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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY
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DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY
Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῇ τετταρακόστῃ πρώτῃ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαῖκῶν

α. Ὅσοι Καῖσαρ ἐσ τῆν Ἰταλίαν ἦλθε καὶ Πομπῆιος ἐκλίπων αὐτὴν ἐς Μακεδονίαν διέπλευσεν.

β. Ὅσοι Καῖσαρ ἐβεβήλαν παρεστήσατο.

γ. Ὅσοι Καῖσαρ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐπὶ Πομπῆιον διέπλευσεν.

δ. Ὅσοι Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπῆιος περὶ Δυρράχιον ἐπολέμησαν.

ε. Ὅσοι Καῖσαρ Πομπῆιον περὶ Φάρσαλαν ἐνίκησεν.

Χρόνου πλήθος ἦτο δύο, ἐν οἷς ἔρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἴδε ἐγένοντο

Λ. Κορνήλιος Π. ὑπ. Λεστούλος ὑπ.

Γ. Κλαύδιος Μ., ὑπ. Μάρκελλος

Γ. Ἰούλιος 2 Γ. ὑπ. Καῖσαρ τὸ β’ ὑπ.

Π. Σερούλιος Π. ὑπ. Ἰσαικοκές

Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἔπραξε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Καῖσαρος πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν λαβὼν ἦλθε τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νουμηνίᾳ ἐν ἤ ὁ τε Δεύτερος ὁ Κορνήλιος καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος ὁ Γάιος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνεστήσαντο, καὶ οὐ πρῶτον τοῖς ὑπάτοις αὐτὰ ἀπέδωκα πρὶν ἐς τὸ συνεδρίῳ σφας ἀφικέσθαι, μὴ καὶ ἔξω που λαβόντες αὐτὰ ἀπὸ-2 κρύψωνται. ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὡς ἀνέσχον, οὐκ ἔθελοντες σφας ἀναλέξασθαι τέλος δὲ ὑπὸ

1 Κλαύδιος Μ. Βς., following R. Steph., καὶ Λ.

2 Ἰούλιος R. Steph., Υφιλιος Λ.
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BOOK XLI

The following is contained in the Forty-first of Dio's Rome:—
How Caesar came into Italy, and how Pompey, leaving it, sailed across to Macedonia (chaps. 1-14).
How Caesar subjugated Spain (chaps. 18-25).
How Caesar sailed across to Macedonia to encounter Pompey (chaps. 39, 44-46).
How Caesar and Pompey fought around Dyrrachium (chaps. 47-51).
How Caesar conquered Pompey at Pharsalus (chaps. 52-63).

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

48 C. Iulius C. F. Caesar (II), P. Servilius P. F. Isauricus.

After taking this course at that time, Curio later came to Rome on the very first day of the month on which Cornelius Lentulus and Gaius Claudius entered upon office, bringing a letter from Caesar to the senate; and he did not give it to the consuls until they reached the senate-house, for fear that if they received it outside they might suppress it. Even as it was, they waited a long time, in their unwillingness to read it, but at last they were compelled
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te Κυίντου Κασσίου Δογγίνου καὶ ὑπὸ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου δημαρχούντων ἡναγκάσθησαν αὐτὰ δη-
μοσιεύσαι. Ἀντώνιος μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτῳ τότε τὸν Καίσαρα ἑνεργετήσας ἀντιλήψεσθαι τε πολλὰ
cαι ἐπὶ μεγάλων καὶ αὐτὸς αἰωρηθήσεσθαι ἐμελλεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τὰ τε ἅλλα ὡσα ποτὲ καλὼς
tὸ κοινὸν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπεποίηκεν ἑνεγέρμπτο, καὶ
4 ἀπολογισμὸς ὑπὲρ ὧν ὑτιάζετο. καταλύσειν τε
tὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκστήσεσθαι
ὑπισχεῖτο, ἀν καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τὰ αὐτά οἱ
pοιήσῃ. ἐκείνων γὰρ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντος οὐδὲ
ἐαυτὸν δίκαιον εἶναι ἀναγκασθῆναι αὐτὰ ἀφεῖ-
ναι ἔλεγεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐκδοθῆ.
2 διαψηφίσεως δὲ ἐπὶ τούτως οὐ κατὰ ἄνδρα, μὴ
cαὶ δι’ αὐτῶ ή καὶ φόβον τινὰ παρὰ τὰ δοκοῦντα
σφισιν ἀποφύγωνται, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ ἑπὶ τάδε καὶ ἐπ’
ἐκείνη τοῦ Βουλευτήριον μεταστάσεις γεγομένης,
tὸν μὲν Πομπήιον οὖνεις ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐκ τῶν
ὀπλῶν ἐνυψίσατο (ἐν γὰρ τῷ προαστεῖφ τάς
dυνάμεις εἰχε), τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα πάντες πλὴν
Μάρκου τὸς Κατιλίου1 καὶ τοῦ Κουρίωνος τοῦ
2 τὰ γράμματα αὐτοῦ κομίσαντος. περὶ γὰρ τῶν
δημάρχων οὐδὲν λέγω, ὅτι μὴ δὲ2 ἐν ἀνάγκῃ τινὶ
μεταστῆναι ἐποιήσαντο, ἀτε καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες
εἰτε ἐθεούλουτο τινα γνώμην συμβαλέσθαι εἰτε καὶ
μὴ. ἔδοξε μὲν οὖν ταύτα, οὐ μὴν καὶ κυρωθῆναι
tι αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐν ἑκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὔτε ἐν τῇ
ὑπεραια ὁ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ ὁ Δογγίνος ἑπέ-
3 τρέψαν. ἀγανακτησάντων δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν
ἀλλῶν καὶ ψηφισιαμένων τὴν ἐσθήτα ἀλλάξα-

1 Κατιλίον Fr. Fabricius (cf. Oros. 6, 15, 2), κατιλίου L (and so just below). 2 μὴδε Bk., μὴτε L.
by Quintus Cassius Longinus and Mark Antony, who were tribunes, to make it public. Now Antony for the service he then rendered Caesar in this matter was destined to be well repaid and to be raised himself to great honours. As to the letter, it contained a list of all the benefits which Caesar had ever conferred upon the state and a defence of the charges which were brought against him. He promised to disband his legions and give up his office if Pompey would also do the same; for while the latter bore arms it was not right, he claimed, that he should be compelled to give up his and so be exposed to his enemies. The vote on this proposition was not taken individually, lest the senators through some sense of shame or fear should vote contrary to their true opinions; but it was done by their taking their stand on this or on that side of the senate-chamber. No one voted that Pompey should give up his arms, since he had his troops in the suburbs; but all, except one Marcus Caelius and Curio, who had brought his letter, voted that Caesar must do so. Of the tribunes I make no mention, since they did not consider it at all necessary to take part in the division; for they had the privilege of offering an opinion or not, as they saw fit. This, then, was the decision reached; but Antony and Longinus did not allow any part of it to be ratified either on that day or the next. The rest, indignant at this, voted to change their apparel, but
σθαί, κύρος μὲν οὔδὲ τούθ’ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν, ἢ μὲντοι γνώμη συνεγράφη καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἐγένετο: πάντες γὰρ παραχρῆμα ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τὴν στολὴν μεταβαλόντες ἐσῆλθον αὖθις καὶ περὶ τιμωρία αὐτῶν ἐβου-

2 λεύνοντο. Ἰδόντες δὲ τούτ’ ἐκείνοι τὰ μὲν πρώτα ἀντέπραττον, ἐπειτα δὲ φοβηθέντες, ἀλλος τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Δέιτουλος ὑπεξελθεῖν σφίσι πρὶν τὰς ψήφους διενεχθῆναι παρῆσθεν, εἰπόν τε πολλὰ καὶ ἑμαρτύραντο, κάκ τούτον μετὰ τού Κουρίωνος καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Καϊλίου ἀπῆραν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ δι-

3 εγράφησαν. τότε μὲν οὖν τούτ’ ἐγφώσθη, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ταῖς τε ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς ἡ φυλακὴ τῆς πόλεως, ὥσπερ που εἰσὶν ἡγόεσθαι, ἐπετράπῃ ὑστερον δὲ ἔξω τοῦ παυματίου πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Πομπήιου ἐλθόντες παραχθήν τε εἶναι ἐγνωσαν,

4 καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ στρατιώτας ἔδωκαν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τοῖς διαδόχοις παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἐντὸς ῥητῆς ἡμέρας ἀφεῖνα, ἡ πολέμιον ὡς καὶ τάναντια τῇ πατρίδι ποιοῦντα εἶναι ἐφησίσαντο.

4 Πυθόμενοι οὖν ταῦτα ἐκείνος ἐς τε Ἀρμισίον ἤλθεν, ἔξω τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς τότε πρῶτον προχωρήσας, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσε τὸν τοῦ Κουρίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντας σφίσι τὰ πραξθέντα διηγῆ-

5 σασθαι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου προσπαρὼξελεῖν

2 αὐτοὺς, ἐπειτοῦ όσα ὁ καιρὸς ἀπῆτε. καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἀρας ἐπ’ αὐτήν ἀντικρυς τῆς Ῥώμης ἡλασε, πάσας τὰς ἐν ποσὶ πόλεις ἀμαχεῖ προστιθέμενοι, τὸν φρουρῶν τῶν μὲν ἐκλειπόντων αὐτὰς ἀσθε-
this measure, also, through the opposition of the same men, failed to be ratified. The senate's decision, however, was recorded and put into effect; for all straightway left the senate-house, and changed their dress, then came in again and proceeded to deliberate about punishing the tribunes. The latter, observing this, at first resisted, but later became afraid, especially when Lentulus advised them to get out of the way before the vote should be taken. They offered many remarks and protestations and then set out with Curio and with Caelius to go to Caesar, little concerned at being expelled from the senate. This, then, was the decision reached at that time; and the care of the city was committed to the consuls and to the other magistrates, as was the custom. Afterward the senators went outside the pomerium to Pompey himself, declared that there was a state of disorder, and delivered to him both the funds and the troops. And they voted that Caesar should surrender his office to his successors and dismiss his legions by a given day, or else be considered an enemy, because acting contrary to the interests of the country.

When Caesar was informed of this, he came to Ariminum, then for the first time overstepping the confines of his own province, and after assembling his soldiers he ordered Curio and the others who had come with him to relate to them what had been done. After this was over he further aroused them by adding such words as the occasion demanded. Next he set out and marched straight upon Rome itself, winning over all the cities on the way without any conflict, since the garrisons either abandoned
νεία, τῶν δὲ τὰ ἐκεῖνον ἄνθρωπομένων. αἰσθήμενος δὲ τούτο ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ ἄμα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν παρὰ τὸν Δαβιδίου μαθων,
3 ἔδεισεν. οὕτως γὰρ ἐγκαταλιπὼν τὸν Καίσαρα ἐξηντομόλησε καὶ πάντα οἱ τὰ ἀπόρρητα αὐτοῦ ἐξήγγειλε. θεαμάσεις μὲν οὖν ἂν τις ὦ τὰ πρῶτα ὦπο τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀεὶ ποτε τιμηθεῖς, ὡστε καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς στρατοπέδων, ὁπότε ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ εἴη, ἀρχεῖα, ἐποίησε
4 τούτον· ἄντων δὲ ὦ τοὺς τε καὶ πλούτων καὶ δόξαν περιβαλόμενος ὥς κηρύττων τῆς ἤγερε ἀλήθειας διάγειν ἤξετο, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ παρασωμένος οἱ αὐτοῦ ἱδιῶν οὐκέτα ὑμοίως ἠγάπη. τὴν τοὐν μεταβολὴν μὴ φέρων, καὶ φοβηθεῖς ἂμα μὴ πάθῃ τα, μετέστην.
5 Ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἐκ τῶν περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτῶν λεγέντων, καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἡγομαχοῦσαν οὐτῶν παρεσκευάστο, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τοὺς στασιώτας, τὸν τε πόλεμον ὁκνοῦντας μνήμη τῶν τε τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ τῶν τοῦ Σύλλου ἐργῶν καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆσαι ἀσφαλῶς
2 αὐτοῦ βουλομένους εἶδε, μετεβάλετο, καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα Δοῦκικον τε Καίσαρα συγγενῆ αὐτῷ ὄντα καὶ Δοῦκικον Ῥώσκιον στρατηγοῦντα αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἀπέστειλεν, εἰ πως τὴν ὁρμήν αὐτοῦ ἐκφυγών ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ μετρίως τοῖς συμβαίνῃ.
3 ἀποκριμαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀπὲρ ἐπεστάλκει, καὶ ὥτι αὐτῶς τῷ Πομπηίῳ διαλεξέλθηναι

1 τούτῳ Wagner, τούτον L.
2 περιβαλόμενον Steph., περιβαλόμενον L.
3 οὕτω Reim., οὕτω L.
4 μετεβάλετο Bk., μετεβάλετο L.
them, because they were powerless to resist, or preferred his cause. Pompey, perceiving this, became afraid, especially when he learned all his rival's intentions from Labienus; for this officer had abandoned Caesar and deserted to the other side, and he announced all Caesar's secrets to Pompey. One might feel surprise, now, that after having always been most highly honoured by Caesar to the extent even of commanding all the legions beyond the Alps whenever the proconsul was in Italy, he should have done this. The reason was that when he had acquired wealth and fame he began to conduct himself more haughtily than his rank warranted, and Caesar, seeing that he put himself on the same level with his superior, ceased to be so fond of him. And so, as Labienus, could not endure this change and was at the same time afraid of coming to some harm, he transferred his allegiance.

Pompey, because of what was told him about Caesar and because he had not yet prepared a force sufficient to cope with him, changed his plans; for he saw that the people in the city, in fact the very members of his party, even more than the rest, shrank from the war through remembrance of the deeds of Marius and Sulla and wished to be delivered from it. Therefore he sent to Caesar, as envoys, Lucius Caesar, a relative of his, and Lucius Roscius, a praetor, both of whom volunteered for the service, to see if he could avoid his attack in some way and then reach an agreement with him on reasonable terms. The other replied to the same effect as in the letter which he had sent, and said that he, too, wished to have a conference with Pompey; but the multitude
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ἐθέλοι, τούτο μὲν οὐχ ἴδεως οἱ πολλοὶ ἴκουσαν,

4 δεῖσαντες μὴ καὶ κατὰ σφῶν τι σύνθυται επεὶ

μένοι οἱ πρόσβεις ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν

Καίσαρα ἔλεγον, καὶ τέλος οὔτε τι κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ

πείσεσθαι τινα καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτίκα ἀφεθή

σεσθαι προσυπισχοῦντο, ἰσθήσαν, καὶ πρὸς τε ἐκεῖνον
tους αὐτοὺς αὐθίς πρόσβεις ἐπεμψαν, καὶ

ηὗροιν ἐπιβοῶντες ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχὸν καὶ ἄμφοτέ

ρους ἀμα αὐτοὺς τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσαται.

6 Φοβηθεῖς οὖν διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος (καὶ γὰρ εὐ

ἡπίστατο ὅτι πολὺ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἃν γε ἐπὶ τῷ

δῆμῳ γένονται, ἐλαττωθήσεται) αὐτὸς τε ἐς Καμ-

2 πανίαν πρὶν τοὺς πρόσβεις ἐπανελθέντες, ὡς καὶ

μᾶς ἐκεῖ πολεμῆσων, προαπήρε, καὶ τὴν βου-

λὴν ἀπασαν μετὰ τῶν ταῖς ἄρχαις ἐχόντων ἀκολού

θήσαι οἱ ἐκέλευσαν, ἀδειάν τε σφισὶ δόγματι τῆς

ἐκδήμας δούς, καὶ προειπὼν ὅτι τὸν ὑπομέναντα

ἐν τῷ ἑσφα καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τοῖς τὰ ἑναντία

3 σφισὶ πράττονσιν ἔξοι. πρὸς δ' ἐτι καὶ τὰ

χρήματα τὰ δημόσια τὰ τε ἀναθήματα τὰ ἐν τῇ

πόλει πάντα ἀναιρεθήσαι προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς ψη-

φίσασθαι, ἐλπίζων παμπληθεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν στρα-

τιώτας ἀθρόισειν, τοσαύτην γὰρ εὐνοιαν αὐτοῦ

πᾶσαι ως εἰπεῖν αἰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεις εἰγὸν

ὡστε, ἐπειδὴ ἴκουσαν αὐτὸν ὁλίγον ἐμπρόσθεν

ἐπικινδύνους νοσοῦντα, σωτηρία αὐτοῦ δημοσία

4 θύσεως εὐξασθαί. καὶ ὅτι μὲν μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν
tοῦτ' αὐτῶ ἔδοσαν, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἀντιλέξειν ὦν

γὰρ ἐστίν ὅτι ¹ ποτὲ ἄλλος, ἔξω τῶν μετὰ ταύτα

τὸ πᾶν κράτος λαβόντων, τοιοῦτον τε ἐφηψίσθη:

¹ ὅτί R. Steph., στὶ L.
was not pleased to hear this, fearing that some measures might be concerted against them. When, however, the envoys said many things in praise of Caesar, and ended up by promising that no one should suffer any harm at his hands and that the legions should immediately be disbanded, they were pleased and sent the same envoys to him again, and they kept shouting out everywhere and always their demand that both leaders should lay down their arms at the same time.

Pompey was frightened at this, knowing well that he would be far inferior to Caesar if they should both put themselves in the power of the people, and accordingly set out for Campania before the envoys returned, with the idea that he could more easily carry on war there. He also commanded the whole senate together with the magistrates to accompany him, granting them permission for their absence by a decree, and announcing to them that he would regard anyone who remained behind in exactly the same light as those who were working against him. Furthermore he ordered them to decree that the public moneys and the votive offerings in the city should all be seized, hoping that by using them he could get together a vast number of soldiers. For practically all the cities of Italy felt such friendliness for him that when, a short time before, they had heard he was dangerously ill, they had vowed to offer public sacrifices for his safety. That this was a great and brilliant honour which they bestowed upon him no one would deny, since there has been no one else in whose behalf such a vote was ever passed, except those who in after times received
διὰ μὴν καὶ ἀκριβὴς πίστιν τοῦ μὴ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος φόβον παρέίχον. ἔγνωσθη μὲν δὴ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων, οὐκ ἐκινήθη δὲ οὐδέτερα πυθόμενοι γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τόν Καίσαρα μὴ τι εἰρήναιον τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι καὶ προσεγκαλεῖν σφίσιν ὡς καὶ καταψευσμένους 

τινὰ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας πολλοὺς τε καὶ θρασεῖς εἶναι καὶ πάν ὁτίουν, οἵ τινος φίλει περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπὶ τὸ φοβερότερον ἀγγέλλεσθαι, κακονρήσειν, ἐφοβήθησαν, καὶ σπουδὴ τὴν ἐξοδον, πρὶν ἄγαιαί τινος αὐτῶν, ἑποίησαντο.

7. Καὶ τούτων καὶ ἐστὶ ἡ ἀλλα ὀμοίως πάντα θυρυβώδης σφῶν καὶ ταραχώδης ἢ ἀνάστασις ἐγένετο. οἳ τε γὰρ ἔξιοντες (ἡσαν δὲ πάντες ὡς εἰπέν τι πρῶτοι καὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἱππάδους

καὶ προσέτε καὶ τοῦ ὀμίλου) λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀφορμῶστοι, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ τῶν ἐκλογικῶν ἑπαρχον τὴν τε γὰρ πατρίδα καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ διατριβὰς ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια τείχη οἰκείοτερα τῶν σφετέρων νομίζειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι δεινὸς

3. ἔλυσωστο. οἳ τε γὰρ πανοικησία ἀνιστάμενοι τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς οἰκους τὸ τε ἐδάφος το πατρὸν ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν εὐθὺς ἐσόμενα ἀπέλειπον, καὶ αὐτῷ ὦτῳ τὴν γρώμην, ἀν γε καὶ περισσώτερον, εἰχον ὡς κἀκεῖν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ τῇ τῇ Θράκῃ κατοικησοῦντες τὴν γὰρ τῷ Πομπηίου διάνοιαν

οὐκ ἠγιόνυ, καὶ οἰ κατὰ χώραν τοὺς τε παίδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰ τὲ ἀλλὰ τὰ τιμὸτατα

1. παρείχον Kübler, εἴχον L.
2. οὐδέτερα Βκ., οὐδὲ ἐτέρα Ι.
3. φίλει R. Steph., φίλειν L.
4. τοῦ Ρκ., τὸ τοῦ L.
5. ἀπέλειπον H. Steph., ἀπέλειπον L.
6. κἀν Reim., καὶ L.
absolute power; still they inspired him with no sure confidence that they would not abandon him through fear of one stronger. The recommendation about the moneys and the votive offerings was granted, but neither of them was touched; for, having ascertained meanwhile that Caesar's answer to the envoys had not been at all conciliatory and that he had furthermore reproached them with having made some false statements about him, also that his soldiers were many and bold and liable to do any kind of mischief,—just the sort of reports, exaggerating the danger, as are usually made about such matters,—the senators became frightened and hastily took their departure before they could lay hands on any of the treasures.

Accordingly their removal was equally tumultuous and confused in all other respects. For the departing citizens, practically all of whom were the foremost men of the senate and of the knights, to say nothing of the populace, while nominally setting out for war, were in reality undergoing the experiences of captives. For they were compelled to abandon their country and their pursuits there, and to consider foreign walls more friendly than their own, and consequently they were terribly distressed. Such as were removing with their entire households said farewell to the temples and to their homes and to the soil of their ancestors, with the feeling that these would straightway become the property of their opponents; and as for themselves, not being ignorant of Pompey's purpose, they had the intention, if they really survived, of establishing themselves in Macedonia and Thrace. Those who were leaving behind on the spot their children and wives and
καταλείποντες ἔχειν μὲν τινα ἑλπίδα τῆς πατρίδος ἐδόκουν, πολὺ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἐτέρων, ὅτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀπαρτώμενοι, διατή τε τὴν καὶ ἐναντιωτάτη παραβαλλόμενοι,
5 χαλεπωτέρως ἀπῆλλασσον τὰ γὰρ οἰκειότατα τῷ πολεμιωτάτῳ σφῶν ἐκδοντες ἐμελλὼν ἐθελοκακοὺντες μὲν αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύειν, προθυμοῦμενοι δὲ ἐκεῖνον στερηθήσεθαι, καὶ προσέτι φίλον μὲν μιδέτερον ἐχθρούς δὲ ἀμφοτέρους ἔχειν, Καίσαρα μὲν ὅτι μὴ καὶ αὐτὸι κατέμειναν, Πομπήιον δὲ ὅτι μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα συνεπηγάγοντο.
6 Ὅστε καὶ ἐς ἀμφίβολον καὶ ταῖς γρόμαις καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς ταῖς τε ἐλπίσει καθιστάμενοι τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἀμα ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκειότατων σφύσιν ἀπεσπώντο καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς δίχα διηροῦντο.
8 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ ἐξορμῶμεν οπασχον, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειπόμενοι διαφόροις μὲν ἀντιπάλοις δὲ τισί καὶ αὐτοὶ παθήμασι συνεφέροντο. οἱ τε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν προσκόπτων σφύσιν ἀποξενωμένοι, οלא τῶν τε προστάτων στερισκόμενοι καὶ ἐπαμώναι
2 αὐτοῖς ἦκιστα δυνάμενοι, τῷ τε πολέμῳ ἐκδείδομενοι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως κρατήσοντος ἐσόμενοι, αὐτοὶ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου καὶ τῶν ὑβρεών καὶ τῶν σφαγῶν ὡς καὶ γηγυμοῖς ὡς ἔταλατόροις, καὶ περὶ ἐκεῖνων οἱ τε ἀρχὴν σφίσιν ὅτι ἐγκατελεῖθησαν ἔχοντες τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπηρώτε καὶ οἱ συγγνώμην τῆς ἀνάγκης
3 ποιούμενοι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐδέδησαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος σύμπαν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μυθείμα αὐτοῖς συγγένεια πρὸς τοὺς ἀφορμωμένους ἢν,

1 καταλείποντες Bk., καταλείποντες L.
2 αὐτοῖς Xyl., αὐτοῖ L.
3 ἐδέδησαν Bz., ἐδεδέλεσαν L.
all their other dearest treasures gave the impression, indeed, of having some little hope of their country, but in reality were in a much worse plight than the others, since they were being separated from all that was dearest to them and were exposing themselves to a double and most contradictory fate. For in delivering their nearest interests to the power of their bitterest foes they were destined, in case they played the coward, to be in danger themselves, and in case they showed zeal, to be deprived of those left behind; moreover, they would find a friend in neither rival, but an enemy in both—in Caesar because they themselves had not remained behind, and in Pompey because they had not taken everything with them. Hence they were divided in their minds, in their prayers, and in their hopes; in body they were being sundered from those nearest to them, and their souls were cleft in twain.

These were the feelings of the departing throng. The ones left behind were experiencing different, but equally painful emotions. Those who were being sundered from their relatives, being thus deprived of their guardians and quite unable to defend themselves, exposed to the war and about to be in the power of him who should make himself master of the city, not only were distressed themselves by the fear of outrages and of murders, as if these were already taking place, but they also either invoked the same fate against those departing, through anger at being deserted, or, condoning their action because of their necessity, feared that the same fate would befall them. All the rest of the populace, even if they did not have the least kinship with those departing,
δομως ἐλυποῦντο μὲν καὶ ἑπτά ἐκεῖνοις, οἱ μὲν γείτονας οἱ δὲ ἐταίρους πολὺ τε ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀφήξειν καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα καὶ δράσειν καὶ πείσεσθαι ἐπιξούντες, πολλῷ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα

4 ἕαυτον ὕλοφύροντο· τάς τε γὰρ ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν βουλήν τοὺς τε ἅλλους τοὺς τι δυναμένους πάντας (οὐ γὰρ ποιεῖ γε τις αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθήσεται γεδεῖν) τῆς τε πατρίδος ἀμα καὶ σφῶν ἐξισταμένους ὀρόντες, καὶ μήτ' ἄν ἐκεῖνους, εἰ μὴ πάνω πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ αὐτῇ ἐπηρήτητο, φυγεῖν

5 ποτε ἐθελήσαι λογιζόμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔρημοι μὲν ἀρχῶντων ἔρημοι δὲ συμμάχους γνυόμενοι, πρὸς τε τὰ ἅλλα πάντα παισί τε παιν ὤρφανοι καὶ γυναιξὶ χήραις ἐόκεσαν, καὶ τὰς ὁργὰς τάς τε ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἐπίστων καὶ πρῶτοι τῶν προτέρων παθημάτων μνήμης, οἱ μὲν αὐτὸ πειραθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀκούοντες ὅσα καὶ οία ὅ τε Μάριος καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐξειρημάσαντο,

6 μέτριον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπώπτευον, ἅλλα καὶ πολὺ πλεῖον καὶ δεινότερα, ἂτε καὶ βαρβαρικὸ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄντος, πείσεσθαι προσεδόκων.

9 Οὔτως ὅπιν δὴ πάντων αὐτῶν διακειμένων, καὶ μηδενὸς, ἐξω τῶν προσφιλῶν πη τῷ Καίσαρι δοκοῦντων εἶναι, εν ἑλαφρῷ τὸ πράγμα ποιομένου, καὶ ἐκείνων δὲ πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν τρόπων, ὡς οἱ πλεῖσοι πρὸς τὰ παρόντα σφίζοι καὶ λαμβάνουσι, οὐ φερεγγυ πίστει βαρσούντων, οὐδὲ ὑπονήσαι ῥάδιον ὅση μὲν ταραχῇ ὅσον δὲ

1 Lacuna recognised by Xyl.
2 τοιουμένου Xyl., τοιουμένων L.
3 σφίζει Rk., σφῶν L. 4 οὐδ' Pflugk, οὔτ' L.
were nevertheless grieved at their fate, some expect-
ing that their neighbours, and others that their
companions, would go far away from them and
do and suffer many dreadful things. But most
of all they bewailed their own lot as they beheld
the magistrates and the senate and all the others
who had any power—they were not sure, indeed,
whether any of them would be left behind—
quitting their country and them. They reflected
how those men would never have wished to flee,
had not many altogether dreadful calamities fast-
ened themselves upon the state; and as for them-
selves, being now bereft of rulers and bereft
of allies, they seemed in all respects like orphaned
children and widowed wives. [Expecting] to be
the first [to experience] the wrath and the last
of the approaching foes, and remembering their
former sufferings, some by experience and others
by hearing from the victims all the outrages that
Marius and Sulla had committed, they did not
look for any moderate treatment from Caesar,
either. On the contrary, inasmuch as the larger
part of his army consisted of barbarians, they
expected that their misfortunes would be far
greater in number and more terrible than the
former ones.

Since, then, all of them were in this state, and no
one except those who thought they were good friends
of Caesar made light of the situation, and even
they, in view of the change of character which most
men undergo according to their circumstances, had
not the courage of confident assurance, it is not easy
to conceive what confusion and what grief prevailed at
καὶ πένθος ἐν τῇ τῶν τε ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
2 τῶν συνεξορμομένων σφίσιν ἐξὸδῳ ἐγένετο. τὴν
tε γὰρ νῦκτα πᾶσαν ἀνασκευαζόμενοι 1 καὶ
περιφοιτῶντες θεοῦρον, καὶ ὑπὸ 2 τὴν ἐω πολὺς
μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἱεροῖς 3 οἷκτος (καὶ γὰρ ἐκασταχόθη
περιομένες εὐχαὶ ἐποιοῦντο) πάντας αὐτοὺς
ἐλάμβανε· τοὺς τε γὰρ θεοὺς ἀνεκάλουν καὶ τὰ
δάπεδα κατεφίλουν, ὡσάκις τε 4 ἔξ οἰων περιγε-
νὼντο ἀνηρμιθμοῦντο, καὶ ὅτι τὴν πατρίδα, ὁ
μηπώποτε ἐτετολμήτω σφισιν, ἐξέλειπον, 5 ὠδύ-
ρωντο· πολὺς δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς πῦλας θρήνος ἦν·
3 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλληλοις τε ἁμα καὶ ἐκείνην ὡς καὶ
tελευταίοις ὀρώντες ἑπάζοντο, οἱ δὲ ἑαυτοὺς τε
ἐθρῆνον καὶ τοὺς ἐξιούσις συννύχοντο, καὶ οἱ
πλείους ὡς καὶ προδιδόμενοι κατηρῶντο· πάντες
gὰρ καὶ οἱ ὑπομένοντες παμπαῖδι καὶ παγγυναίκι
4 παρῆσαν. καὶ μετὰ τούτο οἱ μὲν ἐξωρμῶντο, οἱ
dὲ προέπεμπον σφας· ἄλλοι τε ἐνεχρώνιζον καὶ
πρὸς τῶν ἱμωρίμων κατείχοντο, καὶ τινὲς
περιβάλλοντες ἄλληλοις ἐπὶ πλείστον συνηρ-
tῶντο· ἀκολουθοῦντες τε τοῖς ἐξορμομένοις οἱ
ὑπομένοντες ἐπὶ μακροτάτον ἐπεθοῦντο τε ἁμα
αὐτοὺς καὶ κατοκτίζον, ἀγείν τε σφας ἣ καὶ
5 ἐκεῖνους οἰκοὶ μὲνειν ἐξιούσιος ἐπεθείαζον. καὶ
tούτῳ ὀλονυχῃ ἐφ ἐκάστορ αὐτῶν πολλῆ καὶ
παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δάκρυα ἄπλετα ἐγίνετο·
tὴν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ κρέαττον ἐπὶ ἴκοστα Ἱκιστα, ἄτε ἐν
tοῖς τοιοῦτοι διντες, τὰ δὲ δὴ πάθη πρότερον μὲν

1 ἀνασκευαζόμενοι: Naber, ἀναγκαζόμενοι L.
2 υπὸ: Reinm., ἐπὶ L.
3 πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς: placed here by Bk., after καὶ γὰρ in L.
4 τε R. Steph., τε καὶ L.
5 ἐξέλειπον H. Steph., ἐξέλειπον L.
the departure of the consuls and those who set out with them. All night they made an uproar with their packing and running to and fro, and toward dawn great sadness came upon them all at the various temples, as they went about offering prayer on every side. They invoked the gods, kissed the ground, and lamented as often as they enumerated the perils which they had survived, and recalled that they were leaving their country, a thing they had never brought themselves to do before. Around the gates, too, there was much lamenting. Some took fond leave at once of each other and of the city, as if they were beholding them for the last time; others bewailed their own lot and joined their prayers to those of the departing, while the majority uttered curses, on the ground that they were being betrayed. For all who were to remain behind were there, too, with all the women and children. Then the one group set out on their way and the other group escorted them. Some interposed delays and were detained by their acquaintances; others embraced and clung to each other for a long time. Those who were to remain accompanied those who set out, calling after them and expressing their sympathy, while with appeals to Heaven they besought them to take them, too, or to remain at home themselves. Meanwhile there was much wailing over each one of the exiles, even from outsiders, and tears without restraint. For they were anything but hopeful, in such circumstances, of a change for the better; it was rather
οἱ καταλειπόμενοι ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀφορμώμενοι
6 προσεδέχοντο. εἴκασε δὲ ἃν τις αὐτοῖς ἰδὼν δύο
τε δήμους καὶ δύο πόλεις ἐκ μᾶς γίγνεσθαι, καὶ
τὴν μὲν ἀνίστασθαι τε καὶ φεύγειν, τὴν δὲ ἐγκατα-
λείπεσθαι τε καὶ ἀλίσκεσθαι.
7 Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν οὔτω τὸ ἀστυ ἐξέλιπεν,
συνίχνου τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπαγόμενος (ὑπελείψη-
σαν γὰρ τινες, οἱ μὲν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονοῦν-
tes, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ μέσου ἁμφοῖν ἰστάμενοι), καὶ
καταλόγους τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων σπουδὴ ἐποιεῖτο καὶ
χρήματα ἐξέλεγε, φρουράς τε ὡς ἐκασταχώσε
ἕπμπε. Καίσαρ δὲ ἐπειδή ταῦτα ἐμαθε, πρὸς
μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην οὐκ ἤπειρχθη (ἀθλὸν τε γὰρ
αὐτὴν ἦδει τοὺς κρατήσουσι προκειμένην, καὶ
οὔκ ἐπὶ ἐκείνην ὡς καὶ πολεμίαν οἱ ὄντες,
ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασίωτας ὑπὲρ αὐτὴς δῆδεν
2 ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐλεγε), γράμματα δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν
τὴν Ἰταλίαν πέμψας, δι᾽ ὧν τὸν τε Πομπήιον
ἐς δίκην τινὰ προεκαλεῖτο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
θαρσεῖν παρῆρε, κατὰ χώραν τε αὐτοῖς μένειν
ἐκέλευε,1 καὶ ὑποσχεῖτο πολλὰ αὐτοῖς. καὶ
ἐπὶ Κορφίνιοι, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ὑπὸ Δουκίου Δομιτίου
κατεχόμενοι οὐ προσεχόρει, ὀρμῆσε, καὶ τινὰς
ἀπαντήσαντας μάχη κρατήσας ἐς πολιορκίαν
3 τοὺς λοιποὺς κατέκλεισεν. οὐ οὖν Πομπήιος,
ἐπειδὴ οὔτοι τε ἐπολιορκοῦντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπέκλινον, τῆς μὲν
Ἰταλίας οὐδεμίαν ἦτ᾽ ἐλπίδα ἐσχεν, ἐς δὲ δὴ
τὴν Μακεδονίαν τὴν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν
περιωθήναι ἐγὼν. τῇ τε γὰρ μνήμη ὅν ἐκεῖ
ἐπεπράχει, καὶ τῇ τῶν ὄντων τῇ τε τῶν βασιλέων

1 ἐκέλευε Η. Steph., ἐκέλευσε Λ.
suffering that was expected, first by those who were left, and later by those who were departing. Any one who saw them would have supposed that two peoples and two cities were being made from one and that the one group was being driven out and was going into exile, while the other was being left to its fate and taken captive.

Pompey thus left the city, taking many of the senators with him, although some remained behind, either being attached to Caesar's cause or maintaining a neutral attitude toward the two. He hastily raised levies from the cities, collected money, and sent garrisons to each point. Caesar, when he learned of these moves, did not hurry to Rome; for the capital, he knew, lay as a prize before the victors, and he claimed to be marching, not against that place as hostile to him, but rather against his political opponents and in its defence. And he sent letters throughout all Italy in which he challenged Pompey to some kind of trial, and encouraged the others to be of good cheer, bade them remain in their places, and made them many promises. He set out next against Corfinium, because this place, being occupied by Lucius Domitius, would not join his cause, and after conquering in battle a few who met him he shut up the rest and besieged them. Now Pompey, inasmuch as these followers were being besieged and many of the others were falling away to Caesar, had no further hope of Italy, and resolved to cross over into Macedonia, Greece, and Asia. For he derived much encouragement from the remembrance of what he had achieved there and from the friendship
4 φιλία πολύ ἔθαρσει. ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡ Ἰβηρία αὐτῷ πάσα οἰκεία, οὐκ ἔδώνατο δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἀσφαλῶς, ἀτε καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὰς Γαλατίας ἔχοντος, κομισθήσαι. πρὸς δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἔλογίζετο ὅτι, ἂν ἀποπλεύσῃ, οὔτε ἐπιδιώξει τις αὐτοῦ διὰ τε τὴν τῶν πλοίων ἀπορίαν καὶ διὰ τὸν χειμώνα (ἡδη γὰρ ἐκ μετοπώρου ἦν), κἂν τούτῳ κατὰ σχολὴν πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπηκόου τολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατεύματα ἀδρούσει. αὐτὸς τε οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς τοὺς ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀφορμήθη, καὶ τὸν Δομίτιον ἐκλιπόντα τὸ Κορφίνων ἀκολουθεῖν οὶ ἐκέλευσαν. καὶ ὦς, ἐι καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἰσχύν τε τινα εἶχε καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῇ ἐπήλπιζε (καὶ γὰρ τοὺς στρατιωτὰς τὰ τε ἅλλα ἐτεθεραπεύκει καὶ χώρας ὑποσχέ- 2 σει ὡς τόν τε γὰρ Συλλείων ἐγενόμενε καὶ πολλὴν ἐκ τῆς δυναστείας ἐκείνης ἐκέκτητο), ὑμως ἐπειθάρχησε. καὶ ὦ μὲν παρεσκευάζετο ὡς οὔτε ἀσφαλείας τινὸς ἐκχωρήσῃ μαθῶντες δὲ τοῦθεν οἱ συνόντες οἱ, καὶ κατοκυνήσαντες τὴν ἀφοδόν ὦς καὶ φυγῆν οὕσαν, προσέβεντο τῷ 3 Καίσαρι. καὶ οἱ μὲν συνεστρατεύοντο αὐτῷ, Δομίτιος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἅλλοι βουλεύτα ἤτιάθησαν μὲν υπεν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀντιτάξει, ἀπελύθησαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπήλθουν.

1 ἔδώνατο St., ἔδωνατο L.
2 τὸν Reim., ἐς τὴν L.
of the peoples and the kings. Spain, to be sure, was likewise wholly devoted to him, but he could not reach it safely, since Caesar held both the Gauls. Moreover he calculated that if he should sail away, no one would pursue him on account of the lack of ships and on account of the winter, as the autumn was now far advanced; and meanwhile he would be amassing at leisure both money and troops, partly from the Roman subjects and partly from their allies. With this purpose, therefore, he himself set out for Brundisium and bade Domitius abandon Corfinium and accompany him. And Domitius, in spite of the large force that he had and the hopes he reposed in it, inasmuch as he had courted the favour of the soldiers in every way and had won them over by promises of land (as one of Sulla's veterans he had acquired a large amount under that régime), nevertheless obeyed orders. He, accordingly, was making preparations to evacuate the town with some degree of safety; but his associates, when they learned of it, shrank from the journey abroad, because it seemed to them a flight, and they attached themselves to Caesar. So these joined the invader's army, but Domitius and the other senators, after being censured by Caesar for arraying themselves against him, were allowed to go and came to Pompey.

Caesar, accordingly, was anxious to join issue with Pompey before he could sail away and to fight out the war in Italy, if he could but overtake his adversary while he was still at Brundisium; for since there were not sufficient ships for all, Pompey had sent ahead the consuls and others, fearing that they might begin some rebellion if they remained there.
2 τεσ′ ἵδων δὲ τὸ δυσάλωτον τοῦ χωρίου προεκαλέσατο 1 αὐτὸν ἐς συνθήκας ὡς καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν τε φιλίαν ἀποληψόμενον. ἀποκριμαμένου τε αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἀλλο ἢ ὅτε τοῖς υπάτοις ἤ λέγει κοινώσεται, ἐπειδὴ ἐδέδοκτό σφισί μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὅντων ἐς λόγοις δέχεσθαι, προσέβαλε τῇ πόλει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος ἡμέρας μὲν τινας ἡμύνατο, μέχρις οὐ τὰ πλοία ἐπανῆλθε· διοικοδομήσας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ἀποφράξας τὰς ἐς τὸν λιμένα ὁδοὺς, μὴ καὶ ἐπίθηται τις αὐτῷ ἐκπλέουτι, ἐπεὶ τα νυκτὸς ἐξανήχθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἁσφάλος ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπεραίωθη, τὸ δὲ δὴ Βρεντέσιον δύο τε ἐν αὐτῷ πλοία μεστὰ ἀνδρῶν έδαλ. 13 Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν τὴν τε πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν οὔτως ἐξέβησε πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα τοῖς πρόσθεν, ὅτε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας κατέπλευσε, καὶ ἐλόμενοι καὶ πράξαι ἀφ’ ὀψυκροτοῦν καὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἄντιπαλον 2 ἐκτήσατο. τὰ τε γὰρ στρατόπεδα πρότερον εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ Βρεντέσιῳ ἑνα μὴ τι πολίτας ἐνετῆς, ἀφεῖς, ἑτέρα δὲ αὐτοῦ τότε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ τῶν πλούσιων τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁγαγόν, πάνθε. 3 ὅσα ἡδυνήθη τότε ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐτέρωσεν ἐκόμισε· καὶ τῶν μὲν οἰκοι πάντων ἀπέγνω, τοῖς δὲ ἀλλοτρίοις καὶ τοῖς γε υφ’ ἑαυτοῦ ποτε δουλωθεῖσι συμμάχουσα τῆς πατρίδος χρήσασθαι ἐνοεί, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς πολὺ πλεῖον ἐλπίδα καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς δυναστείας ἢ ἐν 3 τοῖς ἐνεργεσθεῖσιν

1 προεκαλέσατο Reim., προσεκαλέσατο L.
2 ἐτέρωσε R. Steph., ἐτέρωσ L. 3 ἐν added by Bk.
Caesar, seeing the difficulty of capturing the place, urged his opponent to come to some agreement, assuring him that he should obtain both peace and friendship again. When Pompey replied merely that he would communicate to the consuls what Caesar said, the latter, inasmuch as those officials had decided to receive no citizen in arms for a conference, assaulted the city. Pompey repelled him for some days until the ships returned; and having meanwhile barricaded and obstructed the streets leading to the harbour, so that no one should attack him as he was sailing forth, he then put out by night. Thus he crossed over to Macedonia in safety, and Brundisium was captured along with two ships full of men.

So Pompey in this way deserted his country and the rest of Italy, choosing and carrying out quite the opposite of his former course, when he had sailed back to it from Asia; hence he gained the opposite fortune and reputation. For, whereas formerly he had at once dismissed his legions at Brundisium, so as not to cause the citizens any anxiety, he was now leading away through that town other forces gathered from Italy to fight against them; and whereas he had brought the wealth of the barbarians to Rome, he now carried away from it all that he could to other places. Of all the citizens at home he despaired, but purposed to use against his country foreigners and the allies once enslaved by him; and he placed in them far more hope both of safety and of power than in those whom he had
4 ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ διὰ ταύτα ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς λαμπρότητος ἦν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐκείνων κτησάμενος ἀφίκετο, ταπεινότητα πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φόβον ἀντίλαβον ἀπήρεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς εὐκλείας ἦν ἐκ τοῦ τὴν πατρίδα αὐξῆσαι ἐσχεν, δυσκλεέστατος ἐπὶ τῇ τότε ἐκλείψει αὐτῆς ἐγένετο.

14 Καὶ εὐθὺς γε καταίρων ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον ἐμαθεν ὅτι οὐ καλῶς ἀπαλλάξει 1 στρατιώτας τε γὰρ κεραυνοὶ εἰν αὐτῷ τῷ πρόσπλο ϑ ἐφθειραν, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικά ἀράχναν κατέσχον, ἐκβάντος τε ἐκ τῆς νεός αὐτοῦ ὕφεις τῶν στίβων ἐπισπόμενοι συνέχεον. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ ταύτα τὰ τέρατα ἐγένετο, συνεβεβήκει δὲ καὶ πάση τῇ πόλει τούτῳ τε τῷ ἔτει καὶ ὅλῳν ἐμπρόσθεν ἑτερα. δυντὸς γὰρ ποι ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι τὸ κοινὸν βλάπτεται: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λύκοι τε καὶ βύαι πολλοὶ εἰν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀστεί 2 ὁφθησαν, καὶ σεισῳδοὶ συνεχεῖς μετὰ μυκηθῶν ἐγένοντο, πῦρ τε ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἀνατολάς διήξε, καὶ ἔτεραν ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου ναὸν κατέφλεξεν. ὁ τε Ἥλιος σύμπας ἐξέλυσε, καὶ κεραυνοὶ σκῆπτρον τε Δίὸς καὶ ἀσπίδα κράνος τε Ἀρεώς, ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀνακείμενα, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς τοὺς νόμους ἐχοῦσας ἐλυμήναντο. ξοῖα τε πολλὰ ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτῶν φύσεως ἐγέννησε τίνα, καὶ λόγια τίνα ὡς καὶ τῆς Σιβύλλης ὡντα ᾦδετο, κάτοχοι τε τίνες γιγνόμενοι συχνὰ ἔθειαζον. καὶ πολίαρχος οὐδὲς ἐς τὰς ἀνοχάς, οὐσπερ

1 ἀπαλλάξει Bk., ἀπαλλάξειν L.
2 Κυρίνου Bk., κυρίνου Λ.
benefited. Instead of the brilliance, therefore, acquired in those wars, which had marked his arrival, he departed with humiliation as his portion because of his fear of Caesar; and instead of the fame which he had gained for exalting his country, he became most infamous for his desertion of her.

Now at the very moment of coming to land at Dyrrachium he learned that he should not obtain a prosperous outcome. For thunderbolts destroyed some soldiers even as the ships were approaching; spiders occupied the army standards; and after he had left the vessel serpents followed and obliterated his footprints. These were the portents which came to him personally, but for the whole capital others had occurred both that year and a short time previously; for there is no doubt that in civil wars the state is injured by both parties. Hence many wolves and owls were seen in the city itself and continual earthquakes with bellowings took place, fire darted across from the west to the east, and another fire consumed the temple of Quirinus as well as other buildings. The sun, too, suffered a total eclipse, and thunderbolts damaged a sceptre of Jupiter and a shield and a helmet of Mars that were votive offerings on the Capitol, and likewise the tables which contained the laws. Many animals brought forth creatures outside of their own species, some oracles purporting to be those of the Sibyl were made known, and some men became inspired and uttered numerous divinations. No prefect of the city was chosen for the Feriae, as had been the
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εἶδοςτο, ἦρέθη, ἀλλ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτῷ, ὡς τὲ τις δοκεῖ, διψκήσαν ἔτέροι γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ έτει φασίν αὐτοὺς 5 τούτο ποιῆσαι. καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν καὶ αὖθις ἐγένετο, τότε1 δὲ καὶ ὁ Περπέρνας ὁ μετὰ τοῦ Φίλιππου ποτὲ τιμητεύσας ἀπέθανεν, ὡς ἐφη, τελευταῖος πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τιμητείᾳ αὐτοῦ βουλευσάν- 6 των, καὶ ἔδοκει καὶ τούτῳ τῷ νεοχμόσειν. ἔταράτ- τοντο μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς τέρασιν ὡσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οἴομενοι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐλπίζοντες ἐκάτεροι ἐς τοὺς ἀντιστασίωτας σφῶν πάντα αὐτὰ ἀποσκήψειν οὐδὲν ἐξεθύσαντο.

15 Ο ὁ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐς μὲν τὴν Μακεδονίαν οὐδὲ ἐπείρασε τότε πλεῦσαι (πλοῖον τε γὰρ ἦπορε ἀμα καὶ περὶ τῇ 'Ιταλίᾳ2 ἐδείει, μη αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς 'Ιβηρίας οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου ὑποστράτηγοι ἐπελθόντες κατάσχωσεν), τὸ δὲ δὴ Βρεντέσιον διὰ φυλακῆς, τοῦ μη τινα τῶν ἄπηρκότων 2 ἀναπλεῦσαι, ποιησάμενος πρὸς τε τὴν 'Ρώμην ἐλθεῖ, καὶ τῆς γερουσίας οἱ ἔξω του πομηρίου ὑπὸ τε τοῦ 'Αντωνίου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δογγίου παρασκευασθείσης (ἐκπεσόντες γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς τοτε αὐτῆς ἕθροισαν) ἐδημηγάρθησε πολλὰ καὶ ἐπιείκη, ὅπως πρός τε τὸ παρὸν εὐνοίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς 3 τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδα χρηστὴν λάβωσιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῖς τε γεγομένοις ἀνχθομένως καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατιω-

1 τότε Βα., τούτο Λ.
2 τῇ 'Ιταλίᾳ Ρείμ., τῆν ιταλίαν Λ.
custom, but the praetors, at least according to some accounts, performed all his duties; others, however, say they did this in the following year. That, to be sure, was an occurrence that happened again; but at this time Perperna, who had once been censor with Philippus, died, being the last, as I have stated,\(^1\) of all the senators who had been alive in his censorship.\(^2\) This event, too, seemed to portend some political change. Now the people were naturally disturbed at the portents, but as both sides thought and hoped that the calamities would all light on their opponents, they offered no expiatory sacrifices.

Caesar did not even attempt to sail to Macedonia at this time, because he was short of ships and was anxious about Italy, fearing that the lieutenants of Pompey might assail it from Spain and occupy it; but putting Brundisium under guard, so that no one of those who had departed should sail back again, he then proceeded to Rome. There the senate had been assembled for him outside the pomerium by Antony and Longinus; for though they had once been expelled from that body they now convened it. He accordingly delivered a speech of some length and of a temperate character, so that they might feel good-will toward him for the time being and also excellent hope for the future. For as soon as he saw that they were displeased at what was going on

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\(^{1}\) In a book now lost.

\(^{2}\) Valerius Maximus (viii. 13, 4) and Pliny (\textit{N. H.}, vii. 48) are probably more accurate when they state that he outlived all those who were senators in the year of his consulship (n.c. 92) and all but seven of those whom he appointed to that body during his censorship (n.c. 86). He died at the age of 98.
τικὼν πλῆθος ὑποτεύνοντας αὐτοὺς ἕωρα, παραμυθήσασθαι καὶ τιθασεύσακαὶ σφας τρόπων τινὰ ἥθελησεν, ἦνα τά γε ἐκείνων, ἐως ἀν διαπολεμήσῃ, ἐν ἣνυχίᾳ μείνῃ. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ οὔτε ἦτεῖσατό τινα οὔτε ἠπείλησε τυίν οὐδεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταδρομὴν κατὰ τῶν πολεμεῖν πολίταις ἐθελόντων οὐκ ἀνευ ἀρῶν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τὸ τελευταίον πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ τε τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὅμονοιας σφῶν παραχρῆμα πρὸς τε τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον πεμφθῆναι ἐσηγήσατο.

16 τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταύτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, καὶ αὐτῶν ἔξω τοῦ πομηρίου συνελθόντα, εἰπόν, σήτον τε ἐκ τῶν νήσων μετεπέμψατο καὶ πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα δραχμὰς ἐκάστῳ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν αὐτῶν δελεάσεις ἡπιζεν, οἱ δ' ἀνθρώποι λογιζομενοὶ ὅτι οὔτε φρονοῦσιν οὔτε πράττουσι τὰ αὐτὰ οἳ τε ἐφείμενοι τινων καὶ οἳ τυχόντες, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τῶν ἐργών πάντα τὰ ἡδίστα προβάλλουσι τοῖς ἀντιπράξαι τι δυνάμενοι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ κατορθόσωσιν ὁσα βούλονται, οὔτε τινὸς αὐτῶν μυημονεύουσι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνους ταῖς δυνάμεις ἃς παρ' αὐτῶν ἔλαβον χρῶνται, μεμιμημένοι δὲ καὶ τὸν

2 τυχόντες, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τῶν ἐργών πάντα τὰ ἡδίστα προβάλλουσι τοῖς ἀντιπράξαι τι δυνάμενοι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ κατορθόσωσιν ὁσα βούλονται, οὔτε τινὸς αὐτῶν μυημονεύουσι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνους ταῖς δυνάμεις ἃς παρ' αὐτῶν ἔλαβον χρῶνται, μεμιμημένοι δὲ καὶ τὸν

3 Μάριον τὸν τε Σύλλαν, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ φιλανθρωπα πολλάκις σφίσιν εἰπόντες οἰα ἀνθρωπων ἐδρασαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος χρείαν αἰσθόμενοι, τὰ τε ὅπλα αὐτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως ὁρῶντες ὄντα, οὔτε πιστεύειν τῶν λεγομένων οὔτε θαρρεῖν ἐδύναντο,
and suspicious of the multitude of soldiers, he wished to encourage and tame them, so to speak, in order that quiet might prevail at least in their quarter until he should bring the war to an end. He therefore censured no one and made no threat against anyone, but delivered an attack, not without imprecations, upon those who chose to war upon citizens, and at last proposed that envoys be sent immediately to the consuls and to Pompey to treat for peace and harmony. He made these same statements also to the populace, when that body had likewise assembled outside the pomerium; and he sent for grain from the islands, and promised to give each citizen three hundred sesterces.\footnote{Literally, seventy-five drachmae or denarii. Dio expresses all sums in this unit, but in the translation the Roman practice will be followed.} He hoped to tempt them with this bait; but the men reflected that those who are pursuing certain ends and those who have attained them do not think or act alike, but at the beginning of their undertakings they offer every conceivable gratification to such as are in a position to work against them in any way, whereas, when they succeed in what they wish, they remember none of their promises and use against those very persons the power which they have received from them. Recalling also the behaviour of Marius and Sulla,—how many benevolent phrases they had often addressed to them and then what treatment they had accorded them in return for their services,—and furthermore perceiving Caesar's need and seeing that his armed forces were many and were everywhere in the city, they were unable either to trust his words or to be cheered by them.
4 ἂλλ' ἔναυλον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν φόβου ἔχοντες καὶ ἐκείνον ὑπετόπουν, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτε οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ τὰς καταλλαγάς δῆθεν πρυτανεύσοντες ἠρέθησαν μὲν, οὐκ ἔξηλθον δὲ, ἂλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐμνήσθη ποτὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Πίσων ὁ πενθερός αὐτοῦ αἰτίαν ἐσχε.

17 τοσοῦτον τε ἐδέχασαν τὰ χρήματα αὐτὸ ὑπεσχέτο σφίσι τότε γε λαβεῖν, ὡστε καὶ τάλλα οἱ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἦν πρὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οὐς ἐφοβοῦντο, τροφὴν ἐδοσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τούτοις ὡς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς οὕσι τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν εἰρηνικὴν μετημπίσχοντο· οὐδέπω γὰρ αὐτὴν

2 μετελήφθεσαν. ἀντείπε μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἐσθήσθην Δούκιος ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ δήμαρχος, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐπέρανε, πρὸς τέ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἥλθε καὶ τὰς βύρας αὐτῶν ἐν τηρήσει ἐποιήσατο· σμικρὸν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ, ὡσπερ πον καὶ τῆς παραρμ. οἱ στρατιῶται φροντίσαντες τὴν τε βαλανάγραν διέκοψαν (τὴν γὰρ κλεῖν οἱ ὑπατοὶ εἰχον, ὡσπερ οὖν ἔξον τις πελέκεσιν ἄντι αὐτῆς χρῆσασθαι)

3 καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἐξεφόρησαν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰ άλλα τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπον, ὅς μοι πολλαχόθη εἰρηται, ὅνοματι μὲν ἱσονομίας (καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὰ πλεῖον αὐτῶν ἐσεφέρετο) ἔργῳ δὲ δυναστείας καὶ ἐξηφέζετο καὶ ἐπράττετο. τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀντιστασιώτατος σφίσι πολεμίους ἐκάτεροι τῆς πατρίδος ὀνομάζοντες, καὶ ἐαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν πολεμεῖν λέγοντες, τὰ τε ἵδια μόνα ἡμῶν, κακείνα ὀμοίως ἀμφότεροι ἔθειρον.

18 ὁ δὲ οὖν Καίσαρ ταῦτα τε οὕτως ἐποίησε, καὶ

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1. πρυτανεύσοντες Reim., πρυτανεύσοντες L.
2. Δούκιος Β.κ., Δόκιος L. (here only).
On the contrary, as they had fresh in their memory the fear caused by former events, they suspected him also, particularly since the envoys who were to effect the "reconciliation," as he termed it, did not set out after being chosen; indeed, Piso, his father-in-law, was once called to account for so much as referring to them. And far from receiving at that time the money which he had promised them, the people had to give him all the rest that remained in the treasury for the support of his soldiers, whom they feared. In honour of all these things, as if they were propitious events, the citizens changed back to the garb of peace, which up to this time they had not resumed. Now Lucius Metellus, a tribune, opposed the proposition about the money, and when his efforts proved unavailing, he went to the treasury and kept guard at the doors. But the soldiers, paying little heed to the guard he kept or, I imagine, to his outspokenness either, cut the bolt in two (for the consuls had the key, just as if it were not possible for persons to use axes in place of it!) and carried off all the money. In the case of Caesar's other projects also, as I have often stated, he both brought them to vote and carried them out in the same fashion, under the name of democracy, inasmuch as the majority of them were introduced by Antony, but with the substance of despotism. Both Caesar and Pompey called their opponents enemies of their country and declared that they themselves were fighting for the public interests, whereas each alike was really ruining those interests and advancing merely his own private ends.

After taking these steps Caesar occupied Sardinia
τὴν Σαρδῶ τὴν τε Σικελίαν ἠμαχεὶ κατέσχεν, ἐκχωρησάντων τῶν τότε ἐν αὐταῖς ἀρχόντων. τὸν τε Δριστόβουλον οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην,
2 ὅπως τῷ Πομπηίῳ τι ἀντιπράξῃ, ἐστείλε· καὶ
tοῖς παισὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐπικηρυχθέντων ἀρχὰς αἰτεῖν ἐφῆκε, τά τε ἄλλα πάντα, καὶ 
tὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, πρὸς 
tὸ ἑπειτιδειότατον ἑαυτῷ ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων
3 κατέστησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἐπ-
ἐτρεψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν,1 τά τε τοῦ
Πομπηίου ἰσχυρῶς αἰρουμένην καὶ ἐς δέος αὐτὸν, 
μὴ καὶ τὰς Γαλατίας προσαποστῆσῃ, καθιστάν-
τας, ὄρμησε. καὶ τοῦτο ἀλλοι τε βουλευταὶ 
καὶ ὁ Κικέρων, μηδὲ ἐς ὅψιν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐλθὼν, 
промыш τὸν Πομπηίον ὡς ἐς τὰ τε δικαιότερα 
πράττοντα καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατήσοντα ἀπεχώ-
5 ῥεσεν. οἴ τε γὰρ ὑπατοί, πρὶν ἐκπλεῖν, καὶ 
ἐκεῖνος, ἀτε ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἀρχῶν, πάντας αὐτοὺς 
ἐκδελευσαν ἐς Θεσσαλονίκην ἀκολουθῆσαι, ὡς τοῦ 
μὲν ἀστεως πρὸς πολεμίων τινῶν ἔχομένου, αὐτοί 
δὲ ἐτε 2 γερουσία ὅτε καὶ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας
6 πρόσχημα, ὅπου ποτ' ἀν ὄσιν, ἐξοντες. καὶ 
σφικί διὰ ταῦτα τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν 
ἵππεων οἱ πλείους, οἱ μὲν εὔθυς τότε οἱ δὲ καὶ 
ὕστερον, καὶ αἱ πόλεις πᾶσαι, ὅσαι μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν 
tοῦ Καίσαρος ὀπλῶν κατείργοντο, προσεχώ-
ρησαν.
19 Οἱ μέντοι Μασσαλιῶται μόνοι τῶν ἐν τῇ 
Γαλατίᾳ οἰκούντων οὔτε συνήραντο τῷ Καίσαρι 
οὔτε ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόκρισιν 
2 αὐτῷ ἀξιομνημόνευτον ἔδωσαν τῷ τε γὰρ δήμῳ

1 Ἰβηρίαι, Χυλ., Ἰταλίαν I.
2 δέ Οδέλευ, ἦ τε Λ.
and Sicily without a contest, as the governors who were there at the time withdrew. Aristobulus he sent home to Palestine to accomplish something against Pompey. He also allowed the sons of those who had been proscribed by Sulla to canvass for office, and arranged everything else both in the city and in the rest of Italy to his own best advantage, so far as circumstances permitted. Affairs at home he now committed to Antony’s care, while he himself set out for Spain, which was strongly favouring the side of Pompey and causing Caesar some fear that it might induce the Gauls also to revolt. Meanwhile Cicero and other senators, without even appearing before Caesar, retired to join Pompey, since they believed he had more justice on his side and would conquer in the war. For not only the consuls, before they had set sail, but Pompey also, under the authority he had as proconsul, had ordered them all to accompany him to Thessalonica, on the ground that the capital was held by enemies and that they themselves were the senate and would maintain the form of the government wherever they should be. For this reason most of the senators and the knights joined them, some of them at once, and others later, and likewise all the cities that were not coerced by Caesar’s armed forces.

Now the Massaliots, alone of the peoples living in Gaul, did not coöperate with Caesar, and did not receive him into their city, but gave him a noteworthy answer. They said that they were allies of the
τῶν Ῥωμαίων συμμαχεῖν καὶ ἐκείνως ἐπιτηδείως ἀμφοτέροις ἔχειν, καὶ μήτε πολυτραγμονεῖν τι μὴ ικανοί διακρίνατε πότερος αὐτῶν ἁδικεῖ εἶναι ἐφασαν, ὡστε εἰ μὲν τις ὡς φίλος ἐθέλοι πρὸς σφᾶς ἔλθεῖν, κἂν ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοὺς ἀνευ τῶν ὄπλων δέξασθαι ἔλεγον, ἐπὶ πολέμῳ δὲ οὐδέτερον.

3 καταστάντες τε ἐς πολιορκίαν αὐτῶν τε ἐκεῖνων ἀπεκρούσαντο, καὶ τῷ Τρεβωνίῳ τῷ τε Βρούτῳ τῷ Δέκιῳ" 3 μετὰ τούτο προσερεύσασι σφίσσων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντέσχων, ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ χρόνον μὲν τινα, ὡς καὶ βαδίως αὐτοὺς αἱρήσων, προσεκαρέση (καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ δεινῶν ἐδοκεῖ εἶναι ὅτι καὶ τῆς 'Ῥώμης ἀμαχεί κρατήσας ὑπὸ Μασσαλιώτῶν οὐκ ἐδέχετο), ἐπειτ᾽ ἐπειδὴ ἀντήρ- κοντο, ἐκείνους μὲν ἐτέρους προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἦπειρθῇ.

20 Ἐπεσόμεφε μὲν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν Γάιον, Φάβιον, δείσας δὲ μὴ καθ᾽ ἐαυτῶν ἀγωνισάμενον πταῖση, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστράτευσεν. εἰγὼν δὲ τὸ τὰ πράγματα τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα ὦ τοῦ 'Αφράνιος καὶ ὦ Πετρείως, καὶ φυλακὴν μὲν καὶ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τῶν ὄρων ἐπεποίητο, τὸ δὲ ὄλον ἐς Ἰλέρδαν 4 τὰς ὀνόματις ἄθροισαντες ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ἐπίοντας 2 ὑπέμενον. καὶ τῷ μὲν Φάβιῳ τὴν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Πυρηναίον φρουρᾶν βιασαμένως 5 καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Σικωρίν διαβάϊνοντε προσπεσότες ἐξαίφνης πόλλους ἀπέκτειναν ἀποληφθέντας η γὰρ γέφυρα πρὶν διελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καταρραγεῖσα

1 καὶ Kühler, καὶ L. 2 καταστάντες τε Bk., καταστάντε L.
3 Δεκίῳ R. Steph., δεκίῳ L (and so frequently).
4 Ἰλέ δαν Gros, λέρδαν L.
5 βιασαμένω Pflugk, τοιασαμένω L.
BOOK XLI

Roman people and felt friendly towards both sides, and that they were neither intermeddling at all nor in a position to decide which of the two was in the wrong; consequently, in case they were approached in a friendly manner, they would receive them both, they said, without their arms, but if it were a question of making war, neither of them. On being subjected to a siege they not only repulsed Caesar himself but held out for a very long time against Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, who besieged them later. For Caesar had persisted in his attempt for some time, thinking to capture them easily, and regarding it as absurd that after vanquishing Rome without a battle he was not received by the Massaliots; but when they continued to hold out, he left them to the care of others and himself hastened into Spain.

He had sent Gaius Fabius thither, but fearing the other would fail while contending by himself, he, too, made a campaign. Afranius and Petreius at this time had charge of affairs in the vicinity of the Iberus and had even posted a guard over the pass in the mountains, but in the main they had gathered their forces at Ilerda and there awaited the invaders. Fabius overcame the garrison upon the Pyrenees, but as he was crossing the river Sicoris the enemy fell upon him suddenly and killed many of his men who were cut off; for the bridge collapsed before all had crossed and thus proved of the greatest
3 πλείστων σφίσι συνήρατο τὸ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι ἐπελθόντες τε οὐ πολλῷ ὑπεραν καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καθ' ἑτέραν γέφυραν διαβάντες, προκαλοῦμένως τε αὐτοὺς ἐς μάχην οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἐπὶ πάντα πολλὰς ἡμέρας συμβαλέον, ἀλλ' ἀντιστρατοπεδευσάμενοι αὐτῷ ἡσύχαζον. θαρσήσας οὖν ἐκ τούτου καταλαβέων τὸ χωρίον τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ταφρεύματος σφῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως καρτερῶν δὴν ἐπεχείρησεν, ὡς καὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσων. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τούτῳ οἱ περὶ τὸν

5 Ἀφράνιον προκατέσχον αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς τε προσβάλλοντας σφίσιν ἀπεώσατό, καὶ φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστόμενοι τοὺς ἀντιπεζελθόντας εἰκ τοῦ ἐρύματος ὑπέστησαν, ἐνδόντες τε ἐξεπίθεσες ὑπήγαγον σφας εἰς χωρία ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιτήδεια, κάμπταοι πολλῷ πλείον ἡφάνευσαν. ἀρκὶ τοῦτον ἐπιθαρσήσαντες τοὺς τε προνοούσιν αὐτῶν ἐπετίθεντο καὶ τοὺς ἀπόσκεδασμένους ἐλύσων.

6 καὶ ποτε διαβάντων τινῶν ἐς τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τούτῳ χειμῶνος τε πολλοῦ γενομένως καὶ τῆς γεφύρας ἡ ἐκέχρηκτο διαφθαρείσης, ἐπιδιέβησαν κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν γέφυραν τὴν πρὸς τὴν πόλει οὖσαν καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀνάλοσαν, μηδενὸς σφίσιν ἐπαμύναι δυνηθέντος.

21 Ὅσον Καίσαρ, ὡς ταῦτ' ἐγένετο καὶ οὕτε τῶν συμμάχων τις ἐπεκούρει οἱ (ἐκδεχόμενοι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὦν ἐναντίοι, ὡς ἐκάστους αἰσθοῦμεν προσίστατας, ... 3) τὰ τ' ἐπιτήδεια, ἀτε' 5 ἐν τε

1 ἑτέραν R. Steph., ἐκατέραν L. 2 τὸ R. Steph., τῶν L.
3 Lacuna recognized by Xyl. 4 τ' added by Xyl.
5 ἀτε Rk., τὲ L.
assistance to the foe. When Caesar came up, not long afterward, he crossed the river by another bridge and challenged them to battle; but for a great many days they did not dare to try conclusions with him, but remained quietly encamped opposite him. Encouraged thereby, he undertook to seize the ground between their entrenchments and the city, as it was a strong position, with the intention of shutting them off from the walls. Afranius and his followers, on perceiving this, occupied the place first, repulsed their assailants, and pursued them when they fled. Then, when others came out against them from the camp, they at first withstood them, then yielded purposely, and so lured them into positions which were favourable to themselves, where they slew many more of them. In consequence of this they took courage, attacked their opponents' foraging parties and harassed those who were scattered. And on one occasion when some soldiers had crossed to the other side of the river and meanwhile a great storm had come up and destroyed the bridge which they had used, they crossed over after them by the other bridge, which was near the city, and destroyed them all, since no one was able to come to their assistance.

Caesar, when things were taking this course, fell into desperate straits; for none of his allies rendered him assistance, since his opponents met [and annihilated] the separate forces as often as they heard that any were approaching, and it was with difficulty that he managed to obtain provisions, inasmuch as he was
ἀλλοτρία ὑπὶ καὶ πταίων, χαλεπῶς ἐπορίζετο, 2 ἐν πάντι ἐγένετο. πυνθανομενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαίοι ἐκεῖνον τε ὡς οὐκέτι πλείω χρόνον περιοίσσοντος ἀπέγνωσαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἱομπήγον ἀπεκλίνουν καὶ τινὲς καὶ τὸτε πρὸς 3 αὐτῶν ἄλλοι τε καὶ βουλευται ἀπῆραν. καὶ εἰγε μὴ οἱ Μασσαλιώται ἐν τούτῳ ναυμαχίᾳ πρὸς τοῦ Βρούτου τῷ τε μεγέθει τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, καίπερ καὶ τῷ Δομιτίῳ συμμάχῳ χρόμενοι καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν ναυτικῶν προέχοντες, ἡττήθησαν καὶ τούτου παντελῶς ἀπεκλείάθησαν, οὔδεν ἂν ἐκώλυσε πάντα τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν φθαρῆναι, νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ἐκ παρασκευῆς τοῖς Ἰβηρικοῖς ἀγγελθέντα ταῦτα οὕτως ἠλλοισε τινὰς αὐτῶν ὡστε καὶ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονήσατο. καὶ αὐτῶν παραλαβῶν τῆς τε τροφῆς ἡπόρησε καὶ γεφύρας κατεσκεύασε, τοὺς τε ἑναντίους ἑλύπει, καὶ ποτε συχνῶς αὐτῶν αἰφνίδιον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλανωμένους ἀπολαβὼν ἀπώλεσεν.

22 Ὅ οὖν Ἀφράνιος ἄθυμησας ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰλερόδα οὔτε ἀσφαλή οὔτε ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς χρόνον διατριβὴν ἱδὼν ὡντα, ἀναχωρήσατο πρὸς τε τὸν Ἰβηρα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκεῖ πόλεις ἔγνω, καὶ νυκτὸς, ὡς λήσων ἡ φθάσων τούς ἑναντίους, ἀρὰς ἐπορεύετο. καὶ οὐκ ἔλαβε μὲν ἀνιστάμενος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ εὔθυς ἐπεδιώκη ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ οὐχ ἠγγῆσατο ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἐν σκότω πολεμίως ἐμπείροις τῆς χώρας μετὰ ἀπείρων ἐπακολουθῆσαι. ὡς μέντοι ἡ ἡμέρα

1 περιοίσσοντος R. Steph., περιοίσσοντο I.
2 ἐν added by R. Steph.
3 ἐν added by St.
in a hostile territory and unsuccessful in his operations. The Romans at home, when they learned of this, renounced all hope of him, believing that he could hold out but a short time longer, and began to fall away to Pompey; and some few senators and others set out to join the latter even then. But just at this time the Massaliots were defeated in a naval battle by Brutus owing to the size of his ships and the strength of his marines, although they had Domitius as an ally and surpassed in their experience of naval affairs; and after this they were shut off completely. But for this nothing would have prevented Caesar's projects from being ruined. As it was, however, the victory was announced to the Spaniards with so much intentional exaggeration that it led some of them to change and take the side of Caesar. When he had obtained these adherents, he secured plenty of food, constructed bridges, harassed his opponents, and on one occasion intercepted suddenly a large number of them who were wandering about the country and destroyed them.

Afranius was disheartened at these reverses, and seeing that affairs in Ilerda were not safe or satisfactory for a prolonged stay, he determined to retire to the Iberus and to the cities there. He set out on the journey by night, intending to elude the enemy's notice or at least get the start of them. And though his departure did not remain undiscovered, yet he was not immediately pursued, for Caesar did not think it safe in the darkness and with men ignorant of the country to follow up an enemy that was well acquainted with it. When day
διέλαμψεν, ἥπειρθή, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ὀδῷ καταλαβὼν πανταχόθεν ἔξαπίνης πόρρωθεν περιεστοιχίσατο τῷ τε γὰρ πλῆθει πολύ περιήν, καὶ τὸ χωρίον κοίλον ὄν συμμαχοῦν ἔσχεν.

3 ὁμώς γὰρ οὐκ ἥθελσέ σφισι χωρῆσαι, τὸ μὲν τι φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καταστάντες ἐξεργάσωνται τι δεινὸν, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἀκοινώνων, παραστῆσεθαί τοῖς ἐπίσκοποις 1 ἐλπίσας. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο· ὡς γὰρ πολλαχῇ πειρᾶσαντες οὐδαμῇ διαπεσεῖν ἡδυνήθησαν, καὶ ἔκ τε τοῦτον καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας τῆς τε πορείας ἐκεκμήκησαν, καὶ προσέτεθεν

4 οὕτε τροφὴν εἶχον (ἀνθήμερον γὰρ τὸν σταθμὸν διατελεῖσθαι προσδοκήσαντες οὐδὲν ἐπηνέγκαντο) οὐδ’ ὑδατος εὐπόρουν (τὰ γὰρ χωρία ἐκεῖνα δεινῶς ἐστὶν ἀνυόδα), παρέδοσαν σφας, ἐφ’ ὁ μῆτε τι δεινὸν πάθωσι μῆτε ἐπὶ τῶν Πομπηίων

23 ἀναγκασθῶσιν οἱ συστρατεύσαι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀκριβῶς ἐκάτερον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐφύλαξεν οὕτε γὰρ ἀπέκτεινε τὸ παρὰπαν τῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῶν πολέμων ἄλοντων οὐδένα, καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖνοι ποτὲ ἐν ἀνοχῇ τινὶ ἀφυλάκτως των κατ’ ἐαυτοῦ ἔχοντας φθειράντων, οὕτε τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἀντιπολεμῆσαι ἐξεβιάσατο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν λογισμῶτα τούς ὑψίστα, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους ἑθελονταῖς συμμάχους διὰ τὰ κέρδη

2 καὶ διὰ τὸς τιμᾶς ἐχρήτο, καὶ οὐκ ἐλάχιστα γε ἐκ τούτων οὕτε ἐς τὴν δόξαν οὕτε ἐς τὰ πράγματα ἄπώνυμον 2 τὰς τε γὰρ πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρία πάσας καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐκεῖ πάντας ἤσαν δὲ ἄλλοι τε ἐν τῇ Βαυτικῇ

1 παραστήσεσθαι Reim., παραστήσεσθαι L.
2 ἀπώνυμο Naber, ἀπώνυμο L.
dawned, however, he hastened forward, and, overtaking them in the middle of their journey, he suddenly surrounded them on all sides at a distance; for he was much superior in numbers and found the bowl-shaped character of the region a help. For he did not wish to come to close quarters with the enemy, partly because he was afraid that they might become desperate and carry out some rash undertaking, and partly because he hoped to win them over anyway without a conflict. This actually happened. They first tried to break through at many points, but were unable to do so anywhere, and became exhausted from this attempt as well as from loss of sleep and from their march; furthermore, they had no food, since, expecting to finish their journey the same day, they had brought none along, and they were also without sufficient water, inasmuch as that region is terribly dry. They accordingly surrendered, on condition that they should not be harshly treated nor compelled to join his expedition against Pompey. Caesar kept each of his promises to them scrupulously. He did not put to death a single man captured in this war, in spite of the fact that his foes had once, during a truce, destroyed some of his own men who were caught off their guard; and he did not force them to fight against Pompey, but released the most prominent and employed the rest as allies who were willing to serve for the gains and honours in prospect. By this course both his reputation and his cause profited not a little; for he won over all the cities in Spain and all the soldiers there, a considerable
καὶ μετὰ Μάρκου Τερεντίου Οὐάρρωνος ὑποστρα-
τήγου συχνοῦ) προσεποίησατο.

24 Παραλαμβάνων τε οὖν ἀμα αὐτοῦ καὶ καθιστά-
μενος διέδραμε μέχρι Γαδείρων. καὶ ἐλύπησε
μὲν οὐδένα οὐδὲν πλὴν χρημάτων ἐκλογῆς (ταῦτα ὑ
γάρ παμπληθῇ ἐσέπραξεν), ἐτίμησε δὲ καὶ ἠδῆ
καὶ κοινὴ πολλοῦς καὶ τοὺς γε Γαδειρέως πολιτείαν ὑπασιν ἔδωκεν, ἣν καὶ ὁ δήμος σφίσιν

2 ὑστεροῦ ἐπεκύρωσε. τούτῳ δὲ ἐποίησεν ἀμειβό-
μενος σφας τῆς τοῦ ὀνείρου ὄψεως, δι' ἣν ἐνταῦθα,
ὅτε ἐταμίευσε, συγγεγονέναι τῇ μητρὶ ἐδοξε, καὶ
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδα τῆς μοναρχίας, ὡσπέρ
ἐλπον, ἐλαβεν. πράξεις δὲ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ἔθνος ἐκεῖνο
τῷ Λογγίῳ τῷ Κασσίῳ προσέπαξεν, ἐπειδὴ
συνήθης αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ταμίεσας ἢν ὑπὸ τῷ

3 Πομπηίου ἔτεταμενεύκει ἣν αὐτὸς δὲ μέχρι Ταρ-
ράκωνος πλοιοὺς ἐκομίσθη. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ διὰ
τοῦ Πυρηναίου προχορῶν τρόπαιον μὲν οὐδὲν
ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἔστησεν, ὅτι χρόνον τὸν Πομπηίου
καλὸς ἀκούσαντα ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἦσθεν, βωμὸν δὲ δὴ
ἐκ λίθων ξεστῶν συνοκοδομήμενον μέγαν οὖ
πόρρω τῶν ἐκείνου τρόπαιον ἱδρύσατο.

25 Ἐν ὧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, οἱ Μασσαλίωται νεὼν
σφισι παρὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου αὐτὸς πεμφθείσων
ἀνεκπερνοῦσαν, καὶ ἐπηράνθησαν μὲν καὶ τότε,
διεκάρτερον δὲ, καὶ τοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἦδη

2 τὸν Καίσαρα ἔχοντα πυγμανόμενοι, καὶ τάς τε

1 Οὐάρρωνος R. Steph., ἄρωνος L.
2 ταῦτα Reim., πάντα L.
3 δὲ Pilugk, τε L.
4 απ' H. Steph., ἐπ' L.
5 ἢ supplied by Reim. and Dind.
6 Ταρράκωνος Ba., Ταρρακάνης L.
7 μηδὲ Rk., μήτε L.
8 ἐκ added by Reim.
number of whom were with Marcus Terentius Varro, the lieutenant, besides others in Baetica.

So, taking charge of these and arranging their affairs, he advanced as far as Gades, injuring no one at all except in so far as the exacting of money was concerned; for of this he levied very large sums. Many of the natives he honoured both privately and publicly, and to all the people of Gades he granted citizenship, which the people of Rome later confirmed to them. This kindness he did them in return for the dream he had seen at the time he was quaestor there, wherein he had seemed to have intercourse with his mother; it was this dream that had given him the hope of sole rulership, as I have stated.¹ Having done this, he assigned that nation to Cassius Longinus, because the latter was familiar with the inhabitants from his quaestorship which he had served under Pompey; and he himself proceeded by ship to Tarraco. Thence he advanced across the Pyrenees, but did not set up any trophy on their summits, because he understood that Pompey had gained no good name for so doing; but he erected a great altar constructed of polished stones not far from his rival's trophies.

While this was going on, the Massaliots hazarded another conflict after ships had again been sent them by Pompey. They were defeated on this occasion also, and yet held out, even though they learned that Caesar was already master of Spain. They not only vigorously repulsed all attacks but

¹ See xxxvii, 32, 2.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

προσβολής ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεκρούντο, καὶ δισκωχήν τινα ὡς καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἐπειδὰν ἔλθη, προσχωρήσοντες ποιησάμενοι, τὸν τε Δομίτιον ὑπεξεπεμψαν, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπιθεμένους σφίσιν ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς νυκτὸς ὅτω διέθεσαν ὡστε μὴ δὲν ἐπὶ τολμῆσαι. τῷ μέντοι Καίσαρι αὐτῷ ἐλθόντι ὁμολόγησαν καὶ ὅς ἐκεῖνον τότε μὲν τὰ τε ὑπλα καὶ τὰς ναῦς τα τε χρήματα ἀφείλετο, ὑστερον δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα πλὴν τοῦ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὁνόματος. ἀνθ' ὅν ἡ Φάκαια ἡ ἑπτάπολις σφῶν ἐλευθέρα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἀφείλη.

26 Καὶ στρατιωτῶν τινῶν ἐν Πλακεντίᾳ στασιασάντων καὶ μηκέτ' ἀκολουθῆσαι οἱ ἐθελόντων, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τεταλαιπωρημένων, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὅτι μὴ τὴν χώραν διαρράξειν μήτε τάλλα ὡσα ἐπεθύμον ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπέτρεπε (καὶ γὰρ ἡπτίζον ὁὐδενὸς ὅτου ὅποι τεῦξεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀτε καὶ ἐν χρείᾳ τοσαύτη σφῶν ὑπὸ τῶν), οὖν ὑπεξεῖν, ἄλλα συγκάλεσαι καὶ ἐκεῖνος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, τῆς τε παρ' αὐτῶν ἀσφαλείας ἐνεκα, καὶ ἴνα τῶν τε λεγομένων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τοὺς κολαζομένους ἰδόντες μηδὲν ἐξίον τῶν καθηκόντων ἐθελήσωσιν πράξαι, ἐλεξε τάδε.

27 "Ἐγώ, δὲ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, βουλομαι μὲν φιλείσθαι ύφ' ύμων, οὐ μέντοι καὶ συνεξαμαρ-

1 δισκωχήν Dind., δισκωχήν L.
2 ποιησάμενοι H. Steph., ποιησάμενοι L.
3 ἐθελοντι Βκ., ἐθελοντι L.
4 Φάκαια R. Steph., φάκαια L.
5 ἦ added by Bk.
6 ὅτω Βκ., ὅτου οὖν L.
7 ἐθελήσωσι R. Steph., ἐθελήσουσι L.
also, after arranging a kind of armistice, on the plea that they were going over to Caesar, when he should come, sent Domitius out of the harbour secretly and caused such injuries to the soldiers who had attacked them by night in the midst of the truce, that these ventured to make no further attempts. With Caesar himself, however, they made terms upon his arrival; and he at that time deprived them of their arms, ships and money, and later of everything else except the name of freedom. To offset this misfortune Phocaea, their mother city, was made free by Pompey.

At Placentia some soldiers mutinied and refused to accompany Caesar longer, on the pretext that they were exhausted, but really because he did not allow them to plunder the country nor to do all the other things on which their minds were set; for their hope was to obtain from him anything and everything, inasmuch as he stood in so great need of them. Yet he did not yield, but, with a view to being safe from them and in order that after listening to his words and seeing the guilty punished they should feel no desire to transgress the established rules, he called together both the mutinous men and the others, and spoke as follows:

"Soldiers, I desire to have your affection, and still I should not choose on that account to share in your

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1 Caesar (B.C. ii. 14) attributes the breaking of the truce to the Massaliots.
τάνευ εν ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦτο ἔλαμψε ἀγαπῶ τε γὰρ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐθέλοιμ' ἂν, ὡς πατὴρ παιδᾶς, καὶ σώζεσθαι καὶ εὐθενείν 1 καὶ εὐδοξεῖν. μὴ γὰρ τοι νομίσῃς φιλούντος ἔργον εἶναι τὸ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς ἂ μὴ προσήκει πράττειν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ κινδύνους καὶ ἠδοξίας ἀνάγκη πᾶσα αὐτῶς συμβαίνειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε τὰ ἀμείνω αὐτοῦς διδασκεῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν χειρόνων ἀπείργειν καὶ νομοθετεῖν καὶ σωφρονίζοντα. γνώσεσθε δὲ ὅτι τὰληθῆ λέγω, ἂν μήτε πρὸς τὸ αὐτίκα ἢδυ τὸ συμφέρον κρίνετε μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ αἰεὶ ὀφελομένου, μήτε τὸ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκπιμπλανᾶν γενναῖον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ κρατεῖν αὐτῶς νομίσῃς εἶναι. αἰσχρὸν μὲν γὰρ παραχρῆμα τὶ ἀδέχεται ὥστερον μεταγινώσκασθαι δεινῶν δὲ τὸ τῶν πολεμῶν κρατοῦντας ἠδονῶν τινῶν ὑπήκοα.

28 " Πρὸς οὖν τὶ ταῦτα λέγω; ὅτι τὰ ἐπιτηδεῖα ἀφθονῶν ἔχοντες (λέξω γὰρ μετὰ παρρησίας, μηδὲν ὑποστειλὰμενος: τὴν τε γὰρ μισθοφοράν ἐντελῆ καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν λαμβάνετε, καὶ τῆς τροφῆς ἁεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ πολλῆς ἐμπιμπλάσθη) καὶ μήτε πόνον τινὰ ἄδοξον μήτε κίνδυνον ἀνωφελῆ ύπομένοντες, καὶ προσέτι τῆς μὲν ἀνδραγαθίας πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα γέρα καπωμένου, τῶν δὲ ἀμαρτημάτων σιμικρὸν ἢ οὔδέν 2 ἐπιτιμώμενοι, ὑπὸ ἄξιοντες τούτοις ἀρκεῖσθαι. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς πάντας ὑμᾶς (οὔτε γὰρ τοιοῦτοί ἐστε), ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνος μόνους οἵτινες τῇ ἕαυτῶν πλεονεξίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διαβάλλουσιν. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πάνω ἀκριβῶς καὶ καλῶς

1 εὐθενείν Dind., εὐθενείν Rk., εὐθενείν L.
2 οὔδέν Rk., οὔδὲ L.
errors. I am fond of you and could wish, as a father might for his children, that you may be safe, be prosperous, and have a good reputation. For do not suppose it is the duty of one who loves to acquiesce in things which ought not to be done and for which it is quite inevitable that dangers and ill-repute should fall to the lot of those who do them, but rather to teach them the better way and keep them from the worse, both by admonishing and by correcting them. You will recognize that I speak the truth, if you will not estimate advantage with reference to the pleasure of the moment but rather with reference to what is permanently beneficial, and if you will avoid thinking that gratifying your desires is more noble than restraining them. For it is disgraceful to take a momentary gratification of which you must later repent, and it is absurd after conquering the enemy to be overcome yourselves by pleasures.

"Why now do I say this? Because although you have provisions in abundance,—I am going to speak frankly and without disguise: you get your pay in full and in season and you are always and everywhere supplied with food in plenty,—and although you endure no inglorious toil nor useless danger, and furthermore reap many great rewards for your bravery and are rebuked little, if at all, for your errors, yet you do not see fit to be satisfied with these things. I say this, now, not to all of you, for you are not all like this, but only to those who by their own greed are casting reproach on the rest. Most of you obey my orders very scrupulously
τοις τε παραγγέλμασι τοῖς ἔμοις πείθεσθε καὶ τοῖς ἥθει τοῖς πατρίοις ἐμμένετε, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ χώραν τοσαυτὴν καὶ πλούτον καὶ δόξαν ἐκτίσασθε δλίγοι δὲ δὴ τινὲς πολλὴν αἰσχύνην 3 καὶ ἀδοξίαν ἀπασίν ἢμῖν προστρίβονται. καίτοι ἔγογγε πρότερον σαφῶς ἐπιστάμενος τοιούτους αὐτοὺς ὄντας (οὐδὲν γὰρ μοι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἁμέλες ἐστιν) οὗ προσεποιούμην εἰδέναι, νομίζον ἀμείνονος σφᾶς ἐκ τοῦ λαθείν ἀν δοκεῖν ἀμαρτόντας τινὰ γεννήσεσθαι, τοῦ μὴ πλεονάσαντάς ποτε καὶ 4 ἐφ᾽ ὦς συνεχνώσθησαν κολασθῆναι: ἔπει γάρ τινας αὐτοῖς ἐκὼ καὶ ἐξόν σφικτὰ πάνθ᾽ ὡσα βοῦλονται πράττειν, ὥστε μὴ κατὰ πρῶτας εὐθὺς ἐδικασθήσαι, ὑπέρθρασίσθωσαι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μηδὲν πλημμελοῦντας προσστασίαζεν ἐπιχειροῦσ᾽ ἀναγκαίον ἐστὶ μοι θεραπεῖαν τε τε καὶ 29 ἐπιστροφῆν τούτων ποιήσασθαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλὸ τι σύστημα ἄνθρωπων συμμεῖαι καὶ σωθῆναι δύναται, ἀν μὴ τὸ κακοῦργων σωφρονίζῃ τὸ γάρ τοι νοσήσαν ἀν μὴ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἰασὶν λάβῃ, συγκάμωνει καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πῶς ὁσπερ ἐν 2 τοῖς σώμασι ποιεῖ· ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς στρατιαῖς ἄκιστα, διότι αὐτοῖς τε ἰσχύν ἔχοντες τολμήσαντοι γέγονονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς προσδιαφθείροντις, ἀθυμοτέρους ποιοῦντες ὡς οὐδὲν ὀφελοῦ ἐκ τοῦ δικαιοπραγείν ἔχουσας. παρ᾽ ὦς γὰρ ἀν τὸ θρασυμένουν πλεονεκτῆ, παρὰ τούτοις ἀνάγκη τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ἐλπιστοῦσθαί· καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀν ἀδικία ἀτιμώρητος ἢ, καὶ τὸ σωφρονοῦν ἀγέραστον γίγνεται.

1 πατρίοις Rs., πατριώτις L. 2 δοκεῖν Rk., δοκεῖ L.
3 ἐκ καὶ Rk., καὶ δο L. 4 συγκάμων Reim., συγκάμως L.
5 ἀν added by St.
and satisfactorily and abide by your ancestral customs, and in that way have acquired so much land as well as wealth and glory; but some few are bringing much disgrace and dishonour upon all of us. And yet, though I understood clearly before this that they were that sort of persons,—for there is none of your concerns that I fail to notice,—still I pretended not to know it, thinking that they would reform if they believed they would not be observed in some of their evil deeds, through the fear that if ever they presumed too far they might be punished also for the deeds which had been pardoned them. Since, however, they themselves, assuming that they may do whatever they wish because they were not brought to book at the very outset, wax overbold, and are trying to make the rest of you, who are guilty of no irregularity, mutinous likewise, it becomes necessary for me to devote some care to them and to give them my attention. For no society of men whatever can preserve its unity and continue to exist, if the criminal element is not punished, since, if the diseased member does not receive proper treatment, it causes all the rest, even as in our physical bodies, to share in its affliction. And least of all in armies can discipline be relaxed, because when the wrong-doers have power they become more daring, and corrupt the excellent also by causing them to grow dejected and to believe that they will obtain no benefit from right behaviour. For wherever the insolent element has the advantage, there inevitably the decent element has the worst of it; and wherever wrong-doing is unpunished, there self-restraint also goes unrewarded.
3 τι μὲν γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖτε, εἰ μηδὲν οὕτωι κακῶν δρόσων; πῶς ὅ ἂν εἰκότως τιμᾶσθαι ἐθελήσατε, ἂν μὴ τὴν δικαίαν οὕτωι τιμωρίαν ὕπόσχωσιν; ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε τούθ', ὅτι ἂν τὸ μὲν τῶν φῶβων τῆς δίκης ἔλευθεροθῇ, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος τῶν ἄθλων στερηθῇ, ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδὲν κακὰ δὲ μυρία ἀπεργάζεται; ὅστ' εἴπερ ἀρετὴν οὕτως ἀσκεῖτε, μισήσατε μὲν τούτους ὡς πολεμίους (οὐ γὰρ ποὺ́ 3 φύει τινά τὸ φίλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ διακέκριται, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε τρόποις καὶ ταῖς πράξεσι διορίζεται, διὸ ἀγαθῶν μὲν οὕτων πᾶν καὶ τὸ ἀλλότριον οἰκειοῦται, πονηρῶν δὲ πᾶν καὶ τὸ 30 συγγενείς ἀλλοτριοῦται), ἀπολογήσασθε 4 δὲ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ καὶ ἡμᾶς δὲ αὐτῶν πάντας κακῶς ἀκούειν, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦμεν 5 πᾶς γὰρ τις πυθανόμενος τὸ τε πλῆθος ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ὀρμήν, ἐς πάντας ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ τοῖς ὁλίγοις πλημμελούμενα ἀναφέρει, καὶ οὕτω τῶν πλεονεκζούν ὑπὸ συμμετέχοντες αὐτῶν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τὸ ἴσον 2 φερόμεθα. τὸς γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸς ἀγανάκτησεις ἀκούειν ὁνόμα μὲν ἡμᾶς Ρωμαίοις ἔχοντας, ἔργα δὲ Κέλτων δρόντας; τὸς δ' οὖν ἂν ὀρῶν ὀδύρατο 6 τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμοίως τῇ Βρετανίᾳ πορθουμένην; πῶς δ' οὗ δεινὸν τὰ μὲν τῶν Γαλατῶν τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων μηκέθ' ἡμᾶς λυπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεών ὡς τινας Ἡπειρώτας ἢ Καρχηδονίους ἢ 3 Κύμβρων πορθεῖν; πῶς δ' οὖν αἰσχρὸν σεμνόνεσθαι μὲν ἡμᾶς καὶ λέγειν ὅτι ἡμεῖς πρῶτοι Ἡρω- 1 φήσατε Pflugk, φήσετε L. 2 ἐθελήσατε Bk., ἐθελήσετε L. 3 ποὺ́ Pflugk, πω L. 4 ἀπολογήσασθε R. Steph., ἀπολογήσασθαί L. 5 ἀδικοῦμεν Pflugk, ἀδικοῦμεν L. 6 ὀδύρατο H. Steph., ὀδύρατο L.
BOOK XL

What merit, indeed, could you claim, if these men are doing no wrong? And how could you reasonably desire to be honoured, if these men do not meet with their just punishment? Or are you not aware that if the one class is freed from the fear of retribution and the other is deprived of the hope of reward, no good is accomplished, but only countless ills? Hence, if you really are cultivating excellence, you should detest these men as enemies. For it is not by any characteristic of birth that what is friendly is distinguished from what is hostile, but it is determined by men's habits and actions, which, if they are good, can make that which is alien like unto itself, but if bad, can alienate everything, even that which is akin. And you should speak in your own defence, because by the behaviour of these few we must all gain a bad name, even if we have done no wrong. For every one who learns of our numbers and impetuosity refers the errors of the few to us all; and thus, though we do not share in their gains, we bear an equal share of the reproach. Who would not be indignant at hearing that while we have the name of Romans we do the deeds of Germans? Who would not lament the sight of Italy ravaged like Britain? Is it not outrageous that we are no longer harrying the possessions of the Gauls whom we have subdued, but are devastating the lands south of the Alps, as if we were hordes of Epirots or Carthaginians or Cimbri? Is it not disgraceful for us to give ourselves airs and say that we were the first

1 See note on xxxviii. 34.
μαίων καὶ τὸν Ῥήνον διέβημεν καὶ τὸν ὅκεανον ἐπλεύσαμεν, τὴν δὲ οἰκείαν ἀπαθῆ κακῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οὕσαν διαρπάσας, καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν ἐπάινον μέμψιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τιμῆς ἀτείμιαν, ἀντὶ δὲ κερδῶν ξημίας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄθλων τιμωρίας λαβεῖν;

31 "Μὴ γὰρ τοι νομίσῇς μηθ', ὅτι στρατεύεσθε, κρείττους παρὰ τοῦτο τῶν οἰκον πολίτων εἶναι: Ῥωμαίοι γὰρ ἐστὲ ἀμφότεροι, καὶ ὀμοίως ὑμῖν καὶ ἑκεῖνοι: καὶ ἔστρατεύσατο καὶ στρατεύονται μηθ', ὅτι ὅπλα ἔχετε, ἐξεῖναι ὑμῖν κακουργεῖν οἱ τε γὰρ νόμοι κυρίωτεροι ὑμῶν εἰσίν, καὶ πάντως ποτὲ καὶ ταύτα καταθήσεσθε. μὴ μέντοι μηθὲ τὸ πλήθει θαρσεῖτε: πολὺ γὰρ πλείους ὑμῶν οἱ ἀδικούμενοι, ἂν γε καὶ συστραφῶσιν, εἰσί. συστραφήσουσι δὲ, ἂν τοιαύτα ποιήτε. ὁπδ' ὅτι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκήσατε, καὶ τούτων καταφρονεῖτε ὅων οὐδὲν οὔτε κατὰ γένος οὔτε κατὰ παθεῖαν, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τροφῆς, οὐκ έκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων,

32 διαφέρετε: ἀλλ' ὅσπερ ποι καὶ προσηκόν καὶ συμφέρον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, μήτε βιαζεσθέ τινα αὐτῶν μητ' ἀδικεῖτε, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια παρ' ἐκουσίων σφῶν λαμβάνετε καὶ τὰ γέρα παρ' ἐκόντων προσδέχεσθε.

32 "Πρὸς γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς εἰρημένοις, τοῖς τε ἅλλοις ὅσα ἂν τις μηκύνων περὶ τῶν τοιούτων διεξ- ἐλθοῦν, καὶ ἐκεῖνο δεῖ ὑμᾶς προσλογίζεσθαι, μή τινος ἡμεῖς ἐνταῦθ' ἤκομεν ἵνα τῇ τε πατρίδι ἀδικομένη βοηθήσωμεν καὶ τοὺς κακουργοῦντας

of the Romans to cross the Rhine and to sail the ocean, and then to plunder our native land, which is safe from harm at the hands of our foes, and to receive blame instead of praise, dishonour in place of honour, loss instead of gain, punishment instead of prizes?

"Do not think, now, that, because you are soldiers, that makes you better than the citizens at home; for you and they alike are Romans, and they, as well as you, both have been and will be soldiers. Nor think, again, that because you have arms, it is permitted you to injure others; for the laws have more authority than you, and some day you will certainly lay down these weapons. Do not rely on your numbers, either; for the injured are, if they but unite, far more numerous than you. And they will unite, if you go on doing such deeds. Do not, because you have conquered the barbarians, despise the citizens also, over whom you have not the slightest superiority either in birth or in education, in training or in customs. Instead, as is proper and advantageous for you, do no violence or wrong to any of them, but receive your provisions from them of their own free will and accept your rewards from their willing hands.

"In addition to what I have just said and other considerations that might be mentioned if one chose to enlarge upon such matters, you must also bear in mind the fact that we have now come here to assist our outraged country and to defend her
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

αὐτὴν ἀμινώμεθα, ἐπεὶ εἰγε ἐν μηδείς δεινό ἦν,
2 οὕτ' ἂν ἐσ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἠθόμεν
(οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν1) οὐτ' ἂν τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Βρεττανῶν ἀπέλεστα κατελίπομεν, ὄννηθέντες ἃν καὶ ἐκεῖνα προσκατεργάσασθαι.
3 οὐκοῦν πῶς μὲν οὐκ ἄτοπον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἄδει-κούντων τιμωρίᾳ παρόντας ἡμᾶς μηδὲν ἤττον ἐκεῖνον πλεονεκτοῦντας φανήναι; πῶς δ᾽ οὐ σχέτλιον πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἀφι-γμένους συμμάχων αὐτὴν ἐτέρων ἀναγκάσαι καθ᾽ ἡμῶν δειθήναι; καίτοι ἔγορη τοσοῦτον περιείναι τοῖς δικαίωματι τοῦ Πομπηίου νομίζω ὡς τε καὶ ἐς δίκην πολλάκις αὐτοῦν προκάλεσάθαι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε μὴ ἦδελθεν εἰρηνικὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος διακριθήναι, πάντα μὲν τὸν δήμου πάντας δὲ τοὺς σύμμαχους ἐλπίσαι διὰ τοῦτο προσθήσεσθαι.
4 ἀλλὰ νῦν, ἂν γε καὶ τοιαύτα ποιῶμεν, οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐπιτίμησεν τι ἔξω προσέχεσθαι οὕτε ἐκείνους ἀνεπιείκες 5 ἐγκαλέσαι, δεὶ δὲ ἡ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου πάσαν ἡμᾶς πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι μετὰ μὲν γὰρ τούτου καὶ ἡ παρὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἰσχὺς ἐνελπίς ἔστιν, ἀνεὶ δὲ εἰκένον βέβαιον οὐδὲν, καὶ παρατίκα τις κατορθώσῃ τι, ἡχει.

53 "Καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ' οὔτω πέφυκε, καὶ ὑμῶν οἱ πλείονες ἐπίστανται πάντα γοῦν τά προσήκοντα ἀπαράκλητοι 4 πράττετε. ὃθεν ποῦ καὶ ἐγὼ συνεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἵνα καὶ μάρτυρας καὶ ἐπόπτας τῶν τε λεγομένων καὶ τῶν 6 πραττομένων ποιήσω-

1 ἔστιν Xyl., ἐτ' ἕστιν L.
2 προσκατεργάσασθαι R. Steph., προσκατεργάσασθαι L.
3 ἀνεπιείκες Rk., ἀν ἀνεπιείκες L.
4 ἀπαράκλητοι R. Steph., ἀπαράκλητοι L.
5 τῶν supplied by Bk.
against her oppressors. For, of course, if she were in no danger, we should neither have come into Italy under arms, since this is unlawful, nor should we have left unfinished our business with the Germans and the Britons, when we might have subjugated those regions also. Would it not be absurd, then, if we who are here for vengeance upon the wrong-doers should show ourselves no less greedy of gain than they? Would it not be outrageous if we who have arrived to aid our country should force her to require other allies against us? And yet I think my claims so much better justified than Pompey’s that I have often challenged him to a judicial trial; and since he by reason of his guilty conscience has refused to have the matter decided peaceably, I hope by this act of his to attach the whole people and all the allies to my cause. But now, if we are going to act in this manner, I shall not have any decent excuse to offer nor be able to charge my opponents with any unbecoming conduct. We must also pay all heed to the justice of our cause; for with this the strength afforded by arms is full of hope, but without it that strength, even though for the moment it wins a success, has nothing enduring about it.

"That this is true in the nature of things most of you understand; at any rate you fulfil all your duties without urging. That is precisely why I have called you together, to make you witnesses as well as
2 μαί. ἄλλα ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐ τοιούτοι ἐστε, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαινεῖσθε. δέν γοῦ δὴ τινες ὀράτε ὅπως, πρὸς τὸ πολλὰ κεκακουργηκέναι καὶ μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν δέκην δεδωκέναι, καὶ προσεπαπειλοῦσιν ἡμῖν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐγώ οὔτ᾽ ἄλλως καλῶν εἶναι νομίζω ἀρχοῦτα τινα τῶν ἀρχομένων 3 ἤττᾶσθαι, οὔτ᾽ ἂν σωτηρίων τι γενέσθαι ποτὲ, εἰ τὸ ταχθὲν ὑπηρετεῖν τίνι κρατεῖν αὐτοῦ ἐπιχειρήσειν. σκέψασθε δὲ, ποίοις μὲν ἂν κόσμος οἰκίας γένοιτο, ἢν οὶ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὄντες τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καταφρονήσωσι, ποίοις δὲ διδασκαλεῖοι, ἢν οὶ φοιτώντες τῶν παιδευτῶν ἀμελήσωσι; τίς ὑγίεια νοσοῦσιν, ἢν μὴ πάντα τοῖς ἰατροῖς οἱ κάμνοντες πειθαρχῶσι, τίς δὲ ἀσφάλεια ναυτιλομενοί, ἢν οὶ ναῦται τῶν κυβερνητῶν ἀνήκουστο; φύσει τε γὰρ ἀναγκαία τινὶ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ τὸ μὲν ἀρχεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι τέτακται, καὶ ἀδικίαν ἐστὶν ἀνεν αὐτῶν καὶ ὅτιων καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὄποιον διεγενέσθαι. προσήκει τε τῷ μὲν ἐπιστατοῦντι τῖνος ἐκφροντίζειν τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐπίταττεν, τῷ δὲ ὑποτεταγμένῳ πειθαρχεῖ τε ἀπροφασίστος καὶ ἐκποτεῖ τὸ 5 κελευόμενον ἐξ οὐ καὶ μάλιστα τὸ τε ἐμφρόν τοῦ ἀφρόνος καὶ τὸ ἐπιστήμου τοῦ ἀνεπιστήμονος ἐν παντὶ προτετίμηται.

34 "Οὕτω δὴ οὖν τούτων ἐχόντων οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ οὔτε συγχωρήσαιμι τι τούτοις τοῖς θορυβήσασιν 2 ἀναγκασθεὶς οὔτ᾽ ἂν ἐπιτρέφαιμι βιασθεὶς. ἢ τί μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰνείου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰωύλου

1 μὲν supplied by Bk.
2 δὲ supplied by Bk.
3 ἀναγκαία τινὶ καὶ σωτηρία Rk., ἀναγκαία τινα καὶ σωτήρια L.
spectators of my words and deeds. But you are not the sort of men I have been mentioning, and it is for this very reason that you receive praise; yet you observe how some few of you, in addition to having worked many injuries without suffering any penalty at all for them, are also threatening us. Now I do not believe it a good thing in any case for a ruler to be overridden by his subjects, nor do I believe there could ever be any safety if those appointed to obey a person attempted to get the better of him. Consider what sort of order would exist in a household if the young should despise their elders, or what order in schools if the scholars should pay no heed to their instructors! What health would there be for the sick if the afflicted should not obey their physicians in all points, or what safety for voyagers if the sailors should turn a deaf ear to their captains? Indeed, it is in accordance with a natural law, both necessary and salutary, that the principles of ruling and of being ruled have been placed among men, and without them it is impossible for anything at all to continue to exist for even the shortest time. Now it is the duty of the one stationed over another both to discover and to command what is requisite, and it is the duty of the one subject to authority to obey without questioning and to carry out his orders. It is for this reason in particular that prudence is everywhere honoured above folly and understanding above ignorance.

"Since these things are so, I will never yield aught to these brawlers under compulsion nor give them a free rein perforce. Why am I sprung from Aeneas and Iulus, why have I been praetor, why
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

...γέγονα, τι δὲ ἐστρατήγησα, τι ὑπάτευσα, ἐπὶ τι δὲ ὑμᾶς τοὺς μὲν οἰκοθεν ἔξηγαγον τοὺς δ' ὅστερον προσκατέλεξα, ἐπὶ τι τοιούτον ἢ ὡς χρόνου τὴν 3 ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἔχω λαβὼν, ἃν γε δουλεύω τινὶ ὑμῶν καὶ νικηθὼ τινὸς ὑμῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, πρὸς τὴν 'Ῥώμην, δὴ οὔ1 καὶ Γαλάτας ἐχειρώσασθε καὶ Βρεττανῶν 4 ἐκρατήσατε; τι δείσας καὶ τι φοβηθεῖς; μή μὲ τις ὑμῶν ἀποκτείνῃ; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν πάντες ταύτ' ἐφρονείτε, ἐκὼν ἃν ἀποθανεῖν εἰλόμην ἢ τὸ τε ἀξίωμα τῆς ἤγερμονίας καταλύσαι καὶ τὸ φρόνημα 5 τὸ τῇ προστατείᾳ προσήκον ἀπολέσαι; πολὺ γὰρ πον πλεῖον τὸν κινδυνεύει του ἐνα ἄνδρα ἀδίκως ἀποθανεῖν, ἃν ἐθισθὼς οἱ στρατιώται τοὺς τε στρατηγοὺς σφων προστάτες των καὶ τὰ δίκαια 35 τὰ τῶν νόμων ἐν ταῖς χεραῖ ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπηπείδηκε τες αὐτῶν (καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ παραχρῆμα εὐ ὀδ' ὑπί πρὸς ὑμῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέσφακτο), τὴν δὲ δὴ στρατείαν ὡς κεκμηκότες ἐξίστανται καὶ τὰ ὑπὸλα ὡς καὶ πεπονημένοι κατατίθενται, καὶ πάντως, ἃν γε μή παρ' ἐκόντας μου τουτοῦ τύχωσι, καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐκλείψουσι 2 καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον μεταστήσονται ἀπερ πον καὶ 3 παραδηλούσι 2 τινες, καὶ τίς μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσει ποιούτων ἀνθρώπων στερηθῆναι, τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν εὐξαίτο τοιοῦτοις ἐκεῖνω στρατιώτας ὑπάρξαι, οὕτως μήτε τοὺς διδομένοις ἄρκονται μήτε τοῖς προσ- τατομένοις πείθονται, ἀλλ' ἐν ἥλικια γῆρας

1 α' 'N' in Reimar's ed., δὲ L.
2 ἐκλείψου Ἐ. Steph., ἐκλείψωσι L.
3 καὶ added by R. Steph.
consul, for what end have I brought some of you out from home and levied others of you later, for what end have I received and held the proconsular power now for so long a time, if I am to be a slave to some one of you and to be worsted by some one of you here in Italy, close to Rome, I, to whom you owe your subjugation of the Gauls and your conquest of Britain? In fear or dread of what should I do so? That some one of you will kill me? Nay, but if you all were of this mind, I would voluntarily choose to die rather than destroy the dignity of my position as commander or lose the self-respect besitting my leadership. For a far greater danger than the unjust death of one man confronts the city, if the soldiers are to become accustomed to issue orders to their generals and to take the prerogatives of the law into their own hands. No one of them, however, has so much as made this threat; if any had, I am sure he would have been slain forthwith by the rest of you. But they are for withdrawing from the campaign on the pretense of being wearied, and are for laying down their arms on the pretense of being worn out; and certainly, if they do not obtain my consent to this wish of theirs, they will leave the ranks and go over to Pompey, a fact which some of them make perfectly evident. And yet who would not be glad to be rid of such men, and who would not pray that such soldiers might belong to Pompey, seeing that they are not content with what is given them and are not obedient to orders, but simulating old age in the midst of youth and in strength
καὶ ἐν ἰσχυὶ ἀσθένειαι προβαλλόμενοι δεσπόζειν τε τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τυραννεῖν τῶν ἥγουμένων
3 σφῶν ἄξιοσθίων; ἐγὼ γὰρ μυρίκις ἄν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ὑποσχῆτοτε καταλλαγήναι καὶ ἄλλο ὅτι οὐκ οἴσαν ἔλοίμην ῥ tel ἀνάξιον τοῦ τε πατρίου φρονήματος καὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως πρᾶξαι. ἦν ἄργοετέ ὅτι οὔτε δυναστείας οὔτε πλεονεξίας ἐπιθυμῶ, οὐδὲ μοι πρόκειται πάντως τι καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου καταπράξαι, ὅστε τι ἔπι τοῦτο καὶ ἑσύστασθαι καὶ θωπεύσαι καὶ κολακεύσαι τινας; παύσασθε μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα τῆς στρατείας, ὁ τί ἄν ὑμᾶς ὀνομάσαιμ; οὐ μέντοι ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ βουλεύσε καὶ φατέ, ἀλλ' ὡς τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἔμοι συμφέρει.

5 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκλήρωσεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡρασυτάτους (οὗτοι γὰρ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἑλαχοῦ) ἐδικαιώσε,2 τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὡς οὔδεν σφῶν δέομεν διήκε.

Καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν μετανοήσαντες ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέραξαν
36 ἀναστρατεύεσθαι ἐμελλον: ἐν ὅδῷ δὲ ἐτ' ὅντος αὐτοῦ Μάρκος Άιμλίος Ἀετίδος, οὗτος ὁ καὶ ἐν τῇ τριαρχίᾳ3 ύστερον γενόμενος, τῷ τε δήμῳ συνεβουλεύσε στρατηγῶν δικτατορά τοῦ Καίσαρα προχειρισάσθαι καὶ εὐθὺς εἴπεν αὐτῶν παρὰ τὰ
2 πάτρια. καὶ ὃς ὑπέστη μὲν τὴν ἁρχήν, ἑπείδη πρῶτον ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐσῆλθεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ φοθερὸν οὔδεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπέραξεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε εὐκεπτωτικόσι κάθοδον πᾶσι πλῆν τοῦ Μίλωνος ἐδώκε, καὶ τὰς 4 ἐς νέωτα ἁρχὰς ἀπεδείξεν (ἐς γὰρ τὸ παρὸν τότε οὔδενα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπόντων

1 ἢ added by Oddey. 2 ἐδικαίωσε Reim., ἐδίωξε L.
3 τριαρχίας Χιρί., τριαρχίαι L. 4 τὰς Leunel., τὰ L.
simulating weakness, they claim the right to lord it over their rulers and to tyrannize over their leaders? Why, I had a thousand times rather be reconciled with Pompey on any terms whatever or suffer any other conceivable fate than do anything unworthy of the proud traditions of my fathers, or of my own principles. Or are you not aware that it is not sovereignty or gain that I desire, and that I am not so bent upon accomplishing any thing by every means at whatever cost and that I would lie and flatter and fawn upon people to this end? Give up your service, therefore, you—O what can I call you? Yet still it shall be, not as you yourselves desire and say, but as is profitable for the republic and for myself."

After this speech he distributed lots among them for the infliction of the death penalty, and executed the most audacious; for these, as he had arranged should be the case, drew the lots. The rest he dismissed, saying he had no further need of them.

