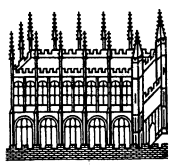

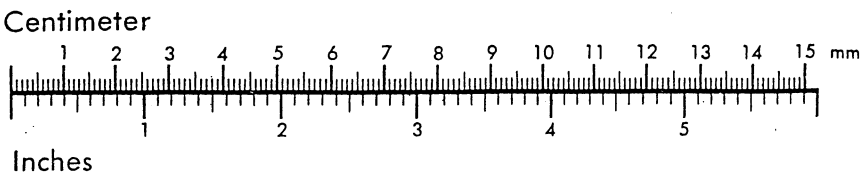

Speech and Action in the *Antiquitates Romanae* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus: The Question of Historical Change

by

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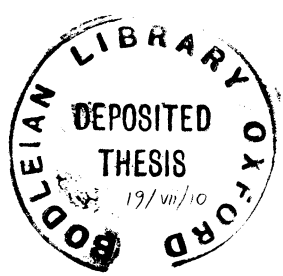

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PARENTIBUS

Abstract: Daniel Hogg, Oriel College

Speech and Action in the *Antiquitates Romanae* of

Dionysius of Halicarnassus: The Question of Historical Change

This thesis examines the relationship between speech and action in Dionysius' *Antiquitates Romanae*. It consists of five main chapters, an introduction and a conclusion. In the introduction I establish the *status quaestionis* and consider different modes of presenting discourse. Chapter 2 is an intertextual analysis of Dionysius' first preface, *AR* I.1-8, exploring Dionysius' engagement with his Greek and Roman predecessors. I take one modern theory, concerning Dionysius apparent 'idealisation' of the Roman past, in order to examine the relationship between the *Antiquities* and Dionysius' rhetorical works. In the four chapters that follow, I trace the changing texture of narrative across the *Antiquities*, sinking shafts at moments to examine closely what is going on. First (ch. 3), I analyse speech in the Regal Period, focusing on the story of Lucretia and Brutus (*AR* IV.64-85), and the way that Herodotean allusion meshes with intratextual devices to narrate the fluctuations of the Regal Period. Chapter 4 is a paired reading of (4a) the story of Coriolanus' trial (VII.21-66) and (4b) the story of Coriolanus' encounter with his mother (VIII.39-62). Ch. 4a concentrates on Thucydides and Isocrates, and how Coriolanus' trial binds the Greek literary past to the first-century Roman present. In 4b, I examine how Dionysius manages the shift between high politics and family relationships. Chapter 5, on the decemvirate (X.50-XI.44), explores again Roman tyranny, this time in a Republican frame; the power of the senate is consequently in point here. Chapter 6, on *AR* XIV-XX, probes the questions of Greek and Roman ethnicity and the individual which had arisen in the earlier chapters. In the conclusion I consider the precise question of Dionysius' Augustanism, relating it to Dionysius' apparent status in Rome.

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I would also like to thank everyone who has inspired or supported me during this process: Elton Barker, Joe Howley and Christopher Smith all read chapters; the criticisms of Rhiannon Ash, Chris Kraus, Jane Lightfoot and Tim Rood have been of enormous benefit; Julietta Steinhauer read and commented on the whole thesis; generous audiences at Oxford, Edinburgh, Nottingham and St Andrews have helped the work improve immeasurably. Without the supervision of Chris Pelling, this thesis would never have been possible; I owe him endless thanks. I can claim, however, all errors that remain. Finally, and most importantly, my parents have supported me in every imaginable way; my mother, until its completion, and my father, until his death in 2007. I dedicate this to them, though it can never hope to repay what they have given me.

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Abbreviations

The names of periodicals are abbreviated in accordance with the conventions of *L'Année Philologique*; Latin texts those of the Oxford Latin Dictionary; Greek texts those of Liddell and Scott, with the exception of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who is abbreviated to DH.

1. Introduction

§1 The questions of the thesis

Dionysius the historian falls between three stools. That the Hellenistic poets owe a debt to their more illustrious predecessors is obvious.[1] The later Greeks, often described as belonging to the 'Second Sophistic', owe the same debt, and are clearly part of the Roman Empire too.[2] The Romans of the Augustan age have a burgeoning literary heritage of their own, but they as well are fully versed in the Greek tradition. Dionysius is Augustan and Greek. He does not fit easily into any of these boxes. This is what makes him an exciting topic: many of the questions that apply to the Hellenistic poets, the Second Sophistic, and Roman authors in the first century all apply to him too, but no one yet has established the right proportions. This is what I hope to do.

Dionysius claims to have arrived in Rome immediately after the Battle of Actium (DH *AR* I.7.2). This makes him one of the first Greek voices of the *Pax Augusta*. On these terms, his impact on modern classical studies should be sizable. Yet it has been limited on the one hand by his falling outside the false demarcation of Philostratus' 'Second Sophistic', and on the other by the coruscating notices by the likes of Eduard Schwartz in the early twentieth century.[3] Scholars of the second half of the last century rescued the reputation of their own authors such as Livy and Plutarch by comparing them with

1 Recent discussions include Radke 2007.
2 Swain 1996 is seminal; Yarrow 2006 covers extremely well Greek historiography from the period just before Dionysius. Clarke 1999, Engels 1999 and Dueck 2000 have analysed Dionysius' closest contemporary, Strabo. Polybius is, of course, extremely well served: Champion 2004 addresses the question of how Polybius fits Greek and Roman together. See also Goldhill 2001; Woolf 1994.
3 E.g. Schwartz *RE* V: coll. 934-961; Egger 1902.

Dionysius.[4] Despite work by the likes of Gabba, Marincola and Schultze, Dionysius is even now rarely elevated beyond the status of a comparandum to be treated on his own terms.[5] There is still much to be done, and valuably so, because Dionysius is a more important staging post between the classical and late Hellenistic eras in both cultural studies and in literature than the relative quiet on him would suggest.

There is only one published study in English of the *Antiquitates Romanae* of comparable length to my thesis, Emilio Gabba's *Dionysius and the History of Archaic Rome* (Berkeley 1991). More recently, the impetus of a new Budé edition has led to a flowering of work on Dionysius' history in French.[6] Despite the comparative wealth of publication, there has only been one monograph, Anouk Delcourt's *Lecture des Antiquités Romaines* (Brussels 2005). My focus on speech differentiates my approach from those of Gabba and Delcourt.

Ancient historiography, like the classical societies which gave birth to it, is dominated by the spoken word.[7] Speech in historiography can mean the apophthegm, the dialogue, the conversation, the set

4 E.g. Walsh 1961; Russell 1963; Bonjour 1975.

5 Marincola 1997: *passim*; 2007b. Schultze 1980; 1986; 1995; 2000; 2004; 2007. Fox 1993;1996; 2001. Weaire has also published on Dionysius' rhetorical works (2002, 2005). Isolated studies by other scholars in all academic languages naturally abound.

6 Aujac, Fromentin and Pittia have edited Dionysius' entire oeuvre between them; Fromentin and Pittia have also published extensively elsewhere on Dionysius. The two collections in *Pallas* 39, principally on *AR* I-II, & 53, on XII-XX, are especially useful, as is Pittia 2002a. Martin (e.g. 1971, 2000), Briquel (e.g. 1993, 2000) and Pousset (e.g. 1993) are other major Francophone scholars in the field. Italian production has been dominated by Gabba. Musti 1970 is also crucial. German scholarship has been relatively muted on Dionysius in recent years. Hidber 1996 on the *De Vett. Orr.* is important, and Nicholas Wiater (Bonn) has this summer completed a doctorate on Dionysius' rhetorical works. I have not yet had access to this. The Netherlands has seen the only modern attempt at a holistic survey of Dionysius' works, Goudriaan 1989: this, unpublished and in Dutch, is extremely useful. I expect very much of interest in Casper De Jonge's book, awaiting publication by OUP, on the relationship between grammar and style in Dionysius' rhetorical works.

7 Marincola 2007b: 118: '[F]acility and accomplishment in speaking were, after military achievement, the greatest glories one could win.' Cf. Frolov 2006: 114.

speech.[8] It can be delivered in a variety of ways, embedded in the narrative as direct or indirect discourse, or as a speech act: I explain how I use these terms in Appendix A. Speech can also have a range of functions. Marincola outlines the most common of these.[9] Speeches can give the reasons and rationale of historical characters. They might provide the opportunity for abstract analysis of the underlying issues, and so give the history relevance beyond the immediate scope of the narrative: the Mytilenean debate (Thuc. III.37-48), for example, considers not just the fate of the Mytileneans but also asks questions about how states should treat their subjects.[10] This process can help to 'universalise' a historical narrative: take for example the constitutional debate at Hdt. III.80-82. This debate, although in part peculiar to Herodotus' construction of the Persians, has a generalising force which makes it akin to philosophical discourse,[11] and, as we shall see, allows a natural responsion between Herodotus' work and political-philosophical history like Dionysius'.

Characterisation is a key element of speeches, 'indicating [the speaker's] frame of mind and disposition'.[12] It is also an especially difficult one, since the number of other forces at work in the speeches, such as the 'universalising' force of history, or the historian's desire to reflect his history's general trends, or to create balanced pairs of speeches, can smother an individual voice. There is also the question of a historian's sources: apparent inconsistencies in Dionysius' speeches, as in his narrative, have been explained in terms of Dionysius' inadequate synthesising of divergent source-material,[13]

8 Marincola 2007b: 118
9 This and the next paragraph are a summary of Marincola 2007b: 119-120, with examples and some phrasing repeated.
10 Marincola 2007b: 119; citing further the debate between Cato and Caesar at Sall. *BC* 51-52.
11 Marincola 2007b: 119
12 Marincola 2007b: 119, citing Sen. *Ep.* 114.1 and DH *AR* I.1.3.
13 E.g. Wiseman 1979: 78; Gabba 1961: esp. 117-121.

though this approach has been superseded in recent years.[14] Further investigation on this theme would make a rewarding topic, but I do not intend to undertake it in any substantial way here.

I discuss Dionysius' relationship with his predecessors in chapter 2, but let us take one example, Polybius, here. Polybius' detailed analysis of speech (Polyb. 2.56, 3.20.1-5, 29.12.2-10, 36.1; esp. 12.25) is vitally important for understanding his history.[15] He sees a close connection between speech and action (12.25.1b), as does Dionysius (*AR* VII.66.2-3).[16] Polybius, in accordance with the mainstream,[17] judges other historians' speeches according to the 'appropriateness' of a given speech (τὸ πρέπον pp. 35-39 below). Polybius argues that historiographical speeches have an important *practical* function (Polyb. 12.25b.2-4); the utility of history is in point here, as it is for Dionysius (DH *AR* XI.1.4). Dionysius' relationship with Polybius is more complex than this summary suggests: see 54-61 below.

The survey above concentrates on the function of individual or sets of speeches. Another way of looking at speech is to trace the manner of speech in certain sections of narrative or over the course of a history. A complete summary of approaches would be endless. One recent example is Rood on Thucydides. He explains the changing tone of Thuc. VIII, which includes much more indirect over direct discourse than there is in the earlier books, by suggesting that the changing circumstances of the Peloponnesian War required a new sort of narrative to describe them.[18] Staying with Thucydides,

14 E.g. by Fromentin 2003 and Delcourt 2005: 322-337 on Servius Tullius.
15 Marincola 2007b: 123-126
16 Polybius: Sacks 1981: 79-96; Dionysius: Schultze 1986: 127.
17 Arist. *Poet.* 1460a26; Marincola 2007b: 122-123; Macleod 1983: 52 on τὰ δέοντα in Thucydides' speeches.
18 Rood 1999: 282-284; cf. Stahl 1972 on Thuc. VI-VII. The speeches of Thucydides have received a huge amount of attention, impractical to repeat here. See Stadter 1972, Marincola 2001, 2007b for bibl.; Skortsis 2006 also has a number of very useful readings. Discussion of speech in classical historiography often starts from Thuc. I.22.6 (pp. 35-39 below). For Herodotus, see Pelling 2006d & 2007c, with bibliography.

Debnar examines the speeches and audiences of the Spartans, to see how they change both over time (during the course of the war) and over space (as they move away from or stay close to Sparta).[19]

Further means of analysis are available. Forsythe suggests two explanations for the changing speech patterns in Livy's first decade, in which the longest speeches are clustered around the middle of the decade.[20] He proposes that Livy may have identified a shift in the nature of Roman history, and/or that Livy's confidence as a writer may have increased.[21] The second reason cannot, I think, be substantially applied to Dionysius, who does not seem to have approached the task of writing in quite so linear a fashion,[22] but the first may be relevant.

Not much has been written on speech in Dionysius' *Antiquities*.[23] The presence of Thucydides, Demosthenes and Xenophon in the speeches was analysed by Flierle (1890); his work was complemented by Ek's examination of *Herodotismen* (1942), which was not limited to Dionysius' speeches. There is room for a smaller study on Isocratean presence in the speeches of the *Antiquities*, to accompany the work of Hubbell (1913), Verdin (1974), Noè (1979), Schultze (1980) and Goudriaan (1989) on Dionysius' attitude to Isocrates. I propose my views on Dionysius and Isocrates in ch.4. Usher

19 Debnar 2001. See also Morrison 2006, who proposes a methodology for analysing speech in Thucydides in the immediate narrative context and with regard to more wide-ranging reverberations in the text.
20 Forsythe 1999: 78-79. Forsythe does not specify that he means speeches in direct discourse, but that is a simple inference. He lists the following as lengthy 'historical' speeches: Livy III.67-68; IV.3-5; V.3-6; V.51-54; VI.40-41, VII.30; only IX.34 is of similar length outside the middle five books.
21 This argument may pick up on the debate about the development of Livy's style. The question was whether his style grew more assured as he progressed, or whether his style remained constant, but different aspects came to the fore according to the changing requirements of history: see Gries 1949.
22 See Schultze 1980: 17 & 216ff., who by implication suggests non-linear composition. This does not contradict Gabba's suggestion that Book I may have been *published* first: see pp. 20-21 below.
23 What there is tends to focus, not unfairly, on the apparent interminability and repetitiveness of Dionysius' speeches: Pelling 2007a: 255; Poucet 2005 s.v 'Appréciation d'un ensemble'. A deeper analysis on the debate between Tullus Hostilius and Mettius Fufetius is carried out by Richard 1993.

(1982: 832-837) has discussed the mode of speech in the Antiquities; his brief analysis of style does not overlap with my interest in function. Summaries have been attempted by Gabba (1991: 68-73 and 83-84) and Schultze (1986: 127-132). The recent French studies have either concentrated on parts of the *Antiquities* light in speeches,[24] or have been more interested in the historicity behind the narrative.[25] Dionysius' speeches, being universally acknowledged as compositions either belonging to Dionysius himself or to his sources, have naturally been excluded from the discussion.

Since speeches occupy up to two-thirds of the extant text of the *Antiquities* after *AR* II,[26] there is clearly room for a study such as mine. I am going to ask the following questions about speech in the *Antiquities*. How does speech fit into the narrative? Who speaks? How does Dionysius narrate this speech – is it in direct or indirect discourse, or in speech acts? Where do these people speak – in public, in private, in an institutional setting? How do these people speak? Does speech change during the narrative? What does that tell us about Dionysius' Rome?

All of these questions will be situated within a broader discussion about historical change and fluctuation in the *Antiquities*. I will ask how Dionysius' Romans manage change; how the narrative reflects that change; how allusion and intertext vary throughout the *Antiquities*. This leads to the larger question of cultural identity in the *Antiquities*: Dionysius portrays Rome as a Greek city, but what does it mean to be Greek, Roman or barbarian? How does Dionysius portray the Greeks in the *Antiquities*? The Greeks exist in two forms in the *Antiquities*: on the one hand, there is the exemplar form of the

24 E.g. Delcourt 2005 and *Pallas* 39 on *AR* I-IV; *Pallas* 53 and Pittia 2002a on *AR* XII-XX.
25 E.g. Briquel 2004; Martin 2000.
26 Mora 1995: 345-347, 424-425 (tables 12 & 14)

Classical Greeks. These Greeks exist off to one side of the *Antiquities*, the recipients of embassies to Delphi and on constitutional matters. On the other hand, the first Greek contact narrated at length is with the degenerate Greeks of Sicily in the later books of the *Antiquities*. Dionysius' construction of Greekness is the framework which supports the whole project of the *Antiquities*, and so this question will be addressed throughout this thesis.

§2 The layout of the thesis

In the appendix to this section I consider different modes of presenting discourse. Chapter 2 is an intertextual[27] analysis of Dionysius' first preface, *AR* I.1-8, exploring Dionysius' engagement with his Greek and Roman predecessors. I take one modern theory, concerning Dionysius apparent 'idealisation' of the Roman past,[28] in order to examine the relationship between the *Antiquities* and Dionysius' rhetorical works. In the four chapters that follow, I trace the changing texture of narrative across the *Antiquities*, sinking shafts at moments to examine closely what is going on. First (ch. 3), I analyse speech in the Regal Period, focusing on the story of Lucretia and Brutus (*AR* IV.64-85), and the way that Herodotean allusion meshes with intratextual devices to narrate the fluctuations of the Regal Period. Chapter 4 is a paired reading of (4a) the story of Coriolanus' trial (VII.21-66) and (4b) the story of Coriolanus' encounter with his mother (VIII.39-62). Ch. 4a concentrates on Thucydides and Isocrates, and how Coriolanus' trial binds the Greek literary past to the first-century Roman present. In 4b, I examine how Dionysius manages the shift between high politics and family relationships. Chapter

27 I use 'intertextual' in the looser sense of allusion to specific phrases or tendencies in works other than the one under discussion.
28 This has been the case since the beginning of the twentieth century (see Hurst 1982 for the *status quaestionis*). Of contemporary scholars, see e.g. Fox 1993, 1996; Luce 1995; Delcourt 2005; Gabba 1982.

5, on the decemvirate (X.50-XI.44), explores again Roman tyranny, this time in a Republican frame; the power of the senate is consequently in point here. Chapter 6, on *AR* XIV-XX, probes the questions of Greek and Roman ethnicity and the individual which had arisen in the earlier chapters. In the conclusion I consider the precise question of Dionysius' Augustanism, relating it to Dionysius' apparent status in Rome.

Appendix: Modes for presenting discourse[29]

1. Direct Discourse or *oratio recta*. This is 'standard quotation' – we are given the impression of hearing the original speaker's actual words.

'tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.' Verg. *A.* XII.947-9	Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστῃ, ἢν μὴ ταῦτά τοι ταύτῃ ἐκβῇ τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω. Hdt. VII.20
	Οὐκ ἄξεις, ἀλιτήριε, καὶ διὰ τοῦ νεκροῦ; DH *AR* IV.39.4

2. Free Direct Discourse – we are given a more approximate impression of the words uttered or thought by the original speaker(s).

'tristius an miseris superest mare? linquite, terrae, spem pelagi sacrosque iterum seponite fluctus.' haec iterant segni flentes occumbere leto. Val. Flac. *Arg.* I.631-3	tamen Arminius...inrumpere Germanos iubet, clamitans 'en Varus [et] eodemque iterum fato vinctae legiones!' Tac. *Ann.* I.65.4
	Οἱ δ' ἀσμένως δέχεσθαι τὰς παραινέσεις σκηψάμενοι· Τί οὖν, ἔφασαν, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν γίνῃ τῆς ἀναζεύξεως τόπον ἐπιτήδειον προκατασκεψάμενος; DH *AR* XI.26.1

29 Laird 1999: 79-115 (table at 88-89), to whom I owe much of the phrasing below. The examples from poetry are his.

3. Indirect Discourse or *oratio obliqua* – the syntax allows that the words of the original speaker(s) may have been modified by the speaker or narrator presenting them.

nuntius ingentis ignota in veste reportat advenisse viros. Verg. *A.* VII.167-8	Δημοσθένης δὲ Νικίᾳ προσελθὼν γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο πληρώσαντας ἔτι τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν νεῶν βιάσασθαι, ἢν δύνωνται. Thuc. VII.72.3
	παραστησάμενοι τὸν κήρυκα τοὺς βουλεύοντας ἐξ ὀνόματος καλεῖν ἐκέλευον. DH *AR* XI.4.1

4. Free Indirect Discourse – the syntax of the original words has been modified by the speaker or narrator, but the words do not hang on a verb of speaking or thinking.

heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furentem audeat adfatu? quae prima exordia sumat? Verg. *A.* IV.283-4	Nec nominis homines tum pertaesum esse, quippe quo Iouem appellari fas sit, quo Romulum, conditorem urbis, deincepsque reges, quod sacris etiam ut sollemne retentum sit: superbiam uiolentiamque tum perosus regis. Livy III.39.2
	ἢ γὰρ οὐχ ὑπομενεῖν αὐτοὺς ἄλλον τινὰ αἱρεῖσθαι στρατηγὸν δι' ἀπορίαν ἀγαθοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ἢ παρακινδυνεύσαντας ὀτῳδήτινι παραδοῦναι τὰς δυνάμεις σὺν μεγάλῃ διδαχθήσεσθαι βλάβῃ τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος αἵρεσιν. DH *AR* VIII.54.3

5. Records of Speech Acts (RSA)

(a) 'Terse' RSA

Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Juno Verg. *A.* IX.2	ἐκεῖνος δὲ τοῦ τ' ἐπίπλου ἔπαυσε Thuc. VIII.86.5
	ἐκάλει τὸν Νέβιον ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα DH *AR* III.71.2

(b) 'Expansive' or 'Informative' RSA

hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores, unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes... Verg. *A.* I.742-3	...καὶ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν πολλὰ εἰπὼν ἐς ἐλπίδας τε αὐτοὺς οὐ σμικρὰς τῶν μελλόντων καθίστη. Thuc. VIII.81.2
	Ὡς δὲ παρέλαβεν ὁ Μάρκιος τὸν λόγον, ἀρξάμενος ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας διῆλθεν, ὅσας ἐστρατευμένος ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως στρατείας... DH *AR* VII.62.1

Some difficulties in this scheme should be observed. Free Direct Discourse is applied by Laird on 'occasions when we are unsure how far a quoted speech corresponds to the speech we imagine was originally uttered'.[30] So §2 is 'Free Direct Discourse' because the narrator indicates with the word *iterant* that the words in direct discourse (*tristius...fluctus*) are not an exact representation of everything that was uttered. Compare Tacitus' iterative *clamitans*. Exact parallels are absent from Dionysius; the closest is Dionysius' plural ἔφασαν. This is not literally accurate, since it is impossible that all the men spoke together. Where Tacitus approximates *what words* were spoken in direct discourse, Dionysius represents more closely *what* was said, but approximates *by whom* and *how* the words were spoken.

30 Laird 1999: 91, with discussion 91-94.

Furthermore, the terminology is misleading.[31] 'Free Direct Discourse' does not correspond to 'Free Indirect Discourse', despite the similarity of the names: Free Indirect Discourse includes all instances of reported speech which do not hang on a verb of saying or thinking.[32] My thesis is mostly concerned a level up from this, looking at the distinct attribution of Direct or Indirect Discourse to different speakers.

Speech Acts constitute a hornets' nest.[33] According to their original determination by Austin,[34] language can be divided between 'constative' utterances, which describe a state of affairs, and 'performative' utterances, which aim to bring about a state of affairs.[35] Yet this distinction is problematic. I do not think that my discussion would benefit from maintaining a distinction at this level between those instances of speech which aim to perform and those which merely describe, and so I use 'Reported Speech Act' (or simply 'Speech Act') to refer to any instance of speech which is not covered by Direct Discourse or Indirect Discourse.

31 Laird 1999: 93
32 Laird 1999: 94-99, with an additional category, Mimetic Indirect Discourse.
33 Hillis Miller describes well (2001: 6-62) the confusion that has arisen because of them.
34 E.g. Austin 1962
35 Cf. Laird 1999: 4

2. The First Preface (DH *AR* I.1-8)

The aim of this chapter is to investigate Dionysius' historiographical method as established in his programmatic statements and in the light of his theoretical works. The *Antiquities* is larded with such programmatic statements.[1] I will concentrate on the first of these *(AR* I.1-8), asking the following questions. 1. Is it right to argue that Dionysius' history is 'idealising'? 2. What are we to make of Dionysius' apparent unwillingness to speak of himself? 3. How does Dionysius fit himself into the historical tradition? 4. What is the relationship between the preface and Dionysius' rhetorical works?

§1 The Historian's Programme

Dionysius' letter to Pompeius and his *De Thucydide* are the best evidence for Dionysius' views on the content of historiography.[2] Other works, such as the two letters to Ammaeus, deal more closely with matters of style (not that Dionysius thought style and content could be completely divorced). My thesis will refer to the letter to Pompeius and the *De Thucydide* more than it refers to Dionysius' other rhetorical treatises.

In his letter to Pompeius, Dionysius outlines five tasks (ἔργα) which a historian must undertake. I discuss the tasks in the following order:

[1] For example, II.63.1; V.8.1, 56.1; VII.66.1; XI.1. Marincola 1997 has recently done the most to establish a context for thinking about explicit programmatic statements in ancient historiography. Others have investigated Dionysius' programmatic statements: Fox 1993, 1996, 2001; Delcourt 2005; Sacks 1983; Porciani 1997: 81-120; Gozzoli 1996. Martin 1993, Fromentin 1993 and her Budé commentary 1998 are useful studies of particular points. The analysis of Schultze 2000 is especially useful, though I disagree with her at intervals.

[2] Cf. Gabba 1991: 78. For a different style of analysis of Dionysius' historical tenets and methods, see Gabba 1991: 60-90.

1. To distribute and arrange material in the best way (*Pomp.* 3.13): §2
2. To include or exclude events as appropriate (*Pomp.* 3.11): §2 & §3b
3. To decide where to begin and how far to go (*Pomp.* 3.8): §2
4. To select a noble subject (*Pomp.* 3.2): §3b-c
5. To display a fair attitude to his subject (*Pomp.* 3.15): §3c

Dionysius' attitudes regarding historiography are consistent in a broad sense, but his approach often varies in detail. It would be unreasonable to expect anything different in a body of work that spans over twenty years. There is some debate on the dates and circumstances of publication;[3] these are less important to me than the differences of texture and depth, for which there may be reasons other than simply developmental ones. I adopt the views that: (a) the *Ad Pompeium* is a crude outline which allows for subtlety and variation;[4] (b) the *De Thucydide* is a precisely argued thesis which, while heavily informed by Dionysius' own views on historiography, also attempts to analyse Thucydides in the terms which Thucydides sets out himself.[5] In that regard, the criticisms which Dionysius makes of Thucydides will not always be made according to criteria that Dionysius establishes for himself.[6]

[3] E.g. De Jonge forthc; Aujac 1991: 7-9; Sacks 1983: 65-87; Weaire 2002, 2005 *passim*; Pritchett 1975; Grube 1950: 96.

[4] Grube 1950: 96: 'There is here little of the more developed method of illustration and rewriting which we have seen even in earlier works.'

[5] Aujac 1991: 18-33 at 23 discusses Dionysius' treatment of Thucydides throughout Dionysius' corpus, which she sees as a refinement of Dionysius' views by 'une évolution naturelle'.

[6] Halbfas 1910: 15 argues that it is Dionysius the orator and not the historian who judges Thucydides (cf. Hurst 1982: 852). Sacks 1983: 82 accurately observes that 'throughout the *Scripta Rhetorica* Dionysius did not evaluate all written works in the same manner.' There is disagreement in the secondary literature regarding how seriously to take Dionysius' views on historiography as expressed in his critical works. Gozzoli 1976: 149-176 and Sacks 1983: 65-87 take the outline of *pragmatikoi topoi* given by Dionysius in the *Ad Pompeium* seriously, to differing degrees. Sacks believes that the *Ad Pompeium* serves as an example of Dionysius' historiographical theory (Sacks 1983: esp. 76-77), and compares the apparent existence of other historiographical treatises, for example by Theodorus and Caecilius of Caleacte, who was a friend of Dionysius'. Schwartz *RE* V: 925-936 and Halbfas 1910: 39-48 also consider the issue. Gabba 1991: 78 takes Dionysius' rhetorical works as serious indicators of Dionysius' intentions for his history.

§2 The Arrangement of the *Antiquities*

Dionysius divides the *Antiquities* according to books;[7] indeed, he refers to 'books' explicitly on a number of occasions.[8] The term γραφή can refer either to individual books or the history as a whole (*AR* I.5.1, 7.1, 7.4; III.6.1, 32.3, 67.4). βίβλος is only used once (*AR* I.90.2). The occurrence of βίβλος at the end of Book I has been used, along with other evidence, to suggest that Book I was designed for separate publication.[9] The evidence is suggestive, but not conclusive:

> ὑπεσχόμην γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τῆς πρώτης γραφῆς, ἣν περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν συνταξάμενος ἐξέδωκα...
>
> DH *AR* VII.70.2

The terminology does not require that we assume separate publication: βίβλος is used by Dionysius of single volumes of a set (esp. at *AR* IV.62) and of a whole work (*Pomp.* 3.11), but he seems to use γραφή and βίβλος interchangeably (e.g. I.5.1, I.90.2). ἐξέδωκα speaks more clearly of separate publication, but that need not mean that the book was not always conceived as part of the whole. The books seem to be suitably divided, for example by the death of Numa at III.1 and Tarquinius Priscus at IV.1, though admittedly this could be the product of a good editor. The different projects of Book I and the rest of the work seem to speak more of Dionysius' concern with variety (ποικιλία).

[7] Schultze 1995: 193: Dionysius 'had evidently worked out [the general layout of the *Antiquities*] in some detail before proceeding very far with the actual composition'. Shutt 1935: 144 makes this observation, but does not demonstrate it.
[8] By this time, other historians were thinking in terms of books: on Polybius, see Rood 2004: 152; on Livy, Luce 1977: 3-9; Stadter 1972 on the structure of Livy's pentads.
[9] Gabba 1991: 98 suggests tentatively that 'from the evidence of VII.70.1 [actually VII.70.2] one might also conclude that the first book was published separately.'

The division into books helps to clarify Dionysius' views on variety. Herodotus, according to Dionysius, showed better judgement than Thucydides in the variety (ποικιλία) which each gave to their history.[10] In a loose sense of variety, Dionysius praises Herodotus for using a range of Greek and barbarian sources.[11] Returning to style, Dionysius charges Thucydides with monotony in his narrative (*Pomp.* 3.12, 5.2) and in his speeches (*Pomp.* 3.20); Dionysius' criticisms of the Atthidographers[12] are similar (*AR* I.8.3).[13] This has raised a hollow laugh in modern Dionysian scholarship.[14] Monotony and variety refer both to individual sentence structure and to the overarching plan of a prose work (*De Comp. Verb.* 19.43-54). But what does Dionysius understand variety to be? Dionysius criticises Thucydides as follows:

> Θουκυδίδης δὲ πόλεμον ἕνα κατατείνας ἀπνευστὶ διεξέρχεται μάχας ἐπὶ μάχαις καὶ παρασκευὰς ἐπὶ παρασκευαῖς καὶ λόγους ἐπὶ λόγοις συντιθείς· ὥστε μοχθεῖν μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ἀκροωμένων...
>
> DH *Pomp.* 3.12

Dionysius cites two examples where Thucydides does employ *varietas* (DH *Pomp.* 3.12): the causes of the growth of the Odrysian kingdom (Thuc. II.97), and his

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[10] DH *Pomp.* 3.11:
Τρίτον ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς ἱστορικοῦ <σκοπεῖν>, τίνα τε δεῖ παραλαβεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν πράγματα καὶ τίνα παραλιπεῖν.

[11] DH *Thuc.* 5; Dench 2005: 42

[12] On the Atthidographers, see Clarke 2008: 175-194, Rhodes 1990: 73-81; on this passage, see also Porciani 1997: 164-166.

[13] Dionysius discusses ποικιλία at *De Comp. Verb.* 19. In the following quotation *logoi* refers to all kinds of discourse (Usher 1985: 153). DH *De Comp. Verb.* 19.59ff.:
παράδειγμα δὲ αὐτῆς ποιοῦμαι πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν Ἡροδότου λέξιν, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν Πλάτωνος, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν Δημοσθένους· ἀμήχανον γὰρ εὑρεῖν τούτων ἑτέρους ἐπεισοδίοις τε πλείοσι καὶ ποικιλίαις εὐκαιροτέραις καὶ σχήμασι πολυειδεστέροις χρησαμένους· λέγω δὲ τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐν ἱστορίας σχήματι, τὸν δ' ὡς ἐν διαλόγων χάριτι, τὸν δ' ὡς ἐν λόγων ἐναγωνίων χρείᾳ.

[14] E.g. Pelling 2007: 255. Pritchett 1975: xxx (paraphrasing H. Weil 1879, *Denys d'Halicarnasse*, Paris):
It has been piquantly observed that Dionysius cruelly expiated any injustice in his judgements on Thucydides by coming before the world as a historian himself.

description of the cities of Sicily (Thuc. VI.2-5). Dionysius uses these as a stick with which to beat Thucydides. Being brief, these excursuses only show a cursory engagement with *varietas*, while Dionysius thinks that *varietas* should permeate the work (DH *De Comp. Verb.* 19, *Pomp.* 3.11).

The brevity of Thucydides' excursuses is indicative of a larger problem that Dionysius has with the arrangement of Thucydides' narrative (DH *Pomp.* 3.13). In the letter to Pompeius, Dionysius complains that Thucydides' arrangement does not permit him to concentrate on one episode to its completion, but is forced to leave episodes unfinished as he embarks on others (DH *Pomp.* 3.13). Thucydides' chronological arrangement is therefore confusing for the reader (cf. *Thuc.* 9). Herodotus, argues Dionysius, arranges his material much more successfully by events.[15] In the *Ad Pompeium*, then, ideal *varietas* in the architecture of a work is not a constant chopping and changing of topic, but should be married to a lucid arrangement. *Varietas* in the *Antiquities* will in fact work in two ways: first, there will be a large number of digressions (Dionysius' term is παρεμβολαί, *Pomp.* 6.11). These will take the form of anecdotes on different topics, for example on Aristodemus of Cumae (DH *AR* VII.3-11; pp. 134-136 below) or on the Games at Rome (*AR* VII.70-73), or technical discussions of chronology (*AR* IV.6.7).[16]

Second, in order to avoid constant changing of topic, *varietas* ought to apply to the architecture of the history. An inspection of Dionysius' history reveals this to be the

[15] For an ancient response to Dionysius' criticism of Thucydides' arrangement, see the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 6 (London 1908) No. 853, which is a commentary on Thuc. II. The translation by Grenfell and Hunt is reprinted as Appendix I at Pritchett 1975: 147.
[16] On IV.6.7, see e.g. Marincola 1997: 235-236.

case for the *Antiquities*. Of the very early books, Book I is Dionysius' archaeology, and is very different in tone from the rest of the *Antiquities*: its project, to prove the Greek origins of Rome, is described as complete at the end of the Book (*AR* I.90.2).[17] Regarding coverage of time, books II-IV (244 years) span roughly the same amount of time as the following sixteen (243 years). Book II tends towards a list of legislation and kings, with some illuminating anecdotes. The anecdotes become richer as the regal period progresses: the changing texture of the regal period is discussed in the next chapter. The real concentration of Dionysius' efforts, in terms of time spent, instead covers the development of the Republic after the expulsion of the kings at the end of Book IV.[18] The next six books (V-X) cover about sixty years, from the establishment of the Republic to the decemvirate. The heavy concentration on Coriolanus, which once led Schultze to suggest that this story was intended for separate publication, shows that the texture of the *Antiquities* changes again for the middle books of the early Republic to a different sort of focus upon the individual.[19] The changing prominence of women, also discussed in the following chapters, indicates further Dionysius' *varietas*. The final ten books treat 183 years. These books will be characterised by discussions of nationhood and Hellenism in a way that is vastly different from the early period, because the Roman gaze will look further west to the Gauls, and further south to the Sicilians: this will produce contact with other Greeks.[20] This is how Dionysius understands *varietas*, and how he squares it with coherent arrangement.

[17] On this book, see esp. Fromentin 1998: 3-50; on Dionysius' different historical method in this book, Fromentin 1998: 51-60. Vanotti 1995 sets Dionysius' story of Aeneas (*AR* I.45-64) in the context of other archaeological stories by Varro, Cato, Fabius Pictor and Virgil in particular.
[18] Analysis from Schultze 2000: §2; see also Schultze 1995.
[19] Schultze 1980: 36, 216-217
[20] See esp. XIV.6, and Dionysius' earlier description of the Gauls. On Roman contact with other Greeks, see esp. Hartog 1991: 149-167.

The question of arrangement also applies to the inclusion, exclusion and development of scenes. Dionysius devotes some space in the *De Thucydide* to an analysis of Thucydides' development of episodes (*Thuc.* 13-15).[21] As an example of what Thucydides ought to have done, Dionysius cites the Athenian embassy to Sparta at Thuc. II.59.1-2 (cf. DH *Thuc.* 14.19ff.), in which the Athenians sue for peace but are refused. Dionysius argues that, in order to report appropriately such an important embassy, Thucydides ought to have included the names of the ambassadors who made the journey and what the speeches were on both sides. The objection is typically Dionysian: Thucydides actually does include a speech at about this point, but it is a speech by Pericles, which he will criticise on separate grounds.

How and why episodes are chosen for development will be addressed throughout the thesis. For the moment, two points should be borne in mind. Firstly, Dionysius does not expect uniform treatment of events, even if some of his remarks might give the opposite impression. Consider for instance his discussion of the embassies of the Athenians and the Spartans (*Thuc.* 14.19-43; Thuc. II.59.1-2, IV.15-22). Dionysius argues that Thucydides' treatment is lopsided: he only summarises the Athenian embassy to Sparta, but he gives a full account including speeches and all the reasons why a treaty was not concluded. The implication of Dionysius' argument is not that all events should be treated at similar length, but that Thucydides should treat events *of similar importance* in similar ways. By only summarising the Athenian embassy, Thucydides gives the Athenians short shrift; this is evidence of Thucydides' malice against his native city. Dionysius' practice is to use Thucydides against himself (I discuss this in more detail below): in his own history, it is clear, Dionysius does allow

[21] Polybius 19.12.6 discusses his own selectivity.

for an apparently unbalanced treatment of events. In the twenty books, Dionysius devotes the equivalent of one short book to the story of the decemvirate, which lasts just three years (DH *AR* X.54.4-XI.44.5); within that, the first year only lasts for two chapters. This apparently disproportionate weighting applies also to other major episodes, such as the story of the Horatii within the reign of Tullus Hostilius (*AR* III.2-22, introduced by a phrase which indicates selectivity),[22] and Coriolanus (VI.92-VIII.54).

Secondly, the above passage of the *De Thucydide* (*Thuc.* 13-15) speaks against the argument of Gabba that Dionysius reproduces speeches on every conceivable occasion,[23] as does Dionysius' polemical disapproval of Pericles' funeral oration (*Thuc.* 18). While Gabba's view has not fully taken hold, there has not been much forward movement in the analysis of where Dionysius does choose to insert speeches. Poucet simply refers to the 'multiplication' of 'interminable' speeches in the *Antiquities*.[24] Pelling despairs:[25]

> Speeches slog...through the same ground time and again, apparently making little progress, and leaving a modern reader bludgeoned, bewildered, and frankly bored.

Poucet is right, just as Pelling is right to argue that Dionysius includes speeches at such length 'because it was through speeches rather than civil war that conflict was resolved'. But no one has yet gone beyond that sort of general observation, to analyse

[22] DH *AR* III.2.1:
πολεμικαὶ δὲ πράξεις πολλαὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι μνημονεύονται, <μέγισται δὲ> περὶ ὧν ἔρχομαι λέξων τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Ἄλβανοὺς πολέμου.
[23] Gabba 1991: 91-92
[24] Poucet 2005: s.v. 'Appréciation d'un ensemble' (unpag.)
[25] Pelling 2007: 255

exactly where Dionysius inserts or excludes speeches: this issue will be addressed principally in chapter 3.

§3 The First Preface[26]

In this section I argue that Dionysius' self-presentation dominates his first preface to a greater extent than previously acknowledged. Dionysius places not just Rome but also himself in a historical continuum which looks forward to his future reputation: the focus on the personality of the historian is consistent with Dionysius' *ad hominem* attacks against Thucydides.[27] Fox has pointed out that, according to this preface, 'the subject [i.e. Rome] is the place where the historian and history join for the scrutiny of posterity'.[28] I build on Fox's observation in this section in a way that has important implications for our understanding of Dionysius' audience. I also examine Dionysius' engagement with his predecessors in this passage, with particular regard to Polybius.

3a The Opening Sentence: *AR* I.1.1

> Τοὺς εἰωθότας ἀποδίδοσθαι τοῖς προοιμίοις τῶν ἱστοριῶν λόγους ἥκιστα βουλόμενος ἀναγκάζομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ προειπεῖν, οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις μέλλων πλεονάζειν ἐπαίνοις, οὓς ἐπαχθεῖς οἶδα φαινομένους τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, οὔτε διαβολὰς καθ' ἑτέρων ἐγνωκὼς ποιεῖσθαι συγγραφέων, ὥσπερ Ἀναξιμένης καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ λογισμοὺς ἀποδεικνύμενος, οἷς ἐχρησάμην ὅτε ἐπὶ ταύτην ὥρμησα τὴν πραγματείαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀφορμῶν ἀποδιδοὺς λόγον, ἐξ ὧν τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἔλαβον τῶν γραφησομένων.
>
> DH *AR* I.1.1

[26] Also instructive would be a comparison between the preface to the *Antiquities* and the preface to the *De Vett. Orr.* Hidber 1996: 85-87 has outlined some of the points of contact between the preface to the *De Vett. Orr.* and historiographical prefaces, using the first preface of Diod. Sic. *Bibl.* as the comparandum. Of chief interest in Dionysius' work are, I think, (a) the different targets of polemic in the two prefaces; (b) the use of figures in the more rhetorical work, and the exclusion of them in the historiographical preface.

[27] Aujac 1991: 24

[28] Fox 1993: 32. Cf. Fox 2001: 81

This opening is undeniably problematic.[29] Schultze has observed the paradox of the whole sentence, in which Dionysius, 'unwilling to speak of his own person (to the point of not even registering his identity),...is yet in a position where by convention he has to do so; disavowing criticism, he nevertheless criticises'.[30] Dionysius will, in fact, identify himself at the end of the preface (I.8.4): so the 'progressively greater emphasis on his own role...now climaxes in this perfectly placed self-naming':[31]

> ὁ δὲ συντάξας αὐτὴν Διονύσιός εἰμι Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἁλικαρνασεύς· ἄρχομαι δ' ἐνθένδε.
>
> DH *AR* I.8.4

There are two points here. First, it should be stressed that naming oneself and talking about oneself are not the same; second, conventions exist according to which the historian is not required to talk about himself. Livy draws attention to himself in his opening sentence but does not name himself in his preface;[32] neither do Polybius, Diodorus Siculus or Sallust.[33] Dionysius' refusal to name himself in the opening sentence should not be seen as diffidence, but as part of a plan to establish his persona before risking his reputation.[34] I elaborate on this point below.

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[29] Dionysius discusses the values and weaknesses of periodic sentences such as this at e.g. DH *Isoc.* 2.27-30.

[30] Schultze 2000: §1. Cf. Marincola 1997: 211n.157 and 60: 'Dionysius, like Diodorus, avoids any overt claim to fame and says that although he is constrained to say something about himself, he will not dwell on his own praise.'

[31] Schultze 2000: §1

[32] Wheeldon 1989: 56-59 at 56. See also Moles 1993: 141.

[33] See Herkommer 1967: 47-48 and Marincola 1997: 273-274 on the different ways in which authors introduce their names. Marincola has Dionysius at the head of a trend among the Greek historians of the early Empire, in which the author formally introduces himself by name at the end of an extended and self-contained preface. He cites Josephus *BJ* I.3, App. *Praef.* 62, Arrian *Anab.* I.12.5. On the last named, Arrian's Second Preface, see esp. Moles 1985 and Marincola 1989, though the position of Arrian's second preface is suggestive in ways completely different from Dionysius' second preface. On Appian, Gray 1990: 181n.6 suggests that Appian displays some reserve in delaying naming himself (see also Marincola 1997: 274 on this point).

[34] Verdin 1974: 294 observes that Dionysius spends his preface justifying his chief intentions rather than debating the function of historiography and the conditions under which this function might be

Schultze has drawn out some of the Polybian elements present in Dionysius' opening sentence. Dionysius presents himself as a historian at 'the inception of a journey through the text'.[35] Schultze argues that this is a standard line, but phrased in vocabulary which recalls Polybius (ὥρμησα; ἀφορμῶν DH *AR* I.1.1; cf. Polyb. 12.25d.1).[36] While Schultze is right to suggest heavy Polybian influence in the preface as a whole, I am inclined towards caution in this instance: given that historians are described as travellers from Hecataeus onwards, we should not make too much of this.[37] An indication of travelling could also point to Varro, on whom see below.

Worthy of further attention is Dionysius' use of ἐπαχθεῖς at I.1.1, which recalls Polybius' use of ἐπαχθές in a similar passage discussing the historian's self-presentation (Polyb. 36.12.4). There is a temptation to observe a spondee followed by a dactyl in the opening two words of the *Antiquities*, thereby recalling Livy's rhythmical opening phrase. Given Dionysius' published views on prose rhythm,[38] the rhythm of the opening words is unlikely to be accidental. It is possible that Dionysius is deliberately mimicking Livy here.

The first instance of οἶδα in the *Antiquities* refers to Dionysius' knowledge of generic precedent (I.1.1), rather than the first avowed fact in the history, as is the case with Herodotus (Hdt. I.5.3). This parallel fits with Dionysius' overarching concern in

carried out.
[35] Schultze 2000: §1 with note 7.
[36] Herodotus is normally seen these days as the archetypal traveller-historian, both literally and as a metaphor for his approach to historiography; De Jong 2002 discusses modern metaphors for Herodotus' historiography; Griffiths 2006 offers other metaphors. On the *topos* of historiography as journey, see Moles 1996: esp. 262-265; see also Marincola 2007b.
[37] Hecataeus *FGH* IT 12a; Marincola 1997: 66-67.
[38] DH *De Comp. passim*; De Jonge forthc.

this preface with himself and his place in the generic tradition. Yet more striking is the following participle ἀκούουσιν, by which Dionysius indicates that his audience is comprised of listeners (cf. I.8.3, when Dionysius uses the same word), while in the following section, he will call them 'readers' (I.1.2).[39] Referring to readers creates a balance between recording and reading history.[40]

There is a similar set of intertexts with Herodotus' preface later on. Dionysius gives several accounts of the origins of the Aborigines, the forebears of the Italians (*AR* I.9-11f.).[41] One of these accounts is Cato's, whom Dionysius lists among the 'most learned' of the Romans (*AR* I.11.1; see §3d on Cato).[42] The vocabulary used (Οἱ δὲ λογιώτατοι...λέγουσι..) clearly recalls Herodotus (οἱ λόγιοι...φασὶ Hdt. I.1.1).[43] But whereas Herodotus uses the device to announce his own authority at the expense of the Persian *logioi* (Hdt. I.1.1, 5.1, 5.2),[44] Dionysius goes in a different

[39] Cp. Diodorus, who refers to 'readers' (Diod. I.1.1). 'Listeners' suggests an orator's audience: cf. Gorgias *Helen* 8. Dionysius says that Isocrates' long periods are better suited to reading than to hearing (DH *Isoc.* 2.21-27): it is interesting that Dionysius' reference to listening is contained in a long period such as this, which is more suitable for reading.

[40] DH *AR* I.1.2:

ἐπείσθην γὰρ ὅτι δεῖ...τοὺς ἀναγράφοντας ἱστορίας..., πρῶτον μὲν ὑποθέσεις προαιρεῖσθαι καλὰς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις φερούσας...

[41] Martinez-Pinna 1999: 93-109 tries to reconcile apparently contradictory fragments of Cato in Dionysius (F6 Peter) and Sallust (F5 Peter), who use the authority of Cato to describe the Aborigenes as 'Greek' and 'uncivilised' respectively. Briquel 1993: 17-39 discusses Dionysius' account of the Aborigines. He demonstrates Dionysius' use of a range of sources.

[42] Cato *Orig.* F6 Peter (= F4 Chassignet). Schröder 1971: 108-110. Cf. Fromentin 1998: 227. DH *AR* I.11.1:

Οἱ δὲ λογιώτατοι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν συγγραφέων, ἐν οἷς ἐστι Πόρκιός τε Κάτων ὁ τὰς γενεαλογίας τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων ἐπιμελέστατα συναγαγὼν καὶ Γάϊος Σεμπρώνιος καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί, Ἕλληνας αὐτοὺς εἶναι λέγουσι τῶν ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ ποτὲ οἰκησάντων...

[43] Note that Dionysius (fn. 42 above) balances Greek and Roman against Herodotus' Persian and Phoenician. Hdt. I.1.1:

Περσέων μέν νυν οἱ λόγιοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς·

[44] Hdt. I.5.1-2 continues the μὲν... δὲ opposition begun in fn. 43 above:

Οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι,...Ταῦτα μέν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι. Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας...

direction. As opposed to Persian authority in Herodotus, the authority of Cato is in the superlative. Cato and Sempronius are named in opposition to the unnamed sources who suggest that the Aborigines were autochthonous. Dionysius does not claim to 'know', as Herodotus did, the truth of the matter.[45] That is entirely appropriate to Dionysius' presentation of himself in the preface as cautious and learned. At the end of the Book, Dionysius says that he has done what he can. He shifts the burden of proof onto the reader:

> ὥστε θαρρῶν ἤδη τις ἀποφαινέσθω πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσας τοῖς βαρβάρων καὶ δραπετῶν καὶ ἀνεστίων ἀνθρώπων καταφυγὴν τὴν Ῥώμην ποιοῦσιν Ἑλλάδα πόλιν αὐτήν, ἀποδεικνύμενος <μὲν> κοινοτάτην τε πόλεων καὶ φιλανθρωποτάτην...
>
> DH *AR* I.89.1

The choice of ἀποδεικνύμενος is stridently Herodotean.[46] Dionysius had earlier used similar vocabulary at *AR* I.5.1-2.[47] Dionysius engages here in the same sort of interplay between historian and historical agent that Herodotus did in his preface, though he takes the edge off it by changing the prefix between ἐπιδείξειν and ἀπεδείξαντο.

Dionysius explicitly discusses two other historians in the opening sentence. These are Anaximenes and Theopompus, whom Dionysius criticises for engaging in polemic in

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[45] Herodotus demonstrates uncertainty in other parts of the text, e.g. VIII.87.3.

[46] Cf. Schultze 2000: §1. Hdt. I.1:
Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνασέως ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλέα γένηται...

[47] Cf. Schultze 2000: §1. DH *AR* I.5.1-2:
Ἕλληνάς τε αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἐπιδείξειν ὑπισχνοῦμαι καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἢ φαυλοτάτων ἐθνῶν συνεληλυθότας. περὶ δὲ τῶν πράξεων, ἃς μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμὸν εὐθέως ἀπεδείξαντο...

their proemia.[48] Not much is known about this Anaximenes, and the reading is uncertain anyway.[49] Theopompus is an interesting choice.[50] In his letter to Pompeius, Dionysius includes Theopompus in his list of the five historians most worthy of imitation.[51] Dionysius considers him the 'most illustrious' of the pupils of Isocrates (ἐπιφανέστατος DH *Ad Pomp.* 6.1, though 'pupil' should probably be understood metaphorically),[52] and describes his history in admiring terms. Dionysius also defends Theopompus against the charge of manipulation of history to make moral points, generally in the form of negative exempla (*Ad Pomp.* 6.8): Thucydides, by way of contrast, did not escape censure for malice (DH *Ad Pomp.* 3.15).[53] Theopompus had a reputation in antiquity for being an 'exceptionally harsh critic',[54] but Dionysius' letter to Pompeius does not reflect this view. Dionysius in fact lists him as an impressive connoisseur of style (DH *Ad Pomp.* 1.16), and twice counts him a worthy exponent of philosophic rhetoric (DH *Ad Pomp.* 1.16, 6.5). Dionysius' esteeem of Theopompus' approach (DH *Ad Pomp.* 6.2) is repeated in the preface (DH *AR* I.1.2).[55]

[48] On Theopompus in Dionysius, see Gabba 1991: 75-80; Verdin 1974: 297.

[49] The MSS read Ἀναξίλαος. The name Anaxilaos is attested (sometimes as a variant on Anaxilas of Rhegium) in Greek literature (See e.g. Str. *Geog.* VI.1.5; Xen. *Hell.* I.3.19; Plut. *Alc.* 31.7), but never as a Greek historian (Fromentin 1998: 76 with note). Müller (*FHG* II.84) proposed the emendation Ἀναξιμένης, for Anaximenes of Lampsacus, which is a name attested several times in Dionysius' rhetorical works (Anaximenes is described as 'weak' by Dionysius at *Isaeus* 19.3 and lacking innovation at *Dem.* 8.1. Cf. *Ad Amm* I 2.3.). To him was attributed the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* (Fromentin 1998: 76n.1; *FGH* II A 72 T1).

[50] On Dionysius' treatment of Theopompus in the *Ad Pompeium*, see Fornaro 1997: 248-266.

[51] DH *Pomp.* 3.

[52] Flower 1997: 42-52 at 45

[53] Cf. Marincola 1997: 95, 132

[54] Flower 1997: 8. Polyb. VIII.9-11; Cicero wrote to Atticus (Cic. *Ad Att.* II.6.2):

> itaque ἀνέκδοτα, quae tibi uni legamus, Theopompo genere aut etiam asperiore multo pangentur.

Lucian says (Luc. *De Conscr. Hist.* 59):

> Θεοπόμπῳ αἰτίαν ἔξεις φιλαπεχθημόνως κατηγοροῦντι τῶν πλείστων καὶ διατριβὴν ποιουμένῳ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς κατηγορεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἱστορεῖν τὰ πεπραγμένα.

Flower 1997: 8 points out that the fragments which have come down to us represent the interests of the authors who cited or summarised lost works as much as they represent the original author. Cf. Brunt 1980: 454; Pownall 2004: 143-175; Flower 1997: 63-97, 169-183.

[55] DH *AR* I.1.2:

> παρασκευάζεσθαι τὰς ἐπιτηδείους εἰς τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀφορμὰς μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ φιλοπονίας.

All this makes Theopompus' appearance unexpected: if Dionysius thought so highly of him, why name him as a model to be avoided in the proemium? First, in his preface, Dionysius is constructing a persona which is distanced from Greek models but closely aligned with Roman ones. Dionysius emphasises that he is not a tunnel-visioned Greek: that prepares the reader not to be put off by his Greek name, which he has not yet given. The second related reason concerns mimesis (61-65): Dionysius throughout his theoretical works has repeatedly emphasised the importance of judicious imitation of models. In view of this general distancing from Greek models, Theopompus is a good choice. Citing Herodotus or Thucydides would be too polemical for the opening preface, which must function as a *captatio benevolentiae*. In pointing towards Theopompus' excessively critical approach, Dionysius is not reinforcing the views he has put forward in his theoretical works. He aligns himself instead with the *communis opinio* of Theopompus, which is the safe thing to do in the preface. Finally, the opening sentence of Dionysius' history establishes the potential misfit of certain Greek models for the description of Rome's history. This misfit will become more expressive during the course of the *Antiquities*.

Furthermore, Dionysius sets up a rebuttal to the possible charge that he was not an eyewitness to the events that he describes. Anaximenes' greatest strength in his weak history was his autopsy of Alexander; Theopompus was an eyewitness of many of the events which he narrated (DH *Ad Pomp.* 6.3).[56] By criticising their proemia, Dionysius argues that there is more to writing good history than being an eyewitness

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DH *Ad Pomp.* 6.2:
μάλιστα δὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ φιλοπονίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν συγγραφήν·

[56] Polybius approves of Theopompus' belief that a historian should be present at as many battles as possible (Polyb. XII.27.8). Cf. Sacks 1983: 72.

of events. Nonetheless, he will complete this argument by making his sojourn in Rome an act of autopsy in itself.[57]

In fine, Dionysius refuses to name himself in the opening sentence of his preface because he uses that sentence to start to establish his persona. More could be said on the choices that he does not make: he does not dilate yet on the nature of history, as Polybius does, nor does he start *in medias res*, like Xenophon. The latter is rather to be expected; but by talking about himself first Dionysius establishes the theme of the whole preface. The opening *captatio benevolentiae* is cautious, sensible and learned, with a strong sense of the historian's own place in history.[58] That is the persona which will be developed over the following chapters.

Why develop such a persona at all? Dionysius' Greekness is crucial here. As Luraghi has argued, there is a distance between the narrator's authority and the actual historian's social status as a client of a member of the Roman nobility.[59] Owing to his dependance on the support of his Roman patron, Dionysius must mask or qualify his criticism of Rome. Dionysius, continues Luraghi, therefore embeds his criticism, and education, of contemporary Romans within the context of educating Greeks about the ancient Romans. To my mind, it is correct to say that the *Antiquities* is characterised

[57] DH *AR* I.7.1-4, on which see below. Cf. Diod. I.4.2-5, who characterises Rome as a supreme store of resources, and describes how he spent thirty years in research. Thanks to Greg Woolf for letting me see his unpublished paper on Greek Archaeologists at Rome, where the term 'archaeologist' broadly supersedes 'antiquarian'. Schultze 2000: §1 discusses the language of travel which dominates Dionysius' preface. On Dionysius' autopsy, see e.g. DH *AR* I.55.1, 68.1-2; II.23.5; VII.72.18. See also Andrèn 1960: 88-104 and Dubourdieu 1993: 71-82; Marincola 1997: 115 with note; Isoc. *Panath.* 149-150; *Paneg.* 7-10; Marincola 1997: 276-279.
[58] Marincola 1997: 235: 'Dionysius is content to use the models and rules [of historiography] already in existence, wishing above all to show himself a master of these, and a reliable practitioner of a pragmatic history.'
[59] Luraghi 2003: 281-285 at 282; see qualification by Weaire 2005: 246.

by a superficial narratorial blandness which muffles Dionysius' didacticism. I prefer nevertheless to shift the balance of Luraghi's analysis, which downplays too much the actual importance of the Greek audience. The rise of Rome has created the globalisation of history, and the persona of the narrator rises to that level of globalisation too. So it is not the case that the Greek audience is a mask for Dionysius' primary purpose of educating Romans. Rather, in the preface, Dionysius establishes a persona which is both globalised, in that it encompasses both Greek and Roman traditions, and judicious, in its deployment of these traditions.

§3b Choice of subject and the historian's attitude

Dionysius understands history to be a memorial to the soul of the historian (*AR* I.1.2). The historian should have two concerns: to choose a noble subject, and to equip himself properly for the task of writing history. In this section, I examine the language Dionysius uses to introduce his choice of theme and his source-material. I draw comparisons between Dionysius' preface and those of Livy and Sallust to demonstrate the persona which Dionysius constructs for himself. I argue, *pace* Fox and Luce, that Dionysius' preface does not lay the foundation for an idealising history. I further argue that Dionysius' choice of subject aligns him with the version of Herodotus found in Dionysius' theoretical works. Finally, I address again the question of Polybius in this preface.

ἐπείσθην γὰρ ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς προαιρουμένους μνημεῖα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις καταλιπεῖν, ἃ μὴ συναφανισθήσεται τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τοὺς ἀναγράφοντας ἱστορίας, ἐν αἷς καθιδρῦσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν [πάντες] ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἀρχὴν φρονήσεώς τε καὶ σοφίας οὖσαν, πρῶτον μὲν ὑποθέσεις προαιρεῖσθαι καλὰς καὶ

μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις φερούσας, ἔπειτα παρασκευάζεσθαι τὰς ἐπιτηδείους εἰς τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀφορμὰς μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ φιλοπονίας.

DH *AR* I.1.2

In the late Hellenistic period, it was taken for granted that a historian would lay claim to *kleos* in his preface.[60] Dionysius does not do this, although he is prepared to use the word in other contexts.[61] Instead, it is the idea of history as memorial (μνημεῖα)[62] that demands consideration (on *imago* at DH *AR* I.1.3 see below).[63] The everlasting nature of history has been a *topos* since Thucydides,[64] but Dionysius' term rather seems to engage with Cicero's and Livy's presentation of his history as a *monumentum* (I.10.6).[65] That literary work is a *monumentum* is a poetic *topos* too,[66] but the historiographical precedent should not be easily discarded, since Livy's first pentad was published well before the latest date mentioned in Dionysius' preface (7 BCE, DH *AR* I.3.4).[67] Dionysius does not mention Livy by name, but it is his practice not to discuss contemporary or near-contemporary Roman literary figures, though he must surely have been aware of them.[68]

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[60] Marincola 1997: 57-62

[61] E.g. DH *AR* I.42.4 on Heracles; on Numa: II.58.3, 76.5; otherwise in speeches: III.11.4, 15.4; V.27.2; VIII.32.3; VIII.40.4, 40.5; XI.13.2.

[62] Dionysius uses μνημεῖον to refer to a physical monument at I.21.2, 50.4, 53.3, 54.1, 59.5; II.1.1, 74.4; III.22.9; IV.58.4; V.13.4. Dionysius writes approvingly of Servius Tullius' desire for a more lasting sort of memorial, as the Amphictyonic Council is a more lasting memorial to Amphictyon than any statue, at IV.25.3.

[63] Cf. Hor. *Car.* III.30.1; Kraus 1994: 86 on Livy VI.1.2.

[64] Thuc. I.22.4: κτῆμά τε ἐς αἰεί. See on this Moles 1999, with attached 'Exchange and Reply'.

[65] On Dionysius and monuments, Andrèn 1960. On Livy's engagement with Ennius, see Moles 1993: 154-155. On Livy and monuments, see e.g. Jaeger 2006, and Stem 2007: 435-436.

[66] E.g. Hor. *Carm.* III.30.1-6; cf. II.20. Marincola 1997: 57 with note.

[67] Moles 1993: 151 with n.48 summarises the debate about the publication of Livy's first pentad. The traditional *terminus post quem non* is 27 BCE (cf. Livy I.19.3 on the closing of the temple of Janus and IV.20.5-11 on the *spolia opima*).

[68] De Jonge forthc. on this issue. Gabba 1995: 212-213; Luce 1995: 234-5. Luce suggests that Dionysius' failure to mention Livy is especially pointed because Dionysius mentions Q. Aelius Tubero (I.7.3), but Tubero is the addressee of the *De Thuc.* (I.1), so is an acquaintance of Dionysius'. See p. 233 below.

Dionysius' use of the memorial *topos* is quite different from Livy's. Moles argues that it is 'exceedingly likely that in characterising his work as an imperishable *monumentum*, Livy is imitating – and trumping – Ennius' claims for his *Annales*... While *novi semper scriptores* come and go, his history will be a *monumentum* forever.'[69] If Dionysius is engaging with Livy here, then he is playfully undercutting Livy's own apparently modest claims earlier in his preface by showing them up for what they are, namely the self-serving pursuit of one's own memorialisation. Livy is, however, not the only Roman to treat history as a monument. Cicero uses the same metaphor at *Brutus* 62 and *De Inventione* I.1.[70] Cicero's work with history is 'idiosyncratic',[71] but his use of the metaphor seems typically Roman, especially compared to Dionysius.[72]

Dionysius uses the metaphor of *imagines* (εἰκόνας) at *AR* I.1.3. He thereby again talks in terms of the Roman historiographical tradition (see especially Sall. *BJ* 4),[73]

[69] Moles 1993: 155

[70] Cic. *Brut.* 62:

Et hercules eae quidem exstant: ipsae enim familiae sua quasi ornamenta ac monumenta servabant et ad usum, si quis eiusdem generis occidisset, et ad memoriam laudum domesticarum et ad illustrandam nobilitatem suam.

Cicero writes in the context of Roman funeral orations, on which subject see Polyb. VI.54.2-3; Fox 2007: 152-157.

Cic. *De Inv.* I.1:

cum autem res ab nostra memoria propter vetustatem remotas ex litterarum monumentis repetere instituo, multas urbes constitutas, plurima bella restincta, firmissimas societates, sanctissimas amicitias intellego cum animi ratione tum facilius eloquentia comparatas.

[71] Fox 2007: 152

[72] On Cicero's combination of memory (*memoria*) and history, see Fox 2007: 149-176. Cf. e.g. Cic. *De Inv.* I.1, *De Or.* II.8, 8-9, III.9, *De Rep.* I.1, I.21, II.54, *Brut.* I.39; also *Rhet. ad Her.* I.8.13. I thank Lucy Catherine Jones for help with these examples.

[73] Sall. *BJ* 4:

Nam saepe ego audivi, Q. Maximum, P. Scipionem, praeterea civitatis nostrae praeclaros viros solitos ita dicere, 'quum maiorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissime sibi animum ad virtutem accendi.'

See also Marius' speech at *BJ* 85. Fox 2007: 162; Leigh 1995: 207-212 discusses the use of battle scars as forms of *imago*.

but he treats historiography as the *imago* of the historian rather than as the direct memorialisation of the acts of the historical subject.[74] This is an important development of the metaphor from Roman historiography.[75] Dionysius is not using *imagines* in the standard Roman sense to refer to the exemplarity of history, though that is a concern of his.[76] Rather, it reinforces Dionysius' stress upon himself in his preface. Dionysius is not being diffident: his concern with self-presentation in the preface suggests that we should read his history as he invites us to, that is, as a monument to himself as much as it is a monument to Rome. That will have implications later for the question of Dionysius' audience.

