome by Aeneas himself. These seem a strange pair until we recall one form of the legend which said that Troy was betrayed to the Greeks by Aeneas and Antenor, and another, that of Mene-crates of Xanthos quoted by Dionysius, which said that Aeneas betrayed the city to the Greeks from his enmity to Alexander. In Callias, a Sicilian historian writing about 289 B.C., there is an account of the foundation of Rome in which are found three elements - Greek, Trojan, and Italian. According to

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(1) Dion: A.R. I. 72.

I am accepting the view held by Jacoby that "the man who compiled the list of priestesses of Hera", quoted by Dionysius, is Hellanicus. We know that Hellanicus i) compiled such a list. ii) wrote also *Νοστος ἠ Τρωικὰ*. iii) was of the age of Damastes. What other man could fulfil all these conditions?

him Rome was a woman who escaped from Troy to Latium, married Latinus, and had three sons, Romus, Romulus, and Telegonus. The intermingling of the Greek and Trojan myths<sup>(1)</sup> with the Italian may well have been due to the intercourse of Italians and Greeks in Sicily and South Italian cities. Timaeus, a Sicilian historian, whose literary activities coincided with the war against Pyrrhus, represented Aeneas as founding first Lavinium with the shrine of the Trojan Penates and afterwards Rome.

Of interest, too, is the passage in the *Alexandria* of Lycophron<sup>(2)</sup> dealing with Aeneas and the Romans. In this Aeneas lands in Etruria, encounters Odysseus (cf: the version attributed to Hellanicus), founds thirty "towers" among the Aborigines to match the thirty piglets of the black<sup>(3)</sup> sow,

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(1) For the combination of Greek and Trojan we may compare the conflicting legends of Greek and Trojan legends that existed in regard to other towns:- According to Postumius Albinus, (about 150 B.C.) in his *de Adventu Aeneae*, Baiae was founded by Boia, nurse of Euxinus, a comrade of Aeneas, while Varro gave an account which made the founder of the city Baius a companion of Odysseus who was buried there. (Serv: Aen: 9. 710).

(2) Lines 1232-1280.

There is considerable difference of opinion about the authorship and date of the *Alexandria*. It seems most probable that Lycophron of Chalcis, the author of the *Alexandria*, is distinct from Lycophron of Rhegium, the Alexandrian dramatist of the early third century, and that he lived somewhere about 200 B.C.

See Beloch (*Griechische Geschichte*. IV. 2. p.566 ff).

(3) Lycophron's sow is black, not white.

actually bestows the Trojan Penates at Lavinium, dedicates a bronze statue of suckling whelps (which recalls one actually set up in Rome in 296 B.C.)<sup>(1)</sup>, and founds an *ἀλβιδὴν τύραννον* near Circeii in southern Latium.

So much, in brief, for the types of legends that told of Rome's foundation.

Rejecting the tales of Greek and native foundations we have now to consider alone the Trojan story - How the Trojans, a people so remote, came to be associated with the West, in particular with Italy - and to attempt to trace the steps by which the Trojan legend became accepted by the Romans and to suggest some of the causes which may have led to its acceptance.

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(1) Livy. X. 23.

PART TWO.

The TROJANS in the WEST.

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Apart from the traditions we have considered, the Trojans had other associations with the Western Mediterranean - in particular with Capua, Sicily, and Latium.

Firstly we know from Hecataeus of Miletus<sup>(1)</sup>, a writer of the sixth century B.C., that Capua was, according to some accounts, connected with the Trojans. Probably this was suggested by the name Capys, a follower of Aeneas<sup>(2)</sup>. When the connection was first suggested we do not know. Possibly it originated with Stesichorus of Himera, a lyric poet of the sixth century, who certainly brought Misenus to Misenum.

As to Sicily, Thucydides states that the Elymi in Sicily who had two cities, Eryx and Egesta, were in origin Trojans who had escaped from the Achaeans after the fall of Troy<sup>(3)</sup>:-

Ἰλίου δὲ ἄλσσκομένου τῶν Τρώων τινες  
διαφυγόντες Ἀχαιοῦς πλοίοις ἄφικοῦνται πρὸς τὴν  
Σικελίαν καὶ ὄμοροι τοῖς Σικανοῖς οἰκίσαντες ἑὸν πάντες  
μὲν Ἐλυμοὶ ἐκλήθησαν, πόλεις δ' αὐτῶν Ἐρυξ καὶ  
Ἐγεστα.

Similarly in Cicero's time Segesta was said to be a colony founded by Aeneas:-

..Segesta est oppidum .. quod ab  
Aenea fugiente a Troia atque in  
haec loca veniente conditum esse  
demonstrant<sup>(4)</sup>.

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- (1) Fragment 6. 7. Muller.  
(2) Vergil. Aen: 10. 145.  
(3) Thuc: VI. 1. cf: Diod: V. 83.  
(4) In Verrem. II. 4. 33. 2.



On this account the inhabitants were treated with respect and were "sine foedere immunes".

Servius<sup>(1)</sup>, too, mentions a tradition adopted by the inhabitants themselves which ascribed the foundation of the city to Egestus, or Aegestus, (the Acestes of Vergil) offspring of a Trojan maid Segesta, while Strabo<sup>(2)</sup>, on what authority we do not know, records the account that Aeneas landed at Egesta with Elymos, a Trojan, and seized Eryx and Lilybaeum, and gave the names of Scamander and Simois to rivers near Egesta. Dionysius expands this with an elaborate story of a Trojan Elymus who, born in Sicily and the child of refugees, returned to Troy and after the Trojan War cooperated with Aeneas in Sicily. The city of Egesta was undoubtedly occupied by a people distinct from the Sicanians. Nor were they Greek, for Thucydides when enumerating the allies of the Athenians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War calls them

Why, then, were the Trojans sent travelling to the West and there associated with particular places?

Was there not a tradition as old as the poems that sang

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(1) Serv: ad Aen: I. 550., V. 50.

cf: the Duilian column. see page 33.

(2) This author often used as an authority Ephorus, a general historian of about 350 B.C. Ephorus was Timaeus' predecessor in collecting the local legends of the Western Greeks.

of the Trojan War to the effect that the Trojans did not all perish at the destruction of their city but that a remnant survived and were governed by the race of Aeneas?

γὺν δὲ δὴ Αἰνεΐδο βίη Τρωέσσιν ἰνάξει  
καὶ παίδων παῖδες τοὶ κει μετόπισθε γένωνται.

and:-

μόριμον δέ οἱ ἔστ' ἀλέασθαι  
ὄφρα μὴ ἄσπερμος γενεὴ καὶ ἀφαντος ὄληται  
Δαρδάνου, δὲ Κρονίδης περὶ πάντων φίλατο παίδων.<sup>2</sup>

Again a scholiast writing on the Iliad XX.307 says that Acusilaus of Argos - who wrote in the sixth century B.C. - maintained that the real cause of the Trojan War was the ambition of the goddess Aphrodite who brought about the war solely to transfer the sovereignty from the house of Priam

(1) Iliad XX. 307.

cf: Strabo.

τινὲς δὲ γράφουσιν  
Αἰνεΐδο γένος πάντεσσιν ἰνάξει  
καὶ παῖδες παίδων,  
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους λέγοντες.

This, which is evidently simply a violation of the text, is followed by Vergil:- Aen: III. 97.

Hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris  
et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.

cf: the Sibyl's words to Scipio - ap Silius 13.790.

atque haec cuncta, prius quam cerneret ordine terris  
proditit et Vestram tulit usque ad Sidera Troiam.

cf: too Scholiast A. on Iliad.

μεταγράφοι τινες  
Αἰνεΐω γενεὴ πάντεσσιν ἰνάξει  
ὡς προθεσπίζοντες τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν.

and the Homeric Hymn to Venus. 197.

σοὶ δ' ἔσται φίλος οἷος ὅς ἐν Τρωέσσιν ἰνάξει.

(2) Iliad XIII. 303. ff.

to that of Aeneas. Boissier, referring to the prophecies in the Iliad of the future reserved for Aeneas and his descendants, maintains that we are bound to believe that at the actual time when the Iliad was composed there then somewhere existed a little nation who claimed to be a relic of the inhabitants of Troy and its kings and who called themselves the "Sons of Aeneas", for "although poets are naturally bold, they do not, for the most part, venture to predict an event with this assurance until after its accomplishment"<sup>(1)</sup>. In support of this view Farnell in his work "The Cults of the Greek States" says that the character of Aeneas and the prophecy concerning him in Homer can only be explained if the poet was aware of a family of the Aeneadae having power in the land, who themselves, or whose mystic ancestor, were connected with a certain cult<sup>(2)</sup>.

That such a tradition did in fact exist we know from Strabo who quotes Demetrius of Scepsis<sup>(3)</sup> as saying that there survived in Troas descendants of Aeneas who were still called kings. Arctinus of Miletus<sup>(4)</sup>, too, was aware of legendary settlements of the Aeneadae on Mount Ida.

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(1) Boissier. The Country of Horace and Vergil. p. 124.

(2) Vol: II. p. 638.

(3) Strabo III. 53.

(4) Arctinus of Miletus, a poet contemporary with the building of Rome, unless the abstracts in the Chrestomathia of Proclus deceive us, tells us that Aeneas withdrew to Mount Ida. The account of what afterwards befell the fugitives might have been omitted in the abstracts, but Dionysius was acquainted with Arctinus' "Destruction of Troy" (he recounts his narrative of the stealing of the false Palladium. 1.69) and he could never have neglected such a piece of evidence.

It is true that the tradition which makes the sons of Aeneas rule over emigrants afar off in the West is another thing, and is not necessarily equally old. We can only say that there is no contradiction between the two accounts. Strabo indeed maintains that there is a contradiction οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ δὲ τῷ περὶ τῶν ἀρχηγέτων τῆς Σκήψιδος λόγῳ τῷ λεχθέντι νῦν τὰ περὶ τοῦ Αἰνείου θουλομένα.

but the fact of a settlement of certain descendants of Aeneas in Scepsis does not preclude the possibility of others having voyaged to the West. Most legends, wherever they bury Aeneas in the end, speak of his settling on Mount Ida at the time of the fall of Troy. Further, in historical times the Trojans as such had completely disappeared - There remained no traces of them in the region where Troy once had stood<sup>(2)</sup>. Surely this fact of the apparent "disappearance" of the Trojans, coupled with the clear tradition found in Homer, the most revered of poets, as well as elsewhere, would be enough to suggest to the mind of a speculative Greek that the survivors of Troy must have emigrated and must still be found in some far-off land? But why was it in the West that the Trojans found their new home? Perhaps this was in part due to the fact that there existed other traditions

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(1) XIII. 53 (607).

(2) See De Sanctis. Storia dei Romani. I. p. 195.

of Westward emigrations from the Aegean.

Herodotus records that Minos went to Sicily where he founded Heraclea Minoa - there is little doubt that Minoan intercourse with the West goes back to the thirteenth century, if not earlier - and that after Minos the Cretans in a large body went to Sicily<sup>(1)</sup>. Again Herodotus tells how the Lydians, being harrassed by famine, divided into two sections, one of which, under the leadership of Tyrrhenus, emigrated to Umbria. That the Etruscans, or Tyrrhenians - that strange people whose history is still veiled in uncertainty - migrated to the West from Asia Minor is now accepted by most scholars, though the date of their emigration is less certain<sup>(2)</sup>. Far famed too was the colonization of the Phoenicians - which was at its height about 1100 B.C. - i.e. shortly after τὰ Τεβίκα (3) - who, among other colonies

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(1) Her: VII. 170.

For other evidence of intercourse with Sicily see:-

Hom: Od: XX. 283.

XXIV. 211, 307, 366, 389.

and with South Italy:-

Verg: Aen: V. 30.

Hom: Od: I. 184.

For later Minoan voyages see Peet's Stone and Bronze Age.  
(last chapter).

(2) The archeological remains mostly point to about 800 B.C., other considerations to 1100-1000 B.C. Possibly there were two waves of migration.

(3) See Gsell, Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord.

on the shores of the Mediterranean, founded Carthage, Hippo, Utica, and Marseilles.

When we take into account these traditions of Westward emigration, now known to have an historical basis, as well as the numerous migrations from Greece to the West in historic times, it is surely not too much to say that Trojan tradition may well have had a basis of truth. Niebuhr has well said "Nor can the voyage to Latium (i.e. from Troy) be called impossible, since the boldness of mariners is not at all confined by the imperfections of their vessels, measured by the conceptions of their countrymen who remain at home, in an age when there are no books, maps, and men of learning."<sup>(1)</sup> Much that is pure myth has grown up around the story of the Trojan Wars. Yet who now denies the underlying historical truth? And has not archaeology proved beyond the Homeric scholar's wildest dreams the existence of an "Homeric" Troy? If then, there is admittedly a foundation of truth in the tale of the Trojan Wars, may we not equally well suppose that some truth too lies hidden beneath the legends that bring Aeneas or his children to the West?

With regard to Sicily the pre-existing cult of Aphrodite on Mount Eryx probably suggested that Aeneas, son

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(1) History of Rome, vol: I.

of Aphrodite, founded it<sup>(1)</sup>. It is worthy of note that it is only with this corner of the island that we find the Trojans associated. Some scholars think that Stesichorus of Himera was the first to suggest a Trojan settlement in Sicily - at any rate it is probable that he did much to establish the belief, and that his object was to connect up Sicily with the Homeric narrative. This is a deduction from the Tabula Iliaca which shows Aeneas, Ascanius, Misenus, and Anchises, carrying the sacred images of the gods and on the point of embarking. Underneath is the following inscription:-

Αἰνῆας σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀπαίρων εἰς τὴν Ἑσπερίαν.