So they repented of what they had done and were ready to renew the campaign. While he was still on the way Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, the man who later became a member of the triumvirate, advised the people in his capacity of praetor to elect Caesar dictator, and immediately named him, contrary to ancestral custom. The latter accepted the office as soon as he entered the city, but committed no act of terror while holding it. On the contrary, he granted a return to all the exiles except Milo, and filled the offices for the ensuing year; for up to that time they had chosen no one temporarily in place of
3 ἀνθέλοντο: καίτοι μηδενὸς ἀγορανόμου ἐπιδήμουντος οἱ δήμαρχοι πάντα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτοῖς διήγαγοι, ἵπτεσα τε ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολογοῦντων ἀντικατέστησεν, οὐ πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ νευμοσύνεια τηρήσας, καὶ τοῖς Γαλάταις τοὺς ἑντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἡρίδανων οἰκοῦσι τῆν πολιτείαν, ἀτε καὶ ἀρξας αὐτῶν,
4 ἀπέδωκε. ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ ὅνομα τῆς δικτατορίας ἀπείπε τὴν γὰρ δὴ δύναμιν τὸ τε ἐργὸν αὐτῆς καὶ πάνω αἱ διὰ χειρὸς ἐσχε, τῇ τε γὰρ παρὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἰσχυὸν ἔχοντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐννομον δὴ τινα παρὰ τῆς ἐκεῖ βουλῆς προσέλαβε: πάντα γὰρ μετὰ ἄδειας ὁσα ἀν βουληθῇ πράττειν οἱ ἐπετράπη.

37 Ἄυχων δὲ τούτων μέγα εὐθὺς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον πράγμα διώρθωσεν. ἐπειδή γὰρ οἱ τε δεδανεικότες τισὶ πικροτάται τὰς ἐσπράξεις, ἀτε καὶ πολλὼν χρημάτων διὰ ταῖς στάσεις καὶ διὰ τῶν πολέμων προσδεόμενοι, ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τῶν ὀφειλόντων συχνοὶ οὐδὲ ἑθέλοντες ἀποδοῦναι
2 τι ύπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐδύναντο (οὔτε γὰρ ἀποδόσθαι τε οὔτε ἐπιδιανείσασθαι ῥάδιον αὐτοῖς ἐγγυνευτο), κάκος τούτων πολλὰ μὲν ἀπίστα πολλὰ δὲ καὶ δολερὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπραττόν, καὶ δέος ἢ μὴ καὶ ἐς ἀνήκεστον τι κακὸν προχωρήσωσιν, ἐμετριάσθῃ μὲν καὶ πρὸ τούτου πρὸς
3 δημάρχων τυίνων τὰ κατὰ τῶν τόκους, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδ' ὡς ἀπεδίδοντο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐνεχύρων ἔξισταντο οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἁρχαῖον ἐν ἀργυρῷ ἀπήτου, ἀμφότεροι τότε ὁ Καίσαρ ὡς οἶον τε ἢν ἐπεκούρησε: τὰ τε γὰρ ἐνέχυρα πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν
the absentees, and since there was no aedile in the city, the tribunes were performing all the duties devolving upon those officials. Moreover he appointed priests in place of those who had perished, though he did not observe all the ceremonies that were customary in their case at such a juncture; and to the Gauls living south of the Alps and beyond the Po he gave citizenship because he had once governed them. After accomplishing these things he resigned the title of dictator, since he had quite all the authority and functions of the position constantly in his grasp. For he exercised the power afforded by arms, and also received in addition a quasi-legal authority from the senate that was on the spot, in that he was granted permission to do with impunity whatever he might wish.

Having obtained this, he at once instituted an important and necessary reform. Those who had lent money, it seems, being now in need of large sums because of the civil strife and the wars, were collecting their loans most relentlessly, and many of the debtors for the same reasons were unable to pay back anything, even if they wished to do so, since they did not find it easy to sell anything or to borrow more. Hence their dealings with each other were marked by much deceit and fraud, and there was fear that they might go to the point of accomplishing some fatal mischief. To be sure, the rate of interest had been lowered even before this time by some of the tribunes; but since payment was not secured even thus, but instead the one class was ready to forfeit its securities, while the other demanded back its principal in cash, Caesar now came to the aid of both so far as he could. He ordered that
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ἐναπόστιμηθήναι ἐκέλευσε, καὶ δικαστᾶς αὐτῆς τοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσι οἱ ἀποκληροῦσθαι προσέ-
ταξεν. ἐπειδὴ τε συνχωλ πολλά τε χρήματα ἔχειν καὶ πάντα αὐτά ἀποκρύπτειν ἐλέγοντο, ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα πλείον πεντακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων δραχμῶν ἐν ἀργυρίῳ ἡ καὶ χρυσίῳ κεκτηθαι, οὐχ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν νόμον τούτον

2 τιθεὶς, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ πρότερον ποτε ἑσενεχθέντα ἀνανεόμενος, εἴτε οὖν ἵνα τοῖς τε δανεισταῖς οἱ ὀφείλοντες τι ἐκτίνωσι καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις οἱ ἄλλοι δανεῖξασιν, εἴτε καὶ ὅπως οἱ τε εὐποροῦντες ἐκδηλοῦ γένωνται καὶ χρήματα μηδέις αὐτῶν ἀδρόα ἔχῃ, μὴ καὶ ἀποντος τι

3 νεωτερισθῇ, ἐπαρθένως δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ ἁξιοῦντος καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις μήνυτρα ἔπ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν προτεθήκαν,2 οὔτε προσέγραψεν αὐτὸ τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἐξολειαν ἐαυτῷ προσεπηράσατο, ἂν ποτὲ τι δούλῳ κατὰ τοῦ δεσποτοῦ εἰπόντι πιστεῦσῃ.

39 Καίσαρ μὲν δὴ ταύτα τε πράξας καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Καπι-
tωλίου πάντα, ἀνελόµενος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἑτους, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐς

2 ἂν ἐκεχειροτόνητο ἐσελθεῖν, ἐξόρμησε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τα τῆς ἑκστρατείας ποιοῦντος ἱκτίνως ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κλωνίων δάφνης ἐνι τῶν συμπαρὸντων οἱ ἐπέρριψε καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ τῇ Τύχῃ θύνων ὁ ταῦρος ἐκφυγῶν πρὶν τιτρώσκεσθαι, ἐξω τε τῆς πόλεως ἐξεχώρησε καὶ πρὸς Λίμνην τινὰ

3 ἐλθὼν διενήξατο αὐτήν. καὶ τούτων ἐπὶ πλέον

1 το χρήματα Ῥκ., χρήματα τε Λ.
2 προτεθήκαν H. Storph., προτεθεῖται L.
securities should have a fixed valuation according to their worth, and he provided that arbiters for this purpose should be allotted to persons involved in such a dispute. Since also many were said to possess much wealth but to be concealing it all, he forbade any one to possess more than sixty thousand sesterces in silver or gold; and he claimed he was not enacting this law himself, but was simply renewing a measure introduced on some previous occasion. His object was either that those who were owing money should pay back a part of their debt to the lenders and the latter should lend to such as needed, or else that the well-to-do might become known and none of them should keep his wealth all together, for fear some rebellion might be set afoot during his absence. When the populace, elated at this, demanded also that rewards should be offered to slaves for information against their masters, he refused to add such a clause to the law, and furthermore invoked dire destruction upon himself if he should ever trust a slave when speaking against his master.

After accomplishing this and removing all the offerings in the Capitol, as well as the others, Caesar hastened to Brundisium toward the close of the year, before entering upon the consulship to which he had been elected. And as he was attending to the details of his departure, a kite in the Forum let fall a sprig of laurel upon one of his companions. Later, while he was sacrificing to Fortune, the bull escaped before being wounded, rushed out of the city, and coming to a certain lake, swam across it. Consequently he took greater courage and hastened his
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θαρσήσας ἦπειρθη, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι οἱ μάντεις μένοντι μὲν αὐτῷ οἴκοι ὀλεθρον, περαιώθηντε δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ νίκην ἔσεσθαι 4 ἐφασαν. ἀφορμὴντες δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει οὔτε διήκυ τε ἐνεμήθησαν αὐτοκελευστοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν Πομπηιεῖοι σφάς οἱ δὲ Καίσαρεῖοι οὐνόμασαντες ἐμαχήσαντο τρόπον τινὰ ἄνευ ὀπλών ἄλληλοις, καὶ ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ 3 τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος προσωπικὰ χρόμενοι.

40 'Εν φ' δὲ ταύτ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐγγυνητο, Μάρκος μὲν Ὀκτάουιος καὶ Δοῦκιος Σκριβώνιος Λίβων 4 Πούπλιον Κορήλιον Δολοβέλλαν, τὰ τε τοῦ Καίσαρος πράττοντα καὶ ἐν τῇ Δελματίᾳ ὅποτα, ἐξῆλθαν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῷ τοῦ 2 Πομπηίου ναυτικὸ χρόμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ Γάιον Ἀντώνιον ἐπαμύναι οἱ ἑβελήσαντα ἐς τε ἐναδίδον τι κατεκλεισαν, κάνταυθα πρὸς τε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἑγκαταλειφθέντα καὶ λιμῷ πιεσθέντα πασοῦ ἑπὶ λίπων ἐλον᾽ ἐς τε γὰρ τὴν ἥπερον ἐφθησάν τινες αὐτῶν διαφυγότες, καὶ ἑτεροὶ ἐν σχεδίαις διαπλέοντες καὶ ἄλισκόμενοι σφάς αὐτοὺς ἀπεχρήσαντο.

41 Κουρίων δὲ Σικελίαν μὲν 7 ἀμαχεὶ παρεστήσατο (ὁ γὰρ Κάτων ἄρχων αὐτῆς, ὥς οὔτε ἀξιομάχος οἱ ἤν οὔτε τὰς πόλεις ἢς κίνδυνον μάτην ἐμβαλεῖν ἡθέλησε, προεξεχώρησε 8 πρὸς τὸν Πομπηίον), ἐς 2 δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἁφρικήν περαιωθεῖς ἀπώλετο. ὁ μὲν

1 Πομπηιεῖοι Xyl., πομπηίοις L. (and so regularly).
2 Καίσαρεῖοι H. Steph., καίσαρεῖοι L (regularly).
3 4 οἱ Bk., δὲ βι L. 4 Δίβων R. Steph., λαβὼν L.
5 Δελματία St., δαλματία L.
6 ἐς τε Rk., ἐς γα L. 7 μὲν added by Bk.
8 προεξεχώρησε Leuncl., προεξεχώρησε μὲν L.
preparations, especially as the soothsayers declared that destruction should be his portion if he remained at home, but safety and victory if he crossed the sea. After his departure the boys in the city divided of their own accord into two groups, one side calling themselves Pompeians and the other Caesarians, and, fighting with each other in some fashion or other without arms, those conquered who used Caesar's name.

While these events were occurring in Rome and in Spain, Marcus Octavius and Lucius Scribonius Libo, with the aid of Pompey's fleet drove out of Dalmatia Publius Cornelius Dolabella, who was there attending to Caesar's interests. After this they shut up Gaius Antonius, who had been desirous of aiding him, on a small island, and there, after he had been abandoned by the natives and was oppressed by hunger, they captured him with all his troops save a few; for some had escaped in season to the mainland, and others, who were sailing across on rafts and were overtaken, made away with themselves.

Curio had meanwhile reduced Sicily without a battle, since Cato, the governor of the island, being no match for him and not wishing to expose the cities to danger needlessly, had already withdrawn to join Pompey; later, however, he crossed over to Africa and there perished. Upon Curio's approach Lucius
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

γὰρ Καῖσαρ ὁ Δούκιος τὴν 'Ασπίδα τὴν πόλιν, ἐν ἰ κατὰ τύχην ἄλλως ἦν, πρὸς τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὐτοῦ ἔξελετε, καὶ Πούπλιος Ἀττίος Οὐάρος ὁ τὰ 1 ἐκεῖ πράγματα τότε ἔχων καὶ στρατιῶτας συχνοὺς καὶ πλοία συχνὰ 2 ἡττηθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπέβαλεν. ὦ δὲ δὴ Ἰοβάς Ἰεμψοῦ τε παῖς ὅν καὶ τὸν Νομάδων Βασιλεύον, τὰ τε τοῦ Πομπηίου ὡς καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς προτιμῶν, καὶ τὸν Κουρίωνα διὰ τε τοῦτο, καὶ στε τὴν τε βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ δημαρχῶν ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὴν 3 χώραν δημοσιώσας ἐπεχείρησε, μισῶν, 4 ἵσχυρός αὐτῷ προσεπόλεμησεν. οἷκα δὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν Νομιδίαν οὐκ ἀνέμεινεν αὐτὸν ἐσβαλεῖν, πολιορκοῦντι δὲ οἱ Οὐτικὴν παντὶ μὲν ἀμα το στρατῷ οὐ προσέμεθε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ προ- πυθομένος ἐξαιρεθεὶς (οὐ γὰρ ποῦ 4 ἀπόσασθαι αὐτὸν μᾶλλον τί ἡ τιμωρήσασθαι ἐπεθύμει), 5 ὀλύνους δὲ τινὰς προσέμψας, καὶ προθημίσας ὡς αὔτὸς ἄλλοσέ ποι καὶ πόρρω γε ἀπεληλυθὼς εἶν, ἐφεσπετὸ τε σφις καὶ οὐ διήματεν ὅν 42 ἡλπίσεν. ὁ γάρ Κουρίων πρότερον μὲν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοῦ ἑκείνου προσίπτος, ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ πρὸς τῇ βαλάσῃ ὑπ' ἰμβοτήτι, καὶ γνώμην ἐποίητο τῶν τε νεῶν, ἄν βιάζηται, ἐπιβιβαίκα καὶ 2 τὴν Ἁφρικὴν παντελῶς ἐκλυπεῖν ἔπει δὲ ὀλύνους τε τινὰς καὶ τούτους ἀνευ τοῦ Ἰοβᾶρον ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἐπιθέτο, ἑθάρσησε, καὶ εὐθὺς τῆς νυκτὸς ὡς καὶ ἐφ' ἐτοιμὸν νῖκην, μὴ καὶ διαφύγωσιν αὐτῶν, ἀρας ἐπορευότα, καὶ τινὰς τῶν προδρόμων καθεύδοντας

1 ὁ τὰ Louncl., βτι Λ.
2 πλοία συχνὰ Jacoby, πάλεις καὶ Λ.
3 τὴν Ρκ., τὴν τε Λ.
4 τού Βκ., τοῦ Λ.
Caesar abandoned the city of Aspis where he happened to be by mere chance, and Publius Attius Varus, then in charge of the affairs of that region, was defeated by him and lost many troops and many ships. Juba, however, the son of Hiempsal and king of the Numidians, preferred the cause of Pompey as that of the people and the senate, and hated Curio both on this account and because the latter when tribune had attempted to take away his kingdom from him and to confiscate the land; accordingly he carried on a vigorous war against him. For he did not wait for him to invade his home country of Numidia, but went to meet him while he was besieging Utica. He did not attack him, however, with his whole army, since he feared that Curio might put to sea if he learned in advance of his approach; for he was evidently not so eager to repulse him as to take vengeance on him. Instead, he sent forward a few men and spread the report that he himself had gone far away in another direction; then he followed after this force and did not fail of the results he had hoped for. For, though Curio, under the impression that his enemy was approaching, had previously transferred his men to the camp near the sea and had formed the plan, in case he were hard pressed, of embarking on the ships and leaving Africa altogether, he now, when he ascertained that only a few men were coming, and these without Juba, took courage and set out on the march that very night as if to a victory lying ready to hand, fearing that they might otherwise escape him; and after destroying some of the enemy's vanguard who were sleeping

1 The Roman Clupea, situated on the coast east of Carthage.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐν τῇ ὀδῷ φθείρας πολὺ προθυμότερος ἐγένετο.
3 κακὸν τοῦτον τοὺς λουπόις ὑπὸ τὴν ἑω προκεχωρη-
κόσιν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνυχών οὐδεμίαν ἀνα-
βολῆν ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στρατιωτῶν
καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας
tεταλαιπωρημένων ἐς χειρᾶς σφίσι παραχρῆμα

4 ἦλθε. καὶ τοῦτῳ ἐστώτων τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀντιρρό-
πως ἀγωνιζόμενων, ὁ Ἰόβας αἴφυνδις οἱ ἐπι-
φανεῖς τῷ τε ἀδόκητῳ ἁμα αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πλῆθει
κατεργάσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
τους πλείστους αὐτοῦ ταύτης ἀπέκτεινεν, τοὺς
dὲ λουποὺς μέχρι τε τῆς ταφρείας ἐπεδίωξε καὶ

5 μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τας ναῦς καθεύδηκε, καὶ τῷ
tαράχῳ τούτῳ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων ἐκράτησε πολλοὺς
δὲ ἁδρὰς ἐφθείρε. συνιοῦν δὲ ὅτι καὶ διαφυγόντες
αὐτῶν ἀπόλοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐς τὰ πλοῖα
ἐσβάσι τυποῦ ὠδισμοῦ σφαλέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ
ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς σκάφεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν βάρους αὐτῶν

6 βαπτισθέντες. γυγυμένους δὲ τούτων, φοβηθέντες
τινὲς μὴ τα αὐτὰ αὐτοῖς πάθωσι, προσεχώρησαν
μὲν τῷ Ὀυάρῳ ὡς καὶ σωθησόμενοι, εὔροντο δὲ
οὐδὲν ἐπιεικῆς· ὁ γὰρ Ἰόβας προσχόμενος ὅτι
αὐτὸς σφας ἐνενικήκει, καὶ ἐκεῖνος πλὴν ὀλίγων
ἐφόνευσεν. Κουφών μὲν ὅτι πλείστα τα τῷ
Καῖσαρι συναράμεαν καὶ πάμπολλα αὐτῶν

7 ἐπελπίσας ὑπὸ στὸ ἀπόλοτον· Ἰόβας δὲ πρὸς μὲ
τοῦ Πομπήιου τῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ
βουλευτῶν τιμᾶς τε ἐυρετο καὶ βασιλεὺς προση-
γορεῦθη, πρὸς δὲ ὅτι τοῦ Καίσαρος τῶν τε ἐν τῇ

1 αὐτοῦ ταύτη R. Steph., αὐτῆι ταύτη I.
2 de Pflugk, τε L.
3 καὶ Reim., καὶ L.
4 αὐτοῦ Bk., ἐν τοῦτο L.
on the road he became much more emboldened. Then, about dawn, he encountered the rest who had gone on ahead from the camp; and without any delay, in spite of the fact that his soldiers were exhausted both by the march and by want of sleep, he at once joined battle with them. Thereupon, when the others stood their ground and were holding their own, Juba suddenly appeared and by the unexpectedness of his arrival as well as by his numbers overwhelmed him. Curio and most of the others he killed on the spot, and the rest he pursued up to their entrenchments, later confining them to the ships; and in the midst of this rout he got possession of large amounts of treasure and destroyed many men. Indeed, many of them perished after escaping his grasp, some losing their footing while boarding the ships because of the crowding, and others going down with the vessels themselves when these became overloaded. While this was occurring still others, out of fear that they might suffer the same fate, went over to Varus, expecting that their lives would be spared; but they received no considerate treatment. For Juba asserted that it was he who had conquered them, and so slew nearly all of these, too. Thus Curio died after rendering most valuable assistance to Caesar and inspiring in him many hopes. And Juba received honours at the hands of Pompey and the senators who were in Macedonia, and was saluted as king; but by Caesar and those in the city he
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πόλει αἰτίαν εἴχε καὶ πολέμιος ἀπεδείχθη, ὁ τε Ἡόκχος καὶ ὁ Βογώνας βασιλῆς, ὅτι ἐξθροῖν ἀυτοῦ ἡσαν, ἀνομάσθησαν. 3

43 Τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει διττοὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀρχοντες παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκός ἐγένοντο καὶ μάχη μεγίστη δὴ συνηνέχθη, οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἅστει καὶ ὑπάτους τὸν τε Καίσαρα καὶ Πούπλιον Σερούλιον καὶ στρατηγοὺς τὰ τὰ ἄλλα τέλη 4 τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐγένοτο, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ τοιούτῳ μὲν οὐδὲν προπαρεσκενάσαντο, καίτοι τῆς τῆς Ἀλλής Βουλῆς ἐς διακοσίους, ὃς ψαφί τινα, καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔχοντες, καὶ τι καὶ χωρίον ἐς τὰ οἰωνίσματα, τοῦ δὴ καὶ ἐν νόμῳ δὴ τινι αὐτὰ δοκεῖν γίγνεσθαι, δημοσιώσαστε, ὥστε καὶ τὸν δήμον δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν τε πόλιν ἀπασαν ἐνταῦθα εἶναι νομίζεσθαι (αἰτίων δὲ ὅτι τὸν νόμον οἱ ὑπατοὶ τὸν φρατριατικὸν 5 οὐκ ἐσενηνόχεσαν), τοις δὲ δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοις ὁσπέρ 6 καὶ πρόσθεν ἑχρῆσαντο, τὰς ἐπωνυμίας σφῶν μόνας μεταβαλόντες καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνυπάτους τοὺς δὲ αὐτοστρατηγοὺς τοὺς δὲ ἀντιταμίας ὀνομάσαντες. 4 πάνω γὰρ ποὺ τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῖς ἐμελε τὰ τὸ ὑπλα ἀνταιρομένους καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλελωπόσιν, ὅστε μὴ πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαία πρὸς τὴν τῶν παρόντων ἀπαίτησι καὶ παρὰ τὴν τῶν τετα- 5 γμένων ἀκρίβειαι ποιεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι οὐτοὶ σφίσσαν ἐκατέρως ἤρχον, ἔργῳ δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ, τῆς μὲν φήμης ἐνεκα τας

1 βασιλῆς Μ. , βασιλείς L.  2 αὐτῷ Pflugk, αὐτῶν L.  3 ἡσαν ὀνομάσθησαν Xyl., ἀνομάσθησαν L.  4 τέλη supplied by Ba.  5 φρατριατικῶν Reim., φρατρικῶν L.  6 ὁσπέρ Reim., τοῖσπερ L.
was called to account and declared an enemy, while Bocchus and Bogud were named kings, because they were hostile to him.

The ensuing year the Romans had two sets of magistrates, contrary to custom, and a mighty battle was fought. The people of the city had chosen as consuls Caesar and Publius Servilius, along with praetors and all the other officers required by law. Those in Thessalonica had made no such appointments, although they had by some accounts about two hundred of the senate and also the consuls with them and had appropriated a small piece of land for the auguries, in order that these might seem to take place under some form of law, so that they regarded the people and the whole city as present there. They had not appointed new magistrates for the reason that the consuls had not proposed the *lex curiata*; but instead they employed the same officials as before, merely changing their names and calling some pro-consuls, others propraetors, and others proquaestors. For they were very careful about precedents, even though they had taken up arms against their country and abandoned it, and they were anxious that the acts rendered necessary by the exigencies of the situation should not all be in violation of the strict requirement of the ordinances. Nevertheless, these men mentioned were the magistrates of the two parties in name only, while in reality it was Pompey and Caesar who were supreme; for the sake of good repute they bore the legal titles of proconsul and

1 The *lex curiata de imperio*, passed by the *comitia curiata*, formally conferred upon a consul or praetor his authority. Though largely a matter of form at this time, the magistrate was nevertheless not felt to be fully in possession of the privileges of his office until this vote had been passed.
ΔΙΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΑΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ

ἐννόμους ἐπικλήσεις, ὁ μὲν τὴν τοῦ ὑπάτου ὁ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἔχοντες, πράττοντες δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἔκειναι ἐπέτρεπον ἀλλ' ὅσα αὐτὸι ἦθελον.

44 Τοιούτων δὲ δὴ τούτων ὄντων καὶ δίχα τῆς ἀρχῆς μεμερισμένης, Πομπήιος μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ ἐχεῖμαζε καὶ φυλακῇ οὐκ ἀκριβῇ τῶν παραθαλάσσων ἐποιεῖτο (οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἱταλίαν ἤδη τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀφιχθαὶ ἐνώμιζε, εἴ τε καὶ παρεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐν γε τῷ χειμώνῳ οὐχ ὑπὸπετυχεῖν αὐτὸν τολμῆσειν τὸν

2 Ἰονίων διαβαλεὶν), Καίσαρ δὲ ἢν μὲν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ τὸ ἔαρ ἀναμένον, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐκείνον τὸ πόρρῳ ὅντα καὶ τὴν καταντίπερα ἤπειρον ἀμελῶς τηρομένην, τὸ τε καϊνὸν τοῦ πολέμου ἡρπασε καὶ τὸ ἀνειμένῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπέθετο. μεσοῦντος γοῦν τοῦ χειμώνου μέρει τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπῆρεν (οὔ γὰρ ἦσαν οἷαν νῆς ὡστε πάντας ἄμα αὐτοὺς

3 περάσαι), καὶ λαθὼν τῶν Βίβουλον τῶν Μάρκου, ὃς ἡ βάλασσα φρούρείσθαι προσετέτακτο, ἐπεραίωθη πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τὰ Κεραύνια ἄνομασσενα· ἐστι δὲ ἐσχάτα τῆς Ἡπείρου, πρὸς τὸ στόματι τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου, καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα πρὶν ἐκπυκνοῦσι τοὺς καὶ πλευσεῖται γενέσθαι, τὰς ναῦς

4 ἐς τὸ Βρεντεσίον ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔστειλε· καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Βίβουλος ἀνακομμαζόμενα ἐκάκωσε, καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἀνεδήσασι, οὗτος τὸν Καίσαρα ἐργοῖς ὑποβολότερον τὸν πλοὺς ἐν θυγεστερούν ἐπεποίητο.

1 τὰς ἐννόμους ἐπικλήσεις Rk., τῆς ἐννόμου καὶ ἐπικλήσεις L.
2 τε πόρρω Plługk, τε πόρρῳ τε L.
3 ἀνειμένῳ Rk., ἀνέμω L.
consul respectively, yet their acts were not those which these offices permitted, but whatever they themselves pleased.

Under these conditions, with the government divided in twain, Pompey was wintering in Thessalonica and not keeping a very careful watch upon the coast; for he did not suppose that Caesar had yet arrived in Italy from Spain, and even if he were there, he did not suspect that he would venture to cross the Ionian Gulf in the winter, at any rate. But Caesar was in Brundisium, waiting for spring, and when he ascertained that Pompey was some distance off and that the mainland opposite was rather carelessly guarded, he seized upon the "chance of war" and attacked him while his attention was relaxed. At any rate, when the winter was about half gone, he set out with a portion of his army, as there were not enough ships to carry them all across at once, and eluding Marcus Bibulus, to whom the guarding of the sea had been committed, he crossed to the Ceraunian Headlands, as they are called, the outermost point of Epirus, near the mouth of the Ionian Gulf. Arriving there before it became noised abroad that he would sail at all, he sent the ships to Brundisium for the others; but Bibulus damaged them on the return voyage and actually took some in tow, so that Caesar learned by experience that the voyage he had made was more fortunate than prudent.

1 The expression τὸ καὶνὸν τοῦ πολέμου appears first in Thucydides (iii. 30), and soon became proverbial; cf. Polybius xxix. 6, Diodorus xx. 30, 67, Cic. ad Att. v. 20, 3, Dio uses it again in xlix. 5, 1. It seems to be used generally in the favourable sense of "the (lucky) chance of war." The proverb ran πειλάτα τὰ καὶνὰ τοῦ πολέμου ("many are the surprises of war ").
45 Ἐν δὲ οὖν τῇ διατριβῇ ταύτῃ τὸ τε Ὠρικὸν καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἄλλα τε τῶν ἐκείνης χωρίων ἐκλεισθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου φροντῶν παρεστήσατο. ἡ δὲ Ἀπολλωνία αὐτή ἡ Κορινθία ἐν καλῷ μὲν τῆς γῆς ἐν καλῷ δὲ καὶ τῆς 2 θαλάσσης ποταμῶν τε ἀριστα κεῖται. ὦ τε μάλιστα διὰ πάντων ἐθαύμασα, πῦρ πολὺ πρὸς τῷ Ἀώφῳ ποταμῷ ἀναδίδοται, καὶ οὔτε ἐπὶ πλείου τῆς περίες γῆς ἐπεξέρχεται, οὔτε αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἐν ἡ ἐνδιατάται ἐκπυροῦ ἡ καὶ κραυροτέραν πη ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόας καὶ δένδρα καὶ πάνω πλησία ἀλλοῦτα ἐχεῖ· πρὸς τε τὰς ἐπιχύσεις 3 τῶν ὁμβρῶν ἐπαύξει καὶ ἔς ὑψος ἐξαίρεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸ τὸ Νυμφαῖον ὄνομάζεται καὶ δή καὶ μαντεῖον τοιῶντε τι παρέχεται. λιβανωτὸν δή λαβοῦν καὶ προσευξάμενος οἱ τε ποτὲ καὶ 4 βούλει, ὑπτείς αὐτὸν τὴν εὐχήν φέροντα, καὶ τούτῳ τὸ πῦρ, ἄν μὲν τι ἐπιτελεῖς ἡ ἐσώμενον, δέχεται αὐτὸν ἐτοιμότατα, κἂν ἁρὰ καὶ ἔξω ποι προσέχη, προσδραμῶν ἠρπάσε καὶ κατανάλωσεν ἄν δὲ ἀπελέστω ἡ, οὔτε ἄλλως αὐτῷ προσέρχεται, κἂν ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν φλόγα φέρηται, ἐξαναχωρεῖ τε 5 καὶ ἐκφεύγει. καὶ ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἐκάτερα περὶ πάντων ὁμοίως, πλὴν θανάτου τε καὶ γάμου, ποιεῖ· περὶ γὰρ τούτων οὐδὲ ἔξεστι τινὶ ἄρχῃν αὐτὸν πυθέσθαι τι.

46 Τούτῳ μὲν τοιοῦτον ἔστιν, ὡς δὲ Ἡ Ἐκσαρ βραδύνουσα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, δὴ τοὺς ὑπομείναντας ἐν τῷ Βρεττεσίῳ κομίσαι ἐπετέλατο, καὶ οὐδὲ

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1 Ὠρικὸν R. Steph., Ὀρικὸν L.
2 ἡ added by Bk.
3 Ἀρχ. Palmerius, following Casanbon, Ἄρχ L.
4 Ἡ Pflugk, ή L.
5 προσέχη Rk., προσέχη L.
During this delay, then, he won over Oricum and Apollonia and other points there which had been abandoned by Pompey’s garrisons. This Corinthian Apollonia\(^1\) is well situated as regards the land and as regards the sea, and most excellently in respect to rivers. What I have marvelled at, however, above all else, is that a huge fire issues from the ground near the Aoûs river and neither spreads to any extent over the surrounding land nor sets on fire even the place where it abides nor makes it at all dry, but has grass and trees flourishing very near it. In pouring rains it increases and towers aloft. For this reason it is called Nymphaeum,\(^2\) and in fact it furnishes an oracle, of this kind. You take incense and after making whatever prayer you wish cast it in the fire as the vehicle of the prayer. At this the fire, if your wish is to be fulfilled, receives it very readily, and even if the incense falls somewhere outside, darts forward, snatches it up, and consumes it. But if the wish is not to be fulfilled, the fire not only does not go to it, but, even if it falls into the very flames, recedes and flees before it. It acts in these two ways in all matters save those of death and marriage; for concerning these two one may not make any inquiry of it at all. Such is the nature of this marvel.

Now as Antony, to whom had been assigned the duty of conveying across those who remained at Brundisium, continued to tarry, and no message even

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\(^1\) Cf. Frag. 42.

\(^2\) *I.e.* "Temple of the Nymphs."
ἀγγελίαις τινὸς περὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τε τῶν χειμώνα καὶ διὰ τῶν Βίβουλον φοιτώσης, ὑπωπτευσείς σφαζ μεσεύεις τε καὶ ἐφεδρεύεις τοῖς πράγμασιν, 2 οὕτω που ἐν ταῖς στάσεις φιλεὶ γέγενθαι. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ βουλήθεις αὐτῶς καὶ μόνος γε ἐσ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλέουσαι, ἐπέβη μὲν ἀκατίον τινὸς ὡς τις ἄλλος, λέγων ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος πεπέμβαι, καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην αὐτοῦ καίπερ πνεύματος ὄντος 3 ἐξεβιάσατο ἀναχθῆναι· ὡς μὲντοι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐγένοντο καὶ ὁ τε ἀνέμοις ἰσχυρῶς κατέσπερχε καὶ ὁ κλῦδων δεινὸς σφας ἐξετάρρατεν, ὡστε τὸν κυβερνήτην μνῆ ἀναγκαζόμενον ἔτι τολμῆσαι περαιτέρω πλέοσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκούτος αὐτοῦ ἐπανέναι ἐπιχειρήσαι,1 εξεφηνεν εαυτὸν καθάπερ ἐκ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα παύσων, καὶ ἐφη 4 “θάρσει, Καίσαρα γὰρ ἄγεις.” τοιούτῳ μὲν ὁφόνημα καὶ τοιαύτῃ ἐλπίδα ἦτοι τῆς ἄλλος ἡ καὶ ἐκ μαντείας τινὸς εἶχεν ὡστε καὶ παρὰ τὰ φαινόμενα πίστιν τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχεγγον ποιεῖσθαι· οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐπεραιώθη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πολὺ μάτιν ποιήσας ἀνέπλευσεν. 47 Καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ τῷ Πομπηίω περὶ τῶν Ἀλου ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον τῆς ἀφίξεως αὐτοῦ ἦσθετο, οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο,3 ἀλλὰ ἐπιτίςας ῥαδίως αὐτῶν, πρὶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὄντας προσλαβεῖν, κατεργασθεῖν,4 σπουδὴ πρὸς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν δυνάμει 2 τινὶ ἠλασεν. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπήνησεν οἱ, νομίσας ἀξιόμαχος καὶ

1 ἐπιχειρήσαε Xiph., ἐπιχειρήσεν L.
2 ἀλλ' Rk., ἀλλ' τί L.
3 ἀνεβάλετο R. Steph., ἀνεβάλλετο L.
4 κατεργάσθει K., κατεργάσασθαι L.
came about them because of the winter and because of Bibulus, Caesar suspected that they had adopted a neutral attitude and were watching the course of events, as often happens in civil strife. Wishing, therefore, to sail to Italy in person and unattended, he embarked on a small boat in disguise, saying that he had been sent by Caesar; and he forced the captain to set sail, although there was a wind. When, however, they had got away from land, and the gale swept violently down upon them and the waves buffeted them terribly, so that the captain did not longer dare even under compulsion to sail farther, but undertook to return even without his passenger's consent, then Caesar revealed himself, as if by this act he could stop the storm, and said, "Be of good cheer: you carry Caesar." Such spirit and such hope had he, either naturally or as the result of some oracle, that he felt firm confidence in his safety even contrary to the appearance of things. Nevertheless, he did not get across, but after struggling for a long time in vain sailed back.

After this he encamped opposite Pompey, near Apsus. For Pompey, as soon as he had learned of his arrival, had made no delay, but hoping to crush him easily before he should receive the others who were with Antony, hastily marched with a considerable force toward Apollonia. Caesar advanced to meet him as far as the river, thinking that even as he was he would prove a match for the troops.
διήγε. ἡμοὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ὁ Πομπήιος συμβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτῷ ὡς ὅτι τάχιστα ἠθέλησε, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπιδιαβῆναι ἐπεχείρησεν ὡς δὲ ἡ γέφυρα βάρος λαμβοῦσα διελύθη καὶ τινὲς τῶν προδιαβεβηκότων μονωθέντες ἀπώλοντο, ἐπέσχεν ἀδυμίσσας ὅτι πρῶτον τῶν τοῦ πολέμου ἔργων απτόμενος ἐπταίκει.

Καὶ τούτω καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐπελθόντος 48 φοβηθεῖς ἀπεχώρησε πρὸς τὸ Δυρράχιον, τέως μὲν γὰρ ὁ Βίβουλος ἔχη, οὔτ' ἀπάραι ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου ἐτόλμησεν τοσαυτῇ ποὺ φυλακῇ αὐτοῦ ἑγκρεμν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἐκκαμὼν ὑπὸ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἐτελεύτησε καὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν ὁ Δίβων διεδέχατο, κατεφρονήσει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνηγάγετο ὡς καὶ βιασόμενος τῶν ἐκπλοῦν.

2 καταραχθεῖς τε ἐς τὴν γῆν ἦμινᾶτο τε αὐτῶν ἵσχυρῶς προσβαλόντα οἱ, καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἐπεκβῆναι ποι βουλαθέντα ὑδαμή τῆς ταύτη

3 ἡπείρου προσσυμπάθησαι εἴσεν. ἀπορῆσας οὖν ὁ Δίβων καὶ ὄρμω καὶ ὧδατος (τὸ γὰρ νησίδιον τὸ πρὸς τοῦ λιμένος δυν., ἐς ὅπερ μόνον προσέχειν ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἀνυδρον καὶ ἄλιμενον ἔστιν) ἀπέπλευσε πόρρῳ ποι, ὅπου ἀμφοτέρων εὐπορη-

4 σειν ἐμελλε. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔξαναχθεῖς ὑστερον πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνου, καίπερ μετερωρίζον σφίσειν ἐπεχειρῆσαι ἔθελήσαντος, οὐδὲν ἐπαθε·

1 καθεὶ Dind., καθεὶ L.
then approaching; but when he learned that he was far inferior in numbers, he halted. And in order that it might not be thought either that he was halting through fear or that he was making the first move in the war, he submitted some conciliatory proposals to the other side and delayed on this pretext. Pompey, perceiving his motive, wished to try conclusions with him as soon as possible and for this reason undertook to cross the river. But the bridge broke down under the weight and some of the advance guard, thus isolated, perished. Then he desisted, discouraged because he had failed in the first action of the war.

Meanwhile Antony also had arrived, and Pompey in fear retired to Dyrrachium. As long as Bibulus was alive, Antony had not dared even to set out from Brundisium, so close guard did the other keep over it; but when Bibulus, succumbing to the hardships, died, and Libo succeeded him as admiral, Antony scorned him and set sail with the intention of forcing the passage. When driven back to land, he repelled the other’s vigorous attack upon him and later, when Libo was anxious to disembark somewhere, he allowed him to find anchorage nowhere along that part of the mainland. So the admiral, being in need of anchorage and water, since the little island in front of the harbour, which was the only place he could approach, is destitute of water and harbour alike, sailed off to some distant point where he was likely to find both in abundance. In this way Antony was enabled to set sail, but later, although he met with no harm at Libo’s hands, even when the other attempted to attack them on
Διασωθέντων δ’ οὖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁ τε Πομπήιος ἐσὺ τὸ Δυρράχιον, ὡσπερ εἶπον, ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἑπικολουθήσει αὐτῷ θαρσήσας, ὅτι τῷ πλῆθει τῶν τότε συνόντων οἱ περίην.
3 ἀναφέρουσιν οἱ δ’ ἔτεροι Δυρράχιον ἀυτονομάζονται τὸ χωρίον ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τὴν τῆς Ῥαχίας δυσχέρειαν ἔβασαν, ὅτι η ὅτι Ἑπίδαμων προσφέρσεις ἤμισυ δίλωσιν ἐν τῇ τῶν Λατίνων γλώσσῃ ἔχουσα δυσκοιλιότος σφισιν ἐς τὸ περαιοῦσθαι ἐς αὐτὴν ἔδοξεν εἶναι.

Πρὸς οὖν τούτο τὸ Δυρράχιον ὁ Πομπήιος καταφύγων στρατόπεδόν τε ἐξ ἐν τῆς πόλεως ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τάφρους βαθείας σταυρώματα τε ἱσχυρὰ περιβάλλετο. Καὶ αὐτὸ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπιστρατοπεδεύσας προσέμεξε μὲν ὡς καὶ δ’ ὀλιγον τὸ χαράκωμα τῷ πλῆθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἱρήσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρούσθη, ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτὸ ἄπο-2 τείχισαι. Καὶ ἔκεινος τις ἀμα τούτ’ εἰργάζετο, καὶ

1 ἡ Ἡ Lecnch., ἡ δὲ L.
2 Μακεδονίας Ὅdley, mακεδονία L.
3 ἡ Reim., καὶ ἡ L.
4 περιβάλλετο Xiph., περιβάλλετο L.
the high seas (for a violent storm came up which prevented the attack), both he and Libo suffered injuries from the storm itself.

When the soldiers had got safely across, Pompey, as I have said, retired to Dyrrachium, and Caesar followed him, encouraged by the fact that, with the reinforcements that had arrived, he was superior to his adversary in the number of troops then at his disposal. Dyrrachium is situated in the land formerly regarded as belonging to the tribe of Illyrians called Parthini, but now and even at that time regarded as a part of Macedonia; and it is very favourably placed, whether it be the Epidamnus of the Corecraeans or another city. Those who record this fact refer both its founding and its name to a hero Dyrrachius; but the other authorities have declared that the place was renamed by the Romans with reference to the difficulties of the rocky shore,¹ because the term Epidamnus has in the Latin tongue the meaning of "loss,"² and so seemed to be of ill-omen for their voyages thither.

Pompey after taking refuge in this town of Dyrrachium built a camp outside the city and surrounded it with deep moats and a stout palisade. Caesar encamped over against him and made assaults, in the hope of quickly capturing the palisades by the superior number of his troops; and when he was repulsed, he attempted to wall it in. While he was engaged in

¹ *I.e.,* the name was a compound of *δαφ* ("unlucky") and *ἀξία* ("breakers" or "rocky shore"). From Dyrrachium comes its modern name Durazzo.

² Epidamnus is of course a Greek name, but the Romans were not slow to connect the second element of the word with their own *damnum.* Compare the jest in Plautus, *Menaechmi,* 263 f.
Πομπήιος τὰ μὲν διεσταύρων τὰ δὲ ὑπετείχει καὶ διεσταφθευε, πῦργους τε ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων καὶ φυλακὰς ἑπικαθίστη, ὡς τὴν τε περίοδον τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἀπέραντον καὶ τὴν ἕφοδον καὶ κρατοῦσι τῶν ἑναντίων ἀπορίαν ποιῆσαι. πολλαὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μάχαι αὐτῶν, βραχεῖαί δ’ 

3 οὖν ἐγίγνοντο· καὶ ἐν ταύταις τοτὲ μεν οὗτοι τοτὲ δὲ ἐκείνοι καὶ ἐνίκοι καὶ ἐνικῶντο, ὡστε καὶ θυσικεῖν τινὰς ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως. αὐτοῦ δὲ ἡ τοῦ Δυρραχίου Ο Καίσαρ μεταξὺ τῶν τε ἔλθων καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης νυκτὸς, ὡς καὶ προδοθησομένου ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμνομένων, πειράσας εἴσο ἐν τὸν στενὸν παρῆλθε, προσπεσόντων δὲ οἱ ἐνταῦθα πολλῶν μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον πολλῶν δὲ καὶ κατόπιν, οἱ πλοῖοι παρακομισθέντες ἑξαίφυς αὐτῷ ἐπέθευτο, καὶ συγνοὺς ἀπεβαλε καὶ ὄλγου καὶ αὐτὸς ἑφθάρη. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ο Πομπήιος ἐπιθαρσηκας ἐπεβουλευσε νυκτὸς τῷ περιτειχίσματι, καὶ ἐκείνου τέ τι ἀπροσδόκητος προσπεσῶν εἶλε, καὶ φόνον τῶν αὐλιξομένων πρὸς αὐτῷ πολὺν εἰργάσατο.

51 Ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ, ὡς ταύτα τε συνεβεβήκει καὶ ὁ σίτος αὐτῶν ἐπελεοῦσε (ἡ τε γὰρ θάλασσα καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἡ πλησία ἀλλοτρία αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ τινὲς διὰ ταύτα καὶ ἀπηνυτομολήκεσαν), δείσας μὴ ἦτοι προσεδρέων καταπολεμηθῇ καὶ ἕπο τῶν ἄλλων ἐγκαταλειφθῇ, πάντα μὲν τὰ ὕκοδομημένα κατεστρεφὲ, πάντα δὲ τὰ παραβεβλημένα προσδιέφθειρε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἑξαίφυς ἄρας ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἄρμησεν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ ὡδ’ τὸ

1 ὡδ’ Λευκελ., ὡδ’ αὐτῶν Λ. 2 ὡδ’ supplied by Rk. 3 τῶν Rk., τῶν τε Λ. 4 ἦτοι Βκ., τοι Λ. 5 ς supplied by Leunel.
this task, Pompey was constructing palisades, cross-walls and ditches, and placing towers on the elevations and guards in them, so as to make the circuit of the encompassing wall complete and to make an attack impracticable for the foe, even if they conquered. There were meanwhile many, though slight, encounters between them, in which now one party, now the other, was victorious or beaten, so that a few were killed on both sides alike. Upon Dyrrachium itself Caesar made an attempt by night, between the marshes and the sea, in the expectation that it would be betrayed by its defenders. He got inside the narrows, but at that point was attacked both in front and in the rear by large forces which had been conveyed along the shore in boats and suddenly fell upon him; thus he lost many men and very nearly perished himself. After this occurrence Pompey took courage and planned a night assault upon the enclosing wall; and attacking it unexpectedly, he captured a portion of it by storm and caused great slaughter among the men encamped near it.

Caesar, in view of this occurrence and because his grain had failed, inasmuch as the whole sea and land in the vicinity were hostile, and because for this reason some had actually deserted, feared that he might either be defeated while watching his adversary or be abandoned by his other followers. Therefore he levelled all the works that had been constructed, destroyed also all the parallel walls, and thereupon set out suddenly and hastened into Thessaly. During this same time, it seems, while
Δυρράχιον ἐπολιορκεῖτο, Δούκιος τε Κάσσιος Λογγινὸς καὶ Γναῖος Δομίτιος Καλούνιος ἐς τε τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντες, Λογγινὸς μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Σκιπέωνος καὶ ὑπὸ Σαδάλου Θρακοῦ ἵσχυρός
3 ἐσφάλη, Καλούνιος δὲ τῆς μὲν Μακεδονίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαύστου ἀπεώσθη, Δορκόν δὲ δὴ καὶ Λιτωλῶν προσχωρήσαντων οἱ ἐς τε τὴν Θεσσαλίαν μετ’ αὐτῶν ἔσβαλε, καὶ τοῦ Σκιπέωνος μάχαις, τῇ μὲν λοχισθεὶς τῇ δ’ ἀντενεδρέυσας, ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἄπ’
4 αὐτοῦ καὶ πόλεις τινὰς προσπεποίησατο. ἐνταῦθ’ ὠν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡσ καὶ ῥὰν σὺν ἔκεινοις τῆς τε τροφῆς εὐπορῆσων καὶ τῶν πόλεων διοίσων, ἢπείχθη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὕδεις αὐτῶν ἄτε κακῶς πεπραγότα ἔδεχετο, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων καὶ ἄκων ἀπείχετο, Γόμφοις δὲ δὴ πολίχνη τινὶ Θεσσαλικῇ προσπεσοῦν καὶ κρατήσας πολλοὺς τε ἐκτείνε καὶ
5 πάντα διήρπασεν, ὅπως καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ τούτου καταφοβήσῃ, αὐτίκα γοῦν Μητροπόλεις, ἐτερὸν τι πόλισμα, οὐδὲ ἔσχερας αὐτῷ ἤλθεν, ἀλλ’ ἀμαχεὶ ὁμολόγησε καὶ σφας κακῶν οὐδὲν δράσας ῥάνον καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἀφ’ ἐκατέρον προσπεποίησατο.
52 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰσχυρὸς αὐθῆς ἑγίγνετο, Πομπήιος δὲ οὐκ ἔπεδιωξε μὲν αὐτῶν (νυκτὸς τε ἐκ ἔξωθως ἀπανέστη, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Γενουσῶν σπουδῆ διέβη), οὕτω μὲντοι τὴν ἁρπήν ἑξεθ’ ὡς καὶ διαπεπολεμηκώς. καὶ τούτου τὸ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα ἔλαβεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐμεγαλυγόρει τη ἡ καὶ δάφνην τινὰ ταῖς ῥάβδοις περιήγησεν, δυσχεραῖων ἐπὶ πολῖταις τοιούτῳ τε

1 ἐνίκησε Lennel., ἐνέθρεψε L. 2 πάρτα Xyl., πάρτας L.
BOOK XLI

Dyrrachium was being besieged, Lucius Cassius Longinus and Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus had been sent by him into Macedonia and Thessaly. Longinus had been disastrously defeated in Thessaly by Scipio and by Sadalus, a Thracian; and Calvinus had been repulsed from Macedonia by Faustus, but on receiving accessions from the Locrians and Aetolians had invaded Thessaly with these troops, and after being ambushed had afterwards set ambuscades himself and conquered Scipio in battle, thereby winning over a few cities. Thither, accordingly, Caesar hastened, thinking that by uniting with these officers he could more easily secure an abundance of provisions and thus continue the war. When no one would receive him, because of his reverses, he reluctantly held aloof from the larger settlements, but assaulted Gomphi, a little town in Thessaly; and upon taking it he put many to death and plundered everything, in order that by this act he might inspire the rest with terror. Metropolis, another town, for example, did not even contend with him but forthwith capitulated without a struggle; and as he did no harm to its citizens he more easily won over some other places by his course in these two instances.

So he was once more becoming powerful. Pompey did not pursue him, for he had withdrawn suddenly by night and had hastily crossed the Genusus river; however, he was of the opinion that he had brought the war to an end. Consequently he assumed the title of imperator, though he uttered no boastful words about it and did not even wind laurel about his fasces, disliking to show such exul-


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2 ποιήσαι. ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς αὐτὴς ταύτης διανοίας οὐδὲ ἐσ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐπιλευσεν οὔτ' ἄλλους τινὰς ἐπεμψε, καὶ τοῖς ῥαδίως ἄν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν κατασχῶν τῷ τε γὰρ ναυτικῷ πολὺ ἐκράτει ἀτε πεντακοσίας ναύς ταχείας ἔχουν, ὡστε πανταχόσε ἀμα κατάραι, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ οὔτ' ἄλλως αὐτῷ ἡχθετο, οὔτε, εἰ καὶ τὰ 1 μάλιστα ἠλλο-3 τρίωστο, ἀξιόμαχα γε ἀντιπολεμῆσαι ἐν. πόρρω τε 2 γὰρ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῆς δόξαι πολεμεῖν ἀφεστη-κέναι ἐβούλετο, καὶ φόβον οὐδένα τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε οὐσι παρασχεῖν ἥξιον. τῆς μὲν οὖν Ἰταλίας διὰ ταύτ' οὐκ ἐπείρασεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπέστειλε τῷ κοινῷ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐδὲν· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τὸν Καίσαρα μετὰ τοῦθ' ὀρμῆσας ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἀφίκετο.

53 Ἀντικαθημένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλληλοις ἡ μὲν ὄψεις τῶν στρατοπέδων πολέμου τινὰ εἰκόνα ἔφερεν, ἢ δὲ δὴ χρεία τῶν ὅπλων ὡς καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡσύχαζε. τὸ τε γὰρ μέγεθος τοῦ κινδύνου διασκοποῦντες, καὶ τὸ ἀδήλων τὸ τε αστάθμητον τῶν πραγμάτων προορώμενοι, καὶ τινὰ καὶ αἰδὼ τοῦ τε ὁμοφύλων καὶ τῆς συγγενείας ἐτι ποιοῦ-2 μενοι διέμελλον, καὶ τοῦτῳ καὶ λόγοις περὶ φιλίας σφίσιν ἀντέπεμπον, καὶ τιτά καὶ συναλ-λαγήσεσθαι διὰ κενῆς ἐδοξαί. αἰτιον δὲ ὅτι τοῦ τε παντὸς κράτους ἀμφότεροι ἐφείμενοι, καὶ πολλῇ μὲν φιλοτιμίᾳ ἐμφύτῳ πολλῇ δὲ καὶ 3 φιλονεικία ἐπικτητήτω χρώμενοι (πρὸς τε γὰρ τῶν ἱσων καὶ πρὸς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἧκιστά τινες ἐλαττούμενοι φέρουσιν) οὔτε τι συγχωρήσαι

1 τὰ added by R. Steph. (and so V).
2 πόρρω τε Bk., πορρωτέρω ΠL.
tation over the downfall of citizens. From this same motive he neither sailed to Italy himself nor sent any others there, though he might easily have taken possession of it all. For with his fleet he was far superior, as he had five hundred swift ships and could land at all points at the same time; moreover, the sentiment of that country was not opposed to him in any case, and, even if it had been ever so hostile, the people were no match for him in war. But he wished to be far from giving the impression that Italy was the stake for which he was fighting, and did not think he ought to cause any fear to the people who were then in Rome. Hence he made no attempt on Italy, nor even sent to the government any despatch about his successes; but after this he set out against Caesar and came into Thessaly.

As they lay opposite each other the appearance of the camps bore, indeed, some semblance of war, but their arms were idle as in time of peace. As they considered the greatness of the danger and foresaw the obscurity and uncertainty of the issue, and still felt some regard for their common ancestry and their kinship, they continued to delay. Meanwhile they exchanged propositions looking toward friendship and appeared to some likely even to effect an empty reconciliation. The reason was that they were both reaching out after the supreme power and were influenced greatly by native ambition and greatly also by acquired rivalry,—since men can least endure to be outdone by their equals and intimates; hence they were not willing to make any concessions
ἀλλήλοις ἠθελουν, δόσσερ ἀμφότεροι κρατήσαι δυνάμενοι, οὕτε πιστεύσαι, κἀν συμβαθῇ \(1\) τι, ἐδύναντο μη ὁυ τοῦ πλείονος τε ἀεὶ σφας ὀριγμὴν· σεβαι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς αὐθεν ἱστασίας. 54 γνώμη μεν γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων διέφερον ὅσον Πομπήιος μεν αὐθεν ἀνδρῶν ποιεῖ θέτος, Καίσαρ δὲ καὶ πρώτος πάντων εἶναι ἐπιθύμει, καὶ ἀ μὲν παρ᾽ ἐκούσων τε τιμᾶσθαι καὶ ἐβελοντων προστατεῖν φιλέσθαι τε ἐσποῦδας, τὸ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐμελευ εἰ καὶ ἀκόντων ἁρχαι καὶ μισοῦσιν ἐπιτάσσοι, 2 τὰς τε τιμὰς αὐτοῦ ἐαυτοῦ δίδοι. τα μέντοι ἔργα, δι᾽ ὅν ἡλπιζον πάνθ᾽ ὡσα ἐβούλοντο καταπράξειν, ἀμφότεροι ὁμοῖος καὶ ἀνάγκη ἐποίουν ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν κατατχεῖν τινι μη ώς τοῦ τε ὀικεῖος πολεμοῦντι καὶ τοὺς ὀθνείους ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀμοφύλους ἄγοντι, καὶ πολλαὶ μὲν χρήματα ἀδίκως συλλωντι, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων 3 αὐνόμως κτείνωντι. \(2\) ὡστε εἰ καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις διήλλαττον, ἀλλα ταῖς γε πράξεις, δι᾽ ὅν ἀποπληρώσειν αὐτᾶς ἡλπίζον, ὠμοιοῦντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐθ᾽ \(3\) ύφιεντό τινος ἀλλήλως, καὶ περ πολλάς δικαιώσεις προτεινόμενοι, καὶ ἐς χεῖρας τελευτώντες ἠλθον. 55 Ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ ἰγὼν μέγας καὶ οίος οὐχ ἄτερος. αὐτοῦ τε γὰρ ἀριστοὶ προς πάντα τὰ πολέμια καὶ εὐθυκιμώτατοι διαφανῶς οὐχ ὥς τῶν Ρωμαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοῦ \(4\) ἀνδρῶν ἡξιούντο εἰναι οἰα \(5\) γὰρ ἐκ παιδῶν τε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡσκημένοι καὶ διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῖς ὀμιληκότες, ἔργα

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1 συμβαθῇ St., συμβαθῇ L. 2 κτείνωντι Bk., κτείνωντι L. 3 τοῦτοι ἐδοθ᾽ Rk., τοῦθ᾽ L. 4 τότε H. Steph., τε L. 5 οἶα Bk., οἴ L.
to each other, since each felt that he might win, nor could they feel confident, if they did reach some agreement, that they would not be always striving to gain the upper hand and would not fall to quarrelling again over the supreme issue. In temper they differed from each other to this extent, that Pompey desired to be second to no man and Caesar to be first of all, and the former was anxious to be honoured by a willing people and to preside over and be loved by men who fully consent, whereas the latter cared not at all if he ruled over even an unwilling people, issued orders to men who hated him, and bestowed the honours with his own hand upon himself. The deeds, however, through which they hoped to accomplish all that they wished, were perforce common to both alike. For it was impossible for any one successfully to gain these ends without fighting against his countrymen, leading foreigners against kindred, obtaining vast sums by unjust pillage, and killing unlawfully many of his dearest associates. Hence, even though they differed in their desires, yet in their acts, by which they hoped to realise those desires, they were alike. Consequently they would not yield to each other on any point, in spite of the many claims they put forward, and finally came to blows.

The struggle proved a mighty one and unparalleled by any other. In the first place, the leaders themselves had the name of being the most skilled in all matters of warfare and clearly the most distinguished not only of the Romans but also of all other men then living. They had been trained in arms from boyhood, had constantly been
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te ἀξιολογα ἀποδεδειγμένοι, καὶ πολλὴ μὲν ἀρετὴ πολλὴ δὲ καὶ τύχῃ κεχρημένοι, καὶ ἀξιοστρατη-
2 γητότατοι καὶ ἀξιονικότατοι ἢσαν καὶ δυνάμεις Καίσαρ μὲν τοῦ τε πολιτικοῦ τὸ πλείστον καὶ καθαρώτατον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλλης Ἰταλίας τῆς τε Ἰβηρίας καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας πάσης τῶν τε νήσων ὧν ἔκρατε τοὺς μαχιμοτάτους εἶχε, Πομπήιος δὲ συχνὸς μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς τε ἱππάδος καὶ τῶν καταλόγων ἐπήκτητο, παμπληθεῖς δὲ παρὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπηκόων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐνσπόντων
3 καὶ δῆμων καὶ βασιλεῶν ἱθροίκει. ἀνευ γὰρ ἐν τοῦ τε Φαρνάκου καὶ τοῦ Ὄρωδος (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον, καίτοι πολέμιον ἀφὶ οὐ τοὺς Κράσσους ἀπέκτεινεν ὄντα, προσεταιρίσασθαι ἐπεχείρησε) πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι, οἱ καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὤσον ὑπεκινδύνεται ποτὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ χρήματα οἱ ἐδωκαν, καὶ βοηθείας
4 οἱ μὲν ἐπεμψαν οἱ δὲ ἡγαγον. ὁ δὲ δὴ Πάρθος ὑπέσχετο μὲν αὐτῷ, ἀν τὴν Συρίαν λάβῃ, συμμαχήσειν, μὴ τυχὼν δὲ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔστητο. προφητοσμὸς δὲ ὁν πολὺ τοῦ Πομπήιον τῷ πλῆθει, ἐξεσώκετο σφίσιν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ οὕτως ἀπ᾽ ἀντιπάλου πλεονεξιᾶς καὶ ἐσορροποῖο ἀλληλοῖς καὶ ἰσοκίνδυνοι ἐγίνοντο.

56 Ἔκ τοῦ οὖν τούτου καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς αἰτίας τῆς τε ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πολέμου ἀξιολογότατος ἀγῶν συννεχῆ. ἢ τε γὰρ πόλεις ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἡ ἁρχή αὐτῆς ἄπασα, καὶ πολλὴ καὶ μεγάλη ἰδὴ ὀνόμα, ἀθηνὸν σφίσει προσκείτο. ἐυθέλην γὰρ ποὺ πᾶσιν ἦν ὅτι τὸ τότε κρατήσατε δουλωθή-
2 σετεί. τούτο τοῦ οὗν ἐκλογιζόμενοι, καὶ προσέτε καὶ τῶν ἐπιτέρων ἑργῶν, Πομπήιος μὲν τῆς τε

1 ἀξιοστρατηγήτατοι Bk., ἀξιοστρατηγηκότατοι L.
occupied with them, had performed deeds worthy of note, had been conspicuous for great valour and also for great good fortune, and were therefore most worthy of commanding and most worthy of victory. As to their forces, Caesar had the largest and the most genuinely Roman portion of the state legions and the most warlike men from the rest of Italy, from Spain, and the whole of Gaul and the islands that he had conquered; Pompey had brought along many from the senatorial and the equestrian order and from the regularly enrolled troops, and had gathered vast numbers from the subject and allied peoples and kings. With the exception of Pharnaces and Orodes (for he tried to win over even the latter, although an enemy since the time he had killed the Crassi), all the rest who had ever been befriended at all by Pompey gave him money and either sent or brought auxiliaries. Indeed, the Parthian had promised to be his ally if he should receive Syria; but as he did not get it, he lent him no help. While Pompey, then, greatly excelled in numbers, Caesar's followers were their equals in strength; and so, the advantages being even, they were an equal match for each other and the risks they incurred were equal.

As a result of these circumstances and of the very cause and purpose of the war a most notable struggle took place. For the city of Rome and its entire empire, even then great and mighty, lay before them as the prize, since it was clear to all that it would be the slave of him who then conquered. When they reflected on this fact and furthermore thought of their former deeds,—Pompey of Africa, Sertorius,
Αφρικής καὶ τοῦ Σερτορίου τοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου καὶ τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τῆς βαλάσσης, Καίσαρ δὲ τῆς τε Γαλατίας καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας τοῦ τε Ῥήνου καὶ τῆς Βρεττανίας, ἀναμμηνησκόμενοι, καὶ κινδυνεύειν τε καὶ περὶ ἑκείνων ἤγουμενοι καὶ προσκήνασθαι τὴν ἄλληλων δόξαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενοι, ὥργων. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα τῶν ἥττημένων τοὺς κρατοῦσι προσγύνεται καὶ ἡ εὐκλεία ὅτι μάλιστα ὅσω γὰρ ἂν μεῖξοι καὶ δυνατοτερον τις ἀνταγωνιστὴν καθέλη, τόσο δὲ καὶ αὐτός ἐπὶ μεῖξον αἴρεται. καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας πολλὰ μὲν παραπλήσια δ᾽ οὖν ἄλληλους παρήμεναν, εἰπόντες πάνθ᾽ ὅσα ἔν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ πρὸς τε τὸ αὐτίκα τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπείτα πρῆπε λέγεσθαι. ἐκ τε γὰρ τῆς αὐτής πολιτείας ὀρμώμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγους ποιούμενοι, καὶ ἄλληλους τε τυράννους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἑλευθερώτας αὐτῶν ὀνομάζοντες, οὗτοι σφισὶ διάφορον εἰπένθ᾽ ἐσχον, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἀποθανεῖν τοῖς δὲ σωθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἱχμαλώτοις τοῖς δὲ ἐν δεσπότου μοίρᾳ πάντα τε ἔχειν ἡ πάντων στερθῆναι καὶ παθεῖν ἡ ποιῆσαι δεινό- τατα ὑπάρξει. τοιαύτας οὖν δὴ τινὰς παραίνεσες τοῖς πολίταις ποιησάμενοι, καὶ προσέτη καὶ τὰ τῶν υπηκόων τῶν τε συμμάχων πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας τῶν κρεισσόνων καὶ πρὸς τῶν φόβος τῶν χειρῶν προαγαγόντες, συνέβαλον ἄλληλοις τοὺς ὀμοφύλους, τοὺς συσκήνους, τοὺς συσσίτους, τοὺς ὀμοσπόνδους, καὶ τί ἄν τις τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὀδύρατο, ὅπως καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντα τε ταῦτα ἄλληλοις ὄντες, καὶ προσέτη πολλῶν μὲν λόγων ἀπορρήτων πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἔργων ὀμοίων κεκοινω-
Mithridates, Tigranes, and the sea, and Caesar of Gaul, Spain, the Rhine, and Britain,—they were wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement, believing that those conquests, too, were at stake, and each being eager to acquire the other's glory. For the renown of the vanquished, far more than his other possessions, becomes the property of the victor, since, the greater and more powerful the antagonist that a man overthrows, the greater is the height to which he himself is raised. Therefore they delivered to their soldiers also many exhortations, but very much alike on both sides, saying all that is fitting to be said on such an occasion with reference both to the immediate results of the struggle and to the subsequent results. As they both came from the same state and were talking about the same matters and calling each other tyrants and themselves liberators from tyranny of the men they addressed, they had nothing different to say on either side, but stated that it would be the lot of the one side to die, of the other to be saved, of the one side to be captives, of the other to enjoy the master's lot, to possess everything or to be deprived of everything, to suffer or to inflict a most terrible fate. After addressing some such exhortations to the citizens and furthermore trying to inspire the subject and allied contingents with hopes of a better lot and fears of a worse, they hurled at each other kinsmen, sharers of the same tent, of the same table, of the same libations. Yet why should any one, then, lament the fate of the others involved, when those very leaders, who were all these things to each other, and had, moreover, shared many secret plans and many exploits of like character,
νηκότες, κηδὸς τὲ ποτὲ συναψάμενοι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ παιδίον, ὦ μὲν ὡς πατὴρ ὦ δὲ ὡς πάππος, ἀγα-πήσαντες, ὡμοι ἐμάχοντο; ὡσα γὰρ ἡ φύσις τὸ ἄιμα αὐτῶν μίξασα συνέδησε, τὸτε ταύτα τῇ ἀπλήστῃ τῆς δυναστείας ἐπιθυμία διέλυσαν καὶ διέστων καὶ διερρήγυςαν. καὶ δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος καὶ Ἡ Ῥώμη περὶ τε ἑαυτῆ καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἀμα κυνυνευσεν ἡγαγκάζετο, ὡστε καὶ νικήσασα ἠττηθήναι.

58 Τοιούτῳ μὲν ἀγώνι συννέχθησαν οὐ μέντοι καὶ εὐθὺς συνέμεμχαν, ἀλλ᾽ οία ἐκ τε τῆς αὐτῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἑστίας ὁρμώμενοι, καὶ τὰ τε ὅπλα παραπλήσια καὶ τὰς τάξεις ὀμοίας ἔχοντες, ὄκνουν μὲν ἄρξαι τῆς μάχης, ὄκνουν δὲ 2 καὶ φονεύσαι τινας ἐκάτεροι. συγγε τε οὖν ἀμφότερων καὶ κατηφεία πολλή ἢ, καὶ οὔτε τις αὐτῶν ἡ το πρόσω προσήε 2 οὔθ᾽ ὅλως ἐκνεύτο, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγκύψαντες ἠτρέμιζον ὥσπερ ἄνυχοι. ἐφοβηθέντες οὖν ὁ τε Καίσαρ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἡσυχάσαντες ἀμβλυτεροί πως γένοιται ἢ καὶ συναλλαγὸς, προσέταξαν σπουδὴ τοῖς τε σαλπικταῖς σημῆναι 3 καὶ ἐκεῖνος συμβοήσαι τὸ πολεμικόν. καὶ ἐπράξθη μὲν ἐκάτεροι, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἐδέσαν ἐπιρροσθῆναι ὡστε καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐκ τε τῆς τῶν σαλπικτῶν ἡχής ὁμοφωνοῦσις καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν βοῆς ὁμογλωσσοῦσις τὸ τε ὁμοφυλόν σφον ἐξέφηναι καὶ τὸ ὀμογενές ἐξῆλεγχαν, κάκ τούτοι καὶ ἔς ἀκραν καὶ θρήνου ἐπεσος. ὅψε δ᾽ οὖν ποτὲ τῶν συμμαχικῶν προκαταρξίων καὶ

1 ἐκεῖνος Bk., ἐκεῖνον L. 2 προσῆε R. Steph., προσήει L. 3 πολεμικῶν St., πολέμιον L.
who had once been joined by domestic ties and had loved the same child, one as a father, the other as grandfather, nevertheless fought? All the ties with which nature, by mingling their blood, had bound them together, they now, led by their insatiable lust of power, hastened to break, tear, and rend asunder. Because of them Rome was being compelled to fight both in her own defence and against herself, so that even if victorious she would be vanquished.

Such was the struggle in which they joined; yet they did not immediately come to close quarters. Sprung from the same country and from the same hearth, with almost identical weapons and similar formation, each side shrank from beginning the battle, and shrank from slaying any one. So there was great silence and dejection on both sides; no one went forward or moved at all, but with heads bowed they stood motionless, as if devoid of life. Caesar and Pompey, therefore, fearing that if they remained quiet any longer their animosity might be lessened or they might even become reconciled, hurriedly commanded the trumpeters to give the signal and the men to raise the war cry in unison. Both orders were obeyed, but the combatants were so far from being imbued with courage, that at the sound of the trumpeters' call, uttering the same notes, and at their own shout, raised in the same language, they showed their sense of relationship and betrayed their kinship more than ever, and so fell to weeping and lamenting. But after a long time, when the allied troops began the battle, the rest also joined in, fairly
59 μενοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους, οὓς πάρρωθεν ἢ ἀλκὴ ἦν, ἤττον τὸ δεινὸν συνεβαινεν, οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰδότες οὓς ἤβαλλον, ἑτόξευον ἕκοντιζον
2 ἐσφενδόνων οἱ δὲ δὴ ὅπλιταί οἱ τε ἵππης καὶ τὰ ἄλληλα δυνάμειν ἐγνωρίζον τε ἀμα τοὺς ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους καὶ ἔττρωσκον, ἀνεκάλουν καὶ ἐφόνευον, τῶν πα-
3 τρίδων ἐμέμνηντο καὶ ἐσκύλευον. ταῦτα μὲν οἱ τὲ Ρωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας συντρατευομένοι σφισαίν, ὅποι ποτὲ προστύχωσιν ἄλληλοις, καὶ ἐπραττοῦν καὶ ἔπασχον καὶ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ οὐκαδεὶς δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν σφαγέων ἐνετέλλοντο. τὸ δὲ ὑπήκοον καὶ προθυμῶς καὶ ἀφειδῶς ἐμάχησα, πολλὴν σπουδὴν, ὥσπερ ποτὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς σφετέρας ἐλευθερίας, οὕτω τούτο κατὰ τῆς τῶν Ρωμαίων ὀνδείας ποιούμενοι, ἐπιθυμία, ἀτε ἐν πάσιν αὐτῶν ἐλαττούμενοι, ομοδούλους σφαῖς ἔχειν.
4 Мεγίστη τε οὖν ἡ μάχη καὶ πολυτροπώτιστη διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τε πολυειδές τῆς παρασκεψῆς ἐγένετο. πάμπολλοι μὲν γὰρ ὁπλιτεῖς πάμπολλοι δὲ καὶ ἵππης, τοξόται τε ἐτεροῖ καὶ σφενδονίται ἄλλοι δυνεῖς, τὸ τε πεδίον πᾶν κατέλαβον, καὶ σκεδασθέντες πολλαχὶ μὲν ἄλληλοις οὐα ὀμόσκευοι, πολλαχὶ δὲ καὶ ἐτέροις
2 ἀναιμῖξ ἐμάχοντο. προείχον δὲ οἱ Πομπηίειοι τῇ τε ἱππείᾳ καὶ τῇ τοξείᾳ, καὶ διὰ τούτο πόρρωθεν τε ἐγκυκλούμενοι τινας προσβολαίς αἴφνιδίοις

1 γὰρ Bs., καὶ L.
2 ὑπὲρ R. Steph., ἑνὸ L.
beside themselves at what they were doing. Those who fought at long range were less sensible of the horror, as they shot their arrows, hurled their javelins, and discharged their slings without knowing whom they hit; but the heavy-armed troops and the cavalry had a very hard time of it, as they were close to each other and could even talk a little back and forth; at one and the same moment they would recognize those who confronted them and would wound them, would call them by name and would slaughter them, would recall the towns they had come from and would despoil them. Such were the deeds both done and suffered by the Romans and by the others from Italy who were with them on the campaign, wherever they met each other. Many sent messages home through their very slayers. But the subject force fought both zealously and relentlessly, showing great zeal, as once to win their own freedom, so now to secure the slavery of the Romans; they wanted, since they were reduced to inferiority to them in all things, to have them as fellow-slaves.

Thus it was a very great battle and full of diverse incidents, partly for the reasons mentioned and partly on account of the numbers and the variety of the armaments. There were vast bodies of heavy-armed soldiers, vast bodies of cavalry, in another group archers and still others that were slingers, so that they occupied the whole plain, and scattered over it, they fought often with each other, since they belonged to the same arms, but often also with men of the other arms indiscriminately. The Pompeians surpassed in cavalry and archers; hence they would surround troops at a distance, employ sudden assaults,
ἐχρῶντο, καὶ συνταράξαντες αὐτοὺς ἔξανεχώρουν, εἰτ' αὐθις καὶ μᾶλ' αὐθις ἐπετίθεντο σφισί, τοτε
3 μὲν ἐνταῦθα τοτε δε ἐκείσε μεδιστάμενοι. οἱ οὐν
Καισάρειοι ταῦτα τε ἐφυλάσσοντο, καὶ ταῖς
τάξεις σφῶν ἔξελίσσοντες ἀντιπρόσωποι τε ἀεὶ
tοις προσβάλλονσιν 1 ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ὅμοσε αὐτοῖς
χῶροὺς τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππων 2 ἀντελαμβάνοντο, προβύμως ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ
γὰρ πεζοὶ τοῖς ἱππεύσιν αὐτῶν κούφοι ἐπ' αὐτὸ
4 τούτο συνετετάχατο. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ καθ' ἐν, 3
ὅσπερ εἶπον, ἄλλα πολλαχῇ ἁμα σποράδην
ἐγίγνετο, ὡστε τῶν μὲν πόρρωθεν μαχομένων τῶν
dὲ συσταθὸν ἀγωνιζομένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν παιότων
tινῶν τῶν δὲ πατασσομένων, θεογόνων ἔτερων,
dιωκόντων ἄλλων, 4 πολλὰς μὲν πεξομαχίας
5 πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἱππομαχίας ὑράσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο
καὶ παρὰ δόξαν 5 συγχαί συνέβαινε, καὶ γὰρ
τρέψας τὶς τινὰ ἐτρέπετο, καὶ ἄλλος ἑκκλίνας
tινᾷ ἀντεπτίθετο αὐτῷ· πλῆξας τις ἔτερον
αὐτὸς ἐτιτρώσκετο καὶ πεπτωκὼς ἄλλος τῶν
ἐστικότα ἀπεκτίννυε. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ
ἀτρωτοὶ ἔθησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἡμιθήτες
6 ἐφόνευν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐχαίρουν καὶ ἐπαινοῦσον, οἱ
dὲ ἐλυποῦντο καὶ ὀλοφύρωστο, ὡστε βοής καὶ
στεναγμῶν πάντα πληρωθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν
πλεῖοσι καὶ ἐκ τούτου ταραχὴν ἐγγενέσθαι (τὰ
γὰρ λεγόμενα ἀποκά ἁφίσι διὰ τὸ ἄλλοεθνές
dιὰ τὸ ἄλλοθυμον ὅταν δεινῶς αὐτοὺς

1 προσβάλλουσιν Xiph., προσβαλούσιν L.
2 ἤππων Xiph., ἤππων L. 3 καθ' ἐν Rk., καθ' ἐνα L.
4 ἄλλων Xiph., ἄτερων L.
5 παρὰ δόξαν Xiph., παραδόξαστι L.
and retire after throwing their opponents into confusion; then they would attack them again and again, turning now to this side and now to that. The Caesarians, therefore, were on their guard against this, and by wheeling round always managed to face their assailants, and when they came to close quarters with them, would seize hold of both men and horses in the eagerness of the struggle; for light-armed infantry had been drawn up with their cavalry for this very purpose. And all this took place, as I said, not in one spot, but in many places at once, scattered all about, so that with some contending at a distance and others fighting at close quarters, this body smiting its opponents and that group being struck, one detachment fleeing and a second pursuing, many infantry battles and many cavalry battles as well were to be seen. Meanwhile many incredible things were taking place. One man after routing another would himself be turned to flight, and another who had avoided an opponent would in turn attack him. One soldier who had struck another would be wounded himself, and a second, who had fallen, would kill the enemy who stood over him. Many died without being wounded, and many when half dead kept on slaying. Some were glad and sang paeans, while the others were distressed and uttered lamentations, so that all places were filled with shouts and groans. The majority were thrown into confusion by this fact, for what was said was unintelligible to them, because of the confusion of nations and languages, and alarmed them greatly, and those who could understand one
ΔΟΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΗ ΕΙΣΗΓΗΣΗΣ, τοὺς δὲ δὴ συνείσυν ἀλλήλων πολλαπλασιον τὸ κακὸν συμβῆναι πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς ἱδίους σφῶν παθήμασι καὶ τὰ τῶν πέλας καὶ ἑώρων ἅμα καὶ ἥκονον.

61 Τέλος δὲ, ἵσορρόπως αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀγωνισμένων, καὶ πολλῶν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὁμοίως καὶ πεσόντων καὶ πρωθέντων, ὁ Πομπήιος ἀτε καὶ Ἀσιανὸς καὶ ἀγύμναστον τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔχων ἡπτῆθη, ὅσπερ ποὺ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου οἱ ἐξεδήλωτον κεραυνοὶ τε γὰρ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἐσέπεσον, καὶ πῦρ ἁέριον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ταφρείας φανὲν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνην κατεσκηφε, τὰ τε σημεῖα αὐτοῦ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ μέλισσαι περίεςχον, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερεῖων αὐτοῖς ἥδη τοὺς βωμοῖς προσαγόμενα ἐξέδρα.

3 καὶ οὕτω γε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὁ ἀγών ἐκεῖνος ἐτευχεὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλαχόθει ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῆς μάχης ἡμέρᾳ καὶ στρατόπεδον συνίδουσκαὶ ὁπλῶν κτύπους συμβῆναι, ἐν τῇ Περγάμῳ τυμπάνου τῷ τίνα καὶ κυμβάλλων ὕφον ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἀρθέντα διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως.

4 χωρῆσαι, καὶ ἐν Τράλλεσι φοίνικα τε ἐν τῷ τῆς Νίκης ναῷ ἀναφυναίναι καὶ τὴν θέον αὐτῆς πρὸς εἰκόνα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν πλαγίω ποὺ κειμένης μεταστράφηναι, τοὺς τῷ Σύρως δύο τινὰς νεανίσκους τὸ τέλος τῆς μάχης ἀγγείλαντας ἀφανείς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐν Παταούῳ τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας τότε δὲ ἐτὶ Γαλατίας ὀρνιθάς τινὰς οὐχ ὅτι διαγγείλαι

5 αὐτὴν ἄλλα καὶ δεῖξαι τρόπον τινά: Γάμος γὰρ τῆς Κορηλίου πάντα τὰ γενόμενα ἀκριβῶς τε ἐς αὐτῶν ἐτεκμηριάτο καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐξηγήσατο.

1 πολλαχόθει ἐν Rk., πολλαχόθεν L.
another suffered a calamity many times worse; for in addition to their own misfortunes they could hear and at the same time see those of their neighbours.

At last, after they had carried on an evenly-balanced struggle for a very long time and many on both sides alike had fallen or been wounded, Pompey, since the larger part of his army was Asiatic and untrained, was defeated, even as had been made clear to him before the action. For thunderbolts had fallen upon his camp, a fire had appeared in the air over Caesar's camp and had then fallen upon his own, bees had swarmed about his military standards, and many of the victims after being led up close to the very altar had run away. And so far did the effects of that contest extend to the rest of mankind that on the very day of the battle collisions of armies and the clash of arms occurred in many places. In Pergamum a noise of drums and cymbals rose from the temple of Dionysus and spread throughout the city; in Tralles a palm tree grew up in the temple of Victory and the goddess herself turned about toward an image of Caesar that stood beside her; in Syria two young men announced the result of the battle and vanished; and in Patavium, which now belongs to Italy but was then still a part of Gaul, some birds not only brought news of it but even acted it out to some extent, for one Gaius Cornelius drew from their actions accurate information of all that had taken place, and narrated it to
ταῦτα μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκεῖνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὡς ἐκαστά\(^1\) συννεχθη, καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν ἴπτιστείτο, ὡσπερ ἐικὸς ἦν, ἀγγελθέντων δὲ τῶν πραξάντων ἐθαυμαζέτο.

62 Τῶν δὲ δὴ Πομπηιάων τῶν μὴ\(^2\) ἐν χερσὶ φθαρέντων οἱ μὲν ἐφυγον ὅπη ποτὲ ἱδυνῆθησαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο . . . . . .3 καὶ αὐτῶν οὐ Καίσαρ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ στρατευόμενος ἐστὶ ἐαυτοῦ στρατόπεδα ἐσέγραψε, μηδὲν σφισι.

2 μητρικάκησαις, τῶν δὲ δὴ Βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἀπείρου ὅσους μὲν καὶ πρότερον ποτὲ ἴδικός ἢ λείματε ἀπέκτεινε, πλὴν εἰ\(^4\) τινας οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ ἔξαρσαντο (τούτως γὰρ ἐνα ἐκάστῳ τὸτε σώσαι

3 συνεχώρησεν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τοὺς τότε πρῶτον αὐτοπολεμήσαντας αὐτῷ ἀφῆκεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐδὲν μὲ\(^5\) ἴδικήσαις οὐ τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου φίλον σφίσειν ὅπως ἐσπούδασαν, μηδεμίαν ἐνεργείαν παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἔχοντες." τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δυνάστας τοὺς τε δήμους τοὺς συναραμένους οἱ ἐποίησεν: πάσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς συμβέβηκεν, ἐννοοῦν ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ἡ τινα ἡ ὀφθάλμα\(^6\) αὐτῶν ἴπτιστατο, παρ᾽ ἐκείνου δὲ δὴ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ προεπετύθεσαν.

5 καὶ πολὺ γε τούτους μᾶλλον ἐπήνει τῶν ἐνεργείαν μὲν τινα παρὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου προ- λαβόντων, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοὺς κυνύδονις αὐτῶν ἐγκαταλι.

6 πῶντων τοὺς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐαυτῷ δὲ εὔνοιας ἐσεσθαι ἡλπίζε, τοὺς δὲ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐδοξάζω τί οἱ καὶ χαρίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ προδότας γε τοῦ νῦν

1 ἐκαστά Oldey, ἐκαστά L.
2 μὴ Reim., μὲν L.
3 Lacuna recognized by Xyl.
4 εἰ H. Steph., Ἐ L.
5 μὲ H. Steph., μὲν L.
6 ἡ τινα ἡ οὐδένα Cobot, ἡ οὐδένα ἡ τινα L.
the bystanders. These several things happened on that very same day and though they were, not unnaturally, distrusted at the time, yet when news of the actual facts was brought, they were marvelled at.

Of Pompey’s followers who were not destroyed on the spot some fled whithersoever they could, and others [were captured] later on. Those of them who were soldiers of the line Caesar enrolled in his own legions, exhibiting no resentment. Of the senators and knights, however, he put to death all whom he had previously captured and spared, except some whom his friends begged off; for he allowed each friend on this occasion to save one man. The rest who had then for the first time fought against him he released, remarking: “Those have not wronged me who supported the cause of Pompey, their friend, without having received any benefit from me.” This same attitude he adopted toward the princes and the peoples who had assisted Pompey. He pardoned them all, bearing in mind that he himself was acquainted with none or almost none of them, whereas from his rival they had previously obtained many favours. Indeed, he praised these far more than he did those who, after receiving favours from Pompey, had deserted him in the midst of dangers; the former he could reasonably expect would be favourably disposed to him also, but as to the latter, no matter how anxious they seemed to be to please him in anything, he believed that, inasmuch as they had betrayed their friend in this

1 This is the idea to be supplied if we follow Plutarch (Caes. 46, 2); but Caesar’s own account (B.C. iii. 98 l.) would suggest rather “surrendered.”
φίλου γενομένους ούδὲ ἕαυτοῦ ποτε φείσεσθαι τοῦ Ἐυπαχίου 63 ἐνόμιζε. τεκμηρίου δὲ ὅτι Σαδάλου μὲν τοῦ Ῥωκαῦ καὶ Νικοτάρου τοῦ Γαλάτου, καὶ τοῦ καὶ ἔν τῇ μάχῃ γενομένων, Ταρκουνδόμου τοῦ Ἐν μέρει μὲν τινὶ τῆς Κιλικίας δυναστεύοντος, πλείστου δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ ναυτικὰ βοηθήσαντος, ἐφείσατο. τι γὰρ δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰς συμμαχίας πέμψαντας καταλέγειν, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς συγγρόμην ἑνείμε, ἥρματα μόνον παρ' αὐτῶν λαβὸν; ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐτὲ ἐδρασὲ σφας οὐτ' ἀφεῖλετο, καὶ περὶ πολλῶν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, τὰ μὲν πάλαι τὰ δὲ καὶ τότε, παρὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου εἰληφότων, μέρος μὲν γὰρ τι τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῆς τοῦ Δημοτάρου γενομένης Ἀριστοβάρζανε ὁ τῆς Καππαδοκίας βασιλεῖ ἐδωκεν, οὗ μέντοι καὶ τῶν Δημοτάρου ἐν τούτῳ τι ἐβλαψεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσευργεύθησεν. οὗ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τὴν χώραν ἀπετέμετο, ἀλλ' ἵπτο τοῦ Φαρνάκου πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καταληφθεῖσαν καταλαβὼν τὸ μὲν τι αὐτῆς τῷ Ἀριστοβάρζανε τὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Δημοτάρου ἔχαρισάτο. καὶ τούτων μὲν οὕτως ἐχρήσατο τὸ δὲ δὴ Φαρνάκη προβαλλομένῳ ὅτι μὴ προσαμίμαι τῷ Πομπηίῳ, καὶ τούτων συγγρόμης ἐφ' οἷς ἐπεποιήκει τυχεῖν ἀξιόύντι, οὕτε ἐνείμεν ἐπιεικὲς οὐδὲν, καὶ προσέτε καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐπεκάλεσέν, ὅτι καὶ πονηρὸς καὶ ἀνόσιος περὶ τῶν ἐνεργήτην ἐγένετο. τοσαῦτ' μὲν καὶ φιλανθρωπία καὶ ἀρετὴ πρὸς ἀπαντὰς τοὺς ἀντιπολεμήσαντας αὐτὸ ἐπίταν ἔχρητο· ἀμέλει
crisis they would, on occasion, not spare him either. A proof of his feeling is that he spared Sadalus the Thracian and Deiotarus the Galatian, who had been in the battle, and Tarcondimotus, who was ruler of a portion of Cilicia and had been of the greatest assistance to Pompey in the matter of ships. But what need is there to enumerate the rest who had sent auxiliaries, to whom also he granted pardon, merely exacting money from them? He did nothing else to them and took from them nothing else, though many had received numerous large gifts from Pompey, some long ago and some just at that time. He did give a certain portion of Armenia that had belonged to Deiotarus, to Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, yet in this he did not injure Deiotarus at all, but rather conferred an additional favour upon him. For he did not curtail his territory, but after occupying all of Armenia previously occupied by Pharmaces, he bestowed one part of it upon Ariobarzanes and another part upon Deiotarus. These men, then, he treated in this wise. Pharmaces, on his side, made a plea that he had not assisted Pompey and therefore, in view of his behaviour, deserved to obtain pardon; but Caesar showed him no consideration, and furthermore reproached him for this very thing, that he had proved himself base and impious toward his benefactor. Such humanity and uprightness did he show throughout to all those who had fought against him. At any rate, all the letters that were
καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ ἀπόθετα τὰ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πομπήιον κιβωτίων εὑρεθέντα, ὡσα τινῶν τὴν τε πρὸς ἐκεῖνου εὖνοιαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ δύσνοιαν ἥλεγχεν, οὕτ' ἀνέγνω οὕτ' ἐξεγράψατο ἀλλ' ὁ εὐθὺς κατέφλεξεν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν δεινὸν ἀναγκασθῇ δρᾶσαι, ὡστε τινὰ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπιβουλευσάντας αὐτῷ μισῆσαι. τούτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως εἴπον, ἀλλ' ὃτι καὶ ὁ Καπίων ὁ Βροῦτος ὁ Μάρκος, ὃ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνας, καὶ ἕαλω ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσώθη.

1 tā added by Rk.  
2 Καπίων Leunel., καπίων L.
BOOK XLI

found filed away in Pompey's chests which convicted any persons of good-will toward the latter or ill-will toward himself. He neither read nor had copied, but burned them immediately, in order not to be forced by what was in them to take severe measures; and for this reason, if no other, one ought to hate the men who plotted against him. I make this statement with a particular purpose, since Marcus Brutus Caepio, who afterwards killed him, was not only captured by him but also spared.
Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ τεττυρακοστῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων

α. ’Ως Πομπῆιος ἠπηθεῖς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἐφογενεῖ εἰς Αἰγυπτον καὶ ἀπέθανεν.

β. ’Ως Καίσαρ Πομπήιον ἐπειδιώκειν εἰς Ἀἰγυπτον ἦλθεν.

γ. ’Ως ἤγγελθη τὰ κατὰ Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπῆιον εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ δὲ ἐψηφίσατο τῷ Καίσαρι.

δ. ’Ως ἐστασίασαν οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποδΗμίαν.

ε. ’Ως Καίσαρ Αἰγυπτίως πολεμήσας κατεστρέφατο αὐτοὺς καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ ἐχαρίσατο.

ζ. ’Ως Καίσαρ Φαρακην ἐνίκησεν.

η. ’Ως Καίσαρ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ κατεστήσατο.

θ. ’Ως Καίσαρ ἐν Αἱριμή ἐστατένσει.

Χρόνου πλήθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γ. ’Ιουλίου Καίσαρος τὸ β’ καὶ Πομπῆιον Σεραυλίου Ἰσαυρικοῦ ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλο ἐτος ἐν, ἐν ὃ ἀρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἰδέ ἐγένοτο.

Γ. ’Ιουλίου Γ. ν. Καίσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ β’.

Μ. ’Αντώνιος Μ. ν. Ἰππαρχος

νάτω δὲ

Κ. Φούφιος Κ. ν. Καλλίνος

Π. Οὐσάμιος

’Η μὲν οὖν μάχη τοιαύτη δή τις ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ὁ Πομπῆιος πάντων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων παραχρῆμα ἀπέγνω, καὶ οὐκέτ’ οὔτε τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς οὔτε τοῦ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν

1 & supplied by Xyl. (in transl.).
2 τῆς Γ. Bs., τῆς Reim., ἐτη τ. L.
3 L has ὁτ’ after β’; Xyl. deleted.
BOOK XLII

The following is contained in the Forty-second of Dio's Rome:—

How Pompey, defeated in Thessaly, fled to Egypt and perished (chaps. 1-5).

How Caesar, pursuing Pompey, came into Egypt (chaps. 6-9).

How the news about Caesar and Pompey was announced at Rome, and what decrees were passed in honour of Caesar (chaps. 17-20).

How the people in Rome fell into strife during Caesar's absence (chaps. 21-33).

How Caesar fought and subdued the Egyptians and made a present of them to Cleopatra (chaps. 34-44).

How Caesar conquered Pharnaces (chaps. 45-48).

How Caesar returned to Rome and settled matters there (chaps. 49-55).

How Caesar led an expedition into Africa (chaps. 56-58).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of C. Julius Caesar (II) and Publius Servilius Isauricus, together with one additional year, in which there were the magistrates here enumerated:—

B.C. 47 C. Iulius C. F. Caesar, dictator (II), M. Antonius M. F., master of horse, and the two consuls Q. Fufius Q. F. Calenus and P. Vatinius P. F.

Such was the general character of the battle. As a result of it Pompey straightway despaired of all his projects and no longer took any account of his own valour or of the multitude of troops remaining
πλήθους οὖθ' οτι πολλάκις ἢ τύχη δι' ἐλαχίστον τοὺς πταίσαντας ἀναλαμβάνει λογισμόν τινα ἐποίησατο, καίπερ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ πλείστον μὲν τῷ εὐθὺμον πλείστον δὲ τὸ ἐνελπίσαμεν παρὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐσφάλη αἰεί ποτε σχόν. 2 αἰτίον δὲ οτι ἐν μὲν ἐκείνοις ἀντίπαλος ὦς πλήθει τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὁν οὐ προελάμβανε τῇ γνώμῃ τὴν νίκην, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τὴν ἐκβασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐν τῷ τῷ θαρσοῦντι καὶ πρίν ἐστὶ κατάπληξιν τινα ἄφικέναι, προσκοπῶν οὐκ ἠμέλει τῆς τοῦ χείρων θεραπείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐθ' ὑπείκειν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἡμαγκάζετο καὶ ἀναμάχεσθαι ῥαδίως ἐδύνατο, τότε δὲ πολλῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος περισχήσειν ἐλπίσας οὐδέν προείδετο. 3 οὐκοῦν οὖθ' ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ ἐποίησατο, οὐθ' ἀναφυγὴν οὐδεμίαν ἦττήθησιν οἱ παρεσκεύασε τρίψας τε δυνήθεις ἄν τα πράγματα, καὶ τοῦτον ἁμαχεῖ κρατήσαι (στρατὸς τῇ γάρ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν αὐτῷ προσεγύρετο, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεία ἀφθονα ἄτε ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ τῇ πλείστῃ χώρᾳ ὃν καὶ ναυκρατὸν ἔχειν), ὅμως, εἴτε ἐθελοντῆς ὡς καὶ πάντως νικήσων, εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν συνόντων ἐκμισθείς, συνέβαλε. καὶ διὰ ταύτ', ἐπειδὴ τἀχιστα ἐνικήθη, δεινῶς ἐξεπλάγη καὶ οὔτε τί βούλευμα καίριον οὔτ' ἐλπίδα βεβαιαν ἐς τὸ ἀνακινδυνεύσαι ἔσχεν. όταν γάρ τι ἀπροσδοκητὸς τέ τινι καὶ μετὰ πλείστου παραλόγου προσπέσῃ, τό τε φρόνημα αὐτοῦ ταπεινοὶ καὶ τὸ λογιζόμενον ἐκπλήσσει, ὡστ' αὐτὸν καίσιτον τε καὶ ἀσθενέστατον τῶν 5 πρακτέων κριτὴν γενέσθαι. οὐ γάρ ἐθέλουσιν οἱ

1 οὔκουν Bk., οὔκουν L. 2 οὔτε τί Χιρ., οὔτε ἐτί L.
to him or of the fact that Fortune often restores the fallen in a moment of time; yet previously he had always possessed the greatest cheerfulness and the greatest hopefulness on all occasions of failure. The reason for this was that on those occasions he had usually been evenly matched with his foe and hence had not taken his victory for granted; but by reflecting beforehand on the two possible issues of events while he was still cool-headed and was not yet involved in any alarm he had not neglected to prepare for the worst. In this way he had not been compelled to yield to disasters and had always been able easily to renew the conflict; but this time, as he had expected to prove greatly superior to Caesar, he had taken no precautions. For instance, he had not placed his camp in a suitable position, nor had he provided a refuge for himself in case of defeat. And whereas he might have delayed action and so have prevailed without a battle,—since his army kept increasing every day and he had abundant provisions, being in a country for the most part friendly and being also master of the sea,—nevertheless, whether of his own accord, because he expected to conquer in any event, or because his hand was forced by his associates, he joined issue. Consequently, as soon as he was defeated, he became greatly terrified and had no opportune plan or sure hope to enable him to face the danger anew. Thus it is that whenever an event befalls a man unexpectedly and contrary to all calculation, it humbles his spirit and strikes his reason with panic, so that he becomes the poorest and weakest judge of what must be done. For reason cannot dwell
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

λογισμοῖ τοῖς φόβοις συνείναι, ἀλλὰ ἄν μὲν προκατάσχωσί τινα, καὶ μᾶλα γενναίως αὐτοὺς ἀπωθοῦνται, ἀν δ᾽ ὑστερήσωσίν, ἤττώνται.

2 Διὰ μὲν ὑπ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος, ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν προενόησε, καὶ γυμνὸς καὶ ἀφρακτὸς εὐρέθη, τάχ' ἂν μὴ χαλεπῶς, εἴπερ τι προεφάρτο, πάντα διὰ ταχέων ἀνακτησάμενος, τῶν τε γὰρ μεμαχημένων συχνοὶ περιεγεγόνεσαν, καὶ ἐτέρας δυνάμεις οὐ σμικρᾶς εἴχε· τὸ τε μέγιστον καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐκέκτητο καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπάσης ἐκράτει, αἰ τε πόλεις καὶ αἱ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἁσίᾳ καὶ δυστυχίσαντα αὐτὸν

2 ἡγάτων. νῦν δ' ἐπειδῆπερ ἐφ' ὅ μάλιστα ἠθάρσει κακῶς ἀπήλλαξεν, οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνων οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτικά τοῦ φόβου προσβολῆς ἐχρήσατο, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε ἔρυμα εὐθὺς ἐξέλιπτε καὶ πρὸς Λάρισ-

3 σαν μετ' ὀλίγων ἔφυγε. καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐσήλθε καίτοι τῶν Λαρισσαίων ἐσκαλοῦντων, φοβηθεὶς μή τινα αἰτιῶν ἐκ τοῦτου ὁφλωσιν ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνως μὲν τῷ κρατοῦτι προσχωρῆσαι ἐκέ-

4 λευσέν, αὐτὸς δὲ τά τε ἐπιτίθεια λάξων καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καταβᾶς ἐς Λέσβον ὀλκάδι 2 πρὸς τε τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Κορηλίαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν νῖον τῶν Σέκτων 3 ἔπλευσε. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραλάβοι καὶ μηδὲ ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην 4 ἐσελθὼν ἐς Αἰ-

γυπποῦν ἀπῆρε, συμμαχίαν παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αὐτῆς σχῆσειν ἐλπίσας· τοῦ τε γὰρ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου τὴν

1 προεφάρτα Bk., προεφάρτα L.
2 ὀλκάδι R. Steph., ὀλκάδια L.
3 Here and in the majority of instances elsewhere the Mss. read σείτων, but Xiph. and Zon. usually have σέτων.
4 Μυτιλήνην Diud., μυτιλήνην L.
with fear; if it occupies the ground first, it boldly
thrusts the other out, but if it be last on the field,
it gets the worst of the encounter.

Hence Pompey, also, having considered none of
the chances beforehand, was found naked and de-
ferenceless, whereas, if he had taken any precautions,
h he might, perhaps, without trouble have quickly
recovered everything. For large numbers of the
combatants on his side had survived and he had
other forces of no small importance. Above all, he
possessed large sums of money and was master of
the whole sea, and the cities both there and in Asia
were devoted to him even in his misfortune. But, as
it was, since he had fared ill where he felt most con-
fident, through the fear that seized him at the
moment he made no use of any one of these re-
sources, but left the camp at once and fled with a
few companions toward Larissa. He did not enter
the city, although the inhabitants invited him to do
so, because he feared that they might incur some
blame in consequence; but bidding them go over
to the victor, he himself took provisions, went down
to the sea, and sailed away on a merchantman to
Lesbos, to his wife Cornelia and his son Sextus.
After taking them on board, he did not enter Mity-
lene either, but departed for Egypt, hoping to
secure an auxiliary force from Ptolemy, the king of
that country. This was the son of that Ptolemy
who had received back the kingdom at his hands,
βασιλείαν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπολαβόντος νίος ἦν, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐς ἐπικούριαν ὁι ἐπετούμενοι, ἦκουσα μὲν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἔς Πάρθους φυγεῖν ἐξουλέωσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πιστεύειν ἔχω, ἐκεῖνοι τε γὰρ τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους πάντας, ἀἀφ' οὐ σφισιν ὁ Κράσσος ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον μάλιστα ἄτε καὶ προσήκοντα αὐτῷ, οὕτως ἐμίσουν ὡστε καὶ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν αὐτήσιν τῆς βοηθείας ἐλθόντα δήσαι

καίπερ βουλεύντων ὄντα· καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ τοῦ πολεμιστάτου, οὐ γε' εὖ πράττων οὐκ ἐτευχήκει, ἰκέτης ὑπέμεινε δυστυχήςας γενέσθαι.

Ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Αἰγυπτὸν δὲ ἄπερ εἰπὼν ὄρμησε, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἥπειρον μέχρι Κλικίας κομισθεὶς ἐκείθεν πρὸς τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐπεραίωθη, ὅπως ὁ Πτολεμαῖος Κλεοπάτρα τῇ ἀδελφῇ πολέμῳ

ἐστρατοπεδέυτο. τὰς τε ναίς ἁγιόκεχώσας ἐπεμψε τινὰς, τῆς τε πατρίας αὐτοῦ εὐχέρεσιας ἀναμιμήσκων καὶ δεόμενος ἐπὶ ρήτοις τὲ τις καὶ βεβαιῶς καταχθῆναι ἐκβήναι γὰρ πρὶν ἀσφαλείαν τινὰ λαβεῖν οὐκ ἐξάρσησε. καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ μὲν Πτολεμαῖος οὔδὲν (παῖς γὰρ ἔτι κομιδή ἦν) ἀπεκρίνατο, τῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων τινὲς καὶ Δούκιος Σεπτίμιος ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, συνεστρατευκὼς μὲν ποτὲ τῷ Πομπῆίῳ, συγγεγοῦν δὲ τῷ Γαβρίῳ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ μετὰ στρατιωτῶν

ἐς φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ καταλελειμμένος, ἠλθὼν μὲν ὁς φίλοι, ἐπεβουλεύσαν δὲ ἀνοσίας, καὶ ἐκ τούτων προστρόφασιν καὶ ἐαυτοῖς καὶ τῇ Αἰγυπτῷ πάσῃ προσέθεντο· αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπώλοντο.

1 οὐ γε Rk., οὔτε L. 2 τῇ supplied by R. Steph. 3 ἁγιόκεχωσα Dind., ἁγιόκεχωσα L.
through the agency of Gabinius, and in return for that service he had sent a fleet to Pompey's assistance. I have heard, indeed, that Pompey even thought of fleeing to the Parthians, but I cannot credit the report. For that race so hated the Romans as a people ever since Crassus had made his expedition against them, and Pompey especially, because he was related to Crassus, that they had even imprisoned his envoy who came with a request for aid, though he was a senator. And Pompey would never have endured in his misfortune to become a suppliant of his bitterest foe for what he had failed to obtain while enjoying success.

He set out, then, for Egypt, for the reasons mentioned, and after coasting along the shore as far as Cilicia crossed from there to Pelusium, where Ptolemy was encamped while making war upon his sister Cleopatra. Bringing the ships to anchor, he sent some men to remind the prince of the favour shown his father and to ask that he be permitted to land under certain definite guarantees; for he did not venture to disembark before obtaining some guarantee of safety. Ptolemy gave him no answer, for he was still a mere boy, but some of the Egyptians and Lucius Septimius, a Roman who had once served with Pompey and after becoming associated with Gabinius had been left behind by him with some troops to guard Ptolemy, came in the guise of friends; but they impiously plotted against him and by their act brought a curse upon themselves and all Egypt. For not only did they themselves
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

βασιλείαν παρ’ αυτού ἀπολαβόντος υἱὸς ἦν, καὶ
dia τούτο καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν οἱ ἐπε-

5 πόμφει. ἦκουσα μὲν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἐς Πάρθους
φυγεῖν ἐβουλεύσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πιστεύειν
ἐχω. ἐκείνοι τε γὰρ τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους πάντας,
ἀφ’ οὐ σφίσιν ὁ Κράσσος ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ
tὸν Πομπήιον μάλιστα ἀτε καὶ προσήκοντα αὐτῷ,
οὕτως ἐμίσουσιν ὅστε καὶ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν αὐτοῦ
πρὸς τὴν αὐτήν τῆς βοηθείας ἑλθόντα δῆσαι

6 καὶ περὶ βουλευτὴν ὄντα· καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἂν
ποτὲ τοῦ πολεμωτάτου, οὐ γε ἐν πράττουν οὐκ
ἐτετυχήκει, ἰκέτης ὑπέμεινε δυστυχήσας γενέσθαι.

3 Ἀλλ’ ἐς τὴν Ἀλγυπτὸν δὲ ἀπερ ἐπὶ ἐὰν ὄρμησε,
καὶ παρὰ τὴν ῥημον μέχρι Κιλικίας κομισθεὶς
ἐκείθεν πρὸς τὸ Πηλοῦσιον ἐπεραιώθη, ὅπου ὁ
Πτολεμαῖος Κλεοπάτρα τῇ 2 ἀδελφῇ πολεμῶν

2 ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. τὰς τε ναύς ἀνωκχέωσας 3
ἐπεμφάσις, τῆς τε πατρίδος αὐτὸν ἐνεργείας
ἀναμμήνῃσκον καὶ δεόμενος ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς τὲς τις
καὶ βεβαιος καταχθῆναι ἐκβηναι γὰρ πρὶν

3 ἀσφαλείαν τε λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔθαρσε. καὶ αὐτῷ
ὁ μὲν Πτολεμαῖος οὐδέν (παῖς γὰρ ἄτι κομιδῇ ἂν)
ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸν δὲ δὴ Λιγυπτίων τινὸς καὶ Λου-
κίος Σεπτίμιος αὐτὸς Ῥωμαῖος, συνεστρατευκώς μὲν
ποτὲ τῷ Πομπήῳ, συγγεγονὸς δὲ τῷ Γαβίνῳ
καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου τῷ Πτολεμαῖῳ μετὰ στρατιωτῶν

4 ἐς φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ καταλειμμένοι, ἥλθον μὲν
ἀνθ᾽ ὁμοίως ἐπεβουλεύσαν δὲ ἀνοσίως, καὶ ἐκ τούτου
προστράπαι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τῇ Λιγυπτίῳ πάσῃ
προσέθεντο· αὐτοῖς τε γὰρ οὐκ ἔστω ἀπαλωλοντο,

1 οὐ γε Rk., oste L. 2 τῇ supplied by R. Steph.
3 ἀνωκχέωσας Dind., ἀνωκχέωσας L.
through the agency of Gabinius, and in return for that service he had sent a fleet to Pompey's assistance. I have heard, indeed, that Pompey even thought of fleeing to the Parthians, but I cannot credit the report. For that race so hated the Romans as a people ever since Crassus had made his expedition against them, and Pompey especially, because he was related to Crassus, that they had even imprisoned his envoy who came with a request for aid, though he was a senator. And Pompey would never have endured in his misfortune to become a suppliant of his bitterest foe for what he had failed to obtain while enjoying success.

He set out, then, for Egypt, for the reasons mentioned, and after coasting along the shore as far as Cilicia crossed from there to Pelusium, where Ptolemy was encamped while making war upon his sister Cleopatra. Bringing the ships to anchor, he sent some men to remind the prince of the favour shown his father and to ask that he be permitted to land under certain definite guarantees; for he did not venture to disembark before obtaining some guarantee of safety. Ptolemy gave him no answer, for he was still a mere boy, but some of the Egyptians and Lucius Septimius, a Roman who had once served with Pompey and after becoming associated with Gabinius had been left behind by him with some troops to guard Ptolemy, came in the guise of friends; but they impiously plotted against him and by their act brought a curse upon themselves and all Egypt. For not only did they themselves
καὶ οἱ Αἰγυπτιοὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῇ Κλεοπάτρα δουλεύειν, ὄπερ ἦκιστα ἐβούλοντο,1 παρεδόθησαν, ἐπειτὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπῆκοον ἔσ-4 εγράφησαν, ἐν δ’ οὖν τῷ τότε Σεπτίμως καὶ Ἀχιλλάς ὁ στρατιάρχος, ἄλλοι τε μετ’ αὐτῶν ὄντες, ἔτοιμως ἐφασαν ἐσδέξεσθαι 2 τὸν Πομ-πίου, ὅπως ὡς ῥίστα ἀπατηθεῖς ἁλοῖν.3 καὶ τοὺς τε ἐλθόντας παρ’ αὐτοῦ προσεπμαχην, θαρ-σεῖν σφας ἔνοι κελεύσαντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀκατίων ἐπιβάντες προσεπλευσαν αὐτῷ,2 καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐφιλοθρονήσαντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἡξίωσαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς μετεκβήναι, λέγοντες μήτε τινὰ ναῦν 4 δύνασθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους διὰ τὰ βράχη πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσσχεῖν,5 καὶ τὸν Πτολε-μαίων εὖ πολλὴ ἐπιθυμία εἶναι θάσσον αὐτὸν 3 ἱδεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὖτο, καίτοι πάντων οἱ τῶν σύμπλων ἀπαγωγευόντων, πιστεύοσαν αὐτοῖς . . . τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπόν,4

"ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορευέται,
κέινον στὶ δοῦλος, καὶ ἐλευθέρος μόλη."

4 οἱ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς τῆς γῆς ἐγένοντο, φοβηθέντες μὴ καὶ ἐντυχῶν τὸν Πτολεμαίων σωθῆ εἰτε ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖνον ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων (καὶ γὰρ εὖνοιαν αὐτοῦ;) μεγάλην εἰχον), ἀπέκτειναν αὐτὸν πρὶν καταπλέωσαι, μηδὲν μήτ’ εἰπόντα μητ’

1 ἐβούλοντο R. Steph., ἡβούλοντο L.
2 ἐσδέξεσθαι Dind., ἐσδέξασθαι L.
3 ἁλοῖν Dind., ἁλῶι L.
4 καὶ supplied by Jacoby.
5 προσσχεῖν Bk., προσσχεῖν L.
6 At least one word is wanting here, though no lacuna is indicated in L. The scribe of L' conjectured ἐξήλθε.
7 αὐτοῦ supplied by Reim.
perish not long afterward, but the Egyptians for their part were first delivered to be slaves of Cleopatra, which they particularly disliked, and later were enrolled among the subjects of Rome. At this time, then, Septimius and Achillas, the commander-in-chief, and others who were with them declared they would readily receive Pompey, their purpose being that he might be the more easily deceived and ensnared. So they sent his messengers on ahead, after some had bidden them be of good cheer, and afterwards the conspirators themselves embarked on some small boats and sailed out to him. After many friendly greetings they begged him to come over to their boats, declaring that by reason of its size and the shallow water a ship could not come close to land and that Ptolemy was very eager to see him promptly. Accordingly, though all his fellow-voyagers urged him not to do so, [he changed boats], trusting in his hosts and saying merely:

"Whoever to a tyrant wends his way,  
His slave is he, e'en though his steps be free."

Now when they drew near the land, fearing that if he met Ptolemy he might be saved, either by the king himself or by the Romans who were with him or by the Egyptians, who regarded him with very kindly feelings, they killed him before sailing into the harbour. He uttered not a word and made
5 ὅδυρμένου. ὡς γὰρ τάχιστα τῆς τε ἐπιβουλῆς ἔσβετο, καὶ ἐγνω ὅτι οὔτε ἀμύνασθαί σφας οὔτε διαφυγεῖν δυνάστεταί, συνεκαλύφατο.

5 Τοιούτων μὲν τὸ τέλος τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἐκείνῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐγένετο, ὡστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτον τὴν τε ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους ἔλεγχθηναι. προμηθείας τε γὰρ οὐδέν ἔλλειπότοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κακουργῆσαι τε δυνάμενον ἀσφαλε- στατος ἂεί ποτὲ γενόμενος ἡπατήθη, καὶ νίκας πολλάς μὲν 3 ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ πολλάς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῇ τε Εὐρώπῃ παραδόξους καὶ κατὰ ὅτι καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐκ μειρακίων ἀνελόμενοι ἡπατήθη παραλόγως ὀκτὼ τε καὶ

3 πεντηκοντάτης ὄν, τὴν τε θάλασσαν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πᾶσαν ἡμερώσας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ διώκετο, καὶ χιλίων ποτὲ νεόν, ὡς ὁ λόγος ἔχει, ἀρξας ἐν πλοιαρίῳ τινί, πρὸς τε τῇ Ἀιγυπτίῳ καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τρόπων τινὰ ὅπειρο τοῦ πατέρα ἐξ τε ἐκεῖνην ἁμα καὶ ἐς τῇ βασιλείᾳ κατῆγγελε,

4 διεφθάρη ὅπειρ γὰρ τοι καὶ τότε ἐτι στρατιῶται Ῥωμαιοὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου χάριν ὕπο τοῦ Γαβριήλου, διὰ τὸ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἐς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ μῖσος, καταλείφθητες ἐφρούρουν, οὕτως αὐτῶν δι' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐκατέρω ἀπεκτονέαν

5 ἔδοξε. Πομπηίος μὲν δὴ κρατιστὸς πρότερον Ῥωμαιῶν νομισθεις, ὡστε καὶ Ἀραμέμνονα αὐτὸν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, τότε καθάπερ τῆς καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν

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1 ἀνθρωπείον R. Steph., ἀνθρωπείον L.
2 ἀσφαλεστατος Dind., ἀσφαλεστατα L.
3 νίκας πολλὰς μὲν R. Steph., νικήσας μὲν πολέμων πολ.
   λάτ L.
4 τῇ supplied by R. Steph.
no complaint, but as soon as he perceived their plot and recognized that he would not be able to ward them off or escape, he veiled his face.

Such was the end of Pompey the Great, whereby was proved once more the weakness and the strange fortune of the human race. For, although he was not at all deficient in foresight, but had always been absolutely secure against any force able to do him harm, yet he was deceived; and although he had won many unexpected victories in Africa, and many, too, in Asia and Europe, both by land and by sea, ever since boyhood, yet now in his fifty-eighth year he was defeated without apparent reason. Although he had subdued the entire Roman sea, he perished on it; and although he had once been, as the saying is, "master of a thousand ships,"¹ he was destroyed in a tiny boat near Egypt and in a sense by Ptolemy, whose father he had once restored from exile to that land and to his kingdom. The man whom Roman soldiers were then still guarding,—soldiers left behind by Gabinius as a favour from Pompey and on account of the hatred felt by the Egyptians for the young prince’s father,—this very man seemed to have put him to death by the hands of both Egyptians and Romans. Thus Pompey, who previously had been considered the most powerful of the Romans, so that he even received the nickname of Agamemnon,² was now butchered like one of the lowest of

¹ A reference to the Trojan expedition. The actual number of ships under Pompey’s command was 270 at the outset of the war with the pirates.