Dionysius' engagement with Sallust extends to his discussion of the body and soul (DH *AR* I.1.2: see also §3d-e on Cato).[77] Dionysius uses very unusual vocabulary (συναφανισθήσεται) to suggest that history is the memorial of the soul when it has 'disappeared together with' the body.[78] The unusual choice of word allows Dionysius to repeat the idea at I.6.3, when he says that history helps prevent men's deeds 'dying together with' their bodies.[79] Dionysius almost conflates the historian's reputation and the immortality of the deeds which he describes. As with ἐπιδείξειν/ ἀπεδείξαντο, Dionysius avoids an exact aural parallel in words close together in the text. Fruitful is the comparison with Sallust. The prefaces to both the *Bellum*

[74] On *imagines*, see Fox 2007: 158-159
[75] The fullest treatment that I know of the metaphor of *imagines* is by Flower 1996.
[76] E.g. Fox 2007: 155-171
[77] Sallust's preface to the *Catiline* is described by Levene as highly unusual for a historical work in the ancient world (Levene 2000: 171).
[78] Josephus uses this word in the same context of body and soul (*BJ* XVIII.16.1). Strabo uses the word in different contexts (*Geog.* VI.1.6; VIII.6.23; XII.8.17; XVII.3.12). We have one instance of it being used by Duris (*FGH* F 56 Müller 13). Otherwise the word is predominantly Christian.
[79] DH *AR* I.6.3:
τοῖς μὲν ἐκπεπληρωκόσι τὴν ἑαυτῶν μοῖραν ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς δόξης αἰωνίου τυχεῖν καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ἃ ποιεῖ τὴν θνητὴν φύσιν ὁμοιοῦσθαι τῇ θείᾳ καὶ μὴ συναποθνήσκειν [αὐτῆς] τὰ ἔργα τοῖς σώμασι·

Jugurthinum and the *Bellum Catilinae* contain serious reflections upon soul and body by way of introduction to the history and to discurse upon the immortality of the soul.[80]

Sallust, like Livy, is a frustrating figure in Dionysian studies.[81] Because Dionysius refuses to mention his Roman contemporaries, and because the difference in language makes identical verbal resonance impossible, tracing exact Sallustian resonance in the *Antiquities* requires an uncomfortable level of speculation. Furthermore, if it can be posited that Dionysius read at least some of Livy – and the probabilistic argument is convincing – then it should be taken into account that Livy seems to respond to Sallust in some instances, which complicates matters.[82] Nothing, of course, excludes the possibility of a double allusion; but in this case, nothing requires that doubleness either. Furthermore, Sallust's and Dionysius' parallel engagement with Thucydides means that even if Sallust and Dionysius can be shown to coincide, there is often a securer evidential basis for supposing that Dionysius is engaging with Thucydides, if anyone. For example, when Dionysius says that it is a 'law of nature' that the strong shall rule the weak, that seems to be a 'roistering echo of Thucydides' (DH *AR* I.5.2).[83] Furthermore, Sallust was certainly not the only Thucydidean imitator in first century Rome.[84] In general it is better to stop short of seeing deliberate Sallustian parallels, even if, in this instance, the evidence of the body and soul seems to indicate one. In

[80] Sall. *BJ* 2:
Nam uti genus hominum compositum ex corpore et anima est,...at ingeni egregia facinora sicuti anima immortalia sunt.
Sall. *BC* 1:
Nam divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis est, virtus clara aeternaque habetur.
[81] See Gabba 1991: 20, 47, esp. 200, where he draws an opposition between DH *AR* II.18.1 and Sall. *BC* 9.1.
[82] Moles 1993: 159-162
[83] From an earlier draft of Pelling 2007a.
[84] See also Payen 2005: 122-123 on the reputation of Thucydides in Rome in the late first century.

any case, Sallust can still work in one very useful way, as one instance of a modern-day Thucydidean imitator. In his *De Thucydide*, Dionysius does not simply do battle with Thucydides (the metaphor is not overstated), but with Thucydides' imitators too.[85]

Dionysius' best known engagement with Thucydides is in his choice of theme. The historian must choose a theme which is noble, high-minded and useful (DH *AR* I.1.2, 2.1; cf. the identical language about Xenophon at *Pomp.* 4.1).[86] This is generally accepted to be Dionysius' consistent view across the *Antiquities* and the *Ad Pompeium* (e.g. DH *Ad Pomp.* 3.2-7, 4.1, 5.1, 6.2).[87] There is a disparity between Dionysius' extreme view of Thucydides' subject-matter in the *Ad Pompeium* and the more moderate argument at the start of the *De Thucydide*. Weaire suggests that the *De Thucydide* is a later work, designed to qualify an excessive view which has offended his correspondent.[88] Whether or not this suggestion is accepted, the importance of subject-matter is never qualified by Dionysius.[89]

Dionysius states in the preface that his theme is early Rome. This raises the question of idealisation, which requires some unpicking. Fox has argued that 'it is clear from the preface that Dionysius will present an idealised account' of this story.[90] Put another way, Dionysius 'shapes his historical account in order to further a previously

[85] Dionysius disparages those who consider Thucydides a model historian at *Thuc.* 2.16-24. See further De Jonge forthc.
[86] DH *AR* I.1.2: ὑποθέσεις προαιρεῖσθαι καλὰς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις φερούσας...
[87] DH *AR* I.1.2, 2.1; *Thuc.* 2.10-16, 3.1-6. Weaire 2002 is the most recent full discussion of which I am aware that considers the provenance of the extract of the *De Imitatione* found in the *Ad Pomp.* For an earlier view, rejected by Weaire, see e.g. Sacks 1983: 65-87.
[88] Weaire 2005
[89] See also Sacks 1983: 67
[90] Fox 1993: 34

formed conclusion'.[91] This is the sense of 'idealisation' in Fox 1993. In his 1996 book, Fox brings 'idealising history' closer, though not all the way, to 'encomiastic': Dionysius 'blurs the distinction between what is true and what is good'.[92]

Idealisation, then, can be treated in two ways. First, it can be understood in the sense employed by Fox 1993: that Dionysius' idealisation is realised in his shaping his historical account in order to further a previously formed conclusion. This is a less forthright argument than Fox 1996, but, as I hope to demonstrate, a more useful one. In addition, Fox suggests that Dionysius' bias is the result of his credulousness before his sources (see above, and Luce 1995): but that is a different question, that I shall not attempt to answer here.

Second, idealisation can be understood to mean that Dionysius will only treat of noble examples.[93] That is the interpretation put on the term by Luce,[94] implied by Fox 1996,[95] and was in fact the standard view for a time after Schwartz.[96] Gabba did much to modernise opinion, and in my opinion it now risks going too far the other way, though Delcourt is usefully subtle. 'Positive idealisation', as we might call it, does not

[91] Fox 1993: 34. Cf. Fox 1993: 36: for Dionysius, 'historical protagonists and historical narrative derive their character from a preconceived notion of what that character should be.' Cf. Luce's reading of Fox (Luce 1995: 226), which understands 'an idealised history' more simply as approximating to encomiastic.
[92] Cf. Pritchett 1975: xxvii, who sees the emphasis differently: '...Dionysius would never have suggested that the historian would have been justified in sacrificing truth...But the whole tone of his writings leaves the feeling that considerations of what would be appropriate and impressive were to his mind the most important.' Cf. further Fox 1996: 56.
[93] Schultze 2000: §1, referring to the intertexts at *AR* I.5.1-2 above: 'The interplay...emphasises Dionysius' positive, encomiastic stance.'
[94] Luce 1995: 226
[95] Fox 1996: 55-56
[96] See De Jonge forthc. for the history of scholarship on Dionysius. Cf. Hill 1961: 88-93

represent Dionysius' actual practice.[97] Now, the stress laid by Fox and Luce upon noble examples seems firstly to stem from Dionysius' preface:

> μαθοῦσί γε δὴ παρὰ τῆς ἱστορίας, ὅτι μυρίας ἤνεγκεν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὰς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμόν, ὧν οὔτ' εὐσεβεστέρους οὔτε δικαιοτέρους οὔτε σωφροσύνῃ πλείονι παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον χρησαμένους οὐδέ γε τὰ πολέμια κρείττους ἀγωνιστὰς οὐδεμία πόλις ἤνεγκεν οὔτε Ἑλλὰς οὔτε βάρβαρος, εἰ δὴ ἀπέσται τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἐπίφθονον·
>
> DH *AR* I.5.3

Fox is right to emphasise the schematic importance for the *Antiquities* which Dionysius attaches to early history.[98] But the above sentence should be seen in the context of Dionysius' claim for the utility of his subject (I.1.2). Dionysius is not excluding negative examples from his history, as Luce suggests,[99] and there is nothing in Dionysius' rhetorical works to suggest that he believes negative examples should be so excluded. Luce and Fox adduce evidence from Dionysius' discussion of the Melian dialogue.[100] It is argued that Dionysius' disapproval of this dialogue indicates his blurring of the distinction between what is 'appropriate' (πρέπον) and what is true: as Fox observes, this is a long-standing issue in ancient literature, not just Dionysius' problem.[101] But there is no evidence in Dionysius' discussion of the Melian dialogue which supports the view that:[102]

[97] But cf. Pritchett 1975: xxvii: '...in his great historical work called *Roman Antiquities*, Dionysius, interpreting and modifying the old legendary history, suppressed whatever was unfavourable to his hypothesis that the Romans were, after all, not barbarians, but a pure Greek race.'
[98] Fox 1993: 33-34
[99] Luce 1995: 226
[100] See Cornford 1907: 174-187; Aujac 1991: 158-160.
[101] Fox 1996: 55-56
[102] See also Marincola 2007b: 126-127 on this passage.

> The criticisms that Dionysius makes of Thucydides in *Thuc.* are again revealing for his view not only of how history should be written, but more generally of *what kinds of things actually happen*, and what kinds of interpretations it is fitting for the historian to make [italics added].[103]

This view conflates Dionysius' understanding of a distinction between speech and action.[104] Regardless of what the Athenians *did*, Dionysius' point is that it was not appropriate for them to *speak* the way Thucydides has them speak.[105] The discussion of the Melian dialogue forms part of a longer section on Thucydides' speeches (introduced by DH *Thuc.* 34.1-6). Fox argues that Dionysius thinks that 'history that offends is bad history',[106] but that seems to be an expansion of Dionysius' argument in *Thuc.* 37-41. Dionysius does not argue in *Thuc.* 37-41 that the Athenians would not have believed what they are saying. He argues that Thucydides makes the Athenians debate in a way which makes them look bad, and an Athenian would not do that:[107]

> ἐν τούτῳ [the Melian dialogue] δὲ οἱ φρονιμώτατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων αἴσχιστα μὲν ἐνθυμήματα φέρουσιν, ἀηδεστάτῃ δ' αὐτὰ περιλαμβάνουσι λέξει· εἰ μὴ ἄρα μνησικακῶν ὁ συγγραφεὺς τῇ πόλει διὰ τὴν καταδίκην ταῦτα τὰ ὀνείδη κατεσκέδασεν αὐτῆς, ἐξ ὧν ἅπαντες μισήσειν αὐτὴν ἔμελλον.
>
> DH *Thuc.* 41.55-60

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[103] Fox 1996: 65

[104] Pritchett 1975: xxix: 'It is needless to point out that the convention was almost universally adopted that speeches need not be accurate but were introduced into history as more or less fictitious elements.' Pritchett 1975: xxxi: in Dionysius' treatment of Thucydides, 'speech and narrative are two rigidly separated categories'.

[105] DH *Thuc.* 39.1-4 (cited by Fox 1996: 66):

> βασιλεῦσι γὰρ βαρβάροις ταῦτα πρὸς Ἕλληνας ἥρμοττε λέγειν· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὓς ἠλευθέρωσαν ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων, οὐκ ἦν προσήκοντα εἰρῆσθαι...

Dionysius' treatment of the Melian dialogue is a prime example of Dionysius taking the fight to his opponents (DH *Thuc.* 37.1-4):

> Ἐξετάσωμεν δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν διάλογον <τὸν> οὕτω καλῶς καὶ περιττῶς ἔχοντα ἕτερον αὐτοῦ διάλογον, ὃν μάλιστα ἐπαινοῦσιν οἱ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τούτου θαυμασταί.

[106] Fox 1996: 67. Thucydides claims at V.26 that he was able to travel to enemy states after 423 BC. Cf. Pritchett 1975: 126 for discussion and bibliography.

[107] Similarly Dionysius dismisses Pericles' speech defending himself against the Athenians because Pericles ought to have soothed the anger of the mob rather than confront it (DH *Thuc.* 43-47; Thuc. II.60-64). Cf. Pritchett 1975: xvii.

Dionysius denies Thucydides the possibility of autopsy of the Melian dialogue.[108] He implicitly claims that Thucydides' lack of autopsy here forces him to rely on constructing truth from τὸ πρέπον.[109] Fox is right then to argue that there is a slippage between 'appropriate' and 'true', but Dionysius' construction is not very far away from a fair reading of Thucydides' own discussion of the same at Thuc. I.22.4.[110] There is no need to extend this argument to Dionysius' *whole* conception of historical truth. As Pritchett has argued, Dionysius does maintain a distinction between 'true' and 'appropriate', though he comes close to doing so in his remark that Thucydides should not have blamed the Athenians for the start of the war when he had other routes he could have taken.[111]

§3c *Amplificatio* and Dionysius' Metathesis of Thucydides' Preface (*Thuc.* 20)

Dionysius eulogises the Roman past in his introduction (*AR* I.5.3, quoted above). This should be seen in the context of Dionysius' attitude to *amplificatio* in Thucydides' preface (DH *Thuc.* 19-20; Thuc. I.1-23). Dionysius gives his objections to Thucydides' proemium at *Thuc.* 19, and gives a metathesis or rewriting of it at *Thuc.* 20. By metathesis I mean a method of 'language experiment intended to demonstrate the merits and defects, or more generally the particularities of a text', which is

[108] DH *Thuc.* 41. Cf. Fox 1996: 66; on the usefulness of the *De Thucydide* for interpreting Dionysius, see also Fromentin 1993: 181-182.
[109] DH *Thuc.* 41. On the importance of τὸ πρέπον to Dionysius, see Pritchett 1975: xxvi-xxvii. Cf. Gabba 1991: 68-69: 'The historian should, with speeches, concern himself with portraying a coherent image, an image that matches not only the particular occasion described but also the overall idea handed down by tradition.' Though Gabba's view (Gabba 1991: 70) that Dionysius only included those speeches that are 'real', that is, 'made in political and judicial debates' and excluding epideictic speeches, 'like Isocrates', is too narrow an understanding of Dionysius' attitude to speeches.
[110] Fox 1996: 67
[111] DH *Pomp.* 3.9; Pritchett 1975: xxviii

Dionysius' normal meaning of the term.[112] This is an important instrument of instruction in Dionysius' theoretical works, though he is normally criticised for his metatheses of Thucydides.[113] Existing secondary literature on Dionysius' metathesis has tended to concentrate upon Dionysius' stylistic concerns, or to illuminate Thucydides' original. I investigate Dionysius' discussion and metathesis in order to determine Dionysius' interests in the content of a proemium.

> οὔτε γὰρ τἀληθὲς οὕτως εἶχεν, ὡς ἐκ πολλῶν ἔστι παραδεῖξαι πραγμάτων, οὔτε ὁ τῆς τέχνης ὑπαγορεύει λόγος οὕτω μεθοδεύειν τὰς αὐξήσεις (οὐ γὰρ εἴ τι τῶν μικρῶν μεῖζόν ἐστι, διὰ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἤδη μέγα, ἀλλ' εἴ τι τῶν μεγάλων ὑπερέχει)· γέγονέ τε αὐτῷ τὸ προοίμιον, τοσαύτας εἰληφὸς ἀποδεικτικὰς τῆς προθέσεως ἐξεργασίας, ἱστορία τις αὐτὴ καθ' αὑτήν.
>
> DH *Thuc.* 19.7-13

Dionysius argues that Thucydides' proemium is an example of the 'unevenness' of the whole work (ἀνώμαλον DH *Thuc.* 19.2).[114] Thucydides, says Dionysius, makes the wrong sort of argument in his *amplificatio*: instead of amplifying his own subject, Thucydides tries to prove the paucity of achievement of the past (*Thuc.* 19.2-6, 16-37; Thuc. I.3, 5, 6.3). In taking this line, Dionysius stands firmly in the camp of the rhetorical handbooks (*Thuc.* 19.13-16).[115] Dionysius' failure to appreciate fully

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[112] De Jonge forthc. and esp. De Jonge 2005: 463-464 with note. See also Bonner 1939 and Damon 1991. De Jonge has a detailed bibliography.

[113] E.g. Gabba 1991: 66: '[Rewriting Thucydides] may now seem stupid and banal'; Schultze 1986: 128 (in Dionysius' defence): 'It is very easy to disparage Dionysius for his sometimes inept or misguided criticisms of historians better than himself...' Usher 1974: 458; De Jonge 2005: 465n.12 for further information; also Payen 2005: 125-129. Dionysius' metathesis of Thuc. III.81ff. is used by Macleod 1979 to analyse the intricacies of Thucydides' style.

[114] On Dionysius' use of προοίμιον to refer to Thucydides I.1-23, see Pritchett 1975: 71, with further bibliography.

[115] E.g. *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 29. Cf. Usher 1985: 513n.1. Pédech 1964: 47:
Denys oppose à cet exposé les règles de la rhétorique, qui prescrivent dans l'introduction une αὔξησις du sujet, une amplification qui le mette en valeur, et des κεφάλαια, qui en donnent le sommaire préliminaire.
Cf. Pritchett 1975: 70 for further bibliography, including defences of Thucydides' method.

Thucydides on his own terms is not at issue here: the point lies in his reluctance to step out from the influence of his rhetorical training.[116] Dionysius argues that the facts do not bear Thucydides out,[117] nor is the form of the *amplificatio* best served by such an approach (*Thuc.* 19.7-11). Furthermore, because Thucydides' *amplificatio* drifts off topic, it does not reveal quickly enough what the κεφάλαια of his history will be. Dionysius' metathesis of Thucydides' proemium is essentially an abbreviation of it.

The differences between the extracts of Thucydides preserved in *De Thucydide* and the transmitted text of Thucydides are outlined by Pritchett and Aujac.[118] Dionysius retains the historian's name at the beginning of the text; he includes Thucydides' discussion of his sources, researches, predecessors and methodology. Dionysius strips down Thucydides' archaeology by removing all reference to specific events that are not on a grand scale. The decisive battles of the Persian War remain, while comment on Athenian hairstyles is removed (DH *Thuc.* 19.26-29; Thuc. I.5): this last example of Athenian luxury (τῆς Ἀθηναίων τρυφῆς) triggers recollection of a chief theme of the prefaces of Sallust and Livy, though this is probably coincidence. Dionysius' own *amplificatio* can therefore be expected to fulfil the following requirements: he will discuss previous history in positive terms, so as not to diminish the scale on which he measures his history, nor to indicate any malice on his part towards the historical material (cf. DH *Pomp.* 3.4-5). He will couch his *amplificatio* in τὰ ληθές: in practice, this will take the form of a list of hegemonies (DH *AR* I.2-3; discussed pp.

[116] See esp. Bonner 1939: 87; cf. Cic. *De part. Or.* 52-53:
Augendi autem et hic est proprius locus in perorando, et in cursu ipso orationis declinationes ad amplificandum dantur confirmata re aliqua aut reprehensa. Est igitur amplificatio gravior quaedam affirmatio quae motu animorum conciliet in dicendo fidem.
[117] Aujac 1991: 153: 'A son habitude, Denys affirme sans prouver'; but as Aujac demonstrates, the *De Thucydide* is larded with practical examples of Dionysius' disagreement with Thucydides.
[118] Aujac 1991: 69-71, inc. apparatus criticus; 153; Pritchett 1975: 71-73, with fuller bibliography.

54-60 below). The preface will not get bogged down in detail. Finally, the nature of the *amplificatio* will serve to introduce the κεφάλαια of the history.

Dionysius presents a simpler form of his objection to Thucydides' proemium in the letter to Pompeius. There, Dionysius criticises Thucydides for arousing the repugnance of his readers for the subject before he has even started:

> ὅτι δὲ πονηρὰν εἴληφεν ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ αὐτός γε τοῦτο ποιεῖ φανερὸν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ·...ὥστε τοὺς ἀναγνόντας τὸ προοίμιον ἡλλοτριῶσθαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, Ἑλληνικῶν μέλλοντας ἀκούειν.
>
> DH *Pomp.* 3.4-5

Dionysius will make big claims for his history, just as Thucydides made big claims for his (*Pomp.* 3.6).[119] Dionysius changes the balance from Thucydides, and engages in *amplificatio* of his own theme.[120] This is the 'most common call to history',[121] but for Dionysius, the selection of the subject has actually come *after* the call to history, which is the memorialisation of the historian. After the historian decided to write history, then it was up to him to choose an appropriate subject (cf. Pliny *Ep.* 5.8). That is the way Dionysius treats Thucydides and Xenophon too (DH *Pomp.* 3.5, 4.1). Dionysius' explanation for why Rome is an appropriate subject is framed in terms which challenge the reader's understanding of the literary genre: he tells the reader

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[119] DH *Pomp.* 3.6:
οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔνεστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι δι' ἀνάγκην ἦλθεν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν γραφήν, ἐπιστάμενος <μὲν ὡς> ἐκεῖνα καλλίω, βουλόμενος δὲ μὴ ταὐτὰ ἑτέροις γράφειν· πᾶν γὰρ τοὐναντίον ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ διασύρων τὰ παλαιὰ ἔργα κάλλιστα καὶ θαυμασιώτατα τὰ καθ' αὑτὸν ἐπιτελεσθέντα φησὶν εἶναι, καὶ φανερός ἐστι ταῦτα ἑκὼν ἑλόμενος.

[120] See also Herkommer 1967: 164-174 on the *topos* of the greatness of the theme in historiographical prefaces.

[121] Marincola 1997: 34-43 at 34 on *amplificatio.*

that anyone who 'knows universal history' will know that Rome is a suitable topic.[122] Dionysius also amplifies the exemplarity of his history: for example, the early Romans are described as 'godlike' (ἰσοθέων DH *AR* I.6.4, cf. *AR* I.44.1). By Dionysius' time, exemplarity had become a necessary element of 'useful' history.[123] For the moment, Dionysius' apparent 'positive idealisation' of Rome's past in the preface should simply be seen as being part of Dionysius' *amplificatio* of his subject.

Another argument in favour of Dionysius' positive idealisation lies in the approval reserved by Dionysius for Xenophon's *Anabasis*:

> πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὰς ὑποθέσεις τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἐξελέξατο καλὰς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ ἀνδρὶ φιλοσόφῳ προσηκούσας·...καὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν τοῦ νεωτέρου Κύρου, ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς συνανέβη, μέγιστον ἐγκώμιον ἔχουσαν τῶν συστρατευσαμένων Ἑλλήνων·
> DH *Pomp.* 4.1

Dionysius commends here praise in history. I follow Usher in understanding ἐγκώμιον as 'praise' rather than a technical generic term for 'encomium', though that distinction is fine.[124] But this is not to say that Dionysius believes that historiography itself should be encomiastic. Dionysius criticises Philistus for being fawning (κολακικόν DH *Pomp.* 5.2): whereas Thucydides ought to show himself more φιλόπολις (DH *Pomp.* 3.9), Philistus ought not to have been so φιλοτύραννος (*Pomp.*

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[122] DH *AR* I.2.1:
Τὴν μὲν οὖν ὑπόθεσιν ὅτι καλὴν εἴληφα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ καὶ πολλοῖς ὠφέλιμον οὐ μακρῶν οἶμαι δεήσειν λόγων τοῖς γε δὴ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπείρως ἔχουσι τῆς κοινῆς ἱστορίας.
On universal history, see e.g. Alonso-Núñez 1990: 172-192 with following discussion; Clarke 1999a & b.

[123] See also Marincola 1997: 42-43 on Dionysius' exemplarity; Luraghi 2003: 272-273.

[124] Usher 1985: 387; DH *Pomp.* 4.1.

5.2).[125] Yet Philistus was a product of Syracuse. In being φιλοτύραννος, he is surely also being φιλόπολις, at least in some way.[126] But does Dionysius' sympathy towards Athens mean in fact that he asks Athens to be treated differently from Syracuse? That question figures heavily in scholarship on Dionysius.[127] It can best be answered by reference to the whole of the *Antiquities*, so I shall return to it in ch.6. For the moment, my position will be that Dionysius asks that a historian treat his subject sympathetically but not sycophantically. That is consistent with the view Dionysius himself expresses (*Pomp.* 3.15). Dionysius supports the critical attitudes of both Herodotus (*Pomp.* 3.15) and, especially, Theopompus (*Pomp.* 3.7-8). On the other hand, Dionysius does come very close to arguing for positive idealisation, at least by readers, at I.6.3:

> τοῖς μὲν ἐκπεπληρωκόσι τὴν ἑαυτῶν μοῖραν ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς δόξης αἰωνίου τυχεῖν καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ἐπαινεῖσθαι...
>
> DH *AR* I.6.3

In this and the following few lines, Dionysius describes the Romans of old as 'godlike' (ἰσοθέων I.6.4), then tries to argue for a distinction between a 'flattering' history (saying οὐχὶ κολακείας χάριν) and one which shows 'goodwill' towards his subject (I.6.5). Dionysius' attitude to the past in the preface seems to be Romanised,

[125] A very Dionysian word (DH *AR* IV.83.3; XI.2.2). Cf. Plut. *Dion* 36.3, who uses it to describe Philistus.
[126] Aujac 1991: 165. Cf. Plut. *Dion* 15. On Philistus' style, see also [Longinus] *De Subl.* 40.2; Quint. *Inst.Or.* X.1.74.
[127] E.g. recently Delcourt 2005. Hidber 1996: 75-81 at 78 argues that 'Das frühe Rom übernimmt also bei Dionys die traditionelle Rolle Athens als παράδειγμα wahren Hellenentums und erscheint als Orientierungsgrösse gerade auch für die römischen Staatsmänner der eigene Zeit', which is largely right but underplays the complexity of Dionysius' vision of Hellenism: this is the main topic of ch.6.

that is, he sees the distant past as a store of exempla founded upon *mos maiorum*.[128] The question is whether Dionysius' attitude at I.6.3 is to be taken as summing up his genuine approach to historiography, or whether it is hyperbolic *amplificatio* of his subject. In either case, I.6.5 comes across as defensive. My instinct, in light of Dionysius' comments on Thucydides' preface, is to think that for Dionysius the preface should contain outright praise of the subject in order to draw the reader in. Now for Dionysius' authorities.

§3d Dionysius' Predecessors and Roman Authorities

Dionysius' approves of Herodotus' attitude towards his predecessors (*Pomp.* 3.7).[129] He admires Herodotus' confidence in selecting a subject which had already been treated by other historians. This establishes a chief element of Dionysius' understanding of Herodotus and Thucydides, namely that a historian's malice is to be determined by his attitude to the events and people that he describes, and not by his attitude towards his predecessors.[130]

While Dionysius says that it is not acceptable for Thucydides to criticise the past in order to amplify the theme, Dionysius does allow polemic, or criticism of one's predecessors.[131] This is a *topos* of ancient historiography (Greek more than Roman),[132]

[128] On the *mos maiorum*, see Pina Polo 2004; Gowing 2005. On Cicero's attitude to *mos maiorum*, Fox 2007: 159 and 311: 'references to *mos maiorum* are a mechanism for both appealing to and reinscribing a consensus.'

[129] DH *Pomp.* 3.7:
οὐ μὴν Ἡρόδοτός γε τοῦτο ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ συγγραφέων γενομένων Ἑλλανίκου τε καὶ Χάρωνος τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν προεκδεδωκότων οὐκ ἀπετράπετο, ἀλλ' ἐπίστευσεν αὐτῷ κρεῖσσόν τι ἐξοίσειν· ὅπερ καὶ πεποίηκεν.

[130] Thucydides criticises his predecessors at I.97. On Herodotus' attitude to his predecessors, see esp. Węcowski 2004; also Krischer 1965 on Herodotus' preface.

[131] He praises Herodotus for thinking he could do better than his predecessors: DH *Pomp.* 3.6; *Thuc.* 6. Cf. Marincola 1997: 14-15.

[132] Marincola 1997: 217-257. Josephus is good on this (Jos. *C. Ap.* I.16; cf. Marincola 1997: 218):

which is more common in non-contemporary history like Dionysius' than it is in contemporary history like Thucydides' and Xenophon's.[133] Marincola has shown that Dionysius is careful in his dismissal of certain predecessors.[134] Dionysius deals with a range of predecessors in his preface. He saves his heavy fire for the predecessors whom he does not name.[135] These historians are merely a subset of the broader anti-Roman tendency among certain Greeks.[136] Dionysius later lists seven predecessors who wrote in Greek, two of whom, Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus, were Roman. The two Romans are treated more delicately than the Greeks (I.6.1-2). Marincola suggests that Dionysius thus protects the authority of Roman sources, on which Dionysius' own authority depends.[137] This attitude is in keeping with Dionysius' generally sympathetic approach to Rome. Greek historians, in a Greek history, do not need his protection. Dionysius' list of seven Greek-speaking predecessors is matched by a list of seven Roman authorities, with whom he does not engage in polemic of any sort (DH *AR* I.7.3). Dionysius' practice of referring to his sources, often even by name, puts him firmly in the camp of Herodotus.[138]

In the first half of the preface, the target of Dionysius' polemic is a generalised embellishment of his view that history is a monument to the soul of the historian (*AR* I.1.2-4; cf. I.4.3). The charge which Dionysius levels against Thucydides, that he has

περίεργος δ' ἂν εἴην ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐπισταμένους διδάσκων ὅσα μὲν Ἑλλάνικος Ἀκουσιλάῳ περὶ τῶν γενεαλογιῶν διαπεφώνηκεν, ὅσα δὲ διορθοῦται τὸν Ἡσίοδον Ἀκουσίλαος, ἢ τίνα τρόπον Ἔφορος μὲν Ἑλλάνικον ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ψευδόμενον ἐπιδείκνυσιν, Ἔφορον δὲ Τίμαιος καὶ Τίμαιον οἱ μετ' ἐκεῖνον γεγονότες, Ἡρόδοτον δὲ πάντες.

[133] Marincola 1997: 224

[134] Marincola 1997: 234-6 on Dionysius' approach in the main body of the history; Marincola 1997: 244-246 on the first preface.

[135] Quotation from Marincola 1997: 234.

[136] DH *AR* I.4.2-3

[137] Marincola 1997: 244-245

[138] Grethlein has adduced Herodotean influence in Sallust when that historian names his sources in his research on foreign topics (Grethlein 2006: 313).

chosen a base theme (*Pomp.* 3.2) is here reduced to a charge against 'those who...' (*AR* I.1.3).[139] This makes sense: Dionysius' preface, as I have argued, is deliberately conservative. He is not going to challenge openly the big guns of Thucydides and Thucydides' admirers yet. The open challenge to Thucydides' subject will come later, at XI.1.

Now let us consider the presence of three Roman historians, Varro, Cato and Sallust, in Dionysius' preface.[140] Each historian illuminates a different aspect of Dionysius: Varro, so-called antiquarian researches; Cato, one of the founding fathers of Roman historiography; and Sallust, a near-contemporary, who, despite the different subject-matter of his own extant works, shares several of Dionysius' influences.

Varro is conspicuously absent from Dionysius' list of Roman authorities.[141] Yet Dionysius describes his historical purpose at *AR* I.5.1 in terms which recall Cicero's admiration of Varro in the *Academica* (*Acad.* I.9):[142]

> Ταύτας δὴ τὰς πεπλανημένας, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ὑπολήψεις ἐξελέσθαι τῆς διανοίας τῶν πολλῶν προαιρούμενος καὶ ἀντικατασκευάσαι τὰς ἀληθεῖς...
>
> DH *AR* I.5.1

[139] DH *AR* I.1.3:
οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀδόξων πραγμάτων ἢ πονηρῶν ἢ μηδεμιᾶς σπουδῆς ἀξίων ἱστορικὰς καταβαλόμενοι πραγματείας

[140] This section is indebted for background and general bibliography to Christopher Smith, who kindly let me see his unpublished lecture on Varro.

[141] On Varro and Dionysius, see e.g. Fox 1996: 236-256 and Vanotti 1995: 68-81; Poucet 1989; Poucet 1993: 41-69 discusses the episode of the Dodona oracle (*AR* I.19-20). On Varro's life and works, Cardauns 2001.

[142] Cf. Schultze 2000: §1n.7 & 14, who sees an extension of the travelling metaphor in πεπλανημένας (*AR* I.5.1) and cites Hdt. I.95.

Varro too, says Cicero, has set right those who were wandering:

> Tum ego 'Sunt' inquam 'ista Varro. nam nos in nostra urbe peregrinantis errantisque tamquam hospites tui libri quasi domum deduxerunt ut possemus aliquando qui et ubi essemus agnoscere.
>
> Cic. *Acad.* I.9

Dionysius' scope is close to Varro's general interests, and in particular his *De Gente Populi Romani*.[143] Varro treats the age of the City, its chronology, laws, religion, priesthood, religious and secular institutions, topography, and so on.[144] Dionysius employs similar vocabulary to describe his own project: ἔθη τε τὰ κράτιστα καὶ νόμους καὶ τὸν ἀρχαῖον βίον τῆς πόλεως (*AR* I.8.2).[145] These are projects of archaeological research in general, and also relate to the themes of Cato's *Origines*.[146] For the present, the outlook is revealingly different: where Varro sought to show 'what and from what people' the Romans had drawn for imitation, Dionysius boldly promises to show that the Romans 'are Greek'.[147]

There is more to the influence of Varro upon Dionysius than general scope and archaeological interest. Whenever Dionysius mentions Varro, he does so in respectful terms. Varro is the third Roman source mentioned by name in the body of the

[143] Varro *de gente populi Romani*: Peter *HRR*² 2.10-24; Fraccaro 1907; Taylor 1934; Baier 1999; Feeney 2007.

[144] Cic. *Acad.* I.9:
> tu aetatem patriae tu descriptiones temporum tu sacrorum iura tu sacerdotum tu domesticam tu bellicam disciplinam, tu sedum regionum locorum tu omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina genera officia causas aperuisti.

[145] Gabba 1991: 75-78 at 78 argues that Dionysius' preface, taken together with *AR* V.48.1, actually indicates a 'Theopompan programme'.

[146] Bickermann 1952: 65-81

[147] On Varro: Serv. *ad Aen.* VII.176 = fr. 37 Fraccaro: *quid a quaque traxerint [Romani] gente per imitationem.* DH *AR* I.5.1: δι' ἧς Ἕλληνάς τε αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἐπιδείξειν ὑπισχνοῦμαι.

Antiquities (I.14.1),[148] but Varro is only mentioned intermittently after that point (*AR* II.21.2, 47.4, 48.4; IV.62.6). This unexpected rarity made Varronian presence in the *Antiquities* ripe for *Quellenkritik*, and nineteenth century German scholars duly obliged.[149] The question continued into the eighties and early nineties of the last century. In the case of Dionysius' account of the Dodona oracle (*AR* I.19-20), which does not mention Varro, parallels from Macrobius (*Sat.* I.7.28) and Lactantius (*Inst.* I.21.7), who do refer to Varro, were used to suggest an ultimate Varronian source for Dionysius too.[150] There is no need to answer that question here, though I find Poucet's caution on the question convincing.[151] Nor shall I address the issue of Dionysius' dependence on Varro for his account of Aeneas, though there is scope there too.[152] On three occasions, Dionysius acknowledges Varro as his sole or chief source (*AR* I.14-15, II.21.2, IV.62.6).[153] In one other instance, Varro is named as divergent from the majority of the sources (*AR* II.47.3-4).

Gabba has argued that while Dionysius modelled some of his work on Varro, the differences between Dionysius and Varro 'run fairly deep'.[154] One principal variation, says Gabba, is between Dionysius' and Varro's use of βίος/*vita*. Varro's

[148] The first two were Cato and C. Sempronius Asellio at I.11.1.
[149] See Poucet 1993: 41.
[150] See esp. Poucet 1993: 44-60 on Lactantius and Macrobius.
[151] Though cf. Fromentin 1998: 235, who thinks it 'probable' that Dionysius used Varro here. Dionysius does not refer to Varro directly, but does cite Mamius/Mallius as his authority for the oracle. The MSS. have an otherwise unknown Mamius (*AR* I.19.3), which could be a scribal error for Mallius (cf. Fromentin 1998: 102 with n. p234, who follows the MSS.; Jacoby and Cary print Μάλλιος. Mallius is a common Greek MS. rendering of Manlius/Manilius. Manilius is a senator of the early first century BCE who is cited by Varro. Starting on these lines, Briquel and others have argued that Dionysius has not mentioned his actual source, Varro, but has mentioned the source that Varro cited, Manilius. The eventual conclusion is that Dionysius used Varro. Cf. Briquel 1984: 355-493.
[152] Schultze 2000: §2 ('Although Dionysius knew and used Varro's works, he plainly does not adopt this [Varro's] periodisation [of prehistory] as it stood.'), §7.1, §7.2. See Cornell's reservations about the value of *Quellenforschung* in studies of Livy and Dionysius in general at Cornell 1995: 4-6.
[153] On DH *AR* I.14-15, Gabba 1991: 115.
[154] Gabba 1991: 98-101 at 100

understanding of *vita* is based on Dicaearchus' use of βίος.[155] Dicaearchus influenced some of Varro's work.[156] He wrote a βίος Ἑλλάδος which appears to have been the first approach to a social and cultural history of Greece.[157] That is to say, Dicaearchus and Varro each understand *vita* according to a system of stages of civilisation. Dionysius, on the other hand, uses βίος rather more in the Livian sense, of *quae vita, quae mores.*[158]

The question of Varro's influence on Dionysius is raised by Dionysius' choice of start- and end-points.[159] We know, mostly from Nonius, that Varro's *De Vita Populi Romani* covered the period from Rome's foundation up to the civil wars in four books. Book I contained the regal period and Book II the war with Pyrrhus: the latter is the last extended episode that we have of Dionysius' *Antiquities*. The period before the monarchy is explicitly separated by Dionysius from the rest of his history (*AR* I.90.2, VII.70.2). *AR* I, then, would match the *De Gente* in scope, and II-XX would fill in the gap between Books I and II of the *De Vita*. This is a convenient fit; I am not entirely convinced by it, but I think it could be used to qualify the argument that Dionysius stopped at the First Punic War (I.8.2) because that is where Polybius started.[160] I argue in chapter 6 that other good explanations fit too: for example, the end-point that Dionysius does choose allows him to end with the first clash between

[155] Gabba 1991: 78, 100-101, but *contra* Wiseman 1979: 48n.45; cf. Schultze 2000: §7.2 and n.125.
[156] See Ax 2000 on Dicaearchus.
[157] On Cicero's approval of Dicaearchus, Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* I.77. Cf. Rawson 1985: 235-236, 242 on Dicaearchus and Varro. On Dionysius, Dicaearchus and Varro, see Gabba 1991: 100-101.
[158] Livy *Praef.* 6. Gabba 1991: 101
[159] There is a probably trivial intertextual relationship between Varro and Dionysius in Dionysius' naming of the exact date at *AR* I.3.4 (during the consulship of Claudius Nero and Calpurnius Piso). We know, unusually, the date of the *De Gente*, which is 43 BCE, because Varro refers to the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa (Arnob. *Adv. Gentes* v.8). Cf. Taylor 1934: 221.
[160] But Schultze 2000: §2: 'Dionysius was writing to extend Polybius history *back* [original italics]'; cf. Martin 1970: 201, who argues that Dionysius treats early Rome because Polybius had made the later period his own.

Greeks and Romans in the war with Pyrrhus. Since the relationship between Greece and Rome is the over-riding theme of the *Antiquities*, that seems a sensible place to end.

Dionysius includes Cato as one of the 'praiseworthy' Roman sources on which he bases his early account (ἐπαινούμενοι *AR* I.7.3). He mentions Cato by name eight times.[161] Dionysius' interest in foundations intersects with Cato's in the *Origines*.[162] Dionysius' argument at *AR* I.9.4, that the constitution of their Romans was founded upon their 'many experiences', seems to owe something to the tradition probably starting with Cato and certainly taking in Polybius and Cicero.[163] Gabba argues that Dionysius' representation of the Roman constitution is in complete contrast to Cato's.[164]

There are tempting allusions to Cato at I.5.1-2, though the vocabulary is very close to being common territory. Dionysius says (among other things) that he will describe how the founders of the city 'came together' (συνῆλθον), and narrate their deeds (περὶ δὲ τῶν πράξεων), by which the city reached its hegemony (ἐξ ὧν εἰς τοσαύτην ἡγεμονίαν προῆλθον οἱ μετ' αὐτοὺς). This seems to recall Cato *Origines* F20 Peter, 'eodem *convenae* conplures ex agro accessitavere. eo *res eorum* auxit' – except that where Cato has the founders come together from the country (*ex agro*), Dionysius has them leaving their 'native lands' (τὰς πατρίους οἰκήσεις

[161] DH *AR* I.7.3, 11.1, 13.2, 74.2, 79.4; II.49.2; IV.15.1; DH F2 Jacoby (= Cato F17 Peter). Cf. Gabba 1991: 70, 114-116, 155-156.
[162] Astin 1978: 223-224 argues that Cato's discussion of foundation stems more from his desire to write prose in Latin than any 'dominating intellectual or didactic purpose…What would have needed special explanation would have been the omission of this material'.
[163] Polyb. VI.10.12-14; Cic. *De Rep.* II.1.2. Cf. Fromentin 1998: 89n.46
[164] Gabba 1991: 155-157: 'Cato's viewpoint…is totally confounded in the work of Dionysius.'

ἐξέλιπον), in accordance with his programme. In contrast with Cato, Dionysius is able to say that Rome has reached its hegemony: he has twice already referred to the destruction of Carthage (*AR* I.3.5, 4.1), and will do so again at the end of the book (I.90.1).

Engagement with Cato necessarily entails engagement with other Roman authors too, and vice versa. Levene has already argued that Sallust alludes to Cato *Orig.* F20 Peter at *BC* 6.3.[165] Possible Sallustian interplay extends into the beginning of the *Antiquities*. I discussed earlier Dionysius' interplay with Herodotus in his account of the Aborigines (*AR* I.9-11). Servius records that Sallust too followed Cato in his archaeology in the *Bellum Catilinae*.[166] Sallust, of course, does not use Cato as a source so much as an influence from which he sometimes diverges.[167]

What about other Catonian and Sallustian themes, such as *otium*? Levene's detection of Catonian resonance in the *Catiline* rests in part upon *BC* 4.1. Sallust justifies here occupying his *otium* with historiography. The proper use of *otium* is a Roman commonplace, but the context of historiography is Catonian.[168] Because Dionysius is not a high-ranking Roman, he is not bound by the same convention. To take another example, Cato repeatedly appealed to past virtue in his orations,[169] and Dionysius writes that the Roman past is a storehouse of examples of virtue (*AR* I.5.3). Dionysius could be speaking in Catonian terms, but in Dionysius' time such ideas could also be

[165] Levene 2000: 176
[166] Discussed by Levene 2000: 174-180. Serv. *ad Aen.* I.6 = Cato *Orig.* F5 Peter:
Cato in Originibus hoc dicit, cuius auctoritatem Sallustius sequitur in Bello Catilinae [=VI.1-2], primo Italiam tenuisse quosdam, qui appellabantur Aborigines.
[167] Levene 2000: 177-180 describes how Sallust's dating of the start of Rome's moral decline to the destruction of Carthage actually puts Sallust in camp with Scipio Nasica rather than Cato.
[168] Cato *Orig.* F2 Peter = Cic. *Pro Plancio* 66. Cf. Levene 2000: 173-174.
[169] Levene 2000: 170, citing Cato *Orat.* F18, 58, 144, 200, 221-2.

seen more generally as *topoi.* All that can be said is that Dionysius was sympathetic to Cato's attitude here in the way that Livy and Sallust were too.

Sallust, Cato and Livy use the example of the past to warn against *luxuria.*[170] Sallust's preface focuses in part on the descent of man and *luxuria*, as does Livy's. His disapprobation of *luxuria* would be out of place in Dionysius' topic, the early Republic. This is exactly the theme that Dionysius thinks Thucydides should have avoided in his preface, τρυφή (DH *Thuc.* 19.27), though Dionysius himself refers to τρυφή in his preface to *On the Ancient Orators*, an interesting example of generic variation in one author (DH *Vett. Orr.* I.16).

Dionysius is aware of the Roman topos that peace brings indolence and luxury (DH *AR* XII.6.2), but *luxuria* (τρυφή)[171] receives little attention in the first twelve books of the *Antiquities.*[172] Only at IX.16.8 is luxury treated as a fact rather than a risk. In book VI, the skilled political operator Menenius Agrippa refers to luxury as a bedfellow of peace, while uncertainty accompanies war (DH *AR* VI.52.2).[173] There is no indication in the speeches that *luxuria* is a bad thing. The Romans, it seems, will learn with experience. Indeed, towards the end of the *Antiquities*, Fabricius will talk of *luxuria*, the consequence of peace, as the corrupter of young men (DH *AR*

[170] Cato *Orat.* F163, Sall. *BC* 11.3
[171] In the first half of the *AR*, DH *AR* VI.24.2 (Appius accuses the plebeians), 52.2; VII.55.6, 56.2 (M'. Valerius cautions both the patricians and the plebeians against luxury); IX.16.8 (Lucius Aemilius rewards the army). In the second half, XII.6.2; XIX.8.1, 17.3.
[172] I considered other translations of *luxuria*, such as πολυτέλεια. This is a much less good translation than τρυφή. It is generally used to mean magnificence of building works during the regal period (III.67.4; during Tarquinius Superbus' reign, IV.61.4). It is treated pejoratively at II.23.5, εἰς τὴν ἀλαζόνα πολυτέλειαν. Given that the Romans associated extravagance with Greeks and the East, Dionysius' relative silence on this count is perhaps understandable; but another association of the magnificence of building works must be with Augustus (Suet. *Div. Aug.* 28.3-29.5; Aug. *RG* 19-21).
[173] Agrippa's credentials are vouchsafed at VI.49.2.

XIX.17.3) (on Fabricius, pp. 224-228 below). So it is *not* the case that Dionysius avoids *luxuria* because his history idealises the Roman past. Rather, his history anticipates the problems that Sallust, Cato and Livy address explicitly in their histories and oratory, by showing the Romans learning and then speaking about, for example, *luxuria*.

The example of Manlius Torquatus is anticipated very early in the *Antiquities* (*AR* II.26.6). Titus Manlius Torquatus executed his son for fighting against orders. His story is proverbial in Roman literature (e.g. Livy VIII.7.17),[174] so its use by Dionysius indicates his acquaintance with Roman historiographical tropes as much as anything else, but the theme is an important one. In his archaeology, Sallust alludes to the story of Torquatus in terms which might recall Cato (*BC* 9.3-4),[175] and uses it to indicate the *audacia* of Romans in war. One way of translating this word is αὐθάδεια (but cf. ἐθάρσησαν Polyb. I.3.6, which conveys the right idea), a key word for Dionysius.[176] For the moment, the shift in emphasis between Dionysius and Sallust should be noted. Sallust's Torquatus killed his son for the benefit of Rome. Dionysius is keen to emphasise that in early Rome, fathers killed their sons even when the sons were excellent servants of the state (DH *AR* II.26.4-6).

[174] On Livy's version, Feldherr 1998: 105-111. Levene 2000: 176 with note has a full list of examples; for its use by Caesar at *BC* 52.10, cf. Levene 2000: 184-185.
[175] Cf. Cato *Orat.* F21: arbitror *rem publicam curare* industrie summum periculum esse.
[176] See pp. 126-128 below.

§3e Dionysius, Polybius and the Succession of Hegemonies[177]

Polybius' treatment of the Roman past hangs over Dionysius' history.[178] Dionysius is not going to ignore Polybius, but as we have seen, the first preface to the *Antiquities* is characterised by a very self-conscious and superficial caution. The confident, bullish Dionysius of the rhetorical works is replaced by a Dionysius who plays it safe, only engaging with other historians when he is on secure ground. The architecture of the history and the tone of the republican books suggest that Dionysius holds Polybius in very high regard; nevertheless, he takes the opportunity to make a number of digs at his predecessor.

I have given some evidence already of Dionysius' engagement with Polybius in the preface (§3a above).[179] Dionysius contains Polybius in the list of Greek historians who have treated Roman history before him (*AR* I.6.1, cf. I.7.1). This list is chronological. Hieronymus and Timaeus are treated first, and Polybius is sandwiched between the lesser-known Silenus and Antigonus.[180] Polybius' extended polemic against Timaeus is well documented:[181] by focusing on chronological superiority, Dionysius has reduced Polybius to second rank behind him. On its own that is not sufficient proof of an attack. But elsewhere, Dionysius twice concentrates on an admonition by Polybius.[182] At Polyb. 6.11.3-9, Polybius launches a pre-emptive attack against those

[177] Gabba 2003: 73-76 has a brief summary of the succession.
[178] Martin 1970: 201 suggests that Dionysius intends to 'rivaliser' Polybius.
[179]See further Porciani 1997: 87-109 on Dionysius and Polybius.
[180] Hieronymus of Cardia: *FGH* II B 154 F13. Timaeus: *FGH* III B 566 T9c; Polyb. XII.25h1; Diod. XXI.17.1; DH *Din.* 8.4. Antigonus: *FGH* III C 816 T1; DH *De Comp. Verb.* 4.111. Silenus: *FGH* II B 175 T4. These references are from Fromentin 1998: 224-225. Dionysius includes Polybius and Antigonus on his list of historians whom no one can bear to read to the end (*De Comp. Verb.* 4.107-111.
[181] Polyb. 12. For analysis, see Schepens 1990: 39-61, which is especially critical of Sacks 1981: 22-66.
[182]Gabba 1991: 76-77: 'Strangely enough, the praises of Dionysius [concerning Theopompus] are expressed, in part, through the same terminology used by Polybius in his arguments against Timaeus while clarifying the duties of the historian.'

who criticise his omissions, saying his readers should concentrate on what he actually says.[183] Dionysius takes another course: he says that he includes so much information that his readers may doubt that he is telling the truth about all of it. He couches his defence in an explicit dig at Polybius:

> ἴσως γὰρ οἱ προανεγνωκότες Ἱερώνυμον ἢ Τίμαιον ἢ Πολύβιον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ συγγραφέων, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐποιησάμην λόγον ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ὡς ἐπισεσυρκότων τὴν γραφήν, πολλὰ τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γραφομένων οὐχ εὑρηκότες παρ' ἐκείνοις κείμενα σχεδιάζειν ὑπολήψονταί με καὶ πόθεν ἡ τούτων γνῶσις εἰς ἐμὲ παραγέγονεν ἀξιώσουσι μαθεῖν.
>
> DH *AR* I.7.1 (the underlined section refers to I.4.1-2)

After mentioning Polybius by name, Dionysius establishes his defence against those who might accuse him of having invented material, because Dionysius will narrate events that his readers will not know. Dionysius inverts Polybius' defence at Polyb. 6.11.3-9. What is more, the language is Polybian: ἐπισεσυρκότων is not an unknown word in Attic oratory,[184] but its most striking parallel in this case is that it occurs three times in Polybius, and each instance is a fruitful example. At Polyb. 19.12.6, Polybius asks not to be condemned for 'slurring' over events if he treats them more briefly than other historians.[185] In his long criticism of Timaeus, Polybius accuses him of 'slurring' over his research for his narrative of Africa and Italy.[186] In

[183] Polyb. VI.11.4-5:
πᾶν γὰρ ἐπιγινώσκοντες καὶ παντὸς πεῖραν εἰληφότες διὰ τὴν ἐκ παίδων τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ νομίμοις συντροφίαν οὐ τὸ λεγόμενον θαυμάσουσιν ἀλλὰ τὸ παραλειπόμενον ἐπιζητήσουσιν, οὐδὲ κατὰ πρόθεσιν ὑπολήψονται τὸν γράφοντα παραλιπεῖν τὰς μικρὰς διαφοράς, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἄγνοιαν παρασιωπᾶν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ συνέχοντα τῶν πραγμάτων.

[184] E.g. Dem. *In Lep.* 131, [Lys.] *Peri tês Euandrou dokimasias* 3. Cf. Posid. F36 Jacoby, though the context is quite different.

[185] Polyb. 29.12.6:
διόπερ οὐ χρὴ καταγινώσκειν ὡς ἡμῶν ἐπισυρόντων τὰς πράξεις...

[186] Polyb. 12.4c.2-3 = Timaeus F19 Jacoby
Πλὴν ὅτι γε κακῶς ἱστόρηκε καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Σαρδόνα, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐκ τούτων ἐστὶ συμφανές, καὶ

the same passage, Polybius criticises Timaeus as an 'armchair historian', who sat in Athens for fifty years, and relied on 'records' to identify his starting-points. Dionysius notes the charge, and says that he will make a preliminary statement about the 'records' that he has used.[187] Polybius also wrote a letter to Zeno, detailing Zeno's 'slurring' over his topography of Laconia.[188] Dionysius' polemic against Polybius is carefully targeted on areas where Polybius has identified some weakness himself. It is phrased in Polybius' language of polemic, and is a clever and knowing dig.

Dionysius' list of hegemonies (*AR* I.2-3) is designed to show the supremacy of the Roman hegemony. This list recalls universal history, but that is not what Dionysius is writing.[189] Martin argues that Dionysius' list competes with and is designed to replace Polybius' list at Polyb. 1.2.[190] Polybius lists the hegemonies in the order Persians, Lacedaemonians, Macedonians, Romans. Dionysius lists them in the order Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Macedonians, Romans. In both Polybius and Dionysius, the Roman empire is presented as the culmination of a historical process.[191] There are two chief differences. Dionysius goes further back in time than Polybius, to the Assyrians and the Medes. This puts Dionysius in a tradition, broken by Polybius, which goes back to Herodotus.[192] Second, Polybius includes the Lacedaemonians. Dionysius will include the Lacedaemonians in a different list, which I discuss below.

καθόλου διότι τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀνακρίσεις μέρος ἐπισέσυρται παρ' αὐτῷ τελέως·

[187] Polyb. 12.25d.1; DH *AR* I.7.1. Schultze 2000: §3, who makes more of the reference to starting points.

[188] Polyb. 16.20.3 = Zeno F3 Müller:
Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν προήχθην εἰπεῖν, θεωρῶν νῦν, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων, τὸ μὲν ἀληθινὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἀνῆκον ἐν ἑκάστοις ἐπισεσυρμένον,

[189] Alonso-Núñez 2002: 97; Clarke 1999b: 250

[190] Martin 1993: 193-214; Alonso-Nüñez 1983: 411-426 laid down the terms for the subsequent debate. Cf. Fromentin 1998: 221; Ferrary 1976: 283-289.

[191] Alonso-Núñez 2002: 112 on Dionysius. Polybius' intimation of decline comes later; at I.4.1 he argues that Fortune forces the affairs of the world towards one end.

[192] Hdt. I.95, 130; Martin 1993: 194; Alonso-Núñez 2002: 49

Dionysius' version matches the list of Aemilius Sura, which is repeated by Dionysius' contemporary Velleius Paterculus.[193] The presence of the Macedonians is at issue: before Alexander, there seem to have been two sorts of lists, one of the non-Greek empires, and one of the Greek empires. The ascendancy of the semi-barbaric Macedonia rendered this distinction unworkable.[194] Demetrius of Phalerum, like Polybius, had the Macedonians follow the Persians in the revised list of world hegemonies.[195] Martin identifies a use of ὡς εἰπεῖν which, he suggests, might recall Pompeius Trogus' use of *velut* in a parallel passage.[196]

In excluding pure Greek cities from one list of hegemonies, Dionysius follows the practice that, apart from Polybius, was standard. Dionysius includes a separate section of Greek 'powers' (δυνάμεις *AR* I.3), which denotes a second rank.[197] In acceding to the hegemony of the world, Rome will render the distinction between Greek and non-Greek powers null.[198] Nevertheless, at the beginning of the *Antiquities*, that distinction still stands. The list of Greek powers includes the expected Athenians, Lacedaemonians and Thebans, of whom only the Lacedaemonians are mentioned by Polybius at I.2.[199] These three states come under Polybius' microscope much later on,

[193] Aemilius Sura is from the Sullan period or earlier (Martin 1993: 195n.8). Vell. *Hist.* I.6.6: Aemilius Sura de annis populi Romani: Assyrii principes omnium gentium rerum potiti sunt, deinde Medi, postea Persae, deinde Macedones;...haud multo post Carthaginem subactam devictis summa imperii ad populum Romanum pervenit.
[194] Martin 1993: 195
[195] Alonso-Núñez 2002: 52; Martin 1993: 195; Polyb. 19.21
[196] Martin 1993: 199. Cf. Pompeius Trogus at Just. XLI.1.1; Alonso-Núñez 2002: 105
[197] Martin 1993: 195-196
[198] The language of unification in universal history appears at e.g. Alonso-Núñez 2002: 95: 'The Augustan empire means the political unification of the Mediterranean world under the command of a monarch who rules apparently under republican forms'; though cf. Verdin 1974: 291 and Hill 1961, who argue that the identification of Greek origins is a reaction *against* Augustan propaganda. Alonso-Núñez 2002: 111: Dionysius 'symbolises the fusion of the Greek culture with the Roman one.' Cf. Martin 1993: 209
[199] Cf. Gabba 1991: 195

in Polybius' discussion of the Roman constitution. At 6.43-44, Polybius dismisses Thebes' success as being entirely down to Epaminondas and Pelopidas, and Athens' as being coeval with Themistocles. Lacedaemon is afforded more glory (Polyb. 6.47-50), and is the only Greek state to be compared seriously to Rome.

Dionysius' account of the Greek powers in his preface is completely different. He only counts two powers, Athens and Sparta.[200] Thebes ended the Spartan hegemony, but is not accorded equivalence with Athens and Sparta (*AR* I.3.2).[201] Dionysius' chronology is very different from Polybius': Dionysius puts the Lacedaemonian *dunamis* at less than thirty years (*AR* I.3.2), while Polybius has it at less than twelve (Polyb. I.2.3; cf. Polyb. I.6.1-2).[202] Dionysius says that the Athenian *dunamis* lasted sixty-eight years, but that it was small (*AR* I.3.2). Polybius' dissection of the Athenian constitution is in a different context, but even so, he presents the Athenian *dunamis* along other lines. For Polybius, the failing of Athens lay in its constitution, meaning that Athens relied too heavily upon great leaders. The height of Athens' success was attained during Themistocles' rule, but at other times Athens has flailed, resembling a ship without a commander (Polyb. VI.44).[203]

[200] Delcourt 2005: 156-195
[201] Martin 1993: 195
[202] Martin 1993: 198-199. Polybius says that Rome achieved the hegemony in less than fifty-three years (Polyb. I.1.5); Dionysius counts the Roman hegemony from the Battle of Pydna (168 BCE, so later than Polybius sets the start of the hegemony): Martin 1993 discusses the reasons for this. But Dionysius also suggests that Rome has had a sort of dominion from its founding onwards, since Rome started its expansion right at the beginning (I.3.3-4).
[203] Martin 1993 also argues that Dionysius rejects Polybius' *anacyclosis*: I do not think this is the case, as I argue elsewhere in this thesis . On Dionysius' attitude to biological decline in Polybius, see Gabba 1991: 193. Alonso-Núñez 2002: 112: 'There is no allusion to the possible decline of the Roman empire' in Dionysius' preface (see pp. 136-137 below).

Polybius explains the rise of Rome in terms of *tyche* (Polyb. I.4.1, 4.5). The meaning of *tyche* in Polybius is variable,[204] and so it is open to deliberate misinterpretation. At about the same stage in his history, Dionysius takes issue with those who 'rail openly at Fortune' for granting the Romans hegemony (*AR* I.4.2, 5.2). If that is an allusion to Polybius' preface, then it must be a deliberately unfair reading: Polybius' preface does not suggest that the Roman hegemony is unwelcome, though later parts of the *History* do give that impression. In fact, at 1.63.9 Polybius rejects any help for Rome from *tyche*;[205] at 36.17.1, he argues that it has been characteristic of his history to reject interpretations based on fortune or fate.

Polybius reassesses Roman history at 3.1-5. He justifies the extension of his history by saying that men must read about the Romans because now all men must submit to Rome. These men must decide whether Roman rule is acceptable (Polyb. 3.4.7). Gabba argues that this does not imply rejection of the Roman hegemony.[206] It makes Rome historical material to be analysed: the rest of Polybius' history will *not* be over-sanguine about Rome and how its subjects felt about its power. Now, if Dionysius 'idealises' Roman history (in whatever sense of 'idealisation'), then Polybius' studied neutrality at III.1-5 might make him a target for Dionysius, because he does not praise Rome as he should. An alternative view is that Dionysius' rejection of *tyche* could be treated as a more general rejection of a simplified form of Polybius' methodology. Dionysius himself prefers the more deliberate *pronoia* or *eunoia*, though he

[204] Walbank 2007 analyses Polybius' use of τύχη. Cf. Swain 1989: 276-277.

[205] Polyb. I.63.9:
ἐξ ὧν δῆλον τὸ προτεθὲν ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὡς οὐ τύχῃ Ῥωμαῖοι, καθάπερ ἔνιοι δοκοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐδ' αὐτομάτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν εἰκότως ἐν τοιούτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις πράγμασιν ἐνασκήσαντες οὐ μόνον ἐπεβάλοντο τῇ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ δυναστείᾳ τολμηρῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθίκοντο τῆς προθέσεως.

[206] Cf. Gabba 1991: 16-17

occasionally seems to treat *tyche* as purposive.[207] I risk here making Dionysius' attack too focused. It is phrased, after all, in general terms, and there is no indication of Polybius in this passage beyond the use of *tyche*.[208] Furthermore, the association of Rome's rise with *tyche* may seem more Polybian today than it did in Dionysius' time: Pliny describes the importance contemporary Romans attached to *fortuna* in a range of meanings from blind chance to divine providence.[209]

Dionysius also claims an audience broader than Polybius'. Dionysius sees his own history as 'useful' (χρήσιμον *AR* I.9.4), but there is no need to see this as a gesture towards Polybius: later, Dionysius will come closer to him by mimicking the pairing of ἅμα καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον καὶ τὸ τερπνὸν (Polyb. I.4.11; DH *AR* XI.1),[210] but Dionysius uses χρήσιμον as a criterion for all historians and orators.[211] It is not always to be seen as expressive if Dionysius employs a *topos* also found in Polybius, as for example when he refers to the flattery of barbarian kings.[212]

In his first preface, Dionysius competes with Polybius. There are some clear intertexts and structural parallels, and some less certain possibilities. Dionysius' attitude towards Polybius is encapsulated in digs, and so may seem defensive and prickly. In the succession of hegemonies, Dionysius does something very different from Polybius, and finds a more assured voice. Yet the extent of the differences suppresses any direct

[207] Schultze 1981: 278-282
[208] Pelling 2007a: 253: 'It was not a mere matter of Fortune (*Tyche* – Polybius is in the background again) that Rome conquered the world, but because they were paragons of virtue.'
[209] Pliny *NH* II.22; Plut. *De Fort. Rom. passim*.Walsh 1961: 55-56
[210] See e.g. Walbank 1990: 253-266; D'Huys 1990: 267-288; Porciani 1997: 166-169; Verdin 1974: 296-297.
[211] E.g. esp. DH *Thuc.* 51-1-8; also *Isaeus* 19.7-8.
[212] DH *AR* I.4.3; Polyb. VIII.8.5; Schultze 1981: 279 with note, and suggestions for who these historians might be.

Polybian influence. Generally speaking, when Dionysius uses Polybian language, it is to do Polybius down. When he follows Polybian structure, it is to surpass him.

§3f Mimesis

Mimesis is crucial to all of Dionysius' work. Murray loosely defines *mimesis* as 'a relation between something that is and something made to resemble it'.[213] There are at least two different uses of this *mimesis.* First, *mimesis* can mean the representation of truth or reality in art.[214] Second, *mimesis* can refer to the use of literary predecessors as models for the composition of one's own work. The chain between the first and second parts is demonstrated in Plato's attack on *mimesis* (*Rep.* X.602d-603e, 605a-c). Comparing poetry to painting, he argues that 'if the experiential world is at one remove from the reality of forms, then art is at two removes, and art that imitates art is at three removes'.[215] As I argue in this section, Dionysian *mimesis* is a broad concept which encompasses much more than mere imitation of authors.[216] *Mimesis* is so central to Dionysius' work that, through repetition, the *Antiquities* comes to imitate itself.

The two senses of *mimesis* outlined above are not really separable,[217] but I shall concentrate on the second part, the *mimesis* of literary models. Plato stresses the

[213] Murray 1996: 3-6 at 3
[214] In Classics, the two standard (if very different) approaches to *mimesis* are Halliwell 2002 and Whitmarsh 2001. Mimesis is an important concept in the philosophy of art too, on which see e.g. Walton 1990. See e.g. DH *Thuc.* 45, where Dionysius criticises Thucydides for not representing truth sufficiently well.
[215] Pl. *Rep.* 602c-d. The paraphrase belongs to Whitmarsh 2001: 47-48. See also Murray 1996 *ad loc.;* the response by Aristotle *Poet.* 1448b; Plutarch's response at *Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat* (discussed by Whitmarsh 2001: 49-54); Halliwell 2002: 37-39.
[216] See Halliwell 2002: 292; Whitmarsh 2001: 72-75. On Dionysius' conception of *mimesis* as applied to his historical works, see Delcourt 2005: 43-47. The fullest accounts of *mimesis* in Dionysius known to me are Goudriaan 1989: 218-250 and Hidber 1996: 56-75.
[217] Whitmarsh 2001: 48; Russell 1979: 4

importance of selectivity in this *mimesis* (Pl. *Rep.* III.397a-b).[218] Using the example of narration, which is a form of imitation, Plato says that the worst type of man will narrate anything.[219] This is dangerous, he says, because any form of imitation leaves its mark on the imitator.[220] The argument coincides with Dionysius' views on Thucydides' choice of theme,[221] since Dionysius argues that Thucydides' decision to represent an ignoble war reflects badly upon his character (see pp. 34-35 above).

Dionysius describes *mimesis* by means of figures also found in Plato. The relationship between poetry and painting drawn by Plato (above) recurs in Dionysius' account of *mimesis* in the *De Dinarcho* (DH *Din.* 7).[222] Plato also uses sexual and procreative imagery (*Rep.* X.603b4). Such figures are not uncommon more generally,[223] but the Platonic resonance will be seen to be expressive in two parables at DH *De Imit.* 6.1b-c.

In the first parable, Dionysius describes the story of a couple who wanted children but, since the husband was so ugly, they feared for their children's future appearance. Consequently, the husband set up a series of beautiful paintings, to which his wife

[218] Goudriaan (1989: 688, summary of argument of ch.2.4) argues that this selectivity is a cornerstone of Dionysius' conception of *mimesis*. Pl. *Rep.* III.397a-b at a:

> Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὁ μὴ τοιοῦτος αὖ, ὅσῳ ἂν φαυλότερος ᾖ, πάντα τε μᾶλλον διηγήσεται καὶ οὐδὲν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνάξιον οἰήσεται εἶναι, ὥστε πάντα ἐπιχειρήσει μιμεῖσθαι σπουδῇ τε καὶ ἐναντίον πολλῶν...

[219] There is some disagreement on the textual tradition here. I follow Murray in reading διηγήσεται, but see Murray 1996 *ad loc.* for a discussion of the alternative reading, μιμήσεται.

[220] Paraphrase from Murray 1996: *ad loc.*

[221] Dench 2005: 263 suggests that 'Dionysius fashioned himself into the Thucydides of a Rome that improved upon Athens', but this downplays the importance given by Dionysius to using a *range* of mimemes.

[222] See further Marenghi 1971: 106-107. [Long.] *De Subl.* 36.3 compares sculpture and the art of speaking. DH *Din.* 7.36-40:

> καὶ τούτῳ τῷ παραγγέλματι οὐ ῥήτορες μόνον ῥήτορας διακρίνουσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ζωγράφοι τὰ Ἀπελλοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖνον μιμησαμένων καὶ πλάσται τὰ Πολυκλείτου καὶ γλυφεῖς τὰ Φειδίου.