The authority given for the picture is the Ἰλιούπερις

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(1) cf: The numerous other places where Aeneas' presence seems to be due to his association with his mother Aphrodite.

e.g. Aeneia, Cythera, Actium, North coast of Buthrotum.

See Farnell's Cults of the Greek States, vol: II. p. 640.

Farnell believes the later story of the wanderings of Aeneas to be the story of the diffusion of a cult.

For the same view see Klausen, Aeneas und die Penaten. pp. 316, 317.

also Dr. Glover's "Virgil".

For the connection of the name Aeneas with

Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνείας see Nettleship's "The Story of Aeneas' Wanderings". Conington's Virgil.

of Stesichorus<sup>(1)</sup>.

The connection of the Trojans with Sicily quite possibly had an historic basis. As to their association with Latium, and in particular with Lavinium, the explanation is more difficult to find. Here we have no certain ground to go on. The connection cannot be traced back beyond Hellanicus and Damastes<sup>(2)</sup>, writers of the fifth century B.C. The step from Sicily to Latium was short and the then growing importance of Rome may have helped the association.

Whether, as some believe<sup>(3)</sup>, there was once a Trojan settlement in Latium we have no means of deciding. It is certainly by no means impossible. On the other hand in early tradition, before the fifth century, Latium belonged to

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- (1) M. Hild, followed by other scholars, thinks that the Tabula Iliaca was made at Rome at the time of the Empire. I do not accept this view. The Table in question (Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquites. vol: III. pl: I. p. 374) quotes several other Greek writers besides Stesichorus. It does not put Aeneas in the centre as one made at Rome would surely have done, but in a corner. There seems no adequate reason to doubt its genuineness.
- (2) Dion: A.R. I. 72, 2.  
For later references to the Trojans in Latium see:-  
Strabo V. p. 229.  
Appian Rom: I. 1.  
Livy I. 1, 2.  
Dion: A.R. I. 45-60.
- (3) e.g. Niebuhr.



the realm of the Greeks.

The arrival of Aeneas may well have been helped by the fact that there existed somewhere between Lavinium and Ardea what Strabo<sup>(1)</sup> has described as a shrine of Aphrodite - the mother of Aeneas - which was shared by the Latins - *κοινὸν τῶν Ἀδελίων ἱερὸν* - but of the date of this cult's origin we know nothing, and such a shrine may have been the result not the cause of Aeneas' presence in Latium. Again the presence of the Trojans may have been suggested by the existence of a place called Troia where Aeneas was believed to have landed<sup>(2)</sup> not far from Laurentum.

Here again the name Troia may have been given at a later date as the result of an existing connection between Latium and Aeneas. What is more probable, however, is that troia is a pure Latin word, meaning a sow with young<sup>(3)</sup>, the same as the French truie and the Italian troia - It is perhaps significant that the symbol of Lavinium was a sow<sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) Strabo. V. 232.

(2) Serv: Aen: 9.9. ubi primum Aeneas egressus sit eum locum Troiam nuncupari traditur.  
Livy. I. 14.

Dion: A.R. I. 53.

(3) See Nettleship. The Story of Aeneas' Wanderings. The forms truie and troia are generally connected with the Equus Troianus. But this is a point for a philologist to decide.

(4) The priests at Lavinium used to show to visitors the sow preserved in brine.  
Varro De Re Rust: II. 4. 18.

with thirty piglets - and that in later times this word was erroneously connected with the Homeric Troy and the Trojans, and was used as evidence of a Trojan settlement in Latium.

There is one other point that is perhaps worth consideration. There existed a belief that at Siris, in Magna Graecia, there was in early times a Trojan settlement, and that there was preserved the original Palladium - the ancient statue of the goddess Pallas Athene, that had survived the flames of Troy<sup>(1)</sup>.

Siris was conquered by the Ionian Greeks and destroyed probably after 550 but before 510 B.C., when Sybaris was destroyed. Irreplacable treasures when lost are generally given out as having turned up elsewhere. After the destruction of Siris, therefore, might not the legend have arisen that the treasure - the Palladium - had been carried to some further region in the West - to Latium which was but a step from Sicily, was perhaps already connected with the Trojans, and was the religious centre of the Latin confederacy? There is ample evidence that, apart from places outside Italy - Rome, Lavinium,

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(1) This statue was credited with the habit of winking! -  
Strabo VI. p. 264.  
See too Lycophron. Alex: 978-985.

and Luceria were all reported to preserve the True Palladium<sup>(1)</sup>.

With the Palladium would naturally be linked Aeneas, handed down in earliest tradition as the holy servant of the gods and the saviour of their images.

But, we may ask, why should the Greeks, who had already traditions of a Greek foundation of Rome, support and spread abroad a legend that made Rome owe its origin not to themselves but to their bitterest enemies, the Trojans, whose city they had long since laid low and whose people they had slain or led into captivity?

It ought perhaps first to be remembered that enemies to the Greeks though the Trojans were, they were no ignoble enemies. Homer depicted the Trojans with such charm, with such nobility of character, that they cannot fail to win our admiration and our sympathy. Even a Greek must have felt

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(1) (a) For the Palladium at Rome see:-

Tac: Ann: XV. 41.

Cic: Phil: II. 10, 24.

Pro Scaur: 2, 48.

Plut: Cam: 20.

Paus: XI. 23, 15.

Dion: A.R. I. 69.

II. 66, 5.

Silius Italicus said that it was the might of the Palladium that overthrew the Gauls in 390 B.C.

S.I. XIII. 79-83.

(b) at Lavinium and Luceria.

Strabo. VI. 264.

Interpol: Serv: II. 166.

something the same. As when we read Paradise Lost our sympathy must go to Satan, so a Greek must have wept not merely for Achilles and Patroclus, but for Hector too. Again, the "Homeric" Trojans are very "Greek". There is in them little trace of the *βαρβαροι*. Their manners, customs, and thought are mainly Greek - and it would be from Homer that later Greeks would, to a large extent, derive their impressions of the Trojans. Strabo even records two legends which made the Teuceri of Hellenic origin. According to one account they came from Crete and named Mount Ida after a mountain of the same name in that Island<sup>(1)</sup>, while the second legend made a certain Teucros come from a deme of Troes in Attica (later called Xypeteones). It was further pointed out that both peoples, the Athenians and Trojans, had an Erichthonius among their ancestors<sup>(2)</sup>. Again Euripides, when he sought to bring home to the Athenians the horror of the Melian slaughter<sup>(3)</sup>, represented as the sufferers the Trojans - but to the audience these Trojans could have been

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(1) Vergil adopted this form of the legend:-

Creta Iovis magni medio iacet insula ponto  
mons Idaeus ubi et gentis cunabula nostrae,  
Maximus unde pater, si rite audita recorder,  
Teucrus Rhoeteas primum est advectus ad oras  
optavitque locum regno.

Aen: III. 104.

(2) Strabo. XIII. i. 48-49.

(3) The Melian disaster was in 416 B.C. Euripides produced his Trojan women the following spring.

no βίβραροι, but one with the Athenians - indeed their very selves<sup>(1)</sup>. Euripides, it is true was a poet and, concerned with the general rather than the particular, would rise above racial prejudice more easily than an ordinary Athenian - but he must have affected the outlook of his audience<sup>(2)</sup>. So, then, we may assume that a Greek would look back on his Trojan enemies with admiration rather than bitterness, and with his natural aptitude for ἱστορία as well as his knowledge of traditions of the survival of the Trojan race - preserved not merely by antiquarians but living in the poems of Homer - would hardly be content to let the history of the Trojans end with the burning of Troy.

Furthermore we have in the person of Aeneas, the Trojan hero, who was surely the one least hostile to the Greeks. In

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- (1) We may compare the Greek character of Euripides Medea. (see Leaves of Hellas, Marshall MacGregor), also Aeschylus' treatment of the Persians in his Persae.
- (2) It would, however, be untrue to say that the Greeks felt no distinction between the Trojans and themselves. There is Homer's own famous description of the two going into battle, remembered too by Plato (Rep: III. 389).

Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ' ἐνοπῇ τ' ἴταν, ὄρνιθες ὡς,  
ἤϊτε περ κλαγγῇ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθεν πρό

οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴταν σιγῇ μένεια πνειόντες Ἀχαιοί,  
ἐν θυμῷ μεμαῶτες ἀλεξόμεν ἀλλήλοισιν.

Herodotus (I. 2, 118. V. 13, 122), believed that there was no connection between the two peoples.

Homer, though he is a figure by no means insignificant he is not too much to the front. He was irritated against Priam -

δίει γὰρ Πριάμῳ ἐπεμήνιε δῖω. (1)

Nor did he approve of the conduct of Paris, for Menecrates the Xanthian, as quoted by Dionysius, says that Aeneas betrayed the city to the Greeks from his enmity to Alexander -

Μενεκράτης . . . . προδοῦναι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς αὐτὸν  
ἀποβαίνει τὴν πόλιν τῆς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον  
ἐχθρῶς ἕνεκα . . . . (2)

Livius Andronicus, (284-204 B.C.), adopted a story in which Aeneas aided by Antenor betrayed Ilium to the Greeks, and it has already been noticed how Aeneas and Ulysses were associated as the founders of Rome<sup>(3)</sup>.

Again Xenophon<sup>(4)</sup> tells how Aeneas, through saving the gods of his father and mother, as well as his father himself, won a reputation for piety, so that the Greeks granted that he alone should not be deprived of his property:-

ὥστε καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μόνῳ ἐκείνῳ ὧν  
ἐκράτησαν ἐν Τροίᾳ ἔδοσαν μὴ συληθῆναι.

The traditional association, too, of Aeneas with the Palladium, and with Minerva, a goddess beloved of Greek as

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- (1) Iliad XIII. 460.  
(2) Dion: A.R. I. 48.  
(3) See page 6.  
(4) De Venatione I. 15.

well as Trojan, may have made him appear less of an enemy to the Greek race.

Lastly, it is perhaps significant that the writers who associated Aeneas and the Trojans with Italy came, for the most part, from the region where Troy once had stood, Cephalon, a Teucrian - who wrote the history of the nation - was a native of Gergitheus<sup>(1)</sup>, which was the only Teucrian town that remained after the Aeolian invasion<sup>(2)</sup>: Hellanicus, who wrote in the fifth century, came originally from Mytilene in Lesbos - According to Suidas he lived at the Court of Amyntas and died at Peperene in Asia Minor. Damastes, again, a contemporary of Hellanicus, came from Sigeum. Agathocles, who lived the latter half of the fourth century, is called by

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(1) As against Dionysius and Strabo (XIII p. 589) who accept Cephalon as a real person, Athenaeus (IX. 393 d) asserts that he was a figment created by Hegesianax, a writer of about 200 B.C., to give an appearance of antiquity to his own work. Ciaceri and several German scholars accept this view. Athenaeus was a later writer than Dionysius and no particular judge of style. In any case it does not effect the present argument as Hegesianax, like the supposed Cephalon, came too from the region of Troy - from Alexandria Troas. As to Cephalon's date - if he did exist - we cannot be certain. Dionysius calls him a very ancient historian - but as he applies the same term to Antiochus who was more recent than Herodotus we can hardly assume that Cephalon lived earlier than Antiochus - i.e. the first half of the fourth century.

(2) Her: V. 122., VII. 43.

Athenaeus both a Babylonian and a Cyzician. It is probable that he may have been born at Babylon and settled in Cyzicus. Living in these regions they would naturally be attracted by the legend of the "Trojan" foundation of Rome. There would exist probably in those parts some traditions, however scrappy, telling of the fate of the Trojans. An historian, therefore, living in these surroundings would naturally prefer to adopt such a version of Rome's origin, and would have a better opportunity of enquiring into its source. Such a writer would have more sympathy with the Trojans than a mainland Greek, and would certainly feel in no way "unpatriotic" in favouring a Trojan rather than a Greek foundation of Rome.

But did the Greeks see the chronological difficulty that they raised by attributing the foundation of Rome to Aeneas? Roman tradition told of only seven kings, or at the most eight - not enough to fill the gap between the arrival of Aeneas and the expulsion of the second Tarquin. We find three variants in the Greek legend:-

- (a) Rome is founded by Aeneas himself. (Timaeus, Hellanicus, Damastes.)
- (b) by the son of Aeneas (Cephalon).
- (c) by the granddaughter of Aeneas (Agathocles).

At first sight this looks as if the Greeks were attempting to bridge the gap, but this is doubtful. Probably the Greeks never gave the question any serious consideration; it



would be of little interest to them. The reason (in b and c) for not making Aeneas himself the founder is probably simply the desire to introduce in the Trojan legend the *ἑπώνυμος Πύρι* or *Πύριδος*. For any serious attempt to deal with the chronological difficulty we must wait for Roman writers to whom - unless the legends of their city's foundation were to appear impossible - it would be a matter of some concern.

PART THREE.

THE LEGEND OF AENEAS AT ROME.

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We have now to consider the stages by which the Aeneas legend came to be accepted by the Romans, and the causes that may have led to its acceptance.

Firstly there is the evidence of pre-Vergilian Roman literature.

In the account of Rome's foundation given by the historian Fabius Pictor it seems that the two legends - the indigenous and the foreign - were combined. Fabius wrote in Greek, and, according to Livy and Plutarch, was sent on an embassy to Delphi after the disaster at Cannae in 216(1). It is probable then that he picked up his knowledge of the Aeneas story from Greeks whom he met on his travels.

