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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY
Κληρονομένων δὴ τῶν ὑπάτων Ὄρτησιος τοῦ πρὸς Κρήτας ἐλαχὲ πόλεμον. ἂλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ ἄστει φιλοξωρίας καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστηρίων, ἐν οἷς πλεῖστον τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων μετά ἑυ τῶν Κικέρωνα ἡδυνήθη, τῷ τε συνάρχοντι τῆς στρατείας ἐθελοντῆς ἐξέστη καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ χώραν ἐμείνεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Μέτελλος ἐστείλατο τῇ ἐς Κρήτην . . . —Xiphil. p. 1, 5–12 Dind.

1b Λούκουλλος δὲ Λούκιος κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους τοὺς τῆς Ἀσίας δυνάστας Μιθριδάτην τε καὶ Τιγράνην τὸν Ἀρμένιον πολέμῳ νικήσας καὶ φυγομαχεῖν ἀναγκάσας τὰ Τιγρανόκερτα ἐπολιόρκει. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τε τοξείᾳ καὶ τῇ νάφθα κατὰ τῶν μηχανῶν χειμένη δεινῶς ἐκάκωσαν. ἀσφαλτῶδες δὲ τὸ φάρμακον τούτο, καὶ διάπυρον οὕτως ὡσθ' ὅσοι ἄν προσμέξη, πάντως αὐτὰ κατακαίειν, οὐδ' ἀποσβέννυται ὑπ' οὐθενὸς ὕγρου ῥάδιως. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Τιγράνης
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK XXXVI

Xiphilinus

When the consuls drew lots, Hortensius obtained the war against the Cretans. But on account of his fondness for residence in the capital and on account of the courts, in which he had greater influence than any of his contemporaries with the exception of Cicero, he voluntarily relinquished the campaign in favour of his colleague and remained at home himself. Metellus accordingly set out for Crete...

Xiphilinus

Lucius Lucullus at this time had defeated in battle the lords of Asia, Mithridates and Tigranes the Armenian, and after forcing them to avoid battle was besieging Tigranocerta. But the barbarians did him serious injury by means of their archery as well as by the naphtha which they poured over his engines; this chemical is full of bitumen and is so fiery that it is sure to burn up whatever it touches, and it cannot easily be extinguished by any liquid. In consequence Tigranes recovered courage and

1 The beginning of this book is missing in the MSS. The gist of the lost portion is doubtless contained in the two following passages from Xiphilinus' Epitome.
 Dio's Roman History

Xiphilinus


1... καὶ ὅτι ἵσχυρὰ τῇ τύχῃ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἐκέχρητο, ἐπέτρεψεν ἢττηθείς τε γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ κρατήσας οὐκ ἐλάττω καὶ στρατηγικῶτερος ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπεπίστευτο γεγονέναι. αὐτοί τε οὖν ὡς καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἀρχόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς περιχώρους, τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ Ἀρσάκην τὸν Πάρθουν, καίπερ ἐχθρόν τῷ Τιγράνῃ διὰ χώραν τινὰ ἀμφισβητήσιμον ὄντα,

2 ἐπρεσβεύσωντο, καὶ ταύτης τε αὐτῷ ἀφίσταντο, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διεβαλλον λέγοντες ὅτι, ἢν μονωθέντων σφῶν κρατήσωσι, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον εὐθὺς ἐπιστρατεύσωσιν: φύσει τε γὰρ πάν τὸ νικῶν ἀπληστὸν τῆς εὐπραγίας εἶναι καὶ μηδένα ὅρον τῆς πλεονεξίας ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τούτος, ἀτε καὶ ἐν κράτει πολλῶν δὴ γεγονότας, οὐκ ἔθελήσειν αὐτοῦ ἀποσχέσθαι.

1 ως added by H. Steph.
BOOK XXXVI

Xiphilinus

marched forth with an army of such strength that he even scoffed at the Romans present there. He is said, indeed, to have remarked that when they came on a campaign there were only a few of them, but when on an embassy there were a great many. His amusement, however, was of short duration, for he forthwith discovered how far courage and skill surpass any mere numbers. After his flight the soldiers found and gave to Lucullus his tiara and the band that went around it; for in his fear that these ornaments might lead to his recognition and capture he had torn them off and thrown them away.

... and since [Mithridates] had experienced both extremes of fortune, [Tigranes] entrusted [the supreme command to him(?)] For after his many defeats and victories no fewer, he was believed to have become in consequence better versed in generalship. These two rulers, accordingly, not only set about making preparations themselves, as if they were then for the first time beginning the war, but also sent embassies to their various neighbours, including Arsaces the Parthian, although he was hostile to Tigranes on account of some disputed territory. This they offered to yield to him, and they also went to maligning the Romans, declaring that the latter, in case they conquered their present antagonists while these were left to fight single-handed, would immediately make a campaign against him. For every victorious force was inherently insatiate of success and set no bound to its greed; and the Romans, who had won the mastery over many, would not choose to leave him alone.
Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἐπραττοῦν, Δούκουλλος δὲ Τιγράνην μὲν οὐκ ἔπεδιώξεν ἄλλα καὶ πάνυ κατὰ σχολὴν σωθῆναι εἰσε, καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰτίαν ὡς οὐκ ἔθελήσας τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀρχῆς, καταλύσαι παρά τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ἑσχε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τότε τε ἔστι τῶν στρατηγῶν τῆς ἄρχην τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπανήγαγον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ', ὡς καὶ αἰθίς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι ἔδοξε, τὸν ὑπατον αὐτῷ τὸν καὶ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ὅντα διάδοχον ἐπεμψαν.

3 τὰ δὲ δὴ Τιγρανοκερτα στασιασάντων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους τῶν ἔνων τῶν συνοικιστῶν αὐτῶν εἶλε. Κιλικές τε γὰρ ὁ πλεῖος αὐτῶν ἤσαν ἀνάσπαστοι ποτὲ γεγονότες, καὶ ἐσήγαγον εἰσώ νυκτὸς τοὺς Ρωμαίους. καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα διηρπᾶσθη πλὴν τῶν ἐκείνων ὑπαρχόντων, τὰς δὲ δὴ γυναῖκας τῶν δυνατοτάτων πολλὰς ἁλοῦσας ἄνευ ὑβρισμοῦ ὁ Δούκουλλος ἐφύλαξε, καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας σφῶν προσπενη-

5 σατο. τὸν τε τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς βασιλέα Αντίοχον (ἡ δὲ δὴ χώρα αὐτῇ τῆς Συρίας πρὸς τε τῷ Εὐ-

3 φράτῃ καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ ἐστὶ) καὶ τινὰ Ἀράβιον δυνάστην Ἀλχαυδώνιον ἄλλος τε ἐπικηρυκευσα-

6 μένους οἱ ἐδέξατο.

3 Καὶ μαθὸν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν πρεσβείαν τὴν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πρὸς τὸν Ἀρσάκην πεμφθεῖσαν, ἀνταπέστειλε τινας ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπειλᾶς τε ἄμα αὐτῷ, ἀν ἐκείνους ἐπί-

κουρήσῃ, καὶ ὑποσχέσεις, ἀν τὰ σφέτερα ἀνθέ-

2 ληταί, φέροντας. ὁ οὖν Ἀρσάκης τότε μὲν (ἔτι γὰρ τὸ τε Τιγράνην ὀργήν εἶχε καὶ ἐσ τοὺς Ρω-

1 te added by Bk
While they were thus engaged, Lucullus did not follow up Tigranes, but allowed him to reach safety quite at his leisure. Because of this he was charged by the citizens, as well as others, with refusing to end the war, in order that he might retain his command a longer time. Therefore they at this time restored the province of Asia to the praetors, and later, when he was believed to have acted in this same way again, they sent to him the consul of that year to relieve him. Nevertheless he did seize Tigranocerto when the foreigners living in the city revolted against the Armenians; for the most of them were Cilicians who had once been carried off from their own land, and these let in the Romans during the night. Thereupon everything was plundered, except what belonged to the Cilicians; but Lucullus saved from outrage many of the wives of the principal men, when they had been captured, and by this action won over their husbands also. He furthermore received Antiochus, king of Commagene (a part of Syria near the Euphrates and the Taurus), and Alchaudonius, an Arabian chieftain, and others who had made overtures to him.

Learning now from them of the embassy sent by Tigranes and Mithridates to Arsaces, he in his turn sent to him some of the allies with threats, in case he should aid the foe, and promises, if he should choose the Roman side instead. Arsaces at that time, since he was still angry with Tigranes and felt no suspicion toward the Romans, sent back envoys
μαίους ουδὲν ὑπόπτευεν) πρέσβεις τε οἱ ἀντέπεμψε καὶ φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐσπείρασατο· ὕστερον δὲ τὸν Σηκίλιον ἐλθόντα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἱδῶν ὑπετόπησε κατάσκοπον τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως
3 αὐτοῦ παρεῖναι (τοῦτον γὰρ ἔνεκα, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς ὀμολογίας ἢδη γεγενημένης, ἀνδρὰ ἐπιφανῆ τὰ πολεμικὰ πεμφθῆναι), καὶ οὐδεμιὰν ἐτ' αὐτῷ ἐβοήθειαν ἐποιήσατο. οὐ μὴν οὖν ἦναντιώθη τι, ἀλλ' ἐκ μέσου ἀμφοῖν ἔστη, μηδετέρους, ὡσπερ εἰκός, ἔθελήσας αὐξῆσαι τὸν γὰρ πόλεμον αὐτῶν ἰσοπαλὴ ὄντα ἀσφάλειαν οἱ μεγίστην οἰσεὶν ἐνόμιζεν.

Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τῷ ἔτει ταῦθ' ὁ Δούκουλλος ἐπραξε, καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας συνδιὰ προσηγάγετο·
4 ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ Κύντου Μαρκίου (οὗτος γὰρ, καίπερ οὐ μόνος ἀποδεικθεὶς, μόνος ὑπάντευεν) ο τε γὰρ σὺν αὐτῷ χειροτονηθεὶς Δούκιος Μέτελλος ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ ἑτῶν ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὁ ἐφαιρεθέες ἀρχηγὸς αὐτῶν ἐπιβίβασε τῆς ἀρχῆς μετήλλαξε, καὶ διὰ τούτου
2 οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἀπεδειχθη—ἐν οὖν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ὁ Δούκουλλος μεσοῦντος ήδη τοῦ θέρους (ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ψυχοῦς ἀδύνατο ἢν ἢρι ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἡν ἐσβαλεῖν) στρατεύσας τινὰ τε τῆς γῆς ἐπορθησεν, ὅπως ἀμύνοντας αὐτὴν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς μάχην ὑπαγόμεν, καὶ ὅς οὐδέν μᾶλλον ἐκινήσατο, ἐπὶ
5 αὐτῶν ὀρμῆσε. καὶ τούτῳ τοῖς μὲν ὑπεύθυν τὸν Ῥωμαίων καλεσκὸι οἱ τῶν ἐναντίων ἱππῆς ἐγένοντο, τῷ δὲ πεζῷ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐς χειρας ἦν, ἀλλ' ὀπότε ἡ ἀσπίς τοῦ Δουκουλλοῦ τῇ ἱππῳ

1 αὐτῷ H. Steph., αὐτῶν VP.
2 ἐφαιρεθέες Dind., ἀφιερωθέες V, ἀφιερωθέες P.
3 αὐτὴ Rk., αὐτὴν VP.
BOOK XXXVI

to Lucullus, and established friendship and alliance. Later, when he saw Secilius [Sextilius], who had come to him, he began to suspect that he was there to spy out the country and his power; it was for this cause, he thought, and not on account of the compact which had already been made that a man distinguished in warfare had been sent. Hence he no longer gave him any aid. On the other hand, he offered no opposition, but stood aloof from both parties, naturally wishing to make neither side strong; for he thought that an evenly-balanced struggle between them would insure him the greatest safety.

Besides these achievements, Lucullus this year subdued many parts of Armenia; and in the year of Quintus Marcius—this man held office alone, although not the only consul appointed, since Lucius Metellus, elected with him, died in the early part of the year, and the man chosen in his stead died before entering upon office, in consequence of which no one else was appointed—in this year, I say, Lucullus entered upon his campaign when summer was already at its height, since in the spring it had been impossible to invade the enemy's country because of the cold. He devastated a part of their land, purposing to draw the barbarians imperceptibly into battle while defending it; but when even then they made no move, he marched against them. In this engagement the opposing cavalry gave the Roman cavalry hard work, but none of the foe approached the infantry; indeed, whenever the foot-soldiers of Lucullus assisted the
προσβοηθήσειν, ἑτρέποντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ δεινὸν τι ἔπασχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντάς σφας ἐς τοῦπίσω τοξεύνουσα πολλοῦς μὲν παραχρήμα
2 ἀπεκτίνυσαν, παμπληθεῖς δὲ ἐτιρωσκοῦν. καὶ ἢν τὰ τραύματα χαλεπὰ καὶ δυσίατα· ταῖς τε γὰρ ἀκίς διπλαῖς ἔχρωντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐφάρμοτ
τον
τον 1 αὐτὰς, ὡστε τὰ βέλη, εἰτε ἐμένοι 2 πη τοῖς σώμασιν εἰτε καὶ ἐξέλκοιτο, τάχιστα αὐτὰ διολ-
λύναν· τὸ γὰρ ἐτερον 3 σιδηριὸν ἐνδον, ἄτε μηδε-
μίαν ἀνθολκὴν ἔχον, ἐγκατελείπετο.
6 'Ο οὖν Δούκουλλος, ἑτειδὴ τε πολλοὶ ἑτραυ-
ματίζουτο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔθνησκον, οἱ δὲ ἀνάπηροι
γοῦν ἐγύγνοντο, καὶ ἀμα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια αὐτοὺς
ἐπέλιπην, ἐκεῖθεν τε ἀπεχώρησε καὶ ἐπὶ Νέσιβων
2 ὄρμησεν. ἢ δὲ δὴ πόλις αὐτὴ ἐν τῷ Μεσοποταμία
καλουμένη πεπόλισται (οὔτω γὰρ πάν τὸ μεταξὺ
tοῦ τε Τίγριδος καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὄνομάζεται)
καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμετέρα ἐστὶ καὶ ἀποικὸς ἡμῶν νομί-
ζεται, τότε δὲ ὁ Τιγράνης τῶν Πάρθων αὐτὴν
ἀφελόμενος τοὺς τε θησαυροὺς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ 4 τα
πλείστα τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπετέθειτο, 5 φύλακα οἱ τῶν
3 ἀδελφῶν προστάξας. πρὸς οὖν ταύτην ὁ Δούκουλ-
λος ἑλθὼν ἐν μὲν τοῦ θέρει, καὶ περὶ μὴ παρέργη
τὰς προσβολὰς ποιησάμενος, οὔδὲν ἐπέρανεν· τὰ
γὰρ τείχῃ καὶ διπλὰ καὶ πλίνθων ὄντα, τὴν τε
παχύτητα πολλῆς ἔχοντα καὶ τάφρω βαθείᾳ
dιειλλημένα, οὔτε καταστειλθήμει πη οὔτε διο-
ρυχθήμει ἡδυνήθη, διόπερ οὐδ' ὁ Τιγρανής ἐπήμυνε
7 σφισιν ὡς δ' ὁ τε χειμῶν ἐνέστη καὶ οἱ βαρβαροὶ

1 ἐφάρμοττον Rk., ἐφήμορπττον VP.
2 ἐμένοι St., ἐμένοι V, ἐμένοι P.
3 τὸ γὰρ ἐτερον Bk., τὸ γὰρ ἐτερον το δεύτερον VP. It is
horse, the enemy would turn to flight. Far from suffering any injury, however, they kept shooting back at those pursuing them, killing some instantly and wounding great numbers. Now these wounds were dangerous and hard to heal; for they used double arrow-points and moreover poisoned them, so that the missiles, whether they stuck fast anywhere in the body or even if they were drawn out, would very quickly destroy it, since the second iron point, not being firmly attached, would be left in the wound.

Since many, then, were getting wounded, of whom some died, and the others were in any case maimed, and since provisions at the same time were failing them, Lucullus retired from that place and marched against Nisibis. This city is built in the region called Mesopotamia (the name given to all the country between the Tigris and Euphrates) and now belongs to us, being considered a colony of ours. But at that time Tigranes, who had seized it from the Parthians, had deposited in it his treasures and most of his other possessions, and had stationed his brother as guard over it. Lucullus reached this city in the summer time, and although he directed his attacks upon it in no half-hearted fashion, he effected nothing. For the walls, being of brick, double, and of great thickness, with a deep moat intervening, could be neither battered down anywhere, nor undermined, and even Tigranes, therefore, was not assisting the besieged. But when winter set in, and the barbarians were very probable, however, that some words have been lost at this point.

4 καὶ Rk., καὶ τὰ ἄλλα VP.
5 ἀπετίθετο Rk., ἀπετίθετο VP.
ραβυμότερον, 1 άτε ἐπικρατοῦντες 2 τοὺς τε Ρω-
μαίους ὡς ὁκ ἀπαναστήσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες,
διήγον, ἐτήρησε νύκτα ἁσέληνον καὶ ὕπτω λάβρω
2 βρονταῖς τε χειμέριον, ὡστε μήτε τι προϊδέσθαι
μήτε τι ἐπακοῦσαι αὐτούς ἔχοντας τὸν τε ἔξω
περίβολον πλήν ὁλίγων καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ
τάφρον ἐκλυπεῖν, καὶ προσέμεξε πολλαχὴ τῷ τει-
χεί, καὶ ἐκείνῳ τε ὡς χαλεπῶς ἀπὸ τῶν χωμάτων
ἐπέβη, καὶ τοὺς φρονοῦν τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας
ἐν αὐτῷ ῥαδιῶς ἀτε μὴ πολλοὺς ὄντας ἀπέκτεινε.
3 καὶ οὕτω τῆς τε τάφρου μέρους τι (τᾶς γὰρ γεφύρας
οἱ βάρβαροι προκατέρρησαν 3) συνέχωσεν (οὔτε
γὰρ τῇ τοξείᾳ οὔτε ἀν τῷ πυρὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ
πολλῷ ἑσπὲρ ἑούνατο), καὶ διαβὰ αὐτὴν τὰ μὲν
ἀλλα, οὐ πάνω ἱσχυρὸν τοῦ ἐνδον κύκλον πίστει
τῶν ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ προβεβλημένων 4 ὄντος, εὐθὺς
4 εἴλε, τοὺς δὲ ἔτε τὴν ἄκραν ἀναφυγόντας, ἄλλους
τε καὶ τὸν ἄδελφον του Τιγράνου, μετὰ τοῦτο καθ'
ὁμολογίαν παρεστήσατο, καὶ χρήματα τε πολλὰ
ἐλαβε καὶ ἐκεί διεγείμασε.
8 Τὴν μὲν οὖν Νίσιβιν οὕτως ἐχειρώσατο, τῆς δὲ
Ἀρμενίας τῶν τε ἅλλων τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον
συγκά ἀπέβαλεν. ὁ γὰρ Τιγράνης ἐκεῖνη μὲν ὡς
οὐκ ἂν ἁλοῦσῃ οὐκ ἐπεκούρησε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ προε-
ρημένα ὁρμησαν, εἰ πως ἁσχόλον περὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν
2 αὐτοῦ ὄντος φθάσειν αὐτὰ κομισάμενος, καὶ
Μιθριδάτην μὲν πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπέστειλεν,
αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ Ἀρμενίαν ἤλθε, κανταύθα

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1 ῥαβυμότερον Xyl., ἀθυμότερον VP.
2 ἐπικρατοῦντες H. Stoph., ἐπικρατοῦντας VP.
3 προκατέρρησαν Xyl., προσκατέρρησαν VP.
4 προβεβλημένων Leuncl., προσβεβλημένων VP.
behaving rather carelessly, inasmuch as they had the upper hand and were all but expecting the Romans to withdraw, Lucullus waited for a moonless night, when there was a violent storm of rain and thunder, so that the foe, not being able to see anything ahead or to hear any sound, left the outer circuit—all but a few of them—and the intervening moat. Then he approached the wall at many points, ascending it without difficulty from the mounds, and easily slew the guards who had been left behind upon it, since they were few in number. In this way he filled up a part of the moat, since the barbarians had broken down the bridges in advance, and got across, since in the downpour neither archery nor fire could harm him. Immediately he captured nearly everything, for the inner circuit was not very strong by reason of the confidence felt in the outer works beyond it. Some, however, fled to the citadel, among them the brother of Tigranes; but he later caused them to surrender. He also obtained much treasure, and passed the winter there.

Nisibis, then, he captured as described, but he lost many districts of Armenia and of the other countries around Pontus. For Tigranes had not aided Nisibis, believing that it could not be captured, but had hurried to the places just mentioned to see if he could secure them ahead of Lucullus, while the latter was occupied around Nisibis. Then sending Mithridates back home, Tigranes himself entered his own district of Armenia. There he was opposed by
Δούκιον Φάννιον ἀντιστάνται οἱ ἀπολαβῶν ἐπολισθέρει, μέχρις οὐ ὁ Δούκουλλος αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο ἐπεβοήθησεν αὐτῷ.

9 'Εν ὦ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐγένετο, Μιθριδάτης ἐς τῇ τὴν ἑτέραν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἑσβαλὼν πολλοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν πλανομένους ἀπροσδόκητος σφίζει προσπεσόν ἐφθείρε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ μάχης κατέκοψε, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν χωρίων τὰ πλείω διὰ ταχέων ἀνεκτήσατο, οἱ γὰρ ἀνθρώποι ἐκεῖνοι τῇ εὐνοιαι ἐκ τοῦ ὀμοφύλου καὶ ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος βασιλείας καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μίσος διὰ τὸ ὃθενόν καὶ διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων σφίζει κακοχείσθαι ἐχοντες, προσεχώρησαν τῇ αὐτῶ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοῦ ἀρχόντα τῶν ἑκεί Ῥωμαίων Μάρκου Φάβιου εἰνίκησαν. οἱ τῇ γὰρ Θράκης οἱ πρῶτοι μὲν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ μισθοφορίσαντες, τότε δὲ τῷ Φαβίῳ συνοντες, καὶ οἱ δυσλοι οἱ εἰν τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὑπὲρ ἑσφυρὸν αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησαν. οἱ τῇ γὰρ Θράκης ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαβίου ἐς προσκοπὴν πεμφθέντες οὔτε τὰ ἔγχεις ἀνήγγειλαν αὐτῷ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι τῇ ἀφυλακτότερον προϊόντος καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἐξαιφνησι σφίζει προσπεσόντος συνεπέθεθο σὺν τῷ Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἐν τοῦτῳ καὶ οἱ δυσλοι ἠλευθερίαν σφίζει τοῦ βαρβάρου κηρύξαντος συνεπελάβοντο τοῦ ἔργου. καὶ ... ἀνάλωσαν ἀν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ... τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀναστρεφόμενοι (καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτη γεγονοῦς ἐμάχετο) λίθῳ τῇ ἐπιλήψυ καὶ δεος τοῖς βαρβάροις μὴ καὶ ἀποθανυ παρέσχεν ἐπισχόντων γὰρ σφων

1 καὶ οἱ δυσλοι kappplied by Reim.
2 καὶ γὰρ καὶ Be., καὶ γὰρ VP.
Book XXXVI

Lucius Fannius, whom he surrounded, however, and besieged, until Lucullus learned of it and sent assistance.

Meanwhile Mithridates had invaded the other Armenia and the neighbouring districts. Here he fell upon and destroyed many of the Romans, to whom he appeared unexpectedly as they were wandering about the country, while others he killed in battle; and thereupon he promptly recovered most of the districts. For the people were well-disposed toward him because of kinship and because of his being hereditary monarch; and they likewise hated the Romans because these were foreigners and because they had been ill-treated by those set over them. Consequently they sided with Mithridates and later conquered Marcus Fabius, who was leader of the Romans there. For the Thracians, who had formerly served as mercenaries under Mithridates but were then with Fabius, and the slaves present in the Roman camp gave them valiant assistance. For the Thracians, when sent ahead by Fabius to reconnoitre, did not bring back to him any reliable report, and later, when he was proceeding in rather careless fashion and Mithridates suddenly fell upon him, they joined in the attack on the Romans; and at the same time the slaves, to whom the barbarian king had proclaimed freedom, took a hand in the affair. They would have destroyed [the Romans utterly] had not Mithridates, who, although over seventy years old, was in the battle, been struck by a stone while taking [a valiant?] part against the enemy. This caused the barbarians to fear that he might die; and while they halted battle on that
διὰ τούτο τὴν μάχην ἠδυνάθησαν ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Φάβιος ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποφυγεῖν.

10 Καὶ μετὰ τούτ’ ἐς τὰ Κάβειρα κατακλεισθεὶς ἐπολιορκήθη μὲν, ἐσώθη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τριαρίου. οὕτως γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ταύτη πρὸς τὸν Δοῦκουλλον διώκω, καὶ γροῦς τὰ πεπραγμένα, δύναμιν τε

2 ὅσην οἶδον τῇ ἤκ τῶν παρόντων ἠθροίσε, καὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαίοι στρατὸν πλήθει προσῆλθεν, ὡστ’ ἀναστήναι ποιῆσαι πρὶν καὶ ἐς ὅψιν αὐτοῦ ἔλθειν. κακὸ τούτου ἐπιθαρσήσας καὶ μέχρι τῶν Κομάνων ὑποφυγόντα αὐτὸν ἐπε-

3 δίωξε, κανταῦθα ἐνίκησεν. ἡμίξετο μὲν ὡς ὁ Μι-
θριδάτης ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἢ οἱ Ῥωμαιοὶ προσῆσαν, βουλήσας δὲ σφια κεκμηκόσιν ἐκ τῆς

πορείας συμμεῖαι αὐτός τε προαπήγγεισε καὶ ἐτέ-

ρους δὲ ἄλλης γεφύρας ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης καιρὸ

διαβάντας ἐπιθέσθαι προσέταξε καὶ αὐτὸν ἀγχω-

μαλα ἐπὶ πλέιστον ἀγωνιζόμενον ἡ γέφυρα πολ-

λῶν τε καὶ ἄθροιν ἀμα δὲ αὐτῆς ἐπειγομένων . . .

τῆς τε ἐπικουρίας ἀπεστῆσε καὶ προσδιετάραξε.

11 Καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ τούτ’ (ἥδη γὰρ χειμῶν ἦν) ἀπεχώρησαν ἐς τὰ οἰκουτό τείχη ἀμφότεροι, καὶ

ήσυχαζον τὰ δὲ δὴ Κόμανα τῆς τε νῦν ᾿Ακαπ-

δοκιας ἐστί, καὶ ἔδοκε τὸ τε τῆς Ῥατέμιδος

βρέτας τὸ Ταυρικὸν καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ Ῥαγαμε-

νόνειον δέυρο ἄει ἔχειν. καὶ ὅπως μὲν ἐς αὐτοῦ

ταῦτα ἀφίκετο ἡ ὅπως διεμείνεν, οὐ δύναιμα τὸ

2 σαφῆς πολλῶν λεγομένων εὐρεῖν τὸ δ’ ἀκριβῶς

1 Κομάνων Anon. in Reim.’s ed., κομαγενῶν VP.
account Fabius and others were able to escape to safety.

Fabius was subsequently shut up and besieged in Cabira, but was rescued by Triarius. The latter was in that vicinity on his way from Asia to Lucullus; and upon learning what had happened he collected as large a force as was possible in the circumstances and so alarmed Mithridates, who supposed he was advancing with the full strength of the Roman army, as to make him withdraw before ever he came in sight. At this Triarius took courage, and pursuing the king as far as Comana, whither he had retired, won a victory over him there. Mithridates was encamped on the opposite side of the river from the point which the Romans were approaching, and was anxious to join battle with them while they were worn out from the march. Accordingly, he advanced to meet them himself, and also directed that at the crisis of the battle others should cross by another bridge and attack them. But although he held his own in the struggle for a long time, he was not only deprived of the reinforcements but seriously embarrassed besides by [the collapse of] the bridge across which many were hastening and crowding all at once.

Later they both retreated to their own fortifications and rested, for it was now winter. Comana belongs to the present district of Cappadocia and was supposed to have possessed clear up to that time the Taurie statue of Artemis and the descendants of Agamemnon. As to how these reached them or how they remained there I cannot discover the truth, since there are various stories; but what I understand clearly I will
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ἐπίσταμαι, φράσω. δύο αὐτὶ πόλεις ἐν τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ ὅμως μοι οὔτε πάνω πόρρω ἀπ' ἀλλήλων εἰς καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν περιέχονται: καὶ γὰρ μυθολογούσι καὶ δεικνύουσι τὰ τῇ ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ὡς αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῆς Ἰφιγενείας ὑπὸ ἀμφότεραι ἔχουσι.

12 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω τῷ δὲ ἐπιγγυμομένῳ ἐτεί, ἐπὶ τῇ Μαινοὺ Ἀκιλλοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ Γαίον Πέισωνος ὑπάτων, ὁ μὲν Μιθριδάτης τῷ Τριαρίῳ πρὸς Γαξιούροις ἀντεκάθητο, προκαλοῦν.

2 μενὸς τε ἅμα αὐτὸν ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐξοργίζον (τὰ τε γὰρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐστὶν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτός τῃ ἁσκεί καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἡμινασίας ἔποιεῖτο), ὁπως πρὶν τὸν Λούκουλλον ἐπελθεῖν ἐκεῖνον τε συμβαλὼν, ὡσπερ ἡλπίσε, κρατήσῃ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἄρχης ἀνασώσῃται. ἐπει δὲ οὐκ ἐκεῖτο, πέμπει τινὰς πρὸς Δάδασα φρούριον, ἐν οἷς τὰ σκεῦη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέκειτο, ἐν ἐκεῖνοις γε.

3 ἐπαμώνυμοναυτὸν ἐς χεῖρας ὑπαγόνται, καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως. ὁ γὰρ Τριαρίος τέως μὲν τὸ τοῦ πλῆθος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου φοβούμενος καὶ τοῦ Λούκουλλον (μετεπέμπει εἰς τὸ τὸν Δάδασα πολιορκούμενα ἐπὶθετο, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται δείσαντες περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπαράττοντο, καὶ ἐπηπείλουν, εἰ σφας μηδείς ἔξαγοι, καὶ αὐτοκέλευσοι βοηθήσειν σφίσει, 4 καὶ άκον ἔξανέστη. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ βάρβαροι προχωρούντι ἣν προσπεσόντες τοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσὶ τῷ τῇ πλῖθει σφῶν περιέχον καὶ κατεργάσαντο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐκφυγόντας ἀγνοία τοῦ

1 περιέχονται Bk., περιέχουσι VP. 2 τῆς Louncl., τὰ VP. 3 μετεπέμπει Cobet, μετεπέμπει VP.
state. There are two cities of this same name in Cappadocia, not very far apart, and they covet the same honours; for the stories they tell, and likewise the relics they exhibit, are the same in every case, including the sword, which each possesses, supposed to be that which belonged to Iphigenia. So much for this matter.

The following year, in the consulship of Manius Acilius and Gaius Piso, Mithridates encamped opposite Triarius near Gaziura, with the purpose of challenging and provoking him to battle; in particular, he not only took his own exercise but also drilled the army in plain sight of the Romans. His hope was to engage and vanquish Triarius before Lucullus should come up, and thus recover the rest of his realm. But when the other did not stir, he sent some men to Dadasa, a stronghold where the Romans' baggage was deposited, in order that his opponent might at least go to its defence and so be drawn into conflict. And thus it came about. Triarius, who feared the numbers of Mithridates and was awaiting Lucullus, whom he had sent for, was remaining quiet for the time; but when news came of the siege of Dadasa, and the soldiers in their fear for the place were becoming excited and were threatening that if no one would lead them forth they would go to the rescue at their own bidding, he reluctantly left his position. As he was now moving forward, the barbarians fell upon him, surrounded and overwhelmed by their numbers those near at hand, and then riding around, killed those who had fled into
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τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐκτετράφθαι περιελαύνοντες 13 ἔκτεινον. καὶ πασσυδί ἄν σφας διέφθειραν, εἰ μὴ
tῶν Ῥωμαιῶν τις πλασάμενος ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ
Μιθριδάτου συμμαχίδος οὐν (ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ αὐτοῖς
τρόπῳ συστατευομένους, ὡσπερ εἴπον, οὐκ ὅλι-
γους εἰχε) προσήλθε τῇ ὡς καὶ εἰπείν τι βουλό-
μενος, καὶ ἐτρωσεν αὐτόν. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μὲν
συλληφθεὶς ἀπεσφάγη, ταραχθέντω δὲ πρὸς
tούτο τῶν βαρβάρων συχνῷ τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν δι-

2 ἔφυγον. Μιθριδάτης μὲν δῆ τὸ τε τραύμα ἁτό,
καὶ προσυποπτεύσας καὶ ἄλλους τινάς τῶν πολέ-
μίων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ εἶναι, ἔξετασιν τῶν στρα-
τιωτῶν ὡς καὶ κατ’ ἄλλο τι ἐποιήσατο, καὶ κελεύ-
σας σφᾶς ἐς τάς ἑαυτῶν σκηνὰς ὡς ἑκάστους
κατὰ τάχος ἀναχωρῆσαι κατεφώρασε, καὶ τοὺς
Ῥωμαίους μονωθέντας διέφθειρε.

14 Καὶ τούτῳ ὁ Δούκουλλος ἐπελθὼν δοξαν μὲν
τὶς παρέσχεν ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου ῥαδίως κρατήσων
καὶ πάντα τὰ προειμένα δὲ ὅλων κομιούμενοι,
2 οὐ μὲν τοι καὶ κατέπραξε τι. ὁ τε γὰρ Μιθριδάτης
ἐς τὰ μετέωρα τὰ 1 πρὸς Ταλαύροις ὄντα ἱδρυθέεις
οὐκ ἀντιπῆει αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ὁ ἐτερος ὁ
ἐκ Μηδίας ἅμβρος τοῦ Τυγράνου ἐσκεδασμένους
τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔξαιδυμης προσπεσῶν συχνοῖς ἀπέ-
κτεινεν, ὁ τε Τυγράνης αὐτὸς προσιῶν ἡγεῖλθη,
3 καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐστασίασεν, οἱ γὰρ Ὀυαλερίοι
οἱ τῆς τέ στρατείας ἀφεθέντες καὶ μετὰ τούτ
αὐτὸς στρατευομένου ἐκινήθησαν μὲν καὶ ἐν τῇ
Νισίβι ἐκ τῆς νίκης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας, τοῦ

1 τὰ supplied by Ba. 2 ὁ inserted by Bk. 3 Ουαλερίου Leouncl., Ουαλερίου VP.
the plain not knowing that the river had been directed into it. They would have destroyed them utterly, had not one of the Romans, pretending to belong to the allied force of Mithridates (for, as I have related, he had many of his troops equipped in the same manner as the Romans), approached the king, as if wishing to communicate something, and wounded him. To be sure, the fellow was immediately seized and put to death; but the barbarians were so excited over the occurrence that many of the Romans escaped. Mithridates, accordingly, was having his wound cured; and suspecting that there were others also of the enemy in the camp, he held a review of the soldiers, as if for a different purpose, and then ordered them to retire hastily every man to his own tent. In this way he detected the Romans and cut them down while they were left there by themselves.

At this juncture Lucullus arrived, and gave some the impression that he would conquer Mithridates easily and soon recover all that had been let slip; nevertheless, he accomplished nothing. For Mithridates, entrenched on the high ground near Talauría, would not come out against him, and the other Mithridates from Media, the son-in-law of Tigranes, fell suddenly upon the Romans while they were scattered, and killed many of them; also the approach of Tigranes himself was announced, and there was mutiny in the army. The Valerians,1 who, after being discharged, had later entered the service again, had been restless even at Nisibis on account of their victory and ensuing idleness, and also

1 The Twentieth Legion was called the Valeria. (See Livy vi. 9.)
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te tā ἐπιτήδεια ἀφθονα ἔχειν, καὶ ἀνευ τοῦ Δοὺ-
κούλλου τὰ πολλά, διὰ τὸ πολλαχόστε ἐκδημεῖν
αὐτῶν, διαισθάθαι, καὶ μᾶλις ὅτι Πούπλιος τις
Κλώδιος, ὡν Κλαύθιον τινε ἐκάλεσαν, συνεστα-
σίας ὑπ’ ἐμφύτου νεωτεροποιίας, καίπερ
τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ τῷ Δούκούλλῳ συνοικούσης:
ἐταράχθησαν δὲ καὶ τότε ἄλλως τε καὶ ἑπειδὴ τὸν
' Ἀκίλλον τὸν ὑπατοῦ, ὡς τῷ Δούκούλλῳ διάδοχος
δι’ ἀπερ εἴπον ἔξεσμβη, πλησιάζοντα ἐπίθυμων·
ἐν γὰρ ὀλυγορία αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἱδωτεύοντα ἤδη
ἐποιοῦστο. ὦ οὖν Δούκουλλος ἐκ τοῦ τοῦτον, καὶ
ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Μαρκίου1 τοῦ πρὸ τοῦ Ἀκίλλου
ὑπατεύσαντος, ἐς Κιλικίαν ἡ ἀρχεὺς ἐμελεῖς παρ-
ιόντος, ἐπικουρίαν αἰτήσας οὐκ ἔτυχεν, ἐν ἀπόρῳ
2 ἐγένετο, καὶ ὅκυρας μὲν διὰ κενῆς ἀναστὴραι,
δείσας δὲ καὶ κατὰ χώραν μείναι, ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνην
ὁρμήσει, εἰ πῶς ἐκεῖνον τε ἀπροσδόκητον τε ἄμα
καὶ κεκμηκότα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τρέψατο, καὶ τοὺς
στρατιώτας τρόπον τινα διὰ τοῦτο παύσεις
στασιάζοντας. οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπιτυχής οὐδετέρον
3 ἐγένετο· ἀκολουθήσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ στρατεύμα
μέχρι οὗ τίνος οθεὶν ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἐκτρα-
πεσθαί ἤν, ἐκεὶσε πάντες ὁμοθυμάδον, μὴ δὲ φθεγ-
ξάμενοι τι, ἀπετράποντο. καὶ οἱ ὑπὸ Οὐαλερίους,
μαθόντες ὅτι τῆς στρατείας παρὰ τοῖς οἷκοι τελε-
σῖον ἀφεῖνται, παντελῶς ἀπεχώρησαν.

16. Καὶ θαυμάσῃ μηδεὶς ὅτι στρατηγικότατος 2
ἀνδρῶν ὁ Δούκουλλος γενόμενος, καὶ πρῶτος τοῖς
Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ Ταύρου σύν τε στρατῷ καὶ ἐπὶ
πολέμῳ διαβάζει, καὶ δύο βασιλέας οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς

1 Μαρκίου Χιλ., μάρκου ΒΡ.
2 στρατηγικότατος Λιουνέλ. from Xiph., στρατηγικότατος ΒΡ.
because they had had provisions in abundance and had been left to themselves much of the time, while Lucullus was absent on numerous errands. But it was largely a certain Publius Clodius (called Claudius by some) who through innate love of revolution brought the mutiny to a head, although his sister was married to Lucullus. At this time, however, they became turbulent again largely because they heard that Acilius, the consul, who had been sent out to relieve Lucullus for the reasons mentioned, was drawing near, and they accordingly regarded Lucullus with contempt, as being already a mere private citizen. Lucullus, then, was in perplexity, both for these reasons and because Marcus [Rex], Acilius' predecessor, who was on his way to Cilicia, his destined province, had refused a request of his for aid. He hesitated, on the one hand, to strike camp with no purpose in view, and he feared, on the other hand, to stand his ground; hence he set out against Tigranes, to see if he could repulse him while off his guard and tired from the march, and at the same time put a stop somehow to the mutiny of the soldiers. However, he attained neither object. The army accompanied him to a certain spot from which it was possible to turn aside into Cappadocia, when all with one consent without a word turned off in that direction. The Valerians, indeed, learning that they had been discharged by the authorities at home, withdrew altogether.

Let no one wonder that Lucullus, who had proved himself most skilful of all men in generalship, who was the first Roman to cross the Taurus with an army for warfare, and who had vanquished two powe-
ἐπικρατήσας, ἐλών τ' ἀν εἴπερ ταχέως διαπολε-μῆσαι ἐβεβούλητο, οὐκ ἐδύνατο τῶν συστρατευο-μένων οἱ ἄρχειν, ἀλλ' ἂεὶ τε ἑστασίαξον καὶ τέλος
2 ἐγκατέληπτον αὐτόν, πολλὰ τε γὰρ σφικὶ προσέ-
tatte, καὶ δυσπρόσοδος ἀκριβῆς τε ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἔργων ἀπαιτήσει καὶ ἀπαραίτητος ἐν ταῖς τιμω-
ρίαις ὁν συν ἡπίστατο οὔτε λόγῳ τινὰ 1 προσαγα-
γέσθαι οὔτε ἐπιεικείᾳ ἀναρτήσασθαι, οὔ τιμαῖς, 2
οὔ χρημάτων μεταδόσει προσταρισάσθαι, οὕν
pάντων ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν πλήθει, καὶ μάλιστα
3 στρατευομένω, δε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οἱ στρατιώται,
ἐὼς μὲν εὖ τε ἐφέροντο καὶ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἀνταξιας
tῶν κινδύνων εἶχον, ἥκροϊντο αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπταῖσαν καὶ ἐς φόβῳ ἀντὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀντι-
κατέστησαν, οὔδεν ἐτε προετίμησαν. τεκμήριον
dὲ ὅτι τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ὁ Πομπήιος λαβὼν
(καὶ ἤκριτος ὁ Όυαλερίειος αὕτης κατελέξατο)
οὐδ' ὀπωσοῦν στασιάζοντας ἐσῆ. τοσοῦτον ἀνήρ
ἀνδρὸς διαφέρει.

17 'Ως δ' οὖν τοῦτ' οἱ στρατιώται ἐπραξαν, πᾶσαν
τε ὀλίγον τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ
τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἵσχυρός ἐλυμήνατο, μῆτε Δου-
κοῦλλον, προφάσει τοῦ τῶν Ἀκίλλου ἐγγὺς εἶναι,
μῆτε ἑκεῖνον προσαμψάντος αὕτη 3 ἐπειγόμενος
γὰρ πρότερον ὡς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Δουκοῦλλου νίκην
υφαρπάσων, τότε, ἐπειδὴ τῶν γεγονότων ἡσθετο,
οὕτε προς τὰ στρατόπεδα ἠλθε καὶ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ
2 ἔχρονισε. Μάρκιος δὲ Δουκοῦλλορ μὲν οὔκ ἐπε-
κούρησε, πρόσχημα τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς οὔκ ἐθε-
λήσατας οἱ ἀκολουθήσαι ποιησάμενος, ὡς δὲ τὴν

1 τῶν Oddey, τωi VP. 2 τιμαίς Rk., τιμής VP. 3 αὕτη Reim., αὕτης VP.
ful kings and would have captured them if he had chosen to end the war quickly, was unable to control his men, and that they were always revolting and finally deserted him. For he required a great deal of them, was difficult of access, strict in his demands for work, and inexorable in his punishments; he did not understand how to win over a man by persuasion, or to attach him by mildness, or to make a friend of him by conferring honours or bestowing wealth—all of which means are necessary, especially with a large crowd, and most of all with a crowd on a campaign. Hence the soldiers, as long as they prospered and got booty that was a fair return for their dangers, obeyed him; but when they encountered trouble and fear took the place of their hopes, they no longer heeded him at all. The proof of this is that Pompey took these same men—for he enrolled the Valerians again—and kept them without the slightest show of revolt. So much does one man differ from another.

After this action of the soldiers Mithridates won back almost all his domain and caused great havoc in Cappadocia, since neither Lucullus defended it, on the ground that Acilius was near, nor yet Acilius himself. For the latter had been hurrying in the first place to rob Lucullus of the victory, and now, when he learned what had taken place, he did not come to the camp, but delayed in Bithynia. As for Marcius, the pretext which he gave for not assisting Lucullus was that his soldiers refused to follow him. Instead, he went to Cilicia,
Κιλικίαν ἀφικόμενος Μενέμαχον τινα ἀπαυτομολήσαντα ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυγράνου ἔδεξατο, καὶ τὸν Κλώδιον ἀποστάντα ἀπὸ τοῦ Δουκούλλου δέει τῶν ἐν τῇ Νεσίβι γενομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπέστησεν. Ἀδελφὴν γὰρ τινα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἑκεῖνος γυναῖκα εἶχε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄλοις τε ἐς καταποντιστάς, καὶ ἀφεθεὶς ὅπ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πομπηίου φόβον, ἐς τῇ Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς Συρίας ἤλθεν ὡς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀραβίους, πρὸς σὺς τότε διεφέροντο, συμμαχήσων σφίσι, κάνταθα στασιάζων τινὰς ὁμοίως ὅλην διεθήρη.

Xiphilinus


18 . . . φείδεται. δυνάστειας τε ἐρῶν καὶ τοῖς Κρησὶ τοῖς ὀμολογήσασιν αὐτῷ προσέβαλε, καὶ οὕτε τὰς σπονδὰς προτεινομένων σφῶν ἐφρόντις, κακῶσαί τε αὐτοὺς πρὶν τὸν Πομπηίου ἐπελθεῖν ἡπείγετο. ὁ τε γὰρ Ὅκταύοιος ἄνευ δυνάμεως παρὼν (ούδε γὰρ οὔδε ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παραλήψει τῶν πόλεων ἐπέπεμπτο) ἡσυχίαν ἤγε

1 ἀπαυτομολήσατα H. Steph., ἀπαυτομολήσατα VP.
2 ἀπὸ τοῦ Βς., τοῦ VP.
3 ὅπ' St., ἀπ' VP.

26
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where he received one Menemachus, a deserter from Tigranes, and also Clodius, who had left Lucullus out of fear because of the occurrence at Nisibis; the latter he put in command of the fleet, for he, too, had married one of Clodius' sisters. Now Clodius, after being captured by the pirates and released by them in consequence of their fear of Pompey, came to Antioch in Syria, declaring that he would be their ally against the Arabians, with whom they were then at variance. There, likewise, he stirred up a sedition and all but lost his life.

Xiphilinus

And [Metellus] later subjugated the entire island, although he was hindered and restrained by Pompey the Great, who was now in command of the whole sea and of the mainland for a three-days' march from the coast; for Pompey asserted that the islands also belonged to him. Nevertheless in spite of Pompey's opposition Metellus put an end to the Cretan war, celebrated a triumph in honour thereof, and was given the title of Creticus.

... [Metellus] spared. In his eagerness for power he attacked even the Cretans who had come to terms with the other [Pompey], and heedless of their claim that there was a truce, hastened to do them injury before Pompey should come up. Octavius, who was there, had no troops and so kept quiet; in fact he had not been sent to do any fighting, but
καὶ Κορυνήλιος Σισέννας ὁ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀρχων ἤλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Κρήτην, ὡς ταῦτα ἐπύθετο, καὶ παρήνεσε τῷ Μετέλλῳ φείδασθαι τῶν δήμων, οὐ 2 μέντοι καὶ ἀντέπραξέ τι μὴ πείσας. ἄλλοις τε οὖν πολλοῖς ἐκείνος ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ Ἔλευθέραν τὴν πόλιν ἐκ προδοσίας ἔλων ἕργυρολόγησε· πύργον γὰρ τῶν οἱ προδιδόντες ἐκ τε πλίνθων πεποιημένον καὶ μέγιστον δυσμαχὼτατὸν τε ὄντα ὡς εἰς συνεχῶς νυκτὸς διέβρεσαν, ὡστε θραυστὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ μετὰ τούτο Λάσπαν, καὶ τοῦ 'Οκταούλου αὐτὴν κατέχοντος, ἐκ προσβολῆς εἶλε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐδὲν κακῶν εἰργάσατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ

19 Κύλλας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ὄντας ἐφθείρεν. ἀγανακτήσας οὖν ἔπι τούτῳ ὁ 'Οκτάουλος οὐκέθ' ἧσυχασεν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον μὲν τῷ τοῦ Σισέννου στρατῷ (νοσῆσας γὰρ ἐκείνος ἐτεθύρηκε) χρώμενος ἐπεβοήθη τῇ τοῖς κακομένοις, ἐπειτὰ δὲ ἀνακομισθέντων αὐτῶν πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀριστίωνα ἐς 'Ιεράπυνδα ἢλθε καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπολέμενον οὕτως γὰρ ὡς τότε ἐκ τῆς Κυδωνίας ἀπεχώρησεν Δούκιον τε τινα Βάσσου ἀνταναχθέντα οἱ εὐκίςε καὶ

2 τα 'Ιεράπυνδα κατέλαβε. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐκαρτέρησαν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Μετέλλου ἐπιώντος σφίσε τὸ τεῖχος ἐξέλισσαν, καὶ ἐξαναχθέντες χειμῶνι τε ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκπεσόντες συχνοῦς ἀπεβαλοῦσαν. καὶ τοῦτον ὁ Μετέλλος πᾶσαν τὴν

3 νῆσον ἐχειρώσατο. Κρῆτες μὲν οὖν οὕτως, ἐλεύθεροι τε πάντα τὸν ἐμπροσθείς χρόνον γενόμενοι καὶ δεσπότην θυρείον μηδένα κτησάμενοι, κατεδούλῳσαν· Μετέλλος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐπικλήσαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἦλαβε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Πανάρη τόν τε Δασθένην

1 'Ιεράπυνδα R. Steph., 'ερά πυνδα and 'ερά πόδαν L.
to take over the cities. Cornelius Sisenna, the governor of Greece, did, to be sure, when he heard the news, come to Crete and advise Metellus to spare the towns, but on failing to persuade him offered no active opposition. Metellus in addition to many other injuries captured the city of Eleuthera by treachery and extorted money from it; for those who betrayed it had by night repeatedly saturated with vinegar a very large brick tower, most difficult of capture, so that it became brittle. Next he took Lappa by storm, in spite of Octavius' occupancy of the place, and while he did the latter no harm, he put to death the Cilicians who were with him. Octavius, incensed at this, no longer remained quiet, but first used the army of Sisenna (that general had fallen sick and died) to aid here and there the victims of oppression, and then, when these troops had retired, proceeded to Aristion at Hierapydna and aided him in fighting. Aristion had just withdrawn from Cydonia, and after conquering one Lucius Bassus who sailed out to oppose him, had gained possession of Hierapydna. They held out for a time, but at the approach of Metellus left the stronghold and put to sea; they encountered a storm, however, and were driven ashore, losing many men. After this Metellus conquered the entire island. In this way the Cretans, who had been free through all preceding ages and had never had a foreign master, became enslaved; and from their subjugation Metellus obtained his title. He was, however, unable to have Panares and Lasthenes, whom he had
Δέξω δὲ ἢδη καὶ τὰ 1 κατὰ τούτον πῶς ἐγένετο. οἱ καταποντισταὶ ἐλύσαν ἐν μὲν ἀεὶ τοὺς πλέοντας, δὲστρε καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ οἰκούντας οἱ τὰς ληστείας ποιομένοι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστω ὅτε ταῦτ᾽ οὐκ ἐγένετο, οὐδὲ ἂν παυσάτο ποτὲ ἐώς δὰ ἦν αὐτὴ φύσις ἂνθρώπων ἡ. ἀλλὰ πρότερον μὲν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοις καὶ τῇ ὥραια ἡ μόνῃ, κατ᾽ ὀλίγους, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐλήστευν τότε δὲ, ἐξ οὐ πολλαχὴ τε ἀμα καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπολεμήθη, καὶ πολλαὶ μὲν πόλεις ἀνώστατοι ἐγένοντο, πάσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς διαφεύγονσιν αὐτῶν αἱ τιμωρίαι ἐπηρτότευο καὶ ἀδεὲς οὖδεὶ οὔδεὶ ἡν, πάμπολλοι πρὸς λῃστείαν ἐτράπουντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἥπειροις λῃστικά, ἀτε καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν δήμων μᾶλλον ὄντα, καὶ τὴν τε αἰσθησιν τῆς βλάβης ἐγγύθει καὶ τὴν ἱκαλαθαίρεσιν οὐ πάνυ χαλεπὴν ἔχουντα, μᾶλλον ἄπω ἐν τῆς κατανεμεῖ τοῦ πλεῖστον ἐπηνεξήθη. τῶν γὰρ Ἠρωικὸι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπολέμους 2 ἀσχολοῦν ἀγώντων ἐπὶ πολύ ἤκμασαν, πολλαχοῖς τε περιπλέοντες καὶ πάντας τοὺς ῥαμόιος σφίζον προςφυκάμοιν, ὡστε τινὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν συμμαχίας λόγω συνοχοὶ ἐπικυρησάν. καὶ ἔριζεται μὲν ὁσα μετὰ τῶν ἀλλων ἐπραξαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὖν καὶ ἐκείνα διελύθη, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοὶ καθ᾽ ἔαυτον πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς τε Ἠρωικοὺς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους σφὸν ἐκακούργη-

1 tā Lenel., tō L. 2 ὥραια Rk., ὥρα L. 3 ἀντιπολέμους Bernhardy, ἀντιπολεμοῦς L.
also captured, march in his triumph; for Pompey got them away beforehand by persuading one of the tribunes that it was to him they had submitted in the settlement and not to Metellus.

I will now relate the progress of Pompey's career. Pirates always used to harass those who sailed the sea, even as brigands did those who dwelt on land. There was never a time when these practices were unknown, nor will they ever cease probably so long as human nature remains the same. But formerly free-booting was limited to certain localities and small bands operating only during the summer on sea and on land; whereas at this time, ever since war had been carried on continuously in many different places at once, and many cities had been overthrown, while sentences hung over the heads of all the fugitives, and there was no freedom from fear for anyone anywhere, large numbers had turned to plundering. Now the operations of the bandits on land, being in better view of the towns, which could thus perceive the injury close at hand and capture the perpetrators with no great difficulty, would be broken up with a fair degree of ease; but those on the sea had grown to the greatest proportions. For while the Romans were busy with their antagonists, the pirates had gained great headway, sailing about to many quarters, and adding to their band all of like condition, to such an extent that some of them, after the manner of allies, assisted many others. Indeed, I have already related how much they accomplished in connection with others. When those wars had been ended, the pirates, instead of desisting, did much serious injury alone by themselves both to the Romans and to their
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σαν. οὗτε γὰρ καὶ οἷόν τοῖς ἄλλα στόλοις μεγάλοις ἔπλευ, καὶ στρατηγοῦς εἶχον, ὡστε καὶ
2 ὁνομά αὐτοῦς μέγα κεκτήσθαι ἤγον τε καὶ ἐφερον πρῶτοι μὲν καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς πλέοντας (οὐδὲ γὰρ
τὴν χειμερινὴν ὠραν ἀσφαλὴ αὐτοῖς παρεῖχον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τε τῆς τόλμης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθους τῆς τε
ἐντυπογίας καὶ τοῦ ἐπ' ἀδείας ταῖς ναυτιλίαις ἐχρώντο), ἐπειτα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ὄντας.
3 καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὸς ἀνταναχθηναί σφισιν ἐτόλμησε, μάλιστα μὲν ἠττηθεὶς ἀπώλετο, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐνίκησεν,
ἀλλ' ἐλείν γε αὐτῶν οὐδένα ὑπὸ τοῦ ταχυναυτεῖν σφας ἐδύνατο, καὶ οὕτως ὑποστρέφοντες διὰ βρα-
χέως ὡς καὶ κεκρατηκότες, τὰ μὲν ἐτεμνον καὶ κατε-
πίπτον, οὐχ ὅτι χωρία καὶ ἄγρους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πό-
λεις ὅλας, τὰ δὲ καὶ φοιεισύντα, ὡστε καὶ χειμάδια καὶ
ὀρμητήρια καθάπερ ἐν φιλίᾳ γῇ ποιεῖσθαι.
22 Προχωροῦντων δὲ αὐτοῖς τούτων καὶ ἐς τὴν
ήπειρον ἀνέβαινον, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς
μηδὲ χρωμένους τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐλύσων, καὶ ταύτα
οὐ τὴν ἐξῳ συμμαχία αὐτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν
2 Ἰταλίαν αὐτὴν ἐποίουν, τὰ τε γὰρ κέρδη τὰ
αὐτόθεν μείζω σχῆσειν καὶ πάντας τοὺς λυπουσι
ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκφοβῆσειν, ἃν μηδὲ ἐκείνης ἀπέχωνται,
νομίζοντες, ἐς τε τὰς ἀλλὰς τὰς ταύτη πόλεις καὶ
ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ Ὀστία ἐσέπλευον καὶ τὰς τε ναῦς
3 ἐκαῖον καὶ πάνθρα ᾧρπαζον. καὶ τέλος, ὡς οὐδεμία
σφῶν ἐπιστροφὴ ἐγέγυμνο, τὰς τε διατριβὰς ἐν
τῇ γῇ ἐποίουντο, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅσους μὴ
dιώκουσαν, τὰ τε σῦλα, ὅσα ἔλαμβανον, ἀδειος
4 ὡς γε καὶ ἐν οἰκείᾳ διεστίθεντο. καὶ ἐλήστευον
32
allies. They no longer sailed in small force, but in great fleets; and they had generals, so that they had acquired a great reputation. First and foremost they robbed and pillaged those sailing the sea, no longer permitting them any safety even during the winter season, since as the result of their daring, practice, and success they made voyages in security even then; and next they despoiled even those in the harbours. For if any one ventured to put out against them, he would usually be defeated and perish; but even if he conquered, he would be unable to capture any of the enemy by reason of the speed of their ships. Accordingly, they would return after a little, as if victors, and would ravage and set in flames not only farms and fields, but also whole cities; some places, however, they conciliated, so as to gain naval stations and winter quarters in a friendly land as it were.

As these operations of theirs met with success it became customary for them to go into the interior, and they inflicted many injuries on those even who had nothing to do with the sea. This is the way they treated not only the distant allies of Rome, but even Italy itself. For, believing that they would obtain greater gains in that quarter and also that they would terrify all the others still more if they did not even keep their hands off that country, they sailed into the very harbour of Ostia as well as other cities in Italy, burning the ships and pillaging everything. Finally, as no attention was paid to them, they took up their abode on the land, disposing fearlessly of whatever men they did not kill, and of whatever spoils they took, just as if they were in their own land. And though
μὲν ἄλλοι άλλοθι (οὐ γάρ ποῦ ἐν πάσῃ ἀμα τῇ θαλάσσῃ οἱ αὐτοὶ κακουργεῖν εδύναντο), τοσαύτη μέντοι φιλίᾳ πρὸς ἄλληλους ἔχρωντο ὡστε σφᾶς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐπικουρίας καὶ τοῖς πάνυ ἀγρῶ-
5 σιν ὡς καὶ οἰκειοτάτοις πέμπειν. καὶ διὰ τούτο
γε οὐχ ἦκιστα ἵσχυσαν, ὅτι τούς τε θεραπεύοντάς
τινας αὐτῶν πάντες ἑτίμων καὶ τοὺς προσκροῦ-
σαντάς τετί πάντες ἠλεηλάτουν.

23 Ἐσ τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὰ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ἡρθη ὡστε καὶ μέγαν καὶ συνεχῆ καὶ ἀπροφύ-
λακτον καὶ ἀπίστον τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι·
οἱ δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι ἤκουσιν μὲν ποῦ αὐτά, καὶ τινὰ
cal ἐὼρων (οὐτε γάρ ἄλλο τὸ ἐπακτών ἐφοίτα
σφῖς καὶ ἡ σιτοπομπία παντελῶς ἀπεκέκλευτο),

2 οὐ μέντοι καὶ μεγάλην, ὅτε γε ἐχθρῆν, φροντίδα
αὐτῶν ἐποιήσαντο, ἀλλ’ ἐξέπεμπον μὲν καὶ
ναυτικά καὶ στρατηγοὺς, ὡς ποὺ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν
tὸν προσαγγελλομένων ἐκινοῦντο, ἔπραττον δ’
oúdein, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πλείω τοὺς συμμάχους δι’
αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐταλαιπώρουν, μέχρις οὐ εν παντὶ
ἐγένοντο. τότε δὲ συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐπὶ

3 πολλάς ἡμέρας δ’ τι καὶ χρὴ πράξαι. τῇ τε γάρ
συνεχεία τῶν ἱκυδῶν τετρυχωμένω, καὶ μέγαν
καὶ πόλιν τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον ὀρῶντες

4 νομτο, πρίν δὴ Ἀδλόσ τις Γαβίνιος ὁ δήμαρχος

1 Γαβίνιος Βκ., γαβίνιος Ι. regularly.
some plundered here and some there, since of course it was not possible for the same persons to do harm throughout the whole length of the sea at once, they nevertheless showed such friendship one for another as to send money and assistance even to those entirely unknown, as if to their nearest of kin. In fact, this was one of the chief sources of their strength, that those who paid court to any of them were honoured by all, and those who came into collision with any of them were despoiled by all.

To such an extent did the power of the pirates grow that their hostility became a grave and constant menace, admitting of no precaution and knowing no truce. The Romans, of course, heard of these deeds from time to time, and even saw a little of what was going on, inasmuch as imports in general ceased coming in and the corn supply was shut off entirely; but they paid no serious attention to it at the proper time. Instead, they would send out fleets and generals only as they were stirred by individual reports, but accomplished nothing; on the contrary, they caused their allies all the greater distress by these very means, until they were finally reduced to the last extremity. Then at length they came together and deliberated for many days as to what really should be done. Wearied by the continued dangers and perceiving that the war against the pirates would be a great and extensive one, and believing, too, that it was impossible to assail them all at once or yet individually, inasmuch as they helped one another and there was no way of driving them back everywhere at once, the people fell into great perplexity and despair of making any successful move. In the end, however, one Aulus
γνώμην ἐδωκεν, εἰτ' ὁ νῦν τοῦ Πομπήλιου καθέντος αὐτοῦ, εἰτε καὶ ἄλλως χαρίσασθαι οἱ θελήσας (οὐ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ ὑπ' εὐνοίας αὐτὸ τῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐποίησε: κάκιστος γὰρ ἄνηρ ἦν), στρατηγὸν ἐνα αὐτοκράτορα ἐφ' ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευ- κότων ἔλεσθαι, τρισὶ τε ἔτεσιν ἄρξοντα καὶ δύναμει παμπληθεὶ μεθ' ὑποστρατηγῶν πολλῶν
5 χρησάμενον. ἀντικρὺς μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Πομπήλιον ὄνομα οὐκ εἶπεν εὐθύλην δὲ ἦν ὅτι, ἂν ἀπαξ τι τοιοῦτον ὁ ὁμίλος ἀκούσῃ, ἐκεῖνον αἰρήσεται.

24 Καὶ ἐσχεν οὗτοι τὴν τε γὰρ ἐσήγησιν αὐτοῦ ἀπεδέξαντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήλιον παραχρῆμα πάντες πλὴν τῆς γερουσίας ἀπέκλιναν. αὐτὴ γὰρ πᾶν ὅτι οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἦ ἐκεῖνο τοσάυτην ἡγεμονίαν ἐχειρίσας ἦρειτο: καὶ ὁλίγου καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Γαβίνιον ἐν αὐτῷ
2 τῷ συνεδρίῳ. ὑπεκδάντωσκ δ' οὖν πη αὐτοῦ μαθόντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν τῶν βουλευτῶν γνώμην ἐθορύβησαν, ὡστε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς συγκαθημένους ἐφορμήσας καὶ εἶ γε μή ἐξεκχωρῆσαν, πάν-
3 τως ἀν αὐτοὺς διεφθάρκεσαν, οἱ μὲν δὴ οὖν ἄλλοι σκεδασθέντες διέλαθον, Πίσσωνα δὲ τῶν Γάιου τὸν ὑπατον (ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐκείνου τοῦ τε Ἀκιλίου ταύτ' ἐγώντο) συλληθέντα καὶ μέλλοντα καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσαι ὁ Γαβίνιος ἔξητη-
σατο. ἐκ δὲ τουτῶν οἱ δυνατοὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν τὴν ἱστυχίαν ἤγγον, ἀσμενίζοντες ἀν τὶς σφας ἐση ἐάσῃ, τους δὲ δημάρχους τοὺς εὖνέα ἀνέπεισαν ἐναντιω-θῆναι τῷ Γαβίνῳ. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι φοβηθέντες τὸ πλῆθος οὔδὲν ἀντεῖπον, Δούκιος δὲ δὴ τὶς Τρεβέλλιος καὶ Δούκιος Ρώσκιος ἐτόλμη-

3 μὲν added by Rk.
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Gabinius, a tribune, set forth his plan. He had either been prompted by Pompey or wished in any case to do him a favour; certainly he was not prompted by any love of the common welfare, for he was a most base fellow. His plan, then, was that they should choose from among the ex-consuls one general with full power against all the pirates, who should command for three years and have the use of a huge force, with many lieutenants. He did not directly utter Pompey’s name, but it was easy to see that if once the populace should hear of any such proposition, they would choose him.

And so it came about. They adopted his motion and immediately all except the senate turned to Pompey. But that body preferred to suffer anything whatever at the hands of the freebooters rather than put so great command into Pompey’s hands; in fact they came near slaying Gabinius in the very senate-house, but he eluded them somehow. When the people learned the feeling of the senators, they raised an uproar, even going so far as to rush upon them as they sat assembled; and if the senators had not gotten out of the way, they would certainly have killed them. So they all scattered and secreted themselves, except Gaius Piso the consul—for it was in the year of Piso and Aelius that these events took place; he was arrested and was about to perish for the others when Gabinius begged him off. After this the optimates themselves held their peace, happy if only they might be allowed to live, but tried to persuade the nine tribunes to oppose Gabinius. None of these, however, except one Lucius Trebellius and Lucius Roscius, would say a word in opposition, through fear of the multitude;
σαν μέν, οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν δὲ οὕτω εἰπεῖν τι ὧν ὑπέσχητο οὕτε πράξαι. ἔπειδή γὰρ ἡ κυρία ἡμέρα, ἐν ἡ τὴν γνώμην ἐπικυρωθήναι έδει, ἐνέστη, τάδε έγένετο.

5 Ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπιθυμοῦν μὲν πάνυ ἄρξαι, καὶ ἠδή γε ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἐαυτοῦ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ δῆμου σπουδῆς οὕτε τιμῆν ἔτε τούτο, ἀλλ' ἀτιμάν τὸ μή τυχεῖν αὐτοῦ νομίζων εἶναι, τὴν δὲ ἀντίταξιν τῶν δυνατῶν ὀρῶν, ἡβουλήθη δοκεῖν

6 ἀναγκάζεσθαι. ἢ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοις ὡς ἡκιστα προσποιοῦμενοι ἐπιθυμεῖν ὃν ἦθελε· τότε δὲ καὶ μάλλον, διὰ τὸ ἐπίθθονον ἢν γε ἐκὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποίησθαι, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἕκκλησ αὐτὸς ἰερῶν ἐν γὰρ καὶ ἀκών ὡς γε καὶ ἀξιοστρατηγητότατος ὃν ἀποδειχθῆ, ἐπλάττετο.

25 Καὶ παρελθὼν ἐφη "χαίρω μὲν τιμῶμεν ψῆ ύμῶν, δο Κυρίται" φύσει τε γὰρ πάντες ἀνθρώποι καὶ ἐγκαλλωπίζομαι ταῖς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εὔφρασίας, καὶ ἐγώ, ἀτε δή πολλάκις τῆς παρ' ύμῶν τιμῆς ἀπολελαυκώς, οὐκ ἔχοι πῶς κατ' ἄξιαν ἵσθον τοῖς παρούσιν· οὐ μέντοι οὔθ' ύμῶν νομίζων προσήκειν ἀπλήστοις, αὐτοῖς μεσίν ἰερῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερομαντεῖα. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐκ παίδων κέκημικα, καὶ ύμᾶς δεῖ καὶ περὶ 2 τοὺς ἄλλους σπουδαζείν. ή οὐ μέμνησθε ὡσα μὲν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Κίννων πολέμῳ ἐταλαψάρησα, καὶ τοι κομιδὴ νέος ὁν, ὡσα δὲ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἁφρικῇ ἐκαμον, μιδέπω καθαρῶς ἐς ἐφήβους τελών, ὡσα δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐκενδύνευσα, μιδέβουλων τῳ; ἐφ' οἷς ἀπασίν οὐχ ὅτι

1 τὸ Leuncl., τοῦτο τὸ L.
2 ἀξιοστρατηγητότατος Bk., ἀξιοστρατηγητότατος L.
and those two men, who had the courage, were unable to fulfil any of their promises by either word or deed. For when the appointed day came on which the measure was to be ratified, things went as follows.

Pompey, who was very eager to command, and because of his own ambition and the zeal of the populace no longer now so much regarded this commission as an honour as the failure to win it a disgrace, when he saw the opposition of the optimates, desired to appear forced to accept. He was always in the habit of pretending as far as possible not to desire the things he really wished, and on this occasion did so more than ever, because of the jealousy that would follow, should he of his own accord lay claim to the leadership, and because of the glory, if he should be appointed against his will as the one most worthy to command.

He now came forward and said: "I rejoice, Quirites, in being honoured by you. All men naturally take pride in benefits conferred upon them by their fellow-citizens, and I, who have often enjoyed honours at your hands, scarcely know how to be properly pleased on the present occasion. Nevertheless, I do not think it fitting either that you should be so insatiable with regard to my services or that I myself should continually be in some position of command. For I have toiled since boyhood, and, as for you, you ought to be favouring others as well. Do you not recall how many hardships I underwent in the war against Cinna, though I was the veriest youth, and how many labours in Sicily and in Africa before I had as yet come fully of age, or how many dangers I encountered in Spain before I was even a senator? I will not
3 ἀχάριστοι πρὸς μὲν ἐγένεσθε ἔρω. πόθεν; πολλοὺ
γε καὶ δεῖ. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὧν πολλῶν καὶ
μεγάλων παρ' ὕμων ἡξιώθην, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πιστευ-
θῆναι με τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Σερτώριον στρατηγιὰν,
μηδενός ἄλλου μὴτ' ἐθελήσαντος μήτε δυνηθέντος
αὐτὴν ὑποστῆναι, τὸ τε ἑπινίκια καὶ ἑπ' ἐκείνη
παρὰ τὸ νεομισμένον πέμψα τιμήν 
4 ἤνεγκεν. ἀλλ' ὅτι πολλὰς μὲν φροντίδας πολλοὺς
δὲ κινδύνους ὑπέμεινα, κατατέρμιμαι μὲν τὸ
σῶμα, πεπόνημαι δὲ τὴν γνώμην. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι νέος
ἐτ' εἰμὶ λογιζόμεθα, μήδ' ὅτι ἐτή 1 τόσα καὶ τόσα
5 γέγονα ἀριθμεῖσθε. ἀν γὰρ τοῖς καὶ τὰς στρατείας
Ἀς ἐστράτευμαι καὶ τῶν κινδύνων οὐς κεκινδύ-
νευκα ἀναρμιθμήσητε, πολύ γε πλείους αὐτοῖς τῶν
ἐτῶν εὑρήσετε, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτω πιστεύσετε ὅτι
σύνε πρὸς τοὺς πόνους ὅτε πρὸς τὰς φροντίδας
καρτερέω ἐτι δύναμαι.

26 "Εἶ δ' οὖν τις καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέχοι, ἀλλ' ὁράτε ὅτι καὶ ἐπίθεον καὶ μισητὰ πάντα τὰ
tοιαύτα ἐστιν. ἀπερ ύμεῖς μὲν ἐν ὑδεινί λόγῳ
tιδέσθε (οὐδὲ γὰρ καλὸς ἔχει προσποιεῖσθαι τι
ύμας αὐτῶν), ἐμοὶ μεντοι βαρύτατα ἂν γένοιτο,
2 καὶ ὀμολογῶ γε μηδ' ὄφ' ἐνὸς ὅτων ἐν τοῖς
πολέμους δεινῶν μὴτε ἐκταράττεσθαι μὴτε λυ-
πεῖσθαι ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν τοιοῦτων. τίς μὲν γὰρ ἄν
ἐν φρονών ἡδέως παρ' ἀνθρώποις φθονόσιν αὐτῷ
ζῷη, τίς δ' ἄν δημοσίον τι διοικήσαι προθυμηθένη
μέλλων, ἂν μὲν ἀποτύχῃ, δίκην ὑφεξεν, ἂν δὲ
3 κατορθώσῃ, ἡλπιτυπηθήσεται; ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν

1 ὅτι ἐτη Bs., ὅτι L. Madvig had supplied ἐτη before
gέγονα. 2 μηδ' Bk., μη L.
say that you have shown yourselves ungrateful toward me for all these labours. How could I? On the contrary, in addition to the many other important favours of which you have deemed me worthy, the very fact that I was entrusted with the command against Sertorius, when no one else was either willing or able to undertake it, and that I celebrated a triumph, contrary to custom, upon resigning it, brought me the greatest honour. But inasmuch as I have undergone many anxieties and many dangers, I am worn out in body and wearied in soul. Do not keep reckoning that I am still young, and do not calculate that I am so and so many years old. For if you will count up the campaigns that I have made as well as the dangers I have faced, you will find them far more in number than my years, and in this way you will more readily believe that I can no longer endure either the hardships or the anxieties.

"If any of you, now, should persist in your demand, in spite of all this, just observe that all such positions are causes of jealousy and hatred. This consideration you hold of no account—indeed, it is not fitting that you should pretend to regard it—but to me it would prove most grievous. And I confess that I am not so much disturbed or troubled by any danger to be encountered in the midst of wars as by such a position. For what person in his right mind could take pleasure in living among men who are jealous of him? And who would be eager to carry out any public business if destined in case of failure to stand trial, and in case of success to incur jealousy? In view, then, of these and other con-

1 Pompey was the first knight to celebrate a triumph.
καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὰλλα συγχωρήσατε τὴν τε ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ πράττειν, ἵνα ἴδῃ ποτὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπιμελθῶ καὶ μὴ κατατριφθεὶς ἀπόλυμαι ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοὺς κατα-
ποντιστὰς ἄλλον χειροτονήσατε. συχνὸς δὲ εἰς καὶ βουλόμενοι ναναρχήσατε καὶ δυνάμενοι, καὶ νεώτεροι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, ὡστε τὴν αἴρεσιν ὑμῶν
4 ῥαδίαν ἐκ πολλῶν γενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ποὺ ἐγὼ μόνος ὑμᾶς φιλῶ ἢ καὶ μόνος ἐμπείρως τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔχω, ἄλλα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα,
ἐνα μὴ καὶ χαρίζεσθαι τίς δόξῳ ὅνομαστὶ κατα-
λέξας.

27 Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ δημηγορήσαντος ὁ Γαβίνιος υπο-
λαβὼν εἶπεν "Πομπήιος μὲν, ὁ Κυρίται, καὶ
αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ ἔσοδον ποιεῖ, μήτε
ἐφιέμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς μήτε διδομένην οἱ αὐτὴν ἔξ
2 ἐπιδρομὴς δεχόμενος. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλος ἁγαθοῦ
ἀνδρός ἐστιν ἄρχειν ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ τὰ πράγματ
ἐχειν ἐθέλειν καὶ τοῦτο προσῆκε πάντα τὰ προστατάτουμεν μετ’ ἐπισκέψεως υφίστασθαι, ἵ
αὐτὰ καὶ ἁσφαλῶς ὄμοιος πράξῃ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ
προπητεῖς ἐν ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν, δεξύτερον καὶ ἐν
tαῖς πράξει τοῦ καιροῦ γυγρόμενον, πολλοὺς
σφάλλει, τὸ δ’ ἀκριβεῖς ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐν τοῖς
ἔργοις ὅμοιον διατελεῖ ὅν καὶ πάντας ὑνίσχων.
3 ὑμᾶς δὲ δὴ χρὴ μὴ τὸ τοῦτο κεχαρισμένον ἄλλα
τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ἔλεσθαι. οὔ γὰρ ποὺ τοὺς
σπουδαρχοῦντας ἄλλα τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους προσ-
tάττειν τοὺς πράγμασι προσήκειν ἐκέινος μὲν
γὰρ πάνυ πολλοὺς, τοιοῦτον δὲ δὴ τινὰ ἄλλον
4 οὕδενα εὑρήσετε. μέμνησθε δὲ ὅσα καὶ οἷα

1 τὰ added by Ba.
considerations allow me to remain undisturbed and to attend to my own business, so that now at last I may bestow some care upon my private affairs and may not perish from exhaustion. Against the pirates elect somebody else. There are many who are at once willing and able to serve as admirals, both young men and old, so that your choice from so many becomes easy. Surely I am not the only one who loves you, nor am I alone skilled in warfare; so also is this man, and the next man—not to seem to favour anybody by mentioning names."

When he had delivered this speech, Gabinius answered him, saying: "Pompey's behaviour in this very matter, Quirites, is worthy of his character: he does not seek the leadership, nor does he accept it off-hand when offered to him. For a good man has no business, in any case, to desire to hold office and to manage public affairs; and in the present instance it is fitting that one should undertake all the tasks imposed only after due consideration, in order that he may accomplish them with corresponding safety. Rashness in making promises, which leads to inopportune haste also in carrying them out, causes the downfall of many; but sureness at the outset remains the same in action, and is to the advantage of all. You, however, must choose not what is pleasing to Pompey, but what is of benefit to the state. Not office-seekers, but those who are capable should be put in charge of affairs; the former are very numerous, but you will not find any other such man as Pompey. Recall, furthermore, how many reverses and how serious we
ἐπάθομεν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τοῦ Σερτώριον πολέμῳ στρατηγοῦ δεώμενοι, καὶ ὁτι οὐδένα ἔτερον οὕτε τῶν νεωτέρων οὕτε τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀρμόζοντα αὐτῷ εὕρομεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ τότε μηδέποτε μὴ ἤλικιαν ἔχοντα μήτε βουλεύοντα καὶ ἀντὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων ἔξεπέμψαμεν. Βουλοῦμεν μὲν γὰρ ἂν πολλοὺς ὑμῖν ἄγαθοὺς ἀνδρὰς εἶναι, καὶ εἰγε καὶ εὐξαίμην δεῖ, εὐξαίμην ἂν ἐπεί δ' οὐτ' εὐχὴν γὰρ τὸ πράγμα τούτο ἐστὶν οὐτ' αὐτόματον τῷ παραγίνεται, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ φύσιν τίνα πρὸς αὐτὸ ἐπιτηδείον, καὶ μαθεῖν τὰ πρόςφορα, καὶ ἀσκῆσαι τὰ προσήκοντα, καὶ παρὰ πάντα ἀγαθὴ τύχῃ χρῆσθαι, ἀπερ ποιεῖν καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν πλείοντα τούτων ἀντὶ αὐτῶν ἀνδρῶν συμβαίνει, χρῆ πάντας ὑμᾶς ὀμοθυμαδῶν, ὅταν τις τοιοῦτος εὐρεθῇ, καὶ σπουδάζειν αὐτὸν καὶ καταχρησθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ μὴ βουληται. καλλιστῇ γὰρ ἡ τοιαύτη βία καὶ τῷ ποιῆσαι καὶ τῷ παθῶντι γίγνεται, τῷ μὲν ὅτι σωθεῖν ἂν ὃπό αὐτῆς, τῷ δὲ ὅτι σώσειν ἂν τοὺς πολίτας, ὑπέρ ὅν καὶ τὸ σόμα καὶ τὴν φυχὴν ὥς χρηστὸς καὶ φιλόπολις ἐτοιμῶτατα ἂν ἐπιδοθῇ.

28 "Ἡ οἶεσθε ὅτι Πομπήιος ὁ οὗτος ἐν μὲν μειράκιοι καὶ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ στρατηγεῖν καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐξεῖν καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων σώζειν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρωπομένων προσκτάσθαι ἐδύνατο, ἦν δὲ ἀκμαίως καὶ εὐ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἄν ἐν ἦ πάτες τῆς ἀρστος αὐτὸς αὐτῶν γίγνεται, καὶ ἐμπειρίαν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων πλείστην ὁσὶν προσειλήφως, οὐκ ἂν ὑμῖν χρησιμώτατος γένοιτο; ἀλλ' ὃν εἰφῆ σου ὑπὶ ἄρχειν εἰλεσθε, τούτον ἄνδρα γεγονοῦτα ὑποδοκιμάσετε;

1 ἀλλὰ Bk., ἀλλὰ καὶ L. 2 οὖτ' Bk., οὖτ' L.
3 εὐχὴς Xyl., εὐχαίσ L. 4 αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L.

44
BOOK XXXVI

experienced in the war against Sertorius through lack of a general, and that we found no one else equal to the task, either among the young or the old, except this man, and that we actually sent him out in place of both consuls, although at that time he neither had reached the proper age as yet nor was a member of the senate. I should be glad, of course, if you had a great many able men, and if I ought to pray for such, I would so pray; but since this ability is not a matter of prayer and does not come of its own accord to any one, but a man must be born with a natural bent for it, must learn what is pertinent and practise what is fitting and above everything must enjoy good fortune throughout,—all which would very rarely fall to the lot of the same man,—you must all with one accord, whenever such an one is found, both support him and make the fullest use of him, even if he does not wish it. Such compulsion proves most noble both in him who exerts it and in him who suffers it: to the former because he may be saved by it, and to the latter because he may thus save the citizens, in whose behalf the excellent and patriotic man would most readily give up both body and life.

"Or do you think that this Pompey who in his boyhood could make campaigns, lead armies, increase your possessions, preserve those of your allies, and acquire those of your adversaries, could not now, in the prime of life, when every man is at his best, and with a great fund of added experience gained from wars, prove most useful to you? Will you reject, now that he has reached man’s estate, him whom as a youth you chose as leader? Will you not confide
καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖ ἔτ' ὄντε τοὺς πολέμους ἑκεῖνους ἐνεχείρισατε, τοῦτο τοῦ βουλής γεγονότι τὴν στρα-
3 τείναν ταύτην οὐ πιστεύσετε; καὶ οὐ καὶ πρὶν ἀκριβῶς πειραθῆναι, μόνον πρὸς τὰ τότε κατ-
επείξαντα ὑμᾶς ἐδεήθητε, τοῦτο νῦν, ἵκανῶτατα αὐτοῦ πεπειραμένοι, τὰ παρόντα οὐδὲν ἦττοι ἑκεῖνων ἀναγκαία ὄντα οὐκ ἐπιτρέψετε; καὶ ἰν ὅπερ ἄρχειν ἔτι πω καὶ τότε δυνάμενον ἐπὶ τὸν Σερτώριον ἐχειροτούνησατε, τούτοις ὑπατευκότα
4 ἦδο ἐπὶ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς οὐκ ἐκπέμψετε; ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑμεῖς ἄλλος πως ποιήσητε, καὶ σὺ, ὦ 
Πομπῆιε, πείσθητε καὶ ἔμοι καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. ταυτὴ γὰρ γεγένησαι καὶ ταύτῃ τέθραψαι· καὶ 
δει σε τοὺς τε συμφέρουσιν αὐτῇ δουλεύειν, καὶ ὑπ’ εἰς αὐτῶν μήτε πόνων τινὰ μήτε κίνδυνον ἐξι-
στάσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἀνάγκη σοι γένηται, 
μὴ τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἀναμείναι ἀλλὰ τῷ προστυ-
χώντι θανάτῳ χρήσθαι. γελοῖος δὲ δὴποιφθέν 
εἰμι ταύτα ἐγὼ σοὶ παραίνων, ὥστε ἐν τοσούτοις 
καὶ τηλεικούτοις πολέμοις καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ 
2 τὴν πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα εὐνοιαν ἐπιδείξεις. πεί-
σθητε οὖν καὶ ἔμοι καὶ τούτοις, μηδὲ ὅτι τινὲς 
φθονοῦσι φοβηθῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο μᾶλλον σπουδασόν, ὅστε πρὸς τε τὴν παρὰ τῶν 
πλείονοιν φιλιάν καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοινὴ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν 
συμφέροντα καὶ τῶν βασκαινῶντων σε κατα-
3 φρονεῖν. καὶ εἰγε καὶ λυπῆσαι τι αὐτῶν ἐθέλεις, 
καὶ διὰ τούτο ἄρξον, ὅνα καὶ ἑκεῖνους. ἀνιάσης 
παρὰ γνώμην αὐτῶν καὶ ἡγεμονεύσας καὶ εὐδοκι-
μήσας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄξιον σεαυτῷ τέλος τοῖς προ-
κατεργασμένοις ἐπαγάγης, πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων 
κακῶν ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάξας."
this campaign to the man, now become a member of
the senate, to whom while still a knight you com-
mited those wars? Will you not, now that you
have most amply tested him, entrust the present
emergency, no less pressing than the former ones,
to him for whom alone you asked in the face of
those urgent dangers, even before you had care-
fully tested him? Will you not send out against
the pirates one, now an ex-consul, whom, before he
could yet properly hold office, you chose against
Sertorius? Nay, do not think of adopting any other
course; and as for you, Pompey, do you heed me
and your country. For her you were born, for her
you were reared. You must serve her interests,
shrinking from no hardship or danger to secure
them; and should it become necessary for you to
lose your life, you must in that case not await your
appointed day but meet whatever death comes to
you. But truly it is absurd for me to offer this advice
to you who have in so many and so great conflicts
exhibited both your bravery and your love for your
country. Heed me, therefore, as well as these citizens
here, and do not fear because some are envious.
Rather press on all the more for this very reason,
and in comparison with the friendship of the majority
and the common advantage of us all, scorn your
traducers. And, if you are willing even to grieve
them a little, take command for this very reason,
that you may vex them by conducting the war and
winning applause contrary to their expectations, and
that you may yourself set a crown worthy of your-
self upon your former achievements, by ridding us of
many great evils."
Τοιαύτα δή του Γαβίνιου ειπόντος ὁ Τρεβέλλιος ἐπειράθη μὲν ἀντειπεῖν, ὡς δ' ὦδενος λόγου ἐτυ-2 χεῖν, ἦναντιόντο μὴ τὴν ψήφου δοθήναι. ὁ οὖν Γαβίνιος ἀνανακτήσας τὴν μὲν περὶ τοῦ Πομ-πηίου διαψήφισεν ἐπέσχεν, ἑτέραν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἀντειπήγε καὶ ἐδοξεῖν ἐπτακαίδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς πρώταις χρηματισάσαις ἀδικεῖν τε αὐτῶν καὶ μηκέτι χρήναι δημαρχεῖν. μελλούσης οὖν καὶ τῆς ὀκτωκαιδεκάτης τὰ αὐτὰ ψηφιεῖσθαι

3 μόλις ποτὲ ὁ Τρεβέλλιος ἐσιώπησεν. ἰδῶν δὲ τούτο ὁ Ῥόσκιος φθέγξασθαι μὲν οὐδὲν ἐτόλ-μησε, τὴν δὲ χεῖρα ἀνατεινων δύο ἀνδρὰς ἐκέλευε σφας ἐλέσθαι, ὡς ἐν γε τούτῳ τῆς δυναστείας τε τῆς τοῦ Πομπηίου παρατέμοιτο. ταύτ' οὖν αὐτοῦ χειρονομοῦντος ὁ ὁμιλος μέγα καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν ἀνέκραγεν, ὡστε κόρακα τινα ὑπερπετόμενον σφον ἐκπλαγήναι καὶ πεσεῖν

4 ὄσπερ ἐμβρόντητον. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὴν ἠσυχίαν οὐ τῇ γλώττῃ ἐτί μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἤγαγεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτουλος ἀλλος μὲν ἑσώπτα, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Γαβίνιον προτρέ-ψας ὑμῖν τι αὐτοῦ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τά τε πρῶτα τῆς βουλῆς ἦν καὶ ἐδόκει δὲ ἐκείνον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους

5 ὁμογνωμονήσεως σφίσι (καὶ γὰρ ἠλπίζειν αὐτῶν, ἐξ ὦν τοὺς δημάρχους πάσχοντας εἰδε, συνε-παινέσειν), λόγον τε ἔτυχεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἵδοῦντο πάντες αὐτῶν καὶ ἑτίμουν ως τὰ συμφέροντά σφισι καὶ λέγοντα ἀεὶ καὶ πράττοντα, καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε τοὐάδε.

31 ""Οτι μὲν ἐς ὑπερβολήν, ὁ Κυρίται, πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἐσπούδακα, πάντες παινὸς πασύ ὑπ."" 1 μὴ Bk., τὰ μὴ L. 2 τὰ added by St. from Xiph.
When Gabinius had thus expressed himself, Trebellius attempted to speak in opposition; but failing to receive leave to speak, he proceeded to oppose the taking of a vote. Gabinius was naturally incensed, and postponed the vote regarding Pompey, while he introduced a new motion concerning Trebellius himself. The first seventeen tribes to give their decision voted that Trebellius was at fault and ought no longer to be tribune. And not until the eighteenth was on the point of voting the same way was he with difficulty induced to maintain silence. Roscius, seeing this, did not dare to utter a word, but by a gesture of his raised hand urged them to choose two men, so that he might by so doing cut off a little of Pompey's power. At this gesture of his the crowd gave a great threatening shout, whereat a crow flying above their heads was so startled that it fell as if struck by lightning. After that Roscius kept quiet not only with his tongue but with his hand as well. Catulus would have remained silent, but Gabinius urged him to make some speech, inasmuch as he was the foremost man in the senate and it seemed likely that through him the rest might be brought to the same way of thinking; for it was Gabinius' expectation that he would join in approving the proposal as a result of the plight in which he saw the tribunes. Accordingly Catulus received permission to speak, since all respected and honoured him as one who at all times spoke and acted for their advantage, and he addressed them somewhat as follows:

"That I have been exceedingly zealous, Quirites, in behalf of you, the people, you all, no doubt, clearly
ἐπίστασθε τούτον δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ πάντα ἄπλος, τῷ γυμνόσκῳ συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει, μετὰ παρρησίας εἰπεῖν, καὶ ὅμων προσήκον ἀκούσαι τε μεθ᾽ ἴσως ἱσυχίας αὐτῶν 2 καὶ μετά τούτο βουλεύσασθαι δορυφόροντες μὲν γὰρ ἰσως τι καὶ χρῆσιμον διυινθέντες ἃν μαθεῖν οὐχι λήψεσθε, προσέχοντες δὲ τοῖς λεγομένοις πάντως τι τῶν συμφερόντων ὑμῖν ἀκριβῶς 3 εὐφήγησεν. ἐγὼ τούτων πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μάλιστά φήμη δεῖν μηδενὶ ἐνὶ ἄνδρὶ τοσαύτας κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς ἀρχὰς ἐπιτρέπειν, τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἀπεγρότεναι καὶ πεῖρα σφαλερώτατον ὅν πεφώραται. οὔτε γὰρ τὸν Μάριον ἄλλο τι ὡς εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτον ἐποίησεν ἢ ὅτι τοσούτως τε ἐν ὀλγίστῳ χρόνῳ πολέμους ἐνεχειρίσθη καὶ 4 ὑπατός ἐξάκος ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἑγένετο, οὔτε τὸν Σύλλαν ἢ ὅτι τοσούτοις ἐφέξης ἐτεσι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν στρατοπέδων ἔσχε καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ δικτάτωρ, εἰδ' ὑπατός ἀπεδείχθη. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει ψυχῆν, μὴ ὅτι νέαν ἄλλα καὶ πρεσβυτέραν, ἐν ἐξουσίας ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνδιατηρύσασαν τοὺς πατρίους ἔθεσιν ἐθέλειν ἐμμένειν. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ὡς καὶ κατεγραφώς τι τοῦ Πομπηίου λέγω, ἀλλὰ ὅτι μητρά ἄλλως συνενεγκὼν ποτὲ ὑμῖν φαίνεται μήτε ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπιτέρταται. καὶ γὰρ εἴτε τιμὴν τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις αὐτοῦ φέρει, πᾶσιν αὐτῆς, ὡς γε ἐπιβάλλει, προσθικεῖ τυγχάνειν (τούτῳ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ δημοκρατία), εἴτε κα買って, καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ μέρος πάντας μεταλαμβάνειν δεῖ (τούτῳ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ἱσομορία).

1 μηδενὶ ἐνὶ ἄνδρὶ Rk., μηδενὶ ἄνδρὶ L. 2 ἔθεσιν Turn., ἔθεσιν L.
understand. This being so, it is incumbent upon me to set forth in simple fashion and with frankness what I know to be for the good of the state; and it is only fair for you to listen calmly and then deliberate afterwards. For, if you raise an uproar, you will perhaps fail to receive some useful suggestion which you might have heard; but if you pay attention to what is said, you will be sure to discover something definitely to your advantage. I, for my part, assert first and foremost that it is not proper to entrust to any one man so many positions of command one after another. This has not only been forbidden by the laws, but has also been found by experience to be most perilous. What made Marius what he became was practically nothing else than being entrusted with so many wars in the shortest space of time and being made consul six times in the briefest period; and similarly Sulla became what he was because he held command of the armies so many years in succession, and later was appointed dictator, then consul. For it does not lie in human nature for a person—I speak not alone of the young but of the mature as well—after holding positions of authority for a long period to be willing to abide by ancestral customs. Now I do not say this in any disparagement of Pompey, but because it does not appear ever to have been of advantage to you in any way, and in particular because it is not permitted by the laws. Indeed, if the command brings honour to those deemed worthy of it, all whom it concerns ought to obtain that honour,—this is democracy,—and if it brings labour, all ought to share that labour proportionately—this is equality.
2 "Επὶ τούτων ἐν μὲν τῷ τοιούτῳ πολλοῖς τε ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐγγυμνάζεσθαι, καὶ ῥαδίαν ὑμῖν τὴν αἰρέσιν τῶν πιστευθήναι δυναμένων πρὸς πάντα τὰ πρακτέα ἀπὸ τῆς πειρας ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει, ἐκείνως δὲ δὴ πολλὴν τὴν σπάνιν καὶ τῶν ἀσκησῶν τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ τῶν ἐπιτραπέζιμων ἀνάγκη πάσα γίγνεσθαι: καὶ διὰ τούτῳ γε οὐχ ἦκιστα ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Σερτωρίουν πολέμῳ στρατηγῷ ἦπορήσατε, ὅτι τοὺς τοῦ τυφλοῦ χρόνου τοῖς 2 αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολυ ἐχρήσθη. ὡστ' ἐκαὶ κατὰ τὰ ἀλλα πάντα ἄξιος ἔστι Πομπήιος ἐπὶ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς χειροτονηθήναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε παρὰ τὰ διαταγμένα ἐν τοῖς νόμοις καὶ παρὰ τὰ διελθεχμένα ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἱρεθείν ἐν, ἦκιστα καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τούτῳ προσήκει αὐτῷ πρακτερήθηναι.

33 "Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τούτῳ καὶ μάλιστα λέγω, δεύτερον δὲ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τεταγμένως ἐκ τῶν νόμων τὰς τις ἄρχας καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας λαμβανόντων καὶ ὑπάτων 3 καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ἀντὶ τούτων ἄρχοντων, οὕτως ἄλλως καλῶς ὑμῖν ἔχει παρειδότας 4 αὐτοῖς καὶ καὶ τίνα ἄρχην ἐπεσαγαγέσθαι οὔτε 5 ταύτας. Τίνος μὲν γὰρ ἑνεκα καὶ τοὺς ἐνιαυσίους ἄρχοντας χειροτονεῖτε, εἰγε μηδὲν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀφεθεῖλε; οὐ γὰρ που ἐν ἐν τοῖς περιπορφύροις ἐματίοις περινοστὸσι, οὐδ' ἔνα τὸ ὅνομα μόνον τῆς ἄρχης περιβεβλημένοι τοῦ ἔργου αὐτῆς στέρουνται. τῶν δ' οὖχι καὶ τούτως καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασι τοῖς τε πράττειν τῶν πολιτικῶν ἡπορήσατε R. Steph., ἡπορήσατο L. 2 τοῖς Xyl., ἐν τοῖς L. 3 ὠτατοὺς Reim., ὠτατοὺς L. 4 παρειδότας Tur., παρειδότας L. 5 οὔτε added by R. Steph. 6 οὔ γὰρ που inserted by Bk.
BOOK XXXVI

"Now in such a course there is the further advantage that many individuals gain practical experience, so that your choice of those who can be entrusted with any needful business becomes easy as a result of your trial of them; but if you take the other course, it is quite inevitable that there should be a great scarcity of those who will give themselves the needful training and who will be entrusted with affairs. This is the chief reason why you were at a loss for a general in the war with Sertorius; for previous to that time you were accustomed to employ the same men for a long period. Consequently, even if in all other respects Pompey deserves to be elected against the pirates, still, inasmuch as he would be chosen contrary to the injunction of the laws and to the principles laid down by experience, it is anything but fitting for either you or him that this be done.

"This is the first and most important point I have to mention. Second, there is the consideration that so long as consuls and praetors and those serving in their places are receiving their offices and commands conformably to the laws it is in no wise fitting, nor yet advantageous, for you to overlook them and introduce some new office. To what end, indeed, do you elect the annual officials, if you are going to make no use of them for such occasions? Surely not that they may stalk about in purple-bordered togas, nor that, clothed with the name alone of the office, they may be deprived of its duties. How can you fail to arouse the enmity of these and all the rest who have a
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τικόν προαιρουμένως ἀπεχθήσεσθε, ἀν τὰς μὲν πατρίους ἀρχὰς καταλήψετε καὶ τοῖς ἑκ τῶν νόμων χειροτονουμένως μηδὲν ἐπιτρέπητε, ξένην δὲ τινα καὶ μηπόποτε γεγενημένην ἤγεμονίαν ἴδιότη προσ-

3 τάξητε; εἰ γάρ τοι καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐπετησίους ἀρχὰς ἀνάγκη τις εἰ δέ ἑτέραν ἐλέσθαι, ἐστὶ καὶ τούτου παράδειγμα ἀρχαίον, λέγω δὲ τὸν δικτά-

τορα. καὶ τούτου μὲν τοισὶν 1 τοιούτον οὖντα οὔτε ἐπὶ πᾶσι ποτε τοῖς πράγμασιν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν 2 οὔτε 2 ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνων ἐξαμήνου κατεστήσαντο. ὡστ' 

εἰ μὲν τοιούτου τινὸς δεῖσθε, ἐξεστίν ὑμῖν, μήτε παρανομήσαις μήτ' ὀλγοφόρως ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν βουλευσαμένους, δικτάτορα εἶτε Πομπήιον εἴτε 

καὶ ἄλλου τινὰ πρὸχειρίσασθαι, ἐφ' ὃ μήτε πλείω 

τοῦ τεταγμένου χρόνου 3 μήτε ἐξώ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρξῃ. οὐ γάρ ποι ἄγνοεῖτε ὅτι καὶ τούτο ἁλόγος 

οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐφιλάξαντο, καὶ οὐκ ἂν εὐρεθῇ 

dικτάτωρ οὐδὲς ἄλλοσὲ 4 πλὴν ἕνος ἐς Ἑκελίαν, 

3 καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲν πράξαντος, αἱρεθεῖς. εἰ δ' 5 οὔτε 

dεῖται ἢ Ἰταλία τοιούτου τινός, οὔτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ὑπο-


1 μέντοι Tum., μέν L. 2 ἡμῶν R. Steph., ἡμῶν L. 

3 χρόνων Naber, χρόνων L. 4 ἄλλοσὲ Bk., ἄλλοι L. 

5 εἰ δ' Rk., ἢ L.
purpose to enter public life at all, if you overthrow the ancient offices, and entrust nothing to those elected by law, but assign some strange and hitherto unheard-of command to a private individual? Yet if there should be any necessity of choosing another in addition to the annual officials, there is for this, too, an ancient precedent—I refer to the dictator. However, because this official held such power, our fathers did not appoint one on all occasions nor for a longer period than six months. Accordingly, if you require any such official, you may, without either transgressing the laws or forming plans in disregard of the common welfare, elect Pompey himself or any one else as dictator—on condition that he shall not hold office longer than the appointed time nor outside of Italy. For surely you are not unaware that this second limitation, too, was scrupulously observed by our forefathers, and no instance can be found of a dictator chosen for another country, except one who was sent to Sicily and who, moreover, accomplished nothing. But if Italy requires no such person, and you would no longer tolerate, I will not say the functions of the dictator, but even the name,—as is clear from your anger against Sulla,—how could it be right for a new position of command to be created, and that, too, for three years and embracing practically all interests both in Italy and outside? For you all alike understand what disasters come to cities from such a course, and how many men on account of their lawless lust for

1 Aulus Atilius Calatinus in B.C. 249.
καὶ αὐτοὶ αὐτοῦς ἑυρίσκοντο, πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπιστάσθησαν.

35 "Ὅστε περὶ μὲν τούτων παύομαι λέγων· τις γὰρ οὐκ οἴδει ὃτι ὀὔτ' ἄλλος καλῶς ἔχει ὀὔτε συμφέρει εἰνὶ τινὶ τὰ πράγματα προστάσσεσθαι καὶ ἕνα τινὰ πάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν ἁγαθῶν κύριον γίγνεσθαι, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα ἀριστότερος τις γίνῃ; αὖ τε γὰρ μεγάλαι τιμαὶ καὶ αἱ ὑπερογκοὶ ἔξοπεσαὶ καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἐπαίρουσι καὶ διαφθείρουσιν.

2 εἴκειν δὲ δὴ σκοπεῖν ὡμᾶς ἀξίω, ὅτι οὐδὲ οἶον τὲ ἔστιν ἐνα ἄλλα πάσης τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπάρξαι καὶ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον ὀρθῶς διοικῆσαι, δεῖ μὲν γὰρ ὡμᾶς, εἰπέρ τι τῶν δεόντων ποιῆσετε, πανταχὺ ἀμα αὐτοῖς πολεμῆσαι, ἵνα μὴ συνιστάμενοι πρὸς ἅλλους, μηδὲ αὖ τὰς ἀναφυγὰς πρὸς τοὺς οὖ πολεμουμένους ἐξουσίες, δύσληπτοι

3 γένονται. τοῦτο δὲ οὐδένα ἄν τρόπον εἰς τις ἀρξας πράξαι δυνηθεῖν· πῶς γὰρ ἄν ὑπὸ τὸς αὐτὸς ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ, τῇ τῇ Ἀιγύπτῳ καὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ, τῇ τῇ Ἕλλαδι καὶ τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ, τῷ τῷ Ἰονίῳ καὶ ταῖς νῆσοις πολεμῆσει; πολλοὺς μὲν δὴ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐπιστήμην δεῖ τοῖς πράγμασιν,

36 εἰπέρ τι ὁφελοῖς αὐτῶν ἐσται· εἰ δὲ δὴ τὸς ἐκείνος φησιν, ὅτι κἂν εἰς τὸν πάντα τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτρέψῃ, πάντως ποὺ καὶ νανάρχους καὶ ὑπάρχους πολλοὺς ἔξει, πῶς ὡς πολὺ δικαιότερον καὶ συμφόρωτερον (ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν εἴπομι) καὶ τὴν κωλύει τούτοις αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξειν ἐκείνως μέλλουσα καὶ προχειρισθῆναι ὑφ’ ὑμῶν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν

2 ἡγεμονίαν παρ’ ὑμῶν αὐτοτελὴ λαβεῖν; οὕτω μὲν

1 αὐτοὺς added by Bk. 2 μηδ’ Bk., μητ’ L. 3 πῶς Bk., ποῦ L.
rule have often disturbed our populace and brought
upon themselves countless evils.

"About this, then, I shall say no more. For who
does not realize that it is in no wise fitting, nor yet
advantageous, to entrust affairs to any one man, or
for any one man to be put in control of all the bless-
ings we have, however excellent he may be? Great
honours and excessive powers excite and ruin even
such persons. And what is more, I ask you to consider
this fact also, that it is not really possible for one man
to hold sway over the whole sea and to manage the
whole war properly. For you must, if you are going
to accomplish any of the needful results, make war
on them everywhere at once, so that they may not,
either by uniting or by finding a refuge among those
not involved in war, become hard to capture. But
no one man in command could by any manner of
means accomplish this. For how could he fight on
the same days in Italy and in Cilicia, Egypt and
Syria, Greece and Spain, in the Ionian Sea and the
islands? Consequently it is necessary for many
soldiers and generals also to be in command of affairs,
if they are going to be of any use to you. And in
case any one urges that, even if you confide the
entire war to some one man, he will in any case have
many admirals and lieutenants, my reply would be:
Is it not much more just and advantageous that these
men destined to serve under him be chosen by you
beforehand for this very purpose and receive inde-
pendent authority from you? What prevents such a
course? By this plan they will pay better heed to the
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γὰρ καὶ φροντισκότα τοῦ πολέμου μᾶλλον, ἀτε καὶ ἰδίαν ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν μερίδα πεπιστεύμενός καὶ ἔσ-
μηδένα ἔτερον τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτὴς ἀμέλειαν ἀνενεγ-
κεῖν δυνάμενος, καὶ φιλοτιμήσονται πρὸς ἀλλή-
λους ἀκριβέστερον, ἀτε καὶ αὐτοκρατεῖς ὄντες καὶ
τὴν δόξαν ὄν ἀν ἐργάσωνται αὐτοὶ κτησόμενον
ἐκείνος δὲ τίνα μὲν ὀμοίως οἶάσθε... ἀλλ' ὅψ
ὑποκείμενον, τίνα δὲ ἀπροφασίστως ὁτιόν ποιή-
σειν, μέλλοντα μὴ ἕαυτῷ ἀλλ' ἔτερῳ κρατήσειν:

3 "Ωσποθ' ὅτι μὲν εἰς οὐδ' ἀν δύνατο τοσοῦτον ἀμα
πόλεμον πολεμῆσαι, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ Γαβριήλοι
ὄμολογηται: πολλοὺς γοῦν τῷ χειροτονηθησομένῳ
συνεργοὺς ἀξίων δοθήναι. λοιπὴ δὲ δὴ σκέψις
ἐστὶ πότερον ποτὲ ἀρχοντας αὐτῶν ἡ ὑπάρχοντας,
καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἡ ὑποστρατηγός, καὶ πρὸς τοῦ
δήμου παντός ἐπ' αὐτοκράτορός τινος ἱγμονίας
ἡ πρὸς ἐκείνων μόνων ἐφ' ὑπηρεσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, πεμ-
φθίναι δεῖ. οὐκόν τούτο, ὅτι μὲν καὶ νομιμότερον καὶ
συμφορότερον καὶ πρὸς τὰλλα πάντα καὶ πρὸς
αὐτῶν τῶν ληστῶν ὅπερ ἔγον λέγω ἐστὶ,
πάς ἂν τις ὑμῶν ὀμολογήσειε. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων
καὶ ἐκεῖνο ὀράτε οἵον ἐστὶ, τὸ πάσας ὑμῶν τὰς
ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν καταποντιστῶν προ-
φάσει καταλυθήσει, καὶ μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν μῆτε
ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ μῆτε ἐν τῇ ὑπηκόῳ τῶν χρόνων
τούτων...

4    ἡ ὑποστρατηγός supplied by Be.
1     καὶ συμφορότερον supplied by Reim.
2     The following two fragments would seem to belong here
3     if the number of the book is correctly given:
     Αἰών ἔτη Βιβλίων "ομη ἀνεπίθυμον ἢστα ἀυτῷ πάντων τῶν
     Αἰών ἔτη Βιβλίων "διεὶ ἐδησου καὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτον τῶν φρανίμοιν
     ἄνδρα τρενοείσθαι."—Ib. 166, 21.
war, since each of them will be entrusted with his own particular part in it and cannot lay upon any one else the responsibility for neglect of it, and there will be keener rivalry among them because they are independent and will themselves get the glory for whatever they achieve. But by the other plan what man, do you think, subordinate to some one else, will [show] the same [zeal], what man will perform any duty readily, when he is going to win victories not for himself but for another?

"That one man, now, could not at one time carry on so great a war has been admitted on the part of Gabinius himself; at any rate he asks for many assistants to be given to the one who shall be elected. The question remains, then, whether actual commanders or assistants should be sent, whether generals or lieutenants, and whether they should be commissioned by the entire populace with full authority, or by the commander alone for his assistance. Surely every one of you will admit that my proposal is more in accordance with law and more advantageous with reference to the freebooters themselves as well as in all other respects. And apart from this, observe how it looks for all your offices to be overthrown on the pretext of the pirates, and for none of them either in Italy or in subject territory during this time . . ." ¹

¹ The following two fragments are perhaps from the speech of Catulus:

Dio, Book XXXVI. "Nor will his task as monarch over all your possessions be free from envy."

Dio, Book XXXVI. "And naturally the prudent man must take thought for such a contingency."
36a Κάτλου δὲ τινος τῶν ἀριστῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰρηκότος πρὸς τὸν δήμον “ἐὰν ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐκπεμφθεῖς σφαλῇ, οἰα ἐν γε 1 ἀγώσι τολλοῖς καὶ τούτοις θαλαττίοις φίλει γίνεσθαι, τίνα ἄλλον ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαίοτερα εὑρῆσετε;” ὁ ὁμιλος σύμπας ὁσπερ ἀπὸ συγκείμενου τινος ἀνεβόησεν εἰπὼν “σέ.” καὶ οὕτω Πομπήιος τὴν ἱγγειον ἀν τῆς θαλάσσης τῶν τε νῆσων καὶ τῆς ἐπείρου ἐς τετρακοσίους σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνω εἰλῇπε.—Xiphil. p. 4, 2–11 Dind.

37 . . . τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἐπὶ τρία ἐτη, προσετάξαν αὐτῷ ὑποστράτηγους τε πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ τὰς ναύς ἀπάσας, τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ὅσα ἄν ἐθελήσῃ λαβεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ ἐκεῖνα τε καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ ἄκουσα ἐπεκύρωσε, καὶ τάλα ὅσα πρόσφορα ἐς αὐτὰ ἦν 3 ἕκαστοτε ἐγίγνοσκεν, ἀλλος τε καὶ ἐπειδῆ τοῦ Πίσανος μὴ ἐπιτρέψαντο τοῖς ὑπάρχοις καταλόγους ἐν τῇ Γαλατία τῇ Ναβονησία, ὡς ἤρχε, ποιῆσασθαί, δευνὸς ὁ ὁμιλὸς ἤγανάκτησε· καὶ εὐθὺς ἦ ἀν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξήλασαν, εἰ μὴ ὁ 3 Πομπήιος παρητήσατο. παρασκευασάμενος οὖν ὃς τὸ τε πράγμα καὶ τὸ φόνημα αὐτῶν ἀπῆτει, πᾶσαν ἀμα τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅσην οἱ καταποντισταὶ ἐλύσαν, τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστράτηγων περιέπλευσε, καὶ τὰ πλεῖον αὑτῆς 4 αὐτοστεῖ ἡμέρωσε. πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῇ παρασκευῇ τῇ τε τῶν ναυτικοῦ καὶ τῇ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐχρῆτο, ὡστε καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ

1 γε Bk., τε V.C. 2 ἤν B., ἐκαὶ ἤν L.
BOOK XXXVI

Xiphilinus

Catulus, one of the aristocrats, had said to the people: "If he fails when sent out on this errand—as not infrequently happens in many contests, especially on the sea—what other man will you find to take his place for still more urgent tasks?" Thereupon the entire throng, as if by previous agreement, cried out and exclaimed: "You!" Thus Pompey secured command of the sea and of the islands and of the mainland for fifty miles\(^1\) inland from the sea.

... and of Italy in place of consul for three years; and they assigned to him fifteen lieutenants and voted all the ships, money and armaments that he might wish to take. The senate also, though quite reluctantly, ratified these measures and likewise passed such others from time to time as were necessary to their effectiveness. Its action was prompted more particularly by the fact that when Piso refused to allow the under-officers to hold enlistments in Gallia Narbonensis, of which he was governor, the populace was furiously enraged and would straightway have removed him from office, had not Pompey begged him off. So, after making preparations as the situation and as his judgment demanded, Pompey patrolled at one time the whole stretch of sea that the pirates were troubling, partly by himself and partly through his lieutenants; and he subdued the greater part of it that very year. For not alone was the force that he directed vast both in point of fleet and infantry, so that he was

\(^1\) Literally four hundred stades; here eight stades is taken as the equivalent of the Roman mile. Cf. p. 237 and note.
ἀνυπόστατος εἶναι, πολλῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ
tὴ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας οἱ, ὡστε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
5 τοιοῦτου παμπόλλους προσποιήσασθαι: οἱ γὰρ
ἀνθρωποί ταῖς τε δυνάμεσιν ἤττώμενοι καὶ τῆς
χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ πειρόμενοι προθυμότατα
3 αὐτὸ προσεχόρων. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα αὐτῶν
ἐπεμελεῖτο, καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἀνθίζῃ ποτὲ ἐς ἀνάγκην
πονηρῶν ἐργῶν ὑπὸ πενίας ἀφίκωνται, καὶ χώρας
σφίζων ὃσας ἐρήμους ἔφρα, καὶ πόλεις ὃσαι
6 ἐποίκων ἐδέσοντο, ἐδίδουν. καὶ ἄλλα τὸ ἐκ τούτων
συνωρθήσαν καὶ ἡ Πομπηιόπολις ἐπικλήθησα·
esti δὲ ἐν τῇ Κηλίκιᾳ τῇ παραβαλασσίᾳ καὶ
ἐπεπόρθητο ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου, Σόλου πρῶτον
ἀνομασμένη.

38 Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀκιλίου τοῦ τε Πίσσωνος
ταῦτα τε ὡστός ἐγένετο, καὶ κατὰ τῶν δεκασμοῦ
περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀλισκομένων ἑνομοθετήθη πρὸς
5 αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπάτων μὴ ἄρχειν μήτε βουλεύειν
σφῶν μηδένα, ἄλλα καὶ χρήματα προσφολισ-
2 κάνειν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ τῶν δημάρχων δυναστεία
ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπανεληλύθει, καὶ πολλοί τῶν ὑπὸ
tῶν τιμητῶν διαγεγραμμένων ἀναλαβέον τρόπον
tinα τὴν βουλείαν ἐσπούδαζον, συντάσσεις καὶ
3 παρακελευσμοὶ παμπληθεῖς ἐφ᾽ ἀπάσαις ταῖς
ἐπεραζον δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ ὑπατοὶ
5 οὐχ οὗτος καὶ ἡχοῦντο τῷ πράγματι (αὐτοὶ γὰρ
διασπούδασαντες ἀπεδείχθησαν, καὶ ὅ γε Πίσσων
καὶ γραφεῖς ἐπὶ τούτω καὶ πρὸς ἐνὸς καὶ πρὸς

1 ὃσαι R. Steph., ὃσας L.
2 ἀλισκομένων R. Steph., ἀναλισκομένων L.
3 τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν Xyl., ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν τῶν L.
4 τρόπον τινα Naber, πρῶτον τινα L.
irresistible both on sea and on land, but his leniency toward those who made terms with him was equally great, so that he won over large numbers by such a course; for those who were defeated by his troops and experienced his clemency went over to his side very readily. Besides other ways in which he took care of them he would give them any lands he saw vacant and cities that needed more inhabitants, in order that they might never again through poverty fall under the necessity of criminal deeds. Among the other cities settled at this time was the one called Pompeiopolis. It is on the coast of Cilicia and had been sacked by Tigranes; its former name was Soli.

Besides these events in the year of Acilius and Piso, a law directed at men convicted of bribery in seeking office was framed by the consuls themselves, to the effect that any such person should neither hold office nor be a senator, and should incur a fine besides. For now that the power of the tribunes had been restored to its ancient status, and many of those whose names had been stricken off the list by the censors were aspiring to regain the rank of senator by one means or another, a great many factions and cliques were being formed aiming at all the offices. Now the consuls did not take this course because they were displeased at the practice; in fact they themselves were shown to have conducted a vigorous canvass, and Piso had actually been indicted on this charge, but had escaped being
ετέρου τινός ἐξεπριάτο τὸ μὴ κατηγορηθήναι) 4 ἀλλ' ὅτι Ἡναγκάσθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας. αἰ-
τιον δὲ ὅτι Γαύος τις Κορυνήλιος δήμαρχῶν πικρό-
tata ἐπιτίμια τάξαι κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπέχειρησε καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ ὀμιλὸς ἱρέιτο. ἦ γὰρ βουλή συνη-
dοῦσα ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὑπερβάλλον τῶν τιμωρημάτων ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ἐκπληξίν τινα ἔχει, οὔτε δὲ τῶν κατηγορήσοντας οὔτε τοὺς καταψηφίον-
μένους τῶν ὑπαιτίων, ἀτε καὶ ἀνηκέστων αὐτῶν 5 ὅντων, ῥαδίως εὑρίσκει, τὸ δὲ δὴ μέτρον ἐς τε τᾶς-
κατηγορίας συνχοῦς προάγει καὶ τὰς καταψη-
φίες οὐκ ἀποτρέπει, μεταρρυθμίσαι πη τὴν-
ἐσάρκωσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις νομοθετήσαι 39 αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ τε ἀρχαιοσίας προεπηργεῖσθαι ἢσαν, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς οὖν-
προνομοθετῆσθαι πρὸ αὐτῶν ἔση, καὶ οἱ σπουδ-
αρχιῶντες πολλὰ καὶ κακὰ ἐν τῷ διακένω τούτῳ ἐποίουν, ὡστε καὶ σφαγάς γίγνεσθαι, τὸν τε νόμον ἐψηφίζαντο καὶ πρὸ ἐκείνων ἐσενεχθήναι καὶ 2 φρούραν τοὺς ὑπάτους δοθῆναι. ἀγανακτῆσας οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Κορυνήλιος γρόμην ἐποτίσατο μὴ ἐξεῖναι τοὺς βουλευτὰς μήτε ἀρχὴν τινὸς ἐξω-
tῶν νόμων αἴτησαντες διδόναι μὴτ ἀλλο μηδὲν-
tῶν τῷ δήμῳ προσηκόντων ψηφίζεσθαι: τούτο γὰρ ἐνευμοθέτητο μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου, οὐ 3 μέντοι καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἑτηρεῖτο. θερόβου τε ἐπ'
αὐτῶ 4 πολλοῦ συμβάντος (καὶ 5 γὰρ ἀντε-
πρασιών τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας συχνὸ καὶ ὁ Πίσσων) τάς τε ράδιδος αὐτῶν ὁ
ὁχλος συνετρίψας καὶ αὐτὸν διασπάσασθαι ἐπε-
\footnote{1} τοῦτο Be., τοῦτο χρῶντι L. \footnote{2} πρὸ Turn., πρὸς L. 
\footnote{3} ψηφίζεσθαι Turn., φημιζεσθαι L. 
\footnote{4} αὐτῷ St., αὐτοῦ L. \footnote{5} καὶ Xyl., οὔ L. 