[223] See e.g. Dionysius himself, at DH *De Vett Orr.* I.

became habituated; when they had sex, she produced beautiful children.[224] In the second, at *De Imit.* 6.1c, Dionysius explains selectivity in *mimesis* by relating a fetishistic fable about a painting of a naked Helen created from a composite of the attractive features of various girls.[225] Whitmarsh understands this anecdote to imply that 'Dionysius' rescue of *mimēsis* is premised upon the notion that the artful, artificial, and secondary is, in fact, superior to the natural; or rather, nature is best represented through non-natural combinations.'[226] The engagement is provocative: Dionysius constructs a theory of *mimesis* using figures which recall Plato's attacks on it. His theory is coloured by the imitative game it is playing with Plato.[227]

Whitmarsh's reading of the fetishistic anecdote is exciting when self-contained, but we also need to consider the discussion of *mimesis* in the *De Dinarcho*. At *Din.* 7-8, Dionysius considers the identification of an orator's oeuvre: that is, how can one tell whether a given speech is a genuine product, or an imitation by a later, inferior orator? Dionysius suggests that if, say, a speech attributed to Lysias is not badly written, but fails to reach the special heights of charm and persuasiveness normally associated with Lysias, then in actual fact it is an imitation, likely by Dinarchus *(Din.* 7).[228] This leads Dionysius to suggest that there are two forms of *mimesis* of literary models. One is natural (φυσικός): this is the more spontaneous sort of composition, which arises from close familiarity with one's models. The other is connected, but comes ἐκ τῆς τέχνης: composing in this way suggests closer adherence to a set of

[224] DH *De Imit.* 6.1; Whitmarsh 2001: 73; see also Goudriaan 1989: 240-245
[225] This story is known from other sources; see Whitmarsh 2001: 73-74, citing Goldhill 1995: 62-64.
[226] Whitmarsh 2001: 74
[227] Whitmarsh 2001: 74; for Dionysius' judgement on Plato's style, see DH *Dem.* 5-7, 23-29; *Pomp.* 1.
[228] Dionysius adds the further examples of Dinarchus' emulation of Hyperides and Demosthenes (*Din.* 7), and adduces a more general rule further encompassing those who imitate Thucydides and Plato (*Din.* 8).

precepts.[229] We might call this one a more 'mechanical' imitation. Dionysius proceeds to argue for the insufficiency of this *mimesis ek technes*. He says that even if the height of *mimesis ek technes* is reached, there remains a 'certain element of contrivance and unnaturalness'.[230] The implication, *pace* Whitmarsh, is that *mimesis* without *physis* is bound to fail because of its unnaturalness. This unnaturalness often leads an imitator to merely caricature the original author. *Mimesis* is, then, a deeper process than merely attempting to capture a certain style;[231] it must also contain naturalness. In approximately Platonic terms, the attempt to imitate, rather than to forge a spontaneity through imitation (DH *Din.* 7), removes a work too far from *physis*, and prevents true mastery of composition.

This is the *mimesis* proposed by Dionysius. It is founded on the thorough knowledge of the correct models,[232] but it must be applied judiciously. *Pace* Whitmarsh, naturalness *is* a requirement of well executed *mimesis*, in order to avoid caricaturing an original. The selection of the original is also important: in Dionysius' eyes, Demosthenes is the greatest exponent of the sort of judiciousness which Dionysius

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[229] See also Whitmarsh 2001: 74-75, who argues that '*tekhnē* marks a crucial phase of disjunction between the natural and the developed self...Nature is not by itself particularly impressive: true excellence comes from *mimēsis*, which is not (as it is in Plutarch) a natural process, but begins at precisely the point where nature stops.'

[230] The translation is Usher's. On this passage, see also Goudriaan 1989: 235-237; Marenghi 1971: 107. Marenghi understands the relationship between *physis* and *techne* in this passage as relating to the integration of native inspiration with creative power. DH *Din* 7.26-31:

> ὡς δὲ καθόλου εἰπεῖν, δύο τρόπους τῆς διαφορᾶς ὡς πρὸς τὰ ἀρχαῖα μιμήσεως εὕροι τις ἄν· ὧν ὁ μὲν φυσικός τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐκ πολλῆς κατηχήσεως καὶ συντροφίας λαμβανόμενος, ὁ δὲ τούτῳ προσεχὴς ἐκ τῶν τῆς τέχνης παραγγελμάτων.

[231] The key word in Dionysius' passage is *archetypon*; I follow Goudriaan 1989: 688, who suggests that *archetypon* 'refers not to an 'original' in the modern sense of the word, but to the standard of a certain type of oratory'.

[232] See further Payen 2005 on the way in which Dionysius constructs these models through citation of them in his letters.

proposes (DH *Dem.* 8, 33), and so becomes a model, not in terms of his style, but his method of finding that style.[233]

Mimesis is presented, then, not just as something necessary to proper composition, but also something difficult, and which can fail. This understanding should be broadened out to apply to *mimesis* outside art as well. In this way, Dionysius appears to align himself with the general trend of Augustan historiography, but his explicit references to *mimesis*, apart from by Numa, are actually troubling.[234] I shall intermittently explore the nature of exemplarity in the *Antiquities* and the related issue of repetition.[235] It is my view that repetition, often used by Dionysius' critics as a stick to beat him with, is not just boring and bludgeoning; the iterability also tells us much about Dionysius' construction of historical change and his ideas about learning and development.

§4 Conclusion

The relationship between the first preface and the rhetorical works reveals that Dionysius' views on historiographical composition are founded on general principles, which are activated in different ways when in contact with various categories of composition. That is to say, Dionysius does not expect a history to be encomiastic, but rather to be informed by a more general generosity of spirit, which will consequently lead to praise of the proper subject. Criticism must play its part too, when that is

[233]On Dionysius' analyses of Demosthenes, see e.g. Bonner 1939: 61-71.
[234]Numa imitating the Greeks (not Pythagoras; see ch. 3 below) at DH *AR* II.61.2 and 65.4; L. Valerius at XI.20.5, recommending the appointment of an *interrex*; Tarquinius Superbus possibly imitating Thrasybulus at IV.56.3 (see ch.3); Allocius disastrously attempts to imitate thunder at I.71.3; there is a troubling reference at VII.35.5, when the lictors' power resembles the royal one.
[235]Exemplarity in Livy has been very well explored by Chaplin 2000.

appropriate: it is no good being *philopolis* if one is also *philotyrannos.* Next, Dionysius expects an understanding of the proper models to be married to an independence of spirit. Indeed, genuine independence of spirit is most likely to rise from the breadth of such an understanding: that is the case with Demosthenes, who is a model not directly for his style, but for his methods.

Dionysius' first preface is distinguished by a superficial caution which is not present in his rhetorical works. The preface establishes Dionysius within a literary framework which is at once Greek and entirely inadequate. The heaviest fire, aimed at Polybius, is also rather discreet and knowing. Dionysius also engages with Herodotus and Thucydides too, but in a lively and non-aggressive fashion. His repositioning of Herodotus' οἶδα is clever; the combination of *nomos* and *physis* bold.

Romans figure in the preface too. There is Cato, naturally, and Livy and Sallust, or Sallustian-style history, are an unemphasised but detectable presence. Dionysius, expectedly, parades his experience: *exempla*, *monumenta* and *imagines.* These phenomena are not purely Roman but here are apparently treated as such, and Dionysius addresses them imaginatively. The list of names at DH *AR* I.7.3 reads like a saints'-gallery, but one missing Mary: underneath the surface of the preface lingers Varro.

The preface's superficial caution towards literary models is abandoned in discussing the actual history of Rome. Dionysius appears to argue for the 'positive idealisation' of the Roman past, in that he will narrate a Rome devoid of failure or negative examples.

The impression is that he will deliver an encomium. I have argued that, while his admiration for Rome is undoubted, he lays special emphasis on Rome's success in the preface because the preface is required to do a job, namely to sell the subject to the audience. We can expect these ideas to be deepened and renuanced in the following pages.

I have left the question of Dionysius' audience hanging, because I believe that it is a question that is best left open, which in itself explains why there have been so many different views on the subject.[236] That is actually the impression that Dionysius gives, fitting with his inclusive conception of history in general. It also points towards the universality of the *Antiquities*, fundamentally important to understanding the work, and central as well to the preface's ideas of the historian's own memorialisation.

[236] This argument is considered plausible but ultimately rejected by Luraghi 2003: 273-274. For a range of views, see Balsdon 1971; Delcourt 2005: 30-35; Gabba 1982, 1991: 79-80, 213-216; Hill 1961; Hurst 1982; Luraghi 2003; Martin 1971, 1993; Porciani 1997: 81-120; Schultze 1986. The consensus is to see a broadly Greek and Roman audience, but to shift the emphases between a predominantly Greek or a predominantly Roman audience.

3. Romulus and Brutus

In this chapter, I explore the nature of narrative in the whole of the Regal Period (*AR* II-IV), the better to understand how the story of Brutus marks change in the way history will be reported in the *Antiquities*. I argue that, in Dionysius' presentation, political variation is manifested in the way speech changes. The chief method of political speechmaking at the start of Book II is by *contio*, though the first *contio* is abortive in suggestive ways. With the expulsion of the Tarquins, Brutus restores to prominence the *contio*, which had fallen into abeyance, but adds to the constitution the tools necessary for the genuine political debate which will dominate the second quarter of the *Antiquities*. I leave discussion of contemporary resonance until the conclusion of the thesis.

Argument about Dionysius' 'idealisation' (33-43) has concentrated on his account of the Romulean period.[1] How this period relates to the rest of the work produces as many views as there are scholars. Gabba sees the Romans undergoing 'Hellenisation', which he explicitly thinks of as a process.[2] Luraghi sees Rome needing reminding of its Greek past.[3] I do not intend to rehearse their arguments. I wish to make a different point. Change in the *Antiquities* is a process which does not so much see the Romans become more or less Greek but politically more competent. Dionysius crystallises this competence by having more people speak more often as the history progresses. Brutus thereby becomes a 'hinge' episode, along the lines of *Aeneid* VI, which marks a shift from what we might call a more Herodotean-style history to a more Thucydidean-

[1] Fox 1996: 49-71, Delcourt 2005: 241-262
[2] Gabba 1991: 2 with note, 11, 15-16.
[3] Luraghi 2003 *passim*. See also Lightfoot 2000: 264.

style one, via a heavy loading of Herodotean resonance at the end of IV. I am interested chiefly in the architecture of the history: on the level of detail, of course, Herodotus and Thucydides are present throughout the work.

§1 Romulus

Romulus and Brutus book-end the Regal Period. Romulus, in his *contio* at the beginning of book II, invites the Republic into existence in a way that anticipates Brutus at the end of Book IV. The people are not ready for such responsibility, so Romulus organises the constitution himself. Dionysius' Romulus fits into a Greek and Roman model of a founding-father. Tarquinius Superbus will later fit into a Greek stereotype of a tyrant. While in Livy this could be argued to show the degeneration of the monarchy away from a Roman ideal towards Greekness, this model cannot be applied to Dionysius, because Greek models apply throughout his account of the Regal Period.

Dionysius has been charged with lack of consistency in characterisation.[4] But an urge to make Romulus a consistently good character must lie behind Dionysius' strangely military account of the Rape of the Sabine Women.[5] A comparison with Livy's account will reveal the differences.

Romulus is an understated guiding hand in Livy's account (I.9).[6] The start of the story is framed through the voice of the narrator, who validates the ultimate reason for the

[4] E.g. Wiseman 1979: 68-69
[5] Romulus is chiefly characterised by Dionysius as a lawmaker-king. See n.18.
[6] See e.g. Fox 1996: 106-109. On Livy's 'idealisation' of Romulus, see Stem 2007: *passim* at 438, who argues that Livy's Romulus, while he always successfully acted for the good of Rome, is nevertheless a 'troublesome *exemplum*'.

seizure, the lack of women.[7] Romulus acts first on the advice of the senate,[8] and later acts again in order to contain the incipient violence in its proper place. Romulus disappears from the scene until after the seizure.[9] After the women are seized he returns to calm the women and explain the situation (I.9.14).[10] The scene of seizure itself (I.9.10-12) is characterised not so much by an insistent threat of violence but rather a general wildness, in which the Romans dart this way and that seizing whichever girl happens to be in their way, only those of exceptional beauty having been marked out already – a physical, uncontrolled scene like the Lupercalia, though this is not the festival consecrated here. Compared to this, Dionysius' version lacks drama. His version of the seizure reads like a military exercise in which the young men divide up into groups in preparation for the signal. The key is in Dionysius' phrase:

> ἐπειδὴ τὸ σύνθημα ἀρθὲν εἶδον τρέπονται πρὸς τὴν τῶν παρθένων ἁρπαγήν, ταραχὴ δὲ τῶν ξένων εὐθὺς ἐγένετο καὶ φυγὴ μεῖζόν τι κακὸν ὑφορωμένων.
>
> *AR* II.30.5

We shall return to this sentence later. For now, Dionysius keeps Romulus central to almost the whole of the story, which passes off quickly and peacefully. The interest for Dionysius in fact lay earlier on, in the legal processes behind the seizure. Romulus

[7] Livy I.9.1:
Sed penuria mulierum hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus nec domi spes prolis nec cum finitimis conubia essent.

[8] Livy I.9.2:
Tum ex consilio partum Romulus legatos circa vicinas gentes misit, qui societatem conubium novo populo peterent.
The openness of Romulus' reasoning is reflected in the repetition of key vocabulary (*conubia*). Livy's Romulus is rightly described by Fox 1996: 107 as 'unauthoritarian'.

[9] Greaves 1998: 572-574 has noted a possible Herodotean influence in Romulus' speech. Romulus appeals to Greek precedent at II.30.5 (Hdt. I.146); cf. Dench 2005: 21-22.

[10] On the shifting morality of Livy's version, see Stem 2007: 452-456.

secured the approval of his grandfather (II.30.2),[11] the gods (II.30.3) and the senate (II.30.3) before organising the seizure. The motivation for the procedure is in the first instance focalised through Romulus rather than the narrator (II.30.1): Dionysius' view is delayed until after the events have taken place, contained in a short analysis of other factors in this story, including a probabilistic argument concerning the chronology of events (II.31.1). Since Dionysius explicitly presents his own view after the narrative, the narrative of the story becomes the evidence-base for his own choice between the alternatives offered by different historians. Furthermore, the coalescence of the reasons for the seizure given in the narrative and in the authorial comment serve to consolidate the honesty and transparency of Romulus' reign. He and the narrator validate each other, on a level superior, implies Dionysius, to that of other historians of the same events.[12] The seizure, in the end, is political in motivation:

> τῆς δὲ ἁρπαγῆς τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ μὲν εἰς σπάνιν γυναικῶν ἀναφέρουσιν, οἱ δ' εἰς ἀφορμὴν πολέμου, οἱ δὲ τὰ πιθανώτατα γράφοντες, οἷς κἀγὼ συγκατεθέμην, εἰς τὸ συνάψαι φιλότητα πρὸς τὰς πλησιοχώρους πόλεις ἀναγκαίαν.
>
> *AR* II.31.1

Dionysius allows his authorial persona to be sensed around, though not within, the frame itself, a leitmotif of the *Antiquities*. This technique shall reappear to effect at VII.66, when the narrator assesses Valerius' speech in favour of a 'mixed' constitution.[13] In that story, we shall see a separation between the actors and the

[11] Thereby Romulus obeyed the spirit of his own precepts regarding the devotion owed by children to their fathers (*AR* II.26.3-27.5).
[12] See also Fox 1996: 58-59 = 1993: 35 (extending discussion to II.32.1), who notes that Dionysius fails to distinguish clearly between the interpretations of the historians and the motivation of Romulus.
[13] Usher 1982: 830-831 attributes the constant presence of narratorial rationalisation in Dionysius to Dionysius' fondness for periodic sentences, which could not otherwise sit comfortably in historical narrative, citing *exempli gratia* DH *AR* VIII.71.1-3.

narrator not present here, in which the narrator shall use his experience of Roman history to show the flaws in Valerius' proposition (see pp. 136-137, 140-141 below).

Let us return to that moment of seizure. Crucially, havoc arises after the young men's manoeuvre through the over-reaction of the outsiders. The connective δέ can suggest a weak causative link between the two sentences,[14] and in fact Dionysius explains away the havoc in terms which focus upon the thoughts of the outsiders rather than the behaviour of the young men: μεῖζόν τι κακὸν ὑφορωμένων. Yet just as Livy removed Romulus from the scene just at the moment of havoc, so Dionysius saves Romulus from immediate association with the only negative aspect of the story, the flight of the outsiders. This salvation can be traced through the verbs in the passage.

There are three verbs in the historic present in this story (II.30.1-6). These are τίθεται (II.30.3), δίδωσι (II.30.4) and τρέπονται (II.30.5). Each instance occurs at a decisive point in the story: when Romulus seeks the approval of the (unnamed) presiding god, when Romulus orders the men not to violate the women, and when the men turn to seize the women. The first two instances, concerning Romulus, mark decisive events in his characterisation, first as properly religious, second as respectful of women. The third instance marks a decisive shift in the story at the moment of acceleration of events;[15] it also marks a temporary shift away from Romulus, reinforcing the μὲν δή of οἱ μὲν δὴ νέοι.[16] The shift is only slight, because the

[14] LSJ s.v. δέ; see also Denniston 1934: 162-5.
[15] On the historic present, see e.g. Rijksbaron 2002: 22-25. This is the third edition of the book: on the historic present, see further the review of the fourth edition by George 2008.
[16] Denniston 1934: 258: 'μὲν δή is frequently used by the historians as a formula of transition, the μέν clause often summing up the preceding section of the narrative…it is not always easy to say in such

audience knows that Romulus himself has given the signal (ἡνίκ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἄρῃ τὸ σημεῖον... II.30.5), but in the whole story it is the only sentence without Romulus as subject. Romulus returns to the narrative in exact accordance with his orders: he left with the instruction to the men to bring the women back τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ, the final phrase of its sentence (II.30.5), and the same phrase opens the first sentence after the seizure. Let us look now more closely at that passage where Dionysius emphasised Romulus' instruction that no wrong should befall these women.

> τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ᾗ διαλύσειν ἔμελλε τὴν πανήγυριν, παράγγελμα δίδωσι τοῖς νέοις, ἡνίκ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἄρῃ τὸ σημεῖον ἁρπάζειν τὰς παρούσας ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν παρθένους, αἷς ἂν ἐπιτύχωσιν ἕκαστοι, καὶ φυλάττειν ἀγνὰς ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα, τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἄγειν.
>
> *AR* II.30.4

Luce suggests that the women 'were, on his [Romulus'] orders, kept inviolate overnight'.[17] The point here is not so much that the women were kept inviolate but that Romulus gave the order. The focalisation in this sentence too is entirely through the Roman leader. In this way, Dionysius maintains a consistent characterisation between the legislator Romulus of the earlier chapters, whose moral approach bears comparison with Augustus, and the Romulus who authorises and condones the seizure of the women.[18]

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cases whether we are to regard δή as a connective, or as strengthening μέν.' On the frequency of δή in Dionysius, see Usher 1982: 830.

[17] Luce 1995: 226

[18] See Balsdon 1971: 18-27, who argues that Dionysius' presentation of Romulus as a *nomothetês* is heterodox: cf. esp. Tac. *Ann.* 3.26.5; Polybius (6.10.12-14, see below) rather argues that the Roman constitution was created out of a 'crucible'; this line is similar to Cicero's. He wonders whether, in the tradition, Romulus legislated at all. He discusses, but dismisses, the possibility that Dionysius' source or reason for the legislation is a 'capsule' concocted for a Roman aspirant to single rule. The suggested candidates for this aspirant are many: Pohlenz suggests Julius Caesar, Gabba Sulla, von Premerstein Octavian (Balsdon 1971: 21-22). Treggiari 1991: 211-212 argues that Dionysius, while aware that he is describing a situation which no longer exists, in this passage makes Augustus and Romulus

For Dionysius, the rape is not a sexual act – indeed, even less of one for him than for Livy.[19] Graphic, though not lurid, sexual imagery can have its place in Dionysius' work (see pp. 61-63 above), but that place seems to be generically limited to his rhetorical treatises. Sexuality in the *Antiquities* is the province of tyrants. In the narrative of the early career of Romulus, the intimation would be gratuitous. Rather, Romulus is, before his decline, a statesman. As Delcourt has shown, Romulus is set up as a kind of 'special case', an *oikistês* or founder along the lines of the 'Founding Fathers' of Greek states, or the Roman *conditores*.[20]

Accepting Romulus as a 'special case' allows other pieces of the jigsaw to fall into place. This status serves to explain an extraordinary phrase found in the case of the next king, Numa, that Dionysius does not see fit to include an account of the laws and institutions of Numa, because that would not be appropriate to a 'Greek history':

> Ἐξ ὧν δὲ διεπράξατο νόμων τε καὶ πολιτευμάτων ἑκάτερον τούτων εἰς μεγάλην ἐπίδοσιν προελθεῖν ἅπαντα μὲν οὐκ ἀξιῶ γράφειν, τὸ μῆκος ὑφορώμενος τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἅμα οὐδ' ἀναγκαίαν ὁρῶν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν αὐτῶν Ἑλληνικαῖς ἱστορίαις,[21] αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ φανερὰν δυνάμενα ποιῆσαι πᾶσαν τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων ἐρῶ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα διακοσμήσεως ποιησάμενος.
>
> II.63.1

comparable. See also the important article by Gabba (1960: 175-225), but also Gabba 1991: 163n.13: 'I would no longer hold that Romulus' 'consitution' was originally in the form of a political manifesto. I would maintain that...it formed part of a global reconstruction of the history of the monarchic era'. Cf. Goudriaan 1989: 339-359, who gives a full overview of earlier scholarship and argues that Dionysius composed the Romulean constitution himself (i.e. it is not a political pamphlet; that Dionysius gives significance to Romulus' establishment of *paideia*; that this *paideia* lays the foundations for the oratory which will be the hallmark of later Rome (cf. Goudriaan 1989: 689-690)).

[19] See interestingly Dench 2005: 24-25, who points out 'Dionysius' exceptionally centripetal account of the rape, when surrounding people flock to join Romulus'.

[20] Delcourt 2005: 268-271. See further Sordi 1993 on Roman foundation traditions in Dionysius.

[21] This is translated by Cary as 'a history intended for Greeks', but this seems an over-translation. See below for further discussion (pp. 76-77 below).

Dionysius seems to contradict himself here. First, over the next few pages he goes into fairly minute detail concerning some of the laws and so forth enacted or developed by Numa:[22] if Dionysius has restricted himself to τὰ κυριώτατα, then there are a lot of them. Second, even if Dionysius had not related laws and institutions here, he had done so in the case of Romulus, so Dionysius thought that laws and institutions in general were appropriate just earlier in the same book.

It does not seem that we can interpret this sentence at face value. Instead, it should be seen as performing three jobs for Dionysius. First, it flags up his selectivity, even in an episode which is not particularly selective. Second, it draws attention to the Greekness of the work he is writing: a central point, and one to which I shall return. Third, it draws a vital distinction in focus between Romulus and Numa. As Gabba has seen, Romulus is portrayed as '*the* legislator' of Rome: even legislation introduced by other kings found its root in the work of Romulus.[23] Now that Dionysius has moved to the next king, he has started to strip away a lot of the detail, because it is no longer necessary. No other king single-handedly achieved the far-reaching ramifications of Romulus' legislation, and so the other reigns must be edited accordingly. Dionysius then reflects Numa's own selectivity:

> ὅσα μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου ταχθέντα ἐν ἐθισμοῖς τε καὶ νόμοις παρέλαβεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου τετάχθαι πάντα ἡγησάμενος εἶα κατὰ χώραν μένειν, ὅσα δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου παραλελεῖφθαι ἐδόκει, ταῦτα προσετίθει πολλὰ μὲν ἀποδεικνὺς τεμένη τοῖς μήπω τιμῶν τυγχάνουσι θεοῖς...

[22] Numa's reign occupies about a quarter of Book II (II.58.2-76.6), of which more than half is dedicated to his legislation (II.63.1-76.6, with some digressions, e.g. the story of Tuccia at II.69).
[23] DH *AR* II.23.6; Gabba 1991: 154-5

DH *AR* II.63.2

The end of Book I was marked by the statement that the question of the first book, the Greek origin of the Romans, had been answered.[24] Dionysius announces that he will now engage upon his next project, to give an account of the Roman government (I.90.2). So Dionysius makes it clear before embarking on the story of Romulus that the game is about to change, as it were: he will present a different sort of history from the one that has gone before. The same sort of thing, but in microcosm, marks the boundary at II.63.1: the account of Numa's reign will be a partial history compared with the story of Romulus, because Numa's reign only achieved a proportion of what Romulus achieved. So at II.63.1, Dionysius flags up the way his narrative is responding to the fluctuations of history.

Why, then, use the word Ἑλληνικαῖς? I think it instead proper to focus on the whole phrase, Ἑλληνικαῖς ἱστορίαις. Given the high rate of Greek literacy among the Roman elite, I do not agree with Gabba that 'Ἑλληνικαῖς ἱστορίαις can only have been written for Greeks'.[25] I rather think that Dionysius is being careful here: the first half of Book II was taken up with legislation (or internal affairs), before moving to an external war. The final parts of Book II will concentrate on legislation again. Dionysius is, I think, reassuring his readership that he has not slipped into an annalistic history in the style of the Romans or the Atthidographers, but will write the

[24] DH *AR* I.89.1:
Ἃ μὲν οὖν ἐμοὶ δύναμις ἐγένετο σὺν πολλῇ φροντίδι ἀνευρεῖν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων συχνὰς ἀναλεξαμένῳ γραφὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων γένους, τοιάδ' ἐστίν.
[25] Gabba 1991: 80n.27

promised 'Greek history', following the approved models.[26] 'Greek', then, opposes 'Roman' or 'Atthidographic', and 'history' opposes 'annalistic account'.[27] A reader who has fought his way through the second book will need this reassurance now, though the more elaborately literary history proper will not actually start until the following book.[28]

§2 Romulus to Brutus

The employment of direct discourse at the beginning of Romulus' reign is a necessary precursor to the story of Brutus. This is seen in Romulus' first instance of direct discourse, and the response of the people. Romulus offers the people the opportunity to form their own constitution, stating that he will comply with their decision, whatever it is (II.3.8). The people then respond, as a body, in direct discourse (II.4.1-2). Matthew Fox draws out one important implication of this speech, that it contains a basic assumption that conquest and rule are good in themselves.[29] There is another point: the people are offered the opportunity to take part in deliberation and legislation, but they reject it, and they do so in terms which demonstrate that they are not yet political sophisticates. Put another way, the people's view of politics is at the moment too simplistic to allow them to take part in the sort of political debates which will dominate the Republican period. The first such debate will take place

[26] Dionysius rejects the literary model of an annalistic account (I.8.3):
[I reject the model of those histories] ἃς ἐξέδωκαν οἱ τὰς Ἀτθίδας πραγματευσάμενοι· μονοειδεῖς γὰρ ἐκεῖναί τε καὶ ταχὺ προσιστάμεναι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν·
[27] But see Dionysius' positive remarks about annalists at *Thuc.* 5 & 7. Gabba 1982: 809-810 discusses the *trattazione annalistica* of individual episodes in the *AR*, picking out examples from before and after the expulsion of the kings (including Romulus, Servius Tullius, Spurius Cassius, Coriolanus etc.).
[28] Usher 1982: 831: 'Contrasted with the highly-wrought structure and rhetorical colouring of some of the passages described above [Usher's evidence is principally drawn from books VIII-X] is the simple factual account of much of the early period, where mythology, genealogy and geography are commingled. For this material, Dionysius appears to have decided that he could not improve upon the direct, seemingly artless style of the earlier writers who treated similar subjects [cf. *Thuc.* 23].'
[29] DH *AR* II.4.1; Fox 1996: 60

immediately before the expulsion of the kings. It will loosely resemble the constitutional debate at Hdt. III.80-82, which Fromentin has argued is also in the background of Romulus' *contio* (DH *AR* II.3-4).[30]

The people continue to be offered a role in deciding the constitution at intervals between kings: on the death of Romulus they are invited by the senate to consider whether to continue with the monarchy or to adopt annual magistracies (II.57.3); after the death of Numa, the people 'do not adopt a contrary position' to the senate's decision to continue the same form of government (III.1.1).[31] Nor do the deaths of Tullus Hostilius (III.36.1) and Ancus Marcius (III.46.1) see the people taking an active role in government beyond ratifying the decision of the senate.[32]

Things start to change with the death of Tarquinius Priscus. The possible assassination of Tullus Hostilius, a tradition rejected by Dionysius, is succeeded by the actual assassination of Tarquinius Priscus at the hands of the sons of Ancus Marcius (III.72-73). The assassination of Tarquinius is followed by Tanaquil's urgent speech in direct discourse to her son-in-law Tullius (IV.4.4-8), in the room where Tarquinius' body is laid out, before Tanaquil addresses the people in indirect discourse, in an approximation of a *contio* (IV.5.1-3). Tanaquil had urged her husband

[30] Fromentin 2004b: 316-317: After the assassination of Remus, 'Denys 'raconte (AR II.3-4), dans un récit imité d'Hérodote (III.80-83)...comment Romulus...consulta le peuple, réuni en assemblée (II.3.1), pour savoir quel type de régime politique (royauté, aristocratie, démocratie) la nouvelle cité devait adopter,...'après délibération' [II.4.1-2], les Romains, commes jadis les Perses, choisirent la royauté [II.4.2].'

[31] Cary's translation. See also Schultze 1980: 179. DH *AR* III.1.1:
Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Πομπιλίου γενομένη πάλιν ἡ βουλὴ τῶν κοινῶν κυρία μένειν ἔγνω ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτείας, οὐδὲ τοῦ δήμου γνώμην λαβόντος ἑτέραν...

[32] The death of Tullus Hostilius is caused by a thunderbolt which strikes the royal house, killing the royal family. Dionysius attributes this to the vengeance of heaven rather than a plot by Ancus Marcius (III.35.1-6). Dionysius thereby starts a theme of neglect of religious rites, which I revisit in my conclusion.

Tarquinius to the throne after the death of Ancus Marcius (III.47.4) in indirect discourse. So the accession of Tullius to the throne develops two earlier themes: the ambition and king-making of Tanaquil, and the place of assassination in monarchy. The passage also looks forward to the end of Book IV, framing the whole book almost exactly: the role of women in politics will be brought into question again by the rape of Lucretia. Brutus will announce, at the scene of a death, his plans to go before the people, just as Tanaquil did. Finally, he will go before the people and call the Republic into being.[33] The story of Brutus is, therefore, anticipated by and a development of earlier events, just as those earlier events were anticipated in their turn.

It can be no coincidence that the Regal period is framed by two *contiones*.[34] In the first *contio*, the people declare themselves unready to legislate. In the second, Brutus' creation of the Republic, he provides the people with the mechanisms which will enable them to speak again in political debate in direct discourse. Dionysius flags up the future possibility of political discourse shortly after the abortive *contio*:

> οὕτω δὲ ἄρα βέβαιος ἦν ἡ Ῥωμαίων ὁμόνοια τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου κατασκευασθέντων λαβοῦσα ἐθῶν, ὥστε οὐδέποτε δι' αἵματος καὶ φόνου τοῦ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐχώρησαν ἐντὸς ἑξακοσίων καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν,...ἀλλὰ πείθοντες καὶ διδάσκοντες ἀλλήλους καὶ τὰ μὲν εἴκοντες, τὰ δὲ παρ' εἰκόντων λαμβάνοντες, πολιτικὰς ἐποιοῦντο τὰς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων διαλύσεις.
>
> DH *AR* II.11.2-3

[33] Livy too makes Tanaquil and Lucretia striking counterpoints to each other: both women urge their menfolk to action, Tanaquil saying *si vir es* to Servius Tullius (I.41.3), Lucretia *si vos viri estis* to her family (I.58.8). The challenge is typically Livian as well, repeated by men too (e.g. by Attius Tullius to the Volsci at II.38.6). I discuss parallels between Tanaquil and Lucretia below.

[34] Tan 2008 discusses the *contio* in the period before Dionysius arrived in Rome.

Gabba rightly draws attention to this passage in the context of Dionysius' later comparison of the Coriolanus story and Corcyra: Dionysius is aware that things changed when C. Gracchus was 'holding the tribunician power';[35] this is a central spoke of Dionysius' political theory (see pp. 136-137, 140-141 below). At the same time as political discourse develops from simple *contiones*, we see soon after the expulsion of the kings the institution of the *tribunus plebis*. Other magistracies in Rome may be misused, for example the dictatorship (V.77.4),[36] but the tribunate, the fundamental differentiator between (other) Greek states and Rome, is its own special case. For the moment, it is important to see that this reference does not only look forward to the Gracchi, which is outside the bounds of the *Antiquities*, but also to the fundamental moments of change within the *Antiquities* themselves.

The relative lack of direct discourse between Romulus' first *contio* and the coronation of Servius Tullius reflects the autocratic nature of the early Regal Period: there was no debate, because that is not how politics worked. The only section with extensive direct discourse before Servius Tullius is the story of Tullius Hostilius, Mettius Fufetius and Horatius (III.7.1-30.7).[37] Excepting that long section, direct discourse in the period between Romulus' *contio* and the emergence of Servius Tullius at IV.1 is limited to the brief episode of Nevius/Navius[38] at III.71.1-5, paralleled in Livy at I.36.3-6,[39] and the story of Aemilia at II.68.1-5, not repeated in Livy. In the reign of

[35] Gabba 1991: 84
[36] This passage discusses Sulla's abuse of the tyranny. Gabba 1991: 143 sees a 'probable allusion Caesar' in this extract.
[37] See also Fox 1996: 82-88.
[38] Nevius in the *Antiquities*, but properly Navius: Ogilvie 1965: 151.
[39] Ogilvie 1965: 150-151

Tullus Hostilius, there are two main speakers of direct discourse: Tullus Hostilius himself and Mettius Fufetius. Beside these two, the non-royal speakers are: four of the Horatii, including the father and sister (III.17.1, 17.3, 17.4, 21.5, 21.6), and a horseman, who reports the desertion of the Albans to Tullus (III.24.4). Aside, then, from one cluster of direct discourse by one family, there is almost no speech by a non-royal participant after Romulus' *contio*. This is not surprising. Regal Rome lacks the mechanism needed for people other than kings to speak, except in isolated instances, each of which requires particular validation in context. I analyse these in the following sections.

Anouk Delcourt has observed that the monarchy did not start to decline with the advent of Lucumo/Tarquinius Priscus to the throne but one step later, with Servius Tullius.[40] She argues that for Dionysius, Tarquinius is a genuinely Roman king,[41] a proper successor to Romulus.[42] Delcourt calls him a *roi par excellence*.[43] Broadly speaking this must be right, but such a description goes too far: the first seeds of doubt about monarchy are here tentatively thrown. First let us posit the thesis that each king is awarded the sort of story which is appropriate to the sort of king in question. In that case, Romulus is chiefly a legislator and a warrior;[44] Numa builds on the prior achievements of Romulus, with the focus on religious legislation;[45] Tullus

[40] Delcourt 2005: 302-322, 327-337. See also Brescia 1998 on Tullius.
[41] But see Fromentin 2004b: 322, who observes that Tarquinius' foreignness is essential to the story, in terms of his glorification, his Greek education, and of the hatred his foreignness fuels in Tarquinia.
[42] Livy and Dionysius thus both suppress the importance of Tarquinius' Etruscan origin. See Delcourt 2005: 309-313; 317-321. Tarquinius' origin is anyway Greek: cf. Liv. I.34.2, 34.7, 40.2; DH *AR* III.46.3-5; Cic. *De Rep.* II.34. Cicero and Dionysius stress Lucumo's Etrsucan and Greek *paideia*, and mention the civil disturbance involving the Bacchiadae and Cypselus which forced Lucumo's father, Demaratus, finally to abandon Corinth.
[43] Delcourt 2005: 317. See also Penella 2004 on Tarquinius' *ambitio* in Livy.
[44] So Romulus' role in civil war is downplayed (see Fox 1996: 56-57 on this point), but his legislation dominates the first third of Book II, and his war with the Sabines the second.
[45] Hence the story of Aemilia (II.68.1-5), which demonstrates the fundamentally proper conduct of Numa and the Romans at the time and Rome's protection by the gods.

Hostilius is expansionist, responding to the new threats posed to itself by Rome's growth;[46] and Ancus Marcius is by desire legislative but in practice forced to become warlike.[47] If we accept this thesis, then the story of Navius must help us construct an accurate image of Lucumo/Tarquinius Priscus.

The story of Navius occupies the penultimate place in the narrative of the reign of Lucumo/Tarquinius Priscus, before the latter's assassination at the hands of the sons of Ancus Marcius. Delcourt compares the account of Livy in order to stress the positive characterisation of Tarquinius here.[48] In Dionysius' version, Lucumo is attended by a positive omen before his accession (III.47.3-4); his wife Tanaquil, though ambitious, advises him to make himself worthy of the honour of the kingship (III.47.4). Originally Tyrrhenian, he wins Roman citizenship, fully adapts to *Romanitas*, and during the lifetime of Ancus Marcius becomes the 'most illustrious' of all Romans (ἐπιφανέστατος III.49.1). Appointed king in accordance with legal procedure, this Lucius Tarquinius (as he now is) reigns well and expansively.[49] He demonstrates Roman fairness in his only instance of direct discourse before Navius,

[46] Tullus Hostilius' civil administration is presented positively (III.1.4-2.1), but the impression is clear that his civil activity was far outweighed by his military exploits. This is reflected in the distribution of chapters, of less than one to civil affairs, and thirty-two to military successes. Dionysius writes of Tullus' two civil achievements (III.1.5-2.1):

> πολιτικὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα παραδίδοται λόγου ἄξια· πολεμικαὶ δὲ πράξεις πολλαὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι μνημονεύονται, <μέγισται δὲ> περὶ ὧν ἔρχομαι λέξων τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Ἄλβανοὺς πολέμου.

[47] So Ancus Marcius' first acts are to restore neglected religious ceremonies and so forth (III.36.1-4), but the narrative is quickly forced to change into a martial one at III.37.1, where it continues until III.42.4, finally changing back to civil achievements: so the narrative creates the feel of an interruption to reflect the necessities of Marcius' career.

[48] Delcourt 2005: 302-317. Delcourt writes (2005: 303) that in Livy, Tarquinius Priscus is neither wholly good nor wholly bad: he is a good warlord and his building programme is successful; opposed to those achievements are his intriguing nature (especially in his rise to power I.34.1-35.2) and the controversy involving Attus Navius (I.36.3-8). The unusual omission of a funerary notice after the death of Tarquinius may indicate Livy's disapproval (Bertrand 2000: 30-35). However, it has also been suggested to me that the lack of obituary is conditioned by the fast pace of the narrative at this point, and the way that the second half of the book tends to have less self-contained reigns rounded off by the king's death, and more a rising and falling rhythm around the usurpations.

[49] Delcourt 2005: 316.

when he expands the Roman dominion in war (III.60.2). He is also an effective civil administrator (III.67.1-69.6). In order to stress Tarquinius' positive characterisation, Delcourt records that he is referred to as ὁ Βασιλεὺς Ταρκύνιος twenty-seven times.[50] In the Regal part of the *Antiquities* βασιλεύς is non-pejorative.[51] By way of contrast, Romulus is called βασιλεύς three times, Numa once, Tullus Hostilius eight times, Ancus Marcius six, and Servius Tullius twice. It seems to me, though, that it is less likely that Dionysius is by this usage reinforcing the impression that Tarquinius was a 'good' king than that he is repeatedly distinguishing between Tarquinius Priscus and the tyrant Tarquinius Superbus. This would explain why Tarquinius Priscus is referred to as a king more often than the rest of the kings put together. Furthermore, it would make βασιλεύς a cognomen for Tarquinius Priscus in the *Antiquities* before he is awarded the cognomen Priscus upon the accession of Tarquinius Superbus, a name which Dionysius acknowledges must be a later addition (IV.41.4).[52]

Delcourt stresses the 'continuity' between Tarquinius Priscus and the earlier kings.[53] Tarquinius tries, for example, to emulate Romulus in the creation of new tribes at III.71.1 (cf. 2.7.3): he is warned off the task by Attus Navius.[54] His devising of new punishments for aberrant Vestals (III.67.2-3) recalls Numa's activity in that field

[50] Delcourt 2005: 316-317 with n.
[51] Delcourt 2005: 232-233.
[52] Dionysius only calls Lucumo Lucius Tarquinius Priscus twice: once in the first list of kings at I.75.4, where the cognomina Priscus and Superbus are each attached to κληθείς, and at IV.41.4. Compare Livy I.34.10, who suggests that Lucius Tarquinius Priscus was the name selected by Lucumo when he settled in Rome.
[53] Delcourt 2005: 316 (*exempli gratia*):
> Ces quelques exemples [of Tarquinius' achievements] montrent comment le Tarquin des *Antiquités romaines* s'appuie sur l'oeuvre de ses prédécesseurs tout en la portant à un niveau quantitatif supérieur. Toutefois, sous son règne, l'*Urbs* connaît également des ameliorations qualitatives…Les *Antiquités romaines* fournillent de données insistant sur la continuité qui existe entre son règne et ceux de ses prédécesseurs.

[54] Cf. Livy I.36.2, Cic. *De Rep.* 2.36, Florus I.5.2-3; on Romulus, Livy I.13.8.

almost exactly a book earlier (II.67): Dionysius alerts the audience to the resonance.[55] The iterability of history is at stake here, a phenomenon which points suggestively, yet non-conclusively, outside the history and towards contemporary events. To be precise, some of the activities of Tarquinius Priscus carry an Augustan charge, while other aspects of the story militate against seeing Tarquinius Priscus as a clearly Augustan figure. Tarquinius Priscus is not Roman in origin; Servius Tullius, being adopted into a royal family, would fit Augustus much better. But exact resonances should not exist in this story. Instead, each king's rule represents an incomplete form of monarchy, and so each can function as a partial reflection on Augustus' rule, as well as having a place within the narrative of the *Antiquities*.[56] In this instance, the extensive civic rebuilding programme (III.67.4-68.4), the consecration of new temples (III.69.1-6), the concern with (even then) explicitly traditional religion, the attempted political reorganisation, can all easily be seen as Augustan resonances.[57] What makes this passage interesting, then, is that while Tarquinius Priscus might indeed be, in some sense, *le roi par excellence*, the success of his story is partly offset by the episode of Attus Navius.

This story, as I have stated, is one of the two stories attached to Tarquinius which contains direct discourse. Navius is given a long introduction (III.70.1-5), which intrudes upon Tarquinius' story to the point of removing the king from the narrative for the whole section. Navius will oppose Tarquinius' attempt to emulate Romulus by

[55] DH *AR* III.67.3:
τρόπος δὲ τιμωρίας ὅστις ἐστίν, ᾧ κολάζουσι τὰς διαφθαρείσας, ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης δεδήλωταί μοι γραφῇ.
[56] See my discussion in the conclusion.
[57] Some of this is in Livy too of course, e.g. the building of the Circus Maximus (I.35.8-10) and the reorganisation of the tribes (I.36.2-8), but the account is much shorter and more summary.

creating three new tribes of *equites* (III.71.1). The king wants to suppress Navius' opposition to his plan by showing him up as a fraud.[58] Tarquinius asks Navius to predict whether he will succeed in his next project. Navius says yes, he will. Tarquinius laughs, pulls out a razor and a whetstone, and, to his own astonishment, succeeds in cutting the one with the other: Navius is revealed as a true prophet, and Tarquinius agrees to call off his plan to create the new tribes. Tarquinius does not then attempt to rival Romulus.[59] There are things, perhaps, that a man should not emulate. But if this is criticism of Augustus, then it is whispering.

§3 Servius Tullius, Herodotus and Thucydides

The story of Servius Tullius has been treated in some detail by Anouk Delcourt, Valérie Fromentin and Emilio Gabba.[60] Gabba writes:

> ...[E]ven Romulus and Tullus Hostilius and Servius Tullius deliver long speeches that are programmatic of their political actions, as indeed is the case with Brutus, Spurius Cassius, Manius Valerius, Coriolanus, and the Decemviri.[61]

It is one thing for a character to give a speech. As I have argued (pp. 2-6 above), one must also consider where that speech takes place, and how it is delivered, that is, whether it is in direct or indirect discourse, or simply summarised as a speech act. The case of Servius Tullius is no different, because his is the first instance in the

[58] DH *AR* III.71.2:
ἀχθόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τῇ κωλύσει καὶ δι' ὀργῆς ἔχων τὸν Νέβιον ὁ βασιλεὺς καταβαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιστήμην εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἐπεχείρησεν, ὡς ἀλαζονευομένου καὶ μηθὲν ἀληθὲς λέγοντος.

[59] Soothsayers and priests are the only characters in the *Antiquities* to make accurate predictions: see DH *AR* IV.59.3-61.2.

[60] Delcourt 2005: 322-337; Gabba 1961; cf. Richard 1987 and Fromentin 2004b: 317-319, who says that Servius Tullius' reign is never fully legitimated.

[61] Gabba 1991: 153

Antiquities in which Dionysius provides any sort of political debate. The debate is between Servius and Tarquinius Superbus, who will succeed him. It is striking because it reflects a lack of clarity in the system, and it is this that creates a struggle for power.

The lack of clarity in the system is consistent with the varying traditions attached to Servius Tullius.[62] Cicero mentions a line in Accius' *Brutus* which is called out in his support when he is delivering a speech.[63] Starting from this line, Gabba argues that the play presents Servius Tullius as a 'popular and liberal king'. Livy, for his part, does not deny constitutional achievement to Servius Tullius, allowing him virtually the last word in Book I at the point of the creation of the consulship.[64] Gabba further argues that Servius Tullius and his administration became idealised in the course of the first century.[65] There existed as well a contrary position, giving a more conservative view of Servius.[66] Dionysius finds room for both versions of Servius.

[62] Gabba is particularly interesting when summarising the different historical traditions attached to Servius Tullius (Gabba 1991: 164-5, with notes; see also Fromentin 2002b: 59-60 and 62 on Dionysius' marrying of the traditions). The following paragraph is indebted to Gabba's summary.

[63] Gabba 1991: 164, citing Gabba 1969: 377-383. The isolated line quoted by Cicero would seem to support this view (*Pro Sestio* 123):

> Vtrum igitur haec Aesopum potius pro me aut Accium dicere oportuit, si populus Romanus liber esset, an principes civitatis? nominatim sum appellatus in Bruto:
> Tullius, qui libertatem civibus stabiliverat.

The problems of reconstructing the *fabulae praetextae*, of which Accius' *Brutus* is one, are laid out by Flower 1995, esp. 175-176; on Accius' *Brutus*. Flower engages in this section in particular with Wiseman 1994, who argues for our increasing the role we give to drama as a genuine source for ancient historiographers. For an old-fashioned pro-Ciceronian reconstruction from hints in Livy, Dionysius and Cicero, see Coulter 1940.

[64] Livy I.60.4:

> Duo consules inde comitiis centuriatis a praefecto urbis ex commentariis Ser. Tulli creati sunt, L. Iunius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

[65] Gabba 1991: 165, citing Livy and Cicero. Livy I.42.4:

> Adgrediturque inde ad pacis longe maximum opus, ut quemadmodum Numa divini auctor iuris fuisset, ita Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis ordinumque quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunaeque aliquid interlucet, posteri fama ferrent.

Cicero *De Rep.* II.39 argues that this arrangement allowed for the proper distribution and control of power.

[66] Gabba 1991: 164. Gabba suggests that 'Sulla drew up his own constitutional reforms with Servius in mind', citing Appian *Bella Civilia* 1.266 (Gabba) = 1.98-100, which refers to Sulla's reorganisation of the constitution, retaining consuls but placing them under the authority of a monarch.

Gabba's suggestion is that the coexistence of the 'democratic' and conservative Servius Tullius in Dionysius 'reveals the historian's uncertainty when confronted with versions so radically different'.[67] Delcourt has addressed this issue with, I think, success: she has demonstrated that this apparent indecision in fact shows Servius oscillating between the different positions, and that this oscillation is central to the incipient decline of the monarchy, and is therefore fundamental to the narrative direction of the *Antiquities*.[68]

This must be right. But I should like to make the story of Servius do rather more even than that. I shall argue in the forthcoming section for a strongly 'Herodotean' (as opposed to Thucydidean) element to Book IV. Dionysius structures Book IV around the role of women, absent from Thucydides but prominent in Herodotus, and his narrative suggests some reflections upon the nature of kingship. The book will start with a portentous childhood, that of the future king Servius, and end with a death, that of Lucretia. In Lucretia's final words she shall pass on decision-making from women (Tanaquil and Tullia) back to the men. The book will close with a constitutional debate which owes something to, but is markedly different from, Herodotus' constitutional debate (III.80-82), and will usher in the new stage of Rome's political development with a *contio*, creating a link with both the *contio* at the beginning of the Regal period and the *contio* at the beginning of Book IV.

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[67] Gabba 1991: 165

[68] Delcourt 2005: 331-337. E.g. 337:

> Le roi [Servius Tullius] lui apparaît [= au lecteur] comme un aventurier soucieux surtout de ses intérêts personnels ou comme un homme cherchant à créer une société fondée sur l'égalité des citoyens, comme un vil demagogue ou comme un souverain respectueux de la loi et de la justice…Denys place la royauté romaine sur un chemin oscillant entre déchéance et redemption.

I am going to use the term Herodotus-model loosely, to describe a history interested in kings and queens, the nature of tyranny and kingship itself. In opposition to this I set up a Thucydides-model, by which I mean a history which focuses on a much shorter period, and is centred upon *staseis* and debate.[69] This is not a fair analysis of either Thucydides or Herodotus, but it is not unusual in imitation that the character of a model text becomes simplified or caricatured when recalled later.[70] I have already considered the relationship between the *De Thucydide* and the *Ad Pompeium* (pp. 13 ff.). For the moment let us note that in the *Ad Pompeium,* Dionysius examines the five historians worthy of imitation: Thucydides and Herodotus are the *fons et origo* of great historiography (*Pomp.* 3); Xenophon and Philistus are the best imitators of Thucydides and Herodotus respectively (*Pomp.* 4-5); and Theopompus is classed on his own. While the *Ad Pompeium* over-emphasises the differences between Thucydides and Herodotus, it is clear in the *De Thucydide* that Dionysius sees these two historians as innovatory exemplars of different sorts of history.[71] To think in terms of a Herodotus-Thucydides dichotomy is certainly Dionysian practice, even if the actual differences between the two, as Dionysius himself knows, are not quite as marked as a simple dichotomy might suggest.

Other models could apply too: the *Bellum Jugurthinum* looks at history in terms of moments of change, the way the *Antiquities* does;[72] Polybius is just as interested in

[69] Grethlein 2006 has recently used a similar dichotomy to investigate different sorts of mimesis in Sallust.
[70] Hinds 1998: 129-135; Fowler 2000: 16: 'the *Aeneid* of Vergilian scholars is very different from the *Aeneid* of Lucan specialists.'
[71] Greaves 1998 puts a similar case for identifying Herodotean influence in Dionysius: see above on the rape of the Sabine Women; Arieti 1997 on rape in Livy.
[72] On Sallust, Levene 1992: 53-70; on 'moments of change' in Dionysius, Gabba 1991: 152ff. describes a 'certain static quality' of Dionysius' work, in which there is little apparent change, and such change as exists is not fluid but is activated at key moments in the history.

constitutional history as Dionysius is; Dionysius owes something to the growing tradition of *koinê historia* (DH *AR* I.2.1); we know he has read Cato.[73] But I think it is right to try to think in the terms Dionysius says he wants us to, and he wants the reader to think in terms of Classical models. Once those terms are established, then we can add in the nuance and richness which permeate the superstructure of the history.

Sixty years ago, Momigliano started an important article on Herodotus, also from Halicarnassus, by placing a comforting arm around the shoulder of Dionysius:

> I have often felt rather sorry for Dionysius of Halicarnassus. How embarrassing it must have been for a budding historian to have the father of history as his own fellow-citizen. No wonder that Dionysius left Halicarnassus.[74]

Momigliano pointed out that Dionysius was 'the only ancient writer who never said anything unpleasant about Herodotus'.[75] Sixteen years before that, Ek had traced the large number of *Herodotismen* he had found in the *Antiquities*:[76] it seems settled that Herodotus is a major influence on Dionysius.[77] Ek's work has been particularly useful; but his thesis is sixty years old, and his work needs to be updated to take account of the recent burst of publications on Dionysius. This short section is influenced by the

[73] See pp. 46-54 above.
[74] Momigliano 1966: 127 = Momigliano 1958: 1. All subsequent references are from the reprint.
[75] Dionysius discusses Herodotus at length at *Ad Pomp.* 3 and *Thuc.* 5-9, on both occasions as a *comparandum* for Thucydides. Momigliano 1966: 127. Cicero famously described Herodotus as *fabulosus* (Cic. *De Div.* II.116; *De Leg.* I.1.5; cf. Momigliano 1966: 127-8). On Herodotus' reputation, see also Evans 1968: 11-17; Hornblower 2005: 306-318; Pelling 2007b: 145-164.
[76] Ek 1942, following on from (and doing rather more than) the same sort of work that Flierle had done for Thucydides and Demosthenes in Dionysius' speeches in the previous century: Flierle 1890. Fox 1996: 85n.73 and Usher 1982: 832-837 offer brief deconstructions of Flierle's method.
[77] Ek 1942: 156 identifies Herodotus, Isocrates and Hellenistic *Normalprosa* as chief influences on Dionysius' style; cf. Usher 1982: 828. Schultze 2000: §1 points out some more Herodotean allusions in Dionysius' first preface.

principles underlying Ek's work on *Herodotismen*, in the light not only of the last seventy years' work on Dionysius, but also on Herodotus. In particular, the architecture of Herodotus' history is now much better understood: it is this context in which I wish to place my understanding of the architecture of the *Antiquities*. We shall see the details later on.

Yet there are two other big issues which remain. The first concerns *layering*: that is, how do we *know* that Herodotus is a model rather than a historian from the five hundred years that intervene between Dionysius and Herodotus?[78] The second follows on from this: demonstrating that Herodotus may be a valid model does not exclude the existence (or predominance) of other literary models, whether explicit or implicit. Explicitly we know of Herodotus, Thucydides and so forth, but other models that we know about also need to be taken into account. Polybius, for example, is an implicit additional or even counter-model throughout, even if, as I argue elsewhere, Dionysius does as much as he can to suppress that idea.[79] There is no problem, I suggest, in allowing the existence of an intermediate model as well as a Herodotean Ur-model.

Do these two objections invalidate my proposal, stated at the start of this chapter,[80] that Brutus forms a hinge episode between the more 'Herodotean' *AR* II-IV and the more 'Thucydidean' V-XI? Not on their own. The possible existence of other models between Dionysius and his Classical predecessors does not displace an Herodotean

[78] Hornblower 2005: 315 with note.
[79] See pp. 54-61 above.
[80] This comment alludes to a suggestion I made at the start of the chapter, that there is a marked shift in tone between Book IV and V, the end of the regal period and the start of the republic. This shift in topic seems to be reflected in a stylistic shift, between 'Herodotean' and 'Thucydidean' style composition.

Ur-model, especially in light of Dionysius' own avowal that Herodotus and Thucydides are the best models to follow.[81] We can expect a search for these models to be rewarding. Secondly, because the model which I propose is an architectural one, it allows the presence of other historians in individual episodes.[82]

I construct a Herodotus model in opposition to a Thucydidean one.[83] I am particularly concerned with the Herodotus that is least like Thucydides: the one interested in kings and queens, the nature of tyranny, and the modes of debate in a monarchy.[84] The presence of women is a vital indicator in this discussion. Since Thucydides is interested in political life (by 'political' I mean 'of or related to the public life of the *polis*'), women have a virtually nil presence in his history; by comparison, Herodotus is concerned with royal households, and so individual women can be major political actors in his history. I wish to retain the terms Herodotus-model and Thucydides-model rather than say 'a history with women' and 'a history without women' because I treat the presence of women actors as indicative of larger trends rather than an overarching trend in itself.[85] Nonetheless, women are a useful way into this broader contrast.

[81] Along with Xenophon, Theopompus and Philistus: see p. 88 above.
[82] Two examples of Thucydidean-style episodes would be Aeneas' speech at DH *AR* I.58.2-5 – cf. Pelling on this, and the debate between Tullus Hostilius and Mettius Fufetius (III.7ff.; cf. Fox 1996: 85ff.).
[83] Momigliano 1990: 29-53 invites a division between a Herodotean and a Thucydidean tradition. It is important to note that the two traditions are not supposed to be completely exclusive (he often starts sentences along the lines of 'Like Herodotus, Thucydides…', but are rather two branches of the same train. The most up-to-date account of Dionysius and Thucydides is De Jonge forthc. 188-220.
[84] Because Herodotus is interested in all sorts of tyranny, not just that exercised by individual kings, there is no need to force this point.
[85] On women in Thucydides, see Wiedemann 1983: 163-170; Cartledge 2002: 85-91.

Women actors dominate *Antiquities* IV until Lucretia hands back the power of decision-making to men at the end of the book.[86] Named women, such as Tarpeia, made some appearance before this book, but only Cloelia, who does not speak, will be named between the expulsion of the Tarquins and the Coriolanus story in VII-VIII.[87] In between the end of the regal period and the story of Coriolanus, mention of women is generally limited to their nameless suffering in war and mourning of death:[88] this is the way, for example, that they feature in the excursus on Aristodemus (VII.2.1-12.2; see pp. 134-136 below). Otherwise, the role of women is notably Thucydidean: they are described throwing tiles from roofs in the battle for Corioli.[89]

The one example of a named woman in V-VII before Coriolanus, Cloelia, indicates the diminished importance of women in the early stages of the republic. Her story takes place during the triple narrative of the Romans, the Tarquinii and Porsenna in the middle of Book V, when the expelled tyrants are calling for a restitution of their property. The Romans ask Porsenna to give his judgement. There is a series of exchanges of hostages. Some Roman maidens are handed over. The situation is a mess, with war and then accommodation likely in turns. Then the maiden hostages act. They escape, and Tarquinius cannot resist: in contravention of an oath, he does

[86] A parallel sort of transfer has been seen by King in his analysis of the story of Lucretia in Ovid's *Fasti*. See e.g. King 2006: 185, 217-220

[87] DH *AR* V.33-35; cf. Livy II.13.5-11. The story of Cloelia provides a number of uses of παρθένος et sim.

[88] I count twenty-four instances of forms of γυνή or cognate adjectives between the expulsion of the Tarquins and the story of Coriolanus. Between Brutus and Coriolanus, women do not act but they are discussed: VI.9.5, 9.6; VI.51.2, 53.1. These examples do not contravene Pericles' admonition that women should not gain celebrity: it is striking that these examples are generalised discussions of 'women' (plural). In narrative, see e.g. V.55.2, where women are paired with children and parents, a Dionysian expansion of a Thucydidean motif, which is to pair women and children, typically in the form 'the women and children were enslaved or killed': e.g. Thuc. III.36.2; V.3.4, 32.1, 116.4; VII.29.4. Women mourn the death of Publicola (V.48.4); cf. Thuc. II.34.4. On whether Pericles refers to women generally or to war-widows at Thuc. II.45.2, see Kallet-Marx 1993.

[89] Wiedemann 1983: 163-170 makes much of the parallel episode in Thucydides. DH *AR* VI.92; cf. Thuc. III.74.2, Cartledge 2002: 86-87.

not wait for the return of the maidens, but lies in wait for them. This angers Porsenna, who decides, in favour of the Romans, not to have the property of the Tarquins restored to them. Most importantly, the women never took centre stage in this narrative: they acted *while the men were speaking*: off-stage, as it were. The scene is complete with a messenger appearing to interrupt discussion:

> Ἔτι δὲ τῆς δικαιολογίας γινομένης ἦκέ τις ἀπαγγέλλων τὴν φυγὴν τῶν ὁμηρευουσῶν παρθένων.
>
> DH *AR* V.33.1

In keeping with the piecemeal effect of a second-hand report, Cloelia is mentioned as having acted first, but she is not properly introduced by reference to her family or status. She is subsequently referred to as a 'maiden' (V.34.3) and later by her name, qualified by mention of her maidenhood (V.35.2). There is a vague allusion to Pericles' funeral oration in Thucydides: Cloelia is described as possessing a spirit 'greater than her nature' (κρεῖττον ἔχουσαν φρόνημα τῆς τε φύσεως... V.34.3; cf. Thuc. II.45.2).[90] Yet Pericles specifically did not ask the women to perform *beyond* their nature. He asked them not to fail to live up to the standard set for them by nature. Seen in this context, we might see an uncertainty in the narrative of Cloelia: maybe she *did* go too far in escaping, which a hostage ought not to do, and was lucky that Tarquinius, the tyrant that he still is, went even further.

And that is it as regards named women. Cloelia did not speak, and her actions were reported by a messenger in the assembly, so they are narrated on a stage different

[90] Thuc. II.45.2:
τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν μεγάλη ἡ δόξα
Cf. Thuc. III.74.1, in which the women act παρὰ φύσιν.

from the one where they took place. This is the exception to my rule that women have only a peripheral role in *Antiquities* V-VII: the roles that they generally do have are the sorts of roles that women have in Thucydides too. By way of contrast, the speech of Tanaquil, Tullia and to a different extent Lucretia dominates Book IV.[91]

§4a Lucretia and the downfall of Tarquinius

In this section I consider how the story of Lucretia works in the context of *Antiquities* IV. The rape of Lucretia triggers Brutus' revelation of himself and his subsequent calling of the Republic into being. By examining the way that Lucretia and Brutus speak, I identify a transition in the nature of speech in the *Antiquities*.

Tarquinius Superbus is laying siege to Ardea. The Romans are exhausted by the fatigue and taxes of war: they are ready to revolt (IV.64.1). Tarquinius sends his son, Sextus, to Collatia. There, Sextus lodges at the house of a Collatinus. Collatinus is away from home; Sextus is entertained by Collatinus' wife, Lucretia, on whom he has long had designs. In the night, Sextus rapes Lucretia. The next day, he rides away; Lucretia goes to Rome, to her father's house. She has him summon his friends, tells what happened, and kills herself out of shame.

The details and focus of the story are quite different from those in Livy (*AUC* I.57.1-11 and following) and Ovid (*Fasti* II.721-852).[92] The two Latin authors narrate a Best Wife competition between the young Roman officers in the camp. Lucretia

[91] Livy does much with the three women of this period too: more on this below; cf. Fox 1996: 118. On Tanaquil, see Noggler 2000: 245-272.
[92] It is generally accepted that Ovid's story owes its basis to Livy's version. Cf. Fox 1996: 210-217. Diodorus also has a brief account: Diod. Sic. X.20.1-22.1.

wins the competition: while the other wives are found partying and debauching themselves, Lucretia is seen spinning yarn, surrounded by her toiling maids (Livy I.57.9; Ovid *Fasti* II.741-742).[93] On seeing Lucretia like this, Sextus' lust is roused. As for Ovid and Livy, so for Valerius Maximus, Lucretia's morality is tightly connected to the fate of the City;[94] we might wonder whether Lucretia ought to signify Rome itself.[95]

The Best Wife competition is absent from Dionysius' account: in his version, Sextus' lust is longstanding (IV.64.4). The inclusion of the competition allows Ovid to do more with the imagery of falling in lust: images of fire and heat recall the love imagery of Hellenistic poetry, and the colour imagery ironically inverts Sappho 31 (and so Catullus 51 too).[96] Livy gives Lucretia's chastity a strongly erotic charge, again reminiscent of Greek poetry.[97] The lust which conquers Sextus through him

[93] Ogilvie 1965: 219 suggests that in Rome, the spinning of wool typified *pudicitia*. Cf. Fox 1996: 212, who draws attention to the elegiac tradition which portrays the mistress ironically in the role of a *materfamilias*. King 2006: 210-212 suggests that Livy is not as innocent as she might seem. Greek literature has fun with the chasteness of spinning wool: for example, Penelope uses this wifely duty to deceive her suitors, and Medea spins wool when she is still innocent in Apollonius *Argonautica* (e.g. III.656-664).

[94] Val. Max. VI.1.1:

> Dux Romanae pudicitiae Lucretia, cuius uirilis animus maligno errore fortunae muliebre corpus sortitus est, a <Sex.> Tarquinio regis Superbi filio per uim stuprum pati coacta, cum grauissimis uerbis iniuriam suam in concilio necessariorum deplorasset, ferro se, quod ueste tectum adtulerat, interemit causamque tam animoso interitu imperium consulare pro regio permutandi populo Romano praebuit.

[95] Feldherr 1998: 195, discussing Livy, argues that the story of Tarquin has a larger relevance to the history of Rome: 'The concatenation of bribery, corruption, foreign spoils, and enslavement that results from Tarquin's failure to keep public and private resources separate anticipates the later effects of luxury on the state.'

[96] Cf. Fox 1996: 213. There is a substantial bibliography on this, including on Hellenistic and Livian influence on Ovid's version. See e.g. Lee 1953: 107-118; Newlands 1995: 146-174 with review Mack 1997: 149-152; Newlands puts the Lucretia story in the context of the *Fasti*: she (Newlands 1995: 155) constructs a case around the 'series of stories in book 2 that deal with the relationship between crime and the presence or absence of speech', showing that Ovid, as opposed to Livy, focuses on Lucretia's suffering and loss of speech.

[97] Livy I.57.10:

> Ibi Sex. Tarquinium mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae capit; cum forma tum spectata castitas incitat.

This is a very rich sentence: *libido*, *vim* and *stuprandae* all recall the stock language of tyranny (on which see below); the phrasing is reinforced in the striking alliteration of /c/ and /t/ (**spectata castitas**

conquers Lucretia.[98] None of this is important to Dionysius, even though the morality of women is of interest to him.[99] His eye never wavers from the larger political question. Here is the significant difference between Dionysius and Livy. It is not that Sextus made a plan over a period of time, for he did that in both: 'rather a long' time in Dionysius (παλαίτερον IV.64.4), over a few days in Livy (I.57.10-58.2). Rather, Dionysius is keen never to let the focus sit for too long on Lucretia herself, or to justify lust for her, however perverse that lust may be. A competition along the lines of Livy or Ovid would also draw attention to the lesser wives. This would run counter to a Fox- or Luce-style[100] reading of an 'idealised' Roman past in Dionysius; but more than that, it would make the reader think about the role of public morality in Roman constitutional change, which is not going to be important until the establishment of the Republic.

Dionysius' focus upon Sextus rather than Lucretia allows him to concentrate upon the insolence of princes.[101] It is *hubris* that causes Tarquinius Superbus' expulsion at the introduction of the story (IV.63.1).[102] *Hubris* is Lucretia's word for what happened.[103]

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incitat). Most importantly, Sextus Tarquinius is the object of this sentence, in a section in which he is supposed to be the main actor.

[98] Livy I.57.10: *Sex. Tarquinium... libido... per vim... capit.* Cf. Livy 58.5: *cum vicisset obstinatam pudicitiam velut vi victrix libido...*: so the destructive force of desire captures its target and moves on to its next, almost like the hereditary curses of ancient Greek myth (e.g. of the Atreidae). *Libido* is a chief characteristic of Appius Claudius too: Livy III.44.2, 48.1, 50.7, 50.8, 51.7, 51.12, 57.3, 61.4; Dunkle 1971: 16-17 has more examples from Livy. Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 114.24; Sall. *BC* 2.5; O'Daly 1991: 77.