² Plutarch (Pomp. 67, 3; Caes. 41, 1) says that Domitian Ahenobarbus styled him Agamemnon and King of Kings in order to bring him into disfavour.
Λιγυπτίων ἐσχάτος, πρὸς τὸν Κασίων ὁ ρωπεὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἡ ποτὲ τὰ τῷ Μιθριδάτου καὶ τὰ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ἐπινίκεια ἤγαγεν, ἐσφάγη,
6 ὡστε μηδὲν μηδὲ ἐν τούτῳ ὁμολογηθήναι ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τὰ λαμπρότατα πρὶν πράξας τὸ τὰ ἀληεινότατα ἐπαθεῖ, καὶ ἐς πάντας τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς Κασσίαν ἐκ χρησμοῦ τινος ὑποτευόντων πρὸς μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἡ Κασσίαν οὖν ἔργον ἐπεβουλεύθη, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῷ ὁρεὶ τῷ τῆς ἐπικλησιν ταύτην ἔχοντα καὶ ἀπέδανε καὶ ἐτάφη.
7 τῶν δὲ δὴ συμπλεόντων αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν αὐτικὰ ἐάλωσαν οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔφυγον, ἀλλοί τε καὶ ὁ παῖς ἢ τε γυνὴ αὐτῶν. καὶ ἡ μὲν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ ταύτα ἀδείας τυχοῦσα ἀνεσώθη, ὃ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικήν πρὸς τὸν Ἀδελφόν τοῦ Γαλατίου ἐκομίσθη τούτων γὰρ δὴ τῷ ὁνόματι διακεκρίθητα, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ Πομπήιον πρόσρησιν ἄμφότεροι ἔχον.
6 Καίσαρ δὲ ὡς τότε μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὰ κατεπείγοντα διωκῆσατο, τὴν μὲν Ἐλλάδα τὰ τελοῦτα τὰ ταὐτή ἄλλοις τισι καὶ προσποιεῖσθαι καὶ καθίστασθαι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπεδίωξε. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας κατὰ πῦστὶν αὐτῶν προϊὼν ἡ πειγχθῇ, ἐνταῦθα δὲ, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲς
2 ὅτι πεπλευκὼς ἦν ἡπίστατο, ἐνδείγμητεν, οὕτω δ' οὐκ ἐν τῇ πάντα αὐτῷ προερχόμεθα ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ἐλλησποντόν ἐν πορθμεῖω τινὶ περαιούμενῳ ἐνέτυχε μὲν τῷ τοῦ Πομπήιον ναυτικῷ μετὰ τοῦ Κασσίου τοῦ Λουκίου πλέοντι, οὐ μόνον δὲ οὖν ὁδοῦ δεινόν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκατα-

1 Κασίων v. Herw., κασσίωι L. 2 ἀνδρὸς Xiph., ἀνδρῶν L. 3 προϊὼν Leuncl., προσίων L.
the Egyptians themselves, not only near Mount Casius but on the anniversary of the day on which he had once celebrated a triumph over Mithridates and the pirates. So even in this respect the two parts of his career were utterly contradictory: on that day of yore he had gained the most brilliant success, whereas he now suffered the most grievous fate; again, following a certain oracle, he had been suspicious of all the citizens named Cassius, but instead of being the object of a plot by any man called Cassius he died and was buried beside the mountain that had this name. Of his fellow-voyagers some were captured at once, while others escaped, among them his wife and son. His wife later obtained pardon and came back safely to Rome, while Sextus proceeded to Africa to his brother Gnaeus; these are the names by which they were distinguished, since they both bore the name of Pompey.

Caesar, when he had attended to pressing demands after the battle and had assigned Greece and the rest of that region to certain others to win over and reduce, set out himself in pursuit of Pompey. He hurried forward as far as Asia following information received about him, and there waited for a time, since no one knew which way he had sailed. Everything turned out favourably for him; for instance, while crossing the Hellespont in a kind of ferry-boat, he met Pompey's fleet sailing with Lucius Cassius in command, but so far from suffering any harm at their hands, he terrified them and won them over to his
3 πλήξας σφάς προσεποίησατο. κάκ τούτου καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐκεῖν, μηδενὸς ἐπὶ ἀνταίροντος, παρελάμβανε καὶ διώκει, χρημάτων μὲν ἐκλογήν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ποιούμενος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν μηδένα λυπῶν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐνεργετῶν πάντας ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο. τοὺς γὰρ τελῶνας πικρότατα σφισὶ χρωμένους ἀπαλλάξας, ἐς φόρον συντέλειαν τὸ συμβαίνον ἐκ τῶν τελῶν κατεστήσατο.

7 Κάν τούτων πυθόμενος τὸν Πομπήιον πρὸς τὴν Ἁγιγντὸν πλέοντα, καὶ δείσας μὴ προκατασχῶν 2 αὐτὴν αὕθια ἰσχύση, ἀφωρίσθη κατὰ τάχος. καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὅρκετι περίοντα κατέλαβε, τῇ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρείᾳ αὐτῇ μετ' ὀλίγων πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, πρὸν τὸν Πτολεμαίον ἐκ τοῦ Πελοπίου ἔλθειν, προσπλεύσας, καὶ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρεας θορυβούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Πομπήιον θανάτῳ εὐρόν, οὐκ ἐθάρσησεν εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν γην ἐκβιβάζῃ, ἀλλὰ ἀνορμισάμενος ἀνείχε μέχρις οὗ τὴν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα 3 οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἔδειν. οὕτω δὴ ἐς μὲν τὴν ἡμείρον ἠρασιόντως προσέσχεν, ἀγανακτήσεως δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ραβδούχους αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸν πλῆθος γενομένης αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγαπητῶς ἐς τὰ βασιλεία προκατέφυγε, τῶν δὲ δὴ στρατιώτων τινὲς τὰ ὑπλα ἀφηρέθησαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ὦ λοιποὶ ἀνορμισάντο αὕθις, ἐως πᾶσαι αἱ νήσει ἐπικατῆχθησαν.

8 ὁ δὲ οὖν Καίσαρ τὴν τοῦ Πομπήιον κεφαλὴν ἰδὼν κατεδάκρυσε καὶ κατωλοφύρατο, πολίτην τε αὐτὸν καὶ γαμβρὸν ὁνομάζων, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ποτὲ ἄλληλοις ἀνθυπουργήκεσαν ἀναρμισμούμενοι, τοὺς τε ἀποκτείνασιν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὅπως ἐνεργεσίαν τινὰ

1 δὴ R. Steph., δὲ I.
side. Thereupon, meeting with no further resistance, he proceeded to take possession of the rest of that region and to regulate its affairs, levying a money contribution, as I have said, but otherwise doing no one any harm and even conferring benefits on all, so far as was possible. In any case he did away with the tax-gatherers, who had been abusing the people most cruelly, and he converted the amount accruing from the taxes into a joint payment of tribute.

Meanwhile he learned that Pompey was sailing to Egypt, and fearing that the other by occupying that country first might again become strong, he set out with all speed. And finding him no longer alive, with a few followers he sailed far in advance of the others to Alexandria itself before Ptolemy came from Pelusium. On discovering that the people of the city were in a tumult over Pompey's death he did not at once venture to go ashore, but put out to sea and waited till he saw the head and finger-ring of the murdered man, sent him by Ptolemy. Thereupon he confidently put in to land; the multitude, however, showed irritation at the sight of his lictors and he was glad to make his escape into the palace. Some of his soldiers had their weapons taken from them, and the rest accordingly put to sea again until all the ships had reached port. Now Caesar at the sight of Pompey's head wept and lamented bitterly, calling him countryman and son-in-law, and enumerating all the kindnesses they had shown each other. As for the murderers, far from admitting that he owed
δόθηκεν ἑφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεκάλει, καὶ ἐκείνην κοσμῆσαι τε καὶ εὐθετῆσαι καὶ βάψαι τις ἡ ἡγεῖσθαι ἡγεῖσθαι ἡγεῖσθαι ἡγεῖσθαι. τῆς γὰρ δυναστείας δεινῶς ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἐφιέμενος, καὶ ἐκείνου καὶ ὡς ἀνταγωνιστὴν καὶ ὡς ἀντίπαλον ἀεὶ ποτε μισῆσας, καὶ τὰ τὸ ἄλλα ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τὰ πάντα πράξας καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀλλο τι παρασκευάσας ἢ ἣν ἀπολομένου αὐτοῦ πρωτεύση, τότε τε ἐς τὴν Ἀἰγυπτίου οὔ δὲ ἀλλο τι ἐπιχεῖλε ἢ ἢν αὐτόν, εἰ περιεῖ, προσκατεργάσαιτο, ποθεῖν τε αὐτοῦ ἐπιλάττετο καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν τῷ ὀλέθρῳ αὐτοῦ ἐσκίπτετο.

9. Καὶ ὁ μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι πολέμου ὕπεξηρμένου οἱ ἐκείνου καταλείπεσθαι 1 νομίζων, εἰν τῇ Ἀἰγύπτῳ ἐνεχρόνισεν ἀργυρολόγων καὶ τὰ τοῦ 2 Πτολεμαίου καὶ τὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας διάφορα διακρίνον ἄλλοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπειροι αὐτῷ παρεσκευάσαν. ἢ τε ἡ γὰρ Ἀἰγύπτιος ἐνεχρίμωσε, καὶ ὁ Φαρνάκης ἡρξατο μὲν εὐθὺς, ἐπειδή πρῶτον τὸν τοῦ Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι ἐμαθε, τῆς 3 πατρίφας ἀρχῆς ἀντιπαρείσθαι (χρονεῖν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ στάσει καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτὰς περὶ αὐτῶν ἀναλώσειν 3 ἡλπισεν), εἰχετο δὲ καὶ τὸτε τῶν προκειμένων, ὅτι τε ἀπαξ ἐκείνητο καὶ ὅτι πόρρω τὸν Καίσαρα οὔτα ἐπιθέτο, καὶ πολλὰ γε χωρία προκατέλαβε. καὶ τούτω καὶ ὁ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων, οἱ τοῖς ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν αὐτὴν σφισὶ γνώμην ἔχουσε, καὶ

1 καταλείπεσθαι St., καταλείπεσθαι L.
2 καὶ τὰ ταῦ R. Steph., καὶ κατὰ τοῦ L.
3 τῆς Rk., τῆς τε L.
them any reward, he actually heaped reproaches upon them; and he commanded that the head should be adorned, properly prepared, and buried. For this he received praise, but for his hypocrisy he incurred ridicule. He had, of course, from the outset been very eager for dominion; he had always hated Pompey as his antagonist and rival, and besides all his other measures against him he had brought on this war with no other purpose than to secure this rival’s ruin and his own supremacy; he had but now been hurrying to Egypt with no other end in view than to overthrow him completely if he should still be alive; yet he feigned to mourn his loss and made a show of vexation over his murder.

In the belief that now that Pompey was out of his way there was no longer any hostility left against him, he spent some time in Egypt levying money and deciding the differences between Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Meanwhile other wars were being prepared against him. Egypt revolted, and Pharnaces, just as soon as he had learned that Pompey and Caesar were at variance, had begun to lay claim to his ancestral domain, since he hoped that they would waste a lot of time in their quarrel and use up the Roman forces upon each other; and he now still went ahead with his plans, partly because he had once made a beginning and partly because he learned that Caesar was far away, and he actually seized many points before the other’s arrival. Meanwhile Cato and Scipio and the others who were of the same
10 Ἐσχε γὰρ οὕτως. ὁ Κάτων ἐν τῷ Δυρραχίῳ πρὸς τοῦ Πομπηίου τά τε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιτηρεῖν, ἂν τις διαβάϊνῃ, καὶ τοὺς Παρθινοὺς κατειργεῖν, ἂν τι παρακινῶσι, καταλειφθεὶς τὸ 2 μὲν πρῶτον ἐκείνοις ἐπολέμει, ἠττηθέντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὴν μὲν Ἡπείρου ἐξέλισσε, ἐς δὲ Κέρκυραν μετὰ τῶν ὁμογενῶν οὐκ ἐκφυγόντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ φρονοῦντας ἐδέχετο. Κικέρων μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν Βουλευτῶν 3 ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην παραχρῆμα ἄπηραν ὦι δὲ δὴ πλείους μετὰ τοῦ Δαβιδίνου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀφρανίου, ἄτε μηδεμίαν ἐν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐλπίδα, ὃ μὲν ὅτι ἡττομολῆκε, ὃ δὲ ὅτι σωθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ αὐθίς οἱ ἐπεπολεμήκει, ἕχοντων, πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα ἦλθον καὶ ἐκεῖνοι προστησάμενοι ἐπολέμουν, καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ ὁ Ὀκταούνιος σφισὶ προσεγένετο. ὃς γὰρ τότε τὸν Ἰονίων ἐσέπλευσε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν Γάιον συνέλαβεν, ἄλλων μὲν τινῶν χωρίων ἐκράτησε, τῆν δὲ δὴ Σάλωνα, καίπερ ἐπὶ πλείοντον αὐτὴν πολιορκήσας, οὐχ 2 εἰλε. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοῦ ἀπεκρούντο, βοηθοῦντα σφίσι τὸν Γαβίνιον ἔχοντες, καὶ τέλος μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπεκδραμόντες μέγα ἔργον εἰργάσαντο, ἐκείναι τε γὰρ τάς τε κόμας καθείμα καὶ στολάς μελαίνας εἴνυσάμεναι λαμπτάς τε λαβοῦσαί, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν πρὸς τὸ 3 φοβερῶτατον σχηματισάμεναι, τῷ τε στρατοπέδῳ τῷ πολιορκοῦντι σφάς νυκτὸς μέσης προσεμέθαν, καὶ τοὺς προφύλακας ὡς καὶ δαίμονες τινὲς ἐκ-
mind with them set on foot in Africa a struggle that was at once a civil and a foreign war.

It came about in this way. Cato had been left behind at Dyrrachium by Pompey to keep an eye out for any forces from Italy which might try to cross over, and to repress the Parthini, in case they should begin any disturbance. At first he carried on war with the latter, but after Pompey's defeat he abandoned Epirus, and proceeding to Corecyra with those of the same mind as himself, he there received the men who had escaped from the battle and the rest who had the same sympathies. Cicero and a few other senators had set out for Rome at once, but the majority, including Labienus and Afranius, who had no hope in Caesar,—the one because he had deserted him, and the other because after having been pardoned by him he had again made war on him,—went to Cato, put him at their head, and continued the war. Later Octavius also joined them. After sailing into the Ionian Sea and arresting Gaius Antonius, he had conquered several places, but could not take Salona, though he besieged it a very long time. For the inhabitants, having Gabinius to assist them, vigorously repulsed him and finally along with the women made a sortie and performed a remarkable deed. The women let down their hair and robed themselves in black garments, then taking torches and otherwise making their appearance as terrifying as possible, they assaulted the camp of the besiegers at midnight. They threw the outposts, who thought they were
πλήξασαι τὸ πῦρ ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα ἀπανταχόθεν ἀμα ἐνέβαλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιστόμενοι σφίσι πολλοὺς μὲν παραττομένους πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ καθεύδοντάς ἐφόνευσαν, καὶ ἐκείνῳ τε εὐθὺς κατέσχον, καὶ τὸ ναύσταδμον ἐν ὃ ὁ Ὁκτάνιος
4 ἡμίδετο αὐτοθεὶς εἴλοιν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν ῥάστων ὑπὶ ἐγένοντο· διαφυγὼν γὰρ πως αὐτοῖς δύναμιν τε αὐθεῖς ἦθροισε, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας προσήδρευε σφίσι. καὶ τούτῳ τοῦ Γαβρίλου νόσῳ τελευτήσαντος τῆς τεθαλάσσης τῆς ἐκεὶ πάσης
5 ἐκράτησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβαίνων πολλὰ αὐτὴς ἐκακύργει, μέχρις οὗ ἦν τὸ πρὸς 1 Φαρσάλῳ μάχῃ ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλευσάντων τενὸν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου σφίσι μετέστησαν, μηδὲ ἐς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐλθόντες. τότε γὰρ ἐρημωθεὶς τῶν συμμάχων ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀπεχώρησε.

12 Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος δὲ ὁ Γναῖος πρῶτον μὲν τῷ τῶν Λιγυπτίων ναυτικῷ περιπλέουν τὴν τε Ἡπείρου καλουμένην κατέτρεχε καὶ Ὡρίκου 2 ὀλίγου εἴλε, Μάρκου 'Ακιλίου 3 αὐτὸ κατέχοντος, καὶ τὸν τε 4 ἐσπλοῦν τὸν ἐς τὸν λιμένα πλοίων λίθων γέμουσι χώσαντος, 5 καὶ περὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ πύργους ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς
2 Ἡπείρου καὶ ἔφ’ ὅλκάδων ἑγείραντος. τοὺς τε γὰρ λίθους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σκάφεσιν ἐγκειμένους κολυμβηταῖς υφύδροις 6 διασκεδάσας, καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκείνα κουφισθέντα ἐλκύσας, τὸν τε ἐσπλοῦν ἡλευθέρωσε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο ὀπλίτας ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα

1 πρὸς Dind., πρὸς τῷ L.
2 Ὅρικον Χυλ., καὶ Χυλ. (ἢ just below).
3 Ἀκιλίου Χυλ., ἀκιλίου L. 4 τὸν τῷ R. Steph., τότε L.
4 χώσαντος Χυλ., χώσαντες L.
6 υφύδροις Χυλ., υφύδροις L.
spirits, into a panic, and then from all sides at once hurled the fire within the palisade, and the men, following them, slew many while they were in confusion and many who were still asleep, promptly gained possession of the camp, and captured without a blow the harbour in which Octavius was lying. They were not, however, left in peace. For he escaped them somehow, gathered a force again, and after defeating them in battle besieged them. Meanwhile, as Gabinius had died of some disease, he gained control of the whole sea in that vicinity, and by making descents upon the land ravaged many districts. This lasted until the battle at Pharsalus, after which his soldiers, as soon as a force sailed against them from Brundisium, changed sides without even coming to blows with them. Then, destitute of allies, Octavius retired to Coreiya.

Gnaeus Pompey first sailed about with the Egyptian fleet and overran the district called Epirus, almost capturing Oricum. The commander of the place, Marcus Acilius, had blocked up the entrance to the harbour by means of boats loaded with stones and about the mouth of it he raised towers on either side, both on the land and on freight-ships. Pompey, however, had divers scatter the stones that were in the vessels, and when the latter had been lightened, he dragged them out of the way, freed the passage, and then, after putting heavy-armed troops ashore

1 M. Acilius Caninus.
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τῆς χηθῆς ἐκβιβάζας ἐπεσέπευς, καὶ τά τε πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πολὺ
3 κατέκαυσεν. εἶλε δ' ἂν καὶ τὴν λαοτὴν, εἰ μὴ τρωθείς δέος τοῖς Διγυπτίοις μὴ καὶ ἀποθάνη
παρέσχε. θεραπευθεὶς δ' οὖν Ὄρικῷ μὲν οὐκέτι
προσέβαλε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα περιφοιτῶν ἐπόρθει,
καὶ ποτε καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου μάτην
4 ὀσπερ ποι τις οἰκ., ἐπιέρασε. τέως
μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίει: ἐπει δὲ ὁ τε πατὴρ αὐτοῦ
ήττηθα καὶ οἱ Διγυπτιοὶ πυθόμενοι τοῦτο οἰκάδε
ἀπέπλευσαν, οὖν δὴ πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα ἀφίκετο.
13 καὶ αὐτὸν Κάσσιος ὁ Γάιος ἐμμήσατο, πλέεστα
μὲν καὶ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας λυπῆσας,
πολλαὶς δὲ μάχαις ἐν τε τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ
ηπείρῳ συχνοὺς νικήσας.
2 Προέχοντα μὲν δὴ τὸν Κάτωνα ἀρέτῇ σφῶν
ιδόντες πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν συγκατέφυγον, καὶ
αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι συναγωνισταὶ καὶ συμβούλουις
πρὸς πάντα χρώμενος ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς καὶ
καταληψόμενος αὐτὴν, ἐπέλευσαν οὐ γὰρ ποι
3 τὸν Πομπήιον τεθνέωτα ἡγηκόει. καὶ Πάτρας μὲν
κατέσχον, καντάθα ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν
Πετρείου τὸν τε Πομπήιον γαμβρὸν τὸν Φαύστου
προσέλαβον. Κυνίτου δὲ δὴ Φουφίου Καλῆνον
μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπιστρατεύοντός σφίσιν ἐξανῆ
χθησαν, καὶ ἐς Κυρήνην ἑλθόντες καὶ ἐκεὶ τοῦ
τοῦ Πομπήιον θάνατον μαθόντες οὐκέτι συνεφρό-
νθαν, ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν Κάτων δὲ ἀχθρόνω τῆς
tοῦ Καίσαρος δυναστείας, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς δὲ

1 ἐπεσέπευσε Χυλ., ἐπεισε πλείσα Ι. 2 δὲ Βκ., τοῦ Ι.
3 τὸν τε Πομπηίου γαμβρὸν τὸν Φαύστου Leuncl., Πομπήιον
tῶν Φαύστον Ι.
on each half of the breakwater, he sailed in. He burned all the boats and most of the city, and would have captured the rest of it, had he not been wounded and caused the Egyptians to fear that he might die. When, now, his wound had been cured, he did not continue to assail Oricum, but journeyed about pillaging various places and once vainly made an attempt upon Brundisium itself, as did some others. He was thus occupied for a time; but when his father had been defeated and the Egyptians on receipt of the news sailed home, he betook himself to Cato. And his example was followed by Gaius Cassius, who had done very great mischief both in Italy and in Sicily and had overcome a number of opponents in many battles both on sea and on land.

Many, indeed, fled to Cato for refuge, since they saw that he excelled them in uprightness; and he, using them as helpers and counsellors in all matters, sailed to the Peloponnesus with the intention of occupying it, for he had not yet heard that Pompey was dead. They seized Patrae and there received among other accessions Petreius and Pompey’s son-in-law, Faustus. Subsequently Quintus Fufius Calenus marched against them, whereupon they set sail, and coming to Cyrene, learned there of the death of Pompey. Their views were now no longer harmonious: Cato, through hatred of Caesar’s
ἀπόγνωσιν τῆς παρ’ αὐτοῦ συγγρώμης, ἐς τε τὴν Ἀφρικὴν μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπλευσαν καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα προσλαβόντες πάντα ἐπὶ τῷ ἴ 5 Καίσαρι ἔπραττον, οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ πλείους ἐσκεδάσθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀποχωρήσαντες ἀπῆλλαξαν ὡς ποι καὶ συνέτυχε σφίσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα παραχρῆμα ἔλθοντες, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Γάιος Κάσσιος, ἀδείας ἔτυχον.

14 Ὁ δὲ Ἰονίας ἔπεμφθη τε ἐς τὴν Ἡλλάδα πρὸ τῆς μάχης ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ἐλευθερώθη ἀλλὰ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιὰ ἀτε καὶ ἀπειθεῖστον ὑπὲρ τὰς γὰρ Ἀθηναίας, καὶ πλείστα τῆς χώραν αὐτῶν κακώσας, ὅπως ἡδυνήθη πρὸ τῆς τοῦ 2 Πομπηίου ἔτης λαβὲ λαβὲν τότε γὰρ ἐθελονταῖς αὐτὸ προσεχὼρησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καίσαρ μηδὲν μνησικακάζεσαν ἄθως ἄφθος ἄρρηκτης, τοσοῦτοι μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν σώζοντο. τό δὲ δὴ ἐπὸς τοῦτο ἐδήλου ὅτι σφῶν δια τοῖς προγόνοις καὶ διὰ τήν δόξαν τήν τε καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐφείσαντο. Ἀθηναὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ ἀλλά τὰ πλεῖον τῆς Ἡλλαδὸς εὐθὺς τότε ὅμολογήσαν αὐτῶ. Μεγαρεῖς δὲ καὶ δὲς αὐτέχουσιν πολλοὶ τοῦ ὑπεροῦχον χρόνον τὰ μὲν βιὰ τα τῇ καὶ προδοσία ἠλεξάντο. δὴν ποὺς τοιού πολὺς ἐγένετο καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπράβησαν. ὁ μὲν Καλλίπος τούτῳ μὲν ἦν δὴ καὶ κατ’ ἄξιαν αὐτοὺς τετιμωρήθησαν δόξῃ, ἐποίησε φοβηθείς δὲ μὴ καὶ παντελῶς ἡ πόλις ἀπόλυται, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις σφᾶς, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ ἐλαχίστου ἀπέδοτο, ἐν ἑλευθερωθῶσι.
BOOK XLII

domination, and some others in despair of receiving pardon from him, sailed to Africa with the army, added Scipio to their number, and were as active as possible against Caesar; but the majority scattered, some of them retiring and escaping wherever they could, while the rest, among them Gaius Cassius, went to Caesar at once and received pardon.

Calenus had been sent by Caesar into Greece before the battle, and he captured among other places the Piraeus, owing to its being unwalled. Athens he had been unable to take, in spite of a great deal of damage he did to its territory, until the defeat of Pompey. The inhabitants then came over to him voluntarily, and Caesar, cherishing no resentment, let them go unharmed, merely remarking that in spite of their many offences they were saved by the dead. This remark signified that it was on account of their ancestors and on account of their glory and excellence that he spared them. Accordingly Athens and most of the rest of Greece then at once made terms with him; but the Megarians in spite of this resisted and were captured only at a considerably later date, partly by force and partly by treachery. Therefore many of the inhabitants were slain and the survivors sold. Calenus took this course so that men might think that he had punished them according to their deserts; but since he feared that the city might perish utterly, he sold the captives in the first place to their relatives, and in the second place for a very small sum, so that they might regain their freedom.
5 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἐπὶ τε τὰς Πάτρας ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ ἀμαχεὶ αὐτάς, τὸν τε Κάτωνα καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ προσεκφοβήσας,1 κατέσχεν. 15 ἐνὶ θεῷ ταῦτα2 ὡς ἐκαστα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἡ Ἱβηρία καίπερ εἰρηνεύσασα ἐκεῖνή. ἑπεδή γὰρ ὁ Δογμάως ὁ Κύντος πολλὰ καὶ τὸτε αὐτοῦς ἔλυμαίνετο, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὄλγοι τινὲς συνεστη-
2 σαν ὡς καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες αὐτόν ὑπὶ ἀπὸ τροθεὶς διέφυγε καὶ τοῦτον πολλῷ μείζῳ σφάς ἑδίκει, συχνὸν μὲν Κορδουβήσιοι συχνὸν δὲ καὶ στρατιῶται, ἀτε καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου γεγονότες, 3 ἐπανέστησαν αὐτῷ, Μάρκων Μάρκελλων Ἀισερ-
νίνοι τὸν ταμίαν προστησάμενοι. οὐ μὴν καὶ ὅλη τῇ γνώμῃ αὐτοὺς προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀστάθμητον τὸν πραγμάτων ὅρον καὶ τὴν ἐκβασίν σφων ἔφε ἐκάτερα προσδεχόμενος ἐπημφοτέριζε καὶ διὰ μέσου πάντα καὶ ἐλέγει καὶ ἐπράττεν, ὡστε, ἢν τοῦ Καίσαρ ἃν τε καὶ ὁ Πομπῆιος κρατήσῃ, ἀμφοτέρως σφίσι συνηγονώσθαι δώξαι. 4 Πομπῆιο μὲν γὰρ, ὅτι τοὺς τε μετασάντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο καὶ τὸν Δογμάως τὰ τὸν Καίσαρος πράττειν λέγοντι ἀντεπολέμησεν, ἔχα-
ρίσατο, Καίσαρι δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Δογμάως νεωτερίζοντός τι, παραλαβὼν τούτοις τε αὐτῷ ἐτήρησε καὶ ἐκεῖνον οὐκ εἰσε-
5 πολεμοθῆκαί, καὶ τὸ γε ὅνομα τοῦ Πομπῆιον τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐπιγραφάντων ἀπήλευσεν, ὅπως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτο τὸ μὲν τὰ ἐργά τῶν ὄπλων τῷ δὲ τὴν δόκησιν προβάλλων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὕπερ τοῦ κρατῆσαντός γεγονότων

1 προσεκφοβήσας Leunol., προσεκφοβήσας L.  
2 ταῦτα Rk., ταύτα τε L.
After these achievements he marched upon Patrae and occupied it easily, as he had already frightened Cato and his followers away. Now while these various operations were being carried on, there was an uprising in Spain, although the country had been at peace. For the Spaniards were at the time being subjected to many abuses by Quintus Longinus, and at first some few banded together to kill him; he was wounded but escaped, and after that proceeded to injure them a great deal more. Then a number of Cordubans and a number of soldiers who had formerly belonged to the Pompeian party rose against him, putting at their head Marcus Marcellus Aeserninus, the quaestor. The latter, however, did not accept their appointment with his whole heart, but seeing the uncertainty of events and looking for them to turn out either way, he played a double game, taking a neutral attitude in all that he said and did, so that whether Caesar or Pompey should prevail he might seem to have fought for the victor in either case. He favoured Pompey, on the one hand, by receiving those who had transferred their allegiance to him and by fighting against Longinus, who declared he was on Caesar’s side; on the other hand, he did a kindness to Caesar in taking charge of the soldiers when, as he would say, Longinus was beginning a rebellion, and in keeping these men for him and not allowing their commander to become hostile. And when the soldiers inscribed the name of Pompey on their shields, he erased it, so that he might thereby plead with the one man the deeds done by the arms and with the other their apparent ownership, and by laying claim to the deeds
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προσποιούμενος, τα δε ἐναντία ἐς τε τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ ἐς ἄλλους τινὰς ἀναφέρων, ἀσφαλῆς εἰς καὶ διὰ τούτο, καίτοι παρασχόν αὐτῷ παντελῶς τοῦ Δοργίνου τῷ πλήθει κρατήσας, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τε ἐνδείξειν καὶ ἐς παρασκευήν ὑν ἐβούλετο προάγων τὰ πράγματα, ἐπ' ἄλλους τισὶ τὰ ἀμφίλογα αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο, ὡστε καὶ ἐν οἷς ἡλαττώθη καὶ ἐν οἷς ἐπλεονέκτησε τι, ὑπέρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως τὰ μὲν ὡς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησε, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἐτεροί, προτείνασθαι δυνηθήναι. καὶ ὃ μὲν οὖτω διαγγαλών μέχρις οὗ καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐνίκησε, παραχρήμα μὲν ἐς ὁργὴν αὐτοῦ ἦλθε καὶ ὑπερωφρύθη, ἐπειτα δὲ κατήλθε καὶ ἐτιμήθη Λογγίνος δὲ, καταβοσάντων αὐτοῦ διὰ πρεσβείας τῶν Ἰβηρῶν, τῆς τε ἄρχης ἐξέπεσε, καὶ οίκαδε ἀνακομιδομενος ἐφθάρη πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ Ἰβηροῦ ἐκβολαῖς.

17 Ταύτα μὲν ἐξω ἐγίγνετο, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ, τέως μὲν ἐν το ἀμφιλόγη δ καὶ ἐν μετεωρῷ τὰ τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τά τοῦ Πομπήιου πράγματα ἦν, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς πάντες τά τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπὸ τάς της δύναμεως αὐτοῦ τῆς συνούσης σφίσι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σερουλίου τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐσπού- δαζον, καὶ εἴτε τοὺς κρατήσας ἡγγελθῃ, ἐχαίρων, εἴτε καὶ πταίσας, ἐλυποῦντο, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοις οἳ δὲ πλαστῶς ἐκάτερον καὶ γὰρ κατάσκοποι σφῶν καὶ κατήκουσιν, πάνθ' ὁσα ἐπ' αὐτῶς καὶ ἐλέγετο καὶ ἐγίγνετο παρατηροῦντες, πολλοὶ περιενόστοιν

3 ιδίᾳ δὲ τὰ ἐναντίωτα τῶν φανερῶν οἳ τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρι ἀχθόμενοι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πομπήιου προ-

1 αὐτῷ Χυλ., αὐτῶν L.
2 το ἀμφιλόγη Bk., τοι ἀμφιλόγῳ L.
BOOK XLII

that turned out to be in behalf of the victor and by laying upon necessity or upon other persons the blame for the contrary events he might be on the safe side. Consequently, although he had the opportunity of utterly defeating Longinus by his superior numbers, he refused, but by managing his affairs so as to create appearances and to carry out his designs, he put the responsibility for his questionable acts upon others. Thus both in his reverses and in his successes he could make the plea that he was acting equally in behalf of the same person: in the one case he would urge that he had, or had not, done the thing himself, and in the other case that others had or had not been responsible. He went on in this way until Caesar actually conquered, and though at the moment he incurred his anger and was banished, yet later he was restored and honoured. Longinus, however, being denounced by the Spaniards through an embassy, was deprived of his office, and while on his way home perished near the mouths of the Iberus.

These events were occurring abroad. In Rome, as long as the issue between Caesar and Pompey was doubtful and unsettled, the people all ostensibly favoured Caesar, because of his troops that were in their midst and because of his colleague Servilius. Whenever a victory of his was reported, they rejoiced, and whenever a reverse, they grieved, some sincerely and some feignedly in each case; for there were many spies and eavesdroppers prowling about, observing all that was said and done on such occasions. But privately the talk and actions of those who detested Caesar and preferred Pompey's
αιρούμενοι καὶ ἐλεγόν καὶ ἐποίουν, κακὸς τούτου τα
τε ἀγγέλλόμενα 1 κατὰ τὸ πρόσφορόν σφισιν
ἀμφότεροι λαμβάνοντες τοῖς μὲν δεδιότως τοῖς δὲ
θαρσούντως ἔχρωντο, καὶ οία πολλῶν καὶ ποι-
κίλων ἐν τε τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ
πολλάκις λογοποιούμενων χαλέπωτατα διετε-
θέντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦδοντο καὶ ἠλυποῦντο καὶ ἐθάρ-
σον καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο διὰ βραχυτάτου. ἀγγέλ-
θείσης δὲ τῆς Φαρσαλικῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν
ἥπιστον· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Καίσαρ τὸ κοινῷ τι ἐπέ-
στειλεν, οὐκήσας δὴμοσία χαῖρον ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ
νίκη φανήναι (διὸπερ οὐδὲ ἐπινίκια αὐτῆς ἐπεμψε),
καὶ οὐ παράλογος πρὸς τε τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν
2 καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐλπίζομενα πολὺς ἐφαίνετο. ὥς δὲ
οῖν ἐπιστευσάν τοτε, τὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ τε
Πομπηίου καὶ τοῦ Σύλλου τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ βῆματι
ἔστώσας ἀνείλλον, ἀλλὰ δὲ οὐδὲν τότε ἐπραξαν
συχνὸν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο βουλόμενοι ποιῆσαι,
συχνὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν Πομπηίον, μὴ πως ἀναμαχέ-
σηται, φοβοῦμενοι, τῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ ἐκεῖνο

3 ἰκανὸς ἔχειν ἐνόμιζον, καὶ τὸν Πομπηίον εὐπαραί-
τητον 2 ἐπὶ αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι σφισὶ προσεδόκων.
ἐπεὶ μὲντοι καὶ ἀπέθανεν, οὐκ ἔνωτο καὶ τούτο, καὶ
οὐ πρότερον πρὶν τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα
ἰδεῖν, ἐπίστευσαι (ἐνεγέγυλπτο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τρό-
παια τρία, ὃςπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Σύλλου), ὡς δὲ
οῖν ἑτερνήκει, φανερῶς τῇ ἡδι τοῦ μὲν ἐπήμουν
τῶν δὲ ἐλοιδόρουν, καὶ πάντα τὸ τοτε ἐξευρεῖν
ἀπάντω ἐσηγοῦντο δοθήναι τῷ Καίσαρι. καὶ ἐν

1 ἀγγέλλόμενα Xyl., ἀπολλόμενα L.
2 ἐκεῖνο Xyl., ἐκεῖνο L.
3 εὐπαραίτητον Be., ἀπαραίτητον L.
side were the very opposite of their public expressions. Hence, as both sides received the various reports in the light of their own advantage, they were inspired sometimes with fear and sometimes with boldness, and inasmuch as many diverse rumours would often be going about on the same day and at the same hour, their position was a most trying one; for they were pleased and distressed, bold and fearful, all within the briefest space of time. When the battle of Pharsalus was announced, they were long incredulous. For Caesar sent no despatch to the government, hesitating to appear to rejoice publicly over such a victory, for which reason also he celebrated no triumph; and furthermore the event was clearly very improbable in view of the relative equipment of the two forces and the hopes entertained. But when at last they gave the story credence, they removed the images of Pompey and of Sulla that stood upon the rostra, but did nothing further at the time. Many, indeed, did not wish to do even this, and many also, fearing that Pompey might renew the strife, regarded this as quite enough for Caesar and expected that it would be a fairly simple matter to placate Pompey on account of it. Even when he had died, they did not believe it for a long time, not, in fact, until they saw his seal-ring that had been sent; it had three trophies carved on it, as had that of Sulla. So when he was really dead, at last they openly praised the victor and abused the vanquished, and proposed that everything in the world which they could devise should be given to Caesar. And not only in this
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τε τούτῳ πολλῇ ἢν Ἐπιβοήμασι καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι πάντες, ὡς καὶ παρόντος καὶ ὁρόντος τοῦ Καΐσαρος, πολὺ πλείστην σπουδὴν ἐνεδείκνυτο, καὶ ἐνόμιζον εὐθὺς ἀντὶ αὐτῶν, ὡσπερ τι αὐτῶ χαριζόμενοι ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔξ ἀνάγκης αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες, ὦ καὶ ἄρχην ὑπὲρ ἑρωτότητον ὦ δὲ καὶ

3 χρήματα ἀντελθῆσθαι. ἐγὼ οὖν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὡσα ἦτοι καὶ ἐτέρως τοῖς πρότερον ἐγγίζομαι, εἰκόνας τε καὶ στεφάνοις καὶ προεδρίας τὰ τε τοιούτοτροπα, ἢ καὶ μὲν καὶ τότε ἐσενεχθέντα πρῶτον ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καΐσαρος ἐβεβαιώθην, παραλείψω, μὴ καὶ δὴ ὅχλον γένωμαι

4 εἰ πάντα αὐτὰ ἐπέξειομι το δ' αὐτὸ τούτῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπείτα, καὶ μᾶλλον γε ὅσο καὶ πλεῖο καὶ ἀτοπώτερα ἀεὶ ἐσήμετο, τοιήσω μόνα δὲ δὴ ὡσα ἵδιόν τε τι καὶ ἐξαιρετον ἐχοῦτα ἐκυροῦτο κατάλεξιν.

20 Τούς τε γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου φρονήσαντας ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ πᾶν ὁ τε ποτ' ἀν ἐθελήσῃ δρᾶσαι, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς παρ' ἐαυτόν οὐ τοῦτ' ἦδη λαβὼν ἐξεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ἐν νόμῳ δὴ τινι αὐτὸ ποιεῖν δοξῆ καὶ πολέμων καὶ εἰρήνης κύριοι, προφάσει τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ συνισταμένων, πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀπεδείξαν αὐτόν, καὶ ἠκούσαν ἤμεν τῷ δήμῳ μήτε

2 τῇ βουλῇ περὶ αὐτῶν κοινωσχήται. καὶ ἦν μὲν

1 ὡς supplied by Bk. 2 ἐπιβοήμασι Dind., ἐπιβοήμασι L. 3 καὶ R. Steph., καὶ L. 4 ἐν δ' τι Bk., ταῦθ' δ' τι L. 5 δὴ Reim., δὴν L.
respect was there great rivalry among practically all the foremost men, who were eager to outdo one another in fawning upon him, but also in voting such measures. By their shouts and by their gestures they all, as if Caesar were present and looking on, showed the very greatest zeal and thought that in return for it they would get immediately—as if they were doing it to please him at all and not from necessity—one an office, another a priesthood, and a third some pecuniary reward. I shall omit those honours which had either been voted to some others previously—images, crowns, front seats, and things of that kind—or which, while novel and proposed now for the first time, were not confirmed by Caesar, for fear that I might become wearisome, were I to enumerate them all. This same plan I shall follow in my subsequent account, adhering the more strictly to it, as the honours proposed continually grew more numerous and more absurd. Only such as had some special and extraordinary importance and were confirmed will be related.

They granted him, then, permission to do whatever he wished to those who had favoured Pompey's cause, not that he had not already received this right from himself, but in order that he might seem to be acting with some show of legal authority. They appointed him arbiter of war and peace with all mankind—using the conspirators in Africa as a pretext—without the obligation even of making any communication on the subject to the people or the senate. This,
ποι καὶ τοῦτο καὶ πρὶν ἔπ’ ἐκεῖνῳ ἀτε καὶ
δύναμιν τηλικαύτην ἔχοντει τοὺς γοῦν πολέμους ὅσος
ἐπολέμησε πάντας δύναν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἀνείλετο=
όμοις δ’ οὖν αὐτῷ (πολιτάι τε γὰρ καὶ αὐτοτελεῖς
ἐτὶ δοκεῖν εἶναι ἤθελον) ταυτὰ τε ὅτως ἐφηφίλαντο
καὶ τάλλα πάντα δ’ καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἔχειν
3 ἐδύνατο. ὕπατος τε γὰρ ἐτὴ πέντε ἐφεξῆς
γενόθαι καὶ δικτάτωρ οὐκ ἐσ’ ἐκμηνον ἀλλ’
ἐς ἑναυτὸν ὅλον λεχθῆναι Ἐλαβε, τὴν τε
ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίον ὡς εἴπειν
προσέθετο; συγκαθεῖσθαι τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν
αὐτῶν βάθρων καὶ ἐς τάλλα συνεξετάζεσθαι
4 σφίσιν, ὃ μηδεὶν ἔξην, εὐρετο. σ’ 
α’ τε τ’ ἀρχαί-
ρεσιά πᾶσαι, πλὴν τῶν τοῦ πλῆθους, ἔπ’
ἀυτῷ ἐγένοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν παρουσίαν
ἀυτοῦ ἀναβληθείσαι ἐπ’ ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἐτῶν ἐπελ-
θησαν, τὰς τε ἡγεμονίας τὰς ἐν τῷ ὑπηκοό-
τοις μὲν ὑπάτοις αὐτοῖς δὴ ἔκλησαν, τοῖς
de δὴ στρατηγοῖς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀκληρωτὶ δοῦναι
ἐφηφίλαντο, ἐς τε γὰρ τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ ἐς
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς αὐθεῖς παρὰ ταῦ δεδογμένα
5 σφίσιν ἐπανηλθον. καὶ ἔτερον δὲ τι, εἰθισμένον
μὲν ἡγεσθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ τοῦ καιροῦ διαφθορὰ
καὶ ἐπίθησιν καὶ νεμεσητοῦ ἐν, ἐγνωσαν τοῦ
γὰρ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τε τῶν Ἰόβαν καὶ πρὸς
τοὺς Ὀρμαίους τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ πολεμῆσαντας,
ὅν ὁ Καίσαρ οὐδέπω τὸτε οὐδ’ ὅτε γενήσοιτο
ητάστατο, πέμψαι τινὰ αὐτῷ νικητηρία ὡς
κεκρατηκότε προσέταξαν.

1 Α added by Xyl. 2 εὑρέτο R. Steph., εὑρετο L.
3 τε Bk., τε γὰρ L.
of course, also lay in his power before, inasmuch as he had so large an armed force; at any rate the wars he had fought he had undertaken on his own authority in nearly every case. Nevertheless, because they wished still to appear to be free and independent citizens, they voted him these rights and everything else which it was in his power to have even against their will. Thus he received the privilege of being consul for five consecutive years and of being chosen dictator, not for six months, but for an entire year, and he assumed the tribunician authority practically for life; for he secured the right of sitting with the tribunes upon the same benches and of being reckoned with them for other purposes—a privilege which was permitted to no one. All the elections except those of the plebs now passed into his hands, and for this reason they were delayed till after his arrival and were held toward the close of the year. In the case of the governorships in subject territory the citizens pretended to allot themselves those which fell to the consuls, but voted that Caesar should give the others to the praetors without the casting of lots; for they had gone back to consuls and praetors again contrary to their decree. And they also granted another privilege, which was customary, to be sure, but in the corruption of the times might cause hatred and resentment: they decreed that Caesar should hold a triumph for the war against Juba and the Romans who fought with him, just as if he had been the victor, although, as a matter of fact, he had not then so much as heard that there was to be such a war.

1 The year 47, in which Caesar came to Rome, is here meant, or else Dio has made an error.
21 Ταύτ' οὖν οὕτω καὶ ἐψηφίσθη καὶ ἐκυρώθη· καὶ ο ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν δικτατορίαν παραχρῆμα, καίπερ ἔξω τῆς Ἱταλίας ὅων, ὑπέστη, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον μηδὲ ἐστρατηγικότα ἱππαρχον προελόμενος, καὶ εἶπε καὶ τούτον ὁ ὑπατος, καίτοι τῶν οἰωνιστῶν σφοδρότατα ἀντιπόντων μηδενὶ ἔξειναι πλεῖο τοῦ ἐξαμηνήν χρόνον ἱππαρχήσαι.

22 ἀλλ' ἐκείνοι μὲν ἡξέλωτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολὺν ὀφλισκανον, αὐτῶν μὲν τὸν δικτάτορα ἐς ἑναυτὸν παρὰ πάντα τὰ πάτρια λεγθήναι γνώμες, περὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἱππαρχον ἀκριβολογοῦμενον· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖλιος ὁ Μάρκος καὶ ἄπώλετο τολμῆσας τὰ περὶ τῶν δανεισμάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὀριστέντα, καθάπερ ἤτημενοι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφθαρμένου, λύσαι, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τὴν Ὀρῶμην καὶ τὴν

23 Καμπανίαν ἐκταράξας. οὕτως γὰρ ἐπραξέ μὲν ἀνὰ πρῶτους τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, διὸ καὶ στρατηγός ἀπεδείχθη· ὀργισθεὶς δὲ ὅτι τε μὴ ἡστυνόμησεν καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Τρεβώνιος ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ οὐ κληρωτός, ὃσπερ εἶθιστο, ἀλλ' αἱρετὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὴν ἀστυνομίαν προεκρήθη.

3 ἡμαιτοῦτο πρὸς πάντα τῷ συνάρχοντι καὶ οὔτ' ἀλλο τι τῶν ἐπιβάλλοντων οἱ ποιεῖσθαι ἐπετρεπτεν, οὔτε τὰς δίκας κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος νόμους τελείσθαι συνεχώρει, καὶ προσέτοις ὀφεῖλον τὰ καθήσειν ἐπὶ τοὺς διδακτικάς καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀλλοτρίων οἴκουσι τὸ ἐνοίκιον ἀφῆ-

4 σειν ἐπηγγέλλετο. προσθέμενος δὲ ἐκ τούτου

1 Καῖλιος Xvl., καὶ Λ. L.
2 μὲν added by Bk. following Rk.  

4 δὶδ Bk., διὰ L.
In this way these measures were voted and ratified. Caesar entered upon the dictatorship at once, although he was outside of Italy, and chose Antony, although he had not yet been praetor, as his master of horse; and the consul proposed the latter’s name also, although the augurs very strongly opposed him, declaring that no one might be master of the horse for more than six months. But for this course they brought upon themselves a great deal of ridicule, because, after having decided that the dictator himself should be chosen for a year, contrary to all precedent, they were now splitting hairs about the master of the horse. Marcus Caelius\(^1\) actually lost his life because he dared to set aside the laws established by Caesar regarding loans, assuming that their author had been defeated and had perished, and because as a result he stirred up Rome and Campania. He had been among the foremost in carrying out Caesar’s wishes, for which reason he had been appointed praetor; but he became angry because he had not been made praetor urbanas, and because his colleague Trebonius had been preferred before him for this office, not by lot, as had been the custom, but by Caesar’s choice. Hence he opposed his colleague in everything and would not let him perform any of the duties devolving upon him. He not only would not consent to his pronouncing judgments according to Caesar’s laws, but he also gave notice to such as owed anything that he would assist them against their creditors, and to all who dwelt in other people’s houses that he would release them from payment of the rent. Having by this course gained a considerable following, he set

\(^1\) M. Caelius Rufus.
συχνοὺς ἐπῆλθε μετ' αὐτῶν τῷ Τρεβονίῳ, κἀν ἀπεκτείνειν αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ τὴν τε ἐσθήτα ἡλλάξατο καὶ διέφυγέ σφας ἐν τῷ ὅχλῳ. διαμαρτῶν δὲ τούτου νόμου ἠδίᾳ ἔξεδηκε, προκαὶ τε πᾶσιν οἰκεῖν διδοὺς καὶ τὰ χρέα ἕκτονων.

23 Ο οὖν Σερούλιος στρατιώτας τέ τινας ἐς Γαλατίαν κατὰ τύχην παριόντας μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τῇ παρ' αὐτῶν φρούρᾳ συναγαγὼν προέθηκε γνώμην περὶ τῶν παρόντων, καὶ κυρωθέντος μὲν μηδενὸς (δήμαρχοι γὰρ ἐκώλυσαν) συγγραφέως δὲ τοῦ δόξαντος ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ὑπηρεταῖς καθελεῖν τὰ πινάκια. ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Καίλιος ἐκεῖνος τε ἀπήλασε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ὑπατον ἐς θόρυβον κατέστησε, συνήλθον αὐθίς φραζόμενοι τοῖς στρατιώτασι, καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως τῷ Σερούλιῳ, ὡσπερ ἄνω μοι πολυ—

3 λάκις περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήται, παρέδοσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὖδὲν ἐκ τούτου τῷ Καίλιῳ ὡς καὶ στρατηγοῦντε πράξαι ἐφήκεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο τῶν στρατηγῶν προσέπαξε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν τε συνεδρίου εἰρήκε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καταβοδώντα τι κατέσπασε, τὸν τε διήφον αὐτοῦ συνέτριψεν ὁ δὲ ὀργὴν μὲν πολλὴν καθ’ ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἐποιείτο, δεδιώκεται δὲ μὴ καὶ κολασθῇ (δύναμιν γὰρ ἀξιώμαχον ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶχεν) ἐσ Καμπανίαν πρὸς Μίλωνα νεοτερίζουτα

24 τι ἀπάραι ἐγὼ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπειδὴ μόνος τῶν φευγόντων οὖ κατήχη τρίος τοῦ Καῖσαρος, ἐς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀβίκετο, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μὲν βίον δεομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ δεδότας, συλλέξας τὴν τε χώραν ἐκακούργησε

Χρίστυ, χρύσακα. 2 πολλὴν R. Steph., τελικά L.
upon Trebonius with their aid and would have slain him, had the other not managed to change his dress and escape in the crowd. After this failure Cælius privately issued a law in which he granted everybody the use of houses free of rent and annulled all debts.

Servilius consequently sent for some soldiers who chanced to be going by on the way to Gaul, and after convening the senate under their protection he proposed a measure in regard to the situation. No action was taken, since the tribunes prevented it, but the sense of the meeting was recorded and Servilius then ordered the court officers to take down the offending tablets. When Cælius drove these men away and even involved the consul himself in a tumult, they convened again, still protected by the soldiers, and entrusted to Servilius the guarding of the city, a procedure concerning which I have often spoken before. After this he would not permit Cælius to do anything in his capacity as praetor, but assigned the duties pertaining to his office to another praetor, debarred him from the senate, dragged him from the rostra while he was delivering some tirade or other, and broke his chair in pieces. Cælius was very angry with him for each of these acts, but since Servilius had a body of troops in town that matched his own, he was afraid that he might be punished, and so decided to set out for Campania to join Milo, who was beginning a rebellion. For Milo, when he alone of the exiles was not restored by Caesar, had come to Italy, where he gathered a large crowd of men, some in want of a livelihood and others who feared
γέ τι συστήσων, καὶ ἐκεῖ πρίν ποιήσαι τι λόγον ἀξιών ἀπόλετον συστραφέντες γάρ οἱ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πράττοντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτὸν.

26 Καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανοι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἠσυχία παρὰ τούτῳ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἔγενετο, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ συνηρέχθη, ὡσπερ ποὺ καὶ τὰ τέρατα προεδήλωσεν. ἐκεῖνῳ τε γὰρ τῷ ἔτει τελευτώντι ἄλλα τὲ τίνα συνέβη, καὶ μέλισσαι ἐν τῷ Καπιτώλιῳ παρὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἰδρύθησαν.

2 καὶ (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἱερὰ Ἰσιδί ἐνταῦθα τὸτε γιγνόμενα) ἐδοξὲ γνώμη τῶν μάντεων πάντα αὖθις τὰ τε ἐκεῖνης καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σαράπιδος τε- μενίσματα κατασκάψαι γενομένου δὲ τοῦτον καὶ Ἕννειόν τε ὡς τόν σφας προσκαθρέθη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κεράμα ἀνθρωπείων σαρκῶν μεστὰ

3 εὐρέθη. τῷ τε ἐχομένῳ σεισμός τε ἰσχυρὸς ἐγένετο καὶ βύας οἴφθη, κεραυνοὶ τε ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ ἐς τὸν τῆς Τύχης τῆς δημοσίας καλουμένης ναὸν ἐς τε τους τοῦ Καίσαρος κήπους κατέσκηψαν, κανταῦθα ἐπὶς τὸς τῶν οὐκ ἠμελη-

4 μένων ἀπέθανεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ Τυχαῖον αὐτόματον ἀνέφχθη. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις αἱμα τε ἐξ ἐργαστηρίου σιτοποιοῦ προχυθεῖν ἄφικεν πρὸς νεὼν ἐτερον Τύχης, ἦν ἐκ τοῦ πάντα τα τε ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τὰ κατόπιν καὶ ἐφορᾶν καὶ ἐκλογιζεσθαι χρήμα τινα, μηδὲ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι ἐξ οἷων οἷος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἰδρύσαντο καὶ ἐπεκαλέσαν τρόπον τινα οὐκ εὐαφήγητον "Ελλησιν.

5 καὶ βρέφη τινὰ τὰς ἀριστερὰς ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς χεῖρας ἔχοντα ἐγεννηθή, ὡστε ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων

1 καὶ supplied by Reim.
2 Ἕννειόν τε R. Steph., ἑρυθροτι L.
that district at any rate, and there he perished before accomplishing anything of importance; for those who favoured Caesar banded together and killed him.

So these men died, but that did not bring quiet to Rome. On the contrary, many dreadful events took place, as, indeed, omens had indicated beforehand. Among other things that happened toward the end of that year bees settled on the Capitol beside the statue of Hercules. Sacrifices to Isis chanced to be going on there at the time, and the soothsayers gave their opinion to the effect that all precincts of that goddess and of Serapis should be razed to the ground once more. In the course of their demolition a shrine of Bellona was unwittingly destroyed and in it were found jars full of human flesh. The following year a violent earthquake occurred, an owl was seen, thunderbolts descended upon the Capitol and upon the temple of the Public Fortune, as it was called, and into the gardens of Caesar, where a horse of no small value was destroyed by them, and the temple of Fortune opened of its own accord. In addition to this, blood issued from a bake-shop and flowed to another temple of Fortune—that Fortune whose statue, on account of the fact that a man must needs observe and consider everything that lies before his eyes as well as behind him and must not forget from what beginnings he has become what he is, they had set up and named in a way not easy to describe to Greeks. ¹ Also some infants were born holding their left hands to their heads, so that while

¹ The reference is to Fortuna Respiciens. For her many different attributes see Roscher, Lex. der griech. und röm. Mythologie, i. p. 1513. Plutarch called her τοχε ἐπιστρεφομένη, a name apparently unknown to Dio.
μηδέν υγίες ὑποπτεύεσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον μᾶλιστα τὴν τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων κατὰ τῶν προτετιμημένων ἐπανάστασιν τοὺς τε μάντεως προειπεῖν καὶ τὸν δήμον προσδέχεσθαι.

27 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖτως ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονιον προδειχθέντα ἐτάραττεν αὐτοῖς· συνεπελάβετο δὲ σφισκὸ τοῦ φόβου καὶ ἡ ὁψὶς αὐτῇ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δεινὴ καὶ ἁγίας ἐν τῇ νομηματίᾳ καὶ ἐπειτὰ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἡγομένη. ὑπατὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ στρατηγὸς οὐδέπω ἦν, ὃ δὲ δὴ Ἅυτωνιος τῆς 1 μὲν ἐσθήτως ἐνεκα (τῇ γὰρ περιπορφύρῳ ἔχριτο) καὶ ῥαβδοῦχων (τοὺς γὰρ ἐξ μόνον ἑίχε) τοῦ τε τὴν βουλὴν ἀδροίζειν εἰκόνα τινὰ τῆς ἡμοκρατίας παρέχετο, τῷ δὲ δὴ ξίφει δ 2 παρέξωστο καὶ τῷ πληθεὶ τῶν συνόντων οἱ στρατιωτῶν τοὺς τε ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ὅτι 3 μᾶλλον τὴν μονορχίαν ἐνεδείκνυον· καὶ γὰρ ἀρπαγαί καὶ ὑβρεῖς καὶ σφαγαί πολλαὶ ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ ἦν οὔ τὸ παρὸν μόνον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις χαλεπῶτατο, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα πολὺ πλεῖον καὶ δεινότερα ὑποπτέετο· ὅπου γὰρ ὁ ἱππαρχὸς οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι τὸ ξίφος κατέτιθετο (τὰς γὰρ πλείους ταῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος παρασκευαῖς ἐπετέλεσεν· ὁλίγας γὰρ τινὰς καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι ἐποίησαν), τίς οὖς ἄν αὐτὸν τὸν δικτάτορα ὑπετόπησεν; εἰ γὰρ τις καὶ τὴν χρηστότητα αὐτοῦ, ὑφ' ἡς πολλῶν καὶ ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ ἐπεφείτο, ἐνενόει, ἀλλ' οὔτοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τούς τε ἐφεμένους ἀρχῆς καὶ τοὺς καταπράξαντας αὐτὴν μένοντας ἐδόντες καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἀλλοω- 28 θήσεσθαι προσεδόκων. ἐλυποῦντό τε σοῦν, καὶ

1 τῆς Turn., οὐδέπω L. 2 ὁ Reim., δὲ L.
no good was looked for from the other signs, from this especially an uprising of inferiors against superiors was both foretold by the soothsayers and expected by the people.

These portents, thus revealed by Heaven, disturbed them; and their fear was augmented by the very appearance of the city, which had become strange and unfamiliar at the beginning of the year and continued so for a long time. For there was as yet no consul or praetor, and while Antony, in so far as his costume went, which was the purple-bordered toga, and his lictors, of whom he had only the usual six, and his convening of the senate, furnished some semblance of the republic, yet the sword with which he was girded, and the throng of soldiers that accompanied him, and his very actions in particular indicated the existence of a monarchy. In fact many robberies, outrages, and murders took place. And not only was the existing situation most distressing to the Romans, but they suspected Caesar of intending far more and greater deeds of violence. For when the master of the horse never laid aside his sword even at the festivals, who would not have been suspicious of the dictator himself? Most of these festivals, by the way, Antony gave at Caesar's expense, although the tribunes also gave a few. Even if any one stopped to think of Caesar's goodness, which had led him to spare many enemies, even such as had opposed him in battle, nevertheless, seeing that men who have gained an office do not stick to the principles that guided them when striving for it, they expected that he, too, would change his course. They were distressed, therefore, and discussed the
πολλά πρὸς ἄλληλους, οἰς γε καὶ ἀσφάλεια τις ἦν, διελάλουν. οὐ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀδείως συγχώνυμαι ἐδύναντο· καὶ γὰρ οἱ πάνυ φίλοι δοκοῦντες 1 τινῶν εἶναι, συγγενεῖς τε ἑτέροι, διεβαλλόν 2 σφας, τὰ μὲν παρατρέποντες τὰ δὲ καὶ 2 παντάπασι καταψευδόμενοι. οθεν οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ κατὰ τούτο οὐχ ἦκιστα ἐκακόπαθουν, ὅτι μήτε προσολοφύρασθαί μὴτ’ ἐπικοινώσαι ἐχοῦτες οὐδ’ 3 ἀπαλλαγήν ποτε αὐτοῦ ἐδύναντο. ἢ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ὀμοπαθεῖς συνουσία ἐφερὲ τινα αὐτοῖς 3 κούφισιν, καὶ τις ἀσφαλὸς ἐκλαλήσας τὲ τὶ καὶ ἀντακοῦσας οἷα ἐπασχον βάρων ἐγίνετο· ἢ δὲ δὴ πρὸς τοὺς οὐχ ὀμοθέηις ἀπίστια καθείργην τε ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν τὴν ἄνιαν καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον αὐτῶς ἔξεκα, μὴτ’ ἀποφυγὴν 4 μὴτ’ ἀνάπαυσιν τινα 4 λαμβανούσας. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ κατεχόμενα ἔδωκαν τὰ παθῆματα σφας τηρεῖν, καὶ εὐλογεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ βαμμάζειν, ἐνερτάζειν τε καὶ βουθυτεῖν εὐθυμεῖσθαι τε ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἤναγκαζόμενο.

29 Οὕτω μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ὅντες διετέθεντο· ὅσπερ δὲ οὐκ ἀποχρῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κακοῦσθαι, Δούκιος τέ τις Τρεβέλλιος καὶ Πούπλιος Κορνύλιος Δολοβέλλιας δήμαρχοι ἐστασίασαν, οὕτως μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὀφείλουσιν, ἐξ ὅν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, διὸ 5 καὶ έκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἐς τὸ πλήθος ἐπὶ τῇ δημαρχίᾳ 2 μετέστη, συνηγονιζέτο· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἑλεγε μὲν τῶν ἀμεινόνων προστασθαι, 6 ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ὀρὸιν

1 καὶ γὰρ οἱ πάνω φίλοι δοκοῦντες Be., καὶ γὰρ πάνω φίλοι Εδέκουν L. 2 διεβαλλόν R. Steph., διεβαλλόν L. 3 οὔτε Pflugk, οὔτε L. 4 μὴτ' ἀποφυγὴν Cary, μηταποράη L. 5 διό Rk., καὶ διό L. 6 προστασθαι H. Steph., προστασθαι L.

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matter with one another at length, at least those who were safe in so doing, for they could not be intimate with any and every one with impunity. For those who seemed to be one’s very good friends and others who were relatives would slander one, perverting some statements and telling downright lies on other points. And so it was that the rest found herein the chief cause of their distress, that, since they were unable either to lament or to share their views with others, they could not so much as give their feelings vent. For, while it is true that intercourse with those similarly afflicted lightened their burden somewhat, and the man who could safely utter and hear in return something of what the citizens were undergoing felt easier, yet their distrust of such as were not of like habits with themselves confined their vexation within their own hearts and inflamed them the more, as they could obtain neither escape nor relief. Indeed, in addition to having to keep their sufferings shut up within their own breasts, they were compelled to praise and admire their treatment, as also to celebrate festivals, perform sacrifices, and appear happy over it all.

This was the condition of the Romans in the city at that time. And, as if it were not sufficient for them to be abused by Antony, one Lucius Trebellius and Publius Cornelius Dolabella, tribunes, fell to quarrelling. The latter championed the cause of the debtors, to which class he belonged, and had therefore changed from the ranks of the patricians to the plebs, in order to secure the tribuneship. The former claimed to represent the nobles, but issued
αὐτῷ καὶ γράμματα ἐξετίθει καὶ σφαγαίς ἔχρητο.1 παραχῇ τε οὖν καὶ ἐκ τούτων πολλὴ ἐγνέτευ, καὶ ὅπλα πολλὰ καὶ παιναχοῦ ἐωρᾶτο, καὶ τῶν τε βουλευτῶν ἀπαγορευσάντων μὴδὲν πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἄφιξας καὶ κανονομηθήναι, καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μηδένα ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἰδιώτην ὀπλοφορεῖν.

3 καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐσήκουν, ἄλλα πάντα δὴ πάντως καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλληλοις καὶ ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνοις ἔποιον, τρίτη στάσις τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας ἐγένετο· ἦν γὰρ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸς τὰ τε ὅπλα καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἢ φθάσας ἔχρητο, προστεθείσαι νομισθεί, στρατιώτας τε ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τρέφειν καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων.

4 δημάρχων ποιεῖσθαι ἔλαβε. κακὸς τούτων Ἀντωνίου μὲν ἐν νόμῳ δή τινι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπεθύμει ἔδρα, Δολοβέλλας δὲ καὶ Τρεβέλλας ὄνομα μὲν βιαίον πράζεως εἶχον, ἀντηγονιζότο δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς θρασύτητος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ ἄλληλοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὅσπερ τινὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰγεμονίαν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰληφότες.

30 Καὶ τούτῳ Ἀντώνιος πυθόμενος τὰ στρατόπεδα, ἃ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὁ Καίσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὅσιος καὶ ἐφευγόμενος σφίσι προσέπεμψε,5 μηδὲν ἴγεις δρᾶν, καὶ φοβηθέεις μὴ τε νεωτερίσωσί, τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ Λουκίῳ ἐπέτρεψε, πολιάρχοιν αὐτὸν ἀποδέξας, ὃ μηπώποτε πρὸς ἵππον χρώνον ἐγένοιε, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξωρμησεν. οἱ οὖν δημαρχοὶ οἱ ἀντιστασίαζοντες σφίσι τοῦ τε Λουκίου διὰ τὸ γῆρας κατεφρονήσαν, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, μέχρις ous τόν Καίσαρα τά

1 ἔχρητο R. Steph., ἔχρατο L. 2 ἀπ' Rk., ἐπ' L. 3 προσέπεμψε R. Steph., προσέπεμψε L.
edicts and had recourse to murders no less than the other. This, too, naturally resulted in great turmoil and many weapons were everywhere to be seen, although the senators had commanded that no changes should be made before Caesar's arrival, and Antony that no private individual in the city should carry arms. As the tribunes, however, paid no attention to these orders, but resorted to absolutely every sort of measure against each other and against the men just mentioned, a third party arose, consisting of Antony and the senate. For in order to let it be thought that his weapons and the authority that resulted from their possession, an authority which he had already usurped, had been granted by that body, he got the privilege of keeping soldiers within the walls and of helping the other tribunes to guard the city. After this Antony did whatever he desired with a kind of legal right, while Dolabella and Trebellius were nominally guilty of violence; but their effrontery and resources led them to resist both each other and him, as if they too had received some position of command from the senate.

Meanwhile Antony learned that the legions which Caesar after the battle had sent ahead into Italy, with the intention of following them later, were engaged in questionable proceedings; and fearing that they might begin some rebellion, he turned over the charge of the city to Lucius Caesar, appointing him city prefect, an office never before conferred by a master of the horse, and then set out himself to join the soldiers. The tribunes who were at variance with each other despised Lucius because of his advanced age and inflicted many outrages upon one another.
3 εξειργάσαντο. ὡς γὰρ οὐκέτι αὐτῶν ἐπανῆχοντος, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ πρὸς τῶν Διογντίων, δισπερ ποὺ ἢκονον, ἀπολομμένου, διεφέροντο. τότε δὲ χρόνου μέν τινα ἐμετρίασαν, ἑπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρσάκην ἐκεῖνος πρῶτερον ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἐστασίασαν αὐθιν. οὖν Ἀυτώνοι μήτε ἐπισχεῖν αὐτοὺς δυνάμενοι, καὶ τῷ πληθεῖ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἐναντίωσιν προσκρούουν, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τοῦτῳ προσέδετο, καὶ τὸν Τρεβέλλιον ἀλλὰ τε ἐπητιάτο καὶ οἵ τοις στρατιώταις σφετέριστον, ἐπειτα δὲ αἰσθόμενος τὸν ὄμλοιν ἑαυτοῦ μέν μηδὲν προτιμῶντα τῷ δὲ Δολοβέλλαμα μόνῳ προσκείμενον, ἤχθεσθη καὶ μετεβάλετο, ἀλλος τε καὶ ὁ τῆς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πλῆθους χάριτος οὐκ ἐκοινώνει οἱ, τῆς δὲ παρὰ τῶν βουλευτῶν αἰτίαι τὸ πλείστον μετελάμβανε. καὶ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐν μέσῳ ἀμφοῖν ἔστη, τῷ δὲ ἐργῷ τῶν Τρεβέλλιον κρύφα ἀνθελετο, καὶ τὰ τὸ ἀλλα αὐτῷ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ στρατιώτας λαβεῖν ἐπέτρεψεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν θεατὴς ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης αὐτῶν ἐγγύνετο, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τῆς τε πόλεως τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα ἀντικατελάμβανον καὶ φόνους τε καὶ ἐμπρήσεις ἐποίουν, ὅστε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ποτε ἐκ τοῦ Ἑστιαίου ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνεπαρθένων ἐκκομισθῆναι, αὕτης τε ὁ ὕμνος φυλακῆς ἡ βουλευταί τῆς πόλεως ἀκριβεστέραν

1 μετεβάλεθο Bk., μετεβάλεθο L.
2 οὐχ supplied by Reim.
3 ἐμπρήσεις R. Stéph., ἐμπρήσεις te L.
and upon the rest, until they learned that Caesar having settled affairs in Egypt, had set out for Rome. For they were carrying on their quarrel upon the assumption that he would never return again but would of course perish there at the hands of the Egyptians, as, indeed, they kept hearing was the case. When, however, his coming was reported, they moderated their conduct for a time; but as soon as he set out against Pharnaces first, they fell to quarrelling once more. Accordingly Antony, seeing that he was unable to restrain them and that his opposition to Dolabella was obnoxious to the populace, at first joined himself to that tribune and brought various charges against Trebellius, among them one to the effect that he was appropriating the soldiers to his own use. Later, when he perceived that he himself was not held in any esteem by the multitude, which was attached only to Dolabella, he became vexed and changed sides, the more so because, while not sharing with the plebeian leader the favour of the people, he nevertheless received the greatest share of blame from the senators. So nominally he adopted a neutral attitude toward the two, but in fact secretly preferred the cause of Trebellius, and cooperated with him in various ways, particularly by allowing him to obtain soldiers. Thenceforward he became merely a spectator and director of their contest, while they fought, seized in turn the most advantageous points in the city, and entered upon a career of murder and arson, to such an extent that on one occasion the holy vessels were carried by the virgins out of the temple of Vesta. So the senators once more voted that the master of the horse should keep the
τῷ ἵππαρχῳ ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἀπασα
2 ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡ πόλις ἐπληρώθη. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
παῦλα τις ἐγένετο. ὦ γὰρ Δολοβέλλας ἀπογνωμός
συγγρώμης τινὸς παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τεύξεσθαι,1
μέγα τι κακὸν ἐπεθύμει δράσας ἀπολέσθαι ὡς καὶ
όνομα ἐκ τούτου ἐσ ἄεὶ σχῆσων ἣδη γὰρ τινὲς
καὶ τῶν κακίστων ἔργων ἐρασταὶ ἐπὶ τῇ φήμη
ἡγοῦνται. ὥστε οὕπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὰ τε ἅλλα
ἐτάραττε, καὶ τοὺς νόμους, τὸν τε περὶ τῶν χρεῶν
καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐνοικίων, ἐν ῥήτῃ τινὶ ἡμέρα
3 θήσειν ὑπέσχετο. ὥς οὖν τούτῳ τὸ προετήγ-
γελτὸν2 καὶ ὁ ὀχλὸς τὰ τε περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν
ἀποφράξας καὶ πύργους ἔστιν ἡ εὐλίνους ἐπι-
καταστήσας3 ἔτοιμος παντὶ τῷ ἐναντιωθησομένῳ
σφίσιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἐγένετο, ἐνταῦθ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος
στρατιώτας ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πόλλοις ἐκ τοῦ Κα-
πιτωλίου καταγαγὼν τας τε σαινίας τῶν νόμων
κατέκοψε, καὶ τινὰς καὶ μετὰ τούτο ταραχώδεις
ἀπ'4 αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατεκρήμνισεν.
33 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπαύσαντο διὰ τούτο5 στασιά-
ζοντες, ἀλλ' ὅσων πλείους αὐτῶν ἀπώλεσαντο, τόσο
μᾶλλον οἱ περιληπτέως ἐδορύθων, νομίζοντες τὸν
Καίσαρα μεγίστῳ τε καὶ δυσχερεστάτῳ πολέμῳ
συμπεπλέκθαι. οὐδὲ ἐπέσχον πρὶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων
2 ἐξαπιναῖως σφίσιν ὑφήναι. οὔτω δὲ καὶ ἄκοντες
ἡσύχασαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πᾶν ὁ τι ποτὲ ἐνεδέχετο
πεῖσεσθαι προσεδόκων, λόγος τε ἐπ' αὐτῶς κατὰ
πᾶσαν ὁμοίως τὴν πόλιν ἦν,6 τῶν μὲν τὰ, τῶν δὲ τὰ

1 τεύξεσθαι Reim., τεύξασθαι L.
2 προετήγγελτο Bk., προετηγγέλλετο L.
3 ἐπικαταστήσας Rk., ἀποκαταστήσας L.
4 αὐτ' Rk., αὕτη L. 5 τοῦτο R. Steph., τοῦτο L.
6 ἢ το supplied by Xyl.
city under stricter guard, and practically the whole city was filled with soldiers. Yet there was no respite. For Dolabella, in despair of obtaining any pardon from Caesar, desired to accomplish some terrible deed before perishing, hoping thus to gain lasting renown; thus there are actually some men who become infatuated with the basest deeds for the sake of fame! From this motive he, too, caused confusion generally, even promising that on a certain specified day he would enact his laws in regard to debts and house-rents. On receipt of these announcements the crowd erected barricades round the Forum, setting up wooden towers at some points, and put itself in readiness to cope with any force that might oppose it. At that, Antony led down from the Capitol at dawn a large body of soldiers, cut down the tablets containing Dolabella’s laws and afterwards hurled some of the disturbers from the very cliffs of the Capitoline.

However, even this did not stop their quarrelling. Instead, the greater the number of those who perished, the greater disturbance did the survivors make, thinking that Caesar had become involved in a very great and difficult war. And they did not cease until he himself suddenly appeared before them; then they reluctantly quieted down. They were expecting to suffer every conceivable ill fate, and there was talk about them all through the city, some judging one way and others another; but
δικαίωντων· οδε δη Καίσαρ τῷ συνήθει οἱ τρόπῳ καὶ τότε ἐχρήσατο. τῇ τε γὰρ παρούσῃ αὐτῶν καταστάσει ἥρκέσθη, καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν προγενομένων ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν, ἀλλὰ πάντων τε ἐφείσατο καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐτίμησεν, ἀλλοὺς τε καὶ τῶν Δολοβέλλιαν. ἐνεργεσίαν γὰρ τινὰ αὐτῷ ὄφείλων οὐκ ἤξίωσεν αὐτῆς ἐκλαθέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὅτε ἡδικήθη, διὰ τούτο καὶ ἐκείνης ὁλιγώρησεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὦν εὖ ἑπεπόνθει, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ συνέγων, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτῶν ἐν τιμῇ ἤγαγεν, καὶ ὑπατον οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον μηδὲ στρατηγήσαντα ἀπέδειξε.

34. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπονείσαι ἐγένετο· χρόνοις δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῆν, καὶ οὐκ εὑρίσκει τῷ Πομπηίου θανάτῳ, ἥλθε διὰ τάδε. οἱ Διογύπτιοι ταῖς τῶν χρημάτων ἐσπράξει βαρυνόμενοι, καὶ δεινῶς φέροντες ὅτι μὴ τὸν ιερὸν τίς ἀπείχετο (θρησκεύουσι τε γὰρ πολλὰ περισσότατα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πολέμους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους, ἀτε μὴ καθ' ἐν ἄλλα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντιωτάτου καὶ αὐτοῖς τιμώντες τινα, ἀναιροῦνται), τούτοις τε οὐν ἀγανάκτησαντες, καὶ προσέτε φοβηθέντες μὴ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ ἀτε μέγα παρὰ τῷ Καίσαρι δυναμένῃ παραδοθῶσιν, ἐταράχθησαν. ἔκεινη τε γὰρ τέως μὲν δι' ἐτέρων παρ' αὐτῷ διὰ τῶν ἄδελφων ἐδικάζετο, ἐπειτα δὲ ὡς τάχιστα τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ κατέμαθεν (ἡν γὰρ ἐρωτικώτατος, καὶ πλείσταις καὶ ἄλλαις, ὅσαις ποιναρίτυχοι, συνεγίγνετο).

1 αὐτοῖς R. Steph., αὐτοῖς L.
Caesar even at this juncture followed his usual practice. Accepting their attitude of the moment as satisfactory and not concerning himself with their past conduct, he spared them all, and even honoured some of them, including Dolabella. For he owed the latter some kindness, which he did not see fit to forget; in other words, in place of overlooking that favour because he had been wronged, he pardoned him in consideration of the benefit he had received, and besides honouring him in other ways he not long afterward appointed him consul, though he had not even served as praetor.

These were the events which occurred in Rome during Caesar's absence. Now the reasons why he was so long in coming there and did not arrive immediately after Pompey's death were as follows. The Egyptians were discontented at the levies of money and indignant because not even their temples were left untouched. For they are the most religious people on earth in many respects and wage wars even against one another on account of their beliefs, since they are not all agreed in their worship, but are diametrically opposed to each other in some matters. As a result, then, of their vexation at this and, further, of their fear that they might be surrendered to Cleopatra, who had great influence with Caesar, they began a disturbance. Cleopatra, it seems, had at first urged with Caesar her claim against her brother by means of agents, but as soon as she discovered his disposition (which was very susceptible, to such an extent that he had his intrigues with ever so many other women— with all, doubtless, who chanced to come in his way) she sent
πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν 1 προδίδοσθαί τε ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων λέγουσα καὶ ἄξιοῦσα αὐτὴ δὴ ἑαυτῆς
4 ἀγωνίσασθαί. ἄλλως τε γὰρ περικαλλεστάτη
gυναικῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τότε τῇ τῆς ὅρας ἀκμὴ
pολὺ διέπρεπε, τὸ τε φθέγμα ἀστείοτατον εἶχε,
5 καὶ προσομιλήσαι παντὶ τῷ διὰ χαρίτων ἡπί-
στατο, ὥστε λαμπρά τε ἱδεῖν καὶ ἀκούσθηναι
οὕσα, κὰκ τούτῳ πάντα τίνα καὶ δυσέρωτα καὶ
ἀφηλικέστερον ἐξεργάσασθαί δυναμένη, πρὸς τρό-
πον τε ἐνόμισε τῷ Ἐκασσαρί ἐντεύξεσθαί, καὶ
6 πάντα ἐν τῷ κάλλει τὰ δικαιώματα ἐθετο. ἡτή-
σατό τε οὐν ἐς ὅψην αὐτοῦ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τυχοῦσα
catekόσμησε τε ἑαυτὴν καὶ ἔξηκησεν ὡστε
σεμνοπρεπεστάτη καὶ σικτροτάτη αὐτῷ ὀφθήναι.
καὶ ἢ μὲν ταῦτα μηχανησαμένη ἐγε τῇ τὴν πόλιν ἀμα
(ἐξω γὰρ καὶ ἑκείνης ἕν) καὶ ἐς τὰ βασιλεία
35 λάβα τοῦ Πτολεμαίου νυκτὸς ἐσῆλθεν· ὅ δὲ δὴ
Καῖσαρ ἰδὼν τε αὐτὴν καὶ τὶ φθεγξαμένης ἀκοῦ-
σας οὕτως εὐθὺς ἐδουλώθη ὡστε αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τε
tὴν ἑω τὸν Πτολεμαίον μεταπέμψασθαι καὶ
συναλλάξαι σφᾶς ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἢ γὰρ δικαστὴς
πρότερον ἴξιοῦτο εἶναι, τότε ταῦτη συνεδίκει.
2 ὅ οὐν παῖς, διά τε τούτῳ καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφὴν
αἰφνιδίως εἰδὲν ἑυδοὶν οὕσαν, ὀργὴς τε ἐπληρώθη,
kαὶ ἐκπεδήσας ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἑβδο λέγων προδί-
dοσθαί, καὶ τέλος τὸ διάδημα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς
περισσάς ἔρριψε. θορύβου δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ
μεγάλου συμβάντος ἑκείνων μὲν οἱ Καισάρειοι
στρατιῶται συνήρτασαν, τὸ δὲ δὴ Αὐγούστιον
3 ἐταράττετο· κἂν αὐτὸβοεὶ τὰ βασιλεία καὶ ἐκ

1 aὐτῶν Leunel., aὐτῶν καὶ L.
word to him that she was being betrayed by her friends and asked that she be allowed to plead her case in person. For she was a woman of surpassing beauty, and at that time, when she was in the prime of her youth, she was most striking; she also possessed a most charming voice and a knowledge of how to make herself agreeable to every one. Being brilliant to look upon and to listen to, with the power to subjugate every one, even a love-sated man already past his prime, she thought that it would be in keeping with her rôle to meet Caesar, and she reposed in her beauty all her claims to the throne. She asked therefore for admission to his presence, and on obtaining permission adorned and beautified herself so as to appear before him in the most majestic and at the same time pity-inspiring guise. When she had perfected her schemes she entered the city (for she had been living outside of it), and by night without Ptolemy's knowledge went into the palace. Caesar, upon seeing her and hearing her speak a few words was forthwith so completely captivated that he at once, before dawn, sent for Ptolemy and tried to reconcile him, thus acting as advocate for the very woman whose judge he had previously assumed to be. For this reason, and because the sight of his sister within the palace was so unexpected, the boy was filled with wrath and rushed out among the people crying out that he was being betrayed, and at last he tore the diadem from his head and cast it away. In the great tumult which thereupon arose Caesar's troops seized the person of the prince and the Egyptian populace continued to be in an uproar. They assaulted
τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἄμα προσβάλοντες εἶλον (τοῖς γὰρ Ῥωμαίωσις οὐδὲν ἀξιόμαχον, ἀτε καὶ φίλων σφῶν δοκοῦντο εἶναι, παρην), εἰ μὴ φοβηθεῖς ὁ Καίσαρ προῆλθε τε ἐς αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἁσφαλεὶ στὰς πάντα σφίσιν, ὡσα ἀν ἐθελήσωσι, πράξειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐσελθὼν τὸν τε Πτολεμαίον καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν παρεστήσατο, καὶ τὰς διαθήκας τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἀνέγιν, ἐν αἷς ἐκεῖνοις μὲν συνοικησαί τε ἀλλήλους κατὰ τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πάτρια καὶ βασιλεύειν ἄμα, τὸν δὲ δὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον τὴν ἐπιτροπεῖαν σφῶν ἔχειν ἐγερμαπτο. πράξας δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ἐπείπτων ὅτι ἐαυτῷ δικτάτορι ὄντι καὶ πᾶν τὸ τοῦ δήμου κράτος ἔχοντι, τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν παιδῶν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ δόξαρτα τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιτελεῖν προσήκει, ἐκεῖνοις τε τὴν βασιλείαν ἅμφοτέρως ἔδωκε, καὶ τῇ Ἀρσινόῃ τῷ τε Πτολεμαῖῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ, τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς σφῶν, Κύπρον ἔχαρισσατο. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ποιοῦ ζήσεως ἐκεῖν ὅστε μὴ μόνον μηδενὶ τῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου προσλαβεῖν, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν οἰκεῖων τε αὐτοῖς προσδοῦναι.

Τὸτε μὲν οὕτως ἐπαύσαντο, ἀδίστι δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὑστεροῦν ἐκκινθήσαν ὡστε καὶ πολεμῆσαι. ο γὰρ Ποθείνος ὁ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου χρημάτων προστεταγμένος (εὐνοῦχος δὲ ἦν καὶ τούς Αἰγυπτίους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα 2 συνετεταράχει), δείσας μὴ καὶ δικὴν ποτὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δῷ, πέμπει κρύφα πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλᾶν περὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον ἔτι καὶ τότε ὄντα, καὶ αὐτὸν

1 προσβαλόντες cod. Peir., προσβάλλοντες L.
2 ἄμα Rk., ἀλλὰ L.
the palace by land and sea at the same time and
might have taken it without a blow, since the
Romans had no adequate force present, owing to the
apparent friendship of the natives; but Caesar in
alarm came out before them, and standing in a safe
place, promised to do for them whatever they wished.
Afterward he entered an assembly of theirs, and
producing Ptolemy and Cleopatra, read their father's
will, in which it was directed that they should live
together according to the custom of the Egyptians
and rule in common, and that the Roman people
should exercise a guardianship over them. When he
had done this and had added that it belonged to
him as dictator, holding all the power of the people,
to have an oversight of the children and to fulfil
their father's wishes, he bestowed the kingdom upon
them both and granted Cyprus to Arsinoë and
Ptolemy the Younger, a sister and a brother of
theirs. For so great fear possessed him, it would
seem, that he not only laid hold on none of the
Egyptian domain, but actually gave them some of
his own besides.

By this action they were temporarily calmed, but
not long afterward were roused even to the point of
making war. For Pothinus, a eunuch who was
charged with the management of Ptolemy's funds
and who had taken a leading part in stirring up the
Egyptians, became afraid that he might some time
have to pay the penalty for his conduct, and he ac-
cordingly sent secretly to Achillas, who was still at
this time near Pelusium, and by frightening him and
εκφοβήσας τε ἁμα καὶ ἐπελπίσας προσηταιρίσατο, καὶ μετά τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς
3 τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντας φικεῖσατο. πάσι τε γὰρ ὁμοίως δεινὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἀρχεσθαί,
ὑποψία τοῦ τὸν Κάισαρα τότε μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ καταστάσει σφῶν ἀμφότεροι δῆθεν αὐτοῖς τὴν
βασιλείαν δεδωκέναι, προϊόντος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου
4 μονὴ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ αὐτὴν περσῆσειν καὶ ἀντίπαλοι τῷ τότε παρόντι αὐτοῦ στρατῷ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι.
καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάν-
37 δρείαν εὐθὺς ἀραντες ἡλάσαν·1 πυθόμενος δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Κάισαρ, καὶ καταδέικνα τὸ τε πλῆθος
αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τόλμας, ἐπεμβὰ τινας πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλᾶν, οὕτη γὰρ ὁ αὐτοῦ ἄλλα τῷ τοῦ
Πτολεμαίου ὅνοματι, κελευόντως αὐτῷ τὴν ἴση-
χίαν ἄγειν. καὶ διὸ συνείσ ὅτι οὐ τοῦ παιδὸς
ἀλλὰ ἑκείνου ἡ πρόσταξις ἦν, οὐχ ὄπως οὐκ
2 ἐπήκουσεν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκαταφρονήσας ὁς καὶ φοβομένου τοὺς τε στρατιῶτας συνήγαγε,
καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ύπʼ ὅρο τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Κάισαρος τῆς τε Κλεοπάτρας
εἰπὼν, τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας καὶ ρη
Λιγυπτίους ὅντας παρόξυνεν αὐτοὺς, ὅπως τοῦ
τε φῶνον σφῶν ἀναπληθοῦσι καὶ ἐς ἀνάγκην
3 ἀσπείστου πολέμου καταστῶσι. μαθῶν οὖν
taῦτα ὁ Κάισαρ τοὺς τε ἐκ τῆς Συρίας στρατιώ-
τας μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τὰ τὲ ἄλλα
tὰ πλησίον αὐτῶν οἰκοδομήματα διετάφρευσε
38 καὶ ἀπετείχισε μέχρι τῆς βαλαύσης. κάν τούτῳ
καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλᾶς μετὰ τὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ μετὰ
tῶν ἄλλων τῶν ύπὸ τοῦ Γαβρίου σὺν τῷ

1 ἡλάσαν Wakefield, ἡμαυνον L.
at the same time inspiring him with hopes he made him his associate, and next won over also all the rest who bore arms. To all of them alike it seemed a shame to be ruled by a woman—for they suspected that Caesar on the occasion mentioned had given the kingdom ostensibly to both the children merely to quiet the people, and that in the course of time he would offer it to Cleopatra alone—and they thought themselves a match for the army he then had present. So they set out at once and proceeded toward Alexandria. Caesar, learning of this and feeling afraid of their numbers and daring, sent some men to Achillas, not in his own, but in Ptolemy's name, bidding him keep the peace. Achillas, however, realizing that this was not the boy's command, but Caesar's, so far from giving it any attention, was filled with contempt for the sender, believing him afraid. So he called his soldiers together and by haranguing them at length in favour of Ptolemy and against Caesar and Cleopatra he finally roused their anger against the messengers, though these were Egyptians, so that they should defile themselves with their murder and thus be forced into a relentless war. Caesar, apprised of this, summoned his soldiers from Syria and fortified the palace and the other buildings near it by a moat and wall reaching to the sea. Meanwhile Achillas arrived with the Romans and the others who had been left behind with Septimius
Σεπτιμίῳ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου φρουράν καταλειφθέντων ἐπελθὼν (ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἐκεί διατριβῆς καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἐς τὸ ἐπιχώριον μετεβεβλήκεσαν) τὸν τε Ἀλεξάνδρεων τὸ πλεί- στον εὐθὺς προσεποιήσατο καὶ τὰ ἐπικαρότατα ἐκρατύνατο. καὶ τούτου πολλαὶ μὲν μάχαι καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ αὐτῶι ἐγίγνοντο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατεπιματραῖο, ὦστε ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ νεώριον τὰς τα ἀποθήκας καὶ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τῶν βιβλιοῦ, πλείστων δὲ καὶ ἀρίστων, ὡς φασὶ, γενομένων, καυθῆμαι. ἐκράτει δὲ τῆς μὲν ἡπείρου ὁ Ἀχιλλᾶς, χωρὶς ὅν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνέτειχότο, τῆς δὲ δὴ ἐκλάσας ἐκεῖνος, ἀνευ τοῦ λιμένος· καὶ ναυμαχία τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἐπείδη διὰ τούτο φοβηθέντες οἱ Ἀιγυπτιοὶ μὴ ἐς τὸν λιμένα σφῶν ἐπεσπεύσαμεν, τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ πληθεῖσας ἐξοσάμεν, καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσ- ἀπέφραξε, ὐλκάδας λίθων πλήρεις καταπον- τώσας, ὦστ' αὐτῶι μὴ οἱ πάνυ τι βούλωντο ἐκπλευσάι, δυνηθῆμαι τοι ἀπάραι. ποιήσας δὲ τούτο ράον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὑδρο ἐπήγετο τὴν γὰρ αὐτῶι ὑδρεῖαν ὁ Ἀχιλλᾶς σφας ἀφήρητο, τοὺς ὅχετοις διακόσιας.

39 Τούτων δὲ οὗτοι πραττομένων Γαυμήδης τις εὐνοούχος τὴν Ἀρσενοῦ ὧν παύνι φρουρομένην ἐς τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους ὑπεξήγαγεν καὶ ταύτην ἐκεῖνοι βασιλέα ἀποδέξαντες προθυμότερον τοῦ πολέ- μου, ὡς καὶ προστάτωτι τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Πτολε- μαίων γένους ἐχοντες, ἀντελάβοντο. ὁ οὖν

1 κατεπιματραῖο St., κατεπιμπρατο L.
2 καταποντώσας Bk., προσκαταποντώσας L.
3 ἀφήρητο B. Steph., ἀφηρέτο L.
by Gabinius to keep guard over Ptolemy; for these 
troops as a result of their stay there had changed 
their habits and had adopted those of the natives. 
And he immediately won over the larger part of the 
Alexandrines and made himself master of the most 
avantageous positions. After this many battles 
occurred between the two forces both by day and by 
night, and many places were set on fire, with the 
result that the docks and the storehouses of grain 
among other buildings were burned, and also the 
library, whose volumes, it is said, were of the greatest 
number and excellence. Achillas was in possession 
of the mainland, with the exception of what Caesar 
had walled off, and the latter of the sea except the 
harbour. Caesar, indeed, was victorious in a sea-fight, 
and when the Egyptians, consequently, fearing that 
he would sail into their harbour, had blocked up the 
entrance with the exception of a narrow passage, he 
cut off that outlet also by sinking freight ships 
loaded with stones; so they were unable to stir, no 
matter how much they might desire to sail out. 
After this achievement provisions, and water in 
particular, were brought in more easily; for Achillas 
had deprived them of the local water-supply by 
cutting the pipes.

While these events were taking place, one 
Ganymedes, a eunuch, secretly brought Arsinoë to 
the Egyptians, as she was not very well guarded. 
They declared her queen and proceeded to prosecute 
the war more vigorously, inasmuch as they now had 
as leader a representative of the family of the
Καίσαρ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ὁ Ποθεινὸς τῶν Πτολεμαίων ἐκκλῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν δὲ οὐκέτι ἐπικρυπτόμενος ἀκριβῶς εἴφρούρει. παραξυνθέντων δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ ἐκείνοις μὲν πλείονοι ἀεὶ προσγιγμομένοι, τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ρωμαίοις μηδέποτε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας παρόντων, ἐς φιλίαιν αὐτοὺς ὑπαγαγέσθαι ηθέλησε, καὶ τῶν Πτολεμαίων ἀναβιβάσας ποὺ, ὅθεν ἐξακουσθῆσθαι ἐμελλεν, εἰπεῖν σφισιν ἐκέλευσεν ὅτι οὔτε τι κακὸν ἔχοι οὔτε πολεμεῖν δέοιτο· πρὸς τὲς σπονδαῖς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλει, καὶ προστυχεύσει διαπράξειν αὐτὰς. καὶ εἰγε ἐκὼν ταῦτα οὕτω διείλεκτο, ἔπεισεν ἀν σφας καταλύσασθαι· γὰρ δὲ ὑποτεῦσαντες αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατεσκευάσθαι οὐκ ἐνδόσσαν.

Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου στάσις τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἀρσενώπην οὕσιν ἐνέπεσε, καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Γανυμήδης ἔπεισε τὸν Ἀχιλλᾶν ὡς καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν προδώσοντα ἀποκτεῖναι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου τὴν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν παρέλαβε, καὶ τὰ πλοία ὅσα ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ λίμῃ ἑν ἑόραγην, ἀλλὰ τε προσκατεσκεύασε, καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κομίας τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων μὴ προσδεχόμενοι προσέβαλε, καὶ τὰς μὲν κατέπρησε τῶν ὀλκάδων αὐτῶν τὰς δὲ ἀνεδόχατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν τε ἐσπλοῦν τοῦ λυμένος ἐξεκάθηρε, κάνταῦθα πολλοῖς 2 πολλά σφας ἐλύπει. τηρήσας οὖν ποτὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καίσαρ ἀμελῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατεῖν

1 προδώσοντα Reim., προδώσαντα L.
2 ναυλοχῶν Xyl., ναυλομαχῶν L.
BOOK XLII

Ptolemy. Caesar, therefore, in fear that Pothinus might kidnap Ptolemy, put the former to death and guarded the latter strictly without any further dissimulation. This served still more to incense the Egyptians, to whose party numbers were being added continually, whereas the Roman soldiers from Syria were not yet present. Caesar was therefore anxious to win the people's friendship, and so he led Ptolemy up to a place from which they could hear his voice, and then bade him say to them that he was unharmed and did not desire war; and he urged them toward peace, and moreover promised to arrange it for them. Now if he had talked to them thus of his own accord, he might have persuaded them to become reconciled; but as it was, they suspected that it was all prearranged by Caesar, and so did not yield.

As time went on a dispute arose among the followers of Arsinoe, and Ganymedes prevailed upon her to put Achillas to death, on the ground that he was going to betray the fleet. When this had been done, he assumed command of the soldiers and gathered all the boats that were in the river and the lake, besides constructing others; and he conveyed them all through the canals to the sea, where he attacked the Romans while off their guard, burned some of their freight ships to the water's edge and towed others away. Then he cleared out the entrance to the harbour and by lying in wait for vessels there he caused the Romans great annoyance. So Caesar, having waited for a time when they were acting carelessly by reason of their success, suddenly
έχοντας ἐς τὸν λιμένα αἱφνιδίως ἐπεσέπλευσε, καὶ συχνὰ πλοία καύσας ἐς τὴν Φάρον ἀπέβη καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐφώνευσεν. Ἰδὼντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Διονύσιοι κατὰ τὲ τὰς γεφύρας ἐπεβοήθησαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συχνοὺς τὸν Ῥωμαίον ἀνταποκτείναντας τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἑσάραξαν. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁποιοίποτε καὶ ἀθρόως ἐσβιαζομένων ἐς αὐτὰς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ ἐς τὴν βάλασαν ἐξέπεσον καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ. κἂν διέφθαρτο κακῶς, ὑπὸ τὸ τῶν ἰματίων ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν Διονύσιων βαλλομένων (ἅλωργὸν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὄντων ἐστοχάζοντο), εἶ μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀπερρίφει καὶ μετὰ τούτου διανεύ-}

5 καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσβεβήκει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀντικατα ἐσώθη, μηδὲν τῶν γραμμάτων βρέξας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀριστερὰ χειρὶ ἀνέχων ἐνήξατο τὴν τεὶ δὴ ἐσθήτα αὐτοῦ οἱ Διονύσιοι λαβόντες πρὸς τὸ τρόπαιον, ὁ ἐστησαν τῆς τροπῆς ταύτης, ἀνεκρέμασαν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνων ἡρμηκτες. καὶ ἡδὴ γὰρ καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἄ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας μετεπέπαπτο ἐπηλεῖασε, τὰς τε κατάρσεις ἐτήρουν 6 καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοὺς ἐβλαπτον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν Διολῆν σφόν προσπέπτοσιν ὁ Καίσαρ τρόπον τοῖς Ἰμενεῖ- συχνοῖς δὲ δὴ περὶ τὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἐκβολάσ τις τοῖς ὅς καὶ Ῥωμαίοι ὄντες ἤπατων τε καὶ συνελάβασαν, ὅστε τοὺς λοιποὺς μηκτετοι τολμᾶν παρακομίζοντες, μέχρις οὗ Τιθέριος Κλαύδιος Νέρων ἐς αὐτὸν τοῦτο τὸν πυταμὸν ἀναπλεύσας ἐκείνους τε μάχη ἐκράτησε καὶ τοῖς σφετέροις ἀδεεύστερον τὸν πρόσπλουν ἐποίησε.

1 μετεπέπαπτο Dind., μετεπέπαπτο L. 2 γὰρ supplied by Rk.
sailed into the harbour, burned a large number of vessels, and disembarking on Pharos, slew the inhabitants of the island. When the Egyptians on the mainland saw this, they rushed over the bridges to the aid of their friends, and after killing many of the Romans in turn drove the remainder back to the ships. While the fugitives were forcing their way into these in crowds anywhere they could, Caesar and many others fell into the sea. He would have perished miserably, being weighted down by his robes and pelted by the Egyptians (for his garments, being of purple, offered a good mark), had he not thrown off his clothing and then succeeded in swimming out to where a skiff lay, which he boarded. In this way he was saved, and that, too, without wetting one of the documents of which he held up a large number in his left hand as he swam. The Egyptians took his clothing and hung it upon the trophy which they set up to commemorate this rout, just as if they had captured him himself. They also kept a close watch upon the landings, since the legions which had been sent for from Syria were already drawing near, and were doing the Romans much injury. For while Caesar could defend in a fashion those of them who came ashore on the Libyan side, yet near the mouth of the Nile the Egyptians deceived many of his men by means of signal fires, as if they too were Romans, and thus captured them, so that the rest no longer ventured to come to land, until Tiberius Claudius Nero at this time sailed up the river itself, conquered the foe in battle, and made it safer for his followers to come to land.
41 Καὶ τούτῳ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἐπικλήθης ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ἐς τὸ στόμα τοῦ Νείλου τὸ κατὰ Πηλούσιον ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀναβῆναι, ἀποφραξάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀγνυτίων τοὺς πλοῖοι τοὺς ἐσπλήνυ τοὺς προσεκομίσθη νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν διώρυχα, καὶ μετὰ τούτο άιθνίδιον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ έκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀμα τοὺς φρουροῦσι τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ προσμίζας τὴν τε ἀπόκλεισιν.

3 σφων ἔλυσε, καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον τῷ τε πεζῷ ἀμα καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ προσβαλὼν εἶλε. προχωρῶν τε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, καὶ πυθόμενος Διοσκουρίδην τινὰ ἀπαντήσειν σφίσιν, ἐνήδρευσε τε αὐτὸν καὶ κατειργάσατο.

42 Δισθόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ’ οἱ Ἀγνυτίοι τῶν μεν πόλεμον οὐδ’ ὡς κατελύσαντο, ἄχθεσθέντες δὲ τῇ τοῦ εὐνούχου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρχῆς, καὶ νομίσαντες, ἀν τὸν Πτολεμαίον προστήσωνται, καὶ νυμφαίνουσας τοῦ 'Ρωμαίων ἐσεσθαί, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ οὐδένα τρόπον ἐξαρπάσαι αὐτὸν ἠδυναθησαν (δεινὸς γὰρ ἐφυλάσσετο), ἐπλάσαντο ταῖς τε συμφοραῖς πεπουῆθαι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ ἐπεμψαν πρὸς τὸν Καῖσαρα ἐπικηρυκευόμενοι τε καὶ τῶν Πτολεμαίων αἰτοῦντες, ὅπως δὴ σὺν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν σπουδῶν, ἐφ’ ὀις γενήσωντο, ὅτι λεύσώνται. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐνόμισε μὲν καὶ ὃς ἀληθῶς αὐτοὺς μεταβεβλῆσαι (آخرος τε γὰρ καὶ δειλοὺς καὶ ἐξουρρόπους δύνας ἢκουν, καὶ τότε

1 ἀπόκλεισιν R. Steph., ἀπόκλεισιν L.
2 μὲν supplied by Bk.
3 ἄχθεσθέντες R. Steph., ἄχθεσθε L.
BOOK XLII

Thereupon Mithridates, called the Pergamenian, undertook to go up with his ships into the mouth of the Nile opposite Pelusium; but when the Egyptians barred his entrance with their vessels, he betook himself by night to the canal, hauled the ships over into it, since it does not empty into the sea, and through it sailed up into the Nile. After that he suddenly attacked, from both sea and river at once, those who were guarding the mouth of the river, and thus breaking up their blockade, he assaulted Pelusium with his infantry and his fleet simultaneously and captured it. Advancing then toward Alexandria, and learning that a certain Dioscorides was coming to confront them, he ambushed and destroyed him.

But the Egyptians on receiving the news would not end the war even then; yet they were irritated at the rule of the eunuch and of the woman and thought that if they could put Ptolemy at their head they would be superior to the Romans. So then, finding themselves unable to seize him in any way, inasmuch as he was skilfully guarded, they pretended that they were worn out by their disasters and desired peace; and they sent to Caesar, making overtures and asking for Ptolemy, in order, as they claimed, that they might consult with him about the terms on which a truce could be effected. Now Caesar believed that they had in very truth changed their mind, since he heard that they were cowardly and fickle in general and perceived that at this
πρὸς τὰ πταίσματα καταπεπληγμένους ἦσθετο) ἐὰν δὲ δὴ καὶ τεχνάζοντο τι, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ διὰ τούτ' ἐμποδίζον τὴν εἰρήνην νομισματικ ἑπεναιεῖν τε σφισιν ἐφι καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον ἔπεμψεν.

4 οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τι ἰσχυρόν ἐκ τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας ἐνεώρα ὅπη, καὶ τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους ἦτοι συναλλαγήσεσθαί οἱ ἐφ' οἷς ἐβούλετο ἡ δικαιότερον καὶ καταπολεμηθήσεσθαί καὶ καταστραφήσεσθαί ἦλπισεν, ὡστε ἀπ' εὐλόγου δὴ τινος προφάσεως τῆς Κλεοπάτρας παραδοθῆναι·

5 οὐ γὰρ ποι καὶ ἠτυθήσεσθαί ποτε ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως οἱ προσγεγενεμένης, προσεδόκησεν. παραλαβόντες δὲ τὸ παιδάριον οἱ Ἀιγυπτίοι τῶν μὲν σπουδῶν οὐδὲν ἔφροντισαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Μιθριδάτην παραχρῆμα ὁρμησαν ὡς δὴ καὶ μέγα 2 τι ἐν τῷ ὁνόματι καὶ ἐν τῷ γένει τῷ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κατορθώσουτε· καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς τῇ λίμνῃ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἑλῶν ἀσπαζόντες ἐθορύβουν. ὅ όνιν Καίσαρ ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἐπεδίωξεν, δεδιῶς μὴ λογισθεὶς ἀναχθεὶς δὲ νυκτὸς ὡς πρὸς ἐκβολὴν τινα τοῦ Νεῖλος ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ φῶς, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ταύτη προϊέναι νομισματικ, πάμπολυ καθ' ἐκάστην ναύν ἀνάφας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπιπλεῖν ὁρμητο,

3 ἐπειτα δὲ ἀποσβέσας αὐτὸ ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ παραπλεύσας τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τῇ λυκόρησιν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Διανὰ οὕσαν κατηρε, καίταῦθα τοὺς στρατιωτὰς ἐκβιβάσας περιῆλθε τῇ τῆς λίμνης καὶ τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις ἀπροσδόκητος ὑπὸ 3 τὴν ἐω προμπεσῶν εὐθύς τε αὐτοὺς κατέπληξεν ὡστε

1 οὕσθε Bk., οὕδε L. 2 δὴ καὶ μέγα Bk., καὶ δὴ μέγα L.

3 ἐπὶ Reim., ἐπὶ L.
time they were terrified in the face of their defeats; but even in case they should be planning some trick, in order that he might not be regarded as hindering peace, he said that he approved their request, and sent them Ptolemy. For he saw no source of strength in the lad, in view of his youth and lack of education, and hoped that the Egyptians would either become reconciled with him on the terms he wished or else would more justly deserve to be warred upon and subjugated, so that there might be some reasonable excuse for delivering them over to Cleopatra; for of course he had no idea that he would be defeated by them, particularly now that his troops had joined him. But the Egyptians, when they secured the lad, took not a thought for peace, but straightway set out against Mithridates, as if they were sure to accomplish some great achievement by the name and by the family of Ptolemy; and they surrounded Mithridates near the lake, between the river and the marshes, and routed his forces. Now Caesar did not pursue them, through fear of being ambushed, but at night he set sail as if he were hurrying to some outlet of the Nile, and kindled an enormous fire on each vessel, so that it might be widely believed that he was going thither. He started at first, then, to sail away, but afterwards extinguished the fires, returned, and passed alongside the city to the peninsula on the Libyan side, where he came to land; and there he disembarked the soldiers, went around the lake, and fell upon the Egyptians unexpectedly about dawn. They were immediately so dismayed that they made overtures for peace, but since he would not listen to
4 καὶ ἐπικηρυκησασθαι, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ (τὴν γὰρ ἰκετείαν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔδέξατο) μόνη τε ὀξεῖα κατεκράτησε καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἐφόνευσε· καὶ τίνες καὶ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ μετὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, σπουδὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ φυγόντες, ἐφθάρησαν.

44 Οὕτω μὲν τῇ Ἀλγύπτῳ ὁ Κάισαρ ἐχειρόσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπήκοουν αὐτὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐποίησατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, ἦσπερ ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπεπολεμήκει, ἐχαρίσατο. φοβηθεὶς μὲντοι μὴ οἱ Ἀλγύπτιοι νεωτερίσωσιν αὐθίς γυναικὶ ἄρχειν παραδοθέντες, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι καὶ συνὴν αὐτῷ χαλεπῆνωσι, τῷ τε ἐτέρῳ ἀδελφῷ συνωικῆσαι δῆθεν αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀμφότεροις σφίσαν, ὅσ γε καὶ λόγῳ εἶπειν, ἔδωκε. τῷ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα μονὴ παῖν τὸ κράτος σχήσειν ἐμελλεν· ὦ τὸ γὰρ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς παιδίον ἐτί ἦν, καὶ ἐκείνη πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Κάισαρος εὐνοιαν οὐδὲν ὦ τι οὐκ ἔδωκατο,

45 Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἄν ἐν τῇ Ἀλγύπτῳ κατέσχεν, ἢ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην εὐθὺς αὐτῷ συναπήγον, εἰ μήπερ ὁ Φαρνάκης καὶ ἐκείθεν πάνυ ἄκοιντα τὸν Κάισαρα ἔξηγαγε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπεισθήναι ἐκώλυσεν. οὕτως γὰρ παῖς μὲν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἦν καὶ τοῦ Βοσσύρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου ἦρχεν, ὦσπερ εἰρηται, ἐπιθυμίαις δὲ πᾶσαι τὴν πατρῴαυν βασιλείαν ἀνακτήσασθαι ἐπανέστη καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν τε τοῦ Κάισαρος καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πομπήλιον

1 εἰς ΡΚ., ἐς Λ. 2 γὰρ παῖς μὲν ΒΚ., μὲν γὰρ παῖς Λ.
their entreaty, a fierce battle later took place in which he was victorious and slew great numbers of the enemy. Ptolemy and some others tried in their haste to escape across the river, and perished in it.

In this way Caesar overcame Egypt. He did not, however, make it subject to the Romans, but bestowed it upon Cleopatra, for whose sake he had waged the conflict. Yet, being afraid that the Egyptians might rebel again, because they were delivered over to a woman to rule, and that the Romans might be angry, both on this account and because he was living with the woman, he commanded her to "marry" her other brother, and gave the kingdom to both of them, at least nominally. For in reality Cleopatra was to hold all the power alone, since her husband was still a boy, and in view of Caesar's favour there was nothing that she could not do. Hence her living with her brother and sharing the rule with him was a mere pretence which she accepted, whereas in truth she ruled alone and spent her time in Caesar's company.

She would have detained him even longer in Egypt or else would have set out with him at once for Rome, had not Pharmaces not only drawn Caesar away from Egypt, very much against his will, but also hindered him from hurrying to Italy. This king was a son of Mithridates and ruled the Cimmerian Bosporus, as has been stated\(^1\); he conceived the desire to win back again the entire kingdom of his ancestors, and so he revolted just at the time of the quarrel between Caesar and

\(^1\) xxxvii. 12-14, xlii. 9.
στάσιν, καὶ ὅλα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τότε μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀσχόλων γενομένων, αὖθις δὲ ἐν τῇ
3 Αἰγύπτῳ κατασχεθέντων, τήν τε Κολχίδα ἀκοντί προσηγάγετο καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπόντος τοῦ Δημο-
τάρου πᾶσαν, τῆς τε Κασπαρδόκηας 1 καὶ τῶν τοῦ
Πόντου πόλεων τινας, αὖ τῷ τῆς Βιθυνίας νομῷ
46 προσετέχατο, κατεστρέψατο. πρόσσουντος δὲ
αὐτοῦ ταύτα ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἔκινησθη
(οὔτε γὰρ ἡ Αἰγύπτος ποι καθειστήκει, 2 καὶ
ἐλπίδος τι ἐίχε δὲ ἑτέρων αὐτὸν χειρώσεσθαι).
Γναϊν δὲ Δομίτιον Καλούνιν ἐπεμψε, τὴν τε
'Ασίαν οἱ καὶ . . . . . 4 στρατόπεδα προστάζας.
2 καὶ δὲ τῶν Δημόταρον καὶ τῶν Ἀρισταρχίνης
προσλαβῶν ἠλασεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην ἐν τῇ
Νικόπολει ὄντα (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην προκατελήφης),
καὶ καταφρονήσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος τὴν παρουσίαν
αὐτοῦ φοβηθεὶς ἀνοχὴν ἐπὶ προσβεύσει ἔτοιμος
ἐσχε ποιήσασθαι, 5 οὔτε ἐσπείρακαν αὐτῷ καὶ
3 συμβαλὼν ἡττήθη. καὶ ο ἡ μὲν ἐκ τούτου ἐς τὴν
'Ασίαν, ἐπειδὴ μήτε αξιόμαχος οἱ ἦν καὶ ὁ χειμών
προσηκε, ἀνεχωρήσεν Φαρνάκης δὲ μεγάλα δὴ
φρονῶν τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ προσκατ-
εκτήσατο, 6 καὶ Ἀμισοῦ καίπερ ἐπὶ πλεῖον
ἀντισχῦσαν εἰλὲ τε καὶ διήρπασε, τοὺς τε
ἡβῶντας ἐν αὐτῷ πάντας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ἐς τὴν
Βιθυνίαν τὴν τε Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς τῷ πατρὶ
4 ἐπιτίθεν ἥπειρε ὁ ποτῶ μαθὸν τοῦ
'Ασανδροῦ, ὃν ἐπίτροπον τοῦ Βοσπόρου κατελε-
1 Some word like μέρος or τὸ πλεῖστον seems to have fallen
out here.
2 καθειστήκει R. Steph., καθειστήγη L.
3 τι Dind., τε L. 4 Lacuna recognized by Dind.
5 ποιήσασθαι v. Herw., ποιήσεσθαι L.
6 προσκατεκτήσατο Pfugk, προσκατεστήσατο L.
Pompey, and, as the Romans were at that time occupied with one another and afterward were detained in Egypt, he got possession of Colchis without any difficulty, and in the absence of Deiotarus subjugated all Armenia, and [part?] of Cappadocia, and some cities of Pontus that had been assigned to the district of Bithynia. While he was thus engaged, Caesar himself did not stir, inasmuch as Egypt was not yet in a settled state and he had some hope of overcoming Pharnaces through others; but he sent Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, assigning him charge of Asia and of ... legions. This officer added to his forces Deiotarus and Ariobarzanes and marched straight against Pharnaces, who was at Nicopolis, which he had already seized; and feeling contempt for his enemy, because the latter in dread of his arrival was ready through an embassy to agree to an armistice, he did not conclude a truce with him, but attacked him and was defeated. After that he retired to Asia, since he was no match for his conqueror and winter was approaching. Pharnaces was greatly elated, and after acquiring all the rest of Pontus, captured Amisus also, though it long held out against him; and he plundered the city and put to the sword all the men of military age there. He then hastened into Bithynia and Asia with the same hopes as his father had cherished. Meanwhile, learning that Asander, whom he had left as governor of Bosporus, had
λοίπει, νενεοχμωκότα, οὐκὲτι περαιτέρω 1 προε-
χώρησεν ἐκείνοις γάρ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα πόρρω τε
ο Φαρνάκης ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προίων ἡγγέλθη, καὶ
ἐδόκει, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι ἄνθροι,
ἀλλ' οὗτι γε καὶ ἑπείτα καλῶς ἀπαλλάξειν,
ἐπανέστη αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τι χαρι-
σούμενος τήν τε δυναστείαν τοῦ Βοσπόρου παρ'
αὐτῶν ληφθομενος.