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BOOK XXXVI

brought to trial by bribing one man after another; it was rather because they were forced to it by the senate. The reason for this was that one Gaius Cornelius while tribune undertook to lay very severe penalties upon those guilty of bribery, and the populace adopted them. The senate, however, realizing that while excessive punishments have some deterrent force as threats, yet men are not then easily found to accuse or condemn those on trial, since the latter will be in desperate danger, whereas moderation encourages many to accusations and does not prevent condemnations, was desirous of modifying his proposition somehow, and bade the consuls frame it as a law. But since the elections had already been announced, and accordingly no law could be enacted till they were held, and the canvassers were doing much mischief in the meanwhile, to such an extent even that assassinations occurred, the senators voted that the law should be introduced before the elections and that a body-guard should be given to the consuls. Cornelius, angry at this, proposed that the senators should not be allowed to grant office to any one seeking it in a way not prescribed by law, nor to usurp the people's right of decision in any other matter. This, indeed, had been the law from very early times, but it was not being observed in practice. When a great uproar arose at this, since Piso and a number of the senators opposed him, the crowd broke the consul's fasces to pieces and threatened
χέρησεν. ἵδων οὖν τὴν ὀρμὴν αὐτῶν ὁ Κορυφήλιος τῷ μὲν, πρὶν ἐπιψηφίσαι τι, διαφῆκε τὸν σύλλογον, ύστερον δὲ προσέγραψε τῷ νόμῳ τὴν τε 
βουλὴν πάντως περὶ αὐτῶν προβολεύειν καὶ τὸν 
40 ὅμοιον ἐπάναγκες ἐπικυρών τὸ προβολεύμα. καὶ 
οὕτως ἐκείνον τε διενομθέτησε καὶ ἔτερον τοιόνυ 
δι. Οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες τὰ δίκαια καθ' ἃ δικάσεων 
ἐμελλον, αὐτοὶ τοὺς συγγράφουσες ἐξετάζοντες οὐ 
γὰρ πω πάντα τα ἡ δικαιώματα τὰ περὶ τὰ συμ-

2 βόλαια διετέτακτο. ἐπεί οὖν οὔτε ἐσάπαξ τοὺ 
ἐποίουν οὔτε τὰ γραφέντα ἐτήρουν, ἄλλα πολ-
λάκις αὐτὰ μετέγραφον καὶ συχνὰ ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς 
χάριν ἢ κατ' ἐχθραν τινῶν, ὡσπερ εἰκος, ἐγί-
γνετο, ἐσηγήσατο κατ' ἀρχάς τε εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς τὰ 
δίκαια οἷς χρήσονται 4 προλέγειν, καὶ μηδὲν ἀπ̊ 

3 αὐτῶν παρατρέπειν. τὸ τε σύμπαν οὕτως ἐπιμελές 
τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον τὸ μηδὲν 
δωροδοκεῖσθαι ἐγένετο ὡστε πρὸς τὸ τὸν ἐλεγ-
χομένους κολάζειν καὶ τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας αὐτῶν 
ἐτίμων. τοῦ γοῦν Κόττου τοῦ Μάρκου τὸν μὲν 
ταμίαν Πούπλιον ὁππιοῦ ἐπὶ τε δῶροις καὶ 
ἐπὶ ὑποψίᾳ ἐπιβουλής ἀποπέμψατο, αὐτοῦ δὲ 

4 πολλὰ ἐκ τῆς Βιθυνίας χρηματισμένου, Γάιον 
Κάρβωνα τὸν κατηγοροῦσαντά αὐτῶν τιμαῖς ὑπα-
τικαίς καὶ περὶ δεδημαρχηκότα μόνων, ἐσέμυναν. 
καὶ οὕτως μὲν τῆς τοῦ Βιθυνίας καὶ αὐτῶς ύστερον 
ἀρξας, καὶ μετριῶτερον οὖν ἐν τοῦ Κόττου πλημ-
μελήσας, ἀντικατηγορήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ 

5 ἀνθεάλω: πολλῷ γάρ που ῥάν άλλοις ἐπιτιμῶσι

1 aútoí L., aútois L. 2 ἐπεί οὖν Bk., ἐπολοῦν L.
3 aútoí Bk., aútois L. 4 χρήσονται R. Steph., χρήσονται L.
to tear him limb from limb. Cornelius, accordingly, a.c. 67 seeing their violence, dismissed the assembly for the time being before calling for any vote; later he added to the law a provision that the senate should invariably pass a preliminary decree concerning these matters and that it should be necessary for this decree to be ratified by the people. So he secured the passage of both that law and another now to be explained.

The praetors themselves had always compiled and published the principles of law according to which they intended to try cases; for the decrees regarding contracts had not all yet been laid down. Now since they were not in the habit of doing this once for all and did not observe the rules as written, but often made changes in them, many of which were introduced out of favour or out of hatred of some one, he moved that they should at the very outset announce the principles they would follow, and not swerve from them at all. In fine, the Romans were so concerned at that time to prevent bribery, that in addition to punishing those convicted they even honoured the accusers. For instance, after Marcus Cotta had dismissed the quaestor Publius Oppius because of bribery and suspicion of conspiracy, though he himself had made great profit out of Bithynia, they elevated Gaius Carbo, his accuser, to consular honours, although he had served only as tribune. But when Carbo himself later became governor of Bithynia and erred no less than Cotta, he was in his turn accused by Cotta’s son and convicted. Some persons, of course, can more easily censure
τίνες ή ἔαυτος παραίνοσι, καὶ προχειρότατά γε ἐφ' οἷς τιμωρίας ἁξίους τοὺς πέλας εἶναι νομίζουσιν αὐτοῖ ποιοῦσιν, ὡστε μηδεμίαν πίστιν ἔξ ὅν ἑτέρους ἐγκαλοῦσιν, ὅτι καὶ μισοῦσιν αὐτά, λαμ-

41 βάνειν Δούκιος δὲ δὴ Δούκουλλος τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν τὴν οἷκοι διήρξε, τῆς δὲ δὴ Σαρδοῦς ἀρξαί μετ' αὐτὴν λαχὼν οὐκ ἰθέλησε, μισήςας τὸ πράγμα διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς οὔδεν υγίες ἐν τοῖς ἐθνεσι δρῶντας, ὁτι γὰρ ἐπιεικῆς ἦν, ἱκανὸτα

2 διεδείξεν τοῦ γὰρ Ἀκιλλοῦ συντριβήναι τὸν δι-

3 ἐφεξήκοντα, ἐφ' οὗ εἴδικαζε, κελεύσαντο οἴτι παρ-

4 ὅτι χρήσατο καὶ ὀρθοστάδην μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς

5 καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες αὐτοῦ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι διεδίκασαν.

42 Ἐσήνεγκε μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Ῥώσκιος νόμον, ἐσή-

6 νεγκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Γάιος ὁ 1 Μάλλιος, ὁτε ἐνθιμάρχη-

7 σειν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν (τὰς γὰρ τῶν ἵππεων τὰς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἑδρας ἀκριβῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων

8 ἁφώρισε) καὶ ἔπαινον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐλαβεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Μάλλιος καὶ δίκην ὀλίγων ὑπέσχεν τὸ γὰρ ἔθνει

9 τῷ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ τοῦ ἑτοῦς

10 ἡμέρα καὶ πρὸς ἔσπεραν, παρασκευάζας τινας \(\varepsilon\) τοῦ ὀμίλου, ψηφισάσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἐξελευθερω-

11 σάντων σφᾶς ἐδωκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ βουλὴ εὐθὺς τῇ

12 ὑστεραίᾳ, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νομηνίᾳ \(\varepsilon \) δὴ Δούκιος τε Τούλλιος καὶ Αμίλλιος Δέπιδος ὑπατεύει ἠρ-

13 ἐκαντο, τῶν νόμων αὐτοῦ ἀπευφησίσατο, \(\varepsilon\) φοβηθεῖς,

1 ὁ inserted by Rk. 2 αὐτῷ R. Steph., αὐτῶν L. 3 νομηνία Bk., νομηνία ἐπέθετο L. 4 ἐν ἣ added by St. 5 ἀπευφησίσατο Leuncl., ἀπευφησίσατο L.
BOOK XXXVI

others than admonish themselves, and when it comes to their own case do very readily the things for which they think their neighbours deserving of punishment. Hence they cannot, from the mere fact that they accuse others, inspire confidence in their own hatred of the acts in question. Lucius Lucullus, on the other hand, after finishing his term of office as praetor urbanus, and being chosen by lot thereafter to serve as governor of Sardinia, declined the province, detesting the business because of the many whose administration of affairs in foreign lands was anything but honest. That he was of a mild disposition he had given the fullest proof. For when Acilius once commanded that the chair on which he sat while hearing cases should be broken in pieces because Lucullus, on seeing Acilius pass by, had not risen, the praetor not only did not give way to rage, but thereupon both he himself and his colleagues on his account gave their decision standing.

Roscius likewise introduced a law, and so did Gaius Manilius, at the time when the latter was tribune. The former received some praise for his, which marked off sharply the seats of the knights in the theatres from the other locations; but Manilius came near having to stand trial. He had granted the class of freedmen the right to vote with those who had freed them; this he did on the very last day of the year toward evening, after suborning some of the populace. The senate learned of it immediately on the following day, the first of the month, the day on which Lucius Tullus and Aemilius Lepidus entered upon their consulship, and it rejected his law.

1 Dio uses the form Mαλλιος, the Greek for Manlius or Mallius.
ἐπειδὴ τὸ πλῆθος δεινῶς ἡγανάκτει, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐσ τὸν Κράσσου καὶ ἐσ ἅλλους τινὰς τὴν γνώμην
4 ἀνήγγει, ὥσ δ' οὖν διὸ ἐπίστευεν οἶ, τὸν Πομπηίου καὶ ἀπόντα 1 ἐκολάκευσεν, ἅλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τὸν
Γαβίνιον πλείστον παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενον ὰσθητο' τὸν τε γὰρ τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τὸν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου
πόλεμον, τὴν τε Βιθυνίαν καὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν ἁμα
43 ἀρχήν 2 αὐτῷ προσέταξεν, ἀγανάκτησις μὲν γὰρ
καὶ ἀντιλογία καὶ τότε παρὰ τῶν δυνατῶν, διὰ τε
τάλλα καὶ διότι ὁ τε Μάρκιος 3 καὶ ὁ Άκίλλος
πρὶν 4 τὸν χρόνον σφίσει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξῆκεν κατε-
2 λύοντο, ἐγένετο· ὁ δὲ ὄμιλος, καίτοι μικρὸν
ἐμπροσθεν τοὺς ἄνδρας τὸν καταστάσσοντας τὰ
ἐαλωκότα, ως καὶ διαπεπολεμηκῶς ἐξ ὧν σφίσιν ὁ
Λουκούλλος ἐπεστάλκει, πέμψας, ὁμοὶ ἐξηθίσατο
αὐτά, ἐναγόμενων σφᾶς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῦ τε
Καῦσαρος καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου.
3. Οὗτοι 5 γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνηγονίσαντο ὦχ ὅτι καὶ
συμφέρειν αὐτὰ τῇ πόλει ἐνόμισον, οὖδ' ὅτι τῷ
Πομπηίῳ χαρίσασθαι ἦθελον· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ
ὡς γενήσεσθαι ἐμελλε, Καῦσαρ μὲν τὸν τε ὅχλον
άμα ἐθεράπευσεν ἀτε καὶ ὄρον ὄσφ 6 τῆς Βουλῆς
4 ἐπικρατέστερον ἦσαν, καὶ ἕαυτῷ το τε τῶν ὀμοίων
ψηφισθῆναι ποτε παρεσκεύασε, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν
Πομπηίου καὶ ἐπιφθονώτερον καὶ ἐπαχθέστερον
ἐκ τῶν διδομένων οἱ ποιήσαι, ὅπως σφίσει πρὸς
cόρον βάσσου γένηται, ἠθέλησε, Κικέρων δὲ τῇ
τε πολιτείᾳ ἀγείν ἥξιον, καὶ ἐνεδείκνυτο καὶ τῷ

1 ἀπότα Madvig, ἀκοτα L. 3 Μάρκιος R. Steph., μάρκος L.
2 ἀρχήν R. Steph., ἀρχειν L. 4 πρῖν R. Steph., ὃτ πρὶν L.
3 εὑτοι Bk., ὅτω L. 5 ὄσφ Bk., ὄσα L.
He, then, in fear because the plebs were terribly angry, at first ascribed the idea to Crassus and some others; but as no one believed him, he paid court to Pompey even in the latter’s absence, especially because he knew that Gabinius had the greatest influence with him. He went so far as to offer him command of the war against Tigranes and that against Mithridates, and the governorship of Bithynia and Cilicia at the same time. Now indignation and opposition were manifest even then on the part of the optimates, particularly because Marcius and Acilius were being removed before the period of their command had expired. But the populace, although a little earlier it had sent the proper officials to establish a government over the conquered territory, regarding the war as at an end from the letters which Lucullus sent them, nevertheless voted to do as Manilius proposed. They were urged to this course very strongly by Caesar and Marcus Cicero.

These men supported the measure, not because they thought it advantageous to the state or because they wished to do Pompey a favour; but inasmuch as things were certain to turn out that way, Caesar not only courted the good-will of the multitude, observing how much stronger they were than the senate, but also at the same time paved the way for a similar vote to be passed some day in his own interest. Incidentally, also, he wished to render Pompey more envied and odious as a result of the honours conferred upon him, so that the people might get their fill of him more quickly. Cicero, on his part, was aspiring to leadership in the state, and was endeavouring to make it clear to both the
πλήθει καὶ τοὺς δυνατοὺς ὅτι, ὁποτέρως ἂν σφῶν

5 προσθηται, πάντως αὐτοὺς ἐπαυξήσει. ἐπημφο-

τέρεξε τε γὰρ καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τὰ τούτων ἐστὶ δ’ ἶτε
καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων, ὡς ἦν ἢ ἀμφότερων σπουδάζηται,

ἐπραττε.2 τους γοῦν βελτίως πρότερον προαιρεῖ-

σθαι λέγων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀγορανομήσαι μᾶλ-

λον ἡ δημαρχήσαι ἐθελήσασ, τότε πρὸς τοὺς

44 συρφετῶδες μετέστη. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δίκης τῇ
tίνος τῷ Μαλλίῳ πρὸς τῶν δυνατῶν παρασκευα-

σθείσης, καὶ ἐκείνου χρόνον τινὰ ἐμποίησαι αὐτῇ
σπουδάζοντος, τά τε ἄλλα κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἔπραττε,

καὶ μόλις αὐτόν (ἐστρατήγη γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἱγμο-

νίαν τοῦ δικαστηρίου εἶχεν) ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν

ἀνεβάλετο, πρόφασιν ἐπ’ ἐξόδῳ τὸ ἐτος εἶναι ποιη-

2 σάμενος. καὶ τούτῳ δυσχεράναντος τοῦ ὀμίλου

ἐσθήλε τε ἐς τὸν σύλλογον αὐτῶν, ἀναγκασθεὶς

ὁδηγεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων, καὶ κατὰ τῇ βουλής

κατέδραμε καὶ συναγορεύσειν τῷ Μαλλίῳ ὑπέ-

σχετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου τά τε ἄλλα κακῶς

ἔκουσε καὶ αὐτοτολος ὀνομάζετο, τάραχος δὲ τις

εὐθὺς ἐπιγενόμενος ἐκάλυψε τὸ δικαστηρίου συν-

αχθήσαν.

3 Πούπλιος τε γὰρ Παῖτος καὶ Κορνήλιος Σύλ-

λας, ἀδελφίδους ἐκείνου τοῦ πάνω Σύλλου, ὑπατοῦ

τε ἀποδειχθέντες καὶ δεκασμοῦ ἀλώντες ἐπεβούλευ-

σαν τοὺς κατηγορῆσαντάς σφων Κότταν τε καὶ

Τσρκονάτον Λουκίους, ἀλλος τε καὶ ἐπείδη αὐτοὶ

4 ἀνθηρέθησαν,2 ἀποκτείναν. καὶ παρεσκευάσθησαν

μὲν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Γναῖος Πίσων καὶ Λουκίος

Κατιλίνας ἀνήρ θρασύτατος (ὕτικει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς

1 ὡς R. Steph., δὲ L. 2 ἐπραττε R. Steph., πράττειν L.

2 ἀνθηρέθησαν Xyl., ἀνηρέθησαν L.
plebs and the optimates that he was sure to make whichever side he should join preponderate. He was accustomed to play a double rôle and would espouse now the cause of one party and again that of the other, to the end that he might be courted by both. For example, a little while before he had said that he chose the side of the optimates and for that reason wished to be aedile rather than tribune; but now he went over to the side of the rabble. Soon after, when a suit was instituted by the optimates against Manilius and the latter was striving to gain some delay in the matter, Cicero tried in every way to thwart him, and only after obstinate objection did he put off his case till the following day, offering as an excuse that the year was drawing to a close. He was enabled to do this by the fact that he was praetor and president of the court. Thereupon, when the crowd showed their displeasure, he entered their assembly, compelled to do so, as he claimed, by the tribunes, and after inveighing against the senate, promised to speak in support of Manilius. For this he fell into ill repute generally, and was called "turn-coat;" but a tumult that immediately arose prevented the court from being convened.

Publius Paetus and Cornelius Sulla, a nephew or the great Sulla, who had been elected consuls and then convicted of bribery, had plotted to kill their accusers, Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, especially after the latter had also been convicted. Among others who had been suborned were Gnaeus Piso and also Lucius Catiline, a man of great audacity, who had sought the office himself
τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ διὰ τούτο ὄργην ἐποιεῖτο), οὐ μὲν-
tοι καὶ ἡδυνήθησάν τι δρᾶσαι διὰ τὸ τὴν τε
ἐπιβουλήν προμηνυθήναι καὶ φρουράν τῷ τε
Κόττα καὶ τῷ Τορκονάτῳ παρὰ τῆς ἁυλῆς
doθῆναι ... δόγμα τι κατ’ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ
dῆμαρχός τις ἠναπτική, ἐπεὶ δ’ ὄνν καὶ ὣς ὁ
Πίσων ἔθρασύνετο, ἐφοβήθη τε ἡ γερουσία μὴ τι
συνταράξῃ, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἔσ' Ἰβηρίαν, πρόφασιν
ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ ἀρχήν τινα, ἐπεμψε.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀδική-
σας τι αὐτούς, ἔσφαγη. Πομπήιος δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶ-
tον ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Κρήτην τὸν τε Μέτελλου
πλευσοῦμενος ἥτοιμάξετο, μαθὼν δὲ τὰ δεδογμένα
προσσεποιεῖτο μὲν ἄχθεσθαι ὡς καὶ πρότερον, καὶ
tοὺς ἀντιστασιώτατοι ὡς καὶ πράγματα ἅπα ποιεῖ
αὐτῶν, τοῦ καὶ πταῖσαι τι, παρέχουσιν ἐπεκάλει,
2 ἀσμενάτατα δὲ αὐτὰ ἀναδεξάμενος Κρήτην μὲν
καὶ τὰλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, εἰ ποῦ τι ἀδιοίκητον
κατελέειπτο, παρὰ οὖνεν ἐτ' ἤγαγε, πρὸς δὲ ἐν
τῶν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο.

Καὶ τοῦτῳ βουληθεῖσα τῆς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου
διανοίας πειρᾶσθαι, ἡμεῖς τὸν Μητροφάνη
3 φίλους αὐτῷ λόγους φέροντα. καὶ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν
ἐν ὁλιγορίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο (τοῦ γὰρ Ἀρσάκου
tοῦ τοῦ Πάρθου βασιλέως ἀποθανὼντος ἐν τῷ
χρόνῳ τούτῳ Φραάτη τὸν διάδοχον αὐτοῦ προσε-
dόκησεν οἰκειώσθαι), εἰπεὶ δ’ ὁ Πομπήιος τὴν
φιλίαν τῷ Φραάτη διὰ ταχέων ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς
προσνέθετο καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν αὐτῶν τὴν
τοῦ Τυγράνου προεμβαλεῖν ἀνέπεισε, πυθόμενος

1 τοῦ Rk., τὸ L.  2 καὶ Rk., ἢ L.
3 φιλίου St., φίλου L.
and was angry on this account. They were unable, however, to accomplish anything because the plot was revealed beforehand and a body-guard given to Cotta and Torquatus by the senate. Indeed, a decree [would have been] passed against them, had not one of the tribunes opposed it. And when Piso even then continued to display his audacity, the senate, fearing he would cause some riot, sent him at once to Spain, ostensibly to hold some command or other; there he met his death at the hands of the natives whom he had wronged.

Pompey was at first making ready to sail to Crete against Metellus, and when he learned of the decree that had been passed, pretended to be annoyed as before, and charged the members of the opposite faction with always loading tasks upon him so that he might meet with some reverse. In reality he received the news with the greatest joy, and no longer regarding as of any importance Crete or the other maritime points where things had been left unsettled, he made preparations for the war with the barbarians.

Meanwhile, wishing to test the disposition of Mithridates, he sent Metrophanes to him with friendly proposals. Now Mithridates at that time held him in contempt; for as Arsaces, king of the Parthians, had recently died, he expected to conciliate Phraates, his successor. But Pompey anticipated him by quickly establishing friendship with Phraates on the same terms and persuading the latter to invade promptly the part of Armenia belonging to Tigranes. When Mithridates ascer-
τούτο κατέδεισε, καὶ πρεσβευσάμενος εὐθὺς σύμβασιν ἔπραττε. κελεύσατο δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Πομπήιου τὰ τε ὅπλα καταθέσαι καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐκδοῦναι οὐκ ἐσχε· καὶ δὲ ἔργον χορεύσαθαι· ἀκούσαντες γὰρ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ ὄντες, καὶ φοβηθέντες οἱ τε αὐτόμολοι (πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν) μὴ ἐκδοθόσι, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ ἀνεῖν ἑκείνων πολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθῶσιν, ἐθορύβησαν. 2 καὶ ἔξειργάσαντο τι τῶν Μιθριδάτην, εἰ μὴ ψευδάμενος ὁτι οὐκ ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ κατασκοπῆς τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρασκευῆς τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπεμψε, μόλις αὐτοὺς κατέσχεν.

46 Ὅ οὖν Πομπήιος ἐπείδη πολεμητῇ οἱ ἐγὼ εἶναι, τά τε ἀλλὰ παρασκευάσατο καὶ τοὺς Ὀὐαλεμεῖοις προσκατελέξατο. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἦδη ὄντι ὁ Δούκουλλος ὑπαντήσας διαπεπλεμησθαί τε πάντα ἐφη καὶ μηδὲν ἐτὶ στρατεύσας δεῖσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πρὸς τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῶν περιφθέντας ἦδη παρεῖναι. ὡς δ’ οὐκ ἐπείσθη ἐπαναχωρῆσαι, πρὸς λοιπόν ἐτράπετο, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ πολυπράγμωνα καὶ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ φιλαρχοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶν. ο οὖν Πομπήιος βραχὺ αὐτοῦ φροντίσας ἀπείπτε μηδένα ἐτ’ αὐτῷ πειθαρχῆσαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Μιθριδάτην ἡπείρω, σπουδὴν ἔχων ὅτι τάχυστα οἱ συμμίξαι.

47 Καὶ δὴ τέως μὲν ἐφευγε (ταῖς γὰρ δυνάμεσιν ἠλαττοῦτο) καὶ τὴν τε ἐν ποσὶν ἄει ἐκειρεῖ, καὶ ἑπλάνα τε αὐτῶν ἕμα καὶ ἐπιδεῖσαν τῶν ἐπιτη- δεῶν ἐποίει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑκείνος ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν διὰ

1 δὲ Bk., τε LU. 2 ἐθορύβησαν ὑ. Hecw., ἐθορύβησαν LU. 3 αὐτῶν Xyl., εαυτῶν L.
tained this, he was alarmed and straightway sent an embassy and tried to arrange a truce. But when Pompey demanded that he lay down his arms and deliver up the deserters, he had no opportunity to deliberate; for the large number of deserters who were in his camp, hearing of it and fearing they should be delivered up, and likewise the barbarians, fearing that they should be compelled to fight without them, raised an uproar. And they would have done some harm to the king, had he not by pretending that he had sent the envoys, not for a truce, but to spy out the Roman strength, with difficulty held them in check.

Pompey, therefore, having decided that he must needs fight, was busy with his various preparations; among other things he reënlisted the Valerians. When he was now in Galatia, Lucullus met him and declared the whole conflict over, claiming there was no further need of an expedition, and that for this reason, in fact, the men sent by the senate to arrange for the government of the districts had arrived. Failing to persuade him to retire, Lucullus turned to abuse, stigmatizing him as officious, greedy for war, greedy for office, and so on. Pompey, paying him but slight attention, forbade anybody longer to obey his commands and pressed on against Mithridates, being eager to join issue with him as quickly as possible.

The king for a time kept fleeing, since his forces were inferior; he continually devastated the country before him, gave Pompey a long chase, and at the same time made him feel the want of provisions. But when his adversary invaded Armenia, both for
ΔΟΞΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΗΣ ἙΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

τε τούτο καὶ ὃς ἐρήμην αὐτὴν αἰρήσων ἐνέβαλεν,
2 οὕτω δὴ δείγας μή προκαταληφθῇ ἤλθε τε ἐς
αὐτὴν, καὶ λόφον ἀντικαταλαβὼν ὅχυρον τῷ μὲν
παντὶ στρατῷ ἡσύχαζεν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς μὲν Ἱω-
μαίους ἀπορία τῶν τροφῶν ἐκτρυχώσεσιν (ἠτός
γὰρ ἂν ἐν ὑπηκόω χώρᾳ πολλαχόθεν αὐτῶν
εὐπόρει), τῶν δὲ δὴ ἰππέων ἀεὶ τινὰς ἐς τὸ πεδίον
ψελὼν ὅν καταπέμπτων τοὺς τε προστυχάνοντάς
σφισιν ἔκακου, καὶ ἐξαυτομολοῦντας ἐπὶ τούτῳ
3 συχνοὺς ἐδέχετο. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἐνταῦθα μὲν
οὐκ ἐθάρσησεν αὐτοῖς συμβαλεῖν, μεταστρατο-
πεδευσάμενος δὲ ἐτέρωσεν, ὅθεν ὑλόδους τοῦ πέρι
χωρίου ὅντος ἦττον ὕπό τε τοῦ ἱππικοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ
tοῦ τοξικοῦ τοῦ τῶν ἐναιτίων λυτηθῆσεσθαι
4 ἤμελλεν, ἐλόχισεν γὰρ καιρὸς ἦν, καὶ ὅλος
τὸ προφανὸς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Βαρβάρων
προσμέλαις ἐτάραξε τε αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὑπαγαγὼν ἐς
ὁ ἔβουλετο² πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε. θαρσησάς τε
ἐκ τούτου καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἄλλους ἄλλη ἐπὶ
tὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔπεμπεν.

48 Ὁ οὖν Μιθριδάτης, ἐπειδὴ ταύτα τε ἄσφαλὸς
ἐπορίζετο, καὶ τὴν Ἀραίτιν² χώραν τῆς τε Ἀρ-
μενίας οὕτως καὶ θεὸ τιν ἐπωνύμῳ ἀνακειμένη
2 διὰ τινῶν ἕχειρόσατο, κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι
συχνοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέκλινον, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ
τὸν Μαρκίου στρατιῶται προσεγένοτο, ἐφοβήθη
καὶ οὐκέτι κατὰ χώραν ἐμείνεν, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα
tε τῆς νυκτὸς ἄρας ἔλαθε, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα νυκτο-
3 πορῶν ἐς τὴν τοῦ Τυγράνου Ἀρμενίαν προῆκεν.
καὶ
οἱ οὖν Πομπήιος ἐπηκολούθηε μὲν ἐπιθυμῶν διὰ

¹ ἔβουλετο Reim., ἔβουλετο L.
² Ἀραίτιν Fabr., μανάϊτιν L (tauaritidi ch. 53, 5).
this reason and because he expected to capture it while abandoned, Mithridates, fearing it would be occupied before his arrival, also entered that country. He seized a strong hill opposite the Romans and there rested with his entire army, hoping to exhaust them by the failure of their provisions, while he could secure an abundance from many quarters, being among his own subjects. But he kept sending down some of his cavalry into the plain, which was bare, and attacking those who fell in with them, as a result of which he was receiving large numbers of deserters. Pompey did not dare to assail them in that position, but moved his camp to another spot where the surrounding country was wooded and where he would be troubled less by the foe's cavalry and archers, and there he set an ambuscade where an opportunity offered. Then with a few troops he openly approached the camp of the barbarians, threw them into disorder, and luring them to the point he wished, killed a large number. Encouraged by this success, he also sent men out in various directions over the country after provisions.

When Pompey continued to procure these in safety and through certain men's help had become master of the land of Anaitis, which belongs to Armenia and is dedicated to a certain goddess of the same name, and many others as a result of this kept revolting to him, while the soldiers of Marcus were added to his force, Mithridates became frightened and no longer kept his position, but immediately set out unobserved in the night, and thereafter by night marches advanced into the Armenia of Tigranes. Pompey followed after him, eager to engage in battle; yet he
μάχης ἔλθειν, οὗ μέντοι καὶ πρότερον οὔτε μεθ’ ἡμέραν (οὗ γὰρ ἐξῆσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου) οὔτε νύκτωρ ἐτόλμησε τούτο ποιῆσαι (τὴν γὰρ ἀγνωσίαν τῶν χωρίων ἐδεδείει) πρὶν σφας πρὸς τὴ μεθορία γενέσθαι· τὸτε γὰρ εἰδὼς αὐτοὺς διαφεύγειν μέλλοντας ἦραγκάσθη νυκτομαχήσαι. 4

γινοῦσι οὖν τούτῳ προοπῆρε, μεσημβριαίωνας τοὺς βαρβάρους λαθῶν, ἦ πορεύεσθαι ἐμελλον καὶ ἐντυχὼν τοῦ χωρίῳ κοίλῳ μεταξὺ γηλόφων τινῶν ὁντι, ἐνταῦθα τὸ τε στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα 5 ἀνεβίβασε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπέμεινεν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνοι μετὰ τε ἅδειας καὶ ἀνευ προφυλακῆς, ἀπὸ μήτε ἐμπροσθε δεινόν τι πεποιθότες καὶ τότε ἐς τὸ ὄσφαλες ἦδη προχωροῦντες ὡστε μηδὲ ἐφέσπεθα σφίσσεν ἐτί τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐλπίζειν, ἐς τὸ κοίλον ἑσθῆθος, ἐπέθετο αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ σκότῳ οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλο τι φῶς εἶχον οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ συρανοῦ τι ἔλαμπεν.

49 Ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ μάχη τοιάδε. πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οἱ σαλπικτάὶ πάντες ἁμα τὸ πολεμικὸν ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἔβοσαν, ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ τε στρατιῶται καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς ὄχλος πᾶς ἐπηλάλαξε, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰ ὀφράτα πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας, οἱ δὲ καὶ λίθους πρὸς 2 τὰ χαλκὰ σκεύη προσεπέκρουσαν. καὶ σφων τὴν ἥχην τὰ ὀργὴ ἔγκοιλα ὁντα καὶ ὑπεδέξατο καὶ ἀνταπέδωκε φρικωδεστάτην, ὡστε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐξαπιναίοις ἐν τῇ νυκτί καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρμίᾳ αὐτῶν ἀκουσάντας δεινῶς ἐκπλαγήναι ὡς καὶ 3 δαιμονίῳ τινὶ πάθει περιπετευκότας. καὶ τούτῳ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι πανταχόθεν ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων λίθως τοξεύμασιν ἀκοντίους βάλλοντες πάντως γε τίνας

1 μήτε Bk., μηδὲ L.
did not venture to do so either by day, for they would not come out of their camp, or by night, since he feared his ignorance of the country, until they got near the frontier. Then, knowing that they were about to escape, he was compelled to fight by night. Having decided on this course, he eluded the barbarians while they were taking their noonday rest, and went on ahead by the road along which they were to march. And coming upon a defile between some hills, he stationed his army there on the higher ground and awaited the enemy. When the latter had entered the defile confidently and without any precaution, in view of the fact that they had suffered no injury previously and now at last were gaining safety, insomuch that they even expected the Romans would no longer follow them, he fell upon them in the darkness; for there was no illumination from the sky, and they had no kind of light with them.

The course of the battle was as follows: First, all the trumpeters together at a signal sounded the attack, then the soldiers and all the multitude raised a shout, while some clashed their spears against their shields and others struck stones against the bronze implements. The mountains surrounding the valley took up and gave back the din with most frightful effect, so that the barbarians, hearing them suddenly in the night and in the wilderness, were terribly alarmed, thinking they had encountered some supernatural phenomenon. Meanwhile the Romans from the heights were hurling stones, arrows, and javelins upon them from every side, inevitably wounding some by reason of their num-
υπὸ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν ἐτίτρωσκον καὶ ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ σφας κατέστησαν οὕτε γὰρ ἐς παράταξιν ἀλλ’ ἐς πορεῖαν ἐσταλμένοι, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τοῖς τε ἱπποῖς καὶ ταῖς καμίλοις καὶ παντοδαποῖς σκεύεσι· καὶ οἱ ἀνδρεῖς καὶ οἱ γυναῖκες ἀναστρέφομεν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ κελήτων, οἱ δὲ ἐφ’ ἀρμάτων τῶν τε καμαρῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρμαμάζων ἀναμίξις ὅχουμεν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἢδη τιτρωσκόμενοι, οἱ δὲ προσδεχόμενοι προθήσεσθαι, ἐταράσσοντο, κὰκ τούτου ὅσον, ἀτε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐμπελαζόμενοι, ἐβδει-5 ροντο· καὶ ταύτα μὲν, ἔως ἀποθεῖ ἔβαλλοντο, ἐπασχοῦν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξαναλώσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν πόρρωθεν ἀλκην ἐπικατέδραμον σφισιν, ἐφονεύτο μὲν τὰ περιέσχατα (καὶ ἐξήρκει πρὸς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῖς μία πληγή ἀτε καὶ ψίλοις οὕσι τοῖς πλείοσι), συνεπιέζετο δὲ τὰ μέσα, πάντων ἐπ’ αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ πέριξ δέους χωροῦντων. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ὅθονομενοι καὶ συμπατούμενοι διώκλιντο, οὐδ’ εἰχον οὐδὲν οὕτε έαυτοῖς ἐπαρκέσαι οὕτε ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τολμήσαν ἰππῆς γὰρ καὶ τοξόται τὸ πλεῖστον ὄντες ἀποροι μὲν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ προϊδέσθαι τι, ἀποροι δὲ ἐν τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ μηχανήσασθαι ἐγώνυντο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ σελήνη ἀνέτειλεν, οἱ μὲν ἐχαίρων ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ πάντως τινὰς ὁμονομενοι. κἀν ὀφεληθήσαν τι, εἰ μὴ οἱ Ῥω-7 μαίοι κατόπιν αὐτῆς ἔχοντες, πολλὴν σφισι πλάνην, τοτε μὲν τῇ τοτε δὲ τῇ προσπιέστουτε, καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁψει καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐργῷ ἑνεποίου τὰ μαζευλοὶ

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1 σκεύεσι: Naber, οὕτε L.
2 ἐπικατέδραμον Leuncl., ἐπικατέδραμον L.
3 ἐπ’ αὐτὰ Leuncl., ἐπ’ αὐτὰ L.
4 τωσὶ Ba., τω L.

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bers; and they reduced them to the direst extre-

mity. For the barbarians were not drawn up for battle, but for the march, and both men and women were moving about in the same place with horses and camels and all sorts of baggage; some were riding on chargers, others in chariots or in the covered waggons and carriages, in indiscriminate confusion; and as some were being wounded already and others were expecting to be wounded they were thrown into confusion, and in consequence the more easily slain, since they kept huddling together. This was what they endured while they were still being assailed from a distance. But when the Romans, after exhausting their long-distance missiles, charged down upon them, the outermost of the enemy were slaughtered, one blow sufficing for their death, since the majority were unarmed, and the centre was crushed together, as all by reason of the danger round about them moved thither. So they perished, pushed about and trampled upon by one another without being able to defend themselves or show any daring against the enemy. For they were horsemen and bowmen for the most part, and were unable to see before them in the darkness and unable to carry out any manœuvre in the narrow space. When the moon rose, the barbarians rejoiced, thinking that in the light they would certainly beat back some of the foe. And they would have been benefited somewhat, if the Romans had not had the moon behind them and as they assailed them, now on this side and now on that, caused much confusion both to the eyes and hands of the others.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

te γὰρ ὅντες καὶ ἐπὶ βαθύτατον κοινὴ πάντες ἀποσκίαζοντες ἐσφαλλοῦν αὐτούς, ἐν ὃ γε
tοῦ ὁ προσέμισσον σφισίν· ἐς γὰρ τὸ κενὸν οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνελωσαν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς
καὶ ἠλώσαν οὐκ ἔλαττον· συνεχῶ τε καὶ διε
φυγον, ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης.

50 Καὶ τότε μὲν πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην ἤπείγοτο· ἐπεὶ
de προσέμισσα πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν φίλιον εὑρετο,
ὅτι τοῦ νεότιον αὐτῷ Τιγράνου στασιασάντος ἐκείνου
μὲν πάππον αὐτοῦ ὅντα αἰτίον τῆς διαφορᾶς ὑπε
τόπησε γεγονότα, καὶ διὰ τούτο ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐδέχατο,
ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς προσεμφέρωσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
συνέλαβε καὶ κατέδησε, διὰμαρτών ὁν ἢπισεν

2 ἐς τὴν Κολχίδα ἀπετράπητε, καὶ ἐκείθεν πεζῆ
πρὸς τινα Μαιώτιν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Βόσπορον,
τοὺς μὲν πείθον, τοὺς δὲ καὶ Βιαζόμενος, ἀφίκετο,
καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἐκομίσατο, τὸν Μαχάρην τὸν
παῖδα τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνθέλλωσον καὶ
tòτε αὐτῆς κρατοῦντα καταπλήξας ὅστε μιθὲ
ἐς ὅψιν αὐτῷ ἐλθείν, καὶ ἐκείνων διὰ τῶν συνόντων
οἱ, τὴν τε ἀδειάν σφισε καὶ χρήματα δῶσειν ὕπι

3 σγνούμενος, ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐν ὃ δὲ ταύτ' ἐγένετο,
ὁ Πομηνίος ἐπεμφάνε μὲν τοὺς ἐπιδιώξοντας αὐτῶν,
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐφθη ὑπὲρ τὸν Φάσιν ἐκδράσας,
pόλιν ἐν τῷ χορῷ ἐν ὃ ἐνενικήκει συνώκισε,
tοῖς τραυματίαις καὶ τοῖς ἀφηλικεστέροις τῶν

1 τὸ Ἱστ., τὸ Λ. 2 om Rk., om L
3 ὀν Reim., omn ὀν L 4 μὲν added by Bk.
5 ἐπιδιώξοντας H. Steph., ἐπιδιώξοντας L.
assailants, being very numerous, and all of them together casting the deepest shadow, baffled their opponents before they had yet come into conflict with them. The barbarians, thinking them near, would strike vainly into the air, and when they did come to close quarters in the shadow, they would be wounded when not expecting it. Thus many of them were killed and no fewer taken captives. A considerable number also escaped, among them Mithridates.

The king then hastened toward Tigranes. But on sending couriers to him he found no friendship awaiting him, because the young Tigranes had risen against his father, and the latter suspected that Mithridates, the youth’s grandfather, had really been responsible for the quarrel. For this reason, far from receiving him, Tigranes even arrested and threw into prison the men sent ahead by him. Failing, therefore, of the expected refuge, he turned aside into Colchis, and thence on foot reached Maeotis and the Bosporus, using persuasion with some and force with others. He also recovered that country, after so terrifying Machares, his son, who had espoused the cause of the Romans and was then ruling there, that he would not even come into his presence; and he likewise caused this son to be killed by his associates, to whom he promised to grant immunity and money. In the course of these events Pompey sent men to pursue him; but when he outstripped them by fleeing across the Phasis, the Roman leader colonized a city in the territory where he had been victorious, and gave it over to the wounded and superannuated soldiers.
στρατιωτῶν αὐτῆς δούσ. καὶ σφισι καὶ τῶν περιχώρων ἐθελονταὶ πολλοὶ 1 συνόκησαν, 2 καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ νῦν, Νικοπολῖται τε ἀνωμασμένοι καὶ ἐς τὸν Καππαδοκίκων νομῶν συντελοῦντες.

51 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίει· ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιγράνης ὁ τοῦ Τιγράνου παῖς παραλαβὼν τινὰς τῶν πρώτων, ἐπεὶ οὖ 3 καθ' ἡδονὴν αὐτοῖς ὁ γέρων ἦρχε, πρὸς τὸν Φραάτην κατέφυγε, καὶ περισκοποῦντα αὐτὸν διὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον γενομένας ὃ τι χρή πράξαι, ἐς τὴν 2 Ἀρμενίαν ἐμβαλεῖν ἀνέπεισε. καὶ ἠλθον μὲν μέχρι τῶν Ἀρταξάτων, πάσαν τὴν ἐν ποσὶ χειρούμενοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις προσέβαλον· ὁ γαρ Τιγράνης ὁ γέρων ἐς τὰ ὅρη φοβηθεῖς σφας ἀνέφυγεν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι χρόνῳ τε τῇ προσεδρείᾳ δεῦν ἑδοξε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Φραάτης μέρος τι τῆς δυνάμεως τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ καταληπτῶν ἐς τὴν οἰκείαις ἀνεχώρησεν, ἀντεπήλθε τε ἐνταῦθα ό 3 πατήρ αὐτοῦ μονοθέντι καὶ ἐνίκησε. φυγὼν οὖν ἐκεῖνος τῷ μὲν πρῶτον πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδάτην τόν πᾶππον ὄρμησεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐμαθεν αὐτὸν ἤττημένον καὶ βοηθείας μᾶλλον δεόμενον ἢ τινὶ ἐπικουρήσῃ δυνάμενον, προσεχώρησε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Πομπήιος ἤγεμόνι χρησάμενος ἐς τε τὴν Ἀρ-

52 Καὶ δὲ μαθὼν τούτο καὶ καταδείκτας ἐπεκηρυ-

κεύσατο τε εὐθύς αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἐξέδωκεν. ἐπειδὴ τε, ἐναντιω-

θέντος οἱ τοῦ νιέος, οὔθενος μετρίου ἐτυχεν, ἀλλὰ

1 πολλοὶ Rk., πολλοὶ καὶ L.
2 συνέκοιταν R. Steph., συνάκισαν L.
3 οὗ added by Xyl.
Many also of the neighbouring people voluntarily joined the settlement and later generations of them are in existence even now, being called Nicopolitans and belonging to the province of Cappadocia.

While Pompey was thus engaged, Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, fled to Phraates, taking with him some of the foremost men, because his father was not ruling to suit them; and though Phraates, in view of the treaty made with Pompey, hesitated about what he ought to do, he was persuaded to invade Armenia. So they came as far as Artaxata, subduing all the country before them, and even assailed that place too, for Tigranes the elder in fear of them had fled to the mountains. But when it appeared that time was required for the siege, Phraates left a part of the force with the young Tigranes and retired to his own land. Thereupon the father took the field against his son, who was now left alone, and conquered him. The latter, in his flight, set out at first to go to Mithridates, his grandfather; but when he learned that he had been defeated and was rather in need of aid than able to assist any one, he went over to the Romans. Pompey, employing him as a guide, made an expedition into Armenia against his father.

Tigranes, learning of this, and becoming alarmed, immediately made overtures to him and delivered up the envoys of Mithridates. And when, on account of the opposition of his son, he could gain no moderate

Nicopolis = "City of Victory."
καὶ δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος τὸν τε Ἀράξην διέβη καὶ
2 τοῖς Ἀρταζάτωι ἐπλησίασεν, οὔτω δὴ τὴν τε
πόλιν αὐτῷ παρέδωκε καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον
αὐτοῦ ἔθελοντης ἦκεν, εἰ ἡ μέσῳ ἑαυτὸν ὅτι μά-
λιστα τοῦ τε προτέρου ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς τότε
ταπεινότητος σκευάσας, ὅπως αἰδέσειώς τε καὶ
3 ἐλέου ἀμα ἄξιος αὐτῷ φανεῖν τὸν μὲν γὰρ χιτῶνα
τὸν μεσόλευκον καὶ τὸν κάνδυν τὸν ὀλοπόρφυρον
ἐξέδω, τὴν δὲ δὴ τιάραν τὸ τε ἀνάδημα εἶχε.
Πομπῆιος δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ὕππου κατεβίβασεν
αὐτὸν, ῥαβδοῦχον τεῖα πέμψας (προσήλαυν
γὰρ ὡς καὶ ἐστὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ἔρμα κατὰ τὸ σφέτερον
ἐθος ὑπεύθυνον), ἑσελθόντα δὲ αὐτοποδία καὶ
τὸ τε διάδημα ἀπορρίφαντα καὶ ἐς τὴν γην
4 πεσόντα προσκυνοῦντα τε ἱδῶν ἡλέησε, καὶ ἀνα-
πηδήσας ἐξανέστησε τε αὐτὸν, καὶ ταυτιώσας
τῷ ἀναδήματι ἔς τε τὴν πλησίαν ἔδραν ἐκάθισε
καὶ παρεμυθήσατο, εἴπὼν ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι οὐ τὴν
tῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλείαν ἀπολωλέκως ἄλλα καὶ
tῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων φιλιὰν προσεληφὼς εἶν. καὶ
ὁ μὲν τούτως τε αὐτὸν ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ ἐπὶ
53 δείπνου ἐκάλεσεν ὁ δὲ νῖος (ἐκάθητο δὲ ἐκ τοῦ
ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Πομπηίου) οὐθ' ὑπανέστη τῷ
πατρὶ οὗτ' ἄλλο τε αὐτῶν ἐδεξιώσατο, ἄλλα καὶ
ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνου κληθεῖς οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν. ὅθεν ὑπὸ
γε ¹ τοῦ Πομπηίου μάλιστα ἐμισήθη.
2 Τῇ γοῦν ὑστεραίᾳ διακόμησαν αὐτῶν τῷ μὲν
πρεσβυτέρῳ τὴν πατρίων πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ἀπέδωκεν
tὰ γὰρ προσκτηθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (ἡν δὲ ἄλλα
tε καὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας τῆς τε Συρίας μέρη, ἦ

¹ γε St., τε Ι.
terms, but even as it was Pompey had crossed the Araxes and drawn near to Artaxata, then at last Tigranes surrendered the city to him and came voluntarily into his camp. He had arrayed himself so far as possible in a manner midway between his former dignity and his present humbled state, in order that he might seem to him worthy both of respect and pity; for he had put off his tunic shot with white and the candys\(^1\) of pure purple, but wore his tiara and head-band. Pompey, however, sent a lictor and made him dismount from his horse, since the king was riding up as if to enter the very fortification on horseback according to the custom of his people. But when he saw him enter on foot, cast aside his head-dress and prostrate himself on the ground to do him obeisance, he felt an impulse of pity; so springing up hastily, he raised him, bound on the head-band and seated him upon a chair close by, and spoke words of encouragement, telling him among other things that he had not lost the kingdom of Armenia, but had gained the friendship of the Romans. By these words Pompey restored his spirits, and then invited him to dinner. But the son, who sat on the other side of Pompey, did not rise at the approach of his father nor greet him in any other way, and furthermore, though invited to dinner, did not present himself, whence he incurred Pompey’s most cordial hatred.

Now on the following day, when Pompey had heard the claims of both, he restored to the elder all his hereditary domain; but what he had acquired later (chiefly portions of Cappadocia and Syria, as

\(^1\) The outer garment of the Persians, provided with sleeves.
τε Φοινίκη καὶ ἡ Σωφανηὴ χώρα τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις πρόσορος οὐ σμικρά) παρείλετο αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσέτει καὶ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἴησεν· τῷ δὲ νεωτέρῳ

3 τὴν Σωφανηὴν μόνην ἀπένειμε. καὶ ἔτυχον γὰρ οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ὄντες, ἡμιφεσθήσετε τε περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ νεανίσκος, καὶ ἀμαρτών (οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν ὁ Πομπήιος ὁ πρώτος ἀλλοθεν τὰ ὁμολογημένα κομίστηκαὶ) ἤγανάκτησε καὶ δρασμὸν ἐβουλέυσατο. ὥς οὖν Πομπήιος προμαθὼν τούτῳ ἐκείνῳ τε ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ ἐποίησατο, καὶ πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς τὰ χρήματα φυλάττοντας τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ πάντα σφάς δοῦναι ἐκέλευσεν. ἔπειδὴ τε μὴν υπήκουσαν, λέγοντες τὸν νεανίσκον, οὔπερ ἡ χώρα ἤδη ἐνομίζετο, χρημαί σφιᾷ τοῦτο προστάζαι, ἐπεμψεν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὰ φρούρια. καὶ ἐν μὲν εκκλείμενα αὐτὰ εὐρών προσήλθε τε ἐγγὺς, καὶ ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἀκών αὐτὰ ἀνοιχθῆναι ὡς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπείθοντο, προϊσχόμενοι ὅτι μὴ ἐκοῦσις ἀλλ’ ἀναγκαστός τὴν προστασίαν ἐποιεῖτο, ἔχασκεν ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ἔδιδε τὸν Τυγράνην.

5 Καὶ οὕτως ὁ τε γέρων τοὺς θησαυροὺς παρέλαβε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἀνατίδι καὶ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Κυνόπθρῳ τριχῆ νεῖμας τὸν στρατὸν παρεχέμασε, τὰ τε ἄλλα παρὰ τοῦ Τυγράνου συχνα καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ πλεῖον τῶν ὁμολογηθέντων λαβὼν. ἀφ’ οὕτως οὐχ ἦκιστα καὶ ἐκείνων ἐς τε τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ἐσέγραψε, καὶ τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Ρώμην μετὰ φρούρας ἐσήγαγεν.

1 νεωτέρῳ Bk., οἱ δ’ τοῖς ἄτεροι L.
2 ἐπεμψεν Turn., ἐπεμψαν L.
3 Ἀνατίδι Fabr., τανατίδι L. 4 οὐ added by Rk.
well as Phoenicia and the large district of Sophene bordering on Armenia) he took away, and demanded money of him besides. To the younger he assigned Sophene only. And inasmuch as this was where the treasures were, the young man began a dispute about them, and not gaining his point, since Pompey had no other source from which to obtain the sums agreed upon, he became angry and planned to escape. Pompey, being informed of this in season, kept the youth in honourable confinement and sent to those who were guarding the money, bidding them give it all to his father. But they would not obey, stating that it was necessary for the young man, to whom the country was now held to belong, to give them this command. Then Pompey sent him to the forts. He, finding them all locked up, came near and reluctantly ordered that they be opened. When the keepers obeyed no more than before, claiming that he issued the command not of his own free will, but under compulsion, Pompey was vexed and put Tigranes in chains.

Thus the old king secured the treasures, and Pompey passed the winter in the land of Anaitis and near the river Cyrnus, after making three divisions of his army. From Tigranes he received plenty of everything and far more money than had been agreed upon. It was for this reason particularly that he shortly afterward enrolled the king among the friends and allies of the Roman people and brought his son to Rome under guard.
54 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ διεχέιμασεν. Ὅροισθη γὰρ Ἀλβανῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κύρνου οἰκούντων βασιλείας, τὸ 1 μὲν τι καὶ τῷ Τιγράνῃ τῷ νεωτέρῳ φίλῳ οί δυντὶ χαρίσασθαι βουληθεῖς, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον δεῖσας μὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀλβανίδα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐσβάλωσι, καὶ νομίσας ὅτι, ἂν ἐν τῷ χειμώνι ἀδοκήτους σφῆσι καὶ μὴ καθ' ἐν στρατοπεδευμένους προσπέσῃ, πάντως τι ἐξεργάσεται, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ Κρόνια, 2 καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Μέτελλον Κέλερα, παρ' φό τι Τιγράνης ἦν, ἦλασεν, ἄλλους δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ἄλλους ἐπὶ Δούκιον Φλάκκον τὸν τῆς τριτημορίδος ἀρχοντα ἐπεμψεν, ὅπως πάντες ἀμα 3 παραχθέντες μὴ συμβοηθήσωσιν ἄλληλοις. οὐ μὴν καὶ διεπράξατο οὐδαμόθεν οὐδὲν ἐκεῖνον τε γὰρ ὁ Κέλερ ἰσχυρὸς ἀπεκρύσατο, καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος ἐπεδείχε πολὺν τῶν περίβολον τῆς ταφρείας δυνὴν ἅπαντος ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους σῶσαι, ἐτέραν ἐνδοθὲν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ δόξαν ἀπ' αὐτὸ τῶν ἐναντίοις ὡς καὶ φοβηθεῖς ἐμβαλὼν, ἐπε- σπάσατο αὐτοὺς εἰσῳ τῆς ἐξωθῆνε τάφρου, καν- ταῦθα μὴ προσδεχομένους σφῆσιν ἐπεκδραμών πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσὶ, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας ἐφόνευσε. καὶ τούτῳ ὁ Πομπήιος προμαθῶν τε τῆς 2 πείρασιν τῶν βαρβάρων ἦν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεποίησε, προσποίησε τοὺς ἐφ' ἐαυτὸν ἐπι- στούσιν 3 ἀπροσδόκητος, καὶ κρατῆσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ὁροίσθην εὑρὸς ὡσπερ εἶχεν ἢπείχθη. καὶ ἐκείνων μὲν οὐ κατέλαβεν (ἀποστείλας τε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κέλερος καὶ μαθὼν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πταίσματα

1 τὸ Χυλ., τῶι Λ.  2 τὴν Βκ., τὴν τε Λ.  3 ἐπιστούσιν R. Steph., ἐπιστούσιν Ι.
The quiet of his winter quarters, however, was not unbroken. Oroeses, king of the Albanians dwelling beyond the Cyrmus,\(^1\) made an expedition against them just at the time of the Saturnalia. He was impelled partly by the desire to do a favour to Tigranes the younger, who was a friend of his, but chiefly by the fear that the Romans would invade Albania; and he cherished the idea that if he should fall upon them in the winter, when they were not expecting hostilities and were not encamped in one body, he would surely achieve some success. Oroeses himself marched against Metellus Celer, in whose charge Tigranes was, and sent some against Pompey and others against Lucius Flaccus, the commander of a third of the army, in order that all might be thrown into confusion at once, and so might not assist one another. And yet, in spite of all, he accomplished nothing at any point. Celer vigorously repulsed Oroeses. Flaccus, being unable to save the whole circuit of his entrenchments by reason of their size, constructed another line inside. This fixed in his opponents' minds the impression that he was afraid, and so he was able to entice them inside of the outer trench, where by making an unexpected charge upon them he slaughtered many in the conflict and many in flight. Meanwhile Pompey, having already learned of the attempt which the barbarians had made on the others, came, much to their surprise, to meet the detachment that was proceeding against him, conquered it, and at once hurried on just as he was against Oroeses. He did not overtake him, however, since Oroeses had fled after being repulsed by Celer and learning of the failures of the others; but he

\(^1\) This river is called the Cyrus by other writers.
5 ἐφυγε), τῶν μέντοι Ἀλβανῶν συχνοὺς περὶ τὴν τοῦ Κύρνου διάβασιν συλλαβῶν ἔφθειρε. κάκ
tούτου δεηθείσιν αὐτοῖς ἐσπείσατο ἄλλως μὲν
gὰρ καὶ σφόδρα ἐπεθύμει ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν
ἀντεμβαλείν, διὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν χειμώνα ἢδέως τὸν
πόλεμον ἀνεβάλετο.
BOOK XXXVI

seized and destroyed many of the Albanians near the crossing of the Cyrrhus. He then made a truce at their request; for although on other accounts he was extremely anxious to invade their country out of revenge, he was glad to postpone the war because of the winter.
Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἱβδόμῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων
α. Ἡ α Πομπήιος πρὸς Ἰδήρας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐπολέμησεν.
β. Ἡ α Πομπήιος τοῦ Πάντων τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ προσένειμεν.
γ. Ἡ α Πομπήιος τῆς τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης ὑπηγάγετο.
δ. Ἡ α Μιθριδάτης ἀπέβανε.
ε. Περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.
ζ. Ἡ α Πομπήιος καταστράφηκεν τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Ῥώμης ἐπερήμηθε.
ϛ. Περὶ Κικέρων καὶ Κατιλίνα καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πραξῆς.
η. Περὶ Καίσαρος καὶ Πομπήιου καὶ Κράσσου καὶ τῆς συνωμοσίας αὐτῶν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη ζέ, ἐν οἷς ἀρχοντες οἱ ἀριστοκρατεῖοι οἴδε ἐγένοντο

Α. Ἀρῆλιος Μ. ὕλ. Κόσσια
Α. Μάλλιος Μ. ὕλ. Τορκούντος
Α. Ῥιδίλιος Μ. ὕλ. 1 Καίσαρ
Γ. Μάρκιος Γ. ὕλ. Φίγουλος
Μ. Τοῦλιος Μ. ὕλ. Κικέρων
Γ. Ἀρτιγιος Μ. ὕλ.
Δέκιμος Ἰούνιος Μ. ὕλ. Σιλανός ὕλ.
Λ. Δικέριος Λ. ὕλ. Μοῦρημα
Μ. Πούσιος 2 Μ. ὕλ. Πλαν
Μ. Οδαλέριος 3 Μ. ὕλ. Μεσσάλας Νιγρός ὑπ.
Λ. 4 Αφράνιος Ἀδλ. ὕλ.
Κ. Κακίλιος Κ. ὕλ. Μέτελλος Κέλερ ὑπ.

Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπράξε, τῷ δ' ἐπεγυμνημένῳ ἔτει, τοῦ τε Κόσσιω τοῦ Δούκίου καὶ τοῦ Τορκούντος τοῦ 6 Δούκίου ὑπατεύοντος, ἐπολέμησε μὲν καὶ τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς, ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ τοῖς

1 Тορκούντος Λ. Ἰούλιος Λ. ὕλ. supplied by Palm.
2 Πούσιος Palm., Πούσιος Λ.
BOOK XXXVII

The following is contained in the Thirty-seventh of Dio's Rome:

How Pompey fought against the Asiatic Iberians (chaps. 1-5).
How Pompey annexed Pontus to Bithynia [lost between chaps. 7 and 8].
How Pompey brought Syria and Phoenicia under his sway [lost between chaps. 7 and 8].
How Mithridates died (chaps. 10-14).
About the Jews (chaps. 15-19).
How Pompey after settling affairs in Asia returned to Rome (chaps. 20-23).
About Cicero and Catiline and their doings (chaps. 24-42).
About Caesar and Pompey and Crassus and their league (chaps. 43-58).

Duration of time, six years, in which there were the following magistrates (consuls), here enumerated:

B.C.
65 L. Aurelius M. F. Cotta, L. Manlius L. F. Torquatus.
64 L. Julius L. F. Caesar, C. Marcius C. F. Figulus.
63 M. Tullius M. F. Cicer, C. Antonius M. F.
61 M. Pupius M. F. Piso, M. Valerius M. F. Messalla Niger.
60 L. Afranius A. F., C. Caecilius C. F. Metellus Celer.

The year following these exploits, in the consulship of Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, Pompey engaged in warfare with both the Albanians and the

2 Ὁστάρας R. Steph., γαλέριος L.  Νιγρός Palm., ἅρμος L.
4 Νικρότος R. Steph., ἅρμος L.
5 A. added by H. Steph., space left in L.
6 τοῦ added by Bk.
Ἰβηρσὶ. καὶ προτέρως γε τούτοις καὶ παρὰ
2 γνώμην ἡμαχάσθη συνενεχθῆναι Ἀρτώκης γὰρ
ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν (νέμονται δὲ ἐν’ ἀμφότερα τοῦ
Κύρνου, τῇ μὲν τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς, τῇ δὲ τοῖς Ἀρ-
μενίοις πρόσωροι) φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ
τράπηται, πρέσβεις μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ φίλια πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἐπεμψε, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ ὅπως ἐν τῷ
θαρσοῦντι καὶ διὰ τούτου ἀνελπίστω ὦι ἐπεθηκα.
3 προμαθῶν οὖν καὶ τούτο ὁ Πομπήιος ἔστε τὴν
χώραν αὐτοῦ προενέβαλε, πρὶν ἱκανῶς τε αὐτὸν
ἐτοιμάσασθαι καὶ τὴν ἐσβολὴν δυσχερεστάτην
οὕσαν προκατασχέων, καὶ ἐφθα καὶ πρὸς τὴν
πόλιν τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ἁνομασμένην προχωρήσας,
4 πρὶν καὶ αἰσθέσθαι τοῦ Ἀρτώκην ὅτι παρεῖν.
ἡ δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς τοῖς στενοῖς, ἐνθεν μὲν
τοῦ Καυκάσου παρατείνοντος, οὐ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ
φυλακῇ τῶν ἐσβολῶν ὕχῳρτο. ὃ τε οὖν Ἀρτώκης
ἐκπλαγεὶς οὐδένα καιρὸν ὡστε συντάξασθαι
ἐσχεν, ἀλλὰ διαβὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἑγέρναι
5 κατέπρηκε, καὶ οὐ ἐν τῷ τείχῃ πρὸς τῇ

νυκτὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀμα καὶ μάχῃ νικηθέντες, ἐνέδοσαν.
κρατήσας οὖν τῶν διόδων ὁ Πομπήιος φρουράν
τε ἐπ’ αὐταῖς κατεστήσατο, καὶ ἐκείθεν ὀρμώμενος
πάσαν τὴν ἑντὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατεστρέψατο.

2 Μελλόντος δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Κύρνου διαβῆσθαι,
πέμπει πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀρτώκης εἰρήνην τε αὐτῶν,
καὶ γέφυραν τὰ ἐπίτηδεια ἐκὼν οἱ παρέξεν

2 ὑποσχούμενος. καὶ ἐποίησε μὲν ἐκάτερον ὡς καὶ
συμβησάμενος, δείσας δὲ, ἐπειδὴ εἶδεν αὐτὸν
διαβεβηκότα, πρὸς τὸν Πέλωρον, ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ

1 Bk. supplied τοῦ Κύρνου παραρέστος, ἐνθεν δὲ, adopted in
the translation. 2 ἕλυσεν Leunel., φυλακῇ L.
Iberians. Now it was with the Iberians that he was compelled to fight first and quite contrary to his purpose. They dwell on both sides of the Cynus, adjoining the Albanians on the one hand and the Armenians on the other; and Artoces, their king, fearing that Pompey would direct his course against him, too, sent envoys to him on a pretence of peace, but prepared to attack him at a time when he should be feeling secure and therefore be off his guard. Pompey, learning of this also in good season, invaded the territory of Artoces before the other had made sufficient preparations or had secured the pass on the frontier, which was well-nigh impregnable. In fact he had advanced as far as the city called Acropolis before Artoces became aware that he was at hand. This fortress was right at the narrowest point, where [the Cynus flows on the one side and] the Caucasus extends [on the other], and had been built there in order to guard the pass. Thus Artoces, panic-stricken, had no chance to array his forces, but crossed the river, burning down the bridge; and those within the fortress, in view of his flight and also of a defeat they sustained in battle, surrendered. Pompey, after making himself master of the pass, left a garrison in charge of it, and advancing from that point, subjugated all the territory this side of the river.

But when he was on the point of crossing the Cynus also, Artoces sent to him requesting peace and promising to yield the bridge to him voluntarily and to furnish him with provisions. Both of these promises the king fulfilled as if he intended to come to terms, but becoming afraid when he saw his enemy already across, he fled away to the Pelorus,

1 Armastica ("Citadel of Armaz") is meant.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐκεῖνον τῇ αὐτοῦ ῥέοντα, ἀπέφυγεν δὲ γὰρ ἐξήν αὐτῷ κωλύσας διαβῆναι, τούτοις ἐπιστασάμενοι

3 ἀπεδίδρασκεν. ἦδον οὖν τοῦθ’ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπεδίωξε τε αὐτὸν καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐνίκησε· ὁ ὑπὸ γὰρ, καὶ πρὶν τοὺς τοξότας αὐτοῦ τῇ σφετέρᾳ τέχνῃ χρησάσθαι, ὁμόσε σφίσων ἐξώρισε καὶ δι’

4 ἐλαχίστου αὐτοὺς ἐτρέψατο. γενομένου δὲ τούτου Ἀρτόκης μὲν τὸν τε Πέλωρον διαβᾶς καὶ τὴν γέφυραν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου καύσας ἔφυγε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἐν χερσίν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν

5 πεζῇ περαιοῦμενοι ἀπέθανον συνχοι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰς χεῖλας σκεδασθέντες ἤμερας μὲν τινας ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων ὑπερυψώθησαν ὄντων ἀποτοξεύοντες διεγένοντο, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπομυθέντων τῶν δένδρων ἐθάρρησαν, καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἀρτόκης ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο μὲν αὐθίς τῷ Πομπήιῳ καὶ δώρα

6 ἐπέμψεν· ἐκεῖνον δὲ δὴ ταῦτα μὲν, ὅπως τὰς σπονδὰς ποιήσεσθαι ἡ ἐπίστασα μὴ περαιτέρω ποιοπροχωρήσῃ, λαβὼν, τὴν δ’ εἰρήνην οὐχ ὀμολογήσαις δώσειν ἀν μὴ τοὺς παῖδας οἱ ὀμήρους

7 προαποστέλλῃ, χρόνον τινὰ ἐπέσχε, μέχρις οὗ οἱ Ρωμαῖοι καὶ τὸν Πέλωρον διαβατὸν πη τῶν θέρων γενόμενον οὐχ ἔλεος, ἄλλως τε καὶ μηδενὸς κολύσοντος, ἐπεραιόθησαν. οὕτω δὲ δὴ τούτοις τε παῖδας αὐτῷ ἐπεμψε, καὶ μετὰ τούτοι καὶ συνηλλάγη.

3 Κακὸς τούτου μαθὼν ὁ Πομπήιος οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Φάσιν ὄντα, καὶ νομίζας ὅτι τὴν Κολχίδα παρ’ αὐτὸν καταβῆσθαι καὶ ἔκειθεν ἐπὶ τῶν Μιθριδάτην ἐς τὸν Βόσπορον πορεύσεσθαι,

1 ποιήσεσθαι Tυμ., ποιήσεσθαι L." 2 τοὺς RΚ., τοὺς τε Λ." 3 πορεύσεσθαι H. Steph., πορεύσεσθαι L.
another river that flowed through his domain. Thus he first drew on, and then ran away from, the enemy whom he might have hindered from crossing. Upon perceiving this Pompey pursued, overtook, and conquered him. By a charge he came to close quarters with the enemy’s bowmen before they could show their skill, and very promptly routed them. Thereupon Artoces crossed the Pelorus and fled, burning the bridge over that stream too; of the rest some were killed in conflict, and some while fording the river. Many others scattered through the woods and survived for a few days, while they shot their arrows from the trees, which were exceedingly tall; but soon the trees were cut down under them and they also were slain. So Artoces again made overtures to Pompey, and sent gifts. These the other accepted, in order that the king in the hope of securing a truce might not proceed any farther; but he would not agree to grant peace till the petitioner should first send to him his children as hostages. Artoces, however, delayed for a time, until in the course of the summer the Pelorus became fordable in places, and the Romans crossed over without any difficulty, particularly since no one hindered them; then at last he sent his children to Pompey and concluded a treaty.

Pompey, learning now that the Phasis was not far distant, decided to descend along its course to Colchis and thence to march to Bosporus against Mithridates. He advanced as he intended, traversing
2 μὲν ὑἱ διενοέητο, καὶ τοὺς τε Κόλχους καὶ τοὺς προσχώρους σφίσα, τὰ μὲν πείθων, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκφοβῶν, διηλθεὶς· αἰσθόμενος δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὅτι ἦ τε ἑπὶ τῆς ἱπείρου κομιδὴ διὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγνόστων καὶ πολεμικῶν ἔθνων, καὶ ἦ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης χαλεπωτέρα διὰ τὸ ἅλμηνον τῆς.

3 χώρας καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐνοικούντας αὐτήν εἶχ, τὸ μὲν Μιθριδάτη τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐφορμεῦ ἐκέλευσεν ὡστε ἐκεῖνον τε τηρήσαι 1 μηδαμόσε ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ τὴν ἐπαγωγήν 2 αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφελέσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλβανοὺς οὐ τὴν συντομοτάτην, ὅπως σφᾶς καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου πρὸς τὰς σπονδαὶς ἀνελπίστως καταλάβῃ, ἀλλὰ ἐσ.

4 τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐπανελθῶν ἐτράπετο. καὶ τὸν τε Κύρνου, ὡς πορεύσιμος ὑπὸ τοῦ θέρους ἐγέρνει, πεζῇ διέβη, τὴν τε ἱππον κατὰ τὸν βοῦν καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐξῆς, εἶτα τοὺς πεζοὺς διέμενα κελεύσας, ἵνα τοὺς ἱπποῖς τὸ σφοδρόν αὐτοῦ τοὺς σώματι σφων διαχέωσι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν σκευοφόρων εἰ ποῦ τι καὶ ὧς περιτραπεῖ, ἐς τε τοὺς ἐπὶ θάτερα παρακολουθοῦντας ἐμπίπτῃ καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω κατα-

5 φέρηται· καίνεθεν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρμαβύσιν πορευόμενον ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πολεμικῶν οὐδὲν δεινῶν ἐπαθεῖν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ καύματος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ δίψους ἱσχυρῶς μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ τοῦ νυκτὸς τὸ πολὺ τῆς ὀδού διελθών, ἐταλαιπώρησεν· οἱ γὰρ ἄγωνοι σφων, ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὄντες, τὴν ἐπιτηδειοτάτην αὐτοὺς ἐγγαγον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὁ ποταμὸς εἶν δεοντὶ σφιςιν ἐγένετο· ψυχρό-

1 τηρήσαι Rk., τηρείσθαι L.; perhaps Rk. should be followed further in reading μὴ μηδαμόσε ἐκπλεῦσαι.
2 ἐπαγωγήν Reim., ἐπαγωγήν L.
the territory of the Colchians and their neighbours, using persuasion in some quarters and fear in others. But, perceiving at this point that the route on land led through many unknown and hostile tribes, and that the voyage by sea was still more difficult on account of the lack of harbours in the country and on account of the people inhabiting the region, he ordered the fleet to blockade Mithridates so as to see that he did not sail away anywhere and to prevent his importing provisions, while he himself directed his course against the Albanians. He did not take the most direct route, but first turned back into Armenia, in order that by such a course, taken in connection with the truce, he might find them off their guard. He forded the Cygnus at a point where the summer had made it passable, ordering the cavalry to cross down stream, with the baggage animals next, and then the infantry. His object was that the horses should break the violence of the current with their bodies, and if even so any one of the pack-animals should be swept off its feet it might collide with the men crossing on the lower side and not be carried farther down. From there he marched to the Cambyses, without suffering any injury at the hands of the enemy; but as a result of the heat and consequent thirst both he and the whole army suffered severely, notwithstanding the greater part of the march was covered at night. For their guides, who were from among the captives, did not lead them by the most suitable route, nor indeed was the river of any advantage to them; for the water, of
κατόπιν τε γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ οὖν, καὶ ἄθροον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ποθὲν, συχνὸς ἐλυμὴντα. ὡς δ’ οὖν οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἀντίπαλον τι αὐτοῖς ὀφθη, πρὸς τὸν Ἀβαντα προσεχώρησαν, ὕδωρ μόνον ἐπιφερόμενον τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα παρ’ ἐκόντων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐλάμβανον, καὶ διὰ τούτο οὐδ’ ἐκακούργουν οὐδὲν.

4. Καί σφισι διαβεβηκόσιν ἦδη τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ Ὁρώισης προσεδρ χρήμαθι, οὐν Πομπήιος βουληθεὶς αὐτῶν, πρὶν τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πλῆθος γνῶναι, ἐς μάχην ὑπαγορέσθαι, μή καὶ αἰσθό-μενος αὐτοῦ ἀναχωρήσῃ, τοὺς τε ἰππέας προέταξε, προειπὼν σφισιν ἄ ποιήσουσι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὁπισθεν αὐτῶν ἐς τε τὰ γόνατα κεκλιμένους καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι συγκεκαλυμμένους ἔχον ἀτρεμεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὡστε τὸν Ὁρώισην μη πρῶτερον μαθεῖν

3 αὐτοὺς παρόντας πρὶν ἐν χερσὶ γενέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτον ἐκεῖνος τε τῶν ἰππέων ὡς καὶ μόνων ὄντων καταφρονήσας συνέμιξε σφισι, καὶ δὲ ὀλόγῳ τραπέτας ἔξεπτῆδες ἀνὰ κράτος ἐπεδίωξε καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ ἀναστάντες ἐξαίφνησι καὶ διαστάντες τοὺς μὲν σφετέρους ἀσφαλῆ τὴν φυγὴν διὰ μέσου σφῶν παρέχουν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἀπερικέπτως τῇ διώξει χρωμένους ἐσδεξάμενοι συχνοὺς ἐκυκλώ-

4 σαντό. καὶ οὕτως τε τοὺς ἐνδοὺ ἐκοπτῶν, καὶ οἱ ἰππῆς, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ δέξια, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα αὐτῶν περιελθόντες, κατὰ νότον τοῖς ἐξῳ τῆς κυκλώσεως προσέπεσον. καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσαν ἐκάτεροι, καὶ ἐτέρους ἐς τὰς ὤλας καταφυγόντας

1 ἐς Ba., πρὸς L. 2 ἐτέρους Rk., ἐκατέρου L.
which they drank great quantities, was very cold and
proved injurious to many. When no resistance was
offered to them at this place either, they marched on
to the Abas, carrying supplies of water only; for
they received everything else by the free gift of
the natives, and for this reason they committed no
depredations.

After they had already got across the river it was an-
nounced that Oroeses was coming up. Now Pompey
was anxious to lead him into conflict before he should
find out the number of the Romans, for fear that
when he learned it he might retreat. Accordingly
he marshalled his cavalry in front, giving them notice
beforehand what they should do; and he kept the
rest behind them in a kneeling position and covered
with their shields, causing them to remain motionless,
so that Oroeses should not ascertain their presence
until he came to close quarters. Thereupon the
barbarian, in contempt for the cavalry, whom he
supposed to be alone, joined battle with them, and
when after a little they purposely turned to flight, he
pursued them at full speed. Then the foot-soldiers
suddenly rose and by extending their front not
only afforded their own men a safe means of escape
through their ranks but also received within their
lines the enemy, who were heedlessly bent on pursuit,
and surrounded a number of them. So these troops
cut down those caught inside the circle; and the
cavalry, some of whom went around on the right and
some on the other side of them, assailed from the
rear those who were on the outside. Each force
slaughtered many there, and burned to death others
who had fled into the woods, crying out the while,
κατέπρησαν, "ιὼ ¹ Κρόνια ²" πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν σφων τὴν τότε γενομένην ἐπιλέγουσε. ³

5 Πράξας δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπηίος καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιδραμὼν τοῖς τε Ἀλβανοῖς εἰρήνην ἔδωκε, καὶ ἄλλος τις τῶν παρὰ τῶν Καῦκασου μέχρι τῆς Κάσπιας θαλάσσης, ἔσ ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου τὸ ὄρος ἀρξάμενον τελευτᾷ, κατοικοῦντον ἐπικηρύκοντος ἐσπείσατο. Φραώης δὲ ἐπεμψε μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνανεώσασθαι τὰς συνθήκας ἐθέλουν ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνον τὸ υὑτὸ φερόμενον ἔωρα, καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τοῦ τε Πόντου τοῦ ⁴ ταύτης ὁ ὑποστράτηγος αὐτοῦ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκαταστρέφοντο, ὃ τε Γαβίνιος καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην μέχρι τοῦ Τιγράδος προεχώρησεν, ἐφοβηθη τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν σύμβασιν βεβαιώσασθαι ἐπεθύμησεν οὐ μέντοι καὶ διεπράζατο τι. ὦ γὰρ Πομπηίος πρὸς τὰ παρόντα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἔπιδεικνύσεις κατεφρονήσεις αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἄλλα ὑπερφεύγων τοῖς πρόσβεσιν ἐλάλησε, καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Κορδουνίην, ὑπὲρ ἡς πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην διεφέρετο, ἀπήττησεν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνοι μηδὲν, ἀτε μηδὲ ἐπεσταλμένοι τι περὶ αὐτῆς, ἀπεκρίνατο, ἔγραψε μὲν τινὰ τῷ Φραώη, οὐκ ἀνέμεινε δὲ ἀντιπερφηθηναι τι, ἄλλη ἐσ τὴν χώραν τοῦ Ἀφράνιον παραχρῆμα ἐστείλε, καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἀμαξεὶ τῷ Τιγράνη ἔδωκε. καὶ ὃ μὲν Ἀφράνιος διὰ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καὶ τὴν Συρίαν παρὰ τὰ συγκείμενα πρὸς τὸν Πάρθουν κομιζόμενος ἐπιλείψῃ, καὶ πολλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς σπάνεως τῶν τροφῶν ἐκακωθῇ καὶ ἀπώλουτο, εἰ μὴ

¹ Γκ. Ρκ., δ Λ. ² Κρόνια Cobet, Κρόνια Κρόνια Λ. ³ ἐπιλέγουσε Χυλ., ἐπιλέγουσα Λ. ⁴ τοῦ supplied by Reim.
BOOK XXXVII

“Aha, the Saturnalia!" with reference to the attack made on that occasion by the Albanians.

After accomplishing this and overrunning the country, Pompey granted peace to the Albanians, and on the arrival of heralds concluded a truce with some of the other tribes that dwell along the Caucasus as far as the Caspian Sea, where the mountains, which begin at Pontus, come to an end. Phraates likewise sent to him, desiring to renew the treaty with him. For the sight of Pompey’s success, and the fact that his lieutenants were also subjugating the rest of Armenia and that part of Pontus, and that Gabinius had even advanced across the Euphrates as far as the Tigris, filled him with fear of them, and he was anxious to have the truce confirmed. He accomplished nothing, however; for Pompey, in view of the present situation and the hopes which it inspired, held him in contempt and replied haughtily to the ambassadors, among other things demanding back the territory of Corduene,¹ concerning which Phraates was quarrelling with Tigranes. When the envoys made no answer, inasmuch as they had received no instructions on this point, he wrote a few words to Phraates, but instead of waiting for a reply sent Afranius into the territory at once, and having occupied it without a battle, gave it to Tigranes. Afranius, returning through Mesopotamia to Syria, contrary to the agreement made with the Parthian, wandered from the way and encountered many hardships by reason of the winter and the lack of supplies. Indeed, his troops would have perished, had not the Carrhaeans,

¹ Called Gordyene by most writers.
Καρραῖοι, Μακεδόνων τε ἀποικοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἐνταῦθα ποῦ οἰκούντες, ὑπέλαβον τε αὐτὸν καὶ παρέπεμψαν.

6 Ταῦτά τε πρὸς τὸν Φραάτην ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης οἱ δυνάμεως ἐπραξε, σαφέστατα τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένους ἐπιδείξας ὅτι πάντα ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἦρτηται, καὶ ὥς ἄντων χράδων νομοθέτης ὃν βούλεται ἀναγκαῖος γίνεται, καὶ προσέτι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ ὑβρισεν, ἵππερ πρὸς τε τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ἡγάλλετο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ὡσά τε αὐ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀεὶ ποτε

2 ἐκέχρηντο. βασιλέως γὰρ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων καλομένου, τὸ τῶν βασιλείων ὄνομα περιέκοψε καὶ βασιλεῖ ἀυτῷ μόνῳ ἐπιστέλλων ἐγραφε, καίτοι τῷ Τιγράνῃ τῷ αἰχμαλώτῳ καὶ τούτῳ παρὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον αὐτὸς ὃς, ὅτε τὰ ἐπιγεία αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖνοι

3 ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπεμψεν. ὁ οὖν Φραάτης καὶ περ ἔδεισεν τοῦτον καὶ θεραπεύων, ἡγανάκτησεν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ως καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐστερημένος, καὶ πέμψας πρέσβεις πάντα τε ὅσα ἦδικτο ἐπεκάλει οἱ, καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀπηγόρευε μὴ διαβαίνειν.

4 Ἐπειδὴ τε οὖδὲν μέτριον ἀπεκρίνατο, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιγράνην μετὰ τοῦ νιέσοντο αὐτοῦ, ὃ τῇ τῆς θυγατέρα ἐδεδώκει, ἐστράτευσεν, ἐν τῷ ἥρι ἐν τῷ Λούκιος τῷ Καίσαρ καὶ Γάιος Φίγουλος ὑπάτευνος καὶ νικηθείς μάχῃ ἐπείδη ὑστερον ἀντεπεκράτησε.

1 αὐτὸς Bs., αὐτοῖς L.
Macedonian colonists who dwelt somewhere in that vicinity, received him and helped him forward.

This was the treatment which Pompey in the fulness of his power accorded to Phraates, thereby indicating very clearly to those desiring to indulge their greed that everything depends on armed force, and that he who is victorious by its aid wins inevitably the right to lay down whatever laws he pleases. Furthermore, he showed contempt for the title of Phraates, in which that ruler delighted before all the world and before the Romans themselves, and by which the latter had always addressed him. For whereas he was called "King of Kings," Pompey clipped off the phrase "of Kings" and addressed his demands merely "to the King" when writing; and yet he later, of his own accord and contrary to custom, gave this title to the captive Tigranes, when he celebrated his triumph over him in Rome. Phraates, consequently, although he feared and paid court to him, was vexed at this, feeling that he had actually been deprived of his kingdom; and he sent ambassadors, reproaching him with all the wrongs he had suffered, and forbidding him to cross the Euphrates.

When Pompey gave him no conciliatory reply, Phraates immediately began a campaign in the spring against Tigranes, being accompanied by the latter's son, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage. This was in the consulship of Lucius Caesar and Gaius Figulus. In the first battle Phraates was beaten, but later was victorious. And

1 Dio here records as a fresh event what he has already described at length as one of the occurrences of the year 66 (Book XXXVI. 51). This was probably due to the use of a second authority; cf. Intr. to vol. i. p. xvi.
5 τοῦ τε Τιγράνου τὸν Πομπηίον ἐν Συρίᾳ ὄντα ἐπικαλεσαμένου, πρέσβεις τε αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνον κατηγόρησε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἱώμαϊους ὁπεσήμηνεν, ὡστε τὸν Πομπηίον καὶ αἰσχυνθῆναι καὶ καταπλα-
7 γῆναι. οὕκονιν οὕτε τῷ Τιγράνῃ ἐπεκούρησεν οὕτε πρὸς τὸν Φραίτην πολέμιον τι ἐτ’ ἐπραξε, πρό-
φασιν ποιησάμενος τὸ μήτε ἐκεῖνην οἰ τὴν στρα-
τείαν προστετάχθη τοῖς Μιθριδάτην ἐν ὁπλοῖς ἐτ’ εἶναι. ἀρκεῖσθαι τε τοῖς κατειργα-
σμένοις ἐφασκε, καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο . . . . , μὴ πλει-
όνων ὄρεγόμενος καὶ περὶ ἐκεῖνοις, ὅσπερ πον καὶ
2 ὁ Λουκούλλος, πταίσῃ. τουκάτα γὰρ ἐφιλοσοφεῖ, καὶ τὸ τε πλεονεκτεῖν δεινὸν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἄλλο-
τρῶν ἐφίεσθαι ἄδικον εἶναι τότε ἐλεγεν ὅτ’ οὐκετ’

3 αὐτῶς χρήσθαι ἐδυνατό. τάς τε γὰρ τοῦ Πάρ-
θου δυνάμεις δέσσας, καὶ τὸ ἀστάθμητον τῶν

4 πραγμάτων φοβηθεῖς, οὕτε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς
πολλὰν ἐναγόντων ἀνείλετο, καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα

5 τοῦ Βαρβάρου ἐφαύλισεν, ἀντειπτὸν μὲν οὐδὲν,
φήσας δὲ ὑπὲρ ὀρίων τινῶν τὴν διαφορὰν αὐτῷ

4 πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην εἶναι, περὶ ὅν δικάσεων σφίσιν
ἀνδρα τρεῖς. οὐς καὶ ἔπεμψεν καὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐκεῖνοι διατητίας ἐπιγραφάμενοι πάντα

1 κρατῆσθη Βκ., κρατήσεις Ι.
when Tigranes invoked the assistance of Pompey, who was in Syria, Phraates again sent ambassadors to the Roman commander, bringing many charges against Tigranes, and making many insinuations against the Romans, so that Pompey was both ashamed and alarmed. As a result he lent no aid to Tigranes and no longer took any hostile measures against Phraates, offering the excuse that no such expedition had been assigned to him and that Mithridates was still in arms. He declared himself satisfied with what had been accomplished and did not wish [to undertake further risks], lest in striving for additional results he might impair the successes already won by some reverse, as Lucullus had done. Such was his philosophy, and he maintained that covetousness was a dangerous thing, and to aim at the possessions of others unjust,—now that he was no longer able to make use of them. For he feared the forces of the Parthian and dreaded the uncertain issue of events, and so did not undertake this war, although many urged him to do so. As for the barbarian's complaints, he made light of them, offering no answer, but asserting that the dispute which the prince had with Tigranes concerned some boundaries, and that three men should decide the case for them. These he actually sent, and they were enrolled as bond ides arbitrators by the two kings, who then settled all their mutual complaints. For Tigranes was angry at not having obtained the desired aid, and Phraates wished the Armenian ruler to survive, so that in case of need he might some day have him as an ally against the Romans. For they both well understood that whichever of them should conquer the other would simply help along matters for the Romans
'Ρωμαίοις προκόψει ἐκ αὐτὸς εὐχειρωτῶτερός καὶ αὐτὸς εὐχειρωτῶτερός σφίσι γευνήσεται.

5 Ἐκείνοι μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα κατηλλάγησαν, Πομπήιος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσπίδι καὶ τότε ἔχειμασε, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐτ' ἀνδιστάμενα προσηγάγετο, καὶ Συμφόρου τείχος Στρατονίκης οἱ προδοσίας ἑλαβεν. αὐτὴ δὲ γυνὴ τε τοῦ Μεθριδάτου οὕσα, καὶ ὀργήν αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐγκατελείψθη ἔχουσα, τοὺς τε φρούρους ἐς παρασκευὴν δὴ τροφῆς ἐξέπεμψε καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐδέξατο, καίτοι παιδὸς αὐτῆς παρὰ . . .

Xiphilinus

7 Ἑποστρέψας δὲ ἔξ Ἀρμενίας, καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας καὶ τοὺς δυνάστας τοὺς προσιόυσιν αὐτῷ διαιτήσας καὶ χρηματίσας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τὰς βασιλείας βεβαιώσας, τοὺς δὲ τὰς δυναστείας ἐπανεκτήσας, τὸν δὲ καὶ τὰς ὑπεροχὰς κολούσας καὶ ταπεινώσας, τὴν τε κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ἀρτὶ τε βασιλέων ἀπηλλαγμένας καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄραβίων καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράινου κεκακωμένας συνεστήσατο. ἔτολμησε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἀπαιτήσαι αὐτῶς, οὐκ ἀπέλαβε δὲ, ἀλλ' ἐὰς τε αρχὴν μίαν συνετάχθησαν καὶ νόμους ἔλαβον ὅστε τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν τρόπον πολιτεύεσθαι.—Xiphil. p. 6, 26—7, 5 Dind.

8 . . . τοῦτο μόνον ἐν τῇ ἀγορανομίᾳ ἐπηνέθη, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαία καὶ τὰ Μεγαλῆσια πολυτελέστατα ἐπηύρησεν, ἢτι δὲ καὶ μονομάχων ἀγώνας

1 προκόψει Bk., προσκόψει L.
2 εὐχειρωτῶτερός Leunel, εὐχειρωτῶτερός L.
3 τὰ added by Bk.
4 κολούσας Leunel., καλούσας VC.
5 τε Dind., γ' VC.
6 δὲ Dind., τε L.
and would himself become easier for them to subdue. For these reasons, then, they were reconciled.

Pompey passed this winter likewise in Aspis,\(^1\) winning over the districts that were still resisting, and taking also Symphorion,\(^2\) a fort which Stratonice betrayed to him. She was the wife of Mithridates, and in her anger against him because she had been left there she sent out the garrison, ostensibly to collect supplies, and then let the Romans in, although her child was with . . .

Xiphilinus

Returning from Armenia [Pompey] arbitrated disputes and managed other business for kings and potentates who came to him. He confirmed some in possession of their kingdoms, added to the principalities of others, and curtailed and humbled the excessive powers of a few. Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, which had lately rid themselves of their kings and had been ravaged by the Arabians and Tigranes, were united by him. Antiochus had dared to ask them back, but did not secure them; instead, they were combined into one province and received laws so that they were governed in the Roman fashion.

... [Not] for this alone did [Caesar] receive praise during his aedileship, but also because he exhibited both the Ludi Romani and the Megalenses on the most expensive scale and furthermore arranged gladiatorial contests in his father's honour

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\(^{1}\) A place otherwise unknown; Fabricius suggested reading Anaitis in place of Aspis.  
\(^{2}\) Properly called Sinoria.
ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ μεγαλοφρονεστάτα διέθηκεν. ἐγένετο μὲν ὡρὰ τῶν δαπανηθέντων ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ μὲν κοινὴ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα Μάρκον Βί-

2 βουλον, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἰδία τοσοῦτον δὲ δὴ ἐν τούτοις ὑπερῆρεν ὡστε καὶ τὴν ἐπ’ ἐκείνοις δόξαν σφετερίσασθαι καὶ δοκεῖν ἀπαντᾶ αὐτὸς ἀνή-

λωκέναι. ὁ οὖν Βίβουλος αὐτὸς ἐπισκόπτων ἐλεγεν ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ Πολυδεύκει πεπονθὼς εἰς τοῦ γὰρ τοῦ ναοῦ κοινῷ οἱ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Κάστορα ὄντος, ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνον μόνον ἡ ἐπωνυμία αὐτοῦ γίγνεται.

9 Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἔχαρον οἱ Ῥωμαίοι, τὰ δὲ δὴ τέρατα καὶ πάνυ αὐτοὺς ἐθορύβει. ἐν γὰρ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀνδριάντες τε πολλοὶ ὑπὸ κεραυνῶν συνεχωνεύθησαν καὶ ἀγάλματα ἄλλα τε καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κίονος ἱδρυμένου, εἰκὼν τὲ τῆς λυκαίνης σύν τε

2 τῷ Ῥώμῳ καὶ σὺν τῷ Ῥωμιλῷ ὑδρυμένῃ ἑσπεσε, τὰ τε γράμματα τῶν στηλῶν ἐς ὁ δὲ νόμοι ἔσεγερασθῶ 

το συνεχύθη καὶ ἀμύδρα ἐγένετο. τὰ τε οὖν ἄλλα ἔβεβλυντο τοὺς μάντεσι πειθόμενοι, καὶ τῷ Δίῳ ἀγαλμα μείζον, πρὸς τε τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν βλέπων, ὅπως αἱ συνοικίαι ὑφ᾿ ὅν ἐταράττοντο ἐκφανεῖν, ἱδρύθησαν ἐψηφίσαντο.

3 Ταυτά τε ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἐτεὶ συνέβη, καὶ οἱ τιμηταί περὶ τῶν ὑπέρ τῶν Ἡριδανῶν οἰκούντων διενεχθέντες (τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῦς ἐσάγειν ἐδόκει, τῷ δὲ οὗ) οὐδὲν οὔδὲ τῶν ἄλλων

4 ἐπράξαν, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἄρχιν ἀπείπου. καὶ διὰ τούτου καὶ οἱ διάδοχοι αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐτεί οὐδὲν ἐποίησαν, ἐμποδισάντων σφάς τῶν

in the most magnificent manner. For, although the cost of these entertainments was in part shared jointly with his colleague Marcus Bibulus, and only in part borne by him individually, yet he so far excelled in the funeral contests as to gain for himself the credit for the others too, and was thought to have borne the whole cost himself. Even Bibulus accordingly joked about it, saying that he had suffered the same fate as Pollux; for, although that hero possessed a temple in common with his brother Castor, it was named after the latter only.\footnote{\textit{Aedēs Castoris} (or \textit{Castorum}) was the usual name; yet in \textit{Suet. Calig. 22} we read \textit{aede Castoris et Pollucis}.}

Over these successes the Romans naturally rejoiced, but the portents that occurred thoroughly disquieted them. On the Capitol many statues and images were melted by thunderbolts, among others one of Jupiter, set upon a pillar; and a likeness of the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus, mounted on a pedestal, fell down; also the letters of the columns on which the laws were inscribed became blurred and indistinct. Accordingly, on the advice of the soothsayers they offered many expiatory sacrifices and voted that a larger statue of Jupiter should be set up, looking toward the east and the Forum, in order that the conspiracies by which they were disturbed might come to light.

Such were the occurrences of that year. The censors also became involved in a dispute about the people living beyond the Po, one believing it wise to admit them to citizenship, while the other did not; so they did not even perform any of their other duties, but resigned their office. And for the same reason their successors, too, did nothing in the following year, inasmuch as the tribunes hindered
δημάρχων πρὸς τὸν τῆς βουλῆς κατάλογον, δέει
tοῦ μὴ τῆς γερουσίας αὐτοὺς ἐκπεσεῖν. καὶ τοῦ
tω πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διατρίβοντες, πλὴν τῶν
tῶν ἄντι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁικούντων, ἐξέπεσον Γαίου τινὸς
Παπίου δημάρχου γρώμη, ἐπειδή ἐπεπόλαξον καὶ
οὐκ ἔδοκον ἐπιτίθεσθαι σφισεῖν εἶναι συνοικεῖν.

10 Τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, τοῦ τε Φιγούλου καὶ τοῦ
Καίσαρος τοῦ Δούκιου ἀρχόντων, βραχέα μὲν,
μνήμης δὲ οὖν πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἀνθρωπείων

2 πραγμάτων παραλόγους συνημέχθη. ὁ τε γὰρ
τῶν Δούκητιον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Σύλλου προστάξεως
ἀποκτείνας, καὶ ἐκεῖρος τις συχνὰς τῶν ἐπικη-
ρυχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φονεύσας, καὶ κατηγορη-
θησάν ἐπὶ τὰς σφαγὰς καὶ ἐκόλασθησαν, τοῦ
Καίσαρος τοῦ Ἰουλίου τοῦ ὑπὸ μάλιστα παρα-

3 σκευάσαντος. οὕτω καὶ τοὺς πάντα ποτὲ δυνα-
θέντας ἀσθενεστάτους αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν πραγ-
μάτων πολλάκις ποιοῦσι. τοῦτο τε οὖν παρὰ

4 δόξαν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐχώρησε, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ
Κατιλίνας ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνους αἰτίαν (πολ-
λοὺς γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ὁμοίων ἀπεκτόνει) λαβὼν
ἀπελύθη. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον χείρων τε πολὺ

4 ἐγένετο, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ἀπώλετο· τοῦ γὰρ δὴ
Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου μετὰ Γαίου Ἀυτοῦ ὑπατεύσαντος, ὅτε Μιθριδάτης οὐδὲν ἐτι δεινὸν

11 ὁ Μιθριδάτης αὐτὸς μὲν οὖχ ὑπείκε ταῖς

1 δὲ Turn., τε L.
them in regard to the senatorial list, fearing that they themselves might be expelled from that body. Meanwhile all those who were resident [aliens] in Rome, except inhabitants of what is now Italy, were banished on the motion of one Gaius Papius, a tribune, because they were coming to be too numerous and were not thought fit persons to dwell with the citizens.

In the following year, when Figulus and Lucius Caesar were in office, the events were few, but worthy of remembrance in view of the contradictions in human affairs. For the man who had slain Lucretius at the instance of Sulla, and another who had slain many of the persons proscribed by him, were tried for the murders and punished, Julius Caesar being most instrumental in bringing this about. Thus changing circumstances often render very weak even those once exceedingly powerful. This matter, then, turned out contrary to most people's expectation, as did also the case of Catiline, who, although charged with the same crimes as the others (for he, too, had killed many of the proscribed), was acquitted. And from this very circumstance he became far worse and even lost his life as a result. For, when Marcus Cicero had become consul with Gaius Antonius, and Mithridates no longer caused any injury to the Romans, but had destroyed himself, Catiline undertook to set up a new government, and by banding together the allies against the state threw the people into fear of a mighty conflict. Now these two events came about as follows.

Mithridates did not give way himself under his
συμφοραίς, ἄλλα τῇ βουλήσει πλέον ἢ τῇ δυνάμει νέμων ἐνενεῖ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ διέτριβε, πρὸς τε τὸν Ἰστρον διὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἔλθειν, καντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν
2 ἔσβαλειν φύσει τε γὰρ μεγαλοπράγμων ὁν, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν πταισμάτων, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ εὐτυχων πεπεραμένοις, οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀτόλμητον οὔτε ἀνέλπιστον οἱ εἶναι ἐνόμιζεν. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ σφαλεῖσθαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ μετὰ ἀκεραιοῦ τοῦ φρονήματος μᾶλλον ἢ στερηθείς αὐτῆς ἐν τε ταπεινώτητι καί ἐν ἀδοξίᾳ ζῆν ἤθελεν.
3 αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦτοι έρρωτο, ὅσον γὰρ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενεία ἀπεμαραίνετο, τοσοῦτοι τῇ τῆς γνώμης ρόμη ἰσχυρίζετο, ὡστε καὶ τῇ ἐκείνου ἀρρωστίαι τοῖς ταύτης λογισμοῖς ἀνα
4 λαμβάνειν οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ, ὡς τά τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχυρότερα καί τά τοῦ Μιθρι
dάτου ἀσθενέστερα ἀδεί ἐγίγνετο (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καί ὁ σεισμὸς μέγιστος ῥῆ τῶν πώποτε συνε
evχθὲς αὐτοῖς πολλάς τῶν πόλεων ἐφθειρεν), ἤλλοισθο, καὶ τά τε στρατιωτικά ἐκινεῖτο, καὶ
παΐδας τίνας αὐτοῦ συναρπάζαντες τίνες πρὸς τοῦ Πομπήιον ἐκώμισαν.
12 ᾶς οὖν τούτως τοὺς μὲν ἐφώρα καὶ ἐκολαξε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑποψίας ὑρη ἐρκατελάμβανεν, καὶ ἦν πρὸς οὐδένα ἐτι πιστῶς, ἄλλα καί τῶν λοιπῶν τέκνων ὑποπότησας τινὰ ἀπέσφαξεν. ἰδὼν οὖν ταῦτα υἱὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ Φαρνάκης, καὶ ἐκεῖνον τε ἀμα φοβηθεῖς καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν βασιλείαν (καὶ γὰρ ἀμή ἢδη ἢν) λήφθεσαί
2 προσδοκήσας, ἐπεβουλεύσειν αὐτῷ. φωραθεῖς δὲ (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ φανερῶς καὶ λάθρα πάντα τὰ
misfortunes, but relying more on his will than on his power, he planned, especially as Pompey was now tarrying in Syria, to reach the Ister through Scythia, and from there to invade Italy. For, inasmuch as he was by nature given to great projects and had met with many successes as well as many failures, he felt there was nothing which might not be ventured or hoped for. And if he was to fail, he preferred to perish along with his kingdom, with pride undiminished, rather than live deprived of it in humility and disgrace. On this idea, then, he himself grew strong; for in proportion as he wasted away through weakness of body, the more steadfast did he grow in strength of mind, so that he even offset the infirmity of the former by the reasonings of the latter. But his associates, on the other hand, became estranged, as the position of the Romans was ever growing more secure and that of Mithridates weaker. Among other things the greatest earthquake ever experienced destroyed many of their cities; the soldiery also mutinied, and some of Mithridates' sons were kidnapped and conveyed to Pompey.

Thereupon he detected and chastised some, while others he punished on mere suspicion, before they could accomplish anything; he no longer trusted anybody, but even put to death some of his remaining children who incurred his suspicion. Seeing this, one of his sons, Pharnaces, impelled at once by fear of the king and the expectation of receiving the kingdom from the Romans, as he had now reached manhood, plotted against him. He was detected, for many both openly and secretly were concerning themselves with all that he was doing; and if the body-
πραττόμενα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἑπολυπραγμόνου) εὐθὺς ἂν, εἴπερ τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον εὐνόιας οἱ ὀρυφόροι τῷ γέροντι εἶχον, εὐδικαίωθη ὅπως δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ σοφώτατος ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐσ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλικὰ γενόμενος, οὐκ ἔγνω ὅτι οὐδὲν οὔδεν ὦτε τὰ ὁπλα ὦτε τὰ πλῆθος τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀνευ τῆς παρ’ αὐτῶν φιλίας ἰσχύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσῳ τις ἂν πλείος, μὴ μέντοι καὶ πιστὰ αὐτὰ ἔχει, χαλέπωτερα αὐτὸ ὁ γράφει. 3 οἱ φυλάκης μετὰ τὸν προπαρεσκευασμένων καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὴν σύλληψιν αὐτοῦ πεμβάτων (ῥάστα γὰρ αὐτοῦς φιλεώσατα) καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς τὸν πατέρα ἑπέχθη. πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ γέρων (ἐν δὲ ἐν Παντικαπαίω) στρατιώτας τινὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νιῶν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφεσίμενος σφιχθεῖ. 4 προεπεμψε. καὶ τούτως τε ἐκεῖνος διὰ βραχέος, ἄτε μηδὲ αὐτοὺς φιλοῦντας τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ἀπετρέψατο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκουσιὰν ἐλάβε, τὸν τε πατέρα ἐς τὸ βασίλειον καταφυγόντα ἀπεκτείνειν.

13 Ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν διαχρήσασθαι, καὶ τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παιδάς τοὺς λυποὺς φαρμάκον προπαλλάξας τὸ λυποῦν ἐξέπειν, οὐ μέντοι οὔτε 2 δὲ ἐκεῖνοι οὔτε διὰ ἔξιος αὐτοῦ. 2 χειρὶ ἀποφθαρῆναι ἡδυνήθη. τὸ τε γὰρ φάρμακον, καὶ τοὺς θανάσιμον ὄν, οὐ συνείλε τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ πολλῆς καθ’ ἕκαστην ἠμέραν προφυλακῆ ἀλεξιφαρμάκων ἐκεκράτυντο· καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἔξιος πληγὴ διὰ τῆς τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν περιεστηκότων ἀσθένειαν

1 ἀπετρέψατο Pflugk, ἀπετρέψατο L. 2 οὔτε Bk., οὔτε L. 3 δὲ εἰκεῖνος R. Steph., δὲ εἰκεῖνον L.
guard had had even the slightest good-will toward their aged sovereign, the son would have been punished immediately. But as it was, Mithridates, who had proved himself most wise in all matters pertaining to his royal office, did not recognize the fact that neither arms nor a multitude of subjects is of any real strength to any one without their friendship; on the contrary, the more subjects a ruler has, the greater burden they are to him, unless he holds them faithful. At any rate, Pharnaces, followed both by the men he had made ready and by those whom his father had sent to arrest him,—for he won these over very easily,—hastened directly against his father himself. The old king was in Panticapaeum when he learned this, and sent ahead some soldiers against his son intimating that he himself would soon follow them. These also Pharnaces quickly diverted from their purpose, inasmuch as they too did not love Mithridates, and after receiving the voluntary submission of the city, he put to death his father, who had fled for refuge into the palace.

Mithridates had tried to make away with himself, and after first removing his wives and remaining children by poison, he had swallowed all that was left; yet neither by that means nor by the sword was he able to perish by his own hands. For the poison, although deadly, did not prevail over him, since he had inured his constitution to it, taking precautionary antidotes in large doses every day; and the force of the sword blow was lessened on account of the weakness of his hand, caused by his age and present misfortunes, and as a result of
καὶ διὰ τὴν φαρμάκον ὀποιουδήποτοὺν ὁ λήψις
3 ἀπημβλύθη. ὡς οὖν οὔτε δὲ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνηλίκετο
καὶ πέρα τοῦ καιροῦ χρονίζειν ἐδόκει, προσέπεσον
τε ἐντὸ ἐκεῖνοι οὕς ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπεπόμφη, καὶ
συνετάχθαν τοῖς ξίφεσι καὶ ταῖς λόγχαις τῶν
4 δλεθρόν. Μιθριδάτης μὲν δὴ ποικιλωτάτη ἀεὶ
καὶ μεγίστη τῇ τυχῇ χρησάμενος, οὐδὲ τὴν τελευ-
τὴν τοῦ βίου ἀπλὴν ἔσχεν ἐπεθύμησε τε γὰρ
ἀποθανεῖν μὴ βουλόμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπο-
κτείναι σπουδάσας οὐκ ἤδινηθη, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν
φαρμάκῳ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ξίφει αὐθέντης τε ἀμα
14 ἑγνετο καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑχθρῶν ἀπεσφάγη. Φαρνάκης
dὲ το τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ταρταρεύσας,
ἐλεγχὼν τοῦ πεπραγμένου, ἐπεμψε, καὶ ἑαυτὸν
tὴν τε ἁρχὴν παρέδωκε. καὶ δὲ τῷ μὲν Μιθρι-
δάτῃ οὐδὲν ἐλυμήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πατρῴις
ηρίους ταφῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκελεύσε. τὸ γὰρ πολέμου
αὐτοῦ συναποσβηκέναι τῇ ψυχῇ νομίζων οὐδὲν
2 ἤτι τῷ νεκρῷ μάτην ὀργίζετο, τὴν μέντοι βασι-
λείαν τοῦ Βοσπόρου μισθόν τῷ Φαρνάκη τῆς
μαίαφονίας ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ ἐς γε τοὺς φίλους τοὺς
τε συμμάχους αὐτὸν ἀνέγραψεν.
3 Ὡς οὖν ἐκεῖνος τε ἀπωλώλει καὶ τὰ τῆς ἁρχῆς
αὐτοῦ πάντα πλὴν ὁλίγων κατέστραπτο (τείχῳ
γάρ τινα φρουροί ἔξω τοῦ Βοσπόρου ἔτι καὶ τότε
ἐχοντες οὐκ εὑρίς ὁμολόγησαν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ
ἀνθίστασθαι οἱ διενοχις τοῦ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ
tὰ χρήματα, ἂ ἐφυλάσσουν, προδιαρπάζαντες
tίνες ἐκεῖνος τῆς αὐτίαν προσθωσί, καὶ διὰ τούτο
ἀνέμενον, αὐτὸ βουλόμενοι τῷ Πομπηίῳ πάντα
15 ἐπιδείξαι), ὡς οὖν τα τα ἑνταῦθα κατείργαστο καὶ
1 ὀποιουδήποτοὺν R. Steph., ὥσπερ δὴ ποὺ oev L.
taking the poison, whatever it was. When, therefore, he failed to take his life through his own efforts and seemed to linger beyond the proper time, those whom he had sent against his son fell upon him and hastened his end with their swords and spears. Thus Mithridates, who had experienced the most varied and remarkable fortune, had not even an ordinary end to his life. For he desired to die, albeit unwillingly, and though eager to kill himself was unable to do so; but partly by poison and partly by the sword he was at once self-slain and murdered by his foes. Pharnaces embalmed his body and sent it to Pompey as a proof of what had been done, and surrendered himself and his dominions. The Roman showed Mithridates no indignity, but, on the contrary, commanded that he be buried among the tombs of his ancestors; for, feeling that his foe's enmity had been extinguished with his life, he now indulged in, no vain rage against his dead body. Nevertheless he granted the kingdom of Bosporus to Pharnaces as the wages of his bloody deed, and enrolled him as a friend and ally.

After the death of Mithridates all portions of his dominion except a few were subjugated. A few garrisons which at that time were still holding forts outside of Bosporus, did not immediately come to terms, not so much because they were minded to resist Pompey as because they were afraid that others might seize the money which they were guarding and lay the blame upon them; hence they waited, wishing to show everything to Pompey himself. When, then, the regions in that quarter had been subdued, and Phraates
ὁ Φραάτης ἦσυχιαν ἴγεν, ἢ τε Συρία καὶ ἡ Φοινικὴ καθειστήκει, τρέπεται πρὸς Ἀρέταν.
οὕτος δὲ Ἀραβίων μεν τῶν νῦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
dουλεύοντων μέχρι τῆς Ἑρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἐβα-
sίλευε, πλείστα δὲ δὴ τῆς Ἑρυθρᾶς πρότερον ἱπ-
pήσας, καὶ διὰ τούτο μάχη πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ἀμυνόντων αὐτὴ νυκτεῖς, ὡμοί καὶ τότε ἐτ'
2 ἐπολέμει. ἔπ' οὖν τούτου τοὺς τε πλησιοχώρους
αὐτῷ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐλάσσας ἀκοντί τε αὐτοὺς
προσηγάγετο καὶ φουράρα παρέδωκε.
Καντεύθεν ἔπὶ τῆς Συρίας τὴν Παλαιστίνην
ὠς καὶ τὴν Φοινικὴν κακώσαντας, ὄρμησεν.
ἵρχον δὲ αὐτῶν Ὁρκανὸς τε καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος
ἀδελφοί, καὶ ἕτυγχανον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σφετέρου
θεοῦ, ὡστὶς ποτὲ οὕτως ἔστιν, ἱεροσύνης (οὕτω γὰρ
τὴν βασιλείαν σφῶν ὀνόμαζον) αὐτοὶ τε δια-
3 φερόμενοι καὶ τὰς πόλεις στασίσαντες. ὁ οὖν
Πομπήιος Ὁρκανὸν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἄξιόχρεων ἵσχυν
έχοντα ἀμαχεῖ εὑρύς προσέθετο, Ἀριστόβουλον δὲ
ἔς χωρίον τι κατακλείσας ὁμολογήσα τι ἤναγκασε,
καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε τὰ χρήματα μήτε τὸ φρούριον
παρεδίδον, ἐδήσεν αὐτοῖ. κάκ τούτο τοὺς μὲν
ἀλλοὺς ῥᾶν προσεποίησατο, τα δὲ Ἱεροσόλυμα
16 πολιορκῶν πράγματα ἔσχε. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλην
πόλιν, ἐσδεξαμένων αὐτοῦ τῶν τα Ἡρκανοῦ
φρονοῦντων, ἀπαγχόμοις ἔλαβεν, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν
προκατασχόντων τῶν ἔτερων οὐκ ἀπόνως ἐθελεν
2 ἔπι τε γὰρ μετεώρον ἄν καὶ περιβόλῳ ἰδίῳ ὠχύ-
ρωτο. καὶ εἰ γε ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις ὀμοίως
ημύνοντο, οὔκ ἀν αὐτὸ ἐχειρόσατο· νῦν δὲ τὰς
τοῦ Κρόνου δὴ ὀνομασμένας διαλείποντες, καὶ
remained quiet, while Syria and Phoenicia had become tranquil, Pompey turned against Aretas. The latter was king of the Arabians, now subjects of the Romans, as far as the Red Sea. Previously he had done the greatest injury to Syria and had on this account become involved in a battle with the Romans who were defending it; he was defeated by them, but nevertheless continued the war at that time. Pompey accordingly marched against him and his neighbours, and, overcoming them without effort, left them in charge of a garrison.

Thence he proceeded against Syria Palaestina, because its inhabitants had ravaged Phoenicia. Their rulers were two brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were quarrelling themselves, as it chanced, and were creating factions in the cities on account of the priesthood (for so they called their kingdom) of their god, whoever he is. Pompey immediately won over Hyrcanus without a battle, since the latter had no force worthy of note; and by shutting up Aristobulus in a certain place he compelled him to come to terms, and when he would surrender neither the money nor the garrison, he threw him into chains. After this he more easily overcame the rest, but had trouble in besieging Jerusalem. Most of the city, to be sure, he took without any trouble, as he was received by the party of Hyrcanus; but the temple itself, which the other party had occupied, he captured only with difficulty. For it was on high ground and was fortified by a wall of its own, and if they had continued defending it on all days alike, he could not have got possession of it. As it was, they made an exception of what are called the days of Saturn, and by doing
οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαυν ἐν αὐταῖς δρῶντες, παρέδωκαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ὤν τῷ διακένω τούτῳ τὸ τείχος διασείσαι. μαθόντες γὰρ τὴν πτώσιν ἀυτῶν ταύτην τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους χρόνων οὖν οὖν σπουδὴ ἐπραττόν, ταῖς δὲ δὴ ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ὅποτε ἐκ τῆς περιτροπῆς ἐπέλθοιεν, ἐντονότατά ὁ προσέβαλλον, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλλωσαν τε ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρα μηδ' ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα διηρύπανθη. ἢ τε βασιλεία τῷ Ἱππαυὴ ἔδοθη, καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοβουλός ἀναμέχθη.

5 Ταῦτα μὲν τότε ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἐγένετο· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ σύμπαυν ἔθνος, ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκης μέχρι τῆς Αἰγυπτίου παρὰ τὴν βάλασαν τὴν ἐσω παρῆκε, ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ κέκληται. ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρον ὅνομα ἐπίκτητον ἢ τε γὰρ χώρα

17 Ἰουδαία καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἰουδαίοι ὠνομάδαι: ἢ δὲ ἐπίκλησις αὐτὴ ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ἢρξατο γενέσθαι, φέρει δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὅσοι τὰ νόμιμα αὐτῶν, καὶ περ ἀλλοσθενεῖς ὅντες, ξηλώσι. καὶ ἔστι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὸ γένος τούτο, κολοσσεῖθεν μὲν ἕνοικ, ἀλλὰ ἐξεθεν δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον, ὡστε καὶ ἐς παρρησίαν τῆς

2 νομίσεως ἐκκινήσαι. κεχωρίδαται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς τὰ τάλλα τὰ περὶ τὴν διαίταν πάνθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τῶν μεν ἄλλων θεῶν οὐδένα τιμῶσιν, ἔνα δὲ τινα ἰδοὺ τήρανος σέβουσιν. οὐδ' ἄγαλμα οὖν οὐδ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ποτε τοῖς Ἡρωκλύμωις ἐσχον, ἀρρητοῦ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀειδὴ αὐτῶν νομίζουσε εἶναι περισσότερα ἁν-

3 θρόνων θρησκεύουσι. καὶ αὐτῷ νεὼν τε μέγιστον

1 πτώσις Madvig, ἦμποτις L. 2 μὲν supplied by R. Steph. 3 οὐδ' added by v. Herw.
no work at all on those days afforded the Romans an opportunity in this interval to batter down the wall. The latter, on learning of this superstitious awe of theirs, made no serious attempts the rest of the time, but on those days, when they came round in succession, assaulted most vigorously. Thus the defenders were captured on the day of Saturn, without making any defence, and all the wealth was plundered. The kingdom was given to Hyrcanus, and Aristobulus was carried away.

This was the course of events at that time in Palestine; for this is the name that has been given from of old to the whole country extending from Phoenicia to Egypt along the inner sea. They have also another name that they have acquired: the country has been named Judaea, and the people themselves Jews. I do not know how this title came to be given them, but it applies also to all the rest of mankind, although of alien race, who affect their customs. This class exists even among the Romans, and though often repressed has increased to a very great extent and has won its way to the right of freedom in its observances. They are distinguished from the rest of mankind in practically every detail of life, and especially by the fact that they do not honour any of the usual gods, but show extreme reverence for one particular divinity. They never had any statue of him even in Jerusalem itself, but believing him to be unnamable and invisible, they worship him in the most extravagant fashion on earth. They built to him a temple
καὶ περικαλλέστατον, πλὴν καθ’ ὁσον ἄχανής τε καὶ ἀνώροφος ἦν, ἐξεποίησαν, καὶ τὴν ἤμεραν τὴν τοῦ Κρόνου καλουμένην ἀνέθεσαν, καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐν αὐτῇ ἰδιαίτερα πολλὰ ¹ ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἔργον οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου προσάπτονται.

4 Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατ’ ἐκεῖνον, τις τε ἐστὶ καὶ οὕτως ἐτιμήθη, ὅπως τε περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπτόμηται, πολλοὺς τε εἰρηται καὶ οὕδεν τῆς ἤστορίας προσήκει τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐς τὸν ἀστέρας τοῦ ἐπτά τοῦ πλάνητας ὀνομασμένους τὰς ἤμερας ἀνακείσχατο κατέστη μὲν ὑπ’ Ἀιγυπτίων, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, οὐ πάλιν ποτὲ ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀρξάμενον οἱ γούν ἀρχαῖοι Ἑλληνες

2 οὐδαμῆς αὐτό, ὥσα γε ἐμὲ εἰδέναι, ἡπίσταντο. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ καὶ πάντα νῦν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀπασί καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχωριάζει, καὶ ἦδη καὶ τούτῳ σφιζει πάροικον τρόπον τινά ἐστι, βραχύ τε περὶ αὐτοῦ διαλεχθήσαι βούλομαι, πῶς τε καὶ τίνα τρόπον οὕτω τέτακται. ἤκουσα δὲ δύο λόγους, ἄλλως μὲν οὐ χαλεποὺς γνωσθῆναι, θεωρίας δὲ

3 τινὸς ἑκομένους. εἰ γὰρ τις τὴν ἄρμονίαν τὴν διὰ τεσσάρων καλουμένην, ἤπερ πού καὶ τὸ κύρος τῆς μουσικῆς συνέχειν πεπίστευται, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας τούτους, ὡς ὁ πᾶς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κόσμος διείληπται, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν καθ’ ἑν ἔκαστος αὐτῶν περιπορεύεται ἐπαγάγοι, καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξω περιφορὰς τῆς τοῦ Κρόνου δεδομένης,

4 ἐπειτα διαλιπῶν δύο τὰς ἑκομένας τοῦ τῆς τετάρτης δεσπότης ὀνομάσει, καὶ μετ’ αὐτῆς ³ δύο αὕτης ὑπερβας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐβδομήν αφίκοιτο, καὶ

¹ πολλὰ Rk., πολλὰ ἲ Ḷ. ² δὲ added by Xyl. from Xiph. ³ αὐτῆς Ἰα., αὐτῶν ἦν.
that was extremely large and beautiful, except in so far as it was open and roofless,¹ and likewise dedicated to him the day called the day of Saturn, on which, among many other most peculiar observances, they undertake no serious occupation.