[99] In particular, Romulus' matrimonial legislation: e.g. DH *AR* II.25.6; cf. Val. Max. II.1.5.

[100] Fox (1993, 1996, 2001) and Luce (1995) have argued that Dionysius' history is an 'idealisation' of the Roman past (see 34-44 above).

[101] This is a favourite translation of mine, from Cary's version of Polybius VI.7.8 ('they do not brook the insolence of princes'), which, discussing as it does conspiracy by high-minded men, is especially appropriate to the story of Brutus.

[102] Fisher 1992 is the standard conspectus of the term *hubris*.

[103] DH *AR* IV.66.2:
ἱκέτις ἔφη γίνομαί σου πάτερ δεινὴν καὶ ἀνήκεστον ὑπομείνασα ὕβριν, τιμωρῆσαί μοι καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν τὴν σεαυτοῦ θυγατέρα θανάτου χείρονα παθοῦσαν.

Everyone present at the scene of Lucretia's death is resolute that they would rather 'die ten thousand deaths in defence of liberty than suffer such outrages (ὕβρεις) to be committed by the tyrants' (IV.67.2). When, later, Brutus speaks in the Forum in Rome, he will use Lucretia's body as evidence of tyrannical insolence (τὴν ἀκόλαστον ὕβριν τῆς τυραννίδος IV.82.1; τυραννικὴν ὕβριν IV.82.3). None of this is to deny the importance of the Greek stereotype tradition to Livy's version;[104] rather it is to say that Dionysius frames his story differently, with less concern to show Lucretia as a moral exemplum.[105]

§4a.1 Excursus on the Greek tyrannical tradition and Dionysius

The focus upon hubris ties Dionysius' story into Greek traditions of the tyrant,[106] to which Livy's story too owes some of its *topoi*.[107] The stereotype of the tyrant was traditionally a Greek one,[108] though the ideas were well assimilated into the Roman tradition by the time of Dionysius.[109] It has been argued that the use of Greek stereotypes by Livy allows his Tarquinius Superbus to become 'de-Romanised', as it were,[110] and so that Livy's Tarquinius represents a drift away from an ultra-Roman ideal. That is a good question to be applied to Dionysius too, but it must be partly

[104] For example, Sextus being in the power of his *libido* recalls Plato *Rep.* 571a and following; on the tyrant's subservience to *erôs*, Pl. *Rep.* 573d. See also O'Daly 1991: 74-103 at 76.
[105] Chaplin 2000: 1-2, 168-169. Cf. Livy I.58.10:
Nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet.
[106] Ogilvie 1965: 194. Delcourt has also traced elements of the Greek tyrant-stereotype in Dionysius' portrayal of Tarquinius Superbus: Delcourt 2005: 339-345.
[107] On Greek tyrannical elements in Tarquinius Superbus' reign, see Ogilvie 1965: *ad loc.*
[108] Cf. Cic. *De Rep.* II.47:
Videtisne igitur ut de rege dominus extiterit, uniusque vitio genus rei publicae ex bono in deterrimum conversum sit? hic est enim dominus populi quem Graeci tyrannum vocant.
[109] O'Daly 1991: 74-82 discusses the assimilation of the Greek tradition into Roman literature. In particular he discusses examples from Latin epic and Imperial prose literature. Dunkle 1971: 12-20 collects examples of the rhetorical/stereotyped tyrant in Sallust, Livy and Tacitus. See also Walker 1952: 204-234 on type-characters in the *Annals*.
[110] Feldherr 1995: 194. Feldherr points out that the war with Ardea, which is being fought for personal gain, is thus 'most un-Roman' in motivation. Feldherr means the ideal of Rome rather than the practice: the rapacity of Roman leaders abroad is well documented in trial literature (e.g. Cic. *Verr. passim*).

rejected. As I have argued, Greek models have been strongly in evidence since Romulus, and so the sort of 'drift away from an ultra-Roman ideal' which could be relevant to Livy is not a possible angle when treating Dionysius (but see below on Sextus at IV.65.2-3). Instead, for Dionysius the account of Tarquinius Superbus on the one hand fits his broader pattern of applying Greek models to Roman institutions: this view has long been accepted. It also allows recollection at moments of precise Greek models. The model of the tyrant generally refers to Aristotle as well as Herodotus. The stories of Sextus and the Gabii, Lucretia, and the Constitution debate all clearly recall Herodotus.

The difference between Dionysius' and Livy's use of Greek precedent is exemplified in the story of Sextus and Gabii (Livy I.54.5-10, DH *AR* IV.56.1-4).[111] By means of deception, Sextus has worked his way into political power in the nearby town of Gabii, with which Rome is at war, and seeks advice from his father, Tarquinius Superbus, about how to proceed next: his ultimate aim is to force the handover of Gabii to the Romans. Tarquinius advises his son by the same means that Thrasybulus of Miletus used to advise Periander of Corinth: Tarquinius gives no verbal reply, but leads Sextus' messenger round a field, lopping the heads off the tallest poppies. The messenger, unable to decipher the code, nevertheless reports to Sextus what has occurred. Sextus understood that he was to kill the leading citizens of Gabii, and thus weaken the city's best means of defence. Sextus follows the advice, and Gabii falls to Rome. Tarquinius, says Dionysius, seemed in this way to imitate Thrasybulus' advice

[111] It should be observed that Dionysius does not in his history slavishly recall every tradition of Romans being influenced by Greeks: at II.59 he rejects the notion that Numa was a pupil of Pythagoras. This tradition was also rejected by Livy and Cicero. Cf. Livy I.18.2-4; Plut. *Numa* I.1-4, 22.2-3; Ovid *Met.* XV. On the tradition, see Garbarino 1973: 63-72; Galinsky 1997: 313-336; Hardie 1995: 204-214; Humm 2004.

to Periander.[112] Livy too says that this sort of behaviour is in proper accordance with Roman ways, but he does not pinpoint an exact influence. He starts the story of the war with Gabii with the following striking introduction:

> Excepit deinde lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios, propinquam urbem, nequiquam vi adortus, cum obsidendi quoque urbem spes pulso a moenibus adempta esset, postremo minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo, adgressus est.
>
> Livy I.53.4

Livy is referring to the whole story of the war with the Gabii, but *postremo* implies particular engagement with the way the war is brought to an end. So both Livy and Dionysius stress the non-Roman behaviour of Tarquinius and Sextus, but Dionysius' use is much the less pejorative. Instead, he invites the reader to think about the nature of imitation through his use of μιμησάμενος to describe Tarquinius' behaviour. He also invites recollection of other instances of this story. There are two of these: in Herodotus (V.92.e.2-h.1) and Aristotle (*Pol.* 1311a20-22).[113] Dionysius' vocabulary recalls Herodotus' version a little more than Aristotle's. Like Herodotus, Dionysius balances the verbs κολούειν τε καὶ διαφθείρειν (DH *AR* IV.56.3).[114] That Dionysius alerts the reader to Greek precedent should be noted. But more than that, this allusion to Herodotus should be added to the stock of evidence which suggests that a Herodotus-model ought to be applied to Book IV: we shall see Herodotean

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[112] DH *AR* IV.56.3: Tarquinius acted,
τὴν Θρασυβούλου τοῦ Μιλησίου διάνοιαν ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖμιμησάμενος·

[113] On the anecdote in Herodotus and Aristotle, see Forsdyke 1999: 361-372.

[114] Cf. Hdt. V.92.g.1:
καὶ ἐκόλουε αἰεὶ ὅκως τινὰ ἴδοι τῶν ἀσταχύων ὑπερέχοντα, κολούων δὲ ἔρριπτε, ἐς ὃ τοῦ ληίου τὸ κάλλιστόν τε καὶ βαθύτατον διέφθειρε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ.
Arist. *Pol.* 1311a20-22:
ὅθεν καὶ τὸ Περιάνδρου πρὸς Θρασύβουλον συμβούλευμά ἐστιν, ἡ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων σταχύων κόλουσις, ὡς δέον αἰεὶ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν πολιτῶν ἀναιρεῖν.

influence too in the story of Lucretia, when we revisit that; in the account of Brutus and the oracle (in a very vague way); and in the constitutions debate which will take place towards the end of Book IV.

For the moment, however, it is important to stress that there are other stereotypical models in this story. One of these, the Aristotelian model, I have already mentioned; Plato too is interested in models of tyranny in the *Republic*. These precedents can be identified throughout the story of Tarquinius Superbus, and in Livy's version too.

Aristotle observes that hubris is often one of the main causes of a tyrant's downfall (*Pol.* 1311a25-27; 31-36). This hubris is often exemplified in attacks against the person. Aristotle and Thucydides each give the example of the cause of the attack against the Pisistratids, the insult to Harmodius' sister and the treatment of Harmodius with contempt.[115] This example encapsulates the degeneration of tyranny, because Pisistratus himself was not so immoral a character as his epigones.[116] This decline through the generations is evident in Livy's and Dionysius' account of the Tarquinii.

Dionysius' Tarquinius, in accordance with stereotypical practice, surrounds himself with a foreign bodyguard (*AR* IV.41.3, 45.1).[117] The composition of the bodyguard of

[115] Arist. *Pol.* 1311a36-38, cf. [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* XVIII.2-6. Thuc. VI.56-59. Cf. Hdt. V.55, VI.123.2: Herodotus does not mention the slight. Aulus Gellius draws attention to the synchronicity of the Pisistratids and the Tarquinii: Aul. Gell. *Att. Noc.* XVII.21.4. Valerius Maximus discusses the danger inherent in failing to control one's lusts: Val. Max. IV.3.
[116] Cf. Brutus' speech, IV.81.4. On the degeneration of kingship into tyranny see Polyb. VI.7.4-9; on controls against this, see Valerius' speech at DH *AR* VII.55.5. Note also that at VII.56.2 he suggests that tyranny rises up in the masses, which is similar to Coriolanus' view that a tyrant allies himself with the masses: VIII.6.2.
[117] Arist. *Pol.* 1285a25-29, 1311a6-7; Pl. *Rep.*. 567d9-e2.

Livy's Tarquinius is not specified (Livy I.49.2).[118] A further stereotypical feature is the desire for wealth:[119] Tarquinius' lust for wealth is the reason given by both Dionysius and Livy for his laying siege to Ardea.[120] I have already mentioned that tyrants murder leading citizens to keep a hold on power. Tarquinius advises his son to do this, and himself murders leading Roman citizens in both Livy and Dionysius.[121]

There are clear parallels with the Greek stereotype of tyranny in both Livy and Dionysius. Dionysius has used the stereotype to recall some quite specific points in Greek history, in particular the parallel of the story of Thrasybulus and Periander. With that story in mind, I shall now return to the story of Lucretia and the constitutional debate.

§4b Women in Dionysius revisited and the constitutional debate

Dionysius' account of the rape of Lucretia (*AR* IV.65) contains elements which seem to be partly modelled on Herodotus' version of the Candaules and Gyges story.[122] In the versions of the story by Livy, Ovid and Dionysius, Sextus Tarquinius steals into Lucretia's room at night. She will not yield to him, so he threatens to dishonour her by killing her and a slave and laying them side by side. At this prospect, Lucretia yields. In Ovid's account, Sextus' direct discourse is a heavily implied threat:

> utque torum pressit, 'ferrum, Lucretia, mecum est:
> natus' ait 'regis, Tarquiniusque loquor'

[118] There are other concordances between Livy's and Dionysius' account. Both relate Tarquinius' building projects, saying that Tarquinius engaged these projects in order to keep the population occupied: DH *AR* IV.44.1; Livy I.56.3.
[119] Arist. *Pol.* 1295a19-22, 1311a8-15, 131b18-21. Pl. *Rep.* VIII-IX.
[120] DH *AR* IV.64.1; Livy I.57.1-2
[121] DH *AR* IV.42.1, 42.3, 42.5; Livy I.56.7
[122] DH *De Comp. Verb.* 3.71ff; Hdt. I.8-11. De Jonge forthc. 75-79. Greaves 1998.

Ovid *Fasti* II.795-796

This is a simplified form of Livy's version. Livy makes the threat explicit:

> sinistraque manu mulieris pectore oppresso 'Tace, Lucretia' inquit; 'Sex. Tarquinius sum; ferrum in manu est; moriere, si emiseris vocem.'
>
> Livy I.58.2

Ovid's Sextus does not tell Lucretia to be silent, but she does not speak (*illa nihil*). Ovid's story is a stripped-down rendering of Livy's, which need not detain us here.[123] The salient point is that in Livy, Sextus' direct discourse is entirely threatening; the bribes that he offers remain vague (Ov. *Fasti*. II.805-806; Livy I.58.3). Dionysius, on the other hand, has Sextus make the bribe in direct discourse (IV.65.2-3). Sextus offers Lucretia the chance to be his wife and rule over the Romans, Latins and Tyrrhenians with him, or to be killed. Sextus explains that as the eldest son, he has the right to inherit his father's rule. Sextus' explanation of heredity might seem like a typically verbose Dionysian touch (IV.65.2), but there is more to it than that: so far, all of the successions of the Roman kings have been decided by election, not by heredity.[124] Sextus' speech marks him out as a tyrannical character: this is not how Romans should behave.

[123] King 2006: 217-229 draws parallels here, for example between Lucretia's desire for a man with 'drawn sword' (*stricto...ense*. Ov. *Fasti*. II.752) and Sextus' 'drawn sword' in Livy (I.58.2).
[124] This process of elective royalty in the *Antiquities* is analysed at Fromentin 2004b: 311: Dionysius is dealing with two traditions of royal succession, one hereditary and the other elective. The Alban throne, which produces Romulus and Remus, appears to have been hereditary (Liv. I.3.6-10; DH *AR* I.71; Ov. *Fasti* IV.35ff.); after the death of Romulus, election is instituted (DH *AR* II.57-58; Liv. I.17).

The choice that Sextus offers Lucretia is not found in this form in the other sources. At *De Comp. Verb.* 3.72ff., Dionysius expresses admiration for Herodotus' account of Candaules and Gyges (Hdt. I.8-11). In that story, Candaules, king of the Lydians, presses his spear-carrier Gyges to look at his (Candaules') wife naked, so Gyges can appreciate her form. Gyges reluctantly accedes, Candaules' wife notices, and she presents Gyges with a blunt choice: he must right the wrong he has done, either by killing himself, or by killing Candaules and marrying Candaules' wife, to become king of the Lydians. Gyges kills Candaules and marries the wife, who is never named.

Sextus' offer is based on the same life-or-death choice: marry him and live as a queen, or refuse him and die. Dionysius had admired Herodotus' story because Herodotus had told a shameful story in a decorous way. In the story of Lucretia and Sextus, Dionysius seems to be trying to outdo Herodotus. The scene of rape has the same motif of the unwelcome intrusion into a private bedroom (even if, to a modern reader, there might seem to be a huge difference in scale). Sextus' offer is similar to the wife's, and similarly balanced, except that Dionysius' version is much fuller. Candaules' wife offers rule over Lydia, while Sextus offers rule over the Romans, Latins and Tyrrhenians, as well as a new development in constitutional procedure. The wife threatens death; Sextus threatens death and dishonour too.

That there exist structural similarities between Dionysius' and Herodotus' versions is to be expected given Dionysius' approval of Herodotus in general and the story of Candaules and Gyges in particular. Dionysius has form, too, in describing events involving women in a Herodotean way. Greaves has demonstrated an interesting

parallel between Romulus' use of Greek precedent to justify the rape of the Sabine Women (*AR* II.30.5) and Herodotus' account of the foundation of Miletus (Hdt. I.146).[125] That earlier case had shown Romulus' awareness of Greek precedent – in the present case, the play is on a structural level. In describing the rape of a woman (and a rape in the modern sense, too), Dionysius is arguably taking on a more difficult story than Herodotus, trying to present it in a way that does not offend. The Herodotean nature of Sextus' offer invites the comparison. In both stories, the choice is made to live; perhaps the biggest point of similarity is that Gyges' choice marks the start of Herodotus' history, and Lucretia's choice in her turn marks the start of the story of Republican Rome.

Compared to the versions of Livy and Ovid, Dionysius' Lucretia appears to be a 'dull, lifeless figure'.[126] After she is raped, she rides to her father at Rome. She has him summon a band of men to hear her story. When they have gathered, she describes what happened, then commits suicide. Each of Livy, Ovid and Dionysius puts speech in Lucretia's mouth. Ovid, whose Lucretia was introduced with a long speech (*Fasti* II.745-754), plays with the notions of speech and freedom. In front of her father and husband, she tries and fails three times to speak (II.823-824), and her own modesty is reflected in Ovid's caginess in repeating what she is able to say (*quaeque potest, narrat* II.827). After such a struggle to speak, her final action before stabbing herself is a defiant speech act, but one which ironically ends with the word 'I do not say': *quam dixit veniam vos datis, ipsa nego* (II.830).[127]

[125] Greaves 1998
[126] Ogilvie 1965: *ad loc.*
[127] See King 2006: 217-229. Fox 1996: 210-217 looks instead at how Ovid makes history fit elegy here.

Livy grants Lucretia a different sort of speech, but he too has Lucretia speak at the point of her death:

> Vos, inquit, videritis, quid illi debeatur: ego me etsi peccato absolvo, supplicio non libero; nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet.
>
> 1.57.10

Dionysius, on the other hand, does not grant Lucretia any direct discourse at the point of death. Livy's Lucretia had already called on her family men to avenge her, *si vos viri estis* (I.58.8). This creates a frame with Tanaquil, who told her son Servius Tullius that power was his to seize, if only he were a man: *tuum est, inquit, Servi, si vir es, regnum* (I.41.3).[128] Dionysius' Lucretia is a much less challenging figure.[129] Where Livy's Lucretia instructs her men to action, this Lucretia instructs her menfolk to talk:

> ὅταν δὲ μάθῃς τὰς κατασχούσας αἰσχρὰς καὶ δεινὰς ἀνάγκας, βούλευσαι μετ' αὐτῶν, ὅντινα τιμωρήσεις ἐμοί τε καὶ σεαυτῷ τρόπον καὶ μὴ πολὺν ποίει χρόνον τὸν διὰ μέσου.
>
> DH *AR* IV.66.3

That is because Lucretia is not the point in this story. In point, rather, are the events that she precipitates. And her instructions are obeyed: the men do *not* immediately act, but continue to spread the word (IV.67.2-3). It is only with the arrival of Brutus

[128] Tanaquil also showed Servius the body of her nearly dead husband (Livy I.41.2), just as Brutus will make dramatic use of Lucretia's corpse (I.59.3). On another point, the charge *if you are men* must also create a responsion with the challenging harangue of the Volscian general Attius Tullius, when he urges his men to fight Rome (II.38.5):

bellum vobis indictum est, magno eorum malo qui indixere, si viri estis.

In similar language Tullia too threatens the manliness of her husband Tarquinius Superbus (Livy I.47.3): *si tu es cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello.*

[129] Moore 1993: 38-46; Ogilvie 1965: *ad loc.*

that the story keeps going: he takes charge, and next to the bloodied, lifeless corpse of Lucretia, the men sit and have a constitutional debate (IV.71.1-75.4). The shift is marked by a lengthy excursus on Brutus' background (IV.68.1-69.4), and it is made quite clear that nothing has been done to remove her body (IV.70.5).[130]

Lucretia's last instance of direct discourse is the last instance of direct discourse by any woman until an unnamed woman invites Valeria to speak at VIII.39.3. Her speech is balanced by Tanaquil's speech to Tullius, Ocrisia and Tullius' wife, who is her daughter (IV.4.4-8). Both Tanaquil and Lucretia, despite the public import of their speeches, keep their speeches private: Tanaquil orders the palace gates to be shut (IV.4.3), Lucretia explicitly does not speak to anyone she passes on her way to Rome (IV.66.1). Tanaquil's speech is much longer than Lucretia's, but an equally important difference is that while Lucretia urges her father to consult his friends, Tanaquil urges her family to act: ἀλλ' οὐ δεήσει βουληθέντων ἡμῶν πράττειν νῦν ἃ δεῖ (IV.4.5). Tanaquil's speech precedes the *contio* at which Servius Tullius speaks to the people (IV.9.1-9), just as Brutus' constitutional debate will precede a *contio*, this time delivered by Brutus, at IV.77.1-83.5). In both instances the speaker will use a human prop to win the favour of the crowd: Brutus will use Lucretia's body (IV.76.3), and Servius will bring forward his (living) children (IV.8.3).[131]

The use of corpses for dramatic effect brings the case of Tullia into the discussion. When Livy's Brutus harangues the people in the forum after Lucretia's death, he

[130] DH *AR* IV.70.5:
[The corpse] ἔτι γὰρ ἔκειτο ἐν φανερῷ θέαμα οἴκτιστον·
[131] Servius is also given a second *contio*, at which he brings forward the rest of his family (IV.11). Livy recounts neither of these episodes.

recalls Tullia's outrage, namely her driving of her carriage over her dead father's body (Livy I.59.10-11).[132] Dionysius' Brutus will focus instead on Tarquinius' role in the murder (IV.79.3). This fits the way in which Dionysius is showing history changing. When he narrated the story of the murder of Servius Tullius, it was Tullia's advice in direct discourse which encouraged Tarquinius to assassinate his father (IV.39.2). While it is true that Brutus would not necessarily have known this, since Tullia took her husband to one side before speaking, the murder is nonetheless contained within the set of events described by Dionysius as the 'deeds of the daughter' (IV.39.1).[133] Furthermore, in Dionysius, the first and last instances of direct discourse in the story of the usurpation are both delivered by Tullia (IV.29.1-7, 39.4). The first and last sentences which she utters are each questions which urge to action; as she has gained a grip on power, so the question becomes more rabid and confident. In the first, she addresses her husband in private. In the second, she instructs her groom (ὀρεοκόμος) to drive over the body of her dead father:

> Ἆρ', ἔφησεν, ὦ Ταρκύνιε, μετὰ παρρησίας ἔξεστί μοι καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἅπαντα εἰπεῖν, ὅσα φρονῶ περὶ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων, καὶ καθέξεις οὓς ἂν ἀκούσῃς λόγους;
>
> DH *AR* IV.29.1

> Οὐκ ἄξεις, ἁλιτήριε, καὶ διὰ τοῦ νεκροῦ;
>
> DH *AR* IV.39.4

[132] Livy's story of Tarquinius Superbus' usurpation of power is striking in its concentration upon the behaviour of Tullia (I.46.3-48.7) even at the expense of Tarquinius. Bellandi 1976: 148-168.

[133] DH *AR* IV.39.1:
Τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα δεινὰ μὲν ἀκουσθῆναι, θαυμαστὰ δὲ καὶ ἄπιστα πραχθῆναι, τῆς ἀνοσίας αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς ἔργα παραδίδοται.

The last time a horseman (then a ἱππεύς) spoke was at III.24.4, during the battle with the Fidenates. Then a horseman passed a message on to the king, Tullus Hostilius, describing the state of battle. How things have changed: direct discourse, once delivered by knights on battlefields, is now granted to horsemen in the street. Before Lucretia, then, in Book IV actions had come to be instigated by the words of women, in the world of women; after Lucretia, even earlier events come to be framed in terms of the men who took part. The reduction of women's role in decision-making points, perhaps, to an inversion of the Augustan age, when a royal family of sorts became important again.[134] The issue will return in the confrontation between Coriolanus and his mother (chapter 4b below).

Let us return to the story of Lucretia and Brutus, and the change in constitution. The question remains: why have the constitutional debate *now*? I shall compare this constitutional debate with the debate at Herodotus III.80-83.[135] That constitutional debate takes place in Persia, after the assassination of the false Smerdis and the Magi. Each of the Persian conspirators speaks in favour of one form of government. Otanes speaks in favour of democracy; or rather, he speaks *against* monarchy, and selects *isonomia* instead, which is not restricted to democracy, and speaks in favour of increasing the role of the people (III.80.2-80.6). Megabyxus suggests oligarchy (III.81.1-81.3). Finally Darius speaks in favour of monarchy (III.82.1-5). I wish to bring out two points here. First is the stress on negativity. Otanes and Megabyxus do not so much speak in favour of their own preferred form of government as against the other forms. Darius takes the broader view, and argues instead that oligarchy and rule

[134]Purcell 1986: 78-84
[135] On this debate, see especially Pelling 2002: 123-158. I also thank Elton Barker for letting me see his discussion of this debate (publication forthcoming).

of the people both tend inevitably towards monarchy. The negativity, that is, the stress on the defects of alternative systems, bears a marked resemblance to what Brutus has to say when he addresses his fellow conspirators at the end of *AR* IV:

> ἃ δὲ παρακολουθεῖν εἴωθε ταῖς μοναρχίαις χαλεπά, ἐξ ὧν εἰς τυραννικὴν ὠμότητα περιίστανται καὶ δι' ἃ δυσχεραίνουσιν ἅπαντες αὐτάς, ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐπανορθώσασθαί τε καὶ νῦν καὶ ἵνα μηδ' ἐξ ὑστέρου γένηταί ποτε φυλάξασθαι παραινῶ.
>
> DH *AR* 4.73.2

What Brutus stresses, then, in a fashion similar to the characters in Herodotus, is that the Romans are building in response to negative models. Brutus' reorganisation of the constitution starts as a reaction to something that has gone wrong: compare Romulus' very different organisation of the state (II.9.2, 13.1). Brutus himself says that time is short; when the tyranny is removed there will be time to deliberate upon a better form of government (IV.73.1).[136] This prediction is an important precursor to the political debates which will dominate the period after Book IV. It is also important to see here Brutus establishing the foundation for later political development, just as Romulus did before him (II.16.3).

[136] DH *AR* IV.73.1. The importance of consultation (cognate forms of βουλεύομαι) recall Lucretia's request to her father to consult (βουλεῦσαι) his friends about how best to avenge her (IV.66.3), as well as looking forward to the way politics is going to work:

> ὅ τε γὰρ καιρός, εἰς ὃν συνήγμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων, βραχύς, ἐν ᾧ μεθαρμόσασθαι πόλεως κόσμον οὐ ῥᾴδιον, ἥ τε πεῖρα τῆς μεταβολῆς, κἂν τὰ κράτιστα τύχωμεν περὶ αὐτῆς βουλευσάμενοι, σφαλερὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀκίνδυνος, ἐξέσται θ' ἡμῖν ὕστερον, ὅταν ἀπαλλαγῶμεν τῆς τυραννίδος μετὰ πλείονος ἐξουσίας καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν βουλευομένοις τὴν κρείττονα πολιτείαν ἀντὶ τῆς χείρονος ἑλέσθαι...

Compare also the speech of Tanaquil at IV.4.4-8, who urges her family to act decisively now, and then pay attention to constitutional matters.

Although the stress on negativity is a common feature of the two debates, the outcome is different. Whereas the Persians maintain the same form of government, since Darius argues that all constitutions end in monarchy anyway, Brutus does change that part of the constitution which has gone wrong. He entrusts the 'royal power' to two men, following the model of the Lacedaimonians (IV.73.4). He limits the magistracy to a year, as the Athenians do (IV.74.2). The interest lies in the different sorts of knowledge he claims for himself in respect of the Lacedaimonians and the Athenians.[137] Athenian practice is permitted an unqualified statement of fact (ὡς παρ' Ἀθηναίοις γίνεται IV.74.2), while he 'learns' about the Lacedaimonians, so the knowledge is at one remove: ὡς Λακεδαιμονίους πυνθάνομαι ποιεῖν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἤδη γενεάς (4.73.4). Perhaps this is a hint towards an Athenian literary tradition opposed to the absent Spartan literary tradition: since the Lacedaimonian constitution comes through the tradition as second-hand material from Athenians (for example Xenophon, Aristotle), perhaps Brutus can only claim knowledge of the Athenian tradition, which comes first-hand; perhaps it is a nod towards Thucydides' stress on the secrecy of the Spartan *politeia* (Thuc. V.58.2). That argument is speculative; and Xenophon and Aristotle come much later than Brutus. It should finally be observed that it is not only Brutus who has good knowledge of Greek systems: the other conspirators refer to Greek precedent in their own speeches (IV.72.2-3). This passage again privileges Athens, this time by giving name only to Athens among the Greek cities discussed. Explicit mention of Greek models in Dionysius is another point of difference between Dionysius' and Herodotus' constitutional debates.

[137]Luraghi 2003: 278: 'Die Kommuniktation zwischen Athen und Rom hätte kaum schneller sein können!'

The second point is that Dionysius' constitutional debate takes place *before* the act of expulsion, in contrast with the situation in Herodotus, where the emphasis was rather on the speed at which the assassination of the false Smerdis was carried out; talking was saved until later. This is an important distinction. Given that the plans of Julius Caesar's assassins fell apart so quickly after the murder was carried out, it is arguable that by stressing the forethought of L. Junius Brutus, Dionysius might be pointing towards the events of 44 BCE as well (see pp. 239-240 below). There are, then, a number of differences between Dionysius' and Herodotus' constitutional debates which enrich the comparison. The much-discussed sentence at the start of Herodotus' debate is suggestive here:

> καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι ἄπιστοι μὲν ἐνίοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἐλέχθησαν δ' ὦν.
>
> Hdt. III.80.1

At Rome, this debate is not 'incredible' enough for Dionysius to make similar comment, since it has been anticipated earlier, in an argument between Tullius and Tarquinius at IV.30.6-36.3, which extends a little to IV.39.4. This includes a *contio* delivered by Servius Tullius at IV.38.1: only now his powerbase has been weakened, and the man who could twice deliver direct discourse in a *contio* at IV.8-9 and IV.11 is denied direct discourse at IV.38.1. The point is that political discussion, in the form of *contiones*, has been repeatedly anticipated in Book IV, as well as by the original, abortive *contio* delivered by Romulus at II.3.1-4.2,[138] until the *contio* is destabilised

[138] Offered the chance by Romulus to form a constitution, the Roman people had rejected it. See above for my discussion of this passage (see pp. 77-78 above).

by the political machinations of Tullia and the political argument of Servius and Tarquinius. It is then restored, in its new form, by Brutus. So Brutus looks back, just as his constitutional reforms will change the way Rome moves forward.

While the constitutional debate and subsequent *contio* would not be 'incredible' to the putative Greek audience, a certain aspect of Romanness will, namely the acceptance of savage violence:

> Τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔργα θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Βρούτου μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ λέγειν ἔχων, ἐφ' οἷς μέγιστα φρονοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, δέδοικα μὴ σκληρὰ καὶ ἄπιστα τοῖς Ἕλλησι δόξω λέγειν, ἐπειδὴ πεφύκασιν ἅπαντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων παθῶν τὰ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λεγόμενα κρίνειν καὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἄπιστον ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ποιεῖν· ἐρῶ δ' οὖν ὅμως.
>
> DH *AR* V.8.1

This sentence introduces Brutus' execution of his sons. It is framed in Herodotean terms: ἄπιστα τοῖς Ἕλλησι δόξω λέγειν recalls Hdt. III.80.1, and μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ recalls Hdt I.1.1.[139] This is heavy and meaningful allusion. But in what way? In this sentence, it is Brutus' savagery that might be treated as harsh and incredible by the Greeks. Brutus' behaviour is not un-Roman; earlier, Horatius – one of the very few private citizens to get any speech in the Regal Period – behaved with similar harshness (*AR* III.21.7).[140] Just as Brutus' *contio* looked back to earlier Roman behaviour as well as preparing the ground for the future, so his harshness fits well

[139] Thanks to Jon Hesk for the μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά point. The word σκληρά will become important again in the Coriolanus story (see pp. 154-156 below).

[140] DH *AR* III.21.7:

> οὕτω δὲ ἄρα μισοπόνηρα καὶ αὐθάδη τὰ τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων ἤθη καὶ φρονήματα ἦν καί, εἴ τις αὐτὰ βούλοιτο παρὰ τὰ νῦν ἔργα καὶ τοὺς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐξετάζειν βίους, ὠμὰ καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ τῆς θηριώδους οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντα φύσεως...

with established *Romanitas*. But that does not mean that his behaviour is acceptable to all Romans. In fact, his fellow consul Collatinus objects, in direct discourse. Even when Collatinus' wife, Lucretia, died, he was not granted any direct discourse, but now Dionysius has him speak. It is the new political system which empowers him to do so:

> Τοιγαροῦν, ἔφησεν, ἐπεὶ σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ πικρὸς ἐγὼ τὰ μειράκια ἀφαιροῦμαι τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας ἧς σὺ κύριος ὤν.
>
> *AR* V.9.3

This shift away from political discourse by *contio* to debate founded on a more balanced distribution of power was anticipated earlier in the first political debate in direct discourse in the *Antiquities*, in which Tarquinius Superbus attempted to wrest power from Servius Tullius (IV.30.7-36.3). We have seen already how that first debate was framed by a woman, Tullia's speech: but that debate failed to secure either Servius' power or a bloodless handover because power was not actually shared at the time: political upheaval is coming. We can tie back into the argument Delcourt's suggestion that Servius Tullius was ultimately a failure because he was caught between advocating oligarchy and democracy (see pp. 85-87 below), but we should now add to it. In Servius we see anticipated the possibility of genuine political discourse, but that discourse will not become fully activated until Brutus reorganises the constitution. Furthermore, parts of the original Roman character, including savagery towards one's own family, will not always sit comfortably with a

constitution which allows political discourse. How these problems are worked out, in part by the expansion of *parrhesia*, will be the chief theme of the coming books.[141]

The risk of political upheaval has been anticipated for a large part of Book IV in predominantly Herodotean terms. Brutus, a tribune, speaks in a manner that marks a dramatic shift in the tone of the *Antiquities*, as the *Antiquities* moves from a world in which women have come to be able to speak at some length but men who are not royal or priestly do not say anything substantial. So the feebleness of Lucretia, who is not royal, is important, because she hands the reins back to the men when she says, 'you consult between yourselves'. We see in her too a shift in how politics works in Rome. Sextus Tarquinius, in 'satisfying his baneful passion' has activated a move away from the Herodotean world of kings and queens in their bedrooms towards the next world, which will resemble much more closely what is going on in Thucydides.

This shift is not complete. Unlike in Herodotus, only one man, Brutus, gets to say anything at length. This is not a *debate* on the same scale as Herodotus, because everybody bar Brutus (and Valerius for a moment) gets denied a live voice by the narrator. And this is not like Herodotus, because this programmatic speech, which is the first of its kind in Dionysius, is not 'incredible': this sort of speech is entirely appropriate to Rome as Dionysius has developed it.

[141] I now want to add in an extra layer of meaning to DH *AR* VII.66, in which Dionysius says that the Romans avoided stasis because they acted towards one another 'like family': not only does this recall Thuc. III.82 on political divisions within families, but it also makes us ask how families actually behave towards one another in the *Antiquities*: more on that in my chapter on Coriolanus.

So things do change over time. More and more people get to speak with the beginning of the First Secession, as we begin to focus on the disagreements that will characterise the next fifty years in Rome. In a sense, this is a Polybian programme. The Roman constitution is not the consequence of a single founding father, but was born in a crucible:

> Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν λόγῳ τινὶ προϊδόμενος πόθεν ἕκαστα καὶ πῶς πέφυκε συμβαίνειν, ἀβλαβῶς συνεστήσατο τὴν προειρημένην πολιτείαν· Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν τέλος ταὐτὸ πεποίηνται τῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι καταστάσεως, οὐ μὴν διὰ λόγου, διὰ δὲ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ πραγμάτων, ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀεὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς περιπετείαις ἐπιγνώσεως αἱρούμενοι τὸ βέλτιον, οὕτως ἦλθον ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ μὲν Λυκούργῳ τέλος, κάλλιστον δὲ σύστημα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτειῶν.
>
> Polyb. 6.10.12-14[142]

What Dionysius seems to be doing, finally, is seeing how this Polybian 'crucible' works close-up.[143] From some angles, Dionysius' description of the Roman constitution is rather static.[144] He could have presented the change to a consular system differently: we know from Dio that there were more difficult paths that Dionysius could have described.[145] Dionysius could have said that it took a lot longer for the Romans to settle on their constitution than he actually does. But Dionysius presents change differently in the *Antiquities*, the texture of which keeps altering as time progresses. Finally, Dionysius narrates the history of the Roman constitution in

[142] Cicero talks about this too: it is striking how often Dionysius and Cicero agree on all sorts of points, on which see De Jonge forthc.: 22-28. Given Cicero's trouble with Clodius, could this be one reason Dionysius has it in for the *tribuni plebis*?

[143] It is interesting, I think, that the first decade of the *Antiquities* matches exactly the period narrated by Polybius in his now lost archaeology. If that were ever discovered, I speculate with confidence that we would discover a very high number of concordances of interpretative value.

[144] Cf. Gabba 1991: 152

[145] I owe Christopher Smith for this point. Dio VI.19 and 23 outlines a confusing, changeable and contested history underlying the offices of tribune, censor and consul. Cf. Wiseman 1998: 23.

ways that allow for the possibility of its own failure, an event which is constantly anticipated in the *Antiquities*.

4. Coriolanus

> *The whole trial of Coriolanus before the people, as related by Dionysius, seems to be a romance, contrived for no other end than to give the writer the opportunity of playing the orator and politician.*[1]

The tone is cutting, but the question posed is a good starting-point: *does* Dionysius take the opportunity to play the orator and politician? And if so, *what sort* of orator and politician does he play? I address these questions in the first half of this chapter, in which I analyse the framework of *stasis* which Dionysius attempts to impose on the story of the trial of Coriolanus. The subject of the second half is roughly separated from the first by the boundary-marker of VII.66, Dionysius' bravura extended analysis of the 'first sedition at Rome after the expulsion of the kings'.[2] There, I examine the very different question of public and private space in Coriolanus' encounter with his mother.

4a: The trial of Coriolanus

Livy and Plutarch also relate the story of Coriolanus.[3] Livy's account (Livy II.33.4-40) is the shortest of the three. The run of events in Livy is much the same as in Dionysius, albeit much compressed, and so allows an insight into the different points of emphasis in Dionysius' version.[4] Plutarch, on the other

1 Hooke, in Griffiths 1758: 3

2 DH *AR* VII.66.1:
Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐμπεσοῦσα μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων στάσις ἔσχε τοιαύτας αἰτίας καὶ εἰς τοῦτο κατέσκηψε τὸ τέλος·

3 Plut. *Cor.*; Livy II.33-40 (cf. Florus I.5; Eutropius I.14); The ancient accounts of Coriolanus which have been preserved to us also includc Valerius Maximus V.2.1, IV.1; Appian *Rom.* 2.1-5 = Polyaenus VIII.25.3; Cassius Dio F 18 = [Aur. Victor] 19 cf. the now-lost version by Atticus, mentioned by Cicero at *Brut.* 42. See also Salmon 1930: 1930: 96n.1; David 2001a: 17 with nn.1-6.

4 See Ogilvie 1965: 314-336 and Pabst 1969: 140-160 for analyses of the differences. The standard work on the analysis of the sources is Mommsen 1870; see Cornell 2002: *passim* for the history of scholarship on the Coriolanus-story. See also Salmon 1930; Forsythe 2005: 191-192 on the story as a whole; David 2001b on the trial; Noè 1979 is very stimulating. I will

hand, seems to have used Dionysius' account of the First Secession as the single source for his *Coriolanus*.[5] This has allowed modern scholars to compare fruitfully Plutarch's narrative with Dionysius', in order to illuminate Plutarch's method of work and interests in the story.[6] The way back, from Plutarch to Dionysius, can show us what Plutarch thought was missing or inadequate in Dionysius' version. The biggest difference lies in the fact that Dionysius is writing histories, not lives; but this distinction is not unproblematic, so it will be best to start here.

Plutarch's notice at the beginning of his *Alexander,* that he is writing lives not histories,[7] is not immediately simple.[8] Plutarch says that a 'slight thing like a phrase or a jest often makes a greater revelation of character than battles where thousands fall, or the greatest armaments, or sieges of cities'.[9] As Pelling has observed, this statement gains force because it occurs at the start of a pair where

not enter discussions of historicity here, but Cornell 2002 is the most recent consideration of the historicity of the tradition; his basis is to assume the retention of some element of historicity in most aspects of the story. Other views, more revisionist, include the idea that Coriolanus was not a Roman at all, but a Volscian (see e.g. Salmon 1930, followed by Bonjour 1975); David 2001a: 19 suggests simply that Coriolanus need not have been Roman, but that the tradition is easier to understand if he was not. More generally, von Ungern-Sternberg 2005: 81-82 categorises Cornell's attitude as supporting 'structural details', such as the existence of a man such as Coriolanus, and so forth, but not the smaller details; von Ungern-Sternberg considers the method subjective.

5 This view was first proposed by Peter 1865: 7-17, and more recently has been accepted and argued with varying degrees of caution by e.g. Russell (1963: 21), Pelling (1996; 1997b = 2002c: 387; all citations from 2002c); Janssen 1972: 413-414; and Duff 1999: 205. Other modern studies which consider Dionysius' handling of the Coriolanus-story from the perspective of the narrative rather than the underlying history are Bonjour 1975; David 2001a; Freyburger 2001.

6 E.g. Ahlrichs 2005 (rev. Zadorozhny 2007 & Beck 2008); Duff 1999; Pelling 1996, 1997b = 2002c; Russell 1963.

7 Plut. *Alex.* 1.2:

οὔτε γὰρ ἱστορίας γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίους, οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πράξεσι πάντως ἔνεστι δήλωσις ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας, ἀλλὰ πρᾶγμα βραχὺ πολλάκις καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ παιδιά τις ἔμφασιν ἤθους ἐποίησε μᾶλλον ἢ μάχαι μυριόνεκροι καὶ παρατάξεις αἱ μέγισται καὶ πολιορκίαι πόλεων.

8 Pelling 2006e: 266. Duff 1999: 14-22 at 17: 'The boundaries between history, political biography, and related forms...were never clearly drawn.' See e.g. Hamilton 1969: xxxviii for an earlier, simpler reading of the sentence. On the relationship between history and biography, see Stadter 2007; the collection of papers in Erler & Schorn 2007, esp. Reichel 2007 & Schepens 2007. On the influence of *bioi* upon the structure of a history (in this case Dio), see Pelling 1997a; though Pelling describes as 'unpleasing' the term he coins in that article, *biostructuring* (Pelling 1997a: 118; 2006e: 257-258).

9 Translated by Perrin 1919 *ad loc.*

thousands *do* die, where there *are* great sieges and armaments. The overlap between the characters of great men, between their jests and phrases, and the death of thousands is never stronger than it is in this pair; history is never closer to biography. Plutarch then 'insists'[10] that he is writing biography not history.[11] The *bioi* of Alexander and Caesar, suggests Plutarch, are on a grand enough scale to be accounted history. But his point is not so much that, in writing their *bioi* instead, the great events of their lives will be excluded, rather that biography ranges deeper into a man's life than history does. This observation is enough for my purposes, though it sacrifices some complexity in the issue.[12] There remains one more key idea. There are moments in ancient historiography when individuals come to dominate a process so much that they change the texture of history itself.[13]

Xenophon is considered to be the founder of historical biography (though never in an unqualified way),[14] and Dionysius treats his *Cyropaedia* and *Hellenica* on the same generic plane (DH *Pomp.* 4).[15] The lives of kings are within the remit of the historian, and Dionysius praises the psychological insight of Theopompus (DH *Pomp.* 6). Dionysius stresses the relevance of private lives to history at DH *AR* V.48.1 in his eulogy of Valerius Publicola. He argues that it is the historian's duty to record the private

10 Stadter 2007: 531
11 Duff rightly warns (1999: 20) that '[t]he distinction between biography and history drawn by Plutarch at the start of the *Alexander* is not a universal one and does not apply equally to all of his works.'
12 E.g. Ralph Waldo Emerson said that 'there is properly no history, only biography' (cited at Stadter 2007: 528); but the field of history is cut by, for example, Marxist and feminist theories, which shift the focus onto larger universal trends and away from individuals.
13 See e.g. Pelling 1997a: 122 on Dio's structuring his history around the dominant figure of the emperor: '[h]istory had changed, and Dio's technique changes with it'.
14 Stadter 2007: 529; see further Pelling *OCD*[3] s.v. 'Biography, Greek' for a brief list of the scraps that preceded Xenophon.
15 DH *Pomp.* 4.1:
Ξενοφῶν...πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὰς ὑποθέσεις τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἐξελέξατο καλὰς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς...· τήν τε Κύρου παιδείαν...καὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν τοῦ νεωτέρου Κύρου,...καὶ τρίτην ἔτι τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ ἣν κατέλιπεν ἀτελῆ Θουκυδίδης...

activity of public men, to see if they lived in accordance with the proper traditions.[16] Dionysius' conception of the genre of history is not defined so much by the exclusion of material properly belonging to other genres, but rather by the judicious inclusion of material from the entire scope of human experience. The genres of history and biography claim their universality from the intrusions they make into other generic fields.

This sort of overlap between *bioi* and history will occur in the first half of Dionysius' account of Coriolanus, or the First Secession, just as the overlap between history and tragedy will be in the air during Coriolanus' encounter with his mother. By stretching the boundaries of history into other fields, Dionysius' account of Coriolanus becomes self-consciously grand. Clemence Schultze has pointed out that the whole affair contains every important scene type except a major battle.[17] But the striking points are that while slippage between history and *bios* will occur in the *Antiquities*, it will never do so decisively, and the slippage will come about not because of the greatness of Coriolanus, but because of the nature of Rome itself. Dionysius will test this nature through the prism of *stasis*, in particular Thucydidean *stasis*.[18] Just as Thucydides finds in *stasis* a prism for viewing a phenomenon that is vital to his theme, so does Dionysius, but the phenomenon is a very different one.

16 Dionysius claims the right for history to intrude into private lives at a point where such intrusion demonstrates a private life well lived; this would support Fox and Luce's contention that Dionysius' primary criterion for selection of subject matter is the praiseworthiness of the subject (see ch. 3 above; cf. DH *AR* VI.59.1 on Appius' private life). DH *AR* V.48.1:

> τοῦτ' οἶομαι δεῖν μὴ παρελθεῖν, παντὸς μάλιστα νομίζων τοῦτο προσήκειν τοῖς γράφουσιν ἱστορίας, μὴ μόνον τὰς πολεμικὰς πράξεις τῶν ἐπισήμων ἡγεμόνων διεξιέναι,...ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν...

17 Schultze 2004: 95

18 Price argues (2001: 13) that this is one point of Thucydides' *stasis* model at Thuc. III.81-83: 'to serve as a diagnostic (but not prognostic) prototype for observers of *stasis* in the future'.

§1 Coriolanus at VI.92-VII.67

How does Dionysius describe Coriolanus? In Livy and Dionysius, Coriolanus rises to prominence as a military man in the assault on Corioli (DH *AR* VI.92-94).[19] In Livy's version, the narrative continues quickly to the corn crisis and the trial of Coriolanus, but Dionysius will leave Coriolanus out of the narrative until VII.19.3. Dionysius introduces the then Gaius Marcius at VI.92.3 in a way not much more remarkable than the terms in which he shortly afterwards describes the two consuls.[20] After Marcius' success, he is awarded the *cognomen* Coriolanus.[21] Dionysius' closing remark at VI.94.2, particularly the pluperfect ἐγεγόνει,[22] provides a mini-epitaph, which will become a full-blown eulogy at VIII.60-62. For now, Coriolanus is the most brilliant man of his generation (VI.94.2; cf. VI.92.3, 93.1, 93.3).[23]

Coriolanus reappears in the narrative briefly at VII.19.3, when he leads a raid by a conscripted client

19 Livy II.33.5ff. (Pabst 1969: 140); cf. Plut. *Cor.* 8.1-11.2 (Russell 1963: 24-25; Ahlrichs 2005: 140-170). In Plutarch, Coriolanus' first exploit was during Tarquinius' assault on Rome (Plut. *Cor.* 3.1-2).

20 DH *AR* VI.92.3:

> Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐνίκων...ἑνὸς δ' ἀνδρὸς ἄπιστον ἀρετὴν καὶ παντὸς λόγου κρείττονας ἀποδειξαμένου πράξεις, ὃς ἦν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν πατρικίων καὶ οὐκ ἀσήμων πατέρων, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Γάιος Μάρκιος, σώφρων δὲ τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον ἀνὴρ καὶ φρονήματος ἐλευθέρου μεστός.

A parallel to this introduction, which might be called 'rhetorical', though I prefer the term 'empty', occurs soon after, in the description of the two consuls M. Minucius Augurinus and A. Sempronius Atratinus (VII.20.1): ἄνδρες οὔθ' ὅπλων οὔτε λόγων ἄπειροι. See also Freyburger 2001: 28-29.

21 Russell 1963: 24-25 also observes the unremarkable nature of Dionysius' account of Coriolanus' military exploits.

22 DH *AR* VI.94.2:

> ἐκ τούτου Κοριολανὸς ἐπεκλήθη τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ πάντων ἐγεγόνει τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἐπιφανέστατος.

23 Pelling 2002c: 388-389 investigates the role of Menenius Agrippa, who in Shakespeare is contrasted directly with Coriolanus (e.g. *Cor.* I.i.74-76, 203). In Plutarch's version (*Cor.* 5-7), the contrast exists, but is slighter; in Dionysius, it is slighter still, since Menenius' role in the *Antiquities* barely overlaps with Coriolanus. Menenius' fable occurs at DH *AR* VI.83-87, shortly before Coriolanus' first appearance; by VII.21, Menenius is dead. Pelling rightly adds that 'Menenius' simple moralism doubtless has a wider paradigmatic role for the Struggle of the Orders' (citing Livy II.32.8-12, which is more suggestive). Yes; but my argument is that in disallowing the direct contrast, i.e. by not having the two men 'on stage' at the same time, Dionysius keeps Coriolanus a relatively muted character until the more significant forces, namely the tectonic movements of social struggle, force him to the front of history.

army on Antium.[24] Dionysius then turns to a debate in the senate concerning the price of corn (VII.20.2-26.1): at this point, Coriolanus makes the transition from warrior to statesman. The passage has been leading towards an unexpected danger (ὅτε ἥκιστ' ἐδόκει VII.20.2), the cause of which is named at VII.21.1 as Marcius Coriolanus. The phrasing invites the reader to recall that Coriolanus has already appeared (ὁ Μάρκιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Κοριολάνος ἐπικληθείς, cf. VI.94.2 above).

The Coriolanus of Livy and Plutarch is a much more isolated figure than Dionysius'.[25] Plutarch has Coriolanus come to political prominence in an earlier grain-crisis (*Cor.* 13.3; cf. DH *AR* VII.14.1-18.3), adopting the clearly defined role of leader in the senate, himself organising the raid on Antiate territory.[26] In Plutarch's version, Coriolanus has a strong sense of individual initiative which percolates through his military and his political actions. In Dionysius, however, this individualism is less clearly defined. Coriolanus leads the raid on Antium (DH *AR* VII.19.3), but the army was levied by the senate (VII.19.1). Coriolanus is described as 'one of the oligarchic party' (VII.21.1), running for the consulship with the full support of the patricians (VII.21.2; not in Livy). After Coriolanus is defeated in the election, Dionysius has him surround himself with a band of noble young men (VII.21.3). Plutarch's Coriolanus had surrounded himself with different supporters *before* the election (Plut. *Cor.* 15.1). This

24 Cf. Plut. *Cor.* 13.2-4, who says that Coriolanus led a private army of clients and volunteers into Antiate territory. Cornell 2002: 84-91 understands this as corollary evidence that the historical Coriolanus, while Roman, was a representative of a mobile aristocracy, which at that period often controlled private armies and acted as warlords, shifting allegiances between neighbouring cities. He cites DH *AR* VII.21.3 in support of his argument: ἦν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ἑταιρία μεγάλη νέων εὐγενῶν. See in addition Cornell 1995: 143-150 on the phenomenon of warlords, roughly analogous with the later *condottieri*.

25 Pelling 2002c: 391-392 at 391: 'Plutarch turns Corioles into a more individual feat of Martius' heroism.'

26 Plut. *Cor.* 13.3-4:

> τῆς δὲ βουλῆς διαπορουμένης, ὁ Μάρκιος ἤδη μεστὸς ὢν ὄγκου καὶ μέγας γεγονὼς τῷ φρονήματι καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν κρατίστων, φανερὸς ἦν μάλιστα τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς ἀνθιστάμενος.

has two consequences. One, Plutarch's Coriolanus loses the support of the people, which shows him insensitive to the requirements of politics; two, it gives a clear reason for Coriolanus' defeat in the consular elections (DH *AR* VII.21.2-3; Plut. *Cor.* 14.1-15.3).[27]

Dionysius' Coriolanus too is unaware of how to win an election (DH *AR* VIII.61.1), but Plutarch's arrangement clears up an awkwardness in Dionysius' text. Dionysius introduced Coriolanus as a member of the oligarchic party, then explained his opposition to the people as founded on his failure to be elected consul (VII.21.2-3). This needs explaining, since at VII.19.3, Dionysius says that the populace[28] were prepared to follow him affectionately into battle. Dionysius says that the people refused to elect Coriolanus on the grounds of his 'brilliant reputation and daring',[29] apprehensive because of the support he received from the patricians (VII.21.2).[30] This is woolly and unconvincing. Plutarch, on the other hand, shifts events in Dionysius' account to come in front of the election, outlining more clearly the character of Coriolanus and the fluctuating feelings of the populace. Coriolanus' prominence in the raid into Antiate territory arouses in the people jealousy, not admiration (Plut. *Cor.* 13.4). He recovers support when he reveals his war-wounds during his election campaign (Plut. *Cor.* 15.1), which occurs

27 See further Ahlrichs 2005: 188-211 on this passage; Pelling 2002c: 389-390 on Coriolanus' attitude to the commons in Shakespeare and Plutarch; 392-394 on the consulship.

28 Following Dionysius' model, I do not distinguish between people, populace and plebs in the following discussion. See further David 2001b: 253-254 at 254: 'La reconstruction antiquaire de Denys se trouvait ainsi subordonnée à une conception politique du tribunat qui lui imposait une définition *popularis* au lieu de plébéienne.'; Schultze 1986: 130: 'Distinctions of which Dionysius shows himself well aware in his accounts of institutions often disappear in the course of the narrative.' On Dionysius' distinction between senators and patricians, Schnäbele 1993.

29 DH *AR* VII.21.2:
ὑπατείαν γὰρ αὐτῷ μετιόντι ταῖς ἔγγιστα γενομέναις ἀρχαιρεσίαις καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους ἔχοντι συναγωνιζομένους ὁ δῆμος ἐναντιωθεὶς οὐκ εἴασε δοῦναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τήν τε λαμπρότητα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὴν τόλμαν δι' εὐλαβείας ἔχων...

30 DH *AR* VII.21.2:
[The people refused to elect Coriolanus] καὶ μάλιστα δεδιώς, ὅτι συνελάμβανεν αὐτῷ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τὸ τῶν πατρικίων πλῆθος ὡς οὐδενὶ τῶν πρότερον.

much later in Dionysius (DH *AR* VII.62.3). Finally, as I have mentioned, the band of supporters and the full backing of the senate contribute to the people's mistrust of him. When Coriolanus is rejected, the people rejoice (Plut. *Cor.* 15.3) as they rejoice in his condemnation (DH *AR* VII.67.1; Plut. *Cor.* 20.5).[31]

In this way, Plutarch gives Coriolanus' relationship with the populace a much more convincing and dynamic edge. But Dionysius' woolliness has a point too. On the one hand, the lack of stress on Coriolanus' career until this point can naturally be explained by Dionysius' primary concern, which is in the machinery of state and the glory of Rome itself. It also tells us something about Dionysius' plebeians, volatile and whimsical; just after the raid on Antium, for example, those who had remained at home directed anger against the demagogues, whom they blamed for denying them the opportunity of spoil (VII.19.4). This is consistent with the portrayal of the populace attributed to Appius Claudius Sabinus (p. 127 below).

Pabst compares Coriolanus' first speech in the senate in Livy and in Dionysius.[32] Livy's Coriolanus speaks in a succession of first-person singular verbs.[33] Pabst says that this identifies Coriolanus as a *Radikaler*, exemplifying his *persönliche Herausforderung*;[34] his only common bond with the Senate lies in property (*agris nostris* II.34.10). Pabst's reading should be expanded. The verbs are striking: *sub iugum missus...patiar...tulerim...feram* all relate to suffering.[35] Coriolanus paints himself as a singular

31 Duff 1996: 340
32 Pabst 1969: 143-147
33 Livy II.35.9-10:
Cur ego plebeios magistratus, cur Sicinium pollentem video, sub iugum missus tamquam ab latronibus redemptus? Egone has indignitates diutius patiar quam necesse est? Tarquinium regem qui non tulerim, Sicinium feram?
34 Pabst 1969: 145-146
35 Reichenberger 1977: 383 draws attention to Coriolanus' repeated rhetorical questions in this speech in Livy. I argue elsewhere (p.167 below) that repeated rhetorical questions contribute pungency to a speech; this is appropriate to

victim.[36] His patrician haughtiness and arrogance are clearly brought out at II.35.3, when he refuses to recognise the authority of the tribunes.[37]

There are two points here. Patrician arrogance is a common theme in Dionysius and to a lesser extent in Plutarch too.[38] Freyburger has counted around fifteen instances in this story of Coriolanus' association with αὐθάδεια.[39] These are loaded in the speeches. The narrator describes Coriolanus' mode of speaking at VII.25.4 as αὐθαδέστερον καὶ θρασύτερον, and after that point the narrator continues referring to Coriolanus' arrogance. The first is clearly focused through the tribune Sicinius (τὴν ἔμφυτον αὐθάδειαν VII.34.2).[40] In the second instance, there is a strong sense of rebuke in the narrator's tone when Coriolanus fails to save himself: this is Dionysius' version of Livy's *contemptim* (n.37 above; VII.34.3).[41] By the end of the trial, however, the narrator has separated himself

Coriolanus' speech here. Yet rhetorical questions can have a deeper effect, depending on their circumstance. They can suggest that while the speaker may have one answer in mind, the listener may have a different one; if the listener is aware of this, but the speaker seems not to be, then a distance is created between listener and speaker. In this case, that reinforces Coriolanus' isolation.

36 Reichenberger 1977: 386-387

37 Livy II.35.4:

Contemptim primo Marcius audiebat minas tribunicias: auxilii, non poenae ius datum illi potestati, plebisque, non patrum tribunos esse.

Similar themes of constructed isolation have been noted for some time. Reichenberger 1977: 388 suggests that 'die Patrizier, ohne in einer Zwangslage sich zu befinden, dem Volk so große Gewalt gegeben haben, daß ein Patrizier sich vor dem Volk verantworten müsse.' David 2001b: 252 makes an interesting mirror-point about tribunician isolation in Dionysius: 'Comme la faute ne pouvait être collective, elle fut attribué à un individu, un tribun démagogue qui devenait le seul responsible de l'exil d'un citoyen valeureux et de la guerre qui suivit.' But actually Dionysius elevates responsibility beyond the individual, because he attributes the fault not singly to a tribune, but to a weakness inherent in the office of the tribunate itself.

38 David 2001a: 23. But see e.g. Duff 1996: 340, who outlines the thematic importance of the *boule-demos* conflict in Plutarch (with n.15 for bibliography).

39 Freyburger 2001: 40-41, adding that Coriolanus is associated with a number of similar words, such as θρασύτης and ὕβρις.

40 DH *AR* VII.34.2:

Ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγεν οὐκ ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι μεγαλόφρων ἀνὴρ οὐχ ὑπομενεῖ κατήγορος ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενος ὡς ἡμαρτηκὼς ἄφεσιν αἰτεῖσθαι τῆς τιμωρίας, οὐδ' εἰς ὀλοφυρμοὺς καὶ δεήσεις καταφεύξεται παρὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τρόπον, ἀλλ' ἤτοι καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀπαξιώσει τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἢ τὴν ἔμφυτον αὐθάδειαν φυλάττων οὐθὲν ὑποθωπεύσει τὸν δῆμον μετριάσας περὶ τοὺς λόγους· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη.

41 DH *AR* VII.34.3:

further from the charge of arrogance. At VII.59.1, the narrator says that the plebeians see Coriolanus as the most arrogant of all men, while the patricians regard him as their champion.[42] The arrogance of Coriolanus has therefore become less clear-cut as the trial has progressed and the tribunes have themselves thrown the charge about.[43] Finally, Dionysius says that the power of *provocatio* has led to the condemnation of many men, some good and undeserving, some arrogant and tyrannical (VII.65.2).[44] The characterisation of Coriolanus seems to represent exactly this inconsistency in the exercising of tribunician power, because Coriolanus' arrogance makes his punishment in some sense self-inflicted (VII.34.3), but that does not excuse the actions of the tribunes.[45]

Αὐθάδεια is a tendentious word in Dionysius: the *plebs* suffers the same accusation at VI.62.1, and is also accused by Coriolanus of tyranny.[46] Delcourt lists nine occasions on which *authadeia* is connected to tyranny, whether actual or threatened.[47] So what does it mean?[48] The meaning seems to slip between

τοιαύτην αὐθάδειαν ἐπεδείξατο λόγων, καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν κατεφρόνησεν, ὥστε παρελθὼν ἔξαρνος μὲν ὑπὲρ οὐθενὸς ἦν τῶν πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν εἰρημένων κατὰ τοῦ πλήθους, οὐδ' ὡς μεταγινώσκων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰς οἴκτους καὶ παραιτήσεις ἐτρέπετο·

42 See also Freyburger 2001: 41. DH *AR* VII.59.1:

Ὡς δὲ διεβοήθη ταῦτα, πολλὴ σπουδὴ καὶ παράταξις ἐγίνετο τῶν τε δημοτικῶν καὶ τῶν πατρικίων· τῶν μὲν ὡς τιμωρησομένων τὸν αὐθαδέστατον, τῶν δ' ἵνα μὴ γένοιτο ὑποχείριος τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἀγωνιζόμενος.

43 Sicinius accuses Coriolanus of tyranny at VII.36.3. On arrogance, see also Appius Claudius describing himself at VI.38.2 (cf. Wiseman 1979: 69):

εἴτε μου τὸ ἐλεύθερον τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν ἕκαστος βούλεται ἀποκαλεῖν εὐγενὲς εἴτε αὔθαδες...

44 See David 2001b: 253-255 for a full analysis of how Dionysius' narrative relates to the history of *provocatio*.

45 DH *AR* VII.65.2:

πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἄξια τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔπαθον, αἰσχρῶς καὶ κακῶς τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἀφαιρεθέντες· πολλοὶ δ' αὐθάδεις καὶ τυραννικοὶ τοὺς τρόπους λόγον ἀναγκασθέντες ὑποσχεῖν τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων δίκας τὰς προσηκούσας ἔδοσαν.

Pace Freyburger 2001: 41, who argues that 'certes, Denys place Coriolan dans la première catégorie, mais ses adversaires dans la deuxième.' David 2001b: 251-252 observes that the debates legitimating and discrediting tribunician power are borrowed by Dionysius from contemporary debates at the end of the Republic, which ties into my broader thesis about the way Dionysius colours the episode.

46 DH *AR* VII.22.1-2; Reichenberger 1977: 387.

47 Delcourt 2005: 236. These are: II.54.4; IV.28.2; IV.36.2; V.55.1, 60.2; VII.55.3, 65.2; X.6.2; XX.8.1.

48 Freyburger 2001: 40 gives a potted history of the word, though she suggests that Herodotus predates Aeschylus. She cites

full-blown (and fully negative) arrogance and recklessness on the one hand, and a strong form of boldness on the other. There is no doubt, however, that in the speeches it is a charge, like barbarism or tyranny, which is thrown about freely yet remains loaded with meaning. This leads me to Appius.

Where Livy lays the emphasis on Coriolanus' characterisation of himself as the isolated victim, Dionysius casts Coriolanus as the trigger-point for a much larger dispute between the patricians and the plebeians.[49] When Coriolanus speaks in the senate, Dionysius stresses that Coriolanus is exceptional not in his views but in his delivery of them (VII.21.1-3). Appius is Coriolanus' chief supporter. He too is characterised by the narrator as arrogant, a typical character-trait of the Appii Claudii.[50] Coriolanus describes Appius as 'excellent' in his first speech in the senate (Ἄππιος ὁ βέλτιστος DH AR VII.22.3). In his first speech before the Volscian assembly, he describes his political affiliation with Appius and the tribunes' attempt to destroy it (DH AR VIII.5.5-6.1). This much larger dispute is founded on the new role of the tribunes. Upon the establishment of the tribunate, the Greek model of historical change becomes inadequate for analysing Rome's history. It is to this model that I turn next.

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as the Herodotean example VI.92, when the Aeginetans reject the accord proposed by the Argives.

49 On Coriolanus' ally Appius during the First Secession, see Wiseman 1979: 67-72 (the rest of his career is discussed at 73-76), who argues that Dionysius' portrayal of Appius is inconsistent between the narrative and the speeches. This is the consequence, argues Wiseman, of Dionysius' efforts to integrate two narrative traditions, one hostile to the Claudii and one supportive. Dionysius generally preferred the hostile version in the narrative, but in an attempt to give pairs of balanced speeches at crucial points in the narrative, Dionysius preferred the pro-Claudian traditions as the basis for Appius' speeches. 'Considering the way Appius appears in his narrative, it would have been more consistent to give it [i.e. the set of speeches supporting the honest-conservative viewpoint] to somebody else.' The choice is really one of instinct: I argue in my chapter on the decemvirate that Dionysius pushes a disjunction between Appian speech and Appian action to give spice to the history.

50 E.g. at DH *AR* VI.24.1. Cf. Livy II.29.9-12, who also follows the 'violence and arrogance' tradition associated with the Appii Claudii. See further Wiseman 1979: 67-69.

§2 Thucydides and Isocrates: DH *AR* VII.66

Dionysius' account of the trial of Coriolanus has been described as his response to Thucydides' Corcyraean episode.[51] This conclusion is founded on the parallels drawn by Dionysius himself at VII.66. In this section, I analyse *AR* VII.66 in order to establish what such a parallel might mean in the context of the *Antiquities*.

