THE AENEAS LEGEND

TO THE END OF THE AUGUSTAN AGE

by

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A Thesis submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Classics.

The University of British Columbia
April, 1945.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chapter I - Origin and Early Life of Aeneas</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chapter II - His Part in the Trojan War</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chapter III - His Escape from Troy</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chapter IV - From Troy to Sicily</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chapter V - From Sicily to Italy</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chapter VI - His Connection with Rome</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chapter VII - Evidence of the Belief that the Romans were Aeneadæ</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chapter VIII - Highest Expression of the Legend</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

The Aeneas legend, which reached the pinnacle of its glory in Virgil's matchless Epic, has always proved, in succeeding centuries, a romance of absorbing interest to poet, historian, and archaeologist alike. When Schliemann, as recently as seventy years ago, startled the world by uncovering the actual ruins both of Troy and of the palace of the kings of Mycenae, scholars and historians everywhere were faced with the possibility that the sequel to the destruction of Troy, the wanderings and achievements of Aeneas, might likewise be founded on fact.

The legend, as developed in the following pages, will show the early life of Aeneas prior to his supposed departure from the Troad. His wanderings will be traced to Italy and his connection with Rome will be indicated, from whence sprang the belief that the Romans were the sons of Aeneas. ¹

Various opinions concerning the founding of Rome will not be mentioned. Only the probable founding - the founding by Romulus and Remus - will be indicated.

¹ See Dionysius (60 B.C.? - 7 A.D.?) Ant. Rom. I, 72, 73.
Aeneas, destined to hold such a prominent place in the minds and thoughts of the Roman people, was the son of the goddess, Aphrodite, and the mortal, Anchises, having been born, according to tradition, on the peaks of wooded Ida. His father, who may have possessed the gift of prophecy, was the son of Capys, king of Dardania. Thus Aeneas was of royal descent. He also was connected with the royal house of Troy, since his father was a second cousin of Priam, king of Troy.

On his mother's side he was of divine lineage. Hence his descent was partly human and partly divine. Such an origin was not uncommon in those days when the gods and goddesses associated with men and women on the earth.

The early life of Aeneas seems to have been uneventful. Homer has mentioned that he was nourished in the home of his brother-in-law when he was young, but nothing outstanding

4. Hom. II. XX, 239.
5. Hom. II. XX, 231-239.
concerning him has been recorded previous to the Trojan War, at which time he is said to have been in the bloom of youth. It remained for Troy, the most famous of all the Troad cities, to bring him renown and to send him forth to fulfil a destiny more glorious than that of the most illustrious of those who took part in the famous Siege.

7. Hom. II. XIII, 484.
CHAPTER II
His Part in the Trojan War.

The first connection which Aeneas had with the Trojan War seems to be that which is related in the Cypria. Here, Aeneas is ordered by Aphrodite to sail with Alexander on an expedition designed to abduct Helen, the wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta. Here, too, is related the first meeting between Aeneas and Achilles, when the latter drives off Aeneas' cattle, plunders Lyrnessus and Pedasus, and many of the neighbouring cities. It is interesting to observe that Aeneas recalls this first meeting with Achilles, when, urged on by Apollo, he dares to challenge Achilles to combat, and Achilles reminds him of it, as well, prior to their encounter.

It was but natural that Aeneas should offer his help in the Trojan War, owing to his racial descent and his relationship to Priam. Priam, however, for some reason or other, did not appreciate his true worth, because Deiphobus, the son of Priam, was always angry with his father for not having honoured Aeneas for his bravery among the heroes. Perhaps he had some shrewd suspicion of Jupiter's hatred.

9. i.e. Paris.
10. Hom. II. XX, 89-93.
of his own line, and the future elevation of the Dardan race.