Now as for him, who he is and why he has been so honoured, and how they got their superstitious awe of him, accounts have been given by many, and moreover these matters have naught to do with this history. The custom, however, of referring the days to the seven stars called planets was instituted by the Egyptians, but is now found among all mankind, though its adoption has been comparatively recent; at any rate the ancient Greeks never understood it, so far as I am aware. But since it is now quite the fashion with mankind generally and even with the Romans themselves, and is to them already in a way an ancestral tradition, I wish to write briefly of it, telling how and in what way it has been so arranged. I have heard two explanations, which are not difficult of comprehension, it is true, though they involve certain theories. For if you apply the so-called "principle of the tetrachord" (which is believed to constitute the basis of music) to these stars, by which the whole universe of heaven is divided into regular intervals, in the order in which each of them revolves, and beginning at the outer orbit assigned to Saturn, then omitting the next two name the lord of the fourth, and after this passing over two others reach the seventh, and you then go back and repeat the process with the

¹ This statement would seem to rest upon a confusion of the court (or courts) with the temple itself.
τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ τρόπῳ αὐτὰς τε ἑπανίων¹ καὶ τοὺς ἑφόρους σφόν θεοὺς ἀνακυκλῶν ἐπιλέγοι ταῖς ἡμέραις, εὐρήσει πᾶσας αὐτὰς μονσικῶς πως
tῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διακοσμήσει προσηκούσας. εἰς
μὲν δὴ οὗτος λέγεται λόγος, ἄτερος δὲ οὖν. τὰς
όρας τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης
ἀρξάμενος ἀριθμεῖν, καὶ ἐκείνην μὲν τῷ Κρόνῳ
dιδούς, τὴν δὲ ἐπείτα τῷ Διῷ, καὶ τρίτην Ἄρει, τε-
tάρτην ἡλίῳ, πέμπτην Ἀφροδίτη, ἐκτείνῃ Ἀρμή, καὶ
2 ἐβδομήν σελήνη, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν κύκλων καθ'
ἡμ τὸ Λήγμπττοι αὐτὴν νυμφαίοι, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ
αὐθαίρετος ποίησας, πάσας τε ² οὕτω τὰς τέσσαρας καὶ
εἰκοσιν ὀράς περιελθὼν, εὐρήσεις τὴν πρώτην τῆς
ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ὁραν ἐς τὸν ἡλιον ἀφικνουμένην.
3 καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῶν τεσσάρων καὶ
εἰκοσιν ὀράν κατὰ τὸν αὐτῶν τοῖς πρόσθε λόγον
πράξας, τῇ σελήνῃ τὴν πρώτην τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας
ὁραν ἀναθήσεις, καὶ οὕτω καὶ διὰ τῶν λυπῶν
πορευθήν, τὸν προσήκοιτα ἑαυτῇ θεοῦ ἐκάστη ἡμέρα
λήψεται.

20 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω παραδέδοται. Πομπῆιος δὲ
de ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα κατέπραξεν, πρὸς τε τῶν Πόντων
αὐθαῖρε ἡλιος, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὰ τείχη ἐς τε τὴν
'Ασίαν καντεύθεν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν
2 ἐκομίσθη, πολλὰς μὲν δὴ ὅνων μάχας ἐνίκησε,
pολλοὺς δὲ καὶ δυνάστας καὶ βασιλέας τοὺς μὲν
προσαπολεμόσατο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὀμολογία προσ-

¹ αὐτὰς τε ἑπανίων Leuncl., αὐτὸς τε ἑπανοῦν L (corrected to ἑπανόν).
² τε Β., γὰρ L.
orbits and their presiding divinities in this same manner, assigning them to the several days, you will find all the days to be in a kind of musical connection with the arrangement of the heavens. This is one of the explanations given; the other is as follows. If you begin at the first hour to count the hours of the day and of the night, assigning the first to Saturn, the next to Jupiter, the third to Mars, the fourth to the Sun, the fifth to Venus, the sixth to Mercury, and the seventh to the Moon, according to the order of the cycles which the Egyptians observe, and if you repeat the process, covering thus the whole twenty-four hours, you will find that the first hour of the following day comes to the Sun. And if you carry on the operation throughout the next twenty-four hours in the same manner as with the others, you will dedicate the first hour of the third day to the Moon, and if you proceed similarly through the rest, each day will receive its appropriate god. This, then, is the tradition.  

Pompey, when he had accomplished what has been related, proceeded again to Pontus and after taking over the forts returned to Asia and thence to Greece and Italy. Thus he had won many battles, had brought into subjection many potentates and kings, some by war and some by treaty, he had

1 The order of the planets assumed in both these explanations is determined by their relative distances from the earth, according to the Ptolemaic system, viz.: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon. The custom of naming the days may then have arisen, Dio says, (1) by regarding the gods as originally presiding over separate days assigned by the principle of the tetrachord, so that we get this order: the day of Saturn, of the Sun, of the Moon, of Mars, of Mercury, of Jupiter, of Venus; or (2) by regarding the gods as properly gods of the hours, which are assigned

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επούίσατο, πόλεις τε ὅκτω ἀπόκισε, καὶ χώρας προσόδους τε συχνὰς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέδειξε, τὰ τε πλεῖω ἑθνῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῇ ἡπείρῳ τὸτε αὐτοῖς ὄντων νόμοις τε ἱδίοις καὶ πολιτείαις κατεστήσατο καὶ διεκόσμησεν, ὡστε καὶ ἑδύρο αὐτοὺς 3 τοῖς ὑπ’ ἐκείνου νομισθεῖσι χρῆσθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, καίπερ μεγάλα τε ὄντα καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν προσθε Ῥωμαίων πρακτηντα, καὶ τῇ τύχῃ καὶ τοῖς συστατευσαμένοις οἱ ἀναθεῖν ἀν τίς; ὃ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα αὐτὸν τε τοῦ Πομπήλιου ἔργου ἐγένετο καὶ θαυμάσαι διὰ πάντων ἀξίων ἔστι, τούτῳ 4 νῦν ἢδη φράσω. πλείστης μὲν γὰρ ἰσχύν καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῃ ἤχου, πλείστα δὲ χρήματα ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πεπορισμένοι, δυνάσταις τε καὶ βασιλεύσι συχνοῖς ὁκειομένοις, τοὺς τε δήμους ὧν ἠρξε πάντας ὡς εἰπεῖν δι’ 5 εὐνοίας εὐεργεσίαις κεκτημένος, δυνηθεῖς τ’ ἀν δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος πᾶν περιποίησασθαι, τῶν μὲν πλείστων ἔθελοντι ἂν αὐτὸν· δεξαμένου, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέστησάν τινες, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἁσθενείας γε πάντως ἀν ὀμολογησάντων, οὐκ ἡβουλήθη τούτῳ 6 ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς τὸ Ὑβερτίσιον ἐπεραιώθη, τὰς δυνάμεις πάσας αὐτὸς εἰσεπάγγελτο, μήτη τῆς βουλῆς μήτη τοῦ δήμου ψηφισάμενο τι περὶ αὐτῶν ἀφίκεν, οὐδὲν οὐδ’ τοῦ ἐς τὰ νικητήρια αὐτῶν χρῆσασθαι φροντίσας. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σῦλλου ἐν μίσει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἠπίστατο ὄντα, οὐκ ἱθέλησε φόβου τινὰ αὐτοῖς οὐδ’ ἐπ’ ὀλίγας

1 ὑπ’ St., ἁπ’ L. 2 ἡπείρῃ R. Steph., ἡπείρον L. 3 αὐτῶν H. St., αὐτῶν L. 4 τὸ Bk., τε τὸ L. 5 γὰρ inserted by Rk.

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colonized eight cities, had opened up many lands and sources of revenue to the Romans, and had established and organized most of the nations in the continent of Asia then belonging to them with their own laws and constitutions, so that even to this day they use the laws that he laid down. Yet, great as these achievements were and unrivalled by those of any earlier Roman, one might ascribe them both to his good fortune and to his troops; but the act for which credit particularly attaches to Pompey himself—a deed forever worthy of admiration—I will now relate. He had enormous power both on sea and on land; he had supplied himself with vast wealth from the captives; he had made numerous potentates and kings his friends; and he had kept practically all the communities which he ruled well disposed through benefits conferred; and although by these means he might have occupied Italy and gained for himself the whole Roman power, since the majority would have accepted him voluntarily, and if any had resisted, they would certainly have capitulated through weakness, yet he did not choose to do this. Instead, as soon as he had crossed to Brundisium, he dismissed all his forces on his own initiative, without waiting for any vote to be passed in the matter by the senate or the people, and without concerning himself at all even about their use in the triumph. For since he understood that men held the careers of Marius and Sulla in abomination, he did not wish to cause them any fear even for a few days that they should undergo any similar in order, beginning with Saturn, as in the list above, and allowing it to be understood that that god who is found by this system to preside over the first hour of each day shall also give his name to that day.
́μερας, οτι τί των ὀμοίων πείσονται, παρασχείν. 21 οὐκονον οὐδ' ονομα οὐδέν, καίτοι πολλά ἀπὸ τῶν κατειργασμένων λαβεῖν ἄν δυνηθείς, προσεκτήσατο.

Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἑπινίκια, λέγω δῆ τὰ μείζω νομεζόμενα, καίτερ οὐχ ὅσιον ὃν ἔκ ἱ τῶν πάνω πατρίων ἀνευ τῶν συννικησάντων τινί πεμφῆμαι,

2 ὀμος ψηφισθέντα ἐδέξατο. καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν ἀπάξ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν πολέμων ἤγαγε, τρόπαια δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ καλῶς κεκοσμημένα καθ' ἐκαστον τῶν ἐργῶν καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἐπεμψε, καὶ ἐπὶ πάσιν ἐν μέγα, πολυτελῶς τε κεκοσμημένον καὶ γραφὴν ἔχου ὅτε τῆς οἰκουμενῆς ἐστίν.

3 οὐ μεντοι καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν τινὰ προσεπέθετο, ἄλλα καὶ μόνη τῇ τοῦ Μάγνου, ἠπερ ποῦ καὶ πρὸ ἐκείνων τῶν ἐργῶν ἐκέκτητο, ἡρκέσθη, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἄλλην τινὰ τιμήν ὑπέροχον λαβεῖν διεπράξατο, ἡ τοῖς γε ψηφισθεῖσιν ἀπόντι οἱ πλῆν

4 ἀπάξ ἔχρησατο. ἡν δὲ ταῦτα δαφυφορεῖν 2 τε αὐτῶν κατὰ πάσας αἰ τὰς πανηγύρεις, καὶ τὴν στολὴν τῆν μὲν ἀρχικὴν ἐν πάσαις αὐταῖς, τὴν δὲ ἑπινίκιον ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἱππῶν ἁγωσίων ἐνδυνειν. ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτῷ, συμπράσσοντος ἐσ 3 τὰ μάλιστα τοῦ Καύσαρος, καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος τοῦ Μάρκου γνώμην, ἐδόθη.

22 Καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐκείνου, ὡστες τε ἦν καὶ οτι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐθεράπευε, τοῦ τε Πομπήιον ἄλλως μὲν 4 καθήρει, δι' ὅν δὲ δὴ τῷ τοῦ ὑμῖν χαριεῖσθαι και

1 τι inserted by Turn.  2 δαφυφορεῖν Dind., δαφυφορεῖν L.  3 ἐς Rk., ἐς αὐτὰ L.  4 μὲν Rk., te L.
experiences. Consequently he did not so much as assume any additional name from his exploits, although he might have taken many.

As for the triumph,—I refer to the one regarded as the great event,—although according to strict precedent it was not lawful for it to be held without the presence of those who aided in winning the victory, he nevertheless accepted it when voted to him. He celebrated the triumph in honour of all his wars at once, including in it many trophies beautifully decked out to represent each of his achievements, even the smallest; and after them all came one huge one, decked out in costly fashion and bearing an inscription stating that it was a trophy of the inhabited world. He did not, however, add any other title to his name, but was satisfied with that of Magnus alone, which, of course, he had gained even before these achievements. Nor did he contrive to receive any other extravagant honour, or even accept such as had been voted him in his absence, except on a single occasion. These consisted in the privilege of always wearing the laurel wreath at all public games, and arraying himself in the cloak of a general at all of them, as well as in the triumphal garb at the horse-races. They had been granted him chiefly through the cooperation of Caesar, and contrary to the advice of Marcus Cato.

As regards the former, I have already stated who he was, and how, while paying court to the populace, and while generally striving to destroy Pompey's power, he nevertheless made a friend of him in

1 A singular expression, especially at this point, but due to the fact that Dio uses επινέξις also for the ovation (in lxx. 16, 11 and lxx. 23, 2 τα επινέξις τα συμπρόσωπα, "the lesser triumph").

2 xxxvi. 43.
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αυτὸς ἰαχύσειν ἐμελλὲ προσεποιεῖτο, προσεῖρηταί·
ο δὲ δὴ Κάτων οὗτος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Πορκίων
γένους καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν πάνυ ἐξήλιον, πλὴν
καθ’ ὅσον παιδεία Ἑλληνικὴ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ
2 ἐκέχρητο. ἦσκει δὲ τὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἄκριβῶς,
καὶ ἐνα μὲν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ἑθαύμαζε, τὸ δὲ
δὴ κοινὸν ὑπερηγάπα, καὶ πᾶν μὲν τὸ ὑπὲρ
τοὺς ἄλλους περικός ὑποψία δυναστείας ἐμύσει,
πᾶν δὲ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐλέω τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐφίλει.
3 καὶ δημοραστής ἡ τὸ ὁς οὐδείς ἄλλος ἐγίγνετο,2
καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου παρρησίαν καὶ μετὰ
κινδύνων ἐποιείτο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲντοι πάντα οὔτε
πρὸς ἰσχῦν οὔτε πρὸς δόξαν ή· τιμήν τίνα, ἀλλ’
αὐτής ἔνεκα τῆς τε αὐτονόμου καὶ τῆς ἀτυράν-
4 νεύτου διαίτης ἐπραττε. τοιοῦτος οὖν δὴ τὶς ὄν
ἐς τε τὸ κοινὸν τότε πρῶτον παρῆλθε καὶ πρὸς
τὰ ψηφιζόμενα, καὶ ἐπερ μηδεμίαν τὸ Πομπήιος
ἐχθραν ἔχων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι γε ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ἦν,
ἀντείπειν.
23 Ἀπόντι μὲν δὴ οὖν αὐτῷ ταῦτ’ ἐδοσαν, ἐλθόντι
δὲ οὐδέν, πάντως ἀν που καὶ ἐτέρα προσβέντες,
εἶπερ ἡθελήκει· ἄλλοις γοῦν τισιν ὕπελάττω
αὐτοῦ κράτει γενομένους πολλὰ καὶ ὑπερογκα
πολλάκις ἑνειμαν. καὶ ὅτι γε καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀκοντε
2 ἐπραζαν, δὴλον ἐστιν. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος εὐ εἰδῶς
ὅτι πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις τοῖς ἰσχύνουσι
τι παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν γίγνεται, τὴν τε ὑπονοιαν,
καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἠθελούσιοι τι ψηφίσονται, ὃς
καὶ κατὰ βίαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν κρατούντων παρα-
σκευῆς διδόμενα ἔχει, καὶ δόξαν οὐδεμίαν τοῖς

1 δημοραστής Naber, δήμον ἱστάτης L.
2 ἐγίγνετο R. Steph., ἐγέρετο L.
cases where he would thereby please the populace and gain strength himself. But this Cato belonged to the family of the Porcii and emulated the great Cato, except that he had enjoyed a better Greek education than the former. He diligently promoted the interests of the plebs, and admired no one man, but was thoroughly devoted to the common weal. Suspicious of unlimited power, he hated any one who had grown above his fellows, but loved any one of the common people through pity for his weakness. He was becoming the friend of the people such as no one else, and indulged in outspokenness in behalf of the right, even when it involved danger. Yet he did all this not with a view to power or glory or any honour, but solely for the sake of a life of independence, free from the dictatorship of tyrants. Such was the nature of the man who now for the first time came forward and opposed the measures under consideration, not out of any hostility to Pompey, but because they were contrary to precedent.

These honours, then, they granted Pompey in his absence, but none when he had come home, though they would certainly have added others, had he wished it. At any rate they had often bestowed many extravagant distinctions upon other men who had possessed less authority than he, but it is clear that they had done so unwillingly. Now Pompey knew well that all the gifts granted by the multitude to the powerful who are in positions of authority contain the suggestion, no matter how willingly they are voted, of being forcibly granted at the instigation of the strong; and that they bring no glory to those who receive them, because
λαβοῦσιν αὐτά, ὡς καὶ μὴ παρ' ἐκόντων ἄλλα ἀναγκασθέντων, μὴ ἀπ' εἰνοιας ἄλλ' ἐκ κολα-κείας ὑπάρξαντα σφισι φέρει, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν
3 ἀρχὴν οὐδειν οὐδὲν ἐσηγήσασθαι. καὶ πολὺ γε τότῳ βελτιων εἶναι ἔλεγεν ἡ ψηφισθέντα μὴ προσίεσθαι· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ μίσος τε ἐπὶ τῇ δυναστείᾳ υφ' ἢς ἐγγυνωσκετο, καὶ ὑπερηφανίαν καὶ ύβριν τῷ μῷ δέχεσθαι τὰ διδόμενα παρὰ τῶν κρειττῶν δεδεν ἡ πάντως γε τῶν ὁμοίων ἐνεῖναι, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ τὸ δημοτικὸν ὄντως καὶ ὀνομα καὶ ἐργον, οὐκ ἀπ' ἐνδείξεως ἄλλ' 4 εξ ἅλθείας, ὑπάρχειν. τὰς γὰρ τοῦ ἄρχας καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐξω τῶν πατρίων ὀλίγου πάσας λαβῶν, τὰ γονύν ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐξ ὧν μῆτε ωφε- λῶν τινα μῆτε ὀφελούμενος φθόνον ἄλλως καὶ μίσος καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν διδόντων αὐτά σχῆσειν ἐμελλέν, οὐκ ἐδέχετο.

24 Καὶ ταύτα μεν ἀνὰ χρόνων ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαιοὶ πολέμων ἀνάπαυσιν τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους χρόνον ἔσχον, ὡστε καὶ τὸ οἰόνισμα τὸ τῆς ἱγιείας ὄνομασμένου διὰ πάννυ πολλοῦ ποιή-σαι. τούτῳ δὲ δὴ μαντείας τις πρότου ἐστὶ, πῦστὶν τινα ἔχουν εἰ ἐπιτρέπει σφίσιν ὁ θεὸς ἱγιείαν τῷ δήμῳ αἰτῆσαι, ὅτι οὐκ ὅσιον ὅν 1 οὐδὲ αἰτησιν αὐτῆς, πρὶν συγχωρηθῆναι, γενέσθαι.

2 καὶ ἐτελεύτο κατ' ἐτος ἡμέρα, ἐν ἡ 2 μηδὲν στρατόπεδου μῆτε ἐπὶ πολέμων ἐξῆι μὴν ἀντι-παρετάττετο τις 3 μῆτε ἐμάχετο, καὶ διὰ τούτο ἐν τοῖσ συνεχεῖσι κινδύνοισι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖσ ἐμφυλίοισ, οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο· ἄλλως τε γὰρ παρχά-

1 δι' inserted by St. 2 ἡμέρα εἰν ἣ Rk., ἡ ἡμέρα εἰν ἣ L.
3 τις Rk., τις L.
it is believed that they have been obtained, not from willing donors, but under compulsion, and not from good will, but as a result of flattery. Hence he did not permit any one to propose any measure whatever. This course he declared to be far better than to reject what has once been voted you: the one course arouses hatred for the high position that led to such measures being passed, and argues arrogance and insolence in not accepting what is granted you by those who think themselves your superiors or at any rate your equals; whereas by the other course you are truly democratic both in name and in fact, not merely by way of display, but in very truth. Thus Pompey, after having received practically all the offices and positions of command contrary to precedent, was now unwilling to accept any other such honours that were liable to bring him merely envy and hatred, even from the very givers, without enabling him to benefit any one or to be benefited.

All this took place in the course of time. Temporarily the Romans had a respite from war for the remainder of the year, so that they even held the so-called *augurium salutis* after a very long interval. This is a kind of augury, which is in the nature of an inquiry whether the god permits them to ask for prosperity for the people, as if it were unholy even to ask for it until permission is granted. It was observed on that day of each year on which no army was going out to war, or was preparing itself against any foes, or was fighting a battle. For this reason, amid the constant perils, especially those of civil strife, it was not observed. For it was very difficult
λεπόν σφισιν ὡς καθαρὰν ἀπὸ πάντων αὐτῶν
3 ἡμέραν ἀκριβῶς τηρήσαι, καὶ προσέπτε καὶ ἀπο-
πώτατον, κακὰ αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐστάσεσιν ἐκουσίων
ἀμύθητα ἀλλήλους παρέχοντας, καὶ μέλλοντας,
αὖ τι ἦπισθῶσιν ἂν τε καὶ νικησοῦσι, κακοῦσθαι,
ἐπευτα σωτηρίαν παρὰ τοῦ θείου προσαυτεῖν.
25 ἀμέλει καὶ τότε ἡδυνήθη μὲν πως τὸ οἰώνοιμα
ἐκεῖνο ποιηθῆναι, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ καθαρὸν ἐγένετο.
ἐξεδροῦ γὰρ τινές ὀρνιθὲς ἐπέπαντο, καὶ διὰ
τούτῳ ἀνεμαντεύσατο, καὶ ἀλλὰ τε1 αὐτοῖς
2 σημεῖα οὐκ ἁσία συνηνέχθη. κεραυνοὶ τε γὰρ
ἐν αἰθρία πολλοὶ ἐπεσον, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἱσχυρῶς
ἐσείσθη, εἴδολα τε πολλαχόθι ἀνθρώπων ἐφαντά-
σθη, καὶ λαμπάδες ἀνέκας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ
τῶν δυσμῶν ἀνέδραμον, ὡστε πάντα τινὰ καὶ
ἰδιωτὴν τὰ σημαινόμενα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν προκύναι.
3 οἱ γὰρ δήμαρχοι τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ὑπατοῦ ὁμοι-
τροπώτατον σφισιν ὡς τα προσλαβόντες, ὁ μὲν
tοὺς παῖδας τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐκπεσόντων
πρὸς τὰς ἄρχας ἤγεν, ὁ δὲ τῷ τε Παύτῳ τῷ
Πουπλίῳ καὶ τῷ Σύλλᾳ τῷ Κορηλίῳ τῷ μετ’
αὐτοῦ ἀλόντι τὸ τε βουλευέω καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν
4 ἐξεῖναι ἐδίδου. ἀλλὸς χρεὼν ἀποκοπᾶς, ἀλλὸς
κληρουχίας καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὕπηκοῊ
γενέσθαι ἐσχετείτο.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς τε τοῦ Κικέρωνος καὶ
πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμογενομονοῦντων οἱ προ-
καταληφθέντα, πρὶν ἔργον τὴν ἁπ’ αὐτῶν συμβῆ-
26 ὁτ᾿ ἡ ἐπαύθη. Τίτος δὲ δὴ Δαβίδος Γαίου Ῥαβί-
ριον ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Σατουρνίνου φόνῳ γραψάμενος
πλεῖστον σφιγὰ τάραχον παρέσχει. ὁ τε γὰρ

1 ἀλλὰ τε Dind., ἀλλὰ δὲ L.
for them in any case to determine accurately upon a
day free from all such disturbances, and furthermore
it would be most absurd, when they were voluntarily
causing one another unspeakable woes through party
strife and were destined to suffer ills whether they
were defeated or victorious, that they should still
ask Heaven for safety. Nevertheless, it was in some
some way possible at that time for the divination
to be held; but it did not prove to be regular, since
some birds flew up from an unlucky quarter, and so it
was repeated. Other unlucky omens, too, occurred.
Many thunderbolts fell from a clear sky, the earth
was mightily shaken, and human apparitions were
visible in many places, and in the west flashes of fire
darted up into heaven, so that any one, even a lay-
man, was bound to know in advance what was signified
by them. For the tribunes united with Antonius,
the consul, who was very much like themselves in
character, and one of them supported for office the
sons of those exiled by Sulla, while a second wished
to grant to Publius Paetus and to Cornelius Sulla,
who had been convicted with him, the right to be
members of the senate and to hold office; another
made a motion for a cancelling of debts, and yet
another for allotments of land to be made both in
Italy and in the subject territory.
These motions were taken in hand betimes by
Cicero and those who were of the same mind as he,
and were suppressed before any action resulted from
them. Titus Labienus, however, by indicting Gaius
Rabirius for the murder of Saturninus caused the
greatest disorder. Saturninus had been killed some
Σατουρνίνος πρὸ ἐξ που καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἐτεθνηκεί, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ὑπατοί τὸτε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς προσετέκαθατο, ὡστε ἡ γερουσία ἀκυρὸς ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἐκεῖνο τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγένετο. κάκ τούτον πᾶς ὁ κόσμος τῆς πολιτείας ἑταράττετο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὁβίριος οὐδ' ὁμολογεῖ τὸν φόνον, ἀλλὰ ἄπαρνοῃ ὡς ὁ δὲ δήμαρχος τὴν τε ἱσχὺν καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς βουλῆς καταλῦσαι παντελῶς ἐσπουδαζόν, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐαυτοῖς τοῦ πάνθ' ὅσα βουλοῦντο.

3 ποιεῖν προπαρεσκεύαζον διὰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ τὰ τε τῷ συνεδρίῳ δόξαντα καὶ τὰ πρὸ τοσοῦτον ἐτῶν πραγμάτων εὐθύνεσθαι τοῖς τε τὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἄδεια ἐδίδοτο καὶ αἵ τιμορίαι αὐτῶν ἐκολοῦντο. ἡ οὖν γερουσία δεινὸν μὲν καὶ ἄλλως ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι ἀνδρὰς ὑπελευνῆν μῆτ' ἀδικοῦντα τὶ καὶ ἐς γῆρας ἐς προεληφθήνατα ἀπολείποντα, πολλῷ δὲ δὴ μᾶλλον ἠγανάκτει ὅτι τὸ τοῦ πρόσχημα τῆς πολιτείας διεβάλλετο καὶ τὰ πράγματα τοῖς φαινοτάτοις ἐπετρέπτο. σπονδαίτε τὰν τραχώδεις καὶ φιλονεκίας ὁφ' ἐκατέρων περὶ τοῦ δικαστηρίου, τῶν μὲν ὅπως μὴ συναχθῇ, τῶν δὲ ἵνα καθιζήσῃ δικαιοῦντων, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἔτοις διὰ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ δὴ ἄλλους τίνας ἐπίκησε, περὶ γε τῆς κρίσεως αὐθεὶς συνεβησαν.

27 Καὶ ἢν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Δοῦκλου δικάζων (οὐ γὰρ ἄπλως, ἀλλὰ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον περιδουλωτῶν ὁ Ὅβιριος ἑκρίθη), κατεγισάσαντο αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοι μὴ πρὸς τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατη-

1 τοῦ Leuncl., τόπτου L. 2 ἀνδρὰ Bk., καὶ ἀνδρὰ L. 3 γε Bk., τῃ L.
thirty-six years earlier, and the fight waged against him by the consuls of the period had been at the direction of the senate. Hence, as a result of the proposed trial, the senate would lose the authority to enforce its decrees. In consequence the whole order of the state was being disturbed; for Rabirius did not even admit the murder, but denied it. The tribunes, however, were eager to overthrow completely the power and the dignity of the senate and were first preparing for themselves authority to do whatever they pleased. For the investigation of acts which had received the approval of the senate and had been committed so many years before tended to give immunity to those who might attempt to imitate Saturninus' conduct, and to render ineffective the punishments for such deeds. Now the senate thought it outrageous in any case that a man of senatorial rank, guilty of no crime and now well advanced in years, should perish, and was all the more enraged because the dignity of the state was being attacked and control of affairs was being entrusted to the vilest men. Hence there arose turbulent factions and contentions about the court, the one party demanding that it should not be convened and the other that it should. When the latter party won, because of Caesar and some others, there was another clash regarding the character of the trial. Caesar himself was judge together with Lucius Caesar, for the charge against Rabirius was no ordinary one, but that of *perduellio*, as it was called; and they condemned him, although they had not been chosen according to precedent by the people, but by the praetor himself, which was not
3 γνώρισαν αἱρεθέντες, καὶ ἐφήκε μὲν ὁ Ραβίριος, πάντως δ᾿ ἂν καὶ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ἐάλω, εἰ μὴ ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ οἰωνιστής τε ὁν καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐνεπόδισεν ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὕτε ἄλλωσ ἐπείθοντό ὦ, οὐδ’ ὅτι παρὰ τὰ νεομισμένα ἡ κρίσις ἐγέγονεν ἐνεδυμοῦντο, ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸ Ἰανίκουλον πρὶν καὶ ὅτιον σφας ψηφίζασθαι, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κατέσπασον, ὡστε μηδέν ἐτ’ αὐτοῖς ἔξειναι διαγνώναι.

28 Τοῦτο δέ, τὸ κατὰ τὸ σημεῖον, τοιοῦτο τι ἐστὶ πολλῶν τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολεμῶν τῇ πόλει προσυκοῦντων, φοβουμένω ἡ ποτε ἐκκλησιαζόντων σφῶν κατά τοὺς λόγους ἐπίθωσεν τινες τῇ πόλει τὸ Ἰανίκουλον καταλαβόντες, ἐνόμισαν ἡ πάντες ἀμα ψηφίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τινὰς αἰεὶ ἐνοπλοὺς τὸ 2 χωρίον ἐκεῖνο ἐκ διαδεχὴς φυλάττειν. καὶ αὐτό, ἔως μὲν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἤν, ἐφρούρουν, ὅποτε δὲ διαλυθῆσθαι ἐμελλε, τὸ τε σημεῖον καθηρεῖτο καὶ οἱ φύλακες ἀπηλλάσσοντο οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν ἡ μη φρουρομένου τοῦ χωρίου ἐκείνου οὔθεν ἔτι χρη-

3 ματισθῆναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν μόναις ταῖς κατὰ τοὺς λόγους ἀθροίζομέναι ἐκκλησίαις ἐγένετο, ὅτι τε ἔξω τοῦ τείχους, καὶ ὅτι πάντες οἱ τά ὀπλα ἐχουστεν ἰαγνὴν εἴχουν ἐς αὐτάς συνιέναι καὶ ἔτι 1 καὶ νῦν ὀσίας ἐνεκα ποιεῖται.

4 Οὕτω μὲν ὅτε ἡ τε ἐκκλησία καθαιρεθέντος τοῦ σημείου διελύθη καὶ ὁ Ραβίριος ἐσώθη ἐξῆν μὲν γὰρ τῷ Λαβινῷ καὶ αὐτὸς δικάσασθαι, οὐ 29 μέντοι καὶ ἑποίησεν αὐτό· ὁ δὲ ὅτι Κατιλίνας ὁδὸς τε καὶ διὰ τάδε ἀπόλετο.

"Εδοξε τῇ Βουλῇ, τὴν ὑπατείαν καὶ τὸτε

1 ἵτι Βκ., ἵτι τε Λ.
lawful. Rabirius appealed, and would certainly have been convicted by the people also, had not Metellus Celer, who was an augur and praetor, prevented it. When nothing else would cause them to heed him and they were unconcerned by the fact that the trial had been held in a manner contrary to custom, he ran up to the Janiculum before they took any vote at all, and pulled down the military flag, so that it was no longer lawful for them to reach a decision.

Now this matter of the flag is as follows. In ancient times there were many enemies dwelling near the city, and the Romans, fearing that while they were holding a centuriate assembly by centuries foes might occupy the Janiculum and attack the city, decided that not all should vote at once, but that some men under arms should by turns always guard that position. So they guarded it as long as the assembly lasted, but when this was about to be adjourned, the flag was pulled down and the guards departed; for no further business could be transacted when the post was not guarded. This practice was observed only in the case of the centuriate assemblies, for these were held outside the wall and all who bore arms were obliged to attend them. Even to this day it is done as a matter of form.

So on that occasion, when the signal was pulled down, the assembly was adjourned and Rabirius was saved. Labienus, indeed, had the right to bring suit again, but he did not do so.

As for Catiline, his ruin was brought about in the manner and for the reasons which I shall now narrate. When he was again seeking the consulship at this
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αἰτήσαντος αὐτοῦ ἕκατον ὅπως ἀποδειχθῇ μηχανομένου, δέκα ἐτῶν φυγῆν, τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐνάγοντο, τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ δεκασῳδῷ τεταγμένοις προσ-2 νομοθετήσαι. τούτῳ οὖν καὶ ἐκείνος δι’ ἕαυτόν, ὅπερ ποι καὶ ἄλλης ἦν, ἐγνώσθαι νομίσας ἐπε-χείρησε μὲν, χείρα τινα παρασκευάσας, τὸν Κικέρωνα καὶ ἄλλους τινάς τῶν πρώτων ἐν αὐτάς ταῖς ἀρχαιοστίας, ἵνα ὑπάτους εὐθὺς χειροτονηθῇ,

3 φονεύσαι, οὐκ ἡδυνήθη δὲ. ὁ γὰρ Κικέρων προ-μάθων τὸ ἐπιβουλευμα τῆτε γερονσία ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ καὶ κατηγορίαν αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ἐποίησατο· ἐπειδή τε οὐκ ἐπεισὲ σφας ἐγνώσασθαί τι ὄν ἧξιον (οὔτε γὰρ πιθανὰ ἐξηγγελκεῖναι καὶ δία τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἐχθραν καταψυχᾶσθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑποτεύθη), ἐφοβήθη ἀτε καὶ προσπαραξυγκῳδ

4 τὸν Κατιλίναν, καὶ οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἀπλῶς ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐσελθεῖν ὅστερ εἰσβει, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε ἐπιτηδείους συνεπηγάγοτο παρεσκευασμένους ἀμύναν τί εἰ τε δεινὸν γένοιτο, καὶ θύρακα, τῆς τε ἐαυτοῦ ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων διαβολῆς ἑνεκα, ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν ἐσθήτα, παραφαίνου δ' αὐτοῦ

5 ἐξεπιτήδεως, ἐνεδύσατο. ἐκ τε οὖν τούτου, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἄλλος φήμη τοὶ ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐπιβουλεῦσται, ὅ τε δήμος δεινὸς ἡγανάκτησε καὶ οἱ συνομομο-κότες τὸ Κατιλίνα φοβηθέντες αὐτὸν ἰσχύσαν.

30 Καὶ οὕτως ὑπάτοι τε ἐτεροὶ ἱρέθησαν, καὶ ἐκείνος οὐκέτι λάβρα, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα τοῖς τε σὺν αὐτῷ μονοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ 2 κοίνον τῆν ἐπιβουλὴν συνίστη. ἔκ γὰρ τῆς

1 aútō supplied by Bs. 2 γένοετο Bk., γένοετο L.
time and contriving in every way possible to be elected, the senate decreed, chiefly at the instance of Cicero, that banishment for ten years should be added by law to the penalties established for bribery. Catiline, accordingly, believed that this decree had been passed on his account, as was indeed the case; and so, after collecting a small band, he attempted to slay Cicero and some others of the foremost men on the very day of the election, in order that he might immediately be chosen consul. But he was unable to carry out his plot; for Cicero learned of it in season, and informed the senate of it, delivering a severe arraignment of Catiline. Being unsuccessful, however, in persuading them to vote any of the measures he asked, since his announcement was not regarded as credible and he was suspected of having uttered false charges against the men because of personal enmity, Cicero became frightened, now that he had given Catiline additional provocation. He did not venture to enter the assembly alone, as had been his custom, but took his friends along prepared to defend him if any danger threatened; and partly for his own safety and partly to arouse prejudice against his foes, he wore beneath his clothing a breastplate, which he was careful to allow people to see. For this reason and because in other ways, too, some report had spread of a plot against him, the people became very indignant and the fellow-conspirators of Catiline in their fear of Cicero kept quiet.

In this way new consuls were chosen, and Catiline no longer directed his plot in secret or against Cicero and his adherents only, but against the whole commonwealth. He assembled from Rome itself
'Ρώμης αὐτῆς τούς τε κακίστους καὶ κατανὺν ἀεὶ ποτε πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμητάς, κακὸς τῶν συμμάχων ὡς ὅτι πλείστους, χρεῷν τε ἅποκοπᾶς καὶ γῆς ἀναδασμοὺς, ἀλλὰ τε ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα δελεάσειν αὐτοῦς ἤμελλεν, ὑπεισχυνοῦμενος σφισὶ συνήγε. καὶ τοὺς γε πρῶτους αὐτῶν καὶ δυνατωτάτους (ὅσαν ἐὰν ἄλλοι καὶ 'Ἀντώνιος ὁ ὑπάτος) καὶ ἐς ἀδεμίτων ὁρκωμοσίων ἀνάγκην προῆγαγεν παῖδα γὰρ τινὰ καταθύσας, καὶ ἔτι τῶν σπλάγχων αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄρκια ποιῆσας, ἐπειτ' ἐσπλάγχνευσέν αὐτὰ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων. συνεπραττόν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὁ τε ὑπάτος καὶ ὁ Λέωντος ὁ Πούπλιος ὁ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας ἐκπεσὼν (ἔστρατηγεί γὰρ ὅπως τὴν βουλεύαν ἀναλάβῃ), τὰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Φαισούλαις, ἐς ὅς οἱ στασιώται αὐτοῦ συνελέγοντο, Γαϊὸς τις Μάλλιος, τὸν τε πολεμικὸν ἐμπειρότατον (μετὰ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Σύλλου λοχαγῶν ἐστράτευτον) καὶ πολυτα- πανώτατον ὃ περί σύμπαντα γοῦν ὅσα τότε ἐκτήσατο, καὶ περὶ τάμπολλα ὅρτα, κακῶς κατανυ- λώσας ἐτέρῳ ἐργοῖς ὁμοίων ἐπεθύμει. Παρασκευασμένων οὖν ταῦτα αὐτῶν, μηνυται τῷ Κικέρωνι πρότερα μὲν τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀστεί γεγρα- μένα διὰ γραμμάτων τινῶν, ὧ τοῦ μὲν γράψαντα οὐκ ἔδηλον, τῷ δὲ δὴ Κράσσῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐδόθη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶς δόγμα ἐκυρώθη, ταραχὴν δὲ εἶναι καὶ ξήθησαν τῶν αἰτέων αὐτῆς 2 γενέσθαι· δεύτερα δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Τυροσηνίδος, καὶ προσεπηφίσαντο τοῖς ὑπάτοις τῆς φυλακῆς τῆς 3 τὸν Xyl. τὸ καὶ τὸ 2 καὶ added by Xyl. 3 προῆγαγε Rk. προῆγαγεν L. 4 το R. Steph., αὐτ L. 5 ἐστράτευτο Turn., ἐστράτευτο L.
the lowest characters and such as were always eager for a revolution and as many as possible of the allies, by promising them the cancelling of debts, distribution of lands, and everything else by which he was most likely to tempt them. Upon the foremost and most powerful of them, including Antonius the consul, he imposed the obligation of taking a monstrous oath. For he sacrificed a boy, and after administering the oath over his vitals, ate these in company with the others. Those who coöperated with him most closely were: in Rome, the consul and Publius Lentulus, who, after his consulship, had been expelled from the senate and was now serving as praetor, in order to gain senatorial rank again; at Faesulæ, where the men of his party were collecting, one Gaius Manilius, who was well-versed in warfare, having served among Sulla's centurions, and also the greatest possible spendthrift. Certain it was that he had run through all that he had gained at that epoch, although a vast sum, by his evil practices, and was now eager for other similar exploits.

While they were making these preparations information came to Cicero, first, of what was occurring in the city, through some letters which did not indicate the writer but were given to Crassus and certain others of the optimates; and upon their publication a decree was passed that a state of disorder existed and that a search should be made for those responsible for it. Next came the news from Etruria, whereupon they further voted to the consuls the custody of the
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te pόleως καὶ τῶν ὄλων αὐτής πραγμάτων, καθάπερ εἰσώθεσαν καὶ γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ δόγματι προσεγγάφη τὸ διὰ φροντίδος αὐτοῦς σχεῖν ὡστε
3 μηδεμίαν ἀποτριβήν τῷ δημοσίῳ συμβῆναι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ φουράς πολλαχόθει καταστάσεις τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀστεί οὐκέτι ἐνεστερίσθη, ὡστε καὶ ἐπὶ συκοφαντία τῶν Κικέρωνα διαβληθεῖναι, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Τυρσηνῶν ἀγγελλόμενα τὴν τε αὐτίαν ἐπιστόσατο καὶ βλαζ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς γραφήν τῷ Κατιλίνα παρεσκεύασε.

32 Καὶ ὅς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ πάνυ αὐτὴν ἑτοίμως, ὥσ καὶ ἄπο ἤρρητοῦ τοῦ συνειδότος, ἐδέξατο, καὶ πρὸς τῇ τὴν δίκην δῆθεν ἥτοιμαζετο, καὶ τῷ Κικέρωνα αὐτῷ τηρεῖν εαυτὸν, ὅπως δὴ μὴ φύγῃ που, 2 παρεδίδου. μὴ προσδεξαμένου δὲ ἐκείνου τὴν φοινικάν αὐτοῦ, παρὰ τῷ Μετέλλῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν διαίταν ἐκούσιος ἐποιεῖτο, ὅν ἡ ἦκιστα ὑποπτεύθη νεωτερίζειν τι, μέχρις ἐν καὶ ἐκ τῶν
3 αὐτὸθε συνυμμοτῶν ἵσχυρὸν τῷ προσλάβῃ. ὡς δ’ οὐδέν οἱ προεχώρει (ὁ τε γὰρ Ἀντώνιος φοβηθεὶς ὑπεστέλλετο καὶ ὁ Δέντουλος ἢκιστα δραστήριος ἦν), προείπεν αὐτοῖς νυκτὸς ἐσ ὀικίαι τω συλλεγόναι, καὶ λαθῶν τὸν Μετέλλὸν ἐλθέ τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπετίμησε σφυσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀτολμία 4 καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μαλακίᾳ. καὶ τούτῳ διέξελθον ὡσα τε πείσοιτο φωραθέντες καὶ ὡσων τεῦξοιτο κατορθώσαντες, οὕτως αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπέρρωσε καὶ παρώζουν ὦσθ’ ὑποσχέσθαι δύο τινάς ἐσ τε τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος οἰκίαι ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρα ἐσάξειν
33 κάνταυθα αὐτὸν φονεύσειν. ὡς δε καὶ τούτῳ προεμνύθη (ὁ γὰρ Κικέρων πολὺ δυνάμενος, ἵσης Dind., ἵσης L.

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city and of all its interests, as was their custom; for to this decree was added the command that they should take care that no harm came to the state. When this had been done and garrisons had been stationed at many points, there was no further sign of revolution in the city, insomuch that Cicero was even falsely charged with blackmail; but the messages from the Etruscans confirmed the accusation, and led to the indictment of Catiline for violence.

Catiline at first welcomed this heartily, as if supported by a good conscience, and pretended to make ready for the trial, even offering to surrender himself to Cicero, so that the latter, as he put it, could watch and see that he did not escape anywhere. As Cicero, however, refused to take charge of him, he voluntarily took up his residence at the house of Metellus the praetor, in order that he might be as free as possible from the suspicion of promoting a revolution until he should gain some additional strength from the conspirators there in the city. But he made no headway at all, since Antonius shrank back through fear and Lentulus was anything but energetic. Accordingly, he gave them notice to assemble by night at a certain house, where he met them without Metellus' knowledge and upbraided them for their timidity and weakness. Next he set forth in detail the many penalties they would suffer if they were detected and the many advantages they would obtain if successful, and by this means encouraged and incited them to such a point that two men promised to rush into Cicero's house at daybreak and murder him there. This plot, too, was divulged, since Cicero, being a man of great influence,
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συχνούσ τε ἐκ τῶν συνηγορημάτων τοὺς μὲν ὀικειούμενοι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκφοβῶν, πολλοὺς τοὺς διαγγέλλοντας οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔσχε), μεταστήναι ἡ γερουσία τῶν Κατιλίναν ἔψηφίσατο.

2. Καὶ ὁς ἀσμένως τε ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταῦτη ἐξεπέρησε, καὶ πρὸς τὰς Φαισούλας ἐλθὼν τὸν τε πόλεμον ἀντικρὺς ἀνείλετο, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὴν σκέψιν τῶν ὑπάτων λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς προσϕυείς ἀρχόμενος ύπὸ τοῦ Μαλλίου συνεκρότει, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἄλλους τινάς, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἑλευθέρων,

3. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν δούλων, προσεποιεῖτο. ὅθεν περ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν τε βλαν αὐτοῦ κατεψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὸν Ἅγιόν ὕπς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀγνοοῦντες ποὺ τὴν συνομοσίαν σφῶν, ἐστείλαν, αὐτοὶ τε τὴν ἐσθήτα μετέβαλον. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα

4. καὶ ὁ Κικέρων κατὰ χώραν ἐμείνει εἰλήξας γὰρ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἀρξαί, οὕτω δὲ ἔκειν (τῷ γὰρ συνάρχοντι αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰς δίκας στουδῆν ἐξέστη) οὕτω ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν πλησίον, ἢν ἀντέλαβε, διὰ τὰ παρόντα ἔξπλασεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποίησατο, ἐς δὲ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὸν Μέτελλον, ὅπως μὴ καὶ ὁ Κατιλίνας αὐτὴν σφετερίζοντα, ἐπεμψε.

34. Καὶ ἐν καιρῷ γε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατέμεινε. παρασκευαζόμενον γὰρ τοῦ Δευτούλου καταπρίσασί τε τινας καὶ σφαγὰς ἐργάσασθαι μετὰ τε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνομοσκότων καὶ μετὰ Ἀλλοβρίγων, οὐς κατὰ πρεσβείαν παρόντας

1 καὶ R. Steph., καὶ L.
2 τινα is probably corrupt, though Rk. supplied σπουδαία ("blocks of houses"). Bk. suggested τὸ άστυ ("the city") in place of τινα.
and one who gained many followers through his speeches, either by conciliation or by intimidation, had many men to report such occurrences to him; and the senate voted that Catiline should leave the city.

He gladly withdrew on this excuse, and went to Faesulae, where he took up the war openly. Assuming the name and dress of the consuls, he proceeded to organize the men previously collected by Manlius, meanwhile gaining accessions, first of freemen, and then even of slaves. The Romans accordingly convicted him of violence, and sent Antonius to the war,—being ignorant, of course, of his part in the conspiracy,—while they themselves changed their apparel. Cicero, too, remained on the spot because of this crisis. For although he had drawn the province of Macedonia, he neither set out for that country—retiring in favour of his colleague because of his interest in the prosecutions—nor yet for Hither Gaul, which he had obtained in its place, in view of the existing situation. Instead, he charged himself with the protection of the city, but sent Metellus to Gaul to prevent Catiline from securing it.

It was extremely opportune for the Romans that he remained. For Lentulus made preparations to burn down [the city?] and commit murder with the aid of his fellow-conspirators and of Allobroges, who while present on an embassy were persuaded to join

1 The well-known practice on the occasion of a public calamity. Cf. ch. 40, 2; also xxxviii. 14, 7 and xl. 46, 1.
2 ἀνέπεσε συμφρονήσαί τε αὐτῷ... καὶ συλλαβῆσαν τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὴν σταλέντας ἐς τε τὸ βουλευτήριον μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐσήγαγε, καὶ ἀδειαν αὐτοῖς δοὺς πᾶσαν οὕτω τὴν συνωμοσίαν ἴλεγχε. κακὸς τούτου ὁ Δέντολος ἀπειπεῖν τὴν στρατηγίαν ὑπὸ τῆς γεροντίας ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐν φρουρᾷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συλληφθέντων ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ
3 ἀνεξετῶντο. καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὅμοιος ἔρεσε, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπειδὴ, τοῦ Κικέρωνος δημηγοροῦντός τι περὶ αὐτῶν, τὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦ τοῦ Δίως ἐς τε τὸ Καπητώλιον παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνιδρύθη καὶ κατὰ τὴν υφήγησιν τῶν μάντεων πρὸς τε τὰς ἀνατολάς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἁγο-
4 ρὰν βλέπον ἀνετέθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τε συνωμοσίαν του Training ἔβλεψαν σεσθεῖν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἁγάλματος στάσεως 1 εἰρήκεσαν, καὶ ἡ ἀνάθεσις αὐτοῦ τοῖς φοραθεῖσι συνέβαινε, τὸ τε θεῖον ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ τοὺς τὴν αἰτίαν ἱατοῦν ἀνθρώπινος δι' ὀρ-
γῆς μᾶλλον ἐποιοῦντο.
35 Διήλθε μὲν οὖν λόγος ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶχ, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν συλληφθέντων τις ἐμήνυσεν, οὐ μέντοι πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν, οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἠρχὴν οὐδ' ἠξίουν τοιοῦτο τι ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπ-
2 οπτεῖσθεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαιτίων ὑπετόποιν αὐτὸ, ὅτε θείας τινος διὰ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πλείστον ἐδύνατο, τόμωσι, λογοποιεῖσθαι. εἰ δ' οὖν τισί καὶ πιστῶν ἐδόκει εἰναι, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐν ἐδικαίουν ἀνδρα τε ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις σφῶν ὃντα ἀπολέσει 2 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ πλείον ἐκταράξαι.
3 "Ἔστε τοῦτο μὲν παντελῶς διέπεσε· παρα-
σκευαζόμενοι δὲ δὴ πολλῶν καὶ δούλων καὶ
1 στάσεως Gros, πτάσεως L. 2 ἀπολέσαι Rk., ἀπολέσαι L.
him... [Cicero] arrested the men sent to carry it out (?) and brought them with their letters into the senate-chamber, where, by granting them immunity, he showed up the whole conspiracy. As a consequence Lentulus was forced by the senate to resign the praetorship, and was kept under guard along with the others arrested while the other conspirators were being sought. These measures were equally pleasing to the people, especially so, because while Cicero was addressing them on the subject the statue of Jupiter was set up on the Capitol, at the very time of the assembly, and by instructions of the soothsayers was placed so as to face the east and the Forum. For these seers had decided that some conspiracy would be brought to light by the erection of the statue, and when its setting up coincided with the discovery of the conspirators, the people magnified the divine power and were the more angry at the accused.

Now a report spread that Crassus was also among them, and even one of the men arrested gave this information; nevertheless, few believed it. Some thought they had no right to suspect him of such a thing for a moment; others regarded it as a story trumped up by the accused, in order that they might thereby receive some aid from him, because he possessed the greatest influence. And if it did seem credible to some, at least they did not see fit to ruin one of their foremost men and to disquiet the city still further. Consequently this charge fell through utterly.

Now many slaves and freemen as well, some
€λευθέρων, τῶν μὲν ὑπὸ δέους, τῶν δὲ καὶ σικτῷ τοῦ τε Δεντούλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐξαρπάσαι πάντας αὐτοὺς ὅπως μὴ ἀποθάνωσι, προπυθόμενος τούθ᾽ ὁ Κικέρων τὸ τε Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὴν ἄγω.

4 Ῥᾷν τῆς νυκτὸς φρουρᾶ προκατέσχε, καί τινα παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου χρηστήν ἑλπίδα ἁμα τῇ ἐφ λαβών, ὅτε ιερῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου ποιηθέντων τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ μακρότατον παρὰ τὸ εἰκός ἣρθη, τὸν μὲν δήμου τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὀρκώσατι ἐς τὸν κατάλογον, εἰ δή τις χρεία στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο, ἐκελεύσει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τουτῷ τὴν βούλην ἦθροισε, καὶ σφας συνταράξας τε καὶ ἐκφοβήσας ἐπεισεθάνατο τῶν συνελημμένων καταγρῶναι.

36 Ἕγενοντο μὲν γὰρ ἀμφίβολοι, καὶ παρ᾽ ὄλιγον αὐτοῦς ἀπέλυσαν. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ, πάντων τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ψηφισαμένων ἀποθανεῖν σφας, γνώμην ἐδώκει δήσατί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐς πόλεις ἄλλους ἄλλη 2 καταθέσαι, τῶν οὐσίων ἐστερημένους, ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε περὶ ἁδείας ἐτε αὐτῶν χρηματισθήναι τῷ ποτε, καὶ διαδρᾶ 1 τις, ἐν πολεμών μοῦρα τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἡς ἀν φύγῃ εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο πάντες οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποφημάμενοι μέχρι τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐφησάσατο, ὅστε καὶ τῶν προτέρων τινὰς 3 μεταγρῶναι. 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως αὐτὸς τε τὸν θάνατον αὐτῶν κατεδίκασε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας ὀμοψήφους ἐποιήσατο, οὕτω δὴ ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐκ τῆς νικώσης ἐκολάσθησαν, καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ θυσία

1 διαδρᾶ Dind., διαδράσῃ L.
2 μεταγρῶναι Turn., καταγρῶναι L.
through fear and others out of pity for Lentulus and the rest, made preparations to deliver them all forcibly and rescue them from death. Cicero learned of this beforehand and occupied the Capitol and the Forum by night with a garrison. At dawn he received some divine inspiration to hope for the best; for in the course of sacrifices conducted in his house by the Vestals in behalf of the populace, the fire, contrary to custom, shot up to a very great height. Accordingly, he ordered the praetors to administer the oath of enlistment to the populace, in case there should be any need of soldiers; meanwhile he himself convened the senate, and by exciting and terrifying the members, he persuaded them to condemn to death those who had been arrested.

Now the senators had been at variance, and had come near setting them free. For while all before Caesar had voted that they should be put to death, he expressed the opinion that they should be imprisoned and placed in various cities after having their property confiscated, on the condition that there should never be any further deliberation concerning their pardon, and that if any one of them should escape, the city from which he fled should be considered in the light of an enemy. Then all who subsequently made known their views, until it came to Cato, voted this same way, so that some of the first also changed their minds. But the fact that Cato gave sentence of death against them caused all the rest to vote similarly. So the conspirators were punished by the decision of the majority, and a sacrifice and period of festival over
καὶ ἱερομηνία ἐψηφίσθη, ὁ μηπώποτε ἐπὶ τοιοῦτῳ τινὶ ἐγεγόνει καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μηνυθέντες ἐξη
tούντο, καὶ τενές καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μελλῆσαι συμ-
φρονήσειν αὐτοῖς ὑποπτευθέντες εὐθύνοντο. καὶ
tὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἱ ὑπατοὶ διώκουν, Ἀὔλον δὲ Φοῦλ-
ωνον ἀνδρὰ βουλευτὴν αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέσφαξεν,
οὕτι γε καὶ μόνος, ὡς γέ τισι δοκεῖ, τούτ' ἐν
ἱδιωτείᾳ ποιήσας· συνχολ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἄλλοι, οὐχ
ὅτι ὑπατοὶ ἄλλα καὶ ἰδιῶται, παῖδας σφων ἀπέκτειναν.

37 Τότε μὲν δὴ τόδε ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰς αἰρέσεις τῶν
ἰερέων, γράφαντος μὲν τοῦ λαβιήνου, σπουδά-
σαντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐκ τῶν δήμων αὕτως ὁ
δμιλός παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Σύλλου νόμον ἐπανήγαγεν,
ἀνανεωσάμενος τὸν τοῦ Δομιτίου. ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ
τοῦ Μετέλλου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς τελευτησάντος τῆς
τε ἱερωσύνης αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοιούτοι καὶ νέοι καὶ μηδέπω

2 ἐστρατηγικῶς, ἑπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐν τῷ πλήθει
τὴν ἐξπίδα αὐτῆς, διὰ τε τάλλα καὶ ὁτι τῶν τῶν
λαβιήνῳ κατὰ τοῦ Ῥαβιρίου συνηγώνιστο 1 καὶ
tῶν Δεντουλοῦ ἀποθανέων οὐκ ἐψηφίστο, λαβὼν
τοῦτο τὸ ἐπραξε, καὶ ἀρχιέρεως τῶν ποντικῶν,
καὶ περ ἄλλων τῇ τῆς τιμῆς πολλῶν καὶ τοῦ
Κατουλοῦ μάλιστα ἀντιποιουμένων, ἀπεδείχθη.

3 καὶ γὰρ θεραπεύσαι καὶ κολακεύσαι πάντα τινὰ
cαὶ τῶν πυγμάτων ἐτοιμάτατος ἐγένετο, καὶ οὗτο
λόγον οὔτε ἐργον οὐδενὸς ἐς τὸ κατατυχεῖν ὁν
ἐσπούδαζεν 2 ἡσίατο· οὐδὲ ἐμελεύν οἱ τῆς αὐτίκα
ταπεινώτητος πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπείτα ἱσχύν, ἀλλ'
them was decreed—a thing that had never before happened from any such cause. Others also against whom information was lodged were sought out, and some incurred suspicion and were called to account for merely intending to join the conspiracy. The consuls conducted most of the investigations, but Aulus Fulvius, a senator, was slain by his own father; and the latter was not the only private individual, as some think, who ever acted thus. There were many others, that is to say, not only consuls, but private individuals as well, who slew their sons. This was the course of affairs at that time.

The priestly elections, on motion of Labienus supported by Caesar, were again referred by the plebs to the people, contrary to the law of Sulla, but by a renewal of the law of Domitius. For Caesar at the death of Metellus Pius was eager for his priesthood, although he was young and had not yet served as praetor. Basing his hopes of it upon the multitude, therefore, especially because he had helped Labienus against Rabirius and had not voted for the death of Lentulus, he accomplished his purpose and was elected pontifex maximus, in spite of the fact that many others, and Catulus in particular, were his rivals for the honour. This was because he showed himself perfectly ready to serve and flatter everybody, even ordinary persons, and shrank from no speech or action in order to get possession of the objects for which he strove. He did not mind temporary grovelling when weighed against subsequent power, and he cringed as before superiors.
δὲν ἐπειδὴ ἐπτεύσαι, τούτους ὡς καὶ κρείττονας ὑπήρχετο.

38 Τῷ μὲν οὖν Καίσαρι διὰ ταῦθ' οἱ πολλοὶ προσφιλεῖσι ἦσαν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κικέρωνα ἐν ὀργῇ ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν πολιτῶν θανάτῳ ποιοῦμενοι τὰ τῇ ἀλλὰ ἡχθαίρον, καὶ τέλος ἄπολογείσθαί τε καὶ καταλέξαι παῦθ' ὡσα ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ἐπεποίηκε τῇ 2 τελευταίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμέρα ἐθελήσαντα (πάνυ γὰρ που ἡδέως οὖν ὅπως ὦφ' ἐτέρων ἐπηνείτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεκωμίαζεν) ἐσίγασαν, οὐδὲ ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ ἔξω τι τοῦ ὅρκου φθέγξασθαι, συναγωνιστῇ Μετέλλῳ Νέπωτι δημαρ-χούντι χρησάμενοι, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἀντιφι-λονεικής προσεπώμοσεν ὅτι σεσωκὼς τὴν πόλιν εἶναι.

39 Καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐκ τούτου πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐμισῆθη, Κατιλίνας δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ εὑρίσκω τοῦ ἐτούς ἐν ὁ Ἰουνίως τοῦ Σιλαίος καὶ Λούκιος Δικύνιος ἦρξαν ἀπεφθάρην. τέως μὲν γὰρ καίπερ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλγηθεὶς ἐχων ἐκαραδόκει τα τοῦ δεινοῦ και διέμελλεν ἐπίτιζουν, ἀν φθάσωσιν δὲ τοῦ Κικέρων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ σφαγέντες, ῥαδίως τὰ λοιπὰ 2 προσκατεργάσεσθαι. ἔπει δὲ ἐκεῖνον τοῖς ἀπολο- λοῖς ἐπιθέτο καὶ τῶν συνόντων οἱ συγχωνεὶς μεθίσταμένους διὰ τοῦτ' ἤσθετο, ὅ τε Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Μετέλλος ὁ Κέλερ πρὸς ταῖς Φαισούλαις προσ- εδρεύοντες ὀνδαὶ ἐπελθείοντι αὐτῷ ἐπέτρεφον, ἀποκινδυνεύσας ἤναγκάσθη, καὶ (ἡσαν γὰρ δίχα ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι) πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐτράπετο.
to the very men whom he was endeavouring to dominate.

Toward Caesar, accordingly, the masses were well disposed, for the reasons given, but they were angry at Cicero for the death of the citizens, and displayed their enmity in many ways. Finally, when on the last day of his office he desired to present his account and defence of all that he had done in his consulship,—for he certainly did take great pleasure not only in being praised by others but also in extolling himself,—they made him keep silent and did not allow him to utter a word outside of his oath; in this they had Metellus Nepos, the tribune, to aid them. Nevertheless, Cicero, doing his best to resist them, added to his oath the statement that he had saved the city; and for this he incurred much greater hatred.

Catiline perished at the very opening of the year in which Junius Silanus and Lucius Licinius held office. For a while, although he had no small force, he had watched the movements of Lentulus and delayed, in the hope that if Cicero and his adherents should be slain in time he could easily carry out his remaining plans. But when he ascertained that Lentulus had perished and that many of his followers had deserted for that reason, he was compelled to risk all on a battle, especially since Antonius and Metellus Celer, who were besieging Faesulac, did not allow him to advance anywhere. As the two were encamped separately, he proceeded against Antonius,
καίπερ τῷ ἀξιώματι προέχοντα τοῦ Μετέλλουν
3 καὶ δύναμιν πλείω περιβεβλημένον. αἰτιον δὲ ὅτι ἐλπίδα αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ συνόμοσιν ἐθέλοκα-
κήσειν ἔσχεν. ὑποπτεύσας οὖν τούτ᾽ ἐκεῖνος, καὶ μήτε δι᾽ εὐνοίας ἐτ᾽ αὐτῷ ἄτε ἄσθενεὶ οὐν ὁν
(πρὸς τε γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις τινῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἑαυτῶν συμφέροντα καὶ τὰς ἐχθρὰς τὰς τε φιλίας
4 οἱ πολλοὶ ποιοῦνται), καὶ προσκαταδείπας μὴ πως προθύμωσι σφᾶς ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἰδὼν ἐξονε-
δίση τι καὶ προενέγκη οἱ τῶν ἀπορρήτων, αὐτὸς
μὲν νοσεὶ̄ν προσφασίσατο, Μάρκω δὲ Πετρείῳ τὴν
μάχην ἐπέτρεψε. συμβαλὼν οὖν οὕτως σφικὴν
τὸν Κατιλίναν καὶ ἀλλους τρισχίλιος προθυ-
μότατα ἁγωνιζομένους οίκ ἀναιμωτὶ κατέκοψεν
οὔτε γὰρ ἐφυγεν αὐτῶν οὐδὲς, καὶ ἐν χώρα πάντες
ἐπεσον, ὡστε καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς κρατήσαντας πολὺ
tῶν κοινῶν ὀδύρασθαι, ὅτι καὶ τοιούτους καὶ 
τοσοῦτους, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίτας
2 τε καὶ συμμάχους ἀπωλολέκεσαν. ὅ δ’ οὖν
Ἀντώνιος τῆς τε κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ ἀστυν,
ὅπως πιστεύσαντες αὐτοῦ τετελευτηκέναι μηδὲν
ἐτʼ ἰδίωσιν, ἐπεμψε, καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τῇ
νίκῃ, καίτοι τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν1 πεφυγομένων
ἐλάττωνος παρὰ τὸ νεομισμένον ὄντος, ἐπεκλήθη.
Βουθυνθήναι τε ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα ὡς
καὶ πάντων τῶν δεινῶν ἀπηλλαγμένοι μετέβαλον.2
41 Ὅν μὴν οἱ χε σύμμαχοι οἱ μετασχόντες τῷ Κατ-
ιλίνα τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τότε ἐτε περιοντες ἡσυ-
χαζον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δέει τῆς τιμωρίας ἐταράττουντο.

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1 τῶν GrG, τῶν τε L.
2 μετέβαλον R. Steph., μετέβαλλον L.
in spite of the fact that this leader was superior to Metellus in rank and was accompanied by a larger force. He did this because he had hopes that Antonius would let himself be beaten in view of his part in the conspiracy. The latter, who suspected this, no longer felt kindly toward Catiline, because he was weak; for most men form both friendships and enmities with reference to others' influence and their own advantage. Furthermore, being afraid that Catiline, when he saw them fighting with a will, might utter some reproach and reveal some of their secrets, he pretended to be ill, and entrusted the conduct of the battle to Marcus Petreius. This commander joined battle with the rebels and in a very bloody contest cut down Catiline and three thousand others as they fought most bravely; for not one of them fled, but every man fell at his post. Even the victors mourned the common loss, inasmuch as they had destroyed, however justly, so many and such brave men, who were citizens and allies in spite of all. Antonius sent Catiline's head to the city in order that the people might be assured of his death and have no further fear. He himself was acclaimed imperator for the victory, although the slain fell below the required number.\(^1\) Sacrifices were also decreed, and the people changed their raiment to signify their deliverance from all dangers.\(^2\)

Nevertheless, the allies who had shared in the undertaking with Catiline and still survived did not remain quiet, but through fear of punishment proceeded to stir up rebellion. Against each division

\(^1\) Appian (B.C. ii. 44) gives the number as 10,000; Diodorus (quoted by Photius Bibli. 638 ii) as 6,000.

\(^2\) See chapter 33, 3 above.
καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν στρατηγοὶ καθ' ἐκάστους πεμφθέντες προκατέλαβον τρόπον τινὰ ἐσκεδασμένους καὶ ἐτιμωρήσαντο· ἐτεροὶ δὲ τῶν λαμβανόντων μηνύσει Λουκίου Οὔτετίου ἀνδρός ἵππεως, συγκοινωνήσαντος μὲν σφυς τῆς συνομοσίας, τότε δὲ ἐπ' ἀδέια αὐτῶν ἐκφαίνοντος, ἐλεγχομένοι ἐδικαίωσεν, μέχρις ὅτι ἐσαγγείλας τινὰς τὰ τε ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐς δελτίον ἐγγράφας 1 ὑποτεκνοῦς καὶ ἄλλους συχνοὺς προσεγγράψαι ἤθελησεν. ὑποπτεύσαντες γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ βουλευταὶ μηδὲν ὑγίες πράττειν, τὸ μὲν γραμματεῖον οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ ἑδωκαν, μὴ καὶ ἀπαλείψας τινὰς, εἰπεὶν δὲ ἀπὸ γλῶσσης ἐκελεύσαν ὀσούς παραλελοιπέναι ἐφασκε. καὶ οὕτως αἰδευθεὶς καὶ φοβηθεὶς οὐκέτε πολλοὺς ἐνεδείξε. θορύβου δ' οὖν καὶ ὡς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἄγνοιᾳ τῶν ὀνομασμένων ὄντος, καὶ τῶν μὲν περὶ σφύσιν αὐτῶν μάτηρ θορυβομένων, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐτεροὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑποπτευοῦσιν ἐδοξεὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐκτεθήσει. κακὸ τούτον οἰ τε ἀναίτιοι κατέστησαν καὶ τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις δίκαι ἐγγέφορον, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν παροῦντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐρήμην ὄφλον.

42 Κατιλίνας μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίησε καὶ οὕτω κατελύθη, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον γε 4 τῆς τῶν πραξθέντων ἁξίας ὑσμα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος δόξαν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ αὐτὸν λεχθέντας ἐσχέ· Κικέρων δὲ ὁλίγου μὲν καὶ παραχρήμα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Δεμτούλου τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν δεδεμένων σφαιρή ἐκρίθη· τὸ δὲ ἐγκλήμα τούτο λόγο μὲν ἐκείνῳ ἐπεφέρετο, ἐργῷ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ Βουλῇ κατε-  

1 ἐγγράφας Ba., συγγράφας L.  
2 αὐτῷ R. Steph., αὐτῶν L.  
3 καὶ inserted by Bk.  
4 γε St., τε L.
of them praetors were sent, who overcame them promptly, while they were still more or less scattered, and punished them. Others who had been avoiding observation were convicted and condemned on information furnished by Lucius Vettius, a knight, who had taken part in the conspiracy but now on promise of immunity revealed the participants. This went on until, after having accused some men and written their names on a tablet, he desired the privilege of adding various others. The senators suspected that he was up to some mischief and would not give him the document again for fear he should erase some of the names, but bade him mention orally all he claimed to have omitted. Then in shame and fear he named only a few others. Since even then there was excitement in the city and among the allies through ignorance of the persons named, and some were needlessly troubled about themselves, while some incorrectly suspected others, the senate decreed that the names should be published. As a result the innocent regained their composure and the accused were brought to trial; the latter were condemned, some being present and others letting their cases go by default.

Such was the career of Catiline and such his downfall; but he gained a greater name than his deeds deserved, owing to the reputation of Cicero and the speeches he delivered against him. Cicero, on his side, came near being tried then and there for the killing of Lentulus and the other prisoners. This charge, though technically brought against him, was
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σκευαζετον' ὦς γὰρ οὐκ ἔξων σφισιν ἀνευ τοῦ δήμου θανατον πολίτου τινος καταψηφίσασθαι, πολλὴν καταβοήν εν τῷ ὁμίλῳ πρὸς τοῦ Μετέλ-

3 λου τοῦ Νέπωτος ὅτι μάλιστα εἴχον. οὐ μὴν καὶ ὅφελε τὸτε οὔδεν τῆς γὰρ γερούσιας ἀδειαν πᾶσι τοῖς διαχειρίσασι τὰ τοτε πραχθέντα δούσης, καὶ προσέτε καὶ προειπόσυσθ' ὅτι, κἂν αὐθίς τις εὐθύνα τινα αὐτῶν τομήσῃ, ἐν τε ἐχθροῦ καὶ ἐν πολεμίῳ μοῖρα ἐσται, ἐφοβήθη τε ὁ Νέπως καὶ οὔδεν ἑτ' ἐκίνησει.

43 Ἐν τε οὕν τούτῳ ἡ βουλή ἐπεκράτησε, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ" ὅτι τὸν Πομπήιον τοῦ Νέπωτος μετα-

πεμφῆμαι σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἑτ' ἡν) προφάσει μὲν τού τα παρόντα κατασταθῆναι, ἐπιτίδε τοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ, ἀτε τοῦ πλῆθους φρονούντος, ἵσχυσεν ἐν οἷς ἑτάρασ-

σειν, ἐσηγησαμένου, διεκόλυσαν αὐτὸ κυρωθῆναι.  

2 τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα ὅ τε Κάτων καὶ Κύντος 

Μινούκιος δημαρχοῦντες ἀντέλεγον τοῖς γραφείσι, καὶ τὸν τε" γραμματέα τῶν ἀναγγείλουσκοντα τὴν γνώμην ἐπέσχον, καὶ τοῦ Νέπωτος τὸ γραμμα-

τείον, ὅπως αὐτός ἀναλέξῃ, λαβόντος ἐξήρτασαν, ἐπειδὴ τε καὶ ὅς ἀπὸ γλώσσης τινα εἰπεῖν 

3 ἐπεχείρησε, τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐπέλαβον. μάχης 

dὲ ἔκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνου καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἐκατέρως βοηθησάντων ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις, ἔτι δὲ 

καὶ ξέφει ηενομένης, οἱ βουλευταὶ συνῆλθον αὐθημερὸν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ τά τε ἰμάτια 

ηλλάξαντο καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτωις τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς

1 προεπόσυσθι Rk., προεπόσυσθι L.
2 ἐν ἐκείνῳ Rk., ἐν ἐκείνῳ L.
3 τὰ placed after τῶν by Rk., after τῆς by L.
really directed against the senate. For its members were violently denounced before the populace, especially by Metellus Nepos, on the ground that they had no right to condemn any citizen to death without the consent of the people. Nevertheless, Cicero escaped on this occasion. For the senate granted immunity to all those who had administered affairs during that period, and further proclaimed that if any one should dare to call one of them to account later, he should be regarded as a personal and public enemy; so that Nepos was afraid and made no further trouble.

This was not the senate's only victory. Nepos had moved that Pompey, who was still in Asia, be summoned with his army, ostensibly for the purpose of bringing order out of the existing confusion, but really in the hope that he himself might through him gain power amid the disturbances he was causing, because Pompey favoured the multitude; but the senators prevented this motion from being adopted. In the first place, Cato and Quintus Minucius, the tribunes, vetoed the proposition and stopped the clerk who was reading the motion. Then when Nepos took the document to read it himself, they took it away, and when even then he undertook to speak extempore, they stopped his mouth. The result was that a battle waged with clubs and stones and even swords took place between them, in which some others joined, assisting one side or the other. Therefore the senators met in the senate-house that very day, changed their raiment and gave the consuls charge of the
πόλεως, ὡστε μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποτριβήναι,
4 ἐπέτρεψαν. φοβηθεὶς οὖν καὶ τότε ὁ Νέπως ἐκ
tε τοῦ μέσου εὐθὺς ἐξεχώρησε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο
γραφὴν τινα κατὰ τῆς Βουλῆς ἐκδείχες πρὸς τὸν
Πομπῆιον ἀφώρισε, καίτοι μηδεμίαν αὐτῷ
νῦκτα ἀπαυλισθῆναι1 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔξω.

Γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ (ἐστρατηγεὶ
dὲ) οὐδὲν ἐτ' ἐνεστέρισεν. ἔπραττε μὲν γὰρ ὅπως
τὸ μὲν τοῦ Κατούλου ονόμα ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ
Δίος τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἀφαιρεθείη (κλοπῆς τε γὰρ
αὐτῶν ἱπτε, καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν τῶν ἀνηλωμένων
χρημάτων ἀπῆτε), τὸ δὲ δὴ Πομπῆιο τὰ λοιπὰ
2 προσεξεργάσασθαι ἐπιτραπεῖ. ἣν γὰρ τινὰ,
ὡς ἐν τηλικοῦτῳ καὶ τοιοῦτῳ ἐγγραφῇ ἣμιτέλεστα
ἡ ἐκείνος γε ἐπιλάττετο εἶναι, ὅποιος ὁ Πομπῆιος
τὴν τε δόξαν τῆς ἐκποίησεος αὐτοῦ λάβη καὶ τὸ
αὐτοῦ ὄνομα ἀντεπιγράψῃ. οὐ μὴν οὕτω γε
χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῷ ἥθελεν ἄφετε καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ διὰ
τοῦτο ψηφισθῆναι τὲ τοιοῦτον, οἷον ἔπι τὸ
Νέπωτι ἐδέδοκτο,2 ὑπομείναι. οὔδε γὰρ οὐδὲ
ἐκείνου ἔνεκα ταῦτ' ἐποίει, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτῶς καὶ διὰ
3 τούτων τὸ πλῆθος σφετερίσηται καίπερ οὕτω
πάντες τὸν Πομπῆιον ἐδέδωκαν3 (οὐδὲποι γὰρ τὰ
στρατεύματα ἀφῆσων δήλος ἤν) ὀστε, ἐπειδὴ
Μάρκου Πίσωνα ὑποστράτηγον πρὸς αἰτησιν
ὑπατείας προ putcharηε, τας τε ἀρχαρεσίας, ὅπως
ἀπαντήσῃ ἐσ αὐτῶς, ἀναβαλέσθαι, καὶ παρώντα
αὐτῶν ῥομβυμαδὸν ἀποδείξει. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος
οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς φίλοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς
συνέστησεν αὐτῶν.

1 ἀπαυλισθῆναι Jacoby, ἀπελευθήσει L. 2 τι R. Stephi., ἤτι L.
3 ἐδέδοκτο Βα., ἐδέδωκα L. 4 ἐδέδωκα St., ἐδεσθησε St.
city, that it might suffer no harm. Then Nepos once more became afraid and immediately retired from their midst; subsequently, after publishing some piece of writing against the senate, he set out to join Pompey, although he had no right to be absent from the city for a single night.

After this occurrence not even Caesar, who was now praetor, ventured any further innovation. He had been endeavouring to secure the removal of the name of Catulus from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, charging him with embezzlement and demanding an account of the expenditures he had made, and to have Pompey entrusted with the construction of the remainder of the edifice; for many parts, considering the size and character of the work, were but half finished, or at any rate Caesar pretended this was the case, in order that Pompey might gain the glory for its completion and inscribe his own name instead. Caesar was not so anxious, however, to do him a favour that he would run the risk of having passed against himself any such decree as that concerning Nepos. For it was not really for Pompey’s sake that he was doing this, but in order that he himself might win over the populace even by this means. And yet all stood in such fear of Pompey, seeing that it was not yet clear whether he would give up his legions, that when he sent ahead Marcus Piso, his lieutenant, to seek the consulship, they postponed the elections so that he might attend them; and on his arrival they elected him unanimously. For Pompey had recommended the man not only to his friends, but also to his enemies.
45 Καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Καίσαρ, τοῦ Κλωδίου τοῦ Ποντίου τοῦ γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ οἴκιᾳ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ποιήσιν τῶν ἱερῶν, ἀπερ αἱ ἀειπαρθένοι παρὰ τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀγνωστα ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐς πάν τὸ ἄρρεν ἐπετέλουν, αἰσχυνόντος, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἐνεκάλεσέν (καὶ γὰρ εὑ ἦπίστατο ὅτι οὐχ ἀλώσεται διὰ τὴν ἑταίρειαν), τὴν δὲ δὴ γυναῖκα ἀπεπέμψατο, εἰπὼν ἄλλως μὲν μὴ πιστεύειν τὸ λεγομένῳ, μὴ μέντοι καὶ συνοικίζοντα 2 ἐτε ἀυτὴ ὄνωσανται, διότι καὶ ὑποπτεύθη ἀρχὴν ἐμπρεχόντας τὴν γὰρ σωφρόνα χρήσας μὴ μόνον μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ὑποφίλιαν αἰσχρὰν ὑφικνεῖσθαι.

3 Τότε μὲν ταῦτα τε ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡ γέφυρα ἡ λιβίνη 3 ἐς τὸ ησίδιον τὸ 4 ἐν τῷ Τιμέριδι ὁ Φερούσα κατεσκευάσθη, Φαβρικία κληθεῖσα: τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει 5 ἐπὶ τὸ Πισσώνος καὶ ἔπι Μάρκου Μεσσίλου ὑπάτων μεσοῦντες τε ἄλλως οἱ δυνατοὶ τὸν Κλώδιον, καὶ ἀμα καὶ τὸ μίασμα αὐτοῦ ἀποδιστουμένου, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ποντικάκες ἀνατυθήσαν τὰ ἱερὰ ὡς οὐχ ὀσίως διὰ τοῦτο τελεσθέντα 2 ἐγνωσαν, δικαστηρίῳ αὐτῶν παρέδωκαν, καὶ κατηγορήθη μὲν τῆς τε μοιχείας, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος σιωπῶντος, καὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως τῆς περὶ Νίσιβιν, 6 καὶ προσέτε καὶ ὅτι τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἁγγαγοῦτο, ἠφείθη δὲ, καὶ τοῖς δικαστῶν φρονμαν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ὅπως μηδὲν κακὸν ὕπαυτον πάθοσαι, καὶ αἰτιοπάντως καὶ λαβόντων.

3 ἐφ’ ὁπερ καὶ ὁ Κάτουλος ἐπισκόπτων ἐλεγεν

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1 Πουπλίου R. Steph., πομπίου L.
2 συνοικίσαντες Ba., συνοικίσαντες L.
3 ἡ inserted by St.
4 τὸ Leuncl., τὸτε L.
5 ἔτει supplied by Bk.
6 Νίσιβιν R. Steph., νίσιβι L.
BOOK XXXVII

It was at this time that Publius Clodius debauched Caesar’s wife in Caesar’s own house and during the performance of the rites which according to ancestral custom the Vestals carried out at the residences of consuls and praetors out of sight of the whole male population. Caesar brought no charge against him, understanding well that on account of his associates he would not be convicted; but he divorced his wife, telling her that he did not really believe the story, but that he could no longer live with her inasmuch as she had once been suspected of committing adultery; for a chaste wife not only must not err, but must not even incur any evil suspicion.

Following these events the stone bridge, called the Fabrician, leading to the little island in the Tiber, was constructed. The next year, in the consulship of Piso and Marcus Messalla, the optimates showed their hatred of Clodius and at the same time made expiation for his crime by bringing him to trial, since the pontifices had decided that in view of his act the rites had not been duly performed and should be repeated. He was accused of adultery, in spite of Caesar’s silence, and of mutiny at Nisibis, and furthermore of holding guilty relations with his sister; yet he was acquitted, although the jurymen had requested and obtained of the senate a guard to prevent their suffering any harm at his hands. With reference to this Catulus jestingly remarked
ὅτι τὴν φυλακὴν ἠτησαν οὐχ ἦν ἁσφαλῶς τοῦ Κλωδίου καταψηφίσσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτοὶ τὰ χρήματα ἡ εἰδοπροδοκήκεσαν διασώσσωσιν. καὶ ὁ μὲν διαφανέστατα τῶν πώποτε τὸ δημόσιον ἀεὶ πρὸ παντὸς προτιμήσας ἐτελεύτησεν οὐ πολλῷ ὦστερον· ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ ἔτει εκείνῳ οἱ τε τιμήται πάντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς γενομένους ἐσ τὸ δουλευτικὸν καὶ ὑπέρ τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐσέγραψαν, καὶ ὁ δήμος ἀπαντᾷ μέχρι τότε τὰς ὀπλομαχίας θεώμενος ἐξανέστη τε μεταξὺ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἀριστον ἐλευτ., καὶ τούτ' ἔκειθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ νῦν, οσάκες ἂν ὁ τὸ κράτος ἔχων ἁγιωθεῖ, γίγνεται.

47 Ἔν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταῦτ' οὔτως ἐπράξθη, τῶν δὲ Ἀλλοβρίγων τὴν Λατινίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα πορθοῦντος Γάιος Πομπήιος ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῆς τοὺς μὲν ὑποστρατήγους ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπεμψεν, αὐτῶς δὲ ἐν ἐπιτηθείς ἱδρυθεῖς ἐπετήρησε τὰ γεγονόμενα, ὅπως κατὰ καιρὸν πρὸς τὸ ἄει χρήσιμον καὶ γνώμην σφίσθη διδόναι καὶ ἐπαμύνειν δύνηται. καὶ Μάλλιος μὲν Λευτίνος ἐπὶ Οὐαλεντίαν ἑκάτον στρατεύσας οὔτως αὐτῶς κατέπληξεν· ὥστε τοὺς πλείους ἐκδράναι καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης πρεσβεύσασθαι. καὶ τούτῳ συμβοθησάντων τῶν εἰ τοῖς ἀγροῖς οὕτων καὶ προσπεσόντων αἰφνίδιος τοῦ μὲν τείχους ἀπεώσθη, τὴν δὲ δὴ χώραν ἀδεῶς ἔλεηλάτει, 3 μέχρις ὅτι τὸ Κατούγνατος ὁ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτῶν ἔθνους στρατηγὸς καὶ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν παρὰ

1 Οὐαλεντίαν Heller, Ουαλεντίαν L.
2 κατέπληξεν Bk., κατέπληξεν L.
3 ἀπεώσθη St., ἀπέστη L.
4 Κατούγνατος R. Steph., καὶ τοῦ γενατος L.
that they had asked for the guard, not in order to condemn Clodius with safety, but in order to save for themselves the money which they had received in bribes. Now Catulus died shortly afterward; he was a man who always, more conspicuously than any one who ever lived, preferred the common weal to everything else. That year the censors enrolled in the senatorial body all who had attained office, even beyond the legal number. At this time, too, the populace, which hitherto had watched the gladiatorial contests without any intermission, went out for lunch in the course of the entertainment. This practice, which began at that time, is continued even now, whenever the person in charge exhibits games. This was the course of affairs in the city.

The Allobroges were devastating Gallia Narbonensis, and Gaius Pomptinus, the governor, sent his lieutenants against the enemy, while he himself took up his quarters at a convenient spot for keeping watch of what occurred, so that he might be able to give them opportune advice and assistance, as their advantage might from time to time dictate. Manlius Lentinus made a campaign against the city of Valentia and so terrified the inhabitants that the majority ran away and the rest sent ambassadors regarding peace. Just then the country population coming to their aid suddenly fell upon him; and he was repulsed from the wall, but ravaged the land with impunity until Catugnatus, the leader of their whole tribe, with some of those dwelling along the
τὸν Ἰσαρα οἰκούντων ἑπεκούρησάν σφίσι. τότε γὰρ οὐκ ἔτολμησε μὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν πλοίων περαιωθῆναι κολύσαι, μὴ καὶ συστραφώσιν ἵδοντες σφᾶς ἀντιπαρατεταμένους, ὕλωδοις δὲ τοῦ χωρίου μετὰ τὸν ποταμὸν εὐθὺς ὁντος, ἐνέδρας ἐν αὐτῷ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τοὺς ἀεὶ διαβαίνοντας ὑπολαμβάνων ἔφθειρε, φεύγονσι τὴ τυχὴ ἐπιστόμενος περιέπεσεν αὐτῷ Κατούγνατος καὶ πασσυδῆ διώλετο, εἰ μὴ χειμῶν σφόδρος ἕξαιρήθη ἐπευγενέμενος ἐπέσχε τοῖς βαρβάροις τῆς διώξεως. καὶ ὁ μὲν μετὰ τοῦτο, τοῦ Κατούγνατου πόρρω ποὺ ἀφορμῆσαντος, τὴν τε χώραν αὐθῆς κατέδραμε καὶ τὸ τεῖχος παρ' ἑ ἐνυστύχησεν ἔξειλε Δοῦκιος δὲ δὴ Μάριος καὶ Σέρουιος Γάλβας τὸν τὴ Ῥοδανὸν ἑπεραιώθησαν, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων λυμνάμενοι τέλος πρὸς 

48 Σολώνιον πόλιν ἠλθον, καὶ χωρίον μὲν τι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἰσχυρὸν κατέλαβον, μάχη τε τοὺς ἀντιστάντας σφίσιν ἐνίκησαν, καὶ τινὰ καὶ τοῦ πολίσματος ἐνυλίνου πη ὄντος ἐνέπρησαν, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ εἶλον αὐτὸ. ὁ γὰρ Κατούγνατος ἐπελθὼν ἐκώλυσε. μαθῶν οὖν τούτο ὁ Πομπτίνος ἐπεστάτευσε τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πολιορκήσας σφᾶς ἐχειρώσατο πλὴν τοῦ Κατούγνατου.

49 Καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ῥάν ὑπὸ τούτοις προσκατεστρέψατο, Πομπτίνος δὲ ἤλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, καὶ τὸν τὴ Ἀφράνιον τὸν Δούκιον καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον τὸν Κέλερα ὑπάτους ἀποδειχθῆναι ἐποίησεν, ἐλπίσας δὲ αὐτῶν μάτην πάνθ' ὡσα ἐξουλετο καταπράξειν. ἤθελε
Isara came to their aid. For the time being he did not dare to hinder them from crossing, by reason of the number of their boats, for fear they might gather in a body on seeing the Romans arrayed against them. As the country was wooded, however, right down to the river bank, he planted ambuscades there, and captured and destroyed the men as fast as they crossed. While following up some fugitives he fell in with Catugnatus himself, and would have perished with all his force, had not a violent storm suddenly come up and prevented the barbarians from pursuing. Later, when Catugnatus had retired to some distant point, Lentinus overran the country again and destroyed the town before which he had met with his reverse. Lucius Marius and Servius Galba crossed the Rhone and after ravaging the possessions of the Allobroges finally reached the city of Solonium and occupied a strong position commanding it. They conquered their opponents in battle and also set fire to portions of the town, which was partly constructed of wood; they did not capture it, however, being prevented by the arrival of Catugnatus. Pomptinus, on learning of this, proceeded against the place with his entire army, besieged it, and got possession of the defenders, with the exception of Catugnatus. After that he more easily subjugated the remaining districts.

At this time Pompey entered Italy and had Lucius Afranius and Metellus Celer appointed consuls, vainly hoping that through them he could effect whatever he desired. He wished in particular to have some
μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα χώραν τέ τινα τοῖς συνεστρατευμένοις οἱ δοθῆναι καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ πάντ᾽ ἐπικυρωθῆναι, διήμαρτε δὲ σφών τότε. οὐ τε ἃγαρ δυνατοί, μηδὲ ἕκ τοῦ πρὶν αὐτῷ ἀρεσκόμενοι, διεκόλυσαν αὐτὰ ψήφισιν τὰ σημαίναν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπότων Ἀφράνιος μὲν (ἀρχεῖσθαι γὰρ βέλτιον ἢ τι διαπράσσειν ἢ πρώτοτο) πρὸς οὔθεν αὐτῷ συνήρατο, Μέτελλος δὲ ὀργῇ, ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔχων, ἀπεπέμπτο, καὶ πάνυ πρὸς πάντα αὐτῶν ἄντεπραξεν. τὸ δὲ Λούκουλλος ὁ Λούκιος, ὃς ποτὲ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐντυχὼν ὑπερφρόνοις ἐκέχρητο, πολὺς τε αὐτῷ ἐνέκειτο, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῶν ἑαυτῷ ἐκαταρτίαν καὶ καθ᾽ ἑκαστον ὁν ἐπραξεν ἐπεξελθεῖν καὶ μὴ πᾶσιν ἃμα αὐτοῖς τὴν κύροςιν ἀπειτεῖν. ἄλλος τε ἃγαρ δίκαιον εἶναι ἐλεγε μὴ πάντα ἀπλῶς ὅσα ἐπεποιήκει, καὶ ἢ μηδείς σφών ἡπίστατο ὅποια ἦν, βεβαιωθῆναι ὁσπερ ὑπὸ δεσπότου τινὸς γεγενημένα: καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐργῶν κατελεύκη τίνα, ἥξιον ἐξετασμὸν ἑκατέρων ἐν τῇ βουλή γενέσθαι, ἢ ὅποτε ἄν αὐτῶν ἄρεσσι κυρόσωσι, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Κάτων ὁ τε Μετέλλος οἱ τε ἄλλοι οἱ τὰ αὐτὰ σφίσι βουλόμενοι ἵσχυρὸς συνεμάχουν, τοῦ γὰρ δήμαρχος τοῦ τῆς γῆς τοῦ Πομπήιος συνεξητασμένοις κατανείμασι ἐσηγμομένους, προσγράφαντος τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις, ὅπως τούτο τε αὐτῷ ῥμῶν ψηφίσωσι καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ βεβαιώσωσι, κλήρους τινὰς δοθῆναι, ἐπὶ πάν ὁ Μετέλλος ἀνθιστάμενος ἐπεξηθεῖν, ὡστε

1 μηδὲ Rk., μηδὲ L. 2 ἀπεπέμπτο Molber, ἀπεπέμπτο L. 3 ἢ v. Herw., εἰσι L. 4 ὅποτε ἄν Pilugk, ὅποτε L.
BOOK XXXVII

land given to his soldiers and to have all his acts approved; but he failed of these objects at that time. For, in the first place, the optimates, who even before this had not been pleased with him, prevented the questions from being brought to vote. And as for the consuls themselves, Afranius, who understood how to dance better than to transact any business, did not assist him at all, and Metellus, in anger that Pompey had divorced his sister in spite of having had children by her, vigorously opposed him in everything. Moreover, Lucius Lucullus, whom Pompey had once treated with contempt when he met him in Galatia, was very bitter against him, demanding that he render an account individually and separately of everything that he had done instead of asking for the approval of all his acts at once. He maintained that it was only fair, in any case, that Pompey's acts, as to the character of which no one knew anything, should not all be confirmed by a single vote, as if they were the acts of a master. And since Pompey had furthermore set aside some of Lucullus' own arrangements, he demanded that an investigation of the acts of each should be made in the senate, in order that they might ratify whichever suited them. He was strongly supported by Cato and Metellus and the rest, who were of the same mind with them. Accordingly, when the tribune who moved that land be assigned to the followers of Pompey added to the measure a provision that grants should be made to all the citizens likewise, in order that they might more readily accept this particular feature and also ratify Pompey's acts, Metellus contested every point
καὶ ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐμβληθήναι καὶ τὴν
2 γερουσίαν ἐνταῦθα ἀθροίσαι ἐθελήσαι. ἔπει τε
έκείνος (Λούκιος δὲ δὴ Φλάουιος ὁνομάζετο) τὸ τε
βάθρον τὸ δημαρχικὸν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐσόδῳ αὐτοῦ
ἐθηκε, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ καθεξήμονος ἐμποδῶν ὡστε
μηδένα ἐσιέναι εὐγένετο, τὸν τε τοίχον τοῦ δεσμω-
τηρίου διακοπῆναι ἐκέλευσεν ὁπως δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡ
Βουλή ἐσελήνη, καὶ ὡς νυκτερεύσων κατὰ χώραν
3 παρέσκευαζετο. μαθῶν οὖν τοῦ θ' Πομπήιος,
καὶ αὐτοχνείς τε ἀμα καὶ δείσας µή καὶ ὁ δήμος
ἀγανακτήσῃ, προσέταξε τῷ Φλαουίῳ ἀπαναστή-
να. ἔλεγε µὲν γὰρ ὡς τοῦ Μετέλλου τοῦτο
ἀξίωσαντος, ὅτι µὴν εἰπτεύετο τὸ γάρ φρόνημα
4 αὐτοῦ κατάδηλον πάσιν ἄν. ἀμέλει τῶν ἄλλων
dημάρχων ἐξελέσθαι αὐτὸν βουληθέντων οὐκ ἠθέ-
λθεν. οὕκοιν οὖν αὖθις ἀπειλήσαντι τῷ Φλα-
οιίῳ µηδὲ ἐς τὸ ἔθνος ὁ ἐπεκεκληρωτὸ ἐπιτρέψειν
αὐτῷ, εἰ µὴ συγχωρήσειν οἱ διανομοθέτησαι,
ἐξελθέιν, ὑπείξειν, άλλα καὶ πάνυ ἀσμενος εν τῇ
πόλει κατέμεινεν.
5 Ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἐπειδὴ µηδὲν διὰ τε τῶν
Μετέλλου καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διεπράξατο, ἐφ’
μὲν φθονεύσαντι τε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πλῆθει τούτῳ
ὅπλοσειν, φοβηθεῖς δὲ µὴ καὶ ἐκείνου διαμαρτῶν
μείζῳ αἰσχύνῃ ὀφλη,1 κατέβαλε τὴν ἄξιωσιν.
6 καὶ ὁ µὲν οὖτω γινόμεν ὁτι µηδὲν ὄντως 2 ἱσχυειν,
άλλα τὸ µὲν ὄνομα καὶ τὸν φόνον ἐφ’ 3 οἰς ἡδυ-
νήθη ποτε εἰχεν, ἔργον δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀπώ-
νητο, μετεμέλετο ὦτι τὰ τε στρατόπεδα προαῆκε
51 καὶ ἐαυτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐξέδωκε. Κλώδιος δὲ ἐπε-

1 ὀφλη Dind., ὀφληρό L.
2 ὄντως Rk., ὄντως L.
3 εφ' Pilugk, ἐφ' L.
with him and attacked him so persistently that the latter had him put in prison. Then Metellus wished to assemble the senate there. When the other, whose name was Lucius Flavius, set the tribune's bench at the very entrance of the cell, and sitting upon it, offered an obstacle to any one's entrance, Metellus ordered the wall of the prison to be cut through so that the senate might gain entrance through it, and made preparations to pass the night on the spot. When Pompey learned of this, he was ashamed as well as afraid that the people might take offence, and so directed Flavius to withdraw. He spoke as if this were a request from Metellus, but was not believed; for the latter's pride was well-known to all. Indeed, Metellus would not give his consent when the other tribunes wished to set him free. Nor would he yield even when Flavius later threatened that he would not allow him to go out to the province which he had drawn unless he would permit the law to be passed; on the contrary, he was very glad to remain in the city.

Pompey, therefore, when he could accomplish nothing because of Metellus and the rest, declared that they were jealous of him and that he would make this clear to the plebs. Fearing, however, that he might fail of their support also, and so incur still greater shame, he abandoned his demands. Thus he learned that he did not possess any real power, but merely the name and envy resulting from his former authority, while in point of fact he received no benefit from it; and he repented of having let his legions go so soon and of having put himself in the power of his enemies.
θύμησε μὲν διὰ . . . τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ δίκῃ δη-
μαρχήσαι, καὶ τίνας τῶν δημαρχοῦντων προκαθ-
ήκεν ἐσογήσασθαι τὸ1 καὶ τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις τῆς
ἀρχῆς μεταδίδοσθαι, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπεισε, τὴν τε εὐ-
γένειαν ἐξωμόσατο καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πλῆθους
dικαιώματα, ἐς αὐτὸν σφων τῶν σύλλογου ἔσελ-
θών, μετέστη. καὶ ἦτησε μὲν εὐθὺς τὴν δη-
μαρχίαν, οὐκ ἀπεδείχθη δὲ ἐναντιωθέντως οἱ τοῦ
Μετέλλου· ἐν γένει τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ τοῖς
πραττομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἠρέσκετο. πρόφασιν
dὲ ἐποίησατο ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἡ ἐκποίησις
αὐτοῦ ἐγγένει ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσφορᾷ τοῦ φρατρια-
tικοῦ νόμου μόνος ἐξην τοῦτο γίνεσθαι.

2. Ταῦτα τε οὖν οὕτως ἐπράξθη, καὶ ἐπειδή τὰ
tέλη δεινῶς τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν
ἐλύει, ὁ μὲν νόμος ὁ καταλύσας αὐτὰ πᾶσι
ἀρεστοὶ ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ τὸ ἐσενεκόντι
ἀυτοῦ ἀχθόμενοι οἱ βουλευταί (ὁ γὰρ Μετέλλος ὁ
Νέπως ἦν) ἰδέλησαν τὸ τε ὅνομα αὐτοῦ ἀπα-
λείψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἔτερον ἀντεγγράψαι.
καὶ οὖν ἐπράξθη μὲν τοῦτο, καταφανές μεντοὶ
πᾶσιν ἐγένετο ὅτι μηδὲ τὰς ἐνεργείας παρὰ τῶν
φαύλων ἀνδρῶν ἢδεως ἐδέχοντο. κἂν τῷ αὐτῷ
tοῦτῳ χρόνῳ Φαύστος ὁ τοῦ Σύλλου παῖς ἀγώνα
τε μονομαχίας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἐποίησε, καὶ τὸν δή-
μον λαμπρῶς εἰστίσασε, τὰ τε λοντρά καὶ τὸ
ἐλαιον προῖκα αὐτῶς παρεσχεν.

3. Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, ὃ δὲ δὴ
Καῦσαρ τῆς τοῦ Ἁρκτανίας μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν
ἡρέη, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἀν τὰ ληστικά, ἀπερ που ἀεὶ
παρ' αὐτοὶς ἦν, ἀνεύ μεγαλού τινος πόνου
1 τὸ Leuncel., τι L. 2 τὸ added by Rk.
BOOK XXXVII

Clodius' [hatred] of the optimates led him after the trial to desire to be tribune, and he induced some of those who held that office to move that the patricians also be given a share in it. As he could not bring this about, he abjured his patrician rank and assumed instead the status of the plebs, and even entered their assembly. He immediately sought the tribuneship, but was not elected, owing to the opposition of Metellus, who was related to him and did not like his actions. The excuse that Metellus gave was that the transfer of Clodius had not been in accordance with tradition; for this change might be made only after the introduction of a lex curiata. Thus ended this episode.

Since the taxes were proving oppressive to the city and the rest of Italy, the law that abolished them was acceptable to all. The senators, however, were angry at the praetor who proposed it (Metellus Nepos) and wished to erase his name from the law, entering another one instead. And although this plan was not carried out, it was still made clear to all that they received not even benefits gladly from base men. About this same time Faustus, the son of Sulla, gave a gladiatorial contest in memory of his father and entertained the people brilliantly, furnishing them with baths and oil gratis.

While these things were happening in the city, Caesar had obtained the government of Lusitania after his praetorship; and though he might without any great labour have cleared the land of brigandage, which probably always existed there, and then

1 Compare Cicero's words (ad. Att. ii. 16, 1) in 59 n.c.: portorius (duties on exports and imports) Italiae sublatis.
καθήρας ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν, οὐκ ἑθέλησεν δόξης τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμοῦν, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ μέγα ποτὲ δυνηθέντας.

2 ξηλῶν, οὐδὲν ὅλιγον ἐφρόνει, ἀλλ' ἡπτίζειν, ἀν τι τὸτε κατεργάσηται, ὑπατὸς τε εὐθὺς αἰρεθήσεσθαι καὶ ὑπερφυὰ ἔργα ἀποδείξεσθαι, διὰ τε τάλλα καὶ ὦτι ἐν τοῖς Γαδεῖροις, ὦτε ἐταμίενε, τῇ μητρὶ συγγένεσθαι ὄναρ ἐδὸξε, καὶ παρὰ τῶν μάντεων ἐμαθὲν ὦτι ἐν μεγάλῃ δυνάμει ἔσται. ὦθενπερ καὶ εἰκόνα Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔνταυθα ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεὸς ἀνακειμένην ἱδὼν ἀνεστέναξε, καὶ κατωδύρατο ὦτι μηδὲν πτω μέγα ἔργον ἐπετεικνεί.

3 Ἀπ' οὖν τούτων, ἔξον αὐτῷ εἰρημεῖν, ὅσπερ εἶπον, πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἐρμίκιον ἐτράπετο καὶ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς οἰκήτοράς αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰ πεδία μεταστήναι, πρόφασιν μὲν ὅπως μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμῶν ὀρμώμενοι ληστεύσωσιν, ἔργῳ δὲ εὐ εἰδώς ὦτι οὐκ ἐν ποτὲ αὐτῷ ποιήσειαν, κἂν τούτου πολέμου τινὰ ἀφορμὴν λήψεται. ὦ καὶ ἐγένετο. τούτους τε οὕν ἐς ὅπλα ἐλθόντας ὑπηγάγετο καὶ ἐπείδη τῶν πλησιοχώρων τινὲς, δεισάντες μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ σφάς ὀρμήσῃ, τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τιμωτάτα ὑπὲρ τῶν Δόριον ὑπέζεβεντο, τὰς πόλεις σφὸν ἐν ὁ τοῦτ ἐπραττον προκατέσχε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνους προσέμεξε. προβαλλομένων τε τὰς ἀγέλας αὐτῶν, ὅπως σκεδασθεῖτι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἑσσηκάτων ἀρπαγῆν ἐπίδωσεται, τὰ τετράποδα παρῆκε καὶ αὐτοῦς ὑπολαβὰν ἐνίκησε. κἂν τούτω

1 καθήρας Rk., καθήρας L.
2 τὰ τετράποδα Rk., τὰ τε στρατόπεδα L.
have kept quiet, he was unwilling to do so. He was eager for glory, emulating Pompey and his other predecessors who at one time or another had had great power, and his aspirations were anything but small; in fact, he hoped, if he should at this time accomplish something, to be chosen consul immediately and to display mighty achievements. He was especially encouraged in this hope by the fact that while at Gades, when quaestor, he had dreamed of intercourse with his mother, and had learned from the seers that he should enjoy great power. Hence, on beholding there a likeness of Alexander dedicated in the temple of Herocles, he had groaned aloud, lamenting that he had performed no great deed as yet.

Accordingly, though he might have been at peace, as I have said, he proceeded to the Herminian Mountains and ordered the inhabitants to move into the plain, in order, as he claimed, that they might not use their fastnesses as a base for marauding expeditions, but really because he well knew that they would never do what he asked, and that as a result he should have some ground for war. This was exactly what happened. After these men, then, had taken up arms, he overcame them. When some of their neighbours, fearing that he would march against them too, carried off their children and wives and most valuable possessions out of the way across the Durius, he first occupied their cities, while they were thus engaged, and next joined battle with the men themselves. They put their herds in front of them, with the intention of attacking the Romans when the latter should scatter to seize the cattle; but Caesar, neglecting the animals, attacked the men and conquered them. Meanwhile he learned
μαθὼν τοὺς τὸ Ἑρμίων οἰκοῦντας ἀφεστηκέναι
tε καὶ ἐπανίοντα αὐτὸν ἐνδερεύει μέλλειν, τότε
μὲν ἔτεραν ἀνεχώρησεν, άθης δὲ ἐπεστράτευσεν
σφίσιν, καὶ κρατήσας πρὸς τὸν ὀκεανὸν φεύγοντας
2 αὐτοὺς κατεδώξεν. ἐπειδὴ τε τὴν ἱππευρὸν ἐκλι-
πόντες ἐς νῆσον τινα ἐπεραιώθησαν, αὐτὸς μὲν
(οὐ 1 γάρ ποτὶ πλοῖον εὐπόρει) κατὰ χῶραν
έμεινε, σχεδίας δὲ συμπήξας μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ
dι’ αὐτῶν ἐπέμψε, καὶ συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλε τριλη 2
γάρ τινι πρὸς τὴν νῆσον οὐσὶ προσσιχὸν 3 τὸν
ἡγεμόνιαν σφῶν ἔχον, καὶ ὡς 4 καὶ πεζῆ διαβαδι-
σοντας αὐτοὺς ἐκβιβάζασι, ἐπείτα αὐτὸς τε ὑπὸ
3 τῆς ἀναρροίας ἐκβιβασθεὶς ἐξανήχθη καὶ ἐκεῖνος
ἐγκατέλιπε, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι γενναῖοι
ἀμυνόμενοι ἐπέσουσιν. Ποὺπλιος δὲ δὴ Σκαίνιους
μόνον τε περιλειψάται καὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος στερηθές
πολλά τε τραυματισθέντας ἐς τὸ ὅφορ ἐσπετήθησε
καὶ διενήχατο. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἐγένετο: ὦστε-
ρον δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ πλοῦτα ἀπὸ Γαδείρων μεταπεμψά-
μενος ἐς τὴν νῆσον παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπεραιώθη,
καὶ ακονίτα αὐτοῦς, κακῶς ὑπὸ σιτιοδέιας ἔχοντας,
παρεστήσατο. καντεύθεν ἐς Βριγάντιον πόλιν
Καλλακίας παραπλεύσας τῷ τε ῥοδίῳ 6 σφῶς
tου πρόσπλου, οὐπώποτε ναυτικὸν ἔσκακτος,
ἐξεφοβῆσε καὶ κατεστρέψατο.
54 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ νομίσας ἵκανὴν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν
ἐπιβασίαν 7 πρὸς τὴν υπατείαν εἰληφέναι σπουδὴ
tοῦ τίς ἀρχαιεσίας, καὶ πρὶν τὸν διάδοχον
ἐλθοῦν, ὀρμησε, καὶ ἤξιον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πέμψατα

1 of inserted by Ba.
2 χιλη Schenkl, γι L.
3 προσσίχων Bk., προσσιχόν L.
4 ὃς Kk., ἄτι ὁς L.
5 ὤπο St., ἄτι L.
6 ῥοδίῳ Turn., ὁρβίῳ L.
7 ἐπιβασίαιν St., επὶ βασιλείαν L.
that the inhabitants of the Herminian Mountains had withdrawn and were intending to ambush him as he returned. So for the time being he withdrew by another road, but later marched against them and, being victorious, pursued them in flight to the ocean. When, however, they abandoned the mainland and crossed over to an island, he stayed where he was, for his supply of boats was not large; but he put together some rafts, by means of which he sent on a part of his army, and lost a number of men. For the man in command of them landed at a breakwater near the island and disembarked the troops, thinking they could cross over on foot, when he was forced off by the returning tide and put out to sea, leaving them in the lurch. All but one of them died bravely defending themselves; Publius Scaevius, the only one to survive, after losing his shield and receiving many wounds, leaped into the water and escaped by swimming. Such was the result of that attempt; later, Caesar sent for boats from Gades, crossed over to the island with his whole army, and reduced the people there without a blow, as they were hard pressed for want of food. Thence sailing along to Brigantium, a city of Callaecia, he alarmed the people, who had never before seen a fleet, by the breakers which his approach to land caused, and subjugated them.

On accomplishing this he thought he had gained thereby a sufficient stepping-stone to the consulship and set out hastily for the elections even before his successor arrived. He decided to seek the office even before holding his triumph, since
ΔΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ

ἐπινίκια, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ολί τε προδιεορτασθῆναι ἦν,

2 αἰτήσαι αὐτὴν. μὴ τυχόν δέ, τοῦ Κάτωνος ὅτι
μᾶλλον ἔναντιοντος, εἰκαίνα μὲν εἰάσε· καὶ γὰρ
ήπιιξε πολὺ πλεῖον καὶ μείζω ὑπατός ἀποδείχθεις
καὶ ἔργα πράξειν καὶ ἐπινίκια πέμψειν. πρὸς
γὰρ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἔφ' οίς μέγα ἀεὶ ποτε ἐφρόνει,
ἵππος τῆς αὐτῆς διαφύγη ἐν ταῖς τῶν προσβηῖν
πόδων ὅπλαις ἕχων ἐγεννηθή, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν
γαυρούμενος ἔφερεν, ἀλλον δὲ ἀναβάτην οὐδένα

3 ἀνεδέχετο. ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τοῦτοι μικρὸν οὐδέν
προσδοκῶν τὰ μὲν νικητὴρια ἕκων ἀφήκεν, ἐς δὲ
tὴν πόλιν ἐσελθὼν καὶ ἐπαγγειλάμενος τὴν ἄρχην
οὐτω τοῦς τε ἄλλους καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν τὸ
Κράσσον ἔξεβατο, ὡστε δι' ἔχθρας ἀλλή-
λοις ἔτι καὶ τότε αὐτοὺς ὄντας καὶ τὰς ἐταιρείας
ἔχοντας, καὶ πρὸς πάνθ' ὅσα ὁ ἔτερος τὸν ἔτερον
ἐθέλοντα αἰσθαυτο ἀντιστασιάζοντας, προσποιή-
σασθαί, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων αὐτῶν ὁμοθυμαδὸν

4 ἀποδειχθῆναι. καίτοι τοῦτο τὴν οὐφίαν ἐς τὰ
μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ τεκμηρίον, ὅτι τὸν τε κατάκι καὶ
tὸ μέτρον τῆς θεραπείας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγώ καὶ
διέθετο ὅτως ὅστ' ἀμφότερος ἀμα καίπερ
ἀντιπράττοντας σφισὶ προσθέσθαι.

55 Καὶ ὅπερ τοῦτο αὐτῶ ἀπέχρησεν, ἄλλα καὶ
αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους συνήλλαξε, οὐχ ὅτι συνενεκηθημ
σφας ἦθελεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι δυνατωτάτους τε ἐώρα
ὄντας, καὶ εὐ ἦσαστα δρῇ ὅστε χωρὶς τῆς παρ'
ἐκείνων ἀμφότερού ἣ καὶ θατέρου βοηθείας μέγα
τι ἰσχύσει. κάν τοῖς ἔτερον ὅποτερον δαυτῶ
προσεταίρηται, ἀνταγωνισθήτων τε διὰ τοῦτο τὸν

1 ὅπλαις R. Steph., ὅπλας L. 2 καίπερ Reim., καθάπερ L.
3 ἰσχύσει Bk., ἰσχύσει L.
it was not possible to celebrate this beforehand. But being refused a triumph, since Cato opposed him with might and main, he let that pass, hoping to perform many more and greater exploits and celebrate corresponding triumphs, if elected consul. For besides the omens previously related, which always gave him great confidence, was the fact that a horse of his had been born with clefts in the hoofs of its fore feet, and carried him proudly, whereas it would not endure any other rider. Consequently his expectations were of no slight magnitude, so that he willingly gave up the triumph and entered the city to canvass for office. Here he courted Pompey and Crassus and the rest so skilfully that though they were still at enmity with each other, and had their political clubs, and though each opposed everything that he saw the other wished, he won them over and was unanimously elected by them all. And yet this argues the greatest shrewdness on his part that he should have known and arranged the occasions and the amount of his services to them so well as to attach them both to himself when they were working against each other.

He was not even content with this, but actually reconciled the men themselves, not because he was desirous that they should agree, but because he saw that they were most powerful. He understood well that without the aid of both, or at least of one, he could never come to any great power; and if he made a friend of either one of them alone, he would by that very fact have the other as his opponent and
2 ύπο τού συναρμομένου οί κατεργάσεται. τούτο μὲν γὰρ προδυμότερον ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ἕχθροις ἀντιπράττειν ἢ συναγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις, οὐ κατ’ ἐκεῖνο μόνον ὅτι ἦ τε ὑρή καὶ τὸ μῦσος σφοδροτέρας τὰς σπουδὰς πάσης φιλίας ποιεῖ, ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ὅ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἑτέρων πράττων τὴν τε ἱδονὴν κατορθώσας καὶ τὴν λύπην σφαλεῖς οὐχ ἀμοιασ.

3 ἔχουσιν τούτο δὲ προχειρότερον ἐμποδίζειν τὲ τινας καὶ κωλύειν μηδεμιὰν αὐξησιν λαβεῖν ἢ ἐπὶ μέγα προάγειν ἐθέλειν, διὰ τὰ τῶν καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι ὁ μὲν οὐκ εἰὼν τινα αὐξηθῆναι τοῖς τὲ ἄλλοις ἁμα καὶ ἑαυτῷ χαριζεται, ὁ δὲ ἔξαλον τινὰ ἐπαχθῇ ἑαυτὸν ἀμφοτέροις σφίασε ποιεῖ.

56 Τούτων δὴ οὐν ἑνεκα καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ τότε τε αὐτῶν ὑπῆλθε καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἄλληλοις κατήλαξεν. οὔτε γὰρ διὰ τούτων δυνήσεσθαι τι ἄει καὶ οὔκ ἄν θατέρῳ ποτὲ αὐτῶν προσκρούσαι ἐνόμιζεν, οὔτ' αὐ ἐφοβῇ καὶ συμφρονήσαντες κρεῖττοις αὐτῶν γένονται; πάνυ γὰρ εὑ ἔπιστατο ὅτι τὸν μὲν ἄλλων εὐθὺς διὰ τὸς ἐκεῖνον φιλίας, αὐτῶν δ' οὔ πολλὸν ύστερον ἢ ἄλληλων κρατήσοι.

2 καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως. τοῦτος οὶ Πομπήιος ο τοῦ Κράσσου ὡς ἀπ’ οἰκείας καὶ αὐτῶν αἰτίας πρὸς τε ἄλληλοις, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ὀρμησαν, κατελυσαντο καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πραγμάτων προσέλαβον. Πομπήιος μὲν γὰρ οὕτ' αὐτῶς

1 te added by Bk.
2 αὐτοῦ Ba., αὐτοῦ L.
3 There follows in L. τούτων μὲν οὖν ἑνεκα καὶ συνεβιβάσαν αὐτοὺς καὶ προσεποιήσατο, rejected by Bk. as due to a copyist.
4 Πομπήιος Bk., ο πομπήιοι L.
would meet with more failures through him than successes through the support of the other. For, on the one hand, it seemed to him that all men work more zealously against their enemies than they coöperate with their friends, not merely on the principle that anger and hatred impel more earnest endeavours than any friendship, but also because, when one man is working for himself, and a second for another, success does not involve the same degree of pleasure, or failure of pain, in the two cases. On the other hand, he reflected that it was easier to stand in people's way and prevent their reaching any prominence than to be willing to lead them to great power, owing to the circumstance that he who keeps another from becoming great pleases others as well as himself, whereas he who exalts another renders him burdensome to both sides.

These considerations led Caesar at that time to court their favour and later to reconcile them with each other. For he did not believe that without them he could ever gain any power or fail to offend one of them some time, nor did he have any fear, on the other hand, of their harmonizing their plans and so becoming stronger than he. For he understood perfectly that he would master others at once through their friendship, and a little later master them through each other. And so it came about.¹ Pompey and Crassus, the moment they really set about it, made peace with each other, for reasons of their own, and they took Caesar into partnership in their plans. For Pompey, on his side, was not

¹ There follows in the Ms. the sentence, "For these reasons, then, he both united them and won them over," probably the addition of some copyist.
ὅσον ἢλπισεν ἴσχύων, καὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἐν
dυνάμει οίντα τὸν τὴν Καίσαρα αὐξανόμενον ὅρον,
καὶ ἔδεισε μὴ παντάπασιν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καταλυθῆ,
καὶ ἐπήλπισε, προσκοινωνήσας σφίσι τῶν παρόν-
tων, τὴν ἀρχαιὰν δὲ αὐτῶν ἔξουσιαν ἀναλή-
ψευθαί. Κράσσος δὲ ἤξιον τε πάντων ἀπὸ τὸ
tοῦ γένους καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλούτου περείναι, καὶ
ἐπειδὴ τοῦ τε Πομπηίου παρὰ πολὺ ἠλαττοῦτο
καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ μέγα ἀρθήσεθαί εὐόμιζεν,
ἐς ἀντίπαλον αὐτῶν ἀλλήλους καταστήσαι ἠθέλη-
σεν, ὅπως μηδέτερος ἵδιος ἐπέρησχη, προσδοκή-
σας ἐκείνους τε ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἰσοκρατεῖς ἔσεσθαι,
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τούτῳ τῶν τε ἐκατέρων φιλίαν
ἐκκαρπώσεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρους τιμηθῆσε-
σθαι. ἀκριβῶς μὲν γὰρ οὕτε τὰ τοῦ πλῆθους
οὕτε τὰ τῆς θουλῆς ἐπολίτευεν, τῆς δὲ ἱδίᾳς
αὐτοῦ δυναστείας ἐνεκα πάντ’ ἐπραττε, καὶ διὰ
τοῦτ’ ὑπήρχετο τε ἀμφοτέρους σφάς ὁμοίως καὶ
τὴν πρὸς ἐκατέρων ἐχθραῖον ἐξέκλινεν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦ-
τον ἐν τῷ μέρει κεχαρισμένα ἀμφότεροι σπουδάζων
ἐφ’ ὅσον ἤμελλε τοῦ μὲν καταβυσσίου παντὸς
ἐκατέρως αὐτιαθῆσεθαί, τῶν δὲ δυσχερεστέρων
μὴ μεταλήψεσθαι.

Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οἱ τρεῖς τὴν τε
φιλίαν συνέβεντο, καὶ ὅρκοις αὐτῆς πιστωσάμενοι
tὰ τὲ κοινὰ δὲ ἑαυτῶν ἐποίησαντο, κὰκ τούτου
καὶ ἀντεδίδοσαν σφισὶ καὶ ἀντελάμβανον παρ’
ἀλλήλων ὅσα ἐν τε ἐπιθυμίᾳ εἶχον καὶ πρὸς τὰ
2 παρόντα ἢρμοττεν αὐτοῖς πράττεσθαι.

1 αὐτῶς δ’ ὅσον Bk., αὖ τασοῦτον L.
2 μηδέτερος Bk., μήδε ἔτερος L.
3 δυσχερεστέρων Bk., δυστυχεστέρων L.
4 πράττεσθαι Dinda., παρατάττεσθαι L.
so strong as he had hoped to be, and seeing that Crassus was in power and that Caesar's influence was growing, feared that he should be utterly overthrown by them; and he hoped that if he made them sharers in present advantages, he should win back his old authority through them. Crassus thought he ought to surpass all by reason of his family as well as his wealth; and since he was far inferior to Pompey, and thought that Caesar was going to rise to great heights, he desired to set them in opposition to each other, in order that neither of them should get the upper hand. He expected that they would be well-matched antagonists, and that in this event he would get the benefit of the friendship of both and gain honours beyond either of them. For without supporting in all respects either the cause of the populace or that of the senate he did everything to advance his own power. Accordingly he paid court to both alike and avoided enmity with either, promoting in turn whatever measures pleased either one to such an extent as was likely to give him the credit for everything that went to the liking of one or the other, without any share in more unpleasant issues.

Thus the three for these reasons formed their friendship and ratified it with oaths, and then managed public affairs among themselves. Next they gave to each other and received in turn one from another, whatever they set their hearts on and whatever it suited them to do in view of the circumstances.
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φρονησάντων δὲ ἐκεῖνων καὶ τὰ ἑταρικὰ σφών ὦμολόγησαν, καὶ ἐποίον καὶ οὕτωι μετὰ ἀδείας ὡσα ἠθελον, ἡγεμόσι πρὸς πάντα αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι, ὃστε τὸ σωφρονοῦν ὀλίγον ἐν τῇ τῷ Κάτωνι, καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ φρονεῖν δοκεῖν 3 ἐβούλετο, καταλειψθήναι. καθαρῶς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἁνευ τινὸς ἵδιας πλεονεξίας οὐδεὶς τῶν τότε τὰ κοινὰ πλῆθνος τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐπραττεν αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ τινὲς τῶν ὀρμένων, καὶ ἐτεροὶ καὶ ξηλοῦν αὐτῶν ἐφιέμενοι, προσήπτοντο μὲν πη τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τι τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ διεδείκνυτο, οὐ μὴν καὶ διαρκεῖς, 2 ἀτε ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπ' ἄρετῆς ἐμφύτου ὀρμώμενοι, ἢσαν.

