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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

V

ARISTOPHANES
AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES AT ATHENS

BY
MAURICE CROISSET
Translated by JAMES LOEB, A.B.
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EURIPIDES
AND THE SPIRIT OF HIS DRAMAS

BY
PROFESSOR PAUL DECHARME
Translated by JAMES LOEB, A.B.
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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

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

ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF HERBERT BALDWIN FOSTER, PH.D.

IN NINE VOLUMES

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CONTENTS

BOOK XLVI .................................................. PAGE 1
BOOK XLVII .................................................. 116
BOOK XLVIII ............................................... 218
BOOK XLIX .................................................. 338
BOOK L ......................................................... 434
INDEX .......................................................... 517
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY
Τάδε ἦν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ ἔκτῳ τῶν Διωνος Ῥωμαίων

α. Ὡς Καλήνος ὑπὲρ Ὁρτωνίου Κικέρωνι ἀντείπειν.

β. Ὡς Ἀρτάνιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων περὶ Μουτίναν ἤτθησθιν.

γ. Ὡς Καίσαρ ἐν Ὁρμίνῃ ἠλθεὶ καὶ ὅπως ἀπεδέχθη.

δ. Ὡς Καίσαρ καὶ Ἀρτάνιος καὶ Λέποιοι συνάμοσαν.

Χρόνου πλήθος ἦτο ἐν, ἐν ὑπὸ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἷοὶ ἐγένοντο

Γ. Οὐσίος | Γ. ui. Πάντας Καπρανιανὸς ἑπ.

Αδ. Ἡρτιος Αδβ. ui.

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰπόντος ὁ Καλήνος ὁ Κύντος ὁ ³ Φούφιος ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν: "Ἄλλως μὲν οὖν οὐδ' ὕπατο ὁ Ἀρτωνίου τι ἀπολογήσασθαι οὔτε Κικέρωνος καθάψασθαι ἐδεόμην. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἠγούμαι δεῖν ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις σκέψεωι οἵ ἑ παρούσα ἐστὶν οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν ποιεῖν, ἄλλ' ἀπλῶς ὡς τις φρονεῖ ἀποφαίνεσθαι ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ δικαστηρίου, ταῦτα δὲ συμβουλίας ἐργα ἐστὶν.

2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὕτως τὸν τε Ἀρτώνιον κακῶς διὰ τὴν ἐχθραν τῆς ὑπάρχουσαν σφις λέγειν ἐπεχείρησεν, ὅν ἔχρην, εἰπερ τι ἡδικήκῃ, ἐσθηγγελκόναι.

¹ Οὐσίος Xyl., Ἀιδίος LM. ² ὁ supplied by Bs. ³ ὁ supplied by Ek.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK XLVI

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

How Calenus replied to Cicero in defence of Antony (chaps. 1-28).
How Antony was defeated at Mutina by Caesar and the consuls (chaps. 29-38).
How Caesar came to Rome and was elected consul (chaps. 39-49).
How Caesar, Antony, and Lepidus formed an alliance (chaps. 50-56).

Duration of time, one year, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:

K.C.
43 C. Vibius C. F. Pansa Capronianus, A. Hirtius A. F.

When Cicero had finished speaking in this vein, K.C. 43
Quintus Fusius Calenus arose and said:—"Ordinarily
I should not care either to say anything in defence
of Antony or to assail Cicero; for I do not think it at
all necessary in such discussions as the present to do
either of these things, but simply to make known
one's own opinion; the former method belongs to
the court-room, whereas this is a matter for deliber-
ation. Since, however, this man has undertaken to
speak ill of Antony on account of the enmity that
exists between them, instead of lodging information
against him, as he ought, in case Antony were guilty
καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐμὸν διαβόλως ἐμμημόνευσεν, ὡς σὺν ἀλλος τὴν ἐαυτοῦ δεινότητα δια-
δείξας εἰ μὴ τινας ἄνεδην² προσήλακίσεις,
3 προσήκει καὶ ἐμὸν τὰ μὲν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ δὲ ἀνταιτιάσασθαι, ὥστε μήτε τοῦτον ἢ τε οἰκεία
θραύσης ἀντιλογίας ἀμαρτοῦσα καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ σιωπῇ
ποιηρὸν συνειδότος ὑποψίαν λαβοῦσα ὁφελήσῃ,
μήθ' ύμεῖς ἀπατηθέντες υφ' ὁν εἴπεν χείρων βου-
λεύσῃσθε, τὴν ἱδίαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον
ὀργήν ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῆς συμφερόντων ἀντικαταλ-
2 λαβάμενοι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλο γε οὐδὲν διαπράξαι
βουλέται ἢ ἵνα ύμεῖς, τὸ τὰ ἀσφαλέστατα τῷ
κοινῷ προιδεῖν ἀφέντες, στασιάσωμεν αὐθεὶς,
τούτῳ γὰρ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς,
ἀφ' οὕτε πρὸς τὴν πολεῖσαι προσήλθεν, ἀνω
2 καὶ κάτω ταράττων διαστέλεσκεν. ἡ γὰρ οὐχ ὦτος
ἐστιν ὁ τὸν τῇ Καίσαρᾳ τῷ Πομπῆίῳ συγκρούσας
καὶ τὸν Πομπῆίου τῷ Καίσαρι καταλαγῆται
κολύσας; ὁ πείσας μὲν ύμᾶς ἐκεῖνα κατὰ Αν-
τωνίου ψηφίσασθαι δι' ὅν παράξευε τὸν Καί-
σαρα, πείσας δὲ τὸν Πομπῆίου τὴν τῆς Ἰταλίαν
3 ἐκλυπεῖν καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν μετοικῆσαι; ὅπερ
που αὐτωτάτου πάντων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα συμβάν-
των ἦμᾶς κακῶν ἐγένετο. οὐχ οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ τὸν
tοῦ τῇ Κλωδίου διὰ Μίλωνος ἀποκτείνας καὶ τὸν
Καίσαρα διὰ Βροῦτον φονεύσας; ὁ τὸν Κα-
tελίναν ἐκπολεμώσας ἦμᾶς καὶ τὸν Δεύτορον
3 ἀκριτων ἀπολέσας; ὅθεν ἔγοργυ καὶ πάνω ἀν ὑμῶν
θαυμάσαμι, εἰ τὸτε ἐπ' ἐκεῖνος μεταγνώστες καὶ
dίκην παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες, εἰτα καὶ νῦν ὁμοία

1 ἄνεδην Bk., ἄνεδην LM.
of any wrong-doing, and since, furthermore, he has made insulting reference to me, as if he could not have exhibited his own cleverness without indulging in unrestrained abuse of people, it behooves me also both to refute his accusations and to bring counter-charges against him. For, in the first place, I would not have him profit either from his own impudence, if allowed to go unchallenged, or from my silence, which might be suspected of coming from a guilty conscience; nor, again, would I have you be deceived by what he has said and come to an unworthy decision by letting his private grudge against Antony take the place of the public interest. For the purpose he wishes to accomplish is nothing else than that we should give up providing for the greatest safety of the commonwealth and fall into discord once more. Indeed, it is not the first time he has done this, but from the outset, ever since he entered politics, he has been continually turning things topsy-turvy. Is he not the one who embroiled Caesar with Pompey and prevented Pompey from becoming reconciled with Caesar? Or the one, again, who persuaded you to pass that vote against Antony by which he angered Caesar, and persuaded Pompey to leave Italy and transfer his quarters to Macedonia,—a course which proved the chief cause of all the evils that subsequently befell us? Is he not the one who killed Clodius by the hand of Milo and slew Caesar by the hand of Brutus? The one who made Catiline hostile to us and put Lentulus to death without a trial? Hence I should be very much surprised at you if, after changing your mind then about his conduct and making him pay the penalty for it, you should now heed him again, when his
2 αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντι καὶ πράττοντι πεισθήσεσθε. ἡ
οὐχ ὀράτε ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνα-
τον, ὅτε μὲν τὰ πράγματ' ἡμῶν δι' Ἀντώνιου
ὄτι 1 μάλιστα, ὃς οὖν αὐτὸς ἀρνήσασθαι δύναται,
κατέστη, ἀπεδήμησε, καὶ ἀλλότριον καὶ ἐπικίνδυ-
νον ἑαυτῷ τὸν τῆς ὁμονοίας ἡμῶν βίον εἶναι νομί-
ζων ἐπεὶ δὲ τεταραγμένα αὐτὰ αὐτὸς ἤσθετο,
μακρὰ χαίρειν τῷ τε νιεῖ καὶ ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς φρά-
σας ἐπανήλθε; καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον, ὅν τέως
ἀγαπάν ἔλεγεν, ύβρίζει καὶ λοιδορεῖ, τῷ δὲ δὴ
Καίσαρι, οὐ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀπέκτεινε, συναι-
ρεται 2; κἂν οὔτω τύχῃ, κάκεινοι οὐκ ἐς μακράν
4 ἐπιθήσεται: ἀπιστός τε γὰρ φύσει καὶ ταραχώδης
ἐστι, καὶ οὔτε τι ἔρμα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχει καὶ πάντα
αἰὲ κυκά καὶ στρέφει, πλεῖονας μὲν τροπὰς τρεπό-
μενος τοῦ πορθμοῦ πρὸς ὅν ἐφυγεν, ἐφ' ὀπερ καὶ
αὐτόμολος ἐπωνομάσθη, πάντας δὲ ὑμᾶς ἄξιῶν
καὶ φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν νομίζειν ὅν ἄν αὐτὸς
κελεύσῃ.
4 "Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα φυλάττεσθε τὸν ἀνθρωποῦ.
γόνης γὰρ ἑστι καὶ μάγος, καὶ ἐκ μὲν τῶν κακῶν
τῶν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ πλουτεὶ καὶ αὐξεῖ, συκοφαν-
tῶν ἐλκων σπαράττων τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας
ὡσπερ οἱ κόνες, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ κοινῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ἀπορεῖ
καὶ φθίνει: οὔτε γὰρ ἡ φιλία οὐθ' ἡ εὔνοια ἡμῶν
ἡ πρὸς ἄλληλους τοιοῦτον δύναται τρέφειν ῥή-
2 τορα. ἐπεὶ πόθεν ἀλλοθεν πεπλούσθηκέναι αὐτὸν
οἴσεθε, πόθεν μέγαν γεγονέναι; οὐ γὰρ ποι ὁ
πατὴρ αὐτῷ ὁ 3 κναφεὺς, ὁ τάς τε σταφυλὰς καὶ

1 δὲν Xyl., ἐτὶ LM.
2 συναρεται Rk., συναرةιν L, συναرةι (corrected from συναرةι) M. 3 ὁ added by Bk.
words and actions are similar. Or do you not observe how also after Caesar’s death, when order had been restored in our state chiefly by Antony, as not even Cicero himself can deny, Cicero went abroad, because he considered our life of harmony alien and dangerous to him? And how, when he perceived that turmoil had again arisen, he bade a long farewell to his son and to Athens, and returned? Or, again, how he insults and abuses Antony, whom he was wont to say he loved, and coöperates with Caesar, whose father he killed? And if chance so favour, he will ere long attack Caesar also. For the fellow is naturally faithless and turbulent, and has no ballast in his soul, but is always stirring up and overturning things, shifting his course oftener than the waters of the strait ¹ to which he fled,—whence his nickname of “turn-coat,” ²—yet demanding of you all that you consider a man as friend or foe according to his bidding.

“For these reasons you must guard against the fellow; for he is a cheat and an impostor and grows rich and powerful from the ills of others, slandering, mauling, and rending the innocent after the manner of dogs, whereas in the midst of public harmony he is embarrassed and withers away, since love and good-will on our part towards one another cannot support this kind of orator. How else, indeed, do you imagine, has he become rich, and how else has he become great? Certainly neither family nor wealth was bequeathed him by his father, the fuller, who

¹ The reference is to the Euripus, the narrow channel between Euboea and the mainland of Greece.
² Cf. xxxvi. 44, 2; xxxix. 63, 5.
τὰς ἔλαιας ἀεὶ ποτε ἐργολαβῶν, ἢ γένος ἢ πλοῦτον κατέλιπεν, ἀνθρωπος ἀγαπητός ἐκ τε τούτων 3 καὶ ἐκ τῶν πλυνῶν διατρεφόμενος, καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἠμέραν καὶ νύκτα τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἀναπιστόματος. ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς τραφεῖς οὐκ ἀπεικότος τοὺς κρείσσονας αὐτοῦ καὶ πατεῖ καὶ πλύνει, λοιδορίας τισίν ἐξ ἐργαστηρίων καὶ τρίδων ἐπιστηθευμέναις χρώμενος.

5. "Ἐιτά τοιοῦτοι αὐτὸς ὁ ὄν, καὶ γυμνὸς ἐν γυμνοῖς αὐξηθεῖς, καὶ οἰσπώτας καὶ ὑσπελέθους καὶ σπατιλας συλλέγων, ἐπόλμησας, ὅ μιαρώτατε, πρώτοι μὲν τὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὅραν διαβαλεῖν, ἀνθρώπου καὶ παιδαγωγοῖς καὶ διδασκάλοις κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γένος ἄξιον κεχρημένου, ἐπείτα δὲ κατηγορήσαι ὅτι τὰ Δυκαία τὴν πάτριον ἐορτὴν ποιῶν 2 γυμνὸς ἐστὶν ἀγοράν ἐσῆλθεν; ἀλλὰ τί, ὁ πᾶσαις μὲν ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις ἐσθῆσαι διὰ τὴν πατρίδαν τέχνην ἀεὶ χρησάμενος, ύφ’ ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ἀπαντῶν καὶ γνωρίζοντων αὐτὰς ἀποδυθεῖς, ἐχρῆν ποιῆσαι ἀνθρωπον μὴ μόνον ἰερέα ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῶν συνερέων ὁντα; μὴ πέμψαι τὴν πομπήν, μὴ ἐορτάσαι τὴν ἐορτὴν, μὴ θύσαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, μὴ γυμνωθήναι, μὴ ἀλείψαι. 3 σθαι; ἀλλ’ οὐ τούτ’ αὐτῷ, φησίν, ἐγκαλῶ, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τε γυμνὸς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ὅτι τοιοῦτα ἐδημηγόρησεν πάνω γὰρ πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα ἀκριβῶς ἐν τῷ κναφείῳ μεμάθηκεν, ἵνα καὶ ἀμαρτήματός τινος ἀληθινοῦ αἰσθάνηται καὶ ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ δικαίως ὑπῆται.

1 οἰσπώτας Lambert Bos, οἰσπώτας LM.
2 συνιερέων R. Steph., συνιερέων LM.
3 ἀλείψασθαι Rk., ἀλείψαι LM.
was always trading in grapes and olives, a fellow who was glad enough to support himself by this and by his wash-tubs, who every day and every night defiled himself with the foulest filth. The son, reared amid these surroundings, not unnaturally tramples and souses his superiors, using a species of abuse practised in the workshops and on the street corners.

"Now when you yourself are of such a sort, and have grown up naked among naked companions, collecting clothes stained with sheep dung, pig manure, and human excrement, have you dared, most vile wretch, first to slander the youth of Antony, who had the advantage of attendants and teachers, as his rank demanded, and then to reproach him because in celebrating the Lupercalia, that ancient festival, he came naked into the Forum? But I ask you, you who always wore nothing but the clothes of others on account of your father's business and were stripped by whoever met you and recognized them, what ought a man who was not only priest but also leader of his fellow-priests to have done? Not conduct the procession, not celebrate the festival, not sacrifice according to the custom of our fathers, not appear naked, not anoint himself? 'But it is not for this that I censure him,' he answers, 'but because he delivered a speech, and that kind of speech, naked in the Forum.' Of course this fellow has become acquainted in the fuller's shop with all the nice proprieties, so that he may detect a real mistake and may be able to rebuke it properly!
"Εγώ δὲ ὑπὲρ μὲν ἑκείνων μετὰ τὰ ταῦτα ἀ προσή-κει πάντα ἐρῶ, τοῦτον δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀνερέσθαι τι βούλομαι. οὐ σὺ μέντοι ἐν τε τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς ἐντέθραψαι καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν πέλας συμ-
φοραῖς ἐκπεπαίδευσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔλευθερον μὲν μάθημα οὐδὲν ἐπίστασαι, συνέδριον δὲ τι κατασκευάσας ἐνταῦθα ὅσπερ αἱ πόρναι τὸν δώ-
σοντά τι ἀεὶ ἀναμένεις, καὶ προσαγωγέας ἕν τῶν λημμάτων πολλοὺς ἔχων πολυπραγμονεῖς τις τίνα ἡδίκηκεν ἢ δοκεῖ τῇ ἡδίκηκέναι, τίς τίνα μισεῖ, τίς
3 τίνι ἐπιβουλεύει; καὶ τούτοις συνάρπῃ, καὶ διὰ τούτων τρέφῃ, πωλῶν μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰς παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἐπίδας, ἐργολαβῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν δικα-
στῶν ἀποφάσεις, καὶ φίλον μὲν μόνον τὸν τὸ πλέον ἢ ἀεὶ διδόντα, ἐχθροὺς δὲ δὴ πάντας τοὺς ἀπρά-
γμονας ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τινὶ συνηγόρῳ χρωμένους
4 νομίζων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν χεραῖν ἡδὴ ὀντας οὐδὲν εὐδέναι δοκῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δὲ ὀχλον ποιούμενος, τοὺς δὲ ἄρτι προσίστασα σαίνων καὶ γελῶν ὅσπερ αἱ παιδοκεύται.

7 "Καὶ πόσῳ κρεῖττον ἤν καὶ σὲ Βαμβαλίωνα
gεγονέναι, εἰ γέ τις ὁ Βαμβαλίων οὕτως ἔστιν, ἢ
tοιοῦτον ἐπανηρησθαι βίον ἐν ὅ πάσα ἀνάγκη
ἤτοι τὸν υπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου λόγου πωλεῖν ἢ καὶ
2 τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας σώζειν; καὶ τοις σύμη ὀυδὲ ταῦτα
cαλῶς ποιεῖν, καὶ περ τρία ἐν 'Αθήναις ἐτη κατα-
τρίψεις, δύνασαι. ποῦ; πόθεν; ὅστις ὑποτρέμων

1 προσαγωγίας Naber, προσαγωγίας LM.
"With regard to these matters, however, I will say later all that need be said, but just now I want to ask this fellow a question or two. Is it not true, then, that you have been reared amid the ills of others and been educated in the midst of your neighbours' misfortunes, and hence are acquainted with no liberal branch of knowledge, but have established here a kind of council where you are always waiting, like the harlots, for a man who will give something, and with many agents always to attract profits to you, you pry into people's affairs to find out who has wronged, or seems to have wronged, another, who hates another, and who is plotting against another? With these men you make common cause, and through them you support yourself, selling them the hopes that depend upon the turn of fortune, trading in the decisions of the jurors, considering him alone as a friend who gives the most at any particular time, and all those as enemies who are peaceably inclined or employ some other advocate, while you even pretend not to know those who are already in your clutches, and even find them a nuisance, but fawn and smile upon those who at the moment approach you, just as the women do who keep inns?

"Yet how much better it would be for you, too, to have been born Bambalio—if this Bambalio really exists—than to have taken up such a livelihood, in which it is absolutely inevitable that you should either sell your speech on behalf of the innocent, or else save the guilty also! Yet you cannot do even this effectively, though you spent three years in Athens. When, then, did you ever do so? Or how could you? Why, you always come to the courts trembling,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

αἱ πρὸς τὰ δικαστήρια προσέρχη καθάπερ ὁπλο-
μαχεῖν μέλλων, καὶ φθεγξάμενος ταπεινών τι καὶ
tεθυνκός ἀπαλλάττῃ, μὴν ὁν οἰκοθεν ἑσκεμμένος
ηκεῖς μυημονεύων, μητε ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα τι
3 εἰπεῖν εὐρίσκων. ἐς μὲν γὰρ τὸ φήσαι καὶ
ὑποσχέσθαι τι θρασύτητι πάντας ἀνθρώπους
ὑπερβάλλεις, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἀγώσιν αὐτοῖς, ἔξω
τοῦ λοιδορῆσαι τινα καὶ κακῶς εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἀσθε-
νέστατος καὶ δειλότατος εἰ. Ἡ οὖν τινὰ ἀγορεῖν
ὅτι μηδένα τῶν θαυμαστῶν σου τούτων λόγων ὅσ
ἐκδέδωκας εἰρήκας, ἀλλὰ πάντας αὐτοὺς μετὰ
ταῦτα συγγεγραφας, ὅσπερ οἱ τοὺς τε στρατη-
γοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἑπάρχους τοὺς πηλίους πλατ-
tοντες; εἰ δ’ ἀπιστεῖς, ἀναμνήσθητι πῶς μεν τοῦ
Οὐέρρου1 κατηγόρησας, καὶ περὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τέχνης
tὶ τῆς πατρίδας αὐτῶ παρασχόν, ὅτε ἐνούργησας.
4 "Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἦκνοι μὴ τὰ προσήκοντα" σοι
ἀκριβῶς λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ
λόγους ποιεῖσθαι δόξω, ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω,
kαὶ νὴ Δία καὶ τὸν Γαβίνου, ὅ τοὺς κατηγόρους
παρασκευάσας 3 ἐπειτα οὕτω συνεῖπες ὥστε αὐτὸν
καταδικασθῆναι, τὰ τε συγγράμματα ἃ κατα τῶν
φιλῶν συγγράφεις, ἐφ’ ὃς οὕτω σαυτὸ 4 ἀδικοῦντι
σύνοισθα ὡστε μὴ δημοσιεύειν αὐτὰ τολμᾶν.
καίτοι καὶ σχετικώτατον καὶ ἑλευνότατον ἔστι
μὴ δύνασθαι ταῦτα ἀρνήσασθαι ἃ πάντων 5 αἰ-
2 σχιστὸν ἐστιν ὁμολογήσαι. ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ ταῦτα
μὲν παραλείψω, τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ ἐπεξάξω.

1 Οὐέρρου R. Steph., ἐρρου I.M.
2 προσήκοντα Reim., προσάντα I.M.
3 παρασκευάσας R. Steph., παρασκεύασας I.M.
4 οὕτω σαυτῷ Bk., οὕτως οὐσατώ I.M.
5 ἃ πάντων M, ἀπάντων L.
as if you were going to fight as a gladiator, and after uttering a few words in a meek and half-dead voice you take your departure, without having remembered a word of the speech you thought out at home before you came, and without having found anything to say on the spur of the moment. In making assertions and promises you surpass all mankind in audacity, but in the trials themselves, apart from reviling and abusing people, you are most weak and cowardly. Or do you think any one is ignorant of the fact that you never delivered one of those wonderful speeches of yours that you have published, but wrote them all out afterwards, like persons who fashion generals and cavalry leaders out of clay? If you doubt my word, remember how you accused Verres, though, to be sure, you did give him an example of your father's trade—when you wetted your clothes.

"But I hesitate, for fear that in saying precisely what suits your case I may seem to be uttering words that are unbecoming to myself. These matters I will therefore pass over; yes, by Jupiter, and the case of Gabinius also, against whom you prepared accusers and then pleaded his cause in such a way that he was condemned; also the pamphlets which you compose against your friends, in regard to which you feel yourself so guilty that you do not even dare to make them public. Yet it is a most miserable and pitiable state to be in, not to be able to deny these charges which are the most disgraceful conceivable to admit. But I will pass by all this and proceed to...

1 Dio in this sentence imitates closely the words of Demosthenes against Aeschines, in the De Corona (129).

2 Cf. xxxix. 10.
διεισ μὲν γὰρ, καίπερ δισχίλια τῷ διδασκάλῳ πλέθρα τῆς Λευτήνων γῆς, ὡς φηγεῖ, διεδωκότες, οὐδὲν ἄξιον αὐτῶν ἔμαθομεν οὐκ ὁμοίως μίαν τὰ τῆς σὰ παιδεύεσθαι; 

ματα τις οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσεις; τίνα δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα; φθονεῖς ἄει τῷ κρέττουν, βασκαίνεις ἄει τὸν προφήτην, διαβάλλοις τὸν προτετημημένον, συνκοφαντεῖς τὸν δεδυνημένον, καὶ μισεῖς μὲν τοὺς ἁγάθους ὁμοίως πάντας, προσποίη δὲ δὴ φιλεῖν ἐκεῖνοις μόνους δι' ὅν ἂν κακουργήσεις τι προσδοκήσῃς. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς τε νεωτέρους ἐπὶ τοὺς προσβυτέρους ἂεὶ παροξύνεις, καὶ τοὺς πιστεύοντας σοι καὶ ὑπολογοῦς ἔν οἰκίνοις προσαγαγόν τε προλεῖπες.

9. "Τεκμήριον δὲ, πρᾶξιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν πόσοτε ἔλλογίμον ἀνδρός ἄξιαν, οὕτ' ἐν πολέμῳ οὔτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, πέτρας ὑπὸς μὲν γὰρ πολέμους ἐνδικήσαμεν σοῦ στρατηγοῦντος, ποιὰν δὲ κυρίως ἐκτησάμεθα σοῦ ὑπατεύοντος; ἐκαταπώλετο δὲ ἂεὶ τινάς τῶν πρώτων καὶ σφετεριζόμενος ἢδια μὲν διὰ τούτων πολιτεύῃ καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὁσα βουλεῖ 

2 διοικεῖς, δημοσίᾳ δὲ βοᾷς ἄλλως, κεκραγὼς τοὺς μιαροὺς ἐκείνους λόγους ἐγὼ μόνος ὑμᾶς φιλῶ, καὶ εἰ σύντο τύχοι, τὸ ἄρα δὲ, οἰ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες μισοῦσι, καὶ ἐγὼ μόνος ὑμῖν εὐνόω, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπιβουλεύοντο, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐξ ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἐπαιρῶ καὶ φυσῶν προδίδωσι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκπλήττων προστίθεσαι.

καὶ μὲν τε χρήστον ὑπ' ὅπου τῶν πάντων γένηται, ἀντιποίη τε αὐτῶ καὶ σεαυτόν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐπιγράφεις,

1 προφήτων cod. Coisl. (Bekk. Anecd.), προφήτων LM.
2 προσαγαγόν Dind., προσαγαγόν LM.
3 τόχοι R. Steph., τόχη LM.
the rest. Well, then, though we gave the professor, as you admit, two thousand plethra of the Leontine lands, yet we learned nothing worth while in return for it. But as to you, who would not admire your system of instruction? And what is that? Why, you always envy the man who is your superior, you always malign the prominent man, you slander him who has attained distinction, you blackmail the one who has become powerful, and, though you hate impartially all good men, yet you pretend to love only those of them whom you expect to make the agents of some villainy. This is why you are always inciting the younger men against their elders and leading those who trust you, even in the slightest degree, into dangers, and then deserting them.

"A proof of all this is that you have never accomplished any achievement worthy of a distinguished man either in war or in peace. What wars, for instance, did we win when you were praetor, or what territory did we acquire when you were consul? Nay, but you are continually deceiving some of the foremost men and winning them to your side, and then you privately use them as agents to carry out your policies and to pass what measures you choose, while publicly you indulge in vain rantings, bawling out those detestable phrases, 'I am the only one who loves you,' or, perchance, 'I and so-and-so; but all the rest hate you,' or 'I alone am your friend, but all the rest are plotting against you,' and other such stuff by which you fill some with elation and conceit and then betray them, and frighten the rest and thus bring them to your side. And if any service is rendered by any one in the world, you lay claim to it and

1 Cf. xlv. 30, 2.
θρυλὸν 'ἐγώ γὰρ εἶπον, ἐγώ γὰρ ἔγραψα,1 καὶ
dι’ ἐμὲ ταύτα οὕτω πεπρακταί:2 ἀν δὲ τι συμβη
οίον οὐκ ἔδει, σαυτὸν μὲν ἔξαστεῖς;3 τοὺς δὲ δὴ
ἀλλοις πάντας αὐτία, λέγων 'μὴ γὰρ ἐστρατήγουν
4 ἐγώ; μὴ γὰρ ἐπρέσβευον; μὴ γὰρ ὑπάτευον;
καὶ λοιποῖς μὲν ἀπὰ πάντας πανταχοῦ, τὴν ἐκ
tοῦ θρασείως παρρησιάζουσθαι δοκεῖν δύναμιν περὶ
πλείους τοῦ;4 τι τῶν δεότων εἰπεῖν ποιούμενος,
ἐργον δὲ δὴ ῥήτορος οὐδέν ἄξιον λόγον παρέχῃ. τί
mὲν γὰρ τῶν κοινῶν ἡ σέσωσται ἡ ἐπηνώρθωται
διὰ σὲ; τίνα δὲ ἀδικοῦντα όντως τὴν πόλιν ἐσήγ
γελκας, τίνα ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἀληθῶς ἢμιν ἐπὶ
2 δέδειχας; ἵνα γὰρ τὰλλα εάσω, αὐτά ταῦθ’ ἂ τὸ
Ἄντωνίῳ νῦν ἐγκαλεῖς, τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαύτα
έστιν όστε μηδένα ἀν δίκην ἄξιαν αὐτῶν ὑποσχεῖν.
tί ποτ’ ὁυν, ὅρον ἡμᾶς ἄπ’ ἀρχής ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ὡς
γε καὶ φης, ἀδικομένους, οὐδεποτε ἐπεξήλθες
3 αὐτῷ παραχρήμα οὐδὲ κατηγόρησας, ἀλλὰ νῦν
ἡμῖν λέγεις ὅσα δημαρχήσας παρενόμησε4 καὶ
ὅσα ἰππαρχήσας ἐπλημμέλησε καὶ ὅσα ὑπατεύσας
ἐκακούργησεν, ἐξὸν σοι τότε εὐθὺς καθ’ ἐκαστὸν
αὐτῶν τὴν προσηκούσαν παρ’ αὐτοῦ δίκην εἰλη-
φέναι, ἵνα αὐτὸς τε φιλόπολις ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ ἐπεθ
φέρεις καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀβλαβῆ καὶ ἀσφαλῆ τὴν
τιμορίαν παρ’ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀδικήματα ἐπετοιμῆθεν.
4 καὶ μὴν ἀνάγκη δυοῖν βάτερον, ἡ πεπιστευκότα
σε τότε ταῦθ’ οὕτως ἔχειν καθυφεικέναι τοὺς ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν ἁγώνας, ἡ μὴ δυνηθέντα τινά αὐτῶν ἐξε-
λέγξαι μᾶτην νῦν συκοφαντεῖν.

1 ἔγραψα Rk., ἔγραψα LM. 2 ἔξαστεῖς St., ἔξαστεῖς LM.
3 τοῦ supplied by Reim.
4 παρενόμησε Cobet, παρενόμησε LM.
attach your own name to it, prating: ‘I moved it, I proposed it, all this was done as it was through me.’ But if anything turns out unfortunately, you clear your own skirts of it and lay the blame on all the rest, saying: ‘Look you, was I the praetor, or the envoy, or the consul?’ And you abuse everybody everywhere all the time, setting more store by the influence which comes from appearing to speak your mind boldly than by saying what duty demands; but as to the function of an orator, you exemplify it in no respect worth speaking of. What public interest has been preserved or restored by you? Whom have you indicted that was really harming the city, and whom have you brought to light that was in truth plotting against us? Why (to pass over the other cases), these very charges which you now bring against Antony are of such a nature and so numerous that no one could ever suffer any adequate punishment for them. Why, then, if you saw that we were being wronged by him from the very outset, as you assert, did you never prosecute or even accuse him at the time, instead of relating to us now all his illegal acts as tribune, all his irregularities as master of the horse, all his crimes as consul? You might immediately at the time in each specific instance have inflicted the appropriate penalty upon him, and thus have yourself stood revealed as a patriot in very deed, while we should then have imposed the punishment in security and safety at the time of the offences themselves. Indeed, one of two conclusions is inevitable,—either that you believed these things were so at the time and yet shirked the struggle on our behalf, or else that you were unable to prove any of your charges and are now indulging in idle slanders.
11 ""Ότι γὰρ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, καθ' ἐκαστον ὑμῖν, ὁ πατέρες, διεξιών ἐπιθείξω. ἔλεγε τίνα ἐν τῇ δημαρχίᾳ. Ἀντώνιος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καίσαρος; καὶ γὰρ Κικέρων καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πομπηίου. τί ποτ' οὖν τούτων μὲν αἰτιάται ὅτι τὴν φιλίαν τὴν ἐκείνου προειλετο, έαυτὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τάναντια αὐτῷ σπουδάσαντας ἀφίησιν; ἐκώλυσε τίνα ἐκείνος ψήφισθηναι τότε κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος.

2 καὶ γὰρ οὕτως πάντῳ ὡς εἴπειν ὅσα ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγγυνώσκετο. ἀλλ' ἐμποδῶν, φησίν, ἐγένετο τῇ κοινῇ τῆς βουλῆς γνώμη καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πῶς ἀν εἰς ἀνὴρ τοσοῦτον ἱσχυσεν; ἐπειτα δὲ, εἰ καὶ κατεψηφίσθη διὰ τοῦθ', ὡσπερ λέγει, πῶς οὐκ ἂν καὶ ἐκολάσθη; ἑφυγε γὰρ, ἑφυγε πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπελθὼν. οὐκοὖν καὶ σὺ, ὁ Κικέρων, οὐκ ἀπεδήμησας νῦν ἀλλ' ἑφυγες, ὡσπερ καὶ πρῶτον. ἀλλὰ μήτι γε καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἦμας τὰ σεαυτοῦ ὀνείδη προπετῶς οὕτως ἄγε: φυγεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ τούτο ὅ σὺ πεποίηκας, τὸ τε δικαστήριον φοβηθεὶς καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν

3 4 αὐτὸς σαυτοῦ ἐπικαταγροῦς. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐγράφῃ σοι κάθοδος: πῶς μὲν καὶ διὰ τίνα, οὐ λέγο, ἐγράφῃ δ' οὖν, καὶ οὐ πρὶν ἐν ἐπέβης τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πρὶν ἐκείνην σοι δοθήναι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ ἀπήλθε πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα μηνύσων αὐτῷ τὰ πεπραγμένα, καὶ ἐπανήλθε μηδενὸς ψηφίσματος δεηθεῖς, καὶ τέλος τὴν τε εἰρήνην τὴν τε φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντοτε τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τότε

1 μήτι γε Cobet, μήτοι γε ΙΜ. 2 σαυτοῦ Bk., σαυτοῦ ΙΜ.
BOOK XLVI

"That all this is true, Conscript Fathers, I shall show you by going over each point in detail. Antony did have something to say during his tribuneship on Caesar's behalf, as indeed did Cicero and some others on behalf of Pompey. Why, now, does he blame him for having preferred Caesar's friendship, but acquit himself and the rest who supported the opposite cause? Antony prevented some measures from being passed against Caesar at that time; and this was all right, since Cicero prevented practically everything that was to be decreed in his favour. 'But Antony,' he replies, 'thwarted the united will of the senate.' Well, now, in the first place, how could one man have had so much power? And, secondly, if he had really been condemned for it, as this fellow says, how could he have escaped punishment? 'Oh, he fled, he fled to Caesar and got out of the way.' Well, then, Cicero, what you also did a while ago was not 'taking a trip abroad,' but taking flight, as on the former occasion. Come now, do not be so ready to apply your own shame to us all; for flee you did, fearing the court and condemning yourself beforehand. To be sure, a measure was passed for your recall,—how and for what reasons I do not say,—but at any rate it was passed, and you did not set foot in Italy until the recall was granted to you. But Antony not only went away to Caesar to inform him what had been done, but also returned, without asking for any decree, and finally brought about peace and friendship with him for all those who were at the time found in Italy; and the rest,
 Dio's Roman History

εὑρεθείσιν ἐπρυτάνευσεν ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀν
μετεσχῆκεν, εἰ μὴ σοὶ πεισθέντες ἐπεφεύγεσαν.

12 "Εἶτα τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων τολμᾶς λέγειν ὅτι
tὸν τε Καίσαρα ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπήγαγε καὶ
tὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἐκάινησε καὶ τῶν μετὰ
tαύτα κακῶν αἰτίωτατος ἠμῖν ἐγένετο; οὐ μὲν
οὖν, ἀλλὰ σὺ, ὡστὶς Πομπηίῳ μὲν καὶ στρα-
teύματα ἀλλότρια καὶ ἡγεμονίαν ἑδωκας, Καίσαρα
de καὶ τῶν δεδομένων ἀποστερήσαι ἐπεχείρησας·

2 ὡστὶς τῷ τε Πομπηίῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνε-
βούλευσας τὰ μὲν προτεινόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος
μὴ προσέσχας, τὴν δὲ δὴ πόλιν τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν
ὁλὴν ἐκλιπεῖν ὡστὶς Καίσαρα μὲν οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν
Ῥωμὴν ἐλθόντα εἰδες, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Πομπηίον καὶ

3 ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀπεόριας, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκείνων μέν-
tοι οὔδὲν συνήρω,1 ἀλλὰ περιμένω τὰ γηγονόμενα
ἐπέτει, ἐπειδὴ ἐδυστύχησεν, ἐγκατέλυσεν αὐτῶν.
οὕτως οὐδὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὡς δικαιότερα αὐτῷ πράτ-
tουτο ἔβολθησας, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε στάσιν κινήσας
καὶ τὰ πράγματα ταράξας εἰτ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς

4 αὐτοὺς ἐφηδρεύσας, καὶ τοῦ μὲν πταίσαντος ὡς
καὶ ἀδικούντος τι διὰ τοῦτ εὔθυς ἀπέστης, πρὸς
dὲ τὸν κρατῆσαντα ὡς καὶ δικαιότερον ἀπέκλινας.
καὶ οὕτῳ γε, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς, καὶ
ἀγάριστος εἰ ὡστε οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀγαπᾶς ὅτι
ἐσώθης ὑπ'2 αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς ὅτι μὴ
cαὶ3 ἰππάρχησας.

1, 2 συνῆρω M, συνηρεῖ L.
3 ὑπ' Ἱππ. Ἀπ. ΛM.

13 "Εἶτα ταύτα σαυτὸ συνειδῶσας τολμᾶς λέγειν ὅτι
οὐκ ἔχρη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντώνιου δὲ ἐτοὺς ἰππαρχησάν; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν Καίσαρα δὲ ἐτοὺς δικτατορεύσαι.
too, would have had a share in it, if they had not taken your advice and fled after Pompey.

"Then, when this is the case, do you dare to say he led Caesar against his country and stirred up the civil war and became, far more than any one else, responsible for the subsequent evils that befell us? No, indeed, but it was you yourself, you who gave Pompey legions that belonged to others, and the command also, and undertook to deprive Caesar even of those that had been given him; you, who advised Pompey and the consuls not to accept the offers made by Caesar, but to abandon the city and all Italy; you, who did not see Caesar even when he entered Rome, but ran off to Pompey and Macedonia. Yet not even to him did you prove of any assistance, but you allowed matters to take their course, and then, when he met with misfortune, left him in the lurch. Thus even at the outset you did not aid him as the one whose course was the more just, but after stirring up the strife and embroiling affairs you kept watch on events from a safe distance, and then promptly deserted the man who failed, as if that somehow proved him in the wrong, and went over to the victor, as if he were more in the right. And thus, in addition to your other base deeds, you are so ungrateful that you not only are not satisfied to have been spared by Caesar, but are actually displeased because you were not made his master of horse.

"Then, with this on your conscience, do you dare to say that Antony ought not to have been master of the horse for a whole year, because Caesar himself ought not to have been dictator for a whole
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

'άλλ', εἴτε καλῶς εἴτε καὶ ἀναγκαῖως ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, ἐψηφίσθη τε ὁμοίως ἀμφότερα καὶ ἤρεσε καὶ

2 ἡμῖν¹ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. τούτως οὖν, ὦ Κικέρων, ἐγκάλει, εἰ τι παρενόμησαν, μὴ μὰ Δία μὴ τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τετιμημένοις ὅτι ἄξιοις ἐαυτοὺς καὶ τῶν τηλικοῦτοι τυχεῖν παρέσχον· ὃς εἰγε ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων τῶν τότε ἡμᾶς περιστάντων ἡναγκάθημεν ² αὐτὰ οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τὸ προσήκον ποιήσαι, τί τούτο ³ 'Αντωνίω νῦν εἰσφέρεις, ἀλλ’ οὗ τότε ἀντέλεγες, εἰπερ ἐδύνασο; ὃτι ἐφοβοῦ ἦν

3 Δία. εἰτα σὺ μὲν τότε σιωπήσας συγγρώμης διὰ τὴν δειλίαν τεύξη, οὗτος δὲ ὃτι σοῦ προετιμήθη, δίκην διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑφέξει; καὶ ποῦ ταύτα τὰ δίκαια ἐμαθες, ἡ που ταύτα τὰ νόμιμα ἀνέγνως;

14 "'ΑΛΛ’ οὐκ ἰρθῶς τῇ ἱππαρχίᾳ ἐχρήσατο. διὰ τι; ὅτι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, φησί, τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἡγόρασε. πόσοι δὲ ἄλλοι πόσα ἄλλα ἐπράλατο, οὐν οὔδεις αἰτίαν ἔχει; καὶ γάρ που διὰ τὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐδημεύθη τινὰ καὶ ἐς τὸ πρατήριον ἐξετέθη καὶ τῇ τοῦ κοινοῦ κήρυκος φωνῇ ἀπε-

2 κηρύχθη, ἱνα τις αὐτὰ ἀγοράσῃ. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐχοῦν τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου κτήματα ⁵ πεπράσθαι. οὖκοι ἡμεῖς ἡμάρτομεν καὶ κακῶς ἐποιήσαμεν δημεύσαντες αὐτά; ἦ, ἵνα σὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς τις ἀπο-

λύσῃ, πάντως ποὺ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπλημμέλησεν ὁ τὸτε γενέσθαι κελεύσας· ὃ οὖν ἐπεκάλεσας.

3 ἀλλ’ ἐν μὲν τούτῳ καὶ πάνυ μωραῖνων ἐξελέγχεται.

¹ ἡμῖν Bk., τῷ B.M. ² ἡναγκάθημεν Rk., ἡναγκάζητε B.M. ³ τούτου R. Steph., τούτω B.M. ⁴ ἦν Cobet, μὰ B.M. ⁵ κτήματα L, χρήματα M (but corrected in margin to κτήματα).
year? But whether or not it was wise or necessary for this to be done, at any rate both measures alike were passed, and they suited both us and the people. Therefore censure these men, Cicero, if they have transgressed in any particular, but not, by Jupiter, those whom they have chosen to honour for showing themselves worthy of rewards so great. For if we were forced by the circumstances which then surrounded us to act in this way, even contrary to what was was fitting, why do you now lay this upon Antony’s shoulders, instead of having opposed it at the time, if you were able? Because, by Jupiter, you were afraid. Shall you, then, who were silent at the time, obtain pardon for your cowardice, and shall he, because he was preferred before you, submit to punishment for his virtue? Where have you learned this kind of justice, or where have you read this kind of law?

"But he made an improper use of his position as master of the horse." Why? ‘Because,’ he answers, ‘he bought Pompey’s possessions.’ But how many others are there who purchased countless articles, no one of whom is blamed! Why, that was the purpose, naturally, in confiscating goods and putting them up at auction and proclaiming them by the voice of the public crier, namely, that somebody should buy them. ‘But Pompey’s goods ought not to have been sold.’ Then it was we who erred and did wrong in confiscating them; or—to clear us both of blame—it was Caesar anyhow, I suppose, who acted irregularly, since he ordered this to be done; yet you did not censure him at all. But in making this charge Cicero stands convicted of playing the utter
δύο γούν ἐναντιώτατα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατηγόρηκεν, ἐν μὲν ὅτι πλείστα τῷ Καίσαρι συμπράξας καὶ πάμπολλα διὰ τούτο παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἔπεετα 4 τὴν τιμὴν αὐτῶν βιαίως ἀπρητήθη, ἔτερον δὲ ὅτι μήτε τοῦ πατρὸς κληρονομῆσας, καὶ πάνθε' ὅσα ἐκτῆσατο καταναλώσας ὃσπερ ἦ Χάρυβδις (ἀλλὰ γὰρ τι ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας, καθάπερ ἐπιλε- λησμένοι ὅτι ἐς αὐτὴν ἐφυγε, παραφέρει), τὴν τιμὴν πάντων ὁν ἐπριάτο ἄπεδωκεν.

15 "Ἐν μὲν οὖν τούτως οὔτω τὰ ἐναντιώτατα αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ λέγων ὁ θανμαστὸς οὔτος ἔξελέγ-χεται, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ἐν ἑκείνοις, ὅτι τοτέ μὲν πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ τῷ Καίσαρι πραχθέντα συνά-ρασθαι δὲ καὶ πάντων διὰ τούτο τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν αἰτιώτατον γεγονέναι λέγει, τοτὲ δὲ ἐγκαλεῖ αὐτῶν, δεῖλαν ὅνειδίζων, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἄλλοι πλὴν 2 τῶν ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλίᾳ πραχθέντων μετέσχε. καὶ ἐγκλήμα τὸ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖται λέγων ὅτι τῶν φευγόντων τινὰς κατηγιαγε, καὶ μέμφεται αὐτοῦ ὅτι μὴ καὶ τῷ θείῳ τὴν κάθοδον ἔδωκεν, ὡσπερ τινὸς πιστεύσωσι τοσὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀν ἑκείνον πρῶτον, ἐπερ γε καὶ ἑντινοὺν ἑυνήθη δ' καταγαγεὶ, ἐπανήγαγε, μήτε τι ἐγκαλῶν αὐτῶς μήτε ἐγ-3 καλούμενος, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως οἶδεν ἀμέλει πολλὰ καὶ οὐκ ἔνθα διαφέρει πᾶν ὁ τι ποτ' ἄν ἐπὶ τῆς γλώττας αὐτοῦ ἐπέλθη, καθάπερ τι πλῦμα, ἐκχέαι.

1 συνάρασθη: R. Steph., συναρασθαι: L.M.
2 ἐγκλήμα τε: BK., ἐγκλήματι: L, ἐγκλήματι: M.
3 ἑυνήθη: St., ἑυνήθη: L.M.
fool. In any event he has brought against Antony two utterly contradictory charges—first, that after helping Caesar in very many ways and receiving in return vast gifts from him, he was then required under compulsion to surrender the price of them; and, second, that, although he inherited naught from his father and swallowed up all that he had acquired ‘like Charybdis’ (the speaker is always offering us some comparison from Sicily, as if we had forgotten that he had gone into exile there), he nevertheless paid the price of all he had purchased.

“So in these charges this remarkable fellow stands convicted of violently contradicting himself—yes, by Jupiter, and in the following statements also. At one time he says that Antony aided Caesar in everything he did and by this means became more than any one else responsible for all our internal evils, and then he reproaches him with cowardice, charging him with having shared in no other exploits than those performed in Thessaly. And he brings a complaint against him to the effect that he restored some of the exiles, and finds fault with him because he did not secure the recall of his uncle as well—as if any one believes that he would not have restored him first of all, if he had been able to recall whomever he pleased, since there was no grievance on either side between them, as this man himself knows; at any rate, he did not dare to say anything of that sort, although he told many brazen lies about Antony. So utterly reckless is he about pouring out anything that comes to his tongue’s end, as if it were mere soapsuds.

\[4 \text{ πολλὰ καὶ Bk., πολλὰκι L.M.} \]
\[5 \text{ πάροικο Naber, παροίκι L.M.} \]
Διόσ Ῥωμαίος ιστορία

"Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τί ἂν τις ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐπεξίοι; ἐπεὶ δὲ τραγῳδεῖ περιμόν, καὶ νῦν γε εἰπέ που λέγων ὅτι βαρυτάτην τὴν τῆς ἱππαρχίας ὄψιν παρέσχετο, πανταχοῦ καὶ διὰ πάντων τῷ τῇ ἄφιε ἀμα καὶ τῇ πορφύρᾳ τοῖς τε ῥαβδούχοις καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις χρώμενος, εἰπάτω μοι σαφῶς, πῶς ἂν καὶ τί ἐκ τούτων ἡδικήμεθα. ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπέων ἔχον; εἰ γὰρ εἰχεν, οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων πρῶτον ἐξελάλησεν. πάν γὰρ τοῦνατιον οἱ μὲν στασιάσαντες τότε καὶ πάντα ἃ κακὰ ἐργασάμενοι Τρεβέλλως τε καὶ Δολοβέλλας ἦσαν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ οὕτως οὗτε τι ἡδίκησε καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐπρατην ὅστε καὶ τὴν φυλακήν τῆς πόλεως παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπ' αὐτῶς ἔκεινος, οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιλέγοντος τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ τούτου ρήτορος (παρὴν γὰρ) ἄλλα καὶ συναίνοντος, ἐπετράπη. ἢ δειξάτω, τίνα φωνὴν ἔρριξεν ὅρῳ τὸν ἁσελγὴ καὶ μιαρὸν, ὡς αὐτὸς λοιδορεῖ, πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν αὐτὸν τῶν δεόντων ποιεῖν καὶ ἐξουσίαν τοσαύτην παρ' ὑμῶν προσλαμβάνοντα. ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι. οὔτω ποῦ ὁ μέγας οὕτως καὶ φιλόπολις ρήτωρ, ὁ πανταχοῦ καὶ οἶεί βρυλῶν καὶ λέγων 'ἐγὼ μόνος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑλευθερίας ἀγωνίζομαι, ἐγὼ μόνος ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας παρρησιάζομαι' ἐμὲ οὕτε χάρις φίλων οὕτε φόβος ἐχθρῶν ἀπείρηκε τοῦ μῆ οὐ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν προσκοπεῖν· ἐγὼ, κἂν ἀποθανεῖν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λόγοις δείσῃ, καὶ μᾶλ' ἥδεως τελευτήσω' οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν τούτων ὃν νῦν βοᾷ τότε

1 τῶς supplied by Cobet.
BOOK XLVI

"But why should one pursue this subject further? Still, inasmuch as he goes about declaiming tragically, and has but this moment said, in the course of his remarks, that Antony rendered the sight of the master of the horse most odious, by using everywhere and always the sword and the purple, the lictors and the soldiers at one and the same time, let him tell me clearly how and in what respect we have been wronged by this. But he will have nothing to say; for if he had, he would have blurted it out before anything else. In fact, the very reverse is true: those who were quarrelling at that time and causing all the trouble were Trebellius and Dolebella, whereas Antony was so far from doing any wrong and was so active in every way in your behalf that he was even entrusted by you with the guarding of the city against those very men, and that, too, without any opposition on the part of this remarkable orator (for he was present), but actually with his approval. Else let him show what word he uttered when he saw that 'the licentious and accursed fellow' (to quote from his abuse) not only performed none of the duties of his office but also secured from you all that additional authority. But he will have nothing to show. So it looks as if not a word of what he now shouts so loud was ventured at that time by this great and patriotic orator, who is everywhere and always saying and repeating: 'I alone am fighting for freedom, I alone speak out boldly for the republic; I cannot be restrained by favour of friends or fear of enemies from looking out for your advantage; I, even if it should be my lot to die in speaking on your behalf, will perish very gladly.' And his
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

5 εἰπεῖν ἔτολμησεν. καὶ πάννυ εἰκότως· λογίζεσθαι γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐπῆει τούτο, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ραβδούχους καὶ τὸ ἐσθήμα τὸ περιπόρφυρον κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὰ περὶ τῶν ἰππάρχων νεομισμένα εἰχε, τῷ δὲ δὴ ξίφει καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας κατὰ τῶν στασια-ζῶντων ἀναγκαῖος ἔχρητο. τὸ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τῶν δεινοτάτων ἔποιησαν εἰ μή τούτοις ἐκεῖνος ἐπέ-φρακτο, ὅποτε καὶ οὕτως αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνησαν τιμεῖς;

17 ""Ωτε τούνων καὶ ταύτα καὶ τάλλα πάντα ὀρθῶς καὶ κατὰ τὴν γνώμην ὅτι μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ Καῖ-σαρος ἐγένετο, δῆλοι τὰ ἔργα· ἢ τε γὰρ στάσις οὐ περαιτέρω προεχόρησε, καὶ ο Ἀντώνιος οὐχ ὅσον οὐ δίκην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ἄλλα καὶ ὑπατος

2 μετὰ ταύτα ἀπεδείχθη. καὶ μοι καὶ ταύτην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν θεώσασθε ὡς διέθετο· εὐρήσετε γὰρ αὐτὴν, ἂν τάκριβες σκοπήτε, πάνω πολλοῦ ἄξιαν τῇ πόλει γεγενημένην. ὅπερ ποιν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰδὼς οὐκ ἦνεγκε τοῦ φθόνου, ἀλλ' ἔτολμη-σεν ἐπὶ τούτοις διαβαλέιν ὧ καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν

3 πετοιηκέναι εὖξατο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἱκάν γνωρῶσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἀλοιφὴν τοὺς τε μύθους τοὺς παλαιὰς ἐκείνους ἐπεσήγαγεν, οὐχ ὅτι τι προσέδει νῦν αὐτῶν; ἀλλ' ἐνα τὴν τε περι-τέχνησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κατόρθωσιν τοῖς ἐξώθεν

4 ψοφοῖς συσκίασθ. ὅστις, ὁ γῆ καὶ θεὸι (μει-ζον ὅμοι σοῦ βοήσομαι καὶ δικαίωτερον αὐτοῦς ἐπικαλέσομαι), τυραννουμένη ὑδή τῷ ἑργῳ τὴν πόλιν ἱδῶν τῷ πάντα μὲν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἀκούειν

1 τῇ Xyl., ὡς τῇ LM. 2 αὐτῶν Leunel., αὐτῶι LM. 3 περιτέχνησι Bk., ἐπιτέχνησι LM. 4 ὅστις R. Steph., ὡς τῇ LM.
silence at that time was very natural, for it occurred to him to reflect that Antony possessed the lictors and the purple-bordered clothing in accordance with the custom of our ancestors in regard to the masters of the horse, and that he was using the sword and the soldiers perforce against the rebels. For what outrages would have been too terrible for them to commit, had he not been hedged about with these protections, when some showed such scorn of him as it was?

"That these and all his other acts, then, were correct and most thoroughly in accord with Caesar’s intention, the facts themselves show. For the rebellion went no farther, and Antony, far from suffering punishment for his course, was subsequently appointed consul. Notice also, now, I beg of you, how he administered this office of his; for you will find, if you examine the matter carefully, that his tenure of it proved of great value to the city. His traducers, of course, knows this, but not being able to control his jealousy, has dared to slander him for those deeds which he would have longed to do himself. That is why he introduced the matter of his stripping and anointing and those ancient fables, not because any of them was called for on the present occasion, but in order to drown out by irrelevant noise Antony’s consummate skill and success. Yet this same Antony, witness earth and gods! (I shall call louder than you and invoke them with greater justice), when he saw that the city was already in reality under a tyranny, inasmuch as all the legions
τοῦ Καίσαρος, πάντα δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν δήμων μετὰ
5 τῆς βουλῆς εἴκειν, οὕτως ὡστε τά τε ἄλλα καὶ
dικτάτορα αὐτῶν διὰ βλέψιν εἶναι τῇ τε σκευῇ τῇ
tῶν βασιλέων χρῆσθαι ψηφίσασθαι, καὶ ἐξή-
λεγέται σοφῶτα καὶ ἐπέσχεν ἀσφαλέστατα,
ὡστε καὶ αἰδευθέντα καὶ φοβηθέντα μήτε
tὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τῶν βασιλέως μήτε τὸ διάδημα,
ἀ καὶ ἀκόντων ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ δώσειν ἐμέλλει,
6 λαβεῖν. Ἀλλὸς μὲν γάρ ἄν 1 τις ὑπὸ τε ἐκεῖνου
ταύτ' ἐφή ποιήσαι κεκελεύσθαι, καὶ τὴν τε
ἀνάγκην ἄν προντεῖνατο καὶ συγγρομῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ
ἐτυχε, πῶς γάρ οὐ, τοιαύτα τε ἡμῶν τὸ τε ἐξή-
ψηφισμένων καὶ τοσότῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν δε-
7 ψηφισμένων; Ἀντώνιος δὲ, ἀτε καὶ τῆς διανοίας
τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος διαπθειρόκτιστος 2 καὶ πάντα ἀκρι-
βῶς ὡσα παρεσκευάζετο συννόφων, φρονιμώτατα
αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέτρεψεν 4 ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέστευσε.
8 τεκμηρίων δὲ ὅτι οὐδέν ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ώς καὶ
dυναστεύων ἐπραξε, καὶ προσέτει καὶ κοινῶς καὶ
ἀρμάτως πᾶσιν ἡμῖν συνήν ἄφ' οὕτε καὶ τὰ
μᾶλλα ἡδυνήθη παθεῖν ἡ ἐπάθε.
18 "Ταῦθ' οὕτως, ὁ Κικέρων ὁ Κικέρκουλος ὁ Κικε-
ράκις ὁ Κικερίσκε 5 ὁ Γραίκουλη, ὁ ὁ τι ποτὲ
καὶ χαίρεις ὠνομαζόμενος, ἐπραξεν ὁ ἀπαίδευτος,
2 ὁ γυμνός, ὁ μεμυρισμένος· ὃν οὔδέν σὺ ἐποίησας
ὁ δεινός, ὁ σοφός, ὁ πολύ πλεῖον τῷ ἐλαίῳ τοῦ
οἴνου χρώμενος, ὁ καὶ μέχρι τῶν σφυρῶν τὴν
ἐσθήτα σύρων, οὐ μᾶ Δία οὐχ ὡσπερ οἱ ὀρχησταί
οί τᾶς ποικιλίας τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων διδάσκοντες

1 ἀφ supplied by Rk.
2 τότε Μ, τότε Λ.
3 διαπθειρόκτιστος Plougk, διαπερικτικός M, διαπερικτικός Λ.
4 ἀπέτρεψεν Reim., ἀπέστευσαν ΛM.
5 Κικερίσκε Cobet, Κικερίδε ΛM.
BOOK XLVI

obeyed Caesar and all the people together with the senate submitted to him to such an extent that they voted, among other measures, that he should be dictator for life and use the trappings of the kings—this Antony, I say, convinced Caesar of his error most cleverly and restrained him most prudently, until Caesar, abashed and afraid, would not accept either the name of king or the diadem, which he had in mind to bestow upon himself even against our will. Any other man, now, would have declared that he had been ordered by his superior to do all this, and putting forward the compulsion as an excuse, would have obtained pardon for it—and why not, considering that we had passed such votes at that time and that the soldiers had gained such power? Antony, however, because he was thoroughly acquainted with Caesar’s intentions and perfectly aware of all he was preparing to do, by great good judgment succeeded in turning him aside from his course and dissuaded him. The proof is that Caesar afterwards no longer behaved in any way like a monarch, but mingled publicly and unprotected with us all; and for this reason more than for any other it became possible that he should meet the fate he did.

"This is what was accomplished, O Cicero,—or Cicerculus, or Cicercacus, or Ciceriscus, or Graeculus, or whatever you delight in being called,—by the uneducated, the naked, the anointed man; and none of it was done by you, so clever, so wise, you who use much more oil than wine, who let your clothing drag about your ankles—not, by Jupiter, as the dancers do, who teach you intricacies of reasoning

1 Various diminutive forms, expressing contempt.
2 A reference to his abstemiousness and to his burning of the midnight oil.
σε τούς σχῆμας, ἀλλ' ἦνα τὰ αἰσχὺ σου τῶν
3 σκελῶν συγκρύπτης. οὐ γὰρ ποιοι καὶ ὑπὸ σωφροσύνης τοῦτο ποιεῖσ ὦ τὰ πολλὰ ἐκεῖνα περὶ
tῆς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου διαίτης εἰρήκον. τίς μὲν γὰρ
οὖχ ὁμοῦ σου τὰ λεπτὰ ταῦτα χλανίδια; τίς δὲ
οὐκ ὀσφράίνεται τῶν πολίων σου τῶν κατεκτενο-
μένων; τίς δὲ οὐκ οἴδεν ὅτι τὴν μὲν γυναίκα τὴν
προτέραν τὴν τεκοῦσαν σοι δύο τέκνα ἐξέβαλες,
ἐτέραν δὲ ἐπεσηγήγαγον παρθένου ὑπερηφάνω ὦν,
ὡ ἐκ τῆς οὔσιας αὐτῆς τὰ δανείσματα ἀποτίσῃς;
4 καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκείνην μέντοι κατέχες, ὡς Καπελ-
λίαν ἕπ᾽ άδειας ἐχῆς, ἦν τοσοῦτο προσβυτέραν
σαυτοῦ οὔσαν ἐμοίχευσας ὡς νεωτέραν τὴν
κόρην ἐγήμας, πρὸς ἢν καὶ αὐτὴν τοιαύτας ἐπι-
στολὰς γράφεις ὅλα ἂν γράψεις ἁνὴρ σκιστό-
λος ἀθυρόγλωσσος πρὸς γυναίκα ἐβδομηκοῦστιν
5 πληκτίζομενος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλοις ἔξηχθην,
ὡ πατέρες, εἰπεῖν, ἢν μηδὲ ἐν τούτοις ἐλαττοῦν
ἐχων ἀπέλθη. καὶ τοιοῦ καὶ συμπόσιοι τι ἐτύλιμος
τῶν Ἀντωνίῳ προενεγκείν, αὐτὸς μὲν ὅδωρ, ὡς
φησὶ, πίνων, ἢν τοὺς καθ’ ἡμῶν λόγους νυκτε-
ρεύων συγγράφῃ, τὸν δὲ νῖν ἐν τοσαῦτῃ μέθη
tρέφων ὡστε μήτε νύκτωρ μήτε μεθ’ ἡμέραν σω-
6 φρονεῖν. καὶ προσέτε καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ διαβάλ-
λειν ἐπεχείρησε, τοσαύτη ἀσελγεία καὶ ἀκαθαρ-
σία παρὰ πάντα τῶν βίων χρόμενοι ὡστε μηδὲ τῶν
συρρενεστάτων ἀπέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε γυναίκα
προσαγωγεύειν 4 καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα μοιχεύειν.

1 ὀσφράίαται: R. Steph., ὀσφραίατι LM.
2 Καπελλίαν BS., κεραλίαν LM.
3 ἐλαττοῦν Br., ἐλαττῶν τι LM.
4 προσαγωγεύειν M (corrected from προσαγωγεύειν), προσαγω-
γεύειν L.
by their poses, but in order to hide the ugliness of your legs. Oh no, it is not through modesty that you do this, you who delivered that long screed about Antony’s habits. Who is there that does not see these delicate mantles of yours? Who does not scent your carefully combed gray locks? Who does not know that you put away your first wife who had borne you two children, and in your extreme old age married another, a mere girl, in order that you might pay your debts out of her property? And yet you did not keep her either, since you wished to be free to have with you Caerellia, whom you debauched though she was as much older than yourself as the maiden you married was younger, and to whom, old as she is, you write such letters as a jester and babbler might write if he were trying to get up an amour with a woman of seventy. I have been led to make this digression, Conscript Fathers, in order that he might not get off on this score, either, without receiving as good as he gave to me. And yet he had the effrontery to find fault with Antony because of a mere drinking party, himself a drinker of water, as he claims,—his purpose being to sit up at night and compose his speeches against us,—even though he brings up his son amid such debauchery that the son is sober neither night or day. Furthermore, he undertook to make derogatory remarks about Antony’s mouth—this man who has shown so great licentiousness and impurity throughout his entire life that he would not spare even his closest kin, but let out his wife for hire and was his daughter’s lover.
ΔΟΙΟΣ. ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

19 "Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσῳ, ἐπάνειμι δὲ θειν ἔξεβην. οὐ γὰρ Ἀντώνιος ἐκεῖνος, οὐ γὰρ καταδεδράμηκεν, ἵδον τὸν Καῖσαρα ὑπὲρ τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμῶν αἰρόμενον, ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν μηδὲν ὃν ἐνενόει πράξαι, δι' αὐτῶν ὃν χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῷ εὔδοκει. 2 οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἀποτρέπει τινὰς ὃν ἂν μὴ ὀρθῶς ἐπιθυμοῦντες τυχεῖν διαπράσσονται, ὡς τὸ τούς φοβουμένους αὐτὰ μὴ πάθωσιν ἔθελοντας 3 δὴ δοκεῖν ὑπομένειν. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ, ἐξ ὃν ἀδικοῦσιν ἐαυτοῖς 1 συνίσκασιν, οὐ πιστεύουσι, πεφωράσθαι δὲ νομίζοντες καὶ αἰσχύνονται καὶ φοβοῦνται, τὰ μὲν λεγόμενα ἄλλως, ὡς καὶ κολακεῖαν, μετ' ἔλεγχου λαμβάνοντες, τὰ δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποβησόμενα, ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλήν, μετ' αἰ- 4 σχύνης ὑποπτεύοντες. ἀπερ που καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀκριβῶς εἶδός πρῶτον μὲν τὰ τε Λυκαία καὶ 2 τὴν πομπὴν ἐκεῖνην ἐπελέξατο, ἢν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν τῇ ἀνειμένῳ τῆς γρόμης καί ἐν τῷ παιγμῷ δει τῶν γνωριμένων ἀσφαλῶς σωφρονισθῇ, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ βῆμα, ἵνα ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν 5 χωρίων αἰσχυνθῇ τὰς τε ἑντολὰς τὰς παρὰ τὸν δήμου συνέπλασεν, ἢν αὐτὰς ἀκούσας λογίσηται οὐχ ὅσα τότε ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἄν ὁ δήμος ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι εἴπειν τινὲς ἐνετείλατο. πόθεν γάρ ἀν ἐπίστευσε τὸν δήμον ταῦτ' ἐπεστάλκεναι τῷ, μήτε ἐψηφισμένον τι τοιούτον αὐτὸν εἰδῶς μήτε

1 ἐαυτοῖς R. Steph., έαυτοίς LM.  
2 καὶ supplied by Rk.
I propose, now, to leave this subject and to return to the point where I started. Well then, when Antony, against whom he has inveighed, saw that Caesar was becoming exalted above our government, caused him, by means of the very proposals which were supposed to gratify him, not to put into effect any of the projects he had in mind. For nothing so diverts persons from purposes which they cherish a wrongful desire to achieve and can put into effect, as for those who fear that they may have to submit to such things to pretend that they endure them of their own choice. For these persons in authority, being conscious of their own wrongful purposes, do not trust the sincerity of the others, and believing that they have been detected, are ashamed and afraid, construing to the opposite effect, in their distrust, what is said to them, counting it mere flattery, and regarding with suspicion, in their shame, the possible outcome of what is said, as if it were a plot. It was of course because Antony knew this thoroughly that he first of all selected the Lupercalia and its procession, in order that Caesar in the relaxation of his spirit and merriment of the occasion might with safety be rebuked, and that, in the next place, he selected the Forum and the rostra, that Caesar might be made ashamed by the very places. And he fabricated the commands from the populace, in order that Caesar, hearing them, might reflect, not on all that Antony was saying at the time, but on all that the Roman people would order a man to say. For how could he have believed that this injunction had been laid upon any one, when he neither knew of the people's having voted anything of the kind nor
6 ἐπιβοῶντα αἰσθάμενος; ἀλλ' ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ τῇ Ἱωμαίᾳ, ἐν ἡ πολλὰ πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐβουλευσάμεθα, καὶ παρὰ τῷ βῆματι, ἄφεν τὸ μυρίον ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐπολιτευσάμεθα, ἐν τῇ ἀντίθετῇ τῶν Δυσκαίων, ἵνα ἀναμνησθῇ τῷ Ἱωμιλῷ, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου, ἵνα ἐννοήσῃ τὰ τῶν ἄρχαίων ὑπάτων ἐργα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ δῆμου ὀνόματι ταῦτα ἀκούσαί, ἵνα ἐνθυμηθῇ τοῦθ', ὅτι όν όι Αφρων οἷος Γαλατῶν οὐδὲ Λυκπτιὼν ἀλλ' αὐτῶν Ἱωμαίων τυραννεῖν ἐπεχείρει. ταῦτα αὐτὸν τὰ βῆματα ἐπέστρεψεν, ταῦτ' ἐταπείνωσε καὶ τάχα ἄν τὸ διάδημα, εἰπέρ τις ἄλλος αὐτῷ προσήνεγκε, λαβών, ἐπείτα δι' ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἐκολούθη καὶ ἐφρίξε καὶ κατέδεικε.

8 "Τά μὲν οὖν Ἀντωνίου ἐργα σοι ταῦτα ἔστιν, οὔ σκέλος ἄλλως κατάξαντος ἢν αὐτὸς φύγη, οὐδὲ χεῖρα κατακαύσαντος ἢν Πορσένναν φοβήσῃ, ἄλλα τὴν τυραννίδα τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος σοφία καὶ περιτεχνώσει, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ δόρυ τὸ Δεκίου καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ ξίφος τὸ Βρούτου, παύσαντος.

20 σοῦ δ', ὁ Κικέρων, τί ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ σοι όν ποι οὐ ποι εἰς τὸν ἁγαθὸν, ἀλλ' οὔ καὶ τιμωρίας τῆς μεγίστης ἄξιου ἐπραξάς; οὐχ ἠσυχάζουσαν μὲν καὶ ὀμονοοῦσαν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ ἔξετάραξας καὶ ἐστασίσας, τὴν ἁγορὰν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἄλλων τῇ πείνῃ καὶ δούλων παρακλήτων πληρώσας; οὐ τὸν Κατιλίναν σπουδαρχήσαντα μόνον, ἀλλο δὲ μηδέν δεινὸν ποιήσαντα κακῶς ἀπώ.
heard them shouting their applause? But, in fact, it was necessary for him to hear this in the Roman Forum, where we have often joined in many deliberations for freedom, and beside the rostra, from which we have sent forth thousands upon thousands of measures on behalf of the republic, and at the festival of the Lupercalia, in order that he might be reminded of Romulus, and from the lips of the consul, that he might call to mind the deeds of the early consuls, and in the name of the people, that he might ponder the fact that he was undertaking to be tyrant, not over Africans or Gauls or Egyptians, but over very Romans. These words brought him to himself, they humiliated him; and whereas, if any one else had offered him the diadem, he might perhaps have taken it, as it was, through the influence of all these associations, he checked himself; he shuddered and felt afraid.

"Here, then, you have the deeds of Antony; he did not break a leg in a vain attempt to make his own escape, nor burn off a hand in order to frighten Porsenna, but by his cleverness and consummate skill, which were of more avail than the spear of Decius or the sword of Brutus, he put an end to the tyranny of Caesar. But as for you, Cicero, what did you accomplish in your consulship, I will not say that was wise and good, but that was not deserving of the greatest punishment? Did you not throw our city into confusion and party strife when it was quiet and harmonious, and fill the Forum and the Capitol with slaves, among others, whom you had summoned to help you? Did you not basely destroy Catiline, who had merely canvassed for office but had otherwise done nothing dreadful? Did you not
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

λεσας; οὐ τὸν Δέντουλον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ μῆτ' ἀδικήσαντας τι μῆτε κρίθεντας μῆτε ἔλεγ- χθέντας οἰκτρῶς διέφθειρας, καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν νόμων πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν δικαστη- ρίων ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ θρυλῶν; ἃ εἰ τις ἀφελοῖτο τῶν σῶν λόγων, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν ἔστι. Πομπηῖον μὲν γὰρ ἐνεκάλεις ὅτι τῷ Μίλωνι παρὰ τὰ νεομυσμένα τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησε· σὺ δὲ οὕτω μικρὸν οὕτε μείζον οὐδὲν ἐκ τῶν περὶ ταῦτα τεταγμένων Δεντουλῷ παρέσχες, ἀλλὰ ἀνευ λόγων καὶ κρί- σεως ἐνέβαλες εἰς τὸ δεσμωτηρίου ἀνδρὰ ἐπιεικῆ γέροντα, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα ἐκ προγόνων ἐνέχυρα φιλίας ἔχοντα, μηδὲν δὲ μὴθ' ύπο τῆς ἠλκίας μηθ' ὑπὸ τῶν τρόπων νεώ-

4 τερίσαι δυνάμενον. τί μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ κακὸν παρῆν, ὅ τῇ μεταβολή ἂν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξιά-

5 σατο; τί δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὸν εἰχε, περὶ οὐ πάντως ἂν νεοχώμασας τι ἐκεῖνδυνεσε; ποία ὀπλα ἡθοίκει, ποίος συμμάχοις παρεσκεύαστο, ἵν' οὕτως οἰκτρῶς καὶ ἀνοσίως ἄνηρ ὑπατευκὼς, στρατη-

6 γῶν, μῆτε τι 2 εἰπὼν μῆτ' ἀκούσας ἐς τε τὸ οἴκημα ἐμπέσῃ καὶ ἐκεὶ ὡσπερ οἱ κακουργότατοι φθαρῇ;

5 τούτῳ γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ μάλιστα ὁ καλὸς οὕτως Τούλ-

8 λίος ἐπεθύμησεν, ἵν' ἐν τῷ ὀμοφύμῳ αὐτοῦ χω-

8 ρίῳ 3 τῶν ἐγγονοῦ τοῦ Δεντουλῷ ἐκείνου τοῦ προκρίτου ποτὲ τῆς θουλῆς γενομένου ἀποκτείνη.

21 καίτοι τι ποτ' ἁν ἐποίησεν ἐνοπλίου ἐξουσίας λαβόμενος ὁ τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα ἐκ μόνων τῶν

1 παρεσκεύαστο Bk., παρεσκευάσατο LM.
2 μήτε τι L, μήτε ἢτι M.
3 After χωρίῳ LM have τῷ Τούλλιεῖῳ ("the Tullianum"); Naber deleted.
pitiably slay Lentulus and his followers, who were not only guilty of no wrong, but had neither been tried nor convicted, and that, too, though you are always and everywhere prating much about the laws and about the courts? Indeed, if one should take these phrases from your speeches, there is nothing left. You censured Pompey because he conducted the trial of Milo contrary to the established procedure; yet you yourself afforded Lentulus no privilege great or small that is prescribed in such cases, but without defence or trial you cast into prison a man respectable and aged, who could furnish in his ancestors abundant and weighty guarantees of his devotion to his country, and by reason of his age and his character had no power to incite a revolution. What evil was his that he could have cured by the change in the government? And what blessing did he not enjoy that he would certainly have jeopardized by beginning a rebellion? What arms had he collected, what allies had he equipped, that a man who had been consul and was then praetor should be so pitiably and impiously cast into prison without being allowed to say a word in defence or to hear a single charge, and should there be put to death as are the basest criminals? For this is what our excellent Tullius here particularly desired, namely, that in the place that bears his name,¹ he might put to death the grandson of that Lentulus who once had been the leader of the senate. What would he have done now if he had laid hold of the power afforded by arms, seeing that he accomplished so much mischief by his words.

¹ i.e. the Tullianum, later known as the Mamertine prison.
λόγων εἰργασμένοις; ταῦτα γάρ σου τὰ λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἔστι, ταῦτα τὰ μεγάλα στρατηγημάτα· ἐφ’ οἷς οὔτως οὐχ ὅπως ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων κατεγρώσθησι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς σαυτὸν 1 κατεψηφίσω, ὡστε πρὶν 2 καὶ κριθήναι φυγεῖν. καὶ τοῖς τίς ἀν ἑτέρα μεῖζων ἀπόδειξις τῆς σῆς μιαίφοινας γένοιτο ἢ ὅτι καὶ ἐκινδύνευσας ἀπολέσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ὑπὲρ ὅν ἐσκήπτου ταῦτα πεποιηκέναι, καὶ ἐφοβῆθης αὐτοὺς ἐκένωσι οὓς ἔλεγες ἐκ τούτων εὐργητηκέναι, 2 καὶ οὐχ ὑπέμεινας οὐτ’ ἀκούσας τι αὐτῶν οὔτ’ εἰπεῖν τι αὐτοῖς ὁ δεινός, ὁ περιττός, ὁ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βοηθῶν, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν 3 ὥσπερ ἐκ μάχης ἐπορίσω; καὶ οὔτω γε ἀναισχυντος εἰ ὅστε καὶ συγγράψαι ταῦτα τοιαύτα δι’ ἐπεχείρησας· ὅν ἑχώ ἐυχεσθαί μηδε τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ αὐτὰ συνθεῖναι, ἵνα ἀλλὰ τούτο γε κερδάνης, τὸ συναπολέσθαι σοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ μηδέμιαν αὐτῶν μνήμην τοῖς ἐπεί τα παραδοθῆναι. καὶ ὅπως γε καὶ γελάσητε, 4 ἀκούσατε τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ. προβεβηκόντο γὰρ πάντα τὰ τῇ πόλει πεπραγμένα συγγράφαι (καὶ γὰρ σοφιστὴς καὶ ποιητὴς καὶ φιλόσοφος καὶ ρήτωρ καὶ συγγραφεὺς εἶναι πλάττεται) ἐπειτ’ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τούτο ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπατείας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἡρῴατο, ἵνα ἀνάπαυσιν προχωρῶν ἀρχὴν μὲν τοῦ λόγου ἐκείνην, τελευτὴν δὲ τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμούλου βασιλείαν ποιήσηται.

22 "Δέχε τοινυν, τοιαύτα γράφων καὶ τοιαύτα πράττων, οἷα δεὶ τὸν ἁγάθον ἁνδρα καὶ λόγῳ

1 σαυτοῦ Βκ., ἑαυτοῦ ΛΜ.
2 εὐργητηκέναι Βκ., εὐργητηκέναι ΛΜ.
alone? These are your brilliant achievements, these are your great exhibitions of generalship; and not only were you condemned for them by your associates, but you also cast your own vote against yourself by fleeing even before your trial came on. Yet what greater proof could there be that you were guilty of his blood than that you came within an ace of perishing at the hands of those very persons on whose behalf you pretended you had done all this, that you were afraid of the very men whom you claimed to have benefited by these acts, and that you did not wait to hear what they had to say or to say a word to them, you clever, you extraordinary man, you who can aid others, but had to secure your own safety by flight as from a battle? And you are so shameless that you undertook to write a history of these events, disgraceful as they are, whereas you ought to have prayed that no one else should so much as record them, in order that you might derive at least this advantage, that your deeds should die with you and no memory of them be handed down to posterity. And to give you, sirs, something to make you even laugh, I beg you listen to a piece of his cleverness. He set himself the task of writing a history of all the achievements of the city (for he pretends to be a rhetorician and poet and philosopher and orator and historian), and then began, not with its founding, like the other historians of Rome, but with his own consulship, so that he might proceed backwards, making that the beginning of his account and the reign of Romulus the end.

"Tell me now, you whose writings and whose deeds are such as I have described, what a good man
ΔΗΜΗΓΟΡΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ἘΡΓΟΣ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ ἍΜΕΙΝΟΝ ἩΜΆΡ ΕΙ ἘΤΕΡΟΙΣ ΤΙΣΙΝ ὍΤΙΟΥΝ ΠΑΡΑΙΝΕΙΝ Ἡ ΑὐΤΟΣ ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ἈΛΛΟΙΣ ἘΠΙΤΙΜΑΝ Ἡ 2 ΣΕΑΝΤΟΝ ἘΠΑΝΟΡΘΟΥΝ. ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΤΟΣΙΟΝ ΣΕ ΚΡΕΙΤΤΟΝ ἩΝ, ἈΝΤΙ ΜΕΝ ΤΗΣ ΔΕΙΛΙΑΣ ἩΝ ἈΝΤΩΝΙΟΝ ΟΝΕΙΔΙΖΕΙΣ, ΑὐΤΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΜΑΛΑΚΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ ἈΠΟΒΗΣΘΑΙ, ἈΝΤΙ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ἈΠΙΣΤΙΑΣ ἩΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΝ ΠΡΟΦΕΡΕΙΣ, ΑὐΤΟΝ ὌΜΗ ἈΠΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΙ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ ΜΗΤ ΑΥΤΟΜΟΛΕΙΝ, ἈΝΤΙ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ἈΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑΣ Ἡς ἙΚΕΙΝΟΥ 3 ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΕΙΣ, ΑὐΤΟΝ ΜΗ ΑΔΙΚΕΙΝ ΤΟUS ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΣ; ἘΝ ΗΜΆΡ ΤΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΚῶΝ ΤΩΝ ἘΜΦΥΤΩΝ ΑὐΤΟΥ ἘΣΤΙΝ, ὅΤΙ ΜΙΣΕΙ ΜάΛΙΣΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΙ ΑὐΤΟΝ ΕΥ ΠΕΤΟΙΝΚΟΤΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΝ ἈΛΛΩΝ ΑΕΙ ΤΙΝΑΣ ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕΙ, ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ ΔΕ ἘΠΙΒΟΛΕΥΕΙ. ἩΝΑ ΓΟΥΝ ΤΑΛΛΑ ΕΑΣΩ, ἘΛΕΧΘΕΙΣ ὩΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΒΕΙΣ ΕΣ ΤΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΥΠΑΡΤΙΔΑΣ ΕΓΓΡΑΦΕΙΣ ἈΠΕΚΤΕΙΝΩΝ, ΟΥΚ ΑΙΤΟΧΕΙΡΙΑ (ΠΟΘΕΝ, ΔΕΙΛΟΣ ΤΕ ΟΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΓΥΝΗΣ ΟΝ; ΑΛΛ' ΑΝΑΠΕΙΣΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΣ 4 ΤΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΝΤΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ὩΤΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ἈΛΗΘῈ ΛΕΓΩ, ΑὐΤΟΙ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙ ἘΔΗΛΩΣΑΝ ὩΤΕ ΓΟΥΝ ΓΥΜΝΟΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΞΙΦΕΣΙΝ ΕΣ ΤΗΝ ἈΓΟΡΑΝ ἘΣΕΔΡΑΜΟΝ, ὩΝΟΜΑΣΤΙ ΑὐΤΟΝ ἈΝΕΚΛΕΙΑΝ ΣΥΝΕΧῶΣ ΕΙΠΟΝΤΕΣ, Ὄ ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ, 5 ὍΣΠΕΡ ΠΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ἩΚΟΥΣΑΤΕ, ΕΚΕΙΝΟΝ ΤΕ ΟΥΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ ΟΝΤΑ ΕΦΩΝΕΥΣΕ, ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡ' ΑὐΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ἈΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΩΣΥΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ, ὩΤ' ἈΠΟΛΕΘΑΙ ἘΝ ΤΟῖ ΒΡΕΝΤΕΣΙΩ ὩΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΩΝ ΕΚΙΝΔΥΝΕΥΣΕ, ΤΥΧΟΝ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΑ ΑὐΤΩ ΧΆΡΙΤΑΣ ΑΝΤΑΠΟΔΙΔΩΣΙ, ΚΑΚΗΓΟΡΟΝ ΤΕ ΑὐΤΟΝ ἘΠΙ ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ Ὡ

1 ἦς Dind., τῆς LM.
ought to say in addressing the people and to do in action; for you are better at advising others about any matter in the world than at doing your duty yourself, and better at rebuking others than at reforming yourself. Yet how much better it would be for you, instead of reproaching Antony with cowardice, yourself to lay aside your effeminacy both of spirit and of body; instead of bringing a charge of disloyalty against him, yourself to cease from doing anything disloyal against him and playing the deserter; and instead of accusing him of ingratitude, yourself to cease from wronging your benefactors! For this, I must tell you, is one of Cicero’s inherent defects, that he hates above all others those who have done him any kindness, and that while he is always fawning upon men of the other kind, yet he keeps plotting against these. At any rate (to omit other instances), after being pitied and spared by Caesar and enrolled among the patricians, he then killed him, not with his own hand, of course—how could he, cowardly and effeminate as he is?—but by persuading and bribing those who did it. That I am speaking the truth in this matter was made plain by the murderers themselves; at any rate, when they ran out into the Forum with their naked blades, they called for him by name, crying ‘Cicero!’ repeatedly, as you, no doubt, all heard them. Therefore, I say, he slew Caesar, his benefactor, and as for Antony, the very man from whom he had obtained not only his priesthood but also his life, when he was in danger of perishing at the hands of the soldiers in Brundisium, he repays him with this sort of thanks, accusing him of deeds with which neither he himself nor any one else ever
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μήτ' αὐτὸς μήτ' ἄλλος τις πώποτε ἐμέμψατο, καὶ
6 κατατρέχον ἑφ' οἷς ἄλλους ἐπανεῖ. τὸν γοῦν
Καίσαρα τούτον, μήθ' ἡλικίαν ἄρχειν ἤ τι τῶν
πολιτικῶν πράττειν ἔχοντα μήθ' ύφ' ἰμῶν προ-
κεχειρισμένον, ὁρῶν καὶ δύναμιν πεπορισμένον
καὶ πόλεμον μήτε ἐπιμισμένον ἵμῶν μήτε προσ-
τεταχότων αὐτῷ ἀνηρημένον, οὐ μόνον οὐκ
7 αἰτιάται τι ἄλλα καὶ ἐγκωμιάζει. οὕτως οὗτε τὰ
dίκαια πρὸς τοὺς νόμους οὗτε τὰ συμφέροντα
πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κοινὸς χρήσιμον ἐξετάζει, ἄλλα πάντα
ἀπλῶς πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βούλησιν διάγει, καὶ ἑφ'
ois ἄλλους ἀποσειμνύει, ταῦτ' ἐτέρους ἐγκαλεί,
cαι καταψευδόμενοι ἵμῶν καὶ προσδιαβάλλων
23 ἵμας. σύμπαντα γὰρ τὰ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος
teleuτὴν ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου πεπραγμένα εὐρήσθετε ύφ'
ἵμων κεκελευσμένα. καὶ τὸ μεν περὶ τε τῆς τῶν
χρημάτων διοικήσεως καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν γραμ-
μάτων ἐξετάσεως λέγειν περιττὸν εἰναι νομίζω.
2 διὰ τι; σέτι τὸ μὲν τῷ κληρονομοῦντι αὐτοῦ τῆς
οὑσίας προσηκοῦν ἀν εἰπ' πολυπραγμονεῖν, τὸ δὲ, 
eiπ' τινα ἀλλιθείαν κακουργίας εἶχε, τότε ἐχόμη
παραχρήμα κεκωλύσθαι. οὕτε γὰρ ὑπὸ μάλης
ti αὐτῶν, ὁ Κικέρων, ἔπραξθη, ἀλλ' ἐς στῆλας,
3 ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς φής, πάντα ἀνεγράφη εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνος
φανερῶς σέτω καὶ ἀναισχύντως τά τε ἄλλα
ἐκακούργησεν ὡς λέγεις, καὶ τὴν Κρήτην ὅλην
ἡρπασεν ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος γραμμάτων
ἐλευθέραν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Βροῦτον ἀρχὴν ἄφειμένην,
ἡν ύστερον ἐκεῖνος παρ' ἵμων ἐπετράπη, πῶς μεν
ἀν σὺ ἐσιώπησας, πῶς δ' ἀν τῶν ἄλλων τει

1 At this point a quaternion has been lost from M; it resumes in the middle of chap. 43, 2.
found any fault and hounding him for conduct which
he praises in others. At all events, when he sees
that this young Caesar, who, although he has not
attained the age yet to hold office or take any part
in politics and has not been elected by you to office,
has nevertheless equipped himself with an armed
force and has undertaken a war which we have
neither voted nor committed to his hands, he not
only has no blame to bestow, but actually eulogizes
him. Thus, you will perceive, he estimates neither
justice by the standard of the laws nor expediency
by the standard of the public weal, but manages
everything simply to suit his own will, and what he
extols in some he censures in others, spreading false
reports against you and slandering you besides. For
you will find that all Antony's acts after Caesar's
death were ordered by you. Now to speak about
Antony's disposition of Caesar's funds and his
examination of his papers I regard as superfluous.
Why so? Because, in the first place, it would be the
business of the one who inherited Caesar's property
to busy himself with it, and, in the second place, if
there were any truth in the charge of malfeasance,
it ought to have been stopped immediately at the
time. For none of these transactions was carried
out in secret, Cicero, but they were all recorded on
tables, as you yourself admit. But as to Antony's
other acts, if he committed these villainies as openly
and shamelessly as you allege, if he seized upon all
Crete on the pretext that in Caesar's papers it had
been left free after the governorship of Brutus,—
although it was only later that Brutus was given
charge of it by us—how could you have kept silent,
and how could any one else have tolerated such
4 ἡνέσχετο; ἄλλα ταύτα μέν, ὅσπερ εἶπον, παραλείψων οὐτε γὰρ ὀνομαστὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν εἴρηται, οὔτε Ἀντώνιος ὁ δυνάμενος ἦμάς ἀκριβῶς καθ' ἕκαστον ὄν πεποίηκε διδάξαι πάρεστι· περὶ δὲ δὴ τῆς Μακεδονίας τῆς τε Γαλατίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔθνων τῶν τε στρατοπέδων ὑμέτερα ἔστων, ὧν πατέρες, ἰδιόσωμα, καθ' ἅ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὡς ἕκαστα προσετάξατε καὶ ἐκεῖνο τῆς Γαλατίας μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνεχειρίσατε. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ Κικέρων οἶδεν· παρῆν γὰρ, καὶ πάντα γε ἄντων ὑμῶν ἐφήσιεν. καὶ τοσοῦ κρείττον ἦν τότε αὐτῶν ἀντεπείν, εἴπερ τι αὐτῶν μὴ δεόντως ἐγόνετο, καὶ διδάξαι ὑμᾶς ταύτα τὰ ἕνω προσχεται, ἡ παραχρήμα μὲν σιωπήσαι καὶ 1 περιδεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀμαρτάνοντας, νῦν δὲ λόγος μὲν Ἄντωνίῳ ἐγκαλεῖν ἔργον δὲ τῆς βουλῆς κατηγορεῖν;

24 "Οὔδε γὰρ οὐδὲ τούτῳ δύναιτ' ἀν τις σωφρονῶν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ταῦτ' ὑμᾶς ψηφίσασθαι ἐβιάζατο. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῶς ἰσχύν τινα στρατιώτων εἶχεν ὡστε παρὰ γνώμην ὑμᾶς ποιῆσαι τι καταναγκάσαι, καὶ τὸ πράγμα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως πέρι πρακταί. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ προσπέπεμπτο 2 μὲν τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ συνειστήκει, δέος δὲ ἦν μὴ πυθόμενα τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος σφαγῆς στασιάσῃ καὶ τινα φλαύρου προστησάμενα αὐθίς πολέμησῃ, ἐδοξεῖν ὑμῖν, ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς ποιοῦσι, τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπ', αὕτα ἐπιστῆσαι, τὸν ὑπατον, τὸν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν πρωτανεύσαντα, τὸν τὴν δικτατορίαν 3 παντελῶς ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐκκόψαντα. καὶ διὰ

1 καὶ added by R. Steph.
2 προσπέπεμπτο Pflugk, προσεπέμπτε Λ.
BOOK XLVI

acts? But, as I said, I will pass over these matters; for the majority of them have not been specifically mentioned, and Antony, who could inform you exactly of what he has done in each instance, is not present. But as regards Macedonia and Gaul and the remaining provinces and as regards the legions, there are your decrees, Conscript Fathers, according to which you assigned to the various governors their several charges and entrusted Gaul, together with the troops, to Antony. And this is known also to Cicero, for he was present and voted for them all just as you did. Yet how much better it would have been for him to speak against it at the time, if any of these matters were not being done properly, and to instruct you in these matters that he now brings forward, than to be silent at the time and allow you to make mistakes, and now nominally to censure Antony but really to accuse the senate!

"And no sensible person could assert, either, that Antony forced you to vote these measures. For he himself had no band of soldiers, so as to compel you to do anything contrary to your judgment, and, furthermore, the business was done for the good of the city. For since the legions had been sent ahead and united, and there was fear that when they heard of Caesar's assassination they might revolt and, putting some worthless man at their head, go to war once more, you decided, rightly and properly, to place in command of them Antony, the consul, who had brought about harmony and had banished the dictatorship entirely from our system of govern-
τούτο γέ καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν αὐτῷ ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἀντεδώκατε, ὡς ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὑπὲρ τὴν κακουργήσῃ καὶ τὸ προσταχθὲν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ ὑμῶν ποιήσῃ.

25 "Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶπον, ὡς ἐδήστε ὅρθως βεβουλευμένοι: πρὸς δὲ δὴ Κικέρωνα καὶ ἐκείνος μοι ὁ λόγος ἔξηρκει, ὅτι καὶ παρὴν πᾶσι τούτοις ὅτε ἐγίγνετο, καὶ μεθ’ ἡμῶν αὐτὰ ἐγγή- 

2 ἀλλ’ εὰν καὶ τότε ἐσιώπησας, νῦν γε εἰπέ, τί ἔχρη ὑμᾶς ποιήσαι τούτων οὕτως ἔχοντων; ἀφεῖναι τὰ 

3 ἐνέπλησεν; ἀλλ’ ἔτερο τινὶ προστάξαι; καὶ τίνα ἂν ἀναγκαίότερον καὶ ἐπιτηθεῖότερον τοῦ Ἀντω- 

4 μένου; τινὰ τῶν σφαγῶν; οἷς οὖν ἀλλος ἐν τῇ 

5 προφέρον παρὰ τούτων ἄλλος ἦν; ἀλλ’ ἀγα-

48
ment. And this is the reason you gave him Gaul in place of Macedonia, namely, that remaining here in Italy, he should have no chance to do mischief and might promptly carry out your orders.