In the defence of Troy Aeneas was the leader of the Dardanians along with the two sons of Antenor, Archelochus and Acamas. Among the defenders he was always held in the highest regard both for his valour and for his wisdom. Helenus, when seeking to rally the Trojans on one occasion, addressed Hector and Aeneas, asserting that on them especially the work weighed, because they were the best for every purpose both in battle and in counsel. Four times Aeneas is addressed as counsellor of the Trojans - by Pandarus, by Deiphobus, by Hector, and by the god Apollo in the guise of Lycaon, son of Priam. Once Aeneas is spoken of as one who, among the Trojans, was honoured as a god. When Hector was being defended after being injured by a stone hurled by Telamonian Ajax, Aeneas was called one of the bravest of the leaders along with four others. At another time Aeneas and three others are mentioned as the leaders of the Trojans. On still another occasion he is coupled with Hector as the best of the Trojans.

15. Hom. II. V, 180
   Hom. II. XIII, 463.
   Hom. II. XVII, 485.
   Hom. II. XX, 83.
An examination of the part played by Aeneas in the actual fighting clearly reveals that he fought under the protection of the gods. Twice he received encouragement from Apollo. Although he is credited with the slaying of a number of heroes, it must be observed that he was not always victorious. In fact, in the two most important combats in which he took part, he incurred defeat. In the first of these, his encounter with Diomedes, he suffered disgrace in the loss of his famous steeds. Then, after being disabled by a stone hurled by Diomedes, he was removed from the conflict by Aphrodite. When she, in turn, was pursued and wounded by Diomedes, he was withdrawn by Apollo in spite of four attacks by Diomedes, to Apollo's temple on the citadel of Troy. In the second, his meeting with Achilles, after the first exchange of spears had deprived Aeneas both of his spear and of the protection of his shield, Poseidon observed his plight, and, having mysteriously veiled the eyes of Achilles with darkness, he removed Aeneas to the rear of the fighting. Now Poseidon did this, since he felt that Aeneas, who was guiltless, should not suffer pain on account of the pain deserved by others, because he himself had always given

Hom. Il. XX, 79-80.

Hom. Il. XIII, 541-544.  
Hom. Il. XV, 332.


gifts acceptable to the gods. Thus Aeneas escaped death on two different occasions because of the intervention of the gods.

The preservation of the life of Aeneas tends to support the prophecy that he was to be closely connected with the future of the survivors of the destruction of Troy. This prophecy foretold that he was destined to escape, that the race of Dardanus was to survive, and that Aeneas and his descendants were to rule the Trojans. Another oracle foretold that the stock of Anchises would have the rule of the Trojans after the end of Priam's power. The same oracle also indicated that after Aphrodite gave birth to Aeneas, she inspired love for Helen in Alexander in order that she might have a pretext for overthrowing the power of Priam; and that, after the abduction of Helen, she pretended to help the Trojans in order to comfort them in their defeat and to prevent the restoration of Helen.

Another person who might be connected with the future of Troy is Helenus, son of Priam, who managed to survive the fate of the city. He was a famous soothsayer. Homer calls him the best of augurs. Stasinus declares that he foretold the future to Alexander before Alexander set out for Sparta. Virgil attributes to him remarkable pro-

24. Hom. Il. XX, 302-308.
phetic powers. After his capture by Odysseus he prophesied as to the taking of the city.

According to Euripides, Helenus was to marry Andromache in the Molossian land, after her captor and husband, Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, died. The son of Neoptolemus and Andromache, sole survivor of the line of Aeacus, was to become the progenitor of a succession of kings of Molossia, thus preserving not only the royal line of Aeacus but a connection with the Trojan race as well. Here, then, there is an indication of the continuance of the Trojan remnant through Andromache with Aeneas ignored.

29. Lesches or Lescheos (7th cent. B.C.): Lit. Il. 1.
CHAPTER III

His Escape from Troy.

There are many opinions concerning the escape of Aeneas from Troy and the conditions under which he left the Troad. They range from his early withdrawal to Ida before the Sack of the city to his dramatic departure from burning Troy with his father Anchises, his son Ascanius, and his country's gods.