Were the first two books of Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* extant they would probably throw considerable light on the development of the legend. From the poet's existing fragments(2), as well as from Servius' notes on the *Aeneid*, it is possible to learn something of the story as told by Naevius. In the first book Aeneas and Anchises leave Troy in the night with their wives weeping by their sides, accompanied by a large following; they embark on a single ship

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(1) Livy. XXII. 57.

Plut: Fab: Max: 18.

(2) Wordsworth's *Fragments of Early Latin*. p. 292 ff:

and are overtaken by a storm; Venus complains to Jupiter and is consoled by his promise of Rome's future greatness. Anna and Dido<sup>(1)</sup> are mentioned as the daughters of Agenor, but there is no evidence to show that Aeneas visited Carthage, or that the love story was part of the epic. Romulus is represented as being the grandson of Aeneas.

Ennius, too, dealt with the legend, beginning his annals from the date:-

Quum veter occubuit Priamus sub Marte Pelasgo<sup>(2)</sup>.  
Ilia is the daughter of Aeneas and Romulus is his grandson<sup>(3)</sup>.

To the same epoch, though later in date, belongs the *Aeneadae*, or *Decius*, the work of the tragedian Accius. The play dealt with the devotion of the younger Decius at the battle of Sentinum. The title of *Aeneadae* has not been fully explained, but as writers of drama like to give their works titles that appeal to the public, possibly Accius thought that the Romans would enjoy hearing themselves called the sons of Aeneas.

At this time, too, were written the *Origines* of Marcus Porcius Cato, whose chief literary activity must have been from about 180 to 150 B.C. In the first two books, Nepos tells

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(1) For Dido see page 74 ff.

(2) Enn: ap Prisc: p.607. (Ann: V. 17. Vahl).

(3) Serv: Aen: I. Naeuius et Ennius Aeneae ex filia nepotem Romulum conditorem urbis tradunt.

us, Cato described how Aeneas came to Italy, founded a town called Troy, married Lavinia, daughter of Latinus, and, during a battle with Mezentius, was removed from human sight<sup>(1)</sup>, while his son, Ascanius, at thirty years of age, founded Alba Longa. It is possible - though this is no more than a conjecture - that Cato was the first to make a serious attempt to bridge the gap between the arrival of Aeneas and the foundation of Rome by Romulus. It is plain from the fragments of the Origines that Cato had great interest in the early Italian legends and in the foundation stories of Italian towns<sup>(2)</sup>, and that he had studied the "arithmetic" of these. Further Cato, with his bitter animosity to the Greeks - nequissimum et inoetile genus<sup>(3)</sup> - would prefer a Trojan origin of Rome, and would support it vigorously against the Greek. Cato, too, is the authority for the Trojan origin of the Veneti<sup>(4)</sup>.

Lucretius uses Aeneades as a synonym for Romans:-

Aeneadum genetrix, hominum divomque voluptas<sup>(5)</sup>.

Varro wrote a treatise entitled De Troianis Familiis<sup>(6)</sup>

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- (1) Frag: Hist: Roman: Hermanus Peter.  
(2) He refers, for example, to the foundations of Capua, Antenna and Alba. (Fragments of Origines).  
(3) M. Catonis Reliquiae. H. Jordan. Lips:  
(4) Venetos Troiana stirpe ortos auctor est Cato.  
Plin: N.H. III. 130.  
(5) De R.N. I. 1.  
(6) See Ramsey's Varro in Smith's Class: Biog:

as also did Cassius Hemina, an historian of the second century<sup>(1)</sup>.

Sallust, again, in his work on the Catiline conspiracy, recorded the Trojan foundation of Rome as an accepted fact:-

urbem Romam, sicut ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Troiani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis vagabantur<sup>(2)</sup>.

In the Augustan Age the legend of Aeneas was specially in the air. It was part of Augustus' policy to make much of the Trojan origin of the Roman race and of the Julian family in particular. Before Vergil had written his Aeneid Horace had already sung the praises of Augustus and of the descendants of Aeneas:-

demissum genus Aenea.

Again in the ode that he wrote at Augustus' request for the Ludi Seculares of B.C. 17<sup>(3)</sup> he dwells on the praises of Apollo as having been the slayer of Achilles, and having thus

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(1) Frag: Vet: Hist: Rom: p. 155 ff: Krause.  
(2) De Con: Cat: 6.  
(3) Odes IV. 6.

preserved Aeneas to be the founder of the Roman race<sup>(1)</sup>.

Apart from these passages there is the evidence of Pausanias and Timaeus.

Pausanias says that Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who invaded Italy in the year 280 B.C., claimed to be a descendant of Achilles, making war upon a colony of Trojans:-

μνήμη τὸν Πύρρον τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐστῆθε τῆς  
'Ιλίου, καὶ οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα ἠλπίζε χωρήσειν  
πολεμοῦντι. στρατεύειν γὰρ ἐπὶ Τρώων ἀποίκους  
'Αχιλλέως ὢν ἀπόγονος. (2)

Could we be certain that this passage expressed the opinion of the Romans as to their origin it would be a valuable piece of evidence to help us to decide how early the Trojan legend was known at Rome; but Pausanias may be simply recording Pyrrhus' own point of view, and it may be that both

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- (1) Augustus set up in his own forum in Rome statues of renowned Romans with inscriptions of their services so that the people might have a standard of comparison for himself and his successors - At the beginning was Aeneas, the kings of Alba Longa, and Romulus (Suet: Aug: 31). Again in the forum of Pompei are four niches from which the statues have gone, but the names of the persons who once stood there remain, also a short enumeration of their deeds. In two of these stood Aeneas and Romulus, who are described as the founders of the Roman race.  
(See Pompei - Its Life and Art. Prof: Mau).
- (2) Paus: I. 12. 1.

Pyrrhus and Pausanias took the idea from Timaeus, the Sicilian, who was writing at the time of the conflict with Pyrrhus. That the Trojan legend was known in Italy at this period is shown by Timaeus' claim that the figures of the Di Penates at Lavinium were of Trojan clay, and that the heralds' brass and iron staves were Trojan too:-

σχήματος δὲ καὶ μορφῆς αὐτῶν πρὸς Τιμαίος μὲν ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὡς ἀποφαίνεται· κηρύκια σιδηρὰ καὶ χαλκᾶ, καὶ κέραρον Τρωϊκὸν εἶναι...  
πυθῆσθαι δὲ αὐτὸς ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν εὐχραιῶν.

(1)

Timaeus, among both ancients and moderns, has brought upon himself much ridicule for these statements. Polybius thought him beneath contempt<sup>(2)</sup>, and Mommsen has called him a mere "gossipmonger"<sup>(3)</sup>. What often appear the extravagant claims of certain archaeologists of to-day ought to make us more tolerant. Timaeus was probably mistaken, but his was a pardonable error - The cult instruments he describes may well have been Etruscan. The Etruscans were rich in iron and copper and dark malt pottery like that of Troy and North West Asia Minor<sup>(4)</sup>. However, to confirm his claims

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(1) Dion: A.R. I.67.

(2) Polyb: XXI. 4.6.

(3) Momm: R.H. I. p. 183.

(4) See the descriptions of pottery in Randall-MacIver's Villanovans and Early Etruscans, and Schliemann's Troja.



he went to extravagant lengths. He even tried, unsuccessfully, to connect an ancient Roman custom of sacrificing a horse before battle with the wooden horse of Troy - most childish *πρᾶγμα πάντων παιδαριωδέστατον* - (1) complained Polybius! But what matters is not so much whether Timaeus was right or wrong. The very fact that he made such claims shows that some traces of the legend that brought Aeneas to Italy must have existed when we was writing.

The existence of the legend is further confirmed by a number of official recognitions of the Romans' Trojan origin, made on various public occasions.

The earliest of these recognitions seems to have been in the inscription on the column of Victory put up in the Forum to Duillius after the battle of Mylae in 264 B.C. (2) where the people of Segesta are called the

*cognatos populi Romani* -

We have noticed already the connection between Segesta and Troy (3); that Segesta was believed in Cicero's day to be a

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(1) Polyb: XXI. 4. 6.

(2) A fragment that is a copy of this inscription is now in the Capitaline Museum at Rome. The monument is described by Prof: Tenney Frank in the *Cam: Anc: Hist: vol: VII.* p. 679. There is a photograph of it in H.L. Havell's *Republican Rome.* p. 168.

(3) See page 10.

Trojan foundation, and allowed certain privileges on that account. The only reason for calling the people of Segesta the *cognatos populi Romani* must surely have been that the two were believed to be of Trojan descent.

Justinus recounts that at the end of the first Punic War the Acarnanians, needing help against the Aetolians, applied to Rome, and sought their aid on the ground that their ancestors alone among the Greeks, had not joined in the campaign against Troy:-

qui soli quondam adversus Troianos, auctores  
originis suae, auxilia Graecis non miserunt(1).

It was surely the first time that the Acarnanians had been able to boast of the omission of their names in the Homeric Catalogue(2).

To this period must have belonged the letter mentioned by Suetonius in his life of the emperor Claudius, where he says that Claudius gave to the people of Ilium perpetual exemption from tribute - *Iliensibus quasi Romanae gentis auctoribus tributa in perpetuum remisit* - reading aloud an ancient letter

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(1) Just: XXVII. 1.6. That this incident took place in the year 240 or 239 B.C. is now fairly generally accepted, though Justinus' evidence must always be taken with reserve. He was guilty of many errors.

cf: Strabo 462.

(2) Dion: A.R. I. 51.

of the senate and people of Rome written in Greek to king Seleucus, in which they promised him their friendship and alliance only on condition that he should keep their kinsfolk of Ilium free from every burden - si consanguineos suos Ilienses ab omni onere immunes praestitisset<sup>(1)</sup>.

The Seleucus mentioned can be none other than Seleucus II, Callinicus, whose dates were 246 to 226 B.C.<sup>(2)</sup>, and the incident must have happened early in his reign - perhaps as early as the affair between the Acarnanians and Aetolians already mentioned - because he soon lost control over Asia Minor.

Once more the Trojan origin of the Romans is a recognised fact in the ominous Vaticinatio said to have been delivered by Marcius, the Vates, before the disaster of Cannae in the year 216 B.C.:-

Amnem Troiugena (Romane) Cannam fuge<sup>(3)</sup>!

A Vaticinatio was not for the ears of a select few. It was

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(1) Suet: Claud: XXV

The authenticity of this letter has been doubted on what appear inadequate grounds by M. Holleaux in his book, "Rome, la Grece, et les monarchies hellenistiques". p. 46 ff:

(2) This has been shown convincingly by Oudendorp, followed by Niebuhr. Others have supposed that the Seleucus mentioned was Philopater, 187-175 B.C.

(3) Livy. XXV. 12.

delivered to the ordinary people, so that to them the word Troiugena must have been intelligible.

In 205 Philip V of Macedon recognised in a treaty with Ilium the town's hereditary connection with Rome<sup>(1)</sup>.

Flamininus, the conqueror of Greece, when dedicating a golden wreath to Apollo in Greece in the year 196 B.C., referred to his countrymen as the sons of Aeneas:-

τόνδε τοι ἀμβροσίουσιν ἐπὶ πλοκάμοισιν ἔοικε  
κέϊσθαι, Λατοῖδα, χρυσοφαῆ στέφανον,  
ὄν πόρεν Αἰνεαδᾶν ταγὸς μέγας· ἀλλ' Ἐκάεργε  
ἀλκᾶς τῷ θεῷ κῦδος ὄπαζε Τίτῳ.

(2)

or in another form:-

Αἰνεάδας Τίτος ὑμῖν ὑπέρτατον ὤπασε· δῶρον  
Ἑλλήνων τεύξας παισὶν ἐλευθερίαν.

(3)

When Scipio Africanus crossed the Hellespont with his soldiers in 189 B.C. the people of Ilium boasted of their kinship with Rome, the Roman soldiers were overjoyed at seeing their mother country, and the consul offered sacrifice to Athene:n

Inde Ilium processit .....in urbem arcemque cum escendisset, sacrificavit Minervae praesidi arcis, et Iliensibus in omni rerum verborumque honore ab se oriundos Romanos praeferentibus et Romanis laetis origine sua<sup>(4)</sup>.

the result was that the following year (188 B.C.) Rhoeteum and

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- (1) Livy. XXIX. 12.  
(2) Plut: Flam: 12.  
(3) Momm: R.H. vol: II. 415.  
(4) Livy. XXXVII. 37.

Gergithus were given over by the Romans to the Ilians:α

non tam ob recentia ulla merita quam originum  
memoria(1).

Similarly Polybius relates that when the ten commis-  
sioners were administrating the affairs of Asia Minor, two  
envoys came from Ilium begging that for the sake of the kin-  
ship between Ilium and Rome -

διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἰκειότητα -

the offences of the Lycians might be pardoned, and that the  
commissioners to please the people of Ilium - διὰ τοὺς  
Ἰλιεῖς - took no severe measures against the Lycians(2).

Once more Sulla, after his campaigns in the East,  
showed consideration to the people of Ilium, gave them free-  
dom, inscribed them as friends of Rome, Ἰλιέας . . .

