

Historical Sources in Translation

Early Rome

Myth and Society

Edited by Jaclyn Neel

WILEY Blackwell

DidYou**Know?**_____

This book is available as a **Wiley E-Text.**

The Wiley E-Text is a complete digital version of the text that makes time spent studying more efficient. Course materials can be accessed on a desktop, laptop, or mobile device—so that learning can take place anytime, anywhere.

A more affordable alternative to traditional print, the Wiley E-Text creates a flexible user experience:

- ✓ **Access on-the-go**
- ✓ **Search across content**
- ✓ **Highlight and take notes**
- ✓ **Save money!**

The Wiley E-Text can be purchased in the following ways:

Check with your bookstore for available
e-textbook options

Wiley E-Text: Powered by VitalSource®
ISBN 978-1-119-08382-5

Directly from:

www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell

Cover Design: Wiley
Cover Image: Wolf Mosaic, Aldborough Roman Town, Yorkshire,
300 AD (mosaic) / Leeds Museums and Art Galleries
(Leeds City Museum) UK / Bridgeman Images

WILEY Blackwell

ISBN 978-1-119-08380-1



9 781119 083801

Edited by
Neel

Early Rome

Myth and Society

WILEY
Blackwell

Early Rome

Myth and Society: A Sourcebook

Jaclyn Neel

WILEY Blackwell

This edition first published 2017
© 2017 John Wiley & Sons Inc

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by law. Advice on how to obtain permission to reuse material from this title is available at <http://www.wiley.com/go/permissions>.

The right of Jaclyn Neel to be identified as the author of this work has been asserted in accordance with law.

Registered Offices

John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 111 River Street, Hoboken, NJ 07030, USA

Editorial Office

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

For details of our global editorial offices, customer services, and more information about Wiley products visit us at www.wiley.com.

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats and by print-on-demand. Some content that appears in standard print versions of this book may not be available in other formats.

Limit of Liability/Disclaimer of Warranty: While the publisher and author have used their best efforts in preparing this book, they make no representations or warranties with respect to the accuracy or completeness of the contents of this book and specifically disclaim any implied warranties of merchantability or fitness for a particular purpose. It is sold on the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering professional services and neither the publisher nor the authors shall be liable for damages arising herefrom. If professional advice or other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent professional should be sought.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data applied for.

Hardback: 9781119083795

Paperback: 9781119083801

Cover image: Wolf Mosaic, Aldborough Roman Town, Yorkshire, 300 AD (mosaic) / Leeds Museums and Art Galleries (Leeds City Museum) UK / Bridgeman Images

Set in 10/13pt Stone Serif by Aptara Inc., New Delhi, India

Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Early Rome

Blackwell Sourcebooks in Ancient History

This series presents readers with new translations of the raw material of ancient history. It provides direct access to the ancient world, from wars and power politics to daily life and entertainment, allowing readers to discover the extraordinary diversity of ancient societies.

Published

The Ancient Near East

Edited by Mark W. Chavalas

The Roman Games

Alison Futrell

Alexander the Great

Waldemar Heckel and J. C. Yardley

The Hellenistic Period

Roger Bagnall and Peter Derow

Ancient Greek Religion

Emily Kearns

Ancient Greece from Homer to Alexander

Joseph Roisman and J. C. Yardley

Early Rome: Myth and Society

Jaclyn Neel

For my parents

The scholarly community has become increasingly aware of the differences between Roman myths and the more familiar myths of Greece. *Early Rome: Myth and Society* steps in to provide much-needed modern and accessible translations and commentaries on Italian legends.

This work examines the tales of Roman pre- and legendary history, discusses relevant cultural and contextual information, and presents author biographies. This book offers updated translations of key texts, including authors who are often absent from classical mythology textbooks, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Servius. Editor Jaclyn Neel debunks the idea that Romans were unimaginative copyists by spotlighting the vitality and flexibility of Italian myth – particularly those parts that are less closely connected to Greek tales, such as the story of Caeculus of Praeneste. Finally, by calling attention to the Italian rather than Roman nature of the collection, this book suggests that Roman culture was broader than the city itself. This important work offers:

- Up-to-date and accessible translations of Roman and Italic legends from authors throughout antiquity
- Examination of compelling tales that involve the Roman equivalent of Greek heroes
- Unique view of the strength and plasticity of Roman and Italic myth, particularly the parts less closely connected to familiar Greek tales
- Intelligent discussion of relevant cultural and contextual information
- Argument that Roman culture reached far beyond the city of Rome

Fresh and readable, *Early Rome: Myth and Society* offers essential reading for students of ancient Rome as well as those interested in Roman and Greek mythology.

