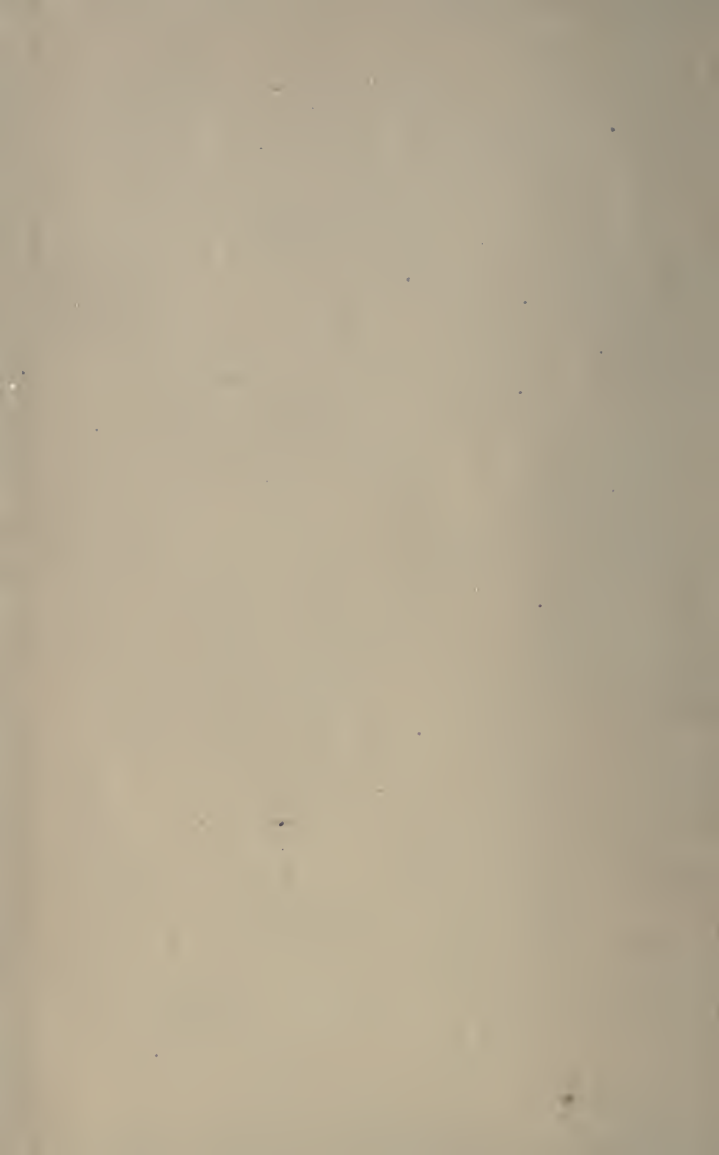


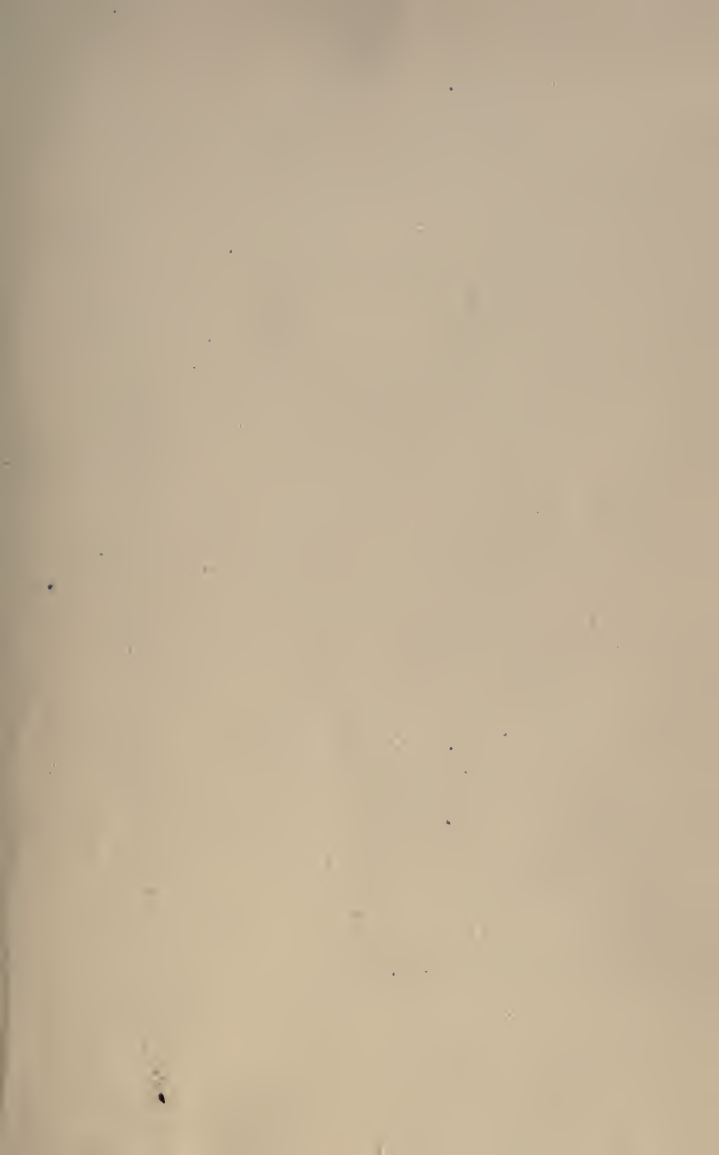
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## THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

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THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES  
 OF  
 DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
 EARNEST CARY, PH.D.

ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF  
 EDWARD SPELMAN

IN SEVEN VOLUMES  
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THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES  
OF  
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

# ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

## ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ

### ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

#### ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΚΤΟΣ

XLIX. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ἐπειδὴ παρῆν ὁ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπικυροῦν ἔδει, συνελθόντας εἰς τὸ πεδίον, οὐδενὸς οὔτε μετιόντος τὴν ὑπατείαν οὔτε διδομένην ὑπομένοντος λαβεῖν, αὐτὸς ἀποδείκνυσιν ὑπάτους ἐκ τῶν εἰληφότων ἤδη τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην δῆμῳ τε<sup>1</sup> κεχαρισμένους ἄνδρας καὶ ἀριστοκρατία, Πόστομον Κομίνιον καὶ Σπόριον Κάσσιον, ὑφ' οὗ Σαβῖνοι καταπολεμηθέντες τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀπέστησαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας<sup>2</sup> Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Τισικράτης Κροτωνιάτης, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Διογνήτου. οὗτοι παραλαβόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν καλάνδαις Σεπτεμβρίαις θᾶπτον ἢ τοῖς προτέροις ἔθος ἦν, πρὶν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι διαπράξασθαι βουλήν συγκαλέσαντες περὶ τῆς καθόδου τῶν δημοτικῶν

<sup>1</sup> τε added by Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> δευτέρας Lopus, Sylburg: ἐβδόμης O.

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<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 49-69, 3 cf. Livy ii. 32, 5-7.

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BOOK VI

XLIX. When <sup>1</sup> the time came for them to assemble in the field <sup>2</sup> to elect their magistrates, and no one either sought the consulship or would consent to accept it if offered, the people themselves chose two consuls from among those who had already held this magistracy and who were acceptable to both the people and the aristocracy, namely Postumus Cominius and Spurius Cassius, Cassius being the one through whose efforts the Sabines had been conquered and had resigned their claims to the leadership. This was in the seventy-second Olympiad,<sup>3</sup> the year in which Tisicrates of Croton won the short-distance foot-race, Diognetus being then archon at Athens. Upon assuming office on the calends of September, earlier than had been customary with the former consuls, they convened the senate before attending to any other business and asked for an expression of

<sup>2</sup> The Campus Martius.

<sup>3</sup> 491 B.C. For Dionysius' chronology see Vol. I., pp. xxix. ff.

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λέγειν ἡξίουν ἦντινα διάνοιαν ἔχει, πρῶτον ἀποφήνασθαι παρακαλοῦντες ἄνδρα ἡλικίας ἐν τῇ κρατίστη τότε ὄντα καὶ συνέσει δοκοῦντα τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρειν, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν πολιτευμάτων ἐπαινούμενον, ὅτι τῆς μέσης τάξεως ἦν, οὔτε τὴν αὐθάδειαν τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν αὐξων οὔτε τῷ δήμῳ ὅσα βουλευθεῖη πράττειν ἐπιτρέπων, Ἀγρίππαν Μενήμιον· ὃς ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς τὴν βουλήν παρεκάλει τάδε λέγων·

- 3 “Εἰ μὲν ἅπασιν, ᾧ βουλή, τοῖς παροῦσι τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην συνέβαινε ἔχειν, καὶ μηδεὶς ἔμελλε ταῖς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαλλαγαῖς ἐμποδῶν ἔσεσθαι, ἐφ' οἷς δὲ<sup>1</sup> διαλυσόμεθα πρὸς αὐτούς, εἴτε δικαίοις οὔσιν εἴτε μὴ, ὁμῶς ἦν<sup>2</sup> ταῦτα προὔκειτο μόνον σκοπεῖν, δι' ὀλίγων ἂν ὑμῖν ἐδήλωσα
- 4 λόγων ἂ φρονῶ. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτό τινες οἴονται βουλής ἔτι δεῖν, πότερον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν ἐστι συμβῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας ἢ πολεμεῖν, οὐχ ἡγοῦμαι ῥᾶδιον εἶναί μοι δι' ὀλίγης δηλώσεως ὅ τι χρὴ πράττειν παραινεῖσαι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη διὰ πλειόνων διδάξαι λόγων τοὺς πρὸς τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἀλλοτρίως<sup>3</sup> ἔχοντας ὑμῶν, ὅτι τὰναντία συμπεῖθουσιν οἷ γε<sup>4</sup> δεδίττεσθαι μέλλοντες<sup>5</sup> ὑμᾶς τὰ φαυλότατα τῶν χαλεπῶν καὶ ῥαδίας ἔχοντα τὰς ἐπανορθώσεις ὀρρωδοῦντας τῶν μεγίστων τε καὶ ἀνιάτων κακῶν<sup>6</sup> ἀπερισκέπτως ἔχουσι. καὶ τοῦτο πεπόν-

<sup>1</sup> δὲ added by Pflugk.

<sup>2</sup> ὁμῶς ἦν BC: ὁμόσε τε AD, ὁμῶς Jacoby, ὁμολογήμασιν Bücheler. The readings of the MSS. are corrupt, and the sentence seems complete without these words.

<sup>3</sup> Kiessling: ἄλλως O.



its opinion concerning the return of the plebeians. The first senator they called upon to declare his views was a man, then in the maturity of his age, who was looked upon as a person of superior wisdom and was particularly commended for his political principles, since he pursued a middle course, being inclined neither to increase the arrogance of the aristocratic party nor to permit the people to have their own way in everything—namely Agrippa Menenius. It was he who now urged the senate to an accommodation, speaking as follows:

“ If all who are present, senators, chanced to be of the same opinion, and no one were going to oppose the accommodation with the people, but only the terms of it, be these just or unjust, on which we are to be reconciled with them were before you for consideration, I could have expressed my thoughts to you in few words. But since some consider that even this very point should be a matter for further consultation, whether it is better for us to come to an agreement with the seceders or go to war with them, I do not think it easy for me in a brief exposition of my views to advise you what ought to be done. On the contrary, a speech of some length is necessary, in order to show those among you who are opposed to the accommodation that they contradict themselves if, while intending to frighten you by playing on your fear of those difficulties that are the most trivial and easily corrected, they at the same time neglect to consider the evils that are greatest and incurable. And they have fallen

<sup>4</sup> οἱ γε Reiske: ἦ καὶ O, Jacoby, καὶ Kiessling.

<sup>5</sup> Sylburg: μέλλοντας O.

<sup>6</sup> κακῶν Reiske: ἰκανῶς O, Jacoby, ἰταμῶς καὶ Kiessling.

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θασι παρ' οὐδέν ἕτερον ἢ τὸ<sup>1</sup> λογισμῶ μὴ  
 5 κρίνειν τὸ συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ θυμῶ καὶ μανίᾳ. πῶς  
 γὰρ ἂν οὗτοι λέγοντο προοραῖσθαι τι τῇ διανοίᾳ  
 τῶν χρησίμων ἢ δυνατῶν, οἷτινες ὑπολαμβάνουσι  
 τηλικαύτην πόλιν καὶ τοσοῦτων πραγμάτων κυρίαν  
 ἤδη ἐπίφθονόν τε καὶ λυπηρὰν τοῖς περιοίκοις  
 γιγνομένην ἢ δίχα τοῦ δημοτικοῦ δυνήσεσθαι  
 κατέχειν τε καὶ σώζειν τὰ ἔθνη ῥαδίως, ἢ ἕτερον  
 ἐπάξεσθαι δῆμον ἀντὶ τοῦ πονηροτέρου κρείττονα,  
 ὃς αὐτοῖς προπολεμήσει τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ κατὰ  
 πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν συμπολιτεύσεται, παρέχων καὶ ἐν  
 εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν πολέμοις<sup>2</sup> ἑαυτὸν μέτριον; οὐδέν γὰρ  
 ἂν ἕτερον ἔχοιεν εἰπεῖν ᾧ πιστεύοντες ἀξιώσουσιν  
 ὑμᾶς μὴ δέχεσθαι τὰς διαλλαγάς.

L. “ Ὡν ἐκάτερον ὅσης ἐστὶ μεστὸν εὐηθείας,  
 ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑμᾶς ἀξιώσαιμ' ἂν ἔγωγε τῶν ἔργων  
 σκοπεῖν, ἐνθυμηθέντας ὅτι διαστασιασάντων πρὸς  
 ὑμᾶς τῶν ταπεινοτέρων διὰ τοὺς οὔτε πολιτικῶς  
 οὔτε μετρίως ταῖς ἀτυχίαις χρησαμένους, καὶ  
 ὑπαναχωρησάντων<sup>3</sup> μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἄλλο δὲ  
 μηδὲν ὑμᾶς δεινὸν μήτε ἐργαζομένων μήτε διανοου-  
 μένων, ἀλλ' ὡς διαλλαγῆσονται χωρὶς αἰσχύνης  
 σκοπούντων, ἀγαπητῶς δεξάμενοι τὸ συμβὰν ἀπὸ  
 τῆς τύχης πολλοὶ τῶν οὐκ εὖ διανοουμένων πρὸς  
 ὑμᾶς ἀνεπτέρωνται ταῖς γνώμαις, καὶ τοῦτον  
 οἶονται σφίσι παρέειναι τὸν εὐκταῖον καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ  
 2 καταλύσουσιν ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρχήν. Αἰκανοὶ μὲν γε  
 καὶ Οὐλοῦσκοι, Σαβῖνοί τε καὶ τὸ Ἑρνίκων

<sup>1</sup> τὸ Hertlein: ὥστε O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν πολέμοις O: κατὰ πολέμους Grasberger, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπαναχωρησάντων Bb: παραχωρησάντων ABa.

into this predicament for no other reason than that in judging what is expedient they do not use reason but rather passion and frenzy. For how can these men be said to foresee in their minds any course that is profitable or possible, when they imagine that a state so powerful and mistress of so extensive a dominion, a state that is already becoming an object of hatred, and a cause of offence to her neighbours, will easily be able either without the plebeians to hold and preserve the subject nations or else to bring some other people into the commonwealth, a better people in place of one most knavish, who will fight to preserve their supremacy for them and will live with them under the same government in profound quiet, behaving themselves with self-restraint in both peace and war? For there is no other possibility they could name that would justify their asking you not to accept the accommodation.

L. "How utterly silly either of those two expedients is, I would have you consider from the facts themselves, bearing in mind that since the humbler citizens grew disaffected toward you because of those who treated their misfortunes as neither fellow-citizens nor men of self-restraint should, and withdrew, indeed, from the city, yet neither are doing to you, nor have any thought of doing, any other mischief, but are considering only by what means they may be reconciled to you without dishonour, many of those who are not well disposed toward you, joyfully seizing upon this incident presented to them by Fortune, have become elated in their minds and look upon this as the long-desired opportunity for breaking up your empire. Thus, the Aequians and Volscians, the Sabines and

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ἔθνος, πρὸς τῷ μηδένα χρόνον ἐξαίρετον πεποιη-  
 σθαι τοῦ <sup>1</sup> πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολέμου, καὶ τοῖς ἑναγχος  
 κακοῖς δυσανασχετοῦντες ληστεύουσιν <sup>2</sup> ἡμῶν τοὺς  
 ἀγρούς. Καμπανίας δὲ καὶ Τυρρηνίας ὅσα ἐνδοια-  
 στῶς ἡμῖν διακείμενα <sup>3</sup> διατελεῖ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ  
 φανεροῦ ἀφίσταται, τὰ δ' ἀφανῶς παρασκευάζεται.  
 δοκεῖ τε οὐδὲ τὸ Λατίνων συγγενὲς ἔτι βεβαίως <sup>4</sup>  
 ἡμῖν διαμένειν φίλιον εἰς πίστιν <sup>5</sup> ἔλθόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τούτου πολὺ μέρος διαγγέλλεται νοσεῖν ἔρωτι  
 κρατούμενον ἧς ἅπαντες γλίχονται μεταβολῆς.  
<sup>3</sup> οἱ δὲ τέως ἐπιστρατοπεδεύοντες ἑτέροις νῦν αὐτοῖ  
 τειχήρεις ἔνδον <sup>6</sup> καθήμεθα, γῆν τε ἄσπορον  
 ἀφεικότες καὶ αὐτὰς διαρπαζομένας ὀρώντες λείαν  
 τε ἀπελαυνομένην καὶ θεράποντας αὐτομολοῦντας  
 καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι χρησόμεθα τοῖς κακοῖς. καὶ  
 ταῦτα πάσχοντες ἔτι διαλλαγῆσεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 ἐλπίζομεν <sup>7</sup> τὸ δημοτικόν, καὶ <sup>8</sup> ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχον  
 εἰδότες ἐνὶ καταλύσασθαι ψηφίσματι τὴν στάσιν;

LI. “ Οὕτω δὲ κακῶς ἐχόντων ἡμῖν τῶν ὑπαι-  
 αιθρίων οὐδὲ τὰ ἐντὸς τείχους δεινὰ ἡττόν ἐστι  
 φοβερά. οὔτε γὰρ ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι παρεσκευά-  
 σμεθα ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ συμμαχικὰ οὔτε πλήθει  
 αὐτοῖ ἀποχρῶντές ἐσμεν ὡς πρὸς τοσαῦτα πολε-  
 μίων ἔθνη, τοῦ δ' ὀλίγου καὶ οὐκ ἀξιομάχου  
 πληρώματος τὸ πλεῖον ἐστι δημοτικόν, θῆτες καὶ  
 πελάται καὶ χειρώνακτες, οὐ πάνυ βέβαιοι τεταραγ-

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ added by Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> ληστεύουσιν Sintenis: δημεύουσιν O, δηοῦσιν Reiske.

<sup>3</sup> ἡμῖν διακείμενα Kiessling: ἡμῶν ἀφείμενα O.

<sup>4</sup> Sintenis: βέβαιον O, Jacoby.

<sup>5</sup> πίστιν O: πύστιν Sintenis, Jacoby.

<sup>6</sup> ἔνδον O: γενόμενοι Kiessling, μένοντες Jacoby.

Hernicans, who in any case have missed no opportunity to make war against us, being now exasperated also at their late defeats, are plundering our fields. As to the parts of Campania and Tyrrhenia which have continued to be doubtful in their allegiance to us, some of them are openly revolting and others are secretly preparing to do the same. Not even the kindred race of Latins, as it seems, longer remains steadfastly loyal to us, though it entered into relations of confidence with us, but a large part even of this people is reported to be disaffected, succumbing to the passion for change which all men crave. And we who used to besiege the cities of others now ourselves sit at home, pent within our walls, having left our lands unsown and seeing our farm-houses plundered, our cattle driven off as booty, and our slaves deserting, without knowing how to deal with these misfortunes. And while we suffer all this, do we still hope that the plebeians will become reconciled with us, even though we know that it is in our own power to put an end to the sedition by a single decree?

LI. "While our affairs in the open country are in this unhappy state, the situation within the walls is no less terrible. For we have neither provided ourselves with allies well in advance, as if we expected to be besieged, nor are we, unaided, sufficiently numerous to resist so many hostile nations; and even of this small and inadequate army the greater part consists of plebeians—labourers, clients, and artisans—not altogether trustworthy guardians for a tottering

<sup>7</sup> Reiske: ἐλπίζοντες Ο.

<sup>8</sup> καὶ deleted by Sintenis, Jacoby.

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μένης ἀριστοκρατίας φύλακες. αἶ τε νῦν αὐτο-  
 μολῖαι συνεχεῖς αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας  
 γινόμεναι τὸ σύμπαν ὑποπτον εἶναι παρεσκευά-  
 2 κασιν. ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἢ τῶν ἐπιτηδεῖων  
 συγκομιδῇ κρατουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων τῆς  
 γῆς ἀδύνατος οὕσα φοβεῖ τε <sup>1</sup> ἤδη, <sup>2</sup> ἐπειδάν τε ἐν  
 τῷ ἀπόρῳ γενώμεθα ἔτι μᾶλλον φοβήσῃ, χωρὶς  
 δὲ τούτων ὁ μηδένα χρόνον ἡμᾶς εὐσταθεῖν ταῖς  
 διανοίαις ἐὼν πόλεμος. ἅπαντα δ' <sup>3</sup> ὑπερβάλλει  
 τὰ δεινὰ <sup>4</sup> γύναια τῶν ἀποστατῶν καὶ παιδία νήπια  
 καὶ γηραιοὶ γονεῖς, ἐν ἐσθῆσιν ἐλεειναῖς καὶ  
 σχήμασι πενθίμοις περιφερόμενοι <sup>5</sup> κατὰ τὴν  
 ἀγορὰν καὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς κλαίοντες, ἰκετεύον-  
 τες, ἀπτόμενοι δεξιᾶς ἐκάστου καὶ γονάτων,  
 ἀπολοφυρόμενοι τὴν κατέχουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔτι  
 μᾶλλον καθέξουσιν ἐρημίαν δεινὴν καὶ ἀνυπομόνη-  
 3 τος ὄψις. οὐδεὶς γοῦν ἐστὶν οὕτως ὠμὸς τὸν τρόπον  
 ὃς οὐκ ἀνατρέπεται τὴν ψυχὴν ὀρών ταῦτα καὶ  
 πάσχει τι πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρώπων τύχας. ὥστ' εἰ  
 μέλλοιμεν ἀπίστως <sup>6</sup> πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν ἔχειν,  
 ἀπαλλακτέον ἡμῖν καὶ ταῦτα τὰ σώματα ἐκποδῶν,  
 τὰ μὲν ὡς ἄχρηστα εἰς πολιορκίαν ἐσόμενα, τὰ δ'  
 ὡς οὐ διαμενουῦντα βεβαίως φίλα. ἀπελαυνομένων  
 δὲ <sup>7</sup> καὶ τούτων τίς ἢ φυλάξουσα τὴν πόλιν ἔτι  
 λειφθήσεται δύναμις; ἢ τίνι πιστεύσαντες ἐπικου-  
 ρία τὰ δεινὰ τολμήσομεν ὑπομένειν; ἢ μέντοι  
 οἰκεία ἡμῶν καταφυγὴ καὶ μόνη βέβαιος ἐλπίς, ἢ  
 τῶν πατρικίων ἀκμή, βραχεῖά ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ὀράτε,  
 καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μέγα φρονεῖν. τί οὖν

<sup>1</sup> φοβεῖ τε ABb: φοβεῖται Ba.

<sup>2</sup> ἤδη Kiessling: ἤδη λιμόν O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> δ' added by Portus.

aristocracy. Moreover, the continual desertion of these now to the seceders has rendered all the rest liable to suspicion. But more than all these things, the impossibility of bringing in provisions while the country is in the power of the enemy already terrifies us, and when we are once in actual want, will terrify us still more; and, apart from this, the war allows us not a moment's peace of mind. Yet surpassing all these calamities are the wretched wives, the infant children, and aged parents of the seceders wandering to and fro in the Forum and through every street, in pitiful garb and postures of mourning, weeping, supplicating, clinging to the hands and knees of everyone and bewailing the forlorn condition that afflicts them now and will afflict them even more—a dreadful and intolerable sight! No one, surely, is of so cruel a nature as not to have his heart touched at seeing these things, or to feel some sympathy for the misfortunes of his fellow-creatures. So that, if we are not going to trust the good faith of the plebeians, we shall have to get rid of these persons also, since some of them will be of no use while we are under siege and the others cannot be relied on to remain friendly. But when these too are driven away, what forces will be left to defend the city? And depending upon what assistance shall we dare to encounter these perils? Yet as for our natural refuge and our only trustworthy hope, the patrician youth, they are few, as you see, and it behooves us not to let our spirits rise because of them. Why, then, do

<sup>4</sup> δεινὰ O : δειλὰ (or δείλαια) Naber.

<sup>5</sup> περιφερόμενοι O : περιφθειρόμενοι Cobet, Jacoby.

<sup>6</sup> ἀπίστως O : ἀσπείστως Reiske, Jacoby.

<sup>7</sup> δὲ C : δὴ AB.

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οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ὑπομένειν εἰσηγούμενοι ληροῦσι καὶ φενακίζουσιν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ φανερώς παραινοῦσιν ἀναιμωτὶ καὶ δίχα πόνου παραδιδόναί τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἤδη τὴν πόλιν;

LII. “ Ἄλλ' ἴσως ἔγωγε τετύφωμαι ταῦτα λέγων καὶ τὰ μὴ δεινὰ ἀξιῶ δεδιέναι· τῇ πόλει δ' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἤδη που κινδυνεύεται ἢ μεταβολή, πρᾶγμα οὐ χαλεπὸν, κατὰ πολλήν τε ἂν ἡμῖν εὐπέτειαν ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ τόπου θῆτά τε καὶ πελάτην ὄχλον εἰσδέξασθαι γένοιτο. τουτὶ γάρ ἐστιν ὃ πολλοὶ θρυλοῦσι τῶν ἐναντιουμένων τῷ <sup>2</sup> δημοτικῷ, καὶ μὰ Δί' οὐχ οἱ <sup>1</sup> φαυλότατοι. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη τινὲς ἤκουσιν εὐηθείας ὥστε μὴ γνώμας εἰσηγεῖσθαι σωτηρίους, ἀλλ' εὐχὰς λέγειν ἀδυνάτους, οὓς ἠδέως ἂν ἐροίμην· ποία μὲν ἡμῖν χρόνου δοθήσεται περιουσία περὶ ταῦτα τὰ πράγματα γινομένοις οὕτως ἐγγὺς ὄντων τῇ πόλει τῶν ἐχθρῶν; ποία δὲ συγγνώμη τῷ χρονισμῷ καὶ τῇ μελλήσει τῶν ἐλευσομένων συμμάχων, ἐν οὐ χρονίζουσιν οὐδὲ μέλλουσι δεινοῖς; τίς δ' ὁ παρέξων τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀνὴρ ἢ θεὸς καὶ κατὰ πολλήν ἡσυχίαν συνάξων ἐκ παντὸς τόπου <sup>2</sup> καὶ παραπέμψων δεῦρο τὴν ἐπικουρίαν; ἔτι δὲ δῆ, οἱ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας ἐκλείψοντες καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μεταναστησόμενοι τίνες <sup>3</sup> ἔσονται; πότερον <sup>4</sup> οἱ <sup>5</sup> οἰκήσεις τε καὶ ἐφέστια καὶ βίους καὶ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις διὰ πατέρων ἐπιφάνειαν ἢ δόξαν οἰκείας ἀρετῆς ἔχοντες; καὶ τίς ἂν ὑπομείνιει τὰ οἰκεία παραλιπὼν ἀγαθὰ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> οὐχ οἱ Reiske: οὐχὶ O.

<sup>2</sup> Gelenius: τρόπου AB.

<sup>3</sup> Steph.: οἵτινες AB.

<sup>4</sup> Jacoby: πότερα O.



those who propose that we submit to war indulge in nonsense and deceive us, instead of openly advising us to deliver up the city at once to our enemies without bloodshed and without trouble?

LII. "But perhaps I myself am infatuated when I speak thus, and am asking you to fear things that are not formidable. The commonwealth is very likely threatened with no other danger as yet than a change of inhabitants, a matter of no serious consequence; and it would be very easy for us to receive into the body politic a multitude of labourers and clients from every nation and place. For this is the plan which many of the opponents of the plebeians keep prating of, and these by no means the most unimportant of them; to such a pitch of folly, indeed, have some already come, that instead of expressing salutary opinions they utter wishes impossible of realization. But I should like to ask these men: What superabundance of time will be afforded us to carry out these plans when the enemy is so near the city? What allowance will be made for the tarrying and delay of our auxiliaries who are to come, though we are in the midst of perils that do not tarry or delay? What man or what god will grant us security and will without molestation get together reinforcements from every quarter and conduct them hither? Besides, who are the people who will leave their own countries and remove to us? Are they such as have habitations, families, fortunes, and the respect of their fellow-citizens because of the distinction of their ancestors or a reputation for their own merit? And yet who would consent to leave behind his own

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<sup>5</sup> of Cb: om. CaR.

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ἄλλοτρίων αἰσchrῶς<sup>1</sup> μεταλαβεῖν κακῶν; οὐ γὰρ εἰρήνης καὶ τρυφῆς μεταληψόμενοι δεῦρο ἤξουσιν, ἀλλὰ κινδύνων καὶ πολέμου, ἐξ ὧν ἄδηλον εἰ  
 3 κατορθωθήσεται τὸ τέλος. ἢ τὸ δημοτικὸν καὶ ἀνέστιον ἐπαξόμεθα πλῆθος, οἶον καὶ τὸ ἐνθένδε ἀπελαθὲν ἦν, δηλονότι διὰ χρέα<sup>2</sup> καὶ καταδικὰς καὶ τὰς ὁμοιοτρόπους ταύταις συμφορὰς ἀγαπητῶς ὅποι ἂν<sup>3</sup> τύχη μεθιδρυσόμενον; ὁ καὶ τὰλλα χρηστὸν ἦ καὶ μέτριον—ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς χαρισώμεθα—διὰ τοῦτό γέ τοι τὸ μήτε<sup>4</sup> οἰκείον εἶναι μήτε ὁμοδίαιτον, μήτε ἐθισμῶν καὶ νόμων καὶ παιδείας ἔσεσθαι τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἔμπειρον, μακρῶ δὴ που καὶ τῷ παντὶ κάκιον ἂν εἴη τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν.

LIII. “Τῷ μὲν γ' ὅ<sup>5</sup> ἐπιχωρίῳ καὶ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ γονέων καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων σωμάτων οἰκείων ὁμηρὰ ἐστὶν ἐνθάδε, καὶ αὐτοῦ νῆ Δία τοῦ θρέψαντος αὐτοὺς ἐδάφους ὁ πόθος, ἀναγκαῖος ὧν ἅπασι καὶ οὐκ ἐξαιρετός· ὁ δ' ἐπίκλητός γε οὔτοσι καὶ ἐπίσκηνος ὄχλος, εἰ γένοιτο ἡμῖν σύνοικος, οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ τούτων ἐνθάδε ὄντος, ὑπὲρ τίνος ἀξιώσειεν ἂν<sup>6</sup> κινδυνεύειν ἀγαθοῦ, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτῷ γῆς τε ὑπόσχοιτο μέρη δώσειν καὶ πόλεως μοῖραν ὅσῃν δὴ τινα τοὺς νῦν κυρίους αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενος, ὧν οὐκ ἀξιούμεν τοῖς πολλάκις ἀγωνισαμένοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πολίταις μεταδιδόναι; καὶ ἴσως ἂν οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀρκεσθεῖη δοθεῖσι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν καὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν

<sup>1</sup> αἰσchrῶς O: γλίσchrως Kiessling, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> διὰ χρέα Cobet, καὶ διὰ χρέα Jacoby: καὶ χρέα O.

<sup>3</sup> ὅποι ἂν Hertlein, ὅποι Reiske: ὅπου O.

<sup>4</sup> Sylburg: μηδὲ O.

blessings in order to share ignominiously the misfortunes of others? For they will come hither to share, not in peace and luxury, but in dangers and war, the successful issue of which cannot be foreseen. Or shall we bring in a multitude of homeless plebeians, like those driven from hence, who because of debts, judgments, and other like misfortunes will gladly remove to any place that may offer? But these, even though otherwise of a good and modest disposition—to concede them this much—yet just because of their being neither native born nor of like habits with us, and because they will not be acquainted with our customs, laws, and training, would no doubt be far, nay infinitely, worse than our own plebeians.

LIII. “The natives have here their wives, children, parents, and many others that are dear to them, to serve as pledges; yes, and there is their fondness for the soil that reared them, a passion that is implanted in all men and not to be eradicated; but as for this multitude which we propose to invite here, this people without roof or home, if they should take up their abode with us having none of these pledges here, in defence of what blessing would they care to face dangers, unless one were to promise to give them portions of land and some part or other of the city, after first dispossessing the present owners—things we refuse to grant to our own citizens who have often fought in their defence? And possibly they might not be content with even these grants alone, but would also insist upon an equal share of honours, of magistracies, and of all the

<sup>5</sup> μέν γε (or γὰρ) Reiske: μέντ' B, Jacoby, μέντοι (?) A.

<sup>6</sup> ἀξιώσειεν ἂν Pflugk, ἂν ἀξιώσειε Jacoby: ἀξιώσειε O.

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ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς πατρικίοις ἀξιώσει μεταλαμβάνειν.  
 2 οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἐπιτρέφομεν ἕκαστα τῶν αἰτου-  
 μένων, ἐχθροῖς τοῖς μὴ τυγχάνουσι χρησόμεθα; εἰ  
 δὲ συγχωρήσαιμεν, ἡ πατρίς ἡμῖν οἰχθήσεται καὶ ἡ  
 πολιτεία πρὸς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καταλυομένη. καὶ οὐ  
 προστίθημι ἐνταῦθα ὅτι πολεμεῖν<sup>1</sup> ἐπιτηδεῖων  
 σωματῶν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεῖ, οὐ γεωργῶν οὐδὲ  
 θητῶν οὐδὲ ἐμπόρων οὐδὲ τῶν περὶ τὰς βαναύσους  
 τέχνας ἀσχολουμένων, οὓς ἅμα δεήσει μανθάνειν  
 τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ πείραν αὐτῶν διδόναι (χαλεπή δὲ  
 πείρα τῶν<sup>2</sup> μὴ ἐν ἔθει), ἀνάγκη δὲ τοιούτους  
 εἶναι τοὺς σύγκλυδας καὶ ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους μετ-  
 3 ανισταμένους. στρατιωτικὴν γὰρ οὔτε ὄρω συμ-  
 μαχίαν ἡμῖν οὐδεμίαν συνεστῶσαν οὔτ', εἰ φανείη  
 τις ἐκ τοῦ ἀδοκῆτου, παραινέσαιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν  
 παραδέξασθαι αὐτὴν τοῖς τείχεσι προχείρως, πολ-  
 λὰς ἄλλας<sup>3</sup> ἐπιστάμενος<sup>4</sup> πόλεις ταῖς εἰσαχθεί-  
 σαις ἐπὶ φυλακῇ στρατιαῖς δεδουλωμένας.

LIV. “Ἐνθυμούμενοί τε δὴ ταῦτα καὶ ὅσα δὴ  
 ἕτερα ἡμῖν εἴρηται πρότερον, ἔτι δὲ τῶν παρα-  
 καλούντων ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι, ὅτι  
 οὐ παρ' ἡμῖν μόνοις ἢ πρώτοις πενία πρὸς πλοῦτον  
 ἐστασίασε καὶ ταπεινότης πρὸς ἐπιφάνειαν, ἀλλ' ἐν  
 ἀπάσαις ὡς εἶπεῖν καὶ μικραῖς καὶ μεγάλαις  
 πόλεσι πολέμιον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῦ πλείονος τοῦλατ-  
 τον καθίσταται (ἐν αἷς οἱ προεστηκότες τοῦ  
 κοινοῦ μετριάσαντες μὲν ἔσωσαν τὰς πατρίδας,  
 2 καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διώλεσαν), καὶ ὅτι πᾶν χρῆμα ὃ

<sup>1</sup> Reiske: πολεμικῶν O.

<sup>2</sup> Reiske: τῶ O.

<sup>3</sup> ἄλλας Jacoby, τινας Reiske, ἤδη Sintenis: ἡμᾶς O.

other advantages with the patricians. If, therefore, we do not grant them every one of their demands, shall we not have them as our enemies when they fail to obtain what they ask? And if we grant their demands, our country and our constitution will be lost, destroyed by our own hands. I do not add here that what we need at the present time is men trained to war, men of disciplined bodies; not husbandmen, labourers, merchants, or followers of menial trades, who will be obliged to learn military discipline and to give proof of their skill at one and the same time (and skill in any unwonted activity is difficult), such as a promiscuous collection of men resorting hither from every nation is bound to be. As for a military alliance, I neither see any formed to assist us, nor, if any allies unexpectedly appeared, should I advise you to admit them inconsiderately within your walls, since I know that many a city has been enslaved by troops introduced to garrison it.

LIV. "When you consider these things as well as those that I have mentioned earlier, and recall, further, the considerations which encourage you to make the accommodation, namely, that we are not the only people, nor the first, among whom poverty has raised sedition against wealth, and lowliness against eminence, but that in nearly all states, both great and small, the lower class is generally hostile to the upper (and in all these states the men in power, when they have shown moderation, have saved their countries, but when they have acted arrogantly, have lost not only their goods, but their lives as well); and when you remember that everything that

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<sup>4</sup> Reiske: ἐπισταμένους Ο.

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ἂν ἐκ πολλῶν σύνθετον ἢ νοσεῖν πέφυκε κατὰ τι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μορίων, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ὡς οὔτε ἀνθρωπέου σώματος αἰεὶ τὸ κάμνον ἀποτεμεῖν χρή μέρος (αἰσχροῖα τε γὰρ ἢ ὄψις ἂν γίνοιτο τοῦ λειπομένου καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ διαρκῆς) οὔτε πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας τὴν νοσοῦσαν ἐξελαύνειν μοῖραν (οὐ γὰρ ἂν φθάνοι διὰ τῶν ἰδίων μερῶν τὸ σύμπαν ἀπολόμενον σὺν χρόνῳ), τῆς τε ἀνάγκης ἐνθυμηθέντες ὅσον τὸ κράτος, ἢ καὶ θεοὶ εἴκουσι μόνη, μὴ χαλεπαίνετε πρὸς τὰς τύχας, μηδ' ὡς ἀπάντων ἡμῖν κατ' εὐχὴν ἐσομένων ἀυθαδείας ἐμπίμπλασθε καὶ ἀμαθίας, ἀλλ' ἐπικλάσθητε καὶ εἴξατε παραδείγμασι χρησάμενοι τῆς εὐβουλίας μὴ τοῖς ὀθνείοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις αὐτῶν ἔργοις.

LV. “Καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἓνα καὶ πόλιν ὅλην ἐπὶ ταῖς καλλίσταις τῶν ἰδίων πράξεων φιλοτιμείσθαι χρή, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ὅπως ὁμολογούμεναι ταύταις ἔσονται σκοπεῖν. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν ἤδη πολλοὺς πολεμίους, ὑφ' ὧν τὰ μέγιστα ἡδικήθητε, ὑποχειρίους λαβόντες, οὔτ' ἀνελεῖν οὔτ' ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐβουλήθητε, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴκους καὶ κλήρους αὐτοῖς ἀπέδοτε, καὶ πατρίδας οἰκεῖν ἐξ ὧν ἔφυσαν εἰάσατε, ἰσοψήφοις τε εἶναι καὶ πολίταις 2 ὑμετέροις ἤδη τισὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐχαρίσασθε. τούτου δ' ἔτι θαυμασιώτερον ἔργον ὑμῶν ἔχω λέγειν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων πολιτῶν πολλοὺς μεγάλα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας <sup>1</sup> ἀφήκατε τῶν τιμωριῶν, εἰς αὐτοὺς μόνους ἀποσκήψαντες τοὺς αἰτίους τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἐξαμαρτάνοντας O: ἐξαμαρτόντας Kiessling, Jacoby.

is composed of many parts is generally affected with a disorder in some one of them, and, furthermore, that neither the ailing part of a human body ought always to be lopped off (for that would be to render the appearance of the rest ugly and its term of life brief) nor the disordered part of a civil community to be driven out (since that would be the quickest way of destroying the whole in time through the loss of its separate parts); and when you consider also how great is the power of necessity, the one thing to which even the gods yield, be not vexed at your misfortunes nor allow yourselves to be filled with arrogance and folly, as if everything were going to succeed according to our wishes, but relent and yield, deriving examples of prudence, not from the actions of others, but from our own.

LV. "For the individual man and the state as a whole ought to emulate the most illustrious of their own actions and to consider how all their other actions may correspond with these. Thus you yourselves, when in times past you subdued many of your enemies at whose hands you had suffered the greatest injuries, desired neither to destroy them nor to dispossess them of what was theirs, but restored their houses and lands to them and permitted them to live in the countries that had given them birth, and actually granted to some of them the privilege both of being your fellow-citizens and of exercising equal rights of suffrage. But I have yet a more wonderful act of yours to relate, which is, that you have permitted many even of your own fellow-citizens who commit grievous offences against you to go unpunished, while you have visited your resentment solely upon those who were

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ὀργήν, ὧν ἦσαν οἱ τε Ἀντέμνας κληρουχήσαντες  
 καὶ Κρουστομερίαν καὶ Μεδυλλίαν καὶ Φιδήνην  
 καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί. τί γὰρ δεῖ πάντας ἐξαριθμείσθαι  
 νυνὶ οὓς ὑμεῖς ἐκ πολιορκίας κρατηθέντας μετρίως  
 ἐνουθετήσατε καὶ πολιτικῶς; καὶ οὐχ ὅπως<sup>1</sup> ἢ  
 κίνδυνός τις διὰ ταῦτα κατέλαβε τὴν πόλιν ἢ  
 ψόγος, ἀλλ' ἐπαινείται τε ὑμῶν τὸ ἐπεικὲς καὶ  
 3 οὐδὲν ἠλάττωται τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς. ἔπειτα οἱ τῶν  
 πολεμίων φειδόμενοι τοῖς φίλοις πολεμήσετε, καὶ  
 οἱ τὰ ὑποχέρια γενόμενα μεθιέντες ἀζήμια τοὺς  
 συγκατακτησαμένους ὑμῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ζημιώσετε,  
 πόλιν τε τὴν αὐτῶν ὑμῶν παρέχοντες ἅπασιν τοῖς  
 δεομένοις ἀσφαλῆ καταφυγὴν, ταύτης ἀπελαύνειν  
 ὑπομενεῖτε τοὺς αὐθιγενεῖς, οἷς καὶ συνετράφητε  
 καὶ συνεπαιδεύθητε καὶ πολλῶν ἐκοινωνήσατε  
 κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ  
 πολέμους; οὐκ, εἰάν τά γε δίκαια καὶ τὰ προσ-  
 ἤκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἔθεσι βούλησθε πράττειν καὶ  
 χωρὶς ὀργῆς κρίνητε τὸ συμφέρον.

LVI. “ Ἄλλ' ὅτι μὲν δεῖ καταλύσασθαι τὴν  
 στάσιν, εἶποι τις ἄν, οὐχ ἦττον ἡμεῖς ἐγνώκαμεν  
 καὶ πολλὴν παρεσχήμεθα προθυμίαν· πῶς δ' ἄν  
 καταλυσαιμέθ' αὐτήν, τοῦτο πειρῶ λέγειν. ὄρας  
 γὰρ ὅση περὶ τὸν δῆμόν ἐστιν αὐθάδεια, ὅς οὔτε  
 πέμπει πρὸς ἡμᾶς περὶ διαλύσεων αὐτὸς ἀδικῶν  
 οὔτε τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποσταλεῖσιν ἀποκρίνεται  
 πολιτικὰς καὶ φιλανθρώπους ἀποκρίσεις, ἀλλ'  
 ὑπερηφανεῖ καὶ ἀπειλεῖ, καὶ εἰκάσαι ράδιον οὐκ  
 ἔστιν ὅ τι βούλεται. πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα τί παραινῶ  
 2 νῦν πράττειν ἀκούσατέ μου. ἐγὼ τὸν δῆμον οὔτ'  
 ἀδιαλλάκτως οἶομαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν οὔτε δράσειν

<sup>1</sup> οὐχ ὅπως Cobet: οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως O, Jacoby.



guilty. Of this number were the colonies sent out to Antemnae, Crustumerium, Medullia, Fidenae, and to many other places. But why should I now enumerate all those whom, after you had taken their towns by storm, you admonished mildly and as became fellow-citizens? And so far has the commonwealth been from incurring either danger or censure from this course, that your clemency is applauded and at the same time your security is not at all diminished. After that will you, who spare your enemies, make war upon your friends? Will you, who permit the conquered to go unpunished, punish those who aided you in acquiring your dominion? Will you, who offer your own city as a safe refuge for all who stand in need of it, bring yourselves to drive out of that city the natives with whom you have been reared and educated and with whom you have shared many experiences both evil and good in peace as well as in war? No, not if you desire to act with justice and in conformity with your traditions, and if without passion you judge what is to your interest.

LVI. "But, someone may say, we know as well as you that the sedition ought to be appeased, and we have laboured earnestly to that end. Undertake now to tell us *how* we may appease it. For you see how headstrong the people are grown: though they themselves are the offenders, they neither send to us to treat of an accommodation nor give to the men we have sent to them answers that are those of fellow-citizens or considerate, but indulge in haughtiness and threats, so that it is not easy to guess what they want. Hear, then, in what manner I advise you to act now in this situation. For my part, I do not believe either that the people are irreconcilable

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τι ὦν ἀπειλεῖ, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅμοια τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἡμῶν ἐσπουδακῆναι περὶ τὰς διαλύσεις.<sup>1</sup> ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ καὶ πατρίδα τὴν τιμιωτάτην κατοικοῦμεν καὶ βίους καὶ οἴκους καὶ γενεὰς<sup>2</sup> καὶ πάντα τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐξουσίαις ἔχομεν· ὁ δ' ἀπολις καὶ ἀνέστιός ἐστι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων αὐτῶ<sup>3</sup> στέρεται σωμαίων βίου τε τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν οὐκ εὐπορεῖ. τίνος οὖν χάριν, εἴ τις ἔροιτό με, τὰς προκλήσεις οὐ δέχεται τὰς ἡμετέρας ὅμως<sup>4</sup> κακοπαθῶν αὐτός τε οὐδὲν ἐπιπρεσβεύεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅτι νῆ Δία, φαίην ἄν, ἄχρι τοῦδε λόγων ἀκούει παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄρα γινόμενον ἐξ αὐτῶν οὔτε φιλόνηθρον οὔτε μέτριον, ἐξηπατήσθαι τε οἴεται πολλάκις ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὑπισχνουμένων ἀεὶ τινα πρόνοιαν αὐτοῦ ποιήσεσθαι,<sup>5</sup> μηδὲν δὲ προνοουμένων. πρεσβείας δὲ πέμπειν οὐχ ὑπομένει διὰ τοὺς ἐνθάδε κατηγορεῖν εἰωθότας αὐτοῦ δεδοικώς τε μὴ τίνος ὦν ἀξιοῖ διαμάρτη. τάχα δ' ἄν τι καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀνοήτου περὶ αὐτὸν εἴη πάθος· καὶ οὐδὲν γε θαυμαστόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἰσὶ τινες οἷς τὸ δύσερι τοῦτο καὶ φιλόνηθρον ἔνεστιν οἰκεῖον καὶ κοινόν,<sup>6</sup> οὐκ ἀξιοῦσιν<sup>7</sup> ἠττᾶσθαι τοῦ ἀντιπάλου, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς ἀεὶ ζητοῦσι περιεῖναι τρόπον καὶ μὴ πρότερον χαρίζεσθαι τι ἢ λαβεῖν τὸ μέλλον εὐ πάσχειν ὑποχείριον. ἐννοοῦμενος δὴ

<sup>1</sup> οἶμαι after διαλύσεις deleted by Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> γενεὰς A: γονεὰς B.

<sup>3</sup> Reiske: αὐτῶν O.

<sup>4</sup> ὅμως O: ὁ δῆμος Sylburg.

<sup>5</sup> Kiessling: ποιήσασθαι O

<sup>6</sup> ἔνεστιν οἰκεῖον καὶ κοινόν Post, ἔνεστιν ἰδίᾳ (ἔνεστιν οἱ ἰδίᾳ Kiessling) τε καὶ κοινῇ Jacoby, after Kiessling, ἐνοικεῖ καὶ κινεῖ Reiske: ἐνοικεῖ καὶ κοινῇ A, ἐνοικία κοινῇ BC.

toward us or that they will carry out any of their threats. My reason is that their actions do not agree with their words, and I judge that they are far more in earnest than we about the accommodation. For while we continue to live in our own country, which is most dear to us, and have in our own power our fortunes, our houses, our families, and everything that means most to us, they are without country or habitation, are bereft of their dearest relations, and lack for their daily bread. If anyone should ask me for what reason, then, the people even under these miseries do not accept our invitations and why they do not on their own initiative send to treat with us, I should answer: Because, most assuredly, they thus far hear words from the senate, but see no act of kindness or moderation follow the words; and they feel that they have been often deceived by us, in that we are always promising to take some measures of relief for them, but taking none. They are unwilling to send envoys to us because of those who are accustomed to inveigh against them here and because they fear they may fail of some of their demands. Perhaps too they may be possessed by some feeling of senseless rivalry. And no wonder; since there are some even among us ourselves in whom this quarrelsome and contentious spirit resides, both in private and in public matters, men who cannot bear to be overcome by their adversaries, but are always seeking by any means whatever to get the better of them and never to confer a favour before they have subdued those who are to have the benefit of it. In view of these con-

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<sup>7</sup> ἀξιοῦσιν Ο : ἀξιοῦν Reiske.

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ταῦτα οἶομαι δεῖν πρεσβεΐαν ἀποσταλῆναι πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς ἐκ τῶν μάλιστα πιστευομένων· τοὺς δ' ἀποσταλησομένους ἄνδρας αὐτοκράτορας εἶναι παραινῶ, διαλυσομένους αὐτοῖς τὴν στάσιν ἐφ' οἷς ἂν αὐτοὶ δικαιοῶσι καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι τῇ βουλῇ προσαναφέροντας. εἰ γὰρ εἴσονται τοῦτο<sup>1</sup> οἱ<sup>2</sup> νῦν ὑπεροπτικοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι καὶ βαρεῖς, μαθόντες ὅτι ἀληθῶς σπουδάζετε περὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, εἰς<sup>3</sup> ἐπιεικεστέρας συγκαθήσουσιν αἰρέσεις, οὐδὲν ἀξιοῦντες οὔτε τῶν αἰσχυρῶν οὔτε τῶν ἀδυνάτων. τὸ γὰρ ἡρεθισμένον ἅπαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ταπεινὸν ἦ, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ὑπερηφανοῦντας ἀγριαίνεσθαι φιλεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας ἡμεροῦσθαι.”

LVII. Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Μενηγίου θροῦς πολὺς ἐνέπεσε τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ διελάουν ἕκαστοι κατὰ συμμορίας, οἱ μὲν οἰκείως διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικούς παρακαλοῦντες ἀλλήλους πᾶσαν εἰσφέρεισθαι προθυμίαν ὅπως κατάξουσι τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, ἐπειδὴ προσειλήφεσαν ἡγεμόνα τῆς τότε γνώμης ἀνδρῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον· οἱ δ' ἀριστοκρατικοὶ καὶ περὶ<sup>4</sup> παντὸς θέλοντες μὴ κινεῖσθαι ἐκ τοῦ πατρίου κόσμου τὴν πολιτείαν, ἀποροῦντες ὅ τι χρήσονται τοῖς παροῦσι, μεταθέσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες τὰς προαιρέσεις, μένειν δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐγνωσμένων οὐ δυνάμενοι· οἱ δ' ἀκέραιοί τε καὶ τῶν στάσεων

<sup>1</sup> εἰ γὰρ εἴσονται τοῦτο Kiessling: αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἴσονται τοῦτο O, Jacoby, αὐτοὶ γὰρ πείσονται τούτοις Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> οἱ O: οἱ δὲ Schaller, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> εἰς B: καὶ εἰς R, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> περὶ O: πρὸ Hertlein.

siderations I think an embassy should be sent to the plebeians consisting of persons in whom they have the greatest confidence; and I advise that those to be sent be invested with full power to put an end to the sedition upon such terms as they themselves shall think fit, without again referring anything to the senate. For if the plebeians, who now seem to be scornful and sullen, shall become aware of this, learning that you are in earnest<sup>1</sup> regarding the accommodation, they will condescend to more moderate conditions and will demand nothing of us that is either dishonourable or impossible. For all men, when inflamed with anger, particularly those of humble condition, are wont to be enraged against those who treat them haughtily, but to be mild toward those who court their favour."

LVII. When Menenius had thus spoken, a great murmuring broke out in the senate and the members consulted together, each with their own groups. Those who were favourably disposed toward the plebeians exhorted one another to devote every energy toward bringing the people back to their country, now that they had got as the champion of their present view the most distinguished man of the aristocratic party. The aristocrats, in turn, who above everything wished no change to be made in the traditional form of government, were at a loss how to act in the present juncture, being unwilling to change their principles and yet unable to persist in their resolutions. And those, again, who were neutral and sided with neither of the parties in their

<sup>1</sup> So, following Kiessling. Jacoby's text means: "For they (the consuls) will understand this business by themselves. And when the plebeians, who . . . sullen, learn that you are in earnest."

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οὐδετέρᾳ συμφιλονεικούντες εἰρήνην ἄγειν βουλό-  
 μενοι καὶ ὅπως μὴ τειχήρεις ἔσονται σκοπεῖν  
 2 ἀξιούντες. σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης ὁ πρεσβύτερος  
 τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπαινέσας τὸν Μενήνιον τῆς γεν-  
 ναιότητος, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀξιώσας ὁμοίους  
 ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι κηδεμόνας λέγοντάς τε ὅσα  
 φρονοῦσι μετὰ παρρησίας καὶ πράττοντας δίχα  
 ὅκνου τὰ δόξαντα, ἕτερον<sup>1</sup> ἐκάλει τὸν αὐτὸν  
 τρόπον ἐξ ὀνόματος, ἀξιῶν γνώμην ἀποφήνασθαι,  
 Μάνιον Οὐαλέριον ἀδελφὸν τοῦ συνελυθερώσαντος  
 ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλέων τὴν πόλιν, ἄνδρα παρ' ὄντινα-  
 οῦν τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν τῷ δήμῳ κεχαρισμένον.

LVIII. Ὅς ἀναστὰς πρῶτον ὑπεμίμνησκε τὴν  
 βουλήν τῶν ἰδίων πολιτευμάτων, καὶ ὅτι πολλάκις  
 αὐτοῦ προλέγοντος τὰ μέλλοντα συμβῆσεσθαι  
 δεινὰ δι' ὀλιγωρίας ἐποιήσαντο τοὺς λόγους·  
 ἔπειτα ἠξίου τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους ταῖς δια-  
 λαγαῖς μὴ περὶ τοῦ μετρίου<sup>2</sup> νῦν ζητεῖν, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπεὶ τὴν στάσιν οὐκ εἶσαν ἐξαιρεθῆναι ἡνίκα  
 μικρὰ ἦν ἔτι τῇ πόλει τὰ διαφέροντα, νῦν γέ τοι  
 σκοπεῖν ὅπως διὰ ταχέων παύσεται καὶ μὴ  
 προελθοῦσα ἔτι πορρωτέρω λήσει τάχα μὲν  
 ἀνίατος, εἰ δὲ μή, δυσίατος καὶ πολλῶν αἰτία  
 σφίσι γενομένη κακῶν· τὴν τε ἀξίωσιν τῶν  
 δημοτικῶν οὐκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπέφαινεν ἔσομένην  
 τῇ προτέρᾳ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς εἶκαζε συμ-  
 βῆσεσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἀπαλλαγὴν μόνον τῶν χρεῶν  
 αἰτούμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοθησίας δεῆσεσθαί τινος  
 ἴσως, ἀφ' ἧς εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀσφαλῆς

<sup>1</sup> ἕτερον O : δεύτερον Kiessling, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ μετρίου O : τῶν μετρίων Grasberger, Jacoby.

strife, desired to see peace prevail and demanded that the senate should consider means to prevent the city from being besieged. When silence reigned, the elder of the consuls praised Menenius for his magnanimity and asked the rest to show themselves equally loyal defenders of the state, not only by expressing their opinions with frankness, but also by carrying out their resolutions without fear; and then he called upon a second senator by name in the same manner to deliver his opinion. This was Manius Valerius, a brother of the Valerius who had assisted in delivering his country from the kings, a man acceptable to the people beyond any other member of the aristocratic party.

LVIII. Hé, rising up, first called the attention of the senate to the policies he himself had pursued and reminded them that, though he had often foretold the dangers they would incur, they had made light of his predictions. He then requested that those who opposed the accommodation should not at this time inquire into the reasonableness of the terms, but, since they had been unwilling to allow the sedition to be appeased while the disputes in the state were still unimportant, that they should now at least consider by what means it might be speedily terminated and might not, by going on still further, insensibly become perhaps incurable, or in any case hard to be cured, and the cause of great evils to them. He told them that the demands of the plebeians would no longer be the same as before, and he did not imagine that the people would enter into a compact upon the same terms, asking merely for an abolition of their debts, but that they would possibly call for some assistance also, by which they might

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2 διατελέσει· καταλελύσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἄφ' οὗ παρήλθεν ἢ τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀρχὴ τὸν φύλακα τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῦ νόμον, ὃς οὔτε ἀποκτείνειν πολίτην ἄκριτον οὐδένα συνεχώρει τοῖς ὑπάτοις, οὐδέ γε τοὺς<sup>1</sup> παρὰ τῇ κρίσει ἐλαττουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων δημοτικούς παραδίδοσθαι τοῖς καταδικασαμένοις, ἔφεσιν δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐδίδου μεταφέρειν τὰς κρίσεις ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν πατρικίων καὶ ὅτι ἂν ὁ δῆμος γινῶ, τοῦτ' εἶναι κύριον· ἀφηρησθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημοτικῶν ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσαν ἧς ἐν τοῖς προτέροις χρόνοις ἦσαν κύριοι, ὅπου γε καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θρίαμβον οὐκ ἐξεγένετο αὐτοῖς εὐρέσθαι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνδρὶ παρ' ὄντιναοῦν ἄλλον ἐπιτηδείῳ ταύτης τυχεῖν τῆς

3 τιμῆς, Ποπλίῳ Σερουιλίῳ Πρίσκῳ. ἐφ' οἷς εἰκός τι πάσχοντας τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀθυμεῖν καὶ πονηρὰς ἔχειν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐλπίδας, ἐπειδὴ οὔτε ὑπάτῳ οὔτε δικτάτορι κήδεσθαι αὐτῶν βουλομένοις ἐξεγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσ-  
 ἀπήλαυσέ τις αὐτῶν ὕβρεως καὶ ἀτιμίας διὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν σπουδὴν καὶ πρόνοιαν. ταῦτα δ' ἀπειργάσθαι συγκύψαντας<sup>2</sup> οὐ τοὺς χαρι-  
 εστάτους τῶν πατρικίων, ὕβριστὰς δέ τινας καὶ πλεονέκτας περὶ χρηματισμὸν ἄδικον δεινῶς ἐσπουδακότας, οἱ πρὸς πολὺ διάφορον καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις δανεισθὲν τόκοις πολλὰ καταδουλωσά-  
 μενοι πολιτῶν σώματα, τούτοις τε ὤμας καὶ ὑπερηφάνους ἀνάγκας προσφέροντες, ἀλλότριον

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς added by Kiessling; Reiske had proposed οὔτε γε παρὰ τὰς κρίσεις.



for the future live in safety. For since the institution of the dictatorship, he said, the law that safeguarded their liberty had been abolished, the law which allowed no citizen to be put to death by the consuls without a trial, nor any of the plebeians who had been tried and condemned by the patricians, to be delivered up to those who had condemned them, but granted to those who desired it the right of appealing the decisions from the patricians to the people, and that the judgment of the people should be final. He added that almost all the other privileges enjoyed in former times by the plebeians had been taken away, since they had been unable to obtain from the senate even the usual military triumph for Publius Servilius Priscus, who had deserved this honour more than any other man. At this, he said, most of the people were distressed, as was to be expected, and entertained slender hopes of their security, since neither a consul nor a dictator had been able, even when they wished, to take care of their interests, but the zeal and care they showed for the people had actually gained for some of them abuse and ignominy. He declared that these things had been brought about by plotting, not on the part of the more cultivated men among the patricians, but on the part of some insolent and avaricious men desperately eager for unjust gain, who, having advanced a large amount of money at a high rate of interest and made slaves of many of their fellow-citizens, had, by treating these with cruel and arrogant harshness, alienated the whole

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<sup>2</sup> συγκύψαντας B: συγκαλύψαντας A.

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ἐποίησαν γενέσθαι τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἅπαν τὸ δημοτικόν, ἑταιρίαν τε συστησάμενοι καὶ ταύτης ἀναδείξαντες Ἄππιον Κλαύδιον ἡγεμόνα, μισόδημον ἄνδρα καὶ ὀλιγαρχικόν, δι' ἐκείνου πάντα φύρουσι <sup>1</sup> τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως. οἷς εἰ μὴ τὸ σωφρονοῦν μέρος τῆς βουλῆς ἐμποδῶν στήσεται, κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τινος καὶ κατασκαφῆς τὴν πόλιν. τελευτῶν δ' ἀπεφήνατο συνδοκεῖν τῇ Μενηνίου χρῆσθαι γνώμῃ, καὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἡξίου πέμπειν διὰ ταχέων· τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας ἀφικομένους πειρᾶσθαι μὲν ὡς βούλονται καταλύσασθαι τὴν στάσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ διδοίη τις αὐτοῖς ἃ βούλονται, δέχεσθαι τὰ διδόμενα.

LIX. Μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη κληθεῖς Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος ὁ τῆς ἐναντιουμένης τῷ δήμῳ στάσεως ἡγεμών,<sup>2</sup> ἀνὴρ μέγα φρονῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἄνευ δικαίας πάσχων αἰτίας· ὃ τε γὰρ ἴδιος αὐτοῦ βίος ὁ καθ' ἡμέραν σώφρων καὶ σεμνὸς ἦν, ἣ τε προαίρεσις τῶν πολιτευμάτων εὐγενῆς καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα σώζουσα τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας· ὃς ἀφορμὴν λαβὼν τὴν Οὐαλερίου δημηγορίαν τοιούτοις ἐχρήσατο λόγοις·

<sup>2</sup> “Ἐν ἐλάττονι μὲν αἰτία Οὐαλέριος ἂν <sup>3</sup> ἦν, εἰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἀπεφήνατο μόνην, τῶν δὲ τάναντία ἐγνωκότων μὴ κατηγορεῖ· περιῆν γὰρ ἂν αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἀκοῦσαι τῶν προσόντων αὐτῷ κακῶν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα συμβουλεύειν ἐξ ὧν οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ τοῖς κακίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν δουλεύσομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων αὐτῷ καθήψατο κάμου ἀψιμάχως

<sup>1</sup> Reiske: φέρουσι O.

<sup>2</sup> ἡγεμών added by Reiske.

body of the plebeians from the aristocracy, and having formed a faction and placed at the head of it Appius Claudius, an enemy of the people and a champion of oligarchy, were through him throwing all the affairs of the commonwealth into confusion; and he declared that if the sober part of the senate did not oppose these men, the state was in danger of being enslaved and destroyed. He ended by saying that he concurred in the opinion of Menenius, and asked that the envoys might be sent immediately, and that upon arriving they should endeavour to appease the sedition upon such terms as they desired, but if these were not granted, they should accept such as were offered.

LIX. After him, Appius Claudius, who was leader of the faction that opposed the people, being called upon to express his opinion, rose up, a man who set a great value upon himself and not without just cause; for his private life was sober and dignified, while his political principles were noble and calculated to preserve the dignity of the aristocracy. He, taking as his starting point the speech of Valerius, spoke as follows:

“Valerius would have deserved less censure if he had merely expressed his own opinion, without inveighing against those who hold the opposite view, for in that case he would have had the advantage of not hearing an exposition of his own faults. However, since he has not been content with advising such a course as can end in nothing else than in making us slaves to the worst of the citizens, but has also attacked his opponents and has levelled some of

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<sup>3</sup> ἀν added here by Cobet, after αἰτίᾳ by Jacoby.

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ἐμνήσθη, πολλὴν ἀνάγκην ὀρῶ καμοὶ περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν καὶ πρῶτον ἀπολύσασθαι τὰς κατ' ἔμαντοῦ διαβολάς. ὠνείδισται γάρ μοι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπιτήδευμα οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτ' εὐπρεπές, ὡς ἀπὸ παντὸς χρηματίζεσθαι προήρημαι τρόπου καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πενήτων ἀφήρημαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ ὡς ἡ ἀπόστασις τοῦ δήμου καὶ δι' ἐμὲ οὐχ ἦκιστα γέγονεν· ὦν οὐδὲν ὅτι ἀληθές ἐστιν οὐδ' ὕγιές ῥάδιον ὑμῖν μαθεῖν. ἴθι γάρ, εἰπέ, ὦ Οὐαλέριε, τίνες εἰσὶν οὓς κατεδουλωσάμην ἐγὼ πρὸς τὰ χρέα; τίνας ἐν δεσμοῖς πολίτας ἔσχον ἢ νῦν ἔχω; τίς τῶν ἀφεστηκότων διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ὠμότητα ἢ φιλοχρηματίαν στέρεται τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις εἰπεῖν. τοσούτου γὰρ δέω τινὰ τῶν<sup>1</sup> πολιτῶν καταδεδουλωθῆσθαι διὰ χρέος, ὥστε πολλοῖς πάνυ τὰ ἔμαντοῦ προέμενος οὐδένα τῶν ἀποστερησάντων με πρόσθετον ἐποίησάμην οὐδὲ ἄτιμον, ἀλλὰ πάντες εἰσὶν ἐλεύθεροι καὶ πάντες οἶδαςί μοι χάριν φίλων τε καὶ πελατῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἐξετάζονται. καὶ οὐ λέγω ταῦτα κατηγορῶν ἐγὼ τῶν μὴ τὰ παραπλήσια ἐμοὶ πεποιηκότων οὐδ' εἴ τινες νόμῳ συγχωρούμενόν<sup>2</sup> τι ἔδρασαν ἀδικεῖν αὐτοὺς οἴομαι, ἀλλὰ τὰς κατ'<sup>3</sup> ἔμαντοῦ διαβολὰς ἀπολυόμενος.<sup>4</sup>

LX. “Α δ' εἰς χαλεπότητα καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων προστασίαν ὠνείδισέ μοι, μισόδημόν τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἀποκαλῶν, ὅτι τῆς ἀριστοκρα-

<sup>1</sup> τῶν Reiske: om. O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> Reiske: συγχωρούμενοι O.

<sup>3</sup> κατ' added by Cobet.

<sup>4</sup> Kiessling: ἀπολύομαι O, Jacoby.

his shafts at me, I find it quite necessary for me also to speak of these matters, and first to clear myself of the charges he has brought against me. For he has reproached me with conduct neither seemly nor becoming to a citizen, charging that I have chosen to get money by every possible means and have deprived many of the poor of their liberty, and that the secession of the people took place chiefly because of me. Now it is an easy matter for you to learn that none of these allegations is true or well grounded. For come, tell us, Valerius: Who are the people whom I have enslaved on account of their debts? Who are the citizens I have kept, or now keep, in prison? Which of the seceders is deprived of his country through my cruelty or avarice? Why, you can name none. For I am so far from having enslaved any one of the citizens for debt that, after advancing my own money to very great numbers, I have caused none of those who defrauded me to be either handed over<sup>1</sup> to me or disfranchised, but all of them are free and all are grateful to me and are numbered among my closest friends and clients. I do not say this by way of accusing those who have not acted as I have, nor do I think any men guilty of wrong-doing because they have done what was permitted by law; I am merely attempting to clear myself of the accusations brought against me.

LX. "As to my severity and my having acted as the patron of wicked men, with which he has reproached me, calling me an enemy of the people and a champion of oligarchy because I adhere to the

<sup>1</sup> Dionysius uses the word *πρόσθετος* here in the sense of the Latin *addictus*. The insolvent debtor was handed over to the creditor to work out the amount of his indebtedness.

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τίας περιέχομαι, κοινὰ πάντων ὑμῶν ἐστὶ κατηγορήματα ὅσοι οὐκ ἀξιοῦτε κρείττονες ὄντες ὑπὸ χειρόνων ἄρχεσθαι, οὐδ' ἦν παρελάβετε ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πολιτείαν ὑπὸ τῆς κακίστης τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτειῶν δημοκρατίας ἀφαιρεθῆναι.

2 οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὗτος ὀλιγαρχίαν<sup>1</sup> ὄνομα θῆται<sup>2</sup> τῇ τῶν κρατίστων ἡγεμονία, καὶ δὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος διαβληθὲν ἀφανισθήσεται· ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλῶ ἂν δικαιότερον ἐπενέγκαιμεν ὄνειδος καὶ ἀληθέστερον, δημοκοπίαν καὶ τυραννικῶν ἔργων ἐπιθυμίαν. οὐδενὶ γὰρ δὴ ἄδηλον ὅτι πᾶς τύραννος ἐκ δημοκόλακος φύεται, καὶ ταχεῖα ὁδὸς ἐστὶ τοῖς καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις βουλομένοις ἢ διὰ τῶν κακίστων ἄγουσα πολιτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς δυναστείας, οὓς θεραπεύων οὗτος διατετέλεκε καὶ

3 οὐδὲ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος παύεται. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἐτόλμησαν οἱ φαῦλοι καὶ ταπεινοὶ τηλικαῦτα ἐξαμαρτεῖν, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνοῦ καὶ φιλοπόλιδος τούτου ἐξηγέρθησαν, ὡς δὴ ἀκίνδυνον αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔργον ἐσόμενον, καὶ πρὸς τῷ μηδεμίαν ὑποσχεῖν δίκην κρείττονα μοῖραν τῆς προτέρας ἔχοντες.<sup>3</sup> μάθοιτε δ' ἂν ὡς ἀληθῆ ἐγὼ ταῦτα<sup>4</sup> λέγω, μνησθέντες ὅτι δεδιττόμενος ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ πολέμου καὶ διαλλαγᾶς ἀναγκαίας ἀποφαίνων ἅμα ἔφη καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἀγαπήσουσιν οἱ πένητες ἀφεθέντες τῶν χρεῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοθηθείας δεήσονται τινος καὶ οὐκ ἀνέξονται ἔτι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὡς

<sup>1</sup> ὀλιγαρχίαν B: ὀλιγαρχίας R.

<sup>2</sup> θῆται A: θεῖναι θελήσει BbC.

aristocracy, these accusations apply equally to all those among you who, as men of superior worth, think it beneath you to be governed by your inferiors or to allow the form of government you have inherited from your ancestors to be overthrown by the worst of all constitutions, a democracy. For if this man sees fit to call the government of the best men an oligarchy, it does not therefore follow that the thing itself, because it is traduced by that appellation, will be destroyed. But we can bring a much juster and truer reproach against him, that of flattering the people and desiring tyrannical measures; for all the world knows that every tyrant springs from a flatterer of the people and that the direct road for those who wish to enslave their country is that which leads to domination through the favour of the worst citizens—the very ones whom this man has ever courted and does not cease even to this day to court. For you know full well that these vile and low wretches would not have dared to commit such offences, had they not been urged on by this high and mighty man, this lover of his country, and made to believe that the act would be attended with no danger and that not only would they go unpunished, but their lot would even be improved by it. You will be convinced of the truth of what I say if you will recall that, while he was frightening you with a war and showing the necessity of an accommodation, he told you at the same time also that the poor would not be contented with an abolition of their debts, but would also call for some assistance, and would

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<sup>3</sup> Cobet: ἔξοντας O.

<sup>4</sup> ἐγὼ ταῦτα B: ταῦτα ἐγὼ R.

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καὶ πρότερον ἀρχόμενοι· τελευτῶν δ' ὑμᾶς ἡξίου  
 στέργειν τὰ παρόντα<sup>1</sup> καὶ συγχωρεῖν ὅ τι ἂν ὁ  
 δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ δικαιοσύνη λαβεῖν, μὴ διακρί-  
 ναντας μῆτ' ἀπὸ καλῶν αἰσχροῦ μῆτ' ἀπὸ δικαίων  
 4 ἄδικα. τοσαύτης ἄρα αὐθαδεΐας τὸ ἀνόητον οὗτος  
 ἐμπέπληκε τῆς πόλεως ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος καὶ  
 πάσας κεκαρπωμένος τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν τιμάς. ἄρ'  
 ἦν σοι ἄξιον, Οὐαλέριε, καθ' ἑτέρων τὰ μὴ  
 προσόντα ὀνειδίη λέγειν, τοιαύταις ὄντι κατηγορίαις  
 ἐνόχῳ;

LXI. “ Καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου ῥηθείσας  
 διαβολὰς ἀρκεῖ τὰ εἰρημένα, ὑπὲρ δ' ὧν βουλευ-  
 σόμενοι συνεληλύθατε δοκεῖ μοι δίκαιά τε εἶναι  
 καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια καὶ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν, οὐ  
 μόνον ἂ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἀπεφηνάμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ  
 τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἔτι μένων<sup>2</sup> ἀποφαίνομαι, μὴ  
 συγχεῖν τὸν κόσμον τῆς πολιτείας, μηδὲ κινεῖν  
 ἔθνη πατέρων ἀκίνητα, μηδ' ἀναιρεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων  
 πίστιν, ἱερὸν χρῆμα, μεθ' ἧς ἅπαντα πόλις οἰκεῖται  
 ἀσφαλῶς, δῆμῳ τε μὴ εἴκειν ἀγνώμονι ἀδίκων  
 2 ἔργων καὶ ἀθεμίτων χρήζοντι· καὶ οὐχ ὅπως  
 ὑποκατακλίνομαί τι τῆς γνώμης φόβῳ τῶν<sup>3</sup>  
 διαφόρων,<sup>4</sup> οἳ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει δημοτικὸν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ  
 συνιστάντες δεδίττονταί με, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ  
 πρότερον ἔρρωμαι τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ ἀγανακτῶ τοῖς  
 αἰτήμασι τοῦ δήμου διπλασίως· ὑμῶν τε, ὦ  
 βουλή, τὸ παράλογον τῆς γνώμης τεθαύμακα, ὅτι  
 οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαντες αὐτῷ, ὅτε οὕτω φανερός<sup>5</sup> ἦν

<sup>1</sup> τὰ παρόντα Sylburg, Portus : τοὺς παρόντας O.

<sup>2</sup> ἔτι μένων Kiessling : ἐπιμένων O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> τῶν added by Reiske.

<sup>4</sup> Reiske : διαφέρων O.

<sup>5</sup> φανερός B : φανερώς A.



no longer submit to be governed by you as before. And in closing he exhorted you to acquiesce in the present state of affairs and to grant everything the people should think fit to demand as the conditions of their return, without distinguishing whether those demands were honourable or shameful, just or unjust. With so much arrogance has the senseless multitude been inspired by this old man who has enjoyed every honour you could confer upon him. Did it, then, become you, Valerius, to utter against others the reproaches they have not deserved, when you yourself lie open to such accusations?

LXI. "As for the calumnies which this man has uttered against me, what I have said suffices. But concerning the subject which you have met to discuss, it seems to me that what I not only proposed at first, but even now, continuing of the same opinion, still propose, was just, worthy of the commonwealth, and advantageous for yourselves, namely, not to disturb the form of our government nor to alter the unalterable customs of our ancestors, nor to banish from among men good faith, a sacred thing, through the possession of which every state dwells in security, nor to give way to a stupid populace which desires unjust and unlawful things. And not only do I not retract any part of my opinion through fear of my adversaries, who endeavour to frighten me by rousing the plebeians in the city against me, but I am much more than ever confirmed in my resentment, and my indignation at the demands of the people is doubled. And I am surprised, senators, at the inconsistency of your judgment, in that, after refusing to grant to the people at their request an abolition of their debts and a discharge from the

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πολέμιος, χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς καὶ κατακριμάτων ἀφέσεις αἰτουμένω, νῦν, ἐπεὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ πολεμίων δρᾶ, ταῦτα εἰ συγχωρήσετε βουλευέσθε καὶ ὅ τι ἂν<sup>1</sup> ἄλλο<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ δοκῆ· δόξει δὲ δήπου, καὶ πρῶτον ποιήσεται τῶν ἀξιουμένων, ἰσότημον εἶναι καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμῖν μετέχειν.

3 οὐκοῦν εἰς δημοκρατίαν περιστήσεται τὰ πράγματα<sup>3</sup> τὴν ἀμαθεστάτην, ὡσπερ ἔφην, τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτειῶν καὶ ὑμῖν ἀσύμφορον τοῖς ἀξιούσιν ἄρχειν ἐτέρων; οὐκ, εἴαν γε σωφρονῆτε ὑμεῖς. ἢ πάντων ἂν εἴητε ἀφρονέστατοι, εἰ πρὸς ἑνὸς ἄρχεσθαι τυραννικοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἡγησάμενοι δήμῳ τυραννίδι πολυκεφάλῳ νῦν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς παραδώσετε, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ μετὰ χαρίτων αὐτῷ πείθοντι συγχωρήσετε ὑπὸ τε ἀνάγκης κρατηθέντες καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν ἄλλο τι δρᾶν νῦν

4 ἡμῖν παρὰ γνώμην εἴξαντες. ὅταν δὲ τὸ ἀνόητον ἀντὶ τοῦ κολάζεσθαι ἐφ' οἷς ἂν πλημμελήσῃ καὶ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι δι' αὐτὰ προσλάβῃ, πῶς δοκεῖτε αὐθαδὲς ἔσται καὶ ὑπερήφανον; μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνη τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐπαίρεσθε, ὡς μετριάσει περὶ τὰς ἀξιώσεις ὁ δήμος, εἴαν φανερόν αὐτῷ γένηται ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες ἐψηφίσασθε οὕτως.

LXII. “ Ἀλλὰ πλείστον δὴ ἐν τούτῳ Μενήμιος ἐψεύσθη τῆς δόξης, ἀνὴρ σώφρων, ὃς<sup>4</sup> ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τρόπων τεκμαίρεται<sup>5</sup> χρηστὰ ὑπὲρ ἐτέρων. ἐγκείσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν πέρα τοῦ δέοντος βαρὺς ὑπὸ τε αὐθαδείας, ἢ φιλεῖ περὶ τὸ κρατοῦν αἰεὶ γίνεσθαι,

<sup>1</sup> ἂν Sylburg: καὶ O.      <sup>2</sup> ἄλλο A(?), Sylburg: ἄλλο τι B.

<sup>3</sup> τὰ πράγματα added by Kayser: ἢ πόλις by Kiessling.

<sup>4</sup> ὃς O: καὶ Reiske, om. Kayser, Jacoby, ὡς Post.

<sup>5</sup> Kiessling: τεκμαιρόμενος O, Post.

judgments against them before they were as yet openly your enemies, you now, when they are in arms and are committing acts of hostility, deliberate whether you will grant these demands and anything else they may think fit. They will think fit, of course, and will make it the first of their demands to have an equal share of honours with us and to enjoy the same privileges. Will not the government then be transformed into a democracy, which of all human constitutions, as I said, is the most senseless and the least expedient for you who presume to rule over others? It will not be, if you are in your right senses. Otherwise you would be the most foolish of all men if, after regarding it as intolerable to be governed by one tyrant, you should now deliver yourselves up to the populace, a many-headed tyranny, and grant these things to them, not as a gracious concession to their pleading, but constrained by necessity and, on the assumption that it is not in our power to do anything else now, yielding against your will. And when this senseless multitude, instead of being punished for its offences, even obtains honours as a reward for those offences, how headstrong and arrogant do you think it will become? For do not encourage yourselves with the hope that the people will moderate their demands if it becomes known to them that you all concurred in this resolution.

LXII. "But in this matter Menenius, a prudent man who imputes good intentions to others judging them by himself, is very much mistaken. For they will urge you with an importunity grievous beyond all measure, encouraged both by arrogance, which tends always to accompany victory, and by folly,

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καὶ ἀφροσύνης, ἧς πλείστον ὄχλος μετέχει μέρος  
 κἂν εἰ μὴ ἐν ἀρχαῖς, χρόνῳ γοῦν ὕστερον καὶ ἐφ'  
 ἐκάστῳ χρήματι ὧν ἂν δεηθεῖς μὴ τύχη τὰ ὄπλα  
 λαβῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑμῖν σοβαρῶς ἐπιθήσεται.  
 ὥστε εἰ τὰ πρῶτα συγχωρήσετε συμφέροντα  
 εἶναι νομίσαντες, ἕτερόν τι χεῖρον εὐθύς ἐπι-  
 ταχθήσεσθε καὶ αὐθις ἄλλο τούτου χαλεπώτερον,  
 ὡς φόβῳ καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ὑπακούσαντες, ἕως  
 ἐκβάλωσιν ὑμᾶς τελευτῶντες τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ἐν  
 πολλαῖς ἄλλαις καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐν Συρακούσαις  
 2 οἱ γεωμόροι πρὸς τῶν πελατῶν ἐξηλάθησαν. εἰ  
 δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων<sup>1</sup> ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐναντιώσεσθε  
 τοῖς αἰτήμασι, τί δὴ ποτ' οὐκ αὐτόθεν ἄρχεσθε  
 ἐλεύθερα φρονήματα ἔχειν; κρεῖττον γὰρ ἀπ'  
 ἐλάττονος αἰτίας ὀρμηθέντας πρὶν ἢ<sup>2</sup> βλαβῆναι  
 τι ἀποδείξασθαι τὸ γενναῖον, ἢ πολλὰ ὑπομείναντας  
 τότε ἀγανακτεῖν περὶ τῶν γεγονότων καὶ μὴ  
 ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ ὀψὲ ἄρξασθαι νοῦν ἔχειν.  
 φοβείτω δ' ὑμῶν μηδένα μήτε ὁ τῶν ἀποστατῶν  
 ἀνασεισμός μήτε ὁ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων πόλεμος· μήτε  
 καταγινώσκετε τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως ὡς οὐχ  
 3 ἰκανῆς οὔσης διασῶσαι τὴν πόλιν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ  
 τῶν φυγάδων βραχεῖά ἐστιν ἰσχὺς καὶ οὔτε πολὺν  
 ἀνθέξει χρόνον διαμένουσα, ὥσπερ νῦν, ὑπαίθριος<sup>3</sup>  
 ὑπὸ καλύβαις ὥρα ἔτους χειμερίῳ, πορίζεσθαι δὲ  
 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐχ ὅπως δι' ἀρπαγῆς ἔτι δυνη-  
 σομένη ἐπειδὰν τὰ ὄντα ἀναλώσῃ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν  
 ἄλλοθεν ὠνητὰ ἐπεισάγεσθαι διὰ πενίαν, οἷς οὔτε  
 ἰδία οὔτ' ἐν κοινῷ χρήματά ἐστιν· οἱ δὲ πόλεμοι

<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' ἐκείνων O: ἐπ' ἐκείνοισι Sylburg.

<sup>2</sup> ἢ added by Kiessling, Jacoby (?).

of which the multitude has so great a share. And if not at first, then certainly later, upon every occasion when their demands are not granted, they will take up arms and attack you violently in the same way as before. So that if you yield to their first demands as a matter of expediency, you will presently have something worse imposed upon you, and then something else still harsher than that, upon the supposition that your first concessions too flowed from fear, till at last they drive you out of the city, as has happened in many other places, and, most recently, at Syracuse, where the landowners were expelled by their clients. If, then, in your indignation in those circumstances you intend to oppose their demands, why do you not from this instant begin to assume the spirit of free men? For it is better to display your proud spirit on a slighter provocation to start with and before suffering any injury, than, after submitting to many injuries, to be indignant only then at what has happened, refuse to endure any more, and begin too late to be prudent. Let none of you be terrified either by the threatening clamour of the seceders or by this foreign war; and do not disparage our domestic forces as being insufficient to preserve the commonwealth. For the strength of the fugitives is slight, and they will not be able to hold out long in the open in huts during the winter season, as they are now doing; and far from being able to go on securing provisions by plundering when they have consumed their present store, they will not be able even to purchase any elsewhere and convey them to their camp, by reason of their poverty, since they have no money, either individually or in common, and wars,

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<sup>3</sup> μένει after ὑπαίθριος deleted by Kiessling.

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ταῖς περιουσίαις τῶν χρημάτων ὡς τὰ πολλὰ  
 ἀντέχουσιν· ἀναρχία τε αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ  
 στάσις ἐκ τῆς ἀναρχίας ἐμπεσοῦσα ταχὺ διαχεῖ  
 4 καὶ διαλύσει<sup>1</sup> τὰ βουλευματα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἀξιῶ-  
 σουσιν οὔτε Σαβίνοις οὔτε Τυρρηνοῖς οὔτ' ἄλλοις  
 τισὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων παραδόντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς  
 ἐκείνοις δουλεύειν, ὧν καὶ αὐτοὶ ποτ' ἀφείλοντο  
 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν σὺν ὑμῖν, καὶ μάλιστα οὐδὲ πιστευ-  
 θήσονται πρὸς αὐτῶν οἱ κακῶς αὐτῶν τὴν πα-  
 τρίδα καὶ αἰσchrῶς ἀπολέσαι προθυμηθέντες, μὴ  
 οὐχὶ ὅμοια δράσειν τὴν ὑποδεξαμένην. ἀριστο-  
 κρατεῖται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ πέριξ ἡμῶν ἅπαντα,  
 καὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει μεταποιεῖται  
 τῶν ἴσων, ὥστε οὐ δῆπου οἱ προὔχοντες ἐν ἐκάστη  
 πόλει τὸν οἰκεῖον οὐκ ἐῶντες παρακινεῖν ὄχλον,  
 τοῦτον εἰσδέξονται τὸν ἔπηλυν καὶ στασιαστήν  
 εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα, μὴ μεταδόντες αὐτοῖς<sup>2</sup>  
 τῶν ὁμοίων σὺν χρόνῳ στερήσονται τῶν ἴσων.  
 5 εἰ δ' ἄρα γε γνώμης ἀμάρτοιμι καὶ παραδέξαιτό  
 τις αὐτοὺς πόλις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ διαγινώσκοντ' ἂν  
 ὡς<sup>3</sup> πολέμοί τε ὄντες καὶ τὰ πολεμίων πεισόμενοι.  
 ἔχομεν δ' αὐτῶν ὄμηρα πατέρας καὶ γαμετὰς καὶ  
 τὴν ἄλλην συγγένειαν, ὧν οὐδ' ἂν εὐχόμενοι  
 κρείττονα παρὰ θεῶν αἰτησαίμεθα.<sup>4</sup> οὐς ἐν ὄψει  
 τῶν συγγενῶν στήσαντες ἀπολοῦμεν,<sup>5</sup> εἰ τολμῆ-

<sup>1</sup> διαχεῖ καὶ διαλύσει Cobet: διαχείοι καὶ διαλύοι A, διαχείει καὶ διαλύει B. Post would adopt the reading of A, and read ἐμπεσοῦσ' ἂν above.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὶ ABa: αὐτοῖς Bb.

<sup>3</sup> ἂν ὡς Hertlein: ὡς ἂν O, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> αἰτησαίμεθα Sylburg: ἡγησαίμεθα O.

<sup>5</sup> ἀπολοῦμεν is corrupt; Kiessling suggested ἀπειλώμεν, Kayser ὑποδηλώμεν, Post ἀποδύσομεν.

as a rule, can only be kept up by plenty of money. Besides, anarchy, in all probability, and sedition, growing out of anarchy, will seize them and soon confound and bring to naught their counsels. For surely they will not consent to deliver themselves up to either the Sabines or the Tyrrhenians or any other foreigners and become slaves to those whom they themselves together with you once deprived of their liberty; and, most important of all, men who have wickedly and shamefully endeavoured to destroy their own country will not even be trusted by these other nations, for fear they might treat the country that receives them in the same manner. For all the nations round us are governed by aristocracies, and the plebeians in no state lay claim to an equal share in the government; so that the leading men in every state, who do not permit their own populace to make any innovations, will doubtless never receive this foreign and seditious multitude into their country, lest, by permitting them to enjoy equal rights and privileges, they themselves should one day be deprived of their own position of equality. But if I am mistaken after all, and any state should receive them, they would thereupon reveal themselves as enemies and men deserving to be treated as such. We have, as hostages for them, their parents, their wives, and the rest of their relations, and better hostages we could not ask of the gods in our prayers; let us place these in the sight of their relations, threatening,<sup>1</sup> in case they dare to attack

<sup>1</sup> The main verb of the sentence is corrupt in the Greek. Kiessling's emendation means: "let us threaten"; that of Kayser: "let us show (that we shall put them to death)"; that of Post "we shall strip them (giving the impression that we intend to put them to death)."

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σαιεν ὁμόσε χωρεῖν, ὡς ταῖς ἐσχάταις λώβαις διαχρησόμενοι. καὶ αὐτούς, εἰ τοῦτο μάθοιεν, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι λήψεσθε ἀντιβολουῦντας, ὀλοφυρομένους, παραδιδόντας σφᾶς αὐτούς ἡμῖν δίχα τῶν ὄπλων, ἅπαντα ὑπομένοντας. δειναὶ γὰρ αἱ τοιαίδε ἀνάγκαι <sup>1</sup> πάντας τοὺς ἀνθάδεις λογισμοὺς κλάσαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν εἰς τὸ μηδέν.

LXIII. “ Ὡν μὲν δὴ χάριν τὸν ἐκ τῶν φυγάδων πόλεμον οὐκ ἀξιῶ δεδιέναι ταῦτ' ἐστί· τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν φοβερὰ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἐξετασθήσεται μέχρι λόγου τοιαῦτα ὄντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον, ὅσάκις ἡμῖν πείραν ἑαυτῶν ἔδωκαν, ἐλάττω τῆς δόξης διεφάνη. ὅσοι δ' οὐχ ἰκανὴν οἴονται τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆδε μάλιστα ὀρρωδοῦσι τὸν πόλεμον, μαθέτωσαν οὐχ ἰκανῶς αὐτῆς ἠσθημένοι. πρὸς μέγε τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ἀντίπαλον χεῖρα ἔξομεν, εἰ βουλοίμεθα τῶν θεραπόντων ἐπιλεξάμενοι τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ἐλευθερῶσαι. κρεῖττον γὰρ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν χαρίσασθαι τούτοις ἢ ἡγεμονίαν ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀφαιρεθῆναι. ἔχουσι δὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐμπειρίαν ἰκανὴν πολλάκις ἡμῖν <sup>3</sup> παραγενόμενοι κατὰ τὰς στρατείας. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἔξωθεν πολεμίους αὐτοὶ τε χωρῶμεν ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ τοὺς πελάτας ἅπαντας ἐπαγώμεθα καὶ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ τὸ περιόν. ἵνα δὲ πρόθυμον ἦ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἀφесιν αὐτῷ χαρισώμεθα τῶν χρεῶν, μὴ κοινήν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἄνδρα. εἰ γὰρ τι δεῖ τοῖς καιροῖς εἴξαντας μετριάσαι, μὴ πρὸς τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> καὶ after ἀνάγκαι deleted by Pflugk.



us, to put them to death under the most ignominious tortures. And once they understand this, be assured you will find them resorting to entreaties and lamentations, and delivering themselves up to you unarmed, and ready to submit to anything whatever. For such natural ties have remarkable power to upset all arrogant calculations and bring them to naught.

LXIII. "These are the reasons why I do not think we should fear a war on the part of the fugitives. As to the dangers from foreign nations, this is not the first time those dangers will have been proved to be such in words only, but even before this, whenever they have given us the opportunity of putting them to the test, they have been found less terrible than we apprehended. And let those who believe our domestic forces to be inadequate and dread war chiefly for this reason learn that they are not sufficiently acquainted with them. So far indeed as the seceders among the citizens are concerned, we shall have an adequate force to cope with them if we see fit to choose out the most vigorous of our slaves and give them their freedom. For it is better to grant these their freedom than to be deprived of our supremacy by the others. The slaves are already possessed of sufficient military skill by having attended us in many campaigns. Against our foreign enemies let us not only march out ourselves with all possible alacrity, but let us take along all our clients and such plebeians as remain; and in order that they may be eager for the struggle, let us grant them an abolition of their debts, not to all collectively, but to each one individually. For if we must yield to the times and show some moderation,

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πολεμίους τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦτ' ἔστω τὸ μέτριον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, οἷς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενοι τὰς χάριτας διδόναι δόξομεν, ἀλλὰ πειθόμενοι. ἔαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλης ἐπιδέῃ βοηθείας, ὡς ταύτης οὐκ οὔσης ἰκανῆς, τοὺς τε ἐκ τῶν φρουρίων μεταπεμπώμεθα καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀποικίαις ἀνακαλωμέν. τοῦτο δ' ὅσον ἐστὶ πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς ἔγγιστα γενομένης τιμήσεως μαθεῖν ῥάδιον ἂν εἴη· τρισκαίδεκα μυριάδες εἰσὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἐν ἤβη τετιμημένων, ὧν οὐκ ἂν εἴη μέρος ἕβδομον τὸ φυγαδικόν. οὐ<sup>1</sup> λέγω δὲ τὰς Λατίνων τριάκοντα πόλεις, αἱ μετὰ πολλῆς εὐχῆς δέξαιντ' ἂν τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀγῶνας διὰ τὸ συγγενές, ἔαν ψηφίσθησθε αὐταῖς ἰσοπολιτείαν μόνον, ἧς αἰεὶ διατελοῦσι δεόμεναι.