ἐλευθέρους ἠφίει καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέγραφε φίλους. (3)

and to some extent restored the city which had been almost  
completely destroyed in 85 B.C. by Fimbria one of the most  
brutal of Marius' followers - τοὺς Ἰλιέας

παρεμυθήσατο [ὁ Σύλλας] πολλοῖς ἐπανορθώμασι. (3)

Indeed Fimbria himself, when he was besieging Ilium and the  
Ilians appealed to Sulla, asked to be received within the  
walls and added an ironical allusion to the relationship be-  
tween Ilium and Rome:α

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(1) Livy. XXXVIII. 39.

(2) Polyb: XXXIII. 3.

(3) Strabo. XIII. 594-595.

κατειρωνευσάμενός τε καὶ τῆς συγγενείας  
τῆς οὔσης ἐς Ῥωμαίους Ἰλιεύσιν.

(1)

Julius Caesar confirmed for Ilium the ἐλευθερία καὶ  
ἀλειτουρησία (2) which years before had been bestowed  
upon it by Alexander the Great, and which still continued  
when Strabo wrote. Caesar had in mind two conceptions.  
Firstly as a Roman by race he was the descendant of Aeneas,  
and secondly he was by family a Iulus - a descendant of  
Julus, or Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, who had been identifi-  
ed with Ilus, the eponymous hero of Ilium:-

Puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo,  
additur - Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno(3).

this second idea probably took shape in Caesar's mind after  
his visit to Egypt and his stay with Cleopatra. It was from  
that time that he was set on founding a dynasty, influenced  
no doubt by the imposing pedigrees of the Egyptian royal family.  
Similarly, in a funeral speech, which as quaestor he delivered,  
in memory of his aunt Iulia, Caesar boasted that she was descend-  
ed on the one side from Ancus Marcius, on the other from Venus,  
the grandmother of Iulus(4). Again, Caesar's watchword at  
Pharsalus was "Venus Genetrix".

After the battle of Pharsalus Caesar visited Ilium during

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(1) Strabo. XIII. 594-595.

(2) Troja und Ilium. p. 457.

(3) Aen: I. 267.

(4) Suet: J.C. 0

his pursuit of Pompey. Lucan gives a vivid description of the ruins he found there. Only the name of Troy remains:-

circuit exustae nomen memorabile Troiae  
magnaue Phoebei quaerit vestigia muri<sup>(1)</sup>.

Even the trees that overgrew the site are decaying - the very ruins are gone:-

Iam silvae steriles et putres robore trunci  
Assarici pressere domos, et templa deorum  
iam Lassa radice tenent, ac tota teguntur  
Pergama dumetis: etiam periure ruinae,

clearly one of Lucan's rhetorical exaggerations since the town was obviously inhabited at the time of Fimbria's activities forty years before. Caesar is made to declare:-

Restituum populos; grata vice moenia reddent  
Ausonidae Phrygibus Romanaque Pergama surgent.

Horace, again, speaks as if the site of Troy were a wilderness:-

dum Priami Paridisque busto  
insultet armentum et catulos ferae,  
celent inultae, stet capitulinum<sup>(2)</sup>.

The explanation is perhaps that the restorations already made were only partial, and that the ancient site extended over a large space. That the rebuilding of the sanctuary was left for Augustus is shown by the remains of inscriptions on the architrave of the Roman temple that succeeded the Greek. It

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(1) Lucan Phars: IX. 964 ff:

(2) Hor: Odes. III. 3.

is possible that Augustus may have visited Ilium when he was in the East between 22 and 19 B.C. as a guest of a certain Melanippides who set up a statue in the emperor's honour of which the inscription survives<sup>(1)</sup>. The ode of Horace quoted above is interesting as being perhaps a repudiation of a plan to rebuild the ancient city of Troy<sup>(2)</sup> - Suetonius giving various causes for Caesar's unpopularity mentions a rumour that he intended to transfer the capital from the West to the East - a design eventually carried out by Constantine - *migratorum Alexandriam (a town in the Troad, not the Egyptian Alexandria) vel Ilium translatis simul opibus imperii exhaustaque Italia delectibus et procuratione urbium amicis permissa*<sup>(3)</sup>. Significant, too, is Juno's last speech in the Aeneid where she promises to abandon hostility to Aeneas on condition that the Latins should not change their dress or language - that they should remain Latins and not become Trojans, that Troy should lie in the dust:-

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(1) Troy and Ilium. p.471.

(2) *Sed bellicosus fata Quiritibus  
hac lege dico, ne nimium pii  
rebusque fidentes avitae  
tectae velint reparare Troiae.*

(3) Suet: J.C. 79



Ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos  
neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque vocari  
aut vocem mutare viros aut vertere vestem.  
sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges,  
sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago.  
Occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia<sup>(1)</sup>.

That friendly relations with the Ilians, based on their affinity with the Romans, still persisted in imperial times is shown not only by the action of the emperor Claudius already referred to<sup>(2)</sup>, but also by Tacitus' description of a speech made by Nero when he pleaded before Claudius to free the people of Ilium from all public burdens:-

causa Iliensium suscepta, Romanum Troia demissum et Iuliae stirpis auctorem Aeneam aliaque haud procul fabulis vetera facunde executos perpetrat ut Ilienses omni publico munere solverentur<sup>(3)</sup>.

We have seen, then, from the statements of Timaeus and Pausanias<sup>(4)</sup> that the legend which brought Aeneas to Italy was known at any rate soon after 280 B.C., when Pyrrhus invaded Italy. It has been shown, too, that the Romans' association with Troy was given official recognition on various public occasions - in Republican and Imperial times - beginning from the year 264 B.C., when the columna rostrata was set up in the Forum.

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(1) Aen: XII. 828.

(2) See page

(3) Tac: Ann: XII. 58.

cf: Suet: Nero. 7. pro Rhodis et Iliensibus graeca verba  
(4) See page 31 & 32. fecit (Nero).

When we ask precisely when the legend was first known to the Romans, and whence it first came to their knowledge we are on less certain ground.

It is now generally accepted that the first intercourse between the Italians and the Greeks was at a very early date. It was from the Greeks that they learnt writing, and modern scholars incline to the view that writing was known to the Italian peoples very early in their history<sup>(1)</sup>. If, then, from the earliest days the Greeks were bringing to Italy their trade, religion, and myths, it is not impossible that they may have introduced at least some traces of the Aeneas legend. Nevertheless there is no evidence to support this; further, the contact of the Greeks with the Romans themselves, as opposed to the rest of the Italians, seems to have been slight before the time of the Samnite Wars.

With regard to the ancient ritual and worship at Rome, Dionysius says that the Aeneas legend is "confirmed by what takes place in the sacrifices and ceremonies":-

τῆς δ' εἰς Ἰταλίαν Αἰνείου καὶ Τρώων ἀφίξεως  
Ῥωμαῖοί τε πάντες βεβαίωται καὶ τὰ  
δρῶμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τε θυσίαις καὶ  
ἑορταῖς μνημόματα. (2)

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- (1) See Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography. Maunde Thompson. p. 5. also for the influence of Etruria, Dr. Atkinson's article on the Alphabet in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. vol. I.
- (2) Dion: A.R. I. 48.

but these ceremonies mentioned by Dionysius prove very little, and were very likely instituted in the time of Julius Caesar whose special family interest in Aeneas has already been observed.

We cannot say, then, that the Trojan legend goes back to the earliest days of Roman history. On the other hand we cannot maintain that no traces of it existed before the war against Pyrrhus. We have seen that it was known at that time - that Timaeus goes to perhaps exaggerated lengths to confirm it. There must, then, have been some traces of the legend previous to that time, else how could Timaeus have taken such pains to popularise it? It may be that some threads of it came from Capua with which Rome had much intercourse between the years 340 and 300 B.C. We know that there were traditions which linked Capua with the Trojans<sup>(1)</sup>. On the other hand we have no means of deciding whether the people of Capua themselves held the view that their's was a Trojan city. According to Cato Capua was an Etruscan foundation<sup>(2)</sup>.

A more probable way by which the legend might have come to Rome is Segesta whose association with Troy has been considered<sup>(3)</sup>. In the first Punic War Segesta was one of the first towns to desert Carthage and seek alliance with Rome. Is

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(1) See page 9.

(2) Frag: Hist: Rom: Hermanus Peter. p.53. No: 69.

(3) See page 10.

it not, then, possible that Segesta may have raised this point in their negotiations with Rome?

It is a significant fact that the Aeneas legend began to be popularised at the time when Pyrrhus made war upon the Romans, and that it was during Rome's subsequent relations with the Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean that the legend received official recognition on various public occasions. By this time Rome had ceased to be harassed by wars with her Italian neighbours. After a fierce struggle for her very existence, her position as head of the Latin League was now established. It was probably now for the first time that she was able to give thought to such a thing as a "national pedigree" - a question that sooner or later presents itself to all new and growing nations. But probably such a consideration was due in the main to the struggle with Pyrrhus and the intercourse that followed with various Greek states which each traced back its origin to an eponymous hero. Pyrrhus, according to Pausanias, claimed descent from the noblest of Greek warriors, Achilles, and said that in invading Italy he was making war upon a colony of Trojans. With the Greeks as their enemies the Romans would have no wish to adopt a legend telling of a Greek foundation of Rome. They needed a founder whom they could set against the illustrious Achilles. In Trajan Aeneas they found a hero traditionally hostile to the

Greek Achilles; one who had survived the doom of his country, the legends of whose destiny had not become too stereotyped, and, above all, the Romans had in Aeneas an ancestor whom the Greeks themselves, their enemies, had already associated in story with the foundation of Rome.

To enhance their prestige in the East the Romans felt the necessity of "adopting" Aeneas, and the definite reason for adopting him must have hastened the process. This same desire for prestige must have increased as the Romans, through the widening circle of their conquests, came more and more into contact with Eastern peoples. It has been shown from the letter to Seleucus<sup>(1)</sup> and other incidents, that their Trojan ancestry definitely gave the Romans a "locus standi" in the affairs of Asia Minor.

As Rome traced her national pedigree to the Trojans so other towns and peoples claimed Trojan descent. Capua, we have seen, was said to have been founded by Capys, follower of Aeneas<sup>(2)</sup>, while the Arverni<sup>(3)</sup> are mentioned by Cicero, and the Veneti by Cato<sup>(4)</sup>, as having made the same boast. Similarly a Trojan origin was assigned to Corithus, and to

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(1) See page 35.

(2) Verg: Aen: X.148.

(3) See Scholiast on Lucan Pharsal: 427.

(4) See page 29.

Prochyta which according to Naevius was named from a kinswoman of Aeneas<sup>(1)</sup>. Caieta was said to have been named from the place where the Trojan ships were burnt:- in hoc loco classem Troianorum casu concrematum, unde et Caieta dictum

(2). Vergil prefers to derive the name from Caieta, the nurse of Aeneas:-

Tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix,  
aeternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti<sup>(3)</sup>.

Private families, too, invented Trojan ancestors. As the Aemilii, Calpurnii, Pinarii, and Pomponii, professed to be descended from the sons of Numa - while even in Napoleon's time Prince Massimo was said to be a descendant of Quintus Fabius Maximus - so it became the fashion to boast of Trojan forefathers. It has been already noticed that Varro and Hyginus<sup>(4)</sup> wrote treatises "de familiis Troianis"; that Julius Caesar took pains to show that he was descended from Iulus, or

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(1) Serv: ad Aen: IX. 513.

(2) Serv: ad Aen: VII. 1.

(3) Verg: Aen: VII. 1.

(4) See page 29030.

also Serv: ad Aen: 704. Unde Nautiorum familia Minervae sacra retinebat, quod etiam Varro docet in libris quos de familiis Troianis scripsit.

Atticus, too, wrote about families - sic familiarum originem subtexit ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines possimus cognoscere. Nepos XXV. 18.

Galba was said to have in his hall a family tree going back on his father's side to Jupiter and on his mother's to Pasiphae, wife of Minos. Suet: Galba. 2.

It was also an ancient tradition that the Antonii were Heracleidae, descendants of Anton, a son of Heracles.

Ascanius, son of Aeneas. Similarly Augustus, by his adoption into the Iulia gens, traced his descent from the son of Aeneas:-

Nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar  
imperium Oceano famam qui terminet astris,  
Iulus a magno demissum nomen Iulo<sup>(1)</sup>.

Dionysius<sup>(2)</sup> says that in his day there existed about fifty families of Trojan descent:-

Juvenal uses Troiugeneae as a synonym for the aristocracy<sup>(3)</sup>.

It was undoubtedly in the main a political motive - the desire for a "grand" ancestry - that made the Romans cast aside the perfectly good Italian founder of Rome who was their's already. Romulus, the founder of Rome by native legend, was an infinitely more poetic figure than Aeneas - and a far more appropriate representative of the character<sup>(4)</sup> and traditions of the Roman people. But he was a rugged and somewhat shadowy figure. To the practical Roman Aeneas was a more impressive personage to match, say, with Achilles, the forefather of Pyrrhus. It has been said, as for example, by

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(1) Verg: Aen: I. 286. Compare too:- VIII. 42.  
ut te conciperet quae sanguine fulget Iuli.  
56. Dic mihi, Teucrorum proles.

(2) Dion: A.R. I. 85.

(3) Sat: I. 100., VIII. 181., XI. 95.

(4) i.e. He was a truer representative of the early unsophisticated Roman. It was Vergil who made Aeneas a worthy representative of the Roman people. Apart from Vergil Aeneas had no particularly Roman virtues, except, to some extent, "pietas".