31 Hellanicus asserts that Aeneas and his followers at first fled to the citadel which contained the holy things and wealth of the Trojans. Later, deciding that it was impossible to save the city, he sent out under escort all those unable to defend the citadel, with orders to proceed to Ida, while he himself with the rest, by guarding the citadel, occupied the attention of the Greeks and thereby prevented the pursuit of those escaping. Finally, Aeneas abandoned the citadel and marched away in orderly manner with the rest of the defenders, taking with him his father, gods of his country, his wife, his children, and whatever else was most valuable. Then he sued for peace and agreed to terms which compelled him and his followers to leave the Troad within a certain time with all their valuables, and guaranteed them safe conduct by land and sea wherever the Greeks held sway.

Hellanicus (5th cent. B.C.).
Sophocles mentions the withdrawal of Aeneas to Ida but adds that Aeneas moved there on the orders of Anchises, who, recalling instructions of Aphrodite and interpreting the omens which had lately occurred concerning Laocoon's family, rightly judged that the destruction of the city was near.

Menecrates of Xanthus expresses the opinion that Aeneas betrayed the city to the Greeks out of hatred for Alexander and in return was granted the right to save his household. Here it should be observed that Antenor, also, was regarded as the betrayer of the city to the Greeks.

Livy's account of Aeneas and Antenor, on the other hand, is entirely different. He declares that they were specially favoured by the Greeks for two reasons: first, an ancient tie of hospitality existed between them and the Greeks; secondly, they had always advised peace and the restoration of Helen. He believes that they both eventually came to Italy, asserting that Aeneas landed at Laurentum and Antenor, with a band of the Heneti and Trojans, at a place called Troy, on the innermost bay of the Adriatic Sea.

According to Diodorus Siculus, Aeneas with some citizens bravely defended a part of the city after Troy had been stormed. The Greeks offered terms in which they granted to each citizen the privilege of taking away as much as each could carry of his own property. Each brought out his gold and silver and other things of value but Aeneas carried out his father. The Greeks were so amazed that they granted him another choice and this time he carried out his household gods. By his example Aeneas won for himself and for the other Trojans the right to go out of the Troad to whatever place they wished.

Xenophon declares that Aeneas alone, of all whom the Greeks took prisoners in Troy, was granted exemption from being despoiled of his property.

Lycophron says that Aeneas alone was granted the privilege of taking away what he wanted.

The expression of so many different opinions concerning the final stage of the capture of Troy indicates that the imaginations of writers have been at work.

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36. Diodorus Siculus (contemporary of Caesar and Augustus), VII, 1.


38. Lyc. Alex. 1268-1269.
CHAPTER IV
From Troy to Sicily.

The future of Aeneas, after his departure from Troy, is a matter of conjecture. Three legends have arisen concerning it. He is regarded as the ruler in Ida of the Trojans who survived the destruction of Troy. He is believed to have been the founder of cities in Greece. He is believed to have been the founder of Lavinium in Italy.

Only a brief reference will be made to the first two of these legends. Homer represents Aeneas and his descendants as the future rulers of the Trojans. Arctinus and Sophocles rather suggest the same idea. At least they do not mention Aeneas' departure from the Troad.

Cephalon of Gergis and Hegesippus claim that Aeneas died in Thrace. Ariaethus, among others, declares that Aeneas left Thrace and came to Arcadia where he lived at Orchomenus, and, along with the Trojans, built Capyae named

39. Hom. II. XX, 302-308.
42. Arctinus (8th cent. B.C.) Sack of Ilium, 1.
after his grandfather. Agathyllus, as well as others, asserts that Aeneas went from Arcadia to Italy.

The third legend which relates that Aeneas, after many wanderings, finally arrived in Italy is the one generally believed by the Romans. It is remarkable that Dionysius of Halicarnassus, contrary to his usual custom, gives a detailed account of this legend without revealing his sources of information. Perhaps he was so thoroughly convinced of its truth that he did not feel that it was necessary to mention authorities.

A summary of his account follows. To this will be added further evidence which seems to support certain parts of this account.

Aeneas and the Trojans first went to Pallene, a peninsula of Chalcidice, where they built a temple to Aphrodite and a city named Aeneia. A most remarkable coin of this city has come down to us. On it Aeneas is represented as carrying Anchises preceded by his wife Creusa carrying Ascanius. It supplies the oldest representation on a coin of a Trojan legend which has come down to us. Its date is uncertain but it is regarded as previous to 500 B.C.