Jaclyn Neel is Assistant Professor of Instruction at Temple University, USA. She is the author of *Legendary Rivals: Collegiality and Ambition in the Tales of Early Rome* (2014) and several articles on Italic myth.

Preface

Students inspired me to write this book. I was teaching my first class on early Rome when I realized that the only translation of Dionysius was over 100 years old and so antiquated that the majority of the class simply refused to read it. After a few weeks, I couldn't blame them; I'd switched back to the Greek. I found myself skipping material that was interesting, but essentially unteachable: not only Dionysius, but also passages from Servius and other writers who lack any English translation.

This book cannot fill that gap, but I hope that it makes some progress in doing so by providing a selection of material that can be used to teach (or simply read) about early Rome. There is far more material than I've had space to provide, both textual and iconographic. Space restrictions inevitably mean that I've had to limit some authors (notably Dionysius and Plutarch) whose prose is more elaborate.

In selecting texts, I have tried to hew closely to two principles. The first is novelty: if two authors tell essentially the same story, and one of those two authors has a modern translation, I have translated the other. In doing so, I have omitted several of Rome's most famous authors almost entirely; this book contains little Vergil. But the world is so rich in translations of Vergil that I think the fault is forgivable. The other principle is variety: when many variants of a given tale exist, I have translated as many as possible. That has yielded a book whose organization is as imbalanced as surviving Roman narratives: there's far more Romulus than Numa, for example. Astute readers will notice that the variety diminishes in later chapters, again matching the character of the sources.

This book is intended for a rather disparate audience, ranging from advanced undergraduates to graduate students in non-classics fields. The explanatory material will doubtless be too detailed for some and not sufficient for others. I have assumed basic knowledge of Greek myth (e.g., the names of the gods and their major activities) and of Roman history (e.g., the identity of Julius Caesar).

The chapters can be read in any order, although the organization is largely chronological. As a result, there's some repetition in the explanatory material between chapters, which I've tried to limit as much as possible. Within the chapters, the sources are organized chronologically.

The "Further Reading" sections aim to be accessible and cover a range of methods. Because the scholarship on early Rome is international, I've pointed to some important arguments in the "Introductions" – but there is, of course, far more available. Advanced students will benefit from the additional bibliography maintained by Alain Meurant at the excellent Lupa Capitolina Electronica website (<http://lupacap.fltr.ucl.ac.be/LCE.ang/default.htm>). Instructors will want to supplement to suit their own aims; my plan was undertaken with Cornell's *The Beginnings of Rome* (Routledge, 1995) and Richardson and Santangelo's *The Roman Historical Tradition* (Oxford, 2014) in mind.

All translations are my own. Generally speaking, I have translated the Greek texts from the *TLG*; the Latin texts came from more varied sources (Loeb, OCT, and Teubner). References to Ennius always use Skutsch. For Cicero's *De Republica*, I've used the Teubner. The Propertian text is my own hybrid of Fedeli, Richardson, and Goold. Although I used Lindsay for Festus, I've referred to the lemma rather than the page; anyone with good Latin can find the original in the freely-available Mueller. When necessary, I have indicated textual problems and variants in the notes; although perhaps not strictly necessary in a sourcebook, it may inspire classroom discussion. When significant textual variances exist, I have tried to put the most common reading in the text and the variant(s) in the notes. References to ancient works always cite the original language.

Books rarely succeed without assistance. The entire team at Wiley has been unfailingly helpful; I owe particular thanks to Allison Kostka, Brinda Balasubramanian, and Denisha Sahadevan for fielding inquiries, and immense gratitude to Haze Humbert for bringing the project to publication. Alessia Argento, Stefano Anastasio, Angela Carbonaro, Stefano Casciu, Elisa Dal Canto, Maria De Francesco, Rosanna Di Pinto, Maria Daniela Donninelli, Maria Cristina Guidotti, Laura Minarini, Marco Pierini, Valentina Prestigiovanni, and Manuela Santini helped me secure permissions and photographs. The Textbook and Academic Authors Association generously covered part of the permissions costs, and I am grateful to its Executive Director, Michael Spinella, for his quick communications about the process.