Niebuhr<sup>(1)</sup>, that the proud state of Rome which despised every foreign element would never, in a matter of such importance, have been content to adopt a wholly foreign legend of their origin. But the Romans were above all else practical and so far from despising every foreign element they were always ready to adopt anything foreign - whether it belonged to the realm of art, literature, or religion - provided it was likely to benefit them or add to their prestige. The form, though not the spirit, of their literature was almost wholly Greek; in the realm of art they were greatly indebted to the Greeks<sup>(2)</sup>; while, though it was probably under the Etruscans that the first step towards anthropomorphism appeared in Italian religion<sup>(2)</sup>, yet it was in the main in the form of Greek deities that the Romans embodied their own religious conceptions. In the year 202 B.C. - at the time of a national crisis - they did not hesitate to bring the image of the Magna Mater from Phrygia to Rome because they were convinced that to do this was to their advantage. While emphasising the readiness of the Romans to accept what was foreign<sup>(3)</sup> and while drawing attention

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(1) Niebuhr. History of Rome. vol: I.

(2) See Randall-MacIver's Etruscans.

Prof: Cyril Bailey describes the Etruscan civilization as a "debased form of Hellenism". (Cam: Anc: Hist: vol: VIII. "Roman Religion").

He does not appear to produce much evidence to support this statement.

(3) See too Sallust. Cat: 51.

Maiores nostri, neque consili neque audaciae umquam eguere, neque illis superbia obstabat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant imitarentur.



to her debt to Greece, it would be unfair to say that the adoption of Aeneas, a foreigner, goes to show the Roman lack of imagination and originality. The "Unimaginative Roman" has become almost a byword, but let it be remembered that, as we have observed, the Romans had their own native legends, and their own ancestor Romulus, the creation of their own thought. The Roman imagination was certainly limited; but even in poetry, which came slowly to them<sup>(1)</sup>, long before the days of Greek influence there were well established poems, religious and secular - especially the *nenia* - or funeral dirges - heroic ballads, the *satura*<sup>(2)</sup>, the *Fescennine*, and later, the *Atellan plays*. Niebuhr<sup>(3)</sup> went so far as to maintain that there at one time existed a series of epics telling of Rome's history from the time of Romulus to the Battle of Lake Regillus. Though there is no evidence to show this we cannot ignore Cicero's statement that it was customary for the praises of great men to be sung at

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- (1) This is perhaps nowhere better shown than in Cato's condemnation:-  
Poeticae artis honos non erat: si quis ei re studebat aut sese ad convivia adplicabat, crassator vocabatur.  
Bahrens. *Frag: Poet: Rom:* 1886. p. 57.
- (2) *Satura tota nostra est.*  
Quintil: X. 1.93.
- (3) *Lectures on the History of Rome.* vol: II. p. 13.  
ed: Schmitz

banquets<sup>(1)</sup>.

No doubt the fact that Aeneas was a foreigner did not add to his popularity. Yet in no way did he conflict with, or overrule, the existing native traditions of the city's foundation. The coming of Aeneas did not interfere with the myth of Romulus, or the kings of Rome. Aeneas was, as it were, set back in a dim age to which native tradition did not reach. He was made the founder of Lavinium the holy city whose traditions reached far into the past - where, according to one form of the legend, he met his end by drowning in the river Numicius and was afterwards worshipped as Jupiter Indiges - and the ancestor of Romulus, the founder of Rome. Yet it is hardly possible that the person of Aeneas was ever as popular as that of Romulus with the simple people. Romulus was wholly Roman in character; his legends must have been well known to all. Rome, then, as now, was filled with associations of Romulus. There was the grotto where the wolf had nursed him, the Casa Romuli on the Palatine,

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(1) Gravissimus auctor in Originibus dixit Cato, morem apud maiores hunc epularum fuisse, ut deinceps, qui accubarent canerent ad tibiam clarorum vidorum laudes atque virtutes.  
Cic: Tusc: IV. 11.  
cf: Cic: Brutus. ch: XIX. 75.  
Nonius Marcellus. p. 76. quoting Varro.  
Valerius Maximus. II. 1. 10.

his tomb below in the Forum. The devotion and gratitude felt towards him found expression in Ennius' immortal lines:-

O Romule, Romule die,  
Qualem te patriae custodem di generunt!  
O pater, O genitor, O sanguen dis oriendum (1).

Aeneas was adopted mainly for political reasons, and must have appealed mostly to the "highbrows" who were interested in legends as such, or to those who took a pride in boasting of their lofty pedigrees. Even Vergil's Aeneid was written in the main for a select few.

It remains to note in brief a strange turn that the Aeneas legend took in the later days of the Republic and at the beginning of the Empire. By then Greece had long been subdued by Rome, and the conquered Greeks naturally no longer cared to tell poetic tales of the city that had crushed them. At first less and less was said of the origin of Rome, but gradually there grew up - particularly at the courts of small Asiatic princes - historians who liked to speak ill of Rome, to denounce her base origin, and to accuse her of being a mere asylum of outcasts, vagabonds, and slaves. It was to refute writers of this kind that Dionysius of Halicarnassus, moved to indignation at such charges, composed his *Antiquitates Romanae*. At the opening of the first book, after exhorting his readers not to believe such lying fables of Rome's

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(1) Wordsworth's *Fragments of Early Latin*. p. 301.

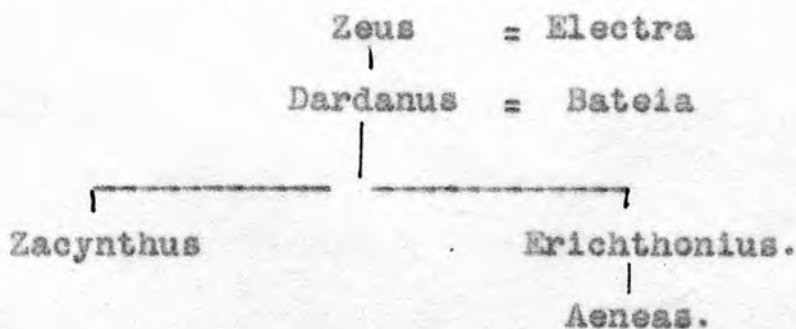
foundation, he goes on to state that Trojans and Greeks were the descendants of the same ancestors. For him the Trojans are Hellenes, the Greeks Achaeans. To prove this connection he refers to ancient authorities, and bases his arguments on the Arcadian origin of the Trojans<sup>(1)</sup>. A similar genealogy to that given by Dionysius, Vergil puts into the mouth of Aeneas when the latter claims that he, a Trojan, and Evander, a Greek, are of common descent:-

Dardanus, Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor,  
Electra, ut Grai perhibent, Atlantide cretus,  
advenitur Teucros; Electram maximus Atlas  
edidit, aetherios umero qui sustinet orbis.  
Vobis Mercurius pater est, quem candida Maia  
Cyllenae gelido conceptum vertice fudit;  
at Maïam auditis si quicquam credimus, Atlas  
idem Atlas, generat caeli qui sidera tollit.  
Sic genus amborum scindit se sanguine ab uno.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) Dion: A.R. I. 58.

The Arcadian origin of the Trojans is thus shown:-



(2) Verg: Aen: VIII. 134.

In the same spirit Vergil, immediately after this incident, introduces what was in reality a Greek cult - that of Hercules of the Ara Maxima<sup>(1)</sup>. It may be significant, too, that Vergil is, on the whole, consistent in giving his Trojans Greek names, and that in the Aeneid the attempt made by king Latinus to obtain help from Diomede, the Greek, against the Trojans, met with no success. The view that linked so closely the Greek and the Trojans may have been suggested in the first place by the theory held by Cato, and others, that the Aborigines with whom the Trojans united on their arrival in Italy were Greeks who had sailed to the West long before the Trojan War<sup>(2)</sup>.

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- (1) See The Myth of Hercules at Rome.  
John Garrett Winter.  
also, Ward Fowler's Religious Experience of the  
Roman People.
- (2) Dion: A.R. I. 11.

PART FOUR.

THE DI PENATES

-:-

It was probably above all as the founder of Lavinium the centre of Italian worship - the Romanae urbis incunabula, the holy city whose tradition stretched far into the past, that Aeneas became not only accepted but even dear to the Latin peoples. Lavinium was essentially a holy city. There dwelt the true Penates of the Roman people - ibi dii Penates nostri - proclaimed Varro<sup>(1)</sup>, following in the steps of Timaeus who had already declared that the cult instruments there were of Trojan clay. It was at Lavinium too that every Roman consul, dictator and praetor used to offer sacrifice to the Penates and Vesta immediately after entering upon office.

Consules et praetores sive dictator Lavini sacra Penatibus simul et Vestae faciunt<sup>(2)</sup>.

Inseparably linked to Lavinium were these Di Penates.

There was even a legend, recorded by Dionysius<sup>(3)</sup> that the Penates would dwell in no other place. Ascanius, Aeneas' son, it was said, had taken their images with him when he left Lavinium to found his own city Alba Longa and had tried to keep the gods in his new city. Though the temple doors were closed

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(1) De Ling: Lat: V. 144.

Plut: Coriol: 29. ἵκτου (i.e. Lavinium) καὶ θεῶν ἑρὰ Παμδαίους πατρῶων ἀνεκείτο.

Lucan. Phars: 391.

(2) Interpol: Serv.: Ad Aen: II. 296.

cf: Macrobius. 3, 4, 11.

(3) Dion: A.R. I. 67.

the gods mysteriously escaped and returned by night to their old home Lavinium. Further, that they might not be deprived of their worshippers and moved to displeasure, six hundred inhabitants were sent to Lavinium and were obliged to live there and offer the gods their due sacrifices. The temple of these gods at Lavinium - into whose sanctuary none might penetrate (1) - was constantly visited by pilgrims. There were special priests of the Penates, and Servius says that these priests kept unchanged their ancient dress which at Rome was modified for convenience. Further, the names of these gods none might know(2).

Any examination, therefore, of the Trojan legend must involve too a consideration of the nature and origin of the Di Penates which Aeneas the holy hero himself had borne from Troy to Italy.

The Di Penates, as their name denotes(3), were the gods who lived in the Penus or cella Penaria, the inner chamber or storeroom which they watched over and blessed.

The Greeks called them

The kitchen - culina(4)

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(1) Dion: A.R. 1.67. τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τοῖς ἐν Λαουινίᾳ κείμενα, ἵερὰ  
... ὅσα μὲν ἄρ' ἔστιν ἄρ' οὐ θέμις οὔτε παρὰ τῶν δρώντων  
ἰκνεῖν.

(2) Interpol: Serv: ad Aen: III.12. quod eorum nomine nemo-  
sciat ... quos nisi sacerdoti videre fas nulli sit.

(3) Cicero: De Nat: Deor: - di penates sive a penu ducto  
nomine....

(4) Interpol: Serv: ad Aen: II.469. Singula enim membra domi  
sacrata sunt diis, ut culina diis Penatibus.



too was sacred to the Penates and their altar was the hearth<sup>(1)</sup>. The number of the Penates was unlimited since each family possessed its own set. But over and above the Penates of private families there ranged the Penates of the state whose abode and sphere of activity was in the Penus or store house of the community. It was by these that the magistrates used to take their oaths - Deos Penates populi Romani Quiritium.

Although the conception of the Penates is an old one the earliest extant mention of their temple occurs in Varro who speaks of a temple of the Penates on the Velia<sup>(2)</sup>. Dionysius describes a temple of the Penates which he had himself seen<sup>(3)</sup>. His description of its locality - near the forum, in the street that leads the nearest way to the Carinae - leaves no doubt that this is the temple on the Velia, just where stood the house of Evander. In it, he says, were images exposed to public view, of two youths, in sitting position, each holding a spear, pieces of ancient workmanship. Whether this is the Velia temple previous to, or after, its restoration by Augustus<sup>(4)</sup> is of no concern; what is important

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(1) Interpol: Serv: ad Aen: 11.211. - focus ara deorum Penatium.

(2) Inscrip: Varro. L.L. 5.54. Mull: In Velia apud aedem Penatium.

(3) Dion: A.R. I. 68.

(4) Monum: Anc: IV. 8.

is the description of the images. That the young men of whom Dionysius speaks were the Roman Penates worshipped under the symbols of the Dioscuri - i.e. the twins Castor and Pollux - there can be little doubt. We have proof that, at least in the last century of the republic, the Penates were depicted under the form of the Dioscuri in the well known pence of Marcus Fontius - the contemporary of Cicero, on which are shown the heads of the Dioscuri surmounted by two stars, while beneath there is the inscription Penates (P)ublici. Again, the gold coins of S. Sulpicius Rufus show the heads of the Dioscuri wearing cone caps, while on his pence there are full figures of the Dioscuri armed with spears<sup>(1)</sup>.

The adoption of the Dioscuri type to represent the Penates Populi Romani was no doubt due to a desire on the part of the Romans to find some pictorial representation for the conception of their native gods. How exactly the Dioscuri cult reached Rome is uncertain. Possibly it had its origin in a period when Rome was in close contact with Latin cities which had adopted and absorbed cults of the Greeks settled in Campania. It may have come from

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(1) Babelon. Monn: de la republ: Rom: I.503.8. II.471.1.

Tusculum<sup>(1)</sup> where the cult was well established, or perhaps direct from South Italy - possibly Locri<sup>(2)</sup> or Tarentum. Like Hercules of the Ara Maxima the Twins may have been brought by the course of trade which pushed upwards from the South. They were protectors of seafarers, and friends of merchants. The Dioscuri - not yet identified with the Penates - are the champions of Rome at Lake Regillus<sup>(3)</sup> and a temple was dedicated to Castor in the year 484 BC<sup>(4)</sup>.