"To you I have said these things, that you may know that you have decided rightly. As for Cicero, that other point of mine was sufficient, namely, that he was present during all these proceedings and voted with us for the measures, although Antony had not a soldier at the time and was quite unable to bring to bear on us any intimidation that would have made us neglect any of our interests. But even though you were then silent, tell us now, at least, what we ought to have done in the circumstances? Leave the legions leaderless? Would they not have filled both Macedonia and Italy with countless evils? Entrust them, then, to another? And whom could we have found more closely related and suited to the business than Antony, the consul, the official who was directing all the city’s affairs, who had kept so close a watch over our harmony, who had given countless examples of his loyalty to the common weal? Appoint one of the assassins, then? Why, it was not even safe for them as it was to live in the city. Appoint, then, a man of the party opposed to them? Why, everybody suspected the members of that party. What other man was there who surpassed him in public esteem or excelled him in experience? Nay, you are vexed that we did not choose you. What office, now, were you holding? And what act would you not have committed if you had obtained arms and soldiers, seeing that you succeeded in stirring up so much serious turmoil during your consulship when armed with only those antitheses of yours, the result
26 σοι 1 τούτων ἀντιθέτων, ὃς μόνων ἡς κύριος; ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι καὶ παρῆς τούτως ὅτε ἐψηφί-
ζετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀντεῖτες, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγκατέθου
πάσιν αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἀρίστος καὶ ἀναγκαῖος
dήλον ὅτι οὔσιν. οὐ γὰρ τοῦ καὶ παρρησίας
ἐνδεῆς ἡσθα: πολλὰ γοῦν καὶ μάτην ἕλακτεις.
2 οὗ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐφοβήθης τινὰ πός γὰρ ἄν ἐδείκα
τοῦ γυμνῶν ὁ μὴ φοβούμενος τὸν ὁπλισμένον;
πῶς τὸν μόνον ὁ μὴ 2 τοὺς σοσοῦτος στρατιώτας
ἐχοντα; καὶ τις συγε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνη, ὅτι
πάντως τοῦ θανάτου, ὡς γε καὶ φής, καταφρονεῖς.
3 "Οὕτω δὴ τούτων ἐχοντων πότερος ἢ μιν ἀδικεῖν
dοκεῖ, Ἀντώνιος ὁ τᾶς δυνάμεις τᾶς δοθείσας
αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν διοικῶν, ἡ Καῖσαρ ὁ τοσαύτῃ
ισχὺν ἢ διὰν περιβεβλημένοις; Ἀντώνιος 3 ὁ πρὸς
τὴν ἐπιτραπέζαν αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν 4 ἀρχὴν ἀπε-
lηθέντος, ἡ Βρούτος ὁ κολύνων αὐτὸν τῆς χώρας
4 ἐπιθύμηε; Ἀντώνιος ὁ τοὺς συμμάχους ἢ μιν
ἀναγκάσαι ἐθέλων 5 τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν ἢ μῶν πει-
σθήμηε, ἡ ἐκείνοι οἱ τὸν μὲν πεμφθέντα υφ' ἡμῶν
ἀρχοντα μὴ προσδεδεγμένοι, τῷ δὲ ἀπεψηφισμένῳ
5 προστεθεμένοι; Ἀντώνιος ὁ τοὺς στρατιώτας
τῶν ἡμετέρους συνέχων, ἡ οἱ στρατιῶταται οἱ τῶν
ἀρχοντα αὐτῶν ἐγκαταλελοιπότες; Ἀντώνιος ὁ
μηδένα τούτων τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν υφ' ἡμῶν 6
αὐτῷ δοθέντων ἢ τῷ πόλιν εσαγαγόν, ἡ Καῖσαρ
ὁ τοὺς πάλαι ἐστρατευμένους ἀναπείπα ηὔμασι
6 δεύορο ἔλθειν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ λόγον τινὸς ἐτὶ
δείν ἄγουμαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἐκεῖνον μὲν πάντα

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1 σοι Lounl., σου L. 2 ὁ μὴ Bk., ὁ μὴ φοβούμενος L.
3 Ἀντάνιος supplied by Bk. 4 ἡμῶν L., ἡμῶν L.
5 ἐθέλων Bk., ἑλὼν L. 6 ἡμῶν L., ἡμῶν L.
of your constant practice, of which alone you were master? But I return to my point that you were present when these measures were being voted and said nothing against them, but even assented to them all, obviously because you thought them excellent and necessary. For certainly you were not deprived of full freedom of speech; at any rate, you indulged in a great deal of barking, and to no purpose. And certainly you were not afraid of anybody, either. How could you have feared Antony unarmed when you do not dread him armed? How could you have feared him alone when you do not dread him with all these soldiers? Why, you are the man who actually pride yourself that you feel,—or at least say you feel,—nothing but contempt for death!

"Since all this is so, which of the two seems to be in the wrong—Antony, who is directing the forces granted him by us, or Caesar, who has surrounded himself with so large a band of his own? Antony, who has departed to assume the office committed to him by us, or Brutus, who is trying to prevent him from setting foot in the country? Antony, who wishes to compel our allies to obey our decrees, or the allies, who have not received the ruler sent them by us but have attached themselves to the man who was rejected by our vote? Antony, who keeps our soldiers together, or the soldiers, who have abandoned their commander? Antony, who has not brought into the city a single one of the soldiers who were granted him by us, or Caesar, who has bribed to come here the veterans who were long ago discharged from service? For my part, I do not think there is any further need of argument to answer the imputation that he is not properly performing all the
τὰ προσταχθέντα αὐτῷ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ὀρθῶς δοκεῖν, τούτους δὲ καὶ δίκην ὅπως αὐτοὶ καθʼ
7 αὐτούς ἐτόλμησαν ὑποσχεῖν ὄφειλεν. διὰ γὰρ τούτο καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φυλακὴν
εἰλάβετε, ἵνα ἀσφαλῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων, οὐκ Ἀντωνίου ἕνεκα τοῦ μήτε ἕδοι τὸ πεποιηκότος
μήτε ἐν τινι ὑμᾶς περιβηκότος, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνον τοῦ καὶ δύναμιν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν 1 συνειλοχότος 2 καὶ πολ-
λοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει πολλάκις ἐσχηκότος, βουλεύσασθε.

27 "Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διὰ Κεκέρωνα εἶπον, ἐπειδὴ περ ἀδίκων ἐς ἡμᾶς λόγων ὑπῆρξεν· οὕτε γὰρ ἄλλως
φιλαπεχθήμων εἰμὶ ὁσπερ ὅποιος, οὕτε ἐμοί μέλει τὰ ἄλλοτρα κακὰ πολυπραγμονεῖν, ὅπερ ὅποιος
ἀεὶ ποιῶν σεμνύνεται. ὅ δ’ ὑμῖν παραινῶ μητ’ Ἀντωνίῳ τι χαρίζομενος μήτε Καίσαρα ἢ Βροῦτον
diabálλων, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῆς συμφερόντων, ὡσπερ πού προσήκει, βουλεύσων, νῦν ἡδὴ φράσω.

2 φημὶ γὰρ δεῖν μητε ἐχθρὸν ποιήσαντα ποιήσασθαι, μητ’ ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζειν τί καὶ πός ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πέπρακται. οὕτε
γὰρ ὁ παρὼν καιρός ἐπιτηδείος ἐστὶ πρὸς τοῦτο, καὶ πολιτῶν αὐτῶν ἡμετέρων πάντων ὀμοίως
ὀντων, ἄν τε τὶς πταίσῃ σφῶν, ἡμῖν ἀπολεῖται, ἄν
3 τε καὶ κατορθώσῃ, ἑφ’ ἡμᾶς αὐξηθήσεται. δὴ οὖν ταῦτα καὶ πολιτικῶς καὶ φιλικῶς αὐτοὺς
ἡγοῦμαι χρήναι μεταχειρίσασθαι, καὶ πέμψαι μὲν πρὸς πάντας ὀμοίως κελεύοντας αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν
ὄπλων ἀπαλλαγὴν καὶ ἑφ’ ἡμῖν 3 καὶ ἕαυ-

1 αὐτὸν R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L.
2 συνειλοχότος Reim., συνειλεχότος L.
3 ἡμῖν H. Steph., ἡμῖν L.
duties laid upon him by us, and to show that these other men ought to suffer punishment for what they have ventured on their own responsibility. For it is on this very account that you also have secured the protection of the soldiers, that you might discuss in safety the present situation, not because of Antony, who has done nothing on his private responsibility and has not intimidated you in any way, but because of his rival, who not only has gathered a force against him but has often kept many soldiers in the city itself.

"So much I have said for Cicero's benefit, since it was he who began by making unjust accusations against us; for I am not generally quarrelsome, as he is, nor do I care to pry into others' misdeeds, as he prides himself in doing always. But I will now state the advice I have to give you, without either favouring Antony or calumniating Caesar or Brutus, but simply consulting the general good, as is proper. For I declare that we ought not yet to make an enemy of either of these men in arms nor to enquire too closely into what they have been doing or in what way. For the present is not a suitable occasion for such action, and as they are all alike our fellow-citizens, if any one of them fails the loss will be ours, and if any one of them succeeds his advancement will be a menace to us. Wherefore I believe that we ought to treat them as citizens and friends and send messengers to all of them alike, bidding them lay down their arms and put themselves and
τούς καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ποιήσασθαι, πόλεμον δὲ μηδέπω πρὸς μηδένα αὐτῶν ἐξενεγκείν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπαγγελθησομένων τοὺς μὲν ἐθελήσαντας ἢμῖν πειθαρχῆσαι ἐπαινέσαι, τοὺς δ' ἀπειθήσασι

4 πολεμήσαι. τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ δίκαιων καὶ συμφέρον ἢμῖν ἠστι, μὴτε ἐπειρᾶναι μήτε προπετῶς τι πρᾶξαι, ἀλλ' ἐπισκεῖν, καὶ καὶρὸν τινα καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐς τὸ μετανοῆσαι δόντας ἐπειθ' οὕτως, ἀν τοῦ πολέμου δεήσῃ, τοῖς ὑπάτοις αὐτῶν προστάξαι.

28 "Καὶ σοὶ δὲ, ὁ Κικέρων, παραινέον μήτε γυναικείως θρασύνεσθαι μήτε τῶν Βαμβαλίων μμείσθαι, μὴ δὲ πολεμοποιεῖν, μὴ διὰ τὴν ἱδίαν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔχθραν δημοσίᾳ πάσαν τὴν πόλιν 2 ἐς κίνδυνον αὖθις καθιστάναι. καλῶς μὲν γὰρ ποιήσεις, ἂν καὶ ἑκείνῳ συναλλαγῆς μεθ' οὗ πολλὰ δὴ πολλάκις φιλικὰ ἐπραξάς: εἰ δ' οἷς ἀκαταλλάκτως αὐτῷ ἔχεις, ἀλλ' ἦμων γε φείσαι, μηδὲ ἐσηγητὴς ἢμῖν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλίας 3 γεγονὼς νῦν αὐτὴν καταλύσῃς, ἀλλὰ ἀναμνησθεῖς τῆς τε ἡμέρας ἑκείνης καὶ τῶν λόγων ὃν ἐν τῷ τῆς Γῆς τεμενέω ἐποιήσω, χάρισαι τι καὶ τῇ Ὁμονοια ταύτη παρ' ἡ νῦν βουλευόμεθα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἑκεῖνα διαβάλης ὡς οὐκ ἀπ' ὀρθῆς διανοίας 4 ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τινος ἀλλοῦ τότε λεχθέντα. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τῇ πόλει συμφέρει καὶ σοὶ πλειστην δόξαν ὑπεθεί. μὴ γὰρ τοί νομίσῃς ὃτι τὸ θρασύνεσθαι ἢ εὐκλεῖς ἐστὶν ἢ ἀσφαλές, μηδ' ἄν εἶπης ὃτι τοῦ θανάτου καταφρονεῖς, καὶ ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ

1 ἤμων Ἰ. Στεφ., ἦμων Ἰ. 2 καθιστάναι Ρ. Στεφ., καθιστάναι Ἰ. 3 ἀπὸ Πολάκ, ἦπο Ἰ.
their legions in our hands, and that we ought not yet
to wage war on any one of them, but in accordance
with the reports brought back to approve those who
are willing to obey us and to make war upon the
disobedient. This course is just and expedient for
us—not to be in a hurry or to do anything rashly,
but to wait, and after giving the leaders themselves
and their soldiers an opportunity to change their
minds, then, if in such case there be need of war, to
give the consuls charge of it.

"And you, Cicero, I advise not to wax bold with
the boldness of a woman, nor to imitate Bambalio,¹
nor yet to make war nor to satisfy your private
grudge against Antony at the expense of the public
and thus plunge the whole city into danger again.
Indeed, it would be well if you actually became
reconciled with him, with whom you have often
enjoyed many friendly dealings; but even if you are
irreconcilably opposed to him, at least spare us, and
do not, after acting in the past as the promoter of
mutual friendship among us, now destroy it.
Remember that day and the speech which you
delivered in the precinct of Tellus,² and concede also
a little to this goddess of Concord in whose precinct
we are now deliberating, lest you discredit what you
said then and make it appear to have been uttered
on that occasion from some other motive than an
upright purpose; for such a course is not only to
the advantage of the state but will also bring you
most renown. Do not think that audacity is either
glorious or safe, and do not assert that you despise
death and expect to be praised for saying this. For

¹ Cf. xlv. 47, 4. ² Cf. xlv. 22, 3.
5 πιστεύσας, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τοιούτους ὡς καὶ κακῶν ἀν τε ὑπ’ ἀπονοίας τολμήσαντας καὶ ὑποπτεύουσι πάντες καὶ μισοῦσιν οὓς δ’ ἂν ἰδώση περὶ πλείστου τὴν έαυτῶν σωτηρίαν ποιουμένοις, καὶ ἐπαίνουσι καὶ ἐγκωμιάζουσιν ὡς μηδὲν ἂν ἐκόντας ἄξιον θανάτου ποιήσαντας. καὶ σὺ οὖν, εἴτε ὅτως σώζεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα ἐθέλεις, τοιαύτα καὶ λέγε καὶ πράττε ἐξ ὑμῖν καὶ αὐτὸς σωθήσῃ, μὴ μὰ Δί, εἶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμᾶς συναπολεῖς."  

29 Τοιαύτα τοῦ Καληπου εἴποντος ὁ Κικέρων οὐκ ἤνεγκεν αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄκρατον καὶ κατακρεῖ τῇ παρρησίᾳ αἰεὶ πρὸς πάντας ὑμοίως ἔχοντο, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἥξιον τὴν ὁμοίαν ἀντιλαμβάνειν. καὶ τότε οὖν ἀφεῖς τὸ τὰ δημόσια διασκοπεῖν ἐς λοιδορίας αὐτῷ κατέστη, ὡστε τὴν ἠμέραν ἐκείνην καὶ διὰ τούτο οὐχ ἦκιστα μᾶτην κατατριβήναι. τῇ δ’ οὖν ύστεραία καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα λειχέντων ἐκράτησαν οἱ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πράττοντες, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ εἰκόνα καὶ τὸ βουλεύειν ἐν τοῖς τεταμενυκόσι, τὸ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς δέκα ἔτεσι βάσσον παρὰ τὸ νεομιμενόν αὐτῆσαι, καὶ τὸ τὰ χρήματα ὑ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀναλώκει, παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι δὴ καὶ καθ’ έαυτῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δὴ παρεσκεύασέ σφαι, λαβεῖν, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς τού Ἀντώνιον ἐγκαταλποῦσι, τὸ μὴ άλλον τίνα πόλεμον πολεμῆσαι καὶ χώραν ευθὺς δοθῆναι

1 ἀπονοίας Bk., ἀφοίας L.
2 ἔθελεις Bk., θέλεις L.
3 συναπολεῖς Bk., συναπολέσσθε L.
4 ἐγκαταλιπούσι H. Steph., ἐγκαταλεῖποσι L.
all suspect and hate such men, as being likely to be influenced by desperation to venture some evil deed. Those, however, whom they see paying the greatest heed to their own safety they praise and laud, as men who would not willingly do anything that merited death. Do you, therefore, if you honestly wish your country to be saved, speak and act in such a way that you yourself will be saved and not, by Jupiter, in such a way as to bring destruction upon us as well as upon yourself!"

Such language from Calenus Cicero could not endure; for while he himself always spoke out his mind intemperately and immoderately to all alike, he could not bring himself to accept similar frankness from others. So on this occasion, too, he dismissed the consideration of the public interests and set himself to abusing his opponent, with the result that that day was wasted, largely on this account. And on the next day and the day following many other arguments were presented on both sides, but Caesar's adherents prevailed. So they voted, first, a statue to Caesar himself and the right not only to sit in the senate among the ex-quaestors but also to be a candidate for the other offices ten years sooner than custom allowed, and that he should receive from the city the money which he had spent on his soldiers, because he had equipped them at his own cost in its defence, naturally; and, second, they voted that both his soldiers and those that had abandoned Antony should have the privilege of not fighting in any other war and that land should be

1 Inasmuch as the quaestorship was the regular stepping-stone to the senate, they conferred upon him the rank of an ex-quaestor in order that he might be eligible to membership in that body.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

4 ἐψηφίσαντο. πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον πρεσβεῖαν ἐπεμψαν κελέυσονσάν οἱ τὰ τε στρατόπεδα καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἀφεῖναι καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀπελθεῖν. καὶ τοὺς συστρατευομένους αὐτῷ προείπον οἰκάδε ἐντὸς ῥήτης ἡμέρας ἀναχωρῆσαι, ἡ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἐν πολέμῳ μοίρα γενήσονται, καὶ προσέτει καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς ἅρχας τῶν ἐθνῶν παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβόντας καταλύσαντες ἔτερον

5 ἀντ’ αὐτῶν ἀντιπεμφθῆναι ἐγρωσάν. τότε μὲν ταύτ’ ἐκυρώθη ὑστερον δὲ οὐ πολλῷ, πρὶν καὶ τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν, ταραχὴν τε εἶναι ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν Βουλευτικὴν ἀπεδόσαντο, τὸν τε πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ τὸ Καίσαρι, στρατηγοῦ τινα ἀρχὴν

6 δόντες, προσέταξαν, καὶ σφίσα καὶ τὸν Δέπιδον Δούκιον τε Μοννάτιον Πλάγκον ἐν μέρει τῆς ὑπέρ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς Γαλατίας ἄρχοντα βοηθῆσαι ἐκέλευσαν.

30 Ὁ οὖτω μὲν τῷ Ἀντώνιῳ καὶ ἄλλως πολεμησίους αὐτοῖς τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἐχθρᾶς παρέσχον. ἀσμενος γὰρ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων λαβόμενος αὐτίκα τε τοῖς πρεσβεῖσιν ἐξωνείδισεν ὡς οὐτ’ ὀρθῶς οὐτ’ ἱσως οἱ πρὸς τὸ μειράκιον, τὸν Καίσαρα λέγων, ἔχρη

2 σαντο, καὶ ἀντιπέμψας ἔτερους, ὅπως ἐς ἐκείνους τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου περιστήσῃ, ἀντιπροετεύνατό τινα, ἀ αὐτῷ μὲν εὐπρέπειαν ἑφερεν, ἀδύνατα δ’ ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλῶν

3 τῶν συναιρομένων οἱ πραξθῆναι. ἐμελλε μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν προσταγθέντων ποιήσειν, εὖ δὲ ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι τι τῶν προβληθέντων
given them at once. To Antony they sent an embassy to order him to give up the legions, leave Gaul, and go back to Macedonia; and to his followers they issued a proclamation commanding them to return home before a given day or to know that they would be regarded in the light of enemies. Moreover, they removed from office the senators who had received from him governorships over the provinces and decided that others should be sent in their place. These were the measures ratified at that time; and not long afterwards, even before learning his decision, they voted that a state of disorder existed, laid aside their senatorial garb, entrusted the war against Antony to the consuls and to Caesar, granting the latter the authority of a praetor,¹ and they ordered Lepidus and also Lucius Munatius Plancus, who was governor of a part of Transalpine Gaul,² to render assistance.

In this way they themselves provided Antony with his excuse for hostility, although he was eager to make war in any case. He was glad to seize upon the pretext of the decrees, and straightway reproached the envoys with not treating him rightly or fairly as compared with the lad (meaning Caesar). And in order to place the blame for the war upon the senators, he sent an embassy in his turn, and made some counter-propositions which saved his face but were impossible of performance either by Caesar or by his supporters. For while he had no intention of carrying out any of the senate's commands and was well aware that the senators, too, would not do any-

¹ He was technically propraetor; cf. Cicero, *Philipp.* v. 17, xiv. 8.
² Gallia Narbonensis and Belgica were governed by others.
Σάφώς εἰσίν τετερευνάτων εἰσόμενον ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ ὑπέμεινεν οὔτε τοὺς σφαγέας τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπατεύειν, οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λαβόντας 2 προσφελεστέρους αὐτῷ μᾶλλον γενέθαι. οὐκ οὖν ὅδε ἐκυρώθη τι αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τὸ Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν πόλεμον πάλιν ἐπηγγείλαν, καὶ τοῖς συνοικίαις οἱ προτιθέομεν αὐθίς ἐγκαταλείπειν αὐτοῦ, ἐτέραν τινὰ ἡμέραν τάξαντες. τάς τε χλαμύδας τὰς στρατιωτικὰς πάντες, καὶ οἱ μὴ ἐκστρατεύσαντες, ἣμπέσχοντο, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐπέτρεψαν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ τὸ εἰδισμένον τῷ δόγματι προσγράφαντες, τὸ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς 3 ἀποτριβῆναι. ἐπειδὴ τῇ πολλοῖς χρημάτων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐδόντο, πάντες μὲν τὸ πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν τῆς υπαρχούσης σφίσιν οὐσίας ἐπέδωκαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ βουλεύτανται καὶ τέσσαρας ὀβολοὺς

1 ὑπισχεῖτο Rk., ὑπισχεῖτο L.
2 ἐκστρατεύσατες Rk., ἐκστρατεύσατες L.
thing that he proposed, he pretended to promise that he would carry out all their decrees, in order not only that he himself might take refuge in asserting that he would have done so, but also that his opponents' action, in refusing his proposals, might appear to have given the first occasion for war. For he said he would abandon Gaul and disband his legions, if they would grant these soldiers the same rewards as they had voted to Caesar's and would elect Cassius and Marcus Brutus consuls. His purpose in making this last demand was to win over these two men, so that they should not harbour any resentment against him for his operations against their fellow-conspirator Decimus.

Antony made these offers knowing well that neither of them would be accepted. For Caesar would never have endured that the murderers of his father should become consuls or that Antony's soldiers by receiving the same rewards as his own should feel still more kindly toward his rival. Accordingly, not one of Antony's proposals was ratified, but the senate again declared war on him and once more gave notice to his associates to leave him, setting another time limit. All, even such as were not to take the field, arrayed themselves in their military cloaks, and they committed to the consuls the care of the city, attaching to the decree the customary clause "that it suffer no harm." And since there was need of much money for the war, they all contributed the twenty-fifth part of the wealth they possessed and the senators also four obols for each roof-tile of all

1 Probably ten asses, inasmuch as Dio regularly takes the drachma (six obols) as the equivalent of the denarius (sixteen asses in his time).
καθ' ἐκάστην κεραμίδα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει οἰκίων, ὡσας ἡ αὐτοὶ ἐκέκτηντο ἡ ἄλλων οὕσας ὥκον. 4 καὶ χωρὶς ἑτερα οὐκ ὁλίγα οἱ πάνυ πλούσιοι συνετέλεσαν, τὰ τε ὄπλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν ἀναγκαῖα συνήλθαν μὲν πόλεις συνηλθοῦν ὁ δὲ καὶ ἰδιώται προῖκα ἐξεποίησαν τοσαύτη γὰρ ἀχοματία τὸ δημόσιον τότε ἐσχεν ὅστε μηδὲ τὰς πανηγυρίες τὰς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι ὁφειλοῦσας ἐπιτελεσθῆναι, ἐξὸν ἡ βρα-32 χέων τινῶν ὅσιάς ἐνεκα. ταῦτα δὲ ὅσοι μὲν τῷ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐχαρίζοντο καὶ τῶν 'Αντώνιον ἐμίσουν προβύμωσ ἐπραττοῦν οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους, ἀτε καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις ἀμα καὶ ταῖς ἐσφόραις βαροῦμενοι, ἐδυσχέραινον, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι ἀδηλοὺν μὲν ἦν ὀπότερος αὐτῶν κρατήσει, πρόδηλον δὲ ὅτε τῷ 2 νικήσαντε δουλεύσοντε. συνηλθοῦν δ' οὖν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀντωνίου βουλόμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἄντικρυς πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἄλλοι τε καὶ δήμαρχοι στρατηγοὶ τὲ τῖνες, ἀπήλθον, οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ χώραν μεῖναντες, ὡν καὶ ὁ Καλήνος ἦν, ἐπραττοῦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πάνθ' ὅσα ἐδύναντο, τὰ μὲν ἐπικρυπτόμενοι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ 3 τοῦ φαινοῦ διαδικαιοῦντε. οὕκον οὔδε τὴν ἐσθῆτα εὐθὺς ἀλλάξαντο, ἄλλα καὶ ἐπείσαν αὕτης τὴν γερουσίαν πρὸς ἀντιβείς πρὸς τῶν Ἀντώνιον ἀλλούς τε καὶ τῶν Κικέρωνα πέμψαν, πρὸς ὁμοιοῖ μὲν ὡς καὶ πεύεστα αὐτῶν ὁμολογῆσαι, ἐργῷ δὲ ὥν 4 ὑπεξαίρεθ' σφισί. συνυόντας οὖν τούτ' ἐκείνος ἐφοβήθη καὶ οὖν ἑτολίμησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἀντωνίου ὅπλα ἐκδούναι. κακὸν τούτον οὖν άλλος τις τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἀπήρευ. 33 Ἔν ὅσοι δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, τέρατα αὕτης οὐ 1 έξο Xyl., εξ δὲ L. 2 τε Reim., δὲ L.
BOOK XLVI

the houses in the city that they either owned themselves or occupied as tenants. Besides this, the very wealthy contributed not a little in addition, while many cities and many individuals manufactured the weapons and other necessary accoutrements for the campaign free of charge; for the public treasury was at the time so empty that not even the festivals which were due to fall during that season were celebrated, except some minor ones for form’s sake. These contributions were given readily by those who favoured Caesar and hated Antony; but the majority, being burdened alike by the campaigns and the taxes, were irritated, particularly because it was doubtful which of the two would conquer, and yet quite evident that they would be slaves of the conqueror. Many of those, therefore, who favoured Antony’s cause, went straight to him, among them a few tribunes and praetors; others remained where they were, including Calenus, and did all they could for him, sometimes acting in secret and sometimes openly justifying their conduct. Hence they did not even change their raiment immediately, but persuaded the senate to send envoys again to Antony, among them Cicero; in doing this they pretended that the latter might persuade him to make terms, but their real purpose was that he should be removed from their path. He perceived this, however, and became alarmed, and did not venture to expose himself in the camp of Antony. Consequently none of the other envoys set out, either.

While all this was going on, portents of no small
σμικρὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ὑπάτῳ τῷ Ὁυίβιῳ ἐγένετο. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, μεθ' ἡν ἐς τοὺς πόλεμον ἐξώρμησεν, ἀνθρωπὸς τις τὴν νόσον που τὴν ἵεραν καλουμένην ἔχων δήμη- 
2 γορούντος τι αὐτοῦ κατέσπεσεν καὶ ἀνδρίας αὐτοῦ χαλκοὺς ἐν τῷ τῆς οἰκίας προθύρῳ ἐστῶς ἀνε- 
τράπη αὐτόματος τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τῷ ὄχῳ ἐξεστρα- 
tευνετε. τά τε ἱερά τά προπολέμων οἱ μάντειοι ὅπω ἦδωνὶς ἄντον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ αἰματο- 
διαγρώναν καὶ τις ἐν τούτῳ φοινικά αὐτῷ προσ- 
φέρων ἐν τῷ αἴματι τῷ προκεχυμένῳ ὠλσθε 
καὶ πεσὼν τὸν φοινικὰ ἔμιανεν. ἐκεῖνω μὲν δὴ 
3 ταύτ' ἐγένετο. ἀλλ' εἴ μὲν ἴδωτενοντι οἱ συγεν- 
νεκτο, ἐς μόνον ἀν αὐτοῦ ἐτεινεν, ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπάτευε, 
καὶ ἐς πάντας ὀμοίως ἤνεγκεν, ὥσπερ τὸ τῆς 
Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἀγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ὁν 
(πρὸς γάρ τοι τας τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολας προτερον 
βλέπον πρὸς δυσμᾶς ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου μετε- 
4 στράφη) καὶ τὸ τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς τὸ πρὸς τῇ Μυτινή, 
παρ' ἂ καὶ τὰ μάλεστα ἐμαχείσαντο, τιμώμενον 
(αἰμά τε γάρ πολὺ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ γάλα 
ἀνίκε), καὶ προσέται καὶ τοῦ υπάτους τῆς 
ἐξοδον πρὸ τῶν Δατίνων ἀνοχῶν ποιήσασθαι: οὐ 
γὰρ ἔστιν οὕτω τούτου γενομένου καλώς ἀπήλ- 
5 λάξαν. ἀμέλει καὶ τότε οἱ υπατοὶ ἀμφότεροι καὶ 
ἐκ του ὀμίλου πάμπολυ πλῆθος, τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ 
παρόντι τὸ δὲ καὶ μετὰ ταύτα, τῶν τὶ ἱππεῶν 
καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν πολλοί, καὶ οἱ μάλεστα ἀνὰ 
6 πρῶτους ὄντες, ἀπώλοντο. τούτο μὲν γὰρ αἱ 
μάχαι, τούτο δὲ καὶ οἱ οἴκου σφαγαί τοῖς Σύλλευσιν 

1 Ὁυίβιῳ Bk., ὣςιωνei L.; before this word L has βιβλις, 
omitted by Xyl.
moment again occurred, significant both for the city and for the consul himself, who was Vibius. Thus, in the last assembly before he set out for the war a man with the disease called the sacred disease ¹ fell down while Vibius was speaking. Also a bronze statue of him which stood in the vestibule of his house turned around of itself on the day and at the hour that he set out on the campaign, and the sacrifices customary before war could not be interpreted by the seers by reason of the quantity of blood. Likewise a man who was just then bringing him a palm slipped in the blood which had been shed, fell, and defiled the palm. These were the portents in his case. Now if they had befallen him when a private citizen, they would have pertained to him alone, but since he was consul, they had a bearing on all alike. So, too, these portents: the statue of the Mother of the Gods on the Palatine, which had formerly faced the east, turned around of itself toward the west; that of Minerva worshipped near Mutina, where the heaviest fighting occurred, sent forth a quantity of blood and afterwards of milk also; furthermore, the consuls took their departure just before the Feriae Latinae, and there is no instance where this has happened and the Romans have fared well. At any rate, on this occasion also, a vast multitude of the people, including the two consuls, perished, some immediately and some later, and also many of the knights and senators, including the most prominent. For in the first place the battles, and in the second place the murders at home which occurred again as in the

¹ i.e. epilepsy, called also morbus comitialis, inasmuch as its occurrence was sufficient to postpone a meeting of the comitia.
τρόπον αὖθις γενόμεναι πάν ὁ τι περ ἦν ἐνθὸς αὐτῶν, ἐξω τῶν δρόμων σφᾶς ἐφθειραν.

34. Δίτιοι δὲ τῶν κακῶν τούτων αὐτοὶ έαυτοῖς οἱ βουλευταί ἔγενοντο. δέον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἕνα τινὰ τὸν τὰ ἀμείνῳ φρονοῦντα προστίθεσθαι καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ διὰ παντὸς συνάρσθαι, τούτῳ μὲν οὖκ ἐποίησαν, ὑπολαβόντες δὲ δὴ τινὰς καὶ ἔπει τοῦς ἔτερους ἐπανξῆσαντες ἐπειτα καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀντικαθελείν ἐπεχειρήσαν, κἂν τούτου φίλου μὲν οὐδένα, ἔχθροις δὲ πάντας ἐσχόν. οὐ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον πρὸς τε τοὺς λυπησαντὰς τινὲς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνεργητήσαντας διεστίθενται, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν ὀργῆς καὶ ἀκοντες μνημονεύσας, τῆς δὲ δὴ χάριτος καὶ ἐκοντες ἐπιλαυθάνουσα, τὸ μὲν τὶ ἀπαξίωντες εὖ πεπονθέναι δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τινῶν, ὡς καὶ ἀσθενέστεροι σφῶν δόξουτες εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀγανακτούντες εἴπερ ἀνατι κεκακώσθαι νομισθήσονται πρὸς τινος, ὡς καὶ ἀνανδρίαν ὀφλησουσι. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι οὖν ἐνα μὲν μηδένα προσδεξάμενοι, ἀλλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀλλὰ εὑ μερεὶ προσθέμενοι, καὶ τὰ μὲν υπὲρ αὐτῶν τὰ δὲ καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ ψηφισάμενοι καὶ πράξαντες, πολλὰ μὲν δὲ αὐτοὺς πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ύπ' αὐτῶν ἐπαθον, ἢ μὲν γὰρ ὑποθεσις τοῦ πολέμου μία μᾶς σφὶσιν ἢν, τὸν τε δήμου καταλυθῆναι καὶ δυναστειαν τινὰ γενέσθαι μαχόμενοι δὲ οἱ μὲν ὁτω δουλεύσοντιν, οἱ δὲ όστις αὐτῶν δεσπόσει, τὰ μὲν πράγματα ἀμφότεροι ὁμώος ἐφθειρον, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν τύχην διάφορον ἐκάτεροι δόξαιν ἐκτίσαντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ
Sullan régime, destroyed all the flower of the citizens except those who perpetrated the murders.

The responsibility for these evils rested on the senators themselves. For whereas they ought to have set at their head some one man who had their best interests at heart and to have coöperated with him continually, they failed to do this, but took certain men into their favour, strengthened them against the rest, and later undertook to overthrow these favourites as well, and in consequence gained no friend but made everybody enemies. For men do not feel the same way toward those who have injured them and toward their benefactors, but whereas they remember their anger even against their will, yet they willingly forget their gratitude. This is because, on the one hand, they deprecate giving the impression that they have received benefits from others, since they will seem to be weaker than they, and, on the other hand, they are annoyed to have it thought that they have been injured by anybody with impunity, since that will imply cowardice on their part. So the senators, by not taking up with any one person, but attaching themselves first to one and then to another, and voting and doing, now something for them, now something against them, suffered much because of them and much also at their hands. For all the leaders had a single purpose in the war—the abolition of the popular government and the setting up of a sovereignty; and since the people were fighting to see whose slaves they should be, and the leaders to see who should be the people's master, both alike were ruining the state, and each side gained a reputation which varied with its fortune.
ευ πράξαντες καὶ εὐβουλοὶ καὶ φιλοπόλειδες ἐνομίσθησαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ πταίσαντες καὶ πολέμιοι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἀλιτήριοι ἀνομάσθησαν.

35 Ἐσ τούτο μὲν δὴ τότε τὰ τῶν Ἱωμαίων πράγματα προῆχθη, λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν τῶν γενομένων καὶ γάρ καὶ παιδευσίς εν τούτῳ τὰ μάλιστα εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ, ὅταν τις τὰ ἔργα τοῖς λογισμοῖς ὑπολέγων τὴν τε ἐκείνων φύσιν ἐκ τούτων ἐλέγχῃ καὶ τούτους ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων ὁμολογίας τεκμηριότητοι.

2 Ἐπολιόρκει μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸν Δέκιμον ἐν τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ὄντα, ὡς μὲν τάκριβες εἴπειν, ὅτι οὐ παρῆκεν αὐτῷ τὴν Γαλατίαν, ὡς δ’ αὐτὸς ἐπλάττετο, ὅτι τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος σφαγέων ἐγερότει. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὔτε κόσμον οἱ ἀληθικὸς τοῦ πολέμου αἰτία έφερε, καὶ ἀμα καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τιμωρία ἀποβλέποντα ἐώρα, τούτῳ τὸ πρόσχημα τοῦ πολέμου προεβάλετο. ὅτι γὰρ ἐσκῆτητε αὐτῷ ἢν τὴν Γαλατίαν κατάσχῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδήλωσε τὸν τοῦ Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Βρούτον τὸν Μάρκον ὑπάτους ἀποδειχθῆναι αἰτίας· πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ συμφέροντα ἐκάτερον ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντιωτάτου προσεποιείτο. Καίσαρ δὲ ἐστράτευτο μὲν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ πρὶν καὶ ψηφισθῆναι οἱ τῶν πολέμων, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπεποίηκε λόγου ἄξιον οὐδέν. μαθὼν δὲ δὴ τὰ δεδογμένα τὰς μὲν τιμὰς ἀπεδέχετο καὶ ἔχαρεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι θύοντι αὐτῷ, ὅτε τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἔξοχιαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἀνέλαβε, διότι τὰ ἡπταν ἐν πάσι τοῖς ἱερείοις δώδεκα οὖσιν εὐρέθη· τῷ δὲ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ πρόσβεις καὶ λόγους πεμφθῆναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ οἷκ

68
For those who were successful were considered shrewd and patriotic, while the defeated were called enemies of their country and accursed.

This was the pass to which the fortunes of Rome had at that time come. I shall now go on to describe the separate events. For it seems to me to be particularly instructive, when one takes facts as the basis of his reasoning, investigates the nature of the former by the latter, and thus proves his reasoning true by its correspondence with the facts.

The reason for Antony's besieging Decimus in Mutina, to be exact, was that Decimus would not give up Gaul to him, but he pretended that it was because Decimus had been one of Caesar's assassins. For since the true cause of the war brought him no credit, and at the same time he saw that the feelings of the people were turning toward Caesar to help him avenge his father, he put forward this excuse for the war. For that it was a mere pretext for getting control of Gaul he himself made plain when he demanded that Cassius and Marcus Brutus should be appointed consuls. Each of these two pretences, utterly inconsistent as they were, he made with an eye to his own advantage. Caesar, now, had begun a campaign against his rival before the command of the war was voted to him, though he had achieved nothing worthy of mention. When, however, he learned of the decrees passed, he accepted the honours and rejoiced, the more so, since, when he was sacrificing at the time of receiving the distinction and the authority of praetor, the livers of all the victims, twelve in number, were found to be double. But he was vexed that envoys and proposals had been sent to Antony, also, by the senate instead of their de-
ΔΙΟΣ ΤΟ ΡΩΜΑΙΟ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

6 άκηρυκτον εὐθὺς αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπαγγελθήναι, ἡσχάλλε, καὶ μᾶλλον ὁτι καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἑκεῖνῳ τε ἰδίᾳ τι περὶ τῆς ὁμονοίας ἐπεσταλκότας, καὶ γράμματα παρ’ αὐτῶν πρὸς τινὰς τῶν βουλευτῶν πεμφθέντα καὶ ἀλόντα τούτοις τε ἀποδόντας καὶ ἕαυτὸν ἀποκρυφαμένοις, τὸν τε πόλεμον μήτε σπουδῆ μήτε παραχρῆμα τῇ τοῦ
7 χειμῶνος προφάσει ποιομένους ᾔσθετο, οὐ μὲντοι ἔχον ὅπως ἐκφάνημεν αὐτό (οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλοτριῶσαι σφας ἥθελεν ὦτ’ αὐ πείσαι τι ἡ καὶ βιάσασθαι εἴδυνατο) ἤσυχιαν καὶ αὐτῶς ἐν τῇ Κορνηλίου ἀγορᾶ χειμάζων ἦγε, μέχρις οὐ περὶ τῷ Δεκέμβριο ἐφοβήθη.

36 Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ πρότερον μὲν ἰσχυρὸς τὸν Ὀλυμπίου ἠμένετο, καὶ ποτὲ ὑποτοπήσας τινὰς ἐν τὴν πόλιν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ διαφθορὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐσπεπέμφθαι συνεκάλεσε πάντας τοὺς παρόντας, καὶ βραχέα ἄτα ὑπευπτῶν ἐκήρυξε, δείξας τῷ χωρίῳ, τοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τάδε τοὺς δὲ ἱδώτας ἐπὶ θάτερα αὐτοῦ ἀπελθέων, καὶ οὕτως ἀπορρήσατας τοὺς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ὅπῃ τράπωνται καὶ μονωθέντας κατεφώρασε καὶ συνέλαβεν.

2 ἐπειτα παντελῶς ἀπετειχίσθη. δείσας οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ μὴ βίᾳ ἄλῳ ἦ καὶ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὀμολογησα, ἴμαγκασε τὸν Ἰρτιου συνεπιστρατεύτων ο γὰρ Ὀιβίσιος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἔτη τοὺς τε καταλόγους ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τοὺς νόμους τῶν

3 Ὀλυμπίου κατέλυεν, ἀρμῆσαντες οὐν Βοονίαν μὲν ἐκλειφθείσαν ὑπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἀμαχεὶ παρελαβον, καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας τοὺς μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπαντησαντάς σφισιν ἐτρέψαντο, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ
BOOK XLVI

claring against him at once a war to the finish, and most of all because he ascertained that the consuls had forwarded to Antony some private message about harmony, also that when some letters sent by the latter to certain senators had been captured, these officials had handed them to the persons addressed, concealing the matter from him, and that, with the winter as an excuse, they were not carrying on the war zealously or promptly. However, as he could not publish these facts, because he did not wish to alienate them and on the other hand was unable to use any persuasion or force upon them, he also remained quiet in winter quarters in Forum Corneli, until he became alarmed about Decimus.

Decimus, it seems, had previously been defending himself vigorously against Antony. On one occasion, suspecting that some men had been sent into the city to corrupt the soldiers, he called together all those present and after a few preliminary remarks proclaimed through a herald that all the men under arms should go to one side of a certain place that he pointed out and the private citizens to the other side of it; in this way he detected and arrested Antony’s spies, who did not know which way to turn, and were thus left by themselves. Later he was entirely shut in by a wall; and Caesar, fearing he might be captured by storm or might capitulate through lack of provisions, compelled Hirtius to join him in an expedition; for Vibius was still in Rome making the levies and abolishing the laws of the Antonii. Accordingly, they set out and without a blow took possession of Bononia, which had been abandoned by its garrison, and routed the cavalry which later con-

1 Cf. xlv. 9.
Μοντίνη ποταμοῦ τῆς τε ἐπὶ αὐτῷ φυλακῆς οὐχ ὁλοί τε ἐγένοντο περαιτέρω προχωρῆσαι. Βουλομένου οὖν καὶ ὅσ τὴν γε παρουσίαν σφόν τῷ Δεκίμῳ, μὴ καὶ φθάσῃ τι συμβας, δηλώσαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν υψηλοτάτων δένδρων ἐφυκτόροιν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ συνίει, ἐς ἐλασμὸν μολύβδου λεπτὸν ἐγγράψαντες τινα συνείλεικαν ἀυτὸν ὅσπερ τις χαρτίον, καὶ κολυμβητὴ νυκτὸς ὕψιδρον διενεγκέιν ἐδωκαν. καὶ οὔτως ὁ Δεκίμος την τε παρουσίαν ἀμα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τῆς ἐπικουρίας μαθὼν ἀντεπέστειλε σφις τὸν αὐτῶν τρόπον, κακὸ τούτου συνεχῶς ἤδη πάντα ἀλλήλων διεδήλων.

37 'Ο οὖν Ἀντώνιος ἴδων ὅτι ὁ Δεκίμος οὐκ ἐνδωσείει, ἐκεῖνο μὲν Δούκιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν παρακατέληπτε, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐπὶ τον Ἰρτιον ἐχώρησε. καὶ αὐτῶν ἀντιστρατοπεδευμένων ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἰππομαχίαι τινὲς βραχείας καὶ ἵστοπαλεῖς ἐγένοντο, μέχρις ὅτι οἱ Κελτοὶ ἰππῆς, οὐς μετὰ τῶν ἑλεφάντων ὁ Καίσαρ προσεπεποίητο, πρὸς τε τοῦ Ἀντώνιου αὐθίς ἀπέκλιναν, κακὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελθόντες προεξώρυμησαν μὲν ὡς καὶ καθ' ἕαυτος τοῖς ἀντιπροσελάσουσι προσμίζοντες, ὑπέστρεφαν δε δι' ὁλίγου, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν μὴ προσδεχομένους τοῖς ἔφεσιν σφίς προσ-

3 πεσόντες σχυνοῖς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προνομεύοντες τινὲς ἀπ' ἀμφότερον ἐσ

1 οὖν R. Steph., τοῦ Λ.
2 συνείλεικαν Rk., ἀνείλεικαν LM.
3 ἐνδωσείει Dind., ἐνδώσει εἴ L.
4 παρακατέληπτε H. Steph., παρακατέληπτε L.
5 προεξώρυμησαν H. Steph., προσεξώρυμησαν L.
BOOK XLVI

fronted them; but on account of the river near Mutina and the guard placed over it they found themselves unable to proceed farther. But even so, wishing at least to make their presence known to Decimus, that he might not make terms too soon, they at first tried sending beacon signals from the tallest trees; and when he did not understand, they scratched a few words on a thin sheet of lead, rolled up the lead like a piece of paper and gave it to a diver to carry across under water by night. Thus Decimus learned at one and the same time of their presence and of their promise of assistance, and sent them a reply in the same fashion, after which they continued uninterruptedly to reveal all their plans to each other.

Antony, therefore, seeing that Decimus was not inclined to yield, left him to the charge of his brother Lucius, and himself proceeded against Caesar and Hirtius. The two armies faced each other for many days and a few insignificant cavalry skirmishes occurred, with honours even. Finally the German cavalry, whom Caesar had won to his side along with the elephants they had,1 went over to Antony again. They had issued from the camp with the rest and had gone on ahead as if intending to engage by themselves those of the enemy who came to meet them; but after a little they turned about and unexpectedly attacked the men who followed behind, who were looking for nothing of the sort, and killed many of them. After this some foraging parties on both

1 Cf. xliv. 13.
χείρας ἧλθον, κακὸς τούτου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπιβοσθησάντων ἐκατέρως μάχη τε σφων οξεία ἑγένετο καὶ ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. τούτους τε οὖν ἐπαιρόμενος, καὶ τὸν Οὐίβιον πλησίαζοντα αἰσθόμενος, προσέβαλε πρὸς τὸ ἔρυμα τῶν ἀντικαθηστηκότων, εἰ πως προεξελὼν αὐτὸ βάσων τοῦ λοιποῦ πολέμησεν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τὸς συμφορὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Οὐίβιου διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ὅνι ἀντεπεξῆγαν, κατέλιπε ἑκείνης καὶ ἐκεῖ μέρος τί τοῦ στρατοῦ, προσμικύνα τε σφισι κελεύσας, ὅπως καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι μάλιστα παρεῖναι δοκοῦν, καὶ ἐπιφυλάττειν ἀμα μὴ τινὲς κατὰ νότου οἱ προσπέσωσι. διατάξας τε ταῦτα ἀπῆρε νυκτὸς λαθῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐίβιον ἀπὸ Βοσονίας προσέρχοντα, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ὕμερον παντοφεος καὶ τοὺς πλείους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀπὸ τὰ τάφρεαμα κατέκλεισεν. καὶ ἐξειλεν αὐτοῖς, εἰ καὶ ἐφ όποσονοῦν προσηδρεύκει σφίσι. μὴν ἐπειδὴ τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ ὀυδέν ἐπέρανεν, ἐφοβηθήκη μὴ καὶ χρονίσαι καὶ τῇ εὐ τοῦτῳ πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων πλεονεκτηθῇ. καὶ ἔπ ἐκεῖνωσ αὐθίς ἐπταῦτο. καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰριτις ἐκ τῇ πολείας ἐκατέρας καὶ ἐκ τῆς μάχης πεπονηκότι, καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἐν ἄνελπτε ὅντι μὴ ποτὲ ἄν πολέμιον τίνα νεκρικότοι οἱ προσμιξαι, ἀπαντήσας πολὺ ἐκράτησεν ὡς γὰρ ἐγνώσα τὸ γεγυμόμενον, Καίσαρ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ στρατοπέδου φυλακῆ κατέμεινεν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀντώνιου ὄρμησεν. ἦττηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ

1 κατέλιπε H. Steph., κατέλαπτε L.
2 πλείους Ζou., λειτούρ L.
3 κἀν Bk., καὶ ἂν L.
sides came to blows, and then, when the remainder of each party came to the rescue, a sharp battle ensued between the two forces, in which Antony was victorious. Elated by this success and learning that Vibius was approaching, he assailed his opponents' camp to see if he could capture it before Vibius' arrival and thus make the war easier for the future. And when the others, besides being on their guard in other ways, in view of their reverses and the hope they placed in Vibius, would not come out to meet him, he left a portion of his army behind there also with orders to engage them and thus make it appear so far as possible that he himself was present, and at the same time to take good care that no one should fall upon his rear. After issuing these injunctions he set out secretly by night against Vibius, who was approaching from Bononia, and by means of an ambush he succeeded in wounding Vibius himself severely, in killing the majority of his soldiers and in shutting up the rest within their ramparts. Indeed, he would have annihilated them if he had gone on and besieged them for any considerable time. As it was, after accomplishing nothing by the first assault, he began to be alarmed lest while he was delaying he should receive some setback from Caesar and the others; so he again turned against them. But while he was still wearied by the journey both ways and by the battle and was not looking for any hostile force to attack him after his victory, Hirtius met him and defeated him decisively. For when Hirtius and Caesar had perceived what was going on, Caesar had remained to keep watch over the camp and Hirtius had set out against Antony. Upon the defeat of Antony not
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

αὐτοκρατόρες οὐ μόνον ὁ Ἰρτιος ἄλλα καὶ ὁ Οὐίβιος, καίπερ κακῶς ἀπαλλάξας, δὲ τε Καίσαρ, καίτοι μηδὲ μαχεσάμενος, καὶ υπὸ τῶν στρα-
2 τιωτῶν καὶ υπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνομίασθησαν. τοῖς
tε συναγωνισμένοις σφίσει καὶ τελευτήσασι ταφῆ
tε δημοσία καὶ τὸ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς τε πατράσιν
αὐτῶν πάντα τὰ γέρα, ὡς ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι
ξήσαντες ἔλαβον, ἀποδοθήματι ἐψηφίσθη.
3 Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα ἐγένετο, καὶ Πόντιος Ἀκύλας,
ἐκ τε τῶν σφαγέων ὄν καὶ τῷ Δεκίμῳ ὑποστρα-
tηγόν, Τίτων Μουνάτιον Πλάγκον ἀντιπολεμοῦν-
tα αὐτῷ μάχαις ἐνίκησεν, δὲ τὸ Δέκιμος βουλευ-
tοῦ τινος αὐτομολήσαντος πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον
4 οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ὄργην αὐτῷ ἐσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ
σκεύη τὰ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐν τῇ Μουνία ὑπελέ-
λευτο πάντα ἀπέπεμψε, κἀκεῖ τοῦτοι οἱ τε στρα-
tεῖται οἱ Ἀντωνίου ἡλιοστού καὶ τῶν δήμων
τινῶν ὁμοφρονούντων οἱ πρῶτοι έστασίαζον.
5 ὥς ἦν Καίσαρ ὁ τῷ Ἰρτιος ἐπηρέετο τε ἐπὶ τοῦ-
tος, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔρμα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου προσ-
ιώντες προεκαλοῦντο αὐτὸν ἐς χειρᾶς, ἐκεῖνος δὲ
τέως μὲν κατεπέλπηκτο καὶ ἃς χύσαν, ἐπειτ' ἐπειδὴ
dύναμις τῆς αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Δεπίδου
6 πεμφθείσα ἤλθεν, ἀνεθάρσησεν. αὐτὸς μὲν ἦδον ὁ Δέπιδος οὐκ ἀπεσάφησεν ὅποτέρου τοῦ στρα-
tεύμα πέμψεις τὸν τῇ Ἰρτίος ἁγγειέν
ὅντα ἡγήτα, καὶ υπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπ' αὐτῶν
ἐκέκλητο, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα, καὶ ἄμα καὶ ἀνα-
χώρησιν ἐαυτῷ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους σφάς προπαρα-
sκενάζον, οὔτεν σαφές Μάρκῳ Σιλανῷ τῷ στρα-
7 τιάρχῳ ἐνετείλατο· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀκριβῶς που τὴν

tις Ζον., τε L.
only was Hirtius saluted as *imperator* by the soldiers and by the senate, but likewise Vibius, although he had fared badly, and Caesar, although he had not even been engaged. To those who had participated in the conflict and had perished a public burial was voted, and it was further voted that all the prizes which they would have received, had they lived, should be given to their sons and fathers.

At this time also Pontius Aquila, one of Caesar's slayers and a lieutenant of Decimus, conquered in battle Titus Munatius Plancus, who opposed him; and Decimus, when a certain senator deserted to Antony, so far from displaying resentment against him sent to him all his baggage and whatever else he had left behind in Mutina, with the result that Antony's soldiers began to change their attitude and some of the communities which had previously sympathized with him proceeded to rebel. Caesar and Hirtius were elated at this, and approaching the camp of Antony, challenged him to combat; and he for a time was alarmed and remained quiet, but later, when a force sent by Lepidus came to him, he took courage again. Lepidus, himself, however, did not make it clear to which of the two sides he was sending the army, for he was fond of Antony, who was a relative, while he had been summoned by the senate to oppose him; hence, both for this reason and that he might prepare a refuge for himself with both parties, he gave no clear instructions to Marcus Silanus, the commander. But this officer, doubtless
γνώμην αυτοῦ εἰδὼς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀυτοκε-
λευστὸς ἀφίκετο. τούτου οὖν ἐπικουρήσατος
αὐτῷ θαρσήσας ἐπεκδρομῆν αἰφνίδιαν ἐποιήσατο,
καὶ φόνου παρ' ἀμφοτέρως πολλοῦ γενομένου
τραπεὶς ἐφυγε.

39 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ πρὸς τοῦ
δῆμου καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἡγετῶ, κακὸ τούτου
tὰ τε ἀλλα τιμηθῆσθαι καὶ ὑπατος εὐθὺς ἀπο-
δειχθῆσθαι προσεδόκα, συνέβη γὰρ τὸν τε
Ἰρτιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνιείου Λ. στρατοπέδου κατα-
λήφθη παί τῶν Οὐίβιον ἐκ τῶν τραμάτων μὴ
πολλῶ ὑστερον φθαρῆναι, ὅτι δὲ αἰτίαν τοῦ ταν-
τού αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς διαδοχὴν ἐσχεν.

2 ἡ δὲ γερουσία πρότερον μὲν, ἔως ἐτὶ ἄδηλον ἡν
ὑποτέρος σφων κρατῆσει, πάνθ᾽ ὡσα ἐν τῷ πρὶν
δυναστείας τισίν ἔξω τῶν πατρίων δοθέντα παρε-
σκευάκει προκατέλυσαν, ἐπ᾽ ἀμφοτέρως μὲν που
ταῦτα ψηφισάμενοι ὡς καὶ προκαταληψόμενοι δι᾽
αὐτῶν τὸν νικήσοντα, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐς τὸν ἔτερον
3 τῶν ἡττηθησάμενον μέλλοντες ἀναφέρειν. τούτῳ
μὲν γὰρ ἀπείτου μηδένα ἐτὶ πλεῖον ἔχον ἐνιαυ-
τοῦ ἀρχείν, τοῦτο δὲ ἀπηγόρευσαν μήτε τινὰ
σιτοῦ ἐπιμελητὴν μήτε τροφῶν ἐπιστάτην ἔνα
ἀἱρεῖσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα ἔμαθον, τῇ
μὲν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἡττὴ ἔχαιρον, καὶ τὰς
tῶν στολῶν μετενέδυσαν καὶ ἱερομνήσας ἐπὶ ἐξήκοντα
ἡμέρας ἔγαγον, τοὺς τε συνεξέτασθέντας αὐτῷ
πάντας ἐν τῇ πολεμίῳ μοῖρα ἐνόμισαν καὶ τὰς

1 Άντωνιείου Ρκ., Ἀντωνίου Λ.
2 κρατῆσει R. Steph., κρατήσηι Λ.
3 προκατέλυσαν (προκατέλυσεν) St., προσκατάλυσαν Λ.
4 πλείω R. Steph., πλείων Λ.
knowing well his superior's views, went on his own responsibility to Antony. So when Antony had received these reinforcements, he became bold and made a sudden sortie, but after great slaughter on both sides, he turned and fled.

Up to this time Caesar was being aggrandized by the people and the senate, and consequently expected that among other honours to be bestowed he would forthwith be appointed consul; for it happened that Hirtius perished in connection with the capture of Antony's camp and that Vibius died of his wounds not long afterwards, so that Caesar was charged with having caused their death that he might succeed to the office. But the senate had already, while it was still uncertain which of the two would prevail, taken the precaution to abolish all the privileges the granting of which hitherto to any individuals contrary to established custom had paved the way to supreme power; they voted, of course, that this edict should apply to both parties, intending thereby to forestall the victor, but planning to lay the blame upon the other who should be defeated. In the first place, they forbade anyone to hold office for a longer period than a year, and, secondly, they provided that no one man should be chosen superintendent of the corn supply or commissioner of food. And when they learned the outcome of the struggle, although they rejoiced at Antony's defeat, and not only changed their attire, but also celebrated a thanksgiving for sixty\(^1\) days, and, regarding all those who had been on Antony's side as enemies, took

\(^1\) Appian (\textit{B.C.} iii. 74) says fifty days; cf. Cicero, \textit{Philipp.} xiv. 11, 29, and 14, 37. Dio is frequently careless about such details.
ούσιας, διόπερ που καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου, ἀφελοντο· τὸν δὲ δὴ ἴδη Καίσαρα οὐχ ὅτε μεγάλου τινὸς ἐτ’ ἥξισαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταλύειν ἑπεχείρησαν, πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐκείνος ἠπιτίζε λήψεσθαι τῷ Δεκίμῳ δόντες. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι βούθυνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπινίκην αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσαντο, τὰ τε λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ στρατόπεδα ἄλλα τε καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ὀυιβίου προσ-

2 ἐταξάν τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τοῖς συμπολιορκηθεῖσιν οἳ καὶ ἐπαίνοις καὶ τάλλα ὅσα τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος πρότερον προσπήγγετο, καίπερ μηδὲν ἐς τὴν νίκην συμβαλλόμενοι ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτὴν ἰδοῦσι, δοθήναι ἐγγύνωσαν. καὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν ἀποθανόντα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ εἰκόνι ἐτίμησαν· τὰ τε χρῆματα δὲ ἐς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν τοῦ Δεκίμου στρατιωτῶν ὁκοθεν ἀναλόκει, τοῖς κληρονομοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀπέδωκαν. τὸ τε σύμπαν ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὅσα τῷ Καίσαρι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγεγονεί, ταύτα ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνον ἄλλοις ἐψηφίσασθαι. καὶ ὅπως γε ἂν μηδ’ ἄν τὰ μάλιστα βουληθῇ τὶ κακὸν δράσαι καὶ δυνηθῇ, πάντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐγχθροὺς ἐπήκουσαν· τῷ τε γὰρ Πομπηίῳ τῷ Σέξτῳ τῷ ναυτικῷ καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ τῷ Δαρκείῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας τῷ τῇ Κασσίῳ τῇ τῇ Συρίαν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἐνεχείρισαν. πάντως δ’ ἂν καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἃς εἴχε προσπαρείλοντο, εἰ μήπερ ἐφοβηθήσαν φανερῶς αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσασθαι διὰ τὸ εὔνους οἱ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπίστασαν ὄντας. στασίασαι δ’ οὖν σφας καὶ ὅσ καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνον ἐπεχείρησαν. οὕτε γὰρ ἐπαινέσαι τε καὶ τιμῆσαι

1 συμβαλλόμενοι B. Steph., συμβαλλόμενοι L.
2 προσπαρείλοντο Xyl., προσπαρείχοντο L.
away their property, as they did in the case of Antony also, yet as regards Caesar, they not only did not consider him any longer as deserving of any great reward, but even undertook to overthrow him by giving to Decimus all the prizes for which Caesar was hoping. For they voted in Decimus' honour not only sacrifices but also a triumph, and gave him charge of the rest of the war and of the legions, including those of Vibius. Upon the soldiers who had been besieged with him they decreed that praise should be bestowed and likewise all the other rewards which had formerly been promised to Caesar's men, although these troops had contributed nothing to the victory, but had merely beheld it from the walls. They honoured Aquila, who had died in the battle, with a statue, and restored to his heirs the money which he had expended from his own purse for the equipment of Decimus' troops. In a word, all that had been done for Caesar to thwart Antony was now voted to others to thwart Caesar himself. And to the end that, no matter how much he might wish it, he should not be able to do any harm, they arrayed all his personal enemies against him. Thus to Sextus Pompey they entrusted the fleet, to Marcus Brutus Macedonia, and to Cassius Syria together with the war against Dolabella. They would certainly have gone further and deprived him of the forces that he had, had they not been afraid to vote this openly, because they knew that his soldiers were devoted to him. But they attempted, even so, to set them at variance with one another and with Caesar himself. For they wished neither to praise and honour
πάντας αὐτοὺς ἤθελησαν, μὴ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα αὐτῶν ἔτι μεῖζον ἁρωσίν, οὐτὶ ἀτιμᾶσαι καὶ παριδεῖν πάντας, μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτρίωσι καὶ κατὰ τούτο καὶ συμφρονεῖν ἀναγκάσωσι. διὰ μέσου οὖν ἐποίησαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπαινεσάντες αὐτῶν τοὺς δ' οὖ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν στέφανον ἐλαιὰς ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι φορεῖν ὀὔτε τοῖς δ' οὖ, καὶ προσέτε καὶ χρήματα τοῖς μὲν δισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια δραχμαῖς τοῖς δὲ οὐδὲ χαλκῶν ψηφισάμενοι, συγκρούσειν τε αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις καὶ τούτον καὶ ἀσθενώσειν ἠπισταν. καὶ τοὺς γε1 διαγγελουντάς σφαιρα ταῦτα οὖ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἄλλα πρὸς ἐκείνους ἑπεμψαν. περιοργήσαντες οὖν καὶ ἔπι τούτως γενόμενος ἐπέτρεψε μὲν τῷ λόγῳ τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἀνευ ἑαυτοῦ τῷ στρατεύματι συμμίξει, προπαραγγείλας μὴ ἀπόκρισίν τινα αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι καὶ ἑαυτὸν παραχρῆμα μεταπεμφθῆναι ἑλθὼν δὲ ἔστι στρατόπεδον καὶ συνακοῦσας σφίσε τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα, πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἄφεσεν ὁ κύριος. οἱ τε γὰρ προτετιμημένοι οὐ τοσοῦτον τὴν πλεονεξία ἐχαίρουν ὅσον ὑπώπτευον τὸ γνώριμον, τοῦ Καίσαρος σφαιρα ὡς μάλιστα ἐνάγοντος καὶ αἱ ἡτιμασμένοι ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐδὲν ὁργίζοντο, προσδιαβάλλοντες δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ἐνηψισμένων τὴν τε ἀτιμίαν σφῶν ἐπὶ πάντας ἄγον καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῖς ἐκοινώνοντο, μαθόντες οὖν ταῦθ' οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ φοβηθέντες, ὑπατοῦ μὲν οὖν ὑπ' ὑς αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξαν, οὐπερ ποὺ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγλύχετο, ταῖς δὲ δὴ τιμαις ταῖς

1 γε H. Steph., τε L.
them all, for fear of raising their spirits still higher, nor to dishonour and neglect them all, for fear of alienating them the more and as a consequence forcing them to come to an agreement with one another. Hence they adopted a middle course, and by praising some of them and not others, by allowing some to wear garlands of olive at the festivals and others not, and, furthermore, by voting to some of them ten thousand sesterces and to others not a copper, they hoped to set them at odds with each other and consequently to weaken them. And they even sent the men who were to carry these announcements to them, not to Caesar, but to the men themselves. So he became enraged at this also, and though he pretended to allow the envoys to mingle with the army without his presence, giving orders beforehand that no answer should be given them and that he himself should at once be sent for, yet when he came into the camp and joined them in listening to the despatches, he won them to himself still more than before by the very nature of the communication. For, on the one hand, those who had been singled out for honour were not so pleased with their preferment as they were suspicious of the affair, and Caesar encouraged them in this as much as he could; on the other hand, those who had been slighted were not at all angry with their comrades, but adding their doubts of the sincerity of the decrees, they transferred to the whole army the slight to themselves and communicated their resentment to the others. The people in the city, on learning this, though they were frightened, did not even then appoint Caesar consul, the honour which he especially coveted, but
υπατικαῖς ἐκόσμησαν, ὡστε καὶ γνώμην ἐν τοῖς υπατευκόσιν ἥδη τίθεσθαι. ἔπειδὴ τε ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τοῦτο ἔσχε, στρατηγὸν τε αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοι καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ ὑπατον αἰρεθήραι

4 ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν οὖτω τὸν Καίσαρα, ῥοσπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς μειράκιον τε τι καὶ παίδα, ἀπερ πον διεθρύλουν, ἄντα, σοφῶς μετακεχειρίσθαι ἐξοδεῖν ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ, ὅτι παῖς ἦκουε, δεινῶς ἄγανακτῶν οὐκέτ' ἐς ἀναβολαὶ ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τε τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἱσχὺν αὐτῶν ἐτράπετο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον κρύφα 1 διεκκρικεύσατο, καὶ τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης, οὐσ αὐτὸς τ' ἐνενικηκεῖ καὶ ἡ θυμία κολείμων ἐψήφιστο, 2 συνήθροιζε, καὶ κατηγορίαν παρ' αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου πολλᾶς ἐποιεῖτο.

42 Ἀκούοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τῷ ἀστικά τέως μὲν ἐν ὀλγωρία αὐτοῦ ἱγειν. ἔπει δὲ τὸν τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸν Δέπιδον συμπεφρονηκότας ἔσθοντο, θεραπεύειν τε αὐτὸς ἤρξαντο, ἰγνοούντες τοὺς λόγους οὖς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπεποίητο, καὶ τὸν πολέμο 2 τὸ πρὸς ἐκεῖνους προσέταξαν. ο ὁ ὅν Καίσαρ καὶ τούτων μὲν, ἐφ' ὅς ὑπατος δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποδειχθεί, ὑπεδέξατο πάν' χάρ τι 3 ἐπρασσεν διὰ τὲ ἄλλων καὶ διὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὅπως χειροτονηθεί, οὕτως ὡστε καὶ συνύπατον αὐτῶν ὑποσχέσθαι οἱ ποιη- 3 σειν. ἔπει δ' οὖδ' ὃς 4 ἥρέθη, ἦτοιμάζετο μὲν ὡς καὶ πολεμῆσαι καθάπερ ἐδέδωκε, παρασκευάσας

1 κρίθαι H. Steph., κρίθαι καὶ L.
2 ἐψήφισατο Bk., ἐψηφίσατο L. 3 τι Bk., τοι L.
4 δ' οὖδ' & δι v. Herw., δ' οὖσ' L.
BOOK XLVI

granted him the distinction of consular honours, so that he might now give his vote along with the ex-consuls. When he showed his contempt for this, they voted that he should be chosen a praetor of the first rank\(^1\) and later consul as well. In this way they thought they had handled Caesar cleverly, as if he were in reality a mere youth or boy, as indeed they were always repeating. He, however, was exceedingly vexed, not only at their general behaviour, but especially at this very fact that he was called a boy; so he made no further delay, but turned against their arms and their power. And he secretly arranged a truce with Antony, and proceeded to assemble the men who had escaped from the battle, whom he himself had conquered and the senate had voted to be enemies, and in their presence made many accusations against both the senate and the people.

The people in the city, on hearing this, for a time regarded him with indifference, but when they heard that Antony and Lepidus had become of one mind, they began again to court his favour, being ignorant of the propositions he had made to Antony, and put him in charge of the war against the other two. Caesar, accordingly, undertook this war also, hoping that he might be made consul for it; for he was working so hard through Cicero and others to be elected, that he even promised to make Cicero his colleague. But when he was not chosen even then, he made preparations, to be sure, to carry on the war, as had

\(^1\) i.e. praetor instead of propraetor; cf. note on chap. 29.
δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτοῦ, ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν ὀψινηθέν, ὦμόσαι αἰφνιδίως πρὸς μηδὲν τῶν στρατι-πέδων τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος γενομένων πολεμήσειν (ὁπερ ποὺ πρὸς τὸν Λέπιδον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀν-τώνιον ἔφερεν') τὸ γὰρ πλείστον τῶν συστρα-πευμένων σφίσιν ἔξ ἐκείνων ἦν), ἀνέσχε, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τετρακοσίων ἐπεμψε.

43 Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα τής πρεσβείας αὐτῶς ἦν, τὸ δ’ ὅλον τὰ τε χρήματα τὰ ἐψηφισμένα σφίσιν ἀπῆτον καὶ ὑπατον τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπο-δειχθῆναι ἐκέλευον. ἀναβαλλομένων οὖν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ὡς καὶ σκέψεως δεσμεύην, ἀδειάν τινὶ τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πραξάντων ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὡσπερ εἰκός ἦν, ἐν τολήν ἤτησαν, ὅν ὅτι καὶ ἐβουλοῦντο αὐτῆς τυχεῖν, ἅλλ’ ἵνα ἀπο-πειράθωσί τε αὐτῶν εἰ ταύτην γε δώσουσι σφίσιν, ἡ καὶ ἀφορμήν ὀργής λάβωσι τὸ καὶ δὲ ἐκείνην

3 δοκεῖν χαλεπαίνειν. ἀποτυχώντες γὰρ αὐτῆς (ἀντείπε μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς, πολλῶν δὲ τὸ 2 αὐτὸ τούτῳ ὑπὲρ ἐτέρων ἀμα ἁξιωσάντων, καὶ τὸ κατ’ ἐκείνους, ὡς πολλ’ ἐγχύνετο, εὐπρεπῶς πῶς διε-κρούσθη), οὐ ταῖς ἀλλοις φανέρως ἀρχικόντο, καὶ εἰς τις αὐτῶν ἐξήλθε τε ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, καὶ τὸ ξίφος λαβὸν (ἀπολοι γὰρ ἐσεληνύθεσαν) ἤψατο τε αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι, “ἀν ἴμε οὖ καὶ ὑπατεῖαν μὴ δῶτε τῷ Καίσαρι, τούτῳ ὀφείλει,” καὶ αὐτῷ οἱ Κικέρων ὑπολαβὼν “ἀν οὔτως,” ἐφη, “παρα-

4 καλὴτε, λήψεται αὐτὴν.” ἐκεῖνος μὲν καὶ τούτῳ τοῖς ὀλέθρον παρεσκεύασεν· ὁ δὲ ἐδὶ Καίσαρ τὸ

1 ἔφερεν ΧΥΙ., ἔφερεν Ι.
2 τὸ ΒΚ., τοῦ ΙΜ.
been decreed, but meanwhile arranged that his own soldiers, ostensibly of their own motion, should suddenly take an oath not to fight against any legion that had been Caesar's. This, of course, had reference to Lepidus and Antony, since the majority of their adherents were of that class. So he waited and sent to the senate as envoys on this business four hundred of the soldiers themselves.

This was the soldiers' excuse for the embassy, but all they really did was to demand the money that had been voted them and to urge that Caesar should be appointed consul. While the senators were postponing their reply, on the ground that it required deliberation, the envoys, acting presumably on their instructions from Caesar, asked that amnesty be granted to a certain person who had embraced Antony's cause. They did not really desire to obtain it, but wished to test the senators and see if they would grant at least this request, and, if they should not, to gain as an excuse for resentment their pretended vexation at being refused. At any rate, when they failed to gain their petition (for, although no one spoke against it, yet, since many had preferred the same request on behalf of others at the same session, this petition also, since it was but one out of many, was rejected with a show of plausibility), all the soldiers were openly angry, and one of them went out of the senate-chamber and getting his sword,—for they had gone in unarmed—touched it and said: "If you do not grant the consulship to Caesar, this shall grant it." And Cicero, interrupting him, answered: "If you exhort in this way he will get it." Now for Cicero this incident paved the way for destruction. As
μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατιώτου πραχθὲν οὐκ ἐμέμψατο, ὅτι δὲ τὰ τε ὅπλα ἐς τὸ συνεδριον ἐσιόντες ἀποθέσαε ἡναγκάσθησαν, καὶ τις αὐτῶν ἐπύθετο πότερον παρὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἡ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπέμφθησαν, ἐγκλῆμα ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸν Ἀσπίδιον (καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον κατὰ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον προσετέθεειο) σπουδὴ μετεπέμψατο, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐκβιασθεὶς δὴθεν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, μετὰ πάντων αὐτῶν ὀρμήσε.

44 Καὶ τῶν τε ἱππέων τινὰ καὶ ἄλλους ὑποτε-πῆσαντες ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ σφὼν παρεῖνα ἐσφαγάν, καὶ τὰ χωρία τῶν ἀντιγραμμονοῦντων σφίσιν ἐλυμαίνοντο, ἐπὶ τε τῇ προφάσει ταύτη καὶ ἄλλα 2 πολλά ἐκακοῦργοι. πυθόμενοι οὖν οἱ βουλευταὶ τὴν ἐφοδίου αὐτῶν, τὰ τε χρήματα αὐτῶς πρὶν πλησιάσαε σφὼς ἐπεμψάν, εἰ πως λαβόντες αὐτὰ ἀναχωρήσεαι, καὶ ἐπείδη καὶ ὁς ἐπείγοντο, 3 ὑπατον τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεδείδαν. οὐδὲν1 μέντοι οὐδὲ ἐκ τούτου ἀπώνυμτο—2 ὄν γὰρ οἱ ἐκόντες ἄλλα ἀναγκασθέντες ἐπραξάν, οὐδέμιαν σφίς καὶ χάριν οἱ στρατιώται ἐσχούν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον, ἀτε καὶ ἐκπεφοβηκότες αὐτοὺς, ἑδρασύνοντο. 4 μαθοῦσα οὖν ταῦθ' ἡ γεροοιχία μετεβάλετο,3 καὶ ἐκείνους τε ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ πελάσατι τῇ πόλει, ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐπτακσίους σταδίους ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποσχεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν τε ἐσθήτα αὐθίνης ἡλλάξαντο καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὴν φυλακὴν 5 τῆς πόλεως ἐνεχείρισαν, ὃσπερ εἰθιστο. καὶ τά

1 οὔδει Bk., καὶ οὔδει L.M.
2 ἀπώνυμτο Naber, ἀπώνυμτο L.M.
3 μετεβάλετо Bk., μετεβάλλετο L.M.

88
for Caesar, he did not censure the soldier's act, but made a complaint because his men had been obliged to lay aside their arms on entering the senate and because one of the senators had asked whether they were sent by the legions or by Caesar. He summoned in haste Antony and Lepidus (for he had attached Lepidus also to himself through the friendship existing between Antony and Lepidus), and he himself, pretending to have been forced to such measures by his soldiers, set out with all of them against Rome.

They slew one of the knights, among others whom they suspected of being present to spy upon them, and besides harrying the lands of such as were not in accord with them, did much other mischief on this same pretext. The senators, on learning of their approach, sent them their money before they drew near, hoping that when the invaders received it they would retire, and when, even so, they still pressed on, they appointed Caesar consul. They gained nothing, however, by this step, either; for the soldiers were not at all grateful to them for what they had done not willingly but under compulsion, but were even more emboldened, now that they had thoroughly frightened them. So when the senate learned this, it altered its policy and ordered them not to approach the city but to keep at least a hundred miles from it. They themselves also changed their garb again and committed to the praetors the care of the city, as was the custom. And besides garrisoning other points,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τε ἄλλα ἐν φρουρᾷ ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ τὸ Ἰανίκουλον μετὰ τῶν αὐτῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ μεθ᾽ ἐτέρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἐπελθόντων προκατέλαβον.

45 Ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦν, ταῦτα τε ὀυτῶς ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὁμοθυμάδων αὐτῶν πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε ὄντες ἀντελαμβάνοντο, ὡσπερ ποιοῦντι οἱ πολλοὶ, πρὶν ἐς τὴν ὄψιν καὶ ἐς τὴν πείραν τῶν δεινῶν ἄφικέσθαι, θρασύνεσθαι.

2 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐγίγνετο, ἐφοβήθησαν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Βουλευτῶν τινες, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ δῆμου συχνοὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ μετέστησαν. κὰκ τούτου καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰανίκουλον κατέβησαν καὶ τοὺς τε στρατιώτας καὶ ἑαυτοὺς

3 αὐτῷ παρέδωκαν. τὴν τε οὖν πόλιν οὐτῶς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀμαξεῖ κατέσχε, καὶ ὑπατος καὶ πρὸς τοῦ δήμου ἀπεδείχθη, δύο τινῶν ἀντὶ ὑπάτων πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαισίας αἱρεθέντων, ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτῶν ἦν μεσοβασιλέα δι᾽ ὀλίγου οὐτῶς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὰς κατὰ τὰ πάτρια γενέσθαι, πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν τὰς εὐ-

4 πάτριδας1 ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων ἀποδημοῦντων. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δύο ἀνδρᾶς2 διὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῦ ἀστυνόμου ψηφισθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ τοὺς ὑπάτους δι᾽ αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθῆναι ὑπέμειναν, ὅτι μηδὲν πλέον τῶν ἀρχαισιῶν ποιήσειν ἐμελλόν, καὶ κατὰ τούτο μηδء ἀρχὴν τινα ἰσχυροτέραν αὐτοῦ3 ἐσχήκεινα δόξειν. καὶ ἐγίγνετο μὲν ποιν ταῦθ'

1 πάτριδας: Dind., πάτριδας L.M.
2 δι᾽ ὑπάτων Bk., following Bk., τῶν δύο ἀνδρῶν L.M.
3 αὐτῶν Rubino, αὐτῶν L.M.
BOOK XLVI

they promptly occupied the Janiculum with the soldiers that were in the city and with others who had come from Africa.

Now these things were taking place while Caesar was still on the march; and all the people who were at that time in Rome with one accord took part in the proceedings against him, just as most men are wont to be bold until they come in sight of dangers and have a chance to experience them. When, however, he arrived in the suburbs, they became alarmed, and first some of the senators, and later many of the people, went over to his side. Thereupon the praetors also came down from the Janiculum and surrendered to him their soldiers and themselves. Thus Caesar took possession of the city without a blow and was appointed consul also by the people, after two men had been chosen to act as consuls for holding the elections; for it was impossible, on so short notice, for an interrex ¹ to be chosen for the purpose, in accordance with precedent, because many men who held the patrician offices were absent from the city. For they preferred to submit to this arrangement of having two men named by the praetor urbanus rather than to have the consuls elected under his direction, because now these officials would limit their activities to the elections and consequently would appear to have possessed no office greater than his. This was of course done

¹ In case of the death or resignation of both consuls, the senate appointed an interrex to hold the comitia for the election of their successors. But first it was necessary that the auspices should return to the senators, which could happen only by the resignation of all the patrician magistrates; the absence of some of these from the city in the present instance prevented their prompt resignation.
Όπο τών ὁπλῶν ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ, ἵνα δὴ μὴ βεβιάσθαι τι αὐτοῦς δόξη, οὐκ ἀπηντησεν ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὁσπερ τινῶν τὴν παρουσίαν ἄλλ' οὐ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ φοβομένων.

2 ἀυτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὁ Πέδιος ὁ Κύντος ἔδοθη. καὶ ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ μέγιστον ἔφρονε, ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἔλεια, ὃ μητόποτε τινὶ ἐγεγόνει, ὑπατεύσειν ἐμμέλλε, καὶ ὥστε τῇ 1 πρώτῃ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἀρείου ἐσελθὼν γύπας ἔδη καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δημηγορῶν τι πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας.

3 ἀλλοὺς δῶδεκα εἴδε, πρὸς τε γὰρ τὸν Ῥωμύλου καὶ πρὸς τὸ οἰόνισμα τὸ ἐκεῖνο γενόμενον ἀναφέρων καὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν αὐτοῦ λήψεσθαι προσεδόκησεν. οὐ μέντοι ὡς καὶ δευτέρων ὑπατεύων, ὅτι ταῖς τιμαῖς ταῖς ὑπατικαῖς ἐκεκόσμητο, ἐσευνύματο. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπειτα ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν.

4 ὁμοίων μέχρις ἧμῶν ἑτηρήθη Σεουηρος 2 γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ πρῶτος Πλατιανοῦ ὑπατικαῖς τιμαῖς τιμήσας, καὶ μετὰ τούτω ἐς τε τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἐσαγαγόν καὶ ὑπατον ἀποδέξας, ὡς καὶ δεύτερον ὑπατεύσοντα 3 ἀνεκήρυξεν, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκεῖνων καὶ ἐφ' ἐτέρων τὸ αὐτὸ ἑγένετο. ὦ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ τὰ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο, καὶ χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις, τοῖς μὲν ὅσα τε καὶ ὅθεν ἐψήφιστο, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ὡς ἐκάστοις, λόγῳ μὲν οἰκοθεν ἔργῳ δὲ ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἐδωκε.

6 Τότε μὲν οὖν τε καὶ ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας οἱ

1 τῇ Xiph., om. LM. 2 Σεουηρος Bk., σεουηρος LM. 3 ὑπατεύσοντα Nipperdey, ὑπατεύσοντα LM.
under pressure of arms; but Caesar, in order that he might appear not to have used any force upon them, did not enter the assembly,—as if it was his presence that any one feared instead of his power!

Thus Caesar was chosen consul, and Quintus Pedius was given him as his colleague in office—if it is right to call him that and not his subordinate. And Caesar was extremely proud of the fact that he was to be consul at an earlier age than had ever been the lot of any one else, and furthermore that on the first day of the elections, when he entered the Campus Martius, he saw six vultures, and later, while haranguing the soldiers, twelve others. For, comparing it with Romulus and the omen that had befallen him, he expected to obtain that king's sovereignty also. He did not, however, boast of being consul for the second time, merely because of his having already been given the distinction of the consular honours. And his practice was afterwards observed in all similar cases down to our own day, the emperor Severus being the first to depart from it; for after honouring Plautianus with the consular honours and later making him a member of the senate and appointing him consul, he proclaimed that Plautianus was entering upon the consulship for the second time, and from that time forth the same thing has been done in other instances. Now Caesar arranged affairs in general in the city to suit his taste, and gave money to the soldiers, to some what had been voted from the funds prescribed, and to the rest individually from his private resources, as he claimed, but in reality from the public funds.

In this way and for the reasons mentioned the
Στρατιώται τὸ ἀργύριον ἔλαβον παρακούσαντες δὲ τινες τοῦτο ἐδοξαζον ἀει πάσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς πολιτικοῖς στρατοπέδους, οὐσα ἂν ἐσ τὴν Ῥώμην μεθ’ ὅπλων ἀφίκηται, τὰς δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἀναγκαίον εἶναι δίδοσθαι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Σεούρου ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ καθαίρεσει ἐς τὸ ἀστυ ἑλθόντες φοβερότατοι αὐτὸ τε ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἡμῖν ἐγένοντο ἀπαιτοῦντες αὐτὰς καὶ σφας, οὐδ’ εἰδότων τῶν ἄλλων ὁ τι ποτὲ ἦξιον, ἑθεράπευσεν ὁ Σεούρος πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμαῖς.

47 'Ὁ δ’ οὐν Καίσαρ τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις τά τε χρήματα ἔδωκε καὶ χάριν καὶ πλείστην καὶ ἀληθεστάτην ἔγνων ἂνεν γὰρ τῆς παρ’ αὐτῶν φρουρᾶς οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσφοίταν ἑτολμά: τῇ δὲ δὴ γερουσία χάριν μὲν ποιο, πλαστὸς δὲ δὴ καὶ προσποιητός, ἐσχεν ἃ γὰρ βιασάμενὸς σφας εὐφητο, ταῦθ’ ὡς καὶ παρ’ ἐκόντων αὐτῶν εὐληφὸς ἐν ἐνεργεσίας μέρει δήθεν 2 ἑτέθετο. καὶ ἐκείνοι οὖν ἐπὶ τε τούτοις, ὡς καὶ ἑθελονταί αὐτὰ δεδωκότες, ἐσεμνύοντο, καὶ προσέπετο δὴ οὐδ’ ὑπατον ἑλέσθαι πρῶτον ἠθελήκεσαν, τούτῳ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἁρχὴν πάντων τῶν ἂεi ὑπατευόντων, ὡσάκες ἂν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ ἦ, προ- 3 τιμᾶσθαι ἐδοσαν, ὃ τε ὅικας ἐπάξειν ὦτι δυνάμεις καθ’ ἐαυτὸν μηδενὸς ψηφισμανεν συνεστησεν ἡπειλήκεσαν, τούτῳ καὶ ἐτέρας προσκαταλέξας προσέταξαν καὶ ἐφ’ οὖ τῇ τε ἁτιμία καὶ τῇ καταλύσει τῷ Δεκάμῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον πολεμήσας ἐκεκελεύκεσαν, τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ἐκέινου στρα- 4 τόπεδα προσέθεσαν. καὶ τέλος τὴν τε φυλακὴν
soldiers received their money on that occasion. But some men have misunderstood the matter and have thought it was compulsory that the ten thousand sestertces be given always to absolutely all the citizen legions that enter Rome under arms. For this reason the followers of Severus who had entered the city to overthrow Julianus\(^1\) became most terrifying both to their leader himself and to us when they demanded this sum; and Severus won their favour with only a thousand sestertces apiece, the other leaders not even being aware of what it was the soldiers were demanding.

Now Caesar not only gave the soldiers the money but also expressed to them his most hearty and sincere thanks; indeed, he did not even venture to enter the senate-chamber without a guard of them. To the senate he showed gratitude, but it was all fictitious and assumed; for he was accepting as if it were a favour received from their willing hands what he had attained by applying force to them. And so they plumed themselves on their behaviour, as if they had given him these privileges voluntarily; and, moreover, they granted to him, whom previously they had not even wished to elect to the consulship, the right, after his term should expire, of taking precedence, as often as he should be in camp, over any consul for the time being. To him on whom they had threatened to inflict penalties, because he had gathered forces on his own account without anyone's voting for it, they assigned the duty of collecting other forces; and to the man for whose disgrace and overthrow they had ordered Decimus to fight against Antony they added the legions of Decimus. And,

\(^1\) In A.D. 193, that is, in Dio's own lifetime.
τῆς πόλεως, ὃστε πάνθ' ὅσα βούλοιτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ποιεῖν ἔχειν, παρέλαβε, καὶ ἐστὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος γένος κατὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐσεποιήθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μετέθετο. ὁνόμαζε μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐαυτόν, ὡς γε τις δοκεῖ, Καίσαρα, ἐξ οὗ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῷ τούτῳ μετὰ τοῦ κλήρου κατελείφθη οὐ μέντοι οὐτ', ἀκριβῆ τὴν προσηγορίαν οὔτε ἐπὶ πάντας εἶχε, πρὶν δὴ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατρίων αὐτὴν τότε ἐβεβαιώσατο, καὶ οὕτως ἐξ ἐκείνου Γάιος Ἰουλίος Καίσαρ Ὀκταοιανὸς ἐπεκλήθη: νενόμισται γὰρ, ἣν τις ἐσποιήθη, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην αὐτὸν πρόσηκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιησμένου λαμβάνειν, ἐν δὲ τὸν προτέρων ὄνομάτων σχηματισθέν πὼς τηρεῖν. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ Ὀκταοιανὸν ἄλλα Καίσαρα αὐτὸν, ὅτι πάσι τοῖς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτους λαμβάνοντι ἡ προσήγορία αὐτῇ ἐκνενίκηκεν, ὄνομάσω. προσεκτῆσατο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἔτεραν τὴν τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστου, καὶ αὐτὴν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ἐπειτὰ αὐτοκράτορες τίθενται: ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνη μὲν ὅταν ἐστὶ τῆς συγγραφῆς ἐλθεῖν λελεξεῖται, μέχρι δὲ δὴ τότε ἀρκοῦντως ἢ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπίκλησις τῆς τοῦ Ὀκταοιανοῦ δηλούσιν ἀποπληρωσει. Οὕτως οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τοὺς τε στρατιώτας ὕκεισάτο καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐδούλωσατο, πρὸς τέ τοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς τιμωρίαν ἔτράπετο, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ πη τὴν ὁμιλίαν διὰ τοῦ ἐκταράξη, οὐ πρότερον τὴν ἐαυτοῦ γνώμην ἔξεφην πρὶν τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν καταλειφθέντων σφίστης ποιήσασθαι. ὃς δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς χρήμασι, καίπερ ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν οὐσὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ
finally, he obtained the guardianship of the city, so that he was able to do everything he wished in accordance with the laws, and he was adopted into Caesar's family in the regular way and changed his name in consequence. To be sure, even before this he had been accustomed, as some believe, to call himself Caesar, from the time this name had been bequeathed to him along with the inheritance, but he did not use this appellation with any strictness or in his dealings with everybody until at this time he got it confirmed in accordance with established custom, and was thus named, after his adoptive father, Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. For it is the custom for a person, when he is adopted, to take most of his name from his adopter but to keep one of his previous names somewhat altered in form. This is the way of the matter, but I shall call him, not Octavianus, but Caesar, inasmuch as the latter name has prevailed among all who have held sway over the Romans. For although he acquired another name also,—that of Augustus,—and the emperors who succeeded him consequently assumed it also, that one will be described when it comes up in the history, and until then the title Caesar will be sufficient to show that Octavianus is indicated.

This Caesar, then, as soon as he had conciliated the soldiers and dominated the senate, turned himself to avenging his father's murder; but as he was afraid of stirring up the populace more or less in carrying out this plan, he did not make known his intention until he had seen to the payment of the bequests made to them. But when they had been won over by means of the money, although it belonged to the public funds and had been collected
πολέμου προφάσει συναχθεῖσι, κατελήφθησαν, οὗτος δὲ τοὺς σφαγέας μετῆλθε. καὶ ἦν γε μὴ βιαῖος ἀλλ' ἐν δίκη τινὶ ποιεῖν αὐτὸ δόξη, νόμον τέ τινα περὶ τῆς κρίσεως αὐτῶν ἐσήνεγκε καὶ δικαστήρια καὶ ἀποῦσι σφισίν ἐκάθεσεν. οἳ τε γὰρ πλείους αὐτῶν ἀπεδήμουν, καὶ τινὲς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἔθνων εἶχον καὶ οἱ παρόντες οὕτω ἀπήντησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους, καὶ προσέτει καὶ διαλαθόντες ἐξεχώρησαν. ἔρημην οὖν οὐχ ὅπως οἳ τε αὐτοχειρες τοῦ Κάισαρος γενόμενοι καὶ οἱ συνομόσαντες σφισίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ, οὐχ ὅτι μὴ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες τῷ Κάισαρι ἄλλον.
on the pretext of the war, then at length he began to follow up the murderers. And in order that he might not appear to be doing this by force but in accordance with some principle of justice, he proposed a law about their trial and convened the courts even in their absence. For the majority of the assassins were abroad and some were even holding commands over provinces; and those who were present not only failed to appear, by reason of their fear, but also secretly left the country. Consequently not only those who had been the actual murderers of Caesar, and their fellow-conspirators, were convicted by default, but many others also who, so far from having plotted against Caesar, had not even been in the city at the time. This action was concocted chiefly against Sextus Pompey; for although he had had no share whatever in the attack, he was nevertheless condemned because he had been an enemy. Those adjudged guilty were debarred from fire and water and their property confiscated. The provinces, not only those which some of them were governing, but all the others as well, were entrusted to the friends of Caesar.

Among the accused was also Publius Servilius Casca, the tribune. He had already suspected Caesar's purpose in advance and had quietly slipped away, even before Caesar entered the city. For this he was removed from his office, on the charge of having left the city contrary to precedent, the populace being convened for the purpose by his colleague, Publius Titius, and thus he was condemned. When Titius died not long afterward, confirmation was found of a tradition that had remained unbroken
ἀρχαίον τετηρημένον ὁυδεὶς γὰρ ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου συνάρχοντά τινα καταλύσας ἀπιημιαύτησεν, ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν ὁ Βροῦτος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κολλατίνου καταπάνσει ἐπαπέθανε, τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Γράκχος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ὕκταουίου καταλύσει ἀπεσφάγη, ὁ τε Κίννας ὁ τὸν τε Μάρυλλον καὶ τὸν Φλάουιον ἀπαλλάξας οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπεφθάρη.

3 ταύτα μὲν οὕτω τετήρηται, τῶν δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος φονέων συχνοὶ μὲν ἐς τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ χάριν, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄθλων προσαναπεθέμενοι κατηγόρουν· χρήματά τε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἄλοντος οὐσίας καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τήν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐκείνου, εἴ τινα ἄρα ἔχων ἢν, τὸ τε μηκέτι μήτ' αὐτοῦ μήτε τοὺς νικεῖς τοὺς τε ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ στρατεύεσθαι ἐλάβανον, τῶν γε μὴν δικασάντων σφίσθιν οἱ μὲν πλείους τῇ τε χάριτι καὶ τῷ δὲε τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατεψηφίζοντο αὐτῶν, εὐδεικνύμενοι τῇ ὡς καὶ δικαίως αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τὴν ψήφου οἱ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς τιμωρίας σφῶν γεγραμμένοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐδόσαν.

4 καὶ τις Σιλίκιος Κορωνάς Βουλευτὴς ἀντικρύς τοῦ Βροῦτον τὸν Μάρκον ἀπέλυσε. καὶ τότε μὲν αὐτὸς τε ἐπὶ τοῦτο μέγα ἦχει καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπαίνους κρύφα ἐλάμβανε, τῷ τε Καίσαρι, ὅτι μὴ εὐθὺς ἀπέθανε, δόξαν ἐπιεικείας παρέσχεν, ὑστεροῦν δὲ ἐκ προγραφής ἐθανατώθη. 

50 Ταῦτ' οὖν πράξας ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τοῦ Δέπιδου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀντώνιον δῆθεν ἐστράτευσεν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντώνιος, ὡς τότε ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐφυγε καὶ αὐτὸν

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1 ἀπημιαὐτίσεως Βκ., ἀπεκαύτίσεως Ι.Μ.
2 ἄθλων Βκ., ἄλλων Ι.Μ.
from of old; for no one up to that time who had expelled a colleague had lived the year out. In the first place, Brutus died after removing Collatinus from office, then Gracchus was murdered after deposing Octavius, and Cinna, who put Marullus and Flavius out of the way, perished not long afterward. Thus has the tradition been observed. Now the murderers of Caesar had many accusers who were anxious to ingratiate themselves with his son, and many who were persuaded to act thus by the rewards offered. For they received money from the estate of the convicted man and the latter’s honours and office, if he had any, and exemption from further service in the army both for themselves and for their sons and grandsons. And as for the jurors, the majority voted against the accused, indicating in one way or another that they were justified in doing this, both in order to win Caesar’s favour and through fear of him; but there were some who cast their votes out of respect for the law enacted in regard to the punishment of the culprits, and others out of respect for the arms of Caesar. And one Silicius Corona, a senator, voted outright to acquit Marcus Brutus. He made a great boast of this at the time and secretly received approval from the others; and the fact that he was not immediately put to death gained for Caesar a reputation for clemency, but Silicius was afterwards proscribed and executed.