58 Ἔστω τοῦτο μὲν ὅτε τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι προήγαγον, ἐπὶ πλείστου ὀσον τὴν συνωμοσίαν σφών ἀποκρυψάμενοι. ἐποίον μὲν γὰρ ὡσα ἐκδοκτὸ σφίσιν, ἐσχηματίζοντο δὲ καὶ προεβάλλοντο τὰ ἐναντιώτατα, ὅπως ἐτέ ἐπὶ μακροτατόν διαλαθωσί, μέχρις ἂν ἰκανὸς παρα- 2 σκευάσωνται. Οὐ μὲντοι καὶ τὸ διαμόνιον τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἦγνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνι τοῖς τι συνεῖναι τῶν τοιούτων δυνάμενοι εὐθὺς τότε πάντα τὰ ἐπειτα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐσόμενα ἐξέφυγεν, χειμῶν τε γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἔξαψην τὴν τὸ πόλιν 3 ὅλην καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπασάν κατέσχε καὶ κατεσχε ὡστε πάμπολλα μὲν δεύδρα πρόρριζα ἀνατραπήναι, πολλὰς δὲ οἰκίας καταρραβήναι, τα τὸ πλοῖα τὰ ἐν τῷ Τιβέριδι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἁστυ 3 καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκβολὰς αὐτοῦ ναυλοχούντα βαπτισθήναι, καὶ τὴν γέφυραν

1 ἐβούλετο Rk., ἐβουλεύετο L.
2 διαρκεῖς R. Steph., διαρκεῖς L.
3 τὸ ἁστυ R. Steph., τῶν ἁστεὶ L.

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Their harmony caused an agreement also on the part of their followers; these, too, did with impunity whatever they wished, following the leadership of their chiefs in everything, so that very little moderation was longer in evidence, and that only in Cato and a few others who desired to seem to hold the same opinions as he did. For no man of that day took part in public life from pure motives and free from any desire of personal gain except Cato. Some, to be sure, were ashamed of the things done, and others who strove to imitate him took a hand in affairs now and then, and displayed some deeds similar to his; but they did not persevere, since their efforts sprang from cultivation of an attitude and not from innate virtue.

This was the condition into which these men brought the affairs of Rome at that time, after concealing their alliance as long as possible. For they did whatever they had decided on, while feigning and putting forward utterly opposite motives, in order that they might still remain undiscovered for a long period, until they should have made sufficient preparations. Yet Heaven was not ignorant of their doings, but then and there revealed very plainly to those who could understand any such signs all that was to result later because of them. For of a sudden such a storm descended upon the whole city and all the country that quantities of trees were torn up by the roots, many houses were shattered, the boats moored in the Tiber both near the city and at its mouth were sunk, and the wooden bridge destroyed,
4 την ξυλίνην διαφθαρήναι, καὶ τι καὶ θέατρον πρὸς πανήγυριν τινα ἐκ θυρῶν ὁκοδομημένον ἀνετράπη, καὶ ἄνθρωποι παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα παμπληθεῖς ἀπώλουντο. Εἰκὼν τῶν μελλόντων σφίσι καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑδατὶ συμβήσεσθαι προεδείχθη.

1 θυρῶν Jacoby, σύρσων L.
and a theatre built of timbers for some festival collapsed, and in the midst of all this great numbers of human beings perished. These signs were revealed in advance, as an image of what should befall the people both on land and on water.
Τάδε ἑνεστὶν ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ὅγδῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίον

α. Ὄς ἐστασίασαν Καίσαρ καὶ Βίβουλος.
β. Ὄς Κικέρων ἤφυγεν.
γ. Ὅς Κικέρων ἔπε τῇ φυγῇ Φιλίσκος παρεμβῆσατο.
δ. Ὅς Καίσαρ Ὑλοντίνως καὶ Ἀριωνίστῳ ἑπαλέμησεν.

Χρόνου πλήθος ἦτη δύο, ἐν τοῖς ἀρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οὔτε ἑγένετο

Γ. Ἰούλιος Γ. ὑπ. Καίσαρ
Μ. Καλπόφρυς Γ. ὑπ. 1 Βίβουλος 2 ὑπ.
Ἀ. Καλπόφρυς 2 Δ. ὑπ. Πίσσων ὑπ.
Ἀδ. Γαβέλιος Ἀδ. ὑπ.

Τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει ὁ Καίσαρ τὸ σύμπαν θεαπεύσαι πλήθος ἠθέλησεν, ὅπως σφᾶς ἔτει καὶ μᾶλλον σφετερίσηται. Βουλήθητε δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν δυνατῶν δοκεῖν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δὴ ἀπεχθείας αὐτῷ ὡσεῖ, πράττειν, εἰπέ σφισι πολλάκις ὅτι οὔτε 2 γράφοι το 3 μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος συνοίσετε: καὶ δὴ γνώμην τινὰ περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἢν παντὶ τῷ ὀμίλῳ κατένειμεν, οὕτω συνέγραψεν ὡστε μηδὲ μικρὸν τὴ αὐτῆς αὐτιαθήναι καὶ οὔδὲ ταύτην μέντοι ἐσοίσειν, εἰ μὴ Βουλομένους σφίσειν εἰς, ἐπλάττετο. τοῦ μὲν δὴ οὖν νόμου ένεκα οὔδεις αὐτῷ οὔδὲν ἐπικαλέσαι ἐδύνατο: τὸ τε γὰρ πλήθος τῶν 3 πολιτῶν ὑπέρογκον ὄν, ἀφ' οὔπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα

1 Γ. ὑπ. supplied by Be.
2 Βίβουλος and Δ. Καλπόφρυς supplied by Palm.
BOOK XXXVIII

The following is contained in the Thirty-eighth of Dio's
Rome:—
1. How Caesar and Bibulus quarrelled (chaps. 1–8).
2. How Cicero was exiled (chaps. 9–17).
3. How Philiscus consoled Cicero in the matter of his exile
   (chaps. 18–30).
4. How Caesar fought the Helvetii and Ariovistus (chaps.
   31–50).

Duration of time, two years, in which there were the
magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

B.C.
59 C. Iulius C. F. Caesar, M. Calpurnius C. F. Bibulus.
58 L. Calpurnius L. F. Piso, A. Gabinius A. F.

The following year Caesar wished to gain the
favour of the whole multitude, that he might make
them his own to an even greater degree. But since
he was anxious to seem to be advancing the interests
also of the optimates, in order to avoid incurring
their enmity, he often told them that he would
propose no measure which should not also be to
their advantage. And, indeed, he so framed a
certain measure concerning the land, which he
wished to assign to the whole populace, as not to
incur the least censure for it; yet he pretended he
would not introduce even this measure, unless it
should be according to their wishes. So far as this
law went, therefore, no one could find any fault with
him. The swollen population of the city, which
was chiefly responsible for the frequent rioting, would
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ἐστασιάζου, πρὸς τε τὰ ἔργα καὶ πρὸς γεωργίας ἔτρηστο, καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἥρμωμένα αὐθίς συνφιξέτο, ὡστε μη μόνον τοὺς ἐν ταῖς στρατεύεις τεταλαπωρημένοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας διαρκὴ τὴν τροφὴν ἔχειν μήτε τῆς πόλεως οἰκεθέν τι δαπανομένης μήτε τῶν δυνατῶν ξημιομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῆν καὶ

4 ἄρχην πολλῶν προσλαμβανόντων. τὴν δὲ χώραν τὴν τε κοινὴν ἀπασαν πλὴν τῆς Καμπανίδος ἐνεμε (ταύτην γὰρ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐξαίρετον διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν συνεβούλευσεν εἶναι), καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν οὔτε παρὰ ἀκοντός τινος οὔτε αὐ ὅου ἰν οἱ γεωνομοὶ δουληθῶσιν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν παρ’ ἐκόντων, ἔπειτα δὲ τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἐν ταῖς ἀπο-

5 γραφαῖς ἐτετίμητο, ἀγορασθῆναι ἐκέλευσε. χρήματά τε γὰρ πολλὰ ἀπὸ τε τῆς λείας ἴνν ὁ Πομπήιος εἰλήφη καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φόρων τῶν τε τελῶν τῶν προσκαταστάτων περείναι σφισίν ἔλεγε, καὶ χρηναι αὐτά, ἅτε καὶ τοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν κινδύνους πεπορισμένα, ἐς αὐτοὺς

6 ἔκεινους ἀναλωθῆναι, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοὺς γεωνόμους οὔτε δλίγους, ὡστε καὶ δυναστεία τινι ἐοικέναι, οὔτε ἔξ ὑπευθύνων, ὡστε τινά δυσχέραναι, καθίστα, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ συγχού τῆς τιμῆς μετασχεῖν εἰκοσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς

7 ἐπιτηδειοτάτους, πλὴν ἑαυτοῦ. πάνω γὰρ τι τούτο προδιωμολογήσατο, ὅπως μὴ δὲ ἑαυτόν τι γράφειν νομίζειν· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ τῇ τε εὐφήσει

1 ἔτρηστο Cobet, ἔτρηστο L. 2 οὔτ' Bk., μὴt L.
3 τοι τοιχον τῆς τιμῆς μετασχείν εἰκοσιν Reim., τοι τοιχον τῆς τιμῆς εἰκοσί μετασχείν L. 4 τι Bk., τοι L.
thus be turned toward labour and agriculture; and the greater part of Italy, now desolate, would be colonized afresh, so that not only those who had toiled in the campaigns, but all the rest as well, would have ample subsistence. And this would be accomplished without any expense on the part of the city itself or any loss to the optimates; on the contrary, many of them would gain both rank and office. He not only wished to distribute all the public land except Campania (which he advised them to keep distinct as the property of the state, because of its excellence), but he also bade them purchase the remainder from no one who was unwilling to sell nor yet for whatever price the land commissioners might wish, but, in the first place, from people who were willing to sell, and secondly, for the same price at which it had been assessed in the tax-lists. For they had a great deal of surplus money, he asserted, as a result of the booty which Pompey had captured, as well as from the new tributes and taxes just established, and they ought, inasmuch as it had been provided by the dangers that citizens had incurred, to expend it upon those same persons. Furthermore, he proposed that the land commission should not consist of a few members only, so as to seem like an oligarchy, or of men who were under indictment, lest somebody might be displeased, but that there should be, in the first place, twenty of them, so that many might share the honour, and secondly, that they should be the most suitable men. But he excepted himself from consideration, a point on which he strenuously insisted at the outset, in order that he might not be thought to be proposing a measure in his own interest. As for himself, he
καὶ τῇ ἐσπευσθεὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἦρκεῖτο, ὡς γε ἔλεγε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Πομπήῳ καὶ τῷ Κράσσῳ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις φανερῶς ἐχαρίζετο.

2 "Ενεκα μὲν οὖν τῶν γραφέντων ἀνάιτιος ἦν, διὰτε μηδὲ διάραι τὸ στόμα ὑπεναντίον οἱ μηδένα τολμήσαι καὶ γὰρ προανέγνω αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ θεολ. καὶ οὖνομαστὶ ένα ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἀνακαλῶν ἐπηρότησε μὴ τὶ τις αἰτιᾶται, μεταγράφειν ἢ καὶ παντελῶς ἀπαλείψειν, εἰ γὲ τῷ μὴ ἀρέσει τι, ὑποσχόμενοι. τὸ δὲ δὴ σύμπαν καὶ πάνυ πάντες οἱ δυνατοὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐξω τῆς συνωμοσίας ὄντες ἐδυσ-χέραινον. καὶ αὐτὸ γε τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἔτα μάλιστα ἐλύπει, ὅτι τοιαῦτα συγγεγραφως ἦν ὅστε μήτε τινὰ 2 αἰτιὰν δύνασθαι λαβεῖν καὶ 3 πάντας ὑπώπτευον γὰρ αὐτῶν, ἐφ’ όπερ που καὶ ἐγέρνετο, τὸ τε πλήθος ἄπταντας ἀναρτήσεσθαι καὶ ονόμα καὶ ἵσχυν καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔξειν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, εἴ καὶ μηδεὶς οἱ ἀντέλεγεν, ἀλλ’ οὔτε γε καὶ 3 συνεπίμουν. τοῖς μὲν δὲ οὐν ἄλλους εξῆρκε τοῦτο, καὶ ἐπηγγέλλοντο 4 μὲν ἂει αὐτὸ προβούλευσεν, ἐποίουν δὲ οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ διατρῆζοί καὶ ἀναβολαὶ τὴν

3 ἄλλως ἐγέρνοντο. ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ὁ Μάρκος 5 (ὅποι δὲ ἄλλως μὲν ἐπεικής καὶ οὐδεὶς νεοχωμός ἀρεσκόμενος, οἵ μὴ καὶ ρώμην τινὰ οὕτε ἐκ φύσεως οὕτε ἐκ παιδείας ἐχὼν) τοῖς μὲν γεγραμμένοις οὐδὲν οὖν ἄντος ἐπεκάλει, τὸ δ’ ὅλον ἡξίου τῇ τε παρούσῃ σφάς καταστάσει χρὴσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἔξω αὐτῆς 2 ποιεῖν. καὶ ἐμελλήσσε μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Καίσαρ

1 μηδὲ v. Herw., μη L. 2 μήτε τινὰ Bk., μηδένα L.
3 οὕτω γε καὶ Dind., οὕτω καὶ L.
4 επηγγέλλοντο H. Steph., επηγγέλλετο L.
5 Μάρκος Reim., Μάρκος ο οἰκοτός Λ.
was satisfied with originating and proposing the matter; at least he said so, but clearly he was doing a favour to Pompey and Crassus and the rest.

So far as his measure went, then, he could not be censured, and, indeed, no one ventured to open his mouth in opposition; for he had read it beforehand in the senate, and calling upon each one of the senators by name, had inquired whether he had any criticism to offer; and he promised to alter or even to strike out entirely any clause which might displease anybody. Nevertheless, practically all the optimates who were outside the league were greatly irritated; and they were grieved especially by the very fact that Caesar had drawn up such a measure as would admit of no censure, even while it embarrassed them all. For they suspected that by this measure he would attach the multitude to him and gain fame and power over all men; and this was, in fact, his very purpose. For this reason, even though no one spoke against him, no one expressed approval either. This sufficed for the majority, and while they kept promising him that they would pass the decree, they did nothing; on the contrary, fruitless delays and postponements kept arising. Marcus Cato, however, even though he had no fault to find with the measure, nevertheless urged them on general principles to abide by the existing system and to take no steps beyond it. He was a thoroughly upright man and disapproved of any innovation; yet he had no influence either as the result of natural gift or training. At this Caesar was
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ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τὸν Κάτωνα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἔξελκόσας ἐμβαλείν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνως τε ἐτοιμότατα ἑαυτὸν ἀπάγεσθαι ἐπέδωκε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ὁλίγοι οἱ ἐφέσποντο, καὶ τὶς αὐτῶν Μάρκος Πετρέιος ἐπιτιμηθεὶς ἵπτ' αὐτοῦ ὅτι μηδὲν διαφειμένης τῆς βουλῆς ἀπαλλάττοιτο, ἐφη ὅτι μετὰ Κάτωνος ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι μᾶλλον ἦ μετὰ σοῦ ἐνταύθα εἶναι βούλομαι, κατηδέσθη, καὶ τὸν τε Κάτωνα ἀφήκε καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἀπῆλλαξε, τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπεύξων ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς καὶ δικαστὰς τοῦ νόμου καὶ κυρίους ἐποιησάμην, ὅπως, εἰ τι μὴ ἀρέσειν ὑμᾶς, μηδ' ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσενεχθείη: ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐθέλετε προβουλεύσαι, ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς αἱρήσεται.

4. Καὶ τούτου οὐδ' ἀλλα τῇ γερουσία ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ταύτη ἐπεκοινώνησεν, ἄλλ' ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἀντικρον πάνθ᾽ ὡσα ἐβούλετο ἐσέφερεν. ἐθελήσας δ' οὖν καὶ ὡς ὁμογνώμονας τῶν πρῶτων τινὰς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ λαβέιν (καὶ γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία μετεγκώκεναι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ πὴ τὸ πλῆθος φοβηθήσεθαι) ἥρξατο ἀπὸ τοῦ συνάρχοντος, καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ εἰ τα τοῦ νόμου μέμφοιτο. ἐπεὶ τ' ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο πλὴν ὅτι οὐκ ἄν ἀνάσχοιτο ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ νεωτερισθῆναι τι, αὐτὸς τε πρὸς ἐκεῖταν αὐτοῦ ἐτράπτετο καὶ τὸν ὁμολογοῦσαν ὅπως ἐπεισεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι ἐξεῖτο τοῦ νόμου ἂν οὕτως ἐθελήσῃ, ὁ οὖν Βίβουλος μεγάς ἀναβοθήσας "ὁ οὕχ ἐξεῖτε, ἐφη, "τὸν νόμον τούτον ἐν τῷ ἑτεὶ τούτῳ, οὐδ' ἀν πάντες ἐθελήσῃτε."

4. Καὶ ο μὲν ταύτ' εἰπὼν ἀπηλλάγῃ ὁ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὅντων ἀπάγεσθαι Reim. and Xiph., ἰπάγεσθαι L.
on the point of dragging Cato out of the very senate-
house and casting him into prison. But the other
offered himself with the greatest readiness to be led
away, and not a few of the rest followed him; and
one of them, Marcus Petreius, upon being rebuked by
Caesar because he was taking his departure before
the senate was yet dismissed, replied: "I prefer to
be with Cato in prison rather than here with you."
Abashed at this reply, Caesar let Cato go and ad-
journed the senate, merely remarking: "I have
made you judges and masters of this law, so that
if anything did not suit you, it should not be brought
before the people; but since you are not willing
to pass a preliminary decree, they shall decide for
themselves."

After that he communicated nothing further to the
senate during his year of office, but brought directly
before the people whatever he desired. However,
as he wished even under these circumstances to
secure some of the foremost men as supporters in
the assembly, hoping that they had now changed
their minds and would have some fear of the plebs,
he made a beginning with his colleague and asked
him if he disapproved of the provisions of the law.
When the other gave him no answer beyond saying
that he would tolerate no innovations during his year
of office, Caesar proceeded to entreat him and per-
suaded the multitude to join him in his request,
saying: "You shall have the law, if only he wishes
it." Bibulus in a loud voice replied: "You shall
not have this law this year, not even if you all wish
it." And having spoken thus he took his departure.

Caesar did not address his inquiries to any other
magistrates, fearing that some one of them also
οὐδένα ἔτι διιρετό, δείχας μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνων τις ἐναντιωθῇ οἱ, τὸν δὲ δὴ Πομπῆιον τόν τε Κράσσου καὶ περ ἱδιωτεύνντας παραγαγών ἐκέλευεν γνώμην
5 περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀποφήμασθαι, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἧπιστατο τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν (σύμπαντα γὰρ κοινῆ ἑπραττοῦ) ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτοῖς τε ἐκεῖνοις τιμῆν, ὅτι κάτοι μηδεμίαν ἀρχήν ἔχουσιν συμβούλους περὶ τοῦ νόμου χρότο, προσθεί, καὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς προσκαταπληξία, ὁμογνώμονας τοὺς πρῶτους τε ὀμολογομένως ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ὄντας καὶ μέγιστον παρὰ πάντας δυναμένους
6 λαβὼν, τῷ τε πλῆθει καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο χαρίσατο, τεκμηριῶν ὅτι μὴν ἀτόσχον μὴν ἀδίκου τινὸς ὀρέγοιτο, ἀλλ' ὅν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ δοκιμασταὶ καὶ ἐπαινέται γίγνοιτο.

5 "Ὁ τε οὖν Πομπῆιος μάλα ἀσμένως "οὐκ ἐγώ," ἔφη, "μόνος, ὁ Κυρίται, τὰ γεγραμμένα δοκιμάζω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη βουλή πάσα, δι' ὅν οὖν ὅτι τοὺς μετ' ἐμοῦ ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Μετέλλου συντρατευσάμενοι ποτὲ γῆν δοθήναι ἑγηθήσονται ἑκάστοις: τούτω μὲν οὖν (οὐ γὰρ ἦπορει τὸ δημοσίου) εἰκότως ἡ δόσις αὐτῆς ἀνεβλήθη; ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ παρόντι (παμπλούσιον γὰρ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γέγονε) προσήκει καὶ ἐκεῖνοι την ὑπόχεισιν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν τῶν κοινῶν πόλων ἀποδο-
2 φίσατο. τούτω μὲν οὖν (οὐ γὰρ ἦπορει τὸ δη-
3 μοσίου) εἰκότως ἡ δόσις αὐτῆς ἀνεβλήθη; ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ παρόντι (παμπλούσιον γὰρ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γέγονε) προσήκει καὶ ἐκεῖνοι την ὑπόχεισιν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν τῶν κοινῶν πόλων ἀποδο-
3 θήναι." ταύτ' εἰπὼν ἐπεξήλθεν τε καθ' ἐκαστὸν τῶν γεγραμμένων, καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἐπηνέεσεν, ὅστε τὸν ὁμιλόν ἰσχυρῶς ἠτθήναι. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ ἰδὼν τοῦτο ἐκεῖνον τε ἐπηρετο εἰ βοηθήσοι οἱ προ-
4 θύμως ἐπὶ τοὺς τάναντα σφίσι πράττοντας, καὶ τῷ πλῆθει παρήνεσε προσδεηθήναι πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτοῦ. γενομένου δὲ τοῦτον ἐπαρθείς ὁ Πομ-
might oppose him; but he brought forward Pompey and Crassus, though they were private citizens, and bade them express their views concerning the measure. This was not because he was not acquainted with their view, for all their undertakings were in common; but he purposed both to honour these men, by calling them in as advisers about the law although they were holding no office, and also to frighten the others by securing the adherence of men who were admittedly the foremost in the city at that time and had the greatest influence with all. By this very move, also, he would please the populace, by giving proof that they were not striving for any unnatural or unjust end, but for objects which those leaders were willing both to approve and to praise.

Pompey, accordingly, very gladly addressed them as follows: "It is not I alone, Quirites, who approve this measure, but the whole senate as well, inasmuch as it has voted for land to be given not only to my soldiers but to those also who once fought with Metellus. On the former occasion, to be sure, since the treasury had no great means, the granting of the land was naturally postponed; but at present, since it has become exceedingly rich through my efforts, it is but right that the promise made to the soldiers be fulfilled and that the rest also reap the fruit of the common toils." After this preamble he went over in detail every feature of the measure and approved them all, so that the crowd was mightily pleased. Seeing this, Caesar asked him if he would willingly assist him against those who were working in opposition, and he also urged the populace to join in asking his aid for this purpose. When they had done so, Pompey felt
πήμος, ὃτι τῆς παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπικουρίας, καὶ περιπτερόμενοι ἥγημονεὶς ἔχοντος, καὶ ὁ ὑπάτος καὶ ὁ ὀμιλος ἔχρηκεν, ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ ἀνατιμοῦν τε καὶ ἀποσεμνύνου ἑαυτοῦ διελέξατο, καὶ τέλος εἶπεν ὃτι, ἀν τις τολμήσῃ εἴφως ἀνέλέσθαι,

5 καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀναλήψομαι. ταῦτ' οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπήλου λεχθέντα καὶ Κράσσος ἐπηνευσεν. ὅστ' εἰ καὶ τισὶ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ ἤρεσκεν, . . . οἱ ἄλλοι τε ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ νομιζόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τόν Καῖσαρα ἐχθρῶ, ὡς γε καὶ ἐδόκοι σφίσιν, ἔχοντες (οὐ γὰρ πω ἡ καταλλαγὴ αὐτῶν ἐκδηλος ἢ) συνήκουν οἷς ἐγενέραε, πρόθυμοι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ νόμου κύρωσιν ἐγένοντο.

6 Οὐ μεῖνοι καὶ ὁ Βίβουλος ἐνεδίδου, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς δημάρχους συναγωνιστὰς προσθέμενοι ἐκώλυσε τὸ νομοθέτημα, καὶ τέλος, ἐπειδὴ μηκὲν αὐτῷ μηδεμία ἄλλη σκῆψις ἀναβολὴς ὑπελείπετο, ἐρομηνίαν ἐς πᾶσας ὁμοίως τὰς λοιπὰς τοῦ ἑτοῦ ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς οὐδ' ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ὁ δήμος ἐκ τῶν 2 νόμων συνελθεῖν ἐδύνατο, προηγοῦρευε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε Καῖσαρ βραχὺ αὐτοῦ φροντίσας ῥητήν τινα ἡμέραν προείπεν ἑν ἐν αὐτῇ νομοθέτησι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος νυκτὸς τὴν ἄγοραν προκατέλαβεν, ἐπῆλθε μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ Διοσκόρειον, ἀφ' οὕτως ἐκεῖνος ἐδημηγορεί, διέπεσεν, τὰ μὲν αἰδοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπεικόντων 3 οἰ, τὰ δὲ καὶ νομιζόμενον αὐτῶν μὴ καὶ ἐναντιωθήσεθαι σφίσιν, ὡς δὲ ἄνω τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἀντιλέγειστε ἐπειράτο, αὐτὸς τε κατὰ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν
elated over the fact that both the consul and the multitude had desired his help, although he was holding no position of command, and so, with an added opinion of his own worth, and assuming much dignity, he spoke at some length, finally declaring: "If any one dares to raise a sword, I also will snatch up my shield." These words of Pompey were approved by Crassus too. Consequently, even if some of the rest were not pleased, they nevertheless favoured the passage of the law [when these men,] who were not only accounted good citizens in general but were also, as they supposed, hostile to Caesar, (for their reconciliation was not yet manifest,) joined in approving his measure.

Bibulus, however, would not yield, but having gained the support of three tribunes, hindered the enactment of the law. Finally, when no other excuse for delay was any longer left him, he proclaimed a sacred period for all the remaining days of the year alike, during which the people could not legally even meet in their assembly. Caesar paid but slight attention to him and appointed a fixed day for the passage of the law. And when the populace had already occupied the Forum by night, Bibulus came up with the following he had got together and succeeded in forcing his way through to the temple of Castor, from which Caesar was delivering his speech. The men fell back before him, partly out of respect and partly because they thought he would not actually oppose them. But when he appeared above and attempted to speak in opposition to Caesar he was thrust down

1 Literally, the temple of the Dioscuri. Officially it was called aedes Castoris; cf. xxxvii. 8, 2.
ἐώσθη καὶ αἱ ῥάβδοι αὐτοῦ συνετρίβησαν, πληγάς τε καὶ τραύματα ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι ἔλαβον.

4 Καὶ ὁ μὲν νόμος οὕτως ἐκυρώθη, Βίβουλος δὲ τότε μὲν ἄγαπητός ἐσώθη, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπείρασε μὲν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ αὐτοῦ λύσαι, ἐπέρανε δ' οὐδέν τῇ γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους σπουδὴ δεδουλωμένου πάντες ἴσχυαζον. ἀνεχώρησε τε ὁ ὁ καὶ καὶ αὐτός τὸ παραπαν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρας παρῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καταμένων ἀεὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ὡσάκις γε ἐνεωτερίζε τι, ἐνετέλλετο διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ὅτι ἱερομνημία τε εἰς καὶ οὐδὲν ὡσίως ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἔναυτή δύνατο δράσθαι. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Πούπλιος τις Οὐατίνιος δήμαρχος ἐς τὸ οἴκημα καταδέσθαι, τῶν δὲ συναρχόντων οἱ ἐναντιωθέντων οὐκ ἐνέβαλεν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους τε οὕτω τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξέστη καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι οἱ συνεξετασθέντες αὐτῷ οὐκέτ' οὐδὲν δημόσιον ἔπραξαν.

7 Ο οὗν Μέτελλος ο Κέλερ ο τε Κάτων, καὶ Μάρκος τις δὲ αὐτοῦ Φαούώνιος, ξηλωτής ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ ὁν, τέως μὲν οὕτω ὀμοσαν περὶ τοῦ νόμου (τοῦτο γὰρ ἀρξάμενον ποτε, ὡσπερ εἴπον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀτόπων ἐγιγνετο) καὶ ἀπεχυρίζοντο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁ Μέτελλος ἐς τῶν Νομιδικῶν ἀναφέρων, μηδέποτε αὐτὸν συνεπαινέσειν ὡς μέντοι . . . ἡμέρα ἢ καὶ ἐμελλὼν τὰ ταὶ τεταγμένα ἐπιτίμημα ὀφλήσειν,

1 αἱ supplied by Rk.  2 Οὐατίνιος Fabricius, áτινιος L.
3 ὀμοσαν Rk., ὀμοσᾶν τι L.  4 τα added by St.
the steps, his fasces were broken to pieces, and the tribunes as well as others received blows and wounds.

Thus the law was passed. Bibulus was for the moment satisfied to escape with his life, but on the next day tried in the senate to annul the act; nevertheless, he accomplished nothing, since all were under the spell of the multitude's enthusiasm and would do nothing. Accordingly he retired to his home and did not appear in public again at all up to the last day of the year. Instead, he remained in his house, and whenever Caesar proposed any innovation, he sent formal notice to him through his attendants that it was a sacred period and that by the laws he could rightfully take no action during it. Publius Vatinius, a tribune, undertook to place Bibulus in prison for this, but was prevented from doing so by the opposition of his colleagues. Bibulus, however, held aloof from all business of state in the manner related, and the tribunes belonging to his party likewise no longer performed any public duty.

Now Metellus Celer and Cato, and through him one Marcus Favonius, who imitated him in everything, for a time did not take the oath of obedience to the law (a custom which began, as I have stated, on an earlier occasion, and was then continued in the case of other preposterous measures) and stoutly refused to approve it, Metellus, for instance, referring to Numidicus as an example. When, however, the day [came] on which they were to incur the

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1 Apparently a reference to the year B.C. 100, and to the refusal of Metellus Numidicus to swear to the lex Apuleia.
δόμοσαν, ἦτοι κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον, ὡς ὁ πολλοὶ ὕπισχυονται τῷ τι καὶ ἀπειλοῦσι ῥᾶν ἢ καὶ τῷ ἐργῷ ἐπεξίασιν, ἢ καὶ ὅτε μάθην ξημιωθῆ- σεθαί ἐμελλον, μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ἰσχυρογνωμοσύνης
3 σφῶν τὸ κοινὸν ὡφελήσαντες. 1 ὃ τε ὁ ὅν ὅμοιος
οὕτως ἐκυρώθη, καὶ προσῆτι καὶ ἦ τῶν Καμπανῶν
γῆς τρία τε πλεῖον τε ἐτι τέκνα ἔχουσιν ἐξούθη.
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀποικοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἦ
Κατυπή τότε πρῶτον ἐνομίσθη.
4 Τὸ μὲν ὅν ἐπίθαος ἐκ τούτων ὁ Καίσαρ ἀνήρ-
τῆσατο, τοὺς δὲ ἑπέας τὸ τριτημόριον 2 σφικτοῖς
tῶν τελῶν ἐμεμίσθωτο 3 ἀφείς πάσα τε γὰρ
αι 4 τελωνίας καὶ αὐτῶν ἐγύγνωστο, καὶ ὁλλάκις
τῆς Βουλῆς δεθήντες ὁποις ἐκδικίας τινὸς τύχω-
σιν όυχ ἐγύρωστο, ἄλλων τε καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος
5 ἀντιπραξάντων. ὡς δ’ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος
μηδ’ ἀντεπόντος τινὸς ἀκειώσατο, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ
πραξῆντα 5 ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου πάντα, μήτε τοῦ
Δούκουλλου μήτ’ ἄλλου τινὸς ἀντιστάντος, ἐβε-
βαίωσεν, ἐπειτά δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ διενορμὸβε.
6 τῆς μηδενὸς ἐναντιωμένου. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὖν ὁ
Κάτων ἀντειπεῖ τι, καίπερ ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ, ἢν
μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον ἔσχε, μηδαμοῦ
τῆς τῶν νόμων αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας, ὡς καὶ
Ἰουλίων ἐπικαλουμένων, ἐπιμυνηθεὶς τὰ γὰρ
dικαστηρία κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἀποκληρῶν 6 τὸ ὅνομα
αὐτῶν γελοιότατα ἀπεκρύπτετο.
Τούτους μὲν οὖν, ὅτι πάμπολλοί τε εἰσὶ καὶ

1 ὡφελήσαντες Βκ., ὡφελήθησασθαί Λ.
2 τριτημόριον R. Steph., τριτημέριον Λ.
3 ἐμεμίσθωτο Λεονκλ., ἐμεμισθωτο Λ.
4 αἱ Βκ., αδ Λ.
5 πραξῆντα Xyl., προσταχῆντα Λ.
6 ἀποκληρῶν Βκ., ἀπεκλήρων Λ.
established penalties, they took the oath, perhaps because it is but human nature for many persons to utter promises and threats more easily than they actually carry them out, or else because they were going to be punished to no purpose, without helping the state at all by their obstinacy. So the law was passed, and in addition the land of Campania was given to those having three or more children. For this reason Capua was then for the first time considered a Roman colony.

By this means Caesar attached the plebs to his cause; and he won over the knights by releasing them from a third part of the taxes for which they had contracted. For all collecting of taxes was done by them, and though they had often asked the senate for some satisfaction, they had not obtained it, because Cato, among others, had opposed it. When, then, he had conciliated this class also without any one's protest, he first ratified all the acts of Pompey, meeting with no opposition either from Lucullus or any one else, and later he put through many other measures without encountering any resistance. Even Cato did not object, although during his praetorship a little later, he would never mention the title of the other's laws, since they were called Julian laws; for although he followed their provisions in allotting the courts, he most absurdly suppressed their name.

As these laws, now, are very numerous and con-

1 Compare the similar statement in Appian B.C. ii, 13.
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οὐδ' ὁμοῖον τῇ τῇ συγγραφῇ συμβάλλονται,

8 παραλείψω. Κύντος δὲ δὴ Φούφιος Καλήνος ἀναμίξ πάντων τὰς ψῆφους ἐν γε¹ ταῖς φιλονεικίας (τά τε κρέιττον πρὸς σφᾶς ὡς ἐκάστου τῶν γενόν ἄγουτοι καὶ τὰ ἀτοπώτερα ² ἐς ἑτέρους ἀπωθοῦτοι) οὕσας εὑρόν, ἐνομοθέτησε στρατηγὸν χωρὶς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐκάστους ψηφίζεσθαι, ἢ εἰ μὴ καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα, τῷ κρύφα σφᾶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἄλλα τα γε ἔθνη ³ αὐτῶν ἐκδῆλα ὅπως φρονοῦν γέγονείτο.⁴

2 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα αὐτὸς ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ ἐσηγεῖτο καὶ συνεβούλευε καὶ διέστατε πάντα καθάπαξ τῶν τῇ πόλει, ὡς καὶ μόνος αὐτῆς ἄρχων ὅθεν περ παρεντιζόμενοι τινες τὸ μὲν τοῦ Βιβουλοῦ δομα παντάπασιν ἀπεισώπων, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα δις⁵ καὶ ὁ νόμαξον καὶ ἐγραφοῦν, Γάιον τε Καίσαρα

3 καὶ Ἰουλιον Καίσαρα ὑπατεύειν λέγοντες· τὰ δὲ δὴ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ δὲ ἑτέρων δίηγε. τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ καὶ πᾶν ἅγιος ἐφυλάξατο, μηδὲν αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸ ὁδοῦναι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ῥῶν πάνθ' ὅσων ἔπεθύμει κατεργάσατο. αὐτῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς προσδείπται ἐλεγεν, ἄλλα καὶ σφόδρα τοῖς παρ-

4 οὖσιν ἀρκεῖσθαι ἐσκήπτετο· ἑτεροὶ δὲ, ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρησίμου τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτοῦ ὀντος, καὶ ἐσηγησαντο ὡς ήθελες καὶ κυρωθηναι ἐποίησαν, οὐκ ἐν τῷ πλήθει μονόν ἄλλα

5 καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ γερουσίᾳ. ὁ τε γὰρ ὄμιλος τοῦ τε Ἰλλυρικοῦ καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας τῆς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεῶν ἄρξαι αὐτῷ μετὰ τριῶν στρατοπέδων

¹ γε Ρκ., τε Λ.  ² ἀτοπώτερα R. Steph., ἀτάτερα L.  ³ ἔθνη Leuncl., ἔθνι L.  ⁴ γέγονετο St., γέγονετο L.  ⁵ δις Ρκ., δύο Λ.
tribute nothing to this history, I will omit them; but one other I will mention. Quintus Fufius Calenus, finding that the votes of all were hopelessly confused, at least in party contests, since each of the orders attributed the good measures to itself and referred the preposterous ones to the others, proposed a law while praetor that each order should cast its vote separately. His purpose was that even if their individual opinions could not be revealed, by reason of their taking this vote secretly, yet it might become clear how the orders, at least, felt.

In most matters Caesar himself proposed, advised, and arranged everything in the city once for all as if he were its sole ruler; hence some facetious persons totally suppressed the name of Bibulus, and in speaking or writing would name Caesar twice, stating that the consuls were Gaius Caesar and Julius Caesar. But matters that concerned himself he managed through others, for he was extremely careful to offer nothing to himself; and thus he the more easily accomplished everything that he desired. On his own part, he would declare that he needed nothing more, and claimed to be thoroughly satisfied with what he had; but others, believing him a necessary and useful factor in affairs, proposed whatever he wished and had it passed, not only by the populace but by the senate itself. Thus it was that the multitude granted him the government of Illyricum and of Cisalpine Gaul with three legions for five years,

1 The reference is to the three orders of which the juries were composed—senators, knights, and tribuni aerarii.
ἐπὶ ἔτη πέντε ἔδωκε, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὴν τῇ Γαλατίαν τὴν ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ στρατόπεδον ἐτερον προσεπέτρεψε.

9 Φοβηθεὶς δ’ οὖν καὶ δος μὴ τι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἔπειδή ὁ Γαβίνιος ὁ Αύλος ὑπατεύσειν ἐμελλε, νεωτερίσῃ, ἐκεῖνον τε ἀμα καὶ τὸν ἐτερον ὑπατον Δούκιον Πίσωνα συγγενείας ἀνάγκη προσηταμίσατο τῷ μὲν γὰρ Πομπήιῳ τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ περ ἄλλω τειν ἡγγηκὼς συνώκισε, καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ τοῦ Πίσωνος ἔγημε. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐτω πανταχόθεν ἐκρατύνθη, Κικέρων δὲ καὶ Δούκουλλος οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενοι τοῦτοι ἀποκτείναι τὸν τῇ Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον διὰ Δούκιον τινὸς Οὐεττίου ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν, οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν δὲ, ἀλλ’ ἄλγου καὶ αὐτοὶ προσαπώλουντο. προμηθεῖς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ συλληφθεῖς πρὶν τι δρᾶσαι,

3 κατείπεν αὐτῶν καὶ εἶχε μὴ καὶ τὸν Βίσουλον ὡς καὶ συνεπιβουλεύοντα σφισσώ ἐσηγγελκεί, πάντως άν τὶ δεινὸν ἐπεπόνθεσαν νῦν δὲ, ὅτι τοῦτον τῷ Πομπήιῳ τὸ πραττόμενον δηλώσαντα ἀμοινὸμενος ἤτιατο, ὑπωππεύθη μηδὲ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀληθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ κατασκευασμοῦ τινὸς πρὸς συκοφαντίαν τῶν ἀντιστασιώτων σφών

4 παρασκευάσθαι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλλω ἄλλα διεθρύλουν οὐ γὰρ ποῦ καὶ διηλέγχθη τι, ἄλλα ἐς τὸ πλήθος ὁ Οὐεττίος ἐσαχθεῖς, καὶ μόνοις οὐς εἶπον ὀνομάσας, ἐς τὸ ὁ οἴκημα ἐσέπεσε, κανταύθα οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ἐδολοφονήθην

10 ὑποπτὸς τε οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὁ Κικέρων τῷ τῇ Καίσαρι καὶ τῷ Πομπήιῳ γενόμενος ἐβεβαιώσατο τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐν τῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀπολογία.

1 συγγενελατ Rk., συγγενεῖς L.
while the senate entrusted him in addition with Transalpine Gaul and another legion.

But fearing even then that Pompey might make some change during his absence, inasmuch as Aulus Gabinius was to be consul, he attached to himself both Pompey and the other consul, Lucius Piso, by ties of kinship: upon the former he bestowed his daughter, in spite of having betrothed her to another man, while he himself married Piso's daughter. Thus he strengthened himself on all sides. Cicero and Lucullus, however, little pleased at this, undertook to kill both Caesar and Pompey through the help of a certain Lucius Vettius; but they failed of their attempt and all but lost their own lives as well. For Vettius, upon being exposed and arrested before he had accomplished anything, denounced them; and had he not charged Bibulus also with being in the plot against the two, it would certainly have gone hard with them. But as it was, owing to the fact that in his defence he accused this man who had revealed the plan to Pompey, it was suspected that he was not speaking the truth in the case of the others either, but had been prompted in the matter as the result of a plot of the other side to calumniate their opponents. Concerning these matters various reports were current, since nothing was definitely proven. Vettius was brought before the populace, and after naming only those whom I have mentioned, was thrown into prison, where he was treacherously murdered a little later. In consequence of this affair, Cicero became suspected by Caesar and Pompey, and he confirmed their suspicion in his defence of Antonius.
Οὗτος γὰρ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ δεινὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπῆκοον τὸ ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, ἀρξας αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸ ἐνσπον- 
δον εἰργάσατο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέπαθε. τά τε 
γὰρ τῶν Δαρδανῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν πλησιοχώρων 
σφίσι πορθήσας οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιστέας αὐτοὺς 
ὑπομείναι, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἀλλο τι μετὰ τῶν ἱπ-
πέων ὑποχωρήσας ἐφυγεν, καὶ οὐτῶς τους πεζοὺς 
ἐκεῖνους περισχόντες ἐκ τε τῆς χώρας Βιαίως ἐξῆ-
3 λασαν καὶ τὴν λέιαν προσαφειλοῦστο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ 
tοῦτο καὶ περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ 
ποιήσας ἦττήθη πρὸς τῇ τῶν Ἰστριανῶν πόλει 
πρὸς τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν Βασταρνῶν, ἐπιβοηθησάν-
tων αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀπέδρα. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τού-
tως αἰτίαν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐγράφη μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν 
Κατιλίνου συνυφοσία, ἐάλω δὲ δὲ ἐκεῖνα, καὶ 
συνέβη αὐτῷ, ὃν μὲν ἐκρίνετο, μὴ ἑλεγχθῆναι, ὃν 
4 δ' οὐκ ἦτιάξετο, κολασθῆναι. καὶ ὃ μὲν οὕτως 
ἀπελλαξεν, ὃ δὲ δὴ Κικέρων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τότε, ἀτε 
καὶ συνάρξαντος οἷς, ὑπερδικῶν, πλεῖστην κατὰ 
tοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς καὶ αἰτίου τῆς δίκης αὐτοῦ 
γεγενημένου καταδρομὴν ἐποίησατο, καὶ τινὰ 
αὐτὸν καὶ προσελεύσθησεν.

11 'Ὁ δ' ἢξθετο μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῦς ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, 
οὐ μὴν οὔτ' εἶπεν οὔτ' ἐπραξεν ὑβριστικὸν ἐς 
αὐτοῦ οὖν, καὶ περὶ ὑπατεύων. τοὺς γὰρ πολλοὺς 
ἐλεγε συχνά καὶ μάταια ἐξεπίτηδες ὡς τοὺς κραί-
τονᾶς σφὼν ἐς φιλονεκίαν αὐτοὺς ὑπάγοντας 
. . . .

ἐν ἴσοι σφίσι καὶ ὁμοίοι, ἀν γε τι ὁμοίότροπον

1 Ἕσπερδον Oddoy, Ἕσπερδον L.
2 Μυσία R. Steph., μουσίαι L.
3 πρὸς added by Leunel.
4 συνάρξατος Βκ., συνάρχοντος L.
5 ὑπάγοντας Βκ., ὑπαγαγόντας L.
BOOK XXXVIII

The latter, while governor of Macedonia, had inflicted many injuries upon the subject territory as well as upon that which was in alliance with Rome, and had suffered many disasters in return. For after ravaging the possessions of the Dardanians and their neighbours, he did not dare to await their attack, but pretending to retire with his cavalry for some other purpose, took to flight; in this way the enemy surrounded his infantry and forcibly drove them out of the country, even taking away their plunder from them. When he tried the same tactics on the allies in Moesia, he was defeated near the city of the Istrians by the Bastarnian Scythians who came to their aid; and thereupon he ran away. It was not for this conduct, however, that he was accused, but he was indicted for complicity in Catiline's conspiracy; yet he was convicted on the former charge, so that it was his fate to be found not guilty of the crime for which he was being tried, but to be punished for something of which he was not accused. That was the way he came off. But Cicero, who defended him at this time because Antonius had been his colleague, made a most bitter attack upon Caesar, whom he held responsible for the suit against him, and even went so far as to heap abuse upon him.

Caesar was naturally indignant at this, but, although consul, refused to be the author of any insolent speech or act against him. He said that the multitude often purposely [cast] many idle [slurs] upon their superiors, in the effort to draw them into strife, so that they might seem to be their equals and of like importance with them, in case they should get anything similar said of themselves; and he
ἀντακούσωσι, δόξωσιν εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἡξίου ἀν-
2 τίπαλον ἐκ τοῦτον οὐδένα ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς τε ἄλλοις τοῖς τι προπηλακίζουσιν ἀυτῶν οὕτω προσεφέρετο, καὶ τότε τὸν Κικέρωνα ὁ ὁ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῷ τοις τοῦτον λοιδορήσασθαι ἐθέλοντα ὃσον ἀντακούσαι τι τῶν ὀμοίων, ὡστε καὶ παρισταθήναι οἱ, ἐπιθυμοῦντα, βραχύ τε αὐτῶν ἐφρόντισε καὶ οὐδὲν ὥσε ἔλεγε προσεποίη-
σατο, ἀλλ' εἰα αὐτῶν ἀφθονος, καθάπερ τις τι
3 ἐπάινοις ἑαυτῷ, ταῖς λοιδορίαις χρήσατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ παντάπασιν ὀλυγόρος αὐτοῦ ἔσχεν. ἐπιεικεστέραν μὲν γὰρ οὕτως φύσιν εἰλήχει, καὶ οὐ πάνω ῥαδίως ἠθυμοῦτο· συχνὸς δ' οὖν, ἀτε καὶ ἐν τοσοῦτοις πράγμασιν, ἐδικαίου, οὐ μὴν ὡστε καὶ δ' ὀργῆς ἢ καὶ παραχρῆμα πάντως αὐτὸ ποιεῖν. θυμὸ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἑχαρίζετο, τοῦ δὲ δὴ καιροῦ διεσκόπη, καὶ τούς γε πλείους οὐδὲ αἰσθανομένους μετῆει. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως δόξεεν ἀμύνεσθαι τινὰς ἐπράσσεν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ὦτι ἀνεπι-
φθονοτατα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἑαυτῷ πάντα διοικησε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄδηλως, καὶ ἐν οἷς
5 ἡκιστα ἃν τις προσεδόκησε, τὰς τιμωρίας ἐπῆγε, τῆς τε φήμης ἔνεκα, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ὀργίλως ἔχειν, καὶ τοῦ μὴ τινὰ προαισθανόμενον προφυλάξασθαι ἢ καὶ προποιῆσαι τι δεινὸν αὐτῶν, πρὶν παθεῖν, ἐπιχειρήσας. οὐ γὰρ τῶν ἢ ἡ γεγονότων μᾶλλον τι αὐτῷ ἐμελεῖν. 1 ἡ ἢνα τὰ μέλλοντα κολυθείς. 2 καὶ τοῦτον πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ τῶν μεγάλα αὐτοῦ λυπησάντων συνεγίνωσκεν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ βραχὺ

1 ἐμελεῖν R. Steph., ἐμελλεῖν L.
2 τὰ μέλλοντα κολυθείς Rk., καὶ λυθεῖν L.
did not see fit to make anybody his rival in this manner. This, then, was his attitude toward others who insulted him in any way, and so now, when he saw that Cicero was not so anxious to abuse him as to receive similar abuse in return, so that he might be placed on an equality with him, he paid little heed to his traducer, ignoring all he said; indeed, he allowed him to indulge in abuse without stint, as if it were so much praise showered upon him. Still, he did not disregard him entirely. For, although Caesar possessed in reality a rather mild nature, and was not at all easily moved to anger, he nevertheless punished many, since his interests were so numerous, yet in such wise that it was not done in anger nor always immediately. He did not indulge in wrath at all, but watched for his opportunity, and his vengeance pursued the majority of his foes without their knowing it. For he did not act in such a way as to seem to be defending himself against anybody, but so as to arrange everything to his own advantage while arousing the least hatred. Therefore he visited his retribution secretly and in places where one would least have expected it, both for the sake of his reputation, in order to avoid seeming to be of a wrathful disposition, and also to the end that no one should learn of it beforehand and so be on his guard, or try to inflict some serious injury upon him before being injured. For he was not so much concerned about what had already occurred as he was to prevent future attacks. As a result he would pardon many of those, even, who had vexed him greatly, or pursue them only to a limited extent, because he believed they would do
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ἐπεξῆγει, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἦτι κακουργήσειν αὐτοὺς ἐπίστευε: πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἐτιμορεῖτο, λέγων ὅτι τὸ μὲν... ὁμιλεῖν τοτε ἀγένητον... τῆς κολάσεως ὑπερβολὴ πάντως τι δεινὸν πεῖσεται.

12 Ἐξ οὖν τούτων τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ τότε αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤγε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κλώδιον ἀντι-χαρίσασθαι τι αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῆς μοιχείας αὐτοῦ οὐ καθηγόρησε, βουλόμενον αἰσθόμενος παρεσκέυασε.

2 κρύφα κατὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ τοῦ πλῆθους δικαιώματα αὐθεντών, ὅπως νομίμως ἐκποιηθῇ, συμπράττοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου μετέστησεν, ἐπειτὰ δὲ δήμαρχον εὐθὺς

3 ἀποδειχθῆναι διεπράξατο. οὗτος οὖν ο Κλώδιος ἐπεστάμασε μὲν καὶ τὸν Βίβουλον ἐσελθόντα τε ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ ἔξοδο τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ διανοούμενον μετὰ τῆς τοῦ ὄρκου πιστώσεως καὶ περί τῶν παρόντων δημηγορῆσαι, ἐπέθετο δὲ καὶ τῷ

4 Κικέρωνι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἔδοκει οἱ ῥάδιον εἶναι ἀνδρὰ πάμμολυ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων δεινότητα δυνάμενον καταλύσαι, τρέπεται πρὸς οἰκείῳς αὐξὸν ὅτι τοῦ πλῆθους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔπειρας τῆς τε βουλῆς, παρ' ὀλστέρ' που καὶ ο Κικέρων πλείστος ἐφέρετο, ἐλπίσας, ἀν τούτως σφετέρισηται, ῥάδιος αὐτοῦ, ἀτέ καὶ διὰ φόβου μᾶλλον ἢ δὲ εὖνοιαν ἱσχύοντα, καθαιρήσειν. παμπληθεὶς γὰρ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἐλύπει, καὶ οὐκ εστὶ τοσοῦτον οἳ τὶ ὁφελοῦμεν οὐπ' αὐτοῦ φιλεῖται ἐς δοςον οἱ βλαπτόμενοι ἠλλοτριοῦντο. πρὸς γὰρ τὸ τοῦ τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἀνθρώπων προχειροτερον ἐπὶ τοῖς δυσχερεστέροις ἀγανακτεῖν ἢ τῶν ἁμείνονων χάριν τισιν ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν
no further injury; whereas upon many others he took vengeance, even beyond what was fitting, with an eye to his own safety. What was once done, he said, [he could] never [make] undone [by any penalty], but because of the severity of the punishment he would for the future at least suffer no harm.

In view of these considerations he was inclined to do nothing on this occasion also; but when he ascertained that Clodius was willing to do him a favour in return for the fact that he had not accused him of adultery, he set this man secretly against Cicero. In the first place, in order that he might be lawfully excluded from the patricians, he transferred him with Pompey's coöperation to the plebeian status once more, and then immediately had him appointed tribune. This Clodius, then, silenced Bibulus, when at the expiration of his office he entered the Forum and intended in connexion with taking the oath to deliver a speech about the existing state of affairs; and he attacked Cicero also. But since he decided that it was not easy to overthrow a man who had very great influence in the state by reason of his skill in speaking, he proceeded to conciliate not only the populace, but also the knights and the senate, by whom Cicero was held in the highest regard. His hope was that if he could make these men his own, he might easily cause the downfall of the orator, whose strength lay rather in the fear than in the good-will which he inspired. For Cicero annoyed great numbers by his speeches, and those whom he aided were not so thoroughly won to his side as those whom he injured were alienated; for most men are more ready to feel irritation at what displeases them than to feel grateful to any one
συγγραφεύσασι σφισιν ἀποδεδωκέναι τὸν μισθὸν νομίζειν, τοὺς δ᾽ αὐτοκήςαντας ἀμύνεσθαι τρό- 
πον τινὰ προαιρεῖσθαι, πικροτάτους ἐχθροὺς ἑαυτῷ ἐποίει1 περειναὶ τε καὶ τῶν κρατίστων 
ἀεὶ ποτὲ ἐπιχειροῖν καὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἀκρατῶν καὶ κατακορεῖ χρόμενος, ἀτε καὶ 
τὴν δόξαν τοῦ δύνασθαι συνεϊναι τε καὶ εἰπεῖν ἅ 
μηδεὶς ἄλλος, καὶ πρὸ τὸν χρηστὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν, 
7 θηρώμενος. ἐκ τε οὖν τούτου, καὶ διότι μέγιστὸν 
τε ἀνθρώπων ἡχει καὶ οὐδένα εξ ἵσου ἑαυτῷ ἠγενέν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τε τοῖς λόγοις ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ 
βίῳ πάντας τε ὑπερεφρόνει καὶ ἴσοδίαιτος οὐδενὶ 
ήξιον εἶναι, φορτικός τε καὶ ἐπαχθῆς ᾧν, καὶ ἀπὸ 
τούτων καὶ ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐκείνων οἷς ἤρεσκε, καὶ 
ἔφθονείτο καὶ ἐμισεῖτο.

13 Ὅ οὖν Κλάδιος ἔλπίζασα αὐτὸν διὰ ταῦτα, ἂν 
τὴν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἱππεᾶς τὸν τε ὁμίλου 
προπαρασκεύασηται, ταχὺ κατεργάσεσθαι,2 τὸν 
τε σίτον προῖκα εὐθὺς3 διένειμε (τὸ γὰρ μετρεῖσθαι 
τοὺς ἀπόροις, τοῦ τε Γαβινίου ἡδὴ καὶ τοῦ 
2 Πίσονος ὑπατευόντων, ἐσηγήσατο) καὶ τὰ ἐται- 
ρικά, κολλῆγια ἐπιχωρίως καλούμενα, ὅτα μὲν 
ἐκ τοῦ ἄρχαιον, καταλυθέντα δὲ χρόνον τινά, 
ἀνενεώπατο τοῖς τε τιμητάς ἀπηγόρευσε μῆτ' 
ἀπαλείφειν ἐκ τίνος τέλους μῆτ' ἁτιμάζειν μηδένα, 
χωρὶς ἡ εἰ τις παρ' ἀμφοτέρως σφῖσι κρῖθεις 
ἀλοίπῃ.

3 Τούτων οὖν αὐτῶς δελεάσασα καὶ ἐτερῶν τινὰ 
νόμον ἔγραψε, περί οὖ διὰ πλείων ἀναγκαίων

1 ἐποίει Reim., ἐσποίει L.
2 κατεργάσεσθαι Dind., κατεργάσασθαι L.
3 εὐθὺς Bn., ἀδῆς L.
for kindnesses, and they think that they have paid their advocates in full with their fee, while their chief concern is to get even with their opponents in some way or other. Cicero, moreover, made for himself very bitter enemies by always striving to get the better of even the most powerful men and by always employing an unbridled and excessive frankness of speech toward all alike; for he was in pursuit of a reputation for sagacity and eloquence such as no one else possessed, even in preference to being thought a good citizen. As a result of this and because he was the greatest boaster alive and regarded no one as equal to himself, but in his words and life alike looked down upon everybody and would not live as any one else did, he was wearisome and burdensome, and was consequently both disliked and hated even by those very persons whom he otherwise pleased.

Clodius, therefore, hoped on this account that he should first win over the senate and the knights and the populace he could quickly crush him. So he straightway went to distributing free corn; for when Gabinius and Piso had now become consuls, he had introduced his motion that it should be doled out to the needy; and he revived the associations called *collegia* in the native language, which had existed of old but had been abolished for some time. He also forbade the censors to remove anybody from any order or to censure any one, except as he should be tried and convicted before them both.

After offering them this lure he proposed another law, concerning which it is necessary to speak at
ἐστιν εἴπεῖν, ὅπως σαφέστερος τοῖς πολλοῖς γένηται. τῆς γὰρ μαντείας τῆς δημοσίας ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ εἴς ἄλλων τινῶν, ὅσπερ ἔπον, ποιομένης, τὸ μέγιστον κύρος ἢ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἶχεν, οὕτως ὡστε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἰωνίσματα πολλά καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην πράξιν, εἴκειν δὲ ἐσάπαξ ἐπὶ πάση τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γίγνεσθαι. τούτῳ τε οὖν ἰδιωτὰν ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἢ ἐπέτρεπε πραξθῆναι τινα, καὶ ἐγίγνετο μηδενὸς ἐν ἐκαστῷ οἰωνίσματι ἐπαγομένου, ἢ ἐκόλυνε, καὶ ἀνεχειρίζετό τι, τὰς δὲ δὴ τοῦ δήμου διαψφίσεως πάντως ἐπίσχειν, καὶ ἦν πρὸς αὐτὸς ἀπὶ διοισιμα, εἴτε ἐναίσθων εἰτε ἐξαισιοῦ ἐγένετο. καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτίον τῆς νομίσεως ταύτης οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, γράφω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα. ἔπει οὖν πολλοὶ ἐμποδίζειν ἡ νόμοις ἐσφοραὶ ἡ ἀρχόντων καταστάσεις ἢ τοῦ δήμου ἐσαγομένας βουλόμενοι προεπήγγελλον ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην μαντευομένου, διότι μηδεμίαν ἐν αὐτῇ κύρωσιν τῶν δήμων σχεῖν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Κλώδιος μὴ γραψαμένου αὐτοῦ τῶν Κικέρωνα ἀναβολήν τέ τινες ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ τριβὴν τῇ δίκῃ ἐμποιήσωσιν, ἐσὴνεγκε μηδένα τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐν αἷς ἐπιθύμησαν τοῖς δήμοις ἀναγκαίον εἰ, τὰ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γιγνόμενα παρατηρεῖν.

14 Τοιαύτα μὲν τότε ἐπὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα συνέγραψε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκείνος, συνεῖς τὸ γράφομεν, Δούκιον Νίννιον Κουαδράτον δημαρχοῦντα ἐναντιωθῆναι πᾶσι σφισιν ἀντιπαρασκεύασεν, ἐδεισε μὴ καὶ

1 ἔπισχειν Bk., ἐπισχεῖν L.
some length, so that it may become clearer to the general public. Public divination was obtained from the sky and from certain other sources, as I have said, but that of the sky had the greatest authority—so much so, in fact, that while the other auguries were many in number and were taken for each action, this one was taken but once and for the whole day. This was the most peculiar feature about it; but there was the further difference that whereas in reference to all other matters sky-divination either allowed things to be done, in which case they were carried out without consulting any individual augury further, or else would prevent and hinder something, yet it stopped the voting of the people altogether, serving always as a portent to check them, whether it was of a favourable or unfavourable nature. The cause of this custom I am unable to state, but I set down the common report. Accordingly, many persons who wished to obstruct either the proposal of laws or the appointment of magistrates that came before the popular assembly were in the habit of announcing that they would look for omens from the sky that day, so that during it the people would have no power to pass any measure. Clodius, now, was afraid that if he indicted Cicero some might adopt this means to secure the postponement or delay of the trial; and so he introduced a measure that none of the magistrates should observe the signs from heaven on the days when it was necessary for the people to vote on anything.

Such were the measures which he then drew up with reference to Cicero. The latter understood what was afoot and induced Lucius Ninnius Quadratus, a tribune, to oppose every move; so
θόρυβος ἐκ τούτου καὶ διατριβή τις γένηται, καὶ
2 ὑπῆλθεν αὐτῶν ἀπατήσας. προδιομολογησάμενος
γὰρ αὐτῷ μηδ’ ὁπισών, ἀν μηδὲν τῶν νομοθετο-
μένων ἑμποδίση, κατ’ αὐτοῦ γράψειν, ἔπειτα τὴν
ήσυχιαν καὶ ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ Νινίου ἁγιοῦς
διενομηθέντησεν αὐτὰ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ
3 Κικέρωνι ἐπεχείρησεν, καὶ ὁ μὲν οὖσῳ, καίτοι
φρονιμώτατος ἀξιῶν εἶναι, τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλωδίου,
εἰ γε ἐκείνου ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν Καίσαρα τούς τε
ἀλλοις τούς μετ’ αὐτῶν συνεστηκότας δεῖ λέγειν,
4 ήπατήθη· ο ἐε δὴ νόμος ὅν μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Κλω-
διος ἐσήνεγκεν, ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ἔδοκεν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ
tίθεσθαι (οὔδε γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ἀλλὰ
cατὰ πάντων ἀπλώς τὸν πολίτην τινά ἄνευ τῆς
τοῦ δήμου καταγωγῶς ἀποκτενοῦντων ἢ καὶ
ἀπεκτότων ἐσήγητο), ἐργὼ δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ὅτι
5 μάλιστα συνεγράφετο. ἐφερε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἔπι
πᾶσαν τὴν βουλήν, ὅτι τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις τὴν φυ-
lακήν τῆς πόλεως, δι’ ἠσπέρ καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα
σφοιν ποιεῖν ἐξὸν ἐγίγνετο, προσετέταχε, καὶ
μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Δεντούλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
6 τῶν τότε βανατοβέντων κατεψήφιστο· οὐ μὲντοι
ἀλλ’ ὁ Κικέρων, ἐπειδή καὶ ἐσηγγέλκει περὶ
αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσήγητο ᾧ καὶ ἐπεσηφίκει καὶ τέλος
καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν σφόν διὰ τὸ τά τοιαύτα
ὑπηρετούντων ἐπεποίητο, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν μόνον ἢ
7 καὶ μάλιστα ἐσχε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ τῶν ἢτα
ἐξχυρῶς αὐτῷ ἄντεπρασσε, καὶ τὴν βουλευτικὴν
ἐσθήτα ἀπορρίφας ἐν τῇ ἰππάδι περιενόστει,
pάντας τοὺς τοὺς τὸν δυναμένους, οὐχ ὅπως τῶν

1 πολίτην Rk., πολίτων L. 2 ἐσήγητο Bk., συνεσήγητο L.
3 ἐσήγητο Rk., ἐσηγεῖτο L. 4 ἐσχε R. Steph., ἠοίκε L.
Clodius, fearing that some disturbance and delay might arise as a result, outwitted him by deceit. He first made an agreement with Cicero to bring no indictment against him, if the other would not interfere with any of the measures he proposed; thereupon, while Cicero and Ninnius remained quiet, he secured the passage of the laws, and then made his attack upon the orator. And thus the latter, who thought himself extremely shrewd, was deceived on that occasion by Clodius—if, indeed, it is proper to speak here of Clodius and not rather of Caesar and the others who were in league with the two. Now the law that Clodius next proposed was not on its face enacted against Cicero, since it did not contain his name, but was directed against all, without exception, who should put to death or even had put to death any citizen without the condemnation of the people; yet in reality it was drawn up with especial reference to the orator. It brought within its scope, indeed, the entire senate, because that body had charged the consuls with the protection of the city, by which act it was permitted them to take such steps, and afterwards had condemned Lentulus and the others who were put to death at that time. Nevertheless, Cicero received the whole blame; or at least the greater part of it, since he had laid information against the men and had on each occasion made the motion and put the vote and finally had exacted the penalty of them through those entrusted with such business. For this reason he vigorously opposed Clodius’ measure in every way; in particular, he discarded his senatorial dress and went about in the garb of the knights, paying court meanwhile, as he went the rounds,
ἐπιτηδείων ἄλλα καὶ τὸν ἀντιστασιωτῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον τὸν τε Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἀτε ἡμι." τὴν ἐχθραν αὐτοῦ προσποιούμενον, καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ὅμολος περιών ἐθεράτευε. 1

15 Καὶ ἔσθωλυντο γὰρ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μήτε τὸν Κλώ- διον αὐτοὶ παρεσκευακέναι μήτε τοὺς γεγραμ- μένους ὑπ` αὐτοῦ ἀρέσκεσθαι δοκεῖν, τοιᾶσδε τινὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀπάτην, σφίσει μὲν εὐπρεπῆ

2 ἐκεῖνο δὲ δὴ ἀφανῆ, προσεξεύρον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Καίσαρ ὑπείκειν αὐτῷ συνεβουλεύει, μὴ καὶ κατὰ χώραν μένας ἀπόληται καὶ ὑνὶ ἡ καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπ` εὐνοίας τοῦτο ποιεῖν πιστευθῇ, ὑποστράτηγοι οἱ χρήσεται ὑποσχεῖτο, ὡς μὴ μετ` ὅνειδος ὡς καὶ ὑπεύθυνος ὡς, ἄλλα ἐπὶ τε ἀρχής καὶ μετά

3 τιμῆς ἐκποδῶν δὴ τῷ Κλώδιῳ γένηται. ὁ δὲ δὴ Πομπήιος τούτου μὲν αὐτῶν, τὸ τε πράγμα ἀπό- δρασιν ἀντικρος ὁνομάζων, καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ὅστε καὶ κατ` ἐχθραν οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖος οἱ συμβου- λεύονται ὑποσημαίνων, ἀπέτρεπε, γνώμην δὲ ἐδίδου καταμείναν καὶ ἑαυτῷ τε ἀμα καὶ τῇ βουλῇ μετὰ παρρησίας βοηθῆσαι, τὸν τε Κλώδιον εὐθὺς ἀμύ- νασθαι οὔτε γὰρ διαπράχασθαι τι αὐτῶν παρόντος τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἑναντιομένου δυνήσεσθαι ἔλεγε, καὶ προσέτε καὶ δίκην 2 δώσειν καὶ ἑαυτοῦ τι πρός τοῦτο συμπράξαντος. τοιοῦτοι αὐτῶν 3 λόγους λεγόντων οὕς ὅτι ἑναντία ἀλλήλους ἐγι- γνωσκὸν ἀλλ` ἐν` ἐκείνων ἀνυπότευκτο ἀπατήσεσθε, τῷ τῇ Πομπήιῳ προσέθετο. οὗτε γὰρ προούποπτευε· τι εἰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἑπίστευε πάντως ὑπ` αὐτοῦ σωθή- σεσθαι. τῶν τε γὰρ ἄλλων πολλοὶ καὶ ἱδοῦντο

1 ἐθεράτευε Η. Steph., ἐθεράτευσε Λ.
2 δίκην supplied by Oddey.
3 αὐτῶν Reim., αὐτῶι Λ.
day and night alike, to all who had any influence, not only of his friends but also of his opponents, and especially to Pompey and even Caesar, inasmuch as the latter concealed his enmity toward him.

Now these men, indeed, did not wish to appear to have instigated Clodius themselves, or even to be pleased with his measures, and so they devised the following plan, involving no discredit to themselves but obscure to Cicero, for deceiving him. Caesar, for his part, advised him to yield, for fear he might lose his life if he remained in the city; and in order to have it believed the more readily that he was doing this through good-will, he promised to employ him as his lieutenant, so that he might retire out of Clodius' way, not in disgrace, as if under investigation, but in a position of command and with honour. Pompey, however, tried to turn him aside from this course, calling the act outright desertion, and uttering insinuations against Caesar to the effect that through enmity he was not giving sound advice; as for himself, he advised him to remain and boldly defend both himself and the senate and thus avenge himself at once upon Clodius. The latter, he declared, would not be able to accomplish anything with Cicero present and confronting him, and would furthermore meet his deserts, since he, Pompey, would also cooperate to this end. Now when these two expressed themselves thus, not because their views were opposed, but for the purpose of deceiving their victim without arousing his suspicion, Cicero attached himself to Pompey. Of him he had no previous suspicion and was absolutely confident of being saved by his assistance. For in the first place, many respected and
αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτίμων ὥστε καὶ κινδυνεύοντας συχνοὺς τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τῶν δικαστῶν τοὺς δὲ καὶ παρ᾽ 6 αὐτῶν τὸν κατηγόρων ἰνύμενον\textsuperscript{1} καὶ ὁ Κλώδιος, ἄτε καὶ ἐν γέρει ποτὲ αὐτῷ γενόμενος καὶ συστρατεύσας ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἐδόκει ποιήσειν. τὸν τε Γαβίνιον ἀντικρύς, ἄτε καὶ πάνυ φίλον αὐτῷ ὄντα, καὶ τὸν Πίσονα ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος συγγενείαν ὑπάρξειν οἱ προσεοδόκησε. 16 τούτοις τε σὺν τοῖς λογισμοῖς κρατήσειν ἐπίσας (καὶ γὰρ ἐδάρει παρὰ λόγου ὅσπερ ἀνεξετάστως ἐδεδείε), καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐκ ποιημοῦ συνειδότος τὴν ἀποδομὴν πεποίησαι δόξῃ, τῷ μὲν Καίσαρι χάριν δὴ τινὰ ἔχειν ἔλεγε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Πομπήῳ ἐπείσθη.

2 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὗτος ἀπατηθεὶς παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπεροίσουν. πρὸς ἡμᾶς δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, οἱ τε ἵππης συνελθοντες εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τε τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν, ἄλλους τε τινὰς ἐκ 3 σφῶν καὶ βουλευτῶν τὸν τε Ὀρτῆσιον τὸν Κύ- ἱντον καὶ Γάιον Κουρίωνα, ἔπεμψαν καὶ ὁ Νίκιος τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτῶ συνήρετο, καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα τῷ πλῆθει ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τινὶ κοινῇ συμφορᾷ μεταβάλει\textsuperscript{2} παρῆμεσε. καὶ πολλοὶ\textsuperscript{3} τοῦτο καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐποίησαν,\textsuperscript{4} καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἡ μετεβάλοντο\textsuperscript{5} πρὶν τοὺς ὑπάτους σφίσι διὰ προ- γραφής ἐπιτιμήσαι.

4 ἈΛΛ ἦν γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν αὐτοῦ

1 ἰνύμενον Cary, ὑσεβαί L. 2 μεταβάλει Bk., μεταβάλλει L. 3 πολλοὶ R.-Steph., πολѣ L. 4 ἐποίησαν supplied by Xyl. 5 μετεβάλλοντο Bk., μετεβάλλοντο L.
honoured him as one who saved numerous persons in grave peril, some from the judges and others from their very accusers; and Clodius, in particular, had formerly been a relative of Pompey's and had long served under him, so that it seemed likely that he would do nothing that failed to accord with his wishes. As for Gabinius, Cicero supposed he could count on him absolutely as an adherent, since he was a good friend of his, and equally on Piso, because of his amiability as well as his kinship with Caesar. On the basis of these calculations, then, he hoped to win, since he was now unreasonably confident, even as he had before been unduly terrified; and fearing that his withdrawal from the city would seem to have been occasioned by a bad conscience, he listened to Pompey, though he said that he was considerably obliged to Caesar.

And thus Cicero, deceived in this wise, was preparing as if for a great victory over his enemies. For, in addition to the grounds for hope already mentioned, the knights assembled on the Capitol and sent envoys in his behalf to the consuls and senate, some from their own number, and also the senators Quintus Hortensius and Gaius Curio. Ninnius, too, in addition to his assistance in other ways urged the populace to change their apparel, as if for a general calamity. And many of the senators also did this, and would not change back until the consuls rebuked them by an edict.

The forces of his adversaries were more powerful,
δυνατώτερα, οὔτε ὁ Κλώδιος χρηματίσασθαι τι ἐπέρ αὐτοῦ τῷ Νιννίῳ ἐπέτρεψεν, οὔτε Γαβίνιος τὴν πρόσοδον τοῖς ἑπεύσειν ἐς τὴν βουλήν ἔδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕνα τινὰ αὐτῶν, ὡς πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξῆλασε, τῷ τε Ὄρτησίῳ καὶ τῷ Κουρίωνι, ὅτι καὶ ἄθροισθεῖσι σφίσι συνεγένοντο καὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ὑπέστησαν, ἑπεκάλεσε. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλώδιος ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐσαγαγὼν πληγαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν διὰ τινῶν προπαρεσκευασμένων συνέκοψε. καὶ μετὰ ταύτα ὁ τε Πίσσων, καίτερ εὐνοίκῳ τῷ Κικέρωνι δοκῶν ἔχειν, καὶ συμβουλεύσας γε αὐτῷ, ὡς ἐόρα ἀδύνατον ὅν ἀλλῳς αὐτὸν σωθῆναι, προὔπεξέχειν, ὡμως ἐπειδὴ διὰ τούτῳ ἐκεῖνος ὀργίσθη, παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὅτε πρῶτον ἡδυνήθη (τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ ἥρρωστε), καὶ πυθομένου τοῦ Κλώδιον τίνα γνώμην περί τῶν γεγραμμένων ἔχοι, εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδὲν μοι οὔτε ὁμόν ὃντε σκυθρωπὸν ἔργον ἀρέσκει· καὶ ὁ Γαβίνιος ἐρωτηθεὶς τὸ αὐτὸ τούτο οὐχ ὅπως ἐκεῖνον ἐπήνευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἑπεύσεως τῆς τε βουλῆς προσκατηγόρησεν.

17 Ὅ μεντοὶ Καῖσαρ (ἐξω γὰρ τοῦ τείχους ὁ Κλώδιος δι’ αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδήπερ ἐξεστράτευτο, τὸν ὁμλον συναγαγὼν καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιγνώμονα τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐποιήσατο) τὴν μὲν παρανομίαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Δέντουλον πραξθέντων κατεψή.

2 φίσατο, τὴν μέντοι τιμωρίαν τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς γραφομένην οὐκ ἐδοκίμασεν· ὅσα μὲν γὰρ περὶ

1 τῷ Νιννίῳ Λουνκλ., τοῦ νιννίου Ι.
2 πάλεως Κοβετ, παλιτείας Ι.
3 πυθομένου Χυλ., πυθομένου Ι.
4 οὔτ’ ὁμόν Βικτορίου, οὔτο μόνον Ι.
5 οὔτε Στ., οὔδε Ι.
6 μὲν Στ., μὲν γὰρ Ι.
however. Clodius would not allow Ninnius to take any action in his behalf, and Gabinius would not grant the knights access to the senate; on the contrary, he drove one of them, who was very insistent, out of the city, and rebuked Hortensius and Curio for having been present in the assembly of the knights and for having undertaken the mission. Moreover, Clodius brought them before the populace, where they were soundly belaboured for their mission by some appointed agents. After this Piso, though he seemed well-disposed towards Cicero and had advised him, on seeing that it was impossible for him to attain safety by any other means, to slip away in time, nevertheless, when the other took offence at this counsel, came before the assembly at the first opportunity (he was too ill most of the time) and to the question of Clodius as to what opinion he held regarding the proposed measure said: "No deed of cruelty or sadness pleases me." Gabinius, too, on being asked the same question, not only failed to praise Cicero but even accused both the knights and the senate.

Caesar, however, who had already taken the field, and whom Clodius could therefore make arbiter of the measure only by assembling the populace outside the walls, condemned the illegality of the action taken in regard to Lentulus, but still did not approve the punishment proposed for it. Every one knew, he said, all that had been in his mind con-
τῶν τὸτε γενομένων ἐφρόνησε, πάντας εἶδέναι ἔφη
(τὴν γὰρ σῶξουσάν σφαῖς ψῆφον δεδωκὼς ἦν), οὐ
μὴν καὶ προσήκειν ἐπὶ τοὺς παρεληξιθόσι τοιούτον
tινα νόμον συγγράφεσθαι. Καίσαρ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔστε, Κράσσος δὲ διὰ μὲν τοῦ υἱοῦ βοήθειάν τινα
tῷ Κικέρωνι ἐνεδείκνυτο, αὐτὸς δὲ τά τοῦ πλῆ-
θος ἔπρασσε. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ὑπισχνεῖτο μὲν
αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπικουρίαν, σκῆψεις δὲ τινὰς ἀλλὰς
ποιούμενος καὶ ἀποδημίας συγχάς ἐπίτηδες
στελλόμενος οὐκ ἐπῆμυνε.

4 Ἡδὼν οὖν ταῦτ' ὁ Κικέρων καὶ φοβηθεῖς αὐτὸς
ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ὅτι δα ἄρασθαι (τὰ τῇ γὰρ ἄλλα
cαι τὸν Πομπήιον φανεροὶ προεπηλάκιε, καὶ
θείες δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν Κάτωνος καὶ τὸν Ὄρθριον,
μὴ καὶ ἐμφύλιος εἰ τοῦτον πόλεμος γένηται, τότε
δὴ καὶ ἁκῶν μετὰ τε αἰσχύνης καὶ μετὰ κακο-
δοξίας, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐθελοντῆς
πεφευγὼς, μετέστη. πρὶν δὲ δὴ ἀφορμῆσαι, ἐς τὸ
Καπιτῶλιον ἀνέβη καὶ ἀγαλμάτιον τῆς Αθηνᾶς ἀνέθηκε,
Φυλακίδα αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας. ὑπεξήλθε
δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν προστάτης τῇ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐγεγο-
νει, καὶ ἐπίδεικνυ τοις ἐν τῃς δήμοις καὶ ἐν
toῖς ἰδίωταις τῷ τε ἀρχοντῇ αὐτῶν εἶχε τιμηθῆ-

5 σεθαί, φυγόντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὁ νόμος τὸ κύρος,
οὐχ ὅπως οὖν ἐναντιωθέντος τινὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ
σπουδασάντων ἄλλων τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ὀπέρ
τὰ 1 τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀνὰ πρῶτοι πράπτειν ἐδῶκον,
ἐπειδὴπερ ἀπαξ ἐκπολεμόν ἐγεγονεί, ἐλαβεν καὶ ἦ
τε ὀυσία αὐτῶν ἐδημεύθη, καὶ ἦ ὁικία ὅπερ τινὸς
πολέμιον κατεσκάφη, τό τε ἐδαφὸς αὐτῆς ἔς νεὼν

6 Ἐλευθερίας ἀνέθηκαν. αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῳ ἢ τε φυγῇ

1 ὀπέρ τὰ Βο., ἢ ὀπέρ Λ.
cerning the events of that time, as he had cast his vote in favour of sparing their lives, but it was not fitting for any such law to be drawn up with regard to events now past. This was Caesar's advice. Crassus showed some favour to Cicero through his son, but himself took the side of the multitude. Pompey kept promising him assistance, but by making various excuses at different times and purposely arranging many journeys out of town, failed to defend him.

Cicero, perceiving this, became afraid and again undertook to resort to arms, among other things even abusing Pompey openly; but he was stopped by Cato and Hortensius, for fear a civil war might result. Then at last he departed, against his will, and with the shame and ill-repute of having gone into exile voluntarily, as if conscience-stricken. But before leaving he ascended the Capitol and dedicated a little image of Minerva, whom he styled "Protectress." And he set out secretly for Sicily; for he had once been governor there, and entertained a lively hope that he should be honoured among its towns and private citizens and by their governor. On his departure the law took effect; so far from meeting with any opposition, it was supported, as soon as he was once out of the way, by those very persons, among others, who had seemed to be the most active workers in Cicero's behalf. His property was confiscated, his house was razed to the ground, as though it had been an enemy's, and its site was dedicated for a temple of Liberty. Against Cicero himself a decree of exile
ἐπετειμήθη καὶ ἦ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ διατριβῇ ἀπερρήθη; τρισχίλιοις τε γὰρ καὶ ἐπτακοσίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα στάδιοι υπὲρ τῆς Ρώμης υπερώρισθη, καὶ προσεπεκπρύχθη ἵν' εἷ δὴ ποτὲ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν φανεῖ, καὶ αὐτός καὶ οἱ ὑποδεξάμενοι αὐτὸν ἀνατί διόλωνται.

18 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐσ τὴν Μακεδονίαν διὰ τούτο μετέστη καὶ ἐκεῖ διέτριβεν ὅδυρομενος ἐντυχὼν δ' αὐτὸς Φίλίσκος τις ἄνηρ ἐν τῇ ταῖς Ἀθηναίως συγγεγογοῦσι οἱ καὶ τότε κατὰ τύχην1 συντυχὼν, "οὐκ αἰσχύνη," ἔφη, "ὁ Κικέρων, θρηνών καὶ γναίκειώς διακείμενος; ὡς ἔγορη ὁπότι ἀν σε προσεδόκησα οὐτὸ μαλακισθῆσησαι, πολλῆς μὲν παιδείας καὶ πνευτοδαπῆς μετεσχηκότα, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ συγγορηκότα."

2 Καὶ ὅσ υπολαβὼν εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ὦνδεν τοι ὁμοίων ἔστιν, ὁ Φίλίσκε, ὑπὲρ ἄλλων τε τίνα λέγειν καὶ ἑαυτῷ συμβουλεύειν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλωτρίων λεγόμενα, ἀπὸ ὀρθῆς καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς γνώμης προίοντα, καὶ χρὸν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα λαμβάνει ὅταν δὲ δὴ πάθημα τι τὴν ψυχήν καταλάβη, θολοῦται καὶ σκοτοῦται καὶ ὦνδεν δίναται καίριον ἐννοήσαι. ὅθεν πον πάνυ καλὸς εἰρητι ὅτι ραθύν παραινέσαι ἐτέρως ἐστὶν ἡ αὐτῶν παθόντα καρτερῆσαι." 3 ὧν ἐν τῷ τῶν "Δέγεις μὲν τί," ἔφη ὁ Φιλίσκος, "αὐθρώπινον οὔ μὲντοι καὶ ἥξιον σε, τοσαύτη μὲν φρονήσει κεχρημένον τοσαύτην δὲ σοφίαν ἃ σεκεκότα, μὴ οὐ προπαρεσκευάσθαι πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, ἵν' εἰ τί καὶ παράλογον σοι προσπέσοι, μήτι γε 2

1 τύχην Bc., τὴν τύχην Λ.
2 μήτι γε Dind., μήτοι γε Λ.
was passed, and he was forbidden to tarry in Sicily; for he was banished five hundred miles from Rome, and it was further proclaimed that if he should ever appear within those limits, both he and those who harboured him might be slain with impunity.

He accordingly went over to Macedonia and spent his time there in lamentations. But there met him a man named Philiscus, who had made his acquaintance in Athens and now by chance fell in with him again. "Are you not ashamed, Cicero," he said, "to be weeping and behaving like a woman? Really, I should never have expected that you, who have enjoyed such an excellent and varied education, and who have acted as advocate to many, would grow so faint-hearted."

"But," replied the other, "it is not at all the same thing, Philiscus, to speak for others as to advise one's self. The words spoken in others' behalf, proceeding from a mind that is firm and unshaken, are most opportune; but when some affliction overwhims the spirit, it becomes turbid and darkened and cannot reason out anything that is opportune. For this reason, I suppose, it has been very well said that it is easier to counsel others than to be strong oneself under suffering."

"That is but human nature," rejoined Philiscus. "I did not think, however, that you, who are gifted with so much sound sense and have practised so much wisdom, had failed to prepare yourself for all human possibilities, so that even if some unexpected accident should befall you, it would not find you

1 Literally 3,750 stades: Dio regularly reckons 7½ instead of 8 stades to the (Roman) mile. Cf. p. 61 and note. The distance here given agrees with Plutarch's statement (Cic. 32), but Cicero himself (ad Att. iii. 4) says 400 miles.
καὶ ἀφρακτὸν σε εὐροὶ. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐν τούτῳ καθέστηκας,... καὶ γὰρ ἂν τι ὀφελήσαμί σε διαλεξάμενος τι τῶν προσφόρων, ὃν ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ φορτία συναιρόμενοι τισιν ἐπικονφίζουσιν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐγὼ σοι τὸ πάθος τοῦτο ἐπελαφρύναμι, τοσοῦτο ράον ἐκείνων ὡσφ μηδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον αὐτοῦ μεταλήψομαι. οὐ γὰρ ποινοὶ καὶ ἀπαξιώσεις παραμυθίου τινὸς παρ' ἑτέρου τυχεῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτάρκης ἐαυτῷ Ἡσθα, οὐδὲν ἀν ἡμῖν τῶν λόγων τούτων ἔδει· ἵνα δ' ὁμοιοὶ πέπωθασιν ὥσπερ εἰ Ἰπποκράτης ἢ Δημοκρίτης ἢ καὶ ἄλλος τις τῶν πάνω λατρῶν νοσήματι δυσιάτῳ περιπεσών ἀλλοτρίας χειρὸς πρὸς τὴν ἀκεσίαν αὐτοῦ προσεδεθή.

"Ἀλλ' εἰ γε τίνα," ἐφη ὁ Κικέρων, "τοιοῦτον ἔχεις λόγον ὡστε τὴν ἀχλίνην μοι ταύτην ἀπό τῆς ψυχῆς ἀφελείν καὶ ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον με φῶς ἐπαναγαίνειν, ἐτοιμότατός εἰμι ἀκούειν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τῶν φαρμάκων, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ διαφοραὶ πολλαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις ποικίλαι εἰσίν, ὡστε οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ ἐμὲ τὸν λαμπρὸν ἐν τῇ γεροντίᾳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῖς τε δικαστηρίων σοφία τινὶ καταλαμβανείην.

"Βέρε οὖν," εἶπεν ὁ Φιλίσκος, "ἐπειδὴ πρὸτον ἀκοῦειν ἐτοιμὸς εἰ, σκέψωμεθα πρὸ τοῦ μὲν εἰ κακὰ ως ἄλθος ἐστίν ταύτα τὰ περιεστηκότα σε, ἐπειτα δὲ τίνα προῖ πρὸτον αὐτὰ ἀκεσίμεθα. ἐγὼ τοίνυν πρὸ τοῦ μὲν ἀπαντῶν ὁρῶ σε ἐγναίνοντα τῷ σώματι καὶ εὐ μάλα ἐρρωμένον, ὅπερ ποιν πρὸ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις, ἐπειτα δὲ τὰ

1 προσεδεθή Rk., προσεδεθή L.
unfortified at any point. But since, now, you are in this plight, ... for I might be of some little assistance to you by rehearsing a few appropriate arguments. And thus, just as men who put a hand to other's burdens relieve them, so I might lighten this misfortune of yours, and the more easily than they, inasmuch as I shall not take upon myself even the smallest part of it. Surely you will not deem it unbecoming, I trust, to receive some encouragement from another, since if you were sufficient for yourself, we should have no need of these words. As it is, you are in a like case to Hippocrates or Democedes or any of the other great physicians, if one of them had fallen ill of a disease hard to cure and had need of another's aid to bring about his own recovery."

"Indeed," said Cicero, "if you have any argument that will dispel this mist from my soul and restore me to the light of old, I am most ready to listen. For words, as drugs, are of many varieties, and divers potencies, so that it will not be surprising if you should be able to steep in some mixture of philosophy even me, for all my brilliant feats in the senate, the assemblies, and the law-courts."

"Come then," continued Philiscus, "since you are ready to listen, let us consider first whether these conditions that surround you are actually bad, and next in what way we may cure them. First of all, now, I see you are in excellent physical health and strength, which is surely man's chief natural blessing; and, next, that you have the necessities of

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1 The gap may be filled by some such words as, "I will endeavour to offer you some encouragement," or "Listen to me," as suggested by Bs.
3 ἐπιτηδεία αὐτάρκης κεκτημένον, ὃστε μὴ τε πεινὴν μὴ τε διψήν ἢ ῥεγοῦν ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀτοπον ὑπ’ ἀπορίας ὑπομένειν, ὅ δέ καὶ δεύτερον εἰκότως ἂν τίς ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώπῳ φύσει τιθεῖ, ὅταν γὰρ τινὶ ἢ τε τοῦ σώματος σύστασις εὖ ἔχῃ καὶ διαρκεῖν ἀφροντιστῶν δύνηται, πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπιβάλλοντα καρποῦται."

20 Ὅιον Κικέρων ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη, "ἄλλ’ οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ὁφελός ἐστιν, ὅταν τοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν λυπῆ τι καὶ δάκνη πολλῷ γὰρ πλείον ἀι ἐκείνης φροντίδες ταλαιπωροῦσι τινα ἢ αἱ τοῦ σώματος εὐπάθειαν τέρπουσι. ὡσπερ καὶ ἕγὼ νῦν οὕτως ὑπετίς τοῦ σώματος υγείας προτιμῶ, νοσῶν γε τὴν γνώμην, οὕτε τῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εὐπορίας πολλῶν γὰρ ἀπεστήρημαι."

2 Καὶ ὅσα "καὶ τοῦτό σε," ἔφη, "λυπεῖ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνδεχόμεθα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐμελλεῖ, λόγον ἂν τῶν ἐλευθεροῦσα τοῖς ἀπολογοῦσι δὴ ἐκπλεῖα σοι πάντα τὰ ἐπιτηδεία ὑπάρχει, τί ἀνα ὅτι μὴ καὶ πλείως ἐκκενθησί; πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρέασιν τινὶ ὃν περιττὸν ἐστί, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἵσῳ καὶ

3 παρόν καὶ ἄπον καθέστηκεν, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ πρότερον οὐδὲν ὁποῖον τὸις μὴ ἀναγκαίοις ἔχον, ὡστε καὶ τὸτε μὴ εἶναι ὃν μὴ ἐχρηζὲς ἢ καὶ νῦν εἶναι ὁν μὴ δεῖ νομίζε. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πατριῷ σοι τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν γέγονεν, ὡστε σε σπουδὴν ἰδιωτέραν περὶ αὐτὰ ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῆς γλώττης καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων σου πεπόρισται, δι’ ὅσι καὶ

4 ἀπολολεύν. οὐκουν ἀγανακτεῖν προσήκει εἰ καθά-

1 ἢ τε . . . εὐ Ῥκ., ἢ . . . εὐ τε Ῥ.
2 πλεῖον Ῥκ., πλεῖονα Ῥκ.
life in sufficiency so as not to hunger or thirst or suffer cold or endure any other hardship through lack of means—which may appropriately be set down as the second natural blessing for man. For when one's physical condition is good and one can live without anxiety, all the factors essential to happiness are enjoyed."

To this Cicero replied: "But not one of these things is of use when some grief is preying upon one's mind; for mental cares cause one far more distress than bodily comforts cause pleasure. Even so, I also at present set no value on my physical health, because I am suffering in mind, nor yet on the abundance of necessaries; for my loss is great indeed."

"And does this grieve you?" replied the other. "Now if you were going to be in want of things needful, there would be some reason for your being annoyed at your loss. But since you have all the necessaries in full measure, why do you distress yourself because you do not possess more? For all that one has beyond one's needs is superfluous, and amounts to the same thing whether present or absent; since surely you did not make use formerly of what was not necessary. Consider, therefore, either that then what you did not need you did not have, or else that you now have what you do not need. Most of these things, indeed, were not yours by inheritance, that you should be particularly exercised about them, but were acquired by your own tongue and by your own words—the very things which caused you to lose them. You should not, therefore, be vexed if things have
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περ ἐκτήθη τινά, οὗτο καὶ ἀπεβλήθη. οὔδε γὰρ οὐδ οἱ ναύκληροι πάνυ χαλεπῶς φέροντες πολλὰ ξημιούμενον. λογίζεσθαι γάρ, οἴμαι, φρονίμως ἐπιστανται ὅτι ἡ θάλαττα ἡ δίδυσα σφισιν αὕτα καὶ ἀφαιρεῖται.

21 "Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἴκανά: ἀποχρήν τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν τὸ τὰ ἀρκοῦντα κεκτήσθαι καὶ μηδενὸς ὁν τὸ σῶμα χρῆσαι προσδεῖσθαι νομίζω, καὶ πᾶν τὸ περτὸν καὶ φροντίδας καὶ πράγματα καὶ φθόνους ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐφησθαὶ ὅτι οὐδεμία ἀπόλαυσις τῶν του σώματος ἀγαθῶν ἔστω, ἀν μὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς προσυπάρχῃ τινὶ, ἐστὶ μὲν ἀληθῆς ὁ λόγος (ἀδύνατον γὰρ, κακῶς αὐτὴς ἐγνώσης, μὴ οὐ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῇ συννοσεῖν), ἐγὼ μεντοι πολλῷ ῥᾴδιον οἶομαι εἶναι τῆς εὔεξίας τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιμεληθῆναι τινὶ ἡ τῆς τοῦ σώματος. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ, ἀτε καὶ σάρκινον ὑπὸ, πολλὰ μὲν ἀτομα ἐν εὐαυτῷ ἔχει, πολλὴς δὲ ἐπικουρίας παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου δεῖται: ἐκείνη δὲ δὴ, οἷα θειοτέρας φύσεως οὕσα, καὶ ῥυθμίζεσθαι καὶ νουθετεῖσθαι ῥᾴδιος δύναται. οὐκοιν κάνταυθα ἵδωμεν τὶ τέ σοι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθῶν ἀπέστη, καὶ τί τῶν κακῶν προσγενομενοῦ ὁμι ἀν ἡποτριψάμεθα.

32 "Ὅρῳ τοινυν ἐγγογε πρῶτον μὲν φρονιμώτατον σε ἀνθρώπων ὄντα: τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι πλεῖστα μὲν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τῶν δήμων, ἐν οἷς συνεβουλευσάς τι αὐτοῖς, ἐπεισάς, πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰδιῶτας, ἐν οἷς συνηγόρησάς σφισιν, ὠφέλησας. 2 ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ δικαιότατον πανταχοῦ γοῦν ὑπὲρ τε τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀνταγωνιζόμενος τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐξῆτας καὶ αὐτά
been lost in the same manner in which they were won. Ship-masters, for example, do not take it greatly to heart when they suffer great losses; for they understand, I suspect, how to take the sensible view of it, namely, that the sea which gives them wealth takes it away again.

"So much for the present point; for I think it should be enough for a man's happiness to have a sufficiency and to lack nothing that the body requires, and I hold that everything in excess involves anxiety, trouble, and jealousy. As for your saying, now, that there is no enjoyment of physical blessings unless those of the spirit are also present, that is indeed true, since it is impossible, if the spirit is in a poor state, that the body should fail to share in its ailment; nevertheless, I think it much easier for one to look after his mental health than his physical. For the body, being of flesh, contains in itself many dangers and requires much assistance from the divine power; whereas the spirit, of a nature more divine, can easily be trained and prompted. Let us see here also, then, what spiritual blessing has abandoned you and what evil has come upon you that we may not shake off.

"First, then, I see that you are a man of the greatest sagacity. The proof is that you so often persuaded both the senate and the people in cases where you gave them advice, and so often helped private citizens in cases where you acted as their advocate. And secondly, I see that you are a most just man. Certainly you have always been found contending for your country and for your friends against those who plotted their ruin. Indeed, this
Ταύτα ἀνθρωποθα, οὐ δὲ ἄλλο τι συμβέβηκε σοι ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων διετέλειας. καὶ μὴν ὅτι καὶ σωφροσύνης ἦς τὰ πρῶτα ἀνήκεις, αὐτὸ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα σου δηλοῖ: οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τ' ἐστὶ δουλεύοντά τινα ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναῖς ἐν μέσῳ τε ἥπειρον καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀναστρέφεσθαι, μαρτύρια τὰ ἡμερινὰ ἔργα τῶν νυ.

κτερινών ποιοῦμενον. οὕτω δὲ ἄν τούτων ἐχόντων ἐγὼ μὲν σε καὶ ἀνδρείτατον ὠμὴν εἶναι, τοσαῦτη μὲν ῥώμη διανοιας τοσαῦτη δὲ καὶ ἰσχυῖ λόγων χρώμενον συ δὲ, ὡς ἐνικας, αὐτός ἐαυτοῦ ἐκπλαγεις ὅτι παρὰ τε τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἄξιαν ἐπταισας, παρήρησας τί τοῦ σφόδρα ἄν- 

5 δρείου. ἄλλα τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπολήψῃ τοιούτων δὲ τῶν κατὰ σὲ ὄντων, καὶ εὗ μὲν ἠκούσας τοῦ σώματος εὗ δὲ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐχ ὁρῶ τί το λυποῦν ἐστὶ σε.

Σ23 Ταύτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος ὁ Κικέρων ἦη  "οὐ δοκεῖ ὅπως σοι μέγα κακόν εἶναι ἄτιμα καὶ φυγῆ, καὶ τὸ μήτ' οἴκοι διατρίβειν μήτε 2 μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἶναι, ἄλλα ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος μεθ' ὑβρεως ἐκπεπτοκότα ἤμ ἐν ἀλλοτρία γη καὶ ἀλάθαι, φυγάδα προσαγορεύμενον, καὶ γέλωτα μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αἰσχος δὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις παρέγοντα;

2 "Οὐδαμὴ ἔμοιγε" εἶπεν ὁ Φιλίσκος. "δῶς γὰρ τούτων ὄντων ἐξ ὧν συνεστήκαμεν, ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος, καὶ ῥητῶν ἐκατέρω παρ' αὐτής τῆς φύσεως καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν δεδομένων, εἰ μὲν τι περὶ ταύθ' ἀμαρτάνοιτο, καὶ βλαβερὸν ἀν

1 γε H. Steph., τε L.   2 μήτε supplied by Gros.
very misfortune which you have now suffered has
befallen you for no other reason than that you con-
tinued to say and do everything in behalf of the
laws and of the constitution. Again, that you have
attained the highest degree of self-mastery is shown
by your very course of life, since it is not possible
for a man who is a slave to sensual pleasures to
appear constantly in public and to go to and fro in
the Forum, making his deeds by day witnesses of
those by night. This being the case, I, for my part,
supposed you were also very brave, enjoying, as you
did, such force of intellect and such power of oratory.
But it seems that, startled out of yourself through
having failed contrary to your hopes and deserts,
you have fallen a little short of true courage.
But you will regain this immediately, and as you
are thus equipped as I have pointed out, with a
good physical endowment as well as mental, I
cannot see what it is that is distressing you."

At the end of this speech of his Cicero replied:
"There seems to you, then, to be no great evil in
disfranchisement and exile and in not living at home
or being with your friends, but, instead, being expelled
with violence from your country, living in a foreign
land, and wandering about with the name of exile,
causing laughter to your enemies and disgrace to
your friends?"

"Not in the least, so far as I can see," declared
Philiscus. "There are two elements of which we
are constituted, soul and body, and definite blessings
and evils are given to each of the two by Nature
herself. Now if there should be any defect in these
two, it would properly be considered injurious and
eikótos kai aíσχρον νομίζοιτο, ei δ' ὀρθῶς ἔχοι, 3 kai μᾶλλον ἂν ὁφέλιμον εἴη. ὦ καὶ σοι νῦν ὑπάρχει. τὰ γὰρ ὅτι ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα, αἱ φυγαὶ καὶ αἱ ἀτείμαι, καὶ ei δὴ τι τοιοῦτον ἔτερον, νόμῳ τε καὶ δοκήσει τινὶ καὶ αἰσχρα καὶ κακὰ ἔστι, καὶ ὕπεν ὦτε τῷ σώματι ὦτε τῇ ψυχῇ λυμαίνεται. ποίον μὲν γὰρ ἄν 2 σῶμα εἰπεῖν ἐχοῖς νεοσθηκὸς ἢ καὶ ἀπολογός, ποίαν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀοικοτέραν ἢ καὶ ἀμαδεστέραν γεγονοῦν ὑπ' ἀτείμας καὶ φυγῆς ἢ καὶ ἀλλου τινὸς τῶν τοιούτων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ 4 οὐχ ὤρῳ. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸν ὅτι ὕπεν σφῶν φύσει κακοῦ ἐστιν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἡ ἐπιτιμία οὐδ' ἡ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι διατριβῇ φύσει χρηστῇ, ἀλλ' ὅποια ποτ' ἂν τὶς ἔκαστος ἡμῶν περὶ αὐτὰ δοξᾶση, τοιαῦτα 5 καὶ δοκεῖ εἶναι. αὐτῖκα τὴν ἀτείμαιν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς παντελῶς ἀνθρωποί νομίζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐστιν ἃ τῶν ἐργῶν ἐπαιτία παρὰ τισὶν ὄντα παρ ἄλλους ἐπαινεῖται, καὶ ἔτερα πρὸς τινῶν τιμῶμενα πρὸς ἐτέρων κολάζεται. εἰςὶ δὲ οἷ καὶ τὴν ἄρχην 6 οὖτε τὸ ὄνομα οὖτε τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἐστι. καὶ πάνω εἰκότως. ὡσι γὰρ μὴ προσάπτεται 5 τῶν τῇ φύσει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου προσιθηκῶν, οὐδ' ἀνήκειν ἐς αὐτὸν νομίζεται. ὥσπερ ἄν οὖν, ei 6 κρίσις τις ἢ καὶ ψήφισμά τι ἐγένετο τὸν δείνα νοσεῖν ἢ τὸν δείνα αἰσχρόν εἶναι, γελοιότατον ἄν δηποὺ θεν ἢν, οὔτω καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀτείμας ἐχει.

24 "Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ περὶ τὴν φυγὴν ἐγώνγε ὅρῳ οὖν. ἀποδημία γὰρ τὶς ἀτείμας ἐστίν, ὡστ' εἰπερ αὐτὴ καθ' αὐτὴν ἡ ἀτείμα μηδεμίας κακίαν

1 aĩ φυγαĩ supplied by Rk. 2 4 added by Pflugk.
3 ăδ' Bk., ăδ' L. 4 ὅμιζον Bk., ὅμιζον ἐπιτιμίαν L. 5 προσάπτεται R. Steph., προσάπτεται L. 6 eί H. Steph., ĭ L.
disgraceful; but if all should be right with them, it would be useful instead. This is your condition at the present moment. Those things which you mentioned, banishment and disfranchisement, and anything else of the sort, are disgraceful and evil only by convention and a certain popular opinion, and work no injury to either body or soul. What body could you cite that has fallen ill or perished and what spirit that has grown more unjust or even more ignorant through disfranchisement or exile or anything of that sort? I see none. And the reason is that no one of these things is by nature evil, just as neither citizenship nor residence in one's country is in itself excellent, but whatever opinion each one of us holds about them, such they seem to be. For instance, men do not universally apply the penalty of disfranchisement to the same acts, but certain deeds which are reprehensible in some places are praised in others, and various actions honoured by one people are punished by another. Indeed, some do not so much as know the name, nor the thing which it implies. And naturally enough; for whatever does not touch that which belongs to man's nature is thought to have no bearing upon him. Precisely in the same way, therefore, as it would be most ridiculous, surely, if some judgment or decree were to be rendered that So-and-so is sick or So-and-so is base, so does the case stand regarding disfranchisement.

"The same thing I find to be true in regard to exile. It is a sojourn abroad involving disfranchisement; so that if disfranchisement in and of itself
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έχει, ούδε τῇ φυγῇ δήποι προστρέψασθαί τι 2 κακὸν δύναται, ἐπεὶ τὴν γε ἀλλὰς συχνὸι πλειστὸν ὁσον χρόνον οἱ μὲν ἀκοιντε οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκόντες ἀποδημοῦσι, καὶ τινὲς καὶ πάντα τὸν βίον καταναλίσκουσι περινοστούντες, ωσπερ ἀεὶ πανταχόθεν ἡξελαυνόμενοι, καὶ οὐδέν μὲντοι παρὰ τούτο 3 βλάπτεσθαι νομίζουσι. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ διαφέρει τι ἐκουσίον τινὰ ἡ μὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν· οὔδε γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁ ἀκοινοσμακών ἦπτων τι ἐρρωταὶ τοῦ ἐθελοντί αὐτὸ δρόμοντος, οὐδὲ ὁ ἀκοιν ναυτηλλόμενος ἦπτον 1 τινὰ ὀφελίαν τοῦ ἐτέρου κτάται. καὶ αὐτὸ γε τοῦτο τὸ ἀκούσιον οὐχ ὅρῳ δυνάμενον ἀνθρώπου ἐρωτεύει, ωστ' εἴπερ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ διάφορον τοῦ τε ἐν καὶ τοῦ κακῶς πράττειν ἐστίν ὅτι 2 τὰ μὲν ἐθελονταί ἑτοίμως τὰ δὲ ἀκοινες χαλεπῶς ποιοῦμεν, 3 εὐθεράπευτον 4 εἴαν γὰρ τοῖς πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαία ἐκουσίοι ὑπομένωμεν καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἡπτώμεθα, συνανηρθητε 5 πάντα 5 κακεῖνα, ὥσα ἄν ἐν τῷ ἀκούσιῳ θῇ τις εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ποιητῶν ἀρχαίοι λόγος καὶ μάλα εὖ ἔχουν ἐστίν ὅτι δει ἡμᾶς μὴ ὅσα ἄν βουλώμεθα ἄξιοιν γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἄν ἐκ τινὸς ἀνάγκης γίγνηται βουλεσθαῖ. οὕτε γὰρ αὐθαίρετον τὸν τοῦ βίου τρόπον ἔχουμεν οὕτ' αὐτῶν 6 ἐσμέν. ἀλλ' ὅπως ἄν 6 τῇ τύχῃ δύξῃ, καὶ ὅποιος ἄν ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν δαίμων ἐκπληρωθῆ τοῦ τεταμένου δοθῇ, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ ἑκείνων ἡμᾶς ποιεῖσθαι.

25 "Ταύτα μὲν δὴ τοιαύτα ἐστίν, ἀν τ' ἐθέλωμεν ἄν

1 ἦπτως Be., ἦπτωμα L. 2 οὕτ' added by Leuncl.  
contains no evil, surely no evil can be attached to exile either. In fact, many live abroad anyway for very long periods, some unwillingly, but others willingly; and some even spend their whole life travelling about, just as if they were expelled from every place in turn; and yet they do not regard themselves as being injured in doing so. Nor does it make any difference whether a man does it voluntarily or not; the man who trains his body unwillingly is no less strong than he who does it willingly, and one who goes on a voyage unwillingly obtains no less benefit than another. And as regards this unwillingness itself, I do not see how it can exist with a man of sense. Accordingly, if the difference between being well and badly off is that we do some things readily and voluntarily, while we perform others unwillingly and grudgingly, the trouble can easily be remedied. For if we willingly endure all necessary things and allow none of them to conquer us, all those matters in which one might assume unwillingness have been done away with at a single stroke. There is, indeed, an old saying and a very good one, to the effect that we ought not to demand that whatever we wish should come to pass, but to wish for whatever does come to pass as the result of any necessity. For we neither have free choice in our manner of life nor are we our own masters; but according as it may suit chance, and according to the character of the fortune granted each one of us for the fulfilment of what is ordained, we must also shape our life.

"Such is the nature of the case whether we like it
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τε καὶ μὴ εἰ δὲ σε οὐχὶ ἡ ἀτιμία αὐτὴ ἕνος ἡ φυγὴ αὐτῇ εὐπεί, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ μόνον μηδὲν ἑδικήκος τὴν πατρίδα ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ εὐρήγετηκός ἐτίμωσαι τε καὶ ἐξέλθησαι, λόγισαι τοῦτ', ὅτι ἐπειδήπερ ἀπαξ ἐπέπρωτο σοι τοιοῦτο τι παθεῖν, καλλιστὸν δὴν καὶ αἰριστὸν συμβεβηκε

2 τὸ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντά σε ἐπηρεάσθαι. οὐ μὲν γὰρ πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα τοῖς πολῖταις συνεβολευσας καὶ ἐπραξας, οὔκ ἰδιωτέων ἀλλ' ἱπτεών, οὐδ' ἱδία τε πολυπραγμονών ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῆς βουλῆς δόγμασι πειθόμενος, οὐ κατὰ στάσιν ἀλλ'

3 ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίστῳ γενομένου. οἱ δεῖνα δὲ καὶ ο δεῖνα ἐκ δυναστείας καὶ ἐπηρεαίς πάντα κατὰ σοῦ συνεσκεύασαι, ὅστ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν καὶ ἀχθεσθαι καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ προσήκει, σοὶ δὲ δὴ ἁνδρείως φέρειν τὰ δοξάτα τῷ δαιμονι καὶ

4 καλοῦν καὶ ἀναγκαίον ἐστίν. οὐ γὰρ ποὺ μᾶλλον ἄν ἐθελήσαις τῷ τε Κατιλίνα συμπράξας καὶ τῷ Δεντούλῳ συνομόσας καὶ πάντα μὲν τάνατι τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι παραινέσας, μηδὲν δὲ τῶν προσταχθέντων σοι ὑπ' αὐτῆς ποιήσας, οἷκοι μὲνειν ἀδικήσας ἢ κατορθώσας φυγεῖν.

5 οὐκοῦν εἰ καὶ τῆς δόξης σοι μέλει, πολλῷ ποὺ αἱρετώτερον ἔστι μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντά σε ἐκπεπτωκέναι ἢ κακουργήσαντά τι οἷκοι μεμεινκέναι τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἡ αἰσχύνη τοῖς ἀδικώς ἐκβαλοῦσι τινα, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ κατ' ἐπηρεαῖν ἐξέλαβεντι προσγίγνεται.

1 αὐτή Rk., αὐτή L. 2 ἐπηρεάσαθαι Bk., ἐπηρεάσαθαi L. 3 σὺ Pflugk, καὶ σὺ L. 4 γενομένοις Pflugk, γενομένοις L. 5 ἐθελήσαις H. Steph., ἐθελήσαι L. 6 ἢ added by Xyl. 7 ἐκβαλοῦσι Bk., ἐκβάλλοντιν L. 8 ἐξελαβέντι Dind., ἐξελασθεντι L.
or not. If, now, it is not disfranchisement in itself or exile in itself that troubles you, but the fact that you have not only done your country no injury but have actually benefited her greatly, and yet you have been disfranchised and expelled, look at it in this way—that, when once it was destined for you to have such an experience, it has surely been the noblest and the best fortune that could befall you to be despitefully used without having committed any wrong. For you advised and carried out all that was proper for the citizens, not as an individual but as consul, not meddling officiously in a private capacity but obeying the decrees of the senate, which were not passed as party measures but for the best ends. This and that person, on the contrary, out of their superior power and insolence devised everything against you; hence they ought to have trouble and sorrow for their injustice, but for you it is noble as well as necessary to bear bravely what Heaven has determined. Surely you would not prefer to have joined with Catiline and conspired with Lentulus, to have given your country the exact opposite of useful counsel, to have performed none of the duties laid upon you by her, and thus remain at home as the reward of wickedness, instead of saving your country and being exiled. Accordingly, if you care at all about your reputation, it is far preferable, I am sure, for you to have been driven out, after doing no wrong, than to have remained at home by performing some base act; for, apart from other considerations, the shame attaches to those who have unjustly cast a man forth, rather than to the man who has been wantonly expelled.
"Καίτου ἔγογγε ἄκονη τοῦθ', ὅτι νῦν ἄκων οὔδ' ἄλοιος, ἀλλ' ἐθελουντὴς ἐμίσησας τὸν μετ' αὐτῶν βλον, ἀτε μητε βελτίως σφᾶς πούησαι δυνάμενος μητε συναπόλεσθαι σφῶν ὑπομένων, καὶ ἐφυγες οὐ τὴν πατρίδα ἀλλ' τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτῆ. ὅστ' ἔκεινοι μὲν καὶ ἀτιμοὶ καὶ ἔξοριστοι ἐλεν ἃν, πάντα τἀγαθὰ ἕκ τῶν ψυχῶν ἐκ βεβληκότες, σὺ δὲ ἐπίτιμος καὶ εὐδαιμὼν, μητ' ἀτόπως τινὶ δουλεύων καὶ πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα ἔχων, ἃν τε ἐν Σικελία ἃν τε ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἃν τε καὶ ἀλλοθὶ ποὺ τῆς οἰκουμένης ξῆν ἐθελής. οὔ γάρ δήπον τὰ χωρία οὔτε εὐνυχίαν οὔτε κακοδαιμονίαν τινὰ διδώσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς αὐτῷ καὶ πατρίδα καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν ἀεὶ καὶ παντ' ὑποποιεῖ. καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ Κάμιλλος ἐννοοῖς ἑδέως ἐν 'Αρδέα κατάκησε, ταῦθ' ὁ Σκυπίων λογισάμενος ἀλῶς ἐν Διτέρῳ κατεβλὼ. τί γὰρ δεῖ τὸν 'Αριστείδην, τί δὲ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα λέγειν, οὔ ενδοξοτέρους ἡ φυγὴ ἐποίησεν, τί τὸν 'Αυνι... τί τὸν Σόλωνα, θ' ἐκὼν ἔτη δέκα ἀπεξενώθη; "Μὴ οὖν μηδὲ σὺ μητε χαλεπόν τι τῶν τοιοῦτων, ἃ μητε τῇ τοῦ σώματος μητε τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν φύσει προσήκει, νόμιζε ἐναι, μητ' ἀγανάκτει τοῖς προσπεπτωκόσιν. οὔδε γὰρ οὐδ' αἱρεσίς τις ἐστὶν ἡμῶν τοὺς ζην ὅπως ἄν ἐθελήσωμεν, ὡσπερ έλπον, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ὑπομένῃς τοῖς δοκοῦντα τῷ δαιμονίῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ἃν μὲν ἐθελουνταί ποιῶμεν, οὐ λυπησόμεθα, ἃν δὲ

1 ἄλοιος R. Steph., ἀλλος L. 2 μετέστης Bk., μετέστης L.
3 ἐννοοῖς Bk., εὐνοοῖς L.
4 "Arioii L., ArriBiav Fabricius. 5 τῇ supplied by Leuncl.
Moreover, the story, as I heard it, was that you did not depart unwillingly, nor after conviction, but of your own accord; that you hated to live with them, seeing that you could not make them better and would not endure to perish with them, and that you fled, not from your country, but from those who were plotting against her. Consequently it would be they who are dishonoured and banished, having cast out all that is good from their souls, and it would be you who are honoured and fortunate, as being nobody's slave in unseemly fashion but possessing all that is needful, whether you choose to live in Sicily, or in Macedonia, or anywhere else in the world. For surely it is not places that give either success or misfortune of any sort, but each man creates his own country and his own happiness always and everywhere. This was the feeling of Camillus when he was fain to dwell in Ardea; this was the way Scipio reasoned when he spent his last days in Liternum without grieving. But why mention Aristides or Themistocles, men whom exile rendered more famous, or . . . ¹ or Solon, who of his own accord left home for ten years?

"Therefore, do you likewise cease to consider irksome any such thing as pertains neither to our physical nor to our spiritual nature, and do not vex yourself at what has happened. For to us belongs no choice, as I told you, of living as we please, but it is absolutely necessary for us to endure what Heaven determines. If we do this voluntarily, we shall not be grieved; but if involuntarily, we shall

¹ Annius, the Ms. reading, is corrupt; perhaps Hannibal is meant. In any case a relative clause appears to have been lost after the name.
ἀκόντως, οὖτε ἐκφευριζόμεθα τι τῶν πεπρωμένων, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν προσεπικτισόμεθα, 6 τὸ μάτην ἀνιάσθαι. τεκμήριον δὲ στὶς οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀτοπώτατα εὐκόλως φέροντες ἐν οὐδεὶς δεινῷ καθεστηκέναι νομίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐλαφροτάτοις βαρυνόμενοι πάντα τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων κακὰ ἐχεῖν ὑποπτεύονσιν: καὶ ἐτεροί, οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀμείνων κακῶν οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ χείρω καλῶς μεταχειριζόμενοι, τοιαῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκάτερα ὅσκειν εἶναι ποιοῦσιν οὐ αὐτοῖς εἶναι παρασκευα- 27 ξουσι. καὶ σὺ οὖν ταῦτα λογιζόμενος μήτε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀχθού, μητ', ἀν τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας σε εὐτυγχοῦντα πυθαγή, λυποῦ. κουφαὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐφήμεροι καὶ ἄλλως αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐπρα- γείαι εἰσὶ, καὶ ὅσοι ἀν μᾶλλον τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπαύξη, ῥῶν ὀσπέρ πνεῦμα πῦπτει, μάλιστα 2 δὲ ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν, ἀτε γὰρ ἐν τεταραγμένοις καὶ ἀκαταστάτοις πράγμασι φερόμενοι μικρῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδέν, τῶν χειμαζόμενων διαφέρονσιν, ἄλλ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω, τοτε μὲν δεύρῳ τοτε δὲ ἐκεῖσε, ἀπτουσι, κάν ἄρα τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον 3 σφαλότερ, παντελῶς βαπτίζονται, καὶ ἵνα γε μήτε τὸν Δροῦσον μήτε τὸν Σκιπίωνα μήτε τοὺς Γράκχους ἢ καὶ ἄλλους τινάς εἰπτω, μέμνησο μὲν ὅπως ο Κάμιλλος ὁ φυγάς ἀμείνων τοῦ Καπι- τωλίνον, 7 μετα ταῦτα ἀπῆλλαξε, μέμνησο δὲ ὅσον Ἀριστείδης τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ύστερον διήγεγεν. 4 μὴ ὅστε καὶ σὺ μάλιστα μὲν ἐλπίζε καὶ κατ- αχθήσεσθαι (οὔτε γὰρ ἐξ ἀδικίας ἐξελήλασαι, καὶ

1 οὖτε Rk., οὔτε, L. 2 ἄλλοι supplied by Rk.
3 κουφαί Leounel., κουφα L. 4 φερόμενοι E. Steph., φερόμενοι L.
5 ἀπτουσι supplied by Reim.
6 μέμνησο Rk., μέμνησθε L.
7 Καπιτωλίνον Wesseling, Καπιτωλίου L.

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not escape at all what is fated, and we shall at the same time acquire the greatest of ills—the distressing of our hearts to no purpose. The proof of this is that men who bear good-naturedly the most outrageous fortunes do not regard themselves as being in any very dreadful plight, while those who are disturbed at the lightest disappointments imagine that all human ills are theirs. And people in general, both those who manage favourable conditions badly and those who manage unfavourable conditions well, make their good or ill fortune appear to others to be just what they make it for themselves. Bear this in mind, then, and be not cast down by your present state, nor grieve if you learn that the men who exiled you are flourishing. For the successes of men are vain and ephemeral at best, and the higher a man climbs as a result of them, the more easily, like a breath, does he fall, especially in partisan strife. Borne along in the midst of troubled and unstable conditions they differ little, if at all, from sailors in a storm, but are tossed up and down, now hither, now thither; and if they make the slightest mistake, they are sure to sink. Not to mention Drusus, or Scipio, or the Gracchi, or certain others, remember how Camillus, the exile, later came off better than Capitolinus, and remember how greatly Aristides afterwards surpassed Themistocles.