Dionysius recognised the importance of Thuc. III.82 in Thucydides' work.[52] It is one of the 'big targets' which form the focus of his criticism in the *De Thucydide* (at *De Thuc.* 28-33), the others being the Melian Dialogue and Pericles' funeral oration (see pp. 35-38 above). Dionysius' objection to Thuc. III.82 is stylistic: the chapter has an unfinished feel (this idea will come up again later), which makes it difficult to understand.[53] The importance of style to Dionysius is not to be underestimated. But while one point of competition between DH *AR* VII.66 and Thuc. III.82 is on the stylistic level, Dionysius does more than simply recast Thuc. III.82 for the present situation. Rather, he uses stylistic and thematic parallels with Thuc. III.82 to provide a broader apparatus for understanding the meshing of Roman and Greek historiography.[54]

51 Gabba 1991: 81-85 at 84: 'This event was chosen by Dionysius to contrast with the episode of Corcyra in Thucydides and to uphold his thesis of nonviolent [sic] conflict in the political struggles of archaic Rome'. Pelling 2007b: 255 agrees but adds that 'the contrast points to the weaknesses as well as the strengths of the Roman ways'. See also Schultze 1980: 269-270, discussed below.
52 For Dionysius' attitude to Thucydides, and for modern responses, see De Jonge forthc. 188-219; Pritchett 1975: esp. xxii-xxvi, Hidber 1996: vii-viii. Weaire 2005: 246-266 (with bibl.) is an interesting attempt to understand why Dionysius' criticism of Thucydides is more tempered in the *De Thuc.* than in the *Ad Amm.* II: Weaire argues that Dionysius tones down his views over time, through a combination of his intellectual maturity, criticism he has received, and his own marginal status in Roman society. Nonetheless, I prefer the view that the question of genre accounts better for the differences.
53 See esp. Macleod 1979, who uses Dionysius' criticisms very successfully to illuminate the nuances of Thuc. III.82.
54 Champion 2004 sees similar trends in Polybius, but he frames them in terms of a 'politics of cultural assimilation', e.g. at 2004: 99: 'By a politics of cultural assimilation, Polybius frames his discussion of Rome within a Greek political discourse that represents Rome as a model Greek *politeia*.'

The reader is supposed to notice the parallels between DH *AR* VII.66 and Thuc. III.82. At VII.66.5, the narrator draws an explicit analogy between the situation in Rome and the *stasis* in Corcyra. At the same time, the parallel speaks more broadly than the Corcyraean episode, bringing in the examples of the Argives, Milesians and all of Sicily, just as Thucydides' analysis of Corcyra looks outward to its aftermath. There is more at stake than simply Thucydides here. Schultze has suggested that the Thucydidean motifs are 'superficial' compared to the Isocratean;[55] but it will be best to start with the most obvious parallels.

As is the case with Thucydides' Corcyra, the trial of Coriolanus is important because it is primary.[56] Corcyra seemed to be all the more savage because it was the first *stasis* of its kind in the Peloponnesian War;[57] Coriolanus' trial was the first instance of *stasis* after the expulsion of the kings.[58] Dionysius is trying to Romanise a Greek historiographical model; this is evident in his replacement of Thucydides' less specific τοῖς with the noun Ῥωμαίοις. The absence of savagery means that the Thucydidean model does not quite fit the Roman history he is talking about.

Towards the end of the chapter, Dionysius reverses Thucydides' maxim that blood-ties were weaker than those of the *hetaireia* by raising Thucydides' more muted expression into a more developed figure:[59]

55 Schultze 1980: 269-270 at 269
56 See also Noè 1979: 25-26 on parallels between DH *AR* VII.66 and Thuc. III.82.1-2
57 Thuc. III.82.1:
Οὕτως ὰμὴ <ἡ> στάσις προυχώρησε, καὶ ἔδοξε μᾶλλον, διότι ἐν τοῖς πρώτη ἐγένετο...
58 DH *AR* VII.66.1:
Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐμπεσοῦσα μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων στάσις ἔσχε τοιαύτας αἰτίας καὶ εἰς τοῦτο κατέσκηψε τὸ τέλος·
59 Noè 1979: 61 discusses the Greek background to Dionysius' discussion of factionalism; see further Price 2001: 59-62 on the figure in Thucydides.

καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ ἀλλοτριώτερον ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ ἑτοιμότερον εἶναι ἀπροφασίστως τολμᾶν·

Thuc. III.82.6

ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς ἢ παῖδας γονεῦσιν ἐν οἰκίᾳ σώφρονι περὶ τῶν ἴσων <καὶ> δικαίων διαλεγομένους πειθοῖ καὶ λόγῳ διαλύεσθαι τὰ νείκη, ἀνήκεστον δ' ἢ ἀνόσιον ἔργον μηθὲν ὑπομεῖναι δρᾶσαι κατ' ἀλλήλων·

DH *AR* VII.66.5

The use of a figure here does not simply elevate the language, though that is what figures do. The simile takes the literal element of Thucydides' expression, the reference to family and party ties, and shifts that onto the figurative plane.[60] This is the point in VII.66: the Thucydidean method, even rephrased in Dionysius' style, is not sufficient to explain the state of affairs at Rome. That is not to say that Dionysius does not try to make it fit. As Pelling has observed, many of the problems of Corcyra are present in Rome too at this time, such as the use and abuse of language, and the idea that talk and legal process are preferable to violence is an old Greek idea.[61]

Eralda Noè has identified the presence of Isocratean motifs in DH *AR* VII.66.[62] Dionysius is sympathetic to Isocrates' ideals.[63] Hubbell draws attention to Dionysius' approval of Isocrates' view of the practicality of rhetoric, and its combination with philosophy.[64] Dionysius also praises Isocrates'

60 See Lockwood 1937 on Dionysius' metaphorical vocabulary.
61 Pelling 2007a: 255
62 Noè 1979: 24-25; cf. Schultze 1980: 279-280
63 DH *De Isoc.* 4-10; Hubbell 1913: 41-53 is a solid if unanalytical summary of Dionysius' published attitude to Isocrates. Verdin 1974 and Schultze 1980 each see deep currents of Isocrates in Dionysius' work. On the composition of the *De Isocrate* and its place in Dionysius' rhetorical works, see Aujac[1] 1978: 25.
64 Hubbell 1913: 42; Delcourt 2005: 45-46; DH *Isoc.* 4. But see Goudriaan 1989: 442-454 on Dionysius' appreciation of

support of Panhellenism,[65] his patriotism,[66] and his attitude to war.[67] Dionysius is especially impressed by the importance given by Isocrates to the role of one's elders and ancestors (e.g. DH Isoc. 4; 6; 7). This, it should be noted, is not a uniquely Isocratean trait; rather than claiming an Isocratean foundation for Dionysius' philosophy, we might simply see here Dionysius' approval of Isocrates' methods. Dionysius praises Isocrates' exhortations to justice and to piety, but these are not deep or heterodox ideas. Yet despite Dionysius' admiration for the moral values which underpin Isocrates' speeches, he acknowledges the disjunction between these values and the real impracticality of the speeches. Isocrates' speeches are so mannered in style that they could never actually be delivered; they remain in the realm of the ideal.[68]

This impracticality takes on a special force when Isocratean motifs are applied to Roman history. I disagree with Schultze's proposition that the Thucydidean motifs are more 'superficial' than the

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Isocrates (and further 470-480). Goudriaan argues that Isocrates 'cannot have been Dionysius' principal source of inspiration [for his understanding of philosophy]' (Quotation at Goudriaan 1989: 691). On Dionysius' attitudes to philosophy, see Goudriaan 1989: 439-465 (English summary at 691). Goudriaan argues that Dionysius generally neither conceals his understanding of philosophy nor flaunts it; his 'reminiscences of philosophical authors...are no more than *flosculi*; but often these *flosculi* point to trains of real philosophical thought'. For a more critical view, see Schultze 1980: 14, who says that Dionysius 'shows a fairly superficial acquaintance with philosophical concepts'.

65 DH *Isoc.* 6. That is to say, Dionysius praises the *Philippus*, because in it Isocrates urges Philip to reconcile the states of Greece and become their leader, rather than to set them against each other.

66 DH *Isoc.* 5. But see DH *Isoc.* 8, in which Dionysius admires Isocrates' sense of responsible and bold citizenry, because Isocrates encourages the Athenians to discuss and change their democratic constitution.

67 At DH *Isoc* 7, Dionysius praises the *Pace* on the grounds that it encourages the Athenians to be content with what they have and not be unnecessarily bellicose, but at DH *Isoc.* 9, Dionysius approves of the *Archidamus* because of Isocrates' recommendation that Sparta refuse to cede Messene to Boeotia.

68 See also e.g. Noè 1979: 61:

> Dionigi ammirava, sopra tutti, l'oratore attico [i.e. Isocrates] per la scelta degli argomenti [citing *Isoc.* 4] e probabilmente aveva trovato un modello di comportamento 'esemplare' in quegli Ateniesi, modello che egli intendeva proporre, evidentemente a grandi linee, e per un arco di tempo ben maggiore, per i Romani della sua Archeologia.

Goudriaan 1989: 85-95 (English summary at 684) argues that Dionysius preference for Demosthenes' style over Isocrates indicates that Dionysius' interest in the practical application of rhetoric is uppermost; Goudriaan generally downplays the importance of Isocrates to Dionysius in comparison to, for example, Schultze 1980 or Verdin 1974. See Cronjé 1986: 17-28, who describes Dionysius' categorisation of the three different styles of writing (low, middle and grand), and the place of Isocrates as an exponent of the middle style.

Isocratean ones: the Isocratean motifs function on the superficial plane as well. In particular, the opening of VII.66 recalls Isocratean expressions of slaughters and *staseis*:

> ἐμήκυνα δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγον τοῦ μή τινα θαυμάσαι, πῶς ὑπέμειναν οἱ πατρίκιοι τηλικαύτης ἐξουσίας ποιῆσαι τὸν δῆμον κύριον, οὔτε σφαγῆς τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν γενομένης οὔτε φυγῆς, οἷον ἐν ἄλλαις πολλαῖς ἐγένετο πόλεσι.
>
> DH *AR* VII.66.1[69]

The mingling of the Isocratean motif with the Thucydidean lifts VII.66 out of a straight battle with Thuc. III.82. This is what we should expect: Greek *stasis* was not limited to Corcyra, but, as Dionysius and Noè observe, was much closer to *un male endemico della Grecia.*[70] This is in some degree a Xenophontic view, that *stasis* and war were a continual feature of Greek life, extending before and after the Peloponnesian War. Dionysius stresses this point himself at the very beginning of VII, in his excursus on Aristodemus Malacus of Cyme (DH *AR* VII.3-11).[71]

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69 Noè 1979: 24. Cf. Isoc. *Pang.* 114-116 at 114:
Φυγὰς δὲ καὶ στάσεις καὶ νόμων συγχύσεις καὶ πολιτειῶν μεταβολὰς, ἔτι δὲ παίδων ὕβρεις καὶ γυναικῶν αἰσχύνας καὶ χρημάτων ἁρπαγὰς τίς ἂν δύναιτο διεξελθεῖν;
Isoc. *Phil.* 107:
Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πόλεσιν στάσεις καὶ ταραχὰς καὶ σφαγὰς ἐμποιοῦντες ἐκτῶντο τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην,
Isoc. *Panath.* 258-259 at 259:
ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπαρτιατῶν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐπιδείξειεν οὔτε στάσιν οὔτε σφαγὰς οὔτε φυγὰς ἀνόμους γεγενημένας, οὐδ' ἁρπαγὰς χρημάτων οὐδ' αἰσχύνας γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πολιτείας μεταβολὴν οὐδὲ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς οὐδὲ γῆς ἀναδασμὸν οὐδ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἀνηκέστων κακῶν.
See further Isoc. *Pace* 96.

70 DH *AR* VII.66.5:
οἷα Κερκυραῖοί τε κατὰ τὴν στάσιν εἰργάσαντο καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μιλήσιοι καὶ Σικελία πᾶσα καὶ συχναὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις.
Noè 1979: 23. See also Fuks 1972, 1974 on Isocrates and the socio-economic situation in Hellas from the fourth-century onwards.

71 See most recently Gallia 2007 on the tradition of the account, though his reading is a little too tendentious for me; his bibliography is very full and useful; I add only Warner 1976.

The story of Aristodemus has loose thematic parallels with that of Coriolanus that are clear but not strong. The account begins with a battle, in which Aristodemus distinguishes himself (DH *AR* VII.4.4-5). In consequence, Aristodemus wins the support not of the aristocrats, like Coriolanus, but of the people (VII.4.5): he is almost Solonic in his methods, redistributing wealth and punishing the dishonest and powerful. Time passes. The aristocrats attempt to do away with Aristodemus twenty years later by sending him on an impossible mission (VII.5.1-6.5), which will be recalled not with Coriolanus but with Siccius (X.44-47, XI.25-27; pp. 162-163 below). On his return and amid much bloodshed, he seizes power (VII.5.1-8.2), capitalising on this power to complete the abolition of debts and redistribution of land (VII.8.1). His tyranny is shameful, since he gives financial rewards to slaves and emasculates free-born boys, hence his name Malacus (VII.8.3-9.5). Finally he is assassinated by the sons of the citizens he had murdered (VII.10.1-11.4). The traditional government is restored.

This story fits neatly into a history of Rome. Cumae was a refuge for the supporters of Tarquinius after his expulsion (VII.2.3), and according to the tradition Tarquinius himself died there (DH *AR* VI.21.3; Livy II.21.5).[72] Dionysius has an embassy go from Rome to Cumae to seek grain during a shortage (DH *AR* VII.2.3).[73] Certain motifs are repeated in the Roman stories, in particular the attempted assassination, and the bodyguard and the death-dealing from the last days of Tarquinius' reign (see ch. 4 above). The story of Aristodemus is only set apart from the Greek tyrannical stereotype in the reason behind his name, Malacus.[74] These stereotypical terms are fundamental to the story. On one level, they

72 Gallia 2007: 51; Warner 1976: 95-98
73 Gallia 2007: 51-52
74 On the nature of Aristodemus' tyranny, see Warner 1976: 83-87; on the emasculation of the boys, Warner 1976: 88-94. I

set the rise of Rome within a context of Greek *stasis* and constitutional change which will be revisited at VII.66. In addition, by giving the Roman embassy experience of tyranny, Dionysius can explain Valerius' knowledge of the nature of constitutional change at VII.55.2-3 and Coriolanus' exasperated remark at VIII.6.2 that tyrants do not make war upon the populace but upon the aristocracy.[75] From a broader perspective, contemporary Greek states in the *Antiquities* are always at a certain degenerate stage on the Polybian *anacyclosis*[76] (e.g. Tarentum, pp. 207-214 below).[77] The validity of the *anacyclosis* is reinforced in this tyranny too, because the 'ancestral constitution' (τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν DH *AR* VII.11.4)[78] is restored by the Cumaeans, after a ruinous tyranny had replaced a degenerate aristocracy which had raped the people (the implication of. *AR* VII.4.5).

The excursus has a structural basis because it serves to separate the earlier part of the account of the First Secession from the trial of Coriolanus. It balances the second excursus, which concerns on the *ludi Romani* (*DH* AR VII.70-73).[79] This later excursus contains a detailed comparison of a single,

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discuss stereotypical tyrants in Dionysius and elsewhere at pp. 98-102 above.

75 DH *AR* VIII.6.2:

καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἔμαθον, ὅτι δήμῳ τύραννος οὐδεὶς πολεμεῖ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων συστάς, ἀλλὰ τἀναντία μετὰ τοῦ δήμου τὸ κράτιστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀναιρεῖ μέρος·

76 By 'Polybian *anacyclosis*' I mean the 'continuous and circular progression' of constitutions, through monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, with respective degenerative forms tyranny, oligarchy and ochlocracy, identified at Polyb. VI.3-4. This is an amalgam of a number of earlier traditions, found in e.g. the consitutions debate in Herodotus (Hdt. III.80-83) and Plato (*Rep.* VIII.554a-569b). The idea of a cycle, rather than a progression, seems to be Polybian. For further discussion, see e.g. Walbank 1972: 131-134, 137-146, 154-156; Walbank 1957: 643ff. (both based upon the prior work of Ryffel 1949: 189ff.); von Fritz 1954: 60-95.

77 Putting Rome alongside contemporary Greek states is not a novel approach, though the emphases may vary: Champion 2004: 144-169 argues that Polybius assimilates the trajectories of Rome and Achaea before and after Polyb. VI. Champion concludes (2004: 168) that 'we may view both his [Polybius'] universalizing political theory in book 6 and the parallel trajectories in the historical narrative of Rome and Achaea as exercises in the politics of cultural assimilation. In other words, since the trajectories of Roman and Achaean history are informed by universalizing historical forces to which all peoples are subject, any notions of innate and deep-rooted differences between Greeks and non-Greek peoples would seem to be erased.'

78 On the chronology of Aristodemus, see Gallia 2007: 52-55.

79 The passage is discussed in detail by Schultze 2004.

reliable Roman source, namely Fabius Pictor, with a single Greek source for the early history of Greek games, Homer. The comparison elucidates the Greek origin of the Roman games, serving at the same time to perpetuate the sense of constant comparison between Greek and Roman that pervades the *Antiquities*. This comparison is meaningful in the *ludi Romani* because it claims some sort of parity between Homer and Fabius Pictor, though Pictor's authority must be filtered through the narrator.[80] The comparison between Cumae and Rome is much less explicit, because Dionysius' point is not to create a single one-off comparison. Rather, Dionysius is constructing a Greek world in which the Greek *poleis* contemporary to Rome are at some degenerate stage in the flux of the *anacyclosis*. This serves to validate the Polybian model, while raising the question of how Rome fits into this scheme.

As with Polybius' attempt to fit Rome into a concept of *anacyclosis*, the result is jarring. Dionysius' escape route is to situate Rome within an environment in which *anacyclosis* is naturally taking place, in order to magnify Rome's achievement when it escapes slipping into the *anacyclosis*, as it does in the story of the First Secession. The solution when the populace seceded ought to have been the discovery of a champion, perhaps Coriolanus, who had the favour of the people after Corioli and into Book VII, but Rome established the tribunate instead. This creates a new set of problems which are exemplified in the trial of Coriolanus itself. The excursus on Aristodemus demonstrates the *anacyclosis* from which Rome has escaped; but that escape is not necessarily permanent, nor is it without its own risk, as Dionysius observes at VII.65.2. It is striking, finally, that the risk of tribunician abuse of power is not

80 DH *AR* VII.71.2:
[Dionysius gives his account] Κοίντῳ Φαβίῳ βεβαιωτῆ χρώμενος καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἔτι δεόμενος πίστεως ἑτέρας· παλαιότατος γὰρ ἀνὴρ τῶν τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ συνταξαμένων, καὶ πίστιν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἤκουσε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἔγνω παρεχόμενος.

properly anticipated by the leading speaker who discusses it, Valerius. This is perhaps to be expected in a pro-plebeian speaker; nevertheless, Romans still have to learn from their experience.

In order to understand Roman society in the early fifth century, Dionysius uses analogies from Greek historiography and rhetoric of the same period and later, which, from Herodotus onwards, are coloured by *stasis*. Dionysius shoehorns the history of the early Roman Republic into the Greek model, exemplified by Thucydides and Isocrates, of speech, counter-speech and debate, and the discomfort of the fit is expressive.[81] As a model, this makes a lot of sense. Dionysius is a child of his time, which in literary terms means beholden to classical literature. As for a contemporary historian of Rome, the questions raised by a *stasis*-model are appropriate to him too,[82] because first-century Rome was riven by internal discord at the same time as it was fighting wars on its boundaries. Romans such as Cicero, with his *Philippics* in particular, and Sallust invite the comparison. The Gracchi changed things, as Dionysius knows (DH *AR* II.11.3); Dionysius' skill in writing the *Antiquities* lies in framing a history of internal politics in which no *stasis* ever occurs, when his methodological frameworks, both his literary modelling and his alertness to the realities of the recent past, presuppose constant or near-constant *stasis*.

For indeed there is no need for this framework to be exclusively Greek. As Noè has demonstrated, many of the themes of the trial of Coriolanus, such as the association of violence with youth[83] and bands of

81 *Pace* Noè 1979: 37-38, who says that 'in Grecia c'era tempo per violenze e vendette, non certo per discorsi!', which misses the whole point of Thucydides and Demosthenes: put (too) simply, there were lots of speeches, they just did not work.
82 Noè 1979: 56-57 discusses Dionysius' and Livy's framing of the First Secession in terms appropriated from the political rhetoric of the first century.
83 In Dionysius' account, there is not the usual opposition between younger and older members of the senate; he prefers to

young men, internal discord and political division, the grain crisis, are also present in the *affectationes regni* of Rome.[84] Noè posits predominantly Sullan and Catilinarian undertones. The line is right, but should arguably be thought of in more general terms, to incorporate a rather Roman interest in great men. Dionysius does not attempt to suppress the Roman elements in the story, but always keeps a Greek framework in view as well.

This Greek framework does two closely related things. On the one hand, it allows any failure in the Roman political system to be set favourably alongside a worse failure in Greek history. This gives Dionysius the air of a comfortable critic, of the type identified by Luraghi.[85] Secondly, Luraghi argues that Dionysius, under the mask of educating Greeks, urges the Romans to be worthy of their Greek past;[86] the Romans, he says, are in danger of forgetting it. But the argument can be turned on its head: as Roman history progresses, frameworks of *stasis* and Greek history become *more* appropriate for describing Rome.

Let us return to a comparison of the structural similarities between Thuc. III.82 and DH *AR* VII.66. Both excursuses concentrate, with that πρώτη, upon beginnings. The passages then both give a partial sense that one episode is concluded but that business is as yet unfinished. This unfinished sense is a central point in Thucydides because of the importance he gives to reciprocity and reprisals. Structurally too, the actual effects of Corcyra are narrated immediately after Thucydides predicts them at III.82,

cut across the senate on ideological lines (see e.g. Coriolanus' alignment with the older Appius).
84 E.g. Noè 1979: 52-53; 61
85 Luraghi 2003: *passim*
86 See the related argument of Dench (2005: 234-235; 260), regarding Dionysius' conception of Hellenism.

when he briefly describes the violence committed later by the fugitives from Corcyra against their own city (Thuc. III.85).

The same sense of an unfinished conclusion exists at DH *AR* VII.66 too, but only for the knowledgeable reader. Comparison with Plutarch is illuminating. Immediately after DH *AR* VII.66, Dionysius records the departure of Coriolanus after the trial (VII.67.2-3).[87] Plutarch narrates the same scene, but provides a deeper exploration of Coriolanus' psychology (Plut. *Cor.* 21.1-4).[88] In Plutarch's version, Coriolanus is silent, but gripped by a dumb wrath; the fortitude with which he asks his family to bear his departure is not present in him. He will leave, and, like Achilles, sulk. Generic differences matter. The reader of a *bios* expects the subject to remain in the story until his death; Coriolanus is not going to disappear from the *bios*. The departure of Plutarch's Coriolanus is a significant anticipatory moment, in which the process of the *bios* is in the balance. One analogy is Caesar's hesitation before crossing the Rubicon (Plut. *Caes.* 32.5-6). There, Caesar's decisive nature appears to desert him, and he hesitates; the reader knows that the story must drive forward, but in the moment when it pauses, an insight is gained into the psychology of the subject. In the *Coriolanus*, Plutarch uses Coriolanus' silence to give a similar, brief sense of boiling anticipation. The departure scene in Dionysius, on the other hand, looks backwards as much as it looks forwards. Coriolanus' strong silence before his family is phrased in exactly the same terms which described Brutus' stolidity before the execution of his sons (DH *AR* V.8.6).[89]

87 Because Livy's Coriolanus is tried *in absentia*, no parallel scene exists in his account. Without my entering the discussion on the tradition, Reichenberger (1977: 388), following Mommsen, suggests that it is Dionysius who has altered the traditional story in order to create this departure scene.

88 See Pelling 2002c: 399-400

89 See pp. 152-157 below. DH *AR* VII.67.2-3:
αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Μάρκιος οὔτ' ἀνακλαυσάμενος ὤφθη τὰς αὐτοῦ τύχας οὔτ' ἀποιμώξας οὔτ' ἄλλο εἰπὼν ἢ δράσας ἀνάξιον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν·
DH *AR* V.8.6:

§3 Conclusion

Book VII seems to be a special case. While there is no indication that Coriolanus will certainly return to the story after VII.67.3, Dionysius nonetheless reinforces the sense of partial closure by engaging on a detailed analysis of the origins of the *ludi Romani.* This balances the earlier excursus on Aristodemus Malacus. As I have argued, Coriolanus' involvement in VI has its own explicit closure. When Coriolanus returns to the story at VII.19 he is reintroduced, allowing Dionysius to create a narratival balance with his departure at VII.67. In the subsequent book, when Coriolanus joins forces with the Volsci, his speech to the Volscians is a biased summary of the action of the previous book.[90] Book VII therefore has an unusually strong sense of being self-contained.[91]

The point in this self-containment lies in its inadequacy. The physical beginning and end of VII are reinforced by the two excursuses, forming a straitjacket around the story of Coriolanus. The first appearance of Coriolanus at VI.92-4 is closed off from the rest of his life, and Coriolanus' speech to the Volsci marks a new beginning in the story. In addition, VII.65-7 reads like a triple-ending. VII.65 discusses the nature of the tribunate. The narrator gives a more qualified view of the value of the

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ὅς γε τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ὅσοι τῷ πάθει παρεγένοντο κλαιόντων μόνος οὔτ' ἀνακλαυσάμενος ὤφθη τὸν μόρον τῶν τέκνων οὔτ' ἀποιμώξας ἑαυτὸν τῆς καθεξούσης τὸν οἶκον ἐρημίας...ἀλλ' ἄδακρύς...διαμένων εὐκαρδίως ἤνεγκε τὴν συμφοράν.

90 Coriolanus' first speech to the Volsci is often misinterpreted. Gabba 1991: 202 says that Dionysius here 'significantly' places a programmatic speech in Coriolanus' mouth. The word 'significantly' is left hanging, but I infer that Gabba considers Dionysius to be politically sympathetic to Coriolanus, and consequently to place his own views (or something close to them) in Coriolanus' speech. This seems to me to be unwarranted: it is simpler, in my view, to argue that Dionysius places a pro-patrician speech in Coriolanus' mouth because that is his means of characterising Coriolanus; the speech has more of a narrative function than a programmatic one. In the second instance, Schwartz argues (*RE* V col. 938) that Dionysius exploits the opportunity of Coriolanus' defection to the Volsci to compose a speech along the lines of Alcibiades' speech to the Spartans (Thuc. VI.89ff.; cf. Flierle 1890: 47-49, Usher 1982: 835). There are some parallels between the two speeches, especially in the opening sentence, but Coriolanus' speech quickly loses Thucydidean trace. The effect, as ever in Dionysius, is rather in the unworkability of the Thucydidean model for explaining Republican Roman history.

91 Schultze 1980: 17 & 216ff. (and 2004) applies this self-containment to the whole story of Coriolanus.

tribunate than Valerius had given it. Valerius is not a mouthpiece for the views of the narrator, but rather expresses early Republican ways in Dionysian terms. VII.67 closes the narratival involvement in the trial.

VII.66 is a strange beast. The narrator suggests at VII.66.4 that peace was achieved in Rome by negotiation and deliberation, rather than by bloodshed.[92] This is true of the early account of the First Secession. However, it is only misleadingly true of the trial of Coriolanus. In VIII, the exiled Coriolanus will become a renegade, joining and then leading the Volscians on a campaign against Rome. As Schultze has observed, there are no set-piece battles in the whole story of Coriolanus;[93] nevertheless, there is a series of smaller battles during the campaign, large numbers of soldiers are killed, many Romans are captured, and much land is destroyed.[94]

Scholars since the early twentieth century have argued that Dionysius failed to understand the machinery of change in the Roman constitution, because he was beholden to Greek models of historical causation. It is not so much the case that Dionysius adheres too strictly to fifth and fourth century models; rather, the point is that in stressing their existence, Dionysius himself shows, on the one hand, just how different Rome was from these models; more powerfully, these models actually become *more*

92 DH *AR* VII.66.4:
εἰ γάρ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως μέγα ἐγκώμιόν ἐστι..., τὸ μήτε τοὺς δημοτικοὺς καταφρονήσαντας τῶν πατρικίων ἐπιχειρῆσαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολὺν ἐργασαμένους τῶν κρατίστων φόνον ἅπαντα τἀκείνων παραλαβεῖν...

93 Schultze 2004: 95

94 There are references to the dead in battle and executed citizens at DH *AR* VIII.17.5, 18.3, 20.2-3. Roman citizens are captured at VIII.12.2 and allies at VIII.18.4, 19.2; Roman farms are destroyed at VIII.12.3 and 16.4 (cf. 19.1) and spoils are captured at e.g. VIII.12.4-5 and 16.5. The capture of Circeii, Corbio and Corioli is bloodless (VIII.14.1-2, 19.3-4), and other cities revolt from Rome at VIII.16.3.

relevant for Rome as time progresses. In other words, the questions asked of this period are appropriate ones for Dionysius' literary models *and* for his contemporary audience. Rome, during the course of the *Antiquities*, finds ways of surpassing its Greek models. But even as it surpasses them, the history retains a bubbling sense that those models will become relevant again, after the *Antiquities* ends.

4b: The Exile of Coriolanus

I now turn to an analysis of Dionysius' narration of Coriolanus' encounter with his mother (VIII.36-54).[95] In the following reading, I investigate the shifts between public and private planes in order to illustrate the changing relationship between mother and son.[96] Dionysius' portrayal of the mother, Veturia,[97] is, I will argue, much more nuanced than has previously been allowed.[98] Drama is my comparandum, but to say that Dionysius' narrative is here consequently 'tragic' could lead to counter-productive inferences relating to "tragic history' in the debased Hellenistic sense'.[99] I use the stage

95 The example of Coriolanus arises frequently in modern discussions of family relationships during the Roman Republic. Attempts to fit the Coriolanus story into a broader typology of Roman family relationships include Africa 1978; D'Ambra 2007: 30; Dixon 1988: 9; Evans 1991: 172-174; Fraschetti 2001: 53; Hallett 1984: 40-43, 246-248. Part of the catalyst seems to have been Africa's bizarre attempt to demonstrate a Roman 'Coriolanus-complex' to sit in parallel with a Greek 'Oedipus-complex'. Dionysius' version has occasionally been excluded from the discussion, e.g. by Hallett 1984: 41, though she obviously knows the text (e.g. at 47-48n.17).

96 On space in tragedy, see e.g. Rehm 2002; Taplin 1978, esp. 31-57 on entrances and exits. In addition, part of the function of the story of Coriolanus is aetiological, to explain the origin of the temple *Fortuna Muliebris* (see e.g. David 2001a: 18, 20-21); so the story exists at the point of interaction between physical space and memorialisation on the one hand and history on the other. In his epigraph on Coriolanus, Dionysius' emphasises the same sense of memory. The Herodotean languague, underlined, recalls Herodotus' figurative use of the language of physical erasure in his preface (*AR* VIII.62.3; see pp. 29-32 above):

> ἐτῶν δὲ μετὰ τὸ πάθος ὁμοῦ τι πεντακοσίων ἤδη διαγεγονότων εἰς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον οὐ γέγονεν ἐξίτηλος ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μνήμη, ἀλλ' ᾄδεται καὶ ὑμνεῖται πρὸς πάντων ὡς εὐσεβὴς καὶ δίκαιος ἀνήρ.

97 Easy comparison between the versions of Livy, Dionysius and Plutarch is hindered by the different names used of the characters. Livy and Dionysius have Veturia as the mother and Volumnia as the wife. Plutarch (followed by Shakespeare) has Volumnia as the mother and Vergilia as the wife. In this chapter, I shall use the Dionysian system, or clearly mark otherwise, or simply refer to the 'mother' or the 'wife' as appropriate. Russell's explanation (1963: 22), that we owe the variation to a slip of Plutarch's memory, is the popular and most plausible version (cf. Pelling 2002c: 394-395). Gagé has suggested that the names of the women who help appease Coriolanus' *furor* can be explained in aetiological terms; see David 2001a for qualification and further bibliography (Gagé 1961: 48-63 at David 2001a: 21).

98 Pelling 2002c: 394 allows for more nuance than most, but the analysis is more concerned with detecting points of interest in Plutarch's version (395).

99 Pelling 1980: 132n.26, with bibl. See also Braund 1997; Zadorojniy 1997: 170; Mossman 1988, 1992: *passim*, esp. 90-91 discuss the 'tragic' in Plutarch in terms of allusion to 'Tragedy, the literary genre' (Pelling, cited above). 'Tragic history', however, carries pejorative tones of a history constructed around dramatic requirements at the expense of 'proper' history (it is worth keeping the term vague). The extreme of 'tragic history' was often considered to be Duris of Samos, who 'was so influenced by tragedy that he constantly mentions the various costumes in which his characters strut across the stage in appropriate stage setting' (Ullman 1942: 39, with references to fragments); but if this can be taken rather as indicating Duris' care for *enargeia* then it should be applied to Thucydides in equal measure. Cf. Arist. *Poetics* 9; Polyb. II.56, XII.24.5, 26b.4ff. who discusses Phylarchus and Timaeus; Cic. *De Inv.* I.27, [Cic.] *Ad Her.* 1.12-13; See esp. the fundamental studies by Walbank (1938, 1960 & 1972) on Polybius' use of the term, which, taken in concert with an over-reading of Aristotle's distinction at *Poetics* 9, helped form the misguided modern concept of 'tragic history'; Ullman 1942 (esp. 25-26), is an

principally to illuminate the physical elements of Dionysius' scene.

There are several ways in which tragedy and history can intersect. In some senses, Thucydides is a strongly dramatic historian, admired in antiquity for the *enargeia* of his scenes.[100] Nevertheless, he also removes the 'tragic' from his history insofar as his concentration on public affairs in non-monarchic *poleis* precludes the interplay between public and private duty which characterises such tragedies as *Antigone*. In other words, whenever family relationships have an impact on events within the historian's compass then history starts inevitably to tread on the same ground as tragedy:[101] this is an important point of intersection for the present study.

The second important point of intersection lies in the way the narrator prepares the scene for the viewer, whether that viewer is the audience in the story or the external audience. A good example of this is the sea-battle in the harbour at Syracuse (Thuc. VII.69-72), in which the sense of the dramatic and epic is

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example of the scholarship which preceded Walbank, in that Ullman clearly understands history and the importance of tragic devices to it from Herodotus onwards, but tries to shoehorn this understanding into an exaggerated version of the normative distinction proposed by Aristotle. Dué 2000, who discusses 'tragic history' in Adherbal's speech in Sallust *Jugurtha* (XIV.14ff.)., is a more modern example; he uses 'tragic' and 'dramatic' in a non-pejorative way but one which still proposes too anachronistic an understanding of historicity (Dué 2000: 311-313). See Dué 2000: 313n.8 (and also 322-325 on Herodotus' tragedy, and Pompeius Trogus' criticism of Sallust and Livy [Justin *Epitome* 38.3.11]), where he explains that he follows Fornara's insistence upon a fairly firm yet nuanced distinction between history and tragedy rather than Walbank's alternative reading (Fornara 1983: 124-126). On Thuc., see below; in addition, Greenwood 2005: 83-108.

100 Plut. *Nic.* 1.1, 1.5; Rood 1998: 3-5 with bibl. Cf. Ullman 1942: 38 with n.70, who suggests that Plutarch says that Duris 'exaggerates in tragic fashion' (τούτοις ἐπιτραγῳδεῖ Plut. *Per.* 28.2); but that the word might not be so meaningful because Dionysius uses the same of Thucydides (*Thuc.* 28). Cf. Macleod 1982. Thucydides' excursus on Themistocles and Pausanias, *Thuc.* I.128-138; Hornblower[I] 1991: 211-225, esp. 211-212, notes the 'unusualness' of the narrative for Thucydides. The motifs of the excursus, such as curses and flight, resemble those of tragedy, perhaps specifically the *Telephus*.

101 Ancient authors may also use tragic allusions in unexpected places to make links and tensions between apparently very different worlds, creating the impression that history and tragedy are in normal circumstances very different (see fn.93 above). Such forced cross-generic pollination is very common in poetry: see e.g. Homeric metaphors in archaic lyric (or is it lyric metaphors in Homer?), or the way in which the *Aeneid* keeps looking as though it will slip into tragedy, but in the end stays epic.

heightened by the narrator shifting the focus between the battle itself and the responses of the 'audience' of soldiers watching it.[102] The role of the audience will be important in my argument too.

Now for space. What can tragedy do with that? To take a simple example, the *Hippolytus,* the movement of Phaedra's bed outside the palace signals the start of the tragedy, as what is conventionally private spills out onto the stage: all the characters of this play are undone in the tension between what they can, and what they try to, control. For Herodotus, however, it is not the bed or the bath[103] which moves, but the narrator. It is at his discretion that private spaces remain private, and they frequently do not.[104] In presenting a public conflict between mother and son, the tradition of Coriolanus is fertile ground for an analysis of that tension between public and private.[105]

The flexibility of historiography stands in contrast with the fixed confines of the stage. The force of a narrative can come when a narrator allows access to a space that should be secluded. In the case of the *Antiquities*, the narrator ventures into the bedroom for the rape of Lucretia in the episode which introduces Brutus and the establishment of the Roman Republic (DH *AR* IV.64.4-65.4). Now, Dionysius' narrator is resolutely public: he is interested in the formation, consolidation and expansion of the city of Rome. Private affairs are not properly his concern; but with the rape of Lucretia by Sextus Tarquinius, the state interferes with private affairs (itself a *topos* of events preceding the overthrow of a

102 Macleod 1982; on Homeric resonance, see e.g. Mackie 1996: 110-113
103 A. *Ag.* 1343-1406, esp. 1405.
104 E.g. Candaules and Gyges I.8-12; Phaedyme III.68-69; Atossa at III.133-134 (cf. VII.3.4; Dominick 2007); Xerxes and Masistes' wife (IX.108-110).
105 Livy has Scipio say that Coriolanus was recalled from public parricide by private piety: *revocavit...a publico parricidio privata pietas* (XXVIII.29.1).

tyranny). By going into the bedroom too, the narrator carries out the same intrusion as Sextus. This willingness to eavesdrop on private conversations occurs in the *Antiquities* when women start to wield power: in each instance, the eavesdropping and the privateness of the situation are emphasised.[106]

§1 Exile

Dionysius' account of Coriolanus' exile differs in some details from those of Livy and Plutarch. According to the *Antiquities*, after Coriolanus is expelled, he goes to join the Volsci, and wages a long war, capturing Roman town after Roman town until he reaches the 5-mile marker.[107] Successive Roman embassies of senators and of priests fail, until finally the women's embassy containing his mother Veturia and his wife Volumnia persuade him to stop. There are various traditions for what happens next: Livy prefers the one where Coriolanus dies in exile, years later, old and embittered. Plutarch and Dionysius choose the more dramatic and obvious motif of having him killed while in the process of making, or about to make, a speech.

The bedroom bears repeated mention because of Thomas Africa's swaggering claim that Coriolanus stands as a Roman counterpart to Oedipus, viz. that orphaned Roman boys became excessively and possibly sexually attracted to their mothers.[108] This is the reason, Africa argues, that Coriolanus obeyed his mother.[109] Africa's tone is excessive, but he is right to insist that in some way Coriolanus 'represents

106 See pp. 107-109 above.
107 Ogilvie 1965: 314-318 explains the differences between Dionysius' and Livy's accounts from a Livian perspective. For example, Livy's account of Coriolanus' campaign is significantly more compressed than Dionysius' version.
108 The sexual motif is more evident in Livy (II.40.7, where Veturia asks *potuisti populari hanc terram, quae te genuit atque aluit?*). Though note that the reference is to sexual attack rather than sexual attraction.
109 Africa 1978: 602-604 describes Coriolanus as the 'perennial mama's boy', prone to 'tantrums' and 'fits of temper'. Cf. Dixon 1988: 9: 'Thus Africa's identification of a 'Coriolanus-complex' in Roman men who showed particular regard for their mothers' views strikes me as suspect – based, like Hillard's (1983) analysis of Roman women in politics, on modern

a mythical Roman archetype'.[110] Coriolanus thus stands not only as attractive to Roman historians but perhaps especially to Greeks such as Dionysius and Plutarch in their search to explain Rome. But all this opportunity for allusion only goes far enough to explain *why* Dionysius and Plutarch were so attracted to the story – and while Plutarch generally gets his literary due, very little (serious) attention has been paid to *how* Dionysius has developed and investigated the second half of the story, when Coriolanus is confronted by the women's embassy. My answer will be contained in Dionysius' portrayal of the mother, more nuanced than that of Livy or Plutarch.

Bonjour argues that Plutarch and Dionysius made their scene of confrontation between Coriolanus and his mother more 'emotive' than Livy did (*pathétique*) because that was the milieu, Greek, from which they came.[111] Evans cites and rejects other scholars who argue that Dionysius in particular is composing according to the principles of 'tragic history'.[112] That term, however, will remain useful to this chapter, for the reasons that I discussed above.

Chief among these reasons is the way in which Dionysius treats the confrontation between Coriolanus and his mother as occurring on a 'stage', namely the tribunal on which he is sitting. There are movable

masculine repugnance for maternal interference'; Beltrami 1998: 139n.66.
110 Cornell 2003: 80. Coriolanus and his mother bear comparison with, in particular, Cornelia's letter to her sons the Gracchi (e.g. Cornell 2003: 80n16); Brutus and Servilia, Antony and Julia, Caesar and Aurelia, Octavian and Atia. Coriolanus has further, meaningful resonance with other Romans who were exiled, including Rutilius Rufus, Metellus Numidicus, Scipio Africanus and Camillus (cf. Cornell 2003: 77; on Coriolanus and Camillus in particular see Dumézil 1973: 239-242), none of whom attacked Rome, and the last of whom appears in Dionysius (esp. XIII.5.1-6.5).
111 Bonjour 1975: 174 -175: while there is more 'sobriety and reserve' in Plutarch, 'les historiens grecs ont...interprété le personnage de la mère de Coriolan selon leur mentalité: tendresse et loquacité.' Janssen 1972: 414 observes a 'griechisch geistige Erziehung' in Plutarch's and Dionysius' accounts.
112 Evans 1991: 173

stage-props and a *skênê* in the background, in a literal and a figurative sense:[113] literally, the actors will retire from their public discussion to the commander's tent at VIII.54.2;[114] figuratively, the *skênê* is a defining element of the Greek stage. The raised tribunal and the *skênê* are accompanied by a lower, clear area in front (VIII.45.3), perhaps like an *orkhêstra*, so the scene approximately resembles a theatrical stage.

Coriolanus and his family will leave this 'stage' in order to counsel what to do next, as characters in tragedy might enter a stage-building. The narrator stays outside the tent for all of the discussion, simply reporting at the end the decisions to which they have come:

> ἦν δὲ τὰ δόξαντα αὐτοῖς τοιάδε·
>
> VIII.54.2

The language is official: τὰ δόξαντα almost always refer to decisions taken by the senate or the people.[115] The deliberations are presented to the audience as *faits accomplis*, in which the decisions which will be presented to the senate are given before the reasons, then the announcement is further bracketed at the end by the repetition and expansion of the phrase which preceded it:

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113 Ogilvie (1965: 314) describes Livy's version of the story as a 'tragedy'.

114 DH *AR* VIII.54.2:
ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπῆει κελεύσας ἀκολουθεῖν τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παιδία...

115 E.g. DH *AR* II.14.1, 60.3; III.1.3, 27.2; 29.5, 36.1; IV.26.5, 75.4, 84.2, 85.2; V.54.5, 57.3, 57.4, 70.5, VI.84.1, 88.4, VIII.43.7, 81.1; IX.5.2; X.15.7, 55.1, 58.2; XIX.6.3. Its frequency when attached to the senate or the people makes its occurrence alongside other nouns or (more commonly) pronouns – such as μοι at VI.40.3 – revealing. τὰ βουλευθέντα, on the other hand, is much rarer, occurring just four times (IV.3.3; VIII.36.3, 54.3; XI.17.1).

τὰ μὲν δὴ βουλευθέντα αὐτοῖς καὶ δόξαντα δίκαιά τε καὶ ὅσια εἶναι, φήμης τ' ἀγαθῆς ἐφ' ᾗ μάλιστα ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐσπούδαζε παρὰ πᾶσι τευξόμενα, τοιάδε ἦν.
VIII.54.3

At the same moment in Livy's scene, Feldherr observes an 'interconnectedness between family and state'. In Dionysius, this would be underplaying the point.[116] Instead, in its appropriation of the language of state in τὰ δόξαντα and τὰ βουλευθέντα, the family subsumes the role of government. The narrator does not follow the family into the tent. Like the later Roman trials *intra cubiculum*, women become involved in decision-making again, and government becomes private.[117]

The contrast with the senate is remarkable. The senate was last encountered at VIII.43.3, when it ratified the women's embassy to Coriolanus. That senatorial debate feels awkward and out of place, because the emphasis there, when action is needed, and the women are determined to go, is on the *process* of decision-making rather than the fact of it, and so on disagreement and debate.[118] Even though the senatorial debate and Coriolanus' conversation with his family last approximately the same length of time,[119] Dionysius allows the audience to see all of the disagreements and alternative views in the senate (VIII.43.3-5) in a way which the audience is not able to do at VIII.54.2. So while Dionysius explicitly compliments the senate on its decision to let the women go at VIII.43.5, that is all, in this story, that the

116 Feldherr 1998: 121
117 E.g. Messalina at Tac. *Ann.* XI.2; cf. 5.1; XIII.4.2; XIV.50.1; Suet. *Claud.* 15. Purcell 1986; Wallace-Hadrill *CAH*[10]: 302-304
118 DH *AR* VIII.43.3:
πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐλέχθησαν καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν λόγοι,
119 DH *AR* VIII.43.3:
μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας διετέλεσαν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν βουλευόμενοι.
DH *AR* VIII.54.2:
ἔνθα τὸν λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας χρόνον σκοπούμενος σὺν αὐταῖς, ὅ τι χρὴ πράττειν, διετέλεσεν.

senate *can* do: it could not stop Coriolanus at any previous point in the story; it is defined by debate. The family, on the other hand, is a model of agreement.

That had not always been the case. The initial confrontation between mother and son came earlier, at a point when the private relationship between mother and son had been long denied – and we are seeing how Dionysius uses the occasion to play suggestively with the intrusion of private affairs into public, and vice versa. For while the mother and son are not yet reconciled there is no private space for them to retreat to; but when they will be reconciled the private space will become available to them again, and they take public affairs, government, in with them. Dionysius thus uses the screen of the *skênê* to particular effect.

The word 'tragic' is tempting because this dramatic or tragic element is reinforced in Coriolanus' moment of capitulation, when Veturia falls at her son's feet.[120] I disagree here with Evans, who says that Coriolanus remains completely unresponsive to Veturia's appeals to his patriotism and *pietas* in her speech, and that 'it is only when she falls to the ground at his feet that he is finally moved and submits to her will'.[121] In fact, the closing of Veturia's speech and her falling to the ground come so close together that it is the *combination* of supplication and speech (*logos*) which moves Coriolanus.[122] It is dramatically important that Coriolanus does not interrupt his mother in this part of the speech: more on

120On the response of the supplicated to an act of supplication in Homer, Gould 1973: 78-82.
121 Evans 1991: 27. By extension I would be minded to disagree with Duff 1999: 215, who draws the same conclusion from the end of the mother's speech in Plutarch, except the tensions in that narrative are quite different. Ahlrichs 2005 and Pelling 1996: xxii-xxxv are the most detailed comparisons between Dionysius' and Plutarch's versions.
122 DH *AR* VIII.54.1:
Ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὴν χαμαὶ

that below.[123]

That supplication can be disastrous for the recipient of supplication is a common feature of tragedy.[124] Regarding epic, Schönberger saw Iliadic resonances in Coriolanus, especially in the failed embassies at *Iliad* IX and the story of Meleager and the Calydonian Boar Hunt.[125] He went too far, but the concept of rage or wrath[126] – especially in Plutarch (and we'll come to that again later too) – make Achilles and his tent an especially appealing parallel to Coriolanus and his exile.[127] The hero punishes his own side in the face of a perceived slight, one by fighting, the other by not. Another Iliadic parallel works in the *Antiquities,* namely Agamemnon, when he addresses the assembly ἐξ ἕδρης:

> τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων
> αὐτόθεν ἐξ ἕδρης, οὐδ' ἐν μέσσοισιν ἀναστάς·
>
> *Il.* XIX.76-77

While the dynamics are not identical, the issue of seating is not to be taken lightly. But rather than simply doing as Agamemnon did, Coriolanus is already obeying his mother, who asked him (παρεκάλει 8.45.2) to sit in the seat from which he dispenses justice.[128] In the case of Agamemnon, his position in

123 A further dramatic allusion in the mother's speech, this time to Plutarch's version, is suggested by Bonjour (1975: 173), who introduces then qualifies a comparison with the similar scene at Eur. *Phoe.* 432-434, when Jocasta attempts to reconcile her sons. The point for Bonjour is that Plutarch portrays the mother as fundamentally Roman ('elle est l'incarnation littérale de la mère romaine').

124Gould 1973: 85-90

125 *Il.* IX.526-599; on Althea, Escher *RE* I.2, coll. 1693-1694; A. *Cho.* 602f., Diod. IV.34.6f., Ov. *Met.* VIII.270-545. Schönberger is cited in Bonjour 1975: 172, who says that Schönberger 'a poussé trop loin les ressemblances'.

126 Pelling 1997 = 2002: 38, who understands the overriding emotion of Plutarch's Coriolanus as wrath rather than rage, rage being Perrin's Loeb translation of θυμός (see further Pelling 2002c: 399-400).

127 Freyburger 2001: 37-40 discusses the vocabulary of anger in Dionysius, Plutarch and later authors (ὀργή 38; θυμός, absent from Dionysius but present in the tradition as late as Tzetzes, 39-40).

128 DH *AR* VIII.45.2:

ἡ δὲ...παρεκάλει τ' αὐτόν, ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος εἰώθει χωρίῳ δικάζειν τοῖς ὄχλοις, ἐν τούτῳ

the council is undercut by his inability to conform to its rules of address. Coriolanus, on the other hand, ought to be clearly in authority, yet is unwilling to assert it: he does not sit exactly where his mother asks, but has his seat brought down to be on a level with her. The consequent lack of clarity leads Coriolanus to interrupt his mother.[129] Agamemnon's defensive nervousness shines through when he asks not to be interrupted (*Il.* XIX.79-80). In the Dionysian dialogue, the interruption comes about because Veturia has only spoken so far of the other women in the embassy, who are not related to Coriolanus: the interruption has occurred because the lines of authority have not been clearly agreed. That is why, when Veturia speaks at length about her relationship with Coriolanus, the tie which binds them becomes clear, and Coriolanus is unable to interrupt her.

The Iliadic parallel works insofar as just as things are different for Agamemnon now that Achilles has come back, so are things different for Coriolanus now that his mother has arrived. So rather than specific heroic or tragic references, we are instead loaded with a wealth of references from both, as Coriolanus' situation is raised to heroic levels.[130] This heroic level is reinforced by the introduction of τὸ μητροκτόνον ἄγος αἰδούμενος (8.51.2). The language of shame and matricide is thunderously tragic.[131] It also demonstrates the nearing of the fulfilment of Minucius' prediction at

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καθίσαι.

129 DH *AR* VIII.47.1:

Ἔτι δ' αὐτῆς λεγούσης ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπεν·

130 On the appellation of Coriolanus as a hero in the *Antiquities*, see Freyburger 2001: 31, who suggests that when ἀνήρ is attached to Coriolanus, it might ('pourrait') best be translated by *héros*, which in turn might best be translated 'champion', as is demonstrated by her following argument; I am not sure that ἀνήρ does not simply function as the Greek for *vir* in this instance. On the importance of manliness to the tradition of Coriolanus, which is especially present in Plutarch's version, see e.g. Duff 1999: 210 and subsequent discussion.

131 All instances relate to the Atreids: A. *Ag.* 281, 1281; *Eum.* 102, 202, 427, 492, 595. Eur. *Or.* 587, 1559, 1649; *El.* 975; cf. *Or. 48,* 887; *Iph. Tau.* 1200 and *Troad.* 363; in Latin, Cic. *Q. Fr.* I.2.2 (it is plausible that Dionysius may have seen some of Cicero's published letters: Cor. Nep. *Att.* 16.2-4; Shackleton Bailey 1965: 59-76). There is an excellent parallel (itself much cited) at Cassius Dio LXI.16.6, of Nero, bringing in Alcmeon too (cf. Suet. *Ner.* 21; Aus. *De XII Caes.* 35).

VIII.28.3 that Coriolanus would be called μητροκτόνος. That a human prophecy is accurate in the way it was intended is extremely rare, and Minucius surely did not anticipate that Coriolanus' own mother would use that term against him. Yet it is only when it is used by her that it is effective. At VIII.33.4, when Minucius uses it, Coriolanus insists that the Furies will only pursue him if he abandons his new allies. The parallel with Orestes is obviously ironic, as it is exile which draws Coriolanus towards matricide, while it was matricide which forced Orestes into exile.

Directly as a result of his mother's long speech and supplication (VIII.48-53), Coriolanus calls off the campaign before he can become a μητροκτόνος. Critics have tended to use this speech as a *comparandum* for showing how much better Livy or Plutarch managed the scene.[132] They do so by stressing the strength of Livy's Veturia, or Plutarch's Volumnia.[133] But Dionysius has a more balanced focus between Coriolanus and his mother, which serves to explain Dionysius' much longer exposition of the very first women's embassy, led by Valeria, to Veturia's house to persuade her to go to her son. In that embassy, Dionysius focuses on women's particular strengths, as Livy does through the voice of the narrator (Livy II.40.2). Dionysius does so through the voice of Valeria, in a way which loosely recalls Livy's version of the same speech:

Οὐχὶ ὅπλων, ἔφησεν ἡ Οὐαλερία, καὶ χειρῶν δεομένη· τούτων μὲν γὰρ

132 Livy: e.g. Bonjour 1975: 173, who calls Dionysius' Veturia 'bavarde'; Walsh 1961: 91. Plutarch: Russell 1963: *passim*; Pelling 2002c: *passim*. Cf. Burck 1934: 75ff. on the same episode. Cf. Ahlrichs 2005: 394-403, though the analysis is very descriptive.

133 Walsh 1961: 91 says that 'Livy depicts a nobler, more controlled character, whose patriotism transcends even her maternal feelings.' Ogilvie 1965: 314 is typical too: 'The tragedy leads onto the supreme interview between Coriolanus and his mother in which Coriolanus acts out the secondary moral [besides the theme of *externus timor* at II.39.7] that in the last resort a true Roman's love for his country outweighs every other consideration.' Cf. Burck 1934: 75 describes Veturia as *die Römerin* κατ' ἐξοχήν (though note that Aly, cited by Bonjour 1975: 171, describes the story as un-Roman).

ἀπολέλυκεν ἡμᾶς ἡ φύσις·

DH *AR* VIII.39.3

Valeria goes on to say that the women should use the gifts not denied by their *physis*, namely *logos* and *eunoia*. The equivalent passage in Livy itself triggers recollection of the opening of the *Aeneid*:

> Id publicum consilium an muliebris timor fuerit, parum invenio: pervicere certe, ut et Veturia, magno natu mulier, et Volumnia duos parvos ex Marcio ferens filios secum in castra hostium irent et, quoniam armis viri defendere urbem non possent, mulieres precibus lacrimisque defenderent.
>
> Livy II.40.2

Dionysius' Valeria tries to persuade Veturia, but *logos* alone fails: only with the addition of *preces lacrimaeque*, which Livy had made the province of women, will Veturia be persuaded. It is notable that Dionysian women share the power of *logos* with men, though they do not always have the opportunity to use it. Women's *logos* shares the same features as men's: Veturia and the consular C. Claudius each use the metaphor of ship-as-state (VIII.49.1; XI.9.1; cf. II.62.4).[134] This further suggests that when

134The language of the ship-of-state metaphor in Dionysius is extremely interesting, because Flierle (1890: 65-67) has identified a Thucydidean parallel in the phrasing; this discussion illuminates Dionysius' method of constructing speeches in the *Antiquities*. He argues that Claudius' speech contains rare Thucydidean words: κλύδωνι (XI.9.1) and ὀρεγόμενον (XI.14.3). Neither of these examples is definitively Thucydidean. In the first instance, the word is used in a ship-of-state metaphor, which is a very common metaphor indeed (Page 1970:179-197 at 182n.1; e.g. Alc. A6 Page; Dem. *Phil.* III.69). The full expression, ἐν οἵῳ κλύδωνι τὰ πράγματα σαλεύει, has its closest parallel (to my knowledge) in Chrysippus, the earliest usage revealed by TLG (Chrys. *Fragmenta Moralia* 476 F 38 von Arnim). But it is rather Dionysian than Thucydidean, being attested three times in the Antiquities (including II.62.4, used by the narrator, and VIII.49.1), and not in that form in Thucydides. The closest parallel in Thucydides is at II.84.3, in the account of the sea-battle at Naupactus. If the parallel is knowing, then it is another striking instance, alongside VII.66.5, of Dionysius elevating Thucydidean language to the clearly figurative level. In the second case, Thucydides uses ὀρεγόμενον four times (Thuc. II.61.4, 65.10; IV.92.2 (in a close parallel); VI.16.6, 83.1), but the word is also attested frequently in Xenophon (e.g. Xen. *Hell.* IV.4.6, VI.5.42; *Hiero* VII.1, IX.7; *Agesilaus* I.35; *Hipp.* I.23; *Symp.* VIII.23, *Const. Lac.* II.13) and Isocrates (e.g. Isoc. *Antid.* 217; *Dem.* 2, 52; *Pac.* 7, 23 (both close parallels), 62; *Nic.* 2; *Phil.* 134, *Soph.* 4), two important sources for Dionysius. See also Aesop. *Fab.* 27.3, 8; 28.13; 42.6; 59.4 for very close parallels. The unusualness of the words speaks more of Dionysius' creation of his own idiolect than of his characterisation of C. Claudius. See further Usher 1982: *passim,* esp. 810 on Dionysius' idiolect.

Veturia enters the tent with her son, she is equipped with the proper language for governing.

Dionysius' Veturia, as I have said, refuses to do as the women ask (DH *AR* VIII.41.1-42.2). Her refusal, in direct discourse, is revealing of the emotional relationship between Coriolanus and his family. It will be even more expressive about the unusual distinction between public and private space. To demonstrate this point, let us turn to Coriolanus' emotions. Even though Coriolanus did not show affection towards his family when he left them to go into exile, abandoning formally his relationship with them, his feelings have become clearer. The hatred felt by Coriolanus towards some Romans is not extended to those Romans who helped his family (VIII.29.1). Indeed, in a dramatic irony Veturia describes Coriolanus' soul as hard (σκληράν) and invulnerable (ἄτρωτον),[135] which picks up Valeria's belief that Coriolanus cannot be so stubborn (στερράν) and invulnerable (ἄτρωτον) that he will hold out against his mother's pleas.[136] Valeria had expected Veturia to succeed by means of lamenting and entreating (VIII.39.5). Valeria is right, but not in the way she expects: Coriolanus will not hold out against his mother's pleas, but that will be because of her *eunoia* and her *logos*, not the grovelling that Valeria had predicted.

Veturia came to understand her son's harshness at his moment of parting from her four years previously. She recounts in detail and in embedded direct discourse Coriolanus' words upon departure, indicating

135 DH *AR* VIII.41.6:
πρὸς δὴ τοιαύτην ψυχὴν οὕτω σκληρὰν καὶ ἄτρωτον, ὦ Οὐαλερία, τίνα ἰσχὺν ἔξουσιν αἱ παρ' ἡμῶν δεήσεις...

136 Once again, the verbal parallel is studiedly off-centre. DH *AR* VIII.39.5:
οὐχ οὕτω στερρὰν καὶ ἄτρωτον ἔχει καρδίαν, ὥστ' ἀνασχέσθαι μητέρα πρὸς τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γόνασι κυλιομένην.

the vividness of her memory.[137] We see again the emotional closeness which she feels. Veturia's explicit recollection of the moment of the departure is a partially expanded version of the scene as it appeared in the text at VII.67.2:

> αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Μάρκιος οὔτ' ἀνακλαυσάμενος ὤφθη τὰς αὐτοῦ τύχας οὔτ' ἀποιμώξας οὔτ' ἄλλο εἰπὼν ἢ δράσας ἀνάξιον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν·
>
> VII.67.2

The emphasis when the departure scene was narrated is not focused upon Coriolanus' words to his mother, as it is when she tells it. Rather it is on Coriolanus' similarity to another Roman who was impassive at a moment of loss, Brutus, when he had his two sons executed.[138] Then, Brutus received the highest praise for behaviour. Dionysius stresses the point that this behaviour is not Greek.[139] In the Brutus story, the narrator put the reader's horror at Brutus' actions down to the reader's Greekness, before we learn that the Roman consul Collatinus was so angered by what Brutus did that the event caused an irreversible schism between the consuls: the Greeks and the Romans, implies the narrator, are not so different after all. Collatinus' anger results in his direct discourse, the first moment of argument in the new Republic, and so the anger opens up a new way of speaking in the *Antiquities.* It is

137 Pelling 1997 = 2002: 394, 399-400 and 1996: xxv interprets Dionysius' version of Coriolanus' farewell scene differently, using it to indicate that Dionysius prepares the reader for the final embassy scene much less than Plutarch does. Pelling correctly stresses that Plutarch's text starts working much earlier to explain Coriolanus' susceptibility to his mother's pleas (Pelling 1997 = 2002: 396). See also Hallett 1984: 247.

138 I discuss this passage separately in ch. 4. DH *AR* V.8.6:
μόνος οὔτ' ἀνακλαυσάμενος ὤφθη τὸν μόρον τῶν τέκνων οὔτ' ἀποιμώξας ἑαυτὸν τῆς καθεξούσης τὸν οἶκον ἐρημίας οὔτ' ἄλλο μαλακὸν οὐθὲν ἐνδούς,

139 DH *AR* V.8.1:
Τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔργα θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων Βρούτου μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ λέγειν ἔχων, ἐφ' οἷς μέγιστα φρονοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, δέδοικα μὴ σκληρὰ καὶ ἄπιστα τοῖς Ἕλλησι δόξω λέγειν,

remarkable that Coriolanus' reaction partially taps into this Brutus archetype. But it is all the more striking that whereas the narrator might be afraid that the reader will perceive Brutus' impassivity as 'harsh' (σκληρά), 'harsh' (σκληράν) is exactly the word which Veturia, a Roman, uses to describe her son's impassivity in the departure scene. It is that word, at the expense of 'στερράν', which differentiates this phrase from Valeria's prediction that Coriolanus could not be so 'stubborn and invulnerable'.

Second, Coriolanus' achievement is not to *be* unmoved but to *be seen to be* unmoved. Yet it is left unclear how impressed the reader is expected to be, since the refusal to weep does not seem to help. While Brutus' impassivity angered Collatinus so much that new ways of speaking opened up in Roman history, Coriolanus' impassivity does not actually benefit anyone.[140] Conversely, Coriolanus is defeated in part by a display of emotion (DH *AR* VIII.54.2). This mark of Roman masculinity, distinguishing it from the Greek masculinity which Dionysius has constructed, is not clearly a strength of Roman manhood.[141] Publicly, men were expected to be seen to be unmoved by family grief in Rome in the first century.[142] This was the case in contemporary Greece too, but not in the Greece which Dionysius

140 Duff 1999: 213-215 draws out the implications of Coriolanus' impassivity in the departure scene in Plutarch (Plut. *Cor.* 21.1).

141 Janssen 1972: *passim* analyses emotions in Livy's account of Coriolanus. He sees *ira* and subordination of *ira* in the name of the *res publica* and *pietas* as Livy's chief themes; he overplays the importance of the anger of the gods, but is otherwise a very interesting overview.

142 'Publicly' might include before one's children: e.g. Prop. IV.11.79-80 (on which see Hutchinson 2006 *ad loc.*):

Et si quid doliturus eris, sine testibus illis!
Cum venient, siccis oscula falle genis!

Cicero's grief at the death of his daughter Tullia is well documented (*Ad Att.* 12.14, *Fam.* 4.5, 4.6; Treggiari 2007: 135-138). This grief lasted long enough to seem suspicious to some of those around him (Cic. *Ad Fam.* 4.6; Wilcox 2005); see further Aemilius Paullus (Livy 45.42.1). It was not in itself shameful to express deep pity in public, so long as the pity was for someone else rather than oneself (e.g. the contrasting characterisation of the doleful Cicero defending the stout Sex. Roscius Amerinus (Cic. *Pro Sex. Rosc. Amer.* 143)). On the way Cicero handled his life's misfortunes, Livy is cited by Sen. *Suas.* 6.22:

sed in longo tenore felicitatis magnis interim ictus vulneribus, exilio, ruina partium pro quibus steterat, filiae morte,

presents to the reader here, full as it is of lachrymose Homeric and tragic heroes.[143] It is interesting that yet again in the world of the *Antiquities*, Hellenistic Greece is almost written out of Greekness, written out of history: the best place for it, according to Dionysius himself (DH *De Vett. Orr.* I.1).

Let us turn to the eulogy (DH *AR* VIII.60-61).[144] Public reputation, as well as concern with the proper allocation of reward,[145] has been central to Coriolanus' character since his first appearance in public life.[146] Dionysius restates this point through the voice of the narrator at VIII.54.3; but in the eulogy at VIII.60-61, Coriolanus' sense of justice is presented differently.[147] As Pelling observes, it is not totally unanticipated, but nor is it what we expect.[148] Pelling suggests that the eulogy's concentration on justice follows on from Coriolanus' last refusal to withdraw from the trial with the Volscians, which gives his enemies the chance to destroy him. The point, that a man's strengths are also his weaknesses, is typically classical.[149] Dionysius also seems to be making a broader point about the nature of eulogy: the eulogy is not a full representation of Coriolanus' character and life, but is in itself a rhetorical and balanced construction which seems out of place with the tenor of the story that Dionysius had

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exitu tam tristi atque acerbo, omnium adversorum nihil ut viro dignum erat tulit praeter mortem.
On grief and pity in Plutarch, Pelling 2005b.

143Cf. e.g. *Il.* 24.744-745; But cf. the seclusion or concealment of tears at *Od.* 17.304; 21.350-358 (Hutchinson 2006: 245-246).

144See Pelling 2002c: 400-401 on Plutarch's version of the eulogy.

145 Cf. Coriolanus' first act outside of battle, which was to refuse the prizes (VI.94): from the first moments, Coriolanus is concerned with glory, not with material reward. Cornell 2003: 94 describes the refusal as 'quite alien to standard Roman practice'.

146 For example, it is his sense of public injustice which characterises his first outburst against the people at Rome (VII.25.4) and his speech to the Volscians at VIII.5.2-8.6). The theme of reciprocity, strong in Plutarch (Pelling 2002c), is only present in this second speech in the sense of Coriolanus' revenge against the wrong.

147 DH *AR* VIII.54.3:
τὰ μὲν δὴ βουλευθέντα αὐτοῖς καὶ δόξαντα δίκαιά τε καὶ ὅσια εἶναι, φήμης τ' ἀγαθῆς ἐφ' ᾗ μάλιστα ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐσπούδαζε παρὰ πᾶσι τευξόμενα, τοιάδε ἦν.

148 Pelling 1996: xxiv

149 Pelling 1996: xxiv

narrated.[150] The desire for extreme justice, which I discuss again below, is such a rhetorical creation.