47 Τούτω οὖν ο Φαρνάκης ἀκούσας ὠρμησεν ἐπ' 
αὐτοῦ μάτην τῶν γὰρ Καίσαρα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εἶναι
καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐπείγεσθαι πυθόμενον ἀνέστρεψε, κανταῦθα αὐτῷ περὶ Ζέλαιαν συνέτυχεν.
ο γὰρ Καίσαρ τοῦ τε Πτολεμαίου τελευτήσαντος
καὶ τοῦ Δομιτίου νικηθέντος οὐτε εὑπρεπὴ οὐτε
λυσιτελὴ οἱ την ἐν τῇ Λιγύπτῳ διατριβὴν
ἐνόμισεν εἰναι, ἀλλὰ ἀφωρισθῆ, καὶ τὰχεὶ πολλῷ
2 χρησάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἄφικετο. ἐκπλαγεὶς
οὖν ὁ βάρβαρος, καὶ πολὺ μάλλον τὴν ὀρμὴν ἡ
τῶν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ καταδείσας, προσέπεμψεν
αὐτῷ πρὶν πλησιάσαι πολλάκις προκηρυκενο-
μενος, εἰ πῶς τὸ παρὸν ἀφ' ὅτῳδ' συνθέμενος
3 ἐκφύγοι. προϊσχετο δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς
μάλιστα ὅτι οὐ συνήρατο τῷ Πομπήλῳ καὶ
ηλπίζειν ὑπάξεσθαι τε αὐτὸν ἐς σπενδας ἅτε καὶ
ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὴν τε Ἀφρικήν ἐπεγόμενον, καὶ
ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ ταχὺς αὐθίς πολεμῆσειν.
4 ὑποπτεύσας οὖν τούτῳ ο Καίσαρ τοὺς μὲν πρῶ-
τους καὶ τοὺς δευτέρους πρέσβεις ἐφιλοφρονήσατο,
ὅτι οἱ μάλιστα ἀπροσδοκήτω τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης
ἐλπίδι προσπέση, τοῖς δὲ τρίτων ἐποίησεν τὰ τε

1 περαιτέρω R. Steph., περεταίρωι L.
2 ἀνθήι Bk., ἐν λάθοι L.
revolted, he gave up advancing any farther. For Asander, as soon as word was brought that Pharnaces was moving far away from him, and it seemed likely that however prosperous he might be temporarily, he would not fare well later on, rose against him, thinking thus to do a favour to the Romans and to receive the sovereignty of Bosporus from them.

It was at the news of this that Pharnaces set out against him, but all in vain; for on ascertaining that Caesar was on the way and was hurrying into Armenia, he turned back and met him there near Zela. For now that Ptolemy was dead and Domitius vanquished, Caesar had decided that his delay in Egypt was neither creditable nor profitable to him, and had set out from there and had come with great speed into Armenia. And so the barbarian, alarmed and fearing Caesar's rapidity much more than his army, sent messengers to him before he drew near, making frequent proposals to see if he might on some terms or other escape the present danger. One of the principal pleas that he presented was that he had not co-operated with Pompey, and he hoped to induce Caesar to grant a truce, particularly since the latter was anxious to hasten to Italy and Africa; and once Caesar was gone, he hoped to wage war again at his ease. Caesar suspected this, and so treated the first and second embassies with great kindness, in order that he might fall upon his foe as unexpectedly as possible because of his hopes of peace; but when the third deputation came, he uttered various re-
άλλα ἐπεκάλεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὅτι τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν
5 εὐεργέτην ἐγκατέλιπεν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς αὐθημερόν, ὡσπερ εἰχένεκ τῆς ὤδος, 
συνεμεῖξε, καὶ τινα χρόνον ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἱπποῦ καὶ
ὑπὸ τῶν ὅρφεαν φόρον ἐκταραχθεῖσ' ἔστειτα τοῖς
ὀπλάσιοι ἐκράτησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐκφυγόντα
ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐς τὸν Βόσπορον μετὰ
tοῦτο ἐσβιαζόμενον, ὁ Ἀσανδρός εἰρξε' τε καὶ

48 ἀπέκτεινε. Καίσαρ δὲ ἔπι τῇ νίκῃ, καίπερ οὐ
πάνυ διαπρεπεὶ γενομένη, πολὺ καὶ ὅσον ἐπ’
οὐδεμιᾶ ἀλλη ἐφρώησεν, ὅτε ἐν τε τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρα
καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὠρα καὶ ἱλθε πρὸς τὸν πολέμον

2 καὶ εἴδεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνίκησε. καὶ τὰ τε λάφυρα
πάντα, καίτοι πλείστα γενομένα, τοῖς στρατιώ-

ταῖς ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ τρόπαιον, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ Μι-
θριδάτης ἀπὸ τοῦ Τριαμίου ἑνταῦθα ποὺ ἑγγγέρκι,
ἀντανέστησεν καθελειν μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου
οὐκ ἐτόλµησεν ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἐμπολεμοῖς θεοῖς
ἰερωμένοι, τῇ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἰδίου παραστάσει καὶ
ἐκεῖνο συνεσκίασε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ κατέ-

3 ὀστρέψε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν χώραν ὅσην τῶν τε
Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἐνόρκων σύστει ἀποτετμημένος
ὁ Φαρνάκης ἦν ἐκομίσατο, καὶ αὐτὴν πᾶσαν ὡς
ἐκάστοις τοὺς ἀπολέσατιν ἐδώκε, πλὴν μέρους
tινὸς τῆς Ἀρμενίας, ὃ τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνει ἑχαρί-

4 σατο. τοὺς τε Ἀμισηνοῦς εἴλευθερία ἤμείψατο,
καὶ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ τεταρτάξαν τε
ἐν Γαλατία καὶ βασιλείας ὅνομα ἐδώκε, πρὸς τε
tὸν Ἀσανδρόν πολεμήσαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅπως καὶ

1 ἀνεβάλετο H. Steph., ἀνεβάλετο L.
2 ἐς Bk., ἔπι L.
3 Ἀμισηνοῦς R. Steph., ἀμισηνοῦ L.
proaches against him, one being that he had deserted Pompey, his benefactor. Then he no longer delayed, but immediately, that very day and just as he came from the march, joined battle. For a little while some confusion was caused him by the enemy's cavalry and scythe-bearing chariots, but after that he conquered with his heavy-armed troops. Pharnaces escaped to the sea and later tried to force his way into Bosporus, but Asander repulsed and killed him. Caesar took great pride in this victory,—more, in fact, than in any other, even though it had not been very brilliant,—because on the same day and in the same hour he had come to the enemy, had seen him, and had conquered him.\(^1\) All the spoils, though of great magnitude, he bestowed upon the soldiers, and he set up a trophy to offset one which Mithridates had raised somewhere in that region to commemorate the defeat of Triarius.\(^2\) He did not dare to take down that of the barbarians, because it had been dedicated to the gods of war, but by the erection of his own near it he overshadowed and in a sense overthrew the other. Next he recovered all the territory belonging to the Romans and those under treaty with them which Pharnaces had taken, and restored it all to the persons who had been dispossessed, except a portion of Armenia, which he granted to Ariobarzanes. The people of Amisus he rewarded with freedom, and to Mithridates the Pergamenian he gave a tetrarchy in Galatia and the title of king and allowed him to wage war against Asander, so that by conquering him, he might get Bosporus

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\(^1\) A translation of the words *Veni vidi vici*, carried in the triumphal procession.

\(^2\) Compare xxxvi. 12-13.
τὸν Βόστορον κρατήσας αὐτοῦ λάβῃ, ὅτι πονηρὸς ἦσ τὸν φίλων ἐγένετο.

49 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῷ Δομιτίῳ καταστήσασθαι κελεύσας, ἐσ τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἦλθε, κἀντεύθεν ἐσ τῇ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπελευσε, πολλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πάση προφάσει χρήματα

2 παρὰ πάντων, ὀσπέρ καὶ πρὶν, ἐκλέγων. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, ὅσα τινὲς τῷ Πομπηίῳ προϋπέσχετο, ἐπράξατο, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔξωθεν, προσεπικαλῶν τινα, ἦτει. τά τε ἀναθήματα τοῦ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ Ἡρακλέους πάντα ἀνείλετο, ὅτι τὴν τῶν γυναῖκα καὶ τῶν παιδά τοῦ Πομπηίου ὑπεδέξαντο

3 ὅτε ἐφυγον. καὶ στεφάνους ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις συχνοὺς καὶ παρὰ τῶν δυναστῶν τῶν τε βασιλέων χρυσοὺς ἑλαβε. ταῦτα δὲ ὦν ὑπὸ κακίας ἔποιει, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἑδαπάνα παμπλῆθη, καὶ ἀνάλωσιν πολὺ πλείω ἐς τά στρατόπεδα καὶ τά ἐπινίκια, τά τε ἄλλα ὦσα ἐλαμπρύνετο, ποιήσειν

4 ἕμελλε. τὸ τε σύμπαν εἰπέν, χρηματοποίος ἀνήρ ἐγένετο, ὅποι τε εἶναι λέγων τά τάς δυναστείας παρασκευάζοντα καὶ φυλάσσοντα καὶ ἐπαύζοντα, στρατιώτας καὶ χρήματα, καὶ ταῦτα

5 δι' ἄλληλων συνεστηκέναι: τῇ τε γὰρ τροφῇ τά στρατεύματα συνέχεσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνην ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν συλλέγεσθαι: καὶ βάτερον ὀποτερονὸν αὐτῶν ἐνδέες ἦ, καὶ τὸ ἐτερον συγκαταλυθήσεσθαι.

50 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων οὕτω καὶ ἐφρόνει ἀεὶ καὶ ἔλεγεν· ἐς δὲ δὴ τῆν Ἰταλίαν, ἄλλ' ὦν ἐσ τὴν Ἀφρικῆν καίπερ πεπολεμομένην οἱ, ἡπείχθη ὅτι ταραττόμενα τά ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ πυθόμενος ἐφοβήθη

1 ἄλλα R. Steph., ἄλλα L.
2 ὀποτερονὸν Reim., ὀποτέρου οὖν L.
also, since Asander had proved base toward his friend.

After accomplishing this and ordering Domitius to arrange other matters he came to Bithynia and from there to Greece, whence he sailed for Italy, collecting along the way great sums of money from everybody, and upon every pretext, just as before. In the first place, he exacted all that any had previously promised to Pompey, and again, he asked for still more from other sources, bringing various accusations to justify his action. He removed all the votive offerings of Heracles at Tyre, because the inhabitants had received the wife and son of Pompey when they fled. He also got many golden crowns from potentates and kings in honour of his victories. All this he did, not out of malice, but because his expenditures were on a vast scale and because he was intending to lay out still more upon his legions, his triumph, and everything else that gratified his pride. In short, he showed himself a money-getter, declaring that there were two things which created, protected, and increased sovereignties,—soldiers and money,—and that these two were dependent upon each other. For it was by proper maintenance, he said, that armies were kept together, and this maintenance was secured by arms; and in case either one of them were lacking, the other also would be overthrown at the same time.

About these matters he ever thought and spoke thus. Now it was to Italy that he hurried and not to Africa, although the latter region had become hostile to him, because he learned of the disturbances in the capital and feared that they might be carried
2 μή καὶ ἐς ἀνήκεστον προχωρήση, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακὸν οὐδένα οὐδέν, ὀσπερ εἶπον, εἴργάσατο, πλὴν ὅτι κάνταύθα πολλά ἡργυρολύγησε, τὰ μὲν τινὰ ἐν δωρεᾶς μέρει, στεφάνους καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, λαμβάνων, τὰ δὲ καὶ δανειζόμενος δῆθεν, σὺν ὅτι παρὰ τῶν ἱδιωτῶν ἄλλα καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεων. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα ταῖς ἐκλογαῖς τῶν χρημάτων, ἐφ' ἀλλο καὶ μηδεμία ἄλλη πρόφασις εὐλογος ἢν, ἑτίθετο, ἐπεὶ τὴν γε ἄλλως καὶ βιαίως, οὐδὲν ἦττον τῶν ὀφειλομένων, καὶ ἕκεινα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἐμελλε μηδέποτε ἀποδοθήσεται. ἔλεγε μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δημοσίου τὰ οἰκεία διδαπανηκέναι, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ δανειζέσθαι ὃθεν περ καὶ χρεῶν ὀποκοπάς ἀξιώντος τοῦ πλῆθους γενέσθαι οὐκ ἐποίησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ ὀφείλω." εὐδηλός δὲ ἐγίνετο καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅτι δυναστεία παρασπώ-μενοι. οἵ τε οὐν ἄλλοι διὰ τούτο ἠχθοντο αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι τῶν γὰρ δεδημεμένων συναί, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἄξιαν γε ἐστιν ἃ, ἐλπίδα τοῦ προῖκα αὐτὰ ἔξειν ἀγοράσαντες, πᾶσαν τὴν τιμὴν ἀποτίνει ἤναγκάζοντο.

51 Ἀλλὰ τούτους μεν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιεῖτο, καίτοι καὶ ἐκείνους τρόπον τινὰ ὡς εκάστους ἐθεράπευσε, τοὺς τε γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐχαρίσατο τὸν τε τόκον τῶν ἐποφειλομένων σφισιν ἐξ οὗ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐξεπολεμώθη πάντα, καὶ τὸ ἐνοίκιον ὅσον ἐς πεντακοσίας δραχμῶν ἦν ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνὸς ἄφεις, καὶ προσέτε καὶ τὰς τιμήσεις τῶν κτηματων, ἐν οἷς τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν δανειζόμενων κατὰ

1 ἐπὲρ R. Steph., ἐπὶ L. 2 ἐταῖροι R. Steph., ἐτεῖροι L. 3 ἐν supplied by Leunel.
to dangerous lengths. Nevertheless, as I have said, he did no harm to any one, except that there, too, he collected large amounts, partly in the shape of crowns and statues and the like which he received as gifts, and partly by "borrowing," as he styled it, not only from individual citizens but also from cities. This term "borrowing" he applied to those levies of money for which there was no other reasonable excuse; for he exacted these sums also in a high-handed way and no less by force than he collected money actually due him, and it was his intention never to repay them. He claimed, indeed, that he had spent his private possessions for the public good and that indeed it was for that reason he was borrowing. Accordingly, when the multitude demanded an annulment of debts, he would not grant this, saying: "I, too, owe large amounts." It was easy to see that he was wresting away others' property also by his position of supremacy, and for this his associates as well as others disliked him. For these men, who had bought a great deal of the confiscated property, in some cases for more than its real value, in the hope of retaining it without paying for it, now found themselves compelled to pay the full price.

But to such persons he paid no attention. Nevertheless, to a certain extent he did court them, too, as individuals. For he made a present to the multitude of all the interest they were owing from the time he had gone to war with Pompey, and he released them from all rent for one year, up to the sum of two thousand sesterces; furthermore he raised the valuation on the goods, in terms of which it was required by law for loans to be paid to their

1 Ch. 33.
τοὺς νόμους ἵψεσθαι ἔδει, πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἄξιαν ἐπαναγαγόν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ πλῆθει τῶν δε- 
δημοσιωμένων πολὺ πάντα ἐπευνώντο. τούτους 
tε οὖν ταύτα πρᾶξας ἀνηρτήσατο, καὶ τῶν 
προσεταιριστῶν τῶν τε συναγωνιστῶν τοὺς μὲν 
βουλευτάς ἱερωσύναις τε καὶ ἄρχαις ταῖς τε ἐς 
tὸν λοιπὸν τὸν ἐτοὺς ἐκεῖνον χρόνον καὶ ταῖς ἐς 
νέωτα (ἰνα γὰρ πλείους αὐτῶν ἀμείβηται, 
στρατηγοὺς τε δέκα ἐς τὸ ἐπίον ἐτος ἀπεδείξε 
καὶ ἱερέας ὑπὲρ τὸ νεομισμένων τοῖς τε γὰρ 
pοντίφιξε καὶ τοῖς οἰωνισταῖς, ὄν καὶ αὐτῶς ἦν, 
tοῖς τε πεντεκαίδεκα καλουμένοις ἑνα ἐκάστοις 
προσένεμε, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸς βουληθεὶς πᾶσας τὰς 
ἱερωσύνας λαβεῖν ὡσπερ ἐψήφιστο), τοὺς δὲ 
ἵππεας τοῦ τέλους τοὺς τε ἐκατοντάρχους καὶ 
tοὺς ὑπομείονας ἀλλοις τέ τις καὶ τῷ καὶ ἐς τὸ 
συνέδριον τινας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολολότων 
kαταλέξαι.

52 Τὰ δὲ δὴ στρατόπεδα οὖν ἰσυχὴ αὐτῶν ἐτάραξε 
pολλὰ γὰρ λήψεσθαι ἑπίσταντες, καὶ εὑρήμενοι 
tῆς μὲν ἀξίας οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς δὲ προσδοκίας 
kαταδεστέρα, ἐθορύβησαν. ἐν Καμπανία δὲ οἱ 
πλείους αὐτῶν, ὥς καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀφρικήν προπλευ-
2 σόμενοι, ἤσαν. οὕτως οὖν τὸν τε 4 Σαλούστιον 
παρ' ὅλιγον ἀπέκτειναν (στρατηγὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ 
tὴν βουλείαν ἀναλαβεῖν ἀπεδέδεικτο), καὶ ἐπειδὴ 
καὶ ἐκεῖνος διαφυγὸν αὐτοῦς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πρὸς 
tὸν Κάισαρα ὀρμησε, τὰ γιγνόμενα οἱ ὀδηγῶν, 
εὔφημον τοῦ αὐτῷ συχνὸ μηδένυς φειδόμενοι,
worth at the time the loan had been made, in view of the fact that everything had become much cheaper as a result of the great amount of confiscated property. By these acts he attached the people to himself; and he attached the members of his party and those who had fought for him in the following manner. Upon the senators he bestowed priesthoods and offices, some of them for the rest of that year and some for the next. Indeed, in order to reward a larger number, he appointed ten praetors for the next year and more than the customary number of priests; for he added one member each to the pontifices and to the augurs, of whom he was one, and also to the Quindecimviri, as they were called, although he had desired to take all the priesthoods himself, as had been decreed. The knights in the army and the centurions and subordinate officers he conciliated in various ways, especially by appointing some of them to the senate to fill the places of those who had perished.

The legions, however, caused him no slight trouble; for they had expected to receive a great deal, and when they found their rewards inferior to their expectations, though not less, to be sure, than their deserts, they made a disturbance. The most of them were in Campania, being destined to sail on ahead to Africa. These nearly killed Sallust, who had been appointed praetor in order to recover his senatorial rank; and when, after escaping them, he set out for Rome to inform Caesar of what was going on, many followed

\[1\] Quindecimviri sacris faciundis.
καὶ ἄλλους τε τῶν ἐντυχόντων σφίσι, καὶ Βου-
3 λευτάς δύο ἔσφαξαν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ὡς τάχιστα τῆς προσόδου αὐτῶν ἦσθε, ἤθελησε μὲν τὸ ὄρυφορικὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀντιπέμψαι, φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συντασσιάσωσι σφίσιν ἰσόγασε, μέχρις οὗ ἐσ τὸ προάστειον ἀφίκοντο. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὅτι οὕσιν αὐτοῖς προσέπεμψε, καὶ ἐπὶ θέτο τῷ
4 βουλόμενοι καὶ τίνος χρήζοντες ἦκοιεν. ἀπο-
κριναμένων τέ σφων ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνῳ ἐροῦσιν, ἐπέτρεψε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων, πλην τῶν ξιφῶν, ἐσελθείν ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ἄλλωσ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ φορεῖν εἰσώθεςαν, καὶ
53 τότε οὖν ἄν υπέμειναν καταθέσαν εἰπόντων δὲ αὐτῶν πολλὰ μὲν περὶ ὧν καὶ ἐπώνησαν καὶ ἐκινδύνευσαν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἠλπισαν ἄξιον τῇ σφας τυχεῖν ἐφάσκων εἴναι, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ ἀφεθήναι τε τῆς στρατείας ἄξιοντων καὶ
2 δεινῶς διὰ τούτων αὐτῷ ἐγκεμενῶν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἰδιωτεύσαι ἔβουλον (ἡκιστα γὰρ, ἀτε καὶ συνή-
θεις ταῖς πλεονεξίαις ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγονότες, τούτ' ἦθελον) ἀλλ' ὅτι καταπλήξειν τε ἐς αὐτοῦ τῶν
Καίσαρα καὶ πᾶν ὅτι οὐ καταπράξειν, ἀτε καὶ ὑπογυνὸν ἦν τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικῆς στρατείας ἀνταρ
3 φῆς, ἐνόμιζον, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν σφί
tὸ παράπαν ἀπεκρίνατο, αὐτὰ δὲ ταύτα εἰπὼν μον ἀλλ' ὀρθὸν ὑμε, ὡς ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀνταρ
τοὺς παραχρῆμα ως μηδὲν δῆθεν αὐτῶν δεόμενος
dῆκε, καὶ τοῖς τὸν τεταγμένον χρόνον ἐστρατευ-

1 ὑπογυνὸ R. Steph., ὑπογυνὸν L.
2 στρατείας H. Steph., στρατεύσις L.
3 Κυρίται R. Steph., κυριίται L.
him, sparing no one on their way, but killing, among others whom they met, two senators. Caesar, as soon as he heard of their approach, wished to send his body-guard against them, but fearing that it, too, might join in the mutiny, he remained quiet until they reached the suburbs. While they waited there he sent to them and inquired what wish or what need had brought them. Upon their replying that they would tell him personally he allowed them to enter the city unarmed, except for their swords; for they were regularly accustomed to wear these in the city, and they would not have submitted to laying them aside at that time. They had much to say about the toils and dangers they had undergone and much about what they had hoped for and what they declared they deserved to obtain. Next they asked to be released from service and were very insistent with him upon this point, not that they wished to return to private life,—indeed they were far from anxious for this, since they had long been accustomed to the gains of war,—but because they thought they would scare Caesar in this way and accomplish anything they pleased, since his projected invasion of Africa was close at hand. He, however, made no reply at all to their first statements, but said merely: “Why, of course, Quirites,¹ what you say is right; you are naturally weary and worn out with wounds,” and then at once disbanded them all as if he had no further need of them, promising that he would give the rewards in

¹i.e., Citizens.
μένοις καὶ τὰ γέρα ἐντελὴ δόσειν ὑπέσχετο. 4 λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων κατεπλάγγησαν ἐκ τε τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῦ διανοίας, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι Κυρίτας ἀλλʼ οὐ στρατιώτας σφᾶς ὀνόμασε, καὶ ταπεινωθέντες φοβηθέντες τε μὴ πάθωσι τι δεινὸν μετεβάλοντο,¹ καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἱκετεύοντες αὐτὸν εἰπον, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι καὶ συστρατεύσειν ἡ ἐθελονταί καὶ τὸν πόλεμον μόνοι διαπολεμήσειν ὑπέσχοντο. ὡς οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν, καὶ τις καὶ τῶν στρατιαρχῶν ἐν τοσοῦτο, ᾧ καὶ ἀφʼ ἐαυτοῦ γνώμης ἡ ² χαριζόμενος τῷ Καίσαρι, διελέχθη τε τινα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἔσεθη, „ἀφίημι μεν” ἔφη “καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς παρόντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 6 πάντας, ὅσοις τὰ τῆς στρατείας ἐτη ἐξήκεισεν: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ δεόμαι τι ὑμῶν. τὰ μέντοι γέρα καὶ ὅς ὑμῖν ἀποδόσω, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς εἰπῃ ὅτε ἐγὼ χρησάμενος ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς κυνδύνοις ἐπείτα ἀχάριστος ἐγενόμην, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τοῖς σωμασιν ἐρρωμένοι καὶ πάντα καὶ τὰ λοιπα προσδιαπολεμήσαι δυνάμενοι οὐκ ἥθελήσατέ μοι συστρατεύ- 54 σαι.” καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτα τε σοφιζόμενος εἶπε (πάνυ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐχρῆσε) καὶ χώραν ἐκ τῆς δημοσίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ὑπὲρ πᾶσι σφίσιν ἐνειμὲν, ἄλλους ἄλλης, καὶ πάνυ πόρρω ἀπʼ ἄλληλων, ἀπαρτήσας, ὡστε μὴ τοῖς ὀμοχώροις σφᾶς φοβεροὺς μήτ' αὐτοῖς νεωτερισμόν ἐτοίμους, καθʼ ἐν ποι 2 συνοικοῦντας, γενέσθαι. τῶν τε ἐποφειλομένων σφίσι χρημάτων, ἃ πολλὰ καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην ὃς εἰπεῖν πράξειν ὑπέσχητο δῶσειν, τὰ μὲν εὐθὺς

¹ metebállonto Bk., metebállontō L. ⁲ systratēsēs Xiph., systratēsēs L. ³ η supplied by Reim.
full to such as had served the appointed time. At these words they were struck with alarm both at his intention in general and particularly because he had called them Quirites instead of soldiers; and so, humiliated and fearing they should meet with some severe penalty, they changed front and addressed him with many entreaties and offers, promising that they would join his expedition as volunteers and would carry the war through for him by themselves. When they had reached this stage and one of their leaders also, either on his own impulse or as a favour to Caesar, had said a few words and presented a few petitions in their behalf, he replied: “I discharge both you who are present here and all the rest whose years of service have expired; for I really have no further need of you. Yet even so I will pay you the rewards, that no one may say that after using you in dangers I later showed myself ungrateful, even though you were unwilling to join my campaign while perfectly strong in body and able to carry through all the wars that remain.” This he said for effect, for they were quite indispensable to him. He then assigned them all land from the public holdings and from his own, settling them in different places, and separating them far from one another, so that they should not, by living somewhere together, either be a source of terror to their neighbours or, again, be ready for rebellion. As to the money that he owed them,—and on the eve of practically every action he had promised to give them large amounts,—he offered to pay part immediately and to settle
ἀπαλλάξειν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακράν καὶ σὺν τόκῳ 
γε1 διαλύσειν ἐπηγγείλατο. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ 
δουλωσάμενος αὐτοῦς ὡστε μὴ μητὶ τι θρασύνεσθαι 
καὶ προσέτε καὶ χάριν εἰδέναι, προσεπείπεν
3' ἀπέχεστε μὲν παρ' ἐμοῦ πάντα, καὶ οὐδένα ἐθ'
ὑμῶν ἀναγκάσω στρατεύσασθαι εἰ μέντοι τις 
ἐκούσιος ἔθελοι καὶ τὰ λουτά μοι συγκατεργά-
σασθαι, ἣδεως αὐτὸν δέξομαι." ἀκούσαντες δὲ 
τούτο ἐκεῖνοι ὑπερήφαναν καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως 
55 ἀναστρατεύσασθαι ἤθελησαν. οὐ δὲν Καῖσα 
τοὺς ταραχώδεις αὐτῶν, οὐ πάντας ἄλλα ὅσοι 
μετρίως πως συνόντες 2 γεωργίαις ξην ἐδώναντο, 
ἀπολέξας τούς λοιποὺς ἔχρησατο, καὶ τούτο καὶ
2 ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιώτων ἐποίησεν νὰ τους γὰρ 
πάνυ τε θρασεῖς καὶ ἰκανοὺς μέγα τι κακῶν ὀρᾶσαι 
ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξήγαγεν, ὡτος μηδὲν ἐκεὶ 
καταλειφθέντες νεοχμώσωσιν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ 
Ἀφρικῇ καὶ μάλα ἤδεως, ἄλλους κατ' ἄλλην 
πρόφασιν, ἀνάλογε τοὺς τε γὰρ ἐναντίους ἀμα 
δι' αὐτῶν κατειργάξετο καὶ εἰκεῖνων ἀπηλλάττετο.
3 φιλανθρωπότατος τε 3 γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ὅν, καὶ πολλά 
κεχαρισμένα τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις 
μᾶλιστα ποιῶν, δεινῶς τοὺς στασιάζοντάς σφῶν 
ἐμίσει καὶ ἑγχυρώτατα αὐτοὺς ἐκόλαξε.
4 Ταῦτα τε 4 ἐν εἰκέινῳ τῷ ἔτει, ἐν ὧ δικτάτωρ 
μὲν ὄντως αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον ἤρξεν, ὑπάτωι δὲ 
ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ αὐτοῦ ἀποδειχθέντες ὁ τε Καλήνος
56 καὶ ὁ Οὐατῖνος 5 ἐλέγχωτο εἶναι, ἐποίησε, καὶ 
ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν καίτοι τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐνεστη-

1 γτ Bk., τε L.  2 αὐσοντες Rk., διτε L.
3 τς supplied by R. Steph.  4 τς supplied by Bk.
5 Οουατινος R. Steph., οὐλτίνως I.
for the remainder with interest in the near future. When he had said this and had so enthralled them that they showed no sign of boldness but even went so far as to express their gratitude, he added: "You have all that is due to you from me, and I will compel no one of you to make campaigns any longer. If, however, any one wishes of his own accord to help me accomplish what remains, I will gladly receive him." Hearing this, they were overjoyed, and all alike volunteered to serve again. Caesar put aside the turbulent spirits among them,—not all to be sure, but as many as were moderately well acquainted with farming and so could make a living,—and the others he used. He did the same also in the case of the rest of his soldiers: those who were overbold and able to cause serious trouble he took away from Italy, in order that they might not be left behind there and begin an insurrection; and he took great satisfaction in using them up in Africa on various pretexts, since at the same time he was destroying his foes through their efforts he was also ridding himself of them. For although he was the kindliest of men and showed many favours not only to the citizens in general but particularly to his soldiers, he bitterly hated those of them who were mutinous and punished them with extreme severity.

These were the things he did in that year in which he really ruled alone as dictator for the second time, though Calenus and Vatinius, appointed near the close of the year, were said to be the consuls. He also crossed over to Africa, although winter had set
κότος ἔπεραιώθη. καὶ οὐκ ὅλιγα δὲ ἐκ τούτου, ἀνέλπιστος τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσπεσῶν, κατώρθωσε: πλείστον γὰρ παρὰ πάντα καὶ τῷ τάχει καὶ ταῖς ἐκ 1 τοῦ ἀπροσδοκητοῦ στρατείας 2 κατέπραττεν, ὡστ' εἰ τις ἐκλογίζοιτο 3 ὅτι τοσοῦτον τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπερήνεγκεν, οὖν ἄν 4 ἄλλο τούτου μᾶλλον ὃν 2 ἐμπροσθε παραβαλὼν 5 εὑροὶ. ἦ δὲ δὴ Ἀφρική ἦν μὲν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ φίλη τῷ Καίσαρι, μετὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν τοῦ Κοινώνων θάνατον καὶ πάνυ ἔχθρα ἐγένετο. ὅ τε γὰρ Ὠνάρος καὶ ὁ Ἰόβας τὰ πράγματα εἶχον, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὁ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων οἳ τε ἄλλοι οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν οὕτε ἐκεῖσε, οὕτε ἐποίου, συγκατέφυγον, 3 κάκ τούτου κοινωσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον τὰ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐξηρτύσαντο καὶ τῇ τε Σικελία καὶ τῇ Παρθένῳ ἐπίπλους ἑποιούντο, καὶ τὰς τα πόλεις ἐλύσαντο καὶ τὰ πλοῖα κατήγαγαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὄπλα τὸν τοῖς σίδηροι τὸν ἄλλον, οὕτε 4 που καὶ μόνον ἔχρηζον, ἐπόριζον, 6 τελευτῶντες τε ἐς τούτο καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τῆς διανοίας, οἰα μὴ στρατοῦ σφίσιν ἐναντιομένου καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ Ἀιγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ χρονίσαντως, ἀφίκοντε ὅτε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὸν Πομπήιον ἀποστείλαι. στασιάζειν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν πυθανόμενοι, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐτοίμως ἀτε τοῦ Πομπήιου τοῦ Μάγνου παῖδα ὁντα  

1 ἐκ supplied by Reim.
2 στρατείας H. Steph., στρατείας L.
3 ἐκλογίζοιτο R. Steph., ἐκλογίζοιτο L.
4 ἀν supplied by Bk.
5 παραβαλὼν R. Steph., παραβάλλων L.
6 ἐπόριζον supplied by Bs.
in. And he met with no little success from this very circumstance, by attacking his opponents unexpectedly. On all occasions, indeed, he accomplished a great deal by his rapidity and by the unexpectedness of his movements, so that if any one should try to find out what it was that made him so superior in the art of war to his contemporaries, he would find by careful comparison that there was nothing more striking than this very characteristic. Now Africa had not been friendly to Caesar in the first place, and after Curio’s death it became thoroughly hostile. For Varus and Juba were in charge of affairs, and furthermore Cato, Scipio and their followers had all taken refuge there, as I have stated. After this they made common cause in the war, carried on their preparations by land, and also made descents by sea upon Sicily and Sardinia, harrying their cities and taking back their ships, from which they obtained a plentiful supply of arms and of iron in other forms, which alone they lacked. Finally they reached such a state of preparedness and courage that, when no army opposed them and Caesar delayed in Egypt and the capital, they sent Pompey to Spain. For on learning that that country was in revolt they thought that the people would readily receive him as the son

1 Ch. 13, 4.
δέξεσθαι νομίζοντες, παρεσκευάζοντο ὁ μὲν ὡς τὴν τε Ἰβηρίαν διὰ βραχέων κατασχῆσων καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀστυ ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμήσων, οἱ δὲ ὡς τὸν πλοῦν ἀμα τὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ποιησόμενοι. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ διατριβή τις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, τοῦ τε Οὐάρου τῷ Ἀκιπίνων τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητήσαντος, ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ἐκ πλείονος ἐν τοῖς ταύτῃ χωρίοις ἔρχε, καὶ τοῦ Ἰόββου τῇ νίκῃ ἐπαιρομένου καὶ τὰ πρῶτα δῆ συμφρονήσαντες δὲ ὁ τε Ἀκιπίνων καὶ ὁ Κάτων, διὰ τὴν ἀξιούσει ὁ δὲ τῇ συνέσει πολὺ πάντων σφῶν προῆκοντες, τοὺς τε ἄλλους προσεπονήσαντο καὶ ἐκείνους ἑπεισαν τῷ Ἀκιπίνων πάντα ἐπιτρέψαι. ὁ γὰρ Κάτων δυνηθεὶς ἃν ἐξ ἵσσων αὐτῷ ἡ καὶ μόνος ἀρξαί οὐκ ἠθέλησε, τὸ μὲν ὅτι θλαβερώτατον τοῖς τοιούτοις ἡγεῖτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ὅτι τῷ πολιτικῷ ἀξιώματι ἡλαττοῦτο αὐτοῦ ἐρχόμενον τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ἔσορα δυνάμενον τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ νόμῳ ὤν τῶν ἄλλων προκερίσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς τε ἄρχης ἐκών αὐτῷ παρεχωρήσε, καὶ προσέτει καὶ τὰ στρατεύματά ἐπιγνάγετο παρέδωκε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου τὴν τε Οὐτικῆν, ὑποτευθεῖσαν τὰ τοῦ Καϊσαρος φρονεῖν καὶ ὅλιγον καὶ ἀνάστατον ὕπο τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένην, ἐξαιτησάμενος ἐς φυλακὴν ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν ἄλλασσαν τὴν ταύτῃ πᾶσαν φρουρεῖν ἐπετράπη τῶν ἄλλων ὁ Ἀκιπίνων αὐτοκρατωρ ἔρχε, καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα πολὺ πάντας

1 δέξεσθαι Reim., ὀνομάζεσθαι L. 2 ὡς τὴν τε Rk., ὧστε τὴν L. 3 τῷ Leuncl., τῷ τε L. 4 δὲ Reim., γὰρ L.
of Pompey the Great; and while he was making preparations to occupy Spain in a short time and to set out from there to the capital, the others were getting ready to make the voyage to Italy. At first they experienced a slight delay, due to a dispute between Varus and Scipio about the leadership, inasmuch as the former had held sway for a longer time in these regions, and Juba also, elated by his victory, demanded that he should have first place because of it. But Scipio and Cato, who far excelled them all in rank and in shrewdness respectively, reached an agreement and won the rest over to it, persuading them to entrust everything to Scipio. For Cato, who might have commanded on equal terms with him, or even alone, refused, first, because he thought it a most injurious course in such circumstances, and second, because he was inferior to the other in official rank. He saw that in military matters even more than elsewhere it was very important that the commander should have some legal precedence over the others, and therefore he willingly yielded him the command and furthermore delivered to him the armies that he had brought there. After this Cato interceded on behalf of Utica, which was suspected of favouring Caesar's cause and had come near being destroyed by the others on this account, and thus he received it to guard, and the whole country and sea in that vicinity were entrusted to his protection. The other districts were governed by Scipio as commander-in-chief. His very name was a source
τούς ὁμογενομονοῦντας οἱ ἐπερρόωνυνε, νομίζοντας οὐκ οἷόν ὅπως ἀλόγω τινι πίστει μηδένα ἄν Σκιπίωνα ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ κακῶς πράξαι.

58 Μάθων οὖν τούτο ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἱδὼν ὅτι καὶ οἱ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατευόμενοι πεπεισμένοι τε αὐτὸ οὕτως ἔχειν εἰσὶ καὶ φοβοῦνται, προσπαρέλαβε τινα ἐκ τε τοῦ γένους τοῦ τῶν Σκιπιώνων ὄντα καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ταύτην φέροντα

2 ἑπεκαλεῖτο δὲ Σαλούτιον ἡμᾶς, καὶ οὕτω τῶν τε πλοίων πρὸς Ἀδρυμήττου ἐποιήσατο (τὰ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ὀπτικῇ ἰσχυρὸς ἐφρουρεῖτο), καὶ ἐλαθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀνέλπιστος ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμώνος περαιωθεῖς. ἐκβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς νεώς συντυχία τοιάδε ἐγένετο, ὡς ἔστω εἰ καὶ τι φοβερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου σφίσιν ἐσημαίνετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτό

3 γε ἐκεῖνο ἐς ἀγαθῶν ἐτρεψεν ἐπειδὴ ἡμᾶς ἔμα τῷ τῆς γῆς ἐπιθύμησιν προσεπταίσι, καὶ αὐτῶν πεσόντα ἐπὶ στόμα οἷς στρατιώται ἰδόντες ἦθομησαν καὶ δυσανασχετήσαντες ἐθορύβησαν, οὐ δυσπορήθην, ἀλλ᾽ εκτείνας τῷ χείρι τῇ τῇ γῆ, ὡς καὶ ἐκὼν δὴ πεσόν, περιέλαβε καὶ κατεφίλησε, καὶ ἀναβοήσας εἶπεν "ἔχω σε, "Ἀφρική," ἕκ δὲ τούτου προσέβαλε μὲν τῷ Ἀδρυμήττῳ, ἀποκροσσθεὶς δὲ καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου βιαίως ἐκβληθεὶς μετέστη πρὸς πόλιν ἐτέραν 'Ρούσπινα, καὶ δεχθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν χειμαδίον τε ἐν αὐτῇ κατεσκευάστατο, καὶ ἐκείθεν ὀρμώμενος ἐπολέμει.

1 Σαλούτιον Fabr., σαλάττων L.
of strength to all those who sided with him, since by some strange, unreasonable hope they believed that no Scipio could meet with misfortune in Africa.

When Caesar learned of this and saw that his own soldiers also were persuaded that it was so and were consequently afraid, he added to his retinue a man of the family of the Scipios who bore that name (he was otherwise known as Salutio 1), and then made the voyage to Hadrumetum, since the neighbourhood of Utica was strictly guarded; and since his crossing in the winter was unexpected, he escaped the enemy's notice. When he had left his ship, an accident happened to him which, even if some disaster was portended to his expedition by Heaven, he nevertheless turned to a good omen. Just as he was setting foot on land he slipped, and the soldiers, seeing him fall on his face, were disheartened and in their chagrin raised an outcry; Caesar, however, did not lose his presence of mind, but stretching out his hands as if he had fallen on purpose, he embraced and kissed the ground, crying out: "I have thee, Africa!" Thereupon he made an assault upon Hadrumetum, but was repulsed and actually driven out of his camp by main force. Then he transferred his position to another city called Ruspina, and being received by the inhabitants, established his winter quarters there and proceeded to carry on the war from that base.

1 Or Salvito; cf. Plutarch, Caes. 52, and Suetonius, Jul. 59.
BOOK XLIII

Τάδε ἔστων ἐν τῷ τετταχακτῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Διώνου Ρωμαίων

α. Ὠς Καίσαρ Σκιτίωνα καὶ Ἰδέαν ἐνίκησεν.
β. Ὠς Νομυδιάνοι οἱ Ρωμαίοι ἔσχον,
γ. Ὠς Κάτων ἔαυτόν ἀπέκτεινεν.
δ. Ὠς Καίσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐπεμψε καὶ

tάλλα κατεστήσατο.
ε. Ὠς ἂ τε ἄγορὰ Καίσαρος καὶ ὅ ναὸς ἂ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης

καθεράθη.
ζ. Ὠς Καίσαρ τὸν ἐναυτὸν ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον κατεστήσατο.
η. Ὠς Καίσαρ Ενταῖος Πομπήιος τὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου υἱὸν ἐν Ἰβηρία

ἐνίκησεν.
θ. Ὠς Πρώτος ὑπάτου ἐς οὖν ἰδον τὸ ἄτος ἀπεδείχθησαν.
ι. Ὠς Καρχηδόν καὶ Κόρινθος ἀπακλάθη,
ια. Ὠς οἱ Κερεάλιοι ἀγορασμοὶ κατεστάθησαν.

Χρόνον πλήθως ἐν τῇ τρίᾳ, ὡς οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριστούργημα οἴδε

ἐγένοτο
Γ. Ἰούλιος Γ. ὑ. Καίσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ γ'1

μετὰ Αμιλλίον Λεπίδου ἰππάρχου

καὶ ὑπατος τὸ γ' μετὰ Αμιλλίον Λεπίδου 2

Γ. Ἰούλιος Καίσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ δ' μετὰ Αμιλλίον Λεπίδου 4 ἰππάρχου
καὶ ὑπατος τὸ δ' μόνοι
Γ. Ἰούλιος Καίσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ ε' μετὰ Αμιλλίον Λεπίδου ἰππάρχου
καὶ ὑπατος τὸ ε' μετὰ Μ. Ἀντωνίου.

Τότε μὲν ταύτ' ἐπραξε, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει καὶ

ἐδικτάτορευσεν ἀμα καὶ ὑπάτευσε, τρίτον ἐκά-

τερον, τοῦ Λεπίδου οἱ ἀμφοτέρωθι 5 συνάρξαντος.

1 τὸ γ' Στ., τοῦ Λ. 2 L. adds ὑπ. after Λεπίδου and Ἀντωνίου. Deleted by Bs. 3 Γ. Bs., γάνοις Λ. 4 Λεπίδου supplied by Bs.
BOOK XLIII

The following is contained in the Forty-third of Dio's 
Rome:—
How Caesar conquered Scipio and Juba (chaps. 1-8).
How the Romans got possession of Numidia (chap. 9).
How Cato slew himself (chaps. 10-13).
How Caesar returned to Rome and celebrated his triumph
and settled other matters (chaps. 14-21).
How the Forum of Caesar and the Temple of Venus were
consecrated (chaps. 22-24).
How Caesar arranged the year in its present fashion
(chap. 26).
How Caesar conquered Gnaeus Pompey, the son of Pompey,
in Spain (chaps. 28-41).
How for the first time consuls were appointed for less than
an entire year (chap. 46).
How Carthage and Corinth received colonies (chap. 50).
How the [Aediles] Cereales were appointed (chap. 51).

Duration of time, three years, in which there were the
magistrates here enumerated:—

46 C. Iulius C. F. Caesar, dictator (III), with Aemilius
Lepidus, master of horse, and consul (III) with
Aemilius Lepidus.
45 C. Iulius Caesar, dictator (IV), with Aemilius Lepidus,
master of horse, and consul (IV) alone.
44 C. Iulius Caesar, dictator (V), with Aemilius Lepidus,
master of horse, and consul (V) with M. Antonius.

Such were Caesar's experiences at that time. The
following year he became both dictator and consul
at once, holding each of the offices for the third
time, and with Lepidus as his colleague in both

5 τι. supplied by Bs. 6 M. supplied by Bs.
7 ἀμφατέρωθι v. Herw., ἀμφατέρως L.
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δικτάτωρ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐλέχθη, παραχρήμα τε αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὴν πλησιαστέραν ἔστειλε, καὶ ἐπανελθόντα ἐπινικίοις, μήτε τινὰς νικήσαντα μήτ’ ἀρχὴν μαχεσάμενον τις ἢ, έτιμησε, προφάσιν ὅτι τοὺς ὑπὸ τὸν Δογγίνου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου πραχθεῖσι παρεγένετο. οὐκον οὐδὲ ἐπεμψε τι ἐπ’ ἀληθείας, πλὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἀ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐσευναίκει. τούτοις τε οὐν αὐτὸν ἤγηλε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ συνάρχοντα ἐκατέρωθι προσείλετο.

Καὶ αὐτῶν ἀρχόντων ἦδη οἳ τε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐταράχθησαν ὑπὸ σημείων λύκους τε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ ὁφθη, καὶ χοϊρός ἐλέφαντι πλὴν τῶν ποδῶν ὅμοιος ἐγεννηθηκ’ κἂν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ὑπʼ Πετρείος καὶ ὁ Λαβιῖνος τηρήσαντες τὸν Καίσαρα πρὸς κόμας ἐπὶ σίτου ἐξελήλυθότα, τὴν τε ἱππον αὐτοῦ μηδέπω καλῶς ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐρρωμένην ἐς τοὺς πεζοῦς τοὺς Νομάς κατήραξαν, καὶ συνταραχθείσης πρὸς τούτο τῆς ἀσπίδος πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν χερσὶν ἄπεκτειναν, πάντας δ’ ἄν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνειλθήντας ἔπλευσέρον 3 τι ἐξέκοψαν, εἰ μὴ ἐσχυρῶς ἐπρώθησαν. ἐπὶ πλείον ὁ οὖν καὶ ὡς, τούτου συμβεβηκότος, τὸν Καίσαρα κατέπληξαν. λογιζόμενος μὲν γὰρ ὡς ὑπὸ ὁλίγων ἐπταισε, προσδεχόμενος δὲ καὶ τῶν Σκιπίων τὸν τε Ἰόβαν πάσας, ὥσπερ ἡγγέλ- λοντο, ταῖς δυνάμεσιν εὐθὺς ἀφίξεσθαι, διηπόρει 4 καὶ οὐκ εἰχεν ὁ τι πράξῃ τὸν τε γὰρ πόλεμον μηδέπω καλῶς διενεγκεὶ. δυνάμενος, καὶ τὴν ἐν

1 ἤγηλε Χυλ., ἤγηλε L.
2 κατήραξαν Turneb., κατήραξιν L.
instances. For when he had been named dictator by Lepidus the first time, he had sent him immediately after his praetorship into Hither Spain; and upon his return he had honoured him with a triumph, although Lepidus had conquered no foes nor so much as fought with any, the pretext being that he had been present at the exploits of Longinus and of Marcellus. Accordingly, he sent home nothing, as a matter of fact, except the money he had plundered from the allies. Caesar besides exalting Lepidus with these honours chose him later as his colleague in both the positions mentioned.

When now they were in office, the people of Rome were disturbed by prodigies; for a wolf was seen in the city, and a pig was born resembling an elephant save for its feet. In Africa, Petreius and Labienus, after waiting until Caesar had gone out to villages after grain, drove his cavalry, which had not yet thoroughly recovered its strength after the sea-voyage, back upon the infantry with the aid of the Numidians; and while the latter as a result was in great confusion, they killed many of the soldiers in hand-to-hand fighting. Indeed, they would also have cut down all the others, who had crowded together on some high ground, had they not received grievous wounds themselves. Even so, they alarmed Caesar not a little by this deed. For considering how he had been checked by a few, and expecting, too, that Scipio and Juba would arrive directly with all their forces, as it was reported they would, he was greatly embarrassed and did not know what course to adopt. For he was not yet able to carry through the war to a satisfactory conclusion; and he saw that to
ταύτῳ μονὴν χαλεπὴν, καὶ οἱ πολέμοι σφων ἀπέχουνται, διὰ τῆς τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίαν, τῆς τε ἀνάστασιν ἀδύνατον τῶν πολέμων καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἥπειρος καὶ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπικείμενων οἱ ὀρὸν ὁδοὺν, ἡθύμει.

3 Ἐνταῦθ’ οὖν αὐτῷ ὡς Πούπλιος τις Σίττιος, εἰγε ἐκεῖνον ἄλλα μὴ τὸ δαιμόνιον δεῖ λέγειν, τὴν τε σωτηρίαν ἀμα καὶ τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἔδωκεν. οὕτως γὰρ ἐξέπεσε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, παραλαβὼν δὲ συμφυγάδας τινὰς καὶ περαιωθεὶς ἐστι.

2 Μαυριτανίαν χείρα τε ἡθροίσε, καὶ παρὰ τῷ Βόκχῳ στρατηγήσας ἐπεχείρησε τῷ Καίσαρι, μὴ τινὰ εὐεργεσίαν αὐτοῦ προέχον μὴ ἄλλως ἐν γνώσει οἱ οὐ, τοῦ τε πολέμου συναείρασθαι καὶ τὰ παρόντα συγκατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τοῦτον αὐτῷ μὲν ἐκείνῳ οὐκ ἐπιμένει πόρρῳ τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἤκουεν ὡς, καὶ ἔφεξε τὴν ὑφ’ ἐαυτοῦ (οὐ γὰρ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἱσχὺν εἰχεν) ὅφελησθεῖς ἐνόμιζε τοῦ δὲ δὴ Ἰόβαν ἐκστρατεύσατας τὴν ῥησάς ἐς τὴν Νουμιδίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ταύτῃ τε καὶ τὴν Γαίτουλαν μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ οὐσαν ἐλημόνατο, ὥστε τὸν βασιλέα τῶν τε ἐν χερσὶν ἀφέσθαι καὶ ἐκ μέσης τῆς ὄδου μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἀναστρέψαι· ἐστι γὰρ ὁ τι καὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἄπ’ αὐτοῦ συνεπέμψειν. εἰς οὗπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διεφανὴ δι’ εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἑληλύθει, οὐκ ἄν ποτε αὐτοῖς ὁ Καίσαρ ἀντέχειν, οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ μόνον τῷ Σκιπίωνι συμβαλεῖν εὐθὺς ἐτόλμησε τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς ἑλέφαντας, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μάχῃ, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείου ὁτι τὸ

1 ἡθροίσε Βκ., ηθθασ Le.
2 τε Βκ., τε Ι.
3 συμβαλεῖν Βκ., συμβάλλαντι Ι.
BOOK XLIII

stay in the same place was difficult because of the lack of subsistence, even if the foe should leave his troops alone, and that to retire was impossible, with the enemy pressing upon him both by land and by sea. Consequently he was dispirited.

He was still in this position when one Publius Sittius (if, indeed, we ought to say it was he, and not rather Providence) brought to him at one stroke salvation and victory. This man had been exiled from Italy, and taking with him some fellow-exiles and crossing over into Mauretania, he had collected a force and served as general under Bocchus; and although he had previously received no benefit from Caesar, and was not known to him at all, in fact, he undertook to assist him in the war and help him overcome his present difficulties. In pursuance of this plan he did not go to the aid of Caesar himself, for he heard that he was at a distance and thought that his own assistance would prove of small value to him, since he had as yet no large body of troops, but waited, instead, until Juba set out on his expedition, and then he invaded Numidia, harrying it and Gaetulia (a part of Juba's dominion) so completely that the king gave up the matter in hand and turned back in the midst of his march with most of his army; for he also sent a part of it to Scipio at the same time. This fact made it very clear that if Juba had also come up, Caesar could never have withstood the two. Indeed, he did not so much as venture to join issue with Scipio alone at first, because he stood in great dread of the elephants, among other things, partly on account of their fighting abilities, but still more because they
4 ἵππικών αὐτοῦ ἐτάρασσον, δεινῶς ἔδειξεν. ἐν φυλακῇ οὖν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς ὅσον ἐδύνατο ποιῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ στρατιώτας τε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ ἐλέφαντας μετεπέμπτετο, οὐχ ὡς καὶ ἀξιόμαχον τι δι' αὐτῶν δράσων (οὐδὲ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἦσαν), ἀλλ' ἵνα οἱ ἵπποι πρὸς τε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν φωνήν αὐτῶν ἐκμελετήσωσιν οὐδὲν ἐτι τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων φοβεῖσθαι.

2 Καὶ τούτῳ οἳ τε Γαϊτουλοὶ προσεχόρησαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔτεροί τινες τῶν πλησιοχώρων, τά μὲν δι' ἐκείνους, ἐπειδὴ σφας μεγάλως τιμηθέντας ἦκουσαν, τά δὲ καὶ τῇ τοῦ Μαρίου μνήμη, ὅτε προσήκοι πρὸς τὴν ἡμέραν ὅπως πρὶν τὸν Ἰόβαν ἐπελθεῖν

3 προσήκοι αὐτοῦ ἦν. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα τε ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας βραδέως μὲν καὶ ἐπικυνδύνως ὑπὸ τε τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ἕπο τῶν πολεμίων περαιοθέντες, ὄμως δ' οὖν ἦλθον ποτε, οὐκέθ' ἦσυχασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούταν τὸν ἑπείχθη πρὸς τὴν μάχην, ὅπως πρὶν τὸν Ἰόβαν ἐπελθεῖν

4 φθάσῃ τῶν Σκίπιων προκατεργασάμενοι. καὶ προχωρήσας ἐπ' αὐτῶν πρὸς πόλιν Οὐζίττα ἐπὶ λόφου τινός, ὑπὲρ τε ἐκείνης καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀμα αὐτῶν ὄντος, ἰδρύθη, προεκκρούσας τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτῶν, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ προσπέσοντα οἱ τῶν Σκίπιων ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεωρὸν ἀπεδίωξε καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἐπιστρεφόμενοι ἐπικαταδραμὼν

5 ἐκάκωσε. τούτῳ τε οὖν τὸ χωρίον κατέσχε καὶ ἐνετειχίσατο, καὶ ἔτερον ἐπὶ ἑαυτὰ τῆς πόλεως, τὸν Δαβίδου ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κρατήσας, ἐλαβε' κακ' τούτου καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀπετείχισεν. ὁ γὰρ Σκιπίων δείσας μὴ προαναλωθῆ, ἐς μάχην μὲν

1 προεκκρούσας R. Steph., προεκκρούσας L.
2 ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Reim., ἀπ' αὐτοῦ L.
kept throwing his cavalry into confusion. Therefore, while keeping as strict guard over the camp as he could, he sent to Italy for soldiers and elephants. He did not count on the latter, to be sure, for any considerable military achievement, since there were not many of them, but desired that the horses, by becoming accustomed to the sight and sound of them, should learn to have no further fear of those belonging to the enemy.

Meanwhile the Gaetulians came over to his side, and also some of their neighbours, partly on account of the Gaetulians, since they heard these had been highly honoured, and partly through remembrance of Marius, since Caesar was a relative of his. When this had occurred, and his reinforcements from Italy, in spite of delay and danger due to the winter and the enemy, had at length crossed over, he no longer remained quiet, but, on the contrary, hastened forward to battle, in order to overpower Scipio before Juba’s arrival. He moved forward against him in the direction of a city called Uzitta, where he took up his quarters on a crest overlooking both the city and the enemy’s camp, having first dislodged those who were holding it. Later, when Scipio attacked him, he drove him away also from the higher ground, and by charging down after him with his cavalry did him some injury. So he held this position and fortified it; and he also took another hill on the other side of the city by defeating Labienus on it, after which he walled off the entire place. For Scipio, fearing his own power might be spent too soon, would no longer risk a
6 οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ ἦε, τὸν δὲ Ἰώβαν μετεπέμπτετο, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ὑπῆκουν οἱ, πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις οὖντα χαρίσασθαι ὑπέσχετο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦτο τῷ μὲν Συττίῳ ἄλλος ἀντίταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα αὐθεὶς ὀρμήσεν.

5 Ἔν νῦν δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπείρασε μὲν πάντα τὸ ἐν τῇ εἰράς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἑπαγαγέσθαι, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ λόγοις τε φιλίους ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτοῦ καθήκε καὶ βιβλία ἑρέμευν, ὑπισχυούμενος δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ μὲν ἐπιχωρίῳ τὰ τε οὐκεία ἀκέραια τηρήσειν καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆσε τῷ δὲ Ῥωμαίῳ τῆς τὰ ἀδειαν καὶ τὰ γέρα ἢ καὶ τοῖς συνοικοῖς ἐνδεικεὶ δώσει καὶ συνοικοῖς γε ἐκ τοῦτον προσεπούσατο. Σκιπίων δὲ ἐπεχείρησε μὲν καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ βιβλία καὶ λόγους ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐσβαλεῖν ὡς καὶ σφετερίσομενός τινας, οὐ μέντοι καὶ μεταστήσας αὐτούς ἡδυνήθη, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἀν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνοι τῖνες ἀνθείλοντο, εἴπερ τι τῶν ὦμοιων ἐπηγγέλλετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἄδειον μὲν σφίσει οὐδὲν ὑπισχεῖτο, τὸν δὲ δὴ δήμον τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῆς τε γερουσίαν ἄλλος ἐλευθέρωσαι αὐτοὺς παρεκάλει, καὶ οὕτως, ἐν νῦν δὴ τὰ εὐπρεπέστερα τῷ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ χρησιμώτερα τοῖς παρούσιν ἰρείτο, οὐδένα αὐτῶν φιλοσάτο.

4 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν μόνος ὁ Σκιπίων ἐν τῷ στρατῷ πέδω ἦν, ταῦτ' οὖτως ἐγίγνετο, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰώβας ἐπήλθεν, ἕλλοιώθη, ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ προεκαλοῦντο τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐς μάχην, καὶ μὴ ἀνθείλοντο Melber, ἀνθείλοντο I.
battle with Caesar, but kept sending for Juba; and when the latter would not obey his summons, Scipio promised to make him a present of all the territory that the Romans had in Africa. Juba then appointed others to take charge of the operations against Sittius and in person once more set out against Caesar.

While this was going on Caesar tried in every way to draw Scipio into conflict. Baffled in this, he made friendly overtures to the latter's soldiers, and distributed among them pamphlets, in which he promised to the native that he would preserve his possessions unharmed and leave the people themselves free, and to the Roman that he would grant him pardon and the same prizes he had offered to his followers. In this way he gained over a goodly number. Scipio in like manner undertook to circulate both pamphlets and verbal offers among his opponents, with a view to winning some to himself; but he was unable to induce them to change sides. This was not because some of them would not have chosen his cause by preference, if any offers similar to Caesar's had been made; it was due rather to the fact that he did not promise them any prize, but merely urged them to liberate the Roman people and the senate. And so, inasmuch as he chose the course that was more becoming to acknowledge rather than the one that was more expedient for the situation in which he found himself, he failed to gain over any of them.

So long, then, as Scipio alone was in the camp, matters went on thus, but when Juba also came up, the situation was changed. For they both tried to provoke their opponents to battle and harassed them
2 βουλομένους συμβαλεῖν ἐλύπουν, τῷ τε ἰππικῷ τούς ἀποσκεδασμένους σφῶν ἵσχυρῶς ἐβλαπτοῦν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ οὔτε ἐς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐκών ἦς, καὶ τὴν περιτείχισιν ἐπέσχε, καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἀγαπητῶς ἠρπαζε, καὶ δυνάμεις ἄλλας
3 οἰκοθεν προσμετεπέμπετο. καὶ ὅψε μὲν καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐλθοῦσας αὐτάς (οὔτε γὰρ ἀθρόαι ἦσαν ἄλλα κατὰ βραχύ συνελέγουτο, καὶ πλοῖων ὅσθ' ἀμα περαιωθήναι ἰπόροιν) — ἐλθοῦσας δ' οὖν ποτὲ προσλαβῶν ἀνεθάρσησεν αὐθίς, καὶ ἐπεξα-
4 γαγὼν παρετάξατο πρὸ τῆς ταφρείας. ἰδόντες δὲ τούτο οἱ ἐναντίοι ἀντιπαρετάζαντο μὲν, οὐ μὴν καὶ συμβαλόντο σφισιν. καὶ τούτο ἐπὶ πλείους ἥμερας ἐγένετο: πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι τοὺς ἰππεύσιν ἐπὶ βραχὺ συμμυγνώντες ἀνεχόρουν, σοῦδὲν οὐδέτεροι μέγα παρέβαλον.

7 Ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ ἐνυόησας ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δύνατο ἀκούτας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν χωρίων ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἀναγκάσαι, πρὸς Θάψου ὄρμησεν, ἵν' ἡ προσβοηθησάντων αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει συμβάλῃ 2 σφισιν,
2 ἡ περιδύντων ἐκείνη γε ἐλη. ἡ δὲ δὴ Θάψος κεῖται μὲν ἐν χερσονήσῳ τρόπον τινά, ἐπειδὴ μὲν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐνθευν ἐδε λίμνης παρηκουσής, στενῶν δὲ δὴ τὸν ἵσθμον καὶ ἑλώθη διὰ μέσου οὕτως ἔχει ὡστε διχῆ μὲν δὲ ἐλαχίστον δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῦ ἐλους παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ῥαχίαν
3 ἀμφοτέρωθεν παριέναι. πρὸς ταύτην οὖν τὴν πόλιν ὁ Καίσαρ εἰςω τῶν στενῶν χωρήσας ἐτάφρευε

1 οὔτε Pflugk, οὖδὲ L.
2 συμβαλλον R. Steph., συμβαλλον L.
3 συμβάλη R. Steph., συμβάλλη L.
4 ραχίαν R. Steph., ράχην L.
when they were unwilling to contend; moreover
with their cavalry they inflicted serious injuries upon
any of them who were scattered to a distance. But
Caesar was not disposed to come to close quarters
with them if he could help it. He prevented their
wallowing him in, secured a bare subsistence for his
troops, and kept sending for other forces from home.
These reached him only after much delay and
difficulty, for they had not all been together, but were
collected gradually and lacked boats in which to
cross in a body. When at length they did reach him
and he had added them to his army, he took courage
once more and leading out his forces against the foe,
arrayed them in front of the intrenchments. Seeing
this, his opponents marshalled themselves in turn,
but did not join issue with them. This continued
for several days. For apart from brief cavalry
skirmishes, after which they would retire, neither
side risked any movement worth speaking of.

Accordingly, when Caesar perceived that because
of the nature of the land he could not force them
to engage in conflict unless they chose, he set out
for Thapsus, in order that he might either engage
them, if they came to the help of the city, or
might at least capture the place, if they left it to
its fate. Now Thapsus is situated on a kind of
peninsula, with the sea stretching along on one
side and a lake on the other; the isthmus between
them is so narrow and marshy that one reaches
the town by two roads, only a little way apart,
running along either side of the marsh close to the
shore. On his way toward this city Caesar, when he
had got inside the narrowest point, proceeded to dig
καὶ ἑσταύρων. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖνεν πρῶγμα αὐτῶ παρεῖχον (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀξιόμαχοι), ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἐκείπων καὶ ὁ Ἰώβας ἐπεχείρησαν τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ, καθ’ ὅ πρὸς τὴν ἥπειρον τελευτᾷ, σταυρώμασι καὶ ταφρέμασι διὰ διαλαβώντες
8 ἀνταποτείχισαν. εὖ ἔργῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ὄντων καὶ πολὺ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἁνυότων (ὅπως γὰρ τοῖς θάσσοιν διατείχισωσι, τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας καθ’ ὁ μηδέπω διετέφρεντο ο’ ἀλλ’ εὐεφόδον τι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἦν προσέταξαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντες
2 εἰργάζοντο). ἐπέθετο ο’ Καίσαρ αἰφνίδιον τοῖς ἐτέρους τοῖς 2 περὶ τὸν Ἐκείπων, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας πόρρωθεν σφενδόναι καὶ τοξεύμασιν ἐκταράξας ἐφέσπετο τε αὐτοῖς ἀναχωρήσασι, καὶ παρὰ δῶξαι τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις προσμίξας καὶ ἐκείνους ἐτρέψατο, καὶ σφίσει φυγοῦσιν ἐς
3 τὸ ἔρυμα συνεστεσών αὐτοβοεί αὐτὸ εἶλεν. ἱδον δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰώβας οὕτως ἐξεπλάγη καὶ ἐδείσεν ὡς μήτε ἐς χειράς τιν ὑπομεῖναι ἐλθείν μῆτε
4 τὸ στρατόπεδον διὰ φυλακῆς ποιῆσασθαι. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν φυγὼν καὶ οἴκαδε ἐπείχθεις, ἐπειτ’ ἐπεὶδῆ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Σιττίου τοὺς ἀντικαταστάντας οἱ προνεκρικότοι, ἐδέσατο, ἀπέγυρε τὴν σωτηρίαν, καὶ τῷ Πετρεὶῳ μηδεμίαν μηδ’ αὐτῶ ἐλπίδα ἀδείας ἔχοντι ἐμνομά-
9 χῆςε καὶ συναπέθανε. Καίσαρ δὲ τὸ τὸ σταυρώμα εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν φυγήν αὐτοῦ ἔλαβε, καὶ φόνον πλείστων τῶν προστυχόντων ἀπάντων σφίσιν ἐποίησεν οὐδέ γὰρ τῶν μεταστάντων ἐφείσατο. κὰκ τούτου τὰς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις

1 διετέφρεντο Reim., διετέφρεντο L.
2 τοῖς supplied by Reim.
a ditch and to erect a palisade. The townspeople caused him no trouble, as they were no match for him; but Scipio and Juba undertook in their turn to wall off the neck of the isthmus, where it comes to an end at the mainland, by running palisades and ditches across from both sides. They were engaged in this work and were making great progress every day (for in order that they might build the walls across more quickly they had stationed the elephants along the portion not yet protected by a ditch and hence easy for the enemy to attack, while on the remaining portions all were working), when Caesar suddenly attacked the men who were with Scipio, and by using slings and arrows from a distance threw the elephants into great confusion. Then as they retreated he not only followed them up, but fell upon the workers unexpectedly and routed them, too; and when they fled into their camp, he dashed in with them and captured it without a blow. Juba, upon seeing this, was so startled and terrified that he ventured neither to come to close quarters with any one nor even to keep the camp under guard; so he fled and hastened homeward. And then, when no one received him, especially since Sittius had already overpowered all opposition, Juba, despairing of safety, fought in single combat with Petreius, who likewise had no hope of pardon, and together they died. Caesar, immediately after Juba's flight, captured the palisade and caused great slaughter among all who came in the way of his troops, sparing not even those who came over to his side. Next he brought the rest of
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2 μηδενός ἀνθισταμένου παρεστήσατο, καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας λαβὼν ἐσ τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐπήγαγε καὶ τῷ Σαλουστίῳ λόγῳ μὲν ἄρχειν ἔργῳ δὲ ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν ἐπέτρεψεν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐδωροδοκήσε πολλὰ καὶ ἱρπασεν, ὡστε καὶ κατηγορηθήναι καὶ 1 αἰσχύνην αἰσχίστην ὡφλειν, 2 ὅτι τοιαῦτα συγγράμματα συγγράφας καὶ πολλά καὶ πικρά περὶ τῶν ἐκκαρπουμένων τινὰς εἰπὼν οὐκ ἐμμησατο τῷ ἔργῳ τοὺς λόγους. οἴθεν εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀφείθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀλλ' αὐτός γε ἐαυτὸν καὶ πάνι τῇ συγγραφῇ ἐστηλοκόπησε.

4 Τούτῳ τε οὖν οὕτως ἔγενετο, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐν τῇ Διβύῃ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν περὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα, ὃ δὴ καὶ Ἀφρικὴν καλούμενον, παλαιὸν, ὃτι ἐκ πολλοῦ καταίργαστο, τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν Νομάδων νέον, ὅτι
5 νεωστὶ εἰλήπτο, ἐπωνομάσθη. Σκιπίων δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς μάχης ἐφυγε, καὶ πλοίον ἐπιτυχὼν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πρὸς τε τῶν Πομπήιον ἀπῆρεν, ἐκπεσὼν δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαυριτανίαν καὶ τῶν Σίττιον φοβηθεὶς ἐαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.

10 Ὁ τε Κάτων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συγκαταφυγόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλῶν παρασκευάζετο τῶν τε πραγμάτων ἀντιλαβέσθαι καὶ τῶν Καίσαρα πρόπον τινὰ ἀμύνασθαι; 3 ὡς δὲ οἱ τε Οὔτικισιοι, 2 ἀτε μηδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὶν ἐχθριωδῶς τῷ Καίσαρι ἔχοντες καὶ τὸτε νεικηκότα αὐτὸν ὅρωτες, οὐκ ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς γεροντίας τῶν τε ἵππεων παρῶτες ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ συλληθῶσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δρασμὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐτ' ἀντιπολεμήσατι (οὔδὲ 4 γάρ οἷος τε ἦν) οὔτ'
the cities to terms, meeting with no opposition; and taking over the Numidians, he reduced them to the status of subjects, and delivered them to Sallust, nominally to rule, but really to harry and plunder. At all events this officer took many bribes and confiscated much property, so that he was not only accused but incurred the deepest disgrace, inasmuch as after writing such treatises as he had, and making many bitter remarks about those who fleeced others, he did not practice what he preached. Therefore, even if he was completely exonerated by Caesar, yet in his history, as upon a tablet, the man himself had chiselled his own condemnation all too well.

This affair, then, turned out thus. As for these districts in Libya, the region surrounding Carthage, which we also call Africa, was called the old province, because it had long ago been subjugated, whereas the region of the Numidians was called the new province, because it had been newly captured. Scipio, who had fled from the battle, chanced upon a ship and set sail for Spain to go to Pompey. But he was cast ashore in Mauretania, and through fear of Sittius made away with himself.

Cato, since many had sought refuge with him, was at first preparing to take a hand in affairs and to resist Caesar as best he might. But the people of Utica had not been hostile to Caesar in the first place, and now, seeing him victorious, would not listen to Cato; and the members of the senate and the knights who were present were afraid of being arrested by them, and so meditated flight. Cato himself, therefore, decided neither to war against Caesar,
3 οὖ ν προσχωρήσαί τι τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγώ, οὐχ ὅτι τι ἐδείξει (καὶ γὰρ εῦ ἡπίστατο καὶ πάνυ ἄν ἱστοδόταντα αὐτῶν ἕαυτον, τῆς ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπία δόξης ἐνεκα, φείσασθαί), ἀλλ' ὅτι τῆς τε ἑλευθερίας ἱσχυρός ἦρα, καὶ ἤπτασθαι οὐδένος ἐς οὐδέν ἐβούλετο, τοῦ τε θανάτου πολὺ τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐλέον χαλεπώτερον ἥγειτο εἰναι.

4 συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς παρόντας τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ διερωτήσας ὅποι ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν ὁμήρηται, ἐκεῖνος μὲν μετ' ἐφοδίων ἐξέπεμψε, τῷ δὲ νῦει πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐλθείν ἐκέλευσε. πυθομένου τε τοῦ νεανίσκου "διὰ τὶ οὐν οὐχὶ καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ποιεῖς;"

5 ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτὸ ὅτι "ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν τε ἑλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἐν παρρησίᾳ τραφεῖς ὦ δύναμαι τὴν δουλείαν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐπὶ γῆρος μεταμαθεῖν σοι δ' ἐν τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει καὶ γεννηθέντι καὶ τραφέντι τὸν δαίμονα τὸν λαχώντα σε θεραπεύειν προσήκει.

11 Ταῦτ' οὖν πράξας, καὶ τοῖς Οὐσίκησίοις τὴν τε διοικήσειν ἀπολογισάμενος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χρήματα τὰ τε ἅλλα ὅσα αὐτῶν εἶχεν ἀπὸδοὺς, προσπάλλοντας πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφίξεως ἠθέλησε.

2 καὶ μεθ' ἥμεραν μὲν οὖν ἐπεχείρησε τοῦτο ποιήσαι: ὁ τε γὰρ νῦσ καὶ οἱ ἅλλοι οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν ὄντες φυλακὴν αὐτῶν εἶχον ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσπέρα ἑγένετο, ἡμιδίδον τε τῷ κρύφῳ ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ὑπέθηκε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος βιβλίον τὸ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένον ἦτησε.

3 εἰτ' οὖν πόρρῳ τῆς ὑποψίας τοῦ τοιοῦτο βουλεύσασθαι τοὺς παρόντας ἀπαγαγεῖν σπονδά-
being unable to do so anyhow, nor yet to go over to his side. This was not because of any fear, since he understood well enough that Caesar would be very eager to spare him for the sake of his reputation for humanity; but it was because he passionately loved freedom, and would not brook any defeat at the hands of anybody, and regarded Caesar's pity as far more hateful than death. So he called together the citizens who were present, enquired where each one of them was intending to go, sent them forth with supplies for their journey, and bade his son go to Caesar. To the youth's inquiry, "Why, then, do you also not do so?" he replied: "I, who have been brought up in freedom, with the right of free speech, cannot in my old age change and learn slavery instead; but for you, who were both born and brought up amid such a condition, it is proper to serve the divinity that presides over your fortunes."

When he had done this and had given to the people of Utica an account of his administration and returned to them the surplus funds, as well as whatever else of theirs he had, he wished to be rid of life before Caesar's arrival. He did not undertake to do this by day, inasmuch as his son and others surrounding him kept him under surveillance; but when evening was come, he secretly slipped a dagger under his pillow, and asked for Plato's book On the Soul.¹ This was either in the endeavour to divert those present from the suspicion that he had any

¹ The Phaedo.
σας, ὅπως ὡς ἦκιστα παρατηρηθῆ, εἷτε καὶ παραμύθιον τι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἐκ τῆς ἀναγνώ-
σεως αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἐπιθυμήσας. ὡς δὲ εἰκεῖνο τε
4 άνελέξατο καὶ ἡ νῦξ ἐμέσου,1 τὸ τε ἐγχειρίδιον ὧφείλκυσε,2 καὶ ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γαστέρα παῖσας ἐνθὺς ἀν ἐτελεύτησεν ἔξαιμος γενόμενος, εἰ μὴ καταπεσὼν ἐκ τοῦ σκιμποδίου ψόφου τε ἐποίησε καὶ τὸν προκοιτοῦντα3 ἔξηγειρε. καὶ οὗτος ὦ τε νῦς καὶ ἅλλοι τινὲς ἐσπεσόντες τά τε ἐντερα αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα αὐθις κατέσαξαν4 καὶ
5 θεραπεῖαν αὐτῷ προσήχαγον. καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ τε ἐξεφίδιον ἤραν καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐκλεισαν, ὅπως ὑπὸν λάχνη (οὔ γάρ δὴ καὶ ἅλλως πώς ἀποθανεῖν αὐτοῦ προσδόκησαν) ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐς τὸ τοῦ τραύμα τὰς θείρας ἐνέβαλε καὶ τὰς ῥαφὰς αὐτοῦ διαρ-
ρῆξας ἀπένυξεν.

6 'Ο μὲν οὖν Κάτων καὶ δημοτικότατος καὶ ἱσχυρογνωμονέστατος5 πάντων τῶν καθ’ ἐαυτοῦ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενοι μεγάλην δόξαν καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θανάτου ἐλαβεῖν, ὡστε καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν Οὐτική-
σιος, ὅτι τε ἐν τῇ Οὐτικῇ οὗτος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ
12 ὅτι δημοσία ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐτάφη, κτίσασθαι: ὁ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ ἐκεῖνο μὲν ὀργίζεσθαι ἐφ’ ὅτι οἱ τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ αὐτοῦ εὐκλείας ἐθρόνησε, τὸν δὲ νῦν καὶ τῶν ἅλλων τοὺς πλείους ἀφῆκεν, ὡσπερ εἴθιστο: οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὖθυς οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑστερον, ὅπως ἀμβλυτέρῳ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου γενομένῳ προσ-

1 ἐμέσου Bk., ἐμέσουτο L.
2 ὡφείλκυσε Dind., ὧφείλκυσε L.
3 προκοιτοῦντας R. Steph., προσκοιτοῦντας L.
4 κατέσαξαν Naber, κατέσαξαν L.
5 καὶ ἱσχυρογνωμονέστατος Bk., καὶ ἱσχυρότατος καὶ ἱσχυρο-

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such purpose in mind, in order to be observed as little as possible, or else in the desire to obtain some consolation in respect to death from the reading of it. When he had read the work through and it was now near midnight, he drew forth the dagger, and smote himself upon the belly. He would have died immediately from loss of blood, had he not in falling from the low couch made a noise and roused those who were keeping guard before his door. Thereupon his son and some others who rushed in put his bowels back into his belly again, and brought medical attendance for him. Then they took away the dagger and locked the doors, that he might obtain sleep; for they had no idea of his perishing in any other way. But he thrust his hands into the wound and broke the stitches of it, and so expired.

Thus Cato, who had proved himself at once the most democratic and the strongest-minded of all the men of his time, acquired great glory even from his very death and obtained the title of Uticensis, both because he had died in Utica, as described, and because he was publicly buried by the inhabitants. Caesar declared that he was angry with him, because Cato had begrudged him the distinction of saving such a man, and he released his son and most of the others, as was his custom; for they came over to him of their own accord, some at once, and others later, so as to approach him after time should have
2 έλθωσιν, έθελονταυ προσεχώρησαν. καυ οι μεν έσώθησαν, Άφρανιος δε και Φαύστος ἐκόντες μεν ουκ ἠλθον προς αυτον (καυ γαρ ευ ἤδεσαν ἀπολού- 

μενοι), φυγόντες δε με Μαυριτανίαν συνεληφθησαν ὑπο του Σεττιου. καυ έκείνους μεν ἀκρίτους ο

3 Καϊσαρ ώς και αιχμαλώτους ἀπέσφαξεν τον δε 

δη Καϊσαρα του Λούκιον, καυπερ εν γενει οι οντα 

καυ έθελονταυ ικετεύσαντα, ομος ἐπειδη δια 

παντος αυτου προσεπεπολεμηκει, το μεν πρωτο 

ἀποδικησαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡστε εν διχη τυι κατεψη-

φισθαι αυτου δοξαι, ἐπειτα δε άκυσας αυτου 

τη έαυτου φωνη θανατωσαι τοτε μεν ἄνεβαλετο.

13 ύστερον δε και κρύφα ἀπεκτείνε. καυ γαρ των 

συνόντων οι τους ουκ ἑπιτηδειους τους μεν προς 

των εναντιων ουκ άκουσιως ἀπεβαλλε, τους δε 

καυ δι αυτων των σφετερων εξ ἑπιβουλης εν 

2 αυταις ταις μάχαις ἀπόλλυσθαι ἐποιει. ου γαρ τοι 

καυ φανερως πασε τως λυπησας τι αυτου, δοσπε 

ειτον, ἐπεξιει, άλλι οσους μηδενι άξιοχρεω ἐγ-

κληματι μετελθειν εδυνατο, εν τροπο δη τωι 

αφαινε ὑπεξηρει, καιτοι τοτε τα γράμματα, ὅσα 

εν τοις ἀπορρητοις του Σκιπιώνος κιβωτιοις 

3 ευρεθη, παντα καυσας πριν ἀναγροναι, καυ των 

ἀντιπολεμησαντων οι πολλοις μεν δι αυτους 

έκείνους πολλοις δε και δια τως φιλους σωσασ 

tων τε γαρ συναγωνιστων και των ἐταιρων

1 ἄνεβαλετο R. Steph., ἄνεβαλετο L.

2 ἀπεβαλλε Cobet, ἀπεβάλλετο L.

3 ἐταιρων R. Steph., ἐτέρων L.
BOOK XLIII

blunted his anger. So these were spared; but Afranius and Faustus would not come to him of their own free will, feeling sure of being put to death, but fled to Mauretania, where they were captured by Sittius. Caesar put them to death, as captives, without a trial; but in the case of Lucius Caesar, though the man was related to him and came as a voluntary supplicant, nevertheless, since he had fought against him throughout, he at first bade him stand trial, so that he might seem to have condemned him with some show of legality, and then, as he shrank from putting him to death by his own vote, he postponed the trial for the time being, but afterward killed him secretly. Indeed, even in the case of those of his own followers who did not suit him he willingly lost some at the hands of the enemy and deliberately caused others to perish in the midst of the fighting at the hands of their own comrades. For, as I have said, he did not attack openly all who had injured him, but any whom he could not prosecute on a plausible charge he quietly put out of the way in some obscure fashion. And yet on this occasion he burned unread all the papers that were found in the private chests of Scipio, while of the men who had fought against him he spared many for their own sake, and many also for the sake of their friends. For, as I have stated, he always allowed each of his soldiers

1 It was Caesar's regular custom to spare those who were taken captive for the first time, but to put them to death if they were captured again (cf. xlii. 62, xliii. 17, xliiv. 45 f.; Suet. Iul. 75). Hence some would read here "as captives for the second time" (ὡς καὶ πρίν, or ὡς δὲ, αἷμαλάτους). But, as Boisseyvain points out, the contrast here is merely between captives and a voluntary supplicant.
καὶ δὴ ἕκαστῳ ἐνα ἐξαιτεῖσθαι, ὡσπερ εἰρηται, ἐπέτρεπε. 4 καὶ δὴ ἕκαστῳ ἐνα ἐξαιτεῖσθαι, ὡσπερ εἰρηται, ἐπέτρεπε.

Καὶ δὴ ἕκαστῳ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ γράψαντος ἀγανάκτησαι μὲν μηδὲν, καίπερ καὶ ἔκεινοι οἱ προσπολεμήσαντος, βιβλίον δὲ τῇ γράψαι ὦ Ἀντικάτωνα ἐπεκάλεσε.

14. Καίσαρ μὲν ταῦτα τὰ πρᾶξαι, καὶ τοὺς ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν παραχρῆμα καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθῆναι, μὴ καὶ στασιάσωσιν αὐθίς, ἀπαλλάξας, τὰ τέ ἀλλα

2 τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ διὰ βραχέος, ὡς ἐνὶ μᾶλιστα, καταστῆσαι, μέχρι μὲν τῆς Σαρδουσ παντὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ ἐπλευσθῆνα, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐκείνους μὲν ἐς τῇ Ἰβηρίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Πομπήων μετὰ Γαίου Διδίου ἐπεμψαν, αὐτῶς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμῃν ἐκομίσθη, τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἐπὶ 3 τῇ τῶν ἔργων λαμπρότητι, ὡδὲ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τῇ βουλῇ

3 δοξαστὶ μεγαλοφρονοῦμενός. τεσσαράκοντα τε γὰρ ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ αὐτοῦ θείες ἐγνωσαν, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τὰ προευφημισμένα ἐπὶ τε λευκῶν ἐπὶ τῶν καὶ μετὰ ῥαβδοῦχων τῶν τῇ ὑπό τοὺς ἐντέρους ὅσιος εἰς τῇ πρώτῃ δικτατορίᾳ ἐκέχρητο, ἀλλὰν τοὺς τῷ ὅσιος εἰς τῇ

4 δεύτερα ἐκχῆκεν, πέμψας οἱ ἐδοσαν. τῶν τὲ τρόπων τῶν ἐκάστου ἐπιστάτην (οὕτω γὰρ πῶς 5 ὀνομάσθη ὡσπερ ὅκι ἄξιος αὐτοῦ τῆς τοῦ τιμητοῦ προσρήσεως οὕσης) εἰς τρία αὐτῶν ἐτη καὶ δικ-

5 5 τάτορα ἐς δέκα ἐφεξῆς εἰλοντο. καὶ προσέτι

1 δὴ Ὁκι, τῶι Λ. 2 οὔτω γὰρ πῶς 5 ἐπὶ supplied by Bk. ἐπὶ supplied by Rk.
3 δὴ supplied by Bk. 4 τῶι R. Steph., ἐπὶ Λ.
and companions to ask the life of one man. In fact he would have spared Cato, too; for he had conceived such an admiration for him that when Cicero subsequently wrote an encomium of Cato he was not at all vexed, although Cicero had likewise warred against him, but merely wrote a short treatise which he entitled "Anticato."

Immediately after these events and before he crossed into Italy Caesar got rid of the older men among his soldiers for fear they might mutiny again. He arranged other matters in Africa just as rapidly as was feasible and sailed as far as Sardinia with his whole fleet. From that point he sent the dismissed troops along with Gaius Didius into Spain against Pompey, and he himself returned to Rome, priding himself particularly upon the brilliance of his achievements, but also upon the decrees of the senate as well. For they had voted that sacrifices should be offered for his victory during forty days, and had granted him permission to ride, in the triumph already voted him, in a chariot drawn by white horses and to be accompanied by all the lictors who were then with him, and by as many others as he had employed in his first dictatorship, together with as many more as he had had in his second. Furthermore, they elected him overseer of every man's conduct (for some such name was given him, as if the title of censor were not worthy of him) for three years, and dictator for ten in succession.

1 Praefectus moribus (Cic., ad Fam. ix. 15, 5).
ἐπὶ τε ἀρχικοῦ δίφρου μετὰ τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπάτων ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καθίζειν καὶ ἡμόμην ἀεὶ πρῶτον ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἐν τε ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις ἀπάσαις ἀποσημαίνειν, καὶ τὰς ἁρχὰς τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα τισιν ὁ δῆμος πρότερον ἔνεμεν ἀποδεικνύναι ἐγημίσαντο. ἄρμα τέ τι αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Καπι- τωλίῳ ἀντιπρόσωπον τῷ Δαί ἱδρυθήναι, καὶ ἐπὶ εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης χαλκοῦν ἐπιβε- βασθήναι, γραφὴν ἔχοντα ὅτι ἡμιθέος ἔστι, τό τε ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀντὶ τοῦ Κατούλου, ὡς καὶ τὸν νεόν, ἐφ' οὗ τῇ ἐκποίησε εὐθύνειν ἐκείνων ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐκτελέσαντος, ἀντεγ- γραφὴν ἐκέλευσαν. ταῦτα δὲ μόνα κατέλεξα ὅυχ ὅτι καὶ μόνα ἐγημίσθη (παμπληθῇ τε γὰρ ἐσεφέρετο καὶ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐκνυτότο) ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρῆκατο, ταῦτα δὲ προσε- δέξατο.

15 Δεδογμένου δὲ ἡδὴ αὐτῶν ἦλθε τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ ἴδον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὴν τε δύναμιν αὐτῶν φοβουμένους καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ὑποτοπου- μένους, κὰκ τούτου πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, οἷα ποὺ καὶ πρὶν ἐγεγόνει, πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶντας, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ὑπερόγκους οἱ τιμᾶς κολακεῖα ἂλλ' ὅων εὐνοίᾳ ἐγημίσμενος, παρεμυθησάτο τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπῆλπισεν εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τοιάδε:

"Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὁ πατέρες, προσδοκήσῃ μήτε ἐρείν με χαλεπών μηδὲν μήτε πράξειν, ὅτι καὶ νενίκηκα καὶ δύναμαι πάν μὲν ὅ τι ἂν ἐθελήσω"
They moreover voted that he should sit in the senate upon the curule chair with the successive consuls, and should always state his opinion first, that he should give the signal at all the games in the Circus, and that he should have the appointment of the magistrates and whatever honours the people were previously accustomed to assign. And they decreed that a chariot of his should be placed on the Capitol facing the statue of Jupiter, that his statue in bronze should be mounted upon a likeness of the inhabited world, with an inscription to the effect that he was a demigod, and that his name should be inscribed upon the Capitol in place of that of Catulus on the ground that he had completed this temple after undertaking to call Catulus to account for his building of it.  

These are the only measures I have recorded, not because they were the only ones voted, —for a great many measures were proposed and of course passed,—but because he declined the rest, whereas he accepted these.

When these decrees had now been passed, he entered Rome, and perceiving that the people were afraid of his power and suspicious of his proud bearing and consequently expected to suffer many terrible evils such as had taken place before, and realizing that it was on this account that they had voted him extravagant honours, through flattery and not through good-will, he endeavoured to encourage them and to inspire them with hope by the following speech delivered in the senate:

"Let none of you, Conscript Fathers, suppose that I shall make any harsh proclamation or do any cruel deed merely because I have conquered and am able
Διος Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία

ἀνεύθυνος εἰπεῖν, πάν δ’ ὁ τι ἀν βουληθὼ μετ’
3 ἐξουσίας δράσαι. μὴ μέντοι μηδ’ ὤτι καὶ Μάριος
καὶ Κίννας καὶ Σύλλας, οὗ τε ἄλλοι πάντες ὡς
εἰπεῖν ὅσοι πῶς ποτὲ τοὺς ἀντιστασίασαντας σφισιν
ἐκράτησαν, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐπιχειρήσει τῶν πρα-
γμάτων πολλαὶ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα καὶ εἶπον καὶ
ἐπραξαν, ἐξ ὧν οὖχ ἥκιστα προσαγαγόμενοι 1
τινας μάλιστα μὲν συμμάχους αὐτοῖς, εἰ δὲ μη,
οὐκ ἀνταγωνισταῖς γε ἐχρήσαντο, νικήσαντες
δὲ καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς ὧν ἐπεθύμουν γενόμενοι πολὺ
tάναντια ἐκείνων καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἐργῳ ἐπραξαν,
καὶ ἐμὲ τις ὑπολάβῃ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιήσειν.
5 οὕτε γὰρ ἄλλως πως πεφυκὼς ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν
ἐμπροσθε χρόνον προσποιητὸς ὡμῖν ἐνωμύλησα,
νῦν δὲ, ὅτι ἔξεστιν, ἀσφαλῶς θρασύνομαι, οὕτ’
αὖ ὑπὸ τῆς πολλῆς ἐνυπραγίας ἐξήγησαι καὶ
tετύφωμαι ὡστε καὶ τυραννῆσαι ὑμῶν ἐπιθυμή-
σαι (ταῦτα γὰρ ἔμοι γε ἀμφότερα ἢ τὸ γε ἐτέρον
6 αὐτῶν ἐκείνων παθεῖν δοκοῦσιν): ἀλλ’ εἰμὶ τε
τῇ φύσει τοιοῦτος ὅποιον μου ἂν πεπείρασθε
(τι γὰρ δεῖ με καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐπεξίωντα ἐπαχθῆ,
ὡς καὶ ἐμαυτὸν ἑπαινοῦντα, γενέσθαι;) καὶ τὴν
τύχην οὐκ ἂν προπηλακίσαιμι, ἀλλ’ ὅσῳ μᾶλλον
ἀγάθης αὐτὴς πεπείραμαι, τόσῳ μᾶλλον πρὸς
7 πάντα μετρίως 2 αὐτὴ χρήσομαι. οὖδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’
ἐπ’ ἄλλο τι τοσοῦτο τ’ ἢ ἱσχύσαι καὶ τηλικοῦτον
αὐξηθῆναι ἐσπούδασα ὡστε πάντας μὲν τοὺς
ἀντιπολεμίσαντας κολάσασθαι πάντας δὲ τοὺς
ἀντιστασίασαντας νουθετῆσαι, ἢ ἣν καὶ ἀνδρα-
γαθίζεσθαι ἀσφαλῶς καὶ εὐτυχείν εὐκλεῶς δύνω-

1 προσαγαγόμενοι Bk., προσαγαγόμενο L.
2 μετρίως Bb., κρείστω L. 3 ἢ Rk., τι L.
to say whatever I please without being called to account, and to do with full liberty whatever I choose. It is true that Marius and Cinna and Sulla and practically all the others who ever triumphed over the factions opposed to them said and did many benevolent things in the beginning of their undertakings, largely as the result of which they attracted men to their side, thus securing, if not their active support, at least their abstention from opposition; and then, after conquering and becoming masters of the ends they sought, adopted a course diametrically opposed to their former stand both in word and in deed. Let no one, however, assume that I shall act in this same way. For I have not associated with you in former time under a disguise, while possessing in reality some different nature, only to become emboldened in security now that that is possible; nor have I become so elated or puffed up by my great good fortune as to desire also to play the tyrant over you—both of which experiences, or at least one of them, seem to me to have come to those men whom I mentioned. No, I am in nature the same sort of man as you have always found me—but why go into details and become offensive as praising myself?—and I would not think of insulting Fortune, but the more I have enjoyed her favours, the more moderately will I use her in every way. For I have had no other motive in striving to secure so great power and to rise to such a height that I might punish all active foes and admonish all those of the other faction, than that I might be able to play a man’s part without danger and to obtain prosperity
16 μαί. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλος καλὸν ἢ δίκαιον, ὅσα τίς τοὺς διχογρωµονήσασιν ἐπεκάλεσε, ταῦτα αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα ἐξελεγχθῆναι· οὔτ' ἂν ἔγωγε ἀξιώσασιν ποτε, τῇ τῶν ἐργῶν ξηλώσει ὁµοιωθεῖς αὐτοῖς, μόνη τῇ τῆς παντελῶς νίκης φήµη
diaλλάξαι. τίς μὲν γὰρ πλείω καὶ μείζω τινὰς εὑρεῖν ὀφείλει τοῦ μάλιστα δυναµένου; τίς δὲ ἣττον ἑξαµαρτάνειν τοῦ πλείστων ἰσχύοντος; τίς εὐβουλότερον τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δαµονίου δοθεὶς χρῆσθαι τοῦ τὰ μέγιστα παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντος; τίς ὀρθότερον τὰ παρόντα ἁγαθά µεταχειρίζεσθαι τοῦ πλείστα τε ἐχοντος καὶ μάλιστα περὶ
aυτὸν µή καὶ ἀποληται φοβουµένου; ἢ μὲν γὰρ εὐπραγία σωφροσύνη λαβοῦσα διαµένει, καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία µετριάσασα πάντα τὰ κτηθὲντα τηρεῖ τὸ τε µέγιστον, καὶ ὅπερ ἥκιστα τοῖς εὕχοις ἀρετής φεροµένοις ὑπάρχει, καὶ ἥσσον ἄδολως φιλεῖσθαι καὶ τελευτήσασιν ἄλθος
eπαινεῖται διδόσιν. ὁ δὲ ἄνεδηµος1 ἐς πάντα ἀπλῶς τῇ δυνάµει καταχρόµενος οὔτε εὑροῦµαι ἀληθῆ οὔτ' ἀσφάλειαι ἀκριβὴ εὑρίσκεται, ἀλλ' ἐν µὲν τῷ φανερῷ πλαστῶς κοιλακεύεται . . .
tὸν γὰρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐξουσίας ἀκράτορα5 ὦτε τῇ ἄλλοι πάντες καὶ οἱ µάλιστα αὐτῷ χρώµενοι καὶ ὑποτεύουσι καὶ φοβοῦνται.
17 Ῥητά δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ἐφιλοσοφησά, ἀλλ' ἣν εἰδήτε ὦτι οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπιδεῖξιν, οὐδ' ἀπ' αὐτοµάτου

1 δύναµαι H. Steph., δύναµι L.
2 εὖ Bk., σῷ L.
3 ἄνεδηµος Rk., ἀνεδηµο L.
4 Lacuna recognized by Reim.
5 ἀκράτορα Bk., ἀντακράτορα L.
with honour. For in general it is neither noble nor just for a man to be convicted of doing the things which he has rebuked in those who have differed from him in opinion; nor will I ever think it proper to be likened to such men through my imitation of their deeds, and to differ merely by the reputation of my complete victory. For who ought to confer more and greater benefits upon people than he who has the greatest power? Who ought to err less than he who is the strongest? Who should use the gifts of Heaven more sensibly than he who has received the greatest ones from that source? Who ought to use present blessings more uprightly than he who has the most of them and is most afraid of losing them? For good fortune, if joined to self-control, is enduring, and authority, if it maintains moderation, preserves all that has been acquired; and, greatest of all, and also rarest with those who gain success without virtue, these things make it possible for their possessors to be loved unfeignedly while living and to receive genuine praise when dead. But the man who recklessly abuses his power on absolutely all occasions finds for himself neither genuine good-will nor certain safety, but, though accorded a false flattery in public, [is secretly plotted against (?)]. For the whole world, including his nearest associates, both suspects and fears a ruler who is not master of his own power.

"These statements that I have made are no mere sophistries, but are intended to convince you that what I think and say is not for effect nor yet
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νῦν προσπεσόντα αυτά, ἄλλα ἀπ' ἀρχής καὶ πρέπειν μοι καὶ συμφέρειν κρίνας καὶ φρονώ καὶ λέγω, ὡσθ' ὑμᾶς μή πρὸς τὸ παρόν μόνον θαρσεῖν ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον εὐελπίδας εἰναι, ἐνθύμομένους ὃτι, εἰπὲρ τι αὐτῶν ἐπιτομῆς, οὐκ ἂν ἀνεβαλόμην ἄλλη ἤδη καὶ τίμερον 2 ἑξῆφηνα. ἄλλα οὖντε πρότερον ἄλλως πως ἐφρόνησα, ὡσπερ ποὺ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἐργα τεκμηρι Categoria, νῦν τε πολὺ μᾶλλον προδυνάμοσαμεν μετὰ πάσης ἑπιεικείας οὐ μᾶ Δείν οὐ δεσπόζειν ὑμῶν ἄλλα προστατεῖν, οὐδὲ τυραννεύειν ἄλλη ἤγεμονεύειν, πρὸς μὲν τάλλα πάνθ' ὡς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν δεῖ πράττειν καὶ ὑπάτος καὶ δικατότορ, πρὸς δὲ ὅτι τὸ 3 κακός ποιήσατι τίνα ἱδιότης ὧν. τούτῳ γὰρ μονὸν οὐδὲν ἠρθήναι καλὸν εἶναι νομίζω. πῶς μὲν γὰρ ἀν ἀποκτείναμι τίνα ὑμῶν τῶν μηδὲν μὲ ἑδικοτόνων ὧν μηδένα μὲν τῶν μὴ ἄντιταξαμένων μοι φθείρας, εἴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα προθύμως τάλλα τις κατ' ἐμοὶ συνήραυτο, πάντας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπαξ ἀντικαταστάντας μοι ἑλέσας καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν δεύτερον ἀντιμαχασαμένων 4 σώσας; πῶς δ' ἂν μνησικακήσαμι τισιν ὧ καὶ τὰ ὑγράμματα, οὐκαὶ παρὰ τὸ Πομπηίου καὶ παρὰ τὸ Σκιπιώνοι ἀπόρρητα ἑυρέθη, μητ' ἀναγνώσῃ μητ' ἐγγαραφάμενοι ἄλλα εὐθὺς κατακαύσας; ὁστε αἰθαλῶντως, ὃ πατέρες, ὁκειοθεκόμενο, ἐκλαθόμενοι μὲν πάντων τῶν συμβεβηκότων

1 οὐδὲ Rk., ὡς Ι. 2 ἂν added by Bk.
3 μὴ ἄντιταξαμένων Bk., ἄντιταξαμένων Ι. 4 συνήραυτο Rk., προσήραυτο Ι.
5 ἀπαξ Xyl., ἀπα L.
6 ἂν μνησικακήσαμι R. Steph., ἀναμνησικακήσαμι Ι.
7 ἐγγαραφάμενος Reim., ἐγγαραφάμενος Ι.
thoughts that have just chanced to occur to me on the spur of the moment, but rather are convictions regarding what at the outset I decided was both suitable and advantageous for me. Consequently you may not only be of good courage with reference to the present, but also hopeful as regards the future, when you reflect that, if I had really been using any pretence, I should not now be deferring my projects, but would have made them known this very day. However, I was never otherwise minded in times past, as, indeed, my acts themselves prove, and now I shall be far more eager than ever with all reasonableness to be, not your master,—Jupiter forbid!—but your champion, not your tyrant, but your leader. When it comes to accomplishing everything else that must be done on your behalf, I will be both consul and dictator, but when it comes to injuring any one of you, a private citizen. That, in fact, is the one thing which I think should not even be mentioned. For why should I put any one of you to death, who have done me no harm, when I have destroyed none of those who were not arrayed against me, no matter how zealously in general they had joined with some of my enemies against me, and when I have taken pity on all those who withstood me but once and in many cases have spared even those who fought against me a second time? Why should I bear malice toward any, seeing that I immediately burned all the documents that were found among the private papers both in Pompey's and in Scipio's tents, and that without reading or copying them? Let us, therefore, Conscript Fathers, confidently unite our interests, forgetting all past events as if they had
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5 ώς καὶ ἀνάγκη τινὶ δαιμονία γεγονότων, ἀρξά-μενοι δὲ ἀνυπόπτως ἄλληλους καθάπερ τινὰς καὶ νὺς πολῖτας φιλεῖν, ἵνα ὡμεὶς τε ὁς πρὸς πατέρα με προσφέρησθε, τὴν μὲν πρὸνοιαν τὴν τε κηδεμονίαν τὴν παρ' ἐμοῦ καρπούμενοι, τῶν δὲ δυσχερεστέρων μηδὲν φοβούμενοι, καὶ εὐγ' ὧς 6 παῖδων ὑμῶν ἐπιμελῶμαι,1 πάντα μὲν τὰ κάλ-λιστα ἀεὶ γλυκεῖσθαι ύφ' ὑμῶν εὐχόμενος, φέρων δὲ ἀναγκαῖος τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς ταῖς προσηκούσαις τιμαῖς ἀγάλλων, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐπανορθῶν καθ’ ὅσον ἐνδέχεται.

18 "Μη μέντοι μηδὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας δείσητε, μηδ' ἄλλο τι αὐτῶν ἢ φύλακας τῆς τε ἐμῆς ἁρχῆς καὶ τῆς ύπερέπασ αἰμα νομίσθητε εἰναι' τρέφεσθαι μὲν γὰρ σφας ἀνάγκη πολλῶν ἔνεκα, τραφῆσονται δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, τοῖς τε διδο-μένοις ἀρκούμενοι καὶ τοὺς διδόντας αὐτὰ ἀγα-2 πώντες. διὰ γὰρ τούτο καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐπὶ πλείου τοῦ συνῆθους έισπέρακται, ἵνα τὸ τε στασιάσαν ἀμα σωφρονισθῇ καὶ τὸ κεκρατηκὸς αὐτάρκη τροφὴν λαβῶν μὴ στασιάσῃ. οὐ γὰρ ποὺ3 καὶ ἑκά τε αὐτῶν ἀποκεκέρδαγκα, ὡς γε πάντα μὲν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα μοι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ 3 δεδανεισμένος προσανάλοκα ὑμῖν ἀλλ' ὀρατὲ ὅτε τὰ μὲν τινὰ αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους" δεδα-πάνηται, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν τετήρηται, ἀφ' ὃν ἡ τε πόλεις κοσμηθήσεται ἢ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διοικηθήσεται. ὡστε τὸ μὲν ἐπὶθθονον τῆς ἐσπράξιος αὐτῶς ἀνεδεξάμην, τῆς δ' ὦφελίας4 καὶ πάντες ἀπο-

1 ἐπιμελῶμαι R. Steph., ἐπιμελεῖται L.
2 ποὺ Pflugk, τοὺ L. 3 πολέμουs St., πολεμουs L.
4 κοσμηθήσεται Wesseling, κοσμηθήσεται L.
3 ὦφελίας B., ὦφελειας L.
been brought to pass by some supernatural force, and beginning to love each other without suspicion as if we were in some sort new citizens. In this way you will conduct yourselves toward me as toward a father, enjoying the forethought and solicitude which I shall give you and fearing nothing unpleasant, and I will take thought for you as for my children, praying that only the noblest deeds may ever be accomplished by your exertions, and yet enduring perforce the limitations of human nature, exalting the good citizens by fitting honours and correcting the rest so far as that is possible.

"And do not fear the soldiers, either, or regard them in any other light than as guardians of my empire, which is at the same time yours. That they should be supported is necessary, for many reasons, but they will be supported for your benefit, not against you; and they will be content with what is given them and will think well of the givers. This is the reason why the taxes now levied are higher than usual, in order that the seditious element may be made submissive and the victorious element, by receiving sufficient support, may not become seditious. Of course I have received no private gain from these funds, seeing that I have expended for you all that I possessed, and also much that was borrowed. No, you can see that a part of the taxes has been expended on the wars and that the rest has been kept safe for you; it will serve to adorn the city and carry on the government in general. I have, then, taken upon my own shoulders the odium of the levy, whereas you will all enjoy its advantages in common, in the
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4 Ἐλεύθερος, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐν ταῖς στρατεύμασις τῶν τε γὰρ ὄπλων ἀδεὶ ἦν καὶ ἔπειθή πιὸν τέ ἐστιν ἀνευ αὐτῶν πόλειν τε τηλικαύτην ὀικοῦντασ καὶ ἀρχὴν τοσαύτην ἔχοντας ἀσφαλῶς ζῆσαι, καὶ ἡ περιουσία τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἱσχυρῶς ὁφελεί. μὴ μέντοι καὶ υποπτεύεσθη τις ὑμῶν ὅτι ἡ τῶν πλουσίων τινα λυπήσω ἢ καὶ τέλη τινὰ καίνα καταστήσω· τοῖς τε γὰρ παρουσίων ἀρκεσθήσομαι, καὶ προθυμήσομαι συνεντορπῆσαι τι μᾶλλον ὑμῖν ἡ διὰ χρηματά τινα ἀδικῆσαι."

6 Τοιαύτα ὁ Καίσαρ ἐν τε τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ εἰπὼν ἐπεκούφισε μέν πως αὐτοὺς τοῦ δέους, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἡδυνήθη πεῖσαι παυτάπασι θαρσεῖν, πρὶν καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τάς ἐπαγγελίας βεβαιώσασθαι.

19 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτο τά τε ἄλλα λαμπρῶς, ὡς περ εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τε τοσαύταις καὶ τηλικαύταις ἁμα νίκαις ἢν, ἐποίει, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τῶν τε Γαλατῶν καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοῦ τε Φαρνάκου καὶ τοῦ Ἰόσου τετρακή χωρίς τέσσαρι σιν ἠμέραις ἐπεμψε. καὶ τὰ μέν ἄλλα θυραντε που τοὺς ὅροντας, ἡ δ' Ἀρσινόη ἡ Αἰγυπτία (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνη ἐν τοῖς αἰγύπτων παρῆγαγε) τό τε πλήθος τῶν ῥαβδούχων καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἀπολλωλότων πομπεία δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἐλύπησεν. δ' τε γὰρ ἀριθμὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ῥαβδούχων ἐπαχθέστατον σφις ἐν χλοῖν, ἀτε ἡμῖν πρὸ τετερο τοσοῦτον ἀμα ἑρακοῦς, παρέσχε καὶ ἡ Ἀρσινόη γυνὴ τε ὁῦσα καὶ βασιλίς ποτὲ νομισθεῖσα ἐν τε δεσμοίς, δ' ἡ μητόποτε ἐν γε τῇ Ὁρμῆ ἐγε-
campaigns as well as elsewhere. For we are always in need of arms, since without them it is impossible for us, who live in so great a city and hold so extensive an empire, to live in safety; and an abundance of money is a great help in this matter as well as elsewhere. However, let none of you suspect that I shall harass any man who is rich or establish any new taxes; I shall be satisfied with the present revenues and shall be more anxious to help make some contribution to your prosperity than to wrong any one for his money."

By such statements in the senate and afterward before the people Caesar relieved them to some extent of their fears, but was not able to persuade them altogether to be of good courage until he confirmed his promises by his deeds.

After this he conducted the whole festival in a brilliant manner, as was fitting in honour of victories so many and so decisive. He celebrated triumphs for the Gauls, for Egypt, for Pharmaces, and for Juba, in four sections, on four separate days. Most of it, of course, delighted the spectators, but the sight of Arsinoë of Egypt, whom he led among the captives, and the host of lictors and the symbols of triumph taken from the citizens who had fallen in Africa displeased them exceedingly. The lictors, on account of their numbers, appeared to them a most offensive multitude, since never before had they beheld so many at one time; and the sight of Arsinoë, a woman and once considered a queen, in chains,—a spectacle which had never yet been seen,
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4 γόνει, ὁφθείσα πάμπολυν οίκτον ἐνέβαλε, κακὶ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτη καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα πάθη παρωδύφαντο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνη μὲν διὰ τοὺς ἄδελφους ἀφεῖθη, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ὁ Οὐερκιγγετόριξ ἐθανατώθησαν.

20 Δυσχερῶς μὲν ὁμι σιδὰ ταῦθ’ ἀπερ εἴπον διετέθησαν, ἐλάχιστα δ’ οὐν 1 αὐτὰ πρὸς γε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐαλωκότων καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κατειργασμένων ἐνόμιζον εἶναι. τούτων τε 2 οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ ὑπερθαύμαζον αὐτόν, καὶ ὁτι καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν τοῦ στρατοῦ πραότατα ἦρεγκε. τοὺς τε γὰρ ἐσ τὸ συνεδρίον σφων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καταλεξ-2 θέντας ἔτωθασαν, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα ποτ’ εὑτελίζετο, 3 καὶ ἐν 4 τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν τε τῆς Κλεοπάτρας αὐτοῦ ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῷ Νικομήδει τῷ τῆς Βιθυνίας βασιλεύσαντι διατριβὴν, ὅτι μειράκιον ποτὲ παρ’ αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει, διεκερτόμησαν, ὡστε καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι Καίσαρ μὲν Γαλάτας ἐδουλώσατο, Καίσαρα δὲ Νικομήδης.

3 τέλος δὲ ἐφ’ ἀπασιν αὐτοῖς ἄθροί ἄναβοσαντες εἴπον ὅτι, ἀν μὲν καλῶς ποιήσῃς, κολασθήσῃ, ἀν δὲ κακῶς, βασιλεύσεις. 5 τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐβουλήτεο δηλοῦν ὅτι, ἀν μὲν ἀποδῷ 6 τῷ δήμῳ τὴν αὐτονομίαν, ὅπερ πον δίκαιον ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, καὶ κριθήσεται ἐφ’ οἷς ἐξω τῶν νόμων εἰργάσατο καὶ

1 ὅν Pflugk, γοῦν L. 2 τὸ Bk., γε L. 3 ἐντλίζετο Jacoby, ἑντλίζετο L. 4 ἐν supplied by Val. 5 βασιλεύσεις Xiph., βασιλεύσεις L. 6 ἀποδῷ St., ἀποδῶ L.
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at least in Rome,—aroused very great pity, and with this as an excuse they lamented their private misfortunes. She, to be sure, was released out of consideration for her brothers; but others, including Vercingetorix, were put to death.

The people, accordingly, were disagreeably affected by these sights that I have mentioned, and yet they considered them of very slight importance in view of the multitude of captives and the magnitude of Caesar’s accomplishments. This led them to admire him extremely, as did likewise the good nature with which he bore the army’s outspoken comments. For the soldiers jeered at those of their own number who had been appointed by him to the senate and at all the otherfailings of which he was accused, and in particular jested about his love for Cleopatra and his sojourn at the court of Nicomedes, the ruler of Bithynia, inasmuch as he had once been at his court when a lad; indeed, they even declared that the Gauls had been enslaved by Caesar, but Caesar by Nicomedes.\footnote{For the obscene jest cf. Suetonius, \textit{Jul.} 49.} Finally, on top of all this, they all shouted out together that if you do right, you will be punished, but if wrong, you will be king.\footnote{This remark is evidently a perversion of an old nursery jingle (\textit{senia}):—}

\begin{quote}
\textit{Si male faxis vopulabis, si bene faxis rex eris.}
\end{quote}

Another form of it is found in Horace, \textit{Ep.} 1, 1, 59-60:—

\begin{quote}
\textit{at pueri ludentes "rex eris" aiunt}
\textit{"si recte facies."}
\end{quote}
δίκην ύφέζει, ἄν δὲ τῇ δυναστείᾳ ἐμμείνῃ, ὅπερ ποιοῦ ἀκούστος ἔργον ἦν, μοναρχήσει. 1 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἥχθετο ταῦτα αὐτῶν λεγόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω ἔχαρεν ὅτι τοσαῦτη πρὸς αὐτὸν παρ-ρησία, πίστει τοῦ μὴ ἣν ὀργισθῆναι ποτε ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἔχροντο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον τῇ συνουσίᾳ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Νικομήδη διέβαλλον ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτῳ πάνω τε ἐδυσκόλανε καὶ ἔνδηλος ἦν λυποῦμενος, ἀπολογείσθαι τε ἐπεχειρεῖ καὶ κατ-ώμυνε, κὰκ τούτου καὶ γέλωτα προσεπωφλίσ-κανεν.

21 Ἐν δὲ οὖν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν νικητηρίων τέρας οὐκ ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ ἐγένετο· ὁ γὰρ ἄξων τοῦ ἄρματος τοῦ πομπικοῦ παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Τυχαίῳ τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δούκουλλου οἰκοδομηθεὶν συνετρίβη, ὡστε ἐφ' ἐτέρου αὐτὸν τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιτελέσασι. καὶ τότε μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἀναβασμοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ Κατιτωλίῳ τοῖς γόναις ἀνερρεχθῆσατο μηδὲν μὴτε τὸ ἢρμα τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Δία ἀνιδρυθὲν αὐτῷ μὴτε τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ὑπὸ τοὺς ποσίν αὐτοῦ κειμένην μὴτε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα αὐτῆς ὑπολογισάμενος, ὡστε-ρον δὲ τὸ τοῦ ἡμιθέου ὄνομα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπήλειψεν. 3. Οὔτω μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐπεμψε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸν τε δήμον λαμπρῶς εἰστίασε καὶ σῖτον ἐξω τοῦ τεταγμένου καὶ ἔλαιον προσέδωκεν αὐτῷ. καὶ τῷ μὲν σιτοδοτουμένῳ ὄχλῳ ταῦτες τε ἐβδομή-κοντα καὶ πέντε δραχμὰς ἀς προῦπέσχητο 3 καὶ ἐτέρας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατιώταις τεντακισχλίας ὅλας ἐνείμεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπλῶς ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τὰ τὰ ἀλλα διη-

1 ύφέζει, μοναρχήσει Χιρ., ύφέζη, μοναρχήση Ι. 2 τὸ Κκ., εἰ τὸ Ι. 3 προὔπεσχητο Βκ., προὔπεσχετο Ι.
laws and would suffer punishment; whereas, if he should hold on to his power, which was naturally the course of an unjust person, he would continue to be sole ruler. As for him, however, he was not displeased at their saying this, but was quite delighted that by such frankness toward him they showed their confidence that he would never be angry at it—except in so far as their abuse concerned his intercourse with Nicomedes. At this he was greatly vexed and manifestly pained; he attempted to defend himself, denying the affair upon oath, whereupon he incurred all the more ridicule.