"Do you also, then, hope, first and foremost, for your restoration; for you have not been expelled
ἐπιζητήσουσι μὲν σε, ὡς πυθάνομαι, καὶ αυτοὶ ὁι ἐκβεβληκότες, ποθήσουσι δὲ πάντες· ἀν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς παρούσιν ἐμμείνης, μὴτε γε καὶ ἀνιαθῆς παρὰ τούτῳ μηδέν. ἀν μὲν γὰρ μοι πεισθῇς, καὶ πάνυ ἀγαπήσεις χωρίον τε τι παραθαλασσίδιον ἔξω πάτου ἐκλεξάμενος, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γεωργῶν τε ἄμα καὶ συγγράφων τι, ὡς Σενοφῶν, 2 ὡς Θουκυδίδης. τὸ τε γὰρ εἶδος τούτῳ τῆς σοφίας διαρκέστατον ἔστι καὶ παντὶ μὲν ἀνδρὶ πάσῃ δὲ πολιτείᾳ ἀρμοδιώτατον, καὶ ἡ φυγὴ φέρει τινὰ σχολὴν γονιμωτέραν. ὅστ' εἴπερ οὕτως ἀθάνατος καθάπερ ἐκείνοι γενέσθαι ἐθέλεις, ξηλωσθείν αὐ- 3 τούς. τὰ τε γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια ἀρκοῦντα ἔχεις καὶ οὐτ' ἀξίωματος τινος προσδέχ. εἰ γὰρ τι καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀγαθὸν ἔστιν, ὑπάτευκας καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν τοῖς καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἣ καὶ τέταρτον ἀρξας, πλὴν ἡγαμάτων ἀρμισμοῦ κενῶν, ὑπάρχει, ἀ μὴτε ξώντα μὴτ ἀποθανόντα τινὰ ὥφελει. 4 οὐκοῦν ἄν ἔλοιο οὐτε Κοροῦνος οὐτε Μάριος ὁ ἐπτάκις ὑπατεύσας μᾶλλον ἢ Κικέρων εἶναι, οὔτ' αὐτ' ἡγεμονίας τινὸς ἐπιθυμεῖς, ὅσ γε καὶ τὴν δο- θείσαν σοι ἐξέστης, καταφρονήσας μὲν τῶν ἀπ' 5 αὐτῆς κερδῶν, καταφρονήςας δὲ καὶ τῆς ὀλυγο- χρονίου τε καὶ ὑπευθύνου πᾶσι τοῖς συκοφαντεῖν ἐθέλουσιν ἐξουσίας. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπιοῦν οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἀναγκαίον τι ἀυτῶν πρὸς εὐδαμονίαν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς, ἐπείπερ ἔχρην, ἰκανοὶς ἐξήτασαι, ἵνα καὶ ἔξεικνων τὸ διάφορον τῶν βίων μαθῶν τὰ μὲν ἔλη τὰ δὲ ἀπώσῃ καὶ τὰ μὲν διώξῃς τὰ δὲ φύγης. σμικρὸς γὰρ ὁ βίος

1 μὴτε γε Dind., μὴτοι γε L. 2 τι supplied by Oddey. 3 ἀπάσῃ Dind., ἀπωθήσῃ L.
on account of wrong-doing, and the very ones who drove you forth will, as I learn, seek for you, while all will miss you. But even if you continue in your present state, do not distress yourself at all about it. For if you will take my advice, you will be quite satisfied to pick out a little estate in some retired spot on the coast and there carry on at the same time farming and some historical writing, like Xenophon and like Thucydides. This form of learning is most enduring and best adapted to every man and to every state; and exile brings with it a kind of leisure that is more fruitful. If, then, you wish to become really immortal, like those historians, emulate them. You have the necessary means in sufficiency and you lack no distinction. For if there is any virtue in such honours, you have been consul; nothing more belongs to those who have held office a second, a third, or a fourth time, except an array of idle letters which benefit no man, living or dead. Hence you would not choose to be Corvinus, or Marius, the man seven times consul, rather than Cicero. Nor, again, are you anxious for any position of command, seeing that you withdrew from the one bestowed upon you, because you scorned the gains to be had from it, scorned a brief authority that was subject to the scrutiny of all who chose to practise blackmail. These matters I have mentioned, not because any one of them is requisite for happiness, but because, since it was necessary, you have occupied yourself sufficiently with public affairs to learn therefrom the difference in lives and to choose the one course and reject the other, to pursue the one and avoid the other. Our life is but short, and you

1 M. Valerius Corvus (less properly Corvinus), consul for the sixth time in B.C. 299.
ήμων, καὶ δεῖ σε μὴ πάντα αὐτὸν ἄλλοις βιῶναι, 6 ἀλλ’ ἤδη τι καὶ σεαντῷ χαρίσασθαι. σκέψαί δὲ ὅσον ἢ τε ἁσυχία τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ ἡ εὕροια 1 τῶν θορύβων ἢ τε ἐλευθερία τῆς δουλείας καὶ ἡ ἀσφάλεια τῶν κινδύνων διαφέρει, ἵν’ ἐπιθυμήσῃς ξήσαι ὃς ἐγὼ σοι παραινό.

"Οὕτω μὲν γὰρ εὐδαιμονίσεις, καὶ σοι μέγα ὅνομα καὶ 2 τοῦτο ἄει καὶ ζῶντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ 29 τελευτήσαντος ἔσται· ἀν δὲ δὴ τὴν τε κάθοδον σπουδάσῃς καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας λαμπρότητα ζηλώσῃς, δυσχερῶς μὲν οὐδὲν εἰπένβ Βουλομαι, φοβοῦμαι δὲ, ἐς τα τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέπων καὶ τὴν σή παρρησίαν ἐννοῶν, τὴν τε δύναμιν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν σου θεωρῶν, 2 μὴ τότε τι καὶ αὖθις σφαλῆς. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐν φυγῇ γένοιο, μεταγγώσῃ μόνον, 3 εἰ δὲ τι ξεροῦ ἀνήκουστον πάθοις, οὐδὲ μετανοήσαι δυνήσῃ. καὶ- τοι πῶς μὲν οὐ δεινὸν, πῶς δ’ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἀπο- τμηθήσῃ τε τινος τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τεθήναι, κάν οὕτω τύχῃ, καὶ ἄνδρα τινὰ αὐτῇ
3 καὶ γυναῖκα 4 ἐνυβρίσαι; καὶ μὲ μὴ ως φαύλα σοι οἰωνιζόμενοι μεσήμβης, ἀλλ’ ως διοσεῖμαι τινα προδεικνύντα φύλαξαι. μηδὲ σε ἐξαπα- τάτω 5 τοῦθ’, ὅτε καὶ φίλους τινὰς τῶν δυνατῶν ἐχεῖς; οὐδὲν γὰρ σε ῥεφελίζουσιν οἱ δοκοῦντες φιλεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς 6 διακειμένους, ὡσπερ 4 ποιν καὶ πεπείρασι. οἱ γὰρ δυναστείαις ἐρώτετε παρ’ ούδὲν 7 πάντα τάλλα πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν ὃν

1 εὐροία R. Steph., εὐρεία L.  2 καὶ R. Steph., εἰ καὶ L.  
3 μόνον Bk., μὲν L.  
4 καὶ ἄνδρα—καὶ γυναῖκα Bk., καὶ a.—καὶ γ. L.  
5 ἐξαπατάτω R. Steph., ἐξαπάτω L.  
6 ἐχθροὶ R. Steph., ἐχθροῖς L.  7 οὐδεν Reim., οὐδερι L.
ought not to live all yours for others, but by this time to grant a little to yourself. Consider how much better quiet is than turmoil, and tranquillity than tumults, freedom than slavery, and safety than dangers, that you may feel a desire to live as I am urging you to do. In this way you will be happy, and your name shall be great because of it—and that for evermore, whether you are living or dead.

"If, however, you are eager for your restoration and aim at a brilliant political career, I do not wish to say anything unpleasant, but I fear, as I cast my eyes over the situation and call to mind your frankness of speech, and behold the power and numbers of your adversaries, that you may meet defeat once more. If then you should encounter exile, you will have merely to experience a change of heart; but if you should incur some fatal punishment, you will not be able even to repent. And yet is it not a dreadful and disgraceful thing to have one’s head cut off and set up in the Forum, for any man or woman, it may be, to insult? Do not hate me as one who prophesies evil to you, but pay heed to me as to one announcing a warning from Heaven. Do not let the fact that you have certain friends among the powerful deceive you. You will get no help against those who hate you from the men who seem to love you, as, indeed, you have learned by experience. For those who have a passion for power regard everything else as nothing in comparison with obtaining what
βούλονται τίθενται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους καὶ τοὺς συγγενεστάτους πολλάκις ἀντὶ τῶν ἐχθίστων ἀντικαταλλάσσονται.

30 Καὶ Κικέρων μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὅραν 1 πως ἐγένετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πομπήιον τοῦ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ ἐκβαλόντος κατήχθη. αὐτίον δὲ ὁ Κλώδιος τὸν τε Τιγράνην τὸν νεότερον, ἐν δεσμοῖς ἦταν καὶ τὸ τε παρὰ Δουκίῳ Φλαονίῳ ὅντα, πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἐξήρτασε καὶ ἄφηκε, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν τε Γαβίνιον ἀγανακτήσαντα ἔπει τούτων περιύβρισε, τοῖς τε ἁμφ' αὐτοῦς ὦσι καὶ πληγαὶ καὶ τραύματα ἔδωκε, καὶ τοῦ ὑπάτου τάς τε ῥάξδους συνέτριψε καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καθιέρωσεν.

3 ὄργισθεὶς γὰρ διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὅτι τῇ 2 ἔξουσίᾳ, ἂν αὐτὸς τοῖς δημάρχοις ἀπεδώκει, κατ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Κλώδιος ἐκέχρητο, ἀνακαλεσάθη τὸν Κικέρωνα ἡθέλησε, καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν κάθοδον εὐθύς διὰ τοῦ Νιννίου πράττειν ἡρξατο.

4 καὶ δὲ ἐσήνεγκε μὲν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γρώμην, ἀπόντα τὸν Κλώδιον τηρῆσας· ἀνιστάντος δὲ οἱ ἐτέροι τινὸς δημάρχου, ἐκεῖνη τε ὡς καὶ τῷ πληθεὶς κοινόσως ἐξέθηκε, καὶ τῷ Κλώδιῳ πρὸς πάντα καθάπαξ ἠγαντιοῦτο, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ φιλονεικία καὶ τραύματα ἅπτοντ' αὐτῶν

5 πολλὰ ἐκατέρως ἐγέρνετο. πρὶν δὲ ἂς τούτο ἀφικέσθαι, βουληθεὶς ὁ Κλώδιος τὸν τε Κάτωνα ἐκποδῶν, ὅταν ράον ὅσα ἐπράττε κατορθώσῃ, ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον τὸν 3 τότε τὴν Κύπρον ἔχοντα ἀμύνασθαι ὧτι αὐτὸν παρὰ τῶν

1 ῥέων Rk., ῥαῖθως L.  2 τῇ Xyl., ἐν L.  3 τῶν added by Rk.
they desire, and often give up their dearest friends and closest kin in exchange for their bitterest foes.”

On hearing this Cicero grew somewhat easier in mind. His exile, however, did not last long, but he was recalled by Pompey himself, who had been chiefly responsible for his expulsion. The reason was this. Clodius had taken a bribe to deliver Tigranes the younger, who was still at that time in confinement at the house of Lucius Flavius, and had let him go; and when Pompey and Gabinius became indignant at this, he wantonly insulted them, inflicted blows and wounds upon their followers, broke to pieces the consul’s fasces, and devoted his property to the gods. Pompey, enraged at this, particularly because the authority which he himself had restored to the tribunes had been used against him by Clodius, desired to recall Cicero, and immediately began through Ninnius to work for his restoration. The latter waited for Clodius to be absent, and then introduced in the senate the motion in Cicero’s behalf. When another one of the tribunes opposed him, he not only posted up his measure, indicating that he would communicate it also to the people, but he furthermore set himself in unqualified opposition to Clodius at every point. From this there arose contentions and many wounds in consequence for both sides. But before matters reached that point Clodius wished to get Cato out of the way, so that he might more easily succeed with his schemes, and likewise to avenge himself upon Ptolemy, who then held Cyprus, because the latter
καταποινιστῶν οὖκ ἔλύσατο, τὴν τε νήσον ἑδή
μοσίωσε καὶ πρὸς τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῆς τὸν Κά-
tώνα καὶ μάλα ἀκοῦτα ὑπέστειλε.

31 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔγγραφο· Καῖσαρ δὲ
eὐφραὶ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ πολέμιον, ἀλλὰ
ἀκριβῶς πάντα ἰσόχαζεν, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ
dιεγένετο, ἀλλὰ αὐτομάτου τὸ πρῶτον πολέμιον
τινὸς αὐτῶ συμβάντος ἐτερός συνυνέχθη, ὡστὲ
αὐτὸν, ὅπερ ἐσ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμει, πάντα . . .

2 καὶ πολεμήσαι καὶ καταρθώσαι. Ἐλονήτηιοι γὰρ
πλήθει τε ἀκμάζοντες καὶ χώραν οὐκ αὐτάρκη τῇ
πολυναυθροπίᾳ σφῶν ἔχοντες, μέρος μὲν τι ἐκπέμ-
ψαι ἐς ὑποίκιαν οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, μὴ καὶ διασπα-
σθέντες εὐπιβουλευτότεροι τοῖς λυπηθεῖσι ποτὲ
ὑπ' αὐτῶν γένωται, πάντες δὲ δὴ ἀπαναστήναι
βουληθέντες, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἑτέραν τινὰ καὶ πλέον καὶ
βελτίω χώραν μετοικισθησόμενοι, τὰς τε κόμας
καὶ τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ἀπάσας ἔκαυσαν ὡστε μηδένα

3 μετάμελον τῆς ἀναστάσεως ποιῆσασθαι. καὶ τι-
νας καὶ ἑτέρους τῶν αὐτῶν δεομένους προσλαβό-
tες ἀπήραν, Ὁρκετόρυγος σφίσιν ἱγομένου, ἐν νῷ
ἔχοντες τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαβῆναι καὶ πρὸς ταῖς
'Αλπεῖς ποι κατοικισθητε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Καῖ-
σαρ τὴν τε γέφυραν διέκοψε καὶ τάλλα ὡς
κωλύσων αὐτῶς διαβηθητε ἕτοιμαζετο, ἐπεμψαν
πρὸς αὐτῶν διόδον τε αὐτοῦμενοι καὶ προσπυ-
σχούμενοι μηδὲν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἑκατέ

4 καὶ ὡς, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μήτε ἐπίστευεν αὐτῶις
μήτε προχωρῆσαί ποι ἐπιτρέψειν ἐμελλεν, ἀλλ'
BOOK XXXVIII

had failed to ransom him from the pirates. Hence he declared the island the property of the state and despatched Cato, very much against the latter's will, to attend to its administration.

While this was going on in the city, Caesar found no hostility in Gaul, but everything was absolutely quiet. The state of peace, however, did not continue, but first one war broke out against him of its own accord, and then another was added, so that his greatest wish was fulfilled of waging war and winning success for the whole [period of his command (?)]. The Helvetii, who were strong in numbers and had not sufficient land for their large population, were unwilling to send out a part to form a colony for fear that if separated they might be more exposed to plots on the part of the tribes whom they had once injured; instead, they decided to migrate all together, with the intention of settling in some larger and better country, and they burned all their villages and cities, so that none should regret the migration. After adding to their numbers some others who felt the same needs, they set out with Orgetorix as their leader, intending to cross the Rhone and settle somewhere near the Alps. When Caesar destroyed the bridge and made other preparations to hinder them from crossing, they sent to him asking permission to cross and also promising to do no injury to the Roman territory. And though he had the greatest distrust of them and had not the slightest idea of allowing them to proceed, nevertheless, because he
ὅτι γε οὐδέπω καλῶς παρεσκεύαστο, Βουλεύσεσθαι τε ὑπὲρ ὅν ἦξιον μετὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἐν ῥήτῃ τινὶ ἡμέρα δόσεων, καὶ τι καὶ ἐπίπτοις, ὡς καὶ ἐπιτρέψων σφῶς τὴν δίοδον, ὑπετείνατο. καὶ τούτῳ τα ἐπικαιρότατα διετάφρευσε καὶ ἀπετείχισεν, ὡςτ' ἀπορον αὐτοῖς τὴν ὄδον γενέσθαι.

32 Οἱ οὖν βάρβαροι χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐπέσχον, ἐπείτ' ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἦκουσαν κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, ἀραντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων ἐπορεύοντο ἵππει ὀρμηντο, ἐπείτ' ἐνυχώντες τοῖς κωλύμασιν εἰς Σηκουανοὺς ἀπετράπωσθο, καὶ διὰ τε τούτων καὶ διὰ τῶν Αἰδούων ἔθελοντι σφίσι τὴν δίοδον, ἐφ' ὃ μηδὲν ἀδικηθῶσι, παρεχόντων διώντως οὐκ ἐνέμειναν τοῖς ὁμολογημένοις, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἔλεητάν. πέμψαντες οὖν οἱ τε Σηκουανοὶ καὶ οἱ Αἰδοῦοι πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπικουρίαν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ ἤτον, καὶ ἐδέοντο μὴ 3 σφας περιδείν ἀπολομένους. καὶ ἔλεγον μὲν οὖν ὅμοιον οἷς ἐπραξαν, ἐνυχών δ' οὖν ὅμοιον ὃ ήξιον ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ φοβηθεῖσι μή καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Τόλοσαν οἱ Ἐλονητοί τράπωστοι, εἶλετο μετ' ἐκείνων αὐτοὺς ἀμυνασθαι μᾶλλον ἡ συμφρονήσασι σφίςιν ὁπεὶ εὐδηλον ἢν ἑσόμενον, πολεμήσαι. 4 προσπεσὼν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἐλονητοῖς τὸν Ἀραμὶ διαβαίνουσι, τοὺς μὲν τελευταῖος ἐπακολουθοῦνται ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πόρῳ διεφθέρε, τοὺς δὲ προκεχωρηκότας ἐς τοσοῦτον ἕκ τῶν αἰφνίδιον καὶ ἕκ τοῦ τάχους τῆς διώξεως καὶ ἕκ 3 τῆς πύστεως τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἐξεπληξεν ὡστε ἐς ὁμολογίαν

1 τε H. Steph., τι L. 2 ἀπολομένου Cobet, ἀπολομένου L. 3 ἐκ added by Bk.

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was not yet well prepared he answered that he wished to consult his lieutenants about their requests and would give them their reply on a stated day; in fact he held out some little hope that he would grant them the passage. Meanwhile he dug ditches and erected walls in the most commanding positions, so as to make the road impassable for them.

Accordingly the barbarians waited for a time, and then, when they heard nothing as agreed, they set out and proceeded first through the country of the Allobroges, as they had begun. Then, encountering the obstacles, they turned aside into the territory of the Sequani and passed through their land as well as that of the Aedui, who gave them a free passage on condition that they should do no harm; but instead of abiding by the agreement, they went to plundering their country. Then the Sequani and Aedui sent to Caesar asking for assistance and begging him not to let them be ruined. Although their statements did not correspond at all with their past deeds, they nevertheless obtained their request. For Caesar was afraid the Helvetii might turn also against Tolosa, and chose to drive them back with the help of the other tribes, rather than to fight them all after they had come to an understanding, which it was clear they would otherwise do. Consequently he fell upon the Helvetii as they were crossing the Arar, annihilating at the very ford those who were bringing up the rear, and so alarming those who had gone ahead by the suddenness and swiftness of his pursuit and the report of their losses, that they desired to come to terms, on condition of
33 ἐπὶ χώρα τινὶ ἐθελῆσαι ἔλθειν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ 
συνέβησαν· ἐπεδῆ γὰρ ὁμήρους ἤτθησαν, ἡγα-
νάκτησαν οὐχ ὅτι ἤπιστοῦντο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀπηξίουν 
ὁμήρους τισὶ δοῦναι.

Καὶ τῶν μὲν σπουδῶν κατεφρόνησαν, προχω-
ροῦντες δὲ αὐτὶς τὴν τῇ ἱππον τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀπὸ 
tοῦ πεζοῦ πολὺ προδραμοῦσαν καὶ τοὺς ὀπι-
σθοφύλακας αὐτῶν παραλυποῦσαν, ὑποστάντες

τὸ ἱππικὸ ἐνίκησαν, κάκ τούτοις αὐτὸι τε φρόνημα 
λαβόντες καὶ ἐκείνοι φυγεῖν διὰ τῇ τὴν ἐλάττω-
σιν, καὶ ὅτι σπανίσας τῶν ἑπιτηδείων πρὸς πόλιν 
tὶνα ἔξω τῆς οὐδοῦ οὐσαν ἔξετράπετο, νομίσαντες, 

τοῦ τε πρῶσῳ ἀφεῖντο καὶ ἐπεδίωξαν αὐτὸν. Ἰδὼν 
οὖν τούτο ὁ Καίσαρ, καὶ φοβηθεῖς τὴν τῇ ὀρμήν 
αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, τῷ μὲν πεζῷ πρὸς μετεώρον 
tὶ ὁρμήσας, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας προεβάλετο 1 προκιν-

dυνεύσας σφισιν, ἐως ἐν ἑπιτηδείῳ παρατάξῃ

tρεφαμένοις τε αὐθείς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοιν, καὶ πρὸς 
aυτὸ τὸ ὀρθὸν θυμὸ φερομένων, ἐπικατέδραμε 
sφισιν ἔξαίφησιν, καὶ ἀτε συντεταγμένοις στοράδας

ἐξ ὑπερδεξὼν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεὼσατο. τραπο-

mένων δὲ τούτων, ἀλλοι τινὲς τῶν μὴ μαχομένων 
(ὑπὸ τε γὰρ τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς σπουδῆς οὐ 
πάντες ἁμα παρεγένοντο) προσέμειξαν ἔξαίφησι κα-
tὰ νὼτον τοῖς ἐπιδιώκουσι σφας, καὶ ἐθορύβησαν

μὲν αὐτοὺς, πλεῖον δὲ οὗδεν ἐσχοῦν· ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ 
tοὺς ἐπιπέσκει τοὺς φεύγοντας προστάξας αὐτὸς 
tὸ ὀπλετικὸ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐτράπετο, καὶ κρατή-

σας πρὸς τῇ τὰς ἀμάξας ἀμφότεροις σφίσι συγ-
katafugóουσιν ἐφέσπετο, κἂνταῦθα αὐθεὶς ἰσχυρός

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1 προεβάλετο Rk., προεβάλλετο L.
receiving some land. They did not, however, reach any agreement; for when they were asked for hostages, they became offended, not because they were distrusted, but because they thought it unworthy of them to give hostages to anyone. So they disdained a truce and went forward again.

When Caesar's cavalry galloped far ahead of the infantry and proceeded to harass their rear-guard, the enemy withstood them with their own cavalry and conquered them. Filled with pride in consequence, and thinking that he, too, had fled, both because of the defeat and because, owing to lack of provisions, he turned aside to a city that was off the road, they abandoned further progress and pursued after him. Caesar, seeing this and fearing the violence of their attack as well as their numbers, hurried with his infantry to some higher ground, but first threw forward his horsemen to bear the brunt of the fighting until he could marshal his forces in a suitable place. The barbarians routed them a second time and were making a spirited charge straight up the hill, when Caesar with his forces in battle-array dashed down upon them suddenly from his superior position, while they were scattered, and so repulsed them without difficulty. After these had been routed, some others who had not joined in the conflict—for owing to their multitude and their haste not all had arrived at the same time—attacked the pursuers in the rear and threw them into some confusion, but gained no advantage. For Caesar, leaving the fugitives to his cavalry, and turning himself with his heavy-armed troops to the others, defeated them and followed both bodies as they fled together to the waggons; and there, though from these vehicles they made a
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ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀμυνομένων σφᾶς ἐνίκησε. παθόντες
6 δὲ ταῦτ' ἐν βάρβαροι δίχα διηρήθησαν. οἱ μὲν
γὰρ ὁμολόγησαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ὅθεν
ἐξαισθήσαν ἐπανήλθον, κανταῦθα τὰς πόλεις
ἀνορθώσαντες ὧκησαν· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔθελήσαντες τὰ
ὅπλα παραδοῦναι πρὸς τὸν Ῥήνον, ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν
ἀρχαίαν σφῶν ἡ περιέλθειν δυνάμενοι, οἰκη-
σαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ρωμαίων δὲ ὄν
διχέσαν ῥάδιως, ἀτε καὶ ὀλίγους καὶ νεωκημένους,
ἐφέθηκαν.

34 Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὸν πρῶτον πόλεμον ὁ Καῖσαρ
ἐπολέμησεν, ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἐκείθεν οὐχ ἤσυχασεν,
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ βούλημα 1 ἀμα ἀπεπλή-
ρωσε καὶ τὸς συμμάχους ἐχαρίσατο. οἱ τὸ γὰρ
Σηκούναν καὶ οἱ Λεόντες τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῦ
ιδόντες καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὁμολογοῦντα ταῖς ἐπίτιςιν
αισθόμενοι, ἐκεῖνῳ τὸ ἐνεργεῖαν ἀμα καταθέσθαι
καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς τοὺς ὀμοχώρους σφῖς τιμωρή-

2 σασθαί ἰδέλησαν· τὸν γὰρ Ρήνον πάλαι ποτὲ
diαβάντες τὴς τὸν χώρας αὐτοῦ τενα παρετέρμυντο
καὶ αὐτοὺς 2 ὑποτέλεις ἐπεποίησον, ὁμηροῖς σφῶν
ἐχοντες. καὶ ἐτύγχανον γὰρ δεόμενοι ὅν ὅρεγετο,
ῥάδιως αὐτῶν ἀνέπεισαν ἐπικουρήσας σφίς.

3 Ἡρχε μὲν γὰρ Ἀριόνοιστος τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκεῖ-

νου, καὶ τὴν τε κύρωσιν τῆς βασιλείας παρὰ τῶν
Ῥωμαίων ἐλήφει, καὶ ἐς τοὺς φίλους τοὺς τε
συμμάχους αὐτῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ὑπα-
τεύοντος ἐσεγεράπτο 3 πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
πολέμου ὀδύζαν καὶ τὴν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς 4 ἵσχυν οὐδέπερ

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1 βούλημα Bk., βούλημα L.
2 αὐτοῦ Bk., ἐαυτοὶ L, ἐαυτοτὸς U.
3 ἐσεγεράπτο Bk., ἐσερεχτό L, ἐσεγεράπτο L.
4 ἀπ’ αὐτῆς Bk., ἀπ’ αὐτῶν L.
vigorous defence, he vanquished them again. After this reverse the barbarians divided into two parties. The one came to terms with him, and going back again to their native land, whence they had set out, they rebuilt and occupied their cities there. The others refused to surrender their arms, and, with the idea that they could get back again to their old home, set out for the Rhine; but being few in numbers and labouring under a defeat, they were easily annihilated by the allies of the Romans through whose territory they passed.

Such was the first war that Caesar fought, and he did not remain quiet after this beginning; instead, he at the same time satisfied his own desire and did the allies a favour. For the Sequani and Aedui, who had marked his desire and had noticed that his deeds corresponded with his hopes, were willing at one stroke to bestow a benefit upon him and to take vengeance upon the Germans, who were their neighbours. The latter had at some time in the remote past crossed the Rhine, cut off portions of their territory, and rendered them tributaries, taking hostages from them. And because they happened to be asking what Caesar was anxious for, they easily persuaded him to assist them.

Now Ariovistus was the ruler of those Germans; his authority had been confirmed by the Romans and he had been enrolled among their friends and allies by Caesar himself during his consulship. In comparison, however, with the glory to be derived from the war and the power which that glory would bring, the

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1 Dio regularly uses the word "Celts" in place of "Germans"; to avoid confusion, however, the usual term has been adopted in the translation.
τούτων ἐφρόντισε, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον παρὰ τοῦ βαρ-
βάρου προφασίν τῆς διαφορᾶς, μὴ καὶ προὔπάρ-
χειν τι εἰ αὐτὸν νομισθῇ, λαβεῖν ἡθέλησε. καὶ
dia τούτο μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ διαλεχθήναι
ti αὐτῶν δεόμενος. ἐπειδὴ τε οὖν ὑπῆκουσεν, ἀλλὰ
cαὶ ἐφὶ ὅτι “eἰ τί μοι βούλεται Καῖσαρ εἰπεῖν,
αὐτὸς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐλθέτω. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως κατα-
dεέστερος αὐτοῦ εἰμι, καὶ τὸν χρειαν τινὸς ἔχοντα
5 αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀφικνεῖσθαι δεῖ,” ὀργῆν τε ὡς
καὶ πάντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προπεπηλακικότος
αὐτὸν ἐν τούτῳ ἐποίησατο, καὶ παραχρῆμα τοῦς
tε ὁμήρους τῶν συμμάχων ἀπήτησεν αὐτῶν, καὶ
προσαπηγόρευσεν αὐτῷ μὴ τῆς χώρας σφῶν
ἐπιβαίνειν μὴ τῇ ἐπικουρίᾳ οἰκοθεν ἐπάγεσθαι.

6 ταῦτα δὲ ἔσχεν οὖν ὅτι καὶ καταπλήξειν αὐτὸν,
ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἔξοργείν κακὸ τούτῳ προφασίν τοῦ
πολέμου καὶ μεγάλην καὶ εὐπρεπῆ λήψεσθαι
ἠλπισεν. ὁπερ ἐγένετο καθεσθείς γάρ ὁ βάρ-
βαρος τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἀπεκρί-
nυατο, ὡστε τὸν Καῖσαρα λόγους μὲν μηκὲν αὐτῷ
ἀντιπέμψατο, τὸν δὲ δὴ Ὑπεσοῦνονα, τὴν τῶν
Σηκουανῶν πόλιν, εὐθὺς, καὶ πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι ἡ
τινά, προκατασχέιν.

35 Καὶ τούτῳ οἱ στρατιώται, ἀγγελίας ἔλθουσις
ὅτι τε ὁ Ἀριόουστος ἰσχυρός παρασκευάζεται,
καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἑτού τῶν Κελτῶν πολλοὶ οἱ μὲν δια-
βεβήκασιν ἡδή τῶν Ῥήνην ὡς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν αὐτῶν,
οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῶ τῷ ποταμῷ συνειλέχαται ὡς
ὅπως ἐξαίφησι σφῖσιν ἐπίθωνται, δεινῶς ἡθύμη-

2 σαν’ τὰ τε γὰρ μεγέθη αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ

1 αἰσθέσθαι U, αἰσθηθεῖσθαι L.
2 συνειλέχαται St, συνειλόχαται L.

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Roman general heeded none of these considerations, except in so far as he wished to get some excuse for the quarrel from the barbarian, so that he should not appear to be in any way the aggressor against Ariovistus. Therefore he sent for him, pretending that he wished to have a conference with him. Ariovistus, instead of obeying, replied: "If Caesar wishes to say anything to me, let him come to me himself. I am not inferior to him, anyway, and the man who has need of another should himself go to that person." Thereupon Caesar became angry on the ground that he had thereby insulted all the Romans, and he immediately demanded of him the hostages of the allies and forbade him either to set foot on their land or to bring any reinforcements from home. This he did, not with the idea of scaring him, but because he hoped to enrage him and by that means to gain a good and plausible pretext for the war. And this was what happened. The barbarian, angered by these demands, made a long and harsh reply, so that Caesar no longer bandied words with him, but straightway, before any one was aware of his intentions, seized on Vesontio, the city of the Sequani.

Meanwhile reports reached the soldiers that Ariovistus was making vigorous preparations, and also that many other Germans had either already crossed the Rhine to assist him or had collected on the very bank of the river to attack the Romans suddenly; hence they fell into deep dejection. Alarmed by the stature of their enemies, by their numbers, their boldness, and
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te θράσσος καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προχείρους ἀπειλάς ἐκπλαγέντες οὕτω διετέθησαν ὡς μηδὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τινὰς ἀλλὰ πρὸς θηρία ἀπορὰ καὶ ἀγρια προσοισόμενοι. καὶ ἐθρύλουν ὅτι πόλεμον οὕτε προσήκουτα οὕτε ἐψηφισμένον διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος φιλοτιμίαν ἀναρροώντο, καὶ προσεπηπείλουν ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτὸν ἃν μὴ μετα-

3 βάληται. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐκείνος τῷ μὲν πλῆθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὔδὲν διελέξατο (οὕτε γὰρ καλὸν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τοιαύτα πρὸς πολλοὺς λέγειν) καὶ ταῦτ' ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μέλλοντα ἐκφοιτήσειν, καὶ ἐδείσε μὴ ποὺς ἀπειθήσαστες θορυβησοῦσι καὶ κακὸν τι ἐξεργάσονται, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ὑπάρχοις καὶ τοὺς ὑπομείνας ἀθρόισας τοιάδε εἴν αὐτοῖς ἐλέξειν.

36 "Οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν, ὁ ἄνδρας φίλοι, τρόπων ἤγομαι δειν ἡμᾶς περὶ τῶν ἱδίων καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν βουλευέσθαι. οὔδε γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄρῳ σκοτῶν ἱδία τε ἐκάστῳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἄπασιν ὄντα. ἡμῶν μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἐπιεικέστατα καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα, τῷ δὲ δὴμῷ τὰ κράτιστα καὶ προαρείσθαι καὶ πράττειν

2 προσήκει. δεὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἔν τοῖς ἱδίοις δρα-

στηρίων εἶναι: τὸ γὰρ ἐπιεικὲς οὐκ ἐδέλει εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐκ τούτου σωζεῖσθαι: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ἀνὴρ μὲν ὅστις ἀπραγμονεύσατος ἐστί, καὶ ἀσφαλέστατος εἶναι δοκεῖ, πόλις δὲ, ἀλλος τε καὶ ἄρχῃν ἔχουσα, τάχιστ' ἀν ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτον κατα-

3 λυθεῖν. ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτως οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ταχθέντα ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως νομοθετη-

θέντα καὶ ἢν ἂει καὶ ἐστί, καὶ ἐσται μέχρινερ ἀν καὶ τὸ θυμὸν γένος συνεστήκη.

2 εἰ μὴ Reim., μὴ L.
BOOK XXXVIII

consequent ready threats, they were in such a mood as to feel that they were going to contend not against men, but against uncanny and ferocious wild beasts. And the talk was that they were undertaking a war which was none of their business and had not been decreed, merely on account of Caesar’s personal ambition; and they threatened also to desert him if he did not change his course. So he, when he heard of it, did not make any address to the common soldiers, since he thought it was not a good plan to discuss such matters before a crowd, and that if he did, these things would get out and reach the enemy, and since he feared his soldiers might perchance refuse obedience, raise a tumult, and do some harm, but he assembled his lieutenants and subalterns and spoke before them as follows:

"My friends, we ought not, I think, to deliberate about public interests in the same way as about private. In fact, I do not see that the same goal is set for each man privately as for all together publicly. For though we may for ourselves take the course that is most expedient and safe, yet for the people we should both adopt and carry out only the measures that are best. Even in private matters it is necessary to be energetic; so only can a respectable position be maintained. Still, a man who is least occupied with affairs is thought to be also safest. But a state, especially if it holds sway over others, would be very quickly overthrown by such a course. These laws, not drawn up by man but enacted by Nature herself, always have existed, do exist, and will exist so long as the race of mortals endures.

1 Cf. Frg. 8 and Thucydides ii. 63.

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Τούτων οὖν οὗτως ἐχόντων, οὐδ' ἦμῶν οὔδένα χρή τὸ ἱδίον ἢδυ καὶ ἀσφαλές ἐν τῷ παροντὶ μάλλον ἢ τὸ τοῖς πάσι Ρωμαίοις καὶ εὐπρεπὲς καὶ συμφέρον προσκοπεῖν. λογίζεσθε γὰρ τὰ τὰ ἀλλὰ ὅσα εἰκός ἐστι, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι δεύρο ἠλθομεν αὐτοὶ τε τοσοῦτοι καὶ τοιοῦτοι ἐκ τε τῆς βουλής καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων ὅπεστε, καὶ πλῆθος πολὺ στρατιωτῶν χρήματά τε ἄφθονα λαβόντες, οὐχ ἦνα βαθμώμεν, οὔτ' ἦνα ἀμελώμεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως τὰ τὰ τῶν ὕπηκών ὅρθος διοικήσωμεν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων ἀσφαλῶς διασώσωμεν, τούς τε ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντας σφας ἀμυνώμεθα, καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἐπανζήσωμεν. ὅσει γε μὴ ταῦθ' οὐτω φρονοῦτες ἠλθομεν, τί ποτε καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐξεστρατεύσαμεν, ἀλλ' οὐ τρόπον ὅτι τινα δικοὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱδίοις κατεμείναμεν; καὶ γὰρ ποιοῦν καὶ ἀμείνων ἦν μηδ' ὑποστηρίζει τὴν στρατείαν ἡ προσταθέντας αὐτὴν προδοῦναι. εἰ δ' οὐκ ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν νομῶν ἀναγκαζόμενοι τὸ προστατόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος πράττειν, οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους ἔθελον ταῖς τὰς τιμὰς καὶ διὰ τὰς ὦφελίας τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμων περιγυμνομένας πάρεσμεν, πῶς ἂν ἦν καλῶς ἢ ὀσίως ἢμῖν ἔχουσας ψεύσασθαι καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκπεμψάντων ἡμᾶς ἁμα καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν ἔλπιδας; ἰδία μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν εἰς οὕτως εὑ πράξειν ὡστε μὴ οὐ τῷ κοινῷ πταίσαντι συναπολέσθαι· τὸ δὲ δημόσιον εὐτυχοῦν πάσας καὶ τὰς ἐκάστην συμφοράς ἀναφέρει. "Δένω δὲ ταύτα οὐ πρὸς χάμα, ἄνδρες ἑταῖροι τε καὶ φίλοι, τούς ἐνταῦθα δυτας (οὗτε γὰρ ἄλλως ἀγνοεῖτε αὐτά ὡστε καὶ μαθεῖν δεῖσθαι, σοῦ
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"This being the case, no one of you at this juncture should have an eye to what is privately agreeable and safe so much as to what is creditable and advantageous to all the Romans. For, apart from the other considerations that may naturally arise, reflect in particular that we who are so many and of such rank—members of the senate and knights—have come here accompanied by a great multitude of soldiers and with money in abundance, not that we may take our ease or neglect our duties, but for the purpose of managing rightly the affairs of our subjects, preserving in safety the property of those bound to us by treaty, repelling any who undertake to do them wrong, and increasing our own possessions. For if it was not in this spirit that we came, why in the world did we take the field at all instead of contriving in some manner or other to stay at home attending to our own affairs? Surely it were better not to have undertaken the campaign than to give it up after being assigned to it. If, however, some of us are here because compelled by the laws to do what our country ordains, and the majority of us voluntarily, on account of the honours and rewards that come from the wars we wage, how could we either honourably or rightly cheat not only the hopes of the men who sent us forth but also our own? For no one can fare so well individually as not to be ruined with the republic, if it should fall; but if the state prospers, it sustains all the misfortunes of each individual citizen.

"I do not say this with reference to you who are here, my comrades and friends; for you are not ignorant of these things, that you need to be instructed
in them, nor are you indifferent toward them, that you require exhortation. I say it because I have ascertained that some of the soldiers are themselves noisily talking to the effect that this war we have undertaken is none of our business, and are stirring up the rest to sedition. My purpose is that you yourselves may as a result of my words make more unswerving the zeal you have for your country and may also teach the others their whole duty. For they will be benefited more by hearing it from you individually and repeatedly than they would from learning it but once from my lips. Tell them, then, that it was not by staying at home or shirking their campaigns or avoiding their wars or pursuing their ease that our ancestors made the city so great, but it was by bringing their minds to venture readily all that they ought to do and their bodies to work out eagerly all the plans they had determined upon; by risking their own possessions as if they belonged to others, but acquiring readily the possessions of their neighbours as their own, while they thought that happiness was nothing else than doing their duty, and held that misfortune was nothing else than resting inactive.

"It was in consequence of these principles, therefore, that those men, who were in the beginning very few and dwelt in a city as small as any at first, conquered the Latins, subdued the Sabines, mastered the Etruscans, Volscians, Oscans, Lucanians and Samnites, in a word, subjugated the whole land south of the Alps, and repelled all the foreign tribes that came
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αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι οὗ τε πατέρες ἦμον ξηλώσαντες οὐκ ἤρκέσθησαν τοῖς παροῦσιν, οὐδ' ἤγάπησαν οἱς παρέλαβον, ἄλλ' δὲθρον μὲν αὐτῶν σαφῆ τὴν ῥάστωνην, σωτηρίαν δὲ ἀκριβῆ τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν νομίσαντες εἶναι, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὲν μὴ μείναντα αὐτὰ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν 1 κατατριφθεὶ καὶ καταγγέλθηκεν, αἰσχυνθέντες 2 δὲ εἰ τοσάντα παραδεξάμενοι μηδὲν ἐπικτῆσαντο, πολλῷ πλείω καὶ μεῖζον προσκατειργάσαντο. τί γὰρ ἀν τις καθ' ἐκαστὸν λέγοι τὴν Σαρδῶ, τὴν Σικελίαν, τοὺς Μακεδόνας, τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς, τὴν Ἐλλάδα, τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν, Βιθυνίαν, Ἰβηρίαν, Ἀφρούς; κατοι συχνὰ μὲν ἀν χρόνα χορήματα ἐδοσαν αὐτοῖς Καρχηδόνιοι ὡστε μὴ ἐκεῖσε ἐκπλεῦσαι, συχνὰ δὲ Φίλιππος καὶ Περσεύς ὡστε μὴ ἐπ' αὐτῶς στρατεύσαι, πολλὰ Ἀντίοχος, πολλὰ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ καὶ ἑγγονοὶ ὡστε ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης καταμείναι, ἀλλ' οὐτε ἐκεῖνοι πρὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀργεῖν τε ἀκλεῖος καὶ πλουτεῖν άδεως εἰλοντο, οὔτ' αὐτῶν ἦμοι οἱ πρεσβυτεροὶ οἱ καὶ νῦν ἐτ' οὔτε, ἀλλ' ἀτε 3 εὐ εἰδότες ὅτι διὰ 4 τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ κτάται τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ σωζέται, πολλὰ μὲν ἐβεβαιώσαντο τῶν προὐπαρχόντων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ προσκεπτήσαντο. τί γὰρ δεῖ καὶ τοῦ ἐκαστοῦ ἐπεξεύρεναι τὴν Κρήτην, τὸν Πόντον, τὴν Κύπρον, τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὴν Ἀσίαν, 5 τὴν Ἀλβανίαν τὴν ἐκεῖ, Σύρους ἀμφοτέρους, Ἀρμενίους ἐκατέρους,

1 ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν Rk., ἐφ' ἑαυτᾶ L.
2 καταγγέλθηκεν αἰσχυνθέντες Bk., καταγγέλθηκε ἀμφοτέρους L.
3 ἀλλ' ἀτε Bk., ἀλλὰ τε L.
4 διὰ Bk., διὰ τε L.
5 Ἀσιανήν Bk., ἄσιαν L.

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against them. The later Romans, likewise, and our own fathers imitated them, not being satisfied with what they had nor content with what they had inherited, but regarding sloth as their sure destruction and hardship as their certain safety. They feared that if their treasures remained unaugmented they would waste away of themselves and wear out with age, and were ashamed after receiving so rich a heritage to add nothing to it; accordingly they effected much greater and more numerous conquests. But why mention individually Sardinia, Sicily, Macedonia, Illyria, Greece, Ionian Asia, Bithynia, Spain, and Africa? And yet the Carthaginians would have given them much money not to extend their voyages thither, and much would Philip and Perseus have given to keep them from making campaigns against them; Antiochus would have given much, his sons and grandsons would have given much, to have them remain in Europe. But those men in view of the glory and the greatness of the empire did not choose to be ignobly idle or to enjoy their wealth in security, nor did the older men of our own generation who even now are still alive; nay, as men who well knew that advantages are preserved by the same methods by which they are acquired, they made sure of many of their original possessions and also acquired many new ones. But here again, why catalogue in detail Crete, Pontus, Cyprus, Asiatic Iberia, Farther Albania, both Syrias, the two
‘Αραβίονς, Παλαιστίνοις; οὐ δὲ τὰ ὄνοματα πρότερον ἀκριβῶς εἴδοτες νῦν τῶν μὲν αὐτοὶ δεσπόζομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐτέρους ἐχαρισάμεθα, ὡστε ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ προσόδους καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ τιμὰς καὶ συμμαχίας προσελήφηναι.

39 "Τοιαῦτα γούν ἔχοντες παραδείγματα, μήτε τὰ τῶν πατέρων ἔργα κατασκύπητε μήτε τὴν ἀρχὴν μεγάστην ἦδη οὐσαν προῆσθε. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἢς ἦμιν τε καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις τοῖς μη- δὲν τῶν ὁμοίων κεκτημένοις βουλευτέοις ἐστίν.

2 ἐκεῖνοις μὲν γὰρ ἐξαρκεί ράστωνεν καὶ μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἀλλοις ὑποπεπτοκάνει, ἡμῖν δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστι καὶ πονεῖν καὶ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ μετὰ κινδύνων τὴν παροῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν φυλάττειν. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύονσιν αὐτῇ ταῖς γὰρ τὸ ὑπεραϊρὸν τινας καὶ ξηλοῦται καὶ φθονεῖται, κακὸς τούτων πόλεμος ἀιδίος ἐστιν ἄπασι τοῖς καταδεστέροις πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τινὶ αὐτῶν ὑπερέχοντας. ἢ οὖν ἀπὸ πρώτης ἐρχὴν μηδὲν διαφερούτως ἡμᾶς τῶν ἀλλών ἀνθρώπων ἡξῆθησαί, ἢ ἐπείπερ τηλικοῦτοι γεγονόμεν καὶ τοσαῦτα κεκτήμεθα, πέρωταί τε ἡ ἄρχειν τῶν ἀλλών ἐγκρατῶς ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς παντελῶς ἀπολέσθαι (τοῖς γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀξίωμα τοσοῦτον καὶ ἐς δύναμιν τηλικαύτην προκεχωρηκόσιν ἀδύνατον ἐστὶν ἀκινδύνως ἰδιωτεῦσαι), πειθώμεθα τὴ τύχη, μηδὲ ἐκοῦσαν αὐτὴν καὶ αὐτεπάγγελτον τοὺς ἐν πατρᾶσιν ἡμῶν ὑπάρξασαι καὶ ἡμῖν παραμένουσαν ἀπωστρωμέθα. ἐσται δὲ τούτο οὐκ ἀν τὰ ὀπλα ρίψωμεν, οὐδὲ ἄν ταῖς τάξεις εκλίπω-

1 πολλοὶ Bk., πολλοὶ τε L.
2 ἐπιβουλεύονσιν Wagner, ἐπιθυμοῦσιν L. 3 ἢ Bk., μη L.
Armenias, Arabia, and Palestine? Countries whose very names we did not know precisely in former times we now rule, lording it over some ourselves and having bestowed others upon various persons, so that we have gained from them revenues and troops and honour and alliances.

"With such examples before you, now, do not bring shame upon the deeds of the fathers nor let slip the empire which is already the greatest. We cannot even deliberate in like manner with the rest of mankind who have no possessions like ours. For them it suffices to live in ease and, with safety guaranteed, to be subject to others, but for us it is necessary to toil, to make campaigns, and to incur danger in guarding our existing prosperity. Against this prosperity many are plotting, since everything that lifts people above their fellows arouses both emulation and jealousy; and consequently an eternal warfare is waged by all inferiors against those who excel them in any way. Hence either we ought not in the first place to have grown powerful beyond other men, or else, since we have become so great and have gained so many possessions, it is fated for us either to rule our subjects firmly or to perish utterly ourselves. For it is impossible for men who have advanced to such distinction and to power so vast to live to themselves without danger. Let us therefore obey Fortune and not repel her, seeing that she voluntarily and at her own behest was present with our fathers and now abides with us. But this result will not be attained if we cast away our arms or desert
μεν, οὐδ’ ἀν διὰ κενῆς οἰκοι καθώμεθα ἢ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις πλανώμεθα, ἀλλὰ ἂν τὰ τε ὅπλα διὰ χειρὸς ἂεί ἐξωμεν (οὕτω γὰρ μόνως εἰρήνη σωζέται) καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πολέμου διὰ κινδύνων ἀσκόμεν (οὕτω γὰρ μόνως οὐκ ἂεί πολέμων μὴ συνεργοῦμεν καὶ τοῖς ἂεί τι παρακαίνοντι τῶν πολεμῶν μὴ ἐπιτρέπομεν (οὕτω γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἐπεξῆνε).

40 "Εἰ μὲν γὰρ τις τῶν θεῶν ἐγχυτῆς ἡμῖν ἐγένετο ὅτι, κὰν ταῦτα μὴ ποιῶμεν, οὔτε τις ἡμῖν ἐπιζωολεύει καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα κεκτῆμεν ἀσφαλῶς ἂεί καρπωσόμεθα, αἰσχρόν μὲν ἂν ἢ ἢν εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὴν ήσυχίαν ἁγείν ἔχειν, ὅμως δ’ οὐν εἰχον ἂν τινα σκῆψιν εὑπρετῆ ὃι μηδεν τῶν δεόντων πράττῃν. τείν βουλόμενοι. εἰ δ’ ἀνάγκη τοῦς κεκτήμενους τεῦν ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐπιζωολεύσθαι, καὶ προσήκει γε τας ἐπιθέσεις αὐτῶν προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἠσυχάζοντες καὶ περὶ τούτως κινδυνεύοσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ περισσαίας τω πολέμω καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων χρόμενοι καὶ ἐκεῖνα φυσικάς εἰσοδοσίας (οὕτως γὰρ περὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δεδομένων τῶν τοῦ πέλας ἐφείται: ὁ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ὑποχώντων οἱ φόβοι ἀσχυρῶς τοῦ πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα αὐτῶν ἀποτρέπει), τὸ τούτο λέγει τις, ὡς οὕρ χρὴ ἡμᾶς ἂεί τι προσκήσθαι;

1 ἐκλίπομεν Dind., ἐκλείφομεν L.  
2 καθώμεθα Pflugk., καθήμεθα L.  
3 πολέμων Xyl., πολέμων L.  
4 μὴ supplied by Xyl.  
5 ἢ supplied by Pflugk.  
6 ἀλλοτρίων Xyl., ἀλλοβριγεῖν L.  
7 λέγει τις Ἰκ., λέγει τις L.
or sit idly at home or even wander about visiting our allies; it will be attained if we keep our arms constantly in hand (this is the only way to preserve peace), practise the deeds of war by actual fighting (this is the only way we shall not be forever having war), aid unhesitatingly those of our allies who ask for aid (in this way we shall get many more), and do not indulge those of our enemies who are always turbulent (in this way no one will any longer care to wrong us).

"What though some god had become our surety that even if we should fail to do all this, no one would plot against us and we should forever enjoy in safety all that we have won, it would still be disgraceful to say that we ought to keep quiet; yet those who are willing to do nothing that is requisite would then have some show of excuse. But if, as a matter of fact, it is inevitable that men who possess anything should be plotted against by many, and if it behooves them to anticipate their attacks; if those who hold quietly to their own possessions risk losing even these, while those who without any compulsion employ war to acquire the possessions also of others are protecting their own as well,—for no one who fears for his own goods covets those of his neighbour, since his fear concerning what he already has effectually deters him from meddling in what does not belong to him,—if all this be true, why, then, does any one say that we ought not always to be acquiring something more?
"Ού μέμνησθε, τὰ μὲν ἀκηκοότες τὰ δὲ ἑορακότες, ὅτι οὔτε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γενόν όυδὲν πρότερον ἀπέσχετο τοῦ τῷ πατριδὶ ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλεύειν πρὶν τοὺς πολέμους ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων χώρᾳ τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ποιήσασθαι, οὔτε οἱ Ἡπειρῶται πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ἕλλαδα αὐτοὺς περαιώθηναι; οὐ Φίλιππος μελλήσας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσειν, πρὶν φθάσαις τὴν ἐκείνου κακῶς ποιῆσαι· οὐ Περσεῖς, οὐκ Ἀντίοχος, οὐ Μιθριδάτης, πρὶν τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι. καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ λέγοι τις ἂν;

ἀλλ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, τέως μὲν οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἢδ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ εἰχον, ἐς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν διέπλεον καὶ τὴν χώραν κατέτρεχον τάς τε πόλεις ἐπόρθουν καὶ παρ' ὅλγον καὶ τὸ ἀστυ αὐτὸ εἰλον, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀντιπολεμεῖσθαι ἦρξαντο, παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν ἐξέδρασαν. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν καὶ Κελτῶν ἂν τις εἰπεῖν ἔχοι. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως, μέχρι μὲν ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλ-πεων ἐμένομεν, πολλάκις αὐτὰς ὑπερήφανον καὶ πολλὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπόρθησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτολμή-σαμεν ποτε ἔξω τε τῶν ὅρων ἑκατερεύουσα καὶ τὸν πόλεμον σφίσε περιστῆσαι, καὶ τινα καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀπετεμόμεθα, οὐκέτ' οὔδενα πόλε-μου ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλία, πλὴν ἀπαξ, εἰδόμεν.

οταν οὐν τούτων οὔτως ἐγόντων λέγη τις ὅτι οὐ χρη πολεμεῖν ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲν ἄλλο φησὶν ἢ ὅτι οὐ χρη πλούτευν, οὐ χρη ἐτέρων ἀρχεῖν, οὐκ ἔλευ-θέρους, οὐ Ῥωμαίους εἶναι. ὥσπερ οὖν ἄν, εἰπερ τι τούτων εἰπτε τις, οὐκ ἂν ἠνέσχεσθε ἀλλα καν ἐν χερσὶν αὐτῶν ἀπεκτείνατε, οὗτοι καὶ νῦν, ὁ ἄνδρες ἐταῦτοι, πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖνα λέγοντας δια-
“Do you not recall, partly from hearsay and partly from observation, that none of the Italian races stopped plotting against our country until our ancestors carried the wars into their territory, nor yet the Epirots until our fathers crossed over into Greece? Nor Philip, who intended to make a campaign even against Italy, until they harried his land first; nor Perseus, or Antiochus, or Mithridates, until they treated them in the same way? And why mention the other instances? But take the Carthaginians; so long as they suffered no disaster at our hands in Africa, they kept crossing into Italy, overrunning the country, sacking the towns, and almost captured the city itself; but when they began to have war made upon them, they fled altogether from our land. One might instance the same results in the case of the Gauls and Germans. For these peoples, while we remained on our side of the Alps, often crossed them and ravaged a large part of Italy; but when we ventured at last to make a campaign beyond our own borders and to bring the war home to them, and also took away a part of their territory, we never again saw any war begun by them in Italy, except once. When, accordingly, in the face of these facts, anybody declares that we ought not to make war, he simply says that we ought not to be rich, ought not to rule others, ought not to be free, ought not to be Romans. Therefore, just as you would not endure it if a man should say any of these things, but would kill him even as he stood before you, so now also, comrades, you must feel the same way toward those who make these other
τίθεσθε, μή τοῖς ῥήμασι σφών ἄλλα τοῖς ἔργοις τον νοῦν τεκμαίρομενοι.

"Οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν οὕτω χρὴ φρονεῖν, οὐδέν ἃν 1 ἀντειπεῖν ὑμῶν 2 νομίζω: εἰ ὃ ὅτι μὴτε ἐξήτασται περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦτον παρὰ 3 τῇ βουλῇ καὶ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ μὴ ἐψήφισται, διὰ τούτῳ τις ἤπεται δεῖν ἦμας προθυμηθῆναι, λογισάσθω τοῦθ', 4 ὅτι πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι ὁσιοὶ πῶς ποτε γεγονα- 5 σιν ἦμῖν, οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρασκευῆς καὶ προεπαγ- 2 γέλεσως οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔπι καιροῦ συμβεβήκασι. καὶ διὰ τούτου ὃσα μὲν ἃν 6 οἶκοι τε μενοῦντα ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ἕστειαν ἀγῶνων κινηθῆ καὶ ἐκ πρεσβείας τινὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων λάβῃ, καὶ σκέψων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ δεὶ καὶ ἀναγκαίον ἑστὶ γίγνεσθαι καὶ ψήφου ἐπάγεσθαι, καὶ μετὰ τούτο τοὺς τε ὑπάτους ἡ καὶ στρατηγοὺς προστάτ- 3 τεσσαρία σφισθα καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκτέμπεσθαι; ὅσα δ' ἂν ἐξελπιθότων ἦτη καὶ ἐξεστρατευμένων τινῶν ἑκφανῆ, ταῦτ' οὐκέτ' ἐς διαγνώσμην ἀγέσθαι χρῆ, ἄλλ' ὡς καὶ δεδογμένα καὶ κεκυρωμένα ὡς αὐτῆς τῆς χρείας προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι πρὶν αὐξηθῆναι.

4 ""Η τίνος μὲν ἕνεκα ἦμας ἑνταῦθ' ὃ δῆμος ἐξεπεμψεν, τίνος δ' ἕνεκα ἐμὲ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐνθὺς ἐστειλε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ πέντε ἐτη καθάπαξ, ὃ μήτω πρὸτερον ἐγεγόνει, ἀρχεῖν ἐλόμενος, τούτο δὲ τέσσαρι τριστατόποις ὀπλίσας, εἰ μὴ καὶ 5 πολεμήσαι πάντως ἦμας δεόσει ἐνόμιζεν; οὐ γὰρ ποιοί οὐν ὑμᾶν μάτην τρεφομέθα, οὐδ' ἐνα τάς τε πόλεις

1 οὐδέν' ἂν Pflugk, οὐδένα L. 2 ὑμῶν Bk., ὑμῶν L. 3 παρὰ Rk., παρὰ τε L. 4 τοῦθ' Pflugk, ταῦθ' L. 5 ἃν added by Bk.
statements, judging their disposition not by their words but by their deeds.

"Therefore none of you will contend, I think, that this is not the right point of view to take. If, however, any one thinks that because no investigation has been made of this war in the senate and no vote has been passed in the assembly we need be less eager, let him reflect that while some, to be sure, of the many wars which have fallen to our lot, have come about as a result of preparation and previous announcement, yet others have occurred on the spur of the moment. For this reason all uprisings that are made while we are staying at home and keeping quiet, in which the beginning of the complaints arises from some embassy, both call for and demand an inquiry into their nature and the taking of a vote, after which the consuls and praetors must be assigned to them and the forces sent out; but all that come to light after commanders have already gone forth and taken the field are no longer to be brought up for decision, but to be taken in hand promptly, before they increase, as matters decreed and ratified by the very urgency of the crisis.

"Else for what reason did the people send you hither, for what reason did they send me immediately after my consulship? Why did they, on the one hand, elect me to hold command for five years at one time, as had never been done before, and on the other hand equip me with four legions, unless they believed that we should certainly be required to fight? Surely it was not that we might be supported in idleness, or that making visits to the allied cities
τὰς συμμαχίδας καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν ὑπῆκοον περιώντες χαλεπώτεροι καὶ τῶν πολέμων αὐτῶν ἔγγυώμεθα,—οὐδ’ ἂν εἰς ταῦτα φήσειν,—ἀλλ’ Ἰνα τὴν οἰκεῖαν φυλάξωμεν, ἵνα τὴν τῶν πολέμων πορθήσωμεν, ἵν’ ἀξίων τι καὶ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐργασώμεθα. οὐκοῦν ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος καὶ πᾶς ὁ στίς ὁ ἄλλος καὶ ἐπιτέτραπται ἤμιν καὶ ἐγκεχείρισται. καὶ πάνω γε φρονίμως ἐποίησαν ἐφ’ ἓμιν τὸ τί πολέμητεν εἶναι διαγνώσαν καταλιπτόντες καὶ ἐμ’ αὐτοὶ τὸν πόλεμον ψηφισάμενοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὕτ’ ἀκριβῶς τὰ τῶν συμμάχων τοσοῦτον ἄυτῶν ἀφεστηκότες ἤδυνηθησαν ἐν, καὶ πρὸς εἰδότας καὶ προπαρεσκευασμένους τοὺς πολέμους οὐκ ἄν

7 ὁμοίως ἐπιτηδείως προσηνέχθησαν. ἡμεῖς δὲ δὴ κρίται ἀμα καὶ λειτουργοὶ τοῦ πολέμου γνωρίμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοφόρους τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡ ὀπλα εὕθως ἐπιφέροντες, οὕτ’ ἀνέξεταστος οὕτ’ ἀδίκως οὕτ’ ἀπροφυλάκτως αὐτῶν ποιησόμεθα.

42 "Καὶ μοι εἰ τις ὑμῶν ἔκεινο ὑπολαμβάνει, τί δὴ τηλεικοῦντο τὸ Ἀριστοκράτειος πεπλημμέληκεν ὡστ’ ἀντὶ φίλου καὶ συμμάχου πολέμοις ἤμιν γενέσθαι, σκοπεῖτο τοῦθ’, ὅτι τοὺς ἄδικεν τί ἐπιχειροῦντας οὐκ ἔφ’ οἷς ποιοῦσι μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐφ’ οἷς φρονοῦσιν ἀμύνασθαι δεῖ, καὶ τὴν τε αὐξήσιν αὐτῶν πρὶν καὶ βλαβήναι τι προκαταλαμβάνειν, καὶ μὴ περιμείναντας κακῶς ἔργο παθεῖν, τότε τιμω-2 ρεῖσθαι. ὅτι τοῖνυν καὶ ἐχθρός καὶ ἐχθιστός ἐστιν ἡμῖν, πῶς ἂν ἄλλος μᾶλλον ἐλεγχθεῖν ἡ ἐκ ὧν ἐποίησαν; πέμψαντος γὰρ μου πρὸς αὐτὸν φε-

1 ἵνα added by Bk. 2 τοσοῦτον Cobut, καὶ τοσοῦτον L. 3 προπαρεσκευασμένου Plougk, πρὸς παρεσκευασμένου L.
and our subject territory, we should prove a worse bane to them even than their enemies. Nobody would make this assertion. It was rather that we might protect our own land, ravage that of the enemy, and accomplish something worthy both of our numbers and our expenditures. With this understanding, therefore, both this war and every other whatsoever have been assigned and entrusted to us. They acted very sensibly in leaving in our hands the decision as to whom we should fight, instead of voting for the war themselves. For they would not have been able to understand thoroughly the affairs of our allies, being at such a distance from them, and would not have taken measures with equal opportuneness against enemies who were already informed and prepared. So we, on whom has devolved at once the decision and the carrying out of the war, and who are turning our weapons promptly against foes actually in the field, shall not be waging the war without investigation or unjustly or incautiously.

"But suppose, now, some one of you should answer me with this objection: 'What wrong has Arioivistus done so great that he should have become an enemy of ours in place of a friend and ally?' Let any such man consider the fact that one has to defend one's self against those who are undertaking to do a wrong not merely on the basis of what they do, but also on the basis of what they intend, and has to check their growth promptly, before suffering any injury, instead of waiting until the wrong is actually done and then taking vengeance. Now how could it better be proved that he is hostile, nay, most hostile toward us than by what he has done? I sent
λικώς ὁπως ἐλθη τε πρὸς ήμας καὶ κοινῆ μεθ' ἡμῶν Βουλεύσηται περὶ τῶν παρόντων, οὔτ' ἤλθεν 3 οὕθ' ἤξειν ὑπέσχετο. καίτοι τι μὲν ἔγω ἄδικον ἡ ἀνεπιεικὲς ἡ φορτικὸς ἐποίησα μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν ὡς φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον; τί δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὑβρεως καὶ ἀσελγείας, οὐκ ἐθελήσας ἐλθεῖν, ἐκλέλοιπεν; ἀρ' οὐ δυνώ ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἦτοι ὑπωπτευκότα αὐτὸν τι κακὸν πείσεσθαι ἡ ὑπερ- 4 πεφρονηκότα ἡμᾶς τούτο πεποιηκέναι; οὐκοῦν εἴτε τι ὑποτέσσαρεν, σαφέστατα αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐξελέγχει ἐπιβολεύοντα ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῖν μηδὲν δεινὸν παθῶν ὑποπτός ἐστιν, οὐδ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ ἀδόλου τῆς ἡμῶν γλύνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ προπαρε- σκευασμένοι τινὰς ἀδικήσαι ἔτοιμην τὴν ὑποψίαν 5 κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότου σφῶν ἔχουσιν εἰτ' αὖ μηδενὸς τοιοῦτον ὑπόντος ὑπερεσφάκε τε ἡμᾶς καὶ λόγοις ὑπερηφάνοις ὑβρικέ, τί' 1 χρή τοῦτον, ἐπειδὰν ἐργον τινὸς ἐπιλάβηται, προσδοκήσαι πράξειν; ὁ γὰρ ἐν οἷς μηδὲν κερδάνειν ἐμελλε τοσαύτη ὑπεροψία κεχρημένος πῶς οὐ πόρρωθεν ἐξελιθηκέται μηδὲν δικαιον μὴτε φρονῶν μήτε πράσσων;

"Οὐ τοινυν ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ τούτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμὲ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶκελεύσεν, εἰπέρ τι αὐτοῦ ἀθοίμην. καὶ μὴ μοι μικρὰν τὴν προσβήκην ταύτην εἶναι νομίσῃς. μεγάλη γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπί- δειξις τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν μὴ ἐθελήσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικέσθαι τάχ' ἀν τις καὶ ἄκω καὶ ἀρρωστία καὶ φόβω, ἀπολογοῦμενος 2 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἀνεθηκε' τὸ δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐμὲ μετα- πέμψασθαι οὔτε σκήψιν οὐδεμιᾶν ἐνδέχεται, καὶ 1 τι Βκ., τίνα Ι. 2 αὕτω Bk., αὐτῶν Ι.
to him in a friendly way to bid him come to us and consult with us about present conditions, and he neither came nor promised that he would appear. And yet what did I do that was unfair or unseemly or arrogant in summoning him as a friend and ally? What insolence and wantonness, on the other hand, has he failed to show in refusing to come! Is it not inevitable that he did this for one of two reasons—either that he suspected he should suffer some harm or that he felt contempt for us? Now if he felt any suspicion, he convicts himself most clearly of conspiring against us; for no one, when he has suffered no injury, is suspicious towards us, nor does one become so with an upright and guileless mind; rather, it is those who have prepared themselves to wrong others because of their own conscience that harbour suspicion against them. If, on the other hand, nothing of this sort was at the bottom of his action, but he merely looked down on us and insulted us with overweening words, what must we expect him to do when he lays hold of some real project? For when a man has shown such disdain in matters where he was not going to gain anything, does he not stand convicted from afar off of utter injustice both in thought and in deed?

"Not content, now, with this, he further bade me come to him, if I wanted anything of him. Do not, I beg of you, regard this addition as any light matter; for it is weighty as an indication of his disposition. As for his refusing to come to us, one speaking in his defence might ascribe this to hesitation, or infirmity, or fear; but his summoning me admits of no excuse, and furthermore proves that he
προσεξελέγχει καὶ ἐκεῖνο αὐτὸν οὐ κατ' ἄλλο τι πεποιηκότα ἢ ὅτι οὐδ' ὑπακούειν ἐς οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς καὶ προσέτι καὶ προσαντεπιτάττειν πάντα παρε-3 σκέυασται. καίτοι καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πόσης ὑβρεως καὶ πόσον προπηλακισμοῦ μεστόν ἐστίν; μετα-πέμπται τινά ὁ ἀνθύπατος ὁ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔρχεται μεταπέμπτεται τις 1 τὸν ἀνθ-ύπατον τὸν Ῥωμαίων Ἀλλόβριξ ὁν. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι ἐμὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐκ ἐπείσθη, μηδ' ὅτι ἐμὲ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκάλεσε, σμικρὸν τι τούτο καὶ 4 φαίλουν εἶναι νομίσμητε. οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτῶν μετεπεμψάμην, ἄλλῳ ὁ Ῥωμαίως, ὁ ἀνθύπατος, αἱ ῥάβδοι, τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὰ στρατόπεδα, οὔτε ἐγὼ μετεπέμφθην ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἄλλα ταῦτα πάντα. ἵνα μὲν γὰρ ἐμὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ συμβολαίων 3 κοινῆ ὅ δέ ὑπ' πάντες καὶ εἵπομέν τι καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν καὶ ἀντηκουσάμεν καὶ ἀντεπάθομεν. 4

44. "Ὄσθ' ὅσῳ τις ἄν αὐτὸν ἐν τε τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις ἡμῶν ἀναγεγράφαται φήσῃ, τοσοῦτον μᾶλλον ἄξιομισθὸν ὄντα ἀποδείξει. διὰ τί; ὅτι οὐδὲ τῶν ἑξήλιτων τις ὁμολογούντων ἡμῶν εἶναι ἐτολμησέ τοτε ποιήσαι, ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος ἐν τε τοῖς τῆς φιλίας καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς συμμαχίας ὄνομασίν εξείργασται, καθάπερ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ πεποιημένοις αὐτός, ἢ ὡ ἡμᾶς ἁδικεῖν ἀδικώς 2 ἔχη. ἄλλῳ οὔτε τότε ἐπὶ τῷ προπηλακίζεσθαι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσεθαι ἐσπεισάμεθα αὐτῷ, οὔτε τῶν αὐτοῖς σπονδάς λύσομεν ἥμεις μὲν γὰρ ὡς πρὸς φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον ἐτ' αὐτὸν ὄντα ἐπρε-

acted in the first instance from no other motive than a determination to yield us obedience in nothing and furthermore to make corresponding demands in every case. And yet with what insolence and contumely does this very course of his teem! The proconsul of the Romans summons a man and he does not come; then some one summons the proconsul of the Romans—an Allobrogian! Do not regard it as a slight matter and of little moment that he failed to obey me, Caesar, or that he summoned me, Caesar. For it was not I who summoned him, but the Roman, the proconsul, the fasces, the authority, the legions; it was not I who was summoned by him, but all these. Privately I have no relations with him, but in common we have all spoken and acted, received his retort and suffered his scorn.

"Therefore the more anybody asserts that he has been enrolled among our friends and among our allies, the more he will prove him to deserve our hatred. Why? Because deeds such as not even any of those who are avowedly our bitterest foes has ever ventured to do have been committed by Ariovistus under the names of friendship and of alliance, as if he had secured these for the very purpose of having a chance to wrong us with impunity. But it was not to be insulted and plotted against that we made our treaty with him at the time, nor will it be ourselves who now break the truce. For we sent envoys to him as to one who was still a friend

1 Possibly an error on the part of Dio himself.
σβενσάμεθα, ο ὁ όρατε ὅπως ἧμῶν κέχρηται:
3 ὁσπερ οὖν ἡνίκα εὐεργετεῖν τε ἡμᾶς ἐβούλετο κάντ' εὖ πάσχειν ἡξίου, δικαίως εἰκεῖνων ἐτύγ-
χανεν, οὖτω καὶ νῦν, ἐπειδή τάναντια αὐτῶν πάντα ποιεῖ, δικαιότατα ἀν ἐν ἐχθροῦ μέρει νομι-
σθείη, καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃτε εἰ αὐτῶς ἐγὼ πρώτερον ποτέ καὶ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ χρηματίσας
4 τινὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, εἰτα ταυτὶ νυνὶ λέγω. ἐγὼ μὲν
γὰρ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν τὴν αὐτήν γνώριμην ἔχω καὶ
οὐ μεταβάλλομαι. τίς δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῇ; τοὺς μὲν
ἄγαθους καὶ πιστοὺς καὶ τιμᾶν καὶ ἀμείβεσθαι,
τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς καὶ ἀπίστους καὶ αἱμάτεις καὶ
ἀμώνεσθαι. ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐστιν ὁ μεταβάλλόμενος,
ὁ μήτε καλὸς μήτε δεόντως τοῖς δοθεῖσιν αὐτῷ
παρ’ ἧμῶν χρώμενος.

45 "Ὤσθ’ ὅτι μὲν δικαίωτά ἂν αὐτῷ πολεμή-
σαμεν, οὐδένα ἀμφισβητήσειν οἴομαι ὅτι δὲ
οὔτε ἄμαχος οὔτε δυσπολέμητος ἐστίν, ὁρᾶτε μὲν
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐμοφύλων αὐτῷ, οὐς
πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ῥάστα δὲ καὶ νῦν
ἐνικήσαμεν, λογίζεσθε δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν περὶ αὐτοῦ
2 ἐκείνου πυνθανόμεθα. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως δύναμιν
tινα οἰκείαν συνεστηκίαν καὶ συγκεκριμένην
ἐχει νῦν τε, ἀτε μηδὲν δεινὸν προσοκοῦν, καὶ
παντελῶς ἀπαράσκευος ἐστιν. οὐ τοῖνυν οὐδὲ ἐκ
tῶν ὀμοχώρων ἀν τις αὐτῷ ἐπροθύμως, οὐδὲ εἰ
3 πάνυ ἐπαγγέλλεται, βοηθήσειε· τίς μὲν γὰρ ἂν
ἔλοιπο ἐκείνῳ συμμαχήσας πολεμήσαι ἡμῖν, μηδὲν
ὑπ’ ἡμῶν λελυπημένος; πῶς δ’ οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον
ἡμῖν πάντες ἢ ἐκείνῳ συναράμενοι τὴν τε τυραν-
νίδα αὐτοῦ ὁμορόν σφισιν οὖσαν καταλύσαι καὶ

1 αὐτῷ R. Steph., αὐτῷ L.
and ally, but as to him—see how he has treated us! Accordingly, just as when he chose to benefit us and desired to be well treated in return, he justly obtained his wishes, so now, likewise, when he pursues the opposite course in everything, he would most justly be regarded in the light of a foe. Do not be surprised that I, who myself once looked after some of his interests both in the senate and in the assembly, now speak in this way. So far as I am concerned, I am of the same mind now as then, and am not changing. And what is that? To honour and reward the good and faithful, but to dishonour and punish the evil and unfaithful. It is he that is changing front, in that he does not make a fair and proper use of the privileges bestowed by us.

"Therefore, that we should go to war with him most justly, no one I think will dispute. And that he is neither invincible nor even a difficult adversary, you can see both from the other members of his race, whom we have often conquered before and have recently conquered very easily, and you can reason further from what we learn about the man himself. For he has no force of his own at any time that is united and welded together, and at present, since he is looking for nothing serious, he is utterly unprepared. Hence, no one of his countrymen even would readily aid him, not even if he makes most tempting offers; for who would choose to be his ally and fight against us, if he had not received any injury at our hands? Would they not all, rather, cooperate with us, instead of with him, in the desire of overthrowing his
τῆς χώρας μέρος τι παρ' ἡμῶν προσλαβεῖν ἐθελήσειν: εἴ δὲ δὴ καὶ συσταίέν τινα, οὔτε γε καὶ κρείττους ἃν ἡμῶν γένοιτο. Ἰνα γὰρ τάλαν ἐᾶσω, τὸ πλῆθος ἡμῶν, τὴν ἡλικίαν, τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, τὰ ἔργα, ἐκεῖνὸ γε τῖς οὑκ οἴδετε, ὅτι ἢμεῖς μὲν καὶ πάντες ὑμῶν τὸ σῶμα ὑπλίσμεθα, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δὴ ὑμνοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰσὶ, καὶ ἢμεῖς μὲν καὶ λοιπῶς καὶ τάξει χρώμεθα, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δὴ θυμὸν πρὸς πάντα ἀσύντακτοι φέρονται; μὴ γὰρ τοι μήτε τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν μήτε τὸ μέγεθος ἡ τῶν σωμάτων ἡ τῆς βοής φοβηθήτε. φονὴ τε γὰρ οὐδένα πώποτε ἀνθρώπων ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὰ σωματα αὐτῶν δρᾶν μὲν οὐδέν πλέον, ἀτε τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμῶν χειρας ἔχοντα, πάσχειν δὲ πολὺ πλέον, ἀτε καὶ μεγάλα καὶ γυμνὰ δύναται ἡ τε ὁρμὴ ἀμετρος καὶ προπτηθή το κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐσα καὶ ἐκκενοῦται ῥαδίως καὶ ἔτ' ὀλίγον ἀνθεῖ. πε-}

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πειραμένοις δὲ πού δὲν λέγω καὶ νενικηκόσιν ὑμῖν τοὺς ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς ταυτὶ παραίνω, ὅσθ' ὑμᾶς μήτε τὸ λόγῳ δοκεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ παράγεσθαι, καὶ τῷ ἐργῷ ἐχυρωτάτη την ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἐκ}

2 τῶν προκατειργασμένων ποιείσθαι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσι συχνοὶ ἡμῶν συμμαχήσουσιν, ὅστ' εἰ καὶ τε φοβερὸν τὰ ἔθνη ταύτα εἴχε, τοῦτο καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐκείνως ὑπάρξει.

"Ταύτ' οὖν αὐτοὶ τε οὕτω λογίζεσθε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διδάσκετε· ὅστ' εἰ γε καὶ ὑμῶν τινες ἄλλοι πως φρονοῦσιν, ἄλλοι· ἐγὼνε καὶ ὅσ πολεμίσων, οὐδὲ ἐγκαταλείψω ποτέ τὴν τάξιν ἡν ἐτάχθην

1 πάντως Rk., πάνθ' L.  2 ἐκείνως R. Steph., ἐκείνως L.
BOOK XXXVIII

despotie rule on their very borders, and of obtaining from us some share of his territory? And even if some should band together, they would not prove superior to us in any way. For, to omit other considerations,—our numbers, our age, our experience, our deeds,—who does not know that we have armour over all our body alike, whereas they are for the most part unprotected, and that we employ both reason and organization, whereas they are unorganized and rush at everything impulsively? Do not, then, fear their violence nor yet the magnitude either of their bodies or their shouting. For voice never yet killed any man, and their bodies, having the same hands as ours, can accomplish no more, but will be capable of much greater injury through being both large and unprotected. And though their charge is tremendous and headlong at first, it easily exhausts itself and is effective for but a short while. To you who have of course experienced what I mention and have conquered men like them I make these suggestions, so that you may not seem to have been misled by my words, but may really feel a most steadfast hope of victory as a result of your former exploits. However, a great many of the very Gauls who are like them will be our allies, so that even if these nations did have anything terrible about them, we shall possess that advantage in common with them.

"Do you, then, look at matters in this light yourselves, and also instruct the rest. For that matter, even if some of you do feel differently, I, for my part, will fight just the same and will never abandon the post to which I have been assigned by my country."
υπὸ τῆς πατρίδος. καὶ μοι 1 τὸ δέκατον στρατοπέδου ἀρκέσει· καὶ γὰρ εὼ ὅτι κἀν διὰ πυρός
4 δέη καὶ γυμνοὶ χορήσουσι προθύμως. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι τὴν ταχιστὴν ἀπαγόρευτη, μηδὲ μοι μάτην ἐνταῦθα τρύγεσθε, 2 τὰ τε κοινὰ εἰκῇ ἀναλίσκοντες
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων μεταποιούμενοι, τὴν τε λείαν τὴν 3 ὧφ᾽ ἐτέρων κτωμένην σφετεριζόμενοί·"

47 Ταῦτα τού Καίσαρος εἰπόντος οὐ μόνον οὐδεὶς ἀντείπετε, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τινες 4 τάναντια
σφίσιν ἐγίγνοσκον, ἄλλα καὶ συνήμεσαν πάντες, καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα οἱ δὲ υποψίας αὐτῷ ὄντες,
λογοποιεῖν ἢ ἦκουσαν. καὶ τοὺς γε 6 στρατιώτας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐπείσαν πειθαρχήσατα, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ
τού προκεκρίσθαι προθυμομένους, τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους
2 δὲ ἐκείνους φιλοτιμομένους. ἐξαιρέτω δὲ δὴ τὸ
dέκατον στράτευμα ἐποιήσατο, ὅτι εὐνοιάν πως
ἀεὶ αὐτοῦ εἰχεν. οὔτω δὲ δὴ τὰ πολιτικὰ στρατο-
pέδα πρὸς τὴν τῶν καταλόγων τάξιν ἰδιομάζεται
ὁθενπερ καὶ νῦν ὁμοίως τὰ νῦν ὄντα τὰς ἐπικλη-
σεις ἔχει.
3 Ὡμοιμένον οὖν αὐτῶν ὁ Καίσαρ συκετὶ κατὰ
χώραν ἐμείνε, μὴ καὶ χρονίσαντες ἀμβλύτεροι
αὐτὸς γένωνται, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς ἄρας ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀρισ-
τοκράτους ἠλατε. καὶ οὔτω γε 6 αὐτῶν τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ
τῆς ἐφόδου κατέπληξεν ὡστε καὶ ἐς λόγους οἱ
4 ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἠλθεὶν κατηγόκασαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
συνέβησαν αὐτὸς τε γὰρ πάντα προστάζει καὶ
ἐκεῖνος οὖν ὑπακούσας ἥθελησεν. ὃ τε οὖν
πόλεμος συνερρώγη, καὶ μετεώροι οὐ μόνον αὐτοῖ
The tenth legion will be enough for me; I am sure that, if there should be any need of it, they would readily go through fire naked. The rest of you be off, the quicker the better, and let me not see you wearing yourselves out here to no purpose, recklessly spending the public money, laying claim to other men's labours, and appropriating the plunder gathered by others."

At the end of this speech of Caesar's not only did no one raise an objection, even if some thought altogether the opposite, but they all agreed, especially those who were suspected by him, to spread the ideas they had heard. They had no difficulty in persuading the soldiers to yield obedience; some were eager to do so as a result of having been chosen in preference to others, and the rest were led to do the same through emulation of these. He had specially singled out the tenth legion because for some reason he always felt kindly toward it. This was the way the legions of the republic were named, according to the order of their enrolment; whence those of the present day have similar titles.

When their enthusiasm had been thus aroused, Caesar, in order that they might not grow indifferent again through delay, no longer remained stationary, but immediately set out and marched against Ariovistus. By the suddenness of his approach he so alarmed the latter that he forced him to hold a conference with him regarding peace. They did not come to terms, however, since Caesar wished to make all the demands and Ariovistus refused to obey any of them. The war consequently broke out; and not only were the two sides them-
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΗΣ ΗISTORY

ἐκάτεροι ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι οἱ τε πολέμωι
σφων οἱ ἐκείνη πάντες ἦσαν, τὴν τε μάχην αὐτῶν
ὁτι τάχιστα ἐσεθαί καὶ τοὺς ἀπαξ κρατήσασι
5 καὶ τάλλα δουλεύσειν¹ νομίζοντες. προείχον δὲ
οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τοὺς μεγέθεσιν,
οἱ δὲ ἡ Ῥωμαίοι τῇ τε ἐμπείρια καὶ ταῖς ὀπλί-
σεσιν καὶ πῶς καὶ πρὸς τὸν θυμὸν τῶν Κελτῶν,
ἡν τε ἀκριτοὶ καὶ προπετῆ αὐτῶν ὀρμήν, ἀντί-
ροπον τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρόνιμα εὐφρίσκετο, ὡστε
ἰσοπαλεῖς ἐκ τούτων ὄντες καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆν τε
ἐπ' αὐτῶν προθυμίαν ἰσοστασίας ἐποιοῦτο.

48 Ἀντικαθημένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλληλοις, αἱ γυναῖκες
αἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνηγόρευσαν σφισι θειάσασαι
μηδεμίαν πρὸ τῆς νέας σελήνης μάχην συνάψαι.
2 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Ἀριοσνιστὸς (πάνυ γὰρ αὐταῖς
προσέχειν ὁπότε τοιοῦτο τι ποιήσειν) οὐχ ἅπαση
eὐθὺς τῇ δυνάμει, καίτοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων προκαλο-
μένων σφᾶς, συνέμεζεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἵππες μετὰ
tῶν συντεταγμένων σφίσι πεζῶν μόνους ἐκπέμ-
πτων ἰσχυρὸς αὐτῶς ἐλύπει. κακὸ τούτου κατα-
φρονίσας χαρίον τι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταφρεύματος σφων
3 καταλαβεῖν ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ κάτεσθε μὲν αὐτὸ,
ἀντικαταλαβόντων δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων ἔτερον, ἐς μὲν
μάχην, καίπερ καὶ μέχρι τῆς μεσημβρίας τὸν
στρατὸν ἐξω τοῦ Καίσαρος παρατάξαντος, οὐχ
ὁρμησαν, ἐπαναγορήσαντος δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς ἐστε-
ραν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξαπναίως σφίς καὶ ὀλίγου καὶ
4 τὸ χαράκωμα αὐτῶν ἔλε. προχωροῦντων οὖν
ὅτως οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων σμικρον τοῖς ἐπί τῶν
γυναικῶν ἐφρόντισε, καὶ τῇ ύστεραια παρατάξα-

¹ δουλεύεσιν H. Steph., δουλεύειν L.
selves in anxious suspense, but likewise all the allies and enemies of both sides in that region, since they felt sure that the battle between them would take place in the shortest possible time and that all would have to serve those who once conquered. The barbarians were superior in numbers and in physical size, the Romans in experience and in armour. To some extent also Caesar's prudence was found to counterbalance the fiery spirit of the Germans and their reckless and impetuous attack. As a result, then, of their being evenly matched in these respects, their hopes and their zeal based on these hopes were likewise in perfect balance.

While they were encamped opposite each other, the women of the barbarians as the result of their divinations, forbade the men to engage in any battle before the new moon. For this reason Ariovistus, who always paid great heed to them whenever they took any such action, did not immediately join in conflict with his entire force, although the Romans were challenging them to battle. Instead, he sent out the cavalry alone, with only the foot-soldiers assigned to them, and did the other side severe injury. Then, becoming contemptuous of them, he undertook to occupy a position above the Romans' entrenchments; this he seized, and his opponents occupied another in their turn. Then, although Caesar kept his army drawn up outside until noon, Ariovistus would not proceed to battle, but when, toward evening, the Romans retired, he suddenly attacked them and all but captured their rampart. Therefore, since affairs were turning out so well for him, he paid little heed any longer to the women; and on the following day, when the Romans had
μένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὅπερ που καθ ἤμεραν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀντεπεξῆγαγε.

49 Καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι προϊόντας ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων ἱδόντες οὐχ ἤσύχασαν, ἀλλ’ ἐξάγαντες οὔτε συντάξασθαι σφισιν ἀκριβῶς ἐπέτρεψαν, καὶ τὴν ἀκόντισιν αὐτῶν, ἐφ’ ἣ ἐσ τὰ μάλιστα ἑθάρσουν, δρόμῳ μετὰ βοῆς προσπεσόντες ὑπετέ-2 μοντο, καὶ οὔτω γε ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς ἐχώρησαν ὡστε σφᾶς μήτε τοῖς κοντοῖς μήτε τοῖς ξίφεσι τοῖς μακροτέροις χρήσασθαι. ὁθίζοντο τε οὐν, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τὸ πλείον ἡ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἐμάχοντο, ἀνατρέψαι τε τὸν προσκείμενον καὶ καταβαλεῖν τὸν
3 ἄνθεστικότα ἀγῶνα ποιοῦμενοι. καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ τῆς τῶν βραχυτέρων ξιφῶν χρήσεως στερηθέντες ταῖς 1 τε χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς στόμασιν ἀντ’ ἐκείνων ἠγωνίζοντο, κατασπώντες τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, δάκ-νοντες, σπαράττοντες, ἀτε καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν σω-4 μάτων πολὺ αὐτῶν ὑπερέχοντες. οὐ μέντοι καὶ μεγάλα τινὰ ἐκ τούτων σφᾶς ἐβλαψαν’ συμπλεκό-μενοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἱσόρροποι πῶς τῇ τε ὀπλῖσει καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ τέλος ἐπὶ μα-κροτατον τοιούτοτροπο μάχη χρησάμενοι ὑψε ποτε ἐπεκράτησαν τά τε γαρ ξιφίδια καὶ σμικρότερα τῶν Γαλατικῶν ὄντα καὶ τὰς προσβολὰς χαλυ-
5 βδικὰς ἐχοῦντα χρησιμοτάτα σφισιν ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ αὐτῷ πόνῳ ἐπὶ πλείον συγχεθέντες μᾶλλον τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντηρκεσαν, ἀτε οὐχ ὁμοίων ταῖς ὀξύτητι τῶν ἐφόδων τὸ διαρκές σφῶν ἐχόντων. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἡττηθησαν ἐκεῖνοι,
been drawn up in battle array, according to their daily custom, he led out his forces against them.

The Romans on seeing them advancing from their tents did not remain quiet, but rushing forward, gave them no chance to form strictly in line, and by attacking with a charge and shout prevented them from hurling their javelins, in which they had especial confidence; in fact, they came to so close quarters with them that the enemy could not employ either their pikes or long swords. So the barbarians pushed and shoved, fighting more with their bodies than with their weapons, and struggled to overturn whomever they encountered and to knock down whoever withstood them. Many, deprived even of the use of their short swords, fought with hands and teeth instead, dragging down their opponents, and biting and tearing them, since they had a great advantage in the size of their bodies. The Romans, however, did not suffer any great injuries in consequence of this; they closed with their foes, and thanks to their armour and skill, somehow proved a match for them. At length, after carrying on that sort of battle for a very long time, they prevailed late in the day. For their daggers, which were smaller than the Gallie daggers and had steel points, proved most serviceable to them; moreover, the men themselves, accustomed to hold out for a long time with the same sustained effort lasted better than the barbarians, because the endurance of the latter was not of like quality with the vehemence of their attacks. The Germans were accordingly defeated, though they
οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἑτράποντο, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελησαν ἀλλ’ ὅτι οὐκ ἤδυνηθήσαν φυγεῖν ὑπ’ ἀπορίας τε ἁμα καὶ ἐκλύσεως. συστρεφόμενοι οὖν κατὰ τριακοσίων καὶ πλείους καὶ ἑλάττους, τὰς τε ἀσπίδας ἀπανταχόθεν σφῶν προεβάλλοντο, καὶ ὁρθοὶ ἱστάμενοι ἀπρόσμικτοι τινὲς ἕως τῆς συγκλείσεως δυσκόμητοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς πυκνότητος ἐγιγνοντο, καὶ οὔτε ἔδρον οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐπασχον.

50 Οἱ οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ μήτε ἐκεῖνοι ἀντεπήσαν σφίσιν ἢ καὶ ἐφευρόν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ταῖς μένοντες ὁσπερ ἐν πύργως εἰστήκεσαν, καὶ ἀυτοὶ τὰ τε δοράτα κατὰ πρῶτας εὐθὺς ἂτε ὑπεδέμαν

2 χρῆσιν ἔχοντα ἀπετέθειντο, καὶ τοῖς ξέφεσιν οὖν ἐδύναντο οὔτε συστάδην μάχεσθαι οὔτε τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτῶν, ἔπερ καὶ μόνον ἀλατοὶ οί που γυμναὶ αὐταῖς μαχόμενοι ἦσαν, ἐφικνεῖσθαι, τάς τε ἀσπίδας ἀπέρριψαν, καὶ προσπίπτοντές σφίσιν, οἱ μὲν ἔξ ἐπιδρομῆς οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐγχυθεῖν, ἐνήλιοντο.

3 τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἐκόπτον αὐτοὺς. κακὸν τούτου πολλοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς ἄτε καὶ μᾶς ἐπικοπῆς ὄντες ἐπιτον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὶν πεσεὶν ἀπέθνησκον ὑπὸ γάρ τῆς πυκνότητος τῆς συστάσεως καὶ

4 τεθνῃκότες ὅρθοὶ ἀνείχοντο. τοῦ μὲν οὖν πεζοῦ το πλείστον οὔτω καὶ ἐκεῖ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἄμαξαίς, ὅσον γε καὶ ἐξωσθέν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐτύγχανε, σὺν τε ταῖς γυναικῖς καὶ σὺν τοῖς παισίν αὐτῶν ἐφθαρμαγαν. ὅ δὲ Ἀριόουστος μεθ’ ἵππεων... τὴν τε χώραν παραχρήμα ἐξελίπει, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ῥήμον

1. ἀπρόσμικτοι Xyl., πρόσμικτοι L.
2. συγκλείσεως Lecch., συγκλείσεως L.
3. ἐνήλιοντο Cobet, ἐνήλιοντο L.
4. ὁ δὲ R. Steph., ὁ δὲ ὁ L.
did not turn to flight—not that they lacked the wish, but simply because they were unable to flee through helplessness and exhaustion. Gathering, therefore, in groups of three hundred, more or less, they would hold their shields before them on all sides, and standing erect, they proved unassailable by reason of their solid front and difficult to dislodge on account of their denseness; thus they neither inflicted nor suffered any harm.

The Romans, when their foes neither advanced against them nor yet fled, but stood immovable in the same spot, as if in towers, had likewise put aside their spears at the very outset, since these were of no use; and as they could not with their swords either fight in close combat or reach the others' heads, where alone they were vulnerable, since they fought with their heads unprotected, they threw aside their shields and rushed upon the foe. Some by taking a running start and others from close at hand leaped up as it were upon the tower-like groups and rained blows upon them. Thereupon many fell immediately, victims of a single blow, and many died even before they fell; for they were kept upright even when dead by the closeness of their formation. In this way most of the infantry perished either there or near the wagons, back to which some had been driven; and with them perished their wives and children. Ariovistus with [a few] horsemen straightway left the country and set out for the

1 Apparently the solid walls of shields, as the men stood in groups facing outward, are conceived of as the towers of a city wall.

2 A word of this meaning seems required.
δ ὄρμησας ἐπεδιώχθη μὲν, οὐ κατελήφθη δὲ. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ πλοίου προεξέφυγε, τὸν δ' ἀλλων τοὺς μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσβαίνοντες ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὑπολαβῶν ἀπήμενεν.

1 ὄρμησας Rk., παραχρῆμα ὄρμησας L.
2 ἐσβαίνοντες Bk., ἐσβαίνοντας L.
Rhine. He was pursued, but not overtaken, and escaped on a boat ahead of his followers; of the rest some were killed by the Romans who advanced into the river, while others were seized and borne away by the river itself.
Τάδε ἔκεισιν ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἑπτάτῳ τῶν Διωνοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

α. 'Ὅς Καίσαρ Βελγικοῖς ἑπολέμησεν.

β. 'Ὅς Καίρων κατῆλθεν.

γ. 'Ὅς Πτολεμαῖος ἐκείσαν ἐξ Αἰγυπτοῦ ἐς 'Ρώμην ἀνῆλθεν.

δ. 'Ὅς Κάτων τὰ ἐν Κύπρῳ κατεστάθησαν.

ε. 'Ὅς Πομπήιος καὶ Κράσσους ὑπατοὶ ἤρεθησαν.

ζ. 'Ὅς τὸ θέατρον τὸ Πομπήιου καθιερώθη.

η. 'Ὅς Δέκιμος Βρούτος Καίσαρος ὑποστράτηγος Οθενετοῦ ρωμαίχα ἐνίκησεν.

θ. 'Ὅς Πούπλιος Κράσσου Καίσαρος ὑποστράτηγος Ἀκυίταροι ἑπολέμησεν.

ι. 'Ὅς Καίσαρ Κελτῶν τινὶ πολεμήσατε τὸν Ῥήνου διέβη καὶ πέρι τοῦ Ῥήνου.

κ. 'Ὅς Καίσαρ ἐς Βρετανίαν ἐπεραίωθη καὶ πέρι τῆς ἤλησον.

λ. 'Ὅς Πτολεμαῖος ὑπὸ Γαβίνου ἐς Αἴγυπτον κατήχηθεν, καὶ ὡς ὁ Γαβίνος εἶπ τοῦτο ἐκρήσθη.

Χρόνον πλήθω ἵπτη τέταρτα ἐν ὀλὲς ἄρχοντες οὐ ἀριθμούμενοι οἴδε ἐγέροντο.

Π. Κορνήλιος Π. ὑ. Δευτούλος Σπινθήρ ὑπ.

Κ. Καίκλιος Κ. ὑ. Μέτελλος Νέτως.

Γν. Κορνήλιος Π. ὑ. Δευτούλος Μακελλίνος ὑπ.

Ἀ. Μάρκιος ὑ. ὑ. Φίλιππος.

Γν. Πομπήιος Γν. ὑ. Μάγους τὸ β ὑπ.

Μ. Δικίνιος Π. ὑ. Κράσσος τὸ β ὑπ.

Ἀ. Δομήτιος Γν. ὑ. Ἀποβαρβάς ὑπ.

Ἀπ. Κλαύδιος Ἀπ. ὑ. Ποῦλχρος ὑπ.

Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα διεσπολεμήθη μετὰ δὲ ταύτα, τοῦ χειμώνος ἐν ὁ Κορμήλιος τε Σπινθήρ καὶ ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ Νέτως ὑπατεύειν ἤρξαντο.

1 Βελγικοῖς Leuncl., βελτικοῖς L, and so just below.

2 Δέκιμος R. Steph., δέκιμος L.
BOOK XXXIX

The following is contained in the Thirty-ninth of Dio’s Rome:—
How Caesar fought the Belgae (chaps. 1–5).
How Cicero came back from exile (chaps. 6–11).
How Ptolemy, expelled from Egypt, came to Rome (chaps. 12–16).
How Cato settled matters in Cyprus (chaps. 22–23).
How Pompey and Crassus were chosen consuls (chaps. 27–37).
How Pompey’s Theatre was dedicated (chap. 38).
How Decimus Brutus, Caesar’s lieutenant, conquered the Veneti in a sea-fight (chaps. 40–43).
How Publius Crassus, Caesar’s lieutenant, fought the Aquitani (chap. 46).
How Caesar, after warring with some of the Germans, crossed the Rhine; and concerning the Rhine (chaps. 47–49).
How Caesar crossed over into Britain; and concerning the island (chaps. 50–53).
How Ptolemy was restored to Egypt by Gabinius, and how Gabinius was brought to trial for this (chaps. 55–63).

Duration of time, four years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls), here enumerated:—

B.C. 57 P. Cornelius P. F. Lentulus Spinther, C. Caecilius C. F. Metellus Nepos.
55 Cn. Pompeius Cn. F. Magnus (II), M. Licinius P. F. Crassus (II).

Such was the end of this war. Later, at the end of the winter in which Cornelius Spinther and Metellus Nepos began their consulship, a third war

$^3$ Μάρκος Xyl., μάρκος L.
$^4$ Ἀπρόβαρβος R. Steph., ἀπρόβαρβος L.
διελθόντος, τρίτος τις πόλεμος αὐτοὶς ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ Βελγικοὶ τῷ τῆς Ῥήμων πολλοῖς καὶ συμμίκτοις
2 γένεσι προσοικοῦντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ὦκεανὸν τὸν
catat Ἐπτανίαν καθήκοντες, ἐν μὲν τῷ πρῶ τι
μὲν ἐνστενοῦντο χρόνον αὐτοῖς ὦκεάνων, συνετᾶς
καὶ δεῖκτας μη καὶ ἐπὶ σφόν ὑμής
 λόγῳ χρησάμενοι συνεταλεύσαντο τῷ ἐπὶ τοῖς
Ῥωμαίοις καὶ συνώμοσαν, Γάλβαν 2 προστησά-
μενοι.
3 Ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ παρὰ τῶν Ῥημῶν 1 μαθὼν
ἐν φρουρᾷ τε αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο, κανταύθα πρὸς
tῷ Ἀὐξοῦνῳ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἡ-
θροιζέ τε ἀμα τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἔξησκεν. οὐδὲ
ἔτολμησε πρότερον τοῖς πολεμίους, καίτοι τὴν
χώραν σφόν κατατρέχοντι, ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθεῖν,
4 πρὶν ὡς καὶ δεδιότοις αὐτοῦ καταφρονήσαντες
ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν τε γέφυραν καταλαβεῖν καὶ τὴν
σιτοπομπίαν, ὥν δὲ αὐτής παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων
ἐποιεῖτο, ἀφελέσθαι. τούτῳ γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ προγόνου
προγόνους ἐσόμενοι, ἐπεμψαν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς
2 τοὺς τε ψυλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας. καὶ οἱ μὲν
προσπεσόντες τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπροσδόκητοι πολ-
λοῖς ἀπέκτειναν, ὥστε πάντας τῆς ἐπιούσις
νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν ωκειαν, ἄλλωσ τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ
Αἰνοῦι ἐσβεβληκότες ἐς αὐτὴν ἐγκέλλοντο,
ἀπαναστήματο. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἦσθετο μὲν τὸ γιγνό-
μενον, οὗκ ἔτολμησε δὲ σφῶν εὐθὺς, ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν

1 Ῥημῶν Xyl., Ῥημῶν L.
2 συνώμοσαν Γάλβαν Bk., συνώμοσαν ἄδραν L.
arose. The Belgae, who dwelt near the Rhine in many mixed tribes and extended even to the ocean opposite Britain, though they had previously been at peace with the Romans, or, in the case of some, had paid no heed to them, observing now Caesar's success and fearing that he might advance against them also, came together and by common agreement, except on the part of the Remi, devised plans against the Romans and formed a league, placing Galba at their head.

Caesar learned this from the Remi and stationed outposts to watch them; later he encamped beside the river Axona, where he concentrated his troops and drilled them. Yet he did not venture to come to close quarters with the enemy, though they were overrunning Roman territory, until in their contempt for him, believing him to be afraid, they undertook to occupy the bridge and to put a stop to the conveyance of grain, which the allies brought across it. He was apprised beforehand by deserters that this was to be done, and so at night sent against the foe the light-armed troops and the cavalry. These fell upon the barbarians, taking them by surprise, and killed many of them, so that the following night they all withdrew to their own land, especially since the Aedui were reported to have invaded it. Caesar perceived what was going on, but through ignorance of the country did not venture to pursue
2 χωρίων, ἐπιδιώξαι. ἀλλ' ἀμα ἦρ τὴν τε ἱππον λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς πέζους ἐπακολούθειν κελεύσας κατέλαβεν αὐτούς, καὶ ὑποστάντας ἐς μάχην (ἐνομίζετο γὰρ σὺν μόνῃ τῇ ἱππῳ εἶναι) διετρίψε μέχρις οὐ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἠλθε, καὶ οὕτω παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ περισχὼν τοὺς τε πλείους κατέκοψε καὶ τοὺς περιπλούσους ὁμολογία παρεστήσατο. καὶ τούτον καὶ τῶν δήμων τοὺς μὲν ἀμαχεῖ προσηγαγότο τοὺς δὲ πολέμῳ.

3 Νέρουιοι οὖν τῆς μὲν πεδιάδος (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀξιόμαχοι) ἐκόντες αὐτῶ έξέστησαν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰ ὀρή τα ὑπάρχοντα ἀνακομισθέντες, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκείθεν ἐπικατέδραμον ἀνέλπιστοι, καὶ καθ' ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦν ἐπάπυρον καὶ ἔμφυον, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείον τοῦ στρατὸ ταῦτα καθυπέρτεροι τε ἐγένοντο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοβοῦ εἶλον.

2 αἰσθήμασιν δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκείνω (προεκεχωρήκει γὰρ ἐπὶ τί τοὺς τετραμένους διώκων) ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ καταλαμβάνον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ἐρύματι ἁρπαγήν ποιομένους περιστοιχίσατο καὶ κατεφόνευσε. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, οὐδὲν ἐπὶ μέγα ἐργὸν τοὺς λοιποὺς Νέρουνος χειρούμενος ἐσχε.

4 Καὶ τούτῳ Ἀτονατίκοις, πλησιόχωροι τε αὐτοῖς ὄντες καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ τε φρόνημα τὸ τῶν Κύπρων ἐχοντες, ὀρμήσαν μὲν ὡς καὶ βοηθῆσωντες σφίσαν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐφθασαν προαλοῦτες, ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ πάντα τὰλλα χωρία ἐκλιπόντες εἰς ἐν 2 τεῖχος τὸ κράτιστον ἀνεσκευάσαντο, καὶ αὐτῷ

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1 ἦρ supplied by Bk.
2 The text is corrupt here, some words having fallen out.
3 προεκεχωρήκει Oddey, προσεκεχωρήκει L.
4 γὰρ added by Oddey.
5 ἐπὶ τί Bk., ἐπὶ te L.
6 ἐπὶ Xyl., ἐπὶ L.
them immediately. At daybreak, however, taking the cavalry, and bidding the infantry follow on behind, he came up with the fugitives; and when they offered battle, supposing he had come with his cavalry alone, he delayed them until his infantry arrived. In this way, having his whole army, he surrounded them, cut down the larger part, and received the surrender of the remainder. Thereupon he won over a number of their towns, some without fighting and some by war.

The Nervii voluntarily retired before him from the level country, as they were no match for his forces, and betook themselves into the most densely wooded mountains; then, when ... they charged down upon them unexpectedly. In the part of the battle where Caesar himself was they soon turned and fled, but with the larger part of their army they proved superior and captured the camp without a blow. When Caesar, who had advanced a little way in pursuit of those he had routed, became aware of this, he turned back and came upon them as they were engaged in pillage within the entrenchments, where he surrounded and slaughtered them. After this success he found it no great task to subdue the rest of the Nervii.

Meanwhile the Aduatuci, near neighbours of theirs, who belonged to the Cimbri by race and temperament, set out to assist them, but were overpowered before they accomplished anything, whereupon they withdrew, and leaving all their other sites, established themselves in one fortified town, the strongest they had. Caesar assaulted it, but was

1 Cf. Caesar B.G. ii. 19. Editors have filled the lacuna with a variety of readings.
τὸν Καίσαρα προσβαλόντα ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀπεκρούσαντο, μέχρις οὗ πρὸς μηχανῶν ποίησιν ἔτραπετο. τότε γὰρ, τέως μεν τὴν τε-μώντας καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα συμπηγνύντας τῶν Ῥωμαίους ἑώρων, γέλωτα τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν γυνο-μένων ἐποιοῦντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνα τε ἐξειργάσθη καὶ ὀπλίται σφίσε πανταχόθεν ἀμα ἐπ' αὐτῶν προσήγοντο, κατεπλάγησαν ἀτέ μηπώποτε τοι-ούτοι τι ἑορκότες, καὶ διεκνηκεύσαντο, τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς στρατιώταις πέμψαντες καὶ ὅπλα τινὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ῥίπαντες. ὡς μέντοι τὰ τε μηχανήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν γυμνωθέντα αὐθίς εἶδον καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς θυμηδίαν οὐ ἐπὶ νίκη τετραμ-μένους ἱσθοῦντο, μετέγρωσαν, καὶ ἀναδαρσήσαντες τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπέξοδον ὡς καὶ ἀνελπίστους σφᾶς κατακόψουντες ἐποιήσαντο. περιπεσόντες δὲ τοῖς προφύλαξιν (ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ ἀκριβῶς πάντα ἀεὶ διώκει) ἐσφάλησαν, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἱούσων οὐδεὶς ἐτι συγκρύσεως ἐτυχεν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐπράθησαν. 3

4 Ἑπειδὴ δὲ οὕτω τε κατεστράφατο, ἀλλοι οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ νεκρόν τοῦ υἱὸν, οἱ δὲ καὶ δία τῶν υποστρατής τοῖς ἑκεχείροντο, ὃ τε χειμῶν ἐνεστή, ἰσαχωρήσαν εἰς τὰ χειμάδια. μαθόντες δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ οἰκοὶ Ῥωμαίοι ἐθαύμασαν ὅτι ἔθνη τοσαῦτα, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ νόματα πρῶτον ἤκριβον, ἦρκει, καὶ ἐγνήσαντο πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ αὐτῶς ἡμέρας θύσαι, ὅπερ οὐπὼ πρῶτον ἐνεγονεί.
for many days repulsed, until he turned to the
construction of engines. Then for a time they
gazed at the Romans cutting wood and construct-
ing the machines and in their ignorance of what was
taking place, scoffed at them. But when the
machines were finished and heavy-armed soldiers
upon them were advanced from all sides at once,
they became panic-stricken, since they never before
had seen anything of the kind; so they made over-
tures, supplied the soldiers with provisions, and
threw some of their arms from the wall. When,
however, they saw the machines stripped of men
again and noticed that the latter had given them-
selves over to pleasure, as after a victory, they
changed their minds, and recovering courage, made
a sortie by night, thinking to cut them down un-
awares. But Caesar was carefully managing every-
thing all the while, and when they fell on the
outposts from every side, they were beaten back.
Not one of the survivors could any longer obtain
pardon, and they were all sold.

When these had been subjugated and others, too,
some by him and many by his lieutenants, and winter
had now set in, he retired to winter-quarters. The
Romans at home when they learned of these achieve-
ments, were astonished that he had seized so many
nations, whose names they had known but im-
perfectly before, and voted a thanksgiving of fifteen
days because of his achievements—a thing that had
never before occurred.
2. Καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο χρόνῳ Γάλβας ο Σέρουνιος ὑποστρατηγῶν αὐτῶ, μέχρι μὲν ἡ τε ὁμαία ἦν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα συνεστὸς εἶχεν. Οὐδαράγρους παρά τε τῇ Δεμμάνῳ λίμνῃ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀλλόβριξι μέχρι τῶν Ἀλπέων οἰκοῦντας, τοὺς μὲν βία τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία παρεστήσατο, ὡστε καὶ χειμάσαι κατὰ χώραν παρασκευάσασθαι. ἔπει μέντοι οἱ πλείους τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν παρέμενοι ὡς μὴ πόρρω τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν ἄλλοις ἀπεχώρησαν, καὶ αὐτῷ ἀπροσδόκητοι κατὰ τούτο οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἐπέθεσθον, πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ὡς ἀπογρώσεως προϊ- χθῃ, καὶ ἐκπηδήσας ἐκ τοῦ χειμαδίου ἄφνω τοὺς τε προσκειμένους οἱ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ τομῆ- ματος ἐξεπληξέ, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα διέπεσεν. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἁσφαλεῖ ἡμύνας μὲν αὐτοὺς μετὰ τούτο καὶ ἐδουλώσατο, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐξελμασεν αὐτὸθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ἀλλο- βρίγων μετέστη.

6. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Γαλατία ἐγένετο. Πομπήιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὴν κάθοδον τῷ Κικέρωνι ψηφι- σθήσασθαι διεπράζοντο. ὃν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου ἐξεληλάκει, τούτοις ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα ἐπανήγαγεν ὁυτω που τὸ ἀνθρώπειον δι' ὁλίγου τε ἐστὶν ὅτε μεταβάλλεται, καὶ ἂν ὁν ωφελησθῆσαι τινες ἢ καὶ θλιβῆσθαι νομίζουσι, τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ἀντιλαμβάνοντι. συνέπραττον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν στρα- τηγῶν καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἄλλοι τε καὶ Τίτος "Αννίος Μίλων, οὗτος που καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐς τὸ
During the same period Servius Galba, who was serving as his lieutenant, had, while the season lasted and his army remained a unit, brought to terms the Veragri, who dwelt along Lake Leman and beside the Allobroges as far as the Alps; some he had gained by force and others through surrender, and he was even preparing to winter where he was. When, however, the majority of the soldiers had departed, some on furlough because they were not far from Italy, and others elsewhere for reasons of their own, the natives took advantage of this situation and unexpectedly attacked him. Then Galba, driven mad by despair, suddenly dashed out of the winter camp, astounding his besiegers by the incredible boldness of his move, and passing through them, gained the heights. On reaching safety he fought them off and later subjugated them; he did not winter there, however, but transferred his quarters to the territory of the Allobroges. These were the events in Gaul.

Pompey meanwhile had brought about a vote for the recall of Cicero. Thus, the man whom he had expelled through Clodius, he now brought back to help him against that very individual. So quickly does human nature sometimes change, and from the persons by whom people are expecting to be helped or injured, as the case may be, they receive the very opposite treatment. Assisting him were Titus Annius Milo and others of the praetors and tribunes, who also brought the measure before the populace.
πλήθος ἐσήνεγκαν ὁ γὰρ Σπινθὴρ ὁ ὑπατος τὸ μὲν τι καὶ τῷ Πομπηῖῳ χαριζόμενος, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἰδίας ἐχθρας τὸν Κλώδιον ἀμυνόμενος, ὑφ' ἦς καὶ τὴν μοιχείαν αὐτοῦ δικαίων κατεγνώκει, καὶ . . .
3 ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἁρχαῖς οὐν ὑπήρχον καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀππίως Κλαύδιος στρατηγὸν, ὁ τε Νέπως ὁ ὑπατος ἀπ' οἰκείαις τινὸς 7 ἐχθρας τὸν Κικέρωνα μισῶν. οὔτοι τε οὖν ἐπὶ πλέον ἡ πρὶν, ἀλε καὶ ἡγεμόνας τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐχόντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει διαστάντες πρὸς ἐκατέρους ἔθορβουν. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐκ
2 τούτον οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ πολλὰ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ διαψήφισε τὸν Κλώδιος γυνὸς τὸ πλήθος πρὸς τὸν Κικέρωνος ἐσόμενον, τοὺς μονομάχους οὓς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀγώνας ἐπιταφίους ἐπὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ τῷ συγγενεῖ προπαρασκευάστο λαβῶν ἐσεπηρήσεν ἐς τὸν ςύλλογον καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν
3 ἐτρωσε πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκτείνει. οὔτ' οὖν ἡ γυνώμη ἐκυρώθη, καὶ ἐκείνοις ὡς δορυφόροις συνον φοβηρός καὶ ἐς τάλλα πᾶσι τὸν ἄγοραν ἐπε ήτει ὡς καὶ τὴν δίκην τῆς βίας, ἀν ἀποδειχθῇ, 4 διαφευγόμενος. ἐγράψατο γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Μίλων καὶ οὐκ ἔσήγαγε μὲν (οὔτε γὰρ οἱ ταμίαι, δι' ὅν τὴν ἀποκλήρωσιν τῶν δικαστῶν γενέσθαι ἐχρήν, ἦρην, καὶ ὁ Νέπως ἀπεῖπε τῷ στρατηγῷ μηδεμίαν πρὸ τῆς κληρώσεως αὐτῶν δίκην προσώθατι ἐδει δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἀγορανόμους πρὸ τῶν ταμιῶν καταστήναι, καὶ διὰ τὸ τοῦτο ὅτι μάλιστα 8 ἡ διατριβὴ ἐγένετο), μαχόμενος δὲ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ

1 διαφευγόμενος Dind., διαφευξόμενος L.
Spinther, the consul, [aided Cicero’s cause in the senate (?),] partly as a favour to Pompey and partly to avenge himself upon Clodius, by reason of a private enmity which had led him as a juror to vote to condemn Clodius for adultery. Clodius, on the other hand, was supported by various magistrates, including Appius Claudius, his brother, who was praetor, and Nepos, the consul, who had a private grudge against Cicero. These men, accordingly, now that they had the consuls as leaders, made more disturbance than before, and the same was true of the others in the city, as they championed one side or the other. Many disorderly proceedings were the result, chief of which was that during the very taking of the vote on the measure Clodius, knowing that the multitude would be on Cicero’s side, took the gladiators that his brother held in readiness for the funeral games in honour of Marcus, his relative, and rushing into the assemblage, wounded many and killed many others. Consequently the measure was not passed, and Clodius, both as the companion of those armed champions and otherwise, was dreaded by all. He then stood for the aedileship, thinking he would escape the penalty of his violence if he were elected. Milo did, indeed, indict him, but did not succeed in bringing him to trial, since the quaestors, by whom the allotment of jurors had to be made, had not been elected, and Nepos forbade the praetor to allow any trial before their allotment. Now it was necessary for the aediles to be chosen before the quaestors, and this proved the principal cause of delay. While contesting this very point Milo caused much dis-

1 Cf. Cicero post red. ad Quir. 5, 11; Pis. 15, 34; Sest. 33.
2 Perhaps Marcius should be read, as Bs. suggests.
τούτου πολλὰ ἐτάραττε, καὶ τέλος μονομάχους τινὰς καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἅλλους τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ βουλομένων ἀθροίσας ἐς χεῖρας τῷ Κλωδίῳ συνεχῶς ἤει, καὶ σφαγαὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν πόλιν

2 ἐγίγνοντο. οὖν Νέπως φοβηθεὶς πρὸς τε τοῦ συνάρχοντος καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Πομπῆίου τῶν τε ἅλλων τῶν πρῶτων μετεβάλετο, καὶ οὕτως ἦ τε γερουσία κατελθεῖν τὸν Κικέρωνα τοῦ Σπε-

θηρος ἐσηγησαμένου προεβούλευσε, καὶ οἱ δῆμοι ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων ἐσενεγκόντων ἐψηφίσατο.

3 ἀντέλεγε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς Κλώδιος, ἅλλ' ἐκεῖνο τε ὁ Μῖλων ἀντέκειτο δοστε μὴδεν βίαιων δρᾶσαι, καὶ τῷ νόμῳ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Πομπῆιος συνεῖπον δοστε πολὺ κρείττους αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι.

9 Κατηλθὲ τε σοῦν ὁ Κικέρων καὶ χάριν τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ, παρασχόντων αὐτῷ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐγνώ. τῷ τε Πομπῆιῳ τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ μεθεῖς συνηλλάγη, καὶ τὴν γε εὐεργεσίαν παραχρῆμα

2 ἀπέδωκεν λιμὸν γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἱσχυρὸν γενο-

μένου, καὶ τοῦ ὁμόλου παινότος ἐς τε τὸ βελτρον (τοῖοῦ δὲ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐτὶ βελτρῳ ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἔχρωντο) καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καπιτώλιον ἐπὶ τοὺς βουλευτάς συνεδρεύοντας ἐσπηδήσαντος, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐν χερσὶν αὐτοὺς ἀποσφάξειν τοτὲ

dὲ καὶ καταπρήσειν αὐτοὺς 4 τοῖς ναοῖς ἀπειλοῦν-

3 τοῖς, ἐπεισὲ σφας ἐπιμελήτην τοῦ σίτου τῶν

1 μετεβάλετο Bk., μετεβάλλετο L.
2 καὶ Bs., καὶ κατὰ L.
3 τε R. Steph., τε L.
4 αὐτοῖς Bs., σὺν αὐτοῖς L.
turbance, and at last himself collected some gladiators and others like-minded with himself and kept continually coming to blows with Clodius, so that bloodshed occurred throughout practically the whole city. Nepos, accordingly, inspired with fear by his colleague and by Pompey and by the other leading men, changed his attitude; and thus the senate decreed, on the motion of Spinther, that Cicero should be restored, and the populace, on the motion of both consuls, passed the measure. Clodius, to be sure, spoke in opposition to the others, but he had Milo as an opponent, so that he could commit no violence, and Pompey, among others, spoke in favour of the enactment, so that that side proved much the stronger.