After accomplishing all this Caesar made a pretence of making a campaign against Lepidus and Antony. Antony, it seems, on fleeing from the battle previously
οὐθ' ὁ Καῖσαρ, διὰ τὸ τῷ Δεκάμῳ τὸν πόλεμον ἐγχειρισθῆναι, οὕτε ἐκεῖνος, διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὸν ἀντίπαλον τῷ Καῖσαρι ὑπεξαιρεθῆναι, ἐπε- 
2 διότι, συνελέξατο ὅσους ἡμινήθη τῶν ἐκ τῆς 
μάχης περισσότερων, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δέπιδον 
ἀφίκετο παρασκευασάμενοι μὲν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς 
τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα στρατεύσοντα, προσ-
ταχθέντα δὲ αὐθείς κατὰ χώραν μείναι. ὦι γὰρ 
βούλευσαι ἐπειδὴ ἐπιθυμοῦν τὸν Σιλανὸν τὰ τοῦ 
'Αντωνίου πράξαντα, ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν τὸ Δέπιδον 
καὶ τὸν Πλάγκον τὸν 1 Λούκιον, μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι 
αὐτώ συνάρωσον,2 καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς 
οὐδὲν ἔτι δεῖσθαι σφῶν ἐφασαν. ἢν τε συνεῖ 
ὑποτοπῆσωμεν κὰς τούτου τι κακοχρῆσωμεν, 
ἐκελεύσαν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐκ Οἰυέννης τῆς Ναρβων
νησίας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀλλοβρόιων ποτὲ ἐκπεσόντας 
καὶ ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Ῥοδανοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀράρι-
δος, ἡ συμμέγχυσαι 3 ἀλλήλοις, ιδρυθέντας συν-
οικίας, καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνοι ὑπομείναντες τὸ 
Λουγοῦδουνον μὲν ὁνομαζθὲν νῦν ἢ Λούγοδουνον 
καλοῦμενον ἐκτίσαν, οὐχ ὅτι οὐ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰτα-
λίαν σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἡδυνήθησαν ἂν ἐλθεῖν, 
εἰπέρ ἠθελήκεσαν (ἂνθενέστατα γὰρ ἦδη τὰ 
ψηφίσματα πρὸς τοὺς τὰς δυνάμεις ἔχοντας 
6 ἡγετο), ἀλλ' ὅτι τὴν ἐκβὰσιν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου 
πολέμου περισκοποῦντες τῇ τε βουλῇ πεπει-
θαρχηκέναι δόξαι καὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἁμα κρατύνα-
51 σθαί ἐβούλοντο. ἀμέλει τοῦ τὸ Σιλανὸν ὁ Δέπι-
δος ἔπι τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συμμαχία διεμέμψατο,
BOOK XLVI

described, had not been pursued by Caesar because the war against him had been entrusted to Decimus; and Decimus had not pursued him because he did not wish Caesar's rival to be removed from the field. Hence Antony collected as many as he could of the survivors of the battle and came to Lepidus, who had also made preparations to march into Italy in accordance with the decree, but had afterwards been ordered to remain where he was. For the senators, when they ascertained that Silanus had embraced Antony's cause, were afraid that Lepidus and Lucius Plancus might also cooperate with him, and so they sent a message to them saying they had no further need of them. And to prevent their suspecting anything and consequently causing trouble, they ordered them to establish in a colony in Gallia Narbonensis the men who had once been driven by the Allobroges out of Vienna and afterwards established between the Rhone and the Arar, at their confluence. Therefore they submitted, and founded the town called Lugudunum, now known as Lugdunum,—not because they could not have entered Italy with their arms, had they wished, for the senate's decrees by this time exerted a very weak influence upon such as had troops, but because, while awaiting the outcome of the war Antony was conducting, they wished to appear to have yielded obedience to the senate and at the same time to strengthen their own position. In any case, Lepidus censured Silanus severely for making an alliance with Antony, and when Antony himself
καὶ αὐτῷ ἔκεινοι ἔλθοντι οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐς λόγους ἀφικετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ προσκατηγοροῦν αὐτοῦ ἔπεστις, διὸ ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολέμου λαβεῖν. 

2 τὸν μὲν δὴ ἄλλον χρόνον διὰ ταῦτα οὕτω προσέτετο τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὕτε ἀπεωθεῖτο, ἀλλὰ περιείρα μὲν ἐγγὺς οντα καὶ τοῖς συστρατευομένοις οἱ προσομιλοῦντα, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς λόγους αὐτῷ ἔχει ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπύθετο, τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀμφότεροις 3 σφίσα συνηνέχθη. μαθὼν δὲ τὸ γεγονόμενον Μάρκος Ἰουνεντίος ὑποστράτηγος αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀποτρέπειν αὐτὸν ἔπειρατο, ὡς δ’ οὐκ ἐπείσεν, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνον τῶν στρατιώτων ὀρόντων κάτεχθαι. καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐπαίνους τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡ βουλή καὶ ἀνδρίαντα τὴν τε ταφὴν τὴν δημοσίαν ἐψηφίσατο, τὸν δὲ δὴ Λέπιδον τὴν τέ εἰκόνα τὴν ἐν τῷ βήματι ἰδρυμένην ἀφείλοντο καὶ πολέμου ἐποίησαντο καὶ τινα καὶ ἦμεραν τοὺς συνούσιν αὐτῷ προέθεντο,2 πόλεμον σφίσει ἀπειλήσαντες ἀν μὴ ἐντὸς ἐκείνης ἐγκαταλείψωσιν 5 αὐτῶν. πρὸς δ’ ἐτι τὴν τε ἐσθήτα αὐθις μετέβαλον (ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν Καίσαρος ὑπατεία τὴν ἀστικὴν ἀνειλήφεσαν) καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν Μάρκον τὸν τε Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Σέξτον ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς μετεπέμψαντο ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνοι χρονεὶν ἔδοκουν, τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀγροῖα τῆς συνομοσίας 52 αὐτῶν, τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν. καὶ δ’ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ὑπεδέξατο αὐτὸν, καίτοι τοὺς στρατιώτας

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1 Ἰουνεντίος (Ἰουνεντίος) Xyl., οὐβέντιος LM.
2 προέθεντα Leuncl., προσέθεντο LM.
3 ἀστικὴn Fabricius, ἀστηκικὴn LM.
came, did not hold a conference with him immediately, but sent a despatch to the senate containing further accusations against him, in consequence of which he received not only praise but also the command of the war against him. Hence for the time being he neither received Antony nor repelled him, but allowed him to be near and to associate with his followers, though he did not hold a conference with him; but when he learned of Antony's agreement with Caesar, he then came to terms with both of them himself. Marcus Juventius, his lieutenant, learned what was being done and at first tried to alter his purpose; then, when he did not succeed in persuading him, he made away with himself in the sight of the soldiers. For this the senate voted eulogies and a statue to Juventius and a public funeral, but they deprived Lepidus of his statue which stood upon the rostra and declared him an enemy. They also set a certain day for his comrades and threatened them with war if they did not abandon him before that day. Furthermore, they changed their garb again—for they had resumed citizen's apparel in honour of Caesar's consulship—and summoned Marcus Brutus, Cassius, and Sextus to proceed against them. But when these men seemed likely to be too slow in responding, they entrusted the war to Caesar, being unaware of his league with Antony and Lepidus. Caesar nominally accepted the charge, in spite of having caused his soldiers to shout out the promise

1 M. Juventius Laterensis.
συμβοηθασια ποιησας ἀπερ εἰρηται, ἔργον δ' οὐδεν ἐχόμενον αὐτοὺς ἐπράξεν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐκεκοιμολογητο τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ δι᾽ ἐκείνου καὶ τῷ 1
2 Δεπίδω (Βραχῦ γάρ τι τοῦτο ἐφρώντιζεν), ἀλλ' ὅτι ἰσχυροὺς τε αὐτοὺς ἠφροὶ ὄντας καὶ συμφρονούντας ὑπὸ τῆς συγγενείας ἠσθάνετο, καὶ οὔτε βιάσασθαι σφας ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἐπήλπισε τὸν τε Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον μέγα ἡδὴ δυνάμενος δι' αὐτῶν κατεργάσεσθαι,2 καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ
3 ἐκείνους δι᾽ ἀλλήλων χειρώσεσθαι. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ ἄκων τὰς συνθήκας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐφύλαξε, καὶ σφισὶ καὶ καταλαγάς πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ πρὸς τὸν δήμον ἐπροτάθευσεν, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐσηγησάμενος, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ὑποπτευθῇ τι τῶν γεγονότων, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐξεστάθησεν ὡς καὶ πολεμήσων αὐτοῖς, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κύντος τὴν τε ἀδειαν καὶ τὴν κάθοδον σφισὶν, ὡς καὶ ἀφ' ὅ' ἐαυτοῦ 4 γνώμης, δοθήμαι συνεβούλευσεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐλαβον αὐτὴν πρὶν τῷ τε Καίσαρι τὴν γερονίαν ὡς καὶ ἀγνοοῦντι τὸ γεγονόμενον κοινώσασθαι, καὶ ἐκείνου ἀκοντα δῆδεν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀναγκασθῶν συγκαταδέσθαι.
53 Ἐν Ὁ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, ὁ Δέκιμος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς καὶ πολεμήσων αὐτοῖς ὄρμησεν, καὶ τὸν γε Πλάγκον τὸν Δούκιον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ συνυπατόσοι εἰς τὸ ἐπιτο χρόνος προπανδεδεικτό, προσ-
2 ἡταιρίσατο μαθών δὲ δὴ τὴν τε ἀειτοῦ καταψήφισιν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων συναλλαγὴν ἠθέλησε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπιστρατεύσαι, ἐγκατα-

1 καὶ τῷ Leounel., καὶ τῷ: LM.
2 κατεργάσεσθαι R. Steph., κατεργάσασθαι LM.
3 ἀφ' R. Steph., ἀφ' LM.
already mentioned;¹ but actually he did nothing to follow up his acceptance. This was not because he had made common cause with Antony and through him with Lepidus,—little did he care for that,—but because he saw that they were powerful and knew that their harmony was due to their kinship; and not only could he not use force with them, but he even cherished hopes of bringing about through them the downfall of Cassius and Brutus, who were already very influential, and later of mastering them also by playing one against the other. Accordingly, though reluctantly, he kept his covenant with them and even effected a reconciliation between them and the senate and people. He did not himself propose the matter, lest some suspicion should arise of what had taken place, but he set out as if to make war on them, while Quintus urged, as if on his own motion, that amnesty and restoration should be granted to them. They did not secure this, however, until the senate had communicated the matter to Caesar, who was supposed to be in ignorance of what was going on, and he had agreed to it reluctantly, as he alleged, under compulsion from his soldiers.

While all this was going on, Decimus at first set forth with the intention of making war upon the two, and associated with himself Lucius Plancus, since the latter had been appointed in advance as his colleague for the following year. Learning, however, of his own condemnation and of their reconciliation, he wished to make a campaign against Caesar, but

¹ A reference to the latter half of chap. 42, where Caesar binds his soldiers by oath never to fight against any of their former comrades.
λειφθείς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάγκον τὰ τὲ τοῦ Δέπηδον καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀντώνιον φρονήσαντος, τῇν τε Γαλατίαν ἐκλιπέιν καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν πρὸς τὸν Βρούτον πεζῷ διὰ Ἰλλυρίων ἐπειρήσαν ἔγνω, καὶ τινὰς στρατιώτας, ἐν οἷ ἔδη τὰ ἐν χερσὶ καθίστατο, προεπεμψεν. ὥς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι τε τὰ τὸν Κάισαρος ἀνθείλοντο, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὃ τε Δέπηδος καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιδιώξαντες διὰ ἐτέρων προσέθευτο, συνελήφθη τε μονωθεὶς ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τίνος, καὶ μέλλων σφαγῆσεσθαι ἐδεινοπάθει καὶ ἀδύρετο, μεχρὶς οὗ Ἑλλούιος τὸς Βλασίων, εὐνοικὸς οἶκε συστρατείας ἔχων, ἔαυτὸν ἐκὼν ὥρωντος αὐτοῦ προπάτεκτευε.

54 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὖτος ἐπαπέθανεν, ὁ δὲ ἡ Ἀντώνιος ὃ τε Δέπηδος ἐν μὲν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὑποστρατήγας κατέλητο, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πρὸς τὸν Κάισαρα ὄρμησαν, τὸ τε πλεῖστον καὶ τὸ κράτιστον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπαγόμενοι. οὐτε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς τῳ ἐπιστευὸν αὐτῷ, οὔτε ἐνεργείσιν τινὰ ὀφείλειν ἤθελου, ὡς καὶ δὲ ἔαυτος τὴν τε σφετέραν ἱσχὺν, ἀλλ' οὐ δὲ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τῆς ἀδείας καὶ τῆς καθόδου τετυχήκότες καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἠπιξυζον πάνθ' ὥσα ἐβουλοῦντο καὶ τὸν Κάισαρα καὶ τὸς ἄλλος τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστε τῇ τῶν στρατοπεδῶν σφὸν περιουσία ἐξεργάσεσθαι. τοιαύτῃ μὲν οὖν γνώμῃ ὡς καὶ διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας ἕσαι ἐκακουργεῖτο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῆς τε βρασύτητος αὐτῶν οὐδένος πολέμου βραχύτερα. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ Κάισαρ μετὰ πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπήντυσεν περὶ Βοιωνίαν, μάλα εὖ παρεσκευασμένος ἀμύνασθαι σφαὶ ἀν τε βίαιον πάσχῃ.

1 καθίστατο H. Steph., καθίσταντο LM.
was abandoned by Plancus, who favoured the cause of Lepidus and Antony. Then he decided to leave Gaul and hasten by land through Illyricum into Macedonia to Brutus, and he sent ahead some of the soldiers while he was engaged in finishing the business he had in hand. But they embraced Caesar's cause, and the rest were pursued by Lepidus and Antony and afterwards were won over through the agency of others; thus Decimus, being deserted, was seized by a personal foe. When he was about to be murdered, he fell to complaining and lamenting, until one Helvius Blasio, who was kindly disposed to him from their association in campaigns, voluntarily slew himself first in his sight.

So Decimus died also. Antony and Lepidus left lieutenants in Gaul and themselves proceeded to join Caesar in Italy, taking with them the larger and better part of the army. For they did not yet trust him thoroughly and wished not to owe him any favour, but to seem to have obtained pardon and restoration by their own efforts and strength, rather than through him. They also hoped that, owing to the superiority of their legions, both Caesar and the rest in the city would do whatever they, Antony and Lepidus, wished. So with such a purpose they marched through Italy, as if through a friendly country; still, it was harried, owing to their numbers and audacity, as much as in any war. They were met near Bononia by Caesar with many soldiers; for he was exceedingly well prepared to defend himself against them, if they should offer any violence. Yet

1 i.e. Marcus Brutus. It will have been observed that Dio regularly calls Decimus Brutus by his first name only.
4 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐδεήθη τότε τῶν ὀπλών ἐπ' αὐτούς οὔδεν ἐμίσουν μὲν γὰρ δεινὸς ἄλληλους, τῷ δὲ δὴ τάς τε δυνάμεις ἀντιπάλους πως ἔχειν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐχθροὺς προτιμοφρήσασθαι δὲ ἄλληλων βούλεσθαι, προσποιητὸν ὁμολογίαν ἐποιήσατο το. συνήλθον δὲ ἐς τοὺς λόγους οὐ μόνοι, ἀλλὰ στρατιῶτας ἵσαρίθμους ἔχοντες, εἰν ὑπειδῶ τινι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ παρὰ τὴν Βουωνίαν παραρρεύοντος, ὅστε μηδένα ἄλλον μηδετέρους προσгенέσθαι.

2 καὶ οὕτω πολὺ ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων σφίσιν ἀποστάντες ἄλληλους τε διηρεύνησαν, μὴ καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἔνα καὶ ἐπειδὴ τίς ὑπὸ μάλις ἔχοι, καὶ διαλεξάμενοι τινα ἵσνυχὶ τὸ μὲν σύμπαν ἐπὶ τῇ δυναστείᾳ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνώμοσαν, ἴνα δὲ ἐπὶ μὴ καὶ τῆς ὀλυγαρχίας ἀντικρουσές ἐφίσεθαί δόξωσι, καὶ τις αὐτοῖς φθόνος κὰς τοῦτο καὶ ἐναντίωσις παρὰ τῶν

3 ἄλλων γέννηται, τάδε διωμολογήσαντο κοινῇ μὲν τοὺς τρεῖς πρὸς τε διοίκησιν καὶ πρὸς κατάστασιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμελητάς τε τινας καὶ διορθώτας, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐσ ἐδὲ δὴθεν ἄλλ' ἐς ἐτῇ πέντε, αἱρεθῆται, ὅστε τὰ τέ άλλα πάντα, κὰς μηδὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μῆτε τῷ δήμῳ μῆτε τῇ βουλῇ κοινώσωσι, διοικεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς τέ άλλας τιμᾶς

4 οἷς ἀν ἐθελήσωσι διδόναι, ἱδία δὲ δή, ὅπως μὴ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἄρχην σφετερίζοντας νομισθῶσι, Καίσαρι μὲν τὴν τε Λιβυὴν ἐκατέρω καὶ Σαρδῳ καὶ Σικελίᾳ, Λεπίδῳ δὲ τὴν τε 'Ιβηρίαν πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν 2 Ναρβωνησίαν 3 'Αντωνιορ δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν Γαλατίαν, τὴν τε έντος τῶν

1 προτιμοφρήσασθαι R. Steph., προστιμοφρήσασθαί L.M.
2 τήν R. Steph., καὶ τήν L.M.
3 Ναρβωνησίαν R. Steph., ταρβωνησίαν L.M.
at this time he found no need of arms to oppose them. For although they hated one another bitterly, yet since they had forces about equal and desired to have one another’s assistance in taking vengeance on their other enemies first, they reached a pretended agreement. And the three men came together for the conference, not alone, but each with an equal number of soldiers, on a little island in the river that flows past Bononia, so that no one else might be present on the side of any of them. And so they withdrew to a distance from their several escorts and searched one another carefully, to make sure that no one had a dagger concealed. Then they considered various matters at leisure and, in brief, made a solemn compact for the purpose of securing the sovereignty and overthrowing their enemies; but in order not to appear to be aiming directly at an oligarchy and thus to arouse envy and consequent opposition on the part of the others, they came to the following agreement. In common, the three were to be chosen as commissioners and correctors of a sort, for the administration and settlement of affairs, and that not as permanent officials, they pretended, but for five years, with the understanding that they should manage all public business, whether or not they made any communication about it to the people and the senate, and should give the offices and other honours to whomsoever they pleased. Individually, however, in order that they should not be thought to be appropriating the entire government, they arranged that both Africas, Sardinia, and Sicily should be given to Caesar to rule, all of Spain and Gallia Narbonensis to Lepidus, and the rest of Gaul,
'Αλπεων καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς οὖσαν, ἀρχεὶν δοθῆναι. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἐκείνη μὲν τογάτα, ὃσπερ ἐῖπον, ὅτι τε εἰρημικωτέρα παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἐδόκει εἶναι καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτε τῇ Ῥωμαιίᾳ τῇ ἀστικῇ ἔχρωντο ἥδη, αὐτῇ δὲ δὴ κομάτα, ̂ὅτι οἱ Γαλάται οἱ ταύτῃ ἐς κόμην τὸ πλείστον τὰς τρίχας ἀνέντες ἐπίσημοι κατὰ τὸ τοῦτο παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἦσαν. ταύτα τε οὖν οὕτω διέλαχον, ἵνα αὐτοὶ τε τὰ ἱσχυρότατα λάβωσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δόξαν τοῦ μὴ καὶ τῶν πάντων ὀργυγᾶσθαι παράσχοι, καὶ προσσυνέδυτο τῶν τε ἓχθρών σφόν σφαγὰς ποιήσασθαι, καὶ Δέπιδον μὲν ἐς τὴν τοῦ Δεκίμου χώραν ὑπατον ἀποδείχθεντα τήν τε Ῥώμην καὶ τὴν Λοιπήν Ἰταλίαν διὰ φυλακῆς ἐγείνει, ἐκείνους δὲ ἐπὶ τέ τὸν Βροῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Κάσσιον στατεύσασθαι. καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ ὅρκοις ἐπιστώσαντο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς στρατιῶτας, ὅπως καὶ ἐπήκοοι δῆθεν καὶ μάρτυρες τῶν ὁμολογημένων σφίσι γένονται, συγκαλέσαντες ἐδημηγόρησαν ὅσα καὶ εὐπρέπες καὶ ἀσφαλές ἢν αὐτοῖς εἶπεν. καὶ τοῦτο οἱ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου στρατιῶται τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν τῆς Φουλονίας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ἤν ἐκ τοῦ Κλωδίου εἶχε, τῷ Καίσαρι καίτοι ἔτεραν ἱγγυμένων ἐνεργητεῖν, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου δὴλον ὅτι τοῦτο κατασκευάζατο. καὶ οὐκ ἀπηρνήσατο· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμποδισθήσεσθαι τε ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγραμμαίας πρὸς ἑ
both south and north of the Alps, to Antony. The former was called Gallia Togata, as I have stated, because it seemed to be more peaceful than the other divisions of Gaul, and because the inhabitants already employed the Roman citizen-garb; the other was termed Gallia Comata because the Gauls there for the most part let their hair grow long, and were in this way distinguished from the others. So they made these allotments, for the purpose of securing the strongest provinces themselves and giving others the impression that they were not striving for the whole. It was further agreed that they should bring about the murder of their personal enemies, that Lepidus after being appointed consul in Decimus' stead should keep guard over Rome and the remainder of Italy, and that the others should make an expedition against Brutus and Cassius. And they confirmed these arrangements by oath. After this, in order that the soldiers might ostensibly be hearers and witnesses of the terms they had made, they called them together and harangued them, telling all that it was proper and safe to tell them. Meanwhile the soldiers of Antony, of course by his arrangement, recommended to Caesar the daughter of Fulvia, Antony's wife, whom she had by Clodius,—and this in spite of Caesar's being already betrothed to another. He, however, did not refuse her, as he did not think this marriage would hinder

1 Evidently in a lost portion of the work.
κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πράξειν ἠμέλλεν ἐνόμισε· τά
te ὑπὲρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν Καίσαρα οὐδὲν
ti ἦπτον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον συγγενείας
πάνθ' ὦσα ἠθέλησε καὶ αὐτοῦ πράξαντα ἐπί-
στατο.
him at all in the designs which he had against B.C. 42 Antony. For, in addition to other considerations, he understood that his father Caesar had not failed to carry out all his plans against Pompey, in spite of the kinship between them.
Τάδε ἔνεστον ἐν τῇ Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν τετταρακοστῆ ἑβδόμῃ

α. Ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἁντώνιος καὶ Δέπιδος ἐσ Ῥώμην ἄλθοντες σφαγάς εἰργάσαντο.

β. Περὶ Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου καὶ δὲν ἠπαξάν πρὸ τῆς πρὸς Φιλίππον 3 μάχης.

γ. Ὡς Βρούτου καὶ Κάσσιος ὑπὸ Καῖσαρος ἢτηθήσαν καὶ ἀπέθανον.

Χρόνου πλήθει τὰ λοιπά τῆς Γαλίου Οὐιβίου 4 Πάνου καὶ Ἀβλου Ἰρίτου ὑπατείας, καὶ ἄλλο ἑτος ἐν, ἐν ὑ 5 ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοὺς των οἰκείων ἔγενοτο

Μ. Αἰμίλιος Μ. νῦ. Δέπιδος τῷ Β 6 ὑπ.

Α. Μουνάτιος 4 Α. νῦ. Πλάγκος.

Ταύτ' ὅτι συνθέμενοι καὶ συνυμόσαντες ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, δόξῃ μὲν ὡς καὶ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς ίσης ἄρξοντες, ομόμυχα δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἑκαστὸς πᾶν τὸ κράτος ἔξων, ἦπείγοντο, καίπερ ἐναργεῖστα καὶ πρότερον, ἑποίησαν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέλλον ἐσεσθαί προμαθόντες; τῷ μὲν γὰρ Δεπίδῳ ὡς τε τοῖς ἡφεῖ ἐκατοντάρχῳ περιπλακεῖς καὶ λύκοις ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδο καὶ ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν δειπνοποιοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἑσελθὼν καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν καταβαλὼν τὴν ἑσχή αὐτὶ καὶ τὴν ἑσχήρειαν τὴν ἑπ' αὐτῇ προεσήμενεν, τῷ δ' Ἀντωνίῳ γάλα

1 Φιλίππος Dind., φιλίππον LM.
2 Οὐιβίου Dind., οὐιβίου LM. 3 ὑ Reim., αἱ LM.
4 Α. Μουνάτιος Xyl., λυ' συνάτιος LM.
BOOK XLVII

The following is contained in the Forty-seventh of Dio’s Rome:—

How Caesar, Antony, and Lepidus came to Rome and perpetrated murders (chaps. 1–19).
About Brutus and Cassius and what they did before the battle of Philippi (chaps. 20–36).
How Brutus and Cassius were defeated by Caesar and perished (chaps. 37–49).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Gaius Vibius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, together with one additional year, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

B.C.
42 M. Aemilius M. F. Lepidus (II), L. Munatius L. F. Plancus.

After forming this compact and taking oaths they hastened to Rome, giving the impression that they were all going to rule on equal terms, but each having the intention of getting the entire power himself. Yet they had learned in advance very clearly before this, and very plainly at this time also, what was going to happen. For in the case of Lepidus a serpent that coiled about a centurion’s sword and a wolf that entered his camp and his tent while he was eating dinner and knocked over the table foretold at once his future power and the trouble that was to follow it; in the case of Antony, the flowing of milk round about
DIO’S ROMAN HISTORY

te περὶ τὸ τάφρευμα περιρρυνέω καὶ συνωδία τις νυκτὸς περιηχήσασα τάς τε θυμηδίας καὶ
tὸν ὀλεθρον τῶν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν προέδειξεν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐν ταῦτα πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔλθειν ἐγένετο
τὸ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι τότε εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀετός ὑπὲρ τε τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτοῦ ἱδρυθεῖς, καὶ δύο
κόρακας προσπεσόντας οἱ τίλλειν τε τῶν πτερών πειρωμένων ἀποκτείνας, τὴν νίκην κατ’ ἀμφο-
tέρων αὐτῶν ἔδωκε.

2 Καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, πρότερος μὲν
ὁ Καίσαρ, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, χωρὶς ἐκάτερος,
μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπάντων ἦλθον, καὶ παρα-
χρήμα τὰ δοξαίτα σφίσει διὰ τῶν δημάρχων
ἐνομοθέτησαν. ἡ γὰρ ἐπέταττον καὶ ἐβιάζοντο
τὸ τε όνομα τὸ τοῦ νόμου ἠλάμβανε καὶ προσέτε
καὶ παράκλησιν αὐτοῖς ἔφερε· πάνυ γὰρ ἰκετευ-
θήναι σφας ἔδει ὑπα αὐτὰ ποιῆσαι, καὶ διὰ
τούτο καὶ θυσίαι ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐπ’ εὐτυχῆμαις
τισιν ἐψηφίσθησαν, καὶ ἡ ἐσθής ὡς καὶ εὐδαι-
μονοῦντων σφῶν μετεβλήθη, καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ μὲν
καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραττομένων, πολλῷ δὲ ἐτι

3 πλεῖονος ἐκ τερατῶν δεός αὐτοῖς ὄντος. τὰ τοῖ
γὰρ σημεῖα τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ τὴν πόλιν
φυλάττοντος ἀραχνών ἄνεπλησθη, καὶ ὅπλα ἐκ
tῆς γῆς ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνώτα ὀφθη, κτύπος τε
ἀπ’ αὐτῶν πολὺς ἱκουσθη, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀσκλη-
πείῳ 2 μελίσσαι ἐς τὴν ἄκραν πολλὰ συνε-
στράφησαν, γυῖτε δὲ ἐπὶ τέ τοῦ νεό τοῦ Γενίου 3
τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ 4 τῆς Ὀμονοίας παμπληθείς
ἱδρύθησαν.

1 τὸ Xiph., τι L.M. 2 το Ἀσκληπείῳ Be., τοῦ Ἀσκληπείῳ LM.
3 Γενίου Xyl., γενείου LM. 4 τοῦ added by Rk.
the trenches and the resounding of a kind of chant at night foreshadowed the satisfactions that he was to experience and the destruction that was to grow out of them. These portents befell them before they entered Italy; but in Caesar’s case it was at this very time, immediately after the covenant had been made, that an eagle settled upon his tent and killed two crows which had attacked it and were trying to pluck out its feathers—a sign which gave him the victory over both his rivals.

So they came to Rome with all their troops, first Caesar and then the others, each one separately, and immediately they enacted through the tribunes the laws they had agreed upon. For the measures which they dictated and forced through not only assumed the name of law, but actually had to be supported by petitions, since the triumvirs required to be besought earnestly to pass them. Hence sacrifices were voted in honour of them as if for successes and the people changed their attire as if they had been blessed by fortune, although great fear was upon them because of these very acts and still greater fear because of omens. For the standards of the army which was guarding the city became covered with cobwebs, pieces of armour were seen to rise up from the earth to the sky and a great clashing that came from them was heard; in the shrine of Aesculapius bees gathered in swarms on the ceiling, and crowds of vultures settled on the temple of the Genius Populi and on that of Concordia.
Καὶ αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ἦτο ὡς εἰπεῖν ὅντων αἱ τε σφαγαὶ ἐκεῖναι αἰς ποτε ὁ Σύλλας ἐκ τῶν προ-
γραφῶν ἐκέχρητο ἐπανήχθησαν, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπασα νεκρῶν ἐπληρώθη πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς
οἰκίαις πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐν τε ταῖς
ἀγοραῖς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἱεροὶς σποράδην ἀπεκτίν-
νυντο, καὶ αἱ τε κεφαλαὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα
ἀγίας ἀνετίθεντο, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σῶματα τὰ μὲν
αὐτοῦ τε ἔρρητεῖτο καὶ ὑπὸ κυνὸν ὀρνίθων τε
ἡσθίετο, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνεβάλλετο. τὰ τε
ἀλλὰ ὁσα ἐπὶ τοῦ Σύλλου πρῶτον ἐπέπραγκτο,
καὶ τὸτε συνεφέρετο, πλην ὅτι δύο μόνα λευκω-
ματα, χωρὶς μὲν τῶν Βουλευτῶν χωρὶς δὲ τῶν
アルバム, ἐξετέθη. καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτὸν διὸ τὸ τοῦτ
ἐγένετο, οὔτε παρ’ ἐτέρον τινὸς μαθεὶν οὔτ’ αὐτὸς
εὑρεῖν ἡφυνήθην, ὁ γὰρ τοῦ μόνου ἀν τις, τὸ γε
ἐλάττως βανατωθῆναι, ἐνενόησεν, ἢκιστα ἄληθὲς
ἔστιν πολλῷ γὰρ πλείους, ἀτε καὶ ὑπὸ πλείονων,
ἐσεχράφθησαν. τοῦτο δὲ οὕ τασ σφαγὰς τὰς
ἐν τῷ πρὶν γενομένως παρῆλθασιν ἐπεὶ ὅτι ὡς
οὐκ ἀναμίξε τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν πρῶτων τοὺς πολλοῖς
アルバム χωρὶς ἐξετέθη, λήρον που πολὺν τοὺς γε
ἐκ τοῦ ομοίου σφαγησομένοις ἐφερευ. ἀντ’
ἐκεῖνον δὲ δὴ ἐτερα καὶ πάνυ δυσχερῆ, καὶ περ
μηδεμέαν τὸν πρῶτον ὑπερβολη, ὡσ γε καὶ
ἐδόκει, λιπόντων, οὐκ ὀλίγα αὐτοῖς συνηνέχθη.
ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Σύλλου οἱ τε τε δρόμους τὰς τε
τόλμας ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα, ἀτε καὶ πρῶτον τοῦ

1 προσγραφῶν R. Steph., προσγραφῶν LM.
2 ἐπανήχθησαν Naber, ἐπανήχθησαν LM.
3 ἐνενόησεν M., ἐνενόησαν L. 4 γε Leuncl., τε LM.
5 ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα Ba., πρόσχημα LM.
And while the people were still in this state of mind, those murders by proscription which Sulla\(^1\) had once indulged in were once more resorted to and the whole city was filled with corpses. Many were killed in their houses, many even in the streets and here and there in the fora and around the temples; the heads of the victims were once more set up upon the rostra and their bodies either allowed to lie where they were, to be devoured by dogs and birds, or else cast into the river. Everything that had been done before in the days of Sulla occurred also at this time, except that only two white tablets were posted, one for the senators and one for the others. The reason for this I have not been able to learn from anyone else or to find out myself; for the only reason that might occur to one, namely, that fewer were to be put to death, is by no means true, since many more names were posted, owing to the fact that there were more persons making the lists. However, this circumstance did not cause these proscriptions to differ from the murders on the earlier occasion; since the posting of the names of the prominent citizens, not promiscuously along with those of the rabble, but separately, must surely have seemed a very absurd distinction to the men who were to be murdered on precisely the same terms. But over against this one difference there were not a few other conditions of a very distressing nature that fell to their lot, although Sulla's proscriptions, to all appearances, left no room for outdoing them. In Sulla's time, to be sure, the perpetrators had committed their shocking deeds on the spur of the moment, inasmuch as they were trying this sort of thing for the

\(^1\) Cf. Frg. 109.
dio's roman history

τοιούτων πειρώμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἔκ προβούλησις ἐποιήντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἦττον τὰ πλείω κακοτρόπως, οἷα οὐκ ἔκ προνοίας ἂλλ' ἔκ συντυχίας, ἐπραττόν καὶ οἱ πάσχοντες ἔξαπιναιαὶ τε καὶ ἀνήκουστοι συμφοραῖς περιπέπτοντες ῥαστάνων τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνελπίστου τῶν παθῶν ἐλάμβανον.

2 τότε δὲ πάντα μὲν τὰ προτολμηθέντα οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ χειρουργήσαντες, οἱ δὲ ἱδόντες, οἱ δ' ἀκοὴ γοῦν ὑπογύρικροιν, πολλὰ δ' οὖν ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου τῇ προσοδοκίᾳ τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ μὲν ὡς δράσουσι προσεπικοδιατέσθησαν, οἱ δ' ὡς πείσονται.

3 προσδείπτας, ἐκεῖνοι τε πλείστην ἀτοπίαν τῇ τῇ ζηλώσει τῶν προτέρων ἐργών καὶ τῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν σπουδῇ 3 ἐς τὸ καυκότατα 4 πῶς τὰ ἐπιβουλεύματα ἐς ἐπιτεχνήσεως παρεῖχον, καὶ οἱ ἐτεροὶ πάνθ' ὅσα παθεῖν ἔδύνατο λογιζόμενοι πολύ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων, ὡς καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς.

4 ἡδή οὖν, διεκναίοντο. καὶ τε 5 τοῦτο χαλεπωτέρως ἢ πρὶν ἀπῆλλασσον, καὶ διότι τότε μὲν μόνοι οἱ τοῦ Σύλλου τῶν τε περὶ αὐτῶν δυνατῶν ἐχθροὶ διώλοντο, τῶν δὲ δὴ φίλων αὐτοῦ τῶν τε ἄλλων. ἀνθρώπων οὔτες ἐκεῖνοι γε κελεύσαντος

2 ἐφθάρη, ὡστε ἐξ τῶν πάνω πλουσίων (τούτων γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι εἰρήνη πρὸς τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων εἰ τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεται) οἷς γε λοιπὸι ἑθάρισκον, ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς δευτέραις тαύταις σφαγαῖς οὐχ ὅπως οἱ

1 ὑπογύρικροι R. Steph., ὑπογύρικτι LM.
2 δ' οὖν Bk., γοῦν LM. 3 σπουδῇ supplied by Xyl.
4 καυκότατα R. Steph., καυκότατα LM. 5 τε added by Bk.
first time, and not as the result of deliberate planning, and hence in most cases they behaved less wickedly, since they were acting, not with malice aforethought, but as chance dictated; and the victims, encountering misfortunes which came upon them suddenly and had never before been heard of by them, found some alleviation in the unexpectedness of their sufferings. At this time, however, when men had either taken part themselves in all the former terrible deeds, or had beheld them, or were at any rate thoroughly acquainted with them from recent descriptions, and accordingly in all the time between, in the expectation of a recurrence of similar outrages, had, on the one hand, been devising many additional horrors, with the idea that they would inflict them, and, on the other hand, been conjuring up additional terrors with the idea that they would suffer them, the perpetrators resorted to most unusual devices in their emulation of the outrages of yore and their consequent eagerness to introduce into their schemes, by their ingenuity, novel features of some sort; and the victims, reflecting upon all that they might suffer, underwent great tortures in their minds even before their bodies were put to torture, as if they were already in the very midst of their sufferings. Another reason for their faring worse on this occasion than before was that previously only the enemies of Sulla and of the leaders associated with him were destroyed, whereas among the friends of Sulla or of the other men no one perished, at least not at Sulla's bidding; so that, apart from the very wealthy, who can never be at peace on such occasions with the man more powerful than themselves, all the rest had no cause for fear. In this second series of murders,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν ἢ καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πάνυ

3 φίλοι καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐκτείνοντο. Ἀλλως μὲν γὰρ

η τις ἡ σύνεται ἐς ἐχθραν ἀπ' ἱδίας τινὸς αὐτίας

toὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐκεῖνοι, ὡς καὶ σφαγῆναι πρὸς

αὐτῶν, ἐληλύθει· τὰ δὲ δὴ κοινὰ πράγματα καὶ

αἱ τῶν δυναστείων διαλλαγαί καὶ τὰς φιλίας τὰς

tε ἐχθρας τὰς σφοδρὰς αὐτοῖς ἐπεποίηκεσαν.

4 πάντας γὰρ τοὺς τῷ πέλας συναραμένους1 τε τι

καὶ συμπράξαντας ἐν πολεμίῳ μοίρα οἱ ἔτεροι

ἐπὶδειντο· καὶ οὕτω συνέβαινε τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ

φίλους τινὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐχθροὺς πάντων2 γεγο-

νέναι ὡστε, ἐν φιδία ἐκαστὸς τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαν-

tας οἱ ἡμῶντο, καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους κοινὴ συν-

5 ἀπώλλυσαν. ἔκ γὰρ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πραγμά-

tων τὸ τε οἰκειωθὲν σφισὶ καὶ τὸ ἀλλητριωθὲν ἐν

λόγῳ τινὰ τὶθέμενοι οὕτε τῶν ἕαυτῶν τις αὐτῶν

ἐχθρὸν τιμωρήσασθαι, φίλον ἐτέρου ὑπάρχει ἐδύνατο

μὴ ἀντιδιδοὺς ἄλλου, καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν γεγονότων

ὁργῆς τῆς τε ἐπειτα ὑποψίας παρ' οὕτων τὴν τῶν

ἐταίρικὴν συντρίψῃ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ διαφόρου

tιμωρίαν ποιούμενοι ῥαδίως σφᾶς ἀντεδίδοσαν.

6 καὶ τοῦτον τοὺς τε φιλτάτους ἀντὶ τῶν ἐχθρίστων

ἀλλήλους προέβαλλον, καὶ τοὺς πολεμιωτάτους

ἀντὶ τῶν ἐταιριστῶν, τοῦτο μὲν ἴσος πρὸς

ἴσους, τοῦτο δὲ ἀνδ' ἴσος πλείονας ἢ καὶ ἁντὶ

1 συναραμένου R. Steph., συναραμένουs LM.

2 πάντως Kuiper, πάντως LM.
however, not only the men's enemies or the rich were being killed, but also their best friends, incredible as it may seem. For in general almost nobody had incurred the enmity of those men for any mere private cause, to such an extent as to be murdered by them; but it was their public relations and their changing of their allegiance from one political leader to another that had created for the Romans not only their friendships, but also their violent enmities. For everyone who had made common cause or cooperated with his neighbour in anything was regarded by all the rest in the light of an enemy. And thus it came about that the same persons had become friends of some one of the leaders and enemies of them all as a body, so that while privately each leader was merely taking vengeance upon those who had plotted against him, as a group they were destroying even their dearest friends. For in consequence of the dealings they had had with one another they kept a sort of reckoning of the items of "friend" and "enemy," and no one of their number could take vengeance on one of his own enemies, if he was a friend of one of the other two, without giving up some friend in return; and because of their resentment over what was past and their suspicion regarding the future they cared nothing about the saving of an associate as over against their vengeance upon an adversary, and therefore readily gave their friends in return. In consequence they were now offering up to each other their staunchest friends in return for their bitterest enemies, and getting their most implacable foes in return for their closest comrades, sometimes exchanging equal numbers and some-
πλειόνων ἐλάττωνας, ἡλλάττωντο, τά τε ἄλλα ἐν ἀγοράς τρόπω ποιούμενοι, καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντες

2 ὥσπερ ἐν πρατηρίῳ. εἰ μὲν γάρ ἐν ἀντάξιοις οὐκ ἂν οἰσομερεῖν εὐρίσκετο, ἀπλὴ ἡ ἀντιδοσις ἐγίγνετο· ὅσοι δὲ δὴ ἀρετῆς τῆς ἡ ἡμέρας ἢ καὶ συγγένεια ἀνετίμα, ἀντὶ πλειόνων ἀπωλλυντο. ἀτε γάρ ἐν ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις, καὶ πολλῷ μὲν χρόνῳ πολλαῖς δὲ καὶ πράξεις γενομένοις, συναυλία καὶ τοῖς πάνου συγγενεῖς κατὰ τό

3 στασιωτικὸν προσεκεκρούκεσαν. ἀμέλει τῷ τε 'Αντωνίῳ καὶ ὁ θείος Δούκιος 2 Καίσαρ καὶ τῷ Δεσπότῃ καὶ ἀδελφὸς Δούκιος Παῦλος ἑπετεπολέμωσον. ἀλλ' οὕτωι μὲν ἐσώθησαν, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων πολλοί καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς τε φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις, υφ' ὅπερ ἐστι μᾶλλον καὶ σωθησθαί καὶ τιμηθῆσθαι προσεόδωκων, ἐσφαγγεσαν. ὅπως γάρ μιθείς στερηθῆσθαι τῶν ἄθλων φοβηθεῖσθαι, ὅτι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Σύλλου φονευσαντός τινας οὖν Κάτων, ὁ Μάρκος ταμείαις ἀπήτησε πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς εἰλήφεσαν, ἦττον τίνα ἀποκτείνη, προηγόρευσαν ὅτι οὐδένα αὐτῶν

4 ἐς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα ἐσγράψασι. 4 τοὺς 5 τε οὖν ἄλλους ἐτοιμότερον διὰ τούτως ἐσφαζον καὶ τοὺς εὐπόρους, εἰ καὶ μηδενὶ αὐτῶν ἀπήχθοντο παμπόλλων τε γὰρ χρημάτων δεόμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ὁπὸθεν ἄλλοθεν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποπληρώσωσί, κοινὴν τινα κατὰ τῶν

1 γάρ supplied by Bk.
2 συγγενεῖς R. Steph., συγγενεῖς LM.
3 Δούκιος Xyl., λούκιος ἄρτιώτιος LM.
4 ἐσγράψασι Reim., ἐσγράφασι LM.
5 τούς M cod. Peir., τούτους L.
times several for one or fewer for more, and carrying on their negotiations in general after the fashion of a market, particularly in over-bidding one another as at an auction. If one person was found who matched another in value so that there was a parity between them, there was an even exchange; but those whose value was enhanced by some excellence or rank or even relationship perished each at the price of several lives. For, as is natural in civil wars, which last a long time and involve many incidents, many had in the course of the strife come into collision even with their nearest relatives. For example, Antony had found an enemy in his uncle, Lucius Caesar, and Lepidus in his brother, Lucius Paullus. But though the lives of these men were spared, yet many of the rest were slaughtered even in the houses of their friends and relatives, at whose hands they most confidently expected to be saved and honoured. For, in order that no one should hesitate to kill another out of fear of being deprived of the rewards,—inasmuch as Marcus Cato, in his quaestorship, had demanded back from those who had murdered anyone in the time of Sulla all that they had received for their work,—they proclaimed that the name of none of the perpetrators should be registered in the public records. Encouraged by this, men proceeded to slay, in addition to the others, also the well-to-do, even when they had no dislike for any of them. For since they stood in need of vast sums of money and had no other source from which to satisfy the desires of their soldiers, they affected a kind of common enmity
6 πλουσίων ἔχθραν προσέθεντο. καὶ ἄλλα τε διὰ τούτο πολλὰ παρενομάθη, καὶ παιδίσκοι τινὰ ἐς ἐφήβους ἐσήγαγον, ὡς ὡς ἂν δρας ἧδη τελῶν ἀποθανή.

7 Ταύτα δὲ ἐπράττετο μὲν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μάλιστα (πρὸς τε ἡμῖν τοῦ Καῖσαρος τοῦ προτέρου ἐπὶ μακρότατον τιμηθέντες, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς τε ἤγεμονίαις ἐπὶ πλείστον γενόμενοι, πολλοὺς ἐχθροὺς εἰχον). εἴδοκε δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρος κατὰ τὴν τῆς δυναστείας κοινωνίαν γίγνεσθαι, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς γε οὖν τις συνχων ἀποκτείναι ἐδέσθη τῇ τε ἡμῖν φύσει οὐκ ἄμοι ἦν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἡθεῖν ἐνετέθηαττο. πρὸς δὲ ἔτι νέος τε ὁν καὶ ἄρτε ἐς τὰ πράγματα παριῶν οὐτ' ἀλλα ἀνάγκῃ πολλοὺς σφοδροὺς μισεῖν εἴχε καὶ φιλεῖσθαι

3 ἦθελε. σημεῖον δὲ ὅτι, ἀφ' οὗ τῆς τε πρὸς ἐκείνους συναρχίας ἀπηλλάγη καὶ τὸ κράτος μόνος ἔσχεν, οὖν ἔτι τοιοῦτον ἐπραξαν. καὶ τότε δὲ οὐχ ὅσον πολλοὺς οὐκ ἐφθειρεν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐσωσε πλείστους, τοὺς τε προδούσι τοὺς δεσπότας ἡ τοὺς φίλους χαλεπώτατα καὶ τοῖς συναρμένους τισὶν ἐπεικέστατα ἐχρήσατο. τεκμηρίων δὲ, Τανουσία γυνὴ ἐπιφανῆς τὴν ἄνδρα Τίτον Οὐίνον ἐπικηρυχθέντα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐς κυβερνόν παρὰ ἀπελευθέρω τινὶ Φιλοποίμενι κατέκρυψεν, ὥστε καὶ πίστιν τοῦ τεθνηκέναι αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἰημοτελῇ ἕορτην, ἢν συγγενιῆς τῆς αὐτῆς ποιήσεων ἐμελλε, τηρήσασα, τὸν τε Καίσαρα

1 προσέθεντο M cod. Peir., προσέθεντο L.
2 παρενομάθη L, παρενομάθη M, παρενομάθη cod. Peir.
3 ἀνάγκῃ Xiph., δὲν ἀνάγκῃ LM.
4 συναρμένοις cod. Peir., συναρμένοις LM.
against the rich. And among the many other lawless acts they committed in carrying out this policy, they took a lad and enrolled him among the youths of military age, in order that they might kill him as now classed among the grown men.

These acts were committed chiefly by Lepidus and Antony; for they had been honoured by the former Caesar for many years, and as they had been holding offices and governorships for a long time they had many enemies. But Caesar seems to have taken part in the business merely because of his sharing the authority; since he himself had no need at all to kill a large number; for he was not naturally cruel and had been brought up in his father's ways. Moreover, as he was still a young man and had just entered politics, he was under no necessity in any case of hating many persons violently, and, besides, he wished to be loved. A proof of this is that from the time he broke off his joint rulership with his colleagues and held the power alone he no longer did anything of the sort. And even at this time he not only refrained from destroying many but actually saved a very large number; and he treated with great severity those who betrayed their masters or friends and very leniently those who helped others; witness the case of Tanusia, a woman of note. She at first concealed her husband Titus Vinius, one of the proscribed, in a chest at the house of a freedman named Philopoemen and so made it appear that he had been killed. Later she waited for a popular festival, which a relative of hers was to direct, and through the
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

διὰ τῆς Ὀκταούασιας τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐς τὸ θέατρον
5 μόνον τῶν τριῶν ἐσελθεῖν διεπράξατο, κἀνταύθα
ἐσπηδήσασα τὸ τε πραχθὲν ἀγνοοῦντι οἱ ἐμήνυσε,
καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν αὐτὴν ἐσκομίσασα ἐκείθεν τῶν
ἀνδρα ἐξήγαγαν, ὡστε τὸν Καῖσαρα θαυμάσαντα
πάντας μὲν αὐτούς ἀφεῖναι (καὶ γὰρ τοὺς συγκρύ-
ψαί τινα θάνατος προείρητο), τὸν δὲ 1 Φιλοποι-
μενα καὶ ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα κατατάξαι.

8 'Εκείνος μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς, ὡσοὺς γε καὶ ἡδυνήθη, 2
διεσώσατο· ὦ τε Λέπιδος τῷ τὸ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Παύ-
λῳ ἐς Μίλητον ἐκδράναι ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
ἀλλοὺς οὖκ ἀπαράίτητος ἦν· ὃ δὲ Αὐτώνιος ὁμός
καὶ ἀνήλεως οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς ἐκτεθέντας ἅλλα καὶ
tους ἐπικουρήσασι τινὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιχειρήσαντας
2 ἐκτείνε. τάς τε κεφαλὰς σφων, εἰ καὶ σιτού-
μενος ἐτύγχανεν, ἐπεσκόπει, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
tῆς τα ἀνοσιωτάτης καὶ τῆς οἰκτροτάτης αὐτῶν
ὄψεως ἐνεπίμπλατο. καὶ ἡ γε 3 Φουλουία πολ-
λοὺς καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ κατ' ἐχθραν καὶ διὰ χρήματα,
καὶ ἐστὶν οὐς οὐδὲ γνωστοκομεῖν υπὸ τοῦ
3 ἀνδρός, ἑβανάτωσεν· ἐνὸς γούν τινος κεφαλῆ
ιδὼν ἐίπεν ὅτι "τοῦτον οὐκ ἦπιστάμην." ὡς ὁ
οὖν καὶ ἡ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ποτὲ ἐκομίσθη σφίσι
(φεύγων γὰρ καὶ καταληψθεὶς ἐσφάγη), ὁ μὲν
'Αὐτώνιος πολλὰ αὐτῷ καὶ δυσχερή ἐξοινίδισας
ἐπεὶ ἐκελεύσειν αὐτὴν ἐκφανεστερον τῶν ἄλλων
ἐν τῷ βήματι προτεθηναι, ἵν' ὃθεν κατ' αὐτοῦ
dημηγορὸν ἥκουσα, ἐνταύθα μετὰ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς
4 δεξιάς, ὡσπερ ἀπετέμητο, ὀρφὸτο· ἡ δὲ ἡ Φου-
λουία ἐς τε τὰς χειρὰς αὐτὴν πρὶν ἀποκομισθήναι

1 δί ΛΜ, δί δι cod. Peir. 2 ἡδυνήθη St., ἡδυνήθη ΛΜ.
3 γε Βκ., τε ΛΜ. 4 ὁ μὲν Μ Xiph., ὁ μὲν οὖν Λ.
influence of Caesar's sister Octavia brought it about that Caesar alone of the triumvirs entered the theatre. Then she rushed in and informed him of her deed, of which he was still ignorant, brought in the chest itself and produced from it her husband. Caesar, astonished, released all of them—for death was the penalty also for such as concealed anyone—and enrolled Philopoemen among the knights.

So Caesar saved the lives of as many as he could; and Lepidus allowed his brother Paulus to escape to Miletus and was not inexorable toward the others. But Antony killed savagely and mercilessly, not only those whose names had been posted, but likewise those who had attempted to assist any of them. He always viewed their heads, even if he happened to be eating, and sated himself to the fullest extent on this most unholy and pitiable sight. And even Fulvia also caused the death of many, both to satisfy her enmity and to gain their wealth, in some cases men with whom her husband was not even acquainted; at any rate, when he saw the head of one man, he exclaimed: "I knew not this man!" When, however, the head of Cicero also was brought to them one day (he had been overtaken and slain in flight), Antony uttered many bitter reproaches against it and then ordered it to be exposed on the rostra more prominently than the rest, in order that it might be seen in the very place where Cicero had so often been heard declaiming against him, together with his right hand, just as it had been cut off. And Fulvia took the head into her hands before it was...
ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἐμπικραναμένη οἱ καὶ ἐμπτύσασα ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα ἐπέθηκε, καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς διανοίζασα¹ τὴν τε γῆλωσαν ἐξειλκυσε καὶ ταῖς βελόναις αῖς ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐχρῆτο κατεκέντησε, πολλὰ ἀμα καὶ μιαρὰ προσεπισκόπτουσα.

5 καὶ οὕτω δ’ οὖν ὅμως ἔσωσάν τινας, παρ’ ἕν γε καὶ πλεῖον χρήματα ἔλαβον ἡ τελευτησάντων εὐρήσειν ἠλπίσαι καὶ ἔνα γε μὴ κεναι αἱ ἐν τοῖς λευκῶμαι χώραι τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν ὄσιν, ἐτέρους ἀντενέγραψαν. πλὴν γε ὅτι τὸν θείον ὁ ᾿Αντώνιος, πολλά τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἐαυτοῦ τῆς ᾿Ιουλίας ἰκετευσάσης, ἀφῆκεν, οὔδεν ἄλλο χρηστῶν εἰργάσατο.²

9 Πολύτροποι μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα αἱ σφαγαί, πολυειδεῖς δὲ καὶ σωτηρίαι τισιν ἐγένοντο. συνεχοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τῶν φιλτάτων ἀπώλοντο, συνεχοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχύστων ἐσώθησαν, ἀλλοὶ σφάζαντες αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, ἀλλοι αὐτοῖ οἱ ἐπελθόντες ὡς καὶ φονεύσετε ³ ἀπέλυσαν. προδόντες δὲ τινὲς δεσπότας ἢ καὶ φίλους ἐκολάσθησαν, καὶ ἐτεροί δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐτεμήθησαν οἱ τε περιποιήσαντες τινας οἱ μὲν δίκην ἔδοσαν οἱ δὲ καὶ 2 γέρα ἐλαβον. οἱ γὰρ οὕς ἕνως ἄνδρος ἄλλα τριῶν πρὸς τε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἐκάστου καὶ πρός το ἓδιον συμφέρον πάντα ποιοῦντων, καὶ μήτε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐγχροὺς ἢ φίλους ἤγγυμένων, σωθήναι τε πολλάκις ὃν ο’ ἐτερος ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ φθαρῆναι αὐτὸν ὅτι ἐτερος περιγενέσθαι ἦθελε, σπουδαζόντων, πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα συνέβαινεν, ὡς τοὺν

¹ διαπείγασα Ioann. Antioch., Xiph., Zou., διαπείγασα I.M.
² οὐδὲν—εἰργάσατο om. L.
³ φονεύσετε Rk., φονεύσετα I.M., ⁴ ο’ om. L.
BOOK XLVII

removed, and after abusing it spitefully and spitting upon it, set it on her knees, opened the mouth, and pulled out the tongue, which she pierced with the pins that she used for her hair, at the same time uttering many brutal jests. Yet even this pair saved some persons from whom they got more money than they could expect to obtain by their death; and in order that the places for their names on the tablets might not be empty, they inscribed others in their stead. Indeed, with the exception of releasing his uncle at the earnest entreaty of his mother Julia, Antony performed no praiseworthy act.

For these reasons the murders took many forms, and also the rescues in individual instances were of divers kinds. Many perished at the hands of their dearest friends, and many were saved by their bitterest enemies. Some slew themselves, and others were released by the very men who came upon them to murder them. Some who betrayed masters or friends were punished, and others were honoured for this very reason; of those who helped others save their lives, some paid the penalty and others actually received rewards. For since it was not one man who was concerned, but three, each doing anything and everything according to his own desire and his private advantage and regarding different sets of men as enemies or friends, and each having often occasion to desire earnestly that the life of a man be spared whom one of the others wished to destroy, or, on the other hand, that a man be put to death whom one of the others wished to have survive, many complicated situations resulted, according as
καὶ εὐνοίας ἢ μίσους πρὸς τινα ἔχοντες ἦσαν.

10 ἐγὼ οὖν τὸ μὲν πάντα αὐτὰ ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἐκαστὸν ἐπεξελθεῖν παραλείψω (πάμπολυ τε γὰρ ἔργον ἄν εἶη, καὶ οὐδὲν μέγα τῇ συγγραφῇ παρέξεται), ὅ ἐδὲ ἀξιομημόνευτα μάλιστα εἰναι νομίζω, διηγη-

σομαί.

2 Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐς ἔπαιλιν¹ τις τὸν δεσπότην κατακρύψας, εἰτ' ἐπειδῆ καὶ δος καθ' ἐτέρου τινὸς μήνυσιν ἀπολείσθαι ἐμελλε, τὴν τε ἔσθήτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤλλαξατο, καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς τοῖς ἔπιού-

σιν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὧν προαπήνητη καὶ ἐσφάγῃ καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἀπετράπωτο, νομίζαν-

τες δὲν ἐβούλουντο πεφονευκέναι, ὁ δὲ ἀπελθόντων

3 αὐτῶν ἐτέρωσε διέφυγε. τοῦτο δὲ ἀλλος τις τὴν σκευὴν ὁμοίως ἀπασαν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην διαλ-

λάξας αὐτὸς τε ἐς φορείου κατάστηγον ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἐκεῖνον διφροφορεῖν ἐποίησε· κἂ τὸτοῦ κατα-

ληφθέντες ὁ μὲν οὔτ' ὀφθεὶς ἐφονεύθη, ὁ δὲ ὡς τις

4 σκευοφόρος διεσώθη. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἵσως ² ἐκεῖνοι εἰς ἐνεργεσίας τινὸς προὐπαρχοῦσης σφῆς τοῖς εὖ 

τοιχὶσαι ἀνταπέδοσαν· στηματίας δὲ τις ὅπιο

ν ὃσον οὐ προεδώκε τὸν στίξαντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω προθύμως ἐσώσει. ὡς γοῦν ὑπεκκομίζων ποι 

ἀυτὸν ἐφωράθη καὶ ἐδιώκετο, ἀπέκτεινε τὸ τινα ἐνυχύντα τι κατὰ τύχην, καὶ τὸν στολὴν αὐτοῦ 

τῶ δεσπότη δους τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ πυρᾶν ἐπέθηκεν,

5 αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν τε ἔσθήτα καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον τῶ 

δεσπότου λαβὼν ἀπήνησε τοῖς διώκουσι, καὶ 

πλασάμενος ὡς καὶ φεύγοντα αὐτὸν ἀπεκτονῶς

¹ ἔπαιλιν Schwartz (from Appian), σκῆλαιον LM cod. Peir.
² καὶ cod. Peir., om. LM.
³ ἵσως cod. Peir., om. LM Xiph.
they felt good-will or hatred toward anyone. I shall accordingly refrain from giving an accurate and detailed description of all such incidents, since this would be a vast undertaking and there would be no great gain to my history, but shall relate what I regard as most worthy of remembrance.

In one case a slave had hidden his master in a villa, and then, when even so the master was likely to perish through information given by a third person, this slave changed clothes with him, and wearing his master's apparel, went to meet the pursuers as if he were himself the master, and was murdered. So they turned aside, thinking they had slain the man they wished, and when they had departed, the master made his escape to some other place. Again, another slave likewise changed his entire dress with his master and entered a covered litter himself, making his master one of the carriers; and so, when they were overtaken, he was killed without being even looked at, while the master was spared as being a porter. These, perhaps, are instances of favours repaid by these slaves to their indulgent masters in recognition of some kindness previously received. But there was also a branded runaway slave who, so far from betraying the man who had branded him, very gladly saved him. It was discovered that he was smuggling his master to some place of safety and a pursuit was begun; so he killed a man who met him by chance, gave the man's clothes to his master, and placing the corpse upon a pyre, he himself took his master's clothing and ring, went to meet the pursuers, and upon claiming that he had killed his master while fleeing, his word was believed,
6 ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἐσ ὀυδεμίαν οὖν ματος μνήμην ἀνήκει· Ὑσίδιον ἃς τῆς Ἡτανο οὗ ὑσος, ἐκφοράν δὴ τινα αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ τεθνηκότος σκευάσας, ἐξέσωσε, καὶ Κύνττον Κικέρωνα τὸν τοῦ Μᾶρκου ἀδελφόν ὁ παῖς ἐξέκλεψε καὶ ὄσον ἔφ' ἐαυτῷ ἔσωσεν.  
7 αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ κατέκρυψε τὸν πατέρα ὅστε μὴ ἐυρεθῆναι, καὶ στρεβλωθείς ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάσαις βασάνοις οὐδὲν ἐξελάλησε· μαθὼν δὲ ἐκείνος τὸ γονόμενον, καὶ βαυμάσας τε ἀμα τὸν παῖδα καὶ ἔλησας, ἦλθεν εὐθελοντῆς ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν τούς σφαγευσί παρέδωκεν.  
11 Ἀρετῆς μὲν δὴ καὶ εὐσεβείας τοσαῦτα τότε ἐπιφανῆ ἔργα ἐγένετο· Ποπίλιος ἃς δὴ Ἰάννας τὸν Κικέρωνα τὸν Μᾶρκου ἀπέκτεινε καὶ πέρ
2 εὐεργέτην αὐτοῦ ἐκ συνηγορήματος ὅντα, καὶ ἑνα γε μὴ ἀκονόμενοι μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ὄρομενοι πίστιν τοῦ πεφωνεκέναι αὐτῶν λάβη, εἰκόνα ἐαυτοῦ πλησίον τῆς ἐκείνου κεφαλῆς ἐστεφανω-μένην ἔθικε, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου ἔχουσαν. καὶ οὗτο γε καὶ τῷ Ἀγυνώῳ διὰ τοῦτ' ἤρεσεν ὡστε καὶ χρήματα
3 πλείω τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων λαβεῖν. Μᾶρκος δὲ Τερεντίου Οὐάρρου ἡδίκησε μὲν οὐδὲν, ὀμόνυμος δὲ δὴ τινὶ τῶν ἐπικεκηρυγμένων πλὴν μίας προσ-ηγορίας ὄν, καὶ δείσας μὴ τι κατὰ τούτο, οἰα

1 Ὑσίδιος Fabricius, δισμίου ΙΜ. ιάλιον cod. Peir.  
2 Ποπίλιος Χιλ., τόπλιοι ΙΜ cod. Peir.
BOOK XLVII

because of his spoils and the marks of the branding, and thus he not only saved his master, but at the same time gained honour for himself. Now these anecdotes redound to the memory of no persons known by name; but there was Hosidius Geta, whose son arranged a funeral for him, as though he were already dead, and saved him in that way, and Quintus Cicero, the brother of Marcus, whose son secreted him and saved his life, so far as it was in his power to do so. For the boy concealed his father so well that he could not be discovered, and when tortured for it by all kinds of torture, did not utter a syllable; but his father, learning what was being done, was filled at once with admiration and pity for the boy, came out into the open of his own free will and surrendered himself to his slayers.

Such were the conspicuous deeds of bravery and filial devotion performed at that time. On the other hand, Popillius Laenas killed Marcus Cicero, although Cicero had once defended him as his advocate, and in order that by means of optical proof as well as by report he might have the credit of having murdered him, he set up a statue of himself sitting crowned beside his victim's head, with an inscription that recorded his name and his deed. By this act he pleased Antony so much that he secured more than the price offered. Again, Marcus Terentius Varro was a man who had given no offence, but his name was identical with that of one of the proscribed, except for the agnomen, and he was afraid that he might because of this suffer a fate

1 The Varro who was proscribed was the celebrated antiquarian and satirist; the identity of the tribune is uncertain, though perhaps he was the one whose brave death after Philippi is recorded by Velleius (ii. 71).
καὶ ο Κίννας, πάθη, ἐξέθηκε γράμμα αὐτὸ τούτο δηλῶν ἐδημάρχει δὲ. καὶ ο μὲν διατριβὴν καὶ γέλωτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὠφλίσκανεν τὸ δὲ δὴ ἀστάθμητον τοῦ βίου καὶ ἔξεκείνου ἐτεκμηριῶθη, ὅτι Δούκιος μὲν Φιλούσκιος ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Σύλλου πρότερον ἐπικηρυχθεὶς καὶ διαφυγὼν ἐς τε τὸ λευκό κωμα αὕτης τὸτε ἐσεγράφη καὶ ἀπέθανε, Μάρκος δὲ Οὐαλέριος Μεσσάλας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰουτωνίου βανατωθεὶς οὐχ ὅπως ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ διεβίω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπάτος ἀντ᾿ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ὑστερον ἀπεδείχθη.

5 οὖτως ἐκ τε τῶν ἀπορωτάτων πολλοὶ περιγίγνουνται καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαρσοῦντως ἐχόντων οὐκ ἔλλατος ἀπὸλλυται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ξῆρα μήτε ἐς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον πρὸς τὰς αὐτίκα συμφορὰς ἐκπλήττεσθαι τινὰ μήτε ἐς τὸ ἀφροτιστὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ παραχρήμα περιχαροῦς ἑπάρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα τὴν ἑλπίδα τοῦ μέλλοντος τιθέμενον ἀσφαλείας ἐφ᾿ ἐκάτερα τοὺς λογισμοὺς ποιεῖσθαι.

12 Καὶ τὸτε γοῦν ταῦτὰ τε οὖτως ἐγένετο, καὶ πλείστοι μὲν τῶν μὴ προγραφέντων διὰ τε ἐχθρὰν καὶ διὰ χρήματα παραπώλουντο, πλείστοι δὲ τῶν ἐπικηρυχθέντων οὐχ ὅτι περιεγένοντο ἀλλὰ καὶ κατήλθον αὕτης, καὶ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔσχον. ἦ δ᾿ ἀναχώρησις σφιεῖ πρὸς τε τὸν Βρούτον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κάσσιον τὸν τε Σέξτον ἐγίγνετο. καὶ οἱ γε πλείους πρὸς τοῦτον συγκατέφυγον ναυαρχεῖν τε γὰρ πρότερον αἱρεθεῖς καὶ χρόνου τινὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ δρυσθεῖς ἴσχυν τε

1 Δούκιος Xyl., Λούκιος LM.
2 γε R. Steph., τε LM.
similar to that of Cinna; therefore he issued a statement making known this fact (he was tribune at the time) and for this he became the subject of amusement and ridicule. Now the uncertainty of life was illustrated not only by this incident, but also by the case of Lucius Philuscious, who had previously been proscribed by Sulla and had escaped, had his name now inscribed on the tablet once more and perished, whereas Marcus Valerius Messalla, who had been condemned to death by Antony, not only continued to live in safety, but was later appointed consul in place of Antony himself. So it is that many come out safe from the most desperate situations, while just as many who feel no fear lose their lives. Hence one should neither be so alarmed in the face of the calamities of the moment as to lose all hope, nor be so carried away by his immediate elation as to be reckless, but, by placing his expectation of the future midway between the two, should make reliable calculations for either event.

Such, at any rate, was the course of events at that time, and while very many of those who were not proscribed also lost their lives, because they either were hated or had money, yet very many whose names were posted not only survived but were also restored from exile, and some of them were even elected to office. They were finding refuge with Brutus, with Cassius, and with Sextus, but the majority directed their flight toward Sextus. For Sextus had formerly been chosen to command the fleet and for a time had dominated the sea, so that he had

1 See xlv. 50, 4; 52, 2.
2 Pliny, N.H. vii. 134, gives the name as Fidustius. The error is doubtless due to Dio or some Greek scribe.
οικείαν, καίπερ τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ τοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποστερηθεῖς, περιβάλετο, καὶ τῆς Σικελίας κατασχὼν, ἐπειθ' ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ ἐπεκυρίᾳ ἀ' τε ἄλλαι σφαγαὶ ἐγένοντο, πλείστον
toίς ὁμοίοις συνήρατο. τῇ γὰρ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐγγύθαι ἐφορμῶν διέστηκαν ἐς τε τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, τά τε ἄλλα τοῖς τινα περισώσασι καὶ 1 διπλάσια τῶν τοῖς φονεύσουσι προκειμένων ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶς ἐκείνοις καὶ ὑποδοχὴν καὶ ἐπικουρίαν καὶ χρήματα καὶ τιμᾶς ὑπισχύου-
μενος. οὕτως περὶ συχνὸς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἦλθον. ἀρι
θμὸν γὰρ οὐτὲ τῶν προγραφέων οὐτὲ τῶν φονευ
θέντων ἢ καὶ διαφυγόντων οὐδὲ νῦν ἐγραφα, ὅτε πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν τοῦ πρῶτον ἐς τὰ λευκόματα ἐγγραφέων ἀπηλίφθησαν, 2 πολλοὶ δὲ ύστερον ἄντ αὐτῶν ἀπενεγράφησαν, καὶ τούτων τε 3 οὐκ ἀλλὰς διεσώθησαν καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ διεφθάρ
σαν. καὶ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ πενθεὶν τισιν ἡξουσία ἦν,
ἄλλα πολλοὶ καὶ ἐκ τούτου παραπόλοντο. καὶ τέλος, ὡς τὸ τε πεπλασμένον αὐτῶν πᾶν αἰ συμ
φοραί ἐξεικὼν, καὶ οὕδεις οὐδὲ τῶν πάνω ἀνδρι
κῶν ἀντεκαρτερεῖν πρὸς αὐτῶς 4 ἐδώματο, ἄλλ' ἐν
toῖς ἄλλοις πάσι καὶ ἐργοὶς καὶ λόγοις ἐσκυ
θρώπαζον καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ έτους οὐκ 5 ἤμελλον,
ὡσπερ εἰώθασιν, ἐστάτσειν, ἐκελεύσθησαν διὰ
προγράφης εὐθυμεῖσθαι, θάνατον ὀφλήσοντες ἂν
μὴ πειθαρχήσωσιν οὔτω ποιν, ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἀγα
θοῖς, τοῖς κοινοῖς κακοῖς χαίρειν ἕναγκαζοντο. 3 καὶ τί τούτο εἴπον, ὅποτε καὶ ἐκείνοις (τοῖς τρισιν

1 kal supplied by Leunel.
2 ἀπηλίφθησαν Sc., ἀπηλίφθησαν LM. 2 τε BK., τε LM.
3 αὐταί M, αὐτά L. 2 οὐκ BK., οὐκ LM.
surrounded himself with a force of his own, even
though he had subsequently been deprived of his
office by Caesar. He had occupied Sicily, and then,
when the order of proscription was passed against
him, too, and all the other murders were taking
place, he proved of the greatest assistance to those
who were in like condition. For, anchoring near
the coast of Italy, he kept sending to Rome and
to the other cities, offering among other things
to those who saved anybody double the reward that
had been proposed for those who should murder
them, and promising to the men themselves a
refuge, assistance, money, and honours. Therefore
a considerable number came to him. As to the
exact number, now, either of those who were pro-
scribed or slaughtered or of those who escaped, I
refrain even at the present time from recording
it, because many names originally inscribed on the
tables were erased and many were later inscribed in
their place, and of these not a few were saved and
many perished who were not on the lists. And
it was not permitted in any case even to mourn
for the victims, and many lost their lives on this
account also. And finally, when the calamities
broke down all their assumed calm and no one even
of the most stout-hearted could longer bear up
against them, but in all their work and conversation
their countenances were gloomy and they had no
thought of celebrating the new-year festival, as was
their wont, they were ordered by a proclamation to
be of good cheer, on pain of death if they should
disobey. So they were forced to rejoice over their
common evils as over blessings. Yet why do I men-
tion such a thing, when they voted to those men
ἀνδράσι λέγω) ἄλλα τε ὡς εὐεργέταις καὶ σω-
τήροι τής πόλεως γεγονόσε καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους
tοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἐψηφίσαντο; οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τινὰς
ἐφόνευν, αὐτίαν ἔχειν ἥξιον, ἄλλ' ὅτι μὴ πλείο-
νας, προσεπαίνεισθαι ἦθελον. καὶ πρὸς γε τὸν
δῆμον φανεροῖς ποτε εἰπὼν ὅτι οὔτε τὴν τοῦ
Μαρίου τοῦ τε Σύλλου ὁμότητα, ὥστε καὶ μιση-
θήναι, οὔτ' αὖ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιείκειαν, ὥστε
καὶ καταφρονηθήναι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιβου-
λευθήναι, ἐξηλόκασι.

14 Τοιαύτα μὲν περὶ τὰς σφαγὰς ἐγίγνετο, πολλὰ
δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄτοπα καὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων οὐσίας
συνέβαινε. καίτοι ταῖς τε γυναιξὶ ταῖς τῶν
φωνευομένων τὰς προῖκας καὶ τῶν τέκνων τοῖς
μὲν ἀρρεσι τὸ δέκατον ταῖς δὲ θηλείαις τὸ ἐικο-
στὸν τῆς ἐκάστου σφῶν οὐσίας δώσειν, ὡς καὶ
δὴ δίκαιοι φιλάνθρωποί τε ὄντες, ἐπηγγείλαν-

2 το. ἄλλ' οὔτε ταῦτα πλὴν ὀλίγων ἔδοθη, τὰ τε
τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ πάνυ πάντα ἀδεῶς ἐπορθεῖτο.
τούτο μὲν γὰρ ἐνοίκιον ἐνιαύσιον πασῶν τῶν τὰν
ἐν τῷ ἀστεί καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ οἰκίοις, ὧν
μὲν ἐμμεσθόκεσάν τινες, ὅλον, ὦν δὲ αὐτοὶ φίκουν,
ἐξ ἡμισείας, πρὸς τὴν τῆς καταγωγῆς ἄξιαν ἐσέ-
πραξαν τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς τὰ χωρία ἔχοντας τὸ

3 ἡμῖν τῶν προσόδων αὐτῶν ἀφείλοντο. καὶ προσ-
ἐτι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τὴν τε τροφὴν παρὰ
tῶν πόλεων, ἐν αἷς ἐχείμαξον, προῖκα λαμβάνειν
ἐποίησαν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ δεδη-
(to the triumvirs, I mean) the civic crowns and other distinctions as to benefactors and saviours of the state? For these men not only would not allow themselves to be blamed because they were murdering people, but, what is more, wished to be praised because the number of their victims was not greater. And to the populace they once openly stated that they had emulated neither the cruelty of Marius and Sulla, that they should be hated, nor, on the other hand, the mildness of Caesar, that they should be despised and consequently plotted against.

So much for the murders; but many strange proceedings took place also in connection with the property of persons left alive. To be sure, the triumvirs announced, as if they were indeed just and humane rulers, that they would give to the widows of the slain their dowries, and to the male children a tenth and to the female children a twentieth of the property of each one's father; but these portions were not actually given save in a few cases, and the possessions of the other classes of persons were plundered with impunity even down to the last farthing. For, in the first place, they levied upon all the houses, both in the city and in the rest of Italy, a tax which was the entire amount of the annual rent in the case of dwellings which people had leased, and half of that amount in the case of such as they occupied themselves, all based on the value of the domicile; and secondly, from those who possessed lands they took away half of the revenues they produced. Furthermore, they required that the soldiers should receive their support free from the cities in which they were wintering, and also distributed them throughout the country districts, pre-
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τάς δὲ ἀρχὰς τὰς τε ἱερωσύνας τῶν βανατωθέντων οὐ προς τὸ νομιζόμενον ἐκ τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ' ὡς ποι καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, διέδοσαν, καὶ ὑπάτους

2 τε, τοῦ μὲν Καίσαρος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπεισόντος (ής γὰρ οὗτος ἐπεθύμησεν ὥστε καὶ πολεμῆσαι δὲ αὐτὴν, τάυτης ἐκὼν ἔξεστι) τοῦ δὲ συνάρχοντος αὐτοῦ μεταλλάξαντος, ἀλλοι τὲ τε ἔλαβον καὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδων τοῦ Πούπλιον καίπερ στρατηγοῦντα ἀπέδειξαν, ἐς τε τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτοῦ

3 τῶν ἀγορανομούντων τινά ἐσήγαγον καὶ πάντας μετὰ τούτο τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, πεντε ἡμέρας ἐτι ἀρχαντας, παύσαντες ἐκείνους μὲν ἐς τὰς ἡγε- μονίας τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐστειλαν, ἔτερους δὲ ἅπτοιαν ἀντικατέστησαν. νόμους τε τοὺς μὲν ἀπήλευσαν τοὺς δὲ ἀντινέγκασαν, καὶ συνελύσαντες εἰπεῖν, καὶ τάλλα πάντα ὅπως ποτὲ καὶ ἔδοξει αὐτοῖς

4 ἑπερασσόν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐπικλήσεων τῶν ἐπι- φθόνων καὶ διὰ τούτο καταλυθεῖσσων οὐκ ἀντε- ποιήσαντο, τὰ δὲ δὴ πράγματα πρὸς τὸ βούλημα καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθύμημα τὸ ἐαυτῶν διήγον, ὡστὲ χρυσῶν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος μοναρχίαν φανήσαι.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκείνον ταύτα τε οὕτως ἑποίησαν, καὶ νεὼν τὸ τε Σαράπιδε καὶ τῇ Ἰσίδε

16 ἐπισφάσαντο· τοῦ δὲ δὴ Λεπίδου τοῦ Μάρκου τοῦ τε Πλάγκου τοῦ Δουκίου ὑπατευσάντων λευκό- ματα αὖθις ἐξετέθη, θάνατος μὲν μηδεὶ ἐτι φέροντα, τὰς δὲ οὕσιας τῶν σώτων ἀποσυλλόντα·

1 τι Leuncl., τε LM.  2 τι added by Bk.
3 ἀπεισόντος M, ἀπεισότοtes L.  4 τι αὐτήν Bk., διὰ ταύτην LM.
priesthoods of such as had been put to death, they distributed these, not in the fashion prescribed by law, but apparently just as suited their fancy. As regards the consulship, when Caesar resigned the office,—thus giving up willingly the position he had so eagerly desired that he had even made war to gain it,—and when his colleague ¹ died, they appointed Publius Ventidius, although he was praetor at the time, and another man ²; and to the praetorship vacated by Ventidius they promoted one of the aediles. Afterwards they relieved all the praetors, who still had five days to hold office, and sent them to be governors of the provinces, and installed others in their places. Some laws they abolished entirely and in others inserted new provisions; and, in brief, they ordered everything else just as seemed good to them. They did not, to be sure, lay claim to titles which were offensive and had therefore been done away with, but they managed matters according to their own wish and desire, so that Caesar's sovereignty by comparison appeared all gold.

That year, besides doing these things, they voted a temple to Serapis and Isis. And when Marcus Lepidus and Lucius Plancus became consuls, tablets were again set up, not involving the death of any one this time, but defrauding the living of their property. For the triumvirs found themselves in need of more money, inasmuch as they already owed

¹ Q. Pedius; cf. xlvi. 46, 1.
² C. Carrinas.
πολλοίς στρατιώταις προοφειλήσαντες,1 πολλά δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑγαμομένους δὲ αὐτῶν δαπανῶντες, πολλῷ δὲ ἐτὶ πλεῖον ἐσ τοὺς προσδοκομένους πολέμους ἀναλώσειν νομίζοντες, ἡγυρολόγουν.

3 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τῶν τελῶν τῶν πρῶτων μὲν ποτε καταλυθέντων τότε δὲ αὐθις ἐπαναχθέντων ἢ καὶ ἐκ καivistis προσκαταστάντων, τὸ τε τῶν συντελιῶν, ὡς πολλὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἐπί τοὺς οἰκέταις ἐπράπτουσα, μετρίως πως τοὺς ἄνθρωπους ἐλύπει· τὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς καὶ ἐφ' ὀποσονοῦν ἐτὶ οὐ μόνον τῶν βουλευτῶν ἢ καὶ τῶν ἰππέων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων, καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίως καὶ γυναικῶν, εὐποροῦντας ἐς λευκάματα ἐσφραγίζονται καὶ δεκατείαν τινὰ καὶ ἔκανα δεκατευθῆ·

5 καὶ σφόδρα πάντας ἡμῖνας. τῷ μὲν γὰρ λόγῳ τὸ δέκατον τῆς οὐσίας παρ' ἑκάστοι σφῶν ἐπράχθη, ἐργῷ δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ δέκατον τινα κατελεύθῃ· ἐπεὶ δὴ γὰρ οὐ ρητὸν τι ἀργυρίων πρὸς τὴν τῶν κτημάτων ἄξιαν ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐκελεύσθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς αἱ τιμήσεις τῶν σφετέρων ἐγένοντο, καὶ τοῦτον ὃς οὐκ ὅρθος αὐτὰ τετιμήμενοι διεβάλλοντο, καὶ τὰ

17 λοιπὰ προσαπώλουσαν. εἰ δ' οὖν τινες τοῦτο πως διέφυγον, ἀλλ' ύπὸ τε τῶν τάξειν ἐς στενῶν κατακλείουμενοι καὶ ἀργυρίων δεινῶς σπανίζοντες πάντων καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀπεστεροῦντο, καὶ μὲν τοιοῦτο καὶ ἐτερὸν τι τοιόνδε, βαρὺ μὲν καὶ

2 ἀκούσαι βαρύτατον δὲ πραχθήναι, ἐγένετο· τῷ γὰρ βουλομένῳ σφῶν ἐδοθῆ, πάσης τῆς οὐσίας ἑκστάντει, τὸ τρίτον μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτῆς ἀπαιτήσαι, τούτ' ἐστὶ μὴτε τὶ 2 λαβεῖν καὶ προσέπτε καὶ

1 προοφειλήσαντες Louncl., προοφειλήσαντες LM.
2 τι M Zon., τινα L.
large sums to large numbers of soldiers, were spend-
ing large sums on undertakings then being carried out
by them, and expected to spend far more still on the
wars in prospect; they therefore proceeded to collect
funds. Now the reintroduction of the taxes which
had been formerly abrogated, or the establishment
of new ones, and the institution of the joint
contributions, which they levied in large numbers
both on the land and on the slaves, caused the
people some little distress, it is true; but that those
who were in the slightest degree still prosperous, not
only senators or knights, but even freedmen, men
and women alike, should be listed on the tablets and
muleted of another "tithe" of their wealth irritated
everybody exceedingly. For it was in name only
that a tenth of each one's property was exacted; in
reality not so much as a tenth was left. For since
they were not ordered to contribute a stated amount
according to the value of their possessions, but had
the duty of assessing the value of their own goods,
they were as a result liable to be accused of not
having made a fair assessment and to lose in addition
what they had left. And even if some persons did
somehow escape this fate, yet they were brought into
straits by the assessments, found themselves terribly
short of ready money, and so, like the others, were
deprived of practically everything. Moreover, the
following device, distressing even to hear about, but
most distressing in practice, was put into operation.
Any one of the proscribed who wished to do so was
permitted, if he would abandon all his property, to
make requisition afterwards for one-third of it, which
meant getting nothing and having trouble besides.
πράγματα σχείν. ὅποτε γὰρ βιὰ τὰ δύο μέρη
φανερῶς ἐσυλῶντο, πῶς ἂν τὸ τρίτον ἀπέλαβον,
ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐλαχίστον αὐτῶν πολουμένων;
3 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ πολλῶν ἀμα ἀποκηρυττομένων,
καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν πλείονων καὶ ἀχρύσων καὶ
ἀναργύρων ὁντῶν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν μὴ τολμῶντων
ὡς καὶ ἔχοντων τι ἁγοράσαι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐκείνῳ
προσαπολέσωσιν, αἱ τιμαὶ ἀνείπτο·
4 τούτο δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας πολὺ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν πάντα ἐπι-
πράσκετο. ὥστε τῶν μὲν ἱδρῶν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν,
ο τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπέιν, διεσώσατο' πρὸς γὰρ αὐ
toῖς ἀλλοις ἐς τε τὸ ναυτικὸν οἰκέτας, εἰ καὶ μὴ
eἰχὼν τινες, ὄνομανοι γε ἐδίδοσαν, καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς
οἰκείους οἱ βουλευταὶ δαπανήμασιν ἐπεσκέψαον.
μόνοι δὲ δὴ οἱ τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντες ύπερπλούτησαν.
5 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐξήρκει σφίσιν οὔτε ἡ μισθοφόρα
cαίπερ ἐντελὴς οὔσα, οὔτε αἱ ἐξωθὲν ἐπιφοραὶ
cαὶ τοι παμπληθεῖς γενόμεναι, οὖ 
 τὰ ἄθλα τῶν
φόνων μέγιστα δὴ δοθέντα, οὐχ αἱ κτησὶς τῶν
χωρίων προκειμαι τρόπων τινὰ αὐτοῖς ὑπάρ-
ξασαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέτι οἱ μὲν τὰς οὐσίας τῶν
teleuωτῶν ὤλας καὶ ἄλλους καὶ ἔλαμβανοι, οἱ δὲ
καὶ ἐς τὰ τῶν ἥγουν ἔτι γερούντων τε καὶ ἅτεκνών
6 ἐγένη ἐσεβδιάζοντο. ἦς τοσοῦτον γὰρ τῆς 
τε ἀπληστίας καὶ τῆς ἀναισχυνίας ἐχώρησαν ὡς
tινὰ καὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀττίας τῆς τοῦ Καῖσαρος
μητρὸς οὐσίαν, ἀποδανούσης τότε καὶ ἰδιμοσία
ταφῆ· τιμηθείσης, παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καῖσαρος
αἰτήσας.
For when they were being openly and violently despoiled of two-thirds, how were they to recover the other third, especially since their goods were being sold for an extremely low price? For, in the first place, a great deal of property was being offered at auction all at once and most people were without gold or silver and the rest did not dare to show by buying that they had money, lest they should lose that too, and consequently the prices were lowered; in the second place, anything would be sold to the soldiers far below its value. Hence none of the private citizens saved anything worth mentioning; for, over and above all the other exactions, they had to furnish slaves for the navy, buying them if they had none, and the senators had to repair the roads at their individual expense. Only those, indeed, who bore arms gained great wealth. For they were far from satisfied with their pay, though it was given in full, or with their outside perquisites, though these were very numerous, or with the prizes bestowed for the murders, though they were exceedingly large, or with the lands they acquired, though they were practically a free gift to them; but in addition some would ask for and receive all the property of those who died, and others would force their way into the families of the survivors who were old and childless. For they had reached such a degree of greed and shamelessness that one man actually asked Caesar himself for the property of Atia, his mother, who had died at that time and had been honoured with a public funeral.
18 Ταῦτα τε οὖν οὕτως οἱ ἀνδρεῖς ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τρεῖς ἔποιον, καὶ ἁμα καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν πρῶτον ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐσέμυνον. ἂτε γὰρ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐφιέμενοι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπειγόμενοι τοὺς τε σφαγέας αὐτοῦ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὅρη ἐμέσαν, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὴν τε ἀδειάν σφίσιν ὃν ἐποίον καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν πόρρωθεν προπαρασκευάσοντες, καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα ἔστο τιμὴν αὐτοῦ ἐφερε, προθύμως ἐπραττόν ἐς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ καὶ αὐτοῖ ποτε τῶν ὁμοίων ἄξιωθήναι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς τε ἐγνησίμενοι ἤγαλλον αὐτὸν καὶ ἔτεροις ἄ τότε·
3 προσέδεσαν. ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρα αὐτοῦ τε ὁμοσαν καὶ τοὺς ἀλλους ὀρκωσαν βέβαια νομεῖν πάντα τα ἵπτεκειν γενόμεναι (καὶ τούτο καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ πάσι τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἀν ἵσχυσιν, ἢ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ποτὲ γενομένοις καὶ μὴ ἀτιμωθεῖσι, γίγνεται), καὶ ἠρων οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τῇ τόπῳ ἐν ὧ ἐκέκαυτο προκατεβάλοντο, καὶ τὰ καὶ ἄγαλμα αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἵπτο- δρομίαις μεθ᾽ ἐτέρου Ἀφροδίσιον ἐπεμπον, ἐξε τε νίκη τῆς ἡγελθή ποθέν, χωρίς μὲν τὸ κρατήσαντι χωρίς δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο καὶ τεθυσαί τιμήν ἱερομηνίας 
4 ἐνεμον. τὰ τε γενέσια αὐτοῦ δαφνηφοροῦνται καὶ εὐθυμουμένους πάντας ἔορτάζειν ἡνάγκασαν, νομοθετήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ἀλλούς τοὺς ἀμελή- σαντας αὐτῶν ἐπάρατος τὸ τε Διὶ καὶ αὐτῶ ἐκείνῳ εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ δὴ θυελεῖς τοὺς τε νεῖς
5 σφων πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυρίάδας ὀφλισκάνειν· καὶ συνεβαινε γὰρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τὰ Ἀπολλώ-
6 ἰτέροις ἄ τότε (ἰτέροις ἄ αὐτοῖ τότε) Ρκ., ἰτέροις αὐτοῖ τότε

LM.
2 προκατεβάλοντο Βκ., προκατεβάλλοντο ΙΜ.
While these three men were behaving in this wise, they were also magnifying the former Caesar to the utmost degree. For as they were eager for sole rulership and were striving for it, they vindictively pursued the rest of the assassins, with the idea that in this way they would be preparing, long in advance, immunity for themselves in what they were doing as well as safety; and so they eagerly did everything which tended to his honour, in expectation of some day being themselves thought worthy of like honours, and for this reason they exalted him, not only by the honours which had already been voted him, but also by others which they now added. Thus, on the first day of the year they themselves took an oath and made all the rest swear that they would consider all his acts binding; and the same thing is still done to-day in honour of all those who successively enter upon the supreme power and also of those who have possessed it and have not been dishonoured. They also laid the foundation of a shrine to him, as hero, in the Forum, on the spot where his body had been burned, and caused an image of him, together with a second image, that of Venus, to be carried in the procession at the Circensian games. And whenever news came of a victory anywhere, they assigned the honour of a thanksgiving to the victor by himself and to Caesar, though dead, by himself. And they compelled everybody to celebrate his birthday by wearing laurel and by merry-making, passing a law that those who neglected these observances should be accursed in the sight of Jupiter and of Caesar himself, and, in the case of senators or senators' sons, that they should forfeit a million sestertii. Now it happened that the Ludi Apollinares fell on the
νια ἐγνεσθαὶ, ἐψηφίσαντο τῇ προτεράᾳ τὰ γενέσια ἀγάλλεσθαὶ, ὡς καὶ λογίου τινὸς Σιβυλλείου ἀπαγορευόντος μηδενὶ θεῶν τότε πλὴρο ἡ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐορτάζεσθαι. ταῦτα τε οὖν αὐτῷ ἑδωκαν, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾧ ἐφονεύθη, κυρίαν ἀεὶ ποτε ἔδραν βουλὴς ἔχουσαν, ἀποφράδα ἐνομίσαν. τὸ τε οἴκημα ἐν ὧν ἔσφαγη, παραχρῆμα τε ἐκλείσαν καὶ ὑστερον ἐς ἀφοδον μετεσκέυασαν καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰούλιου ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ κληθὲν παρὰ τῷ Κορμίῳ ἀνομασμένῳ φοκόδομω, ὡσπερ ἐψήφιστο. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀπείπον μὲν μηδεμίαν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ θεοῦ τινὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς ὅντος, ἐν ταῖς τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκφοράῖς πέμπεσθαι, ὅπερ ἐκ τοῦ πάνω ἄρχαίου καὶ τότε ἐτὶ ἐγκυνετο ἀπηγορευσαν δὲ μηδένα ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν αὐτοῦ καταφυγόντα ἐπ’ ἀδείᾳ μήτε ἀνδρηλατεῖσθαι μήτε συλλάσσαί, ὅπερ οὕδενι οὕδε τῶν θεῶν, πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥωμίλου γενομένων, ἐδεδώκεσαν. καίτοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον ὀνόματι τὴν ἀσυλίαν, μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἄνδρων ἀθροίσιν, ἄνευ τοῦ ἔργου αὐτής ἐσχεν οὕτω γὰρ περιεφράξῃ ὡστε μηδένα ἐτὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐσελθεῖν ἐς αὐτῷ δυνηθῇναι.  

4 Τῶ μὲν δὴ Καίσαρι ταῦτ’ ἑδωκαν, ταῖς δὲ ἀειπαρθένοις βαθδούχῳ ἐνὶ ἐκάστῃ χρήσθαι, διὸ τις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ δείπνου πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὀίκαδε ἐπανιοῦσα ἡγιοῦθη τε καὶ ὑβρίσθη. τὰς τε

1 'Ἀπολλόνια Βς., ἀπολλόνια LM (and so in chap. 20).

1 In B.C. 208 the Ludi Apollinares were set for the thirteenth of July, but by the year B.C. 42 the entire period from the sixth to the thirteenth was allotted to their cele-
same day, and they therefore voted that his birthday feast should be celebrated on the previous day, on the ground that there was an oracle of the Sibyl which forbade the holding of a festival on Apollo's day to any god except Apollo. Besides granting him these honours, they made the day on which he had been murdered, a day on which there had always been a regular meeting of the senate, an unlucky day. The room in which he had been murdered they closed for the time being and later transformed into a privy. They also built the Curia Julia, named after him, beside the place called the Comitium, as had been voted. Moreover, they forbade any likeness of him to be carried at the funerals of his relatives,—just as if he were in very truth a god,—though this was an ancient custom and was still being observed. And they enacted that no one who took refuge in his shrine to secure immunity should be driven or dragged away from there—a distinction which had never been granted even to any one of the gods, save to such as were worshipped in the days of Romulus. Yet after men began to congregate in that region even this place had inviolability in name only, without the reality; for it was so fenced about that no one could any longer enter it at all.

These were the honours which they granted to Caesar; they also allowed the Vestal Virgins to employ one lictor each, because one of them, not being recognised, had been insulted while returning home from dinner toward evening. And they assigned
ἀρχάς ταῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ πλεῖω ἔτη προαπεδείξαν, τοὺς τε ἐπιτυθείοις σφίσιν ἀμα δὲ αὐτῶν τιμῶντες, καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐπὶ μακρότερον ταῖς τῶν ἀρξόντων διαδοχαίς κρατυνόμενοι.