Now on the first day of the triumph a portent far from good fell to his lot: the axle of the triumphal car broke down directly opposite the temple of Fortune built by Lucullus, so that he had to complete the rest of the course in another. On this occasion, too, he climbed up the stairs of the Capitol on his knees, without noticing at all either the chariot which had been dedicated to Jupiter in his honour, or the image of the inhabited world lying beneath his feet, or the inscription upon it; but later he erased from the inscription the term "demigod."

After the triumph he entertained the populace splendidly, giving them grain beyond the regular amount and olive oil. Also to the multitude which received doles of corn he assigned the three hundred sestereces which he had already promised and a hundred more, but to the soldiers twenty thousand in one sum. Yet he was not uniformly munificent, but in most respects was very strict; for instance, since
κριβοῦτο, καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους τοῦ τοὺς σῖτον φεροῦτος ἐπὶ μακρὸτατον, οὐ κατὰ δίκην ἄλλ’ ὡς που ἔν ταῖς στάσεις εἰσθῆναι, ἐπαυξιῶσέντος ἐξέτασιν ἐποίησατο, καὶ τοὺς γε ἡμίσεις ὅμοι τοι ἀυτῶν προαπήλευσε.

22 Τὰς μὲν δὴ οὖν ἄλλας τῶν νυκτηρίων ἡμέρας ὡς ποι ἐνενόμιστο διήγαγεν τῇ δὲ τελευταίᾳ ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου ἐγένοντο, ἐς τε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγορᾶν ἐσῆλθε βλαύτας ὑποδεδεμένος 1 καὶ ἀνθελς παντοδάπαις ἐστεφανωμένος, καὶ ἐκείθην οἰκαδε παντὸς μὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῦ δήμου παραπέμποντος αὐτῶν, πολλῶν δὲ ἐλεφάντων λαμπάδας φεροῦτων

2 ἐκομίσθη. τὴν γὰρ ἀγορὰν τὴν ἀπ’ 2 αὐτῶν κεκλημένην κατεσκέυαστο 3 καὶ ἔστι μὲν περικαλλεστέρα τῆς Ῥωμαίας, τὸ δὲ ἄξιωμα τὸ ἐκείνης ἐπηύξησεν, ὡστε καὶ μεγάλην αὐτήν ὀνομαζομένη. ταύτην τε οὖν καὶ τὸν νεῶν τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ὡς καὶ ἀρχηγήτιδος τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ

3 οὕσης, ποιήσας καθιέρωσεν εὐθὺς τότε καὶ πολλοὺς γε ἐπ’ αὐτῶς καὶ παντοδαπούς ἄγωνας ἔθηκε, θέατρον τι κυνηγητικὸν ἱκρώσας, ὥ καὶ ἀμφιδέατον ἐκ τοῦ πέριξ πανταχόθεν ἔδρας ἄνευ σκηνῆς ἐχειν προσερριθή. 4 καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ 5 καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ καὶ θηρίων σφαγάς καὶ ἀνδρῶν

4 ὀπλομαχίας ἐποίησεν, ὅτι ἐάν τις τῶν ἀριθμῶν γράψαι ἐθελήσῃ, ὁχλὸν ἄν τῇ συγγραφῇ οὖν ἀληθῆ ἑσεὶς παράσχοι πάντα γαρ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον αὐτοῦ κομποῦται. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν καὶ

1 ὑποδεδεμένος R. Steph., ὑποδεδεμένον L, Xiph.
2 ἀπ’ R. Steph., ἀπ’ L.
3 κατεσκεύαστο Melber, κατεσκεύαστο L,
4 προσερριθή Xiph., προσερρίθη L,
5 τούτῳ R. Steph., τούτῳ L.
the multitude receiving doles of corn had increased enormously, not by lawful methods but in such ways as are common in times of strife, he caused the matter to be investigated and struck out half of their names at one time before the distribution.

The first days of the triumph he passed as was customary, but on the last day, after they had finished dinner, he entered his own forum wearing slippers and garlanded with all kinds of flowers; thence he proceeded homeward with practically the entire populace escorting him, while many elephants carried torches. For he had himself constructed the forum called after him, and it is distinctly more beautiful than the Roman Forum; yet it had increased the reputation of the other so that that was called the Great Forum. So after completing this new forum and the temple to Venus, as the founder of his family, he dedicated them at this very time, and in their honour instituted many contests of all kinds. He built a kind of hunting-theatre of wood, which was called an amphitheatre from the fact that it had seats all around without any stage. In honour of this and of his daughter he exhibited combats of wild beasts and gladiators; but anyone who cared to record their number would find his task a burden without being able, in all probability, to present the truth; for all such matters are regularly exaggerated in a spirit of boastfulness. I shall accordingly pass over this and other like events
έπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὦμοιών τῶν ἔπειτα γενομένων ἐάσω, πλὴν εἰ μή τι πάνυ μοι δόξειν ἀναγκαίον
23 εἰπεῖν εἶναι· περὶ δὲ δὴ τῆς καμηλοπαρδάλεως ὄνομασμένης ἔρῳ, ὃτι τότε πρώτον ἐς τε τὴν 'Ῥώμην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐσήχθη καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπεδείχθη.1
tὸ γάρ ξὺὸν τοῦτο τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κάμηλος ἐστὶ, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἱσοὺ τῶν κώλων ἔχει.
2 τὰ μὲν γάρ ὑπόθεσιν αὐτοῦ χθαμαλῶτερά ἐστιν· ἀρχόμενον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν γλυκτῶν ὑψώταται κατὰ
βραχὺ ὡστ' ἀναβαίνοντι ποι ἔσικεναι, καὶ μετε-
ωριθέν ἐπὶ πλείστον τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σῶμα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθίων σκέλων ἐρέθει,2 τὸν δ' αὐχένα ἐς
ψυς αὐ ἰδιὸν ἀνατείνει. τὴν δὲ δὴ χρώαν κατε-
στικται ὅσπερ πάρδαλις, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τὸ
3 ὄνομα ἐπίκοινον ἀμφοτέρων φέρει. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ
tοιοῦτον ἐστὶ· τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας συνέβαλλε μὲν
καὶ ἐνα ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ, ὅσπερ εἰδιστο, συνέ-
βαλλε δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἰπποδρόμων πλέιους, καὶ ἅπας ἤπειροι καὶ πεζὲς πεζίς, ἄλλους τε ἀναιμῖς ἀλλήλοις ἴσους. καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπ' ἔλε-
4 φάντων τεσσαράκοντα ἐμαχέσαντο. καὶ τέλος 

1 ἐπεδείχθη Bk., ἐπεδείχθη L.
2 ἐρέθει supplied by Bk.
3 κοιλάνας Xiph., κοιλάνας L.
that took place later, except, of course, where it may
seem to me quite essential to mention some particular
point, but I will give an account of the so-called
camelopard, because it was then introduced into
Rome by Caesar for the first time and exhibited to
all. This animal is like a camel in all respects
except that its legs are not all of the same length,
the hind legs being the shorter. Beginning from the
rump it grows gradually higher, which gives it the
appearance of mounting some elevation; and towering
high aloft, it supports the rest of its body on its
front legs and lifts its neck in turn to an unusual
height. Its skin is spotted like a leopard, and for
this reason it bears the joint name of both animals.
Such is the appearance of this beast. As for the
men, he not only pitted them one against another
singly in the Forum, as was customary, but he also
made them fight together in companies in the Circus,
horsemen against horsemen, men on foot against
others on foot, and sometimes both kinds together in
equal numbers. There was even a fight between
men seated on elephants, forty in number. Finally
he produced a naval battle, not on the sea nor
on a lake, but on land; for he hollowed out a
certain tract on the Campus Martius and after
flooding it introduced ships into it. In all the
contests the captives and those condemned to death
took part; yet some even of the knights, and, not to
mention others, the son of one who had been praetor
fought in single combat. Indeed a senator named
Φόλουνος Σεπίνος ἠθέλησε μὲν ὀπλομαχῆσαι, ἐκαλύθη δὲ· ἐκείνο μὲν γὰρ ἀπηύξατο ὁ Καῖσαρ μὴποτε συμβῆναι, τοὺς δ' ἱππέας περιείδε μαχο-6 μένους. τὴν τε ἱππασίαν τὴν Τροίαν καλομένην οἱ παῖδες οἱ εὐπατρίδαι κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐποιή-σαντο· καὶ ἐφ' ἀρμάτων οἱ νεανίσκοι οἱ ὁμότιμοι αὐτοῖς ἡμιλλήσαντο.

24 Ἐσχε μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλῆθει τῶν φονευ-μένων αἰτίαν, ὅτι μὴτ' αὐτὸς διακορηθή σφαγῶν ἐγεγόνει καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὰς τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν εἰκόνας ἐπεδείκνυε, πολὺ δὲ δὴ μείζῳ ὅτι ἀμύθητα χρήματα ἐς πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἀνάλωσεν, ὡς καὶ καθ' ἐκάτερον ἐπιβοῦσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ἀδίκως αὐτὸν τὰ πλεῖον συνελέξατο, καὶ ὅτι ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοῖς 2 κατεχρήσατο. ἐν γὰρ τι τῆς πολυτελείας τῆς τῶν γενομένης ἐχόμενον εἰπὼν καὶ τάλλα δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα σημανῶ. ἣν γὰρ μηδένα τῶν θεωμένων ὁ ἦλιος λυπήσῃ, παραπετάσματα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σημικά, ὡς γέ τινες φασίν, ὑπερεπέτασεν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὕφασμα χλιδῆς βαρβάρου ἔργου ἐστί, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐς τρυφήν τῶν 3 πάνω γυναικῶν περιπτῆν ἐσπεφοίτηκεν. ἐπ' οὖν τούτως οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ἀνάγκη τὴν ἴσυχίαν ἤγγον, οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται ἐθορύβησαν, οὕτως ὅτι ἐμελέ σφισι τῶν εἰκώ διαπανωμένων, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐ

1 Both names are probably corrupt; Dio regularly has Φολουνος for Fulvius.
2 σφαγῶν Oddey, σφῶν L.
3 ἐπιβοῦσθαι Xiph., ἐπεκβοῦσθαι L.
BOOK XLIII

Fulvius Sepinus¹ desired to contend in full armour, but was prevented; for Caesar deprecated that spectacle at any time, though he did permit the knights to contend. The patrician boys went through the equestrian exercise called "Troy"² according to ancient custom, and the young men of the same rank contended in chariots.

He was blamed, indeed, for the great number of those slain, on the ground that he himself had not become sated with bloodshed and was further exhibiting to the populace symbols of their own miseries; but much more fault was found because he had expended countless sums on all that array. In consequence a clamour was raised against him for two reasons—first, that he had collected most of the funds unjustly, and, again, that he had squandered them for such purposes. If I mention one feature of his extravagance at that time, I shall thereby give an idea of all the rest. In order that the sun might not annoy any of the spectators, he had curtains stretched over them made of silk, according to some accounts. Now this fabric is a device of barbarian luxury, and has come down from them even to us to gratify the fastidious taste of fine ladies. The citizens perforce held their peace at such acts, but the soldiers raised a disturbance, not because they cared about the reckless squandering of the money, but because they

¹ This is possibly a corruption for the Furius Leptinus mentioned by Suetonius, Jul. 39.
² This ludus Troiae, or simply Troia, is first mentioned in the time of Sulla, and then on the present occasion; later we hear of it often (cf. xlix. 43, 3, li. 22, 4, liii. 1, 4, liv. 26, 1, etc.). Virgil's account (Aen. v. 553-603) of the boys' contest at the funeral games in honour of Anchises may be regarded as a correct description in the main of what he saw at the contest in honour of Actium.
καὶ αὐτὸι καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνων ἔλαβον. καὶ οὐ πρῶτοι ἔτοιμοι εὑροῦμενοι πρὶν τὸν Καίσαρα ἀφεὶν τε αὐτοῖς ἐπελθεῖν καὶ κρατήσαντά τινα
4 αὐτοχειρία πρὸς τιμωρίαν παραδοῦναι. οὗτος μὲν οὖν διὰ ταύτα ἐδικαιώθη, ἀλλοι δὲ δύο ἄνδρες ἐν τρόπῳ τινὶ ἱερουργίας ἐσφάγησαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἤχῳ εἶπεῖν (οὕτε γὰρ ἡ Σιβυλλα ἔχρησεν, οὐτὰ ἀλλὸ τοῦτο λόγῳ ἐγένετο), ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ πρὸς τε τῶν ποινικῶν καὶ πρὸς τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ "Ἀρεως ἐτύθησαν, καὶ αὖ ἔγε 1 κεφαλαί αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ βασιλείου ἀνετέθησαν. 25 Ταῦτα τε ἀμα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἐνομοθετεῖτο πολλά, ὃν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παραλείψω, τῶν δὲ δὴ λόγου μάλιστα ἡξίων μνημήσομαι. τὰ τε γὰρ διακατηρία τοῖς τε βουλεύταις καὶ τοὺς ἐπενεῖσι μόνοις ἐπέτρεψεν, ὡς τὸ καθαρώτατον ἐπὶ καθαρώτατον.

2 ὅτε μάλιστα ἀεὶ δικάζοι: πρῶτον γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμίλου τινὲς συνδιεγείροντες αὐτοῖς· καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα τῶν τι ἐχόντων ἐπὶ πλείοντον ὥστ' ἀσωτίας ἐξηγημένα οὐκ εἰς νόμῳ μόνον ἐμετρίσαν, ἄλλα καὶ τῷ ἐργῷ ἱσχυρὸν εἰς φυλακὴ ἐποιήσατο. ἐπειδὴ τε δεινὴ ὀλυμπανθρωπία διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀπολούσων πλήθος, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἄποιγραθῶν (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνας τὰ τε ἄλλα δοσπερ τις τιμῆς ἐποίησε) καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὀψεως αὐτῆς ἦλεγχετο, ἦν, 3 πολυ-

3 παιδίας ἀθλα ἐπέθηκεν. ὅτε τε αὐτὸς πολλοῖς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐφεξῆς ἔτειν ἀρξὰς ἐς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς δυναστείας μᾶλλον προήκθη καὶ ἐς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς ἱσχύος ἐπηνυξῆθη, κατέκλεισε νόμῳ τοὺς μὲν ἐστρατηγι

1 αὐτὸν τοῦ Ηερω., τὸ αὐτὸν τοῦ Πολυ.

2 ἦν Χύλ., ἦν Λ.
themselves did not receive the citizens' wealth too. In fact they did not cease their rioting until Caesar suddenly came upon them, and seizing one man with his own hands, delivered him up to punishment. So this man was executed for the reason given, and two others were slain as a sort of ritual observance. The true cause I am unable to state, inasmuch as the Sibyl made no utterance and there was no other similar oracle, but at any rate they were sacrificed in the Campus Martius by the pontifices and the priest of Mars, and their heads were set up near the Regia.

While Caesar was thus engaged he was also enacting many laws, most of which I shall omit, mentioning only those most worthy of record. The courts he entrusted to the senators and the knights alone, in order that the purest element of the population, so far as was possible, might always preside; for formerly some of the common people had also joined with them in rendering decisions. The expenditures, moreover, of men of means, which had grown to an enormous extent by reason of their prodigality, he not only regulated by law but also practically checked by stern measures. Moreover, since, on account of the multitude of those who had perished there was a serious falling off in population, as was shown both by the censuses (which he attended to, among other things, as if he were censor) and, indeed, by mere observation, he offered prizes for large families of children. Again, since it was by ruling the Gauls for many years in succession that he himself had conceived a greater desire for dominion and had increased the equipment of his force, he limited by law the term of praetors to one year, and that of

1 The tribuni aerarii.
κότας ἐπ’ ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς δὲ ὑπατευκότας ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη κατὰ τὸ ἔξης ἄρχειν, καὶ μηδενὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐπὶ πλείον ἴγκομικὰν τινὰ ἔχειν ἔχειναι.

26 Ταῦτα τε ἐνομοθέτησε, καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἑτῶν οὐ πάντη ὁμολογούσας σφίσει (πρὸς γὰρ τὰς τῆς σελήνης περιόδους ἐτὶ¹ καὶ τότε τοὺς μῆνας ἴγον) κατεστήσατο ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον, ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἡμέρας ἐμβαλὼν, ὅσαιτε ἐς τὴν ἀπαρ-τιλογίαν παρέφερον. ἡδὴ μὲν γὰρ τινας καὶ πλείους ἐφασαν ἐμβληθῆναι, τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχει, τούτῳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ διατριβῆς ἐλαβε, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τριακονθη-μέρους τοὺς μῆνας λογίζονται, ἐπειτ' ἐπὶ παντὶ τῶ ἔτει τὰς πέντε ἡμέρας ἐπάγουσιν, ὥ δ’ ἡ Καίσαρ ἐς μῆνας ἐπτὰ² ταῦτας τε καὶ τὰς ἐτέρας 3 δύο, ὡς ἑνὸς μηνὸς ἀφεῖλεν, ἐνήρμοσε. τὴν μὲν τοῦ μίαν τὴν ἐκ τῶν τεταρτημορίων συμπληρομένην διὰ πέμπτων καὶ αὐτὸς ἑτὸν ἐσῆγαγεν ὡστε μηδέν ἐτί τῶ ὁρας αὐτῶν πλὴν ἐλαχίστον παραλλάττειν ἐν γοῦν χεῖλιοι καὶ τετρακοσίοις καὶ ἐξῆκοντα καὶ ἑνι³ ἐτει μίας ἄλλης ἡμέρας ἐμβολίμου δέονται.

27 Καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, τὰ τε ἀλλὰ ὅσα ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐβουλεύετο, οὔτ’ ἰδιογραμμοῦν⁴ οὔτ’ ἰδιο-βουλῶν ἐπραττεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δὴ πάντως τοῖς πρῶτοι τῆς βουλῆς, ἐστὶ δ’ ὅτε καὶ πᾶσῃ αὐτῇ,

¹ ἐτὶ Xiph., ἐτη L. ² ἐπτὰ Bk., τε L. ³ ἐνι R. Steph., ἐν ἑνι L. ⁴ ἰδιογραμμῶν Reim., ἰδιογραμμῶν L.
proconsuls to two consecutive years, and enacted
that no one whatever should be allowed to hold any
command for a longer time.

After the passage of these laws he also established
in their present fashion the days of the year, which
had got somewhat out of order, since they still at
that time measured their months by the moon's
revolutions; he did this by adding sixty-seven days,
the number necessary to bring the year out even.
Some, indeed, have declared that even more were
intercalated, but the truth is as I have stated it. He
got this improvement from his stay in Alexandria,
save in so far as the people there reckon their months
as of thirty days each, and afterwards add the five days
to the year as a whole, whereas Caesar distributed
among seven months these five along with two other
days that he took away from one month.\textsuperscript{1}
The one
day, however, which results from the fourths he
introduced into every fourth year, so as to make the
annual seasons no longer differ at all except in the
slightest degree; at any rate in fourteen hundred and
sixty-one years there is need of only one additional
intercalary day.\textsuperscript{2}

All these and the other undertakings which he was
planning for the common weal he accomplished not
on his own authority nor by his own counsel, but
communicated everything in every instance to the
leaders of the senate, and sometimes even to that

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{I.e.} February.

\textsuperscript{2} As a matter of fact, the average length of the Julian
year is too great by about eleven minutes, amounting to one
day in 128 years. Thus the Julian calendar, still employed
in Russia and Greece, is now (since 1900) thirteen days behind
the Gregorian, the Council of Nice (325 A.D.) being the
point of departure.
ἐπεκοίνιον. 1 καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἦκιστα, καίτοι τραχυτερῶν τινα νομοθετῆσας, ὃμως ἦρεσε σφισε. 2 καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις καὶ ἐπαινοῦ ἑλάμβανεν, ὅτι δὲ ἐκ τῶν φενυτῶν ἐκ δικαστηρίου πολλοὺς διὰ δημάρχων δὲ τινῶν κατήγαγε, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς δικασμοῖς 3 ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς ἀποδείξει ἀλοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διαίτασθαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ἐτε ἐς τὴν βουλὴν αὕτης οὐκ ἄξιος τινὰς αὐτῆς ἔγκατέλεξε, πολλὰ καὶ παντοταπά ἐθρυλεῖτο. πλείστην δ' οὖν ὅμως αὐτίαν ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτι, οὐ τῷ ἐν τῇ Λιγύπτω ἐτὶ (ἐκείνων γὰρ ἦκοῦτο) ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ, παρὰ πάντων ἐσχέν. ἦλθε τῇ γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἀστυ μετὰ τοῦ ἄνδρος, καὶ ἐς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐσφίξθη, ὡστε καὶ ἐκείνων 4 ἐπὶ ἀμφότεροις σφίσει κακῶς ἄκοῦσα. οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐμελέν οἱ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τοὺς φίλους σφᾶς τοὺς τε συμμάχους τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέγραψε.

28 Καὶ τοῦτο 4 ἐμάνθανε μὲν πάντα καθ' ἐκαστὸν δι ou ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐποίησε, οὐ 5 μέντοι καὶ δυσνίκητον 6 αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζων πρότερον μὲν τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκ τῆς Σάρδος ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἀπε- στείλεν, ὡστεν δὲ καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα τὰ 7 ἐκ καταλόγου ἐπεμψεν ὡς καὶ δι' ἑτέρων διαπολεμή- σων. ἐπει δὲ ἤσθεν ἐκείνον τε ἐπὶ μέγα προ- χοροῦντα καὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας οὐχ ἰκανοὺς αὐτιπολεμεῖν αὐτῷ ὅντας, οὕτω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξεστράτευσεν, τὴν πόλιν τῷ τε Λεπίδῳ καὶ

1 ἐπεκοίνιον R. Steph., ἐπεκοίνιον L.
2 δικασμοῦ Palm., δικασμοῖς L.
3 εἰκόνον cod. Peir., ἐπὶ εἰκόνιον L.
4 καὶ τοῦτο Bk., καὶ τοῦτο L.
5 οὐ Bk., καὶ L.
6 δυσνίκητον Xyl., δυσκλήτου L.
7 τὰ supplied by Rk.
entire body. And to this practice most of all was due the fact that, even after he passed some rather harsh measures, he still succeeded in pleasing them. For these acts, then, he received praise; but when he induced some of the tribunes to restore many of those who had been exiled after due trial, and allowed those who had been convicted of bribery in canvassing for office to live in Italy, and furthermore enrolled once more in the senate some who were unworthy of it, many murmurings of all sorts arose against him. But he incurred the greatest censure from all because of his passion for Cleopatra—not now the passion he had displayed in Egypt (for that was a matter of hearsay), but that which was displayed in Rome itself. For she had come to the city with her husband and settled in Caesar’s own house, so that he too derived an ill repute on account of both of them. He was not at all concerned, however, about this, but actually enrolled them among the friends and allies of the Roman people.

Meanwhile he was learning in detail all that Pompey was doing in Spain; but thinking him easy to vanquish, he at first despatched the fleet from Sardinia against him, and later sent on also the armies that had been enrolled, intending to conduct the whole war through others. But when he ascertained that Pompey was gaining great headway and that the men he had sent were not sufficient to fight against him, he finally set out himself to join the expedition, after entrusting the city to Lepidus and a
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πολιανόμοις 1 τισίν ὅκτω, ὡς τισὶ δοκεῖ, ἥ 2 ἔξ, ὡς μᾶλλον πεπίστευται, ἔπιτρέψας.

29 Ἐπειδὴ γάρ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Δοργίνου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐκινήθη καὶ τινὲς καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐνεωτέρισαν, ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς τοῦ τε Δοργίνου ἀπαλλαγέντος καὶ τοῦ Τρεβωνίου τὴν διαδοχὴν αὐτοῦ λαβόν-τος, ἡσύχασαν, ἐπειτὰ δὲ εἰ τῆς ἑκ τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμωρίας ἐπρεσβεύσαντο κρύφα πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, μεταστηναι βουλόμενοι· καὶ ὃς ἄλλους τῆς σφισὶ καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν Γναῖον ἀπέστειλε. προσέχων δὲ ἐκεῖνος ταῖς Γυμνησίαις 3 νήσοις τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀμαχεῖ, τὴν δὲ Ἑβεσον σὺν πόνῳ παρεστήσατο, καύναυθα νοσήσαις μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν διέτριψε. χρονίζοντος ὁμν αὐτῶν, πυθόμενοι οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τὸν τε Σκιπίωνα ἀπολολοῦσα καὶ τὸν Δίδιον ἐπιπλέοντα σφισὶ, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ διαφθαρῶσι πρὸν τὸν Πομπήιον ἔλθεῖν, οὐκ ἐμείναν αὐτῶν, ἄλλα ῾Τίτον τε Κυῖτιον 4 Σκαποῦλαν καὶ Κύιτον Ἀπώνιον ἄνδρας ἐπέέας προσπισάμενοι τὸν τε Τρεβώνιον ἐξέβαλον καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Βαυτικὸν πάν συν- απέστησαν.

30 Πραξάντων δὲ ταύτα αὐτῶν Πομπήιος ρᾴζασ ἐς τὴν ἑπειρον τὴν καὶ ἀντιπέρας διέπλευσε, καὶ ἄλλας μὲν τινὰς πόλεις εὐθὺς ἐκοινόεν προσ- εποίησατο (ταῖς τε γὰρ ἐπιτάξει τῶν ἐφεστηκό- των σφίσιν ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ὅλγα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μνήμης ἐπεπλίζοντες

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1. Πολιανόμοις R. Steph., πολιανόμοις L. 2. ἥ Xyl., μῆ L.
3. Γυμνησίαις Reim., γυμνησίαις L.
4. Κυῖτιον Reim., κύιτον L.
number of prefecst—eight as some think, or six as is more commonly believed.

The legions in Spain under Longinus and Marcellus had rebelled and some of the cities had revolted. When Longinus had been removed and Trebonius had become his successor, they kept quiet for a few days; then, through fear of vengeance on Caesar’s part, they secretly sent ambassadors to Scipio, expressing a desire to transfer their allegiance, and he sent to them Gnaeus Pompey among others. Pompey put in at the Balearic Isles and took these islands without a battle, except Ebusus, which he gained with difficulty; then, falling sick, he tarried there with his troops. As a result of his delay, the soldiers in Spain, who had learned that Scipio was dead and that Didius was setting sail against them, feared that they would be annihilated before Pompey could arrive, and so failed to wait for him; but putting at their head Titus Quintius Scapula and Quintus Aponius, both knights, they drove out Trebonius and led the whole Baetic nation to revolt at the same time.

They had gone thus far when Pompey, recovering from his illness, sailed across to the mainland opposite. He immediately won over several cities without resistance, for, being vexed at the commands of their rulers and also reposing no little hope in him because of the memory of his father, they readily received
έτοίμως αὐτὸν ἐδέξαντο), Καρχηδόνα δὲ ὦκ
2 ἐθελήσασαν ὁμολογήσαι ἐπολιόρκει. μαθώντες
ὡς τούτο οἱ περὶ τὸν Σκαπούλαν 1 ἡλθόν τε ἐν-
ταῦθα, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αὐτῶν ἐλό-
μενοι προσείχον τε αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ προεθυ-
μούντο ἵσχυροτάτα, τὰ κέρδη τὰ ἐκείνου ἱδια καὶ
τὰς συμφορὰς οἰκεῖας ποιούμενοι, ὡστ' ἀφ'
ἐκατέρου, τὰ μὲν ὅπως λάβοντες, τὰς 2 δ' ὅπως μὴ
3 πάθωσιν, ἔρρωσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Πομπήιος, οίᾳ ἐν
τοιαύταις ταραχαῖς 3 καὶ καταστάσει πάντες ἐἰσώθασι ποιεῖν, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπειδὴ τινὲς τῶν
Ἀλλοβρόγχων, οὗ οἱ ὁ 4 Ἰόβας ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν
Κουρίωνα πολέμου ξωγρήσας ἐδεδωκεί, ἡπτο-
μόλησαν, οὐδὲν οἱ τι σύχι καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ τοῖς
4 λοιποῖς ἔχαριζετο. οὕτω τε οὐν αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ
ταῦτα πολὺ προθυμότεροι ἐγένοντο, καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων
συχροί, καὶ μάλισθ' ὡσοὶ σὺν τῷ 'Αφρανίῳ ποτὲ ἐστράτευντο, 5 προσεχώρησαν τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς 'Αφρικῆς ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Σέξτος
ὁ τοῦ Οὐάρος καὶ ὁ Δαβίδος σὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ
5 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡλθοῦν. καὶ τοῦτο τῷ τέ πλήθει τοῦ
στρατοπέδου καὶ τῇ προθυμίᾳ ἄρβεις τὴν τε
χόραν ἄδεως διεσπείροντο, καὶ πόλεις τὰς μὲν
ἐκούσας τὰς δὲ ἀκούσας προσετίθετο, καὶ ἐδόκει
καὶ ἕτερ τῶν πατέρας ἱσχύειν. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ ἐν
τῇ 'Ιβηρίᾳ καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατηγοὶ Κύντος
tε Φάβιος Μάξιμος καὶ Κύντος Πέδιος, οὐ μὲντοι
καὶ ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ νομίζοντες εἶναι αὐτοὶ τῇ ἰσύχα-
ζοι καὶ ἐκείνου σπουδῇ μετεπέμποντο.

1 Σκαπούλαν R. Steph., σκαπώνα L.
2 τὰ Bk., τὰ L.
3 ταραχαῖς Rk., ἀρχαῖς L.
4 οἱ ὁ Bk., οἱ Rk., ὁ L.
5 ἐστράτευντο Bk., ἐστρατεύουστο L.
him; and Carthage, which was unwilling to come to terms, he besieged. The followers of Scapula, on learning of this, went there and chose him general with full powers, after which they were most devoted to him and showed the greatest zeal, regarding his successes as the successes of each one of them and his disasters as their own. Consequently their resolution was confirmed by their double purpose of obtaining the successes and avoiding the disasters. For Pompey, too, did what all are accustomed to do in the midst of such turbulent conditions, especially after the desertion of some of the Allobroges whom Juba had taken alive in the war against Curio and had given to him: that is, he granted to the rest every possible favour—both in word and in deed. Not only these men, therefore, became more zealous in his behalf, but a number of the opposing side, also, particularly all who had once served under Afranius, came over to him. Then there were those who came to him from Africa, among others his brother Sextus, and Varus, and Labienus with his fleet. Elated, therefore, by the multitude of his army and by its zeal, he proceeded fearlessly through the country, gaining some cities of their own accord, and others against their will, and seemed to surpass even his father in power. For though Caesar also had generals in Spain, namely Quintus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Pedius, yet they did not regard themselves as a match for Pompey, but remained quiet themselves and kept sending urgently for Caesar.

1 New Carthage.
2 Τέως μὲν δὴ ταύτ' ἐγινετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τε προπεμφθέντων τινὲς ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀφίκοντο καὶ προσεδοκήθη καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἦσειν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Πομπηίος, καὶ νομίσας οὐχ ἰκανὸς εἶναι πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰβηρίαν κατασχεῖν, οὐκ ἀνέμεινε πταίσας γε μεταγινώναι, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς, πρὶν πειραθῆναι τῶν

3 ἑναντίων, ἐς τὴν Βαυτικὴν ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ αὐτῷ ἦ μὲν θάλασσα παραντικά ἡλλοτριώθη, Οὐάρος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Διδίου περὶ Καρτηλίαν ἕνανκρατήθη, καὶ εἰγε μὴ προκαταφυγῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀγκύρας εἰς τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ἄλλας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐνεβεβληκεν καὶ περὶ αὐτὰς οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν διωκόντων σφῶν ὅσπερ περὶ ἔρμα ἐπταίκεσαν, πάν ἂν τὸ

4 ναυτικὸν ἀπωλεῖκεν. ἡ δὲ ἡ πειρος ἦ ἐκεῖ πάσα πλὴν Οὐλίας πόλεως συνεμάχει ταύτην γὰρ μὴ ἐθελήσασάν οἱ προσχωρῆσαι ἐπολιορκεῖ. 32 Καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ μετ' ὀλίγων ἔξαίφης ἄδοκήτοις οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πομπηίον ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις ἐπήλθε τοσοῦτῳ γὰρ τῷ τῆς πορείας τάχει ἐχρήσατο ὡστε καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἁμα καὶ τοῖς ἑναντίοις ὁφθηκαί πρὶν καὶ ὅτι ὅλως ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ γέγονεν ἄκουσθηναι.

2 καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου, τῆς τε παρουσίας τῆς αὐτοῦ μόνης, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα καταπλῆξειν τὸν Πομπηίον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπαλλάξειν ἠλπίσε· τὸ γὰρ πλείον στράτευμα κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν

1 ἰκανὸς R. Steph., ἰκανὸν L. 2 γε H. Steph., τε L.
3 τε Βκ., δὲ L.
4 Καρτηλίαν τε Βκ., κραυτιαν L. (καρτία in ch. 40).
5 ἄλλας H. Steph., ἄλλας L.
6 ἐνεβεβληκείς Βκ., προσενεβεβληκείς L.
7 προσχωρῆσαι R. Steph., προχωρῆσαι L.
For a time matters went on thus; but when a few of the men sent in advance from Rome had reached there, and Caesar's arrival was also expected, Pompey became frightened; and thinking that he was not strong enough to gain the mastery of all Spain, he did not wait for a reverse before changing his mind, but immediately, before making trial of his adversaries, retired into Baetica. The sea, moreover, straightway became hostile to him, and Varus was defeated in a naval battle near Carteia by Didius; indeed, had he not escaped to the land and sunk a row of anchors side by side at the mouth of the harbour, upon which the foremost pursuers were wrecked as upon a reef, he would have lost his whole fleet. All that region of the mainland except the city of Ulia was in alliance with Pompey; and this town, which had refused to submit to him, he proceeded to besiege.

Meanwhile Caesar, too, with a few men suddenly came up unexpectedly, not only to Pompey's followers, but even to his own soldiers. For he had employed such speed in crossing over that he appeared to both his adherents and his opponents before they had even heard that he was in Spain at all. He hoped by this very circumstance and by his mere presence to alarm Pompey and in particular to lure him from the siege; for most of his army had been left behind on the road. But Pompey, thinking that one
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ὑπελέευτο τ’ ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἦν τε ἀνδρα ἐνὸς οὐ πολὺ διαφέρειν νομίζων, καὶ τῇ ἱσχύς ἐαυτοῦ πάνυ θαρσῶν, οὐκ ἔχεπλάγη πρὸς τὴν ἀφίξαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσήθρευ τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς προσβολὰς ὁμοίως ὠσπερ καὶ πρὶν ἔποιείτο. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ ἐκεῖ μὲν ὀλύγους στρατιώτας ἐκ τῶν προαφυγμένων κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Κόρδουβαν ὄρμησε, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ αἰρήσειν αὐτὴν ἐκ προδοσίας ἐπισέσας, τὸ δὲ ἡ πλείστου ἀπάξειν ἀπὸ τῆς Οὐλίας τὸν Πουμίτον τῷ περὶ αὐτῆς φόβῳ προσδοκὴσας. καὶ ἔσχεν σὺνεις· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ χωρὰν ἔσασας ἐξ ὧν Κόρδουβαν ἤλθε, καὶ κατανυμένος αὐτὴν, οὐχ ὑπομείναντός σφας τοῦ Καίσαρος, τὸ ἀδελφῷ τὸν Σέξτῳ προσέταξεν ἐπειτα δὲ ὡς οὖν τι πρὸς τῇ Οὐλίᾳ ἐπέραινεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πῦργον τινὸς, καὶ τούτου οὖν ὑπὸ σφῶν κατασεισθέντος ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀμυνομένων καταρραγέντος, ἐσήλθον μὲν τινες, οὐ μήν καὶ καλὸς ἀπῆλλαξαν, καὶ ο Καίσαρ πλησίασας σφίζειν ἐκεῖνος τοῖς βοήθειαν νυκτὸς λαθὸν ἐσέπερφε καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τὴν Κόρδουβαν αὖθις ἐστρατευσε καὶ ἐς πολυρκίαν αὐτὴν ἀντικατεστήσας, οὐτώ δὴ τῆς τῇ Οὐλίας παντελῶς ἀπανέστη καὶ ἐκείσε παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ οὐ μάτην ἥπειραν, προπυθόμενος γὰρ τούτο ο Καίσαρ ἀπεχώρησεν νοσῶν γὰρ ἐτύγχανε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτὸς τε ἀναρρωσθεὶς καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπακολουθήσατα οἱ προσλαβὸν ἡμαγκάσθη καὶ ἐν τῷ χείμωνι πολεμῆσαι· ἐν τῷ γὰρ σκηνιδοῖς θαύμων ἀὐλιξόμενοι ἐκακοπάθου ταῖς τροφῆς ἕνελεί·

1 οὐ supplied by Leunol.
BOOK XLIII

man was not much superior to another and feeling full confidence in his own strength, was not seriously alarmed at the other's arrival, but continued to besiege the city and kept making assaults upon it just as before. Hence Caesar left there a few troops from among those who had arrived first and set out himself for Corduba, partly, to be sure, in the hope of taking it by betrayal, but chiefly in the expectation of drawing Pompey away from Ulia through fear for this place. And so it turned out in the end. At first Pompey left a part of his army in position, and going to Corduba, strengthened it, and then, as Caesar did not resist his troops, put his brother Sextus in charge there. After this he failed to accomplish anything at Ulia. On the contrary, when a certain tower had fallen, and that not shaken down by his own men either, but broken down by the crowd that was making a defence from it, a few who rushed in fared badly; and Caesar, approaching, lent assistance secretly by night to the citizens, and marched against Corduba again himself, putting it under siege in turn. Then at last Pompey withdrew entirely from Ulia and hastened to the other town with his entire army, accomplishing the desired result. For Caesar, learning of it in time, retired, as he happened to be ill. Afterwards, when he had recovered and had taken charge of the additional troops who had followed on after him, he was compelled to carry on warfare even in the winter; for, being housed in miserable little huts, they were suffering distress and running
33 ποπιο. ἔδικτατὸρεν δὲ ὅτε, καὶ ὑπατος ὑπὲ ποτε καὶ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἐτούς ἀπεδείχθη, τού Λεπίδου ἐν τῇ ἱππαρχίᾳ τῶν ὅμων ἐς τοῦτο συνα- 
γαγόντος: ἵππαρχησε γὰρ καὶ τότε, αὐτῶς ἐαυτὸν ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ἐπειπὼν ἱππαρχον παρὰ τὰ πάτρια.

2 Ἀναγκασθεὶς οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὁσπερ εἰπὼν, καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμώνι πολεμῆσαι, τῇ μὲν Κορδώβη οὐ 
προσέβαλεν (ἰσχυρὸς γὰρ ἐφυλάττετο), πυθο-
μενος δὲ ἐν Ἀττεγούα πόλει σύτων πολὺν εἶναι 
πρὸς έκείνην καίτω καρτερὰν ὃδεικνύετο, ἐλπίσας τῷ τε πλήθει τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῇ παρ' 
ἐαυτοῦ αἰφνίδιῳ ἐκπλήξει καταφοβήθησαν σφᾶς 
αιρήσεως καὶ αὐτὴν διὰ βραχέως καὶ ἀπε-

3 σταύρωσε καὶ περιετάφρευσεν. ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος 
τῇ φύσει τοῦ χωρίου θαρσῶν, καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα 
οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ τῶν χειμῶνα προσεδρέεισιν 
ἀυτῶ νομίζων, τοὺς τε ἐαυτοῦ στρατιῶτας μὴ 
βουλήθεις εὖ τῷ ῥίγει κακόσαι, περιείδει 
καὶ οὐκ 

4 ἐπῆμενοι αὐτοῖς τὴν γε πρῶτην ὑστερον γὰρ, 
ὡς το τε πόλισμα ἀπετεέχυστο καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ 
ἀυτῷ προσεκάθητο, δείσας ἐπεβοήθησε σφησι, καὶ 
νυκτὸς ἐξαίφνης ὁμιλώδους τοῖς προφύλαξι 
προσμιέοις συχνοῦ εἴθε κεφαλην. ἐπείδη τῇ ἀστρα-
πηγῇ οἱ ἐνδον ἵσαν, Μουνάτιον αὐτοῖς Φλάκκον 

34 ἐσέπεμψεν. ἡδυνήθη γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὅτε εἰσὶν 
παρελθεῖν. νυκτὸρ τῶν φυλάκων τινὰς μόνον, ὡς 
καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἐς ἐφοδεῖαν ἀπεσταλμένος, 
ἀνήρετο τὸ σύνθημα, καὶ μαθὼν (οὐτε γὰρ ἐγιγνώσ-
κετο, καὶ κατὰ μόνας οὐκ ἁν τοῖς ὑποπτεύθη

1 ἐνελείποντο H. Steph., ἐνελάπτοντο L.
2 καὶ R. Steph., γὰρ L. 2 περιείδε Rk., προείδε L.
short of food. Caesar was at that time dictator, and at length, near the close of the year, he was appointed consul, after Lepidus, who was master of the horse, had convoked the people for this purpose; for Lepidus had become master of the horse at that time also, having given himself, while still in the consulship, that additional title contrary to precedent.

Caesar, accordingly, being compelled, as I have said, to carry on warfare even in the winter, did not attack Corduba, which was strongly guarded, but turned his attention to Ategua, a city in which he had learned there was an abundance of grain. Although it was a strong place, he hoped by the size of his army and the sudden terror of his appearance to alarm the inhabitants and capture it. And in a short time he had cut it off by a palisade and surrounded it by a ditch. For Pompey, encouraged by the nature of the place and thinking that Caesar because of the winter would not besiege it very long, paid no heed and did not try at first to repel the assailants, since he was unwilling to distress his own soldiers by the cold. Later, to be sure, when the town had been walled off and Caesar was encamped before it, he grew afraid and came with assistance. Falling in with the pickets suddenly on a misty night, he killed a number of them; and since the inhabitants were without a general, he sent in to them Munatius Flaccus. For this man contrived in the following way to get inside. He went alone by night to some of the guards, as if appointed by Caesar to visit the sentries, and asked and learned the watchword; for he was not known, and inasmuch as he was alone, would never have been suspected of being anything but a friend when he
μὴ φίλιος σφίσιν ὃν τοῦτο ποιήσαι) εἶκεινος μὲν
2 εἰσεν, ἐκπεριελθὼν δὲ ἔτερωσε τοῦ περιτειχίσμα-
τος ἄλλοις τις φύλαξιν ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τὸ τε
σύνθημα αὐτοὶς εἰπών, καὶ ἐπὶ προδοσία τῆς
πόλεως παρεῖναι1 πλασάμενος, δὲ ἐκόντων τε αὐτῶν
3 καὶ παραπεμπόντων γε ἔσηλθεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
περιποιήσατο αὐτὴν. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα πολλά,
καὶ ποτε πῦρ ἐσ ταῖς μηχανας καὶ ἐς τὰ
σταυρώματα τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐμβαλόντες2
ἐκείνους μὲν οὐδεν ὅ τι καὶ ἡξιόλογον ἐβλάψαν,
αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνέμου σφίσιν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐν τούτῳ
4 σφοδροῦ προσπεσόντος κακῶς ἀπηλλαξαν· τά τε
γὰρ οἰκοδομήματα ἐπεφλέξθη, καὶ ἀνθρώποι
συχνοὶ τοῖς τε λίθοις καὶ τοῖς βέλεσι, μηδὲ
προϊδέσθαι τι ὑπὸ τοῦ κατιοῦ δυνηθέντες, ἐξω-
λόντο. ὡς οὖν τούτῳ τε αὐτοὶς συνεβεβήκει καὶ
ἢ γῆ ἐπορθεῖτο τοῦ τοῦ τείχους τινὰ4 ἐξ ὑπονόμων
5 ἐπιπτεν, ἐστασίαςαν, καὶ πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Φλάκκος
ἐπ᾽ ἀδεία5 ἐαυτοῦ6 τε καὶ τῶν συνόντων οἱ πρὸς
τὸν Καῖσαρα διεκπεραίωσατο, ἔπειτα δὲ οὗτος μὲν
(οὐ γὰρ ἠθέλησε τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι) διήμαρτεν
αὐτῆς, ὃι δὲ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐπιχωρίοι μετὰ τούτο καὶ
ἐπερεβεύσατο καὶ συνέβησαν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐκελεύοντο.
35 Ἐκεῖνης δὲ δὴ τῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης οὐκέτ
οὔδε7 οἱ ἄλλοι ἡτρέμιζον, ἄλλα8 πολλοὶ μὲν
αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καῖσαρα προσβεβευσάμενοι μεθίσ-
tαντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπιόντα αὐτῶν τοὺς τε

1 παρεῖναι Reim., εἶναι L.
2 ἐμβαλόντες R. Steph., ἐμβάλλοντες L.
3 μηδὲ Bk., μὴ L.
4 τῶν Dind., τινῶν L. 5 ἀδεία R. Steph., ἀδελα L.
6 ἐαυτοῦ Bs., αὐτοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ L.
7 οὐδὲ St., οὐδεν L. 8 ἄλλα Bk., ἄλλα L.

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BOOK XLIII

acted in this manner. Then he left these men and went around to the other side of the circumvallation where he met some other guards and gave them the watchword; after this he pretended that he was there to betray the city, and so went inside through the midst of the soldiers with their consent and actually under their escort. He could not, however, save the place. In addition to other setbacks there was one occasion when the citizens hurled fire upon the engines and ramparts of the Romans, although without doing them any damage worth mentioning, while they themselves fared ill by reason of a violent wind which just then began to blow toward them from the opposite direction; for their houses were set on fire and many persons perished from the stones and missiles, not being able to see any distance ahead of them for the smoke. After this disaster, as their land was being ravaged, and portions of their wall were collapsing as the result of mines, they began to riot. Flaccus first made overtures to Caesar on the basis of pardon for himself and his followers; but afterwards, when he failed of this owing to his refusal to surrender his arms, the natives sent envoys and submitted to the terms imposed upon them.

Upon the capture of this city the other tribes also no longer held back, but many of their own accord sent envoys and espoused Caesar's cause, and many received him or his lieutenants on their approach.
2 ὑποστратήγους αυτοῦ ἐδέχοντο, ὅστε τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπορρήσαντα ὃ τι χρῆ πρᾶξαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄλλοτε ἄλλη τῆς χώρας μεθυστάμενον πλανᾶσθαι, ἐπειτα δὲ φοβηθέντα μή καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τούτον καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ αὐτῶν ἐγκαταλιπτοσι, διακινδυνεύσας ἐθελῆσαι, καίτοι τοῦ δαιμονίου τὴν ἦτταν ἐναργεύσατα αὐτῷ προσημῆναντος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἱδρότες τῶν ἀγαλμάτων καὶ αἱ ἤχαι τῶν στρατοπέδων, τά τε ξῶα ἃ 1 πολλὰ παρά τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν ἐγεννήθη, καὶ αἱ δάδες αἱ πρὸς τὰς δυσμάς ἕκ τῶν ἀνατολῶν άττουσαί (ταύτα γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τότε ἀμαίναι συνηρέχθη) σαφές οὐδέν, ὁποτέρους σφῶν προφαίνοντο, διεδήλουν οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄετοι τῶν στρατοπέδων αὐτῶν τάς τε πτέρυγας σείσαντες καὶ τοῖς κεραυνοῖς, οὐς ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ τινες αὐτῶν χρυσοῖς ἔφερον, ἐκβαλόντες ἐκείνῳ τε τὸ κακών ἀντικρυς ἐνέσκηπτον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεπέτοντο. ἄλλα ἦγε γὰρ 2 τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἐν τῇ ὅλιγωρίᾳ αὐτὸ ἑποίησατο, καὶ ἐς πόλιν Μοῦνδαν 3 πρὸς μάχην δὴ κατέστη.

36 Εἴχον μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τε πολιτικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ξενικοῖς στρατεύμασι πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Μαύρων ἀμφότεροι. Βόκχος μὲν γὰρ τοὺς νεῖς τῷ Πομπήῳ ἐπέμψε, Βογούας δὲ αὐτῶς τῷ Καίσαρι συνεστράτευσεν· ὦ δὲ ἀγὼν οὐχ ὡς τῶν ἄλλων ἄλλῳ ὡς αὐτῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο. οἱ τὲ γὰρ Καίσάρειοι στρατιῶται τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ παρά

1 A supplied by Xyl.
2 ἄλλ. ἦγε γὰρ Κυίρερ, ἄλλη τε γὰρ L.
3 πόλιν Μοῦνδαν Bs., πόλειμον L.
BOOK XLIII

Pompey, in consequence, being at a loss what to do, at first moved about and wandered from place to place through the country; later on he became afraid that as a result of this very course the rest of his adherents would also leave him in the lurch, and he chose to risk a decisive battle, although Heaven had beforehand indicated his defeat very clearly. To be sure, the drops of sweat that fell from the sacred statues, and the rumbling noises of legions, and the many creatures that were born outside their own species, and the torches darting from the east to the west, all of which signs occurred in Spain at that one time, did not make it clear to which of the two leaders they were revealing the future. But the eagles of Pompey’s legions shook their wings and let fall the thunderbolts which they held in their talons, in some cases of gold; thus they seemed to be hurling the threatened disaster directly at Pompey and to be flying off of their own accord to Caesar. But he made light of it, for Destiny was leading him on; thus he established himself in the city of Munda in order to give battle.

Both leaders had in addition to their citizen and mercenary troops many of the natives and many Moors. For Bocchus had sent his sons to Pompey and Bogud in person made the campaign with Caesar. Still, the contest turned out to be like one between the Romans themselves, not between them and other nations. Caesar’s soldiers derived courage from their numbers and experience and above all from their...
 Dio's Roman History

παντα τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου παρουσία θαρσούντες ἀπαλλαγήναι ποτε τοῦ τε πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κακῶν ἐσπούδαζον, καὶ οἱ Πομπηῖειοι τούτοις μὲν ἐλαττούμενοι, τῇ δ' ἀπογνώσει τῆς σωτηρίας, 3 ἀν μὴ κρατήσωσιν, ἐρρωμένοι προεθυμοῦντο· οἷα γὰρ μετὰ τε τοῦ Ἀφραίνου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Οὐάρρωνος οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν καὶ ἀλόντες καὶ σωθέντες, καὶ μετὰ τούτο τῷ τε Λογγίνῳ ἀποδοθέντες καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποστάντες, οὔτε τινα ἐλπίδα συγγνώμης ἤττηθέντες εἶχον, κακὸ τούτον πρὸς ἀπώνοιαν, ὡς καὶ κρατήσαν, τότε δ' ἕ πάντως γε

4 ἀπολέσθαι δέομενοι, προηχθοῦσαι. συμμέζαντες οὖν ἐμάχοντο· οὔδε γὰρ οὔδε οἶδο τινα ἀλλήλων εἶχον ἑτί, τοσαυτάκις ἀντιπεπολεμκότες, καὶ

37 διὰ τούτο μηδὲ παρανέσεως τινος δέομενοι. καὶ τούτῳ τὰ μὲν συμμαχικὰ ταχέως ἐκατέρωθεν ἔτραπτη καὶ ἔφυγεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκείνοι συσταθεὶσιν ἀνακόπτοντες ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ πλείστον ἡγούμενοι. οὔδε γὰρ οὖν ἐνεδωκεν αὐτῶν οὔδεις, ἀλλ' ἐν χώρα μένοντες ἔσφαξον ἑθνηκόν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς ἡ τῆς νίκης ἡ τῆς ἦττης καὶ

2 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασιν αἰτιος ἐσόμενος. καὶ διὰ τούτο οὔδε ἐμελευν αὐτοῖς ὀρᾶν ὅπως οἱ σύμμαχοι σφον ἐμάχοντο, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ μόνον κινδυνεύοντες προεθυμοῦντο. καὶ οὕτε ἐπιαύωνιζε τῇς αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐστενει, ἀλλὰ τοσάττο ῥόμον ἑκάτεροι

1 κρατήσαι Wagner, θαρσήσαι L. 2 τότε Bk., τότε L.
3 ἐτι τοσαυτάκις Xyl., ἐτι τοσαυτάκις L.
4 ἀνακόπτοτες Nabur, ἀνακόπτοτες L.
5 οὔδ' γὰρ R. Steph., οὔτε L.
6 προεθυμοῦντο Bk., ὑπεθυμοῦντο L.
7 ἐπιαύωνιζε Bk., after Bk., ἐπιαύωνιζε L.
8 τοσάττο R. Steph., τοσάττοι L., τοσάττο L
leader's presence, and so were anxious to be done with the war and its attendant miseries. Pompey's men were inferior in these respects, but, becoming strong through their despair of safety, should they fail to conquer, they were full of eagerness. For inasmuch as the majority of them had been captured with Afranius and Varro, had been spared, and afterwards delivered to Longinus, and had revolted from him, they had no hope of safety if they were beaten, and hence were reduced to desperation, feeling that they must now win or else perish utterly.\(^1\) So the armies came together and began the battle; for they no longer felt any compunction at killing each other, since they had been so many times opposed in arms, and hence required no urging. Thereupon the allies on both sides were quickly routed and fled; but the legions themselves struggled in close combat to the utmost in their resistance of each other. Not a man of them would yield; they remained in their places slaying and perishing, as if each individual were to be responsible to all the rest as well for the issue of victory or defeat. Consequently they were not concerned to see how their allies were battling, but fought as eagerly as if they alone were struggling. Neither sound of paean nor groan was to be heard from any one of them, but both sides merely shouted

\(^1\) Cf. note on p. 231.
βοώντες, "παίσων, ἀπόκτεινον," πολὺ τῷ ἔργῳ
3 τὰς γλώσσας σφόν ἐφθανον. ὄρωντες οὖν ταῦτα
ἀπὸ τε ἵππων καὶ ἀπὸ μετεωρῶν τινῶν χωρίων
ο̣ τε Καΐσαρ καὶ ο̣ς Πομπήιος οὐκ εἶχον οὐθ᾽
όπως ἐπίσωσιν 1 οὐθ᾽ ὅπως ἀπογρώσιν, ἀλλὰ
ἀμφίβολοι ταῖς γνώμαις γυγρόμενοι δι᾽ ἦσον καὶ
4 τῷ δέει καὶ τῷ θάρσει ἐκακοπάθον. ἀντιπάλου
γὰρ τῆς μάχης οὖσα ταῖς τε ὅψει δεινῶς
ἐκαμνυ, ἐπιθυμοῦντες τι ιδεῖν πλεονέκτημα καὶ
ὀκνοῦντες τι ιδεῖν ἑλάττωμα, καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς,
εὐχόμενοι τε τι ἁμα καὶ ἀπευχόμενοι καὶ ρω
νῦμενοι καὶ φοβοῦμενοι. οὐκοῦν οὐθ᾽ ἡνωθῆσαν
ἐπὶ πολὺ καρτερῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καταπηδήσαντες
5 ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππων συμμετέχον αὐτῆς. οὕτω
που τῷ τοῦ σώματος καὶ πόνῳ καὶ κινδύνῳ
μάλλον ἢ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς συντάσσει συνεῖναι 2
ἐἰλοντο, ῥοπῆν τινα τοῖς ἐαυτοῖς στρατιώταις
ἐκάτερος τῇ τῆς μάχης κοινωνίᾳ παρέξειν ἐπι-
σαντες. ἡ εἰς ἐκείνης ἀμάρτοιεν, συντελευτῆσαι
γας αὐτοῖς ἠθέλησαν.

38 Καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐμάχοντο· τοῖς δὲ δὴ
στρατοπέδοις πλεονεξία μεν οὐδεμία οὐδέτερος
ἐκ τοῦτον ἐγένετο, μακρὸ δὲ δὴ πλείων, 3 ὡς
ἐκείνους συγκινδυνεύοντας σφισιν εἶδον, τοῦ τε
σφετέρου θανάτου καταφύσεις καὶ τοῦ τῶν
ἐναντίων ὀλέθρου ἐφεσίς ἀμφιπόρος ὁμοίως ἐνέ-

2 πεσε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐτε ἐφυγον τότε γε οὐ-
δέτεροι, ἀλλ' ἱσοπαλείς ταῖς γνώμαις ὅτες ἴσο
κρατεῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐγίγνοντο· καὶ

1 αἴθο δέντα νος supplied by "N" in Reimar's ed.
2 συνείναι Louncl., συνείναι L.
3 πλείων R. Steph., πλεῖω L.
"Strike! Kill!", while their deeds easily outran their words. Caesar and Pompey, who witnessed these struggles from horseback from certain elevated positions, had no ground for either hope or despair, but, with their minds torn by doubts, were equally distressed by confidence and by fear. The battle was so evenly balanced that they suffered tortures at the sight as they strained to spy out some advantage, and shrank from discovering some setback. In mind, too, they suffered tortures, as they prayed for success and against misfortune, alternating between strength and fear. Therefore they were unable to endure it long, but leaped from their horses and joined in the conflict. Thus they preferred to share in it by personal exertion and danger rather than by tension of spirit, and each hoped by his participation in the fight to turn the scale somehow in favour of his own troops; or, failing that, they wished to die with them.

The leaders, then, took part in the battle themselves; yet no advantage came of this to either army. On the contrary, when the men saw their chiefs sharing their danger, a far greater disregard for their own death and eagerness for the destruction of their opponents seized both alike. Accordingly neither side for the moment turned to flight, but, matched in determination, they proved also to be matched in physical strength. All would have
πάντες ἀπέθανον ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγχώματος
dιεκρήθησαν, εἰ μὴ ὁ τε Ὑμῶν ἔξοδὸς που τῶν
συνεστηκότων ὦν ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Πομπήιον στρατο-
πεδοῦ οὐρημα, καὶ ὁ Δαβίνων ὃς τούτο εἶδε,
tὴν τε τάξιν ἔξελιπε καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐτράπετο.

3 φεύγειν γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ Πομπήιειοι νομίσαντες
ηθύμησαν, καὶ ἐμαθὼν μὲν ποι τὸ ἁλθῆς
ύστερον, οὐ μεντοι καὶ ἀναλαβέων ἐαυτοῦς ἐπε
ηδυνήθησαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ
τάφρευμα ἀποφυγόντες οὐτοὶ τοὺς προσμέ-
αντᾶς σφίσιν ἱσχυρῶς ἀπεμαχέσαντο, καὶ οὐ
πρότερον γέ ἐπεσον πρὶν ἀμφίβολοι γενέσθαι,

4 καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ πολὺ διέσωσαν, ὡστε
μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸ ἀλῶναὶ πρὶν πάντας σφᾶς ἐν
tais ἐκδρομαῖς ἀπολέσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' οὖν τὸ
σύνολον τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάθος ἐκατέρωθεν ἐγένετο
ὡς' ἀπορήσαντας ὅπως τὴν πόλιν, μὴ καὶ νυκτὸς
ἐκδροῦσι τινες, ἀποτείχισον, αὕτα τὰ σώματα
tῶν νεκρῶν αὐτῇ περινήσαι. 2

39 Κρατήσας δὲ οὕτως ο Καίσαρ καὶ τὴν Κόρδου-
βαν εὐθὺς ἔλαβεν οἱ τε γὰρ Σέξτος οἱ προεξε-
χώρησε, καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καῖτοι τῶν δούλων
ἀνθισταμένων σφίσιν ἐπειδήπερ ἥλευθρωντο,

2 προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ, καὶ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς
ὅπλοις ὅντας ἀπέσφαξε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκατηγο-
ρισάτο, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἑσπαλίων
ἐχοντας ἔδρασεν, οἱ το μὲν πρῶτον ὡς καὶ
ἐκούσιοι φρούραν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐσεῖδέξαντο, ἔπειτα
δὲ διαφθείραντες τοὺς ἐλθόντας ἐπολέμησαν.

3 ἐπεστράτευσε τε οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀμελέστερον

1 ὑ τε Bk., δτι τε L. 2 περινήσαι Madvig, ἐρωθήσαι L.
3 προεξεχώρησε Xyl., προσεχώρησε L.
4 ἔδρασεν οἱ Bk., ἔδρασε καὶ L.
perished or at nightfall they would have parted with
honours even, had not Bogud, who was somewhere
outside the conflict, set out for Pompey's camp,
whereupon Labienus, observing this, left his station
and proceeded against him. Pompey's men, then,
supposing him to be in flight, lost heart; and though
later, of course, they learned the truth, they could
no longer recover themselves. Some fled to the city,
some to the rampart. The latter body vigorously
fought off their assailants and fell only when attacked
from all sides, while the former long held the wall
safe, so that it was not captured till all had
perished in sallies. So great was the total loss of
Romans on both sides that the victors, at a loss how
to wall in the city to prevent any from running away
in the night, actually heaped up the bodies of the
dead around it.

Caesar, having thus conquered, straightway took
Corduba also. For Sextus had retired out of his way
and the natives came over to his side, although their
slaves, since they had been made free, resisted them.
He slew the slaves under arms and sold the rest.
And he adopted the same course also with those who
held Hispalis; for they had at first pretended to
accept a garrison from him willingly, but afterwards
destroyed the soldiers who came there, and entered
upon war. So he made a campaign against them,
δήθεν προσεδρεύων ἐλπίδας σφίσειν ὡς καὶ διαφυγεῖν δυνησμόνοις παρέσχε. κακὸς τούτο περιορῶν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἔξιόντας ἐκεῖνους τε ἐλόχιζε καὶ ἀπώλλυε, καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὕτως ἀνδρῶν κατὰ βραχὺ ἐρημωθείσαν εἶλε. καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ τὴν Μοῦνδαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, τὰ μὲν ἄκουσία σὺν πολλῷ φόνῳ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἑθελούσια παρέλαβε καὶ ἡγισορλόγησεν, ὅστε μηδὲ τῶν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀναθημάτων τῶν ἐν τοῖς Γαδείροις ἀνακειμένων φείσασθαι, χώρας τὲ τινῶν ἀπετέμετο, καὶ ἑτέροις τὸν φόρον προσεπηνύχησε. ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς ἀντιπολεμήσαντάς οἱ ἐδρασε, τοῖς δὲ εὐνοιάν τινα αὐτοῦ σχούσιν ἔδωκε μὲν καὶ χωρία καὶ ἀτέλειαν, πολιτείαν τὲ τισί, καὶ ἀλλοις ἀποικίως τῶν Ρωμαίων νομίζεσθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ προῖκα αὐτὰ ἔχαρισατο.

40 Κάισαρ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἐπραττε, Πομπήιος δὲ διαφυγὼν πως ἐν τῇ τροπῇ ἤλθε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ τῷ ἐν τῇ Καρτησίᾳ ὄρμωντι χρησόμενος, εὐρὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν κρατοῦντα ἀποκεκλικότας ἐπέβη μὲν πλοῖον τινός, προσδοκήσας επ’ αὐτοῦ διαδράσεθαι, πληγεῖς δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ὀθυμήσας τῇ τῇ αὐτῆς προσέσχε, κάνταυθα συνελθόντας τινὰς παραλαβῶν πρὸς τὴν μεσώγειαν ὀρμῆσε. καὶ αὐτὸς τε Καισενίῳ Λέντωνι περιπεσοῦν ἡττηθεὶς, καὶ ἐς υἱὴν τινὰ καταφυγῶν ἐφθάρη καὶ ὁ Δίδιος ἀγνόων τε τούτῳ, καὶ πλανώμενος ὡς καὶ συμμιξόν που αὐτῷ, συνέτυχεν ἑτέρους τισὶ καὶ ἀπώλεσον.

1 τοῖς R. Steph., τοῖς L.
2 διαδράσεθαι Bk., διαδράσασθαι L.
BOOK XLIII

and by appearing to conduct the siege in a rather careless fashion he gave them some hope of being able to escape. After this he would allow them to come outside the wall, where he would ambush and destroy them; in this way he captured the town, which had been gradually stripped of its men. Later he acquired Munda and the other places, some against their will and with great slaughter and others of their own accord. He levied tribute so rigorously that he did not even spare the offerings consecrated to Hercules in Gades; and he also took land from some cities and laid an added tribute upon others. This was his course toward those who had opposed him; but to those who had displayed any good-will toward him he granted lands and exemption from taxation, to some also citizenship, and to others the status of Roman colonists; he did not, however, grant these favours for nothing.

While Caesar was thus occupied, Pompey, who had escaped in the rout, reached the sea, intending to use the fleet that lay at anchor at Carteia, but found that the men had gone over to the victor's side. He then embarked on a vessel, expecting to escape in this manner; but being wounded in the course of the attempt, he lost heart and put back to land, and then, taking with him some men who had assembled, set out for the interior. He met Caesennius Lento and was defeated; and taking refuge in a wood, perished there. Didius, ignorant of his fate, while wandering about in the hope of meeting him somewhere, met some other troops and perished.
Εἰλετὸς ὁ ἄν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκεῖ που πρὸς τοὺς ἔτι ἀνθεστηκότων καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ πολέμου δόξη πεπτωκώνα: μᾶλλον ὡς ὅπερ οὐκ ἐσ μακρὰν ἐπαθεῖν, ἐν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πρὸς τῶν 2 φιλτάτων, σφαγήνα: τοὺτον γὰρ τὸν πολέμου τελευταίον κατώρθωσε καὶ ταύτην τὴν νικήν ἐσχάτην ἀνείλετο, καίπερ οὐδὲν ὡς οὐχί καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μεγίστων καταπράξεων ἐπίσκες διὰ τέ αὐλλά, καὶ οὐχ ἤκιστα ὅτι βλαστός τις ἐκ φοίνικος ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης χωρίῳ ἤτος εὐθύς ἐπὶ 3 τῇ νίκῃ ἐξέβι. καὶ οὐ λέγω μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἐφερέ 1 ποι ῥ τοῦτο, ἄλλα ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖνο γε ἐμεῖ, ἄλλα τῷ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγγόνῳ τῷ Ὁκταούφῳ, συνεστρατευτῷ τε γὰρ αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πόνων τῶν τε κινδύνων αὐτοῦ ἐκλάμψειν ἐμελλεν. ἀγνοῶν ὧν τοῦτο, καὶ ἐφ' ἕαυτῷ ἐτι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἐπίζων, οὐδὲν μέτριον ἐπραττεν, ἄλλῳ ὡς καὶ 42 ἀδάνατος ὅν ὑπερεφρόνης. τὰ τῇ γὰρ ἐπινίκια, καίτω μηδενὸς ἀλλοτριοῦ κρατήσας ἄλλα καὶ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος πολιτῶν ἀπολέσας, οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψε, πάντα τὸν δῆμον ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ κοινοὶ τυχε ἀγαθόν αὐθίς ἐστίασας, ἄλλα καὶ τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ Κυίντῳ τῷ τῷ Κυίντῳ Πέδιῳ, 2 καίτω ὑποστρατηγήσασίν αὐτῷ καὶ μηδεν ἱδιὰ 2 κατορθώσας, διεορτάσας ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ ἂν μὲν ποὺ γέλος ἐπὶ τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἐκλίναις ἄλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐλεφαντίναις ἑργα τὶ τῶν ἐκόσιν ἄλλος τοῦτος πομπεῖος ἐχορήσαντο· οὐ μὴν ἄλλ᾽ ἐμφανοῦτα τριττά τε νικητηρία καὶ

1 οὐκ ἐφερέ Casaub., συνεφερὲ L.  2 τῷ Bk., τῷ L.  3 τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ Κυίντῳ τῷ τῷ Κυίντῳ Πέδιῳ Mommsen, τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ τῷ Κυίντῳ L.
Caesar, too, would doubtless have chosen to fall there, at the hands of those who were still resisting and amid the glory of war, in preference to the fate he met not long afterward of being murdered in his own land and in the senate at the hands of his dearest friends. For this was the last war that he carried through successfully, and this the last victory that he won, in spite of the fact that there was no other project so great that he did not hope to accomplish it. In this hope he was confirmed especially by the circumstance that from a palm that stood on the site of the battle a shoot grew out immediately after the victory. Now I do not assert that this had no bearing in some direction, yet it was no longer for him, but for his sister's grandson, Octavius; for the latter was making the campaign with him, and was destined to gain great lustre from his toils and dangers. As Caesar did not know this, and hoped that many great successes would still fall to his own lot, he showed no moderation, but was filled with arrogance, as if immortal. For, although he had conquered no foreign nation, but had destroyed a vast number of citizens, he not only celebrated the triumph himself, incidentally feasting the entire populace once more, as if in honour of some common blessing, but also allowed Quintus Fabius and Quintus Pedius to hold a celebration, although they had merely been his lieutenants and had achieved no individual success. Naturally this occasioned ridicule, as did also the fact that they used wooden instead of ivory representations of certain achievements together with other similar triumphal apparatus. Nevertheless, most brilliant triple triumphs and
τριτταὶ πομπαὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐποιήθησαν, καὶ προσέτη καὶ ἱερομηνίαι ἐπὶ πεν.-
3 τήκοντα ἡμέρας ἠχθήσαν. τά τε Ἡλληνικά ἱπ-
pοδρομία ἀδανάτῳ, οὕτω γε καὶ διὰ τήν τοῖς, ὅτι ἐν αὐτὸις ἔκτιστο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τήν τοῦ Καίσαρος
νίκην, ὅτι ἡ ἀγγελία αὐτῆς τῇ προτεραιᾷ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἀφίκετο, ἐτιμήθη.

43 Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῇ Ῥώμη ἔδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν τε στολὴν τὴν ἐπινίκιον ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πανηγύρεσι
κατὰ δόγμα ἐνεδύετο, καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τῷ δαφνίῳ ἀκεῖ καὶ πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐκοσμεῖτο. καὶ προ-
φασιν μὲν ἐποιεῖτο τοῦτον ὅτι ἀναφαλαντίας ἦν,
παραίχε δὲ καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνων λόγοις τινά, καὶ
ὅτι τὸ τε ἔτη, καὶ περὶ παρηβηκός, ἐς κάλλος ἦσκεν.

2 τῇ τε γὰρ ἑσθήτη χαυνοτέρα ἐν πᾶσιν ἐνηβρύνετο,
καὶ τῇ ὑποδέσει καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐνίστε καὶ
ὑψηλῆ καὶ ἐρυθροχρῶ κατὰ τοὺς βασιλείας τοὺς
ἐν τῇ Ἀλβη τότε γενομένους, ὡς καὶ προσήκοι
3 σφίσι διὰ τῶν "Ιουλον," ἐχρῆτο. τὸ τε ὅλον τῇ
τε Ἀφροδίτῃ πᾶσι ἀνέκειτο, καὶ πείθειν πάντας
ἡθελέν ὅτι καὶ ἄνθος τὲ ὀρὰς ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἔχοι,
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γλύμμα αὐτῆς ἐνυπολοῦ ἐφορεῖ,
καὶ σύνθημα αὐτῆν ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ μεγίστοις

4 κινδύνοις ἐποιεῖτο. τὸ δ’ οὖν χαίνου τοῦ ζώματος
αὐτοῦ ὁ μὲν Σύλλας ὑπετόπησεν, ὡστε καὶ
ἀποκεῖναι αὐτὸν ἐθελῆσαι, τοῖς τε ἐξαιτησιμένοις
ἐπείν ὅτι "ἔγω μὲν χαριοῦμαι τοῦτον ὑμῖν,
ὑμεῖς μέντοι καὶ πάνυ τοῦτον τὸν κακῶς ζώνυ-

1 τὸ Rk., τε γὰρ L. 2 τοῦτο Rk., τοῦτο L.
3 ὅτι supplied by Lουncel. 4 "Ιουλον Xyl., Ιουλιον L.
5 ἀνέκειτο Xyl., ἀνεκεῖτο L.
6 πάντας θέλεν R. Steph., πάντες θελον L.
7 ζώματοι Xyl., σώματοι L. Xiph. 8 εἰπεὶν Xiph., εἶπεν L.
triple processions of the Romans were held in honour of those very events, and furthermore a thanksgiving of fifty days was observed. The Parilia was honoured by permanent annual games in the Circus, yet not at all because the city had been founded on that day, but because the news of Caesar's victory had arrived the day before, toward evening.

Such was his gift to Rome. For himself, he wore the triumphal garb, by decree, at all the games, and was adorned with the laurel crown always and everywhere alike. The excuse that he gave for it was that his forehead was bald; yet he gave occasion for talk by this very circumstance that at that time, though well past youth, he still bestowed attention upon his appearance. He used to show among all men his pride in rather loose clothing, and the footwear which he used later on was sometimes high and of a reddish colour, after the style of the kings who had once reigned in Alba, for he claimed that he was related to them through Iulus. In general he was absolutely devoted to Venus, and was anxious to persuade everybody that he had received from her a kind of bloom of youth. Accordingly he used also to wear a carven image of her in full armour on his ring and he made her name his watchword in almost all the greatest dangers. Sulla had looked askance at the looseness of his girdle,\(^1\) so much so that he had wished to kill him, and declared to those who begged him off: "Well, I will grant him to you; but be thoroughly

\(^1\) Implying licentiousness and general laxity of morals.
μενον φυλαττεσθε" ὁ δὲ δὴ Κικέρων οὐ συνενοι- 5 σεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφάλεις ἐφῆ ὅτι "οὐκ ἂν ποτε προσεδόκησα τῶν κακῶς οὗτο ξωνύμενον Πομ- νηίου κρατήσειν."

Τούτο μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐκβολῇ τοῦ λόγου, ὡστε μηδένα μηδὲν τῶν περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος λεγομένων ἀγνοῆσαι, ἔγραψα· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ νίκῃ ἐκείνῃ τε ὅσα εἶπον ἡ γερουσία ἐγνώ, καὶ προσέτει αὐτῶν τε Ἐλευθερωτην καὶ ἐκάλουν καὶ ἐς τὰ γραμματεῖα ἀνέγραφον, καὶ νεὼν Ἐλευθερίας δημοσία ἐψηφί- 2 σαντο. τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα οὗ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπὶ μόνον, ὡσπερ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ἐκεῖνος πολλάκις ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐπεκλήθησαν, ὡς ὧς ὤ νῦ τοῖς ἄνωτελῇ ἤγεμονίαιν ἤ καὶ ἄλλην τινα ἐξουσίαν λαβόντες ὄνομαζοντο, ἀλλὰ καθάπαξ τούτο δὴ τὸ καὶ νῦν τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἐπὶ ἔχονσι διόδουμον ἐκεῖνο τὸτε πρῶτο τε καὶ πρῶτον, 3 ὡσπερ τῷ κύριον, προσέθεσαν. καὶ τοσαύτῃ γε ὑπερβολῇ κολακείας ἐξρήσαντο ὡστε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς τε ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ οὗτω καλείσθαι ἄγασισάν, μήτε τέκνον τι αὐτοῦ ἔχοντος καὶ γέροντος ἢδ οὗτος. δὲντερ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς μετὰ ταύτα αὐτοκράτορας ἔπικλησεις αὐτήν, ὡσπερ τις ἱδίᾳ τῆς ἀρχής αὐτῶν οὐσα καθάπερ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀφίκετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ τούτου κατελύθη, ἀλλ' ἐστιν ἐκάτερων καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ δεύτερον ἐπ' ἀυτῶν ἐπάγεται, ὅταν νίκην τινα τοιαύτην ἀνέλωνται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸ τούτο αὐτοκράτορες ἀπαξ ἡ προσηγορία

1 ἔγραψα Rk., διέγραψα L.
2 πολλάκις Rk., ως πολλάκις L.
3 γε H. Steph., τε L.
4 ἔπικλησεις αὕτη Leunel., τῆς ἐπικλῆσει αὕτης L.
on your guard against this ill-girt fellow." And Cicero could not comprehend it, but even in the moment of defeat said: "I should never have expected one so ill-girt to conquer Pompey."

This I have written by way of digression from my history, so that no one might be ignorant of any of the stories told about Caesar. In honour of his victory the senate passed all those decrees that I have mentioned, and further called him "Liberator," entering it also in the records, and voted for a public temple of Liberty. Moreover, they now applied to him first and for the first time, as a kind of proper name, the title of imperator, no longer merely following the ancient custom by which others as well as Caesar had often been saluted as a result of their wars, nor even as those who received some independent command or other authority were called by this name, but giving him once for all the same title that is now granted to those who hold successively the supreme power. And such excessive flattery did they employ as even to vote that his sons and grandsons should be given the same title, though he had no child and was already an old man. From him this title has come down to all subsequent emperors, as one peculiar to their office, just like the title "Caesar." The ancient custom has not, however, been thereby overthrown, but both usages exist side by side. Consequently the emperors are invested with it a second time when they gain some such victory as has been mentioned. For those who are imperatores in the special sense use
ταύτη, ὀσπερ 1 ταῖς ἄλλαις, καὶ πρώτη γε 
5 χρόνοι: οἱ 2 δ' ἂν καὶ διὰ πολέμων ἀξίων τι 
αὐτῆς κατορθώσωσι, καὶ ἐκείνην τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ 
ἀρχαίον προσλαμβάνουσι, κὰκ τούτου καὶ δεύ 
τερόν τις καὶ τρίτον πλεονάκις τε, ὅσακις ἂν 
παράσχη οἱ, αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπονομάζεται.

6 Ταύτα τε ὅν τότε τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ οἰκίαν 
ἤστε ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ οἰκεῖν, ιερομνήμονας τε 
ἐξαίρετον ὅσακις ἂν ἱκη τε τις συμβοῖ καὶ θυσίαι 
ἔπε αὐτῆς γιγαντοῦντα, καὶ μὴν συστρατεύσηται 
μήθ' ὅλως ἐπικοινωνήσῃ 3 τῶν καταπραγχέντων, 

45 ἔσοσαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνα μὲν εἰ καὶ ὑπέρογκα 
ἐξω τε τοῦ καθεστικότος τις 4 ἔδοξε εἶναι, οὕτ 
nestjsa ἀνθρωποκράτη ἡν ἔτερα δὲ δὴ τοιάδε 
ἐφηφισαντο δέ ὃν καὶ μοναρχον αὐτῶν ἀντικρυ 
ἀπέδειξαν. τὰς τε γὰρ ἀρχὰς αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς 
πλήθους ἀνέθεσαν, καὶ ὑπατον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ δέκα 
ἔτη, ὅστε καὶ δικτάτορα πρότερον, προεχειρι 

2 σαντον στρατιώτας τε μόνον ἔχειν καὶ τα δημοσία 
χρήματα μόνον διοικεῖν ἐκέλευσαν, ὅστε μηδει 
ἀλλω μιθητέρω αὐτῶν, ὅτω μὴ 5 ἔκεινος ἐπι 
τρέψειν, ἐξαίναι χρῆσθαι. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀν 
δριάντα αὐτῶν ἐλέφαντιν, ὑστερον δὲ καὶ ἄρμα 
ὄλων ἐν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις μέτα τῶν θείων 

3 ἀγαλμάτων πέμπεσθαι ἐγνωσαν. ἄλλην τε τίνα 
εἰκώνα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου 6 ναὸν Θεω ἀνικήτω 
ἐπιγράφαντε, καὶ ἄλλην ἐς τὸν Καπιτώλιον 

παρά τοὺς βασιλεύσαντας ποτὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ

1 ὀσπερ Bk., ὀσπερ ἐν L. 2 οἰ Dind., οἰς L.
3 καὶ μὴν συστρατεύσηται μὴθ' ὅλως ἐπικοινωνήσῃ Naber, 
καὶ μὴν συστρατεύσηται τις μὴθ' ὅλως ἐπικοινωνήσῃ L.
4 τις Naber, σφίσι L. 5 μὴ Bk., μηθὲ L.
6 Κυρίνου R. Steph., κυρίνου L.
this title once, as they do the other titles, and place it before the others; but those of them who also accomplish in war some deed worthy of it acquire also the title handed down by ancient custom, so that a man is termed *imperator* a second or a third time, or as many more times as the occasion may arise.

These privileges they granted then to Caesar, as well as a house, so that he might live in state property, and a special thanksgiving whenever any victory should occur and sacrifices should be offered for it, even if he had not been on the campaign or had any hand at all in the achievements. Nevertheless, these measures, even though they seemed to some immoderate and contrary to precedent, were not thus far undemocratic. But the senate passed the following decrees besides, by which they declared him a monarch out and out. For they offered him the magistracies, even those belonging to the plebs, and elected him consul for ten years, as they previously had made him dictator. They ordered that he alone should have soldiers, and alone administer the public funds, so that no one else should be allowed to employ either of them, save whom he permitted. And they decreed at this time that an ivory statue of him, and later that a whole chariot, should appear in the procession at the games in the Circus, together with the statues of the gods. Another likeness they set up in the temple of Quirinus with the inscription, "To the Invincible God," and another on the Capitol beside the former kings
4 ἀνέθεσαν, καὶ μοι θαυμάσαι τῆς συντυχίας ἐπέρχεται: ὡκώ γὰρ ἄμα αὐτῶν (ἔπτα μὲν ἐκεῖνοι, ὄγδος) ἐς τὸ γε Ἑρωτὸ τῷ τοὺς Ταρκυνίους καταλύσαντε) οὐσῶν παρὰ ταύτην τότε τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἑστηκαν, καὶ δῆτα καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὁτι μάλιστα ὁ Βρούτος ὁ Μάρκος κινήθεις ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ.

46 Ταύτ' ἐπὶ τῇ τῇ νίκη (λέγω δὲ οὐ πάντα, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτοῦ λογογ οἷς μοι ἐδοξέ), οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀλλ' ὡς ποιαν καὶ ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῃ καὶ σφόν ὁ Καίσαρ τοῖς μὲν χρήσαντα, ἄρσεν τοῖς ἐς ἐμελλέν, καὶ ἐκ τῇ μάλιστα τῶν καταλύσαντε.

2 αὐτῶν παρῆκατο. τὴν δ' οὖν ἄρχην τὴν ὑπατον παραχρῆμα μὲν, καὶ πρῶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν, ἀνέλαβεν, οὐ μετοι καὶ διὰ τέλους ἐσχέεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενόμενος ἀπείπε τῇ αὐτὴ καὶ τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ Κυίντῳ τῷ τῇ Τρεβονίῳ τῷ Γαίῳ ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ ἐπείδη γε ο Φάβιος τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῆς ὑπατείας ἡμέρα ἀπέθανεν, εὐθὺς ἀντ' αὐτὸν ἔτερον πρὸς τὰς περιλοίπους ὡς Γαίον.

3 ὁ Ὁρθιόν γι' Ῥήβιλον ἀνθείλετο. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τότε τούτῳ παρὰ τῷ καθέστηκεν ἐγένετο, τῷ μῆτε ἐτησίαν μῆτε ἐς πάντα τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρχὸν τῷ ἔτοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνην τῶν αὐτὸν ἐχειν, ἀλλὰ ζωτά τεινα αὐτὴς καὶ μὴ ἀναγκασθεῖν μῆτε ἐκ τῶν πατρίων μῆτε εἶ ἐπηγορίας τινὸς ἐκστήναι,

1 ὄγδος Bk., ὄγδοις L. 2 ὑ το Ἡ. Steph., το L.
3 Ταρκυνίους R. Steph., ταρκυνίους L.
4 τῇ supplied by Pflugk. 5 λέγω R. Steph., λέγω L.
6 ἔτερον R. Steph., ἐτερον L.
7 Καύνιον R. Steph., κάινιαν L (and so just below).
8 Ῥήβιλον Wagner, ρήβιλον L.
9 τῶν πατρίων Bk., pατρίων L.
of Rome. Now it occurs to me to marvel at the coincidence: there were eight such statues,—seven to the kings, and an eighth to the Brutus who overthrew the Tarquins,—and they set up the statue of Caesar beside the last of these; and it was from this cause chiefly that the other Brutus, Marcus, was roused to plot against him.

These were the measures that were passed in honour of his victory (I do not mention all, but as many as have seemed to me notable), not in one day, to be sure, but just as it happened, at different times. Caesar began to avail himself of some, and was intending to use others in the future, however emphatically he declined some of them. Thus he took the office of consul immediately, even before entering the city, but did not hold it through the whole year; instead, when he got to Rome he renounced it, turning it over to Quintus Fabius and Gaius Trebonius. When Fabius died on the last day of his consulship, he straightway named another man, Gaius Caninius Rebilus, in his place for the remaining hours. This was the first violation of precedent at this time, that one and the same man did not hold that office for a year or even for all the rest of the same year, but while living withdrew from it without compulsion from either ancestral custom or any accusation, and another took
4 καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτοῦ ἀντικαταστήναι. δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ὁ Καῦσίας ἀπεδείχθη τε ἀμα ὑπατος καὶ ὑπάτευσε καὶ ἐπαύσατο· ὅπερ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων διασκόπτων τοσαύτη ἔφη τὸν ὑπατον καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ φροντίδι ἐν τῇ ἄρχῃ κεχρήσθαι ὡστε μηδὲ τὸ
5 βραχύτατον ἐν αὐτῇ κεκοιμῆσθαι. ἐκ δὲ οὖν τοῦ χρόνου ἐκείνου ὑπέκειτο οἱ αὐτοὶ διὰ πάντος τοῦ ἔτους, πλήν ὠλίγων πάλαι γε, ὑπάτευσαν, ἀλλὶ ὡς ποινα ἔτους, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πλείονος οἱ δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἐλάτους, οἱ μὲν μηναὶ οἱ δὲ ἡμέρας, ἐπεί νῦν γε οὐδεὶς οὔτε ἐπ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν οὔτε ἐς πλείον διμήνου χρόνον
6 ὡς πλήθει σὺν ἐτέρῳ τινὶ ἄρχει. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν διαφέρομεν ἄλληλων, τὴν δὲ ἐξαρίθμησιν τῶν ἔτων οἱ κατὰ πρώτας αὐτῶν ὑπατεύοντες καρποῦνται. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τοὺς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀναγκαίοις ὀνομάσω, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν τῶν αἰτ πραττομένων δήλωσιν τοὺς πρώτους ἄρξαντας, καὶ μηδὲν ἔρθην οὐδὲ αὐτὰ παράσχονται.

47 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺς ὑπάτους ταῦτα οὕτως ἐγέρνησον· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια (τὴν γὰρ ἀπόδειξιν αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐδέξατο), ἐργά τοῦ ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ κατέστησαν, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐστὶν ἐκκριμάτος ἐξεπερμβάτης. ἀρχόμον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι δοσιμέρον καὶ πρότερον, στρατηγοὶ δὲ τεσσαρεσκαίδεα ταμίαι τε τεσσαράκοντα ἀπε- 

dείχθησαν. πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ πολλὰ ὑπεσχημένοι

1 οὔτε Bk., οὔτε L. 2 ἄρξατας Xyl., πράξαται L.
his place. Again, there was the fact that Caninius
was appointed consul, served, and ceased to serve
all at the same time. Hence Cicero jestingly re-
marked that the consul had displayed such great
bravery and prudence in office as never to fall asleep
in it for the briefest moment. So after that period
the same persons no longer (except a few in the
beginning) acted as consuls through the whole year,
but according to circumstances, some for a longer
time, some for a shorter, some for months, others
for days; indeed, at the present time no one serves
with any one else, as a rule, for a whole year or
for a longer period than two months. In general
we consuls to-day do not differ from one another,
but the naming of the years is the privilege of
those who are consuls at the beginning. Accord-
ingly, in the case of the other consuls I shall name
only those who were closely connected with the
events mentioned, but in order to secure perfect
clearness with regard to the succession of events, I
shall mention also those who first held office in each
year, even if they make no contribution to its
events.

While the consuls were appointed in this manner,
the remaining magistrates were nominally elected
by the plebs and by the whole people, in accordance
with ancestral custom, since Caesar would not accept
the appointment of them; yet really they were
appointed by him, and were sent out to the pro-
vinces without casting lots. As for their number,
all were the same as before, except that fourteen
praetors and forty quaestors were appointed. For,
since he had made many promises to many people,
 Dio's Roman History

ούκ εἰχεν ὅπως σφάς ἄλλως ἀμείψηται, καὶ
3 διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα ἐποίει, καὶ προσέτει παμπληθεῖς
μὲν ἐστὶν τὴν ἀφοσίαν, μηδὲν διακρίνων μητέρας ἐν
τῶι στρατιώτης μητέρας ἐν τῶι ἀπελευθέρων
παῖς ἦν, ἐσεῖρασεν, ὡστε καὶ ἐνακοσίους τὸ
κεφάλαιον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς
τοὺς εὐπατρίδας τοὺς τε ὑπατευκότας ἢ καὶ
4 ἀλλὰ  ἀρχήν τινα ἄρξαντας ἐγκατέλεξεν. εὐθυνοµένους τε ἐπὶ δόρωις τινὰς καὶ ἐξελεγχοµένους
γε ἀπέλυσεν, ὡστε καὶ αἰτίας ὁροδοκώσας ἐξεινεν
προσσυνελάβετο γὰρ τοῦ λόγου τοῦτον ὅτι καὶ
to τοὺς χώρονς τους δηµοσίους, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς θεβή-
λους ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς ιεροὺς, πάντας τε ἐξέδηκεν
ἐν τοῖς πρατήριοι, καὶ ἀπεκήρυξε τοὺς πλείονας.
5 συγνά δὲ οὖν ὅμως καὶ ἐν ἀργυρίῳ ὑπὲρ τὸν πράσει
τῶν χωρίων ἐστίν οἷς ἐνείμηκαν καὶ Δούκιῳ τῷ
Βασίλειος ἤγεµονίαν μὲν ἔθους οὐδεµίαν καὶ τοὺς
στρατηγοὺς προετρεψε, χρῆµατα δὲ ἄντι αὐτῆς
πάµπολλα ἔχασατο, ὡστε καὶ ἐπιβόητον αὐτὸν
ἐν τῇ πράξει, καὶ ὅτι προσπηλακισθεὶς
ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ἀντεκατέργησε.7
6 ταῦτα δὴ πάντα τοὺς μὲν λαµβάνοντι τῇ ἡ καὶ
προσδοκῶς ἐλπίσαθαι ἀρέστα ἐγκατέστηκε, μηδὲν τοῦ
κοινοῦ προτιµώσι πρὸς τὸ ἄει δὲ αὐτῶν ἀυξέσαθαι
οί δὲ ἀλλοι πάντες δεινῶς ἐφερον, καὶ πολλά
γε ἐλογοποίουν πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλήλους, καὶ ὅσοις
γε καὶ ἀσφαλεῖα τις ἦν, παρρησιαζόµενοι, καὶ
βιβλία δὲ ἀνώνυµα ἐκτίθενται.

1 ἐς Β., ἐπὶ Λ. 2 ἐνακοσίους Βκ., ἐνακοσίους Λ.
3 ἀλλὰ supplied by Nipperdey.
4 ἐξέδηκεν ἐς τὸ supplied by R. Steph.
5 Βασίλειος Βκ., βασίλειοι Λ. 6 ΤΕ Βκ., ΤΕ Λ.
7 ἀντεκατέργησε Βκ., ἀντεκατέργησε Λ. 8 ἐς Λ., ἐς Λ.

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he had no other way to reward them, and hence took this method. Furthermore, he enrolled a vast number in the senate, making no distinction whether a man was a soldier or the son of a freedman, so that the sum of them grew to nine hundred; and he enrolled many also among the patricians and among the ex-consuls and such as had held some other office. He released some who were on trial for bribery and were being proved guilty, so that he was charged with bribe-taking himself. This report was strengthened by the fact that he also put up at auction all the public lands, not only the profane, but also the consecrated lots, and sold most of them. Nevertheless, he granted ample gifts to some persons in the form of money or the sale of lands; and in the case of a certain Lucius Basilus, who was praetor, instead of assigning him a province he bestowed a large amount of money upon him, so that Basilus became notorious both on this account as well as because, when insulted during his praetorship by Caesar, he had held out against him. All this suited those citizens who were receiving or even expecting to receive something, since they had no regard for the public weal in comparison with the chance of the moment for their own advancement by such means. But all the rest took it greatly to heart and had much to say about it to each other and also—as many as felt safe in so doing—in outspoken utterances and the publication of anonymous pamphlets.
48 Ἐν δὲ ὦν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐκείνα τε ἐπράξεθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως δύο τῶν πολιανομοῦντων, ἐπειδὴ ταμίας οὐδές προεκεχειροτόνητο, ἐγένοντο, ὡσπερ γὰρ ποτε πρότερον, καὶ τότε ἐν τῇ ἁποδημίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος οἱ πολιανόμοι πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει πράγματα μετὰ τοῦ Λεπίδου

2 ἵππαρχοῦντος ἔσχον καὶ αἰτιαθέντες γε ὅτι καὶ βαθὺνόχιος καὶ τῇ ἐσθήτῃ τῷ τε δίφροι τοῖς ἀρχικοῖς, ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ ἱππαρχός, ἐκέχρητο, ἀφείθησαν, νόμον τινὰ προβιάλλομενοι διὸ οὐ πᾶσι τοῖς παρὰ δικτάτορος ἀρχήν τινα λαβοῦσι

3 χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοτο. τὸ δ’ ὦν κατὰ τὴν διοικήσιν, ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ ἀπερ εἴπον παρατατούειν, οὐκέτι τοῖς ταμίαις ἀεὶ ἐπετράπη, ἀλλὰ τὸ τελευταῖον τοῖς ἐστρατηγηκόσι προσετάχθη. τοὺς τε ὦν θησαυροὺς τοὺς δημοσίους δύο τότε τῶν πολιανομοῦντων διοίκησαν, καὶ τὰ Ἀπολλώνια ὁ ἐτερος αὐτῶν τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος παρασκευῆ

4 ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους τὰ Μεγαλήσια κατὰ δόγμα ἐποίησαν. πολιαρχός τε τῶς ἐν ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς καταστὰς ἔτερον αὐτὸς τῆς ύστεραιας ἅνθείλετο, καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἄλλον ὁ μήτε πρότερον μήθ᾿ υστερὸν ποτὲ ἐγένετο.

49 Τάντα μὲν τότε ἐπράξθη· τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, ἐν φ’ὁ Καίσαρ ἐδικτατορεύεσθαι τε ἀμα τὸ πέμπτον, ἵππαρχον τοῦ Λεπίδου προσλαβόν, καὶ ὑπάτευσε τὸ πέμπτον, συνάρχοντα τῶν Ἀυτώνων προσελπόμενοι, στρατηγοὶ τε ἐκκαίδεκα ἡρξαν (καὶ τούτο καὶ ἕπι πολλὰ ἔτη . . . 2), καὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐν μέσῳ ποὺ πρότερον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὁν ἐς τὸν νῦν τόπον

1 ἐκέχρητο R. Stoph., ἐκέχρητο L.
2 Some word like ἐγένετο, ἐγένετο, or συνέβη has fallen out.
In addition to these measures carried out that year, two of the city prefects took charge of the finances, since no quaestor had been elected. For just as on former occasions, so now in the absence of Caesar, the prefects managed all the affairs of the city, in conjunction with Lepidus as master of the horse. And although they were censured for employing lictors and the magisterial garb and chair precisely like the master of the horse, they got off by citing a certain law which allowed all those receiving any office from a dictator to make use of such trappings. The administration of the finances, after being diverted at this time for the reasons I have mentioned, was no longer invariably assigned to the quaestors, but was finally assigned to ex-praetors. Two of the city prefects then managed the public treasuries, and one of them celebrated the Ludi Apollinares at Caesar's cost. The plebeian aediles conducted the Ludi Megalenses in accordance with a decree. A certain prefect, appointed during the Feriae, himself chose a successor on the following day, and the latter a third; this had never happened before, nor did it happen again.

These were the events at this time. The next year, during which Caesar was at once dictator for the fifth time, with Lepidus as master of the horse, and consul for the fifth time, choosing Antony as his colleague, sixteen praetors were in power,—a custom, indeed, that was continued for many years,—and the rostra, which was formerly in the centre of the Forum, was moved back to its present
ἀνεχώρισθη, καὶ αὐτῶ δὴ τοῦ Σύλλου τοῦ τε
2 Πομπηίου εἰκών ἀπεδόθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τε τοῦτο εὐκλειαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔσχεν, καὶ ὁ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ αὐτῶ ἐπιγραφῆς παρεχόρησε. Θεατρῶν τε τι κατὰ τὸν Πομπηίου οἰκοδομήσαι ἐθελήσας προκατεβάλετο μὲν, οὐκ ἔξετέλεσε δὲ. ἄλλα τοῦτο μὲν ὁ Λύγιωςτος μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκποίησας ἀπὸ Μάρκου
3 Μαρκέλλου τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ ἐπωνόμασε· τὰς δὲ οἰκίας τοὺς τε ναοὺς τούς ἔν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐκεῖνῳ ὄντας ὁ Καῖσαρ καθελὼν αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν, ὡς τε τὰ ἀγάλματα, ξύλινα πλὴν οἶλιγον ὄντα, κατεκαυσε, καὶ θησαυροὺς χρημάτων συνυούσι εὑρὼν πάντας αὐτῶν ἐσφετερίσατο.

50 Ταῦτα τε ἐποίει καὶ νόμους ἐσέφερε τῷ τε πωμήριον ἐπὶ πλείον ἐπεζήγαγε. καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις ἄλλους τὲ τινὰς ὀμοία τῷ Σύλλα πράξαι ἐδοξεῖν ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τοῖς τε περιλειδεῖσα τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ τάς τε αἱτίας ἀφεῖναι καὶ
2 ἀδειαν ἐπὶ τε τῇ ἱση καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὀμοίᾳ δοῦναι, καὶ ἐκεῖνων τε τῶν ἀρχῶν προαγαγέων καὶ ταῖς γυναῖξι τῶν ἀπολολώτων τάς προίκας ἀποδοῦναι, τοῖς τε παισίν αὐτῶν μέρη τῶν ὀυσίων χαρίσασθαι, τὴν τοῦ Σύλλου μιαφονίαν μεγάλως ἤλεγξε, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀνδρεία μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐπὶ χρηστότητι ἰσχυρὸς εὐδοκίμησεν, καὶ τοῖς χαλεποῖς ὄν ὡς πλήθει τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ
3 διαπρέσαι. τούτοις τε οὐν ἐσεμμύνετο, καὶ ὁτι καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα τὴν τε Κόρινθον ἀνέστησεν.

1 te supplied by Bk.
2 προκατεβάλετο LeuncL., προκατελάβετο L.
3 ἀδελφιδοῦ R. Steph., ἀδελφιδοὺς L.
position; also the statues of Sulla and of Pompey
were restored to it. For this Caesar received
praise, and also because he yielded to Antony
both the glory of the work and the inscription on
it. Being anxious to build a theatre, as Pompey
had done, he laid the foundations, but did not finish
it; it was Augustus who later completed it and
named it for his nephew, Marcus Marcellus. But
Caesar was blamed for tearing down the dwellings
and temples on the site, and likewise because he
burned up the statues, which were almost all of
wood, and because on finding large hoards of money
he appropriated them all.

Besides this, he introduced laws and extended
the pomerium; in these and other matters his course
was thought to resemble that of Sulla. Caesar,
however, removed the ban from the survivors of
those who had warred against him, granting them
immunity on fair and uniform terms; he promoted
them to office; to the wives of the slain he restored
their dowries, and to their children he granted a
share of the property, thus putting Sulla's cruelty
mightily to shame and gaining for himself a great
reputation not alone for bravery but also for good-
ness, although it is generally a difficult thing for the
same man to excel both in war and in peace. This
was a source of pride to him, as was also the fact
that he had restored again Carthage and Corinth.
πολλάς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλας ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐξίω πόλεις τὰς μὲν ἀνιρκοδόμησε, τὰς δὲ καὶ 4 ἐκ καυνῆς κατεστήσατο· ἄλλα τούτο μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις τισιν ἐπέπρακτο, τὴν δὲ ὅθε Κόρινθου τὴν τε Καρχηδόνα, πόλεις ἀρχαίας λαμπρὰς ἐπι- σήμους ἀπολωλυόμενα, ᾗ 1 μὲν ἀποκιάζε τε Ρωμαίων ἐνόμισεν, ἀπόκικεν, 2 τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ὁνόμαισιν 5 ἐτίμησεν, ἀπέδωκεν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν ἐνοικησάντων ποτὲ αὐτᾶς, μηδὲν διὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνων ἐξήραν τοῖς χωρίοις τοὺς μηδὲν σφας ἀδικήσασι μνησικακῆ- σας.

Καὶ αἳ μὲν, ὅσπερ ἄμα πρῶτον καθηρέθησαν, οὐτω καὶ τότε ἀμα ἀνεβιόσκοντο καὶ ἐμελλον καὶ 51 αὐθις ἀνθῆσεν πράττοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐπι- θυμία τε πᾶσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὁμοίως ἐσῆλθε τιμωρήσαι τῷ τε Κράσσῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ φθαρέσαι, καὶ ἔλπις τότε, εἶπερ ποτὲ, τοὺς Πάρ- θους καταστρέψεσαι. 3 τὸν τε σοῦ πόλεμον τῷ Καίσαρι ὁμοθυμαδόν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὴν παρα- 2 σκευὴν αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, καὶ ὅπως ἐκείνος τε πλείοσιν ὑπηρέταις χρήσατι ἔχῃ, καὶ ἣ 4 πόλεις μὴ ἀνέφιλτον εἰς τῇ ἀποστολῇ αὐτοῦ γένηται μὴ αὐ καθ' ἑαυτὴν αἰρουμένη 5 τινὰς στασιάσῃ, διενοοῦτο μὲν καὶ ἔς τρία ἐτῆ αὐτοὺς προκαταστήσῃ (τοσοῦτον γὰρ χρόνου πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν χρῆσειν ἐδόκοιν) οὗ 3 μὲντοι καὶ πάντας προαπεδείξαν. ὑρείτο δὲ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ τοὺς ημίσεις ὁ Καίσαρ, ἐν νόμῳ τινι

1 ᾗ R. Steph., ἢ L.
2 καταστρέψεσαι Bl., καταστρέφασθαι L.
3 παρασκευὴν Rk., κατασκευὴν L.
4 ᾗ Rk., ἢ τε L.
5 αἰρουμένη R. Steph., αἰρουμένης L.
6 δὲ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ Bl., μὲν τῶι λόγῳ L.
BOOK XLIII

To be sure, there were many other cities in and outside of Italy which he had either rebuilt or founded anew; still, other men had done as much. But in the case of Corinth and Carthage, those ancient, brilliant, and distinguished cities which had been laid in ruins, he not only colonized them, in that he regarded them as colonies of the Romans, but also restored them in memory of their former inhabitants, in that he honoured them with their ancient names; for he bore no grudge, on account of the hostility of those peoples, towards places that had never harmed the Romans.

So these cities, even as they had once been demolished together, now began to revive together and bade fair to flourish once more. But while Caesar was thus engaged, a longing came over all the Romans alike to avenge Crassus and those who had perished with him, and they felt some hope of subjugating the Parthians then, if ever. They unanimously voted the command of the war to Caesar, and made ample provision for it. Among other details, they decided that he should have a generous number of assistants, and also, in order that the city should neither be without officials in his absence nor, again, by attempting to choose some on its own responsibility, fall into strife, that the magistrates should be appointed in advance for three years, this being the length of time they thought necessary for the campaign. Nevertheless, they did not designate them all beforehand. Nominally Caesar chose half of them, having a certain legal right to do this, but in reality
τούτο ποιησάμενον, ἔργῳ δὲ πάντας. καὶ ἐς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον ἐτος ταμία τεσσαράκοντα προεχειρίσθησαν ὡσπερ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἀγορανόμοι τὸτε πρῶτον δύο μὲν καὶ ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν, τέσσαρες δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους, ὅν οἱ δύο την ἀπὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἐπίκλησιν φέρουσιν, ὅπερ πού καὶ ἐς τὸδε ἐξ ἐκείνον καταδειχθεῖν ἐμμεμενήκε. στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἀπεδείχθησαν μὲν ἐκκαίδεκα: ἀλλ' οὐ τούτῳ γράφω (καὶ γὰρ πρὸςθεν ἐγεγόνεσαν) ἀλλ' ὅτι ¹ καὶ ὁ Πούπλιος ὁ Ὀυεντίδιος ² ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦρέθη. οὔτος γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐκ τοῦ Πικῆνου, ὡσπερ εὐρήται μοι, ἡν, ἀντιπολεμήσας δὲ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ὅτε οἱ σύμμαχοι σφίσιν ἐπολεμώθησαν, ἢλω τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ Στράβωνος καὶ ἐν τοῖς νικητρίοις αὐτοῦ διδακτοῦ εἵμπαται, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀφεθεὶς ἐς τὸ τοσοῦτον χρόνῳ ὑστερον ἑνεγράφη καὶ στρατηγὸς τότε ὑπὸ ³ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον γε προϊόν ἔπνευσθη δοστε καὶ τοὺς Πάρθους νικήσαι καὶ ἐπινίκια αὐτῶν πέμψαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῦ πρῶτον μετ' ἐκείνον ἐτει ἄρχοντες πάντες προκάτεστησαν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὸ δεύτερον οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι μονοὶ τοσοῦτον ἐδέσησι καὶ ἐς τὸ τρίτον των ἀποδειχθῆναι. καὶ ἐμελλε καὶ αὐτὸς δικτάτωρ ἐν ἀμφότεροῖς αὐτοῖς ἄρξειν, τοὺς τε ἱππαρχήσοντας ⁴ ἄλλοι τε τινα καὶ τοῦ Ὁκτάουνοι, καίπερ μειράκειν ἐτε καὶ τότε ὄντα, προεχειρίσατο. ἔς τε τοῦ παρόν, ἐν ὡ ταύτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὑπατον τε ἄνθ' ἑαυτῷ τοῖς Δολοβέλλιαν ἀντικατεστησε, ⁵ καὶ τοῦ Ὁκτώοις πάντα τὸν

¹ ἀλλ' ὅτι Bk., ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀλλοι τε Rk., ἀλλοι τε L.
² Ὀυεντίδιος R. Steph., Ὀυεντίδιος L.
³ ὅπο Rk., ὅποi L.
⁴ τοὺς τε ἱππαρχήσοντας Leuncl., τοὺς τε ἱππαρχήσοντας L.
⁵ ἀντικατέστησε R. Steph., ἀντικατέστησε L.

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he chose the whole number. For the first year, as previously, forty quaestors were elected, and now for the first time two patrician aediles as well as four from the plebs. Of the latter two have their title from Ceres,¹ a custom which, then introduced, has remained to the present day. And praetors were appointed to the number of sixteen; it is not of this, however, that I would write, since there had formerly been just as many, but of the fact that among those chosen was Publius Ventidius. He was originally from Picenum, as has been remarked, and fought against Rome when her allies were at war with her. He was captured by Pompeius Strabo,² and marched in chains in that general's triumph. Later he was released and subsequently was enrolled in the senate, and now was appointed praetor by Caesar; and he went on advancing until he finally conquered the Parthians and held a triumph over them. All were thus appointed in advance who were to hold office the first year after that, but for the second year only the consuls and tribunes; so far were they from appointing anybody for the third year. Caesar himself intended to be dictator both years, and designated as masters of horse another man and Octavius, though the latter was at that time a mere lad. For the time being, while this was going on, Caesar appointed Dolabella consul in his own stead, leaving Antony to finish out his

¹ The Aediles Cereales.
² The father of Pompey the Great.
ἐνιαυτὸν μέλλοντος ἅρξειν· καὶ τῷ Δεσπόδῳ τὴν τῇ 
Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν 
tὴν πλησιόχωρον προστάξας, δύο ἀντί αὐτοῦ·
έτέρους, ἵδια γε ἑκάτερον, ἵππαρχήσαι ἐποίησε. 
9 πολλοῖς γὰρ εὐεργεσίας ὁφείλων διὰ τε τῶν 
tοιούτων αὑτὰς καὶ διὰ τῶν ἱερωσυνών ἀπεδίδου, 
ἐς τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ἑνα καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐπτά αὖ 
καλομένους τρεῖς ἐτέρους προσαποδέξας.

1 αὐτοῦ St., αὐτῶν L. 2 εὐεργεσίας Louncl., εὐεργεσίαι L.
year in office. To Lepidus he assigned Gallia Narbonensis and Hither Spain, and appointed two men masters of horse in his place, each to act separately. For owing favours, as he did, to many persons, he repaid them by such appointments as these and by priesthoods, adding one man to the Quindecimviri, and three others to the Septemviri, as they were called.
BOOK XLIV

Τάδε ἐσταίν ἐν τῇ τετταρακοστῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Περὶ τῶν τῷ Καῖσαρὶ ψηφισθέντων.
β. Περὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν συστάσεως.
γ. Ἡ Καῖσαρ ἑσφάγη.
δ. Ὡς δόγμα ἐγένετο μὴ μηνησικαίειν αὐτοῦ άλλῆλους.
ε. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Καῖσαρος ταφῆς καὶ τοῦ ληχθέντος ἐπ’ αὐτῷ λόγου.

Χρόνου πλῆθος μέρος τι 1 τῆς Ἰουλίου Καῖσαρος δικτατορίας τὸ ε’ μετὰ Αιμιλίου Λεπίδου Ἰππάρχου καὶ ὑπατείας τὸ ε’ μετὰ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Καῖσαρ ταύθ’ οὗτος ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων ἐπράξεν, οἷστρος δὲ τισιν ἀληθηριώδης φθόνος τε τοῦ προήκοντος 2 καὶ μάσει τοῦ προτετιμμένου σφῶν προσπεσὼν ἐκείνων τε ἀνόμως ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ παντὸς ἀνασίου δόξης οἷομα προσλαβών, καὶ τὰ ψηφισθέντα διεσκέδασε, 2 στάσεις τε αὕτις ἐξ ὀμονοίας καὶ πολέμους ἐμφυλίους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παρεσκεύασεν ἔλεγον μὲν γὰρ καθαρέται τοῦ Καῖσαρος καὶ ἔλευθεροταί τοῦ δήμου γεγονόταί, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἐκείνω τε ἀσεβῶς ἐπεβουλεύεται καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρθῶς.

1 μέρος τι Ἰω., μέχρι L.
2 προήκοντος Leuncl., προσήκοντος L.
BOOK XLIV

The following is contained in the Forty-fourth of Dio's Rome:

About the decrees passed in honour of Caesar (chaps. 1-11).
About the conspiracy formed against him (chaps. 12-18).
How Caesar was murdered (chaps. 19-22).
How a decree was passed that the people should not bear malice against one another (chaps. 23-34).
About the burial of Caesar and the oration delivered over him (chaps. 35-53).

B.C. 44 Duration of time, a part of the fifth dictatorship of Julius Caesar, held in company with Aemilius Lepidus as master of the horse, and of his fifth consulship, held with Mark Antony.

All this Caesar did as a preliminary step to his campaign against the Parthians; but a baleful frenzy which fell upon certain men through jealousy of his advancement and hatred of his preferment to themselves caused his death unlawfully, while it added a new name to the annals of infamy; it scattered the decrees to the winds and brought upon the Romans seditions and civil wars once more after a state of harmony. His slayers, to be sure, declared that they had shown themselves at once destroyers of Caesar and liberators of the people; but in reality they impiously plotted against him, and they threw the city into disorder when at last it
2 ἦδη πολιτευομένην ἐστασίασαν. δημοκρατία γὰρ ὄνομα μὲν εὐσχημὸν ἔχει καὶ τινα καὶ ἱσομοιρίαν πᾶσιν ἐκ τῆς ἱσονομίας φέρειν δοκεῖ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἔργοις ἑξέγχεται μὴδὲν ὀμολογοῦσα τῷ προσρήματι καὶ τοῦνατιόν ἢ μοναρχία δυσχερές μὲν ἀκούσαι, χρησιμῶτατον δὲ ἐμπολιτεύσασθαι ἐστὶ. ῥᾷν τε γὰρ ἑνα τίνα χρηστὸν ἡ πολλοὺς
euerein, ἀν τε¹ καὶ τούτο χαλεπὸν τις εἶναι δοκῇ, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη² ἐκεῖνο γε ἀδύνατον ὀμολογηθῆραι εἶναι: οὐ γὰρ προσήκει τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρετὴν κτάσθαι. εἰ δὲ οὖν καὶ φαύλος τις αὐταρχὴς εἰσεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε³ πλήθους τῶν ὁμοίων αἱρετώτερὸς ἐστιν, ὅσπερ ποι καὶ τὰ ἔργα τα τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν.
3 τεκμηριω. τα τε γὰρ ἀμείων πολὺ μείζω καὶ πλείω καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἱδιώταις ἐκ βασιλέων ἡ δήμων ἅπει ποτε ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰ δυσχερέστερα ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἢ ταῖς ὀχλοκρατίαις συμβαίνει.⁴ εἰ γὰρ ποι καὶ δημοκρατία τίς ἠνθησεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν γε βραχεῖ χρόνῳ ἠκμασεν, μέχρις οὐ μήτε μέγεθος μῆτ' ἵσχυν ἐσχόν ὅστε ἡ ὑβρεις σφίσιν εἴ ἐυπραγίας ἢ φθόνους εἴ πλειοτομίας ἐγγενέσθαι.
4 πόλιν δὲ⁵ αὐτὴν τε τηλικάτην οὕσαν καὶ τοῦ τέ καλλίστον τοῦ τε πλείστον τῆς ἐμφανὸς οἰκουμένης ἄρχουσαν, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἡθη καὶ διάφορα κεκτημένην πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μεγάλους πλούτους ἔχουσαν, ταῖς τε πράξεσι καὶ ταῖς

¹ τε Bk., τε L.
² πᾶσα ἀνάγκη B. Steph., πᾶση ἀνάγκη L.
³ τε H. Steph., τε L.
⁴ One or more words with the meaning “fewer” or “more rarely” have evidently been lost from the text.
⁵ δὲ Rk., τε L.
possessed a stable government. Democracy, indeed, has a fair-appearing name and conveys the impression of bringing equal rights to all through equal laws, but its results are seen not to agree at all with its title. Monarchy, on the contrary, has an unpleasant sound, but is a most practical form of government to live under. For it is easier to find a single excellent man than many of them, and if even this seems to some a difficult feat, it is quite inevitable that the other alternative should be acknowledged to be impossible; for it does not belong to the majority of men to acquire virtue. And again, even though a base man should obtain supreme power, yet he is preferable to the masses of like character, as the history of the Greeks and barbarians and of the Romans themselves proves. For successes have always been greater and more frequent in the case both of cities and of individuals under kings than under popular rule, and disasters do [not] happen [so frequently] under monarchies as under mob-rule. Indeed, if ever there has been a prosperous democracy, it has in any case been at its best for only a brief period, so long, that is, as the people had neither the numbers nor the strength sufficient to cause insolence to spring up among them as the result of good fortune or jealousy as the result of ambition. But for a city, not only so large in itself, but also ruling the finest and the greatest part of the known world, holding sway over men of many and diverse natures, possessing many men of great wealth, occupied with every imaginable pursuit, enjoying every imaginable fortune, both
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tύχαις παντοδαπαίς καὶ ἴδια καὶ δημοσία χρωμένην, ἀδύνατον μὲν ἐν ἰδιοκρατίᾳ σωφρονήσαι, ἀδυνατώτερον δὲ μὴ σωφρονοῦσαν ὁμορρήσαι.