Cicero accordingly came home from exile and expressed his gratitude to both the senate and the people, the consuls having given him the opportunity of appearing before both bodies. He put aside the hatred he bore Pompey on account of his banishment, became reconciled with him, and immediately repaid his kindness. A sore famine had arisen in the city and the entire populace rushed into the theatre (they were then still using a temporary theatre for public games) and afterwards to the Capitol where the senators were in session, threatening at first to slay them with their own hands, and later to burn them alive, temples and all. Cicero now persuaded them to elect Pompey as

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1 A word of this meaning seems required in place of "such a theatre as," the reading of L. Dio alludes to the fact that Pompey's theatre had not yet been erected; see chap. 38 below.
Πομπήιον προχειρίσασθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν ἀνθυπάτου καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἔξω ἐπὶ πέντε ἐτῶν δοῦναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τοὺς καταποντισταῖς πρότερον ὀὔτω καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ 1 πάσης αὐθείς τῆς οἰκουμένης τῆς ύπὸ τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις τότε οὕσης ἀρξεῖν ἐμελλεῖ.

10 Καίσαρ δὲ καὶ Κράσσος ἄλλως μὲν ἠχοντο τῷ Κικέρωνι, σπουδὴν δ' οὖν τίνα αὐτοῦ ἐσχον, ἐπειδή πάντως καθήζοντα αὐτὸν ὑγοντο (καὶ γὰρ ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ ἀπὸν εὐνοιάν τίνα αὐτῷ ἐνεδείξατο), οὐ μὲντοι καὶ χάριν οὐδεμᾶν ἀντέλαβον.

2 ἔκεινος γὰρ τούτο τε ὑοῖ ἀπὸ γνώμης σφάς πεποιηκότας εἰδῶς, καὶ τῆς φυγῆς αὐτωτάτους γεγονέναι νομίζων, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς ὡς πάντων πρός αὐτούς ἔθρασύνετο, ἀτέ καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀκράτου παρρησίας ἐπικαρπῶν νεωστὶ πεπειραμένος, βιβλίον μὲντοι τί ἀπόρρητον συνέθηκε, καὶ ἑπέγραψεν αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ

3 βουλευμάτων ἀπολογισμὸν τίνα ἔχοντι, πολλὰ δὲ δὴ καὶ δεινὰ ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ ἔκεινων καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν συνένησε, 3 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φοβηθείς μὴ καὶ ξόντος αὐτοῦ ἐκφοίτηση, κατεσμητάτο τε αὐτὸ καὶ παρέδωκε τῷ παιδί, προστάξας οἱ μὴ ἀναγινώσκαν μὴ τε ἐμπορεύεσθαι τὰ γεγραμμένα πρὸν ἀν μεταλάβη.

11 Κικέρων μὲν οὖν αὐθείς ἀνεβλάστανε, καὶ τὴν τε ἄλλην οὕσιαν καὶ τὸ ἐδαφὸς τῆς οἰκίας, καίτοι τῇ Ἑλενθέρι ἀνειμένοιν, καὶ τοῦ Κλαδίου καὶ ἐπιθειάζοντος καὶ ἐς ἐνθυμίαν αὐτῷ 4 προβάλ-

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1 σίτω supplied by Rk. 2 καὶ Lounel., καὶ ἐκεῖ L.
3 συνένησε Lounel., συνήνεσε L.
4 ἐς ἐνθυμίαν αὐτῷ Wesseling, ἐς ἐνθύμιαν αὐτῷ L.
commissioner of the grain supply and to give him also on this account the office of proconsul for five years both in Italy and outside. So now in the case of the grain supply, as previously in the case of the pirates, he was once more to hold sway over the entire world then under Roman power. Caesar and Crassus really disliked Cicero, but showed some interest in him when they perceived that he would return in any case, Caesar even while absent displaying some good-will toward him; but they received no thanks for their pains. For Cicero knew that they had not done this in accordance with their real inclination, and he regarded them as having been most to blame for his banishment. And though he did not openly act toward them with marked insolence, since he had recently tasted the fruits of unrestrained free speech, nevertheless he secretly composed a little book to which he gave a title indicating that it contained a defence of his policies, and in it he heaped together many denunciations against them and certain other men. Fearing, therefore, that these statements might get out during his lifetime, he sealed up the volume and delivered it to his son with the injunction not to read or publish what was written until his death.¹

Cicero, accordingly, was thriving once more; and he recovered his property and likewise the site of his house, although the latter had been dedicated to Liberty, and though Clodius both called the gods to witness and placed religious scruples in his way.

¹ Cf. Cicero ad Att. ii. 6; xiv. 17, 6.
2 λοιπόν, εκομίσατο. τὴν γὰρ ἐσφόραν τοῦ φρατριατικοῦ νόμου, παρ’ ἂν ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἐσ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεποίητο, διαβάλλων ὡς οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοσμένοις ἐκ τῶν πατρίων χρόνοις ἐκτεθέντος αὐτοῦ, τὴν τε δημαρχίαν τοῦ Κλωδίου πᾶσαν, ἐν ἡ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐδέδοκτο, κατέλευ, λέγων οὐχ οἶνον τ’ εἴναι, τῆς μεταστάσεως αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐς τὸν ὄμιλον παρανόμως γεγενημένης, ὑγίες τι τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πραχθέντων νομίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐπεισε διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ποντίκιας τὸ ἔδαφος ὁ ὡς καὶ ὁσιον καὶ βέβηλον ὃν ἀποδούναι. καὶ οὐτω καὶ ἔκεινο καὶ χρήματα ἐς τὴν τῆς οἰκίας κατασκευήν, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἀλλο τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ἐλεύμαντο, ἐλαβε.

12 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐνεκα αὕτης εκκυνήθησαν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλά τισι τῶν Ῥωμαίων χρήματα, τὰ μὲν οἰκοθεν τὰ δὲ καὶ δανεισάμενοι, ὅπως τὴν τε ἀρχὴν βεβαιώσηται καὶ φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ὀνομασθῇ, καταναλώκει, καὶ αὐτὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἀγυπτίων βιαίως ἤργυρο- 2 λόγει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐξαλεπαίνετο καὶ ὅτι τὴν Κύπρον ἀπαιτῆσαι παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡ καὶ τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπειπεῖν κελευόντων αὐτῶν ὀυκ ἤθελησε, καὶ οὔτε πείσατι σφας ἱσυχάζειν οὔτ’ αὐ βιάσασθαι (ξενικὸν γὰρ οὐκ 3 εἰχεν) ἡδύνηθη, διέδρα τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀγυπτίου, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔλθουν κατηγόρησε τε αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν ἐκβεβληκότων, καὶ ἔτυχεν ωστ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σπινθῆρος, ὁ ἦ Κιλικία 1 toûto supplied by Reim.
BOOK XXXIX

But Cicero attacked the *lex curiata* by which the other had been transferred from the patricians to the plebs, on the ground that it had not been proposed at the time established by ancestral custom. Thus he tried to render null and void the entire tribuneship of Clodius, during which the decree regarding his house had been passed, claiming that inasmuch as his transfer to the common people had taken place unlawfully, it was not possible for any one of his acts while in office to be considered binding. By this means he persuaded the pontifices to give back to him the site, on the ground that it was profane and unconsecrated. Thus he obtained not only that but also money for restoring his house and any other property of his that had been injured.

After this there was further disturbance on account of King Ptolemy. He had spent large amounts upon some of the Romans, part of it out of his own purse and part borrowed, in order to have his rule confirmed and to receive the name of friend and ally; and he was now collecting this sum forcibly from the Egyptians. They were accordingly angry at him both on this account and also because when they had bidden him demand back Cyprus from the Romans or else renounce his friendship for them, he had been unwilling to do so. And since he could neither persuade nor yet compel them to be quiet, as he had no foreign troops, he fled from Egypt, and coming to Rome, accused his countrymen of having expelled him from his kingdom. He was successful in having his restoration entrusted to Spinther,
13 ἐπετέτραπτο, καταχθήναι. εὖ φί δὲ ταύτα ἐγένετο, οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς τέως μὲν ἀγνοήσαντες ὅτι ἐστὶν Ἰταλίαν ἀπηρκόδις ἣν, ἥ τεθυγκέναι αὐτοῦ νομίσαντες, Βερενίκην τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀντικατέστησαν, ἐπείτα δὲ τάληθες μαθόντες ἀνδρας ἐκατον ἐστὶν Ὁρμην ἐπεμψαν πρὸς τα ἐγκλήματα αὐτοῦ ἀπολογησμένους καὶ ἀντικατηγορήσοντας ὡσα ἧδικτο.  

2 κηντο. προμαθῶν οὐν ταύτ ἐκεῖνος (ἔτι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ὁρμή ἤν) ἐνήδρευσε τοὺς πρεσβεις, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν, ἄλλους ἄλλη διαπέμψας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλείους αὐτῶν κατὰ τῇ ὀδῷ ἔφθειρε, τῶν δὲ ἁλιτῶν οὓς μὲν εἰν τῷ ἄστει αὐτοῦ ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ καταφοβήσας ἐκ τούτων ἡ χρήματι διαφθείρας ἐπεισε μήτε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς υπὲρ ὃν ἐστάλατο ἐντυχεῖν μῆθα ὅλως μνεῖαν τινὰ περὶ τῶν ἀπολογισμῶν ποιήσασθαι. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πράγμα οὖτω περιβόητον ἐγένετο ὡστε καὶ τῇ Βουλῇ ἀγανακτῆσαι δεινῶς, ἐναγοντός σφαῖς ὅτι μᾶλιστα Φαουνίου τοῦ Μάρκου καθ' ἐκάτερον, ὅτι τε πολλοὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων πρεσβεῖς πεμφθέντες βιαῖως ἀπολέολεσαν, καὶ τοῦ συνχοι καὶ τότε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐδεδωροδοκήσαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Δίωνα ὁ τῆς πρεσβείας αὐτοκράτορα (περί ἡν γὰρ) μετεπέμψαντο ὡς καὶ τὴν ἁλθείαν παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθησόμενο: οὖτω δὲ ἁρὰ καὶ τότε

1 The reading of L is: ἔτυχεν διστε ὡστε ὡπάτου σπυρήρου ἢ κελία ἐπετέρατο καταχθήναι. ὡστε (once only) and Κελία are correctly given in the later Mss. ὡπάτου for ὡπάτου is due to Reim., ἐπετέτραπτο to St. Perhaps some words have fallen out after ἔτυχεν.  

2 ἐγένετο supplied by Reim.  

3 ἀπηρκόδις Leonel., ἀπηρκόδις L.  

4 μὲν St., μὲν αὐτῶν L.  

5 ἐστάλατο St., ἐστάλατο L.  

6 ἐκάτερον Reim., ἅτερον L.
to whom Cilicia had been assigned. While this was going on, the people of Alexandria, who for a while did not know that he had departed for Italy, or supposed he was dead, placed Berenice, his daughter, on the throne in his place. Then, learning the truth, they sent a hundred men to Rome to defend them against his charges and to bring counter-complaints of all the wrongs they had suffered. Now he heard of it in season, while still in Rome, and sent men out in various directions to lie in wait for the envoys before they could arrive. Thus he caused the majority of them to perish by the way, while of the survivors he had some slain in the city itself, and others he either terrified by what had happened or by administering bribes persuaded them neither to consult the magistrates touching the matters for which they had been sent nor to make any mention at all of those who had been killed. The affair, however, became so noised abroad that even the senate was mightily displeased; it was urged to action chiefly by Marcus Favonius, on the double ground that many envoys sent by their allies had perished by violence and that numerous Romans had again on this occasion taken bribes. So they summoned Dio, the leader of the envoys, who survived, in order to learn the truth from him. But this time, too, Ptolemy had such influence with his
ἐθ’ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος τοῖς χρήσμασι κατεκράτει ὡστε μήτε τὸν Δίωνα ἢ τὸ συνεδρίου ἐσελθεῖν μήτε μνήμην τινὰ τοῦ φόνου τῶν τεθυμάτων, ἐως γε καὶ αὐτὸς παρήγ. γενέσθαι. καὶ μέντοι τοῦ Δίωνος μετὰ ταῦτα δολοφονηθέντος οὐδεμιᾶν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ἐκείνῳ δίκην ἔδωκεν τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τῇ τε οἰκίᾳ αὐτῶν ὑπεδέδεκτο καὶ ἰσχυρῶς οἱ συνήρετο. τῶν γε μὴν ἄλλων τῶν αὐτῶν ἐνεκλήθησαν μὲν ἐν ὑστέρῳ συνχοί, ἐάλωσαν δὲ ὅλον· τὸ τε γὰρ δεδωροδοκικός πολὺ ἦν, καὶ ἄλληλοις διὰ τὸ Ἰδιον ἕκαστος δέος συνεμάχων.

15 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώποι τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἐποίουν, τὸ δὲ δὴ θειὸν κεραυνῷ καὶ ἀρχαὶ εὐθὺς τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους τὸ ἅγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἀλβαρῳ ἱδρυμένου βαλὼν τὴν κάδον τοῦ Πτολεμαίου χρόνου τινὰ ἐπέσχε.

2 τοῖς γὰρ Σιβυλλεῖοις ἔπεσιν ἐντυχόντες εὑρὼν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένον αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἂν ὁ τῆς Λιγυπτίου βασιλείας βοσθείας τῖνος δεόμενος ἐλθὴ, τὴν μὲν φιλιὰν οἱ μὴ ἀπαρνήσασθαι, μὴ μέντοι καὶ πλῆθει τινὶ ἐπικουρήσθητε εἴ δὲ μὴ, καὶ

3 πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ἔχετε.” καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς συντυχίαι τῶν ἔπον πρὸς τὰ τότε γενόμενα θαυμάσαντες ἀπεφησάστοι πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐγγραμμένα, Γαίῳ Κάτωνι πεισθέντες δημάρχῳ, ταῦτα δὲ ἐχρήσθη μὲν σὺν ὑστέρῳ, ἐδημοσιεύθη δὲ (οὐ γὰρ εξὶ οὐδεν τῶν Σιβυλλεῖων, εἰ μὴ ἡ Βουλή ψήφισατο, ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐξαγγέλλεσθαι) διὰ τοῦ

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1 Ἰωκε Pflugk, διδωκε L.
2 οἱ συνήρετο, Βκ., συνήρετο Χυλ., ἡπετα L.
3 Ἀλβαρῶ R. Steph., λαβαρῶ L.
money that not only did Dio fail to enter the senate-house, but there was not even any mention made of the murder of the dead men, so long at least as Ptolemy was there. Furthermore, even after Dio had later been assassinated, he suffered no punishment for that deed either, largely owing to the fact that Pompey had entertained him in his house and continued to render him powerful assistance. Of the other Alexandrines, however, many were accused at a later time, yet few were convicted; for those who had taken bribes were many, and each coöperated with the others because of his own fear.

While mortals were acting thus under the influence of money, Heaven at the very beginning of the next year struck with a thunderbolt the statue of Jupiter erected on the Alban Mount, and so delayed the return of Ptolemy for some time. For when they read the Sibylline verses, they found written in them this very passage: "If the king of Egypt come requesting any aid, refuse him not friendship, nor yet succour him with any great force; else you shall have both toils and dangers." Thereupon, amazed at the coincidence between the verses and the events of the time, they rescinded all their action in his case, following the advice of Gaius Cato, a tribune. Such was the nature of the oracle; and it was made public through Cato. Now it was unlawful to announce to the populace any of the Sibylline verses, unless the senate voted it; yet as soon
4 Κάτωνος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τάχιστα ὦ νοῦς τῶν ἐπών διεθρυλήθη, ὡσπερ εἰσδεχόμενα, ἐδεισε μὴ συγκρυφθεῖν, καὶ ἐς τε τῶν ὁμιλόν τούς ἵππας ἐσήγαγε, κανταύθα, πρὶν ὁτιοῦ ἡ γερουσίαν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς χρηματίσαι, ἐξεβιώσατο σφαῖ δικαλήσαι τὸ λόγιον ὑπὸ γάρ τοι μᾶλλον ὡς ἔδοκε σφίσων ἐξειναι τούτο, . . . τὸ πλῆθος ἐσχε. καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἐσχεν οὕτως, καὶ ἡς τοῖς λατινῶν γλῶσσαις μεταγραφέων ἀνεκηρύχθη γράμμας δὲ αὐτῶν μετὰ τούτο ποιομένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄνεων στρατοῦ τῷ Σπινθῆρι τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κάθοδον προστατοῖτον, τῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῶν Πομπήιοι μετὰ ῥαβδούχων δύο καταγαγεῖν αὐτὸν κελευνότων (ὁ τε γάρ Πτολεμαίος μαθῶν τὸ χρησθὲν ἥξιος τούτου τυχεῖν, καὶ τὰ γράμματα αὐτοῦ Ἀντών Πλαύτιος ἐς τὸ κοινὸν δημαρχῶν ἀνέγερον), δείσαντες οἱ βουλευταὶ μὴ μεῖζων ἐθ’ ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ἀπ’ ἐκεῖνον γένηται, ἀντέπραξαν αὐτῷ τῇ τοῦ σῖτου προφάσει χρησάμενοι.

3 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τε Λουκίου Φιλίππου καὶ ἔτη Γναίου Μαρκελλίνου ὑπάτων ἐγένετο· καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος μαθῶν τὴν τε κάθοδον ἀπέγνω, καὶ ἔστε Ἐφεσον ἐλθὼν παρὰ τῇ θεῷ διήτατο.

17 Τῷ δὲ δὴ προτέρῳ ἔτει καὶ τοιῶνδε τι, ἱδιον μὲν, φέρον δὲ πιὸς ἐς τὴν συγγραφήν, ἐπράκαθη. τοῦ γὰρ νόμου διαρρήκτην ἀπαγορευόντος μηδενας δύο ἁμα ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς συγγενείας τὴν αὐτὴν ἱερατείαν ἔχειν, ὁ Σπινθήρος ὁ ὑπάτος ἐπιθυμῆσας Κορνήλιον Σπινθήρα τοῦ νῦν ἐς τοὺς οἰκεστάς ἐσαγαγεῖν, ἐπειτ’ ἐπειδῆ ὁ Φαύστος ὁ τοῦ Σιλλοῦ παῖς ἐκ

1 καὶ added by R. Steph. 2 μεταγραφίσει Rk., γραφίσει L. 3 Πλαύτιοι Xyl., πλαύτιοι L. 4 μηδενας Rk., μηδένα L.
as the sense of the verses, as usually happens, began to be talked about, he became afraid that it might be suppressed, and so brought the priests before the populace and there compelled them to utter the oracle before the senate had taken any action at all in the matter. The more scruples they had against doing so, [the more insistent] was the multitude. Such, then, was the oracle, and it was translated into the Latin tongue and proclaimed. When later the senate discussed the matter, some were for assigning to Spinther the restoration of Ptolemy without an army, and others urged that Pompey with two lictors should escort him home. Ptolemy, on learning of the oracle, had asked for the latter arrangement, and his letter was read in public by Aulus Plautius, a tribune. But the senators, fearing that Pompey would by this means obtain still greater power, opposed it, using his connection with the corn-supply as an excuse.

All this happened in the consulship of Lucius Philippus and Gnaeus Marcellinus. Ptolemy, when he heard of it, despaired of his restoration, and going to Ephesus, passed his time in the temple of the goddess.

The year before there had occurred an incident of a private nature which, however, has some bearing upon our history. It was this. Although the law expressly forbade any two persons of the same gens to hold the same priesthood at the same time, Spinther, the consul, was anxious to place his son Cornelius Spinther among the augurs, and since Faustus, the son of Sulla, of the Cornelian gens, had
τοῦ τῶν Κορνηλίωνον φύλου δὲν προενεγέγραπτο, ἐξεποίησεν αὐτὸν ἐσ τὸ Μαλλίου Τορκουάτον γένος, καὶ οὕτως ὁ νόμος ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ῥήμασι μείνας ἔργῳ κατελύθη.

18 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ὁ Κλάδιος ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς τὴν ἀγορανομίαν ἔπι τε τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μαρκελλίου παρεληλόθει (πρὸς γὰρ τὴν ἀπόδρασιν τῆς δίκης παρακελευστὸς ἡρέθη), γραφὴν κατὰ τοῦ Μιλώνου τῆς τῶν μονομάχων παρασκευῆς ἀπήνεγκεν· ἄ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπραττε καὶ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐκρίνετο, ταῦτ᾽ ἐκείνῳ ἀντενεκάλει. ἔποιει δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅτι τοῦ Μιλώνα προσεδόκα ἀιρή- σειν ἀτε καὶ συναγωνιστὰς ἱσχυροὺς ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα τὸν τε Πομπήιον ἔχοντα, ἀλλ᾽ ἕνα ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταῦτῃ τοῦ τε Μιλώνι προσ- τολομοὶ καὶ ἐκείνων ὕβριζοι. πρὸς γοῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοιούτῳ τι ἐμεμηχάνητο· παρασκευάσας τοὺς ἑταίρους ἤν, ὅπετε πῦθοντο αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς συλλόγοις "τὶς ὁ ποιῶν ἢ καὶ λέγων τοιόνδε τι ἢν," συνεκβιβάζειν ὅτι Πομπήιος, ἐπηρωτά πολ- λάκις ἔξαιθες τἀνθ᾽ ὅσα ἐπαιτία περὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἢ κατ᾽ ἀλλο τῇ ἦν, ἵδα καὶ καθ᾽ ἐκαστον, ὥς ὅπερ ἐκείνου ὅὅ λέγων κακὸ τοῦτο τῶν μὲν ἑξαρχοῦσιν τῶν δὲ συνεπηχοῦσιν σφίσιν, οὐα φιλεὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις γύρνεσθαι, καὶ λεγόμενοι ὅτι Πομπῆιος, χλευασία πολλῆ συν- ἐβαίνει, ὡς ὅτι ἐκείνων μὴτε τὴν ἱσυχίαν ἄγειν

1 Κορνηλίωον Leuncl., κορνηλίων L.
2 παρεληλόθει Bk., παρεληλύθε L.
3 κατὰ Leuncl., καὶ L. 4 προσεδόκα Bk., προσδοκῶν L.
5 ἑταίρους R. Steph., ἑτέρους L. 6 ὁ added by Bk.
7 τὶς . . . καὶ λέγων Leuncl., τὶ . . . καταλέγων L.
8 τοιότερ τὴ St., τοιότερ τὸς L. 9 ἤν Rk., ἄν L.
been enrolled before him, he transferred his son to the *gens* of Manlius Torquatus; thus, though the letter of the law was observed, its spirit was broken.

After this Clodius attained the aedileship in the year of Philippus and Marcellinus; for, being anxious to avoid the lawsuit, he had got himself elected by a political combination. He immediately instituted proceedings against Milo for providing himself with gladiators, actually charging him with the very thing he was doing himself and for which he was likely to be brought to trial. He did this, not in the expectation of convicting Milo, inasmuch as the latter had many strong champions, among them Cicero and Pompey, but in order that under this pretext he might not only carry on a campaign against Milo but also insult his backers. For example, the following was one of his devices. He had instructed his clique that whenever he should ask them in the assemblies: "Who was it that did or said so-and-so?" they should all cry out: "Pompey!" Then on several occasions he would suddenly ask about everything that could be taken amiss in Pompey, either in the way of physical peculiarities or any other respect, touching upon such topics individually, one at a time, as if he were not speaking of him particularly. Thereupon, as usually happens in such cases, some would start up and others would join in with them, crying "Pompey!" and there was much jeering. Now Pompey could not control himself and keep
καρτεροῦντα μὴ δ' ὀμοίων τι ποιεῖν αὐτῷ ὑπομένουντα περιοργῆ τε γύγνεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἄμηχανία καθίστασθαι, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν τῶν Μίλωνα κατακρε
νεσθαι, ἔργῳ δὲ αὐτῶν μηδ' ἀπολογούμενον ἀλλ
3 σκέσθαι. ο γὰρ Κλώδιος, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀποροην, οὐκ εἰ σὺν φρατριματικον νόμον ἐσενεχθήναι: πρὶν γὰρ ἐκείνων τεθῆναι οὗτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν σπουδαίων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ πραξθῆναι οὔτε δίκην ὑδεμέλαν ἐσαχθήναι ἕξην.

20 Τέως μὲν οὖν ὁ Μίλων τῶν λοιδορῶν καὶ τῶν σφαγῶν πρόσχημα αὐτοῖς ἦν· τεράτων τῆς τινῶν ἐν τούτῳ γενομένων (ἐν τῇ γάρ τῷ Ἀλβανῷ νεὸς Ἡρας βραχὺς ἐπὶ τραπέζης τινὸς πρὸς ἀνατολῶν ἱδρυμένος πρὸς τὴν ἀρκτον μεταστράφη, καὶ λαμ
tὰς ἀπὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας ὀρμηθείσα πρὸς βορέαν
de βέβηκε, λύκος τε ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθε, καὶ σεισμὸς ἐγέρθη, τῶν τε πολιτῶν τινες κεραινοῖς ἐφθάρησαν, καὶ βούρβος ἐν τῷ Δατίνῳ ὑπὸ γῆς ἐξηκούσθη· καὶ αὐτὰ οἱ μάντες ἀκέσασθαι ἐθελη
cαντες ὀργίζεσθαι σφίσι δαμόμιοι τι ὡς καὶ ἱερῶν τινῶν ἤ χωρίων οὐχ ὀσίων ἑποικομένων
t 3 ἐφασαν) ἐνταῦθα ο Κλώδιος τῶν Κικέρωνοι μετα
lαβὼν τῷ τῶν λόγω πολὺς ἐνεκείτο, ὅτι τὸ ἐδαφος
tῆς οἰκίας ἱερομένου τῇ Ἑλευθερίᾳ κατακοδόμησε, καὶ ἐπῆλθε ποτε ἐπὶ αὐτὸ ώς καὶ ἕκ θεμελίων ἀνθίς αὐτὴν ἀναιρήσουν. καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησε μὲν
to τούτο, ὁ γὰρ Μίλων ἐκόλυνεν ο δ' οὖν Κικέρων ὦς καὶ παθὼν αὐτὸ ὀργῆν τε εἰχὲ καὶ κατηγορίας ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τέλος τῶν τε Μίλωνα καὶ δημάρχους τινὰς παραλαβῶν ἄνηλθέ τε ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον

1 ἀποροη λκ., ποιεῖ λ.  2 ἀκέσασθαι Χυλ., ἀκόφοια λ.  3 πολὺς Ρκ., πολὺ Λ.
quiet, nor would he stoop to a trick like that of Clodius, and so he grew exceedingly angry, yet could not stir; thus nominally Milo was the defendant, but in reality Pompey was being convicted without even offering a defence. For Clodius, in order to embarrass him the more, would not allow the lex curiata to be introduced; and until that was enacted no other serious business could be transacted in the state or any suit instituted.

For a season, then, Milo served as an excuse for their taunts and assassinations. But about this time some portents occurred: on the Alban Mount a small temple of Juno, set on a kind of table facing the east, was turned around toward the north; a blaze of light darted from the south across to the north; a wolf entered the city; an earthquake occurred; some of the citizens were killed by thunderbolts; in the Latin territory a subterranean tumult was heard; and the soothsayers, being anxious to find a remedy, said that some divinity was angry with them because some temples or consecrated sites were being used for residence. Then Clodius substituted Cicero for Milo and not only attacked him vigorously in a speech because the site of the house he had built upon was dedicated to Liberty, but even went to it once, with the intention of razing it anew to the ground; but he did not do so, as he was prevented by Milo. Cicero, however, was as angry with him as if he had actually accomplished his purpose, and kept making accusations. Finally, taking with him Milo and some tribunes, he ascended
καὶ τὰς στῆλας τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ φυγῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλωδίου σταθεῖσας καθεῖλε. καὶ τότε μὲν αὐτὰς ἐκείνου σὺν Γαῖῳ τῷ ἀδέλφῳ στρατηγοῦντε ἐπελθόντος ἀφηρέθη, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο φυλάξας ἐκ- δημοῦντα τὸν Κλωδίον ἀνέβη τε αὐτίς ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὰς οἰκαὶ ἀπεκόμισε.  
3 γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὐδὲν ἐτ' ἀπώμοτον οὐδὲτέρων αὐτῶν ἤν, ἀλλὰ ἔλοιπόρουν ἀλλήλους καὶ διέβαλ- λον ἀλλὰ τοίς ἐδυναυτό, μηδενὸς τῶν αἰσχίστων.  
4 ἀπεχόμενοι, καὶ ὃ μὲν τῇ τε δημαρχίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Κλωδίου ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους γενομένην καὶ τὰ πραξθέντα ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπ' αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ ἀκουρ ὄντα, ὃ δὲ τῇ τε φυγῇ τῇ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὡς καὶ δικαῖως ἐγνωσμένην καὶ τῇ κάθοδον αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ παρανόμως ἐγνωσμένην.  

92. Μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Κλωδίου πολὺ τῇ στάσει ἐλαττομένων, ού Κάτων οἳ Μάρκος ἐπελθόν ἀνίσωσεν αὐτούς· τῷ τῇ γὰρ Κικέρωνι ἀχθόμενος, καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἀμα μὴ καὶ ὁσα αὐτός ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ ἐπεποιηκεὶ καταλυθεῖν, ὅτι πρὸς τοῦ Κλωδίου δημαρχοῦντος ἐπέπεμπτο, προθύμως 2 αὐτῶ συνήρατο. μεγά γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῶς ἐφρόνει, καὶ περὶ παντὸς τῷ βεβαιωθῆναι αὐτὰ ἐποιεῖτο. ὃ μὲν γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῇ νῆσον τοῦτο κατέχων, ἐπειδὴ τά τε ἐγνωσμένα ἤσθεντο καὶ μὴ ἀντάραι τοῖς Ἡρωμαῖοι ἐτόλμησε μὴ αὐ στερηθεῖς τῆς 3 ἁρχῆς τῆν ὑπὲρεινε, φάρμακον πιὸν ἀπέδανε, καὶ οἱ Κύπριοι τὸν Κάτων ὁκ ἀκουσίως, ἀτε καὶ

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1 τὰς added by Plougk. 2 ὑπὸ Leunel., ὑπὶ L. 3 τῷ added by Rk. 4 αὐτὰς R. Steph., αὐτὰ L. 5 οὐδὲτέρων Bk., οὐδὲτέρωι L. 6 ἀνίσωσεν Oddey, ἀνίσωσαν L. 7 ὑπὲρειν R. Steph., ὑπὲρειν L.
the Capitol and took down the tablets set up by Clodius to commemorate his exile. This time Clodius came up with his brother Gaius, a praetor, and took them away from him, but later he watched for a time when Clodius was out of town, and going up to the Capitol again, took them and carried them home. After this occurrence no quarter was shown on either side, but they abused and slandered each other as much as they could, without refining even from the basest means. The one declared that the tribuneship of Clodius had been contrary to the laws and that therefore his official acts were invalid, and the other that Cicero's exile had been justly decreed and his restoration unlawfully voted.

While they were contending, and Clodius was getting much the worst of it, Marcus Cato came upon the scene and restored their balance. He had a grudge against Cicero and was likewise afraid that all his acts in Cyprus would be annulled, because he had been sent out under Clodius as tribune; hence he eagerly took the latter's side. For he was very proud of his deeds and anxious above all things that they should be confirmed. For Ptolemy, who at the time had been master of the island, when he learned of the vote that had been passed, and neither dared to rise against the Romans nor could endure to live deprived of his kingdom, had taken his life by drinking poison.¹ Then the Cypriotes readily received Cato, expecting to be friends and allies of the

¹ This was a younger brother of the Ptolemy (Anletes) who was expelled from Egypt and subsequently restored (see chap. 55), and is the same one mentioned in Book xxxviii. 30.
φιλοί καὶ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀντὶ δούλων

4 ἐσεσθαί προσδοκήσαντες, ἐσεδέξαντο· ὥ δὲ Κάτων ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις οὔδὲν εἶχε σεμνύνεσθαι, ὅτι δὲ δὴ
tὰ τὲ ἀλλὰ ἄριστα διώκησε, καὶ δούλους καὶ
χρήματα πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀθροίσας οὔδὲν
ητιάθη ἀλλὰ ἀνεπικλήτως πάντα ἀπέδειξεν, ἀν-
δραγαθίας οὔδὲν ἦττον ἡ εἰ1 πολέμῳ τινὶ ἐνενικήκη
cοι μετεποίητο· ὕπο γὰρ τοῦ πολλοὺς δωροδοκεῖν
σπανιώτερον τὸ τῶν χρημάτων καταφρονεῖν τινὰ
tὸν τῶν πολεμίων κρατεῖν ἐνόμιζε.

23 Τότε οὖν ὁ Κάτως ἐν δόξῃ τινὶ ἐπιμικίῳ 
dia
ταὐτ' αἰσίων ἔγενετο, καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ γνώμην ἐν τῷ
συνεδρίῳ ἐποίησαν στρατηγίαν αὐτῷ δοθήναι
καὶ περὶ μηδέπο ἐκ τῶν νόμων προσήκουσαν. καὶ
οὐκ ἀπεδείχθη μὲν (αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀντεῖπε), τὴν δὲ δὴ
2 εὐκλείαν καὶ ἐκ τούτου μεῖζον ἔσχε. Κλώδιος
δὲ ἐπεχείρησε μὲν τοὺς οἰκέτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Κύπρου
ἀχθέντας Κλώδιον, ὅτι αὐτός τῶν Κάτων ἐκεῖσε
ἐπετομφεί, ὀνομάζει, οὐκ ἠδυνηθῆ δὲ ἐναντιω-
θέντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν Κύπριοι ἐπεκληθήσαν,
καίτοι τινῶν Πορκίους σφᾶς προσεπεῖν ἑθή-
3 σάντων (ὁ γὰρ Κάτως καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκώλυσε)· ὀργῇ
δ' οὖν ὁ Κλώδιος τὴν ἐναντίωσιν αὐτοῦ φέρων,
tὰ τε διοικηθέντα υπ' αὐτοῦ διέβαλλο καὶ τοὺς
λογίσμους τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπῆτε, οὕτω ὅτι καὶ
dιελέγξαι τι αὐτοῦ ἄδικοιντα ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' ὅτι
ὑπὸ ναυαγίας2 τὰ γράμματα σχεδὸν τί πάντα
dιέφθαρτο, καὶ ἔδοκει κατὰ τοῦτο τι ἱσχύσειν.
4 ἐβοήθηε δὲ καὶ τότε τῷ Κλώδιῳ ὁ Καίσαρ καίτοι
μὴ παρών, καὶ τὰς γε κατηγορίας αὐτῷ τὰς κατὰ
tοῦ Κάτων ἐπιστολαμαίος, ὡς γε τινὲς φασίν,

1 ει added by Louncl. 2 ναυαγίας Bk., ναυαγίου L.
Romans instead of slaves. Over this fact, however, Cato had no reason to vaunt himself; but because he had administered everything in the best possible manner, and after collecting slaves and large amounts of money from the royal treasury, had incurred no reproach but had turned over everything unchallenged, for these reasons he laid claim to valour no less than if he had conquered in some war. So many men were accepting bribes that he thought it more unusual for a man to despise money than to conquer the enemy.

So at that time Cato for these reasons had created some expectation that he would receive a regular triumph, and the consuls proposed in the senate that he be given the praetorship, although by law he could not yet hold it. And though he was not appointed, for he spoke against the measure himself, yet he obtained greater renown from this very circumstance. Clodius undertook to name the slaves brought from Cyprus Clodians, because he himself had sent Cato there; but he failed because the latter opposed it. So they received the title of Cyprians, although some wished to call them Porcians; but Cato prevented this too. So Clodius became angry at his opposition and proceeded to attack his administration; he demanded the accounts of the transactions, not because he could prove him guilty of any wrongdoing, but because nearly all of the documents had been destroyed by shipwreck and he expected to gain some advantage from this circumstance. And Caesar, although not present, was again aiding Clodius at this time, and according to some was sending him in
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έπεμπεν. ἐπεφέρετο δὲ τῷ Κάτωνι ἄλλα τε καὶ ὧτι τὴν στρατηγίαν οἱ αὐτὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους πείσασ, ὡς γε ἔλεγον, ἐσηγήσασθαι, προσεποίησατο ἐθελούτης, ὡς καὶ μὴ ἄκων ἀποτετυχηκέναι αὐτῆς δόξῃ, παρεῖσθαι.

24 Οὕτω τε οὖν ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐσχε μὲν καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ σιτοῦ διαδόσει τριβὴν τινα τοῦ εὐλογῶν γὰρ πρὸς τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας ἐλευθερωθέντων, ἀπογραφὴν σφῶν, ὅπως ἐν τῇ κόσμῳ καὶ ἐν τάξει τινι συνοδηγῆσωσι, ἠθέλησε 2

ποιήσασθαι· οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τούτῳ μὲν τῇ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ σοφία καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους τοῦ σιτοῦ ράβον πως διώκησε, τὴν δὲ ὑπατεῖαν αὐτῶν πράγματα ἐσχε καὶ αἰτίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν.

3 ἔλυτε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλωδίου γνώμην, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερεωρᾶτο ὃν διέφερε, διά τὸ ἄξιόμα καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀρ' ὃν καὶ ἰδιωτεύων ὑπὲρ πάντας αὐτοὺς τιμήθησθαι προσεδόκησεν ὑβριζόμενος.

4 ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ κατεφρόνει· παραχρῆμα μὲν γὰρ κακῶς ἀκούων ἐνευχέραινεν, διαλεπὼν δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀναλογισμὸν τῆς τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων κακίας ἀφικνοῦμενος

25 οὐκέτι αὐτῶν προετίμα· ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Βούλης ἄνδρας ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ διεδουλωμένοις παντελῶς τοῖς Γαλάταις

1 ἐπεφέρετο St., ἐπεφέρεσθε L. 2 ἠθέλησε Lennel., ἠθελήσα L. 3 ὑπατεῖαν αὐτῶν πράγματα Xyl., ὑπατεῖα τῶν πραγμάτων L. 4 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ba., ἀπ' αὐτῶν L. 5 In place of καὶ ἐκ Cobet plausibly suggested καὶ ἐκ ("ten men").
letters the accusations brought against Cato. One of the attacks upon Cato consisted in the charge that he himself had persuaded the consuls (so they affirmed) to propose the praetorship for him, and that he had then pretended to give it up voluntarily, in order not to appear to have lost it unwillingly.

While these men kept up their conflict, Pompey, too, encountered some delay in the distribution of the grain. For since many slaves had been freed in anticipation of the event, he wished to take a census of them in order that the grain might be supplied to them with some order and system. This, to be sure, he managed fairly easily through his own wisdom and because of the large supply of grain; but in seeking the consulship he met with annoyances and incurred some censure. Clodius' behaviour, for one thing, irritated him, but especially the fact that he was treated slightingly by the others, whose superior he was; and he felt outraged both on account of his reputation and on account of the hopes by reason of which while still a private citizen he had thought to be honoured above them all. Yet sometimes he could bring himself to scorn these; at the moment when people were speaking ill of him he was vexed, but after a time, when he came to consider carefully his own excellence and their baseness, he paid no further attention to them. The fact, however, that Caesar's influence was increasing and the people admired his achievements so much that they dispatched men\(^1\) from the senate, on the supposition that the Gauls had been completely subjugated, and that they were...

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\(^1\) Perhaps we should read "ten men" with Cobet; cf. Cicero, *Prov. cons.* 11, 28; *Balb.* 27, 61; *ad Fam.* 1, 7, 10. Dio is wrong in attributing this action to the people instead of to the senate.
ἀποστείλαι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας ἐπαιρόμενος ὁστε καὶ χρήματα οἱ πολλά ψηφί·
2 σασθαί, δεινώς αὐτοῦ ἡμία. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀναπείδαι μὴτε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ εὐθὺς ἀναγιγνώσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον, μέχρις ἂν αὐτόματος ἡ δόξα τῶν πραττο-
μένων ἐκκιήσῃ, συγκρύπτειν, καὶ διάδοχον τινα αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος καρφών τέμναι.
3 τοσαύτη γὰρ φιλοτιμία ἔχριτο ὅσθ’ ὁσα αὐτὸς τῷ Καίσαρι συνέπραξε καὶ βασικαῖνει καὶ καταλύειν, καὶ ἐκεῖνο τοῦ ἀλλως τε μεγάλως ἐπαινομένω τοις, καὶ τα ἐαυτοῦ συσκιάζοντι ἀ-
χέσθαι, καὶ τῶν δήμων ἐγκαλεῖν ὅτι αὐτόν τε ἐν ὀλιγορίᾳ ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τῶν Καίσαρα ὑπε-
4 ρεσπούδασ᾽: τά τε γὰρ ἀλλα καὶ ἤγανάκτει ὅρων αὐτοῖς τῶν τε προποιηθέντων των τοις, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μνημονεύοντας ἐφ’ ὅσον μηδὲν ἀλλο ἔπνεύετο, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀει καθιστάμενο, καὶ ἔλαττον τοῦ προτέρου ἢ, προχειρότατα τῷ τοῦ σύνηθος κόρω καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἔνοιν ἡδονή φερομένους, καὶ τὸ μὲν προευδοκημοῦν πάνω καταλυοῦντας ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου, τῷ ὧν ἀρτι προφαινόμενον συνεπαιξοῦντας
26 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων. δε’ οὖν ταῦτα δυσχεραίνων, καὶ μὴτε τι διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων διαπράξασθαι δυνηθείς καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μείζω τῆς πρὸς ἕαυτόν πίστεως ῥημομένον ὀρῶν, οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ τὸ πράγμα ἐποίησατο. καὶ γὰρ ἐνόμιζε δύο τε

1 ἐκεῖνο τοῦ Ῥκ., ἐκεῖνοι γε ἦν τοῦ.
2 ἐπαινομένῳ Ῥκ., ταινομένῳ ἦν τοῦ.
3 ὑπερεσπούδασε Ῥειμ., ὑπεσπούδασε ἦν τοῦ.
4 προποιηθέντων Ῥκ., πρὸς ποιηθέντων ἦν τοῦ.
5 τοῖς Ῥκ., τοῖς ἦν τοῦ.

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so elated by their hopes based on him as to vote him large sums of money, was a cruel thorn in Pompey's side. He attempted to persuade the consuls not to read Caesar's letters immediately but to conceal the facts as long as possible, until the glory of his deeds should win its own way abroad, and furthermore to send some one to relieve him even before the regular time. So jealous was he that he undertook to disparage and undo all that he himself had helped to gain for Caesar, and that he was displeased with him both because he was greatly praised and because he was overshadowing his own exploits, and he blamed the people because they slighted him and were excessively enthusiastic over Caesar. Especially was he vexed to see that they remembered the former achievements of a man just so long as nothing new occurred, that they rushed with the greatest haste to each new achievement, even if it were inferior to that which had preceded, because they became tired of the usual and liked the novel, and that, actuated by envy, they overthrew everyone who had once been in high repute, but, urged on by their hopes, helped to exalt one who was just emerging. Because of this he was vexed, and being unable to accomplish anything through the consuls and seeing that Caesar had passed beyond the need of keeping faith with him, he regarded the situation as grave. For he held that there were two things which
eínav tā tás filíaías tivón συγχέοντα,1 tó te Íeós2 kai tòn phónoù, kai táunta àp' ántipáloun kai tῆς δόξῆς kai tῆς ísχύος mónoj móch3 συμβαίνειν.4
2 èowos mév γὰρ ἀν ἵσομοιρισά τινες αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκείνας4 εἱρρόσαθι, ἐσπείδαν δὲ ὑπεράρωσι τι οἱ ἑτέροι, ἐνταῦθα τὸ τέ ἐλαττοῦμενον φθονήσαν μισεῖν5 τὸν κρείστονα καὶ τὸ κρατοῦν καταφρονήσαν ἐξυβρίζειν6 ἐς τὸν χείρονα, καὶ οὕτως ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μὲν τῇ ἐλαττώσει ἰγανακτοῦντα τὸν δὲ τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ ἐπαιρόμενον, πρὸς τὲ διαφορὰς καὶ πρὸς πολέμους ἐκ τῆς πρὶν φιλίας3 ἀφικνείσθαι. τοιούτως οὖν δὴ τισὶ λογισμοῖς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπλίζετο. καὶ ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐκ ἀν ὑδησίως μόνος αὐτὸν καταλύσας, τὸν Κράσσον, ὡς καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τούτο7 ποιήσων, ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἀνηρτήσατο.

27 Συμφρονήσαντες οὖν ἀλλὼς μὲν οὐδὲν7 ἰδιωτεύοντες πράξειν ἥλπισαν, ἀν δ' ὑπατεύσωσι κὰκ τούτου καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πράγματα τῇ ἐκείνου χελώσει διαλάβωσι, καὶ ἀντίρροποι οἱ ἐσεθαὶ καὶ ταχὺ αὐτοῦ, ἀτε καὶ δύο ἐνός, περιγινησθαί προσ-
2 εδόκησαν. καὶ οὕτω πᾶσαν τὴν προσποίησιν ἀφ' ἑσ', εἰ3 καὶ τὶς τῶν ἑταῖρων σφῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦς προῆγεν, ἀπηρμοῦντο μηκέτι βουλεσθαὶ ὑπατεύσαι, ἀποθέμενοι, ἀντίκρυς αὐτῆς, καῖπερ ἑτέρως τις πρότερον συναγωνιζόμενοι, μετεποιὴ-
3 σαυτο. ἐσπειδὴ τε ἐξω τῶν χρόνων τῶν ἐν τοῖς

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1 συγχέοντα R. Steph., συγχέοντα L.
2 Íeos R. Steph., Íeos L. Íe supplied by Bk.
3 μῆ supplied by Bk.
4 ἐκείνας Reim., ἐκείνα L.
5 μισεῖν ... ἐξυβρίζειν Reim., μισεῖ ... ἐξυβρίζει L.
6 τούτο supplied by Bk.
7 οὐδὲν Dind., οὐδὲν καί L.
8 ἀφ' ἑσ' εί Rk., σφίσι L.
BOOK XXXIX

destroy people's friendship, fear and envy, and that these can be prevented by nothing except an equality in fame and strength. For as long as persons possess these last in equal shares, their friendship is firm, but when one or the other excels at all, then the inferior party becomes jealous and hates the superior, while the stronger despises and insults the weaker; and thus, with such feelings on both sides, the one being vexed by his inferiority, the other elated by his advantage, they come to strife and war in place of their former friendship. On the basis of some such reasoning Pompey began to arm himself against Caesar. And because he thought he alone could not easily overthrow him, he attached Crassus to himself even more than before, that he might accomplish his purpose with his aid.

After reaching an understanding, they decided that they could not hope to accomplish anything as private citizens, but that if they should become consuls and devote themselves to public affairs, in imitation of Caesar, they would not only be a match for him but would quickly triumph over him, being two against one. So they gave up all their dissimulation, whereby, whenever any of their associates urged them to seek the consulship, they had been claiming that they no longer cared to take the office; and they now openly sought it, in spite of the fact that they had previously been assisting some of the other candidates. When they began to canvass for
νόμος διειρημένων· ἐπήγγειλαν αὐτὴν, καὶ δὴ ὡς ἔσταν ἄλλοι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ (καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ ῥώμης ὁ Μαρκελλάνος έχειν) οὐκ ἐπιτρέψοντές σφισιν ἀποδειχθῆναι, διεπράσσοντο τὰς ἀρχαιε-σιας ἐν τῷ ἐναντῷ ἐκείνῳ μὴ γενέσθαι, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν Γάιον ἐνείητε, ἣν μεσοβασιλέως αἱρεθέντος καὶ αἰτήσωσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λάβωσι.

28 Καὶ ἐγέρνετο γὰρ τοῦτο λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἄλλοτε κατὰ ἄλλην πρόφασιν, ἕργῳ δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐκείνου (τοὺς γοῦν ἐναντιομένους σφίσει φανερῶς ἤχθουτο), δεινὸς ἡ γερουσία ἡγα-

νάκτησεν, ὡστε ποτὲ μεταξὺ μαχομένων αὐτῶν ἐξαναστήναι. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτω διελύθησαν, αὕτης δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐγέρνετο, τὰς στολὰς καθάπερ ἐν συμφορᾷ τινι μετεκδύναι ἐγνήσιστο, καίτοι τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐπει-

δήπερ ἀντιλέγων οὐδὲν ἦνυσεν, ἐκπηδήσαντο . . .

3 ὅπως μηδὲν τελεσθείη· εἰ γὰρ τις τῶν μὴ βουλευ-

όντων ἐνδοῦν ἦν, οὐδεμία ψήφος αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοτο. ἐκείνους τε γὰρ προαπαντήσαντες ἐτεροὶ δήμαρχοι ἐκόλυσαν ἐσελθεῖν, καὶ οὕτω τούτῳ τε τὸ δόγμα ἐκυρώθη, καὶ ἕχρηματιζεῖτο ὅπως καὶ ἐς τὴν πανη-

γυριν τὴν τότε οὕσαν οἱ βουλευταὶ μὴ ἑθωρη-

σωσίν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο ὁ Κάτων ἀνθί-

στατο, ἐξεπήδησαν ἄθροι, καὶ τὰ ἑσθήματα ἀλλαξάμενοι ἑπανήλθον ὡς καὶ διὰ τούτων καταπλήξουτες. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲ οὐς ἐμετρίαζεν,
the office outside of the period specified by law, and, among others the consuls themselves (for Marcellinus had some little influence) made it plain that they would not allow them to be elected, they tried to bring it about, through the agency of Gaius Cato and others, that the elections should not be held that year, in order that an interrex might be chosen and they might then seek and secure the office in accordance with the laws.

This result, now, was being achieved, to all appearances, by the men employed on different pretexts, but in reality by these candidates themselves; at all events they openly showed dislike of those who opposed them. The senators, therefore, became highly indignant and once rose up and departed while these men were wrangling. Thus their strife was stopped for the time being; but when the same disturbance happened again, the senators voted to change their dress, as if for some calamity, in spite of the fact that Cato, when he gained nothing by speaking against the proposed step, rushed out of the gathering [and called in any one he met in the marketplace (?)] in order that no decision might be reached; for, if any person not a senator were inside, they might not give their vote. But other tribunes were ahead of him and prevented the outsiders from entering; and so this decree was passed, and it was also decided that the senators should not be spectators at the games then going on. When Cato opposed this measure, too, they rushed out in a body, and after changing their dress returned, hoping thus to frighten him. When even then he would
προῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀμα πάντες, καὶ συνδραμόντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ πλήθους ἐς πάνω κατηφείας
5 αὐτοῦ κατέστησαν, δημηγορῶν μὲν ὁ Μαρκελλίνος καὶ τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ὄνυρόμενος, ἐπι-
δακρύσουσε ὑμῖν ἐλλείπει στολή, δημηγορῶν μὲν ἀντιπαράκτορας. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτο πράξαντες ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον εἴθυς ἐσῆλθον, ἐγὼ ἐξουσίᾳ εἰς τοὺς ὑπαίτιους τὴν ὄργην ἀφεῖναι: Κλώδιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ μεταπηθήσας αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου πάλιν ἀνθελομένος ἐλπίζει τοῦ, εἰ τι οἱ τῶν τότε πραττομένων συγκατεργασθοῦν, πάντων ἀυτῶν ἰδιώτας, παρ-
ῆλθε τέ ἐς τὸν ὅμιλον ἐν τῇ καθηκονίᾳ στολῇ, μηδέν αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ σύντομον μεταλλάξας, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Μαρκελλίνου καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐδημη-
2 γόρει. πολλῆς οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀγανάκτησες ὑπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν γενομένης τὸ μὲν πλῆθος μεταξὺ λέγον ἐγκατέλειπτε, πρὸς δὲ ἐκ τὸ συν-
ἐδριον ἀξίας διὰ λίγους διεφθάρη τῆς γὰρ γερουσίας ἀπαντησάσης αὐτῷ εἰσώ τε ἐσελθεῖν ἐκωλύθη, 
3 καὶ τοῦτο ὑπὸ ἢπείρων περιστοιχισθέν τε 
σπάσθη ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἀνακραγόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ὅμιλον ἐπιθυμησάμουν προσέδραμον πολλοὶ πῦρ 
φέροντες, ὡς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ βουλευτήριον σφᾶς 
καταπράσοντες εἰ τι αὐτῶν ἐξεργάσασθοι.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐλθὼν ἀπολέσθαι
30 οὕτως ἐσώθη. Πομπήιος δὲ οὐδὲν τούτοις ἐκ-
πλαγεὶς ἐς τὸ συνεδρίον ποτὲ ἐσεπήθησεν,
ὑπεναντιούμενος αὐτῷ ψηφιεῖσθαι μέλλοντι, καὶ ἐκείνῳ τε κυρωθῆναι ἐκωλύσε, καὶ τοῦ Μαρκελ-

1 ἐλπίζει R. Steph., ἐλπίζα L. 2 ἀξία Wesseling, ἀρξάτ Λ. 3 μέλλοντι R. Steph., μέλλοντει L.
not moderate his behaviour, they all proceeded to the Forum together and brought the multitude, which had thereupon rushed together, to a state of extreme sorrow; for Marcellinuss addressed them, lamenting their present situation, while the rest wept and groaned, so that no one had a word to say against him. After doing this the senators entered the senate-house immediately, intending to vent their wrath upon those who were responsible. But Clodius had meanwhile leaped over to the side of Pompey and espoused his cause again, in the hope that if he should give him any help in securing his present objects, he would make him thoroughly his friend. So he came before the populace in his ordinary garb, without having made any change as the decree required, and went to inveighing against Marcellinus and the rest. As great indignation was shown by the senators at this, he left the people in the midst of his speech and rushed to the senate-house, where he came near perishing. For the senate confronted him and prevented his going in, while at that moment he was surrounded by the knights and would have been torn limb from limb, had he not raised an outcry, calling upon the people for aid; whereupon many ran to the scene bringing fire and threatening to burn his oppressors along with the senate-house if they should do him any violence. Thus Clodius was saved after coming so near perishing.

But Pompey, not alarmed at all by this, on one occasion rushed into the senate, thwarting them as they were just about to vote, and prevented the measure from being carried. When Marcellinus
λίνου μετὰ τοῦτο πυθομένου δημοσίᾳ αὐτοῦ εἰ ὁντός ἐπιθυμεῖ ὑπατεύσαι, ἑπίδει τοῦ κατοκήσεις εὐτύχος τοὺς σπουδαρχεῖς ὁμολογήσαι, τῶν μὲν δικαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔνεκα οὔδεν τῆς ἀρχῆς δεῖσθαι ἔφη, διὰ δὲ ὅτι τῶν ταραχῶδεις καὶ σφόδρα αὐτῆς ἑπτὰς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι. ὡς οὖν τούτῳ φανερῶς ἐνέκειτο, καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ἔρωτησε καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ αὐτὰ οὐχ ὁμολόγησε μὲν, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἀπηρνησάτο, ἀλλ' ὂσπερ εἰσόδει διὰ μέσου ἐκώρησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι πάνθεος ὁ σα νῦν συμφέροι πράξει, κατέδεισεν ὁ τε Μαρκελλίνος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τὴν τε παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀντίταξιν, καὶ οὔτε ἀπῆτευν

3 ἔτε εἰς τὸ Βουλευτήριον. μὴ συνελεγμένου δὲ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐκ τῶν νομίμων ἁριθμοῦ πρὸς τὸ ψηφισθήναι τε περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοσιῶν, οὔτε χρηματισθήναι τε ἀρχῆν περὶ αὐτῶν ἰδούνηθη, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν αὐτὸς εὐτύχει. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τὴν ἐσθήτα μετημπίσχοντο οὔτε εἰς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐφοίτων, οὔκ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τῇ τῷ Δίῳ ἔορτῃ εἰστιάθησαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄνοιξας τὰς Δατίνας, δεύτερον τὸτε υπὸ τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς πραξθέντος ποιουμένας,3 εἰς τὸ 'Αλβανὸν ἀφίκοντο, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ δεδοῦλωμένοι, καὶ μῆτ' ἀρχὰς ἐλέσθαι μῆτ' ἀλλο τι πολιτικὸν πράξαι 4 έξουσίαν ἔχοντες, τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ τέων διήγαγον.

31 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ὑπατοὶ ἐκ μεσοβασιλείας ἀπεδείχθησαν, οὔτε ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν προεπηγγελκότων ἀπαντήσαντος, καὶ Δούκιου Δομιτίου, ὅς μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας

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1 τοῦτο R. Steph., τούτο L.
2 ἀλλὰ ὁ ἐναντίον Cantor, ἀλλὰ θέσει αὐτὸς L.
3 ποιουμένας R. Steph., ποιουμένα L.
4 τράζαι Bk., τράζασθαι L.

350
after that publicly asked him whether he really desired to become consul, in the hope that he would shrink from admitting that he was a candidate, Pompey declared that he did not want the office because of the just men, but that on account of the seditious he was trying very hard to gain it. So Pompey now openly strove for the office, and Crassus on being interrogated gave the same impression himself, not admitting the fact, to be sure, but not denying it, either; instead, he took, as usual, a middle course and said that he would do whatever was advantageous for the republic. Consequently Marcellinus and many others were terrified, as they observed the preparations and opposing array of these men, and would no longer frequent the senate-house. And since the number required by law for passing any vote concerning the elections did not assemble, it was impossible to have any business at all about them brought forward, and the year thus passed away. The senators, however, did not change back to their usual attire nor attend the games nor celebrate the feast of Jupiter on the Capitol nor go out to the Alban Mount for the Feriae Latinae, held there for the second time by reason of something not rightly done. Instead, they spent the rest of the year as if they were in bondage and possessed no authority to choose officials or carry on any other public business.

Later Crassus and Pompey were appointed consuls after an interregnum, as no one else of the earlier candidates opposed them. To be sure, Lucius Domitius,
ημέρας ἐσπουδάρχησεν, ὀρμήσαντος μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οἰκοθεν ὑπὸ νύκτα, ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ παῖς ὁ τοῦ λύχνου οἱ προφέρων ἐσφάγη, δεσάντος καὶ 2 μηκέτει περαιτέρω προχωρήσαντος. οὖτ' οὖν ἀντιστάντος τινὸς τὴν ἄρχην, καὶ προσέτε τοῦ Πουπλίου Κράσσου, θ' ὑής τέ τοῦ Μάρκου ἦν καὶ τότε τῷ Κάσαρι ὑπεστρατήγηε, στρατιώτας ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγαγόντος, οὐ χαλεπώς ἤρέθησαν.

32 Ἀραλαβόντες δ' οὖτω τὴν ἤγεμονίαν τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρχὰς τοῖς ἐπιτηδείως 2 σφίσιν ἔχουσι δοθήματα ἐποίησαν, τῶν Κάτων τῶν Μάρκου κωλύσαντες στρατηγὸν ἀποδειχθῆναι ὑπόπτευον τι ἀντι τοῦ οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τὰ γεγονόμενα, καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἵσχυν αὐτῷ ἐννομὸν πρὸς τὰς ἄντι-

2 λογίας προσθείναι. καὶ ἡ μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν κατάστασις (ὁ γὰρ Κάτων οὐδὲν βλαύον πράξαι ἠξίωσεν) εἰρημαία ἐγένετο, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀγορανομοὺς τῶν κουρουλίων σφαγὰ συνεβῆσαν, ὡστε καὶ τῶν Πομπήιον πολλὸν αἴματος ἀναπηρηθῆναι.

3 οὗ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν, τοὺς τοὶ ἄλλους τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου αἰρομένους, πρὸς τρόπου 3 σφίσιν (αὐτὸ γὰρ τὰς ἀρχαιεσῖας ἐποίουν) ἀπέδειξαν, τοὺς τὰς ἀγορανομοὺς τοὺς ἐτέρους καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τῶν πλείους προσηταιρίσαντον. δύο δὲ δήμαρχοι, 4 Γάιος τε Ἀτέιος 5 Καπίτων καὶ Πούπλεος Ακυλίος. 6 Γάλλος, οὐχ ὁμολόγησαν αὐτοῖς.

33 Ὡσ' οὖν αἱ ἀρχαι κατεστησαν, εἶχοντο ὁν

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1 δ' added by Rk. 2 ἐπιτηδείως R. Steph., ἐπιτηδείως L.
2 πρὸς τρόπου Wesseling, προστρόπου L.
3 δήμαρχοι Xyl., δημοσίαι L.
4 Ἀτέιος Ba., following Leunel, (Ἀτέιος), Ἀτίος L. (and so regularly).
5 'Ακυλίος Reim., ἀκυλίος L.
who canvassed for the office up to the very last day of the year, set out from his house for the assembly just after dark, but when the slave who carried the torch in front of him was slain, he became frightened and went no farther. Hence, since no one at all opposed them, and furthermore since Publius Crassus, who was a son of Marcus and at that time lieutenant under Caesar, brought soldiers to Rome for this very purpose, they were easily chosen.

When they had thus assumed the leadership of the state, they had the other offices given to such as were well disposed toward them and prevented Marcus Cato from being appointed prætor; for they suspected that he would not submit to their régime and were unwilling to add any legal power to his protests. The election of the prætors, now, was made in peace, for Cato did not see fit to offer any violence; in the matter of the curule aediles, however, there was some bloodshed, so that even Pompey was much bespattered with blood. Nevertheless, in the case of both these and the other officials elected by the people, they made appointments to please themselves, since they personally held the elections, and they made friends with the other aediles and most of the tribunes; but two tribunes, Gaius Ateius Capito and Publius Aquilius Gallus, did not come to terms with them. Accordingly, when the magistrates had been appointed, they proceeded to lay hold on the objects
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝ ἙΣΤΙΑΤΟΡΙΑ

καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδὲνα οὔτε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ οὔτε ἐν τῷ δήμῳ λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐποιήσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἐπιλάττοντο μηδενὸς σφῶν πρὸς·

2 δεύσθαι· Γάιος δὲ δὴ Τρεβώνιος δημαρχὼν ἔγραψε τῷ μὲν τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὰ πλησίον ὥρα αὐτῆς, τῷ δὲ τὰς Ἰβηρίας· (καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ ἐναγχος ἐκείνηντο 2) ἄρχειν ἐπὶ πέντε ἐτη δοθήναι, στρατιώταις ἀπὸ σοῖς ἀν ἐθελήσωσι καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων χρωμένοις, καὶ πόλεμον καὶ εἰρήνην πρὸς ὸς ἂν βουληθῶσι ποιουμένοις.

3 χαλεπῶς οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος φίλων, ἐχόντων, ὅτι ἤμελλαιν ἐκεῖνοῖς, τυχόντες ὧν διωκόντο, τὸν Καίσαρα μὴ κέττε ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν ἄρχην ἔχοντα καθεδρίζειν, καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον ὕψωτοι ἁντειπεῖν τινῶν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, φοβηθέντες οἱ ὑπατοὶ μὴ διαμάρτωσιν ὑν ἐπράττον, προσποιήσαντο αὐτοῖς ὡστε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ἐκεῖνο τρία ἐτη πλεῖον, ὅσα γε τάληθες εὐρίσκεται, μηκύναι· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὸν ἄδικον τι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρὸτερον ἐσήνεγκαν πρὶν τὰ σφέτερα βεβαιώσασθαι· οἳ τὲ γὰρ τὸν Καίσαρος ἐπιτίθεντο προκαταληφθέντες οὕτως ἧσυχασαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ μὲν πολὺ δουλωθέν ὕπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἡσυχίαν ἡγαγον, ἀγαπώντες εἰ καί ὁς περισσωθεὶν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Φαουώνιος ἴνα τίνι καὶ τοῖς πρασσομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν, συνεργοῦσις ἄλλοις τέ τινας καὶ τούς δύο δημάρχους ἑχοντες, ἀν ὅτι τὸ πόλον ἐπέστρεψαν πρὸς τοῦ 34 ἀγωνιζόμενοι μάτην ἐπαρρησιάζουσιν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Φαουώνιος μίαν ωραν μόνην παρὰ τοῦ Τρεβώνιου

1 Ἰβηρίας R. Steph., Ἰβηρίας L.
2 ἐκείνηντο Bk., ἐκείνηντο L.
of their striving. They made no mention of these matters themselves before either the senate or the people, but gravely pretended that they wanted nothing further. Gaius Trebonius, however, a tribune, presented a measure, that to the one Syria and the neighbouring lands should be given as a province for five years, and to the other the two Spains, where there had recently been disturbances, for the same period; they should employ as many soldiers as they wished, both citizens and allies, and should make peace and war with whomsoever they pleased. Many took offence at this, especially the friends of Caesar, because these men were bound after gaining their present ends to restrict Caesar's power and keep him from holding his position much longer, and therefore some prepared to speak against the measure. Then the consuls, fearing that they might fail utterly of the projects they had in hand, won over their opponents on the condition of extending Caesar's command also for three years more—to state the actual fact. However, they submitted nothing to the people in regard to him until their own arrangements had been confirmed. For Caesar's friends, having been gained over in the manner stated, remained quiet, and the majority of the others, in bondage to fear and satisfied if even so they might save their lives, kept still. On the other hand, Cato and Favonius resisted all their schemes, having the two tribunes and others to help them; but since they were fighting a few against many, their outspokenness was of no avail. Favonius, who obtained from Trebonius only one hour for his

1 The same period is adopted by Dio in Book xlv. 43, 2. Suetonius, Plutarch, and Appian say five years.
πρὸς τὴν ἀντιλογίαν λαβὼν, κατέτρυψεν αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ καροῦ στενοχωρίας εἰκή βοῶν· ὥδε δὴ Κάτων ἐτυχε μὲν ἐν δύο ὄραις
3 ὁμιμηροῦσα, τριστάμενος δὲ πρὸς κατηγορίαν τῶν τε ἐν χερσὶ καὶ τῆς ὀλης καταστάσεως, ὕστερ εἰώθει, κατανάλωσε τὸν καροῦ πρὶν καὶ ὅτι οὖν τῶν προκείμενῶν εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐνεδεχότοι τι καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων λεχθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὧδε τι ὁμιμηροῦσα δοκῶν ἔχειν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Ἰρεβωνίου σιγάσθη καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τούτῳ αὐτῷ ἐγκαλῆ, ἐπεὶ εὖ γε ἡπίστατο ὅτι οὐδὲ εἶ πάση τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκέχρητο, πείσας τι ὥν ἐβούλετο ψηφίσασθαι σφας ἐδυνατο.
4 οὐκοῦν οὔτε παραχρῆμα σωπῆσαι κελευσθεὶς ἐπαύσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξωσθεὶς καὶ ἐλκυσθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ συκλόγου ἐπανήλθε, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ἐς τὸ οἰκίαν εσαχθῆναι προσταχθεὶς οὐκ ἐμετρίασεν.
35 Καὶ ἐκεῖνῃ μὲν ἡ ἡμέρα οὕτω κατετρίβη ὡστε μηδὲ εἰπεῖν ἁρχὴν μηδὲν τοὺς δημάρχους δυνηθῆναι· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ταῖς συνόδοις ταῖς ἰδίωταις τοῦ δῆμου, ἐν αἷς γε καὶ ἐβούλευόντο, πάσας τοῖς ἰδιοταῖς πρὸ τῶν τὰς ἁρχὰς ἔχωντων ὁ λόγος ἔδιδοτο, τοῦ μηδένα αὐτῶν, ὥς ἔοικε, τῇ τοῦ κρείττονος γνώμη προκαταλαμβανόμενον ὑποστέλλεσθαι τι ὧν φρονοῖ, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ πάσης σαρκίσσαι τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτῷ λέγειν. φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Γάλλος μὴ τις αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς ὑστεραία ἐξείρχετο ἡ καὶ δεινότερον τι ἐργάσηται, ἐς τὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ἐσήλθε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνυκτέρευσε, τῆς τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἑνεκα τῆς παρὰ τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ ὅπως ἐκεῖθεν ἀμα

1 προκείμενων εἰπεῖν Rk., δομομένων L.
2 οὔτε Bk., οὔτε L.
3 σωπῆσαι Reim., σωπῆσαι L.
4 ταῖς Xyl., καὶ ταῖς L.
speech in opposition, used it up in uttering vain protests against this very limitation of his time. Cato, for his part, received the privilege of speaking for two hours, but devoted his efforts to criticizing present conditions and the general state of affairs, as was his wont, and so exhausted his time before he had touched upon any of the matters before them. He took this course, not because he had not the privilege of speaking on those matters as well, but in order that he might be silenced by Trebonius while still appearing to have something more to say and might thus obtain this additional grievance to bring against him. For he well understood that even if he employed the whole day, he could not persuade them to vote anything that he wished. Hence, when bidden to be silent, he did not stop immediately, but had to be pushed and dragged from the assembly, whereupon he came back, and though finally ordered to be taken to prison, he did not moderate his behaviour.

That day was used up in such wise that the tribunes could not speak at all. For in all the meetings of the people in which they deliberated, the right to speak was given to the private citizens ahead of the magistrates, to the end apparently that none of them, captivated beforehand by the opinion of a superior, should conceal any of his own ideas, but should speak out his mind with entire frankness. Hence Gallus, fearing that some one might on the next day keep him from the Forum or do something worse still, went into the senate-house in the evening and passed the night there, both for the sake of the safety afforded by the place, and for the purpose of leaving there at dawn to join
4 εὖ πρὸς τὸ πλήθος ἔξελθη, καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ Τρεβώνιος μάθην ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν νύκτα καὶ τῆς ἑμέρας τὸ πλεῖον ἐνδιατρίψατε ἐποίησε, πάσας τὰς θύρας τοῦ Βουλευτηρίου κλείσας. τὸν δὲ Ἀτείων τὸν τε Κάτωνα καὶ τὸν Φαουώνιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν ὄντας ἐτέρω, προκαταλαβόντες τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ τοῦ συλλόγου χωρίον, ἐξειργαί. 5 καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν Φαουώνιος καὶ ὁ Νίννιος διαλαβόντες πῶς ἐνδοὺ ἐγένετο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Ἀτείως ἐπαναβάντες τισὶ τῶν περιστηκότων καὶ μετεωρισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν διασημάνειν, ὡς καὶ διαλύουσινες σφας, ἐπεφήμιζον, τούτους μὲν ἐκατέρως οἱ ὑπηρέται τῶν δημάρχων ἔξηλασαν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ὄντας κατετραμμάτισαν, καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν.

36 Κυρωθέντος δὲ οὕτω τοῦ νόμου, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἀπαλλαττομένου ἠδὴ ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου, παραλαβὼν ὁ Ἀτείως τὸν Γάλλον αἶματος ἀνάπλεων (ἐκβιαζόμενος γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐπιλήγη) παρῆληφε τε ἐς τοὺς ἔτι παρόντας, καὶ ἐπιδείξας αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐπειπών ὅσα εἰκός ἦν,

2 δεινός σφας ἔξετάραξεν. αἰσθομένοι οὖν τούθι οἱ ὑπάτοι ἥλθον τε διὰ ταχέως (ἐγγύθεν γὰρ ποθεν τοῖς πραττομένοις ἐφιδρευον) καὶ καταφοβησάντες αὐτοὺς, ἀτε καὶ χεὶρὰ ὡς ὀλίγην ἔχοντες, εὐθὺς τε ἐκκλησίαν συνήγαγον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπεφήμισαν, ἀντεπιεῖν μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα τῶν αὐτῶν πειραθέντων, οὐ μέντοι καὶ δυνηθέντων τε πρᾶξαι.

37 Ταῦτα τε οὖν κυρωθῆναι ἐποίησαν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πικρότερα ἐπιτίμησα τοῖς δεκάζουσι τινας ἐπεφήμιζον Rκ., ἐφηξέοντο L.
the populace outside. But Trebonius, by locking all the doors of the senate-house, caused him to spend not only the night there but most of the day as well, all in vain. Others occupied the meeting-place of the assembly by night and barred out Ateius, Cato, Favonius, and the others with them. When Favonius and Ninnius got in somehow unobserved, and Cato and Ateius climbed upon the shoulders of some of those standing around, and being lifted up by them, declared an omen with the purpose of breaking up the meeting, the attendants of the tribunes drove them both out, wounded the rest who were with them, and actually killed a few.

After the law had been passed in this way and the crowd was already departing from the assembly, Ateius took Gallus, who had been struck in being forced out of the gathering, and led him, all covered with blood, into the presence of those still on the spot, showed him to them, and by making such remarks as might be expected, stirred them mightily. The consuls quickly arrived upon becoming aware of this; for they had been watching developments from somewhere near at hand. And as they had a considerable bodyguard they intimidated the men, immediately called a meeting, and put to vote the additional measures relating to Caesar. The same persons tried to speak in opposition to these, too, but were unable to accomplish anything.

The consuls, accordingly, had these measures passed, and next they laid heavier penalties upon
ডোস রোমান ইস্টোরি

έπέταξαν, ώσπερ τι αυτού ἐλαττον, ὅτι οὐ χρήμα-

σιν ἀλλὰ βίᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰλήφεσαν, ἀμαρτόντες.

2 ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα τὰ κατὰ
tὴν 1 δίαιταν ἐπὶ μακρότατον προηγμένα 2 συ-

στείλαι, καὶ ποὺ έσ πάν αὐτοῖ καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ
ἀβρότητος προκεχωρηκότες, ἐκωλύθησαν δὲ ύπὸ

3 αὐτού τούτου διανομοθετῆσαι. ὁ γὰρ Ὀρτήσιος

φιλαναλωτὴς 3 ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὃν ἐπέισεν αὐτοῖς,

tὸ τε μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐπεξιῶν, καὶ αὐτοὺς 4
ἐπὶ τὴν ὥσπερ πολυτελεία καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἔς τοὺς

ἀλλοὺς μεγαλοφροσύνη ἑπαινώδεις, καταβαλέιν 5

τὴν γνώμην, ἀτε καὶ συναγωγεῖτο 6 τῶν λόγων τῶ

4 βίω σφῶν χρώμενοι. τὴν τε γὰρ ἐναυτόσωισ

αἴδεσθέντες, καὶ προσέτε καὶ κατοκήσαντες

θόνω τινὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὃν αὐτοῖ ἐποίειον, 7 δοκεῖν

ἀπειρόχει τεκὼν ἀφήκαν τὴν ἐσήγησιν.

38 Καὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις ο Πομπήιος τὸ

θέατρον, ὁ καὶ νῦν λαμπρονόμεθα, καθιέρωσε, καὶ

ἐν τε ἐκεῖνο θέαν καὶ μουσικῆς καὶ ἀγώνος

γυμνικοῦ κᾰν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ καὶ ἱππῶν ἀμίλλαν

καὶ θηρίων πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν σφαγάς

2 ἐποίησαν. λέοντες τε γὰρ πεντακόσιοι εν πέντε

ἡμέραις ἀναλώθησαν, καὶ ἐλέφαντες ὀκτωκαίδεκα

πρὸς ὀπλῖτας ἐμαχέσαντο. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν

παραχρῆμα ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ύπερον.

ἡλεήθησαν γὰρ τινὲς ύπὸ τοῦ δήμου παρὰ τὴν

τοῦ Πομπήιον γνώμην, ἐπειδὴ τραυματισθέντες

1 ἀναλώματα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Rk. (κατὰ supplied by Leuncl.),

ἀναλώτατα τὴν L. 2 προηγμένα Leuncl., προηγμένα L.

3 φιλαναλωτῆς Pflugk, φιλαναλωτὸς L.

4 αὐτοῖς added by Leuncl. 5 καταβαλεῖν Xyl., καταβαλεῖν L.

6 συναγωγεῖτο R. Steph., συναγωγεῖτον L.

7 ἐποίου Bk., ἐποιοῦντο L.

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BOOK XXXIX

those offering bribes, as if their own offence were any less because they had secured their office by force instead of by money. They even undertook to curtail personal expenditures, which had increased to an enormous extent, although they themselves went to every length of luxury and indulgence; but they were prevented by this very circumstance from enacting the law. For Hortensius, one of the men fondest of expensive living, by reviewing the great size of the city and praising the costliness of their homes as well as their generosity toward others, thus making use of their own mode of life to support his arguments, persuaded them to give up their intention. They were brought to shame by his opposition and also shrank from appearing to debar others through jealousy from privileges that they themselves enjoyed; and so they voluntarily withdrew their motion.

During these same days Pompey dedicated the theatre in which we take pride even at the present time. In it he provided an entertainment consisting of music and gymnastic contests, and in the Circus a horse-race and the slaughter of many wild beasts of all kinds. Indeed, five hundred lions were used up in five days, and eighteen elephants fought against men in heavy armour. Some of these beasts were killed at the time and others a little later. For some of them, contrary to Pompey’s wish, were pitied by the people when, after being
3 τής μάχης ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ περιώντες τὰς τε προβοσκίδας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέτεινον καὶ ὀλοφύρωντο οὕτως ὡστε καὶ λόγον παρασχεῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλος ἐκ συντυχίας αὐτὸ ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε ὅρκους σίς πιστεύσαντες ἐκ τῆς Διβύνης ἐπε-περαίωντο ἐπιβοῶμενοι καὶ τὸ δαίμόνιον πρὸς
4 τιμωρίαν σφῶν ἐπικαλοῦμενοι. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι οὗ πρότερον τῶν νεῶν ἐπέβησαν πρὶν πίστειν παρὰ τῶν ἁγόνων σφᾶς ἐνορκοῦν λαβεῖν, ἡ μὴ μηδέν κακὸν πείσεσθαι. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν εἰς ὅντος ὁυτῶς
5 οὕτως εἶτε καὶ ἄλλος πῶς ἔχει, οὐκ οἶδα: ἦδη γὰρ τινὶς καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἔπισιν, ὅτι πρὸς τῷ τῆς φωνῆς τῆς πατριώτιδος αὐτοῦ ἐπαίειν1 καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ γυνομένων συμμᾶς, ὡστε καὶ ἐν ταῖς νομιμιαῖς, πρὶν ἐς ὅψιν τοῖς ἀνθρώπως τῇν σελήνην ἐλθεῖν, πρὸς τε ὑδρο ἀείνων2 ἀφικνεῖσθαι
6 κάνταῤθα καθαρμόν τινὰ σφῶν ποιεῖσθαι. ἥκουσα μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ἥκουσα δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τὸ θέα-τρον τούτο ὅυχ οἱ Πομπήιος ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δημήτριος τις ἀπελευθερος αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων ὅν συστρατευόμενοι οἱ ἐπεσάκτο. οθεν-περ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ ἐργον δικαιότατα αὐτῷ ἀνέθηκεν, ἵνα μὴ μάτην3 κακῶς ἀκούῃ ὅτι ἐξελευθερος αὐτοῦ ἡγυροδολόγησεν ὡστε καὶ ἐς τηλικοῦτον ἀνάλωμα ἐξικέσθαι.

39 Οὐ μὴν ἄλλο ἐν μὲν τούτοις οὐ σμικρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐγαρίσατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ καταλόγους μετὰ τοῦ Κράσσου πρὸς τὰ ἐναιθύσιμα σφῖς ποιούμενος πλεῖστον αὐτοῦς ἐλπίση. καὶ τὸτε δὴ οἱ πολλοὶ μετεμελοῦντο καὶ τὸν τε Κάτωνα καὶ

1 ἐπαίειν R. Steph. (ὁ Xiph.), ἐπαίσειν L.
2 ἀείνων Bk., ἀείνων L.
3 μὴ μάτην Polak, μὴ τὴν L.
wounded and ceasing to fight, they walked about
with their trunks raised toward heaven, lamenting
so bitterly as to give rise to the report that they did
so not by mere chance, but were crying out against
the oaths in which they had trusted when they
crossed over from Africa, and were calling upon
Heaven to avenge them. For it is said that they would
not set foot upon the ships before they received
a pledge under oath from their drivers that they
should suffer no harm. Whether this is really so or
not I do not know; for some in time past have
further declared that in addition to understanding
the language of their native country they also com-
prehend what is going on in the sky, so that at
the time of the new moon, before that luminary
comes within the gaze of men, they reach running
water and there perform a kind of purification of
themselves. These things I have heard; I have
heard also that this theatre was not erected by
Pompey, but by one Demetrius, a freedman of his,
with the money he had gained while making cam-
paigns with the general. Most justly, therefore, did
he give his master’s name to the structure, so that
Pompey might not incur needless reproach because
of the fact that his freedman had collected money
even to suffice for so huge an expenditure.

At all events Pompey in these matters afforded
the populace no little delight; but in making with
Crassus the levies for the campaigns assigned to
them he displeased them exceedingly. Then, in-
deed, the majority repented of their course and
praised Cato and the rest. Both on this account,
τουσ ἄλλους ἐπήνυν, ὡστε καὶ ἐκείνους διά τε
2 τούτο, καὶ ὅτι δίκη τις λόγῳ μὲν τοῖς ὑποστρατη-
γοῖς σφῶν, ἐργῷ δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα
παρὰ δημάρχων τινῶν ἐπήχθη, βλαίων μὲν μηδὲν
τολμῆσαι, την δὲ ἐσθήτα ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορὰ μετὰ
τῶν ἐκ τῆς Βουλῆς στασιωτῶν ἀλλάξασθαι.
3 καὶ τάυτην μὲν εὐθὺς μεταφράσεις καὶ μηδὲ προ-
φάσεως τίνος ἐπιλαβόμενοι μετεσκευάσατο· τῶν
dημάρχων τοὺς τε καταλόγους διαλύσαι καὶ
tὰς στρατείας αὐτῶν ἀναληφθῆσαι ἐπιχειροῦντων
4 ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος οὐκ ἤγανάκτει (τοὺς τε ἱπὶ ὑπάρ-
χους παραχρῆμα ἐξεπεπόμφει, καὶ αὐτὸς κατα
χώραν, ὡς καὶ κολυνόμενοι ἐξελθεῖν, ἄλλως διὰ
τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ σίτου παρεῖναι ὁφελῶν, ἱδέως
ἐμενεν, ἵνα τὰς τ' Ἰβηρίας ἡμὰς δ' ἐκείνων κατά-
σχε καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῇ τε Ἀλλή Ἰταλίᾳ δι'
therefore, and because of a suit instituted by some of the tribunes, nominally against the lieutenants of the consuls, but really against these themselves and their acts, the consuls, although they did not dare to use any violence, did, however, along with their partisans in the senate, change their clothing as if for a calamity. They immediately repented, and without offering any excuse went back to their accustomed dress; but the tribunes endeavoured to annul the levies and rescind the vote for the proposed campaigns. At this, Pompey, for his part, showed no anger, as he had sent out his lieutenants promptly and was glad to remain himself where he was on the plea that he was prevented from leaving the city, and ought in any case to be in Rome on account of his superintendence of the corn-supply; his plan was to let his officers subdue the Spains while he took in his own hands the affairs at Rome and in the rest of Italy. Crassus, however, since neither of these considerations applied to his case, looked to the force of arms. The tribunes, then, seeing that their boldness, unsupported by arms, was too weak to hinder any of his undertakings, held their peace for the most part, but they uttered many dire imprecations against him, as if, indeed, they were not cursing the state through him. At one time as he was offering on the Capitol the customary prayers for his campaign, they spread a report of omens and portents, and again when he was setting out they called down many terrible curses upon him. Ateius even attempted to cast him into prison, but other tribunes resisted, and there was a conflict among them and a
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μάχη τε αυτών καὶ διατριβή ἐγένετο, καὶ τούτῳ ο’ Κράσσος ἔξω τοῦ πομηρίου ἔξηλθε.

Καὶ ὦ μὲν, εἰτε ἑκ συντυχίας εἰτε καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρὸν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐσ μακρὰν ἐσφάλη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Μαρκελλίνου τῇ τε Φιλίππου ὑπατείᾳ ἐπὶ Οὐενέτους ἐστράτευσεν. οἰκοῦσι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὠκεανῶ, καὶ στρατιώτας τεινὰς 'Ῥωμαίοις πεμφθέντας ἐπὶ σίτου συνέλαβον, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ὕπερ ἐκείνων ἐλθόντας κατέσχον, ὅπως ἄντ’ αὐτῶν τοὺς ὀμήρους σφόν ἀπο-

2 λάβωσιν. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ τούτων μὲν οὐκ ἀπέδωκε, διαπέμψας δὲ ἄλλους ἄλλης, τοὺς μὲν τὰ τῶν συναφεστηκότων αὐτῶς πορθεῖν, ἵνα μὴ συμβο-

ηθήσωσιν ἄλληλοις, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων,

3 μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τι παρακινήσωσι, φρουρέων, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐενέτους ἠλασε, καὶ πλοῖα ἐν τῇ με-

σογείᾳ, ἣ ἦκουν ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ παλάρροιαν εἶναι, κατασκευάσας διὰ τε τοῦ Δί-

γρου̣ 2 ποταμοῦ κατεκόμμε, καὶ πάσαν ὀλίγον τὴν

4 ωραίαν μάτην ἀνάλωσεν. αὐτὸ τε γὰρ πόλεις ἐπὶ ἐρυμνῶν χωρίων ἰδρυμέναι ἀπρόσιτοι ἦσαν, καὶ ὁ ὠκεανὸς πάσας ὡς εἴπειν αὐτὰς περικλύζων ἀπο-

ρον μὲν τῷ πεζῷ ἀπορον δὲ καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ τὴν προσβολήν, καὶ πλημμύρων καὶ ἀναρρέων, ἐν τε

5 τῇ ἀμπότιδε καὶ ἐν τῇ ράχιᾳ ἐποίει, ὡστε ἐν παντὶ τοῦ Καίσαρα γενέσθαι, μέχρις οὐ Δέκιμος 4

Βρούτος ταχείας οἱ ναυσὶν ἐκ τῆς ἐνδοθες βαλάσ-

σης ἠλθεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείνης τι πράξων ὑψόμην εἶχεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ βάρβαροι κατα-

1 συνέλαβον Βκ., ελαβον Λ.
2 Δίγρον Leunel., ἄγρον Λ.
3 καὶ πλημμύρων καὶ ἀναρρέων is probably a gloss on the following words. 4 Δέκιμος R. Steph., δεκίμοις Λ.
delay, in the midst of which Crassus went outside the pomerium. Now he, whether by chance or as a result of these very curses, before long met with defeat.

Caesar in the consulship of Marcellinus and Philippus made an expedition against the Veneti, who live near the ocean. They had seized some Roman soldiers sent out for grain and afterward detained the envoys who came in their behalf, in order that in exchange for these they might get back their own hostages. Caesar, instead of giving these back, sent out different bodies of troops in various directions, some to waste the possessions of those who had joined the revolt and thus to prevent the two bands from aiding each other, and others to guard the possessions of those who were under treaty, for fear they too might cause some disturbance; he himself proceeded against the Veneti. He constructed in the interior the kind of boats which he heard were of advantage for the tides of the ocean, and conveyed them down the river Liger, but in so doing used up almost the entire summer to no purpose. For their cities, established in strong positions, were inaccessible, and the ocean surging around practically all of them rendered an infantry attack out of the question, and a naval attack equally so in the midst of the ebb and flow of the tide. Consequently Caesar was in despair until Decimus Brutus came to him with swift ships from the Mediterranean. And he was inclined to believe he would be unable to accomplish anything with those either, but the
φρονήσαντες τής τε σμικρότητος καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας τῶν σκαφῶν ἠττήθησαν. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ κουφότερον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταχυνατεῖν ἐσ τοῦ τῆς παρ’ ἡμῖν ναυτιλίας τρόπον ἐσκεύαστο, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἄτε ἐν τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς τοῦ ὕκεινον παλαιοῖς ἑπὶ τε τοῦ ἔχρου πολλάκις ἱστα- 
σθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνω τε καὶ κάτω αὐτοῦ διαρ- 
ροῆν ἀντικαρτερεῖν ὀφείλοντα, πλείστον σφών καὶ 
2 τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ παχύτητι προείχεν. 6 δι’ οὖν 
tαὐθ’ οἱ βαρβαροὶ, οἷα μήπω πρότερον τοιούτω 
ναυτικοῦ πεπεραμένοι, πρὸς τε τὴν ὑψι τῶν νεῶν 
καὶ τὸ ἐργὸν αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδεὶς λόγῳ ἐποίησαν, 
καὶ εὖθὺς ναυλοχοῦσαι 5 σφών ἐπανήχθησαν ὡς 
καὶ δι’ ἐλαχίστου τοῖς κοινῷς αὐτὰς καταποτώ- 
sontes. ἐφέροντο δὲ ἀνέμου καὶ πολλῷ καὶ σφόδρῳ 
καὶ γὰρ ἱστία δερμάτων εἴχουν, ὡσεὶ πᾶσαν τὴν 
42 τοῦ πνεύματος ἵσχυν ἀπλήστως ἐσεῖχεναι. ὧ 
οὖν Βροῦτος, τέως μὲν ἑκεῖνον 4 ἐπέσπερχεν, οὐδὲ 
ἀνταναχθήναι αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ διὰ τὸ 
μέγεθος τῶν νεῶν τὴν τε ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος φοράν 
καὶ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν σφῶν ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλὰ παρε- 
σκεύαζετο ὡς καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ τὰς προσβολὰς 
aυτῶν ἀμυνοῦμενοι καὶ τὰ σκάφη παντελῶς ἐκ- 
2 λείψων. ἐπεὶ δ’ ὃ το ἀνεμος ἐξαπειναίως ἐπεσε καὶ 
tὸ κύμα ἐστορέσθη, τὰ τε πλοῖα οὐκέθ’ ὁμοίως 
ὑπὸ τῶν κοπῶν ἐκινεῖτο, ἀλλ’ ἅτε 5 καὶ καταβαρῆ 
ὅντα κατὰ χώραν τρόπον τινὰ ἐιστῆκει, τότε δὴ 
θαρσῆς ἀντανήχθη, καὶ προσπεσῶν αὐτοῖς 
pολλά σφαι καὶ δεινὰ ἀδεῶς καὶ περιπλέων καὶ

1 ἐπέρ Rk., ὑπὸ L.  2 προείχεν Bk., προείχον L.,
3 ναυλοχοῦσαι Rk., ναυλοχοῦσαι L.
4 ἑκεῖνο Leuncl., ἑκεῖνος L.
5 ἅτε R. Steph., ἅλατε L.
barbarians through their contempt for the small size and frailty of the boats incurred defeat. For these boats had been built rather light in the interest of speed, after the manner of our naval construction, whereas those of the barbarians surpassed them very greatly both in size and stoutness, since amid the ever-shifting tides of the ocean they often needed to rest on dry ground and to hold out against the succession of ebb and flow. Accordingly, the barbarians, who had never had any experience of such a fleet, despised the ships as useless in view of their appearance; and as soon as they were lying in the harbour they set sail against them, thinking to sink them speedily by means of their boat-hooks. They were swept on by a great and violent wind, for their sails were of leather and so carried easily the full force of the wind. Now Brutus, as long as the wind raged, dared not sail out against them because of the number and size of their ships, the force with which they were driven by the wind, and their own attack, but he prepared to repel their attack near the land and to abandon the boats altogether. When, however, the wind suddenly fell, the waves were stilled, and the boats could no longer be propelled as they had been with the oars but because of their great bulk stopped motionless, as it were, then he took courage and sailed out to meet them. And falling upon them, he caused them many serious injuries with impunity, delivering both broadside and rear
3 διεκπελέων, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐμβάλλων τινὶ τοτὲ δὲ ἀνακρουόμενος, ὅπη τε καὶ ἐφ’ ὅσον ἦθελεν, εἰργάσατο, πολλαῖς τε πρὸς μίαν καὶ ἐτέρωθε ἱσαίς πρὸς ἱσαὶς, ἐστὶ δὲ ἧ καὶ ἐλάσσοσι πρὸς πλείονας
4 ἀσφαλῶς προσφερόμενος. ὅπου μὲν γὰρ κρείττων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ... προσηρτάτο σφισι, καὶ τὰς μὲν κατέδευν ἀναρρηγῶς, ἐς δὲ τὰς πολλαχόθεν μετεκβαίνον ἐς τε χειρὰς τοῖς ἐπιβάταις ἢ με καὶ πολλοὺς ἐφόρεν εἰ δε καὶ καθ’ ὁτιοῦ ἐλαττοῦτο, ῥάστα ἀνεχόμεν, ὡστε ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τὴν πλεονεξίαν
43 ἂεὶ εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ὁμὴ τοξεία χρώμενοι, μῆτε λίθους, ὅς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δεσμόμενοι, προ- παρασκευάσαντες, εἰ μὲν τὰς σφισιν ὀμόσε ἐγώ- ρρήσε, πρόπον τινὰ ἀπεμάχοντο, τοὺς δ’ ὁλίγον σφῶν ἀφεστηκότας οὐκ εἰχον ὁ τι ποιήσωσιν.
2 αὐτοὶ τε οὐν ἐτιτρώσκοντο καὶ ἀπέθυσκαν καὶ οἱ μὴ δὲ ἀμύνασθαί τινα δυνάμενοι, καὶ τὰ σκάφη τὰ μὲν ἀνερρήγυτο ἐμβαλλόμενα τὰ δὲ κατεπιμπρατοῦ ὑφαπτόμενα: ἀλλὰ ἀναδούμενα ὅσπερ
3 κενὰ ἀνδρῶν εἶλκετο. ὀρώντες δὲ ταύθ’ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπιβάται οἱ μὲν ἀπεκτινυσάν σφᾶς, μὴ καὶ ξύντες ἀλώσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν βάλασαν ἐξέφηδον, ὡς καὶ δὲ ἐκείνης ἦτοι τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν ἐπιβησόμενοι ἡ πάντως γε οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἀπολούμενοι.
4 προθυμία μὲν γὰρ καὶ τόλμη οὐδὲν αὐτῶν διέφερον, τῷ δὲ δὴ σταδίῳ τῶν σκαφῶν προδιόμενοι δεινῶς

1 διεκπελέων v. Hegw., διαπλέων L.
2 πρὸς ἱσα supplied by Rk.
3 ἐν τῇ ... προσηρτάτο ῥκ., ἐν τῇ προσηρτάτο L.
4 λίθου R. Steph., λίθοι L.
5 ἀνερρήγυτο, κατεπιμπρατο, εἶλκετο St., ἀνερρήγυτο, κατεπιμπρατο, εἶλκετο L.
6 ἀναδούμενα ῥκ., ἀναδούμενα L. 7 οὐχ added by Bk.
attacks, now ramming one of them, now backing water, in whatever way and as often as he liked, sometimes with many vessels against one and again with equal numbers opposed, occasionally even approaching safely with a few against many. At whatever point he was superior to them in . . . he stuck to them closely; he sank some by ripping them open, and boarding others from all sides, he engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with the crews and slew many. If he found himself inferior anywhere, he very easily retired, so that the advantage rested with him in any case. For the barbarians did not use archery and had not provided themselves beforehand with stones, not expecting to have any need of them; hence, if any one came into close quarters with them, they fought him off after a fashion, but with those who stood at a little distance from them they knew not how to cope. So the men were being wounded and killed, even those who were unable to repel any one, while the boats were in some cases rammed and ripped open, in other cases were set on fire and burned; still others were towed away, as if empty of men. When the remaining crews saw this, some killed themselves to avoid being captured alive and others leaped into the sea with the idea that they would thus either board the hostile ships or in any event not perish at the hands of the Romans. For in zeal and daring they were not at all behind their opponents, but they were terribly angry at finding themselves betrayed by the sluggishness of
δίοσχαλλον. ὅπως γὰρ δὴ μηδέ αὐτὶς ποτὲ πρεθμα τι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπηγενομένας κινήσεις αὐτὰς, δο-
ρυδρὲπανα πόρρωσθεν σφίσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπέφερον,
καὶ τὰ τε σχοινία αὐτὸν διέτεμνου καὶ τὰ ἰστία
5 διέσχιζον. πεζομαχεῖν δὲ τρόπον τινὰ ἐν πλοίοις
πρὸς ναυμαχοῦντας ἀναγκαζόμενοι πάμπολλοι μὲν
αὐτὸν ταύτη ἐφθάρησαν, πάντες δὲ οἱ περιλυπεῖς
εἴλωσαν καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς λόγωματάναυς ὁ Καίσαρ
ἀποσφάξας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπόλησε.

44 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τε Μωρίνους καὶ ἐπὶ Με-
ναπίους ὀμόρους σφίσιν ὄντας ἐστράτευσε, προσ-
καταπλήσειν τε αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν προκατεργασμένων
καὶ ράδιος αἰρήσεις ἐλπίζας. όν μὲντοι καὶ ἔχει-
2 ρόσατο τινας: ὅπερ γὰρ πόλεις ἔχοντες ἄλλα ἐν
καλύβαις διαίστομενοι, καὶ τὰ τιμίωτα ἡ τὰ
λασιώτατα τῶν ὅρων ἀνασκευαζόμενοι, πολὺ
πλεῖον τοὺς προσμείζαντας σφίσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ἐκάκωσαν ὡς αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ ὁ
Καίσαρ καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ ὅρη τὴν ὕλην τέμνον προ-
χωρῆσαι, ἀπειπῶν δὲ διὰ τὸ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶν καὶ
dia τὸ πρὸς χειμώνα εἶναι ἀπανέστη.

45 Ἡ ἔτη δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Οὐνετία ὄντος Κύντος
Τιτούριος Σαβίνου ύποστράτηγος τε ἐστάλη ἐπὶ
Οὐνέλλους, ὁν ἡγεῖτο Οὐριδούιξ, καὶ τὰ μὲν
πρῶτα καὶ πάνω τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν κατεπλάγη,
2 ὡστ' ἀγαπᾶν ἀν τὸ γε ἐρυμα διασώσηται, ἐπεῖτα
dὲ αἰσθόμενος σφας θρασύτερον μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦτο
διακειμένους, οὐ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἔργο δεινοὺς ὑντας,
oiā που οἱ πολλοί τῶν βαρβάρων εἰν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς

1 Ouenellous Be., oüenelous L.
2 Oueridouix R. Steph., Oueridouix L.
3 ὡστ' ἀγαπᾶν ἀν τὸ γε St., ὡστ' ἀγαπᾶν ei tō Leuncl., ἃς τὰ
πάντοτε L.
their vessels. The Romans, to make sure that the wind when it sprang up again should not move the ships, employed from a distance long poles fitted with knives, by means of which they cut the ropes and split the sails. And since the barbarians were compelled to fight in their boats as if on land, while the foe could use his ships as at sea, great numbers perished then and there, and all the remainder were captured. Of these Caesar slew the most prominent and sold the rest.

Next he made a campaign against the Morini and Menapii, their neighbours, hoping to terrify them by what he had already accomplished and capture them easily. He failed, however, to subdue any of them; for having no cities, and living only in huts, they conveyed their chief treasures to the most densely wooded parts of the mountains, so that they did the attacking parties of the Romans much more harm than they themselves suffered. Caesar attempted by cutting down the forests to make his way into the mountains themselves, but renounced his plan on account of their size and the nearness of winter, and retired.

While he was still among the Veneti, Quintus Titurius Sabinus, his lieutenant, was dispatched against the Venelli [Unelli], whose leader was Viridovix. At first he was greatly terrified at their numbers and would have been satisfied if only he could save the camp, but later he perceived that though this advantage made them bolder, they were not really dangerous, and he accordingly took courage. Most barbarians, in fact, in their threats make all
πάν τὸ φοβερὸν διὰ κενῆς ἐπικομπώσων, ἀνεθάρσησε. καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὔδ᾽ οὗτος ἐτόλμησε σφισὶ συνενεχθῆναι (τῷ γὰρ πλήθει πολὺ
3 κατείργητο), πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ τάφρεμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μετεώρον¹ τοῦ χωρίου οὖντος ὑπηγάγετο αὐτοῦς ἀπερισκέπτως προσβαλέων τῶν γὰρ συμμάχων τινὰ ὀμοφωνοῦντά σφισιν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐσπέραν ὡς αὐτόμολον πέμψαις, ἐπεισεν αὐτοὺς ὅτι ὦ τε Καὶ-
4 σαρ ἐπταῖκός εὖ... καὶ οὗτος² πιστεύσαντες ἀπερισκέπτως ἐκεῖνοι (πάνυ γὰρ τί³ διακορέος καὶ τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τοῦ ποτοῦ ἦσαν) εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, μὴ καὶ φθάσοσι σφας φυγόντες, ὀρμησαν, καὶ ἐδει γὰρ μηδὲ πυρφόρον τὸ λόγον αὐτῶν σωθῆναι, φύγανα καὶ ἔσυλα τὰ μὲν ἀρα-μενοι τὰ δὲ ἐφελκόμενοι ὡς καὶ καταπράσοντες
5 αὐτοῖς, πρὸς τε τὸ ὄρθιον προσέβαλον καὶ σπουδὴ προσανέβαλον, μηδεῖνος σφισιν ἐναντιομένου—ο γὰρ Σαβίνος οὐκ ἐκινήθη πρὶν ἐντὸς τῆς ἐπικρα-τείας αὐτοῦ τοὺς πλεῖους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. τότε δὲ ἐπικατέδραμε σφισιν ἀπαντάχοθεν ἀμα ἀπροσ-δόκητος, καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους ἐκπλήξας κατήραξε
6 κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἁπαντας, κανταῦθα αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφῇ περὶ τε ἄλληλοις καὶ περὶ τοὺς ξύλους⁴ σφαλλομένους κατεκόψαν οὗτος ὡς ἄρτα.
7 μηδένα αὐτῶν μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐτ᾽ ἀντάραι. ἀπλη-
στοι γὰρ ἀλογίστως οἱ Γαλάται ἐς πάνθ᾽ ὀμοίους ὀντες οὔτε τὸ θαρσοῦν σφων οὔτε τὸ δεδιὸς μετριά-
ζουσιν, ἄλλα ἔκ τε τοῦτούτου⁵ πρὸς δειλίαν ἀνέλ.

¹ μετεώρον Reim., μ μετεώρον L.
² οὗτος R. Steph., οὗτοι L. ἀπειρ. Bk., τοι L.
³ τι Bk., τοι L.
⁴ ξύλους Rk., ξυλίνους L. τοῦτον Rk., τοῦ L.
sorts of terrible boasts that are without foundation. Nevertheless he did not venture to fight openly with them even then, as he was seriously hampered by their great numbers; but he induced them to make a reckless assault upon his camp, although it was on high ground. He did this by sending out towards evening, in the guise of a deserter, one of his allies who spoke their language, and thus persuaded them that Caesar had met with reverses... Trusting this report, they straightway started out heedlessly against the Romans, being gorged with food and drink, in the fear that they might flee before their arrival. Moreover, since it was their avowed purpose that not a single soul\(^1\) should escape, they carried along fagots and dragged logs after them with the intention of burning the enemy alive. Thus they made their attack up-hill and came climbing up eagerly, meeting with no resistance. Sabinus did not move until the most of them were within his reach. Then he charged down upon them unexpectedly from all sides at once, and terrifying those in front, he dashed them all headlong down the hill, and while they were tumbling over one another and the logs in their retreat, he cut them to pieces so thoroughly that none of them or even of the others rose against him again. For the Gauls, who are unreasonably insatiate in all their passions, know no moderation in either courage or fear, but plunge

\(^1\) Literally "not even the fire-bearer." This was a proverbial expression (cf. Herodotus viii, 6), based on the Spartan custom which required the presence in their army of a priest carrying a lamp lighted at the shrine of Zeus in Sparta; as this flame was never to be extinguished, the priest would naturally be guarded most carefully so long as any others survived.
πιστον καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου πρὸς θάρσος προπετές ἐκπίπτονσιν.

46 Ὕπο δὲ ἡ τᾶς αὐτάς ἡμέρας καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ὁ Πούπλιος, τοῦ Κράσσου τοῦ Μάρκου παῖς, τῇ Ἀκυτανίαι οἶλιγον πᾶσαν κατεστρέφατο. Γαλάται γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅπως τῇ τε Κελτικῇ 1 προσ- οικοῦσι καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ τῷ Πυρηναῖον ἐσ τῶν ὠκεανῶν 2 καθήκουσιν. ἐπ' οὖν τούτου ὁ Κράσσος στρατεύσας Σωτιάτας 2 τε μάχη ἐκράτησε καὶ πολιορκία εἶλεν, οἶλιγον μὲν ἐν ὀμολογίᾳ τω ἐξ ἀπάτης 3 ἀποβαλών, ἱσχυρὸς δὲ σφας καὶ περὶ 3 αὐτοῦ τούτου ἀμυναμένος: 4 καὶ ἑτέρους τινὰς ῥωτομένους τε καὶ στρατιώτας ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας Σερτωρίειους 5 ἔχουσας, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν στρατηγικὸτερον ἡ προπετέστερον τῷ πολέμῳ χρωμένους, ὡς καὶ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν προφῶν δι' ὁλίγον σφῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκχωρησόντων, προσεποίησάτο τε αὐτοὺς δεδείναι, καὶ καταφρονθεῖς οὐχ ὑπηγάγετο μὲν οὐδ' ὃς ἐς χείρας οἱ ἔθεθειν, ἀδεῶς δ' ἐς ύστερον ἔχουσι σφίσι προσέβαλεν ἐξαιτίης ἀν- 4 ἐλπιστός. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἡ προσέμιξεν οὔδὲν εἰργᾶσατο (ἐπεκδραμώντες γὰρ οἵ βάρβαροι ἱσχυ- ρὸς ἡμύνοντο), ἑνταῦθα δὲ ἡ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ οὐσίας περίεπεμψε τινας ἐσ τὰ ἔπι βάτερα τοῦ στρατοπέδου σφῶν, καὶ τοῦτο τε ἔρημον ἄνδρῶν κατέσχεν, 6 καὶ τοῖς μαχωμένοις δι' αὐτοῦ κατὰ νότου ἐπεγένετο. καὶ οὗτος ἐκείνοι τε πάντες ἐφθάρησαν, καὶ οἱ λουποὶ πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀκοινιτ ὀμολογησαν.

1 Κελτική R. Steph., βελτικὴ L.  2 Σωτιάται Fabr., ἀπίσται L.  3 ἐξ ἀπάτης Xyl., ἀπάτης L.  4 ἀμυνάμενοι Bk., ἀμυνόμενοι L.  5 Σερτωρίειος Xyl., σερτωρίειος L.  6 κατέσχεν Bk., κατέσχον L.
from the one into hopeless cowardice and from the other into headstrong audacity.

About the same time Publius Crassus, the son of Marcus Crassus, subjugated nearly all of Aquitania. The people are themselves Gauls, and dwell next to Celtica, and their territory extends right along the Pyrenees to the ocean. Making a campaign, now, against these, Crassus conquered the Sotiates in battle and captured them by siege. He lost a few men, to be sure, by treachery in the course of a parley, but punished the enemy severely for this. On seeing some others who had banded together along with soldiers of Sertorius from Spain and were carrying on the war with skill, and not recklessly, since they believed that the Romans through lack of supplies would soon abandon the country, he pretended to be afraid of them. But although he incurred their contempt, he did not even then draw them into a conflict with him; and so, while they were feeling secure with regard to the future, he attacked them suddenly and unexpectedly. At the point where he met them he accomplished nothing, because the barbarians rushed out and repelled him vigorously; but while their main force was there, he sent some men around to the other side of their camp, got possession of this, which was destitute of men, and passing through it took the fighters in the rear. In this way they were all annihilated, and the rest with the exception of a few made terms without any contest.
47 Ταύτα μὲν ἐν τῷ θέρει ἐπράξθη, χειμαζόντων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ Τέγκτηροι τε καὶ Ὀυσιπέται, Κελτικά γένι, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ πρὸς Σουήβων ἐκβιασθέντες τὸ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπικληθέντες, τὸν τε Ῥήμον διεβῆσαν καὶ ἐκ τῶν Τρησύρων ἐνέβαλον. καντάθα τῶν Καίσαρα εὐρόντες καὶ φοβηθέντες ἐπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτὸν σπουδάς τε ποιοῦμενοι καὶ χώραν αὐτοῦντες, ἡ σφίζει γε ἐπιτραπήνα τινὰ ἀξιοῦντες λαβεῖν. ὡς δὲ οὔδενὸς ἐτυχοῦ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐθελονταὶ οἰκαδε ἐπανήξειν ὑπέσχοτο καὶ διόκων κρῖναι ἠπίσταντο ἐπειτα δὲ ἱππεᾶς αὐτοῦ ὀλίγους προσιόντας ἱδόντες οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ σφῶν ὄντες κατεφρόνησαν τε αὐτῶν καὶ μετέγνωσαν, καὶ τούτου ἐπισχόντες τῆς πορείας ἐκείνους τε μὴ προσδεχομένους ἐκακωσαν, καὶ ἐπαρθέντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ εἴχοντο τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καταψύκουντες πρὸς τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ παρὰ τὴν γνώμην σφῶν ἠλθοῦν, καὶ ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦν συγγνώμαι σφίσι, τὴν αἰτίαν ἐς ὀλίγους τρέπουντες. ὥς δὲ τούτους μὲν ὡς καὶ ἀπόκρισιν τινὰ αὐτοῖς 2 οὐκ ἔσε οὐκ ἀπεκρίνεται τοὺς ἀλλόν ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ὄντας ἐπέστη τε σφίσι μεσημβρίαζοντες καὶ μηδὲν πολέμοι, ἀντὶ ἐκεῖνων παρ' αὐτῷ ὄντων, ὑποτοπομένως, καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖς ἐς αὐτάς παμπληθεῖς τῶν πεζῶν, οὗτο ἔσται ἀνελέονθα φθάνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ταῖς ἄμαξαις ὑπὸ τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν

1 Σουήβων R. Steph., οὐθέβαων L. 2 τὸ added by Xyl.
3 Τρησύρων Be., τρησύρων L (but τρησύρως xl. 32, 1).
4 ἐθελονταὶ R. Steph., ἐθελοντᾶς L.
5 κακὶ Rk., καὶ L. 6 πορείας Xyl., ἀπορίας L.
7 τοῦτος R. Steph., τοῦτος L. 8 καὶ περὶ Rk., καὶ περὶ L.
This was the work of the summer. But when the Romans were in winter quarters in friendly territory, the Teneteri and Usipetes, German tribes, partly because they were forced out from their homes by the Suebi and partly because they were invited over by the Gauls, crossed the Rhine and invaded the country of the Treveri. Finding Caesar there, they became afraid and sent to him to make a truce, and to ask for land or at least the permission to take some. When they could obtain nothing, they at first promised voluntarily to return to their homes and requested an armistice. Later their young men, seeing a few horsemen of his approaching, despised them and changed their mind; thereupon they stopped their journey, harassed the small detachment, which was not expecting anything of the sort, and elated over this success, entered upon war. Their elders, condemning their action, came to Caesar contrary to their advice and asked him to pardon them, laying the responsibility upon a few. He detained these emissaries with the assurance that he would give them an answer before long, and setting out against the other members of the tribe, who were in their tents, he came upon them as they were taking their noonday rest and expecting no hostile move, inasmuch as their elders were with him. Rushing into the tents, he found great numbers of infantrymen who had not time even to pick up their weapons, and he cut them down amid the wagons where they were embarrassed by the presence of the women and the children scattered
παίδων ἀναμῆξὼν ταραττομένους, κατεφόνευσε. 3 τοὺς τε ἵππεας ἀπόντας τότε, καὶ παραχρῆμα, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τὸ γεγονός, πρὸς τα τα ὁικεία ἢ θη ὀρμή- σαντας καὶ πρὸς Συγάμβρους ἀποχωρήσαντας, πέμψας ἐξήτησεν, οὐχ οτι καὶ ἐκδοθήσεται σφας προσεδόκησεν (οὗ γὰρ ποιεὶς οἱ πέραν τοῦ Ῥήμου τόν Ἁρμαίον ἐφοβοῦντο ὡστε καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα αὐτῶν ἄκοινει), ἀλλ' ὅπως ἔπι τῇ προ- φασε ταύτῃ καὶ ἐκείνῳ διαβαίνῃ. αὐτός τε γὰρ ὁ μηδεὶς πιὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὁμών οἱ ἐπεποίηκε, δεινῶς πράξαι ἐγλίχετο, καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς πόρ- ρωθεν ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας ἀνείρξεν, ἀτε καὶ ἐσή τὴν ὁικείαν αὐτῶν ἐσβαλῶν, προσεδόκησην. ὡς οὖν οὔτε οἱ ἵππης ἐξέδιδοντο, καὶ οἱ Ὀβίβιοι ὅμοροι τοῖς Συγάμβροις οἰκούντες καὶ διάφοροι αὐτοῖς ὄντες ἐπεκαλέσαντο αὐτοῦ, διέβη μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν 5 γεφυρῶσας, εὐρῶν δὲ τοὺς τε Συγάμβρους ἐς τὰ ἐρύμνα ἀνακεκομισμένους καὶ τοὺς Σοῦββους συ- στρεφόμενους ὡς καὶ βοηθήσουσαν σφισιν ἀνεχω- ρήσεν εὐτὸς ἕμερον εἰκοσιν.

49 Ὅ δε δὴ Ῥήμος ἀναδίδωσι μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπεων 2 τῶν Κελτικῶν, ὅλην γέζω τῆς Ῥαιτίας, προχωρῶν δὲ ἐπὶ δυσμόν ἐν ἀριστέρα μὲν τὴν τε Γαλατίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐποικοῦντας αὐτὴν, ἐν δεξίᾳ δὲ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἀποτέμνεται, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐς τὸν ὄκεαν 2 νὸν ἐμβάλλει. οὔτος γὰρ ὁ ὄρος, ἀφ' οὗ γε 5 καὶ ἐς τὸ διάφορον τῶν ἐπικλησεων ἀφίκοντο, δεύρο ἀεὶ νομίζεται, ἐπεὶ 7 τὸ γε πάνω ἄρχαίον Κελτοῦ

1 ταραττομένους R. Steph., παραταττομένους L.
2 ἐσβαλῶν Leuncl., ἐσβαλεῖν L.
3 οἱ Ὀβίβιοι Leuncl., ὁδυβίου L.
4 Κελτικῶν Xyl., κέλτιβρων L.
5 γε H. Steph., τε L.
6 ἀφίκοντο H. Steph., ἀφίκοντα L. 7 ἐπεὶ R. Steph., ἐπεὶ L.
promiscuously about. The cavalry was absent at the time, but as soon as they learned of the occurrence, they immediately set out for their homes and retired among the Sugambri. He sent and demanded their surrender, not because he expected them to be given up, since the people beyond the Rhine were not so afraid of the Romans as to listen to anything of the sort, but in order that on this excuse he might cross that river also. For he was exceedingiy anxious on his own part to do something that no one of his predecessors had ever equalled, and he also expected to keep the Germans¹ at a distance from Gaul by invading their territory. When, therefore, the horsemen were not given up, and the Ubii, who dwelt alongside the Sugambri and who were at variance with them, invoked his aid, he crossed the river by bridging it. But on finding that the Sugambri had betaken themselves into their strongholds and that the Suebi were gathering to come to their aid, he retired within twenty days.

The Rhine issues from the Celtic Alps, a little outside of Rhaetia, and proceeding westward, bounds Gaul and its inhabitants on the left, and the Germans¹ on the right, and finally empties into the ocean. This river has always down to the present time been considered the boundary, ever since these tribes gained their different names; for very anciently

¹ Literally Celts; see note on p. 269.
ἐκατέρου οἵ ἔπτ’ ἀμφότερο τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἴκουντες ὄφωμαξοντο.

50 Ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τὸν τε Ῥῆμον πρῶτος τότε Ῥωμαῖον διέβη, καὶ ἐς Βρεττανίαν μετὰ ταύτα, τοῦ τε Πομπηίου καὶ τοῦ Κράσσου ὑπατεύοντων, 2 ἐπεραιώθη. ἢ δὲ ὡρα αὕτη ἀπέχει 1 μὲν τῆς ἡπείρου τῆς Βελγίκης 2 κατὰ Μωρίνους σταδίους πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίους τὸ συντομὸτατον, παρῆκε δὲ παρὰ τε τὴν λοιπὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ὅλιγον πᾶσαν, ἐς τὸ 3 πέλαγος 3 ἀνατείνουσα. καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάνιν πρῶτοι καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων οὐδ’ ὅτε ἔστιν ἐγνωρίσκετο, τοῖς δὲ ἐπειτά ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν εἴτε ἡπείρος εἴτε καὶ νῆσος εἶναι ἀφίκετο καὶ πολλοῖς ἐφ’ ἐκατέρου, εἰδοὺ μὲν οὐδέν ἀτε μὴτ’ αὐτότπαις μὴτ’ αὐτη-κόσοι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γενομένως, τεκμαιρόμενος δὲ ὡς ἐκαστοὶ 4 σχολῆς ἤ καὶ φιλολογίας εἶχον, 4 συγγέγραπται. προϊόντος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου πρό-τερον τε ἐπὶ Ἀγρικόλου ἀντιστράτηγον καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Σεουήρου αὐτοκράτορος νῆσος οὕσα σαφῶς ἑληλεγκταί.

51 Ἐσ ταῦτην οὖν τότε ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἡσύχαζε καὶ τοὺς Μωρί-νους προσεποίησατο, ἐπεθύμησε διαβήναι. καὶ τὸν μὲν διάπλουν καθ’ ὅ μάλιστα ἔχριν μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν ἐποίησατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἦ ἐδει προσέχην ὁ γὰρ Βρεττανοὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὐτοῦ προτυθό-μενοι τὰς κατάρσεις ἀπάσας τὰς πρὸς τῆς ἡπείρου 2 οὕσας προκατέλαβον. ἀκραν οὖν τινα προέχουσαν

1 ἀπέχει Xyl. (and Xiph.), ἔχει L.
2 Βελγίκης Leuncl., βελτικῆς L. 3 ἔτο τὸ Xyl., ἐς τὸ τὸ L.
4 ἐκαστοι R. Steph., ἐκαστοις L.
both peoples dwelling on either side of the river were called Celts.

Caesar, then, at this time was the first of the Romans to cross the Rhine, and later, in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, he crossed over to Britain. This country is sixty miles\(^1\) distant, by the shortest way, from the Belgic mainland, where the Morini dwell, and extends alongside the rest of Gaul and nearly all of Spain, reaching out into the sea. To the very earliest of the Greeks and Romans it was not even known to exist, while to their descendants it was a matter of dispute whether it was a continent or an island; and accounts of it have been written from both points of view by many who knew nothing about it, because they had not seen it with their own eyes nor heard about it from the natives with their own ears, but indulged in surmises according to the scholarly sect or the branch of learning to which they severally belonged. In the lapse of time, however, it has been clearly proved to be an island, first under Agricola, the propraetor, and now under the emperor Severus.