After leaving Thrace they came to the island of Delos, and thence sailed to Cythera, where they built another temple to Aphrodite. From Cythera they sailed to Arcadia and thence

to Zacynthus. Here, too, they built a temple to Aphrodite. Sailing from Zacynthus they landed at Leucas where still another temple was built called Aphrodite Aeneias.

From Leucas they sailed to Actium and thence arrived at Ambracia. Here, also, they left evidence of their visit, a temple of Aphrodite Aeneias and one of the Great Gods at Actium, and a temple of Aphrodite and hero shrine of Aeneas at Ambracia.

From Ambracia Aeneas proceeded overland to Dodona to consult an oracle, while Anchises sailed with the fleet to Buthrotum. At Dodona Aeneas found Trojans brought there by Helenus. Four days later he reached Buthrotum. After leaving Buthrotum they sailed to the Harbour of Anchises where they erected a temple to Aphrodite. Thence they crossed the Ionian Gulf and some landed at Iapygia in Italy while others including Aeneas went ashore at Castrum Minervae. Sailing along the south coast of Italy, they came to the strait between Italy and Sicily. Landing at one place, presumably on the coast of Italy, Aeneas left a bronze patera in the temple of Juno with his own name inscribed as the one who had dedicated it to the goddess. This is most remarkable inasmuch as Juno was always most hostile to the cause of the Trojans. It seems to be the first indication of an attempt on the part of Aeneas to appease Juno.

They first landed on Sicily at Drepana. Here they found some Trojans with Elymus and Aegestus who had taken part in the Trojan War, and who, leaving Troy prior to its Fall, had come direct to Sicily. Aegestus was a descendant
of Trojans who had left Troy in the time of Laomedon, father
of Priam. He had gone to Troy to assist his fatherland. On
his return to Sicily he had been accompanied by Elymus.
Aeneas built two cities, named after these men, Aegesta and
Elyma, and left some of his followers here.

Dionysius asserts that the most notable proof of the
presence of Aeneas and of the Trojans in Sicily was the altar
of Aphrodite Aeneias erected by Aeneas on the summit of Elymus,
and a temple to Aeneas erected in his memory by the citizens
in Aegesta, a city which the Romans called Segesta.

In our day the most notable evidence is the famous Iliac
Tablet in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. This Tablet has a
representation of Aeneas with Ascanius, Anchises, and Misenus,
trumpeter of Hector, with an accompanying inscription indicating Aeneas setting out for Italy. The poem, to which this
representation is attributed, is the Sack of Ilium of
Stesichorus, a Sicilian poet, who lived in the early half of
the sixth century B. C., not far from the Trojan settlement
of Aegesta.

CHAPTER V
From Sicily to Italy.

From Sicily, Dionysius continues, the Trojans came to the harbour of Palinurus, named after a pilot of Aeneas who had died there. Thence they made for an island named Leucosia in memory of a kinswoman of Aeneas. Setting out from Leucosia, they reached a harbour of the Opioans which they named Misenum after Misenus who had died there. This reference to Misenus is most significant when it is viewed in the light of the Iliac Tablet. After leaving Misenum they went to the island of Prochyta and thence to the promontory of Caieta. Both of these places were named in memory of women who had died there and who were closely connected with Aeneas, one being a cousin and the other having been his nurse. Finally the Trojans came to Laurentum where their encampment was called Troy. Thus Dionysius established the connection of Aeneas with Italy.

It is important to observe that Aeneas is credited with erecting so many temples to Aphrodite during his wanderings. Dionysius seems to regard them as the chief proof of Aeneas' presence in so many places along the way. They may have been mentioned to emphasize the filial devotion of Aeneas but they have cast doubt on the truth of Dionysius' account, for it is obvious that no such building programme could have been completed in the two years which Dionysius allows from the time of the destruction of Troy until the time of the founding of Lavinium.

CHAPTER VI

His Connection with Rome.