Dionysius' eulogy creates rhetorical terms on which it is prepared to criticise. One element of Coriolanus which is open to blame is his harshness and severity, for which Dionysius criticizes him at VIII.61.1: ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πικρὸς καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν. This characteristic, like Coriolanus' concern for justice, cuts two ways. Coriolanus (like Oedipus before him) is as harsh upon himself as he is upon others: he did not need to carry out his final confrontation, before the Volscians, but his desire for 'extreme justice' (τῆς ἄκρας δικαιοσύνης VIII.61.3) made him. Dionysius' portrayal of Coriolanus at VIII.60-62 is thus prefigured in Coriolanus' silence when he left for his exile, that Coriolanus was a man concerned to be a Brutus, but whose success was only partial and apparent.

My last point again concerns the women, and Coriolanus' status as an orphan. Those investigating from a Plutarchan perspective are right to observe that this status, elaborated and pushed to the front in Plutarch, is merely incidental when Veturia mentions it in Dionysius.[151] Instead, because Coriolanus is an orphan, Dionysius can telescope the entire range of direct family relationships into these two characters:

> ἥτις ὀρφανὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καταλειφθέντα σε παραλαβοῦσα νήπιον διέμεινα ἐπὶ σοὶ χήρα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς παιδοτροφίας ἀνήντλησα πόνους, οὐ μήτηρ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατὴρ καὶ τροφὸς καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ πάντα τὰ φίλτατά σοι γενομένη.
>
> DH *AR* VIII.51.3

150In Cassius Dio, the dual eulogies of Augustus by Tiberius (LVI. 35.1-41.9) and Dio himself (LVI. 43.4-45.3), which do not wholly overlap, are a particularly sophisticated example of a similar phenomenon.

151 Pelling 1997: 396

This telescoping recalls yet another epic moment, Andromache's farewell speech to Hector (*Il.* VI.407-439 at 429-430). For Dionysius, Veturia becomes invested with the force of the whole family. This force destabilizes Coriolanus' position when she finally confronts him in the camp. She does stand up to him, but has difficulty doing so, in my view because she is a more layered and nuanced character than either in Livy or Plutarch: Coriolanus is more also complex: trying to fit into the broader picture of Romanness, and Roman heroes, ultimately he cannot; yet is brought down by his own Roman, familial attachment.

Let us return to the beginning. Private and public space are now accompanied by private and public grief. We noted what part of Coriolanus' leaving interested the narratee at VII.67, and what was only summarized; we then saw that as focus shifted to Veturia, that emphasis changed; we saw private and public concerns coincide, but in Dionysian ways, until the private finally swallowed up the public. We saw the way Dionysius plays inventively with speech to show the genuine affection mother and son each had for the other; and through these means, we saw why he finally obeyed her.

§2 Conclusion

Dionysius' accounts of the trial and Coriolanus' exile are two very different constructions which seem to bear little similarity. Hence the separate readings; but running through the whole story are common threads. In both cases, Dionysius constructs a Greek literary heritage in order to explain early Roman history. In the trial, this literary heritage finds its centre in the *stasis*-literature of fifth and fourth

century Athens. Dionysius builds a story which does not fit the exaggerated, and superficial, model which he has created for it. But this model creates new advantages of interpretation, because the questions it asks of *stasis* and violence are appropriate questions for first-century Rome too. So Dionysius' narrative insists upon the point that Greek literature is a universalising and binding force, tying Greek and Roman experience together, even when the questions it asks do not seem to be quite so appropriate to the question at hand.

The Greek models of *stasis* and constitutional change form, as it were, the tectonic plate movements of social struggle and change, which characterise part of the *Antiquities*. Alongside these models exists a different sort of history, driven by individuals. This history is pushed to the front in the story of Coriolanus when the larger social forces clash. This character-based history takes on new elements of Greek literature, namely epic and tragic; yet it too uses Roman Republican history to tie the questions of ancient Greek literature to the questions, of monarchical power, private government and *grands hommes*, which are appropriate to first century Rome too. Dionysius' history is a universalising one, but not, as with other universal histories, because of its content; rather because of its form.

5. The Decemvirate

The story of the decemvirate is the central element of the *Antiquities*. In the first place, the story, which runs from X.54 to XI.44, sits across the boundaries of the first and the second decades of the *Antiquities,* just as it forms the centrepiece of Livy's first pentad.[1] Furthermore, since it looks forward to late Republican Rome and back to the foundation of the Republic, the story is central to even more than that.[2] This is not a slant unique to the *Antiquities*, and there are further strong parallels between the accounts of Livy and Dionysius.[3] Their accounts are based on a common tradition which treats the decemvirate, the board that codified Roman law in the Twelve Tables, then turned tyrannical and was expelled in 449, as the end of the formative period of the Roman Republic.[4] This tradition stretches back to Polybius, includes Cicero,[5] and continues after the Augustan era.[6] It makes sense, then, that the story figures prominently in Dionysius' account too. The tradition connects the decemvirate via attempted tyranny and sexual hubris back to the last days of the Tarquinii; Dionysius' account recasts these themes to explore the changing nature of political life in the Republican period.[7]

1 Livy III.33-49; Forsythe 1999: 80
2 See esp. Martin 2004. Von Ungern-Sternberg 2005: 84-85 at 85: 'To an amazing extent...past and present seem to be indissolubly interlaced in the accounts of the second Decemvirate.'
3 Martin 2004: 139-143; von Ungern-Sternberg suggests (2005: 85-89) that Livy and Dionysius relied on essentially the same source or sources. One example is that both Livy and Dionysius have speakers in the senatorial debate propose the appointment of an *interrex* (Livy III.40.7; DH AR XI.20.5).
4 Cornell 1995: 272 with discussion of the Twelve Tables 272-275. The historicity of the episode is usually doubted, with different views on the underlying patterns. Von Ungern-Sternberg 2005 *passim* prefers to see Roman historical traditions behind the story; Forsythe suggests (2005: 222-226 at 223) that '[t]he Roman tale of the decemvirs who became tyrannical and were overthrown is clearly patterned after the well-known story of the Thirty Tyrants of Athens (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.11ff.). I do not propose to enter the debate here.
5 Polyb. VI.1.1; Cic. *De Rep.* II.61-63; Cornell 1995: 272; Zetzel 1995: 222. See e.g. Poma 1984: 79-104 on Polybius' archaeology and its relationship to Cicero's *De Re Publica.*
6 For example, Eutropius' *Breviarium* changes tone noticeably after the decemvirate (Cornell 1976: 261). On Eutropius, see e.g. Capozza 1973, with review Cornell 1976.
7 Delcourt 2005: 178-179 & 273n.144 gives the constitutional reforms of the decemvirate an importance similar to those of Numa, Servius Tullius and the first consuls. She recognises (2005: 221-222) the significant role played by the story of the

I start with an analysis of Dionysius' 'Second Preface' (XI.1), then I examine the political activity of the decemvirate at Rome (X.50-60; XI.4-21), before discussing the story of Verginia (XI.28-44).[8] The fall of the decemvirate highlights the way in which repetition is employed in the *Antiquities* to develop and explore the central political themes of the history.[9] Finally, I consider Dionysius' presentation of Appius Claudius.

The continuity of the story of the decemvirate is disrupted by the break between X and XI.[10] This break,

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decemvirate, drawing attention to its *nomothesia*.

8 Events in the army are important too, but will form only a backdrop to my discussion. Briquel 2004 (esp. 150-156) argues that the downfall of the decemvirate is, in line with Dumézil's Indo-European theories (see below), traditionally structured around three crimes, an extension of the two highlighted by Livy (III.43.1): this is more clearly brought out in Dionysius' account. Roughly speaking, Dumézil's theory is that warriors in Indo-European tales had three *péchés*, as opposed to kings, who had only one (see Briquel 2004: 151 with note). Briquel argues that Dionysius' account of the decemvirate, which also has three parts, fits approximately into this model, and so can be interpreted in terms of Indo-European tradition. Von Ungern-Sternberg's thesis, on the other hand, focuses more closely on the influence of later, post-Gracchan events upon the shaping of the story of the decemvirate. Neither model need exclude the other (as von Ungern-Sternberg notes (2005: 93)), but instead shows the richness of the tradition on which Augustan Roman historians could draw. In this chapter, I shift the focus away from traditional or external contemporary elements and onto the way the narrative functions within the *Antiquities*.

9 Gabba 1991: 160 outlines the outlook of Roman historians who shaped the accounts on which Dionysius drew, saying that they shared an outlook that 'recognised the repetitive nature of history'. Schultze 2007: *passim*, at 405 analyses the 'doublet' created by Dionysius' repetitions in the story of Cincinnatus (cf. her earlier position at Schultze 1980: 202).

10 Dionysius begins his account by saying that in the eighty-third Olympiad the Romans abolished the decemvirate which had governed for three years. DH *AR* XI.1.1:

> Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ τρίτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα <στάδιον> Κρίσων Ἱμεραῖος, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Φιλίσκου καταλύουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν τῶν δέκα ἀρχὴν ἔτη τρία τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμεληθεῖσαν.

While there are sources which put decemviral rule at three years (e.g. Cic. *De Rep.* II.62), it was more common to put it at two (Diod. XII.23-25; Livy III.33-54; Tac. *Ann.* I.1.1). Schultze 1995: 192-214 acknowledges this third decemviral year but does not discuss it. Gabba 1964: 187 discusses the problem in Dionysius' chronology, and refers to Dionysius' lost work on the subject. There is precedent for the chronology Dionysius has selected, but we may at least think it possible that Dionysius has made strict chronological accuracy subservient to a pleasing arrangement of his history. Cf. another possibility, that there is a parallel between the decemvirs' illegal retention of power beyond the first year and the second triumvirate (Pelling *CAH*^{2} X: 26 with n.; von Ungern-Sternberg 2005: 85-87). On the general point, Martin 1993: 196ff. argues that Dionysius plays games with his chronology, so it should not be surprising that some episodes fall conveniently in the strictures of the Olympiad/consular dating systems. Dionysius is following established practice in trying to marry Greek and Roman dating systems (e.g. Diodorus): the major problem is that Greek and Roman years start at different points in the calendar. So some confusion was probable; but Dionysius takes a consistent line in synchronising an Olympiad year with a Roman year. He matches the Olympiad year with the consuls' year of entry into office. Feeney 2007 and Clarke 2008: 47-89

occurring before the final year of decemviral rule,[11] is fortified by Dionysius' 'Second Preface' (*AR* XI.1), the only instance of Dionysius having a programmatic statement and the start of a book coincide after Book I.[12] That this preface separates the first half of the *Antiquities* from the second is likely to be important.[13] This preface, naturally much briefer than the first one (DH *AR* I.1-8),[14] shows Dionysius' increased confidence: whereas in the first preface he had engaged competitively with lesser historians, in the second he opens a contest with Herodotus and Thucydides.[15]

Dionysius uses the second preface to situate his account of the decemvirate in a much wider context. Referring to the founding principles of history, he says that people are not satisfied with learning only bare facts (XI.1.2).[16] People wish, he says, to know more about the Persian wars than simply that the Persian army was defeated by the Athenians and Lacedaemonians (DH *AR* XI.1.2). He expands upon

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on the general history of dating systems.

11 MS. A preserves an extra paragraph, X.61.1, which repeats material from the beginning of XI. X.61.1 is not attested in MSS. other than A, which only contains the first ten books of the *Antiquities* (Fromentin 1998: lv & lxxxviii; B & S also only preserve I-X). The break might explain the inclusion of this paragraph. Editors disagree: Kiessling deletes; Jacoby, followed by Cary, restores.

12 Tacitus postpones a traditional introductory motif, the survey of imperial resources, until *Ann.* IV.4, as part of a powerful declaration of a new beginning now that Sejanus has entered the narrative (Martin & Woodman 1989: 14, with thanks to Rhiannon Ash for the idea). Cf. Thuc. V.26.

13 'Middles' frequently contain crucial moments. Pelling 2004: 318f. has drawn attention to the dramatic function of Caesar crossing the Rubicon at the middle of Plutarch's *Caesar* (Plut. *Caesar* 34) and of Curio's flight to Caesar in the middle of Cassius Dio's history (Dio XL.66.5). Cf. Myres 1953: 62, 81-88, who argues that one of the structural principles of Herodotus' history is pedimental: that is, the work has its climax at the centre. De Jong 2002: 250 rejects this on the ground that the placing of such a 'centre' in Herodotus' work is subjective. On the significance of middles in poetry, see Kyriakidis et al. 2004, Hardie 2004a, 2004b.

14 This brevity can give the impression of simplification: Porciani 1997: 95 argues that Dionysius' reconstruction of his audience at XI.1 is 'semplificato', reduced to two categories of philosophers and politicians, when he referred to three types in the first preface, philosophers, politicians and the general public (cf. Porciani 1997: 91).

15 Compare Livy's second preface at VI.1-3 (Kraus 1994: 83-88; Oakley 1997: 381-386). The break between Livy's fifth and sixth book is much cleaner (and, admittedly, artistically more satisfying) than *AR* X-XI. The end of Livy V is downbeat, like *AR* X.60, the haphazard rebuilding of Rome (Livy V.55) complementing the end of freedom under the decemvirs. The beginning of Livy VI, like *AR* XI.1, is more optimistic. Dionysius' engagement with his predecessors is more conventional than Livy's, who competes with himself and his own first pentad (Kraus 1994: 83).

16 Cf. Gabba 1991: 80-81 and Porciani 1997: 91-93

Thucydides (though notice the rewriting):

> τοῖς τε γὰρ πολλοῖς οὐκ ἀπαρκεῖ τοῦτο μόνον ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον—ἵν' ἐπὶ τούτου ποιήσωμαι τὸν λόγον—ἐνίκησαν Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δυσὶ ναυμαχίαις καὶ πεζομαχίᾳ μιᾷ καταγωνισάμενοι τὸν βάρβαρον.
>
> DH *AR* XI.1.2

> Τῶν δὲ πρότερον ἔργων μέγιστον ἐπράχθη τὸ Μηδικόν, καὶ τοῦτο ὅμως δυοῖν ναυμαχίαιν καὶ πεζομαχίαιν ταχεῖαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχεν.
>
> Thuc. I.23.1

Thucydides' summary, which simply mentions the decisive events of the Persian wars, is not enough. Readers of history require that Thucydides' account must be complemented by a fuller narrative of the details of the Persian wars. As it happens, this is already narrated in Herodotus' history. The point is not to disparage Thucydides' coverage. Rather Dionysius stresses the continuity of history, saying that there exist causes before events, and history must record these causes as well as the events themselves.[17] Dionysius emphasises the point by repeating it. He says that it is not enough to know the end of the Peloponnesian War, but of the causes behind that end, the debates, the battles, and so forth. In other words, it is not enough that there exist the *Hellenica* of Xenophon and Theopompus, that narrate just the end of the Peloponnesian war. Readers also need to know the causes behind that end; in other words, they need to know Thucydides' history (DH *AR* XI.1.3). So Herodotus is a precondition of Thucydides, and in his turn, Thucydides is a precondition of Xenophon and Theopompus. This list of

17 The problem of beginnings stretches back to early historiography: Hose 2008 is a powerful analysis of the way beginnings and causes interrelate in Herodotus, who in his history shows himself aware of the problems in choosing from the different beginnings available to him; see also Bowie 1993.

continuations gestures towards Dionysius' relationship with Polybius,[18] whom Dionysius accuses of 'slurring' over the earliest part of Roman history (*AR* I.6.1, 7.1; 54-61), and whose beginning, the first Punic War, marks the end of the *Antiquities.* By emphasising the original causes behind events, Dionysius argues that his history is the necessary precondition of Polybius'.

In making this point, Dionysius also puts the decemvirate, which lasted three years, on a par with both the Peloponnesian and the Persian Wars, totalling one hundred years of Greek history. The claim is a big one: it places Dionysius on a level with *both* Thucydides *and* Herodotus. Dionysius' self-assurance, a considerable development from the first preface, is striking.

§1 The Decemvirate in Rome

The story of Romilius[19] indicates the nature of repetition at the very beginning of the story of the decemvirate (X.50.3-52.1; 56.2).[20] Romilius is a consular and a decemvir. The tribune Siccius had cited him to appear before a tribunal of the people to defend his consulship (X.48.2).[21] Romilius inadvertently secured his own conviction by delivering an inappropriate and haughty speech in his defence (X.49.5);[22] the senate cannot help him (X.48.2). In his next speech, he appears to change colours, supporting the

18Polybius is also in the background when Dionysius discusses the pleasure and utility of history (DH *AR* XI.1.4; cf. Verdin 1974: 297; Porciani 1997: 95):

χωρὶς δὲ τῆς ἡδονῆς περιγίγνεται τὸ περὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους καιροὺς μεγάλα τὰς πόλεις ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐμπειρίας ὠφελεῖν...

19 On the *gens Romilia*, see Cornell 1995: 178. T. Romilius is the only member of the *gens* to reach the Fasti.

20 Dionysius' version of the early stages of the decemvirate is compared briefly with Livy's by Pabst (1969: 131-134).

21 Livy has Romilius prosecuted by C. Calvius Cicero (III.31.5), which is a 'surprising' name (Ogilvie 1965: 448). On Siccius, see also Ogilvie 1965: 475-476 & Münzer, *RE* IIA s.v. 'Siccius (3)'.

22 DH *AR* X.49.5:

ἀπολογηθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμιλίου καὶ διελθόντος λόγον οὔτε θεραπευτικὸν οὔτε ἁρμόττοντα τοῖς καιροῖς, ἀλλ' ὑψηλόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνυπευθύνῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγα φρονοῦντα διπλασίως [ἔτι] ἐπερρώσθησαν εἰς τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ὀργὴν οἱ πολῖται.

populace against the senate (X.51). Similar switching between demagoguery and arrogance will recur in Dionysius' portrayal of Appius, which is more complex than Livy's version. Livy's Appius adopts a demagogic attitude in order to get re-elected as decemvir, so breaking with the traditions of his *gens.*[23] When elected he will 'throw off the mask', his *aliena persona*, and reveal his tyranny.[24] Dionysius' Appius, on the other hand, maintains the 'best of motives' in the early stages of the decemvirate (X.55.1). We will return to that theme later.

During the final year of the decemvirate,[25] the Sabines and the Aequi sense that Rome is weak and vulnerable to attack. The Romans cannot maintain *concordia* (XI.2.2-3.1), an interesting reversal of *externus timor maximum concordiae vinculum*. The decemvirs call a senate meeting in order to levy an army. In a continued twist on the *externus timor*, they hope that the threat posed by the Sabines and Aequi will force the acquiescence of the senate in this matter, and so consolidate their hold on power.[26]

The senate meeting is tempestuous (DH *AR* XI.4-21; cf. Livy III.39.1-41.6). The speeches, fairly short by Dionysian standards, reflect the choppy feel; it is difficult, and indeed not the point, to discern clear lines.[27] There is interruption (XI.4.3-4, 6.1), unexpected silence (XI.4.5-7), forced silence (XI.6.2),

23 Bernard 2000: 58-60; cf. 183-184 on the *gens Claudia*. Von Ungern-Sternberg 2005: 83: Appius Claudius 'is described throughout [Livy's account] as a late Republican *popularis*.'
24 Feldherr 1998: 206: Livy's version 'investigates the discrepancy between appearance and reality created by the decemvirs' illegal usurpation of power.' Livy III.36.1 on Appius' character after his reelection: *ille finis Appio alienae personae ferendae fuit*. The theatrical imagery recurs at III.44.9 (well discussed by Feldherr 1998: 204-206): *Notam iudici fabulam petitor, quippe apud ipsum auctorem argumenti, peragit.*
25 Cf. Livy III.38.8-13. Ogilvie 1965: 467 draws attention to two first-century episodes that bear comparison: first, the desolation of 49 BCE in similar circumstances (cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* 9.6a; 10.4.8-9), when Caesar was reluctant to call in the senate before the war against Pompey; second, the manipulation of the senate by Carbo and Cinna in the war against Sulla (cf. Livy *Epit.* 83 & 84). See further Cic. *Brut.* 308, who describes the emptiness of Rome at this point in the 80s, and Vell. Pat. (II.23) on the flight of the nobles in 86 (Ogilvie 1965: 467).
26 This is the thrust of the speech of L. Cornelius (XI.16.2-18.4).
27 But cf. Burck 1934: 32-33, who argues that Dionysius' presentation is more formally arranged, with two symmetrical

heated argument (XI.21.1-2), and the threat of violence (XI.6.1). In between, there are formal speeches by C. Claudius, Appius' uncle, who preaches moderation (XI.7-14 and the less formal 15.3-5), and L. Cornelius, a supporter of the decemvirate (XI.16.1-18.4). There is also direct discourse by Appius Claudius (XI.4.5, 21.4-5), the decemvir M. Cornelius (XI.15.1-2), and their opponents Horatius (XI.5.2-4) and Valerius (XI.19-20).

This tempestuousness is reflected in Dionysius' treatment of various themes. Family provides no clear indication of which side a speaker will favour: while the Cornelii brothers support each other, Appius' uncle Gaius opposes him. Individuals' manner of speaking accords with their experience; otherwise the issue of age is also messy, much more so than it is in Livy, who divides the senate along lines of seniority (Livy III.41.1, 41.5). M. Cornelius emphasises his age compared to C. Claudius.[28] The consular L. Cornelius is actually not so young (XI.16.1), but he too tries to make an issue of C. Claudius' age (XI.16.2). He portrays his argument as one of action, speed and decision (XI.16.5, 18.2), characteristics which are traditionally the province of young men, though he does not force the distinction. His speech is peppered with vigorous, rapid rhetorical questions (XI.18.2; cf. Horatius doing the same at XI.5.3). The rhetorical questions of C. Claudius, by contrast, are more drawn-out and convoluted (XI.9.5-6), befitting his seniority. Cornelius' speech starts rumbustiously, expressing surprise (θαυμαστὸν XI.16.2), while C. Claudius' opens with a more measured subordinate clause (XI.7.1).[29] Outside the

pairs of speeches, by Valerius and Horatius on the one hand and Cornelius and Valerius on the other, encasing the central speech by C. Claudius. Burck pinpoints one difference: 'Livy strebt nicht eine realistische Wiedergabe der historischen Sitzung an.' Forsythe (1999: 81) expresses his irritation: 'Dionysius once again exhibits his rhetorical incontinence by devoting 18 chapters to a detailed description of this senatorial debate.'

28 M. Cornelius (XI.15.1): L. Cornelius (XI.16.1).

29 DH *AR* XI.7.1:
Ἐπειδή με πρῶτον γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι ἀξιοῖ Ἄππιος, ὦ βουλή, τιμῶν διὰ τὸ συγγενές, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ προσήκει, καὶ δεῖ με ἃ φρονῶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Σαβίνους

direct discourse, however, things are less certain. In Livy's account, the younger senators support the decemviral faction (III.41.1). In Dionysius, those who speak after Valerius support him instead (XI.21.1). These are the younger senators, which is surprising in two ways. First, the narrative contradicts itself: at XI.16.1, Dionysius said that the decemvirs had *stopped* calling the senators in age order. Second, the younger senators might be expected to support the tyrants,[30] especially given that Cornelius had earlier made great play of the difference in age between himself, a supporter of the decemvirate, and C. Claudius, Appius' uncle.[31]

Livy also demarcates clearly between *optimates* and *populares*, which Dionysius does not do.[32] The direct discourse of Livy's Horatius refers explicitly to *optimates* and *populares*, dragging the story out of its own context and into first century affairs.[33] Livy's version of the decemvirate makes it a forward-looking device: the influence of first century accounts reinforces the exemplarity of the episode, which will recur repeatedly in Livy's history.[34] In Dionysius, the closest we get is some scant reference by C. Claudius to the patrician/plebeian axis (DH *AR* XI.7.2; 9.6; cf. the *concordia ordinum* at XI.3.1).[35] This

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εἰπεῖν, [continues]

30 Tyrants' gangs are typically made up of younger men (see p. 122 above).

31 Livy's account is more concerned with presenting a series of clear oppositions than Dionysius'. For example, the plebeians are more important in Livy than Dionysius, both in terms of their initial support of the decemvirate (Livy III.) and for their reaction to apparent patrician malfeasance (Livy III.38.13); Horatius argues in terms of *optimates* and *populares* (see above); the younger senators oppose the older ones; the decemvirs are repeatedly shown as private citizens holding public office (Livy III. 38.1; see Feldherr 1998: 206; mentioned in passing by Dionysius' Horatius at XI.5.3).

32 Ogilvie 1965: 464; von Ungern-Sternberg 2005: 81-84.

33 Forsythe 1999: 82, though his chief interest is in the historicity of particular events. Livy III.39.9:

> Populares? Quid enim eos per populum egisse? Optimates? Qui anno iam prope senatum non habuerint, tunc ita habeant ut de re publica loqui prohibeant?

Cf. in this story, Livy III.35.4, 9; also IV.9.5, 8, 11; V.24.9. See further Cic. *Pro Sestio* 96, who uses the distinction. Hellegouarc'h 1972: 500-505 on *optimates*; 518-525 on *populares*.

34 For example in Sempronius' speech at IX.34.1; Cincinnatus' speech at IV.15.3-4; Canuleius at IV.3.17, with an interesting note at Chaplin 2000: 159n.58.

35 On Dionysius' failure to maintain different senses of *populus* and *plebs*, which I assume here, see p. 123n.28 above.

appears to be a rhetorical device designed to describe the whole of the Roman population rather than something politically motivated. Yet the blandness is expressive too, assuming a unity which we know from the previous six books does not actually exist.

The same confusion reigns in the arguments over procedure, which dominates the content of the speeches. Appius' attempt to maintain order against the anarchy of Valerius and Horatius (e.g. XI.4.5, 6.2-3, 6.6) shows his attempt to manage tyrannical-style power through control over procedure. A major issue lies in when the division is taken at the end of the meeting. In Livy's account, Valerius and Horatius interrupt during the formal division (III.41.1).[36] In Dionysius, however, there is no clear point at which this division takes place. The senate has changed its mind after every speech (XI.15.5; 19.1; 21.1), and so each of the factions is ahead at one point.[37] Finally, Valerius' anti-decemviral speech appears to carry the day, but instead he and Cornelius argue about whether the division has already been taken (XI.21.1-3). Appius tries to exert control, simply declaring the matter already settled (XI.21.4-6). His victory is only partial, and Valerius and Horatius are able to organise some opposition outside the senate-house.[38]

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36 Livy III.41.1:
In hanc sententiam ut discederetur iuniores patrum euincebant. Ferocioresque iterum coorti Valerius Horatiusque uociferari ut de re publica liceret dicere...

37 DH *AR* XI.19.1:
Ὡς δ' αἱ πλείους γνῶμαι διηγορεύθησαν, καὶ παρὰ πολὺ κρατεῖν ἐδόκουν οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπικυροῦντες τῶν ἑτέρων, τότε Λεύκιον Οὐαλέριον ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἐκάλουν...
And DH *AR* XI.21.1:
Ταύτην ἀποδειξαμένου τὴν γνώμην Οὐαλερίου κεχαρισμένην τοῖς πλείοσιν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν εἰκάσαι ῥᾴδιον ἦν, καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἀνισταμένων καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἀνισταμένων—ἦν δ' αὐτῶν τὸ νέον τῆς βουλῆς μέρος τὸ λειπόμενον—ταῦτα ἡγουμένων κράτιστα εἶναι πλὴν ὀλίγων...

38 DH *AR* XI.22.1:
Μετὰ τοῦθ' οἱ μὲν τῆς ὀλιγαρχικῆς ἑταιρίας σοβαροὶ καὶ θρασεῖς περιῆεσαν ὡς δὴ κρείττους τῶν ἑτέρων γεγονότες

In the confusion, we can perhaps see why the senate was earlier unable to protect Romilius. The number of competing voices in this debate is one of the chief ways in which Rome has changed since the expulsion of the kings. Then, Brutus acceded to the consulship after one speech to the conspirators and a *contio* (IV.70-85). During the consulship, he is opposed in direct discourse only by his fellow consul Collatinus (V.9.2-3). The intervening books have seen changes in the way people speak. In the long pre-trial hearing of Coriolanus, for example, there is a large number of speakers, but the speakers are separated sometimes by days, and there is no interruption.[39] Violence, too, is a feature of the earlier debate over Volero's bill, when Laetorius is struck by the supporters of the consul Appius, the father of Appius the decemvir (DH *AR* IX.48.4).[40] Yet there is no debate which is quite so cluttered with voices or violence as this one.[41] The trial of Verginia will be similarly fraught.

39 Coriolanus speaks (VII.22-24, 25.4); then Minucius (VII.28-32, 38.3-4), whose speech is paired with Sicinius' (VII.33.3-34.5, 36.3-4); then Decius (VII.40-46), whose speech is paired with Appius Claudius (VII.48-53); Man. Valerius (VII.54-56); Coriolanus again (VII.57).

40 The complicated tradition of the Appii Claudii in this period is untangled by Wiseman 1979: 77-78. For present purposes, it is sufficient to note that both Dionysius and Livy differentiate between the Appius Claudius, the consul of 471, and Appius Claudius, the decemvir; this differs from the evidence of the Fasti (see Degrassi 1947: 26-27).

41 Valerius refers to the 'confusion' which Appius has engendered in the state (συγκεχύκατε XI.4.7).

§2 Verginia (DH *AR* XI.28-44; Livy III.44-49)[42]

The story of Verginia gives the motifs of tyranny, *libido* and sexual hubris a Republican flavour.[43] The decemvirate had been figured as a tyranny by the narrator's use of φιλοτύραννοι at the beginning of the descent of Appius[44] and in the preface to the final year of the decemvirate (XI.2.2).[45] Horatius compared Appius to Tarquinius Superbus (XI.5.2), as Verginius does during this trial, recalling a similar use of the figure in Livy (Livy III.39.1-2).[46] C. Claudius' description of the behaviour of the decemvirs recalled stock descriptions of tyrannies (XI.10.3-4): his natural caution only allowed him to accuse Appius indirectly of tyranny, referring rather to 'invidious power' (τὴν ἐπίφθονον ἐξουσίαν XI.11.3).[47]

Roman tyranny means the Tarquinii, and the regal period had been explicitly recalled at the end of the

42 Briquel 2004 is the best analysis of which I am aware of Dionysius' version of the Verginia story. The historicity of the story of Verginia is variously discussed by e.g. Ogilvie 1965: 476-479 with bibliography; Briquel 2004: 142, (with bibliography at nn. 13 & 15) who are dubious; Appleton 1924: 669-670 and Cornell 1995: 11 & 275, who prefer not to rule out its possible historicity. See also Oakley 2005: 249-250. The plausibility of the name Verginia is universally discredited. Kowalski 2002: 145 notes that Livy only refers to Verginia's name once, at III.46.2, otherwise calling her *virgo* or *puella*. From this, Kowalski adduces that the girl was anonymous in the earliest treatments of the story; cf. Forsythe 1999: 57 & 77 on the related issue of Livy's cautious attitude to historical traditions in this story. My argument, that it rather emphasises the innocent passiveness of the girl, does not exclude her suggestion. Cf. Cic. *De Rep.* II.63.

43 Briquel 2004: 139-140; Wiseman 1979: 77-81 analyses the tradition of the tyrannical Appius Claudius.

44 DH *AR* X.54.7:

[Appius] ἐξέπεσε τελευτῶν εἰς φιλαρχίαν ἀπαραχώρητον ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἐξουσίας διαφθαρεὶς καὶ ὀλίγου ἐδέησεν ἐπὶ τυραννίδα ἐλάσαι.

45 This word appears to be a Dionysian coinage which never took off: there are only sixteen citations of it in TLG, of which three are by Dionysius (DH *AR* IV.83.3; XI.2.2; *Pomp.* 5.2) and two are by Plutarch, who knew Dionysius' work well. (*Dion* 36.3; *Pericles* 4.3). The rest are Byzantine grammarians and historians. The exception is a fragment of the fifth-century Damon (*Test.* F 4 Diels & Kranz), but the fragment does not appear to represent the actual words of Damon.

46 Livy III.39.1: Horatius enters the contest, *decem Tarquinios appellantem admonentemque Valeriis et Horatiis ducibus pulsos reges.*

47 DH *AR* XI.10.4:

τὸ δὲ πενέστατον τοῦ δημοτικοῦ μέρος...διὰ ταῦτα πάνθ' ὑμᾶς μισεῖ καὶ τυραννίδα καλεῖ τὴν ἀρχήν.

Cf. DH *AR* XI.13.1, where Claudius twice mentions tyrannical lifestyles. On the use of τυραννίς and cognates in Dionysius, see Delcourt 2005: 233-236, with table of nouns and adjectives associated with tyranny in the *Antiquities*.

second year of the decemvirate's rule (X.59.5). When the people saw the lictors carrying the *fasces*, their minds were cast back to the days of the kings.[48] This custom had been abolished by Valerius Publicola during his first consulship (V.19.2-3), shortly after the death of Brutus.[49] The practice was then still fresh in the collective memory of the Romans. History was repeating itself,[50] and the narrator drew attention to the narrative doing the same thing too (ὥσπερ ἔφην X.60.1).[51] Finally, that book ended with the decemvirs attempting to depart from tradition and the new laws by continuing in the same magistracy (X.60.5). The *fasces* become important again towards the end of Verginia's hearing.

Livy[52] emphasises the connection with the regal period, drawing attention to the parallel between Lucretia and Verginia (Livy III.44.1).[53] They each encompass the example of *pudicitia*,[54] bringing out

48 Cf. Liv. III.36. DH *AR* X.59.5:
ἐφόβουν θ' οἱ προσηρτημένοι ταῖς δέσμαις τῶν ῥάβδων πελέκεις, οὓς ἔφερον οἱ προηγούμενοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἑκάστου δώδεκα ὄντες ἀναστέλλοντες ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν πληγαῖς τὸν ὄχλον, ὃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐγένετο πρότερον.

49 Publicola's legacy will remain just below the surface of the debate in the senate (XI.4-21).

50 Briquel (2004: 139-141) discusses the tradition in terms of a parallelism ('parallelisme') between the decemvirate and the reign of Tarquinius Superbus.

51 DH *AR* X.60.1:
Τοῦτο δὴ θεασαμένοις ἅπασιν, ὃ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας σημεῖον ἐνομίζετο εἶναι, πολὺ παρειστήκει δέος, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἀπολωλεκέναι νομίζουσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ δέκα βασιλεῖς ἑλομένοις ἀνθ' ἑνός.

52 There exist also versions by Diodorus (*Bibl.* 12.24), Valerius Maximus (VI.I) and Cic. *De Rep.* II.63. See Briquel 2004: 143-145 with bibliography on Diodorus and 2004: 145 on Cicero. He remarks that Diodorus' version is usually considered the oldest. Briquel 2004: 146: 'Les deux historiens nous offrent des versions analogues et procèdent vraisemblablment d'une source commune.' Feldherr 1997: 203-212 has a good reading of the importance of the dramatic to Livy's account; Freund 2008 (with further bibliography, 308nn.3&4) and Kowalski 2002: 142-175 fit the story of Verginia into the broader conspectus of Livy's treatment of *exempla pudicitiae*. Smethurst 1950 remains a lively but simplistic straw man. See also Fögen 2002: 61-124, with objections by von Ungern-Sternberg 2005: 90-91.

53 See further e.g. Bernard 2000: 215-216; Kowalski 2002: 142.
Livy III.44.1:
Sequitur aliud in urbe nefas ab libidine ortum, haud minus foedo eventu quam quod per stuprum caedemque Lucretiae urbe regnoque Tarquinios expulerat, ut non finis solum idem decemviris qui regibus sed causa etiam eadem imperii amittendi esset.

54 Freund 2008: *passim*, but esp. 310-318, gives a full account of *pudicitia* in Livy. See also Moore 1989: 121-124.

the degeneracy of the tyrants[55] who seek to ruin them;[56] the beauty of the women, important in Dionysius,[57] is central in Livy too.[58] As it was with Sextus Tarquinius, *libido* will indicate Appius' descent into tyranny and be the trigger for his ultimate decline.

Tensions between plebeians and patricians had been present in the episode of the assassination of the plebeian soldier Siccius (DH *AR* XI.25-27, Livy III.43),[59] and one fundamental difference between the two women in both Dionysius and Livy is that Lucretia is a patrician, while Verginia is a plebeian.[60] Speech patterns exemplify the changing role of the plebeians since the regal period.[61] Then, plebeian direct discourse was limited to passing comment on the actions of the main characters (pp. 80-81, 107-108 above). In Verginia's trial, the plebeians M. Claudius (XI.29.1-4), Numitorius (XI.30.6-7) and Icilius (XI.31.4-5) all have direct discourse. Afterwards Verginia's father, Verginius, will harangue the

55 Kowalski 2002: 152-153. Related to tyranny is the developing theme of *libertas*. Dionysius' underdevelopment of the theme of freedom relative to Livy is striking. C. Claudius' speech is described as freedom-loving (φιλ-ελευθέρῳ XI.15.5), and Horatius mentions freedom at XI.5.3, but otherwise the theme is not brought so strongly to the centre, as it is in Livy's account (esp. III.38.1-2). Syme 1939: 5 argues that all Roman historians of this period and later were preoccupied with the loss of *libertas*; he names Sallust, Pollio and Tacitus. The changing nature of *libertas* is a fundamental theme of Livy's first pentad. On *libertas* in general, see esp. Hellegouarc'h 1972: 542-565; Fears 1981; Wirzsubski 1950.

56 E.g. Bernard 2000: 242, 256-257, who lists *forma, castitas, pudor* and *libido* as common characteristics of the stories of the two women, with further discussion of the typology of women in Livy.

57 DH *AR* IV.64.4; XI.28.1-2; Freund 2008: 322-323.

58 Verginia: Livy III.48.7; Lucretia: I.57.10. The connection of beauty to unhappy fate is also figured in the cases of Sophoniba (XXX.12.17) and Chiomara (XXXVIII.24.2); Kowalski 2002: 146-147.

59 Briquel 2004: 147 discusses the 'doubling' *(dédoublée)* effect created by the stories of Siccius and Virginia, the one a 'public' crime committed in the military, the other a 'private' crime committed at Rome. Cf. Livy III.43.1, who introduces the stories as follows:

Ad clades ab hostibus acceptas duo nefanda facinora decemviri belli domique adiciunt.

60 So Bernard 2000: 333 describes the two women as exemplary figures of their class. The tradition is not clear: Diodorus' version describes Verginia as *eugenes* (εὐγενής; see also perhaps Cic. *De Rep.* II.63), which in this instance may mean either 'patrician' or be the Greek for *ingenuus* (Briquel 2004: 143-144 with n.20). Scholarly opinion is divided: Briquel cites Täubler 1921: 64-65, Beloch 1926: 244, Gundel 1958: *RE* s.v. 'Verginius' 8A coll. 1531-1532, Ogilvie 1965: 447 who understand it as 'patrician'; Pais 1915: 205, Bayet 1943: 134, Poma 1984: 123n.58 & Cornell 1995: 452-453 with n.11, who understand *ingenuus*. See further Kowalski 2002: 145 and 171-172. Von Ungern-Sternberg argues (2005: 83 with discussion of εὐγενής at n.41) that in the oldest versions of the story, Verginia was of patrician birth, and it is only in later versions that she is a plebeian, citing Cic. *De Fin.* II.66 and Zon. 7.18.

61 Freund 2008: 324: 'In beiden Geschichten [i.e. of Lucretia and Verginia] betont Livius die politischen Folgen des tragischen Frauenschicksals stärker als die Parallelüberlieferung.' See also Moore 1993: 39-41.

troops, also in direct discourse (XI.40.5-41.6). The decemvirate is yet another challenge to be faced by Rome in the Conflict of the Orders, which started with the First Secession. The institution of the tribunate marked the last shift in the mode of plebeian speech in the *Antiquities*; since then, the plebeians have consolidated their role in city affairs.

The role of the plebeians is one example of the increasing complexity of the *Antiquities*. The trial of Verginia is characterised, as the debate in the senate was characterised before it, by the lack of clarity and the clutter of voices over which Appius tries to be heard. Dionysius stresses the point through the voice of the narrator. At intervals throughout the story, he draws attention to the amount of material he *could* talk about, emphasising how much he needs to keep under control (e.g. XI.1.6; 24.3-25.1). For example, Livy's balance of the two crimes *domi militiaeque* (III.43.1) is not so simple in Dionysius. Dionysius tries to balance the competing themes of the army, the people and the senate, but makes the overspill of one into the other clear (e.g. XI.28.1).[62] So Dionysius' expressed difficulty in keeping control of the subject-matter mirrors the difficulty that the decemvirs find in controlling events, for similar reasons: everything is, by now, too complex.[63]

In other details, the story is expressively different from the overthrow of Tarquinius Superbus. After Verginius protects his daughter's honour by stabbing her to death (XI.37.6), the story moves to the

62 DH *AR* XI.28.1:
Τὸ δ' ἐν Ἀλγιδῷ τῆς Αἰκανῶν χώρας καθιδρυμένον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει πλῆθος ἅπαν διὰ ταύτας ἐξεπολεμώθη τὰς αἰτίας πρὸς αὐτούς.

63 My position might be viewed as a variation on the theme of Briquel 2004: 150-156, who argues, along the lines of a Dumézilian tripartite Indo-European approach (see p. 162n.8 above), that the decemvirs committed three chief crimes, but divides them a little differently: 1. the unlawful accession to power; 2. the assassination of Siccius; 3. the attempt upon Virginia. However, my argument is that such categorisation undermines the unbalanced and uncertain feel of the whole episode.

Forum, and so the usurpation seems to begin along the same lines as it did in book IV. Then, Brutus proceeded into the forum followed by Lucretia's bier (IV.76.3). No time for that now: fighting has spread into the forum before Verginia's bier can be brought in (XI.39.2). Valerius and his followers deliver a *contio* over the body, just as Brutus did, but its contents are passed over in just a sentence (XI.39.2).[64] If a parallel is to be drawn in detail, then it must be with Verginius' speech to the soldiers at Algidum (XI.40.3-41.6), and Verginius makes the link himself (XI.41.2-3).[65] But, especially in this story, strict parallels do not work. The rule of the Tarquinii turned out to be uncontrollable, but until the crisis triggered by Lucretia, it had looked like the ruling family could control all too much. In the present story, the confusing ebb and flow, the changes of theatre of action, all contribute to the sense that the rule of the decemvirate has been constantly destabilised.

Changing tack, let us consider the role played by Appius' descent into madness. In the senate, Appius had been one of a number of decemviral voices attempting to keep control over the debate. Now, on the tribunal, Appius' attempts to control the proceedings start in the same responsive manner (e.g. XI.31.1-2, 32.3-4), but the madness which grips him at XI.28.3 continues to press upon him (XI.33.1, 35.4). The narrator's descriptions become ever more effusive as Appius fails to sate his desire.[66] The narrator introduces Appius' final speech at XI.36.1-5 by, exceptionally, highlighting its incongruity and

64 DH *AR* XI.39.2:
οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Οὐαλέριον ἕτερον τόπον τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταλαβόμενοι καὶ τὸ πτῶμα τῆς παρθένου θέντες, ὅθεν ὑπὸ πάντων ὀφθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἑτέραν συνῆγον ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ τ' Ἀππίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀλιγαρχῶν κατηγορίαν.
65 Ek 1942: 121n.2
66 DH *AR* XI.33.1:
Ὡς δ' ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀδημονῶν καὶ μαινόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους...
DH *AR* XI.35.4:
ὁ δὲ Ἄππιος, οἷα δὴ φύσιν τε οὐ φρενήρης ἀνὴρ καὶ ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἐξουσίας διεφθαρμένος, οἰδῶν τε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ζέων τὰ σπλάγχνα διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς παιδός...

explaining it at some length (XI.35.4-5).[67] Appius' madness has escaped his control; it culminates in his final appropriation of tradition. The population first realised the tyranny of the decemvirs when they appeared with the *fasces* carried before them (X.59.5-60.2); Appius' final sentence in direct discourse is to arrogate the *fasces* to his own person (XI.37.3).[68] His recklessness extends after the death of Verginia. The narrator chides him for failing to court the multitude at XI.38.3-4;[69] this failure leads to fighting with the gang of Valerius and Horatius in the forum (XI.38.5; continued at XI.39.1), and ultimately to Appius' removal from power.

Appius is described as οὐ φρενήρης (XI.35.4). As so often in Dionysius, this phrase looks back both to Herodotus and to an earlier moment in the *Antiquities*.[70] As with the earlier parallels with Coriolanus and Romulus, Brutus functions as the hub, a universalising figure against whom other Romans must be compared. While such a comparison sometimes shows Rome in a good light, as in the case of Romulus' *contio*, it can also be troubling, as it was with Brutus' harshness. οὐ φρενήρης points back to Brutus' description of other people's opinions of him when he pretended to be mad (DH *AR* IV.77.1),[71] reinforcing Brutus' positive characterisation in the early part of his career, and so, by extension, Appius' own early positive characterisation. Now, the reminiscence of Brutus recalls Brutus' concealment of his

67 DH *AR* XI.35.5:
διὰ δὴ ταῦτα πάντα οἰστρῶν λόγον τε ὑπέμεινεν εἰπεῖν ἀναίσχυντον, ἐξ οὗ καταφανὴς ἐγένετο τοῖς ὑπονοοῦσιν, ὅτι τὸ συκοφάντημα κατὰ τῆς κόρης αὐτὸς ἔγραψε καὶ ἔργον ἐτόλμησε τυραννικὸν πρᾶξαι καὶ ὠμόν.

68 DH *AR* XI.37.5:
οἱ γὰρ Ἀππίου σε προπέμψουσι δώδεκα πελέκεις.

69 DH *AR* XI.38.3:
ὁ δ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὡς εἶχε πέμπει τῶν ῥαβδούχων τινὰς κελεύσας ἀπάγειν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τοὺς κεκραγότας καὶ τὸ πτῶμα μεταφέρειν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς· ἀφρονέστατον πρᾶγμα ποιῶν καὶ τοῖς τότε καιροῖς ἥκιστα ἁρμόττον.

70 E.g. pp. 199-205 below.

71 Ek 1942: 134

true intelligence – 'you thought I was mad' – and so triangulates suggestively with Livy's focus upon Appius' concealment under his *aliena persona*. In Dionysius, the sense of concealment works differently: Romilius was an example of a politician shifting public personas, but Appius had started the story with the 'best of motives'. His concealment actually began with a revelation, when the decemvirs appeared in public with the *fasces* (X.59.5). Out of this revelation came concealment and plot before the debate in the senate; afterwards, Appius' madness developed as his tyranny progressed.

If one moves outside the *Antiquities*, Herodotus' story of Cambyses provides a powerful counterpoint to Appius' madness. He too is described as οὐ φρενήρης when he undertakes his campaign against the Fish-eaters (Hdt. III.25.2).[72] Cambyses' madness is indicated in his disregard for *nomoi*, in the Herodotean sense of custom or unwritten law.[73] Cambyses is so far destabilised that *nomos*, which one might expect to act a stabilising force, cannot be used consistently by the reader to measure Cambyses' madness.[74] *Nomoi,* in the later sense of written laws, are also central to Appius' madness, since the decemvirate were appointed to establish what turned out to be the Twelve Tables. Appius himself, I have argued, is obsessed with procedure. His failure to exert sufficient dominance through (and over) *nomos* might seem to demonstrate the Herodotean and Pindaric principle that *nomos* itself is king (Hdt. III.38.4, Pind. F 169 Maehler),[75] but there is more to it than that. Appius is not just a manipulator of *nomos*. He is also hamstrung by his responsiveness to the demands of the people, since his first instinct

72 Ek 1942: 134-135; Asheri et al. 2007: 424; cf. Hdt. III.35.4; V.42.1; IX.55.2; Arr. *Anab.* III.22.2.

73 E.g. at Hdt. III.16.4, 38.1, 38.4; Baragwanath's reading (2008: 115-119) is extremely stimulating. On *nomos* in Herodotus, see e.g. Asheri et al. 2007: 437-438 on Hdt. III.38.1; Rood 2006: 298-300; Thomas 2006: 69-71.

74 Baragwanath 2008: 117: 'Cambyses' behaviour cannot be predicted, or in retrospect comprehended, by the dictates of Persian custom; and moreover, his actions are not straightforwardly or inevitably – *predictably* – contrary to such *nomoi*. [original italics].'

75 Baragwanath 2008: 116; Asheri et al. 2007: 436-437.

after the hearing was simply to have Verginia taken away by Marcus Claudius (XI.31.2). Appius' attempts to preserve legality, to placate the people and to satisfy his *libido* create a character torn in a number of directions, and so in tune with the whole account of the decemvirate.

§3 Conclusion

Let us return to Romilius. Romilius' shifting of his public persona mirrored Livy's portrayal of Appius in the way he moved simply between tyranny and demagoguery and then into power. The psychological depths of Romilius were never plunged: Romilius functions for Dionysius as an ersatz and simplified version of Livy's Appius, and as a comparandum for Dionysius' own version. Through comparison with the earlier, simpler figure, Dionysius' Appius is shown to be a complex character, torn between demagoguery and tyranny. The complexity of this one character ripples out into the narrative as a whole. This is especially true in the debate in the senate, which is a difficult and jagged construction. The number of voices in the senate crowds the debate. The senate is, finally, a body which cannot be controlled by a tyrant; but it cannot control a tyrant either.

How, then, does the story of the decemvirate relate to the *Antiquities* as a whole? Nothing occurs in the story which does not occur in similar form earlier in the *Antiquities.* The chief difference lies in the violence in the forum. This is not the place for the triumphant note of VII.66, when Dionysius declared Rome's success in avoiding *stasis.* The long lacuna after XI.44 means that we cannot know whether Dionysius claims any glory for Rome in this regard.[76]

76 Neither is any moral success figured in any detail earlier (it might be expected at X.54.7 or XI.1.6), but there can be no conclusion from silence.

The glory in fact comes from a theme which had remained ancillary throughout the narrative, related to the embassy sent to learn the laws of the Greeks at X.55.5, which has remained outside the compass of my discussion. Dionysius recalls the embassy at XI.44.6, upon the resumption after the lacuna, observing that this was the point at which the Roman laws surpassed the Greek.[77] Roman constitutional supremacy is the central theme of the *Antiquities*, and so it should not be unexpected; but coming after the failure of constitutional mechanisms to control or overthrow tyranny, it heralds a two-pronged emphasis for the coming books. On the one hand, the Roman supremacy over the Greeks, which had hitherto only existed in distant comparison (e.g. at VII.66), will occur at their point of contact in Southern Italy. I discuss these issues in the next chapter. On the other hand, Rome is no longer facing its internal problems with the same bloodlessness it could achieve before. This decline will never come fully into force in the *Antiquities.* Indeed, the message of decline which Livy and Sallust point, explore and occasionally complicate will be accompanied in Dionysius by the constant reminder that Rome can produce men capable of preventing it. These messages will be carried forward into the extant fragments of the final books.

77 DH *AR* XI.44.5:
ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν νόμων, οὓς ἐν ταῖς δώδεκα δέλτοις ἀναγεγραμμένους εὕρομεν, οὔτε μηδένα ποιήσασθαι λόγον ἥρμοττεν, οὕτω σεμνῶν ὄντων καὶ τοσαύτην ἐχόντων διαφορὰν παρὰ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς νομοθεσίας, οὔτε περαιτέρω τοῦ δέοντος προβαίνειν ἐκμηκύναντας τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἱστορίαν.

6. Rome, Greece and Identity: Books XIV-XX

There is a natural texture to the extant fragments of the last seven books of the *Antiquities*, which starts with the geese on the Capitol and ends with the elephants of Pyrrhus,[1] so my chapter will use these as start- and end-points. The fragmentary preservation lends special difficulties of interpretation, so I discuss the state of the fragments in §2. For the same reason, this chapter will move away from the earlier chapters' focus on speech. I investigate two passages: the excursus on Hellenism at XIV.G,[2] and the war with Pyrrhus that ends our extant text. The war heralds a clash between Greece and Rome which is especially fruitful territory for a postcolonial analysis.[3] I shall not adopt such an approach for this chapter, but the questions raised by postcolonial studies are important ones for Dionysius, so I outline the issue in the next section.

§1 Postcolonial studies

This section comprises three parts. First, I explain how I understand postcolonial studies. Second, I describe some of the discussions relating to the application of postcolonial studies to the Ancient World. Third, introducing the theme of cultural identity, I argue that the language of postcolonial studies should not be used as a founding principle of my study, but that the topics and themes of the fragments of the *Antiquities* must form part of any wide-ranging study of Greek attitudes to Roman colonisation, and the construction of Greek and/or Roman identity in the early Empire.

1 This is the observation of Pittia 2002b: 3
2 XIV.G Pittia = XIV.6 Kiessling-Jacoby. See §2 for discussion of the numeration system.
3 See e.g. Mossman 2005.

What are postcolonial studies?[4] 'Postcolonial' at one point had a simple temporal and local referent.[5] It referred to people from those parts of the world which had been colonised by Europe, in particular Western Europe, or the 'North' over the 'South', from the point after colonisation or decolonisation. In the last twenty years or so, 'Postcolonial studies' has come to refer to something broader, more interested in ideological boundaries:[6] the field is interested in 'decentring the dominant traditions of the [European] literary world',[7] often challenging Eurocentrism. To speak generally, postcolonial scholars investigate language and literature of the post-colonial world (in a deliberately loose sense) from a chiefly literary perspective.[8]

One fundamental concept of postcolonial studies is subalternity.[9] Subalternity consists of two elements. One is the subaltern himself: 'to be positioned as subaltern in any discursive context is to be incapable of representing oneself within that context. The subaltern is the object of discourse, never the subject.'[10] This will do as a rough definition. The second area concerns the 'gap' between the subaltern and the intellectual writing about him.[11] This has proved problematic ground for some, because in championing a 'postcolonial' work a Western intellectual can be seen to be a proponent of a form of the colonising

4 Should postcolonial be hyphenated? Innes 2007: 1-2 writes 'postcolonial' in order to distinguish it from the term used in history, 'post-colonial', which refers to the moment 'specifically to the period after a country, state or people *cease*[s] to be governed by a colonial power' (italics added). Unhyphenated 'postcolonial', on the other hand, in Innes' usage, refers to the 'consequences of colonialism after the area was first colonised'. Innes talks in terms of tendencies, and draws attention to the continuing dispute over the terminology. I follow Innes' practice, except in the quotations, where I retain the usage of the author.
5 For an illuminating introduction and conspectus, see Lazarus 2004b: 1-16
6 Lazarus 2004b: 4: 'For Bhabha [whose work has been influential in framing postcolonial studies], 'post-colonial' is a fighting term, a theoretical weapon.'
7 Lazarus 2004b: 13
8 See further Ashcroft et al. 1989 (still cited by e.g. Mossman 2005: 500), with reviews Prescott 1996, van Wyk Smith 1993.
9 See e.g. Childs 2006: 95-114; Moore-Gilbert, 2000: 451-466; Chakrabarty 2000: 467-485
10 Lazarus 2004: 9, representing the view of Spivak. Lazarus cites various critiques of this position, at fn. 7.
11 Innes 2007: 97-118 discusses the way different writers use language, and how some African critics, such as Obianjunwa Wali, have attacked other African authors for writing in a Western language, which limits their audience to elite Westerners.

arrogation of which the subalterns were victim.[12] This is an awkward problem for postcolonial scholars, which, nevertheless, they do confront.[13] Subalternity has special implications in classical studies.

Classics is having a hard job fitting the interests of postcolonial studies into its own remit. The most successful studies have examined the reception of classical texts in modern, clearly post-colonial worlds.[14] Regarding ancient texts, there is the large problem of Classics itself, interested the Greek and Roman worlds, which is especially susceptible to attacks of Eurocentrism. Despite the advances of recent scholarship,[15] Greece and Rome are still treated as the fount of Western civilisation, *termini ante quos non*, even if it is often acknowledged that other cultures of similar importance existed earlier and in parallel, whether or not they contributed to 'Western' civilisation. Given that my project concerns Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who lived in Rome after the Battle of Actium, such questions of origin fall outside the scope of this section. Instead, I summarise attempts to fit postcolonial language into Classics. Such attempts have mostly concerned Greek authors from the period when Greece was 'colonised', that is, mostly after the second century BCE, with a focus on Imperial literature. Now standard introductory work includes Swain 1996 and Whitmarsh 1999.

The issues at stake in using the language of postcolonial studies in Classics have been ably demonstrated by Judith Mossman.[16] She draws attention to the 'enormous number of irreducible differences' between the imperial experiences considered in mainstream postcolonial studies and those

12 Lazarus 2004: 4-6, with further references. Innes 2007: 2 paraphrases Nayantara Sahgal, who 'dislikes the term because she considers that it implies that colonization by the British is the only important thing that happened to India.'
13 Lazarus 2004: 6.
14 E.g. Hardwick & Gillespie 2007.
15 E.g. (perhaps especially, in the English language) West 1997.
16 Mossman 2005: esp. 499-500

of the Greeks (in particular) under Rome. Those differences, continues Mossman, occur at the central axes of postcolonial studies, namely literature and cultural activity, since those were the very areas where the Greek voice was able to assert itself in the face of the colonising power. She concludes:

> So is Greek literature dominated, or dominating? Who is the cultural subaltern?...So the fact that most of the studies which examine the Greek literature of the Roman period do so precisely from the starting-point of how it asserts and publicises its Greekness, indeed uses it as a strategy for survival *within* the Empire, is perhaps paradoxical.

In other words, the issues framed by such ideas as subalternity are addressed very differently, if at all, in ancient literature. Mossman goes on to argue that postcolonial theory can be used, so long as the risks and flaws are noted and flagged. There is clearly a big risk here: it would not take much to present the arguments listed above as knockdown objections to using the theory.[17] In the end, Mossman hardly uses postcolonial terminology outside the introduction and conclusion; perhaps this reflects her caution.[18]

Subalternity in any pure sense is not applicable to the Greek and Roman world of Dionysius, who was still able to converse with representatives of the Imperial centre in his native tongue about Greek literature. As for Roman literature, that seems to function for Dionysius as little more than source-material for his own history (e.g. *AR* I.7.3),[19] equivalent in status to Greek annalistic accounts,[20] though it should be noted that Dionysius deliberately excludes mention of all non-Classical influence on the style or architecture of his work.[21]

17 Hose 1999: 303-326) offers an entertaining angle on the process in Classics.
18 Mossman 2005: 506 and 513-515, though Mossman's discussion of identity (513-515) is not framed in especially postcolonial terms.
19 De Jonge (forthc.): 52-57
20 On Dionysius' attitude to the Atthidographers, see chapter 2.
21 Hose 2007b discusses Greek silence about Roman literature. He suggests that the Greeks did not cite Roman literature for

At the other end, Dionysius appears to have been influenced, at least in his choice of vocabulary, by the Roman intellectual debates of the first century BCE.[22] Current thinking has been well summarised by Casper de Jonge.[23] One productive area is Atticism. Dionysius presents a tripartite view of the history of rhetoric: first, a glorious classical past; second, a period of vulgar decline; third, revival in the Augustan age.[24] The periods are divided at the death of Alexander the Great and Actium. Dionysius links the classical past with contemporary Rome, presenting the middle period as an interloper. The revival he frames in the language used by Cicero and his contemporaries some decades earlier: his modern movement is called Atticism like theirs.[25] The connection between the Roman Atticism of Cicero and the Greek Atticism of Dionysius and his friend Caecilius of Caleacte is unclear. De Jonge suggests that Dionysius may have read Cicero; he certainly came tantalisingly close to knowing the major literary figures of the first century.[26] What is certain is that we must talk in terms of a network of Greco-Roman figures, some of whom knew each other, and who may or may not have been based in

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the same reason that they did not cite non-canonical Greek literature: not because they did not know it, but because it was not an 'argumentative reference', that is, Roman literature did not have sufficient authority either to persuade a Greek audience when cited, or to colour a work the way a quotation of Homer would raise a work to epic proportions. Dionysius seems to try to create some sort of prestige for certain types of Roman literature, though not beyond the level of source-material. Regarding non-Classical Greeks, Clemence Schultze (2000) has shown that Polybius is a sort of 'elephant in the room' (my phrase) in the first preface to the *Antiquities* (I.1-8), though when he is mentioned at I.6.1 and I.7.1, it is in summary form and only to dismiss his approach. Perhaps listing Polybius after Timaeus, as Dionysius does, is not just obedient to chronology but also a knowing dig at Polybius. Dionysius also mentions Polybius at I.32.1 and I.74.3, both times to draw attention to his own method; there is a further mention at *De Comp. Verb.* 4, when Dionysius famously lists Polybius as one of those historians 'no one can bear to read to the end'.

22 Crouzet 2000 is a good example of this.

23 De Jonge (forthc.): 8-29, 52-57. His section on Classicism and Atticism (8-17) forms the foundation of the following discussion.

24 DH *De Orat. Vett.* 1.3.10-19. Cf. Hidber 1996: 24-25, de Jonge (forthc.): 8-9

25 Cf. Cic. *Brutus*; Bowersock 1979: 59-65, Wisse 1995. Swain 1996: 21-27 argues that Dionysius' Atticism is sufficiently different from that of Cicero and his contemporaries to be thought of as an independent movement.

26 See de Jonge (forthc.): 12 and 22: 'It is exciting to remember that Dionysius was roughly contemporary with Horace, Vergil, Ovid and Livy, although we do not know whether he ever met them.' The father of Quintus Aelius Tubero, addressee of one letter by Dionysius, was acquainted with Cicero (see Bowersock 1979: 68-70).

Rome. The issue should not be framed in terms of subalternity. Subalternity imposes thinking about a hierarchy of cultural relations which does not reflect the interactions of Greeks and Romans at Dionysius' level.

Cultural identity is a possible alternative field of study that is related to postcolonial studies. Simon Goldhill sketches the difficulties in both 'cultural' and 'identity'. On culture he says:

> Both 'culture' and 'identity' are buzz words of the contemporary academy, and (thus) suffer from competing definitions, multiple expectations and confused argumentative usage...thus culture 'is a description of a particular way of life which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour.'[27]

Goldhill demarcates identity into two broad churches, the validity of both of which is subject to constant attack. On the one hand, identity relates to some form of the self, whether that relates to the true and/or natural centre of a person, or to the influence of social construction, in other words, 'one is not born a woman, one becomes one'. On the other, identity can be taken to imply singleness, sameness, and/or unity.[28] The identity of a historian, then, would seem to be interpretable in a number of ways: his own concept of himself; his own idea of how he fits into the corpus of historians writ large; other people's concepts of him, and how other people fit him into the corpus of historians writ large.

'Cultural' identity seems equally slippery, since in order to use the term we must find a clear spot in muddy waters. How might Dionysius fit into a picture of 'cultural identity'? It is my view that for

27 Goldhill 2001: 15-20. Quotation from 16, citing Williams 1961, *The Long Revolution,* New York: 41.
28 Goldhill 2001: 18-19

Dionysius, the idea of distinct Greek and Roman cultural identities, though not meaningless, must be wrong.[29] This view of Dionysius is quite orthodox. Dionysius attempts to reconcile Greeks to Roman rule, and by doing so joins the histories of the peoples together: it has been argued that for Dionysius, 'there is no Roman culture', because everything is Greek.[30] That is a simplification. The *Antiquities* presents an increasing sense of independent political thought in Rome as Roman history progresses. There are traces, too, of an independent moral sense: Crouzet argues that Dionysius' version of Fabricius reflects a strongly *Roman* ideology.[31]

Dionysius can be considered in postcolonial terms. Indeed, as a serious scholar of the relationship between Greece and Rome, then Dionysius must be so considered if Classics can think in those terms at all. The terminology and approach will remain available to this study. But we should not assume that Dionysius worked within the same or an analogous debate. So rather than starting from a postcolonial viewpoint, it is better, in my view, to begin more inductively, and see where the evidence leads us.

§2 The Fragments of the *Antiquities*[32]

The two main sources for *AR* XII-XX, the *excerpta Constantinia* and the *excerpta Ambrosiana*, preserve the *Antiquities* in different ways, which allow for substantial variety in the possible interpretation of the fragments. The newest text, edited by Pittia, marks a significant departure from the

29 But see Dench 2005: 260: 'Ultimately..., Dionysius' preoccupation with the pure *Greek* blood of Rome...looks downright odd within the context of Augustan Rome.'
30 Preston 2001: 100
31 Crouzet 2000: 159-172
32 The account of the fragments in this section is indebted to the papers collected Pittia 2002a, and especially Fromentin 2002: 11-26 in the same volume; I can claim little of it, beside the phrasing, for myself.

previous standard version edited by Kiessling and Jacoby. I adopt the numeration system proposed by Pittia 2002c (henceforth P).[33] The previous standard order was proposed by Jacoby, who closely followed the propositions of Kiessling (henceforth KJ).[34] A brief account will shed light on the particular problems of interpreting fragments. P's text, apart from some minor adjustments of order, has two differences from KJ which need to be recorded.

Books XII-XX of the *Antiquities* are lost to the direct manuscript tradition, and remain solely in the form of Byzantine *excerpta*.[35] These *excerpta* can be categorised into three sources. First, the *excerpta Constantinia* in the tenth century provide lengthy extracts of Greek historians organised under fifty-three headings.[36] Second, the *excerpta Ambrosiana*, preserved in two manuscripts in Milan, have an epitome of the complete *Antiquities*.[37] Finally, the Souda and Stephanus of Byzantium record isolated words or passages. The Dionysian fragments were organised into a text by KJ. According to Fromentin, the text proposed by KJ has one weakness relevant to my study.[38] This is connected to the *excerpta Ambrosiana*: while KJ eliminated a number of the weaknesses of the previous standard text, by Mai, they do so by adopting a number of Struve's emendations. These make the language of the *excerpta Ambrosiana* look like the language of the *excerpta Constantinia.* We know from cases where the texts

33 Pittia 2002a: 7-8 has a table of concordances, which I reproduce as an appendix (pp. 243-244 below). Cf. Pittia 2002d.
34 Kiessling, A. 1860-1870, *Dionysi Halicarnassensis Antiquitatum Romanarum quae supersunt*, 4 voll., Leipzig: Teubner, esp. vol. 4, Books X-XX (1870); Jacoby, K. (1885-1905), *Dionysii Halicarnasei antiquitatum Romanarum quae supersunt*, 4 voll., Leipzig: Teubner, esp. vol. 4, Books X-XX (1905).
35 The whole of this paragraph is a précis of Fromentin 2002: 11-12. See also Fromentin 2004a: 175-194 for an interesting discussion of the relationship between the indirect tradition and the first eleven books of the *Antiquities*. In return, Dionysius is an extremely important source of fragments of other (Roman) historians, though an especially difficult one in whom to sort out what is and what is not a fragment (Chassignet 2004: 200).
36 See Brunt 1980: 483; Parmentier-Morin 2002: 461-479; Flusin 2002: 537-559; Mouren 2002: 27-84.
37 Cf. Fromentin 1998: 62-66
38 Fromentin 2002: 19-20

can be tested alongside manuscripts of the original that the *Ambrosiana* constitute a rewriting and abbreviation of the *Antiquities*, while the *Constantinia* are a much more faithful rendering of the original text.[39] Such changes are clearly significant for any interpretation of language or style.