To this land, then, Caesar desired to cross, now that he had won over the Morini and the rest of Gaul was quiet. He made the passage with the infantry by the most desirable course, but did not select the best landing-place; for the Britons, apprised beforehand of his voyage, had secured all the landings on the coast facing the mainland. Accordingly, he sailed around a certain projecting headland, coasted

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\(^1\) Literally 450 stades; cf. note on p. 237. It is interesting to compare Caesar’s estimate (\textit{B.G.} v. 2, 3) of thirty miles.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

περιπλεύσασας ἔτεροσσε παρεκομίσθη καὶ ταῦθα τοῦ προσμέχαντας οἱ ἐς τὰ τενάγη ἀποβάινοντε νυκῆ-
σας, ἐφθα τῆς ἀγα κρατήσας πρὶν τὴν πλείω συμ-
βοήθειαν ἐλθέων, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἑκεῖνους
3 προσβάλοντας ἀπεωσάτο. καὶ ἑπιπτον μὲν οὐ
πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων (ἀρματηλάται τε γάρ ὄντες
καὶ ἵππης ῥαδίως τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, μηδέπώ τοῦ
ἵππικου αὐτοῖς παρόντος, διεφύγον), ἐκπλαγέντες
de πρὸς τε τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἡσπείρου περὶ αὐτῶν ἀγγελ-
λόμενα, καὶ ὁτι περαιοθηρία τε ὅλως ἐτόλμησαν
καὶ ἐπιβήναι τῆς χώρας ἥδυνηθησαν, πέμπουσι
πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα τῶν Ἡλείων τινάς, φίλων
σφίσσω ὄντων, ἐπικηρυκεῦμενοι. καὶ τότε μὲν
52 ὀμήρους αὐτήσαντες αὐτῷ δοῦναι ἤθελησαν, πονη-
σάντων δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ὑπὸ χειμῶνος
καὶ τῷ παρόντι ναυτικῷ καὶ τῷ ἀφικνουμένῳ καὶ
μετέγνωσαν, καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐκ ἐπέ-
θεντο αὐτοῖς (τὸ γὰρ στρατόπεδον ἵσχυρῶς ἔφυ-
2 λάσσετο), δεξάμενοι δὲ τινὰς ὡς καὶ ἐς φίλαν τὴν
χώραν σφῶν πρὸς κομίδην τῶν ἐπιτηθείων πεμ-
βέντας, αὐτοὺς τῇ πληθυνα ἐσφειραν (ὁ γὰρ
Καίσαρ διὰ ταχέων τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπήμυνε) καὶ
μετὰ τούτο καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τὸ ἐρυμα αὐτῶν προσέ-
βαλον. καὶ ἐπραξαν μὲν οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακῶς
ἀπήλλαξαν οὐ μεντοι καὶ ἐς ὀμολογίαν ἦλθον
3 πρὸς πολλάκις σφαλήναι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Καίσαρ
ἀλλως μὲν οὐκ εἴχε γνώμην σπείρασθαι σφίσιν
ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τῆς χειμῶνοι προσήμεθεν, καὶ οὐχ ἰκανήν τὴν
παραύσαν δύναμιν περιεβεβλητο ὡστε καὶ ἐν
αὐτῷ πολεμήσαι, ἢ τε κομβομένη ἔσφαλτο, καὶ
οἱ Γαλάται πρὸς τὴν ἀποσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐνειστέρισαν,
1 αὐτῶς Leuncl., τοῦς L.
along on the other side of it, and disembarking there in the shoals, conquered those who joined battle with him and gained a footing on dry land before more numerous assistance could come, after which he repulsed this attack also. Not many of the barbarians fell, for their forces consisted of chariot-drivers and cavalry and so easily escaped the Romans whose cavalry had not yet arrived; but alarmed at the reports about them from the mainland and because they had dared to cross at all and had managed to set foot upon the land, they sent to Caesar some of the Morini, who were friends of theirs, to see about terms of peace. Upon his demanding hostages, they were willing at the time to give them; but when the Romans in the meantime began to encounter difficulties by reason of a storm which damaged both the fleet that was present and also the one on the way, they changed their minds, and though not attacking the invaders openly, since their camp was strongly guarded, they took some men who had been sent out to forage for provisions on the assumption that the country was friendly, and destroyed them all, save a few, to whose rescue Caesar came in haste. After that they assaulted the camp itself of the Romans. Here they accomplished nothing, but fared badly; they would not make terms, however, until they had been defeated many times. Indeed, Caesar would have had no thought of making peace with them at all, except that the winter was approaching and that he was not equipped with a sufficient force to continue fighting at that season, since the additional force coming to his aid had met with mishap, and also that the Gauls in view of his absence had begun an uprising; so he
καὶ ἄκων αὐτοῖς συνηλλάγη, ὁμήρους καὶ τότε πλείους αἰτήσας μέν, λαβὼν δὲ δύλους.

53 Καὶ ὁ μέν ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον ἀναπλεύσας τὰ ταραχθέντα καθιστατο, μηδὲν ἕκ τῆς Βρεττανίας μῆτε ἐαντῷ μῆτε τῇ πόλει προσκτησάμενος πλὴν τοῦ ἐστρατευκέναι ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς δόξας. τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἑσμενύνετο καὶ οἱ ο devez Ρωμαῖοι

2 θαυμαστῶς ἐμεγαλύνοντο· ἐμφανῆ τε γὰρ τὰ πρὶν ἄγνωστα καὶ ἐπιβατὰ τὰ πρόσθεν ἀνήκουστα ὀρῶντές σφιξι γεγονότα, τὴν τε μέλλουσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἑλπίδα ὡς καὶ παροῦσαν ἐργῆς ἐλάμβανον, καὶ πάνθ’ ὡς καταπράξεις 3 προσεδέχοντο ὡς καὶ ἔχοντες ἡδὴ ἡγάλλουτο.

Καὶ οἱ μέν διὰ ταῦτα ιερομνιῶν ἐπὶ εἰκόσιν

54 ἡμέρας ἀγαγείν ἐψηφίσαντο· ἐν ό δὲ ἐκείνα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ Ἡ Ἴβηρια ἐκείνη, διὸ καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ προσετάχθη. ἐπαναστάντες 4 γὰρ τινὲς καὶ Οὐακαίους προστησάμενοι μάχη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέπωτος τοῦ Μετέλλου, ἀπαράσκευοι ἐτ’ οὖντες, ἡττηθησαν,

2 πολυρροῖντι δ’ αὐτῷ Κλουνίαν ἐπελθόντες ἀμείνους ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐκείνην μὲν περιποιησάντο, ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἐσφαλησαν, οὐ μὴν ὡςτε καὶ δι’ ὀλίγου δουλωθήναι. τῷ γὰρ πλήθει πολὺ τῶν ἐναντίων περιήσαν, ὡςτε τὸν Νέπωτον ἀγαπᾶν ἀν τὴν ἴσονχιν ἀκινδύνως ἄγη.

55 Κατὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίος, καίτοι τῶν Ρωμαίων τὴν τε ἐπικουρίαν ἀπεψηφισμένον καὶ πρὸς τὰς διωροδικίας τὰς ὑπ’ 5 αὐτοῦ γενομένας δεινὸς ἐτε καὶ τότε δια-

1 μηδέν Leuncl., μηδὲν μήτε L. 2 αὐτοῖς Leuncl., αὐτάς L.
3 καταπράξεις R. Steph., καταπράξεις L.
4 ἐπαναστάντες Bk., προσαναστάντες L. 5 ὑπ’ St., ἐπ’ L.
reluctantly concluded a truce with them, demanding many hostages this time also, but obtaining only a few.

So he sailed back to the mainland and put an end to the disturbances. From Britain he had won nothing for himself or for the state except the glory of having conducted an expedition against its inhabitants; but on this he prided himself greatly and the Romans at home likewise magnified it to a remarkable degree. For seeing that the formerly unknown had become certain and the previously unheard-of accessible, they regarded the hope for the future inspired by these facts as already actually realized and exulted over their expected acquisitions as if they were already within their grasp; hence they voted to celebrate a thanksgiving for twenty days.

While this was taking place there was an uprising in Spain, which was consequently assigned to Pompey's care. Some tribes had revolted and put themselves under the leadership of the Vaeceaei. While still unprepared they were conquered by Metellus Nepos, but as he was besieging Clunia they assailed him, proved themselves his superiors, and won back the city; elsewhere they were defeated, though not sufficiently to cause their early enslavement. In fact, they so far surpassed their opponents in numbers that Nepos was glad to remain quiet and not run any risks.

About this same time Ptolemy, although the Romans had voted not to assist him and were even now highly indignant at the bribery he had
κείμενον, κατήχθη καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκομίσατο.

2 ἐπραξαν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Γαβίνιος·
tosostou γὰρ αἰ τε δυναστεια καὶ αἰ τῶν χρημά-
tow periovsiai kai parā tā ψηφίσματα tā te
3 toū dēmou kai tā tīs boulhēs ἵσχυσαν, ὥστε
episateias mēn ὁ Πομπήιος τῷ Γαβίνῳ τῆς Συ-
rías tōte ἄρχοντι, strateusas dē ekeinos, ὁ μὲν
tē χάριτι ὁ dē tē dorfolenia kai akontos autō

tou koinou katēγαγον, μηδὲν μήτε ekeinou μήτε
4 tōn tīs Σιβύλλης χρησμῶν φροντίσαντες. καὶ
ekrithē mēn ύστερον ἐπί τοῦτο ὁ Γαβίνιος, σὺχ
ealow dē dia tē tōn Pompēion kai dia tā χρηματα'
ōtō γάρ που tā prōgymata tois tōtē Ἡρωμαίως
sunekevto 1 ὅστε ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἄν ἐδωροδόκησε
sμικρά ἀττα tōn te ἄρχοντων τινες kai tōn dikai-
stōn par' autōn labontes ouste tōn proohtagontos

ti proetimisvan, kai prosetē kai tōus ἄλλους
kakourghein upér 2 χρημάτων ezedidaxan ὡς kai
5 tīn tīmorian radion exeoneisiav dūnaménon. tōtē
mēn ouv dia tātā afeithē, autōs dē épi te étērois
tisī, kai oti pleōn h muρiai ek tīs árkhēς muρi-

das ἤρπασε, krītheis ealow. kai ekeinov te toūto
paradoxotaton suneβh (tīs te γάρ προτέρας δίκης
dia tā χρηματα ἀπελύθη, kai epī toūtou di'
6 ekeinov oti màlista katedikāsē 3) kai tō Πομ-
pēio, oti tō meν próteron, kaitōi pōrro pon ouv,
ērrusato tōn Gabinoi dia tōn etairōn, tōte dē

ἐν τῇ τῷ προαστείῳ ὄν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ
dikaeτηρῖῳ αὐτῷ παρόν οὐδὲν ἤμυνεν.

1 sunekevto Odessy, sunevto L. 2 ὑπὲρ Rk., ὑπὸ L.
3 κατεδικασθη Rk., δικασθη L.

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employed, was nevertheless restored and got back his kingdom. Pompey and Gabinius accomplished this. So much power had official authority and abundant wealth as against the decrees of both the people and the senate, that when Pompey sent orders to Gabinius, then governor of Syria, and the latter made a campaign, the one acting out of kindness and the other as the result of a bribe, they restored the king contrary to the wish of the state, paying no heed either to it or to the oracles of the Sibyl. Gabinius was later brought to trial for this, but on account of Pompey’s influence and the money at his command was not convicted. To such a state of confusion had affairs come with the Romans of that day, that when some of the magistrates and jurymen received from him but a very small part of the large bribes that he had received, they took no thought for their duty, and furthermore taught others to commit crimes for money, showing them that they could easily buy immunity from punishment. At this time, consequently, Gabinius was acquitted; but he was again brought to trial on some other charges—chiefly that he had plundered more than a hundred million [denarii] from the province—and was convicted. This was a matter of great surprise to him, seeing that by his wealth he had freed himself from the former suit, whereas he was now condemned for his wealth chiefly because of that suit. It was also a surprise to Pompey, because previously he had, through his friends, rescued Gabinius even at a distance, but now while in the suburbs of the city and, as you might say, in the very court-room, he accomplished nothing.
"Εσχε δὲ οὖδε. ὁ Γαβίνιος πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἐκάκωσεν, ὡστε καὶ τῶν ληστικῶν, αὶ καὶ τοτε ἦκμαξε, πολὺ πλεῖον σφίσει λυμήνασθαι, πάντα δὲ ὅτα αὐτῷθεν λήμματα ἔλαχιστα εἶναι νομίσας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐνοεί 1 καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ως καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους τὸν τε πλοῦτον αὐτῶν στρατευόντων. τοῦ γὰρ Φραάτου ὕπ’ ὑπὸ τῶν παῖδων δολοφονηθέντος Ὁρώδης τὴν τε βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο, καὶ Μιδριδάτην τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκ τῆς Μηδίας, ἦς ἠρχεν, ἐξεβάλε. καὶ ὅσα καταφυγών πρὸς τὸν Γαβίνιον ἀνέπεισεν αὐτὸν συμπράξαι οἱ τὴν κάθοδον. ἔπει μέντοι ὁ Πτολεμαῖος μετὰ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου γραμμάτων ἠλθεν, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ χρήματα τὰ μὲν ἠδ’ ἄν καταχθῆν ὀφείλειν ὑπέσχετο, τὰ τε τῶν Πάρθων εἰσε καί ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀἰγυπτον ἡπείρσθη, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύοντος μὲν τοῦ νόμου μήτε ἐν τὴν ὑπερομίαν οὗτος ἀρχοντάς τινων ἀποδημεὶν μήτε πολέμους ἀφ’ εαυτῶν ἀναρείσθαι, ἀπειρηκότος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε Σιβύλλης μὴ καταχθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα. ἀλλ’ ὅσοι γὰρ ἐκεκόλυτο ταῦτα, τόσοι πλεῖονος αὐτὰ ἀπημπόλησε. καταληπτῶν οὖν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Σισένναν τε τὸν υἱὸν κομιδὴ νέον ὅντα καὶ στρατιώτας μετ’ αὐτοῦ πάνυ ὀλίγους, τὴν μὲν ἄρχην ἐφ’ ἦς ἐτέστακτο τοὺς λησταῖς ἐτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξεδωκέν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἐλθὼν τὸν τε Ἀριστόθουλον (διαδρασ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ὑπετάρρατε τε) συνέλαβε καὶ τὸ Πομπηίων ἐπεμψε, καὶ φόρου τοὺς Ιουδαίους ἐπέταξε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀἰγυπτον ἐνεβάλε.

1 ἐνδειχθέντες Χυλ., ἐνδειχθέντες Ι.
This was the way of it. Gabinius had harried Syria in many ways, even to the point of inflicting far more injury upon the people than did the pirates, who were flourishing even then. Still, he regarded all his gains from that source as mere trifles and was at first planning and preparing to make a campaign against the Parthians and their wealth. Phraates, it seems, had been treacherously murdered by his sons, and Orodes after succeeding to the kingdom had expelled Mithridates, his brother, from Media, which he was governing. The latter took refuge with Gabinius and persuaded him to assist in his restoration. However, when Ptolemy came with Pompey’s letter and promised that he would furnish large sums both to him and the army, some to be paid at once, and the rest when he should be restored, Gabinius abandoned the Parthian project and hastened to Egypt. This he did notwithstanding the law forbade governors to enter territory outside their own borders or to begin wars on their own responsibility, and although the people and the Sibyl had declared that the man should not be restored. But the only restraint these considerations imposed was to lead him to sell his assistance for a higher price. He left in Syria his son Sisenna, a mere boy, and a very few soldiers with him, thus exposing the province to which he had been assigned more than ever to the pirates. He himself then reached Palestine, arrested Aristobulus, who had escaped from Rome and was causing some disturbance, sent him to Pompey, imposed tribute upon the Jews, and after this invaded Egypt.
57 Ἡρχε δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἡ Βερενίκη, καὶ ἐπιεικὲς μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν ... , καὶ τοι φοβομένη τοὺς Ρωμαίους, ἔπραξε, Σέλευκον δὲ τινα, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους τοῦ ποτε ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἀνθίσαντος ὄντα, μεταπέμψασα ἀνδρα τε ἐπεγράψατο καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς τε βασιλείας καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἐποιήσατο. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐν οὐδενὸς μοίρα δὲν ἑωράτο, τοῦτον μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν. Ἀρχέλαον δὲ τοῦ τοῦ Ἀρχέλαου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν αὐτομολήσαντος, δραστηριόν τε ὄντα καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τὴν δίαιταν ἔχοντα, ἔπτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπηγάγετο. ὁ γὰρ Γαβίνως ἐδύνατο μὲν ἀρχόμενον τὸ δεινὸν παύσαι (τῶν γὰρ Ἀρχέλαπον προοποποποποτήσας συνέλαβε, καὶ ἐμελλεν ἐκ τοῦτον μηδὲν ἄτι ἐγρόν ἐγείναι), φοβηθέντις δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐλάττων διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τῶν ὁμωλογημένων οἱ χρηματω, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀξίωλον πεποιηκός, λάβοι, καὶ ἐπίστας ἔτι καὶ πλεῖον πρὸς τε τὴν δεινότητα καὶ πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τὴν τοῦ Ἀρχελάου χρηματιείσα, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἄλλα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου συγνωμάτων, ἐθελοντὶς αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ διαδράματα

58 ἀφικε. καὶ οὗτος ἡς μὲν τὸ Πηλουσίων ἀφίκετο μηδενὸς ἐναντιομένου, προϊόν πε οὖν ἐντεῦθεν δίχα διηρημένῳ τῷ στρατῷ τοῦ Ἀιγυπτίων ἀπαντήσαντας οἱ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐνίκησε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀυθίς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ναυσὶ κἂν τῇ γῇ ἐκράτησεν· οἱ γὰρ Ἀλεξανδρείς τρασονισθαῖ μὲν πρὸς πάντα ἱκανότατου καὶ ἐκλαθήσαι πᾶν ὅ τι ποτ' ἄν ἐπέλθῃ σφίσι προπετέστατοι πεφύκασι, 2 πρὸς δὲ δὴ πόλεμον τὰ τε δεινὰ αὐτοῦ φλαυρότα-

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1 ἐπηγάγετο Rk., ἐπηγάγετο L. 2 ἐσις Fabr., ἐσις L.

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BOOK XXXIX

Berenice was at this time ruling the Egyptians, and though she feared the Romans, she took no steps suitable [to the emergency ?]; instead, she sent for one Seleucus who claimed to belong to the royal race that once had flourished in Syria, formally recognized him as her husband, and made him a partner in the kingdom and in the war. When he was seen to be held in no esteem, she had him killed and joined to herself on the same terms Archelaus, son of that Archelaus who had deserted to Sulla; he was an energetic man, living in Syria. Now Gabinius could have stopped the mischief in its beginning; for he had arrested Archelaus, who had already aroused his suspicion, and he seemed likely to have no further trouble from him. He was afraid, however, that this course might cause him to receive from Ptolemy less money that had been stipulated, on the ground that he had done nothing of importance, and he hoped that he could exact even a larger amount in view of the cleverness and renown of Archelaus; moreover he received much money besides from the prisoner himself, and so voluntarily released him, pretending that he had escaped. Thus he reached Pelusium without encountering any opposition; and while advancing from there with his army in two divisions he encountered and conquered the Egyptians on the same day, and after this vanquished them again on the river with his ships and also on land. For the Alexandrines are most ready to assume a bold front everywhere and to speak out whatever may occur to them, but for war and its terrors they are utterly useless. This is true in
τοί εἰσι, καίπερ ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι, πλείστας δὴ καὶ μεγίστας παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡγομόνειας, διὰ χρόνου τε ἄει χωροῦντες καὶ τὸ ξῆν παρ' οὕδεν πρὸς τὴν αὐτικὴν φιλονεικίαν τιθέμενοι, ἄλλα καὶ ὠσπερ τι τῶν ἀριστῶν ἢ ἀναγκαιοτάτων τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ὀλίθρων διώκοντες. νυκήσας οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Γαββίνιος, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν Ἀρχέλαον φονεύσας, ἐγκρατῆς τε τῆς Ἀιγύπτου πάσης παραχρῆμα ἐγένετο καὶ τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ αὐτὴν παρέδωκε.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν τε θυγατέρα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πρῶτοι καὶ πλουσιώτατοι, ἀτε καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν δεόμενοι, ἀπέκτεινε: Γαββίνιος δὲ ἐκείνων μὲν οὖσα κατηγαγεί, οὐ μέντοι καὶ οἶκας περὶ τῶν πραξθέντων ἐπέστειλεν, ἢν μὴ καὶ αὐτάγγελος σφισίν δὲν παραπομπῆκε γέννηται. ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ οἶον τε ἦν τηλεκοῦτο πράγμα κρυφθήναι, εὐθὺς τε αὐτὸ ὁ δήμος ἐπύθετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ Σύροι 2 πολλὰ τοῦ Γαββίνου, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἁπουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ δεινός ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν κακωθέντας, κατεβόησαν, οἷς τε τελώναι μὴ δυνηθέντες τὰ τέλη δι’ αὐτοῦς ἐσπράζαι συνχὰ ἐσποφείλησαν, ὀργίζοντο καὶ γνώμας τε ἐποιούντο καὶ ἐτοίμως εἰσον κατα- 3 ψηφίσασθαι αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κικέρων τά τε ἀλλα ἱσχυρὸς ἐνήργη, καὶ συνεβούλευε σφισὶ τὰ Σιβύλλεα ἐπὶ αὐθις ἀναγνώσαν, προσδοκῶν ἐγγεγράφθαι τινὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς τιμωρίαν ἀν τι 4 παρα- 60 βαθῆ. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ὁ τε Κράσσος ὑπάτευν τέ ἐτη, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἑαυτῷ βοηθῶν, ὁ δὲ τήν τε ἐκεῖνον

1 ἢ ἀναγκαιοτάτων Bk., ἀναγκαιοτάτων L.
2 αὐτάγγελον Xyl., αὐταῖ γέλος L. 3 αὐτῆ Ῥκ., αὐτῆς L.
4 ἀν τι Ὕσ., ὧν L. 5 παραβαθῆ Bk., παρεβάθη L.
spite of the fact that in seditions, which with them are very numerous and very serious, they always become involved in slaughter, setting no value upon life as compared with the rivalry of the moment, but pursuing destruction in such quarrels as if it were one of the best and dearest prizes. So Gabinius conquered them, and after slaying Archelaus and many others he promptly gained control of all Egypt and handed it over to Ptolemy. The latter put to death his daughter and also the foremost and richest of the citizens, because he had need of much money.

Gabinius after restoring him in this fashion sent no message home concerning what he had done, in order that he might not be the one to announce his own illegal acts. But it was not possible for an affair of such magnitude to be concealed, and the people straightway learned of it; for the Syrians cried out loudly against Gabinius, especially since in his absence they had been terribly abused by the pirates, and the tax-gatherers, being unable to collect the taxes on account of the marauders, were owing numerous sums. Angered at this, the people expressed their views and were ready to condemn him. For Cicero attacked him vigorously and advised them to read again the Sibylline verses, expecting that there was contained in them some punishment in case any of their injunctions should be violated. Pompey and Crassus, now, were still consuls, and the former acted as his own interests dictated, while the latter was for pleasing his colleague and also
χάριν καὶ ἀμα καὶ χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ Γαβρι-νίου πεμφθέντα οἱ λαβών, ἐκ τε τοῦ προφανούς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διεδικαίουν, καὶ ἀλλα τε καὶ φυγάδα τοῦ Κικέρωνα ἀποκαλοῦντες οὐδὲν ἐπεψήφισαν.

2 ὥς μὲντοι ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπηλλάγησαν καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ τε Δομίτιος ὁ Δούκιος καὶ Ἀππιος Κλαύδιος διεδέξατο, γνώμαι αὐθίς πολλαὶ ἐλέ-χθησαν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Γαβριίου αἱ πλείους ἐγένον-

to. ὁ τε γὰρ Δομίτιος ἐξήδος τῷ Πομπηίῳ διὰ τε τὸ σπουδαρχῆσαι καὶ διὰ τοῖς τοῦ γαβριίου ἀποδειχθῆναι ὡν, καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος, καὶ προσήκων οἱ, ὅμως τοῖς τοῦ πολλοὺς χαρίσασθαι τι ὑπὸ δημαγωγίας ἐθελήσας, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Γαβριίου δωροδοκήσειν, ἀν γε τι συνταραξῃ,

4 προσδοκήσας, πάντα ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐπραξαν. καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκεῖνο δεινῶς ἐπίθεσεν, 4 ὅτε προφε-

θέντα τινὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κράσσου ὑποστράτηγον ἐπὶ της τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ διαδοχῆ ὡς ἐδέξατο, ἀλλ' ὄσσερ ἅβανατον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἰληφὼς κατείχεν αὐτὴν. ἐδοξεῖν οὖν σφικὶ τὰ τῆς Σιβύλλης ἐπὶ ἀναγνωρίσην, καὶ περὶ 5 αὐτοῦ πόρῳ τοῦ Πομ-

πηίου.

61 Καὶ τούτῳ ὁ Τίβερις, εἰτ' οὖν ὄμβρου ἀνω τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἐξαισίων γενομένων, εἰτ' καὶ σφόδρου πνεύματος ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς ἐκροήν αὐτοῦ ἀνακόψας, εἰτε καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅς ὑπο-

πτεύσετο, ἐκ παρασκευῆς δαιμονίου τινὸς, τοσοῦτος 7 ἐξαισιών ἐρρύθ ὡς ὅστ' ἐν πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς πεδίοις

1 διὰ R. Steph., δα L.  2 δαμι R. Steph., δης L.

3 πάντα ἐπ' Εσ. (ἐπ' already inserted by Bk.), ταυ L.

4 ἐπίθεσιν Leuncl., ἐπίθεσιν L.  5 καὶπερ Leuncl., διὰ καὶπερ L.

6 αὐτεπόντος Xyl., αὐτεπόντος L.

7 τοσούτος Pflugk, τοσούτον L.
soon received money sent him by Gabinius. Thus they openly justified his conduct, calling Cicero "exile" among other names, and would not put the question to a vote. When, however, they had laid down their office, and Lucius Domitius and Appius Claudius became their successors, once more many opinions were expressed and the majority proved to be against Gabinius. Domitius was hostile to Pompey on account of the latter's canvass and because he had been appointed consul contrary to his wish; and Claudius, although a relative of Pompey's, still wished to play the game of politics and indulge the people, and furthermore he expected to get bribes from Gabinius, if he should cause any disturbance. So both worked in every way against him. There was a further fact that weighed strongly against him: he had not received a certain lieutenant sent ahead by Crassus to succeed him in the office, but had held on to the position as if he had received it for all time. They decided, therefore, that the verses of the Sibyl should be read, in spite of Pompey's opposition.

Meantime the Tiber, either because excessive rains had occurred somewhere up the stream above the city, or because a violent wind from the sea had driven back its outgoing tide, or still more probably, as was surmised, by the act of some divinity, suddenly rose so high as to inundate all the lower levels in the


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τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ οὕσι πελαγίσαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
2 τῶν μετεωροτέρων καταλαβεῖν. αἴ τε οὖν οἰκίαι1
(ἐκ πλινθῶν γὰρ συνφορωμέναι ἦσαν) διά-
βροχόι τε ἐγένοντο καὶ κατερράγησαν, καὶ τὰ
υποξύγια πάντα ὑποβρύχια ἐφθάρη. τῶν τε ἀν-
θρώπων ὁσοὶ μὴ ἐφθήσαν πρὸς τὰ πάνω ύψηλὰ
ἀναφυγόντες, οἱ μὲν ἐν2 ταῖς τέγαις3 οἱ δὲ καὶ
ἐν ὁδοῖς ἐγκαταληφθέντες ἐξώλουσο. καὶ γὰρ αἱ
λοιπαὶ οἰκίαι, ἀτε ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ δεινοῦ
συμβάντος, σαθραὶ τε ἐγένοντο καὶ πολλοῖς4 τοῖς
3 μὲν εὐθὺς τοῖς δὲ μετὰ τούτ' ἐλυμήναντο. οἱ5 οὖν
Ῥωμαιοὶ ἐπὶ τ' ἐκείνοις τοῖς παθήμασι λυπούμενοι,
καὶ ἔτερα καλεπώτερα ὡς καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Πυθ-
λεμαίου καθοδὸν ὄργην σφίσι τοῦ δαιμόνιον πε-
ποιημένου προσδεχόμενοι, ἠπείγοντο καὶ ἀπόντα
τοῦ Γαβίνου, ὡς καὶ ἤπτον τι, ἄν φθάσωσιν αὐτὸν
4 ἀπολέσαντες, κακωθησόμενοι, θανατώσαι. καὶ
οὕτω γε ἐντόνως ἔσχον ὡστε, καίτοι μιθένος τοι-
ούτον ἐν τοῖς Σιβυλλείοις χρησμοῖς εὑρεθέντος,
ὅμως τὴν γερουσίαν πικρότατα καὶ τραγύτατα
τοὺς τε ἀρχοντας καὶ τὸν δήμου αὐτῷ χρήσασθαι
προβουλεῦσαι.

62 Ἡν ὁ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, χρήματα ύπὸ τοῦ
Γαβίνου προσερμφέντα σοῦ ὡς ἀπόντα ἀλλ'6
οὐδὲ ἐπανελθόντα7 δεινόν τι παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ γε
ἐκείνοις ἐποίησε.8 καίτοι9 οὗτο καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσχρός
καὶ κακῶς ύπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος διετέθη ὡστε καὶ
χρόνος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ νυκτὸς ἐς

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1 oikia added by R. Steph., from Xiph.
2 ταῖς added by Leuncel.
3 τέγαις R. Steph., τέγαις L.
4 πολλοὶ Reim., πολλοὶ L.
5 οἱ R. Steph., ὃ L.
6 ἀλλ' added by Xyl.
7 ἐπανελθόντα Rk., ἐπανελθόντα L.
8 ἐποίησε St., τοίςαι L.
9 καίτοι Rk., καὶ L.
city and to overwhelm many even of the higher portions. The houses, therefore, being constructed of brick, became soaked through and collapsed, while all the animals perished in the flood. And of the people all who did not take refuge in time on the highest points were caught, either in their dwellings, or in the streets, and lost their lives. The remaining houses, too, became weakened, since the mischief lasted for many days, and they caused injuries to many, either at the time or later. The Romans, distressed at these calamities and expecting others yet worse, because, as they thought, Heaven had become angry with them for the restoration of Ptolemy, were in haste to put Gabinius to death even while absent, believing that they would be harmed less if they should destroy him before his return. So insistent were they that although nothing about punishment was found in the Sibylline oracles, still the senate passed a decree that the magistrates and populace should accord him the bitterest and harshest treatment.

While this was going on, money sent ahead by Gabinius caused him to suffer no serious penalty either while absent or upon his return, at least for this affair. And yet he was brought by his own conscience to such a wretched and miserable state that he long delayed coming to Italy, and entered the
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τὴν πόλιν ἐσκομμοῦναι, ἔξω τε τῆς οἰκίας. 2 συνεϊς πάνυ ἡμέραις μὴ τολμήσαι φανῆναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐγκλήματα πολλὰ ἦν, καὶ κατηγόρους οὕκ ὀλίγους εἶχε. πρῶτον δ' οὖν περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καθόδου, ἀτε καὶ μεγίστου, ἑδικάσθη. καὶ ὃ γε δήμος σύμπας ὡς εἰπεῖν πρὸς τε τὸ δικαστήριον συνερρύη καὶ διαστάσασθαι πολλάκις αὐτῶν ἠθέλησεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι οὐδ' ὁ Πομπήιος παρῇ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων δεινότατα αὐτοῦ κατηγόρησεν.

3 οὖτω δὲ αὐτῶν διακειμένων ὁμος ἀφείθη. 2 αὐτὸς τε γὰρ, ἀτε ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις κρινόμενοι, παμπληθή χρήματα ἀνάλωσε, καὶ οἱ τοῦ Πομπήιον τοῦ τε Κάισαρος ἐταῖροι προθυμότατα αὐτὸς συνήραντο, λέγοντες ἄλλον τε τινα καίροι καὶ ἄλλον βασιλέα πρὸς τῆς Σιβύλλης εἰρήσθαι, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ὅτι μηδεμία τῶν πραξάμενων τιμωρία ἐν τοῖς ἐπεσιν αὐτῆς ἐνεγέρατο.

63 'Ο δ' οὖν δήμος ὀλίγον μὲν καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀπέκτεινε, διαφυγόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπετήρει τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτοῦ ἐγκλήματα, καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνος 2 γοῦν αὐτῶν ἀλόναι. οἱ γὰρ λαχόντες περὶ αὐτῶν κρίναι, τὸ τε πλῆθος ἁμα φοβηθέντες καὶ μηδὲν μέγα παρὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου εὐρόμενοι (ὡς 2 γὰρ ἐπὶ τε βραχυτέροις εὐθυνόμενοι καὶ προσδοκῶν καὶ τότε κρατήσειν οὐ πολλὰ ἐδαπάνησε) κατεγνόστησαντο αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ τοῦ τε Πομπήιον πλησίου ὄντος καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος συναγορεύοντος 4 αὐτῷ. 3 ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σίτου πρόνοιαν, ἐπειδή πολὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διέφθαρτο, ἐκδημήσας ὀρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐς τὸ πρῶτον δικα-

1 οἰκίας Leucn., Ιταλικά L. 2 δῆμος ἀφείθη Rk., ἀφείθη L. 3 ὁτ' Bk., 6 L. 4 συναγορεύοντος Xyl., ἀγορεύοντος L.
city by night, and for a considerable number of
days did not dare to appear outside of his house. For
the complaints were many and he had an abundance
of accusers. First, then, he was tried for the restora-
tion of Ptolemy, as his greatest offence. Practically
the whole populace surged into the court-house and
often wished to tear him to pieces, particularly because
Pompey was not present and Cicero accused him with
all the force of his oratory. And yet, though this
was their attitude, he was acquitted. For not only he
himself, appreciating the gravity of the charges on
which he was being tried, spent vast sums of money,
but the associates of Pompey and Caesar also very
willingly aided him, declaring that a different time
and different king were meant by the Sibyl, and,
most important of all, that no punishment for his
deeds was contained in her verses.

The people accordingly were almost for putting
the jurymen to death also, but, when they escaped,
turned their attention to the remaining charges
against him and caused him to be convicted on those
at any rate. For the men who were chosen by
lot to pass judgment on the charges both feared
the people and likewise obtained but little from
Gabinius; for he felt that he was being brought
to book for minor matters only, and expecting to
win this time also, he did not spend much. Hence
they condemned him, even though Pompey was
near at hand and Cicero acted as his counsel.
For Pompey had been away from the city to provide
for a supply of corn, since much had been ruined
by the river, but hastened back to be present
στήριου ἀπαντήσων (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἦν), ύστερησας δὲ αὐτοῦ ὦν ἄπεχώρησεν ἐκ τοῦ προαστείου πρίν καὶ ἤκεινο τελεσθῆναι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῦ δῆμου ἔξω τοῦ παμμηρίου (τὴν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἦδη τὴν τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου ἔχων ὦν ἡδυνήθη ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν) ἀδροισθέντος πολλὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Γαβινίου ἐδημηγόρησε, καὶ γράμματα τὸ τινα παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεμ-
5 φθέντα ἀνέγρω, καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἴκετευσε, τὸν τε Κικέρωνα σωκ ὀπως κατηγορήσαι ἐτ αὐτοῦ ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερδίκησαι ἐπείσεν,1 ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὸ τοῦ αὐτομόλου ἐγκλῆμα καὶ ὅνομα ἐπὶ πλείον ὦν αὐξηθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὥφελησε τὴν Γαβινίου, ἀλλὰ τὸτε μὲν ἐφυγεν ἀλους, ὀσπερ εἶπον, ύστερον δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατῆκθη.

64 Ἕν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἦ τοῦ Πομπηίου γυνὴ θυγατριών τι τεκοῦσα ἀπέδανε· καὶ αὐτὴν, εἴτε διαπραξαμένων τῶν τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος φίλων, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως τῶς χαρίσασθαι τινες αὐτοῖς ἐθελήσαντες συνήρπασαι, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾳ ἐπαίνοιν ἔτυχε, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ ἐδαψαν, καίτοι τοῦ Δομιτίου ἀνθισταμένου καὶ λέγοντος ἀλλα τε καὶ ὅτι ὅνοι τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τόπῳ ἀνευ τινὸς ψηφίσματος βαπτιστοῖ.

65 Κἂν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Πομπηίνος ὁ Γάιος τὰ ἑπινίκια τὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπεμψεν· ἐς γὰρ ἐκείνο τοῦ χρόνου, μηδενὸς οἱ διδόντος αὐτὰ, ἔξω τοῦ πω-
2 μηρίου διέμεινε. καὶ τότε δ' ἄν αὐτῶν ἡμαρτεν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Γάλβας ὁ Σέρουνιος συντραπετευσάμενος

1 Ἰτεισεν Reim., καὶ Ἰτεισεν L.
at the first trial (for he was in Italy); and when he missed that, he did not retire from the suburbs until the other also was finished. In fact when the people assembled outside the pomerium (since, as he already held the office of proconsul, he was not allowed to enter the city), he addressed them at length in behalf of Gabinius, and not only read to them a letter sent to him by Caesar in the man's behalf, but also besought the jurymen, and not only prevented Cicero from accusing him again but actually persuaded him to plead for him; as a result the charge and epithet of "turn-coat" was applied to the orator more than ever. Gavinius, however, was not helped at all by Cicero, but was now convicted and exiled, as I have stated, though he was later restored by Caesar.

At this same time the wife of Pompey died, after giving birth to a baby girl. And whether by the arrangement of his friends and Caesar's or because there were some who wished in any case to do them a favour, they caught up the body, as soon as she had received proper eulogies in the Forum, and buried it in the Campus Martius. It was in vain that Domitian opposed them and declared among other things that it was sacrilegious for her to be buried in the sacred spot without a special decree.

At this time Gaius Pomptinus celebrated a triumph over the Gauls; for as no one granted him the right to hold it, he had up to that time remained outside the pomerium. And he would have missed it then, too, had not Servius Galba, a praetor, who had made

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1 Cf. xxxvi. 44, 2.
αὐτῷ, κρύφα καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἔως στρατηγῶν τὴν ψηφών τισι (καὶ περ οὐκ ἔξον ἐκ τῶν νόμων πρὶν πρῶτην ὄραν γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ χρηματισθήναι) ἔδωκε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν δημάρχων τινῶν ἀπολειφθέντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν γοῦν τῇ πομπῇ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρέσχουν, ὡστε καὶ σφαγας συμβῆναι.
the campaign with him, granted as praetor to certain persons secretly and just before dawn the privilege of voting—this, in spite of the fact that it is not permitted by law for any business to be brought before the people before the first hour. For this reason some of the tribunes, who had been left out of the assembly, caused him trouble in the procession, at any rate, so that there was some bloodshed.
Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ τετταρακοστῇ τῶν Διώνων Ῥωμαίων

α. Ὡς Καίσαρ τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Βρεττανίαν διέπλεσσεν.

β. Ὡς Καίσαρ ὑποστρέψας ἀπὸ Βρεττανίας τοῖς Γαλάταις αὐθινὲς ἐπολέμησεν.

γ. Ὡς Κράσσος Πάρθων πολεμεῖν ἤρξατο.

δ. Περὶ Πάρθων.

ε. Ὡς Κράσσος ἤττηθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἄτολετο.

ζ. Ὡς Καίσαρ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλκει πῶσαν κατεστρέφατο.

η. Ὡς Μίλων Κλαύδιον ἀποκτείνας κατεδικάσθη.

θ. Ὡς Καίσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος στασιάζειν ἤρξατο.

Χρόνου πλήθος τά λοιπά τῆς Δομίτιον καὶ Ἀππίου Κλαυδίου ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλα ἐτη σετταρά, ἐν οἷς ἀρχινθεὶς οἱ ἀριθμοῖ ποιοι οἴδε ἔγενονται:

Γρ. Δομίτιος Μ. ὑ. Καλουῖνος
M. Οὐαλέριος ... Μεσσάλας
Γρ. Ρομπήιος ὑ. Γρ. ὑ. Μάγνος τὸ γ’
Κ. Κακιλίος Μέτελλος Σινιπίων Νασικοῦ ὑ.
Σέρωνος Σουλτίκιος Κ. ὑ. Ρούφος
M. Κλαύδιος Μ. ὑ. Μάρκελλος
Λ. Ἀλμίλιος Μ. ὑ. Παύλος
Γ. Κλαύδιος Γ. ὑ. Μάρκελλος ὑ.

Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ ᾿Ρώμη ταύτα, τότε ἐπτακόσια ἐτη ἀγούσῃ, ἐγένετο: ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Γαλατία ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τοῦ Δομίτιον τοῦ Λουκίου καὶ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τοῦ Ἀππίου ὑπάτων τά τε ἔ

1 Καλού’huiς Xyl., καλουῖνος L.  2 Μεσσάλας added by Xyl.  3 Γρ. Ρομπήιος added by Xyl.  4 Σέρωνος Xyl., σέρτος L.
BOOK XL

The following is contained in the Fortieth of Dio's *Rome*:—

How Caesar for the second time sailed across to Britain (chaps. 1–3).

How Caesar, returning from Britain, again engaged in war with the Gauls (chaps. 4–11).

How Crassus began to carry on war with the Parthians (chaps. 12, 13).

About the Parthians (chaps. 14, 15).

How Crassus was defeated by them and perished (chaps. 16–30).

How Caesar subjugated the whole of Transalpine Gaul (chaps. 31–44).

How Milo killed Clodius and was condemned (chaps. 48 f., 54).

How Caesar and Pompey began to be at variance (chaps. 59–66).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Domitius and Appius Claudius, together with four additional years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

R.C.
53 Cn. Domitius M. F. Calvinus, M. Valerius ... Messalla.
52 Cn. Pompeius Cn. F. Magnus (III), C. Caecilius Metellus Scipio Nasicae F.
51 Servius Sulpicius Q. F. Rufus, M. Claudius M. F. Marcellus.
50 L. Aemilius M. F. Paulus, C. Claudius C. F. Marcellus.

These were the occurrences in Rome while the city was passing through its seven-hundredth year. In Gaul during the year of these same consuls, Lucius Domitius and Appius Claudius, Caesar among other

5 A. Ἀλμαίας Ὑξ. δαμαίλεως Λ. 6 Line supplied by Xyl. 7 τοῦ Δαμιανου Βκ., αὐτοῦ Δαμιανου Λ.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

αλλα καὶ ναῦς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τε σφετέρων τῶν ταχείων καὶ τῶν αὐτῶθεν τῶν φορτίων, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα καὶ κοινίζωσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ κύμα ἀντέχωσιν, ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἕρημον ἱστάμεναι μὴ λυμαίνονται, παρεσκευάσσατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλοίωμα ἐγένετο, ἐς τὴν Βρεττάνιαν αὖθις ἐπερεώθη, πρόφασιν μὲν ὅτι μὴ πάντας τοὺς ὁμήρους οὐς ὑπέσχοντο οἱ ἐπεπόμφεσαν, νομίζοντες αὐτῶν, ὅτι διὰ κενής τοῦτο ἀνεχώρησε, μηκέτι αὖθις σφόν πειράσειν, ποιησάμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ δεινόν τῆς νῆσου ἐφιέμενος, ὡστε εἰ μὴ καὶ τούτῳ ἦν, πάντως ἄν

3 ἀλλην τινὰ σκῆψιν εὐρεῖν. κατηρέ τε οὐν ἐνθα καὶ πρότερον, μηδενὸς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν νεῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλαχοῦ ἁμα αὐτὰς κατασχεῖν τολμήσαντος ἀντιστῆναι, καὶ τὸ γαν' ἐνεπτά.

2 θμον εὐθὺς ἐκρατύνατο. οἱ οὖν βάρβαροι τὸν μὲν πρόσπλουν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ῥῦνῳθησαν διὰ ταῦτα κωλύσαν, δείσαντες δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον, ἀτε καὶ στρατῷ πλείον αὐτοῦ ἔλθόντος, ὡς τὸ λασιώτατον καὶ ἐς τὸ λοχμωδεστάτον τῶν ἐγγός

2 χωρίων πάντα τὰ τιμίωτα συνεφόρησαν, καὶ αὐτὰ ἐν ἀσφαλείς ποιησάμενοι (τὰ τε γὰρ περίξεξυλα ἐκοψαν, καὶ ἐτερα ἐπὶ αὐτῶν στοιχῆδον ἐπισυνέσθησαν, ὡστε ἐν χαρακτῷ τρόπῳ τινὰ εἶναι) ἐπείτα τοὺς προνομεύοντας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐλύσαν. καὶ δὴ καὶ μάχη τινὶ ἐν τῷ ψυλῶ ἠτηθέντες ὑπήγαγον σφαῖς ἐκεῖσθε κατὰ τὴν διώξιν, καὶ

3 συγχών ἀνταπέκτειναν. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ χειμώνος αὖθις τὰς ναύς αὐτῶν λυμημαμένου συμμάχους τε προσμετέπεμφατο καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτὸ τὸ νεορίου σφων

1 ἐγένετο R. Steph., ἐγένοτο L. 2 τὰ Rk., τὰν L.
undertakings constructed ships of a style half-way between his own swift vessels and the native ships of burden, endeavouring to make them at once as light and as seaworthy as possible and capable of being left high and dry without injury. When the weather became fit for sailing, he crossed over again to Britain, giving as his excuse that the people of that country, thinking that he would never make trial of them again because he had once retired empty-handed, had not sent all the hostages they had promised; but the truth of the matter was that he mightily coveted the island, so that he would certainly have found some other pretext, if this had not offered itself. He came to land at the same place as before, no one daring to oppose him because of the number of his ships and the fact that they approached many points on the shore at the same time; and he straightway got possession of the harbour. The barbarians, then, for the reason stated were unable to hinder his approach, and being more afraid than before, because he had come with a larger army, they carried away all their most valuable things into the most wooded and overgrown portions of the neighbouring country. After they had put them in safety by cutting down the surrounding wood and piling more upon it row after row until their goods were in a sort of stockade, they proceeded to annoy the Romans' foraging parties. Indeed, after being defeated in a certain battle on open ground they drew the invaders in pursuit to their retreat, and killed many in their turn. Soon after, when a storm had once more damaged the Romans' ships, the natives sent for allies and set out against their naval
ὁρμησαν, Κασουελλανών¹ τον τα πρώτα των² ἐν
4 τῇ νύσῃ δυναστῶν φερόμενον προστησάμενοι. καὶ
αὐτῶς ἀπαντήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
ἐταράξθησαν τῇ τῶν ἀρμάτων σφῶν προσμέζει,
ἐπείτα δὲ διυστάμενοι, καὶ ἐκεῖνα τε παρεξέντες
καὶ τοὺς παραθέοντας ἐς τὰ πλάγια ³ βάλλοντες,
3 ἀνίσωσαν⁴ τὴν μάχην, καὶ τότε μὲν κατὰ χώραν
ἀμφότεροι ἐμειναν αὐθίς δὲ οἱ Βάρβαροι τοῦ μὲν
πεζοῦ κρείττως γενόμενοι, ὕπο δὲ τῆς ἱπποῦ
κακωθέντες, πρὸς τον Ταμέσαν ἀνεχώρησαν,
καὶ τὸν πόρον αὐτῶν σταυροῖς, τοῖς μὲν ἐμφανείς
tοῖς δὲ καὶ ύφόροις, διάλαβοντες ἡμίπαντο.
2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ⁵ ἐκείνοις τε ὁ Καῖσαρ τό τε σταυρώμα
προσβολὴ βιαία ἐκλιπεῖν ἤναγκασε καὶ μετὰ
tοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐρύματος προσεδρεία ἐξῆλασε,
καὶ τοὺς προσβάλλοντάς σφῶν τῷ ναυστάθμῳ
ἔτεροι ἀπέωναστο, κατέδεισαν καὶ κατελύσαντο
ointment τε δόντες καὶ φόρον ἐτήσιον ταξάμενοι.
4 Καὶ οὕτως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄπτηρε παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς
νύστος, καὶ οὖν ἐνεκατέληπτε στράτευμα ἐν αὐτῇ:
ἀκείνῳ τε γὰρ κινδύνευσεν ἐν ἀλληρία τῇ χειμα-
ζον, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄν ἐν καλῷ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς
Γαλατίας ἀποθημήσας νομίζων, ἡγάπησε τοῖς
παροῦσι, μὴ ᾗ καὶ μειζόνων ὀργυνώμενος καὶ περὶ
2 ἐκείνοις σφαλή, καὶ ἐδοξε καὶ τοῦτο ὀρθῶς
πεποιηκέναι, ὥσπερ ποι λα γὰρ τῷ ἐργῷ διεδείχθη:
ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὄρμησεν ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖ
παραχειμάσων, οἱ Γαλάται, κατοί φρονοῦν ὡς
ἔκαστοι πολλοὺς ἔχοντες, ὡμοὶ ἐνεώξομεν καὶ
¹ Κασουελλανόν Reim., καὶ σουελλάντωs L.
² τῶν added by Leun.él.
³ πλάγια Rk., πλάσμα L.
⁴ ἀνίσωσαν Rk., ἀνίσωσαν L.⁵ δὲ Rk., τε L.
⁶ μὴ added by R. Steph.
arsenal itself, with Cassivellaunus, regarded as the foremost of the chiefs in the island, at their head. The Romans upon meeting them were at first thrown into confusion by the attack of their chariots, but later opened ranks, and by letting them pass through and then from the side hurling their weapons at the men as they rushed past, made the battle equal. For the time being both parties remained where they were. Later, however, the barbarians, after proving victorious over the infantry but being defeated by the cavalry, withdrew to the Thames, where they encamped after cutting off the ford by means of stakes, some visible and some under water. But Caesar by a powerful assault forced them to leave the stockade and later on by siege drove them from their fortress, while others repulsed a party of theirs that attacked the ships in the harbour. They then became terrified and made terms, giving hostages and agreeing to pay a yearly tribute.

Thus Caesar departed entirely from the island and left no body of troops behind in it; for he believed that such a force would be in danger while passing the winter in a foreign land and that it might be inadvisable for him to remain away from Gaul for any considerable period; hence he was satisfied with his present achievements, in the fear that if he reached out for more, he might be deprived even of these. It seemed that here again he had done right, as was, indeed, proved by the event. For when he had gone to Italy, intending to winter there, the Gauls, though each nation contained many garrisons, nevertheless became restless and some of them
τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ φανερῶς ἐπανέστησαν. ὅπερ εἰ ἐν τῇ Βρετανίᾳ καταμείνατος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν χειμώνα ἐγενότι, πάντα ἃν ἃ τῇ ὁδῷ ἐτετάρκτο.

5 Ὡρξαν δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου Ἔβουρνοι, ἡγουμένου σφίσιν Ἀμβιόριγος. καὶ ἔλεγον μὲν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὅν 3 οἱ τε Σαβίνος καὶ Δούκιος Κόττας υποστράτηγοι ἦρχον, ἀχθομένοι κεκινήσαν. τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἐκεῖνω τε κατεφρόνησαν ὡς οὐκ ἰκανῶν ἁμένας σφίσις ἐσφόμενον, καὶ τὸν Κάισαρα οὐκ ἠπίσαν διὰ ταχείων σφίσιν

2 ἐπιστρατεύσεις. ἐπῆλθον τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὴ προσδεχόμενοι ὡς καὶ αὐτοβοῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον αἰρήσοντες, καὶ ἐπειδὴ διήμαρτον αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ἀπάτην ἐτράποντο. τῶν γὰρ χωρίων τὰ ἐπιτήδειότατα ὁ Ἀμβιόριξ προλόγισας ἠλθεν ἐξ ἐπικηρυκείας πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὡς οὐχ ἐκῶν δὴ

3 πολέμησας, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν μεταγιγνώσκεις ἐφῆ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους φυλάττεσθαι σφίσι παρήσεσεν. οὗτος γὰρ αὐτὸ πειθαρχεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μέλλειν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπίθησεσθαι. κακὸ τοῦτο καὶ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἐδώκει τὴν μὲν Ἐβουρνίαν, ὡς καὶ κινδυνεύσουσιν ἂν καταμείνωσι, καταλιπέντεν, πρὸς δὲ συστρατιώτας τινὰς πέλας πον χειμάζοντας ὡς

6 τάχιστα μεταστῆναι. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐπέσθησαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι εὐπρότητο πολλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάισαρος καὶ χάριν αὐτὸ ταῦτην ἀντιδίδοναι ἐδόκει. συσκευασάμενοι τε

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1 Ἐβουρνοὶ Xyl., Ἐβουρνοὶ L.
2 ἡγουμένοι ρ. steph., ἡγουμένου L.
3 ὅν supplied by leucel. 4 ἐκεῖνος Xyl., ἐκεῖνος L.
5 κινδυνεύσουσιν Reim., κινδυνεύσωσιν L.
6 ταῦται ἀντιδίδοναι v. Herw., ταῦτην ἀνταποδίδοναι Naber, τὰ ὑπεναντία διδόναι L.
openly revolted. Now if this had happened while he was staying in Britain through the winter season, all Gaul would have been in a turmoil.

This war was begun by the Eburones, under Ambiorix as chief. They claimed they had been roused to action because they were annoyed at the presence of the Romans, who were commanded by Sabinus and Lucius Cotta, lieutenants. The truth was, however, that they scorned those officers, thinking they would not prove competent to defend their men and not expecting that Caesar would quickly make an expedition against their tribe. They accordingly came upon the soldiers unawares, expecting to take the camp without striking a blow, and, when they failed of this, had recourse to deceit. For Ambiorix, after planting ambushes in the most suitable spots, came to the Romans after sending a herald to arrange for a parley, and represented that he had taken part in the war against his will and was himself sorry; but against the others he advised them to be on their guard, for his countrymen would not obey him and were intending to attack the garrison at night. Consequently he made the suggestion to them that they should abandon Eburonia, since they would be in danger if they remained, and should move on as quickly as possible to some of their comrades who were wintering near by. Upon hearing this the Romans believed him, especially as Ambiorix had received many favours from Caesar and seemed to be repaying his kindness in this way. They
σπουδὴ εὐθὺς ἠφ’ ἐσπέρας ἀφώρισαν, καὶ ἐμπεσόντες ἐς τὰ λεοχισμένα δεῖνος ἐςφάλησαν.

2 ὁ τε γὰρ Κόττας παραχρήμα μετὰ πολλῶν ἀπώλετο, καὶ τὸν Σαβίνου ὁ Ἀμβιόριξ μετεπέμψατο μὲν ὡς καὶ σῶσων (οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς γυνομένους παρῆν, καὶ πιστὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τοτε ἦτ’ ἐδόκει εἶναι), συλλαβῶν δὲ δὴ, καὶ ἀποδύσας καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα, κατηκότισεν, ἐπιλέγων ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τοιοῦτοι μὲντοι ὄντες πῶς τηλικῶτων ἡμῶν

3 ὄντων ἀρχειν ἐθέλετε; οὔτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἐπαθοῦν· οἵ δὲ λοιποὶ διέπεσον μὲν ἐς τὸ τάφρεμα ὅθεν ἀπανεστήκεσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τε βαρβαροὶ καὶ ἐκεῖ προσέμεθαν καὶ οὐτ’ ἁμύνασθαι αὐτοὺς οὔτε διαφυγεῖν ἡδυνήθησαν, ἀλλήλους ἀπέκτειναν.

7 Γενομένου δὲ τοῦτον ἄλλοι τε τίνες τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἀπέστησαν καὶ Νέροιοι, καὶ τοῦ Κυντου Κικέρωνος παρ’ αὐτοῖς χειμάζοντος· ἀδελφὸς δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου ἦν, ὑποστρατηγὸν τοῦ Καίσαρι. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀμβιόριξ προσλάβων

2 συνέβαλε τῷ Κικέρωνι· καὶ ἀρχώμακα ἀργωνισάμενος, καὶ τινας καὶ ζώντας ἐλον, ἀπατήσαι μὲν πη καὶ ἐκείνον ἐπεχείρησε, μὴ δυνηθεῖ δὲ ἐς τε πολυρκίαν αὐτοῦ κατέστησε, καὶ διὰ ταχέων ὑπὸ τε τῆς πολυχειρίας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμπειρίας, ἢν ἐκ τῆς συστρατείας ἢν μετὰ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐπεποίητο ἐκέκτητο, καὶ τίνα καὶ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐκάστων· μαθῶν, καὶ ἀπεσταύρωσε καὶ

3 ἀπετάφρευσεν. ἐγνυμοντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ μάχαι, ὅτα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτω εἰκός ἦν, συχναὶ, καὶ ἀπώλλυτο πολὺ πλείον τῶν βαρβάρων ἀτε καὶ πλείους

1 ἀπανεστήκεσαν Dind., ἀπανεστήκεσαν L.
2 ἐκάστων St., ἐν ἐκάστων L.
hastily packed up their belongings, and setting out just after nightfall, fell into the ambush, where they suffered a terrible reverse. Cotta with many others perished immediately. Sabinus was sent for by Ambiorix under the pretext of saving him, for the Gallic leader was not present at the ambush and at that time was still thought to be trustworthy; on his arrival, however, Ambiorix seized him, stripped him of his arms and clothing, and then struck him down with his javelin, uttering boastful words over him, such as these: "How can such creatures as you wish to rule us who are so great?" This was the fate that these men suffered. The rest managed to break through to the camp from which they had set out, but when the barbarians assailed that, too, and they could neither repel them nor escape, they killed one another.

After this event some others of the neighbouring tribes revolted, among them the Nervii, though Quintus Cicero, a brother of Marcus Cicero and lieutenant of Caesar, was wintering in their territory. Ambiorix added them to his force and engaged in battle with Cicero. The contest was close, and after capturing some prisoners alive the chieftain tried to deceive him also in some manner, but being unable to do so, besieged him. Thanks to his large force and the experience which he had gained from his service with the Romans, together with information that he obtained from the individual captives, he quickly managed to enclose him with a palisade and ditch. There were numerous battles, as was natural in such a situation, and far larger numbers of the barbarians perished, because there were more of
 provinciis: οὐ μὴν ἄλλα αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς περιουσίας τοῦ στρατοῦ οὔδὲ ἐν αἰσθήσει τοῦ φθειρομένου σφῶν ἠσαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἦρωμαίοι μήτε ἄλλως πολλοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἑλάττους ἀεὶ γνωσμένοι ραδίως περι-
εστοιχίσθησαν. κινδυνεύοντων οὖν αὐτῶν ἁλῶναι
(οὗτος γὰρ τὰ τραύματα θεραπεύειν ἀπορία τῶν
ἐπιτηδείων ἔδυναν, οὗτος τὴν τροφὴν ἀφθόνως,
ἂν ἐν ἀδοκίτω πολιορκία, εἶχον οὖδὲ ἐπήμνυν
τις αὐτοῖς, καίτοι πολλοὶ οὐκ ἀπώθεν χειμαζόν-
τον; οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι τὰς οὐδές ἀκριβῶς φυλάσ-
σοντες πάντας τοὺς ἐκπεμπόμενους σφῶν συνε-
λάμβανον καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν ἐφώνευν)
2 Νέρουίος τις εὐνοικός σφυσιν ἐξ εὐεργεσίας ἔχων,
καὶ τότε σὺν τῷ Κικέρωνι πολιορκοῦμενος, δούλων
τινα ἐαυτοῦ διάγγελον αὐτῷ παρέσχην ἐκ τε γὰρ
τῆς σκέψεως καὶ ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς τῆς ἐπιχωρίας ἡδυ-
νήθη λαθεῖν συγγενόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς καὶ
ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀποχωρήσας.
3 Μαθὼν οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ τὸ γυρνόμενον (οὐδέπω δὲ
ἐξ τῆς Ἰταλίαν ἀπεληλύθει, ἄλλο ἐν ὀδῷ ἦν)
ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς χειμαδίοις, δὲ ὅν διῆγε,
στρατιώτας παραλαμβάνων ἑπείγετο. καὶ τούτῳ
φοβηθείς μή καὶ φθάσῃ ὁ Κικέρων ἀπογρώσει τῆς
βοηθείας δεινὸν τι παθῶν ἦ καὶ συνθέμενος, προ-

2 ἐπεμψεν ἱππεά. τὸ μὲν γὰρ οἰκέτη τοῦ τοῦ

2 Νεροίου, καίτοι πείραν ἐργῷ τῆς εὐνοίας αὐτοῦ

2 νο added by R. Steph.
them. They, however, by reason of the multitude of their army did not feel their loss at all, whereas the Romans, who were not numerous in the first place, kept continually growing fewer and were hemmed in without difficulty. They were unable to care for their wounds through lack of the necessary appliances, and did not have a large supply of food, because they had been besieged unexpectedly. No one came to their aid, though many were wintering at no great distance; for the barbarians guarded the roads with care and caught all who were sent out and slaughtered them before the eyes of their friends. Now when they were in danger of being captured, a Nervian who was friendly to them as the result of kindness shown him and was at this time besieged with Cicero, furnished a slave of his to send as a messenger through the lines. Because of his dress and his speech, which was that of the natives, he was able to mingle with the enemy as one of their number without attracting notice, and afterwards went his way.

In this way Caesar, who had not yet returned to Italy but was still on the way, learned of what was taking place, and turning back, he took with him the soldiers in the winter establishments through which he passed, and pressed rapidly on. Meanwhile, being afraid that Cicero, in despair of assistance, might suffer disaster or even capitulate, he sent a horseman on ahead. For he did not trust the servant of the Nervian, in spite of having received an actual proof of his good will, fearing that he might pity his countrymen and work the Romans some great evil; so he sent a horseman of the allies who knew the
3 ἐπεμεθε. καὶ ὅπως γε μὴν αὐτὸς τι μὴν οὖν ἑθελοντις μὴν ἀκὼν ἐξείπη, οὔτε τι αὐτῷ ἐξελάλησε, καὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι πάνθ' ὅσα ἡβουλήθη ἐλληνιστὶ ἑπέστειλεν, ἵνα ἀν καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἀλφ., ἀλλ' ἀσύνετα γε καὶ τότε τοῖς βαρβάροις ὅντα μηδέν σφας ἐκδιδάξῃ. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ ἀλλοι, ὅποτε τι δι' ἀπορρήτων τινὶ ἑπέστειλε, τὸ τέταρτον ἀεὶ στοιχείον ἀντὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἀντεγγράφειν, ὅπως ἀν ἄγνωστα των πολλῶν ἦ τὰ γραφόμενα. ὁ δ' οὖν ἵππευς ἦλθε μὲν πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δ' ἐγγύθεν αὐτῷ προσμίζει συνεδρία τα ἱγματά ἀκοντίῳ, καὶ ὡς ίες αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων πρὸς πύργον ἐξεπιτήρησε προσέπηξε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Κικέρων οὐτὸ τὴν πρόσοδον τοῦ Καίσαρος μαθῶν ἀνεθάρσης καὶ προθυμὸτερον διεκατέρθερεν νεὶ δὲ δὴ βάρβαροι ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν τὴν ἐπικουρίαν αὐτοῦ ἧγομέναν (νυκτοπορῶν γὰρ ἐπείτα τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν ἀφανεστάτοις χωρίοις ἤλιξε, ὅπως ἄπροσδοκητοὶ ὤτι μάλιστα αὐτοῖς προσμίζη), ὅψε δὲ ποτε ἐκ τῆς τῶν πολιορκουμένων περιχαρείας ὑποτοπησάντες αὐτὴν προσκόπους ἐπεμψάν, καὶ μαθόντες παρ' αὐτῶν πλησίαζοντα ἢδ' τὸν Καίσαρα ὀρμῆσαν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἀνελπίστω οἱ προσπεσομενοὶ. προμαθῶν οὖν τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος τὴν τε νύκτα κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐν χώριον τι ἐρυμνῷ προκαταλαβὼν ἑιταύθα ὡς ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο τοῦ καὶ μετ' ὄλγῳ εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῆς πολείας πεποιηθαι τὴν τε ἐφοδὸν σφῶν δεδιέναι, κακ' τούτου καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ μετέωρον αὐτοῦς ὑπαγαγέσθαι.
dialect of the Eburones and was dressed in their garb. And in order that even he might not reveal anything, voluntarily or involuntarily, he gave him no verbal message and wrote to Cicero in Greek all that he wished to say, in order that even if the letter were captured, it should even so be meaningless to the barbarians and afford them no information. In fact, it was his usual practice, whenever he was sending a secret message to any one, to substitute in every case for the proper letter of the alphabet the fourth letter beyond, so that the writing might be unintelligible to most persons. Now the horseman reached the camp of the Romans, but not being able to come close up to it, he fastened the letter to a javelin, and acting as if he were hurling it against the enemy, fixed it purposely in a tower. Thus Cicero learned of the approach of Caesar, and so took courage and held out more zealously. But the barbarians for a long time knew nothing of the assistance Caesar was bringing; for he journeyed by night, bivouacking by day in very obscure places, in order that he might fall upon them as unexpectedly as possible. But they finally grew suspicious because of the excessive cheerfulness of the besieged and sent out scouts; and learning from them that Caesar was already drawing near, they set out against him, thinking to attack him while off his guard. He learned of it in time and remained where he was that night, and just before dawn took up a strong position. There he encamped seemingly in the utmost haste, for the purpose of appearing to have only a few followers, to have suffered from the journey, and to fear an attack from them, and so in this manner to draw them to the higher ground.
3 καὶ ἐσχεν οὗτως· καταφρονήσαντες γὰρ αὐτοῦ διὰ ταύτα πρός τε τὸ ὅρθιον προσέβαλον καὶ μεγάλος ἐπτασαν, ὡστε μηκέτι ἀντιπολεμήσαι.

11 Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τότε καὶ ἐκεῖνοι1 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐχειρώθησαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ δι’ εὐνοίας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἦσαν. οἱ γὰρ Τρήσουροι φοβηθέντες, ἐπειδῆπερ2 τοὺς παρ’ ἐκάστοις πρῶτους3 ὁ Καίσαρ μεταπέμπων ἐκόλαξε, μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ δίκην δώσων, 2 ἐξεπολεμώθησαν αὕτις αὐτοῖς, Ἰνδουτιομάρου4 σφάς ἀναπέσαντος, καὶ συναποστήσαντες καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ δεδιότων ἐπεστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Λαβηνοῦ τὸν Τέτον ἐν Ῥημοίς ὄντα, καὶ ἐπεξεκλῆτον σφίσι παρὰ δόξαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφθάρησαν.

Ταύτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐχείμασεν ὡς καὶ ἀκριβῶς σφας καταστήσασθαι δυνησόμενος. ο ἰδὶ ὁ Κράσσος ἐπιθυμήσας τι καὶ αὐτός δόξης τε ἁμα καὶ κέρδους ἐχόμενον πράξει, ἐπειτ’ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τοιοῦτο τι εἶδεν ὦν (αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἤσύχαζον, καὶ οἱ πρὸςθε προσπολεμῶσαντες σφίσι σουδέν ὑπ’ ἀδυνασίας5 παρεκίμων), ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐπεστράτευσε, μήτε ἐγκλημά τι αὐτοῦ πολεμήσωμεν, μήτε τού πολέμου οἱ ἐψηφισμένοι αὐτοὺς τε γὰρ παμπλούσιος ἤκουν ὄντα, καὶ τὸν Ὁρόδην εὐάλωτον ἅπαν τε καὶ νεοκαταστάτων ἦναι προσεδόκησε.

2 τῶν τε οὖν Εὐφράτην ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ προῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸλ ἔτος τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, φέρων τε αὐτῆν καὶ

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1 ἐκεῖνοι Xyl., ἐκεῖνος L. 2 ἐπειδῆ πρὸς L. 3 πρῶτοι supplied by Reim. 4 Ἰνδουτιομάρου Reim. (as L in chap. 31, 2). Ἰνδουτιομάρου L. 5 ἀδύνασίας Bk., ἀπὸ δυναστείας L.
BOOK XL

And thus it turned out; for in their contempt of him because of this move they charged up hill, and met with so severe a defeat that they carried on the war against him no longer.

In this way both they and all the rest were at that time subdued; but they did not feel kindly toward the Romans. At any rate, the Treveri, when Caesar was sending for the principal men of each tribe and punishing them, became afraid that they, too, might have to pay the penalty; and upon the advice of Indutiomarus, they began war against the Romans once more; and they led some others who feared the same treatment to revolt and made an expedition against Titus Labienus, who was among the Remi, but they were destroyed when the Romans made an unexpected sally.

These were the events that took place in Gaul, and Caesar wintered there, thinking that he would be able to bring the Gauls under strict control. But Crassus, desiring for his part to accomplish something that involved glory and at the same time profit, and seeing that no such thing was possible in Syria, where the people themselves were quiet, and those who had formerly warred against the Romans were by reason of their powerlessness causing no disturbance, made a campaign against the Parthians. He had no complaint to bring against them; nor had the war been assigned to him; but he heard that they were exceedingly wealthy and expected that Orodes would be easy to capture, because he was but newly established. Therefore he crossed the Euphrates and advanced far into Mesopotamia, devastating and ravaging the country. For since his
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πορθῶν τῆς γὰρ διαβάσεως αὐτοῦ ἀδοκίτου τοῖς βαρβάροις γενομένης οὐδεμία ἁκριβῆς φυλακῆς αὐτῆς καθεστήκει, ὡστε ταχὺ μὲν ὁ Ἀσίάς ἡ τότε τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης σατραπεῖων ἦττηθε τῇ περὶ Ἰχνίας, τείχος τι οὔτω καλοῦμενον, ἵππευσιν ὄλγοις μαχαίρας, καὶ τρωθεὶς ἀπεχώρησεν αὐτάργητος τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἐπιστατείας αὐτοῦ γενομένος, ταχὺ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κράσσος τά τε φρουρία καὶ τάς πόλεις τάς Ἐλληνιδας μάλιστα, τάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τῷ Νικηφόρῳ ωνομασμένον, προσεποίησατο τόν γὰρ Μακεδόναν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συστατευσάντων σφίσιν Ἐλλήνων ἀποικοποιότατο, . . . ἔβα ἀχθομενοι καὶ ὃς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὡς καὶ φιλέλληνας πολλὰ ἐπίζωντες, οὐκ ἀκούσαν.

2 σιών μεθίσταντοι πλὴν τε ὡς οἱ Ζηνοδότου οἰκήτοροι μετέπεμψαν τινας αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ μεταστησαμενοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνδοὺ ἐγέμνησε, ἀπέλαβαν ταύτας καὶ διέφθειραν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀνεστησαν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο δεινὸν οὔτε ἐπραξε τότε.

3 Κράσσος οὔτε ἐπαθε. πάντως δὲ κἂν τὰ λοιπὰ χωρία τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Τηγρίδος οὕτω ἐκεχείρωτο, εἰ τῇ τε ἐαυτοῦ ὅρμῃ καὶ τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκπλήξει πρὸς πάντα ὅμως ἐκέχρητο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ κατὰ χώραν χειμάσας ἐν φρουρᾷ αὐτὰ ἁκριβεῖ.

4 ἐπεστημότα, νῦν δὲ ἐλὼν ἵσα ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἡδυνήθη λαβέσω, οὔτε τοὺς λοιπῶν οὕτω ἀυτῶν ἐκείνων ἐφρόντισεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ διατριβῇ ἄχθεσθες καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ῥαττώνης

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1 ταχὺ μὲν ὁ Kidd, ταλαιπωρεῖ L.
2 Σιλάκης (Σιλλακέη) XyL., εἰλακής L.
3 αὐτάργητος Leunol., αὐτὸς ἄγγελος L.
4 Lacuna recognized by Bk., who supplied τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων.
5 διὲ τί of Reim. and Bk., of τί τ. L. 6 κἂν St., καὶ L.
crossing was unexpected by the barbarians no careful guard of the ford had been kept. Consequently Silaces, then satrap of that region, was quickly defeated near Ichnae, a fortress so named, after contending with a few horsemen; and being wounded, he retired to report personally to the king the Romans' invasion. Crassus, on his side, quickly won over the garrisons and especially the Greek cities, among them one named Nicephorium. For colonists in great numbers, descendants of the Macedonians and of the other Greeks who had campaigned in Asia with them, readily transferred their allegiance to the Romans, since they were oppressed by the violence [of the barbarians (?)], and placed strong hopes in the invaders, whom they regarded as friends of the Greeks. The inhabitants of Zenodotium, however, on the pretense that they also were going to revolt, sent for some of the invaders, and then, when they were within the town, arrested and killed them, for which act they were driven from their homes. Apart from this Crassus neither inflicted nor received any serious harm at that time. He certainly would have subdued also the other regions this side of the Tigris, if he had followed up the advantage of his own quick attack and the barbarians' panic consistently in all respects, and also if he had wintered where he was, keeping strict watch of affairs. As it was, he captured only such places as he could seize by sudden assault and paid no heed to the rest nor even to the places conquered, but vexed by the delay in Mesopotamia, and longing for the indolence
ἐπιθυμήσας παρέσχετο τοῖς Πάρθοις καιρὸν παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐγκαταλείφθεντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ στρατιῶτας κακώσαι.

14 Αὐτῇ μὲν ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμου ἐγένετο· οἶκοι δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τύχριδος τὸ μὲν πολὺ τείχη καὶ φρούρια, ἥδη δὲ καὶ πόλεις, ἀλλὰ τε καὶ Κηπησῳδῶντα, ἐν ἡ καὶ βασίλεια ἔχουσι. τὸ γὰρ γένος σφῶν ἦν μὲν 2 ποι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι βαρβάρους, καὶ τὸ γε ὄνομα τούτο καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν Περσικήν βασιλείαν εἶχον. ἄλλα τότε μὲν αὐτοὶ τε ἐν μέρει χώρας βραχεῖ οἴκουν καὶ δυναστείαν ὑπερόρησον σὺν ἐκεῖκτυμο, ἐπεὶ δὲ 3 ἡ τε τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχὴ κατελύθη καὶ τὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἠκμασεν, οἵ τε τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου διάδοχοι στασιάσαντες ἄλλοι ἄλλα 4 ἀπετέμοντο καὶ βασιλείας ἱδίας κατεσκευάσαντο,

3 ἐς τοῦ μέσον τότε πρῶτον ὑπ’ Ἀρσάκου τινὸς ἀφίκοντο, ὅθεν περι καὶ οἱ ἔπειτα βασιλεύσαντες αὐτῶν Ἀρσακίδαι ἐπωνομάσθησαν, καὶ εὐτυχήσαντες τὴν τε πλησιόχωρον ἐκτήσαντο πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν σατραπεῖας κατέσχον, τελευτῶντες δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐχόρησαν ὅστε καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοι τότε τε ἀντιπολεμήσαι καὶ δεύο ἂει ἀντίπαλοι νομίζε- ἔσθαι. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἴσχυροι τὰ πολέμια, μειζὼν δ’ ὄμως ὄνομα, καίτοι μῆτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων τι παρηγημένοι καὶ προσέτε καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐστὶν ἄ προεμνοι, ἔχουσιν, ὅτι μηδέποτε ἔδοξοντο, ἄλλα καὶ νῦν ἔτι 5 τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς,

1 παρέσχετο Bk., παρέσχε τε L.
2 βασίλεια Leuncl., βασίλεια L. 3 ἐπεὶ δὲ Leuncl., ἐπείδη L.
4 ἄλλοι ἄλλα Bk., ἄλλοι ἄλλας L. 5 ἔτι Rk., ἔτι L.
of Syria, he afforded the Parthians time to prepare themselves and to harass the soldiers left behind in their country.

This was the beginning of the war of the Romans against the Parthians. These people dwell beyond the Tigris, for the most part in forts and garrisons, but also in a few cities, among them Ctesiphon, in which they have a royal residence. Their race was in existence among the ancient barbarians and they had this same name even under the Persian kingdom; but at that time they inhabited only a small portion of the country and had acquired no dominion beyond their own borders. But when the Persian rule had been overthrown and that of the Macedonians was at its height, and when the successors of Alexander had quarrelled with one another, cutting off separate portions for themselves and setting up individual monarchies, the Parthians then first attained prominence under a certain Arsaces, from whom their succeeding rulers received the title of Arsacidae. By good fortune they acquired all the neighbouring territory, occupied Mesopotamia by means of satrapies, and finally advanced to so great glory and power as to wage war even against the Romans at that time, and ever afterward down to the present day to be considered a match for them. They are really formidable in warfare, but nevertheless they have a reputation greater than their achievements, because, in spite of their not having gained anything from the Romans, and having, besides, given up certain portions of their own domain, they have not yet been enslaved, but even to this day hold their own in the wars they wage
15 οὐσάκις ἂν συνενεχθῶσι, διαφέροντα. περὶ μὲν οὖν τού τε γένους καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς τε ἱδιότητος τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτῶν πολλοίς τε εἰρηταὶ καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν ἐν γνώμῃ ποιοῦμαι συγγράψαι· τῇ δὲ δὴ ὀπλίσει καὶ τῇ τῶν πολέμων διαχειρίσει (τούτων γὰρ ὁ ἔξτασιμος τόδε τῷ λόγῳ, ὅτι καὶ ἐς χρείαν αὐτῶν ἀφικνεῖται, προσήκει) τοιὰδε χρώνται.  

2 ἀστικὸς μὲν οὖν νομίζοντες, ἐπιτοιχεῖται δὲ καὶ κοντοφόροι, τὰ πολλὰ κατάφρακτοι, στρατεύονται. πεζοὶ τε ὑλίγρου μὲν καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεῖστεροι, τοξόται δ᾽ οὖν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες εἰσίν. ἐκ τε γὰρ παῖδων ἀσκοῦνται, καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἦ τε  

3 χώρα αὐτοῖς συναίρεται πρὸς ἀμφότερα. αὐτὴ τε γὰρ πεδίας ὡς πληθεὶς οὕσα ἀρίστη ἐπιποιεῖ τε τρέφειν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπιτηδειοτάτη καθυπενεχθεῖν ἄγελας γοῦν ἄλας καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὡς ἀλλοτε ἄλλοις ἐπιποιεῖν ἁρωθεῖν καὶ πάρρωθέν τε ἐξαπηλλαύνειν καὶ μακράν ποι ἐξ αὐτο-  

4 διὸν ἄπογερεῖν, ἐπάγονται· καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ ύπέρ αὐτῶν, ἐντοτάτος τε ὑπὲρ καὶ ἱκμάδα οὖσα ἐλαχίστην ἐχών, ἐντονωτάτας σφίσειτας τας τοξείας πληρωτοῦ πάνυ χειμώνος παρέχεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ὀραν ἐκείνην οὐδαμὴ στρατεύονται. τῷ δὲ δὴ λοιπῶ ἔτει δυσμαχωταί ἐν τε τῇ σφετέρᾳ καὶ  

5 ἐν τῇ ὁμιοιότητὶ εἰσὶ· τόν τε γὰρ ἡμῶν φλογοδέματον ὡσμοντα ἄνεχοντα τῇ συνηθεῖα, καὶ τῆς ὀλυμπότητος τῆς τε δυσχερείας τοῦ πολέμου ἀλεξιφάρμακα ἀνευρήκασιν, ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου μὴ χαλεπῶς τοὺς ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν

1 κορτοφόροι Val., ἀκορτοφόροι L.  
2 ἀρίστη Bk., βασίτη L.  
3 ο added by R. Steph.  
4 ἐντονωτάτας Reim. from Xiph., ἑπτανάτα L.
against us, whenever they become involved in them. Now about their race and their country and their peculiar customs many have written, and I have no intention of describing them. But I will describe their equipment of arms and their method of warfare; for the examination of these details properly concerns the present narrative, since it has come to a point where this knowledge is needed. The Parthians make no use of a shield, but their forces consist of mounted archers and pikemen, mostly in full armour. Their infantry is small, made up of the weaker men; but even these are all archers. They practise from boyhood, and the climate and the land combine to aid both horsemanship and archery. The land, being for the most part level, is excellent for raising horses and very suitable for riding about on horse-back; at any rate, even in war they lead about whole droves of horses, so that they can use different ones at different times, can ride up suddenly from a distance and also retire to a distance speedily; and the atmosphere there, which is very dry and does not contain the least moisture, keeps their bow-strings tense, except in the dead of winter. For that reason they make no campaigns anywhere during that season; but the rest of the year they are almost invincible in their own country and in any that has similar characteristics. For by long experience they can endure the sun's heat, which is very scorching, and they have discovered many remedies for the dearth of drinking-water and the difficulty of securing it, so that for this reason also they can
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ἐσβάλλοντας ἀμύνεσθαι. ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖνης ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην μάχαις μὲν τις καὶ καταδρομαῖς
6 αἰφνιδίους ἤδη ποτὲ ἱσχυσάν τι, πολεμήσαι δὲ
tισιν ἀπαντήσει καὶ διάρκους οὐ δύνανται, καὶ ἐς ἀλλοτριωτάτην σφίζει καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
cατάστασιν ἀπαρτώντες, καὶ μὴν σίτου μὴν
μισθοφορᾶς παρασκευήν ποιούμενοι.

16 Τοιαύτα μὲν τὰ τῶν Πάρθων ἐστὶν, ἐσβαλόντος
dὲ ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν τοῦ Κράσσου ὅσπερ
εἰρηταί, ὁ Ὀρώδης ἐπεμψε μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐς
tὴν Συρίαν πρόσβεις, τῆς τε ἐσβολῆς αἰτίωμενος
cαὶ τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου πυνθανόμενος, ἐπεμψε
dὲ πρὸς τε τὰ ἑαυτοκτὸνα τα τε μεθεστικότα
2 Σουρήνας σὺν στρατῷ αὐτὸς γὰρ τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ
tοῦ Τιγράνου ποτὲ γενομένη διενοχέο ἐπιστρα
τεύσει, ὅπως ὁ Ἀρταβαζῆς ὁ τοῦ Τιγράνου
παῖς ὁ τότε αὐτῆς βασιλείων μηδεμίαν τοῖς
Ῥωμαίοις, ἀτε καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκεία διδώσω, βοήθειαν
tὸ πέμψῃ. ὁ οὖν Κράσσος ἐκείνῳ τε ἐν Σελευκείᾳ
(ἔστι δὲ πόλις ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμία, πλεῖστον τὸ
'Ελληνικόν καὶ νῦν ἔχουσα) τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέ
μου ἐρέιν ἐφ' ἀρμό τῶν Πάρθων τις ἐς τὴν
χείρα τὴν ἀριστερὰν τοῖς τῆς ἑτέρας δακτύλοις
κρούσας εἶπεν ὃτι "θᾶσσον ἐντεθεὶν τρίχες ἀνα
φύουνται ὥστι ἐν Ἐλληνικόν γενήση." Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἱεμῶν ἐν ὑ Ῥωμαίος τε Καλούνιος

1 ἀπαντή καὶ Ρκ., ἀπαντίκα Λ.
2 ἀπαρτώτες Λ., ἀπαρτώτητα Λ.
3 μισθοφορᾶς παρασκευήν Ρκ., μισθοφορά σκεύη Λ.
4 ἐσβαλόντος R. Steph., ἐσβαλλόντος Λ.
5 τὰ added by Leunec.
6 ἀπαρτώτητα Bk., ἀπαρτώσουσι Λ.
7 Καλούτιος H. Steph., καλούνιος Λ.
easily repel the invaders of their land. Outside of this district beyond the Euphrates they have once or twice gained some success in pitched battles and in sudden incursions, but they cannot wage an offensive war with any nation continuously and without pause, both because they encounter an entirely different condition of land and sky and because they do not lay in supplies of food or pay. Such is the Parthian state.

When Crassus had invaded Mesopotamia, as has been stated, Orodes sent envoys to him in Syria to censure him for the invasion and to ask the causes of the war; at the same time he sent Surenas with an army to the captured and revolted districts. For he had it in mind to lead an expedition in person against that part of Armenia which had once belonged to Tigranes, in order that Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, the king of the land at that time, should send no assistance to the Romans through fear for his own land. Now Crassus said that he would tell him in Seleucia the causes of the war; this is a city in Mesopotamia which even at the present day has a very large Greek population. And one of the Parthians, striking the palm of his left hand with the fingers of the other, exclaimed: "Sooner will hair grow here than you shall reach Seleucia."

And when the winter set in, in which Gnaeus
καὶ Οὐαλέριος Μεσσάλας ὑπάτευσαν ἐνέστη, 1 πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ 'Ρώμῃ τέρατα τότε ἐγένετο· καὶ γαρ βύαι καὶ λόκοι ὄφθησαν, οὐ τε κύνες περιφοιτώντες ὄργοντο, 2 καὶ ἀγάλματα τὰ μὲν
2 ἱδρώσε τὰ δὲ ἐκεραυνώθη, τάς τε ἀρχὰς τὸ μὲν τι φιλονεικία, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν ὄρνθων καὶ ὑπὸ διοσίμων μόλις ποτὲ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ μηνὶ ἀπέδειξαν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὐδὲν σαφὲς διεδήλου ἐσὶ ο τι τελευτῆσει; τὰ τε γαρ ἐν τῷ ἀστείον ἐστάτετο καὶ οἱ Γαλάται ἐκυπήθησαν αὐτίς, πρὸς τὸ τοὺς Πάρθους οὖν εἰδότες πῶς ὀπῶς 3 συνερράγησαν· τὸ τοῦ δὲ Κράσσω τοῦ Εὐφράτην κατὰ τὸ Ζέυγμα (οὕτω γαρ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας τὸ χορίον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ταύτη ἐπεραιόθη, κέκληται) διαβαίνοντι καὶ προφανῆ καὶ εὐσύμβολα συνηρέχθη. ὁ γὰρ ἅπας ὁ φωνασμένος (ἔστι δὲ νεῶς μικρός, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἅπας χρυσῶς εὑρισκόμενος καθισταί τε ἐν πάσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου στρατοπέδων, καὶ οὐδαμός ἐκ τῶν χειμάδων, πλὴν
2 εἰ ποι σύμπας ὁ στρατὸς ἑξειδίκευται· καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς ἀνήρ ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ, 4 εἰς δὲ τὸν στύρακα ἀπηγμένου ὅστε καὶ ἐς τὸ δάπεδον καταπήγητοι, φέρει)· τούτων οὖν τῶν ἅπας εἰς οὐκ ἥθελεν εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην αὐτὸ τὸ συνδιαβήται, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ γὰρ ἐνέσχετο ὅστε ἐμπεθυκός, πρὶν δὴ πολλοὶ
3 περιστάντες βία αὐτὸν ἀνέστασαν. καὶ ο μὲν καὶ ἅκων ἑπηκολούθησε, σημεῖον δὲ τὴν τῶν μεγάλων, τῶν τοῖς ἱστίοις ἐοικότοι καὶ φωικὰ γράμματα

1 ἐνέστη supplied by Rk., space of some eight letters left in L. 2 ἔκνωσέντο Polak, ἐκέσσατο L.
3 εἰδότες τῶν ὀπῶς Βρ., εἰδότες ... τῶς L.
4 μακροῦ Leumel., from Xiph., μικροῦ L.
Calvinus and Valerius Messalla became consuls, many portents occurred even in Rome itself. Owls and wolves were seen, the dogs prowled about and whined, some sacred statues exuded sweat and others were struck by lightning. The offices, partly through rivalry but chiefly by reason of the omens and portents, were with difficulty filled at last in the seventh month. Those signs, however, gave no clear indication as to what the event would be; for affairs in the city were in a turmoil, the Gauls had risen again, and, though the Romans knew not how as yet, they had become involved in war with the Parthians. But to Crassus signs that were both evident and easy to interpret appeared as he was crossing the Euphrates at Zeugma, a place so called from the campaign of Alexander, because he crossed at this point. One portent had to do with the so-called "eagle" of the army. It is a small shrine and in it perches a golden eagle. It is found in all the enrolled legions, and it is never moved from the winter-quarters unless the whole army takes the field; one man carries it on a long shaft, which ends in a sharp spike so that it can be set firmly in the ground. Now one of these eagles was unwilling to join him in his passage of the Euphrates at that time, but stuck fast in the earth as if rooted there, until many took their places around it and pulled it out by force, so that it accompanied them quite reluctantly. But one of the large flags, that resemble sails, with purple letters upon them to
ἐν' αὐτοῖς ἑπτ' ἀνέμος τε τοῦ τε στρατοῦ καὶ τοῦ
στρατηγοῦ σφων τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐχόοτον, ἐς
tον ποταμόν ἁπὸ τῆς γέφυρας περιτραπεν ἐνέπεσε.
kai τούτο μὲν ὑπὸ πνεύματος ὁντός σφυδροῦ ἐγένετο·
ο δὲ δὴ Κράσσος καὶ τὰλλα τὰ ἱσομήκη οἱ συντε-
μῶν, ὅτις βραχύτερα καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον καὶ βεβαιό-
tερα φέρειν εἶν, προσεπηύξησε τὰ τέρατα. καὶ
γὰρ ὁμίχλη ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαβάσει
tοσαῦτη τοῖς στρατιώταις περιεχύθη ὡστε περί
tε ἀλλήλοις αὐτοὺς σφαλήναι καὶ μηδὲν τῆς
5 πολεμίας, πρὶν ἐπιβήναι αὐτῆς, ἰδεῖν καὶ τὰ δια-
βατήρια τὰ τὸ ἀπὸβαθρὰ σφύσι δυσχερότατα
ἐγένετο. κἂν τούτῳ ἀνέμος τὸ πολὺς ἐπέπεσε καὶ
κεραυνοὶ κατέσκηψαν, ὥ τε γέφυρα, πρὶν πάντας
αὐτοὺς διελθεῖν, διελύθη. καὶ ἤ ἦ γὰρ τὰ γιγνόμενα
ὁλ' πάντα τινὰ καὶ τῶν πάνω ἀγωνίσαντες τε καὶ
ἀσυνέτων ἐκδιδάσκει ὅτι κακῶς ἀπαλλάξουσι καὶ
οὐκ ἀνακομισθήσονται, φόβος καὶ κατῆφεια ἐν τῷ
19 στρατοπέδῳ ἐγένετο δεινή. ὁ οὖν Κράσσος παρα-
μυθούμενοι αὐτοὺς ἐπειν ὅτι "μὴ καταπλήττεσθε,
ἀνδρές στρατιῶται, εἰ ἡ γέφυρα διέφθαρται, μηδὲ
οἴσθε ἐκ τούτου χαλεπὸν τὰ ἐπιστημαίεσθαι:
2 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤμων αὐτοὺς ἐπομνύς λέγω ὅτι δι' Ἀρμε-
νίας τὴν ἐπάνω οὖν ποιήσασθαι ἐγώνα.
ἐκ μὲν
dὴ οὖν τοῦτον θάρσου, νῦν δὲ προσεπηύξησε τινὰ
ἐφή, μέγα ἀναβοήσας, "θαρσεῖτε: οὔδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῶν
3 ἐπετεύθεν ἐπανήξει," ἀκοῦσαντες γὰρ τοῦτοι
στρατιῶται ὁμοίως τὸ σφισίν οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀλλων
ἡττῳ γεγονέναι ἐνόμισαν καὶ ἐς ἀθυμίαν πλεῖον
κατέπεσον, ὡστε μηδὲν ἐτὶ μηδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ
παραινέσεων φροντίσαι, δὲ όν τῶν τε βάρβαρων

1 ἐφ' αὐτοῖς Ρκ., ἐφ' αὐτῆς Λ. 2 ola Oddey, ol L.
BOOK XI.

distinguish the army and its commander-in-chief, was overturned and fell from the bridge into the river. This happened in the midst of a violent wind. Then Crassus had the others of equal length cut down, so they might be shorter and hence steadier to carry; but he only increased the prodigies. For at the very time of crossing the river so great a fog enveloped the soldiers that they fell over one another and could see nothing of the enemy's country until they set foot upon it; and the sacrifices both for crossing and for landing proved most unfavourable. Meanwhile a great wind burst upon them, bolts of lightning fell, and the bridge collapsed before they had all passed over. The occurrences were such that any one, even the most indifferent and uninstructed, would interpret them to mean that they would fare badly and not return; hence there was great fear and dejection in the army. Now Crassus, trying to encourage them, said: "Be not alarmed, soldiers, because the bridge has been destroyed nor think because of this that any disaster is portended. For I declare to you upon oath that I have decided to make my return march through Armenia." By this he would have emboldened them, had he not added in a loud voice the words: "Be of good cheer; for none of us shall come back this way." When they heard this, the soldiers deemed that it had been an omen for them as great as the others, and they fell into greater discouragement; and so it was that they paid no heed to the remainder of his exhortation, in which he belittled
ἐφαύλιζε καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνεκωμίαζε, χρή-
ματὰ τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου καὶ γέρα ἐπηγγέλλετο. ἄλλα
καὶ δως εἶποντο, καὶ οὕτε ἀντεἰπέν οἱ ὦν\βος εὐτερπατεῖ, τάχα μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ
ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ μήτε τὶ θουλεύσαι μήτε πρά-
ξαι σωτηρίων δυνάμενοι. πάντα γοῦν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα,
καθάπερ ὑπὸ δαιμονίου τινὸς κατακεκριμένοι, καὶ
ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐσφάλλοντο.

Μέγιστον δὲ ὅμως αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀβγαρὸς ὁ Ὄρ-
ροφος ἐλυμήβατο. ἐνσπονὸς γὰρ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
ἐπὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου γενόμενος ἀνθελλετο τὰ τοῦ
βαρβάρου. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ὁ Ἀλχαυδώνος ὁ
Ἀράβιος ἐποίησε: πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν ἀεὶ μεθῖ-
στατο. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἀπέστη,
καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο οὐ δυσφύλακτος ἦν: ὁ δ' ὁ Ἀβγαρὸς
ἐφρόνει μὲν τὰ τοῦ Πάρθου, ἐπλάττετο δὲ τῷ
Κράσσῳ φιλικὸς ἤχειν, καὶ χρήματα τε ἀφειδὸς
αὐτῷ ἀνήλισκε, καὶ τὰ τῆς θουλεύματα αὐτοῦ
πάντα καὶ ἐμάνθανε καὶ ἐκείνῳ διήγγειλε, καὶ
προσέτει εἰ μὲν τὰ χρηστών σφῶν ἦν, ἀπέτρεπεν

3 αὐτοῦ, ἐν δ' ἀσύμφορου, ἐπέσπερχε. καὶ δὴ καὶ
τοιόνδε τὶ τελευτῶν ἐπραξε. τοῦ γὰρ Κράσσου
πρὸς Σελεύκειαν ὁμώθησε διανοούμενον, ὡστε
ἐκεῖσε τε ἀπαλωσις παρὰ τε τῶν Εὐφρατῆν καὶ
d' αὐτοῦ τῷ τε στρατῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις κομι-
σθήναι, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν (προσποιήσεσθαι γὰρ
σφᾶς ἀτε καὶ Ἑλλήνας ραδίως ἠπίσεν) ἐπὶ

4 Κτησιφώντα μὴ χαλεπῶς περαιώθηναι, τούτου
μὲν ἡς καὶ χρονίου εσομένου ἀμελήσαι αὐτὸν
ἐποίησε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σουρῆμα ὡς καὶ ἐγγὺς καὶ μετ'

21 ὅληγον ἄτι συμμίξα ἐπείσε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο

1 Ἀβγαρὸς Βα., Ἀβγαρὸς Ι. (here and in following chapters).
the barbarian and glorified the Roman state, offered them money and announced prizes for valour. Still, even as it was, they followed and no one said a word or did anything to oppose him, partly, perhaps, out of regard for the law, but also because by this time they were terrified and could neither plan nor carry out any measures of safety. At any rate, in all else that they did also, as if predestined to ruin by some divinity, they were helpless in both mind and body.

Nevertheless, the greatest injury was done them by Abgarus of Osroëne. For he had pledged himself to peace with the Romans in the time of Pompey, but now chose the side of the barbarians. The same was done by Alehaudonius, the Arabian, who always attached himself to the stronger party. The latter, however, revolted openly, and hence was not hard to guard against; but Abgarus, while favouring the Parthian cause, pretended to be well disposed toward Crassus. He spent money for him unsparingly, learned all his plans and reported them to the foe, and further, if any of them was advantageous for the Romans, he tried to divert him from it, but if disadvantageous, urged him forward. At last he was responsible for the following occurrence. Crassus was intending to advance to Seleucia so as to reach there safely with his army and provisions by proceeding along the banks of the Euphrates and on its stream; accompanied then by the people of that city, whom he hoped to win over easily, because they were Greeks, he would cross without difficulty to Čtesiphon. Abgarus caused him to give up this course, on the ground that it would take a long time, and persuaded him to assail Surenas, because the latter was near by and had only a few men. Then,
παρασκευάσας τὸν μὲν ὅπως ἀπόληται τὸν δ' ὅπως κρατήσῃ (συνεχῶς γὰρ προφάσει κατα-
σκοπῆς τῷ Σουρήμα συνενεγκρέτο), ἐξήγαγε τοὺς Ὁω-
μαίους ἀφροντιστοῦντας ὡς ἐπὶ νικην ἔτοιμον, 
καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἐργῳ συνεπέθετο.

2 Ἐπτράχθη δὲ ὡδε. οἱ Πάρθοι τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ 
στρατοῦ σφων ἀποκρύψαντες (ἡ γὰρ τὸ ἀνώ-
μαλός τε πη ἡν καὶ δένδρα εἴχεν) ἀπήντησαν τοῖς Ὁω-
μαίοις. ἵδιον οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Κράσσος, οὐκ ἐκεῖ-
νος ἀλλ' ὁ νεωτέρος (πρὸς γὰρ τὸν πατέρα ἐκ τῆς 
Γαλατίας παρῆν), καὶ καταφρονήσας σφῶν ὡς 
καὶ μόνων, ἀντεξῆγαγε τῷ ἵππικῳ, καὶ τραπο-
μένους ἐξεπίτευξε αὐτοὺς ἐπιδιώκων ὡς καὶ κρατῶν 
ἀπήχθη τοῦ φαλαγγοῦ, κανταῦθα 

29 περιστοχισθεῖς κατεκόπτη. γενομένου δὲ τούτου 
οἱ πεζοὶ τῶν Ὁωμαίων οὐκ ἀπετράπως μὲν, 
ἀλλὰ καὶ προθύμως τοῖς Πάρθοις, ὡς καὶ τιμορή-
σοντες αὐτῷ, συνεμέβαν ὦς μέντοι καὶ ἄξιον σφῶν 
οὔτεν ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς 
μάχης αὐτῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἁβγάρου 

2 ἐπιβουλευθέντες, ἐποίησαν. εἴτε γὰρ συνασπίζαι 
γνόησαν ὡς καὶ τῇ πυκνότητῃ τῆς τάξεως σφῶν 
τα τοξεύματα αὐτῶν ἐκφεύξαμεν, προσπίπτοντες 
σφισιν οἱ κοινοφόροι ῥυμή τοὺς μὲν κατέβαλλον, 
τοὺς δὲ πάντως γοῦν ἐσκεδάμνυσαν εἰτε καὶ δια-
σταῖεν ὅπως τοῦτο γε ἐκκλίνοιεν, ἐτοξεύοντο. 

3 καὶ τούτω πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ εἰς αὐτῆς τῆς 
προσελά-
σεως τῶν κοινοφόρων ἐκπληρτόμενοι ἐθνησκον, 
πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰππέων ἐγκαταλαμβανό-

1 κρατήσατ R. Steph., κρατήσει L.
2 γὰρ Rk., τε L. 3 ἀπῆχθη Turn., ἀπῆχθη L.
3 ἀπὸ Xyl., ὑπὸ L. 4 γνόησαν Bk., γνώσαν L.
6 ἐκκλίνοιεν H. Steph., ἐκκλίνοιεν L.
when he had arranged matters so that the invader should perish and the other should conquer (for he was continually in the company of Surenas, on the pretext of spying), he led out the Romans in their heedlessness to what he represented as a victory in their very hands, and in the midst of the action joined in the attack against them.

It came about in this way. The Par.thians confronted the Romans with most of their army hidden; for the ground was uneven in spots and wooded. Upon seeing them Crassus—not the commander, but the younger Crassus, who had come to his father from Gaul—felt scornful of them, since he supposed them to be alone, and so led out his cavalry against them, and when they turned purposely to flight, pursued them, thinking the victory was his; thus he was drawn far away from the main army, and was then surrounded and cut down. When this had taken place, the Roman infantry did not turn back, but valiantly joined battle with the Par.thians to avenge his death. Yet they accomplished nothing worthy of themselves because of the enemy’s numbers and tactics, and particularly because Abgarus was plotting against them. For if they decided to lock shields for the purpose of avoiding the arrows by the closeness of their array, the pikemen were upon them with a rush, striking down some, and at least scattering the others; and if they extended their ranks to avoid this, they would be struck with the arrows. Hereupon many died from fright at the very charge of the pikemen, and many perished hemmed in by
μενοί ἑφθείροντο ἄλλοι τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀνετρέποντο 1 ἣ καὶ ἀνατειρόμενοι ἑφέροντο. τὰ τε βέλη καὶ πυκνὰ καὶ πανταχόθεν ἄμα αὐτοῖς ἐμπίπτοντα συχνοὺς μὲν καιρία 2 πληγὴ κατέβαλλε, συχνοὺς δὲ ἀπομάχους εἰργάζετο, πᾶσι δ' ἀσχολίαν ἐνεποίει. ἔς τε γὰρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς σφών ἔσπετο μενα καὶ πρὸς τὰς χείρας τὸ τε ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶν καὶ διὰ τὸν ὁπλῶν χωροῦντα τὴν τε προφυλακὴν αὐτῶν ἰθρεύτο, καὶ γυμνοῦσθαί 4 σφας πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ τιτρώσκον 5 ἡμώγκαζεν, ὡστε ἐν ὧ τοῖς τοξεύμα ἐφυλάττετο ἃ καὶ ἐμπαγεν ἐξηρεύτο, 6 πλεῖω τραύματα ἄλλα ἐπὶ ἄλλοις 7 ἐλάμβανε. καὶ τοὺ- τον ἀπὸ τοῦ μὲν σφις κινηθῆναι, ἀπὸ τὸ ὅλον δὲ καὶ ἀτρεμίζειν ἡν' οὔτε γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν οὐδέτερον αὐ- τοῖς εἰχε, καὶ τὸν ὀλέθρον ἀμφότερα ἐπέφερε, τὸ μὲν ὧτι οὐκ ἐδύνατο, 8 τὸ δὲ ὧτι ῥᾶν ἐπίτρω- σκοντο.

23 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ἔως 9 ἔτε 10 πρὸς μόνους τοὺς ἐμφανεῖς πολεμίους 11 ἐμάχοντο, ἐπισεκον' ὁ γὰρ Ἀβγαρός οὐκ εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρησεν ἐπει δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐπέθετο, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Ὅρροινοι αὐτοῖ τε ὡπισθεν ἐς τὰ γυμνα ἀπεστραμμένους 12 σφᾶς ἐπαινοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥᾶν φονεύειν παρεῖχον. τὴν γὰρ τὰξιν, ὅπως ἀντιπρόσωποι αὐτοῖς γένον- ται, ἐξελίζαντες ὡπισθεν σφῶν τοὺς Πάρθους ἐποιημένον. αὐθίν τε ὧ τοὺς πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετεστρά-

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1 ἀνετρέποντο H. Steph., ἀνετρέποντο L.
2 καιρία Xyl., κεραια L. 2 κατέβαλλε Xyl., ἀπέβαλλε L.
4 γυμνοῦσθαι Leuncl., γυμνοῦ τε L.
5 τιτρώσκον Toup., τιτρωσκόμενον L.
6 ἐξηρεύτο Rk., ἐπερτο L. 7 ἐπὶ ἄλλοις Odsey, ἐπὶ τολλοῖς L.
8 ἐδύνατο R. Steph., ἔδυνατο L. 9 ἔως St., ἔτε L.
10 ἔτε Xyl., ἔτε L. 11 πολεμίους Leuncl., πολέμους L.
12 ἀπεστραμμένους Rk., ἀπεστραμμένους L.
the horsemen. Others were knocked over by the pikes or were carried off transfixed. The missiles falling thick upon them from all sides at once struck down many by a mortal blow, rendered many useless for battle, and caused distress to all. They flew into their eyes and pierced their hands and all the other parts of their body and, penetrating their armour, deprived them of their protection and compelled them to expose themselves to each new missile. Thus, while a man was guarding against arrows or pulling out one that had stuck fast he received more wounds, one after another. Consequently it was impracticable for them to move, and impracticable to remain at rest. Neither course afforded them safety but each was fraught with destruction, the one because it was out of their power, and the other because they were then more easily wounded.

This was what they suffered while they were fighting only against the enemies in sight; for Abgarus did not immediately make his attempt upon them. But when he, too, attacked, thereupon the Osroëni themselves assailed the Romans on their exposed rear, since they were facing the other way, and also rendered them easier for the others to slaughter. For the Romans, in altering their formation, so as to be facing them, put the Parthians behind them. Again they wheeled round to face the Parthians,
φησαν, καὶ πάλιν αὕτης πρὸς ἐκεῖνος, εἶτα πρὸς τούτους. κὰκ τοῦ τοιοῦτον μᾶλλον ἐπιταραχθέντες, ἀτε καὶ συνεχῶς δεύρο κάκευτε μεθιστάμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄλτηντον ἀποβλέπειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, τοῖς τε ξίφεσι τοῖς σφετέροις περιέπεπτον καὶ 3 πολλοί καὶ ὑπ’ ἄλληλων ἀπόλοντο. τέλος δὲ ἐς στενῶν οὐτω κατεκλείσθησαν, ἀναγκαζομένοι, τὸν πολεμίων ἀεὶ σφισί πανταχόθεν ἀμα προσπιπτοῦν- των, ταῖς τῶν παραστάτων ἀστίσται τὰς γυμνώσεις σφῶν προστελλείν, ὡστε μηδὲ κινήθηναι ἐτὶ δυνη- θῆναι. οὐ μὴν οὖν τὴν στάσιν βεβαιῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν νεκρῶν εἴχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνους 4 ἀνετρέποντο. τὸ τε καῦμα καὶ τὸ δίς (μεσούν- τος τε γὰρ τοῦ θέρους καὶ ἐν μεσημβρία ταῦτ’ ἐγκυνείτο) καὶ οἱ κοινορτός (ὅπως γὰρ ὅτι πλείστος αἱρεῖτο, πάντες σφῶν οἱ βαρβαροὶ περισσευον) δεινῶς τοὺς λιποὺς συνήρει, καὶ συχνοὶ καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀτρωτοὶ ἐπέσον. καὶ πασποῦ ἀπόλοντο, εἰ μὴ οἴ τε κοινὸι τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν ἀπεστράφησαν οἱ δὲ ἐκλάσθησαν, καὶ αἱ νευραὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς βολῆς ἔρρηγησαν, τὰ τε βέλη ἐξετοξεύθη, καὶ τὰ ξίφη πάντα ἀπήμβλυνθη, τὸ τε μεγίστον οἱ 2 ἄνδρες αὐτοὶ φονεύοντες ἔξεκαμον. οὕτω γὰρ δὴ (καὶ γὰρ 1 νὺξ ἐγκυνείτο καὶ πόρρω ποι ἀφιππεύεσαι αὐτοὺς ἐχρῆν) ἀπεχώρησαν οὔδεποτε γὰρ πλη- σίοι οὖν δὲ τοῖς ἀσθενεστάτοις στρατοπεδεύονται διὰ τὸ μηδεμία ταφρεῖα χρῆσαν· καὶ δία τοῦ, ἄν τις ἐπέλθῃ σφίσιν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ, 2 ἀδύνατοι μὲν τῇ ἱππῳ ἀδύνατοι δὲ καὶ τῇ τοξέιᾳ ἱσχυρίσασθαι 3 εἰναι. οὐ μὲν τοίς καὶ ξοντά τινα τῶν Ρωμαίων τὸ ἐσθών εἰλον· ἐστώτας τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς

1 γὰρ added by Reim. 2 σκότῳ Xyl., σκότῳ l.
then back again to face the Osroeni, then to face the Parthians once more. Thrown into still greater confusion by this course, because they were continually turning this way and that and were forced to face the enemy that was wounding them at the time, they fell upon their own swords and many were even killed by their comrades. Finally, as the enemy continually assaulted them from all sides at once, and they were compelled to protect their exposed parts by the shields of those who stood beside them, they were shut up in so narrow a place that they could no longer move. Indeed, they could not even get a sure footing by reason of the number of corpses, but kept falling over them. The heat and thirst (it was midsummer and this action took place at noon) and the dust, of which the barbarians raised as much as possible by all riding around them, told fearfully upon the survivors, and many succumbed from these causes, even though unwounded. And the Romans would have perished utterly, but for the fact that some of the pikes of the barbarians were bent and others were broken, while the bowstrings snapped under the constant shooting, the missiles were exhausted, the swords all blunted, and, most of all, that the men themselves grew weary of the slaughter. Under these conditions, then, the assailants retired, for night was coming on and they were obliged to ride off to a distance. For they never encamp near even the weakest forces, because they use no intrenchments, and because, if any one attacks them in the darkness, they are unable to employ their cavalry or their archery to advantage. However, they captured no Roman alive at that time; for seeing them standing
ὁρῶντες, καὶ μῆτε τινὰ ἔκεινα ἀπορριπτοῦντα μῆτ' αὐτὸν φεύγοντα αἰσθανόμενοι, ἵσχυεν τε ἐτὶ σφᾶς ἐνόμισαν καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν αὐτῶν ἐπιλαβέσθαι.

25 Οὕτως δ' τε Κράσσος καὶ ἄλλοι ὁσοὶ γε ἰδυνήθησαν ἐς τὰς Κάρρας ὁρμήσαν, βεβαιῶσι σφίσιν υπὸ τῶν καταμεινάντων ἔνδον Ῥωμαίων τηρηθείσας· πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν τετρωμένων μῆτε βαδίσαι οἱ τε ὄντες μῆτ' ὁχημάτων εὐποροῦντες ἦ καὶ ποδηγέταις ἔχοντες (ἀγαπητὸς γὰρ οἱ λοιποὶ ἕαυτος ἄνεφερον) κατὰ χόραν ἔμειναν. καὶ ἐκεῖνων τε οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων ἢ καὶ ἕαυτος καταχρησάμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐάλωσαν τῇ ὑστερᾳ. 2 καὶ τῶν διαδεδρακότων 3 συχνοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ ὀδῷ προλιπόντων 4 σφᾶς τῶν σωμάτων, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἐφθάσαν, θεραπείας παραχρῆμα 3 ἀκριβοὶς μὴ δυνηθέντες τυχεῖν. οὐ γὰρ Κράσσος ἀθυμήσας οὔτε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἰσφαλῶς ἢ ὑπομείναι δυνηθεῖσθαι ἐνόμισεν, ἀλλὰ ὀρασίων εὐθὺς ἐβουλεύσατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οίον τε ἦν αὐτῷ μὲθ' ἱμέραν ἐξίοντες μὴ οὗ καταφύρω 5 γενέσθαι, ἐπεξείρησε μὲν νυκτὸς ἀποδράναι, προδοθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης, πανσελήνην οὔσης, οὐκ ἔλαβεν. 4 προσέμειναν τε οὐν μέχρι τῶν ἀσελήνων νυκτῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἄραντες δὴ, 6 οία ἐν σκότοι καὶ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ καὶ προσέτε καὶ πολεμίᾳ γῇ φόβῳ τε ἱσχυρῷ, ἐσκεδάσθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλοντες ἱμέρας γενομένης ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν

1 Κάρρας Χυλ., ἄκρας Λ.
2 ἐάλωσαν τῇ ὑστερᾳ Τυρ., ἐάλων τῇ ἑτέραι Λ.
3 διαδεδρακότων Πολκ., διαλκότων Λ.
4 προλιπότων Τυρ., προλιπτων Λ.
5 καταφύρω Η. Στεφ., καταφύρω Λ.
6 ὅθε Reim., ὅτε Λ.
7 ἱσχυρῷ Ρ. Στεφ., ἱσχυρῷ Λ.
upright in their armour and perceiving that no one either threw away his weapons or fled, they supposed they still had some strength, and feared to lay hold of them.

So Crassus and all the rest who could set out for Carrhae, which had been kept loyal to them by the Romans who remained behind within the walls. But many of the wounded remained on the field, being unable to walk and lacking vehicles or even guides, since the others had been glad enough merely to drag themselves away. Some of them died of their wounds or by making away with themselves, and others were captured the next day. And of those who had escaped many perished on the road, as their strength gave out, and many later because they were unable to obtain proper care immediately. For Crassus, in his discouragement, believed he could not hold out safely even in the city any longer, but planned flight at once. And since it was impossible for him to go out by day without being detected, he undertook to escape by night, but failed to secure secrecy, being betrayed by the moon, which was at its full. The Romans accordingly waited for moonless nights, and setting out thus, in darkness and in a land at once strange and hostile, and in overpowering fear, they became scattered. And some were caught when it became day and lost their lives, others got
μετὰ Κασσίου Λογιέων τοῦ ταμίου διεσώθησαν:
5 ἄλλοι τῶν ὅρων μετ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κράσσου λαβόμενοι παρέσκευζοντο ὡς καὶ δι’ ἐκείνων ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν φευξόμενοι.

26 Τνοῦς δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Σουρήνας, καὶ φοβηθεῖς μὴ μεταστάντες ποι αὐθεῖς σφίσει προσπολεμῶσι, προσβαλέω μὲν πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα ἀφίππα ὅντα οὐκ ἤθελησεν ὁπλίται τε γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἔξ ὑπερδεξίων μαχόμενοι, καὶ τι καὶ 1 ἀπονοίας ὑπ’ ἀπογνώσεως ἐχοντες, οὐ ράδιοι προσμεῖβαι οἱ ἐγένοντο), πέμπει δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐς σπονδάς δῆθεν σφας προκαλούμενος, ἐφ’ 2 ὁ τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου πᾶσαν ἐκλίπωσι. 2 καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Κράσσος οὐδὲν ἐνδοιασάς ἐπίστευσεν· ἐν τῇ γὰρ ἀκμῇ τοῦ δέον ἄν καὶ ὑπ’ ἐκπλήξεως τῆς τε ἱδίας ἠμα καὶ τῆς δημοσίας συμφορᾶς τεθολομένος, καὶ προσέτη καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τὴν τε ὅδον ὡς πολλὴν καὶ τραχεὰν ὁκνοῦντας καὶ τὸν Ὀρὸν δὴν φοβούμενος ὅρων,

3 οὔτων τῶν δεόντων προϊδέσθαι ἠδυναθή. ἔτοιμον 3 οὖν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰς σπονδὰς γενομένου ὁ Σουρήνας οὐκ ἤθελησεν δι’ ἐτέρων σπείρασθαι, ἀλλ’ ὅπως αὐτῶν μετ’ ὀλιγῶν ἀπολαβῶν συλλάβη, αὐτῷ 4 ἐκείνῳ ἐφ’ ἐτη βούλεσθαι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. καὶ τοῦτον δοξαν σφίσιν ἐν τῷ μεταχύμῳ 4 μετ’ ἱδίων ἀνδρῶν ἐκατέρωθεν συμβαλεῖν ἀλλήλοις, ὁ τε Κράσσος ἐς τὸ ὁμαλὸν ὑποκατέβη, καὶ ὁ Σουρήνας Ἰππον αὐτῶ δώρον, ἱνα δὴ θάνατον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικηται, ἐπεμψε. καὶ οὕτω διαμέλλοντα τῶν Κράσσου, καὶ βουλευόμενον ἐς τὶ ποιήσῃ, συναρ-

1 καὶ Reim., καὶ δ’ L. 2 ἐκλίπωσι Bk., ἐκλείπωσι L.
3 ἔτοιμον R. Steph., ἔτοιμον L.
4 μεταχύμῳ Turn., μεταχύμῳ L.
safely away to Syria in the company of Cassius Longinus, the quaestor, and still others, with Crassus himself, gained the mountains and prepared to escape through them into Armenia.

Surenas, learning this, was afraid that if they should escape anywhere they might make war on them again, but still he was unwilling to assail them on the higher ground, which was inaccessible to horses; for as they were heavy-armed men, fighting from higher ground, and felt also a touch of frenzy because of despair, contending with them was not easy. So he sent to them, inviting them to agree to a truce on condition of their abandoning all territory east of the Euphrates; and Crassus, without hesitation, trusted him. For he was in the very extremity of fear, and was distraught by the terror of the calamity that had befallen both himself and the state; and seeing, moreover, that the soldiers shrank from the journey, which they thought long and arduous, and that they feared Orodes, he was unable to foresee anything that he ought. Now when he declared himself ready for the truce, Surenas refused to negotiate it through others, but in order to get him off with only a few followers and seize him, he said that he wished to hold a conference with the commander personally. Thereupon they decided to meet each other in the space between the two armies with an equal number of men from each side. So Crassus descended to the level ground and Surenas sent him a present of a horse, to make sure of his coming to him more quickly; and while Crassus even then delayed and considered what he should
πάσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι βία επὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλον. 1 καὶ τούτῳ ἀντιλαμβανόμενων αὐτοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐσ τὰ χειρᾶς σφίσιν ἥλθον, καὶ τέως μὲν ἰσοπαλεῖς ἐγύγνωτο, ἐπείτα δὲ προσβοηθησάντων τινῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ἐν τὲ τῷ πεδίῳ δόντες καὶ προπαρεσκευαμένωι ἐφθέγξαν τοὺς ἀνὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀμύναντες σφίσι. καὶ οὗ τὲ ἄλλοι ἐπέσων καὶ ὁ Κράσσος, εἰτ’ οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν σφετέρων τινῶς ὅπως μὴ ἐξαρμῆ, εἶτε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπειδὴ κακῶς ἐτέτρωτο, ἐσφάγη. 3 καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν τούτῳ τὸ τέλος ἔγένετο, καὶ αὐτῷ χρυσῶν ἐς τὸ στόμα οἱ Πάρθοι, ὡς γε τινὲς λέγουσιν, ἐνέτηξαν ἑπισκόπτοντες: οὗτοι γὰρ ἐδὲ περὶ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ τοῖς πολυχρήματος ὅν, ἐσπουδάκει ὡστε καὶ 2 ως πέντες οἰκτείρειν τοὺς μὴ δυναμένους στρατέοπεδον ἐκ καταλογοῦ οἰκοθεν θρέψαι: 4 τῶν δὲ δὴ στρατιωτῶν τὸ μὲν πλεῖον διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἀπέφυγε, τὸ δὲ τι καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδώλω.

28 Οἱ δὲ δὴ Πάρθοι τότε μὲν οὐ περαιτέρω τοῦ Εὐφράτου προεχόμησαν, ἄλλα τὴν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ πάσαν ἀνεκτήσαντο: μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν πλῆθει τινὶ, ὡς μὴτε στρατηγὸν μὴτε στρατιώτας ἔχουσαν, ἐνέβαλον ἀφ’ οὕπερ Κάσσιος 4 ραδίως αὐτοῖς, ἀτε μὴ πολ.

2 λοις ὤντας, ἀπεώσατο. οὕτως γὰρ ἐν μὲν ταῖς Κάρραις τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν τὴν αὐτοκράτορα αὐτῶν ἡγεμονίαν μίσης τοῦ Κράσσου διδόντων, καὶ

1 ἀνέβαλον Xyl., ἀνέλαβον L.
2 ὡστε καὶ supplied by Leuncl. (ὡστε) and Xyl. (ὡς καὶ).
3 θρέψαι v. Herw., θρέψει L.
4 Κάσσιος R. Steph., from Xiph., κράσσεις L., and so just below.