Gabe Moss at the Ancient World Mapping Center was unfazed by a complete map novice, and managed to corral my list of several hundred sites, mythical and real and spanning the entire Mediterranean, into the two lovely maps found here. Rebecca Sears, Amy Russell, and Gwynnaeth MacIntyre read almost the entire book in draft form, as did my former student Leah Bernardo-Ciddio; I owe them an enormous debt of gratitude for their comments and suggestions, many of which I hope they will recognize in the finished product. Isabel Köster deserves special mention: she and her students road-tested the Romulus and

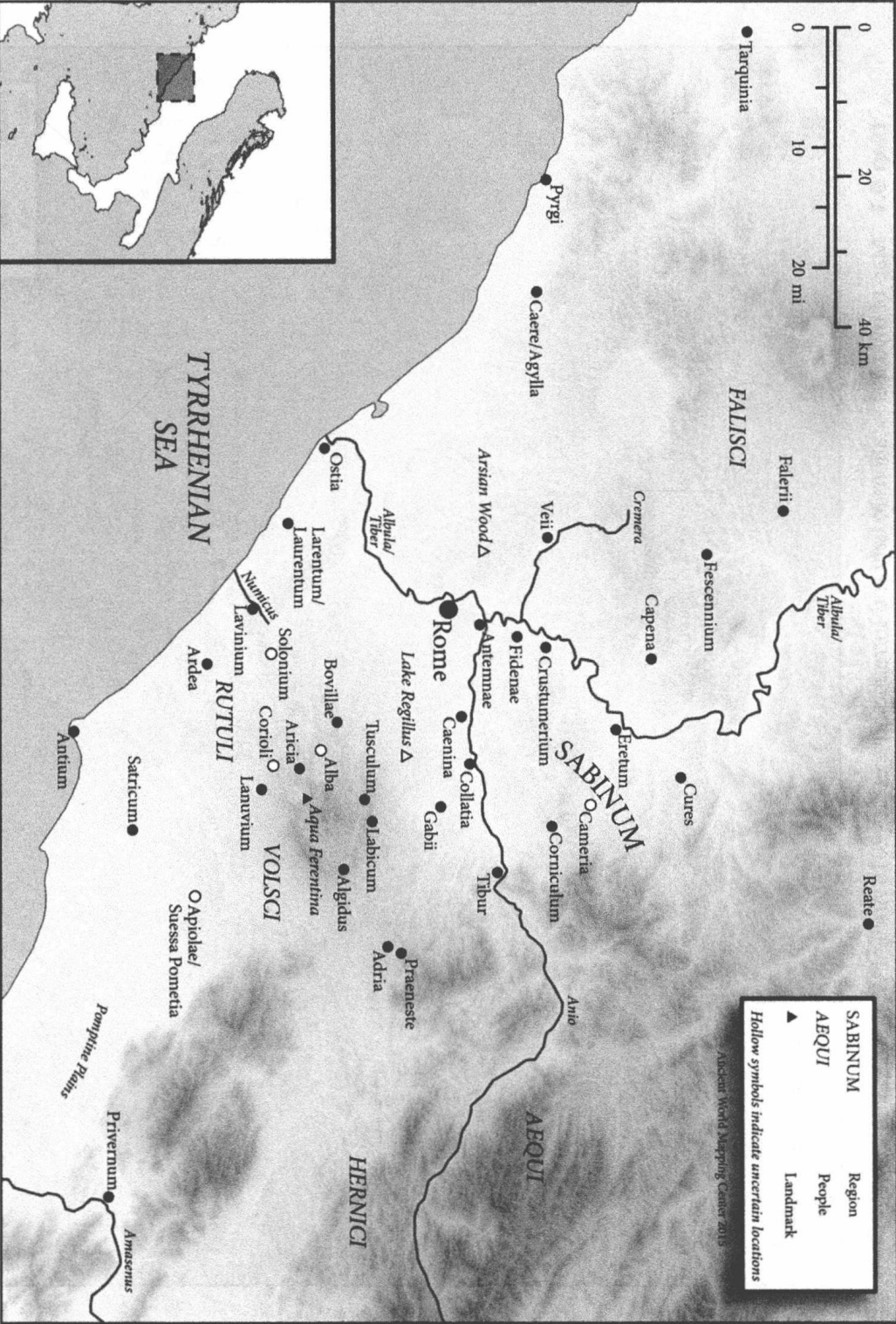
Remus, Lucretia, and Horatii and Curiatii narratives, and pointed me to many areas that needed further clarification.