20 Πράξαντες δὲ ταύτα, Δέπιδος μὲν αὐτοῦ, τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν διάξων, ὡσπερ εἴπον, ὑπέμεινε, Καίσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος ἐξεστράτευσαν. ὦ τε γὰρ Βρούτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν ὦμολογίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον τοὺς τῇ ἄλλοις σφίσι γενομένην καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσῆσαν, καὶ τὰς στρατηγιὰς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὦ καὶ πρὶν κόσμῳ διώκοντι ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡρξάντο τινὲς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος σφαγῆ χαλεπάινειν, ἐξεχώρησαν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἔξω ἀρχὰς, ἃς προσετήγατο, ἐπευγόμενοι. καίτοι καὶ ἀστυνόμοι ὁ Κάσσιος ἦν, τὰ τῇ Ἀπολλώνια οὐδέποτε διεσφητάκει. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὲ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ συστρατηγοῦ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκπρεπεστάτα ἐπετέλεσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ εὑθὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπέπλευσεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ μετὰ τοῦ Βρούτου χρονίσας ἐπηρεῖ τὰ γιγνόμενα. καὶ τίνα καὶ γράμματα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἀτε καὶ στρατηγούντες, πρὸς τὸν δήμον ἐπεμπὸν, μέχρις ὅποι οὗ ὁ Καίσαρ ὁ Ὁκταυσιάνος τῶν τε πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος σφετερίζεσθαι ἡρξάτο. τὸτε γὰρ τῆς τε δημοκρατίας ἀμα ἀπογνώντες καὶ ἐκείνων φοβηθέντες ἀπήραν. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐοὶ Ἀθηναίοι λαμπρῶς ὑπεδείξαντο· ετίμωντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν

1 i added by R. Steph.

1 This is apparently an error, due either to Dio or to some scribe. For, according to Plutarch, Appian, and Cicero,
the offices in the city for several years ahead, thus at the same time honouring their friends and strengthening their cause for a longer time by controlling the succession of those officials.

When all this had been accomplished, Lepidus remained there, as I have said, to take up the administration of the city and of the rest of Italy, and Caesar and Antony set out upon their campaign. It should be explained that Brutus and Cassius, after the compact made by them with Antony and the rest, had at first gone regularly into the Forum and discharged the duties of the praetorship with the same ceremonial as before. But when some began to be displeased at the killing of Caesar, they withdrew, pretending to be in haste to reach the governorships abroad to which they had been appointed. And yet Cassius was praetor urbanus and had not yet celebrated the Ludi Apollinares. But, although absent, he performed that duty most brilliantly through his colleague Antony; he did not himself sail away from Italy at once, however, but lingered with Brutus in Campania and watched the course of events. And in their capacity as praetors they kept sending letters to the people at Rome, until Caesar Octavianus began to take a hand in affairs and to win the affections of the populace. Then, despairing of the republic and at the same time fearing him, they departed. The Athenians gave them a splendid reception; for, though they were honoured by nearly

was Brutus instead of Cassius who was praetor urbanus and had the games given in his absence. Therefore the true account, though not necessarily the true reading, would state that "Brutus was praetor urbanus," and (below) that he "lingered in Campania with Cassius."
21 Καὶ τούτῳ πυθόμενοι τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ μείζον αἱρεσθαι, Κρητὸν μὲν καὶ Βιθυνῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐστέλλοντο, ἡμέλησαν, οὐδεμιᾶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀξιόχρεων ὠφελίαν ὁρῶντες οὐσαν, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, καίπερ μηδὲν σφισί προσηκούσας, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι ταῖς 2 τε δυνάμεσιν ἕκμαζον, ἔτραποντο. καὶ Κάσσιος μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους ὡς καὶ συνῆθεις οἱ καὶ φίλους ἐκ τῆς μετὰ τοῦ Κράσσου στρατείας ὄντας ὄρμησε, Βροῦτος δὲ τὴν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν συνίστη. ἀλλος τε γὰρ ἐκ τε τῆς δόξης τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι τῶν 3 ὁμοίων προσεῖχον αὐτῷ, καὶ διότι καὶ στρατιώτατος συναφοῦς, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Φαρσάλῳ μάχης ἐκεῖ ποὺ καὶ τότε ἔτι περιπλανομένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ συνεξελθόντων ὑπολειφθέντας ἡ διὰ νόσου ἡ διὰ ἀταξίαν, προσλαβῶν εἰ χει καὶ οἱ καὶ χρήματα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας 4 παρὰ τοῦ Τρεβονίου ἠλθε. τὸ μὲν οὖν Ἑλληνικὸν ἀπονεῖτοτα ἐκ τούτων, ἀτε μηδὲ δύναμὶν τινα ἀξιόλογον ἔχου, προσεποίησατο· καὶ δὴ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἠλθε μὲν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐν φὸ τε Ἀυτώνιος ὁ Γάιος ἄρτι ἄφικτο καὶ Κύντος
everybody else for what they had done, the inhabitants of this city voted them bronze images by the side of those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, thus intimating that Brutus and Cassius had emulated their example.

Meanwhile, learning that Caesar was growing stronger, they neglected Crete and Bithynia, whither they were being sent, since they saw no prospect of any noteworthy aid in those countries; but they turned to Syria and to Macedonia, although these provinces did not belong to them at all, because they excelled as strategical positions and in point of money and troops. Cassius went to Syria, because its people were acquainted with him and friendly as a result of his campaign with Crassus, while Brutus proceeded to unite Greece and Macedonia. For the inhabitants of those districts were inclined to give heed to him in any case because of the glory of his deeds and in the expectation of a similar service to their country,¹ and particularly because he had acquired numerous soldiers, some of them survivors of the battle of Pharsalus,² who were even then still wandering about in that region, and others who by reason either of sickness or slack discipline had been left behind from the force which had set out with Dolabella.³ And money also came to him from Trebonius in Asia. So for these reasons he won over Greece without the least effort, although for that matter it contained no force worth mentioning. He reached Macedonia at the moment when Gaius Antonius had just arrived and Quintus Hor-

¹ i.e., they hoped that Brutus would liberate them from the Romans as he had liberated the Romans from Caesar.
² In B.C. 48, i.e. six years before this.
³ Cf. xlv. 15, 2.
'Ορτήσιος ὁ προάξας αὐτῆς ἀπαλλαγὴσεθαι
5 ἐμελλεν, οὗ μέντοι καὶ πράγμα τι ἔσχεν. οὗτός
tε γὰρ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ προσεχώρησε, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος
κωλυθεὶς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ
ἐπικράτησεν πράσσειν τι τῶν τῇ ἁρχῇ προσηκον.
6 των ἀσθενῆς ἦν. ὁ τε Οὐατίνοις ἱρχε μεν Ἰλ-
λυρίων τῶν πλησιοχώρων, καὶ τὸ τε Δυρράχιον
ἐκείθεν ἐπελθὼν προκατέλαβε καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ κατὰ
τὸ στασιωτικὸν διάφορος, οὐ μὴν ἤδυνηθῆ τι αὐ-
tὸν βιάζω: οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ἄχθομενοι τε αὐ-
tὸν βλάψαν: οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ἄχθομενοι τε αὐ-
tὸν διὰ νόσον
7 μετ' ἵστησαν. καταλαβὼν οὖν καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τὸ
τῶν Ἀντώνιον ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνία ὄντα ἐστράτευσε,
καὶ προαπαντήσαντός οἱ αὐτοῦ τοὺς τε στρατιῶτας
φκείωσατο, καὶ ἐκείνου ἐς τὸ τεῖχος προκαταφυ-
γόντα ἀπετείχοντες μὲν καὶ ἔσωργησεν ἐκ προοδοσιας,
κακόν ὃς φεύγει εἰργάσατο.

Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τὴν τε Μακεδονίαν μετὰ
τούτο πάσαν καὶ τὴν Ἡπειρον προσλαβών, ἐπέ-
στειλε τῇ γερουσίᾳ, τά τε πραξθέντα οἱ δηλὼν
καὶ ἐαυτὸν τά τε ἔθνη καὶ τοὺς στρατιότας ἐπ'2
αὐτῆς ποιούμενοι. οἱ δὲ (ἐτυχὼν γὰρ ὑπόπτως
ἡτη πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐχοντες) ἱσχυρῶς τε αὐτὸν
ἐπήμεσαν καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐκεί ἡχῳν ἄρχειν
ἐκέλευσαν. ὡς οὖν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δόγματος τὴν
ἡγεμονίαν ἐβεβαιώσατο, αὐτὸς τε ἐπὶ πλείων
προεθυμῆθη καὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον ἀπροφασίστως συν-
3 αἰρόμενον ἔσχε. καὶ τέως μὲν τοῦ τε Καίσαρι
πέμπτον, ὅτε ἐδόθη τῷ Ἀντώνιῳ πολέμειν,
παρῆνε ἐκεῖνο τε ἀνθίστασθαι καὶ ἐαυτῷ συμπλ-
tensius, who was his predecessor in the governorship, was about to retire; however, he experienced no trouble. For Hortensius embraced his cause at once, and Antonius was weak, being hindered during Caesar's supremacy in Rome from performing any of the duties belonging to his office. Vatinius, who was governor of Illyricum near by, came from there to Dyrrachium, seized it before Brutus could prevent, and acted as an enemy in the present strife, but could not injure him at all; for his soldiers, who disliked him and furthermore despised him by reason of a disease, went over to the other side. So Brutus, taking over these troops, led an expedition against Antonius, who was in Apollonia; and when Antonius came out to meet him, Brutus won over his soldiers, shut him up within the walls when he fled thither before him, and captured him alive through betrayal, but did him no harm.

After this success, Brutus next acquired all Macedonia and Epirus, and then despatched a letter to the senate, stating what he had accomplished and placing at its disposal himself as well as the provinces and the soldiers. The senators, who, as it chanced, already felt suspicious of Caesar, praised him highly and bade him be governor of all that region. When, then, he had had his command confirmed by the decree, he not only felt more encouraged himself, but also found his subjects ready to support him unreservedly. For a time he both communicated with Caesar, when the latter appeared to be making war on Antony, urging him to resist his enemy and to become reconciled.
Λαγήναι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεῦσαι παρεσκευάζετο, ὅτι ἡ γερουσία μετέπεμψεν αὐτὸν ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Καὶσαρ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀκριβῶς κατέσχε καὶ τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς φονεὰς φαινορός ἐτιμωρεῖτο, κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, καὶ διεσκόπει ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἐπίοντα αὐτὸν καλῶς ἀμύνατο, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἄριστα δὴ τὴν τε Μακεδονίαν διήγαγεν, καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα στασιασθέντα οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀυτοκράτορος κατεστήσατο.

23 Ἔκεῖνος γὰρ, καὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ὁδῷ τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ κόσμου στερηθεῖς, οὐκ ἠγάπησε τὴν ἱσυχίαν ἐν τὲ ἀδεία καὶ ἐν τιμῇ ἔχων, ἀλλὰ ἐς τοὺς τοῦ Βρούτου στρατιώτας ἐπρατήκει ἀπόστασιν. Φωραθεὶς τὸ ποτὶ τοῦ πρὶν μέγα τι κακὸν δρᾶσαι, καὶ τὸν τε ἐπισήμων τῆς στρατηγίας ἀφαιρεθεὶς καὶ φυλακῇ τινι ἄδεσμῳ, ἱνα μηδὲν νεοχιμώσῃ, παραδοθεὶς οὕτω ὡς ἱσυχασει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔπι μᾶλλον ἡ πρὶν ἐνεστέρυσθε, ὡστε καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀλλῆλοις ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἔκεινον ἐς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν, ὅπως εἰσαρθῶσον αὐτῶν ὑπῆρξασί. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἠδυνατήσαν ποιῆσαι· ὁ γὰρ Βρούτος ἐκ γραμμάτων τινῶν ἀλόντων προμαθῶν τὸ γεγονόμενον ὑπεξήγαγεν αὐτόν, ὡς καὶ νοσοῦντα τινα ἐς δίφρον κατάστεγον ἐμβαλῶν οὕτε δὲ ἔκεινον εὑρεῖν δυνάμενοι καὶ τὸν Βρούτον φοβοῦμενοι λόφων ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως κατέλαβον. Καὶ αὐτὸς οὗ Βρούτος ἐς τὰ ομολογίαν ὑπαγαγόμενος, καὶ ὅλης τῶν θρασύτατῶν τοὺς μὲν θανατώσας τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλάξας ἐκ τῆς συστρατείας, οὕτω διεθηκεν

1 ὅτι Reim., ὧτε LM.
2 αὐτοῦ ὁδῆ supplied by Bk., τοῦ Βρούτου οὐδὲ Xyl.
3 τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ Xyl., τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ LM.
with the writer himself, and was himself making preparations to sail to Italy, because the senate had summoned him; but after Caesar had got matters thoroughly in hand in Rome and was proceeding openly to take vengeance on his father's slayers, Brutus remained where he was, deliberating how he should successfully ward off the other's attack when it occurred; and besides managing admirably the other districts as well as Macedonia, he calmed the minds of his legions when they had been stirred to mutiny by Antonius.

For Antonius, although Brutus had not even deprived him of his praetorian dress, was not content to keep quiet, his safety and office secure, but was stirring up a revolt among the soldiers of Brutus. And when he was discovered at this work before he had done any great harm, he was stripped of his praetorian insignia, and delivered up to be guarded, though not confined, that he might not cause any rebellion. Yet he did not remain quiet even then, but concocted more schemes of rebellion than ever, so that some of the soldiers came to blows with one another and others set out for Apollonia to fetch Antonius himself, with the intention of rescuing him. This, however, they were unable to do; for Brutus had learned beforehand from some intercepted letters what was to be done and by putting him into a covered litter, on the pretence that he was moving a sick man, got him out of the way. The soldiers, unable to find Antonius and being also afraid of Brutus, seized a hill commanding the city. Brutus induced them to come to an understanding, and by taking a few of the most audacious, of whom he executed some and dismissed others
όστε σφᾶς τοὺς τε ἀποπεμφθέντας ως καὶ τῆς στάσεως αἰτιωτάτους συλλαβεῖν καὶ ἀποκειέναι, καὶ τὸν ταμίαν τοὺς τε ὑποστρατήγους τοῦ Ἀντονίου ἐξαιτῆσαι. οὐν Βρούτος ἐκεῖνων μὲν οὐδένα σφῖσιν ἔξεδωκεν, ἀλλ’ ἐσ πλοῖα αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλὼν ὡς καὶ καταποντώσωσιν ἐσ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀπέπεμψε φοβηθείς δὲ μὴ καὶ αὐθίς τῶν ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ πραπτομένων ἐπὶ τὸ φοβερότερον ἀγγελ.

2) λομένων πυνθανόμενοι μεταβάλλονται, τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ κατέλιπε, Γαύρ τινι Κλωδίῳ παραδοὺς φυλάσσειν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ τε πλείστον καὶ τὸ ἱσχυρότατον τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν ἐς τε τῆς ἀνω Μακεδονίαν ἀνεχώρησε, καντεύθεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὑστερον ἐπλευσεν, ὅπως σφᾶς ὁτι τε πορρωτάτῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπαγάγη τὰ καὶ τῶν

3) ἐκεὶ ὑπηκοόν διατρέφη. καὶ ἄλλους τε ἐν τούτῳ συμμάχους προσεποιήσατο καὶ τὸν Δημόσταρον, καίτερ ὑπεργήρων τε ὑστα καὶ τῷ Κασσίῳ ἀπειπώντα τὴν Βοσθείαν.

Διατρίβοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταύτη, ἐκείνω τε Γέλλιος Ποπλικόλας ἐπεβουλεύει καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ Μάρκος ἐξαρπάσαι, πέμψας τινάς, ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ τούτων μὲν ὁ Κλωδίος, ὡς οὐκ ἡδυνηθῇ σῶον φυλάξαι, ἀπέκτεινεν, εἰτ’ αὐτογρωμονήσας εἰτε καὶ ἐξ ἐντολῆς τοῦ Βρούτου καὶ γὰρ λόγος ἔχει ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἐν παντὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο. ὑστερον δὲ, μαθῶν τὸν Δέκιμον ἀπολωλότα, παρ’ οὐδέν αὐτὴν ἡγαγεν.

5) ὁ δὲ δὴ Γέλλιος ἐφωράθη μὲν, ἐπαθεὶ δὲ δεινὸν

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1) μεταβάλλωνται Ζον., μεταβάλλωνται ΛΜ.
2) ὑπεργήρων R. Steph., ὑπεργήρων ΛΜ.
3) σῶον R. Steph., σῶον ΛΜ.
BOOK XLVII

from his service, induced the other mutineers to arrest and kill those who had been sent away, on the ground that they were chiefly responsible for the sedition; and he asked for the surrender of the quaestor and the lieutenants of Antonius. Now Brutus did not deliver any of these officials into their hands, but put them aboard ships, as if he were going to drown them, and so conveyed them to safety; fearing, however, that the troops would change sides again when they should hear reports of the events in Rome, all exaggerated to inspire alarm, he delivered Antonius to a certain Gaius Clodius to guard and left him in Apollonia. Meanwhile Brutus himself took the largest and strongest part of the army and retired into upper Macedonia, whence he later sailed to Asia, in order to remove his men as far as possible from Italy and to support them on the subject territory there. Among the various allies whom he gained at this time was Deiotarus, although this ruler was very old and had refused his assistance to Cassius.

While Brutus was delaying there, a plot was formed against him by Gellius Publicola, and Mark Antony also sent some men and attempted to rescue his brother. Clodius, accordingly, as he could not keep his prisoner in custody alive, killed him, either on his own responsibility or following instructions from Brutus; for the story is that at first Brutus made his prisoner's safety of supreme importance, but later, after learning that Decimus had perished, cared nothing more about it. Gellius was detected, but suffered no punishment;
οὔδεν· ὁ γὰρ Βρούτος ἐκεῖνον τε ἐν τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἀεὶ ποτε νομίσας εἶναι, καὶ τὸν ἄδελφον αὐτοῦ Μάρκου Μεσσάλαν πάνιν τῷ Κασσίῳ προσκεί-μενον εἰδῶς, ἁφήκεν αὐτὸν. καὶ ὅς ἔπεθετο μὲν καὶ τῷ Κασσίῳ, οὔδεν δὲ οὕδε τότε κακὸν ἔπαθεν.

6 αἰτιοῦ δὲ ὅτι ἡ μῆτρα αὐτοῦ Πώλλα τοῦ Δοναθάνη, καὶ δείσασα περὶ τε τῷ Κασσίῳ μὴ προκαταληφθῇ (σφόδρα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἠγάπα) καὶ περὶ τῷ νῦν μὴ καταφωραθῇ, τὸ τε ἐπιβούλευμα αὐτῆς ἐκοῦσα τῷ Κασσίῳ προεμί-

νυσε καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν του παιδὸς ἀντέλαβεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ βελτίων αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν πρὸς τε γὰρ τὸν Ῥωμαίον ἀπὸ τῶν ἑνεργεῖτο ἀπηνομολόγησεν.

25 ὁ δὲ οὖν Βρούτος ὡς τάχιστα τῇ τε τοῦ Ῥω-

μακεδονίου τοῦ Μάρκου πείρασιν καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἄδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ σφαγὴν ἐμαθεν, ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ τὴν ἀπονίαν αὐτοῦ νεω-τερισθῇ, καὶ εὔθυς ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπειράμην τὴν τε χόραν τὴν τοῦ Σαδᾶλου ἀναμένειν παρέλαβεν (ἀπαῖς γὰρ τελευτῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὴν κατέ-

2 χώρα καὶ ἐς Βῆσσους ἐμβαλὼν, εἰ πως ἀμύνατο τε ἀμα αὐτοὺς ὠν ἐκακούργον, καὶ ὡς καὶ ἄμα ἀξίωμα τε αὐτοκράτορος, ὡς καὶ ἄρα ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρι καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίω προσπολέμησιν, περι-

βάλοιτο, ἀμφοτέρα διεπράξετο, Ῥασκπυρίδος οἱ δύναστος τῶν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα βοθῆσαντος. ἐν-

τεύθεν δὲ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ κρατινάμενοι ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων αὐθίς ἀνε-

κομίσθη.

1 Πώλλα Βκ., πόλλα ΙΜ. 2 Σαδᾶλου Χυλ., ἀθόλου ΙΜ.

3 περιβάλλοιτο Βκ., περιβάλλοιτο ΙΜ.

166
for Brutus released him, inasmuch as he had always held him to be among his best friends and knew that his brother, Marcus Messalla, was on very close terms with Cassius. The man also made an attempt upon Cassius, but suffered no harm in that case, either. The reason was that his mother Polla learned of the plot in advance, and fearing for Cassius lest he should be caught off his guard (for she was very fond of him) and for her son lest he should be detected, in person and of her own free will informed Cassius of the plot beforehand, and received the life of her son as a reward. However, she did not succeed in making a better man of him; for he deserted his benefactors to join Caesar and Antony.

Now as soon as Brutus learned of the attempt of Mark Antony and of the killing of Antony's brother, he feared that some other insurrection might take place in Macedonia during his absence, and immediately hastened to Europe. On the way he took charge of the territory which had belonged to Sadalus, who had died childless and had left it to the Romans, and he also invaded the country of the Bessi, in the hope that he might at one and the same time punish them for the mischief they were doing and invest himself with the title and dignity of imperator, thinking that he should thus carry on his war against Caesar and Antony more easily. He accomplished both objects chiefly by the aid of a certain prince named Rhascyproris. And after going thence into Macedonia and making himself master of everything there, he withdrew again into Asia.
3 Βρούτος μὲν ταύτα τε ἔστρασεν, καὶ ἐσταυρώσασα δὲ καὶ ἀνεμόσασθα ἐκοίνω ἐστιν τὸν καὶ πι-
λίν. 1 εἰσήγηται τε δύο ἐνετύπου, ἔνθη ἐστι τοῦ τουτου καὶ διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ὅτι τὴν πατρίδα μετὰ τοῦ
26 Κασσίου Ἰλευθερώκως εἶν: ἐν δὲ ταῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνων χρόνων ὁ Κάσσιος ἦν τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς
τὸν Τρεβώνιον, φθάσας τὸν Δολοβέλλαν, 2 ἐπε-
ραιώθη, καὶ λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ χρήματα, τῶν τε ἑπτέων συχνοὺς, οὗς ὁ Δολοβέλλας ἦσσα τῇ Συρίᾳ
προεπεπόμφη, καὶ ἐτέρους πολλοὺς τῶν τῇ Ἀσια-
2 νῶν καὶ τῶν Κιλίκων προσέθετο. κὰς τούτου καὶ
τὸν Ταρκονδέμον τοὺς τῆς Ταρσέας καὶ ἄκοντας
ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν προσηγάγετο· οὗτο ὡς προσμ-
νεκρὸς τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ, καὶ τοῦ ἐκείνων
καὶ τῶν δευτέρων, οἱ Ταρσείς εἶχον ὡστε καὶ Ἰουλίω-
πολῖν σφας ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ μετονομάσαν. ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ
Κάσσιος πράξας ἦσσα τῇ Συρίᾳ ἥλθε, καὶ ἀμαχεὶ
pánta tα tε tῶν δήμων καὶ tά tῶν στρατευμάτων
3 προσεποιήσατο. ἡ δὲ δὴ καταστάσεις ἦν τῇ
Συρίᾳ τότε τοιάδε ἦν. Κακιλίου Βάσσος ἰππεὺς
που συστρατεύσας ἢ τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἀναγωρίσας ἦ
Τύρων, εἰκα τῷ ἐμπορίῳ τᾶς διατριβάς λαών
νου εὐποιεῖτο. ἦρχε δὲ τῶν Σύρων Σέκτος· τούτῳ
γὰρ καὶ ταμία καὶ συγγενεῖ αὐτοῦ ὅτι ὁ Καίσαρ
πάντα τὰ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ τῶν
4 Φαρινάκην ἔλασεν ἐπέτρεψεν· ὁ οὖν Βάσσος τὸ
μὲν πρῶτον ἤσυχίαν ἦγεν, ἄγαπῶν εἰ τις αὐτὸν
ζήν εὐσεβεῖν ὃς δὲ τῶν τοῦ ὀμοίου τινὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν

1 πιλίν Reim., πιλίν LM.
2 Δολοβέλλαν R. Steph., δολοβέλλαν LM (so just below and in chap. 28, 5; elsewhere δολοβέλλα, etc.).
3 συστρατεύσας Be., στρατεύεις LM.

168
In addition to these activities Brutus stamped upon the coins which were being minted his own likeness and a cap¹ and two daggers, indicating by this and by the inscription that he and Cassius had liberated the fatherland. Meanwhile Cassius crossed over to Trebonius in Asia, forestalling Dolabella, and after securing money from him, attached to himself many of the cavalry, which Dolabella had sent before him into Syria, and also many Asiatics and Cilicians besides. He next brought Tarcondimotus, also, and the people of Tarsus into the alliance, though against their will, for the Tarsians were so devoted to the former Caesar, and out of regard for him to the second also, that they changed the name of their city to Juliopolis after him. After accomplishing this much Cassius went to Syria, and without striking a blow completely won over both the people and the legions. The situation in Syria at that time was as follows. Caecilius Bassus, a knight, who had made the campaign with Pompey and in the retreat had arrived at Tyre, was secretly spending his time there in the mart. The governor of Syria was Sextus;² for since he was not only quaestor but also a relative of Caesar's, Caesar had placed in his charge all the Roman interests in that quarter, having done this on the occasion of his march from Egypt against Pharnaces. So Bassus at first remained quiet, satisfied if only he might be allowed to live; but when some men in like case had associated them-

¹ The cap of liberty, given to slaves at the time of their manumission.  
² Sextus Julius.
5 δεινὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἡγγέλλετο, οὐκέτι τοὺς παρόντις ἐστερέξεν, ἀλλ’ ἢ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα τὸν τε Κάτωνα καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίους συναιρόμενος, ἡ καὶ ἐαυτῷ δυναστείαι των περιβαλλόμενος, ἐνεοχμον. φοραθεῖς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου πρὶν παρασκευάσασθαι, ἐφή τε τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον ἄθροι-
6 ζεων, καὶ πιστευθένς ἀπελύθη. καὶ οὕτω μετὰ ταῦτα γράμματα τινὰ συνέπλασεν ως καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος οἱ πεμφθέντα, καὶ εἰ αὐτῶν τὸν τε Καίσαρα ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἤττηθαι καὶ ἀπολογεῖναι διήγγελλε, καὶ ἐαυτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Συρίας προσ-
7 τετάχθαι ἔλεγε. κὰκ τούτου τῆς τε Τύρων μετὰ τῶν προπαρασκευασμένων κατέλαβε, κἀντεύθεν πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Σέξτου στρατόπεδα προσχωροῦν περιεπεσέν αὐτῷ καὶ ἤττηθαι ἐτρώθη. παθῶν δὲ τούτῳ κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἑσπυρόν οὐκέτι αὐτοῦ ἐπείρασε, τὰς δὲ δὴ στρατιώταις προσπέμπων τινὰ τρόπου οὕτω τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐσφετερίσατο ὡστε καὶ αὐτο-
χειρας τοῦ Σέξτου ἑνέσθαι.

27 Ἀποδιανύτος δὲ ἐκείνου τὸ τε στράτευμα πάν πλῆρον ὅλγων προσημαρίσατο (τοὺς γὰρ ἐν Ἀπα-
μεια χειμάζοντας ἐπεδίωξε μὲν ἐς Κιλικίαν προ-
αποχωρήσαστας, οὐ μὴν καὶ προσεποίησατο), καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐπανελθὼν στρατηγός τε ὁμομάθη 
καὶ τὴν Ἀπαμείαν ἐκρατώντα, ὅπως ὀρμητηρίον 2 
οἱ τοῦ πολέμου γένηται. τὴν τε ἡλικίαν όν ότι 
τὴν ἐλευθέραν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν δούλων κατέλεγε,
selves with him and he had attached to himself various soldiers of Sextus who came there at different times to garrison the city, and when, moreover, many alarming reports kept coming in from Africa about Caesar, he was no longer content with the existing state of affairs, but began to stir up a rebellion, his aim being either to help the followers of Scipio and Cato and the Pompeians or to win for himself some political power. But he was discovered by Sextus before he had finished his preparations, and explained that he was collecting these troops for the use of Mithridates the Pergamenian in an expedition against Bosporus; his story was believed, and he was released. So after this he forged a letter, which he pretended had been sent to him by Scipio, on the basis of which he announced that Caesar had been defeated and had perished in Africa and claimed that the governorship of Syria had been assigned to him. He then seized Tyre with the aid of the forces he had got ready, and from there he advanced against the legions of Sextus, but was defeated and wounded while attacking him. After this experience, he did not again make an attempt by force upon Sextus, but sent messages to his soldiers, and in some way or other won some of them to himself to such an extent that they murdered Sextus with their own hands.

When Sextus was dead, Bassus gained possession of all his army except a few; for the soldiers who had been wintering in Apamea withdrew into Cilicia before his arrival, and although he pursued them, he did not win them over. Returning then to Syria, he took the title of praetor and fortified Apamea, so as to have it as a base for the war. And he proceeded to enlist the men of military age, not only freemen
καὶ χρήματα ἥθροιζε καὶ ὅπλα κατεσκευάζετο. πράσσοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα Γάϊος τίς Ἀντίστιος ἐσ πολιορκίαν κατέκλεισε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀγχώμαλα ἀγωνιζόμενοι, καὶ μηδέτεροι ἴσχυρον τι παραλαβεῖν δυνάμενοι, ἀσπόνδω ἄνωκοχή πρὸς 3 συμμάχων ἐπαγωγήν διελύθησαν, καὶ Ἀντιστίω μὲν ἐκ τῶν περιχώρων οἱ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονοῦντες καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἡρώμης στρατιῶται ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ πεμβάτες προσεγένοντο, τῷ δὲ δὴ Βάσσῳ ὁ Ἀλκαυδόνιος ὁ Ἀράβιος· οὗτος γὰρ τῷ τε Λουκουλλῳ πρότερον, ὠσπερ εἰρηταὶ μοι, ὁμολογήσας, καὶ τοῖς Πάρθοις μετὰ τούτο κατὰ τοῦ 4 Κρίσσου συναράμενοι, τότε παρεκλήθη μὲν ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ μέσον τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων, πρὶν τι ἀποκρίνασθαι σφις, τὴν τε συμμαχίαν ἀπεκήρυξε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Βάσσος ὑπερέβαλε τοῖς χρήμασιν, ἐπεκούρησε τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πολὺ τοῖς τοξεύμασιν ἐπε- 5 κράτησεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ Πάρθοι ἤλθον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ Βάσσῳ ἐπίκλησαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ αὐτῷ διὰ τῶν χειμῶνα συνεγένοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἐπραξαν τι ἄξιολογον. καὶ ὁ μὲν δυνηθεὶς τινα χρόνον, ἐπειτὰ ὑπὸ τε Μαρκίου· 1 Κρίσσου καὶ ὑπὸ Λουκίου Σταίου 2 Μοῦρκου αὐθις κατ- είρχθη.

28. Τοιοῦτων δὲ δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς ὄντων, ὁ Κάσσιος ἐπελθὼν τῷς τε πόλεις πάσας ἐνθὺς πρὸς τε τὴν δόξαν ὅν ἐν τῇ ταμείᾳ ἐπεποίηκε καὶ πρὸς τὴν λοιπὴν εὐκλείαν ὁ ὕκειος όρθος, καὶ τα

1 Μαρκίου Reim., μάρκοι LM.
2 Σταίου Bs., σταίλευ LM (and so in the following chapters except 33, where they read σταίλευ).
but slaves as well, to gather money, and to prepare arms. While he was thus engaged, one Gaius Antistius besieged him. Later they had a fairly equal struggle, and when neither party was able to gain any great advantage, they parted, without any definite truce, to await the bringing up of allies. Antistius was joined by such persons of the vicinity as favoured Caesar and by soldiers who had been sent from Rome by Caesar, while Bassus was joined by Alchandumonius the Arabian. He it was who had formerly made terms with Lucullus, as I have stated, \(^1\) and later joined with the Parthians against Crassus. On this occasion he was summoned by both sides, but entered the space between the city and the camps and before making any answer called for bids for his services as an ally; and as Bassus outbid Antistius, he assisted him, and in the battle proved greatly superior in his archery. Even the Parthians, too, came at the invitation of Bassus, but on account of the winter failed to remain with him for any considerable time, and hence did not accomplish anything of importance. Bassus prevailed for a time, to be sure, but was later again held in check by Marcus Crispus \(^2\) and Lucius Staius Murcus.

Affairs with them were in this state when Cassius came on the scene and at once conciliated all the cities because of the renown of his acts while quaestor and of his fame in general, and attached the legions of

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\(^1\) Cf. xxxvi. 2, 5.  \(^2\) Q. Marcus Crispus.
στρατόπεδα τά τε τοῦ Βάσσου καὶ τά τῶν ἑτέρων
2 οὐδὲν ἐπιπονήσας προσέθετο. καὶ αὐτῷ καθ’ ἐν
μετὰ πάντων αὐτῶν αὐλιξωμένῳ ὑδόρῳ ἐκ τοῦ οὐ-
ρανοῦ αἰφνιδίων πολὺ ἐπεγένετο, καὶ τούτῳ σὺς
ἀγριοὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατὰ πᾶσας ἁμα τὰς
πύλες ἐσπεσόντες πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ὅντα συνέ-
χεαν καὶ συνετάραξαν, ὡστε τινὰς ἐκ τούτων τὴν
tε ἱσχὺν αὐτοῦ τὴν αὐτίκα καὶ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα
3 καταστροφήν τεκμήρισθαι. παραλαβὼν οὖν τὴν
Συρίαν ἐς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὀρμήσε, πυθόμενος τοὺς
στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Λεγύπτῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καὶ-
σαρος καταλειψθέντας προσέγναι, καὶ ἐκέινους τε
4 ἀκούσας καὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαίους παρεστήσατο. καὶ
μετὰ τούτο τὸν μὲν Βάσσου καὶ τὸν Κρίσσον,
tοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς οὐκ ἑθελήσαντάς οἱ συστρα-
teύσαι, ἀπέπεμψε μηδὲν ἀδικήσας, τῷ δὲ δὴ
Στιάφῳ τὸ τε ἄξιομα μεθ’ οὗ ἀφίκετο ἐτήρησε, καὶ
προσέτι καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπέτρεψεν.
5 Οὕτω μὲν καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ἱσχυρὸς διὰ ταχέων
ἐγένετο, καὶ τῷ τε Καίσαρι περὶ τῶν συναλλαγῶν
καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὁμοία τῷ
Βρούτῳ ἐπέστειλε. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα ἡ Βουλή
tὴν τε ἅρχην τὴς Συρίας ἐβεβαιώσε καὶ τοῦ τοῦ
29 Δολοβέλλου πόλεμον ἐψηφίσατο. οὕτως γὰρ
ἐτέτακτο μὲν τῆς Συρίας ἄρχειν καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον
ὕπατεύων ἐπεποίητο, 1 χρόνιος δὲ διὰ τῆς Μακε-
dονίας καὶ διὰ τῆς Ὄρακες ἐς τὴν Ἄσιαν τὸ ἔθνος
2 κομισθεὶς καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐνδιέτρεψεν. ἐπειδή τε ἐνταῦθα
ἐτὲ ἄντι αὐτῷ τὸ δόγμα ἑγγελθη, πρὸς μὲν τὴν
Συρίαν οὐ προσέχωροσεν, αὐτοῦ δὲ δὴ καταμείνας
tὸν Τρεβώνιον οὕτω μετεχειρίσατο ὡστε δόξαν οἱ

1 ἐπεποίητο Naber, ἐποιήτο LM.
BOOK XLVII

Bassus and of the others without any further trouble. While he was encamped in one place with all of these forces, a great downpour from the sky suddenly occurred, during which wild swine rushed into the camp, through all the gates at once, overturning and throwing into confusion everything there; hence some inferred from this his immediate rise to power and his subsequent overthrow. So when Cassius had secured possession of Syria, he set out for Judaea on learning that the followers of Caesar who had been left behind in Egypt were approaching; and without any difficulty he won to his cause both them and the Jews. Next he sent away, without harming them in the least, Bassus and Crispus and such others as did not care to share the campaign with him; as for Staius, he retained him in the rank which he had when he came there and entrusted the fleet to him besides.

Thus Cassius quickly became strong; and he sent a despatch to Caesar about reconciliation, and to the senate about the situation, composed in similar language to that of Brutus. Therefore the senate confirmed him in the governorship of Syria and voted for the war with Dolabella. Dolabella, it will be recalled, had been appointed to govern Syria and had set out while consul, but travelling by way of Macedonia and Thrace, had been late in arriving in the province of Asia, and he had delayed there also. He was still there when he received news of the decree, and so did not go on into Syria, but remained where he was; and he treated Trebonius in such a manner as to inspire
εὐνοίας πλείστην παρασχεῖν, καὶ τὴν τε τροφήν
toῦ στρατιώτας παρ' ἐκόντως αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ
3 τὴν διαίτην ἄδεως τὴν αὐτῷ ποιεῖσθαι. ἐπείδη τε
ἐν τῷ θαρσοῦντι διὰ ταύτ' ἐγένετο καὶ φυλακὴν
οὐδεμίᾶν ἐαυτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο, τὴν τε Σμύρναν, ἐν ἥ
ἔσαν, νυκτὸς ἕξαπαναίως κατέλαβε, καὶ ἐκείνων
ἀποκτείνας τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Καῖ-
σαρος εἰκόνα ἔρριψε, κὰκ τούτων πᾶσαν τὴν
4 'Ασίαν κατέσχε. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ
Ῥωμαίοι πόλεμον αὐτῶ ἐπήγγειλαν οὐδέπω γὰρ
ὁ Καίσαρ οὔτε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐνενικήκει οὔτε τὰ
ἐν τῷ άστει διὰ χειρὸς ἐπεποίητο. καὶ τοῖς τε
συνευδόσιν οἱ ῥητὴν ἡμέραν ἐς ἐκλεγομένῃ τῆς
φιλίας αὐτοῦ προείπον, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐν ἐχθρῶν
5 μοῖρα γένωνται, καὶ τὴν ἀντίταξιν τὸν τε πόλεμον
τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ μὲν σύμπαν τοῖς ὑπάτοις προσ-
έταξαν, ἐπειδὰν τα παρόντα κατορθώσωσι, ποιή-
σασθαι (τὸν γὰρ Κάσσιον οὐδέπο τὴν Συρίαν
ἔχοντα ἤδεσαν), ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἐπὶ μείζον ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ
χρόνῳ αὐξηθῇ, τοῖς τῶν προσόρων ἐθνῶν ἄρχοντοι
6 ενεχείρισαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο μαθόντες τὰ κατὰ
tὸν Κάσσιον, πρὶν καὶ οἵτινοι ὑπ' ἐκείνων πρα-
χῆναι, ταῦθ' ἀπερ ἐπον ἐφηφίσαντο.

30 Ὁ δ' οὖν Δολοβέλλας ἐγκρατῆς οὔτω τῆς 'Ασίας
genómenos ἐς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἤλθε, τοῦ Κασσίου ἐν
τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ὄρτος, καὶ τοῦς Ταρσεῖας ἐκουσίους
προσλαβὼν φρουροὺς τίνας αὐτοῦ ἐν Λιγέας ὄρ-
2 τας ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἔνεβαλε, καὶ τῆς
μὲν 'Αντιοχείας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφρουροῦντων αὐτὴν
ἀπεκρούσθη, τὴν δὲ ἩΛασίδειαν ἀμαχεῖ διὰ τὴν
φιλίαν αὐτῶν, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν πρότερον
in him a firm belief in his friendly disposition toward him, and thus to secure from him, with his full consent, food for his soldiers and the privilege of living with him in security. And when Trebonius became in this way imbued with confidence and ceased to be on his guard, Dolabella one night suddenly seized Smyrna, where they were staying, slew him, and hurled his head at Caesar’s statue; and after that he occupied all Asia. When the Romans at home heard of this, they declared war upon him; for as yet Caesar had neither conquered Antony nor got the affairs of the city under his control. They also set a definite day before which Dolabella’s followers must leave off friendship with him if they also were not to be regarded in the light of enemies. And they instructed the consuls to take complete charge of the measures against him and of the war, as soon as they should have brought their present business to a successful conclusion (for they did not yet know that Cassius held Syria); however, in order that he should not become more powerful in the meantime, they gave the governors of the neighbouring provinces charge of the matter. When they subsequently learned the truth about Cassius, they passed the decree mentioned above before anything had been done by the provincial governors.

Dolabella, accordingly, after becoming in this way master of Asia, came into Cilicia while Cassius was in Palestine, took over the people of Tarsus with their consent, conquered a few of Cassius’ guards who were at Aegae, and invaded Syria. From Antioch he was repulsed by the garrison of the place, but he gained Laodicea without a struggle on account of the friendship which its inhabitants felt for the former
εἶχον, προσεποίησατο. κακὸς τούτων ἡμέρας τών ισχύσας (τά τε γάρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτοῦ διὰ ταχέων ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπήλθε) διέβαλεν1 ἐς Ἀραδόν, ὅπως καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνων καὶ χρήματα καὶ
3 ναῦς λάβη. κάνταῦθα ἀπολυθῆναις μετ’ ὀλίγων ἐκκυνδύνευσε. διαφυγὼν δ’ οὐν ἀπήντησε τε τῷ Κασσίῳ προσελκύσατο, καὶ συμβαλὸν αὐτῷ ἢττήθη. κατακλείσας τε ἐς τὴν Δαιδίκειαν ἐπορθεῖτο, τῆς μὲν ἥπειρον παντελῶς εἰργόμενος (ἀλλοι τε γὰρ τῷ Κασσίῳ καὶ Πάρθῳ τινὲς ἔβοι-θησαν), ταῖς δὲ δὴ ναυσὶ ταῖς τε Ἀσιανίας καὶ ταῖς Ἀιγυπτίαις, ἃς ἡ Κλεοπάτρα αὐτῷ ἐπεμψε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς χρηματισ τοῖς παρ’ αὐτῆς ἐλθοῦσιν ἰσχύσιν, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Σταῖος τοῖς ναυ-
tικοῖς συνεκρότησε, καὶ ἐς τὸν τῶν Δαιδίκεων λιμένα ἐσπελύσας τοὺς τε ἀνταναχθέντας ἐκράτησε καὶ ἀπεκλείσεν οἱ καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. τότε γὰρ ἀμφοτέρωσιν τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εἰρχθεῖς ἐπεκδρομὴν μὲν σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐποίησατο, καταραχθεῖς δὲ διὰ ταχέων ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ προδιδόμενον αὐτῷ ἰδὼν, εφοβήθη μη ἦν ἰδών ἀλοίη2 καὶ ἐαυτὸν κατεχρήσατο. ὅπερ ποι οἱ καὶ Μάρκος Ὀκτάοιος ὑποστράτηγος αὐτοῦ ἐπραξε. 6 καὶ οἱ μὲν ταφῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κασσίου, καίπερ τῶν Ἐρεβώνοιν ἀταφόν ρίψαντες, ἡξιώθησαν οἱ τε συστρατεύσαντες σφίζαι καὶ περιγεκόμενοι καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀδείας, καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ὑπὸ τῶν
7 οἰκοὶ Ῥωμαίων νομισθέντες, ἔτυχον. οὐ μέντοι οὐδ’ οἱ Δαιδίκεις κακῶν τε πλὴν συντελείας χρη-
mάτων ἐπαθοῦν. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἅλλος οὐδεὶς, συγχρόν

1 διέβαλεν R. Steph., διεβάλει Μκ.
2 ἀλοίη Dind., ἀλώη Μκ.
Caesar. Thereupon he became powerful for a few days, especially as the fleet came to him speedily from Asia, and he crossed over to Arados with the object of getting both money and ships from the people of that island also; there he was intercepted with only a few followers, and ran into danger. But he made his escape, and then encountering Cassius, who was marching against him, he joined battle with him and was defeated. He was then shut up and besieged in Laodicea, entirely cut off from the main land (for Cassius was assisted by some Parthians among others), though he was still powerful on the sea, not only because of the ships he had from Asia, but also because of those from Egypt which Cleopatra had sent him, and powerful also by reason of the money which came to him from her. This situation lasted until Staius got together a fleet, and sailing into the harbour of Laodicea, defeated the ships that sailed out to meet him, and barred Dolabella from the sea also. Then, prevented on both sides from bringing in supplies, he was forced by lack of provisions to make a sortie; but he was quickly driven back within the fortress, and seeing that it was being betrayed, he feared that he might be taken alive, and so took his own life. His example was followed by Marcus Octavius, his lieutenant. To these two burial was conceded by Cassius, although they had cast out Trebonius unburied; and the men who had participated in the campaign with them and survived obtained both safety and pardon, in spite of their having been regarded as enemies by the Romans at home. Furthermore, the Laodiceans also suffered no harm apart from a forced contribution of money. But for that matter no one else was punished, either,
μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπιβουλευσάντων τῷ Κασσίῳ, ἐκολάσθη.

31 Ἠν ό δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, οἱ Ταρσεῖς Τίλλιον Κύμβρον φονέα τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντα καὶ τότε Βιθυνῶν ἀρχοντα πρὸς τε τὴν τοῦ Κασσίου ἐπικουρίαν ἐπειθόμενον ἐπεχείρησαν τῶν τοῦ Ταύρου διόδων εἰρξαί, προεκλιπόντες δὲ ἀυτὰς ὑπὸ δέωσι παραχρήμα μὲν ἐσπείσαντο αὐτῷ, νομίσαντες ἵσχυρόν αὐτὸν εἶναι, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατανοήσαντες οὕτε τῇ πόλει αὐτῶν ἐδέξαντο οὕτε τὰ ἐπιτηδεία ὁι παρέσχον. 2 ἐπειδὴ τε φρούριοι τι ἐπιτειχίσας σφίσιν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀπῆρε, προτιμότερον τὸ τῳ Κασσίῳ βοηθῆσαι τοῦ τὴν πόλιν αὐτός ἔξελείν ποιησάμενος, τοῦτο τε ἐπιστρατεύσαντες αὐτῶ παρεστήσαντο, καὶ πρὸς τὰ Ἀδανὰ ἄμορφα τέ σφισι καὶ διάφορα ἄεί ὄντα ὄρμησαν, πρόφασιν ὡς καὶ τὰ τοῦ Κασσίου πράσσοντα ποιησάμενοι. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἔκεινος πρότερον μὲν, ὡς ἐτι ὁ Δολοβέλλας ἐξη, Λουκιου Ρούφου ἐπί αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν, ὤστερον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤλθε, καὶ (ἢν γὰρ ἀμαχεῖ τῷ Ρούφῳ προσεκεχωρίκεσαι) ἀλλο μὲν σφας οὐδέν δεινὸν εἰργάσατο, τὰ δὲ χρήματα τὰ τε ἱδα 4 καὶ τὰ δημόσια πάντα ἀφείλετο. κακὸ τοῦτο Ταρσεῖς ἐπαίνους τε παρὰ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν (ἔκεινοι γὰρ τὰ πράγματα ἤδη τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ εἴχον) καὶ ἐπίδα αὐτηληφέσθαι τι ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολολοτῶν ἔλαβον ἡ τε Κλεοπάτρα διὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἡν τῷ Δολοβέλλῳ ἐπεμψεν, εὑρετῶ τῶν νίου, ὃν Πτολεμαῖον μὲν ὀνόμαζεν, ἐπλάττετο

1 δὲ ν. Herw., τε ΛM. 2 πάντα Μ, πάντα Ι. 3 εὑρετῶ Μ, εὑρετῶ τε Ι.
although many of them subsequently plotted against Cassius.

While this was going on the people of Tarsus had attempted to keep from the pass through the Taurus Tillius Cimber, an assassin of Caesar, who was then governor of Bithynia and was hurrying forward to help Cassius. Out of fear, however, they abandoned the place and at the time made a truce with him, because they thought him strong; but afterwards, when they perceived the small number of his troops, they neither received him into their city nor furnished him with provisions. And when he had constructed a fort against them and had set out for Syria, believing it to be of more importance to aid Cassius than to destroy their city himself, they made an attack upon this fort and got possession of it, and then set out for Adana, a place on their borders always at variance with them, giving as an excuse that it was supporting the cause of Cassius. Now when Caesar heard of this, he at first, while Dolabella was still alive, sent Lucius Rufus against them, but later came himself; and finding that they had already surrendered to Rufus without a struggle, he inflicted no severe penalty upon them, except to take away all their money, private and public. As a result, the people of Tarsus received praise from the triumvirs (for they were already holding sway in Rome), and were inspired with hope of obtaining some return for their losses. Cleopatra also, on account of the aid she had sent to Dolabella, was granted the right to have her son called king of Egypt; this son, whom she named Ptolemy,
32 Κάσσιος δὲ ἔπειδη τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Καλλικίᾳ κατεστῆσατο, ἐς τὴν Ἄσιαν πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον ἀφίκετο. ὡς γὰρ τὴν τε συνομοσίαν τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔμαθον καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ὕπαιτον κατὰ σφῶν ὑσθόντο, συνήλθον τε ἐκεί καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκοινώσαντο: τὴν τε γὰρ αἰτίαν τῆς τοῦ πολέμου τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχοντες καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον τῶν αὐτῶν προσδεχόμενοι, τὴν τε ὕπερ τῆς τοῦ δήμου ἐλευθερίας γνώμην μηδὲ τότε ἐξοστάμενοι, καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἄτε καὶ τρεῖς ὄντας καὶ οἰκονόμωσαν προσκαταλίθοι πληγόμενοι, πολλῷ προθυμώτερον κοινὴ πάντα καὶ ἐβούλευ-3 ντο καὶ ἔποιον, καὶ τὸ μὲν σύμπαν ἐγνωσαν ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἔλθεν καὶ περαιωθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖσε κωλύσαι, ἢ καὶ ἔς τὴν Ἰταλίαν προδιαβῆσαι: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καθιστάθηκα, ἐστὶν ἐλέγοντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἄτε καὶ ἐγχύθην ἐφεδροῦστα σφίσιν ἁσχολίαν ἔχειν 4 ἐνομίζοντο, οὐκ εὖθις ταῦτ' ἐποίησαν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τε περιούντες καὶ ἔτερους διαπεμποντες τοὺς τε μηδέπώ ὁμοφρονοῦντάς σφισι προσεκτώντο καὶ ἐρήματα καὶ στρατιώτας ἐθροῖζον.
33 Καὶ ἀυτοῖς ὁ μὲν ἄλλοι ταύτη πάντες, καὶ οἱ πρόσθεν περιορωμένοι, παραχρήμα ὁμολόγησαν, ὁ δὲ ἰδ' Ἄρισταρχάνδης οἱ τε Ῥόδιοι καὶ οἱ Λύκιοι ἀλλοι μὲν οὐκ ἁθόρεσταν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ συμ-2 μαχῆσαι ἤθελον, ὑποπτεύσαντες οὐν αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν ἔναντίων, ἐπειδῆ εὗ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ
she pretended was her son by Caesar, and she was therefore wont to call him Caesarion.

And when Cassius had settled matters in Syria and in Cilicia, he came into Asia to meet Brutus. For when they learned of the league of the triumvirs and what these men were doing against them, they came together there and made common cause more than ever. As they shared the responsibility for the war and looked forward to the danger in the same degree, and as they did not even now recede from their determination to defend the freedom of the people, but were eager to overthrow these men also, inasmuch as they were three in number and were engaged in such evil undertakings, they proceeded with the greater zeal to make all their plans in common and to carry them out. In short, they resolved to enter Macedonia and to hinder the others from crossing over there, or even to forestall them by crossing over into Italy; but inasmuch as the triumvirs were reported to be still settling affairs in Rome and it was thought likely that they would have their hands full with Sextus, who was lying in wait against them near by, they did not carry out their plans immediately. Instead, they not only visited various places themselves, but also sent others in various directions, winning over such as were not yet in accord with them, and collecting both money and troops.

Nearly all the other peoples in that region, even those who had before been waiting for the turn of events, at once came to terms; but Ariobarzanes, the Rhodians, and the Lycians, while not opposing them, were yet unwilling to form an alliance with them. Brutus and Cassius therefore suspected them of favouring their enemies, since they had been well treated by
προτέρου ἐπεπόνθεσαν, φρονεῖν, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ καὶ 1 αὐτοὶ τε ἀπελθόντων σφῶν ταράξωσι τι καὶ τοὺς ἅλλους συναποστήσωσι, γνώμην ἐποίησαντο ἐπ' ἐκείνους πρῶτον τραπέζαθαι, ἐλπίζαντες σφας, ἀτε καὶ τοῖς ὄπλοις πολὺ αὐτῶν ὑπερέχουσας καὶ ταῖς ένεργείας ἀφθόνως χρόμενοι, διὰ βραχέος πείσειν ἢ καὶ βιάσεσθαι. 2 καὶ Κάσσιος μὲν Ῥοδίους, καίτοι τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ φρονοῦντας ὡστε ἐστὶ τῇ ἡπειρῷ ἐπὶ αὐτὸν προδιαπλεύσαι καὶ τὰς πέδας ἀς ἐκόμιζον ἡς καὶ χόντας πολλοὺς αἰρήσοντες ἐπιδεικνύει σφόσι, ναυμαχία πρότερον μὲν περὶ Μύσδον, ἐπειτὰ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥόδῳ διὰ τοῦ Σταίου, τῷ τε πλῆθει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν νεόν τῆς ἐμπειρίαν

σφῶν κρατῆσας, ἐυίκησε· καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ καὶ αὐτῶς ἐς τὴν νῆσον περαιωθείς ἄλλῳ μὲν κακὸς ωδὴν αὐτοὺς ἔδρασεν (οὔτε γὰρ ἀντέστησαν οἱ, καὶ εὐνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς ἢν ἐκεῖ κατὰ παιδείαν ἐπεποιητὸ εἰλικτεύειν χρήματα καὶ τὰ οὐσία καὶ τὰ ἱερά, πλὴν τοῦ ἀρματος τοῦ Ἡλίου, παρεσπάσατο· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνοντα συλλαβῶν ἀπε-κτεινε. 34 Βροῦτος δὲ τὸ τε κοινὸν τῶν Δυκίων στράτευμα ἀπαντῆσαν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ μεθόρια μάχη τε ἐκρατησε καὶ συγκαταφυγὸν ἐς τὸ ἐρυμα αὐτοβοεὶ εἰλικτεύει καὶ τῶν πόλεων τας μὲν πλείον ἀμαχεῖ προσηγαγέτο, Ξάιθιον δὲ ἐς πολυτρήκιαν κατέ-2 κλεισε. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐξαίφνης ἐκδραμόντων καὶ πῦρ ἐς τὰς μηχανάς ἐμβαλόντων, τὰ τε τοξεύματα

1 μὴ καὶ M, μὴ L.
2 βιάσεσθαι R. Steph., βιάσεσθαι LM.
3 τε om. L.

184
the former Caesar, and they feared that when they themselves should have departed those peoples would cause some turmoil and lead the rest to revolt. Hence they determined to turn their attention to them first, in the hope that, since they themselves were far superior to them in point of armed forces and were also lavish with the favours they bestowed, they might soon either persuade or force them to join their cause. The Rhodians, who had so great an opinion of the strength of their fleet that without waiting for Cassius they sailed to the mainland against him and displayed to his army the fetters they were bringing with the idea that they were going to capture many alive, were nevertheless defeated by him in a naval battle, first near Myndus and later close to Rhodes itself; he accomplished this through Staius, who overcame their skill by the superior number and size of his ships. Afterwards Cassius himself crossed over to their island, where he met with no resistance, possessing, as he did, their goodwill because of the stay he had made there while pursuing his education; and though he did the people no harm, yet he appropriated their ships, money, and public and sacred treasures, with the exception of the chariot of the Sun. Afterwards he arrested and killed Ariobarzanes.

As for Brutus, he overcame in battle the combined army of the Lycians which met him near the border, and when it fled in a body into the camp, captured it without a blow; he won over the majority of the cities without a struggle, but Xanthus he besieged. Suddenly the inhabitants made a sortie, hurling fire upon his machines, and at the same time shooting
καὶ ἀκόντια ἀμα ἀφέντων, ἐς πᾶν κινδύνου ἀφίκετο. καὶ πασσυδὶ ἀπώλετο, εἰ μὴ δι’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πυρὸς ὦσάμενοι οἱ στρατιῶται προσέμεζαν αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδόκητοι γυμνυτεύουσιν, καὶ ἐκείνους τε ἐς τὸ 3 τεῖχος κατήραξαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ συνεσπεσόντες σφίσι τοῦ τε πυρὸς ἐς οἰκίας τινὰς ἐνέβαλον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὄροντας τὸ γεγονόμενον προκατέπληξαν, τοῖς δ’ ἀποθέν οὐσὶ δόξαν ῥώς καὶ πάντα ἄρδην ἱρηκότες παρέσχον ἐκ γάρ τούτον καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τὰ λοιπὰ ἑθελονταῖ συγκατέπρησαν καὶ ἀλλήλους 4 οἱ πλείους ἀνεχρήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ Πάταρα ο Βρούτος ἤλθε, καὶ προεκάλεσατο 2 μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐς φιλίαν, ὡς δ’ οὕχ ὑπήκουσαν (οἱ γὰρ ὅτι δούλιοι καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων οἱ πέντες, οἱ μὲν ἐλευθερίας οἱ δὲ χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς προτετυχκότες, ἐκώλυνον σφας συμβῇναι), τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Ἑανθίων (καὶ γὰρ ἐν γένει αὐτοῖς κατ’ ἐπιγαμίαν πολλοὶ ἦσαν) ἐπεμψε σφῖσιν, ἔπιδα ἔχοι δι’ ἐκείνων αὐτοὺς προσ- 5 ἄξεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐνέδοσαν καὶ περ προῖκα αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους ἐκάστῳ διδόντως, πρατήριον τι ὑπ’ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἐν ἀσφαλεί κατεστήσατο, καὶ παράγων ἐνα ἐκαστὸν τῶν πρῶτων ἀπεκήρυτεν, εἰ πῶς διὰ γε τοῦτο τοὺς Πα- ταρέας 3 ὑπαγάγοτο. ὡς δ’ οὐδὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, ὅλους ἀποδύμονος τοὺς λουποὺς 6 ἀφῆκεν. ἦδοντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ἐνδον οὐκέταν ἄντηραν, ἄλλα εἰθὺς αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἀρετὴν ἔχοντε προσέθεντο, μηδὲν ἔξω τῶν χρημάτων ἐμιῳδότες. καὶ τοῦτο

1 ἀφέντων Bn., ἐφέντων LM.
2 προεκάλεσατο St., προεκάλεσατο LM.
3 Παταρεία R. Steph., παταραία LM.

186
their arrows and javelins, and he was brought into the greatest danger. Indeed, his forces would have been utterly destroyed had they not pushed their way through the very fire and unexpectedly attacked their assailants, who were light-armed. These they hurled back within the walls, and themselves rushing in along with them, they cast fire into some of the houses, striking terror into those who witnessed what was being done and giving those at a distance the impression that they had captured absolutely everything; thereupon the inhabitants of their own accord helped set fire to the rest, and most of them slew one another. Later Brutus came to Patara and invited the people to conclude an alliance; but they would not obey, for the slaves and the poorer portion of the free population, who had just received, the former their freedom and the latter remission of their debts, prevented their making terms. So at first he sent them the captive Xanthians, to whom many of them were related by marriage, in the hope that through these he might bring them around; but when they yielded none the more, in spite of his offering to each man his own kin as a free gift, he set up an auction block in a safe place under the very wall and bringing up the prominent Xanthians one at a time, auctioned them off, to see if by this means at least he could bring the people of Patara to terms. But when they would not even then come over to him, he sold only a few and let the rest go. And when the people inside saw this, they no longer held out, but forthwith attached themselves to his cause, regarding him as an upright man; and they were punished only by the imposition of a fine. The
καὶ οἱ Μυρεῖς ἐποίησαν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἐπινεῖῳ λαβῶν ἀπέλυσε. καὶ οὗτος καὶ τάλλα δι᾽ ὅλην παρεστήσατο.

35 Ταύτῃ οὖν ἀμφότεροι πράξαντες ἐσ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ αὐθίς ἤλθον, καὶ πάνθε᾽ ὅσα ἐκ διαβολῶν, οἷα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ὑποτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἴχον, ἐσ τῇ μέσον καὶ κατὰ μόνας προσεγκόντες καὶ διαλυσάμενοι ἐς τὴν

2 Μακεδονίαν ἥπειροντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς Γαίος τε Νωρβανὸς καὶ Δεκίδιος Σάξας ἐφθησαν τῶν τῇ Ἰώνιον, πρὶν τὸν Στάιον ἐλθεῖν, περαιωθέντες, καὶ πάσαν τὴν μέχρι τοῦ Παγγαίου γῆ προκατα- σχόντες, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς Φιλίππους στρατοπε- δεύσαμεν. τὸ δὲ δὴ ἀστυ τούτῳ παρὰ τῇ Παγγαίῳ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Συμβόλῳ κεῖται. Σύμ- βολον γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ὅνομαζον καθ᾽ ὅ τὸ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο ἐτέρῳ τινὶ ἐς μεσόγειαν ἀνατείνοντι συμ- βάλλει, καὶ ἐστὶ μεταξὶ Νέας πόλεως καὶ τῶν Φιλίππων ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τῇ βαλάσσῃ κατ᾽ ἀντιπέρας Θάσου ἡ, ἡ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν ὅρων ἐπὶ τῷ πεδίῳ πεπόλισται. καὶ ἔτυχον γὰρ τὴν συντομο- τάτην αὐτοῦ ὑπερβολήν ὦ τοῖς Σάξας καὶ ὦ Νωρ- βανὸς προκαταλαβόντες, ταύτῃ μὲν ὁ Βροῦτος ὁ τοῦ Κάσσιος οὐδὲ ἐπείρασαν διαβῆναι, ἐτέραν δὲ τινὰ μακροτέραν κατὰ τὰς Κρηνίδας ὁνομασμένας περιελθόντες φυλακῆ μὲν καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐνέτυχον,

4 βιασάμενοι δὲ αὐτὴν εἰσώ τῇ τῶν ὄρων ἐγένοντο, καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὰ μετέωρα ἑπιπαρελ- θόντες εὑράθθα χωρίς ἐκάτερος, ὡς γε τῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο. τῷ γὰρ ἑργῷ καθ’

1 Δεκίδιος Η. Steph., δεκίδιος Ι.Μ.
2 ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο L, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο Μ.

188
people of Myra also did likewise when Brutus captured their general at the harbour and then released him. And thus he secured the control of the other districts also in a short time.

After accomplishing these results Brutus and Cassius came again into Asia; and all the suspicions which they were harbouring against each other as the result of calumnious talk, such as is wont to arise in similar conditions, they brought forward and discussed with each other in privacy, and after becoming reconciled again they hastened into Macedonia. And they found that Gaius Norbanus and Decidius Saxa had anticipated them by crossing the Ionian Sea before Staurus arrived, occupying the whole country as far as Mt. Pangaeum and encamping near Philippi. This city is situated near Pangaeum and Symbolon. Symbolon ("Junction") is the name they give the place where the mountain mentioned joins on (symballei) to another that extends into the interior, and it is between Neapolis and Philippi; for the former town was near the sea, opposite Thasos, while the latter is situated within the mountains on the plain. And inasmuch as Saxa and Norbanus, as it chanced, had already occupied the most direct pass across, Brutus and Cassius did not even try to get through that way but went round by a longer road that passes by a place called Cenides.¹ Here, too, they encountered a garrison, but overpowered it, got inside the mountains, approached the city along the high ground, and there encamped, nominally each by himself; but, as a matter of fact, they

¹ *i.e.* "The Springs," an early name for Philippi.
6 ἐν ἡσύχαστο. τὰ μὲν γὰρ στρατόπεδα, ὡς καὶ εὐτακτότεροι οἱ στρατιώται καὶ ράους ἄρχειν ὅσι, διή κατέστη, παντὸς δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦ διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν καὶ τάφρον καὶ σταυρόματι περιλήψθέντος ἐῖς τε ὁ πᾶς περίβολος ἀμφοτέρων ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν κοινῷ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀσφάλειαν εἴχον.

36 Ἡσαν δὲ πολὺ τὸ πλῆθετι τῶν ἑναντίων τῶν τότε παρόντων καθυπέρτεροι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ τε Σύμβολον ἐκκρούσαντες αὐτοὺς κατέλαβον, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ταύτῃ τε δὲ ἐλάττων ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπήγαγον καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου κατα-

2 θέοντες ἑλάμβανον, ὁ γὰρ Νορβανὸς ὁ τε Σάξας πανστρατιὰ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησαν αὐτοῖς προσ-

μέχρι, ἐκπέμποντες ἐπὶ ἱππεῖς ἐκδρόμους ὅπως

παρέκι, οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τε διὰ

φυλακῆς μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ κινδύνων τὸ στρατόπεδον

ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον

3 σπουδὴ μετεπέμπουντο. οὕτω γὰρ τέως μὲν περὶ

τε τοὺς Ὁδίους καὶ περὶ τοὺς Λυκίους τὸν τε

Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἀσχόλους ὡς ἐπινεμά-

νυντο, ἐπὶ πλεῖον τε αὐτοὺς ἐδοξάν σφιξὶ προσ-

πολεμήσειν, καὶ οὐκ ἠπείχθησαν ἀλλὰ τὸν τε

Σάξαν καὶ τὸν Νορβανὸν ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν

4 προσεπμψαν· αἰσθόμενοι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐαλωκότας,

τοῖς μὲν Λυκίοις καὶ τοῖς Ὁδίοις ἐπαίνους τε

ἐδοσαν καὶ χρήματα χαριέσθαι ύπέσχοντο, αὐτοὶ

dὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς πολέως εὕρουσ ἐξορμήσαν, ἐγχρο-

ίσαντες δὲ Ἀντώνιος μὲν περὶ Βρεντέσιον (ὑπὸ

gὰρ τοῦ 1 Σταῖου καθείργετο) Καίσαρ δὲ περὶ

Ῥήγιον (πρὸς γὰρ τὸν Σέξτον τὴν τε Σικελίαν

1 τοῦ Μ, τοῦ τοῦ Λ.
bivouacked together. For, in order that the soldiers might preserve better discipline and be easier to manage, the camp consisted of two separate parts; but as all of it, including the intervening space, was surrounded by a ditch and a rampart, the entire circuit was the same for both, and from it they derived their safety in common.

Brutus and Cassius were far superior in numbers to their adversaries then present and hence drove out the others and got possession of Symbolon; in this way they were able not only to bring provisions from the sea over a shorter route but also to secure them from the plain by making descents thither. For Norbanus and Saxa did not venture to offer them battle even with their entire force, though they sent out horsemen as skirmishers, wherever opportunity offered; but, as they accomplished nothing, they were careful for their own part rather to keep their camp well guarded than to expose it to danger, and sent urgent summons to Caesar and Antony. For these leaders, so long as they heard that Cassius and Brutus were busy with the Rhodians and the Lycians, had supposed that their adversaries would have fighting on their hands there for a long time, and therefore had not made haste to come, but had merely sent Saxa and Norbanus ahead into Macedonia. But when they perceived that the Lycians and Rhodians had been overpowered, they bestowed praise upon these peoples and promised to make them a present of money, and they themselves at once set out from the city. Both, however, encountered delays. Antony had to spend some time at Brundisium, where he was shut up by Staius, and Caesar at Rhegium, after he had first turned aside to meet
ἐχοντα καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πειρώντα ¹ προαπετρα-
πετο) διετρίβησαν.

37 Ὡς δ' οὖν οὗτος τε οὐ καθαίρετος ² ἐδοξεῖν εἶναι
σφισι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Κασσίου τοῦ τε Βρούτου μάλ-
λον αὐτοὺς ἤπειξε, μέρος μὲν τι τοῦ στρατοῦ πρὸς
φρουρὰν τῆς Ἰταλίας κατέλιπον, τῷ δὲ δὴ πλείον
2 τοῦ Ἰόνου ἀσφαλῶς ἐπεραιώθησαν. καὶ Καίσαρ
μὲν ἐν Δυρραχίῳ νοσήσας ὑπελείφθη, Ἀντώνιος
dὲ πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππους ἡλάσε, καὶ παραντίκα
μὲν ῥώμην τινὰ τοῖς σφετέροις παρέσχεν, ἐνεδρεύ-
σας δὲ τινὰς τῶν ἐναντίων σιταγωγοῦντας καὶ
3 σφαλεὶς οὐκέτ' οὐδ' αὐτός ³ ἔθαρσε. ὃ οὖν Καί-
sαρ πυθόμενος τούτοι καὶ δείσας ἐκάτερον, εἶτε τι
ἐλαττωθεὶς κατὰ μόνας συμβαλλόν εἶτε καὶ κρα-
tήσειν (ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τοῦ τε Βρούτου καὶ τοῦ
Κάσσιον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τοῦ Ἀντώνιον πάντως ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἰσχύσειν ἐνόμισεν), ἤπείχθη καίπερ καὶ
4 τότε ἔτι ⁴ ἀρρωστῶν. κακὸς τούτοι ἀνεβάρσησαν
μὲν οἱ περὶ τῶν Ἀντώνιων ἔτει δ' οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς
ἐφαινετο τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἅμα πάντας αὐτοὺς αὐλίζε-
σθαι, ἐς τε χωρίον εὖ καὶ ἐς ἔρμα ἐν τὰ τριά
5 στρατεύματα συνήγαγον. ἀντικαθημένων δὲ αὐ-
tῶν ἄλληλοις ἐκδρομαὶ μὲν καὶ ἀντεπέξοδοι παρ'
ἀμφιτέρων οὐκ ἐτυχεν ἐγύρωντο, μάχη δὲ ἐκ παρα-
tάξεως οὐδεμία χρόνον τινὰ συννέχθη, καίτοι
καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ Ἀντώνιου πάνυ συμ-
6 βαλείν σπουδαζόντων: ταῖς τε γὰρ δυνάμει μᾶλ-
lον τῶν ἐναντίων ἔρρωντο, καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων

¹ Heller regards the words τῆς Ἰταλίας πειρώντα as an interpolation. They recur in chap. 38, 1, and can hardly be genuine in both instances.
² οὐ καθαίρετος Dind., οὐκ αὐθαίρετος I.M.
³ αὐτός M, αὐτός L.
⁴ ἔτι M, om. L.
Sextus, who held Sicily and was making an attempt on Italy.

When, however, it seemed to them to be impossible to overthrow Sextus, and the operations of Cassius and Brutus urged them to greater haste, they left a small part of their army to garrison Italy and with the major portion safely crossed the Ionian Sea. Caesar fell sick and was left behind at Dyrrachium, while Antony marched toward Philippi; and for a time he was a source of some strength to his soldiers, but after laying an ambush for some of the enemy when they were gathering grain and failing in his attempt, even he was no longer hopeful. Caesar heard of the situation and feared the outcome in either case, whether Antony, acting alone, should be defeated in an engagement or should conquer, for in the one event he felt that Brutus and Cassius would gain strength to oppose him, and in the other that Antony would certainly do so; therefore he made haste, though still sick. At this the followers of Antony also took courage; and since it seemed the only safe course for them to encamp all together, they assembled the three divisions in one place and in one stronghold. While the armies were encamped opposite each other, sallies and counter-sallies took place on both sides, as chance dictated; but for some time no regular battle was joined, although Caesar and Antony were exceedingly eager to bring on a conflict. For not only were their forces stronger than those of their adversaries, but they were not so
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ούχ ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς ἦπόρονεν διὰ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀτε τοῦ ναυτικοῦ σφών τῷ Σέξτῳ προσπολεμοῦντος, μὴ κρατεῖν.

38 Ὡτοι μὲν οὖν δὴ διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τῶν Σέξτων τήν τε Σικελίαν ἔχουντα καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πειρόμενα, μὴ καὶ χρονισάντων αὐτῶν τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν καταλάβῃ καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἔλθῃ, ὁ ὡργὼν. δὲ δὴ Κάσσιος ὁ τε Βροῦτος ἀλλως μὲν οὐκ ὤκνουν τὴν μάχην (ὅσον γὰρ τῇ ῥώμῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἠλαττοῦντο, τοσοῦτον τῷ πλῆθει ἐπλεονέκτουν), ἐκλογιζόμενοι δὲ τὰ τε ἐκείνων καὶ τὰ σφέτερα (σύμμαχοι τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν προσεγίγνοντο, καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἄφθονον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν εἴχον) ἀνεβάλλοντο, εἰ πως ἁνεύκ οἰωνίων καὶ φθόρου τινῶν ἐπικρατήσειαν· ἀτε γὰρ δημεράσται τε ἀκριβῶς ὄντες καὶ πρὸς πολίτας ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἐκείνων τε οὕτω ἦττον ἡ τῶν συνόντων σφίσι διεσκόπουν, καὶ ἐπεθύμουν ἐκάτεροι ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἔλευ-

4 θερίαν παρασχεῖν. Χρόνων μὲν οὖν τῶν διὰ ταῦτα ἀνέσχον, οὐκ ἐθέλουντες σφίσιν ἐς χείρας ἐλθεῖν· ως μὲντοι τὰ στρατεύματα, ἄτε ἐκ τοῦ ὑπηκόου τὸ πλεῖστον ὄντα, τῇ τε τριβῇ βαρυνόμενα καὶ τῶν ἀντιπολεμοῦντων καταφρονήσαντα, ὅτι τὸ καθάρσιον τὸ πρὸ τῶν ἀγῶνων γυρισμένον ἐντὸς τοῦ ἔρυματος ὥσ καὶ δεδομένας ἐποίησάντο, ἐς τε τῆς μάχης ὄρμησαν καὶ διελάλουν ὅτι, ἄν ἐπὶ πλεῖον διατριβδόσε, τὸ τε στρατόπεδον ἐκλείψουσι καὶ διασκεδασθήσονται, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἄκοντες συνε-

5 μίζαν.

39 Μέγιστον δὴ τῶν ἀγώνα τούτων καὶ ὑπὲρ πάν-

1 Cf. note on chap. 36, 4. 2 πλεῖον Bk., πλεῖον LM.

194
abundantly supplied with provisions, because their fleet was away fighting Sextus and they were therefore not masters of the sea.

Hence these men, for the reasons given and because of Sextus, who held Sicily and was making an attempt on Italy, were full of eagerness owing to their fear that while they delayed he might capture Italy and come into Macedonia. As for Cassius and Brutus, they had in general no aversion to a battle, inasmuch as the weakness of their troops was counterbalanced by their superior numbers; but when they reflected upon the situation of their opponents and upon their own and observed that fresh allies were being added to their own numbers every day and that they had abundant food by the aid of their ships, they held off in the hope of gaining their ends without danger and loss of men. For, as they were genuine friends of the people and were contending with citizens, they consulted the interests of the latter no less than those of their own associates, and desired to afford safety and liberty to both alike. For some time, therefore, they waited, for the reasons given, not wishing to come to blows with them. The troops, however, composed mostly of subject nations, were vexed by the delay and despised their antagonists because they had offered inside their camp the sacrifice of purification, which regularly precedes a conflict, and thus showed signs of fear; hence they were eager for the battle and talked to the effect that if there should be more delay, they would abandon the camp and disperse. In these circumstances Brutus and Cassius reluctantly joined battle.

That this struggle proved tremendous and surpassed

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\(^1\) See end of chap. 36 and note on Greek text there.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

τας τοὺς ἐμφυλίους τοὺς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γεγονότας ὠν ἀπεικότως ἂν τις συμβήναι νομίσειεν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἡ καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τῶν μαχεσαμένων διήγησκεν 

1 αὐτῶν (πολλῷ γὰρ καὶ πλείους καὶ ἀμείνους σφῶν πολλαχόθε ἡγανίσαντο), ἀλλ' ὅτι περὶ τε τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας τότε ὡς ὑπόπτωτε ἐπολέμησαν.

2 συνέπεσον μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὕθις ἀλλήλοις, ὡσπερ καὶ πρότερον: ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν τοὺς ἁγῶνας ὑπὲρ τοῦ τίνος ἐπακούσοντες ἐποιήσαντο, τότε δὲ οἱ μὲν ἔστανα αὐτοὺς ἦγον, οἱ δὲ ἐστὶν ἀυτονομίαν ἐξηροῦσαν. ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἀνέκυψεν ἢ ἔτι πρὸς ἀκριβῆ παρησίαν ὁ δήμος καίπερ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς.

3 ἀλλοτρίων ἡπτεθείς (τὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὑπῆκουν τὸ τε συμμαχικὸν τὸ τότε αὐτοῖς παραγενόμενον ἐν προσβήχης χρόνοι τοῦ πολιτικοῦ ἡν), ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς τὸ ἐαυτὸν κρείττων τε ἀμα καὶ ἠπτῆς γενόμενος καὶ ἐσφήλευ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ἐσφάλη, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ τε δημοκρατικὸν συμπαρανάλοσε καὶ τὸ μοναρχικὸν.

4 ἐκράτυνε. καὶ οὐ λέγω ός οὐ συνήγησαν αὐτοῖς ἡπτεθείσι τότε: τι γὰρ ἂν τις ἀλλ' περὶ αὐτῶν ἀμφιτέρωθεν μαχεσαμένων εἴποι ἢ ὅτι Ῥωμαίοι μὲν ἐνικήθησαν, Καίσαρ δὲ ἐκράτησεν; ὁμοφρονύσατο μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι τρόπῳ τῆς πολιτείας οὐκέθ' οἷοί τε ἦγαν οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅπως δημοκρατία ἀκρατος, ἐστὶν θοτότων ἀρχῆς ὅγκον προχωρήσασα, σωφρονύσα τυνατα: πολλοὺς δ' ἄν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς καὶ αὕθως ἠγόνως ὑμοίους ἀνελόμενοι πάντως ἄν ποτε ἐδουλώθησαν ἢ καὶ ἐφθαρμησαν.

1 διήγησκεν Leuncl., διήγηκαν I.M.
2 ἢτι M, ἢτι L.

196
all previous civil conflicts of the Romans would be naturally surmised,—not that it was greater than they in either the number of the combatants or as regards their valour, since far larger masses and braver men than they had fought on many fields, but because now as never before liberty and popular government were the issues of the struggle. For though they again came to blows with one another just as they had done previously, yet these later struggles were for the purpose of finding out what master they should obey, whereas on the present occasion the one side was trying to lead them to autocracy, the other side to self-government. Hence the people never attained again to absolute freedom of speech, even though vanquished by no foreign nation (the subject and the allied forces then present with them were of course merely a kind of complement of the citizen army); but the people at one and the same time triumphed over and were vanquished by themselves, defeated themselves and were defeated, and consequently they exhausted the democratic element and strengthened the monarchical. And yet I do not say that it was not beneficial for the people to be defeated at that time—what else, indeed, can one say regarding the contestants on both sides than that the vanquished were Romans and that the victor was Caesar!—for they were no longer capable of maintaining harmony in the established form of government. It is, of course, impossible for an unadulterated democracy that has grown to so proud an empire to exercise moderation; and so they would later on have undertaken many similar conflicts one after another, and some day would certainly have been either enslaved or ruined.
Πάρεστι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν σημείων τῶν τότε συμβάντων σφίσι τεκμήριασθαι ὅτι μέγιστος διαφανῶς ὁ ἀγών αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο· τὸ γὰρ δαιμόνιον, ὥσπερ ποὺ καὶ ἀεὶ πρὸ τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων φιλεῖ προσημαίνει, πάντα σφίσιν ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ τὰ ἐκβάντα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προ-

2 εμαυτεύσατο. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἄστει ὑπὸ τοῦ διεῖς τοῦ μὲν ἥλε τοῦ καὶ ἐλάχιστος ἐγένετο, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ μέγας καὶ τριττὸς ἔξεφανετο, καὶ ποτε καὶ νυκτὸς ἐξέλαμψε· καὶ κεραννοὶ ἄλλοσε τε πολλαχος καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ Νικαίου Διὸς βωμὸν ἔφεροντο, λαμπάδες τε ἐνταῦθα κάκεισε ἥττουν, καὶ σαλπίγγοι ἡχαὶ ὅπλων τε κτύποι καὶ στρατόπεδων βοαι νυκτὸς ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος κηπων, ὀμοχώρων ἅλλοις παρὰ

3 τῷ Τιθέριδι ὄντων, ἧκούοντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ κύων κυνὸς σώμα πρὸς τὸ Δημήτριον προσελκύσας τὴν τε γῆρ τοῖς ποσίν ὄρυξε καὶ κατέχωσεν αὐτὸ. καὶ τι παιδάριον δεκακτύλους χείρας ἐχον ἐγεννηθη, ἧμιονος τε διφύες τέρας ἔτεκε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρόσβας ἤππω, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἡμιονώ εἴρκει.

4 καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς όχος πρὸς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐξ ἱπποδρομίας τινὸς ἑπανιών συνετρίβη, τὸ τε ἁγαλμα τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ ὅν αἶμα παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς ἀνοχὰς ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ὤμον καὶ

5 ἐκ τῆς δεξιάς χειρὸς ἀνέδωκε. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου σφίσι προσδείχθη, ποταμοὶ τε ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν παντάπασιν ἐξέλειπον οἱ δὲ ἀνάπαλιν ἰεὼν ἡράντο· συνεννεκχθαι 3 δὲ πῶς ἐσ

1 ἤττον Oddoy, ἤττον L, ἤττον M.
2 ἤκουοντο R. Steph., ἤκουοντο LM, ἤκουοντο Zon.
3 συνεννεκχθαι Bk., συνεννεκχθαι LM.
BOOK XLVII

We may infer also from the portents which appeared to them at that time that it was manifestly a supreme struggle in which they were engaged; for Heaven, even as it is ever accustomed to give warning signs before the most unusual events, foretold to them accurately both in Rome and in Macedonia all the results that would come of it. Thus, in the city the sun at one time would be diminished and grow extremely small, and again would show itself huge and trebled in size, and once it even shone forth at night; thunderbolts descended at many places and in particular upon the altar of Jupiter Victor; meteors darted hither and thither; notes of trumpets, clashing of arms, and shouts of armed hosts were heard by night from the gardens both of Caesar and of Antony, which were close together beside the Tiber. Moreover, a dog dragged the body of another dog to the temple of Ceres, where he dug up the earth with his paws and buried it. A child was born with hands that had ten fingers each, and a mule gave birth to a prodigy of two species, the front part of it resembling a horse and the rest a mule. The chariot of Minerva while returning to the Capitol from the races in the Circus was dashed to pieces, and the statue of Jupiter on the Alban Mount sent forth blood from its right shoulder and right hand at the very time of the Feriae. These were the warnings they had from Heaven; and there were also rivers in their land which gave out entirely or began to flow backward. And on the
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ταύτῳ καὶ ὅσα παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ συντυ-κλαίον ἔπραξεν· ἔν τε γὰρ ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς ὁ πολιάρχος τὰ Δατιάρια, οὕτ' ἄλλως προσήκοντα ἀυτῷ οὐτ' ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἢ γίνεσθαι εἰωθότα, ἑποίησεν, καὶ οἱ ἀγροφάνοι τοῦ πλῆθους ὀπλο-μαχίας ἀγώνιας ἀντὶ τῆς ἰπποδρομίας τῇ Δήμητρι

7 ἐπέτελεσαν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταύτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ τινὰ καὶ λόγια 1 καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς δημοκρατίας συμβαίνοντα ἦδετο: ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ (ταύτης γὰρ τὸ τε Παγγαίων καὶ ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ γῆ νομίζεται) μέλλοντα τε πολλαὶ τὸ τοῦ Κασσίου στρατόπεδον περιέ-χουσιν, καὶ τῷ καθαρσίῳ αὐτοῦ τὸν στέφανον τις

8 τραπέτατι 2 αὐτῷ ἐπέθηκε, παῖς τε 3 ἐν πομπῇ τινι, οἷς οἱ στρατιώται ἄγουσι, νίκαιν φέρον ἐπεσε. καὶ ὁ γε μάλιστα τὸν ὀλεθρὸν σφικτῶν ἐσήμην ὅστε καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐκδηλῶν γενέ-σθαι, πολλοὶ μὲν γύτρας πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ὀρνιθεῖς νεκροφάγοι ὑπέρ τε ἐκείνων μόνων διεφοι-τον καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς κατέβλεπον, δεινὸν τε τι καὶ ψυκώδες κλάζοντες τε καὶ τρίζοντες.

41 Τούτους μὲν δὲ ταύτα τὸ κακὸν ἐφεβερε, τοῖς δὲ ἐτέροις τέρας μὲν οὐδὲν, ὥσπερ γε ἡμεῖς ἵσομεν, ἐγέ-νετο, ὡς εἰς δὲ δὴ ὀνείρων τοιαίς ἐφαύησαν. ἀνὴρ Θεσσαλὸς ἔδοξεν οἱ τῶν Καίσαρα τῶν πρῶτερον κεκελευκέναι εἰπείν τῷ Καίσαρι ὅτι τε ἐς ἔνη ἐ·

1 λόγια Louncl., λοιπὰ I.M.
2 τραπετασκεῖα Dind., τραπετασκεία εἰρίτιν LM.
3 τε Μ., τε γὰρ L. 4 ἐς ἔνη ἐ Reim., ἐς ἔνη ση I.M.

1 Jupiter Latiaris was the protecting deity of Latium, and his festival is practically identical with the Feriae Latinae. Roscher thinks that Dio has here confused the praefectus

200
part of men, whatever of their doings were directed by chance seemed to point to the same end; thus, during the Feriae the prefect of the city celebrated the festival of Latiaris, which neither belonged to him nor was ordinarily observed at that time, and the plebeian aediles celebrated in honour of Ceres contests in armour in place of the games in the Circus. These were the events occurring in Rome; and certain oracles also both before and after the events were recited which pointed to the downfall of the republic. In Macedonia, of which Mt. Pangaenum and the territory surrounding it are regarded as a part, bees in swarms surrounded the camp of Cassius, and in the course of the purification of the camp some one set the garland upon his head wrong end foremost, and a boy fell down while carrying a Victory in a procession such as the soldiers hold. But the thing which most of all portended the destruction that was to come upon them, so that it became plain even to their enemies, was that many vultures and also many other birds that devour corpses gathered above the heads of the conspirators only and gazed down upon them, screaming and screeching in a horrible and frightful manner.

To that side, then, these signs brought evil, while to the other, so far as we know, no bad omen occurred, but visions appeared to them in their dreams as follows. A Thessalian dreamed that the former Caesar had bidden him tell Caesar that the battle would occur on the second day after that one and to urbi with a special official (dictator feriarum Latinarum causa) appointed when the consuls were unable to attend. Compare xxxix. 30, 4, where our historian does not commit himself to any definite name for this magistrate.
μάχη γενήσοιτο, καὶ ἦν ἀναλάβῃ τι ὁν δικτατορεύων αὐτὸς ἐφόρει: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ τότε τε εὑρίς περιέθετο καὶ ἔπειτα πολ.

3 λάκης ἐφερεν. οὔτος μὲν δὴ τούτο εἰδεν, ὁ δ' ἰατρὸς ὁ συνών τῷ Καίσαρι ἐνόμισεν οἱ τῆν Ἀθηναύν προστάσσειν ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτοῦ, καίτοι καὶ τότε ἐτὶ κακῶς ἀρρωστοῦντα, ἔξαγαγεν καὶ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν καταστήσας· υφ' οὔπερ καὶ ἑσόβη. ὁ γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν μὲν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ τε ἐρύματι αὐτοῦ μένουσι σωτηρίαν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰ ὁπλα τάς τε μάχας ίσους καὶ κίνδυνον φέρει, τούτῳ τότε τοῦ Καίσαρος δημιλάγη· ἐκ τε γὰρ τῆς ἐξόδου τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ταφρεύματος καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους ὀμίλιας περιφανεστάτα, καὶ περὶ χαλεπῶς καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ὁπλῶν ὕπο τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐστῶς, περιεγένετο.

42 Ἐπράξθη δὲ ὅδε. οὐχ ὀμολόγησαν μὲν ὅποτε τὴν μάχην ποιήσονται, ὡσπερ δὲ ἀπὸ συγκεκμένου τινὸς πάντες ἀμα ἐφ' ἔξωπλάσαντο, καὶ ἐς τε τὸ χωρίον τὸ μεταίχμιον σφῶν καθάπερ ἄγωνισταί τινες σχολὴ προῆλθουν, κάνταθα ἰσυχῇ παρεγένετο. ὡς δ' ἀντικατέστησαν, παρανέσεις, τούτῳ μὲν ἀθρόοις τούτῳ δὲ καὶ καθ' ἐκάστους, ἀμφότεροις ἀπὸ τε τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων τῶν θ' ὑπομειώνων ἐγένοντο, πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς τὸ αὐτίκα τοῦ κινδύνου ἀναγκαία πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἀρμόζοντα αὐτῶν λεγόντων, οἷα ἄν τινες ἐν τε τῷ παραχρήμα κινδυνεύσοντες καὶ τῷ μέλλοντι προκάμμουτες

1 LM read μένουσιν in the text, but add σωτηρία in the margin.
2 τοῦτο τότε Μ, τοῦ τότε Λ.
request him to assume and wear some article which
the other Caesar had used to wear while dictator;
Caesar therefore immediately put his father’s ring on
his finger and wore it often afterwards. This was the
Thessalian’s vision; but the physician who attended
Caesar dreamed that Minerva commanded him to
lead his patient, though still in poor health, from his
tent and place him in the line of battle—the very
means by which he was actually saved. For whereas
in most cases safety is the lot of such as remain
in the camp and within its ramparts, while it is
dangerous to go into the midst of weapons and
battles, this was reversed in the ease of Caesar, since
it was very manifestly the result of his leaving the
intrenchments and mingling with the combatants that
he survived, although by reason of his sickness he
found it difficult to stand even without his arms.

The contest took place as follows. Although no
arrangement had been made as to when they should
begin the battle, yet as if by some compact they all
armed themselves at dawn, advanced into the space
between the two camps leisurely, as though they
were competitors in a game, and then quietly drew
themselves up in battle order. When they had
taken their stand facing each other, exhortations
were addressed to each side, partly to the armies
collectively and partly to the separate bodies of
troops, according as the speakers were the generals
or the lieutenants or the lesser officers; and much
that was said consisted of the necessary advice called
for by the immediate danger and also of sentiments
that bore upon the consequences of the battle,—words
such as men would speak who were to encounter
danger at the moment and were looking forward
3 εἶποιεν.\(^1\) καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὀμοιοτροπώτατα, ἀτε καὶ Ρωμαίων ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὀμοίως μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων σφῶν ὑπότων, ἐρρῆθη διῆλαξε δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον τὴν τοῦ Ελευθερίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὸ τε ἀτυράννευτον καὶ τὸ ἀδέσποτον τοῖς σφετέροις προεβάλλοντο, καὶ τὰ τε ἐν ἱσονομίᾳ χρηστὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν μοναρχίᾳ ἀτοπα, ὅσα ποτέ αὐτοὶ τε ἐπετόνθεσαν καὶ περὶ ἑτέρων ἡκηκόσαν, προεφερον, παραδεικτυόντες τε καὶ ἐν ἑκάστων ἐκάτερα καὶ ἱκετεύοντες \(^2\) σφας τῶν μὲν ὀργιγνησσάσθαι τα δὲ ἐκκλίναι καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐρωτα λαβεὶν τὰ δὲ μὴ παθεὶν φυλάξασθαι, οἱ δὲ ἑτεροὶ τῶ σφετέρω στρατῷ τούς τε σφαγέας τιμωρήσασθαι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀντικαιστώτων σχεῖν, ἀρξαὶ τε πῶς τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐπιθυμῆσαι, παρῆσαι, καὶ ὅ γε μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐπέρρῳσε, καὶ κατὰ πεντακισχιλίας σφὺς δραχμὰς δώσειν ὑπέσχοντο.

48 Κάκ τούτων πρῶτων μὲν τὰ συνθήματα αὐτοῖς διήλθεν (ἡν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον Ἐλευθερία, τοῖς δὲ ἑτέροις ὅ τι ποτὲ καὶ ἐδόθη), ἔπειτα σαλπικτῆς \(^3\) εἰς ἑκατέρωθεν ὑπεσήμινε, καὶ οὕτω καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπῆχθαν, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τὸ τε στάσιμον \(^4\) καὶ τὸ παρασκευαστικὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινι κυκλοτερῆς, τῶν δὲ ἴα̣σαλπιγγῶν μελωδούντες, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τῶν τὴν βυθοῦ ὀταντιστῶν ἐπεγείρουσες καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σύνοδον αὐτῶς ἐξοτρόμουσ. καὶ μετὰ τούτω σιωπῆ τε

\(^1\) Εἴποιεν R. Steph., ἐποίει ΛM.
\(^2\) ἱκετεύοντες Polak, ἱκετεύον ΛM.
\(^3\) σαλπικτῆς Dind., σαλπιγκτῆς ΛM.
\(^4\) στάσιμον Xiph., στάσιμοι ΛM.
\(^5\) διὰ Xiph., om. ΛM.

204
with anxiety to the future. For the most part the speeches were very similar, inasmuch as on both sides alike they were Romans with their allies. Still, there was a difference. The officers of Brutus set before their men the prizes of liberty and democracy, of freedom from tyrants and freedom from masters; they cited the benefits of equality and the excesses of monarchy, appealing to what they themselves had suffered or had heard related about other peoples; and giving instances of the working of each system separately, they besought them to strive for the one and to avoid the other, to conceive a passion for the former and to take care that they should not suffer the latter. The opposing leaders, on the other hand, urged their army to take vengeance on the assassins of Caesar, to get the property of their antagonists, to be filled with a desire to rule all the men of their own race, and—the thing which heartened them most—they promised to give them twenty thousand sesterces apiece.

Thereupon watchwords were going around—for the followers of Brutus it was "Liberty" and for the other side whatever the word was which was given out,—and then one trumpeter on each side sounded the first note, after which the rest joined in, first those who sounded the "at rest" and the "ready" signals on their trumpets while standing in a kind of circular space, and then the others who were to rouse the spirit of the soldiers and incite them to the onset. Then there was suddenly a great silence, and after
ἐξαπίνης πολλὴ ἐγένετο, καὶ σμικρὸν ἐπισχύοντες αὐτοὶ τε διάτορον ἔξεφόνησαν καὶ αἱ τάξεις
καὶ τούτου ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ ὀπλῖται τὰς τε ἀσπίδας τοὺς δορατίοις ἔκρουσαν καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους ἔξηκόντισαν,
καὶ οἱ σφενδυνθέαντες οἱ τε τοξόται βέλη καὶ λίθους ἤκαν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ τε ἱππικὸν ἀντεξῆλασαν καὶ τὸ θωρακοφόρον συνεπιπομένον σφίσιν ἐν χερσὶν ἐγένετο.