P's edition has two major differences from that proposed by KJ. First, P includes two fragments, 17.B and 17.C, which are not in KJ. Second, P moves a number of fragments from XVI KJ to XVIII P. These are XVI.3.3d-XVI.6.1b-2 KJ, which chiefly relate the stories of Laetorius and the son of Publius, and the discussion of earthquakes at Rome. These are the only instances in which P includes new fragments or moves fragments between books; there are other changes to the order within books.[40]

Up to this point in the thesis, I have analysed the *Antiquities* episodically rather than thematically. This treatment lends itself to a fragmentary work because its chief weakness, the risk of treating episodes in isolation, is a necessary consequence of dealing with fragments.[41] But that does not nullify the biggest problem in dealing with the sorts of fragments presented in the *excerpta*: that is, it was the decision of the excerptor, not the historian, to select episodes for extraction; so the bias of the excerptor can give a false impression of the original text.[42] Furthermore, the rationale behind the decision of the excerptor is

39 Fromentin 2004a: 178-183 has good examples of the differences between the traditions for *AR* IV, and 190-192 for *AR* VIII. Fromentin concludes (2004: 194) that of the three families of the indirect tradition, 'il semble donc que la famille la plus proche de la tradition directe, et par conséquent la plus fiable, soit la première [i.e. the *exceprta Constantinia*], puisque les fragments qu'elle transmet sont assimiliables à des citations littérales du texte originel.' She advises that the *excerpta Ambrosiana* be treated with considerable caution.
40 Pittia 2002c: 85-227 has a full discussion and justification of the changes.
41 The classic discussions of the treatment of fragments is Brunt 1980. Discussions of authors other than Dionysius include Braund 1997; Casewitz 2002; Henderson 1989; Lenfant 1999, 2002; Ottone 2004; Pelling 2000b; Schettino 2002. Ottone rephrases Lenfant's question, 'Peut-on se fier aux 'fragments' d'historiens?' to 'Peut-on se fier aux 'fragments' de Jacoby?', though he accepts that the more important question is to define fragment. On the same note, see Fromentin 2004: 194.
42 Corbier 2002: 392: Corbier observes that 'la séléction operée à l'époque de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, à la demande du souverain, tend à retenir uniquement ce qui illustrait le mieux le thème pris en charge par l'excerpteur et à s'interrompre ensuite lorsqu'il n'est plus concerné.' This is the point of Brunt 1980: *passim*, esp. 484; cf. Pittia 2002d: 178.

not always clear. Dionysius' account of Postumius (probably Lucius Postumius Megellus) is recorded under one heading of the *Excerpta Constantinia*, the *de Virtutibus*, while Cassius Dio's version of the same story is under another, the *de Sententiis*.[43] Corbier remarks that the genre of *excerpta* especially lends itself to 'l'anecdote, le pittoresque, le saugrenu et aussi les figures individuelles'.[44]

The fragments' concentration upon anecdotes and individual figures creates the impression that Dionysius' history is composed of *exempla*.[45] Corbier argues that Dionysius followed common Roman practice in his use of *exempla* to provide models from the past in order to inspire contemporary readers, citing DH *AR* I.1.2.[46] Dionysius often has his characters use παράδειγμα in the same way as Livy has Lucretia use *exemplum* (e.g. DH *AR* VI.41.3; VII.45.5; XIX.S P = XIX.16.4 KJ). But while Dionysius does use παράδειγμα in the sense of the *exemplum* of individuals from history, his use of παράδειγμα often refers not just to the example of individuals but the example of past states, so that Rome itself is the ideal exponent of *mimesis* (e.g. DH *AR* II.8.1; III.11.2, 11.4; VI.80.1), and the cities of Greece are μιμήματα.

The key is to expand Corbier's definition: individual *exempla* do figure in the *Antiquities*, and some of

43 Corbier 2002: 393
44 Corbier 2002: 393. On literary analysis of the fragments, see also Caire 2002.
45 I discuss the term above in ch. 2.
46 Corbier 2002: 394: *Exempla* are 'des modèles fournis par des personnages du passé dont la conduite ancienne doit inspirer les actes de ceux qui lisent aujourd'hui le récit de leurs exploits'.
DH *AR* I.1.2:
καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τοὺς ἀναγράφοντας ἱστορίας, ἐν αἷς καθιδρῦσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν [πάντες] ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἀρχὴν φρονήσεώς τε καὶ σοφίας οὖσαν, πρῶτον μὲν ὑποθέσεις προαιρεῖσθαι καλὰς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις φερούσας...
DH *AR* I.5.3 (cf. XI.1.5; Delcourt 2005: 167) supports better Corbier's emphasis on personal *exempla*:
μαθοῦσί γε δὴ παρὰ τῆς ἱστορίας, ὅτι μυρίας ἤνεγκεν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὰς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμὸν.

the characters are even aware of their own exemplarity.[47] The extant fragments have a bias towards this sort of exemplum.[48] But in the Antiquities as a whole, exemplarity extends beyond the example of individuals, and asks bigger questions about whole states. Of course, this amount of exemplarity also leads to a discourse on the nature of exemplarity itself, but I defer that question until the conclusion. Corbier's suggestion, that '[les] sources de Denys, sa propre idéologie sont responsables de cette histoire romaine confondue avec celle de ses dirigeants mais ce type d'oeuvre correspond aussi à l'opinion de son temps',[49] has powerful consequences for the interpretation of the *Antiquities* as a whole. Nevertheless, as I have argued in this thesis, one of the motifs of the *Antiquities* is the tug-of-war between an individual, character-based history on the one hand, and on the other a history concerned with the tectonic movements of states and natural law. The preservation of fragments in *excerpta*, as far as we can tell, removes the possibility of analysis of the second part of that equation.

Fragments create another sort of problem. Corbier treats the Postumius of XVIII and the Postumius of XIX as the same man, and structures his argument around the difficulty of reconciling the very different images given in the two passages. They might be the same man, but there is doubt.[50] This is not eased by the importance in Republican Rome of *les grandes familles,* which leads to the repetition of *nomina*. The non-continuity of fragments presents such insoluble situations.

So the fragmentary part of the *Antiquities* must be treated with care. The temptation to see the

47 Fromentin 2004b: 315 makes a similar point, though at 313 she has argued that the audience is primarily Greek. At 315: 'Pour eux, [les lecteurs romains], Denys assigne deux buts à son histoire: célébrer et immortaliser les grands hommes du passé...; proposer ces héros d'autrefois commes modèles de valeur et de mérité aux générations présentes et futures.'
48 See Caire 2000 and Crouzet 2000, on Fabricius and Pyrrhus respectively.
49 Corbier 2002: 410-411
50 Corbier 2002: 395-398; Fronda 2006 suggests that they are different Postumii.

preserved fragments as indicative of Dionysius' larger programme in XII-XX should be resisted where it cannot be proven, or at least where it contradicts the drift of the earlier eleven books.[51] We should be wary, too, about the precise phraseology in use: can we always be sure that the moral lesson has not been adduced by the epitomator? But these cautions can be crippling. Perhaps it is enough (a) to flag the risk; (b) not to make allusions which rest too much on the reliability of the fragments as indicators of the original whole text; and (c) to use the experience of the extant eleven books to justify the bigger claims.

§3 Ethnic Identity in the Fragments: Gauls and Greeks

In this section I discuss interpretations that have been placed on *AR* XIV.G P (= XIV.6 KJ, p. 200 below) within the context of the fragments as we have them. I use the passage as a starting-point to draw out threads that will be important in my analysis of the war with Pyrrhus. Dionysius' ethnography engages loosely with Herodotus, presenting a Hellenism with a clearly defined barbarian Other. This allows Dionysius' Hellenism safe room to manoeuvre, as he forces a reassessment of Hellenism which never actually cuts deep until XIX.[52] Finally, the clearly defined Other, the Gaul, is presented in an unambiguously stereotypical way, which, while not allowing for sophistication in Book XIV, prepares the ground for a more challenging reading of XIX-XX.

51 For example, Corbier 2002: 410 rightly notes that 'les abréviateurs sont automatiquement obligés de retenir des figures qui servent d'illustration à leurs propos'. But he goes on to say that the portraits preserved to us in the fragments indicate Dionysius' ideology (quotation above), namely that the positive protrayals are of men of the *grandes familles*, and the negative ones are of demagogues. I argue in chh. 3 & 5 that the reality is more complicated than that. It should be no surprise that employees of a Byzantine emperor should seek out examples which fit this picture (Corbier 2002: 410 suggests an examination of the sorts of examples from ancient historians preserved to us by their excerptors).
52 For a modern reading of the history of Hellenism and Panhellenism before Rome and Macedonia, see Champion 2004: 31-40.

At I.89, Dionysius claims to have demonstrated the original Greekness of the Romans, thus satisfying his stated aim of I.4.2 and I.5.1-2. Already at I.89.1-2, Dionysius makes room for a definition of Greekness alongside the purely ethnological.[53] This passage clearly recalls Hdt. I.56-58. Some of Dionysius' language is similar to Herodotus' in that off-centre way so typical of the *Antiquities*. A good example is Hdt. I.57 ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε alongside DH *AR* I.89.3 ἡ πόλις πολλὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀπέμαθε. The contexts provide stronger evidence: both passages discuss ethnography; both contain long lists of different peoples engaging in different movements, and the Greek/barbarian discourse; and both end with discussion of language, which otherwise seems a little out of place in Dionysius. By invoking Herodotus here, Dionysius establishes his history within the long tradition of debate about Hellenism.[54] But more than that, Dionysius is going to make this parallel work for him: see the reading of XIV.G below.

Dionysius also uses this passage to anticipate decline through contact with barbarians, including Italians and Gauls (DH *AR* I.89.3). Dionysius must pull off a careful balancing act. He spends much of the *Antiquities* arguing that Rome's inclusiveness has been the key to its rise to greatness, so he cannot argue wholly against it. What is more, he is an outsider in Rome, and surely does not want to talk himself out of the city. Instead, his objection is targeted on the recipients of Rome's goodwill (Romulus'

53 Delcourt 2005: 198. DH *AR* I.89.1:
τὴν Ῥώμην...Ἑλλάδα πόλιν αὐτήν,...κοινοτάτην τε πόλεων καὶ φιλανθρωποτάτην,
54 There is a huge amount of literature on this topic. In English, perhaps Swain 1996 is the most pertinent, but see also Goldhill 2001; Whitmarsh 1999, 2001; Woolf 1994. I discuss briefly questions of identity above. On Herodotus in particular, see Hartog 1991; Pelling has a good reading and summary of this at Pelling 1997. The collection of papers in French and English edited by Suzanne Saïd (1991) is a very good grounding.

asylum) rather than the goodwill itself.[55] So Rome does well to grant citizenship to the Tusculans (XIV.G), but too often grants manumission to slaves (IV.22-24, esp. 24.4-7),[56] and the admission of barbarians into the city has led to a dilution and oblivion of the city's ancient institutions (I.89.3).[57] Within the *Antiquities*, the Romans do not forget their Greek institutions.[58] Gabba frames this success in terms of 'wonder',[59] which recalls the common historiographical interest in τὸ θαυμαστόν.[60] The Roman 'capacity for maintaining the old Greek framework and...the constitutional order [citing II.3]...is singled out as the reason behind Rome's good fortune.'[61] Furthermore, Dionysius paints the admission of outsiders as a strength as well as a weakness, opposing it to the Greeks' 'avarice' in protecting their blood (DH *AR* II.17.1).[62]

Dionysius' argument has two main points of interest. First is the clear indication that Rome has

55 Cf. Gabba 1991: 103, 197. Fromentin 2004b: 313: the thesis that Rome is of Greek origin 'a pour conséquence de reléguer au second plan la question de l'*asylum* romuléen'. On Romulus' asylum, see most recently Dench 2005. DH *AR* II.15.4; Delcourt 2005: 288-289 observes that in Dionysius' version, the recipients of asylum are free-born, while Livy says that even slaves were included (Livy I.8.5-6). See esp. Delcourt 2005: 288n.216 & 289n.218 for ancient and modern bibliography, and for discussion of the originality of Dionysius' version. More broadly, Forte 1972: 194-203. Dench 2005 is excellent, but her discussion of Dionysius at 17-20 overplays the function of Thucydidean Athens as a *mimeme*.

56 This is a much-discussed passage: Delcourt 2005: 325 ascribes the passage to Dionysius' concern to protect the reputation of the slave-born Tullius. Gabba 1991: 87n.36 has a full bibliography on manumission in Dionysius; see also Gabba 1991: 210. On manumission more generally, see e.g. Daube 1946: 68; Wiedemann 1985: 168. Regarding Tullius, see ch. 3 above.

57 Gabba 1991: 109: 'The conclusion reached [at I.89], that is, the original Greekness of the Romans, disregards the typical Greek tendency to reflect the traditions of people with whom they came into contact back to an essentially Greek referent [citing Bickerman1952]...The historian himself...assumes a meaningful political position that goes beyond historiography.' See also Dench 2005: 101-102.

58 Dench 2005: 234-236 at 235: 'Dionysius is positing [at I.89.3-4] two stages of 'being Greek': the first stage is 'Greekness' 'by descent', and the second concerns signs of forgetting..., or, by implication, remembering that 'Greekness'.

59 Gabba 1991: 110. Fromentin 2004b: 313-314 discusses the same passage.

60 See also Dench 2005: 260 on this passage.

61 Gabba 1991: 110

62 Fromentin 2004b: 314: Dionysius 'célèbre aussi les avantages qui résultent de leur *melting-pot*...:il loue la conception ouverte de la citoyenneté en vigueur chez les Romains et lui oppose 'avarice' des Grecs en la matière, qui, 'pour préserver la noblesse de leur sang' [quotation of *AR* II.17.1; citing also Gauthier 1974: 207-215].

degenerated at some unspecified point 'later in time'.[63] This point might be the Gracchi, which Dionysius acknowledges as a turning-point at II.11.3.[64] I note in passing that this turning-point is a moment of internal strife, and not the destruction of Carthage: that fits well with Dionysius' broader interest in *stasis* in the whole of the *Antiquities*. But that date is not certainly the implication at I.89. Regardless, II.11.3 is not firebrand rhetoric, nor is a distaste for Gauls an outrageous thing to imply. Second, Dionysius clearly lays the blame for this degeneration at the feet of non-Greek foreigners.[65] This is an important moment in the *Antiquities*. Dionysius has never denied that Rome might have undergone a moral decline; to do so would require Dionysius to deny the last hundred or so years of Roman history. By blaming the degenerate Gauls and Italiots, Dionysius shifts responsibility onto a safe target.

Dionysius also preserves Greeks from the possible charge that their influence on Rome is malign. He has to do this, because the standing of Greeks in Rome is not pristine.[66] Dionysius attempts to protect

63 DH *AR* I.89.3:
αἱ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιμιξίαι, δι' ἃς ἡ πόλις πολλὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀπέμαθε, σὺν χρόνῳ ἐγένοντο.

64 Fromentin 2004b: 315: 'L'épisode gracquien constitue donc une rupture, entre un *avant* marqué par *la concordia ordinum*, et un *après* ouverts sur les guerres civiles', with n.36; Gabba 1991: 84 & 211 with n.49. On the possibility that the *Antiquities* is intended to be a covert message to the Romans to live up to their Greek past, see Luraghi 2003, and in reply, Weaire 2005: 246.

65 Cf. Fromentin 2004b: 314; Dench 2005: 250

66 See Champion 2004: 57-63. On this point, Fromentin 2004b: 313 writes that Dionysius 'veut réconcilier une fois pour toutes vainqueurs et faire admettre aux Grecs les avantages d'une domination romaine [citing *AR* I.5.2].' See Dubuisson 1991: 315-335 on the pejorative use of *Graecus, Graeculus* and *Graeculari* in Latin. The mindset of Cicero is illuminating. He conveys mixed messages towards Greeks. It is hard to take the *Pro Archia* very seriously as a defence of Greeks or literature (*pace communis opinionis*; the speech seems to me to be utterly frivolous). For Cicero, as for other Romans of his day, Greek literature was a *mimeme*, but he 'pretends' to dislike using Greek even in conversation (*Tusc.* I.15; cf. *Off.* I.111; Hutchinson 1998: 13-14). Greek makes frequent appearance in his letters, rather more in the letters to Atticus than to his *familiares*: see Hutchinson 1998: 13-14 for argument and figures. Cic. *Ad Fam.* XIII.15, the letter of introduction to Caesar, is a delightful example of extended use of Greek quotation. In his public speeches, the *Pro Flacco* stands out for Cicero's distinction between 'true' and 'Asiatic' Greeks (*Flacc.* 62-64; 100). Cicero's letter on the Greeks to his brother Quintus (*Ad Quint.* I.128) delves further into the difficulties a governor faces in dealing with Greeks, and the responsibilities he owes to them. The Romans, of course, carried out public burials of living Greeks and Gauls in the second century BCE: see

the Greeks against the Roman charge that the contemporary *Graeculi* are not worthy of their Classical past; his method has consequences for the *Antiquities* as a whole. It was not ever thus: in the introduction to the *On the Ancient Orators*, Dionysius derides the 'Asian' muse which has corrupted Greek oratory.[67] Delcourt argues that this 'violent reproach' against Asia for having corrupted Hellenism in its purest form is surprising for 'un enfant du pays'.[68]

We should be cautious: as I argue in chapter 2, there is a clear distinction of genre between the *On the Ancient Orators* and the *Antiquities*. Firstly, the former is more polemical and obviously rhetorical, as indicated by the bold use of figures. Disparagement in the *De Vett. Orr.* should not be taken as a reliable indicator of the views expressed in the *Antiquities*. When Dionysius writes that there are pure-born Greeks in Asia Minor, as he does at *AR* I.61.1-5, that should not be taken, *pace* Delcourt, as a qualification of the view which he expresses at *De Vett. Orr.* I.6-7.[69] Rather, the figure of *De Vett. Orr.* should be treated as exaggerated for rhetorical effect. Secondly, the terminology of the 'Asian' muse is in keeping with the figures of classical oratory and the debates on the dissolution of society in fifth-century Athens. That seems to be the point of the figure, and is what makes Rome's salvation of oratory all the more effective as a rhetorical device in the passage. Thirdly, there is no reason to suppose that by

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Várhelyi 2007 for full discussion.
67 DH *De Vett, Orr.* I.6-7; 2.4. Delcourt 2005: 200 points out that Strabo, who, like Dionysius, is from Asia Minor, demonstrates much more explicit enthusiasm for his homeland (though without citations), and notes the intellectual importance of Asia Minor from the first century BCE onwards. No self-effacement about the Halicarnassians: the inscription known as the Pride of Halicarnassus, which lists the intellectual and other achievements of the town, is discussed recently by Gagné 2006. The editions are Isager 1998, Merkelbach & Stauber 1998, and Lloyd-Jones 1999. Halicarnassus is not alone in this self-advertisement: the most successful advertisement of the classical period has to be Athens, but later, Sicily tried to stake a claim: cf. Timaeus on this theme, and Polybius' mockery of him (e.g. Polyb. XII.13-14; Momigliano 1959: 529-556 = 1966a: 23-53; Walbank 1972: 52-53).
68 Delcourt 2005: 200: 'Il en effet reproche violemment...'
69 Delcourt 2005: 200

'Asian' Dionysius means the part of 'Asia' that he is from: when Dionysius criticises Italians, that does not mean that he criticises Romans too.[70]

One project of Dionysius, I have argued, is to address the Roman charge that the contemporary Greeks are not worthy of their Classical past. That is not to say that he will confront the charge head-on. Rather, Dionysius will present all the Greek peoples as being in various stages along their political development, and this includes the Romans. Obviously degenerate are the Tarentines, whom I discuss below, and the Achaeans by the Black Sea (I.89.4), who, by excessive contact with barbarians, have completed their descent into decadence. The Romans are somewhere along this process, though performing more admirably than any other people. It is striking too that Dionysius does not use the *Antiquities* to justify the superiority of the Classical Greeks. Their priority is never doubted; but Dionysius only ever presents individual Classical Greek models as being partially successful. In the section below, I discuss a passage in which Dionysius goes further, and describes the Classical Greeks not just as failing to match up to the Romans, but as failing to measure up to a standard of Hellenism.

Martin asks the question, 'si l'hellénisme est indépendant du sang grec, à quoi bon cette démonstration?'[71] Fromentin observes that Dionysius holds two contradictory positions.[72] First, the account 'à la grecque' of the city 'valorise l'origine ethnique et sociale des individus'. Second, the more open, inclusive style of citizenship is 'plus moderne, proprement romaine'.[73] Fromentin goes on to argue

70 Gabba 1991: 36: 'One wonders just what Asia...signified to Dionysius, who was himself a native of Halicarnassus and thus well acquainted with Asia'; with discussion, 36-38.
71 Martin 2000: 151
72 Fromentin 2004b: 314
73 For a different view, see e.g. Delcourt 2005: 202-204:
En effet, si seul le γένος définit l'identité de l'*Urbs*, il est à craindre que les mélanges incessants de population ne

that the tension between these two positions is never resolved in the *Antiquities*. I rather think that it is resolved, wholly in favour of the Romans.[74] The first point is that Hellenism itself has been in contest since Herodotus. Then by establishing the Greek origin of Rome, Dionysius allows the Romans to take part in the debate about what constitutes Hellenism. As Fromentin argues, Dionysius shifts the argument onto ground where the Romans can win.[75] He completes this argument by allowing Sparta and Athens always to be the defining points of Hellenism,[76] albeit controversial ones, and in such a way that Rome can always surpass them.[77] There is, as Dench has demonstrated, a double-game going on, in which the proof of genealogical Greekness is in contest with a cultural definition of Hellenism. I explore this game in the coming sections.

§3a Hellenism at XIV.G

τὸ γὰρ Ἑλληνικὸν οὐκ ὀνόματι διαφέρειν τοῦ βαρβάρου ἠξίουν...
DH *AR* XIV.G Pittia = XIV.6.5-6 KJ

The passage XIV.G occurs shortly after a discussion of Athens and Sparta. Delcourt records that

viennent, à terme, corrompre la grécité des Romains...Or Rome elle aussi subit une véritable 'barbarisation' [citing DH *AR* I.89.3, VII.70.5; Str. *Geog.* VI.1.2] due à la présence sur son territoire de nombreuses nations barbares...Une définition de l'hellénisme basée sur les seuls critères de l'appartenance au γένος grec peut donc s'averer dommageable à la thèse par Denys. C'est pourquoi celui-ci insiste particulièrement sur le caractère 'culturel' de l'ἑλληνισμός.

74 Palm 1959: 11-12 at 12 presents an alternative view of the *Antiquities*: an encomium of Rome, he says, but 'was bei den Römern gut ist, ist griechisch.' Palm 1959: 16: 'Mann könnte sagen, Dionysius entromanisiert Rom, indem er es entbarbarisiert.' Musti's analysis (1970:10) takes a similar, though much less contemptuous line, that everything Dionysius says which is to the glory of Rome is also to the glory of the Greeks.

75 Gabba 1991: 87

76 Delcourt 2005: 157 figures Athens and Sparta as the *phares de l'Hellade*, citing in support Arist. *Rhet.* 1411A4-6; Plut. *Praec.* 6; Ael. Arist. VIII.21, & Nenci 1991-1994: 111-121.

77 Delcourt 2005: 143-156 argues persuasively that Arcady is very important too, especially in the early books: she says it is the 'terre mère de l'hellénisme' (156) in the *Antiquities*. See also Delcourt 2005: 173-174 and 194-195 on Dionysius' portrayal of the hierarchy of Rome and Athens/Sparta, though I am warier than she is of using evidence of the rhetorical works and the *Antiquitates* interchangeably.

Athens is mentioned sixty-seven times in the *Antiquities* (thirty of these are references to archon-years) and Sparta twenty-nine.[78] She argues that Athens and Sparta, as the focal points of the Greek world, retain for themselves all the prestige of the classical period. Just as the *pax Romana* assures the final triumph of classical Greek culture, she continues, so Athens and Sparta offer to the Roman empire a mirror of its own excellence.[79]

Delcourt rightly says that Dionysius' dating system, of Olympiads, archon years and consuls, ties together the destinies of Athens and Rome.[80] Just two passages in the *Antiquities* refer to Athens in the *spatium historicum*:[81] the second preface (XI.1) and the defeat at Chaeronea (II.17.1).[82] That defeat at the hands of the Macedonians is attributed by Dionysius to the avarice of Athens' citizenship laws. The same 'avarice' accounts for the ruinous effect of the Spartan defeat at Leuctra, even though, by Dionysius' reckoning, they only lost seventeen hundred men (II.17.2). Nothing here about Leuctra's destruction of the Spartan myth of invincibility; but that is not the point.[83] Rather, given the situation of the passage, Romulus' asylum, Cannae and its aftermath have to be the issue.[84] As so often in

78 Delcourt 2005: 157-158

79 On the reputation of Athens in first-century Rome, see e.g. Gabba 1991: 195 & 34-35 with n. 31, who lists Cic. *Flac.* 62 (with the usual reservations about everything Cicero says in public); Lucr. VI.1-5; but also Sall. *Cat.* 8 & Livy XXXI.44.9.

80 Cf. Collin Bouffier 2002: 232. Delcourt 2005: 158-163 and my discussion in ch.2; Delcourt 2005: 168 points to the equation Plutarch draws at *Thes.* 2.2 between Romulus and Theseus, Rome and Athens, the two most illustrious cities of the world, though not entirely unplayfully:

πόλεων δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ὁ μὲν ἔκτισε τὴν Ῥώμην, ὁ δὲ συνῴκισε τὰς Ἀθήνας· ἁρπαγὴ δὲ γυναικῶν ἑκατέρῳ πρόσεστιν·

On similarities between Romulus and Theseus, see Hartog 1991: 164-165, who refers to Isoc. *Helen* 36 & *Panath.* 129.

81 But cf. DH *AR* XIV.B (see pp. 206-207 below), the account of the olive branch at Athens, which Dionysius uses to draw a link between Athens and Rome. Discussed by Collin Bouffier 2002: 234-235 and Lafon 2002: 267.

82 The Athenian and Theban defeat at Chaeronea is misread by Delcourt 2005: 200 as marking the end of the freedom of the Greeks. This is important because Delcourt adduces the passage as evidence that Dionysius does not include the Macedonians as part of the geographical Hellas. Maybe so, but this passage is no proof:

Θηβαῖοι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐξ ἑνὸς τοῦ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἀτυχήματος ἅμα τήν τε προστασίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὴν πάτριον ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων ἀφῃρέθησαν.

83 Delcourt 2005: 174-195 has a full and interesting account of the picture Dionysius portrays of Sparta in the *Antiquities*.

84 Delcourt 2005: 171-172 makes this point, except that she argues that Dionysius distinguishes himself from Polybius by

Dionysius, everything is framed in terms of *stasis* and internal institutions, order and division. It is a striking argument which appears to dispute the *metus hostilis.*

And so two points. As Hartog observes, 'Rome comme cité n'est plus jugée à partir de la Grèce, mais ce sont, en revanche, les cités grecques qui sont jaugées à partir de Rome, perçue désormais comme l'accomplissement de la cité.'[85] Second, asylum will also be framed in terms of φιλανθρωπία, a topic which Dionysius has constantly revisited since that first slippage between Greek genealogy and morals at I.89. Dionysius claims φιλανθρωπία for Romans and for Greekness, but nowhere applies it to any actual Greeks except for the Romans.[86] φιλανθρωπία, paired with ἐπιείκεια below, is a possible translation of *clementia*:[87] in using the word, Dionysius is corroborating a term which the Romans emphatically claimed for themselves.[88] Now for XIV.G itself.[89]

> τὸ γὰρ Ἑλληνικὸν οὐκ ὀνόματι διαφέρειν τοῦ βαρβάρου ἠξίουν οὐδὲ διαλέκτου χάριν, ἀλλὰ συνέσει καὶ χρηστῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων προαιρέσει, μάλιστα δὲ τῷ μηδὲν τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν <εἰς> ἀλλήλους

attributing Roman recovery after Cannae to its capacity to grow as well as its Greek institutions (cf. Polyb. III.118.8-9; DH *AR* III.11.2). There is no distinction, in my view, because Romulus' asylum is an institution of sorts. But the argument is broadly right. It should be taken to discount Delcourt 2005: 168, which argues that by putting Athens' defeat down to internal divisions and not Maceonian power 'lui [= Dionysius] permet de sauver partiellement l'honneur athénien – mieux vaut être victime de soi-même que de l'ennemi!'

85 Hartog 1991: 167. See also Delcourt 2005: 174 who argues that 'ces comparaisons qui tournent à la faveur de Rome participent davantage, pensons-nous, du projet dionysien de valorisation de l'urbs que d'une attitude anti-athénienne comparable à celle qu'expriment un Polybe ou un Dion de Pruse [citing Polyb. 5.106.6-8; 6.44; Dio Chrysostom 13.23-26; 48.13].'

86 DH *AR* III.11.5, 31.3; VII.53.3,;XII.6.3; XIV.G Pittia = XIV.6.1-2 KJ. Cf. Delcourt 170-171; Collin Bouffier 2002: 235. Champion 2004: 30, on Fredrik Barth's definition of ethnicity, seems relevant here: 'In the Barthian sense of the term..., ethnicity is a strategy that singles out certain features of a group as ethnically significant and deploys them in the interests of the ethnic group.'

87 Cf. Pittia 2002d: 124-125. Luraghi 2003: 280-281 at 281 on this passage: 'Diese abenteuerliche und zugleich faszinierende Verknüpfung von Gräzität und *mos maiorum* scheint eine zentrale Botschaft der *Antiquitates* sein.'

88 Collin Bouffier 2002: 236, citing Cic. *Off.* I.34 and Sall. *Cat.* 12.5: this last example is very suggestive, because the *Catiline* is a story where the Romans do *not* exercise *clementia*.

89 See also Pittia 2002d: 120-124 on this passage.

παρανομεῖν. ὅσοις μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὑπῆρξεν ἐν τῇ φύσει, τούτους οἶμαι δεῖν λέγειν Ἕλληνας, ὅσοις δὲ τἀναντία βαρβάρους. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ φιλανθρώπους διανοίας τε καὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν Ἑλληνικὰς εἶναι λογίζομαι, τὰς δ' ὠμὰς καὶ θηριώδεις, ἄλλως τε κἂν περὶ συγγενεῖς τε καὶ φίλους γίνωνται, βαρβαρικάς.

DH *AR* XIV.G P = XIV.6.5-6 KJ[90]

The opening noun, τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, is especially meaningful. That is the term which is in contest for Herodotus (Hdt. I.56-58), and is picked up in Thucydides' introduction (I.1.1).[91] The parallel with Herodotus is provocative:

Τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλώσσῃ μέν, ἐπείτε ἐγένετο, αἰεί κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχρᾶται, ὡς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἶναι...

Hdt. I.58

Herodotus' argument in this section is nuanced - one of the arguments of his history is that there is no one definition of Hellenism which can encompass everyone who thinks of himself as Greek. In one way, Dionysius cuts through Herodotus' terms as if through the Gordian knot: he says that 'Greek' cannot be defined by its language. But Hdt. I.58 is not really a bouncing-board for Dionysius' ideas at XIV.G. Rather, as I argued above, DH *AR* I.89 maps closely onto Hdt. I.58; in the same way, DH *AR* XIV.G should be read against the Athenians' definition of Hellenism at Hdt. VIII.144, which also uses τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.[92] In that case, the Athenians argue that the Greeks are bound by common tongue, blood and ritual. The points of the passage, for my purposes, are that (a) it does not work as a definition

90 This passage is preserved in the *De virtutibus et vitiis* of the *Excerpta Constantinia*, and so is part of the more reliable branch of the indirect tradition. Collin Bouffier 2002: 236

91 cf. Lévy 1991: 50, though he cites Thuc. I.3.3, and for his whole discussion of the origin of debates about Greece, Greek and Greekness.

92 Hdt. VIII.144:
αὖτις δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἐὸν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἤθεά τε ὁμότροπα, τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι.

of Hellenism; (b) it is spoken by the Athenians, which loads it with meaning; and (c) the language harks back to the very beginning of the history, at I.58.[93] Just as Herodotus' history has built towards this reappraisal of Hellenism, so Dionysius' history has done the same. But for Dionysius, the reappraisal is much more straightforward. Strikingly, it comes from the narrator, who is unproblematically Greek himself, rather than the Romans. It will be reinforced later, in XX, by Pyrrhus.

Even so, the issue is not entirely simple. On the one hand, the focus of the attack is Classical Greece.[94] Dionysius drives home the point by citing two episodes from the Classical era in which the Lacedaimonians and the Athenians behaved inhumanely.[95] The Lacedaimonians, says Dionysius, subjugated the Messenians. This must be a reference to the two Messenian wars which occurred during the Spartan classical age. The Athenian crushing of the Samian revolt occurred in 440 BCE, before the Peloponnesian War, within the remit of Thucydides (Thuc. I.115-117), though treated in much more detail by Duris of Samos.[96] But Dionysius breaks off from the whole story to ask an extraordinary rhetorical question. He mentions the Lacedaimonians and the Athenians, he says, τί γὰρ δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων λέγειν (DH *AR* XIV.G); Is it because the race is almost over, all the other Greek peoples have slipped back, and only the Lacedaimonians and Athenians are still there to contest

93 Discussion of the Greek/barbarian polarity in historiography is certainly not limited to Herodotus. Champion 2004: 67-99 discusses Polybius' alignment with the commonplace approach in Greek writing, which constructs a Greek/barbarian polarity in which 'barbarian' (in particular) is a negative term which only has meaning when opposed to 'Greek'. Cf. Schmidt 1999 on Greek/barbarian rhetoric in Plutarch, who argues (at 325-326) that Plutarch's construction of the barbarian is based on a stereotype not much developed since the fifth century, though Plutarch's focus is on moral aspects.
94 Cf. Luraghi 2003: 280
95 Cf. Collin Bouffier 2002: 235-237. Collin Bouffier suggests (2002: 236) that Dionysius evokes in this passage two events known to all his readers. This is probably right, but it should be reinforced that Dionysius does not spell out in a 'couple of words' (deux mots) enough to enable recollection in a learned reader, but in enough detail that even a reader who did not know of the specific events would be able to draw the right conclusions. Knowing the original events adds weight to the reader's understanding, but the *Antiquities* itself provides enough understanding too.
96 See Plut. *Per.* 25-28; Collin Bouffier 2002: 237.

Hellenism with the Romans? That does not seem to be quite the case. The argument is about savagery, and the language, ὠμός, is Thucydidean. At Thuc. III.82, Thucydides uses the same language of *stasis* in Greece. In that example, savagery belongs to the whole of Greece, and though the Athenians and Lacedaimonians may have meddled, it was the Corcyraeans who first suffered. That war too was about empire, writ small: the rhetorical question merely hints towards a bitter and savage answer of its own, reinforcing the failure of the Athenian and Lacedaimonian challenge to Rome.

Yet if barbarity encompasses in part 'savageness' (ὠμός), and that includes both barbarians and Greeks, it should nonetheless be noted that it used by the narrator of the early Romans too. In the story of Horatius, Dionysius criticises Roman mores in explicit terms:

> οὕτω δὲ ἄρα μισοπόνηρα καὶ αὐθάδη τὰ τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων ἤθη καὶ φρονήματα ἦν καί,...ὠμὰ καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ τῆς θηριώδους οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντα φύσεως, ὥστε πάθος οὕτω δεινὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἀκούσας οὐχ ὅπως ἠγανάκτησεν, ἀλλὰ καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως ὑπέλαβε τὸ πραχθὲν ἔχειν·
>
> DH *AR* III.21.7

Roman harshness in the *Antiquities* is always on the brink of what is acceptable to Romans and Greeks alike, though Dionysius normally, and superficially, focalises the horror through the Greek reader. But Dionysius is not always as condemnatory of savagery as he is at III.21.7: at II.27.1, he appears to support Romulus' regulations regarding the power of fathers over sons, even if they may seem savage (ὠμόν) to the lax Greeks. This passage is, of course, a bit more interesting than that. By the end of Romulus' reign, he has become too savage for his own people, who assassinate him (ὠμόν DH *AR* II.56.3).

Savagery is bound to tyranny, as Dionysius asserts in the narrative. His actors frequently use the accusation in speeches.[97] Orators tend to play fast and loose with such talk – did anyone really think Chrysogonus, in the *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino*, was tyrannical? – but for a Roman, the tactic is aggressive and meaningful, even if the charge does not always stick.[98] By using tyranny as a rhetorical device, Dionysius emphasises both the relevance of fifth century interest in tyranny to Rome, and the special character of Roman oratory in the first century.

The definition of Hellenism at XIV.G comes in the middle of a 'cascade' of ethnographic comparisons.[99] Such ethnography was not just an exercise in mimesis of Herodotus.[100] The spread of the Roman empire in the previous two centuries had led to a resurgence of interest in ethnography or 'mapping the world', now the world was Roman.[101] Ethnography to some degree becomes expected in a

97 The demagogue Lucius Junius Brutus uses the same language of savagery and wild beasts to describe the perils of civil war (VI.79.3; cf. VI.51.3, 58.3, 81.3). Marcus Volscius uses it of Caeso, X.7.3 (cf. X.6.4 & Verginius, X.11.1). The speech of Verginius (XI.40.5; cf. XI.25.1, 35.5) uses the language of savagery to describe tyrannical behaviour, and so mirrors Brutus' speech against the Tarquins at IV.73.2; it is used of monarchy at VII.55.3; cf. VII.45.5. The adjective ὠμός is also used rhetorically by Mettius Fufetius, III.21.7, along with θηριώδης: cf. V.65.2; V.77.4 on Sulla. Θηριώδης is a much less common word, occurring in separation from cognates of ὠμός at I.33.4; II.24.3; IV.11.5; VI.32.3 and IX.47.4. See in addition the table at Delcourt 2005: 235.

98 Hellegouarc'h 1963: 561-562 has a long list of uses of *tyrannus* (not *rex*) in first century oratory and history. An abbreviated Ciceronian selection is Cic. *Agr.* 2.32, III.5; *Mil.* 35, 80; *Phil.* II.90, 96, 117; *Pis.* 17, 18; *Sen.* 12; *Sest.* 32; cf. also e.g. Sall. *Or. Lep.* 1, 17.

99 I owe this term to Cedric Scheidegger.

100 Grethlein 2006: 313 says that unlike Herodotus, 'Most other historians...rarely quote sources...Sallust's practice deviates from Herodotus in that regard. Significantly, the only mention of a source that he claims to have used is in an ethnographic context [citing Sall. *BJ* 17.7].' Much of the article is very interesting, but not enough was done, in my view, to justify a Herodotus paradigm. I accept wholeheartedly, as it were, the unthucydidean Sallust; but not the Herodotean one that he sets up then qualifies. See e.g. Oakley 1997: 4, who says 'Herodotus and Thucydides were responsible for creating a tension which may be found throughout ancient historiography'; though Oakley's argument rests on embellishment rather than the presence of the narrator in the text (Oakley 1997: 13-14).

101 Clarke 1999a: 71-72 and *passim*. On ethnographic studies in the first century in Rome, see also Oakley 1998: 628-629, with references: cf. Cic. *De or.* II.63; Tac. *Ann.* IV.33.3, which mention *descriptiones regionum* as part and parcel of historiography. Examples of ethnographic description apart from Gaul include Sall. *BJ* 17.1-19.8 (see n.113 above); Tac. *Hist.* V.2.1-10.2. I do not discuss the details of Dionysius' description of the geography of Gaul. Lafon 2002: 273-281 is a full analysis and comparison with the existing accounts of Caesar and Strabo. He observes (Lafon 2002: 267) that Dionysius makes no direct reference to Caesar's ethnography of Gaul (Caesar *BG* I.1), and might have used older sources. Dionysius does not rely on Caesar, but seems to make use of the same Greek ethnographies that Caesar had used himself. See also

literary historical work; the Gauls are a frequent subject of it.[102]

I wish to make two points. First, by using the term Celts rather than Gauls, Dionysius stays within the Greek ethnographic tradition rather than the Roman.[103] This is to be expected. Second, the Gauls are unambiguously barbaric in XIV.[104] This extends to their drunkenness (XIV.K P = XIV.8 KJ).[105] Livy and Dionysius both record that the Gauls were drawn to Rome by their love of wine (Livy V.33.2; DH *AR* XIII.11).[106] In the Latin historians generally, it is barbarians who are characterised by their taste for wine.[107] More broadly too, Greek authors tended to see barbarity in drunkenness and vice versa: Plato has an unusually funny description of the drinking habits of non-Greek peoples, including Celts and Scythians.[108] Wine (although not drunkenness) was the only gift of the Fish-eaters that appealed to the

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Martin 2000: 152.

102 Livy uses the same opportunity, the Gallic Sack of Rome, to engage in a brief ethnography of the Gauls at V.34.1-35.4. See Ogilvie 1965: 707-713 for discussion; see also Oakley 1998: 628-629. For Livy, Oakley 1997: 629 suggests that 'the references to *situm Galliarum* in *per.* CIII...make it virtually certain' that that book contained a full-scale digression.

103 Lafon 2002: 266 with n.5

104 Lafon 2002: 267. Cf. Martin 2000: 152: 'Si le thème du goût des Gaulois pour le vin est récurrent dans la tradition, Denys force le trait en nous présentant les Gaulois du quatrième siècle comme ignorant totalement le vin et l'huile d'olive et se nourrissant de lard et cervoise. Cette caricature, qu'on croirait tirée des albums d'Astérix, est démentie par d'autres auteurs.'

105 Cf. XIII.11. DH *AR* XIV.8 (from the *Excerpta Ambrosiana*):

> Οἱ Κελτοὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐκ δευτέρου ἐπιστρατεύσαντες τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀλβανὴν ἐπόρθουν· ἔνθα μὲν πολλῆς ἅπαντες ἐδωδῆς ἐμπιμπλάμενοι, πολὺν δὲ πίνοντες ἄκρατον οἶνον—ἔστι δὲ ὁ τῇδε φυόμενος μετὰ τὸν Φαλερινὸν ἥδιστος οἴνων μελικράτῳ μάλιστα προσεμφερής—ὕπνον τε πλείονα τοῦ συνήθους αἱρούμενοι καὶ δίαιταν ὑπὸ σκιαῖς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἔχοντες τοσαύτην ἔλαβον ἐπίδοσιν εἰς πολυσαρκίαν τε καὶ ἁπαλότητα καὶ οὕτως ἐξεθηλύνθησαν τὰς δυνάμεις, ὥσθ', ὁπότε γυμνάζειν ἐπιβάλοιντο τὰ σώματα καὶ διαπονεῖν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, κόπτεσθαι μὲν ἄσθματι συνεχεῖ τὰ πνεύματα, ῥεῖσθαι δ' ἱδρῶτι πολλῷ τὰ μέλη, θᾶττον δὲ ἀφίστασθαι τῶν πόνων ἢ κελευσθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων.

106 François 2000: 41

107 François 2000: 50-52; citing in addition Tac. *Ann.* XI.16.2, *Germ.* 22.2, 23.2. François suggests that the only exceptions to this rule seem to be the Nervians and Suebians described by Caesar. On the application of similar *topoi* to, or rather failure by ancient writers to distinguish between, Gauls and Germans, see Oakley 1998: 142 & esp. 158-9.

108 Plato *Laws* I.637d-e. Lafon 2002: 269; François 2000: 51 cites Cassius Dio as well. Athenaeus excerpts Polybius' accounts of the excessive drinking habits of foreign kings: Athen. *Deipn.* 10.440a -b (= Polyb. 2.4; 29.13; 33.19); cf. Walbank 2000: 166, 170.

Ethiopian king.[109] Lafon suggests that wine and oil were the symbol of the civilisation of the Mediterranean.[110] He further suggests that Gaulish drunkenness was a ritual, and should be considered in light of the fact that Gaulish consumption was very different to our own or that of the Greeks.[111] Regardless of the truth of the matter, it seems that Dionysius' account of Gaulish drunkenness is framed in terms of a Greco-Roman stereotype of the barbarian. In that context, Dionysius' discussion of τὸ Ἑλληνικόν becomes rather safer. In a simplification of *le miroir d'Hérodote*, the truly barbarian people is set outside the contest between Greeks and Romans for τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.

The fundamental closeness between the Greeks and the Romans is further reinforced by the anecdote preserved earlier at XIV.B-C P = XIV.2 KJ, of the staff of Romulus and the olive shoot which sprung up on the Acropolis at Athens.[112] Dionysius records that when the Gauls burnt the Palatine during the Sack, the only thing left unharmed was the staff which Romulus had used to mark out the sacred precinct of the city. Similarly, barbarians had burnt the precinct on the Acropolis at Athens, including the olive tree which Athena had planted during her contest with Poseidon. The following day, the gods made a shoot about a cubit long grow out of the ground to signify that Athens would be reborn. As both Collin Bouffier and Lafon observe, this seems to marry the fortunes of Rome and Athens under the *pronoia* of the gods.[113] A negative reading would suggest that this is Rome colonising even that which is sacred to Athens; but I would rather draw attention to the similarity between this passage and the excursus on the games at VII.70-73. In that passage, as in this, Dionysius draws Rome and Greece

109 Hdt. III.22.4
110 Lafon 2002: 268
111 Lafon 2002: 269-270
112 Collin Bouffier 2002: 234-235; Lafon 2002: 267 on the possible historicity of the branch of Romulus. Cf. Hdt. VIII.55.
113 Collin Bouffier 2002: 235 further suggests that it draws a link between Athena and Romulus, which it certainly seems to do.

together through shared heritage, close to a passage (then VII.66) in which he attacks Greece's propensity for *stasis* and destruction.

Let us return to the language of XIV.G and Hdt. VIII.144. Herodotus' discussion at I.58 contained several clear-cut main verbs qualified by parenthetical references to the narrator. By VIII.144, Herodotus has the Athenians deliver their claim of Hellenism in direct discourse. The complex relationship between this passage and the diplomatic entanglements at Hdt. IX.1-9 make it hard to accept the Athenians' rhetoric as simple and straightforward, even if it is ultimately vindicated. Hdt. VIII.144 reports the Athenians' words, not the narrator's: the story of the *Histories* has not cleared the waters, it has put Hellenism more in contest, made it more of a fighting term. In Dionysius, Hellenism started as just that, a fighting term; by XIV.G, it has become abstracted.[114] The real barbarians are clearly the Gauls. When applied to Greeks and Romans, the terms Greek and barbarian have a different, more rhetorical force.[115] In XIV.G, one is not actually Greek or barbarian, one is *called* Greek or barbarian, which is one step removed:

> ὅσοις μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὑπῆρξεν ἐν τῇ φύσει, τούτους οἶμαι δεῖν λέγειν Ἕλληνας, ὅσοις δὲ τἀναντία βαρβάρους.

In XIV, then, Dionysius tries to pull off a balancing act. He sets up a clearly defined and stereotypical barbarian Other, the Gauls. He then establishes a second point of discussion within the Greco-Roman world. Both Greeks and Romans can fall prey to being called barbarians, and Dionysius lays the charge

114 Cf. Hartog 1991: 151
115 This is a major departure from the early use of the Greek/barbarian dichotomy, which was used as shorthand to refer to the whole world: Hartog 1991: 160-161. On the use of *barbaros* by Dionysius' contemporary Strabo, see Almagor 2005.

carefully against the classical Greeks' door. This is a contest that Rome is going to win. Finally, by establishing drunkenness as a barbarian quality, he sets up the clash between Greeks and Romans that will take place in Southern Italy in the final books of the *Antiquities*.

§4 Tarentum and the War with Pyrrhus

Tarentum is a gruesome version of Rome. I discuss the language errors committed by the Roman embassy to Tarentum, and argue that the story of Meton should be read as a troubling incision into the Greek-barbarian dichotomy. I integrate this discussion with the account of the war with Pyrrhus, ending where our text of the *Antiquities* ends, on the sour note of the introduction of luxury into Roman affairs.

Ὅτι Ποστόμιος πρέσβυς ἐστάλη πρὸς Ταραντίνους· καί τινα αὐτοῦ διεξιόντος λόγον οὐχ ὅπως προσεῖχον αὐτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν ἢ λογισμοὺς ἐλάμβανον οἱ Ταραντῖνοι σωφρόνων ἀνθρώπων καὶ περὶ πόλεως κινδυνευούσης βουλευομένων, ἀλλ' εἴ τι μὴ κατὰ τὸν ἀκριβέστατον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου χαρακτῆρα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λέγοιτο παρατηροῦντες ἐγέλων, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀνατάσεις ἐτραχύνοντο καὶ βαρβάρους ἀπεκάλουν καὶ τελευτῶντες ἐξέβαλλον ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου.

DH *AR* XIX.K P = XIX.5 KJ

This story is preserved as an anecdote in the *excerpta Ambrosiana*. It continues: one of the Tarentines, named Philonides, either urinates or defecates on Postumius.[116] In direct discourse, Postumius chooses to interpret this as an omen that the Tarentines will grant the Romans even that which they do not ask for; the Tarentines continue to laugh. Finally, Postumius utters the threat in direct discourse that the

116Dionysius' language is more circumspect, but implies something along these lines: τὴν οὐδὲ λέγεσθαι πρέπουσαν ἀκαθαρσίαν κατὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐσθῆτος τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ κατεσκέδασε. Cf. Martin 2000: 153n.39

Tarentines will be forced to wash out the stain with much blood.

The story is also recounted by, among others, Valerius Maximus, Appian and Cassius Dio.[117] Apart from Dionysius, only Appian suggests that the Roman ambassadors speak Greek: *une idée saugrenue*, according to Martin.[118] The difference between Appian and Dionysius' version, according to Martin, is that Dionysius refers to a dialect of the Greek language (διαλέκτου), but διάλεκτος is better understood as referring to a language (cf. *AR* I.7.2).[119] Appian simply says that the Romans spoke Greek imperfectly.[120] The stress in Dionysius' account is on the pusillanimity and pernicketiness of the Tarentines.[121] Cornell suggests this sort of historical detail is plausible;[122] Barnes that it is not.[123] Barnes further suggests that Dionysius uses this episode in two ways: first, to furnish an explanation for why representatives of the Roman state employed only Latin in all official exchanges with foreign peoples and their spokesmen; second, to make a gesture towards A. Postumius Albinus, the Latin historian who wrote in and apologised for his Greek.[124] This is a tempting proposition, since it is the sort of knowing joke that a first-century author might attempt. But the plausibility which both Cornell and Martin are

117 The full list is: Val. Max. II.2.5; Iul. Par. Epitome II.2.5; Florus 1.13.5; App *Sam.* III.7.2; Dio IX Frag 39.6-9; Zonaras 8.2.3; Paeantius 2.11.1, Orosius 4.1.2, Iordan. *Rom.* 152; *Hist. Misc.* 2.14. Martin 2000: 153 also cites the following, which in fact only mention the war and not the insult: Polyb. 1.6.5; Eutrop. II.11.1.

118 Martin 2000: 153

119 Cf. DH *AR* I.90.1. Pittia 2002d: 318-319 discusses Martin 2000: 153-154, and agrees with Collin Bouffier (see n.138 below). Pittia cites the parallel example of Demetrius Poliorcetes in Plutarch, who suffered the same indignity at the hands of the Athenians (Plut. *Mor.* 183B). Pittia's analysis of the scene (2002d: 318-324) is very interesting.

120 App. *Sam.* III.7.2:
οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις μόλις ποτὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπήγαγον καὶ ἐπελθόντας ἐχλεύαζον, εἴ τι μὴ καλῶς ἑλληνίσειαν· ἔσκωπτον δὲ καὶ τὴν στολὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐπιπόρφυρον.

121 This could be read as an example of 'Greek hostility to Rome and a Greek politics of cultural alienation of Rome from Hellenism' (Champion 2004: 49): the point here would be that it backfires badly on the Tarentines, not just because it triggers war, but because it shows the Tarentines to be out of date within the *Antiquities* (see below).

122 Cornell 1995: 467n.43, and 363-364 on Pyrrhus and Tarentum in general. Collin Bouffier 2002: 239-240 suggests that it is unlikely that the Tarentines would have understood Latin in 282 BCE, the year of the embassy; and Roman linguistic protectionism would not have applied then.

123 Barnes 2005: 36, with bibliography.

124 Barnes 2005: 37; citing Gruen 1992: 235.

ready to accept seems the most likely to me.[125]

Barnes neatly brings out the importance of the theatre to the whole scene.[126] He suggests that the language of σπερμολόγος[127] recalls both Aristophanes (Ar. *Av.* 232) and the *phlyax* comedies of Tarentum itself.[128] The scatology is reminiscent of satyr plays in particular. The ambassadors' presence in the theatre (*ut est consuetudo Graeciae*, says Valerius Maximus) simply adds to the sense of horrible farce.[129] In addition, I see an element of Cleon's speech in the Mytilenean debate: the audience are like theatregoers, who go to be entertained.[130] Collin Bouffier sees an 'anti-democratic' element in this anecdote and Meton's speech.[131]

The nature of speechmaking is thrown into question in this story. I assume in this paragraph that the excerpt fairly accurately reflects the original Greek. Postumius speaks at three points in the anecdote. The first, the embassy's speech proper, is only recorded as a speech act.[132] The Tarentines call the Romans barbarians because of their slips in Greek dialect. As I have argued above, this sets the

125 See also the review of Barnes 2005 by Fronda 2006 on Barnes' tendency to see *inventio* everywhere. Much of what Barnes says is invigorating and may well be right, as I say below; but too often *inventio* seems to be the first resort. Barnes 2005: 36: 'The notion that the assembled citizens of Taras would...hold him [Postumius] to the highest standards of language is highly suspect.' But that is not the force of κατὰ τὸν ἀκριβέστατον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου χαρακτῆρα. This seems closest to the English expression 'he picked up on every little mistake', which describes apparent pedantry from the point of view of the frustrated victim. This is the consequence of focalisation upon Postumius (which Barnes draws out well in his following sentence) rather than an objective description of events.
126 Barnes 2005: 39-45
127 On this word, Pittia 2002d: 316, citing in addition Ar. *Av.* 579 & Dem. *Cor.* 127.
128 Barnes 2005: 43-44
129 Delcourt 2005: 98 observes that Dionysius' account of the Tarentine War 'adopte un ton volontairement burlesque'.
130 Thuc. III.37.3-38.7
131 Collin Bouffier 2002: 248-249
132 Barnes 2005: 39 argues that 'Dionysius did not specify whether the entire embassy was heard in full or not, something of a shame since he had a golden opportunity to demonstrate his rhetorical talents by composing Postumius' speech.' One problem is that Dionysius would have had to put errors of Greek in the speech.

Tarentines adrift of the trends of the *Antiquities*: Dionysius has said that Hellenism is *not* defined by language. Proper resolution at Tarentum has failed because one party is focused on the wrong elements.[133] This raises the ire of Postumius. His speech is then pushed into direct discourse,[134] which increases the force of what he says.[135] It emphasises the failure of debate in the theatre, because the only direct discourse consists in threats. Barbarity is reduced to a slur, because Postumius' Greek, when we hear it, is actually perfect (though this is the point where trusting the detail of the excerpt is most questionable). The Tarentine assembly exemplifies a triumph of form over content *in absurdum*. The story of Meton underscores this point.

Τῶν Ταραντίνων βουλομένων ἐκ τῆς Ἠπείρου Πύρρον μετακαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς κωλύοντας ἐξελαυνόντων Μέτων τις καὶ αὐτὸς Ταραντῖνος, ἵνα τύχοι προσοχῆς καὶ διδάξειεν αὐτούς, ὅσα μετὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας εἰς πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ τρυφῶσαν εἰσελεύσεται, συγκαθημένου τοῦ πλήθους παρῆν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐστεφανωμένος ὥσπερ ἐκ συμποσίου, παιδίσκην περιειληφὼς αὐλητρίδα κωμαστικὰ μέλη προσαυλοῦσαν. Διαλυθείσης δὲ τῆς ἁπάντων σπουδῆς εἰς γέλωτα, καὶ τῶν μὲν ᾄδειν αὐτὸν κελευόντων, τῶν δὲ ὀρχεῖσθαι περιβλέψας κύκλῳ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ διασημήνας ἡσυχίαν αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, ἐπειδὴ κατέστειλε τὸν θόρυβον· Ἄνδρες, ἔφη, πολῖται, τούτων, ὧν ἐμὲ ποιοῦντα ὁρᾶτε νῦν, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἐξέσται ποιεῖν, ἐὰν βασιλέα καὶ φρουρὰν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν ἐάσητε. ὡς δὲ κινουμένους καὶ προσέχοντας εἶδε πολλοὺς καὶ κελεύοντας λέγειν, σώζων ἔτι τὸ προσποίημα τῆς κραιπάλης τὰ συμβησόμενα αὐτοῖς ἠριθμεῖτο κακά· ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος οἱ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιοι συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἐξωθοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου.

DH *AR* XIX.O P = XIX.8 KJ

133Cf. Barnes 2005: 38

134I reiterate my recommendation of Barnes' excellent close reading (2005: 39-45). My only criticism is his handling of the rhetorical sophistication of Postumius' speech (2005: 45): 'The speech was also not too rhetorically elaborate... Granted,...the syntax may be too hypotactic.' I read far too often (Mora 1995: 348-349 on Turnus Herdonius at DH *AR* IV.46 and Livy I.50 is another example) the implication that simple hypotaxis, such as a conditional or a purpose clause, is an indication of rhetorical sophistication and somehow beyond the ken of either fully grown, adult women in drama or triple consular ambassadors of war for Rome in the third century.

135As Barnes 2005: 45 says, Postumius' second threat is 'one of the great lines from the annals of Roman history'.

I place the story of Meton within the context of direct discourse as suggested in the previous section, and the definition of barbarity through drunkenness outlined in the section on Hellenism. Luxury (τρυφή), which is only in the background of the extant books, starts to play a larger role with the story of Tarentum (see pp. 52-53 above).[136] This anticipates in the short-term the after-effects of the war with Pyrrhus. In the longer term, the possibility of dissolution through luxury strikes into bolder territory, establishing Dionysius' work not just as a precursor to Polybius, but also to the genre of Roman historiography exemplified by Cato and Sallust, who figure luxury among the chief ills of Rome.

The story of Meton seems fundamentally implausible. The central issue is Meton's name. Wuilleumier argues that this episode is too close to the story of the Athenian Meton, who feigned madness to win the attention of the Athenian demos before the Sicilian expedition, to be authentic.[137] In support of this view, Barnes notes that no other Meton is attested from Tarentum.[138] The story then fits appealingly into the Classical Greek tradition.[139] Barnes' solution is that Meton is a construction of Dionysius' based on

136 See also Collin Bouffier 2002: 250 on Dionysius' use of τρυφῶσαν in this passage.
137 Wuilleumier 1939: 228-235; cf. Collin Bouffier 2002: 250. Plut. *Nic.* 13; *Alc.* 17.
138 Barnes 2005: 50, who further suggests (2005: 51-52) that 'If the parallel [with D's invention of the Oinotrians (*AR* I.10.1-2) holds, Dionysius did not find Meton in any prior Roman annalist, he borrowed him from Greek comedy and historiography...The same audience members who caught the bilingual play in *Aberigines* [sic] and *Satornia* would have appreciated the connection between Meton and *metuere*.'
139 This is a speculative footnote, discussing the common suggestion (e.g. Collin Bouffier 2002: 250; Barnes 2005: 50; Wuillemier 1939: 228-235) that the Tarentine Meton alludes to the Athenian one. The Athenian Meton is a well known astrologer from Classical times (*e.g.* Ar. *Av.* 998; Barnes 2005: 50). The principal evidence that we have for the story that the Athenian Meton pretends to be mad in order to warn the Athenians is from Plutarch *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, which is a much later corpus than Dionysius' *Antiquities* (the modern-day commentators acknowledge the order of composition). Without denying the possibility of earlier sources of which I am unaware, it seems to me wrong to see the allusion as just working in just one direction. That is, when Plutarch narrates the story of the Tarentine Meton, that recalls the Athenian Meton; but vice versa, the story of the Athenian Meton works as an allusion to the Tarentine Meton. This is a footnote because it requires getting into a bigger study of the criss-crossing networks of allusion within the corpus of the *Lives*, which I am unwilling to undertake here: that project is one that Pelling (2004/5) anticipates being considered by the body of Plutarchan scholars in the next generation. But my point is important, namely that it is difficult to extract evidence from parts of the *Lives* outside

an analogy with the Latin *metuens.*[140] Meaningful names are a staple of poetry in general and theatre in particular,[141] and there is certainly a strongly tragi-comic element to Dionysius' presentation of the story.[142] Even so, Barnes' solution unnecessarily rules out the possibility of genuineness.

Other details in the story set off a whirl of allusions. The fact that Meton's advice is ignored by the Tarentines recalls, arguably, Cassandra in particular, but there is no reason to exclude any instance of misinterpreted oracles or predictions from Greek literature. Predictions which turn out to be right in unexpected ways are a *topos* of the *Antiquities* too: one earlier example is Valeria's prediction to Veturia in Book VIII (see pp. 151-154 above). This story is different. The game is probably not with the prediction itself – though when the Roman Decius enters Rhegium in XX, Meton's prediction could be said to have come true in a way –[143] but instead with the manner in which it is delivered. Meton dresses up as a reveler, and is led by a flute-girl.[144] This makes him, in one way, a dissolute Teiresias, who is typically led on stage by a boy. Disguise is strongly reminiscent of the stage: Pentheus dresses up as a

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one's immediate scope of study without applying to them the same rigour that one applies to the main focus of one's study. That is to say, why should discussion of the Tarentine War be framed in terms of *exaedificatio* and *inventio*, and the (much more distant) events of the Peloponnesian War are treated as part of the treasure-store of allusions of which an historian can make use? It is a mainstay of Roman historiography in particular that it is constantly decontextualised, i.e. that past events are often treated as illuminative of current trends rather than their past context. Gomme 1945: 59-60 suggests that some Roman political practices have influenced the way Plutarch figures the Greek political realities of the fifth and fourth centuries.

140 Barnes 2005: 50

141 Barnes 2005: 55-59 defends his argument of Dionysius' *inventio* by pointing to other instances in the *Antiquities* where Dionysius has introduced a small detail not known to us in other sources: e.g. Laurentia's advice to Romulus (I.87.4); the spear which hits Horatius Cocles in the buttocks (V.24.3). The comedies of Aristophanes provide especially strong evidence for this, as in Philocleon and Bdelycleon in *Wasps*, or Pheidippides in *Clouds*. Theocritus has a similar sort of fun with the names of Gorgo and Praxinoe in Idyll 15. The phenomenon can be traced back to myth: Neoptolemus, Oedipus and Telemachus all have meaningful names.

142 Barnes 2005: 55

143 DH *AR* XX.B

144 There is a comparable story-pattern at Plut. *Sol.* 8.1-2 (cf. 30.1-2; but see my footnote above on allusion in Plutarch). Solon has it put about that he is mad, then enters the agora, wearing a cap. When a crowd gathers, he takes the opportunity to deliver some home truths in the form of elegiac verses.

woman in the *Bacchae*, and Aristophanes makes fun of Euripides' attitude to clothing in both *Frogs* and *Thesmophorizusae*.[145] In Hellenistic poetry, Theocritus takes disguise in a different direction in, for example, Idyll 7: Lycidas inhabits all the accoutrements of the shepherd, yet is a sophisticated literary figure, in a way that mimics Theocritus' own poetry.[146] The disguise of Meton is part of this long tradition.

In the story of Philonides, Dionysius played up the theatrical in a way that contrasted the *levitas* of the Greeks with the *gravitas* of the Romans.[147] This is reinforced in the story of Meton. The Tarentines had a reputation for drunkenness and triviality before Dionysius.[148] Dionysius uses this reputation to make a point in the *Antiquities*. Before this point in the *Antiquities*, drunkenness was a barbarian thing. Dionysius characterises Gaulish drunkenness in stereotypically barbarian terms. Drunkenness pushes the Tarentines into the territory of the stereotypical barbarian;[149] so at Tarentum, Greek heritage exists alongside barbarousness. Luxury, like barbarity, seems to be one of the few traits that can become truly universal. But once again, Dionysius manoeuvres on safe ground. Even though the Tarentines are

145 See Seaford 1987: 78 on Pentheus' clothing. Clothing is also relevant in Dionysius' story of Cincinnatus (X.17.5; Schultze 2007: 405-406).

146 Dionysius uses a similar figure, concerning the difference between the appearance of a city- and a country-dweller, at *De Din.* 8; this need not be a peculiarly Theocritean image, given the importance of the city/country contrast in Latin literature too, best exemplified in Horace and Virg. *Ecl.*.

147 See Barnes 2005: 38, 45 on this point, who observes that Plutarch does not use the theatre in the same way. Barnes 2005: 75-76 has an interesting discussion which makes Valerius Maximus II.2.5 respond to Dionysius.

148 Pl. *Leg.* I.637b (cf. Athen. *Deipn.* IV.156a):

καὶ ἐν Τάραντι δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀποίκοις πᾶσαν ἐθεασάμην τὴν πόλιν περὶ τὰ Διονύσια μεθύουσαν·

See further Athen. *Deipn.* IV.166e-f (= Theopompus 249 F Müller); on Tarentine luxury, XII.522d-f (= Clearchus 9 F Müller); XII.536c (= Theopompus 218 F Müller) on the commonplace of the luxury of Sicilians

Str. *Geog.* VI.3.4 says of Tarentum: ἐξίσχυσε δ' ἡ ὕστερον τρυφὴ διὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν. I follow here Delcourt 2005: 113 with n.141. She cites in addition Plut. *Pyrrh.* 13.4-5 & 16.2-3, but I omit these, because they are much later than Dionysius and could be directly influenced by him. On Plutarch's debt to Dionysius in the story of Pyrrhus, see e.g. Barnes 2005: 60-67 and Buszard 2005: 487-489 on Tarentum in particular.

149 Luxury was sometimes characterised by the Romans as a Greek quality: Champion 2004: 61; Livy XXXIX.6.7-9; Pliny NH 34.14; Val Max IX.1.3.

Greek, they were a legitimate target of derision for Romans and the Greeks east of Sicily before Dionysius.[150] Furthermore, by reducing the Tarentines to a burlesque parody, he also succeeds in removing some of the sting from the charge: a genuine Greek would not have to worry that his own Greekness was in jeopardy. In the Greek/barbarian polarity, the Greeks east of Sicily and the Romans are kept firmly on the same side of the fence, but the slippage is beginning.

§4a The War with Pyrrhus

If the war with Pyrrhus marked the original end of the *Antiquities*, then it would be an explosive one.[151] Dionysius gives no indication in his first preface that the endpoint of the *Antiquities* will be a confrontation between Greeks and Romans – that would be absurd, when he spends the preface arguing for reconciliation – but that is exactly what Pyrrhus provides. The conflict raises new issues of identity. Plutarch's account of the same war provides a useful comparandum (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 13.1-26.1).