LXIV. “Ὁ δὲ πάντων ἐστὶ κράτιστον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, καὶ οὔτε ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ<sup>2</sup> ἐνεθυμήθητέ πω, οὔτε τῶν συμβούλων οὐδεὶς λέγει, τοῦτο προσθεῖς παύσομαι. οὐδενὸς οὔτω δεῖ τοῖς μέλλουσιν εὐτυχές ἔξειν τὸ τῶν ἀγῶνων τέλος ὡς στρατηγῶν ἀγαθῶν. τούτων ἢ μὲν ἡμετέρα πλουτεῖ πόλις, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀντιπάλων σπανίζουσιν. αἱ μὲν οὖν πολυοχλοῦσαι δυνάμεις, ὅταν λάβωσιν ἡγεμόνας οὐκ εἰδότας ἄρχειν, ἀσχημονοῦσι καὶ περὶ αὐταῖς σφάλονται τὰ πλεῖστα, καὶ τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον κακοπαθοῦσιν ὅσῳπερ ἂν μείζονα ἔχωσιν ὄγκον·<sup>3</sup> οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ στρατηλάται, κἂν μικρὰς λάβωσι δυνάμεις, ταχέως ποιοῦσιν αὐτὰς μεγάλας. ὥστε ἄχρισ ἂν ἡγεῖσθαι δυναμένους ἄνδρας ἔχωμεν, οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν τῶν ἄρχεσθαι βουλομένων. ἐνθυμούμενοι δὴ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῆς πόλεως

<sup>1</sup> οὐ added by Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὶ C: αὐτὸ AB.

let not that moderation be extended towards such of the citizens as are our enemies, but towards such as are our friends, on whom we shall then seem to be bestowing favours, not under compulsion, but as the result of persuasion. And if still other assistance shall be needed, this being thought insufficient, let us send for the garrisons of the fortresses and recall the men from the colonies. How large the number of these is may be easily learned from the last census, when there were assessed 130,000 Romans of military age, of which the fugitives would not make a seventh part. I say nothing of the thirty cities of the Latin nation, which would be only too glad to fight our battles by reason of their kinship, if you would but grant them equal rights of citizenship, which they have constantly sought.

LXIV. "But the greatest advantage in war is one which neither you yourselves have yet thought of nor any of your advisers mentions. This I will add to those I have named, and then make an end. There is nothing so essential to those who are to have their wars crowned with success as good generals. In these our commonwealth is rich, while there is a scarcity of them among our enemies. For very numerous armies, when led by generals who know not how to command, disgrace themselves and bring about their own defeat as a rule, and the larger their bulk is, the more liable they are to this fate; whereas good generals, even though the armies they receive are small, soon make them large. Hence, as long as we have generals able to command, we shall never lack men ready to obey. Bearing these things in mind, therefore, and recalling the

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<sup>3</sup> ὄγκον Hertlein: πόρον O, πόνον Jacoby, ὄχλον Smit.

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μεμνημένοι μηδὲν ταπεινὸν μηδ' ἀγεννὲς μηδ' ἀνάξιον ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ψηφίσησθε. τί οὖν, εἴ τις ἔροικό με, πράττειν<sup>1</sup> ὑμῖν παραινῶ; τουτὶ<sup>2</sup> γὰρ ἴσως πάλαι γνῶναι σπεύδετε. μηδένα μῆτε πρεσβείαν πέμπειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας, μῆτε ἄφεισιν ψηφίσασθαι τῶν χρεῶν, μῆτ' ἄλλο ποιεῖν μηδὲν ὃ τι δόξειεν ἂν φόβου τεκμήριον εἶναι καὶ ἀμηχανίας· εἰ δὲ καταθέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα κατέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ παράσχωσιν ὑμῖν βουλευσασθαι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καθ' ἡσυχίαν, ἐξετάσαντας τότε<sup>3</sup> χρῆσθαι μετριότητι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, εἰδότας ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἀνόητον, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὄχλος ἦ, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ταπεινοὺς αὐθάδες γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς αὐθάδεις ταπεινοῦσθαι.”

LXV. Παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου μεγάλη φωνὴ καὶ θόρυβος ἐξαίσιος ἄχρι πολλοῦ χρόνου κατεῖχε τὸ συνέδριον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀριστοκρατικοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι καὶ τὰ δικαιότερα πρὸ τῶν ἀδίκων οἰόμενοι δεῖν σκοπεῖν τῇ Κλαυδίου γνώμῃ προσετίθεντο καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἠξίουσαν μάλιστα μὲν τῇ κρείττονι προσχωρῆσαι μερίδι, διαλογιζομένους ὅτι βασιλικὸν ἔχουσι τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος, οὐ δημοτικόν· εἰ δὲ μή γε, φυλάττειν αὐτοὺς ἴσους καὶ μὴ κατισχύειν μηδετέραν τῶν στάσεων, διαριθμησαμένους δὲ τὰς γνώμας τῶν  
 2 συνέδρων ταῖς πλείοσι γνώμαις<sup>4</sup> στοιχεῖν. εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ὑπεριδόντες αὐτοκράτορας αὐτοὺς ποιήσουσι τῶν διαλύσεων, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' ἐναντιώσεσθαι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ

<sup>1</sup> τί before πράττειν deleted by Sintenis.

<sup>2</sup> Sylburg: ταυτὶ O.

<sup>3</sup> τότε Kiessling: τοὺς O.

<sup>4</sup> γνώμαις deleted by Cobet.

achievements of the commonwealth, vote for nothing mean, ignoble, or unworthy of yourselves. What course of action, then, if anyone should ask me, do I advise you to take? For this is what you have probably long been eager to know. My advice, then, is neither to send ambassadors to the seceders nor to decree an abolition of their debts, nor to do anything else that might seem to betray fear or perplexity. But if they lay down their arms, return to the city, and leave it to you to consult about them at leisure, I advise you first to examine the situation and then to treat them with moderation, knowing as you do that all senseless creatures, particularly a rabble, behave themselves with arrogance toward the meek and with meekness toward the arrogant."

LXV. When Claudius had done speaking, a great clamour and prodigious tumult filled the senate-chamber for a long time. For those who were reputed to be of the aristocratic party and thought they ought to consider the more just course in preference to the unjust concurred in the opinion of Claudius, and asked the consuls preferably to join the better side,<sup>1</sup> considering that the power of the magistracy they held derived from the kings, not from the people; but if they could not do this, then to keep themselves neutral and not bring pressure to bear upon either faction, but after counting the opinions of the senators, to align themselves with the majority. And if they scorned both these courses and themselves assumed the sole power of concluding the accommodation, they said they would not permit it, but would

<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been the ancient term for the aristocratic party, as may be seen from Theognis and other writers.

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λόγοις τε, ἄχρις ἂν ἐξῆ, χρώμενοι καὶ ὄπλοις, ὅταν ἀναγκαῖον γένηται· ἦν δὲ τοῦτο στίφος καρτερόν καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπανα τῶν πατρικίων ἢ  
 3 νεότης ταύτης εἶχετο τῆς προαιρέσεως. οἱ δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμοῦντες τῇ Μειηνίου τε καὶ Οὐα-  
 λερίου γνώμῃ προσέκειντο καὶ μάλιστα οἱ προ-  
 βεβηκότες ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἐνθυμούμενοι τὰς συμφορὰς ὅσαι καταλαμβάνουσι τὰς πόλεις ἐκ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων. ἐξηττώμενοι δὲ τῆς κραυγῆς τῶν νέων καὶ τῆς ἀκοσμίας, τό τε φιλότιμον αὐτῶν ὑφ-  
 ορώμενοι καὶ τὸν ἐπιπολασμόν ὃν ἐποιοῦντο κατὰ τῶν ὑπάτων δεδιότες ὡς οὐ πρόσω χειροκρασίας ἐλευσόμενον, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς εἴξειεν, εἰς δάκρυα καὶ δεήσεις τῶν ἐναντιουμένων τελευτῶντες ἐτράποντο.

LXVI. Λωφήσαντος δὲ τοῦ θορύβου καὶ σιωπῆς γενομένης σὺν χρόνῳ διαλεχθέντες τι<sup>1</sup> πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ ὑπατοὶ τέλος ἐξήνεγκαν τῆς ἑαυτῶν γνώμης τοιόνδε· “Ἡμεῖς, ὦ βουλή, μάλιστα μὲν ἡξιούμεν ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς ὁμογνωμονεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ<sup>2</sup> περὶ κοινῆς σωτηρίας βουλευομένους· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑμῶν εἴκειν τοὺς νεωτέρους καὶ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι κάκεινοις εἰς ταύτην ἐλθοῦσι τὴν ἡλικίαν τῆς ἴσης ὑπάρξει τυγχάνειν τιμῆς παρὰ τῶν ἐγγόνων. ἐπεὶ δ’ ὀρώμεν εἰς ἔριν ὑμᾶς ἐμπεπτωκότας<sup>3</sup> ὀλεθριωτάτην τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων νόσων καὶ πολ-  
 λὴν τὴν αὐθάδειαν ὁμιλοῦσαν ὑμῶν τοῖς νέοις, νῦν μὲν ἐπεὶ βραχὺ τὸ λειπόμενόν ἐστι τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο τέλος ἐν τούτῳ λαβεῖν τὰ δόξαντα ὑμῖν, ἅπιτ’ ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου· εἰς δὲ τὸν ἐπίοντα

<sup>1</sup> τι Ba: ἔτι ABb.

<sup>2</sup> ἄλλως τε καὶ Reiske: ἄλλως τε καὶ ταῦτα O, Jacoby.

oppose them with the utmost vigour, with words as far as they could, and, if it should prove necessary, with arms. These were a powerful group, and almost all the young patricians adhered to this policy. But all the lovers of peace espoused the opinion of Menenius and Valerius, particularly those who were advanced in years and remembered all the calamities which come upon states as the result of civil wars. Nevertheless, being overborne by the clamour and disorderly behaviour of the young men and viewing with concern their spirit of rivalry and fearing lest the insolence with which they treated the consuls might come close to violence unless some concession were made to them, they at last had recourse to weeping and entreating their opponents.

LXVI. The tumult being appeased and silence restored at last, the consuls after some consultation together pronounced their decision, as follows: "As for us, senators, what we desired most was that you should all be of one mind, particularly when you were deliberating about the public safety; but if that could not be, then we desired that the younger senators should yield to the older men among you and not contend with them, bearing in mind that when they have come to the same age they will receive the same deference from their juniors. But since we observe that you have fallen into strife, the most baneful of all human maladies, and that the arrogance dwelling in the young men among you is great, for the present, since the remaining part of the day is short and there is not time for you to reach a final decision, leave the senate-chamber and go home; and you will come to the next session more

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<sup>3</sup> Bücheler: *ἐκπεπτωκότας* O, Jacoby.

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σύλλογον ἤξετε μετριώτεροι γενόμενοι καὶ γνώμας  
 2 ἔχοντες ἀμείνους. εἰ δὲ παραμενεῖ<sup>1</sup> τὸ φιλό-  
 νεικον ὑμῖν, νέοις μὲν οὔτε δικασταῖς οὔτε συμ-  
 βούλοις ἔτι τῶν συμφερόντων χρησόμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνείρξομεν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀκοσμίαν  
 νόμῳ τάξαντες ἀριθμὸν ἐτῶν ὃν δεήσει τοὺς  
 βουλευσοντας ἔχειν· τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις ἀπο-  
 δόντες λόγον αὐθις, εἰ μὴ μὲν συμφέρωνται ταῖς  
 γνώμας, ταχεῖα τὴν φιλονεικίαν αὐτῶν λύσομεν  
 ὁδῶ, ἣν ἀμεινόν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς προακοῦσαι καὶ μαθεῖν.  
 3 ἴστε δὴπου νόμον ἡμῖν ὑπάρχοντα, ἐξ οὗ τήνδε  
 οἰκοῦμεν τὴν πόλιν, πάντων εἶναι κυρίαν τὴν  
 βουλήν, πλήν ἀρχὰς ἀποδείξαι καὶ νόμους ψηφίσαι  
 καὶ πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν ἢ τὸν συνεστῶτα κατα-  
 λύσασθαι· τούτων δὲ τῶν τριῶν τὸν δῆμον  
 ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ψῆφον ἐπιφέροντα. ἐν δὲ τῷ  
 παρόντι οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐτέρου τινὸς ἢ πολέμου καὶ  
 εἰρήνης βουλευόμεθα, ὥστε πολλὴ ἀνάγκη τὸν  
 δῆμον ἐπικυρῶσαι τὰς ἡμετέρας γνώμας ψῆφου  
 4 γενόμενον κύριον. παραγγείλαντες δὴ τῷ πλήθει  
 παρῆναι κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν,  
 ἐπειδὴν ὑμεῖς ἀποδείξησθε τὰς γνώμας, ἀποδώσο-  
 μεν αὐτῷ τὴν ψῆφον, οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα νομί-  
 σαντες ἀρθῆναι τὴν ἔριν ὑμῶν· ὅ τι δ' ἂν οἱ  
 πλείους ψηφίσωνται, τοῦθ' ἡγησόμεθα κύριον.  
 ἄξιοι δὲ δῆπου ταύτης εἰσὶ τῆς τιμῆς τυγχάνειν οἱ  
 διαμένοντες εὖνοι τῇ πόλει καὶ μέλλοντες ἰσο-  
 μοιρεῖν ἡμῖν κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν."

LXVII. Ταῦτα εἰπόντες διέλυσαν τὸν σύλ-  
 λογον· ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις παραγγεῖλαι κελεύ-  
 σαντες ἅπασιν τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ τὰ

<sup>1</sup> Cobet: παραμένει B, παραμένοι B.



moderate in spirit and with better counsels. But if your contentiousness shall persist, we will no longer make use of young men either as judges or counsellors concerning what is advantageous, but for the future shall restrain their disorderly behaviour by fixing a legal age that senators must have reached. As to the older members, we shall again give them an opportunity of delivering their opinions; and if they do not agree, we shall put an end to their strife by a speedy method which it is better you should hear of and learn beforehand. You are doubtless aware that we have had a law, as long as we have inhabited this city, by which the senate is invested with sovereign power in everything except the appointing of magistrates, the enacting of laws, and the declaring or terminating of wars, and that the power of determining these three matters rests with the people, by their votes. Now at the present time we are discussing nothing other than war or peace, so that there is every necessity that the people should be given the opportunity to vote and confirm our resolutions. We shall therefore summon them to present themselves in the Forum pursuant to this law, and after you have delivered your opinions, we shall take their votes, believing this to be the best means of putting an end to your strife; and whatever the majority of the people shall determine, we shall regard that as valid. This honour, I presume, is deserved by those who have remained loyal to the commonwealth and are to share both our good and bad fortune."

LXVII. Having said this, they dismissed the session; and during the following days they ordered proclamation to be made that all who were in the

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φρούρια παρῆναι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ προαγορεύσαντες ἦκειν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ἐπειδὴ κατέμαθον ὄχλου μεστὴν οὖσαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς γνώμας τῶν πατρικίων ἐξηττωμένας τῶν δεήσεων ἄς ἐποιοῦντο σὺν οἰμωγῇ καὶ ὄδυρμῷ πατέρες τε καὶ παιδιά νήπια τῶν ἀποστατῶν, τῇ κυρία τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐξήεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν στενοχωρουμένην ἐκ πολλῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἄπασαν ὄχλω παντο<sup>2</sup> δαπῶ. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, ἔνθα ἦν ἔθος αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιτελεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπήνεσαν τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τῇ σπουδῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ τῆς κατὰ πλῆθος ἀφίξεως· ἔπειτα παρεκάλεσαν ἐκδέχεσθαι μεθ' ἡσυχίας, ἕως ἂν γένηται τὸ προβούλευμα τῆς βουλῆς· τοῖς δ' οἰκειοῖς τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἀγαθὰς παρήνουν ἐλπίδας ἔχειν, ὡς οὐ διὰ μακροῦ κομιουμένοις τὰ φίλτατα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ συνέδριον αὐτοῖ τε διελέχθησαν ἐπιεικέις καὶ μετρίους λόγους, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἠξίουσαν χρηστὰς καὶ φιλανθρώπους ἀποδείκνυσθαι γνώμας. πρῶτον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάλουν τὸν Μενήνιον· ὃς ἀναστὰς τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσατο λόγοις οἷς καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς τὴν βουλὴν παρακαλῶν καὶ γνώμην ἀπεφῆνατο τὴν αὐτὴν ἀξίων πρεσβείαν ἀποστέλλειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας διὰ ταχέων αὐτοκράτορα τῶν διαλλαγῶν.

LXVIII. Μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνίσταντο καλούμενοι καθ' ἡλικίαν οἱ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἐσχηκότες ἀρχήν, οἷς ἄπασιν ἐδόκει τῇ Μενηνίου χρῆσθαι γνώμῃ, ἕως <sup>1</sup> καθῆκεν ὁ λόγος εἰς τὸν Ἄππιον. ὁ δ' ἀναστὰς, “Ὁρῶ μὲν,” ἔφησεν, “ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐστὶ κεχαρισμένον, ὧ βουλή, καὶ τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> τέως Jacoby.

country and in the fortresses should present themselves, and they gave notice to the senate to assemble on the same day. When they found the city was thronged with people and that the sentiments of the patricians had yielded to the entreaties, tears and lamentations both of the parents and infant children of the seceders, they went on the appointed day to the Forum, which was completely packed with a concourse of all sorts of people who had been there from far back in the night. And proceeding to the temple of Vulcan, where it was customary for the people to hold their assembles, they first commended them for their alacrity and zeal in attending *en masse*, and then advised them to wait quietly till the preliminary decree of the senate should be passed; and they exhorted the kinsmen of the seceders to entertain good hopes of getting back in a short time those who were dearest to them. After that they went to the senate-house, where they not only themselves spoke with reasonableness and moderation, but also asked the rest to deliver opinions that were expedient and humane. And ahead of all the others they called upon Menenius, who, rising up, spoke to the same effect as before, exhorting the senate to make the accommodation, and expressed the same opinion, asking that envoys should speedily be sent to the seceders with full powers in regard to the accommodation.

LXVIII. After him the others who had held the office of consul, being called upon according to their age, rose up and all favoured adopting the opinion of Menenius, till it came to the turn of Appius to speak. He, rising up, said: "I see, senators, that it is the pleasure both of the consuls and of almost

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ἄλλοις ὑμῖν ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσι κατάγειν τὸν δῆμον  
 ἐφ' οἷς ἂν αὐτὸς ἀξιοῖ· καὶ μόνος ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐγὼ  
 λείπομαι τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις  
 ἐκείνοις τε ἀπεχθῆς διαμένων καὶ ὑμῖν οὐδὲν ἔτι  
 2 χρήσιμος ὢν. οὐ μὴν διὰ ταῦτά γε ἀποστήσομαι  
 τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγνωσμένων οὐδὲ καταλείψω τὴν  
 τάξιν<sup>1</sup> τῆς πολιτείας ἐκόν. ὅσω δ' ἂν ἐρημότερος  
 γένωμαι τῶν τὰ αὐτά μοι προελομένων, τοσοῦτω  
 τιμιώτερος ὑμῖν ἔσομαί ποτε ἐν χρόνῳ, καὶ  
 περιέσται μοι ζῶντι μὲν ἔπαινος, τελευτήσαντι δ'  
 ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων μνήμη. εἴη μὲν οὖν, ὦ  
 Καπιτώλιε Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ πόλεως ἐπίσκοποι τῆς  
 ἡμετέρας ἠρωές τε καὶ δαίμονες, ὅσοι γῆν τὴν  
 Ῥωμαίων ἐφορᾶτε, καλὴ καὶ συμφέρουσα πᾶσιν ἢ  
 τῶν φυγάδων κάθοδος, καὶ ψευσθείην ἐγὼ τῶν  
 3 ἐλπίδων ἅς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔχω χρόνου. ἐὰν  
 δέ τι δεινὸν ἐκ τούτων καταλάβῃ τῶν βουλευ-  
 μάτων τὴν πόλιν—ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο φανερόν οὐκ εἰς  
 μακράν—τούτοις μὲν ταχεῖαν ἐπανόρθωσιν αὐτοὶ  
 δοίητε καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀσφαλῆ·  
 ἐμοὶ δ', ὃς οὔτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ καιρῷ πώποτε τὰ  
 ἤδιστα εἰλόμην λέγειν ἀντὶ τῶν ὠφελιμωτάτων  
 οὔτε νῦν προδίδωμι τὸ κοινὸν ἰδίαν καταπρα-  
 τόμενος ἀσφάλειαν, εὐμενεῖς εἴητε καὶ μελίχιοι.  
 4 θεοῖς μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εὐχομαι, λόγων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔτι  
 δεῖ· γνώμην δ' ἦν καὶ πρότερον ἀποφαίνομαι,  
 τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει διαμένοντας τῶν δημοτικῶν  
 ἀφίεσθαι<sup>2</sup> χρεῶν, τοῖς δ' ἀποστάταις πολεμεῖν  
 ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ, ἕως<sup>3</sup> ἂν ἔτι διαμένωσιν ἐν τοῖς  
 ὅπλοις.”

<sup>1</sup> καταλείψω τὴν τάξιν B: καταλήψομαι τὴν γνώμην R.

all the rest of you to bring back the people upon their own terms; and I alone am left of all those who opposed the accommodation, with the result that I continue to be hated by them and at the same time am no longer of any use to you. Nevertheless, I shall not on this account depart from my former opinion nor willingly desert my post as a citizen; but the more I am abandoned by those who formerly espoused the same sentiments, the more I shall one day be esteemed by you; while I live, I shall be praised by you, and when I am dead, I shall be remembered by posterity. But do thou, Jupiter Capitolinus, and ye guardian gods of our city, ye heroes and divinities who keep watch over the land of the Romans, grant that the return of the fugitives may be honourable and advantageous to all, and that I may be mistaken in my forebodings regarding the future. But if any misfortune should come upon the commonwealth as a result of these measures—and this will soon be manifest—may ye yourselves speedily correct them and grant safety and security to the commonwealth! And to me, who neither upon any other occasion ever chose to say the things that were most agreeable instead of those that were most profitable, nor am now betraying the state while securing my own safety, may ye be favourable and propitious! These are the prayers I address to the gods; for speeches are of no further use. The opinion I express is the same as before, namely, to relieve of their debts the people who remain in the city, but to make war upon the seceders with the utmost vigour as long as they remain in arms.”

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<sup>2</sup> Sylburg: ἀφείσθαι AB.

<sup>3</sup> τέως Jacoby.

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LXIX. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων γνῶμαι τῇ Μενηγίου προσέθεντο, καὶ καθῆκεν ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους, ὀρθῆς οὐσῆς ἀπάσης τῆς βουλῆς ἀνίσταται Σπόριος Ναύτιος, οἰκίας ἐν τοῖς πάνυ λαμπροτάτης<sup>1</sup> διάδοχος· ὁ γὰρ ἡγεμὼν αὐτῶν τοῦ γένους Ναύτιος ἀπὸ τῶν σὺν Αἰνεΐᾳ στειλάντων τὴν ἀποικίαν εἰς<sup>2</sup> ἦν, Ἀθηναῖς ἱερεὺς Πολιάδος, καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἀπηνέγκατο τῆς θεᾶς μετανιστάμενος, ὃ διεφύλαττον ἄλλοι παρ' ἄλλων μεταλαμβάνοντες οἱ τοῦ γένους ὄντες τοῦ Ναυτίων· ὃς ἐδόκει καὶ διὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀρετὴν λαμπρότατος εἶναι τῶν νέων, καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τῆς ὑπατικῆς ἐξουσίας τεύξεσθαι. 2 ἀρξάμενος δ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι κοινὴν ἀπολογίαὶν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν νέων, ὡς οὔτε φιλονεικία τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας οὔτε αὐθαδεΐα χρησαμένων ὅτε τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔσχον ἐν τῇ προτέρα βουλῇ προαίρεσιν, ἀλλ' εἶπερ ἄρα ἡμάρτανον, διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν γνώμη σφαλόντων, τελευτῶν ἔφη τὸ πιστὸν τοῦτου παρέξεσθαι τὴν μεταβολήν. συγχωρεῖν γοῦν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἄμεινον φρονουῖσιν ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν ἡγῶνται τῷ κοινῷ συμφέρειν, ὡς οὐδὲν σφῶν γε πρὸς ταῦτα ἐναντιωσομένων, ἀλλὰ πεισομένων 3 τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. ὅμοια δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νέων ἀποφηναμένων ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων τινῶν πάνυ τῶν Ἀππίου συγγενῶν ἐπαινέσαντες τὴν εὐκοσμίαν αὐτῶν οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ παρακαλέσαντες

<sup>1</sup> ἐν τοῖς πάνυ λαμπροτάτης Sintenis: ἐν ταῖς πάνυ λαμπροτάταις O.

<sup>2</sup> εἰς Kiessling: ὃς O, Jacoby, om. Reiske.

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<sup>1</sup> He is called Nautes by Virgil, *Aen.* v. 704.

LXIX. Having said this, he ended. When the opinions of the older senators agreed with that of Menenius and it came to the turn of the younger members to speak, the whole senate being on tip-toe with suspense, Spurius Nautius rose up, the heir of a most illustrious family. For Nautius,<sup>1</sup> the founder of the line, was one of those who took out the colony with Aeneas, being a priest of Athena Polias;<sup>2</sup> and when he removed from Troy, he brought with him the wooden statue of that goddess, which the family of the Nautii guarded thereafter, receiving it in succession one from another. This man was esteemed the most illustrious of all the younger senators for his own merits as well, and it was expected that he would soon obtain the consulship. He began by making a general defence of all the younger senators, declaring that neither a spirit of rivalry towards their elders nor arrogance had induced them to adopt a position opposed to that of the others at the last meeting of the senate, and if they had committed any error, it had been a mistake in judgment due to their youth; and in conclusion he said that they would now give proof of this by changing their opinion. They consented at any rate that the others, as men of better judgment, should decree whatever they thought most conducive to the welfare of the state, assuring them that they, at least, would offer no opposition in this matter, but would follow the advice of their elders. And when all the other younger members made the same declaration, except a very small number who were related to Appius, the consuls commended their dignified behaviour and exhorted

<sup>2</sup> The epithet Πολιάς, like Πολιοῦχος, means "preserver of the city."

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εἰς πάντα τὰ κοινὰ τοιούτους ἑαυτοὺς παρέχειν, πρεσβευτὰς εἵλοντο δέκα τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἐκτὸς ἐνὸς ἅπαντας ὑπατικούς. οἱ δ' ἀποδειχθέντες ἦσαν οἷδε· Ἀγρίππας Μενήμιος Γαῖου υἱὸς Λαινάτης, Μάνιος Οὐαλέριος Οὐολούσσου υἱὸς<sup>1</sup> . . . . ., Πόπλιος Σερουῖλιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς . . . . ., Πόπλιος Ποστόμιος<sup>2</sup> Κοῖντου υἱὸς Τούβερτος, Τίτος Αἰβούτιος Τίτου υἱὸς Φλαούιος,<sup>3</sup> Σερούιος Σολπίκιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Καμερίνος, Αὔλος Ποστόμιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Βάλβος, Αὔλος Οὐεργίνιος Αὔλου υἱὸς Καλιμον-  
<sup>4</sup>τανός.<sup>4</sup> μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς διαλυθείσης οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ προελθόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς ἀνέγνωσαν καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς παρήγαγον.<sup>5</sup> ἀπάντων δ' ἀξιούντων τὰς ἐντολάς ἃς ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς μαθεῖν, εἶπον ἐν τῷ φανερῷ πράττειν, ὅτῳ ἂν τρόπῳ δύνωνται, φιλίαν τῷ δήμῳ<sup>6</sup> πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους ἄτερ δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ καταγαγεῖν τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἐν τάχει.

LXX. Ταύτας οἱ πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτῶν<sup>7</sup> λαβόντες τὰς ἐντολάς αὐθημερόν ἐξήρσαν. φθάσασα δὲ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ὁ λαινάτης μάνιος οὐαλέριος οὐελούσσου υἱὸς B: om. R. ὁ Λαινάτης is an error for Λανᾶτος, or possibly Λανάτης (cf. v. 44, I, where the genitive Λανάτου occurs). Kiessling assumed a lacuna after υἱὸς in this line, and another in the line below.

<sup>2</sup> Ποπλίου υἱὸς . . . Πόπλιος Ποστόμιος Kiessling: ποπλίου υἱὸς ποστούμιος A, πόπλιος ποστούμιος B.

<sup>3</sup> The cognomen should be either Φλάουος or Φλάβος. Compare the similar error in v. 59, I.

<sup>4</sup> Καλιμοντανός Portus: καὶ νομεντανός A, κενομεντανός Ba, καὶ νομεντανός Bb.

<sup>5</sup> Sintenis: προήγαγον O.

<sup>6</sup> συνθέσθαι after δήμῳ deleted by Cobet.



them to conduct themselves in the same manner in all public matters; after which they chose as envoys ten men who were the most distinguished of the older senators, all but one being former consuls.<sup>1</sup> Those appointed were the following: Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, the son of Gaius, Manius Valerius [Volusus], the son of Volusus, . . ., Publius Servilius [Priscus], the son of Publius, . . ., Publius Postumius Tubertus, the son of Quintus, Titus Aebutius Flavus, the son of Titus, Servius Sulpicius Camerinus, the son of Publius, Aulus Postumius Albus, the son of Publius, and Aulus Verginius Caelimontanus, the son of Aulus.<sup>2</sup> After this, the senate being dismissed, the consuls went to the assembly of the people, and having ordered the decree of the senate to be read, presented the envoys. And as everyone desired to be informed of the instructions which the senate had given them, the consuls declared openly that they had ordered them to reconcile the people to the patricians by any means they could without fraud or deceit and to bring the fugitives home speedily.

LXX. The envoys, having received these instructions from the senate, went out of the city the

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 69, 3-86 cf. Livy ii. 32, 8-12.

<sup>2</sup> In the Greek each name is given in the official Roman order—*praenomen*, *nomen*, *praenomen* of father, *cognomen*. The names of only eight of the ten envoys are preserved, and two of these lack the *cognomen*. Kiessling's arrangement, here followed, assumes only two lacunae in the Greek text, each of them involving the loss of a *cognomen* and a complete name. One of the missing names was probably T. Larcus Flavus.

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παρουσίαν αὐτῶν ἢ φήμη διήγγειλε τοῖς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει γενόμενα, καὶ αὐτίκα πάντες ἐκλιπόντες τὸ ἔρυμα ὑπῆντων ἔτι καθ' ὁδὸν οὔσι τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς. ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πάνυ ταραχώδης καὶ στασιαστῆς ἀνὴρ, ὄξυς τῇ γνώμῃ προΐδειν τι<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἐσομένων ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ εἰπεῖν<sup>2</sup> ὅ τι νοήσειεν ὡς λάλος καὶ κωτίλος οὐκ ἀδύνατος, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν Λεύκιος Ἰούνιος, ὀμώνυμος τῷ καταλύσαντι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἐκπληρῶσαι δὲ τὴν ὀμωνυμίαν βουλόμενος ἡξίου καὶ Βροῦτος ἐπικαλεῖσθαι. τοῖς δ' ἄρα πολλοῖς γέλως ἐπὶ τῇ κενοσπουδίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰσῆρχετο, καὶ ὅτε βουλευθεῖεν ἐπισκώπτειν αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> Βροῦτον ἐπεκάλουν. οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ στρατοπέδου Σικίννιον διδάξας ὡς οὐκ ἄμεινον εἶη τῷ δήμῳ ῥαδίως ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προτεινομένοις, ἵνα μὴ ἀπ' ἐλάττονος ἀξιώσεως ἀτιμοτέραν εὔρηται τὴν κάθοδον, ἀλλ' ἐναντιοῦσθαι μέχρι πολλοῦ καὶ τραγωδίαν τινὰ ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς πράγμασι προσποιητόν, ὑποσχόμενός τε αὐτὸς ἀναλήψεσθαι τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου λόγον τά τε ἄλλα ὑποθέμενος ἅ χρῆ πράττειν ἢ λέγειν, ἔπεισε τὸν Σικίννιον. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν Σικίννιος συγκαλέσας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον ἐκέλευσε τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤκουσι λέγειν.

LXXI. Παρελθὼν δὲ Μάνιος Οὐαλέριος, ὃσπερ ἦν αὐτῶν πρεσβύτατός τε καὶ δημοτικώτατος, ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντος αὐτῷ τὴν προθυμίαν τοῦ πλήθους εὐμενεστάταις φωναῖς καὶ προσηγορίαις, ἐπειδὴ σιωπῆς ἔτυχε τοιούτοις ἐχρήσατο λόγοις:

<sup>1</sup> τι A: τε B.

<sup>2</sup> Reiske: προειπεῖν O.

same day. But the news of everything that had passed in the city reached those in the camp ahead of them, and presently all the plebeians left the encampment and met the envoys while they were still upon the road. Now there was in the camp a very turbulent and seditious man who had a shrewd mind for foreseeing something of the future far in advance, and he was not lacking in ability to express his thoughts, being a great talker and babbler. He had the same name, Lucius Junius, as the man who had overthrown the kings, and desiring to make the similarity of their names complete, he wished also to be called Brutus. To most people, it seems, he was a laughing-stock because of his vain pretentiousness, and when they wished to make sport of him, they called him by the nickname Brutus. This man now showed Sicinius, who was the commander of the camp, that it was not to the best interest of the people to submit readily to the proposals that were offered, lest by beginning with too moderate a demand, they might find their return home less honourable, but to oppose them for a long time and to inject into the negotiations an element of play-acting; and after promising to take upon himself the defence of the people and suggesting everything else that was to be done and said, he prevailed upon Sicinius. Thereupon Sicinius, assembling the people, asked the envoys to state their reason for coming.

LXXI. Then Manius Valerius, who was the oldest of the envoys and most in sympathy with the common people, came forward, while the crowd testified their affection for him by the friendliest expressions and appellations; and when he had secured silence, he spoke as follows:

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“ Οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ἔτι τὸ <sup>1</sup> κωλύόν ἐστιν, ᾧ δημόται, κατιέναι <sup>2</sup> πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα καὶ διηλλάχθαι <sup>2</sup> πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας. ἐψήφισται γὰρ ἡ βουλή καλήν καὶ συμφέρουσαν ὑμῖν κάθοδον, καὶ γνώμην πεποιήται μηδενὸς τῶν γεγονότων μνησικακεῖν· ἡμᾶς τε οὓς ἐγίγνωσκε φιλοδημοτάτους ὄντας καὶ πρὸς ὑμῶν τὰ δίκαια τιμωμένους πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέσταλκεν αὐτοκράτορας ἀποδείξασα τῶν διαλύσεων, ἵνα μὴ δόξαις μηδὲ εἰκασμοῖς χρώμενοι περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας γνώμης, ἀλλὰ παρ’ αὐτῶν ὑμῶν ἀκούσαντες ἐφ’ οἷς ἀξιούτε καταλύσασθαι τὴν διχοστασίαν, ἂν ἡ μέτριόν τι τῶν αἰτημάτων καὶ μήτε τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ μήτε ὑπ’ ἄλλης αἰσχύνης ἀνηκέστου κωλύηται, συγχωρῶμεν ὑμῖν μηκέτι τὴν τοῦ συνεδρίου γνώμην ἐκδεχόμενοι, μηδ’ εἰς χρόνους μακροὺς καὶ φθόνους ἀντιπάλων ἀναβάλλοντες <sup>3</sup> τὰ πράγματα. ταῦτα δὴ <sup>4</sup> τῆς βουλῆς ἐπεψηφισμένης <sup>5</sup> δέχεσθε ἄσμενοι τὰς χάριτας αὐτῶν, ᾧ δημόται, μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας καὶ σπουδῆς, ἐν μεγάλῳ τιθέμενοι τὴν τοσαύτην εὐτυχίαν καὶ πολλὴν τοῖς θεοῖς χάριν εἰδότες αὐτῆς, εἰ πόλις ἢ Ῥωμαίων ἢ τοσοῦτων ἄρχουσα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συνέδριον, ὃ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχει πάντων τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ καλῶν, οὐκ ὄν αὐτοῖς πάτριον οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀντιπάλων εἶκειν, ὑμῖν μόνοις ὑποκατακλίνονται τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἐκόντες, καὶ οὔτε ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων ἑκατέρους ἡξίωσαν ὡς ὑποδεεστέροις κρείττονες, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ πρότεροι περὶ διαλύσεως ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, οὔτε τὰς αὐθάδεις ὑμῶν ἀποκρίσεις, ἃς ἐποιήσασθε πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> τὸ added by Sintenis.

<sup>2</sup> Sylburg: κατεῖναι O.

<sup>3</sup> ἀναβάλλοντες B: ἀναλαβόντες A.

<sup>4</sup> Sintenis: δὲ O.

“ Nothing now hinders you, plebeians, from returning to your homes and being reconciled to the senators. For the senate has voted you an honourable and advantageous return, and has decreed an amnesty for all that has happened. They have also sent us as envoys, men whom they knew to be the greatest friends of the people and deservedly honoured by you, giving us full powers with respect to the accommodation, so that we may not judge of your sentiments by appearances or conjectures, but may learn from you yourselves upon what terms you think fit to put an end to the sedition, and, if there is any moderation in your demands and they are not impossible or precluded by some irreparable dishonour attached to them, we may grant them to you without waiting for the opinion of the senate or exposing the negotiations to long delays and to the jealousy of your adversaries. Since, then, the senate has passed this decree, do you receive their favours, plebeians, joyfully, with the greatest alacrity and enthusiasm, setting a high value upon so great good fortune and returning profound thanks therefor to the gods, in that the Roman commonwealth, which rules over so many people, and the senate, which has the command of all the blessings therein, though it is an established custom with them to yield to none of their adversaries, nevertheless willingly yield some of their dignity in favour of you alone. For they neither thought fit to enter into such a minute discussion of the rights of each side as might be expected from superiors when treating with their inferiors, but instead took the initiative themselves

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<sup>5</sup> ἐπειφηφισμένης Ο : ἐψηφισμένης Sintenis, Jacoby.

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τοὺς προτέρους πρέσβεις, πρὸς ὄργην ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ὑπέμειναν ὑμῶν τὸ σοβαρὸν τοῦτο καὶ μειρακιῶδες τῆς αὐθαδείας,<sup>1</sup> ὥσπερ ἂν παίδων ἀφρόνων χρηστοὶ πατέρες· καὶ πάλιν ἑτέραν πρεσβείαν ἀποστέλλειν ὥντο δεῖν καὶ τῶν δικαίων μειονεκτεῖν καὶ πάντα ὑπομένειν, ὧ  
 4 πολῖται, τὰ μέτρια. ἐπὶ δὴ τοσαύτης βεβηκότες εὐτυχίας μὴ μέλλετε λέγειν, ὧ δημόται, τίνων χρήζετε μὴδ' ἐντροφᾶτε ἡμῖν, καταλυσάμενοι δὲ τὴν στάσιν ἄπιτε χαίροντες εἰς τὴν γειναμένην τε καὶ θρεψαμένην ὑμᾶς πόλιν, ἧ τροφεῖά τε καὶ χάριτας οὐ χρηστὰς ἀπεδίδοτε, καταλιπόντες αὐτὴν τὸ γοῦν ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔρημον εἶναι<sup>2</sup> καὶ μηλόβοτον. εἰ δὲ παρήσετε τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον, εὐξεσθε πολλάκις ὅμοιον εὐρεῖν ἕτερον.”

LXXII. Πausαμένου δὲ τοῦ Οὐαλερίου παρελθὼν ὁ Σικίννιος οὐκ ἐξ ἑνὸς ἔφη δεῖν λόγου τὸ συμφέρον ἐξετάζειν τοὺς εὐ βουλευομένους, ἀλλ' ὑποτίθεσθαι τὸν ἐναντίον αὐτοῖς λόγον, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων σκοποῦντας· ἡξίου τε λέγειν πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς βουλομένους ἅπασαν αἰδῶ καὶ εὐλάβειαν ἀποθεμένους· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπειν<sup>3</sup> τὰ πράγματα σφίσιν εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἀνάγκας κατακεκλεισμένοις οὔτ' ὄκνω οὔτ' αἰσχύνῃ  
 2 εἴκειν. σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης, ἐπειδὴ πάντες εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀπέβλεπον ἐπιζητοῦντες τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινουῦ λέξοντα, ἐφαίνετο δ' οὐδεὶς—ὁ γὰρ Σικίννιος τοῖς αὐτοῖς πολλάκις ἐχρήτο λόγοις—παρέρχεται<sup>4</sup> κατὰ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις Λεύκιος Ἰούνιος

<sup>1</sup> βάρος after αὐθαδείας deleted by Kiessling.

<sup>2</sup> ἔρημον εἶναι O: εἶναι ἔρημον Cobet, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> Sylburg: ἐπιτρέπει O.

in sending envoys to propose an accommodation, nor did they receive with anger the haughty answers you gave to their former envoys, but endured this insolent and puerile exhibition of your arrogance as good parents would endure that of their foolish children; and they thought they ought to send another embassy and accept less than their full rights, and to submit to anything, citizens, that is reasonable. Now that you have met with so great good fortune, do not delay, plebeians, to tell us what you desire and do not mock at us. But when you have put an end to the sedition, return with joy to your country which gave you your birth and rearing, blessings for which you made her a sorry recompense and return when you left her, as far as in you lay, to be desolate and a pasture for flocks. But if you let this opportunity slip, you will wish time and again for another."

LXXII. When now Valerius had done speaking, Sicinius came forward and said that those who deliberated wisely ought not to examine the expediency of any measure from a single point of view, but should suggest to themselves the opposite view as well, particularly when affairs of so great moment were under consideration. Then he asked any who pleased to answer these proposals, laying aside all modesty and caution; for their situation, now that they were reduced to such distress, did not permit of their yielding to either hesitation or undue modesty. When there was silence, they all looked at one another to find out who would speak for the common cause; but none appeared, though Sicinius repeated the same request several times. At last Lucius Junius, the man who wanted Brutus to be added to

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<sup>4</sup> Καυσερ: προσέρχεται Ο, προέρχεται Portus.

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ἐκεῖνος ὁ βουλόμενος ἐπικαλεῖσθαι Βροῦτος καὶ τυχῶν ἐπισημασίας παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἀθρόας τοιαύτην διέθετο δημηγορίαν·

- 3 “ Τὸ δέος ὑμᾶς, ὦ δημόται, τὸ τῶν πατρικίων ἐντετηκὸς ἔτι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐκπλήσσειν ἔοικε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τεταπεινωμένοι φέρειν τοὺς λόγους εἰς μέσον οἷς εἰώθατε χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀκνεῖτε. οἶεται δ’ ἴσως ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὸν πλησίον ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ λέξειν, καὶ πάντας ἑαυτοῦ<sup>1</sup> μᾶλλον, εἴ τι κινδύνευμά ἐστιν, ὑπομενεῖν,<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸς δ’ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ βεβηκῶς, ὅ τι ἂν ἐκ τοῦ τολμηροῦ χρηστὸν περιγένηται, τούτου τὸ μέρος ἕξειν ἀδεῶς — κακῶς εἰδῶς. εἰ γὰρ ἅπαντες τοῦτο ὑπολάβοιμεν, ἢ καθ’ ἓνα ὑμῶν ἕκαστον ἀτολμία κοινὴ πᾶσιν ἔσται βλάβη, καὶ ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἴδιόν τις ἀσφαλές<sup>3</sup>
- 4 ἀποσκοπεῖ τὸ μετὰ πάντων κοινὸν ἀπολεῖ. ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἔγνωτε ὅτι λέλυται τὸ δέος ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ ἐλευθέρων ἅμα τοῖς ὄπλοις βεβαίως ἔχετε, νῦν γε ἤδη μάθετε διδασκάλους χρησάμενοι τούτοις. οἱ γὰρ ὑπερήφανοι καὶ βαρεῖς οὐκ ἐπιτάττοντες ὑμῖν ὡς πρότερον ἤκουσιν οὐδ’ ἀπειλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ δεόμενοι καὶ παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμᾶς κατιέναι, καὶ ὡς ἐλευθέρους ἐξ
- 5 ἴσου ἤδη ἄρχονται ὀμιλεῖν. τί οὖν ἔτι καταπέπληχθε αὐτοὺς καὶ σιωπᾶτε, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐλευθέρων φρονεῖτε καὶ διαρρήξαντες ἤδη ποτὲ τοὺς χαλινούς λέγετε εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἢ πεπόνθατε πρὸς αὐτῶν; ὦ σχέτλιοι, τί δεδοίκατε; μὴ τι πάθητε ἡγεμόνι τῆς ἐλευθεροστομίας ἐμοὶ χρώμενοι; κινδυνεύσω γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν εἰπεῖν τὰ δίκαια μετὰ

<sup>1</sup> ἑαυτοῦ Kayser: om. O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> Kiessling: ὑπομένειν O. <sup>3</sup> ἀσφαλές ABb: ἀσφαλῶς Ba.



his name, came forward in accordance with his promise, and being received with general applause from the crowd, delivered a speech of the following tenor :

“ It seems, plebeians, that the dread of the patricians is still so firmly rooted in your minds that it holds you in terror, and, humbled on that account, you shrink from uttering in public the arguments that you are wont to use to one another. For each one of you, perhaps, thinks that his neighbour will plead the common cause and that all the others rather than he will undergo any danger there may be, while he himself, standing in a place of safety, will enjoy, free from fear, his share of the benefit arising from the boldness of the other. But in this he is mistaken; for if we should all hold this opinion, the cowardice of each one of you will prove a common injury to all, and while every man consults his own safety, he will be destroying the common safety of all. But even if you did not know before that you are freed from this dread and that you have your liberty secure as long as you have your arms, learn it now at least, taking these men as your teachers. For these arrogant and stern men have not come with orders for you, as before, or with threats, but begging and beseeching you to return to your homes, and now begin to deal with you as with free men upon equal terms. Why, then, are you any longer in awe of them and why are you silent? Why do you not assume the spirit of free men, and having now broken at last the curb which held you, tell all men what you have suffered at their hands? Unhappy men, of what are you afraid? That you will suffer some harm if you follow my lead in giving free rein to the tongue? For I shall expose myself to the danger of

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παρρησίας ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποκρύψομαι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ Οὐαλέριος οὐδὲν ἔφησεν εἶναι τὸ κωλύον ἀναστρέφειν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τῆς βουλῆς διδούσης τὴν κάθοδον καὶ προσειψηφισμένης τὸ μὴ μνησικακεῖν, ταῦτ' ἀποκρινούμαι<sup>1</sup> πρὸς αὐτόν, ἅπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα εἰρῆσθαι.

LXXIII. “ Ἡμᾶς, ὦ Οὐαλέριε, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τὰ κωλύοντά ἐστιν ἀποθεμένους τὰ ὄπλα ἐφ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι, τρία δὲ τὰ μέγιστα καὶ τὰ φανερώτατα. πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι ἐγκαλοῦντες ἡμῖν ὡς ἡμαρτηκόσιν ἦκετε καὶ ἐν εὐεργεσίας οἶεσθε μέρει διδόναι τὴν κάθοδον· ἔπειθ', ὅτι οὐδὲν ὑποδηλοῦτε παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὰς δικαίοις καὶ<sup>2</sup> φιλανθρώποις ποιησόμεθα· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, ὅτι βέβαιοι ἡμῖν ὦν ἂν ὑπόσχησθε οὐδὲν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἐξαπατῶντές τε καὶ<sup>2</sup> φενακίζοντες ἡμᾶς διατετελέκατε. ἐρῶ δ' ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου χωρὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου ἀρξάμενος· καὶ γὰρ ἰδίᾳ τε<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἐν κοινῷ λέγοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου χρῆ ἄρχεσθαι. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν εἰ μὲν τι ἀδικοῦμεν ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲν δεόμεθα οὔτ' ἀδείας οὔτ' ἀμνηστίας· καίτοι γε οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν οὐδὲ κοινωνεῖν ἔτι τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἐπιμενοῦμεν ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ἄγῃ τὸ χρεῶν, τῇ τύχῃ καὶ δαίμοσιν ἐπιτρέψαντες ἡγεμόσιν. εἰ δ' ἀδικούμενοι πρὸς ὑμῶν ταύτης ἠναγκάσμεθα τῆς τύχης πειραθῆναι ἐν ἧ ἔσμεν, τί οὐχ ὁμολογεῖτε κακοὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι συγγνώμης δεῖσθαι καὶ ἀμνηστίας; νῦν δ', ἣν αἰτεῖσθαι δεῖ,<sup>4</sup> ταύτην διδόναι

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg: ἀποκρίνομαι O.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ C: ἢ R.

<sup>3</sup> τε added by Sylburg.

<sup>4</sup> αἰτεῖσθαι δεῖ Capps, δεῖ αἰτεῖσθαι Bücheler: αἰτεῖσθε O. Jacoby.

declaring to them frankly the justice of your cause, concealing nothing. And since Valerius has said that nothing hinders you from going back to your homes, the senate having given you leave to return and having decreed you an amnesty besides, I shall give him this answer—that which is the very truth and must needs be told.

LXXIII. “As for us, Valerius, there are many other reasons that hinder us from laying down our arms and putting ourselves in your power, but these three are the most important and the most obvious: First, because you have come to accuse us as if we had offended, and when you give us leave to return you count it as a favour to us; next, because when you invite us to an accommodation you do not give any hint upon what terms of justice and humanity we are to enter into it; and lastly, because there is no certainty of your fulfilling your promises to us, since time and again you have consistently deceived and deluded us. I shall speak to each of these points separately, beginning with the matter of justice; for it is the duty of all who speak either in private or in public to begin with justice. Well then, if we are doing you any injustice, we do not ask for either impunity or an amnesty; though we do not choose even to share the same city with you any longer, but will live wherever Fate shall lead us, leaving it to Fortune and to the gods to direct our course. But if, suffering injustice at your hands, we have been compelled to experience this condition in which we now are, why do you not acknowledge that, having yourselves wronged us, *you* stand in need of pardon and an amnesty? But as it is, you profess to be giving the pardon for which you ought to be asking,

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λέγετε, καὶ ἤς ἀφείσθαι ζητεῖτε ὀργῆς, ταύτης ὡς ἀφιέντες μεγαληγορεῖτε, συγχέοντες τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας φύσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν δικαίων ἀξίωσιν  
 3 ἀναστρέφοντες. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἀδικεῖσθε, ἀλλ' ἀδικεῖτε, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα εὐεργετηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τὰ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ δ' εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, οὐ καλὰς ἀποδεδώκατε αὐτῷ τὰς ἀμοιβάς, μάθετε· ποιήσομαι δ' ἀφ' ὧν ἴστε καὶ αὐτοὶ πραγμάτων τοὺς λόγους, καὶ πρὸς θεῶν, εἴαν τι ψεῦδος εἶπω, μὴ ἀνάσχησθε, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἐλέγχετε.

LXXIV. “ Ἡμῖν τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολίτευμα ἦν μοναρχία, καὶ μέχρι γενεᾶς ἐβδόμης ταύτη χρώμενοι διετελέσαμεν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, καὶ παρὰ πάσας τὰς ἡγεμονίας ταύτας οὐδὲν ὁ δῆμος ἡλαττώθη πώποτε ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πάντων ἠκιστα ὑπὸ τῶν τελευταίων· ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν ἐκαρπώσατο.  
 2 χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτῶν θεραπείας, ἧ κολακεύοντες αὐτὸν οἰκεῖον μὲν σφίσι, ἐχθρὸν δ' ὑμῖν ἐβούλοντο εἶναι, ὁ ποιοῦσιν ἅπαντες οἱ τυραννικῶς ἐξάγοντες τὰς δυναστείας, κρατήσαντες πολέμῳ μακρῷ Συέσσης, πόλεως πάνυ εὐδαίμονος, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς μηδενὶ κοινωνῆσαι<sup>1</sup> τῶν λαφύρων, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ κατασχεῖν καὶ πάντας ὑπερβαλέσθαι πλούτῳ βασιλεῖς,<sup>2</sup> οὐκ ἠξίωσαν, ἀλλὰ φέροντες εἰς μέσον ἔθηκαν ἅπασαν τὴν ὠφέλειαν· ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς χωρὶς ἀνδραπόδων καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κτήσεως πολλῆς οὔσης καὶ καλῆς ἀργυρίου  
 3 πέντε μνᾶς κατ' ἄνδρα διανείμασθαι. ὧν ἡμεῖς

<sup>1</sup> Kayser: κοινωνεῖσθαι AB, κοινοῦσθαι Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> Jacoby: βασιλέων B, βασιλέας R.

and prate boastfully of acquitting us of the resentment of which you yourselves seek to be acquitted, thereby confusing the very essence of truth and reversing the very meaning of justice. That you are not the victims, but the doers of injustice, and that you have not made handsome returns for the many great services you have received from the people in respect both to your liberty and to your sovereignty, learn from me now. I shall begin my argument with the matters you yourselves are acquainted with, and I beg of you in the name of the gods, if I make any false statement, that you will not tolerate it, but will promptly refute me.

LXXIV. "Our earliest government was monarchy, under which constitution we lived till the seventh generation. And during all these reigns the people never suffered any loss of rights at the hands of their kings, and least of all from those who reigned last, to say nothing of the many important advantages they enjoyed from their rule. For, besides the other methods the kings used of courting and flattering the people in order to win them to themselves and make them enemies to you—which is the practice of all rulers who aim at extending their power to tyranny—when they had made themselves masters of Suessa, a very prosperous city, after a long war, and had it in their power to grant no part of the spoils to anyone, but to appropriate the whole to themselves and surpass all other kings in riches, they did not think fit to do so, but brought out all the booty and placed it at the disposal of the army, so that, besides the slaves, cattle and the other spoils, which were many and of great value, every one of us received five minae of silver for his share. But we

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ἀμελήσαντες, ἐπειδὴ τυραννικώτερον ἐχρῶντο ταῖς ἐξουσίαις οὐκ εἰς τὸν δῆμον πλημμυλοῦντες, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑμᾶς, δυσανασχετοῦντες ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις τῆς μὲν τῶν βασιλέων εὐνοίας ἀπέστημεν, ὑμῖν δὲ προσεθέμεθα· καὶ συνεπαναστάντες αὐτοῖς μεθ' ὑμῶν οἷ τε ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου τοὺς μὲν ἐξηλάσαμεν, ὑμῖν δὲ φέροντες ἀνεθήκαμεν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρχήν. πολλάκις τε γενόμενον ἐφ' ἡμῖν μεταθέσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐξελαθέντας, τὰς μεγάλας δωρεὰς <sup>1</sup> ἃς ὑπέτεινον ἡμῖν ἵνα δῆ <sup>2</sup> τὸ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πιστὸν ἐγκαταλίπωμεν, οὐχ ὑπεμείναμεν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους καὶ συνεχεῖς πολέμους καὶ κινδύνους δι' ὑμᾶς ἀνηντήσαμεν·<sup>3</sup> καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἔτος ἑπτακαίδέκατον ἤδη τριβόμεθα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις μαχόμενοι <sup>4</sup> περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας. ἀκαταστάτου μὲν γὰρ ἔτι τῆς πολιτείας οὔσης, οἷα γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ περὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς τὰς αἰφνιδίως γινομένας, δυσὶ ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πόλεσι Τυρρηνῶν, Ταρκυνιήταις τε καὶ Οὐιεντανοῖς, κατάγειν βουλομένοις τοὺς βασιλεῖς μεγάλη στρατιᾷ, παρακινδυνεύσαντες ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς διηγωνισάμεθα,<sup>4</sup> καὶ μεγίστην ἀποδειξάμενοι προθυμίαν τοὺς τε ἀντιταχθέντας μάχῃ νικήσαντες ἀπεωσάμεθα, καὶ τῷ περιόντι τῶν ὑπάτων διεσώσαμεν <sup>5</sup> τὴν ἀρχήν. οὐ πολλοῖς δὲ χρόνοις ὕστερον Πορσίναν Τυρρηνῶν βασιλέα κατάγειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦντα τοὺς φυγάδας τῇ τε ἐξ ἀπάσης Τυρρηνίας, ἣν αὐτὸς ἐπήγετο, δυνάμει καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐκ πολλοῦ συναχθείσαις, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀξιόμαχον

<sup>1</sup> τὰς μεγάλας δωρεὰς Schaller: μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς O, μεγάλαις πεισθεῖσι δωρεαῖς Reiske.

disregarded all this when they used their power more in the manner of tyrants to injure, not us, to be sure, but you; and resenting their behaviour, we gave up our affection for our kings and joined you, and rising with you against them, both those of us who were in the city and those in camp, we drove them out, and bringing to you their power, entrusted it to you. And though it was often possible for us to go over to the side of the expelled kings, yet we scorned to accept the lavish gifts they offered us to induce us to violate our pledge to you, but patiently endured many great and continuous wars and dangers on your account. And up to this time, which is the seventeenth year, we have been worn out with fighting against all mankind for our common liberty. For while the government was still unsettled—as often happens in the case of sudden revolutions—we ventured to contend with the two most renowned cities of the Tyrrhenians, Tarquinii and Veii, when they sought with a large army to restore the kings; and fighting, a few against many, and displaying the greatest enthusiasm, we not only overcame and drove back these foes, but preserved the power for the surviving consul. Not long afterwards, when Porsena, king of the Tyrrhenians, was also endeavouring to restore the exiles both with the united forces of all Tyrrhenia commanded by himself and with those which the others had long before raised, we, though unprovided with an adequate army, and for that

<sup>2</sup> δὴ Reiske: μὴ AB.

<sup>3</sup> ἀνηντλήσαμεν Ba(?), Kiessling, διηντλήσαμεν Cobet: ἤντλήσαμεν ABb.

<sup>4</sup> Sylburg: διηγωνίσμεθα O, Jacoby.

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χείρα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατακλεισθέντες εἰς πολιορκίαν τε καὶ ἀμηχανίαν καὶ παντὸς πράγματος ἀπορίαν, τῷ πάντα ὑπομείναι τὰ δεινὰ φίλον  
 6 γενόμενον<sup>1</sup> ἠναγκάσαμεν ἀπελθεῖν. τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα τρίτον κάθοδον τῶν βασιλέων παρασκευασαμένων διὰ τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις<sup>2</sup> ἐπαγομένων, ἀντιβολοῦντας ὑμᾶς ὄρωντες καὶ ὀλοφυρομένους καὶ ἓνα ἕκαστον ἐπιβωμμένους<sup>3</sup> ἑταιρίας τε καὶ συντροφίας καὶ ὁμαιχμίας ἀναμιμνήσκοντας οὐχ ὑπεμείναμεν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν· ἠγησάμενοι δὲ κάλλιστον εἶναι καὶ λαμπρότατον ἀγῶνα τὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁμόσε τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐχωρήσαμεν, μέγιστον δὲ κίνδυνον<sup>4</sup> ἀναρρίψαντες ἐκείνους, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν τραύματα λαβόντες, πολλὰ δὲ σώματα συγγενῶν τε καὶ ἑταίρων καὶ ὁμοσκήνων ἀποβαλόντες, ἐνίκησαμεν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς ἠγεμόνας αὐτῶν ἀπεκτείναμεν καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν συγγένειαν ἅπασαν διεφθείραμεν.

LXXV. “ Ἄ μὲν δὴ εἰς τὸ συνελευθερῶσαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων παρεσχόμεθα ὑπὲρ δύναμιν διὰ<sup>5</sup> τὸ ἑαυτῶν πρόθυμον, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου μᾶλλον εἰς αὐτὸ καταστάντες ἢ ὑπ’ ἀρετῆς, ταῦτά ἐστιν. ἂ δ’ εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἑτέρων δυναστείαν τε περιβαλέσθαι μείζω ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δόκησιν ἀκούσατε, καὶ ὅπως, εἴαν τι παρατρέψω τὸν λόγον ἔξω τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀρχόμενος εἶπον, ἐναντιώ-  
 2 σεσθέ μοι. ὑμῖν γάρ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἀσφαλές τῆς

<sup>1</sup> γενόμενον B: om. R.

<sup>2</sup> τριάκοντα πόλεις O: τὰς τριάκοντα πόλεις Kiessling.

<sup>3</sup> Sylburg: ἐπιβωώμενον O, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> κίνδυνον R: κινδύνων B, Jacoby.



reason forced to undergo a siege and reduced to the last extremity and to a dearth of everything, yet by enduring all these hardships forced him to depart after first becoming our friend. And last of all, when the kings for the third time sought to effect their restoration with the aid of the Latin nation and brought against us thirty cities, we, seeing you entreating, lamenting, calling upon every one of us, and reminding us of our friendship, our common rearing, and the campaigns we had shared together, could not bear to abandon you. But looking upon it as a most honourable and glorious thing to fight your battles, we rushed into the midst of perils and hazarded on that occasion surely the greatest danger of all, in which, after we had received many wounds and lost many of our relations, companions and comrades in arms, we overcame the enemy, killed their generals, and destroyed the whole royal family.

LXXV. "These are the services we rendered to assist you in freeing yourselves from the tyrants, exerting ourselves beyond our strength because of our enthusiasm, and engaging in the struggle quite as much through the promptings of our own valour as because of necessity. Now hear what we have done to gain for you the respect of and the rule over others, and to acquire for you a power greater than was at first expected; and, as I said before, if I deviate from the truth, you will contradict me. For you, when it seemed that your liberty was firmly

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<sup>5</sup> διὰ added by Bücheler: Sylburg added ἀναδειξάμενοι after πρόθυμον.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἐλευθερίας ἔδοξεν εἶναι βέβαιον, οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν ἐπὶ τούτου μένειν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ τολμᾶν καὶ νεωτεροποιεῖν ὀρμήσαντες, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἴσως<sup>1</sup> ἅπαν ἡγούμενοι τὸ περιεχόμενον ἐλευθερίας, καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους πόλεμον ἀναδείξαντες, εἰς ἅπαντα<sup>2</sup> τὰ κινδυνεύματα καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς πλεονεξίας ταύτης ἀγῶνας τοῖς ἡμετέ-  
 3 ροις ὤεσθε δεῖν καταχρῆσθαι σώμασιν. ὅσας μὲν οὖν πόλεις κατὰ μίαν καὶ δύο πολεμούσας ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τὰς μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως χειρωσάμενοι, τὰς δὲ τειχομαχίαις ἐλόντες ὑπηκόους ἐποιήσαμεν, ἐὼ· τί γὰρ δεῖ κατὰ μικρὸν λέγειν τὰς πράξεις τοσαύτην ἔχοντας λόγων ἀφθονίαν; ἀλλὰ Τυρρηνίαν ἅπασαν εἰς δώδεκα νενεμημένην ἡγεμονίας καὶ πολλῇ μὲν τῇ κατὰ γῆν, πολλῇ δὲ τῇ κατὰ θάλατταν δυναστεία περιουσιάζουσαν, τίνες ἦσαν οἱ συγκατακτησάμενοι καὶ ποιήσαντες αὐτὴν ὑμῖν ὑπήκοον; Σαβίνους δὲ τουτουσὶ ἔθνος τηλικούτον, οἷς διὰ παντὸς ὁ περὶ τῶν πρωτείων πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἦν ἀγών, ποία παρέσχεν ὑμῖν βοήθεια μηκέτι διαμιλλᾶσθαι περὶ τῶν ἴσων; τί δέ; τὰς τῶν<sup>3</sup> Λατίνων τριάκοντα πόλεις, οὐ μόνον δυνάμει μεγέθει ἐπαιρομένας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δικαιοτέρα ἀξιοῦν μεγάλα φρονούσας, τίνες ἦσαν οἱ καταδουλωσάμενοι καὶ παρασχόντες ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ καὶ κατασκαφῆς τῶν πόλεων δεομένας καταφυγεῖν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς;

LXXVI. “Ἐὼ τᾶλλα ὅσα οὐπω διαστασιάζοντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν γε<sup>4</sup> μεταποιοῦμενοι τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐλπίδων συνεκινδυνεύσαμεν ὑμῖν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερώς ἤδη

assured, were not contented to stop there, but intent upon bold and new undertakings, and regarding as a possible enemy every creature who clung to liberty, and declaring war against almost all the world, in all the perils and in all the battles fought to support that greed for power you thought fit to waste our bodies. I say nothing of all the cities that sometimes singly, sometimes two jointly, fought with you in defence of their liberty, some of which we overcame in pitched battles and others we took by storm and compelled them to become subjects to you. For what need is there to relate these actions in detail when we have such an abundance of material? But who were they who assisted you in acquiring and subjecting to you all Tyrrhenia, a country divided into twelve principalities and exceeding powerful on both land and sea? Whose assistance rendered the Sabines, this powerful nation which had ever contended with you for the primacy, unable any longer to contend for equality? And again, who subdued the thirty cities of the Latins, which not only gloried in the superiority of their forces but prided themselves on the superior justice of their demands? And who compelled them to fly to you imploring you to prevent their enslavement and the razing of their cities?

LXXVI. "I omit the other dangers in which we engaged along with you while we were not yet at odds with you and indeed laid claim ourselves to some share of the expected profits of empire. But when

<sup>1</sup> δὲ ἴσως Bb: δεήσεως A, καὶ ὡς Ba, δι' ἴσης Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> ἅπαντα Kiessling, πάντα B: ταῦτα A.

<sup>3</sup> τὰς τῶν Portus: αἱ τῶν A, τῶν B, τὰς Sintenis.

<sup>4</sup> μὲν γε Jacoby: μέντοι O, γέ τοι Reiske.

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τυραννίδα περιβεβλημένοι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡμῖν  
 ὡσπερ δούλοις παραχρῶμενοι ἐξηλέγχθητε, ἡμεῖς τ'  
 οὐκέτι ὅμοιοι ταῖς πρὸς ὑμᾶς διανοίαις διαμένοντες,  
 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ὑπήκοα ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντα  
 ἐπανίστατο, ἀρξάντων μὲν τῆς ἀποστάσεως Οὐο-  
 λούσκων, ἀκολουθησάντων δ' αὐτοῖς Αἰκανῶν  
 Ἑρνίκων Σαβίνων ἄλλων συχνῶν, ἐδόκει τε  
 οἷος οὐχ ἕτερος εἶναι καιρός, εἰ βουλομένοις ἡμῖν  
 ἦν, δεῖν ἐξεργάσασθαι θάτερον, ἢ καταλύσασθαι  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑμῶν ἢ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποδείξαι  
 μετριωτέραν, ἄρα μέμνησθε εἰς οἷαν ἀπόγνωσιν  
 τῆς ἀρχῆς ἦλθετε καὶ ὡς ἐν παντὶ δὴ ἀθυμίας  
 ἐγένεσθε, εἴτε μὴ συναρούμεθα τῶν ἀγώνων  
 ὑμῖν, εἴτε ὀργῇ ἐφέντες ὡς τοὺς πολεμίους  
 τρεψόμεθα, καὶ ὅσας δεήσεις καὶ ὑποσχέσεις  
 2 ἐποιήσασθε; τί οὖν οἱ ταπεινοὶ καὶ πρὸς ὑμῶν  
 ὑβρισμένοι τότε ἐποιήσαμεν; ἠττηθέντες τῶν  
 δεήσεων καὶ πεισθέντες ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν αἷς ὁ  
 βέλτιστος οὗτος Σερουῖλιος ὑπατεύων τότε πρὸς  
 τὸν δῆμον ἐποιήσατο, οὐθὲν μὲν ἐμνησικακή-  
 σαμεν ὑμῖν τῶν πάλαι, χρηστὰ δὲ περὶ τοῦ  
 μέλλοντος ἐλπίσαντες χρόνου, παρέσχομεν ὑμῖν  
 ἑαυτούς, καὶ πάντα τὰ πολέμια ἐν ὀλίγῳ κατ-  
 εργασάμενοι χρόνῳ παρήμεν ἄγοντες αἰχμαλώτους  
 3 πολλοὺς καὶ λείας καλὰς. ἀνθ' ὧν τίνας ἡμῖν  
 χάριτας ἀπεδώκατε; ἄρα γε δικαίας καὶ τῶν  
 κινδύνων ἀξίας; πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ.  
 ἐψεύσασθε<sup>1</sup> μὲν γε καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἃς ἐκελεύ-  
 σατε τὸν ὑπατον ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ ποιήσασθαι,  
 αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα<sup>2</sup> τουτονὶ τὸν βέλτιστον, ᾧ

<sup>1</sup> ἐψεύσασθε Kiessling : διεψεύσασθε Bb, καὶ διέψευσθε A.

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at last it was clear that the empire that you had gained was a tyranny, that you abused us like slaves, and that we no longer continued to entertain the same feelings towards you, and when almost all your subjects revolted, the Volscians setting the example, which was followed by the Aequians, the Hernicans, the Sabines, and many others, and a unique opportunity seemed to offer itself, if we chose to take advantage of it, to accomplish one of two things, either to overthrow your empire or to render it more moderate for the future, do you remember into what despair of your domination you fell and how you were in the last stage of discouragement lest we should either not assist you in the war or, indulging our resentment, should go over to the enemy, and what entreaties and promises you made? What did we, the humble folk who had been treated outrageously by you, do then? We allowed ourselves to be overcome by the entreaties and prevailed upon by the promises which the excellent Servilius here, who was consul at the time, made to the people, and retained no resentment against you for the wrongs of the past, but conceiving good hopes of the future, we entrusted ourselves to you; and having subdued all your enemies in a short time, we returned with many prisoners and rich spoils. For these services what return did you make to us? One that was just and worthy of the dangers to which we had exposed ourselves? No, indeed; far from it! Why, you violated even the promises which you had ordered the consul to make to us in the name of the commonwealth; and this excellent man himself, whom you

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<sup>2</sup> τὸν ἄνδρα B: om. R.

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κατεχρήσασθε πρὸς τὸν φενακισμόν, ἄμοιρον ἐποιήσατε τοῦ θριάμβου,<sup>1</sup> πάντων μάλιστ' ἀνθρώπων ἄξιον ὄντα τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης τυχεῖν, οὐκ ἀντ' <sup>2</sup> ἄλλου τινὸς προσθέντες αὐτῷ τὴν ὕβριν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ὡς ὑπέσχεσθε ἡξίου καὶ ἀγανακτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ φενακισμῷ δῆλος ἦν.

LXXVII. “Ἐναγχος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου—τουτὶ γὰρ ἔτι προσθεῖς τῷ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου λόγῳ παύσομαι—ὅθ' ὑμῖν Αἰκανοὶ τε καὶ Σαβῖνοι καὶ Οὐλοοῦσκοι μιᾷ γνώμῃ χρησάμενοι αὐτοὶ τε ἐπανίσταντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρεκάλουν, οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἠναγκάσθητε καταφυγεῖν τοὺς ταπεινοὺς καὶ φαύλους οἱ σεμνοὶ καὶ βαρεῖς, πάντα ὑπισχνούμενοι τῆς τότε σωτηρίας ἔνεκα;<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἵνα μὴ ἐξαπατᾶν ἡμᾶς αὐθις δοκῆτε, ὃ πολλάκις ἐποιήσατε, προκάλυμμα τῆς ἀπάτης Μάνιον Οὐαλέριον τουτονὶ τὸν φιλοδημότατον ἄνδρα εὔρεσθε· ᾧ πιστεύσαντες ἡμεῖς, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ὑπὸ δικτάτορός τε καὶ ταῦτα χρηστοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνδρὸς φενακισθησόμενοι, συνηράμεθα ὑμῖν καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐνικῶμεν, οὐ μικροὺς οὐδ' ὀλίγους οὐδ' ἀφανεῖς <sup>2</sup> ἀγῶνας ὑπομείναντες. θάπτον δ' ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀπάντων ἐλπίδα τέλος εἰληφότος τὸ κάλλιστον τοῦ πολέμου, τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχετε τοῦ χαίρειν καὶ πολλὴν εἰδέναί τῷ δήμῳ χάριν ὥστε κατέχειν ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἡξιοῦτε ἄκοντας ὑπὸ ταῖς σημαίαις ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἵνα παρέλθῃτε τὰς ὑποσχέσεις

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ θριάμβου Grasberger: τῶν θριάμβων O.

<sup>2</sup> ἀντ' (ἀντὶ) Reiske, ἐξ Jacoby: om. O.

had basely used to trick us, you deprived of his triumph, though he of all men most deserved that honour, and you attached this disgrace to him for no other reason than because he asked you to perform the act of justice that you had promised and made it clear that he resented your deceit.

LXXVII. " And just recently (for I shall add this one more instance to that part of my discourse which relates to justice before I make an end), when the Aequians, the Sabines, and the Volscians with one accord not only rose against you themselves, but invited others to do likewise, were not you, the proud and stern, obliged to fly to us, the mean and despised, and to promise everything in order to secure your safety at that time? And that you might not seem to be intending to deceive us again, as you had often done before, you made use of Manius Valerius here, the greatest friend of the people, as a cover for your deceit; confiding in whom and believing ourselves in no danger of being imposed upon by a dictator, and least of all by a man who had treated us well, we assisted you in this war also, and having fought not a few battles, and those neither inconsiderable nor obscure, we overcame your enemies. But, once the war was ended in a most glorious manner and sooner than anyone had expected, you were so far from rejoicing and feeling yourselves under great obligation to the people, that you thought fit to keep us still in arms and under our standards against our will, that you might violate your promises as you had determined from

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<sup>3</sup> ἔνεκα added by Sylburg; Steph.<sup>2</sup> had added ὑπὲρ before τῆς.

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ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διέγνωτε. οὐχ ὑπομένοντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸν φενακισμόν οὐδὲ τὴν αἰσχύνην τοῦ ἔργου, ἀλλ' εἰσενέγκαντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὰ σημεῖα καὶ διαφέντος ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία τὰς δυνάμεις, πρόφασιν ποιησάμενοι ταύτην τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν τοῦτον ὑβρίσατε, τῶν δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμολογιῶν οὐδεμίαν ἐφυλάξατε, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τρία τὰ μέγιστα παρηνομήσατε, τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς βουλῆς καταλύσαντες καὶ τὴν πίστιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διαφθείραντες καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις ἀνόνητον ποιήσαντες  
 3 τὴν χάριν τῶν πόνων. ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτοις ὅμοια πολλὰ ἔχοντες λέγειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀξιούμεν,<sup>1</sup> ὧ πατρίκιοι, πρὸς ἰκεσίας καὶ δεήσεις ὑμῶν τραπέσθαι, οὐδ' ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ δεινὰ δεδρακότες ἐπ' ἀδεία καὶ ἀμνηστία κάθοδον λαμβάνειν. οὐ μὴν ἀκριβολογεῖσθαί γε περὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ παρόντι οἴομεθα χρῆναι, ἐπειδὴ περὶ ὁμονοίας διαλεξόμενοι συνεληλύθαμεν, ἀλλ' ἀμελεία καὶ λήθη παραδόντες αὐτὰ φέρομεν.

LXXVIII. “Ἐφ' οἷς δὲ πρεσβεύετε καὶ τίνων δεόμενοι ἦκετε, τί οὐ λέγετε φανερώς; ἐπὶ ποίαις ἐλπίσι κατελθεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν<sup>2</sup> ἀξιούτε; ποίαν ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ λαβόντας<sup>3</sup> τύχην; τίνος ὑποδεξομένης ἡμᾶς εὐθυμίας ἢ χαρᾶς; οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄχρι τοῦδε φιλάνθρωπον ὑμῶν ἢ χρηστὸν προτεινομένων ἀκούομεν, οὐ τιμάς, οὐκ ἀρχάς, οὐκ ἐπανόρθωσιν ἀπορίας, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀπλῶς οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν. καίτοι οὐ λέγειν ὑμᾶς ἐχρῆν ἂ μέλλετε ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ ποιήσαντας λέγειν, ἵνα

<sup>1</sup> Kiessling: ἠξιούμεν O.

<sup>2</sup> ἐλπίσι κατελθεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν B: ἡμᾶς ἐλπίσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατελθόντες R.



the beginning. Then, when Servilius would not submit to the deceit nor to the dishonour of your action, but brought the standards into the city and sent the forces to their homes, you, making this an excuse for not doing us justice, insulted him and kept not a single one of your promises to us, but at one and the same time committed three most lawless acts, in that you destroyed the prestige of the senate, you ruined the credit of Servilius, and you deprived your benefactors of the recompense that was due to their labours. Since, therefore, patricians, we have these and many other things of the like nature to allege against you, we do not think fit to have recourse to supplicating and entreating you, nor, like men guilty of heinous crimes, to secure our return by accepting impunity and amnesty. However, we do not feel that we ought to enter into a minute discussion of these grievances at present, since we are met to treat of an agreement, but leaving them to indifference and oblivion, we simply put up with them.

LXXVIII. "But why do you not declare openly the terms of your mission and say plainly what you have come to ask? On the strength of what hopes do you ask us to return to the city? The prospect of what kind of fortune awaiting us are we to take to guide us on the way? The prospect of what cheer or joy that is going to receive us? For we have not as yet heard you promise any act of kindness or of benefit—no honours, no magistracies, no relief of our poverty, nor, in a word, anything else whatever. And yet it is not what you intend to do that you should tell us, but what you have already done, in

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<sup>3</sup> Portus: λαβόντες Ο.

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προειληφότες ἤδη τι ἔργον ἀπ' εὐνοίας γενόμενον  
 2 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοιαῦτα ἔσσεσθαι εἰκάσωμεν. οἶομαι  
 τοίνυν πρὸς ταῦτα εἶρεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅτι περὶ πάντων  
 ἤκουσιν αὐτοκράτορες, ὥσθ', ὃ τι ἂν πείσωμεν  
 ἀλλήλους, τοῦτ' ἔσται κύριον. ἔστω ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ·  
 γιγνέσθω τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτοις· οὐδὲν ἀντιλέγω.  
 βούλομαι δὲ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐσόμενα παρ' αὐτῶν  
 μαθεῖν, ἐπειδὴν εἶπωμεν ἡμεῖς ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιούμεν  
 ποιεῖσθαι τὴν κάθοδον, καὶ συγχωρηθῆ ταῦτα  
 ὑπὸ <sup>1</sup> τούτων, τίς ἐγγυητῆς ἔσται τῶν ὁμολογιῶν  
 3 ἡμῖν; τίνι πιστεύσαντες ἀσφαλεία τὰ ὄπλα  
 θήσομεν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ καταστήσομεν  
 αὐθις εἰς τὴν τούτων ἐξουσίαν τὰ σώματα;  
 πότερον τοῖς ψηφίσμασι τῆς βουλῆς τοῖς ὑπὲρ  
 τούτων γραφησομένοις, οὐ γὰρ δὴ γεγραμμένοις;  
 καὶ τί κωλύσει πάλιν <sup>2</sup> ἑτέροις ἀκυρωθῆναι ταῦτα  
 ψηφίσμασιν, ὅταν Ἀππίω καὶ τοῖς ὅμοια φρονου-  
 σιν ἐκείνῳ φανῆ; ἢ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι τῶν πρεσβευ-  
 τῶν, οἳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν παρέχονται πίστεις; ἀλλὰ  
 διὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων καὶ πρότερον ἡμᾶς  
 ἐξηπάτησαν. ἢ ταῖς ἐπὶ <sup>3</sup> τῶν θεῶν ὁμο-  
 λογίαις δι' ὄρκων τὰ πιστὰ πορισάμενοι <sup>4</sup> παρ'  
 αὐτῶν; ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' ὑπὲρ ἅπασαν πίστιν ἀνθρω-  
 πίνην ταύτην δέδοικα, ἣν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡγε-  
 μονίαις ὄντων καταφρονουμένην ὄρω, καὶ τὰς  
 ἀκουσίους συμβάσεις τοῖς ἄρχειν ἀξιούσι πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἐλευθερίας μεταποιουμένους, οὐ νῦν πρῶτον,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις ἤδη καταμαθῶν, ἐπίσταμαι  
 τοσοῦτον ἰσχυούσας χρόνον ὅσον ἂν αὐτῶν αἰ

<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ added by Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> κωλύσει πάλιν Post: πάλιν κωλύσει O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ added by Reiske. <sup>4</sup> πορισάμενοι B: παρωσάμενοι A.

order that, having already some action before us as an earnest of your goodwill, we may infer that the remaining actions will be of like nature. I suppose, though, that they will answer to this that they are come with full powers in all matters, so that whatever we can persuade one another to accept is to be valid. Grant this to be so, and let the natural results follow; I offer no objections. But I desire to learn from them what is to happen afterwards, when we have stated the conditions upon which we think fit to return and these conditions have been accepted by them: Who will stand surety to us for the carrying out of the terms? Trusting to what assurance shall we drop the arms from our hands and put our persons again in the power of these men? Shall we trust to the decrees of the senate that will be drawn up concerning these matters? For surely they have not been drawn up already. And what shall hinder these from being annulled in turn by other decrees, whenever Appius and those of his faction shall think fit? Or shall we trust to the high standing of the envoys who pledge their own good faith? But the senate has already made use of these men to deceive us. Or shall we trust to agreements sworn to by oaths taken in the name of the gods, gaining our assurance from these? But for my part, I am more afraid of this than of any other kind of assurance men can give, because I observe that it is treated contemptuously by those in positions of command, and because I understand, not now for the first time, but as the result of many experiences in the past, that forced agreements made by men desirous of ruling with those who strive to retain their freedom last only as long as the necessity exists which

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4 ἀνάγκαι κρατῶσι. τίς οὖν ἢ τοιαύτη φιλία καὶ πίστις, ἐν ἧ̄ παρα γνώμην ἀλλήλους θεραπεύειν ἀναγκασθησόμεθα φυλάττοντες τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκάτεροι καιρούς; <sup>1</sup> ὑποψίαί δὲ δὴ τό γε μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ διαβολαὶ συνεχεῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων φθόνοι τε καὶ μίση καὶ πᾶσ' ἄλλη κακῶν ἰδέα καὶ πολὺς ὁ περὶ τοῦ φθᾶσαι διολέσαντας τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἀγών, ὡς <sup>2</sup> ἐν τῷ μέλλειν κειμένου τοῦ παθεῖν.

LXXIX. “Πολέμου δὲ πολιτικοῦ, ὡς ἅπαντες ἴσασι, κάκιον χρῆμα οὐδέν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ μὲν κρατηθέντα ἀτυχεῖ, τὰ δὲ κρατήσαντα ἀδικεῖ, καὶ περίεστι τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοῖς δὲ τὰ φίλτατα διολέσαι. ἐπὶ τοιαύταις δὴ τύχαις καὶ συμφοραῖς οὐκ εὐκταίαις μήτε ὑμεῖς, ᾧ πατρίκιοι, καλεῖτε ἡμᾶς, μήτε ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπακούωμεν, ᾧ δημόται, ἀλλ', ὡς διήρηκεν ἡμᾶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἡ·τύχη, στέργωμεν. ἐχέτωσαν μὲν οὖν <sup>3</sup> οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν ὅλην καὶ καρπούσθωσαν ἡμῶν δίχα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων ἀπολαυέτωσαν μόνοι, τοὺς ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἀδόξους δημότας ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος· ἀπαλλαττώμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁ δαίμων ἄγῃ, τόπον ἀλλότριον ἐκλιπεῖν νομίσαντες, οὐ <sup>2</sup> πόλιν ἰδίαν. οὔτε γὰρ ἡμῶν τινι ἐνθάδε ὑπολείπεται κλῆρος γῆς οὔτε πατρῶον ἐφέστιον οὔτε ἱερὰ κοινὰ οὔτε ἀξίωμα ὡς ἐν πατρίδι, ᾧν περιεχόμενοι φιλοχωροῦμεν ἂν καὶ παρὰ γνώμην,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> καιρούς R: κλήρους ABC.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς Steph.: ὁ AB.

compelled those agreements. What kind of friendship, therefore, and good faith is that under which we shall be obliged to court one another against our will while we each are watching for our own opportunities? And after this will come suspicions and continual accusations of one another, jealousies and hatreds and every other kind of evil, and a constant struggle to see which of us shall first effect the destruction of his adversary, each believing that in delay lies disaster.

LXXIX. "There is no greater evil, as all are aware, than civil war, in which the conquered are unfortunate and the conquerors are unjust, and it is the fate of the former to be destroyed by their dearest ones, and of the latter to destroy those who are dearest to them. To such misfortunes and to such abhorred calamities do not summon us, patricians, nor let us, plebeians, answer their summons, but let us acquiesce in the fate which has separated us. No, let them have the whole city to themselves and enjoy it without us, and let them reap alone every other advantage after they have driven the humble and obscure plebeians from the fatherland. As for us, let us depart whithersoever Heaven shall conduct us, feeling that we are leaving an alien place and not our own city. For there remains to none of us here either an allotment of land, or an ancestral hearth, or common sacrifices, or any position of dignity, such as one would possess in one's fatherland, the desire for which things might induce us to cling to this country even against our will; nay we have not even the liberty of our own persons which we

<sup>3</sup> οὖν added by Kiessling.

<sup>4</sup> μένειν after γνώμην deleted by Kiessling.

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ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἡ<sup>1</sup> τοῖς σώμασι μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων  
 ἐλευθερία· ἐπεὶ τὰ μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ πόλεμοι δι-  
 ἐφθειραν, τὰ δ' ἡ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίων σπάνις  
 ἐξανήλωσε, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων δανειστῶν  
 τούτων ἀφηρέθημεν· οἷς τελευτῶντες ἀναγκαζό-  
 μεθα<sup>2</sup> τοὺς ἑαυτῶν κλήρους οἱ δείλαιοι γεωργεῖν,  
 σκάπτουτες φυτεύοντες ἀρουῖντες ποιμνία νέμοντες  
 ὁμόδουλοι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν δορικτήτοις ἀνδραπόδοις  
 ὄντες, οἱ μὲν ἀλύσεισι<sup>3</sup> δεθέντες, οἱ δὲ πέδαις, οἱ δ'  
 ὥσπερ τὰ χαλεπώτατα τῶν θηρίων κλοιοῖς καὶ  
 3 μύδροις· αἰκίας δὲ δὴ καὶ προπηλακισμοὺς καὶ  
 μάστιγας καὶ πόνους ἐκ νυκτὸς εἰς νύκτα καὶ  
 πᾶσαν ἄλλην ὠμότητα καὶ ὕβριν καὶ ὑπερ-  
 ηφανίαν ἣν ὑπεμείναμεν ἐῷ· τοσοῦτων οὖν καὶ  
 τηλικούτων ἀπηλλαγμένοι κακῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 δαίμονος, ὄση σπουδὴ καὶ δύναμις ἐκάστῳ  
 πάρεστι, φεύγωμεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἄσμενοι τύχην  
 καὶ θεὸν οἷπερ ἡμᾶς σώζουσιν ἡγεμόνας<sup>4</sup> τῆς  
 ὁδοῦ ποιησάμενοι, πατρίδα νομίζοντες τὴν ἐλευ-  
 θερίαν καὶ πλοῦτον τὴν ἀρετὴν· πᾶσα γὰρ ἡμᾶς  
 ὑποδέξεται γῆ κοινωνούς, τὰ μὲν ἀλύπους ἐσομέ-  
 νους τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις, τὰ δ' ὠφελίμους.

LXXX. “ Παραδείγματα δὲ τούτων γενέσθω-  
 σαν ἡμῖν πολλοὶ τε Ἕλληνες πολλοὶ τε βάρβα-  
 ροι, μάλιστα δ' οἱ τούτων τε καὶ ἡμῶν πρόγονοι·  
 ὧν οἱ μὲν μετ' Αἰνείου συναναστάντες ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐν τῇ Λατίνων  
 γῆ πόλιν ὤκισαν, οἱ δ' ὕστερον ἐξ Ἄλβας  
 ἀναστάντες Ῥωμύλου τὴν ἀποικίαν ἄγοντος  
 ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς τόποις ἰδρύσαντο τὴν ὑφ' ἡμῶν

<sup>1</sup> μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων after ἡ deleted by Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> ἀναγκαζόμεθα O: ἡναγκαζόμεθα Reiske, Jacoby.

have purchased with many hardships. For some of these advantages have been destroyed by the many wars, some have been consumed by the scarcity of the necessaries of daily life, and of others we have been robbed by these haughty money-lenders, for whom we poor wretches are at last obliged to till our own allotments, digging, planting, ploughing, tending flocks, and becoming fellow-slaves with our own slaves taken by us in war, some of us being bound with chains, some with fetters, and others, like the most savage of wild beasts, dragging wooden clogs and iron balls. I say nothing of the tortures and insults, the stripes, the labours from dawn till dark, and every other cruelty, violence, and insolence that we have undergone. Accordingly, now that we are freed by Heaven from so many and so great evils, let us gladly fly from them with all the eagerness and ability each of us possesses, taking as the guides of our journey Fortune and the god who ever preserve us, and looking upon our liberty as our country and our valour as our wealth. For any land will receive us as partners, since we shall be no cause of offence in any case to those who receive us, and in some cases shall actually be of service.

LXXX. "Of this let many Greeks and many barbarians serve us as examples, particularly the ancestors of both these men and ourselves; some of whom, leaving Asia with Aeneas, came into Europe and built a city in the country of the Latins, and others, coming as colonists from Alba under the leadership of Romulus, built in these parts the city we are now

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<sup>3</sup> Reiske: *άλύσει* O.

<sup>4</sup> Sylburg: *ήγεμόνα* O.

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- 2 ἐκλειπομένην. ὑπάρχει τε ἡμῖν δύναμις οὐχ ὀλίγῳ πλείων μόνον τῆς ἐκείνοις γενομένης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τριπλασία, καὶ πρόφασις δικαιότερα τῆς μεταναστάσεως. οἱ μὲν γε<sup>1</sup> ἐξ Ἰλίου μεταναστάντες ὑπὸ πολεμίων ἐξηλαύνοντο, ἡμεῖς δ' αὐτόθεν ὑπὸ φίλων·<sup>2</sup> ἐλεεινότερον<sup>3</sup> δὲ δήπου τὸ πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων ἐλαύνεσθαι.
- 3 οἱ δὲ Ῥωμύλῳ συναράμενοι τῆς στρατείας ἐπὶ τῷ κτήσασθαι κρείττονα γῆν ὑπερεῖδον τῆς πατρώας· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἄπολιν καὶ τὸν ἀνέστιον ἐκλείποντες βίον, οὔτε θεοῖς ἐπίφθονον οὔτε ἀνθρώποις λυπηρὰν<sup>4</sup> οὔτε γῆν τινι βαρεῖαν στέλλομεν ἀποικίαν, οὐδὲ<sup>5</sup> δι' αἵματος καὶ φόνων ἐμφυλίων ἐλθόντες πρὸς τοὺς ἀπελαύνοντας ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ κακώσαντες τὴν ἐκλειπομένην γῆν, οὐδ' ἄλλο μνημόσυνον οὐδὲν αἰωνίου καταλιπόντες ἔχθρας, ὡς ταῖς παρεσπονδημέναις φυγαῖς<sup>6</sup> καὶ εἰς ἀβουλήτους ἀνάγκας
- 4 κατακλεισθείσαις ἔθος ἐστὶ δρᾶν. θεοὺς τε ἐπιμαρτυράμενοι καὶ δαίμονας, οἱ τὰ θνητὰ πάντα κατὰ δίκην ἄγουσι, καὶ καταλιπόντες ἐκείνοις ἀναπράξασθαι τὰς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δίκας, ἐκείνο μόνον ἀξιούμεν, οἷς ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τέκνα νήπια καὶ γονεῖς καὶ εἴ τινες ἄρα γυναῖκες ἡμῖν ἐθελήσουσι κοινωεῖν τῆς τύχης τὰ σώματα ἀπολαβεῖν. ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀπόχρη λαβεῖν, καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδενὸς ἄλλου δεόμεθα τῶν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος. ἀλλ' εὐτυχεῖτε καὶ ζῆτε βίον ὃν ἂν προαιρήσθε, οὕτως ἀπολίτευτα καὶ ἀκοινωνήτα πρὸς τοὺς ταπεινοτέρους φρονοῦντες.”

<sup>1</sup> μὲν γε B: μέντοι γε A.

<sup>3</sup> Sylburg: ἐλεεινόν O.

<sup>2</sup> φίλων A: φιλίων B.

<sup>4</sup> Sylburg: λυπηρόν O.



leaving. We have with us forces not merely a little larger than they had, but actually three times their number, and a more just cause for removing. For those who removed from Troy were driven out by enemies, but we are driven hence by friends; and it is a more pitiable experience doubtless to be expelled by one's own people than by foreigners. Those who took part in the expedition of Romulus scorned the country of their ancestors in the hope of acquiring a better; but we, who are abandoning the life which had for us no city and no hearth, are going forth as a colony that will be neither hateful to the gods nor troublesome to men nor grievous to any country, and moreover we have not inflicted bloodshed and slaughter upon the kinsmen who are driving us forth, nor have we laid waste with fire and sword the country we are leaving, nor left behind any other memorial of an everlasting hatred, as is the usual practice of people who are driven into exile in violation of treaties and reduced to unenviable straits. And calling to witness the gods and other divinities who direct all human affairs with justice, and leaving it to them to avenge our wrongs, we make but this one request, that those of us who have left in the city infant children and parents, and wives, in case these shall be willing to share our fortunes, may get them back. We are satisfied to receive these, and we ask for naught else besides from our fatherland. But fare you well and lead the life you choose, you who are so unwilling to associate as fellow-citizens and to share your blessings with those of humbler estate."

<sup>5</sup> ἀλλ' before οὐδέ deleted by Reiske.

<sup>6</sup> φυγαῖς Sintenis: φυλαῖς AB.