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do, the barbarians took him forcibly and threw him on the horse. Meanwhile the Romans also laid hold of him, came to blows with the others, and for a time held their own; then aid came to the barbarians, and they prevailed; for their forces, which were in the plain and had been made ready beforehand brought help to their men before the Romans on the high ground could to theirs. And not only the others fell, but Crassus also was slain, either by one of his own men to prevent his capture alive, or by the enemy because he was badly wounded. This was his end. And the Parthians, as some say, poured molten gold into his mouth in mockery; for though a man of vast wealth, he had set so great store by money as to pity those who could not support an enrolled legion from their own means, regarding them as poor men. Of the soldiers the majority escaped through the mountains to friendly territory, but a part fell into the hands of the enemy.

The Parthians at this time did not advance beyond the Euphrates, but won back the whole country east of it. Later they also invaded Syria, though not in great numbers, because the province had neither general nor soldiers; and for this reason Cassius easily thrust them out, since they were not many in number. For when at Carrhae the soldiers through hatred of Crassus had offered him the supreme command over themselves, and Crassus himself on
προσέτι καὶ αυτοῦ ἕκεινον ἐθελοντὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς
συμφορᾶς μέγεθος ἐπιτρέποντος, οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τὸτε
dὲ καὶ ἀνάγκη τῆς Συρίας ἐν τῇ τῷ παρόντι καὶ
3 μετὰ ταῦτα προέστη. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἀπέ-
σχοντο αὐτής, ἀλλὰ χειρὶ αὐθίς μείζον, Πακόρου
μεν ὅνοματι, τὸν υἱόν τοῦ Ἐρώδου, ἐργῷ δὲ (παῖς
gὰρ ἐτὶ ἕκεινος ἦν) Ὡσάκου ἤγουμένου σφίςιν,
ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἦλθον,
4 πάσαν τὴν ἐν ποσὶ χειρούμενοι. καὶ ἔλπίδα ἔλχον
καὶ τὰ λυπᾶ καταστρέφεσθαι, ἡ μὴ τῶν Ῥω-
μαίων ἀξιομάχῳ τινὶ δυνάμει παρόντων, καὶ τῶν
δήμων τῇ τῇ ἑκεῖνον δεσποτεία ἀχθομένων καὶ πρὸς
αὐτῶν ἅτε καὶ γείτονας καὶ συνήθεις σφίςιν ὄντας
29 ἀποκλινόντων. ἀμαρτόντες δὲ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας (ὁ
τε γὰρ Κάσσιος ἱσχυρὸς αὐτοῦς ἀπεκρούσατο, καὶ
ἑκεῖνοι ἀδύνατοι πολιορκῆσαι τι ἦσαν) ἐπὶ Ἀντι-
γόνιαν ἐτράποντο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ τε προάστευον
αὐτῆς σύμφωνον ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἔθαρσον, ἀλλ᾽
2 οὐδὲ ἤδυνήθησαν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσελάσαι ἐνενόησαν μὲν
tὸ τε δεινὸν κόψαι καὶ τὸ χωρίον παῖ ψειλῶσαι,
ὅπως καὶ θαρσοῦντως καὶ ἀσφαλὸς τῇ πόλει
προσμίξωσι, μὴ δυνηθέντες δὲ (ὅ τε γὰρ πόνος
πολὺς ἐγκύητο καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἄλλως ἀναλύτῳ, ὁ
tὸ Κάσσιος τοῦ ἀποσκεδασμένου σφῶν ἐλύπει)
ἀπανέστησαν ὡς καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλο τι ἐπιστρατεύ-
3 σοντες; καὶ τούτῳ ὁ Κάσσιος ἦς τῇ τήν ὀδόν δὲ
ἡ ἀποπορεύεσθαι ἐμελλόν ἐλόχισε, κάνταύθα
ἐπιφανεῖς σφίςι μετ᾽ ὀλίγῳν ἐς τὲ διώξειν αὐτοῦς
ὑπηγάμετο, καὶ περιστοιχισάμενος ἄλλους τε καὶ

1 αὐτοῦ St., παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ L.
2 καταστρέφεσθαι Turn., καταστρέφασθαι L.
3 ἐπιστρατεύουσας R. Steph., ἐπιστρατεύουσα L.
account of the greatness of the disaster had voluntarily allowed it, he had not accepted the command; now, however, he took charge of Syria perforce, both for the time being and subsequently. For the barbarians would not keep away from it, but made another campaign with a larger band, nominally under the leadership of Pacorus, the son of Orodes, though actually under that of Osaces, since the other was still a child. They came as far as Antioch, subduing the whole country before them. And they had hopes also of subjugating what remained, since the Romans were not at hand with a force fit to cope with them, and the districts were fretting under Roman rule and were ready to turn to the invaders, as to neighbours and people of kindred ways. But when they failed to take Antioch, since Cassius effectively repulsed them and they were unable to carry on a siege, they turned to Antigonea. And since the neighbourhood of this city was overgrown with timber, and they did not dare, nay were not even able to penetrate this with cavalry, they formed a plan to cut down the trees and lay bare the whole place, so that they might approach the town with confidence and safety. But finding themselves unable to do this, because the task was a great one and their time was spent in vain, while Cassius harassed those of them who scattered abroad, they retired with the intention of proceeding against some other place. Meanwhile Cassius set an ambush on the road along which they were to depart, and confronting them there with a few men, he induced them to pursue, and then surrounding them, killed a number, including
τόν Ὀσάκην ἀπέκτεινε. τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου πάσαν τήν Συρίαν ὁ Πάκορος ἐξῆλυπε, καὶ οὗτος αὐτὸς ποτὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσέβαλεν.

30 "Αμα δὲ οὖτος ἀνεκεχωρήκει καὶ ὁ Βίβουλος ἀρξών τῆς Συρίας ἀφίκετο, καὶ περ ἐγχειρισμένου μοίδενα μῆτε στρατηγὴν μήθ', ὅπως μῆτε πρὸ πέμπτου ἐτῶν ἐς τὰς ἔξω ἱγμονίας ἐξεναι, ἣν μῆ διὰ τούτο σπουδαρχοῦντες στα-

2 σιάσωσι. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἴσαχλια τὸ ὑπόκοον διήγαγε, τοὺς δὲ δή Πάρθους ἔπετρατο ἄλληλους ἔτρεψε. 'Ορνοδαπάτην' γὰρ τινα σατράτην ἀνεόμενον τῷ 'Ορόβη προσποιησάμενος, ἄνεπεισε δὲ ἀγγέλων τοῦ τε Πάκορον βασιλέα στήσασθαι καὶ ἔπει ἐκεί-

νον μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατεύσαι.

3 'Ὁ μὲν οὖν πόλεμος οὖτος, ὁ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων καὶ ὁ τῶν Πάρθων,' τετάρτῳ ἢτει ἄφ' οὐ ἥρξατο, ἔπει τε Μάρκου Μαρκέλλου καὶ ἐπὶ Σουλτσίκου

31 'Ρούφου ὑπάτων, ἐπαύσατο, ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ τὰ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ παρα-

χεῶντα αὐτὸς μάχαις κατελαβὲ, πολλὰ πάνω τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατηγῶν πράξας, ὅ ἄγαρ 'Αμβιόρικς τοὺς Τρηνουρροὺς χαλέτος ἐπὶ καὶ τὸτε τῷ τοῦ 'Ἰνδουστιμάρου θανάτῳ ἐχοντας παρα-

λαβὼν τὰ τε αὐτὸθεν ἐπὶ πλεῖον συνέστησε, καὶ παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν μισθοφορικῶν μετεπέμψατο.

3 Βουλιγθεὶς οὖν ὁ Δαβίδης, πρὶν ἐκείνους ἐπέλθειν, συμμιξαὶ σφισὶ, προενέβαλεν ἐς τὴν τῶν Τρη-

νουρρῶν χώραν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἠμύνοντο τὴν

1 ὁρνοδαπάτην Βα., ὁρνοδαπάτη L.
2 τε... Πάρθων regarded by v. Herw. as a gloss.
3 ἥρξατο Rein., ἥρξατο L.
4 Μαρκέλλου Χυλ., μαρκέλλινον L.
5 τεi R. Steph. et al L.
BOOK XL.

Osaces. Upon the latter's death Pacorus abandoned all Syria and never invaded it again.

He had scarcely retired when Bibulus arrived to govern Syria. His coming, to be sure, was in violation of a decree, intended to prevent rivalry for office with its consequent strife, that no praetor or consul should either immediately or at any time within five years go abroad to govern a province. He administered the subject territory in peace, and turned the Parthians against one another. For after winning the friendship of Ornodapates, a satrap, who had a grudge against Orodes, he persuaded him through messengers to set up Pacorus as king, and with him to conduct a campaign against the other.

So this war between the Romans and Parthians came to an end in the fourth year after it had begun, and while Marcus Marcellus and Sulpicius Rufus were consuls. In that same period Caesar by battle again gained control of Gallic affairs, which had become disturbed. Of the numerous exploits performed either by himself alone or through his lieutenants I will relate only the most important. Ambiorix, after joining to himself the Treveri, who at this time were still angry over Indutiomarus' death, had formed a greater conspiracy in that quarter and sent for a mercenary force from the Germans. Now Labienus, wishing to join battle with them before these recruits should arrive, promptly invaded the country of the Treveri. And when the latter did not defend themselves, as they
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ἐπικουρίαν ἀναμένοντες, ἀλλὰ ποταμὸν τινα διὰ μέσου ποιησάμενοι ἵσονχαζον, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἐδημηγήρησε τούδε ἀφ' ὧν τοὺς τε σφετέρους καταπλήσειν καὶ ἐκεῖνος... ἐμέλλε, χρῆναι τε σφας ἔλεγε, πρὶν τούς Κελτοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπαμύναι, πρὸς τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποχωρῆσαι, ἐσήμην' τε εὐθὺς συσκευάσασθαι. καὶ ἐξανέστη οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον, προσδοκῆς ἐσεσθαι τούτῳ ὦ καὶ ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα (ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔπωμελές, καὶ δι' αὐτό γε τούτῳ καὶ φανερῶς ἔλεξθη) δεδίεναι τε αὐτῶν ὄντως καὶ φυγῆν ὡς ἀληθῶς ποιεῖσθαι ἐπιστευσαν, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν σπουδὴ διαβάντες θυμῷ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἔχωρουν, ὡς τάχους ἐκαστὸς εἴχε. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Δαβίδων ὑπέστη τε σφας ἐσκε- δασμένους, καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους ἐκπλήξας βαδίως καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς δι' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐτρέψατο. κακὸς τούτου φευγόντων τε σφῶν τεταραγμένως καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐμπιπτόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν ὀθομένων πολλοὺς ἀπέκεκινε.

32 Διαφυγόντων τε καὶ ὃς συχνὸν, ὁ Καίσαρ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδένα λόγων ἐποιεῖτο, τὸν δὲ 'Αμ- βιόριγα διαδιδράσκοντα ἄλλοτε ἄλλη καὶ πολλὰ κακουργοῦντα καὶ ξητῶν καὶ διόκων πράγματα ἔσχε. καὶ ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδένα τρόπον λαβεῖν ἡμνήθη, ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ὡς καὶ τὸς Τρηνούριος βοηθῆσαι ἐθελῆσαντας ἐστράτευσε. καὶ ἐπραξε μὲν οὐδὲ τὸτε οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ ταχέων φόβῳ τῶν Σουῆβων ἐπανεχώρησεν, ἐδοξε δ' ὅτι αὔτος τῶν Ῥήμων διαβεβηκεν. καὶ τῆς τε

1 Lacuna recognized by Leuneel. 2 ἐσήμην Bk., σημηναί L. 3 δεδίεναι Rk., διεέναι L. 4 ἐδοξε δ' Rk., ἐδοξεν L.
were awaiting the reinforcements, but put a river between the two armies and remained quiet, Labienus assembled his soldiers and addressed them in such words as were likely to alarm his own men and [encourage] the foe, declaring that they must withdraw to Caesar and safety before the Germans should come to the aid of the enemy; and he immediately gave the signal to pack up the baggage. Not much later he actually set out on the march, expecting the very result that occurred. For the barbarians heard of his speech, for they were very diligent in such matters and it was for just that reason, indeed, that it had been delivered publicly, and they thought he was really afraid and truly taking to flight. Hence they hastily crossed the river and eagerly advanced against the Romans, as fast as each one could. Thus Labienus met their attack while they were scattered, and after terrifying the foremost easily routed the rest by means of these first fugitives. Then, as they were fleeing in disorder, falling over one another and crowding toward the river, he killed many of them.

Many escaped even as it was, but Caesar took no account of these, except in the case of Ambiorix. This man, by escaping now to one place and now to another and doing much injury, caused Caesar trouble in seeking and pursuing him. When he was unable to catch him in any way, he made an expedition against the Germans, alleging that they had wished to help the Treveri. On this occasion likewise he accomplished nothing, but retired rapidly through fear of the Suebi; yet he gained the reputation of having crossed the Rhine
γεφύρας μόνα τὰ προσεχὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐλυσε, καὶ φρούριον ἐπὶ αὐτῆς ὤς καὶ ἀεὶ διαβασίειών.

3 φιλοδούμησε. καὶ μετὰ τούτο ὕππη τὴν τοῦ Ἁμ- βιόργος διάφευξιν φέρων, τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ καίτοι μηδὲν νεωτέρισαν διαρράσαι τοὺς βου- λομένους ἐπέτρεψε, προεπαγγέλασα σφίσιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅπως ὅτι πλείοστοι συνέλθωσιν ὦθεν εἰπερ πολλοὶ μὲν Γαλαταὶ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ Σύγαμβροι πρὸς τὰς ἀρπαγάς ἦλθον. οὐ μεντοί καὶ ἀπέχρησε τοῖς Σύγαμβροις τὰ ἐκείνων λήγοσαθαί, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέθεντο τηρήσαντες γὰρ σφας πρὸς σῖτου κομιδὴν ἀπίοντας ἐπεχείρησαν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτῶν, καὶ τούτῳ προσβοηθήσαν- των σφῶν, ἐπειπέρ ὑσθοντο, συχνοὺς ἐφόνευσαν.

καὶ οἱ μὲν φοβηθέντες διὰ τοῦτο τὸν Καῖσαρα οἰκάδε σπουδὴ ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδενὸς, διὰ τὸν χειμώνα καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ στασιάζοντα, οὐδεμιὰν τιμωρίαν ἑπονή- σατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας πρὸς τὰ χειμάδια διαπέμψας αὐτοὺς τε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, προφασιν μὲν τῆς ἐκεί Γαλατίας ἑνεκα, τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς ὅπως ἑγγύθεν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει δρομένοις ἐφεδρεύῃ, ἀπῆλθεν.

33. Καὶ τούτῳ οἱ Γαλαταὶ αὖθις ἐνεόχωσαν. Ἀρουερνόλ γὰρ ἠγουμένου σφῶν Οὐερκηγγετόριγος ἀπέστησαν, καὶ τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους, οὕσου εἰν τε ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ σφῶν εὐρον, πάντας ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχία αὐτῶν χωρῆ-

1 διαβασίεις Dind., διαβασίειν L.
2 διαρράσαι Ba., διαρράσειν L.
3 ἀπέχρησθαι R. Steph., ἀπεχώρησθαι L.
4 ἐκεῖνοι Reim., ἐκεῖνοι L.
5 οὐδενὸς Reim., οὐδὲν L.
6 τε Rk., τε L.
again, and of the bridge he destroyed only the portions near the barbarians, constructing upon it a guard-house, as if he might at any time have a desire to cross. Then, in anger at the successful flight of Ambiorix, he permitted that chieftain's country, although it had been guilty of no rebellion, to be plundered by any who wished. He gave public notice of this in advance, so that as many as possible might assemble; hence many Gauls and many Sugambri came for the plunder. Now it did not suffice the Sugambri to make spoil of Gallic territory, but they even attacked the Romans themselves. They watched until the Romans were absent securing provisions and then made an attempt upon their camp; and when the soldiers, perceiving it, came to the rescue, they killed a good many of these. Then, becoming afraid of Caesar as a result of this affair, they hurriedly withdrew homeward; but he inflicted no punishment upon any of them because of the winter and the turmoil in Rome, but after dismissing the soldiers to their winter-quarters, went himself to Italy on the plea of looking after Cisalpine Gaul, but really in order that he might watch from close at hand the events that were taking place in the city.

Meantime the Gauls rebelled again. The Arverni under the leadership of Vereingetorix revolted, killed all the Romans they found in their cities and their country, and proceeding against the tribes in alliance with the foreigner, bestowed favours upon such as
σαντες τουσ μεν συμποστηναι σφισεν εθελη-
σαντας περιειπον, τους δε λοιπους εκακούργουν.

2 μαθων ουν ταυθ' ο Καίσαρ άνεκομισθη, και
καταλαβων αυτους εσ Βιτούριγας εσβεβληκοτας
εκεινοις μεν (ου γαρ πω πάντες οι στρατιωται αυτου
παρησαν) ουκ επημυνεν, εσ δε δη την Άρουερνίδα
αντεμβαλων επανήγαγεν οικαδε τους πολεμίους
και (ου γαρ εδοκει πω άξιομαχοι αυτους ειναι)

34 προαπεχωρησεν. αυτθες ουν εκεινοι προσ τους
Βιτούριγας επανήλθον, και πολιν αυτων Αυστρικον
ελοντες επι πλείστων εν αυτη άντεσχον.
υστερον δε υπο των Ρωμαιων πολιορκουμενοι—
το τε γαρ τεχθες δυσπρόσιτων ήμ, τη μεν έλων
dυσδιαβατων τη δε ποταμου ροών ταυτων περι-
εχουτος, και αυτων παμπληθεις οιντες τας τε
προσβολας σφων ραδιως απεκρυόντο, και επεξ-
ειοντες πολλα αυτων ελφουν.
και τελος τας τε
περιξ πάντα, ουχ οπως άγροις ή κωμαις, άλλα
και πόλεις αφ' ουν ωελιαν τινα έσεσθαι σφισε
προσεδόκων, κατέφλεξαν, εÎ τε τι παρα των πόρ-
ρωθεν συμμάχων έκομιζετο αυτως, ήρπαξον, οστε
πολιορκειν την πόλιν τους Ρωμαιους δοκούντας

3 τα των πολιορκουμένων πάσχειν, πριν δη υντο
τε λαβρος και πνευμα μέγα προσβάλλοι τη
αυτους επιγενόμενον (ο5 γαρ χειμων ένειστηκει)
πρωτους μεν εκεινους άπτηλασε και εσ τας σκηνας
επανήγαγεν, επειτα δε και τους βαρβάρους εσ τας
οικιας κατέκλεισεν. απελθοντων γαρ αυτων απο
των επάλξεων οι Ρωμαιοι προσέβαλον εξαίφνυς

1 άνεκομισθη Reim., έκομιζη L.
2 Βιτούριγας Bk., έκομιζει L.
3 επανήλθον R. Steph., επανήλθεν L.
4 *Αυστρικον Leuncl., ανάκοιν L. 5 δ Bk., δ τε L.
had been willing to join their revolt, and injured the rest. Caesar on learning this returned and found that they had invaded the territory of the Bituriges. He made no attempt to help the latter, since not all his soldiers were at hand as yet, but by invading the Arverian country in his turn drew the enemy home again, whereupon he retired in good season, not deeming himself yet a match for them. They accordingly went back to the Bituriges, captured Avaricum, a city of theirs, and held out in it for a long time; for the wall was hard to approach, being bordered on one side by almost trackless swamps and on the other by a river with a swift current. When, therefore, they were later besieged by the Romans, their great numbers made it easy for them to repel the assaults, and they also made sallies, inflicting many injuries. Finally they burned up everything in the vicinity, not only fields and villages, but also cities from which they thought assistance could come to their enemies, and if anything was being brought to these from allies at a distance, they seized it for booty. Therefore the Romans, while appearing to besiege the city, were really suffering the fate of the besieged; this continued until a furious rain and great wind sprang up (the winter having now set in) during their attack on a point in the wall, which first drove the assailants back, making them seek shelter in their tents, and then shut up the barbarians also in their houses. When they had retired from the battlements, the Romans suddenly attacked again, while there were
4 αὕθες αὐταῖς ἐρήμως ἀνδρῶν οὐσίας καὶ πύργου τινὰ παραχρήμα, πρὶν καὶ αἰσθέσθαι τους πολε-μούς τῆς παρουσίας σφῶν, ἐλόντες ἐπείτα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐχειρώσαντο, καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν πᾶσαν διηρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πάντας ὀργῇ τῆς τε προσεδρείας καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἐσφαξαν.

35 Πράξας δὲ ταύτα ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπεστράτευσε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πολεμοῦμεν οὖν γεφύρας οἱ λοιποὶ Ἀρουερνοὶ προεκκρατήκασαν δι' ὁν διαβῆναι αὐτὸν ἔχρη, ἀπορῆσας ὅπως περαιωθῇ, ἐπιπαρῆθην ἐπὶ πολὺ παρὰ τὴν ὀχθήν, εἰ πως ἐπιτηδείου τινὸς χωρίου ὡστε πεζῇ δι’ 2 αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱδατος διελθεῖν λάβοιτο. κάκ τουτοῦ ἔν τε ὕλῳ τινι καὶ ἐν τε συσκίῳ τότῳ γενόμενος τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ πλείον προεπεμψε, μακράν ἐκτεταμένη τάξει κελεύσας αὐτοὺς προϊέναι, ὡστε καὶ πάντας σφᾶς ἐνταῦθα 3 εἶναι δοκεῖν αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐρρωμενεστάτων ὑπέμεινε, καὶ ξῦλα τε ἔτεμε καὶ σχεδίας ἐποίησε καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν διέβη τὸ ῥέμα, τῶν βαρβάρων πρός τε τοὺς ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν πορευόμενον τῶν νοῦν ἑχοντων καὶ τῶν Καίσαρα μετ’ αὐτῶν εἶναι 4 λογιζομένων. καὶ μετὰ τούτο τοὺς τε προςεληνυθότας νυκτὸς ἀνεκαλέσατο, καὶ διαβιβάσας αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως τῆς μὲν χώρας ἐκράτησε, τῶν δ’ ἀνθρώπων ἐς Γεργουιάν συγκαταφυγόντων καὶ ἐκεῖσε πάντα τὰ τιμώτατα σφίσι συγκομισάντων πλεῖ. 36 στὸν πόνον μάτῃν αὐτοίς προσεδρεύων ἔσχε, τὸ τε γὰρ φρούριον ἐπὶ τε λοφοῦ καρτεροῦ ἤν καὶ

1 ἀχθεὶ B. Steph., ἀχθαὶ L.  2 μακράν Reim., μακρὰ L.  3 Γεργουιάν (Γεργουιάν) Leoncl., γεργουιάν L.
no men there; and capturing a tower forthwith, before ever the enemy became aware of their presence, they then without difficulty got possession of the remaining works, plundered the whole city, and in anger at the siege and their hardships slew all the people.

After accomplishing this Caesar made an expedition into their territory. Now the rest of the Arverni, in view of the war being made upon them, had already secured possession of the bridges which he must cross; and he, being in doubt how he should get across, proceeded a considerable distance along the bank to see if he could find any place suitable for crossing on foot through the stream itself. At length he reached a wooded and shady place, from which he sent ahead the baggage and most of his army, bidding them go forward with their line extended over a great distance, so that all his troops might appear to be in that one division. He himself with the best troops remained behind, and cutting down timber and constructing rafts, he crossed the stream by means of these while the barbarians still had their attention fixed on those marching on ahead, supposing that Caesar was among them. After this he called back the advance party by night, transferred them across in the same way, and conquered the country. The people fled in a body to Gergovia, carrying thither all their most valued possessions, and Caesar had a great deal of toil to no purpose in besieging them. For their fort was on a strong hill and was protected by mighty walls;
τείχεσιν ἱσχυρῶς ἐκεκράτυντο, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι πέριξ αὐτὸ πάντα τὰ μετέωρα κατειληφότες περιεφρούρουν, ὡστε καὶ μένειν αὐτοὺς κατὰ χώραν ἀσφαλῶς ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἐπικαταθέουσι πλεονεκτεῖν τὰ πλεῖω. ἐν τε γὰρ πεδίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἡνίξετο (οὗ γὰρ εὑπόρησεν ἐχυρῶν χωρίου), καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὗτο προσέγγισκεν... οἱ δὲ δὴ βάρβαροι, ὡς καὶ ὑπερδεξίων κρατοῦσι, τὸ τε στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ κατεδείχθη καὶ ταῖς καταδρομαῖς ἐπικαίροις ἑχρόντο. εἰ τέ τη περαιτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προχωρήσαντες ἀνεκόπτοντο, δι' ὅλουν αὕθια ἑντὸς τῆς ἐπικρατείας σφῶν ἐγέρνοντο: οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐδὲνα τρόπον, ἐφ' ὅσον οἱ τε λίθοι καὶ τὰ ἁκόντια ἐξικενεῖτο, πελάσαι τοὺς χωρίους ἐδύναντο. οὐκ οὖν Καῖσαρ, ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε χρόνος ἄλλος ἀναλύοτα, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ὀρθίον, ἐφ' οὐ τὸ πόλισμα ἢν, προσβάλων μέρους μὲν τινὸς ἐκράτησεν ὅστε καὶ ἐντείχισασθαι τι πάντω τε ἐκείθεν τὴν ἐπὶ τᾶλλα ἐφοδὼν ποιεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἀπεκρούστω, καὶ τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν συνεχώς ἀπέβαλε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀλῆτους ἐώρα ὑντας, τά τε τῶν Αἰδούνων ἐν τούτῳ ἐκίνηθη, καὶ προσέτετο καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἀπελθόντως αὐτοῦ κακῶς οἱ καταλείφθεντες ἀπῆλλαξαν, ἀνέστη.

37 Οἱ γὰρ Αἰδούνιοι κατ' ἄρχας μὲν ταῖς τε ὁμολογίαις ἐνέμειναν καὶ ἐπικουρίας αὐτῷ ἐπεμπον, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ ἀκούτες ἐπολέμησαν, ἀπατησάντων σφᾶς ἄλλων τε καὶ Διανυκίου. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπειθὲν αὐτοὺς ἄλλως τούτο ποιῆσαι, διεπράξατο

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1. προσεγγισκέν Leunol., προσεγγισκέν L.
2. κρατοῦσιν Be., ὀντεῖ L.
3. ἀνεκόπτοτο Rk., ἀνέκοπτον L.
4. τε Bk., γε L.
and the barbarians were keeping guard over it, after
seizing all the high ground around, so that they
could both safely remain in position, and, if they
charged down, would usually have the advantage.
For Caesar, in default of a strong position, was
encamped in the plain, and never knew beforehand . . . ; but the barbarians, in possession of the
heights, could look down upon his camp and kept
making opportune charges. And if they ever ad-
vanced farther than was fitting and were beaten
back, they quickly got within their own lines again;
for the Romans could not in any way come near
even to the places for their stones and javelins to
reach their mark. So Caesar’s time was being spent
to no purpose; to be sure, after frequent assaults
against the very height upon which the fortress was
located, he did capture a certain portion of it, so that
he could wall it in and advance more easily from
there against the rest of it, yet on the whole he was
being repulsed. He lost a number of his soldiers
and saw that the enemy could not be captured;
moreover, there was at this time an uprising among
the Aedui, and while he was absent attending to
them, the men left behind fared badly. All these
considerations led Caesar to raise the siege.

The Aedui at first lived up to their agreement
and sent him assistance, but later they went to war,
although reluctantly, being deceived by Litaviceus
and others. This man, being unable in any other
way to persuade them to adopt this course,
προσταχθήναι οἱ πρὸς τὸν Καῖσαρα ἀπαγαγεῖν
2 τινας ἐπὶ συμμαχία δῆθεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὃρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ τούτῳ ποιήσων, προφέρμας δὲ ἱππέας, καὶ κελεύσας τις αὐτῶν ἐπανελθοῦσιν εἰπέων ὅτι οἱ τε1 συμπεμφθέντες σφίς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὁ παρὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις σφῶν ὄντες συνειλημμένοι τε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν εἰσὶ καὶ ἀπολόλασι, προσπαρώξυνε τοὺς στρατιωτὰς δημηγορίας ἀκόλουθα τοῖς ἀγγέλοις.
3 καὶ οὕτως αὐτοὶ τε ἐπανέστησαν καὶ τους ἄλλους συμμετέστησαν.2 καὶ τότε μὲν (ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ ὡς τάχιστα τοῦτ ἦσθετο, τοὺς τε Λείδονος οὐς εἰχε καὶ ἑδοκει πεφονευκέναι ἐπεμψεν αὐτοῖς, ὡστε φανεροὺς πᾶσι ἡώντας γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἵππικο3 ἐφέσπετο) μετενόησαν καὶ συνηλλάγησαν αὖθις δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τε τῇ Γεργοονίᾳ τῇ4 τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἀπονήσα τπασάντων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παντάπασιν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἀποχωρησάντων, ἐφοβήθησαν οἱ τὴν τε ἐπανάστασιν πράξαντες καὶ νεωτέροιν ἀεὶ πραγμάτων ἐφιέμενοι μὴ5 σχολάζουντες... ποιήσωνται, καὶ ἐνεόχωσαν. μαθόντες δὲ τοῦτο ὁ συστρατεύοντες6 αὐτῶν τῷ Καῖσαρι ῥήσαντο ἐπιτραπῆναι σφίς σκάκε ἀπελθεῖν, ὑποσχόμενοι πάντα καταστήσειν. καὶ οὕτως ἄφε-θέντες πρὸς τὸ Νοονιδοῦνον,6 εύθα τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ τὸν σῖτον ὐμὴροι7 τε πολλοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι

1 of τε added by Rk., following Leunel. (αἱ).
2 συμμετέστησαν. R. Steph., συμμέτεσαν L.
3 Γεργοονίᾳ τῇ supplied by Leunel. and Rk.
4 μὴ added here by Rk., after σχολάζουσι by Leunel.
5 συστρατεύοντες Melber, στρατεύοντες L.
6 Νοονιδοῦνον Leunel., νοονιδοῦνον L.
7 δύμηροι. R. Steph., ὑμὸροι L.
BOOK XL

managed to get himself appointed to convey some men to Caesar ostensibly to serve as the latter’s allies. He did, indeed, set out as if to fulfil this mission, but sent ahead some horsemen bidding some of them return and say that their companions and the rest of their men in the camp of the Romans had been arrested by the latter and put to death. He then further excited the wrath of the soldiers by delivering a speech in keeping with the messengers’ report. In this way the Aedui themselves rose and induced the others to revolt with them. As soon as Caesar became aware of this, he sent to them the Aedui whom he had and was thought to have slain, so that they might be seen by all to be alive, and followed on with his cavalry. On this occasion, then, they repented and became reconciled; but when later the Romans, by reason of Caesar’s absence, were defeated at Gergovia and entirely withdrew from that place, those who had caused the uprising and were ever eager for revolution feared that [the Romans might take vengeance upon them], now that they were free to do so, and consequently they rebelled. And members of their tribe who were campaigning with Caesar, when they learned of this, asked him to allow them to return home, promising that they would put everything in order. Released on these conditions, they came to Noviodunum, where the Romans had deposited their money and grain and many hostages, and with the
 Dio's Roman History

κατετεθειτο, ἥλθον, καὶ τοὺς τε φρουροὺς αὐτῶν, συναιρομένοις σφίσι τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων, μὴ προσ-δεχομένους ἐσθείραν, καὶ ἐν κράτει πάντων αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο. καὶ ἐκείνην τε τὴν πόλιν ἐπίκαιρον οὖσαν κατέπρησαν, ὅπως μὴ οἱ Ὁρμαῖοι ὀρμητή-ριοι αὐτῆς τοῦ πολέμου ποιήσωνται, καὶ τὰ λουπὰ τῶν Αἰδώνων προσαπέστησαν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐπι-εχείρησε μὲν παραχρῆμα ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς στρατεύσαι, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Δίγρον ἐπὶ

4 Δίγρονας ἐτράπετο, καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐκεὶ κατώρ-θωσεν, ὁ δὲ Ἔλαβηνς τὴν νῆσον τὴν ἐν τῷ Σηκουανῷ ποταμῷ οὖσαν, τοὺς τε προκινδυνεύ- σαντας ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ κρατήσας καὶ τὴν διάβασιν πολλαχῇ ἀμα κατὰ τε τὸν ροῦν καὶ ἀνάπαλιν, ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἐν περαιούμενος κωλυθῇ, ποιησά-μενος, κατέσχε.

39 Πρὶν δὲ τούτῳ γενέσθαι, καταφρονήσας ὁ Οὐερ-κυγγητόριξ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἔξ ὧν ἐπταίκει ἐπ' Ἀλλό-βριγας ἐστράτευσε, καὶ τούτῳ ὀρμήσαντα αὐτῶν ἡς καὶ βοηθήσοντά σφίσιν, ἀπέλαβεν ἐν Σηκουα-

2 νοῖς γενόμενον καὶ ἐνεκυκλώσατο, οὐ μὲντοι κακῶν τι εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάν τούναντιν τοὺς τε Ὡρμαίοις ἐνάγκασεν ἀγαθοῦς εἶναι ἀπογρώσει τῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ βράσους ἐπταίσε, καὶ τι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν

3 τῶν τοῖς Ὡρμαίοις συμμαχοῦστών ἐσφάλῃ ταῖς τε γάρ ὀρμαῖς ἀπληστοί ὄντες καὶ τοῖς ἑσμαί τὴν τολμὰν προσεπισχυόμενας διέρρηκαν τὴν περὶ-σχεσιν. εὐρῶν δὲ δὴ τὸ εὐρήμα τούτῳ ο Καῖσαρ

1 κατετεθειτο Bk., κατετεθειτο L.
2 συναιρομένων R. Steph., συναιρομένων L.
3 Δίγρον Leunel, Δίγρον L. 4 ἐν added by Bk.
5 ἀπληστοί δετες καὶ τοις Bk., ἀπληστοῖς L.

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aid of the natives destroyed the garrisons, which were looking for no hostile act, and gained possession of everything there. And they burned down the city, because of its advantageous situation, to prevent the Romans from making it a base for the war, and next they caused the remainder of the Aedui to revolt. Caesar, therefore, attempted to march against them at once, but being unable to do so, on account of the river Liger, he turned his attention to the Lingones; and he did not meet with success there either. Labienus, however, occupied the island in the river Sequana after conquering its defenders on the nearer bank and sending his troops across at many points at once, both down and up stream, in order that he might not be hindered if he attempted the crossing at one spot.

But before this happened, Vercingetorix, filled with contempt for Caesar because of the latter’s reverses, had marched against the Allobroges. And intercepting the Roman general, who had thereupon set out to aid them, when he was among the Sequani, he surrounded him, but did him no harm; on the contrary, he compelled the Romans to be brave through despair of safety, whereas he himself failed by reason of his numbers and audacity. His defeat was due in part to the Germans who were acting as allies of the Romans; for with their unquenchable enthusiasm and their mighty bodies which added strength to their daring they succeeded in breaking through the enclosing ranks. Having met with this good fortune, Caesar did not give ground, but
oikt ἀνήκεν, ἀλλ' ἐσ Ἀλεσίαν τοὺς διαφυγόντας αὐτῶν κατακλέισας ἐπολιορκεῖ.

40 Καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Οὐσεβιγγετόρεξ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς ἱππέας, πρὸν παντελῶς ἀποτελίσθηναι, εὖ-πεμψε, τῆς τε τροφῆς τῶν ἱππῶν ἑνεκα (οὐ γὰρ ἦν) και ὅπως ἐσ τὰς πατρίδας ἐκαστὸι σφῶν κομι-σθέντες τὰ τε ἐπιτιθεῖα καὶ ἐπικοινωνάν αὐτῶν ἀγάγωσιν. ἔσει δ' οὕτως τε ἐχρόνιζων καὶ τὰ σιτία σφᾶς ἐπιλείπειν ἥρξατο, τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναίκας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἀχρεοτάτους ἐξηβαλεν, ἐπίσιας μάτην ὅτι ἡ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τῶν Ρωμαιῶν τῆς λείας ἑνεκα σωθήσονται, ἡ οί γε λοιποὶ ταῖς τροφαῖς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλείον χρησάμενοι

3 περιγενήσονται. ο γὰρ Καίσαρ ἄλλως μὲν οὐδ' αὐτὸς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὡστε καὶ ἐτέρους τρέφειν, εὐπόρει τοῖς δ' οὖν σφᾶς καταδεχθῆσθαι, ποιήσειν νομίσας πάντας αὐτῶν ἀπεωσατο. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, μηδὲτέρων σφᾶς ἀνεχομένων, οἰκτρότατα ἀπόλοντο· ἡ δὲ ἐπικοινωνία τῶν τε ἱππῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀχθέντων ἐπῆλθε μὲν οὐκ ἔσ μακρὰν τοῖς βαρ-βάροις, ἰππομαχία δὲ ἡ τῶν Ρωμαίων τῇ Βοη-

5 θεία. . . καὶ μετὰ τούτο πειράσαντες μικτὸς διὰ τῶν περιτειχισμάτων ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθὲιν ἰσχυ-ρῶς ἐπώνησαν· τὰφρος τε γὰρ οἱ Ρωμαιοὶ κρυπτᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἱππασίμοις ἐπεποίηκεναν καὶ σκόλοπας ἐς αὐτὰς ἐσπετείχεσαν, πάντα ἐπι-

1 καὶ supplied by R. Steph.
2 ἐξῆβαλεν R. Steph., ἐξῆβαλον L. 3 σ' οὖν Philukγ, τοῦν L.
4 ἐπώνησαν H. Steph., ἐπώνησαν L.
5 ἐπετείχεσαν Dind., ἐπετείχεσαν L.
shut up and besieged in Alesia such of the foe as escaped.

Now Vercingetorix had at first, before he had been entirely cut off by the wall, sent out the cavalry to get fodder for the horses, as there was none on hand, and in order to let them disperse, each to his native land, and bring thence provisions and assistance. But as these delayed and food supplies began to fail the besieged, he thrust out the children and the women and the most useless among the rest, hoping either that the outcasts would be saved as booty by the Romans or else that those left in the town might survive by enjoying for a longer time the supplies that would have belonged to their companions. But he hoped in vain, for Caesar did not have sufficient food himself to feed others; and believing, moreover, that by returning the expelled he could make the enemy’s lack of food more severely felt (for he expected that they would of course be received again), he forced them all back. Now these perished most miserably between the city and the camp, because neither party would receive them. As for the relief looked for, the horsemen and the others they were bringing reached the barbarians before long, but these were then [defeated(?) in a cavalry battle, as the Romans with the aid [of the Germans(?)]. . . . Thereupon they tried to enter the city by night through the wall of circumvallation, but met with dire disaster; for the Romans had dug secret pits in the places which were passable for horses and had fixed stakes in them, afterward making the whole
πολῆς τῷ ἄλλῳ τῷ πέριξ χωρίῳ ὁμοιώσαντες,
6 ὡστε καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ τους ἵππους ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπερισκέπτως ἐστὶν ἐμπεσόντας σφαλήναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐνέδοσαν πρὶν ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀυθίς
3 πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοῖς τεχνίσμασιν αὐτοῖ τε ἄμα καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπέξελθόντες πταίσαι.

41 Ὁ δὲ οὖν Οὐερκυγγετόρεις ἡδυνήθη μὲν ἐκφυγέων (οὔτε γὰρ ἐάλω καὶ ἀτρωτός ἦν), ἐλπίσας δ’, ὅτι ἐν φιλίᾳ ποτὲ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγεγονεί, συγγνώμης παρ’ αὐτοῦ τεύξεσθαι, ἢλθε πρὸς αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐπι-
κρυκευσάμενος, καὶ καθημένοι οἱ ἐπὶ βήματος ἤξαίφυς ὁμήθη, ὡστε καὶ ταραχθῆναι τινας ἅλ-
λως τε γὰρ περιμήκης ἦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς δεινώς
2 ἐνέπρεπεν ἡσυχίας δ’ οὖν γενομένης εἰπὲ μὲν οὐ-
δεν, πεσὼν δὲ ἐς γόνη τῷ τε χειρὶ πιέσας ἐδείτο. ταῦτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις οἰκτοῦ τῇ τε τῆς προτέρας
3 αὐτοῦ τύχης ἀναμνήσει καὶ τῷ τῆς παρουσίας ὅψεως περιπαθεὶ ἐνέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ ἡ Καίσαρ αὐτό
τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραχώρημα αὐτοῦ ἡλέ-
ῆσεν ἀλλ’ εὖθὺς ἐν δεσμῶι ἔδησε, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπι-
νίκια μετὰ τοῦτο πέμψας ἀπέκτεινε.

42 Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἤστερον ἔγενετο, τότε δὲ τοὺς
μὲν ὀμολογία τῶν λουπῶν προσέθετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ
μάχη κρατῆς ἐδουλώσατο. οἱ τε γὰρ Βελτικοὶ

1 τῷ ἄλλῳ Rk., τῶν ἄλλων L. 2 αὐθίς Bk., ἀρθίς L.
3 πιέσας Reim. (from two late Mss.), πιέσας L.
4 ἐδείτο Dind., ἐδείτο L.
5 Βελτικοὶ Leuncl., Βελτικοὶ L.

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resemble on the surface the surrounding ground; thus horse and man, falling into them absolutely without warning, came to grief. The men did not give up, however, until they had arrayed themselves once more beside the very walls and had been defeated along with the people from the city who came out to fight.

Now Vercingetorix might have escaped, for he had not been captured and was unwounded; but he hoped, since he had once been on friendly terms with Caesar, that he might obtain pardon from him. So he came to him without any announcement by herald, but appeared before him suddenly, as Caesar was seated on the tribunal, and threw some who were present into alarm; for he was very tall to begin with, and in his armour he made an extremely imposing figure. When quiet had been restored, he uttered not a word, but fell upon his knees, with hands clasped in an attitude of supplication. This inspired many with pity at remembrance of his former fortune and at the distressing state in which he now appeared. But Caesar reproached him in this very matter on which he most relied for his safety, and by setting over against his claim of former friendship his recent opposition, showed his offence to have been the more grievous. Therefore he did not pity him even at the time, but immediately confined him in bonds, and later, after sending him to his triumph, put him to death.

This, however, was a later occurrence. At the time mentioned he gained some of the remaining foes by capitulation and enslaved others after conquering them in battle. The Belgae who lived near by had
οἱ πλησιόχωροι, Ἐντὸς τινὰ Ἀτρέβαν προστη-
σάμενοι σφόν, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντέσχον, καὶ δύο 
τε ἵππομαχίας ἀγχώμαλα πη ἡγούμεναντο, καὶ 
τρίτη πεζομαχία ἱσοπαλεῖ τὸ πρῶτον συνε-
χθέντες ἐπείτα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ κατὰ νότου 
σφίσιν ἄνελπιστώς προσπεσόντος ἐτράπησαν.

2 καὶ τούτου τὸ τε στρατόπεδον τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ περι-
λυτεῖς ἐξελίτου, καὶ διελθόντες ὅλην τινὰ ἐκείνην 
τε ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας μόνας ὑπελίποντο,
ὅπως τῶν πολεμίων διὰ τε ταύτας καὶ διὰ τὸ πῦρ 
χρυσαντῶν φθάσωσι τὸ ἀσφαλεῖ ἀποχωρή-
σαντες. οὗ μέντοι καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖς τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐγέ-
νοντο· οἱ γὰρ Ἡρώμαιοι ὡς τάχιστα τῆς φυγῆς 
αὐτῶν ἔσθοντο, ἐπεδίωξαν σφας, καὶ ἐντυχόντες 
τῷ πυρὶ τὰ μὲν κατέσβεσαν τὰ δὲ καὶ διέκοψαν,
καὶ τινὲς καὶ διὰ μέσης τῆς φλογὸς δραμόντες 
κατέλαβον αὐτοὺς ἀπροσδόκητοι καὶ παμπληθεῖς

3 ἐφόνευσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τινές 
ὁμολόγησαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀτρέβας διαφυγὼν οὐδὲ ὡς 
ἡσυχασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Δαβιδὸν ἑπεχείρησεν

2 ἐνεδρεύσατο ποτε. ἡττηθεῖς δὲ τῇ μάχῃ ἀνεπεισθ 
μὲν ἐς λόγους αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν, πρὶν δὲ ἡ ὁτιοῦ συμ-
βήναι προβείστι ὑπὸ τινὸς τῶν Ἡρώμαιῶν ἀπιστία 
τοῦ μὴ ἄν ἀκριβῶς εἰρηνήσαι διέφυγε, καὶ χαλε-
πῶς αὐθινὲς αὐτοὺς ἐγένετο, μέχρις οὐ ἀπογροὺ 
tὰ πράγματα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τοῖς συνούσιν οἱ ἀκέ-
ραιοι τὴν ἄδειαν ἐπὶ πάσι τοῖς σφετέροις ἔπραξεν,
αὐτὸς δὲ ἐαυτὸ τὸ μηδέποτε, ὡς γε τινὲς φασιν,

1 πλησιόχωροι R. Steph., πλησιόχωροι L.
2 τη Bk., τε L. 3 ἱσοπαλεί Bk., ἱσοπαλο L.
4 προσπεσόντος R. Steph., προσπεσόντος L.
5 ὑπελίποντο Bk., ὑπελίποντο L.
6 αὐτὸς R. Steph., αὐτὸς L. 7 φασιν added by Bs.
put at their head Commius, an Atrebatian, and resisted for a long time. They fought two indecisive cavalry battles and the third time in an infantry battle, although at first they held their own, they were later turned to flight when attacked unexpectedly in the rear by the cavalry. After this the remainder abandoned the camp by night, and as they were passing through a wood set fire to it, leaving behind only their waggons, in order that the enemy might be delayed by these and by the fire, and they themselves might thus reach safety. Their hope, however, was not realized. For the Romans, as soon as they were aware of their flight, pursued them and on encountering the fire they extinguished it in places or hewed their way through the trees, and some even ran through the midst of the flames; thus they came upon the fugitives without warning and slaughtered great numbers. Thereupon some of the others came to terms, but the Atrebatian, who escaped, would not remain quiet even then. He undertook at one time to ambush Labienus, but after being defeated in battle was persuaded to hold a conference with him. Before any terms were made, however, he was wounded by one of the Romans, who surmised that it was not his real intention to make peace; but he escaped and again proved troublesome to them. At last, despairing of his project, he secured for his associates unconditional amnesty for all their acts, and pardon for himself, as some say, on the condition of his never appearing again
3 είς ὅψιν μηδένος Ῥωμαίου ἔλθείν. ἐκεῖνοί τε οὖν οὕτω κατελύσαντο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μετὰ τούτο, οἱ μὲν ἐκουσίοι οἱ δὲ καὶ καταπολεμηθέντες, ἐχειρώθησαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ δικαιώσεσι χρημάτων τε ἐσπράξεσι καὶ φόρων ἐπιτάξεσι τοὺς μὲν ἐταπείνωσε τοὺς δὲ ἡμέρωσε.

44 Ταύτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπὶ τε Δονικίου Παύλου καὶ ἐπὶ Παῦλου Μαρκέλλου ὑπάτων ἐτελευτήθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ μὲν Γαλατῶν ἑνεκα καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ δοθέντος ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπανακομισθῆναι ὁφείλειν ἐκεῖνος 1 τε γαρ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἦν καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ἐπέπαυτο, καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἐτε ἐνπρέπη σκήψιν πρὸς τὸ μή οὐ τα τε στρατόπεδα ἀφεῖναι καὶ ἰδιωτεύσαι εἰκεν.

2 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τε ἐν τῷ ἀστει ἐπασιάζετο, καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ἐτεθνήκει, ὁ τε Πομπήιος ἐν τε νυκτείς αὐθικες, ἀτε τρίτων ὑπατευκός καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πέντε ἄλλα ἐτε ὑπέθηναι οἱ διαπεραγμένοις, ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐκέτι οἰκείοις, ἀλλὰς καὶ τοῦ παιδίου, ὁπερ ποὺ καὶ μόνον ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ αὐτοὺς 2 κατεῖχε, τετελευτηκότος, διέκειτο, 3 ἐφοβήθη μὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ψυλοθέης ἐπὶ τε εκεῖνο καὶ ἐπι τοῖς ἀλλοῖς ἔχθροις γένεται, καὶ οὐ δύηκεν αὐτούς.

45 Ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐτεσιν ἄλλα τε ἐν τῇ πόλει στασιώδη πολλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαιοσίαις μύλιστα ἐγένετο, ὀστε μόλις ἐβδομοι μηνὶ τοῖς Καλούινον καὶ τὸν Μεσσάλαν ὑπάτους ἀποδει- χθήναι καὶ οὐδὲ ἀν τότε ἠρέθησαν, εἰ μὴ Κύντος

1 ἐκεῖνος Leuncl., εἰκὸς L. 2 αὐτῶς R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L. 3 διέκειτο supplied by Rk.
within sight of any Roman. So these foes became reconciled on these terms, and later the rest were subdued, some voluntarily and some when conquered in war; and Caesar by means of garrisons and punishments and levies of money and assessments of tribute humbled some of them and tamed others.

Thus these wars came to an end in the consulship of Lucius Paulus and Gaius Marcellus. It was now time for Caesar, in view of the subjugation of the Gauls and the period for which his command had been assigned him, to leave Gaul and return to Rome. For his term was about to expire, the war had ceased, and he had no longer any plausible excuse for not disbanding his troops and returning to private life. But affairs in the city at this time were in a state of turmoil, Crassus was dead, and Pompey had again come to power, since he had been consul for the third time and had managed to have the government of Spain granted to him for five years longer; moreover, he no longer was on intimate terms with Caesar, especially now that the child, who alone had kept them on friendly terms, had died. Caesar was therefore afraid that if he were deprived of his soldiers he might fall into the power of Pompey and of his other enemies, and so did not dismiss them.

During these same years many tumults had occurred in the city, especially in connection with the elections, so that it was not until the seventh month that Calvinus and Messalla were appointed consuls. And not even then would they have been chosen, had not

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\[1 \text{ Cf. xxxix, 64.}\]
τε Πομπήιος ὁ Ῥούφος ἐσ τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὑπὸ τῆς Βουλῆς, καί τοῦ τε Σύλλου θυγατριδοῦς ὁν καὶ δήμαρχῶν, ἐνεβλήθη, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς κακουργησαί τι ἐθελήσασιν ἐψηφίσθη, τῷ τε Πομπήιοι ἢ πρὸς αὐτοὺς βοήθεια ἐνεχειρίσθη.

3 ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε καὶ οἱ ὀρνιθεὶς τὰς ἀρχαιοσίες ἐπέσχον, οὐ βουλόμενοι τοῖς μεσοβασιλεύσει γενέσθαι μάλιστα δὲ οἱ δήμαρχοι, τὰ πράγματα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει διέποντες ὡστε καὶ τὰς πανηγύρες καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ποιεῖν, ἐκώλυσιν τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρχὰς αἰρεθήναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ

4 ὁ Ῥούφος ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐσέπησε. καὶ οὗτος μὲν τῶν Φαουώνιον ἀγοραμοῦντα ἐστὶν ὑπεροχήν ἀπὸ τινὸς οὐ μεγάλης αἰτίας, ἵνα δὴ κοινωνία τῆς ἀτιμίας λάβῃ, κατέθετο πάντες δὲ οἱ δήμαρχοι ἄλλας τὰς σκῆψεις ἐμποδίσεις ἐσέφερον, καὶ χιλιάρχους ἀνέτα τῶν ὑπώτων, ὅπως πλεῖον ἄρχονται ὅσπερ ποτὲ ἀποδεικνύονται, καθιστασθαι ἐσηγησώτο. ἐπειδῆ τ' οὔδεις αὐτὸν ἐπέδιδο, δικτάτορα γοῦν τὸν Πομπήιον λεχθῆναι δέν ἔφασκον. καὶ ἔπὶ πλείστον ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτη διέτριψαν ἐκεῖνος τὸ γὰρ ἀπεδήμησε, καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρὸντων οὔτε ψηφίσατο τις αὐτὸ (πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Σύλλου ἀμόητα ἐμέσουν πάντες τὸ πολέμενα) οὔτ' αὐτῇ μὴ ἔλεσθαι διὰ

5 τῶν τοῦ Πομπήιου φόβου ὑπέμεινε. τέλος δὲ ὅστις ἐπὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν τὴν μὲν δικτάτοριαν διδόμενην οἱ δῆθεν οὐκ ἔδειξατο, τοὺς δὲ ὑπάτους ἀποδειχθῆναι παραπομπὸν. οὐ μεντοι οὔδε ἐκεῖνοι διαδόχους σφίσι διὰ τὸν ἐκ τῶν σφαγῶν

1 καθίσταται B*, καθίσταται L.
2 σφαγῶν v. Herw., σφαγῶν L.
Quintus Pompeius Rufus, though he was the grandson of Sulla and was serving as tribune, been cast into prison by the senate; and the same penalty was voted in the case of the others who had desired to commit some outrage, while the task of proceeding against them was entrusted to Pompey. Sometimes the omens had checked the elections by refusing to favour the interreges; above all else the tribunes, by managing affairs in the city so that they instead of the praetors should conduct the games, prevented the remaining magistrates from being chosen. This also was the reason why Rufus was put in jail. He later on brought Favonius, the aedile, to the same fate on some trifling charge, in order that he might have a companion in his disgrace. All the tribunes offered various objections, and proposed, among other things, that consular tribunes should replace the consuls, so that more magistrates might be elected, as formerly. And when no one would heed them, they declared that in any case Pompey must be chosen dictator. By this pretext they secured a very long delay; for he was out of town, and of those on the spot there was no one who would venture to vote for the demand, since in remembrance of Sulla's cruelty they all hated that institution, nor yet would venture to refuse to choose Pompey, on account of their fear of him. At last, very late, he came himself, refused the dictatorship offered to him, and took measures to have the consuls named. These, likewise, on account of the turmoil arising from murders, did not appoint any successors, though they
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tάραχον κατέστησαν, καίπερ καὶ τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἔσθητα καταθέμενοι κἀν τῇ ἱππάδι τὴν γερουσίαν ὁσπερ ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ τειχὶ πένθει συνάγεται. 2 γοντες. δόγμα τε ἐποιήσαντο μηδένα μὴτε στρατηγίσαντα μὴθ' ὑπατεύσαντα τὰς ἔξω ἱγγεμονίας, πρὶν ἀν πέντε ἐτη διέλθη, λαμβάνειν, εἰ πῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ παραυτικά ἐν δυνάμει τειχὶ αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι παύσαντο σπουδαρχοῦντες. οὕτε γὰρ ἐμελείται οὐδὲν ὑποίσουν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀλληλοὺς παρώρμηντο πολλὰ μὲν δαπανώμενοι πολλὸ δ' ἐτι πλεῖον μαχόμενοι, ὡστε καὶ τὸν ὑπατὸν ποτὲ τὸν Καλούκιον τρωθῆναι. οὐκομεν ὑποστοσ ὑπατος ὑπήρχουσα στρατηγίας ὑπερ πολίορκος τοις σφαῖς διεδέχατο, ἅλλα ἀναρκτοι κατὰ τοῦτο παντελῶς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ ἑτους ἐγένοντο.

47 Κάκ τούτου οὗτε τι ἄλλο χρηστὸν συνέβη, καὶ ἡ ἁγορὰ ἡ διὰ τῶν ἐννέα αἰεὶ ἡμερῶν ἀγομένη ἐν 2 αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου νουμημία ἡχθῇ. καὶ τούτο τε αὐτούς, ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ ταυτομάτον συμβαῖν ἀλλ' ἐν τέρατος λόγου γενόμενον, ἐθορύβει, καὶ ὅτι βίας ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὠφθη καὶ συνελήφθη, ἀγαλμά τε τι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἱδρωσε, καὶ λαμπάς ἐκ τῶν νοτίων πρὸς ἀνατολάς διέδραμε, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν κεραυνοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ βόλοι λίθοι τε καὶ ὀστρακα καὶ αἷμα διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ἴνεχθη. 3 δοκεῖ δὲ ἐποίησε καὶ ἐκεῖνο τοῦ προτέρῳ ἐτεί, ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ αὐτοῦ, περὶ τοῦ Σάραπιν καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰσιω ψηφισθεὶν τέρας οὐδενὸς ἤττων γενέσθαι τοὺς γὰρ ναοὺς αὐτῶν, οὕτω ἱδίᾳ τινὲς ἐπεποίητο,

1 δόγμα τε R. Steph., δόγματα L.
2 αὐτοὺς R. Steph., αὐτοῖς L.
3 αὐτῶν Leuncl., αὐτοῦ L.
laid aside their senatorial garb and in the dress of knights, as on the occasion of some great calamity, convened the senate. They also passed a decree that no one, either an ex-praetor or an ex-consul, should assume a command abroad until five years had elapsed; they hoped that such men, by not being in a position of power immediately after holding office, would cease their craze for office. For there was no moderation and no decency at all being observed, but they vied with one another in expending great sums and, going still further, in fighting, so that once even the consul Calvinus was wounded. Hence no consul or praetor or prefect of the city had any successor, but at the beginning of the year the Romans were absolutely without a government in these branches.

No good came of all this, and among other things the market that was held on every ninth day, came on the very first day of January. This seemed to the Romans to be no mere coincidence but rather in the nature of a portent, and it accordingly caused them trepidation. The same feeling was increased when an owl was both seen and caught in the city, a statue exuded perspiration for three days, a meteor darted from the south to the east, and many thunderbolts, many clods, stones, shards and blood went flying through the air. But it seems to me that that decree passed the previous year, near its close, with regard to Serapis and Isis, was a portent equal to any; for the senate had decided to tear down their temples, which some individuals had
καθελευόν τῇ βουλῇ ἐδοξεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὅθη τοὺς θεοὺς
tοῦτοις ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐνόμισαν, καὶ ὅτε ἦσαν
ἐξενίκησαν ὡστε καὶ ἡμοῦ ἀυτοὺς σέβεσθαι, ἐξ
τοῦ πωμηρίου σφᾶς ἱδρύσαντο.

48 Τοιαύτης οὖν τότε τῆς ἐν τῷ ἀστεί καταστάσεως
οὕσης, καὶ μηδενός τοὺς πράγμασιν ἐπιτεταγμένον,
σφαγαὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἦμεραν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐγγύνοντο,
tὰς τὲ ἄρχαιρεσίας, καίτοι σπεύδοντες ἐπὶ τὰς
ἀρχὰς καὶ δεκασεμίους καὶ φόνους δὲ αὐτῶς χρώ-

2 μενοι, οὐκ ἔπετέλουσ. ὁ γὰρ Μίλων ὑπατειαν
αὐτῶν τὸν Κλάδιον ἐν τῇ Ἀπίᾳ ὀδός συντυχόντα
οἱ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπλῶς πως ἔτρωσεν, ἐπειτὰ δὲ
φοβηθεὶς μὴ ἐπεξέλθῃ 2-τῷ γεγονότι κατέσφαζεν,
ἐπλίσας, ἐπειδὰ πάντας 3 τοὺς οἰκέτας τοὺς τοῦτο
ποιήσατας εὐθὺς ἤλευθερώσῃ, 4 μᾶν τοῦ φόνου
tελευτήσατο αὐτοῦ ἡ τοῦ τραύματος εἴ περι-

3 γὰρ νῦν ἀφεθήσεται, ἀκούσαντες οὖν τοῦθ', ὦ
ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸς ἐσπέραν δεινοῦ ἐπαράκθησαν
ταῖς τε γὰρ στάσεσιν ἀφορμὴ πολέμου καὶ κακῶν
ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ διὰ μέσου, εἰ καὶ ἐμίσουν τὸν
Κλάδιον, ὦμοι διὰ τὸ ἅνθρϊππων καὶ ὅτε καὶ
tοῦ Μίλωνος στερηθῆμαι ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτη

ηθελον, ἡγανάκτουν. παραλαβόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς
οὐτώς ἔχοντας ὁ τε Ροῦφος καὶ Τίτος Μουνάτιος
Πλάγκος προσπαράξειν δημαρχοῦντες γὰρ ἐσ
τε τὴν ἁγοράν τοῦ 6 νεκρὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐν ἑσκομίσαν
καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐπέθεσαν πᾶσι τε ἐπεδείκνυαν,

2 καὶ ἐπέλεγον οἰα εἰκὸς ἢν ὑδρόμενοι, ὡστε τὸν
ὄμηλον καὶ ἕως ὃν ἐώρων καὶ ἕως ὃν ἦκον συν-

1 ὅτι Rk., ὅτι L. 2 ἐπεξέλθῃ R. Steph., ἐξελθῃ L.
3 πάντας R. Steph., πάντας L.
4 ἤλευθερώσει Leuncl., ἤλευθερώσει L.
5 τὸ R. Steph., τῶν L. 6 τὸν added by Rk.
built on their own account. Indeed, for a long time they did not believe in these gods, and even when the rendering of public worship to them gained the day, they settled them outside the pomerium.

Such being the state of things in the city at that time, with no one in charge of affairs, murders occurred practically every day, and they could not hold the elections, although men were eager to win the offices and employed bribery and assassination to secure them. Milo, for instance, who was seeking the consulship, met Clodius on the Appian Way and at first simply wounded him; then, fearing he would avenge the deed, he slew him, hoping that after he had immediately freed all the servants concerned in the affair, he would be more easily acquitted of the murder, once the man was dead, than he would be of the assault, in case he should survive. The people in the city heard of this toward evening and were thrown into a terrible uproar; to the factions it served as an incentive to war and misdeeds, while those who were neutrals, even though they hated Clodius, yet on account of humanity and because on this excuse they hoped to get rid of Milo also, showed indignation. While they were in this frame of mind Rufus and Titus Munatius Plancus took them in hand and excited them to greater wrath. As tribunes they conveyed the body into the Forum just before dawn, placed it on the rostra, exhibited it to all, and spoke appropriate words over it with lamentations. So the populace, as a result of what it both saw and heard, was deeply stirred.
ταραχθῆναι, καὶ μήτε τοῦ ὅσιον μήτε τοῦ θείου ἐτι φροντίσαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς νόμιμα συνεχέα, πᾶσαν δὲ ὁλίγον τὴν πόλιν καταπρῆσαι. τὸ γὰρ σῶμα τοῦ Κλωδίου ἀράμενοι ἐς τὸ βουλευτῆριον ἐσήμενοι, καὶ εὐθέτησαν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πυρὰν ἐκ τῶν βάθρων συννήσαντες.  

3 ἐκαυσαν καὶ ἐκεῖνο καὶ τὸ συνεδρίον. οὕτω τε ὅν όρμη τινι, οἰα ποὺ τοὺς ὄχλους ἐξαπιναία καταλαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ ἐκ προαιρέσεωσ αὐτὸ ἐπραξαν ὡστε καὶ τὴν ἐνάτην τὸ περίδειπνον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τυφομένου ἐτι τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, ποιῆσαι, καὶ προσετε καὶ τὴν σίκιαν τὴν τοῦ Μίλωνος 

4 καταφλέξαν ἐπιχειρῆσαι. ἐκεῖνη μὲν οὖν πολλῶν αὐτῇ ἀμινάντων όυκ ἐκαύθη· ο δὲ ὁ Μίλων τέως μὲν περίφοβος ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ ὁν ἐκρύπτητο, οὖχ ὑπὸ ἱδιοτῶν μόνων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰπτέων βουλευτῶν τῇ τινῷ φρουρούμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο τε ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν ὀργήν τῆς γερουσίας ἐς τὸ τῶν ἀντιστα- 

5 σιωτῶν μίασμα περιχωρήσειν ἦλπισεν (εἰθὺς γροῦν τῆς δείλης ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον δι’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο συλλεγέντες τὸν τε μεσοβασίλεα προεχειρισθήναι, καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐκείνον καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους καὶ προσέτε καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπι- μεληθήναι ὡστε μηδὲν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἀποτρίβηναι, ἐφησάντο), προῆς τε ἐς τὸ 2 μέσον καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁμοίως ἡ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀντεποίητο. 

50 Μάχαι τε οὖν ἐκ τοῦτο πολλαὶ καὶ ὁφαγαὶ αὐθιὸς ἐγένοντο, ὡστε τὴν βουλήν ὑπὶ τὸ προειρι- μένα ἐπικυρώσαι, καὶ τὸν Πομπήίου μεταπέμψα- σθαι, καταλόγους τε αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς ποιήσασθαι

1 μήτε τοῦ ὅσιον supplied by Bk. 
2 συννήσαντες Polak, ἐνήσαντες L. 
3 τὸ added by St.
and no longer showed any regard for things sacred or profane, but overthrew all the customs of burial and burned down nearly the whole city. They took up the body of Clodius and carried it into the senate-house, laid it out properly, and then after heaping up a pyre out of the benches burned both the corpse and the building. They did not do this under the stress of such an impulse as often takes sudden hold of crowds, but with such deliberate purpose that at the ninth hour they held the funeral feast in the Forum itself, with the senate-house still smouldering; and they furthermore undertook to apply the torch to Milo’s house. It was not burned, however, because many defended it. But Milo, in great terror because of the murder, was meanwhile in hiding, being guarded not only by ordinary citizens but also by knights and some senators; and when this other deed occurred, he hoped that the wrath of the senate would shift to the outrage of the opposing faction. The senators, indeed, did at once assemble on the Palatine late in the afternoon for this very purpose, and they voted that an interrex should be chosen, and that he and the tribunes and Pompey should look after the guarding of the city, so that it should suffer no harm. Milo, accordingly, made his appearance in public, and pressed his claims to the office as strongly as before, if not more strongly.

Thereupon conflicts and much bloodshed occurred once more, so that the senate adopted the aforementioned measures, summoned Pompey, allowed him to make fresh levies, and changed their
2 ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ τὰ ἐσθήματα ἀλλάξασθαι. ἔλθον·
τος τε αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ πολλῷ ὑστεροῦ ἔχω τε τοῦ
πωμηρίου πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ αὐτοῦ σὺν φρουρά
ἡδροίσθησαν καὶ τα τοῦ Κλωδίου ὡστὰ ἀνελέ-
σθαι ἔγνωσαν, τὸ τε βουλευτήριον τῷ Φαύστῳ
τῷ τοῦ Σύλλου νιεῖ ἀνοικοδομῆσαι προσέταξαι.
3 ἦν μὲν γὰρ τὸ Ὄστίλιον, μετεσκευάστο δὲ ὑπὸ
τοῦ Σύλλου· διὸ τότε περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐδοξεῖ, καὶ
ὀπωσ ἐξοικοδομηθὲν τὸ ἐκεῖνον ὄνομα ἀπολάβη.
μετεώρον δὲ τής πόλεως οὕσης ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρξοῦσι
σφών, καὶ διαθροούντων τῶν μὲν ὡς δικτάτορα
τῶν Πομπῆιον, τῶν δὲ ὦς ὑπατὸν τοῦ Καίσαρα
ἀιρεθήσατε δεῖ (οὕτω γὰρ ποιό προσαρέσωσ
ἐπὶ τοῖς κατεργασμένοις αὐτοῦ ἔτιμοι ὡστε καὶ
ἐξήκονθ' ἡμέρας θύσαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ψηφίσασθαι,
φοβηθέντες ἐκάτερον οὐ τοὺς βούλευταί καὶ
Βίβουλος, ὅστε πρὸ τῆς γνώμην πρῶτος ἔρωτη-
θείς ποιήσασθαι ἐμελλε, προκατέλαβον τῆν τοῦ
πλῆθους ὀρμὴν, τῷ Πομπῆιῳ τῆν ὑπατείαν, ὡστε
μὴ δικτάτορα αὐτῶν λεχθῆσαι, καὶ μόνον ὑπὲρ

5 Καίσαρ αὐτὸς συνάρξει, δόντες. ξένων μὲν ἄρ'tο
καὶ ἐπὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου γενόμενον ἐπράξει, καὶ τοῖς
ὄρθοις αὐτῷ πεποιηκέναι ἐδοξεῖ· ἐπειδῆ γὰρ ἐπὶ
tοῦ Καίσαρος τῷ ὁμόλογῳ προσέκειτο, ἀπορρήξειν
tε αὐτῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου παντάπασι καὶ σφετερίσθαι
ὑπίσται. ν καὶ ἐσχεν οὕτως τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ καινῷ καὶ
tῶν παραδόξω τῆς τιμῆς ἐπαρθεῖς οὐκ ἂν οὖν ἔσ
τὴν τῶν πολλῶν χάριν ἐβουλέυσεν, ἀλλὰ ἀκριβῶς
πάντα τὰ τῇ βουλῇ ἀρέσκουτα ἐπράξειν.

1 αὐτοῦ Reim., αὐτῶι L. 2 ἥθεοισθήσαν Rk., ἥθοισιν L.
3 διὰ Bk., διὰ L. 4 αὐτοῦ Xyl., αὐτοῖς L.
5 ἀπολάβη Reim., ἀποθάλη L. 6 δεῖ supplied by Rk.
7 καίτοι Carps, καὶ L.
BOOK XL

garments. Upon his arrival not long afterward they assembled under guard near his theatre outside the pomerium, and resolved to take up the bones of Clodius, and also assigned the rebuilding of the senate-house to Faustus, the son of Sulla. It was the Curia Hostilia, which had been remodelled by Sulla; hence they came to this decision about it and ordered that when restored it should receive again the name of the same man. The city was in a fever of excitement about the magistrates who should rule it, some talking to the effect that Pompey should be chosen dictator and others that Caesar should be made consul. They were so determined to honour the latter for his achievements that they voted a thanksgiving of sixty¹ days because of them. Fearing both of the men, the rest of the senate and Bibulus, who was first to be asked and to declare his opinion, forestalled the enthusiasm of the populace by giving the consulship to Pompey, so as to prevent his being named dictator, and to him alone, in order that he might not have Caesar as his colleague. This action of theirs was novel, having been taken in no other case; and [yet] they seemed to have acted with good judgment. For since Pompey favoured the populace less than Caesar, they hoped to detach him from them altogether and to make him their own. And this expectation was fulfilled. Elated by the novelty and unexpectedness of the honour, he no longer formed any plan to gratify the populace, but was careful to do every-thing that pleased the senate.

¹ Twenty days according to Caesar (B.G. viii, 90). Reimar thought "sixty" an error of the copyists.
51 Οὐ μὲντοι καὶ μόνος ἅρξαι ἰδέλησεν τὴν γὰρ εὐκλείαν ἐν τῷ δεδόχθαι τοῦτ' ἔχων, τὸν φθόνον τὸν ἐπὶ αὐτῇ ἐξέκλινε. καὶ φοβηθεὶς μῆποτε κενῆς τῆς χώρας ὦν ό Καῖσαρ ἐκ τῇ τῆς 1 τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πλῆθους σπουδῆς συνάρχων
2 αὐτῷ δοθῇ, ἐκεῖνῷ 2 μὲν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ παντελῶς παρημελήσθαι νομίσῃ 3 κακός τούτοι τινὰ ὀργῆν δικαίαν ποιήσηται, παρεσκεύασε διὰ τῶν δημάρχων ἐπιτραπῆναι καὶ ἀπόντι τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅταν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καθήκη, 4 αἰτήσας, αὐτὸς δὲ Κύντων Σκυπίων πενθερὸν τε οἱ ὀντα καὶ δεκασμοὶ αἰτίαν
3 ἔχοντα προσελλετο. οὐτός γὰρ ὄνομα μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ Νασικοῦ ὄν, ἐκ δὲ δὴ κλήρου διαδοχῆς ἐς τὸ τοῦ Μετέλλου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς γένος ποιήθεις καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ φέρων, τὴν τε βυνατέρα τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἐξέδωκε, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ὑπατείαν καὶ τὸ μὴ κατηγορηθῆναι αὐτέ.
52 λαβε. πάνω γὰρ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐγκληματί τοῦτῳ εὐθύνθησαν, καὶ μᾶλισθ' ὅτι τὰ δικαστήρια ἀκριβέστερον ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Πομπῆιον νόμων συνήγητο. πάντας τε γὰρ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐξ ὧν τοὺς δικασώντας ἀποκληροῦσθαι ἔδει 5 αὐτὸς ἐπελέγητο, καὶ τοῖς τῶν συναγορευόντων ἐκατέρῳ τῷ μέρει ἀριθμοὶ ὥρισεν, ὡστε μὴ ύπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους αὐτῶν τοὺς
2 δικαστὰς θροβουμένους ἐκταράττεσθαι. χρόνον τε τοῦ μὲν διώκοντι δύο ὥρας, τῷ δὲ φεύγοντι τρεῖς δίδοσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ δὴ μᾶλιστα πλείστος ἐλυμαίνετο, τὸ 7 τινας ἐπαινέτας ὑπὸ τῶν κρινο-

1 τις added by Bk. 2 εκεῖνῳ Xyl., εκείονι L.
2 νομίσῃ Bk., νομισθῇ L.
4 καθήκη R. Steph., καθήκει L. 5 ἔδει Bk., ἔδοκει L.
6 συναγορευόντων Rk., συναγορευόντων L.
7 τὸ added by Rk.
He did not, however, wish to hold office alone. For now that he had the glory that lay in the passing of such a vote, he wished to avoid the envy attaching to it. He also feared that, if the place were vacant, Caesar might be given him as colleague through the enthusiasm of his troops and the populace alike. First of all, therefore, in order that his rival might not think he had been entirely neglected and therefore show some just displeasure, he arranged through the tribunes that Caesar should be permitted even in his absence to be a candidate for the office, when the proper time came according to law; he then chose as his colleague Quintus Scipio, who was his father-in-law and was under a charge of bribery. This man, by birth the son of Nasica, had been adopted into the family of Metellus Pius as the latter's heir, and for that reason also bore his name. He had given his daughter in marriage to Pompey, and now received in turn from him the consulship and immunity from accusation. Very many had been called to account on the charge mentioned, especially because the trials, by Pompey's laws, were more carefully conducted. He himself selected the entire list of names from which drawings for jurors must be made, and he limited the number of advocates on each side, in order that the jurymen might not be confused and embarrassed by their number. And he ordered that the time allotted to the plaintiff should be only two hours, and to the defendant three. But what grieved a great many most was his reform of the custom whereby character-witnesses were brought forward by those on trial, with the result that great
μένων δίδοσθαι (πάμπολλοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξιοπιστῶν ἐπαινούμενοι ἐξηρπάζοντο), ἐπηνώρθωσε, νομοθετήσας μεθένα ἐτὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐπαινέτην. 3 τοῖς τοιούτοις γέγυνεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλα τὲ τίνα κατὰ πάντων ὁμοίως τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐτάχθη, τοῖς δὲ δὴ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς δεκάζουσι καὶ τοὺς προεαλωκότας ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ τινὶ κατηγόρους ἐπέστησεν, ἄθλον σφισῶν ὡκ ἐλάχιστον προθείς. 4 εἰ γὰρ τὸς ἦτοι δύο τῶν ὁμοίων τῶν τε ἐλαττῶν ἢ καὶ ἕνα τῶν μειζῶν τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὸν αἰτίας εἶλεν, ἀδειαν εὐρίσκετο. 53 Ἀλλοι τε οὖν ἐκ τοῦτον πολλοί ἐάλωσαν καὶ Πλαύτιος Τύφαιος ἀνταπτήσας τῷ τῷ Μίλωνι καὶ τῷ Σκιπίων τῇ ὑπατείᾳ. τῶν γὰρ δὴ τριῶν 2 δωροφορησάντων μόνοις ἐκεῖνος κατεδικάσθη. δὲ γὰρ Σκιπίων ἐγράφη μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ δυοῦν γε, οὐκ ἐκρίθη δὲ διὰ τὸν Πομπῆιον καὶ ὁ Μίλων ἐπὶ μὲν τούτῳ οὐκ ἐσήχθη (τὸ γὰρ τοῦ φόνου ἐγκλήματος οὐκ ἐίχεν), ὑπαχθεὶς δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ἐάλω, μηδὲν δυνηθεὶς βλαίον δρᾶσαι. ὁ γὰρ Πομπῆιος τὴν τε ἄλλην πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ 3 ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον σὺν ὁπλάταις ἐσῆλθε, διδομασάντων τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ τινῶν προσέταξε τοῖς στρατευταῖς ἐκδούξαι αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἁγορᾶς πλαγίως καὶ πλατέας τοῖς ξύφεσι παίνοντας. ἐπειδὴ τε οὖχ ὑπείκον ἄλλα καὶ καθάπερ ἐν παιδίᾳ τινι πλαγιαξόμενοι ὑβριζον, καὶ ἐτρώθησαν τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέδανον. 54 Τὰ τε οὖν δικαστήρια ἰσχύχως ἐκ τούτων συνήπ. 1 ἐπαινεῖται Bk., ἔτειναι év L. 2 περι added by Cary. 3 τοιοῦτῳ Oddey, τοῦτω L. 4 τῆς Rk., ἡ τῆς L. 5 ἐάλωσαν Bk., καὶ ἐάλωσαν L. 6 τοῦτῳ St., τοῦτον L.
numbers were snatched from justice because they were commended by credible witnesses; he had a measure passed that no character-witnesses at all should henceforth be allowed to such persons. These and other reforms he applied to all the courts alike; and against those who practised bribery for office he raised up as accusers those who had formerly been convicted of some such offence, setting before the latter no small prize. For if any one secured the conviction of two men on charges similar to the one against himself, or even on slighter charges, or of one man on a greater charge, he gained pardon himself.

Among many others who were thus convicted was Plautius Hypsaeus, who had been a rival of Milo and of Scipio for the consulship. Though all three had been guilty of bribery, he alone was convicted. Scipio was indicted, and by two persons at that, but had not been tried, thanks to Pompey's influence; and Milo was not charged with this crime, since he had the more serious charge of murder against him, but when he was brought to trial on this latter charge, he was convicted, as he was unable to use any violence. For Pompey kept the rest of the city well under guard and entered the court himself with armed soldiers. When some raised an outcry at this, he ordered the soldiers to drive them out of the Forum by striking them with the side or the flat of their swords; and when they still would not yield, but jeered as if they were being struck in sport, some of them were wounded and killed.

The courts convened in quiet in consequence of
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γετο, καὶ ἑδικασώθησαν ἐπὶ τε ἐτέροις τισὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Κλωδίου φόνῳ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Μίλων, καίτοι τῷ Κικέρωνα συναγωνιστήν ἔχων.

2 ὁ γὰρ ῥήτωρ ἐκεῖνος τὸν τε Πομπήιον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἑδοὺς ἐξεπλάγη καὶ κατέδεισεν, ὥστε τῶν μὲν παρεσκευασμένων μηδὲν εἰπεῖν, βραχυ· δέ τι καὶ τεθνήκος χαλεπῶς φθεγξάμενος ἀγαπητῶς μεταστήματος τότεν τῷ γὰρ τοῦ λόγου τῶν νῦν φερομένων ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μίλωνος τὸτε λεχθέντα χρῶνῳ ποῦ ὅστερον καὶ κατὰ σχόλην ἀναβαρσῆς ἔγραψε·

3 καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοιώδει τι περὶ αὐτοῦ παραδέδοται. ὁ Μίλων τῷ λόγῳ πεμφθέντι οἷς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐντυχῶν (ἐπεφυγάδευτο γὰρ) ἀντιπέστειλει ἑνόν ὅτι ἐν τῇ τυχῃ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο τὸ μὴ ταῦθ’ οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ λεχθῆναι· οὔ γὰρ ἂν τοιαύτας ἐν τῇ Μασσαλίᾳ (ἐν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν φυγήν ἄλλα τρίγυμα

4 ἐσθείειν, εἰπέρ τοι τοιοῦτον ἀπελελόγητο. τούτο δὲ ἔγραψεν οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἠρέσκετο (τολλᾶ τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ ἐπετολμησαν· ἀλλ’ ἐς τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀποσκόπησαν, ὅτι μηδεὶς χρηματὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀπολογίας καιρῶ εἰπὼν ἔπειτα ἀκάρπους λόγους καὶ ἐμελέτα καὶ ἐπεμπεν· διδοὺς τοῖς ὄφελοις τούτων δυναμένως,

55 "Ο τε σὲ ποὺν Μίλων οὕτως ἐώλω, καὶ ὁ Ρούφος δ’ οἱ Πλάγκος εἶπειδ’ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔξηλθον, ἄλλοι τε σὲ ποὺν αὐτὸς συχνὸν διὰ τῆς τοῦ βουλευτηρίων ἐμπρησιν, καίτοι τῷ

1 ἀντιπέστειλε Reim., ἀντιπέστειλε L.
2 ἐπεμπεπ Leunel., εἶπεν L.
3 δυναμένων Leunel., δυνάμενος L.
4 Πλάγκος R. Steph., πλάγκος L.
these reforms, and many were convicted on various charges, among others, Milo for the murder of Clodius, though he had Cicero to defend him. That orator, seeing Pompey and the soldiers in the court, contrary to custom, was alarmed and overwhelmed with dread, so that he did not deliver the speech he had prepared at all, but after uttering with difficulty a few words that all but died on his lips, was glad to retire. The speech which is now extant, purporting to have been delivered at that time in behalf of Milo, he wrote some time later and at leisure, when he had recovered his courage. Indeed, the following story has come down about it. When Milo, in banishment, had read the speech sent to him by Cicero, he wrote back saying that it was lucky for him those words had not been spoken in that form in the court; for he should not be eating such mullets in Massilia (where he was passing his exile), if any such defence had been made. This he wrote, not because he was pleased with his condition,—indeed, he made many efforts to secure his return,—but as a joke on Cicero, because the orator, after saying nothing useful at the time of the defence, had later composed and sent to him these fruitless words, as if they could then be of any service to him.

In this way Milo was convicted; and so were Rufus and Plancus, as soon as they had finished their term of office, together with numerous others, on account of the burning of the senate-house. Plancus
Πλάγκος καὶ τοῦ Πομπήιον συσπουδάσαντος, ὅστε καὶ βιβλίου ἐπαινόν τε ἀμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰκετείαν ἔχον ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον ἐπεμψεν· ὁ γὰρ Κάτων ὁ Μάρκος (δικαζεῖν δὲ ἐμμέλλειν) οὐκ ἔφη τὸν ἑπανέτην ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νόμων καταλύσεις προσέλθατι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκέτι τὴν ψήφον ἐδωκεν· ὁ γὰρ Πλάγκος ὡς καὶ τὴν καθαιρήσουσαν αὐτὸν οἰσοντα εξέκρινεν (ἐξῆν γὰρ, ἐκ τῶν Πομπηίων νόμων, πέντε ἐκατέρφω τῶν διαδικούντων ἐκ τῶν δικάσεων σφίζει μελ—

3 λόντων ἀπολέγειν): οἱ μὲντοι ἄλλοι δικασταὶ κατεψηφίσαντο αὐτοῦ. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλος ὀρθῶς ἔχειν ἐδοξεῖ σφίζει, τοῦ Ρούφου κατεγρωκόσιν, ἐκείνου ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς κρινόμενον ἀφεῖναι καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸν Πομπήίου συναιρόμενον οἱ εἶδον, ἀντεσπούδασαν αὐτῷ, μὴ καὶ δοῦλοι τινες ἀντεκρυσ αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἡ δικασταὶ νομισθῶσιν 4 εἶναι. καὶ περ καὶ τότε ὁ Κικέρων οὐδὲν βέλτιον τοῦ Πλάγκου κατηγόρησεν ἡ ύπὲρ τοῦ Μίλωνος ἀπελογήσατο· ἢ τε γὰρ τὸ δικαστήριον ὅψις ἡ αὐτὴ ἢν, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν ἐκατέρφῳ τάναντια οἱ καὶ ἐβουλεύετο καὶ ἐπραττεν, ὅθεν οὐχ ἦκιστα αὖθις αὐτῷ προσέκρουσε.

56 Ταύτα τε οὐν ἀμα διώκει, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοτῶν νόμων τῶν κελεύοντα τοὺς ἄρχῃν τινα ἐπαγγέλλοντας ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πάντως ἀπαντῶν, ὡστε μηδένα ἀπόντα αἱρέσθαι, παρη-μελήμενον πως ἀνενεώσατο· τὸ τε δόγμα τὸ μι-κρὸν ἐμπροσθε γένομεν, ὡστε τοὺς ἀρχαντας ἐν τῇ πόλει μὴ προτερον ἐς τὰς ἔξω ἡγεμονίας, πρὶν

1 συσπουδάσαντος R. Steph., συσπουδάσαντος L.
was not saved even by the efforts of Pompey, who was
so zealous in his behalf that he sent to the court a
pamphlet containing both a eulogy of Milo and an
entreaty in his behalf. But Marcus Cato, who was to
be a juryman, said he would not allow the character-

witness to appear to the destruction of his own laws;
however, he got no opportunity to cast his vote, since
he was rejected by Plancus, who felt sure he would
vote for his condemnation. By the laws of Pompey,
it should be explained, each of the parties to a suit was
allowed to set aside five of the men who were to be on
the jury. The other jurors, however, voted against
Milo, since it did not seem right to them after they
had condemned Rufus to acquit Plancus, who was on
trial on the same charge; and particularly when they
saw Pompey cooperating with him, they became zealous
in opposing him, for fear they might be thought to
be absolute slaves of his rather than jurymen. It
should be said that on this occasion, too, Cicero
accused Plancus no more successfully than he had
defended Milo; for the appearance of the courtroom
was the same, and Pompey in each case was advising
and acting against him—a circumstance that was
important in bringing about another collision between
them.

Besides attending to these matters Pompey revived
the law about elections that commanded those who
seek an office to present themselves without fail before
the assembly, so that no one who was absent might
be chosen; this law had somehow fallen into disuse.
He also confirmed the decree, passed a short time
previously, that those who had held office in the
city should not be assigned to command abroad until

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1 See chap. 52.
πέντε ἐτη παρελθεῖν, κληροῦσθαι, ἐπεκύρωσεν. 2 οὖν ἴσχύνθη τότε μὲν τοιαῦτα γράφας, ὠστερον δὲ οὐ πολλῷ αὐτός τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐς πέντε ἄλλα ἐτή λαβὼν, καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ ἀπόντι (οἱ γὰρ φίλοι αὐτοῦ δεινῶς ἡγανάκτον) αἰτήσαί την 3 ὑπατείαν, ὃσπερ ἐψήφιστο, δοὺς. προσέγραψε μὲν γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ τὸ μόνος αὐτὸ ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν οἷς ἀν ὀνομαστὶ τε καὶ ἀντικρὸς ἐπιτραπῇ, διέφερε δὲ οὖν ἔν τούτῳ τοῦ μὴ ἀρχὴν κεκωλύσθαι· πάντως γὰρ οἳ τι δυνάμενοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο ψηφισθῆναι σφυσί διαπράξασθαι ἔμελλον.

57 'Ο μὲν οὖν Πομπήιος τοιαύτ' ἐπολιτεύετο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Σκιπίων οὕτε ἱμομοθέτησε τι, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Κλώδιου περὶ τῶν τιμητῶν γραφέντα κατέλυσε. καὶ ἐδοξε μὲν τὴν ἐκείνων χάριν τούτο πεποιηκέναι, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐξοισίαν αὐτοῖς ἦν καὶ πρὶν 2 εἰχον ἀπέδωκε, περιέστη δὲ ἐς τούναντίουν. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ 4 πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ ἵππαδι καὶ ἐν τῷ Βούλευτικῷ φλαύρους ἄνδρας εἶναι, τέως μὲν μηδένα μήτε κατηγορηθέντα μῆθ' ἀλὸντα διαγράψαι σφίσιν ἔζην, οὐδεμίαν τῶν οὐκ ἀπαλεί

3 φομένων αἰτίαν εἰχον ἀπολαβόντες δὲ τὴν ἁρ
χαίαν ἰσχίων, ωθήσεως καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τὸν ἐκάστου βίου ἐξετάζουσι τούτο ποιεῖν ἔδεδοτο, οὐτὶ πολλοὶ προσκρούειν ὑπέμενον, οὐτὶ αὖ ἐν μέμψει τινὶ ὡς μὴ διαγράφοντες τοὺς οὐκ ἐπιτη-
δείους γίγνεσθαι ἥθελον, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ οὐδὲ ἐφίετο 5 ἐτὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐμφρόνων οὐδὲ εἰς.

1 τότε μὲν Rk., μὲν τότε L.
2 προσέγραψε R. Steph., προσέγραψε L.
3 οἴ Xyl., δ L.
4 τοῦ Xyl., τοῦ L.
5 ἐφίετο R. Steph., ἐφίετο L.

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five years had passed. And yet, after proposing these measures at this time, he was not ashamed a little later to take Spain himself for five years more and to grant to Caesar, whose friends were in a terrible state of indignation, the right to canvass for the consulship even in his absence, as had been decreed. For he had amended the law to read that only those should be permitted to do it who were granted the privilege by name and without disguise; but this was no different from its not having been prohibited at all, for men who had any influence were certainly going to manage to get the right voted to them. Such were the political acts of Pompey.

Scipio, without enacting any new laws, abolished the laws emanating from Clodius with regard to the censors. It looked as though he had done this out of favour to them, since he had restored to them the authority which they formerly had; but it turned out to be the opposite. For in view of the fact that there were many unworthy men both in the equestrian and in the senatorial orders, so long as it had not been permitted them to expel any one who had been either accused or convicted, no fault was found with them on account of those whose names were not expunged. But when they got back their old power and were allowed to do this on their own authority after examining into the life of each man, they had not the hardihood to come to an open break with many, nor had they, on the other hand, any desire to incur censure for failing to expel men who were unfit to retain their rank, and for this reason no sensible person had any desire for the office any longer.
Περὶ μὲν ὅτι τοὺς τιμητὰς ταῦτ' ἐψηφίσθη, οὔ δὲ ὅτι Κάτων ἄλλως μὲν συνεμάς ἀρχὴς ἐθεῖτο, ἵδιων δὲ τὸν τε Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον υπὲρ τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς πολιτείας αὐξανομένους, καὶ υποτοπήσας ἦτοι καὶ ἀμφοτέρους σφᾶς τὰ πράγματα ἔξειν, ἣ καὶ διενεχθέντας ἄλλη- λοις στάσιν τε μεγίστην ποιήσειν καὶ τὸν
2 κρατήσαντα αὐτῶν μοναρχήσειν, ἡθέλησε μὲν σφᾶς πρὶν ἀνταγωνιστὰς γενέσθαι καταλύσαι, καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦτησεν, ἐπειδὴ περὶ ἰδιωτεύων οὐδὲν ἰσχύσεις ἐμελλεν, ὑποπτευθὲς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ἐκεῖνων πραττόντων τοιούτων τῷ ὁρᾷν εὐκ. ἄπεδείχθη, ἀλλ' ὃ τε Μάρκελλος ὁ
3 Μάρκος καὶ ὁ Ρούφος ὁ Σουλπτίκιος, ὁ μὲν διὰ τὴν τῶν νόμων ἐμπερίαν ὃ δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων δύναμιν, ἠρέθησαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν, εἰ καὶ μὴ χρήμασιν ἢ βιαίῳ τινί ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ τῇ γε θεραπεια καὶ τῇ παρακλήσει πολλῇ πρὸς πάντας ἐχρησάστο, ὃ δὲ δὴ Κάτων οὐδένα αὐτῶν
4 ἐθεράπευσε. καὶ ὃ μὲν οὐκέτ' αὖθις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντεποίησατο, λέγων ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐργον εἶναι μὴ ἀποδιδράσκειν τὴν προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν, ἀν γέ τινες χρήσατοι αὐτῶ θεθλήσσος, μὴ τ᾽ ὑπὲρ
59 τὸ προσήκον αὐτῆς ἐφίεσθαι. Μάρκελλος δὲ πάντ᾽ εὔθυς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος καταλύσει (τῆς γὰρ τοῦ Πομπήιου μερίδος ἐν) ἐπραττε, καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐπ' αὐτῶ πολλά, καὶ ὡστε καὶ διάδοχον οἱ ἱδή καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου πεμφθῆναι, ἐσηγήσατο. καὶ αὐτῶ δὲ τε Σουλπτίκιος καὶ τῶν ὁμάρχων τινές ἀντεπραβαν, οὕτω μὲν τῇ πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρα χάριτι: ἐκείνος δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκοινώσατο

1 ἠρέθησαν Xyl., διηρέθησαν L. 2 γε Βκ., τε Ι.
This was the vote passed with regard to the censors. Cato did not really want any office, but seeing Caesar and Pompey outgrowing the constitution, and surmising that they would either get control of affairs together or would quarrel with each other and cause a great civil war, the victor in which would be sole ruler, he wished to overthrow them before they became antagonists, and sought the consulship to use it against them, because as a private citizen he would have no influence. His designs were guessed, however, by the adherents of the two men and he was not appointed, but instead Marcus Marcellus and Sulpicius Rufus were chosen, the one on account of his acquaintance with the law and the other for his ability as an orator. One special reason was that they, even if they did not employ money or violence, yet showed great deference to all and were wont to appeal frequently to the people, whereas Cato was deferential to none of them. He never again became a candidate for the office, saying that it was the duty of an upright man not to shirk the leadership of the state if any wished to use his services in that way, nor yet to pursue it beyond the limits of propriety. Marcellus at once directed all his efforts toward compassing the downfall of Caesar, inasmuch as he was of Pompey's party; among the many measures against him that he proposed was one to the effect that a successor to him should be sent out even before the appointed time. He was resisted by Sulpicius and some of the tribunes; the latter acted out of good-will toward Caesar, and Sulpicius made common cause with them and with the multitude, because he
καὶ τοὺς πολλοῖς ὁτι 1 οὐκ ἦρεσκε τὸ 2 τινα μεταξὺ
2 ἀρχοντα μηδὲν ἡδικηκότα παυθῆναι. μαθῶν οὖν
tαῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος (ἀπήρε μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως
ώς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἑβρίαν στρατεύσων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ
τότε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξεχώρησεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπο-
στρατήγοις πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ προστάζας αὐτὸς τῇ
3 πόλει ἐφήδρευε) τὸ μὲν δὴ τὸν Καῖσαρα τῆς ἡγε-
μονίας παραλυθῆναι οὐδὲ ἑαυτῷ ἀρέσκειν ἐπλάτ-
tετο, ἔπραττε δ' ὅπως, ὅταν τὸν ὃδομένον οἱ
χρόνων διάρξη 3 (τούτο δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀλλ'
eυθὺς τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐτεί γεννήσεσθαι ἐμελλε), τὰ 
τε ὀπλα κατάθηται καὶ ἰδιωτεύσων οἶκας ἐπανέθη.
4 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Γαίων τε Μάρκελλον τὸν τοῦ
Μάρκου ⁴ ἀνεψιον ἢ καὶ ἀδελφόν (λέγεται γὰρ
ἐκάτερον) ὑπατεύσατο, ἑπειδῆ τῷ Καῖσαρι καίπερ
ἐξ ἐπιγάμιας προσήκοιν ἐχθρὸς ἦν, καὶ τὸν Κου-
ρίωνα τὸν Γαίων, δι' ἐχθρας καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ παλαιοῦ
οἱ ὄντα, δημαρχήσας εἰπόησεν.

60 Ὅ οὖν Καῖσαρ μὴ ἄλλως ὑπομένων ἐκ τε
τηλικαύτης καὶ ἐκ χρονίου ἡγεμονίας ἰδιωτεύσαι,
καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γένηται,
παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ
ἐμμενῶν, καὶ στρατιώτας προσκατελέγετο καὶ
χρήματα ἠθροίζεν ὅπλα τε ἐποίει, καὶ καθ'
2 ἡδονὴν πάσιν ἤγείτο. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ οἶκοι
τρόπον τινά, τοῦ μὴ πάντα ἢ βίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ πει-
θοὶ πράττειν δοκεῖν, προδοιοκήσασθαι ἐθελήσας

1 τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅτι Madvig, ὁτι τοῖς πολλοῖς L.
2 ἦρεσκε τὸ Rk., ἦρεσκετὸ L.
3 διάρξη Rk., διατράξη L.
4 τὸν τοῦ Μάρκου supplied by Bk., Μάρκου (only) by Leunel.
5 πάντα Rk., πάντα L.
BOOK XL

2 a.c. 51

did not like the idea of a magistrate who had done no wrong being removed in the middle of his term. Pompey had set out from the city as if he were going to make an expedition into Spain, but he did not even at this time leave the bounds of Italy; instead, he assigned the entire business in Spain to his lieutenants and himself kept close watch on the city. Now when he heard how things were going, he pretended that the plan of having Caesar relieved of his command did not please him, either, but he arranged matters so that when Caesar should have served out the time allowed him,—an event not of the distant future, but due to occur the very next year,—he should lay down his arms and return home to private life. It was in pursuance of this object that he caused Gaius Marcellus, a cousin of Marcus, or a brother (both traditions are current), to obtain the consulship, because, although allied to Caesar by marriage, he was hostile to him; and he caused Gaius Curio, who was also an old-time foe of his rival, to become tribune.

Caesar was on no account inclined to become a private citizen after holding so important a command and for such a long time, and in particular he was afraid of falling into the power of his enemies. Therefore he made preparations to stay in office in spite of them, collected additional soldiers, gathered money, provided arms, and administered affairs in such a manner as to please all. Meanwhile, desiring to arrange matters at home beforehand in some fashion, so as not to seem to be using violence in all things, but also persuasion to gain his ends, he decided to effect a reconciliation with
ἐγνω συναλλαγήναι τῷ Κουρίωνι: τοῦ τε γὰρ τῶν Κουριώνων γένοις ἦν, καὶ τὴν ἡμώμην ὄξος, εἰπεῖν τε δεινός, τὸ τε πληθεὶ πθανότατος, καὶ χρήματων ἐς πάντα ἀπλῶς ἐξ ὦν ἦ αὐτός τε πλεονεκτήσει ἤ καὶ ἐτέρῳ διαπράξει ἠλπίζειν ἀφειδέστατος. 3 καὶ αὐτὸν πολλὰ μέν ἐπελπίσας, πάντων δὲ τῶν ὀφειλημάτων, συνχῶν διὰ τὸ πολλὰ δαπανάσθαι ὄντων, ἀπαλλάξας ἁνηρτήσατο. πρὸς γὰρ τὴν παρούσαν ὄν ἐπιτρατε σπουδὴν οὔτε ἀγγυρίου, ἀτε καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀγγυρυλογῶν, ἐφείδετο, καὶ προσυπισχευότι τισι παμπληθῇ ὅν οὐδὲ πολλοστὸν μέρος δώσειν ἐμελλε. καὶ οὐ μόνον γε τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς τι καὶ ὁπωσοῦν παρὰ τὸς διεστόταις σφῶν δυναμενοὺς ἑθεράπευσε καὶ συγνοι αὐτῷ καὶ εκ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἱππεῶν καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ὑπηρέζαν.

61 Ὁ δ' οὖν Κουρίων ἐφρόνησε μὲν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐ μεντοί καὶ παραχρήμα φανερῶς αὐτὰ πράττειν ἥξατο: πρόφασιν τε γὰρ εὑπρετή του μή καὶ ἔκων ἄλλα ἀναγκασθεῖς δὴ μεθεστηκέναι δόξαι εἴητε, καὶ ἐνμοίρων, ὅσῳ ἐντπλείων τοῖς ἐξθροίς αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ φίλος σφῶν συγγενήται, καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτῶν μαθή- 2 σεσθαί. δι' οὖν ταῦτα ἐπὶ μακρότατον τε ἐπεκρύφατο, καὶ ὅπως μηδένα τρόπον ὑποπτευθή μεταβεβλῆσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ ἄνα πρώτους καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐναινία τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τότε ἐτι καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν, καὶ ἐδημηγόρει κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀφ' οὖ γε καὶ δημαρχεῖν ἥξατο, καὶ ἐσχηγεῖτο

1 συναλλαγήναι Reim., συναλλαγήραι L.
2 πολλὰ μέν Bk., μέν πολλὰ L. 3 οὕτε Xyl., οὕτε γάρ L.
4 γε H. Steph., τε L. 5 ὅσι Rk., ὁτι L.
Curio. For the latter belonged to the family of the Curiones, had a keen intellect, was eloquent, was greatly trusted by the populace, and most lavish of money for all objects by which he hoped either to gain advantage for himself or benefit others. So, by buoying him up with many hopes and relieving him of all his debts, which on account of his extravagance were numerous, Caesar attached him to himself. In view of the present importance of the objects for which he was working Caesar did not spare money, since the attainment of these ends would afford him an abundance, and he also promised various persons large sums, of which he had no intention of giving them even the smallest fraction. He courted not only the free but the slaves who had any influence whatever with their masters, and as a result a number of the knights and of the senators joined his side.

Thus Curio espoused Caesar’s cause; but he did not immediately begin to serve him openly, since he was seeking a plausible excuse, so as to appear not to have transferred his allegiance willingly, but under compulsion. He also took into consideration that the more he should associate with Caesar’s enemies in the guise of their friend, the more and the greater would be the secrets of theirs he should learn. For these reasons he dissembled for a long time, and to prevent any suspicion of the fact that he had changed sides and was not still at this time among the foremost in feeling and expressing unqualified opposition to Caesar, he even delivered public speeches against him, as soon as he had entered upon the tribuneship, and introduced many strange
3 πολλά καὶ ἄτοπα. καὶ τίνα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ τοῖς τε δυνατωτάτοις σφόν, οὕτε που καὶ τὰ ¹ τοῦ Πομπήιου μάλιστ' ἔπραττον, ἐγραφεν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἤθελεν ἢ καὶ ἠπέζετ τι αὐτῶν γενήσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἱνα μὴ προσδεχομένων μήτε κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τι ψηφισθείη (πολλὰ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐγράφετο) καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ μετασταίη, συχνὸν οὐν ἐκ τούτων χρόνων ἄλλοτε ἄλλας σκῆψεσιν, ὡστε μηδὲν αὐτῶν τὸ παράπαν κυρωθῆναι, κατατρίγας ἀγανακτεῖν τι προσεποιεῖτο, καὶ ἦξιον μὴν ἄλλον πρὸς τὰς ὑπ' ³ αὐτῶν δὴ νομοθεσίας ἐπεμβλήθηναι. τούτῳ δὲ ἐγίνετο μὲν ὀσάκις γε καὶ καθήκον ἢν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατ' ⁴ ἐκεῖνο συνεβαινεν, ὡσπερ που καὶ αὐτὸς ² ἀτε ποντίφιες ὄν ἡπίστατο. ὃμως δ' οὖν ⁶ δειν τε αὐτὸ γενέσθαι ἐλεγε, καὶ τοὺς συνιερέας δοσον ἀπό βοῆς ἐξεβιάζετο, καὶ τέλος μὴ δυνηθεὶς αὐτοὺς πείσαι συγκαταθέσθαι οἱ, ὡσπερ οὖν ἐδούλετο, οὖν ἄλλο τι διὰ τοῦτο ψηφισθῆναι ἐπέτρεψεν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἢν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος διαδικαιῶν, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν κατ' αὐτοῦ ὅθεν ἡδυνήθη ποιήσαι, πάν ὅ τι ποτὲ ἐνεδέχετο οὐ δεχθῆναι προσχετο, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι πάντας τοὺς τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντας ταύτα τε καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα διαλύσαι χρῆ, ἡ μὴ ἐκεῖνον ψιλόσαντας αὐτῶν ταῖς δυνάμεσι ταῖς τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἐκδούναι. ⁴ ἐλεγε δὲ τούτο οὐχ ὅτι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ποιῆσαι αὐτὸ ἰθέλειν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν Πομπήιον εὑ ἡπίστατο

¹ τὰ Xyl., κατὰ L. ² γενήσεσθαι Naber, γενώσεθαι L. ³ ὑπ' v. Herw., ἀτ' L. ⁴ κατ' supplied by St. ⁵ οὖν Rk., οὖν L. ⁶ αὐτῶν Leuncl., αὐτῶν L.
measures. Some bills he offered against the senate and its most powerful members, men who were especially active in Pompey's behalf, not because he either wished or expected that any one of them would be passed, but in order that, if they did not accept them, no measure might be passed against Caesar either (for many motions directed against him were being offered by various persons), and that he might himself use this as an excuse for changing sides. Thus, after having used up considerable time on different occasions on various pretexts, so that not a single one of his measures was adopted, he pretended to be vexed and asked that an extra month be intercalated for the enactment of the senate's measures. This practice used to be followed as often as occasion demanded, but not for any such reason as his, and he himself, being pontifex, understood that fact. Nevertheless he declared that it ought to be done and made a fine show of using compulsion on his fellow-priests. At last, not being able to persuade them to assent to his proposal, as indeed he did not desire them to do, he would not permit any other matter to be voted upon on this account. On the contrary, he already began openly to justify Caesar's actions, since, as he claimed, he was unable to accomplish anything against him, and he brought forward every possible proposition which was sure of not being accepted. The chief of these was that all persons in arms must lay these down and disband their legions, or else they should not strip Caesar of his weapons and expose him to the forces of his rivals. This he said, not because he wished Caesar to do it, but because he well understood that Pompey
μὴ πειθαρχήσωτα αὐτῷ· καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἑκείνῳ πρὸφασις εὐλογος τοῦ μὴ διέναι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐδίδοτο.

63 Ὅσῳν Πομπήιος ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἄλλως πράττων ἦνυτε, πρὸς τε τὸ τραχύ ἀπαρακαλύπτως ὄρμησε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς πάντα καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἐπολεί κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος. οὐ μὲντοι καὶ κατέπραξε τι.

2 ἀλλοι τε γὰρ ἑκείνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ Δούκιος Παύλος ὁ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου συνάρχων, ὁ τε Πίσων ὁ Δούκιος ὁ 1 πενθέρος αὐτοῦ τιμητὴς ἃν συνηγωνίζοντο καὶ γὰρ 2 τιμηταὶ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὃ τε Κλαύδιος ὁ 3 Αππιος καὶ ὁ Πίσων, καῦτοι μὴ βουλθεῖς, ἐγέ-3 νοντο. καὶ οὔτοι μὲν διὰ τὴν συνγνέειαν ὑπήρχε τῷ Καίσαρι, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κλαύδιος ἡμαίτιον 4 μὲν αὐτῷ (τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Πομπήιον ἥρειτο), οὐκ ἐλάνυστα δὲ καὶ ἄκων ὑφέλησε· πλείστους γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἰππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν διέγραψεν, ἐκβιασά-μενος τὸ πυνάρχοντα, κάκ τούτων πάντας αὐτοὺς 4 τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονεῖν ἐποίησεν. ὁ γὰρ Πίσων ἀυτῶν ἀλλως πράγματι 5 ἔχειν ἔθελον καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γαμβροῦ φιλίαν πολλοὺς θεραπευών αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐποίησε, ἑκείνῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀντε- πραξὲ πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων συγχών δὲ καὶ τῶν πάνυ γενναίων, ἄλλους τε καὶ τοῦ Κρίστου τοῦ Σαλούστιον τοῦ τῆς ἱστορίας 5 γράφαντα, ἀπελάσαντι ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. τοῦ μὲντοι Κουρίωνα μελλήσαντα καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαλει-φοθήσεται ἐξητήσατο μετὰ τοῦ Παύλου, οὔτε

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1 ὁ added by Bk. 2 καὶ γὰρ Reim., καὶ τοι Λ.
3 ὁ added by R. Steph.
4 ἡμαίτιον R. Steph., ἡμαίτιον Λ.
5 πράγματι Rk., πράγμα Λ.
would not yield obedience to it, and thus a plausible excuse was offered the other also for not dismissing his soldiers.

Pompey, accordingly, as he could effect nothing in any other way, proceeded without any further disguise to harsh measures and openly said and did everything against Caesar; yet he failed to accomplish anything. Caesar had many supporters, among them Lucius Paulus, the colleague of Marcellus, and Lucius Piso, his father-in-law, who was censor; for at this time Appius Claudius and Piso were made censors, the latter against his will. So Piso on account of his relationship belonged to Caesar, while Claudius, though opposing him, since he favoured Pompey's cause, yet quite involuntarily rendered Caesar very efficient aid. For he expelled a great many both of the knights and senators, overruling his colleague, and in this way made them all favour Caesar's cause. Piso, who was in any case disposed to avoid trouble, and for the sake of maintaining friendship with his son-in-law paid court to many people, was himself responsible for none of the above acts, but he did not resist Claudius when he drove from the senate all the freedmen and numbers even of the exclusive nobility, among them Sallustius Crispus, who wrote the history. When, however, Curio's name also was about to be expunged, Piso, with the help of Paulus, whose kinsman he was, did beg him
64 συγγενής ἦν καὶ δς οὐκ ἄπηλλαξε 1 μὲν αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦτο, τὴν μέντοι γνώμην ἦν περὶ αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ἐνδυμασίευσεν ἐν τῷ Βουλευτηρίῳ, ὡστε ἐκεῖνον ἀγανακτήσαντα τὴν ἐσθήτα αὐτοῦ περιρρήξατο. 2 παραλαβὼν οὖν τοῦτον ὁ Μάρκελλος, καὶ νομίζας ἐπὶ τῷ Κουρίωνι καὶ διʼ αὐτὸν καὶ ἔπι τῷ Καῖσαρι δεινὸν τι τὴν γερουσίαν ὕψιστεσθαι, γνώμας περὶ αὐτοῦ προέθηκεν. οὐν Κουρίων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἤναντιοῦτο μηδεμίαν περὶ αὐτοῦ 3 γνώμην δοθῆσαι γνοὺς δὲ τὸ πολὺ τῶν Βουλευτῶν τῶν τότε παροντῶν τοὺς μὲν καὶ φρονοῦντας ὅντως τὰ τῶν Καίσαρος τοὺς δὲ πάνω αὐτὸν δεδότας, 3 ἐπέτρεψε σφισὶ διαγρῶναι, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπὼν ὅτι σύνοια μὲν ἐμαυτῷ τὰ τῇ ἁρσῖα καὶ τὰ συμφορώτατα τῇ παραρχῇ πράττοντι, ὡμίν μέντοι καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν παραδίδομι χρῆσάται δὲ τῇ Βουλῇ. 4 κατηγορήσας οὖν αὐτοῦ ὁ Μάρκελλος ὡς καὶ πάντως ἁλωσομένου, ἐπευτρεπθή  ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸν πλείονον ἀφείθη, δεινόν τε ἐποίησατο καὶ ἐκπαιδήσας ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἔν τῷ προαστείῳ ὅντα ἤλθε, καὶ τὴν τῇ φυλακῇ αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δύο στρατοπεδα πολιτικὰ αὐτὸς καὶ ἑαυτὸν, μηδενὸς ἐψηφισμένου, ἐδωκέν. 4

Οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται οὕτω δὲ τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶ ὅτε 5 συνειλεγμένοι καὶ παρόντες τότε ἠγαν. ὁ Πομπήιος πρότερον μὲν, ἐως ἐτὶ τὸν Καίσαρα διὰ φιλίας εἰμε, στράτευμα ἐν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου αὐτῷ 4 στρατευομένῳ 5 ἐδεδώκει 6 (οὕτε γὰρ οὕτως

1 οὐκ ἄπηλλαξε Βκ., οὖν ἄπηλλαξε Ρκ., οὐ δῆλαξε Λ. 2 αὐτοῦ Βκ., αὐτοῦ Λ. 3 τῦδε Λευκ.κ., τῷ Λ. 4 αὐτῷ Χυλ., αὐτῶν Λ. 5 στρατευομένῳ Ρκ., στρατευομένῳ Λ. 6 ἐδεδώκει Βκ., ἐδωκέν Λ. 504
off. Consequently Claudius did not expel him, but made public in the senate the opinion that he had of him, so that the other, indignant, tore Claudius' clothes. So Marcellus seized him, and thinking that the senate would pass some severe vote against Curio and, because of him, against Caesar, brought forward motions about him. Curio at first opposed the rendering of any decision regarding himself; but on coming to realize that the majority of the senators then present were either actually attached to Caesar's cause or else thoroughly feared him, he allowed them to decide, merely remarking: "I am conscious of doing what is best and most advantageous for my country; to you, however, I surrender both my body and life to do with as you please." Marcellus accordingly accused him, thinking that he would certainly be convicted; but when he was acquitted by the majority, the accuser took it greatly to heart, and rushing out of the senate, he came to Pompey, who was in the suburbs, and on his own responsibility, without the formality of a vote, entrusted him with the protection of the city and likewise with two legions of citizens.

These soldiers were then present, having been collected in the following way and for the following purpose. Pompey had previously, while still on friendly terms with Caesar, given him one of the enrolled legions for use in his campaign, inasmuch as he was not conducting any war himself and
σπέρμα τινα διεχειρίζε, καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ χρεία στρα-
2 τιστῶν ἐγένετο), ἔπει δὲ διηνέχθησαν, ἐθελήσας
tούτῳ τε ἀπολαβεῖν παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἄλλο
αὐτοῦ προσαφελέσθαι ἐλογοποίησεν ὡς τοῦ Βι-
βούλου στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Πάρθους δεομένου,
καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ καίνοι δὴ τινες καταλόγοι γένουται
τὸ τε γαρ πρᾶγμα κατεπείγειν καὶ περιουσίαν
σφίσι στρατοπέδων εἶναι ἐλεγε), ἡφισθήναι
ἐποίησεν ὡστε ἐκάτερον σφών, εαυτοῦ τε καὶ τὸν
3 Καίσαρα, ἐν δὲ ἐν1 αὐτῷ πέμψαι. κὰκ τούτῳ
τῶν μὲν συστρατευομένων οἱ οὐδένα ἀπέστειλε,
tο δὲ δὴ στρατευμα ἐκεῖνο ὅπερ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐδε-
dῶκει ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταχθείσιν αἰτῆσαι.
καὶ οὕτω τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἀμφότεροι, τὸ δ’ ἄλλοθες ὁ
4 Καίσαρ μόνος τὰ δύο ἐπεμψεν ὑδει μὲν γαρ τὸ
γεγράμμενον, ἐπειθάρχησε δὲ μὴ βουληθεῖς αὐτίαν
ὡς καὶ ἀνηκουστικὸς θαμβεῖν, ἀλλος τε καὶ μέλ-
λων ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτη πολλῷ πλείους στρα-
tιωτὰς ἀντικαταλέξειν.

66 Ταύτα οὖν τὰ στρατόπεδα παρεσκευάσθη μὲν
ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους πεμφθησόμενα, ἔπει δ’
οὐδεν αὐτῶν ἐδέσθης (οὐδε γαρ χρεία σφών ἵν), ὁ
Μάρκελλος πρότερον μὲν, φοβηθεὶς μὴ τῷ Καῖ-
σαρι ἀποδοθῇ, ἐν τῇ 'Ιταλίᾳ δὲν εἶναι ἔλεγεν,
tότε δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ, ὡσπερ εἶπον, ἔνεχειρίσε.
2 καὶ ἦν γαρ ἐπ’ ἐξοόδῳ τοῦ ἑτους τὰ γεγράμμενα, καὶ
ἐμελλέν όμως ἐπὶ πολύ, ἀτε μήτε τῇ βουλῇ μήτε
τῷ δῆμῳ δόξαντα, ἱσχύσειν, ἐπήγετο2 πρὸς τὸν
Πομπηίῳ Κορινθίον τε Λέντουλον καὶ Γάιον
Κλαύδιον τοὺς τῷ ύστερῳ ἐτει ὑπατεύσειν μέλ-

1 ἐν δὲιν Ba., δὲιν ἐν Melber, δὲιν L.
2 ἐπήγετο Rk., ἡπείγετο L.
Caesar had need of soldiers. But when they fell out with each other, in his desire to get this one back from him and to deprive him of yet another he represented that Bibulus required soldiers against the Parthians; and in order that no new levies should be made, since the matter was urgent, as he claimed, and they had an abundance of legions, he got it voted that each of them, himself and Caesar, must send one to him. Thereupon he failed to send any of his own soldiers, but ordered those whose business it was to demand that legion which he had given to Caesar. So nominally both of them contributed, but in reality Caesar alone sent the two. For though he knew what was being done, he complied with the demand, not wishing to incur the charge of disobedience, particularly because on this excuse he intended to collect many more troops in place of these.

These legions, therefore, were apparently made ready to be sent against the Parthians, but when there proved to be no need of them, there being really no use to which they could be put, Marcellus, fearing that they might be restored to Caesar, at first declared that they must remain in Italy, and then, as I have said, gave them into Pompey's charge. These proceedings took place near the close of the year and were destined not to remain long in force, since they had been approved neither by the senate nor by the people. Accordingly he won over to Pompey's side Cornelius Lentulus and Gaius Claudius, who were to hold the consulship the next
λοντας, καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ ἐκεῖνους τὰ αὐτὰ προσ-
3 τάξαι· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ γράμματα τοῖς ἀποδεδειγ-
μένοις ἐσ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκτιθέναι καὶ ἄλλα τῶν τῶν 
τῆ ἡγεμονία σφῶν προσηκόντων, καὶ πρὶν ἐνὶ-
στασθαι αὐτὴν, πράττειν ἐτί καὶ τότε ἔξην, καὶ 
τούτου κύριοι ἐνόμιζον εἶναι. καὶ ὁ γεὶ 1 Πομπήιος, 
καὶ πέρ ἐς πάντα ταλλα ἀκριβῆς ὅν, ὅμως οὐδὲν 
διὰ τὴν στρατιωτῶν χρείαν ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν, 
οὕτε ἢπ ὅν ὀὐθ᾽ ὅπως αὐτοὺς λαμβάνει, ἀλλα 
4 καὶ πάνω ἀσμενὸς σφας ἐδέξατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ 
ἐπράχθη τι οἶον ἀν τὶς ἐπὶ τηλικοῦτο τολμῆματι 
γενήσεσθαι 2 προσεδόκησεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἔχθραν 
μονὸν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐνδειξάμενοι αὐτοὶ 
μὲν οὐδὲν ἀλλο ἱσχυρὸν παρεσκευάσαντο, ἐκεῖνο 
δὲ καὶ ἐκ τούτου πρόφασιν εὐλογοῦν ἐς τὸ 3 τὰ 
στρατόπεδα τὰ συνόντα οἱ κατασχεῖν παρέσχον. 
5 ὁ γὰρ Κούριοι ἐπὶ τε τούτως πολλὴν ἐν τῷ 
πλήθει κατηγορίαν κατὰ τε τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ κατὰ 
τοῦ Πομπήιον ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ διηρήξε, πρὸς 
τὸν Καίσαρα εὐθὺς ἀφωρίσθη.

1 γε Rk., τε L. 2 γενήσεσθαι Rk., γεγενήσθαι L. 3 τὰ added by Reim.

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BOOK XL.

year, and caused them to issue the same commands. For since magistrates-elect were still allowed to issue proclamations and to perform some other functions pertaining to their office even before they entered upon it, they believed that they had authority also in this matter. And Pompey, although he was very scrupulous in all other matters, nevertheless on account of his need of soldiers did not either enquire at all from what sources he was getting them, or in what way, but accepted them very gratefully. Yet no such result was accomplished as one would have expected to come from such a bold move; they merely displayed their enmity toward Caesar, and then made no further preparations themselves to strengthen their position, while they had furnished to him a plausible excuse for retaining the legions that were with him. For Curio, taking these acts as his text, delivered before the populace a violent arraignment both of the consuls and of Pompey, and when he had finished his term of office, he at once set out to join Caesar.
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