Pyrrhus is, in other accounts of the war, something close to an Alexander *manqué*.[152] That would be a

150 On Sicily in general, see my earlier discussion of Polybius' criticisms of the Sicilian historian Timaeus.
151 The endpoint indicated by Dionysius in the introduction is the beginning of the First Punic War (I.8.2), which is the point where Polybius began (see e.g. Pelling 2007: 252; Hartog 1991: 151; Pittia 2002b: 3). There is no reason to doubt this ending, but we might note that saying the First Punic War is the ending sets Dionysius in the Polybius tradition, which is an especially appropriate to a preface.
152 Scholars disagree about the extent to which this is the case in Plutarch: see Mossman 2005: 499 for discussion and Schepens 2000: 430n.38 for a different view. Setting up a meeting between the Romans and Alexander himself was an enticing prospect for some ancient historians. Oakley 2005: 231-233 and Delcourt 2005: 93-94 discuss the possibility of the Romans having met Alexander using the following evidence. Cleitarchus (*FGH* 137 F 31 = Pliny *NH* 3.57), Aristus and Asclepiades (Arrian *Anab.* VII.15.5) all attest that the Romans sent an embassy to Alexander. Arrian rejects the testimony of Aristus and Asclepiades on the grounds that his two main sources, Ptolemy and Aristobulus, make no mention of Rome here. Diodorus Siculus does not mention the Romans in a list of cities which sent embassies to Alexander (XVII.113.2); Justin's mention of 'Italians' is ambiguous (XII.13.1). Memnon (*FGH* 434 F 18 = Phot. *Bibl.* 224) records an exchange which Oakley considers dubious. Modern scholarship is sceptical. Oakley's reason for taking a (not unqualified) cautious view is that there is a stronger basis to suggest that the ancients who included an embassy had reason to invent it than that those who did not mention the embassy had reason to exclude it. I see no grounds to distance myself from this position. See also Livy IX.18.6, who is sceptical. There is no indication in the fragments of the *Antiquities* that Dionysius narrated such a meeting, even though the likely date of the embassy falls within the parameters of the *Antiquities*. The Alexander of the *Antiquities*

bold comparison for Dionysius to make, if he did make it; at any rate, no evidence of a comparison is preserved to us. It is safer to see Pyrrhus as part of a broader trend of the general-kings who will attack Rome after the Pyrrhic War, including Hannibal, Jugurtha, Mithridates, Philip, Antiochus and so on. Such wars as with Jugurtha and Mithridates strike close parallels, because they are wars with kings, and so represent ideological-constitutional warfare as well as a defence or expansion of empire. The way Pyrrhus appears to change approach during the course of the fragments seems to reflect something else: our evidence suggests that he starts much like a king, writing letters to the senate, but in XX he reassesses the war in Homeric terms. Pyrrhus' behaviour changes through contact with the Romans, becoming nobler as his speech becomes more epic. So, perhaps, the Roman influence on Greece. Not only are the Romans the worthiest inheritors of the Greek past, but they encourage Pyrrhus (and by extension, other Greeks too?) to be a more straightforwardly epic Greek hero.

The extant fragments of XIX comprise only Pyrrhus' exchange of letters with the Roman senate, and his *logos* with Fabricius. Taken out of context, as we have to take them, the fragments seem to represent a shift in Pyrrhus' attitude to the Romans. I prefer that term to saying that he changes character: Pyrrhus' efforts first to threaten and then to bribe the Romans seem to fit the normal practice of war. The fragments of XX preserve the story of Cleinias and Croton,[153] followed by the disgraceful behaviour of Decius, the Roman representative, at Rhegium.[154]

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tends rather to define epochs, e.g. I.2.3; XX.O (see also I.49.4, *De Vett. Orr.* I.9 and chapter 2 above; Feeney 2007: 12-16 on the general question).

153 On which see Collin Bouffier 2002: 245-246

154 Notice that P has a different order from KJ. KJ have the battle of Asculum at the start of XX, with Decius and Rhegium in the middle, and followed by the story of Cleinias.

There follows the account of the Battle of Ausculum, in which the Roman forces defeat those of Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus' second foray onto Italian soil (XX.H) is beset by financial difficulties, which lead him to rob the temple of Persephone (XX.I).[155] Pyrrhus is defeated. The final fragments contain direct responses to earlier topics of the *Antiquities*: XX.L and O consider extravagance; XX.M-N revisit the comparisons between Greek and Roman lawmaking in the private sphere, which were discussed during the reign of Romulus. XX.Q documents the second uprising at Rhegium.

For the purposes of the following discussion, I make the assumption (though see reservations, pp. 186-191 above) that the direct discourse which is preserved in the fragments, whether spoken or in the letters, is a fair reflection of the tendencies of the direct discourse between Pyrrhus and the Romans in XIX-XX. The fact that an appealing argument can be traced if such an assumption is made is no guarantee of the validity of that assumption. That said, the arguments used by Pyrrhus reflect the tone of repetition and adjustment which characterises debate through all the episodes of the *Antiquities*, of which the arguments around the First Secession are a very good example. Pyrrhus' tactics change as his experience of Roman methods improves; he comes to recognise that this war is on a Homeric scale, which connects the end of the *Antiquities* with its beginnings and Aeneas. The trend of discourse reflects this changing grandeur. The apparent focalisation through Pyrrhus frames the story in terms of the Greek response to Rome. I discuss Pyrrhus' Greekness below, because it is not clear-cut.

The first preserved discourse is epistolary: the distance implied by correspondence justifies Pyrrhus' misguided use of threats. When Pyrrhus takes Fabricius to one side, the proximity engenders a response

155 This story is discussed in detail by Caire 2000.

which causes Pyrrhus to change his mind, and hand over the Roman prisoners as a gesture of respect. In XX, the focus is on the battlefield, and so Pyrrhus quotes Homer. Finally, Dionysius grants an insight into Pyrrhus' memoirs (ὑπομνήμασι XX.I). The word used, not rare in itself, occurs twice in the *Antiquities*, at XX.I and I.74.5. Its cognate, ὑπομνηματισμῶν, occurs in the first preface at I.7.2 (see my discussion in ch. 2 above).[156] ὑπομνηματισμῶν was used at the beginning of the *Antiquities* to indicate the types of Roman source-material used by Dionysius. In XX, the source-material of Rome has expanded to include not just Roman or Greek historians, but the *commentarii* of defeated Greek generals too: a paradigmatic shift in Roman history reflected in the *Antiquities*.[157]

Is Pyrrhus Greek? The question is not completely simple. As Mossman has shown, Plutarch's account exploits the liminality of Pyrrhus, who as an Epirot is neither completely Greek nor completely not Greek.[158] As for Dionysius, Martin argues that he 'fait tout pour que le lecteur en doute et pour amalgamer Pyrrhus et les barbares'.[159] So the reader, Martin continues, is not surprised by the 'complaisance' with which Dionysius underlines the presence of a large number of barbarians in Pyrrhus' ranks before the battle of Ausculum.[160] There are a large number of 'allies' (συμμαχικὴν

156 ὑπομνήματα (twice) and ὑπομνηματισμοί (five times, including the opening sentence of the *De Thucydide*) are found infrequently in the complete Dionysian corpus. Ὑπομνηματισμοί is much the rarer form in Greek generally, occurring in singular or plural just 59 times in the records of the TLG, while ὑπομνήματα occurs over 3000 times. Using Ὑπομνηματισμοί seems to reflect Dionysius' interest in making slight changes to words, which has the effect of knocking allusions just off-centre; though this is not necessarily always the point of the variation.

157 Ὑπομνήματα is not a direct translation of *commentarii* (Bömer 1953: 211; he expands his argument at 215-226; cf. Rüpke 1992: 203-204; Engels 1999: 59-70 has a very wide-ranging conspectus of Greek ὑπομνήματα and cognates).

158 Mossman 2005: 512 says that '...Pyrrhus' own national identity...could be seen as making him less than the ideal representative from the Greek world to encounter Rome.' Mossman means that Pyrrhus is less than ideal because he is not unambiguously Greek. Consequently, he is 'a choice of subject which [appears to] diminish...the power of the contrast which the text seems to want to draw'. By way of contrast, Schepens (2000a & 2000b) sees a much more straightforward contrast between the Greek Pyrrhus and his Roman enemies.

159 Martin 2000: 156. Cf. Collin Bouffier 2002: 255.

160 Martin 2000: 156 with n.57, citing in addition Front. *Str.* II.3.21; Zon. VIII.5.1-7. He adds that Plutarch (*Pyrrh.* 21.7-15) is silent on the presence of barbarians in Pyrrhus' ranks; on which see Mossman 2005. Martin also cites Luc. VII.525-527,

XX.1.5) in the Roman ranks too; but there is a clear difference between the distribution of allies in the Roman army and that in Pyrrhus' army. The effect of the distinction is not, in my view, just to highlight the barbarity of Pyrrhus' army but also to reinforce the sense that the forces of the world are ranged against Rome. The summary form of Dionysius' list of the allies of Rome relegates the importance of non-Roman troops to very much the second rank.[161]

This internationalism would strengthen the argument of Delcourt that Dionysius seeks to avoid too direct a confrontation between Greeks and Romans at the end of the *Antiquities*.[162] Delcourt observes that Dionysius never portrays Pyrrhus as the representative of Greece, rather as the king of a part of it.[163] But while Pyrrhus is never referred to as Ἕλλην, his army is:[164]

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about Pompey's defeat at Pharsalus, which says that it is wrong to entrust civil war to barbarians.

161 DH *AR* XX.1.5:
Λατίνους δὲ καὶ Καμπανοὺς καὶ Σαβίνους καὶ Ὀμβρικοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους καὶ Μαρουγκίνους καὶ Πελίγνους καὶ Φρεντανοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπηκόους, εἰς τέτταρα διελόντες μέρη, τοῖς Ῥωμαικοῖς παρενέβαλον τάγμασιν, ἵνα μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀσθενὲς εἴη μέρος.

162 Delcourt 2005: 200:
On cherchera en vain dans les excerpta dionysiens un terme de la famille d'Ἕλλας lié au personnage de Pyrrhus: Denys, soucieux de ne pas confronter trop abruptement les 'Grecs de Rome' à d'autres Grecs, préfère désigner Pyrrhus comme le 'roi des Épirotes'.

163 This forms part of Delcourt's attempt to determine ethno-geographical boundaries to Dionysius' concept of *Hellas* (Delcourt 2005: 198-202, which I also discuss earlier, ch.6). I think she goes too far in arguing that Dionysius' geographical Greece is 'résolument européene et continentale' (Delcourt 2005: 200). Delcourt herself regards this view as surprising (ce propos...'étonne'), and its proof requires the employment of evidence from outside the *Antiquities* (which I discuss above). The internal evidence of the *AR* (I.61.1-5) rather supports a minor variation upon the view at which Delcourt arrives, namely that there is a slippage between 'Greece' and 'the Greeks' (Delcourt 2005: 200-201; cf. Hartog 1991: 151 for a similar point). There appears to be slippage between 'Greece' and 'the Greeks' because Dionysius avoids granting importance to autochthony. *Hellas* therefore becomes an amalgam of autochthonous and non-autochthonous peoples, such as those of the Peloponnese and Asia Minor respectively. The Trojans were originally Greek but not autochthonous, argues Dionysius (I.61.1-5). This argument sets a precedent for the Greekness of the Romans: so 'Greek land', as it were, becomes not a question of where that land is, but who settles in it.

164 Pyrrhus' army does not require a preponderance of Greeks in order to be called Greek (DH *AR* XX.C P= XX.1.8 KJ):
Τάξις μὲν αὕτη τῶν στρατευσάντων ἦν ἀμφοτέρων, ἀριθμὸς δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ μυριάδες ἑπτὰ πεζῶν, ἐν οἷς Ἕλληνες οἱ τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον διαπεράσαντες ἐπὶ μυρίοις ἦσαν ἑξακισχίλιοι·

Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἡττήθη ὁ Πύρρος κατὰ κράτος· οὐ γὰρ στρατιά τις φαύλη καὶ ἀνάσκητος ἦν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἡ κρατίστη τῶν τότε οὐσῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ πλείστους ἀγωνισαμένη πολέμους·
DH *AR* XX.I P = XX.10.1 KJ (cf. the battle of Ausculum at DH *AR* XX.C)

Rome's contact with Greeks changes the texture of the *Antiquities*. If Plutarch exploits the liminality or marginality of Pyrrhus, then Dionysius appears to be doing something very different with the story. It is barbarity that is marginalised in Dionysius' account. At the beginning of the *Antiquities*, Dionysius used the Greek/barbarian dichotomy to describe the whole world (*AR* I.3.5).[165] In *AR* XX, Dionysius strips this worldview further. Dionysius twists Polybius: where Polybius counted Roman history to be universal now that Rome had conquered the world, Dionysius has shifted the Greek/barbarian dichotomy to marginalise barbarity. Barbarity is merely an adjunct to a Greek world. The compass of the world, that is, the part of it that matters, is simply Greek.[166]

So there are two types of Greek-barbarian dichotomy in the *Antiquities*. The first is the genuine Greek-barbarian dichotomy, between, say, the Romans (Greek city as Rome is) and the Gauls. The second Greek-barbarian dichotomy exists within the Greco-Roman world. This world Dionysius presents as splintered and variegated: Greek and barbarian in this sense lose the sting of fighting terms and become, in his excursus on Hellenism at XIV.G, rhetorical figures. In the extant extracts of XX, the focus of the world is Hellenocentric to an extent which marginalises the barbarian even more than might be expected.

165 Cf. Hartog 1991: 160-161.
166 The other point is DH *AR* XX.D P = XX.6.1 KJ, where Pyrrhus laments that he:
κινδυνεύει πονηρὰν πεποιῆσθαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὁσιωτάτους Ἑλλήνων καὶ δικαιοτάτους,

The battle of Ausculum is an interesting example (DH *AR* XX.C).[167] Here the Romans are differentiated from the Greeks.[168] This could be simple shorthand; but Dionysius could have used οἱ βασιλικοὶ to describe Pyrrhus' troops, as he does at XX.C P = XX.3.5 KJ. This fragment might also not properly represent the original text. But there is no strong evidence to suggest that this is the case.[169] I think rather that the Greek/Roman dichotomy here allows the Greeks to learn about the Romans in the battle, as a Greek readership might be expected to learn about the Romans in the text, and as Pyrrhus himself learned about the Romans in XIX. So the Greeks must perceive and react to the tactical capability of the Romans: οἱ δὲ ὁπότε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μάθοιεν εἰς ἀντίπαλα καθισταμένους... (DH *AR* XX.C P = XX.2.2 KJ). The Greeks are thrown off-guard by their own failure to recognise the abilities of the Romans. This ties the themes of XX back to the themes of the preface, when Dionysius set out to demonstrate the Greekness of the Romans to Greeks who were ignorant of the true origin of the Romans (DH *AR* I.4; I.5.3).

The final books thereby round off the themes of the *Antiquities*. The issue of language at I.89 is revisited in the story of Tarentum, which also describes that city's origins in terms that can be loosely compared to the Rape of the Sabine Women (*AR* XIX.B P = XIX.1.2-4). The account of Pyrrhus is

167 See also Collin Bouffier 2002: 254-258 on the subject. Lévêque 1957: 379-380 and Schettino 1991: 36-42 cast doubt on the authenticity of the account of the battle.

168 DH *AR* XX.C P = XX.2.1 KJ (extending to XX.2.2):
οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς οἱ παρὰ ἀμφότερα τεταγμένοι τὰ κέρατα προειδότες, ἐν οἷς ἐπλεονέκτουν αὐτοὶ τῶν πολεμίων, εἰς ταῦτα κατέφευγον, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐκ χειρὸς καὶ σταδιαίαν μάχην, τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱππικὸν εἰς τὰς περιελάσεις καὶ τοὺς ἐξελιγμούς·

169 The extract is from the Athos MS., which is discussed by Pittia 2002d: 103-105 and 194-195. The Athos MS. seems to be fairly similar in date and style to the *excerpta Constantinia*. It is not possible to say whether this MS. contains accurate or approximate paraphrase of the original text.

especially rich in the redefinition of identity, showing a Greek world which is splintered and fragmented, of which the Romans are certainly a part, and which, by the end of the *Antiquities*, is starting to swallow up the barbarian world too.

There are yet more intratexts. At the end of the extant fragments, Dionysius draws a comparison between the role of the law as moral guardian at Rome and in Classical Greece (DH *AR* XX.M P = XX.13.2 KJ). He says that while the Athenians and the Lacedaimonians punished the indolent and those who were disorderly in public, their laws did not extend into private homes.[170] The Romans, on the other hand, grant the censors authority 'even over the bedroom' (μέχρι τοῦ δωματίου; from the *Excerpta Ambrosiana*).[171] Gabba uses this passage to draw a link between the *Antiquities* and a fragment of Cicero *De Republica* (IV.6.6),[172] further evidence that Dionysius presented a world view sympathetic to Cicero's.

The fragment looks in two directions. Internally, it points back to the discussion of Romulus' matrimonial and family laws at *AR* II.24-28.[173] Romulus' legislation, which I have not discussed in detail in this thesis, points outwards too: it often forms the backbone of argument about Dionysius' political ideology, particularly as regards Dionysius' attitude to Augustus' moral legislation.[174] Dionysius' attitude

170 Delcourt 2005: 186-187, with n.276 for discussion of who exactly Dionysius means by the Lacedaimonian πρεσβύτατοι who enforce the law in this passage.
171 Delcourt 2005: 169: 'Selon Denys, le comportement privé des citoyens a une incidence sur la vie de la πόλις.'
172 Gabba 1991: 150. Cic. *De Rep.* IV.6.6 = Non. 499.13:
Nec vero mulieribus praefectus proponatur [*or* praeponatur], qui apud Graecos creari solet, sed sit censor qui viros doceat moderari uxoribus.
173 See the appendix on matrimonial norms at Gabba 1991: 148-151
174 See, for example, Balsdon 1971; Gabba 1960, 1982, 1991; Goudriaan 1989: 337-360; Hill 1961; Hurst 1982; Pohlenz 1924; Sordi 1993.

to this moral legislation at XX.M appears to be more neutral than it was at II.24-28 (*pace* Delcourt, who sees Dionysian approval of Roman moral superiority). Rather than demonstrating decisive political ideology, I think that Dionysius uses the *Antiquities* to explore the peculiar tension between family and state at Rome. This is not an unusual theme in itself; but Dionysius argues that the Roman way of finding a balance between family and state differentiates Rome substantially from Athens and Sparta. Early in II, Dionysius established, on the one hand, the significance of the family to the state (II.24.2), but also the importance of the state to the family (e.g. Torquatus at II.26.6; see ch.4 above). Dionysius often presents as shocking to the Greeks how often the state takes precedence over the family: Brutus' execution of his sons (V.8.1; though this is not a simple case) and the stories of the Horatii (III.7-23) and Coriolanus (VI.96-VIII.56) stand out as examples.[175] The fragment at XX.M, then, establishes as unwavering since Romulus the Roman commitment to state influence on family life; it is Greek attitudes that are expected to have changed. Hence the neutrality: there is no need to force the argument.[176]

So one circle is closed. But the portrayal of Roman government sets up the terms for the next stage in Roman history. Fabricius is a case in point. His debate with Pyrrhus at XIX.S-T P (=XIX.15-18 KJ) establishes a Roman moral standard.[177] Fabricius' moral fortitude was a *topos* of late Republican and Augustan literature. Crouzet has collated some of the instances where Fabricius is used to exemplify a

175 If the family is seen in some way as an extension of the self, then the parallel cited by Crouzet 2000: 166 is quite attractive. Crouzet draws attention to Cic. *Pro Marcello* 1-20 and 25-27, in which Cicero tries to persuade Julius Caesar that the Roman man should act in the interests of the state rather than himself. Cf. Cic. *De Rep.* I.1.1; this is a commonplace not just of Ciceronian but more broadly of Roman politics. Cf. also the death of Metellus at Cic. *Pro Caelio* 59.
176 Does Dionysius think that the legislation has gone too far? Tacitus used Augustus' matrimonial legislation as an example of the excessive instrusiveness of law (Gabba 1991: 150-151): Tac. *Ann.* III.25-28; cf. Cassius Dio LVI.6.4; in addition, Plut. *Numa* 25.
177 Crouzet 2000: 162-168. On the use of historical examples for contemporary ends in Dionysius, see Corbier 2002: 394.

moral standard in Roman literature, from Cicero to Eutropius.[178] Only Cicero certainly predates Dionysius, though Virgil, Livy and Horace are approximately contemporaneous with him. The later Greek sources, that is, Plutarch, Appian and Cassius Dio, present a version of Fabricius which is only generally similar to Dionysius' Fabricius: this suggests to Crouzet that the presentation of Fabricius which Dionysius selected was in some way original.[179] This original presentation was, however, fully grounded in the Roman moral tradition.[180] Crouzet argues that in the first century BCE, Cato would have been the natural example to use, and indeed was used by Latin authors;[181] but Dionysius was obliged to look elsewhere because Cato falls outside the range of Dionysius' history.[182] So Dionysius selected Fabricius to serve the same purpose.[183] There is no need to posit Dionysius' originality; the argument seems a little forced anyway, given Fabricius' secure place in the saints' galleries. However, the central thrust of Crouzet's argument, that Dionysius' Fabricius serves much the same role as Cato does in parallel Latin literature, is expressive enough. Indeed, that such a well-known parallel as Cato exists reveals the patterns that underpin the *Antiquities*. More on that below.

Fabricius functions well as a moral exemplar. He accounts public service more important than private

178 The following list is representative: Cic. *Parad.* 6.48, *Cael.* 39; Livy *Periochae* 13; Virg. *Aen.* 6.884; Sen. *Contr.* 5.2.1, *Dial.* 1.3.6; Luc. 3.160; Val. Max. IV.3.6; Quint. *Inst.* 7.2.38; Front. *Str.* 4.3.2; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 20; App. *Samn.* 10.11-14; Cassius Dio *Fr.* 40.29-38 (= Zon. 8.4.4-9); Eutrop. 2.12.3; Hor. *Od.* I.12.40. Cf. Crouzet 2000: 163n.19, 169n.59; Nisbet & Hubbard 1970: 142-169 at 159.

179 Crouzet 2000: 163: 'On peut donc affirmer que Denys d'Halicarnasse offre une présentation originale de Fabricius.' Cf. Crouzet 2000: 170

180 E.g. Crouzet 2000: 164: in discussing liberty and tyranny, 'Denys écrit donc en fonction des problèmes politiques de son temps'. Fabricius' definition of corruption and the ways of avoiding it are framed in terms of the *mos maiorum*, translated by Dionysius as τὰ πάτρια ἔθη (Crouzet 2000: 164-165). Cf. Polyb. 31.24-25, 29 on Scipio Aemilianus.

181 Crouzet 2000: 170: 'Son innovation [i.e. of Dionysius] n'a pas été suivie par les Latins, qui avaient à leur disposition le modèle de Caton.'

182Crouzet 2000: 169-170

183Crouzet 2000: 169-170 argues that Fabricius' military achievements provided a justification for choosing him as a moral exemplar, citing Hor. *Od.* I.12.40; Virg. *Aen.* 6.844; Degrassi 1947, *Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.

wealth (XIX.S P = XIX.15.2-3 KJ).[184] Fabricius makes great play of the rustic simplicity of his life (XIX.S P = XIX.15.3-7 KJ), in a way that recalls the traditional Roman frugality of Valerius Publicola as well as the golden mean;[185] Fabricius refuses even the spoils of battle (XIX.S P = XIX.16.4 KJ). The senate is presented as Rome's moral guardian (XIX.S-T P = XIX.16.5-18.1 KJ); the grandness of Fabricius' spirit will prevent him abiding life under tyranny (XIX.T P = XIX.18.5-7 KJ).

Fabricius represents the moral culmination of Rome in the *Antiquities*. The refusal of spoils is a consistent feature of Roman senatorial behaviour: Fabricius himself cites the precedent of Valerius Publicola, to which should be added the name of Coriolanus (XIX.16.3-4; cf. IV.48.2-3; VI.94.2).[186] Crouzet's suggestion that Dionysius' Fabricius is a Cato *manqué* is very tempting, because it allows another circle to be half-closed. That circle is exemplified by the Roman moralising historical tradition, towards which Dionysius can only nod, because he does not treat the decline of Rome. Sallust and Livy are two major exponents of this theme (see 29-33 and 51-53 above).

The speech of Fabricius illuminates Roman success in the war with Pyrrhus in terms of a morality which is consistently maintained throughout the *Antiquities* in terms acceptable to an Augustan audience. But the circle remains only half-closed. The constraints of the senate to which Fabricius

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184 Cf. Crouzet 2000: 165-166. On traditional Roman frugality, see e.g. Diod. XXXVII.2.1; Livy *Praef.* 12; Flor. *Epit.* 3.12. Crouzet adds (2000: 166) that 'on comprend...pourquoi Denys d'Halicarnasse, de la même façon que la majorité des auteurs, a présenté l'ambassadeur romain comme pauvre, au déni de toute vérité historique.'

185 DH *AR* XIX.S P = XIX.15.7 KJ:
ὥστ' οὐδὲ κατὰ τοῦτο δίκαιος εἴην ἂν τῆς τύχης κατηγορεῖν, ἥ μοι τοσαύτην παρέσχεν οὐσίαν, ὅσην ἡ φύσις ἐβούλετο ἔχειν· τῶν δ' ὑπερβαλλόντων οὔτε πόθον ἐνέφυσεν οὔτ' εὐπορίαν ἔδωκεν.
Cf. Sall. *Cat.* 11-13 on *avaritia* and *ambitio*.

186 Cincinnatus is another example (X.8.4, 17.1-27.2); see Schultze 2007 on this story.

claims to be subject (XIX.16.5-18.1) are not so rigorously applied as Fabricius would appear to suggest. At XX.L P (= XX.13.1 KJ), Fabricius himself has a senator expelled for corruption.[187] This suggests that in morality, continual vigilance must be exercised; no difficult claim there. But the senate, as I have argued in the course of this thesis, has not always acted as well as it ought to have done: XX.O P (= XX.14 KJ) is an interesting example.[188] Fabricius earlier established himself in the long tradition of Romans who have refused private wealth; at XX.O, three more senators try to do the same. They are sent as an embassy to Ptolemy Philadelphus, who gives them personal gifts. On returning to Rome, they try to give these gifts to the senate; the senate returns them, as a reward for their honesty and good service. While this may seem like a noble deed, it runs counter to the Roman tradition, and starts to validate personal reward for public service. It is important that the process is only incipient: at XX.R P (= XX.17 KJ), the consuls divide spoils of war equally among the people. But the hard outer shell of Roman public morality appears to have been cracked; now that there is precedent for private gain, the problems of the late Roman Republic become possible within the framework of the *Antiquities*.

Further cracks appear in the provinces.[189] At Rhegium, the threat of the Lucanians and Bruttians leads

187 DH *AR* XX.L P = XX.13.1 KJ:
Ὁ ὕπατος Φαβρίκιος τιμητὴς γενόμενος ἄνδρα δυσὶ μὲν ὑπατείαις, μιᾷ δὲ δικτατωρείᾳ κεκοσμημένον, Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον Ῥουφῖνον, ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου τῆς βουλῆς, ὅτι πρῶτος ἐν ἀργυρῶν ἐκπωμάτων κατασκευῇ πολυτελὴς ἔδοξε γενέσθαι, δέκα λίτρας ἐκπωμάτων κτησάμενος· αὗται δ' εἰσὶν ὀλίγῳ πλείους ὀκτὼ μνῶν Ἀττικῶν.

188 DH *AR* XX.O = XX.14 KJ:
Νεμέριος Φάβιος Πίκτωρ καὶ Κόιντος Φάβιος Μάξιμος καὶ Κόιντος Ὀγούλνιος πρὸς τὸν Φιλάδελφον Πτολεμαῖον πρεσβεύσαντες [περὶ πρεσβείας] καὶ δωρεαῖς ἰδίαις τιμηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ·...ἐπειδὴ κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τά τε ἄλλα ἀπήγγειλαν, ὅσα διεπράξαντο κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν, καὶ τὰς δωρεάς, ἃς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔλαβον, εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνήνεγκαν· οὓς ἡ βουλὴ πάντων ἀγασθεῖσα τῶν ἔργων οὐκ εἴασε δημοσιῶσαι τὰς βασιλικὰς χάριτας, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν οἴκους ἀπενέγκασθαι τιμὰς ἀρετῆς καὶ κόσμους ἐκγόνοις.

189 Corbier 2000: 193-204 examines some aspects of Roman colonisation in the second decade. See also Bourdin 2000: 205-239, which puts Dionysius' ethnography of Italy in the second decade in a broader context.

the inhabitants to ask Fabricius to leave a garrison in the city (DH *AR* XX.B P = XX.4-5 KJ).[190] This garrison, comprised of Italiot allies and commanded by the Campanian Decius, is corrupted by the wealth of the Rhegians. Decius and his secretary carry out a plot, by which all the male citizens of Rhegium are slaughtered, the women are raped, and Decius becomes tyrant of Rhegium. The senate reacts quickly, sending a force under Fabricius to the city;[191] this force is forestalled by Providence (ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου πρόνοια), which causes Decius to be blinded.[192]

Tyranny in places other than Rome has been an occasional theme in the *Antiquities*, often in parallel with failed tyranny at Rome. At XX.A, Dionysius gives a selective account of tyranny in Southern Italy.[193] The swift run of the names of the tyrants Cleinias, Anaxilas and Dionysius establishes a context for the uprising at Rhegium:[194] the extent of Roman influence requires the delegation of command to non-Romans, in this case Campanians, who in seeking tyranny take on the characteristics of the new region in which they are placed. They are motivated by the luxury of the people they have been installed to protect.[195] So in one sense the Romans are not culpable for the acts perpetrated at Rhegium,

190 Dionysius narrates briefly the founding of Rhegium (XIX.C P = XIX.2 KJ): the geography of the *Antiquities* expands in concert with Rome's influence. Dionysius follows the same tradition of the foundation as Diodorus Siculus (Diod. VIII.23): cf. Collin Bouffier 2002: 240-245.

191 Only Dionysius and Appian mention Fabricius in their accounts (see n.216 below and Crouzet 2002: 341).

192 Crouzet 2002: 329-392 is a full account of the two uprisings at Rhegium narrated by Dionysius at *AR* XX.B & XX.Q P (=XX.4-5 & XX.16 KJ respectively), with full reference to other sources for the region (cf. Torelli 1978: 132-136, 180-181, 230-236), namely Str. *Geog.* VI.1 (esp. VI.1.6) on Rhegium; App. *Samn.* I.1 on the Campanian tendency to luxury and *Samn.* IX.1-5 on Rhegium (Crouzet 2002: 340-341, who notes that Appian follows Dionysius in detail); Livy XXVIII.28.2-6, XXXI.31.6, *Per.* 12.7; Orosius 4.3.4-6; Front. *Str.* 4.1.38; Valerius Maximus 2.7.15; Polyb. I.7.8-13; III.26.6; Cassius Dio 9 F 40.7-10; Diod. Sic. 22.1 (also a fragment from the *excerpta Constantinia*).

193 Note that Pittia's order is different from KJ (XX.A P = XX.7 KJ, so KJ has the account of Cleinias *after* the uprising at Rhegium). The order has consequences for interpretation. The fragment is preserved in the modern edition of the *De virtutibus et vitiis* of Henri de Valois (*terminus post quem non* of publication is 1627 (Fromentin 2002: 13)), and conforms with the *excerpta Constantinia* (Pittia 2002d: 98-100, 142-143; cf. Collin Bouffier 2002: 236).

194 See further Collin Bouffier 2002: 247-250

195 Dionysius does not use the word τρυφή, but it is clearly implied in the narrative. Caire 2002: 528-532 discusses the *topos* of luxury in the story of Rhegium in the broader context of historical causation in the fragments. Note that Appian, who seems to have known Dionysius' version, interprets the story in the same way (*Samn.* I.1):

neither in the direct sense that they caused it, nor under a broader historical perspective, for tyranny is a fact of Sicily. Nonetheless, Rome must remain ultimately responsible for the protection of its colonies: the senate must adapt to the new requirement of rule. Dionysius expands on the point by linking the fate of Rhegium to the Sicilian Messene, which had suffered similarly at the hands of the Mamertines (though note that the text is corrupt at XX.B P = XX.4.4 KJ. In turn, reference to Messene and the Mamertines recalls Polyb. 1.10, in which the Romans are faced with difficulties in controlling Sicily in a way which is morally consistent on the one hand and protects Roman interests in the south on the other. Dionysius emphasises the long-standing problems of Sicily, starting a theme that is going to run and run after the conclusion of Dionysius' text. So the *Antiquities* are connected back again to postcolonial studies, because the rape of provinces is a major theme of modern-day discourse too. In the case of the *Antiquities*, this rape is not hidden, but is played out in ways that both defend and challenge Rome.

ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ Κορνήλιος καὶ Κορβῖνος καὶ Δέκιος δημότης Σαυνίτας νικήσαντες ὑπέλιπον Καμπανοῖς φύλακας πρὸς τὰς Σαυνιτῶν ἐπιδρομάς. οἱ δὲ φύλακες οἵδε Καμπανοῖς ἁβροδιαίτοις καὶ πολυτελέσιν οὖσι κοινωνοῦντες ἐφθείροντο τὰς γνώμας καὶ ἐφθόνουν ὧν ἔχουσι ἀγαθῶν, αὐτοὶ πενόμενοι καὶ τὰ χρέα δεδιότες τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ.

§5 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the extant fragments of the *Antiquities* reveal shifting patterns of comparison which present a new frame for conceptions of identity in the *Antiquities*. Where the first decade of the *Antiquities* set Rome for the most part within a context of classical Greek and local Latin comparanda, during the course of the second decade the outlook of the *Antiquities* expands with Rome's influence. The fundamental and ideal Roman character, exemplified by Fabricius, remains consistent with the portraits of the first decade, but the questions begin to change.

The extant fragments present a complex picture of identity. Language is important: Dionysius creates two Greek/barbarian oppositions, the real and the rhetorical. The 'real' Greek set includes both Greeks and Romans. Obvious barbarians such as the Gauls are clearly outside this set and cannot challenge it. This is reflected in their subjection to ethnographic discourse. In the 'rhetorical' Greek/barbarian dichotomy are contained types of behaviour which are variously determined Greek and barbarian. The terminology of this set is applied to the behaviour of people who are unambiguously Greek, including the Athenians and Lacedaimonians. Their genuine Greekness is never properly challenged. Dionysius' argumentation forces the classical Greeks into a rhetorical framework of Greekness which benefits the Romans; but this framework is subordinated to the overriding argument that the Romans and the Greeks are part of the same side. Dionysius thereby pulls off a balancing act which allows the Greek/barbarian dichotomy to retain its force in some circumstances, and to lose its sting in others. Within this framework, the distinction can become slippery: the Greeks of Sicily exemplify how slanders of barbarity can be turned on the people who deliver them.

Can the terminology of postcolonial studies fit into this discussion? It seems that it can, in some ways. But apart from the predictable status of barbarians, the truly marginalised or liminal peoples in this text are, surprisingly, the Greeks of southern Italy.[196] The Tarentines are pushed onto the stage to act as clowns; they are marginalised because their activity is at odds with the ultra-serious tone of the rest of the *Antiquities*. They do not fit. In the case of Rhegium, Roman colonisation is presented in a way which explains the abuse of colonisation in terms which abrogate the Romans of causal but not of judicial responsibility. This has an impact outside the *Antiquities*, but if one message is that the senate should be careful of who mans its garrisons, then that is no difficult message to swallow.

The end of the *Antiquities* shows luxury gaining a hold on the lives of Romans in a way that had only been predicted by orators in the first decade. The tone of service shows signs of changing: the noble behaviour of the ambassadors to Ptolemy Philadelphus is financially rewarded. This undercuts the basic principles to which Fabricius and those before him had adhered. Men like Fabricius are still being produced; but even in the few fragments that are left to us, he must keep vigilant to protect Rome's position. One of the central messages of the *Antiquities* has been that, as good as the Roman constitution is, an office is only as good as its holder. While men like Fabricius are powerful, Rome will be well; but Rome's effect on its provinces is more beneficent than the provinces are upon it, and as Rome's influence spreads comes greater risk that such influence will be abusive.

196 For a discussion of Dionysius' account of the siege of Naples *(AR* XV.H-I P = XV.5-8 KJ; cf. Livy VIII.22.5-23.12; 25.5-26.7*)* see Mahé-Simon 2000: 257-272. On Livy's account, see e.g. Oakley 1998: 638-651.

What we have of the final ten books of the *Antiquities* reveals that the measures which secured Rome's rise in the first decade have left an imprint of good character which will protect Rome into the future. Yet Rome's expansion will pose different questions of responsibility, delegation of power, and wealth, which applied much less in the earlier years: put simply, the difficulties of maintaining imperial power in a world which requires moral compromise. On the one side, Dionysius establishes men like Fabricius; on the other, the creeping influence of Rome's subjects.

Conclusion: Dionysius and Augustan Society

I have argued that Dionysius constructs the *Antiquities* as a monument not just to Rome but also to himself. He asks to be remembered, and judged, as the narrator of the *Antiquities*. This has an impact on Dionysius' attitude to contemporary political issues. While it is no doubt partly right to see Dionysius' reticence on such issues as a consequence of his marginal social status, it is more fruitful to position this reticence within the grandness of Dionysius' project: to treat the Roman past too heavily as an allegory for the Roman present would reduce the capacity of the *Antiquities* to serve as a 'universal moral paradigm',[1] to be Dionysius' κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. Nevertheless, the *Antiquities* is informed by the topics of contemporary political debates, so it will be well to end here.

How, then, does Dionysius fit into Augustan society? He was a teacher of rhetoric,[2] part of the wave of Greeks who emigrated to Rome during the course of the first century.[3] His social status was undoubtedly in some sense marginal. Attempts have been made to reconstruct exactly how marginal, and in exactly what sense; there is little new left to add without speculation, which I do not intend to undertake here.[4]

1 Halliwell, cited at Pelling 2007b: 254, in a different context: he argues that individualisation in history reduces a character's capacity to serve as a universal moral paradigm.
2 But how high-ranking a teacher? There is disagreement here too: Schultze 1986: 123-124 is a fair summary, in part because non-committal. I adopt her caution. Weaire 2005: 248-252 at 249 suggests that Dionysius' didactic method, of careful scrutiny of texts, marks him out as low-ranking; a teacher of higher esteem would, in this period, simply have declaimed (citing Nicetes and M. Porcius Latro at Sen. *Controv.* 9.2.23).
3 Hidber 1996: 2-4; all summaries that I know of Dionysius' life have the same basic information. On Greeks in Rome, see further Goold 1961: *passim*; Bowersock 1965; Gabba 1982: 801; Luraghi 2003: 269-270.
4 Similarly cautious is De Jonge (forthc.). Another form of speculation which I shall avoid is the analogy with possibly similar Greeks in possibly similar circumstances, such as Archias (Cic. *Pro Arch.*); not enough is known about either of the two men to be sure when the analogy can hold and when it falls.

The only extant author to mention Dionysius by name is Strabo, who calls him a historian.[5] Otherwise, all the concrete evidence for Dionysius' life comes from his writings. This evidence is fairly scanty. The contemporaries mentioned by name in his work[6] are Q. Aelius Tubero,[7] Metilius Rufus,[8] Cn. Pompeius Geminus,[9] Ammaeus,[10] Demetrius,[11] Zeno[12] and Caecilius of Caleacte.[13] Of these, only Tubero and Rufus are certainly Roman. Q. Aelius Tubero was probably Dionysius' most important patron.[14] Tubero's father knew Cicero, and had served as legate under Cicero's brother.[15] The Aelii Tuberones were a patrician *gens* which produced two consuls in 11 and 4 BCE.[16] The connections of this family have been used to suggest that Dionysius may have known Strabo[17] and even been connected to the circle of Tiberius. This last, since it links Dionysius via the Aelii to the Seii[18] and hence to Sejanus, is much too speculative.[19] One is left with instinct. Delcourt sees Dionysius at the centre of his own intellectual

5 Str. *Geog.* XIV.2.16 lists sons of Halicarnassus:
ἄνδρες δὲ γεγόνασιν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἡρόδοτός τε ὁ συγγραφεύς,...καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ὁ ποιητὴς...καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς Διονύσιος ὁ συγγραφεύς.
On the similarities between the projects of Strabo and Dionysius, Goudriaan 1989: 272-274.
6 This sentence is translated from Hidber 1996: 5.
7 *De Thuc.* 1.1, 55.5; *Amm.* II.1; addressee of the *De Thuc.*
8 *De Comp. Verb.* 1.4, 26.17; addressee of the *De Comp. Verb.* Dionysius mentions the Metilii at *AR* III.29.7; cf. Livy I.30.2 (Schultze 1986: 122).
9 *Ad Pomp.* 1.1, 1.17, 2.3; addressee of the *Ad Pomp.*
10 *Amm.* I.1.1, 2.3, 3.1; *Amm.* II.1.1, 17.2; *Dem.* 49.2, 58.5; *De Vett. Orr.* 1.1; addressee of two letters, the *Dem.* and the *De Vett. Orr.*
11 *Ad Pomp.* 3.1
12 *Ad Pomp.* 1.1
13 *Ad Pomp.* 3.20
14 Bowersock 1979: 71; Gabba 1991: 43; Hidber 1996: 6; Schultze 1986: 122; Weaire 2005: 248 expresses a cautious view: 'we cannot be sure that their relationship was patronal in nature (except that the two were obviously not social equals). In particular, we do not know that [sic] there was sustained contact between Tubero and Dionysius, since the *De Thucydide* and the reference to the *De Thucydide* at *Ad Ammaeum* 2.1 are our only evidence for contact at all.'
15 Cic. *Lig.* 5.12, 7.21; *Quint.* I 1.10; *Att.* 13.20.2 (Bowersock 1979: 69, who overstates the closeness of the relationship between Cicero and the Tuberones. Cf. Wiseman 1979: 135-136; Rawson 1985: 97, 213; Fromentin 1998: 19).
16 Hidber 1996: 6
17 Bowersock 1979: 70 is cautious; Delcourt 2005: 32
18 Bowersock 1979: 68 draws attention to L. Seius Tubero, cos. AD 18. The cognomen 'implies an adoption from the family of the Aelii Tuberones or, just possibly, a relationship on the maternal side.'
19 Schultze 1986: 123; Delcourt 2005: 33

circle;[20] Usher sees this intellectual circle as Greek, to the exclusion of Romans.[21] Yet Dionysius was at least in some form acquainted with Romans,[22] even if we cannot be sure what effect this acquaintance had, except that it permitted Dionysius to stay in Rome for at least twenty-three years, engaged upon his critical and historiographical work. If a decision is to be made, then we must consider him obscure outside his own circle,[23] as seems to have been the case for most of the Greek intellectuals at Rome, Nicolaus of Damascus perhaps excepted.

Now for Dionysius' politics. There is only one substantial discussion of a contemporary matter in the *Antiquities*. This, arising out of the story of Servius Tullius, is Dionysius' criticisms of the flaws in contemporary manumission (*AR* IV.24).[24] Dionysius considers the practice vital to the pre-eminence of Rome, though in recent years it has got out of hand.[25] He suggests official scrutiny of those who are proposed to be freed each year, with only those of suitable moral standing to be granted manumission (*AR* IV.24.7-8). This remedy has something in common with the *Lex Aelia Sentia* of 4 BCE,[26] which bears the name of the consul at that time, Q. Tubero's son, Sex. Catus.[27] It is hardly surprising that the civic/political views which Dionysius does make explicit are in keeping with the leanings of his patrons.[28]

20 Delcourt 2005: 36-37
21 Usher 1974: xix
22 Hidber 1996: 6
23 Cf. Schwartz *RE* V col. 934
24 Discussed also by Luraghi 2003: 272, 274; Delcourt 2005: 368.
25 Balsdon 1971: 27 suggests that, by giving *polyanthropia* such prominence in his explanation of Rome's success, Dionysius shows more penetrating insight into that success than either Polybius or Cicero. Cf. further Goudriaan 1989: 316-321; Briquel 2000: 34-42; Luraghi 2003: 272, both citing the letter of Philip V Macedon to the people of Larissa, praising the Roman attitude to citizenship (Inscr. 543 *SIG* Dittenberger[3]. The issue is connected to Romulus' asylum (see pp. 191-195 above.
26 On this law, Weiss *RE* XIV.2 coll. 1376-1377; Ulp. I.11-15; on Dionysius and this law, Briquel 2000: 34-38 at 38.
27 Gabba 1961: 112-114; Schultze 1986: 123 with bibl.
28 Bowersock 1965: 131 (cf. Luraghi 2003: 273; Palm 1959: 13) on decline: '[T]he theme is expounded precisely to show the

As for Augustus, Dionysius mostly avoids direct engagement.[29] There is one explicit reference to the princeps in the *Antiquities*, at I.7.2.[30] Dionysius, in stating his preparations for the writing of his history, says that he arrived in Rome 'at the very time that Augustus Caesar put an end to the civil war'.[31] This is unobtrusive flattery.[32] Augustus' achievement in ending the civil war is framed, with a Dionysian twist, in terms comparable to those used by Augustus himself (Aug. *RG* 34.1).[33] The theme of the avoidance of civil war is a central spoke of the *Antiquities* (see ch.4 above): Augustus' ending of the civil war might be seen, in these terms, as the restoration of the *bios* of the early Republic.[34] Secondly, using Augustus' name to define an epoch aligns him, in Dionysius' text, with Alexander the Great,[35] whose image influenced some Augustan iconography.[36] Yet Dionysius uses the death of Alexander to indicate a point after which decline set in. Augustus' advantage over Alexander is that activity in his life, rather than his death, defines the epoch.

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need for a resurgent rule of the old aristocracy...the notion of decline served to encourage and flatter the very class of Romans to which he adhered.'

29 On the *status quaestionis* of Dionysius and Augustus, Goudriaan 1989: 300-307; Delcourt 2005: 364 with n.3. On the usefulness of the terms Augustan and anti-Augustan, see the classic article by Kennedy 1992; for a different view, Davis 2006: 9-22. Crouzet suggests (2000: 159), not quite fairly, that affirmations of D's pro- or anti-Augustanism tend to rest on an analysis of the first books on the mythical history of Rome, e.g. Martin 1971, 1972.

30 Cf. Martin 1971: 163. DH *AR* I.7.2:

ἐγὼ καταπλεύσας εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἅμα τῷ καταλυθῆναι τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἐβδόμης καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος μεσούσης...

31 Dionysius may be the first in Greek literature to have used the translation *Sebastos* to describe Augustus. So Delcourt 2005: 365, but drawing attention to Dueck 2000: 97, who claims the same for Strabo (Str. *Geog.* III.3.8, XII.8.16). Greek translations of the *Res Gestae* would be too late.

32 See further DH *AR* I.70.4, in which Dionysius refers to the *hieria exousia* conferred on Iulus, Augustus' ancestor. Delcourt suggests tentatively (2005: 366) that this *exousia* alludes to Aug. *RG* 34.3; Martin 1971: 163.

33 Aug. *RG* 1 (cf. *RG* 13):

Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi, per quem rem publicam dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi.

34 Yarrow: 2006: 284: '[D]ecline is necessary to justify Augustus' re-founding of the Republic.'

35 E.g. DH *AR* I.2.3; *De Vett, Orr.* I.1.1. On the definition of epochs, see Feeney 2007: 12-16. The same epoch-defining role is given to C. Gracchus, who forms the book-end of Republican decline (DH *AR* II.11.3).

36 Zanker 1990: 10-11 and 79: after Actium, 'he [Octavian] used the image of Augustus as his seal.'

I have argued in the preceding chapters that Dionysius has intermittently predicted decline throughout the *Antiquities*, without ever bringing it to the centre.[37] This occurs in Dionysius' account of religion too.[38] Proper religious observance is a central tenet of Romulus' legislation,[39] just as it is, in different ways, of Augustus' moral programme.[40] The decline never becomes full-blown, but nags occasionally at the narrative of the monarchy: the death of Tullus Hostilius, destroyed by the gods for his neglect of religious rites, is a case in point (III.35.2). Ancus Marcius, upon his succession, sees a Rome devoted to war and gain at the expense of religion (III.36.2); he orders that Numa's religious legislation be restored. This could recall Augustus' programme, but as Goudriaan has argued more generally, while Dionysius' tone fits the *Pax Augusta,* that does not necessarily make Dionysius the mouthpiece of Augustus.[41]

Some passages of the *Antiquities* have been used by Hurst to identify Dionysius' anti-monarchical political leanings; he rightly avoids the precision of the term 'anti-Augustan'. Chief among these is DH *AR* II.12.3-4 on Romulus' formation of the senate.[42] This, says Dionysius, is Greek in origin: as Homer and other ancient sources attest, the authority of the ancient kings was not 'arbitrary and absolute'

37 But see *contra*, Hurst 1982: 860-862. Luraghi 2003: 283-284 sees more evidence of decline in Dionysius, which he attributes to the influence of the late Republic upon Dionysius. His thesis is neat but, as I argued in chapter 2, Dionysius actually creates a globalised persona, which encompasses both Greek and Roman elements; it is wrong to privilege one too far over the other. Luraghi 2003: 284: 'Nur als griechischer Historiker und in Bezug auf ein griechisches Publikum konnte Dionysios eine auktoriale *persona* annehmen, die für eine römische Zuhörerschaft akzeptabel gewesen wäre. Um seine originär römische Botschaft auszusprechen, musste Dionysios als griechischer Historiker auftreten.' Recent analyses of the Romulus-Augustus axis in Livy are Stem 2007 and Sailor 2006.
38 See Mora 1995 and Capdeville 1993 on Dionysius' account of Rome's religious institutions.
39 DH *AR* II.18-22; Gabba 1991: 118-125; Mora 1995: 196-200. Martin 1971: 165-170 at 170 argues that the moral and religious institutions put forward in *AR* I sufficiently resemble the Augustan programme to count as propaganda. On religious references in XIV-XX, see Crouzet 2000: 160-162.
40 Balsdon 1971: 22-23 analyses the similarities: his (convincing) point is that the two programmes do not actually fit very well. Cf. Aug. *RG* 34.2 & Hor. *Od.* 3.1-6. On Augustus and religion, Price *CAH*^{2} X: 820-837.
41 Goudriaan 1989: 328, 689; Delcourt 2005: 369.
42 Egger 1902: 12; Hurst 1982: 861

(αὐθάδεις καὶ μονογνώμονες)[43] as it is in his day, the late first century. This is not generally anti-monarchical, as Hurst and Egger suggest; nor is it anti-Augustan.[44] Augustus re-established at least the moral and social standing of the senate during his reign, and certainly made a show of consulting it.[45] Moreover, the criticism is surely of contemporary kings in the *Greek* world; *pace* Hurst, there is no equation of Greeks and Romans here. Dionysius explains that it really is plausible that the ancient Greek kings consulted councils (II.12.4), because these kings were not as arbitrary as the ones known today. If anything, by his implication that a good king ought to consult an official body, Dionysius *supports* Augustus' methods.

Another passage cited by Hurst as a possible anti-imperial passage, DH *AR* II.14.3-4, actually contradicts any anti-Augustanism in II.12.3-4:[46] Dionysius says that 'in our day', the people have the power of ratifying decisions made by the senate, which does not corroborate the argument that II.12.3-4 refers to Roman monarchy. Hurst cites further X.17.6, where Dionysius says that very few Romans of today resemble the Romans of old, who, 'far from aiming at royal power, actually refused it when offered' (trans. Cary; cf. the similar V.60.2, perhaps also II.3.8).[47] This is a line heavily loaded with contemporary significance, though as so often, it could just as easily show Dionysius falling in line

43 Cary's translation. αὐθάδης has important repercussions throughout the *Antiquities*, as I note in ch.4 (see pp. 125-127 above), where I translate it as 'arrogant'; it is a quality of tyranny.
44 One connection between Augustus and this passage, and in the story of Romulus in particular, is that Augustus considered calling himself Romulus before he selected the name Augustus, to avoid being accused of aiming at monarchy (Cassius Dio LIII.16.7; Suet. *Aug* 7; Martin 1971: 166; Fears 1972: 808-809).
45 Aug. *RG* 8. Talbert *CAH*^{2} X: 324-332
46 Hurst 1982: 861n.32
47 Hurst also cites (1982: 861n.32) DH *AR* VII.8.1, during the excursus on Aristodemus of Malacus. Aristodemus assumes, with the support of the people, temporary power in order to secure the commonwealth; once in control, he confers upon himself the supreme power. This is stereotypical tyranny. To be anti-tyrannical is not to be anti-monarchical. On Caesar refusing the diadem, Dio XLIV.11.2; Cic. *Phil.* II.85-87; on refusing to be called king, Dio XLIV.9.2. On Augustus and (royal) power, Gruen 2005 and Jones 1951.

with Augustan propaganda as opposing himself to the *princeps* (e.g. Aug. *RG* 5).[48]

In any case, sporadic instances should not be enough to prove an argument one way or the other. More useful are general trends. Here two can be discerned. First, Dionysius' argument that the Romans are Greek in origin is, is during the Augustan era, out-dated, perhaps even 'downright odd'.[49] It is not the line taken by Augustus himself, who preferred an Italocentric origin to Rome,[50] though this is more a non-Augustan line than an anti-Augustan one.[51] Furthermore, Dionysius' concentration on this very early period has been argued both to reflect Augustan ideology and to be a refusal to praise the present.[52] Second, Dionysius' narrative of the regal period consists of overlapping, repeating themes which prevent simple allusions to Augustus. The consequence of this structuring is to create a framework within which Augustus can be assessed;[53] but that does not make judging Augustus the point of the exercise, and the weight of repetitions and minute developments hinders a clear message from coming through.

48 Aug. *RG* 5 (cf. *RG* 6):
Dictaturam et apsenti et praesenti a populo et senatu Romano mihi oblatam M. Marcello et L. Arruntio consulibus non accepi.

49 Dench 2005: 260. Cf. Hurst 1982: 861-862; Hill 1961: *passim*; Luraghi 2003: 277.

50 Hurst 1982: 861-862, citing the *Aeneid* and Prop. IV.1.51-54, on the ultimate Greek defeat by the Trojans; cf. further Ov. *F.* I.523-526; Man. I.511-512 (Hutchinson 2006: 70-71). On comparison with the programme of the *Aeneid*, Martin 1971: 178 (excessively): 'Il serait ridicule de comparer Denys d'Halicarnasse avec Virgile.'

51 Gabba 1982: 801. Cf. Delcourt 2005: 368: 'On a dit parfois que l'hellénocentrisme dionysien empêchait l'intégration des *AR* dans la culture augustéene. C'est oublier que le Prince et ses proches, malgré une politique aux indéniables accents italiens, ont conscience du rôle fondamental de la *pars Orientalis* pour la réussite de leur entreprise.'

52 Martin 1971: *passim*; Delcourt 2005: 367 on interest in the Roman past: 'Enfin, on ne peut manquer de souligner qu'il existe de profondes convergences entre l'oeuvre de Denys et le programme mis en place par Auguste et son entourage'. Hurst 1982: 861 on Dionysius and Augustus' government: 'il s'y oppose non seulement dans le choix d'un sujet qui n'exalte pas la Rome contemporaine, mais encore dans l'interprétation qu'il offre des faits de la Rome archaïque.' Cf. Luraghi 2003: *passim.*

53 Stem makes a similar point about Livy's Augustus (2007: 468).

L. Junius Brutus is a case in point. In the first century, he had been a model for his epigone M. Brutus, Caesar's assassins.[54] There seem to be contemporary resonances in the *Antiquities* too: the plans of Caesar's assassins had very quickly fallen apart, and within a month the chief conspirators, Cassius and Brutus, had fled Rome.[55] The apparent absence of a workable plan in the first century conspiracy is offset by the planning and the constitutional debate in Dionysius' account (*AR* IV.72-75). Brutus' *contio* (*AR* IV.77-83) resonates too, with the series of *contiones* after the assassination of Caesar in 44 BCE, delivered by the later M. Brutus, Antony, and Cicero himself.[56] The presence of Lucretia's body as Brutus speaks (*AR* IV.76.3) recalls quite vividly the scene at Caesar's funeral, when Antony delivered a rabble-rousing eulogy over Caesar's body (Dio XLIV.35.2-49.4). Exemplarity and the iterability of history are at issue here. The simplest answer would be to suggest that Dionysius constructs a Brutus who responds to the later Bruti by pointing their failure to emulate him properly. This must be part of the answer, but it is not all of it. Dionysius is also investigating themes of Roman political mores. By the iteration and changing texture of such devices as the *contio*, Dionysius places important contemporary Roman practices in ancient settings and tests them out, in order to demonstrate how the Roman world (ancient and modern) works, and how it has changed.[57]

An institution of importance similar to the *contio* is the role of the *tribunus plebis*. This office, formed after the First Secession, is the key differentiator between Rome and the Greek political systems which

54 Plut. *Brut.* 1, 9.5-7; he was less of a model for the adopted D. Junius Brutus Albinus, Münzer *RE* Suppl. V: coll. 369, 373-374.
55 Plut. *Brut.* 21.1
56 Dio XLIV.21.1; Plut. *Brut.* 19; App. *BC* II.128; Cic. *Phil.* IV.
57 See further von Ungern-Sternberg 2005: *passim*, who argues that Dionysius' account of the decemvirate is heavily influenced by the political environment of the first century at Rome; but this, he says, does not make Dionysius' narrative an instrument of propaganda for any of the contemporary political unions.

form its models. This is the key to *mimesis* as it is the key to Rome itself. In oratory, the point is not to select a model and emulate it, but, by using the example of prior models, to create an idiolect, to forge a spontaneity; the same applied to states too. The *Antiquities* narrates the Roman learning process in this area. The Greek experience runs deep from an early stage: Brutus' political methods are grounded in the methods of Romulus before him, who knew Greek systems, and Brutus' own constitutional ideas are not based on any special knowledge denied to his fellow-conspirators. They too know about Greek constitutions. In that debate, there is a temptation to present Brutus as *primus inter pares*, with all that that implies; but that is probably pushing small links too far.

Another man who is, if not *primus*, then certainly *inter pares*, is the early Coriolanus. His story is a cardinal element of the *Antiquities* too, because it shows how the history shifts between different modes of historical explanation. Unlike the Coriolanus of Livy and Plutarch, Dionysius' Coriolanus is no isolated figure to start with. He is a leading figure, though not a leader, in the oligarchic party. Dionysius' account of his trial and subsequent expulsion shows the workings of civil discord in the early Republic. The tectonic plate movements of social change and struggle – in particular, the creation of the tribunate – push Coriolanus to the front of the story, force him to take hold of it. It is not the man, but Rome itself, which causes the rise of the individual.

The question of the 'individual' could lead to Augustus, but it is better to look outside the question of Augustanism, and to trace the main threads of the *Antiquities*. Chief among these is the theme of constitutional change. I have argued that Dionysius has constructed the *Antiquities* along anachronising

lines: that is, he has structured the history around a framework of Greek models which points to an examination of the state of affairs in first-century Rome as much as it does the Republican Rome which is his focus.

This framework finds its principal basis in Thucydides and Herodotus. These two historians are always on the surface of the history, but sometimes one is more clearly present than the other. In chapter 3, I argued that the account of the end of the Republic is loaded with Herodotean parallels: the story of Lucretia's rape triggers recollection of similar motifs in the Candaules and Gyges story, and the account of Sextus and the Gabii explicitly recalls Herodotus' story of Thrasybulus, rather than Aristotle's version of the same. More commonly, however, the motifs work in more than one way. The aftermath of Lucretia's rape leads to the overthrow of the Tarquinii by a conspiracy led by Brutus. Before expelling the Tarquinii, the conspirators discuss alternative constitutions with which to replace the current monarchy. The Persian constitution debate at Hdt. III.80-82 shows illuminating parallels at work outside the *Antiquities*, but Brutus' debate points back too, to Romulus' attempt to allow the people to determine their own constitution. The expulsion of the Tarquins again becomes relevant during the story of the decemvirate. In that chapter I argued that Appius' tyranny was coloured by Republican political methods. The senate was portrayed as a divided body, incapable of protecting itself or Rome; so weak, in fact, that control over it was of little significance.

Dionysius narrates the end of the First Secession in terms which clearly, and clearly deliberately, recall Thucydides III.82. The model of *stasis* proposed by Dionysius is, superficially, unworkable for the

period described in the *Antiquities*. But that does not make the questions it asks irrelevant ones. What is striking is that the model of *stasis* proposed by Dionysius during book VII will become more relevant to Rome as Roman history progresses. The question is of the future applicability of the model. This in fact tells us more about historical models than it does about Dionysius' presentation of contemporary affairs. In the *Antiquities*, contemporary affairs tend to be treated in much the same way as prior Greek events, or other events predicted in the *Antiquities*, whether they will actually be narrated (e.g. Torquatus), or will fall between the end of the *Antiquities* and Dionysius' period, such as the Gracchi. The point seems to be in the universal applicability of Dionysius' history. The reader is constantly reminded that the principles and questions of the *Antiquities* must be answered again in later times. In this sense, contemporary affairs take on a new colouring, to show the universalising force of Dionysius' historical method.

In chapter 2, I discussed the formation of this historical method. I argued that Dionysius' first preface is conservative and conventional. His first task is to establish his persona: this persona is resolutely Greek, but there are strains of Romanness too, which run deeper than the superficial rhetorical balances in the preface. Dionysius' use of Cato, like so much else in Dionysius, is filtered suggestively through Herodotus. Livy also has a big part to play; though I stop short of seeing clear Livian intertexts in the history, comparison with the way Livy tells similar stories has at times helped elucidate what is special about Dionysius. Artistically, Dionysius is no Livy, so this thesis cannot hope to outbox *Die Erzählungskunst des T. Livius*; nor is this thesis a rescue job on a historian who is being rescued anyway. Nonetheless, I hope to have shown that sometimes Dionysius' apparent repetition, wordiness,

or literary failure has a point.

I tried to establish a relationship between Dionysius' rhetorical works and the *Antiquities*. The model of historiography which Dionysius presents in the *Ad Pompeium* is cruder, less sophisticated, than the version of history presented in the *Antiquities* or in the *De Thucydide*. I suggested that this should not be attributed to Dionysius' maturing, or the mellowing of his views, but rather to generic variation, or simply the requirements of the moment. I suggested a similar relationship between the *Antiquities* and the *De Thucydide*, arguing that the *De Thucydide* ought not to be taken as simply representative of Dionysius' views on historiography, but one should also consider that he is trying to engage in particular with Thucydides' proposed methodology. The fit is not perfect, of course, but it is nonetheless attempted.

Finally, I investigated a different theme, appropriate to the later stages of what is left of the *Antiquities*. I argued that Dionysius fits into a broader discussion of Greek cultural identity under the Roman empire. Dionysius' presentation of Greek and Roman identity in the *Antiquities* is slippery. Sometimes, apparently firm Greek identities can slip into barbarity: Greeks are called barbarians. But this slippage has as much consequence for the word as for the man accused; barbarity comes close to losing, though it never quite loses, its sting.

Appendix: The Fragments of Books XII-XX

The two tables below are reproduced from Pittia 2002b: 7-8.

Pittia	Kiessling-Jacoby	Pittia	Kiessling-Jacoby	Pittia	Kiessling-Jacoby
14.A	14.1	16.E	16.3.1b	19.N	19.7.2b
14.B	14.2.1-2	16.F	16.3.2a	19.O	19.8
14.C	14.2.3a	16.G	16.3.2b	19.P	19.9-10
14.D	14.2.3b	16.H	16.3.3a	19.Q	19.11
14.E	14.4	16.I	16.3.3b	19.R	19.12
14.F	14.3	16.J	16.3.3c	19.S	19.13-16
14.G	14.6	17.A	17.1-3	19.T	19.17-18
14.H	14.5a	17.B	not present	20.A	20.7
14.I	14.5b	17.C	not present	20.B	20.4-5
14.J	14.7	18.A	18.4	20.C	20.1-3
14.K	14.8-10	18.B	18.5	20.D	20.6.1-2
14.L	14.11	18.C	16.3.3d	20.E	20.6.3
14.M	14.12a	18.D	16.3.4a	20.F	20.11.1
14.N	14.12b	18.E	16.3.4b	20.G	20.11.2
14.0	14.13	18.F	16.4-5	20.H	20.8
15.A	15.1	18.G	16.6.1a	20.I	20.9-10
15.B	15.2.1a	18.H	16.6.1b-2	20.J	20.12.1-2
15.C	15.2.1b	19.A	19.1.1	20.K	20.12.3
15.D	15.2.1c	19.B	19.1.2-4	20.L	20.13.1
15.E	15.3	19.C	19.2	20.M	20.13.2-3a
15.F	15.2.2a	19.D	19.3	20.N	20.13.3b
15.G	15.4	19.E	19.4.1a	20.O	20.14
15.H	15.5-6	19.F	19.4.1b	20.P	20.15
15.I	15.7-10	19.G	19.4.1c	20.Q	20.16
15.J	15.2.2b	19.H	19.4.2a	20.R	20.17
15.K	15.2.2c	19.I	19.4.2b		
16.A	16.2.1	19.J	19.4.2c		
16.B	16.1	19.K	19.5-6		
16.C	16.2.2-4	19.L	19.7.1		
16.D	16.3.1a	19.M	19.7.2a		

Kiessling-Jacoby	Pittia	Kiessling-Jacoby	Pittia	Kiessling-Jacoby	Pittia
14.1	14.A	16.3.2b	16.G	19.17-18	19.T
14.2.1-2	14.B	16.3.3a	16.H	20.1-3	20.C
14.2.3a	14.C	16.3.3b	16.I	20.4-5	20.B
14.3	14.F	16.3.3c	16.J	20.6.1-2	20.D
14.4	14.E	16.3.3d	18.C	20.6.3	20.E
14.5a	14.H	16.3.4a	18.D	20.7	20.A
14.5b	14.I	16.3.4b	18.E	20.8	20.H
14.6	14.G	16.4-5	18.F	20.9-10	20.I
14.7	14.J	16.6.1a	18.G	20.11.1	20.F
14.8-10	14.K	16.6.1b-2	18.H	20.11.2	20.G
14.11	14.L	17.1-3	17.A	20.12.1-2	20.J
14.12a	14.M	18.4	18.A	20.12.3	20.K
14.12b	14.N	18.5	18.B	20.13.1	20.L
14.13	14.O	19.1.1	19.A	20.13.2-3a	20.M
15.1	15.A	19.1.2-4	19.B	20.13.3b	20.N
15.2.1a	15.B	19.2	19.C	20.14	20.O
15.2.1b	15.C	19.3	19.D	20.15	20.P
15.2.1c	15.D	19.4.1a	19.E	20.16	20.Q
15.2.2a	15.F	19.4.1b	19.F	20.17	20.R
15.2.2b	15.J	19.4.1c	19.G		
15.2.2c	15.K	19.4.2a	19.H		
15.3	15.E	19.4.2b	19.I		
15.4	15.G	19.4.2c	19.J		
15.5-6	15.H	19.5-6	19.K		
15.7-10	15.I	19.7.1	19.L		
16.1	16.A	19.7.2b	19.N		
16.2.1	16.B	19.8	19.O		
16.2.2-4	16.C	19.9-10	19.P		
16.3.1a	16.D	19.11	19.Q		
16.3.1b	16.E	19.12	19.R		
16.3.2a	16.F	19.13-16	19.S		

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