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LXXXI. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Βροῦτος τοιούτους εἰπὼν λόγους ἐπαύσατο· τοῖς δὲ παροῦσιν ὅσα τε περὶ τῶν δικαίων εἶπεν ἀληθῆ εἶναι ἐδόκει καὶ ὅσα τῆς ὑπεροψίας τοῦ συνεδρίου κατηγόρησε, μάλιστα δ' ἐν οἷς τὸ ἀσφαλές τῶν ὁμολογιῶν δόλου μεστὸν ἀπεδείκνυε καὶ ἀπάτης. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς ὕβρεις τελευτῶν διῆλθεν ἃς ἦσαν ὑβρισμένοι ὑπὸ τῶν δανειστῶν, καὶ τῶν οἰκειῶν ἕκαστον ἀνέμνησε κακῶν, οὐδεὶς ἦν στερρὸς οὕτω τὴν διάνοιαν ὅς οὐκ ἐξετήκετο <sup>1</sup> τοῖς δάκρυσιν καὶ ἀνεκλαίετο τὰς κοινὰς συμφορὰς· καὶ τοῦτ' οὐκ αὐτοῖς μόνοις συνέβαινε παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἦκουσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ πρέσβεις τὰ δάκρυα κατέχειν ἴσχυον ἐνθυμούμενοι τὰς ἐκ τοῦ διοικισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀτυχίας, καὶ πολὺς ἦν χρόνος ἐν ᾧ κατηφεῖς καὶ δεδακρυμένοι καὶ τί χρῆ λέγειν <sup>2</sup> ἀποροῦντες εἰστήκεσαν. ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ τε πολὺς θρήνος ἐπαύσατο καὶ σιωπὴ κατέσχε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, παρήλθεν ἀπολογησόμενος πρὸς <sup>2</sup> ταῦτα, ὅσπερ ἐδόκει τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν <sup>3</sup> ἡλικία τε προὔχειν καὶ ἀξιῶσει, Τίτος Λάρκιος, ὃς δις ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπάτος δυναστεία τε τῇ καλουμένῃ δικτατορία <sup>4</sup> κράτιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων χρησάμενος ἱερὰν καὶ σεβασμοῦ μεστὴν ἐποίησε νομισθῆναι τὴν ἐπίφθονον ἀρχήν. ἐπιβαλλόμενος δὲ <sup>3</sup> περὶ <sup>5</sup> τοῦ δικαίου ποιεῖσθαι λόγους, καὶ τὰ μὲν

<sup>1</sup> ἐξετήκετο Naber: ἐξεχεῖτο O, Jacoby, ἐκέχυτο Steph.<sup>2</sup>; ἐξεχεῖτο εἰς δάκρυα Reiske, ἐξέχει τὰ δάκρυα Jacoby (in note).

<sup>2</sup> πρὸς added by Sylburg.

<sup>3</sup> πολιτῶν O: βουλευτῶν Kayser, πλεῖστον Kiessling.

<sup>4</sup> δυναστεία τε (om. τε Jacoby) τῇ καλουμένῃ δικτατορία Pflugk, Jacoby: δυναστείας τῆς καλουμένης δικτατορίας ἢ AB.

LXXXI. With these words Brutus ended his speech. All who were present regarded as true everything he said about principles of justice, as also the charges he made respecting the arrogance of the senate, but particularly what he said to show that the assurance offered for the performance of the agreement was full of fraud and deceit. But when at the last he described the abuses which the people had suffered at the hands of the money-lenders, and put every man in mind of his own misfortunes, no one was so stout of heart as not to be melted away by tears and to bewail their common calamities. And not only the people were affected in this manner, but likewise those who had come from the senate; for even the envoys could not restrain their tears when they considered the misfortunes that had arisen from the breaking up of the city, and for a long time they stood with eyes downcast and full of tears, and at a loss what to say. But after this great lamentation had ceased and silence fell upon the assembly, there came forward to answer these accusations a man who seemed to excel the rest of the citizens<sup>1</sup> in both age and rank. This was Titus Larcius, who had twice been chosen consul and had of all men made the best use of the power called the dictatorship, causing that invidious magistracy to be looked upon as sacred and worthy of all respect. He, undertaking to speak to the point of justice, now censured the money-lenders for having

<sup>1</sup> The word "citizens" is suspicious here; see the critical note. Kayser proposed to read "senators," while Kiessling wished to substitute an adverb, "very greatly," modifying "excel."

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<sup>5</sup> *περὶ* B: *τοὺς περὶ* R.

τοῖς δανειστικοῖς ἐγκαλῶν ὡς ὠμὰ καὶ ἀπάνθρωπα διαπεπραγμένοις, τὰ δὲ τῶν πενήτων καθαπτόμενος ὡς οὐ δικαίως<sup>1</sup> ἀξιούντων βία μᾶλλον ἀφεῖσθαι τῶν ὀφειλημάτων ἢ χάριτι, καὶ ὡς τὴν βουλήν οὐκ ὀρθῶς δι' ὀργῆς ἐχόντων ἐπὶ τῷ μηθενὸς τῶν μετρίων παρ' αὐτῆς τυγχάνειν, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχὶ  
 4 τοὺς αἰτίους· πειρώμενός τε ἀποφαίνειν βραχὺ μὲν ὑπάρχον τοῦ δήμου τὸ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἀδικοῦν, ὑπὸ δὲ μήκουσ ἀπορίας ἠναγκασμένον αἰτεῖσθαι τὴν ἄφεσιν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον ἀκολασία καὶ ὕβρει καὶ τῷ καθ' ἡδονὰς ζῆν ἐφεικὸς καὶ δι' ἀρπαγῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὑπηρετεῖν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις παρεσκευασμένον, διακρίνεσθαι τε οἰόμενος δεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλεεινῶν τὰ πονηρὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φιλανθρωπίας δεομένων τὰ μίσους ἄξια, καὶ τοιούτους τινὰς ἄλλους διατιθέμενος<sup>2</sup> λόγους, ἀληθεῖς μὲν, οὐχ ἅπασι δὲ τοῖς ἀκούουσι κεχαρισμένους, οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλὰ θροῦς ἦν ἐφ' ἐκάστω πολὺς καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγανακτήσεις ὡς ἐξαιμάττοντος τὰς λύπας, τῶν δ' ἐξομολογήσεις ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν ἀληθῶν ἀποκρυπτομένου· ἔλαττον δὲ πολλῶ τοῦτ' ἦν θατέρου<sup>3</sup> τὸ μέρος, ὥστε ἠφανίζοντο τῷ πολλῷ καὶ περιῆν ἡ τοῦ ἀγανακτοῦντος βοή.

LXXXII. Ὀλίγα δὲ τούτοις ἔτι προσθέντος τοῦ Λαρκίου καὶ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως<sup>4</sup> αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς προπετείας τῶν βουλευμάτων καθαψαμένου παραλαβῶν τὸν λόγον ὁ τοῦ δήμου προεστηκὼς τότε Σικίννιος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐτράχυνε τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν,

<sup>1</sup> Reiske: δίκαια O.

<sup>2</sup> διατιθέμενος Cobet: καθιστάμενος O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> Sylburg: θάτερον O.

acted with cruelty and inhumanity, and now reproached the poor for unjustly demanding to be relieved of their debts through violence rather than as a favour, and told them they were in the wrong to direct their anger against the senate for their failure to obtain any reasonable concession from that body, instead of against those who were really to blame. He also endeavoured to show that, while there was a small part of the people whose offence was involuntary and who were forced by their extreme poverty to demand the remission of their debts, yet the greater part of them were abandoned to licence and insolence and to a life of pleasure, and were prepared to gratify their desires by robbing others; and he thought a difference ought to be made between the unfortunate and the depraved, and between those who needed kindness and those who deserved hatred. And though he advanced other arguments of this kind, which, while true enough, were not pleasing to all his hearers, he could not persuade them; but everything he said was received with a great murmur, some being indignant at his opening their griefs afresh, and others owning that he concealed no part of the truth; but the latter group was much smaller than the other, so that it was drowned out by numbers, and the clamour of the indignant group prevailed.

LXXXII. After Larcus had added a few more remarks to those I have reported and had reproached the people for their uprising and the precipitancy of their resolutions, Sicinius, who was then at the head of the populace, replied and inflamed their passions still

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<sup>4</sup> ἐπαναστάσεως O: ἀπαναστάσεως Portus, ἐπανατάσεως Cobet.

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λέγων ὡς ἐκ τούτων ἂν δύναιντο μάλιστα τῶν λόγων καταμαθεῖν οἶαι τιμαὶ καὶ χάριτες αὐτοὺς ὑποδέξονται κατελθόντας εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.

- 2 “ Οἷς γὰρ ἐν ἀκμῇ τῶν δεινῶν οὔσι καὶ δεομένοις τῆς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου βοηθείας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦθ’ ἤκουσιν οὐδὲ νῦν ἐπέρχεται μετρίους καὶ φιλανθρώπους ποιεῖσθαι λόγους, τίνα χρὴ δοκεῖν παραστήσεσθαι διάνοιαν ὅταν αὐτοῖς κατ’ ἐλπίδα χωρήσῃ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ γένηται τὰ νῦν ὑβριζόμενα τοῖς λόγοις ὑποχείρια τοῖς ἔργοις; ποίας ὑπερηφανίας αὐτοὺς ἀφέξεσθαι, ποίας αἰκίας,
- 3 ποίας ὠμότητος τυραννικῆς; ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ὑμῖν ἀπόχρη δουλεύειν ἅπαντα τὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον δεδεμένοις καὶ μαστιγουμένοις καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ λιμῶ καὶ πάσῃ λώβῃ ἀπολλυμένοις, μὴ τρίβετε τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὄπλα ρίψαντές τε καὶ τῷ χεῖρε περιαγαγόντες ἀκολουθεῖτε αὐτοῖς· εἰ δὲ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔνεστιν ὑμῖν τις πόθος, μὴ ἀνέχεσθε αὐτῶν. ὑμεῖς τε, ὧ πρόσβεις, ἢ λέγετε ἐφ’ οἷς καλεῖτε ἡμᾶς δικαίους, ἢ μὴ λέγοντες ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἄπιτε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔτι μεταδοίημεν ὑμῖν λόγον.”

LXXXIII. Ὡς δ’ ἐπαύσατο, πάντες οἱ παρόντες ἐπεθορύβησαν ὡς τὰ δέοντα λελογισμένῳ συγκατατιθέμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡσυχίας γενομένης Μενήνιος Ἀγρίππας, ὅσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ λόγους ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου διέθετο καὶ τοῦ πεμφθῆναι τὴν αὐτοκράτορα πρεσβείαν γνώμην<sup>1</sup> ἀποφηνάμενος αἰτιώτατος ἦν, διεσήμηνεν ὅτι βούλεται καὶ αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν. τοῖς δὲ κατ’ εὐχὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφάνη καὶ νυνὶ γέ τοι λόγων ὑπέλαβον ἀκούσεσθαι

<sup>1</sup> γνώμην O: τὴν γνώμην Kiessling, Jacoby.

more, saying that from these words of Larcius in particular they might learn what honours and gratitude would await them when they returned to their country. "For if to those who are in the direst straits, who are imploring the assistance of the people, and have come hither for that purpose, it does not occur even now to speak words of moderation and humanity, what sentiments must we expect them to entertain when things have succeeded according to their wishes, and when those who are now insulted by their words become subject to their deeds? From what arrogance, from what abusive treatment, from what tyrannical cruelty will they refrain? But if you are contented to be slaves all your lives, to be bound, scourged, and destroyed by fire, sword, famine, and every other abuse, don't waste any time, but throw down your arms, offer your hands to be bound behind you, and follow them. But if you have any craving for liberty, do not bear with them. And as for you, envoys, either state the terms upon which you summon us or, if you will not do so, withdraw from the assembly. For after this we shall not give you leave to speak."

LXXXIII. When he had ceased speaking, all present shouted uproariously, showing that they approved of his reasoning and agreed with him. Then, when silence prevailed, Menenius Agrippa, he who had delivered the speech in the senate in behalf of the people and had, more than any other, brought about, by the motion he had offered, the sending of the envoys clothed with full powers, signified that he too wished to speak. The people looked upon this as the best thing they could ask, and now at least expected to hear proposals tending to a sincere

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συμβάσεις ἀληθινὰς καὶ γνώμας σωτηρίου<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>2</sup> ἀμφοῖν ἐχόντων. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπερρόθησαν  
 ἅπαντες βοῇ μεγάλη λέγειν κελεύοντες· ἔπειτα  
 ἐπέσχον, καὶ σιγῇ τοσαύτῃ κατέλαβε τὴν ἐκ-  
 κλησίαν ὥστε μῆθὲν<sup>2</sup> διαλλάξαι τὸν τόπον ἐρημίας.  
 ὁ δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν πιθανωτάτοις ἔδοξε  
 χρήσασθαι λόγοις καὶ τοῦ βουλήματος<sup>3</sup> τῶν  
 ἀκουόντων ἐστοχασμένοις, τελευτῶν δὲ τῆς δημ-  
 ηγορίας λέγεται μῦθόν τινα εἰπεῖν εἰς τὸν Αἰσώ-  
 πειον τρόπον συμπλάσας πολλὴν ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὰ  
 πράγματα ἔχοντα, καὶ τούτῳ μάλιστ' αὐτοὺς  
 ἐλείν· ὅθεν καὶ μνήμης ἀξιούται<sup>4</sup> ὁ λόγος καὶ  
 φέρεται ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἀρχαίαις ἱστορίαις. ἦν  
 δὲ τὰ λεχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοιάδε·

<sup>3</sup> “ Ἡμεῖς ἀπεστάλημεν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς,<sup>5</sup> ὧ  
 δημόται, πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὔτε ἀπολογησόμενοι ὑπὲρ  
 ἐκείνης οὔτε ὑμῶν κατηγορήσοντες (οὐ γὰρ ἔδοκει  
 ταῦτα καιρὸν ἔχειν οὐδ' εἶναι ταῖς κατεχούσαις τὸ  
 κοινὸν τύχαις πρόσφορα), ἀλλὰ διαλύσοντες ἀπάσῃ  
 προθυμία καὶ μηχανῇ τὴν στάσιν καὶ καταστή-  
 στοντες εἰς τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κόσμον τὴν πολιτείαν,  
 ἔχοντες δὲ τούτου τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοκράτορα.  
 ὥστε περὶ μὲν τῶν δικαίων οὐδὲν ἂν οἰόμεθα δεῖν,  
 ὅπερ Ἰούνιος ἐποίησεν οὕτως,<sup>6</sup> μακρὸν ἐκμηκύν-  
 νειν λόγον.<sup>7</sup> ἐφ' οἷς δὲ φιλανθρώποις διαλύσαι  
 τὴν στάσιν οἰόμεθα δεῖν, καὶ τίς ἢ βεβαιώσουσα  
 τὰς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν ἔσται πίστις, περὶ τούτων ἂ  
<sup>4</sup> διεγνώκαμεν ἐροῦμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἡμῖν ἐνθυμου-

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg: σωτηρίας O.

<sup>2</sup> Portus: μῆθενι AB.

<sup>3</sup> Sylburg: βουλευμάτος O.

<sup>4</sup> ἀξιούται O: ἡξίωται Kiessling.

<sup>5</sup> ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς Sylburg: ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου O.



accommodation and advice salutary to both parties. And first they all roared their approval, calling to him with a great shout to speak; then they became quiet, and so great silence prevailed in the assembly that the place was as lushed as a desert. He seemed to employ in general the most persuasive arguments possible and those which gauged well the inclinations of his audience; and at the end of his speech he is said to have related a kind of fable that he composed after the manner of Aesop and that bore a close resemblance to the situation of the moment, and by this means chiefly to have won them over. For this reason his speech is thought worthy of record and it is quoted in all the ancient histories. His discourse was as follows:

“We have been sent to you by the senate, plebeians, neither to excuse them nor to accuse you (for neither of these courses seemed to be opportune or suited to the conditions now disturbing the commonwealth), but to use every effort and every means to put an end to the sedition and to restore the government to its original form; and for that purpose we are invested with full powers. So that we do not think it at all necessary to discourse at great length, as Junius here has done, concerning principles of justice; but as regards the humane terms on which we think we ought to put an end to the sedition, and the assurance you shall have for the performance of our agreement, we shall tell you the decisions to which we have come. When we considered that

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<sup>6</sup> Cobet: οὔτος Ο.

<sup>7</sup> μακρὸν ἐκμηκύνειν λόγον Meutzner: εἰς μακρὸν ἐκμηκύνων χρόνον Ο, εἰς μακρὸν ἐκμηκύνειν χρόνον Jacoby.

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μένοις ὅτι πᾶσα θεραπεύεται στάσις ἐξ ἀπάσης  
 πόλεως ὅταν ἐξαιρεθῶσιν αἱ παρασχοῦσαι τὴν  
 διαφορὰν αἰτίαι, ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὰς  
 ἀρχηγούς τῆς διχοστασίας προφάσεις γνῶναί τε  
 καὶ παῦσαι. εὐρόντες δὲ τὰς ἀποτόμους τῶν  
 δανείων ἀναπράξεις τῶν παρόντων κακῶν αἰτίας  
 γεγυίας, οὕτως αὐτὰς διορθούμεθα· τοὺς ὀφεί-  
 λοντας χρέα καὶ μὴ δυναμένους διαλύσασθαι  
 πάντας ἀφείσθαι τῶν ὀφλημάτων δικαιούμεν· καὶ  
 εἴ τινων ἤδη τὰ σώματα ὑπερημέρων ὄντων ταῖς  
 νομίμοις προθεσμίαις κατέχεται, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐλεύ-  
 θερα εἶναι κρίνομεν· ὅσοι τε δίκαις ἀλόντες  
 ἰδίαις παρεδόθησαν τοῖς καταδικασαμένοις, καὶ  
 τούτους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι βουλόμεθα, καὶ τὰς κατα-  
 5 γνώσεις αὐτῶν ἀκύρους ποιοῦμεν. περὶ μὲν δὴ  
 τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου συμβολαίων,  
 ἃ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν ποιῆσαι, τοῦτον  
 ἐπανορθούμεθα τὸν τρόπον· περὶ δὲ τῶν ὕστερον  
 ἐσομένων, ὡς ἂν ὑμῖν τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ  
 τοῦ συνεδρίου κοινῇ βουλευσαμένοις <sup>1</sup> φανῆ, νόμου  
 κυρωθέντος, οὕτως ἐχέτω. οὐχὶ ταῦτα μέντοι τὰ  
 διαστήσαντα ὑμᾶς ἦν ἀπὸ τῶν πατρικίων, ὧ δὴ μὶ-  
 νται, καὶ τούτων εἰ τύχοιτε ἀποχρῆν ὑμῖν ᾤεσθε <sup>2</sup>  
 καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ὠρέγεσθε; <sup>3</sup> δίδοται νῦν ὑμῖν·  
 ἅπιτε ἤδη χαίροντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.

LXXXIV. “ Αἱ δὲ βεβαιώσουςαι τὰς ὁμο-  
 λογίας ταύτας καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ὑμῖν παρέξουσαι  
 πίστεις ἔσονται πᾶσαι νόμιμοί τε καὶ ἐν ἔθει τοῖς

every sedition in any state is cured only when the causes that produced the disagreement are removed, we thought it necessary both to discover and to put an end to the primary causes of this dissension. And having found that the harsh exactions of debts have been the cause of the present ills, we are reforming those exactions as follows: We think it just that all those who have contracted debts and are unable to pay them should be relieved of their obligations; and if the persons of any who are in default in their payments are already held under restraint by the limit for payment prescribed by law, it is our decision that these also shall be free. As for those who have been convicted in private suits and handed over to the creditors who won their suits against them, it is our wish that these also shall be free, and we set aside their sentences. With regard to your debts of the past, therefore, which seemed to us to have led to your secession, we redress them in this manner; as to your future debts, whatever shall be approved of both by you, the people, and by the senate in joint consultation, after a law has been passed for that purpose, let it be so ordered. Are not these the things, plebeians, that divided you from the patricians? And did you not think it enough if you obtained these, without aiming at anything else? They are now granted to you. Return, then, to your country with joy.

LXXXIV. "The assurances which shall confirm this agreement and secure to you the performance of it shall all be according to law and conformable to

<sup>1</sup> βουλευσαμένοις O: βουλευσομένοις Bücheler, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> ᾤεσθε ABa: οἴεσθε Bb.

<sup>3</sup> ὠρέγεσθε A: ὦρ . . . σθαι Ba, ὀρέγεσθε Bb.

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διαλυομένοις τὰς ἔχθρας. ἐπιψηφιεῖται μὲν ἡ  
 βουλή ταῦτα καὶ νόμου τάξιν ἀποδώσει τοῖς  
 γραφησομένοις· μᾶλλον δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐνθάδε  
 γραφέσθω τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ ἡ βουλή τούτοις πεί-  
 2 σεται. τοῦ δὲ μενεῖν<sup>1</sup> βέβαια τὰ συγχωρούμενα  
 νῦν, καὶ μηδὲν ὕστερον ἐναντίον αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς  
 βουλῆς ἐξενεχθήσεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ  
 πρέσβεις ἀνάδοχοι, διδόντες ὑμῖν σώματα καὶ  
 ψυχὰς καὶ γενεὰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐνέχυρα·<sup>2</sup> ἔπειτα  
 οἱ ἄλλοι βουλευταί, ὅσοι τῷ ψηφίσματι συνεγ-  
 γραφήσονται· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ποτε ἀκόντων ἡμῶν  
 γραφήσεται τι κατὰ τοῦ δήμου· οἱ γὰρ ἡγούμενοι  
 τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ πρῶτοι τὰς αὐτῶν γνώμας  
 3 ἀποφαινόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν. τελευ-  
 ταία δὲ πίστις ἅπασιν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις Ἑλληνί-  
 τε καὶ βαρβάροις, ἣν οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἀναιρήσει  
 χρόνος, ἢ δι' ὄρκων καὶ σπονδῶν ἐγγυητὰς θεοὺς  
 ποιουμένη τῶν συμβάσεων· ὑφ' ἧς πολλαὶ μὲν  
 ἰδιωτῶν ἔχθραι πικραί,<sup>3</sup> πολλοὶ δὲ πόλεμοι  
 πόλεσι πρὸς πόλεις συστάντες διηλλάγησαν. καὶ  
 ταύτην ἴτε<sup>4</sup> λαμβάνετε<sup>5</sup> τὴν πίστιν, εἴτ' ὀλί-  
 γοις ἐπιτρέπετε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῦ συνεδρίου  
 περὶ ὅλης ὑμῖν δοῦναι τῆς βουλῆς τοὺς ὄρκους,  
 εἴτε πάντας ἀξιούτε τοὺς ἐγγραφομένους<sup>6</sup> τοῖς  
 δόγμασιν ὀμνύειν καθ' ἱερῶν ἢ μὴν βέβαια τὰ  
 4 συγκεείμενα φυλάξειν. δεξιὰς δὲ καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ  
 πίστεις ἐπὶ θεῶν γιγνομένας<sup>7</sup> μήτε σὺ διάβαλλε,

<sup>1</sup> Cobet: μένειν O.

<sup>2</sup> ἐνέχυρα A: ὄμηρα B.

<sup>3</sup> Reiske: μικραὶ O.

<sup>4</sup> ἴτε Sintenis: εἴτε O, εἴ γε Reiske, εἴ τινα Jacoby, ἔτι Post, ἦδη Pflugk.

the practice of those who put an end to their enmities. The senate will confirm these arrangements by a vote and give the force of law to the conditions that shall be drawn up. But rather let your demands be drawn up by you here, and the senate will agree to them. That the concessions now made to you will stand firm and unchanged and that nothing contrary to them shall be carried out later by the senate, first, we envoys are your sureties, giving you our persons, our lives, and our families as pledges; and in the next place, all the other senators who shall be named in the decree. For no decree will ever be drawn up contrary to the interests of the people so long as we oppose it, since we are the leading members of the senate and always deliver our opinions first. The last assurance we shall give you is that in use among all men, both Greeks and barbarians, which no lapse of time shall ever overthrow, namely, the one which through oaths and treaties makes the gods sureties for the performance of agreements. Under this assurance many bitter enmities between private individuals and many wars that have arisen between states have been composed. Come now, accept this assurance also, whether you permit a few of the principal members of the senate to give you their oaths in the name of their whole body, or think fit that all the senators who are named in the decree shall swear over the sacrificial victims to maintain the agreement inviolable. Do not traduce, Brutus, assurances given under the sanction of the gods and confirmed by the pledging of hands and by treaties,

<sup>5</sup> λαμβάνετε Bb : λαμβάνεται ABa.

<sup>6</sup> Cobet : ἐπιγραφομένους O, Jacoby.

<sup>7</sup> γιγνομένας B : γενομένας R.

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Βροῦτε, μήτ' ἀναίρει τὸ κάλλιστον ἐπιτήδευμα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, μηδ' ὑμεῖς ἀνάσχησθε αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἀνοσίων καὶ τυραννικῶν ἀνθρώπων πονηρεύματα, ἃ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρετῆς πολὺ ἀπέχει.

LXXXV. “Μίαν εἰπὼν ἔτι τὴν οὔτε ἀγνωμένην ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ἀμφισβητούμενην παύσομαι. τίς δ' ἔστιν αὕτη; ἢ τὸ κοινῇ<sup>1</sup> συμφέρον εἰσάγουσα καὶ δι' ἀλλήλων ἀμφοτέρα ποιῶσα σώζεσθαι τὰ μέρη. αὕτη μέντοι πρώτη καὶ μόνη συνάγει τε ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ οὐκ ἐάσει ποτὲ δίχ' ἀλλήλων γενέσθαι. δεῆσεται γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ οὐδέποτε παύσεται δεόμενον τὸ μὲν ἀμαθὲς πλῆθος ἔμφρονος ἡγεμονίας, τὸ δ' ἡγέισθαι δυνάμενον βουλευτήριον τῶν ἄρχεσθαι βουλομένων ὄχλων· καὶ οὐ δόξῃ μόνον τοῦτ' εἰκάσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ πειραθέντες ἴσμεν. τί οὖν δεδιττόμεθα καὶ πράγματα παρέχομεν ἀλλήλοις; τί δὲ λόγους πονηροὺς λέγομεν χρηστὰ πράγματα ἔχοντες ἐν χερσίν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναπτύξαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τῷ χεῖρε περιβαλόντες<sup>2</sup> ἀλλήλοις ἄπιμεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα παλαιὰν τέρψιν τῶν ἡδίστων καὶ πόθον ἀπάντων γλυκύτατον ἀποληψόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπιζητοῦμεν ἀσφαλείας ἀγενήτους<sup>3</sup> καὶ πίστεισ ἀπίστους, ὥσπερ οἱ πολεμιώτατοι καὶ πάντα ὑποπτεύοντες ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον; ἡμῖν<sup>4</sup> μὲν, ὧ δημόται, τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου μία πίστις ἀπόχρη περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἂν ποτε ὑμᾶς<sup>5</sup> γενέσθαι περὶ ἡμᾶς, εἰ κατέλθοιτε, κακοὺς, τροφάς τε ὑμῶν ἀγαθὰς εἰδόσι καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα νόμιμα τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Kiessling: κοινὸν O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> περιβαλόντες R: περιβάλλοντες AB.

<sup>3</sup> ἀγενήτους O: ἀνηνύτους Sintenis.

nor destroy the noblest of all human institutions; and as for you, plebeians, do not permit him to mention the wicked deeds of impious and tyrannical men, deeds far removed from the virtue of the Romans.

LXXXV. "I shall mention one other assurance which no man fails to know or questions, and then have done. And what is that? It is the assurance that introduces the common advantage and preserves both parts of the state through their mutual assistance. This, after all, is the first and only assurance that draws us together, and it will never permit us to be sundered from each other. For the ignorant multitude will always need and never cease to need prudent leadership, while the senate, which is capable of leadership, will always need multitudes willing to be ruled. This we know, not merely as a matter of opinion and conjecture, but also by actual experience. Why, then, do we terrify and trouble one another? Why do we speak evil words when we have kindly deeds in our power? Why do we not rather open our arms and, embracing one another, return to our country to find there our old-time enjoyment of the dearest pleasures and the satisfaction of a yearning that is sweetest of all, instead of seeking securities that come to naught and faithless assurances, as do the deadliest foes who suspect the worst of everything? As for us of the senate, plebeians, one assurance suffices, that you will never, if you return, behave yourselves badly toward us, and that is the knowledge we have of your excellent rearing, of your law-abiding habits,

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<sup>4</sup> ἡμῖν B: ὑμῖν R.

<sup>5</sup> Sylburg: ἡμᾶς O.

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τε ἄλλην ἀρετὴν, ἣν πολλάκις ἀπεδείξασθε καὶ ἐν  
 3 εἰρήνῃ καὶ κατὰ πολέμους. καὶ εἴ γε<sup>1</sup> δι' ἀνάγκη  
 τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἐλπίδος<sup>2</sup> τὰ συμβόλαια  
 κοινῆς ἐπανορθώσεως τύχοι, τὰ γοῦν ἄλλα πιστεύ-  
 ομεν ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι ἀγαθοὺς<sup>3</sup> καὶ οὐδὲν δεόμεθα  
 οὔτε ὄρκων οὔτε ὁμῶν οὔτε ἄλλης πίστεως  
 παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους οὐδεμιᾶς· ὑμῖν μέντοι γε πρὸς  
 οὐδὲν τῶν ἀξιουμένων ἐναντιωσόμεθα. καὶ περὶ  
 μὲν τῆς πίστεως, ἐφ' ἣ διαβάλλειν ἡμᾶς Βρούτος  
 ἐπεχείρει,<sup>4</sup> ταῦτα ἱκανά. εἰ δέ τις ὑμῖν φθόνος οὐ  
 δίκαιος ἐγκάθηται πονηρὰ περὶ τῆς βουλῆς δια-  
 νοεῖσθαι πείθων, βούλομαί τινα καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον  
 εἰπεῖν λόγον, ὧ δημόται· καί μου πρὸς θεῶν μεθ'  
 ἡσυχίας καὶ προσοχῆς ἀκούσατε.

LXXXVI. “Ἐοικέ πως ἀνθρωπέω σώματι  
 πόλις. σύνθετον γὰρ καὶ<sup>5</sup> ἐκ πολλῶν μερῶν  
 ἐστὶν ἐκάτερον· καὶ οὔτε δύναμιν ἔχει ἕκαστον  
 τὴν αὐτὴν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μερῶν οὔτε χρείας  
 2 παρέχεται τὰς ἴσας. εἰ δὴ λάβοι τὰ μέρη τοῦ  
 ἀνθρωπέου σώματος ἰδίαν αἴσθησιν καθ' αὐτὰ  
 καὶ φωνήν, ἔπειτα στάσις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι καθ'  
 ἐν γενομένοις τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα  
 μόνην, καὶ λέγοιεν οἱ μὲν πόδες, ὅτι πᾶν ἐπ'  
 αὐτοῖς ἐπίκειται τὸ σῶμα· αἱ δὲ χεῖρες, ὅτι τὰς  
 τέχνας ἐργάζονται καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεῖα ἐκπορίζουσι  
 καὶ μάχονται πολεμίοις καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ὠφελή-  
 ματα παρέχουσιν εἰς τὸ κοινόν· οἱ δὲ ὦμοι, ὅτι

<sup>1</sup> εἴ γε lost, εἴ τι Reiske: εἴ τε AB.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνάγκη is possibly corrupt; Post would make it intelligible by supplying κρείττονα after ἐλπίδος.

<sup>3</sup> ἀγαθοὺς (or ἀγαθοῖς) Reiske: ἀγαθὰ O.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπεχείρει ABa: ἐπιχειρεῖ Bb.

<sup>5</sup> Cobet proposed to delete καί.



and of all your other virtues, of which you have given many proofs both in peace and in war. And if, as a necessary consequence<sup>1</sup> of this assurance and expectation, the contracts should be revised by us jointly, we are confident that in all other respects at least you will be good citizens, and we have no need of either oaths or hostages or any other assurances from the people. However, we shall oppose you in nothing you desire. Concerning the matter of assurances, then, upon which subject Brutus endeavoured to malign us, this is enough. But if any groundless hatred is implanted in your minds, causing you to entertain a bad opinion of the senate, I desire to speak to that point also, plebeians, and I beg of you in the name of the gods to hear me with silence and attention.

LXXXVI. "A commonwealth resembles in some measure a human body. For each of them is composite and consists of many parts; and no one of their parts either has the same function or performs the same services as the others. If, now, these parts of the human body should be endowed, each for itself, with perception and a voice of its own and a sedition should then arise among them, all of them uniting against the belly alone, and the feet should say that the whole body rests on them; the hands, that they ply the crafts, secure provisions, fight with enemies, and contribute many other advantages toward the common good; the shoulders, that they

<sup>1</sup> This is an attempt to get a plausible meaning out of the text as it stands. Post would add an adjective and get: "because of compulsion too strong for this assurance," etc. It is possible, however, the *ἀνάγκην* ("compulsion") has replaced a word meaning "inadequacy," "violation," or the like.

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τὰ ἄχθη πάντα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κομίζεται· τὸ δὲ στόμα, ὅτι φθέγγεται· ἢ δὲ κεφαλὴ, ὅτι ὄρα καὶ ἀκούει καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις περιλαβοῦσα πάσας ἔχει<sup>1</sup> δι' ὧν σώζεται τὸ πρᾶγμα· εἶτα φαίεν πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα· 'Σὺ δ', ὦ χρηστή, τί τούτων ποιεῖς ἢ τίς ἐστίν ἢ σὴ χάρις ἡμῖν καὶ ὠφέλεια; ἀλλὰ σύ γε τοσοῦτον ἀπέχεις τοῦ πράττειν καὶ συγκατορθοῦν ἡμῖν τι<sup>2</sup> τῶν κοινῇ χρησίμων ὥστε καὶ ἀντιπράττεις καὶ ἐνοχλεῖς καὶ, πρᾶγμα ἀφόρητον, ὑπηρετεῖν ἀναγκάζεις<sup>3</sup> καὶ φέρειν ἀπανταχόθεν εἰς τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν σεαυτῆς ἐπιθυμιῶν.

<sup>3</sup> φέρε, τί οὐ μεταποιούμεθα τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀφιέμεθα πραγματειῶν ἄς ἔνεκα ταύτης ὑπομένομεν;' εἰ δὴ ταῦτα δόξειεν αὐτοῖς καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι δρώη τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον, ἔσθ' ὅπως ἂν ἐπὶ πολὺ<sup>4</sup> διαρκέσαι δυνηθεῖη τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν τῷ κακίστῳ τῶν μόρων ἀναλωθεῖη, λιμῷ; οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι ἄλλως τις εἰπεῖν. τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον ὑπολάβετε καὶ περὶ

<sup>4</sup> πόλεως. πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ τὰ συμπληροῦντα καὶ ταύτην ἔθνη καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλήλοις εἰκότα, ὧν ἕκαστον ἰδίαν τινὰ τῷ κοινῷ χρεῖαν ὥσπερ τὰ μέλη τῷ σώματι παρέχεται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἀγροὺς γεωργοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ μάχονται περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ δ' ἐμπορεύονται πολλὰς διὰ θαλάσσης ὠφελείας, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀναγκαίας ἐργάζονται τέχνας. εἰ δὲ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων συγκεκλιμένην<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Steph.: ἔσχε ABb, ἔσχεν Ba.

<sup>2</sup> τι added here by Jacoby, after τῶν by Reiske, after πράττειν by Cobet.

<sup>3</sup> Reiske: ἀναγκάζουσα O.

bear all the burdens; the mouth, that it speaks; the head, that it sees and hears and, comprehending the other senses, possesses all those by which the thing is preserved; and then all these should say to the belly, 'And you, good creature, which of these things do you do? What return do you make and of what use are you to us? Indeed, you are so far from doing anything for us or assisting us in accomplishing anything useful for the common good that you are actually a hindrance and a trouble to us and—a thing intolerable—compel us to serve you and to bring things to you from everywhere for the gratification of your desires. Come now, why do we not assert our liberty and free ourselves from the many troubles we undergo for the sake of this creature?' If, I say, they should decide upon this course and none of the parts should any longer perform its office, could the body possibly exist for any considerable time, and not rather be destroyed within a few days by the worst of all deaths, starvation? No one can deny it. Now consider the same condition existing in a commonwealth. For this also is composed of many classes of people not at all resembling one another, every one of which contributes some particular service to the common good, just as its members do to the body. For some cultivate the fields, some fight against the enemy in defence of those fields, others carry on much useful trade by sea, and still others ply the necessary crafts. If, then, all these different classes of people should rise against the senate, which is

<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ πολὺ Bb: ἐπὶ (ἐπεὶ Ba) τὸ πολὺ ABa, Jacoby.

<sup>5</sup> συγκεκμημένη R: συνηγμένη B (?), Jacoby.

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διαστασιάσειε καὶ λέγοι· ‘Σὺ δ’ ἡμῖν, ὦ βουλή, τί ποιεῖς ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀντὶ ποίας αἰτίας ἄρχειν τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοῖς; οὐθὲν γὰρ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοις· ἔπειτα οὐκ ἀπαλλαγησόμεθά σου τῆς τυραννίδος ταύτης  
 5 ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ δίχ’ ἡγεμόνος οἰκήσομεν;’ εἰ δὴ ταῦτα διανοηθέντες τῶν συνήθων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀποσταῖεν, τί κωλύσει ταύτην κακὴν κακῶς ἀπολέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τε καὶ πολέμου καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου κακοῦ; μαθόντες οὖν, ὦ δημόται, ὅτι καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἡμῶν ἡ λοιδορουμένη κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν<sup>1</sup> γαστήρ<sup>2</sup> τρέφει τὸ σῶμα τρεφομένη καὶ σώζει σωζομένη, καὶ ἔστιν ὡσεὶ τις ἐστίασις κοινὴ τὸ πρόσφορον ἅπασιν<sup>3</sup> ἐκ τῆς διαλλαγῆς<sup>4</sup> ἀνταποδιδούσα,<sup>5</sup> οὕτως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ διοικοῦσα τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐκάστῳ προνοουμένη βουλή πάντα σώζει καὶ φυλάττει καὶ ἐπανορθοῖ, παύσασθε τὰς ἐπιφθόνους κατ’ αὐτῆς φωνὰς λέγοντες, ὡς ἐξεβλήθητε τῆς πατρίδος καὶ<sup>6</sup> ὡς ἀλήται καὶ πτωχοὶ περιέρχεσθε δι’ αὐτήν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἴργασται δεινὸν οὐδ’ ἂν ἐργάσαιτο, ἀλλ’ αὐτὴ καλεῖ καὶ ἀντιβολεῖ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς<sup>7</sup> ὑμῖν ἅμα ταῖς πύλαις ἀναπετάσασα ὑποδέχεται.”

LXXXVII. Τοιαῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ Μενηγίου πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλαι παρ’ ὄλην ἐγίγνοντο τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν O: ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων μελῶν Kayser.

<sup>2</sup> γαστήρ added by Sylburg.

<sup>3</sup> Reiske: ἀπάντων O, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> ἐκ τῆς διαλλαγῆς Post: καὶ τῆς διαλλαγῆς O, Jacoby, καὶ τῆς διαμονῆς Reiske.

<sup>5</sup> ἀνταποδιδούσα Post: αἴτιον ἀποδιδούσα O, Jacoby.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ added by Sylburg.

<sup>7</sup> ψυχὰς B: χεῖρας Steph.

composed of the best men, and say, 'As for you, senate, what good do you do us, and for what reason do you presume to rule over others? Not a thing can you name. Well then, shall we not now at last free ourselves from this tyranny of yours and live without a leader?' If, I say, they should take this resolution and quit their usual employments, what will hinder this miserable commonwealth from perishing miserably by famine, war and every other evil? Learn, therefore, plebeians, that, just as in our bodies the belly thus evilly reviled by the multitude<sup>1</sup> nourishes the body even while it is itself nourished, and preserves it while it is preserved itself, and is a kind of feast, as it were, provided by joint contributions, which as a result of the exchange duly distributes that which is beneficial to each and all, so in commonwealths the senate, which administers the affairs of the public and provides what is expedient for everyone, preserves, guards, and corrects all things. Cease, then, uttering those invidious remarks about the senate, to the effect that you have been driven out of your country by it and that because of it you wander about like vagabonds and beggars. For it neither has done you any harm nor can do you any, but of its own accord calls you and entreats you, and opening all hearts<sup>2</sup> together with the gates, is waiting to welcome you."

LXXXVII. While<sup>3</sup> Menenius was thus speaking, many and various were the cries uttered by the audi-

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "by the many." But the text is probably corrupt. Kayser would read "by the other members."

<sup>2</sup> Or, following the reading of the early editors, "opening its arms." The report concerning the readings of the various MSS. is incomplete.

<sup>3</sup> For chaps. 87-89 cf. Livy ii. 33, 1-3.

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δημηγορίαν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων φωναί. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτῶν τοῦ λόγου πρὸς ὀλοφυρμούς ἐτράπετο καὶ τὰς μελλούσας καθέξειν συμφορὰς τοὺς τε ὑπομένοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοὺς ἀπελαυνομένους καὶ τὰς ἀμφοῖν ἀνεκλαύσατο τύχας, δάκρυά τε ἀπάντων ἐξεχεῖτο καὶ μιᾷ βοῇ συμφρονησάντες ἀνεβόησαν ἀπάγειν σφᾶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ μὴ τρίβειν τὸν χρόνον· ὀλίγου τε πάνυ ἐδέησαν ἀπιέναι<sup>1</sup> διὰ τάχους ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἅπαντα τὰ πράγματα τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἐπιτρέψαντες καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο τῶν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν πραγματευσάμενοι, εἰ μὴ παρελθὼν ὁ Βροῦτος ἐπέσχε τὰς ὁρμὰς αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλῶς ἔχειν τῷ δήμῳ λέγων ὅσα ἢ βουλή ὑπισχνεῖτο, καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῇ τῶν συγχωρηθέντων χάριν ἔχειν ἀξιῶν· δεδοικέναι μέντοι τὸν ἐπιόντα<sup>2</sup> χρόνον φάσκων καὶ τοὺς αὐθὶς ποτε τυραννικούς ἀνδρας ἐπιχειρήσοντας, εἰ τύχοι, περὶ τῶν γεγονότων τῷ

2 δῆμῳ μνησικακεῖν. μίαν δ' εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς δεδοικόσι τοὺς κρείττους μόνην ἀσφάλειαν ταύτην, εἰ γένοιτο αὐτοῖς φανερόν ὅτι τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν οὐχ ὑπάρχει δύναμις· ἕως δ' ἂν παρῆ τὸ δύνασθαι τὰ πονηρὰ δρᾶν, οὐκ ἐλλείψειν<sup>3</sup> τοῖς πονηροῖς τὸ βούλεσθαι. ταύτης οὖν εἰ τύχοιεν τῆς ἀσφαλείας, οὐθὲν αὐτοῖς ἔτι δεήσειν.<sup>4</sup>

3 ὑποτυχόντος δὲ τοῦ Μενηίου καὶ κελεύσαντος λέγειν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἧς ἔτι τὸν δῆμον οἶεται δεῖσθαι, “ Συγχωρήσατε,” φησὶν, “ ἡμῖν ἄρχοντας ἀποδεικνύναι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξ ἡμῶν

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg: ἀπεῖναι AB.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιόντα Post: ἅπαντα O, Jacoby, εἰσέπειτα (or εἰς ἔπειτα) Steph.<sup>2</sup>

ence throughout his whole speech. But when at the close of it he had recourse to lamentations, and enumerating the calamities that would befall both those who remained in the city and those who were driven out of it, bewailed the misfortunes of both, tears flowed from the eyes of all and they cried out to him with one mind and voice to lead them back to the city without waste of time. And they came very near quitting the assembly that moment and entrusting all their affairs to the envoys without settling anything else relating to their security. But Brutus, coming forward, restrained their eagerness, saying that, while in general the promises made by the senate were advantageous to the people and he thought it proper that the latter should feel very grateful to them for those concessions, he nevertheless feared the time to come and the tyrannical men who might one day if occasion offered, again attempt to make the people feel their resentment for what they had done. There was one safeguard only, he said, for any who were afraid of their superiors, and that was for them to be convinced that those who desired to injure them had not the power to do so; for as long as there was the power to do evil, evil men would never lack the will. If, therefore, the plebeians could obtain this safeguard, they would need nothing more. And Menenius, having replied and asked him to name the safeguard he thought the people still needed, he said: "Give us leave to choose out of our own body every year a certain number of

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<sup>3</sup> ἐλλείψειν B(?): ἐλλείψει R.

<sup>4</sup> Sylburg: δεήσει O.

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όσουσδήτινας, οἵτινες ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἔσονται κύριοι, τοῖς δ' ἀδικουμένοις ἢ κατισχυομένοις τῶν δημοτῶν βοηθήσουσι καὶ οὐ περιόψονται τῶν δικαίων ἀποστερούμενον οὐθέν· τοῦτο ὑμᾶς ἀντιβολουῦμεν καὶ δεόμεθα πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς δεδώκατε, εἰ μὴ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἔργον εἰσὶν αἱ διαλλαγαί, δοῦναι καὶ χαρισασθαι."

LXXXVIII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ὡς τούτων ἤκουσε, μεγάλη βοή καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ κατεχούση τὸν τε ἄνδρα ἐπήνει, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς παρεκάλει συγχωρῆσαι σφίσι καὶ τοῦτο. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις μεταστάντες ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ διαλεχθέντες ὀλίγα πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρήσαν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ. σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης παρελθὼν ὁ Μενήμιος εἶπε. "Τὸ μὲν πρᾶγμα, ὦ δημόται, μέγα καὶ πολλῶν μεστὸν ὑποψιῶν ἀτόπων· δέος τε καὶ φροντὶς ἡμᾶς εἰσέρχεται, μὴ ποτε δύο πόλεις ποιήσωμεν ἐν μιᾷ· πλὴν τό γ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι μέρος οὐδὲ πρὸς ταύτην ἐναντιούμεθα τὴν δέησιν 2 ὑμῶν. τοῦτο μέντοι χαρίσασθε ἡμῖν, ὃ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔστιν· ἐπιτρέψατε τῶν πρεσβευτῶν τισιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφικομένοις δηλῶσαι τῇ βουλῇ ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν παρ' αὐτῆς ἔχομεν ὅπως ἂν βουλώμεθα ποιήσασθαι τὰς διαλλαγὰς αὐτοκράτορες ὄντες τῶν ὑποσχέσεων, αὐτοὶ γέ τοι λαβεῖν τοῦτ' οὐ δικαιοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ παρὰ δόξαν ἡμῖν ἀπήντηται πρᾶγμα καινόν, ἀφελόμενοι τὴν ἰδίαν ἐξουσίαν τῷ συνεδρίῳ φέροντες ἀναθήσομεν· πεπεῖσμεθα μέντοι κακείνῳ ταῦτά<sup>1</sup> δόξειν ἄπερ ἡμῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἐνθάδε μενῶ καὶ σὺν ἐμοί τι μέρος τῆς πρεσβείας, Οὐαλέριος δὲ πορεύσεται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ σὺν αὐτῷ."



magistrates who shall be invested with no other power than to relieve those plebeians to whom any injury or violence is offered, and to permit none of them to be deprived of their rights. This favour we entreat and beg you to add to those you have already granted us, if our accommodation is not one in word only, but a reality."

LXXXVIII. When the people heard these words, they cheered Brutus loud and long, and asked the envoys to grant them this also. These, having withdrawn from the assembly and conferred briefly, returned after a short time. And when silence prevailed, Menenius came forward and said: "This is a matter of great moment, plebeians, and one full of strange suspicions, and we feel some alarm and concern lest we shall form two states in one. However, so far as we ourselves are concerned, we do not oppose even this request of yours. But grant us this privilege, which is also for your own interest. Allow some of the envoys to go to the city and inform the senate of these matters; for even though we have the power from them to conclude the accommodation in such a manner as we think fit and may at our own discretion make such promises in their name as we please, yet we do not think proper to take this upon ourselves, but since a new matter has been unexpectedly proposed to us, we will divest ourselves of our own power and refer the matter to the senate. However, we are persuaded that the senate will be of the same opinion as we are. I, therefore, will remain here together with some of the other envoys, and Valerius with the rest shall go to the senate."

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<sup>1</sup> Sylburg: ταῦτα ο.

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3 ἐδόκει ταῦτα· καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἤλαυνον εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ μέλλοντες δηλώσειν τῇ βουλῇ τὰ γενόμενα. προθέντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων λόγον τοῖς συνέδροις, Οὐαλερίου μὲν ἦν γνώμη διδόναι καὶ ταύτην τῷ δήμῳ τὴν χάριν· Ἄππιος δέ, ὅσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠναντιοῦτο ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς, καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀντέλεγε βοῶν καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιμαρτυρόμενος καὶ ὄσων μέλλοι σπέρμα κακῶν βαλεῖν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προλέγων. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς πολλοὺς ὠρμηκότας, ὥσπερ εἶπον, διαλύσασθαι τὴν στάσιν. γίνεται δὲ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα οἱ πρέσβεις ὑπέσχοντο τῷ δήμῳ πάντα εἶναι κύρια, καὶ

4 τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἣν ἠτεῖτο ἐπιτρέπειν. ταῦθ' οἱ πρέσβεις διοικησάμενοι τῇ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ παρήσαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ διεσάφησαν. μετὰ τοῦτο Μενηγίου παραινέσαντος τοῖς δημόταις ἀποστεῖλαι τινας εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἷς ἡ βουλή τὰ πιστὰ δώσει,<sup>1</sup> πέμπεται Λεύκιος Ἰούνιος Βροῦτος, ὑπὲρ οὗ πρότερον εἶρηκα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Μάρκος Δέκιος καὶ Σπόριος Ἰκίλιος.<sup>2</sup> τῶν δὲ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀφιγμένων οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις ἅμα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεψαν, Ἀγρίππας δὲ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν κατέμεινεν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διαγράψαι παρακληθεὶς τὸν νόμον τοῖς δημοτικοῖς καθ' ὃν ἀποδείξουσι τὰς ἀρχάς.

LXXXIX. Τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ παρήσαν μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον πεποιημένοι τὰς πρὸς τὴν βουλήν συνθήκας διὰ τῶν εἰρηνοδικῶν, οὓς κα-

<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἷς ἡ βουλή τὰ πιστὰ δώσει B: εἰς τὴν βουλήν οἷς τὰ πιστὰ δώσει R.

This was agreed upon, and the persons appointed to inform the senate of what had happened took horse and rode in all haste to Rome. When the consuls had proposed the matter to the senators, Valerius expressed the opinion that this favour also should be granted to the people. On the other hand, Appius, who from the first had opposed the accommodation, spoke openly in opposition on this occasion also, crying out, calling the gods to witness, and foretelling what seeds of future evils to the commonwealth they were about to sow. But he was not able to prevail with the majority of the senate, who, as I said, were determined to put an end to the sedition. Accordingly, a decree of the senate was passed confirming all the promises made by the envoys to the people and granting the safeguard they desired. The envoys, having transacted this business, returned to the camp the next day and made known the decision of the senate. Thereupon Menenius advised the plebeians to send some persons to receive the pledges which the senate was to give; and pursuant to this, Lucius Junius Brutus, whom I mentioned before, was sent, and with him Marcus Decius and Spurius Icilius. Of the envoys who had come from the senate one half returned to the city with Brutus and his associates; but Agrippa with the rest remained in the camp, having been asked by the plebeians to draw up the law for the creation of their magistrates.

LXXXIX. The next day Brutus and those who had been sent with him returned, having effected the agreement with the senate through the arbiters of

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<sup>2</sup> Sylburg: *οικίλιος* O.

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λουσι Ῥωμαῖοι φητιάλεις.<sup>1</sup> νεμηθεῖς δ' ὁ δῆμος  
 εἰς τὰς τότε οὔσας φράτρας, ἧ ὅπως βούλεται  
 τις αὐτὰς προσαγορεύειν ἄς ἐκείνοι καλοῦσι κου-  
 ρίας, ἄρχοντας ἐνιαυσίους ἀποδεικνύουσι τούσδε·  
 Λεύκιον Ἰούνιον Βροῦτον καὶ Γάιον Σικίννιον  
 Βελλοῦτον, οὓς καὶ τέως εἶχον ἡγεμόνας, καὶ  
 ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις Γάιον καὶ Πόπλιον Λικιννίου  
 2 καὶ Γάιον Οὐσιέλλιον<sup>2</sup> Ῥούγαν.<sup>3</sup> οὗτοι τὴν<sup>4</sup>  
 δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν πρῶτοι παρέλαβον οἱ πέντε  
 ἄνδρες ἡμέρα τετάρτη πρότερον<sup>5</sup> εἰδῶν Δεκεμ-  
 βρίων, ὥσπερ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου  
 γίνεται. τελεσθεισῶν δὲ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν τοῖς  
 μὲν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἤκουσι καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει  
 πάντα περὶ ὧν ἀπεστάλησαν· ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος  
 ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν συνεβούλευε<sup>6</sup> τοῖς δημόταις  
 3 καὶ ὄρκω βεβαιώσαντας αὐτῇ τὸ ἀσφαλές. ἐδόκει  
 ταῦτα πᾶσι, καὶ γράφεται πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν  
 συναρχόντων ὅδε ὁ νόμος· “Δῆμαρχον ἄκοντα,  
 ὥσπερ ἓνα τῶν πολλῶν, μηδεὶς μηδὲν ἀναγκαζέτω  
 δρᾶν, μηδὲ μαστιγούτω μηδ' ἐπιταπτέτω μαστι-  
 γοῦν ἐτέρῳ μηδ' ἀποκτιννύτω μηδ' ἀποκτείνειν  
 κελευέτω. εἰάν τις τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων τι  
 ποιήσῃ, ἐξάγιστος ἔστω, καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ  
 4 εἰργασμένων φόνου καθαρὸς ἔστω.” καὶ ἵνα μηδὲ  
 τὸ λοιπὸν τῷ δήμῳ ἐξουσία γένηται καταπαῦσαι

<sup>1</sup> φητιάλεις Ba: φητιάλεις ABb.

<sup>2</sup> Kiessling: ἰουσίλλιον A, οὔεσιλλιον B.

<sup>3</sup> Gelenius: ρειουγκαν Ba, ριουγανον Bb, ριουγανόν A.

<sup>4</sup> τὴν added by Reiske.

<sup>5</sup> Kiessling, πρῶτερον Ba: πρὸ τριῶν ABb.

peace who are called by the Romans *fetiales*.<sup>1</sup> And the people, dividing themselves into the clans of that day, or whatever one wishes to term the divisions which the Romans call *curiae*,<sup>2</sup> chose for their annual magistrates the following persons: Lucius Junius Brutus and Gaius Sicinius Bellutus, whom they had had as their leaders up to that time, and, in addition to these, Gaius and Publius Licinius and Gaius Visellius Ruga. These five persons were the first who received the tribunician power, on the fourth day before the ides of December,<sup>3</sup> as is the custom even to our time. The election being over, the envoys of the senate considered that everything for which they had been sent was now properly settled. But Brutus, calling the plebeians together, advised them to render this magistracy sacred and inviolable, insuring its security by both a law and an oath. This was approved of by all, and a law was drawn up by him and his colleagues, as follows: "Let no one compel a tribune of the people, as if he were an ordinary person, to do anything against his will; let no one whip him or order another to whip him; and let no one kill him or order another to kill him. If anybody shall do any one of these things that are forbidden, let him be accursed and let his goods be consecrated to Ceres; and if anybody shall kill one who has done any of these things, let him be guiltless of murder." And to the end that the people might not even in future

<sup>1</sup> Cf. i. 72.<sup>2</sup> Cf. ii. 7, 2; 14, 3.<sup>3</sup> December 10.<sup>6</sup> *συνεβούλευε* R (?): *συνεβούλευσε* B.

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τόνδε τὸν νόμον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἀκίνητος διαμείνη, πάντας ἐτάχθη Ῥωμαίους ὁμοῖαι καθ' ἱερῶν ἢ μὴν χρήσεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐγγόνους<sup>1</sup> τὸν αἰὲν χρόνον, ἀρά τε τῷ ὄρκῳ προσετέθη, τοῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦσι τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς οὐρανίους ἴλεως εἶναι καὶ δαίμονας τοὺς καταχθονίους, τοῖς δὲ παραβαίνουσιν ἐναντία καὶ τὰ παρὰ θεῶν γίνεσθαι καὶ τὰ παρὰ δαιμόνων ὡς ἄγει τῷ μεγίστῳ ἐνόχοις. ἐκ τούτων κατέστη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος τὰ τῶν δημάρχων σώματα ἱερὰ εἶναι καὶ παναγῆ, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου διαμένει.

XC. Ἐπειδὴ ταῦτ' ἐψηφίσαντο, βωμὸν κατεσκεύασαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρωρείας ἐν ἣ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὃν ἐπὶ τοῦ κατασχόντος αὐτοὺς τότε δείματος ὠνόμασαν, ὡς ἢ πάτριος αὐτῶν σημαίνει γλῶσσα, Διὸς Δειματίου· ᾧ θυσίας ἐπιτελέσαντες καὶ τὸν ὑποδεξάμενον αὐτοὺς τόπον ἱερὸν ἀνέντες, κατήεσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἅμα τοῖς πρέσβεσιν.  
 2 ἀποδόντες δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει θεοῖς χαριστήρια, καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους πείσαντες ἐπικυρῶσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ψῆφον ἐπενέγκαντας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτου παρ' αὐτῶν ἔτυχον, ἐδεήθησαν ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρέψαι σφίσιν ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν δύο καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύναι τοὺς ὑπηρετήσοντας τοῖς δημάρχοις ὅσων ἂν δέωνται, καὶ δίκας ἄς ἂν ἐπιτρέψωσιν<sup>2</sup> ἐκείνοι κρινούντας,

<sup>1</sup> ἐγγόνους ABa: ἐκτόνους Bb.

<sup>2</sup> Kayser: ἐπιτρέψωνται O, Jacoby.

be at liberty to repeal this law, but that it might forever remain unalterable, it was ordained that all the Romans should solemnly swear over the sacrificial victims to observe it for all time, both they and their posterity; and a prayer was added to the oath that the heavenly gods and the divinities of the lower world might be propitious to those who observed it, and that the displeasure of the gods and divinities might be visited upon those who violated it, as being guilty of the greatest sacrilege. From this the custom arose among the Romans of regarding the persons of the tribunes of the people as sacrosanct, which custom continues to this day.

XC. After they had passed this vote they erected an altar upon the summit of the mount where they had encamped, which they named in their own language the altar of Jupiter the Terrifier,<sup>1</sup> from the terror which had possessed them at that time; and when they had performed sacrifices to this god and had consecrated the place which had received them, they returned to the city with the envoys. After this they also returned thanks to the gods worshipped in the city, and prevailed upon the patricians to pass a vote for the confirmation of their new magistracy. And having obtained this also, they asked further that the senate should allow them to appoint every year two plebeians to act as assistants to the tribunes in everything the latter should require, to decide such causes as the others should refer to them, to

<sup>1</sup> No other writer mentions Territor or the like as an epithet of Jupiter; but a small marble altar, said to have been found in the neighbourhood of Tivoli, bears the inscription SANCTO IOVI TERRITORI SACRVM (C.I.L. XIV. 3559).

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3 ἱερῶν τε καὶ δημοσίων τόπων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν εὐετηρίας ἐπιμελησομένους. λαβόντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ συγχώρημα παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἄνδρας οὓς ὑπηρέτας τῶν δημάρχων καὶ συνάρχοντας καὶ δικαστὰς ἐκάλουν. νῦν μέντοι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν ἀφ' ἐνὸς ὧν πράττουσιν ἔργων ἱερῶν τόπων ἐπιμεληταὶ καλοῦνται καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν οὐκέθ' <sup>1</sup> ὑπηρετικὴν ἐτέρων ἔχουσιν, ὡς πρότερον, ἐπιτέτραπται δ' αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, καὶ σχεδὸν εἰκόσασί πως κατὰ τὰ πλείστα τοῖς παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἀγορανόμοις.

XCI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστη τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὸν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμον ἐκομίσατο ἡ πόλις, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἕξω πολεμίους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων στρατιὰ κατελέγετο πολλὴν εἰσενεγκαμένου προθυμίας τοῦ δήμου καὶ δι' ὀλίγου χρόνου πάντα τὰ εἰς τὸν <sup>2</sup> πόλεμον ἐπιτήδεια εὐτρεπῆ ποιήσαντος. τῶν δ' ὑπάτων διακληρωσαμένων περὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας, ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἔθος, Σπόριος μὲν Κάσσιος, ὃς ἔλαχε τὴν τῶν <sup>3</sup> κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὑπέμεινε <sup>4</sup> μέρος τῆς κατειλεγμένης δυνάμεως τὸ ἀρκοῦν λαβῶν. Πόστομος δὲ Κομίνιος ἐξῆγε τὴν λοιπὴν στρατιάν, Ῥωμαίων τε αὐτῶν ἀξιόχρεων ἄγων μοῖραν <sup>2</sup> καὶ Λατίνων τι συμμαχικὸν οὐκ ὀλίγον. κρίνας δὲ Οὐολούσκοις ἐπιχειρεῖν πρώτοις πόλιν αὐτῶν Λογγόλαν ἐξ ἐφόδου καταλαμβάνεται, ἐπιβαλομένων μὲν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μεταποιεῖσθαι τινος ἀρετῆς καὶ τινα στρατιὰν ὑπαίθριον ἀποστειλάντων, ἧ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀνείρξειν ἐπίστευον, αἰσχυρῶς δ'

<sup>1</sup> οὐκέθ' added by Reiske, οὐχ by Casaubon.

<sup>2</sup> τὸν added by Kiessling.

<sup>3</sup> τῶν added by Reiske.



have the oversight of public places, both sacred and profane, and to see that the market was supplied with plenty of provisions. Having obtained this concession also from the senate, they chose men whom they called assistants and colleagues of the tribunes, and judges. Now, however, they are called in their own language, from one of their functions, overseers of sacred places or aediles,<sup>1</sup> and their power is no longer subordinate to that of other magistrates, as formerly; but many affairs of great importance are intrusted to them, and in most respects they resemble more or less the *agoranomoi* or "market-overseers" among the Greeks.

XCI. When<sup>2</sup> affairs had been settled and the commonwealth restored to its former state, an army was raised by the generals against their foreign foes, as the people now displayed great alacrity and in a short time got everything ready that was necessary for the war. The consuls having drawn lots for their official duties according to custom, Spurius Cassius, to whom the oversight of affairs in the city fell, remained at home, retaining a sufficient part of the forces which had been raised, while Postumus Cominius took the field with the rest of the army, consisting of not only an adequate part of the Romans themselves but also no small auxiliary force of Latins. And deciding to attack the Volscians first, he took a city of theirs called Longula at the first assault, though the inhabitants undertook to make some show of bravery and sent some forces into the field in hopes of holding back the enemy; but these were

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Varro, *L.L.* v. 81: *aedilis qui aedis sacras et privatas procuraret.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Livy ii. 33, 4 f.

<sup>4</sup> ὑπέμεινε Roiske: ἔπεμψε O.

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ἀναγκασθέντων φυγεῖν πρὶν ἢ λαμπρόν τι ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι καὶ οὐδ' ἐν τῇ τειχομαχίᾳ γενναῖον οὐδὲν ἀποδειξαμένων.<sup>1</sup> μιᾷ γοῦν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς τε γῆς αὐτῶν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκράτησαν ἀκονιτὶ καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐ πολλὰ πραγματευθέντες κατὰ κράτος ἔλαβον.

3 ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς τὰ τ' ἐγκαταλειθέντα<sup>2</sup> χρήματα διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφείς καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλιπὼν ἐξῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐφ' ἑτέραν πόλιν τῶν Οὐολούσκων, ἣ καλεῖται μὲν Πόλουσκα,<sup>3</sup> διάστημα δ' οὐ πολὺ τῆς Λογγόλας ἀπέχει. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ τολμήσαντος ὑπαντῆσαι διανύσας τὴν χώραν κατὰ πολλὴν εὐπέτειαν προσέβαλε τοῖς τείχεσι· τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν τὰς πύλας διακόψαντες, οἱ δὲ διὰ κλιμάκων ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβάντες, αὐθημερὸν γίνονται καὶ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως κύριοι.

4 ὡς δὲ παρέλαβε τὴν πόλιν, ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς ἐπιλέξας τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς χρημάτων ἀφαιρέσει ζημιώσας καὶ ὄπλα ἀφελόμενος, Ῥωμαίων εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν ἠνάγκασεν ὑπηκόους.

XCII. Καταλιπὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ βραχείᾳ τῆς στρατιᾶς μοῖραν ἔνεκα φυλακῆς, τῇ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν προῆγεν ἐπὶ Κοριόλαν, πόλιν ἐπιφανῆ σφόδρα καὶ ὡσπερ ἂν μητρόπολιν τῶν Οὐολούσκων· ἔνθα καὶ δύναμις ἦν συνειλεγμένη καρτερὰ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος οὐ ράδιον ἀλῶναι τὰ τε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτήδεια παρεσκευασμένα τοῖς ἔνδον ἐκ πολλοῦ. ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ τῇ τειχομαχίᾳ μέχρι δειλῆς ὀψίας ἀποκρούεται πρὸς τῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἀποδειξαμένων O: διαπραξαμένων Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> ἐγκαταληφθέντα O: ἐγκαταληφθέντα Sylburg, Jacoby.

put to shameful flight before they had performed any brilliant action and did not display the least courage even during the assault on their walls. At all events the Romans in one day not only possessed themselves of their country without effort, but also took their city by storm without much difficulty. The Roman general permitted the soldiers to divide all the goods left in the city, and then, leaving a garrison there, led his army against another city of the Volscians called Polusca, not far distant from Longula. When none dared to oppose him, he marched through the country with great ease and assaulted the walls; and then, some of the soldiers forcing open the gates and others scaling the walls, they made themselves masters of this city also that same day. After the consul had taken the city he chose out a few of the inhabitants who had been the authors of the revolt and put them to death; and having punished the rest by taking away their effects and disarmed them, he obliged them to be subjects of the Romans for the future.

XCII. He<sup>1</sup> left in this city also a small part of the army as a garrison, and the next day marched with the rest to Corioli, a city of very great note and the mother-city, so to speak, of the Volscians. Here a strong force had been assembled, the walls were not easy to be taken, and everything necessary for war had been prepared long before by the inhabitants. The consul undertook to storm the walls and persisted in his efforts till late in the afternoon, but was

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 92-94, 3, *cf.* Livy ii. 33, 5-9.

<sup>3</sup> Sigonius: *πολούσκατα* AB.

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- 2 ἐναντίων πολλοὺς τῶν οἰκείων ἀπολέσας. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρα κριούς τε καὶ γέρρα καὶ κλίμακας εὐτρεπισάμενος παρεσκευάζετο μὲν ὡς ἀπάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει πειρασόμενος τῆς πόλεως, ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι πολλῇ χειρὶ μέλλουσιν Ἀντιαῖται βοηθεῖν τοῖς Κοριολανοῖς κατὰ τὸ συγγενές καὶ εἰσὶν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐν ὁδῷ ἤδη, μερίσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ στρατὸν τῷ μὲν ἡμίσει τειχομαχεῖν ἔγνω Τίτον Λάρκιον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν, τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ κωλύειν
- 3 τοὺς ἐπιόντας διανοεῖτο. καὶ γίνονται δύο τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἀγῶνες. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐνίκων ἀπάντων μὲν προθύμως ἀγωνισαμένων, ἐνὸς 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, σῶφρων δὲ τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον ἀνὴρ καὶ φρονήματος ἐλευθέρου μεστός. ἐγένετο δ' ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἐκατέρας μάχης τοιούσδε· ὁ μὲν Λάρκιος<sup>1</sup> ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἅμ' ἡμέρα προσῆγε τοῖς τείχεσι τῆς Κοριόλας καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους ἐποιεῖτο τὰς προσβολάς· οἱ δὲ Κοριολανοὶ μέγα φρονουῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ παρὰ τῶν Ἀντιατῶν βοηθείᾳ, ἦν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ σφισι παρέσεσθαι ἐπίστευον, ἀνοίξαντες ἀπάσας τὰς πύλας ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς
- 4 πολεμίους ἀθρόοι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ἐδέξαντο καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς τοῖς ὁμόσε χωροῦσιν ἔδοσαν, ἔπειτα πλειόνων ἐπιόντων ὠθούμενοι κατὰ πρανοῦς χωρίου ἐνέκλιαν. τοῦτο κατιδὼν ὁ Μάρκιος, ὑπὲρ οὗ πρότερον ἔφην, ἴσταται σὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ δέχεται τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg: μάρκιος Ο.

repulsed by the enemy after he had lost many of his men. The next day he got ready battering rams, mantlets, and scaling-ladders and was preparing to make an attempt against the city with his entire forces; but learning that the Antiates were planning to come with a large force to the assistance of the Coriolani because of their kinship with them, and that those chosen to make the expedition were already upon the march, he divided his army and determined to continue the assault on the city with one half of it, leaving Titus Larcus in command, and with the other half to stop the advance of the approaching force. Thus two actions took place on the same day, and the Romans gained the victory in both, as all of them fought with great ardour and one man in particular displayed incredible bravery and performed deeds that beggar description. This man was of patrician rank and of no obscure lineage, Gaius Marcius by name; he was sober and restrained in his private life and had the spirit of a freeman in full measure. The circumstances of the two actions were as follows: Larcus, having marched out of the camp with his army at break of day, advanced to the walls of Corioli and assaulted the city in many places. The Coriolani, for their part, elated by their expectation of aid from the Antiates, which they were convinced would soon reach them, opened all their gates and made a general sally against the enemy. The Romans sustained their first attack and wounded many of those who engaged them, but later, as the number of the assailants increased, they were forced down hill and gave way. Marcius, whom I mentioned before, upon seeing this, stood his ground with a few followers and awaited the solid mass of the enemy

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τῶν πολεμίων στίφος· καταβαλὼν δὲ συχνούς  
 αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐνέκλιναν οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν  
 ἔφευγον, ἠκολούθει κτείνων ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐν χερσὶ καὶ  
 ἐπικελευόμενος τοῖς φεύγουσι τῶν σφετέρων  
 ἀναστρέφειν τε καὶ θαρρεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἔπεσθαι.  
 5 οἱ δ' αἰδεσθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἀνέστρεφον αὐθις  
 καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπέκειντο παίοντες καὶ  
 διώκοντες, καὶ δι' ὀλίγου χρόνου τοὺς συμ-  
 πλακέντας ἕκαστοι τρεψάμενοι προσέκειντο τοῖς  
 τείχεσι· καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος θρασύτερον ἤδη κινδυ-  
 νεύων προσωτέρῳ μᾶλλον ἐχώρει καὶ πρὸς αὐταῖς  
 γενόμενος ταῖς πύλαις συνεισέπιπτε τοῖς φεύγουσιν  
 εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. συνεισπεσόντων δ' αὐτῷ καὶ  
 ἄλλων συχνῶν κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς πόλεως  
 φόνος ἐγένετο <sup>1</sup> ἐξ ἀμφοῖν πολὺς, τῶν μὲν ἀνὰ  
 τοὺς στενωπούς, τῶν δὲ περὶ ταῖς ἀλισκομέναις  
 6 οἰκίαις μαχομένων. συνελάμβανον δὲ τοῦ ἔργου  
 τοῖς ἔνδον καὶ <sup>2</sup> γυναῖκες ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν <sup>3</sup> βάλ-  
 λουσαι τοὺς πολεμίους τοῖς καλυπτῆρσι, καὶ καθ'  
 ὅσον ἐκάστω τις <sup>4</sup> ἰσχὺς καὶ δύναμις ἦν προθύμως  
 ἐβοήθουν τῇ πατρίδι. οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ πολὺν γε  
 χρόνον τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάσθησαν  
 παραδιδόναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς κεκρατηκόσι. τοῦ-  
 τον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως οἱ μὲν  
 ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ἐγκατα-  
 ληφθέντων <sup>5</sup> ἐτράποντο καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διετέλουν  
 προσκείμενοι ταῖς ὠφελείαις χρημάτων τε πολ-  
 λῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ <sup>6</sup> καὶ ἀνδραπόδων.

XCIII. Ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μόνος

<sup>1</sup> ἐγένετο B: ἐγένετο R.      <sup>2</sup> καὶ R: καὶ αἱ B.

<sup>3</sup> τεγῶν AB: στεγῶν R.

as they attacked. When he had struck down many of them and the rest gave way and fled toward the city, he followed, slaying, one after another, all who came within reach, and calling out without intermission to those of his own men who fled to face about, to take courage, and to follow him. These, ashamed of their behaviour, rallied and pressed hard upon their opponents, smiting and pursuing them; and in a short time they had all routed their antagonists and were attacking the walls of the city. Marcius, exposing himself now with greater boldness, kept advancing farther and farther, and coming to the very gates, entered along with those who were fleeing inside the walls. And when many others also forced their way inside with him, there ensued a great slaughter on both sides in many parts of the city, some fighting in the streets and others in defence of the houses that were being taken. Even women assisted the inhabitants in their struggle by hurling down tiles upon the enemy from the roofs; and everyone according to his strength and power bravely defended his native city. However, they did not hold out long against these perils, but were obliged to surrender to the conquerors. The city having been taken in this manner, most of the Romans turned to plundering the property found there, and continued for a long time intent on the booty, as there was a large quantity of money and a great number of slaves in the place.

XCIH. But Marcius, who had been the first and

<sup>4</sup> *ἐκάστῳ τις* O: *ἐκάστοις* Bücheler.

<sup>5</sup> Sylburg: *ἐγκαταλειφθέντων* O.

<sup>6</sup> *ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ* B: om. R.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ὑποστὰς <sup>1</sup> τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ λαμπρότατος ἀπάν-  
 των γενόμενος Ῥωμαίων ἐν τε τῇ τειχομαχίᾳ καὶ  
 τοῖς ἐντὸς τείχους ἀγῶσι, λαμπρότερος ἐν <sup>2</sup> τῷ  
 δευτέρῳ ἀγῶνι τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀντιάτας συστάντι  
 ἐφάνη. οὐδὲ γὰρ ταύτης ἐδικαίωσεν ἀπολειφ-  
 θῆναι τῆς μάχης, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ κρατηθῆναι τὴν  
 πόλιν ὀλίγους τοὺς ἀκολουθῆσαι δυνηθέντας ἐπ-  
 αγόμενος ἐχώρει δρόμῳ, καὶ καταλαβὼν παρα-  
 τεταγμένας ἤδη τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ μελλούσας εἰς  
 χεῖρας ἵεναι, τὴν τε ἄλωσιν τῆς πόλεως πρῶτος  
 ἀναγγέλλει τοῖς σφετέροις, τεκμήριον αὐτῆς ἀπο-  
 δεικνὺς τὸν καπνὸν ὃς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπρησθεισῶν  
 οἰκιῶν πολὺς ἐφέρετο, καὶ δεηθεὶς τοῦ ὑπάτου  
 κατὰ τὸ καρτερώτατον τῶν πολεμίων εἰλεῖτο.<sup>3</sup>  
<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεία ἤρθη τῆς μάχης, πρῶτος  
 ὁμόσε τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐχώρει καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν εἰς  
 χεῖρας ἐλθόντων ἀποκτείνας εἰς μέσην αὐτῶν τὴν  
 φάλαγγα ὠθεῖται. οἱ δ' Ἀντιᾶται συστάδην μὲν  
 οὐκέτι μάχεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπέμενον, ἀλλ'  
 ἐξέλειπον τὰς τάξεις καθ' οὓς γένοιτο ἐπιών,  
 κύκλῳ δὲ περίσταντο ἀθρόοι καὶ ἔβαλλον ὑπο-  
 χωροῦντες ἐπιόντα τε καὶ ἐπόμενον. ὁ δὲ Πόστο-  
 μος <sup>4</sup> ὡς ἔγνω τοῦτο, δείσας μή τι μονωθεὶς ὁ  
 ἀνὴρ πάθῃ, τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν νέων ἀρωγοὺς  
 αὐτῷ πέμπει· κακῆνοι ποιήσαντες πυκνοὺς τοὺς  
 λόχους ἐμβάλλουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις. οὐ δεξαμένων  
 δ' αὐτοὺς τῶν κατὰ μέτωπον, ἀλλ' εἰς φυγὴν  
 τραπέντων, προσωτέρῳ προχωροῦντες <sup>5</sup> εὐρί-  
 σκουσι τὸν Μάρκιον τραυμάτων μεστὸν καὶ περὶ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ μόνος ὑποστὰς Reiske, καὶ πρὸ πολλῶν ὑποστὰς Jacoby :  
καὶ προυποστὰς O.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν O : ἔτι ἐν Kiessling.



only man to sustain the shock of the enemy and had distinguished himself above all the Romans both in the storming of the city and in the struggles which took place inside the walls, gained greater distinction in the second battle, which was fought against the Antiates. For he resolved not to be absent from this action either, but as soon as the city was captured, he took with him the small number of men who were able to follow him, and advancing at a run, found the two armies already drawn up and on the point of engaging. He was the first to inform the Romans of the capture of the city, and as a proof of it showed them the smoke which was rising in great volume from the houses that had been set on fire. And having obtained leave of the consul, he drew up his men in a compact body opposite the strongest force of the enemy. As soon as the battle signals were raised, he was the first to come to grips with his opponents, and having killed many of those he encountered, he forced his way into the midst of their ranks. The Antiates no longer ventured to engage him hand to hand, but leaving their ranks where he attacked, they surrounded him in a body, and retreating as he advanced and pursued them, they assailed him with their missiles. Postumus, being informed of this and fearing lest the man, thus isolated, might meet with some disaster, sent the bravest of the youth to his relief. These, doubling their files, charged the enemy; and when the first line failed to sustain their charge, but turned to flight, they pressed forward and found Marcius covered with wounds and saw

<sup>3</sup> εἰλεῖτο Bb: ἐλίττει A, ἔλιττε Ba.

<sup>4</sup> Πόστομος Cary, Πόστουμος Kiessling, Jacoby: ποστούμιος O (and similarly below).

<sup>5</sup> Portus: ὑποχωροῦντες O.

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αὐτὸν ὀρώσι νεκρούς τε κειμένους πολλοὺς καὶ  
 3 ἡμίθανεῖς. μετὰ τοῦτ' ἤδη κοινῶς ἐχώρουν ἡγε-  
 μόνα τὸν Μάρκιον ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔτι διαμένον-  
 τας ἐν τάξει, κτείνοντες τοὺς ὑφισταμένους καὶ  
 ὡσπερ ἀνδραπόδοις παραχρῶμενοι. ἄξιοι μὲν δὴ  
 λόγου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ  
 ἐγένοντο, κράτιστοι δ' αὐτῶν οἱ προασπίσαντες  
 τὸν Μάρκιον· ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας δ' αὐτὸς<sup>1</sup> ὁ Μάρκιος,  
 ὃς καὶ τῆς νίκης ἀναμφιλόγως<sup>2</sup> αἰτιώτατος ἦν.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεσκόταζεν ἤδη, οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ἀν-  
 εχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον μέγα ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ  
 φρονοῦντες καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνηρηκότες τῶν  
 Ἀντιατῶν, πολλοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἄγοντες.

XCIV. Τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συγκαλέσας ὁ Πό-  
 στομος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν στρατὸν ἔπαινον τοῦ  
 Μαρκίου διεξῆλθε πολὺν καὶ στεφάνοις αὐτὸν  
 ἀριστείοις ἀνέδησεν ἀμφοτέρων χαριστήρια τῶν  
 ἀγώνων ἀποδιδούς. ἐδωρήσατο δ' αὐτὸν ἵππῳ  
 πολεμιστῇ στρατηγικοῖς ἐπισήμοις κεκοσμημένῳ  
 καὶ δέκα σώμασιν αἰχμαλώτοις, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ  
 ποιήσας οὓς βούλοιο λαβεῖν, ἀργυρίῳ τε ὅσον ἂν  
 ἐξενέγκασθαι δύναιτο αὐτός, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης  
 2 λείας πολλαῖς καὶ<sup>3</sup> καλαῖς ἀπαρχαῖς. βοῆς δὲ  
 γενομένης ἐξ ἀπάντων μεγάλης, ὡς ἂν ἐπ-  
 αινοῦντων τε καὶ συνηδομένων, προσελθὼν ὁ  
 Μάρκιος τῷ τε ὑπάτῳ χάριν εἰδέναί μεγάλην<sup>4</sup>  
 ἔφη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐπὶ ταῖς τιμαῖς ὧν  
 αὐτὸν ἡξίου· οὐ μέντοι καταχρήσεσθαι γε αὐταῖς,  
 ἀρκεσθήσεσθαι δὲ τῷ τε ἵππῳ τῆς λαμπρότητος  
 τῶν σημείων ἕνεκεν καὶ ἐνὶ αἰχμαλώτῳ, ὃς  
 ἔτυχεν αὐτῷ ξένος ὢν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται καὶ πρό-

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg: αὐτοὺς Ο.

many lying round him, some dead and others dying. Thereupon they advanced together under Marcius as leader against those of the enemy who still kept their ranks, killing all who made any resistance and treating them like slaves. Though all the Romans displayed notable valour in this action, and the bravest of them were those who defended Marcius, yet brave beyond all the rest was Marcius himself, who was without any doubt the chief cause of the victory. When at last it grew dark, the Romans retired to their camp greatly exulting in their victory, having killed many of the Antiates and carrying with them a great number of prisoners.

XCIV. The next day Postumus, having assembled the army, spoke at length in praise of Marcius and crowned him with the crowns of valour, as rewards for his behaviour in both the actions. He also presented him with a war-horse adorned with the trappings belonging to that of a general, together with ten captives, leaving it to him to take such as he wished, and also as much silver as he could carry away himself, and many other fine first-fruits of the booty. When all raised a great shout in token of their approval and congratulation, Marcius came forward and said that he was very grateful both to the consul and to all the others for the honours of which they held him worthy; however, he would not avail himself of them all, but would be content with the horse, for the sake of the splendid trappings, and with one captive, who chanced to be a personal friend of his. The soldiers, who even before this

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<sup>2</sup> ἀναμφιλόγως R: ἀναμφιβόλως B.

<sup>3</sup> πολλαῖς καὶ B: om. R.

<sup>4</sup> μεγάλην B: om. R.

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τερον ἀγάμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς γενναιότητος ἔτι  
 μᾶλλον ἐθαύμασαν τῆς ὑπεροψίας τοῦ πλούτου καὶ  
 ὅτι μετρίως ἤνευκε τὴν τοσαύτην εὐτυχίαν. ἐκ  
 τούτου Κοριολανὸς ἐπεκλήθη τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ  
 πάντων ἐγεγόνει τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν  
 3 ἐπιφανέστατος. τῆς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀντιάτας  
 μάχης τοῦτο λαβούσης τὸ τέλος αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν  
 Οὐολούσκων πόλεις διελύοντο τὴν πρὸς τοὺς  
 Ῥωμαίους ἔχθραν, καὶ ὅσοι τὰ ὅμοια ἐκείνοις  
 ἐφρόνουν, οἳ τ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἤδη ὄντες καὶ οἱ  
 παρασκευαζόμενοι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐπέπαυτο. οἷς  
 ἅπασιν ὁ Πόστομος ἐπιεικῶς χρησάμενος, ἀν-  
 ἔστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία, καὶ διαφῆκε τὴν στρατιάν.

Κάσσιος δ' ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ καταλειφθεὶς  
 ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸν νεῶν τῆς τε Δήμητρος καὶ  
 Διονύσου καὶ Κόρης ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ καθ-  
 ιέρωσεν, ὃς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τέρμασι τοῦ μεγίστου  
 τῶν ἵπποδρόμων ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς ἰδρυμένος τὰς  
 ἀφέσεις, εὐξαμένου μὲν αὐτὸν Αὐλοῦ Ποστομίου  
 τοῦ δικτάτορος ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀναθήσειν τοῖς  
 θεοῖς, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἔμελλεν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς  
 τὴν Λατίνων στρατιάν, τῆς τε βουλῆς μετὰ τὸ  
 νίκημα τὴν κατασκευὴν αὐτοῦ ψηφισαμένης ἐκ τῶν  
 λαφύρων ποιήσασθαι πᾶσαν, τότε δὲ τοῦ ἔργου  
 λαβόντος τὴν συντέλειαν.

XCV. Ἐγένοντο δ' ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ  
 πρὸς τὰς τῶν Λατίνων πόλεις ἀπάσας συνθήκαι  
 καιναὶ μεθ' ὄρκων ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας,  
 ἐπειδὴ παρακινήσαί τε οὐδὲν ἐπεχείρησαν ἐν τῇ  
 στάσει, καὶ συνηδόμενοι τῇ καθόδῳ τοῦ δήμου  
 φανεροὶ ἦσαν, τοῦ τε πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς  
 2 ἀποστάντας ἐτοιμῶς ἐδόκουν συνάρασθαι. ἦν δὲ

had admired the man for his valour, now marvelled at him still more for his contempt of riches and for his moderation in such good fortune. From this action he was surnamed Coriolanus and became the most illustrious man of his age. Such having been the outcome of the battle with the Antiates, the rest of the Volscian cities proceeded to give up their hostility to the Romans; and all who had sympathized with them, both those already in arms and those making their preparations for war, refrained. Postumus treated them all with moderation, and then, returning home, disbanded the army.

Cassius, the other consul, who had been left at Rome, in the mean time consecrated the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera, which stands at the end of the Circus Maximus, being erected directly above the starting-places.<sup>1</sup> Aulus Postumius the dictator had made a vow, when he was on the point of engaging the army of the Latins,<sup>2</sup> to dedicate it to the gods in the name of the commonwealth, and the senate after the victory having decreed that this temple should be built entirely out of the spoils, the work was now completed.

XCV. At<sup>3</sup> the same time, a new treaty of peace and friendship was made with all the Latin cities, and confirmed by oaths, inasmuch as they had not attempted to create any disturbance during the sedition, had openly rejoiced at the return of the populace, and seemed to have been prompt in assisting the Romans against those who had revolted from them.

<sup>1</sup> The exact site of this temple is not known, but it presumably stood on the slope of the Aventine.

<sup>2</sup> See vi. 17, 2 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Livy ii. 33, 4.

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τὰ γραφέντα ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις τοιάδε· “ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ταῖς Λατίνων πόλεσιν ἀπάσαι εἰρήνη πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔστω, μέχρις ἂν οὐρανός τε καὶ γῆ τὴν αὐτὴν στάσιν ἔχωσι· καὶ μήτ’ αὐτοὶ πολεμείτωσαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους μήτ’ ἄλλοθεν πολεμίους<sup>1</sup> ἐπαγέτωσαν, μήτε τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσι πόλεμον ὁδοὺς παρεχέτωσαν ἀσφαλεῖς, βοηθείωσάν τε τοῖς πολεμουμένοις ἀπάσῃ δυνάμει, λαφύρων τε καὶ λείας τῆς ἐκ πολέμων κοινῶν τὸ ἴσον λαγχανέτωσαν μέρος ἐκάτεροι· τῶν τε ἰδιωτικῶν συμβολαίων αἱ κρίσεις ἐν ἡμέραις γιγνέσθωσαν δέκα, παρ’ οἷς ἂν γένηται τὸ συμβόλαιον. ταῖς δὲ συνθήκαις ταύταις μηδὲν ἐξέστω προσθεῖναι μηδ’ ἀφελεῖν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ὅ τι ἂν μὴ Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ

<sup>3</sup> Λατίνοις ἅπασι δοκῆ.” ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Λατίνοι συνεθήκαντο<sup>2</sup> πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόσαντες καθ’ ἱερῶν. ἐψηφίσατο δὲ καὶ θυσίας ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς θεοῖς ἢ βουλή χαριστηρίου ἐπὶ ταῖς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαλλαγαῖς, προσθεῖσα μίαν ἡμέραν ταῖς καλουμέναις Λατίναις ἑορταῖς δυσὶν οὔσαις, τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἀνιερῶσαντος βασιλέως Ταρκυνίου καθ’ ὃν χρόνον ἐνίκησε<sup>3</sup> Τυρρηνοῦς, τὴν δ’ ἑτέραν τοῦ δήμου προσθέντος ὅτε τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκβαλὼν ἐλευθέραν ἐποίησε τὴν πόλιν· αἷς ἢ τρίτῃ τότε προσενεμήθη τῆς καθόδου τῶν

<sup>4</sup> ἀποστάντων ἕνεκα. τὴν δὲ προστασίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς γινομένων θυσιῶν τε καὶ ἀγώνων οἱ τῶν δημάρχων ὑπηρέται παρέλαβον, οἱ τὴν νῦν ἀγορανομικὴν ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν, ὥσπερ

<sup>1</sup> πολεμίους O : πολέμους Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> συνεθήκαντο Reiske : συνέθηκαν O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> Portus : ἐνίκησαν O.

The provisions of the treaty were as follows: "Let there be peace between the Romans and all the Latin cities as long as the heavens and the earth shall remain where they are. Let them neither make war upon one another themselves nor bring in foreign enemies nor grant a safe passage to those who shall make war upon either. Let them assist one another, when warred upon, with all their forces, and let each have an equal share of the spoils and booty taken in their common wars. Let suits relating to private contracts be determined within ten days, and in the nation where the contract was made. And let it not be permitted to add anything to, or take anything away from these treaties except by the consent both of the Romans and of all the Latins." This was the treaty entered into by the Romans and the Latins and confirmed by their oaths sworn over the sacrificial victims. The senate also voted to offer sacrifices to the gods in thanksgiving for their reconciliation with the populace, and added one day to the Latin festival,<sup>1</sup> as it was called, which previously had been celebrated for two days. The first day had been set apart as holy by Tarquinius when he conquered the Tyrrhenians; the second the people added after they had freed the commonwealth by the expulsion of the kings; and to these the third was now added because of the return of the seceders. The superintendence and oversight of the sacrifices and games performed during this festival was committed to the tribunes' assistants, who held, as I said,<sup>2</sup> the magistracy now called the aedileship; and they were honoured by

<sup>1</sup> *Feriae Latinae.*

<sup>2</sup> In chap. 90, 3.

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ἔφην, κοσμηθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πορφύρα καὶ θρόνῳ ἐλεφαντίνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπισήμοις οἷς εἶχον οἱ βασιλεῖς.

XCVI. Οὐ πολλῶ δ' ὕστερον χρόνῳ τῆς ἑορτῆς τῶν ὑπατικῶν εἰς Μενήμιος Ἀγρίππας ἐτελεύτησε τὸν βίον, ὁ νικήσας Σαβίνους καὶ τὸν ἀπ' <sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν θρίαμβον ἐπιφανέστατον καταγαγών, <sup>2</sup> ᾧ πεισθεῖσα ἡ βουλή τὴν κάθοδον ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς φυγάσι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος πιστεύσας ἀπέστη τῶν ὄπλων· καὶ αὐτὸν ἔθαψεν ἡ πόλις δημοσίᾳ καὶ καλλίστῃ πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ ταφῇ. οὐσία γὰρ οὐκ ἦν τῷ ἀνδρὶ εἰς μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἐκκομιδῆς καὶ ταφῆς ἀποχρῶσα· ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις αὐτοῦ τῶν παιδῶν βουλευομένοις ἔδοξεν ὡς ἓνα τῶν πολλῶν εὐτελῶς ἐκ-  
<sup>2</sup> κομίσει τε καὶ θάψαι. οὐ μέντοι γε ὁ δῆμος εἶασεν, ἀλλὰ συναγαγόντες οἱ δήμαρχοι τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πολλὰ διελθόντες ἐγκώμια τῶν τε κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν, τὴν τε σωφροσύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν λιτότητα τοῦ βίου, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν εἰς χρηματισμὸν ἐγκράτειαν ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἄραντες τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, αἰσχιστον ἔφησαν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων ἄνδρα τηλικούτον ἀσῆμου καὶ ταπεινῆς κηδεῖας τυχεῖν διὰ πενίαν· παρήνεσάν τε τῷ δήμῳ τὴν δαπάνην ἀναδέξασθαι, καὶ συνεισενεγκεῖν κατ' ἄνδρα ὅσον ἂν  
<sup>3</sup> αὐτοὶ τάξωσι. τοῖς δ' ἀκούσασιν ἀσμένοις <sup>3</sup> ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτίκα φέροντος ἐκάστου τὸ ταχθῆν πολὺ τι χρῆμα συνήχθη διαφόρου. <sup>4</sup> μαθοῦσα δὲ

<sup>1</sup> ἀπ' Cary: ἐπ' O, ἐξ Kiessling, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> καταγαγών Kiessling: ἀγαγών O.

<sup>3</sup> Cobet: ἄσμενον O, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> διαφόρου B: om. R.



the senate with a purple robe, an ivory chair, and the other insignia that the kings had had.

XCVI. Not<sup>1</sup> long after this festival Menenius Agrippa, one of the ex-consuls, died. It was he who had overcome the Sabines and had celebrated a most notable triumph for that victory; and it was through his persuasion that the senate had allowed the seceders to return and that the populace, because of their confidence in him, had given up their arms. He was buried at the expense of the public and his funeral was the most honourable and the most splendid that has fallen to any man. His estate, it seems, was not sufficient to defray the expense of a magnificent funeral and burial, so that even the guardians of his children resolved after consultation to carry him out of the city and bury him like any ordinary person at little expense. This, however, the people would not permit; but the tribunes, having assembled them and paid lengthy tributes to the achievements of Agrippa in both war and peace, lauding to the highest degree his moderation and his frugal manner of life, and, above all, his refraining from amassing riches, said it would be the most dishonourable thing imaginable that such a man should be buried in an obscure and humble manner by reason of his poverty; and they advised the people to take the expense of his funeral upon themselves and every man to contribute towards it such an amount as they, the tribunes, should assess. His audience gladly heard this proposal, and when each man had presently contributed the amount he was assessed, a large sum was collected. The senate, being informed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Livy ii. 33, 10 f.

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τοῦθ' ἡ βουλή δι' αἰσχύνης τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔλαβε καὶ  
 ἔκρινε μὴ κατ' ἄνδρα ἐρανισμῶ τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον  
 Ῥωμαίων περιδεῖν θαπτόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν  
 δημοσίων ἐδικαίωσε τὸ ἀνάλωμα γενέσθαι τοῖς  
 ταμίαις ἐπιτρέψασα τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. οἱ δὲ πολλῶν  
 πάνυ μισθώσαντες χρημάτων τὰς παροχὰς κόσμω  
 τε πολυτελεστάτῳ κοσμήσαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα  
 καὶ πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιχορηγήσαντες εἰς μεγαλο-  
 4 πρέπειαν ἔθαιψαν αὐτὸν ἀξίως τῆς ἀρετῆς. ἀντιφιλο-  
 τιμούμενος δ' ὁ δῆμος πρὸς τὴν βουλήν οὐδ'  
 αὐτὸς ἠξίωσε τὸ συνεισενεχθὲν διάφορον ἀποδιδόν-  
 των τῶν ταμιῶν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐχαρίσατο τοῖς  
 παισὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἰκτείρων τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἵνα  
 μηδὲν ἀνάξιον ἐπιτηδεύσωσι τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς  
 ἀρετῆς. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τίμησις ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ  
 τούτῳ διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων· ἐξ ἧς εὐρέθησαν ὑπὲρ  
 ἔνδεκα πάντων μυριάδες αἱ τιμησάμεναι.<sup>1</sup>

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ὑπατείας πραχθέντα  
 Ῥωμαίοις ταῦτ' ἦν.