The arrival at Laurentum, according to Dionysius, marked the end of the wanderings of Aeneas. Here were fulfilled certain oracles that could not be mistaken. There was the incident of the springs of fresh water so welcome to the Trojans that Aeneas gave thanks to the gods. There was the fulfilment of the prophecy of "eating their tables." Opinions differ as to where Aeneas received this oracle. It may have been received when he went to Dodona, but it is more likely that he received it from a Sibyl at Ida. Tibullus indicates that Aeneas was told his destiny by a Sibyl, when he was about to leave Troy.

Immediately after the Trojans had "eaten their tables," Aeneas prepared to offer a sacrifice. Then the prophecy of the white sow — called a dark sow by Lycophron — was fulfilled. This sow was said to have been brought from Troy by Aeneas in his ship. When the sow was going to be sacrificed,

52. Lyc. Alex. 1250-1252.
56. Lyc. Alex. 1256.
it escaped but it was recaptured on the top of a hill, in a state of exhaustion. Aeneas, through divine guidance, built a city on the spot, although he felt that the place was not at all suitable. Thus was founded the city, afterwards called Lavinium. This was generally regarded as the first settlement of the Trojans in Italy.

The sow revealed the site of Lavinium and indicated, by its litter of thirty pigs, the time of the building of Alba Longa - thirty years after the founding of Lavinium. The first part of the name of the new city was derived from the colour of the sow; the other part of the name was derived from the nature of the locality.

Varro, who particularly mentions the sow, says that, even in his time, bronze images of it were to be seen.

After sacrificing the sow and her young, Aeneas set himself to work with his characteristic energy and he soon built a town with materials taken from the surrounding districts. Thus the presence of the newcomers became known to Latinus, king of the country in which they had settled. A meeting between Aeneas and Latinus was inevitable. Naevius has left a fragment in which Latinus asks Aeneas why he forsook Troy.

60. Var. De Re Rus. II, iv, 18.
Latinus made an alliance with Aeneas under terms agreeable to both. Aeneas' marriage to Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, along with intermarriage between the two peoples, united the races so closely that now Trojan identity is lost, and the two races are called Latins after Latinus.

On the death of Latinus, Aeneas became king, but he ruled only three years before he lost his life fighting the Rutulians, who were being aided by Mezentius, king of the Tyrrhenians.

The death of Aeneas, which, according to Dionysius, took place seven years after the capture of Troy, is shrouded in mystery. As his body was not found, it was thought that he was drowned in the river Numicius near which the battle had taken place. Hence arose the idea of his translation to the gods, his deification, and the worship of him as a Deus Indiges.

Aeneas was succeeded by his son, Euryleon, whose name had been changed to Ascanius during the flight from Troy. Livy is uncertain whether this Ascanius was the

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62. Dion. Ant. Rom. I, 64. 3.
63. In 1176 B.C. since Dionysius' date for the fall of Troy is 1183 B.C. (Ant. Rom. I, 74.).
64. Tib. II, v. 43-44.
Livy I, 2.
Cephalon of Gergis (Dion. Ant. Rom. I, 72. 1) says that Aeneas had four sons, Ascanius, Euryleon, Romulus and Remus.
66. i.e. Iulus according to Virgil Aen. I, 287.
Iulus was the son of Ascanius (acc. to Dion. Ant. Rom. I, 70) and the founder of the Julian family.
67. Livy I, 3.
son of Lavinia or of Creusa but he is, at least, sure that Aeneas was his father. Ascanius, thirty years after the founding of Lavinium, transferred the people, who are now called the Latins, to Alba Longa. This transfer took place in 1151 B.C.

Ascanius was succeeded, in Alba Longa, by his brother Silvius Aeneas, who was a son of Aeneas and Lavinia. After his death a long succession of kings ruled, until Romulus and Remus restored their grandfather, Numitor, to the throne and founded Rome in 751 B.C. 69 The reigns of Ascanius and his successors bridged the gap from the death of Aeneas in 1176 B.C., until the founding of Rome. Thus was established the most authoritative story regarding the connection of Aeneas with Rome.