Not only were the Penates identified with the Dioscuri. We find too that Cassius Hemina<sup>(5)</sup>, a Roman annalist living about 140 BC, identified the Penates with the Cabiri (Κάβειροι) the Great Gods of Samothrace<sup>(6)</sup>.

These latter present one of the most difficult problems of mythology. Some derive their name from a Semitic root Kabir

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(1) Warde Fowler. Religious Experience of the Roman People. p. 231 ff.

Carter. The Religion of Numa. p. 37. ff.

(2) Pais. Ancient Italy. p. 237.

(3) Cic: De Nat: Deor: 11.26. Vat: Max: 1.8.1.  
Plut: Coriol: 3.4.

(4) Livy. 11.42.5. 11.20.12. Florus I. 5.4.

(5) Cassius Vero Hemina dicit Samothracas deos eosdemque Romanorum Penates proprie dici θεός μεγάλους, θεός Χριστούς, θεός δυνατούς.

Macrobius. III. IV. 7.

cf. Interpol: Serv: ad Aen: I. 378.

These two seem to have drawn from a single source - Labeo - through a middle source which must have been a Vergil commentary.

(Georg Wissowa. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Römischen Religions - und Stadtgeschichte IV.

(6) Daremberg and Saglio. (Cabiri)

meaning mighty and connect the Greek Cabiri with those of Phoenicia which were commonly depicted on galleys as figure-heads<sup>(1)</sup>. The Greek Cabiri, however, were from two to four in number while those of Phoenicia were eight. Others have identified them with the Phoenician *Ἰατῆρες*, fat dwarfs with gorgon faces, but Herodotus, while admitting a great likeness, distinguishes them<sup>(2)</sup>. A more probable derivation is from *καίειν* to burn.

Herodotus says that they were believed to be the sons of Hephaistus<sup>(3)</sup>, while in Samothrace they were identified with Hermes<sup>(4)</sup> and Hephaistus, and worshipped as cosmic deities. Their worship probably originated in Phrygia<sup>(5)</sup> whence its mysteries spread to Samothrace and Lemnos and the mainland of Greece. Their sanctuary was discovered at Thebes<sup>(6)</sup> and inscriptions found there connect them with Dionysius - though this may only be a local association - and represent them as being two in number - father and son. The Samothracian

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(1) Bloch in Rosch. II. 2540

(2) Her: III. 37.

(3) Her: III. 37.

(4) For the connection between Hermes and the gods of Samothrace see Her: 2 51.

(5) If this is so their cult at Troy which is on the way from Samothrace may perhaps be assumed. see Kern's article in Pauly-Wissowa's Real Encyclopadie.

(6) Frazer V. 136.

Winnefeld. Das Kabiren-Leiligthum bei Theben. Athens. 1888.

cult must have become known to the Romans at a comparatively early date, for according to Plutarch, Claudius Marcellus made contributions to the Cabiri from the spoils of Syracuse in the year 212 BC<sup>(1)</sup>. The Romans must also have come into contact with them through the attempts of King Perseus, described by Livy, to obtain protection from his pursuers from the gods of Samothrace<sup>(2)</sup>. It is possible that Cassius' view may have been derived from some Greek in the entourage of the younger Scipio. How Cassius visualised the gods' coming from Samothrace to Italy we cannot be certain, but Atticus, whose view is mentioned in a collection of versions of the carrying over of the Penates given by a Vergil scholiast<sup>(3)</sup> and who like Cassius identified the Penates with the gods of Samothrace - evidently held that the gods were carried from Samothrace to Italy - ex Samothracia in Italiam devectos. In this he follows a fable - for the authority of which Festus mentions a certain Critolaus - according to which Aeneas, on his flight from Troy, landed in Samothrace and took the gods with him.

The first Roman to depart from this traditional view that identified the Penates populi Romani, the Dioscuri, and the Cabiri of Samothrace, was Marcus Terentius Varro, the

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(1) Plut: Marcellus. 30.

(2) Livy XLV. 5. 6.

cf: Plut: Aemilius Paulus. 26.

(3) Schol: Veron. Aen: II. 717.

famous antiquarian who treated in detail of prehistoric Rome, and whose views again are preserved in Macrobius, Arnobius, and the Interpolator Servii. Varro, as we have seen, believed that the Roman Penates and the gods of Samothrace were one<sup>(1)</sup>, but these gods, Varro believed, had not come direct from their Samothracian home to Italy. They had first been brought by Dardanus out of Samothrace to Phrygia - clearly at the time when Dardanus founded Troy - and were then brought by Aeneas from Troy to Italy<sup>(2)</sup>. To explain the fact that there were still Great Gods in Samothrace it was said that Dardanus, when he left his home for Troy, had only taken half the number of the gods with him and had left the rest with his brother Iasus. Varro's intention is plain. He wanted to bring together two versions of the Penates' origin - the older one by which the Penates and the Samothracian gods were one, and a newer one which made the Roman Penates hail from Troy. The earliest representative of the newer tradition was probably Timaeus, the Sicilian historian, who was constantly made use of by Varro and who, as we have seen, maintained that the sacred objects at Lavinium were made of Trojan clay<sup>(3)</sup>. There can be little

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- (1) Varro quidem, unum esse dicit Penates et magnos deos.  
Interpol: Serv: ad Aen: III. 12.  
idem Varro nos deos Dardanum ex Samothrace in Phrygiam,  
de Phrygia Aeneam in Italiam memorat portavisse.  
Interpol: Serv: I. 378.
- (2) cf: II. 325 and III. 148 and Macrobius III. 4. 7.
- (3) See page 32.

doubt that it was from Timaeus that Varro borrowed his new feature. Whereas earlier writers, such as Cassius Hemina, had based their views on the cult statues that took the form of the Dioscuri in the Velia temple, Varro, departing from the traditional view, boldly rejected these statues and, like Timaeus, derived his opinions on the Roman Penates from the symbols in the temple of Lavinium. For Varro, then, the Penates who were brought to Troy from Samothrace and to Italy from Troy were not the Dioscuri of the Velia temple but *sigilla lignea vel marmorea*, or, *lignea sigilla vel lapidea terrenaque*<sup>(1)</sup>, which at once call to mind the *κέραμος τεοικὸς* of Timaeus. That the statues of the Dioscuri in the Velia temple were not for Varro the true Penates he makes quite plain<sup>(2)</sup>.

The sigilla of Varro are the *ἄσπετα ἄσπετα οὐ θεῖς*<sup>(3)</sup> of Dionysius, who departing on this point from his authority, Varro, declares that he will only have to do with *ἅπαντα τὰ πᾶσι θεῖς*, that is, with what the "profanum vulgus" are permitted to look upon - the Dioscuri - Penates of the Velia temple. Since the aedes Penatium on the Velia was already occupied by the Dioscuri Varro's sigilla, for him the true Penates, had to have another resting place. This was the little round temple of Vesta built very early in the history

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(1) Interpol: Serv: I. 378.

(2) Varro. De L.L. V. 58

(3) Dion: A.R. I. 67

(4) Dion: A.R. I. 67

of Rome, several times destroyed by fire, restored by Augustus, and still standing in ruins in the forum to-day. It was an accepted fact that in this temple there were stored various mysterious objects which were never removed except of necessity as on the occasion of a fire and were accessible only to the chief priests and Vestal Virgins. The opinions held with regard to these sacred objects were various - Plutarch, in his life of Camillus<sup>(1)</sup>, records several, as also does Dionysius. Some people believed that the Samothracian deities, that is the Penates, were stored in the Vesta Temple; others went further and said that in the sanctuary were two small jars (doliola), one open and empty, the other containing the sacred images. Others again seemed not to believe in the existence of any such objects within the temple. All that we can be certain of is that in the last century of the republic, among other things, the Palladium was found in the Vesta Temple, for Cicero, in a fragment of the Pro Scauro, tells how Lucius Metellus, Pontifex Maximus, on an occasion of fire, rescued the Palladium - *illud quod quasi pignus nostrae salutis atque imperii custodiis Vestae continetur*. That both the Palladium and the Penates were stored in the temple of Vesta was evidently the belief of Ovid:-

Vestaque Caesareos inter sacrata Penates<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) Plut: Camill: 20. cf: Dion: A.R. II. 66

(2) Ovid. Met: XV. 864.



This is confirmed by Tacitus in his description of the fire of the year 64 A.D.:-

et delubrum Vestae cum Penatibus populi Romani  
exusta<sup>(1)</sup>.

and there are several other passages in which the worship of Vesta and of the Penates were closely associated<sup>(2)</sup>.

Under Augustus this association was furthered. The Trojan Penates are at once the Penates of the Julian family - the descendents of Aeneas, and the Penates of the Roman state<sup>(3)</sup>.

The images of Augustus were set side by side with the Penates and the justification of the Imperial High Priesthood was that the gods of the hearth and the state were one with the gods of the Imperial family. The gods Augustus worshipped in his own newly built temple on the Palatine were one with those worshipped below in the Vesta Temple in the Forum. It was natural then that the old temple of the Penates on the Velia sank into oblivion, though we know from the Monumentum Ancyranum that Augustus rebuilt it. Yet the Dioscuri were not forgotten - we have seen already that Dionysius, writing in the Augustan age, believed them to be the true Penates -

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(1) Tac: Annal: 15. 41.

(2) Cic: Cat: 4, 9, 18.

Patria Communis - vobis aras Penatium, vobis  
illum ignem Vestae - commendat.

Cic: De Har: 6, 12.

De deorum Penatium Vestaeque matris caerimoniis.

cf: Interpol: Serv: ad Aen: 2. 296.

Macrob: 3, 4, 11.

(3) Hor: Carmen IV. 5, 31-6. Tac: Ann: 1. 73, 2.

Epis: II. 1, 15, 16.

but almost as it were to compensate for any slight shown these gods who had championed the Romans in their early days there was dedicated anew by Tiberius, the future emperor, hard by the spot where once the Twins had appeared in person<sup>(1)</sup>, the temple of Castor and Pollux<sup>(2)</sup>, whose three stately pillars rising above Vesta's shrine are still perhaps the loveliest sight that meets the eye in Rome.

But to return to the Penates - we have seen that their identification with the Great Gods of Samothrace was accepted by Cassius Hemina, and was confirmed by Varro who, rejecting the Dioscuri, established the Penates' Trojan origin. It remains to consider very briefly what was believed to be the nature and significance of these gods who

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- (1) The Lacus Juturnae in the Forum Romanum, where the Twin gods were believed to have appeared in person and to have watered their steeds after Lake Regillus, was excavated by the antiquarian Giacomo Boni. On the ledge beside the basin is a marble altar showing Castor and Pollux standing with high caps, and spears. For the legend of their appearance see Val: Max: 1, 8, 1. The Dioscuri were also said to have brought the news of the Roman victory over King Persicus. Pliny. H.N.VII.22.
- (2) The Temple of Castor and Pollux - sometimes called only the Temple of Castor - stands at the North end of the Forum, under the Palatine near the Lacus Juturnae and the round temple Vesta. It was vowed by Aulus Postumius after Lake Regillus and dedicated on July 15th 484 B.C. It was restored by Lucius Caecilius Metellus after his triumph in 117 B.C. (Cic: De Nat: III.5, 13) and newly dedicated under Augustus by Tiberius who caused his own name and that of his brother Drusus to be inscribed on the front. (Suet: Tib: 20. Dio: Cass: IV. 27, 4).

were represented by the mysterious sigilla hidden in the Vesta Temple. Varro's view, which has been ingeniously pieced together by Georg Wissowa<sup>(1)</sup> from his fragments that are preserved in St. Augustine's Civitas Dei as well as in the fragments of the Commentaries of Arnobius and Macrobius, may be expressed briefly thus - The Samothracian gods were a triad representing the Vital Principles - i.e. Heaven, Earth, and Ideas - the τρεῖς of Plato. These expressed in the ordinary language of Roman religion become the deities, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Since then, for Varro the Samothracian gods and the Penates were one, the gods represented by the Sigilla of the Vesta Temple were none other than these<sup>(2)</sup>.

Another unnamed authority<sup>(3)</sup> preserved in the fragments of the Interpolator Servii, while believing the Penates to be the same gods Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, arrived at the conclusion by different means. Basing his

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(1) Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Romischen Religions und Stadtgeschichte. IV (1904)

(2) Similarly the Penates are said to be Juno, Jupiter and Minerva in two fragments of Arnobius, Macrobius. That Labeo, the common source of these writers, was drawing from Varro and those who held his view, seems highly probable.

e.g. nec defuerunt qui scriberent Iovem, Iunonem ac Minervam deos Penates existere, sine quibus vivere ac sapere nequeamus, sed qui penitus nos regant ratione, calore ac spiritu.

c.f: Macrobius. III. 4, 7, ff.

(3) Interpol: Serv: Ad Aen: II. 296.

theory on the view of the etymological connection between the Penates and penitus he believed that the Penates were the "soul" deities - per quos penitus spiramus<sup>(1)</sup>, and from the supposition that the soul is air concluded that the gods of the air were the Penates:-

eos (i.e. Penates) esse Iovem aetherem medium,  
Iunonam imum aera cum terra, summum aetheris cacumen  
Minervam.

There are other views as to the nature of the Penates extant in Macrobius, Arnobius, and the Interpolator Servii. Nigidius Figulus held that the Penates were the gods Apollo and Poseidon<sup>(2)</sup>. Probably Nigidius was asking not who were the Roman but who were the Trojan Penates and his answer was not unnaturally Apollo and Poseidon the reputed builders of Troy's walls.