<sup>1</sup> The sentence appears to be seriously corrupt; we should expect something like ὑπὲρ ἔνδεκα πολιτῶν μυριάδας τῶν τιμησαμένων. Jacoby retained the reading of the MSS.; Sylburg proposed πολιτῶν for πάντων.

of this, was ashamed of the business and resolved not to allow the most illustrious of all the Romans to be buried by private contributions, but thought it fitting that the expense should be defrayed from the public funds; and it entrusted the care of the matter to the quaestors.<sup>1</sup> These let the contract for the furnishing of his funeral for a very large sum of money; and having arrayed his body in the most sumptuous manner, and furnished everything else that could tend to magnificence, they buried him in a manner worthy of his virtue. Thereupon the people, in emulation of the senate, refused on their part to receive back the sum they had contributed, when the quaestors offered to return it, but presented it to the children of the deceased in compassion for their poverty and to prevent them from engaging in any pursuits unworthy of their father's virtue. There was also a census taken at this time by the consuls, according to which the number of the citizens who registered was found to amount to more than 110,000.

These were the acts of the Romans in this consulship.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *l.c.*, knows naught of this action by the senate.

# ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

## ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ

### ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

#### ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΟΣ

Ι. Τίτου δὲ Γεγανίου Μακερίνου<sup>1</sup> καὶ Ποπλίου Μηνυκίου τὴν ὑπατον ἐξουσίαν παραλαβόντων σίτου σπάνις ἰσχυρὰ τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσχευεν ἐκ τῆς ἀποστάσεως<sup>2</sup> λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχήν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δῆμος ἀπέστη τῶν πατρικίων μετὰ<sup>3</sup> τὴν μετοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν ὑπ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ σπόρου· ἐξέλιπον δὲ τὴν χώραν οἱ γεωργοῦντες ἅμα τῇ κινήσει καὶ διέστησαν<sup>4</sup> οἱ μὲν εὐτυχέστεροι<sup>5</sup> πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους, τὸ δὲ θητικὸν μέρος ὡς τοὺς δημοτικούς· καὶ διέμειναν ἐξ ἐκείνου χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ὄντες ἕως οὗ κατέστη καὶ συνῆλθεν ἡ πόλις εἰς ἑαυτὴν οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον δι-  
<sup>2</sup> αλλαγείσα τῆς χειμερινῆς τροπῆς. τὸν δὲ μεταξὺ χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ ὁ πᾶς ἐπιτελεῖται σπόρος ὠραῖος, ἔρημος ἡ χώρα τῶν ἐπιμελησομένων ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον διετέλεσεν, ὥστε μηδὲ κατελθοῦσι

<sup>1</sup> Μακερίνου Sigonius: καμερίνου A, καμερίου B.

<sup>2</sup> Sintenis: ἀποστασίας O.

<sup>3</sup> μετὰ R: περὶ B.

<sup>4</sup> διέστησαν BC: μετέστησαν R.

THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES  
OF  
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS  
BOOK VII

I. After<sup>1</sup> Titus Geganius Macerinus and Publius Minucius had entered upon their consulship, Rome suffered from a great scarcity of corn, which had its origin in the secession. For the populace seceded from the patricians after the autumnal equinox, just about the beginning of seed-time, and the husbandmen left their farms at the time of this uprising and divided, the more prosperous joining the patricians, while the labourers went over to the plebeians; and from that time the two classes remained aloof from each other till the commonwealth was composed and reunited, the reconciliation being effected not long before the winter solstice. During that interval, which is the season in which all planting of corn is best done, the land was destitute of people to cultivate it, and remained so for a long time. So that even when the husbandmen returned, it was no

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Livy ii. 34, 1-3.

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<sup>5</sup> εὐτυχέστεροι Capps: εὐχερέστεροι O, εὐγενέστεροι Cmg, χαριέστεροι Sintenis.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἔτι ῥάδιον εἶναι  
 δούλων τε ἀποστάσει καὶ κτηνῶν ὀλέθρῳ μεθ'  
 ὧν αὐτὴν ἔμελλον ἐργάζεσθαι κεκακωμένην,  
 ἀφορμῆς τε οὐ πολλοῖς<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν  
 3 ὑπαρχούσης οὔτε σπερμάτων οὔτε τροφῆς. ταῦτα  
 ἢ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα πρέσβεις διεπέμπετο πρὸς<sup>2</sup>  
 Τυρρηνοὺς καὶ Καμπανοὺς καὶ τὸ καλούμενον  
 Πωμεντῖνον πεδῖον σῖτον ὅσον ἂν δύναιντο πλεῖ-  
 στον ὠνησομένους. Πόπλιος δὲ Οὐαλέριος καὶ  
 Λεύκιος Γεγάνιος εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπεστάλησαν,  
 Οὐαλέριος μὲν υἱὸς ὧν Ποπλικόλα, Γεγάνιος δὲ  
 4 θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων ἀδελφός. τύραννοι δὲ τότε  
 κατὰ πόλεις μὲν ἦσαν, ἐπιφανέστατος δὲ Γέλων ὁ  
 Δεινομένος νεωστὶ τὴν Ἴπποκράτους<sup>3</sup> τυραννίδα  
 παρειληφώς, οὐχὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Συρακούσιος, ὡς  
 Λικίνιος γέγραφε καὶ Γέλλιος καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ  
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων συγγραφέων οὐθὲν ἐξητακότες τῶν  
 περὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἀκριβῶς, ὡς αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τοῦργον,  
 5 ἀλλ' εἰκῆ τὸ προστυχὸν ἀποφαινόμενοι. ἢ μὲν γὰρ  
 εἰς Σικελίαν ἀποδειχθεῖσα πρεσβεία κατὰ τὸν  
 δεύτερον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας  
 Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐξέπλευσεν ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ὑβρι-  
 λίδου, ἑπτακαίδεκα διελθόντων ἐτῶν μετὰ τὴν  
 ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων, ὡς οὗτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι  
 σχεδὸν ἅπαντες συγγραφεῖς ὁμολογοῦσι. Διο-  
 νύσιος δ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ὀγδοηκοστῷ καὶ πέμπτῳ  
 μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτει Συρακουσίους ἐπαναστὰς κατέσχε  
 τὴν τυραννίδα κατὰ τὸν τρίτον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς  
 ἐνενηκοστῆς καὶ τρίτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντος

<sup>1</sup> πολλοῖς B: πολλῆς R.

<sup>2</sup> διεπέμπετο πρὸς R: διέπεμπεν εἰς B.

BOOK VII. 1, 2-5

longer easy for them to bring it back under cultivation, inasmuch as it had suffered both from the desertion of slaves and the loss of animals with which they were to cultivate it, and as few of the husbandmen had any store of grain on hand for the next year for either seed or food. The senate, being informed of this, sent ambassadors to the Tyrrhenians and to the Campanians and also to the Pomptine plain, as it is called, to buy up all the corn they could, while Publius Valerius and Lucius Geganius were sent to Sicily; Valerius was a son of Publicola, and Geganius was brother to one of the consuls. Tyrants ruled in the various cities at that time, and the most illustrious was Gelon, the son of Deinomenes, who had lately succeeded to the tyranny of Hippocrates,<sup>1</sup>—not Dionysius of Syracuse, as Licinius and Gellius and many others of the Roman historians have stated, without having made any careful investigation of the dates involved, as the facts show of themselves, but rashly relating the first account that offered itself. For the embassy appointed to go to Sicily set sail in the second year of the seventy-second Olympiad,<sup>2</sup> when Hybrilides was archon at Athens, seventeen years after the expulsion of the kings, as these and almost all the other historians agree; whereas Dionysius the Elder, having made an uprising against the Syracusans in the eighty-fifth year after this, possessed himself of the tyranny in the third year of the ninety-third Olympiad,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gelon became tyrant of Gela in 491, and from 485 to his death in 478 was tyrant of Syracuse.

<sup>2</sup> 490 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> 405 B.C. He reigned from 405 to 367.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ after Ἰπποκράτους deleted by Cobet.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

6 Ἀθήνησι Καλλίου τοῦ<sup>1</sup> μετ' Ἀντιγένη. ὀλίγοις μὲν οὖν ἔτεσι διαμαρτεῖν τῶν χρόνων δοίη τις ἂν ἱστορικοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀρχαίας καὶ πολυτετεῖς συνταττομένοις πραγματείας, γενεαῖς δὲ δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶν ὄλαις ἀποπλανηθῆναι τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτρέψειεν. ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ὁ πρῶτος ἐν ταῖς χρονογραφίαις<sup>2</sup> τοῦτο καταχωρίσας, ὧ πάντες ἠκολούθησαν οἱ λοιποί, τοσοῦτο μόνον ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαίαις εὐρῶν ἀναγραφαῖς, ὅτι πρέσβεις ἀπεστάλησαν ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων εἰς Σικελίαν οἷτον ὠνησόμενοι καὶ παρήσαν ἐκεῖθεν ἄγοντες ἦν ὁ τύραννος ἔδωκε δωρεάν, οὐκέτι μὴν<sup>3</sup> παρὰ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐξετάσαι συγγραφέων ὅστις ἦν τύραννος τότε Σικελίας, ἀβασανίστως δὲ πως καὶ κατὰ τὸ προστυχὸν θεῖναι τὸν Διονύσιον.

II. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Σικελίας πλείοντες πρέσβεις χειμῶνι χρησάμενοι κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ κύκλω τὴν νῆσον περιπλεῖν ἀναγκασθέντες χρόνιοί τε κατήχθησαν πρὸς τὸν τύραννον, καὶ τὴν χειμερινὴν ἐκεῖ διατρίψαντες ὥραν κατὰ<sup>4</sup> θέρος ἐπανῆλθον εἰς

2 Ἰταλίαν πολλὰς κομίζοντες ἀγοράς. οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ Πωμεντῖνον ἀποσταλέντες πεδῖον ὀλίγου μὲν ἐδέησαν ὡς κατάσκοποι πρὸς τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἀναιρεθῆναι διαβληθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης φυγάδων, χαλεπῶς δὲ πάνυ διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἰδιοξένων<sup>5</sup> αὐτὰ διασῶσαι δυνηθέντες τὰ σώματα, δίχα τῶν χρημάτων ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν

3 Ῥώμην ἄπρακτοι. ὅμοια δὲ τούτοις συνέβη παθεῖν καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλιῶτιν ἀφικομένοις

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ B: om. R.

<sup>2</sup> χρονογραφίαις Bb: ὠρογραφίαις A, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> μὴν Bb, μὲν Post: om. R.



Callias, the successor of Antigenes, being then archon at Athens. Now an error of a few years in their dates might be allowed to historians who are composing works dealing with ancient events extending over many years, but a deviation from the truth by two or three entire generations would not be permissible. But it is probable that the first writer to record this event in his annals—whom all the rest then followed—finding in the ancient records only this, that ambassadors were sent under these consuls to Sicily to buy corn and returned from thence with the present of corn which the tyrant had given them, did not proceed further to discover from the Greek historians who was tyrant of Sicily at that time, but without examination and at random set down Dionysius.

II. The ambassadors who were sailing to Sicily, having met with a storm at sea and being obliged to sail round the island, were a long time in reaching the tyrant; then, after spending the winter season there, they returned to Italy in <sup>1</sup> the summer bringing with them a great quantity of provisions. But those who had been sent to the Pomptine plain came very near being put to death by the Volscians as spies, the Roman exiles having accused them of being such. And having with very great difficulty been able to escape with their lives, through the zealous efforts of their personal friends there, they returned to Rome without their funds and without having effected anything. The same fate happened to those who

<sup>1</sup> This is the conjecture of Gelenius; the MSS. have "after."

<sup>4</sup> κατὰ Gelenius: μετὰ B, Jacoby, μετὰ τὸ R.

<sup>5</sup> ἰδιοξένων R: ἰδίῳν ξένων B.

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Κύμην. καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθι<sup>1</sup> πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων δια-  
 τρίβοντες, οἱ σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ Ταρκυνίῳ διασωθέντες  
 ἐκ τῆς τελευταίας μάχης φυγάδες, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον  
 ἐξαιτεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπ-  
 εχείρησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἀποτυχόντες δὲ τούτου  
 ῥύσια κατασχεῖν ταῦτα<sup>2</sup> τὰ σώματα παρὰ τῆς  
 ἀπεσταλκυίας πόλεως ἤξιουν, ἕως ἀπολάβωσι τὰς  
 ἑαυτῶν οὐσίας, ἃς ἔφασαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀδίκως  
 δεδημεῦσθαι, καὶ ταύτης ὦντο δεῖν τῆς δίκης τὸν  
 4 τύραννον αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι κριτὴν. ὁ δὲ τυραννῶν  
 τότε τῆς Κύμης Ἀριστόδημος ἦν ὁ Ἀριστο-  
 κράτους, ἀνὴρ οὐ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἕνεκα γένους,  
 ὃς ἐπεκαλεῖτο<sup>3</sup> Μαλακὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ σὺν  
 χρόνῳ γνωριμωτέραν τοῦ ὀνόματος ἔσχε τὴν  
 ἐπίκλησιν,<sup>4</sup> εἶθ' ὅτι θηλυδρίας ἐγένετο παῖς ὦν καὶ  
 τὰ γυναιξὶν ἀρμόττοντα ἔπασχεν, ὡς ἱστοροῦσί  
 τινες, εἶθ' ὅτι πρᾶος ἦν φύσει καὶ μαλακὸς εἰς<sup>5</sup>  
 5 ὀργήν, ὡς ἕτεροι γράφουσιν. ἀφορμαῖς δὲ τῆς  
 τυραννίδος ὁποῖαις ἐχρήσατο καὶ τίνας ἦλθεν ἐπ'  
 αὐτὴν ὁδοὺς καὶ πῶς διώκησε τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 καταστροφῆς τε ὁποῖας ἔτυχεν οὐκ ἄκαιρον  
 εἶναι δοκῶ μικρὸν ἐπιστήσας τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν  
 διήγησιν κεφαλαιωδῶς διεξελεθεῖν.

### III. Ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς καὶ τετάρτης Ὀλυμπιάδος

<sup>1</sup> αὐτόθι BC: ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει A.

<sup>2</sup> ταῦτα BC: αὐτὰ A.

<sup>3</sup> Kiessling: ἐκαλεῖτο O, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπίκλησιν B: κλήσιν AC, Suidas.

<sup>5</sup> εἰς A, Suidas: πρὸς B, om. Cobet.

went to Cumae.<sup>1</sup> For many Roman exiles who had escaped with Tarquinius from the last battle, and were now residing in that city, at first endeavoured to prevail upon the tyrant to deliver up the ambassadors to them to be put to death; and when they failed to gain this request, they asked that they might detain their persons as pledges till they should receive from the city that had sent them their own fortunes, which they declared had been unjustly confiscated by the Romans; and they thought it proper that the tyrant should be the judge of their cause. The tyrant of Cumae at that time was Aristodemus, the son of Aristocrates, a man of no obscure birth, who was called by the citizens Malacus or "Effeminate"—a nickname which in time came to be better known than his own name—either because when a boy he was effeminate and allowed himself to be treated as a woman, as some relate, or because he was of a mild nature and slow to anger, as others state. It seems to me that it is not out of place to interrupt my account of Roman affairs at this point for a short time in order to relate briefly what opportunities he had to seek the tyranny, by what methods he attained to it, how he conducted the government, and to what end he came.

III. In the sixty-fourth Olympiad, when Miltiades

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "the Italian Cymê," so designated to distinguish it from one or more other cities bearing the same name. Cumae was reputed to have been founded by colonists from Chalcis and Eretria in Euboea (*cf.* chap. 3). But the name was evidently given in honour of the native city of a part at least of its founders, and it is probable that that city was Cymê near Chalcis, a place that was early merged with Chalcis, losing its separate identity. As a result, the better-known Cymê on the coast of Asia Minor was sometimes given the credit of having sent out this colony.

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ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Μιλτιάδου Κύμην τὴν ἐν Ὀπικοῖς Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν, ἣν Ἐρετριεῖς τε καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς ἔκτισαν, Τυρρηνῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον κατοικοῦντες ἐκεῖθεν θ' ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐξελαθέντες σὺν χρόνῳ, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ὀμβρικοὶ τε καὶ Δαῦνιοι καὶ συχνοὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνελεῖν οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες εἰπεῖν πρόφασιν τοῦ μίσους δικαίαν ὅτι μὴ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν

2 τῆς πόλεως. ἦν γὰρ Κύμη κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους περιβόητος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὅλην πλούτου τε καὶ δυνάμεως ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν γῆν τε κατέχουσα τῆς Καμπανῶν πεδιάδος τὴν πολυκαρποτάτην καὶ λιμένων κρατοῦσα τῶν περὶ Μισηνὸν ἐπικαιροτάτων. τούτοις ἐπιβουλεύσαντες τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτήν, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντήκοντα μυριάδων, ἵππεῖς δὲ δυεῖν χιλιάδων ἀποδέοντες εἶναι δισμύριοι. ἐστρατοπεδευκόσι δ' αὐτοῖς οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τέρας γίνεται θαυμαστόν, οἷον ἐν οὐδενὶ χρόνῳ μνημονεύεται γενόμενον οὔθ' Ἑλλάδος οὔτε βαρβάρου γῆς οὐδαμόθι.

3 οἱ γὰρ<sup>1</sup> παρὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα ρέοντες αὐτῶν ποταμοί, Οὐολτοῦρνος ὄνομα θατέρῳ, τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ Γλάνις, ἀφέντες τὰς κατὰ φύσιν ὁδοὺς ἀέστρεψαν τὰ νάματα καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διετέλεσαν ἀπὸ τῶν

4 στομάτων<sup>2</sup> ἀναχωροῦντες ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς. τοῦτο καταμαθόντες οἱ Κυμαῖοι τότε ἐθάρρησαν ὁμοσε τοῖς βαρβάροις χωρεῖν ὡς τοῦ δαιμονίου ταπεινὰ μὲν τὰ κείνων μετέωρα θήσοντος, ὑψηλὰ δὲ τὰ δοκοῦντα εἶναι σφῶν ταπεινά. νείμαντες δὲ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> γὰρ added by Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> στομάτων B: στομίων R.

was archon at Athens,<sup>1</sup> the Tyrrhenians who had inhabited the country lying near the Ionian Gulf,<sup>2</sup> but had been driven from thence in the course of time by the Gauls, joined themselves to the Umbrians, Daunians, and many other barbarians, and undertook to overthrow Cumae, the Greek city in the country of the Opicans founded by Eretrians and Chalcidians, though they could allege no other just ground for their animosity than the prosperity of the city.<sup>3</sup> For Cumae was at that time celebrated throughout all Italy for its riches, power, and all the other advantages, as it possessed the most fertile part of the Campanian plain and was mistress of the most convenient havens round about Misenum. The barbarians, accordingly, forming designs upon these advantages, marched against this city with an army consisting of no less than 500,000 foot and 18,000 horse. While they lay encamped not far from the city, a remarkable prodigy appeared to them, the like of which is not recorded as ever having happened anywhere in either the Greek or the barbarian world. The rivers, namely, which ran near their camp, one of which is called the Volturnus and the other the Glanis,<sup>2</sup> leaving their natural channels, turned their streams backwards and for a long time continued to run up from their mouths toward their sources. The Cumaeans, being informed of this prodigy, were then at last encouraged to engage with the barbarians, in the assurance that Heaven designed to bring low the lofty eminence of their foes and to raise their own fortunes, which seemed at low ebb. And having

<sup>1</sup> 524/3 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> The Adriatic; *cf.* i. 10, 1 and note; i. 18, 3.

<sup>3</sup> The name usually appears as Clanis.

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ἐν ἀκμῇ δύναμιν ἅπασαν τριχῆ, μιᾷ μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἐφρούρουν, τῇ δ' ἑτέρα τὰς ναῦς εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ταξάμενοι τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐδέχοντο. τούτων ἵππεῖς μὲν ἦσαν ἑξακόσιοι, πεζοὶ δὲ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι· καὶ οὕτως ὄντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὀλίγοι τὰς τοσαύτας ὑπέστησαν μυριάδας.

- IV. Ὡς δὲ κατέμαθον αὐτοὺς οἱ βάρβαροι μάχεσθαι παρεσκευασμένους, ἀλαλάξαντες ἐχώρουν ὁμόσε τὸν βάρβαρον τρόπον ἄνευ κόσμου πεζοὶ τε καὶ ἵππεῖς ἀναμιξ ὡς ἅπαντας ἀναρπασόμενοι.<sup>1</sup> ἦν δὲ τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως χωρίον ἐν ᾧ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοις αὐλῶν στενὸς ὄρεσι καὶ λίμναις περικλειόμενος, τῇ μὲν ἀρετῇ τῶν Κυμαίων σύμμαχος,<sup>2</sup> τῷ δὲ πλήθει τῶν βαρβάρων πολέμιος. ἀνατρεπόμενοι γὰρ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ συμπατούμενοι πολλαχῆ μὲν καὶ ἄλλη, μάλιστα δὲ περὶ τὰ τέλματα τῆς λίμνης, οὐδ' εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες τῇ φάλαγγι τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὶ δι' αὐτῶν οἱ πλείους διεφθάρησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν πεζὸς αὐτῶν στρατὸς ὁ πολὺς περὶ ἑαυτῷ σφαλεῖς, ἔργον δὲ γενναῖον οὐδὲν ἀποδειξάμενος, ἄλλος ἄλλη διασκεδασθεὶς ἔφυγεν.<sup>2</sup> οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς συνῆλθον μὲν ὁμόσε καὶ πολὺν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν οὗτοι παρέσχον πόνον· ἀδύνατοι δ' ὄντες κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους διὰ στενοχωρίαν, καί τι καὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου κερανοῖς καὶ ὕδασι καὶ βρονταῖς συναγωνισαμένου τοῖς Ἑλλησι, δείσαντες εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται.<sup>3</sup> ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ πάντες μὲν οἱ τῶν Κυμαίων ἵππεῖς λαμπρῶς ἠγωνίσαντο, καὶ τῆς νίκης οὗτοι

<sup>1</sup> Reiske: ἀρπασόμενοι Ο.

divided all their youth into three bodies, with one of these they defended the city, with another they guarded their ships, and the third they drew up before the walls to await the enemy's attack. These consisted of 600 horse and of 4500 foot. And though so few in number, they sustained the attack of so many myriads.

IV. When the barbarians learned that they were ready to fight, they uttered their war-cry and came to close quarters, in the barbarian fashion, without any order, the horse and foot intermingled, in the expectation of utterly annihilating them. The place before the city where they engaged was a narrow defile surrounded by mountains and lakes, a terrain favourable to the valour of the Cumaeans and unfavourable to the multitude of the barbarians. For they were knocked down and trampled upon by one another in many parts of the field, but particularly around the marshy edges of the lake, so that the greater part of them were destroyed by their own forces without even engaging the battle-line of the Greeks. Thus their huge army of foot defeated itself, and without performing any brave action dispersed and fled in every direction. The horse, however, engaged and gave the Greeks great trouble; yet being unable to surround their enemies by reason of the narrow space, and Heaven also rendering the Greeks some assistance with lightning, rain and thunder, they were seized with fear and turned to flight. In this action all the Cumaeon horse fought brilliantly, and they were allowed to have

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<sup>2</sup> ἔφυγεν A; ἔφευγεν R.

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μάλιστα ὠμολογοῦντο αἴτιοι γενέσθαι, ὑπὲρ ἅπαν-  
 τας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἄριστόδημος ὁ Μαλακὸς  
 ἐπικαλούμενος· καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολε-  
 μίων οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μόνος ὑποστάς καὶ ἄλλους  
 πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς. λυθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου  
 τὰς χαριστηρίους θυσίας ἀποδόντες οἱ Κυμαῖοι  
 τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ταφὰς τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν<sup>1</sup> τῇ  
 μάχῃ λαμπρὰς ποιησάμενοι, περὶ τῶν ἀριστείων,  
 ὅτῳ χρῆ τὸν πρῶτον ἀποδοῦναι στέφανον, εἰς  
 4 πολλὴν κατέστησαν ἔριν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀκέραιοι  
 κριταὶ τὸν Ἄριστόδημον ἐβούλοντο τιμῆσαι, καὶ  
 ἦν ὁ δῆμος ἅπας<sup>2</sup> μετ' ἐκείνου· οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ τὸν  
 ἱππάρχην Ἰππομέδοντα, καὶ ἡ βουλή πᾶσα τούτῳ  
 συνελάμβανεν· ἦν δ' ἀριστοκρατικὴ τότε παρὰ  
 τοῖς Κυμαίοις ἡ πολιτεία, καὶ ὁ δῆμος οὐ πολλῶν  
 τινων κύριος. στάσεως δὲ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἔριν  
 ἀνισταμένης δείσαντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μὴ πρὸς  
 ὄπλα καὶ φόνους χωρήσῃ τὸ φιλότιμον, ἔπεισαν  
 ἀμφοτέρας τὰς τάξεις συγχωρῆσαι τὰς ἴσας λαβεῖν  
 5 τιμὰς ἐκάτερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἀπὸ ταύτης γίνεται  
 τῆς ἀρχῆς δήμου προστάτης ὁ Ἄριστόδημος<sup>3</sup> καὶ  
 λόγου πολιτικοῦ δύναμιν ἀσκήσας ἐξεδημαγῶγει  
 τὸ πλῆθος, πολιτεύμασί τε κεχαρισμένοις ἀνα-  
 λαμβάνων καὶ τοὺς σφετεριζομένους τὰ κοινὰ τῶν  
 δυνατῶν ἐξελέγχων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων  
 πολλοὺς τῶν πενήτων<sup>4</sup> εὖ ποιῶν· καὶ ἦν τοῖς  
 προεστηκόσι τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας διὰ ταῦτα ἐπα-  
 χθῆς καὶ φοβερός.

V. Εἰκοστῷ δ' ὕστερον ἔτει τῆς πρὸς τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> ἐν O : τῶν ἐν Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> ἅπας B : om. R.

<sup>3</sup> Μαλακὸς before Ἄριστόδημος deleted by Kiessling.



been the chief cause of the victory ; but Aristodemus, nicknamed Malacus, distinguished himself above all the rest, for he alone sustained the attack of the enemy and slew their general as well as many other brave men. When the war was at an end and the Cumaeans had offered sacrifices to the gods in thanksgiving for their victory and had given a splendid burial to those who had been slain in the battle, they fell into great strife concerning the prize for valour, disputing to whom they ought to award the first crown. For the impartial judges wished to bestow this honour upon Aristodemus, and the people were all on his side ; but the men in power desired to confer it upon Hippomedon, the commander of the horse, and the whole senate championed his cause. The Cumaeans were at that time governed by an aristocracy, and the people were not in control of many matters. And when a sedition arose because of this strife, the older men, fearing that the rivalry might proceed to arms and bloodshed, prevailed on both parties to consent that each of the men should receive equal honours. From this beginning Aristodemus became a champion of the people, and having cultivated proficiency in political oratory, he seduced the mob by his harangues, improved their condition by popular measures, exposed the powerful men who were appropriating the public property, and relieved many of the poor with his own money. By this means he became both odious and formidable to the leading men of the aristocracy.

V. In the twentieth year after the engagement

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<sup>4</sup> *πενήτων* B : *πολιτῶν* A.

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βαρβάρους μάχης ἦλθον ὡς τοὺς Κυμαίους Ἄρικ-  
 κηνῶν πρέσβεις σὺν ἰκετηρίαῖς ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοὺς  
 βοηθῆσαι σφίσιν ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν πολεμουμένοις.  
 μετὰ γὰρ τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἃς ἐποιήσατο πρὸς τὴν  
 Ἑρωμαίων πόλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Τυρρηνῶν  
 Πορσίνας, τὸν υἱὸν Ἄρροντα δούς τὴν ἡμίσειαν  
 τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔπεμψεν ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν κτήσασθαι  
 βουλόμενον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτου δεδήλωκα  
 λόγοις· ὃς ἐπολιόρκει τότε τοὺς Ἄρικηνοὺς  
 καταπεφευγότας εἰς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ  
<sup>2</sup> λιμῶ τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν ᾤετο. ταύτης τῆς  
 πρεσβείας ἀφικομένης οἱ προεστηκότες τῆς ἀριστο-  
 κρατίας μισοῦντες τὸν Ἄριστόδημον καὶ δεδι-  
 ότες μή τι κακὸν ἐξεργάσῃται περὶ τὴν πολι-  
 τείαν, κάλλιστον ὑπέλαβον εἰληφέναι καιρὸν ἐκ-  
 ποδῶν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι σὺν εὐσχήμονι προφάσει.  
 πείσαντες δὴ τὸν δῆμον ἀποστεῖλαι Ἄρικηνοῖς  
 δισχιλίους ἄνδρας ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν, καὶ στρατηγὸν  
 ἀποδείξαντες τὸν Ἄριστόδημον ὡς δὴ τὰ πολέμια  
 λαμπρόν, τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπραττον ἐξ ὧν ἢ κατα-  
 κοπήσεσθαι μαχόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν αὐτὸν  
 ὑπελάμβανον ἢ κατὰ πέλαγος διαφθαρῆσεσθαι.  
<sup>3</sup> γενόμενοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς κύριοι καταλέξαι  
 τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐξελεусομένους τῶν μὲν  
 ἐπισήμων καὶ λόγου ἀξίων οὐδένα κατέγραψαν,  
 ἐπιλέξαντες δὲ τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους τε καὶ πονηρο-  
 τάτους τῶν δημοτικῶν, ἐξ ὧν αἰεὶ τινὰς ὑπώπτειον  
 νεωτερισμούς, ἐκ τούτων συνεπλήρωσαν τὸν ἀπό-  
 στολον· καὶ ναῦς δέκα παλαιᾶς κάκιστα πλεύσας

## BOOK VII. 5, 1-3

with the barbarians ambassadors from the Aricians came to the Cumaeans with the tokens of suppliants to beg their assistance against the Tyrrhenians who were making war upon them. For, as I related in an earlier book,<sup>1</sup> Porsena, king of the Tyrrhenians, after making peace with Rome, had sent out his son Arruns with one half of the army when the youth desired to acquire a dominion for himself. Arruns, then, at the time in question was besieging the Aricians, whom he had forced to take refuge inside their walls, and he expected to capture the city soon by famine. When this embassy arrived, the leading men of the aristocracy, who hated Aristodemus and feared he might do some harm to the established government, thought they had got a very fine opportunity to get rid of him under a specious pretence. They accordingly persuaded the people to send two thousand men to the aid of the Aricians and appointed Aristodemus as general, ostensibly because of his brilliant military achievements; after which they took such measures as they supposed would result in his either being destroyed in battle by the Tyrrhenians or perishing at sea. For being empowered by the senate to raise the forces that were to be sent as auxiliaries, they enrolled no men of distinction or reputation, but choosing out the poorest and the most unprincipled of the common people from whom they were under continual apprehension of some uprisings, they made up out of these the complement of men who were to be sent upon the expedition. And launching ten old ships that were most unseaworthy and were

<sup>1</sup> v. 36, 1 f.

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καθελκύσαντες, ὧν ἑτρηράρχουν οἱ πενέστατοι Κυμαίων, εἰς ταύτας αὐτοὺς ἐνεβίβασαν θάνατον ἀπειλήσαντες, εἴαν τις ἀπολειφθῆ τῆς στρατείας.

VI. Ὁ δ' Ἀριστόδημος τοσοῦτον εἰπὼν μόνον, ὡς οὐ λέληθεν αὐτὸν ἢ διάνοια τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν αὐτὸν ἀποστέλλουσιν, ἔργῳ δ' εἰς προὔπτον ὄλεθρον, δέχεται μὲν τὴν στρατηγίαν, ἀναχθεὶς δ' ἅμα τοῖς πρέσβεσι τῶν Ἀρικηνῶν διὰ ταχέων καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ πέλαγος ἐπιπόνως καὶ κινδυνωδῶς διανύσας ὀρμίζεται κατὰ τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀρικείας αἰγιαλοῦς· καὶ καταλιπὼν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ φυλακὴν ἀποχρῶσαν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ νυκτὶ τὴν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ὁδὸν οὐ πολλὴν οὔσαν διανύσας ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς Ἀρικηνοῖς περὶ  
 2 τὸν ὄρθρον ἀπροσδόκητος. θέμενος δὲ πλησίον αὐτῶν τὸν χάρακα καὶ τοὺς καταπεφευγότας εἰς τὰ τεῖχη πείσας προελθεῖν εἰς ὑπαιθρον προὔκαλεῖτο τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς εὐθύς εἰς μάχην. γενομένου δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀγῶνος<sup>1</sup> καρτεροῦ οἱ μὲν Ἀρικηνοὶ βραχὺν πάνυ διαμείναντες χρόνον ἐν-έκλιναν ἀθρόοι, καὶ γίνεται πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῶν φυγὴ· ὁ δ' Ἀριστόδημος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν λογάσι Κυμαίων ὀλίγοις οὔσι πᾶν τὸ τοῦ πολέμου βάρος ὑποστάς καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Τυρρηνῶν αὐτοχειρίᾳ κτεῖνας τρέπει τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς φυγὴν καὶ νίκην ἀναιρεῖται πασῶν λαμπρο-  
 3 τάτην. διαπραξάμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τιμηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρικηνῶν πολλαῖς δωρεαῖς ἀπέπλει διὰ ταχέων αὐτὸς ἄγγελος τοῖς Κυμαίοις τῆς αὐτοῦ

commanded by the poorest of the Cumaeans, they embarked the forces on board these ships, threatening with death anyone who should fail to enlist.

VI. Aristodemus, merely remarking that he was not ignorant of the purpose of his enemies, namely, that in word they were sending him to the assistance of the Aricians, but in fact to manifest destruction, accepted the command, and hastily setting sail with the ambassadors of the Aricians, and accomplishing the voyage over the intervening sea with great difficulty and danger, came to anchor at points along the coast nearest to Aricia. And leaving a sufficient number of men on board to guard the ships, on the first night he made the march, which was not a long one, from the sea to the city and appeared unexpectedly to the inhabitants at dawn. Then, encamping near the city and persuading the citizens who had fled for refuge inside the walls to come out into the open, he promptly challenged the Tyrrhenians to battle. And a sharp engagement ensuing, the Aricians after a very short resistance all gave way and again fled inside the walls. But Aristodemus with a small body of chosen Cumaeans sustained the united shock of the enemy, and having slain the general of the Tyrrhenians with his own hand, put the rest to flight and gained the most glorious of all victories. After he had performed these achievements and been honoured with many presents by the Aricians, he sailed home immediately, desiring to be himself the messenger to the Cumaeans of his

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<sup>1</sup> γενομένου δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀγῶνος ACb: γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως καὶ ἀγῶνος R.

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νίκης βουλόμενος γενέσθαι· εἶποντο δ' αὐτῷ πολ-  
 λαὶ πάνν τῶν Ἀρικηνῶν ὀλκάδες τὰ λάφυρα καὶ  
 4 τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἄγουσαι. ὡς  
 δὲ πλησίον ἐγένοντο τῆς Κύμης, ὀρμίσας τὰς ναῦς  
 ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ στρατοῦ ποιεῖται, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν  
 τῶν προεστηκότων τῆς πόλεως κατηγορήσας,  
 πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν ἀνδραγαθησάντων κατὰ τὴν μάχην  
 ἐπαίνους διελθὼν ἀργύριόν τε διαδοὺς αὐτοῖς κατ'  
 ἄνδρα καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν Ἀρικηνῶν δωρεὰς εἰς  
 κοινὸν ἅπασι καταθεῖς<sup>1</sup> ἠξίου μεμνήσθαι τῶν  
 εὐεργεσιῶν, ἂν καταπλεύσωσιν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα,  
 καὶ ἂν τις αὐτῷ ποτε συμβαίνει κίνδυνος ἐκ τῆς  
 5 ὀλιγαρχίας, ὡς δύναμις ἐκάστῳ βοηθεῖν. ἀπάντων  
 δὲ πολλὰς ὁμολογούντων αὐτῷ χάριτας εἰδέναί  
 τῆς τε ἀνεπίστου σωτηρίας ἣν δι' ἐκεῖνον ἔσχον,  
 καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα οὐ σὺν κεναῖς χερσὶν ἀφ-  
 ἴξεως, καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς θάπτον ἢ τὴν ἐκείνου  
 προήσασθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπαγγελιομένων,<sup>2</sup> ἐπ-  
 αινέσας αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ μετὰ  
 τοῦτο καλῶν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνὴν τοὺς πονηρο-  
 τάτους ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναιοτάτους  
 δωρεῶν τε δόσει καὶ λόγων φιλανθρωπία καὶ ταῖς  
 ἅπαντας ἐξαπατώσας ἐλπίσι διαφθείρας, ἐτόίμους  
 ἔσχε συγκαταλῦσαι τὴν καθεστῶσαν πολιτείαν.

VII. Οὓς συνεργοὺς καὶ συναγωνιστὰς λαβῶν  
 καὶ ἃ δεήσει πράττειν ἐκάστοις ὑποθέμενος τοῖς  
 τε αἰχμαλώτοις οὓς ἐπήγετο<sup>3</sup> προῖκα δούς τὴν  
 ἐλευθερίαν, ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων εὐνοίαν προσλάβῃ,  
 κατέπλει κεκοσμημέναις ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς τοὺς τῶν

<sup>1</sup> καταθεῖς B: προθεῖς R.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπαγγελιομένων R: ἐπαγγειλαμένων B, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπήγετο B: ὑπηγάγετο R, ἐπηγάγετο Gelenius.

victory. He was followed by a great number of merchantmen belonging to the Aricians, laden with the spoils and prisoners taken from the Tyrrhenians. When they arrived near Cumae, he brought his ships to shore, and assembling his army, inveighed vehemently against the chief men of the city and bestowed many praises upon the soldiers who had distinguished themselves in the battle; and having given money to every one of them man by man and placed at the joint disposal of all of them the presents he had received from the Aricians, he asked that they should remember these favours when they returned home, and if he should be threatened with any danger from the oligarchy, that every one of them should assist him to the utmost of his power. Then, when all acknowledged themselves to be under great obligations to him, not only for their unexpected preservation which they owed to him, but also for their not returning home with empty hands, and promised to sacrifice their own lives sooner than to abandon him to his enemies, he commended them and dismissed the assembly. After this he called into his tent those among them who were the most unprincipled and the most daring in action, and by means of largesses, fair words, and hopes which seduce all men, he bribed them in readiness to assist him in overthrowing the established government.

VII. After he had secured these men as his assistants and participants with him in the struggle, and had acquainted each one with the part he was to play, and furthermore had set at liberty without ransom all the prisoners he was bringing along, in order to gain their goodwill also, he sailed with his

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Κυμαίων λιμένας. οἱ δὲ τῶν στρατευομένων πατέρες τε καὶ μητέρες καὶ πᾶσα ἢ ἄλλη συγγένεια, παιδιά τε καὶ γαμεταὶ γυναῖκες, ὑπήντων ἐξιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς μετὰ δακρῶν περιπλεκόμενοι καὶ καταφιλοῦντες καὶ ταῖς ἡδίσταις ἕκαστον ἀνα-

2 καλούμενοι προσηγορίαις. καὶ ἡ ἄλλη δὲ πληθὺς ἡ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασα χαρᾶ καὶ κρότῳ δεξιουμένη τὸν ἡγεμόνα προὔπεμπεν εἰς οἶκον ἀπιόντα. ἐφ' οἷς οἱ προεστηκότες τῆς πόλεως ἀνιώμενοι, μάλιστα δ' οἱ τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτῷ παραδόντες καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς τὸν ὄλεθρον μηχανησάμενοι, πονηροὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος εἶχον διαλογισμούς.

3 ὁ δὲ διαλιπὼν ὀλίγας τινὰς ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς τὰς εὐχὰς ἀπεδίδου τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὰς ὑστεριζούσας ὀλκάδας ἀνεδέχετο, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἦν, ἔφη βούλεσθαι τὰ πραχθέντα κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἀπαγγεῖλαι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λάφυρα ἀποδείξαι. συνελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἐν τέλει κατὰ πλῆθος εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ὁ μὲν ἐδημηγόρει παρελθὼν καὶ πάντα τὰ γενόμενα κατὰ τὴν μάχην διεξήκει, οἱ δὲ παρασκευασθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνεργοὶ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως ἔχοντες ὑπὸ τοῖς ἱματίοις ξίφη κατὰ πλῆθος εἰσδραμόντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀποσφάττουσιν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀριστοκρατι-

4 κούς. φυγὴ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο τῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ δρόμος ἐγένετο,<sup>1</sup> τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας, τῶν δ' ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, πλὴν τῶν συνειδότην τὴν ἐπίθεσιν· οὗτοι δὲ τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὰ νεώρια καὶ τοὺς



ships decked out into the harbours of Cumae. When the soldiers disembarked, they were met by their fathers and mothers and all the rest of their kinsmen, their children and their wedded wives, who embraced them with tears and kisses and called each of them by the most endearing terms. And all the other citizens, receiving the general with joy and applause, conducted him to his house. But the chief men of the city, particularly those who had given him the command and concerted the other measures for his destruction, were vexed at these manifestations and felt sinister apprehensions regarding the future. Aristodemus allowed a few days to pass, during which he performed his vows to the gods and waited for the merchantmen that were late in arriving, and then, when the proper time came, he said he desired to give the senate an account of the circumstances of the battle and to show them the spoils taken in the war. Then, the authorities having assembled in great numbers, he came forward and made a speech, in which he related everything that had happened in the battle; and while he was speaking, the accomplices in the plot with whom he had arranged matters rushed into the senate-house in a body with swords under their garments and killed all the members of the aristocracy. Thereupon there ensued a flight of those who were in the forum and a rush of some to their houses and of others away from the city, except of such as were privy to the conspiracy; the latter in the mean time captured the citadel, the dockyards, and the strong

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<sup>1</sup> ἐγένετο added here by Sintenis, after φυγή δ' by Jacoby; ἐγίνετο added here by Grasberger.

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ἐρυμνούς τόπους τῆς πόλεως κατελάμβανον. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ λύσας ἐκ τῶν δεσμωτηρίων τοὺς ἐπιθανατίους πολλοὺς ὄντας καὶ καθοπλίσας ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλοις, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν καὶ οἱ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν αἰχμάλωτοι, φυλακὴν ἐκ τούτων καθίσταται  
 5 περὶ τὸ σῶμα. ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης συγκαλέσας τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πολλὴν κατηγορίαν διαθέμενος τῶν φονευθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν, ἐκείνους μὲν ἔφη τετιμωρῆσθαι σὺν δίκῃ πολλάκις ἐπιβουλευθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις πολίταις ἐλευθερίαν φέρων παρεῖναι καὶ ἰσηγορίαν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ κάγαθά.<sup>1</sup>

VIII. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ θαυμαστῶν ἅπαντας ἐμπλήσας ἐλπίδων τοὺς δημοτικούς δύο τὰ κάκιστα <sup>2</sup> τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις καθίσταται πολιτευμάτων, οἷς ἅπασα χρῆται προοιμίῳ τυραννίς, γῆς ἀναδασμὸν καὶ χρεῶν ἄφεσιν· τούτων δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέρων ὑπισχνεῖται <sup>3</sup> ποιήσεσθαι στρατηγὸς ἀποδειχθεὶς αὐτοκράτωρ, ἕως ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τὰ κοινὰ γένηται καὶ δημοκρατικὴν κατα-  
 2 στήσωνται πολιτείαν. ἀσμένως δὲ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ πλήθους τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων δεξαμένου λαβὼν τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἕτερον ἐπιφέρει βούλευμα, δι' οὗ παρακρουσάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀπάντων ἀφείλετο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. σκηψάμενος γὰρ ὑποπτεύειν ταραχὰς καὶ ἐπαναστάσεις ἐκ τῶν πλουσίων εἰς τοὺς δημοτικούς διὰ τὸν ἀναδασμὸν τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰς τῶν δανείων ἀφάσεις, ἵνα μὴ γένοιτο πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος μηδὲ

<sup>1</sup> Naber: ἀγαθὰ O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> κάκιστα B: κάλλιστα R.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπισχνίται (sic) B: ὑπεσχνεῖτο R.

places of the city. The following night he released from the prisons all who were under sentence of death, of whom there were many, and arming them together with his friends, among whom were the Tyrrhenian prisoners, he formed out of these a body-guard for himself. When it was day, he assembled the people and after inveighing at length against the citizens who had been put to death by his orders, he said that those men, having often sought his life, had been justly punished by him, but that, as for the rest of the citizens, he had come to give them liberty, equal rights of speech, and many other advantages.

VIII. When he had said this and thereby filled all the common people with wonderful hopes, he established two institutions which are the worst of all human institutions and the prologues to every tyranny—a redistribution of the land and an abolition of debts. He promised that he would take upon himself the care of both these matters if he were appointed general with absolute power till the public tranquillity should be secured and they had established a democratic constitution. When the common people and the unprincipled rabble gladly accepted the proposal to pillage the goods of other men, Aristodemus conferred upon himself the supreme command, and proposed another measure by which he deceived them and deprived them all of their liberty. For pretending to suspect that the rich would raise disturbances and insurrections against the common people on account of the redistribution of the land and the abolition of debts, he said the only means he could think of to prevent a civil war and the slaughter of citizens and to guard against these

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φόνοι πολιτικοί, μίαν εὕρισκεν ἔφη πρὶν εἰς τὰ  
 δεινὰ ἐλθεῖν φυλακὴν, εἰ τὰ ὄπλα προενέγκαντες <sup>1</sup>  
 ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἅπαντες τοῖς θεοῖς καθιερώσειαν,  
 ἵνα κατὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιόντων πολεμίων ἔχοιεν  
 αὐτοῖς, ὅταν ἀνάγκη τις καταλάβῃ, χρῆσθαι καὶ  
 μὴ καθ' ἑαυτῶν, κείσεσθαι <sup>2</sup> δ' αὐτὰ τέως παρὰ τοῖς  
<sup>3</sup> θεοῖς ἐν καλῷ. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπέισθησαν,  
 αὐθημερὸν ἀπάντων παρελόμενος Κυμαίων τὰ  
 ὄπλα ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἔρευναν ἐποιεῖτο τῶν  
 οἰκιῶν, ἐν αἷς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀποκτείνας  
 τῶν πολιτῶν, ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπο-  
 δείξαντας τὰ ὄπλα, μετὰ ταῦτα φυλακαῖς τρισὶ  
 κρατύνεται τὴν τυραννίδα· ὧν ἦν <sup>3</sup> μία μὲν ἐκ  
 τῶν ῥυπαρωτάτων τε καὶ πονηροτάτων <sup>4</sup> πολιτῶν,  
 μεθ' ὧν κατέλυσε τὴν ἀριστοκρατικὴν πολιτείαν,  
 ἑτέρα δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀνοσιωτάτων δούλων, οὓς αὐτὸς  
 ἠλευθέρωσε ἀποκτείναντας τοὺς αὐτῶν δεσπότας,  
 τρίτη δὲ μισθοφόρος ἐκ τῶν ἀγριωτάτων βαρ-  
 βάρων· οὗτοι δισχιλίῳν οὐκ ἐλάττους ἦσαν καὶ  
<sup>4</sup> τὰ πολέμια μακρῷ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμείνους. ὧν δ'  
 ἀπέκτεινεν <sup>5</sup> ἀνδρῶν τὰς εἰκόνας ἀνελὼν ἐκ  
 παντὸς ἱεροῦ καὶ βεβήλου τόπου, φέρων <sup>6</sup> εἰς τοὺς  
 αὐτοὺς τόπους τὰς ἰδίας ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἀνέστησεν·  
 οἰκίας δ' αὐτῶν καὶ κλήρους καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ὑπαρξίν  
 ἀναλαβών, ἐξελόμενος χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ εἴ τι  
 ἄλλο τυραννίδος ἦν ἀξίον κτήμα, τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς  
 συγκατασκευάσασι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχαρίσατο, πλείστας  
 δὲ καὶ μεγίστας δωρεὰς τοῖς ἀποκτείνασι τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> Jacoby: προενεγκόντες O.

<sup>2</sup> Cobet: κείσθαι O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> ἦν Reiske: ἡ O.

miseries before they happened, was for all of them to bring the arms out of their houses and to consecrate them to the gods, in order that they might make use of them against foreign enemies who should attack them, whenever the necessity should arise, and not against one another, and that in the mean time they would be suitably placed in the keeping of the gods. When they agreed to this also, he disarmed all the Cumaeans that very day, and during the following days he searched their houses, where he put to death many worthy citizens, alleging that they had not produced all their arms for the gods. After this he strengthened his tyranny by three sorts of guards. The first consisted of the filthiest and the most unprincipled of the citizens, by whose aid he had overthrown the aristocracy; the second, of the most impious slaves, whom he himself had freed for having killed their masters; and the third, a mercenary force, consisting of the most savage barbarians, who amounted to no fewer than two thousand and were far better soldiers than any of the rest. He destroyed the statues of those he had put to death in all places both sacred and profane and set up his own in their stead; and seizing their houses and lands and the rest of their fortunes, he reserved for himself the gold and silver and everything else that was worthy of a tyrant, and divided the remainder among those who had aided him in gaining his power. But the most numerous and the largest gifts he made to

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<sup>4</sup> τε καὶ πονηροτάτων O, but added in margin by Bb: deleted by Jacoby.

<sup>5</sup> ἀπέκτεινεν B: ἀπέκτειναν R.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ βεβήλου τόπου φέρων B: καὶ εἰς βεβήλους τόπους φέρων R.

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ἑαυτῶν δεσπότας ἐδίδου· οἱ δ' ἠξίουν ἔτι καὶ γυναιξὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ θυγατράσι συνοικεῖν.

IX. Γενεὰν δὲ τῶν πεφονευμένων τὴν ἄρρενα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐν οὐθενὶ λόγῳ ποιησάμενος, ὕστερον εἴτ' ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινὸς εἶτε καὶ κατὰ τὸν εἰκότα λογισμὸν οὐ μικρὸν αὐτῷ δέος ὑποτρέφεσθαι<sup>1</sup> νομίσας  
 2 ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πᾶσαν ἀπολέσαι· δεήσει δὲ πολλῇ χρησαμένων ἀπάντων παρ' οἷς ἔτυχον αἶ τε μητέρες αὐτῶν οὔσαι καὶ οἱ παῖδες τρεφόμενοι, χαρίσασθαι βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ ταύτην τὴν δωρεὰν θανάτου μὲν ἀπολύει παρὰ γνώμην, φυλακὴν δὲ ποιούμενος αὐτῶν, μή τι συστάντες μετ' ἀλλήλων βουλεύσωσι κατὰ τῆς τυραννίδος, ἀπιέναι<sup>2</sup> πάντας ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἄλλον ἄλλη καὶ δίαιταν ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς μηθενὸς τῶν προσηκόντων ἐλευθέροις παισὶ μήτε ἐπιτηδεύματος μήτε μαθήματος μεταλαμβάνοντας, ἀλλὰ ποιμαίνοντάς τε καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἔργα πράττοντας, θάνατον ἀπειλήσας, εἴ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐρεθείη παρελθὼν εἰς  
 3 τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ καταλιπόντες τὰς πατρίδας ἐστίας ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὥσπερ δούλοι διετρέφοντο τοῖς ἀποκτείνασι τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν λατρεύοντες. ἵνα δὲ μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἐν μηθενὶ γένηται μήτε γενναῖον μήτε ἀνδρῶδες φρόνημα, πᾶσαν ἐκθηλῦναι ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς τὴν ἐπιτρεφομένην νεότητα τῆς πόλεως ἐπεβάλετο ἀνελὼν μὲν τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὰς ἐνοπλίους μελέτας, ἀλλάξας δὲ τὴν  
 4 δίαιταν ἧ πρότερον οἱ παῖδες ἐχρῶντο. κομᾶν τε γὰρ τοὺς ἄρρενας ὥσπερ τὰς παρθένους ἐκέλευσεν

<sup>1</sup> Steph.<sup>2</sup>: ἐπιτρέφεσθαι O.

<sup>2</sup> Sylburg: ἀπεῖναι O.

the slaves who had killed their masters. Thereupon these insisted also on marrying the wives and daughters of their late masters.

IX. At first he paid no attention to the male children of those who had been put to death, but afterwards, either at the direction of some oracle or influenced also by the reflection he might naturally make, that in them no small danger was being secretly reared up against him, he resolved to destroy them all in one day. But at the earnest entreaties of all the men with whom the children's mothers were living and the children themselves were being brought up, since he wished to grant them this favour also, he saved them from death, contrary to his intention. Taking precautions, however, against them, lest they should combine together and conspire against his tyranny, he ordered them all to depart from the city and to live in the country dispersed here and there, receiving instruction in no profession or branch of learning becoming to the children of freemen, but tending flocks and performing the other labours of the husbandman; and he threatened with death anyone of them who should be found in the city. These children, accordingly, forsaking the houses of their fathers, were brought up in the country like slaves, serving the murderers of their fathers. And to the end that no noble or manly spirit might spring up in any of the rest of the citizens, he resolved to make effeminate by means of their upbringing all the youths who were being reared in the city, and with that view he suppressed the gymnasiums and the practice of arms and changed the manner of life previously followed by the children. For he ordered the boys to wear their hair long like the girls, to

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ἔξανθιζομένους <sup>1</sup> καὶ βοστρυχιζομένους καὶ κεκρυ-  
 φάλοις τὰς πλοκαμίδας ἀναδοῦντας ἐνδύεσθαι τε  
 ποικίλους καὶ ποδήρεις χιτωνίσκους καὶ χλανι-  
 δίοις ἀμπέχεσθαι λεπτοῖς καὶ μαλακοῖς καὶ δίαιταν  
 ἔχειν ὑπὸ σκιαῖς· ἠκολούθουν τε αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰ  
 διδασκαλεῖα <sup>2</sup> τῶν ὀρχηστῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ  
 τῶν παραπλησίων τούτοις μουσοκολάκων παρα-  
 πορευόμεναι παιδαγωγοὶ γυναῖκες σκιάδεια καὶ  
 ριπίδας κομίζουσαι, καὶ ἔλουον αὐτοὺς αὐται  
 κτένας εἰς τὰ βαλανεῖα φέρουσαι καὶ μύρων  
 5 ἀλαβάστρους καὶ κάτοπτρα. τοιαύτη διαφθείρων  
 ἀγωγῇ τοὺς παῖδας, ἕως ἐκπληρώσωσιν εἰκοστὸν  
 ἔτος, τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦδε χρόνον εἰς ἄνδρας εἶα τελεῖν.  
 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Κυμαίοις ἐνυβρίσας καὶ  
 λωβησάμενος καὶ οὔτε ἀσελγείας οὔτε ὠμότητος  
 οὐδεμιᾶς ἀποσχόμενος, ὅτε ἀσφαλῶς κατέχειν  
 ὑπελάμβανε τὴν τυραννίδα, γηραιὸς ὢν ἤδη δίκας  
 ἔτισεν οὐ μεμπτὰς θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις πρόρ-  
 ριζος ἀπολόμενος.

X. Οἱ δ' ἐπαναστάντες αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλευ-  
 θερώσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος οἱ παῖδες τῶν  
 πεφονευμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν ἦσαν, οὓς κατ'  
 ἀρχὰς ἅπαντας ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ προ-  
 ελόμενος ἐπέσχεν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ὑπὸ τῶν σωματο-  
 φυλάκων, οἷς ἔδωκε τὰς μητέρας αὐτῶν, ἐκ-  
 2 λιπαρηθεῖς, καὶ <sup>3</sup> κατ' ἀγροὺς κελεύσας διατρίβειν.  
 ὀλίγοις δ' ἔτεσιν ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴ τὰς κώμας  
 διεξιῶν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν εἶδεν αὐτῶν νεότητα,  
 δείσας μὴ συμφρονήσαντες ἐπαναστῶσιν αὐτῷ,

<sup>1</sup> ἐκέλευσεν ἔξανθιζομένους O: ἐκέλευσε ξανθιζομένους Steph.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ διδασκαλεῖα D: τὰς διδασκαλίας ABaC, τὰς διδασκαλεῖας Bb.



adorn it with flowers, to keep it curled and to bind up the tresses with hair-nets, to wear embroidered robes that reached down to their feet, and, over these, thin and soft mantles, and to pass their lives in the shade. And when they went to the schools kept by dancing-masters, flute-players and others who, like these, pay court to the Muses, their governesses attended them, taking along parasols and fans; and these women bathed them, carrying into the baths combs, alabaster pots filled with perfumes, and looking-glasses. By such training he continued to enervate the youth till they had completed their twentieth year, and from that time permitted them to be considered as men. Having by these and many other methods abused and insulted the Cumaeans without refraining from any kind of lust or cruelty, when he thought himself secure in the possession of the tyranny, being now grown old, he was punished to the satisfaction of both gods and men and extirpated with all his family.

X. Those who rose against him and freed their country from his tyranny were the sons of the citizens he had murdered, all of whom he had at first resolved to put to death in one day, but being prevailed upon by the entreaties of his bodyguards, to whom he had given their mothers, had refrained, as I said, and ordered them to live in the country. A few years later, as he was making a progress through the villages, he saw a large number of these youths, who made a brave appearance; and fearing they might conspire together and rise against him, he

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<sup>3</sup> The text of this clause seems faulty. Cobet deleted *καὶ*, Kiessling read *καὶ . . . ἐκέλευσε*. Reiske suspected the loss of *κατημέλησεν* or the like after *διατρίβειν*.

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φθάσαι διαχειρισάμενος ἅπαντας ἐβούλετο πρὶν  
 αἰσθέσθαι τινά· καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς φίλους  
 ἐσκόπει μετ' αὐτῶν δι' οἴου τρόπου ῥᾶστά τε καὶ  
 3 τάχιστα λαθόντες ἀναιρεθήσονται. τοῦτο κατα-  
 μαθόντες οἱ παῖδες, εἴτε μνηστὴν ὑπὸ τῶν συν-  
 ειδότων τινός, εἴτε αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων  
 λογισμὸν ὑποτοπήσαντες, φεύγουσιν εἰς τὰ ὄρη  
 τὸν γεωργικὸν ἀρπάσαντες σίδηρον. ἤκον δ'  
 αὐτοῖς ἐπικούροι κατὰ τάχος οἱ<sup>1</sup> ἐνδιατρίβοντες ἐν  
 Καπύῃ Κυμαίων φυγάδες, ὧν ἦσαν ἐπιφανέστατοί  
 τε καὶ πλείστους Καμπανῶν ἔχοντες ξένους οἱ  
 Ἰππομέδοντος παῖδες τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Τυρρηρικὸν  
 ἱππαρχήσαντος πόλεμον, αὐτοὶ τε ὠπλισμένοι  
 καὶ κείνοις κομίζοντες ὄπλα Καμπανῶν τε μισθο-  
 φόρων καὶ φίλων χεῖρα συγκροτήσαντες οὐκ  
 4 ὀλίγην. ἐπεὶ δὲ καθ' ἐν ἅπαντες ἐγένοντο, τοὺς  
 ἀγροὺς τῶν ἐχθρῶν καταθέοντες ἐφόδοις ληστρι-  
 καῖς ἐλεηλάτουν καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἀφίστασαν ἀπὸ  
 τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν δεσμωτηρίων  
 λύοντες καθῶπλιζον, καὶ ὅσα μὴ δύναιντο φέρειν  
 τε καὶ ἄγειν<sup>2</sup> τὰ μὲν ἐνεπίμπρασαν, τὰ δὲ κατ-  
 5 ἐσφαττον. ἀπορουμένω δὲ τῷ τυράνῳ τίνα χρή-  
 τρόπον αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ  
 τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι μήτ' ἐν τοῖς  
 αὐτοῖς χρονίζειν τόποις, ἀλλὰ νυκτὶ μὲν εἰς  
 ὄρθρον, ἡμέρᾳ δ' εἰς νύκτα συμμετρεῖσθαι τὰς  
 ἐφόδους, καὶ πολλάκις ἀποστείλαντι τοὺς στρατι-  
 ώτας ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν τῆς χώρας διὰ κενῆς,  
 παραγίνεται τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἠκισμένος τὸ σῶμα  
 μάστιξιν ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν φυγάδων ὡς αὐτό-

<sup>1</sup> οἱ Kiessling: om. O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> χρήματα καὶ βοσκήματα after ἄγειν deleted by Cobet.

purposed to forestall them by putting them all to death before any one should be aware of his intention. Assembling his friends, accordingly, he considered with them how the youths might most easily and speedily be put to death in secret. The youths, being apprised of this, either by the information of some person who was acquainted with his purpose, or suspecting it themselves by reasoning from probabilities, fled to the mountains, taking with them the iron implements they used in husbandry. They were speedily joined by the Cumaean exiles who resided in Capua, most distinguished of whom and possessing the largest number of friends among the Campanians were the sons of Hippomedon, who had been commander of the horse in the war against the Tyrrhenians. These were not only well armed themselves, but also brought with them arms for the youths as well as a goodly band of Campanian mercenaries and of their own friends which they had raised. When they had all united, they made descents after the manner of brigands and plundered the lands of their enemies, lured the slaves away from their masters, released the men confined in prisons and armed them, and whatever they could not carry or drive off they either burnt or killed. While the tyrant was at a loss to know in what manner he ought to make war upon them, because they neither made their attempts openly nor stayed long in the same places, but timed their raids either from the fall of night to the break of day or from day-break to nightfall, and after he had often sent out the soldiers to the relief of the country in vain, one of the fugitives, sent by the rest in the guise of a deserter, came to him, his body torn with whips, and

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μολος, ὃς ἄδειαν αἰτησάμενος ὑπέσχετο τῷ  
 τυράννῳ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀποσταλησομένην σὺν  
 αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἐπι-  
 6 οὔσαν ἔμελλον αὐλίζεσθαι νύκτα οἱ φυγάδες. ᾧ  
 πιστεῦσαι προαχθεῖς<sup>1</sup> ὁ τύραννος αἰτοῦντι οὐθὲν  
 καὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ὄμηρον παρεχομένῳ πέμπει  
 τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄγοντας ἱππεῖς τε  
 πολλοὺς καὶ τὴν μισθοφόρον δύναμιν, οἷς ἐνετεί-  
 λατο μάλιστα μὲν ἅπαντας τοὺς φυγάδας, εἰ δὲ μή  
 γε, ὡς πλείστους ἐξ αὐτῶν δῆσαντας πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 ἄγειν. ὁ μὲν οὖν κατασκευαστὸς αὐτόμολος κατὰ  
 τε ἀτριβεῖς ὁδοὺς καὶ διὰ δρυμῶν ἐρήμων ἦγε τὴν  
 στρατιὰν ταλαιπωροῦσαν δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰ  
 πλείστον ἀπέχοντα τῆς πόλεως μέρη.

XI. Οἱ δ' ἀποστάται τε καὶ φυγάδες ἐν τῷ  
 περὶ τὸν Ἄορνον ὄρει πλησίον ὄντι τῆς πόλεως  
 λοχῶντες, ὡς ἔμαθον ἐξεληλυθυῖαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
 τὴν τοῦ τυράννου στρατιὰν συνθήμασι μηνυ-  
 θεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν σκοπῶν, πέμπουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν περὶ  
 ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους διφθέρας  
 ἔχοντας καὶ φακέλλους φρυγάνων κομίζοντας.  
 2 οὔτοι περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας πύλας  
 ὡς χερνῆται παρεισπεσόντες ἔλαθον· ὡς δ' ἔνδον  
 ἐγένοντο τοῦ τείχους ἐξελκύσαντες ἐκ τῶν φακέλ-  
 λων ἃ κατέκρυπτον ξίφη, καὶ συνελθόντες εἰς τὸν  
 αὐτὸν ἅπαντες τόπον, ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμήσαντες  
 ἀθρόοι πρὸς τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄορνον φερούσας πύλας  
 τοὺς τε φύλακας αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνουσι κοιμω-  
 μένους καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἅπαντας ἤδη τοῦ τείχους<sup>2</sup>  
 πλησίον ὄντας ἀναπεπταμέναις ταῖς πύλαις ὑπο-

<sup>1</sup> προαχθεῖς B: παραχθεῖς R.

after suing for impunity, promised the tyrant to conduct any troops he should think fit to send with him to the place where the fugitives proposed to encamp the following night. The tyrant, being induced to trust this man, who asked nothing and offered his own person as a hostage, sent his most trusted commanders at the head of a large number of horse and the band of mercenaries with orders to bring to him in chains all the fugitives if they could, otherwise as many of them as possible. The pretended deserter then led the army during the whole night through untrodden paths and lonely woods, where they suffered greatly, till they came to the regions that were most remote from the city.

XI. In the meantime the rebels and fugitives, who lay in ambush on the mountain which lies near Lake Avernus and not far from Cumae, when they learned from the signals made by their scouts that the tyrant's army had marched out of the city, sent thither about sixty of the most resolute of their number, clad in goatskins and carrying faggots of brushwood. These men contrived to steal into the city by various gates about the time for lighting the lamps, being taken for labourers and thus escaping detection. Once inside the walls, they drew out the swords they had concealed in the faggots and all met in one place. And proceeding thence in a body to the gate that led to Lake Avernus, they killed the guards while they were asleep, and, all their own force, having by this time arrived near the walls, they opened the gates and received them into the city.

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<sup>2</sup> τοῦ τείχους Jacoby : τῷ τείχει O.

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3 δέχονται, καὶ τοῦτο πράξαντες ἔλαθον. ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐκείνη τῇ νυκτὶ ἑορτὴ τις οὔσα δημοτελής, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἅπας ὁ κατὰ πόλιν ὄχλος ἐν πότοις ὦν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις εὐπαθείαις. τοῦτο παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν<sup>1</sup> ἀπάσας διελθεῖν τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννικὴν οἰκίαν φερούσας ὁδοὺς· καὶ οὐδὲ παρὰ ταῖς θύραις<sup>2</sup> πολλὴν τινα καὶ ἐγρηγορυῖαν εὗρον φυλακὴν, ἀλλὰ κἀνταῦθα τοὺς μὲν ἤδη καθ-εὐδοντας, τοὺς δὲ μεθύοντας ἀποσφάξαντες δίχα πόνου καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ὠσάμενοι, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἅπαντας<sup>3</sup> οὔτε τῶν σωματίων ἔτι κρατοῦντας<sup>4</sup> οὔτε τῶν φρενῶν διὰ τὸν οἶνον προβάτων δίκην κατέσφαξαν· τὸν δ' Ἀριστόδημον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην συγγένειαν συλλαβόντες ἄχρι πολλῆς νυκτὸς αἰκίζόμενοί τε καὶ στρεβλοῦντες καὶ πᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν λυμαινόμενοι

4 κακοῖς ἀπέκτειναν. ἀνελόντες δὲ τὴν τυραννικὴν οἰκίαν πρόρριζον, ὡς μήτε παιδία μήτε γυναῖκας μήτε συγγένειαν μηθενὸς αὐτῶν καταλιπεῖν καὶ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ἅπαντας ἐξερευνησάμενοι τοὺς συνεργοὺς τῆς τυραννίδος ἡμέρας γενομένης προῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. ἔπειτα συγκαλέσαντες τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀποτίθενται τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὴν πάτριον καθίστανται πολιτείαν.

XII. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον ἔτος ὁμοῦ τι τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἤδη τυραννοῦντα Κύμης οἱ σὺν Ταρκυνίῳ φυγάδες καθιστάμενοι

<sup>1</sup> ἄδειαν A: εὐπέτειαν B.

<sup>2</sup> παρὰ ταῖς θύραις Sintenis: περὶ ταῖς θύραις O, περὶ τὰς θύρας Cobet.

<sup>3</sup> ἅπαντας A: σύμπαντας B.

All this they did without being discovered. For that night there happened to be a public festival; hence the whole population of the city was occupied in drinking and other pleasures. This afforded the fugitives an opportunity of marching through all the streets that led to the tyrant's palace without meeting any opposition; and even at the palace doors they did not find any considerable number of guards on the alert, but here also some were already asleep and others drunk, and these they killed without any difficulty. Then, rushing into the palace in a body, they found all the rest no longer masters of either their bodies or their wits because of wine, and they cut their throats as if they were so many sheep. And having seized Aristodemus himself with his children and the rest of his relations, they tore their bodies with whips and tortures until late in the night, and after inflicting on them almost every kind of punishment they put them to death. Having wiped out the whole family of the tyrant, so as to leave neither children, wives, nor anyone related to them, and having spent the whole night in hunting down all the abettors of the tyranny, as soon as it was day, they proceeded to the forum. Then, calling the people together, they laid down their arms and restored the traditional government.

XII. It <sup>1</sup> was before this Aristodemus, then, when he had already reigned as tyrant of Cumae close to fourteen years, that the Roman exiles with Tarquinius presented themselves, asking him to decide

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Livy ii, 34, 4-6.

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<sup>4</sup> κρατοῦντας A : κρατεροὺς ὄντας B.

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- τὴν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἐβούλοντο συντελέσασθαι δίκην. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων τέως μὲν ἀντέλεγον, ὡς οὐτ' ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἤκοντες τὸν ἀγῶνα οὐτ' ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες, ἦν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς ἡ
- 2 βουλή, περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀπολογήσασθαι<sup>1</sup> δίκην.<sup>2</sup> ὡς δ' οὐθὲν ἐπέβαινον, ἀλλ' ἐγκεκλικότα τὸν τύραννον ἐώρων ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη διὰ τὰς σπουδὰς καὶ τὰς παρακλήσεις τῶν φυγάδων, αἰτησάμενοι χρόνον εἰς ἀπολογίαν, καὶ διεγγυήσαντες τὰ σώματα χρημάτων ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου τῆς δίκης οὐθενὸς ἔτι φυλάττοντος αὐτοὺς ἀποδράντες ὥχοντο· θεράποντας δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ σιτωνίᾳ κομισθέντα χρήματα ὁ τύραννος κατέσχε.
- 3 Ταύταις μὲν οὖν ταῖς πρεσβείαις τοιαῦτα παθούσαις ἀπράκτοις ἀναστρέψαι συνέβη, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πόλεων οἱ πεμφθέντες κέγχρους τε καὶ ζέας συνωνησάμενοι ταῖς ποταμηγοῖς σκάφαις κατεκόμισαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. αὕτη βραχύν τινα χρόνον ἢ ἀγορὰ Ῥωμαίους διέθρεψεν· ἔπειτα ἐξαναλωθεῖσα εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς ἀπορίας κατέστησεν αὐτούς. ἦν δ' οὐθὲν εἶδος ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς ὃ οὐκ ἐπείραζον ἔτι,<sup>3</sup> συνέβαινέ τε οὐκ ὀλίγοις αὐτῶν, τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν σπάνιν, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῆς οὐκ εἰωθυίας ἐδωδῆς, τοῖς μὲν ἀρρώστως διακεῖσθαι τὰ σώματα, τοῖς δὲ παρημελημένως<sup>4</sup> διὰ πενίαν καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδυνάτως.
- 4 ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ νεωστὶ κεκρατημένοι τῷ πολέμῳ Οὐολοῦσκοι, πρεσβειῶν ἀπορρήτοις<sup>5</sup> διαπο-

<sup>1</sup> ἀπολογήσασθαι Bb: ἀπολογεῖσθαι R.

<sup>2</sup> δίκην O: om. Reiske, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> ἔτι R (?): om. B, τινες Cobet.

<sup>4</sup> παρημελημένως Bb: παρημελημένοις ABa, Jacoby.



their cause against their country. The Roman ambassadors opposed this for some time, alleging that they had not come to enter into a contest of this sort and had no authority to plead the cause for the commonwealth since the senate had entrusted no such power to them. But when they availed naught with their plea and they saw the tyrant inclined to the other side because of the earnestness and entreaties of the exiles, they desired time to prepare a defence. And having deposited a sum of money as a pledge for their appearance, in the interval while the suit was pending and they were no longer guarded, they fled; whereupon the tyrant seized their servants, their pack-animals, and the money they had brought with them to purchase corn.

It was the fate of these embassies, then, after being treated in the manner I have related, to return without having accomplished anything. But the ambassadors who had been sent to the cities in Tyrrhenia bought there a quantity of millet and spelt and brought it down to Rome in river-boats. This supply sustained the Romans for a short time, but its exhaustion brought them to the same straits as before. There was no sort of food to which men have ever been reduced through necessity that they did not venture to try; and it happened that not a few of them, by reason both of the scarcity and of the strangeness of the unaccustomed food, were either weakened in body or were neglected because of their poverty and entirely helpless. When the Volscians, who had been recently conquered in war, became aware of this, they undertook by means of embassies

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<sup>5</sup> ἀπορρήτοις AB: ἀπορρήτων R.

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στολαῖς ἐνήγον ἀλλήλους εἰς τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον, ὡς ἀδυνάτων ἐσομένων, εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐπίθοιτο κεκακωμένοις πολέμῳ τε καὶ λιμῷ ἀντέχειν. θεῶν δέ τις εὐνοια, οἷς φροντὶς ἦν μὴ περιδεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς Ῥωμαίους γενομένους, ἐκφανέστατα καὶ τότε τὴν ἑαυτῆς δύναμιν ἀπεδείξατο. τοσοῦτος γάρ τις ἄφνω εἰς τὰς πόλεις τῶν Οὐολούσκων φθόρος λοιμικὸς ἐνέσκηψεν ὅσος ἐν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τόπῳ μνημονεύεται γενόμενος οὐθ' Ἑλλάδος<sup>1</sup> οὔτε βαρβάρου γῆς, πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν καὶ τύχην καὶ φύσιν ἐρρωμένων τε καὶ  
 5 ἀσθενῶν σωμάτων ὁμοίως διεργαζόμενος. ἐδήλωσε δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς συμφορᾶς πόλις ἐπιφανῆς τῶν Οὐολούσκων, Οὐέλιτραι ὄνομα αὐτῇ, μεγάλη τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος οὔσα τέως, ἧς ὁ λοιμὸς μίαν ὑπελείπετο μοῖραν ἐκ τῶν δέκα, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ὑπολαβὼν ἀπήνεγκε. τελευτῶντες δ' οὖν ὅσοι περιῆσαν ἐκ τῆς συμφορᾶς πρεσβευσάμενοι Ῥωμαίοις ἔφρασαν τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ παρέδωκαν τὴν πόλιν. ἔτυχον δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἐποίκουσ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰληφότες, ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας καὶ τὸ δεύτερον κληρούχους<sup>2</sup> παρ' αὐτῶν ἦτουν.

XIII. Ταῦτα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις μαθοῦσι τῆς μὲν συμφορᾶς οἶκτος εἰσῆει, καὶ οὐδὲν ὦνοντο δεῖν<sup>3</sup> τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπὶ τοιαύταις τύχαις μνησικακεῖν, ὡς ἱκανὰς δεδωκόσι τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ σφῶν δίκας ἀνθ' ὧν ἔμελλον δράσειν. Οὐέλιτρας δὲ παραλαμβάνειν

<sup>1</sup> οὐθ' Ἑλλάδος Lapus, Sylburg: om. AB.

<sup>2</sup> τοὺς before κληρούχους deleted by Reiske.

sent out secretly to incite one another to war against the Romans, in the belief that if anyone should attack them while they were distressed both by war and famine, they would be unable to resist. But some benevolence of the gods, who were always careful not to permit the Romans to become subject to their enemies, manifested its power upon this occasion also in a most conspicuous manner. For so great a pestilence suddenly descended upon the cities of the Volscians as is not recorded to have occurred anywhere else in either the Greek or the barbarian world, destroying the people without distinction of age, condition, or sex, it mattered not whether their bodies were strong or weak. The extreme nature of the calamity was shown in the case of an important city of the Volscians named Velitrae, till then a large and populous place, of which the plague left but one person out of every ten, attacking and carrying off all the rest. At last those who survived the calamity sent ambassadors to the Romans to inform them of their desolation and to deliver up their city to them. They had even before that time received a colony from Rome, for which reason they now desired colonists to be sent to them a second time.

XIII. When the Romans learned of this, they felt compassion for their misfortunes and thought they ought to retain no resentment against their enemies when under so severe an affliction, since they had sufficiently atoned to the gods for what they had been intending to do. As to the city of Velitrae, they

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<sup>3</sup> οὐδὲν ᾤοντο δεῖν Kiessling: οὐ δεῖν ᾤοντο ABC, οὐδὲν ᾤοντο Cmg,

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ἐδόκει κληρούχων οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀποστολῇ πολλὰ τὰ  
 2 συμφέροντα ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιλογιζομένοις. τό  
 τε γὰρ χωρίον ἱκανὸν εἶναι ἐφαίνετο φυλακῇ ἀξιό-  
 χρεω καταληφθὲν οἷς ἂν νεωτερίζειν ἢ παρακινεῖν τι  
 βουλομένοις ἢ μέγα κώλυμα καὶ ἐμπόδιον εἶναι,  
 ἢ τε ἀπορία τῆς τροφῆς ἢ κατέχουσα τὴν πόλιν  
 οὐ παρ' ὀλίγον μετριωτέρα γενήσεσθαι ὑπωπτεύετο,  
 εἰ μετασταίῃ τις ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους μοῖρα  
 ἀξιόλογος. μάλιστα δ' ἡ στάσις ἀναρριπιζομένη,  
 πρὶν ἢ πεπαῦσθαι καλῶς ἔτι τὴν προτέραν, ἐνήγεν  
 3 αὐτοὺς ψηφίζεσθαι τὸν ἀπόστολον. πάλιν γάρ,  
 ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ὁ δῆμος ἠρεθίζετο καὶ δι'  
 ὀργῆς εἶχε τοὺς πατρικίους, πολλοὶ τε καὶ χαλεποὶ  
 κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγίνοντο λόγοι, τῶν μὲν ὀλιγωρίαν  
 ἐγκαλούντων καὶ ῥαθυμίαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ πολλοῦ  
 προείδοντο τὴν ἐσομένην τοῦ σίτου σπάνιν καὶ  
 προῦμηχανήσαντο τὰ πρὸς τὴν συμφορὰν ἀλεξή-  
 ματα, τῶν δ' ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν γεγονέαι  
 τὴν<sup>1</sup> σιτοδείαν ἀποφαινόντων δι' ὀργὴν τε καὶ  
 ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ κακῶσαι τὸ δημοτικὸν ἀναμνήσει  
 4 τῆς ἀποστάσεως. διὰ ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς αἰτίας  
 ἢ τῶν κληρούχων ἀποστολῇ ταχεῖα ἐγένετο τριῶν  
 ἀποδειχθέντων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἡγεμόνων.  
 τῷ δήμῳ δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἦν ἀσμένῳ τοὺς  
 κληρούχους διαλαγχάνειν, ὡς λιμοῦ τε ἀπ-  
 αλλαχθησομένῳ καὶ χώραν οἰκήσοντι εὐδαίμονα·  
 ἔπειτα ἐνθυμουμένῳ τὸν λοιμόν, ὃς ἐν τῇ μελ-  
 λούσῃ αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι πόλει πολὺς<sup>2</sup> γενό-  
 μενος τοὺς τε οἰκήτορας διεφθάρκει καὶ δέος

<sup>1</sup> τὴν added by Kiessling.

<sup>2</sup> πόλει πολὺς Kiessling: πολὺς AB, πόλει Steph.

thought proper to accept it and to send a large colony thither, in consideration of the many advantages that would result to them from that measure. For the place itself, if occupied by an adequate garrison, seemed capable of proving a serious check and hindrance to the designs of any who might be disposed to begin a rebellion or create any disturbance, and it was expected that the scarcity of provisions under which the city <sup>1</sup> then laboured would be far less serious if a considerable part of the citizens removed elsewhere. But, above all other considerations, the sedition which was now flaring up again, before the former one was as yet satisfactorily appeased, induced them to vote to send out the colony. For once more the plebeians were becoming inflamed, as before, and growing exasperated against the patricians, were uttering many harsh words against them, some accusing them of neglect and indolence in not having long foreseen the scarcity of corn that was to occur, and taken the necessary precautions to avert the calamity, and others declaring that the scarcity had been brought about by their contrivance, because of their resentment and a desire to injure the plebeians when they remembered their secession. For these reasons the colony was sent out promptly, three persons being appointed by the senate to be the leaders of it. The plebeians were pleased at first that lands were to be allotted to colonists, since they would thus be freed from the famine and inhabit a fertile country; but afterwards, when they bethought themselves of the pestilence which had raged violently in the city that was to receive them and had not only destroyed the inhabitants, but gave

<sup>1</sup> Rome is here meant.

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παρείχε μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐποίκους <sup>1</sup> τὸ αὐτὸ ἐργάσθαι,  
 μεθίστατο κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τὰναντία ἢ γνώμη,  
 ὥστ' οὐ πολλοὶ τινες ἐφάνησαν οἱ μετέχειν  
 βουλόμενοι τῆς ἀποικίας, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἐλάττους ὢν  
 ἢ βουλή ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ οὗτοι δ' ἤδη σφῶν  
 αὐτῶν κατεγνώκεσαν ὡς κακῶς βεβουλευμένων  
 5 καὶ ὑπανεδύοντο τὴν ἔξοδον. κατελήφθη μέντοι  
 τοῦτο τὸ μέρος καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ μὴ ἐκουσίως  
 συναράμενον <sup>2</sup> τῆς ἐξόδου ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς  
 ἐξ ἀπάντων γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων κλήρῳ τὴν ἔξοδον,  
 κατὰ δὲ τῶν λαχόντων, εἰ μὴ ἐξίοιεν, χαλεπὰς καὶ  
 ἀπαραιτήτους θεμένης ζημίας. οὗτός τε δὴ ὁ  
 στόλος εἰς Οὐελίτρας εὐπρεπεῖ ἀνάγκη κατα-  
 ληφθεὶς ἀπεστάλη, καὶ ἕτερος αὖθις οὐ πολλαῖς  
 ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς Νώρβαν πόλιν, ἣ ἐστὶ τοῦ  
 Λατίνων ἔθνους οὐκ ἀφανῆς.

XIV. Ἐγένετο δ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἐκ λογισμοῦ τοῖς  
 πατρικίσις κατὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐλπίδα λωφήσειν τὴν  
 στάσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ περιλειφθέντες ἔτι χεῖρους ταῖς  
 ὀργαῖς ἦσαν καὶ πολλῇ τῇ καταβοῇ τῶν βουλευτῶν  
 ἐχρῶντο κατὰ τε συστροφὰς καὶ ἑταιρίας, ὀλίγοι  
 μὲν συνιόντες τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ἀθρόοι συν-  
 τονωτέρας ἤδη γινομένης <sup>3</sup> τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ συν-  
 δραμόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τοὺς δημάρχους ἐβόων.  
 2 συναχθείσης δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίας παρελθὼν  
 Σπόριος Σικίνιος, <sup>4</sup> ὃς ἦν τοῦ ἀρχείου τότε ἡγεμών,  
 αὐτός τε πολὺς ἔρρει κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς αὐξων ὡς  
 μάλιστα ἐνῆν τὸν κατ' αὐτῆς φθόνον, καὶ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> ἐποίκους AΒα: ἀποίκους Bb.

<sup>2</sup> συναράμενον O: συναϊρόμενον Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> γινομένης B: γενομένης R.

<sup>4</sup> σικίνιος O: Ἰκίλιος Sylburg.

room to fear that it would treat the new settlers in the same manner, their feelings were gradually reversed. Consequently those who offered themselves to join the colony were not many, but far fewer than the senate had decreed; and these, moreover, were already blaming themselves for having been ill advised and were endeavouring to avoid going out. However, this element was included and likewise the others who had not willingly joined the colony, the senate having ordered that all the Romans should draw lots for completing the colony, and having fixed severe and inexorable penalties for those upon whom the lot fell, if they did not go. This colony, then, was sent to Velitrae after being recruited by a specious compulsion; and not many days afterwards another colony was sent to Norba, which is no mean city of the Latins.

XIV. But nothing turned out according to the calculations of the patricians, insofar at least as their hope of appeasing the sedition was concerned; on the contrary, the people who were left at home were now more exasperated than before and clamoured violently against the senators in their groups and clubs. They met in small numbers at first, but afterwards, as the dearth became more severe, they assembled in a body, and rushing all together into the Forum, cried out for the tribunes. And these having assembled the people, Spurius Sicinius,<sup>1</sup> who was then at the head of their college, came forward and not only inveighed at length against the senate himself, inflaming the hatred of the people against them as much as he could, but also demanded that

<sup>1</sup> The name Sicinius here is probably an error for Icilius, as Sylburg saw.

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ἄλλους ἡξίου λέγειν ἅ φρονοῦσιν εἰς τὸ κοινόν,  
 μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Σικίνιον καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀγορα-  
 νόμους τότε ὄντας ἀνακαλῶν ἑκάτερον ἐξ ὀνόματος,  
 οἱ καὶ τῆς πρώτης ἀποστάσεως τῷ δήμῳ ἦρξαν,  
 καὶ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν εἰσηγησάμενοι πρῶτοι  
 3 αὐτῆς ἔτυχον. παρελθόντες δ' οὔτοι τοὺς κακο-  
 ηθεστάτους τῶν λόγων ἐκ πολλοῦ παρεσκευασ-  
 μένοι διεξήεσαν ἅ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀκούειν ἦν βουλο-  
 μένοις, ὡς ἐκ προνοίας τε καὶ ἐπιβουλήs ὑπὸ τῶν  
 πλουσίων γένοιτο ἢ περὶ τὸν σίτον ἀπορία,  
 ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀκόντων ἐκείνων ὁ δῆμος  
 4 ἐκ τῆς ἀποστάσεως εὔρετο. ἰσομοιρεῖν τε οὐδὲ  
 κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπέφαινον τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς πένησι  
 τοὺς εὐπόρους· ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τροφὰς  
 ἐν ἀφανεῖ ἀποκειμένας<sup>1</sup> καὶ χρήματα, οἷς ὠνού-  
 μενοι τὰς ἐπεισάκτους ἀγορὰς ἐν πολλῇ ὑπεροφίᾳ  
 ἦσαν τοῦ κακοῦ, τοῖς δὲ δημόταις ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτ'  
 ἀπόρως ἔχειν· τὴν τε ἀποστολὴν τῶν κληρούχων,  
 ἣν ἐποίησαντο εἰς νοσερὰ χωρία, ἐκβολὴν ἀπο-  
 φαίνοντες εἰς προφανῆ καὶ μακρῶ χεῖρονα ὄλεθρον,  
 αὔξοντες ὡς μάλιστα δυνατοὶ ἦσαν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ  
 δεινά, καὶ τί πέρασ ἔσται τῶν κακῶν ἀξιούντες  
 μαθεῖν, ὑπομιμνήσκοντές τε τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτοὺς  
 αἰκισμῶν, οἷς ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἔτυχον αἰκισ-  
 θέντες, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις κατὰ πολλὴν  
 5 ἄδειαν διεξιόντες. τελευτῶν δ' ὁ Βροῦτος εἰς  
 ἀπειλήν τινα τοιάνδε κατέκλεισε τὸν λόγον, ὡς εἰ  
 βουληθεῖεν αὐτῷ πείθεσθαι διὰ ταχέων προσ-  
 αναγκάσων τοὺς ἐκκαύσαντας τὸ δεινὸν καὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 κατασβέσαι. ἢ μὲν δὴ ἐκκλησία διελύετο.

XV. Οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ τῇ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ συν-

<sup>1</sup> Sintenis: παρακειμένας Ο.



the others should express their sentiments publicly, especially Sicinius and Brutus, who were then aediles, calling upon each of them by name; they had been the authors of the first secession of the people as well, and having introduced the tribunician power, had been the first to be invested with it. These, having long before prepared the most malicious speeches, came forward and enlarged upon those points that were welcome to the multitude, alleging that the dearth of corn had been occasioned by the contrivance and treachery of the rich, against whose will the people had acquired their liberty by the secession. And they declared that the rich did not in the least bear an equal share of this calamity with the poor, since they had not only provisions secretly hoarded up, but also money to purchase imported foodstuffs, and thus could treat the calamity with fine scorn, whereas the plebeians had neither resource. As regarded the colony which they had sent out to a pestilential region, they declared it was a banishment to a manifest and much worse destruction; and exaggerating the evils with all their powers of speech, they asked to be informed what end there was to be of their miseries. They reminded them of the abusive treatment they had formerly received from the rich, and recounted many other things of this nature with great freedom. Finally, Brutus closed his speech with some such threat as this, that, if they would follow his advice, he would soon compel those who had kindled this mischief to extinguish it. After which the assembly was dismissed.

XV. The next day the consuls assembled the

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<sup>2</sup> καὶ added by Cobet.

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εκάλουν τὴν βουλὴν περίφοβοι ὄντες ἐπὶ τοῖς καινο-  
 τομουμένοις καὶ τὴν τοῦ Βρούτου δημοκοπίαν εἰς  
 μέγα τι κακὸν ἀποσκήψειν οἰόμενοι. πολλοὶ μὲν  
 δὴ καὶ παντοδαποὶ ὑπὸ τε αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐρρή-  
 θησαν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ λόγοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων  
 πρεσβυτέρων, τῶν μὲν οἰομένων δεῖν θεραπεύειν  
 τὸν δῆμον ἀπάσῃ προσηγορίᾳ<sup>1</sup> λόγων καὶ ὑπο-  
 σχέσει ἔργων καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῦ μετριω-  
 τέρους παρασκευάζειν, τιθέντας εἰς μέσον τὰ  
 πράγματα καὶ μετὰ σφῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινῆ<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>2</sup> συμφέροντος παρακαλοῦντας σκοπεῖν· τῶν δὲ  
 μηθὲν ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν.<sup>3</sup> συμβουλευόντων πρὸς  
 ὄχλον αὐθάδη καὶ ἀμαθῆ θρασεϊάν τε καὶ ἀν-  
 ὑποιστον δημοκόπων ἀνθρώπων μανίαν,<sup>4</sup> ἀλλ'  
 ἀπολογεῖσθαι μὲν ὡς οὐδὲν εἶη τῶν γεγονότων  
 παρὰ τῶν πατρικίων αἴτιον, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι  
 πρόνοιαν ἕξειν τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν δυνατὴν, τοῖς δὲ  
 ταραττοῦσι τὸν δῆμον ἐπιτιμᾶν καὶ προαγορεύειν  
 ὡς, εἰ μὴ παύσονται τὴν στάσιν ἀναρριπίζοντες,  
<sup>3</sup> ἀξίας τίσουσι δίκας. ταύτης ἡγεῖτο τῆς γνώμης  
 Ἄππιος, καὶ ἦν ἡ νικῶσα αὕτη πολλῆς ἐμπεσοῦσης  
 πάνυ τοῖς συνέδροις φιλονεικίας· ὥστε καὶ τὸν  
 δῆμον ὑπὸ τῆς βοῆς αὐτῶν ἐξακουομένης ἐπὶ πολὺ  
 ταραχθέντα συνδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον, καὶ  
 πᾶσαν ὀρθὴν ἐπὶ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ γενέσθαι τὴν  
<sup>4</sup> πόλιν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι προελθόντες  
 συνεκάλουν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν· ἦν δ' οὐ  
 πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας ἔτι τὸ λειπόμενον· καὶ παρ-

<sup>1</sup> προσηγορίᾳ O: προσηνείᾳ Reiske, εὐπροσηγορίᾳ Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> Kiessling: κοινού O.

<sup>3</sup> ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν Kayser: ἐνδιδόναι μαλακίζεσθαι O, μαλακίζεσθαι (only) or ἐνδιδόναι καὶ μαλακίζεσθαι Kiessling.

senate, being terrified at this revolutionary behaviour and believing that the demagoguery of Brutus would end in some great mischief. And many proposals of every sort were made to that body both by the consuls themselves and also by the older senators. Some were of the opinion that they ought to court the populace by all possible expressions of kindness and by promises of deeds, and make their leaders more moderate by bringing the public business into the open and inviting them to join in their deliberations concerning the common advantage. But others advised not to show any sign of weakness toward a headstrong and ignorant multitude and toward the bold and insufferable madness of creatures who courted the mob, but to declare in their own defence that the patricians were in no way to blame for what had happened and to promise that they would take all possible care to remedy the evil, and at the same time to reprimand those who were stirring up the people and warn them that if they did not desist from rekindling the sedition they would be punished as they deserved. The chief proponent of this view was Appius, and it was this opinion that prevailed, after such violent strife among the senators that even the people, hearing their clamour at a great distance, rushed in alarm to the senate-house and the whole city was on tip-toe with expectation. After this the consuls, going into the Forum, called the people together when not much of the day now remained; and coming forward,

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<sup>4</sup> θρασεῖαν τε καὶ ἀνύποιστον . . . μανίαν C, by correction: θρασεῖα τε καὶ ἀνυπόιστω . . . μανία C (at first), AB. Jacoby, following Cobet, added ἦ before θρασεῖαν.

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ελθόντες ἐπειρῶντο τὰ δόξαντα σφίσις ἐν τῇ βουλῇ λέγειν. ἐνίσταντο δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ δήμαρχοι, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐν μέρει οὐδ' ἐν κόσμῳ γινόμενος παρ' ἀμφοῖν ὁ λόγος. ἐβόων γὰρ ἅμα καὶ ἐξέκλειον ἀλλήλους, ὥστε μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσι τὰς διανοίας αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup> συνιδεῖν.