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69. So says Dionysius Ant. Rom. I, 71.5. Varro's date 753 B.C. has been generally accepted for the founding of Rome.
CHAPTER VII

Evidence of the Belief that the Romans were Aeneadae.

The belief that the Romans were Aeneadae can be traced as early as the time of Naevius, who claims that Romulus, the founder of Rome, was Aeneas' grandson through Aeneas' daughter.

Plutarch has indicated that Titus Quinctius Flamininus, who valued himself most because of the liberty which he had bestowed on Greece, mentioned his own descent from Aeneas in the inscriptions which he composed when he was dedicating some silver bucklers together with his own shield at Delphi and when he was offering a golden crown to Apollo.

The belief may have been accepted officially in the second century B.C., for Suetonius has recorded that Claudius allowed the people of Ilium perpetual exemption from tribute on the ground that they were the founders of the Roman race. In proof of this he cited an ancient letter of the senate and the Roman people written in the Greek

71. Plutarch (1st cent. A.D.). Vita Flam. XII.
72. Flamininus freed Greece from control by Macedonia by defeating Philip V. of Macedonia at Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C.
74. Probably sent during 187-175 B.C.
language to King Seleucus of Syria, in which they promised him their friendship and alliance, only if he should keep their kinsfolk of Ilium free from every burden.

It is the belief of Accius, too, when he names his tragedy Aeneadae or Decius and Lucretius reveals his own opinion when he begins his famous poem, De Rerum Natura, with the words, "Aeneadum genetrix" - "ancestress of the men sprung from Aeneas."

Cicero refers to the same belief, when he says that the people of Segesta, a very old town in Sicily, asserted that their town was founded by Aeneas when he was flying from Troy and coming to Italy, and that, therefore, they felt that they were connected with the Roman people by some relationship.

Nor was the belief confined to the Roman people. Pausanias relates that Pyrrhus, while his help was being sought against the Romans, recollected the capture of Troy.

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75. Probably Seleucus IV of Syria. See Seleucus in Smith's Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, page 775, "But he was .... fidelity."

76. Accius (170-86 B.C.).

77. Lucretius (95-54 B.C.).


80. Cicero uses "haec loca".

81. Pausanias (2nd cent. A.D.) I, xii, 1.
and entertained hopes in regard to the same results, namely, that the enemy would give way to him, since he, a descendant of Achilles, was making war against the colonists of the Trojans.

The evidence of coins in connection with the belief in the Aeneas legend is of extreme importance because it shows how deeply rooted belief in the legend had become. Mention has already been made of the famous coin of Aeneia. Other coins of this city have been found. They belong to a later period. One of these coins, assigned to the period B.C. 500-424, has a head of bearded Aeneas, helmeted, of archaic style. Other coins of Aeneia, assigned to the period B.C. 424-350, have a head of Aeneas of recent style with the inscription Aeneas or a head of Athena in Athenian helmet bound with olive and with the same inscription Aeneas or a head of Ascanius in Phrygian Cap with the inscription Aineaton. Coins of New Ilium have a likeness of Aeneas carrying Anchises from the burning city.

The incident of the legend which seems to be most frequently represented on the coins is that of Aeneas carrying Anchises.

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83. This inscription is differently spelled on other coins of this type.
CHAPTER VIII

Highest Expression of the Legend.

It is in the Augustan Age that the legend reaches the climax of its expression both in Art and in Literature. Coins, now minted, bear an image of the head of Augustus on the obverse and on the reverse an image of Aeneas carrying Anchises. Each image is surrounded by the same inscription. What representation of the legend can be more significant than this?

Now, too, historians and poets establish and exalt the legend. Dionysius sets it on an historical and a chronological basis and by so doing he rejects the imaginary episodes found in the Aeneid. Virgil, however, gives the legend its loftiest expression when he lauds Aeneas for the fulfilment of his mission, and when he permits him a view of his descendants and of the future glory of the Roman race.

86. Livy, Dionysius.
87. Tibullus, Ovid, Virgil.
88. e.g. Aeneas' visit to Carthage in Aen. IV. Aeneas' visit to the Underworld in Aen. VI.
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