I am also immensely grateful to my team of student researchers, who read a textbook without a class in addition to their normal workload: Berat Barzanjee, Noah Brinder, Christina Cannavicci, Sandy Dief, Daniel Jankulovski, and Kim McCullough. Their diligence and enthusiasm for an independent project was exemplary, and I hope that they, too, will recognize some of their suggestions in the completed work. Their participation was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada; Janet Friskney was a great resource in securing this grant. I'm also grateful to the students of my original Early Rome class at York University in 2012/2013, whose discussions helped me decide what material was most interesting to an undergraduate audience.

Finally, many friends and family outside the discipline provided fresh eyes and enthusiastic encouragement: my parents and sisters, Debbie Pollack, David Neel, Julia Abbott, and Tamar Zeffren. Garnet and Barb Wallace put up with me for an entire summer, during which most of the book was written *in otio*. As always, my most immense debts are to Chris, who knows why.

Abbreviations & Symbols

- CAH²** *The Cambridge Ancient History*. 2nd ed.; 14 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970–2006. Online (with subscription): <https://www.cambridge.org/core/series/cambridge-ancient-history/010C506409EE858277F898C129759025>
- CIL** *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*. 17+ vols. Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Berlin. 1893–.
- FRHist** *The Fragments of the Roman Historians* (3 vols.), ed. Timothy Cornell et al. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- FGrHist** *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. ed. Felix Jacoby. Berlin, Weidmann. 1923–. Online (with subscription): <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/die-fragmente-der-griechischen-historiker-i-iii>
- ILS** *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (3 vols.), ed. Hermann Dessau. Berlin, Weidmann. 1892. Online: <http://archive.org/search.php?query=Inscriptiones%20Latinae%20Selectae%20AND%20mediatype%3Atexts>
- RRC** *Roman Republican Coinage* (2 vols.), ed. Michael Crawford. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974. Online (with subscription): <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=acls;cc=acls;view=toc;idno=heb01433.0002.001>
- [...] indicates an excerpt: material has been omitted for this book only
- [**lacuna**] indicates text that is missing in the original Latin or Greek
- [**italics**] indicates a summary of the omitted text; this is not ancient
- [**word**] indicates an explanation that is not in the original text.



Contents

<i>Preface</i>	xii
<i>Abbreviations & Symbols</i>	xv
1 Introducing Early Rome	1
Introduction	1
1.1 What Is a “Myth”?	2
1.2 Types of Stories You Will Read in this Book	4
1.3 Literary Genres in this Book	7
1.4 Theoretical Approaches to Roman Myth	10
1.5 Chronology of Early Rome	11
Conclusion	14
Notes	14
References	14
Further Reading	15
2 Rome Before the City	17
Introduction	17
For Further Thought	20
2.1 The Earliest Italians	20
2.2 Inhabitants of the Site of Rome	26
2.3 Aeneas in Italy	32
2.4 Aeneas’ Arrival in Latium	34
2.5 War in Italy	37
2.6 The Death of Aeneas and “Pater Indiges”	43
2.7 Ascanius, Silvius, and Lavinia: the Alban Dynasty	45
Conclusion	49

Notes	50
References	53
Further Reading	53
3 Founding Rome	55
Introduction	55
For Further Thought	58
3.1 Conception, Birth, and Exposure	58
3.2 Youth of Romulus and Remus	65
3.3 Rome's Foundation	69
3.4 The Death of Remus	74
3.5 Wars with the Sabines	78
3.6 Death of Titus Tatius	86
3.7 Death and Apotheosis of Romulus	88
Conclusion	91
Notes	92
References	95
Further Reading	95
4 Images and Text	97
Introduction	97
For Further Thought	99
4.1 Mlacuch	99
4.2 Hercules and Juno	101
4.3 Suckling Wolf	104
4.4 Prophets	108
4.5 Wolfman	111
4.6 The Vibenna Brothers	113
4.7 Vulca of Veii	119
Conclusion	121
Notes	122
References	122
Further Reading	123
5 Rome's Kings	125
Introduction	125
For Further Thought	128
5.1 The <i>Interregnum</i> (717–716)	129
5.2 Numa (716–674)	130
5.3 Tullus Hostilius (673–642)	138
5.4 Tarquinius Priscus (616–578)	145
5.5 Servius Tullius (578–535)	155
5.6 Tarquin the Proud (534–509)	162