XVI. Ἐδικαίουν δ' οἱ μὲν ὑπάτοι τὴν κρείττονα ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν ἀπάντων ἄρχει τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἑαυτῶν εἶναι χωρίον ὥσπερ ἐκείνων τὴν βουλήν, καὶ ὅποσα ἐπὶ τοῖς δημόταις ἦν κρίνειν<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι, τούτων αὐτοὶ πᾶν ἔχειν τὸ κράτος. συνηγωνίζετο<sup>3</sup> δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἢ πληθὺς ἐπιβοῶσα καὶ ὁμόσε χωρεῖν, εἰ δέοι, τοῖς κωλύουσι παρασκευασμένα, τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις οἱ πατρίκιοι συστρέψαντες αὐτούς. ἐγίνετο δὲ πολὺς ἀγὼν περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶξαι ἑκατέροις, ὡς ἐν μιᾷ τῇ τότε ἡττη παραχωρουμένης τῆς εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἑκατέρων δικαιοσύνης. ἡλίος τε περὶ καταφορὰν ἦν ἡδῆ, καὶ συνέτρεχεν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ ἔμελλον, εἰ νῦξ ἐπιλαμβάνοι τὴν ἔριν,<sup>3</sup> εἰς πληγὰς τε καὶ λίθων χωρήσειν βολὰς. ἵνα δὲ μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο, προελθὼν ὁ Βροῦτος τοὺς ὑπάτους ἡξίου δοῦναι<sup>4</sup> λόγον αὐτῷ, παύσειν ὑπισχνούμενος τὴν στάσιν. κάκεῖνοι δόξαντες σφίσι παρακεχωρηθῆναι, ὅτι τῶν δημάρχων παρόντων οὐ παρ' ἐκείνων ὁ δημαγωγὸς ἡτήσατο τὴν χάριν, ἐπιτρέπουσιν αὐτῷ λέγειν. σιωπῆς δὲ

<sup>1</sup> ὅτι βούλονται after αὐτῶν deleted by Garrer.

<sup>2</sup> Sylburg: κρίναι A, κρίναι B.

<sup>3</sup> συνηγωνίζετο B: συνηγωνίζοντο R.

<sup>4</sup> Reiske: δοθῆναι O.

they attempted to inform them of the decision they had reached in the senate. But the tribunes opposed them, and thereupon neither the consuls nor the tribunes spoke in their turns nor observed any decorum in their debate; for they cried out together and endeavoured to prevent one another from speaking, so that it was not easy for those who were present to understand what they meant.

XVI. The consuls thought it reasonable that, as they had the superior power, they should have the command of everything in the city, while the tribunes insisted that the assembly of the people was their particular sphere, as the senate was that of the consuls, and that whatever the people had the authority to judge and determine was subject to their power alone. The populace supported the tribunes, shouting their approval and being prepared, if necessary, to attack any who attempted to hinder them, while the patricians rallied to the support of the consuls. And a violent contest ensued, each side insisting upon not yielding to the other, as if their defeat on this single occasion would mean the giving up of their claims for all time to come. It was now near sunset and the rest of the population were running out of their houses to the Forum; and if night had descended upon their strife, they would have proceeded to blows and the throwing of stones. To prevent this, Brutus came forward and asked the consuls to give him leave to speak, promising to appease the tumult; and they, looking upon this as a yielding to them, since, even though the tribunes were present, this leader of the people had not asked the favour of those magistrates, gave him leave.

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γενομένης ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὁ Βρούτος εἶπεν, ἠρώτησε δὲ τοὺς ὑπάτους τοιάνδε τινὰ ἐρώτησιν·  
 4 “Ἄρά γε,” ἔφη, “μέμνησθ’ ὅτι διαλυομένοις ἡμῖν τὴν στάσιν τοῦτο συνεχωρήθη τὸ δίκαιον ὑφ’ ὑμῶν, ὅταν οἱ δήμαρχοι συναγάγωσι τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ ὄτουδήτινος, μὴ παρεῖναι τῇ συνόδῳ τοὺς πατρικίους μηδ’ ἐνοχλεῖν;” “Μεμνήμεθ’,” ἔφησεν ὁ Γεγάνιος. καὶ ὁ Βρούτος ὑποφέρει· “Τί οὖν παθόντες<sup>1</sup> ἐμποδῶν ἴστασθε ἡμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἔατε τοὺς δημάρχους ἂ βούλονται λέγειν;” ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς ταῦθ’ ὁ<sup>2</sup> Γεγάνιος· “Ὅτι οὐκ αὐτοὶ συνεκάλεσαν τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς οἱ ὑπατοὶ. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων ἡ σύνοδος ἐγένετο, οὐθὲν ἂν ἤξιοῦμεν οὔτε κωλύειν οὔτε πολυπραγμονεῖν· ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἡμεῖς συνηγάγομεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οὐχὶ τούτους ἀγορεύειν κωλύομεν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τούτων αὐτοὶ κωλύεσθαι οὐ δικαιούμεν.”  
 5 καὶ ὁ Βρούτος ὑποτυχῶν, “Νικῶμεν,” ἔφησεν, “ὦ δημόται, καὶ παρακεχώρηται ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν διαφόρων ὅσα ἤξιοῦμεν. νῦν μὲν οὖν ἄπιτε καὶ παύσασθε φιλονεικοῦντες· αὔριον δ’ ὑμῖν ὑπισχνούμαι φανερὰν ποιήσειν ὅσῃν ἔχετε ἰσχύν. καὶ ὑμεῖς γε, ὦ δήμαρχοι, παραχωρήσατε αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι· οὐ γὰρ εἰς τέλος παραχωρήσατε· μαθόντες δ’ ὅσον ἔχει κράτος ὑμῶν ἢ ἀρχή—γνώσεσθε γὰρ<sup>3</sup> οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν· ἐγὼ τοῦθ’ ὑμῖν ὑποδέχομαι<sup>4</sup> ποιήσειν φανερόν—μετριωτέραν αὐτῶν ἀποδώσετε τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν. ἐὰν δὲ φενακίζων ὑμᾶς εὐρεθῶ, χρήσασθ’ ὅ τι βούλεσθέ μοι.”

<sup>1</sup> παθόντες Bb: μαθόντες R.      <sup>2</sup> ὁ Cmg: om. ABC.

<sup>3</sup> γὰρ R: δὲ B.

Then, when silence reigned, Brutus, instead of making a speech, merely put questions of the following nature to the consuls: "Do you remember," he said, "that when we put an end to the sedition by an accommodation this right was granted to us—that when the tribunes should assemble the people to consider any matter whatever the patricians should not be present at the assembly or create any disturbance there?" "We remember," answered Geganius. Then Brutus added: "What is the matter with you, then, that you oppose us and do not allow the tribunes to say what they please?" To this Geganius replied: "Because it was not the tribunes who assembled the people, but we, the consuls. If, now, the assembly had been called by them, we should not have presumed either to hinder them at all or to interfere; but since we ourselves assembled them, we do not hinder the tribunes from speaking, but we feel that it is not right that we should be hindered by them." Then Brutus said: "We have won, plebeians, and our adversaries have yielded everything to us we desired. For the present, therefore, depart and cease your strife; to-morrow, I promise you, I will show you how great is the strength you possess. And do you, tribunes, yield the Forum to them for the present; for in the end you will not yield it. When you learn how great a power your magistracy is possessed of (for you will have that knowledge soon; I myself undertake to make it clear to you), you will render their arrogance more moderate. But if you find I am imposing upon you, do to me whatever you will."

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<sup>4</sup> ὑποδέχομαι B: ὑπισχνούμαι R.

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XVII. Οὐθενὸς δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιλέξαντος ἀπήεσαν ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐ τὰς ὁμοίας ὑπολήψεις ἔχοντες ἑκάτεροι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄποροι δοκοῦντές τι περιττὸν ἐξευρηκέειν τὸν Βροῦτον καὶ οὐκ εἰκῆ ὑποσχέσθαι πράγμα τηλικούτον, οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι περιφρονοῦντες τὴν κουφότητα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων τὴν τόλμαν ἕως λόγου χωρήσειν οἰόμενοι· μηθὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς συγκεχωρηῆσθαι τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔξω τοῦ βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις τῶν δημοτικῶν. οὐ μὴν ἅπασί γ' εἰσῆει καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὀλιγωρία<sup>1</sup> τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλὰ προσέχειν<sup>2</sup> μὴ τι ἀνήκεστον ἢ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐξεργάσθαι μανία. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς νυκτὶ κοινωσάμενος τοῖς δημάρχοις ὁ Βροῦτος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην καὶ παρασκευασάμενος χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην δημοτῶν κατέβαινε μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν· καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν λαμπρὰν γενέσθαι καταλαβόμενοι τὸ Ἑφαιστεῖον, ἔνθα ἦν ἔθος αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησιάζειν, ἐκάλουν μὲν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον. πληρωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς—ὄχλος γὰρ ὅσος οὐπω πρότερον<sup>3</sup> συνῆλθε—παρελθὼν Σικίνιος<sup>4</sup> ὁ δῆμαρχος πολὺν μὲν ἐποιήσατο κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων λόγον, ἅπαντα ὑπομιμνήσκων ὅσα κατὰ τῶν δημοτικῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπράχθη· ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ τῆς παρελθούσης ἡμέρας ἐδίδασκεν, ὡς κεκωλυμένος ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἶη λόγου τυχεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφηρημένος. “Τίνος γὰρ ἂν ἔτι γενοίμεθα,” ἔφη, “κύριοι τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ μηδὲ τοῦ λέγειν

<sup>1</sup> ὀλιγωρία O : ὀλιγωρεῖν Smit.

<sup>2</sup> προσέχειν O : προσεῖχον Cobet, προσέχειν ἔδοξε Schenkl.



BOOK VII. 17, 1-3

XVII. None having opposed this, both parties left the assembly, but with very different impressions. The poor thought that Brutus had hit upon something extraordinary and that he had not made such an important promise rashly, while the patricians despised the levity of the man and thought the boldness of his promises would go no farther than words; for they imagined that no other power had been granted by the senate to the tribunes than that of relieving such plebeians as were unjustly treated. However, not all the senators, and least of all the older men, made so light of the matter, but they were upon their guard lest the madness of this man might occasion some irreparable mischief. The following night Brutus, having communicated his plan to the tribunes and having prepared a goodly number of the plebeians to support him, went down with them to the Forum; and possessing themselves before sunrise of the temple of Vulcan, where the assemblies of the people were usually held, they called an assembly. When the Forum was filled (for a greater throng had assembled upon this occasion than ever before), Sicinius<sup>1</sup> the tribune came forward and made a long speech against the patricians, reminding the plebeians of all they had suffered at their hands; then he told them about the day before, how he had been hindered by them from speaking and deprived of the power of his magistracy. "What other power, indeed," he asked, "shall we have after this, if we

<sup>1</sup> See the note on chap. 14, page 187.

<sup>3</sup> οὐπω πρότερον Jacoby: οὐδέπω ἐδόκει AC, οὐπώποτε ἐδόκει B, οὐδεπώποτ' ἐκεῖ Reiske, οὐ πώποτε εἰώθει Sintenis, οὐδεπώποτε Cobet.

<sup>4</sup> σικίνιος O: Ἰκίλιος Sylburg.

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ἔσομεθα; πῶς δ' ἂν τινι ὑμῶν ἀδικουμένῳ πρὸς αὐτῶν βοηθεῖν δυναίμεθα, εἰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ συνάγειν<sup>1</sup> ὑμᾶς ἀφαιρεθείημεν; ἄρχουσι γὰρ δήπου παντὸς ἔργου λόγοι, καὶ οὐκ ἄδηλον ὅτι οἷς εἰπεῖν ἂ φρονούσιν οὐκ ἔξεστιν, οὐδὲ πράξαι ἂν ἐξεῖη<sup>2</sup> ἂ βούλονται. ἢ κομίζεσθε οὖν," ἔφη, "τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἣν δεδώκατε ἡμῖν, εἰ μὴ μέλλετε βεβαιοῦν αὐτῇ τὸ ἀσφαλές, ἢ νόμῳ γραφέντι κωλύσατε τοὺς ἐμποδῶν ἡμῖν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσομένους."

- 4 τοιαῦτα διαλεχθεῖς, ἐπικελεύσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ δήμου μεγάλη βοῆ τὸν νόμον εἰσφέρειν, ἔχων αὐτὸν ἤδη γεγραμμένον ἀνεγίνωσκε καὶ ψῆφον δίδωσι<sup>3</sup> τῷ πλήθει περὶ αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα ἐπενεγκεῖν.<sup>4</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει τὸ πρᾶγμα δεῖσθαι ἀναβολῆς οὐδὲ μελλησμοῦ, μή τι ἄλλο κώλυμα γένηται πρὸς
- 5 τῶν ὑπάτων. ἦν δε τοιόσδε ὁ νόμος· "Δημάρχου γνώμην ἀγορεύοντος ἐν δήμῳ μηδεὶς λεγέτω μηδὲν ἐναντίον μηδὲ μεσολαβεῖτω τὸν λόγον. εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, διδώτω τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐγγυητὰς αἰτηθεῖς εἰς ἕκτισιν ἧς ἂν ἐπιθῶσιν αὐτῷ ζημίας. ὁ δὲ μὴ δίδους ἐγγυητὴν θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω, καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ ἱερὰ ἔστω. τῶν δ' ἀμφισβητούντων πρὸς ταύτας τὰς ζημίας αἱ κρίσεις ἔστωσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου."
- 6 τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ἐπιψηφίσαντες οἱ δήμαρχοι διέλυσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπήει πολλῆς γεγωνὸς μεστὸς εὐθυμίας, τῷ δὲ Βρούτῳ μεγάλην χάριν εἰδώς, ἐκείνου δοκῶν εἶναι τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ νόμου.

XVIII. Μετὰ τοῦτο πολλαὶ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν

<sup>1</sup> συνάγειν R: συναγαγεῖν ABC.

<sup>2</sup> ἂν ἐξεῖη Kiessling: ἂν ἐξῆ A, ἂν ἐξείν Ba, ἂν ἐξείναι Bb,

are not allowed even that of speaking? How shall we be able to relieve any of you when unjustly treated by them, if we are deprived of the authority of assembling you? For words, I presume, are the beginning of all action; and it is obvious that those who are not allowed to say what they think will not be allowed to do, either, what they please. Either take back, therefore, the power you have given us," he said, "unless you intend to establish it securely, or by a law duly enacted prevent all opposition to us for the future." When he had thus spoken and the people had cried out to him with a great shout to introduce the law, Sicinius, who had it already drawn up, read it to them and permitted the people to vote upon it immediately. For the business seemed to admit of no postponement or delay, lest some further obstacle should be interposed by the consuls. The law was as follows: "When a tribune is delivering his opinion to the people, let no one say anything in opposition or interrupt him. If anyone shall act contrary to this, let him, if required, give sureties to the tribunes for the payment of the fine they shall impose upon him. If he refuses to give any surety, let him be punished with death and his goods be consecrated. And let the trials of those who protest against these fines take place before the people." After the tribunes had caused this law to be passed, they dismissed the assembly; and the people departed full of joy and very grateful to Brutus, whom they looked upon as the author of the law.

XVIII. After this the tribunes had many con-

<sup>3</sup> δίδωσι Jacoby, ἄμα δίδωσι Sintenis: ἀναδίδωσι O.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπενεγκεῖν deleted by Reiske, who read ἀναδίδωσι.

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ἐγίνοντο τοῖς δημάρχοις πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀντι-  
 λογίαι, καὶ οὐθ' ὁ δῆμος ὀπόσα ἢ βουλή ψηφίσαιτο  
 κύρια ἠγείτο, οὐθ' ὦν ὁ δῆμος γνοίῃ τῇ βουλῇ  
 φίλον<sup>1</sup> τι ἦν· ἀντιπαρατεταγμένοι δὲ καὶ δι'  
 ὑποψίας ἔχοντες ἀλλήλους διετέλουν. οὐ μὴν τό-  
 γε μῖσος αὐτῶν εἰς ἔργον τι ἀνήκεστον ἐχώρησεν,  
 οἷα ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι ταραχαῖς.  
 2 οὔτε γὰρ οἱ πένητες ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ὥρμησαν τῶν  
 πλουσίων, ἔνθα ὑπελάμβανόν τινας εὐρήσειν ἀπο-  
 κειμένας τροφάς, ἢ τὴν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἀγορὰν  
 ἀρπάζειν ἐπεβάλλοντο, ἀλλ' ὑπομένοντες ὠνεῖσθαι  
 πολλοῦ διαφόρου μικρά, καὶ ὁπότε ἐξαπορηθεῖεν  
 ἀργυρίου τὰς ἐκ γῆς ρίζας τε καὶ βοτάνας σιτού-  
 μενοι ἠνείχοντο· οὔτε οἱ πλούσιοι βιασάμενοι  
 τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους τῇ τε οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ  
 παρὰ τῶν πελατῶν πολλῇ οὔσῃ κατασχεῖν αὐτοὶ  
 τὴν πόλιν ἠξίωσαν τοὺς μὲν ἐξελάσαντες ἐξ  
 αὐτῆς, τοὺς δ' ἀποκτείναντες, ἀλλὰ διέμενον  
 ὥσπερ οἱ σωφρονέστατα πολιτευόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς  
 υἱοὺς πατέρες εὐνοούσῃ καὶ κηδομένῃ τῇ ὀργῇ  
 3 πρὸς τὰς ἀμαρτάδας αὐτῶν χρώμενοι. τοιαύτης  
 δὲ καταστάσεως οὔσης περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αἱ πλησιό-  
 χωροι πόλεις ἐκάλουν τοὺς βουλομένους οἰκεῖν  
 παρὰ σφίσι Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας τε μεταδόσει καὶ  
 ἄλλων φιλανθρώπων ἐλπίσιν ὑπαγόμεναι, αἱ μὲν  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου δι' εὐνοϊάν τε καὶ ἔλεον τῆς  
 συμφορᾶς, αἱ δὲ πλείους διὰ φθόνον τῆς πάλαι  
 ποτέ εὐτυχίας. καὶ ἦσαν οἱ ἀπαναστάντες παν-  
 οικεσία καὶ μεταθέμενοι τὰς οἰκῆσεις ἐτέρωσε πολλοὶ  
 πάνυ· ὦν οἱ μὲν ἀνέστησαν αὐθις, ἐπειδὴ κατέστη  
 τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ καὶ διέμειναν.

<sup>1</sup> Cobet : φίλιον O.

troversies with the consuls over various matters, and not only did the people refuse to recognize as valid the decrees of the senate, but the senate also did not find acceptable anything that the people determined; and both of them continued to be arrayed in hostile camps and to be suspicious of one another. However, their hatred did not lead to any irreparable mischief, as often happens in like disorders. For, on the one hand, the poor did not attack the houses of the rich, where they suspected they should find stores of provisions laid up, nor attempt to raid the public markets, but consented to buy small quantities for a high price, and when they lacked money, they sustained life by using roots and grass for food. Nor, on the other hand, did the rich, in the confidence of their own strength and that afforded by their clients, who were very numerous, offer violence to the weaker citizens and aim at making themselves masters of the city by driving out some of the poor and putting others to death, but, like those fathers who conduct themselves most prudently toward their sons, they continued to display toward their errors the kind of displeasure that is benevolent and solicitous. While Rome was in this situation, the neighbouring cities invited any of the Romans who so desired to live among them, luring them by the offer of citizenship and the hopes of other kind treatment, some from the best of motives, because of good will and compassion for their misfortune, but the greater part through envy of their former prosperity. And very great numbers did remove with their whole families to live elsewhere, some of whom returned when the affairs of the city were composed, while others remained where they were.

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XIX. Ταῦτα δ' ὀρώσι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐδόκει τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεπούσης στρατοπέδου ποιεῖσθαι καταγραφὴν καὶ ἐξάγειν ἔξω τὴν δύναμιν (εἰλήφεσαν δ' ἀφορμὴν τῷ ἐγχειρήματι πρέπουσαν ἐπιδρομάς τε καὶ λεηλασίας<sup>1</sup> κακουμένης τῆς χώρας<sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων θαμινά), τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος χρηστὰ ἦν ἐπιλογιζομένοις, ὑπερορίου στρατιᾶς ἐκπεμφθείσης ὡς εὐπορωτέρα<sup>3</sup> μὲν ἔξουσι τῇ ἀγορᾷ χρῆσθαι οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ἐλάττους γενόμενοι, ἐν ἀφθονωτέροις δὲ διαΐξουσι τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις οἱ τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων<sup>4</sup> ἐπισιτιζόμενοι, λωφήσει δ' ἡ στάσις ὅσον ἂν ἡ στρατεία κατέχη χρόνον· μάλιστα δ' ἐφαίνετο ἔργῳ βεβαιώσειν αὐτῶν τὰς διαλλαγὰς συστρατευόντων ἀλλήλοις πατρικίων καὶ δημοτῶν ἢ γενησομένη παρὰ τοὺς κινδύνους κακῶν τε καὶ  
 2 ἀγαθῶν ἰσομοῖρία. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος ὑπήκοον αὐτοῖς οὐδ' ὥσπερ πρότερον ἐκούσιον ὑπήντα πρὸς τὴν καταγραφὴν· ἀνάγκη δὲ προσφέρειν τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις οὐκ ἐδικαίουσαν τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων οἱ ὑπατοὶ· ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἐθελονταὶ τινες κατεγράφησαν ἅμα τοῖς πελάταις, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐξιούσιν ὀλίγον τι ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου  
 3 μέρος συνεστράτευεν. ἡγεμῶν δὲ τῶν ἐξεληθόντων ἦν Γάιος Μάρκιος ὁ τὴν Κοριολανῶν πόλιν ἐλὼν κὰν<sup>5</sup> τῇ πρὸς Ἀντιάτας ἀριστεύσας μάχῃ, καὶ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν συναραμένων<sup>6</sup> τὰ ὄπλα δημοτῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιδρομάς . . . λεηλασίας B : ἐπιδρομαῖς . . . λεηλασιαῖς R.

<sup>2</sup> κακουμένης τῆς χώρας O : κακουμένην τὴν χώραν Reiske.

<sup>3</sup> εὐπορωτέρα B : εὐπορώτατα R.

<sup>4</sup> ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας Sylburg.

<sup>5</sup> κὰν Jacoby, καὶ ἐν Cobet : καὶ O.

## BOOK VII. 19, 1-3

XIX. The consuls, observing these things, thought fit, with the approval of the senate, to levy an army and to march with the forces out of the city (they had found a plausible excuse for their plan in the frequent incursions and depredations of their enemies by which the country was being laid waste); and they also considered the other advantages that would result from this action, namely, that by sending an army into the field those, on the one hand, who were left, becoming fewer in number, would enjoy a greater plenty of provisions, while those under arms, by supplying themselves from the enemy's stores, would live in greater abundance, and the sedition would be in abeyance as long as the expedition lasted. But, above all, it seemed that if the patricians and plebeians served together, their sharing equally in both good and ill fortune amid the dangers of the war would effectually confirm their reconciliation. But the plebeians were not inclined to obey them, nor willingly, as before, to offer themselves to enlist in the service; and the consuls did not think it wise to enforce the law against those who were unwilling to serve. But some patrician volunteers together with their clients were enlisted, and when they marched out of the city they were joined by a small number of plebeians. The army was commanded by Gaius Marcius, who had taken the city of Corioli and distinguished himself above all others in the battle against the Antiates<sup>1</sup>; and the greater part of the plebeians who now took up arms were encouraged to

<sup>1</sup> See vi. 92-94.

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<sup>6</sup> συναραμένων Ο : ἀραμένων Jacoby.

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τοῦτον ἐξιόντα ὀρῶντες ἐπερρώσθησαν, οἱ μὲν δι' εὐνοίαν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ κατορθώσειν ἐλπίδι· περιβόητος γὰρ ἦν ἡδὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ, καὶ δέος αὐτοῦ μέγα  
 4 παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγεγόνει. αὕτη προελθοῦσα ἢ στρατιὰ μέχρι πόλεως Ἀντίου δίχα πόνου<sup>1</sup> σίτου πολλοῦ καταληφθέντος ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς καὶ ἀνδραπόδων καὶ βοσκημάτων συχνῶν ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ<sup>2</sup> παρῆν εὐπορωτέρα γεγонуῖα τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον, ὥστε τοῖς ὑπομείνασι πολλὴν κατήφειαν καὶ κατάμεμψιν τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἐμπεσεῖν, δι' οὓς ἀπεστερηῆσθαι<sup>3</sup>  
 5 ἐδόκουν τῆς ὁμοίας εὐτυχίας. ὁ μὲν δὲ Γεγάνιος καὶ Μηνύκιος οἱ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπατεύοντες ἐν μεγάλοις καὶ παντοδαποῖς χειμῶσι γενόμενοι καὶ πολλάκις ἀνατρέψαι κινδυνεύσαντες τὴν πόλιν οὐθὲν δεινὸν εἰργάσαντο, ἀλλὰ διέσωσαν τὰ κοινὰ φρονιμώτερον μᾶλλον ἢ εὐτυχέστερον τοῖς συμβαίνουσι χρησάμενοι.

XX. Οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοὺς ἀποδειχθέντες ὑπατοὶ Μάρκος Μηνύκιος Αὐγουρίνος καὶ Αὐλὸς Σεμπρόνιος Ἀτρατῖνος δεύτερον καταστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἄνδρες οὐθ' ὄπλων οὐτε λόγων ἄπειροι, προνοία μὲν ἐχρήσαντο πολλῇ σίτου τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀγορᾶς ἐμπλήσαι τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὴν εὐετηρία τῆς ὁμοιοῦς τοῦ πλήθους κειμένης· οὐ μὴν ἐξεγένετό γ' αὐτοῖς ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα τούτων τυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ συνεισηλθεν ἅμα τῷ κόρῳ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἢ τῶν χρησαμένων<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῖς  
 2 ὕβρις. καὶ τότε δὲ μέγιστος κατέλαβε τὴν

<sup>1</sup> πόνου added by Kiessling.

<sup>2</sup> μετ' οὐ πολὺ Kiessling: οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ O.

<sup>3</sup> Sylburg: ἀποστερεῖσθαι O, Jacoby, ἀποστέρεσθαι Cobet.



do so upon seeing him take the field, some of them out of affection for him, and others in the hope of a successful campaign; for he was already famous and the enemy had come to have great fear of him. This army, having advanced as far as the city of Antium without trouble, captured a great deal of corn that they found in the fields, and many slaves and cattle; and after a short time it returned better supplied than before with all the necessaries of life, so that those who had remained at home were greatly dejected and blamed their demagogues, through whom they felt they had been deprived of the same good fortune. Thus Geganius and Minucius, the consuls of this year, though involved in great and various storms and often in danger of wrecking the state, caused it no harm, but brought it safely through its perils by dealing with events rather with prudence than with good fortune.

XX. The consuls<sup>1</sup> appointed to succeed them, Marcus Minucius Augurinus and Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, who were both invested with this magistracy for the second time, being men not unskilled either in arms or in debate, took great care to supply the city plentifully with both corn and all other provisions, believing that the harmony of the masses depended on their well-being in this respect. Nevertheless, it was not their good fortune to obtain both these ends at the same time, but the surfeit of good things was accompanied by the insolence of those who had the benefit of them. And then it was that Rome

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Livy ii. 34, 7 f.

<sup>4</sup> Kiessling: *χρησομένων* O.

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'Ρώμην κίνδυνος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄθεν<sup>1</sup> ἤκιστ' ἂν<sup>2</sup> ἐδόκει.  
 οἱ τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν σιτωνίαν ἀποσταλέντες ὑπ'  
 αὐτῶν πρέσβεις πολὺν<sup>3</sup> ἐκ τῶν παραθαλαττίων τε  
 καὶ μεσογείων ἐμπορίων σίτον ὠνησάμενοι κατ-  
 ἤγαγον δημοσίᾳ, οἱ τε διαμείβεσθαι τὰς ἀγορὰς  
 εἰωθότες ἐκ παντὸς τόπου συνῆλθον, παρ' ὧν ἡ  
 πόλις ὠνησαμένη τὸν φόρτον ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν  
 3 χρημάτων εἶχεν ἐν φυλακῇ. ἦλθον δὲ καὶ οἱ  
 πρότερον ἀποσταλέντες πρέσβεις εἰς Σικελίαν  
 Γεγάνιος καὶ Οὐαλέριος πολλὰς ἀγοντες ὀλκάδας,  
 ἐν αἷς ἐκομίζοντο πυρῶν πέντε μυριάδες μεδίμων  
 Σικελικῶν, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ μέρος ὠνητὸν ἦν  
 βραχείας πάνυ τιμῆς, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὁ τύραννος  
 ἀπεστάλκει προῖκα δοῦς καὶ τέλεσι παρακομίσας  
 4 τοῖς ἰδίοις. ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλλθη τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὁ  
 κατάπλους τῶν σιτηγῶν ὀλκάδων τῶν ἀπὸ  
 Σικελίας, πολλὴ ζήτησις ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς πατρι-  
 κίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς διαθέσεως αὐτοῦ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἐπιεικέστατοι αὐτῶν καὶ φιλοδημότατοι πρὸς τὰς  
 κατεχούσας τὸ κοινὸν ἀνάγκας ἀποβλέποντες τὴν  
 τε παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου δωρεὰν παρήνουν ἅπασαν<sup>4</sup>  
 διανεῖμαι τοῖς δημοτικοῖς, καὶ τὸν ὠνηθέντα ἐκ  
 τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων σίτον ὀλίγης αὐτοῖς  
 ἀπεμπολῆσαι τιμῆς, διδάσκοντες ὡς ἐκ τούτων ἂν  
 γένοιτο μάλιστα τῶν χαρίτων ἐπιεικέστεραι  
 πρὸς τοὺς εὐπόρους αἱ τῶν πενήτων ὄργαι· οἱ δ'  
 αὐθαδέστεροι καὶ ὀλιγαρχικώτεροι πάσῃ προ-  
 θυμία τε καὶ μηχανῇ κακοῦν ᾤοντο δεῖν τοὺς  
 δημοτικοὺς καὶ συνεβούλευον τιμίας ὡς ἐνι  
 μάλιστα ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀγορὰς, ἵνα σωφρονέσ-

<sup>1</sup> ὄθεν Kiessling: ὅτε O.

<sup>2</sup> ἤκιστ' ἂν Post: ἤκιστα O, Jacoby.

was exposed once more to a very grave danger from a most unlikely source. For the ambassadors sent to buy corn, having purchased a large quantity at the public expense in both the maritime and the inland markets, brought it to the city; and the merchants also who used to trade in the markets flocked thither from all parts, of whom the commonwealth bought their lading with the public funds and kept it under guard. Then too Geganius and Valerius, who had been sent earlier as ambassadors to Sicily, arrived with many merchantmen in which they brought fifty thousand Sicilian bushels of wheat, one half of it purchased at a very low price and the rest sent by the tyrant as a free gift to the Romans and conveyed at his own expense. When word was brought to the people in Rome that the ships had arrived from Sicily laden with corn, a long debate arose among the patricians concerning the disposal of it. For those among them who were the most reasonable and the greatest friends of the people, having in view the public necessity, advised them to distribute all the corn given by the tyrant among the plebeians, and to sell to them at a low price that which had been purchased with the public funds, pointing out that by these favours more than by any other means the animosity of the poor against the rich would be moderated. On the other hand, those who were more arrogant and more zealous for the oligarchy thought that they ought to use every effort and every means to oppress the plebeians; and they advised making the provisions as costly as possible to them in order that they might through necessity become

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<sup>3</sup> πολλὸν B; om. R.

<sup>4</sup> Sintenis: ἅπασιν O.

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τεροι διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην γένοιτο καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πολιτείας δίκαια νομιμώτεροι.

XXI. Τούτων ἦν τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Κοριολανὸς ἐπικληθείς, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ λοιποὶ κρύφα καὶ δι' εὐλαβείας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀποφαινόμενος, ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς καὶ θρασέως, ὥστε πολλοὺς ἀκοῦσαι καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν. εἶχε γάρ τινας ἔξω τῶν κοινῶν ἐγκλημάτων καὶ ἰδίας προφάσεις νεωστὶ γενομένης ἐξ ὧν εἰκότως ἐδόκει μισεῖν τοὺς δημοτικούς. ὑπατείαν γὰρ αὐτῷ μετιόντι ταῖς ἔγγιστα γενομέναις ἀρχαιρεσίαις καὶ τοὺς πατρικίους ἔχοντι συναγωνιζομένους ὁ δῆμος ἐναντιωθείς οὐκ εἴασε δοῦναι τὴν ἀρχήν, τὴν τε λαμπρότητα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὴν τόλμαν δι' εὐλαβείας ἔχων, μή τι διὰ ταῦτα νεωτερίσῃ περὶ τὴν τῶν δημάρχων κατάλυσιν, καὶ μάλιστα δεδιὼς ὅτι συνελάμβανεν αὐτῷ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τὸ τῶν πατρικίων

3 πλήθος ὡς οὐδενὶ τῶν πρότερον. ταύτης τε οὖν τῆς ὑβρεως ὀργῇ ἐπαρθείς ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ πολιτεύματος εἰς τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κόσμον ἀποκαταστήσαι προθυμούμενος αὐτὸς τε ἀναφανδόν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, ἔπραττε τὴν τοῦ δήμου κατάλυσιν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐνήγεν. ἦν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ἑταιρία μεγάλη νέων εὐγενῶν οἷς ἦν τὰ μέγιστα τιμήματα βίων, καὶ πελάται συχνοὶ συνεστηκότες ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ὠφελείαις· οἷς ἐπαιρόμενος ἐφρυσάττετο καὶ λαμπρὸς ἦν καὶ

4 προῆλθεν ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐπιφανείας. οὐ μὴν εὐτυχούς γε διὰ ταῦτα καταστροφῆς ἔτυχε· συν-

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<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 21-24 cf. Livy ii. 34, 9-11.

more moderate and more observant in general of the principles of justice prescribed by the constitution.

XXI. One<sup>1</sup> of this oligarchic party was that Marcius, surnamed Coriolanus, who did not, like the rest, deliver his opinion with secrecy and caution, but with so much openness and boldness that many even of the plebeians heard him. It seems that, besides the general grievance against them which he shared with the others, he had lately received some private provocations that seemed to justify his hatred of the plebeians. For when he had stood for the consulship at the last election, in which he had been supported by the patricians, the people had opposed him and would not permit that magistracy to be conferred on him, since his brilliant reputation and daring inclined them to caution, lest he might make some move to overthrow the tribuneship, and they were particularly apprehensive because the whole body of the patricians promoted his interest with a zeal they had never before shown for any other candidate. Marcius, therefore, being exasperated at this humiliation, and at the same time desirous of restoring the government to its ancient form, not only worked openly himself, as I have already said, to overthrow the power of the people, but also urged his associates on to the same end. He had about him a large faction of young men of noble birth and of the greatest fortunes, as well as many clients who had attached themselves to him for the sake of the booty to be gained in the wars. Elated by these advantages, he assumed a haughty air, became conspicuous, and attained to the greatest distinction. And yet, for all this, he did not come to a fortunate end, as shall now be related. The senate having been

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αχθείσης γὰρ ὑπὲρ τούτων βουλῆς καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ὡς ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς, πρώτων ἀποφνημαμένων τὰς ἑαυτῶν διανοίας, ἐν οἷς οὐ πολλοί τινες ἦσαν οἱ τὰς κατὰ τοῦ δήμου γνώμας ἀντικρυσ ἀγορεύσαντες, ἐπειδὴ καθῆκεν εἰς τοὺς νεωτέρους ὁ λόγος, αἰτησάμενος ἐξουσίαν παρὰ τῶν ὑπάτων εἰπεῖν ὅσα βούλεται, καὶ τυχῶν ἐπισημασίας<sup>1</sup> τε μεγάλης καὶ προσοχῆς, λόγον διεξῆλθε κατὰ τοῦ δήμου τοιόνδε·

XXII. “Ὅτι μὲν οὐχ ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης τε καὶ ἀπορίας βιασθεῖς ὁ δῆμος ἐποίησατο τὴν ἀπόστασιν, ὧ πατέρες, ἀλλὰ πονηρᾷ ἐλπίδι ἐπαρθεῖς ὡς καταλύσων τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ὑμῶν καὶ πάντων αὐτὸς ἐσόμενος τῶν κοινῶν κύριος, σχεδὸν οἶμαι πάντας ὑμᾶς ἠσθῆσθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς αὐτοῦ πλεονεκτήματα ὀρῶντας· ὧ γε οὐκ ἀπέχρησε διαφθεύραντι τὴν περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια πίστιν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ κειμένους ἀνελόντι νόμους μηθὲν ἄλλο πολυπραγμονεῖν, καινὴν δὲ καταστησάμενος ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τῷ καθελεῖν τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων, ἱεράν καὶ ἄσυλον ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν νόμῳ, καὶ νῦν τυραννικὴν ἐξουσίαν περιβαλλόμενος,<sup>2</sup> ὧ βουλή, τῷ νεωστὶ κυρωθέντι νόμῳ λέληθεν ὑμᾶς. ὅταν γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐξουσίας πολλῆς οἱ προεστηκότες αὐτοῦ, πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῆ προβαλλόμενοι τὸ δὴ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις τῶν δημοτῶν βοηθεῖν, διὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης ἄγωσι καὶ φέρωσι ὅσ’ ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῆ, καὶ μηθεὶς ὁ κωλύσων τὰς παρανομίας αὐτῶν ἢ, μήτ’ ἰδιώτης μήτ’ ἀρχων, δεδοικῶς τὸν νόμον, ὃς ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ τὸν λόγον ἡμῶν ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις

<sup>1</sup> ἐπισημασίας B: ἐπισημείας A, ἡσυχίας C.

assembled to consider the matters I have mentioned, and the older senators, according to custom, having delivered their opinions first, only a few of them declaring openly against the populace, when it came to the turn of the younger senators to speak, Marcius asked leave of the consuls to say what he wished; and meeting with loud acclaim and strict attention, he delivered the following harangue against the populace:

XXII. "That the populace seceded, fathers, not because of necessity and want, but because they were elated by the mischievous hope of destroying your aristocracy and of becoming themselves masters of the commonwealth, I think has become clear to nearly all of you when you observe the advantages which they gained by the accommodation. For they were not content, after they had destroyed the good faith which gave validity to their contracts and had abolished the laws made to secure it, to carry their meddling no farther, but introducing a new magistracy designed to overthrow that of the consuls, they made it sacred and inviolable by law, and have now, unobserved by you, senators, been acquiring a tyrannical power through this newly-enacted law. For when their leaders, in their great power putting forward the specious pretence of coming to the aid of such plebeians as are wronged, sack and pillage whatever they please by virtue of that power, and when there is no man, either private citizen or magistrate, who will oppose their lawless deeds for fear of this law, which destroys even our liberty of speech as well as of action by imposing the penalty of

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<sup>2</sup> περιβαλλόμενος BC: περιβαλόμενος R.

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θάνατον ἐπιτιθεὶς ζημίαν τοῖς ἐλευθέραν φωνὴν ἀφιεῖσι, τί προσήκεν ὄνομα θέσθαι τῇ δυναστείᾳ ταύτῃ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας ἕτερον ἢ τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθῆς καὶ πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσαιτε,<sup>1</sup> τυραννίδα; εἰ δ' οὐχ ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ὄλου τυρανοῦμεθα δῆμου, τί τοῦτο<sup>2</sup> διαφέρει; τὸ γὰρ  
 3 ἔργον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τὸ αὐτό. κράτιστον μὲν οὖν ἦν μηδὲ τὸ σπέρμα τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης εἶναι καταβαλλόμενον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὑπομεῖναι πρότερον, ὡς Ἄππιος ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ δεινὰ προορώμενος ἠξίου, εἰ δὲ μή, νῦν γ' ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅπαντας ἐξορύξαντας αὐτὴν πρόρριζον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλεῖν, ἕως ἀσθενῆς ἐστὶ καὶ προσ-  
 4 πολεμηθῆναι ῥαδία. καὶ τοῦτ' οὐ πρότοις ἡμῖν, ὦ βουλή, οὐδὲ μόνοις ἐξεγένετο παθεῖν, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ πολλάκις ἤδη τοῖς εἰς ἀβουλήτους ἀνάγκας καταστᾶσι γνώμης ἀμαρτοῦσι τῆς ἀρίστης περὶ τὰ μέγιστα, ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὐκ ἐκώλυσαν τοῦ κακοῦ, τὰς αὐξήσεις πειρᾶσθαι καθαιρεῖν· καὶ ἡ μετάνοια τῶν ὀψὲ ἀρχομένων σωφρονεῖν ἤττων οὔσα τῆς προνοίας, καθ' ἕτερον αὐτῷ τρόπῳ οὐ χείρων οὔσα ἀναφαίνεται τῇ κωλύσει τοῦ τέλους ἀφανίζουσα τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀγνοηθέν.

XXIII. “Εἰ δέ τιςιν ὑμῶν δεινὰ μὲν τὰ τοῦ δήμου ἔργα εἶναι δοκεῖ, καὶ κωλύσαι<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸν οἴονται δεῖν τὰ λοιπὰ ἐξαμαρτάνοντα, δέος δ' εἰσέρχεται μὴ δόξωσι λύειν τὰς ὁμολογίας πρότεροι καὶ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὄρκους, γνώτωσαν ὅτι οὐκ ἄρχοντες ἀλλ' ἀμννόμενοι, οὐδ' ἀναιροῦντες

<sup>1</sup> ἂν ὁμολογήσαιτε Cobet: ἂν ὁμολογήσετε B, Jacoby, ἀνομολογήσετε A.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦτο Bb: τούτου ABa.



death on all who utter a word befitting freemen, what other name ought to be given by sensible men to this domination but that which is the true one and which you would all own to be such, namely, a tyranny? And if we are under the tyranny, not of one man, but of a whole populace, what is the difference? For the effect of both is the same. It would have been best, therefore, never to have permitted even the seed of this power to be sown, but rather to have submitted to everything, as the excellent Appius, who foresaw these mischiefs from afar, advised. But if that could not be, we ought now at least with one accord to pluck it up by the roots and cast it out of the city while it is yet weak and easily combatted. And we are not the first or the only persons to whom this experience has come, senators, but oft-times in the past many who have been reduced to unenviable straits and have failed to take the best counsel in matters of the greatest consequence, since they did not check the beginnings of the evil, have endeavoured to prevent its growth. And the repentance of those who are late in beginning to be wise, though inferior to foresight, yet, when viewed in another light, is seen to be no less valuable, since it wipes out the error originally made in ignorance by preventing its consequences.

XXIII. "But if any of you, while looking upon the actions of the populace as outrageous and believing that they ought to be prevented from making any further mistakes, are nevertheless afraid of seeming to be the first to violate the agreement and transgress the oaths, let them know that, since they will not be the aggressors but will be repelling aggression,

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<sup>3</sup> κωλύσαι Post, κωλύεσθαι Jacoby: κεκωλύσθαι O.

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τὰς ὁμολογίας ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνηρηκότας τιμωρού-  
 μνοι,<sup>1</sup> ἀναίτιοί τε πρὸς θεοὺς ἔσονται καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ  
 2 σφετέρῳ συμφέροντι τὰ δίκαια πράξουσι. μέγα  
 δ' ὑμῖν γενέσθω τεκμήριον ὅτι τοῦ λύειν τὰς  
 ὁμολογίας καὶ παρασπονδεῖν οὐχ ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸ  
 δημοτικὸν ἄρχει μέρος οὐκ ἀξιούν ἐμμένειν ἐφ'  
 οἷς εὔρετο τὴν κάθοδον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ κακῶς  
 δρᾶσαι τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ὑπ' ἐκείνης  
 κακοῦσθαι τὴν τῶν δημάρχων ἐξουσίαν ἠτήσατο·  
 χρῆται δ' αὐτῇ οὐκέτι εἰς ἅ δει οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς  
 3 εὔρετο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ καὶ συγχύσει τῆς  
 πατρίου πολιτείας. μέμνησθε γὰρ δήπου τὴν  
 νεωστὶ γενομένην ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν  
 δημαγωγῶν ῥηθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ λόγους, ὅσῃν ἐπ-  
 εδείξαντο αὐθάδειάν τε καὶ ἀκοσμίαν, καὶ νῦν ἐφ'  
 οἴου εἰσὶν ἀνχήματος οἱ μηδὲν ὑγιᾶς φρονούντες,  
 ἐπειδὴ ἔγνωσαν ὡς ἐν τῇ ψήφῳ ἐστὶν ἅπαν τὸ τῆς  
 πόλεως κράτος, ἧς αὐτοὶ κρατήσουσι πλείους  
 4 ἡμῶν ὄντες. τί οὖν καταλείπεται ποιεῖν ἡμῖν  
 ἀρξάντων ἐκείνων παρασπονδεῖν καὶ παρανομεῖν,  
 εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἀρξάντας, καὶ ἅ τέως<sup>2</sup>  
 ἀδίκως ἔχουσιν ἀφελέσθαι σὺν δίκῃ, καὶ εἰς τὸ  
 λοιπὸν παῦσαι πλειόνων ἐφιεμένους, χάριν εἰδό-  
 τας τοῖς θεοῖς ὅτι οὐκ εἴασαν αὐτοὺς τὰ πρῶτα  
 πλεονεκτήσαντας εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ σωφρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ  
 ταύτην ἐνέβαλον αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀναισχυντίαν τε καὶ  
 πολυπραγμοσύνην ὑφ' ἧς ὑμεῖς ἀναγκασθέντες τά  
 τ' ἀπολωλότα πειρᾶσθε ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ  
 δι' ἧς προσῆκε φυλακῆς λαβεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸ δρῶσιν after τιμωρούμενοι deleted by Kaysor; Kiessling emended to τοῦτο δρῶσιν.

<sup>2</sup> ἅ τέως Kiessling: ἅτε ABC, ἅτε τέως Omg.

and will not be violating the agreement but rather punishing the violators of it, they will not only be guiltless towards the gods, but will also be doing an act of justice while they consult their own interest. And let this be a strong argument that it is not you who are taking the first steps to break the agreement and violate the treaty, but rather the plebeian element, by not observing the conditions upon which they obtained their return. For, after asking for the tribunician power, not in order to injure the senate, but to secure themselves from being injured by the senate, they no longer employ this power for the purposes they ought or on the terms on which they obtained it, but for the overthrow and destruction of the established government. For surely you recall the recent assembly of the people and the harangues there made by their demagogues, what arrogance and unruliness they showed, and how these infatuated men vaunt themselves now, since they have discovered that the whole control of the commonwealth lies in the vote, which they will control, being more numerous than we. What, therefore, remains for us to do, now that they have begun to violate the compact and the law, but to repel the attacks of the aggressors, to deprive them justly of what they now unjustly possess, and for the future to put a stop to their craving for ever more and more? And we should return thanks to the gods for not having permitted them, when they had gained an unfair advantage at first, to act after that with moderation, but for having inspired them with this shamelessness and officiousness which have forced you to endeavour both to recover the rights you have lost and to guard with due care those that remain.

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XXIV. “Καιρὸς δ’ ὁ παρῶν οἷος οὐχ ἕτερος, εἴπερ γε ἄρχεσθαι μέλλετε σωφρονεῖν, ἐν ᾧ κεκάκωται αὐτῶν τὸ πλείστον μέρος ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἂν ἔτι δύναίτο πολλὸν ἀντισχεῖν χρόνον ὑπ’ ἀχρηματίας, εἰ σπανίους τε καὶ τιμίας ἔχοι τὰς ἀγοράς· ἀναγκασθήσονται δ’ οἱ μὲν κάκιστοι καὶ οὐδέποτε τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ χαίροντες ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ’ ἐπεικέστεροι πολιτεύεσθαι κοσμίως μηθὲν ἔτι ἐνοχλοῦντες ὑμῖν. τὰς τε οὖν ἀγοράς διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχετε, καὶ τῆς τιμῆς τῶν ὠνίων μηθὲν ἀνίετε, ἀλλ’ ὅσου πλείστου ποτὲ ἦν τὰ ὄνια, τοσοῦτου καὶ νῦν αὐτὰ πωλεῖν ψηφίσασθε, δικαίας ἀφορμὰς ἔχοντες καὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους τὴν τε ἀχάριστον τοῦ δήμου καταβολήν, ὡς ὑφ’ ἡμῶν κατασκευασθείσης τῆς σιτοδειίας, ἣ διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν τὴν ἐκείνων ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν καταφθορὰν ἣν ἐποιήσαντο τῆς γῆς, ἄγοντες αὐτὴν καὶ φέροντες ὥσπερ πολεμίαν, καὶ τὰς ἐξαιρεθείσας ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δαπάνας εἰς τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας ἐπὶ τὴν σιτωνίαν ἄνδρας, καὶ ἄλλα πολλά, ἃ <sup>1</sup> ἠδίκησθε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν· ἵνα καὶ γινώμεν ἤδη τί ποτ’ ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνο τὸ δεινὸν ὃ διαθήσουσιν ἡμᾶς, ἂν μὴ ποιῶμεν ἅπαντα τῷ δήμῳ τὰ καθ’ ἡδονάς, ὡς οἱ δημαγωγοὶ αὐτῶν δεδιπτόμενοι  
 3 ἔλεγον. εἰ δ’ ἀφήσετε καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τὸν καιρὸν, πολλάκις εὐξέσθε τοιούτου τυχεῖν ἐτέρου· καὶ εἰ γνοίῃ τοῦθ’ ὁ δῆμος, ὅτι βουλευθέντες καταλύειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀπετράπεσθε, πολὺ μᾶλλον ὑμῖν βαρὺς ἐγκείσεται, πολέμιον μὲν τὸ βουλόμενον ὑμῶν ἡγούμενος, δειλὸν δὲ τὸ μὴ δυνάμενον.”

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλα πολλά, ἃ Sylburg: ἄλλα πολλά A, ἄλλα τινὰ B, ἄλλα πολλά τιν’ ἃ Jacoby.

XXIV. "The present opportunity is favourable as no other, if you really intend to begin to act with wisdom, since the greater part of the plebeians are now reduced to dire straits by the famine and the rest cannot long hold out for want of money if they find provisions scarce and dear. The worst of them and those who were never pleased with the aristocracy will be forced to leave the city, and the more reasonable will be compelled to behave themselves in an orderly manner without giving you any further trouble. Keep the provisions, therefore, under guard, and abate nothing of the price of commodities, but pass a vote that they shall now be sold at as high a price as ever. For this you have just grounds and plausible excuses in the ungrateful clamour of the populace to the effect that the scarcity of corn was contrived by you, whereas it was occasioned by their own revolt and the desolation of the country which they caused when they pillaged it just as if it had been the territory of an enemy; and again in the disbursements from the treasury to the men sent to purchase corn, and in many other instances in which you have been wronged by them. By this means we shall also know at last what that grievous treatment is which they are going to inflict upon us if we refuse to gratify the people in everything, as their demagogues threatened in order to frighten us. But if you let this opportunity also slip from your grasp, you will often pray for such another. Moreover, if the people should become aware that you desired to overthrow their power but were deterred, they will bear down much harder upon you, looking upon your desire as a proof of enmity and upon your inability to carry it out as evidence of cowardice."

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XXV. Τοιαῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ Μαρκίου διέστησαν αἱ γνώμαι τῶν συνέδρων, καὶ θόρυβος ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο πολὺς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐναντίοι τοῖς δημοτικοῖς καὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς παρὰ γνώμην ὑπομείναντες, ἐν οἷς ἦ τε νεότης ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσα ἦν καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων οἱ πλουσιώτατοί τε καὶ φιλοτιμότατοι, βαρέως φέροντες οἱ <sup>1</sup> μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια βλάβαις, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ περὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἐλαττώσει,<sup>1</sup> ἐπήνουν τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς γενναῖον καὶ φιλόπολιν καὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῷ κοινῷ λέγοντα·

2 οἱ δὲ δημοτικὰς ἔχοντες τὰς προαιρέσεις τῶν τρόπων καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον οὐ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἐκτετιμηκότες τῆς τε εἰρήνης οὐδὲν ἀναγκαιότερον ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἤχθοντο τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν γνώμην οὐ προσίεντο· ἠξίου τε μὴ τοῖς βιαίοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς εὐγνώμοσι περιεῖναι τῶν ταπεινοτέρων, μηδ' ἀπρεπὲς ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον ἠγεῖσθαι τὸ ἐπιεικές, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γινόμενον· μανίαν τε ἀπέφαινον αὐτοῦ τὴν συμβουλήν, οὐ παρρησίαν οὐδὲ ἐλευθερίαν. βραχὺ μὲν οὖν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος καὶ ἀσθενὲς

3 ὄν περιεωθεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ βιαιοτέρου. ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶντες οἱ δήμαρχοι—παρῆσαν γὰρ τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρακληθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων—ἐβόων τε καὶ ἤσπαιρον καὶ τὸν Μάρκιον λυμεῶνα καὶ ὄλεθρον τῆς πόλεως ἀπεκάλουν πονηροὺς διεξιόντα κατὰ τοῦ δήμου λόγους, καὶ εἰ μὴ κωλύσειαν αὐτὸν οἱ πατρίκιοι πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσάγοντα θανάτῳ ζημιώσαντες ἢ φυγῇ, αὐτοὶ ποιή-

4 σειν τοῦτ' ἔλεγον. θορύβου δ' ἔτι πλείονος ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> οἱ μὲν . . . ἐλαττώσει B: om. R.

XXV. After <sup>1</sup> this speech of Marcius the opinions of the senators were divided and a great tumult arose among them. For those who from the beginning had opposed the plebeians and submitted to the accommodation against their will, among whom were almost all the youth and the richest and most ambitious of the older senators, some of them resenting the losses sustained in the loans they had made under contract and others their defeat when they sought office, applauded Marcius as a man of spirit and a lover of his country, who advised what was best for the commonwealth. On the other hand, the senators whose sympathies were with the populace and who set no undue value on riches and thought nothing was more necessary than peace, were offended at his speech and rejected his advice. These maintained that they ought to surpass the humbler citizens, not in violence, but in kindness, and that they ought to regard reasonableness as not unbecoming, but necessary, particularly when it was manifested out of goodwill towards their fellow-citizens; and they declared that the advice of Marcius was madness, not frankness of speech or liberty. But this group was small and weak, and hence was overborne by the more violent party. The tribunes, seeing this—for they were present in the senate at the invitation of the consuls—cried out and were in great conflict of mind, calling Marcius the pest and bane of the state for uttering malicious words against the populace; and unless the patricians should prevent his design of introducing civil war into the state by punishing him with death or banishment, they said they would do so themselves. When a still greater tumult arose at

<sup>1</sup> For chaps. 25-58 cf. Livy ii. 35, 1-5.

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τοῖς λόγοις τῶν δημάρχων γενομένου, καὶ μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων τὰς ἀπειλὰς δυσανασχετούντων, ἐπαρθεῖς τούτοις ὁ Μάρκιος αὐθαδέστερον ἤδη καθήπετο τῶν δημάρχων καὶ θρασύτερον. “Εἰ μὴ παύσεσθε μέντοι,” λέγων, “ταράττοντες τὴν πόλιν ὑμεῖς καὶ ἐκδημαγωγοῦντες τοὺς ἀπόρους, οὐκέτι λόγῳ διοίσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ’ ἔργῳ.”

XXVI. Ἦγριωμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, ὡς ἔμαθον οἱ δήμαρχοι πλείους ὄντας τοὺς βουλομένους ἀφελῆσθαι τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἐξουσίαν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν ἐμμένειν ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ἀξιούντων, ἐξέδραμον ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κεκραγότες καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ὀρκίους ἐπικαλούμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο συναγαγόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ῥηθέντας λόγους ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαρ-  
 2 κίου, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα εἰς ἀπολογίαν ἐκάλουν. ὡς δ’ οὐ προσεῖχεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ὑφ’ ὧν ἐκαλεῖτο προπηλακίζων τοῖς λόγοις ἀνεῖρξεν, ἀγανακτήσαντες ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ δήμαρχοι παραλαβόντες τοὺς τε ἀγορανόμους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν συχνοὺς ὤρμησαν ἐπ’ αὐτόν. ὁ δ’ ἔτυχεν ἔτι διατρίβων πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν τε πατρι-  
 3 κίων πολλοὺς ἐπαγόμενος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἑταιρίαν περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων. ὡς δὲ συνεῖδον αὐτὸν οἱ δήμαρχοι, προσέταξαν τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις ἐπιλαβῆσθαι τοῦ σώματος καί, εἰ μὴ ἐκὼν βούλεται ἀκολουθεῖν, βία ἄγειν. εἶχον δὲ τότε τὴν ἀγορανομικὴν ἐξουσίαν Τίτος Ἰούιος Βρούτος καὶ Γάιος Οὐισέλλιος<sup>1</sup> Ῥούγας. οἱ μὲν δὴ προσ-  
 ἤεσαν ὡς ἐπιληψόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἱ δὲ πατρί-  
 κιοι δεινὸν ἠγησάμενοι τοῦργον ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων



these words of the tribunes, particularly on the part of the younger senators, who bore their threats with impatience, Marcius, inspired by these manifestations, now attacked the tribunes with greater arrogance and boldness, saying to them: "Unless you cease disturbing the commonwealth and stirring up the poor by your harangues, I shall no longer oppose you with words, but with deeds."

XXVI. The senate being now embittered, the tribunes, finding that those who desired to take away the power granted to the people outnumbered those who advised adhering to the agreement, rushed out of the senate-house shouting and calling upon the gods who had been witnesses to their oaths. After this they assembled the people, and having acquainted them with the speech made by Marcius in the senate, they summoned him to make his defence. But when he paid no regard to them, but repulsed with abusive words the attendants by whom he was summoned, the tribunes grew still more indignant, and taking with them the aediles and many other citizens, ran to seize him; he chanced to be still standing before the senate-house, attended by a large number of the patricians and by the rest of his faction. When the tribunes caught sight of him, they ordered the aediles to lay hold of his person and, if he refused to follow them, to bring him away by force. The aediles at that time were Titus Junius Brutus and Gaius Visellius Ruga. These advanced with the intention of seizing him; but the patricians, looking upon it as a terrible thing that any one of their number should

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<sup>1</sup> Γάιος Ούσιέλλιος Kiessling, Γάιος Ίκίλιος Portus: σουκέλιος AB.

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πρὸ δίκης ἄγεσθαί τινα<sup>1</sup> σφῶν βία προὔστησαν τοῦ Μαρκίου καὶ τύπτοντες τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας  
 4 ἀπήλασαν. διαβοηθέντος δὲ τοῦ πάθους ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄλην ἐξεπήδων ἅπαντες ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ὄντες καὶ χρημάτων ἔχοντες εὗ τὸν Μάρκιον ὑπερασπιοῦντες ἅμα τοῖς πατρικίοις καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀνακτησόμενοι πολιτείαν, οἱ δὲ ταπεινοὶ ταῖς τύχαις καὶ βίου σπανίζοντες ἀμύνειν παρεσκευασμένοι τοῖς δημάρχοις καὶ ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνοι κελεύσωσιν· ἢ τε αἰδώς, ὑφ' ἧς κρατούμενοι τέως οὐδὲν ἐτόλμων εἰς ἀλλήλους παρανομεῖν, τότε ἀνήρητο ὑπ' αὐτῶν. οὐ μὴν ἔδρασαν γε οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀνεβάλοντο, γνώμη τε καὶ παρακλήσει τῶν ὑπάτων εἴξαντες.

XXVII. Τῇ δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέρα πρῶτοι καταβάντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ δήμαρχοι συνεκάλουν τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ παριόντες ἐκ διαδοχῆς πολλὰ μὲν τῶν πατρικίων κατηγοροῦν ὡς ἐψευσμένων τὰς συνθήκας καὶ παραβεβηκότων τοὺς ὄρκους οὓς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ ἀμνηστίας τῶν πάλαι, πίστεις παραφέροντες τοῦ μὴ βεβαίως αὐτοὺς διηλλάχθαι πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν τὴν τε τοῦ σίτου σπάνιν, ἣν αὐτοὶ κατεσκεύασαν, καὶ τὰς ἀποστολὰς τῶν κληρούχων<sup>2</sup> ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐμηχανήσαντο μειώσεως τοῦ πλήθους ἕνεκα.  
 2 πολλὰ δὲ τοῦ Μαρκίου καθήπτοντο τοὺς ῥηθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διεξιόντες, καὶ ὅτι καλούμενος εἰς ἀπολογίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου οὐ

<sup>1</sup> Reiske: τινας O.

<sup>2</sup> κληρούχων O: κληρουχιῶν Reudler, Jacoby.

be forcibly carried away by the tribunes before being tried, placed themselves in front of Marcius, and striking all who approached him, drove them away. The news of this occurrence having been spread through the whole city, all rushed out of their houses, the magistrates and the men of means with the purpose of assisting the patricians in protecting Marcius and of recovering their ancient form of government, and those of humble condition and straitened circumstances prepared to aid the tribunes and to carry out any orders they might give. And the feeling of respect, which had hitherto restrained them from venturing to commit any lawless acts against one another, they had now abandoned. However, they did not commit any irreparable deed that day, but postponed a decision until the following day, out of deference to the advice and exhortations of the consuls.

XXVII. The next day the tribunes were the first to descend to the Forum; and assembling the people, they came forward one after the other and preferred many charges against the patricians, alleging that they had violated their treaty and transgressed the oaths by which they had promised the people to forget and forgive the past. As proofs that they were not sincerely reconciled to the plebeians they pointed to the scarcity of corn which the patricians had brought about, to the sending out of the two colonies, and to all the other things they had contrived with a view to diminishing the number of the populace. After that they inveighed violently against Marcius, repeating the words he had spoken in the senate, and told them that, when he was summoned by the people to make his defence before them, he had not only not

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μόνον οὐκ ἠξίωσεν ἔλθειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀφικο-  
 μένους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀγορανόμους τύπτων ἀπήλασεν.  
 ἐκάλουν δὲ μάρτυρας τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενομένων  
 τοὺς ἐντιμοτάτους τῶν ἐκεῖ, τῆς δὲ περὶ τοὺς  
 ἀγορανόμους ὕβρεως ἅπαντας τοὺς τότε παρόντας  
 3 κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν δημοτικούς. ταῦτα δ' εἰπόντες  
 ἐδίδοσαν, εἰ βουλομένοις εἶη, τοῖς πατρικίοις  
 ἀπολογία, κατέχοντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸν  
 δῆμον ἕως ἢ βουλὴ διαλυθείη. ἔτυχον γὰρ ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτῶν τούτων συνεδρεύοντες οἱ πατρικιοί, δι-  
 αποροῦντες εἴτ' ἀπολογητέον αὐτοῖς εἶη πρὸς τὸν  
 δῆμον ὑπὲρ ὧν διεβλήθησαν εἴτε μενετέον ἐφ'  
 ἡσυχίας. ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ πλείους γινώμαι τὰ φιλ-  
 ανθρωπότερα τῶν ἀυθαδεστέρων προείλοντο, δια-  
 λύσαντες οἱ ὕπατοι τὸν σύλλογον προῆλθον εἰς  
 τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰς τε κοινὰς ἀπολυσόμενοι διαβολὰς  
 καὶ περὶ τοῦ Μαρκίου τὸν δῆμον ἀξιῶσόντες  
 μηθὲν βουλευσαι<sup>1</sup> ἀνήκεστον. καὶ παρελθὼν ὁ  
 πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν Μηνύκιος ἔλεξε τοιαύδε·

XXVIII. “ Ἡ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς σιτοδείας ἀπο-  
 λογία πάνυ βραχεῖά ἐστιν, ὧ δὲ δημόται, καὶ οὐκ  
 ἄλλους τινὰς παρεξόμεθα ὧν ἂν λέγωμεν ἢ ὑμᾶς  
 μάρτυρας. τὴν τε γὰρ ἀφορίαν τῶν σιτικῶν  
 καρπῶν ἐπίστασθε δήπου καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸν  
 ἐκλειφθέντα σπόρον γενομένην· τὴν τε ἄλλην  
 καταφθορὰν τῆς χώρας οὐ παρ' ἐτέρων ὑμᾶς δεῖ  
 μαθεῖν, ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας συνέβη, καὶ ὡς τελευτῶσα  
 ἢ πλείστη τε καὶ ἀρίστη γῆ πάντων ἐσπάνικε  
 καρπῶν τε καὶ ἀνδραπόδων καὶ βοσκημάτων, τὰ  
 μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων διαρπαζομένη, τὰ δ' ὑμῖν

<sup>1</sup> βουλευσαι B: βουλεύσασθαι R.

deigned to come, but had even driven away with blows the aediles who came to fetch him. They summoned, as witnesses of what had passed in the senate, the most honoured members of that body, and, as witnesses of the insult offered to the aediles, all the plebeians who had been present at the time in the Forum. Having spoken thus, they gave leave to the patricians to make their defence if they wished; and for that purpose they kept the people together till the senate should be dismissed. For it happened that the patricians were holding a session concerning this very matter, debating whether they should clear themselves to the people of the charges that had been brought against them or should remain quiet. When the majority of the opinions inclined to humane rather than to stubborn measures, the consuls dismissed the meeting and came to the Forum with the intention both of refuting the charges brought against their whole order and of asking the people not to come to any irreparable decision against Marcius. And Minucius, the older of the consuls, coming forward, spoke as follows:

XXVIII. "Our defence as regards the scarcity of corn is a very brief one, plebeians, and we shall offer no other witnesses than you yourselves to prove the truth of what we allege. For surely even you yourselves know that the land produced no crops of grain for the reason that none was sown. And as for the general ruin of the land, you have no need to be informed by others to what cause it was due and by what means at last the largest and most fertile part of the land has come to lack all crops, slaves, and cattle—partly because it was being laid waste by the enemy and

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μὴ <sup>1</sup> ἐπιχορηγοῦσα τοσοῦτοις οὔσι καὶ μηδεμίαν  
<sup>2</sup> ἄλλην ἀποστροφὴν ἔχουσιν. ὥστε οὐκ ἐξ ὧν οἱ  
 δημαγωγοὶ διαβάλλουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὶ ἴστε  
 τὸν λιμὸν ἠγούμενοι γεγονέναι, παύσασθε προσ-  
 ἄπτοντες ἐπιβουλήν ἡμετέραν τῷ πάθει καὶ δι'  
<sup>3</sup> ὀργῆς ἔχοντες ἡμᾶς οὐθὲν ἀδικοῦντας. αἱ δ' ἀπο-  
 στολαὶ τῶν κληρούχων ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου ἐγένοντο,  
 κοινῇ δόξαν ὑμῖν ἅπασι διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν χωρία  
 εἰς πόλεμον ἐπιτηδεῖα, καὶ μεγάλα ὤνησαν ἐν  
 καιρῷ σφόδρα ἀναγκαίῳ γενόμενοι τοὺς τε ἐξιόν-  
 τας καὶ τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους ὑμῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ <sup>2</sup>  
 ἀφθονωτέρων εὐποροῦσιν ἐκεῖ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων·  
 οἱ δ' ἐνθάδε ὑπομείναντες ἤττον σπανίζουσι τῆς  
 ἀγορᾶς· ἢ τε ἰσομοιρία τῆς τύχης, ἧς μετέσχομεν  
 ὑμῖν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς οἱ πατρίκιοι κλήρω ποιησά-  
 μενοι τὴν ἔξοδον, οὐ ψέγεται.

XXIX. “Τί οὖν παθόντες οἱ δημαγωγοὶ περὶ  
 τούτων ἡμῖν ἐγκαλοῦσιν, ὧν κοινὰς ἔσχομεν τὰς  
 γνώμας καὶ τὰς τύχας, εἴτε δεινῶν ὄντων, ὡς  
 οὔτοί φασιν, εἴτ' ὠφελίμων, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθα;  
<sup>2</sup> ἃ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ νεωστὶ γενομένη βουλή <sup>3</sup> δια-  
 βεβλήμεθα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες μετριάσαι  
 περὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντες  
 ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημάρχων, ὡς μνησι-  
 κακοῦντες ὑμῖν τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ  
 προθυμούμενοι κακῶσαι τὸ δημοτικόν, καὶ πάντα

<sup>1</sup> μὴ O: ἀεὶ Schenkl; deleted by Köstlin.

<sup>2</sup> γὰρ R: γε BC.

partly because it was incapable of supplying you who are so numerous and have no other resource. Believe, then, that the famine was occasioned, not by what your demagogues charge, but by what you yourselves know to be true, and cease to attribute this misfortune to plotting on our part and to be angry with us when we are guilty of no wrongdoing. As to the colonists, there was a necessity for sending them out since it was the unanimous decision of all of you to garrison places that will be of use in time of war; and sending them out when the occasion was so very urgent has proved of great advantage both to those who went out and to you who are left behind. For the colonists enjoy there a greater plenty of all the necessaries of life, and those who remain here suffer less from the scarcity of provisions; and the principle of impartiality in sharing the decrees of Fortune, to which we patricians submitted along with you plebeians when we chose the colonists by lot, is not open to censure.

XXIX. "What, then, possesses the demagogues to find fault with us for those things in which both our opinions and our fortunes are the same, whether they are hurtful, as they say, or advantageous, as we think. As to the accusations they have made against us in connection with the recent meeting of the senate, to the effect that we did not think fit to show any moderation in the matter of the price of provisions, that we were plotting to abolish the tribunician power, that we still resented your secession and were eager to injure the plebeians in every way, and all the other

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<sup>3</sup> τῆ νεωστὶ γενομένη βουλῆ Cary: τῆ νεωστὶ βουλῆ γενομένη O, τῆ βουλῆ νεωστὶ γενομένη Kiessling; Jacoby deleted γενομένη.

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τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγκλήματα ἔργοις ἀπολυσόμεθα οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν οὔτε κακὸν οὔθ' ἐν ὑμᾶς ἐργασάμενοι τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημάρχων, ἐφ' οἷς τότε συνεχωρήσαμεν ὑμῖν ἔχειν, καὶ νῦν βεβαιούμεντες, τοῦ δὲ σίτου τὴν διάπρασιν ὡς ἂν ὑμῖν ἅπασιν δόξῃ ποιησάμενοι.<sup>1</sup> περιμείναντες οὖν, εἴαν τι μὴ  
 3 γένηται τούτων, τότε κατηγορεῖτε ἡμῶν. εἰ δὲ βουλευθεῖητε ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσαι τὰ διάφορα, δικαιότερον ἂν ἡμεῖς οἱ πατρίκιοι τοῦ δήμου κατηγοροίημεν ἢ τὴν βουλὴν ὑμεῖς ἔχοιτε δι' αἰτίας. ἀδικεῖτε γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὧν δημόται—καὶ μηθὲν ἀχθεσθῆτε ἀκούοντες—εἰ γ' οὐκ ἀναμείναντες τῆς γνώμης ἡμῶν μαθεῖν τὸ τέλος κατηγορεῖν ἤδη αὐτῆς  
 4 ἀξιοῦτε. καίτοι τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ῥᾶστον ἔργον ἂν γένοιτο συγγέαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν ὁμόνοιαν ἐκ πόλεως τοιαῦτα ἐγκαλοῦντι, ὧν ἡ πίστις μέλλουσα καὶ ἐν ἀδήλῳ ἔτι οὔσα οὐ φυλακὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν τι κακόν, ἀλλὰ  
 5 πρόφασις τοῦ ἀδικεῖν;<sup>2</sup> καὶ οὐ τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ὑμῶν μόνον ὧν διαβάλλουσι τὴν βουλὴν καὶ συκοφαντοῦσιν ἐπιτιμᾶν ἄξιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν οὐχ ἥττον ὧν πιστεύετε αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὶν<sup>3</sup> πειραθῆναι ἀγανακτεῖτε. χρῆν<sup>4</sup> γὰρ ὑμᾶς, εἰ τὰ μέλλοντα ἐφοβείσθε ἀδικήματα, καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὀργὰς μελλούσας ἔχειν· νῦν δὲ φαίνεσθε ταχύτερα μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώτερα ἐγνωκέναι καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλέστερον ἐν τῷ κακουργοτέρῳ τιθέναι.

XXX. “ Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν κοινῶν ἀδικημάτων

<sup>1</sup> Reiske: ποιησόμενοι O.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ ἀδικεῖν B: τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖν R.

<sup>3</sup> πρὶν O: πρὶν ἢ Jacoby.



like charges, we shall soon refute them by our actions, not only in doing you no injury, but also in confirming even now the tribunician power upon the same terms on which we then granted it to you, and in selling the corn at such price as you shall all of you determine. Have patience, therefore, and if any of these things are not performed, accuse us then. But if you will carefully examine our differences, you will find that we patricians have greater reason to accuse the people than you have to blame the senate. For you wrong us, plebeians,—and be not offended at being told this,—if without waiting to learn the outcome of our deliberations you think fit to find fault with them already. Yet who does not know that it would be the easiest of all things for anyone who wished to do so to destroy and abolish from a state the spirit of harmony by charging others with designs of which the proof, being still in the future and not yet manifest, is no safeguard to the accused against suffering some injustice, but rather an excuse to the accuser for doing an injustice? And it is not your leaders alone who deserve censure for accusing and calumniating the senate, but you yourselves no less than they for giving credit to them and resenting injuries before experiencing them. For what you ought to have done, if it was future acts of injustice that you feared, was to reserve your anger for the future also; but, as matters stand, it appears that you have reached your decision with greater haste than prudence and are assuming that greater safety lies in greater baseness.

XXX. “Concerning the acts of injustice with

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<sup>4</sup> Jacoby: ἐχρηῖν O.

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ἐφ' οἷς τὴν βουλὴν οἱ δῆμαρχοι διέβαλον ἀπο-  
 χρῆν οἷομαι τοσαῦτ' εἰρῆσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ καθ'  
 ἓνα ἕκαστον ἡμῶν περὶ ὧν ἂν εἴπωμεν ἐν τῇ  
 βουλῇ συκοφαντοῦσι, καὶ διστάναι τὴν πόλιν  
 αἰτιῶνται, καὶ νῦν Γάιον Μάρκιον, ἄνδρα φιλό-  
 πολιν, ἐλευθέρᾳ φωνῇ χρησάμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 κοινῶν ἀποκτεῖναι ζητοῦσιν ἢ φυγάδα ποιῆσαι τῆς  
 πατρίδος, βούλομαι καὶ περὶ τούτου τὰ δίκαια  
 εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς· καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ μετρίους καὶ  
 2 ἀληθεῖς ἐρῶ τοὺς λόγους. ὑμεῖς, ὦ δημόται,  
 διαλλαττόμενοι πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἀποchrῆν ὑμῖν  
 ὤεσθε τῶν δανείων ἀφεῖσθαι, καὶ βοηθείας ἔνεκα  
 τῶν κατισχυομένων πενήτων ἄρχοντας ἐξ αὐτῶν  
 ἠτήσασθε ἀποδεικνύναι. καὶ ταῦτα ἀμφότερα  
 πολλὴν εἰδότες ἡμῖν χάριν ἐλάβετε· καταλύσαι δὲ  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἢ τὴν<sup>1</sup> βουλὴν ἄκυρον  
 ποιῆσαι τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν προστασίας καὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 τὴν τάξιν ἀνατρέψαι τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας οὐτ'  
 3 ἠτήσασθε οὐτ' ἐμέλλετε.<sup>3</sup> τί οὖν παθόντες ἐπι-  
 χειρεῖτε πάντα συγχεῖν ταῦτα νυνί; καὶ τίτι  
 δικαίῳ πιστεύοντες τὰς τιμὰς ἡμῶν ζητεῖτε  
 ἀφαιρεῖσθαι; εἰ γὰρ τοῖς<sup>4</sup> μετέχουσι τῆς βουλῆς  
 φοβερὸν ποιήσετε τὸ<sup>5</sup> μετὰ παρρησίας ἂ φρονοῦσι  
 λέγειν, τί ἂν<sup>6</sup> εἴποιεν οἱ προεστηκότες ὑμῶν  
 ἐπεικές; ἢ ποίῳ χρησάμενοι νόμῳ θανάτῳ  
 ζημιοῦν ἢ φυγῇ τῶν πατρικίων τινὰς ἀξιώ-  
 σουσιν; οὐτε γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ νόμοι ταύτην διδό-  
 ασις ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν οὔθ' αἰ νεωστὶ γενόμε-

<sup>1</sup> τὴν added by Reisko.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ Sintenis: ἢ O.

<sup>3</sup> οὐτ' ἐμέλλετε A: οὔτε ἐμέλλετε B, οὔτε μέλλετε Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> ἐν before τοῖς deleted by Reisko.

BOOK VII. 30, 1-3

which the tribunes have charged the senate as a body, I think what I have said sufficient. But since they also calumniate every one of us individually for whatever we say in the senate and charge that we are dividing the state, and since they are now endeavouring to put to death or banish Gaius Marcius, a man who loves his country and who expressed himself with frankness in discussing the public interests, I wish to tell you the rights of this matter also; and I ask you to consider whether what I shall say is not fair-minded and true. When you, plebeians, were treating for a reconciliation with the senate, you thought it enough for you to be discharged of your debts, and you desired leave to choose magistrates out of your own body to protect the poor from oppression; and when you obtained both these things, you were very grateful to us. But to undermine the office of the consuls, to take away the authority of the senate to protect the interests of the commonwealth, or to overthrow the established form of government are things you neither asked nor intended to ask. What possesses you, then, that you attempt now to upset all these institutions? Or relying upon what principle of justice do you seek to take away the offices which belong to us? For if you are going to make it dangerous for the senators to express their sentiments with frankness, what fairness is to be expected from the language of your leaders? Or relying upon what law will they undertake to punish any of the patricians with death or banishment? For neither the old laws nor the agreements recently made with

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<sup>5</sup>  $\mu\eta$  before  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  deleted by Reiske.

<sup>6</sup>  $\delta'$  before  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  deleted by Kiessling.

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4 ναι πρὸς τὴν βουλήν ὁμολογίαι. τὸ δ' ἐκβαίνειν τοὺς νομίμους ὄρους καὶ τὴν βίαν κρείττονα ποιεῖν τῆς δίκης οὐκέτι δημοτικόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ', εἰ τἀληθῆ βούλεσθε ἀκούειν, τυραννικόν. ἐγὼ δὴ<sup>1</sup> παραινέσαιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν, ὧν μὲν εὔρεσθε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς φιλανθρώπων μηδενὸς ἀφίστασθαι, ὧν δ' οὐκ ἠξιώσατε διαλυόμενοι τὴν ἔχθραν τότε τυχεῖν μηδὲ νῦν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι.

XXXI. “Ἴνα δὲ μᾶλλον ὑμῖν γένηται φανερόν ὅτι οὐθὲν οὔτε μέτριον οὔτε δίκαιον ἀξιούσιν οἱ δημαγωγοί, ἀλλὰ παρανόμων τε καὶ ἀδυνάτων ἐφίενται, μετενέγκαντες<sup>2</sup> τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς οὕτω σκοπεῖτε, καὶ ὑπολάβετε τοὺς μετέχοντας τοῦ συνεδρίου τοῖς ἐν ὑμῖν πολιτευομένοις ἐγκαλεῖν ὅτι πονηροὺς κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς διατίθενται λόγους ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ καταλύουσι τὴν πάτριον ἀριστοκρατίαν καὶ διαστασιάζουσι τὴν πόλιν—ἅπαντα ταῦτα λέγοντας<sup>3</sup> ἀληθῆ· ποιούσι γὰρ ταῦτα—καὶ τὸ πάντων χαλεπώτατον, ὅτι δυναστείαν περιβάλλονται μείζονα τῆς συγκεχωρημένης αὐτοῖς ἄκριτον ἀποκτείνειν ἐπιχειροῦντες ὃν ἂν ἐθέλωσιν ἐξ ἡμῶν, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ταῦτα ποιοῦντας τεθνάναι νηποινί.  
2 πῶς ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐνέγκαιτε τὴν αὐθάδειαν τοῦ συνεδρίου; καὶ τί ἂν εἴποιτε; ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἀγανακτήσατε<sup>4</sup> καὶ δεινὰ φαίητε πάσχειν, εἰ τὴν παρρησίαν ἀφαιρήσεται τις ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτων κίνδυνον ἐπιθεῖς τοῖς ἐλευθέραν φωνὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου φθεγξαμένοις;

<sup>1</sup> Kiessling: δὲ O.

<sup>2</sup> Jacoby: μετενεγκόντες O.

<sup>3</sup> λέγοντας ABbC: λέγοντες Ba.

the senate give you this power. But to transgress the bounds prescribed by the laws and to render force superior to justice is the mark, not of a democracy, but, if you desire to hear the truth, of a tyranny. For my part, I should advise you, while giving up none of the benefits which you obtained from the senate, not to lay claim, either, to any now which you did not then demand when you were treating for a reconciliation with them.

XXXI. "But in order to make it still more plain to you that your demagogues are making demands that are neither moderate nor just, but are aiming at illegal and impossible ends, pray transfer the situation to yourselves and consider it in this light: Imagine that the senators are accusing your political leaders of delivering in your assembly malicious speeches against the senate, of endeavouring to overthrow the established aristocracy, of raising a sedition in the state—all of which they could assert with truth, since they are doing these things—and, worst of all, of aiming at greater power than was granted to them, in attempting to put to death without a trial anyone of our number they please; and imagine that the senators declare that the persons guilty of these crimes are to be put to death with impunity. How would you bear this arrogance of the senate? And what would you say? Would you not become indignant and complain that you were treated outrageously if anyone deprives you of your freedom of speech and of your liberty by threatening to visit the extreme penalty upon any who have spoken frankly in behalf

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<sup>4</sup> ἂν ἀνανακτήσαιτε Krüger, ἀνανακτήσαιτε Sylburg: ἀνανακτήσειτε ABb, ἀνανακτήσειτε Ba.

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3 οὐκ ἔνεστ' ἄλλως εἰπεῖν. ἔπειθ' ἂ παθεῖν οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείναιτε αὐτοί, ταῦθ' ἑτέροισ πάσχοντας ἀνέχεσθαι δικαιοῦτε; πολιτικά γε, ὧ δὴ δημόται, καὶ μέτρια ὑμῶν τὰ βουλευόμενα; τοιαῦτα ἀξιοῦντες οὐκ αὐτοὶ βεβαιοῦτε τὰς καθ' ἑαυτῶν διαβολὰς ἀληθεῖς εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς συμβουλευόμενους τὴν παράνομον ὑμῶν δυναστείαν μὴ περιορᾶν ἀξιομένην τὰ δίκαια τῷ κοινῷ φρονοῦντας ἀποδείκνυτε; ἐμοὶ  
4 μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ. ἀλλ' εἴ γε τὰναντία βούλεσθε ὧν διαβέβλησθε ποιεῖν, ἐμοὶ συμβούλῳ χρησάμενοι μετριάσατε καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐφ' οἷς ἄχθεσθε πολιτικῶς καὶ μὴ δυσοργήτως ἐνέγκατε. περιέσται γὰρ ὑμῖν μὲν, εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσετε, ἀγαθοῖς εἶναι δοκεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἀπεχθῶς διακειμένοις πρὸς ὑμᾶς μετανοεῖν.

XXXII. “ Δίκαια μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προεχόμενοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς μεγάλα, ὧς γε οὖν οἴομεθα, πείθομεν ὑμᾶς μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν· χρηστὰ δὲ καὶ φιλόανθρωπα ἔργα, οἷς χρησόμεθα οὐκ ὄνειδίσαι βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐπιεικεστέρους ποιῆσαι—χωρὶς τῶν παλαιῶν τὰ νεωστὶ γεγόμενα περὶ τὴν κάθοδον ὑμῶν,<sup>1</sup>—ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐπιλελησθαι βουλόμεθα,  
2 ὑμεῖς δὲ δίκαιοί ἐστε μεμνησθαι· ἀναγκαζόμεθα<sup>2</sup> δ' αὐτὰ παραφέρειν νυνὶ χρήζοντες ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὧν ὑμῖν δεομένοις ἐχαρισάμεθα ταύτην παρ' ὑμῶν ἀντιλαβεῖν τὴν χάριν, μήτ' ἀποκτεῖναι μήτε ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς πόλεως ἄνδρα φιλόπολιν καὶ τὰ πολέμια πάντων κράτιστον.

<sup>1</sup> ὑμῶν Köstlin : ὑμῶν ὧν O.    <sup>2</sup> Sylburg : ἀναγκαζόμενοι O.

of the people? You cannot deny that you would. Then do you think it reasonable that others should bear what you yourselves would not submit to? Are these purposes of yours, plebeians, becoming to citizens and do they show moderation? By making such demands do you not yourselves confirm the truth of the charges brought against you and show that those who advise us not to permit your lawless domination to gain new strength have at heart the rights of the commonwealth? So it seems to me, at least. But if you desire to do just the opposite of what you have been charged with doing, follow my advice, moderate your behaviour, and bear as fellow-citizens should, rather than with ill humour, the words which give you offence. For if you do this, you will have a double advantage: you will be regarded as good men and those who are hostile to you will repent.

XXXII. "These are the weighty considerations of justice—at least we so regard them—which we put forward in order to persuade you to make no mistakes; but as for our benefits and kindly services, which we shall mention, not from any desire to reproach you, but wishing to make you more reasonable,—apart from those of former times there are the recent ones in connection with your return,—we desire to forget them, though you have just reason to remember them; but we are under the necessity of citing them at this time, asking that, for the many great favours we have bestowed upon you at your request, you will grant us this one on your part—neither to put to death nor to banish from the state a man who loves his country and excels all others in the art of war. For it will be no

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ζημιωσόμεθα γὰρ οὐ μικρά, εὖ ἴστε, ὧ δημόται, τοιαύτης ἀποστερήσαντες ἀρετῆς τὴν πόλιν. μάλιστα μὲν οὖν δι' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ὑφεῖναι τῆς ὀργῆς δίκαιοί ἐστε μνησθέντες ὅσους ὑμῶν ἔσωσεν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, καὶ μὴ λόγων μνησικακεῖν φαύλων, ἀλλ' ἔργων μεμνήσθαι καλῶν.

3 ὁ μὲν γὰρ λόγος ὑμᾶς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲν ἔβλαψεν, αἱ δὲ πράξεις αὐτοῦ μεγάλα ὠφέλησαν. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχετε, ἡμῖν γέ τοι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ χαρίσασθε αὐτὸν δεομένοις, καὶ διαλλάγητε ἤδη ποτὲ βεβαίως, τὴν τε πόλιν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶχε, μίαν εἶναι ποιήσατε. εἰ δὲ πείθουσιν ἡμῖν οὐ συγχωρήσετε, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι οὐδ' ἡμεῖς βιαζόμενοι ὑμῖν εἴξομεν, ἀλλ' ἦτοι<sup>1</sup> φιλότητος ἀδόλου καὶ χαρίτων ἔτι μειζόνων ἦδε ἢ πείρα τοῦ δήμου πᾶσιν αἰτία ἔσται, ἢ πολέμου ἐμφυλίου αὐθις ἄρξει καὶ κακῶν ἀνηκέστων."

XXXIII. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Μηνυκίου διεξελθόντος ὀρῶντες οἱ δήμαρχοι τῇ τε μετριότητι τῶν λόγων καὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπία τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἐπαγόμενον<sup>2</sup> τὸ πλῆθος ἤχθοντο καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, μάλιστα δὲ Γάιος Σικίνιος Βελλούτος, ὁ πείσας τοὺς πένητας ἀποστῆναι τῶν πατρικίων καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἕως ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις, ἔχθιστος ἀνὴρ ἀριστοκρατία καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προηγμένος ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν<sup>3</sup> εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν τὴν τε δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν δεύτερον ἤδη παρειληφώς, ἀπάντων ἤκιστα τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἑαυτῷ συμφέρειν οἰόμενος ὁμονοῆσαι<sup>4</sup> τὴν πόλιν

2 καὶ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀναλαβεῖν κόσμον. οὐ γὰρ ὅσον

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg: εἶτε ABb, εἶτοι (?) Ba.

<sup>2</sup> Steph.: ὑπαγόμενον O.    <sup>3</sup> πολλῶν Reiske: πολιτῶν O.



small loss to us, as you well know, plebeians, if we deprive the commonwealth of such valour. Preferably, then, you ought to relent on his own account, calling to mind how many of you he has saved in the wars, and instead of retaining any resentment for his objectionable words, to remember his glorious deeds. For his speech has done you no harm, whereas his actions have done you great service. However, if you cannot be reconciled to this man, at least as a favour to us and the senate yield him up to our entreaties, be at last firmly reconciled to us, and cause the commonwealth to be united as it was in the beginning. But if you do not yield to our persuasions, be assured that we shall not yield to your violence either; but this testing of the populace will be either the source of a sincere friendship and of still greater benefits for all, or the fresh beginning of civil war and irreparable evils."

XXXIII. After Minucius had spoken in this manner, the tribunes, seeing the populace moved by the moderation of his speech and the humanity of his promises, were offended and displeased, and particularly Gaius Sicinius Bellutus, the one who had persuaded the poor to secede from the patricians and had been appointed by them to be their general while they were in arms. He was a most bitter foe of the aristocracy, and having for that reason been raised by the multitude to a position of eminence and given the tribunician power for the second time already, he, least of all the demagogues, thought it to his interest that the commonwealth should become harmonious and recover its ancient good order. For not only did

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<sup>4</sup> οἰόμενος ὁμονοῆσαι Kiessling: ὁμονοῆσαι οἰόμενος O, Jacoby.

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τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἔξειν ἔτι τὰς αὐτὰς ὑπελάμβανεν ἀριστοκρατίας πολιτευομένης, γεγυώς τε κακῶς<sup>1</sup> καὶ τεθραμμένος ἀδόξως καὶ λαμπρὸν οὐθέν ἀποδειξάμενος οὔτε κατὰ πολέμους οὔτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδυνεύσειν, ὡς διεστασιακῶς<sup>2</sup> τὴν πόλιν καὶ 3 πολλῶν αὐτῇ κακῶν γεγονῶς αἴτιος. ἐνθυμηθεὶς δὴ<sup>3</sup> ὅσα χρῆν<sup>4</sup> λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν καὶ μετὰ τῶν συναρχόντων βουλευσάμενος, ἐπειδὴ κάκεινους ἔσχεν ὁμογνώμονας, ἀνέστη καὶ μικρὰ περὶ τῆς κατεχούσης τὸν δῆμον ἀτυχίας ἀποδουράμενος τοὺς θ' ὑπάτους ἐπήνεσεν ὅτι λόγον ἠξίωσαν ὑποσχεῖν τοῖς δημόταις οὐχ ὑπεριδόντες αὐτῶν τῆς ταπεινότητος, καὶ τοῖς πατρικίοις εἰδέναι χάριν ἔφησεν, εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ἤδη ποτὲ φροντὶς εἰσέρχεται τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν πενήτων· καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔφη μετὰ πάντων ἐκμαρτυρήσειν, ἐὰν ὅμοια παράσχωνται τοῖς λόγοις τὰ ἔργα.

XXXIV. Εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ δόξας μέτριος ὀργὴν εἶναι καὶ διαλλακτικὸς ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον παρεστηκότα τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ λέγει· “Σὺ δέ, τί οὐκ ἀπολογῆ πρὸς τοὺς σαυτοῦ πολίτας, ὧ γενναῖε, περὶ ὧν εἶπας ἐν τῇ βουλῇ; μᾶλλον δὲ τί οὐκ ἀντιβολεῖς καὶ παραιτῆ τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν, ἵνα μετριωτέραν ἐπιθῶσί σοι ζημίαν; ἀρνεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀξιώσαιμί σε τοσοῦτων ἀνδρῶν εἰδότην οὐδ' εἰς ἀναισχύντους καταφεύγειν ἀπολογίας, Μάρκιον ὄντα καὶ φρόνημα μείζον ἢ κατ' ἰδιώτην ἔχοντα· εἰ μὴ ἄρα τοῖς μὲν<sup>5</sup> ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς πατρικίοις καλῶς ἔχει πείθειν

<sup>1</sup> κακῶς Ba: κακός ABb.

<sup>3</sup> Sylburg: δέ O.

<sup>2</sup> Krebs: ἐστασιακῶς O.

<sup>4</sup> χρῆν B: χρή R.

he not expect to enjoy the same honours and powers any longer under an aristocracy, since he was of lowly birth, poorly educated, and had never distinguished himself in either war or peace, but he knew he should even be in peril of his life for having caused a sedition in the state and brought upon it many other evils. After he had considered, therefore, what he ought to say and do, and had consulted with his colleagues and gained their assent, he rose up, and after uttering a few words of commiseration over the unhappy lot of the plebeians, he commended the consuls for vouchsafing to give them an account of their actions without despising their low condition, and also said he was grateful to the patricians if now at last they were taking some thought for the preservation of the poor; and he declared that he should still more heartily join with all the rest in bearing witness to the fact if they would make their actions conform to their words.

XXXIV. Having spoken thus and given the impression that he was moderate and conciliatory in disposition, he turned to Marcius, who stood near the consuls, and said: "And you, sir, why do you not clear yourself before your fellow-citizens in regard to what you said in the senate? Or rather, why do you not entreat them and deprecate their anger, that they may impose a milder penalty upon you? For I would not advise you to deny the fact, as so many are acquainted with it, or to have recourse to shameless excuses, since you are Marcius and have a spirit above that of a man in private station--unless, indeed, it is seemly for the consuls and the

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<sup>5</sup> μὲν added by Cobet.