44 Καὶ πολλῷ μὲν ὀθισμῷ πολλῷ δὲ καὶ ξιφισμῷ ἔχρησαντο, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα περισσοπούντες ὅπως τε τρώσαντι τινὰς καὶ ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὴ τρωθῶσι (τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀνθεσθηκότας ἀμα ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ ἕνατον σώσαι ἐβούλοντο), ἐπειτα δὲ ὡς ἦ τε ὁμή σφων ἡυξῆθα καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ἐφλέγμην, ὀμόσε τε ἀπερισκέπτως χωροῦντες καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐτέραλειαν ιαυτῶν ποιούμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ τούς ἀντιπάλους ἀπολέσαι καὶ ἕαυτον προϊμένοι.

2 καὶ τινὲς τὰς τε ἀσπίδας ἀπερρίπτουν, καὶ ἀντι-λαμβανόμενοι τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων οἱ μὲν ἐκ τε τῶν κρανῶν αὐτῶν ἤγχον καὶ κατὰ νότον ἐπαινοῦν, οἱ δὲ τὰ τε προβληματα ἀπέστειλαν καὶ ἐς τὰ στῆθη ἐτυπτοῦν. ἅλλοι τῶν ξιφῶν αὐτῶν λαμβάνομεν τὰ σφέτερα ὡς καὶ ἐς ἀόπλους σφᾶς ἐώθοντο καὶ ἐτεροὶ τρωθῆναι τι μέρος τῶν σωμάτων σφῶν προβάλλοντες ἐτοιμοτέρου τῷ λοιπῷ
3 ἔχρῳ τοῦ. συμπλεκόμενοι τε τινὲς τὸ μὲν παῖες ἀλλήλους ἀφηρουῦσιν, τῇ δὲ ὅλη συμμίξει καὶ τῶν ξιφῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων διόλισσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν μᾶ πληγῇ οἱ δὲ καὶ πολλαῖς ἐθνησκοῦν, καὶ οὕτε τῶν τραυμάτων αἰσθησιν εἴχον, τὸ γὰρ ἀλγήσον

1 is added by Xyl.
waiting a little the leaders uttered a piercing shout and the lines on both sides joined in. Then the heavy-armed troops gave the war-cry, beat their shields with their spears and then hurled their spears, while the slingers and the archers discharged their stones and missiles. Then the two bodies of cavalry rode out against each other and the cuirassiers following behind them came to close quarters with each other.

For a long time there was pushing of shield against shield and thrusting with the sword, as they were at first cautiously looking for a chance to wound others without being wounded themselves, since they were as eager to save themselves as to slay their antagonists; but later, when their ardour increased and their rage was inflamed, they rushed together recklessly and paid no more attention to their own safety, but in their eagerness to destroy their adversaries would even throw away their own lives. Some cast away their shields and seizing hold of the foes facing them choked them by means of their helmets while they struck them in the back, or else tore away their armour and smote them on the breast. Others seized hold of the swords of their opponents, who were thus as good as unarmed, and then ran their own into their bodies; and some exposed a part of their own bodies to be wounded and thus gained a freer use of the rest. Some clutched their opponents in an embrace that prevented either one from striking and perished through the commingling of their swords and bodies. Some died of a single blow, others of many, and they neither were conscious of their
ὁ θάνατος προελάμβανεν, ὁπτε τοῦ ὀλέθρου σφῶν ὀλοφυρμόν ἐποιοῦντο, ἐς γὰρ τὸ λυπήσον οὐκ ἐξικνοῦντο. ἄλλος τις ἀποκτείνας τινὰ οὐδ' ἀποθανεῖσθαι ποτὲ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτίκα περιχαρείας ἦπιζε· καὶ ὁ ἀεὶ πίπτων ἐς τὸ ἀναισθητὸν καθίστατο καὶ σύνεσιν τοῦ πάθους οὐκ ἐλάμβανεν.

45 Ἔμενον δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἁκριβῶς ἀμφότεροι, καὶ οὐθ' ὑπαγωγαῖς οὔτε διώξεσιν οὐδέτεροι ἐχρήσαντο, ἀλλ' αὐτού, ὡσπερ εἶχον, ἐτίτρωσκον ἐτιτρώσκοντο, ἐφόνευον ἐφονεύοντο μέχρι πόρρω τῆς ἱμέρας. καὶ εἰγε πάντες πᾶσιν, οἷα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ συμβαίνει, συνεμεμέχεσαν, ἢ Βρούτος μὲν κατὰ Ἀντώνιον Κάσσιον δὲ κατὰ Καῖσαρα ἀντετέκτο, ἰσοπαλεῖς ἄν ἐγεγόνεσαν. νῦν δὲ ὁ τε Βρόντος τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀρρωστίαν ἐξεβίάσατο, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸν Κάσσιον οὐδέν

3 οἱ ὀμοίων τὰ πολέμια ὄντα ἐξενίκησε. καὶ τότε δὲ τῷ μῆ πάντας ἁμα τοὺς ἑτέρους, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει ἀμφότεροι καὶ ἡττηθήναι καὶ κρατήσαι ταυτὸν ὡς εἴπειν ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐνίκησαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ἡττήθησαν, ἑτρεψάν τε τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους σφίσιν ἐκάτεροι καὶ ἑτράποντο, καὶ αἱ τε διώξεις καὶ αἱ φυγαί ἀμφοῖν ὀμοίως συνέβησαν, καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἀμφότεροι

4 εὕλω. τοῦ τε γὰρ πεδίου ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἄτε καὶ πολλοὶ ὄντες, ἐπέσχον, ὡςτε μὴ καθοράν ἀλλήλους· καὶ οὔτε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλὴν τὸ καθ' ἕαυτον ἐκαστὸς ἔγνω, ἐπεῖ τε ἡ τροτὴ ἐγένετο, ἐς τε τὰ οἰκεία ἐρύματα πολὺ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀφεστηκότα

5 τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐκάτεροι ἀμεταστρέπτη ἐφυγον, καὶ

1 προελάμβανεν Xiph., προελαμβανεν L.M.
2 ἑτέρους St., ἐτέρους L.M.
3 ἀμεταστρέπτη St., ἀμεταστρεπτεί L.M.
wounds, since death forestalled their suffering, nor lamented their end, since they never reached the point of grieving. One who killed another thought in the excessive joy of the moment that he could never die; and whoever fell lost consciousness and had no knowledge of his state.

Both sides remained precisely where they were at the beginning and neither side retired or pursued, but there, just as they were, they wounded and were wounded, slew and were slain, until late in the day. And if each side as a whole had joined in the conflict with the other as a whole, as generally happens in a struggle like this, or if Brutus had been arrayed against Antony and Cassius against Caesar, they would have proved equally matched. But as it was, Brutus forced Caesar, because of his sickness, to yield ground, while Antony vanquished Cassius, who was by no means his equal in warfare. And so at this time, since they were not opposing each other as united armies, but each side was in part defeated and in part victorious, the result was practically the same for each; for both had conquered and had been defeated, each had routed its adversaries and had been routed, pursuits and flights had been the fortune of both alike, and the camps on both sides had been captured. For, as the combatants were many, they stretched far out over the plain, so that they could not see each other distinctly; and not alone in the battle could each one recognize only what was opposite him, but also when the rout took place both armies fled in opposite directions to their respective camps, which were separated from each other by a considerable distance, without stopping to look back.
ἀπὸ τε τούτου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ ἀπλέτου γενομένου ἡγυόνοιαν τὸ τέλος τῆς μάχης, καὶ οἳ τε νευκτηκότες πάντα κεκράτηκέναι καὶ οἳ ἠπτη-μένοι πάντα νευκτηκηθαί εὔμοισαν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον τὸ γεγονός ἐμαθον πρὶν τὰ τε ταφρεύματα δια-πορθηθῆναι καὶ ἀλληλος τοὺς νευκτηκότας πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐκατέρως ἀναχαρωθῆνας συντυχεῖν.

46 Τῆς μὲν δὴ οὖν μάχης ἑνεκα καὶ ἐκράτησαν οὔτως ἀμφότεροι καὶ ἠπτήθησαν' οὐδὲ γὰρ οὔδ' ἐσ χεῖρας ἔτι τότε ἄφικοντο, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἴδοντες ἐν τῇ ὑποστροφῇ ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸ συμβε-βηκός ἐγνωσαν, ἀντιπαρεξῆθηδον μηδὲν μηδέτεροι

2 τολμήσαντες. ἐπλεονεκτήσαν δὲ καὶ ἠλπτόθη-σαν ἀλλήλων τῷ τὸ τε ταφρεῦμα τὸ τοῦ Κάισαρος τοῦ τ' Ἀντωνίου πάν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα ἀλώναι (ἂφ' οὔπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τέκμαρσαν τὸ ἄναρ ἔσχεν εἰ γὰρ τοι κατὰ χώραν ὁ Κάισαρ ἐβεμενικει, πάντως ἀν ἄμα τοῖς ἀλλοις ἀπωλο- λεῖ) καὶ τῷ τοῦ Κάσσιον ἐκ μὲν τῆς μάχης σω- θήκαι, τοὺς τε ἐρύματος στερηθήνεται ἀλλοσὲ ποι διαφυγεῖν, ὑποτοπήσαντα δὲ καὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἐσφάλθαι καὶ τινας τῶν κεκράτηκότων ἐφ' ἐαυτόν

3 ἐπιεῖναι, ἐπεμνῆναι πρὸς τοῦ θάνατον. ἐπεμψε μὲν γὰρ ἐκατονταρχον κατασκεψόμενον καὶ ἀναγ- γελόντα αὐτῆ ὅπου τε ὁ Βρούτος εἰς καὶ ὁ τε ποιοὶν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος συμβαλὼν ἱππεύσων οὐς ὁ Βρούτος ἑγίστσονται αὐτῶν ἀπεστάλκει ἀνέ- στρεψε, καὶ σχολὴ μετ' αὐτοῖς ὡς οὐδὲν ἐπεί- γοντος, ἀτε μηδεῖος δεινοῦ ὅντος, ἤε, ὑπώπτευσε ἐπεῖς

5 τε αὐτοὺς πόρρωθεν ὅροιν πολεμίους εἰναι, καὶ
Because of this fact and of the immense quantities of dust that rose they were ignorant of the outcome of the battle, and those who had won thought that they had conquered everywhere, and those who were defeated that they had been worsted everywhere; and they did not learn what had happened until their intrenchments had been pillaged and the victors on each side encountered each other as they went back to their own quarters.

So far, then, as the battle was concerned, both sides both conquered and were defeated, as I have described; for they certainly did not again resume the conflict at this time, but as soon as they saw each other as they turned and went back, and recognized what had taken place, they withdrew, neither side venturing anything further. As for their mutual successes and reverses, the whole camp of Caesar and Antony and everything within it was captured,—and Caesar's dream found a most striking confirmation in this circumstance, for if he had remained where he was he would certainly have perished with the rest,—while Cassius, on his side, returned in safety from the battle, and then escaped to a different spot when he found that he had been despoiled of his camp, but suspecting that Brutus, too, had been defeated and that a party of the victors was coming in pursuit of himself, he made haste to die. For he had sent a centurion to view the situation and report to him where Brutus was and what he was doing, and this man, falling in with some horsemen whom Brutus had sent out to seek his colleague, turned back with them and proceeded leisurely, with the idea that there was no hurry, because no danger presented itself; but Cassius, seeing them afar off,
Πανδάρφ υπέστατεν ἁπατεώναντεν ἕαυτόν προσεταξε. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος, μαθὼν ὅτι διὰ τὴν βραδυτῆτα αὐτοῦ διώλετο, ἐπεπέθανεν.

47 Ὅνων Βροῦς τὸ μὲν τοῦ Κασσίου σῶμα ἐς Θάσον εὐθὺς κρύφα ἐπιμψεν, ὀκνήσας κατὰ χώραν αὐτὸ θάψαι, μὴ τῷ στρατῷ πένθος τε ἀμα καὶ ἄθυμιαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν πολιομένων ὅφεως ἔμ.

2 βάλλῃ τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ παραλαβῶν, καὶ λόγους τέ σφας παραμυθούμενοι καὶ δόσει χρημάτων ἀνθ' ὁν ἀπωλολέκεσαν ἀνακτησάμενος, ἐς τε τὴν ταφρείαν αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδειοσέχαν 1 οὖσαν μετεστρατοπεδέσατο, καὶ ἐκείθεν ὄρμωμεν τά τε ἀλλα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐλύπει καὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ σφόν νυκτὸς προσέ.

3 μισγε. μάκη μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐ διενεκίτο αὖθις συνενεκθήναι, πολλὴν δὲ δὴ ἐλπίδα ἀκινδύνως ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ κατεργάσεσθαι σφας ἐχὼν θρομβιὰν τε αὐτοῦς ἄλλως καὶ ταράττων νυκτῶρ ἐπειρᾶτο, καὶ ποτε καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν παρατρέψασ πολὺ τοῦ ἐρύματος αὐτῶν κατέκλυ.

4 σεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Καὶσάρ ὁ τῇ Ἀντώνιος ἐσπάνιζον μὲν τῆς 2 τροφῆς καὶ χρημάτων, όθεν οὐδὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας τε ἁπετὶ τῶν διαρπασθέντων ἐδοκαν καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου ἐπιδιατλεύσαν ἐν ὠλκάσιν ἀπόλλεσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σταίλου' οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀσφαλῶς οὔτ' ἀλλοσέ ποι μεταναστήναι οὔτ' ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνακομισθήναι δυνάμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τότε ἑτὶ μόνον τὰς ἐλπίδας οἷς ὅτι τῆς νίκης ἄλλα καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ποιούμενοι, ἀρμυντο καὶ διακιν.

1 ἐπιτηδειοσέχαν Bk., ἐπιτηδειοσετέραν M, ἐπιτηδειοσετεραν L.
2 τῆς LM, καὶ Xiph.
suspected that they were enemies and ordered Pindarus, a freedman, to kill him. And the centurion slew himself on the body of Cassius when he learned that Cassius had perished on account of his own delay.

Now Brutus immediately sent the body of Cassius secretly to Thasos, since he shrank from burying it where he was, for fear he should cause grief and dejection to fall upon the army if they should witness what was taking place. But he took in charge the remnant of Cassius' soldiers, consoled them in a speech, won their devotion by a gift of money to make up for what they had lost, and then transferred his position to their intrenchments, which were more suitable. Making his headquarters there, he proceeded to harass his opponents in various ways, especially by assaulting their camp at night. For he had no intention of joining issue with them again in a set battle, but, having great hopes of overcoming them in time without risking an engagement, he tried to throw them into confusion in various ways and to disturb them by night, and once he diverted the course of the river and washed away a considerable part of their camp. Now Caesar and Antony were running short of both food and money, and consequently did not so much as recompense their soldiers for the property they had lost by pillage; furthermore, the force that was sailing to them in transports from Brundisium was destroyed by Staius. Yet they could not safely transfer their position to any other region nor return to Italy, and so, even as late as this, they once more placed in their arms all their hopes not merely of victory but even of safety; and they were eager to have a decisive engagement.
δυνεύσαι πρὶν ἐκπυκτὸν τοῖς τε σφετέροις καὶ
τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸ θαλάσσιον πάθος γενέσθαι. μὴ
βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ Βροῦτου συμμίξαι σφίσθι βι-
βλία ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα αὐτοῦ τρόπον τινὰ ἐνε-
βαλον, προκαλούμενοι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἡ τὰ
σφέτερα φρονήσατε (καὶ γὰρ ὑπίσχουσό τινα
αὐτοῖς) ἡ ἐσ χείρας ἐλθεῖν, ἀν γε καὶ τὸ βραχὺ-
2 τατόν ἵσχυσε. καὶ τῇ διατριβῇ ταύτῃ ἡπτομό-
λησαν μὲν καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνων πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκ
τοῦ Κελτικοῦ τινες, ἡπτομόλησαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς
αὐτούς Ἀμύντας τὲ ὁ τοῦ Δημιοτάρου στρατηγὸς
καὶ ὁ Ῥασκύπορις. 1 καὶ οὕτως μὲν οἴκαδε εἰδύς,
ὅς τινές φασίν, ἀπεχώρησε δεῖσας ὃ οὐν ἐκ
τούτων ὁ Βροῦτος μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον τι νεω-
3 τερισθῇ, συμμίξαι σφισίν ἐγγὼ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πολ-
λοί τε αἱχμαλωτοὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν,
καὶ οὐκ εἴχεν οὐθ’ ὡς ὁ παῖ διὰ φυλακῆς αὐτοὺς ἐν
τῷ τῆς μάχης καὶ ρωπῆται οὐθ’ ὡς πε-
στεύσῃ σφίσθι μήδεν λυμανεῖσθαι, διέθειερ τοὺς
πλείους, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην δουλεύσας,
ἀλλως τε καὶ οἱ ἐναντίοι τοὺς ἕκυρθέντας
4 τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπεκτόνεσαν. πράξας δὲ
τούτῳ ἐξωπλήσατο. καὶ αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρατεταγ-
μένων ἦδη ἀετὸς δύο ὑπὲρ ἀμφότερων ὑπερτό-
μενοι ἄλληλοις τε ἐμαχέσαντο καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ
τέλος τοῦ πολέμου προέφθηναν. ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ
ἀετὸς ὁ κατὰ τὸν Βροῦτον ὁν ἡλληνική τε καὶ
ἐφυγειν, οὕτω τὸ τε ὀπλιτικὸν αὐτοῦ ἀγχόμαλα
ἐπὶ πλείοντον ἀγωνισάμενον ἥττηθη, καὶ τούτου
πεσόντων πολλῶν καὶ τὸ ἵππικόν, καίτοι γεν-

1 δ’ Ρασκύπορις Reim., Ῥασκύπορις LM.
2 οὕθ’ St., οὕθ’ LM.
before their reverse at sea became noise abroad among their own men and their opponents. But as Brutus was unwilling to join battle with them, they managed in some way to cast pamphlets into his camp, urging his soldiers either to embrace their cause (and they made them certain promises) or to come to blows if they had the least particle of strength. During this delay some of the German contingent deserted from their side to Brutus, and Amyntas, the general of Deiotarus, and Rhascyporis deserted Brutus and came to them—though Rhascyporis, as some say, immediately returned home. As for Brutus, this incident made him afraid that the disaffection might spread and so he decided to join issue with his foes. And since there were many captives in his camp, and he had no way to guard them during the progress of the battle and could not trust them to refrain from doing mischief, he put the majority of them to death contrary to his own inclination, being a slave in this matter to necessity; but he was the more ready to do it because his opponents had killed such of his soldiers as had been taken alive. After doing this he armed his men for battle. And when the two armies were already drawn up in line of battle, two eagles that flew above the heads of the two armies battled together and foretold to the combatants the outcome of the war; for just as the eagle on the side of Brutus was beaten and fled, so his heavy-armed force was defeated after a long and close struggle, and then, when many had fallen, his
5 ναίως μαχόμενον, ἐνέδωκε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο φυ-γόντας αὐτοὺς ἄλλους ἄλλη ἐπεδίωξαν μὲν οἱ κεκρατηκότες, οὐτε δὲ ἀπέκτειναν οὐθ' εἶλον τινα, ἄλλα προσεδρέσαντες αὐτοῖς τὴν νύκτα ὡς ἐκά-στοις οὐκ εἶασαν αὕτης συστραφὴναι.

49 Ὁ οὖν Βρούτος ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατό-πεδὸν πη διαπεσεῖν (ἐς γὰρ χωρίον τι ἐρυμνὸν ἀναπεφευγός ἦν), μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ, καὶ προσέτε καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι τινὲς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῖς νυκτ-σαίν ὁμολογήκασιν, οὐδεμίαν ἐτ' ἐλπίδα ἔσχεν, ἄλλα ἀπογνοὺς μὲν τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀπαξιώσας δὲ τὴν ἀλωσιν ἐς τὸν θάνατον καὶ αὐτὸς κατέφυγεν. καὶ ἀναβοῦσας τοῦτο δὴ τὸ Ἡράκλειον,

2 ὁ τλήμων ἀρετή, λόγος ἄρ' ἡσθ', ἐγὼ δὲ σε ὅσ ἐργον ἔσκοπον· σὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐσοῦλευς τύχη, παρεκάλεσέ τινα τῶν συνόντων, ἴνα αὐτὸν ἀπο-κτείνη. καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ μὲν ἄλλα σῶμα ταφῆς ϊπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἔτυχεν, ἢ δὲ δὴ κεφαλὴ ἐπέμφθη μὲν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, χειμώνι 8 έν τῷ ἄπο τοῦ Δυρραχίου διάπλω περιπεσούσα ἐς τὴν θάλασ-

3 σαν ἔρριψε. τελευτησάντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτίκα ἀδείας σφίσι κηρυχθείσης μετέστη, ἢ δὲ δὴ Πορκία άνθρακα

4 διάπυρον καταπιόῦσα 3 ἀπέθανε. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρῶτον τῶν ἀρχῶν τινας σχόντων ἢ καὶ ἐκ τῶν σφαγῆς τῶν τε ἐπικεκηρυγμένων ἐτι ὅτι τῶν οἱ μὲν πλέοντες εαυτοὺς παραχρήμα ἀπέκτειναν ἢ ἄλοντες, ὅσπερ καὶ ὁ Φαισώνιος, ἐφθάρθησαν, οἱ δὲ λαυποὶ τότε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν διέφυγον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ Σέξτον προσέθεντο.

1 ἄλλους Xyl., ἄλλοις ΙΜ. 3 ἡσθ' Xyl., ἡσθα ἄλλως ΛΜΧιρ. 3 καταπιοῦσα Xιρ., πιούσα ΙΜ.
BOOK XLVII

cavalry also gave way, though it fought nobly. Thereupon the victors pursued them as they fled in various directions, although they neither killed nor captured any one; but they kept watch on the separate forces during the night and did not allow them to unite again.

Now Brutus, who had made his escape up to a well-fortified stronghold, undertook to break through in some way to his camp; but when he was unsuccessful, and furthermore learned that some of his soldiers had made terms with the victors, he no longer had any hope, but despairing of safety and disdaining capture, he also took refuge in death. He first uttered aloud this sentence of Hercules:

"O wretched Valour, thou wert but a name,
And yet I worshipped thee as real indeed;
But now, it seems, thou wert but Fortune's slave." 1

Then he called upon one of the bystanders to kill him. His body received burial at Antony's hands—all but his head, which was sent to Rome; but as the ships encountered a storm during the voyage across from Dyrrachium, that was thrown into the sea. At his death the majority of his soldiers immediately transferred their allegiance when a proclamation of amnesty was issued to them; but Porcia 2 perished by swallowing a red-hot coal. And most of the prominent men who had held offices or still survived of the number of Caesar's assassins or of those who had been proscribed straightway killed themselves, or, like Favonius, were captured and put to death; the remainder escaped to the sea at this time and later joined Sextus.


² Cf. xliv. 13.
BOOK XLVIII

Τάδε ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ τετταρακοστῇ ὁρθῶς τῶν Δίων Παιμαίκων

α. Ὁς Καίσαρ Φουλοῦν καὶ Δοκίμιος Ἀντωνιῶν ἐπολέμησεν.

β. Ὅς Σέρτων Πομπήιος Ζικεῖς κατέσχεν.

γ. Ὅς Πάρθοι τὰ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυστήρα κατέσχεν.

δ. Ὅς Καίσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος πρὸς Σέρτων συνέβησαν.

ε. Ὅς Πούπλιος Οθεντίδιος 1 Πάρθους ἐνίκησε καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκτέματο.

ζ. Ὅς Καίσαρ Σέρτως πολέμειν 2 ἐργασάτω.

η. Περὶ Βαυών.

Χρόνου πλήθος ἐτη πέντε, ἐν αἷς ἐκραντεῖ οἱ ἄριθμοι χρονονομος οἷς ἐγένετο

Λ. Ἀντανίας Μ. πιέται.
Π. Ξερουλίας Π. ἡσσερίδης ἐπὶ β' ὕπτ.
Γ. Δομίτιας Μ. Καλούνιος ἐπὶ β' ὕπτ.
Γ. Ἀσιννοις Γ. Παυλίνων ὕπτ.
Λ. Μάρκιος Λ. Κρυστερίων ὕπτ.
Γ. Καλούσιοι Γ. Σαβίνων ὕπτ.
Ἀπίγιος Κλαύδιος Γ. Πούλχρος ὕπτ.
Γ. Νορβανδής Γ. Φλάκκος ὕπτ.
Μ. Οθιφάνιος Λ. Ἀγρίππας ὕπτ.
Λ. Κανινίος Λ. Γάλλος ὕπτ.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Βρούτος ὁ τε Κάσσιος οὕτως ἀπώλεσον, τοῦτο ἔφεσιν οἷς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεχρήσαντο σφαγέντες: οἱ τε ἄλλοι οἱ τῆς ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ἁβουλής μετασχόντες, οἱ μὲν πρότερον, οἱ δὲ τότε,

1 Οθεντίδιος R. Steph., othentoidios LM.
2 πολέμειν Ba., polemēsos LM.
3 ἡσσερίδης R. Steph., sasiridos LM.
4 ἐπὶ β' ὕπτ. Βα., ὕπτοσ τὸ β' ΛΜ.
5 Καλούνιος H. Steph., kalouniοs LM.

218
BOOK XLVIII

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

How Caesar contended with Fulvia and Lucius Antonius (chaps. 1-15).
How Sextus Pompey occupied Sicily (chaps. 16-20).
How the Parthians occupied the country up to the Hellespont (chaps. 24-26).
How Caesar and Antony reached an agreement with Sextus (chaps. 27-31, 36-38).
How Publius Ventidius conquered the Parthians and acquired Asia (chaps. 39-41).
How Caesar began to make war upon Sextus (chaps. 45-49). About Balae (chaps. 50-51).

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

B.C. 41 L. Antonius M. F. Pietas, P. Servilius P. F. Isauricus (II).
40 Cn. Domitius M. F. Calvinus (II), C. Asinius Cn. F. Pollio.
38 Appius Claudius C. F. Pulcher, C. Norbanus C. F. Flaccus.

Thus Brutus and Cassius perished, slain by the swords with which they had murdered Caesar; and also the others who had shared in the plot against him were all, except a very few, destroyed, some

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*LM omit from Γ. νι. to Γ. Καλωσίως. Thorbecke supplied Γ. νι., Χυλ. Παλίαν (Παλίαν), Δ. Μάρκια, and Γ. Καλωσίως. Bs. Δ. νι. Κηρεφινίος. Καλειδίος Χυλ., κά ΛM.
* Ε. Νωρβάνδες Χυλ., γ' μ' υρβάνδες LM.
* Σερ. supplied by Bs.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οϊ δὲ μετὰ ταύτα, πλὴν πάνω ὕλης, ἐφθάρησαν, ὅσ ποὺ τὸ τε δίκαιον ἐφέρε καὶ τὸ δαμόνιον ἤγεν ἄνδρα αὐτοὺς ἐνεργέτην σφῶν, ἐς τοσοῦτον καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς τύχης προχωρῆσαντα, ἀποκτείναντας παθεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἰακόσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἰάντωνιος τοῦ μὲν Λεπίδου παραχρῆμα, ἀτε ὁ συνυκέραντος σφίσσει, ἐπλεονεκτήσαν, ἐμελλοῦν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἐς μακρὸν τρέφεσθαι: χαλεπόν γὰρ ἄνδρας τρεῖς ή καὶ δύο ὄμοτίμους, ἐγκατείσθη τηλίκων ἐκ πολέμου πραγμάτων γενομένους, ὁμονόησαι, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ ὤσα τέως ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρισταμένων σφίσι καταλύσει συμφορησάντες κατεπράξαν, ταύτα τότε θλᾶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτεἰμίας ἠρξατο ποιεῖσθαι, τὴν τε γὰρ ἀρχὴν αὐτίκα ἀνεδάσαντο, καὶ Καίσαρι μὲν ἢ τε Ἰβηρία καὶ ἢ Νομιδία, Ἀντώνιῳ δὲ ἢ τε Γαλατία καὶ ἢ Ἀφρική ἐγένετο: καὶ συνέχειαν ὅστ', ἀν τινα ἀγανάκτησιν ὁ Λεπίδος ἐπὶ τούτως ποιήσεται, τῆς Ἀφρικῆς αὐτῶ ἐκστήσαται. ταύτα δὲ δὴ μόνα διέλαγον, ὅτι Σαρδῶ μὲν καὶ Σικελίαν ὁ Σέξτος ἐτὶ κατείχε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰ ἐξῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν ταραχῇ ἐτὶ ἦν. ἐκείνης γὰρ δὴ πέρι οὐν δέομα λέγειν ὅτι ἐξαίρετος ἀεὶ ποτὲ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐμενεν' οὐδὲ γὰρ οὖν ὡς περὶ αὐτῆς ποτὲ, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγοινιζόμενον τοὺς λόγους ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν κοινῷ ὡν ταῦτα ἀφέντες, Ἀντώνιος μὲν τὴν τε κατάστασιν τῶν ἀντιπολεμισάντων σφίσι καὶ τὴν ἀργυρολογίαν τὴν ἐς τὰ χρῆματα τὰ ὑπ’ στρατιωτῶν ἐπαργυγελθέντα ἀνεδέξατο, Καίσαρ δὲ τοῦ τε Λεπίδου, ἀν τι παρα-
before this, some at this time, and some subsequently. For justice and the Divine Will seem to have led to suffer death themselves men who had killed their benefactor, one who had attained such eminence in both virtue and good fortune. As for Caesar and Antony, on the other hand, they secured an advantage over Lepidus for the moment, because he had not shared the victory with them; yet they were destined ere long to turn against each other. For it is a difficult matter for three men, or even two, who are equal in rank and as a result of war have gained control over such vast interests, to be of one accord. Hence, whatever they for a time had gained, while acting in harmony for the purpose of overthrowing their adversaries, all this they now began to set up as prizes to be won by rivalry with each other. Thus, they immediately redistributed the empire, so that Spain and Numidia fell to Caesar, Gaul and Africa to Antony; and they further agreed that, in case Lepidus showed any vexation at this, they should give up Africa to him. This was all they allotted between them, since Sextus was still occupying Sardinia and Sicily, and the other regions outside of Italy were still in a state of turmoil. About Italy itself I need say nothing, of course, as it was always excluded from such allotments; for they never even talked as if they were struggling to obtain it, but as if they were defending it. So they left Italy and the places held by Sextus to be common property, and Antony undertook to reduce those who had fought against them and to collect the money necessary to pay what had been promised to the soldiers; and Caesar undertook to curtail the power of Lepidus, in case he should make any hostile move, to conduct
κινή, κολούσαι, καὶ τῷ Σέξτῳ προσπολεμήσαι,
3 τὴν τε χώραν ἣν τοῖς συντρατευομένοις σφόνω
ὑπέσχημα κατανείμας τοῖς ἐξο τῆς ἥλικίας αὐτῶν
οὕσιν, οὕς καὶ εὗθὺς δεῖκαν. καὶ προσέτε οὕτω
μὲν δύο τῷ Ἀντώνιῳ στρατόπεδα τῶν συνόντων
οἱ συνέπεμψει, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔτερα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ
Ιταλίᾳ τοὺς ὄντων ἵσα ἀντιδώσειν αὐτῷ ἐπηγ-
4 γείλατο. ταῦθ᾽ οὕτω κατὰ μόνας συνθέμενοι
καὶ γράψαντες καὶ κατασημηναίμενοι, τὰ τε γραμ-
ματεῖα ἀλλήλους ἀντέδοσαν, ὡς ἂν τι παραβαθῇ, ἔ
ἐξ αὐτῶν ἑλεγχῇ, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ Ἀντώνιος μὲν
ἐς τὴν Ἄσιαν Καϊσάρ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφορ-
μῆθη.
3 Καὶ αὐτῶν ἤ νόσος ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ
πλῷ ἵσχυρῷς ἐπίσευε, ὡστε καὶ βανάτου δόξαν
τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρασχεῖν. οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ὑπὸ
τῆς ἀρρωστίας τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἐπὶ παρασκευὴ
κακοῦ τινος χρονίζειν αὐτῶν ἐνόμιζον, κὰκ τοῦτο
πάνυ ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο σφας παθεῖν ὑπετόπουν.
2 καίτοι ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ πολλὰ αὐτῶς ἐπηφι-
σαντο, ἀπερ πού καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις ἂν, εἰ ἐκεκρα-
τήκησαν, ἐδέδοτο (ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς τοιοῦτοι τοῦ τε
ἀπολωλός πάντες ἄεὶ κατατρέχουσι καὶ τὸ κρα-
τήσαν τιμῶσε), καὶ δὴ καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἐν ἀπαντη
ὡς εἰπεῖν τῷ ἔτει καὶ ἀκοντε ἄγειν ἐγγυως
tοῦτο γὰρ σφίσιν ὁ Καϊσάρ ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν σφαγών
3 τιμωρίᾳ ἀντικρούσε τοιήσατε ἐκέλευσε. χρονίζοντος
δ᾽ οὖν αὐτῶν λόγοι τε παντοδαποὶ ἕθρυλουντο καὶ
παθήματα ἄπι αὐτῶν παντοία συνέβαινε. τὰ τε
γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς τέθυκε διεθρόουν, καὶ

1 κολούσαι LM, καλύσαι Xiph. Zon. (καλύσων).
2 οὕτω M, οὕτως Ι. 3 παραβαθῇ St., παραβαβή ΙΜ.
the war against Sextus, and to assign to those of their troops who had passed the age-limit the land which they had promised them; and these they forthwith discharged. Furthermore, he sent with Antony two legions of his followers, and Antony promised to give him in return an equal number of those stationed at the time in Italy. After making these agreements by themselves, putting them in writing, and sealing them, they exchanged copies of the documents, to the end that, if any transgression were committed, it might be proved by these records. Thereupon Antony set out for Asia and Caesar for Italy.

Caesar was so prostrated by his sickness on the journey and during the voyage as to cause even the people in Rome to look for his death. They did not believe, however, that he was lingering so much by reason of ill health as because he was devising some mischief, and consequently they expected to suffer every possible injury. Yet they not only voted to the conquerors many honours for their victory, such as would have been given, of course, to their opponents, had they conquered (for on such occasions everybody always spurns the loser and honours the victor), but they also decided, though against their will, to celebrate a thanksgiving during practically the entire year; for Caesar ordered them outright to do this in recognition of the vengeance taken upon the assassins. During this delay of Caesar's all sorts of stories were current and all sorts of feelings resulted from them. For example, some spread a report that he was dead and caused pleasure to many
δονήν πολλοῖς ἐνέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ ὡσ κακῶν τι
4 βουλεύοντο, καὶ φόβον συχνοὶς ἐνεποίουν. καὶ
diὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν τὰ σφέτερα συνέκρυπτον καὶ
ἐαυτοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ δὲ ὡπὶ ποτὲ
ἀποδράσοιτο διεσκόπουν. ἄλλοι, καὶ οἱ γε πλεῖ-
os, οὐδὲ ἐπινοήσαι τι ὑπὸ τοῦ σφοδροῦ δέοις
dυνάμενοι, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς καὶ πάντως ἀπο-
λούμενοι. βραχὺ τὲ τι καὶ κομιδῆ σμικρὸν τὸ
θαρσοῦν ἦν· ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τῆς πρόσθεν πολλῆς καὶ
ποικίλης καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων
φθορὰς οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν ὀμοίων καὶ τῶν
χειρῶν, ἀτε καὶ παντελῶς κεκρατημένοι, προσε-
δέχοντο. οὐθενπερ καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ φοβηθεῖς μὴ τι
ἀλλος τε καὶ τοῦ Δεπίδου παρόντος νεοχμόσω-
sιν, ἐπέτειλε τῇ γερουσίᾳ θαρσεῖν τε αὐτῇ
παραίνειν, καὶ προσυπισχοῦμενος πάντα καὶ
πρᾶσι καὶ φιλανθρώπως κατὰ τὸν πατέρα 1 ποιη-
σεῖν.

4 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένω ἔτει
νόματι μὲν ὁ τε Σερούλλος ὁ Πούπλιος καὶ ὁ
Ἀντώνιος ὁ Δούκιος, ἐργῇ δὲ οὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ
Φουλούια ὑπάτευσαν τοῦ τε γὰρ Καίσαρος πεν-
θερὰ καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου γυνὴ οὔσα τὸν τε Δεπίδουν
ὑπὸ νοθείας παρ' οὖδὲν ἤγε καὶ αὐτῇ τὰ πρά-
γματα διεχείριζεν, ὡστε μήτε τὴν βουλὴν μήτε τὸν
ὁμοῦ ἄλλο τι παρὰ τὸ ἐκείνῃ δοκοῦν χρηματίζειν.

2 τοῦ γοῦν Δούκιον αὐτοῦ σπουδάζοντος ἐπινικιά
tινων ἐν ταῖς Ἀλπεσίων σκοῦντων, ὡς καὶ νική-
σαυτὸς σφαῖς, σέμψας, τέως μὲν ἡ Φουλούια ἀντέ-
λεγει, οὐδές οἱ συνεχόρρησεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνῃ θερα-
3 πευθείσα ἐπέτρεψε, πάντες ἐψηφίζοντο, ὡστε τῷ

1 τὸν πατέρα Rk., τὸν παρόντα LM, τὰ παρόντα Xyl.

224.
people; others said he was planning some evil and filled numerous persons with fear. Therefore some proceeded to hide their property and to protect themselves, and others considered in what way they might possibly make their escape. Others, and they were the majority, being unable even to devise a plan by reason of their excessive fear, prepared to meet a certain doom. The courageous element was insignificant and exceedingly small; for in the light of the former great and manifold destruction of both lives and property they expected that anything whatever of a like character or worse might happen, inasmuch as they now had been utterly vanquished. Therefore Caesar, fearing that they might begin a revolt, especially since Lepidus was there, forwarded a letter to the senate urging its members to be of good cheer, and promising, further, that he would do everything in a mild and humane way, after the manner of his father.

This was what took place then. The following year Publius Servilius and Lucius Antonius nominally became consuls, but in reality it was Antonius and Fulvia. She, the mother-in-law of Caesar and wife of Antony, had no respect for Lepidus because of his slothfulness, and managed affairs herself, so that neither the senate nor the people transacted any business contrary to her pleasure. At any rate, when Lucius urged that he be allowed to celebrate a triumph over certain peoples dwelling in the Alps, on the ground that he had conquered them, Fulvia for a time opposed him and no one was for granting it, but when her favour was courted and she gave permission, they voted for the measure unanimously;
μὲν λόγῳ τὸν Ἀντώνιον καθ’ ὄντερ κεκρατηκέναι ἐλεγεν (οὔτε γὰρ ἔπραξε τι νικητηρίων ἄξιον, οὐθ’ ὅλως ἡγεμονίαν ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκεῖνοι ἐσχε), τῇ δ’ ἀληθείᾳ τὴν Φουλονίαν ... 1 καὶ πομπεύσαι. πολὺ γούν πλείον ἐκείνου, ἀτε καὶ ἀλη.

4 θέστερον, ἐσεμμύνετο τὸ γὰρ δούναι τινὶ ἐξουσίαν τῆς τῶν νικητηρίων πέμψεως μείζον τοῦ διεωρτάσαι αὐτὰ παρ’ ἑτέρου λαβόντα ἢν. πλὴν γε ὅτι τὴν τε σκευήν τὴν ἐπινίκιον ὁ Δούκιος ἐνεδύσατο καὶ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐπέβη, τὰ τε ἀλλὰ τὰ καθήκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐπράξεν, αὕτη 2 ἡ Φουλονία τὴν πανήγυριν, ὑπηρέτη ἐκείνῳ χρωμένη, ποιεῖν ἕδοξεν. ἡχθε δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἑτούς ἡμέρα. καὶ ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ ὁ Δούκιος ἐξ ἵσου τὸ Μαρίῳ ἑσεμμύνετο, ὅτι ἐν τῇ νουμηνίᾳ αὐτὴν, ἐν ἡ ὑπατεύειν ἢρξατο, ἐπετέλεσε καὶ προσέτεται ἀνέπρεπον ἕκειν πόλην, λέγων αὐτός μὲν ἔθελοντης τὰ τῆς πομπῆς κοσμήματα ἀποτεθείσθαι καὶ τὴν βουλήν ἐν τῇ ἀγοραίῳ στολῇ ἦθοικέναι, τὸν δὲ δὴ Μάριον ἀκόντα αὐτὰ πεποιηκέναι. προσετίθει τε ὅτι ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἡ τῆς οὐδεὶς στέφανος ἔδοξη, αὕτος δὲ ἀλλοις τε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ φυλήν, ὁ μιθεύσῃ τῶν πρωτέρων ἐγεγόρης, διὰ τὴν Φουλονίαν καὶ διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἅ λάθρα τισὶν ἄναλωσεν, ἔλαβεν.

5 Ὅν δ’ οὖν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἐς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Καίσαρ ἄφικετο, καὶ τὰ νομίζομεν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ποιήσας πρὸς τῇ τὴν διοίκησιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν διαγωγὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐτράπετο. δ’ τε γὰρ

1 LM here exhibit a gap of almost three lines.
2 αὐτή Leuncl., αὐτή LM.
therefore, though it was nominally Antonius who . . . . and celebrated a triumph over the people whom he claimed to have vanquished (in reality he had done nothing deserving a triumph and had held no command at all in those regions), yet it was actually Fulvia . . . . 1 At all events, she assumed a far prouder bearing over the affair than he did, because she had a truer cause; for to give any one authority to hold a triumph was a greater thing than to celebrate one which had been received at another's hands. Except that Lucius donned the triumphal garb, mounted the chariot, and performed the other rites customary in such cases, it was Fulvia herself who seemed to be giving the spectacle, employing him as her assistant. It took place on the first day of the year, and Lucius plumed himself as much as Marius had done on the circumstance that he held it on the first day of the month in which he began his consulship. Moreover, he exulted even more than Marius, claiming that he had voluntarily laid aside the trappings of the procession and had assembled the senate in his civilian dress, whereas Marius had done so unwillingly. And he added that scarcely a single crown had been given to Marius, whereas he himself had obtained many, and particularly from the people, tribe by tribe, an honour which had been conferred upon no former victor—in his case owing to the influence of Fulvia and to the money which he had secretly lavished upon various persons.

It was in this year that Caesar arrived in Rome; and after he had taken the usual steps to celebrate his victory, he turned his attention to the administration and despatch of the affairs of state. Lepidus,

1 See note on Greek text.
Δέπιδος, τὰ μὲν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ τὰ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῆς γνώμης ἁσθενεῖα, οὐδὲν ἐνεστέρισε· καὶ ὁ Δούκιος ἢ τε Φουλονία, ὡς καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἰγκομονίας αὐτῷ οὔτε, ἡμιγαλαζόν τῆς τε πρῶτην.

2 προϊόντος γὰρ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου διηνέχθησαν, οἱ μὲν ὅτι τοῦ μέρους τῆς τῶν ἁγρῶν νομής τοῦ τῷ Ἀντώνιῳ προσήκοντος οὐ μετέσχον, ὁ δὲ ὅτι τὰ στρατεύματα παρὰ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἄντελαβε, κακὸς τούτων ἢ τε συγγένεια αὐτῶν ἢ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγραμμαῖς διελύθη, καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἐμφανῇ προῆχθησαν.1

3 ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῆς πενθέρας μὴ φέρων (ἐκεῖνη γὰρ μάλλον ἢ τῷ Ἀντώνιῳ διαφέρεσθαι δοκεῖν ἐβούλετο) τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς ὡς καὶ παρθένον ἔτοι οὐσαν, ὁ καὶ ὅρκω ἐπιστώσατο, ἀπεπέμψατο, οὐκ ὁκνήσας οὔτε ἐν τοσοῦτον ἄλλους ἢ γυνὴν πεπαρθενεύσατο παρ᾽ αὐτῷ χρόνον νομισθεὶ, οὔτε πρὸς τὴν παρασκευήν τῶν ἐσομένων εἰ ἐκ πολλῶν δόξειν αὐτὸ προβεβουλευκέναι.

4 γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὔτε ἔτοι φίλων ἐποίουν, ἀλλὰ ὁ τε Δούκιος μετὰ τῆς Φουλονίας τῶν τε πραγμάτων, ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μάρκου ταῦτα δρῶν, ἀντελαμβάνετο καὶ οὕδενος αὐτῶ 2 ύφετο (διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἐπω· νυμίαν ἐαυτῷ Πιέταν ἐπεθετο), καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ τὸν μὲν Μάρκου οὔτε δῆθεν ἤτιότο, μὴ καὶ ἐκπολεμώσειν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐδει διέποντα,4 ἐκείνοις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπεκάλει καὶ ἀντέπραττεν ὡς

1 προῆχθησαν M cod. Peir., προηχθησαν L.
2 αὐτῶ Bk., αυτῶν LM.
3 τὰ ἐν R. Steph., τὰν LM.
4 διέποντα Leuncl., διέχοντα LM.
it seems, did not resort to revolutionary measures, partly because he feared Caesar and partly because he was lacking in resolution; and as for Lucius and Fulvia, they kept quiet at first, because they counted upon their kinship with Caesar and upon their being partners in his supremacy. But as time went on, they quarrelled, Lucius and Fulvia, because when the lands were apportioned they did not secure a share in the portion which belonged to Antony, and Caesar, because he did not get back from the others his troops. Hence their kinship by marriage\(^1\) was dissolved and they were brought to open warfare. For Caesar could not endure the difficult temper of his mother-in-law, and choosing to appear to be at odds with her rather than with Antony, he sent back her daughter, with the remark that she was still a virgin, —a statement which he confirmed by an oath,—indifferent whether it should be thought that the woman had remained a virgin in his house so long a time for other reasons, or whether it should seem that he had so planned it long in advance by way of preparing for the future. After this had happened there was no longer any friendship between them, but Lucius together with Fulvia attempted to get control of affairs, pretending to be doing this on behalf of Antony, and would yield to Caesar on no point (in fact because of his devotion to his brother he took the cognomen Pietas); while Caesar on his part made no open charge against Antony, fearing to make him an enemy while he was in charge of the provincies in Asia, but he accused the other two and took measures to thwart them, on the ground that

\(^1\) Cf. xlvi. 56.
καὶ παρὰ τὴν γρώμην αὐτοῦ πάντα ποιοῦσι καὶ δυναστείας ἱδίας ἐπιθυμοῦσιν.

6 Ἔν ἔν τῇ κληρονομίᾳ ἀμφοτέρους ἢ πλείστη τῆς δυνάμεως ἐλπίς, καὶ διὰ τούτο ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πρῶτον ἀρξάμενοι διεφέροντο. ὁ τε γὰρ Καίσαρ αὐτὸς πᾶσιν τοῖς τε ἐαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ συστρατευσάμενοι ἤθελεν αὐτὴν κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς μετὰ τὴν νίκην αὐτοῖς γενομένας, ὅπως ἐς εὐνοιάν σφας ὑπαγόνται, ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἐκείνοι τὴν τε ἐπιβάλλουσαν τοῖς σφετέροις κληρονομῆσαι καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῦ ἀποκίσαι ἤξιον, ἢν τὴν ἵσχυν αὐτῶν σφετέρισσων, καὶ γὰρ ἔτοιμότατον ἀμφοτέρους ἐδοκεὶ εἶναι τὰ τῶν ἄσπλοι τοῖς συμπολεμήσασι χαρίσασθαι. ὡς δ' οὖν 1 παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν πολλῇ ταραχῇ ἐγκνευτὸ καὶ τὸ πράγμα ἐς πόλεμον προῆγετο

3 (πάσαν γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, πλὴν εἴ τι τις 2 τῶν ἐστρατευμένων ἐν δωρεάσ μέρει λαβών ἢ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου προϊμένου εἰχε, μετὰ τε τῆς δουλείας καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς τοὺς δεσπότας ὁ Καίσαρ ἀφθρεῖτο καὶ ἐκεῖνοι εἴδιδον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν κτημάτων ἀποστεροῦν 4 μενοὶ δεινῶς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἡγανάκτον), μετεβάλλοντο 3 ἢ τε Φουλουνία καὶ ὁ ὑπατος, πλείον δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς ἑτέροις τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις σχῆσις ἐλπίσαντες, καὶ τῶν μὲν ληψομένων τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἠμέλησαν, πρὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνως, ἄτε καὶ πλείονας ὄντας καὶ ὀργὴν δικαίαν ὑπὲρ ὃν ἀπεστεροῦντο

5 ποιουμένους, ἐτράποντο. κακὸ τοῦτον ὑπολαμ-

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1 δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν LM.
2 τί τις Bk., τις τι Louncl., τις LM.
3 μετεβάλλοντο Bk., μετεβάλλοντο LM.

230
they were acting in all respects contrary to Antony's desire and were aiming at their own supremacy.

Both sides placed the greatest hope of power in the allotment of land, and consequently the beginning of their quarrel was concerned with that. For Caesar wished to act by himself in distributing the territory to all those who had made the campaign with himself and Antony, according to the compact made with them after the victory, in order to win their goodwill, while Lucius and Fulvia claimed the right to assign to their troops the lands that fell to them and to colonize the cities, in order to appropriate to themselves the influence of these colonies. For it seemed to both sides to be the simplest method to give to the troops which had fought with them the possessions of the unarmed. But, contrary to their expectation, great disturbance resulted and the matter began to tend toward war. For at first Caesar proceeded to take from the possessors and to give to the veterans all Italy (except what some old campaigner might have received as a gift or bought from the government and was then holding), together with the slaves and the entire equipment of the estates; consequently the persons who were being deprived of their property were terribly enraged against him. Thereupon Fulvia and the consul changed their plan, since they hoped to gain more power in the cause of the oppressed, and consequently neglected those who were to receive the estates and turned their attention to the other class, which was more numerous and was animated by a righteous indignation at the desolation they were suffering. Next they espoused the cause of these per-
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΟΜΑΝ ΗΣΤΟΡΙΑ

βανοντες αυτους ως εκαστους και συνηροντο και συνιστων, οστε και τους εν τοι πριν του Καισαρα φοβουμενους τοτε προστατων επιλαμβομενους ἀναθαραψαι και μηδενος ἐτι των οικεων ἀφείσθαι και γαρ και το Μάρκρα ταυτα συνδοκειν ενώμι-7 ξον. τοιτους τε ουν δε τοι Λουκιοι και η Φοι-λονια προσεποιοντο, και τοις ἑτεροις τοις ἀμφί των Καισαρα ουδεν προσεκρουν. ου γαρ ως ουν 1 δεουν αυτους κληρουχησαι τινα προεβαλλον-το, αλλα ἄρκοντα αυτους τα των ἀντιπολεμη-2 σαντων σφισιν απεφαινων, και μαλισθ' οτι και χωρια και ἐπιπλα τα μεν ἐτι τοτε ουντα τα δε 2 και πεπραμενα ἀπεδεικνυσαν, ὅτι τα μεν αυτα των δε την τιμην ἐφασκον αυτους δοθηναι χρηναι. ει δ' ουν μηδε ταυτα σφισιν ἄρκεσει, ταις γε 3 εκ της Άσιας ἐλπισι παντας αυτους ἀνηρτωντο. 3 οστε ταχυ εκ τοιτων συνεβη Καισαρα μεν, άτε και βια τα των κεκτημενων τι άφαιρουμενοι και πόνους υπερ αυτων και κινδυνους πασιν ὤμοιως προσάγοντα, ἀμφοτεροις αυτους προσκρονουσαι, εκείνους δε δη, οια μητε τι ἀποστερουντας τινα και εκ των υπαρχοντων σφισι την πλήρωσιν των ἐπαγγελματων ἀμαχε των ληψομενοις αυτα 4 ὑπο-4 δεικνυντας, ἐκατέρους προσθέσθαι. εκ τε ουν τοιτων και εκ των λιμου, ους τοτε της βαλάσος της μεν κατα Σικελιαν υπο τοι Σεξτου της δε εν τω Ιονιο χολπον ὑπο Γναίου Δομιτίου 'Ανηρβαρ-βου 5 κατεχομενης δεινως αυτους ἐπισετεν, εν τολ-5 λη ἀμηχανια ο Καισαρ ἐγενετο. ο γαρ Δομίτιος

1 ου supplied by Rk.
2 τα δε supplied by Xyl.
3 γε R. Steph., τε LM.
4 αυτα Bk., αυτασ I.M.
5 Ανηρβαρβου M, ανηρβου L.
sons individually, aiding and uniting them, so that the men who previously had been afraid of Caesar became courageous now that they had found champions, and would no longer give up any of their property; for they supposed that Marcus, too, approved of the consul’s policy. Lucius and Fulvia, accordingly, were winning over this class and at the same time were not clashing with the adherents of Caesar. For instead of pretending that there was no need for the soldiers to receive allotments, they tried to show that the possessions of those who had fought against them were sufficient for the soldiers, particularly by pointing out lots of land and articles of furniture, some still available and some already sold, of which, they declared, the former ought to be given to the men outright and the price of the latter presented to them. If even this did not satisfy them, they tried to secure the affection of them all by holding out hopes in Asia. In this way it quickly came about that Caesar, inasmuch as he was forcibly taking away the property of those who possessed anything and was causing troubles and dangers on account of it to all alike, gave offence to both parties; whereas the other two, since they were taking nothing from anybody and were showing those who were to receive the gifts how the promises made to them could be fulfilled without a conflict by drawing upon the resources lying ready at hand, won over each of the two classes. In consequence of this and of the famine, which was grievously oppressing them at this time, inasmuch as the sea off Sicily was controlled by Sextus and the Ionian Gulf by Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, Caesar found himself in dire straits. For Domitius was one of Caesar’s murderers,
ἡμείς τῶν σφαγέων, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Φιλίπποις γενομένης διαφυγὸν ναυτικόν τι συνεκρότησε, καὶ τοῦ τε κόλπου χρόνον τινὰ ἐκράτησε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐναυτῶν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐφθείρε.

8 Ταῦτα τε οὖν τῶν Καίσαρα δεινῶς ἐλύπει, καὶ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς διαφοραῖς ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς Βουλευτὰς καὶ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τὸ τοὺς ἀγροὺς κεκτημένον τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις συμβαίνονται (πλείσται δὲ δὴ ἄτε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγωνιζομένων σφισῶν ἐγκύνοντο) οὐδέτεροι αἰκινδύνως

2 προσετίθετο. ἀμφοτέροις μὲν γὰρ ἀδύνατον ἢν αὐτῶν γαρίζεσθαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὅμως εἰσὶν, καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἄλλητρα λαβεῖν οἱ δὲ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔχειν ἰδέλον. ὡσάκες δὲ δὴ τὰ τούτων ἢ τὰ ἑκεῖνων, ὡς ποιημένα ἂν ἢκαζωτο, προελεύστηκαν, τοῖς ἐτέρως ἅπεργῷ, καὶ οὐ ποιήσαντες ὑπὸ τῶν χάριτος ἐξ ὑπονοεῖ τυσίν, ὡσας ὅργης

3 ἔξ ὑπὸ μὴ συνεχόμενα, ἐλυγχαίνε· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὅσα καὶ ὀφειλόμενα σφις τὰ πάντα τὰ διδόμενα λαμβάνοντες ἐν οὐδεμίᾳ αὐτὴ ἑυρηγεσία ἐτίθεντο, οἱ δὲ ὡς καὶ τῶν οἰκείων στερεισκόμενοι ἐχαλέπαιρον, καὶ ἐκ τούτων διετέλει ἡ τοῦτος ἡ ἑκένων προσκρούων καὶ τοῖς μὲν ὃς φιλόδημος τοτε δὲ ὃς

4 φιλοστρατιώτης ἐγκαλοῦμενος. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐπειδὴ μὴ τι ἴνε, καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἔξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἑργῶν ἔμαθεν ὅτι οὐδὲν τὰ ὀπλα πρὸς τοὺς ἀδικουμένους εὐνοικοὺς οἱ ἐχεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ ἀπολέσαι μὲν πάν τὸ μὴ ὑπείκοιν δι’ αὐτῶν ὦτον τε ἢν, ἀναγκασθήναι δὲ τινὰ φίλειν ὑπ’ ὑπ’

1 γε H. Steph., τε LM.  
2 διδόμενα Petrus Faber, γιγνόμενα LM.  
3 δὲ τινὰ Rk., τινὰ δὲ LM.
and having escaped from the battle at Philippi, he had got together a small fleet, had made himself for a time master of the Gulf, and was doing the greatest harm to the cause of his opponents.

Now all this troubled Caesar greatly, and likewise the fact that in the disputes which had arisen between the veterans and the senators and the landholding class in general—and these disputes were coming up in great numbers, since they were struggling for the greatest prizes—he could not attach himself to either side without danger. It was impossible, of course, for him to please both; for the one side wished to run riot, the other to be unharmed, the one side to get the property of others, the other to hold what was their own. And as often as he gave the preference to the interests of this party or that, according as he found it necessary, he incurred the hatred of the other; and he did not meet with so much gratitude for the favours he conferred as anger for the concessions he refused to make. For the one class took as their due all that was given them and regarded it as no kindness, while the other was indignant on the ground that they were being robbed of their own belongings. And as a result he continued to offend either the one group or the other, and to be reproached, now with being a friend of the people, and now with being a friend of the army. Consequently he was making no headway, and he furthermore learned by actual experience that arms had no power to make the injured feel friendly toward him, and that, while all those who would not submit might perish by arms, yet it was out of the question for any one to be compelled to love
βουλεται ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχοι, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἀκών ὑποκατέκλινε, καὶ οὐκέτ’ οὕτε 1 τῶν βουλευτῶν τι ἀφείλετο (πρότερον γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνων πάντα κατανεῖμαι ἡξίου, διερωτῶν σφας "πόθεν οὖν τὰ γέρα τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις ἀποδώσωμεν;" ὡσπερ τινὸς αὐτῷ πολεμεῖν ἡ καὶ τοσαύτα σφισιν ἡ υπο- χνεισθαι κεκελευκότος), τὸν τε ἄλλων ὅσα ἡ γυναίκες ἐς τὰς προϊκας ἐντετιμημένα ἡ καὶ ἔτεροι τίνες ἐλάττων τῆς κατ’ ἄνδρα τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις διδομένης ἡ γῆς ἐκέκτητο, ἀπέσχετο.

9 Πραγμάτως δὲ τούτου ἢ μὲν γερουσία καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μηδενὸς στερόμενοι πρῶς πῶς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἔσχον, οἱ δὲ ἐστρατευμένοι τὴν τε φειδώ καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν ἐς ἐκείνους ἀτιμίαν τε ἁμα καὶ ξημιαν ἑαυτῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐλάττων ληψομένων, νομι-

2 ξοντες εἶναι ἐδυσχέραινον, καὶ τῶν τε ἐκατοντάρ-
χων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπιτηδείως τε 3 τῶ Καὶ-
σαρί ἔχοντων καὶ θορυβεῖν αὐτῶν κολυντών συνχοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, αὐτὸν τε ἐκείνον παρ’ ὅλιγον ἡθὸν ἀποχρίσασθαι, πάσαν αὐτάρκη πρόφασιν τῆς ὀργῆς ποιούμενοι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον γε ἐπαύ-

3 σαντο χαλεπαίνουτες πρὶν τοῖς τε συγγενεῖς σφῶν καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πεσόντων πατράσι καὶ παιζ μὴν χωραν, ὅσην τινές αὐτῶν εἶχον, ἀφεθη-

4 ναί. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπι-
τηδείοτέρα οἱ αὐθίς ἐγένετο, ὁ δὲ δῆμος κατ’ αὐτὸ δὴ τούτο πάλιν ἥγανάκτει. καὶ ἐς τε χείρας αὐ-

4 τοῖς ἠσαν 4 καὶ μάχαι σφῶν συνεχεῖς ἐγένοντο, ὡστε καὶ τυτρωσκέσθαι καὶ ἀποδηνήσκεσιν παρ’.

1 οὕτε Bk., οὐδὲ LM. 2 σφιοὶ Bk., τισὶν LM Xiph. 3 τε Rk., γε LM. 4 ἠσαν Bk., ἠσαν LM.
a person whom he does not wish to love. Thereupon he reluctantly yielded, and not only desisted from depriving the senators of their property (for previously he used to think it right to distribute anything that was theirs, asking them: "From what other source, then, are we to pay the veterans their prize money?"—as if anyone had commanded him to wage war or to make his large promises to the soldiers), but also kept his hands off other private property, such as the objects of value which women had acquired for their marriage portions or the property possessed by other persons, when it was of less value than the allotment of land given to the individual veteran.

When this was done the senate and the others who were having nothing taken from them became fairly meek in their attitude toward him, but the veterans were indignant, feeling that Caesar's sparing of the others' property and the honour shown them were at the expense of their own honour and profit, since they would thus receive less. They killed many of the centurions and of the others who were friendly to Caesar and were trying to restrain them from rioting, and they came very near slaying Caesar himself, making any excuse suffice for their anger. And they did not cease from their irritation until their own relatives and also the fathers and sons of those who had fallen in battle had had restored to them all the land that any of them had possessed. As a result of this the soldiers became more friendly toward him once more, while for that very reason the populace was again indignant. They repeatedly came to blows and there was continual fighting between them, so that many were wounded and killed on
άμφοτέρων ὁμοίως πολλούς. οἱ μὲν ἦσαν δὴ τῇ τῇ τῶν ὄπλων παρασκευῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν πολέμων ἐμπειρίᾳ, οἱ δὲ τῷ τῇ πλήθει καὶ τῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν 5 τεγών αὐτῶν βάλλειν ἐπεκράτουν, ὡστε καὶ οἰκίας διὰ τοῦτο συχνὰς καταπραγμάτωσαν, καὶ τῷ ἑνοίκιον τοῖς μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀστεί μεχρὶ πεντακόσιων δραχμῶν οἰκούσι πάντα, τοῖς δὲ ἐν τῇ λουτῇ Πολιτείᾳ κατὰ τὸ τέταρτον ἑναυτοῦ ἐνὸς ἀνεβήναι. ἐν πάσαις γὰρ δὴ ταῖς πόλεσιν ὁμοίως, ὅπερ ποτὲ συντόχοιεν ἅλληλοις, ἐμάχοντο.

10 Ὁς οὖν ταῦτα τε ὁτίως ἐγίγνετο, καὶ στρατιώται ἦσαν Ἰζηρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος προπεριφερέντες θόρυβον τῇ τινα ἐν Πλακεντίᾳ ἐποίησαν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον πρὶν χρήματα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων λαβεῖν κατέστησαν, καὶ προσέτη καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καλλίτου τοῦ Οὐεντίδου τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλπειν ἐχόμενων ἐκωλύθησαν ὑπερβα-

2 λεῖν αὐτὰς, ἐφοβήθη τε ὁ Καίσαρ μὴ καὶ σφαλῇ τι, καὶ καταλλαγῆναι τῇ τῇ Φούλωνία καὶ τῷ ὑπάτῳ ἰδέλῃσεν. ἐπειδὴ τε οὐδενὶ ἵδια καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν προσπέμπον σφίσιν ἐπέρασεν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑστρατευμένους ὁρμήσε καὶ δι’ αὐτῶν τὰς συναλ-

3 λαγίας ἐπράττει. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τοῦτοι ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ τοὺς στερομένους τῆς χώρας προσποιοῦμενοι, Λουκίους μὲν πανταχόσοι συνιστάς τε αὐτῶς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποστόλων περίτει, Φούλωνία δὲ τοῦ Πραινέστε κατέλαβε καὶ προσεταιρίστους βουλευτάς τε καὶ ἱππεὰς ἔχουσα τὰ τα ἀλλα-

4 πάντα μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐβουλεύτηκε, καὶ τὰς παραγ-

γέλασεις ὡς ἐκασταχόσε ἔρημῃ ἐπέμπε. καὶ τι ταῦτα θαυμάσειεν ἀν τις, ὅποτε καὶ ξίφος παρε-

1 προσεταιρίστους Βκ., προσεταιρίστο τοῦ Λ.Μ.
both sides alike. The one party was superior by
reason of the arms with which it was equipped and
of its experience in the wars, and the other by its
larger numbers and by their tactics in hurling mis-
siles upon their opponents from the roofs. Conse-
quently many houses were burned down, and the
rent of those who dwelt in the city was entirely
remitted up to a maximum of two thousand sesterces,
while for those who lived in the rest of Italy it was
reduced to a fourth for one year. For the fighting
went on in all the cities alike, wherever the two
parties fell in with each other.

When these things kept occurring, and soldiers
sent ahead by Caesar into Spain made an uprising at
Placentia and were not quieted until they had re-
cieved money from the people there, and when,
furthermore, they were hindered from crossing the
Alps by Calenus and Ventidius, who held Transalpine
Gaul, Caesar became afraid that he might meet with
some disaster and began to wish to be reconciled
with Fulvia and the consul. And when he could
not accomplish anything by making overtures to
them personally and on his own responsibility, he
had recourse to the veterans and through them at-
ttempted to effect a reconciliation. The others were
elated at this, and since they were winning over
those who had lost their land, Lucius went about in
every direction organizing them and detaching them
from Caesar, while Fulvia occupied Praeneste, and
with senators and knights for her associates was wont
to conduct all her deliberations with their help, even
sending orders to whatever points required it. And
why should anyone be surprised at this, when she
11 ὧν μέντοι ἔχων ὅπως αὐτοὺς καταλύσῃ (οὐ γὰρ μόνον τῇ δυνάμει ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ παρᾷ τῶν ἄλλων εὔνοια πολὺ αὐτῶν ἡλάττωτο· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐλύπει, ἐκείνοι δὲ πάντας ἐπῆλπιζον) πολλάκις μὲν σφας ἵδια διὰ τῶν φίλων ἐς τὰς καταλαγάς προεκαλέσατο, ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἦρνεν, ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλε. μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ τεύξεσθαι τε αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ παρόντα καταστήσεσθαι ἐς τὸ ἐπεῖτα ἀντισχῶσειν ἐκ τούτου ἡλπίσεν ἀν δὲ δὴ καὶ διαμάρτη σφῶν, τὴν γοῦν αἰτίαν τῆς διαφορᾶς οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀλλ'
12 ἐκείνους ἔξειν ἐνόμισεν. δ' καὶ ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ διὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπέρανε, βουλευτάς ἐστειλε, τὰς τε συνθήκας σφίσι τὰς πρὸς τὸν 'Αντώνιον αὐτῷ γενομένας ἐκφήνας καὶ δικαστὰς τῶν διαφορῶν ἦθεν αὐτοὺς ποιῆσας.
13 ὡς δ' οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε ἐπράγηθε (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι τοῦτο μὲν πολλά καὶ ὅσα ὁ Καίσαρ οὐκ ἐμελλε ποιῆσειν ἀντιπροετεύνοντο, τοῦτο δὲ πάνθ' ὅσα ἔποιον, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ 'Αντώνιον τοῦ Μάρκου ἐντολῆς πράττειν ἐλεγον), οὐτω δὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους αὐθίς ἀπέκλειν.
14 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκείνοι πλήθει πολλῷ, ὡς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῇ τε βουλῇ κοινωσόμενοι τε, συνελθόντες τούτων μὲν οὐδέν ἐφροντίσαν, ἀθροισθέντες δ' ἐς τὸ Καπιτῶλιον τὰς τε συνθήκας, ὡς δ' τὸ 'Αντώνιος καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπεποίητο, ἀναγνωσθήναι σφίσιν ἐκέλευσαν, καὶ
BOOK XLVIII

would gird herself with a sword, give out the watchword to the soldiers, and in many instances harangue them, all of which gave additional offence to Caesar? He, however, had no way of overthrowing his opponents, being far inferior to them not only in troops, but also as regards the good-will of the citizens; for he was causing distress to many, whereas they were filling everyone with hope. Accordingly he often proposed reconciliation to them personally through friends, and when he accomplished nothing, he sent to them envoys from the veterans. For he expected by this means, if possible, to obtain his request, adjust his present difficulties, and gain a strength equal to theirs for the future; but in case he should fail of these aims, he believed that, at any rate, they and not he would bear the responsibility for the quarrel. And this actually happened. For when he effected nothing even through the soldiers, he sent senators, showing them the compact which Antony had made with him and appointing them arbitrators of their "differences," as he expressed it. But even then nothing was accomplished, since his opponents in the first place made many counter-proposals, demands which Caesar was sure not to comply with, and then claimed to be doing everything that they did by the order of Mark Antony; thereupon Caesar betook himself once more to the veterans.

After this the veterans assembled in Rome in great numbers, giving out that they intended to make some communication to the people and the senate. But instead of troubling themselves about this errand, they assembled on the Capitol, and after commanding that the compact which Antony and Caesar had made should be read to them, they rati-
ἐκείνας τε ἐπεκύρωσαν, καὶ περὶ ὄν διεφέροντο

2 ἕαυτος δικαστὰς γενέσθαι ἐφηφίσαντο. καὶ
tαῦτα τε ἐς δέλτους γράψαντες καὶ κατασημαν-
μενοὶ ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις φυλάττειν ἔδωσαν, καὶ τῷ
μὲν Καίσαρι παρόντι, τοὺς δὲ ἐτέρους διὰ πρε-
σβείας, ἔς Γαβίους ἐν τη̃̂τη̂ τινι ἡμέρα πρὸς τὴν

3 δίκην ἀπαντήσαι προσεταξαν. ἐπειδὴ τε ὃ μὲν
Καίσαρ ἔτοιμος διαδικασθῆναι ἐγένετο, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ
ὑπέσχοντο μὲν ἀφίξεσθαι, οὐκ ἦλθον δὲ, φοβη-
θέντες ἢ καὶ ἀπαξιώσαντες (διέσκοπτον γούν
σφας, ἀλλὰ τε ἐς βουλὴν καλλιγάταν ἀπὸ τῆς
τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ὑποδημάτων χρήσεως ἀπο-
καλοῦντες), τοῦ τε Δουκίου καὶ τῆς Φουλούιας ὡς
καὶ ἀδικοῦντον τὰ κατεκφισαντο καὶ τὰ τοῦ

4 Καίσαρος ἐπρέσβευσαν. καὶ τοῦτον πολλάκις
ἀδίκης βουλευσάμενον τὸν τε πόλεμον αὕθης ἀνει-
λοντο καὶ τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἢσυχὴς ἠτοιμάζοντο.
tά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ χρηματὰ ἀπανταχόθεν καὶ ἐκ
τῶν ἵππων ἠθροισαν· τά γὰρ ἀναθήματα, ὡς τε καὶ
ἐξαργυρισθῆναι ἐδύνατο, τά τε ἐν τῇ Άλλῃ
ʿΙταλίᾳ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ αὐτῶν ὑσυχῇ καὶ τά ἐν

5 αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀνακείμενα καθεῖλον. καὶ αὐτοὶς
καὶ ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας τῆς τογάτης, ἢ καὶ ἐς τὸν
τῆς Ῥώμης ἤδη νομοῦ, ὡστε μηδένα ἄλλον
προφάσει τῆς ἐνταύθα ἀρχής στρατιώτας ἐντὸς
tῶν Ἀλπεων τρέφειν, ἑσενεγραπτο, καὶ χρήματα
καὶ στρατιώται ἦλθον.

18 Ὁ τε ὅποιν Καίσαρ παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ ἡ Φου-
λούια καὶ ὁ Λούκιος τὰ τε πρόσφορα ἐπορίζοντο

1 Γαβίους Xyl., γαβίου LM.
2 καλλιγάταν Baldwinus, καλλιγαρ LM, καλλιγαρ Xiph.
3 γὰ Rk., τε LM. 4 νομὸν R. Steph., νόμον LM.

242
fied these agreements and voted that they themselves 
should be made arbitrators of the differences between 
them. After recording this action on tablets and 
sealing them, they delivered them to the Vestal 
Virgins to keep; and they gave command to Caesar, 
who was present, and to the other party through an 
embassy, to present themselves for the trial at Gabii 
on a stated day. Caesar showed his readiness to 
submit to arbitration, and the others promised to be 
there but did not go, either because they were afraid 
or because they thought it beneath them; at any 
rate, they were wont to make fun of the veterans, 
calling them among other names *senatus caligatus*, on 
account of the military boots they wore. So the 
veterans condemned Lucius and Fulvia as guilty of 
wrong-doing and espoused the cause of Caesar; and 
then, after many further deliberations, they took 
up the war once more and proceeded vigorously 
with their preparations for it. In particular they 
collected money from all sources, even from the 
temples; for they took away all the votive offerings 
that could be converted into money, those deposited 
in Rome itself as well as those in the rest of Italy 
that was under their control. Both money and 
soldiers came to them also from Gallia Togata, which 
had been included by this time in the district of 
Italy in order that no one else, under the plea of 
ruling that province, should keep soldiers south of 
the Alps.

Both Caesar was making his preparations, then, and 
Fulvia and Lucius were gathering their supplies and
καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις συνεκρότουν. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἀντεπρεσβεύοντο καὶ διέστεμπον ἐκασταχόσε καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ στρατιάρχους ἐκάτεροι, καὶ τὰ μὲν προκατελάμβανον τῶν δ’ ἀπεκρούοντο. καὶ αὐτῶν ἦγο τὰ μὲν πολλά, καὶ ἐν οἷς οὔτε τι μέγα οὔτ’ ἄξιολογον ἐπιράχθη, παρῆσο, τὰ δὲ δὴ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια συντόμως διηγήσομαι.

2 Ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Νουρσίαν ἐς τοὺς Σαβίνους στρατεύσας τὴν μὲν φρουρὰν τὴν προκαθήμενην σφῶν ἐτρέψατο, τῆς δὲ δὴ πόλεως ὑπὸ Τισιήνου, Γάλλου ἀπεκρούσθη. μεταστὰς οὖν ἐς τὴν Ὀμβρικήν Σεντινάτας ἐπολιόρκησε μὲν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ έδειξαν αὐτούς· τοῦ γὰρ Δουκείου ἐν τούτῳ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον στρατιώτας λάθρα κατ’ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην πρόφασιν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πρὸς τοὺς φίλους πέμφαντος, ἑπείτα δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξαίφνης ἐπελθόντος, καὶ τὸ τε ἵππικον ἀπαντήσαντι οἱ κρατήσαντος καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καταραξαντος, καὶ τοῦτου καὶ τὸ ἅστυ, συνεπιθεμένων τοῖς ἐνδοθεν ἀμνυμένοις τῶν προαργυμένων, λαβόντος (οὕτε γὰρ ὁ Λέπιδος ὁ τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπιλεγμένοις ἀντέπραξε τὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμφύτου ρωθείας, οὐτε ὁ Σεροῦλις ὁ ὑπατος ἡσυχαίτερος πως ὁν), πυθόμενος ταῦθα ὁ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν Σεντινάτας Κύπρον Σαλονιδηὴν Ῥοῦφον παρακατέλ· ἐλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ὀρμήσε. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Δούκιος προορίζετθη, διαπραξάμενος ψηφισθήναι οἱ ὡς ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ ἐκστρατεύσαι καὶ ἐν γε τῇ στρατιωτικῇ σκευῇ ἐδημηγόρησεν, ὁ μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἐπεποίηκε. καὶ

1 Τισιήνου Leuncl., τισιήνου LM.
2 προαργυμένων Leuncl., προσαργυμένων LM.
assembling their forces. Meanwhile both sides in turn sent embassies and despatched soldiers and officers in every direction, and each managed to seize some places first, though repulsed from others. The most of these operations, especially those involving no great or memorable achievement, I will pass over, but will relate briefly the points which are most worthy of mention.

Caesar made an expedition against Nursia, among the Sabines, and routed the garrison encamped before it, but was repulsed from the city by Tisienus Gallus. Accordingly he went over into Umbria and laid siege to Sentinum, but failed to capture it. For Lucius meanwhile had sent soldiers at first to his friends in Rome on one excuse and another, and then had suddenly marched against the city himself, conquered the cavalry force that met him, hurled the infantry back within the walls, and after that had taken the city, since his soldiers who had already arrived there joined in attacking the defenders inside, and since neither Lepidus, who had been entrusted with the guarding of the place, offered any resistance by reason of his inherent slothfulness, nor did Servilius, the consul, who was too easy-going. So on ascertaining this Caesar left Quintus Salvidienus Rufus to look after the people of Sentinum, and himself set out for Rome. Now when Lucius learned of this, he withdrew before Caesar's arrival, having had a vote passed authorizing him to leave the city in order to begin a war; indeed, he delivered an address before the people in military uniform, which no one
οὐτως ὁ Καίσαρ ἀμαχεῖ τε ἐς τὸ ἀστν ἑσε-δέχθη, καὶ ἑπειδὴ ἐπιδιώξας αὐτὸν οὐ κατέλαβεν, ἀνεστρέψεν, καὶ φρουρῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀκριβε-6 στέραν ἐποιήσατο. κἂν τούτω ὁ Ῥοῦφος, ὡς τὰ-χιστα ἐκεῖνος τε ἀπὸ τῶν Σεντινατῶν ἀπεχώρησε καὶ Γάιος Φούρνιος ὁ τὸ τείχος φρουρῶν ἐπεξῆλθεν ἐπὶ πολὺ διώκων αὐτόν, προσεβαλέ τε ἀπροσδο-κήτως τοῖς ἐνδον οὕσι, καὶ ἐλώ τὴν πόλιν διήρ-πασε καὶ κατέκαυσεν. Νουρσίνω δὲ ἔσ μὲν ὀμολογίαν ὑπὲρν κακὸν παθόντες ἠλθον, ἐπεὶ μεν-τοι τοὺς εν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρά σφισι γενομένη πεσόντας θάνατας ἐπέγραψαν τοῖς μνημείοις αὐτῶν ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἁγι-νιζόμενον ἐτελεύτησαν, παμπόλλοις χρήμασιν ἐξη-μιώθησαν, ὡστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀμα-πάσαν ἐκλειπένω.

14 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτ' ἐπραττοῦν, ὁ δὲ Δούκιος ὡς τότε ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπήρευν, ὀρμησε μὲν ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν, εἰρχθεὶς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ πρὸς Περουσίαν Τυρσηνίδα πολιν ἀπετράπετο· καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα πρότεροι μὲν οἱ ὑπαρχοὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔκεινοι ἀπολαβόντες ἐπολιορκοῦν.

2 χρονίου δὲ δὴ τῆς προσεδρείας σφίσι γεγομένης (τὸ τε γὰρ χωρίον τῇ τε φύσει καρτερὸν ἔστι καὶ τῶι ἐπιτηδείοις ἱκανῶς παρεσκευάστο, καὶ ἅπις προεκπεμφθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, πρὶν παντελῶς περι-στοιχισθήση, δεινῶς σφας ἐλυτυνον, καὶ προσέπτη καὶ ἐτεροι πολλοὶ σπουδὴ ἄλλος ἀλλοθεν ἐπὶ-

3 μῦνον αὐτῷ) πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὡς ἐκάστους, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐπράξθη, μέχρις οὐ καίτοι πλεονεκτοῦντες τὰ πλεῖον οἱ περὶ τῶν

1 προεκπεμφθέντες H. Steph., προεκπεμφθέντες LM.
else had done. Thus Caesar was received into the capital without striking a blow, and when he pursued Lucius and failed to capture him, he returned and kept a more careful watch over the city. Meanwhile, as soon as Caesar had left Sentinum and Gaius Furnius, the defender of the walls, had issued forth and pursued him a long distance, Rufus unexpectedly attacked the citizens inside, and capturing the town, plundered and burned it. The inhabitants of Nursia came to terms without having suffered any ill treatment; when, however, after burying those who had fallen in the battle they had had with Caesar, they inscribed on their tombs that they had died contending for their liberty, they were punished by an enormous fine, so that they abandoned their city and at the same time all their territory.

While they were thus engaged, Lucius withdrew from Rome as I have stated and set out for Gaul; but finding his way blocked, he turned aside to Perusia, an Etruscan city. There he was intercepted first by the lieutenants of Caesar and later by Caesar himself, and was besieged. The investment proved a long operation; for the place is naturally a strong one and had been amply stocked with provisions; and horsemen sent by Lucius before he was entirely hemmed in greatly harassed the besiegers, while many others besides came speedily to his defence from various quarters. Many attacks were made upon these reinforcements separately and many engagements were fought close to the walls, until the followers of Lucius, even though they were generally successful, nevertheless were
Δούκινον ὁμοσ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἐάλωσαν. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄλλοι τέ τινες ἀδειαν εὐροῦστο, οἱ δὲ ὅλη πλείους τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππεων εἵθαρσαν.

4 καὶ λόγος γε ἐχεῖ ὅτι οὐδ' ἀπλῶς τούτο ἐπαθον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ πρωτέρῳ ᾠσιωμένου ἀχθέντες ἵππης τε τριακόσιοι καὶ βουλευταὶ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Καπνούτιος ὁ Τιβέριος, ὦς ποτε ἐν τῇ δημαρχίᾳ τὸ πλῆθος τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ Ὁκταοικανιῶ ἡθροίσεν, ἐτύθησαν, τῶν δὲ Περσοῦνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀλόντων οἱ πλείους ἀπωλολυτο, καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτή, πλην τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου τοῦ τῇ Ἡρας ἔδους, πᾶσα κατεκαύθη. τούτο δὲ (ἐσώθη γὰρ πῶς κατὰ τίχην) ἀνίχθη τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξ ὅψεως οὐκεῖον ἦν ὁ Καίσαρ εἰδε καὶ παρέσχε καὶ τῇ πόλει πρὸς τῶν βουλομένων συνοικισθήναι, πλην ὅτι τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἦμας στάδιον ἐκτίθαντο.

15 Ἕκείνης δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ Γναῖον Καλούνιν δεύτερον καὶ ἐπ' Ἄσινιν Πωλίωνος ὑπάτων ἀλούσης καὶ τάλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, τὰ μὲν βλά τὰ δὲ ἐθελοντί, τῷ Καίσαρι προσεχώροσεν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ή τῇ Φουλονία πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρὰ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀπέδρα, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρώτων συνηχος οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπεχώρισαν. ή τῇ Ἰουλία ή τῶν Ἀντωνιῶν μήτηρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα ἤλθε, καὶ πάνυ φιλικῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου ὑπεδέχθη, ἐπειτα δὲ πρὸς τὸν υἱόν τὸν Μάρκουν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπέμβη, λόγους τε ὁ ὑπὲρ φιλίας καὶ 3 πρέσβεις ἀγούσα. μετὰ τούτων τῶν τότε πρὸς

1 γε H. Steph., τε LM. 2 Τιβέριος Fabr., τίτοι LM. 3 αὐτή Reim., αὐτή LM. 4 εθελοντί Reim., εθελοντή LM. 5 πρέσβεις Rk., πρεσβειάς LM.

348
forced by hunger to capitulate. The leader and some others obtained pardon, but most of the senators and knights were put to death. And the story goes that they did not merely suffer death in an ordinary form, but were led to the altar consecrated to the former Caesar and were there sacrificed—three hundred knights and many senators, among them Tiberius Cannutius, who previously during his tribuneship had assembled the populace for Caesar Octavianus. Of the people of Perusia and the others who were captured there the majority lost their lives, and the city itself, except the temple of Vulcan and the statue of Juno, was entirely destroyed by fire. This statue, which was preserved by some chance, was brought to Rome, in accordance with a vision that Caesar saw in a dream, and it secured for the city the privilege of being peopled again by any who desired to settle there, though they did not acquire anything of its territory beyond the first mile.

After the capture of Perusia in the consulship of Gnaeus Calvinus (who was serving for the second time) and Asinius Pollio, the other places in Italy also went over to Caesar, partly as the result of force and partly of their own accord. For this reason Fulvia fled with her children to her husband, and many of the foremost men made their way partly to him and partly to Sextus in Sicily. Julia, the mother of the Antonii, went there at first and was received by Sextus with extreme kindness; later she was sent by him to her son Marcus, carrying proposals of friendship to him and taking along envoys. In this company, which at that time

1 Cf. xlv. 6, 3,
τῶν Ἀντώνιον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκχωρησάντων καὶ Κλαύδιος Τιβέριος Νέρων ἐφυγε. φρονοῦμεν γὰρ τινα ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ εἰχε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καθυπέρτερα τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγένετο, ἀπῆρε σὺν τῇ γυναικί Λιονία Δρουσίλλη καὶ σὺν τῷ νεῖτε Τιβέριῳ Κλαύδῳ Νέρων, ὅστε καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς παραδοξοτάτοις συμβηκε: ἢ τε γὰρ Λιονία αὐτῆ ἢ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸτε φυγοῦσα μετὰ ταύτα αὐτῷ ἐγέματο, καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος οὕτως ὁ σὺν τοῖς τοκεύον τὸτε ἐκδόρας τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο.

16 Ταύτα μὲν ὑστερον ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ τὴν τε εἰρημικὴν ἐσθήτα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὄντες ἀνέλαβον (ἐκδιδοκάτες γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀνέεψισαν ἀνάγκη τοῦ δήμου ἥσαν) καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἑωρασάν, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἔν τε στολῇ ἑπινικίῳ ἐς τὸ ἀστυ ἑσεκόμισαν καὶ δαφνίῳ στεφάνῳ ἐπέμησαν, ὡς οὐκέτι ὃς τὰ νυκτήρια πέμψαν τε ἐισόθησαν αὐτὸν χρήσαται, καὶ ἐκείνου οἱ κοσμεῖσθαι. Καίσαρ δὲ, ἑπειδὴ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατείργαστο καὶ ὁ κόλπος ὁ Ἰονίως ἠλευθερωτο (ὁ γὰρ Δομίτιος, ἀπογόνος μηκετί καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἰσχύσειν, ἀπέπλευσε πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον), παρεσκευάζετο μὲν ὁς ἐπὶ τὸν Σέξτον ὀρμήσων, αἰσθόμενος δὲ τὴν τε δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι τῷ Ἀντώνιῳ διά τῆς μυθρὸς καὶ διὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐκεκοιμολόγητο, ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ ἄρμῳνν ἀμφοῖνεν πολεμήσῃ, καὶ τὸν Σέξτον ὡς καὶ πιστότερον ἤ καὶ ἵσχυρότερον τοῦ Ἀντώνιον προτιμήσας τὴν τε μυτέρα αὐτῷ Μουκίαν ἐπεμψε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ πενθεροῦ αὐτοῦ Λουκίου Σκριβανίου Δίβωνος.
departed from Italy and took refuge with Antony, was Tiberius Claudius Nero. He had been in charge of a garrison in Campania, and when Caesar's party got the upper hand, he withdrew with his wife Livia Drusilla and with his son Tiberius Claudius Nero. This, again, was one of the strangest whims of fate; for this Livia, who then fled from Caesar, later on was married to him, and this Tiberius, who then took flight with his parents, succeeded Caesar in the office of emperor.

This, however, occurred later. At the time in question the citizens of Rome resumed the garb of peace, which they had laid aside without any decree, under compulsion from the people; they gave themselves up to merry-making, conveyed Caesar in his triumphal dress into the city and honoured him with a laurel crown, giving him also the right to wear it on every occasion on which it was the custom of those celebrating triumphs to use it. And after Italy had been subdued and the Ionian Gulf cleared (for Domitius, despairing of ever again being able to dominate it unsupported, had sailed away to Antony), Caesar proceeded to make preparations to set out against Sextus. When, however, he learned the power of this foe and that he had been in communication with Antony through Antony's mother and through envoys, he feared that he might become embroiled with both at once; therefore, since he preferred Sextus as more trustworthy, or perhaps as stronger, than Antony, he sent him his mother Mucia and married the sister of Sextus' father-in-law, Lucius Scribonius Libo, in

1 Scribonia was much older than Augustus and had already been married twice. For her divorce in the following year see chap. 34 infra.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

17 'O gar Sēxtos, oste syste ek tis 'Ibhrías kata tás prós tòu Lépidou sunvákhkas áppllághi kai metá touto vavárhoz xw or polllh ústeron katésthe, tis mén arxhís upó tòu Kaisaros parakbth, tov de ñh vavnikou kai ñh antexómenos étolmhes mev éis tìn 'Italián plèvsaí, épikratouson de ñdíd tòw amphi tòu Kaisara autías, máthws òti en tois sfagwysis tois tòu patróz autou éálwke, tòis mén ñpeiróu ápsecheto, kata de ñh tás nízous peri-pléwos tá te xynóumena ékaraadókei kai tìn trowfì òuk éz adikhmátov éporizeto òte ñar mì metexhikos tòu fònon, kai up autou tòu Kaisaros ðlpi ze kataxhísesthai. épeí méntoi kai en tw leukwmati to ñvoma autou ézesthê kai érno kai ep' autw épikekhrwménov, ápénwv te tìn ði autou káthodov kai prós polêmov ñtomá-xetov xaptrigían te ñar truwron époeieto kai tois automoloungas édècheto, tois te kataxontostas prosthairizeto kai tois ekpíptontas ñpelámuta

4 Bane. kàk toútov en1 elóghw te ñskhrov éngweto kai tòis prós tò 'Italiá xalássas ékrahtisev, ès te tòus ximénas autíz àsébetai kai tò plwia àspspa, ñpapagás te époeieto. proxaourwntov de autw tòw praghmatov ñste kai stratiótas kai chròmatà àp' autón poriez, ès Sikélian èplenuve, kai Múlas mèn tin te T vindarida2 amaxei kataachte, tìn ñe Mesqhíis upó Pompíión Bithnikov tòtè tòis Sikélias árchnov ópe krousthe. òu méntoi kai pautelów autíz àsésthe,

1 en Zon., ouk i.M. 2 T vindarida Xyl., xórfórida i.M.
the hope that by this favour and by this relationship he might make him a friend.

Sextus, it should be explained, after leaving Spain at the time already referred to\(^1\) in accordance with his compact with Lepidus, had been appointed admiral a little later; and although he had been removed from his office by Caesar, he nevertheless held on to his fleet and made bold to sail to Italy. But when Caesar's adherents had now secured control of the country and he learned that he had been convicted as one of the assassins of Caesar's father, he kept away from the mainland, but sailed about among the islands, maintaining a sharp watch on what was going on and supplying himself with food without resort to crimes; for inasmuch as he had not taken part in the murder, he expected to be restored by Caesar himself. When, however, his name actually was posted on the tablet and he knew that the edict of proscription was in force against him also, he despaired of being restored by Caesar and made ready for war. He proceeded to build triremes, receive the deserters, win the support of the pirates, and take the exiles under his protection. By these means he soon grew powerful and became master of the sea off Italy, so that he made descents upon its harbours, towed away the vessels, and engaged in pillage. As matters went well with him and his activity supplied him with soldiers and money, he sailed to Sicily and seized Mylae and Tyndaris without effort, though he was repulsed from Messana by Pompeius Bithynicus, then governor of Sicily. Nevertheless he did not retire altogether from

\(^1\) Cf. xlv. 10, 6.
άλλα τήν τε χώραν κατατρέχων καὶ τήν ἐσκομι-
δὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κωλύων, τῶν τε προσβοηθη-

dὲντων σφίζει τοὺς μὲν φόβῳ μὴ καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ

πάθωσι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔξ ενέδρας τινὸς κακωσεί

προσθέμενος, τὸν τε ταμίαν 1 σὺν τοῖς χρήμασι

προσεποιήσατο, καὶ τέλος καὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην τὸν

τε Βιθυνίκων ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱσης οἱ ἅρξοντα καθ' 6

ὁμολογίαν ἔλαβε. καὶ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν τότε γε

κακὸν εἰργάσατο, ἐκείνους δὲ τά τε ὁπλα καὶ τὰ

χρήματα ἀφείλετο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τάς τε Συρα-

κούσας 2 καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς πόλεις ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ

στρατιώτας τε ἀπὸ αὐτῶν πλέοικα καὶ ναυτικῶν

ἰσχυρότατον συνήγαγε. καὶ τινὰ αὐτῶ δύναμιν καὶ

Κύπρος Κορινθίκιος ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἐπεμψε.

18 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὗτος ηὔξετο, Καίσαρ δὲ τέως μὲν

οὐδεμίαν ἐπιστροφὴν αὐτοῦ τῇ τε ἐκείνου κατα-

φρονήσει καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐν χερσὶν ἁγχολία ἐποιη-

σατο: ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπὸ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ φθορά πολλῆ ἐν

τῷ ἄστει ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ Σέξτος καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας

ἐπείρασε, οὕτω καὶ ναυτικῶν τε τι κατασκευάζε-

σθαι ἤρξατο, καὶ τῶν Ροῦφον τῶν Σαλομιδήνων

2 σὺν δυνάμει πολλῆ ἐσ Ἀρχιμνίον προεπεμψε. καὶ

ὁς ἐκ μὲν 3 τῆς Ἰταλίας τὸν Σέξτον ἀπεῴσατο,

ἀναχωρήσατός δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἡσυχίαν δερ-

μάτινα πλοία κατὰ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀκεανῷ πλέοντας

ἐκποιήσει ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐνδοθεν μὲν ράβδοις αὐτὰ

κούφαις διαλαμβάνον, ἐξοθεν δὲ βοῶς δέρμα

ωμοῦ ἐς ἀσπίδος κυκλοτεροῦς τρόπον περιτείνων.

1 ταμίαν R. Steph., ταμίαν LM (and so generally).
2 ἡΡΑΚΟΤΟΣ R. Steph., θυρακότοσ LM.
3 ἐκ μὲν Bk., μὲν ἐκ LM.
the island, but overran the country, prevented the importation of provisions, and won over those who brought help to the Sicilians by filling some with fear of suffering a similar fate and by laying ambushes for others and injuring them; he also attached to himself the quaestor, securing the funds he had, and finally got possession of Messana and also Bithynicus under an agreement that the latter should enjoy equal authority with him. Bithynicus he did not harm at the time; but from the citizens he took away their arms and money. His next step was to win over Syracuse and some other cities, from which he gathered more soldiers and got together a very strong fleet. Quintus Cornificius also sent him a considerable force from Africa.