5 ὁστ' εἴπερ ταύτα οὕτως ὁ τε Βρούτος ὁ Μάρκος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ὁ Γάιος ἐξελογίσαντο, οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ τὸν τε προστάτην καὶ τὸν κηδεμόνα αὐτῆς ἀπεκτείνω, οὐδ' ἂν μυρίων αἰτὶοι κακῶν καὶ ἔστωτοι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις ἐγένοντο.

3 Ἡσσεὶ δὲ ὁδε, καὶ αἴτιαν τὴν ὁ βάνατος αὐτοῦ ἐλαβεν' οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀναίτιοι πάντη το ἐπίφθονο εὐκτήσατο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον αὐτοὶ οἱ βουλευται ταῖς τε καινοτησι καὶ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν τιμῶν ἐξάραντες τε αὐτῶν καὶ φυσήσαντες ἐπειτ' αὐταῖς ἐκείναις καὶ ἐμέμφυσον καὶ διέβαλλον ὡς ἠδέως τε σφαι λαμβάνοντα καὶ

2 ὁγκρότερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ξώντα. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε καὶ ὁ Καύσαρ ἡμαρτε, δεξάμενος τῇ τινα τῶν ψηφισθέντων οἱ καὶ πιστεύσας οὕτως αὐτῶν ἁξιόθεασιν, πλείστον δὲ ὁμοι εκείνω, οἴτινε ἄρξαμενοι τιμῶν αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἄξιον, προήγαγον 3 ἐσ αἰτίαν ὅσι εὐγνησίζοντο. οὔτε ἡ γὰρ διωθεῖσθαι πάντα αὐτὰ ἐτόλμα, μὴ καὶ ὑπερφρονεῖν νομισθεί, οὔτ' αὖ λαμβάνων ἄσφαλῆς εἶναι ἐδύνατο· τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον τῶν τε τιμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων χαυνοτέρους πως καὶ τοὺς πάνω σωφρονας, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἀληθῶς ἑγκυνεῖσθαι δοκῶσα, ποιεῖ.

4 Ἐγένετο δὲ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτῷ μετ' ἑκείνα ὅσα εἴρηται τοσάδε καὶ τοιάδε· καθ' ἐν γὰρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα ἀμα μήτε ἐσπνέχθη μήτε ἐκυρώθη,

1. οὕτε Βκ., οὐ Λ. 2 ἡδόνατο Στ., ἡδόνατο Λ. 3 ἄλλως τε Βκ., ἢστε Λ.
BOOK XLIV

individually and collectively,—for such a city, I say, to practise moderation under a democracy is impossible, and still more is it impossible for the people, unless moderation prevails, to be harmonious. Therefore, if Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius had only reflected upon these things, they would never have killed the city’s head and protector nor have made themselves the cause of countless ills both to themselves and to all the rest of mankind then living.

It happened as follows, and his death was due to the cause now to be given. He had aroused dislike that was not altogether unjustified, except in so far as it was the senators themselves who had by their novel and excessive honours encouraged him and puffed him up, only to find fault with him on this very account and to spread slanderous reports how glad he was to accept them and how he behaved more haughtily as a result of them. It is true that Caesar did now and then err by accepting some of the honours voted him and believing that he really deserved them; yet those were most blameworthy who, after beginning to honour him as he deserved, led him on and brought blame upon him for the measures they had passed. He neither dared, of course, to thrust them all aside, for fear of being thought contemptuous, nor, again, could he be safe in accepting them; for excessive honour and praise render even the most modest men conceited, especially if they seem to be bestowed with sincerity.

The privileges that were granted him, in addition to all those mentioned, were as follows in number and nature; for I shall name them all together, even if they were not all proposed or passed at one
2 λελέξεται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα δέρεσθαί τε αὐτὸν ἀεὶ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τὴν στολὴν τὴν ἐπινίκιον ἐνδεδυκότα, καὶ καθέξεσθαι ἔπὶ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ δίφρου πανταχῇ πλὴν ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν, ἐγγυσάντω τὸ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ δημαρχικοῦ βάθρου καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀεὶ δημαρχοῦντων θεάσθαι.
3 ἔλαβε. σκύλα τὲ τινα ὀπίμα ἐσ τοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου νεών ἀναθείναι οἱ ὀσπέρ τινα πολέμιον αὐτοπράτηγον αὐτοχειρία πεφονευκότη, καὶ τοῖς ῥαβδοῦχοις δαφνηφοροῦσιν ἀεὶ χρῆσθαι, μετὰ τὰς ἀνοχὰς τὰς Λατίνας ἐπὶ κέλητος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ ἐσελαύνειν ἔδοσαν. πρὸς τε τοῦτοι τοιοῦτοι οὐσὶ πατέρα τε αὐτὸν τῆς πατρίδος ἐπωνομάσαν καὶ ἐς τὰ νομίσματα ἐνεχάραξαν, τὰ τε γενέθλια αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ θύειν ἐγγυσάντω, καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεις τοῖς τε ναιός τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ πάσιν ἀνδριάντα τινὰ αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἐκέλευσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ γε τοῦ βῆματος δύο, τὸν μὲν ὡς τοὺς πολίτας σεσωκότος τὸν δὲ ὡς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ πολυορκίας ἐξηρημένου, μετὰ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτως νεωμοσεμένων ἱδρύσαντο. νεὼν τε Ὅμοιόν ταῦτα καῖρην, ὡς καὶ δὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρήνοιντες, οἰκοδομήσατε, καὶ πανήγυριν αὐτῇ ἐτησίαν ἀγείν
5 ἔγρωσαν. ὡς δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔδεξατο, τὰ τε ἑλή οἱ τὰ Πομπτίνα 7 χώσαι καὶ τοῖς ἱσθμοῖς τῶν τῆς Πελοποννήσου διορύξαι βουλευτηρίων τε τὶ καινὸν ποιῆσαι προσέταξαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ Ὅστίλιον καίπερ 2 ἀνοικοδομηθὲν καθηρέθη, πρόφασιν μὲν τοῦ ναὸν

1 θεάσθαι Rk., θεάσασθαι L.
2 πεφονευκότη Bk., τοι πεφονευκότη L.
3 κέλητος Reim., κέλητα L.
4 αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὐτῶν L.
5 αὐτῇ Leunc., αὐτὴν L.
6 ὡς de Bk., ὡςτε L.
7 Πομπτίνα R. Steph., πομπίνα L.
time. First, then, they voted that he should always ride, even in the city itself, wearing the triumphal dress, and should sit in his chair of state everywhere except at the games; for at those he received the privilege of watching the contests from the tribunes' benches in company with those who were tribunes at the time. And they gave him the right to offer *spolia opima*, as they are called, at the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, as if he had slain some hostile general with his own hand, and to have lictors who always carried laurel, and after the Feriae Latinae to ride from the Alban Mount into the city on horseback. In addition to these remarkable privileges they named him father of his country, stamped this title on the coinage, voted to celebrate his birthday by public sacrifice, ordered that he should have a statue in the cities and in all the temples of Rome, and they set up two also on the rostra, one representing him as the saviour of the citizens and the other as the deliverer of the city from siege, and wearing the crowns customary for such achievements. They also resolved to build a temple of Concordia Nova, on the ground that it was through his efforts that they enjoyed peace, and to celebrate an annual festival in her honour. When he had accepted these, they assigned to him the charge of filling the Pontine marshes, cutting a canal through the Peloponnesian isthmus, and constructing a new senate-house, since that of Hostilius, although repaired, had been demolished. The reason assigned for its destruction was that a
Εὐτυχίας ἐνταῦθ᾿ οἰκοδομηθῆναι, ὅν καὶ ὁ Δέπιδος ἰππαρχῆσας ἐξεποίησεν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως μὴ τε ἐν ἐκείνῳ τοῦ Σύλλου ὄνομα σώζοιτο καὶ ἔτερον ἐκ καὶ ἂν κατασκευασθήν Ἰουλίου ὀνομασθείη, ὅσπερ που καὶ τὸν τε μὴν ἐν ᾧ ἐγεγένητο 1 Ἰουλίου καὶ τὸν φυλὸν μίαν τὴν κλήρῳ λαχεύσαι Ιουλίαν ἐπεκάλεσαν. καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν τιμητὴν καὶ μόνον καὶ διὰ βίου εἶναι, τὰ τοῖς δημάρχοις δεδομένα καρποῦσθαι, ὅπως, ἢ τὸς ἦ ἔργῳ ἢ καὶ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ ὑβρίση, 2 ἱερὸς τε ἢ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἁγεὶ ἑνέχθαι, τὸν δὲ ὅπι σῶ, ἢ τὴν ἁγιασμὴν ἢ καὶ ἐσποιησθῇ, ἢ ἀρχερέα ἀποδειχθεῖν ἢ βίων ἐφεσαντο, ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐχαρεῖ, δίφρος τε οἱ ἑπιχρυσοί, καὶ στόλη ἦ ποτε οἱ βασιλῆς ἑκέχρητο, φρούρια τε ἔκ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ ἐκ τῶν Βουλευτῶν ἐδοθή καὶ προσέτει καὶ εὐχέσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δημοσία καὶ ἔσκεψαν, τὴν τε τύχην αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦτα, καὶ τὰ πραξ-θησόμενα αὐτῷ πάντα κύρια ἐξειν ἐνόμισαν. 3 καὶ τούτων καὶ πενταετηρίδα οἱ ὄς ἦρωι, ἱερό-ποιοὺς τε ἐς τὰς τῶν Πανός γυμνοπαιδίας, τρίτην τὴν ἑταίριαν ἦν Ἰουλίαν ὀνόμασαν, 4 καὶ ταῖς ὀπλομαχίαις μιᾶς τινᾶ ἑκι ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν τῇ Ρώμη 3 καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλήν Ιταλία ἀνέβεσαν. καὶ ἑπείδη καὶ τούτων ἥρεσκετο, οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὰ τὰ διάμεσα τοῦ τε δίφρον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἑπίχρυσον καὶ τῶν στέφανον τῶν διάλειψαν καὶ διάχρυσον, εἰς ἅυτον τοῖς τῶν θεῶν, ἐσκομῆσθαι καὶ ταῖς ἰπποδρομίαις ὅχον 6 ἔσαγγεσ- 1 ἐγεγένητο R. Steph., ἐγεγένητο L.  2 ὀβρίση R. Steph., ὀβρίση L.  3 ἢ Reim., ἢ L.  4 ἐσποιησθῇ Reim., ἐσποιησθῇ L.  5 ὀνόμασαν R. Steph., ὀνόμασαντε L.  6 ὅχον Casaub., ἔχλος L.
BOOK XLIV

temple of Felicitas was to be built there, which Lepidus, indeed, brought to completion while master of the horse; but their real purpose was that the name of Sulla should not be preserved on it, and that another senate-house, newly constructed, might be named the Julian, even as they had called the month in which he was born July, and one of the tribes, selected by lot, the Julian. And they voted that Caesar should be sole censor for life and should enjoy the immunities granted to the tribunes, so that if any one insulted him by deed or word, that man should be an outlaw and accursed, and further that Caesar's son, should he beget or even adopt one, should be appointed high priest. As he seemed to like all this, a gilded chair was granted him, and a garb that the kings had once used, and a body-guard of knights and senators; furthermore they decided that prayers should be offered for him publicly every year, that they should swear by Caesar's Fortune, and should regard as valid all his future acts. Next they bestowed upon him a quadrennial festival, as to a hero, and a third priestly college, which they called the Julian, as overseers of the Lupercalia, and one special day of his own each time in connection with all gladiatorial combats both in Rome and the rest of Italy. When he showed himself pleased with these honours also, they accordingly voted that his golden chair and his crown set with precious gems and overlaid with gold should be carried into the theatres in the same manner as those of the gods, and that on the occasion of the games in the Circus his chariot should be brought in.
4 θαί ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ τέλος Δία τε αὐτῶν ἀντικρυς Ἰουλίων προσηγόρευσαν, καὶ ναὸν αὐτῷ τῇ τ' Ἐπιεικεία αὐτοῦ τεμενισθήναι ἔρισαν, ἱερέα σφίσε τὸν 'Αντώνιον ὑσσερ τινὰ Διάλυον προχειρισάμενοι.

7 Καὶ ἂ γε μάλιστα τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἔζειφηνεν, ἀμα τε ταύτα ἐψηφίζοντο καὶ τάφον αὐτῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ πομηρίου ποίησασθαι ἔδοσαν τά τε δούματα τά περὶ τούτων γιγνόμενα ἐς μὲν στῆλας ἀργυρᾶς χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν ἐνέγραψαν, ὡς δὲ δὴ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Διός τοῦ Καπίτωλίου ὑπέθεσαν, ὑπε- λούντες οἱ καὶ μάλα ἑναρχόσ ὃτι ἀνθρωπος εἰη.

2 ἤρξαντο μὲν γὰρ τιμᾶν αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ μετριάσοντας προχωροῦντες δὲ, ἐπειδὴ χαίροντα τοὺς ψηφίζομενοι εἴρησαν (πλὴν γὰρ ὄλγων τινῶν πάντα αὐτὰ ἐδέξατο), ἀεὶ τι μεῖζον ἄλλο ἄλλο καθ' ὑπε- βολὴν ἐσεφερον, οἱ μὲν ὑπερκολακεύοντες αὐτῶν οἱ δὲ καὶ διασκόπτοντες. ἄμελεί καὶ γυναῖξιν ὅσαις ἀν ἑθελήσῃς συνείναι οἱ ἐτόλμησάν τινας ἐπι- τρέψαι, ὅτι πολλαὶς καὶ τότε ἐτί, καὶ περι περι- κοντούτης οὐ, ἔκρητο. ἔτεροι δὲ, καὶ οἱ γε πλείους, ἐς τὸ τὸ ἐπίθθον καὶ ἐς τὸ νεμεστὶ προάγειν αὐτῶν ὃτι τάχιστα βουλόμενοι τοῦτ' ἑποίουν, ἦνα ἑβάσσων ἀπόληται. ὅτε ποιν ζύγενετο, καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ δι' αὐτὰ ταύτα βαρσίσαντος ὃς οὐκ ἀν ποτε οὔθ' ὑπ' ἐκεῖνων τοιαύτα γε ψηφίζομενον οὔθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου τινός δι' αὐτοὺς ἐπιβουλευθησομένου, κὼς τούτου οὐδὲ σωματοφύλαξιν ἐτί χρησαμένου: τῷ γὰρ δὴ λόγῳ τοῖς πρὸς τὲ τῶν

1 τ' supplied by Reim.  2 αει R. Steph., ἀλλ' ει Λ.
3 έθελήσῃ Βκ., θελήσῃ Λ.  4 οὔθ' Bk., δὲ Λ.
5 τὸ Leuncl., τῶι Λ.
BOOK XLIV

And finally they addressed him outright as Jupiter Julius and ordered a temple to be consecrated to him and to his Clemency, electing Antony as their priest like some flamen Dialis.

At the same time with these measures they passed another which most clearly indicated their disposition: it gave him the right to place his tomb within the pomerium; and the decrees regarding this matter they inscribed in golden letters on silver tablets and deposited beneath the feet of Jupiter Capitolineus, thus pointing out to him very clearly that he was a mortal. When they had begun to honour him, it was with the idea, of course, that he would be reasonable; but as they went on and saw that he was delighted with what they voted,—indeed he accepted all but a very few of their decrees,—different men at different times kept proposing various extravagant honours, some in a spirit of exaggerated flattery and others by way of ridicule. At any rate, some actually ventured to suggest permitting him to have intercourse with as many women as he pleased, because even at this time, though fifty years old, he still had numerous mistresses. Others, and they were the majority, followed this course because they wished to make him envied and hated as quickly as possible, that he might the sooner perish. And this is precisely what happened, though Caesar was encouraged by these very measures to believe that he should never be plotted against by the men who had voted him such honours, nor, through fear of them, by any one else; and consequently he even dispensed henceforth with a body-guard. For nominally he accepted the privilege of being watched over
βουλευτῶν καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἵππεων τηρεῖσθαι προσέμενοι, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν φρουράν προσκατέλυσεν. ἔπειδὴ γὰρ ἦν μιᾷ ποτε ἡμέρα τὰ τε πλείω καὶ τὰ μεῖζον σφῶν ψηφισάμενοι (πλὴν γὰρ τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων, οἱ περιβοῦτοι ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐγένοντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπάθον τι, ἐξ οὐπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἡ ἐπιείκεια αὐτοῦ διεφάνη, τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ὀμοθυμαδὸν ἐγνώσθη) προσῆλθον αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου προαύῳ καθήμενο ὡς καὶ πάντες ἀμα τὰ δεδομένα σφίσιν ἀπαγγελοῦντες ἑκ τοῦτον πάσιν, οὐχ οὐ γραφεῖ παλεοὶ ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, τοσαύτην ἐνέβαλεν ὡστε ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πρόφασιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τοῖς ἀποκτείνασιν αὐτῶν παρασχεῖν. ἔλεγον μὲν γὰρ ἀπολογούμενοι τινες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι τῆς τε κοσκίας ἀκρατῆς ὑπὸ διαρροῖας ἐγεγόνει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἵνα μὴ ἔξετος, κατέμενεν οὐ μέντοι καὶ πείθειν τοὺς πολλούς ἐδώσαντο διὰ τὸ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐξεγερθέντα αὐτὸν αὐτοποιίδι οὐκάδε κομισθήναι, ἀλλ' ὑπετόπουν τε αὐτῶν ὑπερακοῦσιν, καὶ δὴ ἐμίσουν ὅς ὑπερήφανον ὅν αὐτοὶ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν τιμῶν ὑπέρφρονα ἐπεποιήκεσαν. τοῦτον δὲ δὴ τοιούτων γενομένου προσεπηφύσῃ τὴν ὑποψίαν ὅτι καὶ δικτάτωρ διὰ βίου μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποδειχθεῖς ἴνεσχετο.

1 προσέμενοι Be., προσέμενοι L.
2 καθήμενοι Xiph., καθήμενοι L.
3 το Pflugk, τε L.
4 δὴ ἐμίσουν Rk., ἐμίσουν L.
by the senators and knights, and so dismissed the guard he had previously had. Indeed, when once they had voted to him on a single day an unusually large number of these honours of especial importance,—which had been granted unanimously by all except Cassius and a few others, who became famous for this action, yet suffered no harm, whereby Caesar's clemency was conspicuously revealed,—they then approached him as he was sitting in the vestibule of the temple of Venus in order to announce to him in a body their decisions; for they transacted such business in his absence, in order to have the appearance of doing it, not under compulsion, but voluntarily. And either by some heaven-sent fatuity or even through excess of joy he received them sitting, which aroused so great indignation among them all, not only the senators but all the rest, that it afforded his slayers one of their chief excuses for their plot against him. Some who subsequently tried to defend him claimed, it is true, that owing to an attack of diarrhoea he could not control the movement of his bowels and so had remained where he was in order to avoid a flux. They were not able, however, to convince the majority, since not long afterwards he rose up and went home on foot; hence most men suspected him of being inflated with pride and hated him for his haughtiness, when it was they themselves who had made him disdainful by the exaggerated character of their honours. After this occurrence, striking as it was, he increased the suspicion by permitting himself somewhat later to be chosen dictator for life.
9 Ἐνταῦθα οὖν αὐτῶν ὀντός οὐδὲν ἐτί ἐνδοιαστῶς οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντες οἱ ἐπραττον, ἀλλά ὅπως δὴ καὶ τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις ἐν μίσει γένηται, ἀλλὰ τε ἐπὶ διαβολῇ αὐτοῦ ἐποίουν καὶ τέλος βασιλέα αὐτοῦ προσηγόρευον, καὶ πολὺ τοῦτο τούνομα καὶ κατὰ σφᾶς διεθρύλουν. ἔπειδὴ τε ἐξίστατο μὲν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπετίμα πη τοῖς οὕτως αὐτῶν ἐπικαλοῦσιν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔπραξε τι δι᾽ οὐ ἀν ἀχθεσθαι τῷ προσρήματι ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπιστευθῇ, τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος.

3 ἑστῶσαν διαδῆματι λάθρα ἄνέδησαν. καὶ αὐτὸ Γαίου τε Ἐπιδίου Μαρύκλου καὶ Δουκίου Καίσατιον Φλάουνυ δημάρχου καθελόντων ἰσχυρῶς ἐχαλέπην, κατεύχοντο μητε τι ὑβριστικὸν αὐτῶν εἰπόντων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπαινεσάντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πλῆθει ὡς μηδενὸς τοιούτου δεόμενον. καὶ τότε μὲν καίπερ ἀσχάλλων ἰσόχαιρεν ὡς μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο ἐσπεύσαντα αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ βασιλέα αὐθίς τινες ὄνομασαν, καὶ αὐτός μὲν οὐκ ἔφη βασιλεὺς ἀλλὰ Καίσαρ καλείσθαι, οἱ δὲ δὴ δήμαρχοι ἐκεῖνοι καὶ δίκην τῷ πρῶτῳ αὐτῶν εἰπόντι ἑλαχον, οὐκέτι τὴν ὀργήν κατέσχεν, ἀλλ’ ὡς καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων προστασιαζόμενος ὑπερηγανάκτησε.

2 καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ παροῦντι οὖνδείν δεινὸν αὐτῶν ἐδρασεν, ύστερον δὲ σφῶν προγραφήν ἐκθέντων ἡς οὔτε ἐλευθέραν οὔτ’ ἀσφαλῆ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ παρασίαν ἐχόντων περιοργῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ παραγαγὼν σφας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον κατη-

1 ὡς R. Steph., ὡς L. cod. Peir.
2 προστασιαζόμενος Reim., προστασιαζόμενος L. cod. Peir.
3 προγραφή R. Steph., προγραφήν L.
BOOK XLIV

When he had reached this point, the men who were plotting against him hesitated no longer, but in order to embitter even his best friends against him, they did their best to traduce him, finally saluting him as king, a name which they often used also among themselves. When he kept refusing the title and rebuking in a way those who thus accosted him, yet did nothing by which it could be thought that he was really displeased at it, they secretly adorned his statue, which stood on the rostra, with a diadem. And when the tribunes, Gaius Epidius Marullus and Lucius Caesetius Flavus, took it down, he became violently angry, although they uttered no word of abuse and moreover actually praised him before the populace as not wanting anything of the sort. For the time being, though vexed, he held his peace. Subsequently, however, when he was riding in from the Alban Mount and some men again called him king, he said that his name was not king but Caesar; but when the same tribunes brought suit against the first man who had termed him king, he no longer restrained his wrath but showed great irritation, as if these very officials were really stirring up sedition against him. And though for the moment he did them no harm, yet later, when they issued a proclamation declaring that they were unable to speak their mind freely and safely on behalf of the public good, he became exceedingly angry and brought them into the senate-house, where he
γορίαν τε αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο καὶ ψῆφον ἐπήγαγε.

3 καὶ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε μὲν αὑτούς, καίτοι καὶ τούτον τινῶν τιμησάντων σφίσι, προαπαλλάξας δὲ ἐκ τῆς δημαρχίας διὰ Ἑλονίου Κίννου συνάρχοντος αὐτῶν ἀπῆλειψεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔχαιρον τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἵπε καὶ ἐπλάττωντο, ὡς οὐδεμίαν ἀνάγκην ἔξοντες παρρησιαζόμενοι κινδυνεύσαν, καὶ ἐξω τῶν πραγμάτων δύνα τὰ γιγνόμενα ὡσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπίας καθεσώροιν οὖ δε ἔπὶ Καίσαρ καὶ ἐκ τούτου διεξήθη, ότι δεόν αὐτὸν τοὺς τὸ ὄνομα οἱ τὸ ἐ βασιλέως προστίθεντας μισεῖν, οὔ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀφεῖς τοῖς δημάρχοις ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἐνεκάλει.

11 Τούτων δὲ οὖν οὗτοι γενομένων τοιούτῳ τι ἐπεροῦν, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν συνενεχθείς, ἐπὶ πλέον ἐξῆλεγξεν ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν διεκροώτο τὴν ἐπίκλησιν, ἐργῷ δὲ λαβεῖν ἐπεθύμει. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τῶν Λυκαίων γομνοπαιδία ἐς τὴν ἄγοραν ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τῇ τε ἐσθητή τῇ βασιλικῇ κεκοσμημένος καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τῷ διαχρύσῳ λαμπρυνόμενος ἐς τὸν δίφρον τῶν κεχρυσωμένων ἑκαβίζετο, καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀντώνιος βασιλέα τε μετὰ τῶν συνιερέων προσηγόρευσε καὶ διαδήματι ἀνέδησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "τούτῳ σοι ὁ δήμος δι' ἐμοῦ διδώσων," ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν ὅτι "Ζεὺς μόνος τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως εἶν," καὶ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐπέμψεν, οὖ μέντοι καὶ ὁργήν ἐσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐγγραφῆναι ἐποίησεν ὅτι τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ

1 σκοπίας Hemsterhuis, σκίας L.
2 τὸ Bk., τοῦ L.
3 ἀγορὰν Xyl., βασιλείαν L.
4 ἐς His., καὶ L.
5 Zeus supplied by R. Steph.
6 αὐτῷ Rk., αὐτὸ L.
accused them and put their conduct to the vote. He did not put them to death, though some declared them worthy even of that penalty, but he first removed them from the tribuneship, on the motion of Helvius Cinna, their colleague, and then erased their names from the senate. Some were pleased at this, or pretended to be, thinking they would have no need to incur danger by speaking out freely, and since they were not themselves involved in the business, they could view events as from a watch tower. Caesar, however, received an ill name from this fact also, that, whereas he should have hated those who applied to him the name of king, he let them go and found fault with the tribunes instead.

Another thing that happened not long after these events proved still more clearly that, although he pretended to shun the title, in reality he desired to assume it. For when he had entered the Forum at the festival of the Lupercalia and was sitting on the rostra in his gilded chair, adorned with the royal apparel and resplendent in his crown overlaid with gold, Antony with his fellow-priests saluted him as king and binding a diadem upon his head, said: "The people offer this to you through me." And Caesar answered: "Jupiter alone is king of the Romans," and sent the diadem to Jupiter on the Capitol; yet he was not angry, but caused it to be inscribed in the records that he had refused to accept the kingship when offered to him by the
τοῦ δήμου διὰ τοῦ ὑπάτου διδομένην οἱ οὐκ ἐδέξατο. ὑποπτεύθη τε οὖν ἐκ συγκειμένου τινὸς αὐτοῦ πεποιηκέναι, καὶ ἐφίεσθαι μὲν τοῦ ὄνοματος, βούλεσθαι δὲ ἐκβιασθῆναι πῶς λαβεῖν αὐτό,
4 καὶ δεινῶς ἐμισήθη, κακὸς τούτου τοὺς τε δη-
μάρχους ἐκεῖνους ὑπάτους τινὲς εὐ ταῖς ἀρχαί-
ρεσιαῖς προεβάλοντο, καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν
Μάρκον τοὺς τε ἅλλους τοὺς φρονηματόδεις ἰδία
tε προσίστοις ἀνέπειθον καὶ δημοσία προσπαρω-

12 Ξυνον. γράμματά τε γὰρ, τῇ ὁμονυμίᾳ αὐτοῦ
tῇ πρὸς τὸν πάνυ Βροῦτον τὸν τὸς Ταρκυνίους 1
καταλύσαντα καταχρόμενοι, πολλὰ ἐξετίθεσαν,
φημίζοντες αὐτῶν ψευδῶς ἀπόγονον ἐκεῖνον εἶναι
ἀμφοτέρους γὰρ τοὺς παιδας, τοὺς μόνους ἰ
γενομένους, μετάκιμα ἐτὶ ὄντας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ
2 οὖν ἐγγονὸν ὑπελήπτετο. 2 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτο
tε οἱ πολλοὶ, ὅπως ὦς καὶ γένει προσήκοι 3 αὐτὸ
ἐς 4 ὁμοίοτροπα ἐργα προαχθεῖν, ἐπλάττοντο, καὶ
συνεχῶς ἀνεκάλουν αὐτὸν, “ὁ Βροῦτε Βροῦτε”
ἐκβιούσας, καὶ προσπειλέγοντες ὅτι “Βροῦτον
3 χρῆσομεν.” καὶ τέλος τῇ τε τοῦ παλαιοῦ Βροῦτον
eἰκόνι ἐπέγραψαν “εἰδε ἐξῆς,” καὶ τοῦ τοῦτο
βῆματι (ἐστρατήγη γὰρ καὶ βῆμα καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο
ὁνομάζεται ἐφ’ οὐ τις ἵζομενος δικάζει) ὅτι
“καθεύδεις, ὃ Βροῦτε” καὶ “Βροῦτος οὐκ εἰ.”
13 Ταῦτα τε οὖν αὐτῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς
ἀντιπολεμήσαντα τὸν Καίσαρι, ἀνέπεισεν ἐπιθέσ-
θαι οἱ καὶ περ εὐεργήτη μετὰ τοῦτο γενομένω,

1 Ταρκυνίους R. Steph., ταρκυνίους L.
2 ὑπελήπτετο R. Steph., ὑπελείπτετο L.
3 προσήκοιν Leuncl., προσήκοιν L.
4 ἐς R. Steph., ἄτι καὶ L.
people through the consul. It was accordingly sus-
pected that this thing had been deliberately arranged
and that he was anxious for the name, but wished
to be somehow compelled to take it; consequently
the hatred against him was intense. After this cer-
tain men at the elections proposed for consuls the
tribunes previously mentioned, and they not only
privately approached Marcus Brutus and such other
persons as were proud-spirited and attempted to
persuade them, but also tried to incite them to
action publicly. Making the most of his having the
same name as the great Brutus who overthrew the
Tarquins, they scattered broadcast many pamphlets,
declaring that he was not truly that man's de-
cendant; for the older Brutus had put to death
both his sons, the only ones he had, when they were
mere lads, and left no offspring whatever. Never-
theless, the majority pretended to accept such a
relationship, in order that Brutus, as a kinsman of
that famous man, might be induced to perform
deeds as great. They kept continually calling upon
him, shouting out "Brutas, Brutus!" and adding
further "We need a Brutus." Finally on the statue
of the early Brutus they wrote "Would that thou
wert living!" and upon the tribunal of the living
Brutus (for he was prætor at the time and this is
the name given to the seat on which the prætor
sits in judgment) "Brutas, thou sleepest," and
"Thou art not Brutus."

Now these were the influences that persuaded
Brutus to attack Caesar, whom he had opposed from
the beginning in any case, although he had later ac-
cepted benefits from him. He was also influenced
καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Κάτωνος τοῦ Ὅυτικησίου κληθέντος, ὥσπερ εἰπον, καὶ ἀδελφίδοις καὶ γαμβρὸς ἦν. καὶ μόνη γε γυναικῶν ἡ γαμετὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ Πορκία

2 τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, ὡς φασί, συνέγνω. φροντίζοντι γὰρ τι αὐτὸ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἐπιστάσα ἀνεπόθετο ὅ τι σύννοις εἰη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, ὑπόπτευσε τε διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν ἀπιστεῖσθαι, μὴ καὶ ἀκούσα τι ἐκ βασάνων ἐξεῖπη, καὶ πράγμα μέγα ἐτόλμησε.

3 τον γὰρ μηρὸν τὸν ἑαυτῆς κρύφα κατέτρωσεν, ὅπως πειραθεὶς εἰ δύνατο πρὸς αἰκισμοὺς ἀντικαρτερῆσαι· καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ περιήλθησε, κατεφρόνησε τοῦ τραύματος καὶ προσέκλυσα αὐτῷ ἐφη “σὺ μὲν, ὦ ἄνερ, καίτοι τῇ ψυχῇ μου πιστεύων ὅτι οὔδεν ἐκλαλήσει, ὃμως ἡ πίστεως τοῦ σώματι, καὶ ἐπαισχέσεις γε τι ἄνθρωπον ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εὐρήκα σιωπᾶν δυνάμενον.” ταῦτα εἰποῦσα τὸν τε μηρὸν ἐπέδειξεν οἱ, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ γεγονότος ἐκφήνασα ἐφη “λέγε τοίνυν χαρῶν πάνθ’ ὡσα συνχρύπτεσι· ἐμὲ γὰρ ὦ πῦρ, οὐ μᾶστιγες, οὐ κέντρα ἀναγκάσει τι ἐκλαλήσαι· οὐχ οὔτω γυνὴ γεγένημαι. ὅσα, ἃν γε ἀπιστήσῃς μοι ἕτε, καλὸς ἔχει μοι τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἡ ἐξή ἢ μηκέτι με μηδεὶς μήτε Κάτωνος θυγατέρα μήτε σὴν γυναίκα νομίζετο.” ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Βρούτος ἐθαύμασε, καὶ οὔδεν ἔτ' αὐτὴν ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς τε ἐτ' μᾶλλον ἐρρώσθη καὶ 2 ἐκείνη πάντα διηγήσατο· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν Κάσσιον τὸν Γάιον, σωθέντα μὲν καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάσσαρος καὶ προσέτι καὶ στρατηγία τιμηθέντα, τῆς δὲ ἀδελφῆς ἀνδρὰ ὄντα, προσέλαβε· κακὸ τοὺ·

1 ἔχουσι οἱ R. Steph., ἔχουσι L., 2 δ' ἐκ Bk., τε L.
BOOK XLIV

by the fact that he was both nephew and son-in-law of that Cato who was called Uticensis, as I have stated. And his wife Portia was the only woman, as they say, who was privy to the plot. For she came upon him while he was pondering over these very matters and asked him why he was so thoughtful. When he made no answer, she suspected that she was distrusted on account of her physical weakness, for fear she might reveal something, however unwillingly, under torture; hence she ventured to do a noteworthy deed. She secretly inflicted a wound upon her own thigh, to test herself and see if she could endure torture. And as soon as the first intense pain was past, she despaired the wound, and coming to him, said: "You, my husband, though you trusted my spirit that it would not betray you, nevertheless were distrustful of my body, and your feeling was but human. But I have found that my body also can keep silence." With these words she disclosed her thigh, and making known the reason for what she had done, she said: "Therefore fear not, but tell me all you are concealing from me, for neither fire, nor lashes, nor goads will force me to divulge a word; I was not born to that extent a woman. Hence, if you still distrust me, it is better for me to die than to live; otherwise let no one think me longer the daughter of Cato or your wife." Hearing this, Brutus marvelled; and he no longer hid anything from her, but felt strengthened himself and related to her the whole plot. After this he obtained as an associate Gaius Cassius, who had also been spared by Caesar and moreover had been honoured with the praetorship; and he was the husband of Brutus' sister. Next they pro-
τον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ σφισὶ βουλομένους·
καὶ ἔγενοντο μὲν οὐκ ὁλίγοι· ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὀνόματα οὔδὲν δέομαι
catalέγειν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι’ ὅχλου γένομαι, τὸν δὲ
Τρεβάωνον τὸν τε Βροῦτον τὸν Δέκιμον, ὁ πρὸ καὶ
Ἰούμιον Ἀλβίνιον τε ἐπεκάλουν, οὐ δύναμαι

4 παραλπεῖν. πλείστα γὰρ καὶ οὕτω εὑρηκα
tέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ὃς Ἰῶκείμος καὶ
ὑπατος ἐς τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ἀποδεδειγμένος καὶ τῇ
Γαλατίᾳ τῇ πλησιοχώρῳ προστεταγμένος,
ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ.

15 Καὶ ὁλίγον γε ἐφωράθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους
τῶν συνειδότων, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος μήτε λόγο
τινὰ περὶ τοιούτῳ τινὸς προσδεχομένου καὶ πάνω
ἰσχυρὸς τοὺς ἐσαγγελλοῦντας τι τοιούτῳ ὑπο

κολάζοντος, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαμέλλειν. αἰῶν ῥ τῆ
gὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ἐχοῦσαι, καὶ φοβούμενοι,
καίτερ μηδεμιὰ ἔτι φρουρά χρωμένου, μὴ καὶ ὑπὸ
tῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀεὶ ποτὲ ὄντων

θαράσσων, διήγουσιν, ὡστε καὶ κυδωνεῦται ἐλεγχθέν

3 τές ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ ἔπαθον ἀν τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ

συνταχύναι τὸ ἐπιβούλεμα καὶ ἀκούντες ἡμα-

κάσθησαν. λόγον γὰρ τινὸς, εἰτ’ οὐν ἄληθος

εἴτε καὶ θεοῦ, οἷα ποὺ φιλεῖ λογοποιεῖσθαι,

διελθόντο ὡς τῶν ἱερέων τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα

καλομένων διαθροοῦντων ὡς, ἡ Σίβυλλα
eἰρηκυῖα εἰ ἡ μῆποτ’ ἀν τοὺς Πάρθους ἄλλως πῶς

4 πλὴν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἄλοναι, καὶ μελλόντων διὰ

tοῦτο αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην τῷ Καίσαρι
dοθῆναι ἐσηγήσεσθαι, τοῦτο τε πιστεύσαντες

1 Δέκιμος, Δέκιμος Λαυνελ., Δέκιος, Δέκιος L (and so in ch. 18).
2 αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὐτου L.
ceeded to get together all the others who were of the same mind as themselves and these proved to be not a few in number. There is no need to give a full list of the names, for I might thus become wearisome, but I cannot omit to mention Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, who was also called Junius and Albinus. For these joined in the plot against Caesar, notwithstanding that they also had received many benefits at his hands; Decimus, in fact, had been appointed consul for the next year and had been assigned to Hither Gaul.

They came very near being detected for two reasons. One was the number of those who were privy to the plot, although Caesar would not receive any information about anything of the sort and punished very severely those who brought any news of the kind. The second reason was their delay; for they stood in awe of him, for all their hatred of him, and kept putting the matter off, fearing, in spite of the fact that he no longer had any guard, that they might be killed by some of the men who were always with him; and thus they ran the risk of being discovered and put to death. Indeed, they would have suffered this fate had they not been forced even against their will to hasten the plot. For a report, whether true or false, got abroad, as reports will spread, that the priests known as the Quindecimviri were spreading the report that the Sibyl had said the Parthians would never be defeated in any other way than by a king, and were consequently going to propose that this title be granted to Caesar. The conspirators believed this to be true, and
ἀξιθένες εἶναι, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἀρχοῦσιν, διόπερ καὶ ὁ Βραύτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ἦν, ἡ ψῆφος ἄτε καὶ ὑπὲρ τηλικοῦτον βουλεύματος ἐπαχθήσοτο, καὶ οὐτ' ἀντεπειν τολμῶντες ὑπομένοντες, ἔπεσενεναν τὴν ἐπιβουλῆν πρὶν καὶ ὁμοῦν περὶ αὐτοῦ χρηματισθῆναι.

16 Ἐδέδοκτο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὴν ἐπι-χείρησιν ποιήσασθαι. τὸν τε γὰρ Καίσαρα ἦκιστα ἑνταύθα ὑποτοπούντα τι πεῖσεν θαυμάτοτερον ἔσεθαί, καὶ σφίσιν εὐπορίαν ἀσφαλῆ ξιφῶν ἐν κιβωτίων ἀντὶ γραμματείων τινῶν ἐσκομμαθέντων ὑπάρξειν, τοὺς τε ἄλλους οὐ διωγήσεθαι, οὐά

2 ποικὶ καὶ ἀσπίδων ὄντας, ἀμῖνα προσεδόκων εἰ δ' ὦν τις καὶ τολμήσει ποιν, ἀλλα τοὺς τῇ μονο-μάχους, οὐς πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ Πομπηίου θεάτρῳ, προφασιν ὡς καὶ ὀπλομαχήσοντας, προπαρα-σκευασάντο, βοηθήσιν σφίσιν ἐπίζων ἐκεῖ γὰρ ποι ὑπὸ οἰκήματι τινὸς περιστών συνεδρεύειν ἐμελλον. καὶ οἱ μὲν, ἐπειδή ἡ κυρία ἦκεν, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἁμα ἐφ', συνελεγήσαν καὶ τὸν

17 Καίσαρα παρεκάλουν· εἰκείνω δὲ προέλεγον μὲν καὶ μάντεις τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, προέλεγε δὲ καὶ ὀνείρατα. ἐν γὰρ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐν ἡ εσφάγη ἦ τε γυνὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν τε οἰκίαν σφῶν συμπεπτωκέναι καὶ τὸν ἀνδρὰ συντρώσθαι τε ὑπὸ τινών καὶ εἰ τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς καταφυγεὶν ἐδοξε, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τὸν νεφῶν μετέφερος αἰωρεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς

2 τοῦ Διὸς χειρὸς ἀπτεσθαι. πρὸς δ' ἐτι καὶ σημεῖα οὔτ' ὀλίγα οὔτ' ἀσθενὴ αὐτὸ ἐγένετο· τά

1 τολμῶντες R. Steph., τολμῶντος L.
2 διωγήσασθαι R. Steph., διωγήσατα L.
3 Πομπηίου H. Steph., πομπηί L.
4 ἐφ Rk., ὁ L.
because a vote would be demanded of the magistrates, among whom were Brutus and Cassius, owing to the importance of the measure, and they neither dared to oppose it nor would submit to remain silent, they hastened forward their plot before any business connected with the measure should come up.

It had been decided by them to make the attempt in the senate, for they thought that there Caesar would least expect to be harmed in any way and would thus fall an easier victim, while they would find a safe opportunity by having swords instead of documents brought into the chamber in boxes, and the rest, being unarmed, would not be able to offer any resistance. But in case any one should be so rash, they hoped at least that the gladiators, many of whom they had previously stationed in Pompey's Theatre under the pretext that they were to contend there, would come to their aid; for these were to lie in wait somewhere there in a certain room of the peristyle. So the conspirators, when the appointed day was come, gathered in the senate-house at dawn and called for Caesar. As for him, he was warned of the plot in advance by soothsayers, and was warned also by dreams. For the night before he was slain his wife dreamed that their house had fallen in ruins and that her husband had been wounded by some men and had taken refuge in her bosom; and Caesar dreamed he was raised aloft upon the clouds and grasped the hand of Jupiter. Moreover, omens not a few and not without significance
τε γὰρ ὡς ὅπλα τὰ "Ἀρεία παρ' αὐτῷ τότε ὡς καὶ παρὰ ἄρχερει κατὰ τὶ πάτριον κείμενα ψόφον τῆς νυκτὸς πολὺν ἐποίησε, καὶ αἱ θύραι τοῦ δωματίου ἐν ὃ ἐκάθευδεν αὐτόμαται ἀνεφόρησαν. ¹
3 τὰ τε ἵππα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐβύσατο οὖδὲν αἰσθον ὑπέφηνεν, καὶ οἱ ὄνομας δὴ ὅν ἔμαντενετο οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἔξελθεν. ἦδη δὲ τισί καὶ τὸ τοῦ δύρον τοῦ ἐπιχρύσου ἐνυφίμων μετὰ γε τὴν σφαγὴν αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτὸν ὁ ὑπηρέτης ἑρακλίνιτος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἑξέκομισεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, νομίσας μηκέτ' αὐτοῦ χρείαν ἐσεβάζαν.
18 Χρονίζοντος δὲ οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος, δεῖσαντες οἱ συνοικίαι μὴ ἀναβολής γενομάνης (θροῦσ γὰρ τις διῆλθεν ὅτι οἶκοι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην μενεῖ τὸ τε ἐπιβούλευμα σφισι διαπέρεσε καὶ αὐτοὶ φωραθῶσι, πέμπουσι τοῖς Βροῦτοι τῶν Δέκιμον, ὡς ὥς καὶ πᾶν ἡλικὸς αὐτῷ δοκῶν εἶναι ποιήσῃ
2 αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ δὴ τὰ τε προταθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φαυλίσας, καὶ τὴν γεροσύνην σφόδρα ἐπιθυμεῖν ἴδείν αὐτῶν ἐτών, ἐπεισε προελθεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο εἰκὼν τῶν αὐτοῦ, ἢν ἐν τοῖς προθύροις ἀνακειμένην ἐλξε, κατέπεσεν ἀπὸ ταυτομάτον καὶ 3 συνεδράυσθη. ἄλλ' ἔδει γὰρ αὐτῶν τότε μεταλάξαι, οὐδὲν οὔτε ἄρτον ἐφροντύσει οὔτε τινὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν οἱ μηνύοντος ἤκουσε. καὶ βιβλίον τὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν, ἐν ὃ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν παρεσκευασμένα ἀκριβῶς ἐνεγέρατο, οὐκ ἀνέγνα, νομίσας ἀλλο τι αὐτὸ τῶν οὐκ ἐπει- 4 γόντων ἔχειν. τὸ τε σύμπαν οὕτως ἔθαρσε ὁ στε

¹ ἀνεφόρησαν Dind., ἀνεφόρησαν L, Xiph.
² οὔτε Bk., οὔδε L.
came to him: the arms of Mars, at that time deposited in his house, according to ancient custom, by virtue of his position as high priest, made a great noise at night, and the doors of the chamber where he slept opened of their own accord. Moreover, the sacrifices which he offered because of these occurrences were not at all favourable, and the birds he used in divination forbade him to leave the house. Indeed, to some the incident of his golden chair seemed ominous, at least after his murder; for the attendant, when Caesar delayed his coming, had carried it out of the senate, thinking that there now would be no need of it.

Caesar, accordingly, was so long in coming that the conspirators feared there might be a postponement,—indeed, a rumour got abroad that he would remain at home that day,—and that their plot would thus fall through and they themselves would be detected. Therefore they sent Decimus Brutus, as one supposed to be his devoted friend, to secure his attendance. This man made light of Caesar’s scruples and by stating that the senate desired exceedingly to see him, persuaded him to proceed. At this an image of him, which he had set up in the vestibule, fell of its own accord and was shattered in pieces. But, since it was fated that he should die at that time, he not only paid no attention to this but would not even listen to some one who was offering him information of the plot. He received from him a little roll in which all the preparations made for the attack were accurately recorded, but did not read it, thinking it contained some indifferent matter of no pressing importance. In brief, he was so confident
καὶ πρὸς τὸν μάντιν τὸν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην φυλάσσεσθαι ποτὲ αὐτῷ προσαγορεύσαντα εἰπεῖν ἐπισκόπουν "ποῦ δήτα σου τὰ μαντεύματα; ἦν οὐχ ὁρᾶς ὅτι τε ἡ ἡμέρα ἦν ἐδείξεις πάρεστι, καὶ ἐγὼ ξῆ;" καὶ ἐκείνος τοσοῦτον, ὅσα φασὶ, μόνον ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι "ναὶ 1 πάρεστιν, οὐδὲν ὃ ἐπερελήλυθεν."

19 Ὡς δ' οὖν ἀφίκετο ποτὲ πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον, Τρεβώνιος μὲν Ἀντώνιον ἐξω ποὺ ἀποδείτριψεν. ἔβουλεύσαντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τε Λέπιδον ἡμέρας ἐπεκτείναν· φοβηθέντες δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν ἀπολλομένων διαβληθῶσιν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ δυνατεία ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ ἐλευθερώσει τῆς πόλεως, ἢν 2 προεβάλλοντο, τὸν Καίσαρα πεφονευκότες, οὔδε παρείναι τὸν Ἀντώνιον τῇ σφαγῇ ἀυτοῦ ἤθέλησαν, ἐπει δ' τοῦ Λέπιδος ἔξεστράτευτο καὶ ἐν τῷ προαστειῷ ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ Τρεβώνιος διελέγετο, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι τὸν Καίσαρα ἐν τούτῳ αδρόοι περιστάντες (εὐπρόσοδός τε γὰρ καὶ φιλοπροσήγορος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἦν) οἱ μὲν ἐμυσθόλογοι, οἱ δὲ ἱκέτευον διήθην αὐτῶν, ὅπως ἤκιστά τι ὑποτεῦσῃ. ἐπεὶ τε ὁ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, προςῆλθε τις αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ χάριν τινὰ γιγνόσκων, καὶ τὸ ἰμάτιον αὐτοῦ ἕποτ' ὧν καθείλκυσε, σημείον τι 3 τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον τοῖς συνωμόταις αἴρων καὶ τούτων προσπεισόντες αὐτῷ ἐκείνοι πολλαχοῦ ἀμα κατέτρωσαν αὐτόν, ὡσθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους αὐτῶν μὴτ' εἰπεῖν μήτε πραξάκι τι τὸν Καίσαρα δυνηθῆναι, ἄλλα συγκαλυφαμένον σφαγῆναι πολλοῖς τραύμασι. ταύτα μὲν τάληθεσ-

1 val Xiph., καὶ L. 2 ἢ supplied by R. Steph. 3 τε H. Steph., τε L.
that to the soothsayer who had once warned him to beware of that day he jestingly remarked: "Where are your prophecies now? Do you not see that the day which you feared is at hand and that I am alive?" And the other, they say, answered merely: "Yes, but is not yet past."

Now when he finally reached the senate, Trebonius kept Antony employed somewhere at a distance outside. For, though they had planned to kill both him and Lepidus, they feared they might be maligned as a result of the number they destroyed, on the ground that they had slain Caesar to gain supreme power and not to set free the city, as they pretended; and therefore they did not wish Antony even to be present at the slaying. As for Lepidus, he had set out on a campaign and was in the suburbs. While Trebonius, then, talked with Antony, the rest in a body surrounded Caesar, who was as easy of access and as affable as any one could be; and some conversed with him, while others made as if to present petitions to him, so that suspicion might be as far from his mind as possible. And when the right moment came, one of them approached him, as if to express his thanks for some favour or other, and pulled his toga from his shoulder, thus giving the signal that had been agreed upon by the conspirators. Thereupon they attacked him from many sides at once and wounded him to death, so that by reason of their numbers Caesar was unable to say or do anything, but veiling his face, was slain
20 Θορύβοι δ' οὖν πολλοί παρά τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε ἐνδον ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἐξωθεὶσθηκότων πρὸς τε τοῖς αἰφνίδιοι τοῦ πάθους, καὶ οτι ἦγον τοὺς τε σφαγεοὺς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τίν ὑπὸ διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, γενομένου πάντες ὡς καὶ κινδυνεύσοντες
2 ἐταράξοντο, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἐσ φυγὴν ὄρμησαν ἢ ἐκαστὸς ἐδονατο, καὶ τοὺς προστυχάνωντός σφισιν ἐξεπλήσσον, σαφές μὲν οὐδὲν λέγοντες, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα μόνους βρῶντες, " φεύγε, κλείε.
3 κλείε." καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παραλαμβάνοντες παρὰ ἄλληλων ὡς ἐκαστὸς διεβόων, καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν θρήνων ἐπλήρουν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσ τὰ ἐργαστηρία καὶ ἐσ τὰς οἰκίας ἐσπίπτοντες ἀπεκρύπτοντο, καὶ τοῖς τῶν σφαγέων ἐσ τὰ ἀγοράν ὅσπερ εἰχον ὄρμησαντων, καὶ τοῖς τὰ σχήμασιν ἐνδεκυμένων καὶ προσεκβώοντων μὴ φοβεῖσθαι.
4 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο τε ἀμα ἔλεγον καὶ τῶν Κικέρωνα συνεχόσ ἀνεκάλουν, ὁ δὲ όμιλος οὐτοί ἄλλως ἐπίστευε σφισιν ἀληθεύειν οὔτε ῥάδιως καθίστατο: ὅψε δ' οὖν ποτε καὶ μόλις, ὡς οὔτε τις ἐφονεύτο οὔτε συνελαμβάνετο, ταρασσάντες
21 ἣσύχασαν. καὶ συνελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν πολλά μὲν κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολλά δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας οἱ σφαγεοὶ εἰπον, ταρασσεῖν τε σφαῖ καὶ μὴ δειν ὑμῶν προσδέχεσθαι ἐκέλευον.

1 ἰσχυρῶς Xiph., τὸν ἰσχυρῶς L.
2 πατάξαντα Xiph., πατάξαντα L.
3 τῶν supplied by R. Steph.
4 διεβόων R. Steph., διεβόω L.
5 οὐτ' ἄλλως Pflugk, οὐδ' ἄλλως L.
with many wounds. This is the truest account, though some have added that to Brutus, when he struck him a powerful blow, he said: "Thou, too, my son?"

A great outcry naturally arose from all the rest who were inside and also from those who were standing near by outside, both at the suddenness of the calamity and because they did not know who the assassins were, their numbers, or their purpose; and all were excited, believing themselves in danger. So they not only turned to flight themselves, every man as best he could, but they also alarmed those who met them by saying nothing intelligible, but merely shouting out the words: "Run! bolt doors! bolt doors!" Then all the rest, severally taking up the cry one from another, kept shouting these words, filled the city with lamentations, and burst into the workshops and houses to hide themselves, even though the assassins hurried just as they were to the Forum, urging them both by their gestures and their shouts not to be afraid. Indeed, while they were telling them this, they kept calling for Cicero; but the crowd did not believe in any case that they were sincere, and was not easily calmed. At length, however, and with difficulty, they took courage and became quiet, as no one was killed or arrested. And when they met in the assembly, the assassins had much to say against Caesar and much in favour of democracy, and they bade the people take courage and not expect any harm. For they
οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ δυναστεία ὁυτ' ἐπ' ἄλλη πλεονεξία ὁυδεμία ἀπεκτονέαι αὐτὸν ἔβασαν, ἄλλ' ἵν' ἐλευθεροὶ τε καὶ αὐτόνομοι ὄντες ὀρθῶς πολιτεύονται. 2 τοιαύτα ἄττα εἰπώντες τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς κατεστησαν, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι οὐδένα ἥδικον· αὐτοὶ δὲ δὴ φοβοῦμενοι καὶ ὃς μή τις σφίσιν ἀντεπιβουλεύσῃ, ἀνήλθον ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὡς καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς προσευχόμενοι, καὶ ἐκεῖ τὴν τε ἡμέραν καὶ 3 τὴν νυκτα ἐνδιέτριψαν. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν πρῶτων ἀφ' ἑσπέρας, τῆς μὲν ἐπιβουλῆς οὐ συμμετασχόντες, τῆς δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς δόξης, ὡς καὶ ἐπαινομένους σφᾶς ἔωρων, καὶ τῶν ἄθλων ἄ 4 προσεδέχοντο μεταποιησόμενοι,1 συνεγένοντο. καὶ συνέβη γε αὐτοῖς ἐς τούαντιον τὸ πράγμα δικαιοτάτα περιστῆρι· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ὅνομα τοῦ ἑργου ἀτε μηδὲν αὐτοῦ προσκοινωνήσαντες ἐλαβον, καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τοῦ τοῖς δράσασιν αὐτὸ συμβάντος ὡς καὶ συνεπιβουλεύσαντές 2 σφιοι μετέσχουν.

22 Ἡδὼν δὲ ταύτα ὁ Δολοβέλλας οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἥξιον τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἅγειν, ἄλλ' ἐς τε τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν καίπερ μηδέπω οἱ προσήκουσαν ἐσῆλθε, καὶ ἀριθμοῖς τοί περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸ 2 Καπιτώλιον ἀνέβη. τούτων δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὃντων, ὁ Λέπίδος μαθὼν τὰ γεγενημένα τὴν τε ἄγοραν μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῆς νυκτὸς κατέλαβε, καὶ κατὰ τῶν σφαγῶν ἀμα ἐν ἐδημηγορεῖ. ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος, καίτοι παραχρήμα μετὰ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον φυγὼν καὶ τὴν τε ἔσθητα τὴν ἄρχηκην, ὅπως διαλάθη, ἔργας καὶ τὴν νύκτα 3 κρυφθεῖς, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ τοὺς τε σφαγέας ἐν τῷ

1 μεταποιησόμενοι H. Steph., μεταποιησόμενοι L. 2 συνεπιβουλεύσαντες Louncl., ἐπιβουλεύσαντες L.
had killed him, they declared, not to secure power or any other advantage, but in order that they might be free and independent and be governed rightly. By speaking such words they calmed the majority, especially since they injured no one. But fearing, for all that, that somebody might plot against them in turn, they themselves went up to the Capitol, in order, as they claimed, to pray to the gods, and there they spent the day and night. And at evening they were joined by some of the other prominent men, who had not, indeed, shared in the plot, but were minded, when they saw the perpetrators praised, to lay claim to the glory of it, as well as to the prizes which they expected. But for them the event proved most justly the very opposite of their expectations; for they did not secure any reputation for the deed, because they had not had a hand in it in any way, but they did share the danger which came to those who committed it just as much as if they themselves had been in the plot.

Seeing this, Dolabella likewise thought it incumbent on him not to keep quiet, but entered upon the office of consul, even though it did not yet belong to him, and after making a short speech to the people on the situation ascended to the Capitol. While affairs were in this state Lepidus, learning what had taken place, occupied the Forum by night with his soldiers and at dawn delivered a speech against the assassins. As to Antony, although he had fled immediately after Caesar’s death, casting away his robe of office in order to escape notice and concealing himself through the night, yet when he ascertained that the assassins were on the Capitol
Κατιτωλῖω καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον εὖ τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὄντα ἐσθετο, τὴν τε γερουσίαν ἐς τὸ τῆς Γῆς τέμενος ἠθροισε καὶ γνώμας ὑπὲρ τῶν παρούσων προεθέμη.\(^1\) καὶ εἶπον ἄλλοι τε ἄλλα, ὡς ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν ἐγγύνωσκε, καὶ ὁ Κίκερων τάδε, ὀσπερ καὶ ἐπείσθησαν:

23 "Ἄει μὲν ἐγώγε σῶμαι χρῆναι μηδένα μηδέν μῆτε πρὸς\(^2\) χάριν μήτε πρὸς φιλονεικίαι λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὁ βέλτιστον ἐκαστὸς εἶναι νομίζει, τούτῳ ἀποφαίνεσθαι. δεινὸν γὰρ εἰ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούντας τοὺς θ' ὑπατεύουσας πάντα ἀπὸ ὀρθῆς τῆς διανοίας ποιεῖν ἀξιώσωμεν, καὶ ἁρὰ πῶς σφαλήσωμεν,\(^3\) εὐθύνας παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς τύχης ἀπαίτησομεν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ βουλεύσαθαι, ἐν ὁ κυρίωτατοι τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν γνώμης ἐσμέν, τὰ κοινὰ συμφέροντα τῶν ἴδιων ἔνεκα πλεονεξίων προσό-μεθα. α⸻αὶ μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα, ὁ πατέρες, πάντα ἀπλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἕγοῦμαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς συμβουλεύειν ὑμῖν, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι πρᾶγμασιν, ἐν οἷς ἀν μὲν\(^4\) μηδὲν\(^5\) πολυπραγμονήςαντες ὀμονοίσωμεν, αὐτοὶ τε σωθησόμεθα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας\(^6\) περιποιήσωμεν, ἀν δ' ἀκριβῶς πάντα ἐξετάσαι ἐθελήσωμεν, δέδοικα μὴ κακῶς—δυσχερές δ' ούδὲν ἀρχόμενος τῶν λόγων εἰπεῖν βουλομαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐξ οὗ χρόνος, οἱ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐγκρατεῖς ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐγνωμοντο, ὡςτ' αὐτοὺς δ' τε δεὶ βουλεύειν ὑμῖν ἐπιτάττειν, ἀλλ'

\(^{1}\) προεθέμη Reim., προτέθείκε L.
\(^{2}\) μηδέν μήτε πρὸς Reim., μηδὲν μήτε πρὸς Rk., μηδὲν L.
\(^{3}\) σφαλήσων R. Steph., σφαλάλωσιν L.
\(^{4}\) μὲν added by Bk.
\(^{5}\) μηδὲν R. Steph., μηδὲ ἐν L.
\(^{6}\) ἀπαντας Rk., ἀκοπτας L.
and Lepidus in the Forum, he assembled the senate in the precinct of Tellus and brought forward the business of the hour for deliberation. When some had said one thing and some another, according to what was in their thoughts, Cicero, whose advice they actually followed, spoke to this effect:

"No one ought ever, I think, to say anything either out of favour or out of spite, but every one ought to declare what he believes to be best. We demand that those serving as praetors or consuls shall do everything from upright motives, and if they make any errors, we demand an accounting from them even for their misfortune; how absurd, then, if in discussion, where we are complete masters of our own opinion, we shall sacrifice the general welfare to our private interests! For this reason, Conscript Fathers, I have always thought that we ought to advise you with sincerity and justice on all matters, but especially in the present circumstances, when, if without being over-inquisitive we come to an agreement, we shall both be preserved ourselves and enable all the rest to survive, whereas, if we wish to inquire into everything minutely, I fear that ill—but at the very opening of my remarks I do not wish to say anything that might offend. Formerly, not very long ago, those who had the arms usually also got control of the government and consequently issued orders to you as to the subjects on which you were to deliberate, instead of your
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οὐχ ὑμᾶς ὅ τι χρῆ πράττειν ἐκείνους προσκοπεῖν.

2 καὶ ἐς τούτῳ καιροῦ πάνθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰ πράγματα πάρεστιν ὡστε ἑφ' ὑμᾶς τε αὐτᾶ εἶναι καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς ἀνακεϊσθαι, καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν ἦτοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ μετὰ ταύτης τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἡ στάσεις καὶ πολέμους ἐμφύλιους αἴθει καὶ

3 ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δεσπότην λαβεῖν. ὦ τι γὰρ ἂν τίμερον ψηφίσασθε, τούτῳ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἀκολουθήσουσι. 2 τούτων οὐν οὕτως, ὡς γε ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, ἐχόντων φημὶ δεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰς μὲν πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐχθρὰς ἡ φιλονεικία, ἡ ὀπώς ἂν τις αὐτᾶς ὀνομάζῃ, καταλύσασθαι, πρὸς δὲ ὅτι τὴν παλαιὰν ἐκείνην εἰρήνην καὶ

4 φιλιάν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἐπανελθεῖν, ἐνθυμηθέντας τούτῳ γε, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ὅτι τέως μὲν ἐκείνως ἐπολευτινώμεθα, καὶ χώρας καὶ πλούτους καὶ δόξαν καὶ συμμάχους ἐκτησάμεθα, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἐσ τὰ πρὸς ἄλληλους κακὰ προῆχθημεν, οὐχ ὡστοὶ οὐκ ἁμεῖνος ἄλλα καὶ πολὺ χείρους ἐγενομέθα. 3 καὶ ἔγωγε τοσούτου 3 δέω νομίζειν 4 ἄλλο τι σώσαι ἂν ἐν ἄν τῷ παρόντι τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' ἂν μή τι τίμερον καὶ ἡδὴ γε ὅτι τάχιστα προβούλευσομεν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν δυνησόμεθα.

25 "Σκοπεῖτε δὲ ὡς ἄληθη λέγω, πρὸς τε τὰ παρόντα ἀπειδόντες καὶ τὰ ἀρχαία ἀναλογισάμενοι. ἢ οὐχ ὁράτε μὲν τὰ γιγανόμενα, καὶ ὅτι διαιρεῖται τε καὶ περισσάται ὁ δήμος αἴθει, καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτα οἱ δὲ ἐκείνα προαιρούμενοι δικῆ τε ἡδη

1 ὑμῖν, υμᾶς, ὑμᾶς R. Steph., ὑμῖν, ἡμᾶς, ἡμῶν L.
2 ἀκολουθήσουσι R. Steph., ἀκολουθήσωσι L.
3 τοσούτου Bk., τοσοῦτοι L.
4 νομίζειν Xyl., ὀνομάζειν L.
5 ἐν Polak, μὲν ὑπ' L.
determining what it was their business to do. But now practically everything is at such an opportune point that matters are in your hands and depend upon you; and from yourselves you may obtain either harmony and with it liberty, or seditions and civil wars once more and a master at the close of them. For whatever you decide on to-day, all the rest of the citizens will follow. This being the state of the case, as I am convinced, I declare that we ought to give up our mutual enmities, or jealousies, or whatever name should be applied to them, and return to that old-time state of peace and friendship and harmony. For you should remember this, if nothing else, that so long as we conducted our government in that way we acquired lands, riches, glory, and allies, but ever since we were led into injuring one another, so far from becoming better off, we have become decidedly worse off. Now I am so firmly convinced that nothing else at present can save the city that if we do not to-day, at once, with all possible speed, adopt some policy, I believe we shall never be able to regain our position at all.

"That you may see, now, that I am speaking the truth, look at present conditions and then consider our position in olden times. Do you not see what is taking place—that the people are again being divided and torn asunder and that, with some choosing this side and some that, they have already fallen into two
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2 νενέμηται καὶ διχῇ στρατοπεδεύονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ Καπιτώλιον προκατελήφασιν ὄσπερ τινὰς Γαλάτας φοβούμενοι, οί δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἁγορᾶς πολλορκεῖν αὐτοὺς παρασκευάζονται καθάπερ Καρχηδόνιοι τινὲς ἄλλοι οὐ Θωμαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ δύντες; οὐκ ἀκούετε δὲ ὦτι καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις διχογνωμονήσαντων τινῶν ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ἀουεντίον ποτε καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ἔστι δὲ οὐς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὅρας κατασχεῖν, ὁσάκις μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵσοις, ἢ καὶ βραχὺ τὶ συγχωρήσαντες οἰ ἔτεροι τοῖς ἔτεροις, κατηλλάγησαν, μισοῦντες τε ἀλλήλους εὐθὺς ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διηγαγοῦν ὡστε καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους πολέμους κοινῇ κατορθώσαι ὁσάκις δὲ δὴ πρὸς φόνους καὶ σφαγάς ἐχώρησαν, οἱ μὲν δικαίωσε τοῦ ἀμώνεσθαι τοὺς προὐπάρξαντας, οἱ δὲ καὶ βιο

5 θέντες, οὐδὲν πώποτε χρηστὸν ἐγένετο; τί γὰρ δεῖ πρὸς οὐδὲν ὑπὸν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας τὸν Οὐαλέριον, τὸν Ὀράτιον, τὸν Σατορνίων, τὸν Γλαυκίαν, τοὺς Γράκχους λέγοντα 1 διατρίβειν; τοιαῦτα οὖν παραδείγματα, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀλλότρια ἄλλα.

6 οἰκεία ἔχοντες, μὴ μελλήσῃ τὰ μὲν ξηλῶσαι τὰ δὲ φυλάξασθαι, ἄλλα ἀτε ἀπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν πείραν τῆς ἐκβάσεως ὧν βουλεύσεθε προεἰληφότες, μηκέτι τοὺς ἔμοις λόγους ὡς καὶ ῥήματα διασκοπεῖτε, ἄλλα τὰ 2 τὸ κοινὸ διαφέροντα ὡς καὶ εν τῷ ἐργῷ ἤδη ὄντα βεβηρείτε.

7 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀσαφεία τινὶ ἐνθυμήσει τὰφανὲς τῆς

1 λέγοντα R. Steph., λέγοντας L.
2 τὰ added by Phlugk.
parties and two camps, and that the one side has seized the Capitol as if they feared the Gauls or somebody, while the others with headquarters in the Forum are preparing, as if they were so many Carthaginians and not Romans, to besiege them? Have you not heard how, though formerly citizens often quarrelled, even to the extent of occupying the Aventine once, and the Capitol, and some of them the Sacred Mount, yet as often as they were reconciled on fair terms, or by yielding a little one to the other, they at once stopped hating one another, and lived the rest of their lives in such peace and harmony that together they carried through successfully many great wars? And how, on the other hand, as often as they had recourse to murders and bloodshed, the one side deluded by the plea of defending themselves against aggression, and the other side by an ambition to appear to be inferior to none, no good ever came of it? Why need I waste time by reciting to you, who know them equally well, the names of Valerius, Horatius, Saturninus, Glaucia, the Gracchi? With such examples before you, examples chosen not from foreign countries but from your own, do not hesitate to imitate the right course and to guard against the wrong, but in the conviction that you have already had in the events themselves a proof of the outcome of the plans you are now making, do not any longer look upon what I say as mere words, but consider that the interests of the state are already involved. For thus you will not be led by any vague notion to put to the hazard
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ἐπιτίδεοι ἀναρρίψετε, ἀλλ' ἐχεγγυώ πίστει τὸ βέβαιον τοῦ λογίσμον προνοήσετε.

26 "Τπάρχει μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν 1 τοῦθ, ὅπερ εἶπον, οἰκοδει καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγόνων λαθοῦσιν ὅρθος βουλεύσασθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ξενικοὶ παραδείγμασι χρῆσθαι ἡθελήσα, μυρία ἀν εἰπεὶν ἔχων. ἐν οὐν δὴ ὧσ τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτης πόλεως, παρ' ἦς οὐδ' οἱ πατέρες ἦμῶν ἑπάγεσθαι τινὰς νομοὺς ἀπηξίωσαν, παρέξουμεν:

καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἂν εἰς τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπέρχοντας χείρον αὐτῶν βουλεύσασθαι. ἐκείνοι τοῖς (λέγω δὲ τὰ πάντα ἵστε) στασιάσαντες ποτε, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ύπὸ 2 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καταπολεμηθέντες καὶ ύπὸ 2 τῶν δυνατώτερων πολιτῶν

τυφλωθέντες, οὐ πρότερον ἀπηλλάγησαν τῶν κακῶν πρὶν συνθέσθαι καὶ διομολογήσασθαι τῶν τε συμβεβηκότων σφίσει, πολλῶν τούν καὶ δεινῶν ὡντων, ἐπιλήσθας, καὶ μὴ δὲν τὸ παράπαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μῆτε ἐγκαλέσειν ποτε μῆτε μνησικακήσειν τινί. τουγάρτου σοφοφρονὴσαι οὖτως οὐχ ὅτε τυφλωθῶμεν καὶ στασιάζοντες ἐπαύσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν εὐθένησαν 3 καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν ἀνέκτησαντο καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἀντεποίησαντο, καὶ τέλος κύριοι καὶ σῶσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους πολλάκις ἐγένοντο. καὶ τοιούτῳ ἱθελήκεσαν 4 ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τὴν Φυλήν καταλαβόντες καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατελθόντες τιμωρήσασθαι

1 ὤμων R. Steph., ἥμων L. 2 ὑπὸ Pflugk, ἐκ L.
3 εὐθένησαν Dind., εὐθένησαν L.
4 ἱθελήκεσαν St., ἱθελήκεσαν L.
your hopes, doubtful at best, but will foresee with justifiable confidence the certainty of your calculations.

"It is in your power, then, if you will receive this evidence that I mentioned from your own land and your own ancestors, to decide rightly; and that is why I did not wish to cite examples from abroad, though I might have mentioned countless such. One example, however, I will offer from the best and most ancient city, from which even our fathers did not disdain to introduce certain laws; for it would be disgraceful for us, who so far surpass the Athenians in might and intelligence, to deliberate less wisely than they. Now they were once at variance among themselves, as you all know, and as a result were overcome in war by the Lacedaemonians and were subjected to a tyranny of the more powerful citizens; and they did not obtain a respite from their ills until they made a compact and agreement to forget their past injuries, though these were many and severe, and never to bring any accusation whatever or to bear any malice against any one because of them. Accordingly, when they had thus come to their senses, they not only ceased being subject to tyrannies and seditions, but flourished in every way, regaining their city, laying claim to the sovereignty of the Greeks, and finally gaining the authority, as often happened, to save or destroy the Lacedaemonians themselves and also the Thebans. And yet, if the men who seized Phyle and returned from the Peiraeus had chosen to take vengeance
τούς ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεως ὑπὲρ ὧν ἠδικητο, εὐλογον μὲν ἀν πράγμα πεποιηκέναι ἐδεδοχεσαν, πολλὰ δὲ ἀν καὶ ἐδεδράκεσαν κακὰ καὶ ἐπεπώθεσαν.
6 ὥσπερ γὰρ κρείττονος αὐτῶν παρὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐγένοντο, τάχι ἀν τι καὶ ἡλαττώθησαν αὕτις.
27 οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις βέβαιον οὐδὲν, οὔτε ἕξ ὧν ἵσχυει τις, πρὸς ἐπικράτησιν, ἀλλὰ πάμπολλοι μὲν θαρσοῦντες ἐπταίσαν, πάμπολλοι δὲ ἐθηοῦντες ἀμύνασθαι τίνα προσαπώλοντο.
2 οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πλεονεκτούμενον ἐν τινὶ πάντως ἐντυχεῖ, διότι καὶ ἀδικεῖται, οὔτε τὸ δύναμει προὖχον πάντως κατορθοῖ, διότι καὶ προήκει,
3 ἀλλὰ ἀμφότερα ἀπὸ τῆς ἵσης καὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου καὶ τῷ ἀσταθμίτῳ τῆς τύχης υποκείμενα, καὶ τὴν ῥοπὴν πολλάκις οὐ πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον εὐελπι ἄλλα πρὸς τὸ ἐκεῖνων ἁδόκητον
3 λαμβάνει. θεῖν ἐκ τοιῶν καὶ ἐκ τῆς φιλονεικίας (δεῖνον γὰρ ἐστιν ἀνθρωπὸς ἀδικηθεὶς ἢ νομίσας ἢ ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ δύναμιν θρασύνασθαι) καὶ πολλοὶ πολλάκις καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἵσχυν ἐπαίρονται διακινδυνεύειν ὡς καὶ κρατήσουντες ἢ
4 οὔτε γε καὶ ἀναμωτὶ διολούμενοι, καὶ οὔτω τὰ μὲν νικῶντες τὰ δὲ ἦττομενοι, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἀντεπικρατούντες ἄλλων τοτε δὲ ἀντεταλατούμενοι, οἱ μὲν πασσυδὶ συναπόλλυνται, οἱ δὲ τὴν τὴν Καδμείαν λεγομένην νίκην νικῶσιν, καὶ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ, ὃτ' οὔδεν ὀφελὸς ἐστιν, αἰσθάνονται ὅτι κακώς ἐβουλεύσαντο.
28 "Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' οὔτως ἔχει, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔργο μεμαθήκατε. σκοπεῖτε δὲ ἵσχυσε τίνα χρόνον

1 οὔτε Pflugk, οὔτε L. 2 προήκει Leuncl., προήκει L.
3 οὔτω Bk., οὔτε L.
on the city party for the wrongs they had suffered, while they would, to be sure, have been thought to have performed a justifiable action, yet they would have suffered, as well as caused, many evils. For just as they exceeded their hopes by defeating their foes, they might perhaps in turn have been unexpectedly worsted. Indeed, in such matters there is no certainty with regard to victory, even as a result of one's power, but vast numbers who are confident fail and vast numbers who seek to take vengeance upon others perish at the same time themselves. For the one who is overreached in any transaction is not bound to be fortunate just because he is wronged, nor is the one who has the greater power bound to be successful just because he surpasses, but both are equally subject to the perversity of human affairs and to the instability of fortune, and the turn of the scale often corresponds, not to their own hopefulness, but to the unexpected play of these other factors. As a result of this and of rivalry (for man is very prone when wronged or believing himself wronged to become bold beyond his power) many are frequently encouraged to incur dangers even beyond their strength, with the idea that they will conquer or at least will not perish unavenged. So it is that, now conquering and now defeated, sometimes triumphing in turn and in turn succumbing, some perish utterly, while others gain a Cadmean victory, as the saying goes; and at a time when the knowledge can avail them nothing they perceive that they have planned unwisely.

"That this is true you also have learned by experience. Consider a moment: Marius for a

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1 A proverbial expression for a victory which is of doubtful advantage to the conqueror.
ἐν τοῖς στασιωτικοῖς ὁ Μάριος, εἶτε ἐκπεσὼν καὶ
dύναμιν ἀθροίσας ἵστε οὐα εἰργάσατο. ὁμοίως
ὁ Σύλλας, ἦν μὴ τὸν Κίνναν μὴδε τὸν Στράβωνα
μὴδε τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς διὰ μέσου καταλέγω,
dυνῆθεις τὴν πρώτην, εἰτε ἐλαττωθεῖς, ἔπειτα
dυναστεύσας οὐδέν ὦ τι οὐχὶ τῶν δεινοτάτων
ἐπραξε. τί γάρ ἰδιὰ τὸν Μάριον τὸν 1 δεύτερον ἢ
tὸν Κίνναν ἐκείνου αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν Κάρβωνα ὄνο-
μάζειν; 2 μετὰ ταῦτα Δέπιδος ἰδίαι τέ τινα, ὡς
ὅ ό καὶ τούτοις ἐπεξιῶν, στάσιν ἡγείρε, καὶ πάσαν
ὁλίγου τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἑτάραξεν. ὡς δ' ἀπηλλάγη-
μέν ποτε καὶ τούτοι, μεμυσθε ὁσα αὐ καὶ οἰα
πρὸς τε τοῦ Σερτωρίου καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
3 μετ' αὐτοῦ φυγόντων ἐπάθομεν. τί δ' ὁ Πομπήιος,
tί δ' ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτὸς οὗτος; ἦν μηδεν ἐνταῦθα
μήτε τοῦ Κατιλίνου μήτε τοῦ Κλωδίου μη-
μονεύσα. οὐ πρότερον μεν 3 ἐπολέμησαν ἄλληλοις,
καὶ ταῦτα συγγενεῖς ὀντες, ἐπειτα μυρίων κακῶν
οὐ μόνον τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἢ καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν
Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν οἰκου-
4 μένην ἀνέπλησαν; ἀρ ὁν μετὰ τε τὸν τοῦ
Πομπήιου θάνατον καὶ τὸν πολύν ἐκείνων τῶν
πολιτῶν ὀλεθρον ἡσυχία τις ἐγένετο; πόθεν;
πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεὶ. οἰδε δὲ ἦ Λφρική, οἴδεν ἦ
Ἰβηρία τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐκατέρωθί ἀπολομένων.
5 τί οὖν; ἐπὶ γε τούτοις εἰρηνήσαμεν; καὶ πῶς;
ὀπότε κεῖται μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Καίσαρ οὕτω σφαιγεῖς,
kατέχεται δὲ τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ πεπλήρωται μὲν
ἡ ἀγορὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν, πεπλήρωται δὲ καὶ πᾶσα

1 τὸν Xyl., τὸ L.
2 This sentence savours strongly of an interpolation. Reiske bracketed it.
3 μὲν added by Bk.
time was strong amid civil strife; then he was driven out, collected a force, and accomplished—you know what. Likewise Sulla,—not to speak of Cinna or Strabo or the rest who came between,—powerful at first, later defeated, finally making himself master, was guilty of every possible cruelty. And why name the second Marius, or even that same Cinna, or Carbo? ¹ After that Lepidus, ostensibly with the purpose of punishing these men, got together a faction of his own and stirred up almost all Italy. When we at last got rid of him, too, remember what we suffered from Sertorius and from his fellow-exiles. What did Pompey, what did this Caesar himself do, to make no mention here of Catiline or Clodius? Did they not at first fight against each other, and that in spite of their relationship, and then fill with countless evils not only our own city or even the rest of Italy, but practically the entire world? Well then, after Pompey’s death and that great slaughter of the citizens,² did any quiet appear? By no means. How could it? Africa knows, Spain knows, the multitudes who perished in each of those lands. What then? Did we have peace after this? Peace, when Caesar himself lies slain in this fashion, when the Capitol is occupied, when the Forum is filled with arms and the whole city

¹ See note on Greek text.
² At Pharsalus.
29 ἡ πόλις τοῦ φόβου, οὗτος ἔπειδαν ἄρξονται τινὲς στασιάζειν, καὶ τὰ βίαια ἀεὶ τοῖς βιαῖοις ἀμύνεσθαι ξητῶσι, καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας μήτε πρὸς τὸ ἐπιεικὲς μήτε πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν ποιῶνται, κύκλος τις ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀεὶ τῶν κακῶν γίγνεται καὶ ἀνταπόδοσις ἐκ διαδοχῆς τῶν δεινῶν συμβαίνει. τὸ τε γὰρ εὐτυχῆσαν ὑβρεῖ τε πλεονάζει καὶ οὐδένα ὄρον τῆς πλεονέξιας ποιεῖται, καὶ τὸ πταῖσαν ὀργῇ τῆς συμφορᾶς, ἂν γε μὴ παραχρῆμα ἀπόληται, ἀντιτιμωρήσασθαι τὸν ἀδικησαντα ἐπιθυμεῖ μέχρις ἂν τὸν θυμὸν ἐκ-πλήσῃ. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος, καὶ μὴ συμμετάσχη τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ τότε γε τὸ τε ἔλεος τοῦ νευκημένου καὶ τὸ φθόνο τοῦ κεκρατηκότος, δεισάν τε ἄμα μὴ καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνω πάθῃ, καὶ ἐλπίζαν τὰ αὐτὰ τοῦτο ὀρᾶσειν, 3 συναιρεῖται. καὶ οὕτω καὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν στασιάζειν προάγεται, καὶ ἄλλοι τε ἐπ' ἄλλοις τὸ κακὸν, προφάσει τιμωρίας τῶν ἀεὶ ἐλαττουμένων, ὅσπερ τι ἐνομον καὶ ἐγκύκλιον πράγμα, ἀνταμμονόμενοι διαδέχονται, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ὡς ἐκαστοὶ ἀπαλλάσσουσι, τὸ δὲ δὴ κοινὸν ἐξ ἀπαντος τρόπου φθείρουσι. ἢ οὐχ ὥρατε πόσον μὲν χρόνον κατατετρίμμεθα πολεμοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, ὅσα δὲ καὶ ολὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πεπόνθαμεν, καὶ ὃ γε ἐτὶ 1 τούτοι δείνότεράν ἐστὶ, καὶ δεδράκαμεν; 2 καὶ τὰς ἂν ἀριθμησαὶ 2 δύναιτο τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων ὧτοις τε συμμάχους περιδύνοντες καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς περισυλλόντες, καὶ προσέτε καὶ αὐτοὶ

1 καὶ ὃ τε ἐτὶ Βκ., καὶ ὃ τε Βκ., καίτω τι Ι.  
2 ἂν ἀριθμήσαι Leucel., ἀνταριθμῆσαι Ι.
with fear? In this way, when men begin sedition and seek ever to repay violence with violence and inflict vengeance without regard to decency or humanity, but according to their desires and the power that arms give them, there necessarily occurs each time a kind of cycle of ills, and alternate requitals of outrages take place. For the fortunate side abounds in insolence and sets no limit to its greed, and the defeated side, if it does not perish immediately, rages at its misfortune and is eager to take vengeance on the oppressor, until it sates its wrath. And the remaining multitude, also, even though it has not taken sides, now through pity for the vanquished and envy of the victorious side cooperates with the oppressed, fearing that it may itself suffer the same evils as the one party, and hoping also that it may cause the same evils as the other. Thus the citizens who have remained neutral are brought into the dispute, and one class after another, on the pretext of avenging the side which is for the moment at a disadvantage, takes up the sorry business of reprisals as if it were a legitimate, everyday affair; and while individually they escape, they ruin the state in every way. Or do you not see how much time we have wasted in fighting one another, how many great evils we have meanwhile endured, and, what is worse than this, inflicted? And who could count the vast amount of money of which we have stripped our allies and robbed the gods and moreover have even contributed ourselves from what
Εξ ὧν οὐκ εἶχομεν συνεσφέροντες, ἐπὶ ἀλλήλοις
3 δεδαπανήμεθα; τις τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀπολολότων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπεὶ τούτῳ ἡ ἀνεξεύρετον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἰππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ὃν εἰς ἐκαστὸς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς ὀδυνείσι πολέμοισι σώσαι
4 καὶ ξοῦν καὶ ἀποθανόν ἐδύνατο; πόσοι μὲν γὰρ Κουρτιοί, πόσοι δὲ Δέκιοι Φάβιοι Γράκχοι Μάρκελλοι Σκιπίωνες τεθνήκασιν; οὐ μὰ Δῆ οὐκ ἢν Σαννίτας ἢ Λατίνως ἢ ἸΒηρας ἢ Καρχηδονίους ἠμύωνται, ἀλλʼ ἢν . . .1 καὶ αὐτοὶ προσαπόλονται. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς τετελευτηκότων, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἐκείνων ὁδύρατο ἂν τις, ἄλλοι ήττον για ἄξιον ἐστὶν ὀλοφύροσθαι: εἰς τὸ γὰρ τὰς μάχας ἐθελονταί, εὐγε ἐθελοντάς τοὺς ἀμακασθέντας φόβῳ καλεῖν δεῖ, ἡλθον, καὶ θάνατον εἰ καὶ ἄδικον ἀλλὰ ἀνδρεόν γε ὑπέμειναν, ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι ἵσοπαλεὶ καὶ ἐν ἑλπίδι τοῦ κἂν περιγενέσθαι
5 θαὶ καὶ κρατήσαι ἐπεσον 2 ἀναισθήτως. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τε ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὀδοῖς τῇ τε ἀγορᾷ τῷ τε βουλευτηρίῳ αὐτῷ τῷ τε Καπιτωλίῳ αὐτῷ Βιαίῳς, οὐχ ὅπως ἀνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας, οὐχ ὅπως ἀκμάζοντας ἀλλὰ καὶ γέροντας καὶ παιδας, οἰκτρῶς ἐξολολότας πῶς ἂν τις κατʼ ἄξιον θρηνήσει; 6 καὶ ταύτα μὲντοι τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα 3 οἶα καὶ ὅσα οὔτα αὐτοὶ ποτε πρὸς πάντων ἀμα τῶν πολεμίων ἔπαθομεν οὔτε ἑκέινους ἐδράσαμεν, διατιθέντες ἀλλήλους οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἁθόμεθα, οὐδὲ 4 ἀπαλλαγήν ποτε αὐτῶν ἀνδρικὸς ἐθέλομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαιρόμεν καὶ ἑορτάζομεν καὶ εὐεργεῖτας τοὺς ποι-

1 Lacuna recognized by Reim. 2 ἔσσον Oddey, ἔσσον L.
2 καὶ τοσαῦτα supplied by Bk. 4 οὐδὲ Rk., οὔτ L.
we did not possess, only to expend it against one another? Or who could number the multitude of men who have been lost, not only of ordinary persons (for that is beyond computation) but of knights and senators, each one of whom was able in foreign wars to preserve the whole city by his life or by his death? How many Curtii, how many Decii, Fabii, Gracchi, Marcelli, and Scipios have been killed? And not, by Jupiter, to repel Samnites or Latins or Spaniards or Carthaginians, but [to kill citizens(?)] and to perish also themselves. As for those who have died under arms, no matter how much we may mourn their loss, yet there is less reason to lament in their case. For they entered their battles as volunteers (if it is proper to call by the name of volunteers men compelled by fear), and they met a death which, even if uncalled for, was at least a brave one; in an equal struggle and in the hope that they might really survive and conquer they fell without suffering. But how can one mourn as they deserve those who have perished miserably in their homes, in the streets, in the Forum, in the very senate-chamber, on the very Capitol, all by violence—not only men, but women, too, not only those in their prime, but also old men and children? And yet, while subjecting one another to so many and so terrible reprisals as all our enemies put together never inflicted upon us nor we upon them, so far from loathing such acts and manfully wishing to have done with them, we even rejoice and hold festivals
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8 οὖντας αὐτὰ ὀνομαζομεν καίτοι ἔγραψε οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπινων τινα βλον ἦγομιαι τοῦτον ἡμᾶς βεβιωκεναι, ἀλλα τινων θηρίων, ἀ πι ΄ ἄλληλων φθείρεται.

31 "Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡδι συμβεβηκότα τὶ ἄν ἐπὶ πλέον ὀδυράμεθα; οὐ γὰρ ποι καὶ ἁγένητα ἄν αὐτὰ ποιησάμεθα; τῶν δὲ δὴ μελλόντων προϊδόμεθα; διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνουν ἐμμημόνευσα, οὐχ ἵνα τὰς κοινὰς συμφορὰς, ἀς γε μηδὲ γενέσθαι ὡφελε, καταλέξω, ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναπείσω τὰ γοῦν λοιπὰ διασώσαι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἂν τὸς μόνον τῶν κακῶν ἀπόναιτο, τὸ μηδὲν αὐθίς ὁμοίων σφισί παθεῖν φυλάξασθαι. ἔξεστε δὲ τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μάλιστα ποιῆσαι, ἐως ἐτε τὸ δεινὸν ἄρχεται καὶ οὔτε πολλοί ποὺ συνεστήκασιν, οἵ τε κεκινημένοι οὔτε πεπλευκτήκασιν ἀπ᾽ ἄλληλων οὔτε ἡλαττώνται, ὡστ᾽ ἐκπίδε τοῦ κρείττους ὅργῃ τοῦ καταδεστέρου καὶ παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον σφίσιν ἀπερισκέπτως κινδυνεύσαι προαχθήμαι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοῖς τηλικοῦτῳ ὃν κατορθώσετε μήτε πόνον τινα ποιῆσαντες μήτε κινδυνεύσαντες, μὴ χρήματα ἀναλώσαντες, μὴ σφαγῶς ποιῆσαντες, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ψηφισάμενοι,

32 μὴ μνησικακεῖν ἄλληλοις. εἰ γὰρ τοῖς τίνα καὶ ἡμάρτηται τίσιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε γε καιρός ἐστιν οὔτε πολυπραγμονήσαι αὐτὰ οὔτε ἐξελέγχει οὔτε τιμωρήσασθαι. οὔτε γὰρ δικάζετε τίσιν ἐν τῷ παροντι, ὡστε τὸ πάνυ ἄκριβες δίκαιον ζητηθῆναι δεῖν, ἀλλὰ βουλεύεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων,

1 ἅπα supplied by St.
2 ὅτε supplied by Xyl.
3 πώς Pflugk, ποὐ L.
4 δοῦ Η Rk., ὃς τῆς L.
5 ἅ supplied by Reim.
6 ἅπα supplied by Pflugk.
7 ἐν Leunel., ἅπα ἐν L.
8 ὅτε τὸ Xyl., ὃς τὸτε L.
and term those who are guilty of them benefactors. Verily, I do not regard this life that we have been leading as human; it is rather that of wild beasts which are destroyed by one another.

"Yet why should we lament further what is already past? We cannot now prevent its having happened. Let us rather provide for the future. This, indeed, is the reason why I have been recalling former events, not for the purpose of giving a list of our public calamities (would to Heaven they had never occurred!) but that by means of them I might persuade you to save at least what is left. For this is the only benefit one can derive from evils, to guard against having ever again to suffer their like. And this is within your power especially at the present moment, while the danger is just beginning, while not many have yet united, and while those who have been stirred to action have gained no advantage over one another nor suffered any set-back, that they should be led by hope of their superiority or anger at their inferiority to incur danger heedlessly and contrary to their own interests. Great as this task is, however, you will deal with it successfully without incurring any hardship or danger, without spending money or causing bloodshed, but simply by voting this one thing, to bear no malice against one another. Even if mistakes have been made by certain persons, this is no time to enquire minutely into them, to convict, or to punish. For you are not at the present moment sitting in judgment upon any one, that you should need to search out with absolute accuracy what is just, but you are deliberating about the situation that has arisen and
2 ὁπως ὁς ἀσφαλέστατα καταστῇ. τούτο δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὑπάρξειν ἢ μὲν, εἰ μὴ τι παρίσομεν, ὀσπερ που καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν παῖδων ποιεῖν εἰσώθαμεν. οὔτε γὰρ πάντα ἀκριβῶς ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἐκλογήσῳ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ παρορῶμεν ἀναγκαίως ἀνάγκης τὸν γὰρ μετρίων ἀμαρτιμάτων ἐνεκα οὐδέν' ἀνηκέστος δεὶ κολάξειν, ἀλλὰ πράως σωφρονίζειν. καὶ νῦν οὖν, ἀτε καὶ κοινοὶ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου πατέρες οὐ μᾶνον ὄνομαξόμενοι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθῶς ὅντες, μή καὶ πάντα ἀκριβολογῶμεθα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πάντες ἀπολόμωμεθα, ἐπεὶ τοῦ πολλὰ μὲν ἂν τὸ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγκαλέσειν, οὔτε καὶ δικαιῶς αὐτὸν 4 πεφονεύσθαι δόξαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀποκτεινόντας αὐτὸν αἰτίάσατο, ὅστε καὶ τιμωρίας αὐτοῦ ἀξίους εἶναι νομισθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἔργον ἔστι στασίασαι αὖθις ἐπιθυμοῦντων δὲ ὅ τοις ὤρθως βουλευομένους μή τὸ πάντῃ δίκαιον ἔξακριβοντας βλάπτεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐπεικεῖ προσχρομένους σώζεσθαι. ὅστε τὰ μὲν γεγενημένα ταῦτα χαλάζησι τέ τινος καὶ κατακλυσμοῦ τρόπου συμβεβηκέναι νομίσαστε λήθῃ παράδοτε γνωρίαντες δὲ νῦν γε ἀλλήλους, ἀτε καὶ ὁμοφυλοι καὶ πολυται συγγενεῖς τε ὅντες, ὀμονόησατε.

33 "Καὶ ὁπως ἐγενημένα ταῦτα χαλάζησι τέ τινος καὶ κατακλυσμοῦ τρόπου συμβεβηκέναι νομίσαστε λήθῃ παράδοτε γνωρίαντες δὲ νῦν γε ἀλλήλους, ἀτε καὶ ὁμοφυλοι καὶ πολυται συγγενεῖς τε ὅντες, ὀμονόησατε.

1 oδέιν Reim., oδέν L. 2 ψευδεσθαί Louncl., ψευδεσθαί L.
as to how it may in the safest way be righted. But this is something we cannot accomplish unless we overlook some things, as we are wont to do in the case of children. When dealing with them, now, we do not take careful account of everything, but of necessity overlook many things, since for moderate errors it is not right to punish one of them remorselessly, but rather to admonish him gently. And now, since we are in common the fathers of all the people, not in name only, but in reality, let us not enter into a discussion of all the fine points, lest we all perish. For that matter anybody could find much to blame in Caesar himself, so that he would seem to have been justly slain, or again might bring numerous charges against those who killed him, so that they would be thought to deserve punishment. But such a course is for men who are eager to stir up strife again, whereas it is necessary for those who deliberate wisely not to cause their own hurt by meting out strict justice, but to secure their own safety by employing clemency with justice. Regard this, then, that has happened as if it were some hail-storm or deluge that had taken place, and consign it to oblivion. And learn at last to know one another, since you are countrymen and fellow-citizens and relatives, and so live in harmony.

"In order, now, that none of you may suspect me of wishing to grant any indulgence to Caesar's slayers to prevent their paying the penalty, in view of the fact that I was once a member of Pompey's party, I will make one statement to you. For I think that all of you are firmly convinced that I have never adopted an attitude of friendship or hostility toward any one for purely personal
καὶ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ ὀμονοίας τοὺς μὲν ἐμίσησα τοὺς δὲ ἡγάπησα. δικοῦ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐᾶσθω, βραχὺ δὲ τι ὑμῖν μόνον φράσω.

3 τοσούτων γὰρ δὲν τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας προσκοπεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἐτέροις οὐχ ὅτι τὴν ἄδειαν ἀπάντων ὄν ἐπιπολάσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔξω τοῦ καθεστηκότος ἐποίησαν δοθῆναι φῆμι χρῆναι, ἄλλα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς, ὅσα ἔλαβον παρὰ αὐτοῦ, καίτερ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τιςιν αὐτῶν, φυλαχθῆναι.

4 πράξαι μὲν γὰρ ἔτι καὶ προχειρίσασθαι τι τοιούτων οὐκ ἂν ὑμῖν συμβουλεύσαμι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ γέγονεν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἑκείνοις οἴμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς πολυπραγμονῆσαι. τι γὰρ ἂν καὶ ξημιωθείητε τοσούτων, ἂν τι ὁ δεῖνα ἢ ὁ δεῖνα ἔξω τοῦ δικαίου καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἄξιαν λαβῶν ἔχῃ, ὅσον ὄφειλεθείητε υἱῆ φόβου μιᾷ παραχῇ τοῖς γε δυνηθείσι τὸτε παρασχόντες;

5 “Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρὸς τὸ κατεπείγον ἡδὴ λέγω· ἐπειδὰν δὲ καταστῇ τὰ πράγματα, τότε καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν σκεψόμεθα.”

34 Κικέρων μὲν τοιαύτα εἰπὼν ἐπείσε ἡν ἑρουσίαν μηδένα μηδὲν μνησικακῆς ψηφίσασθαι ἐν ὁ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς ὑπέσχοντο τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδὲν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος 2 πραχθέντων καταλύσειν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δεινῶς αὐτῶς ἅγανακτοῦντας ἢσθοντο μὴ καὶ τῶν δοθέντων σφίςιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ στερηθοῦσιν, ἔσπευσαν, πρὶν καὶ ὠτιοῦν τὴν βουλὴν διαγινώσκα, προκατα-

1 τοῦτο Bk., ταῦτα L.
2 ἔτι Bk., τι L.
3 τι supplied by Bk.
reasons, but that it was always for your sake and for the public freedom and harmony that I hated the one side and loved the other; for this reason I will pass over everything else and make merely one brief statement to you. So far, indeed, am I from acting in the way I have mentioned, instead of looking out for the public safety, that I affirm that the others, too, should not only be granted immunity for their high-handed acts, contrary to established law, in Caesar’s lifetime, but that they also should keep the honours, offices and gifts which they received from him, though I am not pleased with some of these. I should not, indeed, advise you to do or to grant anything further of the kind; but since it has been done, I think you ought not to be troubled overmuch about any of these matters, either. For what loss could you sustain, even if this man or that does hold something that he has obtained apart from justice and contrary to his deserts, so far-reaching as the benefits you would obtain by not causing fear or disturbance to the men who were formerly powerful.

“This is what I have to say for the present, in face of the pressing need. But when matters have become settled, let us then consider the questions that remain.”

Cicero by the foregoing speech persuaded the senate to vote that no one should bear malice against any one else. While this was being done, the assassins also promised the soldiers that they would not undo any of Caesar’s acts. For as soon as they perceived that the troops were very ill at ease for fear that they would be deprived of what he had given them, they made haste, before the senate reached any decision whatever, to get them on their
λαβείν αυτούς, κακ τούτου τούς τε παρόντας αυτού κάτω προκαλούντες ἐς ἐπήκοον διελέγοντό
3 σφισε τά προςήκοντα, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν γράμματα καταπέμποντες ἐπηγγέλλοντο μὴ ἀφαιρήσεσθαι 
μηδένα μηδέν μὴ ἄλλως λυπήσειν, το τε κύρος σύμπασι τοῖς πραχθείσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκβεβαιών 
καὶ ἐς τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτούς προτρέποντο, ὅρκοις τοῖς μεγίστοις ἡ μὴ ἄφεν δήσειν πάντα πιστούμενοί, ὡς οὖν καὶ τὰ τῇ βουλῇ 
δοξάντα διηγηθῇ, οὐτε οἱ στρατιώται τῷ Δεπίδῳ ἢ τοὺς προσείχους οὐτε ἔκεινοι δέος τι αὐτοῦ ἐσχοῦν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς καταλαγάς, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὰ 
μάλιστα ἐνάγοντος σφας, καὶ παρά τὴν γρήγορην τοῦ ὅρμησαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λέπιδος πρόσχημα 
5 τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμωρίαν ποιούμενον νεωτέρον πραγμάτων ἐπεθύμει, καὶ ἄτε καὶ στρατεύματα ἐξων τὴν τε δυναστείαν αὐτοῦ διαδέξεσθαι καὶ ἐν κράτει γενήσεσθαι προσεδόκα, καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' 
6 ἐπολεμοποίειν ὅ ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τὰ τέ ἐκείνου τοιαῦθ' ὅρην ὄντα, καὶ αὐτὸς μηδεμίαν ἴσχυν περιβεβλη 
μένος, οὔτε τι ἐτὸλμησε τότε γε νεοχωμόσαι, καὶ τοῦ Λεπίδου ἥττηθη τοῦ πλείονος, ὡς μὴ μεῖ 
ξων γένηται, προσανεπείσεν. συνέβησαν μὲν οὖν ἐφ' οίσπερ ἐφήμιστο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πρότερον οἱ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ὄντες κατέβησαν πρὶν τὸν τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ τοῦ Ἀντώνιου παῖδα ἐν ὁμήρων λόγω λαβείν καὶ Ἐρώτος μὲν πρὸς τοῦ 
7 Λεπίδου (καὶ γὰρ ἐν γένει αὐτῷ ἢ), Κάσσιος δὲ

1 μὴ Pflugk, μη L.
2 ἀφαιρήσεσθαι Pflugk, ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι L.
3 σύμπασι Xyl., οὖν ταῦτα L.
4 προσετρέποντο H. Steph., προστρέποντο L.
5 διαδέξεσθαι R. Steph., διαδέξασθαι L.
side. Next they invited those who were present at the foot of the Capitol to come within hearing distance and addressed suitable words to them; and they also sent down a letter to the Forum announcing that they would not confiscate anybody's goods or cause injury in other ways, and that they confirmed the validity of all the acts of Caesar. They also urged them to harmony, binding themselves by the strongest oaths that they would faithfully carry out these promises. When, therefore, the action of the senate also was made known, the soldiers no longer paid heed to Lepidus nor did the conspirators have any fear of him, but all hastened to become reconciled, chiefly at the instance of Antony, and quite contrary to Lepidus' purpose. For Lepidus, while making a pretence of avenging Caesar, was really eager for a revolution, and inasmuch as he had legions also at his command, he expected to succeed to Caesar's position as ruler and to come to power; with these motives he was disposed to begin war. Antony, perceiving his rival's favourable situation and having himself no force at his back, did not dare to begin any revolutionary movement for the time being, and in order to prevent the other from becoming stronger, he furthermore persuaded him to bow to the will of the majority. So they came to an agreement on the terms that had been voted, but those on the Capitol would not come down till they had secured the son of Lepidus and the son of Antony as hostages; then Brutus [descended] to Lepidus, to whom he was related, and Cassius to
πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔπ᾽ ἀσφαλείᾳ . . . . . 1 συν-
δειπνοῦσι τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλα τε, ὅσπερ εἰκὸς ἐν τῷ
τοιούτῳ, πολλὰ ἐλέγετο, καὶ ἐπήρετο τὸν Κάσ-
σιον ὁ Ἀντώνιος "ἀρά γε καὶ νῦν εἰσφεδόν τι ὑπὸ
μάλις 2 ἔχεις;" καὶ ὃς "μάλα" ἐφὴ "μέγα, ἂν γε
καὶ σὺ τυραννῆσαι ἐπιθυμήσῃς."

35 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ δεινῶν
οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐγέμετο οὗτε ἥλπίζετο, ἀλλ' οὗ τε
πολλοὶ ἔχαρον τῆς 3 δυναστείας τοῦ Καίσαρος
ἀπήλλαγμένοι (καὶ τινες καὶ ἄταφον τὸ σώμα
αὐτοῦ ῥίψαι ἐνενόουν), καὶ ἐκεῖνοι εὐθυμοῦντο
μήτε προσπεριεργαζόμενοι τι καὶ ἐλευθερωταὶ
tυραννοφόροι τε ὀνομαζόμενοι. τῆς δὲ διαθήκης
αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναγνωθεῖσας, μαθὼν ὁ δήμος
ὅτι τὸν τε Ὁκτάουιον ύιὸν πεποίηται, καὶ τὸν
Ἀντώνιον τὸν τε Δέκιον καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν
σφαγέων ἐπιτρόπους τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ κληρονόμους
τῆς οὔσιας, ἀν γε μὴ ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνον ἔλθῃ, 4 καταλέλυπε,
καὶ προσέτε καὶ ὅψεί ἄλλοις τέ τινας καὶ τῇ
πόλει τοὺς τε κήπους τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Τίβεριν καὶ
δραχμάς, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Ὁκτάουιος γράφει,
τριάκοντα, ὡς δὲ ἔτεροι, πέντε καὶ ἐβδομάδοι
καταστὶ σφῶν δοθήναι κεκέλευκεν, ἐταραχθέσαν.
καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιπαρόξυσε, τὸν τε νεκρόν
ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀνοιχτότατα 5 κομίσας; καὶ προθέ-
μενος ἡματωμένον τε, ὅσπερ ἔχε, καὶ τραύματα
ἐκφαινόντα, καὶ τινὰ καὶ ἀκόμη ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἄλλως
μὲν 6 περικαλλῆ καὶ λαμπρόν, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ

1 Lacuna recognized by Be. 2 μάλις Xiph., μασχάλης L.
3 τῆς Bk., τῆι τε L. 4 ἔλθῃ Dind., ἔλθει L.
5 Here begins Codex Marcianus 395 (M).
6 μὲν Pflugk, τε LM.
Antony, under promise of safety. And while they were dining together they naturally, at such a juncture, discussed a variety of topics and Antony asked Cassius: "Have you perchance a dagger under your arm even now?" To which he answered: "Yes, and a big one, if you too should desire to make yourself tyrant."

This was the way things went at that time. No injury was inflicted or expected, but instead the majority were glad to be rid of Caesar's rule, some of them even conceiving the idea of casting his body out unburied, and the conspirators, well pleased at being called liberators and tyrannicides, did not busy themselves with any further undertaking. But later, when Caesar's will was read and the people learned that he had adopted Octavius as his son and had left Antony along with Decimus and some of the other assassins to be the young man's guardians and heirs to the property in case it should not come to him, and, furthermore, that he not only had made various bequests to individuals but had also given his gardens along the Tiber to the city and one hundred and twenty sesterces, according to the record of Octavius himself, or three hundred, according to some others, to each of the citizens,—at this the people became excited. And Antony aroused them still more by bringing the body most inconsiderately into the Forum, exposing it all covered with blood as it was and with gaping wounds, and then delivering over it a speech, which was very
συμφέροντα τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν, εἰπών. ἔλεγε γὰρ τοιῶν:

36 "Εἰ μὲν οὖτος ἰδιωτεύων ἐπεθυμήκει κἀγὼ ἐν ἰδιωτείᾳ ἄν ἐτύχξανον, οὔτ' ἀν πολλῶν, οὐ Κυρίται, λόγων ἐδεήθην, οὔτ' ἀν πάσι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένοις ἐπεξήλθον, ἀλλ' ὠλίγα ἄν περὶ τε τοῦ γένους καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδείας τῶν τε τρόπων αὐτοῦ εἰπών, καὶ πῃ καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶ πεπολιτευμένων μυνηθεῖς, ἤρκεσθην, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δὲ ὀχλοῦ τοῖς οὐδέν οἱ προσηκουσί δὲνομαί.

2 επείδη δὲ οὖτος τε τὴν μεγίστην ἐν ὑμῖν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχων ἀπόλοιπο καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν δευτέραν ἀρχὴν λαβὼν, τὸν τε λόγον ἀνάγκη μοι διπλοῦν, τοῦ μὲν ὦς κληρονόμω γεγραμμένο τὸν δὲ ὡς ἀρχοντε, ποιήσασθαι, καὶ μηδ' ὁτιόν τῶν λεχθῆναι ὁφειλόντων παραλιπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπερ ἀν οὕτως δήμος ἀπὸ μᾶς γλώσσης, εἰγε μίαν

3 φωνὴν ἡθυνήθη λαβεῖν, ὑμησθε, εἰπεῖν. εὐ μὲν γὰρ οἴδα τοῦ, ὅτι χαλεπὸν ἐστί τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν τυχεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ταῦτα τῶν τηλεκοῦν τὸν εἰκόνεσθαι τοῖς γὰρ ἄν λόγος ἐργοίς μεγάλοις εὔσωσθείς, καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ βουλήματα ἀπλήστα ἐξ ὑμῶν σύνιστε ἐχοντες οὐκ εὐχερεῖς

4 αὐτῶν κρίται γεβήσασθε. εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἰ ἀγαθός τις ὑμῶν ἐγραμμον, ράστον ἄν ἢ αὐτοῦς τῷ χε' μεγέθει τῶν ἐργῶν ἐκπλήξαστα πεῖσαι νῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ συμβουλίου ἐλαττὸν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ' πάν τὸ λεχθησόμενον τοῦ πεπραγμένου νομισθήναι.

5 οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοτρους, κἀν ἀπιστήσωσιν αὐτῶς διὰ φθόνου, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γε ἐκείνου πάν τὸ

1 το Rk., το LM.
2 ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ K. Steph., ἀνάγκασθ' LM.
ornate and brilliant, to be sure, but out of place on that occasion. He spoke somewhat as follows:

"If this man had died as a private citizen, Quirites, and I had happened to be in private life, I should not have required many words nor have rehearsed all his achievements, but after making a few remarks about his family, his education, and his character, and perhaps mentioning his services to the state, I should have been satisfied, desiring only not to become wearisome to those who were unrelated to him. But since this man when he perished held the highest position among you and I have received and hold the second, it is requisite that I should deliver a two-fold address, one as the man set down as his heir and the other in my capacity as magistrate, and I must not omit anything that ought to be spoken, but must mention the things which the whole people would have celebrated with one tongue if they could speak with one voice. Now I am well aware that it is difficult successfully to utter your thoughts; for it is no easy task in any case to measure up to so great a theme—indeed, what speech could equal the greatness of his deeds?—and you, whose wishes are not easily satisfied because you know the facts as well as I, will prove no lenient judges of my efforts. To be sure, if my words were being addressed to men ignorant of the subject, it would be very easy to win their approval by astounding them by the very magnitude of his achievements; but as the matter stands, because of your familiarity with them it is inevitable that everything that shall be said will be thought less than the reality. Strangers, even if through jealousy they doubt the deeds, yet for that very reason deem each
ἀκουσθεὶν αὐτάρκεις ἦγοῦνται· τὸ δὲ ύμετέρον ἀκόρεστον ὑπὸ τῆς εὐνοίας ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνεται. τῶν γὰρ ἀρετῶν τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς πλείστον ἀπολελαυκότες καὶ τῶν ἐπαινοῦν αὐτῶν οὐ φθονερῶς, ὡς οὖδὲν προσήκοντα, ἀλλ' εὐμενῶς, ὥς οἰκεῖον, ἀπαιτεῖτε. σπουδάσω δ' οὖν ἐπὶ μακρότατον ταῖς βουλήσεις ὑμῶν ἀποπληρώσαι, εὐ εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐ πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν μου τῶν λόγων καὶ τὴν προαιρέσειν ἐξετάσετε, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνην ἐνδεές ἀνισώσετε.

37 "Δέξω δὲ περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ πρῶτον, οὐχ ὅτι λαμπρότατον ἐστὶ· καίτοι καὶ τούτο οὗ σμικρὸν ἐστὶν ἀρετὴς φύσιν φέρει, τὸ μῆτε ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου τινά ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς συγγενοῦς ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι εὐγενῶν φύντες δύναιντο μὲν ἄν καὶ προσποιητῶς ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, δύναιντο δ' ἄν καὶ ἐλεγχθῆναι τοτε ἐς τὸ κακογενέστερὸν πάντως ὡσεὶ δὲ ἄνωθεν ἐκ πολλῶν ὁπέρμα ἀνδραγαθίας υπάρχει, πᾶσα αὐτοῦς ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτὸφυτὸν καὶ διαρκὴ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔγωγε οὐ τούτο μάλιστα νῦν ἐπαινῶ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι τὰ μὲν νεότατα ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ γενναίων ἀνδρῶν ἔφυ, τὰ δὲ ἀρχαῖοτάτα ἐκ βασιλέων καὶ θεῶν ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ὁλῆς συγγενείς ἔστιν (ἐκ γὰρ ἃν οὗτος ἐγεννήθη, πρὸς τούτων ἡμεῖς ὁμόσπονθεν), ἐπειδ' ὅτι τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ θεῖον δὲ ἀρετῆς ἀνήκειν νομισθέντων οὐχ ὅπως ἐπηλέθεσθε τὴν
statement they hear strong enough; but your minds, because of your good-will, must inevitably prove impossible to satisfy. For you yourselves have profited most by Caesar's virtues, and you demand their praises, not half-heartedly, as if he were unrelated to you, but with deep affection as for your own kinsman. I shall strive, therefore, to meet your wishes to the fullest extent, and I feel sure that you will not judge my good-will by the feebleness of my words, but will supply from my zeal whatever is lacking in that respect.

"I shall speak first about his lineage, though not because it is the most brilliant. Yet this, too, has considerable bearing on the nature of virtue, that a man should become good, not through force of circumstances, but by inherited power. Those, to be sure, who are not born of noble parents may disguise themselves as noble men, but may also some day be convicted of their base origin by their inborn character; those, however, who possess the seed of a noble nature, handed down through a long line of ancestors, cannot possibly help possessing a virtue both spontaneous and enduring. Still, I am praising Caesar now, not so much because his recent lineage is through many noble men, his ancient origin from kings and gods, but because, in the first place, he is a kinsman of our whole city,—for those who founded his line also founded our city,—and, secondly, because he not only confirmed the renown of his forefathers who were believed to have attained divinity through their virtue, but
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φήμην, ἄλλα καὶ ἐπηύξησεν, ὡστ' εἰ καὶ τὸς ἠμφεσβήτητι 1 πρὸτερον μέχρι τ' ἀν ἐκ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τὸν Ἀινείαν γενέσθαι, νῦν δὴ πιστευσάτω.