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- ὑπὲρ σοῦ τὸν δῆμον, σοὶ δ' οὐκ ἄρα<sup>1</sup> καλῶς ἔξει  
 2 τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο περὶ σεαυτοῦ ποιήσαντι." ταῦτα δ'  
 ἔλεγεν οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι μεγαλόφρων ἀνὴρ οὐχ  
 ὑπομενεῖ κατήγορος ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενος ὡς ἡμαρτη-  
 \* κῶς ἄφεσιν αἰτεῖσθαι τῆς τιμωρίας, οὐδ' εἰς  
 ὀλοφυρμούς καὶ δεήσεις καταφεύξεται παρὰ τὸν  
 ἑαυτοῦ τρόπον, ἀλλ' ἦτοι καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀπ-  
 αξιώσει τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἢ τὴν ἔμφυτον αὐθάδειαν  
 φυλάττων οὐθὲν ὑποθωπεύσει τὸν δῆμον μετρι-  
 3 ἄσας περὶ τοὺς λόγους· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη. γενο-  
 μένης γὰρ ἡσυχίας καὶ πολλῆς ἐμπεσούσης ὀλίγου  
 \* δεῖν πᾶσι τοῖς δημοτικοῖς προθυμίας ἀπολύειν  
 αὐτόν, εἰ τὸν παρόντα θεραπεύσειε καιρόν, τοιαύ-  
 την αὐθάδειαν ἐπεδείξατο λόγων,<sup>2</sup> καὶ τοσοῦτον  
 αὐτῶν κατεφρόνησεν, ὥστε παρελθὼν ἔξαρνος μὲν  
 ὑπὲρ οὐθενὸς ἦν τῶν πρὸς τὴν βουλήν εἰρημένων  
 κατὰ τοῦ πλήθους, οὐδ' ὡς μεταγινώσκων ἐπ'  
 αὐτοῖς εἰς οἴκτους καὶ παραιτήσεις ἐτρέπετο·  
 ἀρχὴν δ' οὐδὲ δικασταῖς αὐτοῖς ἡξίου χρῆσθαι περὶ  
 οὐδενὸς πράγματος, ὡς οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν  
 νόμιμον· εἰ δὲ βουλήσεται τις ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπάτων  
 αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν εἴτ' ἔργων εὐθύνας ἀπαιτῶν  
 εἴτε λόγων, ἔνθα νόμος ἐστίν, ἔτοιμος εἶναι δίκην  
 4 ὑπέχειν. παρεληλυθέναι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς δημότας  
 ἔλεγεν, ἐπειδὴ καλοῦσιν αὐτοί, τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμῆ-  
 σων ταῖς παρανομίαις αὐτῶν καὶ πλεονεξίαις αἷς  
 ἐχρήσαντο περὶ τε τὴν ἀπόστασιν καὶ μετὰ τὴν  
 κάθοδον, τὰ δὲ συμβουλευσῶν ἐπισχεῖν ἤδη ποτὲ  
 5 καὶ συστῆλαι τὰς ἀδίκους ἐπιθυμίας. καὶ μετὰ  
 τοῦτ' ἐπιστρεφῶς πάνυ καὶ θρασέως ἀπάντων

<sup>1</sup> σοὶ δ' οὐκ ἄρα O: σοὶ δ' ἄρ' οὐ Sylburg, σοὶ δ' οὐ Kiessling.

patricians to intercede for you with the populace, but will not be seemly for you to do this same thing for yourself." This he said, well knowing that a man of his proud spirit would never submit to be his own accuser, and, as if he had transgressed, to ask for a remission of his punishment or, contrary to his character, to have recourse to lamentations and entreaties, but that he would either scorn to make any defence at all or, preserving his innate arrogance, would indulge in no flattery of the populace by showing moderation in his words. And this is just what happened. For when silence prevailed and almost all the plebeians felt a strong desire to acquit him if he would make the most of the present opportunity, he showed such arrogance in his words and so great a contempt of the plebeians that he did not deny a single thing he had said in the senate against them, nor, as if he repented of what he had said, resort to appeals for pity or to prayers for mercy. Indeed, he absolutely refused even to let them be his judges in any matter, as having no lawful authority; but if anyone should think fit to accuse him before the consuls and require an accounting of either his words or his actions, he was ready to stand trial in a place appointed by law. He said that he had come before the plebeians since they themselves summoned him, partly to reprimand them for the lawlessness and the grasping for more power in which they had indulged both in connection with their secession and after their return, and partly to advise them now at last to check and restrain their unjust desires. After that he inveighed against them all

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<sup>2</sup> λόγων Ο: λέγων Naber.

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αὐτῶν καθήπτετο καὶ μάλιστα τῶν δημάρχων. προσῆν δ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς λόγοις οὐχ ὡς πολιτευομένου<sup>1</sup> δῆμον ἀναδιδάσκοντος εὐλόγιστος αἰδώς, οὐδ' ὡς ἰδιώτου πολλοῖς ἀπεχθομένου σῶφρων εὐλάβεια πρὸς τὰς τοῦ κρατοῦντος ὀργάς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐχθροῦ προπηλακίζοντος ἀδεῶς τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρας ἄκρατός τις χολή καὶ βαρεῖα τοῦ κακῶς πάσχοντος ὑπεροψία.

XXXV. Τοιγάρτοι λέγοντός τε αὐτοῦ μεταξὺ πολὺς θόρυβος ἐγένετο<sup>2</sup> τῆδε καὶ τῆδε θαμινὰ μεθελκομένοις, ὡς ἐν διαφόροις πλήθεσι καὶ οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ βουλομένοις, τῶν μὲν ἡδομένων ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ πάλιν ἀχθομένων. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπαύσατο λέγων, ἔτι πλείων ἀνέστη βοή<sup>2</sup> καὶ θόρυβος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πατρίκιοι κράτιστον ἀνδρῶν λέγοντες ἐπήνουν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ καὶ μόνον ἀπέφαινον ἐξ ἀπάντων σφῶν ἐλεύθερον, ὃς οὔτε πολεμίων ἔδεισεν ἐπιόντων ὄχλον οὔτε πολιτῶν ἀνθάδεις καὶ παρανόμους ἐκολάκυσεν ὀρμάς· οἱ δὲ δημοτικοὶ δυσανασχετοῦντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνειδισμοῖς βαρὺν καὶ πικρὸν καὶ πολεμίων<sup>3</sup> ἀπάντων ἔχθιστον αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλουν. προθυμίαν δὲ πολλὴν εἶχόν τινες ἤδη, οἷς πολὺ προσῆν<sup>3</sup> τὸ εὐχερές, ἐν χειρῶν αὐτὸν<sup>4</sup> διαφθεῖραι νόμῳ. συνήργουν δ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τοῦτο καὶ συνελάμβανον οἱ δήμαρχοι, καὶ μάλιστα Σικίννιος ἐνεδίδου τοῖς βουλήμασι τὰς ἡνίας. τελευτῶν γοῦν, ἐπειδὴ πολλὴν αὐτοῦ καταδρομὴν ἐποιήσατο καὶ τοὺς θυμοὺς ἐξέκαυσε τῶν δημοτῶν, πολὺς ἐμπνεύσας τῇ κατηγορίᾳ τέλος ἐξήνεγκεν, ὅτι θάνατον

<sup>1</sup> πολιτευομένου Naber: πολίτου O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> ἐγένετο B: ἐγένετο R.

with great vehemence and boldness, and particularly against the tribunes. In his speech there was not the calculated deference of the political leader instructing a popular assembly, nor the prudent caution of one in private station who, hated by many, faces the angry outbursts of his ruler, but rather the untempered wrath of an enemy fearlessly insulting those under his power with an implacable contempt for his victim.

XXXV. For these reasons, while he was yet speaking, there arose a great tumult, his hearers frequently shifting their opinion now this way and now that, as happens in crowds of diverse elements and different inclinations, some being pleased at his words and others in turn offended. And when he had done speaking, a still greater clamour and tumult arose. For the patricians, calling him the bravest of men, commended him for his frankness of speech and said he was the only free man of their whole body, since he had neither feared a host of enemies advancing upon him nor flattered the insolent and illegal impulses of his fellow-citizens; on the other hand, the plebeians, chafing under his reproaches, called him overbearing and harsh and the bitterest of all enemies. And some who were very reckless were already doing their best to have him summarily put to death. In this they were assisted and abetted by the tribunes, and Sicinius in particular gave a loose rein to their desires. At any rate, after he had delivered a long tirade against Marcius and inflamed the minds of the plebeians, he became most vehement in his accusations and then pronounced sentence, saying that the

<sup>3</sup> προσῆν B: ἦν R.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτόν Bb: αὐτῶν ABa:

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αὐτοῦ καταψηφίζεται τὸ ἀρχεῖον τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀγορανόμους ὕβρεως ἕνεκεν, οὓς τῇ προτέρα τῶν ἡμερῶν ἄγειν αὐτὸν κελευσθέντας ὑφ' αὐτῶν τύπτων ἀπήλασεν· οὐ γὰρ ἑτέρων τινῶν εἶναι τὸν προπηλακισμόν τὸν εἰς τοὺς ὑπηρέτας σφῶν

4 γενόμενον ἢ τῶν κελευσάντων. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπέταξεν ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπερκείμενον τῆς ἀγορᾶς λόφον· ἔστι δὲ τὸ χωρίον κρημνὸς ἐξαίσιος, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἦν βάλλειν τοὺς ἐπιθανατίους. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀγορανόμοι προσήεσαν ὡς ἐπιληψόμενοι τοῦ σώματος, οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι μέγα ἐμβοήσαντες ὤρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀθρόοι· ἔπειθ' ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τοὺς πατρικίους· καὶ ἦν πολλή μὲν ἔργων ἀκοσμία, πολλή δὲ λόγων ὕβρις παρ'

5 ἀμφοῖν, ὠθισμοί τε καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιβολαί. κατελήφθη δὲ καὶ σωφρονεῖν ἠναγκάσθη τὰ παρακινουῦντα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων βιασαμένων εἰς μέσους καὶ τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις ἀναστέλλειν κελευσάντων τοὺς ὄχλους· τοσαύτη ἄρα τῆς ἀρχῆς αἰδῶς ἦν τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις, καὶ οὕτω τίμιον τὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας σχῆμα.<sup>1</sup> ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Σικίννιος ἀδημονῶν καὶ διαταραττόμενος εὐλαβείας τε μεστὸς ὢν, μὴ προσαναγκάσῃ τοὺς διαφόρους τοῖς βιαίοις τὰ βίαια λῦσαι, ἀποστῆναι τε οὐκ ἀξίῳ τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος, ἐπειδὴ ἅπαξ ἐπεβάλετο, καὶ μένειν ἐφ' οἷς ἔκρινεν οὐ δυνατὸς ὢν, πολὺς ἐν τῷ σκοπεῖν ὅ τι πρακτέον ἦν.

XXXVI. Κατιδὼν δ' αὐτὸν ἀμχανοῦντα Λεύκιος Ἰούνιος Βρούτος, ἐκεῖνος ὁ δημαγωγὸς ὁ τεχνησάμενος ἐφ' οἷς ἔσονται δικαίοις αἱ δι-

<sup>1</sup> σχῆμα Sintenis, μίμημα Jacoby : τίμημα O.



college of the tribunes condemned him to death because of his insolence toward the aediles, whom he had the day before driven away with blows when they were ordered by the tribunes to bring him before them; for they alleged that the insult committed by him against their assistants was aimed at no others than those who had given them their orders. Having said this, he commanded that he be led to the hill that overlooks the Forum;<sup>1</sup> this is an exceeding high precipice from which they used to hurl those who were condemned to death. The aediles, accordingly, stepped forward in order to lay hold on him, but the patricians, crying out with a loud voice, rushed upon them in a body. Then the plebeians fell upon the patricians, and there followed many disorderly deeds and many insulting words on both sides, as they pushed and laid hold on one another. However, the moving spirits in the tumult were restrained and compelled to come to their senses by the consuls, who forced their way into the midst of the contending parties and ordered their lictors to keep back the crowds; so great respect did the men of those times feel for this magistracy and so much did they honour the semblance of the royal power. Whereupon Sicinius, being perplexed and disturbed, was filled with apprehension, lest he should force his adversaries to repel violence with violence; but he disdained to desist from his attempt after he had once engaged in it, and finding himself unable to adhere to his resolution, he considered long what he ought to do.

XXXVI. Seeing him in this perplexity, Lucius Junius Brutus, that demagogue who had contrived the terms of the accommodation, a man of great

<sup>1</sup> The Tarpeian Rock.

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αλλαγαί, δεινὸς ἀνὴρ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πόρους εὐ-  
 ρεῖν ἐν ἀπόροις, προσέρχεται μόνος μόνῳ καὶ ὑπο-  
 τίθεται μὴ φιλονεικεῖν ἐγχειρήματι θερμῷ καὶ  
 παρανόμῳ συναγωνιζόμενον, ὀρώντα τοὺς τε  
 πατρικίους ἅπαντας<sup>1</sup> ἠρεθισμένους καὶ ἐτοιμούς  
 ὄντας, εἰ κληθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα  
 χωρεῖν, τοῦ δὲ<sup>2</sup> δήμου τὸ καρτερώτατον μέρος  
 ἐνδοιάζον καὶ οὐκ ἀγαπητῶς δεχόμενον ἀνδρὸς  
 ἐπιφανεστάτου τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει παράδοσιν ἐπὶ  
 2 θανάτῳ καὶ ταῦτα ἀκρίτου. συνεβούλευε δ'  
 αὐτῷ τότε μὲν εἶξαι καὶ μὴ χωρεῖν ὁμόσε τοῖς  
 ὑπάτοις, μὴ τι μείζον κακὸν ἐργάσῃται, προ-  
 θεῖναι δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ δίκην ὀρίσαντα χρόνον ὅσον δὴ  
 τινα, καὶ ψῆφον ἀναδοῦναι τοῖς πολίταις ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτοῦ κατὰ φυλάς· ὅ τι δ' ἂν αἱ πλείους ψῆφοι  
 καθαιρῶσι, τοῦτο ποιεῖν. τυραννικὸν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι  
 καὶ βίαιον ὃ νῦν ἐπειράτο διαπράττεσθαι, τὸν  
 αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν καὶ κατήγορον καὶ δικαστὴν καὶ  
 τοῦ μέτρου τῆς τιμωρίας κύριον, πολιτικὸν δὲ τὸ  
 κατὰ νόμους ἀπολογίας τυχόντα τὸν ὑπαίτιον,<sup>3</sup> ὅ  
 τι ἂν τοῖς πλείοσι δικασταῖς δόξῃ, τοῦτο παθεῖν.  
 3 πείθεται τούτοις ὁ Σικίννιος μηδὲν ὀρών βούλευμα  
 κρεῖττον καὶ παρελθὼν ἔφη· “ Τὴν μὲν σπουδὴν  
 ὄρατε τῶν πατρικίων τὴν εἰς τὰ φονικὰ καὶ βίαια  
 ἔργα, ᾧ δημόται, ὡς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐθάδους ὄλην  
 ἀδικοῦντος τὴν πόλιν ἤττον τίθενται τὸ πλῆθος

<sup>1</sup> ἅπαντας R: ὄντας B.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ A: τε B.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπαίτιον (ὁ ὑπόδικον ὁ ὑπεύθυνον) Gelenius: ὑπατικὸν O.

sagacity in all matters, but particularly in finding possible solutions in impossible situations,<sup>1</sup> came to him and taking him aside, advised him not to persist contentiously in attempting to carry out a reckless and illegal undertaking when he saw not only that the whole body of the patricians was aroused to anger and ready, if the consuls called upon them, to rush to arms, but also that the sturdiest element among the populace were hesitating and in no mood readily to acquiesce in delivering up to death the most illustrious person in the city, and that without a trial. He therefore advised him to yield for the present and not to take issue with the consuls, lest he should cause some greater mischief, but to appoint a trial for the man, setting some time or other for it, and let the citizens give their votes by tribes concerning him; and then to do whatever the majority of the votes should determine. For it was an act of tyranny and violence, he said, that Sicinius was now attempting to accomplish, in constituting the same person at once the accuser and judge and also the one to determine the degree of punishment, whereas the procedure of all civil government is for the accused to have an opportunity to make his defence according to the laws and then to suffer such punishment as the majority of his judges may determine. Sicinius yielded to these arguments, as he saw no better plan; and coming forward, he said: "You see, plebeians, the eagerness of the patricians for deeds of bloodshed and violence, which induces them to prefer one arrogant man, who wrongs the whole

<sup>1</sup> This verbal play sounds like an echo of Aeschylus, *Prom.* 905: ἄπορα πόριμος ("making possible the impossible").

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τὸ ὑμέτερον. οὐ μὴν ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι χρή γε καὶ ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ὠθεῖσθαι οὐτ' ἄρχοντας πολέμου οὐτ' ἀμυνομένους· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῆ προβάλλονται τινες τὸν νόμον, ᾧ βοηθοῦντες αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> ἀφαιροῦνται τῆς κολάσεως, ὃς οὐκ ἔα τῶν πολιτῶν οὐθένα ἀποκτεῖναι ἄκριτον, συγχωρήσωμεν αὐτοῖς τὸ δίκαιον τοῦτο, καίπερ οὐδὲ νόμιμα πάσχοντες οὐδὲ δίκαια ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ δεῖξωμεν ὅτι τοῖς εὐγνώμοσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς βιαίοις περιεῖναι<sup>2</sup> τῶν ἀδικούντων ἡμᾶς πολιτῶν  
 4 βουλόμεθα. ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἅπιτε καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα καιρὸν ἐκδέχεσθε οὐ πολὺν ἐσόμενον.<sup>3</sup> ἡμεῖς δὲ παρασκευασάμενοι τὰ κατεπείγοντα προθήσομεν χρόνον τῷ ἀνδρὶ εἰς ἀπολογία καὶ τὴν δίκην ἐφ' ὑμῶν συντελέσομεν. ὅταν δὲ γένησθε τῆς ψήφου κατὰ τὸν νόμον κύριοι, τιμήσατε αὐτῷ ἧς ἂν ἄξιον εὖρητε ζημίας. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτου τοσαῦτα. τῆς δὲ τοῦ σίτου διαπράσεώς τε καὶ διαθέσεως, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου γένηται, εἰ μή τις ἔσται τούτοις καὶ τῇ βουλῇ φροντίς, ἐπιμελησόμεθα.”<sup>4</sup> ταῦτα εἰπὼν διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

XXXVII. Μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ὑπατοὶ συναγαγόντες τὴν βουλήν ἐσκόπουν ἐφ' ἡσυχίας τίς ἂν γένοιτο τῆς παρούσης ταραχῆς λύσις. καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον μὲν ἀποθεραπεῦσαι τοὺς δημότας, εὐώνους πάνυ καὶ λυσιτελεῖς ποιήσαντας αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀγοράς· ἔπειτα πείθειν τοὺς προεστηκότας αὐτῶν

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν added here by Jacoby, after ἀφαιροῦνται by Kiessling; τοὺς αἰτίους added after ἀφαιροῦνται by Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> Kiessling; εἶναι O.

<sup>3</sup> οὐ πολὺν ἐσόμενον B: οὐ πολὺ ἐσόμενον A, μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρεσόμενον Kiessling.

commonwealth, to your entire body. Nevertheless, we ought not to imitate them and rush headlong to our ruin, either by beginning war or by defending ourselves against attack. But since some are putting forward the law as a specious pretence and are attempting to snatch him from punishment by rallying to the support of this law which allows no citizen to be put to death without a trial, let us concede them this claim, though we ourselves are not treated by them in either a lawful or a just manner; and let us show that we choose to surpass in reasonableness rather than in violence our fellow-citizens who injure us. As for you, plebeians, depart, therefore, and wait for the destined moment, which will not be long in coming. We on our part will meanwhile get everything ready that is urgent, and having appointed a day for the man to make his defence, we will bring about his trial before you as judges. And when you are legally possessed of the right of giving your votes, inflict such punishment on him as you shall find he deserves. So much for this matter. As to the sale and distribution of the corn in the most equitable manner, if these men and the senate do not take some thought about it, we shall look after the business." Having said this, he dismissed the assembly.

XXXVII. After this the consuls assembled the senate and considered with them at leisure by what means the present disturbance might be allayed. And they resolved, first, to win over the plebeians by selling the provisions to them at a very cheap and low price; and in the next place, to endeavour to prevail

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<sup>4</sup> Before ἐπιμελησόμεθα Sylburg added ἡμεῖς, Kiessling and Jacoby αὐτοί.

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- \* χάριτι τῆς βουλῆς παύσασθαι καὶ μὴ παράγειν τὸν Μάρκιον, εἰ δὲ μή,<sup>1</sup> εἰς μακροτάτους ἀναβάλλεσθαι χρόνους, ἕως ἂν μαρανθῶσιν αἱ τῶν
- 2 πολλῶν ὀργαί. ταῦτα ψηφισάμενοι τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγορᾶς δόγμα εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξήνεγκαν καὶ πάντων ἐπαινεσάντων ἐκύρωσαν. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε· τὰς τιμὰς εἶναι τῶν ὠνίων τῶν πρὸς τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον αἴτινες ἐγένοντ' ἐλάχισται πρὸ τῆς ἐμφυλίου στάσεως. παρὰ δὲ τῶν δημάρχων πολλὰ λιπαρήσαντες τὴν μὲν ὀλοσχερῇ πάρεσιν οὐχ εὔροντο, τὴν δ' εἰς χρόνον ὅσον ἡξίου ἀναβολὴν ἔλαβον· αὐτοὶ τε προσεμηχανήσαντο διατριβὴν
- 3 ἑτέραν ἀφορμῇ τοιαύδε χρησάμενοι· τοὺς ἐκ Σικελίας ἀποσταλέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου πρέσβεις καὶ παρακομίσαντας τῷ δήμῳ τὴν τοῦ σίτου δωρεὰν ἀποπλέοντας οἴκαδε Ἀντιᾶται πειρατήριον στείλαντες κατήγαγον ἀποσαλεύοντας οὐ πρόσω τῶν λιμένων καὶ τὰ τε χρήματα αὐτῶν ὡς πολεμίων δι' ὠφελείας ἔθεντο, καὶ τὰ σώματα
- 4 κατακλείσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ. ταῦτα μαθόντες οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἔξοδον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀντιάτας, ἐπειδὴ πρεσβευομένοις αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἡξίου τῶν δικαίων ποιεῖν· καὶ ποιησάμενοι τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ κατάλογον ἐξήεσαν ἀμφότεροι, ψήφισμα κυρώσαντες ὑπὲρ ἀναβολῆς τῶν τε ἰδίων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων δικῶν ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ὦσιν ἐν τοῖς
- 5 ὄπλοις. ἐγένετο δ' οὗτος οὐχ ὅσον ὑπέλαβον,

<sup>1</sup> πείθοιεν after μή deleted by Cobet, Jacoby (?).

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upon their leaders to desist from their purpose, as a favour to the senate, and not to bring Marcius to trial; or, if they would not do this, to put it off to the most distant time possible, till the angry feelings of the multitude should die down. Having passed these votes, they laid their decree relating to the provisions before the popular assembly, and, as all praised it, they secured its ratification. It was to this effect: that the prices of commodities necessary for daily subsistence should be the lowest they had ever been before the civil strife. But from the tribunes, in spite of many entreaties, they were unable to obtain an absolute dismissal of the charges against Marcius, though they did get a postponement of his trial for as long a time as they asked. And they themselves contrived another delay by taking advantage of the following situation: When the ambassadors sent from Sicily by the tyrant had delivered to the people his present of corn to them, and having sailed for home, were now lying at anchor not far from the harbours of Antium, the Antiates, sending out a piratical force, brought them into port and not only treated their effects as booty taken from an enemy, but also imprisoned the men themselves and kept them under guard. The consuls, being informed of this, caused a vote to be passed to make an expedition against the Antiates, since, when the Romans sent ambassadors to them, they had refused to offer any satisfaction; and having raised an army consisting of all who were of military age, both consuls took the field, after getting a decree of the senate ratified for the suspension of all private and public suits for as long a time as they should continue under arms. This, however, was not so long a time as they had expected, but much shorter.

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ἀλλὰ πολλῶ<sup>1</sup> ἐλάττων. οἱ γὰρ Ἀντιᾶται μαθόντες ἐξεστρατευμένους πανδημεὶ Ῥωμαίους οὐδὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἀντέσχον χρόνον, δεόμενοι δὲ καὶ λιπαροῦντες τὰ τε σώματα τῶν ἀλόντων Σικελιωτῶν ἀπέδοσαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὥστε ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρέψαι.

XXXVIII. Διαλυθείσης δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὁ μὲν Σικίνιος ὁ δῆμαρχος συναγαγὼν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν προεῖπεν<sup>2</sup> ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ συντελεῖν ἔμελλε τὴν περὶ τοῦ Μαρκίου κρίσιν· καὶ παρεκάλει τοὺς τε κατὰ πόλιν ὑπάρχοντας ἀθρόους<sup>3</sup> ἦκειν ἐπὶ τὴν διάγνωσιν τῆς δίκης καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν διατρίβοντας ἀφεμένους τῶν ἔργων εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἀπαντᾶν, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας ὅλης τῆς πόλεως τὴν ψῆφον ἀναληψομένους· παρήγγελλε δὲ καὶ τῷ Μαρκίῳ παρεῖναι πρὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀτυχήσουσι τῶν περὶ τὰς

<sup>2</sup> κρίσεις νομίμων. τοῖς δ' ὑπάτοις ἐδόκει βουλευσαμένοις μετὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου μὴ περιορᾶν τὸν δῆμον ἐξουσίας τηλικαύτης κύριον γενόμενον. εὖρητο<sup>4</sup> δ' αὐτοῖς τῆς κωλύσεως ἀφορμὴ δικαία καὶ νόμιμος, ἣ χρώμενοι πάντα διαλύσειν<sup>5</sup> ὤοντο τὰ τῶν ἀντιδίκων βουλεύματα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παρεκάλεσαν εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν τοὺς προεστηκότας τοῦ δήμου συνόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. καὶ

<sup>3</sup> ἔλεξε Μηνύκιος τοιαύδε· “ Ἡμῖν, ὦ δῆμαρχοι, δοκεῖ χρῆναι τὴν στάσιν ἐξελαύνειν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν ἐναντία τῷ δήμῳ περὶ μηδενὸς χρήματος· μάλιστα δ' ὅταν ὀρῶμεν ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν βιαίων ἐπὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ

<sup>1</sup> πολλῶ B: πολὺ A.

<sup>2</sup> Kiessling: εἶπεν O.

<sup>3</sup> ἀθρόους C: ἀθρόως AB.



For the Antiates, hearing that the Romans had set out against them with all their forces, did not resist for even the briefest time, but having recourse to prayers and entreaties, delivered up both the persons of the Sicilians whom they had taken and their effects also, with the result that the Romans were under the necessity of returning to the city.

XXXVIII. The army having been disbanded, Sicinius the tribune assembled the populace and announced the day on which he proposed to hold the trial of Marcius. He urged not only the citizens who lived at Rome to come *en masse* to decide this cause, but also those who resided in the country to leave their tasks and be present on the same day, intimating that they would be giving their votes for the liberty and the safety of the whole commonwealth. He summoned Marcius also to appear and make his defence, assuring him that he should be deprived of none of the privileges the law allowed in connection with trials. In the mean time the consuls, after they had consulted the senate, resolved not to permit the people to get control of so great power. They had found out a just and legal means of preventing it, by which they expected to defeat all the designs of their adversaries. After this they invited the leaders of the people to a conference, at which their friends also were present; and Minucius spoke as follows: "It is our opinion, tribunes, that we ought to endeavour with all our power to banish this sedition from the state and not to engage in rivalry with the people over any matter, especially when we see that you have turned from violent methods to just measures and to debate.

<sup>4</sup> εὕρητο B: εὔρετο R.

<sup>5</sup> διαλύσειν B: διαλύειν R.

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τοὺς λόγους ἤκοντας. ταύτης μέντοιγε τῆς γνώμης  
 ἐπαινοῦντες ὑμᾶς τὴν βουλήν οἴομεθα δεῖν ἄρξαι  
 προβούλευμα<sup>1</sup> ποιησαμένην, ὡσπερ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν  
 4 πᾶτριον. δύνασθε<sup>2</sup> δ' ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτο μαρτυ-  
 ρεῖν, ὅτι ἐξ οὗ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ἔκτισαν ἡμῶν οἱ  
 πρόγονοι τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχουσα ἢ βουλή δια-  
 τετέλεκε, καὶ οὐθέν πώποτε ὁ δῆμος ὅ τι μὴ  
 προβουλεύσειεν ἢ βουλή οὐτ' ἐπέκρινεν οὐτ'  
 ἐπειψήφισεν, οὐχ ὅτι νῦν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῶν  
 βασιλέων, ἀλλ' ὅσα τῷ συνεδρίῳ δόξειε, ταῦτα  
 οἱ βασιλεῖς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐκφέροντες ἐπεκύρουν.  
 μὴ δὴ τοῦτο ἀφαιρεῖσθε τὸ δίκαιον ἡμῶν, μηδὲ  
 ἀρχαῖον καὶ καλὸν<sup>4</sup> ἔθος ἀφανίζετε· διδάξαντες  
 δὲ τὸ συνέδριον ὅτι δικαίου δεῖσθε καὶ μετρίου  
 πράγματος, ὅ τι ἂν ἐκείνῳ δοκῆ, τούτου τὸν  
 δῆμον ἀποδείξατε κύριον."

XXXIX. Ταῦτα τῶν ὑπάτων λεγόντων ὁ μὲν  
 Σικίνιος οὐκ ἠνείχετο<sup>5</sup> τῶν λόγων οὐδὲ ἠξίου  
 τὴν βουλήν οὐδενὸς ποιεῖν κυρίαν· οἱ δὲ τὴν  
 αὐτὴν ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν ἐκείνῳ Δεκίου<sup>6</sup> γνώμη  
 χρησάμενοι συνεχώρουν γενέσθαι τὸ προβούλευμα,  
 δικαίαν τινὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ποιησάμενοι πρόκλησιν,  
 ἦν οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν<sup>7</sup> μὴ δέξασθαι τοῖς ὑπάτοις.  
 2 ἠξίου γὰρ τοὺς βουλευτὰς λόγον ἀποδόντας  
 αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πράττουσι καὶ τοῖς  
 συναγορεύειν<sup>8</sup> ἢ τὰναντία λέγειν βουλομένοις,  
 ἐπειδὰν ἀκούσωσιν ἀπάντων τῶν βουλομένων ὃ

<sup>1</sup> Kiessling: προβουλεύματα O.

<sup>2</sup> Kiessling: δύνασθε O.

<sup>3</sup> τὰ δ' before ἀλλ' deleted by Sintenis.

<sup>4</sup> ἀρχαῖον καὶ καλὸν Kiessling: ἀρχαῖον καλὸν O, Jacoby, ἀρχαῖον Kayser.

<sup>5</sup> ἠνείχετο B: ἀνείχετο A.

But however commendable we may think this resolution of yours, we are of the opinion that the senate ought to take the initiative by passing a preliminary decree, as is our traditional practice.<sup>1</sup> For you yourselves can testify that from the time our ancestors founded this city the senate has always possessed this prerogative and that the people never determined or voted anything without a previous resolution of the senate, not only now, but even under the kings; for the kings laid the resolutions of the senate before the popular assembly to be ratified. Do not, then, deprive us of this right nor abolish this ancient and excellent custom; but showing the senate that you desire a just and reasonable thing, do you grant the people authority to ratify any decree the senate shall pass."

XXXIX. While the consuls were thus speaking, Sicinius grew impatient at their words and refused to give the senate authority in any matter at all. But his colleagues, upon the advice of Decius, consented that the preliminary decree should be passed, after they themselves had made a just proposal which it was impossible for the consuls to refuse. They asked, namely, that the senators should grant a hearing to them, who were acting for the people, as well as to those who wished to speak in support of or against the accused, and that after hearing all parties

<sup>1</sup> For Dionysius' use of the term *προβούλευμα* and his theory respecting the *patrum auctoritas* see Vol. I., Introd., pp. xxv ff., especially xxvii f.

<sup>6</sup> Δεκίου Gelenius: λευκίου Ο.      <sup>7</sup> τ' ἦν Kayser: τε Ο.

<sup>8</sup> Reiske: συναγορεύουσιν Ο.

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τι ἂν αὐτοῖς φανῆ δίκαιόν τε καὶ τῷ κοινῷ συμφέρον ἀποφῆναι, φέρειν δὴ<sup>1</sup> τὴν γνώμην ἅπαντας ὡσπερ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τὸν νόμιμον ὄρκον ὁμόσαντας· ὅτι δ' ἂν αἱ πλείους γνώμαι καθαιρῶσι,  
 3 τοῦτ' εἶναι κύριον. συγχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ὡσπερ ἠξίουσι οἱ ὑπατοὶ<sup>2</sup> τὸ προβούλευμα γενέσθαι, τότε μὲν διελύθησαν· τῇ δὲ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ παρῆν μὲν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἡ βουλή· οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ δηλώσαντες αὐτῇ τὰ συγκείμενα τοὺς δημάρχους ἐκάλουν καὶ περὶ ὧν ἤκουσιν ἐκέλευον λέγειν. παρελθὼν δ' ὁ Δέκιος<sup>3</sup> ὁ συγχωρήσας τὸ προβούλευμα γενέσθαι τοιούτοις ἐχρήσατο λόγοις·

XI. “ Οὐ λανθάνει μὲν ἡμᾶς, ὦ βουλή, τὸ συμβησόμενον, ὅτι δι' αἰτίας ἐσόμεθα<sup>4</sup> παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀφίξεως ἔνεκα, καὶ κατήγορον ἔξομεν τοῦ προβουλεύματος ἄνδρα τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα ἡμῖν, ὃς οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν, ἃ δίδωσιν ἡμῖν ὁ νόμος, ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῶν αἰτεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν εὐεργεσίας μέρει τὸ δίκαιον λαμβάνειν. κίνδυνον δ' οὐ τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἀναρρίψομεν εἰς δίκην ὑπαχθέντες, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτόμολοι καὶ προδόται  
 2 καταγνωσθέντες τὰ ἔσχατα<sup>5</sup> πεισόμεθα. ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐπιστάμενοι ταῦτα, ὅμως ὑπεμείναμεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν τῷ τε δικαίῳ πεποιθότες καὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις ἐπιτρέψαντες οἷς ὁμόσαντες οἴσετε τὰς γνώμας. φαῦλοι μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς γε ὡς περὶ τηλικούτων καὶ τοσούτων<sup>6</sup> λέγειν<sup>7</sup> καὶ πολὺ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> δὴ Kiessling: δὲ O, om. Kayser.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν δημάρχων . . . οἱ ὑπατοὶ Sylburg: τῶν ὑπάτων . . . οἱ δήμαρχοι O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> Δέκιος Gelenius: λεύκιος O.

<sup>4</sup> αἰτίας ἐσόμεθα Reiske: αἰτίας ἄς οἰόμεθα O.

who desired to express their views regarding what they thought just and advantageous to the commonwealth, they should then all give their opinions as in a court of justice, after taking the oath appointed by law; and whatever the majority of the votes determined, should be valid. The tribunes having consented that the senate should pass the preliminary decree as the consuls desired, the meeting was dismissed for the time being. The next day the senate met in the senate-house, and after the consuls had acquainted them with the terms of the agreement they had made, they called the tribunes and bade them state why they were present. Thereupon Decius, who had consented that the preliminary decree should be passed, came forward and spoke as follows:

XL. "We are not ignorant, senators, of what will happen, namely, that we shall be censured before the people for coming to you, and shall have as our accuser in the matter of the preliminary decree a man who is possessed of the same power as ourselves and who did not think we ought to ask of you that which the law gives us or to receive as a favour that which is our right. And if we are tried for this, we shall run no small hazard, but shall be condemned as deserters and traitors and suffer the worst of punishments. But though sensible of these things, we have consented to come to you, relying on the justice of our cause and trusting to the oaths under which you will express your opinions. We are indeed unimportant men to treat of such great and important subjects, and are far from equal to what the situation

<sup>5</sup> ἔσχατα B: αἰσχίστα ACmg.

<sup>6</sup> τοσούτων added by Kiessling.

<sup>7</sup> λέγειν BC: λέγοντες ACmg.

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προσῆκοντος ἐνδεέστεροι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα οὐ φαῦλα ὑπὲρ ὧν λέξομεν. τούτοις οὖν προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν, καὶ εἰ ἂν ὑμῖν δόξη δίκαιά τε καὶ συμφέροντα τῷ κοινῷ, προσθήσω δ' ὅτι καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, συγχωρήσατε ἡμῖν αὐτῶν τυχεῖν ἐκόντες.

XLII. “Ἐρῶ δὲ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου πρῶτον. ὑμεῖς δὴ, ὦ βουλή, ὅτε τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀπηλλάξατε<sup>1</sup> συμμάχους ἔχοντες ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐν ἧ νῦν ἐσμεν κατεστήσατε, ἣν οὐ ψέγομεν, μειονεκτοῦντας ἐν ταῖς δίκαις τοὺς δημοτικούς ὀρῶντες ὅποτε συμβαίη τι διάφορον αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους—πολλὰ δ' ἦν ταῦτα—νόμον ἐκυρώσατε, Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων γνώμη χρησάμενοι, ἐξεῖναι τοῖς κατισχυμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων δημόταις προκαλεῖσθαι τὰς κρίσεις ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον· καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν οὕτως ἕτερον ὡς τὸν νόμον τόνδε τὴν τε πόλιν ἐν ὁμοιοῖα διεφυλάξατε<sup>2</sup> καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐπιόντας ἀπεώσασθε.<sup>3</sup> τούτον δὴ προφερόμενοι τὸν νόμον, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἅπαντες<sup>3</sup> ἀδικεῖσθαι τε καὶ κατισχύεσθαι λέγομεν ὑπὸ Γαῖου Μαρκίου τουδί, καλοῦμεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ τὰ δίκαια παραγγέλλομεν ἐκεῖ λέγειν. καὶ προβουλεύματος ἐνταῦθα οὐκ ἔδει. περὶ ὧν γὰρ οὐκ εἰσὶ νόμοι, περὶ τούτων ὑμεῖς τοῦ προβουλεύσαι<sup>4</sup> κύριοι καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπιψηφίσαι· νόμου δ' ὄντος ἀκινήτου, κἂν μηδὲν ὑμεῖς προβουλεύσητε,<sup>3</sup> τούτῳ δήπου χρηστέον. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γ' ἂν εἴποι τις, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν<sup>5</sup> οἷς<sup>6</sup> τὸ μειονεκτεῖν συμβαίνει περὶ τὰς κρίσεις κυρίαν εἶναι δεῖ

<sup>1</sup> ἀπηλλάξατε A: ἀηλλάσατε BC.

<sup>2</sup> Kiessling: ἀπώσασθε O.      <sup>3</sup> Sintenis: ἅπαντας O.

<sup>4</sup> Kiessling: προβουλεύεσθαι O, Jacoby.

demands; but the matters we shall discuss are not unimportant. Attend, therefore, to these, and if they shall seem to you just and advantageous to the commonwealth—and, I may add, even necessary—permit us to obtain them of your own free will.

XLI. “I shall speak first concerning the point of justice. After you had got rid of the kings with our assistance, senators, and had established our present constitution, with which we find no fault, you observed that the plebeians had always the worst of it in their suits whenever they had any difference with the patricians, which frequently happened; and you accordingly sanctioned a law, on the advice of Publius Valerius, one of the consuls, permitting the plebeians, when oppressed by the patricians, to appeal their cases to the people; and by means of this law more than by any other measure you both preserved the harmony of the commonwealth and repulsed the attacks of the kings. It is in virtue of this law that we summon Gaius Marcius here to appear before the people because of the injustice and oppression which we all declare we have suffered at his hands, and we call upon him to make his defence before them. And in this case a preliminary decree was not necessary. For whereas in matters concerning which there are no laws you have the right to pass such a decree and the people have the right to ratify it, yet when there is an inviolable law, even though you pass no decree, that law must of course be observed. For surely no one will say that this appeal to the people must be allowed in the case of private citizens who

<sup>5</sup> ὄντων after ἰδιωτῶν deleted by Cobet.

<sup>6</sup> οἷς placed here by Sylburg, after συμβαίνει by O.

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τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον πρόκλησιν, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἄκυρον. νόμου μὲν δὴ συγχωρήματι τῷδε ἰσχυριζόμενοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρακινδυνεύσαντες ὑφ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι δικασταῖς ἤκομεν. ἀγράφῳ<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ ἀνομοθετήτῳ φύσεως δικαίῳ τόδε<sup>2</sup> ἀξιούμεν, ὦ βουλή, μήτε<sup>3</sup> πλεόν ἔχειν ὑμῶν<sup>4</sup> μήτε μείον, ἐν γοῦν τῷ δικαίῳ, πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους συνδιενέγκαντες<sup>5</sup> ὑμῖν πολέμους καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν τυράννων<sup>6</sup> πλείστην ἐπιδειξάμενοι προθυμίαν, καὶ τοῦ<sup>7</sup> μηδενὶ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἀλλ' αὐτὴν ἑτέροις ἐπιτάττειν τὰ δίκαια οὐκ ἐλαχίστην  
 5 μοῖραν παρασχόμενοι. οὕτω δ' ἂν ἡμῖν τὸ μὴ μείον ἔχειν τῶν δικαίων ἀποδοίητε, ὦ πατέρες, εἰ τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας εἰς τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν παρανομεῖν κωλύοιτε τὸν ἐκ τῆς δίκης ἐφιστάντες<sup>8</sup> αὐτοῖς φόβον. ἀρχὰς μὲν δὴ καὶ προεδρίας καὶ τιμὰς τοῖς ἀρετῇ καὶ τύχῃ προὔχουσιν ἡμῶν<sup>9</sup> οἴομεθα δεῖν ἀπονέμειν· τὸ δὲ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ δίκας ὦν ἂν τις πάθῃ προσηκούσας λαμβάνειν ἴσα καὶ κοινὰ τοῖς ἅμα  
 6 πολιτενομένοις εἶναι δικαιοῦμεν. ὥσπερ οὖν τῶν λαμπρῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀφιστάμεθ' ὑμῖν, οὕτως τῶν ἴσων καὶ κοινῶν οὐ μεθιέμεθα. ἱκανὰ ταῦτα εἰρήσθω περὶ τοῦ δικαίου πολλῶν ἐνότων καὶ ἄλλων λέγεσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> ἀγράφῳ R (?), γράφῳ B: ἐπ' ἀγράφῳ Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> Sintenis: τῷδε O.

<sup>3</sup> Sintenis: μὴ O.

<sup>4</sup> τὸν δῆμον after ὑμῶν deleted by Sintenis.

<sup>5</sup> Jacoby: συνδιενεγκόντες O.

<sup>6</sup> τυράννων Cobet: πολέμων O, Jacoby, πολεμίων Kiessling.

<sup>7</sup> Reiske: τῷ O.



have got the worst of it in their trials, but not in the case of us, the tribunes. Firmly relying, therefore, upon this concession of the law, and thus encouraged to run the risk of submitting our cause to you as our judges, we have come before you. And in virtue of an unwritten and unenacted natural right we make this demand of you, senators, that we may be in neither a better nor a worse condition than you, at least in the matter of justice, inasmuch as we have assisted you in carrying on many important wars and have shown the greatest zeal in getting rid of the tyrants, and have had no small part in enabling the commonwealth to take orders from none but to give laws to others. Now the most effectual means you could take, fathers, to put us in no worse a condition than yourselves in point of rights would be to stop those who are making illegal attempts against our persons and our liberty, by placing before their eyes the fear of a trial. So far as magistracies, special privileges, and offices are concerned, we believe we should bestow them upon those who excel us in merit and fortune; but to suffer no wrong, and to receive justice adequate to any wrongs one may sustain, are rights, we hold, which should be equal and common to all who live under the same government. Accordingly, just as we yield to you the privileges that are illustrious and great, so we do not intend to give up those that are equal and common to all. Let this suffice concerning the point of justice, though there are many other things that might be said.

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<sup>8</sup> Reiske: ὑφιστάντες O.

<sup>9</sup> Sintenis: ὑμῶν AB.

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XLII. “Ὡς δὲ καὶ συνοίσει τῷ κοινῷ ταῦτα ὡς ὁ δῆμος ἀξιοῖ γινόμενα, μικρὰ διεξιόντος<sup>1</sup> ἀνέχεσθέ μου.<sup>2</sup> φέρε γάρ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς ἔροιτο, τί μέγιστον οἴεσθε εἶναι τῶν καταλαμβανόντων κακῶν τὰς πόλεις, καὶ τοῦ ταχίστου τῶν ὀλέθρων αἴτιον, ἂρ' οὐχὶ τὴν διχοστασίαν εἴποιτ' ἄν; ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ. τίς γάρ<sup>3</sup> ὑμῶν οὕτως ἠλίθιός ἐστιν ἢ σκαιὸς ἢ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου μισῶν τὴν ἰσηγορίαν ὡς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι δοθείσης ἐξουσίας τῷ δήμῳ κρίνειν ἅς ἐξεστὶν αὐτῷ δίκας κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐν ὁμοιοῖα πολιτευσόμεθα, εἰ δὲ τάναντία γνοίητε καὶ ἀφέλοισθε<sup>4</sup> ἡμῶν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν—ἐλευθερίαν γὰρ ἀφαιρήσεσθε δίκην καὶ νόμον ἀφαιρούμενοι—στασιάζειν ἡμᾶς αὖθις ἀναγκάσετε καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν; ἐξ ἧς γὰρ ἂν ἐξελαθῆ πόλεως δίκη καὶ νόμος, εἰς ταύτην στάσις εἰσπορεύεσθαι φιλεῖ καὶ πόλεμος. καὶ ὅσοι μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον εἰς πείραν ἐμφυλίων συμφορῶν,<sup>5</sup> οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ δι' ἀπειρίαν τῶν κακῶν μήτε ἄχθονται τοῖς γεγονόσι δεινοῖς μήτε κωλύουσιν ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ μέλλοντα. ὅσοι δ' ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους<sup>6</sup> κινδύνους καταστάντες ἀγαπητῶς ἀπηλλάγησαν, ἦν<sup>7</sup> ὁ καιρὸς ἀπήτει ποιησάμενοι τῶν κακῶν λύσιν, τίς εὐπρεπῆς ἢ μετρία πρόφασις ἀπολείπεται τούτοις, εἴαν ἔτι ταῖς αὐταῖς συμφέρωνται τύχαις; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ὑμῶν καταγνοίη πολλὴν ἄνοιαν καὶ μανίαν, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι μικρῷ<sup>8</sup> μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπὲρ

<sup>1</sup> Grasberger: διεξιόντων O.

<sup>2</sup> μου added by Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> γάρ added by Jacoby, δὲ (or θ') by Sylburg, οὖν by Reiske.

<sup>4</sup> ἀφέλοισθε C, by correction: ἀφέλησθε A, ἀφέλεσθε B, and C (at first).

XLII. " Bear with me now while I explain to you in a few words how these demands of the people will also be advantageous to the commonwealth. For, come now, if anyone should ask you what you regard as the greatest of the evils that befall states and the cause of the swiftest destruction, would you not say it is discord? I, at least, think you would. For who is there among you so stupid, so perverse, and so immoderate a hater of equality as not to know that if the people are allowed to render judgment in causes in which the law gives them the authority, we shall live in harmony, whereas, if you decide to the contrary and deprive us of our liberty—for you will be depriving us of liberty if you deprive us of justice and law—you will drive us again into sedition and civil war? For if justice and law are banished from a state, sedition and war are wont to enter there. Now in the case of those who have had no experience of civil calamities, it is no wonder if, because of inexperience of those evils, they neither grieve over the misfortunes that are past nor take early precautions to prevent others in the future; but for those who, when exposed as you were, to the gravest perils, thought themselves happy to be rid of them by making such a settlement of the evils as the situation demanded, what specious or reasonable excuse is left them if they meet again with the same misfortunes? Who would not consider you guilty of great folly and madness when he calls to mind that although just a

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<sup>5</sup> *συμφορῶν* O: *διαφορῶν* Grasberger, Jacoby.

<sup>6</sup> *ἐσχάτους* Reiske: *ἐλαχίστους* O.

<sup>7</sup> *ἦν* Reiske: *ἂν* Ba, *ἂ* R.

<sup>8</sup> Hertlein: *μικροῦ* O, *μικρὸν* Jacoby.

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τοῦ μὴ στασιάζειν τοὺς δημότας πολλὰ παρὰ γνώμην ὑπεμείνατε, ὧν ἔνια οὔτε κάλλιστα ἦν ἴσως οὔτε λυσιτελέστατα, νῦν δ' οὔτ' εἰς χρήματα βλάπτεσθαι μέλλοντες οὔτ' εἰς εὐδοξίαν οὔτ' εἰς ἄλλο τῶν κοινῶν οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν, ἵνα χαρίζησθε τοῖς μισοδημοτάτοις,<sup>1</sup> τὸ δημοτικὸν αὐθις ἐκπολεμώ-  
 5 σετε; οὐκ, εἴαν γε σωφρονῆτε. ἡδέως δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐροίμην τίνα γνώμην λαβόντες τότε τὴν κάθοδον ἡμῖν συνεχωρήσατε ἐφ' οἷς ἡξιούμεν, πότερα λογισμῶ προϊδόμενοι τὸ κράτιστον ἢ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ εἶξαντες; εἴπερ γὰρ ταῦτα ὑπελαμβάνετε ὠφελιμώτατα εἶναι τῇ πόλει, τί οὐ μένετε καὶ νῦν ἐν αὐτοῖς; εἰ δ'<sup>2</sup> ἀναγκαῖα καὶ οὐχ ἐνδεχόμενα ἄλλως γενέσθαι, τί χαλεπαίνετε γενομένοις; τὴν ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἴσως ἔδει μὴ συγχωρῆσαι,<sup>3</sup> εἰ δύναμις ἦν ὑμῖν, συγχωρήσαντας δὲ μηκέτι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐγκαλεῖν.

XLIII. “ Ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖτε, ὦ βουλή, περὶ μὲν τὰς διαλύσεις γνώμη τῇ βελτίστη κεχρηῆσθαι . . .<sup>4</sup> οἷς ἀνάγκη εἴκειν . . .<sup>4</sup> τοῦ βέβαια τηρεῖν τὰ συγκείμενα. θεοὺς γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐγγυητὰς ἐδώκατε τῶν ὁμολογιῶν, πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐπαρασάμενοι τοῖς παραβάσι τὰς συνθήκας αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἐγγόνοις εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν δὴ τά τε δίκαια ἀξιούμεν καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα, ἃ καὶ πολλὴ ἀνάγκη ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς μεμνημένους τῶν ὄρκων, ὡς πρὸς εἰδότας ἅπαντας, οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> Sintenis: μισοδημοτάτοις O.      <sup>2</sup> εἰ δὲ Reiske: εἴ τε O.

<sup>3</sup> συγχωρῆσαι C, by correction: συγχωρήσειν AB, and C (at first).

<sup>4</sup> Lacunae assumed by Sintenis.

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<sup>1</sup> Some words are missing from the text here.

short time ago, in order to appease a sedition of the plebeians, you submitted to many things against your will, some of which were neither very honourable, perhaps, nor very advantageous, yet now, when you are not destined to be injured in either your fortunes or your reputation or, for that matter, in any of your public interests whatever, you are going to goad all plebeians into war again, to oblige the bitterest foes of democracy? No, not if you are wise. But I should like to ask you what motive induced you at the time to consent to our return upon the terms we desired. Did you foresee in the light of reason what was best, or did you yield to necessity? For if you thought those concessions to be of the greatest advantage to the commonwealth, why do you not adhere to them at present also? And if they were necessary and unavoidable, why are you disgruntled now that they have been made? Possibly you ought not to have granted them in the first place, if you could have avoided it, but once having granted them, you ought no longer to find fault with what is done.

XLIII. "For my part, senators, I think you used the best judgment in regard to the accommodation . . .<sup>1</sup> to which you are obliged to yield . . .<sup>1</sup> to observe faithfully the terms agreed upon. For you gave us the gods as sureties for the performance of the terms by invoking many grievous curses upon those who should violate the compact, both upon them and upon their posterity forever. But I do not know that it is necessary to weary you by saying any more in order to convince you, who are all well acquainted with the facts, that our demands are only what is just and advantageous, and that you are under every necessity of carrying them out, if you are

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2 οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ πλείω λέγοντα ἐνοχλεῖν. ὡς δ' οὐ μικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα ἡμῖν ἐστι τόνδε μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὸν ἀγῶνα μήτε βία εἴξαντας μήτε ἀπάτη παραχθέντας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολλὴν ἀνάγκην εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφίγμεθα, δεινὰ καὶ πέρα δεινῶν πεπονθότες ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρός, μάθετε, ὦ πατέρες, μᾶλλον δ' ἀναμνήσθητε· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅ τι οὐ πρὸς εἰδότας ὑμᾶς ἄπαντας ἐρῶ· καὶ ἅμα γνώμη χρήσασθε οἰκεία πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα, ἐνθυμηθέντες, εἰ ἡμῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐπεχείρησέ τις ἐν τῷ πλήθει τοιαῦτα λέγειν ἢ πράττειν<sup>2</sup> καθ' ὑμῶν οἷα Μάρκιος ἐτόλμησεν ἐνθάδε εἰπεῖν, ποῖόν ποτ' ἂν ὑμῖν παρέστη πρὸς αὐτὸν πάθος.

XLIV. “Τὰς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμονοίας τῇ βουλῇ ἀκινήτους ὁμολογίας καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἀδαμαντίνους δεσμοῖς ἠσφαλισμένας, ἄς οὔτε ὑμῖν τοῖς ὁμωμοκόσι οὔτε τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐσομένοις καταλύειν θέμις, ἕως ἂν ἡ πόλις ἦδε οἰκῆται, πρῶτος ἐπεχείρησε λύειν ἐξ ὑμῶν οὕτοσὶ Μάρκιος οὐπω τέταρτον ἔτος ἐξ οὗ γεγενημένας, οὐ σιγῇ πράττων τὴν κατάλυσιν, οὐδ' εἰς ἀφανές που καταδύς χωρίον, ἀλλ' ἀναφανδὸν ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ πάντων παρόντων ὑμῶν γνώμην ἀποφηνάμενος ὡς χρῆ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν μηκέτι συγχωρεῖν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνελεῖν, ἣ πρώτη καὶ μόνη τῆς ἐλευθερίας φυλακῇ πιστεύσαντες ἐποησάμεθα τὰς διαλύσεις.

2 καὶ οὐκ ἐνταῦθα ἔσθη τῆς ἀλαζονείας, ἀλλ' ὕβριν

<sup>1</sup> τῶν δημοτῶν before ἡμῶν deleted by Kayser.

<sup>2</sup> ἢ πράττειν deleted by Kayser.

mindful of your oaths. Learn now, fathers, that it is a point of no small importance to us not to relinquish this contest, either yielding to force or deluded by trickery, but that we entered upon it because of the greatest necessity, having suffered outrageous treatment, and worse than outrageous, at the hands of this man. Or rather recall these facts from your own knowledge; for I shall say nothing that is not known to all of you. And at the same time use your own judgment in passing upon what I am saying, reflecting how, if any of us had attempted in an assembly of the people to say or do<sup>1</sup> such things against your class as Marcius dared to utter here, you would have felt towards him.

XLIV. "For Marcius here was the first man among you who endeavoured to dissolve our unalterable compact of unity with the senate, secured by bonds all but adamantine, a compact which it is unlawful for either you, who swore to its observance, or your posterity to dissolve as long as this city shall be inhabited. And this he did before the compact was in its fourth<sup>2</sup> year, nor was it in silence, nor after he had slunk into some secret hole, that he worked for its abrogation, but he openly expressed the opinion in this very place, in the presence of you all, that you ought no longer to allow us the tribunician power, but ought to abolish the first and only safeguard of our liberty, relying on which we entered into the accommodation. Nor did his bluffing stop here, but giving

<sup>1</sup> The words "or do" are probably an interpolation. It was what Marcius said in the senate, not what he did there, that aroused the plebeians' anger (chaps. 21-26).

<sup>2</sup> By our modern reckoning this was only the second year after the secession.

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τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῶν πενήτων καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν  
 ἰσηγορίαν ὀνομάζων ἀφελῆσθαι παρῆνει ταύτας<sup>1</sup>  
 ὑμῖν.<sup>2</sup> ὁ δὲ πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον ἦν τῶν τότε  
 ὑπὸ τούτου ἀξιωθέντων, ἀναμνήσθητε, ὦ πατέρες,  
 ὅτε ἀπέφαινε καλὸν εἶναι καιρὸν ἀπομνημονεῦσαι  
 πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν ἀπάσας τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς προ-  
 τέροις ἐγκλήμασιν ὀργάς, καὶ παρῆνει νῦν, ἐν ᾧ<sup>3</sup>  
 τετράχωταί τε ὑπ' ἀχρηματίας<sup>4</sup> καὶ πολὺν ἤδη  
 χρόνον τῆς ἀναγκαίου σπανίζεται τροφῆς, ἅπαν<sup>5</sup>  
 αὐτὸ<sup>6</sup> ἐπιτρίψαι,<sup>7</sup> διακατασχόντας ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 3 ἀπορίας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τὴν ἀγοράν. οὐ γὰρ  
 ἀνθέξειν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὀλίγα σιτία  
 πολλοῦ ὠνουμένου ἀργυρίου πένητας ἀνθρώπους,  
 ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν οἰχήσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκλείποντας,  
 ὅσοι δ' ἂν ὑπομείνωσι τῷ κακοδαιμονεστάτῳ  
 διαφθαρῆσεσθαι τῶν μόρων. οὕτω<sup>8</sup> δ' ἄρα παρ-  
 εφρόνει καὶ θεοβλαβῆς ἦν ταῦτα πείθων ὑμᾶς, ὥστε  
 οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο ἠδυνήθη καταμαθεῖν, χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων  
 ὧν προσετρίβετο τὰς τῆς βουλῆς σπονδὰς λύειν  
 ἀξιῶν, ὅτι πένητες ἄνθρωποι τῆς ἀναγκαίου  
 τροφῆς ἀποκλειόμενοι τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες  
 4 συμφορᾶς οὐθὲν ἔτι φίλιον ἠγούμενοι. ὥστ' εἴ  
 μανέντες ὑμεῖς ἐπεκυρώσατε τὰς γνώμας αὐτοῦ,  
 μηθὲν ἂν γενέσθαι τὸ διὰ μέσου, ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὸ  
 δημοτικὸν ἀπολωλέναι πλῆθος ἅπαν ἢ μηδὲ<sup>9</sup>  
 τὸ τῶν πατρικίων περιλελείφθαι γένος. οὐ γὰρ  
 ἂν οὕτως ἀνδραποδωδῶς παρέσχομεν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ  
 μὲν ἐκπεσεῖν, οἱ δ' ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ θεοὺς μάρτυρας

<sup>1</sup> Cary: ταύτην O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> Reiske: ἡμῖν O.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν ᾧ Reiske: ὡς O.

<sup>4</sup> Sylburg: ἀχρηστίας AB.

<sup>5</sup> ἅπαν B: ὥστε ἅπαν R.



to the liberty of the poor the name of insolence, and to equality that of tyranny, he advised you to deprive us of them. Call to mind, fathers, the most wicked of all the measures he then urged, when he declared it to be a fine opportunity for you to remember again all your resentment against the plebeians for their former offences, and advised that now, while they were distressed for want of money and had already for a long time lacked the necessaries of life, you should crush their whole class by firmly holding the market to the same scarcity of provisions. For we should not hold out for any length of time, he said, while paying a high price for little corn, poor men that we are, but some of us would leave the city and go elsewhere, while those who remained would perish by the most miserable of all deaths. But he was so senseless and infatuated in giving you this advice as not to be able to see even this—that, to say nothing of the other evils he was inflicting by asking the senate to dissolve its compact, such a multitude of poor men, when deprived of the necessaries of life, would be compelled to attack the authors of their calamity, no longer regarding any one as a friend. Consequently, if you had been so mad as to adopt his advice, it must have ended in one of these two ways, for there would have been no middle course: either the whole plebeian multitude would have perished, or even the patrician class would not have survived. For we should not have allowed ourselves to be banished or put to death in so slavish a manner, but, having called upon the

<sup>6</sup> αὐτὸ Cmg: αὐτῶ AB, αὐτόθεν Capps.

<sup>7</sup> ἐπιτρέψαι Cmg: ἐπιτρέψαι AB.

<sup>8</sup> οὕτω A: οὕτως Ba, οὕτως Bb.

<sup>9</sup> μηδὲ added by Cobet, οὐδὲ by Reiske.

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ὧν ἐπάσχομεν καὶ δαίμονας ἐπικαλεσάμενοι, πολλῶν ἂν ἐξεπληρώσαμεν, εὖ ἴστε, τὰς ἀγορὰς καὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς νεκρῶν, καὶ μέγαν αἵματος κρατῆρα πολιτικοῦ στήσαντες οὕτως ἂν ἐδεξάμεθα τὴν ὀφειλομένην μοῖραν. τοιούτων ὑμῖν δυσσεβημάτων εἰσηγητής, ὧ πατέρες, ἐγένετο, καὶ τοιαῦτα δημηγορεῖν ὤετο δεῖν.

XLV. “Καὶ οὐχὶ λέγειν μὲν ὁ Μάρκιος ἐξ ὧν διαστήσει<sup>1</sup> τὴν πόλιν ἐπεχείρησε, πράττειν δ’ οὐχ οἷα ἔλεγεν ἐπεβάλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ στίφος ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἅπασαν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐτοίμων περὶ ἑαυτὸν<sup>2</sup> ἔχων, καλούμενος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀπαντᾶ, καὶ τοῖς ὑπηρεταῖς τοῖς ἡμετέροις, ὁπότε κελευσθέντες ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἐπιβάλλοιντο, πληγὰς ἐντρίβεται, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων σωματῶν τῷ<sup>2</sup> χεῖρε τελευτῶν ἀπέχεται. ὥστε περίεστιν ἡμῖν, τό γ’ ἐπὶ τοῦτον εἶναι μέρος, ὄνομα μὲν<sup>3</sup> εὐπρεπὲς ἀσύλου ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ χλευασμῶ κείμενον ἔχει, ἔργον δὲ τῶν ἀποδοδομένων τῇ ἀρχῇ μῆδ’ ὅτιοῦν πράττειν. πῶς γὰρ<sup>4</sup> ἂν ἐτέροις ἀδικεῖσθαι λέγουσι βοηθήσαιμεν, οἷς γε μῆδ’ αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχει τὸ ἀσφαλές; ταύτας μέντοι τὰς ὕβρεις οἱ πένητες ὑβριζόμενοι πρὸς ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς οὕτω τυραννοῦντος ἀλλ’ ἔτι μέλλοντος, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἤδη πεπονθότες, ὧ βουλή, δεινά, τὰ δ’ εἰ μὴ τὸ πλεῖον ὑμῶν μέρος ἐμποδῶν ἐγένετο παρασχεδὸν ἐλθόντες παθεῖν, ἅρ’ οὐκ<sup>5</sup> εἰκότως ἀγανακτοῦμεν καὶ βοηθείας τινὸς οἰόμεθα δεῖν οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας συναγανακτήσεως τυχεῖν, ἐπὶ δίκην αὐτὸν ἴσην καὶ νόμιμον, ὧ

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg: διαστήσειν O.

<sup>2</sup> περὶ ἑαυτὸν Sylburg: παρ’ ἑαυτῶ O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> μὲν added by Garrer.

gods and lesser divinities to be witnesses to our sufferings, be assured we should have filled the fora and the streets with many dead bodies, and after offering up a great bowl of the blood of our fellow-citizens, we should then have accepted our destined fate. Of such impious deeds, fathers, did he make himself the proponent, and such things did he think fit to demand in his harangue.

XLV. "Nor did Marcius merely undertake to utter words that would divide the city, yet refrain from acting in accordance with his words, but actually keeping about him a body of men ready for any service, he refuses to appear before our magistrates when summoned, and showers blows upon our assistants when at our command they endeavour to bring him away, and at last does not even refrain from offering violence to our own persons. The consequence is that, as far as in him lies, we bear the specious name of an 'inviolable' magistracy, a term given in mockery, but discharge not one of the functions assigned to that magistracy. For how shall we give relief to others who complain that they are injured, when we ourselves have no security? When, therefore, we, the poor, have been thus insulted by one man who, though not yet a tyrant, is nevertheless aiming at tyranny; when we have already suffered many indignities, and came near suffering others, had not the majority of you, fathers, prevented it, have we not good reason to resent this and to feel that we ought to obtain some assistance as well as your sympathy in our resentment, when we summon him

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<sup>4</sup> γὰρ Kiessling: δ' O, Jacoby.

<sup>5</sup> ἀρ' οὐκ Sylburg: ἄρα O, Jacoby.

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βουλή, προσκαλουμενοι,<sup>1</sup> περὶ ἣν ἅπασα ἡ  
 πληθὺς μερισθεῖσα κατὰ φυλὰς λόγου δοθέντος  
 τοῖς δεομένοις ἔνορκον ἐποίσει τὴν ψῆφον;  
 3 ἴθι ἐκεῖ,<sup>2</sup> Μάρκιε, καὶ ταῦτα, ἃ μέλλεις λέγειν  
 ἐνθάδε, πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς πολίτας ἀθρόους  
 ἀπολογουῦ, εἴτε ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου τὰ κράτιστα  
 συνεβούλευες τούτοις καὶ συνήνεγκεν ἂν<sup>3</sup> τῇ  
 πόλει ταῦτα γενόμενα, εἴτε ὡς οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιον  
 λόγων εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν τοὺς ἀποφαινομένους  
 ἐνθάδε τὰς γνώμας, εἴτε ὡς οὐκ<sup>4</sup> ἐκ προνοίας οὐδὲ  
 ἐπιβουλῆς ἀλλ' ὀργῇ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ μισθὰ ταῦτα  
 παραινεῖν προήχθης, εἴθ' ὅτιδῆποτε ἄλλο ἀπο-  
 4 λόγημα ἔχεις. καταβίβασον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων  
 καὶ τυραννικῶν αὐχημάτων ἐκείνων σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ  
 τὸ δημοτικώτερον,<sup>5</sup> ὧ πονηρέ, καὶ ποιήσον ἤδη  
 ποτὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὅμοιον. ἡμαρτη-  
 κότης λαβὲ καὶ παραιτουμένου σχῆμα ταπεινὸν  
 καὶ<sup>6</sup> ἐλεεινόν, οἷον ἀπαιτοῦσιν αἱ συμφοραί. μὴ  
 βιαζόμενος τοὺς κακῶς πεπονθότας ἀλλ' ὑπερχό-  
 5 μενος ἀξίου σώζεσθαι. γενέσθω σοι παράδειγμα  
 τῆς ἐπιεικειᾶς, ἣ χρώμενος ἂν εἴης πρὸς τοὺς  
 ἅμα πολιτευομένους ἀνεπίληπτος, τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν  
 τούτων ἔργα, οἷ τοσοῦτοι μὲν ὄντες τὸ πλῆθος  
 ὅσους νῦν αὐτὸς<sup>7</sup> ὄρας, τοσαύτας δ' ἀρετὰς ἀπο-  
 δεδειγμένοι καὶ πολεμικὰς καὶ πολιτικὰς ἄς οὐδ' ἐν  
 πολλῷ πάνυ χρόνῳ διελθεῖν ῥάδιον, οὐδὲν ὠμὸν  
 οὐδ' ὑπερήφανον ἐξήνεγκαν τέλος καθ' ἡμῶν τῶν

<sup>1</sup> προσκαλούμενοι C: προκαλούμενοι R.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκεῖ B: ἐκεῖ ὦ R.

<sup>3</sup> συνήνεγκεν ἂν Kiessling: συνήνεγκαν ἂν O, συνήνεγκε Sylburg.

<sup>4</sup> ὡς οὐκ Sylburg: οὐχ ὡς O.

to a fair and legal trial, in which the whole populace, divided into their tribes, will give their votes under oath after all who desire to speak have been heard? Go thither, Marcius, and say in your defence before all the citizens in a body what you are intending to say here—either that with the best intention you gave the soundest advice to these senators and that your advice, if followed, would have been advantageous to the commonwealth, or that it is not right that those who deliver their opinions in this place should have to give an account of their words, or that it was not with premeditation or treacherous purpose, but in a momentary yielding to passion that you were led to give this abominable advice, or whatever other defence you can offer. Descend from that overbearing and tyrannical haughtiness to a more democratic behaviour, wretched man, and make yourself at last like other men. Assume the humble and piteous demeanour of one who has erred and is asking pardon, such a demeanour as your plight requires. Seek to save yourself, not by offering violence to those you have injured, but by courting their favour. As an example of moderation, the practice of which would make you free from all reproach on the part of your fellow-citizens, take the actions of these worthy men. Though they are so many in number as you yourself see here present, and have displayed so many virtues both in war and in peace that I could not easily enumerate them in a very long time, yet they, the venerable and great, passed no cruel or haughty

<sup>5</sup> Sylburg: δημοτικὸν A, δημοτικώτατον B.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ added by Jacoby. Cobet preferred to delete ἐλεεινόν.

<sup>7</sup> νῦν αὐτὸς Jacoby: νῦν A, αὐτὸς R.

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φαύλων καὶ ταπεινῶν οἱ σεμνοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγων ἤρξαν συμβατηρίων αὐτοὶ πρότεροι προτείνοντες διαλλαγάς, ὅτε διεΐλεν ἡμᾶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἢ τύχη, καὶ τὰς συμβάσεις οὐχ ὡς ἑαυτοῖς ὑπελάμβανον ἄριστα ἔξειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡμεῖς ἠξιούμεν συνεχώρησαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ταυτὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν σιτοδοσίαν ἔναγχος τοῦ χρόνου προσκρούματα, ἐφ' οἷς δι' αἰτίας εἶχομεν αὐτούς, περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιήσαντο ἀπολύσασθαι.

XLVI. “Ἐὼ τᾶλλα, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς θεοβλαβείας τίνας οὐκ ἐποιήσαντο δεήσεις ἀπάντων κοινῇ τε καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν δημοτικῶν παραιτούμενοί σε τῆς τιμωρίας; ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ὑπάτοις καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τοσαύτην πόλιν ἐπιτροπευούση καλῶς εἶχεν, ὦ Μάρκιε, δικαστὴν τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐνεκαλοῦντο ὑπο-  
 2 μένειν, σοὶ δ' ἄρ' οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχει; καὶ δεῖσθαί γε  
 \* τῶν δημοτῶν ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως τῆς σῆς οὗτοι μὲν<sup>1</sup> ἅπαντες οὐδὲν αἰσχροὺς εἶναι νομίζουσι, σὺ δὲ δι' αἰσχύνης λαμβάνεις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο; καὶ οὐκ ἀπόχρη σοι ταῦτ', ὦ γενναῖε, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τι καλὸν ἐξειργασμένος ὑψαυχενῶν καὶ μεγαληγορῶν περιέρχῃ καὶ μηδὲν ὑφείναι τοῦ φρονήματος ἀπομαχόμενος; ἐὼ γάρ, ὅτι καὶ λοιδορούμενος τῷ  
 3 δῆμῳ καὶ προσεγκαλῶν καὶ ἀπειλῶν. ἔπειτα οὐ νεμεσᾶτε αὐτῷ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας, ὦ πατέρες, εἰ  
 • τηλικούτων αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> ἀξιοῖ μόνος ἡλικῶν οὐδ' ἅπαντες ὑμεῖς ἑαυτούς; ὃν ἐχρῆν, εἰ καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς ἀνεδέχεσθε τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πόλεμον ψηφίσασθαι, τὸ μὲν εὖνουν καὶ πρόθυμον ὑμῶν ἀγαπᾶν, μὴ δέχεσθαι δὲ χάριν ἰδίαν ἐπὶ κοινῇ βλάβῃ,

<sup>1</sup> μὲν Cobet: γε O.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸν R: αὐτὸν ABa.

sentence against us, the common and humble folk, but even took the lead themselves in making overtures and offered us a reconciliation when Fortune had divided us from one another, and they agreed to make the compact upon the conditions we desired, rather than upon those they thought would be best for themselves; and finally, when the difficulties recently arose over the distribution of corn, for which we blamed them, they took great pains to remove these grounds of offence.

XLVI. "I omit all the rest. But in your own behalf, and to deprecate the punishment due to your madness, what intercessions did they not employ with all the plebeians both collectively and individually? Then, if it was seemly, Marcius, for the consuls and the senate, who have the oversight of so great a commonwealth, to submit to the judgment of the populace concerning any charges brought against them, is it not seemly also for you to do likewise? And though these men all regard it as no disgrace to entreat the plebeians to acquit you, do you think this same course disgraceful for yourself? And is this not enough for you, sir, but, just as if you had performed some fine action, do you go about preening yourself and indulging in boastful talk, refusing to abate anything of your pride? I say nothing, you see, of your also reviling, accusing, and threatening the people. And do you not resent his arrogance, fathers, in setting a greater value upon himself alone than even all of you set upon yourselves? And yet, even if you were all willing to vote to engage in war for his sake, he ought to be satisfied with this proof of your goodwill and zeal and not to accept a private favour at the expense of the public injury, but to consent to make his

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ἀλλ' ὑπομένειν ἀπολογούμενον δίκην ὑπέχοντα καὶ  
 4 πάντ', εἰ δέοι, πάσχοντα.<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἔργα  
 ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἔργοις ἀσκοῦν-  
 τος, οὐ λόγοις. ἂ δὲ νῦν οὗτος βιάζεται, τίνας  
 ἐστὶ σημεῖα βίου; ποίων μηνύματα προαιρέσεων,  
 ὄρκους παραβαίνειν, δεξιὰς παρασπονδεῖν, ὁμο-  
 λογίας ἀναιρεῖν, δῆμῳ πολεμεῖν, εἰς ἀρχόντων  
 σώματα ὑβρίζειν, καὶ μηδ' ἐφ' ἐνὶ τούτων τὸ  
 σῶμα ὑπεύθυνον ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἄκριτον ἀναπολόγη-  
 τον μηδενὸς δεηθέντα μηθένα φοβηθέντα μηθενὶ  
 τῶν τοσοῦτων πολιτῶν ἴσον γενόμενον ἀδεῶς  
 περιουστεῖν; ἄρ' οὐ τυραννικοῦ τρόπου σημεῖα  
 5 ταῦτ' ἐστίν; ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ. καὶ τοῦτον ὅμως  
 εἰσὶ τινες οἱ παραψύχοντες καὶ παρακροτοῦντες ἐξ  
 ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, οἷς ἐντέτηκε τὸ πρὸς τοὺς δημοτι-  
 κούς μῖσος ἀδιάλλακτον, καὶ οὐ δύνανται συνιδεῖν  
 ὅτι οὐθὲν μᾶλλον κατὰ τοῦ ταπεινοτέρου μέρους  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει φύεται τουτὶ τὸ κακὸν ἢ<sup>2</sup> κατὰ  
 τοῦ σεμνοτέρου· ἀλλ' οἴονται τοῦ διαφόρου  
 σφίσι<sup>3</sup> καταδουλωθέντος καὶ δῆ<sup>4</sup> τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς  
 6 ἔξειν ἀσφαλῶς. οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει τάληθές, ὧ  
 γνώμης ἀμαρτάνοντες τῆς ἀρίστης· διδάσκαλον  
 δὲ τὴν πείραν ἣν ὁ Μάρκιος παρέχεται καὶ τὸν<sup>5</sup>  
 χρόνον λαβόντες, ὀθνεῖοις τε ἅμα καὶ οἰκείοις  
 σωφρονισθέντες παραδείγμασι γνοίητ' ἂν ὅτι  
 μοσχενομένη κατὰ τοῦ δήμου τυραννὶς καθ' ὅλης  
 τῆς πόλεως μοσχεύεται, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀφ' ἡμῶν  
 ἄρχεται, κρατήσασα δ' οὐδ' ὑμῶν φείσεται."

<sup>1</sup> δίκην ὑπέχοντα καὶ πάντ', εἰ δέοι, πάσχοντα Capps: καὶ δίκην ὑπέχοντα εἰ δέοι καὶ πάντα πάσχοντα O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> ἢ Cary: καὶ Ba (?), ὡς καὶ ABb, Jacoby, ἢ καὶ Steph.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup> σφίσι Kiessling: φύσει O, Jacoby.



defence, standing trial and, if need be, suffering any punishment. For such would be the behaviour of a good citizen who practises what is honourable in his actions, not merely in his words. But as for the violent deeds in which this man now indulges, of what kind of life do they give evidence? Of what kind of principles is it an indication to violate oaths, to break solemn pledges, to nullify covenants, to make war upon the people, to abuse the persons of magistrates, and to refuse to make oneself accountable for any of these actions, but submitting to no trial, offering no defence, courting no man, fearing no man, and disdaining equality with any one of this great multitude of citizens, to strut about with impunity? Are not these the indications of a tyrannical disposition? I, at any rate, think so. And yet, encouraging and applauding this man are some of your own number, in whose minds is implanted an implacable hatred against the plebeians, and they cannot see that the growth of this evil threatens the humbler portion of the citizens no more than it does the more exalted portion, but imagine that when their adversary is enslaved their own situation will be secure. But this is not so in reality, misguided men. For if you will learn from the example afforded by Marcius and from history, and will be admonished by precedents both foreign and native, you will know that tyranny fostered against the people is fostered against the whole commonwealth, and that, though it begins at present with us, yet after it has gained strength it will not spare you either."

<sup>4</sup> καὶ δὴ Cobet: καὶ μὴ ABC, ἢ μὴν Kiessling.

<sup>5</sup> τὸν added by Sylburg.

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XLVII. Τοιαῦτα διεξιόντος τοῦ Δεκίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δημάρχων ἃ παραλιπεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνος ἐδόκει συναγορευσάντων, ἐπειδὴ γνώμας ἔδει τοὺς συνέδρους ἀποφαίνεσθαι, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι καὶ ἐντιμότατοι<sup>1</sup> τῶν ὑπατικῶν καλούμενοι κατὰ τὸν εἰωθότα κόσμον ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀνίσταντο, ἔπειθ' οἱ τούτων ὑποδεέστεροι κατ' ἄμφω ταῦτα, τελευταῖοι δ' οἱ νεώτατοι λόγον μὲν οὐθένα λέγοντες (ἔτι γὰρ ἦν δι' αἰσχύνης τότε Ῥωμαίοις τοῦτο, καὶ νέος οὐδεὶς ἡξίου ἑαυτὸν σοφώτερον εἶναι πρεσβύτου), ἐπεκύρουν δὲ τὰς<sup>2</sup> κειμένας ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπατικῶν γνώμας. ἅπασι δὲ προσετάττετο παριοῦσι<sup>2</sup> καθάπερ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ μεθ' ὄρκου τὴν ψῆφον ἐπιφέρειν. Ἄππιος μὲν οὖν Κλαύδιος, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ πρότερον ἔφην ὅτι μισοδημότατος ἦν τῶν πατρικίων καὶ οὐδέποτε ταῖς πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν ἠρέσκετο διαλλαγαῖς, οὐκ εἶα γενέσθαι τὸ προβούλευμα τοιοῦτοις λόγοις χρώμενος·

XLVIII. “ Ἐβουλόμην μὲν<sup>3</sup> ἔγωγε καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ηὐξάμην πολλάκις ἑμαυτὸν μὲν ἀμαρτεῖν τῆς<sup>4</sup> γνώμης ἣν εἶχον ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαλύσεων, οὔτε<sup>5</sup> καλὴν καὶ δικαίαν οὔτε συμφέρουσαν ἡμῖν<sup>6</sup> ὑπολαμβάνων<sup>7</sup> ἔσεσθαι τὴν τῶν φυγάδων κάθοδον καὶ διὰ παντός, ὅσακις<sup>8</sup> περὶ τούτου προὔτέθη σκοπεῖν, πρῶτός τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τελευτῶν μόνος, ἐπειδὴ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπέστησαν, ἦναντιούμην· ὑμᾶς δ',<sup>9</sup> ὦ βουλή, τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐντιμότατοι added by Gelenius.

<sup>2</sup> Sintenis: παροῦσι O, τοῖς παροῦσι Reiske.

<sup>3</sup> μὲν Cary, μὲν ἂν Cobet, Jacoby: ἂν O, om. Meutzner.

<sup>4</sup> τῆς added by Kiessling.

<sup>5</sup> οὔτε Cobet: ὡς οὔτε O, Jacoby, ὅς οὔτε Meutzner.

XLVII. After Decius had spoken in this manner and the rest of the tribunes had supported him by adding what they thought he had omitted, and it was now time for the senators to deliver their opinions, first the oldest and the most honoured of the ex-consuls, being called upon by the consuls in the customary order, rose up, and after them those who were inferior to them in both these respects, and last of all, the youngest senators, who made no speeches (for that was still looked upon then as disgraceful by the Romans, and no young man presumed to be wiser than an old man), but seconded the opinions delivered by the ex-consuls. It was required, however, that all the senators should come forward and give their votes upon oath as in a court of justice. Then Appius Claudius, whom I mentioned before as the greatest enemy to the plebeians of all the patricians, one who could never relish the agreement made with the plebeians, opposed the passing of the preliminary decree, speaking as follows:

XLVIII. "For my part, I kept wishing and often prayed to the gods that I might be mistaken in the opinion I entertained concerning the accommodation with the populace, when I thought that the return of the fugitives would be neither honourable and just nor advantageous to us, and from first to last, whenever anything relating to this subject was proposed for our consideration, I was the first of all and finally the only one, after the rest had deserted me, who opposed it. And I also wished that you, senators, who have

<sup>6</sup> ἡμῶν A: ὑμῶν R.

<sup>7</sup> Cobet: ὑπελάμβανον O, Jacoby.

<sup>8</sup> ὀσάκεις B: ὀσάκεις ἄν R.

<sup>9</sup> δὲ Casaubon: τε O.

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κρείττω τὴν ἐλπίδα λαμβάνοντας καὶ πάντα τῷ  
 δήμῳ δίκαιά τε καὶ ἄδικα προθύμως χαριζο-  
 2 μένους ἄμεινον ἐμοῦ δόξαι φρονεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δ'  
 οὐχ, ὡς ἐβουλόμην τε καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἠϋχόμην, τὰ  
 πράγματα ὑμῖν κεχώρηκεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄμην, καὶ  
 περιεστήκασιν αἱ χάριτες ὑμῖν εἰς φθόνους καὶ  
 μίση, τὸ μὲν ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις ὑμῖν<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 λυπεῖν ὑμᾶς διὰ κενῆς, ὃ ῥᾶστόν ἐστι καὶ πᾶσιν  
 ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ποιεῖν σύνηθες, οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ νυνὶ  
 γενησόμενον ὀρών ἐάσω· ἐξ ὧν δὲ τά τε παρ-  
 ελθόντα<sup>2</sup> ἐπανορθωσόμεθα, ὅσα μὴ παντάπασιν  
 ἀνιάτως ἔχει, καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἄμεινον  
 3 φρονήσομεν, ταῦτα πειράσομαι<sup>3</sup> λέγειν. καίτοι  
 με οὐ λέληθεν ὅτι μαίνεσθαι καὶ θανατᾶν δόξω  
 τισὶν ὑμῶν γνώμην περὶ τούτων ἐλευθέραν ἀποφαι-  
 νόμενος, ἐνθυμουμένοις<sup>4</sup> ἠλίκοις ἔχει κινδύνους ὁ  
 μετὰ παρρησίας λόγος, καὶ τὰς Μαρκίου συμ-  
 φοράς, ὅς οὐ δι' ἕτερόν τι νυνὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς  
 4 ἀγῶνα τρέχει, λογιζομένοις.<sup>5</sup> ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶομαι  
 δεῖν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας πλείω ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν  
 ἢ τῆς κοινῆς ὠφελείας. δέδοται γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς  
 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κινδύνοις τὸ σῶμα τοῦμόν, ὧ βουλή,  
 καὶ καθωσίωνται τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀγῶσιν,  
 ὥστε ὅ τι ἂν τῷ δαίμονι δοκῇ, μετὰ πάντων τε  
 καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις, εἰ δ' ἀνάγκη, καὶ μόνος εὐγενῶς  
 πείσομαι· ἕως δ' ἂν ἔχω τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐδεὶς με  
 ἀφέξει φόβος μὴ οὐχ ἂ φρονῶ λέγειν.

XLIX. “ Πρῶτον μὲν<sup>6</sup> τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἤδη ποτὲ  
 ἀξιῶ βεβαίως μαθεῖν, ὅτι δυσμενῆ καὶ πολέμιον

<sup>1</sup> Portus: ἡμῖν O.

<sup>2</sup> Reiske: προελθόντα O.

<sup>3</sup> Sylburg: πειρασόμεθα O.

<sup>4</sup> ἐνθυμουμένοις Ba (?): ἐνθυμούμενος ABb.

always hoped for the best and cheerfully granted to the populace all their demands, both just and unjust, might prove to be wiser than I. But now that things have not turned out for you as I wished and prayed, but rather as I expected, and now that the benefits you conferred have ended in envy and hatred, I shall forbear to censure you for your past errors or to cause you needless pain (which is a very easy thing to do and what everyone usually does), as I perceive that it will be out of place at this time. However, I shall endeavour to suggest to you how we may correct such of the past errors as are not absolutely incurable and may act with greater wisdom in the present situation. And yet I am not unaware that I shall appear to some of you to be mad and to be courting death in expressing my opinion freely concerning these matters, when they consider how great dangers frankness of speech involves, and reflect on the plight of Marcius, who at this moment runs the risk of losing his life for no other reason. But I believe that I ought not to be more anxious for my personal safety than for the public welfare. For my body has already been given to the perils that attend your cause, senators, and devoted to the struggles in defence of the commonwealth; so that whatever Heaven pleases to ordain, I shall suffer it resolutely either with all of you or with a few, or, if necessary, even alone. But while I have life, no fear shall deter me from saying what I think.

XLIX. "In the first place, I want you now at last to be firmly convinced of this, that your plebeian

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<sup>5</sup> λογιζομένοις Ba : λογιζόμενος ABb.

<sup>6</sup> μὲν O : μὲν οὖν Reiske, Jacoby.

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ἔχετε τῇ καθεστῶσῃ πολιτείᾳ τὸν δημοτικὸν ὄχλον, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα μαλακισθέντες αὐτῷ συνεχωρήσατε μάτην τε ὑμῖν ἀνήλωται καὶ καταφρονήσεως αἷτια γέγονεν, ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην συγχωρηθέντα ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπ' εὐνοίας  
 2 οὐδὲ κατὰ κρίσιν. σκοπεῖτε γὰρ οὕτως· ὅτε ἀπέστη λαβὼν τὰ ὄπλα ὁ δῆμος ἀφ' ὑμῶν καὶ πολέμιος ὑμῖν <sup>1</sup> ἐτόλμησεν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ γενέσθαι, ἀδικηθεὶς μὲν οὐδέν, τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ τὰ χρέα τοῖς συμβεβληκόσι διαλυῖσαι <sup>2</sup> σκηπτόμενος, καὶ εἰ ψηφίσαισθε <sup>3</sup> ὑμεῖς χρεῶν τε ἀποκοπὰς καὶ ἄδειαν ὧν ἤμαρτε κατὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν οὐθενὸς ἔτι δεήσεσθαι ἔφησεν, <sup>4</sup> ἔγνωσαν οἱ πλείους ὑμῶν, οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντες γε, παρακρουσθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν συμβούλων, ὡς μή ποτε ὠφέλον, ἀκυρῶσαι <sup>5</sup> τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τεθέντας νόμους καὶ μηθενὸς τῶν τότε γεγεννημένων μνησικακεῖν ἀδικημάτων.  
 3 οὐκ ἠγάπησε ταύτης τυχῶν τῆς χάριτος, ἧς μόνῃς μεμνημένος ἔφη πεποιῆσθαι τὴν ἀπόστασιν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἑτέραν ἔτι ταύτης ἦτει μείζω καὶ παρανομωτέραν δωρεάν, ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ δοθῆναι δημάρχους ἐξ αὐτοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἀποδεικνύναι, πρόφασιν μὲν ποιούμενος τὴν ἡμετέραν ἰσχύν, ἵνα δὴ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις καὶ κατισχυομένοις τῶν πενήτων ἐπικουρία τις ὑπάρχη καὶ καταφυγή, ὡς δὲ τάληθές εἶχεν, ἐπιβουλεύων τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ εἰς δημοκρατίαν περι-  
 4 στήσαι τὰ πράγματα βουλόμενος. καὶ τοῦτ' ἔπεισαν ἡμᾶς οἱ σύμβουλοι τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἐᾶσαι παρελθεῖν εἰς

<sup>1</sup> ὑμῖν Kiessling : ἡμῖν B, om. R.

<sup>2</sup> διαλυῖσαι B : διαλύσασθαι R.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ ψηφίσαισθε Sintenis : καὶ ἐψηφίσασθε O.

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multitude is unfriendly and hostile to the established government, and that all the concessions you have through weakness made to them have not only been wasted by you, but have even exposed you to contempt, as having been granted by you through necessity rather than from goodwill or sober choice. For look at it in this way : When the populace took up arms, and, seceding from you, ventured to become openly your enemies, albeit they had received no injury, but offered as an excuse their inability to discharge their debts to their creditors, and when they declared that, if you would grant them an abolition of their debts and impunity for the offences they had committed during their secession, they would make no further demands, the greater part of you, though not all, misled by their advisers, voted—as would to Heaven they had not!—to abrogate the laws enacted in the interest of the public faith and to grant an amnesty for all the offences that had been committed at that time. But the plebeians were not satisfied with obtaining this favour, which they said was the only one they had mentioned when they seceded, but straightway asked for another concession still greater and more illegal than this—that leave should be granted them to choose tribunes from their own number every year—making our superior strength their excuse for this demand, to the end, forsooth, that some aid and refuge might lie open to the poorer citizens who were wronged and oppressed, though in reality they were plotting against our form of government and desired to change it to a democracy. This magistracy also those advisers of ours prevailed upon

<sup>4</sup> Jacoby: ἔφη Ο.

<sup>5</sup> ἀκυρώσαι Βα: ἐπικυρώσαι R.

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τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ κοινῷ παραγινόμενον κακῷ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς φθόνῳ, πολλά, εἴπερ ἄρα μέμνησθε, κεκραγότες ἐμοῦ καὶ μαρτυρομένου θεοῦς τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον ἄπαυστον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσάξετε, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ὑμῖν ἐκβέβηκε προλέγοντος.<sup>1</sup>

L. “Τί οὖν ἐποίησεν ὁ χρηστός ἡμῖν δῆμος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταύτην αὐτῷ συνεχωρήσατε τὴν ἀρχήν; οὐκ ἐταμιεύσατο τὴν τοσαύτην χάριν οὐδ' ἔλαβεν αἰσχυνομένως αὐτὴν καὶ σωφρόνως, ἀλλ' ὡς δεδοικόσι τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεπτηχόσιν ἡμῖν . . .<sup>2</sup> ἔπειτα ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον ἔφη δεῖν ἀποδειχθῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὄρκοις ἐμπεδωθείσαν, κρείττω τιμὴν αἰτούμενος ἢς δεδώκατε ὑμεῖς τοῖς ὑπάτοις. ὑπεμείνατε καὶ τοῦτο καὶ στάντες ἐπὶ τῶν τομίῳν κατ' ἐξωλείας ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων<sup>3</sup> ὠμόσατε. τί οὖν ἐποίησε καὶ τούτου τυχῶν; ἀντὶ τοῦ χάριτας ὑμῖν εἰδέναι καὶ σώζειν τὸν πάτριον κόσμον τῆς πολιτείας, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν πλεονεξιῶν καὶ ταύταις ταῖς παρανομίαις ἀφορμαῖς τῶν ὕστερον χρησάμενος νόμους τε ἀπροβουλεύτους εἰσφέρει, καὶ τούτους ἐπιψηφίζει δίχα τῆς ὑμετέρας γνώμης, καὶ οἷς ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐκφέρητε δόγμασιν οὐ προσέχει τὸν νοῦν, καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπενόντων κατηγορεῖ, καὶ τοῖς ἐκ-

<sup>1</sup> ἐκβέβηκε προλέγοντος Sylburg: προβέβηκε λέγοντος O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> One or more words have apparently been omitted here by the MSS. Reisko supplied ἐνυβρίζων. Kiessling proposed to read ἡμῖν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνέκειτο καὶ ἱερὰν, Kaysor ἡμῖν ἀπαντῶν ἱερὰν.



us to admit into the commonwealth, though its introduction was to the public detriment and in particular would arouse hatred against the senate, and notwithstanding that I, if you recall, exclaimed against it and called both gods and men to witness that you would bring into the commonwealth endless civil war, and foretold everything that has since befallen you.

L. "What, then, did this fine populace of ours do after you had granted them this magistracy also? They did not make a prudent use of so great a benefit nor did they receive it with respect and modesty, but, just as if we were in fear and consternation because of their strength . . .<sup>1</sup> then they said this magistracy ought to be declared sacred and inviolable and should be secured by oaths, thus demanding for it a greater honour than you yourselves have conferred upon the consuls. To this also you submitted, and standing over the parts of the sacrificial victims, you invoked utter destruction upon both yourselves and your posterity if you should violate your oath. What, then, did they do when they had obtained this also? Instead of being grateful to you and maintaining our ancestral form of government, they began from these ill-gotten advantages, and making these illegal acts the steps to future encroachments, they not only introduce laws without a preliminary decree of the senate, but enact them without your concurrence; they pay no regard to the decrees you publish; they accuse the consuls of maladministration of the state; and if

<sup>1</sup> See the critical note.

<sup>3</sup> Sylburg: *προγόνων* O.