While Sextus was thus growing stronger, Caesar for a time took no notice of him, both because he despised him and because the business in hand kept him occupied. But when, owing to the famine, many deaths occurred in the city, and Sextus made an attempt on Italy also, Caesar at last began to have a fleet equipped and sent Salvidienus Rufus ahead with a large force to Rhegium. Rufus managed to repel Sextus from Italy, and when Sextus retired to Sicily, undertook to manufacture boats of leather, similar to those used on the ocean. He made a framework of light rods for the interior and stretched over them an uncurved ox-hide after the manner of a circular shield. When he got himself laughed

1 Dio probably has particular reference to the small boats used by the Britons. Cf. Caesar B.C. i. 54, Pliny, N.H. iv. 16, 104 and vii. 56, 206.
3 ὡς δὲ γέλωτα τε ὑφλίσκανεν καὶ κινδυνεύεσεν, εἰ πειραθεῖν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ πορθμοῦ χρήσασθαι, ἐπίστευσεν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀφεῖτο, τῷ δὲ δὴ ναυτικῷ τῷ κατασκευασθέντι τε καὶ ἐδόθοι ἐπετόλμησε μὲν διαπλέσας, οὐκ ἤδυνήθη δὲ τῷ γὰρ πληθοῖς καὶ τῷ μέγεθος τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῦ πολὺ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ ἐμπερίας καὶ τόλμης ἡλαττώθη.

4 αὐτόπτης οὐν τῆς ναυμαχίας ὁ Καίσαρ γενόμενος (κατὰ γὰρ τὴν στρατείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη) χαλεπῶς ἤγεγκε, καὶ μᾶλισθ' ὅτι τότε πρῶτον συμβαλὼν ἦττητο. καὶ διὰ τούτο κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκέτι, καίτοι τοῦ πλείονος ναυτικοῦ σωθέντος οἱ, περαιώθηναι

5 ἐτόλμησε· λάθρα δὲ πολλάκις ἐπιχειρήσας ὡς πάντως, ἀν τῆς νήσου ἐπιβῆ, πολὺ τῷ πεξῷ κρατήσων, ἐπειθ' ὡς οὐδέν, ἀτε καὶ ἰσχυρὰς πανταχόθεν φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ οὕσης, ἑπέραινε, τῇ μὲν Σικελία ἄλλους τινὰς ἐφεδρεύειν προσεταξέν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τε τῶν Ἀντώνιον ἐς τὸ Βρεττέσσαν ἀφίκετο, καντεύθεν τῇ τῶν νεῶν βοηθεία τῶν Ἰόνιων διέβαλε.

19 Γενομένου δὲ τούτου τῆς τε νῆσου πᾶσαν ὁ Σέξτος κατέσχε, καὶ τῶν Βιθυνίων ὡς καὶ ἐπι- βουλεύσαντα αὐτῷ ἀπέκτεινε, θέας τε ἐπιπυκίους ἐγγέγει, καὶ ναυμαχίαν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ παρ' αὐτῷ τὸ Ῥήγιον, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ὁρᾶν, ἑποίησε, πλοιαρία τινα ξύλινα πρὸς ἐτερα βύρσινα ἐς τῶν τοῦ Ῥωθοῦ κατάσχε-2

2 λων συμβαλὼν. καὶ μετὰ τούτου ναῦς τε πλεῖον ἐναυπηγήσατο καὶ τῆς περίξ ἀνασθῆνα ἐκράτησε, δόξαν τε τινα καὶ φρονήμα ὡς καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος παῖς οὖν, ὡς τῷ πάσης ποτὲ ὁ πατήρ

256
at and decided that it would be dangerous for him to try to use them in crossing the strait, he abandoned them and ventured to undertake the passage with the fleet that had been got ready and had since arrived; but it proved impossible for him to do so, since the superior number and size of his ships were far from being a match for the skill and daring of the enemy. Now Caesar was an eye-witness of the battles, inasmuch as these events took place when he was setting out on his expedition into Macedonia, and he was filled with chagrin, particularly because this was the first time he had been defeated in any encounter. For this reason, although the major part of his fleet had been preserved, he did not again venture to cross over by main force, but he made many attempts to do so secretly, feeling that if he could once set foot on the island he would certainly be decidedly superior with his infantry. After a time, however, finding that he was accomplishing nothing because of the vigilant guard maintained on every side, he ordered others to keep a watch on Sicily and himself went to meet Antony at Brundisium, whence, reinforced by his main fleet, he crossed the Ionian Gulf.

After this Sextus occupied the whole of the island and put Bithynicus to death on the charge that he had plotted against him. He also produced triumphal spectacles and held a naval battle of the captives in the strait close to Rhegium itself,—so that his opponents could look on,—causing small wooden boats to contend with others of leather in mockery of Rufus. After this he built more ships and dominated the sea round about; and he assumed a certain additional glory and pride by representing himself to be the son of Neptune, since his father had once ruled the
αὐτοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης ἤρξε, προσέθετο. ταῦτα μὲν, ἐως ἔτι τὰ τε τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Βροῦ. τοῦ συνειστήκει, ἐπραξε· φθαρέντων δὲ ἐκείνων ἄλλοι τε πρὸς αὐτὸν συγκατέφυγον καὶ ὁ Στάιος ὁ Λούκιος. καὶ αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἁσμένως ἐθέξατο (καὶ γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν ἦς ἤρξεν ἐπηγάγετο), ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ δραστήριον καὶ φρονηματώδη ἰδῶν ὄντα ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐγκλήμα αὐτῷ προδοσίας ἐπενεγκών, κακὸς τοῦτο τὸ τε ἐκείνου ναυτικὸν καὶ τὸ τῶν δούλων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀφικνουμένων πλῆθος προσλαβῶν πάμπολυ ἡμέρηθεν τοσοῦτοι γὰρ δὴ ἡμυτομόλουν ὅστε καὶ τὰς ἀειπαρθένους καθ’ ἰερῶν εὐξασθαι ἐπισχεθῆναι σφων τὰς αὐτομολίας.

20 Διὰ τε ὁμ tαῦτα καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς θεύγοντας αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι τήν τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου φιλίαν πράττειν καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πολλὰ πορθεῖν, καταλαγήναι οἱ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπεθύμησε· διαμαρτῶν δὲ τούτου ἐκείνῳ μὲν Μάρκον Ὠνυψάιον Ἀγρίππαν πολεμήσαι ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Γαλατίαν ἀπῆρε. μαθὼν οὖν τούτο ὁ Σέξτος ἐτήρησε τὸν Ἀγρίππαν περὶ τὰ Ἀπολλώνια ἔχοντα· ἐστρατηγεῖ γὰρ, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλά, ἀτε καὶ πάνυ φίλος ὁν τῷ Καίσαρι, ἔλαμπρύνατο, καὶ τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἐποίησε, τῇ τε Τροίᾳ καλομείη διὰ τῶν εὐγενῶν παῖδων ἐγαύρωθη. ταῦτ’ οὖν αὐτοῦ πράττοντος ἐπεραιώθη τε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐνέμεινεν ἐν αὐτῇ λεπτῶν, μέχρις οὗ ἐκείνος ἀφίκετο· τοτε γὰρ ἠφορμᾶν ἐν χωρίοις 3 τισὶ καταλυτῶν ἀνέπλευσεν. οὗ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ τὴν Γαλατίαν πρότερον μὲν δὲ ἐτέρων, ὡσπερ
whole sea. Thus he fared as long as the forces of Cassius and Brutus held together; but when those men had perished, Lucius Staius and others took refuge with him. He was at first glad to receive him, for he brought with him the force he commanded; but later, observing that he was an active and high-spirited man, he put him to death on a charge of treachery. Thus reinforced by the fleet of Staius and also by the multitude of slaves who kept arriving from Italy, he gained tremendous strength; in fact, so many persons deserted that the Vestal Virgins prayed over the sacrifices that their desertions might be checked.

For these reasons, and because Sextus was harbouring the exiles, cultivating the friendship of Antony, and plundering a great portion of Italy, Caesar desired to become reconciled with him; but when he failed of that, he ordered Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa to wage war against him, and himself set out for Gaul. However, when Sextus learned of this, he waited until Agrippa was busy with the Ludi Apollinares; for he was praetor at the time, and was not only giving himself airs in various other ways on the strength of his being an intimate friend of Caesar, but also in particular gave a two-days' celebration of the Circensian games and prided himself upon his production of the game called "Troy," which was performed by the boys of the nobility. Now while he was thus occupied, Sextus crossed over into Italy and remained there, carrying on marauding expeditions, until Agrippa arrived; then he left a garrison at certain points and sailed back again. As for Caesar, he had formerly tried, as I have related, to get possession of Gaul

1 Cf. chap. 10.
εἰρηται, καταλαβεῖν ἐπεχείρησε, μὴ δυνήθεις δὲ
dιὰ τὸν Καλῆνον καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ
tοῦ Ἀντωνίου πράττουτας αὐτὸς τὸτε κατέσχε,
tὸν τε Καλῆνον τεθυνκότα νόσῳ εὐρόν καὶ τὸ
στράτευμα αὐτοῦ ἀκονίτι προσθέμενος. καὶ
τὸ τὸν Ἀπίδουν ἀγανακτοῦντα τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς
ἐπιβαλλοῦσης αὐτῶ στερήσει ἰδων ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικήν
ἐπεμψεν, ἵνα ώς παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον αὐτῆν, ἀλλ’ ὄν
καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου λαβῶν οἰκεῖοτερὸν οἱ
προσφέρηται.

21 Δύο μὲν δὴ ἑθὴ τοῖς Ἦρωισιν ἐν τῇ Δεμυ
ἐκεῖνη, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἢν ἠρχον δὲ πρὸ τῆς τῶν
τριῶν ἀνδρῶν συνωμοσίας τοῦ μὲν Νομαδικοῦ
Τίτου Σέξτιος, τὸν δὲ ἔτερον ὁ τε Κορνουφίκιος
καὶ Δέκιμος Δαίλιος, ὁ μὲν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, οἱ
δὲ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονοῦστε, καὶ τέως μὲν ὁ
Σέξτιος ἀνέμενεν ὡς καὶ ἔκεικον (πολὺ γὰρ
πλεῖον δύναμιν εἶχον) ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐσ-
βαλοῦντο, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἑνταῦθα
αὐτοὺς ἀμνούμενοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ διεμελλὼν, κατε-
φρόνησε τε αὐτῶν, καὶ προσεπαρθεῖς ὑπὸ τε βοῶς
φθειρόμενης, ὃς φασίν, ἀνθρωπίνη φωνῆ καὶ κε-

3 λευσάτης αὐτῶ τῶν προκειμένων ἔγεισθαι, καὶ ἔξ
ἐνυπνίου δι’ οὗ ταῦρός τις κατορφυμένος ἐν τῇ
πολεί Τούκκη παρηγκεῖται οἱ ἐδοξεῖ τὴν κεφαλὴν
αὐτῶν ἀνέλεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ κάμακος, ὡς καὶ ἐκ
τούτου νικήσοντε, περιφέρειν, οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλ-
λως τε καὶ ὅτι τὸν ταῦρον ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν φὸ τὸ

1 καὶ Leunel., καὶ LM. 2 τῇ supplied by R. Steph.
3 Σέξτιος Βκ., σέξτιος LM (so regularly).
4 οἱ δὲ Xyl., ὁ δὲ LM. 5 ἀνέμενεν Μ, ἀνέμενεν L.
6 ἐκεῖνον Xyl., ἐκ τιναν LM.
7 ἀνέλεσθαι Xyl., ἀμελεῖσθαι LM.

260
through various agents, but had been unable on account of Calenus and the others who supported Antony's cause; but he now occupied it in person, when he discovered that Calenus had fallen ill and died, and when he had acquired his army without difficulty. Meanwhile, seeing that Lepidus was vexed at being deprived of the province that belonged to him, he sent him to Africa, desiring that he should receive the province as a gift from himself alone, and not from Antony also, and should thus become more closely attached to him.

The Romans had two provinces in that part of Africa, as I have remarked; the governors, before the league of the triumvirs, were Titus Sextius over the Numidian country and Cornificius with Decimus Laelius over the other, the first-named being friendly to Antony and the other two to Caesar. For a time Sextius waited, expecting that the others, who had a far larger force, would invade his domain, and he was preparing to withstand them there. But when they delayed he began to despise them; and he was further elated when a cow spoke with a human voice, as they say, and bade him lay hold of the task before him, and when he had a dream in which a bull that had been buried in the city of Tucca seemed to urge him to dig up its head and carry it about on a pole, intimating that by this means he should conquer. Without hesitation, then, especially when he found the bull at the place where the dream said it was, he

1 Cf. xliii. 9, 4.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐνόπτυον εἶναι ἔφη εὗρεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν
4 Ἀφρικήν προσέβαλε. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὸ
tε Ἀδρύμητον καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα χωρία, ἀνελπίστως σφίσι προσπεσόν, κατέσχεν ἐπειτα δὲ ἄφυλλος δι’ αὐτὸ τοῦτ’ ἔχον ἐλοχίσθη τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ταμίου, καὶ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀποβαλών ἐς τὴν Νομιδίαν ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ ἑτυχε γὰρ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ ταύρου κεφαλῆς δυστυχίας, τὴν τε ἤτταν ἐς τοῦτο ἀνέφερε, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ αὖθις στρατεύσων. καὶ τούτω φθάσαντες οἱ ἐναντίοι ἀντεσέβαλον ἐς τὴν ἄρχην αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Κύρταν ἑπολύρκον, ὦ δὲ δὴ ταμίας ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνον σὺν τοῖς ἑπεύσων ὁμιλεῖσθαι, καὶ τισιν ἰππομαχίαις κρατήσας τὸν συνταμίαν προσεποίησατο. πραξάθεντο δὲ τούτων ὁ Σέξτιος νεαλῆ τινα ἐπικουρίαν προσλαβὼν ἀνεκινδύνευσε, καὶ τὸν τε ταμίαν ἀντεκίησε καὶ τὸν Δαίλιον κατατρέχοντα τὴν χώραν ἐς τὸ ἔρυμα κατέκλεισε. τὸν τε Κορνουφίκιον ἐπαμμυνόντα ἀπατήσαι ὑπός καὶ ἐκαλωκότος ἐκείνου καὶ ἐς ἀδυμίαν ἐμβαλὼν ἤττησε, καὶ αὐτὸν τὲ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸν Δαίλιον ἐπεξελθόντα ὡς καὶ κατὰ νότον σφίσι προσπεσούμενοι.

22 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα τὴν τε Ἀφρικήν κατέσχε καὶ ἐκατέρου τοῦ ἑθνοῦς ἄδεως ἤρχε, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκ τῶν συνθηκῶν τῶν προς τε τῶν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τῶν Λέπιδον ὅι γενομένων τὴν ἄρχην αὐτῶν λαβὼν Γαίον σφίσαι Φουβίκιον Φάγγωνα προσέταξε τότε γὰρ ἐκών δὴ τῶν ἑθνῶν ἐξήστη.

2 ὡς μέντοι ὑπ’ ἑνα τῇ ἄμαχῃ ἡ κατὰ τῶν Βρούτων τῶν τε Κάσσιον ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὁ τε Ἀντώνιος τά

1 ἀπατήσαι Xyl., ἀπατήσαι LM.
took the initiative by invading Africa. At the outset he occupied Hadrumetum and some few other places, which were taken by surprise at his sudden assault; but later, while off his guard because of this very success, he was ambushed by the quaestor of Cornificius, lost a large portion of his army, and withdrew into Numidia. And since he chanced to meet with this reverse when he was without the bull’s head, he ascribed his defeat to that fact and made preparations to take the field again. Meanwhile his opponents anticipated him by invading his province, and while the others were besieging Cirta, the quaestor of Cornificius, with the cavalry, proceeded against him, overcame him in a few cavalry battles, and won over Sextius quaestor. After these experiences Sextius secured some fresh reinforcements, risked battle again, conquered the quaestor in his turn, and shut up Laelius, who was overrunning the country, within his fortifications. He deceived Cornificius, who was intending to come to the defence of his colleague, making him believe that Laelius had been captured, and after thus throwing him into a state of dejection defeated him; and he not only slew Cornificius in the battle, but also Laelius, who made a sally with the intention of taking his enemy in the rear.

After this achievement Sextius occupied Africa and governed both provinces in security, until Caesar, according to the compact made by him with Antony and Lepidus, took over the command of these provinces and put Gaius Fuficius Fango in charge of them; then, indeed, Sextius voluntarily gave up the provinces. When, however, the battle with Brutus and Cassius had been fought, and Caesar and Antony
τε ἄλλα ἀνεδάσαντο, καὶ τῆς Διβύης Καίσαρ μὲν τὴν Νομιδίαν 'Αντώνιος δὲ τῆς Ἀφρικῆν ἔλαβεν (ὁ γὰρ Λέπιδος ἐν αὐτοῖς ὄνόματι 1 μῶνον, ὀσπέρ εἶπον, ἥρχε, καὶ πολλάκις γε οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι προσενεγράφητο), ὡς οὖν ταὐτά τε οὔτως ἐγένετο καὶ ἡ Φουλούνια τῆς Ἀφρικῆς αὐτῷ παραλαβεῖν ἐκέλευσεν (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Διβύη καὶ τότε ἐτί, προφασιν μὲν διὰ τὸν χειμώνα, ἔργη δὲ εὐ εἰδώς ὅτι νεωτερισθήσοιτό τι, ἐνδιέτριψε), τὸν μὲν Φάγγωνα οὐκ ἐπείσε τῆς χώρας ἐκστήναι, τούς δὲ ἐπιχωρίους ἀχθομένους οἱ (ἐν τὲ γὰρ τῷ μισθοφορικῷ ἐστράτευτο πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὀσπέρ εἰρηταί μοι, κατελεξάτο 2 καὶ κακῶς αὐτῶν ἥρχε) προση- ταιρίσατο. γενομένου δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Φάγγων ἐς τὴν Νομιδίαν ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ τοὺς τε Κερτησίους καταφρονήσαντας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα κακῶς μετεχειρίσατο, καὶ Ἀραβίωνά τινα δυναστεύοντα ἐν τοῖς προσοικοῦσι σφιχαί βαρβάρους, καὶ πρότερον μὲν τῷ Δαιλίῳ συναράμενον, ὑστερον δὲ τῷ Σεξτίῳ προσθέμενον, ἐξεβάλεν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς,

5 ἐπειδὴ οἱ μὴ ἠθέλησε συμμαχῆσαι. καταφυγόντα τε αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Σεξτίου ἦξισθάσας καὶ μὴ λαβῶν ὄργην τε ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν ἐμβαλὼν τῆς μὲν χώρας ἐκάκωσεν, ἀντιστρατοπε- δευσαμένου δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν Σεξτίου μάχαις βρα- χείας μὲν πολλαῖς δ' οὖν ἤττηθι, καὶ διὰ τούτ',

6 ἐς τὴν Νομιδίαν αὖθις ἀνεκομίσθη. καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Σεξτίος ἄντεπελθὼν ἔπειδα μὲν ὡς καὶ διὰ βραχέως τῇ τοῦ Ἀραβίωνος μάλιστα ἰππείᾳ νι- 1 αὐτοῖς ὄνοματι Polak, τοῖς ὄνομασι LM.
2 κατελεξάτο Xyl., κατελεξάτο LM.

264
had redistributed the world, Caesar taking Numidia for his share of Libya, for Lepidus, as I have stated, ruled with them only in name, and often was not recorded in the documents even to this extent,—when, I say, this had occurred, Fulvia bade Sextius resume his rule of Africa. He was at this time still lingering in Libya, making the winter season his plea, but in reality knowing full well that there would be some kind of revolution. As he could not persuade Fango to retire from the country, he associated himself with the natives, who detested Fango; for he had served in the mercenary force—many of whose members, as has been stated in my narrative, had actually been elected to the senate—and was ruling the natives badly. At this turn of affairs Fango retired into Numidia, where he ill-treated the people of Cirta because they despised him in view of the present circumstances. He also expelled from his kingdom a certain Arabio, a prince among the neighbouring barbarians, who had first helped Laelius and had later attached himself to Sextius; this he did because Arabio refused to make an alliance with him. When the prince fled to Sextius, Fango demanded his surrender, and upon being refused he grew angry, invaded Africa, and ravaged a part of the country; but when Sextius took the field against him, he was defeated in slight but numerous engagements and consequently retired again into Numidia. Sextius went after him and had hopes of soon vanquishing him, especially with the aid of Arabio’s horse, but he became suspicious

1 Libya is Dio’s general term for the African coast. Cf. xliii. 9, 4.
2 In chap. 1.
3 In xliii. 47, 3; cf. also xlviii. 34, 4, lii. 42, 1.
κήσων ἐσχεν, ὑποτοπίσας δέ τι καὶ δολοφονήσας ἐκείνου οὐδέν ἐτι τότε γε ἐπραξεν· οἱ γαρ ἰππῆς χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τῷ ὀλέθρῳ αὐτοῦ σχόντες ἐγκατέλιπον αὐτὸν, καὶ οἱ γε πλείους σφῶν τὰ τού 23 Φάγγωνος ἀνθελόντο. ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι φιλίαι, ὡς καὶ τῆς προφάσεως σφίσι τοῦ πολέμου ὑπεξηρημένης, συνέθεντο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τηρήσας ὁ Φάγγων τὸν Σέξτιον ἄδειος ὑπὸ τῶν σπουδῶν ἐχοντα ἐς την Ἀφρικήν ἐσέβαλε. κανταῦθα συμμίξαντες ἅλλης τοῦ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ ἐνίκησαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ἤττήθησαν (ὁ μὲν γαρ τῷ ἱππικῷ τῷ Νομαδικῷ, ὁ δὲ τῇ ἀσπίδῃ τῇ πολιτικῇ ἐκράτησεν), ὡστε καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτούς τὰ ἅλλη- λων διαρπάσαι, μηδὲν μηδέτεροι περὶ τῶν συ- 3 στρατιωτῶν εἰδότας· ὡς δ' ἐπαναχωροῦντες ἤσθοντο τὸ γεγονός, ἐς χειρὰς αὐθεὶς ἠλθον, καὶ τροπὴς τῶν Νομάδων γενομένης ὁ Φάγγων τότε μὲν ἐς τὰ ὅρια ἄνεβυγγε, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς βουβαλίδων διαφραμουσῶν φήβη τε τὴν πολεμίαν ἐπον παρ- 4 εἶναι καὶ ἑαυτὸν κατεχρήσατο. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Σέξτιος 5 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀπόνως ἐλαβε, Ζάμην δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστων ἀντισχοῦσαν λιμῷ κατεστρέψατο, κάκ τουτοῦ ἀμφότερων αὕτες τῶν ἑθῶν ἤγειτο, 5 μέχρις οὐ ὁ Λέπιδος ἐπέμφθη· ἐκείνῳ γαρ, ὡς καὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ συνδοκοῦν, ἡ καὶ ὅτι ταῖς δυνάμεσι πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἡπατοῦτο, οὐδὲν ἀντιπραξεν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἑαυτοῦ χάριν τὴν ἀνάγκην τιθέμενος ἡσύ- χαξε· καὶ οὕτως ὁ Λέπιδος ἀμφότερα τὰ ἑβην κατέσχε.

24 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, κατὰ δὲ δὴ τοὺς

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1 γε Λ., γ' Μ.
2 πλείους R. Steph., πλείου LM.
3 Σέξτιος Xyl., σέξτος LM.
4 ἡσύχαξε H. Steph., ἡσύχας LM.

266
of Arabio and treacherously murdered him, after which he accomplished nothing further at that time, for the cavalry, enraged at Arabio’s death, left Sextius in the lurch and most of them took the side of Fango. For the time being Sextius and Fango concluded an alliance, agreeing that the cause for war between them had been removed; later, however, Fango waited until Sextius was feeling secure on account of the truce and then invaded Africa. Thereupon they joined battle with each other, and at first both sides were victorious and also beaten; for Fango was superior in his Numidian cavalry and Sextius in his citizen infantry, so that they plundered each other’s camps without the men on either side knowing what fate had befallen their comrades. Then when they retired and perceived what had happened, they came to blows again, the Numidians were routed, and Fango escaped for the moment into the mountains; but during the night some hartbeestes ran past, and, thinking that the enemy’s cavalry were at hand, he committed suicide. Thus Sextius gained possession of all the other districts without trouble, and subdued by famine Zama, which held out for a long time. Thereafter he governed both the provinces again until Lepidus was sent. Against him he took no measures, either because he thought this policy had the approval of Antony, or because he was by no means so strong as Lepidus in troops; instead, he remained quiet, acting as if the inevitable were a favour on his own part to Lepidus. In this way Lepidus gained possession of both provinces.

So much for these events. During this same
αὐτοῦς τούτους χρόνους, μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππους συμβάσαν, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὁ Μάρκος ἐσ τῇ τῆς Ἀσίαν τὴν ἡπειρον ἦλθε, καν- ταῦθα τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς περιών, 1 ἐς δὲ τὰ ἄλλας πέμπτων, τὰς τε πόλεις ἡγυρολόγει καὶ τὰς δυνα- 
2 στείας ἐπίπρασκε. κἀν τοῦτῳ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐν Κιλικία ὁ ὀφθείσις ἔρασθεὶς 2 ὀνκέτ ὀδεμίων τοῦ καλοῦ φροντίδα ἐποίησατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῇ Ἀγνπτία ἐδούλευε καὶ τῷ ἐκείνης ἔρωτι ἐςχό- λαζε. καὶ ἄλλα τε διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα ἐπράζε, καὶ τοὺς ἄδελφους αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν
3 Ἐφέσῳ Ἀρτεμισίου ἀποστάσας ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τέλος Πλάγκον μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῷ ἔθνει, Σάξαν δὲ ἐν τῇ Συρία καταλιπὼν ἐς τῇ Ἀγνπτίον ἀπῆρεν. ὅθεντερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἄλλα τε παρα-
χώδη πολλὰ ἐπεγένετο, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς Ἀραδίους τοὺς νησιώτας μὴ ὑπακούσατε τι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς σφάς ἐπὶ χρῆματα πεμφθεὶσι, καὶ προσέτε καὶ φθειρά τινας αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ Πάρθοι καὶ πρὶν
4 κινούμενοι, τότε δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ἐπέθεντο. ἦγουν δὲ αὐτῶν Λαβιήνος καὶ Πάκορος, ὁτὸς μὲν Ὁρῶδον τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐκείνος δὲ τοῦ Λαβιήνου τοῦ Τίτου 3 παῖς ὄν. ἦλθε δὲ ὠδε ἐς τοὺς Πάρθους, καὶ τάδε σὺν τῷ Πάκόρῳ ἐπράζεν.
5 ἐτύγχανε μὲν τῷ τε Κασσίῳ καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ συμμαχῶν, πεμφθεὶσι δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ὁρῶδον πρὸ τῆς μάχης ὅπως τινά βοήθειαν λάβῃ, συχνὸν ἦπ' αὐτοῦ χρόνον διετρίβη περιφρομένου καὶ ἀκρούντος 4 μὲν συνκένθαι οἱ, δεδίστος δὲ ἀπαρνη-

1 περιών Ζου., περιών ΛΜ.
2 ἐρασθείς cod. Peir., ἐρασθείσης ΛΜ.
3 Τίτου B. Steph., τιτίου ΛΜ.
4 καὶ ἀκρούντος cod. Peir., κατοκριόντας ΛΜ.
period, following the battle at Philippi, Mark Antony came to the mainland of Asia, where he levied contributions upon the cities and sold the positions of authority; some of the districts he visited in person and to others he sent agents. Meanwhile he fell in love with Cleopatra, whom he had seen in Cilicia, and thereafter gave not a thought to honour but became the Egyptian woman's slave and devoted his time to his passion for her. This caused him to do many outrageous things, and in particular to drag her brothers from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus and put them to death. And finally he left Plancus in the province of Asia and Saxa in Syria and departed for Egypt. This action was chiefly responsible for many disturbances: the inhabitants of the island of Arados paid no heed to the agents sent them by him to secure money, and even went so far as to kill some of them, and the Parthians, who had previously been active, now assailed the Romans more than ever. Their leaders were Labienus and Pacorus, the latter being a son of King Orodes and the former a son of Titus Labienus. The manner of Labienus' coming among the Parthians, and what he did in conjunction with Pacorus, was as follows. He was an ally of Brutus and Cassius, and having before the battle been sent to Orodes to secure some reinforcements, was detained by him a long time while the king was waiting the turn of events and hesitating to join forces with him, yet fearing to

1 According to our other sources it was her sister Arsinoe who was dragged from a sanctuary to her death, after her young brother had been poisoned by Cleopatra. And Dio himself has already implied (xlii. 43, 4) that there was but one brother living after Caesar's victory.
6 σασθαί. καὶ μετὰ τὸῦτο ὡς ἢ τε ἀγγελία τῆς ἡττης ἀφίκετο καὶ οἱ κρατήσαντες ἐδοκοῦν μηδενὸς τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων σφίσι φείσεσθαί,1 κατεμείναι παρὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους, τὸν μετ' αὐτῶν βίον πρὸ τοῦ οἷκου ὀλέθρου προτιμήσας. οὕτως οὖν ὁ Δαβίδης ἐπείδη τάχιστα τὴν τε ἐκλυσιν τοῦ Ἀντώνιοι καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα τὴν τε ἐς τὴν Λίγυπτον ὑσθετο, ἐπείσε τὸν Πάρθουν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχειρήσαι. τὰ τε γὰρ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν παντελῶς ἐφθάρθαι τὰ δὲ κεκακώσθαι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐν στάσει τε εἶναι καὶ πολεμήσειν αὐθίς ἑφι' κακὸ τοῦτο παρῆνεσαν αὐτῷ τὴν τε Σωρίαν καὶ τὰ ὅμορα αὐτὴ καταστρέψασθαι, ἐν ὧν Καίσαρ μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ περὶ τῶν Σέξτων ἀσχολίαν ὤγει, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἐν τῇ Λίγυπτῳ ἡμα. ὄγμων τὸ ὑπέσχετο τοῦ πολέμου γενήσεσθαι, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἔθνων, ἀτε καὶ ἀλλοτρίως τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὴν συνεχὴ κάκωσιν ἔχοντα, μεταστῆσειν ἐπηγγείλατο.

25 Τοιαῦτ' οὖν εἶπών, καὶ πείσας αὐτῶν πολεμήσαι, καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ τὸν νόον αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πάκορου ἑπτράπη, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Φοινίκην ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀπάμειαν προσελάσας τοῦ μὲν τείχους ἀπεκρούσθη, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ φρουροὺς ἐθελοῦντας προσέβετο. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν τῷ τε Κασσίῳ καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ συνεστρατευμένων ἠσσαν' ἐς τε γὰρ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ στρατόπεδα Ἀντώνιος αὐτῶν κατέταξε, καὶ τότε τὴν Σωρίαν ὡς καὶ ἐμπείρως αὐτῆς ἔχοντας φρουρεῖν ἐκέλευσε, τούτους τε οὖν ὁ Δαβίδης Ῥαδίως ὡς καὶ συνήθεις

1 φείσεσθαι H. Steph., φείσεσθαι LM.
2 ἀσχολίαν cod. Peir., ἀσχολία LM.
refuse. Later, when the news of the defeat reached him, and it appeared to be the intention of the victors to spare none who had resisted them, Labienus remained among the barbarians, choosing to live with them rather than to perish at home. Now as soon as Labienus was aware of Antony’s demoralization, of his passion, and of his departure for Egypt, he persuaded the Parthian king to make an attack upon the Romans. For he declared their armies were either destroyed utterly or impaired, while the remainder of the troops were in a state of mutiny and would again be at war; and he accordingly advised the king to subjugate Syria and the adjoining districts, while Caesar was busy in Italy with Sextus and Antony was indulging his passion in Egypt. He promised to assume command in the war, and assured Orodes that if allowed to follow this course he would detach many of the provinces, inasmuch as they were already estranged from the Romans through the constant ill-treatment they had experienced.

By these arguments Labienus persuaded Orodes to wage war and was entrusted by him with a large force and with the king’s son Pacorus. With them he invaded Phoenicia, and advancing against Apamea, he was repulsed from its walls but won the garrisons in the country to his side without resistance. For these garrisons consisted of troops that had served with Brutus and Cassius; Antony had incorporated them in his own forces and at this time had assigned them to garrison Syria because they knew the country. So Labienus easily won over all these men, since they were well acquainted with
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

οἱ άντα, πλην τοῦ Σάξου τοῦ τότε αυτῶν ἠγουμένου, ἐσφετερίσατο (ἐκεῖνος γὰρ καὶ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ στρατιάρχου ὦν καὶ ταμείων μονός αὐτῷ οὐ προσεχόρησε), καὶ τὸν Σάξαν τὸν ἀρχοντα μάχη τε ἐκ παρατάξεως καὶ τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῇ ἁρετῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἐνίκησε, καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ ἐκδράντα νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς ταφρείας ἐπεδίωξεν· ὁ γὰρ Σάξας φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ οἱ συνόντες οἱ τα τοῦ Λαβιήνου, ὕπαγομένου σφᾶς διὰ βιβλίων τινῶν ὅ ἐστο στρατόπεδου ἐσετόξευε, φρονήσωσιν, ἐφυγεν. καταλαβὼν οὖν αὐτοῦς ὁ Λαβιήνος τοὺς μὲν πλείους ἐφθείρε, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Σάξου ἐστὶν Ἀντιόχειαν διαφυγόντος τὴν τε Ἀπάμειαν, οὔδεν ἐτί ὡς καὶ τεθνεώτος αὐτοῦ ἀντάρασαι, ἔλαβε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐκλειψάσεις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρεστήσατο, καὶ τέλος καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐς Κιλικίαν φυγόντα ἐπιδιώξας καὶ συλλαβόν ἄπεκτεινε.

26 τελευταίοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ μὲν Πάκορος τὴν Συρίαν ἐχειροῦτο, καὶ πᾶσαν γε αὐτὴν πλὴν Τύρου κατεστρέψατο· ταύτην γὰρ οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ περιλεῖπεις καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι οἱ ὀμοφρονοῦντες σφισί προκατέλαβον, καὶ οὔτ' ἀναπεισθήναι οὔτε βιασθήναι (ναυτικῶν γὰρ οὐδὲν εἰχεν) ἡδύνη.

2 θησαυρὸν μὲν οὐν ἀνάλωτοι ἐμειναν· τὰ δ' ἀλλα ὁ Πάκορος λαβὼν ἐς Παλαιστίνην ἐσέβαλε, καὶ τὸν τε Τρκανῶν, ὃς τότε τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτραπεῖς εἰχεν, ἐπαυσα, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἀρ-

1 εἴχεν Reim., εἴχεν I.M.  
2 ἐσέβαλε M, ἐσέβαλλε L.

1 This is an error either of Dio or of some scribe. The person who was made king of the Jews at this time was Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus and nephew of Hyrcanus.
him, with the exception of Saxa, their leader at the time, who was brother of the general Saxa as well as quaestor and therefore refused to go over to the other side, being the only one who did; and Saxa the general he conquered in a pitched battle through the superior numbers and ability of his own cavalry, and when the other later on made a dash by night from his intrenchments, he pursued him. The reason why Saxa fled was that he feared his associates would take up with the cause of Labienus, who was trying to lure them away by means of pamphlets which he kept shooting into Saxa's camp. Now when Labienus overtook the fugitives, he slew most of them, and then, when Saxa made his escape to Antioch, he captured Apamea, which no longer resisted, since the inhabitants believed that Saxa was dead; and subsequently he brought Antioch also to terms, now that Saxa had abandoned it, and finally, after pursuing the fugitive into Cilicia, he seized Saxa himself and put him to death. After the death of Saxa, Pacorus made himself master of Syria and subdued all of it except Tyre; but that city had already been occupied by the Romans who survived and by the natives who were in sympathy with them, and neither persuasion could prevail against them nor force, since Pacorus had no fleet. They accordingly continued to be proof against capture, but Pacorus secured all the rest of Syria. He then invaded Palestine and deposed Hyrcanus, who was at the moment in charge of affairs there, having been appointed by the Romans, and in his stead set up his brother Aristobulus as a ruler because of the See Josephus, Ant. xiv. 13, 9-10; Bell. Jud. i. 13, 9-11; compare Dio's own statements in chap. 41, below, and also in xliv. 22.
3 χοιτά κατὰ τὸ ἐκεῖνῳν ἔχθος ἀντικατέστησεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Δαβίδης ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τὸν Κιλικίαν κατ-έσχε, καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας πόλεις (ὁ γὰρ Πλάγκος φοβηθεὶς αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς νῆσους ἐπεραιώθη) παρεστήσατο πλὴν Στράτωνικείας, τὰ μὲν πλείστα ἄνευ πολέμου, Μύλασα δὲ καὶ Ἀλά-βανδα διὰ κινδύνων ἔλον. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐδέξαντο μὲν παρ’ αὐτῶν φρούρους, φονεύσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν ἕφετῇ τινι ἀπέστησαν καὶ διὰ τούτῳ τοὺς μὲν Ἀλαβανδέας αὐτοὺς 1 λαβὼν ἐκόλασε, τὰ δὲ δὴ Μύλασα 2 ἐκλειφθέντα κατέσκαψε. τῇ γὰρ Στρατονικείᾳ προσήδρευσε μὲν πολίν χρόνον, οὐδένα δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπον ἔλεγαν ἠδυνήθη.

5 Καὶ ο μὲν χρήματα τε ἐπὶ τούτων ἐπράσετο καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἑσύλα, αὐτοκράτορα τε αὐτῶν καὶ Παρθικόν γε ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντιωτάτου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔθους ὅνομαζεν φησὶν γὰρ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐπήγγει, ἀπὸ τούτων ἐαυτῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐκείνους ἄλλ’ οὐ τους πολι-27 τας νικῶν, ἐπεκάλει. Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἐπυνθάνετο μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ὅσπερ που καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ δρόμωνα (οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ παράπαν ἤγνοει), οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ καρδὸν οὐδέτεροι ἦμυνεν, ἄλλ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης οὗτο τῶν συμμάχων τι οὕτε τῶν πολεμίων 2 εὑρόντων. τέως μὲν γὰρ κάτω τε ἐτέστακτο καὶ τῶν πρωτείων ἐφίτευ, ἐντόνως τοῖς πράγμασι προσ-εἰχεν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ κράτει ἐγένετο, οὐκέτ’ οὐδέ-1 αὐτῶν Kuiper, αὕτη ΙΜ. 2 Μύλασα Βκ., μύλασα ΙΜ.
enmity existing between them. In the meantime Labienus had occupied Cilicia and had obtained the allegiance of the cities of the mainland except Stratonicea, since Plancus, in fear of him, had crossed over to the islands; most of the places he took without conflict, but for Mylasa and Alabanda he had to fight. For although these cities had accepted garrisons from him, they murdered them on the occasion of a festival and revolted; and because of this he punished the people of Alabanda when he had captured it, and razed to the ground the town of Mylasa after it had been abandoned. As for Stratonicea, he besieged it for a long time, but was unable to capture it in any way.

Now in consequence of these successes Labienus proceeded to levy money and to rob the temples; and he styled himself imperator and Parthicus, in the latter respect acting directly contrary to the Roman custom, in that he took his title from those whom he was leading against the Romans, as if it were the Parthians and not his fellow-citizens that he was defeating. As for Antony, although he kept himself informed of all these operations, as no doubt he did in the case of what was going on in Italy also (for he was ignorant of none of them whatsoever), yet he failed in both instances to take defensive measures in time; instead, he was so under the sway of his passion and of his drunkenness that he gave not a thought either to his allies or to his enemies. It is indeed true that he had earnestly devoted himself to his duties so long as he had been in a subordinate station and had been aiming at the highest prizes, but now that he had got into power, he no longer paid strict attention to any of these
νόσιν αυτῶν ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμελήθη, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε Κλεο-
πάτρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις συνετρύφα, 3 μέχρις ὦ
παντελῶς κατελύθη. ὅψε δ' οὖν ποτὲ ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐξαναστήναι ἐπέλευσε μὲν πρὸς τὴν Ἡσ-
τίρον ὡς καὶ βοηθήσων σφίσιν, ἰδὼν δὲ δὴ τὰ ἀλλά προκατειλημμένα ἐγκατέληπτεν αὐτούς, πρό-
φασιν τὸν τοῦ Σέξτου πόλεμον ποιησάμενος· καὶ
tοι καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνου ¹ βραδυτήτος τὰ τῶν
4 Πάρθων σκηπτόμενος προεβάλλετο, καὶ οὕτως
οὔτε τοῖς συμμάχοις διὰ τὸν Σέξτου δῆδεν οὔτε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ δὲ ἐκείνους ἐπεκούρησεν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρὸν μέχρι τῆς Ἀσίας παρακομισθής ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα διεβαλε, κανταῦθα τῇ τε μιτρὶ καὶ τῇ γνωαι κυμβᾶς τὸν τε Καίσαρα πολέμιον ἐποιή-
sατο καὶ τῷ Σέξτῳ φιλιᾶν ἐσπείσατο. καὶ μετὰ
tοῦτο ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθεὶς Σειφοῦντα ² μὲν ἔσχε, Βρεντέσιον δὲ μὴ ἑθελήσαν ὁ προσχωρήσαι ἐπολιόρκει.
28 Πράσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ὁ Καίσαρ τάς τε δυ-
νάμεις (ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Γαλατίας ἥδη παρῆν) ἠθροίσε,
c καὶ Πούπλιον ³ μὲν Σερουίλιον Ῥόγλου πρὸς Βρε-
tέσιον, Ἀγρίππαν δὲ ἐπὶ Σειφοῦντα ² ἑπεμψε· καὶ οὕτως μὲν βίᾳ τὴν πόλιν ἑλε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σερουίλῳ ὁ Ἀυτώριος ἔξασίζης προσπεσὼν πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφθει-
2 πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παρεστήσατο. συνεργοῦτον
tε ὀνύν αὐτῶν ⁴ ἐσ τοῦ πόλεμον, καὶ διαπεμπόντων
c πρὸς τε τὰς πόλεις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἑστρατευμένους,
c ὀπὸθεν τινὰ ὀφελίαν ⁵ προσλήψεσθαι ἐνόμιζον, ἢ
tε ἅλλη Ἦταλία αὕτης ἑταράσσετο καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη

¹ ἐκείνου Leunel., ἐκείνου LM cod. Peir.
² σειφοῦντα LM; but Dio probably wrote σειφοῦντα, the
regular Greek form. ³ Πούπλιον R. Steph., πούπλιον LM.
⁴ οὖν αὐτῶν M, οὐτῶν L. ⁵ ὀφελίαν Ba., ὀφελίαν LM.
276
things, but joined Cleopatra and the Egyptians in general in their life of luxurious ease until he was entirely demoralized. So when at last he was forced to bestir himself, he sailed to Tyre with the intention of aiding it, but on seeing that the rest of Syria had already been occupied before his coming, he left the inhabitants to their fate, on the pretext that he had to wage war against Sextus; and yet he excused his dilatoriness with regard to the latter by alleging his business with the Parthians. And thus on account of Sextus, as he pretended, he gave no assistance to his allies, and none to Italy on account of his allies, but coasted along the mainland as far as Asia and crossed to Greece. There, after meeting his mother and wife, he made Caesar his enemy and made an alliance with Sextus. After this he went over to Italy, got possession of Sipontum, and proceeded to besiege Brundisium, which had refused to come to terms with him.

While he was thus engaged, Caesar, who had already arrived from Gaul, had collected his forces and had sent Publius Servilius Rullus to Brundisium and Agrippa against Sipontum. Agrippa took the city by storm, but Servilius was suddenly attacked by Antony, who destroyed many of his men and won many over. The two leaders thus broke out into open war and were sending messages to the various cities and to the veterans, wherever they thought they could get any aid; and all Italy was again thrown into turmoil, especially Rome, and some were
ὅτι μάλιστα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἢδη πρὸς ἑκάτερον μεθίσταντο, οἱ δὲ ἐμελλον. μετεώρων δὲ αὐτῶν τε ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν συμπολεμησόντων σφίσιν ὄντων, 3 ἡ Φουλονία ἐν Σικυόνι, ἐν ᾗ ἦν, εὐτελεύτησε. καὶ αἰτίαν μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῆς πρὸς τέ τοῦ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνης ἀσέλγειαν ἔσχεν ὡς δ’ οὖν τοῦτ’ ἤγγελθη, τὰ τε ὅπλα ἀμφότεροι κατέθεντο καὶ συνηλάγησαν, εἰτ’ οὖν ὄντως ἐκπολεμοῦμενοι πρότερον ὑπὸ τῆς Φουλονίας, εἰτε καὶ πρόφασιν τὸν θανατον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ παρ’ ἄλληλων δεός, ὡστε καὶ ἀντιπάλους καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες, ποιησάμενοι, κἀν τοῦτον Καῖσαρ μὲν Σαρδόν τε καὶ Δελματίαν 3 την τε Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ πάντα τάλλα τὰ ὑπέρ τοῦ Ἰόνιον, τά τε ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ καὶ τά ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα, ἀπέλαξε τά τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Διβύῃ ἔθνη τοῦ Λέπιδος καὶ τὴν Σικυλίαν ὁ Σέξτος εἶχε.

29 Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἄρχην οὕτως αὐθίς διεδάσαντο, τὸν δὲ δὴ πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἐκοινώσαντο, καὶ τοῦ Ἀντώνιον ὄρκους πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ τῷ Καῖσαρι πεποιημένουι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γε  ύπὸ ἦκιστα  ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπὲμεινε πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ κατὰ τὸν Δουκίον τοῦ τοῦ Ἀντώνιου ἀδελφὸν μεταστάντας πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν  γε  τῶν σφαγέων ἐστὶν οὐς ὄντας, ἄλλους τε καὶ τῶν Δομίτιου, πάντας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐκτεθέντας ἐν τοὺς λευκόμασιν, ἥ καὶ ἄλλως ποι ὑπὸ τῷ τῷ Βρούτῳ καὶ τῷ Κασσίῳ συμ-

1 ὁ ἢ ἐκ. τοῦ τοῦ ἀρ. ἢ ἐκ. τοῦ τοῦ ἀρ.
2 τοῦ τοῦ νε. τοῦ τοῦ καί. τοῦ τοῦ καί.
3 Δελματίαν τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ καί. τοῦ τοῦ καί.
4 τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ λ. τοῦ τοῦ λ.
already choosing one side or the other, and others were hesitating. While the leaders themselves and those who were to assist them in the war were in a state of suspense, Fulvia died in Sicilyon, where she had been staying. And although Antony was held responsible for her death because of his passion for Cleopatra and her wantonness, nevertheless, when this news was announced, both sides laid down their arms and effected a reconciliation, either because Fulvia had really been the cause of their variance hitherto or because they chose to make her death an excuse, in view of the fear which each inspired in the other, inasmuch as the forces which they had, as well as their ambitions, were equally matched. By the arrangement then made Caesar received Sardinia, Dalmatia, Spain, and Gaul, and Antony all the districts that belonged to the Romans across the Ionian Sea, both in Europe and in Asia; as for the provinces in Africa, they were of course still held by Lepidus, and Sicily by Sextus.

They accordingly divided the empire anew in this way and undertook in common the war against Sextus, although Antony through messengers had taken oaths by which he had bound himself to Sextus against Caesar. And it was chiefly for this reason that Caesar brought himself to receive, under a general amnesty, all those who had gone over to Antony in the war with Lucius, Antony's brother,—among them being Domitius and some of the other assassins of Caesar,—as well as all those whose names had been posted on the tablets or had in any way co-operated.
πολεμήσαντας καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ τοῦ Ἀντώνιου
3 πράξαντας, καταδέξασθαι ἐπ’ ἄδεια. τοσοῦτος
μὲν ὃ καὶ τῶν στάσεων καὶ τῶν πολέμων παρὰ-
λογὸς ἔστι, δικὴ μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν τὰ πράγματα
ἐχοντων νομιζόντων, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὰς τε ἁρείας
καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα σφών τὸ τε φίλιον καὶ τὸ
πολέμιον ἐξεταζόντων, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ τοὺς αὐτοὺς
tοτὲ μὲν ἔχθροις τοτὲ δὲ ἐπιτηδεῖοις σφίζι πρὸς
τῶν καίρων ἡγομένων.

30 Συνθέμενοι δ’ οὖν ταῦτ’ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις
toῖς περὶ τὸ Βρεττέσιον εἰστίσασαν ἄλληλους,
Καῖσαρ μὲν στρατιωτικὸς τε καὶ ῥωμαϊκὸς,
2 Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἀσιανὸς τε καὶ αἰγυπτιώς.
κατηλλαγμένοι δὲ αὐτῶν, ὡς γε ἐδόκουν, περιστάντες
τῶν Ἀντώνιον οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ τότε τῷ Καῖσαρι
συνόντες ἀπῆτουν παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὰ χρήματα ἀ πρὸ
tῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππους γενομένης
ὑπέσχοντο σφίζι: δὲ ἂ καὶ ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσιας, ὅπως
3 ὃτι πλεῖστα ἀθροίσειν, ἐσταλτὸ. καὶ ἐξειρρή-
σαντό τι αὐτῶν μηδὲν διδόντα, εἰ μὴ σφᾶς ὁ
Καῖσαρ ἐπελίπεσαν πη κατέσχε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
τοὺς τε ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὰς
ἀποκιάς, μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον στασιάσωσιν, ἐξε-
4 πεμψαν, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἡπτόντο. ὁ γὰρ Σέξτος
ἥλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας
tὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον οἱ γενομένας ὡς καὶ τῷ
Καῖσαρι μετ’ αὐτοῦ πολεμήσων, μαθὼν δὲ τὴν
σύμβασιν σφῶν αὐτῶς μὲν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀνε
κομίσθη, Μηνὰ δὲ ἐξελευθέρων οἱ, ὃ πάνυ προσέ
κειτο, ἐκελευσθε γερὲ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ περιπλέοντι

2 δὲ ἂ cod. Peir., διὰ LM.
with Brutus and Cassius and had later embraced the cause of Antony. So great, indeed, is the perversity that reigns in factional strife and war; for men in power take no account of justice, but determine on friend and foe according as their own interests and advantage at the time dictate, and accordingly they regard the same men, now as their enemies, now as their friends, according to the occasion.

When they had reached this agreement in their camps at Brundisium, they entertained each other at banquets, Caesar in military and Roman fashion and Antony in Asiatic and Egyptian style. And now that they had become reconciled, as it appeared, the soldiers who were at that time with Caesar surrounded Antony and demanded of him the money which the two had promised them before the battle of Philippi; and, indeed, it was for this that he had been sent into Asia, in order to collect as much as possible. And when he failed to give them anything, they would certainly have done him some harm, if Caesar had not restrained them by inspiring them somehow with new hopes. After this experience, in order to guard against further unruliness, they sent the superannuated soldiers to the colonies, and then took up the war. For Sextus had come to Italy in accordance with the agreement he had made with Antony, intending, with Antony’s help, to wage war against Caesar; but when he learned of their agreement he himself went back to Sicily, and ordered Menas, a freedman of his to whom he was altogether devoted, to coast about with a portion of the fleet and injure

\[\text{Cf. chap. 2, 2.}\]
5 κακουργεῖν τὰ τῶν ἑναντίων. καὶ ὃς τῆς τε Τυρσηνίας πολλὰ ἐκάκωσε, καὶ Μάρκον Τίτιον Τίτιον, τῶν τε ἐπικηρυχθέντων καὶ τότε τῷ Σέξτῳ συνόντων, ύδυν ὅτα καὶ ναῦς ἐπὶ ἰδίᾳ δυναστείᾳ συγκροτοῦντα, κάν τῷ Ναρβωνησίῳ ἔθνει ναύλο-6 χοῦντα, ἐξώγρησε. καὶ ὃς ἐπαθεῖ μὲν κακὸν οὐδέν (διὰ τε γὰρ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ διότι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Σέξτου ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν οἱ στρατιώται αὐτοῦ ἐφερον, ἐσώθη), οὐ μέντοι καὶ καλῶς τὸν εὐεργέτην ἡμείσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατεπολέμησεν αὐτὸν καὶ κατεφόνευσεν, ὡστε καὶ τοὺτ' ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα 7 τῶν ὀμοίων μνημονεύθηναι. ὁ δ' οὖν Μηνᾶς ταῦτα τὲ οὕτως ἐπράξε, καὶ ἐπὶ Σαρδῶ πλεύσας συνέβαλε Μάρκῳ Λουρίῳ τῷ ἀρχοντὶ αὐτής, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐτράπετο, ἐπειτα δὲ παρὰ δόξαι αὐτοῦ ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπιδιώκοντα ὑποστάς ἀντε-8 πεκράτησε. καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἐκλιπόντος αὐτοῦ τὴν νῆσον κατέσχε τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ ὀμολογία, τὴν δὲ Κάραλιν1 πολιορκίας: συχνοὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐς αὐτὴν κατεπεφύγεσαν. τῶν γε μὴν ἄλοντων ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἔλενον, ἐξελεύθερον τε τὸν Καίσαρος ὄντα καὶ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα, ἀφῆκεν ἀνεν λύτρων, εὐεργεσίαν τε ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα πόρρωθεν προκατατιθέμενος καὶ καταφυγήν έαυτῷ προπαρασκευάζων, εἴ τι παρ' αὐτὸν δειθεὶς.

31 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπολε: οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ, ὡς ἡ τε Σαρδῶ εἶχετο καὶ ἡ παραλία ἐπορθεῖτο,

1 Κάραλιν Palmerius, ἀραδὼν LΜ.
the property of his opponents. Menas, accordingly, 

ravaged many parts of Etruria and captured Marcus 

Titius, the son of Titius who was one of the pro-

scribed and was then on the side of Sextus; this son 
had got together some ships in the interest of 
his own supremacy and had taken up his station 
off the province of Narbonensis. This Titius suffered 
no harm, for on his father’s account, and because 
his soldiers carried the name of Sextus on their 
shields, his life was spared; yet he did not recom-
pense his benefactor fairly, but, on the contrary, 
defeated him in battle and finally slew him, so that 
his conduct in this matter is remembered among 
the most notable examples of its kind. Now after 
Menas had accomplished all this as described, he 
sailed to Sardinia and engaged in a conflict with 
Marcus Lurius, the governor there; and at first he 
was routed, but later, when the other was pursuing 
him heedlessly, he awaited his attack and turned the 
tables upon Lurius by winning an unexpected victory 
over him. Thereupon Lurius abandoned the island 
and Menas occupied it, taking all the places by 
capitulation, except Caralis, which he took by siege; 
for many fugitives from the battle had taken refuge 
there. He released without ransom several of the 
captives, including Helenus, a freedman of Caesar, 
who stood in high favour with his master, thus laying 
up for himself with Caesar a store of kindness 
against some future time and preparing a refuge for 
himself, if he should ever need anything at Caesar’s 
hands.

Menas, then, was so employed; but as for the 
people in Rome, they would no longer hold their 
peace, inasmuch as Sardinia was in hostile hands, the
τῆς τε σιτοπομπίας ἔστέρηντο, καὶ ὁ λιμός τά τε τέλη πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα καθιστάμενα καὶ προσέτι καὶ συντελεία τοῖς τοὺς δούλους ἔχουσι
2 προστασσόμεναι δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἔλυπουν, οὐκέθ' ἡσύχαζον, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος καταλλαγαί, ὡς καὶ σφέτερας εἰρήνης τῆς ἐκείνων ὁμοιότατος ὀφέις, ἒσθησαν, τοσοῦτον ἥ καὶ πλεῖον ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον
3 σφῶν πολέμῳ ἡσχάλλον. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε ἐπὶ τε ἱππῶν αὐτοὺς ὅσπερ ἐν ἐπινικίως τισιν ἐσαγαγόντες, καὶ τῇ νικητρίᾳ στολῆ ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς πέμψασιν αὐτὰ κοσμήσαντες, τάς τε πανηγύρεις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχικῶν δίφρων θεωρεῖν ποιήσαντες, καὶ τὴν 'Οκταούνιαν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, ἐπείδὴ ὁ ἀνήρ αὐτῆς
4 ἐτετελευτήκει, καὶ κνοῦσαν προμνησάμενοι, τοσαύτη μεταβολή ἐχρήσαντο 2 ὡστε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατὰ συντάσσεις γυμνόμενοι ἡ καὶ ἐπὶ θέαν τινὰ ἀθροίζομενοι παρεκάλουν σφᾶς εἰρηνήσαι καὶ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπεβόων, ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, ἡλλοτριώθησαν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸν
5 Σέξτον ἀπέκλιναν. καὶ ἀλλὰ τε ἐπὶ θεραπεία αὐτοῦ διεθρόνυν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις κρότῳ τε πολλῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀγάλμα πομπεύουν ἐτίμων καὶ ἰδονήν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο. ἐπεὶ 3 τε ἡμέραι τοῖς οὖν ἐσήχθη, τοὺς τε ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς δυνα λίθως ἐκ τῆς ἁγορᾶς ἐξῆλθαν καὶ ἐκείνων τὰς εἰκόνας κατέβαλον, καὶ τέλος,

1 τάς τε Louncl., ἐτὶ τάς I.M. 2 ἐχρήσαντο L, ἐχρήσατο M. 3 ἐπεὶ Xyl., ἐτὶ I.M.
coast was being pillaged, and they had had their corn supply cut off, while the famine, the great number of taxes of all sorts which were being imposed, and in addition contributions assessed upon such as possessed slaves, all irritated them greatly. Much as they were pleased with the reconciliation of Antony and Caesar,—for they thought that harmony between these men meant peace for themselves,—they were equally or even more displeased at the war which the two men were carrying on against Sextus. But a short time before they had brought the two rulers into the city mounted on horses as if at a triumph, had bestowed upon them the triumphal dress just as upon those who celebrated triumphs, had allowed them to view the festivals seated upon their chairs of state, and had espoused to Antony Caesar’s sister, Octavia, now that her husband was dead, though she was pregnant; at the present time, however, they changed their behaviour to a remarkable degree. At first, when they met at various gatherings or came together to witness a spectacle, they would urge Antony and Caesar to secure peace, and at this they raised loud shouts of approval; and when these leaders would not heed them, they were alienated from them and favoured Sextus. They not only kept up a general talk to foster his interests, but also at the games in the Circus honoured by loud applause the statue of Neptune carried in the procession, thus expressing their great delight in him.\(^1\) And when on certain days it was not brought out, they took stones and drove the magistrates from the Forum, threw down the statues of Caesar and Antony, and finally,

\(^1\) Cf. chap. 19.
ἐπειδὴ μηδ' ὡς τι ἐπεραίνετο, σπουδῇ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
6 ὡς καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες σφας ὄρμησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν
Καῖσαρ, καίτοι πρωθέντων τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτῶν ὄντων,
tὴν τε ἐσθήτα περιερρήξατο καὶ πρὸς ἰκετεῖαν
αὐτῶν ἐτράπετο, ὦ δ' Ἀντώνιος βιαίωτερόν σφιστ
προσηνέχθη. καὶ διὰ τούτο ὅτι μάλιστα ὁρμη-
σθέντων τῇ σφων καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ δεινὸν τῇ πρα-
ξει προσδοκηθέντων, ἡναγκάσθησαν τῷ Σέξτῳ
καὶ ἄκοντες ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι.

32 Καὶ τούτῳ τούς τε στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς ὑπά-
tους, καίτερ ἐπ' ἔξοδῳ ἡδὴ τοῦ ἐτους ὄντος, παύ-
σαντες ἄλλους ἀντικατέστησαν, βραχὺ φροντί-
σαντες εἰ καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἁρξοῦσι. καὶ
eἰς γε τῶν τότε ὑπατευσάντων Δούκιος Κορηῆλιος
Βάλβος ἐγένετο, Γαδερεύς τε ὁν καὶ πλούτω καὶ
μεγαλονοία τοσοῦτον τοὺς καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἀνθρώ-
πους ὑπερενεγκὼν ὡστε καὶ δωρεάν τοῖς Ῥω-
μαίοις ἀνὰ πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι δραχμὰς τελευτῶν
3 καταλατεῖν. τούτῳ τε ὅν ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ
tελευταῖα τοῦ ἐτους ἡμέρα ἄγορανόμοι τινὸς ἀπο-
θαυνότος ἐτερον ἐς τὰς λοιπὰς ὡρας ἁνθελλοντο. καὶ
τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ τὸ τε ὑδά τι τῷ Ἰουλίου
4 ὄνομασμένον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπωχετεύθη, καὶ ἡ
παρήγυρις ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς σφα-
γέας εὐχθείσα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐποιήθη. τὰ τε
toῖς ἐπτα ἀνδράσιν ὄνομασμένοις προσήκοντα οἱ
ποντὺφικες, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς ἐκείνων παρῆν, ἐπετε-
λεσαν καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγένετο.

33 Ταυτά τε ὅν ὅντως ἐν τῷ ἐτεὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐπράξθη,
when they could not accomplish anything even in this way, they rushed violently upon those men as if to kill them. Caesar, although his followers were wounded, rent his garments and betook himself to supplicating them, whereas Antony bore himself with more violence toward them; and when, chiefly because of this, the people became angered and it was feared that they would even commit some act of violence in consequence, the two were forced against their will to make overtures to Sextus.

Meanwhile Caesar and Antony removed the praetors and the consuls, although it was now near the close of the year, and appointed others instead, caring little that these would remain in office but a few days. One of those who at this time became consuls was Lucius Cornelius Balbus, of Gades, who so far surpassed the men of his generation in wealth and munificence that at his death he left a bequest of one hundred sesterces to each Roman citizen. They not only did this, but when an aedile died on the last day of the year, they chose another to fill out the remaining hours. It was at this same time that the Aqua Iulia, as it was called, was brought into Rome and the festival that had been vowed for the completion of the war against the assassins of Caesar was celebrated by the consuls. The duties belonging to the college called the Septemviri were performed by the pontifices, since no member of the college was present; this was also done on many other occasions afterwards.

Besides these events which took place that year
καὶ Σφαῖρον ὁ Καίσαρ παιδαγωγὸν τε καὶ ἐξελευθέρων αὐτοῦ γενόμενον δημοσίᾳ ἔθαψε. τὸν τε Ῥοῦφον τὸν Σαλουιδεῖρον ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσαντά
2 οἱ ἀπέκτεινεν. οὕτως δὲ ἦν μὲν εἷς ἀφανεστάτων, καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ κεφαλὴ ποιμαίνοντι φλόγα ἀνέδωκεν· ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ ὕπο τοῦ Καίσαρος προῆκεν ὡστε αὐτὸν τε ὑπατον μηδὲ βουλεύοντα ἀποδειχθῆναι, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ προαποθανόντα διὰ τοῦ Τιμήριδος, γεφύρας ἔπο αὐτὸ τούτο ποιηθεῖσιν, 3 ἐξενεχθῆναι. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων βεβαιόν ἐστι, κατηγορήθη τε ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ὡς πολέμοις ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἐσφάγη, ιερομνήμι οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο, καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ τῆς πόλεως τῶν τρισιν ἀνδράσι μετὰ τῆς εἰθισμένης προσθήκης, τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτὴς ἀποτριβήναι, ἐπετράπῃ. 4 ἐν τῇ τῷ πρὸ τοῦτο ἔτει θηρία τε ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀπολλωνίων ἱπποδρομία ἄνδρες ἐς τὴν ἵππαδα τελούντες κατέβαλον, καὶ ἡμέρα ἐμμὸλμος παρὰ τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐνέβλιθη, ἵνα μὴ ἡ νουμερία τοῦ ἐχομένου ἑτοὺς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἡμερῶν ἀγομένην λάβῃ, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνω ἀρχαίου σφόδρα ἐφυλάσσετο· καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ἀνθυφηρέθη αὐτὶς, ὅπως ὁ χρόνος κατὰ τὰ τῷ 5 Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ δόξαντα συμβῆ. Κάστορι τὲ τινὶ ἦ τε τοῦ Ἀτταλοῦ καὶ ἥ τοῦ Δημιοτάρου ἀρχὴ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ τελευταίων ἐδόθη· καὶ οἱ νόμοι οἱ Φαλείδιος ὁ ὁνομασμένος, πλείστην καὶ νῦν ἐντὸς ἕστε τῶν κληρῶν διαδοχᾶς, ὡστε τῶν τοῦ τέταρτον τῆς καταλειψθείσης οἱ οὐσίας. ἂν γε

1 Ἀπολλωνίων ΒΑ., ἀπολλωνίων ΙΜ.
Caesar gave a public funeral to Sphaerus, who had been his attendant in childhood and had been given his freedom. Also he put to death Salvidienus Rufus, whom he suspected of having plotted against him. This man was of most obscure origin, and once while he was tending his flocks a flame had issued from his head; but he had been so greatly advanced by Caesar as to be made consul without even being a member of the senate, and his brother who died before him had been laid to rest across the Tiber, after a bridge had been constructed for this very purpose. But nothing in the life of man is lasting, and he was finally accused in the senate by Caesar himself and slain as an enemy both of him and of the entire people; thanksgivings were offered for his downfall and furthermore the care of the city was committed to the triumvirs with the customary admonition "that it should suffer no harm." In the year preceding this, men belonging to the order of knights had slaughtered wild beasts at the games in the Circus on the occasion of the Ludi Apollinares, and an intercalary day had been inserted, contrary to the rule, in order that the first day of the succeeding year should not coincide with the market held every nine days—a clash which had always been strictly guarded against from very early times. Naturally the day had to be subtracted again later, in order that the calendar should run according to the system devised by the former Caesar. The domains of Attalus and of Deiotarus, who had both died in Galatia, were given to a certain Castor. Also the law which went by the name of the Lex Falcidia, a law which is in full force even to-day in the matter of the succession to inheritances, was enacted by Publius Falcidius while tribune; its terms are, that if an heir
τη βαρύνσαται, λαβόντα τὸ λοιπὸν ἄφεναι, ἔχον, ὑπὸ Πουπλίου Φαλεάδιου δημαρχοῦντος ἑτέβη.

34 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς δύο ἔτεσιν ἐγένετο, τῷ δ' ἐπυγιγομένῳ, ἐν δ' Δούκιος τε Μάρκιος καὶ Γάιος Σαβίνου ὑπάτευσαν, τὰ τε ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἄνδρῶν πραξθέντα ἀφ' οὗ ἐς τὴν ὀλγαρχίαν ἐσῆθεν τὸ κύρος παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλαβε, καὶ τελῇ τινὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσκατέστη 1 διὰ τὸ τὰ ἀναλῶματα πολλῷ πλεῖον ἦπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος ἔτεστακτο ἡγίασθαι πάμπολλα γὰρ αὐτοῖ καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας δαπανῶντες ἡσχύνοντο 2 μόνον 3 παρὰ τὸ καθεσθικὸς ἀναλίσκουτε. ἀμέλει τὸν πόγονα ὁ Καίσαρ τότε πρῶτον ξυράμενος αὐτὸς τε μεγάλους ἐώρασε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασι δημοτελὴ ἑορτὴν παρέσχε, καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐπειτά ἐπελειοῦτο 4 τὸ γένειον, ὡσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἡδί γὰρ καὶ τῆς Διονύσιας ἔραν ἥρχετο, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τὴν Σκριβωνίαν τεκούσαν οἱ θυγάτριοι ἀπεπέρφωσον αὐθήμερον. τῶν δ' οὖν ἀναλωμάτων πολὺ μειζόνων ἢ πρότερον γιγνομένων, καὶ τῶν προσόδων ὑπὸ ἄλλοις ἀρκοῦσαι καὶ τότε ἐλαττῶν διὰ τὰς στάσεις προσιούσων, καὶ καὶ τινὰ τέλη ἐσῆγαγον, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον πλείστους ὅσοις οὐχ ὅτι τῶν συμμάχων ἢ καὶ στρατιώτας παῖδας τε ἀπελευθέρων, ἄλλα καὶ δούλους ἐνέγραφαν. Μάξιμων γοῦν τινὰ ταμεύσειν μέλη-

1 προσκατέστη Louncl., προσκατέστη LM.
2 ἡσχύνοντο M, ἡσχύνοντο L. 3 μόνον Be, μόνοι LM.
4 ἐπελειοῦτο B, Steph., ἐπελειοῦτο LM, ἐλειοῦτο cod, Peir.
feels burdened in any way, he may secure a fourth of the property bequeathed him by surrendering the rest.\(^1\)

These were the events of the two years; the next year, when Lucius Marcius and Gaius Sabinus held the consulship, the acts of the triumvirs from the time they had formed their oligarchy received ratification at the hands of the senate, and certain further taxes were imposed by them, because the expenditures proved far greater than the budget made in the time of the former Caesar. For though they were expending vast sums for themselves and especially upon the soldiers, the only thing they were ashamed of was that the expenditures they were making were contrary to precedent. For example, when Caesar now for the first time shaved off his beard, he held a magnificent entertainment himself besides granting all the other citizens a festival at public expense. He also kept his chin smooth afterwards, like the rest; for he was already beginning to be enamoured of Livia also, and for this reason divorced Scribonia the very day she bore him a daughter. Since the expenditures, then, were growing far greater than before, and the revenues, which were in any case insufficient, came in at this time in even smaller amounts by reason of the factional discord, they introduced certain new taxes; and they enrolled ever so many men in the senate, not only from among the allies, or else soldiers, or sons of freedmen, but even slaves. At any rate, one Maximus, when about to

\(^1\) The essential feature of this law was its requirement that the heir or heirs should receive at least one-fourth of the property left by the testator; in other words, that the legacies should not exceed three-fourths of the total estate.
Λοντα ἐγνώρισε τε ὁ δεσπότης καὶ ἀπήγαγε.
καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἀδεές ἐγένετο τολμήσαντε τὴν ἀρχὴν αἰτήσαε ἐτερος δὲ ἐν τοῖς στρατηγοῦσι φωράθεις κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου πετρῶν ἑώσθη, προελευθερώθεις ἵνα ἄξιωμα ἡ τιμωρία αὐτοῦ λάβῃ.

35 Πρόφασιν δὲ σφισε τῶν βουλευσόντων πλῆθος ἡ τοῦ Άυτωνίου στρατεία, ἢν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἡτοιμάζετο, παρέσχεν ἀφ' οὔπερ καὶ ἀρχὰς ἄλλας τε ἐπὶ πλεῖω ἑτη καὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἐς ὀκτὼ ὀλα προκατεστήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν ἀμειβόμενοι τῶν συναραμένων σφίσε, τοὺς δὲ υπαγόμενοι. ὑπάτους δὲ οὖ δύο ἑτησίους, ὥσπερ εἴδιστο, ἄλλα πλείους τότε πρῶτον εὐθύς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις εἰλοῦτο. καὶ πρότερον μὲν γὰρ μεθ' ἐτέρους τινὲς μῆτ' ἀποθανόντας μῆτ' ἐπ' ἀτιμία ἡ καὶ ἄλλως πως παυθέντας ἠρξαν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν, ὅσ που τοῖς ἐς ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν χειροτονηθεῖσιν ἔδοξε, κατέστησαν, τότε δὲ ἐνιαύςιος μὲν οὔδεις ἡρέθη, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὰ τοῦ χρόνου μέρη ἄλλοι καὶ ἄλλοι ἀπεδείχθησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ὑπατείας κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔτους, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν γίγνεται, ἐσχον τούς δ' ἑτέρους αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ τε

1 τοῦτῳ Bk., τούτῳ LM.
2 στρατηγοῦσι Willems, στρατευομένοις LM Xiph.
3 συναραμένων R. Steph., συναραμένων LM.
4 σμ Bk., σν ΙΜ.
5 ἠρξαν Xyl., ἠρξαν ΙΜ.

292
BOOK XLVIII

become quaestor, was recognized by his master and haled away; and while in his case immunity was granted him for having dared to stand for the office, yet another slave who was detected while serving as a praetor was hurled down the rocks of the Capitol, having first been freed, that his punishment might take on the proper dignity.¹

The expedition which Antony was preparing against the Parthians afforded them some excuse for the large number of new senators. On this same plea they also appointed various magistrates for a number of years ahead, including the consuls for eight full years, thus rewarding some of those who had cooperated with them and winning the favour of others. And they did not choose two annual consuls only, as had been the custom, but now for the first time chose several, and these on the very day of the elections. Even before this time, to be sure, some had held office after others who had neither died nor been removed because of disfranchisement or any other reason, but all such persons had become officials presumably in accordance with the decision of the magistrates who had been chosen to office for the entire year,² whereas now nobody was chosen to serve for a year, but various sets of officials were appointed for the different portions of the entire period. And the men first to enter upon the office of consul secured the name of consuls for the whole year, as is even now the case; the others were accorded the same title, it is true, by those who lived in the city or

¹ Hurling from the Tarpeian rock was a punishment that might be inflicted only upon freemen. Slaves were commonly crucified or put out of the way by some method involving similar disgrace.

² Cf. xliii. 46, 1–2, and chap. 53 infra.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

άλλη Ἰταλία ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ὅνομαζον, δὲ καὶ νῦν ποιεῖται, οἷς άλλοι ἡ τινας αὐτῶν ἢ οὐδένας ὑδεσαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σμικροτέρους σφᾶς ὑπάτους ἑπεκάλουν.

36 Οἶκοι μὲν δὴ ταύτ' ἔρρατον, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σέξτῳ πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τῶν ἑταίρων, καὶ ὅπως καὶ ἐφ' οῖς καταλαμβάνοντο, συνέβησαν, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς Μισηνὸ ές λόγους ἠλθον, εἰστιν-κεσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ, ὁ δὲ ἐν χώματι τινι ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ περιρρύτῳ οὐ πόρρω σφῶν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῷ πεποιημένῳ.

2 καὶ παρήν πᾶς μὲν ὁ τούτου ναυτικὸς πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐκείνων πεζικός ὄχλος, οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐξωπλησμένοι παρετάχατο, ὡστε καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου δῆλον πάσι γενέσθαι ὅτι ἔκ τε τοῦ φόβου τῆς παρασκευῆς σφών καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸν δῆμον ὁ δὲ διὰ τοὺς συνόντας οἱ, ἐσπείσαντο.1 αἱ δὲ δὴ συνθή-και ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐγένοντο, τοὺς τε αὐτομολήσαντας τῶν δούλων ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας πλὴν τῶν σφαγέων κατελθεῖν τούτους γὰρ δῆθεν ὑπεξείλουτο, ἐπεὶ τῷ γε ἐργῷ καὶ ἐκείνων τινὲς κατείναι ἐμελλόντα καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Σέξτος εἰς ἐξ

3 τοὺς συνόντας οἱ, ἐσπείσαντο.1 αἱ δὲ δὴ συνθή-και ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐγένοντο, τοὺς τε αὐτομολήσαντας τῶν δούλων ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας πλὴν τῶν σφαγέων κατελθεῖν τούτους γὰρ δῆθεν ὑπεξείλουτο, ἐπεὶ τῷ γε ἐργῷ καὶ ἐκείνων τινὲς κατείναι ἐμελλόντα καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Σέξτος εἰς ἐξ

4 αὐτῶν γεγονέναι ἐδόκει. ἀλλ' ἐγράφη γε τοὺς ἄλλους πλὴν τούτων πάντας ἐπὶ τε ἀδεια καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς δημοσθείσης σφῶν ὀφείλεις ἐπανελθεῖν, καὶ ἐκείνων μὲν τῖσι καὶ δημαρχίας καὶ στρατηγίας ἱερωσύνας τε εὐθὺς 2 δοθήναι, αὐτῶν

1 ἐσπείσαντο Ρ. Steph., ἐσπείσατο I.M.
2 εὐθὺς Zon., αὐτοῖς I.M.
in the rest of Italy during the period of each one's office, as, indeed, is the case to-day, but the other citizens of the empire knew few or none of them and therefore called them "lesser consuls."

These were the acts of Caesar and Antony at home; with Sextus they first reached an understanding through their associates as to how and on what terms they could effect a reconciliation, and later they themselves conferred with him near Misenum. The two took their station on the land and Sextus not far from where they were on a mound that had been constructed in the sea, with water all around it, for the purpose of securing his safety. There was present also the whole fleet of Sextus and the whole infantry of the other two; and not merely that, but the forces on the one side had been drawn up on the shore and those of the other side on the ships, both fully armed, so that it was perfectly evident to all from this very circumstance that it was from fear of each other's military strength and from necessity that they were making peace, the two because of the people and Sextus because of his adherents. The compact was made upon these conditions, that the slaves who had deserted should be free and that all those who had been banished should be restored, except Caesar's assassins. They merely pretended, of course, to exclude the last-named, since in reality some of them also were about to be restored; indeed, Sextus himself was reputed to have been one of them. But at any rate it was recorded that all the rest except those should be permitted to return in safety and with a right to a quarter of their confiscated property; that tribuneships, praetorships and priesthoods should be given to some of them immediately; that
Ν ὁ Σέξτος ὑπατόν τε αἰρεθήναι καὶ οἰωνιστὴν ἀποδειχθῆναι, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς πατρωίας χιλίας καὶ ἐπτακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας δραχμῶν κομίσασθαι, καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Σαρδοὺς τῆς τε Ἀχαίας ἐπὶ πέντε ἀρξαί μὴν αὐτομολοὺς δεχόμενον μήτε ναῦς ἐπικτῶμενον μήτε τινὰ φρούρια ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἔχοντα, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε εἰρήνην αὐτὴ τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης προτανεύοντα καὶ σῖτον τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει τακτῶν πέμποντα. τὸν δὲ χρόνον αὐτὸ τούτῳ προσέγγαγαν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς καιρὸν ἐν τινὰ τὴν ἐξοισίαν ἅλλο οὐκ αἴδιον ἔχειν δοκεῖν ἡθελον.

37 Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ οἷον συνθήμενοι καὶ συγγραφάμενοι τὰ τε γραμματεῖα ταῖς ἱερείαις ταῖς ἀειπαρθέναις παρακατέθεντο, καὶ μετὰ τὸν τοῦτο δεξιὰς τε σφισίν ἔδοσαν καὶ ἐφίλησαν ἀλλήλους. ξενομένου δὲ τοῦτον πολλῆς καὶ ἄπλετος θυρί καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου ἁμα καὶ ἐκ τῶν νεὼν ἡγέρθη. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ στρατιώτα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἰδιῶται παρόντεs θρόνων καὶ ἔσπατοισ, ἀτε καὶ τὸν πολέμοι δεινῶς ἀχθόμενοι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἱσχυρῶς ἐπιθυμοῦντες, ἔξεκραγον, ὡς καὶ τὰ ὀριν συνηχῆσαι, καὶ καὶ τοῦτον καὶ φρίκην σφίσι καὶ ἐκπληξίν μεγάλην ἐγγενέσθαι, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τούτων ἐκθανεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ συμπαθήθεντας ἢ καὶ ἀποτυγιέντας ἀπολέσθαι. οἵ τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σκάφεσιν ὀντες οἶκος ἀνέμειν τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ προσέλθειν, ἀλλ' ἔξεπειδὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οἱ ἔτεροι ἐς αὐτῶν τὸν βυθὸν ἐπεσέβαινον. καὶ τούτῳ ἡσπάζοντότες ἀλλήλους ἁμα νηχόμενοι καὶ περιε-

1 πρὸς καιρὸν St., πρόσκαιρον LM
2 μὲν Blc., τε LM.
Sextus himself should be chosen consul and appointed augur, should obtain seventy million sesterces from his father's estate, and should govern Sicily, Sardinia and Achaia for five years; that he should not receive deserters or acquire more ships or keep any garrisons in Italy, but should devote his efforts to securing peace for the peninsula from the side of the sea, and should send a stated amount of grain to the people in the city. They limited him to this period of time because they wished it to appear that they also were holding a temporary and not a permanent authority.

After drafting these compacts and reducing them to writing they deposited the documents with the Vestal Virgins, and then exchanged pledges and embraced one another. Upon this a great and mighty shout arose from the mainland and from the ships at the same moment. For many soldiers and many civilians who were present suddenly cried out all together, being terribly tired of the war and strongly desirous of peace, so that even the mountains resounded; and thereupon great panic and alarm came upon them, and many died of no other cause, while many others perished by being trampled under foot or suffocated. Those who were in the small boats did not wait to reach the land itself, but jumped out into the sea, and those on land rushed out into the water. Meanwhile they embraced one another while swimming and threw their arms around one another's necks.
Βαλλον κολυμβώντες, ὅστε ποικίλην μὲν αυτῶν θέαν ποικίλην δὲ καὶ ἀκοὴν συμβῆναι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τε συγγενεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἑώντας εἰνότες καὶ τότε παρόντας ὁρῶντες ἀπλήστῳ τῇ ἡδονῇ ἐχρώντῳ. οἱ δὲ ἀπολοώνει τὸ σφαὶ πρώτερο νομίζοντες καὶ τότε παρὰ δόξαν δειωροῦντες ἀποροί τε ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἀφασία συνείχοντο, ἀπιστοῦντες τε ἁμα τῇ ὅψει καὶ εὐχόμενοι ἀληθὴ ταύτῃ εἶναι καὶ οὐ πρῶτον γε ἐγνώριζον σφαὶ πρὶν τὰ τε ὁνόματα αὐτῶν ἀνακαλέσαι καὶ φθεγγομένων τι ἀκούσαι. οὗτοι δὲ ἐξαίρομεν μὲν ὡς καὶ ἀναβιωσκόμενων σφῶν, ἀναγκαζόμενοι δὲ ἀθρόως ἤδεσθαι οὐκ ἀδακρυτὶ διήγον. καὶ ἔτεροι ἀγνοοῦντες τε τοὺς φιλτάτους ἀπολοώλοτας, καὶ ξῆν παρεῖναι τε αὐτοὺς ἤγομενοι, ἐξήτον τε σφαὶ ἁμα περιφοιτῶντες, καὶ πάντα τὸν προσ-

6 τυγχάνοντα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπηρῶτων καὶ τέως μὲν οὖν ἀκριβές ἐμάνθανον, μανωμένοι τε ἐφεκσαν καὶ ἐν ἀπόρῳ καθειστήκεσαν, ἐλπίζοντες τε ἁμα αὐτοὺς εὐρήσειν καὶ φοβοῦμενοι μὴ τεθνήκασι, καὶ μὴ ἄπογρωναι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μὴτ. 

7 ἀπαλγῆσαι πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα δυνάμενοι μαθόντες δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὰς τε τρίχας ἐσπαράττοντο καὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας περιερήγυντο, ὀνομαστὶ τε αὐτοὺς ἀνεκάλον ὡς καὶ ἐπακούσαι τι δυναμένους, καὶ πένθος ὡς καὶ τότε τελευτῶντων αὐτοῦ τε ποι

8 κειμένων σφῶν ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ εἰγε τισὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτο παρῆν, άλλ' ἐπὶ γε τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων παθήμασιν ἐταράττοντο· ἡ γὰρ χαίροντι τινι συνήδοντο ἡ πενθοῦντι συνελυποῦντο, καὶ οὕτως εἴ καὶ ἐξω οἰκεῖον πάθους ἦσαν, ὡμοι οὐκ ἔδυ. 

1 ἀκριβές R. Steph., ἀκριβές LM.
as they dived, making a spectacle of varied sights and sounds. Some knew that their relatives and associates were living, and seeing them now present, gave way to unrestrained joy. Others, supposing that those dear to them had already died, saw them now unexpectedly and for a long time were at a loss what to do, and were rendered speechless, at once distrusting the sight they saw and praying that it might be true, and they would not accept the recognition as true until they had called their names and had heard their voices in answer; then, indeed, they rejoiced as if their friends had been brought back to life again, but as they must yield perforce to a flood of joy, they could not refrain from tears. Again, some who were unaware that their dearest ones had perished and thought they were alive and present, went about seeking for them and asking every one they met regarding them. As long as they could learn nothing definite they were like madmen and were reduced to despair, both hoping to find them and fearing that they were dead, unable either to give up hope in view of their long- ing or to give up to grief in view of their hope. But when at last they learned the truth, they would tear their hair and rend their garments, calling upon the lost by name as if their voices could reach them and giving way to grief as if their friends had just then died and were lying there before their eyes. And even if any had no such cause themselves for joy or grief, they were at least affected by the experiences of the rest; for they either rejoiced with him that was glad or grieved with him that mourned, and so, even if they were free from an experience of their own,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ναυτὸ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλούς ὀμιλλὰν ἡσυχᾷ·

9 ξειν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὕτε κόρον οὕτ' αἰσχύνην,

ατε καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς συμφερομένου, ἐλάμβανον,

ἀλλὰ τὴν τε ἡμέραν δὲν καὶ τὴς νυκτὸς τὰ πλείω

ἐς ταῦτα καταναλώσαν.

38 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦθ', οὐ̂ τε ἀλλοι ὑπεδέχοντο ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀνθειστήνων 1 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκείνοι, πρό-

τερος μὲν ὁ Σέξτος ἐν τῇ νη, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὁ

Καῖσαρ ὁ τε Ὀυτώνιος ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τοσοῦτον

γὰρ ὁ Σέξτος τῇ δυνάμει σφῶν περὶ ὄστε μὴ

πρότερον αὐτόν ἐς τὴν ἡπείρων ἐκβῆναι πρὸν ἐκεί-

νος ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἑσελθεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι

ποιῆσας, δυνηθεῖς τ' ἄν ἀμφοτέρους ἐν τῷ σκάφει

σὺν ὀλέγοις παρόντας, ὡσπερ ποιο καὶ ὁ Μηνᾶς

αὐτῷ συνεβούλευε, φονεύσας, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ

καίπερ πρὸ τοῦ Ὀυτώνιου, ἐπείδη τὴν ὦκίαν

αὐτοῦ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν ἐν ταῖς Καρίναις κατείχε

(τόπος γὰρ τῆς τῆς 2 τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλεως οὕτῳ

καλούμενος ἔστιν), ἀποσκώψας τρόπον τινὰ ἡδί-

3 στὸν (ταῖς γὰρ τροπία ταῖς τῶν νεῶν τῆς αὐτῆς

ὄνομασίας οὕσης, ἐν ταῖς Καρίναις αὐτοῦ ἐστιάν

ἐφῇ), οὕμως οὐδὲν ὡς καὶ μυθισκάκων σφίσιν ἐπρα-

ζεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε 3 ἕστεραι ἀνθειστιάθη, καὶ τὴν

θυγατέρα Μάρκων Μαρκέλλω τῷ τοῦ Καῖσαρος

ἀδελφόν ἤγγυσεν. 4

39 Οὕτως μὲν οὖν ὁ πόλεμος ἀνεβέβλητο, τὰ δὲ δὴ

τοῦ Δαβίδου τῶν τε Πάρθων ὄτε διεπολεμήθη.

ὁ Λατώνιος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τῆς

Ἰταλίας ἐπανελθὼν ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πλείστων ἐνεχρό-

1 ἀνθειστήν̄ Xiph., Zon., ἀντανθειστήν̄ LM.

2 τῆς supplied by St. 3 τε M, om. L.

3 ἠγγύσεν Bk., ἤγγυσεν LM.
yet they could not remain indifferent on account of their comradeship with the rest. Accordingly they became neither sated with joy nor ashamed of grief, because they were all affected in the same way, and they spent the entire day as well as the greater part of the night in these demonstrations.

After this the leaders as well as the rest received and entertained one another, first Sextus on his ship and then Caesar and Antony on the shore; for Sextus so far surpassed them in military strength that he would not disembark to meet them on the mainland until they had gone aboard his ship. And although, by this arrangement, he might have murdered them both while they were in the small boat with only a few followers, as Menas, in fact, advised, he was unwilling to do so. Indeed to Antony, who had possession of his father's house in the Carinae (the name of a region in the city of Rome), he uttered a jest in the happiest manner, saying that he was entertaining them in the Carinae; for this is also the name for the keels of ships. Nevertheless, he did not act toward them in any way as if he recalled the past with bitterness, and on the following day he was not only feasted in turn but also betrothed his daughter to Marcus Marcellus, Caesar's nephew.

This war, then, had been deferred; and that of Labienus and the Parthians came to an end in the following way. Antony himself returned from Italy to Greece and delayed there a long time, satisfying
νισεν, τάς τε ἐπιθυμίας ἀμα ἀποπιμπλάς καὶ τᾶς πόλεως κακῶν, ἵν’ ὅτι ἀσθενέσταται τῷ Σέξτῳ
2 παραδοθῶσι. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐν τούτῳ πολλὰ ἔξω
tῶν πατρίων ἐξεδικτήθη, καὶ Διόνυσου ἑαυτὸν
νέον αὐτὸς τε ἐκάλει καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὄνομὰ-
ξεσθαί ἡξίουν· εἴπειδ’ τε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τε
τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα τὴν Ἀθηναν αὐτῷ κατηγ-
γόσαν, δέχεσθαι τε τὸν γάμον ἐφ’ καὶ προῖκα
μυριάδας ἕκατον παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐξέπραξεν. αὐτός
μὲν οὖν περὶ ταύτα εἰχε, τὸν δὲ Ὑπεντίδιον τὸν
3 Πούπλιον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν προὔπεμψεν. καὶ ὁς
ἐλθὲ τε ἐπὶ τὸν Δαβίδην πρὶν ἐκπυστὸς γεν-
έσθαι, καὶ καταπλῆξας αὐτὸν τὸ τέ αἱρίνδι φή
ἐφόδου καὶ τοῖς στρατεύμασιν (ἀνευ γὰρ τῶν
Πάρθων μετὰ τῶν αὐτὸθεν στρατιωτῶν μόριων
η), ἐκείθεν τε μηδὲ ἐς χείρας οἱ υπομείναντα
εὐθὺς ἐξέσωσε, καὶ φεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐπε-
4 διώξε, τὸ κουφότατον τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβών. καὶ
αὐτὸν πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ καταλαβὼν οὐκέτι περαι-
tέρω προχωρῆσαι εἰσεν, ἀλλ’ ἐναῦθα ἐπὶ πλεί-
ους ἡμέρας καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἧσυχαζον;
Δαβίδην μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Πάρθους, Ὑπεντίδιος δὲ
40 τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀνέμεινεν. ἄς οὖν καὶ οὕτω ἐν ταῖς
αὐταῖς ἀμα ἀμφότεροι ἡμέραις ἠλθον, Ὑπεντίδιος
μὲν δέει τῆς ὕππον τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ μετεώρῳ,
2 οὔπερ οὐλίζετο, κατέμεινεν, οἱ δὲ τῇ Πάρθῳ ἐκ τε
τοῦ πλῆθους σφῶν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προενικηκέναι
ποτὲ καταφρονήσαντες πρὸς τε τῶν γῆλοφον ἀμα
τῇ ἐῳ, πρὶν καὶ τῷ Δαβίδῳ συμμίξαι, προσή-
his desires and injuring the cities, so that they should be in the weakest possible condition when delivered up to Sextus. He lived during this time in many respects contrary to the customs of his country, calling himself, for example, the young Dionysus and insisting on being called so by others; and when the Athenians, in view of this and his general behaviour, betrothed Athena to him, he declared that he accepted the marriage and exacted from them a dowry of four million sestereces. While he was occupied with these matters he sent Publius Ventidius before him into Asia. This officer came upon Labienus before his coming had been announced and terrified him by the suddenness of his approach and by his legions; for Labienus was without his Parthians and had with him only the soldiers from the neighbourhood. Ventidius found he would not even risk a conflict with him and so thrust him forthwith out of that country and pursued him into Syria, taking the lightest part of his army with him. He overtook him near the Taurus range and allowed him to proceed no farther, but they encamped there for several days and made no move, for Labienus was awaiting the Parthians and Ventidius his heavy-armed troops. These reinforcements, however, arrived during the same days on both sides, and though Ventidius through fear of the barbarian cavalry remained on the high ground, where he was encamped, the Parthians, because of their numbers and because they had been victorious once before, despised their opponents and rode up to the hill at dawn, without even waiting to join forces with

1 Seneca the Rhetorician (Suas. i. 6) gives the amount as one thousand talents, or six times the sum here given.
2 A reference to their defeat of Crassus in B.C. 53.
λασαν, καὶ ὡς οúdeις σφισιν ἀντεπεξῆει, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον αὐτὸ προσέβαλον. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἦδη ὄντας οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἐπιδραμόντες ὀβίδος πρὸς τὸ κάταντες ἐτρέψαντο. καὶ σφων πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ἀπέθανον, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφῇ περὶ ἄλληλοι, οἱ μὲν ἦδη τετραμμένοι οἱ δὲ ἔτι προσιόντες, ἐσφάλησαν οὐ τε περιεφθέντες οὐ πρὸς τὸν Δαβίδον ἄλλῳ ἐς Κιλικίαν ἐφυγον. ὁ οὖν Οὐεντίδιος ἐπεδίωξε μὲν αὐτοὺς μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἵδων δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸν Δαβίδον ἐπέσχε. καὶ οὐ παρετάξατο μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐς χείρας αὐτῷ ἦξον, αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀθύμως διὰ τὴν τῶν Βαρβάρων φυγήν ἤχοντας οὔτε τότε ἐθάρσησαν οὐκ ἀντάραι, καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποδρᾶναι ποι ἐπεχείρησε. προγροῖς οἷς τοῦτο ἐξ αὐτομολῶν ὁ Οὐεντίδιος πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρῆσαι ἐνεδρέυσας ἔκτεινε, πάντας δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Δαβίδου παρεστίσατο. καὶ ἐκεῖνος δὲ τότε μὲν τὴν ἐσθήτα μετεκδόσει διεφυγε, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ διέλαβεν, ὑστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Δημητρίου ἐαλων οὗτος γὰρ ἐξελευθέρως τοῦ τοῦ Καύσαρος τοῦ προτέρου ὄν, καὶ τότε τῇ Κύπρῳ πρὸς τοῦ Ἀντώνιου προστεταγμένος, ἀνεξῆτησε τοὺς αὐτοῦ μαθῶν ὅτι κρύπτοτο, καὶ συνέλαβε.

41 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ὁ Οὐεντίδιος τὴν τῇ Κιλικίαν ἐκομίσατο, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ταῦτῃ καθίστατο, Ποψῆδιον ὤν δὲ δὴ Σίλωνα μεθ’ ἵππεων πρὸς τὸν Ἀμαντὸν προύπεμψε. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἐν τῇ
Labienus; and when nobody came out to meet them, they actually charged straight up the incline. When they were at length on the slope, the Romans rushed down upon them and easily hurled them down-hill. Many of the Parthians were killed in hand-to-hand conflict, but still more caused disaster to one another in the retreat, as some had already turned to flight and others were still coming up; and the survivors fled, not to Labienus, but into Cilicia. Ventidius pursued them as far as the camp, but stopped when he saw Labienus there. The latter marshalled his forces as if to offer him battle, but perceiving that his soldiers were dejected by reason of the flight of the barbarians, he ventured no opposition at the time, although when night came he attempted to escape somewhere. Nevertheless, Ventidius learned his plan beforehand from deserters, and by setting ambushes killed many in the retreat and gained over all the rest, after they had been abandoned by Labienus. The latter by changing his dress gained safety at the time and escaped detection for awhile in Cilicia, but was afterwards captured by Demetrius, a freedman of the former Caesar, who had at this time been assigned to Cyprus by Antony; for Demetrius, learning that Labienus was in hiding, made a search for him and arrested him.