5 θεοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἤδη τινὲς οὐκ ἀξίοι παῖδες ἐπεφημίσθησαν τούτου δὲ οὐδ' ἀν εἰς ἀπαξιώσειν θεοὺς τοὺς προγόνους γεγονέναι, ἐβασίλευσε μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτός ὁ Ἀινείας καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ τινές: τοσοῦτο δὲ οὕτως ἀμείνων ἐκείνων ἐγένετο ὡσφ' οἱ μὲν Λαούνιον 2 καὶ Ἀλβης ἐμονάρχησαν, οὕτως δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης οὐκ ἡθελησε βασίλευσαι, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν κρητιδα τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν προκατεβάλοντο, οὕτως δὲ ἐσ τοσοῦτον αὐτὴν ἐπήρευν ὡστε τὰ τε ἀλλα καὶ ἀποκίας μείζους οὖν ἔκεινοι πόλεων ἐβασίλευσαν καταστήσασθαι.

638 "Τὰ μὲν οὖν τού γένους οὕτως αὐτῷ ἔχεις ὅτι δὲ δὴ τὴν τε τροφὴν καὶ τὴν παιδείαν ἀκόλουθον τῷ τῆς εὐγενείας ὅγκῳ ἔλαβε, πῶς ἂν τις μᾶλλον κατανόησειν ἢ οἷς τὰ ἔργα πίστιν ἀναγκαίαν τὰ ἐργασία ἄξονα διαφανῶς ὑπήρξε, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τούτον καὶ τεθράφθαι 4 ἀρίστα; καὶ τοῦ χαλεποῦ μὲν περικαλλέστατον τινα ἄνδρων ὡστα καρτερικώστατον γενέσθαι, χαλεποῦ δὲ ἱσχυρισόμενον τινα 5 τῷ σώματι φρονεμώτατον ἐκβήναι, παγχάλεπων δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις διαπρέψαι. οὕτως γε 6 μὴν — λέγω δὲ ἐν εἰδοσίν, ὡστε μήτε

1 ἠμφεσβήτει Be., ἠμφεσβήτει LM.
2 Λαούνιον Bk., λαβείον LM. 3 διαφανὺς Reim., διαφανὸς LM.
4 τεθραφάθαι St., τεθραφθαί LM.
5 τινα Rk., τι LM. 6 γε R. Steph., τε LM.

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actually enhanced it; so that if anyone was inclined formerly to argue that Aeneas could never have been born of Venus, let him now believe it. For, although in times past some unworthy sons have been imputed to the gods, yet no one could deem this man unworthy to have had gods for his ancestors. Indeed, Aeneas himself ruled as king and so did some of his descendants; but this man proved himself so much superior to them that, whereas they were monarchs of Lavinium and Alba, he refused to become king of Rome; and whereas they laid the foundation of our city, he raised it to such a height that he even established colonies greater than the cities over which they ruled.

"So much, then, for his family. That he also received a nurture and a training corresponding to the dignity of his noble birth how could one better realize than by the cogent proof his deeds afford? For is it not inevitable that a man who possessed to a conspicuous degree a body that was altogether adequate and a spirit that was more than adequate for all contingencies alike of peace and of war, must have been reared in the best possible way? And yet it is difficult for any man of surpassing beauty to show the greatest endurance, and difficult for one who is powerful in body to attain to the greatest wisdom, but it is particularly difficult for one and the same man to shine both in words and in deeds. Yet this man—I speak among those who know the
ὅρην ψεύσασθαι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸφωρος ἀλισκοίμην, μὴτε ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ὄγκοσαι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἐς τοιναντιόν οὐ βουλομαι καθισταῖμην.

4 αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἀλαξονεύσθαι δικαιότατα, ἃν γε τι τωῦτο ποιήσω, ὑποπειθήσομαι, καὶ τὴν τούτου ἀρετὴν ἔλασσω τῆς ὑπαρχοῦσις αὐτῷ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν δόξης φαίνεσθαι ποιεῖν νομισθήσομαι, πάς γὰρ λόγος ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε λεγόμενοι, κἂν τὸ βραχύτατον ψεύδος προσλάβη, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἐπαινοῦ ἀυτῷ φέρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλεγχον αὐτοῦ ἔχει: τὸ γὰρ συνειδὸς τῶν ἀκροωμένων, οἷς ὀμολογοῦν τῷ πεπλασμένῳ, πρὸς τῷ τὴν ἀληθείαν φέρεται, καὶ τάχα ἀρκεσθὲν αὐτῇ μανθάνει τε ἀμα ὀποίον τινα ἔχρην εἶναι, καὶ παραβάλλουν ἐκατερα καταφωρά τὸ λείπων. ἀληθεύων οὐν λέγω τοῦτ, ὅτι ὁ Καίσαρ οὕτος τὸ τε σῶμα ἀμα ἰκανότατος

6 καὶ τὴν ψυχήν εὐκολώτατος ἐγένετο. τῇ τε γὰρ τῆς φύσεως ἰσχύει δαιμονίαν ἐκέχρητο, καὶ παιδεία παντοδαπῆ ἀκριβῶς ἤσκητο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπεικότως καὶ γυναῖκας πάν τὸ δεόν ὁξύτατα καὶ ἐμμενεύσα πιθανότατα διαθέσατε καὶ διοικήσατε φρονιμώτατα ἂεὶ ἡμοῖοι, καὶ οὐτε τοῖς αὐτῶν καιροὶ ῥοπὴ αἴφνιδως οἱ προσπέσσοντα προκατέλαβεν, οὕτ᾽ ἀπὸρρητοὶς μέλλησις χρονίσασα διέλαβε. πάντα γὰρ ἂεὶ πρὶν ἐπαρτηθήναι καὶ πρὸς πάντα τὰ συμβῆναι τεν ἄνεμων προπαρεσκεύαστο: τὸ
facts, so that I shall not falsify in the least degree, since I should be caught in the very act, nor heap up exaggerated praises, since then I should accomplish the opposite of what I wish. For if I do anything of that sort, I shall be suspected with full justice of boasting, and it will be thought that I am making his virtue appear less than the belief in it which is already in your own minds. In fact, every utterance delivered under such conditions, in case it contains even the smallest amount of falsehood, not only bestows no praise upon its subject but actually involves censure of him; for the knowledge of the hearers, not agreeing with the fictitious report, takes refuge in the truth, where it quickly finds satisfaction, and not only learns what kind of man he ought to have been, but also, by comparing the two, detects what he lacked. Stating only the truth, therefore, I affirm that this Caesar was at the same time most capable in body and most versatile in spirit. For he enjoyed a wonderful natural force and had been carefully trained by the most liberal education, which always enabled him, not unnaturally, to comprehend everything that was needful with the greatest keenness, to interpret the need most convincingly, and then to arrange and handle the matter most prudently. No critical turn in a situation came upon him so suddenly as to catch him off his guard, nor did a secret menace, no matter how long the postponement, escape his notice. For he decided always with regard to every crisis before it was at hand, and was prepared beforehand for every contingency that could happen to one. He
τε κρυπτόμενον ἵσχυρὸς ἀνευρείν καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον πιθανὸς ψευδαγγείν, τὸ τε λανθάνον ἐιδέναι προσποιησάσθαι καὶ τὸ γιγνώσκομεν ἀποκρύψασθαι, τοὺς τε καιροὺς σφίσιν ἐφαρμόσαι καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποδούναι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι καὶ ἐπεξελθεῖν πάνθ᾽ ὡς ἡκαστα καλῶς ἡπιστάτο. 

39 τεκμήριον δὲ, τὰ τε ἐδια εὐνοικότατός τε ἅμα καὶ εὐδαπανώτατος ἑγένετο, ἀκριβὴι μὲν ὁν ἐς τὸ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα διαρκῶς φυλάξει, δαψιλῆς δὲ ἐς τὸ τὰ προσήκουσα αφειδῶς ἀναλώσαι, καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς πάντας πλὴν τῶν ἀνοσιωτάτων ἰσχυρῶς ἠγάπησεν οὕτε ἡμᾶς δυστυχήσαντά τινα αὐτῶν ὑπερείδεν οὕτε εὐτυχῆσαντες εὐπροσώπους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους τὰ προϋπάρχοντα συνεπνύχησε καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὰ ἐλλειπούσαν ἀνεπληρωσε, τοὺς μὲν χρὴματα τοὺς δὲ χορία τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαῖς τοῖς δὲ ἱερωσίμας δοὺς, καὶ μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τοὺς τε ἅλλους τοὺς προσομλούντας οἱ διαμαστῶς προσεφέρετο οὕτε ἡμᾶς ὑπερευρίσκει τίνα αὐτῶν οὕθ᾽ ὑβρίζειν, ἀλλὰ εὐπροσώπους πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ὅν τοὺς τὲ υπορχούντας τι πολλαπλασίως ἡμεῖς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐνεργεῖας ἀνηρτάτο, καὶ οὕτε λαμπρυνόμενον τίνα ἐβάσκης ποτε οὕτε αὐξανόμενον ἐταπείνωσεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ πάντων σφῶν καὶ μεγαλυνόμενος καὶ ἵσχυν καὶ κόσμον προσκότωμεν, ἐχαίρε πλείστους έαυτῷ παρισουμένους, τοιοῦτοι μέντοι περὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ περὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους ὅν οὐδὲ ἔς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὁμοὶ οὖδ᾽
understood well how to discern shrewdly what was concealed, to dissimulate plausibly what was evident, to pretend to know what was hidden, to conceal what he knew, to adapt occasions to one another and to draw the proper inferences from them, and furthermore to accomplish and carry out in detail every enterprise. A proof of this is that in his private affairs he showed himself an excellent manager and very liberal at the same time, being careful to keep enough of what he had inherited, yet lavish in spending with an unsparing hand what he had acquired, and for all his relatives, except the most impious, he possessed a strong affection. For he did not neglect any of them in misfortune, nor did he envy those in good fortune, but he helped these to increase the property they already had, and made up to the others what they lacked, giving some of them money, some lands, some offices, and some dignities. Again, his conduct toward his friends and other associates was remarkable. He never scorned or insulted any of them, but while courteous to all alike, he rewarded many times over those who assisted him in any project and won the devotion of the rest by benefits, never disparaging any one of brilliant position, nor humiliating any one who was bettering himself, but, just as if he himself were being exalted through all of them and were acquiring strength and honour, he took delight in seeing great numbers become equal to himself. And yet, while he behaved thus toward his friends and acquaintances, he did not show himself cruel or
5 ἀπαραίτητος ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ τῶν ἰδία τι προσκρουσάντων οἱ ἄθων ἅφηκε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν προσπολεμοῦσάντων ἀπέλυσε, καὶ τισιν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔδωκεν. οὕτω ποιος πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐπεφύκει, καὶ κακίαν οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς οὐκ εἰχεν ἄλλ, οὐδὲ ἐν ἄλλῃ τινί ἐνείναι ἐπίστευεν.

40 “Επεὶ δὲ ἐς τούτους τοὺς λόγους ἀφικόμην, ἀρξομαι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν αὐτοῦ πολιτευμάτων λέγειν, καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἐβεβίωκε, τἀχ' ἄν ἄνελεγκτον τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔσχεν, νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐξηθεὶς, καὶ μέγιστος οὐχ ὅτι τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων τῶν τι δυνηθέντων γενόμενος, ἐκπρεπέστερον 2 αὐτὴν ἐπεδείξατο. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ σχεδὸν τι πάντας αὐτὴ ἢ ἐξουσία διήλεγε, τούτου δὲ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέφηνε. τὸ γὰρ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντιπάλους πράξεις λαβὼν ισοστάσιος αὐταῖς ἥψεθη, καὶ μόνος ἀνθρώπων τηλικαύτην αὐτῷ τὸχηρ ἐξ ἀνδραγαθίας κτησάμενος οὔτε διέβαλεν 3 αὐτὴν οὐθ' ὑβρισεν. ὡσα μὲν οὖν ἄλλως στρατευόμενος ἐλαμπρύνετο, ἡ ὡσα εἰ ταῖς ἐγκυκλίοις λειτουργίαις ἐμεγαλοφορύσατο, παραλείψας, καίπερ τοσαῦτα οὔτα ὡστ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ καὶ πάνω ἀν ἐς ἐπαίνοιν ἐξαρκέσαι πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἔργων σμικρολογεῖσθαι δόξω, ἀν καὶ ἐκείνα ἁκριβῶς ἐπέβιων· ὡσα δὲ δὴ ἄρχων 4 ὕμων ἐπράξε, ταῦτ·

1 ἀρχεῖαι R. Steph., ἁδεικνύαι LM cod. Peir.
2 τάχ' ἄν ἄνελεγκτον L, τάχ' ἄν ἄνελεγκτον M, τάχα ἄνελεγκτον cod. Peir.
3 ἐπεδείξατο Bk., ἐπεδείξατο LM cod. Peir.

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inexorable even to his enemies, but let off scot-free many of those who had come into collision with him personally and released many who had actually made war against him, even giving some of them honours and offices. So strong a natural bent had he toward virtue, and not only had no vice himself, but would not believe that it existed in anybody else.

"And since I have reached this topic, I will begin to speak about his public services. If he had lived in quiet retirement, perhaps his virtue would not have been clearly proved; but as it was, by being raised to the highest position and becoming the greatest not only of his contemporaries but of all others who ever wielded any power, he displayed it more conspicuously. For in the case of nearly all the others this authority had served only to reveal their weakness, but him it made more illustrious, since by reason of the greatness of his virtue he undertook correspondingly great deeds, and was found to be equal to them; he alone of men after obtaining for himself so great good fortune as a result of his nobility of character neither disgraced it nor treated it wantonly. I shall pass over, then, the brilliant successes which he regularly achieved in his campaigns and the high-mindedness he showed in his ordinary public services, although they were so great that for any other man they would warrant high praise; for, in view of the distinction of his subsequent deeds, I shall seem to be dealing in trivialities, if I also rehearse these scrupulously. I shall therefore only mention his achievements
4 ἔρῳ μόνα, καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἀκριβῶς διηγήσομαι. οὐτε γὰρ ἔξικέσθαι ποτ' ἀν αὐτῶν δυνηθεὶν, καὶ πάμπολυν ἣν ύμιν ὄχλον ἄλλος τε καὶ εἴδοσι ταῦτα παράσχωμι.

41 "Ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ οὗτος πρότον μὲν πάντων στρατηγήσας ἐν Ἰβηρία, καὶ ὑπούλον αὐτὴν εὐρών, οὐ περιεῖδε σφας υπὸ τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑνόματι ἀνανταγωνίστους γιγαντέων, οὐδὲ εἷλετο αὐτὸς ἐν ἱσυχίᾳ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνων διαγενεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ κοινὴ συμφέροντα πράξαι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ περ' ἐκόντες οὐ μετεμελότος, καὶ ἀκοντὰ σφας ἐσώφροισεν, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς πρότερον ποτε εὐδοκιμησάντας καὶ αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβαλέσθαι σοιν οὐ τὸ φυλάξαι τι τοῦ κτήσασθαι χαλεπώτερόν ἐστι, καὶ τὸ μηδὲ αὑτῶς ποτε νεωτερίσαι τινὰς δυνηθῆναι ἐξεργάσασθαι τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπηκόοις αὐτοὺς, ἀκεραιῶ τῆς δυναμεῖος σφιστὴν οὐσίας, οὐσίας καὶ τὰ ἐπισκέπτερον. τον γάρ τοι καὶ ἐπινίκια αὐτῶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐξηφίσασθε καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν τὴν ὑπατον εὐθὺς ἐδωκατε. έξ οὐ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διεφανὴ τοῦθ', οτι οὔτε ἐπιθυμίας οὔτε εὐκλείας οἰκείας ἐνεκα τὸν τε πόλεμον ἐκείνον ἐποιήσατο καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ παρεσκεύαζετο.

42 "Καὶ ὁσα μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει διώκοσεν, ἢ μυρία ἄν εἰς λέγειν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐκ τὸ εἰκείνης ἐξήλθε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γαλα
c
1 αὐτὸς R. Steph., αὐτὸs LM cod. Peir.
2 γοὺν Bk., οὕτω LM cod. Peir.
3 πέμψων R. Steph., μέμψω LM cod. Peir.
while he was your magistrate. Yet I shall not even relate all these with scrupulous detail, for I could never get to the end of them, and I should cause you excessive weariness, particularly since you already know them.

"First of all, then, this man was praetor in Spain, and finding it secretly disloyal, did not allow the inhabitants under the name of peace to become unconquerable, nor was it his own choice to spend the period of his governorship in quiet instead of accomplishing what was for the advantage of the state. Hence, since they would not willingly change their course, he brought them to their senses against their will, and in doing this he surpassed the men who had previously won glory against them in just so far as keeping a thing is more difficult than acquiring it, and reducing men to a condition where they can never again become rebellious is more profitable than making them subject in the first place, while their power is still undiminished. That is the reason why you voted him a triumph for this and immediately gave him the office of consul. Indeed, from this very circumstance it became most evident that he had waged that war, not for his own pleasure or glory, but as a preparation for the future. At all events he waived the celebration of the triumph because of the business that was pressing, and after thanking you for the honour he was content with that alone for his glory, and entered upon the consulship.

"Now all his administrative acts in the city during his tenure of that office would verily be countless to name. But as soon as he had ended it and had been
τικόν πόλεμον ἐστάλη, θεωρήσατε ὅσα αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡλίκα ἐνταῦθα κατεργάσατο. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ συμμάχους ὅσοι ὅπως βαρὺς ἐγένετο, ἄλλα καὶ προσεβοήθησεν, ἐπειδὴ μήτε τι αὐτοὺς ὑπώπτευσε καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἁδικουμένους εἰδε τοὺς δὲ δὴ πολέμους, ὅσοι δὲ τοὺς προσοικοῦντας αὐτοῖς ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας τοὺς τὴν Γαλατίαν νέμοντας, κατεστρέφατο, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν χώραν παμπληθῆ τούτο δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἀναριθμητοὺς, ὅπερ οὐδὲ τὰ ὄνοματα πρὸτερον ὑδειμέν, προσεκτησατο. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα, μήτε δύναμιν ἀξιοχρεων μήτε ἥρματα αὐτάρκη παρ ἦμων λαβών, οὕτω μὲν ταχέως κατέπραξεν ὡστε καὶ πρὶν αἰσθέθαι τινά ἦμων ὅτι πολεμεῖ νεικηκήκας, οὕτω δὲ ἀσφαλῶς κατεστήσατο ὡστε καὶ ἔπιβατὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν καὶ τὴν Βρετανίαν ποιῆσα. καὶ νῦν δεδουλώταται μὲν Γαλατία ἡ τοὺς τε Ἀμβρονίους καὶ τοὺς Κύμβρους ἐφ' ἢμᾶς ἀποστείλασα, καὶ γεωργεῖται πᾶσα ὡστε αὐτὴ ἡ Ἰταλία, πλεῖται δὲ οὐ 'Ροδανὸς ἐτὶ μόνος οὖν Ἀραρίξ, ἄλλα καὶ Μόσας καὶ Δίγρος καὶ 'Ρήνος αὐτὸς καὶ ὕκεανος αὐτὸς. όν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπικλήσεις ἀκούοντες ἐπιστεύομεν αὐτὰ εἶναι, ταῦθ' ἦμων προσκατέργασται, ἐμβατα μὲν τὰ πρὶν ἀγνωστα, πλωτὰ δὲ τὰ πρὶν ἀδιερεύνητα ἀπὸ τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μεγαλογρωμοσύνης ποιῆσας. καὶ εἰγε μὴ φθονήσαντες αὐτῷ τινες, μᾶλλον δὲ ἦμων, ἐστασία-

1 μήτε St., μήτε LM cod. Peir.
2 δίστε cod. Peir., καὶ δίστε LM.
3 *Αμβρονίους LM, διμβρωνίας cod. Peir.
sent to conduct this war against the Gauls, observe how many and how great were his achievements there. So far from becoming a burden to our allies, he even went to their assistance, because he was not at all suspicious of them and saw, moreover, that they were being wronged. But our foes, both those who dwelt near the friendly tribes, and all the rest who inhabited Gaul, he subjugated, acquiring, on the one hand, vast stretches of territory, and on the other, numberless cities of which we knew not even the names before. All this, moreover, he accomplished so quickly, though he had received neither a competent force nor sufficient money from you, that before any of you knew that he was at war, he had conquered; and he settled affairs on so firm a basis as to make these places stepping-stones to Germany and to Britain. So now Gaul is enslaved, which sent against us the Ambrones and the Cimbri, and is all under cultivation like Italy itself; and ships sail not only the Rhone and the Arar, but the Mosa, the Liger, the very Rhine, and very ocean itself. Places of which we had not even heard the names, to lead us to think that they existed, he likewise subdued for us; the formerly unknown he made accessible, the formerly unexplored he made navigable, by the greatness of his purpose and the greatness of his resolution. And had not certain persons in their envy of him, or rather of you, begun a revolt and
κεσαν, καὶ δεύρο αὐτὸν πρὸ τοῦ προσήκοντος καιρὸῦ ἐπανελθείν ἡναγκάσαν, οὐντως ἂν καὶ τὴν Βρεττανίαν ὀλὴν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νησίων τῶν περικειμένων ἀυτῇ καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν πᾶσαν μέχρι τοῦ ἄρκτικοῦ ὦκεανοῦ ἐκεχείρωτο, ὡσθ' ἡμᾶς ὄρους μὴ γῆν μηδ' ἀνθρώπους τὸ λοιπὸν, ἀλλὰ ἄερα καὶ τὴν ἕξω βάλασαν ἔχειν. διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὀρόντες τὸ τε μέγεθος τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ἐπὶ πλείστον ἄρξαι αὐτῷ προσετάξατε· ὅπερ, ἀφ' οὐ ἔδημοκρατήθημεν, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπήρξε, λέγω δὲ τὸ ὁκτὼ ἔτεσιν ὅλοις ἐφεξῆς ἠγεμονεύσας. οὖν γε αὐτὸν πάντα ἐκεῖνα ὑμῖν ὀντὸς προσκατάσχων ἐνομίσατε, καὶ οὐδεπότε ἐφ' ὑμῖς αὐξηθήσεσθαι ὑπωπτεύσατε.

3. "Ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ μακρότατον αὐτὸν ἐχρονίσατε τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις ἐπεθυμήσατε· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν οἱ τὴν πολιτείαν μηκέτι κοινὴν ἄλλ' ἰδίαν αὐτῶν νομίζοντες εἰναι οὕτω τοῦτῳ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκαταστρέψασθαι οὐθ' ὑμῖν πάντων αὐτῶν κυριεύσαι, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἁγία ἀυτοῦ ἀποχρησάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ ἀνόσια εὐτολμήσαν, διὸς τοῦτο ὑμᾶς τῇ παρ' αὐτὸν βοηθείᾳ δεηθήναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταληπὼν τὰ προκείμενα ταχέως ὑμῖν ἑπεκούρησε, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπαρθηθέντων αὐτὴ κινδύνων ήλευθέρωσε, καὶ προσέτη τὴν τε Ἰβηρίαν ἄλλο-

1 ἡναγκάσαν Bk., ἡναγκάσαν LM.
2 περικειμένων M cod. Peir., προκειμένων L.
3 αὐτῶν Reim., αὐτῶν Rk., αὐτὴν LM cod. Peir.
4 πολλὰ καὶ Bk., καὶ πολλὰ LM cod. Peir.
5 ὑμᾶς R. Steph., ὑμᾶς LM cod. Peir.
forced him to return here before the proper time, he would certainly have subdued all Britain together with the other islands which surround it and all Germany to the Arctic Ocean, so that we should have had as our boundaries for the future, not land or people, but the air and the outer sea. For these reasons you also, beholding the greatness of his purpose, his deeds, and his good fortune, assigned him the right to hold office for a very long period,—a privilege which, from the time that we became a republic, no other man has enjoyed,—I mean holding the command during eight \(^1\) whole years in succession. So fully did you believe that it was really for your sake he was making all these conquests and so far were you from ever suspectsing that he would grow powerful to your hurt.

"Nay, you desired that he should tarry in those regions as long as possible. He was prevented, however, by those who regarded the government as belonging no longer to the public but as their own private property, from subjugating the remaining countries, and you were kept from becoming masters of them all; for these men, making an evil use of the opportunity afforded by his being occupied, ventured upon many impious projects, so that you came to require his aid. Therefore, abandoning the victories within his grasp, he quickly came to your assistance, freed all Italy from the dangers which threatened it, and furthermore won back Spain, which was being estranged. Then,

\(^1\) See xxxix. 33 and note.
Διονύσιος Ρωμ. Ιστορία, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὴν τε πατρίδα καταλιπόντα καὶ βασιλείαν ἴδιαν ἐν Ἕλληνες κατασκευάζοντα, καὶ ἐκεῖνο πάντα ἧμετερὰ ἀγαθὰ μεταφέροντα, τοὺς τε ὑπηκόους ὑμῶν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς συσκευαζόμενον καὶ τοὺς χρήμασιν ὑμῶν ὑμῖς χρόμενον ἵδιον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πείσαὶ πως ἤθέλησε, καὶ ἱδία καὶ κοινὴ προσπέμπων, παύσασθαι ἐν καὶ μεταβεβαι, πίστευς ὑπαχόντα μεγίστας ἡ μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἔσοις καὶ ὁμοίως ἐν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐδένα τρόπον ἤδυνήθη τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν συγγενείαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα αὐτῷ ὑπάρξασαι ὑπερβας ἀντιπολεμεῖν υμῖν εἰλετο, οὕτω δὴ καταναγκασθεὶς τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου προσφασθαι τί μὲν δεί λέγειν’ ὡς εὐτόλμως ἐπ’ αὐτὸν, καὶ περ χειμῶνος ὄντος, ἐπλευσε, τί δὲ ὡς εὐθαρσῶς αὐτῷ, καὶ τοπίον πάντα τὰ ἐκεὶ χωρία ἔχοντι, συνεμέχει, τί δὲ ὡς ἀνδρικὸς αὐτῷ, καὶ πολύ τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐλαττούμενος, ἐκράτησεν; ἄν γὰρ τις καθ’ ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἐπεξελθεὶν ἐθελήσῃ, παῖδα ἀν ἀποδείξει τὸν θαυμαστὸν ἐκεῖνον Πομπήιον ὄντως ἐν πάσιν αὐτοῖς κατεστρατηγήθη.

45 ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν ἐάσω τοῖς ὑοῖς γὰρ οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ὁ Καίσαρ ἐσεμπνεῦσε τοτε ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, μισῶν ἄει τὰ τῆς ἄναγκης ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ δαιμόνιον δικαιοῦτα τὴν μάχην ἐκρίνε, τίνα μὲν τῶν τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀλώτων ἀπέκτεινε, τίνα δὲ οὐκ ἐτίμησεν, οὐχ οὐκ

1 παύσασθαι H. Steph., παύσασθαι LM cod. Peir.
2 καὶ ὁμοίως Rk., ὁμοίως LM cod. Peir.
4 ἐκεῖ χωρίᾳ Pfugk, ἐπιχώρια LM cod. Peir.
5 ἄει τὰ Kühler, αὐτὰ LM, αὐτὰ cod. Peir.
when he saw that Pompey, who had abandoned his country and was setting up a kingdom of his own in Macedonia, was transferring thither all your possessions, equipping your subjects against you, and using your own money against you, he at first wished to persuade him somehow to stop and change his course, sending mediators to him both privately and publicly and offering the most solemn pledges that he should again attain an equal and like position with himself. When, however, he found himself unable in any way to effect this, but instead Pompey burst all restraints, even the relationship which had existed between himself and Caesar, and chose to fight against you, then at last he was compelled to begin the civil war. But what need is there of relating how daringly he sailed against him in spite of the winter, or how boldly he assailed him, though Pompey held all the strong positions, or how bravely he vanquished him, though much inferior in the number of his troops? Indeed, if one wished to recite the whole story in detail, he could show the renowned Pompey to have been a mere child, so completely was he outgeneralled at every point.

"But all this I will omit, since not even Caesar himself ever took any pride in it, always hating, as he did, the deeds enforced by necessity. But when Heaven had most justly decided the issue of the battle, whom of those then captured for the first time did he put to death? Whom, rather, did he
τῶν βουλευτῶν ἡ τῶν ἱππέων ἡ καὶ ὅλως τῶν πολιτῶν, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν τε ὑπη-
κόων; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνων τις οὔτ' ἀπέθανε
βιαίως οὔτε αἵτιαν ἐλαβεν, οὐκ ἰδιώτης, οὐ βασι-
λεύς, οὐκ ἔθνος, οὐ πόλις; ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ συν-
εξητάσθησαν αὐτῷ, οί δὲ τὴν γοῦν ἴδειαν ἐντίμως
ἔσχον, ὡστε τότε δὴ καὶ πάντας ὀδύρεσθαι τῶν
3 ἀπολωλῶν. τοσαύτη γὰρ περιουσία φιλανθρω-
pίας ἐχρήσατο ὡστε τους μὲν συναρμαίους τῷ
Πομπηίῳ ἐπαινέσατο καὶ πάντα σφίζει τὰ δοθέντα
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φυλάξαι, τὸν δὲ δὴ Φαρνάκην καὶ τὸν
Ὀρώδην μισήσαι ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεκούρησαν φίλοι
4 αὐτοῦ ὄντες. καὶ διὰ τούτο γε οὐχ ἤκιστα τῷ
μὲν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐπολέμησε, τῷ δὲ ἐπιστρα-
tεύσεων ἔμμελλε. πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ ... 2 ζώντα
eιλήφει. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι μήτε εὐθὺς αὐτὸν
ἐπεδώξεν ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχολὴν εἶασε φυγεῖν, καὶ
5 τὸν βάλαντον αὐτὸν ἁπάτῳ ἦκουσε, τοὺς τε φονεύ-
sαντας αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπήνεσεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνταπ-
ἐκτεινεν οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον, καὶ αὐτὸν γε τὸν
Πτολεμαίον, ὅτι καίτοι παῖς ὁν τῶν ἐνεργείτην
ἀπολόμενου περειεῖδε, προεδίεθειρε.

46 "Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ὅπως μὲν τὴν Αἰγυπτίων
κατεστήσατο, καὶ ὅσα χρήματα ἐκείθεν ὑμῖν
ἐκόμισε, περιττὸν ἀν εἰς λέγειν στρατεύσας
de ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην οὐκ ὅλγα ἤδη τοῦ τε Πῶλου
καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἔχοντα, προσηγγελθή τε ἀμα
αὐτῷ προσώπων καὶ ὀφθη παρὼν καὶ συνέβαλεν
2 αὐθημερῶν καὶ ἐνίκησεν. ἄφ' ὅπερ οὐχ ἦκιστα
diēdeixen ὅτι οὐδὲν χεῖραν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ

1 δὲ cod. Peir., om. I.M.
2 Lacuna recognized by Xyl.
not honour, not alone of the senators or knights or of the citizens in general, but even of the allies and subjects? For no one, even of them, either died a violent death, or was censured,—no civilian, no king, no tribe, no city. On the contrary, some arrayed themselves on his side, and others obtained at least pardon with honour, so that all then lamented the fate of those who had perished. Such exceeding humanity did he show, that he praised those who had coöperated with Pompey and allowed them to keep everything that Pompey had given them, but hated Pharnaces and Orodus, because, though friends of the vanquished, they had not assisted him. It was chiefly for this reason that he not long afterward waged war on Pharnaces and was preparing to conduct a campaign against Orodus. And he certainly [would have spared] even [Pompey himself if] he had captured him alive. A proof of this is that he did not pursue him at once, but allowed him to flee at his leisure. Also he was grieved when he heard of Pompey's death and did not praise his murderers, but put them to death for it soon after, and moreover even destroyed Ptolemy himself, because, though a child, he had allowed his benefactor to perish.

"How after this he brought Egypt to terms and how much money he conveyed to you from there, it would be superfluous to relate. And when he made his campaign against Pharnaces, who already held a considerable part of Pontus and Armenia, he was on one and the same day reported to the king as approaching him, was seen confronting him, engaged him in conflict, and conquered him. This better than anything else showed that he had not become weaker in Alexandria and had not
ΔΙΟΝΤΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΗΣ ΗΣΤΟΡΙΑ

ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ἕπο τρυφής ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνεχρόνισεν· πῶς γὰρ ἀν ραθώς ἐκείνα ἔπραξε μὴ πολλὴ μὲν παρασκευὴ διανοιάς πολλὴ δὲ καὶ ρώμη χρόμενος;

3 ὁς δ' οὖν καὶ ὁ Φαρνάκης ἔφυγε, παρεσκευάζετο μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Πάρθουν στρατεύσαι, στασια-

σάντων δὲ αὕτης ἐνταῦθα τινὸς ἀνεκομίσθη τε ἄκων, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὲ καὶ ταύτα διέθετο ὡστε

4 μὴ ὅτι ἀρχὴν ἐταράχθη πιστευθῆναι. οὕτε γὰρ ἀπέδανεν οὕτε ἔφυγεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἦτιμώθη τὸ

παράπαν εὖ ἐκείνων τῶν πραγμάτων οὔδεις, οὐχ ὅτι οὐ δικαιότατα ἂν πολλοὶ ἐκολάσθησαν, ἀλλ'

ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἀφειδώς ἀπολλύει ποὺς

5 ἤγειτο δειν., καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ μὲν ἄνδρεια τοῦς

ἀλλοφύλους κατηγοριζέτο, τῇ δὲ φιλανθρωπία

καὶ τοὺς στασιάζοντας τῶν πολιτῶν, καίτοι καὶ

ἀναξίους πολλάκις τούτου γεγονότας ἄφ' ἄν

ἐπράττον, διετήρει. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ

Ἀφρίκῃ τῇ τε Ἰβηρία αὕτης ἔπραξε, πάντας

6 ὅσοι μὴ καὶ πρότερον ποτὲ ἄλοντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ

ὕλείτηθεν ἀφείς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς πολλάκις

ἐπιβουλεύοντας οἱ ἄει περιποιεῖσθαι μωρίαν, οὐ

φιλανθρωπίαν ἐνόμιζε: τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις

ἀμαρτημασί τυγχανόσκειν τις, καὶ μὴ ἄκατ-

ἀλλακτων ἥρην ἔχειν καὶ προσέτα τιμάς

νέμειν, ἃν δὲ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐμέμνοσθι, ἀπαλλαγὴν

αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ πάνυ ἄνδρος ὑγγὸν ἤγειτο

7 εἶναι. καίτοι τῇ τοῦτο εἶτον; πολλοῖς γὰρ τοι

καὶ ἐκείνων ἔσωσε, δοῦς τοῖς τε ἐταίροις ἁπασί

καὶ τοῖς συννικήσασιν αὐτῷ ἐνα ἐκάστῳ τῶν

ἄλοντων περιποιησθαῖ.
delayed there out of voluptuousness. For how could he have won that victory so easily without having great mental vigour in reserve and great physical strength? When now Pharmaces had fled, he was preparing to conduct a campaign at once against the Parthian, but as certain men had begun a strife here he returned reluctantly and settled this dispute, too, so well that no one would believe there had been any disturbance at all. For not a person was killed or exiled or even disgraced in any way as a result of that trouble, not because many might not justly have been punished, but because he thought it right while destroying the enemy unsparingly to preserve the citizens, even if some of them are of little account. Therefore by his bravery he overcame foreigners in war, but by his humanity he kept unharmed even the seditious citizens, although many of them by their acts had often shown themselves unworthy of this favour. This same policy he followed again both in Africa and in Spain, releasing all who had not previously been captured and been pitied by him. For while he considered it folly, not humanity, always to spare the lives of those who frequently plotted against him, on the other hand, he thought it the duty of one who was truly a man to pardon opponents on the occasion of their first errors instead of harbouring implacable anger, yes, and even to assign honours to them, but if they clung to their original course, to get rid of them. Yet why do I relate this? Many of these also he spared by allowing all his associates and those who had helped him conquer to save the life of one captive each.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

47 "Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἀπ' ἐμφύτου χρηστότητος, καὶ οὕτε προσποιητῶς οἷτε ἐπὶ κατασκευὴ πλεονεξίας τινὸς, ὅσπερ ἔτεροι συνεχοὶ ἐφιλανθρωπεύσαντο τινὰ, ἐπραξε, μέγιστον μὲν καὶ ἐκεῖνο μαρτυρίων ἐστὶν, ὅτι πανταχοῦ καὶ διὰ πάντων ὁμοίος ἐγένετο καὶ οὐτ' ὅργῃ τις αὐτῶν ἕγριαν ὡστε εὑραγία διέφθειρεν, οὐ τὸ κράτος

2 ἡλλοίωσεν, οὐχ ἡ ἐξουσία μετέβαλεν. καίτοι χαλεπῶτατον ἐν τοῖς 1 τοσοῦτοι καὶ τοιούτουις καὶ προσέτει καὶ ἐπαλλήλους πράγμασιν ἐξετασθέντα, καὶ τὰ μὲν κατορθοκότα τὰ δὲ ἐν χερσίν ἐτ' ἔχοντα τὰ δ' ὑποπτεύοντα, χρηστόν τε 2 ἀεὶ δ' ἵσον γενέσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν τραχύ μηδὲ δεινόν, εἴ καὶ μὴ πρὸς τιμωρίαν τῶν παρελθόντων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γε 3 φυλακὴν τῶν μελλόντων ἐθελῆσαι ποιησάμενος ἀνεκτήσατο. 4 ἴκανα μὲν καὶ ταῦτα τὴν χρηστότητα αὐτοῦ τεκμηριώσατο ἐστὶν οὕτω γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν ὁντὸς ἐφυ ὡστε ἐν μόνον ἡπιστάτο, σῶζειν τοὺς γε σῶζεσθαι δυναμένους· προσέτει δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα, 4 ὥστε τοῖς τε αὐτῶ 5 πολεμήσαι τὸ μὴ ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς κολασθῆναι παρασκευάσας, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἐπταυκότας ἀνεκτήσατο. πάσι μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Δεσπώτου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Σερτωρίου γενομένοις ἄδειαν δοθῆναι ἐποίησε, πάσι δὲ ἐκ τοῦτον τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐπικηρυχθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου περιελευθεῖσα τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑπάρξαι παρασκευάσας, καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τοῦτο κατάγαγε, τοὺς τε παῖδας ὑπάντων τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου βανατωθέντων καὶ τιμῶν καὶ

5 ἀρχῶν ἡξίωσεν. καὶ 6 τὸ μέγιστον, πάντα ἀπλῶς

1 ὡς τοῖς R. Steph., ὡς τοῖς LM.
2 χρηστὸν τε M, χρηστότε L. 3 γὰς R. Steph., τε LM.
6 καὶ Bk., καὶ τοῖς LM cod. Peir.

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BOOK XLIV

"That he did all this, moreover, from inherent goodness and not for appearances or to reap any advantage, as many others have displayed humanity, there is this further very strong evidence, that everywhere and in all circumstances he showed himself the same: anger did not brutalize him, nor good fortune corrupt him; power did not alter, nor authority change him. Yet it is very difficult when tested in so many enterprises of such magnitude, in enterprises, moreover, that follow one another in rapid succession, when one has been successful in some, is still engaged in conducting others, and only surmises that others are yet to come, to prove equally good on all occasions and to refrain from wishing to do anything harsh or terrible, if not out of vengeance for the past, at least as a measure of safeguard for the future. This alone is enough to prove his goodness; for he was so truly a scion of gods that he understood but one thing, to save those who could be saved. But there is also this further evidence, that he took care not to have those who warred against him punished even by anyone else, and that he won back those who had met with misfortune earlier. For he caused amnesty to be granted to all who had been followers of Lepidus and Sertorius, and next arranged that safety should be afforded to all the survivors of those whom Sulla had proscribed; somewhat later he brought them home from exile and bestowed honours and offices upon the sons of all who had been slain by Sulla. Greatest of all, he burned absolutely all the secret
τὰ γράμματα ὡς ἡ παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἡ παρὰ τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἀπόρρητα εὐρέθη κατέκαυσε, μὴν ἀναγνωρίσει τοὺς μὴν τηρήσας, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλω τινὶ πονηρευθῇ τι δι' αὐτὰ ἐγγένηται. ὅτε δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως οὐκ εἶπε μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐπράξε, δῆλοι τὰ ἐργαὶ οὔδεις γοῦν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐκείνων οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἐπαθὲ τὶ δεῖνόν, ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἡ ἐφοβήθη, οὕκοιν οὐδ' οἶδεν οὔδεις τοὺς ἐκ αὐτῶν περιγενομένους 3 πλὴν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων. τούτῳ γὰρ ἔστι παραδοξότατον καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ἔχων, ὅτι τὰ ἀφείδησαν πρὶν αἰτιάθηναι καὶ ὅτι ἐσώθησαν πρὶν κινδυνεύσαν, καὶ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ περιποίησας σφᾶς ἐμαθεῖν οὐς ἥλεσε.

48. "Καὶ γὰρ τοι διὰ τε ταύτα καὶ διὰ τὰλλα ὡς ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ ἐπηνώρθωσε, 4 μεγάλα μὲν αὐτὰ καθ' ἐαυτὰ διατελεῖ, παρὰ μικρὸν δ' ἄν πρὸς ἐκεῖνα νομισθέντα, ἅ οὐ χρῆ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξείσαι, καὶ ἐφιλήσατε αὐτῶν ὡς πατέρα καὶ ἱγαπήσατε ὡς εὐεργέτην, τιμαῖς τε οἷς οὕδεια ἀλλοι γῆλατε, καὶ προστάτην διατελής τῇς τε πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης ἔχειν ἐπεθυμήσατε, μηδὲν περὶ τῶν ὁνομάτων διενεχθέντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἐλάττωνα αὐτοῦ προσθέντες, Ἰν ὅσον καθ' ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ νομισμένου πρὸς το τελειότατον καὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐνέδει, τούτῳ ἐκ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν συντελείας ἀντανα- πληρωθῇ. διὰ γὰρ τούτῳ ἀρχιερεὺς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, ὑπατος δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ

1 μηδ' Βκ., μῆτ' ΛΜ κοδ. Πειρ.
2 οὐδ' Στ., οὐδ' ΛΜ κοδ. Πειρ.
3 περιγενομένους Leuchl., περὶ γένους ΛΜ κοδ. Πειρ.
4 ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ ἐπηνώρθωσε κωδ. Πειρ., ἐνομοθέτησεν ἐπηνώρθωσε ΛΜ.
documents found in the tent of either Pompey or Scipio, neither reading nor yet keeping any of them, in order that no one else any more than he himself should use them for mischievous ends. And that this was not only what he said he had done, but what he actually did, the facts show clearly; at any rate, no one as a result of those letters was even frightened, much less suffered any harm. Hence no one even knows those who escaped this danger except the men themselves. This is a most astonishing fact and one without a parallel, that they were spared before they were accused and saved before they encountered danger, and that not even he who saved their lives learned who it was he pitied.

"For these and for all his other acts of legislation and reconstruction, great in themselves, but likely to be deemed small in comparison with those others which I need not recount in detail, you loved him as a father and cherished him as a benefactor, you exalted him with such honours as you bestowed on no one else and desired him to be continual head of the city and of the whole domain. You did not quarrel at all about titles, but applied them all to him, feeling that they were inadequate to his merits, and desiring that whatever each of them, in the light of customary usage, lacked of being a complete expression of honour and authority might be supplied by what the rest contributed. Therefore, for the gods he was appointed high priest,
πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, δικτάτωρ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπεδέχθη, καὶ τί ταῦτ’ ἔξαριθμοῦμαι, ὅποτε καὶ πατέρα αὐτὸν ἐνὶ λόγῳ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπεκάλεστα; τὰς ἀλλὰς αὐτοῦ προσγορίας καταλέγω.

49 "Ἀλλ’ οὖτος ὁ πατήρ, οὖτος ὁ ἀρχιερεύς ὁ ἁσυλος ὁ θρός ὁ θεὸς τέθηκεν, οἷοι, τέθηκεν οὐ νόσοι βιασθεὶς, οὐδὲ γῇρα μαρανθεὶς, οὐδὲ ἔξω που ἐν πολέμω τινὶ τρωθεὶς, οὐδὲ ἐκ δαιμονίου τινὸς αὐτομάτως ἀρπασθεῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐνταῦθα ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἐπίβουλευθεῖς οὗ καὶ ἐς Βρεττανίαν ἀσφαλῶς στρατεύσας, ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνεδρευθεὶς οὗ καὶ τὸ πομηρίον αὐτῆς ἐπανεξῆς, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κατασφαγεῖς οὗ καὶ ἱδιον ἀλλὸ κατασκευάσας, ἀσπλοῦ ὁ εὐπόλεμος, γυμνὸ οἰ εἰρηνοποιοῖς, πρὸς τοὺς δικαστήριους ὁ δικαστής, πρὸς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὁ ἀρχων, ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅποι μηδεὶς τῶν πολεμῶν μὴ ἐς τὴν βαλλασθὲν ἐκπεσόντα ἀποκτεῖναι ἡδυνήθη, ὑπὸ τῶν ἑταίρων ὁ πολλάκις αὐτοῦς ἐλέησας.

3 ποῦ δητὰ σοι, Καῖσαρ, ἡ φιλανθρωπία, ποῦ δὲ ἡ ἁσυλία, ποῦ δὲ οἱ νόμοι; ἀλλὰ τρὰ μὲν, ὅπως μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τις φονεύθηται, πολλὰ ἑνομοθέτησας, σὲ δὲ οὕτως οἰκτρῶς ἀπέκτειναν οἱ φίλοι, καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ πρόκεισαι ἐσφαγμένος, ἔδε ἡ πολλάκις ἐπομπευσας ἐστεφανωμένος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔρριψε κατατερωμένος, ἀφ’ οὗ πολλάκις ἐδημηγόρησας. οἷοι πολίων ἡματωμενών, ὁ στολῆς ἐσπαραγμένης, ἡν

1 ἐνὶ λόγῳ Ρκ., ἐνὶ διάλογῳ ΛΜ.
2 ἐπεκαλέσατο Μ, ἐπεκαλέσατο Λ.
3 ἀρπασθεῖς Ρειμ., (ἰον Ζον. ΒΣ), ἀρπασθεῖς ΛΜ Ζον. ΑΔ.
for us consul, for the soldiers imperator, and for the
enemy dictator. But why do I enumerate these
details, when in one phrase you called him father
of his country—not to mention the rest of his
titles?

"Yet this father, this high priest, this inviolable
being, this hero and god, is dead, alas, dead not by
the violence of some disease, nor wasted by old age,
nor wounded abroad somewhere in some war, nor
caught up inexplicably by some supernatural force,
but right here within the walls as the result of a plot
—the man who had safely led an army into Britain;
ambushed in this city—the man who had enlarged
its pomerium; murdered in the senate-house—the
man who had reared another such edifice at his
own expense; unarmed—the brave warrior; defence-
less—the promoter of peace; the judge—beside
the court of justice; the magistrate—beside the
seat of government; at the hands of the citizens—he
whom none of the enemy had been able to kill
even when he fell into the sea; at the hands of
his comrades—he who had often taken pity on
them. Of what avail, O Caesar, was your humanity,
of what avail your inviolability, of what avail the
laws? Nay, though you enacted many laws that
men might not be killed by their personal foes, yet
how mercilessly you yourself were slain by your
friends! And now, the victim of assassination,
you lie dead in the Forum through which you
often led the triumph crowned; wounded to death,
you have been cast down upon the rostra from
which you often addressed the people. Woe for
the blood-bespattered locks of gray, alas for the
50 Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου λέγοντος ὁ δῆμος τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἤρθεῖτο, ἐπειτὰ δὲ ὤργίζετο, καὶ τέλος οὕτως ἐφλέγμην ὡστε τοὺς τεῖον φονεὰς αὐτοῦ ζητεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλευταῖς ἐγκαλεῖν, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἀπέκτειναν οἱ δὲ ἐπείδου ἀποδυνάσκοντα ἀνδρὰ ὑπὲρ οὐ δημοσία κατ᾽ ἐτος εὐχαρίστησαν, καὶ οὐ τὴν τε ὑγείαν τὴν τε τύχην ὁμνυσαν, καὶ δὲ ἐξ ἵππο τοῖς δημάρχοις ἁσυλον

2 ἐπεποίηκεσαν. καὶ τοῦτον τὸ τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἀρπάσαντες οἱ μὲν ἔσ τὸ οὐκήμα ἐν ὧ ἀπέσφακτο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον κομίσασαν ἐξουλοντο καὶ ἐκέι καῦσαι, κολυθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φόβῳ τοῦ μῆ καὶ τὸ θέατρον τοὺς τε ναοὺς συγκαταπρησθήναι, αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ, ὡσπερ

3 εἶχον, ἐπὶ πυράν ἐπέθηκαν. πολλὰ δ᾽ ἀν καὶ ὅσ τῶν περίξ οἰκοδομημάτων ἐφθάρῃ, εἰ μὴ οἱ τε στρατιῶται ἐμποδῶν ἐγένοτο καὶ τινὰς τῶν βρασυτέρων οἱ ὑπατοί κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου πετρῶν ἔσωσαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπάυσαντο διὰ

4 τούτω οἱ λοιποὶ ταραττόμενοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τε τὰς οἰκίας τῶν σφαγέων ὀφρυσαν, καὶ ἄλλους τε τὸν τούτω καὶ Ἑλευσίων Κίνναν δημαρχοῦσα μάτην ἀπέκτειναν οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἐπεβούλευσε τὸ Καῖσαρι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτῶν ἡγάπα. ἐπλανήθησαν δὲ ὅτε Κορνήλιος Κίννας ὁ στρατηγὸς συμμετέχει τῆς ἐπιθέσεως. καὶ μετὰ τούτω ἀπειπούτω τῶν ὑπάτων μηδένα ἔξω τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνοπλον εἶναι, τῶν μὲν φόνων ἀπε-
rent robe, which you assumed, it seems, only that you might be slain in it!"

At this deliverance of Antony's the throng was at first excited, then enraged, and finally so inflamed with passion that they sought his murderers and reproached the other senators, because while the others had slain they had looked on at the death of a man on whose behalf they had voted to offer public prayers each year, by whose Health and Fortune they had sworn their oaths, whose person they had made as inviolable as the tribunes. Then, seizing his body, some wished to convey it to the room in which he had been slaughtered, and others to the Capitol, and to burn it there; but being prevented by the soldiers, who feared that the theatre and temples would be burned to the ground at the same time, they placed it upon a pyre there in the Forum, without further ado. Even so, many of the surrounding buildings would have been destroyed had not the soldiers prevented and had not the consuls thrust some of the bolder ones over the cliffs of the Capitoline. For all that, the rest did not cease their disturbance, but rushed to the houses of the assassins, and during the excitement killed, among others, Helvius Cinna, a tribune, without just cause; for this man had not only not plotted against Caesar, but was one of his most devoted friends. Their mistake was due to the fact that Cornelius Cinna, the praetor, had taken part in the attack. After this, when the consuls forbade any one except the soldiers to carry arms, they
σχοντο, βωμον δε τινα εν τω της πυρας χωριφ
ιδρυσαμενοι (τα γαρ οστα 1 αυτοι οι εξελευθερην
προαιιλοντο και ες το πατριον μιμηθειν κατ-
ενεντο) θυειν τε επ' αυτω και καταρχεσθαι το

2 Καισαρι ως και θεω επεχειρουν. οι ουν υπατου
εκεινων τε ανετρεψαν, και τινας αγανακτησαν
επι τουτω εκολασαν, και νομον εξεθηκαν 2 μηδενα
αυθες δικτατορα γενεσθαι, άρας τε ποησαμενοι
και θανατον προειποντες αν τε 3 τις εσηρησηται
tουτο αν θυ υποστηκ, και προσετε και χρηματα

3 αυτους αντικυρις επικηρυξαντες. ταυτα μεν εσ το
επειτα προειδοντο, 4 ωσπερ εν τοις ονομασι της
tων έργων δεινοτητος ουσης, άλλη ουκ εκ των
οπλων και έκ των εκαστων τροπων και γεμισ-
mενων αυτων και τας της εξουσιας, εν η ποτ' άν
tυχη δρωμενα, προσρησεις 5 διαβαλλοντων 6 εν δε
τω τωτε παροντι τους τε κληρουγοις τους υπο
του Καισαρος προκεχειρισμενους ες τας αποκιας
ευθυς, μη και νεοχωσωσι τι, εστειλαν, και των
σφαγων τους μεν άρξαι τινων ειληχοτας ες τα
εβην, τους δε λουπους άλλων άλλοσε επι προφασει
tων έξεπεμψαν και αυτους ως και ενεργητας
σφων πολλοι έτιμησαν.

52 Ουτω μεν ο Καισαρ μετηλλαξε. και έπειοδη εν
τε τω του Πομπηιου οικωδομηματι και παρα τω
ανδριαντι αυτω τω τοτε εκει εστοτι εσφαγη
εδοξε τινα τιμωριαν αυτω δεδωκειαν, άλλως τε
και 6 οτι και βρονται απλετοι και υετων λαβροσ

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1 οστα supplied by Louncel.
2 εξεθηκαν Bk., ετεθηκαν LM.
3 τε supplied by Bk.
4 προειδοντο Bk., προειδοντες LM.
5 προσρησεις Xiph., προσρησει LM.
6 και added by Bk.
refrained from bloodshed, but set up an altar on the site of the pyre (for the freedmen of Caesar had previously taken up his bones and deposited them in the family tomb), and undertook to sacrifice upon it and to offer victims to Caesar, as to a god. But the consuls overthrew this altar and punished some who showed displeasure at the act, at the same time publishing a law that no one should ever again be dictator and invoking curses and proclaiming death as the penalty upon any man who should propose or support such a measure, besides openly setting a price upon the heads of any such. This provision they made for the future, assuming that the shamefulness of men's deeds consists in the titles they bear, whereas these deeds really arise from their possession of armed forces and from the character of the individual incumbent of the office, and disgrace the titles of authority under which they chance to occur; but for the time being they sent out immediately to the colonies such as held allotments of land already assigned by Caesar, out of fear that they might begin an uprising, while of the assassins they sent out those who had obtained governorships to the provinces, and the rest to various places on one pretext or another; and these men were honoured by many as their benefactors.

In this way Caesar met his end. And inasmuch as he had been slain in Pompey's edifice and near his statue which at that time stood there, he seemed in a way to have afforded his rival his revenge, especially as tremendous thunder and a furious rain
 Dio's Roman History

έπεγένετο. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοιῷδε τι σφέκσιον μνήμης συνηνέχθη. 2 Χάιος γὰρ τις Κάσκας δημαρχῶν, καὶ ἵδον ὅτι ὁ Κίννας ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ὄμωσιας ἀπωλέτο, ἐφοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθάνῃ, ὅτι Πούπλιος Σεροῦλιος Κάσκας ἐκ τῶν δημαρχῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν σφαγέων ἦν, καὶ γράμματα ἐξέθηκε τὴν τε κοινωνίαν σφόν ἐκ τῆς μιᾶς προσηγορίας καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς γνώμης δηλοῦν, καὶ ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέτερος δεινὸν οὐδὲν (καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σεροῦλιος ἰσχυρῶς ἐφυλάσσετο), λόγον δὲ δὴ τινα ὁ Χάιος, ὅστε καὶ μημονευεσθαι διὰ τούτο, ἔσχεν.

53 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Δολοβῆλλαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, καίτοι μὴ βουληθεὶς1 τὰ πρῶτα ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς οὐδέτερο καθήκουσιν οἱ προσλαβεῖν, ὕμως προσέθετο, δεῖσας μὴ στασιάσῃ. ὡς μέντοι οἱ τὰς πρόμηχος κατέστη καὶ ἀυτὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸ τε ἐξετάσαι τα διοικηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὸ2 πάντα τὰ δέξατα αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι ἐπετράπη, οὐκέτ' ἐσωφρόνησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐγκρατῆς τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, πολλὰ μὲν ἀπήλειψε πολλὰ δὲ καὶ3 ἀντενέγραψεν, ἀλλὰ τε καὶ νόμους. καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄρχας τὰς μὲν ἀφείλετο τινών τὰς δὲ ἑδοκεν ἄλλοις, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνων δὴ γραμμάτων4 αὐτὰ ποιῶν. κάκ τούτων συχνά μὲν αὐτὸδε ἤρπασε, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ παρ᾽ ἰδιωτῶν τῶν τε5 ὁμοῦς καὶ τῶν βασιλέων

1 μὴ βουληθεὶς Xyl., μὴ φαβηθεὶς LM.
2 τὰ R. Steph., ὅτι LM.
3 καὶ cod. Peir., om. LM.
4 δὴ γραμμάτων Bk., διαγραμμάτων LM cod. Peir.
5 τὰ M cod. Peir., τότε L.

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followed. In the midst of that excitement there also took place the following incident, not unworthy of mention. One Gaius Casca, a tribune, seeing that Cinna had perished as a result of his cognomen being the same as the praetor's, and fearing that he too might be killed, because Publius Servilius Casca was one of the tribunes and also one of the assassins, issued a statement which showed that they had in common only the single name and pointed out the difference in their sentiments. Neither of them suffered any harm, as Servilius was strongly guarded; but Gaius gained some notoriety, so that he is remembered for this act.

These were the actions of the consuls and of the others at that time. I say consuls, for Antony, fearing that Dolabella would head a revolt, took him as his colleague in the consulship, although he was at first not disposed to do so, on the ground that the office did not yet belong to him. When, however, the excitement subsided, and Antony himself was charged with the duty of investigating the acts of Caesar's administration and carrying out all his behests, he no longer acted with moderation, but as soon as he had got hold of the dead man's papers, made many erasures and many substitutions, inserting laws as well as other matters. Moreover, he deprived some of money and offices, which in turn he gave to others, pretending that in doing so he was carrying out Caesar's directions. Next he seized large sums of money there in Rome, and collected large sums also from private persons, communities,
ήργυρολόγησε, τοῖς μὲν χώραν, τοῖς δὲ ελευθερίαν,
4 ἄλλοις πολιτείαις, ἄλλοις ἀτέλειαις πολλῶν, καίτοι θίς βουλής τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ψηφισμένης μηδεμίαν στῆλην ὡς καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος συγγεγραφότος τι ἀνατεθῆναι (εἰ γὰρ στῆλας χαλκᾶς πάντα τὰ τοιαύτα ἑσεργάττω), ἑπείτα δὲ, ὡς εἰκός ἐνεκείτο λέγων πολλά καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ προβεβουλεύσθαι, κελευσάσης πάντας τοὺς πρῶτος
5 κοινῆ αὐτὰ διακρινών. ἄλλ’ οὗτε τι τούτων ἑφρόντισε, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν τοῦ μὲν ὁ Ὀκταουλών ἅτε καὶ μειραίοι καὶ πραγμάτων ἀτέροι, τὴν τε κηρονομίαν ὡς καὶ ἡμαρμνήσας καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον οὔσαν ἀπωθομένου, κατεφροκόσμησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς καὶ κηρονόμος οὐ μόνον τῆς υἱόσιας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυναστείας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὃν πάντα διερείρασεν τα τὸ γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ φυγάδας τινὰς κατηγαγεν.
6 ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Δέπιδος ἵσχυν τε μεγάλην εἰχε καὶ φοβον αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἑπήρτα, τὴν τε θυγατέρα τῷ νίει αὐτοῦ συνφόκισε καὶ ἀρχιέρεα αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύει παρεσκεύασεν, ἵνα μηδέν δὲν ἔπραττε
7 πολυπραγμοναί. ὅπως γὰρ δὴ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸ ποιήσῃ, ἐξ τε τοὺς ιερεὰς αὐθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὴν αἴρεσιν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἑπανάγαγε, καὶ τούτως αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἢ ὁλίγα τῶν νεομισμένων πρᾶξεις ἐτέλεσε, δυνηθεὶς ἄν αὐτὸς ἱερώσασθαι.
and kings, selling to some land, to others freedom, to others citizenship, to others exemption from taxes. And this was in spite of the fact that the senate had voted at first that no tablet should be set up on account of any law alleged to have been framed by Caesar (all such matters were inscribed upon bronze tablets), and that later, when he persisted, declaring that many urgent matters had been provided for by Caesar, it had ordered that all the foremost citizens should jointly determine them. Antony, however, paid no attention to them, and, in a word, despised Octavius, who, as a stripling and inexperienced in business, had declined the inheritance because it was troublesome and hard to manage; and thus he himself, claiming to be the heir not only of the property but also of the power of Caesar, managed everything. One of his acts was to restore some exiles. And since Lepidus had great power and was causing him considerable fear, he gave his daughter in marriage to this leader's son and made arrangements to have Lepidus himself appointed high priest, so as to prevent his meddling with what he himself was doing. In fact, in order to carry out this plan with ease, he transferred the election of the high priest from the people back to the priests, and in company with the latter he consecrated him, performing few or none of the accustomed rites; and yet he might have secured the priesthood for himself.
Τάδε έγραφε εν τῇ τετταρακόστῃ πέμπτῃ τῶν Δίωνος Ρωμαϊκῶν

α. Περὶ Γαίου Ὀκταύνιου τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀγαθοστοῦ ἐπικληθέντος.
β. Περὶ Ξέτου Πομπηίου τοῦ Πομπηίου νιέος.
γ. Ἡ Καίσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος στασιάζειν ἠρπαντο.
δ. Ἡ Κικέραν κατὰ Ἀντωνίου ἐξημιγράφησεν.

Χρόνου πλήθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γ. Ἡ Ιουλίου Καίσαρος δικτατορίας τὸ ε’ μετὰ Μ. Αιμιλίου Ἀπιάδου τὸ Ἰππάρχου καὶ ὑπατείας τὸ ε’ μετὰ Μ. Ἀρτονίου.

Ἀντώνιος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἔποιεί, ὁ δὲ δὴ Γαίος ὁ Ὀκταύνιος Καρπίας (οὕτω γὰρ ὁ τῆς Ἀττιᾶς τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδελφιδῆς νῖος ὀνομάζετο) ἦν μὲν ἐξ Οὐελετρῶν τῶν Οὐολσκίδων, ὀρφαῖος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀκταύνιον τοῦ πατρὸς καταλειφθεὶς ἐτράφη μὲν παρά τῇ μητρὶ καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς Λουκίῳ Φιλίππῳ, αὐξηθεὶς δὲ συνιετριβε τῷ Καίσαρι ἀπαίς τε γὰρ ἐκείνος ὁν καὶ μεγάλας ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐλπίδας ἐχὼν ἤγαπα τε καὶ περεύετε αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῆς τε μοναρχίας διάδοχου καταλείψων, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ

1 τῆς Γ. Βς., ἐπὶ ἡ ΛΜ.
2 μετὰ Μ. Ἀρτονίου Η. Στέφ., μ’ μετὰ Ἀρτονίου ΛΜ. There follows in LM the gloss: πατὴρ ἀγαθοστοῦ ὀκταύνιος μὴν αὐτῶν ἄττια ἢ ἀδελφῆ καίσαρος ὡς εἶναι τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνεψεῖν

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BOOK XLV

The following is contained in the Forty-fifth of Dio's Rome:

About Gaius Octavius, who afterward was named Augustus (chaps. 1-9).
About Sextus, the son of Pompey (chap. 10).
How Caesar and Antony began to quarrel (chaps. 11-17).
How Cicero delivered a public speech against Antony (chaps. 18-47).

B.C. 44 Duration of time, the remainder of the fifth dictatorship of C. Iulius Caesar, with M. Aemilius Lepidus as his master of the horse, and of his fifth consulship with Marcus Antonius.

So much for Antony's conduct. Now Gaius Octavius Caepias, as the son of Caesar's niece, Attia, was named, came from Velitrae in the Volscian country; after being bereft of his father Octavius he was brought up in the house of his mother and her husband, Lucius Philippus, but on attaining maturity lived with Caesar. For Caesar, being childless and basing great hopes upon him, loved and cherished him, intending to leave him as successor to his name, authority, and sovereignty. He was

ioúλου καλισαρος ("the father of Augustus was Octavius, his mother was Attia, sister of Caesar, so that Augustus was nephew of Julius Caesar").

3 ἀδελφοῖς Xyl., ἀδελφῶς LM Xiph. Zon.
4 ἀδερφί Xyl., ἀδελφῷ LM Xyl.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οτι η Ἦ Αττιὰ δεινως ἵσχυριζετο ἐκ τοῦ Ἄπολλωνος αὐτῶν κεκυκηκέναι, οτι καταδροθοῦσα ποτὲ ἐν ναῷ αὐτῶν δράκοντι τινὶ μεγνυσθαι ἐνόμισε καὶ διὰ 3 τοῦτο τῷ ἱκνουμένῳ χρόνῳ ἔτεκε. πρὶν τε ἦ ἐς τὸ φῶς ἑξεῖναι, ἔδοξεν οναρ τὰ σπλάγχνια ἕαυτής ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐπεκτείνεσθαι: καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ καὶ ὁ Ὁκτά- ουιος ἐκ τοῦ αἰδοντος αὐτῆς τὸν ἢλιον ἀνατέλλειν ἐνόμισεν. ἀρτὶ τε ὁ παῖς ἐγεγένησε, καὶ Νυγί- διος Φίγουλος ¹ βουλευτὴς παραχρῆμα αὐτῶ τὴν 4 αὐταρχίαν ἐμαντεύσατο· ἀρίστα γαρ τῶν ἴαθ  ἐκαυτὸν τὴν τε τοῦ πολὺ διακόσμησεν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων διαφοράς, ὡσα τε καθ' ἔαυτους γεγρά- μενοι καὶ ὡσα συμμεγνύτες ἀλλήλοις ἐν τε ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς διαστάσεσιν ἀποτελοῦσιν, διέγον, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ αἰτίαν ὅς τινας ἀπορ- ρήτους διατριβᾶς ποιοῦμενός ἐσχεν. οὕτως ὅπων τότε τῶν Ὁκτάουιον βραδύτερον ἐς τὸ συνέδριον διὰ τῶν τοῦ παιδός τόκων (ἐνυχε γὰρ Βουλῆς οὔσα) ἀπαντῆσαντα ἀνήρετο διὰ τι ἐβράδυνε, καὶ μαθὼν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνέβοψεν ὅτι "δεσπότην ἤμιν ἐγεννησας," καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκταραχθέντα ἐπὶ τοῦτο καὶ διαφθείρα τὸ παιδίον ἐθελήσαν ἐπέσχεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἔστι τοιοῦτο τι αὐτὸ παθεῖν. τότε 5 μὲν ὅτι ταύτ’ ἑλέχθη, τρεφομένου δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐτῶν ἄετος ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν ἐξαρπάσας ἀρτον ἐμετεωρίζθη καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καταπτόμενος ἀπέδωκεν αὐτὸν. παιδίσκου τε αὐτῶν ὅντος καὶ 2 τὴν διατριβὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ποιομένου, ἔδοξε 2 ποτε ὁ Κικέρων ὅναρ ἀλύσει τε αὐτῶν χρυσαῖς

¹ Φίγουλος R. Steph., φίβουλος LM Xiph. Zon.
² τῶν Xiph., om. LM.
BOOK XLV

influenced largely by Attia's emphatic declaration that the youth had been engendered by Apollo; for while sleeping once in his temple, she said, she thought she had intercourse with a serpent, and it was this that caused her at the end of the allotted time to bear a son. Before he came to the light of day she saw in a dream her entrails lifted to the heavens and spreading out over all the earth; and the same night Octavius thought that the sun rose from her womb. Hardly had the child been born when Nigidius Figulus, a senator, straightway prophesied for him absolute power. This man could distinguish most accurately of his contemporaries the order of the firmament and the differences between the stars, what they accomplish when by themselves and when together, by their conjunctions and by their intervals, and for this reason had incurred the charge of practising some forbidden art. He, then, on this occasion met Octavius, who, on account of the birth of the child, was somewhat late in reaching the senate-house (for there happened to be a meeting of the senate that day), and upon asking him why he was late and learning the cause, he cried out, "You have begotten a master over us." At this Octavius was alarmed and wished to destroy the infant, but Nigidius restrained him, saying that it was impossible for it to suffer any such fate. These things were reported at that time; and while the child was being brought up in the country, an eagle snatched from his hands a loaf of bread and after soaring aloft flew down and gave it back to him. When he was now a lad and was staying in Rome, Cicero dreamed that the boy had been let
ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καθιμήσθαι καὶ μάστιγα παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς εἰληφέναι· καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἦπιστατο ὅστις ἦν, περιέτυχε τε αὐτῷ τῆς υστεραίας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Καπιτώλιῳ, καὶ γνωρίσας αὐτὸν διηγῆσατο τοῖς παροῦσι τῆς ὄψιν. ο̣ τε Κάτωυλος οὐδὲ αὐτὸς πω ἐσπαρκὸς τὸν Ὀκτάουιον, ἐνόμισε τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τοῖς ὑπνοίς τοὺς εὐγενεῖς πάντας ἐν τῷ Καπιτώλιῳ πρόσωδον πρὸς τὸν Δία πεποιήσθαι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν εἰκόνα τινὰ τῆς.

Ῥώμης ἡ τῶν ἐκείνων κόλπων ἐμβεβληκέναι· ἐκπλαγείς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀνήλθεν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον προσευχομένος τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸν Ὀκτάουιον εὐρών ἀλλως ἀναβεβηκότα τὸ τε εἶδος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἐνύπνιον προσήμησε καὶ τὴν ἀληθείαν τῆς ὄφεως ἐβεβαιώσατο. μειρακιωθέντος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσίτιος, τὴν τε ἐσθήτα τὴν ἀνδρικὴν ἐνώντος, ὁ χιτῶν περιερράγη τε ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπωμίδων καὶ μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν κατερρύν. τοῦτο αὐτὸ μὲν καθ’ ἐαυτὸ οὐχ ὅπως τεκμαρσίν τινὰ ὡς καὶ ἀγαθόν τι προσημαίνει. ἐφερεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἠνίασε τοὺς παρόντας, ὦτι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ χιτῶνος ἐνδύσει συνεβεβήκει· ἐπελθὼν δὲ τῷ Ὀκταουιῷ εἰπεῖν ὑπαίτιον ὅτι “τὸ ἄξιωμα τὸ βουλευτικόν πάν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου σχῆσω,” ἐκβάσιν πρὸς τὸ λέξθεν ἐλαβεν. ἐξ οὖν τούτων ὁ Καίσαρ μεγάλα ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐπελπίσας ἐς τε τοὺς εὐπατρίδας αὐτῶν ἐσήγαγε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρχην ὄσκει, καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα προσήκει τῷ μέλλοντι καλῶς καὶ κατ’ ἀξίαν

1 μάστιγα Xiph., μάστιγας LM.
2 πω Pflugk, του LM Xiph.
3 προσημαίνοι Reim., προσημαίνωι LM.
4 εἰπεῖν Xiph., εἶπεν LM.
down from the sky by golden chains to the Capitol and had received a whip from Jupiter. He did not know who the boy was, but meeting him the next day on the Capitol itself, he recognized him and told the vision to the bystanders. Catulus, who had likewise never seen Octavius, thought in his sleep that all the noble boys had marched in a solemn procession to Jupiter on the Capitol, and in the course of the ceremony the god had cast what looked like an image of Rome into that boy's lap. Startled at this, he went up to the Capitol to offer prayers to the god, and finding there Octavius, who had gone up for some reason or other, he compared his appearance with the dream and convinced himself of the truth of the vision. When, later, Octavius had grown up and reached maturity and was putting on man's dress, his tunic was rent on both sides from his shoulders and fell to his feet. Now this event in itself not only foreboded no good as an omen, but it also distressed those who were present because it had happened on the occasion of his first putting on man's garb; it occurred, however, to Octavius to say, "I shall have the whole senatorial dignity beneath my feet," and the outcome proved in accordance with his words. Caesar, accordingly, founded great hopes upon him as a result of all this, enrolled him among the patricians, and trained him for the rule, carefully educating him in all the arts that should be possessed by one who was
τηλικούτο κράτος διοικήσειν ὑπάρχειν ἀκριβῶς
8 ἐξεπαιδεύεσθαι λόγους τε γὰρ ῥητορικοῖς, οὐχ ὅτι
η ἤτοι τῶν Δατίνων ἄλλα καὶ τῆς γλώσσῃς
ηδοίῳ, καὶ εν ταῖς στρατείαις ἐρρωμένως ἔξε-
πονεῖτο, τὰ τε πολιτικά καὶ τὰς ἀρχικὰ ἰσχυρῶς
ἐδιδάσκετο.
3. Οὗτος οὖν ο 'Οκτάονιος ἐτυχε μὲν τότε, ὅτε
ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐσφάγη, ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τῇ1 πρὸς
τῷ Ἰούλῳ ὁν κόλπῳ ἔπι παίδεια (κατὰ γὰρ
την στρατείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐκεῖσε
προσεπεμπτο2), πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς
ήλθησε μὲν ὑσσερ εἰκός ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ
νεωτερίσαι τι εὐθὺς ἐτόλμησεν οὕτε γὰρ ὅτι
νῦν οὐδ' ὅτι κληρονόμος κατελέειπτο ἡκκοῖε3
πω, καὶ προσέπε καὶ ὁ δήμος ὀμοιόων ἐπὶ τῷ
2 γενομένη ἠγγέλλετο τὴν πρώτην. περαιωθεῖς
δὲ ἐς τὸ Βρεττέσιον, καὶ τὰς τε διαθήκας ἁμα
καὶ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ δήμου τὴν δευτέραν μαθῶν,
οὔκετ' ἀναβολάς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι
καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ στρατιώτας συνχῶν
συμπροτεμφθέντας εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ
Καῖσαρος παραχρῆμα ἀνέλαβε καὶ τοῦ κλήρου
4 αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο, τῶν τε πραγμάτων εἰχέτο. καὶ
τότε μὲν προσεπές τέ τις τούτο καὶ τολμηρῶς
πεποιηκέναι ἐδοξεῖν, ὅστερον δὲ ἐκ τε τῆς ἐνυχρίας
καὶ ἐξ οὖν ἐπικατώρθωσε καὶ ἀνδρείας ὄνομα
2 προσεκτήσατο. πολλὰ γὰρ ἧδη τινὲς οὐκ ὀρθῶς
ἐπιχειρήσαντες δόξαν, ὅτι ἐπιτυχεῖς αὐτοῦ ἐνε-
νοντο, εὐθυλίας ἔσχον καὶ ἐτεροι ἀριστά τεν

1 τῇ Rk., ἔτι LM Xipl.
2 προσεπεμπτο Bk., προσεπεμπτο LM.
3 ἡκκοῖε Πω Bk., ἡκκοῖε Rk., ἡκκόπτο LM.

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destined to direct well and worthily so great a power. Thus he was practised in oratory, not only in the Latin language but in the Greek as well, was vigorously trained in military service, and thoroughly instructed in politics and the art of government.

Now this Octavius chanced at the time that Caesar was murdered to be in Apollonia on the Ionic Gulf, pursuing his education; for he had been sent ahead thither in view of Caesar's intended campaign against the Parthians. When he learned what had happened, he was of course grieved, but did not dare to begin a revolution at once; for he had not yet heard that he had been made Caesar's son or even his heir, and moreover the first news he received was to the effect that the people were of one mind in the affair. When, however, he had crossed to Brundisium and had been informed about Caesar's will and the people's second thought, he made no delay, particularly as he had large sums of money and numerous soldiers who had been sent ahead under his charge, but immediately assumed the name of Caesar, succeeded to his estate, and began to busy himself with public affairs. At the time he seemed to some to have acted recklessly and daringly in this, but later, thanks to his good fortune and the successes he achieved, he acquired a reputation for bravery for this act. For it has often happened that men who were wrong in undertaking some project have gained a reputation for good judgment, because they had the luck to gain their ends; while others, who made the best possible choice, have been
3 ὃφλον. καὶ ἐκείνος σφαλερὸς μὲν καὶ ἐπικινδύνως ἐποίησεν ὅτι τὴν τε ἡλικίαν τὴν ἄρτη ἐκ παῖδων ἄγουν (ὀκτωκαιδεκάτης γὰρ ἦν) καὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν καὶ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἐπήφθη πρὸς ἐπάτιοι ὅρων οὖσαν, ἐπειτ' ἐπὶ τοιαῦτα ὀρμήσει ἐφ' οἷς ὁ τε Καίσαρ ἐπεφόνευτο καὶ τιμωρία οὐδεμιά αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ οὕτε τοὺς σφαγέας οὕτε τὸν Δέπιδον τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον ἔδεισεν οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακῶς βεβουλεύσθαι ἐδοξέων, ὅτι καὶ κατώρθωσε. τὸ μέντοι δαίμονιν πάσαν οὐχ ἁσαφῶς τὴν αὐτὸθεν μέλλουσαν σφισι ταραχὴν ἐσεσθαί προσεύμηνεν ἐς γὰρ τὴν Ῥωμαίαν ἐσιώντος αὐτοῦ ἰρες πάντα τῶν ἴλιον πολλῆ καὶ ποικίλη περιέσχεν.

5 Οὔτως ὁ πρότερον μὲν ὁ Ὀκτάνους, τότε δὲ ἤδη Καίσαρ, μετά δὲ τοῦτο Ἀγγουστος ἐπικληθεὶς ἠφατο τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ αὐτά καὶ κατέπραξε καὶ κατεργάσατο παντὸς μὲν ἀνδρὸς νεανικῶτερον, παντὸς δὲ πρεσβύτου φρονιμώτερον. 2 πρώτου μὲν γάρ, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ κλήρου διαδοχῇ, καὶ ἱδιωτικῶς καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων, ἀνεν ὁγκοῦ τινὸς, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήλθεν ἐπειτ' οὔτ' ἢπείλει οὐδείν οὐδέν, οὗτε ἐνεδείκνυτο ὅτι ἄχθοιτο τε τοῖς γεγονόσιν καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν ποιήσατο. 3 τῶν τε Ἀντώνιων οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀπήτη τε τῶν χρημάτων ὡς προηρτάκην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθεράπευε, καίτοι καὶ προφηλακτικῶς ὕπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀδικούμενος τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἐκείνος καὶ λόγῳ

1 ὁ πρότερον μὲν Βκ., μὲν ὁ πρότερον ΛΜ Χιφ.
2 ἡπείλει οὐδείν οὐδέν, οὕτως ΛΜ.
3 πραξάτου Βκ., πρεσβύτερου ΛΜ, γέρωντος Χιφ.
4 οὕτως ΛΜ.
BOOK XLV

charged with folly because they were not fortunate enough to attain their objects. He, too, acted in a precarious and hazardous fashion; for he was only just past boyhood, being eighteen years of age, and saw that his succession to the inheritance and the family was sure to provoke jealousy and censure; yet he set out in pursuit of objects such as had led to Caesar's murder, which had not been avenged, and he feared neither the assassins nor Lepidus and Antony. Nevertheless, he was not thought to have planned badly, because he proved to be successful. Heaven, however, indicated in no obscure manner all the confusion that would result to the Romans from it; for as he was entering Rome a great halo with the colours of the rainbow surrounded the whole sun.

In this way he who was formerly called Octavius, but already by this time Caesar, and subsequently Augustus, took a hand in public affairs; and he managed and dealt with them more vigorously than any man in his prime, more prudently than any graybeard. In the first place, he entered the city as if for the sole purpose of succeeding to the inheritance, coming as a private citizen with only a few attendants, without any display. Again, he did not utter threats against any one nor show that he was displeased at what had occurred and would take vengeance for it. Indeed, so far from demanding of Antony any of the money that he had previously plundered, he actually paid court to him, although he was insulted and wronged by him. For Antony did him many injuries both in word and deed,
καὶ ἔργῳ αὐτοῦ ἐκάκου, καὶ τὸν νόμον τὸν 
φρατριατικὸν ἐσφερόμενον, καθ' ὅν τὴν ἐσποιν-
σιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος γενέσθαι 
ἐδει, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσπούδαζε δήθεν ἐσενεγκεῖν, διὰ 
de δημάρχων τενῶν ἀνεβάλλετο, ὥστις, ὡς μηδέπώ 
pαῖς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὡς, μήτε τὶ τῆς ὀὐσίας 
pολυπραγμονοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἅλλα ἀσθενέστερος 
ἐρημ. ἐπ' οὖν τούτως ὁ Καίσαρ ἰσχαλλε μὲν, 
οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀσφαλῶς παρρησιάσασθαι τι 
δυνάμενος ἦνεχετο, μέχρις οὐ τὸ πλῆθος, ὑφ' 
oὐ τὸν πατέρα αὐξηθέντα ἤπιστατο, προσποιή-
σατο. ὀργῆν τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ ἔκεινον 
θανάτῳ ἔχοντας εἰδός, καὶ ἔαυτὸν ὡς καὶ παῖδα 
aὐτοῦ σπουδάσεις ἐλπίσας, τὸν τε Αὐτώνιον 
diὰ τε τῆς ἰππαρχίας καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν 
σφαγῶν οὐ τιμωρίαν μισοῦντας αἰσθόμενος, 
ἐπεχείρησε μὲν δημαρχήσαι πρὸς τε τὴν τῆς 
δημαρχίας ἀφορμὴν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν 
τῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς δυναστείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς 
τοῦ Κίννου χώρας κενῆς οὐσίας ἀντεποίησατο, 
cωλυθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀὐτώνιον ὅχι 
ὁσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ Τιβέριον Καννώσιοι δημαρ-
χοῦσαν ἀπαντίας ἐς τὸν ὄμιλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ 
ἐσηκθῆ, προφανῶς τὴν δωρεὰν τὴν καταλειφ-
θείσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ποιησάμενος, καὶ δημη-
γορήσας διὰ ἡμοττε, ταῦτῃ τε εὐθὺς εκτίσεις 
σφίσει ὑπέσχετο καὶ ἅλλα αὐτοῦ πολλὰ 
προσπήλπισε. καὶ μετὰ τούτο τήν πανηγυρι 
τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀφροδίσιον ἐκποιήσει καταδείχ-
θείσαν, ἡν ὑποδεχόμενοι τινὲς ξόντος ἐτὶ τοῦ 
1 φρατριατικὸν R. Steph., φρατριαδὸν LM. 
2 αὐτοῦ Rk., αὐτοῦ LM.
particularly when the *lex curiata* was proposed by which the transfer of Octavius into Caesar’s family was to take place; Antony himself pretended to be doing his best to have it passed, but through some tribunes he kept securing its postponement, in order that the young man, not being as yet Caesar’s son according to law, might not meddle with the property and might be weaker in all other ways. Caesar was vexed at this, but as he was unable to speak his mind freely, he bore it until he had won over the multitude, by whom he understood his father had been raised to honour. For he knew that they were angry at Caesar’s death and hoped they would be devoted to him as his son, and he perceived that they hated Antony on account of his conduct as master of the horse and also for his failure to punish the assassins. Hence he undertook to become tribune as a starting point for popular leadership and to secure the power that would result from it; and he accordingly became a candidate for the place of Cinna, which was vacant. Though hindered by Antony’s followers, he did not desist, and after using persuasion upon Tiberius Cannutius, a tribune, he was by him brought before the populace; and taking as his pretext the gift bequeathed the people by Caesar, he addressed them in appropriate words, promising that he would discharge this debt at once and giving them cause to hope for much besides. After this came the festival appointed in honour of the completion of the temple of Venus, which some, while Caesar was still alive, had promised
Καίσαρος ἐπιτελέσειν ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ, ὥσπερ ποι καὶ τὴν τῶν Παριλίων ἰπποδρομίαν, ἐποιοῦντο, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους θεραπεία, ὡς καὶ προσήκουσαν διὰ τὸ γένος, τοὺς οἰκείους τέλεσι
5 διέθηκε. καὶ τότε μὲν οὔτε τὸν δίφρον τοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν ἐπίχρυσον οὔτε τὸν στέφανον τὸν διάλιθον ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐσήγαγεν ὡσπέρ ἐφή-
7 φιστο, φοβηθεῖς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἄστρον τι παρὰ πάσας τὰς ἁμέρας ἐκείνας ἐκ τῆς ἀρκτοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐξεφανῆ, καὶ αὐτὸ κομήτην τὲ τινῶν καλούντων καὶ προσημαίνειν οἶα που εἰσοδε λεγόντων οἱ πολλοὶ τούτῳ μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστευον, τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ἀπηθανατισμένῳ καὶ ἐς τὸν τῶν ἄστρων ἀριθμὸν ἐγκατελείγμενο ἀνετίθεσαν, θαρσήσας χαλκοῦν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον, ἀστέρα ὑπὲρ
2 τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοιτα, ἐστήσεν. ἔπειδὴ τε οὐδὲν τοῦτο τις φόβῳ τοῦ ὀμίλου ἐκώλυσεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τῶν ἐς τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμὴν προσδεδομένων ἐγένετο τὸν τε γὰρ μῆνα τοῦ Ἰουλίου ὀμοίως ἐκάλεσαν, καὶ ἑρωμηνίαις τοῖσιν ἐπικίνδυοις ἵδιαν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἐβουθύτησαν. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ στρατιώται ἐτοίμως, ἄλλως τε καὶ χρήμαςι θεραπευθέντων τινῶν, συνίστωστο πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρα.
3 Θρόνος τε οὐν ἐγύμνησα, καὶ ἔδεικε τι νέον ἐσεθαί, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἀπὸ μετεώρου καὶ ἀπὸ περιόπ-
του τινὸς, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰώθει ποιεῖν, ἑντυχεῖν τι ἑθελήσαντα οὐ προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ

1 παριλίων Μ, παραλίων Λ.
2 οὖδε Ρκ., οὔτε ΛΜ.
to celebrate, but were now holding in slight regard, even as they did the games in the Circus in honour of the Parilia; so, to win the favour of the populace, he provided for it at his private expense, on the ground that it concerned him because of his family. At this time out of fear of Antony he did not bring into the theatre either Caesar's gilded chair or his crown set with precious stones, as had been permitted by decree. When, however, a certain star during all those days appeared in the north toward evening, which some called a comet, claiming that it foretold the usual occurrences, while the majority, instead of believing this, ascribed it to Caesar, interpreting it to mean that he had become immortal and had been received into the number of the stars, Octavius then took courage and set up in the temple of Venus a bronze statue of him with a star above his head. And when this act also was allowed, no one trying to prevent it through fear of the populace, then at last some of the other decrees already passed in honour of Caesar were put into effect. Thus they called one of the months July after him, and in the course of certain festivals of thanksgiving for victory they sacrificed during one special day in memory of his name. For these reasons the soldiers also, particularly since some of them received largesses of money, readily took the side of Caesar.

A rumour accordingly got abroad and it seemed likely that something unusual would take place. This belief was due particularly to the circumstance that once, when Octavius wished to speak with Antony in court about something, from an elevated and conspicuous place, as he had been wont to do in his father's lifetime, Antony would not permit it,

1 Cf. xliii. 42.
καὶ κατέσπασε καὶ ἔξῆλασε διὰ τῶν ῥαβδούχων. 8 δεινῶς γὰρ δὴ πάντες ἤγανάκτησαν, καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα ὅτι ὁ Καύσαρ οὐδὲ ἐς τὰν ἀγορᾶν ἦτε, πρὸς τὸ ἔκεινον ἐπίθεσιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πλῆθους ἑπαγωγὸν, ἐφοίτησε. φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος διελέξατο ποτὲ τοῖς παρούσιν ὅτι οὗτε τινὰ ὀργήν τῷ Καύσαρι ἔχοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐνοιαν αὐτῷ ὀφείλοι, καὶ ὅτι ἐτοίμος εἰπά σαν τὴν ὑποψίαν ἀπολύσασθαι. ἀγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων ἔκεινο συνήλθον μὲν ἐς λόγους, καὶ κατηλλάχθαι τισιν ἐδοξάσαν (τὰς τε γὰρ γνώμας σφῶν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες, καὶ ἐξελέγχας τότε αὐτὰς ἀκαίρον εἶναι νομίσαντες, ἀνθυπείξαν τινὰ ἀλλήλοις 1 συμβιβαζόμενοι), καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν τινάς ἰσχύσαν, ἐπειτά δὲ ἀνθυποτεύσαντες ἀλλήλους, εἰτέ εἶ ἄληθος ἐπιβουλῆς εἶτε καὶ ἐκ ψευδοῦς διαβολῆς, οἷα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ φαίνει γίγνεσθαι, διηνέχθησαν αὕτης.

3 ὅταν γὰρ τινὲς ἐκ μεγάλης ἐχθρᾶς συνενεχθῶσι, πολλὰ μὲν μηδὲν δεινὸν ἔχουσα πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ συντυχίας συμβαίνοντα 2 ὑποτοπούσι πάν γὰρ ἐνι λόγῳ ως καὶ ἐξεπιτήδες καὶ ἐπὶ κακῷ τινὶ γνωμόμενον πρὸς τὸ προοπάρξαν ἐχθρὸς λαμβάνοσι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ διὰ μέσον ὄντες συνεπιτίθενται: διαγγέλλοντες γὰρ τινὰ προσποιῆσε εὐνοίας ἐπιπαραξύνουσι αὐτούς.

4 πλείστον τε γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ βουλόμενον πάντας τοὺς τι δυναμένους ἀλλήλοις διαφέρεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τούτο τὸ ἐπιχαίρον τε 3 ἐπὶ τῇ ἐχθρᾷ αὐτῶν καὶ συν- ἐπιβουλευοῦν σφισι· καὶ ράστων ἀπατηθῆναι λό-

1 ἀλλήλοις Reim., ἀλλήλους LM.
2 συμβαίνοντα Bk., λαμβάνοντας LM.
3 διὰ τούτο τὸ ἐπιχαίρον τε Bk., διὰ τούς ἐπιχαίροντας LM.
but caused his lectors to drag him down and drive him out. All were exceedingly vexed, especially as Caesar, with a view to casting odium upon his rival and attracting the multitude, would no longer even frequent the Forum. So Antony became alarmed, and in conversation with the bystanders one day remarked that he harboured no anger against Caesar, but on the contrary owed him good-will, and was ready to end all suspicion. The statement was reported to the other, they held a conference, and some thought they had become reconciled. For they understood each other's feelings accurately, and, thinking it inopportune at that time to put them to the test, they tried to come to terms by making a few mutual concessions. And for some days they kept quiet; then they began to suspect each other afresh, as a result either of some actual treachery or some false calumny, as regularly happens under such conditions, and fell out again. For when men become reconciled after some great enmity they are suspicious of many acts that have no significance and of many chance occurrences; in brief, they regard everything, in the light of their former hostility, as done on purpose and for an evil end. And in the meantime those who are neutral aggravate the trouble between them by bearing reports back and forth under the pretence of good-will and thus exasperating them still further. For there is a very large element which is anxious to see all those who have power at variance with one another, an element which consequently takes delight in their enmity and joins in plots against them. And the one who has previously suffered from calumny is very easy to deceive with
νοις ἐπιτετεθηκέμενοι ἐκ φιλίας ἀνυπόπτου τὸ προδιαβεβλημένον. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτου καὶ ἐκείνου, οὔτε ἐν τῷ πρὶν πιστεύοντες ἀλλήλους, ἐπὶ πλέον ἡλιοτριώθησαν.

9 Ὁρὼν οὖν ὁ 'Αντώνιος τὸν Καίσαρα αὐξανόμενον, ἐπεχείρησε διελάσσαι τὸ πλῆθος, εἰ πως ἐκείνον τε αὐτοὺς ἀποσπάσει καὶ ἐαυτῷ προσποιήσει, καὶ χώραν ἄλλην τε πολλὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἑλεστὶ τοῖς Πομπτίνους, ὡς κεχωσμένοις ἡδη καὶ 1 γεωργεῖσθαι δυναμένοις, κληρογνηθῆναι διὰ 'Αντωνίου ἄδελφου δημαρχοῦτος ἐσηγήσατο. τρεῖς γαρ οἱ ἄδελφοι οἱ Ἀντώνιοι αὐτοί ὄντες ἀρχάς ἀμα πάντες ἐσχούν, ὁ μὲν Μάρκος ὑπατεύων, ὁ δὲ Λούκιος δημαρχῶν, ὁ δὲ Γάιος στρατηγὸν· οἴδεν οὖχ ἦκιστα ἡδυνήθησαν τοῖς μὲν τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τῶν υπηκόων ἀρχονταῖς, πλὴν τῶν σφαγῶν τῶν πλειών, ἀλλων τέ τινων ὅσι πιστοὺς σφισιν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, παύσαι.

3 ἐτέρους δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνθελέσθαι, καὶ τισιν ἐτὶ μακρότερον, παρὰ τὰ νεομοθετημένα πρὸς 2 τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἄρχεων ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν Μακεδονίαν τὴν τῷ Μάρκῳ ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου δεδομένην ὁ ἄδελφος αὐτοῦ Γάιος σφετερίσασθαι, τὴν δὲ Γαλατίαν τὴν ἑντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων, ὡς ὁ Βροῦτος ὁ Δέκιμος προσετέκτω, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος μετὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων τῶν 3 ἐς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν προπεμφθείσων, ὡς καὶ ἰσχυροτάτην καὶ τοῖς στρατιώτασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ὄψιν, ἀντιλαβεῖν.

4 ταῦτα τού ὁπλικοῦ ἐπηφίσθη, καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ τῷ Σέξτῳ δύναμιν ἤδη πολλὴν ἔχοντι ἢ τε ἀδεια,
words adapted to the purpose by friends whose attachment is free from suspicion. Thus it was that these men, who even before this had not trusted each other, became now more estranged than ever.

So Antony, seeing that Caesar was gaining ground, attempted to attract the populace by various baits, to see if he could detach them from his rival and win them to himself. Hence he introduced a measure for the opening up to settlement of a great amount of land, including the region of the Pontine marshes, since these had already been filled in and were capable of cultivation. He did this through his brother Lucius Antonius, who was tribune; for the three Antonii, who were brothers, all held offices at the same time, Marcus being consul, Lucius tribune, and Gaius praetor. This in particular enabled them to remove those who were then governing the allies and subjects (except the majority of the assassins and some others whom they regarded as loyal) and to choose others in their place, and also to grant to some the privilege of holding office for an unusually long term, contrary to the laws established by Caesar. And thus Macedonia, which had fallen to Marcus by lot, was appropriated by his brother Gaius, while Marcus himself with the legions previously sent to Apollonia took in its place Cisalpine Gaul, to which Decimus Brutus had been assigned, because it was very powerful in soldiers and money. After these arrangements had been voted, the pardon granted to Sextus Pompey, who already had considerable influence, was confirmed, in spite of the fact that it had
καίτοι ύπο τοῦ Καίσαρος ὤσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δοθείσα, ἐβεβαιώθη, καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὡσα ἐν τε ἀργυρίῳ καὶ ἐν χρυσίῳ τὸ δημόσιον ἐκ τῆς πατρίως αὐτοῦ ὀύσιας εἰλήφει, ἀποδοθήναι ἐγνώσθη τῶν γὰρ χρωμίων αὐτῆς 1 τὰ πλεῖον Ἀντώνιος ἔχων οὐδεμίαν ἀπόδοσιν ἐποιήσατο.

10 Ἐκείνοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἔπραττον, διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Σέξτον γενόμενα. ὡς γὰρ τότε ἀπὸ τῆς Κορδούβης ἔφυγε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐς Λακητανίαν ἐλθὼν ἑνταῦθα ἐκρύβη, ἐπεδιώκθη μὲν γὰρ, διελάθη δὲ εὐνοίκως τῶν ἐπιχωρίων οἴ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμην ἐχόντων. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε Καίσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπῆρε καὶ ἐν τῇ Βαυτικῇ στράτευμα οὐ πολὺ ὑπελεύθη, συνέστησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκείνοι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς μάχης διασωθέντες, καὶ οὕτως μετά αὐτῶν ἐς τε τὴν Βαυτικῆν, ὡς καὶ ἐπιτηδειοτέραν ἐμπολεμήσαι 3 οὕσαν, αὐθίς ἄφικετο, κανταῦθα καὶ στρατιωτας καὶ πόλεις, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδῆ ὁ Καίσαρ ἀπέθανε, τὰς μὲν ἐκούσας τὰς δὲ καὶ βία προσλαβὼν (ὁ γὰρ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Γάιος Ἀστίνος Πωλίων 2 οὔδεν ἵσχυρον εἶχεν) ὄρμησε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρ.

3 χρήσαντα τὴν ἸΒηρικῆν, ἐπιθέμενου δὲ ἐν τοῦτῷ τοῦ Πωλίωνος 3 τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ κακώσαντός τινα ἐπανήλθε χειρὶ πολλῆ, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτὸν τε ἐτρέφατο, καὶ τους λοιποὺς ἵσχυρος ἀγωνιζομένους ἐπειτῆς ἐκ συντυχίας τοιᾶς δε ἐξέπληξε καὶ 5 ἐνίκησεν. ἐπειδῆ γὰρ ἐκείνοις μὲν τὴν χλαμύδα τῆς στρατηγικῆς 4 ἀπέρριψεν ὡσεὶ βάσω τῇ φυγῇ

1 αὐτῆς R. Steph., αὐτοίς LM, αὐτοῦ Xiph.
2 Πωλίων, Πωλίωνος Reim., πολίων, πολίωνος LM.
3 στρατηγική Bk., στρατηγικήν LM.

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originally been granted by Caesar to him as to all the rest. It was further resolved that whatever money in silver or gold the public treasury had received from his ancestral estate should be restored; but as for the lands belonging to it, Antony held the most of them and made no restoration.

This was the business in which these men were engaged. I shall now relate how Sextus had fared. When he had fled from Corduba on the former occasion, he first came to Lacetania and concealed himself there. He was pursued, to be sure, but eluded discovery because the natives were kindly disposed to him out of regard for his father's memory. Later, when Caesar had set out for Italy and only a small army was left behind in Baetica, Sextus was joined both by the natives and by those who had escaped from the battle; and with them he came again into Baetica, because he thought it a more suitable region in which to carry on war. There he gained possession of soldiers and cities, particularly after Caesar's death, some voluntarily and some forcibly; for the commander in charge of them, Gaius Asinius Pollio, had no strong force. He next set out against Spanish Carthage, but since in his absence Pollio made an attack and did some damage, he returned with a large force, met his opponent, and routed him, after which the following accident enabled him to terrify and conquer the rest also, who were contending fiercely. Pollio had cast off his general's cloak, in order to suffer less chance of detection

1 Cf. xliii. 39, 1.
Ιαθείν, ἐτερος δὲ τις ὁμόνυμος τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιφανὴς ἱππεὺς ἐπεσε, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔκειτο ἢ δὲ ἐαλὼκει,1 τὸ μὲν ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ δὲ ἰδόντες ἱπατήθησαν ὡς καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφών ἀπο-
6 ἐλολότος καὶ ἐνέδοσαν. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Σέξτος νική-
σας πάντα ὀλγοῦ τὰ ταύτη κατέσχε. δυνατοῦ δὲ ἦδη αὐτοῦ ὄντος ὁ Δέπιδος τῆς τε ὁμόρου 2 Ἱβηρίας ἄρξων ἀφικέτο, καὶ ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ἡ ὁμολογίαν ἐλθεὶν ἐπὶ τὸ 3 τὰ πατρίδα κομίσασθαι. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ Δεπίδου φιλίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐχθρῶν ἡμικινήθηναι ἐποίησεν.
Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτως ἐκ τῆς
11 Ἱβηρίας ἀπηλλάγη. Καίσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος πάντα μὲν ἐπ’ ἀλληλοις ἐπράττον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ φανερὸς πω συνεργόσαν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ τῷ ἐργῷ ἐκπεπολεμομένου, τῇ γούν δοκήσει ἐπεκρύπτοντο. κακὸ τούτου καὶ τάλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα ἐν
2 τῇ ἀκρισίᾳ 1 ἕνη καὶ συνεκέχυτο. εὐρήμονον ἐτὶ καὶ ἐπολέμουν ἠδη τὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας σχήμα ἐφαντάζετο καὶ τὰ τῆς δυναστείας ἔργα ἐγίγνετο. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ ἐμφανεὶ5 ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἄτε καὶ ὑπατεύων, ἐπλεονέκτει, ἢ δὲ δὴ σπούδη τῶν ἀν-
θρώπων εἰς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπολεί, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ὅν ὑπισχεῖτο, μέγιστον δὲ 6 ὅτι τὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίῳ πολὺ δυναμένῳ ἡχθοντο καὶ τὸ Καίσαρι μηδέπω
3 ἠχύνοντι συνηρώτο. ἐφίλουν μὲν γὰρ οὐδέτερον, νέων δὲ δὴ ἂεὶ πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμοῦντες, καὶ τὸ

in his flight, and another man of the same name, a distinguished knight, had fallen. The soldiers, hearing the name of the latter, who was lying there, and seeing the garment, which had been captured, were deceived, thinking that their general had perished, and so surrendered. In this way Sextus conquered and gained possession of nearly the whole region. When he had thus become powerful, Lepidus arrived to govern the adjoining portion of Spain, and persuaded him to enter into an agreement on the condition of recovering his father's estate. And Antony, influenced by his friendship for Lepidus and by his hostility toward Caesar, caused such a decree to be passed.

So Sextus, in this way and on these conditions, departed from Spain. As for Caesar and Antony, in all their acts they were opposing each other, but had not yet fallen out openly, and while in reality they had become enemies, they tried to disguise the fact so far as appearances went. As a result all other interests in the city were in great confusion and turmoil. The citizens were still at peace and yet already at war; the appearance of liberty was kept up, but the deeds done were those of a monarchy. To a casual observer Antony, since he held the consulship, seemed to be getting the best of it, but the zeal of the masses was for Caesar. This was partly on his father's account, partly on account of their hopes for what he kept promising them, but above all because they were displeased at the great power of Antony and were inclined to assist Caesar while he was as yet devoid of strength. Neither man, to be sure, had their affection; but they were always eager for a change of government, and it
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μὲν κρείττον ἄει πάν καθαιρεῖν τῷ δὲ πιέζομένῳ βοηθεῖν πεφυκότες, ἀπεχρόντο αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ σφέτερα ἐπιθυμήματα, ταπεινώσαντες οὖν τότε διὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἐπείτα κάκεινον καταλύσατε ἐπεχείρησαν, τοὺς γὰρ τὶς ἀδικα-μένοις ἑρμομένοις τοὺς τε ἀσθενεστέρους προσε-λάβαναν καὶ διὰ τούτων αὐτοὺς καθήρουν ἐπείτα καὶ ἐκείνους ἠλλοτριώντο. κάκε τούτον αὐτικαθιστάντες σφᾶς ἐς τὸ ἐπίφθονον τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐφίλουν καὶ ἐμίσουν, καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπατέανουν.

12 Ὅπως οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡχόντων ἀρχὴν τῆν ὁ πόλε-μος ἔλαβεν. ο Καίσαρ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀν καὶ Βρεντέσιον πρὸς τοὺς στρατιῶτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας περαιωθέντας ἀφορμήσαντος ἐκεῖσε μὲν ἐτέρους τινάς μετὰ χρημάτων, ὅπως σφᾶς σφετερίσσωσι, προαπέστειλεν, αὐτῶ δὲ μεχρὶ Καμπανίας ἐλθὼν πλήθος ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τῆς Καπνης μάλιστα, ἀτε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ τιμωρεῖν ἔλεγε, τήν τε χώραν καὶ τήν πόλιν εἰληφών, ἢροισεν, ὕπισχνετο τε σφίσι πολλά, καὶ ἐδωκεν εὐθὺς τοτε κατα πεντακοσίας ὀρχαμάς.

3 ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἱσοκάτων σύστημα, οὐς ἀνακλήτους ἂν τὶς ἐλληνίσας, ὅτι πεπαυμένοι τῆς στρατείας ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀυθίς ἀνεκλήθησαν, ὄνομασει ἐνομίσθη. καὶ αὐτῶς παραλαβόν ὁ Καίσαρ ἠπείξθη τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πρὸ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνακομισθῆναι, καὶ ἐς τὸν

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1 ἱσοκάτων Xyl., ἱσοκάτων ἑ βαρκάτων LM.
2 στρατείας H. Steph., στρατιάς LM.
3 αὐτῆς R. Steph., αὐτὸν LM.
was their nature to overthrow every party that had the upper hand and to help the one that was being oppressed. Consequently they made use of the two to suit their own desires. Thus, after humbling Antony at this time through Caesar, they next undertook to destroy the latter also. For in their irritation against the men successively in power they regularly took up with the weaker side and attempted with its help to overthrow the others; afterwards they would become estranged from this side also. Thus exposing both of them to envy in turn, they alternately loved and hated, elevated and humbled, the same persons.

While they were thus disposed toward Caesar and Antony, the war began in the following way. When Antony had set out for Brundisium to meet the soldiers who had crossed over from Macedonia, Caesar sent some men to that city with money, who were to arrive there before Antony and win over the men, while he himself went to Campania and collected a large number of men, chiefly from Capua, because the people there had received their land and city from his father, whom he said he was avenging. He made them many promises and gave them on the spot two thousand sesterces apiece. From these men was constituted the corps of evocati, which one might translate the “recalled,” because after having ended their military service they were recalled to it again. Caesar took charge of them, hastened to Rome before Antony returned, and came
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δόμιλον ὑπὸ τοῦ Καννοντίου παρασκευασθέντα αὐτῷ ἐσελθὼν πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦς ἀνέμνησεν, ἔπεζειδὼν ὡσα καλῶς ἐπεποίηκει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μέτρια διελέυθη, τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου κατηγόρησεν, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντας οἱ ἐπήρεσεν ὡς καὶ ἔθελοντι πρὸς ἐπίκουρίαν τῆς πόλεως παρόντας καὶ ἑαυτὸν τε ἐπὶ αὐτῇ προκεχειρισμένους καὶ δὲ ἑαυτὸν πάσι ταύτα δηλοῦντας. ἐπαινῶν τε ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης παρασκευῆς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συνόντων αὐτῷ πλῆθους τυχών ἀπήρευς εἰς τὴν Τυρσηνίαν, ὅπως καὶ ἔκειθεν δύναμιν τινα προσλάβη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτ' ἐπράττεν, Ἀντώνιον δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν φιλοφρόνως οἱ στρατιῶται εἰς τὸ Βρεντεσίῳ ἐδέχαντο, προσδόκησαντες πλεῖον παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν προτεινόμενων σφόσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος λήψεσθαι, ἐπειδή καὶ πολλῷ πλείον κεκτήσθαι αὐτὸν εἰκεῖνον ἐνόμιζον ὡς μέντοι ἐκατὼν τε ἐκάστῳ δραχμᾷ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τούτω θυρυβησάντων σφαγήναι ἄλλους τε τινάς καὶ ἐκατοντάρχος ἐν τε τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς γνωσίας ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐκέλευσε, τοῦτε μὲν ἠσύχασαν, πορεύομενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀστυ γεγενημένοι ἐνεωτέρισαν, καὶ καταφρονήσαντες τῶν ὑποστρατήγων τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σφώσι τυχὼν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα μετέστησαν καὶ τὸ γε 

1. ἔθελοντι H. Steph., ἔθελοντι L.M.
2. δηλοῦντας Xyl., δηλοῦν L.M. 
3. ἀπήρευς Bk., ἀπήρε τε L.M.
4. τοια καὶ cod. Peir., om. L.M. 
5. te added by Be.
before the people, who had been made ready for him by Cannutius. There he reminded them in detail of the many excellent deeds his father had performed, delivered a lengthy, though moderate, defence of himself, and brought charges against Antony. He also praised the soldiers who had accompanied him, saying that they had come voluntarily to lend aid to the city, that they had elected him to preside over the state, and that through him they made known these facts to all. For this speech he received the approbation of his following and of the throng that stood by, after which he departed for Etruria with a view to obtaining an accession to his forces from that region. While he was doing this Antony had at first been kindly received in Brundisium by the soldiers, because they expected to secure more from him than was offered them by Caesar; for they believed that he possessed much more than his rival. When, however, he promised to give them merely four hundred sestercies apiece, they raised an outcry, but he reduced them to submission by ordering centurions as well as others to be slain before the eyes of himself and of his wife. So for the time being the soldiers were quiet, but when they arrived near the capital on the way to Gaul they mutinied, and many of them, despising the lieutenants who had been set over them, changed to Caesar's side; in fact, the Martian legion, as it was called, and the fourth went over to him in a body. Caesar took charge of them and won their attachment by giving money to them likewise,—an act which added
14 Ἡραχε μὲν ὅτι τότε τῆς χώρας ἔκεινης ὁ Βροῦτος ὁ Δέκιμος, καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐλπίδα πολλὴν εἰχεν ἀτε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεκτονότος· ἐπράχθη δὲ ὥσπερ ὁ Δέκιμος οὔτε τι ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ὑποπτεύου (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπείπελε τι τοῖς σφαγεύσι) καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὔθεν μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνον πολέμου ἢ καὶ ἕαυτον τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν τι δυναμένων ὑπὲρ ἔμφυτον πλεονεξίας ὥραν οὖν, οὐχ ὑπείξαν αὐτῷ. μαθὼν οὖν τούτῳ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἡπόρησεν ἐὰν τι πράξῃ: ἐμίσαι μὲν γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοὺς, οὖ μὲντοι καὶ εἰχεν ὅπως ἐκατέρφο ἀμα μάχοιτο οὔτε γὰρ τῷ ἔτερῳ σφῶν ὑπερτεροῦν ἀντίπαλος ἡδὴ ἢν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἐδεύει μὴ τοῦτο τὸλμήσας συστήσῃ ταῦτας ἀλλήλοις καὶ καθ’ ἐν ἀμφοτέρους 

3 πολεμήσῃ. λογισάμενος οὖν ὅτι ὁ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἄγων ἡδὴ τε ἐνέστηκε καὶ ἐπείγει, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδέπω καιρὸς εἰ, τὸν Δέκιμον προσηταρίσατο. καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἡπίστατο ὅτι τούτῳ μὲν, ἀν τῶν ἀντικαθεστη-

1 ἐν Leumel., καὶ ἐν L.M.
2 ἐξάρμησε Zon., ἐφάρμησε L.M. 3 τι M, τε L.
4 Δέκιμος Leumel., ὁ δὲ 
5 ἀμφοτέρου L, ἀμφοτέρους M.
many more to his cause. He also captured all the elephants of Antony, by falling in with them suddenly as they were being driven along. Antony stopped in Rome only long enough to arrange a few affairs and to administer the oath to all the rest of the soldiers and the senators who were in their company; then he set out for Gaul, fearing that it, too, might begin an uprising. Caesar, on his side, did not delay, but followed after him.

The governor of Gaul at this time was Decimus Brutus, and Antony placed great hope in him, because he had helped to slay Caesar. But matters turned out as follows. Decimus had no suspicion of Caesar, for the latter had uttered no threats against the assassins; and, on the other hand, he saw that Antony was as much a foe of himself as of Caesar or of any of the rest who had any power, as a result of his natural cupidity; therefore he refused to give way to him. Caesar, when he heard of this, was for some time at a loss what course to adopt. For he hated both Decimus and Antony, but saw no way in which he could contend against them both at once; for he was by no means yet a match for either one of the two, and he was furthermore afraid that if he risked such a move he might throw them into each other’s arms and have to face their united opposition. After stopping to reflect, therefore, that the struggle with Antony had already begun and was urgent, but that it was not yet a fitting season for avenging his father, he made a friend of Decimus. For he well understood that he should find no great difficulty in fighting against
κότων 1 δι’ αὐτοῦ κρατήσῃ, οὐδὲν μέγα ἔργον μετὰ τούτο ὁ προσπολεμῆς ἔξει, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἱσχυρὸν αὕτης πολέμιον 2 σχῆσει τοσούτον που ἄλληλων διέφερον. τέμψας οὖν πρὸς τὸν Δέκιμον φιλίαν τε αὐτῷ ἐπηγγείλατο, καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἵνα μὴ τὸν Ἀντώνιον δέξηται, προαντισχεῖτο. καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἀστεί τὴν χάριν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος συνήροντο. τότε μὲν οὖν (ἢ δὴ γὰρ ὁ τε ἐνιαυτὸς ἔχει καὶ ὑπάτος οὐδές παρῆν ὁ γὰρ Δολοβέλλας ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντώνιον προεξεπέμπτο) ἐπαίνοι ἐν τῇ βουλή αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς στρατιῶταις τοῖς τοῦ Ἀντώνιον ἐγκαταλείποντι, 3 τῶν δῆμαρχῶν ἐπιψηφισάντων, ἐγένοντο. 4 καὶ ὅπως τὸ μετὰ ἀδείας τοῦ νέου ἔτους ἐνστάντος βουλευσόνται περὶ τῶν παρόντων, φρονήσα 5 σφίσι στρατιῶτων ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ χρῆσαί εδοξέ. ταύτα γὰρ ἠρέσκε μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πλείοις τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη τὸτε ὄντων (τὸν γὰρ Ἀντώνιον δεινὸς 4 ἐμῖσον), μάλιστα δὲ δὴ τῷ Κεκέρωνι. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθος σφοδρὸτατον ὑπάρχον τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρα ἐθεράπευε, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἐδύνατο καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἐργῷ τούτῳ τε ἐβοήθει καὶ ἐκείνον ἐκάκου. καὶ διὰ τούτο, καὶ τοῖς ἐκχωρήσας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὡς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀθηνάζε ἔτι παίδεια προπέμψων, ἐπανύλθεν ἐπειδὴ περ ἐκπεπολεμώμενοι σφᾶς ἃσθενο. 5

1 ἀντικαθεστηκότων Ρk., καθεστηκότων ΛM.
2 πολέμιον R. Steph., πολέμου ΛM.
3 ἐγένοτο L., ἐγένετο M. 4 φρονδή Cobet, φρονάζει ΛM.
5 Σερουλίδος Xyl., συστικός ΛM.
Decimus later, if with his aid he could first overcome his adversaries, but that in Antony he should again have a powerful antagonist; so serious were the differences between them. Accordingly he sent to Decimus, proposing friendship and also promising alliance, if he would refuse to receive Antony. This proposal caused the people in the city likewise to espouse Caesar's cause. Just at this time the year was drawing to a close and no consul was on the ground, Dolabella having been previously sent by Antony to Syria; nevertheless, eulogies both of Caesar and Brutus themselves and of the soldiers who had abandoned Antony were delivered in the senate with the concurrence of the tribunes. And in order that they might deliberate about the situation in security when the new year should begin, they voted to employ a guard of soldiers at their meetings. This pleased nearly all who were in Rome at the time, since they cordially detested Antony, and it was particularly gratifying to Cicero. For he, on account of his very bitter hostility toward Antony, was paying court to Caesar, and so far as he could, both by speech and by action, strove to assist him in every way and to injure Antony. It was for this reason that, although he had left the city to accompany his son to Athens in the interest of the young man's education, he returned on ascertaining that the two men had become enemies.