Again the Interpolator Servii records other views that conflict with that of Varro - "alii" are mentioned who declare that the Penates and the Magni Di are not one - that the latter are Jupiter, Minerva, and Mercury; who the Penates are they do not say. Hyginus, a freedman of Augustus, compares the Penates with the Greek θεοὶ πατέρες but there is nothing to show what his views were<sup>(3)</sup>.

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- (1) cf: Cicero's definition - di penates sive a penu ducto nomine ... sive ab eo quod penitus insident.  
De Nat: Deor: II. 68.
- (2) Arnobius. III. 40. Macrobius. S.III. 4, 6.  
Interpol: Serv: ad Aen: I. 378.
- (3) Macrobius. III. IV. 7. ff.

Other opinions as to the nature of the Penates seem in some way to connect them with Etruria. The Interpolator Servii mentions the Etruscan Penates as being Ceres, Pales, and Fortuna<sup>(1)</sup>. Caesius, who is otherwise unknown, says that the Penates are Ceres, Pales, Fortuna and Genius Iovalis<sup>(2)</sup>. Again, according to Martianus Capella<sup>(3)</sup>, the Penates were assigned to sixteen particular regions of the heavens - certainly an Etruscan conception.

In view of Varro's association of the Roman Penates with the Di Magni of Samothrace, coupled with the passages referred to which seem to show a link between the Penates and Etruria, it might appear that the Penates were of foreign origin - possibly even of Etruscan origin<sup>(4)</sup> - for Varro's "Samothracian" view would support this, since the Etruscans and Samothracians were probably both of Pelasgic stock. In any case the step from Asia Minor to Samothrace is a short one and it is not an improbable theory, as we have seen that the worship of the Samothracian deities originated in Phrygia.

In spite of Varro it is probable that in origin the

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- (1) Interpol: Serv: ad Aen: II. 325.  
(2) Quoted by Arnobius III. 40.  
(3) Martianus Capella. I. 41-63.  
(4) How much Roman religion owed to the Etruscans is still a matter of uncertainty. In all probability the Capitoline Triad was taken over from them - though even on this point there is not complete agreement. See Randall-MacIver's Etruscans and Prof: Cyril Bailey's article on Roman Religion in the Cam: Anc: Hist: vol: VII.

Penates had no connection whatever with the Etruscans or the gods of Samothrace. The Penates are essentially the gods of a settled agricultural community. They are not the type of deities that would be taken over from invaders or conquerors such as the Etruscans. Their name and all that is known about them point to an Italian and Latin origin. As we have seen they are the household gods of the storeroom and the kitchen - whose altar is the hearth. Further they are regularly associated with the other early Latin deities of the home - the Lares<sup>(1)</sup> and Vesta.

The connection of the Penates with Vesta has been noticed already<sup>(2)</sup>. The connection with the Lares is as common. Lares and Penates have a place at the hearth together<sup>(3)</sup>. The wife of Ovid, we are told, cast herself before the Lares, kissed the hearth, and poured forth complaints to the Penates<sup>(4)</sup>. Again, Lares and Penates are coupled together in rhetorical appeals to jurymen and other

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- (1) It is true that the Lares are assigned Etruscan origin by Lewis and Short, but modern scholars generally believe them to be early Latin deities of the fields. They, even more than the Penates, would seem to be the gods of a settled agricultural society. (See Wissowa, Warde Fowler, Carter's Religion of Numa). The connection with Etruria was probably due to the name Lar which resembles the Etruscan Lars as seen in Lars Porsenna.
- (2) See page 62 ff.
- (3) Cic: Pro Domo Sua. 41. 108.
- (4) Ovid Tristia. 1, 3. 43-46.

emotional audiences<sup>(1)</sup>. -70-

Further, it is perhaps significant that the Penates, like the powers of the lower world, including the spirits of the dead<sup>(2)</sup>, were appeased with the simple offering of spelt and a few grains of salt<sup>(3)</sup>, and spelt was said to be by far the most ancient food of the Romans<sup>(4)</sup> and the first used by the Latins in antiquity<sup>(5)</sup>.

In this simple, homely conception of the Penates there seems to be no place for the Cabiri of Varro. Yet we can see how the association probably arose.

The Di Penates, like the Lares, Vesta, Ianua, and others, are old Latin deities that belong to the early Animistic stage of Roman religion - a period before the Romans had yet clothed their deities in bodily form. When they did begin to visualise their gods as persons they chose to represent their state Penates, the Dioscouri whom they already recognised as their champions and protectors. The identification of the Dioscouri with the Great Gods of Samothrace,

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- (1) Cicero. Pro Sestio. 69, 145.  
" Phillipici II. 29. 72., II. 30. 75., XI. 4. 10.  
Pro Roscio Amerino. 8. 23.  
Pro Domo Sua. 106. 109. 143.  
Rep: V. 5. 7.
- (2) Arnobius. Adversus Nationes. VII. 20.
- (3) Horace. Odes. III. 23.
- (4) Dion: A.R. II. 25. 2.
- (5) Pliny. Nat: His: XVIII. 83.

perhaps due to a definite attempt at Hellenization in the third century and no doubt helped by the fact that the Greek Cabiri were, according to some accounts, two in number, made the identification of the Penates with the gods of Samothrace inevitable.

The association of the Penates, the gods of the home and the state with the Trojans and Aeneas the founder of the Roman race was a natural one. No doubt it began to assume popularity with Timaeus. Varro, seeing the contradiction between this view and the Dioscuri-Penates conception cut out the latter and by ingeniously preserving the Cabiri-Penates identification championed the gods' Trojan origin. This was a skilful device, and it prepared the way for Vergil's dramatic story of how his hero saved his gods from the fires of Troy, but it had the great disadvantage of obscuring the native origin and Italian character of these divinities.

Lastly, what were Vergil's views on the Penates? Those who look for consistency will be disappointed. Vergil was a poet, not an antiquarian - yet he was a poet with a distinct interest in antiquities and legends. This strain shows itself throughout the Aeneid. In this instance it almost looks as if he had collected all the traditions concerning the Penates, and knowing not which to choose introduced them haphazard in his poem regardless of whether they



were consistent or not. He liked the mysterious better than some of his commentators, and perhaps even preferred inconsistency. In that the Penates were brought by Aeneas to Italy - this is made plain in the opening of the Aeneid<sup>(1)</sup> - Vergil follows Varro, so often his authority, and Timaeus. But as to who these Penates were he makes no plain statement. Indeed whether the Penates are the only gods that Aeneas takes with him, even this is not perfectly clear. When Aeneas introduces himself to Dido he says:-

Sum plus Aeneas raptos qui ex hoste Penates  
classe veho mecum. (I.378)

But elsewhere the poet speaks of:-

effigies sacrae divom Phrygiquae Penates (III.148)

and the sacra patrique Penates. The Patrii Penates recalls Hyginus' association of Penates with the θεοὶ πατρίων.

Again in the description of Priam entrusting to Aeneas the sacred objects Vesta is mentioned among them:-

Sic ait et manibus vittas Vestamque potentem  
aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem. (II.296)

Most mysterious of all is the expression:-

cum sociis gnatoque Penatibus et Magnis Dis. (III.12)

which is used of Aeneas, and later of Augustus:-

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(1) Multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem  
inferretque deos Latio. Aen: I. 5.  
cf: line 68.  
Illum in Italiam portans victosque Penates.

cum patribus populoque, Penatibus et Magnis Dis (VIII.679) where, in distinguishing Penates and Magni Di, Vergil seems to depart from Varro. But even of that we cannot be certain because we do not know whom Vergil meant by the Magni Di. Did he mean the gods of Samothrace, or the Dioscuri, or the two identified? Possibly he was not clear himself.

PART FIVE .

DIDO AND AENEAS .

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In the legend that tells of Aeneas' coming to Italy as given in Vergil's Aeneid there is a distinct addition unknown, so far as we can tell, in the earlier versions - the story of Aeneas' visit to Dido at Carthage and its tragic end. In the accounts given by the Greek annalists and poets who dealt with the myth of Aeneas no place is given to Dido; nor again in the Roman writers do we find her associated with Aeneas until in Vergil's epic she appears as the central figure in one of the world's most tragic<sup>(1)</sup> love stories.

As in the legends of Aeneas there is no mention of Dido, similarly in the traditional accounts of Dido which are preserved in Timaeus and Justinus<sup>(2)</sup> epitome of Pompeius Trogus there is no place for Aeneas. According to these versions Dido slew herself to escape the wooing of the Nubian prince Iarbas rather than violate her fidelity to her late husband Sychaeus. Vergil, while adopting details of this story - such as the vow of constancy, the pyre, and death by the sword, departs from the original version in that he makes Dido die for love of Aeneas, and as a curse for the breach of

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(1) See St. August: Confess: I. 13.21.  
Macrob: Sat: V. 17.  
Ovid. Tristia. II. 533.

(2) Justin: XVIII.  
See Nettleship, "The Story of Aeneas' Wandering".  
Conington's Vergil. vol: II.

her vow to her husband to which she pleads guilty:-

non servata fides, cineri promissa Sychaeo<sup>(1)</sup>.

Further, as Servius has pointed out<sup>(2)</sup>, Aeneas' visit to Carthage violates chronology. According to the accepted tradition Aeneas came to Carthage 340 years before the foundation of Rome - whereas Carthage was founded only forty years before Rome - Immaeus goes further and says that Carthage and Rome were founded on the same day. Yet perhaps we should not make too much of a chronological difficulty. We have seen how, when in the legend of Rome's foundation the dates would not fit, the practical minded Romans put them right.

From what source then, we may ask, did Vergil derive the legend that brought together Dido and Aeneas? - Or did the association of the two originate with him - and if so with what end in view did he make so strange a departure from the accepted legend, and what justification had he in so doing?

It has been said that it was Naevius who first brought together Aeneas and Dido, and that it was from his *Bellum Punicum* that Vergil derived the legend - Noack, for example<sup>(3)</sup>, maintained that the first version of the *Aeneid* - consisting

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(1) Verg: Aen: IV. 552.

(2) Serv: Aen: IV. 459.

(3) Die Erste Aeneas Virgils. Hermes. 1892.

of books I and II and IV - to which III and V were later added - was taken straight from Naevius. The description of the storm in book I, Aeneas' speech and the conversation between Venus and Jupiter all probably came from Naevius:-

totus hic locus de Naevio belli Punici libro translatus est<sup>(1)</sup>.

and again Macrobius says:-

In principio Aeneidos tempestas describitur, et Venus apud Iovem queritur de periculis filii, et Iuppiter eam de futurorum prosperitate solatur. Hic locus totus sumptus a Naevio est ex primo libro belli Punici<sup>(2)</sup>.

But these passages prove nothing concerning Book IV. The statement of Servius may be exaggerated, for Servius elsewhere goes so far as to say that the whole of Book IV was taken from Apollonius Rhodius - an idea which some scholars would surely cherish did not the preservation of the Argonautica make it impossible. Then there are two passages that are quoted by those who would prove that Naevius was the source from which Vergil drew.

Firstly, there is the remark of Servius on Aeneid IV.9.

cuius filiae fuerint Anna et Dido Naevius dicit.

This proves nothing. Naevius in his Bellum Punicum must have made some reference to the foundation and early history of Carthage; in so doing it would be natural for him to mention

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(1) Serv: ad Aen: I. 198.

(2) Macrobi: Sat: VI. 2.31.

Dido.

Secondly, there is the fragment of Naevius:-

Blande et docte percentat Aenea quo pacto.  
Troiam urbem reliquerit<sup>(1)</sup>.

The subject of percentat is assumed to be Dido. It is even urged that "blande" suggests a woman. But the meaning of "blande" is only "gently", "kindly", "courteously", and is employed constantly with reference to the male sex<sup>(2)</sup>. These words may refer to a woman, but "blande" is no proof that they do. It is possible indeed that the subject of percentat was king Latinus, or, if a woman, Anna, the sister of Dido.

That there did undoubtedly exist in pre-Vergilian times a tradition that brought together Anna and Aeneas, and made Anna kill herself for love of Aeneas, and that Varro was aware of this, we know from Servius:-

Varro ait non Didonem, sed Annam amore Aeneae impulsam se supra rogum interemisse.<sup>(3)</sup>

and again he says:-

sane sciendum Varronem dicere Aenean ab Anna amatum<sup>(4)</sup>.

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(1) Wordsworth's Fragments of Early Latin.

(2) e.g. Cicero. Pro Cluentio 26. 72:-

Tum hilare vultu hominem Bulbus, ut blandissime potest.

cf: Plautus. Poen: III.3.72. Terence. Phorm: II.1.22.

Truc: I.2.61. Livy. I.22.5.

(3) Interpol: Serv: ad Aen: IV. 682. Heinze (Virgils epische Technik. p.113. 1.) thinks that this may possibly be merely a conjecture of Varro's to reconcile the conflicting legends of Dido.