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- βαίνουσι παρὰ τὰς ὑμετέρας συνθήκας—πολλὰ δ' ἔστιν ὧν οὐ δύναται στοχάσασθαι λογισμὸς ἀνθρώπινος—οὐ τὴν τύχην,<sup>1</sup> ὡσπερ ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιγράφει διάνοιαν, ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι τε ὑφ' ὑμῶν σκηπτόμενος καὶ δεδιέναι μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφέλησθε ἢ τῆς πατρίδος ἐκβάλητε, αὐτὸς ἐφ' ὑμῖν ταῦτα<sup>2</sup> μηχανώμενος διατελεῖ, καὶ τὸ μὴ παθεῖν ὃ δεδοικέναι φησὶν οὐκ ἄλλω τινὶ φυλαττόμενος δῆλός ἐστιν ἢ τῷ δρᾶσαι φθάσας.
- 3 ἐδήλωσε δὲ τοῦτο πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον καὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶν ὧν ἐξείργομαι μεμνησθαι κατὰ τὸ παρόν, μάλιστα δὲ Μάρκιον τουτονὶ τὸν φιλόπολιν<sup>3</sup> ἄνδρα, οὔτε προγόνων ἀφανῶν ὄντα οὔτ' αὐτὸν ἀρετῇ λειπόμενον οὐθενὸς ἡμῶν, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ πονηρὰς ἐνθάδε γνώμας λέγειν, ἄκριτον ἐπεχείρησεν ἀποκτεῖναι.
- 4 καὶ εἰ μὴ δεινὸν ἠγησάμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα οἷ τε ὑπατοὶ καὶ ὑμῶν οἱ τὰ κρείττω φρονούντες συνεστράφητε καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν ἐπέσχετε αὐτῶν, ἐν μιᾷ τῇ τότε ἡμέρᾳ πάντα ἂν ἀφηρέθητε ὅσα οἱ πατέρες τε ὑμῖν σὺν πολλοῖς κτησάμενοι πόνοις κατέλιπον καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀγῶνας ἐκείνων ὑποστάντες ἔχετε, τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· οἱ δὲ γενναιότεροι καὶ οὐκ ἂν<sup>4</sup> ἀγαπήσαντες αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν, εἰ μὴ μετὰ τούτων ἐμέλλετε τῶν ἀγαθῶν βιώσεσθαι, τὰς ψυχὰς ἂν πρότερον ἢ ταῦτα ἀφηρέθητε, οἱ μὲν
- 5 εὐθύς, οἱ δ' οὐκ εἰς μακράν. τί γὰρ ἂν τὸ κωλύσων

<sup>1</sup> ἐχρῆν Sintenis: ἔφην O.

<sup>2</sup> Capps: ταῦτα O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> Sylburg: φιλοπόλεμον O.

<sup>4</sup> οὐκ ἂν Kiessling: οὐκ O, Jacoby.

anything happens contrary to your agreement with them—and there are many things which human reason cannot accurately foresee—they attribute it, not to chance, as they should, but to deliberate intention on your part; and while they pretend that designs are being formed against them by you and that they are afraid you may either deprive them of their liberty or expel them from their country, they themselves are continually forming these very designs against you, and plainly show that their only method of guarding against the mischief they claim to fear consists in being the first to inflict it. This they have often made apparent even before now, upon many occasions which I am prevented from mentioning at present, but particularly by their treatment of Marcius here, a lover of his country and a man who is neither of obscure birth nor inferior himself to any of us in valour, whom they accused of forming designs against them and of giving evil advice in this place, and attempted to put to death without a trial. And if the consuls and the more sagacious among you had not become indignant at this action and joined together to restrain their illegal attempts, you would have been deprived in that one day of everything that your ancestors acquired with many labours and left to you, and of everything that you yourselves possess after undergoing no fewer struggles than they—of your prestige, your supremacy, and your liberty; while those of you who had more spirit and would not have been contented with life alone unless you were to live in the enjoyment of those blessings, would, either then or soon after, have chosen to lose your lives rather than lose these privileges. For if once Marcius had been

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ἦν, οὕτως αἰσχρῶς καὶ κακῶς Μαρκίου τοῦδε ἀναρπασθέντος ὥσπερ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἀπολωλέναι διασπασθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ πάντας ὅσοι πῶποτ' ἠναντιώθησαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμελλον ἐναντιώσεσθαι ταῖς παρανόμοις ἐπιθυμίαις τοῦ δήμου; οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἠρκέσθη τοὺς δύο μόνους ἡμᾶς ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενος, οὐδὲ μέχρι δεῦρ' ἐλθὼν ἀπέστη τῆς παρανομίας, εἰ δεῖ τὰ μέλλοντα τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀρξάμενος ἅπαν τὸ ἀντίπαλον καὶ μὴ εἶκον ὥσπερ χειμάρρους πολὺς<sup>1</sup> ἐμπεσῶν παρέσυρεν ἂν καὶ κατήνεγκεν, οὗτ' εὐγενείας φειδόμενος οὗτ' ἀρετῆς οὐθ' ἡλικίας.

LI. “ Ταύτας ὑμῖν ὁ δῆμος, ὦ βουλή, τὰς καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀνθ' ὧν ἔπαθεν ἀγαθῶν<sup>2</sup> πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ μεγάλων τὰς μὲν ἀπέδωκεν ἤδη, τὰς δ' ἀποδώσειν ἔμελλεν, εἰ μὴ τὸ κωλύσον παρ' ὑμᾶς ἐγένετο. ἄγε δὴ νῦν κάκεῖνα ἐνθυμήθητε πάλιν ἃ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ γενναῖον καὶ σώφρον ὑμῶν ἔργον ἔδρασεν, ἵνα γνῶτε ὄντινα χρή<sup>2</sup> τρόπον αὐτῷ προσφέρεσθαι. ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν ὡς ἔμαθεν ὑμᾶς οὐκέτι φέροντας αὐτοῦ τὴν ὕβριν, ἀλλ' ὁμόσε χωρεῖν παρεσκευασμένους, ἔπτηξε καὶ μικρὸν ἀναλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης καὶ μανίας ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ βιάζεσθαι κατέβη, ἐπὶ τὸ δικάζεσθαι δ' ἐτράπετο· καὶ προειπὼν ἡμέραν ῥητὴν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐκάλει τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς δίκην ὑφέξοντα, ἧς αὐτὸς ἔμελλεν ἕσεσθαι κατήγορός τε καὶ μάρτυς καὶ δικαστῆς καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς<sup>3</sup> τιμωρίας κύριος. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο

<sup>1</sup> πολὺς O : om. Cobet.

made away with in so shameful and dastardly a manner, like one all alone in a wilderness, what could have hindered me also, after him, and all of you who had ever opposed or were likely to oppose thereafter the unlawful attempts of the populace, from perishing by being torn in pieces by our enemies? For they would not have been satisfied with getting only the two of us out of the way, nor would they, after going thus far, have desisted from their lawless course, if we are to judge the future from the past; but having begun with us, they would have rushed down like a torrent in flood upon all who opposed them and did not submit to them, and would have swept them away and borne them off, sparing neither birth, merit nor age.

LI. "These, senators, are the fine returns which the populace have either already made to you, or would have made, if it had not lain in your power to prevent them, for the many great benefits they have received from you. Now consider those things that they did after this magnanimous and prudent action on your part, in order that you may learn how you ought to deal with them. Well then, as soon as they found you resolved no longer to bear their insolence but prepared to join issue with them, they were struck with terror, and recovering themselves slightly, as from a fit of drunkenness or madness, they desisted from violence and had recourse to legal action; and appointing a day, they summoned Marcius to appear then and stand his trial, at which they themselves were to be at once the accusers, the witnesses, and the judges, and the ones to determine the degree of the punishment. And since you opposed this also,

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<sup>2</sup> ἀγαθῶν added by Kiessling.

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ἐνέστητε <sup>1</sup> νομίσαντες οὐκ ἐπὶ δίκην, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ  
 τιμωρίαν καλεῖσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὁρῶν ὡς οὐδενὸς  
 αὐτοκράτωρ ἐστὶ πράγματος, ἀλλ' ὅσ' ἂν <sup>2</sup> ὑμεῖς  
 προβουλεύσητε, ταῦτα ἐπιψηφίσαι κύριος, τῆς τ'  
 αὐθαδείας, ἧς πολὺς ἔπνει τότε, ὑφέϊται νυνὶ καὶ  
 δεησόμενος ὑμῶν ἦκει συγχωρῆσαι καὶ ταύτην  
 4 αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν. ἐνθυμούμενοι δὴ ταῦτ' αἰσθε-  
 σθε ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ μάθετε ὅτι πάνθ' ὅσα μὲν  
 εὐηθέστερα βουλευσάμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώτερα  
 ἐχαρίσασθε αὐτῷ συμφορὰς ὑμῖν ἐνήνοχε καὶ  
 βλάβας, ὅσα δὲ μετὰ τοῦ γενναίου στάντες τοῖς  
 παρανόμοις αὐτοῦ καὶ βιαίοις ἠναντιώθητε, ταῦθ'  
 5 ὑμῖν εἰς δέον ἐκβέβηκε. τί οὖν ὑμῖν ἐπιστα-  
 μένοις ταῦτα παραινῶ πράττειν καὶ τίνα γνώμην  
 ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων ἀποφαίνομαι; ὅσα μὲν ἐχαρί-  
 σασθε καὶ συνεχωρήσατε τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ἔχθραν  
 διαλλαττόμενοι ὁπωςδήποτε φυλάττειν κύρια,  
 καὶ μὴ λύειν τῶν τότε συγχωρηθέντων μηθέν, οὐχ  
 ὡς καλῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίων ὄντων—πόθεν  
 γάρ;—ἀλλ' ὡς ἀναγκαίων καὶ μηκέτι δεχομένων  
 διόρθωσιν· ὅσα δ' ἂν ἔξω τούτου βιαζόμενος καὶ  
 παρανομῶν ἀκόντων ὑμῶν ἐπιχειρῆ λαμβάνειν  
 μήτε συγχωρεῖν αὐτῷ μήτ' ἐπιτρέπειν, <sup>3</sup> ἀλλ'  
 ἀντιπράττειν <sup>4</sup> λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις καὶ ὁμοῦ  
 6 πάντα καὶ ἓνα ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ. οὐ γάρ, ἂν ἅπαξ  
 ἀμάρτη τις εἴτε ἀπατηθεὶς εἴτε ἀναγκασθεὶς, καὶ  
 τὰ λοιπὰ ὅμοια δεῖ πράττειν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου

<sup>1</sup> ἐνέστητε R: ἀντέστητε A.      <sup>2</sup> ὅσ' ἂν Sylburg: ὅταν O.

<sup>3</sup> Camerarius: προτρέπειν O.

because you thought that he was summoned, not to be tried, but to be punished, the populace, perceiving that they have absolute authority in no matter whatever, but only the power of ratifying your preliminary decrees, now abate their arrogance, which then blew so strong, and have come to beg that you will grant them this favour also. Bearing this in mind, therefore, perceive at last and learn that all the privileges you have hitherto granted them, with greater guilelessness than prudence, have brought calamities and harm upon you, but that every courageous stand you have made against their illegal and violent acts has turned out advantageously. What, then, do I advise you to do, now that you understand these things, and what opinion do I express upon the present question? Just this: As regards the privileges and concessions which you made to the populace at the time of your reconciliation, however you came to grant them, I advise you to adhere to them as valid and to abrogate none of the concessions you then made, not because they are honourable and worthy of the commonwealth—how could they be?—but because they are necessary and can no longer be remedied. But as to anything beyond this which they may endeavour to extort from you against your will by violence and illegal means, I advise you not to grant or allow it, but to oppose them both by words and by deeds, not only all of you as a body, but each one individually. For it is not inevitable, if a person has erred once through either deception or necessity, that he should act in like manner in everything else,

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\* ἀντιπράττειν C(?), Reiske: ἀντιπράττεσθαι O.

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μεμνημένον<sup>1</sup> τὰλλα ὅπως μὴ τοιαῦτα γενήσεται σκοπεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἅ κοινῇ πάντας ὑμᾶς οἶομαι δεῖν ἐγνωκότας εἶναι, καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἀδίκους τοῦ δήμου πλεονεξίας παραινῶ.

LII. “ Ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, περὶ οὗ νυνὶ πρόκειται σκοπεῖν, ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγχειρήμασιν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀδικοῖς καὶ παρανόμοις, καὶ οὐχ, οἷον ὁ δήμαρχος ἐξαπατῶν ὑμᾶς ἐπειράτο ἀποφαίνειν, δίκαιον καὶ μέτριον, μάθετε οἱ μήπω σαφῶς εἰδότες. ὁ μὲν οὖν νόμος ὁ περὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων τῶν δημοτικῶν, ᾧ<sup>2</sup> Δέκιος ἐκρατύνατο μάλιστα, οὐ καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγράφη τῶν πατρικίων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τῶν κατισχυομένων δημοτικῶν, ὡς αὐτός τε<sup>3</sup> δηλοῖ γραφὰς ἔχων οὐκ ἀμφιβόλους, καὶ ὑμεῖς τοῦτο πάντες ἀεὶ λέγετε<sup>2</sup> καλῶς ἐπιστάμενοι. μέγα δὲ τούτου<sup>4</sup> σημεῖον ἐστὶν, ὁ καὶ παντὸς ἀμφισβητουμένου δικαίου κριτήριον εἶναι δοκεῖ κράτιστον, ὁ χρόνος ἐννεακαιδεκέτης ἤδη γεγονὼς ἐξ οὗ ὁ νόμος οὗτος ἐτέθη· ἐν ᾧ παντὶ Δέκιος οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι δίκην οὐδεμίαν οὔτε δημοσίαν κατ' οὐδενὸς τῶν πατρικίων ἐν τῷ νόμῳ<sup>5</sup> δεδικασμένην<sup>6</sup> οὔτ' ἰδίαν· εἰ δὲ φήσει, δειξάτω καὶ μηθὲν ἔτι<sup>3</sup> δεόμεθα λόγου. αἱ δ' ὁμολογίαι, καθ' ἃς διελύσασθε πρὸς τοὺς δημότας, αἱ νεωστὶ γενόμεναι (χρῆ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑμᾶς<sup>7</sup> μαθεῖν, ἐπειδὴ πονηρὸς ἐξηγητὴς ὁ δήμαρχος αὐτῶν ἐγένετο) δύο ταῦτα συγχωρήματα περιέχουσιν, ἀφείσθαι τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> Cary: μεμνημένους O, Jacoby.                      <sup>2</sup> ᾧ Grimm: ὄν O.

<sup>3</sup> Reiske: γε O.    <sup>4</sup> Reiske: τοῦτο O.

<sup>5</sup> ἐν τῷ νόμῳ O: ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ Reiske, om. Kayser.



but mindful of that error, he ought to consider by what means his future conduct may not resemble it. This is the resolution which I think you ought all of you unitedly to have formed, and I advise you to be prepared against the unjust encroachments of the populace.

LII. "That this matter, which is the subject of your present consideration, is also of a piece with their other unjust and illegal attempts and not, as the tribune endeavoured to prove in order to deceive you, a just and reasonable request, let those among you now learn who are not yet certain of it. Well then, the law relating to the popular courts, the law upon which Decius relied for his chief support, was not enacted against you patricians, but for the protection of such plebeians as are oppressed, as the law itself, written in unequivocal terms, plainly shows, and as all of you, being perfectly acquainted with it, always declare to be the case. Strong proof of this is afforded by the length of time it has been in force, which seems to be the best criterion in the case of every disputed principle of law; for nineteen years have now passed since this law was enacted, and during all this time Decius cannot point to a single instance of a trial, either public or private, brought against any patrician in virtue of this law. But if he shall assert that he can, let him produce it and we need no further discussion. As to the agreement you recently entered into with the plebeians (for it is necessary that you should be informed about this also, since the tribune has shown himself an unscrupulous interpreter of it), it contains these two concessions—that the plebeians shall be discharged

<sup>6</sup> Reiske: δεδοκιμασμένην Ο.

<sup>7</sup> ύμᾶς Bb: ήμᾶς ABa.

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δημοτικούς τῶν χρεῶν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τήνδε ἀποδείκνυσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπικουρίας ἕνεκα τῶν κατισχυομένων καὶ κωλύσεως,<sup>1</sup> ἄλλο δὲ  
 4 παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδέν. μέγιστον δ' ὑμῖν γενέσθω τεκμήριον ὅτι οὔτε ὁ νόμος οὔτε αἱ συνθήκαι κατ' ἀνδρὸς πατρικίου δικάζειν τῷ δήμῳ δεδώκασιν ἐξουσίαν ὃ ποιεῖ νῦν αὐτὸς ὁ δῆμος. αἰτεῖται γὰρ αὐτὸ παρ' ὑμῶν τήμερον, ὡς πρότερόν γε οὐκ ἔχων· οὐδεὶς δ' ἂν ἀξιώσειέ τι<sup>2</sup> παρ' ἄλλων λαμβάνειν ὧν ἔστι νόμῳ κύριος. δίκαιον δὲ<sup>3</sup> φύσεως ἀνομοθέτητον, ὧ βουλή, πῶς ἂν εἴη τοῦτο (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο Δέκιος ὑμᾶς ᾤετο δεῖν σκοπεῖν), τοῖς μὲν δημόταις, ἄς τ'<sup>4</sup> ἂν φεύγωσι<sup>5</sup> δίκας ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων καὶ ἄς ἂν ἐκείνους διώκωσι, τὸν δῆμον δικάζειν, τοῖς δὲ πατρικίοις μήθ' ὅταν ἐπάγωσί τι<sup>6</sup> τῶν δημοτικῶν δίκην μήθ' ὅταν αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύωσι<sup>7</sup> τοὺς πατρικίους τὰ νείκη διαιτᾶν, ἀλλὰ τούτοις μὲν ἀμφότερα ἐξείναι πλεονεκτεῖν,  
 6 ἡμῖν δ' οὐδετέρου τῶν δικαίων μετέχειν; εἰ δέ τι Μάρκιος ἀδικεῖ τὸν δῆμον, ἢ καὶ<sup>8</sup> ἄλλος τῶν πατρικίων ὅστισοῦν καὶ δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπεσεῖν, μὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐνθάδε κριθεὶς διδότης δίκας, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ νόμιμον. εἰ μὴ ἄρα, ὧ Δέκιε, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἴσος ἔσται δικαστῆς καὶ οὐθὲν ἂν<sup>9</sup> χαρίσαιο αὐτῷ περὶ<sup>10</sup> ἀνδρὸς ἐχθροῦ τὴν ψῆφον ἐπιφέρων, οὗτοι δ' εἰ γένοιοντο τῆς ψήφου κύριοι τὸν ἀδικοῦντα περὶ

<sup>1</sup> κωλύσεως τῶν ἀδικούντων Sylburg.

<sup>2</sup> ἀξιώσειέ τι B, ἀξιώσει ἔτι AC, ἀξιώσειεν ἔτι Kiessling.

<sup>3</sup> Kiessling: δὴ O.

<sup>4</sup> τ' Reiske: γε O.

<sup>5</sup> Reiske: φύγωσι O, Jacoby.

of their debts, and that these magistrates shall be elected annually for the relief of the oppressed and the prevention of injustice toward them; and except these, there is no other provision. But let the greatest indication to you that neither this law nor the compact has given the populace the power of trying a patrician be the present behaviour of the populace themselves. For they ask this power of you today, as not having possessed it hitherto; yet no one would ask to receive from others anything to which he is entitled by law. And how can this, senators, be a natural, unwritten right—for Decius thought you ought to consider this—that the populace shall try all causes in which the plebeians are involved, whether the actions are brought against them by the patricians, or by them against the latter, while the patricians, whether plaintiffs or defendants in any suit with the plebeians, shall not decide those controversies, but the plebeians shall be given the advantage in both cases, while we enjoy neither right? But if Marcius or any other patrician whatsoever has injured the people and deserves either death or banishment, let him be punished after being tried, not by them, but here, as the law directs. Unless, forsooth, Decius, the populace will be impartial judges and would not show any favour to themselves when giving their votes concerning an enemy, whereas these senators, if they are empowered to vote in his case, will regard the wrong-doer as of more importance

<sup>6</sup> τιμ R: τινα AB, Jacoby.

<sup>7</sup> Reiske: κινδυνεύωσι O, Jacoby.

<sup>8</sup> ἢ καὶ R: καὶ Ba, Jacoby.

<sup>9</sup> ἄν added by Reiske.

<sup>10</sup> περὶ Reiske, κατ' Naber: πρὸς O, Jacoby.

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πλείονος ποιήσονται τῆς ἀδικουμένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 πόλεως, μέλλοντες ἄρὰν καὶ ἐπιπορκίαν καὶ μῖσος  
 μὲν παρ' ἀνθρώπων, χόλον δὲ παρὰ θεῶν ἐκ τῆς  
 δίκης ἀποίσεσθαι καὶ μετὰ πονηρῶν ἐλπίδων  
 7 ζῆν. οὐκ ἄξιον<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα περὶ τῆς βουλῆς ὑμᾶς, ὧ  
 δημόται, ὑποτοπεῖν,<sup>2</sup> ἢ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ  
 κράτιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει παραχωρεῖν ὁμολογεῖτε  
 δι' ἀρετῆν, καὶ πολλὰς χάριτας εἶδέναι φατὲ τῆς  
 προθυμίας ἣν ἀπεδείξατο περὶ τὴν κάθοδον ὑμῶν.  
 μάχεται ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις· καὶ οὐκ ἔχει λόγον, οὓς  
 ἐπαινεῖτε, τούτους φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ ἅμα τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
 περὶ μὲν τῶν μειζόνων ἐπιτρέπειν, περὶ δὲ τῶν  
 8 ἄλλων ἀπιστεῖν. τί δ' οὐχὶ μιᾷ χρώμενοι γνώμῃ ἢ  
 πάντα πιστεύετε αὐτοῖς ἢ περὶ πάντων ἀπιστεῖτε;  
 ἀλλὰ προβουλεῦσαι μὲν αὐτοὺς τὰ δίκαια ἱκανοὺς  
 εἶναι νομίζετε, δικάσαι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ὧν  
 προβουλεύουσιν οὐχ ἱκανοὺς. πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα  
 περὶ τῶν δικαίων εἶχον, ὧ βουλή, λέγειν, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ ταῦτα ἱκανά.

LIII. “Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος  
 ἐπειράτο λέγειν Δέκιος, ὡς ἀγαθὸν μὲν ὁμόνοια,  
 δεινὸν δὲ στάσις, καὶ θεραπεύοντες μὲν τὸν  
 δῆμον ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ πολιτευσόμεθα,<sup>3</sup> κωλύσαντες δ'  
 οὓς βούλονται τῶν πατρικίων ἀνδρηλατεῖν ἢ μαι-  
 φονεῖν εἰς πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον καταστησόμεθα,  
 πολλὰ λέγειν ἔχων ὀλίγοις πάνυ χρήσομαι.

<sup>1</sup> ἄξιον Reiske: ἀξιῶ O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> ὑποτοπεῖν Casaubon: σκοπεῖν O, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> Steph.: πολιτεύσονται AB.

than the commonwealth that suffers from his wrongdoing, when as the result of their verdict they are sure to draw upon themselves a curse, the guilt of perjury, the detestation of mankind, and the anger of the gods, and to go through life haunted by dismal hopes! It is unworthy of you, plebeians, to entertain these suspicions about the senate, to whom you acknowledge that you concede honours, magistracies, and the most important powers in the commonwealth on the basis of merit, and to whom you say you feel very grateful for the zeal they showed for your return. These sentiments are inconsistent with one another; and it is not reasonable that you should fear those you commend and entrust the same persons with the more serious responsibilities while at the same time distrusting them in those of less consequence. Why do you not keep to one uniform judgment, either trusting them in everything or distrusting them in everything? But, on the contrary, you think them capable of passing a preliminary decree about principles of right, but not of sitting in judgment concerning these very principles involved in that decree. I had many other things to say concerning the rights of this matter, senators; but let this suffice.

LIII. "But since Decius undertook to speak also on the subject of advantage, pointing out how excellent a thing harmony is and how terrible a thing sedition, and that, if we cultivate the populace, we shall live together in harmony, but if we hinder them from banishing whomsoever of the patricians they wish or murdering them, we shall be involved in a civil war, though I have many things to say upon this head, I shall content myself with very few.

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- 2 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν θαυμάσαι ἔχω Δέκιον τῆς εἰρωνείας—οὐ γὰρ ἠλιθιότητός γε—εἰ κρείττον οἶεται τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ κοινῷ φρονεῖν ἑαυτόν, ὃς ἄρτι παρελήλυθεν εἰς πολιτικάς πράξεις, ἡμῶν τῶν καταγεγηρακότων ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ μεγάλην ἐκ μικρᾶς πεποιηκότων τὴν πόλιν· ἔπειτα εἰ πείσειν ὑπέλαβεν ὑμᾶς ὡς χρή παραδοῦναί τινα ἔκδοτον ἐπὶ τιμωρία τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ ταῦτα πολίτην ὑμέτερον<sup>1</sup> καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν τινα<sup>2</sup> ἢ φαύλων, ἀλλ' ὃν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ πολέμια λαμπρότατον ἠγείσθε εἶναι καὶ τὸν βίον σωφρονέστατον τά τε
- 3 πολιτικὰ πράττειν οὐθενὸς χείρονα. καὶ ταῦτα ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν εἰδὼς ὑμᾶς πλείστην αἰδῶ ποιουμένους ἰκετῶν, καὶ μηδὲ πολεμίων τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐνθάδε ταύτης ἀποκλείοντας τῆς φιλανθρωπίας. εἰ δὲ τάναντία ἡμᾶς ἐγίγνωσκες ἐπιτηδεύοντας, ὧ Δέκιε, ἀνόσια μὲν φρονοῦντας περὶ θεοῦς, ἄδικα δὲ πράττοντας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, τί ἂν ἡμῖν τούτου συνεβούλευες ἔργον ὑπομείναι δεινότερον, ἀφ' οὗ πρόρριζοι καὶ πανώλεις, μισηθέντες θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις, διαφθαρησόμεθα;
- 4 οὐ δεόμεθά σου συμβούλου, Δέκιε, οὔτε περὶ πολιτῶν ἐκδόσεως οὔτε περὶ ἄλλου χρήματος ὧν ἡμῖν πρακτέον οὐδενός· οὐδὲ ὀθνεῖα φρονήσει νέων ἀνδρῶν τὰ οἰκεία συμφέροντα κρίνειν οἰόμεθα δεῖν οἱ μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡλικίας διὰ πολλῆς πείρας κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐληλυθότες. πολέμου δ' <sup>3</sup> ἀπειλὰς αἰς χρώμενοι φοβεῖτε ἡμᾶς, οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἐπαγομένας ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ

<sup>1</sup> ὑμέτερον B: ἡμέτερον R.

<sup>2</sup> πολιτῶν after τινα deleted by Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> πολέμου δ' Sintonis: πολέμων οὐδὲ Ὁ.

And first I have to marvel at the dissimulation—surely it is not lack of sense—of Decius, if he imagines that he is a better judge of the interests of the state, though he has just entered upon the administration of public affairs, than we who have grown old in it and have made the city a great from a small one; and, in the next place, if he supposed that he could persuade you that you had to deliver up any man to his enemies to be punished, particularly a fellow-citizen of yours and one who is not a person of no consequence or merit, but one whom you yourselves look upon as most brilliant in war, most exemplary in his private life, and inferior to none in handling public affairs. And these things he has dared to say, though he knows that you show the greatest respect for suppliants and do not exclude from such humanity even those of your enemies who flee hither for refuge. Indeed, if you knew we practised the very contrary of all this, Decius, entertaining impious ideas about the gods and practising injustice towards men, what deed more dreadful than this could you have advised us to commit, by which we shall incur the hatred of both gods and men and be utterly and totally destroyed? We have no need of your advice, Decius, either about delivering up any of our citizens or about any other business we have to transact. Nor do we believe that, in judging of our own interests, we should use a borrowed wisdom of youths—we who, through long experience of both good and evil fortune, have come to our present age. As for the threats of war with which you endeavour to terrify us—not now employed by you for the first time, but flaunted often in the past by

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πολλάκις ἤδη καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐπανασεισθείσας,  
 τῇ συνήθει πραότητι παραδόντες ἀκαταπλήκτως  
 5 οἴσομεν. καὶ εἰ δῆπερ δράσετε τὰ ὅμοια οἷς  
 λέγετε, ἀμυνόμεθα θεοὺς τε συναγωνιστὰς ἔχον-  
 τες, οἱ νεμεσῶσι τοῖς ἄρχουσι πολέμου ἀδίκου, καὶ  
 ἀνθρώπων ἔξοντες χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην σύμμαχον.  
 Λατῖνοί τε γὰρ ἅπαντες, οἷς νεωστὶ τὴν ἰσο-  
 πολιτείαν δεδώκαμεν, σὺν ἡμῖν στήσονται, ὡς περὶ  
 πατρίδος ἤδη τῆς πόλεως τῆσδε ἀγωνιζόμενοι,  
 αἱ τε ἐνθένδε ἀποικισθεῖσαι πόλεις πολλαὶ καὶ  
 ἀγαθαὶ περὶ παντὸς ποιούμεναι σώζεσθαι τὴν  
 6 μητρόπολιν ἀμνουῦσιν αὐτῇ. εἰ δ' εἰς ἀνάγκην  
 ἡμᾶς κατακλείσετε τῆς πανταχόθεν ἐπικουρίας  
 περιέχεσθαι,<sup>1</sup> ὑπομενουῦμεν, ὧ Δέκιε, καὶ θεράπον-  
 τας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν προκαλούμενοι καὶ πολεμίους  
 εἰς φιλίαν καὶ πάντα ἀνθρώπους εἰς κοινωνίαν τῶν  
 ἐκ τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδων ὁμόσε χωρεῖν ὑμῖν. μηθενὸς  
 δὲ τούτων δεήσειεν, ὧ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ πάντες οἱ  
 πόλιν τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατέχοντες, ἀλλ' εἴη<sup>2</sup> μέχρι  
 λόγων τὰ φοβερὰ ταῦτ' ἐλθεῖν, ἔργον δὲ μηθὲν ἐξ  
 αὐτῶν γένοιτ' ἄχαρι."

LIV. Ταῦτα μὲν Ἄππιος εἶπεν. Μάνιος δὲ  
 Οὐαλέριος ὁ δημοτικώτατος τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου  
 καὶ περὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς πλείστην ἀποδειξάμενος  
 προθυμίαν φανερώς καὶ τότε τῷ δήμῳ συνελάμ-  
 βανε καὶ λόγον διεξῆλθε μετὰ πολλῆς συγκεί-  
 μενον φροντίδος, ἐπιτιμῶν μὲν τοῖς οὐκ ἐῷσι μίαν  
 εἶναι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ διαιροῦσι τὸ δημοτικὸν ἀπὸ  
 τῶν πατρικίων καὶ διὰ μικρὰς προφάσεις πολέμου<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> περιέχεσθαι Ba, Lapus: μὴ περιέχεσθαι ABbC.

<sup>2</sup> εἴη Casaubon: ἢ AB.



many—leaving them to our habitual mildness to deal with, we shall bear them with intrepidity. And if you indeed try to do anything like what you threaten, we shall defend ourselves with the assistance both of the gods, who are always wroth with the aggressors in an unjust war, and of men, no small number of whom will be our allies. For all the Latins, to whom we lately granted equal rights of citizenship, will be on our side, fighting for this commonwealth as for a country now their fatherland, and the many flourishing cities colonized from Rome, counting it imperative that their mother-city should be saved, will come to her defence. And if you reduce us to the necessity of embracing every kind of assistance, Decius, we shall submit to inviting even our slaves to liberty, our enemies to friendship, and all mankind to a share in our hopes of victory, and then join issue with you. But, O Jupiter and all ye gods who guard the Roman state, may there be no occasion for anything of this kind! Rather may these terrible threats go no farther than words and result in no deplorable act!"

LIV. Thus Appius spoke. Then Manius Valerius, who was the greatest friend to the plebeians of all the senators and had shown the greatest zeal for the accommodation, upon this occasion also openly espoused their cause and delivered a speech, composed with much thought, in which he censured those senators who would not permit the commonwealth to remain united, but sought to divide the plebeians from the patricians and for trifling causes

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<sup>3</sup> διὰ μικρὰς προφάσεις πολέμους Reiske: διὰ μικρὰς πολέμου προφάσεις A, διὰ μικρὰς πολέμους προφάσεις B, διὰ μικρὰς προφάσεως πολέμους C.

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ἀναζωπυροῦσιν ἐμφυλίους· ἐπαινῶν δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ  
 συμφέρον καὶ κοινὸν ἡγουμένους καὶ πάντ' ἐλάττω  
 τῆς ὁμοιοῦσιν τιθεμένους, διδάσκων ὡς, εἰ γένοιτο  
 τῆς δίκης ὁ δῆμος, ὡσπερ ἀξιοῖ, κύριος, καὶ  
 ταύτην παρὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου τὴν χάριν ἐκόντος  
 λάβοι, τάχα μὲν οὐδ' ἐπέξεισιν ἄχρι τέλους, ἀλλ'  
 ἀρκεσθεῖς αὐτῷ τῷ κεκρατηκένοι τοῦ σώματος  
 ἐπιεικέστερον μᾶλλον ἢ χαλεπώτερον αὐτῷ χρήσε-  
 2 ται. εἰ δ' ἄρα ἐκ παντὸς οἰομένων τρόπου τῶν  
 δημάρχων τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι δεῖν<sup>1</sup> νόμιμον τῇ δίκῃ  
 τῆς ψήφου γενήσεται κύριος, ἀπολύσει τὸν ἄνδρα  
 τῆς αἰτίας αἰδούμενος μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ κινδυνεύον  
 σῶμα, οὗ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα ἔχει μεμνήσθαι,  
 ἀνταποδιδούς δὲ ταύτην τὴν χάριν<sup>2</sup> τῇ παρα-  
 σχούσῃ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ βουλήῃ καὶ πρὸς  
 \* 3 μηδὲν ἐναντιωθείσῃ τῶν μετρίων. παρεῖναι μέντοι  
 τῇ δίκῃ συνεβούλευε καὶ συναπολογεῖσθαι τῷ  
 ἀνδρὶ καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀξιούν μηδὲν διαγῶναι<sup>3</sup>  
 περὶ αὐτοῦ χαλεπὸν τοὺς τε ὑπάτους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ  
 τοῦ συνεδρίου πάντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πατρικίους  
 κατὰ πλῆθος ἀφικομένους (συνοίσειν γὰρ οὐ  
 μικρὰ τῷ κινδυνεύοντι καὶ τούτους εἰς σωτηρίας  
 ῥοπήν),<sup>4</sup> καὶ μὴ μόνον αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἔχειν ταῖς  
 γνώμαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πελάτας ἕκαστον τοὺς αὐτοῦ  
 παρακαλεῖν καὶ φίλους συνάγειν, καὶ εἴ τινας  
 οἰκείως ἔχειν σφίσι τῶν δημοτικῶν δι' εὐεργεσίας

<sup>1</sup> δεῖν added by Casaubon.

<sup>2</sup> ταύτην τὴν χάριν Sintenis: τὴν αὐτὴν χάριν O.

<sup>3</sup> Sylburg: γνῶναι O.

<sup>4</sup> μικρὰ . . . εἰς σωτηρίας ῥοπήν O: μικρὰν . . . εἰς σωτηρίαν  
 ῥοπήν Kiessling.

to rekindle the flames of civil strife. He then commended those who held that there was but one advantage to be considered and that the common advantage, and regarded everything else as secondary to harmony; and he showed them that, if the populace obtained the right to try this man, as they demanded, and received this privilege also with the consent of the senate, possibly they would not even press the prosecution to the end but, satisfied with having got him in their power, would treat him with lenity rather than severity. And even if the tribunes should believe it to be necessary by all means to carry the case through to its lawful conclusion and the populace should thus be empowered to give their votes concerning him, they would acquit him of the charge, partly out of respect for the defendant himself, whose many brave deeds they had cause to remember, and partly by way of making this return to the senate for the favour it had granted by giving them this power and by opposing them in nothing that was reasonable. Nevertheless, he advised that not only the consuls, but all the senators and the rest of the patricians as well should be present in a body at the trial and assist Marcius in making his defence and entreat the people to come to no harsh decision concerning him, assuring them that the presence of these men also would contribute not a little toward turning the scales on the side of the defendant's acquittal; and he advised that they should not only thus assist him themselves by expressing their views, but that each of them should summon his own clients and assemble his friends, and if they thought that any of the plebeians were attached to them as the result of benefits they had

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ὑπολαμβάνουσι, καὶ τούτους νυνὶ τὴν πρότερον<sup>1</sup>  
 ὀφειλομένην χάριν ἐπὶ τῆς ψηφοφορίας ἀπαιτεῖν.  
 4 τό τε φιλόχρηστον καὶ μισοπόνηρον<sup>2</sup> οὐκ ὀλίγον  
 ἀπέφηεν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἐσόμενον, καὶ ἔτι  
 πλείον τούτου ὁ πρὸς τὰς τύχας πάσχειν<sup>3</sup> τι τὰς  
 ἀνθρωπίνας καὶ ἐλεεῖν οἶδε τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀξιώμα-  
 σιν, ὅταν εἰς ταπεινὰ πέσωσιν αὐτῶν αἱ τύχαι.  
 5 ὁ δὲ πλείων λόγος ἐγίνετο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Μάρ-  
 κιον παράκλησιν ἔχων νουθετήσει μεμιγμένην καὶ  
 δέησιν ἀνάγκη. ἡξίου γὰρ αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ διστάναί  
 τόν δήμον ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αἰτίαν ἔχει καὶ τυραν-  
 νικὸς εἶναι διαβάλλεται διὰ τὴν αὐθάδειαν τοῦ  
 τρόπου, δέος τε παρέστηκεν ἅπασιν μὴ δι' αὐτόν  
 ἀρχὴ γένηται στάσεως καὶ κακῶν ἀνηκέστων ἃ  
 φέρουσιν ἐμφύλιοι πόλεμοι, μὴ ποιεῖν ἀληθεῖς καὶ  
 κυρίας τὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ διαβολὰς μένοντα ἐν τῷ  
 φθονουμένῳ τοῦ βίου, ἀλλὰ σχῆμα ταπεινὸν  
 μεταλαβεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀδικεῖσθαι λέγουσι τὴν  
 ἐξουσίαν τοῦ σώματος παρασχεῖν, καὶ μὴ φεύγειν  
 ἄδικον ἔγκλημα λόγῳ μετὰ δίκης ἀπολυόμενον.  
 6 ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς τε σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλέστατα  
 εἶναι καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν ἧς ὀρέγεται λαμπρότατα  
 καὶ τοῖς προὔπηργμένοις ἔργοις ἀκόλουθα· εἰ δ'  
 αὐθαδέστερος ἔσται μᾶλλον ἢ μετριώτερος, καὶ  
 τὴν βουλήν ἀξιώσει πάντα κίνδυνον δι' ἑαυτὸν  
 ὑπομένειν, κακὴν μὲν ἦταν, αἰσχρὰν δὲ νίκην τοῖς  
 πεισθεῖσι προσάψειν αὐτὸν ἀπέφαιεν· ἦν τε

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg: προτέραν O.

<sup>2</sup> φιλόχρηστον (cf. ch. 62, 3) καὶ μισοπόνηρον Jacoby: φιλό-  
 πολι καὶ μισοπόνηρον χρηστὸν O, φιλόπολι καὶ μισοπόνηρον  
 Kiessling.

<sup>3</sup> Kiessling: πάσχει O.

received from them, they should ask these too to show their gratitude for former favours now when they were to give their votes. He showed them also that there would be no small element among the populace which loved the right and hated the wrong, and an even larger number who knew how to sympathize with human misfortunes and to feel compassion for men in positions of honour when their fortunes have suffered reverse. But the greater part of his speech was addressed to Marcius himself, in which he joined exhortation to admonition, and entreaty to compulsion. For he begged of him, since he was accused of dividing the populace from the senate and also charged with being tyrannical by reason of his arbitrary manner, and since all men were filled with fear that because of him there would spring up sedition and all the irreparable evils which civil wars bring in their train, that he would not make true and valid the accusations against himself by persevering in his invidious way of life, but would change it to an humble deportment, submit his person to the power of those who complained of being injured, and not decline to clear himself by a just defence of an unjust charge. For that course was not only for saving his life the surest, he told him, but also, as regarded the reputation he coveted, the most brilliant, and it was in keeping with the deeds he had already performed; whereas, if he should show himself arrogant rather than moderate and expect the senate to expose themselves to every danger for his sake, he declared that the defeat he might bring to those who had listened to him would be disastrous, while a victory would be disgraceful to them. He then indulged

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ἐνταῦθα πολὺς ὀλοφυρόμενος καὶ τῶν καταλαμβανόντων κακῶν τὰς πόλεις ἐν ταῖς διχοστασίαις τὰ μέγιστα καὶ φανερώτατα ἐπιλεγόμενος.

LV. Διεξιῶν δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων, οὐ προσποιητῶν καὶ πεπλασμένων ἀλλ' ἀληθινῶν, ἀνὴρ ἡλικίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶσει προὔχων, ὡς ἔμαθε κινούμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις τὸ συνέδριον, ἐκ τοῦ τεθαρρηκότος ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν<sup>1</sup> ἐξέφαινε<sup>2</sup> τῶν λόγων. “Εἰ δέ τινες ὑμῶν, ὦ βουλευταί,” λέγων, “ταράττονται δοκοῦντες ἔθος εἰσάγειν πονηρὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐὰν τῷ δήμῳ συγχωρήσῃτε ψῆφον ἐπιφέρειν κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων, καὶ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἀγαθῷ νομίζουσι τὴν τῶν δημάρχων ἐξουσίαν πολλὴν ἰσχὺν λαβοῦσαν γενήσεσθαι, μαθέτωσαν ἀμαρτάνοντες τῆς<sup>3</sup> δόξης καὶ τὰναντία<sup>2</sup> τῶν προσηκόντων<sup>4</sup> ὑπειληφότες. εἰ γάρ τι καὶ ἄλλο σωτηρίας αἴτιον ἔσται τῇ πόλει τῆδε καὶ τοῦ μηδέποτε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μηδὲ<sup>5</sup> τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀφαιρηθῆναι, ὁμονοοῦσαν δ' αἰεὶ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ περὶ πάντων<sup>6</sup> χρωμένην διατελεῖν, ὁ δῆμος αἰτιώτατος ἔσται συμπαραληφθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα· καὶ τὸ μὴ μίαν εἶναι τὴν διοικοῦσαν τὰ κοινὰ πολιτείαν ἄκρατον μήτε μοναρχίαν<sup>7</sup> μήτ' ὀλιγαρχίαν μήτε δημοκρατίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μικτὴν ἐξ ἀπασῶν τούτων κατάστασιν, τοῦτο ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα<sup>3</sup> ἡμᾶς ὠφελήσει. ῥᾶστα γὰρ εἰς ὕβρεις ἀποσκήπτει καὶ παρανομίας τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ γινόμενον, ὅταν δ' ἀνα-

<sup>1</sup> τὸ λοιπὸν B: om. R.

<sup>2</sup> Sylburg: ἐξέφαινε O.

<sup>3</sup> τῆς added by Kiessling.

<sup>4</sup> τῶν προσηκόντων Post, ἢ προσήκει Portus, ἢ προσῆκεν Cobet: προσήκοντα A, τὰ προσήκοντα B.

in many lamentations and enumerated the most important and the most obvious evils that befall states in times of dissension.

LV. When he had related all these evils with many tears—tears that were not feigned and affected, but genuine—this man who was eminent for the dignity both of his years and of his merits, perceiving that the senate was moved by his words, proceeded then with confidence to deliver the remainder of his speech. “If any of you, senators,” he said, “are disturbed by the thought that you will be introducing a pernicious custom into the commonwealth if you grant the populace the power of giving their votes against the patricians, and entertain an opinion that the tribunician power, if considerably strengthened, will serve no good purpose, let them learn that their opinion is erroneous and their surmise is the opposite of what it should be. For if anything is going to be the means of preserving this commonwealth and insuring that she shall never be deprived of her liberty or her power, but shall ever continue to be united and harmonious in all respects, the most effective instrument will be the populace if taken as partners in the administration of affairs; and what will benefit us above everything will be, not to have a simple and un-mixed form of government administering the state, whether monarchy, oligarchy, or democracy, but a constitution combined out of all of these. For each of these forms by itself alone very easily ends in wantonness and lawlessness; but when all of them

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<sup>5</sup> Kiessling: μήτε Ο.

<sup>6</sup> πάντων Sylburg: τούτων Ο.

<sup>7</sup> μήτε μοναρχίαν added by Spelman, Kiessling.

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κερασθῆ πάντα μετρίως, τὸ παρακινουῦν μέρος αἰεὶ καὶ ἐκβαῖνον ἐκ τοῦ συνήθους κόσμου ὑπὸ τοῦ σωφρονουῦντος καὶ μένοντος ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἤθεσι κατείργεται. μοναρχία μὲν ὠμῆ<sup>1</sup> καὶ αὐθάδης γενηθεῖσα καὶ τυραννικὰ διώκειν ἀρξαμένη ζηλώματα ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ὀλίγων καὶ ἀγαθῶν καταλύεται.

4 ὀλιγαρχία δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν συνεστηκυῖα, ἣ χρησθε καὶ ὑμεῖς νυνί, ὅταν πλούτῳ καὶ ἑταιρίαις ἐπαρθεῖσα δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς μηθένα ποιῆται λόγον, ὑπὸ δήμου φρονίμου καταλύεται. δῆμος δὲ σωφρονῶν καὶ κατὰ νόμους πολιτευόμενος, ὅταν ἀκοσμεῖν ἄρξηται καὶ παρανομεῖν, ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ἀνδρὸς βία καταληφθεὶς

5 δικαιουῖται. ὑμῖν δ', ὦ βουλή, μονάρχου μὲν ἐξουσίας, ἵνα μὴ τυραννὶς γένηται, τὰ δυνατὰ εὖρηται βοηθήματα· δύο τε γὰρ ἀνθ' ἐνὸς ἀποδείξαντες τῆς πόλεως κυρίου καὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἀόριστον χρόνον ἐπιτρέψαντες ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἐνιαύσιον, οὐδὲν ἦττον ἀποδείκνυτε<sup>2</sup> φύλακας αὐτῶν τριακοσίου ἀνδρας ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων τοὺς κρατίστους τε καὶ πρεσβυτάτους, ἐξ ὧν ἦδε ἡ βουλή συνέστηκεν· ὑμῶν δ' αὐτῶν, ἵνα μένητε ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι κόσμῳ, φυλακὴν οὐδεμίαν ἄχρι τοῦδε

6 φαίνεσθε πεποιημένοι. καὶ περὶ μὲν ὑμῶν οὕτω ἔδεισα μὴ διαφθαρῆτε τὰς διανοίας ὑπό τε μεγέθους καὶ πλήθους ἀγαθῶν, οἱ τυραννίδος τε πολυχρονίου ἠλευθερώκατε τὴν πόλιν ἔναγχος καὶ οὕτω σχολὴν ἐσχήκατε ὑβρίζειν καὶ τρυφᾶν διὰ τοὺς συνεχεῖς καὶ μακροὺς πολέμους· περὶ δὲ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> μὲν ὠμῆ Kiessling : μὲν οὖν μὴ AB, μὲν οὖν ὠμῆ D.

<sup>2</sup> Reiske : ἀποδείκνυνται O.



are duly combined, the element which is inclined at any time to make innovations and to overstep the customary bounds is held in check by the element which is self-restrained and remains true to its own character. Thus monarchy, when it becomes cruel and insolent and begins to pursue tyrannical measures, is overthrown by a few good men. And an oligarchy composed of the best men, which is your present form of government, when it has become elated by reason of its wealth and its bands of partisans, and pays no regard to justice or to any other virtue, is overthrown by a prudent democracy. And when a democracy that is moderate and governs in accordance with laws begins to be disorderly and lawless, it is taken in hand by the strongest man and set right by force. You, senators, have devised all the precautions possible to prevent the monarchical power from degenerating into tyranny, for you have invested two men instead of one with the supreme power of the commonwealth, and though you have entrusted this magistracy to them, not for an indefinite time, but only for a year, you nevertheless appoint, to keep watch over them, three hundred patricians, at once the best and the oldest, of whom this senate is composed. But you do not seem as yet to have appointed any to watch over you yourselves, to insure your remaining within proper bounds. Now as for you, I have no fear so far that you will permit your minds to be corrupted by the magnitude and number of your blessings, since you have only recently delivered the commonwealth from a long tyranny and because of the long and continuous wars have not yet had leisure to grow insolent and wanton. But with regard to

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μεθ' ὑμᾶς ἐσομένων, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅσας ὁ μακρὸς αἰὼν φέρει μεταβολάς, δέδοικα μὴ τι παρακινήσαντες οἱ δυνατοὶ οἱ<sup>1</sup> ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου λάθωσιν εἰς μοναρχίαν τὸ πολίτευμα περιστήσαντες τυραννικήν.

LVI. “ Ἐὰν οὖν κοινωνήσητε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν πολιτευμάτων, οὐθὲν ὑμῖν<sup>2</sup> ἐνθάδε φύσεται κακόν, ἀλλ' ὁ πλεόν ἔχειν τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιῶν καὶ τῆς βουλῆς προσεταιρισάμενος τὸν βουλόμενον συννοσεῖν<sup>3</sup> καὶ συναδικεῖν (πάντα γὰρ τὰ εἰκότα χρῆ περι πόλεως βουλευομένους προνοεῖν), κληθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ὁ μέγας ἐκείνος καὶ σεμνὸς ἀποδώσει τῷ δήμῳ τῷ φαύλῳ καὶ ταπεινῷ λόγον ὧν πράττει τε καὶ διανοεῖται, καὶ ἀδικῶν φαίνεται, δίκης ἧς ἂν ἄξιος ἦ τεύξεται.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν δῆμον, ἵνα μὴ τρυφᾷ τηλικαύτης ἐξουσίας γενόμενος κύριος, μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν κακίστων ἐκδημαγωγούμενος τοῖς κρατίστοις πολεμῆ—καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὄχλῳ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι τυραννίς—φυλάξει τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐάσει παρανομεῖν ὁ διαφέρων φρονήσει ἀνὴρ δικτάτωρ ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰρεθείς, ὃς αὐτοκράτορι καὶ ἀνυπευθύνῳ χρώμενος ἐξουσία τό τε νοσοῦν ἐξελεῖ τῆς πόλεως μέρος, καὶ τὸ μήπω διεφθαρμένον οὐκ ἐάσει κακωθῆναι, ἔθῃ τε καὶ νόμιμα καὶ ζηλώματα βίων τὰ κράτιστα μεθαρμοσάμενος ἀρχάς τε ἀποδείξας ἃς ἂν ἡγήται σωφρονέστατα τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτροπεύσειν· καὶ ταῦτα ἐντὸς ἕξ

<sup>1</sup> οἱ added by Steph.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> ὑμῖν B : om. R.

<sup>3</sup> Reiske : συννοεῖν O.

your successors, when I consider how great changes the long course of time brings with it, I am afraid that the men of power in the senate may introduce some change and, unnoticed, transform the government into a tyrannical monarchy.

LVI. "If, then, you admit the populace also to a share in the government, no evil will arise for you here. But the man who aims at greater power than the rest of his fellow-citizens and has formed a faction in the senate of all who are willing to share his disaffection and his crimes (for when we are deliberating concerning the commonwealth we ought to foresee every likely contingency), this great and august person, I say, when called upon by the tribunes to appear before the popular assembly, before the lowly and humble people, will have to give an accounting of both his actions and his purpose, and if found guilty, suffer the punishment he deserves. And lest the people themselves, when vested with so great a power, should grow wanton and, seduced by the demagoguery of the worst men, make war upon the best citizens (for it is in the masses as a rule that a tyranny springs up), some person of exceptional sagacity, created dictator by you, will guard against this evil and will not allow them to do anything lawless; for, being invested with absolute and irresponsible power, he will cut off the diseased part of the commonwealth and will not permit that which is as yet uninfected to be contaminated; he will reform in the best manner possible the habits, usages and aims of the citizens, and appoint such magistrates as he thinks will govern the state with the greatest prudence; and having effected these things within the space of six months,

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3 μηνῶν διοικησάμενος ἰδιώτης αὐθις ἔσται τὸ τιμᾶ-  
 σθαι μόνον ἐκ τούτων λαβῶν, ἄλλο δ' οὐθέν. ταῦτ'  
 οὖν ἐνθυμηθέντες καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας  
 τοῦθ' ἠγησάμενοι κράτιστον εἶναι, μηθενὸς ἀπ-  
 ελαύνετε τὸν δῆμον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀρχὰς ἀποδεικνύ-  
 ναι<sup>1</sup> τὰς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἠγησομένας τῆς  
 πόλεως, καὶ νόμους τοὺς μὲν ἐπικυροῦν, τοὺς δ'  
 ἀναιρεῖν, καὶ περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης διαγιγνώ-  
 σκειν, ἃ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατά ἐστι τῶν ἐν τῇ  
 πόλει διαπραττομένων, μεταδεδώκατε αὐτῶ καὶ  
 οὐθενὸς τούτων αὐτοκράτορα πεποιήκατε τὴν βου-  
 λήν· οὕτως καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων μεταδίδοτε, καὶ  
 μάλιστα ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν τις αἰτίαν ἔχη τὴν πόλιν  
 ἀδικεῖν στάσιν εἰσάγων ἢ τυραννίδα κατασκευαζό-  
 μενος<sup>2</sup> ἢ περὶ προδοσίας τοῖς πολεμίοις δια-  
 λεγόμενος ἢ τοιοῦτό<sup>3</sup> τι ἄλλο κακὸν ἐπιχειρῶν  
 4 πράττειν. ὅσω γὰρ ἂν φοβερώτερον κατα-  
 σκευάσητε τὸ παραβαίνειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ἔθη  
 κινεῖν τοῖς ὑβρισταῖς καὶ πλεονέκταις, πολλοὺς  
 ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ φύλακας αὐτῶν ἀποδείξαντες,  
 τοσοῦτω κρεῖττον ὑμῖν ἔξει τὰ κοινά."

LVII. Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις  
 εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μετ'  
 αὐτὸν ἀνιστάμενοι πλὴν ὀλίγων οἱ λοιποὶ ταύτη  
 προσέθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ προβούλευ-  
 μα ἔδει γράφεσθαι, λόγον αἰτησάμενος ὁ Μάρ-  
 κιος εἶπεν· "Οἷος μὲν, ὦ βουλή, πρὸς τὰ  
 κοινὰ ἐγὼ γέγονα, καὶ ὡς διὰ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
 εὐνοίαν εἰς τούτον τὸν κίνδυνον ἐλήλυθα, καὶ ὅτι  
 παρὰ γνώμην ἀπήντηταί μοι τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν,

<sup>1</sup> Portus : ἀποδείκνυτε AB.      <sup>2</sup> Reiske : σκευαζόμενος O.

<sup>3</sup> Jacoby : τοιοῦτον O.

he will again become a private citizen, receiving no other reward for these actions than the honour. Do you, then, bearing these things in mind, and believing that this is the most perfect form of government, debar the populace from nothing, but, even as you have granted them the right of choosing the magistrates who are to preside each year over the commonwealth, as well as of confirming or invalidating laws, of declaring war and making peace—which are the greatest and the most important matters that come up for action in the commonwealth—and have not invested the senate with authority over any one of these matters, in like manner give them also a share in the courts, and particularly in the trials of those who are accused of crimes against the state by raising a sedition or aiming at tyranny or discussing a betrayal of the state with the enemy or attempting some other mischief of like nature. For the more formidable you make it for the overbearing and self-seeking to transgress the laws and to alter your customs, by appointing many eyes to watch and many men to keep guard over them, the better will be the condition of your commonwealth.”

LVII. After he had said this and other things to the same purport, he ended. And the rest of the senators who rose up after him, except a few, concurred in his opinion. When the preliminary decree of the senate was to be drawn up, Marcius, asking leave to speak, said: “You all know, senators, how I have acted with regard to the commonwealth, and that it is because of my goodwill toward you that I have come into this danger, and furthermore that your behaviour toward me has been contrary to my

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ἅπαντες ἴστε, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον εἴσεσθε, ὅταν τὰ κατ' 2 ἐμὲ σχῆ τέλος. ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ Οὐαλερίου γνώμη νικᾷ, συνενέγκειε<sup>1</sup> μὲν ταῦτα ὑμῖν, καὶ γενοίμην ἐγὼ κακὸς εἰκαστῆς τῶν ἐσομένων. ἵνα δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ τὸ προβούλευμα γράφοντες εἰδῆτε ἐφ' οἷς παραδιδόναι με τῷ δήμῳ μέλλετε, καὶ γὰρ μὴ ἀγνοῶ περὶ τίνος ἀγωνιοῦμαι, κελεύσατε δὴ τοὺς δημάρχους εἰπεῖν ἐναντίον ὑμῶν τί τὸ ἀδίκημά ἐστιν ἐφ' ᾧ<sup>2</sup> μέλλουσί μου κατηγορεῖν, καὶ ποταπὸν ὄνομα ἐπιγράψουσι τῇ δίκῃ."

LVIII. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε δοκῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις οἷς εἶπεν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τὴν δίκην ὑφέξειν, καὶ βουλόμενος ὁμολογήσαι τοὺς δημάρχους ὅτι ταύτης ἔνεκα τῆς αἰτίας μέλλουσιν αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν. οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι βουλευσάμενοι κατὰ σφᾶς τυραννίδι ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτὸν ἠτιάσαντο καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ἐκέλευον ἡκεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπολογησόμενον, οὐ βουλόμενοι τὸ ἔγκλημα εἰς μίαν αἰτίαν κατακλεῖσαι καὶ ταύτην οὐτ' ἰσχυρὰν οὐτε τῇ βουλῇ κεχαρισμένην, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς τε πράττοντες ἐξουσίαν ὅσα βούλονται ἐγκαλεῖν, καὶ βοήθειαν ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τοῦ Μαρκίου τὴν ἐκ τῶν συνέδρων οἰόμενοι. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπεν· "Ἄλλ' ἤτοι, εἰ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ γε κριθήσομαι τῇ διαβολῇ, δίδωμι ἑμαυτὸν ὑπόδικον<sup>3</sup> τοῖς δημόταις, καὶ μηδὲν ἔστω τὸ κωλύον γράφεσθαι τὸ προβούλευμα."

2 ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν συνέδρων ἀσμένους ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενέσθαι τῷ ἐγκλήματι τὴν δίκην κατ' ἀμφοτέρα, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται τὸ

<sup>1</sup> Jacoby: συνενέγκοι O.

<sup>2</sup> ἐφ' ᾧ Sylburg: ἐφ' οὐ O.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπόδικον Kayser: ἐπίδικον O, ἐπὶ δίκην Kiessling.

expectation; and you will know this even better when the action against me has ended. However, since the opinion of Valerius prevails, may these measures prove of advantage to you and may I prove a poor judge of future events. But in order not only that you who are to draw up the decree may know upon what terms you are going to deliver me up to the people, but that I also may not fail to know on what charge I am to defend myself, pray order the tribunes to declare in your presence what the crime is of which they intend to accuse me and what title they propose to give to the cause."

LVIII. He said this in the belief that he was to be tried for the words he had spoken in the senate, and also from a desire that the tribunes should acknowledge that they intended to accuse him on this charge. But the tribunes, after consulting together, charged him with aiming at tyranny and ordered him to come prepared to make his defence against that charge. For they were unwilling to confine their accusation to a single point, and that neither a strong one in itself nor acceptable to the senate, but were scheming to obtain for themselves the authority to bring any charges they wished against Marcius, and were expecting to deprive him of the assistance of the senators. Thereupon Marcius said: "Very well, if this is the charge on which I am to be tried, I submit myself to the judgment of the plebeians; and let there be nothing to prevent the drawing up of the preliminary decree." The greater part of the senators too were well pleased that he was to be tried upon this charge, for two reasons—first, that to speak one's mind freely in the

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λέγειν ἂ φρονεῖ τις ἐν τοῖς συνέδροις ὑπαίτιον, καὶ ὅτι ῥαδίως ἀπολύσεται τὴν διαβολὴν ὁ ἀνὴρ  
 3 βίον ἐζηκῶς<sup>1</sup> σῶφρονα καὶ ἀνεπίληπτον. γράφεται τὸ προβούλευμα μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῆς δίκης, καὶ χρόνος εἰς παρασκευὴν τῆς ἀπολογίας ὀρίζεται τῷ ἀνδρὶ μέχρι τῆς τρίτης ἀγορᾶς· αἱ δ' ἀγοραὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγίνοντο ὡς καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων δι' ἡμέρας ἐνάτης. ἐν δὲ ταύταις συνιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν<sup>2</sup> εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ δημοτικοὶ τὰς τε ἀμείψεις ἐποιοῦντο τῶν ὠνίων καὶ τὰς δίκας παρ' ἀλλήλων ἐλάμβανον τὰ τε κοινά, ὅσων ἦσαν κύριοι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ ὅσα ἢ βουλή ἐπιτρέψειεν αὐτοῖς, ψῆφον ἀναλαμβάνοντες ἐπεκύρουν· τὰς δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ἀγορῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας αὐτουργοὶ τε ὄντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πένητες ἐν τοῖς  
 4 ἀγροῖς διέτριβον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ προβούλευμα ἔλαβον οἱ δήμαρχοι, προελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνεκάλεσαν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον καὶ πολλὰ ἐγκώμια τῆς βουλῆς διελθόντες καὶ τὰ δόγματα αὐτῆς ἀναγνόντες προεῖπον ἡμέραν ἐν ἧ τὴν δίκην ἔμελλον ἐπιτελεῖν, εἰς ἣν ἅπαντας ἠξίουεν ἦκειν τοὺς πολίτας ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων διαγνωσομένων.

LIX. Ὡς δὲ διεβοήθη ταῦτα, πολλὴ σπουδὴ καὶ παράταξις ἐγένετο τῶν τε δημοτικῶν καὶ τῶν πατρικίων, τῶν μὲν ὡς τιμωρησομένων τὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἐζηκῶς ACmg: ἐζηλωκῶς B.

<sup>2</sup> ἀγρῶν Bb: ἀγορῶν ABa.

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<sup>1</sup> A period long enough to include three market-days (*trinum nundinum* or *trinundinum*) had to elapse between the official announcement of any business to be brought before the



senate was not going to render one liable to an accounting, and second, that Marcius, who had led a modest and irreproachable life, would easily clear himself of that accusation. After this the preliminary decree for the trial was drawn up and Marcius was given time till the third market-day<sup>1</sup> to prepare his defence. The Romans had markets then, as now, every eighth<sup>2</sup> day, upon which days the plebeians resorted to the city from the country and exchanged their produce for the goods they bought, settled their grievances in court, and ratified by their votes such matters of public business as either the laws assigned or the senate referred to them for decision; and as the greater part of them were small farmers<sup>3</sup> and poor, they passed in the country the seven days intervening between the markets. As soon, therefore, as the tribunes received the preliminary decree they went to the Forum, and calling the people together, gave great praise to the senate, and then, after reading the decree, appointed a day for holding the trial, at which they asked all the citizens to be present, as matters of the greatest moment were to be decided by them.

LIX. When news of this was spread abroad, there was great enthusiasm and marshalling of forces on the part of both the plebeians and the patricians, the former feeling that they were about to avenge them-

*comitia* and the putting of the matter to the vote. It is uncertain, in view of the ancient practice of reckoning intervals inclusively, whether this period was two Roman weeks or three.

<sup>2</sup> Literally "ninth", by inclusive reckoning.

<sup>3</sup> Literally *ἀντρουργός* means "doing one's own work"; but the term was applied particularly to farmers who tilled their own fields.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

αὐθαδέστατον, τῶν δ' ἵνα μὴ γένοιτο ὑποχείριος  
 τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁ <sup>1</sup> ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἀγωνιζό-  
 μενος. ἔδοκει δὲ πᾶσα κινδυνεύεσθαι ἢ τοῦ βίου  
 καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας δικαίωσις ἐν τῷ τότε ἀγῶνι  
 ἀμφοτέροις. ἐπιστάσης δὲ τῆς τρίτης ἀγορᾶς ὁ  
 μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὄχλος ὅσος οὕτω πρότερον  
 συνεληλυθῶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔωθεν ἔτι <sup>2</sup> κατεῖχε τὴν  
 ἀγοράν· οἱ δὲ δῆμαρχοι συνεκάλουν τὸ πλῆθος  
 ἐπὶ τὴν φυλέτιν ἐκκλησίαν, χωρία τῆς ἀγορᾶς  
 περισχοιούσαντες ἐν οἷς ἔμελλον αἱ φυλαὶ στή-  
<sup>2</sup> σεσθαι καθ' αὐτάς.<sup>3</sup> καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐγένετο  
 Ῥωμαίοις ἐκκλησία κατ' ἀνδρὸς ψηφοφόρος ἢ  
 φυλετικὴ <sup>4</sup> πολλὰ δὲ ἐναντιουμένων <sup>5</sup> τῶν πατρι-  
 κίων, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο γένηται, καὶ τὴν λοχίτιν  
 ἀξιούντων συνάγειν ἐκκλησίαν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς  
 πάτριον ἦν. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις, ὅτε  
 μέλλοι ψῆφον ἐπιφέρειν ὁ δῆμος ὑπὲρ ὄτουδήτινος  
 ὧν ἐπιτρέψειεν ἢ βουλή, ἐκάλουν μὲν οἱ ὕπατοι  
 τὴν λοχίτιν ἐκκλησίαν, ἱερὰ πρότερον ἐπιτελέσαν-  
 τες ἂ νόμος αὐτοῖς ἐστι, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ καθ'  
<sup>3</sup> ἡμᾶς χρόνου τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔτι γίνεται. συνήει δὲ  
 τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως Ἄρειον πεδίον  
 ὑπὸ τε λοχαγοῖς καὶ σημείοις τεταγμένον ὥσπερ  
 ἐν πολέμῳ, ἐπέφερον δὲ τὴν ψῆφον οὐχ ἅπαντες  
 ἄμ' <sup>6</sup> ἀναλαβόντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους ἕκαστοι  
 λόχους, ὅποτε κληθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων. ὄντων  
 δὲ τῶν συμπάντων τριῶν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ  
 ἑκατὸν λόχων καὶ τούτων εἰς ἕξ διηρημένων

<sup>1</sup> ὁ Sylburg: ὡς O, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> ἔτι O: εὐθύς Grasberger, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> καθ' αὐτάς Sylburg: κατ' αὐτάς O.

<sup>4</sup> ἢ φυλετικὴ O: om. Jacoby.

selves upon the most arrogant of all men, and the latter striving earnestly to save the champion of the aristocracy from falling into the hands of his enemies; and to both parties it seemed that their whole claim to life and liberty was at stake in this trial. When the third market-day arrived, such a crowd of people from the country as had never before been known had come together in the city and held possession of the Forum from the very break of day. The tribunes then summoned the populace to the tribal assembly, first having roped off portions of the Forum in which the tribes were to take their places separately. And this was the first time the Romans ever met in their tribal assembly to give their votes against a man, the patricians very violently opposing it and demanding that the centuriate assembly should be convened, as was their time-honoured custom. For in earlier times, whenever the people were to give their votes upon any point referred to them by the senate, the consuls had summoned the centuriate assembly, after first offering up the sacrifices required by law, some of which are still performed down to our time. The populace was wont to assemble in the field of Mars before the city, drawn up under their centurions and their standards as in war. They did not give their votes all at the same time, but each by their respective centuries, when these were called upon by the consuls. And there being in all one hundred and ninety-three centuries, and these distributed into six

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<sup>5</sup> δὴ ἐναντιουμένων Cobet: δὲ ἐναντιουμένων O, διεναντιουμένων Sintenis, ἐναντιουμένων Kayser, Jacoby.

<sup>6</sup> ἄμα added here by Kiessling, after οὐχ by Sintenis; Jacoby omits.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

συμμορίας πρώτη μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο συμμορία καὶ τὴν  
 ψῆφον ἐπέφερεν ἢ τῶν ἐχόντων τὸ μέγιστον  
 τίμημα τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τὴν πρώτην λαμβανόντων  
 τάξιν ἐν πολέμοις· ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ἱπέων μὲν  
 4 ὀκτωκαίδεκα λόχοι, πεζῶν δ' ὀγδοήκοντα. δευ-  
 τέρα δ' ἐψηφοφόρει συμμορία τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων  
 τοῖς βίοις καὶ τὴν ὑποβεβηκυῖαν τάξιν ἐν ταῖς  
 μάχαις<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὄπλισμὸν οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχόντων  
 τοῖς πρωτοστάταις, ἀλλ' ἐλάττονα· τοῦτο δὲ  
 τὸ πλῆθος εἰς εἴκοσι λόχους συντεταγμένον ἦν,  
 προσέκειντο δ' αὐτοῖς δύο λόχοι<sup>2</sup> τεκτόνων καὶ  
 χαλκοτύπων καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι πολεμικῶν ἔργων  
 ἦσαν χειροτέχνη. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ συμμορία  
 καλούμενοι λόχους μὲν ἐξεπλήρουν εἴκοσι, τίμημα  
 δ' εἶχον ἔλαττον τῶν δευτέρων καὶ τάξιν τὴν  
 ἐπ' ἐκείνοις<sup>3</sup> καὶ ὄπλα οὐκ ἴσα τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν  
 5 ἔφερον. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους καλούμενοι τίμημά  
 τε οὐσίας ἔλαττον εἶχον καὶ τάξιν ἐν πολέμῳ τὴν  
 ἀσφαλεστέραν ἐλάμβανον καὶ ὄπλισμὸν εὐσταλέ-  
 στερον εἶχον· διήρηντο δ' εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ οὗτοι  
 λόχους· συνετάττοντο δὲ καὶ τούτοις δύο λόχοι  
 βυκκαιστῶν καὶ σαλπιστῶν. πέμπτη δ' ἐκαλεῖτο  
 συμμορία τῶν ὀλίγου πάνυ τετιμημένων ἀργυ-  
 ρίου, ὄπλα δ' ἦν αὐτῶν σαυνία καὶ σφενδόναι·  
 οὗτοι τάξιν οὐκ εἶχον ἐν φάλαγγι, ἀλλὰ ψιλοὶ καὶ  
 6 κοῦφοι συνεστρατεύοντο τοῖς ὀπίταις εἰς τριά-  
 κοντα λόχους διηρημένοι. οἱ δ' ἀπορώτατοι τῶν  
 πολιτῶν οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὄντες

<sup>1</sup> μαχομένων after μάχαις deleted by Reiske, who also suggested λαχόντων for μαχομένων. Sylburg proposed τασσομένων, while Grimm retained μαχομένων and deleted ἐν ταῖς μάχαις.

classes, that class was first called and gave its vote which consisted of those citizens who had the highest property rating and who stood in the foremost rank in battle; in this were comprised eighteen centuries of horse and eighty of foot.<sup>1</sup> The class that voted in the second place was composed of those of smaller fortunes who occupied an inferior position in battle and had not the same armour as the front-line fighters, but less; this multitude formed twenty centuries, and to them were added two centuries of carpenters, armourers and other artificers employed in making engines of war. Those who were called to vote in the third class made up twenty centuries; they had a lower rating than those of the second class and were posted behind them, and the arms they carried were not equal to those of the men in front of them. Those next called had a still lower property rating and had a safer post in battle and their armour was lighter; these also were divided into twenty centuries, and arrayed with them were two centuries of horn-blowers and trumpeters. The class which was called in the fifth place consisted of those whose property was rated very low, and their arms were javelins and slings; these had no fixed place in the battle-line, but being light-armed men and mobile, they attended the heavy-armed men and were distributed into thirty centuries. The poorest of the citizens, who were not less numerous than all the rest,

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of the *comitia centuriata* as established by Servius Tullius see iv. 16 ff.

<sup>2</sup> λόχοι Portus: φυλαὶ O, Ιλαι Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> ἐλάττονα after ἐκείνοις deleted by Reiske.

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ἔσχατοι τὴν ψῆφον ἀνελάμβανον, ἓνα μόνον  
 ἔχοντες λόχον· οὗτοι στρατειῶν τε<sup>1</sup> ἦσαν  
 ἐλεύθεροι τῶν ἐκ καταλόγου καὶ εἰσφορῶν τῶν  
 κατὰ τιμήματα γινομένων ἀτελεῖς καὶ δι' ἄμφω  
 7 ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς ψηφοφορίαις ἀτιμότατοι. εἰ μὲν  
 οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων λόχων, οὓς οἱ τε ἵππεῖς  
 ἐξεπλήρουν καὶ τῶν πεζῶν οἱ τὴν πρώτην τάξιν  
 ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις λαμβάνοντες, τὸ αὐτὸ φρονή-  
 σαιεν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα λόχοι, τέλος εἶχεν ἡ  
 ψηφοφορία, καὶ οὐκέτι τοῖς λοιποῖς ἕξ καὶ ἐνενή-  
 κοντα λόχοις ἀνεδίδοτο ἡ ψῆφος· εἰ δὲ μὴ  
 τοῦτο<sup>2</sup> γένοιτο, ἡ δευτέρα συμμορία τῶν δύο καὶ  
 εἴκοσι λόχων ἐκαλεῖτο, καὶ ἡ τρίτη· καὶ τοῦτο  
 συνέβαιεν, ἕως οὗ τὸ αὐτὸ φρονήσωσιν ἑπτὰ καὶ  
 8 ἐνενήκοντα λόχοι. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τῶν ἀγωνισ-  
 μάτων ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων κλήσεων τέλος ἐλάμ-  
 βανεν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι δεῖν τῶν ἐσχάτων. σπανί-  
 ως δέ που πρᾶγμα οὕτως ἐνδοιαζόμενον ἐν-  
 ἐπιπτεν ὥστε μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ψήφου τῆς τῶν  
 ἀπορωτάτων προελθεῖν· καὶ ἦν ὥσπερ τέρας<sup>3</sup>  
 τοῦτο σχισθέντων δίχα τῶν προτέρων δύο καὶ  
 ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν λόχων τὴν τελευταίαν  
 ψῆφον ἐπενεχθεῖσαν ἐκείναις αἰτίαις γενέσθαι τῆς  
 9 ἐπὶ θάτερα ῥοπῆς. οἱ μὲν οὖν συναγωνιζόμενοι  
 Μαρκίῳ ταύτην ἡξιούν καλεῖν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 τιμημάτων ἐκκλησίαν ὑπολαμβάνοντες τάχα μὲν  
 ἐπὶ<sup>4</sup> τῆς πρώτης κλήσεως ὑπὸ τῶν ὀκτῶ καὶ  
 ἐνενήκοντα λόχων ἀπολυθήσεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, εἰ  
 δὲ μὴ γε, ἐπὶ<sup>5</sup> τῆς δευτέρας ἢ τρίτης. οἱ δὲ  
 δήμαρχοι ταῦθ' ὑφορώμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν φυλετι-  
 κὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὥοντο δεῖν συνάγειν καὶ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> στρατειῶν τε Portus, Sylburg: στρατιῶται AB.

voted last and made but one century; they were exempt from the military levies and from the war-taxes paid by the rest of the citizens in proportion to their ratings, and for both these reasons were given the least honour in voting. If, therefore, in the case of the first centuries, which consisted of the horse and of such of the foot as stood in the foremost rank in battle, ninety-seven centuries were of the same opinion, the voting was at an end and the remaining ninety-six centuries were not called upon to give their votes. But if this was not the case, the second class, composed of twenty-two centuries, was called, and then the third and so on till ninety-seven centuries were of the same opinion. Generally the points in dispute were determined by the classes first summoned, so that it was then needless to take those of the later classes. It seldom happened that a matter was so doubtful that the voting went on till the last class was reached, consisting of the poorest citizens; and it was in the nature of a miracle when, in consequence of the first hundred and ninety-two centuries being equally divided, the addition of this last vote to the rest turned the scale one way or the other. The supporters of Marcius, accordingly, demanded that this assembly based on the census should be called, expecting that he might perhaps be acquitted by the first class with its ninety-eight centuries, or, if not, at least by the second or third class. On the other hand, the tribunes, who also suspected this outcome, thought they ought to call the tribal assembly

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<sup>2</sup> μὴ τοῦτο Hudson: μετὰ τούτων A, μετὰ τοῦτο B.

<sup>3</sup> τέρας Cmg: πέρας O.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ Kiessling: ἀπὸ O.

<sup>5</sup> Hertlein: ὑπὸ O.

## DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ἀγῶνος ἐκείνην ποιῆσαι κυρίαν, ἵνα μήτε οἱ πένητες τῶν πλουσίων μειονεκτῶσι μήτε οἱ ψιλοὶ<sup>1</sup> τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀτιμοτέραν χώραν ἔχωσι, μήτε ἀπερριμμένον εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας κλήσεις τὸ δημοτικὸν πλῆθος ἀποκλείηται τῶν ἴσων,<sup>2</sup> ἰσόψηφοι δὲ καὶ ὁμότιμοι πάντες ἀλλήλοις γενόμενοι μιᾷ κλήσει τὴν ψῆφον ἐπενέγκωσι κατὰ  
 10 φυλάς. καὶ ἐδόκουν δικαιότερα οὗτοι<sup>3</sup> τῶν ἐτέρων ἀξιοῦν, δημοτικὸν οἰόμενοι δεῖν ἀλλ' οὐκ ὀλιγαρχικὸν εἶναι τὸ τοῦ δήμου δικαστήριον, καὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἀδικούντων τὸ κοινὸν διάγνωσιν ἀπάντων εἶναι κοινήν.

LX. Συγχωρηθέντος δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτου μόγις ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων, ἐπειδὴ τὴν δίκην ἐχρῆν λέγεσθαι, πρῶτος ἀνέβη Μηνύκιος, ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ ἔλεξεν οὓς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ λόγους ἢ βουλή· πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάσας τὰς εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκων ὅσας ἦν εἰληφῶς ὁ δῆμος παρὰ τῶν πατρικίων, ἔπειτα ἀξίων ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων μίαν ἀποδοθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου δεομένοις σφίσιν ἀναγκαίαν χάριν<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ  
 2 κοινῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῷ. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐπαινῶν μὲν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην, καὶ ὄσης εὐδαιμονίας ἐκάτερον τούτων αἰτίον ἐστι ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιλεγόμενος, κατηγορῶν δὲ διχοστασίας καὶ πολέμων ἐμφυλίων, ἐξ ὧν πόλεις αὐτάνδρους ἀπέφαιναν ἀνηρῆσθαι καὶ ἔθνη ὅλα διολωλέναι· παρακαλῶν δὲ μὴ τὰ χεῖρω αἰρεῖσθαι πρὸ τῶν κρειττόνων ὀργῇ ἐπιτρέψαντας, ἀλλ' ἐκ λογισμοῦ σῶφρονος τὰ μέλλοντα ὄραν, μηδὲ τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> ψιλοὶ Sylburg: φυλετικοὶ O.

<sup>2</sup> ἴσων B: ἴσων ψήφων R.



and to empower it to decide this cause, to the end that neither the poor might be at a disadvantage as compared with the rich nor the light-armed men have a less honourable station than the heavy-armed, nor the mass of plebeians, by being relegated to the last calls, be excluded from equal rights with the others, but that all the citizens might be equal to one another in their votes and equal in honour, and at one call might give their votes by tribes. The claim of the tribunes seemed to be more just than that of the patricians in that they thought the tribunal of the people ought to be a popular, not an oligarchic, tribunal, and that the cognizance of crimes committed against the commonwealth ought to be common to all.

LX. The tribunes having with difficulty gained this point also from the patricians, when it was time for the trial to be held, Minucius, one of the consuls, rose first and spoke as the senate had directed him. First he reminded the populace of all the benefits they had received from the patricians; and next he asked that in return for so many good offices they should grant at their request one necessary favour in the interest of the public welfare. In addition to this, he praised harmony and peace, told of the great good fortune which each of them brings to states, and inveighed against discord and civil wars, by which, he told them, many cities had been destroyed with all their inhabitants and whole nations had perished utterly. He exhorted them not to indulge their resentment so far as to prefer worse counsels to better, but with sober reason to contemplate future events, nor, again,

<sup>3</sup> οὗτοι Kiessling: αὐτοὶ R, om. Kayser.

<sup>4</sup> Sintenis: χρείαν O.

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κακίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν χρῆσθαι συμβούλοις περι-  
 τῶν μεγίστων βουλευομένους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς κρατί-  
 στοις σφίσιν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν, ὑφ' ὧν ἦδυσαν ἐν  
 εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους πολλὰ ὠφελημένην  
 τὴν πατρίδα, οἷς οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ὡς μεταβεβλη-  
 3 μένοις τὴν φύσιν ἀπιστοῖεν.<sup>1</sup> ἐν δὲ κεφάλαιον ἦν  
 ἀπάντων τῶν λόγων, μηδεμίαν αὐτοὺς ἐπενεγκεῖν  
 κατὰ τοῦ Μαρκίου ψῆφον, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν δι'  
 \* αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> ἀφεῖναι τῆς δίκης τὸν ἄνδρα, ἀναμιμνησκο-  
 μένους οἷος εἰς τὰ κοινὰ ἐγένετο καὶ ὅσους  
 κατώρθωσεν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ  
 ἡγεμονίας πολέμους, καὶ ὡς οὔτε ὅσια οὔτε  
 δίκαια οὔτε προσήκοντα σφίσι ποιήσουσι λόγων  
 μὲν αὐτῷ μνησικακοῦντες φαύλων, ἔργων δ'  
 4 ἀχαριστοῦντες καλῶν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς  
 \* ἀφέσεως καλόν, ὅτε γε αὐτὸς ἦκει παρέχων τὸ  
 σῶμα τοῖς διαφόροις καὶ στέρξεων ὅτι ἂν ἐκείνοι  
 περὶ αὐτοῦ διαγνώσιν. εἰ δ' οὐχ οἰοί τέ εἰσι  
 διαλύσασθαι πρὸς ἐκείνον, ἀλλὰ χαλεπῶς καὶ  
 ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχουσιν, ἐνθυμηθέντας ὅτι ἡ βουλή  
 δεησομένη περὶ αὐτοῦ πάρεισιν, ἄνδρες οἱ κράτι-  
 στοι τῆς πόλεως τριακόσιοι, παθεῖν τι καὶ ἐπικλα-  
 σθῆναι τὰς γνώμας, καὶ μὴ δι' ἐνὸς ἐχθροῦ τιμω-  
 ρίαν τοσοῦτων δέησιν ἀπώσασθαι φίλων, ἀλλὰ  
 πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν χάριτι δίκην ἀνδρὸς  
 5 ἐνὸς ὑπεριδεῖν. ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις

<sup>1</sup> οἷς οὐκ ἂν δικαίως . . . ἀπιστοῖεν (cf. x. 11, 3) Cobet: οἷς οὐκ ἂν δικαιοῦσιν (δικαίως Βα) . . . ἀπιστεῖν AB, Jacoby, ὥστε οὐκ ἂν δικαίως . . . ἀπιστεῖν Kiessling.

to take the worst of their fellow-citizens for their advisers when deliberating concerning matters of the greatest importance, but rather those they esteemed the best, men from whom they knew their country had received many benefits in both peace and war and whom they would not have any reason to distrust, as if they had changed their natures. But the sum and substance of his whole discourse was to persuade them to pass no vote against Marcius, but preferably to acquit him for his own sake, remembering what sort of man he had proved himself toward the commonwealth and how many battles he had won in fighting for both its liberty and its supremacy, and that they would be acting in neither a pious nor a just manner nor in a way worthy of themselves, if they held a grudge against him for his objectionable words, while feeling no gratitude for his splendid deeds. The present occasion, too, he told them, was a splendid one for acquitting him, when he had come in person to surrender himself to his adversaries and was ready to acquiesce in whatever they should decide concerning him. If, however, they were unable to become reconciled to him, but were harsh and inexorable, he asked them to bear in mind that the senate, consisting of three hundred men who were the best in the city, was present to intercede for him, and begged them to feel some compassion and to soften their hearts, and not for the sake of punishing one enemy to reject the intercession of so many friends, but rather as a favour to many good men to disregard the prosecution of one man.<sup>1</sup> Having said

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Livy ii. 35, 5.

<sup>2</sup> δι' αὐτὸν Ba: δι' αὐτῶν ABb.

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\* ψήφου μὲν ἐπαχθείσης, εἰς ἀπολύσῳσι τὸν  
 \* ἀνδρα, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον ὑπ'  
 αὐτοῦ δόξουσιν ἀφεικέναι· εἰς δὲ κωλύσῳσι  
 ἐπιτελεσθῆναι τὴν δίκην, τοῖς δεομένοις ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτοῦ φανήσονται κεχαρισμένοι.

LXI. Πausαμένου δὲ τοῦ Μηνυκίου παρελθὼν  
 ὁ δῆμαρχος Σικίννιος οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἔφη προδώσειν  
 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῶν δημοτῶν οὔτε τοῖς προδιδούσιν  
 ἐπιτρέψειν ἐκῶν, ἀλλ' εἰ τῷ ὄντι παρέχουσιν οἱ  
 πατρίκιοι τὸν ἀνδρα ἐπὶ δίκην τοῖς δημοτικοῖς,  
 ἀναδώσειν περὶ αὐτοῦ ψῆφον, ἄλλο δὲ ποιήσειν  
 2 παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδέν. μετὰ ταῦτα παρελθὼν ὁ  
 Μηνυκίος εἶπεν· “ Ἐπειδὴ πάντως, ὦ δῆμαρχοι,  
 ψῆφον ἐπενεχθῆναι περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς προθυμείσθε,  
 μηθὲν ἔξω τοῦ ἐγκλήματος κατηγορεῖτε· ἀλλ'  
 ἐπειδὴ τυραννίδι αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν εἰσηγγείλατε,  
 τοῦτο διδάσκετε καὶ περὶ τούτου τὰς πίστεις  
 φέρετε. λόγων δ' ὧν αὐτὸν αἰτιᾶσθε κατὰ τοῦ  
 δήμου πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν εἰπεῖν μήτε μέμνησθε  
 μήτε κατηγορεῖτε. ἀφείσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσατο  
 ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς  
 ἤκειν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐδικαίωσε.” καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο  
 3 ἀνέγνω τὸ προβούλευμα. ὁ μὲν δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν τε  
 καὶ ἐπιμαρτυράμενος κατέβη. τῶν δὲ δημάρχων  
 πρῶτος μὲν διέθετο τὴν κατηγορίαν Σικίννιος ἐκ  
 πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ παρασκευῆς, πάνθ' ὅσα  
 πράττων ἢ λέγων ὁ ἀνὴρ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου διετέλε-  
 σεν εἰς κατασκευὴν τυραννίδος ἀναφέρων· ἔπειτὰ  
 μετ' ἐκείνον οἱ δυνατώτατοι τῶν δημάρχων εἶπον.<sup>1</sup>

LXII. Ὡς δὲ παρέλαβεν ὁ Μάρκιος τὸν λόγον,

<sup>1</sup> Steph.: εἰπεῖν A (?) B, Jacoby.

this and other things to the same purport, he ended his speech with this suggestion, that if they acquitted the man by taking a vote, they would seem to have freed him because he had not done the people any wrong, whereas, if they prevented the trial from being completed, they would appear to have done so as a favour to those who interceded in his behalf.

LXI. When Minucius had done speaking, Sicinius the tribune came forward and said that he would neither betray the liberty of the plebeians himself nor willingly permit others to betray it, but if the patricians really consented that the man should be tried by the plebeians, he would take their votes and do nothing more. After this Minucius came forward and said: "Since you are eager, tribunes, that a vote shall be taken by all means concerning this man, let not your accusations go beyond the formal charge, but, as you have alleged that he aims at tyranny, show this and bring your evidence to prove it. But neither mention nor charge him with the words you accuse him of having spoken in the senate against the people. For the senate has voted to acquit him of this accusation and has thought proper that he should appear before the people upon specific charges." And he thereupon read out the preliminary decree. Having said this and adjured them to adhere to it, he descended from the tribunal. Sicinius was the first of the tribunes to set forth the charge, which he did in a very studied and elaborate speech, attributing everything the man had continued to say or do against the people to a design to set up tyranny. Then, after him, the most influential of the tribunes spoke.

LXII. When Marcius was given an opportunity to

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ἀρξάμενος ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας δι-  
 ἦλθεν ὅσας ἐστρατευμένος ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως  
 στρατείας καὶ ὅσους εἰληφῶς ἐπινικίους παρὰ  
 τῶν στρατηγῶν στεφάνους, πολεμίων τε τοὺς  
 ληφθέντας αἰχμαλώτους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πολιτῶν  
 τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι· καὶ παρ'  
 ἕκαστον τῶν λεγομένων τά τε ἀριστεία ἐπ-  
 εδείκνυτο καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς μάρτυρας παρ-  
 εἶχετο καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐξ ὀνόμα-  
 2 τος ἐκάλει. οἱ δὲ παρήεσαν ὀλοφυρόμενοι καὶ  
 δεόμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν μὴ τὸν αἴτιον σφίσι τῆς  
 σωτηρίας ὡς πολέμιον ἀπολέσαι, μίαν τε ἀντὶ  
 πολλῶν ψυχῆν αἰτούμενοι καὶ παραδιδόντες ἑαυ-  
 τοὺς ἀντ' ἐκείνου χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλονται. ἦσαν  
 δ' οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ γένους καὶ  
 πολλὰ τῷ κοινῷ χρήσιμοι· ὧν τὰς τε ὄψεις καὶ  
 τὰς δεήσεις δι' αἰσχύνης ὁ δῆμος λαμβάνων εἰς  
 3 οἴκτους καὶ δάκρυα ἐτράπετο. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν  
 ἐσθῆτα ὁ Μάρκιος περιρρηξάμενος ἐπεδείξατο τὰ  
 στέρνα τραυμάτων μεστὰ καὶ πᾶν ἄλλο<sup>1</sup> μέρος  
 τοῦ σώματος ἀνάπλεων τῶν πληγῶν, καὶ ἐπύθετο  
 εἰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔργα εἶναι νομίζουσι  
 σώζειν μὲν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων τοὺς πολίτας,  
 ἀπολλύναι δὲ τοὺς σωθέντας ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ εἰ  
 τυραννίδα κατασκευαζόμενός τις τὸ δημοτικὸν  
 ἐλαύνει μέρος ἐκ πόλεως, ὑφ' οὗ μάλιστ' αὖξεται  
 τε καὶ τρέφεται τυραννίς· ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος  
 ὅσον μὲν ἦν τοῦ δημοτικοῦ μέρος ἐπιεικὲς καὶ  
 φιλόχρηστον ἀπολύειν ἐβόα τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ δι'  
 αἰσχύνης ἐλάμβανεν, εἰ καὶ δίκην ὑπέιχε τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν περὶ τοιαύτης αἰτίας ἀνὴρ τοσαυτάκις  
 ὑπεριδὼν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς ἕνεκα τῆς ἀπάντων

speak,<sup>1</sup> he began from his earliest youth and enumerated all the campaigns he had made in the service of the commonwealth, the crowns he had received from the generals as rewards of victory, the foes he had taken captive and the citizens he had saved in battle; and in each instance that he mentioned he displayed his rewards, cited the generals as witnesses, and called by name upon the citizens whom he had saved. These came forward with lamentations and entreated their fellow-citizens not to destroy as an enemy the man to whom they owed their preservation, begging one life in return for many and offering themselves in his stead to be treated by them as they thought fit. The greater part of them were plebeians and men extremely useful to the commonwealth; and their countenances and their entreaties roused such a sense of shame in the people that they were moved to pity and tears. Then Marcius, rending his garments, showed his breast full of wounds and every other part of his body covered with scars, and asked them if they thought that to save one's fellow-citizens in war and to destroy in time of peace those thus saved were actions of the same kind of person, and if anyone who is endeavouring to set up a tyranny ever expels from the state the common people, by whom tyranny is chiefly abetted and nourished. While he was yet speaking, those of the plebeians who were fair-minded and lovers of the right cried out to acquit him, and were ashamed that a man who had so often scorned his own life to preserve them all was even being brought to trial in the first place upon such a

<sup>1</sup> Livy states (ii. 35, 6) that Coriolanus was not present at the trial.

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<sup>1</sup> τὸ deleted by Reiske before ἄλλο.

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4 φυλακῆς. ὅσοι δ' ἦσαν φύσει βάσκανοι καὶ μισόχρηστοι καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν εὐκίνητοι στάσιν, ἤχθοντο μὲν ἀπολύειν τὸν ἄνδρα μέλλοντες, οὐκ εἶχον δ' ὅ τι ἂν ἄλλο ποιῶσι διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν εὐρίσκειν ἀφορμὴν τυραννίδος ἐπιθέσεως φαινομένην, ὑπὲρ ἧς τὰς ψήφους ἀνειλήφεσαν.

LXIII. Τοῦτο καταμαθὼν ὁ Δέκιος ἐκεῖνος, ὁ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ποιησάμενος λόγους καὶ τὸ προβούλευμα περὶ τῆς δίκης γραφῆναι παρασκευάσας, ἀνέστη καὶ σιωπὴν γενέσθαι κελεύσας ἔλεξεν. “ Ἐπειδὴ, ὦ δημόται, τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ λεχθέντων ὑπὸ Μαρκίου λόγων καὶ τῶν διὰ τούτους ἀκολουθησάντων ἔργων βιαίων τε καὶ ὑπερηφάνων ἀπολύουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ οὐδ' ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέπουσι κατηγορεῖν, ἀκούσατε οἶον ὑμῖν ἔργον ἕτερον ἔξω τῶν λόγων ὁ γενναῖος οὗτος ἀνὴρ τυγχάνει διαπεπραγμένος, ὡς αὐθαδὲς καὶ τυραννικόν, καὶ οἶον ὑμῶν κατέλυσε νόμον  
 2 αὐτὸς ἰδιώτης ὧν μάθετε. ἴστε δήπου πάντες ὅτι τὰ ἐκ τῶν πολέμων λάφυρα, ὅσων ἂν ἡμῖν ὑπάρχη τυχεῖν δι' ἀρετὴν, δημόσια εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, καὶ τούτων οὐχ ὅπως τις ἰδιώτης γίνεται κύριος, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς δυνάμεως ἡγεμών· ὁ δὲ ταμίας αὐτὰ παραλαβὼν ἀπεμπολᾷ<sup>1</sup> καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀναφέρει τὰ χρήματα· καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον, ἐξ οὗ τήνδε οἰκοῦμεν τὴν πόλιν, οὐχ ὅπως κατέλυσέ τις, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἠτιάσατο μὴ οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν· ἀλλ' οὗτος ὁ Μάρκιος πρῶτος καὶ μόνος ὑπεριδὼν αὐτοῦ κειμένου καὶ κυρίου ὄντος ἠξίωσε<sup>2</sup>



charge. Those, however, who were by nature malevolent, enemies of the right, and easy to be led into any kind of sedition were sorry they were going to have to acquit him, but felt that they could not do otherwise, since they could find no evidence of his having aimed at tyranny, which was the point upon which they had been called to give their votes.