After this Ventidius recovered Cilicia and attended to the administration of this district himself, but sent ahead Pompaedius\(^1\) Silo with cavalry to the Amanus. This mountain is on the border between Cilicia and

\(^1\) Or Poppaedius (cf. Livy, Perioch. 76).
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μεθορία τῆς τε Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας ἔστι, καὶ στενοπορίαν τοσαύτην δὴ τινα ἔχει ὡστε καὶ πύλας ποτὲ ἐν αὐτῇ μετὰ τείχους ἐνοικοδομηθῆναι 3 καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπονομαζόμεθα, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατασχεῖν αὐτὸ ὁ Σίλων ἠδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκινδύνευσεν ὑπὸ Φραναπάτου ὑπάρχου τε τοῦ Πακόρου ὄντος καὶ τὴν διόδουν φυλάττοντος ἀπολέσθαι. κἂν ἐπαθεῖ τούτο, εἰ μὴ ὁ Ὀὐεντίδιος μαχομένος αὐτῷ κατὰ τύχην ἐπιστᾶς ἐπήμυνεν· 4 ἀνελπίστοις τε γὰρ ἀμα καὶ ἐλάπτοσι τοῖς βαρβάροις σφῶν οὐκ ἐποσπεσῶν τὸν τε Φραναπάτην καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσε, καὶ οὔτω τὴν τε Συρίαν ἐκλειφθείσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Πάρθων ἀμαχεί πλὴν τῶν Ἁραδίων παρέλαβε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο τὴν Παλαιστίνην, Ἀντιγόνον τὸν βασιλεύοντα 5 αὐτῆς ἐκφοβήσας, ἀπόνως κατέσχε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτα τε διήγη, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ μὲν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστον, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ τε Ἀρτιόχου καὶ Μάλχου τοῦ Ἀβαταίου, ὦτι τοῦ Πακόρῳ συνήρατο, ἐσέπραξε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀτε ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ ὄν ἀλλ' ἐτέρῳ ὑποστρατηγών, εὐρετο, ὅ δὲ Ἀρτώνιος καὶ ἐπαίνους καὶ 6 ἱερομηνίας ἔλαβεν. οἳ γε μὴν Ἀράδιοι ἰδέαντες μὴ καὶ δίκην ὃς ἐν τῶν Ἀρτώνιον ἐτετομηκέσαιν ὑπόσχοιν, ἐκεῖνο μὲν, καὶ τοῖς χρόνον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολυορκηθέντες, οὐ προσεχόρησαν, ὑστερον δὲ ὑπ' ἄλλων μόλις ποτὲ ἐγέρθωσαν.

7 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τούτον χρόνον 1 ἐγένετο μὲν καὶ ἐν 'Ἰλλυριοῖς 2 τοῖς Παρθίνοις 3 κίνησις, 1 L has lost one folio at this point, resuming with χρόνον (chap. 44, 3). 2 ἐν 'Ἰλλυριοῖς Heringa, Ἰναυρλούς Μ. 3 Παρθίνοι Βα., παρθήνοι Μ.

306
Syria, and has a pass so narrow that a wall and gates were once built across it and the place received its name from that fact. Silo, however, was unable to occupy it and actually came near perishing at the hands of Phranapates, a lieutenant of Pacorus in charge of the garrison at the pass. This would certainly have been his fate, had not Ventidius by chance come upon him when he was fighting and succoured him. For Ventidius fell upon the barbarians when they were not expecting him and were at the same time in smaller force, and slew Phranapates and many others. In this way he took over Syria without a battle, now that it was deserted by the Parthians, with the exception of the Aradii, and later occupied Palestine without trouble, after he had frightened the king, Antigonus, out of the country. Besides accomplishing all this he exacted large sums of money from the rest individually, and large sums also from Antigonus and Antiochus and Malchus the Nabataean, because they had given help to Pacorus. Ventidius himself received no reward for these achievements from the senate, since he was not acting with independent authority but as lieutenant to another; but Antony was honoured with eulogies and thanksgivings. As for the Aradii, they were afraid they would have to pay the penalty for their boldness against Antony, and so would not come to terms with him, though they were besieged by him for a time; but later they were captured by others after much difficulty.

About this same time an uprising took place among the Parthine Illyrians, but it was put down by Pollio

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1 i.e. the Cilician Gates.
καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Πωλίων μᾶχαις ἔπαινεν, ἐγένετο
42 δὲ καὶ ἐν ἵππῃ διὸ τὸς Κερητανῶν, καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ
Καλουήνος τοῖς στρατιώτοις, προκατορθώσας τό
τε καὶ προδιστυχήσας διὰ τοῦ ὑποστρατῆγου
λοχισθέντος τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἐγκατα-
2 λειψθέντος, ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιώτων, καὶ οὐ πρό-
τερον γε ἐπεχείρησε τοὺς πολέμιους πρὶν ἐκείνους
τιμωρήσασθαι. συνκαλέσας γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ
ἐπ’ ἀλλο τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ περιέσχε, καὶ δύο
τε ἐκατονταρχίας ἐδέκατευσε, καὶ ἐκατοντάρχους
συνήχειας, ἀλλοι τε καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ πίλῳ
3 καλουμένῳ στρατευόμενον, ἐκόλασε. ταῦτα δὲ
ποιήσας ὡστε καὶ ὅνομα κατὰ τὸν Κράσσου τὸν
Μάρκου ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ στρατοῦ δικαίωσε λαβεῖν,
πρὸς τε τῶν ἑναντίων ὀρμῆσαι καὶ οὐ χαλεπῶς
4 αὐτοὺς κατεργάσατο. τυχόν τε τῶν ἐπινικίων
καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἰβηρίας τῷ Καίσαρι προστεταγμένης
(πρὸς ἡρὰ τὰς τῶν κρατοῦντος βουλήσεις καὶ
ἀι ὑμῖν τῶν ὑποστρατηγοῦσί σφισίν ἐγίγνοντο),
τὸ τε χρυσίου τὸ παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐς αὐτὰ
εἰσθῆσθαι δίδοσθαι ἐκ μόνῳ τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν ἔλαβε,
καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τι ἐς τὴν ἐορτὴν ἀνάλωσε,
5 τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείον ἐς τὸ βασιλείου. κατακαυθεὶν
ἡμᾶς αὐτὸ ἀνθρωπόμην καὶ καθιέρωσεν, ἀλλοις
τὲ τὶς λαμπρῶς κοσμήσας καὶ εἰκόσιν, ἃς παρὰ
τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς καὶ ὑποδῶσων ἄφθαστο. καὶ
αὐτὰς ἀπαιτήθεις ὑστερον οὕκ ἀπέδωκεν, εὐτρα-
6 πελλὶ χρησάμενος· ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχων ἱκανοὺς

1 Κερητανῶν R. Steph., καιρητανῶν M.
2 Καλουήνος H. Steph., καλουήνος M.
3 ἐγκαταλειφθέντος R. Steph., ἐγκαταληφθέντοι M.
after a few battles. There was another on the part of the Cisretani in Spain, and they were subjugated by Calvinus after he had met with a preliminary success and also a reverse,—the latter through his lieutenant, who was ambushed by the barbarians and deserted by his soldiers. Calvinus undertook no operation against the enemy until he had punished these deserters; calling them together as if for some other purpose, he made the rest of the army surround them, and then put to death every tenth man in two centuries and punished many of the centurions, including the one who was serving in the *primus pilus*, as it is called.\(^1\) After doing this and gaining, like Marcus Crassus, a reputation for his disciplining of his army, he set out against his opponents and with no great difficulty vanquished them. And he obtained a triumph in spite of the fact that Spain had been assigned to Caesar; for those in power could grant the honours at will to those who served as their lieutenants. The gold\(^2\) customarily given by the cities for the triumph Calvinus took from the Spanish towns alone, and of it he spent only a part on the festival, but the greater portion on the Regia. This had been burned down, and he now rebuilt and dedicated it, adorning it splendidly with various objects and with statues in particular, which he asked Caesar to send him, intimating that he would give them back. And when asked for them later, he did not return them, excusing himself by a witticism. Pretending that he had not enough assistants, he said: "Send some

1 The ranking centurion of the sixty centurions in each legion was called *primus pilus* (for *centurio primi pili*), or in one word *primipilus*.

2 The *aurum coronarium*, given sometimes in lieu of gold crowns.
Ταύτα μεν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο· ἐπὶ δ' Ἀπλίων τε Κλαυδίου καὶ Γαίου Νωρβανοῦ ὕπατων, οἷς πρώτοι δύο ἐκατέροις ταμίας συνεγένοντο, τὸ τε πλῆθος πρὸς τοὺς τελώνας βαρύτατά σφισιν ἐγκεμένους ἔστασίασε, καὶ αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τοῖς συνεπράσσονσι σφισι τὰ χρήματα ἐσ'ta χείρας ἔσαν,' καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἀλλοι ἐπὶ ἀλλοις ἀποδείχθησιν ἠρξαν. ταμεύσατε τέ τις ἐν παισίν αἱρεθέσι ἐπειτα τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐς ἐφήβους ἐσῆλθε, καὶ ἔτερος ἐς τὸ βουλεύτικον ἐσφαγεῖς μονομαχῇς ἡθελῆσε καὶ ἐκεῖνος τε 3 ἐκωλύθη τούτο ποιήσαι, καὶ προσαπηγορεύθη μήτε βουλευτῆ τού μονομάχεων μήτε δουλου ῥαβδουχεῖν, μήτε τάς καυσίες τῶν νεκρῶν ἐντὸς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίων γίγνεσθαι.

Πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ πρὸ 4 ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τερατώδη συνηνέχθη (ἄλλα τε γὰρ καὶ ἔλαιόν τι παρὰ τῷ Τιβέριδι ἀνέβλυσε), πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τότε. ἣ τε γὰρ σκηνὴ ἢ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου ἐξ ἱερουργήσας τινός, ἦν οἱ ποντίφικες ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεποίησάν, ἐκαύθη· καὶ Ἀρετῆς ἀγαλμα πρὸ 4 πυλῶν τινῶν ἐστός ἐπέσεν ἐπὶ στόμα, κἀκεῖοι τέ τινες ἐκ τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν γενόμενι ὀργίζονται σφι θεῶν 4 ἐφασαν, καὶ ἀνεφράσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἐπή· ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνον

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1 ἠσαν Βς., ἠσαν Μ. 2 τὸ Βκ., γε Μ. 3 πρὸ Ρ. Στεφ., πρὸ Μ. 4 θεὸν Βκ., θεὸν Μ.
men and take them." And thus Caesar, since he shrank from the sacrilege, allowed them to remain as votive offerings.

This is what happened at that time. But in the consulship of Appius Claudius and Gaius Norbanus, who were the first to have two quaestors apiece as associates, the populace revolted against the tax-gatherers, who oppressed them severely, and came to blows with the men themselves, their assistants, and the soldiers who helped them to collect the money; and sixty-seven praetors one after another were appointed and held office. One person was chosen to be quaestor while still accounted a boy, and did not obtain the standing of a juvenis until the next day; and another, who had been enrolled in the senate, desired to fight as a gladiator. Not only was he prevented, however, from doing this, but an act was also passed prohibiting any senator from fighting as a gladiator, any slave from serving as lictor, and any burning of dead bodies from being carried on within two miles of the city.

Now many events of a portentous nature had occurred even before this, such as the spouting of olive oil on the bank of the Tiber, and many also at this time. Thus the hut of Romulus 1 was burned as a result of some ritual which the pontifices were performing in it; a statue of Virtus, which stood before one of the gates, fell upon its face, and certain persons, becoming inspired by the Mother of the Gods, declared that the goddess was angry with them. For this reason the Sibylline books were consulted, and they made the same declarations and

1 Dio also records the burning of the hut of Romulus among the events of B.C. 12 (liv. 29, 8). There was a casa Romuli on the Capitoline as well as on the Palatine.
ταύτα ὑπότονων, καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα ἐπὶ τε τὴν
θάλασσαν καταχθήναι καὶ τῷ ὑδατι αὐτής
kαθαρθήναι προσταξάντων, ἡ θεὸς πλείστον τε
όντων ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐς τὸν βυθὸν ἐχώρησε καὶ ἐν
αὐτῷ ἐνεχρώσε καὶ μόλις ὁφεὶ ποτὲ ἀνεκομί-
σθη, φόβος αὐτὸ καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὐ σμικρός τοὺς
Ῥωμαίους ἐλαβεν, οὐδ’ ἀνεδάρσησαν πρὶν φοίν-
κας τέσσαρας περί τε τὸν νεών αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ
ἀγορᾷ ἀναφύναι.
Ταύτα τε οὐν τότε ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν
44 Διονίαν ἔγνημεν. ἦν δὲ θυγάτηρ μὲν Διονίου
Δρούσου, ὅσ’ ἐν τε τοῖς ἐκτεθείσιν ἐν τῷ λευκῷ-
mατὶ ἐγέγονε καὶ ἑαυτὸ τοῦτο μὲτα τὴν ἐν τῇ Μακε-
dονίᾳ ἦταν κατεκέρχητο, γυνὴ δὲ τοῦ Νέρωνος,
μεθ’ οὐ συνδιεφυγεν, ὡσπερ εἰρηταί καὶ ἐκύνει γε
2 εὗ αὐτοῦ μὴν ἐκτον. διστάζόντος γοῦν τοῦ
Καίσαρος, καὶ πυθομένου τῶν ποντιφίκων εἰ οἱ
όσιον ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαν αὐτὴν ἀγαγέσθαι εἰη,
ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἐν ἀμφίβολῳ τὸ κύμα
ἡ, ἀναβληθῆναι τὸν γάμον ἔχομαι, ὀμολογομένου
δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν κωλύει ἣδη αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, τὰχα
μὲν που καὶ ὄντως ἐν τοῖς πατρίωις τοῦτο εὑρό-
tes, πάντως δ’ ἄν, εἰ καὶ μὴ εὑρὼν αὐτό, εἰπόντες.
3 ἐξέδωκε δὲ αὐτὴν αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ ὡσπερ τις πατὴρ
καὶ τι καὶ τοιούτον ἐν τῇ ἐστιάσαι σφῶν συνη-
νέχθη παιδίον τι τῶν ψιθύρων, οἷα αἱ γυναῖκες
γυμνά ὡς πλήθει ἄθυρον τρέφουσιν, ἱδ’
κωριζῷ μὲν τὴν Διονίαν μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος χα-
ρίς δὲ τὸν Νέρωνα μεθ’ ἐτέρου τινὸς κατακεί-

1 ταύτα Louncl., ταύτα M.
2 κατεκέρχητο Ba., κατεκεχρήσατο M.
prescribed that the statue should be taken down to the sea and purified in its waters. Now when the goddess was taken out a long distance from the land into the deep water and remained there a good while, being brought back only after a long time, this circumstance also caused the Romans no little fear, and they did not recover their spirits until palm trees, four in number, sprang up round about her temple and in the Forum.¹

Besides these occurrences at that time, Caesar married Livia. She was the daughter of Livius Drusus, who had been among those proscribed on the tablet and had committed suicide after the defeat in Macedonia, and the wife of Nero, whom she had accompanied in his flight, as has been related.² And it seems that she was in the sixth month with child by him. At any rate, when Caesar was in doubt and enquired of the pontifices whether it was permissible to wed her while pregnant, they answered that if there was any doubt whether conception had taken place the marriage should be put off, but if this was admitted, there was nothing to prevent its taking place immediately. Perhaps they really found this among the ordinances of the forefathers, but certainly they would have said so, even had they not found it. Her husband himself gave the woman in marriage just as a father would; and the following incident occurred at the marriage feast. One of the prattling boys, such as the women keep about them for their amusement, naked as a rule,³ on seeing Livia reclining in one place with Caesar, and Nero

¹ The temple of the Magna Mater was on the Palatine.
² In chap. 15.
³ Cf. Suetonius, Aug. 83.
μενον, προσήλθε τε αὐτῇ καὶ ἔφη, "τί ποιεῖς ἐνταῦθα, κυρία; ὁ γὰρ ἀνήρ σου," δείξας αὐτῶν,
4 "ἐκεῖ κατάκειται," ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐπράχθη, συνοικοῦσα δὲ ἥδη ἡ γυνὴ τῷ Καίσαρι τίκτει Κλαύδιον Δροῦσον Νέρωνα. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ ἀνέιλετο καὶ τὸ πατρὶ ἐπέμψεν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐσ τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐγγράψας, ὅτι Καίσαρ τὸ γεννηθὲν Διονίσια τῇ ἕαυτοι γυναικὶ παιδίον Νέρωνι ὁ πατρὶ ἀπέδωκε. καὶ ἐκεῖνος τελευτῶν οὐ πολλὸ ὑστερον ἐπίτροπον καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ Τιβερίῳ αὐτῶν τοῦ Καίσαρα κατέλειπεν. οὐ δὲ οὖν ὁμίλος ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλά διεθρύλει, καὶ τοὺς εὐτυχοῦσι τρίμηνα παιδία γεννᾶσθαι ἐλεγεν, ὡστε καὶ ἐσ παροιμίαν τὸ ἔπος προκυψάται.

45 Ἔν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, ὅποι δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῦτον χρόνον ὁ Βογούας ὁ Μαύρος ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, εἰτ οὖν κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ 'Ἀντωνίου εἶτε καὶ ἁφ' ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης, πλεύσας, πολλά μὲν ελυμήνατο πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέπαθε, κἀ καὶ τοῦτῳ τῶν οἰκίων τῶν περὶ τὴν Τίγγιν ἐπαναστάτουν αὐτῶ τῆς τε Ἰβηρίας εξέστη καὶ τὴν οἰκεῖαν οὐκ ἐκομίσατο· οἴ τε γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ πρᾶσσοντες καὶ ὁ Βόκχος προσγενέμενος σφυσὶ κρείττους αὐτοῦ ἐγένοντο. καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν πρὸς τῶν 'Ἀντώνιον ἀπῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Βόκχος τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ αὐτίκα τε κατέσχε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐβεβαιώσατο· τοῖς τε Τίγγινοις πολίτειαι ἐδόθη.

1 Νέρων Μ, Νέρων Λ. 2 ἐκεῖνος Χιρῆ, ἐκεῖνος τε ΛΜ. 3 ὁ Χιρῆ, ομ. ΛΜ. 4 ταῦτα Λ, ταῦτ' Μ. 5 Τίγγιν Χιλ., γέττιν ΛΜ (Τίγγιν M in lx. 9, 5).
in another with a man, went up to her and said: "What are you doing here, mistress? For your husband," pointing him out, "is reclining over there." So much then, for this. Later, when the woman was now living with Caesar, she gave birth to Claudius Drusus Nero. Caesar both acknowledged him and sent him to his real father, making this entry in his memoranda: "Caesar returned to its father Nero the child borne by Livia, his wife." Nero died not long afterward and left Caesar himself as guardian to this boy and to Tiberius. Now the populace gossiped a great deal about this and said, among other things, "The lucky have children in three months"; and this saying passed into a proverb.

During this same time, while these events were occurring in the city, Bogud the Moor sailed to Spain, acting either on instructions from Antony or on his own initiative, and did much damage, receiving also considerable injury in turn; meantime the people of his own land in the neighbourhood of Tingis\(^1\) rose against him, and so he evacuated Spain, but failed to win back his own domain. For the adherents of Caesar in Spain and Bocchus came to the aid of the rebels and proved too much for him. Bogud departed to join Antony, while Bocchus forthwith took possession of his kingdom, which was afterwards confirmed to him by Caesar; and the people of Tingis were given citizenship.

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\(^1\) The modern Tangier.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

4 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ, καὶ ἐτί πρῶτερον, καὶ ὁ Σέξτος ὁ τε Καῖσαρ ἐπολέμησαν· οὐα γὰρ οὐκ ἐθελονταί οὐδ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἀλλὰ ἀναγκαστοί τὴν ὁμολογίαν πεποιημένοι, χρόνον οὐδένα αὐτῇ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐνέμειναν, ἀλλ' εἴθ' ὡς τὰς σπουδὰς λύσαντες διηνέχθησαν. ἐμελλόν μὲν γὰρ ποὺ καὶ ἄλλως, εἰ καὶ μηδεμίαν σκήψιν εὑροῦν, πολεμήσεις αἰτία· δ' οὖν αἴδε αὐτοὶς ἐγένοντο. ὁ Μηνᾶς ἐν τῇ Σαρδῶι καὶ τότε ἐτί καθάπερ τις στρατηγὸς ὄν ὑποπτεύθη τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἐλένου ἀφεσιν καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔκεκοινολόγητο, καὶ πὴ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων φθόνῳ τῆς δυναστείας διεβλήθη. κακὸς τούτου μεταπεμφθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, πρόφασιν ὅπως περὶ τε τοῦ σιτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὃν διωκήκει ἀπολογήσεται, οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κατὰ τοῦτο πεμφθέντας συλλαβὸν ἀπέκτεινε, πρός τε τὸν Καῖσαρα προκηρυκευσάμενος τὴν τε νήσου αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ τε ἄλλο στράτευμα καὶ ἐαυτὸν παρέδωκε. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος ἀσμένοις ἰδὼν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν Σέξτον τοὺς τε αὐτομολοῦντας παρὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ ναυηγίαν τριήρων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ φρούρας ἔχειν ἐλεγεν, οὔτε ἐξέδωκεν ἐξαιτηθέντα καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἐν τιμῇ μεγάλῃ ἤγαγε δακτυλίοις τε ἱχνοσίας ἐκόμψατο καὶ ἐστὶ τῶν ὑπεύθεν τέλος ἐσέγραψε. τὸ δὲ ὁ τῶν δακτυλίων τοιῶν ὡς τοῦτον παλαιοῦ Ῥωμαίον, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν δουλευσάντων ποτέ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν ἑλευθέρῳ γένει τραφείτων, δακτυλίοις ἱχνοσίας πλην τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ

1 ἀπολογίσηται Bk., ἀπολογίσηται LM.
2 κατὰ Bk., μετὰ LM.
At this time, or even earlier, war was begun between Sextus and Caesar also; for since they had made their agreement, not of their own free will or by choice, but under compulsion, they did not abide by it for any time to speak of, but broke the truce at once and quarrelled. They were bound, of course, to go to war in any case, even if they had found no excuse; their grievances, however, were the following. Menas, who was at this time still in Sardinia, as if he were a kind of praetor, had incurred the suspicion of Sextus by his release of Helenus and because he had been in communication with Caesar; and he was also slandered to some extent by the people of his own rank, who envied him his power. He was therefore summoned by Sextus on the pretext that he should give an account of the grain and money of which he had been in charge; but instead of obeying, he seized and killed the men sent to him on this errand, and after first negotiating with Caesar, surrendered to him the island, the fleet together with the army, and himself. Caesar, on his part, was glad to see him, for he declared that Sextus was harbouring deserters contrary to the treaty, was having triremes built, and was keeping garrisons in Italy; and not only did he fail to give up Menas on Sextus' demand, but even went farther and treated him with great honour, decorated him with gold rings, and enrolled him in the order of the knights. Now the matter of the gold rings is as follows. Of the ancient Romans no one, not merely of those who had once been slaves but even of those who had been brought up as free, was allowed to wear gold rings, except the
τῶν ἰππέων χρῆσθαι, ὡσπερ εἰρηται μοι, ἔξην. 9 καὶ διὰ τούτῳ τοῖς ἐξελευθέρωσι, οἷς ἀν ὁ τὸ κράτος ἐχων ἐθελήσῃ, καίτοι καὶ ἀλλως χρυσοφοροῦσιν, ὁμως ἐν τιμῆς μέρει, ὡς καὶ βελτίωσεν ἡ κατὰ ἀπελευθέριαν ἰππεύειν τε δυναμένοις, δίδονται.

46 Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τοιούτων ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ταῦτα τε τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγκαλῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἡ Ἀχαια ἐκεκάκωτο καὶ οὔτε αὐτῷ οὔτε τοῖς κατελθοῦσι τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα ἐγύγνετο, ἐπέμψε Μενεκράτην ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐξελεύθερον καὶ αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ ὄντα, καὶ δὲ ἔκεινον ἄλλα τε τῆς Καμπανίας καὶ 2 Οὐσόλτουρνον ἐπόρθησεν. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ μαθὼν τούτῳ τὰ τε γραμματεία τὰ τῆς συμβάσεως ἀνείλετο παρὰ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν τε Λέπιδον μετεπέμψατο. καὶ αὐτῷ Λέπιδος μὲν οὐκ εὐθὺς ὑπήκουσεν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἥλθεν μὲν ἐς τὸ Βρετανίαν (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐτὶ ὁν ἐτύγχανε), πρὶν δὲ ἡ συμμίξει τῷ Καίσαρι ἐν Τυρσηνίᾳ οὕτω, δείγας ὅτι λύκος ἐς τε τὸ στρατήγιον αὐτοῦ ἐσῆλθε καὶ στρατιῶτας ἐφθείρεν, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὕτης, πρὸς πασαν τὸ τῶν Πάρθων ὡς 3 κατεπείγοντα ποιησάμενος ἀνέπλευσεν. πρὸς οὖν τούτῳ ὁ μὲν Καίσαρ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγκαταλείφθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅπως μόνος τῷ πολέμῳ συνεχθῇ, ἐνόμιζεν, ἀλλ' οὔτε γε καὶ φανερῶς ὁργίζετο: ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ἐθρύλει τε ὡς μὴ δικαιοῦντος τὸν Ἀντωνίου αὐτοῦ, καὶ προδομοτερον τῶν προκειμένων εἴχετο, καὶ τέλος τῇ τε

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1 στρατήγιον Zon., στρατηγικὸν LM.
2 ποιησάμενος R. Steph., ποιησάμενος LM.
3 μὲν supplied by Bk.
senators and the knights, as has been stated; and for this reason they are given to such freedmen as the ruler may choose, even though these men are already wearing gold in other ways, as a mark of honour indicating that they are superior to the status of freedmen and are eligible to become knights.

So much for this matter. Sextus, now, blamed Caesar, not only for harbouring Menas, but for the further reasons that Achaia had been injured and the terms agreed upon were not being carried out either in his case or in that of the restored exiles, and he accordingly sent to Italy Menecrates, another freedman of his, and had him ravage Volturnum and other parts of Campania. Now when Caesar learned of this, he took the documents containing the treaty from the Vestal Virgins and sent for Antony and Lepidus. Lepidus did not at once answer the summons, and as for Antony, although he came to Brundisium (for he chanced to be still in Greece), yet before he could meet Caesar, who was in Etruria, he became alarmed because a wolf had entered his headquarters and killed some soldiers, and so he sailed back to Greece again, making the urgency of the Parthian situation his excuse. At this, Caesar, in spite of his strong conviction that he had been left in the lurch by Antony with the purpose of making him face the difficulties of the war alone, nevertheless showed no anger openly. But Sextus, on his part, noised it abroad that Antony did not think Caesar's conduct right and set himself more zealously to the task in hand.

\(^1\) In a lost portion of his work. Cf. vol. ii. p. 143 (= Zon. 9, 1).
Ιταλία ἔπεπλει καὶ ἀποβάσεις ποιούμενος πολλά
μὲν ἐκάκου πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέπασχε. καὶ τοῦτω
ναυμαχίᾳ πρὸς Κύμη τοῦ τε Μενεκράτους καὶ
Καλουσίου Σαβίνου γίγνεται καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ νῆς
μὲν πλείου τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἄτε πρὸς θαλασσουρ-
γοὺς ἀντικαθιστάμενου, ἀπόλοντο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Μενε-
κράτης τῷ Μηνᾶ συμπεσόν ἐκ φιλονεικίας καὶ
φθαρεὶς ἀντίρροπον τὴν συμφορὰν τῷ Σέξτῳ
παρέσχε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἐκεῖνος προσε-
ποιήσατό τι τῆς νίκης καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ παρεμιθεῖτο
ἔαυτὸν τῆς ἡττησ. καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ
τοῦ χρόνου τοῦτον ὄν, δείσαντες οἱ Σέξτειοι1 μὴ
καὶ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν περαιωθῆ, καὶ τι καὶ πρὸς
tοῦ τοῦ Μενεκράτους θάνατον ἀθυμήσαντες, ἀπη-
ραν ἐκ τῆς Κύμης. οὐδὲν Σαβίνος ἐπιδιώκων
αὐτοὺς μέχρι μὲν Σκυλλαίου τοῦ τῆς Ἰταλίας
ἀκρωτηρίου ἀπόων ἥλθε περιβάλλοντι δ' αὐτῷ
ἐκεῖνο ἀνεμός μέγας προσπεσὼν πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν
τὰς μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀκραν προσήραξε, τὰς δὲ καὶ
μετεώροις κατέδυσε, πάσας δὲ τὰς λοιπὰς διε-
3 σκέδασε. τυθόμενος οὖν τούτῳ ὁ Σέξτος ἐπεμ-
ψεν ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὸ ναυτικὸν, Ἀπολλοφάνει προσ-
τάξας. καὶ δ' εὐρὼν τοῦ Καίσαρα ταύτη που
παραπλέοντα, ἦν μὲτ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σαβίνου ἐς τὴν
Σικελίαν διαβάλῃ, ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἧξε.2 καὶ τοῦτο
ἐκεῖνος τὰς τε ναὺς συνορμίσας καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας
ἐπ' αὐτῶν παρατάξας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παῦν γεν-
4 ναίως αὐτὸν ἀπεκρούσατο· αἰ τε γὰρ νῆς ἀντὶ-
προφοτοὺς τεταγμέναι οὐδεμίαν οἱ ἀσφαλὴ ἔμβολην
ποιῆσανθαι ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλ' οἶα καὶ παχύτεραι

1 Σέξτειοι: H. Steph., σέξτειοι LM (and so below in chap. 54).
2 ἧξε Wesseling, ἦξε LM.
Finally he sailed against Italy, landed at various points, inflicted much injury, and suffered much in turn. Meanwhile a naval battle occurred off Cumae between Menecrates and Calvisius Sabinus, in which Caesar lost a larger number of ships, since he was arrayed against expert seamen; but Menecrates attacked Menas out of jealousy and perished, thus making the loss of Sextus equally great. For this reason Sextus laid no claim to his victory and Caesar consoled himself over his defeat. Now Caesar happened at this time to be at Rhegium, and the followers of Sextus, fearing that he would cross over into Sicily, and furthermore being somewhat disheartened at the death of Menecrates, set sail from Cumae. Sabinus pursued them as far as Seyllaeum, the Italian promontory, without trouble; but as he was rounding that point a great wind fell upon him, dashing some of the ships against the promontory, sinking others out at sea, and scattering all the rest. So when Sextus learned of this disaster he sent his fleet against them, putting Apollophanes in command. This commander discovered Caesar, as he was coasting along somewhere in those parts with the intention of crossing into Sicily along with Sabinus, and rushed upon him. Thereupon Caesar brought his ships to anchor together, marshalled the heavy-armed soldiers on deck, and at first beat off his assailants nobly; for the ships were drawn up with their prows facing the foe and so offered him no safe point for attack, but, being heavier and higher, did
καὶ ύψηλότεραι οὕσας πλείου τοὺς πλησιάσαντας ἔβλαπτον, καὶ οἱ ὀπλῖται ἔς χειρᾶς σφίσιν ἱόντες 5 πολὺ κρείττους ἐγήγονο. ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολ- λοφάνους τοὺς μὲν τραυματίας τοὺς τε ἀεὶ πονοῦ- μένους ἐς ἐτέρας ναῦς ἐπιτεταγμένας οἱ μετεκβι- βάζοντος ἐξ ἀνακρούσεως, ἄλλους δὲ ἀκραφνεῖς μεταλαμβάνοντος, καὶ τοὺς τε πρόσπλους συνε- χεῖς ποιομένου καὶ πυρφόρους βέλεσι χρυσῶν, ἐτράπετο καὶ πρὸς τὴν γην καταφυγὼν καθώρ- 6 μίσατο. καὶ ἐπειδῆ καὶ δῶς οἱ ἕναντίοι σφίσιν ἐνεκείντο, τὰς τε ἀγκύρας τινὲς ἔξαιφνης ἀπε- κοψαν καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀπροσδόκητοι αὐτεξόρμη- σαν. καὶ τούτο τε ἐπέσχε μὴ πάσας τὰς ναύς τὸν Ἀπολλοφάνη τὰς μὲν καταρρήσας τὰς δὲ ἀναδήσασθαι, καὶ ὅτι νῦς τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπεγένετο.

48 Τούτου δὲ τοιούτῳ συμβάντος, ἀνεμὸς τις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐξαίσιος τῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ τῷ Σαβίνῳ καθ’ ἔν ὀρμούσιν ἐπιπεσὼν σμικρὸν τὸ πρότερον πάθος αὐτῶν ἀπέφυγε. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ Σαβίνου 2 ναυτικῶν ἦττον ἑπόνησεν ὁ γὰρ Μηνᾶς, ἀτεὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ θαλαττουργὸς ὅν, τὸν τε χειμώνα προέ- δετο καὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος εὐθὺς τὰς ναύς ἀνώρμισε,1 καὶ αὐτὰς ἀγκύρας χαλαράς, ἵνα μὴ τὰ σχοινία τεινόμενα διαρραγῇ, διαλαβὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν ἀνεμοῦν ἀντῆρτε, καὶ οὗτος οὗτε τε σχοινίων ἔτευκε καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἂεὶ ἔμενε, πάν ὅσον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεῦματος ἀπεσθεῖτο, ἐκ τῆς εἰρεσίας ἀνο- 3 κωχεύων.2 οἱ δὲ ἔτεροι, ἀτεὶ τῇ προτεραίᾳ δεινῶς τεταλαμβανόμενοι καὶ τὰ θαλάττια μηδὲν ἀκρι- βῶς εἰδότες, πρὸς τε τὴν γῆν ἐγγὺς ὀυσαν ἐξε-

1 ἀνώρμισε R. Steph., ἀνώρμισι L.M.
2 ἀνωκωξεύων Dind., ἀνωκωξεύων L.M.
greater damage to those that approached them, and his heavy-armed fighters, when they came to close quarters with the enemy, proved far superior. Then Apollolphanes by backing water kept transferring the wounded, and those who were at the time wearied by toil, to other ships assigned for the purpose and took on board fresh men; he also made constant attacks and used fire-bearing missiles, so that Caesar was at last routed, fled to the land, and came to anchor. When even then the enemy pressed him hard, some of Caesar’s men suddenly cut loose their anchors and unexpectedly sailed out to oppose the others. It was only this and the interruption of operations by the coming of night that kept Apollolphanes from burning some of the ships and taking in tow all the rest.

After this event an extraordinary windstorm on the following day fell upon Caesar and Sabinus as they were anchored together and made their previous reverse seem a trifling matter. The fleet of Sabinus suffered the less, for Menas, being an old hand on the sea, foresaw the storm and immediately shifted his ships to the open sea and moored them there, placing them at intervals with their anchor-lines slack, so that the lines should not be stretched and break, and kept rowing directly against the wind; in this way no rope was strained and he remained constantly in the same position, recovering by the use of the oars all the ground he lost by the force of the wind. But the other commanders, since they had gone through a severe experience the day before, and had as yet no accurate knowledge of nautical matters,
βράσθησαν καὶ πολλὰς ναῦς ἀπέβαλον. ἦ τε νὺς ὁσπερ πρότερον ὅυ εἰλαχίστα αὐτοῖς ἐβεβοηθηκεί, οὔτω τότε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐλυμφάτω ὁ γὰρ ἁνεμὸς καὶ δὲ αὐτὴς πολὺς γενομένος ἀπερρήγυν τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγκυρῶν τὰ σκάφη καὶ πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἤξεόθει. καὶ ἐκεῖνὰ τε οὕτω διώκυτο, καὶ οἱ ναῦται οἱ τε ἐπιβάται μῆτε προιδεῖν τι ὑπὸ τοῦ σκότους μὴ ἑπακούσαι διὰ τοῦ θόρυβον καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡχοῦ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸν πνεύματος ἀντιπαταγοῦντος σφισί, δυνάμενοι μάτην προσαπώλυτο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ τε Καίσαρ τῆς μὲν Σικελίας ἀπέγυρ, τῆς δ’ ἡπείρου τῆς παραθαλασσίας φυλακὴν ἀγαπητῶς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ὁ Σέξτος ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἤρθη, καὶ τοῦ τε Ποσειδώνος νῖος οὖντως ἐπίστευεν εἶναι, καὶ στολὴν κυνοειδῆ ἐνεδύσατο, ὕππους τε, καὶ ὃς γε τινὲς φασὶ, καὶ ἀνδρὰς ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ξώντας ἐνέβαλε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔγρα ἐς ἐφερεν, ἐς ἔθε Λίβυην τὸν Ἀπολλοφάνην ἐπεμψε. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ Μηνᾶς ἐπιδίωξας καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐκάκωσε μεθισταμένων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ἑπισωτῶν πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ὁ Καίσαρ τοὺς Λιπαραίους προκατέλαβε, καὶ ἐκ τῆς νῆσου ἐξανέστησε καὶ ἐς Καμπανίαν ἐκόμισε, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐν Νέα πόλει κατοικεῖν μέχρις οὗ ἂν πόλεμος ἢ ἡμάγκασε. καὶ τοῦτῳ πλοία τε κατὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἶπεν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐναυπηγεῖτο, καὶ ἐρέτας τὰ μὲν πρῶτα παρὰ τῶν φίλων ὡς καὶ ἐκόντων διδόντων, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππεῶν τῶν τε δημοτῶν τῶν εὐπόρων δούλων συνέλεγεν,
were cast upon the shore close by and lost many ships. Night, which had been of the greatest aid to them before, was now the chief cause of disaster; for the wind blew violently all night long, tearing the vessels from their anchors and dashing them against the rocks. That was the end of them; and the sailors and marines likewise perished ingloriously, since the darkness prevented them from seeing ahead and they could not hear a word because of the uproar and of the reverberation from the mountains, the more so as the wind drowned out other sounds. Because of this disaster Caesar despaired of Sicily and was satisfied to guard the coast of the mainland; but Sextus was still more elated, believing himself in very truth to be the son of Neptune, and he put on a dark blue robe and cast alive into the strait not only horses but also, as some relate, men as well. He himself pillaged Italy and sent Apollophonae to Africa. Apollophonae was pursued by Menas, who overtook him and did him some damage; and when the inhabitants of the islands off the coast of Sicily proceeded to go over to the side of Sextus, Caesar thwarted the Liparaeans by removing them from their island and taking them to Campania, where he forced them to live in Neapolis as long as the war should continue. Meanwhile he kept constructing vessels throughout practically all Italy and collecting slaves for rowers, first from his friends, who were supposed to give willingly, and then from the rest—senators and knights and well-to-do plebeians. He
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

όπλιτας τε κατελέγετο, καὶ χρήματα παρὰ τε τῶν πολιτῶν¹ καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν τε Ἰππικόων, τῶν τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἔξω πάντων, ἦθροιζε.

2. Καὶ τῶν ὑπαυγοῦ τοῦτον τε καὶ τὸν ὑστερον ἐς τῇ ναυπηγίᾳ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐς τῇ ἄδροις εἰς τὴν ἀσκήσιν τῶν ἔρετῶν κατανάλωσε, αὐτῶς μὲν ἐφορὼν καὶ διατάττων ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τά τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τά ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ (κίνησις γὰρ τις παρ' αὐτοῦς ἐγένετο), τῷ δ' Ἀγρίππᾳ ³ τῆς, τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παρασκευῆς ἐγχειρίσας. τοὺς γὰρ Γαλάτας αὐτὸν τοὺς νεωτέρας παρασκεύασαν προσπολεμοῦμεν, ὑστερον καὶ τὸν Ρήμου δεύτερος δὴ Ἡρωμαῖον ὑπὶ πολέμῳ διέβη, μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τῇ τε δόσει τῶν νυκτηρίων ἐτίμησε καὶ ἐκπονῆσαι ἐξασκήσαι τε τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ὁς (ὑπάτευς δὲ μετὰ Λουκίου Γάλλου) τὰ μὲν ἐπινίκια οὐκ ἐπεμυθηνα, αἰσχρὸν εἶναι νομίζας τοῦ Καίσαρος κακός πεπραγότος γαρωθήναι, τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν πάνυ προθύμως ἐξειργάσατο. ἐγίγνετο μὲν γὰρ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ παραβαλλασσίῳ Ἰταλίᾳ τὰ σκάφη· ⁵ ὁς δ' οὖνεις αἰγιαλὸς ἐγκαθισσάσθαι αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῆς εὐρύσκετο (ἀλλὰμὲν γὰρ ἐτὶ καὶ τότε τὰ πλεῖον τῆς ἱππείρου ταῦτης ἴσως), ἔργον μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ἐνενόησε ³ καὶ ἐξεποίησεν, ὁ ἐγὼ διὰ πλείονον ἐξηγησάμενος ἐκεῖνο τε ἐπιδείξω τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τάλλα τά καὶ αὐτὸ νῦν ὄντα.

50 Ἐν τῇ Κύμῃ τῇ Καμπανίδι χωρίον τι μεταβεβελτένσε Μισθόν καὶ Ποταμόλων μηνοείδες ἐστίν· ὄρει τε

¹ πολιτῶν Leuncl., πολιτικῶν LM.
² τὸν added by Reim.
³ ἐνενόησε R. Steph., ἐνένοησε LM.

326
also levied heavy-armed troops and gathered money from all the citizens, allies, and subjects, both in Italy and abroad.

This year and the following he spent in constructing ships and gathering and training rowers. He himself supervised and managed all this business and all other matters both in Italy and in Gaul, where there was a slight uprising, but he entrusted to Agrippa the equipping of the fleet. He had sent for this man, who had been fighting against the insurgent Gauls, at the time when he had been the second of the Romans to cross the Rhine for war, and after honouring him by the bestowal of a triumph he bade him finish the work on the fleet and train the men. Agrippa, who was consul with Lucius Gallus, did not celebrate the triumph, considering it disgraceful for him to make a display when Caesar had fared so poorly, but set to work with great enthusiasm to fit out the fleet. All along the coasts of Italy vessels were being built; but since no shore was found where it was safe for them to come to anchor, inasmuch as most of the coast of Italy was even at that time without harbours, he conceived and executed a magnificent enterprise, which I shall describe at some length, giving an account of the enterprise itself and of the general matters connected with it as they are to-day.

At Cumae in Campania, between Misenum and Puteoli, there is a crescent-shaped region, surrounded,
γὰρ σμικρῶς καὶ ψυλλός, πλὴν βραχέως, περιεί-
2 λητταί, καὶ θάλασσαν τριπλῆν κολπώδη ἔχει. ἤ
μὲν γὰρ ἔξω τε καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐστιν, ἤ δ’ ὁλίγη διαφύῃ ἀπ’ αὐτής διείργεται, ἀλλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μυχῷ λιμνώδης ὄραται. καὶ καλεῖται αὐτῇ μὲν Ἀουερνίς, ἢ δέ μέση Λουκρινίς. ἢ γὰρ ἔξω, τοῦ Τυρσηνικοῦ οὖσα, ἐς ἐκεῖνο καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν
3 τελεί. ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τῇ ἐντὸς ἐκα-
tέρας στενοὶ τότε ἐσπλοῖ τὸ διείργον τὴν Λου-
κρινίδα ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα παρ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ἥπειρον ὁ Ἀγρίππας συντρίβαις λιμέ-
vας ναυλοχωτάτους ἀπέδειξεν. ἐργαζόμενον δ’ αὐτῶν εἰκὼν τις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀουερνίδος, εἰτ’ οὖν τῆς Καλυψοῦ, ἢ τὸ χώριον ἀνατιθέασιν, ἐς 2 καὶ τὸν Ὁδυσσέα ἐπιπέλουσι λέγουσιν, εἴτε καὶ ἑτέρας τινὸς ἄραινης οὕσα, ἱδρώτου δ’ ὦσπερ τι σῶμα ἀνθρώπων ἀνεπλήθη. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ὅπῃ ποτ’ ἐσθήμαιν, 2 οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· τὰ δ’ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκεῖνῳ ἀξιαφήγητα ἐθεασάμην, φράσω.

51 Τὰ δὴ ταύτα πρὸς ταῖς ἐνδόν θαλάσσαις ὅταν
πηγὰς πυρὸς τε ἀμα πολλοῦ καὶ ύδατος συμ-
μμυγοῦσ’ ἔχει· καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν καθ’ ἐαυτὸ ἐκάτερον
οὐδαμοῦ εὑρίσκεται (οὕτε γὰρ πῦρ αὐτὸ οὖθ’ ὕδωρ
ψυχρὸν αὐτὸ φαίνεται), ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς ὀμιλίας
σφῶν τοῦ τε ὕδωρ θερμαίνεται καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὑγρα-

2 νεται· καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν πρὸς τὴν θαλάσσαν διὰ τῶν
προπόδων εἰς τὰς δεξαμενὰς χωρεῖ, τὴν δ’ ἀτμίδα
αὐτοῦ εἰς τοιχῆμα μετέωρα διὰ σωλῆνων ἀνά-
γουσι, κανταῦθα αὐτὴ πυριώνται· ὅσον 3 γὰρ ἀν

1 Λουκρινίς Dind., Λουκρηνίς LM.
2 ποτ’ ἐσθήμαιν v. Herw. (who also reads ὅτι for ὅπη), ποτε
συμβαλλεῖ LM.
3 ὅσο Rk., ὅσα LM Xiph.

328
BOOK XLVIII

except for brief gaps, by small, bare mountains; and it contains a branch of the sea which is like a bay and is divided into three parts. The first is outside, near the cities, the second is separated from it by a narrow strip of land, and the third, which is marshy in character, is seen at the very head of the inlet. The last is called Avernus, and the middle one the Lucrine Lake; the outer one is a part of the Tyrrenian Sea and is classed with it also by its designation. Now since the Lucrines lay between a sea on either side, Agrippa cut narrow channels at this time, close to the shore on both sides, through the strip of land that separated it from the open sea, and thus produced excellent harbours for ships. While the men were working, a statue overlooking Avernus, either of Calypso, to whom this place, whither they say Ulysses also sailed, is dedicated, or of some other heroine, was covered with sweat like a human body. Now what this imported I cannot say; but I will go on to tell of everything else worth reporting which I saw in that place.

The mountains here, which lie close to the inner bodies of water, have springs which send forth a great deal of fire mingled with water; and neither of the two elements is found anywhere by itself (that is, neither pure fire nor cold water alone is to be seen), but from their association the water is heated and the fire moistened. The water on its way down the foot-hills to the sea runs into reservoirs and the inhabitants conduct the steam from it through pipes into upper rooms, where they use the steam for vapour baths; for the higher it ascends from the

1 Puteoli and Baiae.
ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπὸ τε¹ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀναδράμει, ξηροτέρα γίγνεται. κατασκευαῖ τε ὑών περὶ ἀμφότερα πολυτελεῖς ἤσκηνται, καὶ ἔστιν ἐς τε βίου διαγωγὴν καὶ ἐς ἄκεσιν ἐπιτηδείωτα.

3 ταῦτα τε ὑών τὸ ὄρος ἱερεῖν καὶ προσέτε καὶ γῆς ὕψιν τοιάνδε παρέχεται. τοῦ πυρὸς τὸ μὲν καὶ εἰς εἰς τοὺς ἀχόντος (ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος συνομνίας πάν τὸ φλογῶδες αὐτοῦ σβέννυται), διακρίνειν δὲ δὴ καὶ διατήκειν τὰ προστυχόντα οἱ καὶ ὁς δυναμένου, συμβαίνει τῆς γῆς τὸ μὲν λιπαρὸν ἐκτήκεσθαι ὡς ἄντοι, τὸ δὲ τραχὺ καὶ

4 ὀστᾶδες ὡς εἰπεῖν ὑπολειπέσθαι. σηραγγώδεις τε ὑών οἱ ὄνορυ ἔξ ἀνάγκης γίγνονται, καὶ αὐχώμον μὲν δοθέντες ἐστὶν διαλύνονται, ὑποκεῖ δὲ σὺν νοῦ κοίνα φυραδέντες συνίστανται, καὶ ἔφ' ὅσον ἐν ἐν τῷ ὕγρῳ ὡς, πήγνυνται τε καὶ πετρώνται. αὐτόν δὲ ὅτι τὸ μὲν κραύρουν αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς ὀρμοφυός οἱ ὄντος ἐπιτείνεται τε καὶ βραύωται, τῇ δὲ ὅτι συμμίξει τῆς νοτίδος ἀναψύχεται, καὶ τοῦτον εἰσὶν διὰ παντὸς συμπληθέν ἄλυτον

5 γίγνεται. τοιαύτα μὲν αἱ Βαεία ἱερεῖς, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸς τότε ὁ Ἄγριππας, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τοὺς ἐσπλοῦν ἐξεπαίνησε, τάς πάντας καὶ τοὺς ἐρέτας ἡδρίσε, καὶ τάς μὲν κατέφρατε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' ἱερίων ἐρέττειν ἤσκει.

52 Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐταράττοντο μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ σημείων. ἀλλὰ τε γὰρ συχνὰ σφισν ἐσηγ- γέλθη, καὶ ὅτι δελφίνες πολλοὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀσπίδα τῆς τῆς Ἀφρικῆς πόλιν ἐμαχέσαντό τε ἀλλιόν 2 καὶ διεφθάρσαν καὶ τι καὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῶν ἀστείων ἀλμα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ῥυὸν ὀριθῆς διεφόρησαν.

¹ πλείον ἀπὸ τε Χιρή., πλείονα ποτε Ι, πλείονάτοτε Μ.
earth and from the water, the dryer it becomes. Costly apparatus is in use for turning both the vapour and the water to practical use, and they are very serviceable indeed for the uses of daily life and also for effecting cures. Now besides these products that mountain furnishes an earth, the peculiar nature of which I am going to describe. Since the fire has not the power of burning, since by its union with the water all its searing qualities are extinguished, yet is still able to separate and melt the substances with which it comes in contact, it follows that the soft part of the earth is melted out by it, whereas the hard and what might be called the bony part of it is left. Hence the masses of earth necessarily become porous and when exposed to the dry air crumble into dust, but when mixed with water and lime become compact, and as long as they remain in the liquid they harden and petrify. The reason for this is that the brittle element in them is disintegrated and broken up by the fire, which possesses the same nature, but by the admixture of moisture is chilled, and so is wholly packed together on the inside and becomes indissoluble. So much for the description of Baiae. Here Agrippa, as soon as he had constructed the entrances, set about collecting his ships, which he proceeded to equip with decks, and his oarsmen, whom he trained to row on practice benches.

Now the population of Rome was being disturbed by signs also. Among the numerous reports brought to them was one to the effect that many dolphins had battled with one another and perished near Aspis, the African city. And in the very vicinity of the city blood flowed from heaven and was carried
επειδή τε ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐδεὶς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, ὡσπερ εἴδωτο, εἰστιάδη, ἐν τέρατος λόγῳ καὶ τούτῳ

3 ἐλαβον. τὸ τε τῇ Διονία συμβαίν ἐκείνῃ μὲν καθ’ ἡδονὴν ἐγένετο, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις δέος ἐνεποίησε: λευκὴν γὰρ ὀρνιθα, κλωνίων δάφνης ἐγκάρπου φέρουσαν, ἀετὸς ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ἐδόκει γὰρ ὦ σμικρὸν τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι, τὴν τε ὀρνιθὰ ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ ἤγε καὶ τὴν

4 δάφνην ἐφύτευσε, καὶ ἴ μὲν μιξωθείσα νῦξησεν ὡστε καί τοῖς τὰ ἐπινίκια μετὰ τοῦτο πέμψαιν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξαρκέσαι, ἢ τε Διονία ἐγκολπόσεσθαι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἱσχὺν καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν

53 αὐτοῦ κρατήσειν ἐμελλεῖ τοὺς ὑπὸ γὰρ ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταῦτα τε καὶ αἱ διαλλαγῆ τῶν ἀρχώντων ἱσχυρῶν ἐτάρασσον ὡς γὰρ ὅπως οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ταμίαι ἐπὶ ἄλληλοις ἀντικαθίσταντο, καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐπὶ

2 χρόνον ἐγένετο, αὐτοῖς δὲ ὅτι πάντες οὕτως οὕτως ἐν οἷς ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἄρξασιν, ὡς ἢν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαῖοι ἀριθμοὶ καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς ἔξω λαμβάνωσιν ἐσπούδαζον. οὕκομεν οὐδὲ ἐς ῥήτορα ἐπὶ τινὲς χρόνων ἰροῦντο, ἀλλ’ ὡστε ἐπιβίβασαι τε τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀποστήμαι ὅταν τοῖς τοῦ κράτος ἔχοντι

3 δόξῃ καὶ πολλοὶ γε ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐκάστερον ἐπραξαν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ πανταπασι τὰς ἀρχαῖς ὑπὸ πενίας ἐγκατελυσον τῶν γὰρ σὺν τῷ Σέβετῳ τότε ὄντων, ὥς καὶ κατὰ δίκην δή

4 τινα ἀπιμασθέντων, οὐ μιμομοιον. βουλευο-

1 ἐγκολπόσεσθαι Pflugk, ἐγκολπόσεσθαι LM Xiph.
2 λαμβάνωσιν Rk., λαμβάνειν LM.
in all directions by the birds. And when at the Ludi Romani not one of the senators gave a banquet on the Capitol, as had been the custom, they took this, too, as a portent. Again, the incident that happened to Livia, although it caused her pleasure, inspired the rest with dread; a white bird carrying a sprig of laurel with the berries on it was thrown by an eagle into her lap. As this seemed to be a sign of no small moment, she cared for the bird and planted the laurel, which took root and grew, so that it long supplied those who celebrated triumphs in after time; and Livia was destined to hold in her lap even Caesar's power and to dominate him in everything. However, the other people in the city were greatly disturbed not only by this but also by the changes in the magistrates; for not only the consuls and praetors but even the quaestors were continually succeeding one another, and this lasted for some time. The reason was that all were anxious, not so much to hold office for any considerable time at home, as to be counted among the ex-officials and so secure the offices and military forces outside of Italy. Accordingly, some of the magistrates were no longer chosen for a specified period, but merely for a time sufficient to assume the title of the office, and then to resign from it whenever it seemed good to those in power; indeed, many did both on the same day. But there were some who had to abandon hope of office altogether because of poverty, to say nothing of those who were at this time with Sextus, whose disfranchisement was in a manner justified. Yet when
μένον δ' οὖν καὶ Μάρκου τινὸς 'Οσπίου ἀγορανομίας ὑπ' ἀπορίας (ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ἐπικεκηρυγμένων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἦν) ἐκστηναι τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ ἅλα τὰ πρὸς τὸν βιον ἀναγκαία καὶ ἐς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνάλωμα ἄργυριον αὐτῷ συνεσθήσειχε. καὶ λόγος γε ἐξέχει καὶ τῶν κακουργῶν τινὰς ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ θέατρον ἐν προσωπείοις, ὡς καὶ ὑποκρινομένους τι, ἐσελθόντας συγκαταβάλειν τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐτω ξὼν τι ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁμίλου ἡγαπηθῇ, καὶ ἀποθανὼν οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ἐς τὸ Ἀρειον πεδίον ἐκομίσθη καὶ ἔκει καὶ ἐκαύθη καὶ ἐτάφη, ἣ δὲ δὴ βούλη ἀγανακτήσασα τῇ πάσῃ τοῦ πλῆθους περὶ αὐτὸν σπούδῃ τὰ ὅστα αὐτοῦ, ὡς οὐχ ὁσίως ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χωρίῳ κείμενα, ἀνεῖλετο, πεισθεία τοῖς ποντιφίζει, καίπερ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ πρότερον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δύνασα. 54 Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ Ἀντόνιος ἤλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὔδις ἐκ τῆς Συρίας, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς καὶ τοῦ Σεξτείου πολέμου διὰ τὰς τοῦ Καίσαρος συμφορὰς μεθέξων, οὐ μέντοι καὶ παρέμεινεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἀτε ἐς κατασκοπὴν αὐτοῦ μάλλον ἢ καὶ ἔργον τινὸς ἕνεκα ἀφιγμένος, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ναύς ἐδωκε καὶ ἔτερας πέμψειν ὑπέσχετο, ἀνθ' ὡν ὀπλίτας ἀντέλαβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων ἀπῆρε. πρὶν δὲ ἡ ἀποσπεῖν αὐτὸν ἤτιασαι αὐτὸς ἄλληλους, πρὸ-
a certain Marcus Oppius planned to resign the aedileship because of poverty (for both he and his father had been among the proscribed), the populace did not permit it, but contributed money to meet the various necessities of his living and the expenses of his office. And the story goes that some criminals, too, actually came into the theatre in masks as if they were acting a play, and contributed their money also. Thus was this man loved by the multitude while in life, and at his death not much later he was carried to the Campus Martius and there burned and buried. The senate, however, feeling vexed at the utter devotion of the masses to him, took up his bones, on the plea that it was impious for them to lie in that sacred ground; they were persuaded by the pontifices to make this declaration, although they buried many other men there both before and after this.

At this same period Antony came back to Italy from Syria. The reason he gave was that he intended to bear his share of the war against Sextus because of Caesar's mishaps; he did not, however, stay by his colleague, but, having come to spy upon his actions rather than to accomplish anything, he gave him some ships and promised to send others, in return for which he received heavy-armed troops and departed, stating that he was going to conduct a campaign against the Parthians. Before he left, they presented to each other their mutual grievances, at
τερον μὲν διὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ δι’ ἑαυτῶν· καὶ οὗ γὰρ πιὸ σχολὴν πολεμήσαι σφίσιν ἦγον, συνηλλάγησαν τρόπον τινά, τῆς Ὀκταούιας δὲ μάλλιστα τούτῳ πρασσοῦσης. καὶ ὅπως γε πλείοσι τοῖς τῆς συγγενείᾳς συνδέσμοις συνέχοιτο, ὅ τε Καίσαρ Ἀντύλλος τῷ τοῦ Ἀντώνιου υἱὲ τὴν θυγατέρα, καὶ εὐεργός τῷ Δομιτίῳ, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος σφαγεῖ τε γενομένῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολουμένοις ἔκτεθέντι, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ὀκταούιας οἱ γεννηθεῖσαν ἡγγύσε. ¹ ταύτα τε ἀμα ² πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπλάσσοντο· οὐ γὰρ που καὶ ποιήσειν τι αὐτῶν ἤμελλον, ἄλλʼ ἐσ τὴν χρείαν τῶν παρόντων σφίσι πραγμάτων ὑπεκρίνοντο. ³ ἀμελεῖ καὶ τὴν Ὀκταούιαν αὐτὴν ευθὺς ἐκ τῆς Κερκύρας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἦν δὴ μὴ συγκινδυνεύσῃ οἱ τοῖς Πάρθοις πολεμοῦντι, ἀπέπεμψεν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλʼ ἐν γε τῷ τότε ἐκεῖνα τε οὕτως ἔπραξαν, καὶ τὸν μὲν Σέξτον τῆς τε ἱερωσύνης ἀμα καὶ τῆς ὑπατείας ἐς ἣν ἀπεδέδεικτο ἐπαύσαν, ἐαυτοῖς δὲ τὴν ἱγεμονίαν ἐς ἄλλα ἐτέ πέντε, ἐπειδή τα πρῶτα ἐξεληλύθει, ἐπέτρεψαν. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἤπείγετο, Καίσαρ δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίστατο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῶ ἔχορει, ὅ δὲ δὴ Μηρᾶς ἄπιστος τε φύσει ὑπὸ καὶ τά τοῦ κραίττονος ἀεὶ θεραπεύων, καὶ προσέτει καὶ ἀγανακτήσας ὦτι μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν ἄλλα τῶ Σαβίνω ὑπετέτακτο, πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον αὐτὸς ἡμιμολύσαν.

¹ ἡγγύσε Dind., ἡγγύσες LM.
² Some words have probably been lost at this point.
³ ὑπεκρίνοντο Xiph., ὑπεκρίνατο LM.
first through their friends and then personally; and since they had as yet no leisure for war with each other, they became reconciled in a way, chiefly through the instrumentality of Octavia. And in order that they might be bound by still more ties of relationship, Caesar betrothed his daughter to Antyllus, Antony’s son, and Antony betrothed to Domitius, though he had been one of Caesar’s murderers and one of those proscribed to die, his own daughter, borne to him by Octavia. These agreements were merely pretences on both sides; for they really had no intention of carrying out any of them, but were acting a part in view of the exigencies of the moment. At all events, Antony immediately sent back Octavia herself from Coreyra to Italy, in order that, as he represented, she might not share his danger while he was warring against the Parthians. Nevertheless, they made these agreements at that time as stated and removed Sextus from his priesthood as well as from the consulship to which he had been appointed, and granted themselves the leadership for another five years, since the first period had elapsed. After this Antony hastened to Syria and Caesar entered upon the war. Nearly everything was going as he wished; but Menas, who was naturally untrustworthy and always cultivated the stronger side, and was furthermore vexed because he held no command but had been made subordinate to Sabinus, deserted again to Sextus.
Τάδε ἦν ἔνστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακόστῳ ἑτήμῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων

α. Ὅς Καίσαρ Σέξτος ἐνίκησεν καὶ Λέπιδον καθέλεν.
β. Ὅς Οὐδετίδος Πάκραν ἡμέρας ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐξῆλαιεν.
γ. Ὅς Ἀρτάνιος ὑπὸ Πάρθων ἤττηθη.
δ. Ὅς Καίσαρ Παννονίου κατεστρέφατο.
e. Ὅς Ἀρτάνιος Ἀρτανάδην τὸν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα ἀπαθήσας ἠλευ.
ζ. Ὅς ὁ Παύλος στοὶ καθεράθη.
η. Ὅς Μαυρετανία ἤ περὶ Καὶσάρειαν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη τέταρα ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἴδε ἐγένετο

Δ. Γέλλιος Λ. νλ. Ποπλικάλαι
Μ. Κοκκήιος Λ. νλ. Νέρωνας
Λ. Καττουφίκιος Λ. νλ.
Σέξτος Ποπλικάλαι
Μ. Ἀρτάνιος Λ. νλ. Σέξτος Λ. νλ.
Λ. Σκραβάνιος Λ. νλ. Λίθων
Καίσαρ τὸ Β’
Λ. Οὐκαλάκιος Λ. νλ. Ταῦλλος

Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ χειμῶνι ἐν ὧν Δούκιος τε Γέλλιος καὶ Κοκκήιος Νέρωνας ὑπάτευσαν, ταύθ’ οὖτως ἐγένετο. Καίσαρ δὲ, ὡς τὸ τε ναυτικὸν ἡτοίμαστο καὶ τὸ χαρ ἦν ἐνστή, ὡρε τῇ ἐκ τῶν Βαϊών καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐκομίζετο, ἐπὶ διὰ οὖν ἐλαχίστην ἡχοῦ ἀπανταχόθεν πέριξ τῆς

1 Σέξτος, Σέξτος, Σέξτος Dind., σέξτος, σέξτος, σέξτος LM (as usual).
2 Ποπλικάλαι R. Steph., ποπλικάλαι LM.
3 Κοκκήιος Leuncl., κόκκιος LM (and so below).
BOOK XLIX

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

How Caesar conquered Sextus and overthrew Lepidus (chaps. 1-18).
How Ventidius conquered and slew Pacorus and drove the Parthians across the Euphrates (chaps. 19-21).
How Antony was defeated by the Parthians (chaps. 22-33).
How Caesar subjugated the Pannonians (chaps. 34-38).
How Antony by guile captured Artavasdes, the king of Armenia (chaps. 39-41).
How the Portico of Paulus was consecrated (chap. 42).
How Mauretania Caesariensis fell to the Romans (chap. 43).

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

B.C. 36 L. Gellius L. F. Publicola, M. Cocceius ... Nerva.
35 L. Cornificius L. F. Sextus Pompeius Sex. F.
33 Caesar (II), L. Volcacios L. F. Tullus.

All this happened in the winter in which Lucius B.C. 36
Gellius and Cocceius Nerva became consuls. When
the fleet had been made ready and spring had set in,
Caesar set out from Baiae and coasted along Italy
with great hopes of encompassing Sicily on all sides.

\[4\ldots vi\] added by Bs.
\[5\text{Nēpōnas R. Steph., νιψας LM.}\]
\[6\text{Πομπηῖος Xyl., πόπηῖος LM.}\]
\[\nu\text{ added by Bs.}\]
\[\text{A. L., om. M.}\]
Σικελίαν περισχήσειν. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ πολλαῖς ναυσίν ἐπέπλει, καὶ αἱ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ἦδη παρῆσαν ὁ τε Δέπιδος ἀκών μὲν, 2 ὑπέσχητο δὲ οὖν αὐτὸ ὑποθήσειν. μέγιστον δὲ τῷ τε υψεῖ τῶν σκαφῶν καὶ τῇ παχύτητι τῶν ἔμφων ἑδάρσει· ὑπερπαχῆ τε γὰρ καὶ ὑπερμεγέθη κατεσκευάσθη, ὡστε ἐπιβάτας τε πλείστους ὅσους ἄγειν (καὶ γὰρ πύργους ἐφερον, ὅπως ὡσπερ ἀπὸ τεῖχους ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων ἀγωνίζονται) καὶ αὐτὰ πρὸς τε ἐμβολὰς τῶν ἐναντίων ἀντέχειν, καὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους αὐτῶν, ἀτε καὶ βιαιοτέραν τὴν σύγκρουσιν ποιομένων, ἀπο- 3 στρέφειν. τοιούτοις μὲν λογισμοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἥπεγετο. καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ἀκρωτηρίῳ τὸν Παλίνουρον ὄνομαζόμενον ὑπερβάλλοντι χειμὼν μέγας ἐπέσεσε· καὶ οὕτως τε πολλὰς ναῦς ἐφθηκε, καὶ ὁ Μηνᾶς ταραττομέναις ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐπιγενό- μενος συχνὰς τὰς μὲν ἐκαυσε τὰς δὲ ἀνεδήσατο. εἰ δὲ μὴ αὐθίς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλαις τισίν ἐπίση μετέτησθι, καὶ τριήρεις ψευδαυτομόλους διέκομεν τὸν ναυτικόν οὐ ἢρχε προεδόκη, διὰ κενῆς ἀν καὶ τὸτε ὁ ἐπίπλους τῷ Καῖσαρι ἐγένετο. τοῦτο δὲ ἐπιράξει, ὅτι οὔτε ἡ Δέπιδος ἐπελήμησαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέβτου ἐπετράπη καὶ πρὸς 4 πάντα τάλλα ὑποτεύνετο. Καῖσαρ δὲ προσήκατο μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸτε ἁμενεστάτα, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπίστευσε τε ἐπὶ αὐτῷ. ὡς δὲ οὖν τὰς τε πεποιηκυιάς ναῦς ἐπεσκευάσατο, καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς τριήριτας ἠλευθέρωσε, τοὺς τε περίνεως (πολλοὶ γὰρ φθειρομένων ἐν τῇ ναυαγίᾳ τῶν σκα- φῶν ἀπεκολυμβήσαν) ἐς τῷ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ναυ- 5 ὁμ τε Βκ., οὖτε Ι.Μ.
For he was sailing thither with many ships himself and those of Antony were already in the strait; also Lepidus had reluctantly promised to assist him. But his chief ground of confidence lay in the height of his vessels and the thickness of their timbers; they had been built unusually stout and unusually high, in order not only to carry the largest possible number of marines (in fact they had towers on them, in order that the men might fight from higher ground, as if from a wall), but also to withstand the attacks of the opposing vessels and at the same time bend back their beaks, since the violence of their collision would be increased thereby. With such plans Caesar was hastening to Sicily. As he was passing the promontory named Palinurus a great storm fell upon him; this destroyed many ships, and Menas, coming upon the rest while they were in confusion, burned or towed away many of them. And had he not again changed sides, on the promise of immunity and because of some other hopes, and betrayed the whole fleet that he commanded by receiving some triremes that simulated desertion, Caesar's voyage to Sicily on this occasion also would have proved fruitless. Menas acted as he did because he was not allowed by Sextus to fight against Lepidus and was under suspicion in all other ways. Caesar received him very gladly on this occasion also, but trusted him no longer. And when he had repaired the damaged ships, freed the slaves that were serving on the triremes, and assigned the reserves (many of whom had escaped by leaping overboard when their vessels were destroyed in the wreck) to Antony's fleet, which was short of men, he
6 τικὸν ὀλυμπροῦν κατέταξεν, ἐς τε Διπάραν ἢλθε, κἀνταῦθα τὸν τε Ἀγρίππαν καὶ τὰς ναὸς καταλιπὼν ἐς τὴν ἦπειρον ἐκομίσθη, ἵνα καὶ τὸν πεζὸν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, ὅταν καιρὸς γένηται, περαιώσῃ.

2 Μαθών δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Σέξτος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Μεσσήνη ὑφόρμει, τὸν δὲ Ἀγρίππαν Δημοχάρην ἀνθορμεῖν ἐν Μύλαις ἐκέλευσεν. οὕτω οὖν τὸ μὲν πλείστων τοῦ χρόνου ἀποτειρώμενοι μὲν ἄλληλων κατὰ τὸ παρεῖκον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐναποκινδυνεύσαι παντὰ τῷ στόλῳ τολμῶντες, κατανάλωσαν οὕτω γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις ἄλληλων ὑδεσαν, καὶ πάντα πρὸς τὸ τοῦ μείζον καὶ πρὸς τὸ φοβερότερον παρ’ ἀμφοτέρους περὶ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐλογοποιεῖτο. τέλος δὲ ὁ Ἀγρίππας συνεῖς ὃτι οὐ συμφέρει οἱ διατρίβειν (οἱ γὰρ τοῦ Σέξτου, ἀτε ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ναυλοχοῦντες, οὐδὲν ἐδούντο σπεύδειν) τὰς τε ἀρίστας τῶν νεῶν ἔλαβε, καὶ ἔπι τᾶς Μύλας πρὸς κατασκοπὴν τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων πλῆθος ὀρμήσε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε πάντας αὐτὸς ἰδεῖν ἡδυνήθη ἡν αναχθήναι τις αὐτῶν ἠθέλησε, κατεφρονήσειν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπαινεθὼν παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶ τῆς ἱστεραιάς ἐπὶ τᾶς Μύλας ἐπιπλευσοῦμενος. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Δημοχάρης ἐπαθεμόνας τε γὰρ τὰς ἀφικομένας ναὸς ὑποτοπῆσας εἶναι, καὶ βραδύτατα αὐτὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους πλεούσας ἰδῶν, τὸν τε Σέξτου τῆς νυκτὸς μετεπέμψε, καὶ ήτοιμάζετο ὡς καὶ αὐτὴ τῇ Διπάρᾳ προσμίζων. ἡμέρα τε ὑπέφηνε, καὶ ἀμφοτεροὶ ἦμα ὡς καὶ ἔπελάττους σφὸν ἄλληλους ὄντας ἐπλευσαν.

1 ἡδυνήθης St., ἡδουηθή LM. 2 ὑπέφηνε M, ἀπέφηνε L.
came to Lipara; and leaving there Agrippa and the ships, he returned to the mainland, in order to transport the infantry also to Sicily, when an opportunity should arise.

On learning of this Sextus himself remained at anchor off Messana, waiting for Caesar to cross, but he ordered Demochares to anchor opposite Agrippa at Mylae. These two men spent most of the time in testing each other's strength as opportunity offered, but they did not dare to risk an engagement with their entire armaments; for they were not acquainted with each other's forces and on both sides the reports that circulated about the opposing fleet were exaggerated and made more fear-inspiring than the reality. But finally Agrippa realized that it was not advantageous for him to delay,—for the forces of Sextus, lying as they did in home waters, had no need of haste,—and so, taking the best of his ships, he set out for Mylae to spy out the numbers of the enemy. And when he found that he could not see them all and that none of them wished to come out into the open sea, he came to despise them, and on his return made preparations to sail against Mylae on the following day with all his ships. And Demochares came to much the same conclusion; for he had the idea that the ships which had approached him were all alone, and seeing that they sailed very slowly by reason of their size, he sent for Sextus by night and proceeded to make preparations to attack Lipara itself. When day broke, they were sailing against each other, both sides expecting to meet
3 ἐγγὺς δὲ δὴ γενόμενοι, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν πολλά πλείους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐκάτεροι ὧν ὄψιντο εἰναι ἰδόντες, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐπαράχθησαν ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι, καὶ τινὲς καὶ πρῶμαν ἐκρούσαντο ἐπείτα δὲ τὴν φυγήν τῆς μάχης μᾶλλον φοβηθέντες, καὶ ἐν μὲν ταύτῃ καὶ κρατήσαται ἐν ἐλπίσαντες, ἐν δὲ ἐκείνῃ πασσυδι ἀπολείσθαι προσδοκῆσαντες, ἀντεξόρμησαν καὶ συμμάχαντες ἑναυμάχησαν.

2 ἤσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν τῷ πλήθει τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις τῶν ναυτικῶν προφέροντες, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὸ τε ὄψις τῶν σκαφῶν καὶ τὸ πάχος τῶν ἐπωτιδῶν οἱ τε πύργοι συνήροντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐτέρους οἱ τε διέκπλοι ἀνέφερον, πρὸς τε τὴν ρώμην τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιβατῶν ἡ τόλμα αὐτῶν ἀντήρ-κει: αὐτόμολοι γὰρ οἱ πλείους ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας

3 ὅπως ἀπονοιά πολλῆ ἐχρόνιτο. κὰκ τοῦτον πλεονεκτοῦντες τε ἀμα ἄλληλων καὶ ἐλάττου-μενοι οἷς εἰσοῦν, ἅσαν τὴν ἵσχυν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σφίσεων ἀντιπάλου εἰχον· καὶ διὰ τούτο χρόνον καὶ ἀγχώμαλα ἐπὶ πλείστων ἡγοιν-σαυτο. οἵ τε γὰρ Σεξτείοι τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐναντίους τῷ Ῥωμίῳ ἐξέπλησσον, καὶ τινὰς νὰπο, ρύμη τε σφίσι προσπίπτοντες καὶ τὰς παρεξερεσίας αὐτῶν ἀναρρηγήσαντες, ἐτίτρω-σκον, ἀπὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν πύργων ἐν τῇ προσμίζει βαλλόμενοι καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιβολαις σιδηρῶν προς-

4 αρτώμενοι οὐδέν ἐλαττὸν ὄν ἐδρον ἐπασχον· καὶ

5 κρατήσαται ἐν ἐλπίσαντες Βκ., κρατήσειν ἐνθελπίσαντες ΛΜ.

6 πασσυδι R. Steph., πασσυδεὶ ΛΜ (so in chap. 7, 3).
inferior numbers. But when now they drew near together and each force contrary to its expectation saw that its opponents were much more numerous than they had supposed, both alike were at first thrown into confusion, and some even backed water. Then, fearing flight more than battle, because in the one case they hoped they should prevail, whereas in the other they expected to be utterly destroyed, they sailed out to meet each other and when they came to close quarters joined in battle. The one side surpassed in the number of its ships, the other in the experience of its sailors; one side was helped by the height of the vessels and the thickness of the catheads and also the towers, but these advantages were counterbalanced by the manoeuvring of the other side, and the superior strength of Caesar's marines was matched by the daring of those of Sextus, the majority of whom fought with great desperation inasmuch as they were deserters from Italy. Consequently, since each side had the points of superiority and likewise of inferiority that I have named with respect to the other, they found their total strength equal as the result of the even balance of their resources; and on this account they at last fought on even terms for a long time. The followers of Sextus alarmed their opponents by the way they dashed up the waves, and they also damaged some of their ships by assailing them with a rush and ripping open the parts that were beyond the banks of oars, but since they were assailed with missiles from the towers at the moment of attack and were brought alongside by grappling irons, they suffered no less harm than they inflicted. And Caesar's forces,

1 The prows and sterns.
οι Καισάρειοι ἐς χείρας μὲν σφισιν ἱόντες καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς σφῶν μετεκβαίνοντες κρείττους ἐγίγνοντο, ἐκπηδώντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν βάλασσαν ὑπὸ τε βαπτίζοιντο, καὶ ἐτέρων σκαφῶν ῥαδίως ἐκ τοῦ καλῶς νεῖν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κούφως ἐσκευάσθηντο, ἐπιβαίνοντον, ἀντιρρόπως ἠλαττοῦντο. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν νεών ἢ τις ναυτιλίας τῶν ἐπιχώριων ὑπὸ τὴς ἔξωτης ἱσοπαλῆς τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων βεβαιώθητι καὶ ἡ τούτων βαρύτης ἱσοστασία τῇ ἐκεῖνων λεπτότητι ἐγίγνετο.

4 Ὑψὲ δ’ οὖν ποτὲ καὶ πρὸς νῦκτα ἡδὶ οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκφάνησαν, οὗ μὲντοι καὶ ἑπεδιόβαν τίνα, ὡς μὲν ἔμοι δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ εἰκὸς συμβαλλεῖται, ὦτι μὴτε καταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐδύναντο, καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν, βράχῳ ὧν ἀπειροὶ ἱσαν ἐχώσαν, ἐφοβήθησαν ἐξοκεῖλαί ὡς δὲ τινὲς λέγουσιν, ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἀτε καὶ ὑπέρ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ μαχόμενος, ἐξαρκεῖν οἱ τὸ τρέφαν

2 τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἡγεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ εἰσόθει λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς πάνω ἐταῖρους ὅτι οἱ πλείους τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις ὧντων οὐδένα ἐθέλουσι κρείττων" σφῶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πλεῖστο, ὡσα γε καὶ πρὸχειροὶ τὴν νίκην ἔχει, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἑαυτῶν ποιοῦνται, τὰ δὲ δὴ χείρῳ καὶ ἀτοπώτερα ἀλλοις προστάτουσι. καὶ ἃρα ποτὲ τῶν ἡμειώνων τι ἀναγκασθοῦσι σφισιν ἐπιτρέψατι, βαρύνονται τε καὶ ἄρχονται τῇ εὐδοξίᾳ αὐτῶν ἡττᾶσθαι μὲν γὰρ σφας καὶ κακοὶ πράττειν οὐκ εὔχονται, οὐ μέντοι καὶ παντελῶς τι καταπράξαντος τὴν

3 ὁδὸν αὐτοὺς λαβεῖν αἰροῦνται. δειν οὖν παρῄσχει τὸν ἄνδρα τῶν σωθησόμενον τῆς μὲν δυσχε-

1 κρείττων Χιφ., κρείττων ΛΜ.
when they came into close conflict and crossed over to the hostile ships, proved superior; but as the enemy leaped overboard into the sea whenever their vessels sank, and because of their good swimming and light equipment succeeded easily in climbing aboard others, the attackers were at a corresponding disadvantage. Meanwhile, in the case of the ships also, the rapidity of movement of those on the one side counterbalanced the steadiness of those on the other side, and the weight of the latter made up for the lightness of the former.

Late in the day, however, toward nightfall, Caesar's forces were at last victorious, but they did not give chase. The reason, as it appears to me and as may with probability be conjectured, was that they could not overtake the fleeing ships and were afraid of running ashore, since the coast abounded in shoals with which they were unacquainted; but some assert that Agrippa thought it sufficient merely to rout his adversaries, since he was fighting for Caesar and not for himself. For he was wont to say to his intimate friends that most men in positions of power wish no one to be superior to themselves, but attend personally without the use of agents to most matters—to all, in fact, that afford them an easy victory—and assign the more difficult and extraordinary tasks to others. And if they ever do find themselves obliged to entrust an enterprise of the better sort to their assistants, they are irritated and displeased at the fame these subordinates win, and although they do not pray that they may be defeated and fare badly, yet they do not choose to have them win a complete success and secure glory from it. His advice, therefore, was that the man who expected to come out

347
ρέιας αυτούς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπαλλάττειν, τήν δὲ δὴ κατόρθωσιν σφών ἐκείνους φυλάττειν. ἔγω δὲ ὅτι μὲν ταύτῃ οὕτω πέρικε καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἐπεμελεῖτο αὐτῶν οἴδα, οὐ μὴν ἐν γε τῷ τότε παρόντε τούτῳ αἰτίου τῆς οὐ διώξεως αὐτοῦ γράφω οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πάνυ ἐβούλετο, οἷος τε ἤν ἐπισπέσθαι σφίσειν.

5 Ἐν̄ φ' δ' οὖν ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο, ὁ Κάισαρ ὡς τάχιστα τὸν τὸν Σέξτον ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ἀπεληλυθότα καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν φυλακῆς ἔρημον ὄντα ἤσθετο, τὸ μὲν καίνον τὸν πολέμου οὐ παρέλιπεν, ἀλλ' εὔθυς ἐπιβᾶς τῶν Ἀρτονιείων νεῶν πρὸς Ταυρομείνων ἐπεραιώθη, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ αὐτῷ

2 ἐχρήσατο. πλέοντα μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀποβαίνοντα αὐτὸν οὔδες ἐκάλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ καθ' ἰσχυριάν τα τὰ ἄλλα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐποιήσατο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἢ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Σέξτος ἐς τῇ Μεσσήνῃ σπουδῇ ἀφίκετο, καὶ μαθὼν παρόντα αὐτὸν ἄλλους τῇ διὰ ταχέως

3 ἀκραίφυεις ἐς τᾶς ναύς ἀντενεβίβασε καὶ ἐκείνας τῇ αὐτῷ ἄμα καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας κατὰ γῆν προσέμεξε, τούτως μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπεξήλθεν, ἀνταναχθεὶς δὲ καταφρονήσει τῇς τῆς ὀλυγότητος τῶν ἐναντίων νεῶν καὶ ὅτι καὶ προῆτηντο, τοῦ τῇ ναυτικοῦ τὸ πλείον ἀπέβαλε καὶ αὐτὸς ὄλγον προσδιεθάρη.

4 οὐκοινον οὐδ' ἡδυνήθη πρὸς τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σικελία ὄντας διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς ἐς τῇ ἥπειρον ἀπεσώθη. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἀσφαλεί ἢ, ὅρων δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπειλημένον

5 δεινῶς ἡχητο. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνεθάρσησε πρὶν

1 αὐτῶς Polak, αὐτῶν LM.
alive should relieve his masters of undertakings which involve great difficulty and reserve for them the successes. As for me, I know that all this is naturally so and that Agrippa paid heed to these principles, but I am not saying that on that particular occasion this was the reason for his failure to pursue; for he would not have been able to catch up with the foe no matter how much he might have desired it.

While the naval battle was in progress, Caesar, as soon as he perceived that Sextus had departed from Messana and that the strait was destitute of a garrison, did not let slip this "chance of war," but immediately embarked on Antony's vessels and crossed over to Tauromenium; however, he enjoyed no good fortune in doing so. No one, to be sure, interfered with his sailing or his disembarking, and he was quite undisturbed in general and also when he made his camp; but when the naval battle was over, Sextus came with all speed to Messana, and learning of Caesar's presence he quickly filled his ships with fresh troops and attacked him at once and the same time with his fleet and with his heavy-armed troops on land. Caesar did not even come out to fight the infantry, but sailing out against Sextus, because he despised the enemy's fleet with its small number of vessels and because they had been previously defeated, he lost the greater part of his fleet and barely avoided destruction himself. Indeed, he could not even escape to his own men in Sicily, but was glad to reach the mainland in safety. And though he himself was then in security, yet when he saw his army cut off on the island, he was terribly distressed. His confidence was not restored until a

\[1\] An expression borrowed from Thucydides (iii. 30).
6 Καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν σπουδῇ πρὸς τὴν ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῶν μετεπέμπτεο, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐπολιορκοῦντο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιλείπειν σφᾶς ἦρχετο καὶ βοήθεια οὐδεμία πτω ἐφαινετο, φοβηθεὶς ο Ὀρνουφίκιος (οὗτος γὰρ αὐτῶν ἦρχε) μὴ καὶ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τῷ χρόνῳ κατὰ χώραν μὲν ἐκπολιορκηθῆ, καὶ νομίζας διατρίβοντι μὲν οἱ αὐτῶν ταύτη μηδένα τῶν πολεμίων ἐς χέιρας, ἀτε καὶ κρείττονι τοῖς ὀπλίταις ὄντι, ἦξειν, ἃν δὲ πῃ προχωρῇ, δυοῦν θάτερον, ἡ προσμέχαντας σφισιν αὐτῶν κρατήσειν, ἡ μὴ βουληθέντων αὐτῶν τοῦτο ποίησαι πρὸς τὸ ἀσφαλές ἀποχωρήσειν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εὐπορῆσειν καὶ τινα καὶ ὕφελιαν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἦ καὶ τοῦ Αγρίππαν σχίσειν, τά τε σκάφη ὅσα ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ὑπελέειντο καὶ πρὸς τὸ τάφρευμα ἑξεπεπτώκει κατέκαυσε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἅρα ἡς πρὸς τὰς Μῦλας ἐπορεύετο. καὶ αὐτῷ προσβαλόντες καὶ ἰπτῆς καὶ ψιλοὶ πόρρωθεν (οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι ἑτὸλμων) ἀποροὶ δεινῶς ἐγένοντο. αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπήσειν ὅποτε καιρὸς εἶπῃ, καὶ ἀνέστρεφον διὰ βραχεός· οἱ δὲ, ὅσα γε ὀπλῖται, οὔτ' ἀλλος ἐπιδιώκειν σφᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους ἑδύναντο, καὶ τοὺς ἀόπλους τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ σωθέντας περιέστελλον.
fish of its own accord leaped out of the sea and fell at his feet; this incident gave him courage once more, for he believed the soothsayers who told him that he should make the sea his slave.

Caesar, now, was sending urgent messages to Agrippa to come to the aid of his soldiers in Sicily, and these troops meanwhile were being besieged. And when their provisions began to fail them and no rescuing force appeared, Cornificius, their leader, became afraid that if he stayed where he was he should in the course of time be compelled by hunger to yield to his besiegers; and he reflected that while he tarried there in that same spot none of the enemy would join issue with him, because he was superior in heavy-armed troops, but if he should leave his camp in any direction one of two things would happen—either he would overpower the enemy, if they joined battle with him, or, if they declined battle, he would retire to a place of safety, get a supply of provisions, and obtain some help from Caesar or from Agrippa. Therefore he burned all the vessels that had been left over from the sea-fight and had been cast up beside the entrenchments, and set out as if to proceed to Mylæ. Both cavalry and light-armed troops attacked him from a distance, not daring to come to close quarters, and proved exceedingly troublesome to him; for they would not only attack whenever opportunity offered but would also quickly retreat again, whereas his men, being heavy-armed, could not pursue them in any case owing to the weight of their armour, and moreover were endeavouring to protect the unarmed men who had been saved from the fleet. Consequently they were
του ἔπασχον μὲν πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, ἀντέδρων δὲ οὐδὲν· εἰ γάρ που καὶ ἐπάξειαν 1 τισιν, ἑτρεπν μὲν αὐτούς, πέρα δ’ οὐ δυνάμενοι διώκειν χαλεπώ-
tέροις σφᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφῇ, ἀτε καὶ μονούμενοι
tαῖς ἐκδρομαῖς, ἐξοχ. ἐν τε οὐν τῇ ἅλλῃ πορείᾳ
cαι ἐν ταῖς διαβάσεις τῶν ποταμῶν μάλιστα
ἰσχυρῶς ἐταλασσόρουν περιστορχιζόμενοι γὰρ
αὐτούς οἱ ἐναντίοι κατ’ ὀλίγους, οία ἐν τῷ τοιοῦ-
tῷ, καὶ 2 σπουδὴ ἀτάκτως χωροῦντας, ἐς τὰ
καἱρὰμ παραγιμνομένους ἐπαινοῦν, καὶ ἐς τὰ πη-
λώδη τά τε ροώδη ἐσπίπτοντάς πη 3 καὶ ἑνισχο-
μένους ἢ καὶ παραφερομένους ἐβάλλον.

7 Καὶ τούτ’ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ὅλας ἡμέρας ἐποίησαν, καὶ
tῇ γε τελευταίᾳ παντελῶς αὐτοὺς ἐκάκωσαν,
ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Σέξτου τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ προσ-
γενομένου σφίσιν, ὡστε τῶν μὲν ἄπολυμμένων
οὐδένα ἐτι λόγον ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν κέρδει
τὸ μηκέτι αὐτοὺς κακοπαθεῖν ἐτίθεντο, καὶ ἠθέλον
καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἰδίων τεθνηκότων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνελπιστίας
2 εἶναι. οἱ δὲ δὴ τραυματίαι πολλοὶ τε καὶ πλείους
τῶν τελευτῶν ὄντες (ἄτε γὰρ καὶ λίθοις καὶ
ἀκοντίως πόρρωθεν βαλλόμενοι, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐκ
χειρὸς πληγῆ ὑπομένοντες, πολλαχῇ τε καὶ οὐ
πάντη καὶρίαν ἐτιτρώσκοντο) αὐτοὶ τε δεινῶς
3 ἐταλασσόρουν, καὶ τοῖς περιλοίποις πολὺ πλείω
πόνον ἢ οἱ πολέμοι παρείχον εἴτε γὰρ φέροιτο,
καὶ τοὺς ἀνέχοντας σφᾶς προσαπώλλυσαν, εἴτε

1 ἐπάξειαν Dind., ἐπάξειαν L.M.
2 καὶ placed here by Bs., before κατ’ ὀλίγους in L.M.
3 η Cary, έτι L.M.
suffering many injuries and could inflict none in return; for, in case they made a rush upon any of them, they would put them to flight, to be sure, but not being unable to carry their pursuit to the end, they would find themselves in a worse plight during their retreat, since by their sortie they would become isolated. However, it was during their march forward and especially when they had rivers to cross that they suffered their greatest hardships; for their foes hemmed them in as they hurried along in small groups, as is natural in such a march, and in disorder, and kept raining fatal blows upon them as they chanced to expose themselves, and hurling their missiles at them whenever they stumbled into swamps or flowing streams and were being checked in their course or else swept down stream.

The enemy employed these tactics for three whole days and on the last demoralized them completely, especially since Sextus had now joined them with his heavy-armed contingent. Consequently the troops of Caesar ceased to concern themselves about those who were perishing, but counted them fortunate to escape from further torment, and in their despair wished that they, too, were among those already dead. Indeed the wounded were far more numerous than those who died; for since they were being hit by stones and javelins thrown from a distance and sustained no blows dealt in hand-to-hand fighting, they received their wounds in many parts of their bodies, and not always in a vital spot. Thus men were not only in great distress themselves, but they caused the uninjured far more trouble than did the enemy. For, if they were carried, they usually caused the death of the men who supported them and lost
καὶ κατελείποντο, τὸ στράτευμα πάν ἐς ἀθυμίαν ὀλοφυρόμενοι καθίστασαν. κὰν πασσοῦ διεφθάρησαν, εἰ μὴ περ ὁι πολέμιοι καὶ ἀκοντές σφων ἀπέσχοντο. ὁ τε γὰρ Ἀγρίππας τὸτε μὲν νικήσας τὴν ναυμαχίαν πρὸς τὴν Διπάραν ἀνέπλευσε, μαθὼν δὲ τὸν τε Σέξτον ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην πεφευγότα καὶ τὸν Δημοκάρην ἄλλοσε ποι ἀπεληλυθότα, ἐπεραίωθη ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ καταλαβὼν τὰς τε Μύλας καὶ τὴν Τυνδάριδα σύτων τὲ σφισι καὶ στρατιώτας ἐπεμψε καὶ ὁ Σέξτος οἰχθεῖς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνων ἥξειν ἐφοβήθη καὶ σπούδῃ προανεχώρησεν, ὡστε καὶ σκεύῃ τινὰ καὶ ἐπιτιθεῖα ἐν τῷ ἐρύματι καταλεπεῖν, ἐξ ὧν τὴν τροφὴν ἄφθονον οἱ περὶ τὸν Κορνουφίκιον ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἀπεσώθησαν. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ ἐπαίνοις καὶ δωρεαῖς ἀνεκτήσατο, καὶ περ ὑπεροπτικότατα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ναυκρατία, ὡς καὶ διαπεπολεμηκότος, χρησάμενος τοσοῦτον γὰρ που καὶ ὁ Κορνουφίκιος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρία ἐφρόνηε ὡστε καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ ἐλέφαντος, ὀσάκις ἐξ ὑγιές ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἔδειπνει, ἀνακομίζοντας.

8 Ὁ δὲ οὖν Καίσαρ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν μετὰ τούτοι ἔλθοντι ὁ Σέξτος περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο καὶ μάχην μὲν οὐδεμίαν εὐθὺς μεγάλην ἐμαχέσαντο, ἵππομαχίας δὲ τινὰς βραχείας ἐποιοῦντο. ἀντικαθημένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλληλοις, τῷ μὲν Σέξτῳ ὁ Γάλλος ὁ Τισεῖνος, τῷ δὲ Καίσαρι ὁ Λέπιδος σὺν ταῖς δυνάμεσι προσεγένοντο. οὕτως τε γὰρ περιπεσὼν τῷ χειμῶνι οὕτω οἴκημον ἐμνημόνευσα καὶ τῷ Δημοκάρῃ, ναύς τε συχνὰς ἀπεβαλε καὶ

1 ὑπεροπτικότατα Xyl., ὑποπτικότατα I.M.
their own lives besides, and if they were left behind, they threw the whole army into dejection by their laments. The detachment would have perished utterly, had not the foe reluctantly desisted from attacking them. For Agrippa had sailed back to Lipara after winning the naval battle, as related above, but when he learned that Sextus had fled to Messana and Demochares had gone off in some other direction, he crossed over to Sicily, occupied Mylae and Tyndaris, and sent food and soldiers to the other party; and Sextus, believing that Agrippa himself would come likewise, became frightened and hastily withdrew before his approach, even abandoning some baggage and supplies in his camp; and from this source the troops under Cornificius obtained ample provisions and made their way in safety to Agrippa. Caesar welcomed them back with words of praise and with gifts, although he had treated them with utter indifference after the victory of Agrippa, who, as he thought, had finished the war. As for Cornificius, he so prided himself upon having saved his soldiers that even when he was back in Rome he always had himself conveyed on the back of an elephant whenever he dined out.