(4) Interpol: Serv: ad Aen: V. 4. Dessau - Vergil und Karthago argues that Varro may have used Anna as another name for Dido. This is raising an unnecessary difficulty. There is no evidence that Dido had another name, Anna. That Dido and Anna are distinct persons is plain from Naevius (Interpol: Serv: Aen: IV.9) and the careful Varro was not likely to

Again, a connection between Anna and Aeneas is suggested by Ovid<sup>(1)</sup>. According to him Anna, after the death of the sister Dido, fled from Carthage to Italy where, after meeting Aeneas, she disappeared into the river Numicius - where Aeneas, too, disappeared and was afterwards worshipped as Juppiter Indiges - and was identified with Anna Perenna, an Italian goddess, the bestower, or protector, of the returning year. Ovid's account of Anna seems to show that he was attempting to reconcile two, or more, legends - the legend associating Dido and Aeneas, as given by Vergil, and another which brought together Anna and Aeneas. Ovid's first lines:-

Quae tamen haec dea sit, quoniam<sup>ni</sup> rumoribus  
errant  
fabula proposito nulla tacenda meo.

which are followed by a number of legends about the goddess, suggest that he was collecting different traditions connected with her.

Once more there are the strange words of Dido to Anna in the Aeneid:-

solam nam perfidus ille  
te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus  
sola viri molles aditus et tempora noras<sup>(2)</sup>.

up to this point there has been no suggestion in the poem

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(1) Ovid. Fast: III. 543-656.

(2) Verg: Aen: IV. 421. ff.



that Aeneas had ever made a confidante of Anna. The words may indeed be explained away as a subtle attempt on Dido's part to flatter her somewhat undiscerning sister, and so persuade her to carry out a rather unpleasant mission:-

I, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum<sup>(1)</sup>,

but they are much more understandable if Vergil had in mind some tradition that brought together Aeneas and Anna.

But if Aeneas, the Trojan, was in some way connected with Anna, the Carthaginian, there must have been some link between the Trojans and Africa.

One link is Sicily. We saw before that Thucydides mentioned a very early tradition that brought Trojan refugees to Sicily:-

Ἰλίου δὲ ἀλισκομένου τῶν Τρώων  
τινὲς διαφυγόντες Ἀχαιοῦς πλοίοις  
ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὴν Σικελίαν. (2)

Further, there joined themselves to these others who had first been driven on to the coast of Africa and had later sailed to Sicily:-

προσξυνέκρησαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Φωκέων τινὲς τῶν  
ἀπὸ Τροίας τότε χειμῶνι ἐς Λιβύην πρῶτον,  
ἔπειτα ἐς Σικελίαν ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατενεχθέντες.

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(1) Verg: Aen: IV. 421. ff:

(2) Thucyd: VI. 2. 3.

This passage, then, connects the Trojans, by way of Sicily, with Africa. Again, Segesta was said to have been founded by Aeneas<sup>(1)</sup>, and was associated with the Trojans. Thus, the Trojans had visited Sicily, had founded Segesta - but the Trojans had visited Africa too - to bring Aeneas to Africa was but a small step.

But apart from Sicily the Trojans were associated with Africa. Herodotus, in describing the peoples of Lybia, gives an account of the Maxyes, a tribe who lived to the West of the river Triton in Syrtis Minor - not far from Sicily. These, according to Herodotus, shaved their heads on the left side, smeared their bodies with *μίλτος*, and claimed Trojan descent<sup>(2)</sup>. Quite apart from the Trojan origin they claimed, the use of *μίλτος* possibly suggests a connection with Asia Minor. It appears that in classical times Cappodocia, in particular, traded in *μίλτος* which was called Sinopean because the merchants used to bring it down from Sinope<sup>(3)</sup>.

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(1) See page 10.

(2) Her: IV. 191. φασὶ δὲ οὗτοι εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀνδρῶν.

(3) Strabo. 540. ἐν δὲ τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ γίνεται καὶ ἡ λεγομένη Σινωπικὴ *μίλτος*, ἀρίστη τῶν πασῶν. ἐνάμιλλος δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῇ καὶ ἡ Ἰβηρικὴ.

There is, too, a tradition recorded by Pindar that Antenor, the Trojan, after the fall of Troy sailed to Africa and there founded Cyrene<sup>(1)</sup>.

Again, there is what perhaps may be regarded as a very small piece of archeological evidence for the connection of the Trojans with Africa. Schliemann while excavating at Hissarlik came upon a small figure of an hippopotamus made of red pottery, buried twenty-three feet beneath the surface<sup>(2)</sup>. On this Schliemann has the following comment - "At all events Troy must have been commercially connected with Egypt; but even so it is still an enigma how the animal was so well known here (i.e. at Hissarlik) as to have been made of clay in a form quite faithful to nature." To-day hippopotami are not found higher up than Nubia, but it is clear from Herodotus<sup>(3)</sup> that they inhabited Egypt in ancient times. Also small stone and clay figures of hippopotami have been found in the excavations at Diospolis, Heirakonopolis, and Abydos.<sup>(4)</sup> On the other hand it is dangerous to attach too much value to any isolated find. It is not enough to prove a direct connection between Troy and Africa. The finding of this and other bric a brac only proves that Troy was a trading centre. What we really

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(1) Pindar. Pythian V.

(2) Schliemann. Troy. 1875. p.228. fig: 159.

(3) Her: II.71.

(4) Petrie. Diospolis. Pl: V.B. 101.

Quibell. Heirokonopolis. I. pl: XVIII.

Abydos. I. pl: LIII. 35.

want is to find in Africa pottery made of a distinctly Trojan fabric.

This connection between the Trojans and Africa coupled with the tradition, however shadowy it may have been, that linked Aeneas and Anna - and possibly identified Anna, the princess of Carthage, with Anna Perenna the goddess of Italy - a tradition that was undoubtedly known to Varro and may even have gone back as far as Naevius, this provided Vergil with ample foundation for the story of Aeneas and Dido as told in the Aeneid.

That it was Vergil who first represented Dido, not Anna, as perishing for love of Aeneas there can be little doubt. Were it otherwise it is difficult to suppose that the tragic death of the Carthaginian queen would have passed unmentioned in Catullus, Propertius, Horace - yet all these are silent.

But apart from negative evidence there is the positive witness of the accusation brought against Vergil by late writers that he deliberately slandered Dido, telling of her a tale that all the world knew to be false:-

Quod ita elegantius auctore digessit, ut fabula lascivientis Didonis, quam falsam novit universitas, per tot tamen saecula speciem veritatis obtineat . . . Tantum valuit pulchritudo narrandi, ut omnes Phoenissae castitatis conscii, nec ignari manum sibi iniecisse reginam, ne pateretur damnum pudoris, coniveant tamen

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fabulae<sup>(1)</sup>.

Similarly there is the anonymous inscription for a statue of Dido:-

οὐδὲ γὰρ Αἰνεΐαν ποτ' ἐσέσρακον, οὐδὲ χρόνοισι  
Τροίης περθομένης ἤλυθον ἐς Λιβύην.

Πιερίδες, τί μοι ἄγρὸν ἐφωπλίσασθε Μάριον  
οἶα καθ' ἡμετέρας ψεύσατο παρθενίης;<sup>(2)</sup>

In Ausonius' translation of this poem there are added the lines:-

Vos magis historicis, lectores, credite de me  
quam qui furta deum concubitusque canunt  
falsidici vates, temerant qui carmine verum  
humanisque deos assimilant vitiis.

Vergil's object in introducing Dido into the Aeneas legend and in making her, not Anna, the heroine is plain. Vergil was writing an epic of Rome - he had been asked to do this by Augustus. The most significant group of events in the history of Rome were the wars against Carthage - the struggle between two powers, racially and temperamentally opposite, not merely for supreme power, but for their very

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(1) Macrob: Sat: V. 17.

Tertullian, in three places, says that Dido preferred the pyre to marriage. Ad Martyras, 4. Ad Natt: I. 18. Apology. 50.

(2) The Greek Anthology, XVI. 151. The MSS read ἤλυθον. This makes poor sense. ἤλυθεν was evidently read by Ausonius, for he translates the lines:-  
Namque nec Aeneas vidit me Troius umquam  
Nec Libyam advenit classibus Iliacis.  
Ausonius. Epig: 118.

existence - a struggle that ended in death for Carthage and triumph for Rome<sup>(1)</sup>. The immediate cause of the conflict was Sicily, and it was on Sicilian soil and off the coast of Sicily that the first war was fought. Vergil, grasping, by a supreme stroke of genius, this essential fact, that Sicily was at once the link between Carthage and Rome, and Dido and Aeneas, foretold symbolically in the persons of Dido and Aeneas the undying enmity between the nations - an enmity which, as Vergil shows later at the meeting of Dido and Aeneas in the underworld<sup>(2)</sup>, was destined to outlive death itself. The Fourth Aeneid is nothing less than a commentary on Roman history, and the consummation of the story is not the death of Dido but her terrible curse and prophecy of an avenger which was realised in the Carthaginian Wars, and in the person of Hannibal:-

nullus amor populis nec foedera sunt.  
Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor,  
que face Dardanio ferroque sequare colonos,  
nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires.  
litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas  
imprecor, arma armis; pugnent ipsi que nepotesque<sup>(3)</sup>.

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- (1) For the significance of the Carthaginian Wars in relation to the Dido and Aeneas legend see Dr. Glover's *Virgil* p. 174. ff: "Two great types of national thinking are in conflict - the Oriental and the Western character meet... .. And when Virgil draws us Aeneas and Dido he gives us back this identical conflict."  
(2) Verg: Aen: VI. 450 ff:  
(3) Verg: Aen: IV. 624 ff:

ENVOI .

ENVOI

ENVOIE .



In conclusion we may notice how Vergil, with consummate art, took up the threads of the three types of foundation legend - Greek, Italian, and Trojan - and wove them into a perfect whole. Trojan Aeneas the foreign founder of the Roman race is "naturalised", and though the cost of founding the Roman race is inevitably dear - the blood of so many true born Italians - yet Aeneas emerges in the end not only a Roman, but a national hero.

In the early books of the Aeneid his destiny is plain. He is to be the founder of a second Troy, and to bear to Latium his gods snatched from the city's flames - And here, already, is a link with Italy, for the gods he carries are for a Roman reader none other than the Di Penates - the native Italian deities of his hearth and home. An exile, lonely, but guided by heaven, he sets forth on his way, and after all manner of toils on land and sea -

*tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem -*

he reaches at last the promised land's ever receding shores:-

*Italiae fugientis prendimus oras.*

With cries of joy<sup>(1)</sup> - not as strangers, but as wanderers returning to their home - the Trojans greet their destined land:-

Italiam, Italiam, primus conclamat Achates,

Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant.

When the adventure of the first books, the passion of the fourth, and the awe and splendour of the sixth, are now fading, it is Italy, and all that is associated with ancient Italy, that is the inspiration of the later books.

In the seventh book where the struggle between Aeneas and the native inhabitants must be fought out and end with victory for Aeneas, the foreigner, Vergil sets before his readers a picture of towns, rivers, peoples - a pageant of Italy that must have stirred the heart of every Italian reader.

Again, Aeneas finds his way to the home the Fates have granted by Rome's own river -

Caeruleus Thybris, caelo gratissimus amnis.

He is welcomed by "pater Tiberinus" - and who more Italian

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(1) Very different was the description of Aeneas' arrival given by Fabius Maximus who wrote a century before Vergil's day:-  
Fabius Maximus annalium primo: tum Aeneas aegre platebatur in eum devenisse agrum macerrimum litorosissimumque.  
Interpol: Serv: ad Aen: I. 3.

than he? - not as a stranger but as the long looked for founder of the Roman race, who brings back to Italy the city of Troy -

O sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem  
qui revehis nobis aeternaque Pergama servas ,  
expectate solo Laurenti arvisque Latinis ,  
hic tibi certa domus, certi (ne absiste) penates. (1)

And Aeneas prays, as any Italian might have prayed -

nymphae, Laurentes nymphae, genus amnibus unde est,  
tuque, O Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto,  
accipite Aenean et tandem arcete periclis.

On the site of Rome Aeneas is received by Evander<sup>(2)</sup>

- Romanae conditor arcis. Evander is a Greek who with his Arcadian followers had years before planted the first settlement on the Palatine hill - Vergil had not forgotten the legends that told of a Greek foundation of Rome. Aeneas and Evander find that they are the descendants of common ancestors<sup>(3)</sup>, and Aeneas is introduced to the Graeco-Roman worship of Hercules at the Ara Maxima. Then Trojan Aeneas, a wondering guest, walking by Greek Evander's side, saw what still to the Romans of Vergil's day must have been some of the city's

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(1) The bold expression Troianam urbem revehis refers to the legend that Dardanus, the founder of Troy, had come originally from Italy.  
See Aen: VII. 206.

. . . his ortus ut agris  
Dardanus Idaeas Phrygiae penetravit ad urbes.  
(2) For the legend of Evander see Livy I. 7 ff:  
Cam: Anc: Hist: VII. p.364 ff:  
(3) See page 52.

most cherished sights - The Porta Carmentalis where Evander's mother was buried; on the Capitol's slope the cave where in later days the she-wolf was to nurse the Twins, Romulus and Remus; the Asylum, Romulus' sanctuary for refugees; the Tarpeian rock; the Capitol itself - silvestribus harrida dumis. They make their way to Evander's home on the Palatine - where the house of Augustus later stood - and see below Evander's cows lowing in the Forum and in the "elegant" Carinae:-

ad tecta subibant  
pauperis Evandri passimque armenta videbant  
Romanoque foro et lautis mugire carinis.

So the three strands Italian, Greek, and Trojan, were woven by the Fates into the destiny of Rome and of her world-wide empire, whose second founder Augustus, like his ancestor and prototype Aeneas, embodied, in the poet's inspired vision, those qualities of character upon which that empire was built.