LXIII. When this had been observed by Decius, the one who had spoken in the senate and prevailed on them to pass the decree for the trial, he rose up, and having commanded silence, said: "Since, plebeians, the patricians acquit Marcius of the words he spoke in the senate and of the violent and overbearing deeds that followed because of them, and do not permit us, either, to accuse him, hear what other deed, quite apart from words, this honourable man has been guilty of toward you, how insolent and tyrannical a deed, and learn what law of yours he, though a private citizen, has broken. You all know, of course, that the law ordains that all the spoils we are able to take from the enemy by our valour shall belong to the public and that not only no private citizen has the disposition of them, but not even the general of our forces himself; but the quaestor, taking them over, sells them and turns the proceeds over to the public treasury. And this law, during all the time our city has been inhabited, not only has been violated by no one, but has not even been criticized as being a bad law. But Marcius here is the first and only man who, in contempt of this law while it stood

<sup>1</sup> Kiessling: ἀπεμπολεῖ Ο.

<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' οὗτος ὁ Μάρκιος πρῶτος καὶ μόνος ὑπεριδῶν . . . ὄντος ἠξίωσε Kayser: ἀλλ' οὗτος μόνος μάρκιος ὑπεριδῶν . . . ὄντος μόνος (πρῶτος καὶ μόνος B) ἠξίωσε AB.

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σφετερίσασθαι τὰ κοινὰ ἡμῶν, ὧς δημόται, λάφυρα,  
 3 πέρυσι καὶ οὐ πάλαι. ποιησαμένων γὰρ ὑμῶν  
 καταδρομὴν τῆς Ἀντιατῶν γῆς καὶ πολλὰ μὲν  
 σώματα, πολλὰ δὲ βοσκήματα, πολὺν δὲ σίτον,  
 πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα χρήματα περιβαλομένων, οὔτε τῶ  
 ταμῖα ταῦτ' ἀπέδειξεν οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἀποδόμενος εἰς  
 τὸ δημόσιον ἀνήνεγκε τὸ ἀργύριον, ἀλλὰ διένειμε  
 καὶ κατεχαρίσατο τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φίλοις ἅπασαν τὴν  
 λείαν· τοῦτο δὴ τυραννίδος τεκμήριον εἶναι φημὶ  
 τὸ ἔργον· πῶς γὰρ οὔ; ὅς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ κόλακάς  
 τε καὶ σωματοφύλακας καὶ τῆς μελλούσης τυραν-  
 νίδος συνεργοὺς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων εὐηργέτει  
 χρημάτων· καὶ νόμου κατάλυσιν εἶναι φανερὰν  
 4 ταύτην λέγω. δευεῖν δὴ θάτερον ἀποφηνάτω  
 παρελθὼν Μάρκιος, ἧ ὡς οὐ διένειμε τὰ λάφυρα  
 τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φίλοις ἃ ἔλαβεν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας, ἧ  
 ὡς ταῦτα ποιῶν οὐ καταλύει τοὺς νόμους· ὧν  
 οὐδέτερον ἔξει πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. αὐτοὶ γὰρ  
 ἀμφότερα ἴστε, καὶ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸ ἔργον, καὶ  
 οὐκ ἔνεσθ' ὑμῖν ἀποψηφισαμένοις αὐτοῦ τὰ δίκαια  
 καὶ τὰ εὖορκα δοκεῖν ἐγνωκέναι. ἔασας δὴ τοὺς  
 στεφάνους καὶ τὰ ἀριστεῖα καὶ τὰ τραύματα καὶ  
 τὴν ἄλλην τερατείαν πρὸς ταῦτα λέγε, ὧ Μάρκιε·  
 παραδίδωμι γὰρ ἤδη σοὶ τὸν λόγον.”

LXIV. Τοῦτο τὸ κατηγόρημα πολλὴν ἐποίησε  
 τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα μεταβολήν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπι-  
 εικέστεροί τε καὶ σπουδάζοντες ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως τοῦ  
 ἀνδρὸς μαλακώτεροι τούτων ἀκούσαντες ἐγένοντο,  
 τὸ δὲ κακόηθες ἅπαν, ὃ τοῦ δήμου πλεῖστον μέρος

and was valid, has thought fit, plebeians, to appropriate to himself the spoils which belong to us in common; and this was only last year, not long ago. For when you made an incursion into the territory of the Antiates and captured many prisoners, many cattle, and a great quantity of corn, together with many other effects, he neither reported these to the quaestor nor sold them himself and turned the proceeds over to the public treasury, but distributed and gave as a present to his own friends the entire booty. This action, now, I aver to be a proof of his aiming at tyranny. What else could it be, when he used the public funds to gratify his flatterers, his bodyguards, and the accomplices in the tyranny he meditated? And this I maintain to be an open violation of the law. Let Marcius, then, come forward and show one of two things—either that he did not distribute among his friends the spoils he took from the enemy's country, or that in doing so he is not violating the laws. But neither of these things will he be able to say to you. For you yourselves are acquainted with both matters—with the law and with what he did. And if you acquit him, your decision cannot possibly be regarded as in accordance with justice and your oaths. Say naught, then, about your crowns, your rewards of valour, your wounds, and all the rest of that claptrap, and answer to these points, Marcius: for I now yield the floor to you."

LXIV. This accusation caused a great shift in sentiment to the other side. For those who were more reasonable and were zealously working for the acquittal of Marcius, upon hearing these things, grew less confident, and all the malevolent, who constituted the larger part of the populace and were

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ἦν, ἐκ παντὸς ἀπολέσαι τὸν ἄνδρα δήπου προθυμού-  
 μενον, ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς ταῦτ' ἐπερρώσθη μεγάλης  
 2 ἀφορμῆς καὶ φανερᾶς λαβόμενον. ἦν γὰρ ἀληθῆς  
 ἢ τῶν λαφύρων διάδοσις, οὐ μὴν ἐκ προαιρέσεώς  
 γε πονηρᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ κατασκευῇ τυραννίδος, ὡς ὁ  
 Δέκιος ἠτιᾶτο, γενομένη, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ  
 βελτίστου καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως ἔνεκα τῶν κατ-  
 εχόντων τὰ κοινὰ κακῶν. στασιάζοντος γὰρ ἔτι  
 καὶ διεστηκότος ἀπὸ τῶν πατρικίων τοῦ πλήθους  
 τότε καταφρονήσαντες οἱ πολέμοι καταδρομὰς  
 τῆς χώρας ἐποιοῦντο καὶ λεηλασίας συνεχεῖς· καὶ  
 ὁπότε δόξειε τῇ βουλῇ τὴν κωλύσουσαν ταῦτα  
 δύναμιν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐδεὶς ἐξῆει τῶν δημοτῶν, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπέχαιρόν τε καὶ περιεώρων τὰ γινόμενα· ἢ δὲ  
 τῶν πατρικίων χεὶρ οὐκ ἦν καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀξιόμαχος.  
 3 τοῦτο καταμαθὼν ὁ Μάρκιος ὑπέσχετο τοῖς  
 ὑπάτοις, ἐὰν ἐπιτρέψωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν,  
 στρατιὰν ἄξειν ἐκούσιον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ  
 δίκην λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν ἐν τάχει. λαβὼν δὲ  
 τὴν ἐξουσίαν συνεκάλει τοὺς τε πελάτας καὶ τοὺς  
 φίλους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν οἷς ἦν βουλομένοις  
 ἀπολαῦσαί τι τῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τύχης κατὰ τὰ  
 πολέμια καὶ ἀρετῆς. ὡς δ' αὐτῷ χεὶρ ἀξιόμαχος  
 ἐδόκει συνελθυθέναι, προῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους  
 4 οὐθέν πω προειδότας. ἐμβαλὼν δ' εἰς χώραν  
 πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν μεστὴν γενόμενος ἀφθόνου λείας  
 κύριος ἐφῆκε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἅπαντα τὰ ληφ-  
 θέντα διανείμασθαι, ἵν' οἱ μὲν συναράμενοι τοῦ  
 ἔργου τὸν τῶν πόνων καρπὸν κομισάμενοι προ-

of course eager to destroy him at all costs, were still more encouraged in their purpose now that they had got hold of an important and clear ground for their attack. For the distribution of the spoils was a fact, though it had been made without any evil intent and not for the setting up of a tyranny, as Decius charged, but from only the best of motives and for the correction of the evils that beset the commonwealth. For as the sedition still continued at that time and the populace was then divided from the patricians, their enemies, despising them, made raids into their country and plundered it without intermission; and whenever the senate decided to send out an army to stop these raids, none of the plebeians would serve in it, but rejoiced at what was happening and permitted it to continue; and the force of the patricians alone was inadequate. Marcius, observing this, promised the consuls that he would march against the enemy with an army of volunteers if they would give him the command of it, and would soon take revenge on them; and having received authority to do so, he called together his clients and friends and such of the citizens as wished to share in the advantages éxpected from the general's good fortune in war and his valour. When he thought an adequate force had assembled, he led them against the enemy, who had no previous knowledge of his purpose. And making an incursion into their country, which was well stocked with many good things, and capturing a vast amount of booty, he permitted his soldiers to divide up all the spoils among themselves, to the end that both those who had assisted him in this expedition, by receiving the fruit of their labours, might cheerfully engage in

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θύμως ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας στρατείας ἀπαντῶσιν, οἱ δ' ἀποκνήσαντες, ἐνθυμηθέντες ὅσων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ἐξὸν μεταλαβεῖν διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν<sup>1</sup> ἀπεκωλύθησαν, εἰς τὰς λοιπὰς ἐξόδους γένωνται φρονιμώτεροι.

5 διάνοια μὲν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἦδε ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ ἔργον· χόλῳ<sup>2</sup> δ' ὑπούλῳ καὶ φθόνῳ δυσμενῶν αὐτῆ καθ' αὐτὴν ἢ πράξις ἐξεταζομένη δημαγωγία τις ἐφαίνετο εἶναι καὶ δεκασμὸς τυραννικός. ὥστε βοῆς καὶ θορύβου πᾶσα ἦν ἀνάπλευς ἢ ἀγορά, καὶ οὔτε ὁ Μάρκιος πρὸς ταῦτ' εἶχεν ὅ τι ἀπολογήσαιο, οὔτε ὁ ὕπατος οὔτε ἄλλος οὐδεὶς, οἷα δὴ παραδόξου καὶ ἀπροσδοκίτου ἐπιφανεί-

6 σης<sup>3</sup> σφίσι τῆς αἰτίας. ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐδεὶς οὐκέτι ἀπελογεῖτο, ἀνέδωκαν οἱ δήμαρχοι τὴν ψῆφον ταῖς φυλαῖς τίμημα ἐπιγράψαντες τῇ δίκῃ φυγὴν αἰδίων, κατὰ δέος, οἶμαι, τοῦ μὴ ἂν ἀλῶναι τὸν ἄνδρα θανάτου.<sup>4</sup> ὡς δ' ἐπεψήφισαν ἅπαντες, διαριθμουμένων τῶν ψήφων οὐ μέγα τὸ διάλλαγμα ἐφάνη. μιᾶς γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσι τότε φυλῶν οὐσῶν,

οἷς ἢ ψήφος ἀνεδόθη, τὰς ἀπολυούσας φυλὰς ἔσχεν ὁ Μάρκιος ἐννέα· ὥστε εἰ δύο προσῆλθον αὐτῷ φυλαί, διὰ τὴν ἰσοψηφίαν ἀπελέλυτ'<sup>5</sup> ἂν, ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος ἡξίου.

<sup>1</sup> Cobet: στασιάζον O.      <sup>2</sup> χόλῳ Kiessling: ὄχλῳ O.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπιφανείσης σφίσι Reiske: φανείσης ἐπὶ O, Jacoby.

<sup>4</sup> θανάτου B: θανάτω A. After this word the MSS. have αὐτῷ (αὐτὸν A) τιμήσαντες, deleted by Jacoby. Reiske read αὐτῷ τιμησάντων, Cobet αὐτῷ τιμηθέντος.

<sup>5</sup> Cobet: ἀπελύετο O.

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<sup>1</sup> In view of the impossibility of an equal division of the votes if the total was an odd number Spelman substituted 22 tribes for 21, while Mommsen (*Die röm. Tribus*, p. 9) argued

the service upon other occasions, and the others who had declined it, considering all the benefits they had lost through their sedition, when they might have shared in them, might act with greater prudence in the case of future expeditions. Such was the intention of Marcius in this affair; but to the festering anger and envy of enemies the action, when considered by itself, appeared a kind of flattery of the people and a bribery tending toward tyranny. As a result the whole Forum was full of clamour and tumult and neither Marcius himself nor the consul nor anyone else had any answer to make to the charge, so incredible and unexpected did it appear to them. When nothing further was said in his defence, the tribunes called upon the tribes to give their votes, and fixed perpetual banishment as the penalty in the case. This, I suspect, was due to their fear that he could not be convicted if death were set as the penalty. After they had all voted and the votes were counted, the difference was found to be slight. For out of the twenty-one tribes that were then in existence and gave their votes Marcius had nine in favour of his acquittal; so that if two more tribes had joined his side, he would have been acquitted as the result of the equal division of the votes, as the law prescribed.<sup>1</sup>

for 20. But it is more likely that the strange error is due to Dionysius himself. Livy informs us that there were 21 tribes after 495 B.C. (ii. 21, 7), a number that was not increased until 387 (vi. 5, 8). Moreover, we have already noted a similar confusion on the part of our author in a case where there can be no question about the total number of votes (v. 6, 3). Further uncertainty is found in the statement that Coriolanus would have been acquitted "if two more votes had come to him," a point twice emphasized in the next book

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LXV. Αὕτη πρώτη κατ' ἀνδρὸς πατρικίου πρόσκλησις <sup>1</sup> εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐγένετο ἐπὶ δίκῃ. καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τοῖς ὕστερον λαμβάνουσι τὴν τοῦ δήμου προστασίαν ἔθος κατέστη καλεῖν οὓς δόξειε τῶν πολιτῶν δίκην ὑφέξοντας ἐπὶ <sup>2</sup> τοῦ δήμου· καὶ ἐνθὲνδε ἀρξάμενος ὁ δῆμος ἦρθη μέγας, ἥ θ' ἀριστοκρατία πολλὰ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀξιώματος ἀπέβαλε βουλῆς τε μετέχειν ἐπιτρέπουσα τοῖς δημοτικοῖς καὶ ἀρχὰς μετιέναι συγχωροῦσα ἱερῶν τε προστασίας λαμβάνειν οὐ κωλύουσα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τιμιώτατα ἦν καὶ ἴδια τῶν πατρικίων μόνων ἅπασι κοινωσαμένα, τὰ μὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τε καὶ ἄκουσα, τὰ δ' ἐκ προνοίας τε καὶ σοφίας· ὑπὲρ ὧν κατὰ τὸν οἰκείον καιρὸν ἐρῶ.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ ἔθος, τὸ <sup>3</sup> καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει δυναστεύοντας ἐπὶ δίκῃ ἧς ὁ δῆμος ἐγένετο κύριος, πολλὰς ἂν παράσχοι λόγων ἀφορμὰς τοῖς ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὸ βουλομένοις ἢ ψέγειν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἄξια τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔπαθον, αἰσchrῶς καὶ κακῶς τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἀφαιρεθέντες· πολλοὶ δ' αὐθάδεις καὶ τυραννικοὶ τοὺς τρόπους <sup>4</sup> λόγον

<sup>1</sup> Reiske: πρόκλησις O.

<sup>2</sup> Kiessling: ὑπὸ O.

<sup>3</sup> τὸ R: λέγω δὲ τὸ B.

<sup>4</sup> τοὺς τρόπους Grasberger: τοῖς τρόποις O.

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(viii. 6, 3; 24, 3), where he says that he was "convicted by only two votes." Does he mean that there was a majority of two, or rather of four votes for conviction? The latter would seem to be the more logical interpretation, since any additional votes for the defendant would mean so many fewer against him. But Mommsen, *l.c.*, held that Dionysius was not concerned about where the votes would come from,



LXV. This was the first summoning of a patrician before the tribunal of the plebeians; and from this time it became customary for those who afterwards assumed the patronship of the people<sup>1</sup> to summon to stand trial before the people any of the citizens they thought fit. From this beginning the people rose to great power, while the aristocracy lost much of its ancient dignity by admitting the plebeians into the senate and allowing them to stand as candidates for magistracies, by not opposing their presiding over sacrifices, and by sharing with all the citizens the other privileges that were most highly prized and had been the special prerogatives of the patricians, some of which concessions they made because of necessity and against their will, and others through foresight and wisdom; but of these matters I shall speak at the proper time. However, this custom of summoning the men of power at Rome to a trial where the populace were always in control, would afford rich material for comment to those who are disposed either to commend or to blame it. For many good and worthy men have already been treated in a manner unworthy of their merits and have been put to a shameful and miserable death at the instigation of the tribunes, while many men of arrogant and tyrannical dispositions, being compelled to give an

but meant merely that there were two more votes for conviction than for acquittal. Apparently this was the view of Plutarch also. In his *Coriolanus*, a work based largely if not entirely upon Dionysius, he contents himself with the brief statement (20, 4): "the tribes convicting him were three." He evidently accepted the numbers 21 and 9, and getting 12 votes for conviction, silently corrected the faulty arithmetic of his source.

<sup>1</sup> The tribuneship.

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ἀναγκασθέντες ὑποσχεῖν τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν ἐπι-  
 3 τηδευμάτων δίκας τὰς προσηκούσας ἔδοσαν. ὁπότε  
 μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου γένοιτο αἱ διαγνώσεις,  
 καὶ καθαιρεθεῖη τὰ τῶν μεγάλων αὐχήματα σὺν  
 δίκῃ, μέγα τι καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι χρῆμα  
 καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπηγεῖτο, ὁπότε δ' ἀρετὴ φθονη-  
 θεῖσα ἀνδρὸς τὰ κοινὰ εὖ διοικούντος ἀδίκως  
 ἀναيرهθεῖη, δεινόν τι τοῖς ἄλλοις κατεφαίνετο, καὶ  
 οἱ τοῦ ἔθους ἄρξαντες κατηγοροῦντο. πολλάκις τε  
 βουλευσάμενοι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πότερα χρῆ κατα-  
 λῦσαι αὐτὸ ἢ φυλάττειν οἶον παρὰ τῶν προγόνων  
 4 παρέλαβον, οὐθέν ἐπέθηκαν τῇ βουλῇ πέρας. εἰ  
 δὲ δεῖ καὶ αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> ἀποφῆνασθαι περὶ τηλικούτων  
 πραγμάτων γνώμην, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τὸ μὲν ἔθος αὐτὸ  
 καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἐξεταζόμενον χρήσιμον εἶναι καὶ  
 πόλει τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀναγκαιότατον, κρεῖττον δὲ  
 καὶ χεῖρον γίνεσθαι παρὰ τοὺς τῶν δημάρχων  
 τρόπους. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ τύχῃσι τῆς ἐξουσίας  
 ταύτης ἄνδρες δίκαιοι καὶ σώφρονες καὶ τὰ  
 κοινὰ ἀναγκαιότερα τῶν ἰδίων τιθέμενοι, ὁ μὲν  
 ἀδικῶν τὰ κοινὰ τιμωρίαν δούς, ἣν προσῆκε, πολὺ  
 δέος τοῖς ὅμοια παρεσκευασμένοις δρᾶν ἐνειργά-  
 σατο, ὁ δ' ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου πρὸς  
 τὰ κοινὰ παριῶν<sup>2</sup> οὔτε δίκην ἀσχήμονα ὑπέσχευ  
 οὔτ' εἰς αἰτίας ἀλλοτρίους τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων  
 5 κατέστη· ὅταν δὲ πονηροὶ καὶ ἀκόλαστοι καὶ  
 φιλοκερδεῖς ἄνθρωποι τηλικαύτης ἐξουσίας τύχῃσι,  
 τὰναντία τούτων γίνεται. ὥστ' οὐ τὸ ἔθος ἐπαν-  
 ορθοῦσθαι προσῆκεν ὡς ἡμαρτημένον, ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖν  
 ὅπως ἄνδρες καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τοῦ δήμου γενήσονται

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν BC: αὐτὸν ἐμὲ R; εἰ δ' ἐμὲ δεῖ καὶ αὐτὸν Cobet.

accounting of their lives and conduct, have suffered the punishment they deserved. Whenever these verdicts were rendered with the best motives and the pride of the mighty was justly humbled, this institution appeared a great and admirable thing, and met with general praise, but when a virtuous and able statesman incurred hatred and was unjustly done away with, the rest of the world was shocked at the institution and the authors of it were condemned. The Romans have often deliberated whether they should repeal this institution or preserve it as they received it from their ancestors, but have never come to any final decision. If I am to express an opinion myself concerning matters of so great moment, I believe that the institution, considered by itself, is advantageous, and absolutely necessary to the Roman commonwealth, but that it becomes better or worse according to the character of the tribunes. For when this power falls into the hands of just and prudent men, who prefer the interest of the public to their own, the punishing as he deserves of one who has injured his country strikes terror into the minds of all who are prepared to commit similar offences, while the good man who enters public life with the best intentions neither incurs the disgrace of being brought to trial nor is accused of wrongdoing inconsistent with his habits. But when wicked, intemperate and avaricious men gain so great power, the contrary of all this happens. Hence, instead of reforming the institution as faulty, they ought to consider by what means good and worthy men may become protectors of the people, and

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<sup>2</sup> Kiessling: προίων Ο.

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ται προστάται καὶ μὴ τοῖς τυχοῦσι τὰ μέγιστα εἰκῆ ἐπιτραπήσεται.

LXVI. Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐμπεσοῦσα μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων στάσις ἔσχε τοιαύτας αἰτίας καὶ εἰς τοῦτο κατέσκηψε τὸ τέλος· 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. ποθεῖ γὰρ ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τοῖς παραδόξοις ἀκούσμασι τὴν αἰτίαν μαθεῖν καὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἐν ταύτῃ τίθεται  
<sup>2</sup> μόνῃ. ἐλογιζόμην οὖν ὅτι μοι πολλοῦ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς δεήσει πιστὸς εἶναι ὁ λόγος, εἰ <sup>1</sup> τοσοῦτον ἔφην μόνον, ὅτι παρῆκαν οἱ πατρίκιοι τοῖς δημοτικοῖς τὴν ἑαυτῶν δυναστείαν, καὶ ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀριστοκρατία πολιτεύεσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἐποίησαν τῶν μεγίστων κύριον, δι' ἧς δὲ συνεχωρήθη ταύτ' αἰτίας παρέλιπον· διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπεξῆλθον  
<sup>3</sup> ἀπάσας. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐχ ὄπλοισ ἀλλήλους βιασάμενοι καὶ προσαναγκάσαντες, ἀλλὰ λόγοις πείσαντες μεθήρμωσαν, <sup>2</sup> παντὸς μάλιστα ἀναγκαῖον ἠγησάμην εἶναι τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν διεξελθεῖν, οἷς τότε οἱ δυναστεύοντες <sup>3</sup> ἐν ἑκατέροις ἐχρήσαντο. θαυμάσαιμι δ' ἂν, εἴ τινες τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πράξεις ἀκριβῶς οἴονται δεῖν ἀναγράφειν, καὶ περὶ μίαν ἔστιν ὅτε μάχην πολλοὺς ἀναλίσκουσι λόγους, τόπων τε φύσεις καὶ ὀπλισμῶν ιδιότητας καὶ τάξεων τρόπους καὶ στρατηγῶν παρακλήσεις

<sup>1</sup> εἰ Steph. : οὐ ABb, οὐ Ba.

<sup>2</sup> μεθήρμωσαν O : μεθηρμόσαντο Reiske.

<sup>3</sup> Steph. : δυναστεύσαντες A(?) B, Jacoby.

positions of the greatest importance may not be conferred at random on the first who chance to turn up.

LXVI. Such were the causes and such was the outcome of the first sedition that arose among the Romans after the expulsion of the kings. I have related these at length, to the end that no one may wonder how the patricians ever consented to entrust the populace with so great power, when there had been no slaying or banishing of the best citizens, as has happened in many other states. For everyone, upon hearing of extraordinary events, desires to know the cause that produced them and considers that alone as the test of their credibility. I reflected, accordingly, that my account of this affair would gain little or no credit if I contented myself with saying that the patricians resigned their power to the plebeians and that, though they might have continued to live under an aristocracy, they put the populace in control of the most important matters, and if I left out the motives for their making these concessions; and for this reason I have related them all. And since they did not make this change in their government by using compulsion upon one another and the force of arms, but by the persuasion of words, I thought it necessary above all things to report the speeches which the heads of both parties made upon that occasion. I might express my surprise that some historians, though they think themselves obliged to give an exact account of military actions and sometimes expend a great many words over a single battle, describing the terrains, the peculiarities of armament, the ways the lines were drawn up, the exhortations of the generals, and every

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καὶ τὰλλα διεξιόντες ὅσα τῆς νίκης αἴτια τοῖς  
 ἑτέροις ἐγένετο, πολιτικὰς δὲ κινήσεις καὶ  
 στάσεις ἀναγράφοντες οὐκ οἴονται δεῖν ἀπαγγέλλειν  
 τοὺς λόγους δι' ὧν αἱ παράδοξοι καὶ θαυμασταὶ  
 4 πράξεις ἐπετελέσθησαν. εἰ γάρ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῆς  
 Ῥωμαίων πόλεως μέγα ἐγκώμιόν ἐστι καὶ ζηλοῦ-  
 σθαι ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἄξιον κακείνο ἐγένετο  
 κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν τὸ ἔργον, μᾶλλον δ' ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα  
 πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ὄντα λαμπρότατον, τὸ μῆτε  
 τοὺς δημοτικοὺς καταφρονήσαντας τῶν πατρικίων  
 ἐπιχειρῆσαι αὐτοῖς καὶ πολὺν ἐργασαμένους τῶν  
 κρατίστων φόνον ἅπαντα τὰκείνων παραλαβεῖν,  
 μῆτε τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ἢ διὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν  
 ἢ ξενικαῖς ἐπικουρίαις χρησαμένους διαφθεῖραι τὸ  
 δημοτικὸν ἅπαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκεῖν ἀδεῶς τὴν  
 5 πόλιν· ἀλλ', ὥσπερ ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς ἢ παῖδας  
 γονεῦσιν ἐν οἰκίᾳ σῶφρονι περὶ τῶν ἴσων καὶ <sup>1</sup>  
 δικαίων διαλεγομένους, πειθοῖ καὶ λόγῳ διαλύεσθαι  
 τὰ νείκη, ἀνήκεστον δ' ἢ ἀνόσιον ἔργον μῆθὲν  
 ὑπομείναι δρᾶσαι κατ' ἀλλήλων· οἷα Κερκυραῖοί  
 τε κατὰ τὴν στάσιν εἰργάσαντο καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ  
 Μιλήσιοι καὶ Σικελία πᾶσα καὶ συχναὶ ἄλλαι  
 πόλεις. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα προειλόμην ἀκρι-  
 βεστέραν μᾶλλον ἢ βραχυτέραν ποιήσασθαι τὴν  
 διήγησιν· κρινέτω δ' ἕκαστος ὡς βούλεται.

<sup>1</sup> ἴσων καὶ δικαίων Kiessling: ἴσων δικαίων O (but three letters erased in B after δικαίων), δικαίων Kayser.

<sup>1</sup> The factional strife at Coreyra to which Dionysius refers was that of the years 427-25, so graphically described by Thucydides (iii. 70-85, iv. 46 f.). At Argos the democrats took dire vengeance upon the oligarchs in 370, slaying as many as 1200 or 1500 (Diodorus, xv. 58). The early struggles between the wealthy and the poor at Miletus, in the days

other circumstance that contributed to the victory of one side or the other, yet when they come to give an account of civil commotions and seditions, do not consider it necessary to report the speeches by which the extraordinary and remarkable events were brought to pass. For if there is anything about the Roman commonwealth that is worthy of great praise and deserving of imitation by all mankind, or, rather, anything that surpasses in its lustre all the many things which deserve our admiration, it is in my opinion this fact—that neither the plebeians in contempt of the patricians took up arms against them, and after murdering many of the best men, seized all their fortunes, nor, on the other hand, the men in positions of dignity either by themselves alone or with the aid of foreign troops destroyed all the plebeians and after that lived in the city free from fear, but conferring together about what was fair and just, like brothers with brothers or children with their parents in a well-governed family, they settled their controversies by persuasion and reason and never allowed themselves to commit any irreparable or wicked deeds against one another, such as the Corcyraeans committed at the time of their sedition, and also the Argives, the Milesians, and all Sicily, as well as many other states.<sup>1</sup> For these reasons, therefore, I have chosen to make my narration accurate rather than brief; but let everyone judge of the matter as he thinks fit.

when that city was at the height of its power, were characterized by revolting excesses, some of which are related by Athenaeus (xii. p. 524); and Herodotus (v. 28) speaks of a civil war there that continued for two generations. In the case of the Sicilian cities it is not easy to point so confidently to the specific events that Dionysius had in mind.

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LXVII. Τότε δ' οὖν τῆς δίκης τοῦτο λαβούσης τὸ τέλος ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἀπελύετο προσειληφῶς ἀνόητον αὔχημα καὶ καθηρηκέαι τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν οἰόμενος,<sup>1</sup> οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι κατηφέεις τε καὶ ταπεινοὶ καὶ δι' αἰτίας ἔχοντες τὸν Οὐαλέριον, ὑφ' οὗ πεισθέντες ἐπέτρεψαν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν δίκην· ἦν τε οἰμωγὴ καὶ δάκρυα τῶν οἰκτειρόντων τε καὶ <sup>2</sup> προπεμπόντων τὸν Μάρκιον. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Μάρκιος οὔτε ἀνακλαυσάμενος ὤφθη τὰς αὐτοῦ τύχας οὔτ' ἀποιμώξας οὔτε ἄλλο εἰπὼν ἢ δράσας ἀνάξιον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν· ἔτι δὲ μάλλον ἐδήλωσε τὴν γενναιότητα καὶ τὴν <sup>2</sup> καρτερίαν τῆς γνώμης, ἐπειδὴ οἴκαδε ἀφικόμενος γυναικὰ τε εἶδε καὶ μητέρα καταρρηγνυμένας τοὺς πέπλους καὶ τὰ στέρνα τυπτούσας καὶ οἶα εἰκὸς ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς λέγειν τὰς ἀποζευγνυμένας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων σφίσι θανά- <sup>3</sup> τοις ἢ φυγαῖς ἀναβοώσας. οὐθὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὰ δάκρυα καὶ τοὺς θρήνους τῶν γυναικῶν ἔπαθεν, ἀσπασάμενος δ' αὐτὰς μόνον, καὶ παρακαλέσας γενναίως φέρειν τὰς συμφοράς, τοὺς τε παῖδας αὐταῖς παρακαταθέμενος <sup>3</sup> (ὁ γὰρ πρεσβύτερος τῶν παίδων ἦν δέκα γεγονὼς ἔτη, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος ἔτι ὑπαγκάλιος), ἄλλο δ' οὐθὲν οὔτε φιλοφρονησάμενος οὔτε διοικησάμενος <sup>4</sup> οἷς εἰς τὴν φυγὴν χρήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἐξῆει κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας οὐδενὶ δηλώσας ὅποι <sup>5</sup> τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ποιήσοιτο.

LXVIII. Ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις καθῆκε μὲν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν καιρὸς, ὕπατοι δ' ἀπεδείχθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου Κόιντος Σολπίκιος Καμε-

<sup>1</sup> οἰόμενος B : νομίσας R.



LXVII. On the occasion in question, then, when the trial had resulted as I have related, the populace when dismissed had acquired a spirit of frantic jubilation and thought they had destroyed the aristocracy, whereas the patricians were cast down and dejected, and blamed Valerius, by whose persuasion they had been induced to entrust the trial to the populace; and there were lamentations and tears on the part of those who pitied Marcius and escorted him to his home. But Marcius himself was not seen either to bewail or to lament his own fate or to say or do the least thing unworthy of his greatness of soul; and he showed still greater nobility and resolution when he reached home and saw his wife and mother rending their robes, beating their breasts, and uttering the lamentations natural in such calamities to women who are being separated from their dearest relations by death or banishment. For he was not moved at all by the tears and lamentations of the women, but merely saluted them and exhorted them to bear their misfortunes with firmness; then, recommending his sons to them (the elder son was ten years old and the younger still a child in arms) and without showing any other mark of tenderness or making provision for what would be needed in his banishment, he departed in haste to the gates of the city, informing no one to what place he proposed to retire.

LXVIII. A few days after this the time came for the election of magistrates, and Quintus Sulpicius

<sup>2</sup> τὴν added by Kiessling.

<sup>3</sup> Reiske: παραθέμενος AB.

<sup>4</sup> οὔτε διοικησάμενος added by Sintenis, οὔτε λαβὼν Sylburg, οὔτε κατασκευασάμενος Jacoby (in note).

<sup>5</sup> ὅποι C, by correction: ὅπου AB, and C (at first).

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ρῖνος καὶ Σέργιος<sup>1</sup> Λάρκιος Φλαύιος τὸ δεύτερον. ταραχαὶ δέ τινες ἐνέπιπτον ἐκ δειμάτων δαιμονίων τῇ πόλει συχναί· ὄψεις τε γὰρ οὐκ εἰωθυῖαι ἐφαίνοντο πολλοῖς, καὶ φωναὶ ἠκούοντο οὐδενὸς ὄντος τοῦ φθεγγομένου, γοναί τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ<sup>2</sup> βοσκημάτων πολὺ ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκβεβηκυῖαι εἰς τὸ ἄπιστόν τε καὶ τερατῶδες ἐφέροντο, χρησμοὶ τε ἤδοντο ἐν πολλοῖς χωρίοις, καὶ θειασμοῖς κάτοχοι γυναικες οἰκτρὰς ἐμαντεύοντο καὶ δεινὰς τῇ πόλει τύχας. ἤψατο δέ τις καὶ νόσος τοῦ πλήθους λοιμικὴ καὶ πολλὴν ἐποίησε βοσκημάτων φθοράν· ἀνθρώπων μέντοι θάνατος οὐ πολὺς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἄχρι νόσων τὸ δεινὸν ἐχώρησεν· τοῖς μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐδόκει κατὰ θεοῦ γενέσθαι γνώμην νεμεσῶντος ὅτι τὸν ἄριστον τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξήλασαν τῆς πατρίδος, τοῖς δ' οὐθὲν τῶν γινομένων θεοῦ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τυχηρὰ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ἀνθρώπεια εἶναι

3 πάθη. ἔπειθ' ἦκέ τις ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον τῆς βουλῆς ἄρρωστος ἐπὶ κλινιδίου κομιζόμενος, Τίτος Λατίνιος<sup>3</sup> ὄνομα, πρεσβύτερός τε ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐσίας ἰκανῆς κύριος, αὐτουργὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν πλείω χρόνον τοῦ βίου ζῶν ἐν ἀγρῶ. οὗτος εἰς τὴν βουλήν ἐνεχθεὶς ἔφη δόξαι καθ' ὕπνον ἐπιστάντα τὸν Καπιτώλιον Δία λέγειν αὐτῶ· “Ἴθι, Λατίνιε, καὶ λέγε τοῖς πολίταις ὅτι μοι τῆς νεωστὶ πομπῆς<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Σέργιος is an error for Σπόριος, as the name appears elsewhere in the *Antiquities*. For the corrupt form Φλαύιος see on vi. 69, 3.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ Sintenis : ἦ Ο.

<sup>3</sup> Kiessling : λατίνος Ο; but 4 lines below λατίνε in B is a correction from λατίνιε.

<sup>4</sup> τῆς . . . πομπῆς Hertlein : τῆ . . . πομπῆ Ο.

Camerinus and Spurius Larcius Flavius were chosen consuls by the people, the latter for the second time.<sup>1</sup> Sundry disturbances fell upon the commonwealth as the result of prodigies, and these were many; for unusual sights appeared to many, and voices too were heard, though no one uttered them; births of children and cattle, so very abnormal as to approach the incredible and the monstrous, were reported; oracles were uttered in many places; and women possessed with a divine frenzy foretold lamentable and dreadful misfortunes to the commonwealth. A kind of pestilence also visited the population and destroyed great numbers of cattle; however, not many persons died of it, the mischief going no farther than sickness. Some thought that these things had occurred by the will of Heaven, which was angry with them for having banished from the country the most deserving of all their citizens, while others held that nothing that took place was the work of Heaven, but that both these and all other human events were due to chance. Afterwards,<sup>2</sup> a certain man named Titus Latinius, being ill, was brought to the senate-chamber in a litter; he was a man advanced in years and possessed of a competent fortune, a farmer who did his own work and passed the greater part of his life in the country. This man, having been carried into the senate, said that Jupiter Capitolinus had, as he thought, appeared to him in a dream and said to him: "Go, Latinius, and tell your fellow-citizens that in the recent procession<sup>3</sup> they did not give me an

<sup>1</sup> His first consulship had been 16 years earlier (see v. 36). The MSS. give the name here incorrectly as Sergius Larcius Flavius.

<sup>2</sup> For chap. 68, 3-69 and 73, 5 *cf.* Livy ii. 36.

<sup>3</sup> See chap. 69, 1 and note.

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τὸν ἡγούμενον ὀρχηστὴν οὐ καλὸν ἔδωκαν, ἵνα  
 ἀναθῶνται τὰς ἐορτὰς καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐτέρας  
 4 ἐπιτελέσωσιν· οὐ γὰρ δέδεγμαί ταύτας.” αὐτὸς  
 δ’ ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων ἔφησεν<sup>1</sup> ἀναστὰς παρ’ οὐδέν  
 ἠγήσασθαι τὸ ὄναρ, ἀλλ’ ἔν τι τῶν πολλῶν καὶ  
 ἀπατηλῶν ὑπολαβεῖν. ἔπειτα αὐτῷ πάλιν κατὰ  
 τοὺς ὕπνους ἐπιφανέν τὸ αὐτὸ εἶδωλον τοῦ θεοῦ  
 χαλεπαίνειν τε καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἀπήγγειλε  
 πρὸς τὴν βουλήν τὰ κελευσθέντα καὶ ἀπειλεῖν, εἰ  
 μὴ τοῦτο δράσει διὰ ταχέων, ὅτι σὺν μεγάλῳ  
 μαθήσεται κακῷ μὴ ὀλιγωρεῖν τῶν δαιμονίων.  
 ἰδὼν δὲ καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ὄναρ, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔφη  
 ποιήσασθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν, καὶ ἅμα δι’ αἰσχύνης<sup>2</sup>  
 τὸ πρᾶγμα λαβεῖν, ἀνὴρ αὐτουργὸς καὶ γέρων  
 ὀνειράτα πρὸς τὴν βουλήν ἐκφέρειν ὀττειίας καὶ  
 5 δειμάτων μεστά, μὴ καὶ γέλωτα ὄφλη. ὀλίγαις δ’  
 ὕστερον ἡμέραις τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ νέον ὄντα<sup>3</sup> καὶ  
 καλὸν οὔτε ὑπὸ νόσων οὔτε ὑπ’ ἄλλης τινὸς  
 αἰτίας φανερᾶς ἀναρπασθέντα<sup>4</sup> αἰφνιδίως ἀποθανεῖν·  
 καὶ αὖθις τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὄψιν φανείσαν ἐν τοῖς  
 ὕπνοις δηλοῦν ὅτι τῆς ὑπεροψίας καὶ τῆς κατα-  
 φρονήσεως τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τὴν μὲν ἤδη δέδωκε  
 δίκην τὸν υἱὸν ἀφαιρεθείς, τὰς δ’ ὀλίγον ὕστερον  
 6 δώσει. ταῦτα δ’ ἀκούσας ἔφη καθ’ ἡδονὴν  
 δέξασθαι τὸν λόγον, εἰ μέλλοι θάνατος αὐτῷ  
 ἐλεύσεσθαι παρημεληκότι τοῦ βίου· τὸν δὲ θεὸν  
 οὐ ταύτην αὐτῷ προσθεῖναι τὴν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ’ εἰς  
 ἅπαντα τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἀφορήτους καὶ  
 δεινὰς ἐμβαλεῖν ἀλγηδόνας, ὥστε μηδὲν ἄρθρον  
 ἄνευ κατατάσεως<sup>5</sup> τῆς ἐσχάτης δύνασθαι κινεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> Jacoby: ἔφη Ο.

<sup>2</sup> ἔχειν after αἰσχύνης deleted by Reiske.

acceptable leader of the dance, in order that they may renew the rites and perform them over again; for I have not accepted these." He added that after awaking he had disregarded the vision, looking upon it as one of the deceitful dreams that are so common. Later, he said, the same vision of the god, appearing to him again in his sleep, was angry and displeased with him for not having reported to the senate the orders he had received, and threatened him that, if he did not do so promptly, he should learn by the experience of some great calamity not to neglect supernatural injunctions. After seeing this second dream also he had formed the same opinion of it, and at the same time had felt ashamed, being a farmer who did his own work and old, to report to the senate dreams full of foreboding and terrors, for fear of being laughed at. But a few days later, he said, his son, who was young and handsome, had been suddenly snatched away by death without any sickness or any other obvious cause. And once more the vision of the god had appeared to him in his sleep and declared that he had already been punished in part for his contempt and neglect of the god's words by the loss of his son, and should soon suffer the rest of his punishment. When he heard this, he said, he had received the threats with pleasure, in the hope that death would come to him, weary of life as he was; but the god did not inflict this punishment upon him, but sent such intolerable and cruel pains into all his limbs that he could not move a joint without the

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<sup>3</sup> ὄντα added by Reiske.

<sup>4</sup> Kiessling: συναρπασθέντα O.

<sup>5</sup> Sylburg: καταστάσεως O.

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τότε δὴ τοῖς φίλοις κοινωσάμενος τὰ συμβεβηκότα καὶ κελευσθεὶς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἤκειν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν. διεξιὼν δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ μικρὸν ἐδόκει τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἀπαλλάττεσθαι· καὶ ἐπειδὴ πάντα διεξῆλθεν, ἀναστὰς ἐκ τοῦ κλινιδίου καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναβοήσας ἀπῆει τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποσὶ διὰ τῆς πόλεως οἴκαδε ὑγιῆς.

LXIX. Ἡ δὲ βουλὴ δέους ἀνάπλεως ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀχανῆς ἦν ἕκαστος οὐκ ἔχων συμβαλεῖν ὅ τι τὸ δηλούμενον ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τίς ποτε ὁ τῆς <sup>1</sup> πομπῆς ὀρχηστῆς προηγούμενος <sup>2</sup> οὐ καλὸς αὐτῷ ἐφάνη. ἔπειτα λέγει τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναμνησθεὶς τὸ γενόμενον, καὶ πάντες ἐμαρτύρησαν. ἦν δὲ τοιούδε· ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος οὐκ ἀφανῆς θεράποντα ἴδιον ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ θανάτου παραδούς τοῖς ὀμοδούλοις ἄγειν, ἵνα δὴ περιφανῆς ἢ τιμωρία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γένηται, δι' ἀγορᾶς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε μαστιγούμενον ἔλκειν καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἦν τῆς πόλεως τόπος ἐπιφανῆς, ἠγούμενον τῆς πομπῆς ἦν ἔστειλλε τῷ θεῷ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ἢ πόλις. <sup>2</sup> οἱ δ' ἄγοντες τὸν θεράποντα ἐπὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν τὰς χεῖρας ἀποτείναντες ἀμφοτέρας καὶ ξύλω προσδήσαντες παρὰ τὰ στέρνα τε καὶ τοὺς ὤμους καὶ μέχρι τῶν καρπῶν διήκοντι παρηκολούθουν ξαίνοντες μάστιξι γυμνὸν ὄντα. ὁ δ' ἐν τοιαῦδε ἀνάγκῃ κρατούμενος ἐβόα τε φωνὰς δυσφήμους, ἃς ἢ ἀλγηδῶν ἐβούλετο, καὶ κινήσεις διὰ τὴν αἰκίαν ἀσχήμονας ἐκινεῖτο.<sup>3</sup> τοῦτον δὴ πάντες

<sup>1</sup> ὁ τῆς R : ὁ πρὸ τῆς B.

<sup>2</sup> προηγούμενος Sylburg, ἠγούμενος Kiessling : προαγόμενος A, ἀγόμενος B.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκινεῖτο B (and Plutarch, Cor. 24) : ἐποιεῖτο A.

greatest effort. Then at last he had informed his friends of what had happened, and by their advice had now come to the senate. While he was giving this account his pains seemed to leave him by degrees; and after he had related everything, he rose from the litter, and having invoked the god, went home on foot through the city in perfect health.

LXIX. Upon this the senators were filled with fear and everyone was speechless with astonishment, being at a loss to guess what the god's message meant, and who was the leader of the dance in the procession who appeared unacceptable to him. At last one of them, recalling the incident, related it to the rest and all of them confirmed it by their testimony. It was this. A Roman citizen of no obscure station, having ordered one of his slaves to be put to death, delivered him to his fellow-slaves to be led away, and in order that his punishment might be witnessed by all, directed them to drag him through the Forum and every other conspicuous part of the city as they whipped him, and that he should go ahead of the procession which the Romans were at that time conducting in honour of the god.<sup>1</sup> The men ordered to lead the slave to his punishment, having stretched out both his arms and fastened them to a piece of wood which extended across his breast and shoulders as far as his wrists, followed him, tearing his naked body with whips. The culprit, overcome by such cruelty, not only uttered ill-omened cries, forced from him by the pain, but also made indecent movements under the blows. This man, accordingly,

<sup>1</sup> The procession was a part of the festival described in ch. 71 ff. Livy (ii. 36, 1) styles the festival *ludi magni*, a term he usually applies to votive games.

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ἐνόμισαν εἶναι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μηνυόμενον ὀρχηστὴν οὐ καλόν.

- LXX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο γέγονα τῆς ἱστορίας τὸ μέρος, οὐκ οἶομαι δεῖν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπιτελούμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρελθεῖν, οὐχ ἵνα μοι χαριεστέρα γένηται προσθήκας λαβοῦσα θεατρικὰς καὶ λόγους ἀνθηροτέρους ἢ διήγησις, ἀλλ' ἵνα τῶν ἀναγκαίων τι πιστώσῃται πραγμάτων, ὅτι τὰ συνοικίσαντα ἔθνη τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν Ἑλληνικὰ ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀποικισθέντα τόπων, ἀλλ' οὐχ, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι νομίζουσι, βάρβαρα
- 2 καὶ ἀνέστια. ὑπεσχόμεν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τῆς πρώτης γραφῆς, ἣν περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν συνταξάμενος ἐξέδωκα, μυρίοις βεβαιώσῃν τεκμηρίοις τὴν πρόθεσιν, ἔθῃ καὶ νόμιμα καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα παλαιὰ παρεχόμενος αὐτῶν, ἃ μέχρι τοῦ κατ' ἐμὲ φυλάττουσι χρόνου οἷα παρὰ τῶν προγόνων ἐδέξαντο· οὐχ ἡγούμενος ἀποχρῆν τοῖς ἀναγράφουσι τὰς ἀρχαίας καὶ τοπικὰς ἱστορίας, ὡς παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων αὐτὰς παρέλαβον ἀξιόπιστως διελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαρτυριῶν οἰόμενος αὐταῖς δεῖν πολλῶν καὶ δυσαντιλέκτων, εἰ μέλλουσι
- 3 πισταὶ φανήσεσθαι. ἐν αἷς πρῶτα καὶ κυριώτατα πάντων εἶναι πείθομαι τὰ γινόμενα καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν περὶ θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων πατρίους σεβασμούς. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπὶ μῆκιστον χρόνον διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχει Ἑλλάς τε καὶ βάρβαρος χώρα, καὶ οὐθὲν ἀξιοῖ καινοτομεῖν εἰς αὐτὰ ὑπὸ δείματος
- 4 κρατουμένη μηνιμάτων δαιμονίων. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πεπόνθασιν οἱ βάρβαροι διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας,

<sup>1</sup> See i. 90, 2.



they all thought to be the unacceptable dancer signified by the god.

LXX. Since I have come to this part of my history, I believe I ought not to omit mention of the rites performed by the Romans on the occasion of this festival. I do this, not in order to render my narration more agreeable by dramatic embellishments and flowery descriptions, but to win credence for an essential matter of history, namely, that the peoples which joined in founding the city of Rome were Greek colonies sent out from the most famous places, and not, as some believe, barbarians and vagabonds. For I promised at the end of the first Book, which I composed and published concerning their origin,<sup>1</sup> that I would demonstrate this thesis by countless proofs, by citing time-honoured customs, laws and institutions which they preserve down to my time just as they received them from their ancestors. For I believe that it is not enough that those who write the early histories of particular lands should relate them in a trustworthy manner as they have received them from the inhabitants of the country, but that these accounts require also for their support numerous and indisputable testimonies, if they are to appear credible. Among such testimonies I am convinced that the first and the most valid of all are the ceremonies connected with the established worship of the gods and other divinities which are performed in the various states. These both the Greeks and barbarian world have preserved for the greatest length of time and have never thought fit to make any innovation in them, being restrained from doing so by their fear of the divine anger. This has been the experience of the barbarians in particular, for many reasons which this is

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ὡς οὐ καιρὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι λέγειν, καὶ χρόνος οὐθείς μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἀπομαθεῖν ἢ παρανομησαί τι περὶ τοὺς ὀργιασμοὺς τῶν θεῶν ἔπεισεν οὔτ' Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Λίβυας οὔτε Κελτοὺς οὔτε Σκύθας οὔτ' Ἰνδοὺς οὔτ' ἄλλο βάρβαρον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς· εἰ μὴ τινες ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἐξουσία ποτὲ γενόμενοι τὰ τῶν κρατησάντων ἠναγκάσθησαν ἐπιτηδεύματα μεταλαβεῖν. τῇ δὲ Ῥωμαίων πόλει τοιαύτης οὐδέποτε πειραθῆναι συνέβη τύχης, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ τὰ δίκαια τάττει διὰ παντὸς ἐτέροις.

5 εἰ δὴ βάρβαρον αὐτῶν τὸ γένος ἦν, τοσοῦτου ἂν ἐδέησαν αὐτοὶ τὰ πατρῶα<sup>1</sup> ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἐθισμοὺς ἀπομαθεῖν, δι' οὓς εἰς τοσαύτην προῆλθον εὐδαιμονίαν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, ὧν ἦρχον, ἐν καλῷ κατέστησαν τοὺς θεοὺς τοῖς σφετέροις τιμᾶν νομίμοις· καὶ οὐθὲν ἂν ἐκώλυσεν ἅπαν ἐκβεβαρβαρῶσθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐβδόμην ἤδη κρατούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν γενεάν, εἶπερ ἦσαν βάρβαροι.

LXXI. Ἔτερος μὲν οὖν ἀποχρῆν ἂν ὑπέλαβε καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ νῦν πραττόμενα ἐν<sup>2</sup> τῇ πόλει μηνύματα οὐ μικρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων·<sup>3</sup> ἐγὼ δ', ἵνα μὴ τις ἀσθενῆ τὴν πίστιν εἶναι ταύτην ὑπολάβη κατ'<sup>4</sup> ἐκείνην τὴν ἀπίθανον ὑπόληψιν ὅτι παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ κρατήσαντες ἀσμένως ἂν τὰ κρείττω μετέμαθον ἔθη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὑπεριδόντες, ἐξ ἐκείνου ποιήσομαι τοῦ χρόνου τὴν τέκμαρσιν, ὅτ' οὔπω τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἶχον

<sup>1</sup> πατρῶα Reiske: πρῶτα O.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν Kiessling: ἐπὶ O.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπολαβεῖν after ἐπιτηδευμάτων deleted by Kiessling; Sintenis would read ἀπολαβεῖν.

<sup>4</sup> εἶτε before κατ' deleted by Portus.

not the proper occasion for mentioning; and no lapse of time has thus far induced either the Egyptians, the Libyans, the Gauls, the Scythians, the Indians, or any other barbarian nation whatever to forget or transgress anything relating to the rites of their gods, unless some of them have been subdued by a foreign power and compelled to exchange their own institutions for those of their conquerors. Now it has not been the fate of the Roman commonwealth ever to experience such a misfortune, but she herself always gives laws to others. If, therefore, the Romans had been originally barbarians, they would have been so far from forgetting their ancestral rites and the established customs of their country, by which they had attained to so great prosperity, that they would even have made it to the interest of all their subjects as well to honour the gods according to the customary Roman ceremonies; and nothing could have hindered the whole Greek world, which is now subject to the Romans for already the seventh generation,<sup>1</sup> from being barbarized if the Romans had indeed been barbarians.

LXXI. Anyone else might have assumed that the ceremonies now practised in the city were enough even by themselves to afford no slight indication of the ancient observances. But for my part, lest anyone should hold this to be weak evidence, according to that improbable assumption that after the Romans had conquered the whole Greek world they would gladly have scorned their own customs and adopted the better ones in their stead, I shall adduce my evidence from the time when they did not as yet possess the supremacy over Greece or dominion over any other

<sup>1</sup> Cf. i. 3, 5 and note; also the note on iii. 69, 6.

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ἡγεμονίαν οὐδὲ ἄλλην διαπόντιον οὐδεμίαν ἀρχήν, Κοϊντῶ Φαβίῳ βεβαιωτῇ χρώμενος καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἔτι δεόμενος πίστεως ἐτέρας· παλαιότατος γὰρ ἀνὴρ<sup>1</sup> τῶν τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ συνταξαμένων, καὶ πίστιν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἤκουσε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἔγνω παρεχόμενος.

- 2 Ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐψηφίσατο μὲν ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄγειν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, κατὰ τὰς γενομένας εὐχὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ δικτάτορος Αὔλου Ποστομίου ὅτ' ἔμελλεν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἀποστάσας Λατίνων πόλεις κατάγειν ἐπιχειρούσας Ταρκύνιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν· ἀναλοῦσθαι δ' ἔταξε καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τε τὰς θυσίας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀργυρίου πεντακοσίας μνᾶς· καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Φοινικικοῦ πολέμου τοῦτ'<sup>2</sup> ἑδαπάνων
- 3 εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἐγίνετο νόμοις Ἑλληνικοῖς κατὰ τε πανηγυρισμοὺς καὶ ξένων ὑποδοχὰς καὶ ἐκεχειρίας, ἃ πολὺ ἂν ἔργον<sup>3</sup> εἶη λέγειν, τὰ δὲ περὶ πομπὴν τε καὶ θυσίαν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας—ἀπόχρη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων καὶ τὰ μὴ λεχθέντα ἐξετάζειν—τοιιάδε·

LXXII. Πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τῶν ἀγῶνων, πομπὴν ἔστελλον τοῖς θεοῖς οἱ τὴν μεγίστην ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν,<sup>4</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τε καὶ δι' ἀγορᾶς ἄγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν μέγαν ἵππόδρομον. ἡγούντο δὲ τῆς πομπῆς πρῶτον μὲν οἱ παῖδες αὐτῶν οἱ πρόσηβοί τε καὶ τοῦ πομπεύειν ἔχοντες ἡλικίαν, ἱππεῖς μὲν ὧν οἱ πατέρες τιμήματα ἱππέων

<sup>1</sup> ἀνὴρ Kiessling: ὁ ἀνὴρ A, ἀνὴρ B.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦτ' O (?): ταῦτ' Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> ἂν ἔργον B: ἔργον ἂν R.

country beyond the sea; and I shall cite Quintus Fabius as my authority, without requiring any further confirmation. For he is the most ancient of all the Roman historians and offers proof of what he asserts, not only from the information of others, but also from his own knowledge.

This festival, therefore, the Roman senate ordered to be celebrated, as I said before,<sup>1</sup> pursuant to the vow made by the dictator Aulus Postumius when he was upon the point of giving battle to the Latins, who had revolted from the Romans and were endeavouring to restore Tarquinius to power; and they ordered five hundred minae of silver to be expended every year upon the sacrifices and the games, a sum the Romans laid out on the festival till the time of the Punic War. During these holidays not only were many other observances carried out according to the customs of the Greeks, in connection with the general assemblies, the reception of strangers, and the cessation of hostilities, which it would be a big task to describe, but also those relating to the procession, the sacrifice, and the games—these are sufficient to give an idea of those I do not mention—which were as follows:

LXXII. Before beginning the games the principal magistrates conducted a procession in honour of the gods from the Capitol through the Forum to the Circus Maximus. Those who led the procession were, first, the Romans' sons who were nearing manhood and were of an age to bear a part in this ceremony, who rode on horseback if their fathers were entitled

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vi. 17, 2; 94, 3; but nothing is said in those passages about future celebrations of a festival.

<sup>4</sup> ἐξουσίαν Ο: οὐσίαν Mommsen.

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εἶχον, πεζοὶ δ' οἱ μέλλοντες ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς στρατεύε-  
 σθαι· οἱ μὲν κατ' ἴλας τε καὶ κατὰ λόχους, οἱ δὲ  
 κατὰ συμμορίας τε καὶ τάξεις ὡς εἰς διδασκαλεῖον  
 πορευόμενοι· ἵνα φανερὰ γίνοιτο τοῖς ξένοις ἢ  
 μέλλουσα ἀνδρουῖσθαι τῆς πόλεως ἀκμὴ πλήθός τε  
 2 καὶ κάλλος οἷα τις ἦν. τούτοις ἠκολούθουν  
 ἡνίοχοι τὰ <sup>1</sup> τέθριππά τε καὶ τὰς <sup>1</sup> συνωρίδας καὶ  
 τοὺς ἀζεύκτους ἵππους ἐλαύνοντες· μεθ' οὓς οἱ  
 τῶν ἀθλημάτων ἀγωνισταὶ τῶν τε κούφων καὶ  
 τῶν βαρέων τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σῶμα γυμνοί, τὸ δὲ περὶ  
 τὴν αἰδῶ καλυπτόμενοι. τοῦτο καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ  
 ἔθος ἐν Ῥώμῃ διέμενεν, ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγένετο παρ'  
 Ἕλλησιν· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταλέλνται Λακε-  
 3 δαιμονίων αὐτὸ καταλυσάντων. ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ἐπι-  
 χειρήσας ἀποδυθῆναι τὸ σῶμα καὶ γυμνὸς Ὀλυμ-  
 πίασι δραμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πεντεκαϊδεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος  
 Ἄκανθος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν. τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτων  
 δι' αἰσχύνης εἶχον ἅπαντες Ἕλληνες ὅλα γυμνὰ  
 φαίνειν ἐν ταῖς ἀγωνίαις τὰ σώματα, ὡς Ὀμηρος  
 τεκμηριοῖ, μαρτύρων ἀξιοπιστότατός τε καὶ ἀρχαι-  
 ὄτατος ὢν, ζωννυμένους τοὺς ἥρωας ποιῶν.  
 τὴν γοῦν Αἴαντος καὶ Ὀδυσσεῶς πάλην ἐπὶ τῇ  
 Πατρόκλου ταφῇ γενομένην ἀφηγούμενός φησι·

Τὼ δὲ ζωσαμένω βήτην ἐς μέσσον ἀγῶνα.

<sup>1</sup> τὰ and τὰς added by Jacoby (cf. ch. 73, 1); Kiessling preferred to delete τοὺς before ἀζεύκτους ἵππους.

by their fortunes to be knights, while the others, who were destined to serve in the infantry, went on foot, the former in squadrons and troops, and the latter in divisions and companies, as if they were going to school; this was done in order that strangers might see the number and beauty of the youths of the commonwealth who were approaching manhood. These were followed by charioteers, some of whom drove four horses abreast, some two, and others rode unyoked horses. After them came the contestants in both the light and the heavy games, their whole bodies naked except their loins. This custom continued even to my time at Rome, as it was originally practised by the Greeks; but it is now abolished in Greece, the Lacedaemonians having put an end to it. The first man who undertook to strip and ran naked at the Olympics, at the fifteenth Olympiad, was Acanthus the Lacedaemonian. Before that time, it seems, all the Greeks had been ashamed to appear entirely naked in the games, as Homer, the most credible and the most ancient of all witnesses, shows when he represents the heroes as girding up their loins. At any rate, when he is describing the wrestling-match of Aias and Odysseus<sup>1</sup> at the funeral of Patroclus, he says:

And then the twain with loins well girt stepped  
 forth  
 Into the lists.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But the verse Dionysius cites is *Iliad* xxiii. 685, from the account of the boxing-match between Epeus and Euryalus. In introducing the wrestling-match between Aias and Odysseus the poet begins the verse (710) a little differently: ζωσαμένω δ' ἄρα τῷ γε βάρτην. The historian was probably quoting here from memory.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* xxiii. 685.

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4 καὶ ἔτι σαφέστερον ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ τοῦτο ποιεῖ φανερόν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἴρου καὶ Ὀδυσσεύως πυγμῆς ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεσιν·

ᾠς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπήνεον· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς

Ζώσατο μὲν ράκεσιν περὶ μῆδεα, φαῖνε δὲ μηρούς  
Καλοὺς τε μεγάλους τε. φάνεν δέ οἱ εὐρέες ὦμοι  
Στήθεά τε στιβαροὶ τε βραχίονες.

τὸν δὲ πτωχὸν οὐκέτι βουλόμενον μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀποδειλιῶντα εἰσάγων τάδε εἴρηκεν·

ᾠς ἄρ' ἔφαν· Ἴρω δὲ κακῶς ὠρίνετο θυμός·  
Ἄλλὰ καὶ ὡς μνηστῆρες<sup>1</sup> ἄγον ζώσαντες  
ἀνάγκη.

τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔθος ἀρχαῖον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὄν διαφυλάττοντες<sup>2</sup> μέχρι τοῦδε Ῥωμαῖοι δηλοῖ εἰσιν οὐ προσμαθόντες παρ' ἡμῶν ὕστερον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μεταθέμενοι σὺν χρόνῳ καθάπερ ἡμεῖς.

5 Ἠκολούθουν δὲ τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ὄρχηστῶν χοροὶ πολλοὶ τριχῆ νενεμημένοι, πρῶτοι μὲν ἀνδρῶν, δεύτεροι δ' ἀγενείων, τελευταῖοι δὲ παίδων, οἷς παρηκολούθουν αὐληταὶ τε ἀρχαϊκοῖς ἐμφυσῶντες αὐλίσκοις βραχέσιν, ὡς καὶ εἰς τόδε χρόνου γίνεται, καὶ κιθαρισταὶ λύρας ἑπταχόρδους ἑλεφαντίνας καὶ τὰ καλούμενα βάρβιτα κρέκοντες. ὦν παρὰ μὲν Ἑλλησιν ἐκλέλοιπεν ἡ χρῆσις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πάτριος οὔσα· παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ἀπάσαις

6 φυλάττεται ταῖς ἀρχαίαις θυηπολίαις. σκευαὶ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. of Homer read *δρηστήρες*.

<sup>2</sup> διαφυλάττοντες Sintenis: οἱ φυλάττοντες O, Jacoby, φυλάττοντες Sylburg.



And he makes this still plainer in the *Odyssey* upon the occasion of the boxing-match between Irus and Odysseus, in these verses :

He spake, and all approved ; Odysseus then  
His rags girt round his loins, and showed his thighs  
So fair and stout ; broad shoulders too and chest  
And brawny arms there stood revealed.<sup>1</sup>

And when he introduces the beggar as no longer willing to engage but declining the combat through fear, he says :

They spake, and Irus' heart was sorely stirred ;  
Yet even so the suitors <sup>2</sup> girt his loins  
By force and led him forward.<sup>3</sup>

Thus it is plain that the Romans, who preserve this ancient Greek custom to this day, did not learn it from us afterwards nor even change it in the course of time, as we have done.

The contestants were followed by numerous bands of dancers arranged in three divisions, the first consisting of men, the second of youths, and the third of boys. These were accompanied by flute-players, who used ancient flutes that were small and short, as is done even to this day, and by lyre-players, who plucked ivory lyres of seven strings and the instruments called *barbita*.<sup>4</sup> The use of these had ceased in my time among the Greeks, though traditional with them, but is preserved by the Romans in all their ancient sacrificial ceremonies.

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* xviii. 66-69.

<sup>2</sup> A mistake for "servants"; see critical note.

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* xviii. 74 f.

<sup>4</sup> The *barbiton* was a stringed instrument much like the lyre.

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τῶν ὀρχηστῶν ἦσαν χιτῶνες φοινίκεοι ζωστήηροι χαλκείους ἐσφυγμένοι, καὶ ξίφη παρηρητημένα,<sup>1</sup> καὶ λόγχοι βραχύτεροι τῶν μετρίων· τοῖς δ' ἀνδράσι καὶ κράνη χάλκεα λόφοις ἐπισήμοις κεκοσμημένα καὶ πτεροῖς. ἤγειτο δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον χορὸν<sup>2</sup> εἰς ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἐνεδίδου<sup>3</sup> τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ τῆς ὀρχήσεως σχήματα, πρῶτος εἰδοφορῶν τὰς πολεμικὰς καὶ συντόνους κινήσεις ἐν τοῖς προκελευσματικοῖς<sup>4</sup>  
 7 ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ῥυθμοῖς. Ἑλληνικὸν δ' ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἐν τοῖς πάνυ παλαιὸν ἐπιτήδευμα, ἐνόπιος ὀρχησις ἢ καλουμένη πυρρίχη, εἴτε Ἀθηναῖς πρώτης ἐπὶ Τιτάνων ἀφανισμῷ χορεύειν καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις τὰπινίκια ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἀρξασμένης, εἴτε παλαιότερον ἔτι Κουρήτων αὐτὴν καταστησαμένων, ὅτε τὸν Δία τιθνούμενοι θέλγειν ἐβούλοντο κτύπῳ τε ὄπλων καὶ κινήσει  
 8 μελῶν ἐνῤύθμῳ,<sup>5</sup> καθάπερ ὁ μῦθος ἔχει. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τούτου τὴν ἀρχαιότητα ὡς ἐπιχωρίου τοῖς Ἑλλησιν Ὅμηρος πολλαχῆ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ, μάλιστα δ' ἐν ἀσπίδος κατασκευῇ, ἣν Ἀχιλλεῖ δωρήσασθαι φησιν Ἡφαιστον. ὑποθέμενος γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ δύο πόλεις τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην κοσμουμένην, τὴν δὲ πολέμῳ κακοπαθοῦσαν, ἐν ἣ τὴν ἀμείνω καθίστησι<sup>6</sup> τύχην ἐορτὰς ποιῶν καὶ γάμους καὶ θαλίας ὡσπερ εἰκὸς καὶ ταῦτα λέγει·

Κοῦροι δ' ὀρχηστήηρες ἐδίνεον· ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν  
 Αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον· αἰ δὲ γυναῖκες  
 Ἰστάμεναι θαύμαζον ἐπὶ προθύροισιν ἐκάστη.

<sup>1</sup> Reiske: περιρητημένα O.

<sup>2</sup> Sylburg: χωρίον AB.

<sup>3</sup> Sylburg: ἀνεδίδου O.

<sup>4</sup> Steph.: προκελεύσασιν AB.

<sup>5</sup> ἐνῤύθμῳ Kiessling: ἐν ῥυθμῷ B, ῥυθμῷ Aa, τε ῥυθμῷ Ab.

<sup>6</sup> Sylburg: καθίστη AB.

The dancers were dressed in scarlet tunics girded with bronze cinctures, wore swords suspended at their sides, and carried spears of shorter than average length; the men also had bronze helmets adorned with conspicuous crests and plumes. Each group was led by one man who gave the figures of the dance to the rest, taking the lead in representing their warlike and rapid movements, usually in the proceleusmatic rhythms.<sup>1</sup> This also was in fact a very ancient Greek institution—I mean the armed dance called the Pyrrhic—whether it was Athena who first began to lead bands of dancers and to dance in arms over the destruction of the Titans in order to celebrate the victory by this manifestation of her joy, or whether it was the Curetes who introduced it still earlier when, acting as nurses to Zeus, they strove to amuse him by the clashing of arms and the rhythmic movements of their limbs, as the legend has it. The antiquity of this dance also, as one native to the Greeks, is made clear by Homer, not only in many other places, but particularly in describing the fashioning of the shield which he says Hephaestus presented to Achilles. For, having represented on it two cities, one blessed with peace, the other suffering from war, in the one on which he bestows the happier fate, describing festivals, marriages, and merriment, as one would naturally expect, he says among other things:

Youths whirled around in joyous dance, with sound  
Of flute and harp; and, standing at their doors,  
Admiring women on the pageant gazed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The proceleusmatic was a foot of four short syllables.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* xviii. 494-96. The translation here given is that of the Earl of Derby.

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9 καὶ αὐθις ἕτερον ἐν<sup>1</sup> αὐτῇ λέγων διακεκοσμηῆσθαι Κρητικὸν ἠιθέων τε καὶ παρθένων χορὸν ὧδε εἶρηκεν·

Ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυῆεις  
 Τῷ ἕκελον οἶόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσσῷ εὐρείῃ  
 Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.  
 Ἔνθα μὲν ἠίθεοι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι  
 Ὀρχεῦντ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχουσαι.<sup>2</sup>

κόσμον τε αὐτοῦ ἀφηγούμενος, ἵνα δῆλον ἡμῖν ποιήσκειν ὅτι ἡ τῶν ἀρρένων κινήσις ἐνόπλιος ἦν, τάδε λέγει·

Καί ῥ' αἱ μὲν καλὰς στεφάνας ἔχον, οἱ δὲ  
 μαχαίρας  
 Εἶχον χρυσείας ἐξ ἀργυρέων τελαμώνων.

ἡγεμόνας τε τῆς ὀρχήσεως αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐνδιδόντας τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ προκαταρχομένους εἰσάγων<sup>3</sup> τοιάδε γράφει·

Πολλὸς δ' ἡμερόεντα χορὸν περίσταθ' ὄμιλος  
 Τερπόμενοι· δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτοὺς  
 Μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνεον κατὰ μέσσους.

10 Οὐ μόνον δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐναγωνίου τε καὶ κατ-εσπουδασμένης ὀρχήσεως τῶν χορῶν, ἣ παρὰ τὰς θνηπολίας τε καὶ πομπὰς ἐχρῶντο Ἕλληνας Ἰδοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς κερτόμου καὶ τωθαστικῆς. μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς ἐνοπλίους χοροὺς οἱ τῶν σατυριστῶν ἐπόμπευον χοροὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν εἶδο-

<sup>1</sup> ἐν added by Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. of Homer read ἔχοντες.

BOOK VII. 72, 9-10

And again, in describing another Cretan band of dancers, consisting of youths and maidens, with which the shield was adorned, he speaks in this manner :

And on it, too, the famous craftsman wrought,  
With cunning workmanship, a dancing-floor,  
Like that which Daedalus in Cnossus wide  
For fair-haired Ariadnê shaped. And there  
Bright youths and many-suited maidens danced  
While laying each on other's wrists their hands.<sup>1</sup>

And in describing the dress of these dancers, in order to show us that the males danced in arms, he says :

The maidens garlands wore, the striplings swords  
Of gold, which proudly hung from silver belts.<sup>2</sup>

And when he introduces the leaders of the dance who gave the rhythm to the rest and began it, he writes :

And great the throng which stood about the dance,  
Enjoying it; and tumblers twain did whirl  
Amid the throng as prelude to the song.<sup>3</sup>

But it is not alone from the warlike and serious dance of these bands which the Romans employed in their sacrificial ceremonies and processions that one may observe their kinship to the Greeks, but also from that which is of a mocking and ribald nature. For after the armed dancers others marched in procession impersonating satyrs and portraying the

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* xviii. 590-4. The translation follows in part that of the Earl of Derby.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* xviii. 597 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* xviii. 603-5.

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<sup>3</sup> Sylburg : ἄγων AB.

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φοροῦντες σίκιννιν. σκευαὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ἦσαν τοῖς μὲν εἰς Σιληνοὺς εἰκασθεῖσι μαλλωτοὶ χιτῶνες, οὓς ἔνιοι χορταίους καλοῦσι, καὶ περιβόλαια ἐκ παντὸς ἄνθους· τοῖς δ' εἰς Σατύρους περιζώματα καὶ δοραὶ τράγων καὶ ὀρθότριχες ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φόβαι καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια. οὗτοι κατέσκωπτὸν τε καὶ κατεμιμοῦντο τὰς σπουδαίας κινή-

11 σεις ἐπὶ τὰ γελοιότερα μεταφέροντες. δηλοῦσι δὲ καὶ αἱ τῶν θριάμβων εἴσοδοι παλαιὰν καὶ ἐπιχώριον οὔσαν Ἑρμαίους τὴν κέρτομον καὶ σατυρικὴν παιδιάν. ἐφεῖται γὰρ τοῖς κατάγουσι τὰς νίκας ἰαμβίζειν τε καὶ κατασκώπτειν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἄνδρας αὐτοῖς στρατηλάταις, ὡς Ἀθηνησι τοῖς πομπευταῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν, πρότερον ἀμέτροις<sup>1</sup> σκώμμασι παρορχουμένοις,<sup>2</sup> νῦν

12 δὲ ποιήματα ἄδουσιν αὐτοσχέδια. εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων ταφαῖς ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις πομπαῖς προηγουμένους τῆς κλίνης τοὺς σατυριστῶν<sup>3</sup> χοροὺς κινουμένους τὴν σίκιννιν ὄρχησιν, μάλιστα δ' ἐν τοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων κήδεσιν. ὅτι δ' οὔτε Λιγύων οὔτε Ὀμβρικῶν οὔτε ἄλλων τινῶν βαρβάρων τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικούντων εὐρημα ἢ σατυρικὴ παιδιὰ καὶ ὄρχησις ἦν, ἀλλ' Ἑλλήνων, δέδοικα μὴ καὶ ὀχληρὸς εἶναί τισι δόξῃ, λόγοις πλείοσι πιστοῦσθαι ὁμολογούμενον πρᾶγμα βουλόμενος.

<sup>1</sup> ἀμέτροις Post: ἅμα τοῖς O, ἅμα Hudson, Jacoby.

<sup>2</sup> παρορχουμένοις O: παροχουμένοις Sylburg, Jacoby.

<sup>3</sup> Salmasius: σατυριστᾶς O.

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<sup>1</sup> This was a Phrygian dance used in the worship of Sabazius (Dionysus). It was the name given to the dance of the chorus in the satyric drama.

Greek dance called *sicinnis*.<sup>1</sup> Those who represented Sileni were dressed in shaggy tunics, called by some *chortaioi*,<sup>2</sup> and in mantles of flowers of every sort; and those who represented satyrs wore girdles and goatskins, and on their heads manes that stood upright, with other things of like nature. These mocked and mimicked the serious movements of the others, turning them into laughter-provoking performances. The triumphal entrances also show that raillery and fun-making in the manner of satyrs were an ancient practice native to the Romans; for the soldiers who take part in the triumphs are allowed to satirise and ridicule the most distinguished men, including even the generals, in the same manner as those who ride in procession in carts at Athens;<sup>3</sup> the soldiers once jested in prose as they clowned, but now they sing improvised verses.<sup>4</sup> And even at the funerals of illustrious persons I have seen, along with the other participants, bands of dancers impersonating satyrs who preceded the bier and imitated in their motions the dance called *sicinnis*, and particularly at the funerals of the rich. This jesting and dancing in the manner of satyrs, then, was not the invention either of the Ligurians, of the Umbrians, or of any other barbarians who dwelt in Italy, but of the Greeks; but I fear I should prove tiresome to some of my readers if I endeavoured to confirm by more arguments a thing that is generally conceded.

<sup>2</sup> *χορταῖος* was originally an adjective, meaning "of or for a farmyard."

<sup>3</sup> This seems to have been a regular part of the celebration of the *Lenaea*, the mid-winter festival held in honour of Dionysus.

<sup>4</sup> Famous are the ribald verses sung by the soldiers on the occasion of Caesar's Gallic triumph; see Suetonius, *Iul.* 49, 51.

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- 13 Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς χοροὺς τούτους κιθαρισταί τ' ἀθροοὶ καὶ αὐληταὶ πολλοὶ παρεξήεσαν· καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς οἷ τε τὰ θυμιατήρια κομίζοντες, ἐφ' ὧν ἀρώματα καὶ λιβανωτὸς παρ' ὄλην ὁδὸν ἐθυμιάτο, καὶ οἱ τὰ πομπεία παραφέροντες ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου πεποιημένα τά τε ἱερά καὶ τὰ δημόσια. τελευταῖα δὲ πάντων αἱ τῶν θεῶν εἰκόνες ἐπόμπευον ὧμοις ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν φερόμεναι, μορφάς τε ὁμοίας παρέχουσαι ταῖς παρ' Ἑλλησι πλαττομέναις καὶ σκευὰς καὶ σύμβολα καὶ δωρεάς, ὧν εὐρεταὶ καὶ δοτῆρες ἀνθρώποις ἕκαστοι παραδίδονται, οὐ μόνον Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας καὶ Ἀθηναῖς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὓς Ἕλληνες ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς καταριθμοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν προγενεστέρων, ἐξ ὧν οἱ δώδεκα θεοὶ μυθολογοῦνται γενέσθαι, Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας καὶ Θέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ Μνημοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὧσων ἐστὶν ἱερά καὶ τεμένη παρ' Ἑλλησι· καὶ τῶν ὕστερον, ἀφ' οὗ<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἀρχὴν Ζεὺς παρέλαβε, μυθολογουμένων γενέσθαι, Περσεφόνης Εἰλειθυίας Νυμφῶν Μουσῶν Ὠρῶν Χαρίτων Διονύσου, καὶ ὧσων ἡμιθέων γενομένων αἱ ψυχὰι τὰ θνητὰ ἀπολιποῦσαι σώματα εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνελθεῖν λέγονται, καὶ τιμὰς λαχεῖν ὁμοίας θεοῖς, Ἡρακλέους Ἀσκληπιοῦ Διοσκούρων Ἑλένης<sup>2</sup>
- 14 Πανὸς ἄλλων μυρίων. καίτοι εἰ βάρβαροι ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Ῥώμην οἰκίσαντες καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ταύτην

<sup>1</sup> ἀφ' οὗ R: ἀφ' ὧν AB.

<sup>2</sup> Ἑλένης O: Σειληνοῦ Kiessling, Σελήνης Jacoby.

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<sup>1</sup> We now return to the account of the Roman festival.



After these bands of dancers<sup>1</sup> came a throng of lyre-players and many flute-players, and after them the persons who carried the censers in which perfumes and frankincense were burned along the whole route of the procession, and also the men who bore the show-vessels made of silver and gold, both those that were sacred to the gods and those that belonged to the state. Last of all in the procession came the images of the gods, borne on men's shoulders, showing the same likenesses as those made by the Greeks and having the same dress, the same symbols, and the same gifts which tradition says each of them invented and bestowed on mankind. These were the statues not only of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Neptune, and of the rest whom the Greeks reckon among the twelve gods, but also of those still more ancient from whom legend says the twelve were sprung, namely, Saturn, Ops, Themis, Latona, the Parcae, Mnemosynê, and all the rest to whom temples and holy places are dedicated among the Greeks; and also of those whom legend represents as living later, after Jupiter took over the sovereignty, such as Proserpina, Lucina, the Nymphs, the Muses, the Seasons, the Graces, Liber, and the demigods whose souls after they had left their mortal bodies are said to have ascended to Heaven and to have obtained the same honours as the gods, such as Hercules, Aesculapius, Castor and Pollux, Helen,<sup>2</sup> Pan, and countless others. Yet if those who founded Rome and instituted this festival were barbarians,

<sup>2</sup> The name of Helen has been suspected here, though it is certain that she received divine honours in various parts of the Greek world. Neither Kiessling's Silenus nor Jacoby's Selênê is any more satisfactory.

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καταστησάμενοι, τί προσήκεν αὐτοῖς τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνικοὺς ἅπαντας σέβειν θεοὺς τε καὶ δαίμονας, τῶν δὲ πατρίων ὑπερορᾶν; ἢ δειξάτω τις ἡμῖν ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ φύλον ἕτερον ᾧ πάτριά ἐστι ταῦτα τὰ ἱερά, καὶ τότε διαβαλλέτω ταύτην τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ὡς οὐχ ὑγιῆ.

- 15 Συντελεσθείσης δὲ τῆς πομπῆς ἐβουθύτουν εὐθύς οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων οἷς ὄσιον, καὶ ὁ τῶν θυηπολιῶν τρόπος ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν. χερνιψάμενοί τε γὰρ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ ἱερά καθαρῶ περιαγνίσαντες ὕδατι καὶ Δημητρίου<sup>1</sup> καρποὺς ἐπιρράναντες αὐτῶν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς, ἔπειτα κατευξάμενοι, θύειν τότε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις αὐτὰ ἐκέλευον. τῶν δ' οἱ μὲν ἐστῶτος ἔτι τοῦ θύματος σκυτάλη τοὺς κροτάφους ἔπαιον, οἱ δὲ πίπτοντος ὑπετίθεσαν τὰς σφαγίδας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δείραντές τε καὶ μελίσαντες ἀπαρχὰς ἐλάμβανον ἐξ ἐκάστου σπλάγχνου καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου μέλους, ἃς ἀλφίτοις ζέας ἀναδεύσαντες προσέφερον τοῖς θύουσιν ἐπὶ κανῶν· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐπιθέντες<sup>2</sup> ὑφήπτον καὶ προσέσπενδον οἶνον κατὰ τῶν ἀγνιζομένων.
- 16 ἕκαστον δ' ὅτι κατὰ νόμους ἐγίνετο τοὺς ἀμφὶ θυσίαν ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων κατασταθέντας ἐκ τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως γνῶναι ῥάδιον. καὶ γὰρ χερνιπτομένους εἰσάγει τοὺς ἥρωας καὶ οὐλαῖς χρωμένους ἐν οἷς φησι·

Χερνίψαντο δ' ἔπειτα καὶ οὐλοχύτας ἀνέλοντο.

<sup>1</sup> Meineke: δῆμητρος Ο.

<sup>2</sup> Kiessling: ἐπιτιθέντες Ο.

how could they properly worship all the gods and other divinities of the Greeks and scorn their own ancestral gods? Or let someone show us any other people besides the Greeks among whom these rites are traditional, and then let him censure this demonstration as unsound.

After the procession was ended the consuls and the priests whose function it was presently sacrificed oxen; and the manner of performing the sacrifices was the same as with us. For after washing their hands they purified the victims with clear water and sprinkled corn<sup>1</sup> on their heads, after which they prayed and then gave orders to their assistants to sacrifice them. Some of these assistants, while the victim was still standing, struck it on the temple with a club, and others received it upon the sacrificial knives as it fell. After this they flayed it and cut it up, taking off a piece from each of the inwards and also from every limb as a first-offering, which they sprinkled with grits of spelt and carried in baskets to the officiating priests. These placed them on the altars, and making a fire under them, poured wine over them while they were burning. It is easy to see from Homer's poems that every one of these ceremonies was performed according to the customs established by the Greeks with reference to sacrifices. For he introduces the heroes washing their hands and using barley grits, where he says:

Then washed their hands and took up barley-grains.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "the fruits of Demeter." The reference is to the *mola salsa*, grits of spelt mixed with salt, or sometimes a salt cake.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* i. 449,

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τριχοτομοῦντάς τε ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰς τρίχας  
καὶ τιθέντας ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ ὧδε γράφων·

Ἄλλ' ὃ γ' ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ  
βάλλε.

σκυτάλαις τε παίοντας τὰ μέτωπα τῶν ἱερείων  
καὶ τὰ πεσόντα θύοντας, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐμαίου ποιεῖ  
θυσίας·

Κόψε δ' ἀπαρχόμενος<sup>1</sup> σχίζῃ δρυός, ἣν λίπε κείων·  
Τὸν δ' ἔλιπε ψυχῇ· τοὶ δ' ἔσφαξάν τε καὶ εὔσαν.

- 17 ἀπαρχάς τε ἀπὸ τῶν σπλάγχχνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν  
ἄλλων λαμβάνοντας μελῶν, καὶ ταύτας ἀλφίτοις  
δεύοντας καὶ καθαγίζοντας ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν, ὡς  
ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ποιεῖ θυσίας·

ὃ δ' ὠμοθετεῖτο συβώτης,  
Πάντοθεν ἀρχόμενος μελέων ἐς πίονα δημόν·  
Καὶ τὰ μὲν πυρὶ βάλλε παλύνας ἀλφίτου ἀκτῆ·

- 18 Ταῦτα δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ πράττοντας  
ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις ἰδὼν ἐπίσταμαι· καὶ μιᾷ πίστει  
τῆδε ἀρκούμενος οὐ βαρβάρους ἐπέισθην εἶναι  
τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τῆς Ῥώμης, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων  
συνεληλυθότας Ἑλλήνας. ὀλίγα μὲν γὰρ ἐπι-  
τηδεύματα περὶ θυσίας τε καὶ ἑορτὰς ὁμοίως  
Ἑλλησι καὶ βαρβάρους τινὰς<sup>2</sup> ἐπιτελεῖν ἐνδέχε-  
ται, πάντα δὲ ταῦτα<sup>3</sup> πράττειν ἀπίθανον.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. of Homer read ἀνασχομένους.

<sup>2</sup> βαρβάρους τινὰς Sylburg: βαρβάρους καὶ τινὰς O, βαρβάρους  
καὶ πλάνητας Kiessling.

<sup>3</sup> Reiske: ταῦτα O.

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* xiv. 422.

And also cutting off the hair from the head of the victim and placing it on the fire, writing thus :

And he, the rite beginning, cast some hairs,  
Plucked from the victim's head, upon the fire.<sup>1</sup>

He also represents them as striking the foreheads of the victims with clubs and stabbing them when they had fallen, as at the sacrifice of Eumaeus :

Beginning then the rite,<sup>2</sup> with limb of oak—  
One he had left when cleaving wood—he smote  
The boar, which straightway yielded up his life ;  
And next his throat they cut and singed his hide.<sup>3</sup>

And also as taking the first offerings from the inwards and from the limbs as well and sprinkling them with barley-meal and burning them upon the altars, as at that same sacrifice :

Then made the swineherd slices of raw meat,  
Beginning with a cut from every limb,  
And wrapping them in rich fat, cast them all  
Upon the fire, first sprinkling barley-meal.<sup>4</sup>

These rites I am acquainted with from having seen the Romans perform them at their sacrifices even in my time ; and contented with this single proof, I have become convinced that the founders of Rome were not barbarians, but Greeks who had come together out of many places. It is possible, indeed, that some barbarians also may observe a few customs relating to sacrifices and festivals in the same manner as the Greeks, but that they should do everything in the same way is hard to believe.

<sup>2</sup> Our MSS. of Homer have ἀνασχόμενος ("lifting up") instead of ἀπαρχόμενος ("beginning").

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* xiv. 425 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Od.* xiv. 427-9.

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LXXIII. Λοιπὸν δ' ἔτι <sup>1</sup> μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγώνων οὓς μετὰ τὴν πομπὴν ἐπετέλουν ὀλίγα διελθεῖν. πρῶτος ὁ τῶν τεθρίππων τε καὶ συνωρίδων καὶ τῶν ἀζεύκτων ἵππων ἐγένετο δρόμος, ὡς παρ' <sup>2</sup> Ἑλλησι τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ὀλυμπιάσι τε καὶ <sup>2</sup> μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἵππικαῖς ἀμίλλαις ἐπιτηδεύματα δύο τῶν πάνυ παλαιῶν ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνομοθετήθη φυλαττόμενα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων μέχρι τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ διάκειται <sup>3</sup> χρόνων, τό τε περὶ τὰ τρίπωλα τῶν ἀρμάτων, ὃ παρ' Ἑλλησι μὲν ἐκλέλοιπεν, ἀρχαῖον ὃν <sup>4</sup> ἐπιτήδευμα καὶ ἥρωικόν, ᾧ ποιεῖ τοὺς Ἑλληνας Ὀμηρος ἐν ταῖς μάχαις χρωμένους· δυσὶ γὰρ ἵπποις ἐζευγμένοις, ὃν τρόπον ζεύγνυται συνωρίς, τρίτος παρείπετο σειραῖος ἵππος ῥυτῆρι συνεχόμενος, ὃν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρηωρηῆσθαί τε καὶ μὴ <sup>5</sup> συνεζυῦχθαι παρήγορον ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοί· ἕτερον δὲ παρ' ὀλίγαις ἔτι φυλαττόμενον πόλεσιν Ἑλληνίσιν ἐν ἱερουργίαις τισὶν ἀρχαῖκαῖς, ὃ τῶν παρεμβεβηκότων τοῖς <sup>3</sup> ἄρμασι δρόμος. ὅταν γὰρ τέλος αἱ τῶν ἵππέων ἀμίλλαι λάβωσιν, <sup>6</sup> ἀποπηδῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων οἱ παροχούμενοι τοῖς ἡνιόχοις, οὓς οἱ ποιηταὶ μὲν παραβάτας, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καλοῦσιν <sup>7</sup> ἀποβάτας, τὸν σταδιαῖον ἀμιλλῶνται δρόμον αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. τελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἵππικῶν δρόμων οἱ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν σώμασιν ἀγωνιζόμενοι τότε

<sup>1</sup> ἔτι Kiessling: ἔστι O.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς παρ' Sylburg: ὡσπερ O.

<sup>3</sup> διάκειται O: διατελεῖ Kiessling.

<sup>4</sup> ὃν added by Kiessling.

<sup>5</sup> μὴ added by Valesius.

<sup>6</sup> Cobet: λάβωνται O.

<sup>7</sup> καλοῦσιν B: om. R.

LXXIII. It now remains for me to give a brief account of the games which the Romans performed after the procession. The first was a race of four-horse chariots, two-horse chariots, and of unyoked horses, as has been the custom among the Greeks, both anciently at the Olympics and down to the present. In the chariot races two very ancient customs continue to be observed by the Romans down to my time in the same manner as they were first instituted. The first relates to the chariots drawn by three horses, a custom now fallen into disuse among the Greeks, though it was an ancient institution of heroic times which Homer represents the Greeks as using in battle. For running beside two horses yoked together in the same manner as in the case of a two-horse chariot was a third horse attached by a trace; this trace-horse the ancients called *paréoros* or "outrunner," because he was "hitched beside" and not yoked to the others. The other custom is the race run by those who have ridden in the chariots, a race which is still performed in a few Greek states upon the occasion of some ancient sacrifices. For after the chariot races are ended, those who have ridden with the charioteers, whom the poets call *parabatai* and the Athenians *apobatai*,<sup>1</sup> leap down from their chariots and run a race with one another the length of the stadium. And after the chariot races were over, those who contended in their own persons entered the lists, that is,

<sup>1</sup> The word *parabatês* means, literally, "one who goes (or rides) beside (another)," *apobatês* "one who dismounts." The latter word, however, was commonly used in the sense of the Latin *desultor*, "one who leaps off (from one horse to another)."

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εἰσήεσαν δρομεῖς τε καὶ πύκται καὶ παλαισταί.  
 τρία γὰρ ἀθλήματα παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἑλλησι  
 ταυτ' ἦν, ὡς Ὀμηρος ἐπὶ τῇ Πατρόκλου δηλοῖ  
 4 ταφῇ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς διὰ μέσου τῶν ἀθλημάτων  
 χρόνοις Ἑλληνικώτατον καὶ κράτιστον ἀπάντων  
 ἔθων ἀπεδείκνυντο, στεφανώσεις καὶ ἀναρρήσεις  
 ποιούμενοι τιμῶν αἰς ἐτίμων<sup>1</sup> τοὺς ἑαυτῶν  
 εὐεργέτας, ὡς Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ταῖς Διονυσιακαῖς  
 ἐγίνετο θυσίαις, καὶ σκύλων ὄσων ἐκ πολέμων  
 λάβοιεν ἐπιδείξεις τοῖς εἰς θέαν συνεληλυθόσιν.  
 5 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὔτε μηθένα ποιή-  
 σασθαι λόγον ἀπαιτούσης τῆς ὑποθέσεως καλῶς  
 εἶχεν, οὔτε μηκύνειν πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἤρμοττε.  
 καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπολειπομένην διήγησιν ἐπαν-  
 ἀγειν.

Ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀπαχθέντα ἐπὶ τιμω-  
 ρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ προηγησάμενον τῆς  
 πομπῆς ἔμαθεν ἢ βουλὴ παρὰ τοῦ τὸ πραχθέν  
 ἀνανεωσαμένου, τοῦτον ὑπολαβοῦσα ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ λέγεσθαι τὸν οὐ καλὸν ἔπαρχον<sup>2</sup> τῶν ὀρχη-  
 στῶν, ὡσπερ ἔφην, ἀναζητήσασα τὸν τῷ θεράποντι  
 λωβησάμενον καὶ ζημίαν ἐπιβαλοῦσα ἧς ἄξιός ἦν,  
 ἐτέραν ἐψηφίσασα τῷ θεῷ πομπὴν ἐπιτελεσθῆναι  
 καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐτέρους ἀπὸ διπλασίων  
 χρημάτων ἢ πρότερον ἐγένοντο.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτων συντελεσθέντα τῶν  
 ὑπάτων τοιαύδε ἦν.

<sup>1</sup> τιμῶν αἰς ἐτίμων Reiske: τινας οἷς ἐτίμων O.

<sup>2</sup> ἔπαρχον Jacoby: ἀπάρχοντα O, ἄρχοντα Kiessling, ἐπ-  
 ἀρχοντα L. Dindorf.



runners, boxers, and wrestlers; for these three contests were in use among the ancient Greeks, as Homer shows in describing the funeral of Patroclus. And in the intervals between the contests they observed a custom which was typically Greek and the most commendable of all customs, that of awarding crowns and proclaiming the honours with which they rewarded their benefactors, just as was done at Athens during the festivals of Dionysus,<sup>1</sup> and displaying to all who had assembled for the spectacle the spoils they had taken in war. But as regards these customs, just as it would not have been right to make no mention of them when the subject required it, so it would not be fitting to extend my account farther than is necessary. It is now time to return to the narrative which we interrupted.

After the senate, then, had been informed, by the person who remembered the incident, of the circumstances relating to the slave who had been led to punishment by the order of his master and had gone ahead of the procession, they concluded that this slave was the unacceptable leader of the dancers mentioned by the god, as I have related. And inquiring after the master who had used his slave so cruelly, they imposed a suitable penalty upon him, and ordered another procession to be performed in honour of the god and other games to be exhibited at double the expense of the former.

These were the events of this consulship.

<sup>1</sup> At the Greater Dionysia.



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