Besides these events which took place that year, Servilius Isauricus died at a very advanced age. I have mentioned him both for this reason and to
τοτε Ὄρωμαί τους τε τῷ ἀξιώματι προήκορτας ἰδοῦντο καὶ τοὺς ἀναίδεια τινὶ χρομένους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλαχίστους ἐμίσουν ὡστε, ἐπειδή ἐκείνος τιμᾶ ἐν ὅδῷ ποτε ἀπαντήσαντα οἱ βαδίζοντι ἱππεύοντα, καὶ μήτε ἀποπηδήσαντα καὶ προσέτι ἵσχυρός προσεξελάσαντα, ἐγνώρισε 2 τε μετὰ τοῦτο ἐν δικαστηρίῳ κρινόμενον καὶ εἰπὲ 3 τοῖς δικασταῖς τὸ γενόμενον, οὔτε λόγον ἐτ' αὐτῷ ἔδοσαν καὶ κατεψηφίσαντο πάντες.

17 Αὐλοῦ δὲ δὴ Ἰρτίου μετὰ Γαίου Ὀὐιβίου 4 ὑπατεύσαντος (οὐτὸς γὰρ, καίτοι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰ λευκώματα τὰ Σύλλειτα ἑσγραφέντως, ὑπατος τότε ἀπεδέξθη) βουλή τε ἐγένετο καὶ γνώμαι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρας, 5 ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς νομον άρξάμεναι, προσεθήκασαν ἐκ τε γὰρ τοῦ πολέμου ἐν χερσὶν οὕτως καὶ ἐκ τερατών, ἅ πλείστα καὶ ἐξαισιώτατα ἐγενόντες, ταρασσόμενοι οὔτε τής ἀποφράδος, τὸ μὴ ἐν ἐκείναις βουλεύσασθαι τι τῶν συμφερόντων σφίσιν, ἀπέσχοντο, κεραυνοὺ τε γὰρ παμπληθέεις ἐπέσον, καὶ τίνες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸν νεὼν τὸν τῷ Διῳ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἐν τῷ Νικαίῳ οὕτα 7 κατέσκηψαν καὶ πνεῦμα μέγα ἐπιγενόμενον τάς τε στήλας τὰς περὶ τὸ Κρόνιον καὶ περὶ τῶν τῆς Πίστεως νεῶν προσπερπήνων άπερρήξε καὶ διεσκέδασε, καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Φυλακίδος, ὁ πρὸ τῆς φυγῆς ὁ Κικέρων ἐς τὸ Καπιτωλίον ἀνεσθείκει, 8 κατέβαλε

1 προήκορτας Leunc., προσήκορτας LM.
2 ἐγνώρισε Leunc., ἐγνωρίσθαι LM.
3 εἰπὲ Leunc., εἰπότοι LM. 4 Ὀυιβίου Xyl., οὐδὲ LM.
5 ἡμέρας R. Steph., ἡμέραις LM.
6 Βουλεύσασθαι Bk., Βουλεύσατι LM.
7 ὁτα R. Steph., ὁτί LM. 8 ἀνεσθείκει Bk., ἀνεσθεί ΛM.
show how the Romans of that period respected men who were prominent through merit and hated those who behaved insolently, even in the smallest matters. This Servilius, it seems, had once while walking met on the road a man on horseback, who, so far from dismounting at his approach, galloped right on. Later he recognized the fellow in a defendant in court, and when he mentioned the incident to the jurors, they gave the man no further hearing, but unanimously condemned him.

In the consulship of Aulus Hirtius and Gaius Vibius (for Vibius was now appointed consul in spite of the fact that his father's name had been posted on the tablets of Sulla) a meeting of the senate was held and opinions expressed for three successive days, including the very first day of the year. For because of the war which was upon them and the portents, very numerous and unfavourable, which took place, they were so excited that they failed to observe even the dies nefasti and to refrain on those days from deliberating about any of their interests. Vast numbers of thunderbolts had fallen, some of them descending on the shrine of Capitoline Jupiter which stood in the temple of Victory; also a mighty windstorm occurred which snapped off and scattered the tablets\(^1\) erected about the temple of Saturn and the shrine of Fides and also overturned and shattered the statue of Minerva the Protectress, which Cicero had set up on the Capitol before his

\(^1\) i.e., the bronze tablets containing laws, etc.
καὶ κατέθραυσε. καὶ τούτο μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ τῷ
Κικέρωνι τὸν ὀλέθρον προεδήλωσε: τοὺς δὲ
ἀλλοὺς ἐκεῖνα τε ἑτάρρατε καὶ σεισμὸς μέγας
γενόμενος, ταῦρός τε τις τυθεὶς τε δι’ αὐτοῦἐν
τῷ 'Εστιαῖῳ καὶ ἀναπηδήσας μετὰ τὴν
ιερουργίαν, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις τοιούτοις οὕτω
λαμπάς ἀπ’ ἄνισχοντος ἥλιον πρὸς δυσμᾶς
dιέδραμε, καὶ τις ἀστήρ καίνος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας
ὡφθη. τὸ τε φῶς τοῦ ἥλιου ἐλαπτοῦσθαί τε καὶ
σβέννυσθαι, τοτέ δὲ ἐν τρισὶ κύκλοις ἑαυτὰ
ξεσθαί ἐδόκει, καὶ ἕνα γε αὐτῶν στέφανοι
σταχύων πυρόδης περίσσεχι, ὥστε εἴπερ τι
ἀλλο, καὶ τούτο ἐναργήστατα αὐτούς ἐκβιάζον οἱ
tε γὰρ ἀνδρεῖς οἱ τρεῖς ἑπνάστευον, λέγοι δὲ τὸν
Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Λεπίδου καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, καὶ
ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ Καίσαρ μετὰ τούτῳ τὴν ἱκανὴ ἔλαβεν.
τούτε δ’ οὖν ταύτα τε ἐγένετο, καὶ λόγια πρὸς
κατάλυσιν τῆς δημοκρατίας φέροντα παντοῖα
ἡδετο. κόρακες τε ἐς τὸ Διοσκόρειον ἐσπετόμενοι
καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τοῦ τε Ἀντώνιου καὶ τοῦ Δολο-
βέλλου ὀνόματα, ἐνταῦθα ποὺ ἐν πινακίῳ ἐγγε-

γραμμένα, ἐξεκόλαψαν. καὶ κύνες πολλοὶ νυκτὸς
κατὰ τε τὴν ἀλλήν πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τῇ τοῦ
ἀρχιερέως τοῦ Λεπίδου οἰκία μάλιστα συστρεφο-
μενοί ὄρυσαν. ὁ τε Ἡριδανὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς
πέριξ γῆς πελαγάσιας ἕξαίφης ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ
παμπληθεῖς ἐν τῷ ἑρωῦ ὅφεις ἐγκατέλεπε, καὶ
ἱψιθς ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀμύθητοι κατὰ τὰς τοῦ

1 αὐτῶν Rk., αὐτῶν LM. 2 εἰ R. Steph., εἰ LM.
3 Ἐστιαῖῳ R. Steph., ἐστιάδωι LM. 4 τότε Xiph., τότε LM.
5 περίσσεχι Xiph., περίσσεχι LM.
6 ὅστ’ εἴπερ Rk., δεύτερο LM.
7 Διοσκόρειον Dind., διοσκόρειον LM.
exile. This, now, also portended death to Cicero himself. Another thing that frightened the rest of the population was a great earthquake which occurred, and the fact that a bull which was being sacrificed on account of it in the temple of Vesta leaped up after the ceremony. In addition to these omens, clear as they were, a flash darted across from the east to the west and a new star was seen for several days. Then the light of the sun seemed to be diminished and even extinguished, and at times to appear in three circles, one of which was surmounted by a fiery crown of sheaves. This came true for them as clearly as ever any prophecy did. For the three men were in power,—I mean Caesar, Lepidus and Antony,—and of these Caesar subsequently secured the victory. At the same time that these things occurred all sorts of oracles foreshadowing the downfall of the republic were recited. Crows, moreover, flew into the temple of Castor and Pollux and pecked out the names of the consuls, Antony and Dolabella, which were inscribed there somewhere on a tablet. And by night dogs would gather together in large numbers throughout the city and especially near the house of the high priest, Lepidus, and howl. Again, the Po, which had flooded a large portion of the surrounding territory, suddenly receded and left behind on the dry land a vast number of snakes; and countless fish were cast up from the sea on the shore near the
Τιβέριδος ἐκβολᾶς ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον ἐξέπεσον.
8 ἐπεγένετο μὲν οὖν καὶ λοιμὸς ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς πάση ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἰσχυρός, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ τε βουλευτήριον τὸ Ὀστίλιον ἀνοικοδομηθῆναι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐν φῇ ναυμαχία ἐγεγόνει συγχωσθῆναι ἐγηφίσθη, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἑνταῦθα στῆσεθαί τὸ
9 δείνον ἐδοκεῖ, ἀλλὸς τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Οὐσβίου τὰ ἑστήρια τῇ νομημαίᾳ βύοντος ῥαβδοῦχος τις αὐτοῦ ἐπέσεν ἐξαίρητης καὶ ἀπέθανεν. διὰ μὲν
οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ἐν ἑκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐβουλευσάντο τε, καὶ εἰπόν ἄλλοι τε ἐφ' ἑκάτερα πολλοὶ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων ὤδη:
18 " Οὐν μὲν ἐνεκα τὴν ἀποδημίαν, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐκδημήσων, ἐστειλάμην, καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς τὴν ἑπάνοδου, ὡς καὶ πολλὰ ύμᾶς ὕφελήσων, ἐποιησάμην, ἥκουσατε προφήτην, ὁ πατέρες, ὅθ' 2 ύμῖν περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἀπελογησάμην. οὕτε γὰρ ἐν δυναστείᾳ καὶ τυραννίδι ζῇν ὑπομείναι μ' ἄν, ἐν ἡ μὴτε πολιτεύσασθαι ὀρθῶν 4 μὴτε παρρησιάσασθαι ἀσφαλῶς μήτε τελευτᾶσθαι χρησίμως ύμῶν δύναμι, οὕτ' αὐ παρὸν τῶν δεόντων τι 5 πρᾶξαι, κατοχνήσασθαι' ἄν καὶ μὲτὰ κινδύνου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.
3 νομίζω γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ὅμοιως ἔργον εἶναι τοῖς τε τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρουσι τηρεῖν ἑαυτόν, φυλαττόμενον μὴ μάτην ἀπόληται, καὶ τοῦτω μηδὲν ἐλλεῖπεν τῶν προσηκόντων μήτε λέγοντα μήτε πράττοντα, καν ἁρα τι καὶ παθεῖν σώζοντα αὐτὴν ἀναγκαίον ἦ.

1 λοιμὸς v. Hesw., ὁ λοιμὸς LM.
2 Οὐσβίου XvL, Ἰουσβίον LM.
3 ἑστήρια XvL, ἑστήρια LM.
4 ὀρθῶσ supplied by Bk.
5 paroiv tōn deōntov ti R. Ste h., paroiv tōn deōnti M, para-
schōntov deōnti L.
mouths of the Tiber. Succeeding these terrors a terrible plague spread over nearly all Italy, because of which the senate voted that the Curia Hostilia\textsuperscript{1} should be rebuilt and that the spot where the naval battle had taken place\textsuperscript{2} should be filled up. However, the curse did not appear disposed to rest even then, especially since, when Vibius was conducting the opening sacrifices on the first day of the year, one of his lectors suddenly fell down and died. Because of these events they took counsel during those days, and among the various men who spoke on one side or the other Cicero addressed them as follows:

"You have heard recently, Conscript Fathers, when I made a statement to you about the matter, why I made preparations for my departure, thinking that I should be absent from the city for a long time, and then hastily returned, with the idea that I should benefit you greatly. For I could not, on the one hand, endure to live under a monarchy or a tyranny, since under such a government I cannot live rightly as a free citizen nor speak my mind safely nor die in a way that would be of service to you; and yet, on the other hand, if opportunity should be afforded to perform any necessary service, I would not shrink from doing it, though it involved danger. For I deem it the business of an upright man equally to keep himself safe in his country's interest, taking care that he may not perish uselessly, and at the same time not to fail in any duty either of speech or of action, even if it be necessary to suffer some harm while saving his country."

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. xl. 50. \textsuperscript{2} Cf. xliii. 23, 4.
19 "Οὕτω δὴ τούτων ἐχόντων ἦν μέν ποιον πολλὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ύμῖν ἀσφάλεια πρὸς τὸ τὰ δέοντα βουλεύσασθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ φρουρᾶς συνέλθειν ἐψηφίσασθε, πάνθ᾽ ἡμᾶς οὕτω δεὶ καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ πράξαι τήμερον ὡστε καὶ τὰ παρόντα καταστήσασθαι καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος προϊδέσθαι, μὴ καὶ αὕθεις ἀναγκασθῶμεν ὁμοίως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διαγράμαι. οτι μὲν οὖν ἀρεπὰ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ φροντίδος δεόμενα τὰ πράγματα ἡμῶν ἐστὶν, καὶ ύμεῖς αὐτοὶ δῆλον, εἰ καὶ ἐκ μηδενὸς ἄλλου, ἄλλ᾽ οὖν ἐκ τούτου γε πεποιήσαντε, οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἐψηφίσασθε φυλακῇ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου σχείν, εἰγε ἐξήν τούτου ἐν τῷ εἰσηλθότι κόσμῳ καὶ ἐν ἑσυχίᾳ ἀδεῶς τι βουλεύσασθαι. 2 ἂν τὰς τοστιάς τῶν Καίσαρος ἐξώλογον τι πράξαι, ὡς καὶ αἰσχύνην ὀδηγόν, αἰτήσαντες μὲν αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ φοβούμενοι τινὰς, ἀμελήσαντες δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἐν οὐδείν δεινῷ καθεστήκωτε, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν σφας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπ᾽ Ἀττανίου προσελθότοι θυρίσται,

4 ἄρα, ἔρχομαι οὗτος καὶ ἡμῶς αὐτῶν δεδοκιτές, ὡσπερ δὲν αὐτῶν, πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους στρατεύμασιν ἁ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος συγκροτεῖ, καὶ αὐτοὺς τούτους προσλαβεῖν, ὡς μηδέν μηδὲ τήμερον κατ᾽ αὐτοῦς ἐφιστήσθε.

20 "Καί τοις τινές ἐστὶ τούτῳ ἀναίδειας ἐληλύθασιν ὡστε τολμᾶν λέγειν ὡς οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει, καὶ τοσαῦτην γε εὐθειαν ύμῶν κατεγνώκασιν ὡστε

1 δεὶ L, δὲ M. 2 μὴ Rk., δεῖτε μὴ I.M. 3 οὖν supplied by Rk. 4 τί Rk., γε LM.
5 Βουλεύσασθαι Bk., Βουλεύσαι I.M.
"This being the case, although a large measure of safety was afforded even by Caesar both to you and to me for the discussion of pressing questions, yet since you have further voted to assemble under guard, we must frame all our words and acts this day in such a fashion as to settle the present difficulties and to provide for the future, that we may not again be compelled to decide in a similar way about them. Now that our situation is difficult and dangerous and requires much care and thought, you yourselves have made evident, if in no other way, at least by this measure; for you would not have voted to keep the senate-house under guard, if it had been possible for you to deliberate without fear in accordance with your accustomed good order and in quiet. We must also accomplish something of importance by very reason of the soldiers who are here, so that we may not incur the disgrace that would certainly follow from asking for them as if we feared somebody, and then neglecting affairs as if we were liable to no danger. We should then appear to have acquired them only nominally on behalf of the city against Antony, but in reality to have given them to him to be used against ourselves, and it would look as if in addition to the other legions which he is gathering against his country he needed to acquire these very men also, in order that you might not pass any vote against him even to-day.

"Yet some have reached such a point of shamelessness as to dare to say that he is not warring against the state, and have credited you with a simplicity
καὶ νομίζειν τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἐαυτῶν πείσειν ύμᾶς
2 προσέχειν μᾶλλον η τοῖς ἐργοῖς τοῖς ἐκείνου. καὶ
tις ἄν ἀφεῖς τὸ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ σκοπεῖν, καὶ
tὴν στρατεύματι ἦν ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἡμῶν μὴ
tὴς βούλης μὴτοῦ δήμου προστάζαντος πεποίη
tαι, καὶ τὰς χώρας ἃς κατατρέχει, καὶ τὰς πόλεις
ἀς πολιορκεῖ, καὶ τὰς ἀπειλᾶς ἃς πάσην ἡμῖν
ἀπείλει, καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐφ’ αἰς ἀπάντα ταύτα
ποίει, τοῖς τε βήμασι τοῖς τούτοις καὶ ταῖς ψευδο-
λογίαις αἰς ἀναβάλλουσιν ύμᾶς, σκήψεις καὶ
προφάσεις λέγοντες, ἐθελῆσεις πεισθεὶς ἀπολέ-
3 σθαί; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ τοσοῦτον δέω ταύτα ποιοῦντα
αὐτῶν ἐννοοῦν τι καὶ πολιτικὸν πράγμα φάναι
πράττειν, ὡστε καὶ ὅτι τὴν τῆς Μακεδονίας
ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου προσταγθείσαν αὐτῷ
κατέληπτε, καὶ ὅτι τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχὴν τὴν
4 μὴ δὲν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν ἀνθέλετο, καὶ ὅτι
στρατεύματα ἥν Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους
προϋπερψε, συλλαβῶν περὶ αὐτῶν, μηδὲν εἰν ἡ
Ἰταλία δεινοῦ ὄντος, ἔχει, καὶ ὅτι τὴν πόλιν εἰν τῷ
τῆς ὑπατείας χρόνῳ ἐκλειπὼν περιέρχεται τη
τὴν χώραν πορθῶν καὶ λυμαίνομενον, πάλαι φημὶ
21 πολέμων αὐτῶν ἀπάνττῳ ἡμῶν εἶναι. εἰ δὲ μὴ
παραχρῆμα τότε ἠσθάνεσθε μηδὲ ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ
αὐτῶν ἡγανακτεῖτε, ἐκεῖνον μὲν καὶ διὰ τούτο ἔτι
μᾶλλον μισεῖν ἢξίον ἔστιν, ὅτι τοιοῦτος ὡς τοῦ
ὑμᾶς ἡδικῶν οὐ παύεται, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἀν ἵσος
συγγνώμης ἐφ’ οἷς τὸ πρῶτον ἡμάρτε τυχεῖν, ἐς
τοσοῦτο τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς πονηρίας προελήφθην

1 τοῖς supplied by Dind. 2 πολιτικὸν Hug, part1 καθ’ LM.
3 περιέρχεται Bk., ἐκπεριέρχεται LM.
4 τοῦτο Bk., ταῦτα LM.

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so great as to think that they will persuade you to pay heed to their words rather than to his acts. But who would choose to shut his eyes to his acts and the campaign he has made against our allies without any orders from the senate or the people, the countries he is overrunning, the cities he is besieging, the threats he is hurling against us all, and the hopes with which he is doing all this, and would choose instead to believe, to his own ruin, the words of these men and their false statements, by which they put you off with pretexts and excuses? I, for my part, do not admit that in doing this he is acting legally or constitutionally. Far from it: he abandoned the province of Macedonia, which had been assigned to him by lot, chose instead the province of Gaul, which did not belong to him at all, assumed control of the legions which Caesar had sent ahead against the Parthians and keeps them about him, though no danger threatens Italy, and after leaving the city during the period of his consulship now goes about pillaging and ruining the country; for these reasons I declare that he has long been an enemy of us all. And if you did not perceive it immediately at the outset or feel indignation at each of his actions, he deserves to be hated all the more on that very account, in that he does not stop injuring you who are so long-suffering. He might perchance have obtained pardon for the errors which he committed at first, but now by his persistence in them he has reached such a pitch of knavery that he ought to be brought

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οὐσὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων χρῆσαι δίκην ὑποσχεῖν:

2 ύμῶν δὲ ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐπιμελητέου ἐστὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὁρῶσι καὶ λογιζόμενοι τοῦθ', ὅτι τὸν τοσαυτάκις ύμῶν ἐν τοσοῦτοι πράγμασι κατα-

2 περιφρονηκότα ἀδύνατον ἐστὶν ἐκουσίου ὑπὸ τὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς φιλανθρωπίας ὑμῶν σωφρονισθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ ἀκοντά

νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, τοῖς ὑπλοῖς κολασθῆναι. 1

29 "Μὴ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ψηφίσασθαί τινα αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἀνέπεισεν ύμᾶς 2 τὰ δὲ ἔξεβιβάστω, ἦττον τὶ παρὰ τούτῳ ἀδικεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλάττωνος διὰ τούτῳ

2 ἄξιον τιμωρίας εἶναι νομίσητε. τὰν γὰρ τοὐ-


νατίον καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τούτου μᾶλλα δίκην ὁφείλει δοῦναι, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ προελμένος δρᾶσαι δὲ ύμῶν τὲ τινὰ αὐτῶν ἐποίησαι, καὶ

ταῖς παρ' ύμῶν ἀφορμαῖς, ὡς οὐτε εἰδότας οὐτὲ

προορωμένους τι τοιούτων ἔξαπατήσας ἤλαγκασεν

αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι, ἐφ' ύμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπεχρήσατο.

3 ποῦ γὰρ ἂν ἔκοιντες ύμεῖς τὰς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ

Καίσαρος ἢ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου δοθείας ἐκάστους

ἡγεμονίας κατελύσατε, τοῦτῳ δὲ ἐπετρέψατε τὰ τὲ

ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἑταῖροις διαδοῦναι,

καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν Μακεδονίαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Γάιον

πέμψαι, τὴν δὲ ἡ Γαλατίαν ἐαυτῷ μετὰ τῶν

στρατευμάτων, οἷς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ύμῶν χρῆσασθαι

4 εἰχε, προστάξαι; 3 ὡς ὁ μὲν καὶ τοῦ

τοῦ Καίσαρος τελευτὴ λαβὼν πάνθ', ὡς ἡ

βουλήθη διεπράξατο, τὰ μὲν ἐπι-

κοινών ύμῖν ὑπολογίζει, καὶ 5 ἀκαίρως, τὰ δὲ αὐτὸς

1 κολασθῆναι Bk., καλονθῆναι LM.

2 ύμᾶς R. Steph., ἀμαί LM.

3 προστάξαι R. Steph., προστάξαι LM.

4 ὡς added by R. Steph.

5 καὶ added by R. Steph.

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to book for his former offences as well. And you ought to be excessively careful in regard to the situation, when you see this and ponder it—that the man who has so often despised you in matters so weighty cannot, as he would like, be corrected by the same gentleness and kindliness as you have shown before, but must now, even though never before, be chastised, quite against his will, by force of arms.

"And do not, because he partly persuaded and partly compelled you to vote him certain privileges, imagine that this makes him less guilty or deserving of less punishment. Quite the reverse: for this very procedure he particularly deserves to be punished, because, after determining beforehand to commit many outrages, he not only accomplished some of them through you, but also employed against you yourselves the resources which came from you, which by deception he forced you to vote to him when you neither realised nor foresaw anything of the sort. For after you had abrogated of your own free will the positions of command assigned by Caesar or by the lot to each man, would you ever have allowed this fellow to distribute numerous appointments to his friends and companions, sending his brother Gaius to Macedonia, and assigning to himself Gaul together with the legions, which he had no occasion to use in your defence? Do you not recall how, when he found you in consternation over Caesar's death, he carried out all the schemes that he chose, communicating some to you carefully dissimulated and at inopportune moments, and executing others on his own responsibility, thus adding villainy to
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εφ' έαυτού προσκακουργών, πάντα δὲ βιαζόμενος; στρατιωταίς γούν, καὶ τούτοις βαρβάροις, καθ'

υμῶν ἐχρήσατο. καὶ τοῦτο θαυμάσειν ἂν τις, εἰ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐφηφίσθη τι οἴνον οὐκ

ἐχρῆν, ὅποτε μηδὲ νῦν παρρησίαν ἀλλὰς εἶπεῖν τι καὶ πρᾶξαι τὸν δεόντων, εἰ μὴ μετὰ φρουρᾶς,

ἐσγήκαμεν; ἢν εἰ τότε περιβεβλημένοι ἦμεν, οὔτ' ἂν ἐκείνος ὅν φήσει τις αὐτὸν τυχεῖν ἐτυχεν,

οὔτ' ἂν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐξήθεις εξ' αὐτῶν ἐπραξε.

μὴ οὖν ὅσα κελεὐνόμενοι καὶ καταναγκαζόμενοι καὶ

θρηνοῦτες δεδωκέναι αὐτῷ ἐδοξαμεν, ταῦτα τις

ὡς καὶ νομίμως καὶ δικαίως γεγονότα προβαλ-

λέσθω. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἱδίοις, ὅσα ἂν τίς ἄτερος

ὑφ' ἑτέρου βιασθεὶς πράξῃ, κύρια ταῦτα τηρεῖται.

"Καίτοι ταῦτα μὲν, ὅσα γε γυρφίσασθαι"

dokeίτε, καὶ βραχέα καὶ ὅν πάνω ἐξω τοῦ

καθεστηκότος οὕτα εὐρήσετε. τί γὰρ δεινὸν εἰ

ἐτέρος ἀνδ' ἑτέρου Μακεδονίας ἢ Γαλατίας

ἀρξεῖν ἐμελλεῖν; ἢ τί χαλεπὸν εἴ τις στρατιώτας

ὑπατεύων ἐλαβεῖν; ἀλλ' ἐκείνα χαλεπὰ καὶ

σχέσια, τὸ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν κακουργεῖσθαι, τὸ

τάς πόλεις τὰς συμμαχίας πολιορκεῖσθαι, τὸ τοὺς

στρατιώτας τοὺς ἥμετέρους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὀπλίζεσθαι, τὸ

τὰ ἡμέτερα καθ' ἡμῶν ἀνάλισκεσθαι ἢ μήτε

ἐφηφίσασθε μήτε ἐμελλήσατε. μὴ τούνων, ὅτι

τινὰ ἐδώκατε αὐτῷ, διὰ τούτο αὐτὸν εἶτε καὶ τὰ

μὴ δοθέντα πράττειν μηδ' ὅτι τινὰ συνεχωρήσατε,

παρὰ τούτο οἴεσθε δεῖν καὶ τὰ μὴ συγχωρή-

1 προβαλλέσθω Rk., παραβαλλέσθω LM.
2 γυρφίσασθαι Leunc., ἐφηφίσασθε LM.
3 οὕτα Leunc., ὅτιος LM. 4 εἰ R. Steph., ἢ LM.
5 τινὰ supplied by Oddey. 6 εἶτε R. Steph., ἢτε LM.
his deception, while all his acts were accomplished by violence? At least he employed soldiers, and barbarians, too, against you. And need any one be surprised that in those days an occasional vote was passed which should not have been passed, when even now we have not obtained freedom to say and do anything that is needful in any other way than by the aid of a body-guard? If we had then been encompassed by this guard, he would not have obtained what some one may say he has obtained, nor would he have risen thereby to power and have done the deeds that followed. Accordingly, let no one retort that the rights which at his command and under compulsion and amid laments we had the appearance of giving him were legally and rightfully bestowed. For even in private business that is not observed as binding which a man does under compulsion from another.

"And yet all these measures which you may seem to have voted you will find to be unimportant and differing but little from established custom. What was there so serious in the fact that one man was destined to govern Macedonia or Gaul instead of another? Or what was the harm if a man obtained soldiers during his consulship? But these are the things that are harmful and abominable,—that our land should be ravaged, the allied cities besieged, our soldiers armed against us, and our wealth expended to our detriment; this you neither voted nor would ever have voted. Do not, then, merely because you have granted him certain privileges, allow him to usurp what was not granted him; and do not imagine that, because you have conceded certain points, he ought therefore to be permitted to do
θέντα αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ἔξειναι. πάν γὰρ τούναντίον καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ μυσεῖν καὶ τιμορεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὁφειλεῖτε, ὅτι καὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τῇ παρ’ ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐν τούτοις μόνοις ἄλλα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασι καθ’ ὑμῶν ἔτολμησε χρήσασθαι. σκοπεῖτε δὲ ἐψηφίσασθε τὴν τε εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐμοὶ 1 πεισθέντες, ταύτῃν οὕτως προτανεύσαι κελευσθείς οὕτω διήχε 2 πρόφασιν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ταφὴν ποιησάμενος, ὥστε πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν πόλιν ὁλίγον καταπρησθῆναι, παμπόλλους δὲ αὖθις φονευθῆναι. ἐβεβαιώσατε πάντα τὰ δοθέντα τισὶ καὶ νομοθετήθηνα πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐχ ός καλὸς πάντ’ ἔχοντα (πολλοῦ γε καὶ δει), ἀλλ’ ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτῶν μετακινηθῆναι συνέφερεν, ὅπως ἀνυπόπτως χωρὶς ὑπούλου τινὸς ἀλλήλοις συνώμεν. τούτων ἔξοδηθε σοῦτος γενόμενος πολλὰ μὲν τῶν πραχθέντων ὡς αὐτοῦ καταλέλυκε, πολλὰ δὲ ἐτέρα ἀντεγγέγραφε: 3 καὶ γὰρ χώρας καὶ πολιτείας καὶ ἀτελείας καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς τιμὰς τούς τε ἔχοντας ἄφηρηται, καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ βασιλέας καὶ πόλεις, καὶ τοῖς μὴ λαβοῖσι δέδωκε, παραποιησάμενος 4 τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήματα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν μηδὲν ἐθελήσαντας αὐτῷ προΐσθαι καὶ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτοῖς ἀφελόμενος, τοῖς δ’ ἐννήμασι 5 καὶ ἐκεῖνα καὶ τάλλα πάντα πωλήσας. καὶ τερ ὡμέις αὐτὰ ταύτα προορόμενοι ἐψηφίσασθε μηδεμίαν στήλην μετὰ τοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον,

1 ἐμοὶ Rk., καὶ ἐμοὶ LM. 2 διήχε Bk., διήχε LM. 3 ἀντεγγέγραφε Plügk., ἀντεγγέγραφε LM. 4 παραποιησάμενος R. Steph., παραποιησάμενοι LM. 5 ἐννήμασι Diind., ἐν ἐννήμασι LM.
what has not been conceded. Quite the reverse: you should for this very reason both hate and punish him, because he has dared not only in this case but in all other cases to use against you the honour and kindness you have bestowed. Consider a moment. Through my influence you voted that there should be peace and harmony amongst you. This man, when he was ordered to manage the business, performed it in such a way, taking Caesar's funeral as a pretext, that almost the whole city was burned down and once more great numbers were slaughtered. You ratified all the grants made to various persons and all the laws laid down by Caesar, not because they were all excellent—far from it!—but because it was inadvisable to make any change in them, if we were to live together free from suspicion and without malice. This man, appointed to examine into Caesar's acts, has abolished many of them and has substituted many others in the documents. He has taken away lands and citizenship and exemption from taxes and many other honours from their possessors, whether private persons, kings, or cities, and has given them to men who did not receive them, by altering the memoranda of Caesar; from those who were unwilling to give up anything to his grasp he took away even what had been given them, and sold this and everything else to such as wished to buy. Yet you, foreseeing this very possibility, had voted that no tablet should be set up after Caesar's death.
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ός καὶ παρ’ εκείνου των ἔδομένου τι ἐγουσαν, στήναι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς πολὺ
tοῦτ’ ἐγνήνετο, καὶ ἔλεγεν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τινα
tῶν ἐν τοῖς θράμμασι τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος
eὐρεθέντων ἐκλεχθῆναι τε καὶ πραχθῆναι, ὡμεῖς
μὲν μετὰ τῶν πρωτῶν ἀνδρῶν προσετάξατε αὐτῷ
tαῦτα διαλέξαι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν φρονήσας,
pανθ’ ὅσα ἐβούλετο μόνος καὶ περὶ τὸν νόμον
cai peri tois φυγάδας καὶ peri tā allla ὡς μικρὸ
πρόσθεν εἶπον ἐξεργάσατο. 4 οὔτω ποιν πάντα
tā dokounta ὡμῶν ποιεῖν βούλεται.

24 "Ἀρ’ οὖν εὖ τούτων μόνων τοιοῦτος γέγονε, τὰ δὲ
ἀλλα ὅρθως διώκητε; ποῦ; πὸθεν; οὐ τὰ
χρήματα τὰ κοινὰ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ
Καίσαρος ἐπιξητήσαι καὶ ἀποδεῖξαι κελευσθεὶς
ηρπακε, καὶ τὰ μὲν τούς δανεισταὶς ἀποδέδωκε τὰ
dὲ ἐς τρυφὴν κατανάλωκεν, ὅστε μηκέτι αὐτῷ
2 μηδὲ τούτων τι περιέχαι; οὐ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ
dικτάτορος μισησάντων ὡμῶν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου
dυναστείαν καὶ παντελῶς ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας
eκβαλῶντων, τούτο μὲν ὅσπερ τι αὐτὸ ἐφ’
ἔαυτον ἀδικήσαι δυνάμενον οὐκ ἐπιτεθεῖται, τὰ
dὲ ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἐν τῷ τῆς
3 ὑπατείας προσρήματε ἐπιδείκται; οὐχ ὡμεῖς
μὲν πρῶταν αὐτῶν τῆς ὁμονοίας ἀπεδεῖξατε,
oútos δὲ πολέμου αὐτοῦ ἐφ’ ἔαυτοῦ τηλικοῦτον,
oûte ἐπορηκώταν οὔτε ἐγνωσμένον, ἀνήρται
πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ Δέκιμον, οὐχ ὡμεῖς ἐπαινεῖε;
4 μυρὶα ὀ’ ἄν εἴη λέγειν, εἰ τις ἐπεξείναι καθ’

1 τοῦ Bk., τῶν LM. 2 οὗτος ΛM.
3 τοῦ του Leouncl., τῶν τοῦ LM.
4 ἐξεργάσατο St., ἐξαιρέσατο LM.
BOOK XLV

purporting to contain any privilege granted by him to any one. Nevertheless, when it happened many times after that, and he claimed that it was necessary for some provisions found in Caesar's papers to be specially singled out and put into effect, you assigned to him, in company with the foremost men, the task of making such excerpts; but he, paying no attention to the others, carried out everything alone according to his wishes, in regard to the laws, the exiles, and the other matters which I enumerated a few moments ago. This, indeed, is the way he chooses to execute all your decrees.

"Has he, then, shown himself to be this sort of man only in these affairs, while managing the rest rightly? When or how? Though ordered to search out and produce the public moneys left behind by Caesar, has he not seized them, paying a part to his creditors and spending a part on high living, so that he no longer has any left even of this? Though you hated the name of dictator on account of Caesar's sovereignty and rejected it entirely from the state, has not Antony, even though he has avoided adopting it,—as if the name in itself could do any harm,—nevertheless exhibited a dictator's behaviour and his greed for gain under the title of the consulship? Though you assigned to him the duty of promoting harmony, has he not on his own responsibility begun this great war, neither necessary nor sanctioned, against Caesar and Decimus, whom you approve? Indeed, innumerable cases might be mentioned, if one wished to go into
ἐκαστον ἐθελήσειν δὲν ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐπετρέψατε 

αὐτῷ ὡς ὑπάτῳ διοικῆσαι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐδ' ὄτιον 

ἐς δέον ἐπραξέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τάναντι καθ' 

ὑμῶν τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐξουσίᾳ δοθείσῃ χρῶμενος 

5 πεποίηκεν. ἂρ' οὖν ἐς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναδέξεσθε 

καὶ ταῦτα τὰ κακῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένα, καὶ 

αὐτοὶ πάντων σφόν αἴτιοι γεγονέναι φήσετε, ὅτι 

τῇ διοίκησιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἔξτασιν αὐτῷ 

6 προσετάξατε; ἀλλὰ ἄτοπον. οὔδ' ἂρ' ἀν 

στρατηγὸς ἤ καὶ πρεσβευτὴς 2 τις αἰρεθεὶς μηδέν 

τῶν δεόντων δράση, τούτον τὴν αἰτίαν ὑμεῖς ἦν 

πέμψαντες αὐτοὺς ἔξετε. καὶ ἂρ' ἂν εἰς ἰδίουν 

ἐπ' αἰτίας ὑμῶν προκειμένοι τι πράξαι τὰ μὲν 

κέρδη καὶ τὰς τιμὰς αὐτοῦ λαμβάνοιεν, τὰ δὲ 

ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ' ὑμᾶς 3 ἀναφέροιεν. 

25 οὐκοιν οὔδ' τούτῳ προσέχειν προσήκει λέγοντι 

ὑμεῖς ἂρ' τῇ Γαλατίαν ἀρχεῖν ἐπετρέπατε, 

ὑμεῖς τὰ χρήματα τὰ κοινὰ διοικήσαι ἐκελευσάτε, 

ὑμεῖς τὰ στρατεύματα τὰ 4 ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας 

2 ἐδώκατε. ἡ ψηφισθῇ μὲν ἂρ' ταῦτα οὕτως, εἰγε 

dei toútō eiteiv, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου δίκην 

παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ὅτι ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς 5 ἡνάγκασε 

γνῶναι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τοῦς φυγάδας κατάγειν, 

οὔδ' τὸ τοὺς νόμους παρεγγάφειν, οὔδε τὸ τὰς 

πολιτείας καὶ τὰς ἀτελείας πωλεῖν, οὔδε τὸ τὰ 

κοινὰ κλέπτειν, οὔδε τὸ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων 

ἀρπάξειν, οὔδε τὸ τὰς πόλεις κακουργεῖν, οὔδε τὸ 

τῆς πατρίδος τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐδώκατε ποτὲ 

3 αὐτῷ. οὔδ' ἂρ' οὐδ' ἀλλ' τοι, καῖτοι πολλά 

1 ἀναδέξεσθε R. Steph., ἀναδέξασθε LM. 

2 πρεσβευτῆς R. Steph., πρεσβυτῆς LM. 

3 ὑμᾶς R. Steph., ἦμᾶς LM. 4 τὰ supplied by Rk. 

5 ὑμᾶς R. Steph., ἦμᾶς LM. 6 κατάγειν M, καταγαγεῖν L.
details, in which you have entrusted business to him to transact as consul, not a bit of which he has performed as the circumstances demanded, but has done quite the opposite, using against you the authority that you granted. Will you, then, take upon yourselves also these base acts that he has committed and say that you yourselves are responsible for all that has happened, because you assigned to him the management and investigation of the matters in question? How absurd! Why, if any one who had been chosen general or envoy should fail in every way to do his duty, you who sent him would not incur the blame for this. Indeed it would be a sorry state of affairs, if all who are elected to perform some task should themselves receive the advantages and the honours, but lay upon you the complaints and the blame. Accordingly, it is not fitting to pay any heed to him when he says, 'But it was you who permitted me to govern Gaul, you who ordered me to administer the public finances, you who gave me the legions from Macedonia.' — It is true these measures were voted,—if, indeed, you ought to put it that way, and not, instead, exact punishment from him for his action in compelling you to pass the decree; yet surely you never at any time gave him the right to restore the exiles, to add laws surreptitiously, to sell the privileges of citizenship and of exemption from taxes, to steal the public funds, to plunder the possessions of the allies, to injure the cities, or to undertake to play the tyrant over his native country. In fact, you never
πολλοίς ψηφισάμενοι, συνεχωρήσατε ὅσα ἐβούλοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκην ἀεὶ ποτε παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων, ὅσων γε καὶ ἡδυνήθητε, ἐλάβετε, ὅσπερ ποινα καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τούτον λήφεσθε, ἂν γε ἐμοὶ νῦν 4 πεισθήτε. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνων τοιοῦτος γέγονεν ὅπως ἂν τοῦτον ἵστε καὶ ἔσφακα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς ὅσα πάποτε πρὸς τὰ 2 κοινά προσέλθων πέπραξε.

26 "Τὸν γὰρ ὅτι ἰδίον αὐτοῦ βίον τάς τε ἴδιας ἀσελγείας καὶ πλεονεξίας ἐκών παραλείψω, οὐχ ὅτε οὐχὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις ἑυροί τις ἀν αὐτοῦ πεποιηκότα, ἀλλ' ὅτε αἰδούμαι νὴ τὸν Ἦρακλεα ἀκριβῶς καθ' ἐκάστον, ἀλλως τε καὶ 4 πρὸς οὖν ἤττων εἰδότας ὑμᾶς, λέγειν ὅπως μὲν τὴν ὠραν τὴν ἐν παισίν ὑμῶν διέθετο, ὅπως δὲ τὴν ἄκμην τὴν ἐφ ἡμὺς ἀπεκήρυξε, τὰς ἑταῖρας αὐτοῦ τὰς λαθραίας, τὰς πορείας τὰς ἐμφανεῖς, ὅσα ἐπαθεὶς ἐως ἐνεδέχετο, ὅσα ἐδόθην αἳ οὖπερ ἡδυνήθη, τοὺς κόμους, τὰς μέθας, τάλλα 3 πάντα τὰ τούτων ἐπόμενα. ἄδονατον γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀνθρωπὸν ἐν τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀναισχυντία τοσαύτη τραφέντα μὴ ὅ τὸ πάντα τῶν ἐαυτοῦ βιῶν μᾶναι ὅθεννορ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κοινά ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ τὴν κινωδίαν καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν προήγαγε. 4 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἶσο, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ τὴν ἐς Ἀγίντον αὐτοῦ πρὸς Γαβίνιον ἀποδημᾶν, τὴν τε ἐς Γαλατίαν πρὸς Καῖσαρα ἀπόδρασιν, ἵνα μὴ μὲ τὶς φῆμεν πάντα ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι, αἰσχυνθέεις ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὅτι τοιούτων αὐτοῦ ὅταν εἰδότες καὶ

1 ἡδυνήθητε Dind., ἐδωρήθητε L.M. 2 τὰ M, τὸ L.
3 ἐν supplied by St. 4 καὶ supplied by Pflugk.
5 ἐν ταιεὶ R. Steph., ἐν τοῖς L, ἐμποσιν M.
6 ἐω Bk., ἐτ L.M.
conceded to any others all that they desired, though you have voted many privileges to many persons; on the contrary, you have always punished such men so far as you could, as, indeed, you will also punish him, if you take my advice now. For it is not in these matters alone that he has shown himself to be such a man as you know and have seen him to be, but absolutely in all the undertakings which he has ever performed since entering public life.

"His private life and his personal acts of licentiousness and avarice I shall willingly pass over, not because one would fail to discover that he had committed many dreadful deeds of this sort too, but because, by Hercules, I am ashamed to describe minutely and in detail, especially to you who know it as well as I, how he spent his youth among you who were boys at the time, how he sold to the highest bidder the vigour of his prime, his secret lapses from chastity, his open fornications, what he let be done to him as long as it was possible, what he did as early as he could, his revels, his drunken debauches, and all the rest that follows in their train. It is impossible for a person brought up in so great licentiousness and shamelessness to avoid defiling his entire life; and so from his private life he brought his lewdness and greed into his public relations. I shall let this pass, then, and likewise, by Jupiter, his visit to Gabinius in Egypt and his flight to Caesar in Gaul, that I may not be charged with going minutely into every detail; for I feel ashamed for you, that knowing him to be such a man, you
δημαρχον καὶ ἱππαρχον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπατον ἀπεδείξατε· δὲ ἐὰν αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐπαρφύησεν καὶ ἐκακοῦργησε, μόνα νῦν ἔρω.

27 "Οὕτως τούτων δημαρχῆσας πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάντων ἐκόλυσεν ὡμᾶς τὰ τότε περιστάντα πράγματα εὐθεῖα, βοῶν καὶ κεκραγὼς καὶ μόνος ἐξ ἀπάντων

ἐναντιούμενος τῇ κοινῇ τῆς πόλεως εἰρήνη, ἐπειτα δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἄμανακτήσαντες ἐψηφίσασθε δι’ αὐτῶν ἄπερ ἐψηφίσασθε, τούτο μὲν εκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέδρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκαταλιπών, ὁ μηδεμίαν ἐκ τῶν νόμων νῦκτα ἀποδημῆσαι ἐξῆι, τούτο δ’ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅπλα αὐτομολήσας εἰκείνον τε ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπήγαγε καὶ ὡμᾶς ἕκε τε τῆς Ἡρώης καὶ ἕκ τῆς Ἀλλης Ἰταλίας ὅλης ἐξήλασε, καὶ ἐνὶ λόγῳ πάντων τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφυλίων τῶν μετὰ ταῦθ’ ὡμῶν συμβαντὸς αἰτιώτατος ἐγένετο.

3 εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο βουλῆμασιν ὡμῶν ἀντεπεπράχει, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ο Καίσαρ οὔτε σκῆψιν οὐδεμίαν τῶν πολέμων εἰρήκει, οὔτε εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀπηναισχύντε, δύναμιν γέ τινα ἄξιόχρεων παρά τὰ δόγματα ὡμῶν ἤθροίκει, ἄλλ’ ἦτοι έκόμεν εκ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπήλλακτο τῇ καὶ

4 ἀκομή ἐσεωσφρόνητο. μῦν δὲ οὕτως ἐστιν ο καὶ εἰκείνῳ τὰς προφάσεως ἔνδου καὶ τὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄξιωμα καταλύσας, τὸ τε θράσος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπαυξήσας· οὕτως ὁ τὸ στέρμα τῶν κακῶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκφύντων ἔμβαλον, οὕτως ὁ κοινὸς ἀληθής ὅπως ὡμῶν μονὸν ἄλλα καὶ τῆς

appointed him tribune and master of the horse and subsequently consul. But I shall at present mention only his acts of drunken insolence and of villainy in these very offices.

"Well, then, when he was tribune, he first of all prevented you from accomplishing satisfactorily the business you then had in hand, by shouting and bawling and alone of all the people opposing the public peace of the state, until you became vexed and because of his conduct passed the vote that you did. Then, though, as tribune, he was not permitted by law to absent himself for a single night, he ran away from the city, abandoning the duties of his office, and going as a deserter to Caesar's camp, brought Caesar back against his country, drove you out of Rome and from all the rest of Italy, and, in short, became the prime cause of all the civil disorders that have since taken place among you. Had he not at that time acted contrary to your wishes, Caesar would never have found an excuse for the wars and could not, in spite of all his shamelessness, have gathered a sufficient force in defiance of your resolutions; but he would either have voluntarily laid down his arms or have been brought to his senses unwillingly. As it is, this fellow is the man who furnished Caesar with his excuses, who destroyed the prestige of the senate, who increased the audacity of the soldiers. He is who planted the seeds of the evils which sprang up afterward; he it is who has proved the common bane, not only of us, but also of practically
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οικουμένης ὀλίγου πάσης γενόμενος, ὡς ποικιλακά
τὸ δαίμόνιον ἐναργῶς ἐκήμηνεν. ὅτε γοῦν τὸν
θαυμαστὸς ἐκείνους νόμους ἐσέφερε, βροντῶν
πάντα καὶ ἀστραπῶν ἐπληρώθη. ὡν οὐδὲν ὁ
μιαρὸς ὤντος, καὶ περ ὁ ὁμοιότης εἶναι λέγων,
φρονίσας, κακῶν καὶ πολέμων, ὦ στέρε ἐπον,
οὐ τὴν πόλιν μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην
ἐπλήρωσε.

"Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν τί μεν δεῖ λέγειν ὡς ἐπ
ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλου ἱππάρχοντες, ὁ μήπω πρότερον
ἐγεγόνει; τί δ' ὅτι καὶ τότε μεθύων τε ἐπαρόνει
καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὴν κραυγάλην ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
βήματος μεταξὺ δημηγορῶν ἐξήμει; τί δ' ὅτι καὶ
πόρνους καὶ πόρνας, καὶ γελωτόποιοὺς σὺν ὅτι
ἀνδρας ἄλλα καὶ γυναίκας, μετὰ τῶν ῥαβδούχων
dαφνηφοριέων ἐπαγόμενος τὴν Ἰταλίαν περι-
ἡμείς; τί δ' ὅτι τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου οὐσίαν μόνον
ἀνθρώπων ἀγοράσαι ἔτολμησε, μήτε τὸ ἐαυτοῦ
ἀξίωμα μήτε τὴν ἐκείνου μνήμην αἰδεοθείς, ἄλλ
ἐφ' οίς πάντες ἔτι καὶ τότε ἐθηρνόμεν, ταῦτα
μεθ' ἡδονὴς ἀρπάσας; καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνα καὶ ἐπ'
ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπεπήρϊσεν ὡς μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν τιμὴν
ἀποδόσων. ἄλλα καὶ ταύτην μετὰ πάσης ὦβρεως
καὶ βίας ἐσπεράχθη, οὕτως αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ
κατέγνω καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα περ ἐκτίματο, παμπληθὴ
te γενόμενα καὶ ἐκ πάντως τρόπου ἀργυρολογη-
θέντα, κατακεκόμεθε καὶ καταπέπορνευκε καὶ
καταβέβρωκε καὶ καταπέπορνευκε ἡ Χάρυβδες.

29 "Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἕασω τὰς δὲ ὅθ' ὦβρεις
ἀς τὸ κοινὸν ὦβρισε, καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς ἃς κατὰ

1 πολέμων Dind., πολλῶν LM.
2 μεθύων Rk., μεθ' ὁμών LM.
3 οὖν supplied by Schenkl.
the whole world, as, indeed, Heaven clearly indicated. For when he proposed those astonishing laws, the whole city was filled with thunder and lightning. Yet this accursed fellow paid no attention to all this, though he claims to be an augur, but filled not only the city but also the whole world with evils and with wars, as I have said.

"Now after this is there any need of mentioning that he served as master of the horse a whole year, something which had never before occurred? Or that during this period also he was drunk and maudlin and in the assemblies would frequently vomit the remains of yesterday's debauch on the very rostra in the midst of his harangues? Or that he went about Italy at the head of pimps and prostitutes and buffoons, women as well as men, in the company of his lictors bearing their festoons of laurel? Or that he alone of all men dared to buy the estate of Pompey, having no regard for his own dignity or that great man's memory, but grasping with delight these possessions over which we all even at that time lamented? Indeed, he fairly threw himself upon this and many other estates with the expectation of making no recompense for them. Yet the price was nevertheless exacted from him with every indignity and show of violence; so thoroughly did even Caesar condemn his course. And all that he has acquired, vast in extent and levied from every source, he has swallowed up in dieing, in harlotry, in feasting and in drinking, like a second Charybdis.

"All this, now, I will omit; but regarding the insults which he offered to the state and the blood-
πάσαν ὁμοίως τὴν πόλιν ἐργάσατο, πῶς ἂν τις σιωπήσειεν; ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε πῶς βαρὺς μὲν ὡμίν καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ὦσει, βαρύτατος δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐγένετο; ὡστὶς, ὁ γὰρ καὶ θεοί, πρῶτον μὲν ἑτὸς ἐτὸς ἔταιθα, ἑτὸς τοῦ τέχνους, ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾶ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτω-λίῳ, τὸ τε ἐσθήμα ἀμα τὸ περιπόρφυρον ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ ξίφος παραξόνυνυσθαι ῥαβδούχοις τε χρῆσθαι

καὶ ὕπο στρατιωτῶν δορυφορεῖσθαι ἐπεὶτα δυνηθεὶς ἀν καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλον ὀρύβους καταπαύσαι, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀμνοοῦντας ὑμᾶς ἑστασιάσειν, τῇ μὲν αὐτοῦ τῇ δὲ καὶ δ' ἐτέρων. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνους ἐν τῷ μέρει προσημβάνων, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν συναιρομενος σφιατε τὸτε δὲ ἑναντιούμενος, αἰτιώτατος μὲν ἐγένετο τοῦ παμπληθεὶς σφων σφαγῆς, αὐτιώτατος δὲ τοῦ μη πάντα τὰ τοῦ Πόντου τῶν τε Πάρθων εὐθὺς τότε ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ τοῦ Φαρνάκου νίκη χειροθήναι πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς παρατόμεναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεύρῳ διὰ ταχεῖων ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπειδήθεος οὐδὲν ἐκείνων, ὥσς γε καὶ ἡδυνήθη, παντελῶς κατειργάσατο.

Ἱστορία 2:60

“Καὶ οὖν ταύτα μέντοι αὐτὸν ἐσωφρόνισεν, ἀλλ' ὑπατεύσας γυμνὸς, ὃ πατέρες, γυμνὸς καὶ μεμυρισμένος ὡς τῇ ἁγορᾶν ἐσήλθε, πρόφασιν τὰ Δυκαὶν ποιησάμενος, κάνταυδα πρὸς τὸ βήμα μετὰ τῶν ῥαβδουχῶν προσῆλθε, καὶ ἐκεῖ κἀκεῖθεν ἐνδήμηργορήσεν’ ὡσπερ, ἀφ' οὗ γέγονεν ἡ πόλις, οὖν ἄλλον οὖν ὅτι ὑπατὸν ἄλλον οὖν τοῖς στρατηγίαν οὖν ἐνδήμαρχον οὖν ἄγορανόμον οὖν ἐδει πε-
shed which he caused throughout the whole city alike how could any man remain silent? Do you not recall how oppressive the very sight of him was to you, but most of all his deeds? Why, merciful heavens, he first dared, within the city walls, in the Forum, in the senate-house, on the Capitol, at one and the same time to array himself in the purple-bordered robe and to gird on a sword, to employ lictors and to have a body-guard of soldiers. Then, when he might have checked the turmoil of the others, he not only failed to do so, but even set you at variance when you were harmonious, partly by his own acts and partly with the aid of others. Nay more, he took up those very factions in turn, and by now assisting them and now opposing them was chiefly responsible for great numbers of them being slain and for the fact that the whole region of Pontus and Parthia was not subdued at that time immediately after the victory over Pharnaces. For Caesar, hastening hither with all speed to see what he was doing, did not entirely complete any of those projects, as he certainly might have done.

"And even this result did not sober him, but when he was consul he came naked—naked, Conspect Fathers—and anointed into the Forum, taking the Lupercalia as an excuse, then proceeded in company with his lictors toward the rostra, and there harangued us while standing below. Why, from the day the city was founded no one can point to any one else, even a praetor, or tribune, or aedile, much less a

1 Cf. xlii. 27, 2; xlvi. 16, 5.
ποιηκότα. τὰ γὰρ Λυκαία ἦν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ τοῦ Ἰουλίου ἐτέτακτον ταῦτα γὰρ ὁ Σέξτος αὐτὸν ὁ Κλώδιος τῶν δισχιλίων πλέθρων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεουνίνῳ ἔδοθέντων ἐξεπαιδεύσειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπάτευες, ὁ Χρηστᾶ (ἐρώ γὰρ ὡς πρὸς παρούσα σε), καὶ οὔτε ἔπρεπε σοι οὔτε ἔζην τοιούτω ὄντως ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ πρὸς τῷ βήματι, πάντων ἡμῶν παρόντων, τοιαύτη εἰπέων, ἐν ἁμα τε τὸ θαυμαστὸν σου σῶμα καὶ εὐσάρκον καὶ βδελυγμένον θεωρόμεν, καὶ τῆς μιράς σου φωνῆς τῆς μεμυρισμένης τα δεινὰ ἑκεῖνα λεγούσης ἀκούσωμεν τούτῳ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ στόματος σου μᾶλλον ἢ τι ἔτερον εἰπεῖν βούλομαι τὰ μὲν γὰρ Λυκαία καὶ ἄλλος ἄν τῆς προσηκούσης θρησκείας οὐκ ἀπέτυχες, σὺ δὲ πᾶσαν ὅμοι τῆν πόλιν κατηχοῦντας, ἵνα μηδὲν μυθεί περὶ τῶν τότε λεγομένων εἰπώς τὶς γὰρ οὐκ οἴδεν ὅτι ὑπατεία δημοσία τοῦ δήμου παρτός ἐστι, καὶ δεῖ τὸ ἄξιωμα αὐτῆς πανταχοῦ σώζεσθαι καὶ μηδαμοῦ μήπε γυμνοῦσθαι μήθ᾽ υβρὶσθαι. τάχα γὰρ ὁτις τοῦ Ὀράτιου τὸν παλαιὸν ἑκεῖνον καὶ τὴν Κλούλιαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐμμύριστο, ὅπως ἡ μὲν τὴν ἐσύθητα πᾶσαν ἐνδεδυκωσια τῶν ποταμῶν διευθύνατο, ὅ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐς τὸ ῥέμα έαυτὸν ἐνέβαλεν. ἀξίων γε (οὐ γὰρ;) καὶ τοῦτο τινὰ εἰκόνα στῆσαι, ἵνα μὲν καὶ εἰν τῷ Τιβέριδι ὀπλισμένος ὃ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ γυμνὸς ὁ ὑποθετημένος καὶ γὰρ τοῖς διὰ ταῦτα ἑκεῖνοι μὲν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐσωζόν καὶ ἠλευθέρουν, οὕτως δὲ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν, ὡσον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ ἦν, ἀφεῖλετο,
consul, who ever did such a thing. But it was the Lupercalia, you will say, and he had been put in charge of the Julian College.\textsuperscript{1} Of course, though, it was Sextus Clodius who had trained him to conduct himself so, in return for the two thousand plethra of the land of Leontini.\textsuperscript{2} But you were consul, my fine fellow,—for I will address you as though you were present,—and it was neither proper nor permissible for you as such to speak thus in the Forum, hard by the rostra, with all of us present, and to cause us not only to behold your wonderful body, so plump and detestable, but also to hear your accursed voice, dripping with unguents, uttering those outrageous words,—for I wish to speak of this matter of your mouth rather than anything else. The Lupercalia would not have failed of its proper reverence without this; but you disgraced the whole city at once,—to say nothing as yet about your remarks on that occasion. For who does not know that the consulship is public, the property of the whole people, that its dignity must be preserved everywhere, and that its holder must nowhere strip naked or behave wantonly? perchance he was imitating the famous Horatius of old or Cloelia of bygone days; yet the latter swam across the river with all her clothing on, and the former cast himself with his armour into the flood. It would be fitting, would it not, to set up a statue of Antony also, so that as the one man is seen armed even in the Tiber so the other might be seen naked even in the Forum. It was by such conduct as has been cited that those heroes of yore were wont to preserve us and give us liberty, while he took away all our liberty from us, so far as was in his power,

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. xliv. 6. \textsuperscript{2} Cf. Cic. \textit{Philipp.} ii. 4, 17, 34, 39; iii. 9.
πάσαν δὲ τὴν δημοκρατίαν κατέλυσεν, καὶ δεσπό-
την μὲν ἀντὶ ὑπάτου τύραννον δὲ ἀντὶ δικτά-
τορος ἦμιν ἀντικατέστησε.  
μὲμνησθε γὰρ οἷα μὲν προσελθών πρὸς τὸ βήμα εἶπεν, οἷα δὲ ἀνα-
3 βας ἐπ’ αὐτὸ ἔπραξε. καίτοι ὅστις ἑτόλ-
μησε, Ἡρωάδες τε ὄν καὶ ὑπατεύων, βασιλεά 
τινὰ Ἡρωάδον ἐν τε τῇ ἁγορᾷ τῇ Ἡρωᾶς καὶ 
πρὸς τὸ βήμα τὸ εὐθερικό, παντὸς μὲν τοῦ 
ὄνομα πάσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς παρουσίας ἀνέστη 
καὶ τὸ τε διάδημα εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ 
4 ἐπιθεῖναι, καὶ προσκαταψευσθαι πάντων ἡμῶν 
ἀκούσαντων δι’ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα αὐτῷ καὶ εἰσεῖ 
καὶ πρᾶξαι ἐπεσκῆψανεν ταῖς ὑπὸ ἀν ἰδίων 
τοῦ σπουδαῖον αὐτῶν τοῦ διδάσκαλου. τοῖς 
32 ἀπόσχοιτο; ἡμεῖς, δὲ Ἡρωᾶς, ἡμεῖς σοι 
ταῦτ’ ἐνεποίησαμεν, τοὺς Ῥωμαίους  
ἐνεποίησαν, οἱ τῶν Βρούτου ἀγαπήσαντες, οἱ 
τῶν Καπιτωλίου κατακριβάσαντες, οἱ τῶν Σπουρίου 
4 ἀποκτείναντες; 
2 ἡμεῖς βασιλεὰ τινὰ ἀσπάσασθαι σε προσετάξα-
μεν, οἱ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ 
προσέτη καὶ τὴν τοῦ δικτάτορος δι’ ἐκείνην, 
ἐπάρατον ποιησάμενοι; ἡμεῖς τύραννον τινὰ ἀπο-
δεῖξαι σοι ἐκελεύσαμεν, οἱ τῶν Πύρρου ἐκ 
τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκβάλοντες, οἱ τῶν Ἐρατίων ὑπὲρ τῶν 
ταυρῶν ἀπελάσαντες, οἱ καὶ Μακεδονίων 
3 νομιμένην παύσαντες; οὐ μὰ τὰς ῥάζδους τὰς 
Οὐάλεριον καὶ τῶν νώμων τὸν Πορκίου, οὐ 
μὰ τὸ σκέλος τὸ Ὠρατίου καὶ τὴν χείρα τὴν 
Μουκίου, οὐ 
4 μὰ τὸ ὀδύν τὸ Δεκίου καὶ τὸ ἔξιφος τὸ 
Βρούτου. σὺ

1 ἀντικατέστησε Μ., ἀντικατεστήσει Λ.
2 σοι Μ., σοι Λ. 
3 Ταρκυνίου R. Steph., ταρκυνίου I.M.
4 Καπιτωλίου R. Steph., Καπιτώλιου I.M.
BOOK XLV

destroyed the whole republic, and set up a despot in place of a consul, a tyrant in place of a dictator over us. For you recall the nature of his language when he approached the rostra, and the manner of his behaviour when he had mounted it. And yet, when a man who is a Roman and a consul has dared to name any one king of the Romans in the Roman Forum, beside the rostra of liberty, in the presence of the whole people and the whole senate, and straightway to set the diadem upon his head and further to affirm falsely in the hearing of us all that we ourselves bade him say and do this, what outrageous deed will that man not dare, and from what terrible act will he refrain? Did we lay this injunction upon you, Antony, we who expelled the Tarquins, who cherished Brutus, who hurled Capitolineus headlong, who put Spurius to death? Did we order you to salute any one as king, we who laid a curse upon the very name of king and because of it upon that of dictator as well? Did we command you to appoint any one tyrant, we who repulsed Pyrrhus from Italy, who drove Antiochus back beyond the Taurus, who put an end to tyranny even in Macedonia? No, by the rods of Valerius and the law of Porcius, no, by the leg of Horatius and the hand of Mucius, no, by the spear of Decius and the sword of Brutus! But you, unspeakable

1 P. Valerius Publicola, consul in B.C. 509, lowered his fasces upon entering the assembly in token of the superior power of the people. See Frag. 13, 2, and Livy ii. 7.
δέ, ὁ παρκάκιστε, καὶ ἔδεω καὶ ἴκετενες ἦνα δοὺλεύσης, ὥς Ποστούμιος ὅπως Σαυνίταις ἐκδοθή, ὡς Ρήγουλος ὅπως Καρχηδονίους ἀποδοθή, ὡς Κούρτιος ἦνα ἐς τὸ χάσμα ἐμπέσῃ. καὶ τοῦ τούτο γεγραμμένον εὑρεῖς; ὅπερ καὶ τὸ τούς Κρήτας ἐλευθέρως μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Βρούτου ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἐκείνον μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον ἢξαί ἐψηφισάμεθα.

33 "Εἰσὶ εὐςοῦτοις καὶ τηλικοῦτοις πράγμασι τὴν ἀληθηριώδη γρώμην αὐτοῦ πεφωρακότες οὐ τιμωρήσασθε αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ ἀναμενεῖτε καὶ τῷ ἐργῷ μαθεῖν τί ἔνω δράσειν ὑμᾶς ὁπλισμένος ὁ τοιαῦτα ἡ γνωσμός εἴργασμένοις; ἡ οἰκεῖε ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖ τῆς τυραννίδος, ὅτι οὐκ ἐνχέται ποτε αὐτῆς τυχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκβαλεῖ ποτε ἐκ τῆς διανοίας τῆς ἐφεσίων ταύτην, ἴνα ἀπαξ ἐς τὸν νοῦν ἐγκατέθετο, καὶ καταβαλεῖ ποτε τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μονορχίας, ὑπέρ ἡς τοιαῦτα καὶ εἰπὼν καὶ ποιήσας ἀτιμώρητος ἢ ἐγένετο; καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἄλλω τῷ συμπράξαι, τῆς φωνῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ μόνης κυριεύσων, ἐπιχειρήσεις, ταῦτ' οὐκ ἄν αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ δυνηθεὶς κατεργάσαιτο; τίς ἢ ἄν ἔτερον τύραννον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ ἀμα ἀποδείξαι τολμήσας οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς μοναρχήσαι ἢ ἐθελήσειν; ὡστε εἰ καὶ τούτο αὐτοῦ ἐφεσάσθε, ἀλλὰ νῦν γε καὶ δι' ἐκείνα αὐτοῦ μισήσατε, μηδ' ἐθελήσατε μαθεῖν τί κατορθώσας ὅσα ἢ βουλεῖται δράσει, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἤδη πρωτοτελημένων αὐτῶν

1 ἐκδοθή, ἀποδοθή, ἰμηετή Rk., ἐκδοθής, ἀποδοθής, ἱμηετή LM. 2 γεγραμμένον R. Steph., γεγραμμένον LM. 3 οὕτε Bk., οὕτε LM. 4 ἀναμένετε Pflugh, ἀναμένετε LM. 5 supplied by Reim. 6 ὅσα Rk., οὗa LM. 7 δράσει Rk., δράσει LM.
villain, begged and pled to be made a slave, as Postumius pled to be delivered to the Samnites, as Regulus to be given back to the Carthaginians, as Curtius that he might hurl himself into the chasm. And where did you find this recorded? In the same place, I suppose, where you discovered that the Cretans were to be made free after Brutus' governorship, although it was after Caesar's death that we voted he should govern them.

"So then, seeing that you have discovered his baneful disposition in so many and so great matters, will you not take vengeance on him instead of waiting to learn by experience, too, what the man who caused so much trouble stripped would do to you when he is armed? Do you think that he is not eager for the tyrant's power, that he does not pray to obtain it some time, but will some day cast the desire of it out of his thoughts after having once allowed it a resting-place in his mind, and will some day abandon the hope of sole rulership for which he has spoken and acted as he has with impunity? What human being who, while possessing nothing but his own voice, would undertake to help some one else to secure certain advantages, would not win them for himself when he gained the power? Who that has dared to name another as tyrant over his country and himself as well would not wish to be monarch himself? Hence, even though you spared him then, hate him now for those acts too. Do not wish to learn what he will do when his success equals his desires, but taught by his previous audacity, plan
2 τὸ μηδὲν ἐτι δεινὸν παθεῖν προνοήσατε. καὶ γὰρ τοι τί καὶ φήσειν ἀν τις; ὁρθῶς τότε τὸν Καὶ-
sarga ποιῆσαι μὴ προσδεξάμενον μὴτε τὸ ὄνομα
tοῦ βασιλέως μὴτε τὸ διώδημα; οὐκοῦν οὖτος
cακῶς ταύτα αὐτῷ προστείνειν ἃ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνον
ἥρεσεν. ἀλλ' ἀμαρτεῖν ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοιοῦτο
τι ἀκούσας καὶ ἰδὼν ἡρέχετο; οὐκοῦν ἐπερ ἐκεῖνος εἰκότως ἐπὶ τούτοις τέθυνε, πῶς οὐ καὶ
οὗτος, ὁμολογῶν τρόπον τινὰ τυραννίσασαι ἑπιθυ-
μεῖν, δικαιότατος ἑστιν ἀπολέσθαι; ὅτι γὰρ ταὐθ' οὖτως ἔχει, δήλου μὲν ἑστὶ καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὃν
προείρηκα, φανερότατα δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὃν μετὰ
tαῦτ' ἐπραξὲν ἑλέγχεται. τίνος μὲν γὰρ ἀλλ' οὖν ἐνεκα, ἐξὸν αὐτὴ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀφαλῶς ἀγείν,
ταρτείν τὰ πράγματα καὶ πολυτραγμονεῖν ἐπι-
κεχείρηκε; τίνος δὲ, παρὸν αὐτῷ ἀκαυδῶν οἰκο
μένειν, στρατεύεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐπανήρθηται; διὰ
tί, πολλῶν μηδὲ ἐς τὰς ἐπιβαλλοῦσας αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς
βουλήθεντων ἐξελθεῖν, οὐτὸς οὖν ὅτι τῆς Γαλατίας
οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσης ἀντιποιεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ
6 ἀκούσαν αὐτὴν βιάζεται; διὰ τί, τοῦ Βροῦτον τοῦ
Δεκίμου καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὰς
πόλεις ἡμῖν 1 παραδιδόντος, οὔτος οὖν ὅπως οὐκ
ἐμμισθάτο αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιορκεῖ κατακλεί-
σας; οὐκ ἑστὶν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπ' ἀλλὸ τι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶς 2 κάκεινα καὶ τάλλα πάντα παρασκευάζεται.
35 "Ταῦτ' οὖν ὥροντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακίζομεθα,
καὶ τηλικοῦτον ἐφ' ἡμῶς αὐτοὺς 3 τύραννον ἄσκο-
μεν; καὶ πῶς οὖκ αἰσχρὸν τοὺς μὲν προγόνους
ἡμῶν ἐν δουλεία τραφέντας ἐπιθυμήσαι ἐλευθερίας;

1 ἡμῖν H. Steph., διάп L. 2 ἡμῖν H. Steph., ἡμῖν ΛΜ.
αὐτοὺς Βκ., αὐτὸν ΛΜ.
beforehand to suffer no further harm. What, indeed, is one to say? That Caesar acted rightly at that time in accepting neither the name of king nor the diadem? Then this man did wrong to offer something which pleased not even Caesar. Or, on the other hand, that Caesar erred in enduring at all to look on and listen to anything of the sort? If, then, Caesar justly suffered death for this error, does not this man, also, who admitted in a way that he desired to be tyrant, most richly deserve to perish? That this is so is evident even from what I have previously said, but is proved most clearly by what he did after that. For with what other object than supremacy has he undertaken to stir up trouble and to meddle in affairs, when he might have enjoyed quiet with safety? With what other object has he chosen to make campaigns and to carry on war, when it was in his power to remain at home without danger? For what reason, when many have been unwilling to go out and take charge even of the provinces that fell to them, does he not only lay claim to Gaul, which does not belong to him in the least, but uses force upon it because of its unwillingness? For what reason, when Decimus Brutus is ready to surrender to us himself and his soldiers and his cities, has this man not imitated him, instead of shutting him up and besieging him? Surely it can only be for this purpose and against us that he is strengthening himself in this and in every other way.

"Seeing all this, then, do we delay and give way to weakness and train up so monstrous a tyrant against ourselves? Would it not be disgraceful if, after our forefathers, who had been brought up in slavery,
2 ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐν αὐτονομίᾳ πολιτευθέντας ἐθελοδοντήσατι, καὶ τῆς μὲν μοναρχίας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἤδεως, καίτερ ¹ πολλά ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγαθὰ προπαθόντας, ἀπαλλαγῆναι, τούτων δὲ δεσπότην αὐθαίρετον ἀνθελέσθαι, ὅς τοσοῦτον ἐκείνων χείρων ἐστὶν ὅσον ὁ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κρατήσας
3 πολλῶν ἐφείσατο, οὕτως δὲ, πρὶν καὶ δυνηθῆναι τι, τριακοσίων στρατιῶτας, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκατοντάρχων τινῶς, μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντας, οἶκοι παρ’ ἑαυτῷ, παρούσῃς τῆς γνωσιμοῦ καὶ βλεποῦσης, ἐφόνευσεν, ὡστε καὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτὴν ἀναπλη-
4 σαί. καίτοι τῶν οὕτως ὡμῶς ἐκείνους, ὅτε καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτοὺς ὀφειλε, χρησάμενον τί οὕκ οἰέσθε ² τῶν δεινοτάτων πάντας ὡμᾶς, ἀν καὶ νικήσῃ, ποιήσειν; καὶ τῶν ἁσελγῶς οὕτω μέχρι νῦν βεβιωκότα πῶς οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶν ὕβρις, ἀν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἐξουσιάν προσλάβῃ, χωρίσειν νομίζετε;

36 "Μη τοῖνυν ἀναμείνῃ τι παθόντες τι τοιοῦτο μεταμορφῶναι, ἀλλὰ πρὶν παθεῖν φυλάξασθε: σχέτλιον γάρ, ἐξὸν προκαταλαβεῖν τὰ δεινά, εἰτὰ περιῳδόντας αὐτὰ γενόμενα μετανοῆσαι, μηδὲ ἐθελήσητε, προεμενοὶ τὰ παρόντα, Κασσίου τινὸς αὐθίς ἄλλου καὶ Βροῦτων ³ τῶν ἄλλων δειηθηματίσιν γελοῖον γάρ, ἐξὸν αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς τὰ κατὰ καιρὸν βοηθῆσαι, ξητεῖν μετὰ ταύτα τοὺς ἐλευθεροῦντας
2 ἡμᾶς. οὕς ἰσως οὕς ἐυρίσκομεν, ἂλλως τε κἂν οὕτω τοῖς παροῦσι χρησώμεθα. τις γὰρ ἅν ἰδία ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας κινδυνεύσαι ἐθελήσειν,

¹ καίτερ M by correction, καὶ L (and M originally).
² οἱ οἰέσθε R. Steph., οἱ οἰέσθαι LM.
³ Βροῦτων M, βροῦτον τῶν L.
felt the desire for liberty, we, who have lived under a free government, should become slaves of our own accord? Or, again, if after gladly ridding ourselves of the dominion of Caesar, though we had already received many benefits at his hands, we should deliberately choose as our master in his stead this man, who is far worse than he? For Caesar spared many after his victories in war, whereas this man before attaining any power slaughtered three hundred soldiers, among them some centurions, guilty of no wrongdoing, in his own country, and in the presence and sight of his wife, so that she was actually stained with their blood. And yet what do you think the man who treated them so cruelly, when he owed them care, will not do to all of you,—aye, down to the utmost outrage,—if he shall conquer? And how can you believe that the man who has lived so licentiously up to the present time will not proceed to every extreme of insolence, if he shall also secure the authority given by arms?

"Do not, then, wait until you have suffered some such treatment and then rue it, but be on your guard before you suffer; for it is rash to allow dangers to come upon you and then to repent of it, when you might have anticipated them. And do not choose to neglect the present opportunity and then ask again for another Cassius or other Brutuses; for it is ridiculous, when we have the power of aiding ourselves in time, to seek men later on to set us free. Perhaps we shall not find them, either, especially if we handle the present situation in such a manner. For who would choose to encounter danger personally for the republic, when he sees that
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ορόν ἡμᾶς δημοσία πρὸς τὴν δουλείαν ἐτοίμως ἔχοντας; καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ στήσεται ποτε ταῦτα ποιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πόρρω καὶ ἐλάττωσιν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐξάνεται, παντὶ δὴ λόγον ἔστιν. οὐ γὰρ ποι ὅτι ἀλλο τὸ δεκάμορ πολεμεῖ καὶ Μοῦτιναν πολιορκεῖ ἢ ἦν νικήσας αὐτοὺς καὶ λαβὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συσκευάσηται, ὡστε γὰρ ἦδικηται τι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡστ' ἀμύνασθαι δοκεῖν, οὔτ' αὐ τῶν μὲν ἂγαθῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκεῖνοις ἐπίθυμεί, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ πόλεις καὶ κινδύνους ὑπομένει, τῶν δ' ἡμετέρων, οἷ καὶ ἐκείνα καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ κεκτήμεθα,

ἐθελοντὴν ἀφέξεται. τούτ' οὖν ἀναμενοῦμεν, ὡστ' ἐν ταὐτα καὶ ἄλλα ἀττα προσλαβῶν δυσπολευμητὸς γένηται; καὶ πιστεύσωμεν ἐξαπατώντι

37 αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντι ὅτι οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει; καὶ τίς οὕτως εὐθὺς ἔστιν ὡστε τοῖς ρήμασι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐργοῖς τὸν πολεμοῦντα ἡμῖν ἢ μὴ σκοπεῖν; ἐπ' ὅπερ μὲν γὰρ οὐ μὲν πρῶτον, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκδόθηκε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐστράτευκε καὶ Βρούτῳ προσβάλλει καὶ τὰς πόλεις πολιορ-κεῖ, κακόνων αὐτῶν ἡμῖν εἶναι φημε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὧν πρότερον ποτε, οὐχ ὅτι τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀλλὰ καὶ ζωτοῦ ἐτί, καὶ κακῶς καὶ ἁσελγῶς ἐπραξεν, καὶ ἐγκρίνον καὶ ἐπίβουλον καὶ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἡμῶν γεγονέναι

3 διορίζομαι τὶς γὰρ ἄν τὴν πατρίδα φιλῶν ἢ τὶς τυραννίδα μισῶν ἐν γε τὶ τούτων ἐποίησεν ἀ πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ οὕτως δέδρακε; πολέμοις μὲν δὴ πάλαι καὶ πανταχόθεν ὃν ἡμῖν ἐλέγχεταί,

1 πιστεύσωμεν R. Steph., πιστεύσωμεν LM.
2 ὅτι supplied by Dind.
3 κακόνων R. Steph., κακὸν οὖν LM.
we are publicly resigned to slavery? And yet it is evident to everybody that Antony will not stop short with what he is now doing, but that even in remote and smaller matters he is strengthening himself against us. Surely he is warring against Decimus and besieging Mutina for no other purpose than that he may, after conquering them, take them and employ them against us. For he has not been wronged by them, that he can appear to be defending himself; nor, again, will he, while desiring the goods that they possess and with this in view enduring toils and dangers, be willing to refrain from the possessions belonging to us, who own their property and much besides. Shall we, then, wait for him to secure this prize and still others, and thus become a dangerous foe? Shall we trust his deception when he says that he is not warring against the city? Who is so simple as to decide whether a man is making war on us or not by his words rather than by his deeds? I claim that this is not the first time he has been unfriendly to us, now that he has abandoned the city and made a campaign against our allies and is assaulting Brutus and besieging the cities; but in view of his former evil and licentious behaviour, not only after Caesar’s death but even in the latter’s lifetime, I decide that he has shown himself an enemy of our government and of our liberty and a plotter against them. For who that loved his country or hated tyranny would have committed a single one of the many and manifold offences which he has perpetrated? Surely he is proved to have been for a long time and in every way an enemy of ours, and the case stands
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ἐχει δὲ οὕτως. ἂν μὲν ἦδη καὶ τὴν ταχιστὴν ἄμυνωμεθα αὐτοῦ, πάντα καὶ τὰ προειμένα. 4 ἀναληψόμεθα. ἂν δὲ ἀμελήσαντες τούτο ποιεῖν περιμένομεν ἐως ἃν ἦμων αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐπιβουλεύειν ὁμολογήσῃ, πάντων ἀμαρτησόμεθα. τούτο μὲν γὰρ οὖν ἂν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν προσελαύνῃ ποιήσει, ὅσπερ οὖν οἱ Μάριος οὖν ὁ Κίννας οὖν

5 ο Σύλλας: ἂν δὲ ἐν τῷ κράτει τῶν πραγμάτων γένηται, οὐκ ἐστιν ὃ τι οὐ δράσει τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ἢ καὶ χαλεπώτερον. ἀλλὰ τε γὰρ λέγειν οἱ πράξαι τὴν γλυκόμεναι καὶ ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν οἱ κατορθώσαντες εἰώθασιν πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ κρατῆσαι τούτου πάντα πλάττονται, τυχόντες δὲ

6 αὐτοῦ οὖν ὃς ἐπιθυμούσιν ἀπέχονται. καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ τετολμήμενα τισὶν οἱ ἐπινεγμόμενοι νικῶν ἀεὶ ἔθελουσιν, τὸ μὲν ὁμοιὸν ὡς καὶ σμικρὸν ἐκ τοῦ προπεπραχθεὶς νομίζοντες, τὸ δὲ ἀτοποῦ ὡς καὶ μόνον προδοτικόν προαιρούμενον.

38 "Ταῦτ οὖν ὁρώντες, οἱ πατέρες, μηκέτι μελλομεν, μηδ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι μαστώνης δελεαζόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλείας

2 προιδώμεθα. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν Καίσαρα μεν, ἄρτι τε ἐκ παῖδων προεληλυθότα καὶ οὐ πολὺς ἐξ οὐρον ἐρχόμειν ἐγγεγραμμένον, τοσαυτὴν τοῦ κοινοῦ πρόων τοι ποιεῖται ὡστε καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ ἀναλίσκειν καὶ στρατιῶτας ἀθροίζειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ μὴν αὐτοὺς τι τῶν δεόντων πράξαι μήτε ἐκεῖνο

1 προειμένα R. Steph., προειμένα LM.
2 πράξαι τι Plungk, τι πράξαι Rk., πράξαι LM.
3 μόνον Reim., μόνον LM.

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thus. If we now take measures against him most
speedily, we shall also recover all that has been lost;
but if we neglect to do this and wait till he himself
admits that he is plotting against us, we shall lose
everything. For this he will never do, not even if he
should actually march upon the city, any more than
did Marius or Cinna or Sulla; yet if he gets control
of affairs, he will not fail to act precisely as they did,
or still worse. For men who are eager to accomplish
some object are wont to say one thing, and those
who have succeeded in accomplishing it are wont to
do quite a different thing; to gain their end they
pretend anything, but after obtaining it there is
no desire they deny themselves. Furthermore, the
latest comers always desire to surpass what their
predecessors have ventured, thinking it a small
achievement to behave like them because that has
been done before, but preferring to do something
original as the only thing worthy of themselves,
because unexpected.

"Seeing all this, then, Conscription Fathers, let us
no longer delay nor fall a prey to the indifference
of the moment, but let us provide for the safety
of the future. Is it not shameful, when Caesar, who
has just emerged from boyhood and was but recently
registered among the youths of military age, shows
so great thought for the state as to spend his money
and gather soldiers for its preservation, that we
should neither choose to perform our duty ourselves
συνάρασθαι \footnote{συνάρασθαι R. Steph., συναρασθαί LM.} προελέσθαι; καίπερ πείραν ἔργῳ τῆς
3 εἴνοιας αὐτοῦ εὐληφότας; τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἴδεν ὅτι \footnote{ὁτί added by Dind.} εἰ μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἐκ θῶς Ἐκκαμπανίας στρατιωτῶν ἐνταῦθα ἄφικτο, πάντως ἂν \footnote{ἀν added by Bk.} Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τοῦ Βρετεσσίου εὐθύς, ὥσπερ εἶχεν, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἦμων μετὰ πάντων τῶν στρατευμάτων ὥσπερ τις χει-
4 μάρροις ἐσεπεπτώκει; καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δεινῶν, τοὺς μὲν πάλαι ἐστρατευμένους ἐκοινώσας ἐστώ ὦμάν πρὸς τὰ παρὸντα πράγματα ἐπιδεδω-
κέναι, μήτε τὴν ἡλικίαν μήτε τὰ ὁμοῦσα, ἀνατρεύοντα ποτὲ πολέμουντες ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔλαβον, ὑπολογισμένους, ὑμᾶς \footnote{ἡμᾶς B., ἡμᾶς LM.} ἐνυπνοῦσα δὲ μηδὲ ἐπικυρώσα τῶν πόλεμον ἐθελήσαι τὸν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων προ-
5 κεχειροτονημένου, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον χείρους καὶ τῶν κινδυνεύοντων αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι ὡστε ἐπαίνειν μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς τὴν τε μαρίαν τοῦ Ἀντώνιον κατιδόντας καὶ ἐκείνου μὲν καὶ ὑπατεύοντος ἀποστάντας, τῷ ἄφθον Ἰκασάρῳ, τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν ὑμῖν δι’ αὐτοῦ, προσθεμένους, ἀ δ’ ὄρθῳς αὐτούς πεποιηκέναι φατέ, ταῦτ’ ὀκνήσαι ψηφίσα-
6 σθαι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῷ Ἡρώττῳ χάριν ὑσμεν ὅτι μήτε τὸ κατ’ ἀρχὴν ἐσεῦξατο τοῦ Ἀντώνιον ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ ἔτι ἐπιστρατεύσαντα ἀπω-
θεῖται. τί ποτ’ οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ποιοῦμεν; τί δὲ ὑπ’ οὖν τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσον ὄρθος
39 φρονοῦντας ἐπαινοῦμεν, μιμούμεθα \footnote{μιμούμεθα Reim. (so L by correction), ῥ μιμοὺμεθα M.} ὁμολογεῖ 
καὶ δυοὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἡ τούτους πάντας, τὸν Ἐκασάρα λέγω, τοῦ Ἡρώττον, τοὺς πάλαι στρατιω-

BOOK XLV

nor to cooperate with him, even after obtaining a tangible proof of his good-will? For who does not realize that, if he had not arrived here with the soldiers from Campania, Antony would certainly have rushed at once from Brundisium, just as he was, and would have burst into our city with all his armies like a torrent? This also is disgraceful, that when the veterans have voluntarily placed themselves at your service for the present crisis, taking thought neither for their age nor for the wounds which they received in past years while fighting for you, you should both refuse to approve the war already declared by these very men, and show yourselves altogether inferior to them who are facing the dangers. For while you praise the soldiers who discovered the wickedness of Antony and withdrew from him, though he was consul, and attached themselves to Caesar,—that is, to you through him,—you shrink from voting for that which you say they were right in doing. And yet we are grateful to Brutus because he not only did not admit Antony to Gaul in the first place, but is trying to repel him now that the other has made a campaign against him. Why in the world, then, do we not do the same ourselves? Why do we not imitate the rest whom we praise for their proper attitude? Yet there are only two courses open to us: either we must say that all these men, Caesar, I mean, and Brutus, the veterans,
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tas, tā stratōpēda,1 kakaōs te bēboulēuštai
fānai kai tīmωriān deīn υποσχέιν ὅτι μὴ ἦμοι2
μήτε τοῦ δήμου ψηφισμένων ἐτόλμησαι, οἱ μὲν
τὸν ὑπατόν σφων καταληπτόντες οἱ δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν
2 ἀδροισθέντες, προσπολεμήσαι αὐτῶν ἢ τὸν
Ἀντόνιου πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν3 ὑφ’ ἠμῶν4 τοῖς
Ἔργοις αὐτοῖς πολέμου ομολογεῖν εἰναι κεκρίσθαι,
καὶ χρῆναι καὶ κοιινῇ γνώμη πρός πάντων ἦμῶν
κοιλαθῆναι. καὶ μὴν ὅτι τούτῳ οὐ μόνον δικαιό-
terov ἀλλὰ καὶ λυσιτελέστερον ἠμῶν5 ἐστίν,
3 οὐδεὶς ἄγνοεί. ὃ μὲν γὰρ6 οὔτ’ αὐτὸς χρῆσασθαι
πράγμασιν ἐπίσταται (πῶς γὰρ ἢ πόθεν ἀνθρωπος
ἐν μέθαι καὶ κύβοις ζῶν;) οὔτε τῶν συνόντων
οὐδένα οἶλον ἄξιον εἶναι λόγου ἑχει τοὺς γὰρ τοῦ
ὀμοίους ἐαυτῷ μόνον καὶ ἀγατᾶ καὶ κοινονός
4 ἀπάντων καὶ ῥητῶν καὶ ἀπορρητῶν ποιεῖται. καὶ
μέντοι καὶ δειλότατος ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις τῶν
κυνδύνων καὶ ἀπιστότατος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πάνω
φίλους ἐστίν ὧν οὐδέτερον στρατηγία καὶ πολέμῳ
προσήκει. τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἴδειν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἦμιν
πάντα τὰ ἐμφύλια κακὰ παρασκευάζεις ἐπεὶ
ἐπ’ ἐλάχιστον τῶν κυνδύνων μετέσχειν, ἐπὶ πολὺ
μὲν ἐν7 τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καταμείνας8 ὑπὸ δειλίας,
ὡς τ’ ὁλίγου τὸν Καίσαρα μονωθέντα δ’ αὐτῶν
πταίσαι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς μετὰ ταύτα πολέμους,
tῶν πρὸς Αλπιτίους, τῶν πρὸς Φαρνάκην, τῶν ἐν
2 ’Αφρικῆ, τῶν ἐν’ ’Ιβηρίᾳ ἐκστασάς; τίς δ’ οὐκ οἴδειν ὅτι
τῶν τε Κλώδιον προσποιησάμενος καὶ τῇ δημαρχίᾳ

1 stratōpēda Rk., stratōpēdē év LM.
2 ἦμων H. Steph., ἦμων LM. 3 ὑφ’ supplied by Bs.
3 ἦμων H. Steph., ἦμων LM. 4 ἦμων Bk., ἦμων LM.
4 γὰρ Bs., γὲ LM. 5 ἐν added by Xyl.
5 καταμείνας R. Steph., κατὰ μόνας LM.
and the legions,—have planned unwisely and ought to suffer punishment, because without our sanction or that of the people they have dared to offer armed resistance to their consul, some having deserted his standard, and others having been gathered against him; or else we must say that Antony has in our judgment long since admitted and still admits by his deeds themselves that he is our enemy and ought to be punished by common consent of us all. Now no one can fail to be aware that the latter course is not only more just but more expedient for us. For the man neither understands how to handle business himself—how or by what means could one who lives in drunkenness and dicing?—nor has he any companion who is of any account; for he loves only such as are like himself and makes them the confidants of all his open and secret undertakings. Moreover he is most cowardly in the gravest dangers and most treacherous even to his intimate friends; and neither of these qualities is suited for generalship and war. Who does not know that after causing all our domestic troubles himself he then shared the dangers as little as possible, tarrying long in Brundisium through cowardice, so that Caesar was isolated and almost failed on his account, and holding aloof from all the wars that followed against the Egyptians, against Pharnaces, Africa, and Spain? Who does not know that he won the favour of Clodius, and after using
αὐτόν πρὸς πάντα τὰ δεινότατα ἀποχρησάμενος καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοχειρία, ἔχει ἐγὼ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν 
3 αὐτοῦ ταῦτην ἐδεδέχημην καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι τούτῳ μὲν ταμεῦων στρατηγοῦντι ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ συνέκτασθεῖς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ δημαρχίᾳ παρὰ τὴν ἀπάντων ἡμῶν γνώμην προσθέμενος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ χρήματα παρὰ αὐτοῦ ἀμύθητα καὶ τιμῶς ὑπερόγκους λαβὼν, ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴ μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐς διαβολὴν ἐμβαλεῖν, ὡς ὀντιπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀπέθανεν;

41 "Καίτοι εἰπέ ποτε ὅτι ἐγὼ τοὺς σφαγέας ἐπὶ αὐτῶν παρεσκεύασα· οὕτω γὰρ ἀνόητος ἔστιν ὡστε μου καταψεύδεσθαι τολμᾶν τηλικοῦτος ἐπαίνους. ἔγω δὲ αὐτόχειρα μὲν αὐτὸν οὐ λέγω γεγονέναι τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἠθελησεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο κατέδεικεν τοῖς μέντοι πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς φημὶ ἐκεῖνον ὡπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσανεν. ὁ γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ δικαίως ἐπιβεβουλευθαὶ δοκεῖν παρασχὼν οὕτος ἔστιν ὁ βασιλέα αὐτὸν προσαγορεύεις, οὗ τοῦ διάδοχα αὐτῶν δοὺς, ὁ καὶ τοῖς φιλούσιν αὐτὸν πρότερον διαβαλῶν. ἡ ἔγω μὲν χαίρω τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ μηδὲν εἴξω τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ ἀπολαύσας. Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἀκχεται ὁ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἐκείνου οὐσίαν διαρπάσας, πάμπολλα δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ προφάσει κακογρήσας, καὶ τέλος πρὸς τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς δυναστείας αὐτοῦ ἐπευγόμενος;

42 "Ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἀξιο- 
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στρατηγητὸν τι ἡ ἀξιώνικον ἔχει οὐτε στρατευ- 

ἄπ' Ἰμ., ἄπ' Λ.Μ.
the other's tribuneship for all the most outrageous
ends, would have killed him with his own hand, if
I had accepted this offer of his? And again, as
regards his relations to Caesar, that after being first
associated with him as quaestor, when Caesar was
praetor in Spain, then attaching himself to him
during the tribuneship, contrary to the liking of us
all, and later receiving from him countless sums and
excessive honours, he tried to inspire him with a
desire for sole rulership and in consequence to
expose him to calumny, which two things more than
anything else were responsible for Caesar's death?

"Yet he once declared that it was I who instigated
the assassins against Caesar; so senseless is he as
to venture to invent such high praise for me. Now
I, for my part, do not say that he was the actual
slayer of Caesar,—not because he was not willing,
but because here, too, he was timid,—yet I do say
that by the very nature of his conduct Caesar
perished at his hands. For the one who provided
the motive, so that there seemed to be some justice
in plotting against Caesar, is this fellow who called
him king, who gave him the diadem, who previously
slandered him even to his friends. Do I then,
rejoice at the death of Caesar, I, who never enjoyed
anything but liberty at his hands, and is Antony
grieved, who has seized upon all his property and
has done much mischief on the pretext of his papers,
and who, finally, is eagerly striving to succeed to his
sovereignty?

"But I return to my point that he has none
of the qualities of a great general or such as
to win victories and does not possess many or
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ματα τολλα ἢ ἀξιώμαχα κέκτηται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστοι οἱ τε ἀριστοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐγκατα-
λεκτισσαίοι αὐτῶν, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ τῶν ἑλεφάντων ἐστή
tαι: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀσπάζειν
tα τῶν συμμάχων μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμεῖν μεμε-
κέτικασι, τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ μὲν τρόπου τῆς
προαιρέσεως αὐτῶν, ὅτι καὶ νῦν έτ' αὐτῶ συστρα-
tεύονται, τῆς δὲ ἀνανδρίας, ὅτι τὴν Μουτιναν
τοσοῦτον ὡδὴ χρώων πολιορκοῦντες οὐχ ἦρηκασι,
καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ 'Αυτωνίου τῶν τε συνοντῶν αὐτῶ
τοιαῦτα ὄντα εὑρίσκεται: τὰ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος τοῦ
tε Βροῦτον καὶ τῶν συνεξαισθημένων σφίσι
δύσμαχα μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτά ἐστιν (ἀμέλει Καίσαρ
μὲν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτῶν συγχως ἐσφετερί-
σται, Βροῦτος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας αὐτῶν ἐξεἱρρηθεί).

4 άν δὲ δὴ καὶ ψείς ἐπικουρήσητε αὐτοῖς, πρῶτον
μὲν ἑπανίστασες σφας ἐφ' οίς ἰδιογνωμονήσατε
ἐποίησαν, ἐπειτα δὲ τα πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν
βεβαιώσατε, πρὸς το τέλλον ἐξουσιαν
ἐννομον αὐτοῖς δώντες, ἐπειτα τοὺς ὑπάτους
ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ τον πόλεμον ἐκπέμψατε, οὐκ
ἐστιν ὅπως ἑοιθήσσουσι τινες αὐτῷ τῶν νῦν

5 συνόντων. οὖ μὴν οὐδ' ἃν τα μάλιστα συμ-
μεινόωσιν, ἀντισχέιν γε πρὸς πάντας ἁμα τοὺς
ἀλλοὺς δυνήσεται; ἀλλ' ἣτοι ἐκών, ἐπειδὰν
πρῶτον πύθηται ταῦθ' ύμᾶς ἐφηθεῖσμένους, τα
τε ὀπλα καταθήκεται καὶ ἐφ' ύμᾶν ἑαυτὸν ποιή-
σεται, ἢ καὶ ἰκών ἐκ μιᾶς μάχης ἀλώσεται.

6 "Εγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦθ' ύμᾶν παραινῶ, καὶ εὖγε

1 ἑοιθήσουσι Dind., ἑοιθήσωσι I.M.
2 ἑοιθήσεται Oddey, ἑοιθήσωσι I.M.
3 ὅματ R. Steph., ὅματ I.M.
formidable legions. For the majority of the soldiers and the best ones have deserted him, yes, and what is more, he has been deprived of his elephants; as for the rest of his troops, they have practised outraging and pillaging the allies more than waging war. Proof of the sort of spirit that animates them is seen in the fact that they still adhere to him, and proof of their lack of bravery in their failure to take Mutina, though they have now been besieging it for so long a time. Such is the condition of Antony and of his followers found to be. But Caesar and Brutus and those arrayed with them are formidable opponents quite by themselves,—Caesar, at any rate, has won over many of his rival's soldiers, and Brutus is keeping him out of Gaul,—and if you also come to their assistance, first by approving what they have done on their own initiative, next by ratifying their acts, at the same time giving them legal authority for the future, and then by sending out both the consuls to take charge of the war, it is certain that none of his present associates will continue to aid him. However, even if they cling to him most tenaciously, he will not be able to resist all the others at once, but will either lay down his arms voluntarily, as soon as he ascertains that you have passed this vote, and place himself in your hands, or will be captured against his will as the result of a single battle.

"This is my advice to you, and, if it had been
43 ἐπιβουλεύσαντας 1 ύμιν ἡμυνάμην, εἰ δὲ τις ύμῶν ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἤγειται λέγεσθαι, πρέσβεις δὲ πρότερον ἡμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποστείλατε δεῖν οἴεται, καὶ ἐπειτὰ μαθοῦται τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ, ἂν μὲν ἐκὼν ἀπαλλάττηται τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ 2 ύμιν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτρέπῃ, τὴν ἰσχίαν 2 ἄγειν, ἂν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμενῇ, τοτε καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῷ ψηφισθήραι (ταῦτα ἡγὼ πυνθάνομαι τινὰς παρανεσάι ύμῖν ἐθέλειν), λόγῳ μὲν εὐπρεπέστατον, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ καὶ αἰσχρῷ καὶ ἐπικέινδυνου τῇ πόλει πράγμα ποιεῖ. πῶς μὲν γὰρ ὅνικ αἰσχρὸν κήρυξιν ύμᾶς καὶ πρεσβεῖας πρὸς 3 τοὺς πολέτας χρῆσθαι; τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοφύλοις καὶ ἐπικηρυκεύσθαι καὶ διαπρεσβεύσθαι δεῖ πρότερον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἔστι, τοῖς δὲ δὴ πολίταις τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι τι παραχρήμα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπάγειν, ἂν μὲν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐρήμοις αὐτοὺς λάβητε, δικάσοντας, ἂν δὲ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς, πολεμοῦντας. 4 δούλοι γὰρ εἰς πάντας τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ ύμῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν νόμων, ἂν τε ἠθέλωσιν ἂν τε καὶ μὴ καὶ οὕτε θρύπτειν αὐτοὺς οὕτε ἐξ ἵσου τοῖς ἐλευθερωτάτοις ἁγείν προσήκοιν ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἰδόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας τοὺς ἀποδιδόσκοντας καὶ 44 μετίεναι καὶ κολάζειν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος. πῶς δὲ οὖ δεινὸν ἐκεῖνον μὲν μὴ μελλῆσαι ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν, ἡμᾶς δὲ δὴ μέλλειν ἄμινασθαι; καὶ

1 ἐπιβουλεύσατο R. Steph., ἐπιβουλεύσατα Ι.Μ.
2 καὶ L. om. M.
3 εὐπρεπεστατον Xyl., εὐπρεπεστάτω Ι.Μ.
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my lot to be consul, I should certainly have carried it out, as I did in former days when I defended you against Catiline and Lentulus (a relative of this very man), who had conspired against you. Perhaps, however, some of you, while regarding these suggestions as well made, think we ought first to send envoys to him, and then, after learning his decision, in case he voluntarily gives up his arms and submits himself to you, to take no action, but if he persists in the same course of action, to declare war upon him; for this is the advice which I hear some persons wish to give you. Now this plan is very attractive in theory, but in point of fact it is disgraceful and dangerous to the city. For is it not disgraceful that you should employ heralds and embassies to your fellow-citizens? With foreign nations it is proper and necessary to treat first through heralds and envoys, but upon citizens who are guilty of some wrong-doing you should inflict punishment straightway, by trying them in court if you can get them within reach of your votes, and by warring against them if within reach of your arms. For all such are your servants and servants of the people and of the laws, whether they wish it or not; and it is not fitting either to coddle them or to put them on an equal footing with the freest of the citizens, but to pursue and chastise them like runaway servants, in the consciousness of your own superiority. Is it not shameful that while he does not hesitate to wrong us, we hesitate to defend ourselves? Or,
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ekteínou mén ek ἕκ πολλοῦ τὰ ὄπλα ἐν χειρὶν ἔχοντα πάντα τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράττειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐν ψηφίσμασι καὶ πρεσβείαις τοὺς χρόνους κατατρίβειν, καὶ ὅν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἄδικοντα πάλαι πεφωράκαμεν, τοῦτον συνλαβαίς καὶ

2 ἴμασι μόνοις μεταχειρίζεσθαι; τί προσδοκῶντας; ἢ ὅτι ύπακούσει ποτὲ ἡμῖν καὶ αἰδεσθήσεται ποτὲ ἡμᾶς; καὶ πῶς, ὡς γε ἐς τοῦτ ἡδη προκεχώρηκεν ὡστε μηδ' ἂν βούληται δύνασθαι δημοκρατικῶς ἡμῖν συμπολεμεῖσαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἠσως καὶ κοινός ξην ἡβούλετο, οὐδ' ἂν ἄπ' ἀρχῆς τοιούτως πράγμασιν ἐπεχείρησεν, εἴ τε καὶ ὑπ' ἄνοιας ἢ καὶ προπετείας τοῦτ ἐποίησε, πάντως ἂν ἔκὼν

3 εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἀπηλλάγη νῦν δ' ἀπαξ καὶ ἐκ τῶν νόμων καὶ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐκβάς, καὶ τῶν καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἔξωυσαν προσλαβών, οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅπως ἄν ἐθελουσίος μεταβάλοιτο1 καὶ τῶν δογμάτων τῶν ὑμετέρων προτιμήσειν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τῶν τοιούτων αὐτώς τῶν ὑπολοιωσερ, ὅπερ ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἐτόλμησε, καὶ κολασθῆναι.

45 καὶ μοι νῦν μάλιστα τὸ λεχθὲν ποτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου μνημονεύσατε, ὅτι οὐρίν τε ἔστιν ὑμῖν, ἃν μὴ κρατήσῃ, σωθῆναι. οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο ποιώσων οἱ κελεύοντες ὑμᾶς πρεσβεύσασθαι ἢ ὅπως ὑμεῖς μὲν βραδύνητε, κάκ τούτου καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμαχούσων ὑμῖν ἀργότερα καὶ ἀθυμότερα

2 γένηται, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καθ' ἰσχυρίαν πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν βούληται πράξῃ, καὶ τῶν τε Δέκιμον

1 metabáloito R. Steph., metabállote I.M.

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again, that while he for a long time, weapons in hand, has been carrying out all the deeds of war, we are wasting our time in decrees and embassies, and that we retaliate only with words and phrases upon the man whom we have long since discovered by his deeds to be a wrong-doer? What are we hoping for? That he will some day render us obedience and pay us respect? Yet how would this be possible in the case of a man who has come to such a point that he would not be able, even should he wish it, to live as an ordinary citizen with us under a democratic government? Indeed, if he were willing to live on a basis of common equality, he would never have entered in the first place upon such a career as his; and even if he had done so under the influence of folly or recklessness, he would certainly have given it up speedily of his own accord. But as the case stands, since he has once overstepped the limits imposed by the laws and the constitution, and has acquired some power and authority by this action, it is not conceivable that he would change of his own free will or heed any one of your resolutions, but it is absolutely necessary that such a man should be punished with those very weapons with which he has dared to wrong us. And I beg you now to remember particularly the remark which this man himself once uttered, to the effect that it is impossible for you to be saved unless you conquer. Hence those who bid you send envoys are doing nothing else than causing you to delay and causing your allies to become in consequence more remiss and dispirited; while he, on the other hand, will meanwhile do whatever he pleases, will destroy
εξέλθη καὶ τὴν Μουτίναν ἐκπολιορκήσας τὴν τε Γαλατίαν πάσαν λάβη, ὥστε μηκέθ' ἡμᾶς ὅπως αὐτῷ χρησώμεθα εὑρεῖν δυνηθήναι, ἀλλὰ ὑποδείκταί τε καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκυνεῖν
3 ἀνάγκην ἔχειν. ἐν δὲ ἔτι τούτῳ περὶ τῆς προσβείας εἰπὼν παύσομαι, ὥστε οὐδὲ ὁ 'Αυτώνιος λόγον τινὰ ὑμῖν ἕδωκε περὶ ὅν πρᾶττεις ἐμελλεῖν, ἰνα καὶ υμείς τούτῳ ποιήσητε.
4 "Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ ταύτα καὶ διὰ τάλλα πάντα συμβουλεύω υμῖν μή μέλλειν μηδενε διατρίβειν, ἀλλὰ ὡστε αὐτῷ πολεμήσαι, λογισμαίνους ὅτι τὰ πλεῖο τῶν πραγμάτων τούς
5 καροίς ἡ ταῖς δυνάμεις καταρθοῦται, καὶ πάντως πον καὶ ἐκ τούτου συνείναι ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐν γὰρ πλεῖστον ἱσχύω καὶ πλούτων καὶ δόξαν ἐκτησάμην, ἀφεῖς, εἰγε καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ εἰρήνῃ ἦν, πολεμεῖν υμῖν, εἰ μὴ γε καὶ συμφέρειν
46 ἠγούμην, παρῆνεσα. καὶ σοὶ δὲ, ὁ Καλῆνε, τοῖς τε ἅλλοις τοῖς ταύτα σοι φρονοῦσι συμβουλεύω καθ' ἱσυγιὰν ἐπιτρέψας τῇ γέφυρες τὰ προσήκοντα ψηφίσασθαι, καὶ μὴ τῆς ἱδίας υμῶν πρὸς 'Αυτώνιον χάριτος ἑνέκα τὰ κοινὰ πάσιν ἦμῖν
2 συμφέροντα καταπροδοῦναι. ὡς ἔγωγε οὕτω γνῶμης, ὁ πατέρες, ἐχὼ ὡστε, ἃν μὲν πεισθῇ μοι, καὶ πάνυ ἃν ἡδέως καὶ τῆς ἔλευθερίας καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας μεθ' υμῶν ἀπολαύσαι, ἃν δὲ ἄλλο τι ψηφίσησθε, τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἡ ζῆν ἐλέσθαι.
3 οὕτε γὰρ ἅλλος τῶν θανάτων ποτὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς

1 ἀνάγκην R. Steph., ἀνάγκη LM.
2 ἔτι M., ἔτι L.
3 καταρθοῦται Reim., καταρθοῦτα: I.M.
4 εἰρήνῃ ἤν Bk., εἰρήνῃ LM.
5 παρῆνεσα Dind., παραψεῖσαι LM.
6 σοὶ R. Steph., σο LM.
7 τῇ Rk., τῇ τε LM.
8 πάνω Reim., πάντα LM.
Decimus, will take Mutina by storm, and will capture all Gaul, with the result that we shall no longer be able to find means of dealing with him, but shall be under the necessity of trembling before him, paying court to him, and worshipping him. Just this one point further about the embassy and I am done: Antony did not on his part give you any account of what he intended to do, that you should do so yourselves.

"I, therefore, for these and all the other reasons advise you not to delay or to lose time, but to make war upon him as quickly as possible, reflecting that the majority of enterprises owe their success rather to opportune occasions than to their strength; and you should by all means feel perfectly sure for this very reason that I would never have given up peace, in the midst of which I have most influence and have acquired wealth and reputation, if it really were peace, nor would have urged you to make war, did I not think it to your advantage. And I advise you, Calenus, and the rest who are of the same mind as you, to be quiet and allow the senate to vote the requisite measures, and not for the sake of your private good-will toward Antony to betray the common interests of us all. For this is my feeling, Conscript Fathers, that if you heed my counsel, I shall very gladly enjoy freedom and safety with you, but that if you vote anything different, I shall choose to die rather than to live. For I have never at any time been afraid of death
παρρησίας ἐφοβήθην (καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ κατώρθωσα πλείστον τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι καὶ θώσαν καὶ ἐφορτάσαι ἐφ’ οίς ὑπατεύων ἐποίησα ἐψηφίσασθε, ὅπερ οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἄλλως μὴ οὐκ ἐν πολέμῳ γέ τι καταπράξαντι ἐγένετο), νῦν δὲ καὶ ἥκιστα. 4 καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ¹ θάνατος οὐκ ἂν ᾧρος ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸ τοσούτων ἐτῶν ὑπατεύκοτι μοι γένοιτο (καὶ τοις μημονεύετε ὅτι τούτο καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ὑμῶν εἶπον, ἵνα μοι πρὸς πάντα ωσ' καταφρονοῦντι αὐτοῦ προσέγχητε· τὸ δὲ δὴ φοβηθήναι τινα καθ’ ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ δουλεύσαι τινι μεθ’ ὑμῶν καὶ πάνω ἂν μοι ἀφρότατον ² συμβαίην. 5 οἴδενπερ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ συμφορὰν καὶ δλέθρον, οὐ τοῦ σώματος μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς τε δόξης, ύψ’ ὅς ποὺ καὶ μόνης αἴδει τρόπον τινά γιγνόμεθα, εἰναι νομίζω· τὸ δὲ δὴ λέγοματά τε καὶ πράπτοντα ύπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀποθανεῖν ἴσοστάσιον ἀθανασίας ³ ἄγω.

47 "Καὶ εἰσέ Κ αὐτῶν ἀνατ' ἐγίγνωσκεν, οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ ἐς τοιαῦτα πράγματα προὐχώρησεν, ἄλλα καὶ ἀποθανεῖ διὰ, ὡσπέρ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον ὅ τι τῶν ὁμοίων τῷ Κίννα τῷ ἐκείνου ἂν ἀποκτείνατι ποιῆσαι προελετο. πρὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄλλως ὁ μὲν Κίννας οὐ πολλὰ ὡστερον ἀντεσφάγη διὰ τοὐτο καὶ διὰ τάλλα ἃ κακῶς ἐπράττε (διόσπερ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ 'Αντωνίου τεθαύμακα, ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ μιμούμενος οὐ φοβεῖται μὴ ποτὲ ὠμοία καταστροφή περιπέσῃ), ἐκεῖνος δὲ καὶ αὐτῶ τούτω τὸ δοκεῖν τινα εἰναι

¹ καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Bk., καὶ ὁ μὲν γὰρ LM. ² ἀφρότατον Dind., ἀφρότατον LM. ³ ἀθανασία Bk., ἀθανασίαν LM.
as a consequence of my outspokenness (this accounts, indeed, for my overwhelming success, the proof of which lies in the fact that you decreed a sacrifice and festival in memory of the deeds done in my consulship, an honour which had never before been granted to anybody except one who had achieved some great success in war) and now I fear it least of all. For death, if it befell me, would not be at all unreasonable, especially when you consider that my consulship was so many years ago (yet remember that in that very consulship I expressed the same sentiment, in order that you might pay heed to me in everything, knowing that I despised death), but to dread any one for what he may do against you, and to be a slave to any one in common with you would prove most unreasonable to me. Therefore I deem this last to be the ruin and destruction not only of the body but also of the soul and reputation, by which, and by which alone, we become in a certain sense immortal; but to die speaking and acting in your behalf I regard as equivalent to immortality.

"Now if Antony, also, realized this, he would never have entered upon such a career, but would have even preferred to die as his grandfather died rather than to behave like Cinna, who killed him. For, to mention nothing else, Cinna was in turn slain not long afterward for this and the other crimes he had committed; so that I am surprised also at this feature in Antony's conduct, that, imitating his deeds as he does, he shows no fear of some day falling a victim to a similar fate. The murdered man, on the other hand, left behind to this very descendant
3 κατέλυσεν. ἀλλ' ουτὶ γε καὶ σώζεσθαι διὰ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἐτὶ δίκαιος ἔστι, μήτε τὸν πάππου ξηλώσας μήτε τὸν πατέρα τῆς οὐσίας κληρονομήσας. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τοῦθ', ἵνα πολλοὺς φεύγοντας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καΐσαρος καὶ μετὰ ταύτα ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων δὴ τῶν ἐκείνου καταγαγόν. 

4 οὐκ ἐπεκούρησε τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν συγκυβευτὴν τὸν Δευτικούλον τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου ῥαδιουργία φυγόντα ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ τὸν Βαμβαλίωνα τὸν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπωυμίας ἐπιβοήτου ἀγαπά, τοῖς δὲ ἡ συγγενεστάτοις οὕτως ὡσπερ εἰπον ἡ κέρυται, καθάπερ τινὰ ὀργὴν αὐτῶς ἔχων ὃτι τοιοῦτος ἐγεννήθη. τουγαροῦν τὸν μὲν ἐκείνου χρημάτων οὐκ ἐκληρονόμησεν, ἀλλὰν δὲ δὴ καὶ πάνυ πολλοὺς, τοὺς μὲν μήτ' ἰδῶν μήτ' ἀκούσας πῶστε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ ξώντας οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀποδέδυκε καὶ σεσύληκεν ὡστε μηδὲν σφας νεκρῶν διαφέρειν.

1 τοῦθ' Βκ., ταῦθ' ΛΜ. 2 καταγαγόν Βκ., ἀγαγόν ΛΜ. 3 ἡ εἰπον Βκ., ἡ προείπον ΛΜ. 4 ἐκείνου Αυ., ἐκείνων ΛΜ.
BOOK XLV

the reputation of greatness. But Antony has no longer any claim to be saved on account of his relatives, since he has neither emulated his grandfather nor inherited his father's property. Who, indeed, is unaware of the fact that in restoring many who were exiled in Caesar's time and later, in accordance, forsooth, with the directions of Caesar's papers, he did not aid his uncle, but brought back his fellow-gambler Lenticulus, who had been exiled for his unprincipled life, and cherishes Bambalio, who is notorious for his very cognomen, while he has treated his nearest relatives as I have described, as if he were half angry at them because he was born to so noble a name? Consequently he never inherited his father's goods, but has been the heir of very many others, some of whom he never saw or heard of, and others who are still living; for he has so stripped and despoiled them that they differ in no way from dead men."

1 M. Fulvius Bambalio, Antony's father-in-law. The name Bambalio signifies "stutterer."
null
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