After this Caesar went to Sicily and Sextus encamped opposite him in the vicinity of Artemisium; yet they did not have any great battle at once, but indulged in a few slight cavalry skirmishes. While they were encamped there opposite one another Sextus was reinforced by Tisienus Gallus and Caesar by Lepidus with his forces. Lepidus had encountered the storm which I have mentioned, and also had fallen in with Demochares, and he had lost a number
οὐκ εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἦλθεν, ἀλλ' εἶτε δὴ διὰ τὸ πάθος, εἴθ' ὅπως καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκεῖνος προσῆκε, εἶτε καὶ ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸν Ἁστύνων ἃπ' αὐτοῦ βουληθεῖς. Λιλυβαῖο προσέβαλε καὶ ὁ Γάλλος ἐνταῦθα αὐτῶ πεμφθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἅστυνων προσεπο-
3 λέμει. καὶ οὖτως ἐκείθεν ἀμφότεροι, ἐπειδὴ μῆδεν ἐπέρανεν, πρὸς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὁ μὲν Γάλλος ἐπέρρωσε τὸν Ἁστύνων, ὁ δὲ ὁ Δέπιὼς τῷ τε Καίσαρι διηνέχθη (αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἱσοῦ πάντα αὐτῷ διουκεῖν ὡς καὶ συνάρχον ἥξιον, καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐς πάντα αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ὑποστρατήγῳ ἐκχρῆτο), κὰκ τούτου πρὸς τε τὸν Ἁστύνων ἀπέκλινε
4 καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο αὐτῷ δι' ἀπορρήτων. ὑποτοπή-
σας οὖν τούτο ὁ Καίσαρ, καὶ μῆτε ἐκφίνει τολμῶν, μή καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ αὐτῶν πολεμῶσαι, μή
t' αὖ ἀποκρύψασθαι ἁσφαλῶς δυνάμενος (ὑποπτοῦ
μὲν γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν εἰ μὴ συμβουλεύοντο τι αὐτῷ,
δεινὸν δ' εἰ πάντα ἀνακοινώθων), διακινδυνεύσαι
ὅτι τάχιστα, πρὶν νεοχυμωθήναι τι, ἔγνω, καὶ
5 τῶν ἀλλών ἕνεκα ἢκίστα ἐπενεχόμενος. οὔτε γὰρ
σίτος οὔτε χρήματα τῷ Σέξτῳ ὑπῆρ, εξ' ὅν ἡπιζεῖ
αὐτῶν ἁμαχεῖ οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον καταλύειν. ἐπεὶ
ὁ οὖν ἐκρίνε τούτῳ, αὐτὸς τε κατὰ γῆν τὸν στρατόν
ἐξάγων πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προπαρέτασσε, καὶ
ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἀμα ἐπιπλέων ἀπεσάλευν· ὁ γὰρ
Σέστος κοινοὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν αὐτῶν ἐλαττοῦμενος
6 οὐδετέρωσε ἀντεπεξῆς. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖους
ἡμέρας ἐγένετο. τέλος δὲ δεῖςας μή καὶ κατα-
φρονηθεὶς διὰ ταῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἐγκατα-
λειφθῇ, ἀναναξιθήναι ποτε ταῖς ναυσὶ προσ-

1 ἀνακοινώθων R. Steph., ἀνακοινώθω L.M.
of ships; he had not at once come to Caesar, but either on account of his reverse, or because he wanted Caesar to face difficulties by himself, or because he wished to draw Sextus away from Caesar, he had made an assault on Lilybaeum, and Gallus had been sent thither by Sextus and had contended against him. From there, then, both the contestants, finding that they were accomplishing nothing, went to Artemisium. Gallus proved a source of strength to Sextus, but Lepidus quarrelled with Caesar, since he claimed the privilege, as a colleague, of managing everything on equal terms with Caesar, whereas Caesar treated him in all respects as a lieutenant; therefore he inclined to Sextus and secretly held communication with him. Caesar suspected this, but dared not make it known, lest Lepidus should openly make war upon him; nor, on the other hand, could he safely conceal his thoughts, for he felt that it would arouse suspicion if he did not consult him at all, and that it would be dangerous if he revealed all his plans. Hence he determined to risk a decisive encounter as soon as possible, before there should be any defection, although on other accounts he was by no means in haste; for Sextus had neither food nor money, and therefore he hoped to overthrow him without a battle before a great while. When, therefore, he had once reached this decision, he himself led out the army on land and marshalled it in front of the camp, while at the same time Agrippa sailed in and lay at anchor, for Sextus, whose forces were far inferior to theirs, would not come out to meet them on either element. This lasted for several days. But finally, becoming afraid that he might be despised for his behaviour and so be deserted by his allies, Sextus gave orders at last for
έταξεν καὶ γάρ τινα ἐλπίδα ἐν ταύταις μᾶλλον εἶχεν.

9 Ὅσον τὸ τε σημείον ἢρθη καὶ ή σάλπυγξ ὑπεσήμνεν, ἐκείναι τε ἀπασαὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ συνέμξαι καὶ ὁ πεξὸς ἀμφοτέρων ὀμοίως ἐπὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ραχίας παρετάξατο, ὡστε τὴν θέαν ἀξιολογω.

2 τάτην γενέσθαι. Ὡ τε γὰρ θάλασσα ἢ ἐκεῖ πᾶσα τῶν νεῶν ἐπεπλήρωτο (πολλαὶ γὰρ οὐσαι ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐπέσχον), καὶ ἡ χώρα ἢ μὲν ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλισμένων, ἡ δὲ ἀλλη ἢ προσεχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐκατέρων ὅμιλον κατείχετο. ὃθευσεν καὶ ὁ ἄγων ἐδοξε ὡς τῶν ναυμαχοῦσων μῶν εἶναι, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐγένετο.

3 οἴ τε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ναυσιν ὄντες προσβιμότερον ἐς τὴν τῶν ὄροντων σφάς ἐπίδειξιν ἡμιλλόντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀπείχοντο ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς γε τὴν τῶν δρωμένων ὄψιν καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἤγονίζοντο. ἀντιπάλου γὰρ ἐπὶ πολύ τῆς μάχης γενομένης (ὅμοιοτροπῶτα γὰρ τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐναυμάχησαν) ἵσορρόπῳ καὶ 4 αὐτοὶ συντάσσει τῆς γνώμης συνέσχοντο. μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον πάντα ἐν αὐτῇ καταλυθῆσθαι ἦλπιζον; εἰ δὲ μή, οἱ μὲν, εἰ καὶ τὸτε κρατήσειαν, οὐδὲν ἐτι μέγα ἐπιπονήσεις, οἱ δὲ, εἰ τότε γε νικήσειαν, οὐκέθα ἡττηθῆσθαι προσδοκῶτες.
the ships to put out to battle; for in these he reposed his chief trust.

Accordingly, when the standard was raised and the trumpet gave the signal, all the vessels joined battle near the land and the infantry forces on both sides alike were marshalled at the very edge of the water, so that the spectacle was a most notable one. The whole sea in that vicinity was full of ships—they were so many, in fact, that they formed a long line—and the land just behind it was occupied by the armed men, and the adjacent space was taken up by the rest of the throng that followed each side. Hence, although the struggle seemed to be between the fighters on the ships alone, in reality the others too participated; for those on the ships strove with greater zeal in order to display their prowess to those who were watching them, while the others, no matter how far away they were, were themselves in a manner participants in the struggle as they watched the men in action. The battle was for a long time indecisive, the fighting being very similar to that in the previous encounters, and the men on shore were swayed by a conflict of feelings that was balanced between hope and fear. For they hoped that, if possible, the whole war would be settled by this engagement, but if that could not be, they yet were heartened by the expectation, on the one side, that if only they should be victorious this time, they would have no serious hardship to suffer in the future, and, on the other side, that if only they should win this time, they would not again be defeated. Accordingly, in order that they might keep their own

1 In the following passage Dio was undoubtedly inspired by the dramatic description in Thucydides vii. 70 f.
Τέως μὲν οὖν ἵστασθαι ζήσαι, οὕτω τε ταῦτα παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως ἐγίγνετο, καὶ τι καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ὡς καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ νοῆσαι δυναμένως σφίσιν ἐνεδείκνυτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑτράποντο οἱ τοῦ Σέξτου, ἐνταῦθα ἤδη ἄδροι καὶ ἀπὸ μίας ὀρμῆς οἱ μὲν ἑπαίωνισθαί οἱ δὲ ἔλοφόραντο. καὶ οὕτωι μὲν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ συννεκικήμενοι, πρὸς τὴν Μεσσήην εὑθὺς ἀπεχώρησαν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ τοὺς τε ἐκπίπτοντας τῶν ἠττωμένων ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξεδέχετο, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπεσβαίνον πάντα τὰ σκάφη τὰ γε3 ἐς τὸ τεναγώδες ὀκέλλοντα κατε.3 πίμπρη, ὅστε μὴτοῖς ἐτί πλέοσθιν ἀσφαλείαν εἶναι (πρὸς γὰρ τοῦ Ἁγρίππου ἐκκόπτοντο) μὴτοῖς προσίσχουσί4 τη (πρὸς γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος διώκετο), πλὴν ὀλίγων, ὅσοι ἐς τὴν Μεσσήην προκατέφυγον. καὶ τοῦτο τῷ πόνῳ ὁ μὲν Δημο-4 χάρης ἀλλικόμενος ἐαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν, ὁ δ’ Ἀπολ- λοφάνης ἄδραυστον τὴν ναῦν ἔχον καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἄν φυγεῖν προσεχώρησε τῷ Καίσαρι. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ

1 τοῦ τοῦτο M, τοῦτου τοῦτο L.
2 ἔλοφόραντο Bk., ἔλοφόροντο LM Zon.
3 γε Bk., τε LM.
4 προσίσχουσι Reim., προσίσχουσι LM.
gaze fixed upon the action and might not distract those who were taking part in it, they kept silent or indulged in but little shouting. They cheered the men who were fighting and appealed to the gods; they praised those of their own number who were winning and reproached those who were losing; they exchanged many exhortations with their own men, and many shouts with each other, in order that their own men might hear more easily what was said and their opponents might not catch the commands meant for them.

Now so long as the forces were evenly matched, this was the conduct of the partisans of both sides alike, and they even tried to show the combatants by the postures of their bodies that they could both see and understand; but when the adherents of Sextus were being routed, then at length all together and with one impulse they raised the paean on the one side and a wail of lamentation on the other. And the land forces of Sextus at once retired to Messana, as if they, too, had shared in the defeat, whilst Caesar proceeded to take over those of the vanquished who were cast ashore, and going on into the sea itself, to set fire to all the vessels that ran aground in the shallow water. Thus there was no safety for those who continued to sail, for they would be cut to pieces by Agrippa, nor for such as tried to land anywhere, for they would be destroyed by Caesar,—except for a few, who had already escaped to Messana. During this struggle Demochares, when on the point of being captured, slew himself, and Apollophanes, who had his ship unscathed and might have fled, went over to Caesar. The same course was taken by others,


11 τούτο καὶ ἄλλοι, ὁ τε Γάλλος καὶ οἱ ἅπις οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντες, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ πεζοὶ τινες ἐποίησαν. ἀφ' οὗ περ οὐχ ἦκιστα ὁ Σέξτος ἀποργοὺς τὰ παρόντα φυγεῖν ἐβουλεύσατο, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν τε θυγατέρα καὶ ἄλλους, τὰ τε χρηματα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐς τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἀρίστα τῶν σωθειστὸν πλεούσας ἐσθέμενος, 1 νυκτὸς ἀπῆρεν. οὐδὲ ἔπειδοξέ ς τις αὐτῶν ἐκείνως τε γὰρ λάθρα ἔξεπλευσε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν μεγάλῃ ταραχῇ παραχρήμα ἔγενετο.

2 ὁ γὰρ Δέπιδος τῇ τε Μεσσήνη προσέπεσε, καὶ ἐσδεχθεὶς ἐς αὐτὴν τὰ μὲν ἐνεπίμπρη τὰ δὲ ἥρπαξεν ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκείνως αἰσθόμενος τοῦτ' ἐπήλθε τε οἱ διὰ ταχεῶν καὶ ἐμποδῶν ἐγκυνετο, τῆς μὲν πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθε φοβηθεὶς, ἐπὶ δὲ λόφων τινά καρτεροῦ ἀναστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐγκλήματα ἐποιεῖτο, καταλέγον πάνθα ὡς ἐλαττοῦσθαι ἐνόμιζε.

3 καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀπῆγε ὡς αὐτῷ κατ' τὴν πρώτην σφόν συνωμοσίαι ἐδέδοτο, καὶ τῆς Σικελίας ὡς καὶ συγκαταστρεφάμενος αὐτὴν ἀντεποιεῖτο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα τε τῷ Καῖσαρι πέμπων τινάς ἐπεκάλει, καὶ ἐς δίκην αὐτῶν προσκαλεῖτο (εἶχε δὲ τὰς τε δυνάμεις δὲ ἕκ τῆς Διβύης ἐπήκτε, καὶ τοὺς ἐγκαταλείφθεντας ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ πάντας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρῶτος ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσελήνηθε καὶ τινα καὶ ἑπίδα νεωτέρων σφίς πραγμάτων ὑπεβε-

4 12 βλήκει). Καῖσαρ δὲ πρὸς μὲν ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἀντείπε, νομίσας δὲ ἀπὶ πάντα τὰ δίκαια παρὰ τε ἐαυτῷ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἀτε καὶ ἵσχυρότερος αὐτοῦ ὁν, ἔχειν, εὖδος ἐπί αὐτοῦ μετ' ὀλίγων τινῶν ὁμησεν ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖνον τε ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου, οἷα

1 ἐ σθέμενος R. Steph., ἐ σθέμενος Zon., αἰσθόμενος L.M.
including Gallus and all the cavalry that was with him, and subsequently by some of the infantry. This more than anything else caused Sextus to despair of the situation, and he resolved to flee; so, taking his daughter and some other persons, his money, and his other possessions of most value, he put them aboard the swiftest of the ships that had come through safely, and departed at night. And none pursued him, for he sailed away secretly and moreover Caesar straightway found himself in great embarrassment.

It seems that Lepidus had attacked Messana and on being admitted to the town had proceeded to set fire to some of it and to pillage other portions. When Caesar, on ascertaining this, came up quickly and interfered with him, Lepidus was alarmed and slipped out of the city, and encamping on a strong hill, made complaints about his treatment; he detailed all the slights he considered that he was receiving and demanded all the rights that had been conceded to him according to their first compact, and, further, laid claim to Sicily, on the ground that he had helped to subdue it. He sent some men to Caesar with these complaints and called upon him to submit to arbitration; his forces consisted not only of those which he had brought over from Africa but also of all those which had been left behind in Messana, as he had been the first to enter it and had suggested to them some hopes of a revolution. Caesar, however, made no answer to these demands, but feeling that he had justice all on his side as well as in his weapons, since he was stronger than Lepidus, he immediately set out against him with a few followers, expecting to alarm him by the suddenness of his move, as Lepidus
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

μηδὲν δραστήριον ἔχοντα, καταπλήξων, καὶ τοὺς
2 στρατιώτας αὐτοῦ προσποιησόμενος. καὶ ἔσηλθε
μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον δόξας σφίσι διὰ τὴν ὁλυνό-
tητα τῶν συνακολουθοῦντων οἱ εἰρηνικὸν τι πρά-
ζειν ὡς ὃ οὐδὲν κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ἔλεγε, παρωξύνθησαν καὶ ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἀπέκτειναν· ἐκείνος γὰρ ἐν τάχει βοη-
3 θείας τυχῶν ἔσώθη. καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἐπηλθὲ τε
αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ κατα-
κλείσας σφᾶς ἐστὶ τὸ τάφρεμα ἐπολιόρκει. φοβη-
θέτεις οὖν τὴν ἁλώσιν καὶ μὲν οὐδὲν διὰ τὴν τοῦ
Δετίδου αἰῶν ἐν εὐχαμοισαν, ἱδία δὲ καὶ ὄλγους
ὡς ἐκαστοὶ ἐγκατέλησαν αὐτῶν καὶ μεθίσταντο
καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐκείνοις ἡγακάσθη ἐθελοντὴς δὴ ἐν
4 ἐσθήτη φαίμα ἴκητης αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐ
tούτῳ τῆς τε ἐξουσίας πάσης παρελύθη, καὶ
διαμαχαὶ ἐν τῇ Ἱταλίᾳ οὐκ ἀνευ φυλακῆς εἰχὲ-
tῶν δὲ δὴ τὰ τοῦ Σέξτου πραξάντων οἱ μὲν ἰπ-
πεῖόντες ν καὶ βουλεύοντες ἐκολάσθησαν πλὴν
ὁλίγων, τοῦ δὲ ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ὄντος τὸ μὲν
ἐλεύθερον ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδα κατε-
λεύθη, τὸ δὲ διδολευκός τοῖς δεσπόταις πρὸς
5 τιμωρίαν ἀπεδόθη· εἰ δὲ τοῦ μηδείς κύριος εὐρί-
σκετο, ἀνεσκολοπίζετο. τῶν τε πόλεων αἱ μὲν
ἐκούσιαι οἱ προσχωρήσασαι συγγρώμης ἔτυχον,
αἱ δὲ ἀντάρασαι ἐδικαίωθησαν.

13 Πράσσοντε δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἐστα-
σίασαν· ἄλλως τε γὰρ οὐκ ἀλήγοι ὄντες πρὸς τὴν
ὕψω τοῦ πλήθους σφῶν ἐθρασύνοντο, καὶ τοὺς
κινδύνους τὰς τε ἑλπίδας τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐκλογι-

1 καὶ Xiph., om. LM.
was not at all energetic, and to win over his soldiers. And he actually got inside their camp, because on account of the small number of the men who accompanied him they supposed he was on a peaceful errand; but when his words were not at all to their liking, they became angry and attacked him, even killing some of his men, though Caesar himself soon got reinforcements and got safely away. After this he came against them once more with his entire army, shut them up within their entrenchments, and besieged them. This caused them to fear capture, and without making any general revolt, through their regard for Lepidus, they privately deserted him in groups as individuals and transferred their allegiance. In this way he, too, was compelled on his own initiative, arraying himself in mourning, to become a suppliant of Caesar. As a result Lepidus was shorn of all authority and could not even live in Italy without a guard; and in the case of those who had been enlisted in the cause of Sextus, the members of the senatorial or equestrian classes were punished, save a few, while of the rank and file the free citizens were incorporated in the legions of Caesar, and those who had been slaves were given back to their masters for punishment, and in case no master could be found for any one of them, he was impaled. As for the cities, some of them voluntarily came over to Caesar and received pardon, and others resisted him and were punished.

While Caesar was thus occupied his soldiers revolted. For they were emboldened by observing their own numbers, and moreover, when they stopped to think of the dangers they had encountered and the hopes they had built up on them, they became
ξόμενοι πρὸς τα ἡγερα ἀπλήστως εἶχον, καὶ συνεληγόμενοι κατ' ἀλλήλους ὑτούν ὃ τι τις ἐπό-
2 θει. ἔπειδῆ τε μᾶτην ἐθρύλουν (ὁ γὰρ Καϊσαρ, ἀτε μηδὲνος ἐτὶ πολεμίου οἱ παρόντος, ἐν ὠλ-
γωρίᾳ αὐτοὺς ἐποιεῖτο), ἐθορύβουν καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ προφερόντες πάνθ' ὁσ' ἐτεταλαιπώρητο, καὶ προ-
βάλλοντες εἰ τί που ὑπέσχητο σφισί, πολλὰ ἐπη-
πείλουν, καὶ ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἄκοντα αὐτὸν κατάδου-
3 λώσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' οὔδεν ἐπέρανον, τῆς γοῦν
strateías ὡς καὶ κεκμηκότες ἀφεθήναι ἥξιον
θυμῷ καὶ βοὴ ἀπλέτω χρώμενοι, οὐχ ὡς καὶ ἐβοῦ-
λουστα αὐτῆς ἀπαλλαγῆναι (καὶ γὰρ ἥκμαζον
σφῶν οἱ πλέονες), ἄλλα ὡς τῶν 1 πόλεων τὸν
πρὸς τὸν 'Αντώνιον οἱ ἐσόμενον ὑπετόπουν καὶ
dia τοῦτ' ἐαυτοὺς ἀνετίμων ὅν γὰρ ἀπαιτοῦντες
οὐκ ἐτύγχανον, ταύτ' ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτὸν ἀπει-
λούντες λήγεσθαι προσεδόκωσι. οὐ μὴν οὔδὲ
tούτο σφισι προχώρησεν ὁ γὰρ Καϊσαρ, εἰ καὶ
tὰ μάλιστα τὸν τε πόλεμον ἀκρίβως ἠδὲν γενη-
σόμενον καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων θεωρήματα σαφῶς συνεῖ,
ἄλλο οὐτοὶ καὶ ὑπείζεν αὐτοῖς, νομίζων μὴν δεῖν
τὸν ἀρχόντα παρὰ γνώμην ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν στρα-
tιωτῶν βιῶν ποιεῖν, ὅς καὶ ἀλλο τι αὐθείς σφον
dia τὸ τοῦτο πλευκτές ἐθελησόντων. προσποιη-
σάμονος οὐ νῦν εὐλογά τε αὐτοῦς ἁξιόν καὶ ἀνθρω-
πίνων δεῖσθαι, διότι πρῶτους μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν
'Αντώνιου πρὸς τὴν Μοῦτιναν στρατεύσαντας
αὐτῷ, ἐπειτα δὲ ὡς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐνέκειντο, καὶ ἐξ
ἐκείνων πάντας τοὺς δέκατον ἐτὸς ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ
ἐχοντας. καὶ ὅτα ὑπός λοιποὺς ἐπισχῆ, προσ—

1 τὸν Rk., τὸν μὲν LM.
2 στρατεία R. Steph., στρατιά ι LM.
insatiable in their desire for rewards, and gathering by themselves they demanded whatever any one of them longed for. And when their talk had no effect, inasmuch as Caesar, with no longer any enemy confronting him, paid no heed to them, they became clamorous; and setting before him all the hardships they had endured and throwing up to him whatever promises he had made them, they uttered many threats besides, and thought to make him their slave even in spite of himself. But as they accomplished nothing, they demanded with much heat and no end of shouting that they be at least discharged from the service, claiming they were worn out. This was not because they really wished to be free from it, for most of them were in their prime, but because they had an inkling of the coming conflict between Caesar and Antony and for that reason set a high value upon themselves; for what they could not obtain by requests, they expected to secure by threatening to abandon him. Not even this, however, served their purpose. For Caesar did not yield to them in the least, even though he knew perfectly well that the war was going to occur and though he clearly understood their intentions, because he thought that a commander should never do anything contrary to his own judgment under pressure from his soldiers, realizing that if he did, they would want to get the advantage of him again in some other matter. So he pretended that their demands were reasonable and their needs only what was natural for men and then gave their discharge, first to those who had served under him in the campaign against Antony at Mutina, and next, since the rest, too, were importunate, to all of them who had been ten years in the service. And in order to restrain the remainder, he gave further
 Dio's Roman History

ανείπεν ὅτι οὖνεν ἐτ' αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ἀν τὰ μάλιστα

2 ἑθελήσῃ, χρῆσεται. ἀκούσαντες δὲ τούτῳ οὖνεν ἐτ'

ἐφθέγξαντο, ἄλλα καὶ πάνω προσέχειν αὐτῷ ἴρ-

ξαντο, ὅτι τοῖς τε ἀφειμένοις, οὐ πάσιν, πλήν τῶν

προτέρων, ἄλλα τοῖς ἁξιωτάτοις, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς

ὑπέσχητο δῶσειν καὶ χῶραν νεμεῖν 1 ἐπηγγείλατο,

καί σφισι πᾶσι μὲν πεντακοσίας δραχμάς, τοῖς δὲ

dí ναυκρατήσασι καὶ στέφανον ἐλαίας ἐδώκε.

3 κακὸς τούτον τοὺς τε ἄλλους πολλά ὡς ἐκάστους,

καὶ τοὺς ἐκατοντάρχους ὡς καὶ ἐστὶς βουλὰς

αὐτοὺς τὰς ἐν ταῖς πατρίσι καταλέξων, ἐπήλπισε
toῖς τε ὑποστρατήγοις ἄλλοις τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ

Ἀγρίππα στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐμβόλους ἡσκημένον

ἐδωρήσατο· ὁ μήτε 2 πρότερον μήτ’ αὐθίς ἄλλων

4 τῷ ἑγένετο. καὶ ὅπως ὦς διὰ παντὸς, ὡσάκις οἱ

tινα ἐπινίκια πέμψαντες τὸν στέφανον τὸν δά-

φυνον φοροίν, 3 ἐκεῖνος τότε τῷ ναυκρατητίκῳ 4

χρότῳ, δολματὶ ὑπερεί προτερον ἐβεβαιωθή. οὖτω μὲν

τὸτε τοὺς στρατιώτας κατέστησε· καὶ τὸ μὲν

ἀργύριον αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα, τὴν δὲ χῶραν οὐ πολλῷ

ὑπερείν εἴόκεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἔξηρκεσεν ἢ ἐν

τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐτ' τότε οὖν, προσεξεπήρισεν ἄλλην

τε καὶ παρὰ Καμπανῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Καπυρή οἰκον-

τῶν συχνὴν (καὶ γὰρ ἐποίκων ἡ πόλις πολλῶν

ἐδείτο), καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ τε ὑδρο τοῦ Ἰουλιοῦ ὄνομα-

σμένου, ἐφ’ ὧν 5 καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διὰ πάντων ἀγά-

λονταί, τὴν τε χῶραν τῆς Κυνόσιαν, ἣν καὶ νῦν ἔτι

καρποῦνται, αὐτέδωκε.

1 νεμεῖν Bk., νέμειν L.M.
2 μήτε Bk., μή L.M.
3 φοροίν supplied by Bk.
4 ναυκρατητίκῳ Reim., ναυκρατικῷ L.M.
5 ἐφ’ ὧν Reim., ἐφ’ ὧν L.M.

368
notice that he would not in future employ any discharged soldier, no matter how much he might wish it. On hearing this they uttered not another word, but began to pay strict heed to what he said, because he announced that he would give to the men discharged—not to all, save to the first of them, but to the worthiest—everything he had promised, and would assign them land, and because he made a present to each of them of two thousand sestertces and to those who had been victors in the sea-fight a crown of olive in addition. After this he inspired the rank and file with many hopes, and the centurions in particular with the expectation that he would enrol them in the senates in their native cities. Upon his lieutenants he bestowed various gifts and upon Agrippa a golden crown adorned with ships' beaks—a decoration given to nobody before or since. And in order that Agrippa might regularly enjoy this trophy of his naval victory on every occasion on which generals should wear the laurel crown in celebrating a triumph, Caesar's grant was later confirmed by a decree. In this way Caesar calmed the soldiers at that time. The money he gave them at once and the land not much later. And since the land which was still held by the state at the time did not suffice, he bought more in addition, especially a large tract from the inhabitants of Capua in Campania, since their city needed a large number of settlers. In return he gave the Capuans the water-supply called the Aqua Iulia, their chief source of pride at all times, and the Gnosian territory,1 the use of which they still enjoy at the present time.

1 This is the well-known Gnosos in Crete. Cf. Strabo, x. 4, 9, and Velleius Paterculus, ii. 81, 2.
Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ὦστερον ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ διώκησε, καὶ τὴν Διβύην ἐκατέραν ἀμαχεὶ διὰ Στατιλίου Ταύρου παρεστήσατο, τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν ἵσον ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολομένων νεῶν ἄριθμον ἀντέπεμψε. καὶ τούτῳ τά τε τῶν Τυρσινών στασιάσαντα ἔπειτα ἄμα τῷ τῆς νίκης αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι κατέστη, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἔπαινος τοῖς αὐτῷ ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ εἰκόνας καὶ προεδρίαν ἄψιδα τε τροπαιοφόρον, καὶ τῷ ἔφ᾽ ὑπὸν εὐσελάσαι τῷ τε στεφάνῳ δαφνίῳ ἄει χρήσθαι, καὶ τῷ τῇ ἡμέρα ἐν ἡ ἑνενικήκει, ἱερομνήμων ἀιώνιον οὐσία, ἐν τῷ Δίῳ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν ἐστιάσθαι ἔδωκαν. ταύτα μὲν εὐθὺς σφίσαι μετὰ τῆς νίκης ἐδοξεί, ἡγείλαν δὲ αὐτὴν πρῶτον μὲν στρατιώτης τις τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ὄντων, κάτοχος ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ θεοῦ δὴ τίνος γενόμενος, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλά καὶ εἰπὼν καὶ πράξας, καὶ τέλος ἐς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἀναδράμων καὶ τῷ ξίφος πρὸς τούς τοῦ Δίου τόδας ὡς μηκέτι αὐτοῦ χρείας οὐσίας θείας, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παραγενόμενοι τε ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ναὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφίκετο, καὶ σφας συναγαγὼν ἐξὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὰ τε πεπραγμένα οἱ ἀπελογίσατο καὶ τῶν ψηφισθέντων τινὰ παρήκατο, τὸν τε φόρον τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀπογράφων, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ἔτι τῷ δημοσίῳ ἑκ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου χρόνου ἐποφείλετο, ἀφίκε, τέλη τέ τινα κατέλυσε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Λεπίδου

1 ὑπὸν Λ., ὑπὸν Μ.
2 τῶν added by Bk.
3 ἀπελογίσατο Rk., ἀπελογήσατο ΛΜ.
BOOK XLIX

These were later events, however; at the time Caesar arranged matters in Sicily and through Statilius Taurus won over both the Africas without a struggle and sent back to Antony ships equal in number to those which had been lost. Meanwhile the parts of Etruria which had been in rebellion had subsequently become quiet as soon as word came of his victory. The people of the capital unanimously bestowed upon him votes of praise, statues, the right to the front seat, an arch surmounted by trophies, and the privilege of riding into the city on horseback, of wearing the laurel crown on all occasions, and of holding a banquet with his wife and children in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter on the anniversary of the day on which he had won his victory, which was to be a perpetual day of thanksgiving. These were the honours which they granted him immediately after his victory. The victory had been announced first by one of the soldiers in the city at the time who had become possessed by some god on the very day of the victory (for after saying and doing many strange things he finally ran up to the temple on the Capitol and laid his sword at the feet of Jupiter, to signify that there would be no further use for it), and afterwards by the others who had been present at the victory and had been sent to Rome by Caesar. And when Caesar himself arrived, he assembled the people according to ancient custom outside the pomerium, gave them an account of what he had done, declined some of the honours which had been voted to him, remitted the tribute called for in the registered lists and all the other debts owed to the state for the time previous to the civil war, abolished certain taxes, and refused to accept the priesthood of Lepidus,
ιερωσύνην διδομένην οἱ οὐκ ἐλαβεν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔξην ἡώντα τινα ἀφελέσθαι), καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ αὐτῷ προσεψηφίσαντο. ἦδη μὲν γὰρ τινες διεθρόσαν ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἁντωνίου καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Δεπίδου διαβολῇ, καὶ ὅστε τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν πρῶτον ἀδίκως γενομένων ἐς ἐκείνους μόνους ἀπώσασθαι, ταῦτ' οὕτω τότε ἐμεγαλοφρονήσατο ἀλλοι δὲ ὅτι, ἐπειδὴ μηδένα τρόπον ἀπολαβεῖν τὰ ὁφειλόμενα ἔδυνατο, χάριν τινὰ ἐαυτὸν ἀξίζημον τὴν ἐκείνων ἀδυναμίαν ἐποιήσατο. ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλως θρυλεῖτο, τότε δὲ οἰκίαν τε αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δοθῆναι ἔγνωσαν τὸν γὰρ τόπον ὅν ἔν τῷ Παλατίῳ, ὡστ' οἰκοδομῆσαι τινα, ἐώνητο, ἔδομοσίωσε καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ιέρωσεν, ἐπειδὴ κεραυνὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἐγκατέσκηψε. τὴν τε οὖν οἰκίαν αὐτῷ ἐφηφίσαντο, καὶ τὸ μῆτε ἔργῳ μῆτε λόγῳ τι ὑβρίζεσθαι.

εἶ δὲ μή, τοὺς αὐτοῖς τὸν τοιοῦτο τι δράσαντα ἐνέχεσθαι οἴσπερ ἐπὶ τῷ δημάρχῳ ἔτετακτο. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βάθρων συγκαθέσθαι σφισιν ἐλάβε.

Τῷ μὲν οὖν Καίσαρι ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔδόθη, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν τε Μεσσάλαν τὸν Οὐαλέριον, ὃν πρῶτον ἐν ταῖς προγραφαῖς ἐτεθανατώκει, ὡς τοὺς οἰωνιστάς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐσέγραψε, καὶ τοὺς Οὐτικεσίους πολίτας ἐποιήσατο, τὴν τὲ ἐσθήτα τὴν ἀλουργὴ μηδένα ἄλλον ἔξω τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἁρχαίς ὄντων ἐνδύεσθαι ἐκείνεσθαι. ἦδη γὰρ τινες καὶ τῶν τυχόντων αὐτῷ ἔχρωντο.

1 Ὑπὸ R. Steph., τὸν LM.  2 Παλατίῳ Xyl., στατῖωι LM.
which was offered to him, as it was not lawful to take away the office from a man who was still alive. Thereupon they voted him many other distinctions. Some people, to be sure, even spread the report abroad that these acts of magnanimity on Caesar's part on that occasion were designed to bring reproach upon Antony and Lepidus and to enable him to shift the blame upon them alone for the acts of injustice formerly committed; and others alleged that, since he was unable in any way to collect the debts due to the state, he turned the people's inability to pay into a favour from himself that cost him nothing. But this was mere idle talk. The people at this time resolved that a house should be presented to Caesar at public expense; for he had made public property of the place on the Palatine which he had bought for the purpose of erecting a residence upon it, and had consecrated it to Apollo, after a thunderbolt had descended upon it. Hence they voted him the house and also protection from any insult by deed or word; any one who committed such an offence was to be liable to the same penalties as had been established in the case of a tribune. This was only logical, inasmuch as he received the privilege of sitting upon the same benches with the tribunes.

These were the privileges bestowed upon Caesar by the senate. And Caesar on his own responsibility enrolled among the augurs, above the proper number, Valerius Messalla, whom he had previously in the proscriptions condemned to death, made the people of Utica citizens, and gave orders that no one should wear the purple dress except the senators who were acting as magistrates; for some ordinary individuals were already using it. In this same year
καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ ἦτε οὐτ' ἀγορασμός τις ἀπορία τῶν αἱρεθησομένων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ τε ἄμαρχοι τα προσήκοντα αὐτοῖς ἐπραξαν, οὔτε πολίαρχος ἢ τὰς ἀνοχὰς ἀπεδείχθη, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τινες τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτῷ διήγαγον. τα τε ἄλλα τα ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ τε λοιπῇ Ἰταλία Γαῖος τις Μαίκηνας, ἀνὴρ ἰππεύς, καὶ τότε καὶ ἑπεῖτα ἐπὶ πολὺ διώκησεν.

17 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ἐκ τε τῆς Μεσσηνῆς ἔξαναχθεῖς καὶ τὴν διόξιν φοβηθεῖς, προδοσίαν τε τινα ἀπὸ τῶν συνακολουθοῦντων οἱ ἔσεθαί ὑποτοπῆςας, προεῖπε μὲν σφισιν ὡς διὰ πελάγους τὸν πλοῦν ποιησόμενος, ἀποσβέσας δὲ τὸ φῶς ὑ ἐν τοῖς νυκτερινοῖς πλοῖοι 1 αἱ στρατηγικὲς νής, ὅπως καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ κατὰ πόδας αὐτῶν ἐφέπονται, προδεικνύσας, παρὰ τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν παρέπλευσε, καὶ διαβαλῶν 2 ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν 3 ἐς Κεφαλληνίαν ἐκείθεν ἠλθε' κανταῦθα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι κατὰ τὴν ἑωθίνος ἀπεσόντες αὐθεὶς αὐτῷ συνεγέρνοντο.

3 συγκαλέσας οὖν αὐτοὺς τὴν τε σκευὴν τὴν στρατηγικὴν 4 ἀπεδόσατο, καὶ εἰπὼν ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι ἀθροί μὲν ὄντες οὐτ' ὄφελαν τινα ἄλληλοις διαρκῆ παρέξουσιν οὖτε λήσουσί, σκεδασθέντες δὲ ράο τὴν διάφευξιν ποιήσαται, παρῆνεσε σφίσιν ἱδία καὶ καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἐκάστῳ τῆς σωτηρίας πρὸς σκοπῆσαι. κακὸς τούτων πεισθέντων οἱ τῶν πλειονῶν, καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλος ἀποκρησάντων, αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπεραιώθη, γνώμην ἐγὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἀυτῶνων εὐθὺς ὅρμησαι. γενό-

1 πλοῖς R. Steph., πλοῖοι LM. 
2 διαβαλὼν Leuncl., διαλαβὼν LM. 
3 Κέρκυραν R. Steph., κόρκυραν LM (here only). 
4 στρατηγικὴ Zon., στρατιωτικὴ LM. 

374
BOOK XLIX

there was no aedile owing to a lack of candidates, but the praetors and the tribunes performed the aediles’ duties; also no prefect of the city was appointed for the Feriae, but some of the praetors discharged his functions. Other matters in the city and in the rest of Italy were administered by one Gaius Maccenas, a knight, both then and for a long time afterward.

Now after Sextus had taken ship from Messana he was afraid of pursuit and suspected that some act of treachery would be committed by his followers. Therefore he gave notice to them that he was going to sail across the sea, but when he had extinguished the light which flagships exhibit during night voyages for the purpose of causing the rest to follow close behind, he coasted along past Italy, then went over to Corecyra, and from there came to Cephallenia. Here the remainder of his vessels, which had by chance been driven from their course by a storm, joined him again. Accordingly, after calling them together, he took off his general’s uniform and made an address, in which he said, among other things, that while they remained together they could render no lasting aid to one another or escape detection, but if they scattered they could more easily make their escape; and he advised them to look out for their own safety each man separately and for himself. Thereupon the majority gave heed to him and departed in various directions, while he with the remainder crossed over to Asia with the intention of going straight to Antony.
μενος δε εν Δεσβιω, και εκεινον τε επι Μηδους εστρατευκεναι και των Καλαρα και των Δηπιδουν πεπολεμωσαθαι μαθων, διενοετο μεν κατα χωραν
5 χειμασαν των δε Δεσβιων προθυμοτατα αυτων δια την του πατρος αυτου μημην και δεξαμενων και κατεχοντων, έπειδη των τε Αντωνιου δυστυχη- 
σαντα εν τη Μηδια επυθετο και Γαυς Φουρνος ο της Άσιας τοτε άρχων ουκ εινοικως οι έχριτο, 
6 ου κατεμεινεν, άλλα έλπισας την του Αντωνιου άρχην διαδεξεσθαι, οτι τε έκ της Σικελης σωγνοι προς αυτον αφικοντο και οτι και έτεροι, οι μεν 
κατα την του πατρος αυτοι δόξαν οι δε και βιον 
δεόμενοι, συνεληγησαν, το τε σχημα το στρατη- 
γικων ανελαβε, και παρεσκευαζετο ως και την 
18 περαιαν καταληψομενοι. καν τοιτω του Αν- 
τωνιου ές τε την φιλιαν άποσωθεντος και τα 
πραττομενα ύπ του και μαθωνος, και την τε άδειαν 
αυτω και την ευνοιαν, Δυν αν τα οπλα καταθητα, 
υποσχομενου δωσεσι, άντεγραφε μεν ως και πει- 
σθησομενος οι, ου μεντοι και έποιησε τοτο, άλλα 
εκ τε των συμφορων αυτωτοι, και έπειδη προς την 
Αγιπτου αυτικα άπηρε, καταφρονησας των τε 
παροντων ειχετο και προς τους Παρθους διεκηρυ-
2 κευτο. πυθόμενοι δε ταυτα ο Άντωνιος ουκ άνε- 
στρεψεν, άλλα το ζε ναυτικων και του Τιτιου του 
Μαρκου, μετασταντα τε προς έαυτον προτερον απο 
του Σεξτου και τοτε συνοντα1 οι, επ τον επεμψε. 
και ου προαιρομενος τε τοτο και φοβητει (συμπε 
γερ γαρ ικανως παρεσκευαστο) έξανηχηθην.2 
3 και προχωρων η μαλιστα διαφευγεσθαι εδοκει, ές

1 συνάντα R. Steph., ξυνάντα LM.
2 δηανήθην Pflugk, διανήθη LM.
When he reached Lesbos, however, and learned that Antony had gone on a campaign against the Medes and that Caesar and Lepidus had gone to war with each other, he decided to winter where he was; and in fact the Lesbians welcomed him with great enthusiasm on account of their recollection of his father and tried to keep him there. But when he learned that Antony had met with a reverse in Media, and when Gaius Furnius, the governor of Asia at the time, was not disposed to be friendly to him, he was against remaining, but hoping to succeed to Antony's leadership, inasmuch as many had come to him from Sicily and still others had rallied around him, some on account of his father's renown and some because they were in need of a livelihood, he resumed the dress of a general and began to make preparations for occupying the land opposite. Meanwhile Antony had got back safely into friendly territory and on learning what Sextus was doing promised to grant him pardon and favour, if he would lay down his arms. Sextus in his answer intimated that he would obey him, but did not do so; instead, because he despised Antony on account of his reverses and in view of his setting off immediately for Egypt, he held to his present plan and entered into negotiations with the Parthians. Antony found this out, but without turning back sent against him the fleet and Marcus Titius, who had formerly deserted Sextus and come over to him and was with him at this time. Sextus received information of this move beforehand, and in alarm, since his preparations were not yet complete, put out to sea, and taking the course which seemed most likely to
τε Νικομήδειαν ἀφίκετο, κἀνταῦθα καταληφθεὶς ἔπεκηρυκεύσατο μὲν αὐτῷ, ἀτε καὶ ἐπίδα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἦν εὐηργέτητο 1 ἔχων ὡς δὲ ἐκείνος οὐκ ἔφη οἱ σπείρεσθαι ἀν μὴ τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ προπαραλάβῃ, τῆς τε κατὰ θάλασσαν σωτηρίας ἀπέγνυ, καὶ τὰ σκεῦθα τὰ βαρύτερα ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐμβαλὼν ταῦτας
4 τε κατέκαυσε καὶ ἔς τὴν μεσόγειαν ὀρμησε. καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιδιώξατε ὅ τε Τίτιος καὶ ὁ Φούρνιος ἐν τε Μίδαει τῆς Φρυγίας κατέλαβον καὶ περισχόντες ἔξωχρησαν. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς μὲν ὑπ’ ὀργῆς ἐπέστειλε σφιάν ἵνα ἀποθάνῃ, αὐθίς δ’ οὖ πολλῷ υστερον μετανοήσας ἵνα σωθῇ
5 . . . 2 τοῦ οὖν δευτέρου γραμματοφόρου τῶν πράτερον φθάσαντος, υστερον τὰ περὶ τοῦ βανάτου αὐτοῦ γράμματα ὁ Τίτιος λαβὼν, καὶ νομίσας ὁντος δεύτερα εἶναι, ἢ καὶ γροῦς μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐκ ἐθελήσας δὲ αὐτῇ πιστεύσαι, τῇ τάξει τῆς κομιδῆς αὐτῶν ἀλλ’ οὐ τῇ γνώμῃ προσέσχε.
6 καὶ οὕτως ὁ τε Σέξτος ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Κορνουφίκου τοῦ Λουκίου καὶ ἔπι Σέξτου τινὸς Πομπηίου ὑπάτου ἀπέθανε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἵπποδρόμιοι τε ἐποίησε καὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἁρμα τε ἐμπροσθὲν τοῦ βήματος καὶ εἰκόνας ἐν τῷ Ὀμονοείρῳ ἔστησε, τὸ τε εξουσίαν σὺν τῇ γνωμῇ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἑστιάσθαι ἐνταῦθ’ ἔχειν ἐδωκεν,
7 ὡσπερ ποτὲ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐψηφίστοι φίλοις τῇ γὰρ ἐπὶ οἱ εἰναι ἐπλάττετο, καὶ ἐκείνον τε ἐπὶ 3 ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Πάρθων συμφορᾶς παρεμβεῖν ὅθεν, καὶ

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1 εὐηργέτητο St., εὐηργέτητο LM.
2 L here has a lacuna of eighteen to twenty letters, M of about thirty-four. The scribe of L supplied ἔγραψε before τα.
3 ἐπὶ Pflugk, ἐπ τοι LM.
afford escape, came to Nicomedeia. And when he was overtaken there, he opened negotiations with Titius, placing some hope in him because of the kindness which had been shown him; but when the other refused to enter into a truce with him without first taking possession of his ships and the rest of his force, Sextus despaired of safety by sea, put all his heavier baggage into the ships, which he thereupon burned, and proceeded inland. Titius and Furnius pursued him, and overtaking him at Midaçum in Phrygia, surrounded him and captured him alive. When Antony learned of this, he at once in anger sent word to them that Sextus should be put to death, but repenting again not long afterward, wrote that his life should be spared. . . . Now the bearer of the second letter arrived before the other; and Titius later received the letter ordering Sextus' death, and either believing that it was really the second or else knowing the truth but not caring to heed it, he followed the order of the arrival of the two, but not their intention. So Sextus was executed in the consulship of Lucius Cornificius and one Sextus Pompeius. Caesar held games in the Circus in honour of the event, and set up for Antony a chariot in front of the rostra and statues in the temple of Concord, giving him also authority to hold banquets there with his wife and children, even as had once been voted in his own honour. For he pretended to be Antony's friend still and to be consoling him for the disasters inflicted by the Parthians, and in this way he tried to
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

19 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐξραττᾶ, τὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τῶν τε Βαρβάρων ὁδὲ ἔσχεν. ὁ Οὐεντίδιος ὁ Πούπλιος τὸν Πάκορον στράτευμα τε ἄθροίζειν καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐμβάλλειν μαθῶν ἔδεειν, ἐπειδὴ μήτε αἱ πόλεις πω καθειστήκησαν καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐν τοῖς χειμαδίοις ἔτι διέσπαρτο, καὶ τοιόνδε τε ἐς τῇ τῆς διατριβήν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν βραδυτῆτα τῆς στρατιάς ἐποίησε. Χαννιάδον τινα δυνάστην γνωρίμοι μὲν καὶ αὐτῷ ἔχοντα, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Πάρθων μᾶλλον φρονοῦντα εἰδῶς, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς καὶ πιστότατον οἱ ὄντα ἐτίμα καὶ σύμβουλον ἔστιν ὅν ἐποίειτο, ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς μὲν οὔδὲν βλαβησθαι, ἐκεῖνο ὃ δὴ πίστιν τοῦ καὶ τὰ ἀπορρητοτάτα ὅθεν αὐτὸς συνειδέειν παρέξεων ἐμελλεν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐνταῦθα ἦν, φοβείσθαι τε ἐπλάσατο μὴ πως οἱ βάρβαροι τὴν συννήθη σφίσι διάβασιν τοῦ Εὐφράτου, παρ' ἦ τῷ Ζεύγμα ἡ πόλις ἔστι, παραλιπόντες ἑτέρα τινὶ ὁδῷ κατὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ χρήσωνται (τῇ μὲν γὰρ πεδία τοῖς πολεμίων ἐπιτηδείᾳ, τῇ δὲ γηλόφους εἰσυγείους πρέποντας εἶναι ἐλεγε), καὶ τοῦτο τε αὐτοῦ τ' ἀνέπεισε πιστεύσαι, καὶ τοῦν Πάκορον δὲ αὐτοῦ προσεξηπάτησε· τὴν γὰρ πεδίάδα, ἡν προσεποιεῖτο ὁ Οὐεντίδιος μὴ βουλέσθαι αὐτὸν ἑλθείν, μακροτέραν τῆς ἑτέρας οὔσαν τραπεῖς παρέσχεν οἱ καίρον τὰς δυνάμεις ἄθροίσαι. καὶ οὔτως ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ αὐτῷ τῇ Κυρηστικῇ γενομένῳ συμβαλλὼν ἐνίκησεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὔτε τῶν ποταμῶν δια-
cure the jealousy the other might feel at his own victory and the decrees which followed it.

This was what Caesar was doing; as for Antony and the barbarians, their warfare was as follows. Publius Ventidius heard that Pacorus was gathering an army and invading Syria, and becoming afraid, since the cities had not yet become quiet and the legions were still scattered in their winter-quarters, he acted as follows, in order to secure delay on the part of his foe and to make up for the slowness of his own army. Knowing that a certain prince Channaeus, with whom he, too, was acquainted, favoured the Parthian cause, he honoured him in all respects as if he had his entire confidence and took him as an adviser in some matters wherein he could not be injured himself and yet would cause Channaeus to think he possessed his most hidden secrets. Having reached this point, he affected to be afraid that the barbarians might abandon the place where they customarily crossed the Euphrates near the city of Zeugma and use some other road farther down the river; for this other place, he said, was a plain and convenient for the enemy, whereas the former was hilly and best suited to his own forces. He persuaded the prince to believe this and through him deceived Pacorus also; for the Parthian leader took the route through the flat district, which Ventidius kept pretending to hope he would not take, and as this was longer than the other, it gave the Roman time to assemble his forces. In this way he met Pacorus in Syria Cyrrhestica and conquered him. For when he had not prevented them from

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1 Cf. xli. 17, 3.
2 The district in Syria called Cyrrhestica.
βῆναι σφας ἐκώλυσεν οὐτ' αὐτ' διαβάσω εὖθως ἐπέθετο, μαλακίαν τὲ τινὰ καὶ ἀρρωστίαν τὸν Ῥωμαίων κατέγνωσαν, κἀκε τοῦτον πρὸς τὸ ἐρυμα αὐτῶν καίπερ ἐν μετεώρῳ ὃν προσήλασαν ὡς καὶ αὐτοβοεί σφας αἱρήσοντες. ἐπεκδρομῆς τε αἰ- φυνίου γενομένῃ κατὰ τὲ τὸν πρανοῦς οὐχ ἀλεπ- πώς, ἀτε καὶ ἰππὶς ὄντες, ἀπεώσθησαν, κἀν- ταῦθα ἀνδρείως μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι (κατάφρακτοι γὰρ οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἤσαν) ταραττόμενοι δὲ πρὸς τὲ τὸ ἀνέλπιστον καὶ περὶ ἀλλήλων, ὑπὸ τὸ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σφενδονυμίων μάλιστα ἦ- τηθησαν· πόρρωθεν γὰρ σφοδρὰς ταῖς βολαῖς ἐξεκνούμενοι ἀλεπώτατοι αὐτῶν ἐγίγνοντο. κἀν τὸν πόλον τοῦτον καὶ ὁ Πάκορος πεσὼς πλείστων αὐτῶν ἐβλαψεν· ὡς γὰρ τάχιστα τὸν ἀρχοντα σφών ἀπολωλότα ἡσθοντο, δόξην μὲν περὶ τὸν σώματος αὐτῶν προθύμως ἠγονίσαντο, φθαρέν- των δὲ καὶ τούτων πάντως ὁ λοιπὸς ἔνεδοσαν. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν διὰ τῆς γεφύρας οἴκαδε δια- φυγεῖν ἐθελήσαντες οὐκ ἤδυνήθησαν, ἀλλὰ προ- καταληφθέντες ἀπόλολοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐς τὴν Κομμαγηνὴν κατέφυγον. Οὐεν- τίδος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ Συρία μετέφερα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβάσιν γεγονόμενα (τὸν γὰρ Πάκορον ὡμοία τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν πῶπτοτα βασιλευσάντων καὶ ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἐπὶ προα- τητὶ ὑπερηγάπων) ῥαδίως, τῆν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰς πόλεις περιπέμψας, κατεστήσατο· αὐ- τὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον, πρόφασιν μὲν ὅτι τοὺς ἰκέτας οἱ οὐκ ἐξέδωκε, τῇ δ’ ἀληθείᾳ διὰ τὰ χρή- ματα ἀ πάμπολλα εἶχεν, ἐπεστράτευσεν.
BOOK XLIX

crossing the river and had not attacked them at once after they had got across, they imputed sloth and weakness to the Romans and therefore marched against their camp, although it was on high ground, expecting to take it without resistance. But when a sally was suddenly made, the assailants, being cavalry, were driven back down the slope without difficulty; and although at the foot they defended themselves valiantly, the majority of them being in armour, yet they were confused by the unexpectedness of the onslaught and by stumbling over one another and were defeated by the heavy-armed men and especially by the slingers; for these struck them from a distance with their powerful missiles and so were exceedingly difficult for them to withstand. The fall of Pacorus in this struggle was a very great loss to them; for as soon as they perceived that their leader had perished, although a few men zealously fought for his body, yet when these also were slain, all the rest gave way. Some of them desired to escape homeward across the bridge and were unable to do so, being cut off and killed before they could reach it, and others fled for refuge to Antiochus in Commagene. Ventidius easily brought into subjection all the rest of Syria, which had been hesitating while awaiting the outcome of the war, by sending the prince’s head about through the different cities; for the Syrians felt unusual affection for Pacorus on account of his justice and mildness, an affection as great as they had felt for the best kings that had ever ruled them. And Ventidius himself made an expedition against Antiochus, on the plea that the latter had not delivered up to him the refugees, but really because of the vast wealth which he possessed.
21 Ἔνταῦθα δὲ ἦδη αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐξαί-φυς ἐπιστάσας οὐ μόνον ὡς ἦσθη ἄλλα καὶ ἐφθα-νεσεν, ὅτι ἐδοξεῖ τι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἡμδραγαθίσθαι· καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τῆς ἀρχής αὐτὸν ἔπαυσε, καὶ ἐσ οὐδὲν ἐτί οὔτ' αὐτίκα οὔθ' ὑστερον αὐτῷ ἐχρή-σατο, καίτοι καὶ ἱερομνημίας ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς ἐργοὺς καὶ ἐπινίκια δι' αὐτῶν λαβὼν. οἶ γ' ὕπε ἐν τῷ ἀστεί Ρωμαίαι ἐγκηδιαστοῦ μὲν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ταύτα πρὸς τε τὸ προῦχον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, ὡς ἡ στρατηγία ἐκείνου ἦν, ἐγκηδιαστὸ δὲ καὶ τῷ Ὀπεντιδίῳ, ἀτε καὶ τινή συμφορὰν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κράσσου σφίσι γενομένην ἰκανότατα τοῖς Πάρ-θοις διὰ τοῦ Πακόρου, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἁμέρᾳ ἐκατέρω τοῦ ἔτους ἀμφότερα συν-ηνεχθῇ, νομίζοντες ἀνταποδεδοκέναι. καὶ συνε-βη γε τῷ Ὀπεντιδίῳ μόνῳ τε τὰ νικητήρια ἐορ-τάσαι ὡσπερ καὶ μόνους ἐνίκησεν (ὁ γὰρ Ἀντώνιος προαπώλετο), καὶ δόξαν ἀπὸ τοῦτον καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου ἀμα τῆς τύχης μείξω λαβῆται ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ Στράβωνος ἐπινίκιος πομπεύσας ποτὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων αὐτῶς ἐπινίκια τῶν Πάρθων πρῶτος Ρωμαίων ἤγαγε.

22 Ταύτα μὲν χρόνῳ υστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος προσέβαλε μὲν τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ, καὶ κατα-κλείσας αὐτὸν ἐς Σαμοσάτα ἐπολιορκεῖ· ὡς δ' οὔδέν ἐπέραινεν, ἀλλ' ὁ τε χρόνος ἄλλως ἀνα-λύτο καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀλλοτρίως οἱ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ὀπεντιδίου ἀτιμίαν ἔχειν ὑπώπτευσε,
When he had got to this point, Antony suddenly came upon him, and so far from being pleased, was actually jealous of him because he had gained the reputation of having carried out a brave exploit independently. Accordingly, he not only removed him from his command but employed him on no other business either then or later, although he himself obtained the honour of thanksgivings for both achievements and a triumph for his assistant's work. The Romans in the capital voted these honours to Antony, on the one hand, because of his prominence and in accordance with the law, because he was the commander in charge; but they voted them to Ventidius also, since they felt that he had fully requited the Parthians, through the death of Pacorus, for the disaster which had been suffered by the Romans in the time of Crassus, especially since both events had taken place on the same day in both years. And it turned out, in fact, that Ventidius alone celebrated the triumph, even as the victory had been his alone (for Antony perished in the meantime), and he acquired a greater reputation from this fact as well as from the caprice of fortune; for he himself had once marched in procession with the other captives at the triumph of Pompeius Strabo, and now he was the first of the Romans to celebrate a triumph over the Parthians.

This, to be sure, took place at a later period; at the time under consideration Antony attacked Antiochus, shut him up in Samosata and proceeded to besiege him. But when he found he was accomplishing nothing and was spending his time in vain, and when he also suspected that the soldiers were alienated from him on account of the disgrace of Ventidius, he
díekhrικεύεσατο αὐτῷ κρύφα, καὶ πλαστὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν συνθήκας, ὅπως εὐπρεπῶς ἀπαναστή, ἐποίησεν ἕλαβε, τῷ δ' Ἀντιόχῳ θάνατον Ἀλεξάνδρου τινὸς αὐτομολύσαντος παρ' αὐτῷ πρότερον πρὸς τοὺς Ρωμαίοις ἐχαρίσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφωρισθῆναι, Γάλιος δὲ δὴ Σόσσιος τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τε Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας παρ' αὐτῷ λαβὼν τοὺς τε Ἀραβίαν πολιορκηθέντας τε μέχρι τότε καὶ λιμῷ καὶ νόσῳ ταλαιπωρηθέντας ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτῷ τῶν Ρωμαίων ὄντας ἀποκτείναντα μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ καταφυγόντα ἐς τὰ Ιεροσολύμα πολιορκίᾳ κατεστρέφετο.

5 ὅνομασμένη. καὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῆς θρησκείας αὐτοῖς περιήγῳ ὅστε τοὺς προτέρους τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ χειροθέντας παραστήσασθαι τε τὸν Σόσσιον, ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα αὕτη ἤ τοῦ Κρόνου ἐνέστη, καὶ ἄνελθοντας ἐς αὐτῷ πάντα μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσατο. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν Ἡρώδη τινὶ ὁ Ἰωνόκιος ἄρχειν ἐπέτρεψε, τὸν δ' ἀφωρισθῆ Μ, ἀφωρισθῆ Λ.
secretly opened negotiations with the foe and made a pretended compact with him so that he might have a plausible reason for withdrawing. At any rate, Antony got neither hostages (except two and these of little importance) nor the money which he had demanded, but he granted Antiochus the death of a certain Alexander, who had earlier deserted from him to the Roman side. After doing this he set out for Italy, and Gaius Sosius received from him the governorship of Syria and Cilicia. This officer subdued the Aradiani, who had been besieged up to this time and had been reduced to hard straits by famine and disease, and also conquered in battle Antigonus, who had put to death the Roman guards that were with him, and reduced him by siege when he took refuge in Jerusalem. The Jews, indeed, had done much injury to the Romans, for the race is very bitter when aroused to anger, but they suffered far more themselves. The first of them to be captured were those who were fighting for the precinct of their god, and then the rest on the day even then called the day of Saturn.¹ And so excessive were they in their devotion to religion that the first set of prisoners, those who had been captured along with the temple, obtained leave from Sosius, when the day of Saturn came round again, and went up into the temple and there performed all the customary rites, together with the rest of the people. These people Antony entrusted to a certain Herod to govern; but Antigonus he

¹ This was just twenty-seven years after Pompey had taken the city under similar conditions; cf. xxxvii. 16, and Josephus, Antiq. xiv. 16. 4. Josephus styles it “the day of fasting” in each instance, apparently meaning the day of atonement.
'Αντίγονον ἐμαστίγωσε σταυρῷ προσδήσας, δὲ μη-
δείς βασιλεὺς ἄλλος ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπεπόνθει,
καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ ἀπέσφαξεν.

23 Ἔπι μὲν δὴ τοῦ τε Κλαύδιον τοῦ τε Νορ-
βαινοῦ τοῦδ', οὗτος ἐγένετο, τὸ δ' ἐπιγραφομένῳ
ἔτει οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαίοι οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ λογοῦ αἴξιον
ἐπέδρασαν. Αὐτών μὲν γὰρ ἦς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν
ἀφικνούμενοι καὶ ἐκεῖσε αὐθίς ἐπανιόν πάντα τὸν

2 εἰναυτὸν κατέτρυψε, Σόσσιος δὲ, ἀτε τὰ ἐκείνου
ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ἐπαύξων, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ τὸν
φθόνον τὴν τε ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ φοβοῦμενος, διετέλεσε
διασκοπῶν οὐχ ὅπως προσκατορθώσας τι ἀπε-
χθησοίτο οἱ, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἠσυχίαν ἄγων χαρίσαιτο-
τα δὲ δὴ τῶν Πάρθων ἵσχυρῶς αὐτὰ καθ' ἑαυτά

3 ἐκ τοιοῦδε τινος ἐνεστερίσθη. ὁ Ὀρώδης ὁ βα-
σιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἐπεὶ δὴ τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τῷ πένθι
tὸ τοῦ Πακόρου ἐκαμνὲ, Φραάτη τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ
τῶν λοιπῶν πάλιν τῷ ἄρχῃν καὶ ἐνεχείρισε,
καὶ διὰ παραλαβῶν αὐτὴν ἀνοιστάτος ἀνθρώπων

4 ἐγένετο τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ
Ἀντίόχου θυγατρὸς γεγεννημένους ἐδολοφόνησεν,
ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρέτην καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ μητρὸθεν
αμείνους αὐτοῦ ἤσαν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνου δυσαν-
σχετοῦντα ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπαπέκτεινε, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα

5 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς γενναίοτάτους ἔθειερε, καὶ
πολλὰ ἐτέρα καὶ δεινὰ ἐποίηει, ὡστε συχνοὺς τῶν
πρώτων ἐγκαταλείποντας αὐτὸν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλως
tοὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν Αὐτών ἀποχωρῆσαι, ἐν

οἷς καὶ ὁ Μοναίσης ἡν.

Τούτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ 'Αγρίππου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ
24 Γάλλου ὑπατευόντων ἐγένετο· ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ λοιπῷ

1 monaisnth M, monaissth L.
bound to a cross and flogged,—a punishment no other king had suffered at the hands of the Romans,—and afterwards slew him.

This was the course of events in the consulship of Claudius and Norbanus; during the following year the Romans accomplished nothing worthy of note in Syria. For Antony spent the entire year in reaching Italy and returning again to the province; and Sosius, because anything he did would be advancing Antony's interests rather than his own, and he therefore dreaded his jealousy and anger, spent the time in devising means, not for achieving some success and incurring his enmity, but for pleasing him without engaging in any activity. The Parthian state, in fact, with no outside interference underwent a severe revolution from the following cause. Orodes, the Parthian king, had succumbed to age and to grief for Pacorus as well, but before he died had delivered the government to Phraates, the eldest of his remaining sons. Phraates after receiving the kingdom proved himself the most impious of men. He treacherously murdered his brothers, sons of the daughter of Antiochus, because they were his superiors in virtue, and, on their mother's side, in family; and when Antiochus chafed under this outrage, he killed him also, and after that destroyed the noblest men in the state generally and kept committing many other crimes. Consequently a large number of the most prominent persons abandoned him and betook themselves to various places, some, including Monaeses, going to Antony.

This happened in the consulship of Agrippa and Gallus. During the remainder of the winter, when
χειμώνι, τοῦ τε Γελλίου καὶ τοῦ Νέρουα ἀρχόν-
των, Πούπλιος Καυνίδιος Ἐπὶ Ιβηρας
touς ταύτη στρατεύσας μάχη τε τὸν βασιλέα
ἀυτῶν Φαρνάβαζον ἐνίκησε καὶ ἔσυμμαχίαν
προσηγάγετο, καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀλβανίδα
τὴν ὁμορον ἐμβαλὼν, καὶ ἐκείνους τὸν τε βασιλέα
ἀυτῶν Ζωβηρα κρατήσας, ὤμοιος αὐτοῦς ψυκεύ-
σατο, τούτως τε ὕποπθεις ὁ Ἀντώνιος, καὶ
προσέτε καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Μοναίσι οὐκ ἐπελπίσας
(καὶ γὰρ ὑπέσχητο αὐτῷ τῆς τε στρατείας ἡγίσ-
σθαι καὶ τὰ πλείω τῆς Παρθίας ἀκοντί προσ-
pοιήσειν) τὸν τε πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐς
χεῖρας ἔγετο καὶ ὁ Μοναίσι ἄλλα τε καὶ τρεῖς
tῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλεις, μέχρις ἀν διαπολεμήσῃ,
νέμεσθαι ἔδωκε, καὶ προσέτε καὶ τὴν τῶν Πάρθων
3 βασιλείαν ὑπέσχετο. πραττόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ταὐ-
tα δείσας ὁ Φραίτης, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν Πάρθων
χαλεπῶς ἔπὶ τῇ τοῦ Μοναίσου φυγῇ φερόντων,
ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τε αὐτῷ οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐκ ἐπαγ-
γελλόμενος, καὶ ἐπεισεν αὐτὸν ἐπαναχωρήσαι.
4 γνώσων τούτο ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὀργήν μὲν, ὡσπερ
εἰκός, ἐποιεῖτο, οὐ μέντοι ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Μονα-
ίσην, καίπερ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπικρατείᾳ ἐτ’ ὀντα-
ουτε γὰρ ἄν 3 ἄλλων τινα τῶν βαρβάρων, ἂν γέ τι
tοιοῦτο ποιῆση, σφετερίσασθαι προσεδόκησε, καὶ
5 τινα ἀπάτην ἐπὶ αὐτοῦς παρεσκεύαζε. ἐκεῖνον
τοῦ ὄν ἀφῆκεν ὡς καὶ τὰ τῶν Πάρθων οἱ προσ-
pοιήσοντα, καὶ πρέσβεις μετ’ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν
Φραίτην ἐπεμψε. καὶ λόγῳ μὲν τὴν εἰρήνην
ἐπραττεν ἐπὶ τῷ τά τε σημεῖα καὶ τοὺς αἰχ-

1 Καυνίδιος Reim., καυνίδιος L.M.
2 καὶ supplied by Bk.
3 ἄν supplied by Dind.
Gellius and Nerva were now holding office, Publius Canidius Crassus made a campaign against the Iberians in Asia, conquered in battle their king Pharnabazus and brought them to make an alliance; with this king he invaded Albania, the adjoining country, and, after overcoming the inhabitants and their king Zober, conciliated them likewise. Now Antony was elated by all this and furthermore based great hopes upon Monaeses, who had promised him to lead his army and bring most of Parthia over to him without trouble, and so he took in hand the war against the Parthians and gave Monaeses, in addition to other presents, three Roman cities to occupy until he should finish the war, and promised him the Parthian kingdom besides. While they were thus occupied Phraates became terrified, especially because the Parthians took the flight of Monaeses very much to heart, and he opened negotiations with him, offering him everything conceivable, and so persuaded him to return. When Antony found this out, he was angry, quite naturally, but did not kill Monaeses, though he was still in his power; for he could not hope to win to his side any other barbarians, in case he should do such a thing, and he was moreover preparing a ruse against them. Accordingly, he not only released Monaeses, just as if Monaeses were going to bring the Parthians under his control, but even sent envoys with him to Phraates. Nominally he was negotiating peace, on the condition of getting back the standards and the prisoners.
μαλάτον τούς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κράσσου συμφορὰ ἀλόντας κομίσασθαι, ἵνα ἀπαράσκευον τὸν βασιλεὰ διὰ τὴν τῆς συμβάσεως ἐλπίδα λάβῃ, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πάντα ἦτοιμαζέτο.

25 Καὶ ἦλθε μέχρι τοῦ Εὐφράτου, νομίζων ἐρημων αὐτῶν φρουρὰς εἶναι· ἐπεὶ μέντοι πάντα τὰ ταύτη διὰ φυλακῆς ἀκριβοῦς ὄντα εὑρεῖν, ἐκεῖθεν μὲν ἀπετράπετο, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τῶν Μηδῶν βασιλέα Ἀρταούσδην τῷ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῆς μείζονος βασιλεία, ὀμωνύμῳ τε οἱ καὶ ἐχθρῶν ὄντι, πεισθεὶς στρατεύσαι πρὸς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν εἰθὺς ὄστερ εἰχέν

2 ἔχωρησε, καὶ μαθὼν ἐνταῦθα τῶν Μηδῶν πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Πάρθου συμμαχία ἀπηρκότα, τὰ μὲν σκενοφόρα καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος μετ’ Ὀππίου Στατιανοῦ ὑπελίπετο, ἐπακολουθεῖν σφας κελεύσας, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τε ἱππέας καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ κράτιστον λαβὼν ἥπειρον ὡς καὶ αὐτοβοεί πάντα τὰ τῶν ἐναυτῶν αἵρεσιν,

3 καὶ τοῖς Πραϊσσοῖς τῷ βασιλείῳ αὐτῶν προστεσὸν χώματα τε ἐχοὺ τε προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταύτα ὦ τοῦ Πάρθου καὶ ο Μηδός ἐκείνων μὲν μάτην εὑρὸν πονείσθαι (τὰ τε γὰρ τείχη ἵσχυρὰ ἦν καὶ συνχολ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἡμύνοντο).

4 τῷ δὲ δὴ Στατιανῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ τε ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ καὶ κεκμηκότι προσπεσόντες πάντας, πλὴν τοῦ Πολέμωνος τοῦ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ βασιλεύοντος καὶ τὸ τε συστατέουστος αὐτῶ, ἐφονευσαν τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ μόνον καὶ ἐξογκησαν καὶ ἀπέλυσαν χρήματα λαβόντες. ἦδυνήθησαν δὲ ταύτα πράξαι, ὅτι ο μὲν Ἀρμενίος οὗ παρεγένετο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυνη-
captured in the disaster of Crassus and with the purpose of taking the king off his guard because of his hope of reaching a settlement; but, as a matter of fact, he was getting everything in readiness for war.

And he went as far as the Euphrates, thinking it was destitute of a garrison; when, however, he found that whole region carefully guarded, he turned aside from it, but undertook to make a campaign against Artavasdes, the king of the Medes, being persuaded thereto by the king of Greater Armenia, who had the same name and was an enemy of the other. Just as he was he at once advanced toward Armenia, and learning there that the Mede had gone far away from his own land to bear aid to his ally, the Parthian king, he left behind the beasts of burden and a portion of the army with Oppius Statianus, giving orders for them to follow, while he himself, taking the cavalry and the strongest of the infantry, hurried on, confident that he would capture all the enemies' strongholds without a blow. He assailed Praaspa, the royal residence, and proceeded to heap up mounds and to make assaults. When the Parthian and the Mede ascertained this, they left him to continue his idle toil,—for the walls were strong and were well-manned by defenders,—but assailed Statianus while off his guard and wearied from the march and slew his whole detachment, with the exception of Polemon, king of Pontus, who was then accompanying Statianus; him alone they took alive and released for a ransom. They were able to gain this success because the Armenian king, on the one hand, was not present at the battle, but, when he might have helped
26 θεῖς ἂν, ὡς φασί τινες, ἐπικουρῆσαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὔτε τούτ' ἐποίησεν οὔτε πρὸς τὸν Ἀυτώνιον ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνεχώρησεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀυτώνιος ἤπειριχὴ μὲν πρὸς τὴν πρωτὴν πειμαθείαν 1 οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Στατιανοῦ ἀγγελίαν ὡς καὶ βοηθήσων αὐτῷ, ὑστέρησε δὲ ἐξω γὰρ τῶν νεκρῶν οὐδένα εὑρε. καὶ κατὰ μὲν τούτ' ἐφοβηθη, ὅτι δὲ οὕδεν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐνέτυχεν, ὑπετόπησε τὰ ἀπεληλυθέναι ποι αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ δεός καὶ ἀνεθάρσησε. 2 κακὸ τούτου συμβαλών σφίσαν οὐ πολλῶν ὑστερον τροπῆν μὲν αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο· οἱ γὰρ σφενδονὺται πολλοί τε ὤντες καὶ μακροτέραν 2 τῶν τόξων ιέντες πάντα καὶ τῶν κατάφρακτων ἰσχυρῶς ἐλυμαίνοντο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀξιόλογον τὸ πλῆθος ἔφθειρεν 3 οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι διὰ ταχέων ἵππευν. 3 Τοῖς τε οὖν Πραάσποις αὐτίς προσέμεξε καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπολίορκε, τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους μηδὲν μέγα λυπῶν (οἱ τε γὰρ ἐνδοῦ ὄντες ἰσχυρῶς αὐτῶν ἀπεκρούντο, καὶ οἱ ἐξωθεν οὐ ῥᾳδίως αὐτῶ συνέμισγον), τῶν δὲ δὴ σφετέρων πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐπίτηδείων καὶ ξητήσει καὶ ἐπαγωγῇ ἄπο. 4 Βάλλων, συνχών δὲ καὶ αὐτός κολάζων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ, ἔως ἐτι αὐτῶν ποθὲν τὴν τροφὴν ἐλάμβανον, ἐξηρκοῦν ἐς ἄμφοτερα, ὡστε καὶ τὴν προσεδρεῖαν καὶ τὴν λῆψιν αὐτῆς ἁσφαλῆ ποιεῖσθαι ἔπει δὲ τὰ τε ἐγγὺς πάντα κατανάλωτο καὶ πάρρῳ ποι ὅπερ τίνα ἄριστοι προχωρεῖν ἑναγκαίζοντο, 5 συνέβαινεν αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὲν ὅλους ποι ἐπεμβαίνειν, μὴ μόνον μηδὲν φέρειν ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαπόλλυσθαι,

1 πειμαθείαν Βκ., πειμαθείαν ΙΜ.
2 μακροτέραν Βκ., μακροτέραν ΙΜ.
3 ἔφθειρον Βκ., ἔφθειρον ΙΜ.
4 ποι R. Stoph., ποι ΙΜ.
the Romans, as some say, neither did so nor joined Antony, but retired to his own country, and because Antony, on the other hand, although he hastened, at the first message sent him by Statianus, to go to his assistance, was nevertheless too late, for he found nothing but corpses. On this account he felt afraid, but inasmuch as he fell in with no barbarian, he suspected that they had gone off somewhere in alarm, and so regained his courage. Hence, when he met them a little later, he routed them, for as his slingers were numerous and could shoot farther than the archers, they inflicted severe injury upon all, even upon the men in armour; yet he did not kill any considerable number of the enemy, because the barbarians could ride fast.

So he proceeded again against Praespa and besieged it, though he did no great injury to the enemy; for the men inside the walls repulsed him vigorously, and those outside would not readily join in battle with him. But he lost many of his own men in searching for and bringing in provision, and many by his own discipline. At first, so long as they could get their food from somewhere in the neighbourhood, they were sufficient for both undertakings, being able not only to carry on the siege but also to secure their supplies in safety. When, however, all the supplies at hand had been used up, and the soldiers were obliged to go to some distance, it was their experience that if only a few men were sent anywhere, they would not only fail to bring any provisions, but would perish as well, whereas if many were sent,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

εἰ δὲ δὴ πλείους, ἔρημον τὸ τείχος τῶν πολιορκη-
σόντων καταλείπειν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν
τούτῳ πολλάς δὲ καὶ μηχανάς, ἐπεξίοντων σφίσι
27 τῶν βαρβάρων, ἀποβάλλειν. καὶ διὰ ταύτα ὁ
Ἀντώνιος καὶ κριθήν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ σίτου
ἔδωκε καὶ ἐδεκάτευσε τινας, τὸ τε σύμπαν πολιορ-
2 κεῖν δοκῶν τὰ τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἔπασχεν· οὐ
tε γὰρ ἐν τῷ τείχει τούς καιροὺς τῶν ἑπεκδρομῶν
ἀκριβῶς ἐτήρουν, καὶ οἱ ἔξω τοῖς τε κατὰ χώραν
μένουσιν αὐτῶν, ὅποτε δίχα γένοιτο, δεινῶς, καὶ
προσελάυνοντες ἐξαπίνησι καὶ ὑποστρέφοντες δί
όλιγον, ἐνέκειντο, καὶ τοῖς σιταγωγοῦσιν ἐπὶ μὲν
τὰς κόμας ἀπιούσιν οὐκ ἥνωξον, σκεδανυ-
μένους δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀνακομιζομένους προσέπιπτον
3 ἀνέλπιστοι. προσκαθημένου δ’ οὐν καὶ ὅσι αὐτοῦ
τῇ πόλει, δεύσας ὁ Φραάτης μὴ καὶ κακῶν τι
αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ, ἦτοι καθ’ ἐαυτὸν τρόπον
tινα ἢ καὶ συμμαχίαι ποθὲν προσλαβών, ἐργά-
σηται, ἐπειδὲν αὐτὸν, ὑποπέμψας τινὰς, ἐπικηρυ-
κεύσασθαι οἱ ὡς καὶ ῥᾶστα τῶν σπουδῶν τευχῷ-
μενον. κακό τοῦτο τοῖς τε πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ
ἐχρημάτισιν ἐπὶ τε χρυσοῦ διάφρον καθήμενος καὶ
tὴν νευρὰν τοῦ τόξου ψάλλων, καὶ καταδραμῶν
αὐτοῦ πολλὰ τέλος τὴν εἰρήνην, ἢν γε παρα-
χρήμα ἀποστρατοπεδεύσωνται, δῶσειν ὑπέσχετο.
5 ἀκόουσα οὖν τούτο ὁ Ἀντώνιος, καὶ φοβηθεῖς τε
ἀμα τὴν μεγαλαυχίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πιστεύσας ὅτι,
ἂν ποὺ μεταστῇ, ἐπείσεται, ἀπανέστη, μηδὲν τῶν
396
they would be leaving the wall destitute of besiegers and meantime would lose many men and many engines at the hands of the barbarians, who would make a sortie against them. For this reason Antony gave all his men barley instead of wheat and destroyed every tenth man in some instances; and, in short, although he was supposed to be the besieger, he was enduring the hardships of the besieged. For the men within the walls kept a close watch for opportunities to make sallies; and those outside not only grievously beset the Romans who remained about the city, as often as they became separated, accomplishing this by making a sudden charge and wheeling about again in a short time, but also in the case of those who foraged for provisions, while they did not trouble them on their way out to the villages, yet they would fall upon them unexpectedly when scattered on their way back to camp. But since Antony even under these conditions maintained his place before the city, Phraates, fearing that in the long run he might do it some harm either by himself somehow or else by securing an alliance in some quarter, secretly sent some agents and persuaded him to open negotiations with him, intimating that he could have peace on very easy terms. After this, when men were sent to him by Antony, he held a conference with them seated upon a golden chair and twanging his bowstring; he first inveighed against them at length, but finally promised that he would grant peace, if they would straightway remove their camp. On hearing this Antony was both alarmed at the king's haughtiness and ready to believe that a truce could be secured if he himself should shift his position; hence he withdrew without destroying any
δι' οὗ πολυρκίαι παρεσκευασμένων ὡς καὶ ἐν φιλίᾳ φθείρας.

28 Ποιήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τούτο καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς προσδεχομένου, οἳ τε Μήδοι καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα κατέκαναν καὶ τὰ χώματα διεσκέδασαν, καὶ οἱ Πάρθοι λόγον μὲν ὀνείδα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήμης αὐτοῦ ἔπεμψαν, προσπεσοῦντες δὲ αἱμνίδιοι πολλά καὶ δεινά εἰργάσαντο. ὡς οὖν ἐμαθεν ὅτι ἥπατην, πρεσβεύσασθαι μὲν οὐκ εἴτε ἔτολμησαν (οὔτε ὅτι ἔπι μετρίους τις καταλύσεθαι προσεδόκησε, καὶ τους στρατιώτας ἐς ἀθυμίαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν σπονδῶν διαμαρτίας ἐμβαλεῖν οὐκ ἥθελσαν), ἐπειδὴ ἦν ὡς ἐπειδὴ ἄπαξ ἐξανεστίκησε, ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν

3 ἔφυ. καὶ ἔτεραν τινὰ ὄδον (ἣν γὰρ ἤλθον, ἀποκεκλείσατο σφικτε ρ ρα ταντέλως ἐνόμιζον) ἠναπαυεῖ καὶ ἀτοπία ἔπαθον. ἐς τε γὰρ χορία ἁγιώτατα ἐπιστόπτοντες ἐνδόθηκαν, καὶ προσέτοι καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι τὰ στενόπορα αὐτῶν προκαταλαμβάνοντες τὰ μὲν ἄτέσκαπτον τὰ δὲ ἀπεστάρουν, τὴν τε ὑδρείαν πανταχοῦ ἐνδυσχέραινον καὶ τὰς νομαῖς ἐξετριβοῦ καὶ εἶχεν ποὺ κατὰ τὴν ὀδόν ἐπιτηδειοτέρων τινῶν τοπῶν χωρῆσειν ἐμέλλον, ἐκείνων μὲν σφας ὡς καὶ προκατειλημμένων ἑκατογελιών ἀπέτρεπον, ἐτέρας δὲ ὀδοὺς προλειχισμένας ἔναι ἐποίους, ὅποτε πολλοὶ μὲν εἰς τὸ τοιοῦτο πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἐφθείροντο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ αὐτομολία τες ἐγένετο. καὶ πάντες μετέστησαν, εἰ μήπερ οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς τοποθεστησαν αὐτὸ ποιήσαν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ὀφθαλ—

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1. παρεσκευασμένων R. Steph., παρεσκευασμένων LM.
2. οὐκέτ’ Μ, οὐκ L.
3. ἐνόμιζον ἑντεῖς Dind., ἑνόμιζε LM.
of his implements of siege, just as if he were in friendly territory.

When Antony had done this and was awaiting the truce, the Medes burned his engines and scattered his mounds, and the Parthians made no proposition to him respecting peace, but suddenly attacked him and inflicted very serious injuries upon him. Learning, therefore, that he had been deceived, he did not venture to send any more envoys, as he did not expect that the barbarians would make peace on any reasonable terms and moreover did not wish to cast the soldiers into dejection by failing to arrange a truce, but he resolved, since he had once set out, to hurry on into Armenia. His troops took another road, since they believed the one by which they had come had been completely closed to them, and on the way they met with many extraordinary adventures. Thus, they came into unknown regions where they lost their way, and furthermore the barbarians seized the passes in advance of their approach, blocking them with trenches or palisades, rendered the securing of water difficult everywhere, and destroyed the pasturage; and in case they ever by good luck were on the point of marching through more favourable regions, the enemy would turn them aside from such places by false announcements that they had been occupied beforehand, and caused them to take different roads along which ambuscades had been previously posted, so that many perished in this way and many of hunger. As a result there were some desertions, and they would all have gone over to the enemy, had not the barbarians shot down before the eyes of the others any who had ventured to
2 μοίς κατετάξευσαν· τούτου τε οὐν ἐπέσχον, καὶ τι καὶ τοιόνοθε παρὰ τὴς τύχης ἔφροντο. ἐσπερσόντες ποτὲ ἐς ἐνέδραν καὶ πυκνῶς τοξεύμασι βαλλόμενοι τίνι τε χελώνην ἔξαππιναίως συνασπίσαντες ἐποίησαν καὶ τὰ γόνατά σφων τὰ
3 ἀριστερὰ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἤρεισαν. νομίζαντες οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ βαρβάροι (οὐ γὰρ ποι τοιούτον τι ἔφερον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ μᾶς ἐπικοπῆς ἔστωσαν) καταπεπτωκέναι τι ύπό τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ μᾶς ἐπικοπῆς ἀνέτειναν, τὰ μὲν τόξα ἀπέρριψαν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ῥπων ἀπεπηδήσαν, τοὺς δ' ἀκινάκας σπασάμενοι ἐγγύς σφισίν ὡς καὶ ἐπισφαζόντες
4 αὐτοὺς προσῆλθον. καὶ τούτῳ ἐξαναστάντες οἱ Ρωμαῖοι πᾶσαν τε ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως τὴν φάλαινα ἀμα ἄνεπτυξαν, καὶ τοῖς πλησίοις αὐτι
προσώπῳ ὡς ἐκαστοι προσπεσόντες παμπληθείς, οὐα γυμνωσ ὡπλισμένοι, ἀπροσδοκήτους παρα"σκευασμένοι, τοξότας ὁπλίται, βαρβάρους Ρω
μαίοι, κατέκοψαν, ὡς τοὺς λουποὺς πάντας παραχρήμα ἀποχωρήσαι καὶ μηκέτι μηδέν
2 αὐτοῖς ἐπακολούθησαι.

30 Ὡ δὲ δὴ χελώνη αὐτὴ τοιώθε τις ἐστι καὶ τόνδε τῶν τρόπου γίγνεσται. τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ οἱ ψαλίοι οἱ τε ἱππὶς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος τετάχαται τῶν δ' ὀπλιτῶν οἱ μὲν ταῖς προμη-
κέσιν ἀσπίσι ταῖς κοίλαις ταῖς σωληνοεἰδεῖς χρώμενοι περὶ τε τὰ ἐσχατα ὡπτέρ ἐν πλωθίω τῶν τάσσουται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐξω τε βλέ-
πουτες καὶ τὰ ὁπλα προβεβλημένοι,4 περιέχουσιν
2 οἱ δ' ἐτεροι οἱ τὰς πλατείας ἀσπίδας ἔχουτες ἐν τε

1 τῆς τόχης Plbuk, τῆς τόχης LM.
2 μηδὲν Rk., μηδὲν LM. 3 κολλαί Zon., κολλαί LM.
4 προβεβλημένοι Nab, περιβεβλημένοι LM Zon.

400
take this course. Consequently the men refrained from this, and by good fortune hit upon the following idea. One day, when they fell into an ambush and were being struck by dense showers of arrows, they suddenly formed the *testudo* by joining their shields, and rested their left knees on the ground. The barbarians, who had never seen anything of the kind before, thought that they had fallen from their wounds and needed only one finishing blow; so they threw aside their bows, leaped from their horses, and drawing their daggers, came up close to put an end to them. At this the Romans sprang to their feet, extended their battle-line at the word of command, and confronting the foe face to face, fell upon them, each one upon the man nearest him, and cut down great numbers, since they were contending in full armour against unprotected men, men prepared against men off their guard, heavy infantry against archers, Romans against barbarians. All the survivors immediately retired and no one followed them thereafter.

This *testudo* and the way in which it is formed are as follows. The baggage animals, the light-armed troops, and the cavalry are placed in the centre of the army. The heavy-armed troops who use the oblong, curved, and cylindrical shields are drawn up around the outside, making a rectangular figure; and, facing outward and holding their arms at the ready, they enclose the rest. The others, who have flat
τῷ μέσῳ συσπειρώνται καὶ ἐκείναις καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὑπεραίρουσιν. ὡστε μὴ ἄλλο τι πλὴν ἀσπίδων διὰ πᾶσης ὀμοίως τῆς φάλαγγος ὀρᾶσθαι, καὶ ἐν σκέπῃ τῶν βελῶν πάντας αὐτούς ὑπὸ τῆς πυκνότητος τῆς 3 συντάξεως γίγνεσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ τοι δεινῶς ἱσχυρίζεται ὡστε καὶ βαδίζειν τινὰς ἐπάνωθεν αὐτῆς, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἵππους καὶ ὄχημα, ὡσάκις ἄν ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ καὶ στενῷ χωρίῳ γένωνται, ἐνελαυνόντες. τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς τάξεως ταύτης ἐστὶ, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ καὶ τὴν τῆς χελώνης ἐπίκλησιν, πρὸς τὸ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὐ- 4 σκέπαστον αὐτῆς, εἴληφε. χρόνωται δὲ αὐτῇ διχῇ· ἢ γὰρ πρὸς φρούριον τι προσμισθούσες προσπορευόνται, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος ἀναβιβάζουσι τινας, ἢ ὑπὸ τοξωτῶν ποτε περιστοιχισθέντες κυμάτζουσι πάντες ἁμα (καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἵπποι ὑκλάζειν καὶ κατακλίνοντα διδάσκονται), καὶ τούτῳ δόκησιν σφίσαι ὡς καὶ κεκυκλώκτες παρασχόντες ἐξεγείρονται τε πελασάντων αὐτών ἐξαιρεῖν, καὶ ἐς ἐκπληξίαν σφας καθιστάσιν.

31 Ἡ μὲν οὖν χελώνη αὐτῇ τοιούτοτας ἔστιν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων οὐκέτι οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἐπαθεὶν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τῷ ψύχους ἱσχυρῶς ἐταλαιπώρησεν χειμῶν τε γὰρ ἡδη ἡμ, καὶ ἡ Ἀρμενία ἢ ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσιν, δὲ ὅππερ καὶ μόνων ἀγαπητῶς ἐπορεύθη, κρυσταλλώδης αἰὲ ποτὲ ἔστι, τὰ τε τραύματα, ἅ πολλὰ εἶχον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ 2 μάλιστα αὐτοῖς συνεπέθετο. ἐθεντερ συχνῶν μὲν ἀπολλυμένων συχνῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπομάχων χιλιο-
shields, form a compact body in the centre and raise their shields over the heads of all the others, so that nothing but shields can be seen in every part of the phalanx alike and all the men by the density of the formation are under shelter from missiles. Indeed, it is so marvellously strong that men can walk upon it, and whenever they come to a narrow ravine, even horses and vehicles can be driven over it. Such is the plan of this formation, and for this reason it has received the name testudo,\textsuperscript{1} with reference both to its strength and to the excellent shelter it affords. They use it in two ways: either they approach some fort to assault it, often even enabling men to scale the very walls, or sometimes, when they are surrounded by archers, they all crouch together— even the horses being taught to kneel or lie down—and thereby cause the foe to think that they are exhausted; then, when the enemy draws near, they suddenly rise and throw them into consternation.

The testudo, then, is the kind of device just described. As for Antony, he suffered no further harm from the enemy, but underwent severe hardships by reason of the cold; for it was now winter, and the mountainous districts of Armenia, through which the only route led,—and he was glad enough to take it,—are never free from ice. His soldiers' wounds, which were many, there caused them the greatest distress. So many kept perishing and so many were rendered unfit for fighting that he would

\textsuperscript{1} The Latin word testudo, represented in Greek by the equivalent, means "tortoise."
dio's roman history

μένων, οὐκ ἦνεκε τὴν καθ' ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν πῦστιν, ἀλλὰ ἀπηγόρευσε μηδὲν τοιοῦτο μηδένα οἱ ἀγγέλ- λειν. καὶ τὸν τε Ἀρμένιον, καίτοι ἐν ὅργῃ τε ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπε σφας ἔχον καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι ἐπιθυμ- μῶν, καὶ ὑπῆλθε καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν, ἵνα τὰ τε
3 ἐπιτήδεια καὶ χρήματα παρ' αὐτῶν λάβῃ καὶ τέλος, ὡς οὔτ' ἀρκέσαι πρὸς πλεῖον πορείᾳν οἱ στρατιώται, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν χειμῶνι, ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἂμα καὶ μάτην ταλαιπωρήσειν ἐμελλον (ὕπο- στρέψαι γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐνενόει), πολλὰ μὲν ἐθώπευσεν αὐτῶν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ καθυπέσχετο αὐτῶ, ὅπως σφίσε χειμώσαι κατὰ χώραν ἐπιτρέψῃ, λέγων ὅτι τῷ ἦρι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους αὐßης ἐπιστρατεύεται. καὶ οἱ καὶ παρὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας χρήματα ἔλθεν, ὡστε τοῖς τε ὁπλίταις καθ' ἐκατὸν δραχμᾶς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἱκνούμενον δοθήναι. ἐπειδὴ τε οὐκ ἐξήρκεσε σφίσε τὰ πεμφθέντα, προσεπέδωκε τοῖς λοιποῖς οἶκοθεν, 2 τὸ μὲν ἀναλώμα ἐαυτοῦ τῆν δὲ δὴ τῆς χάριτος δόξαν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ποιούμενος: πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἤρωισε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἤρωισμόγησε.

32 Καὶ ο μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἐς τὴν Αἰγυπτίων ἀπῆ- ρεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ οἶκοι Ῥωμαίοι ἤγνωσαν μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν γεγονότων, οὐχ ὅτι ταύτης ἐκείνος ἐπέστειλε σφίς (πάντα γὰρ δὴ τὰ δυσχερὰ συνέκρυπτε, καὶ ἐστιν ἅ γε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐναντιώτατον, ὥς καὶ 3 εὐπραγῶν, ἑγραφεν), ἀλλ' ὅτι ἦ τε φήμη τὴν ἀληθείαν ἐσήγγειλε, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ οἱ τε ἄλλοι οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπολυπραγμόνων ἀκριβῶς αὐ-

1 καθ' ἐκατὸν δραχμᾶς Β.ς., καθ' ἐκατὸν δραχμᾶς Ι.Μ.
2 οἰκοθεν R. Steph., οἰκοθε Ι.Μ.
3 καὶ M., om. L.
not allow reports of each individual case, but forbade any one to bring him any such news. And although he was angry with the Armenian king for leaving them in the lurch and eager to take vengeance on him, he nevertheless flattered and paid court to him for the purpose of obtaining provisions and money from him; and finally, since his soldiers had not the strength to hold out for a longer march, and it was mid-winter too, and at the same time it was likely that their hardships would go for nothing,—for it was his intention to return to Armenia before a great while,—he fawned upon the king assiduously and made him many attractive promises, to get him to allow the men to winter where they were, claiming that in the spring he would make another campaign against the Parthians. Money also came to him from Cleopatra, so that to each of the infantrymen four hundred sesterces were given and to the rest a proportionate allowance. But inasmuch as the amount sent was not enough for them, he paid the remainder from his own funds, taking the expense upon himself and giving Cleopatra the credit for the favour; for he solicited large contributions from his friends and also levied large amounts upon the allies.

After accomplishing this he departed for Egypt. The Romans at home were not ignorant of anything that had taken place, not because he told them the truth in his dispatches (for he concealed all his reverses and in fact described some of them as just the opposite, making it appear that he was meeting with success), but because rumour reported the truth and Caesar and those with him investigated it carefully.
τά καὶ διεθρύλουν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ κοίνῳ διή-
λεγχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐβουθότουν καὶ ἐδράταζον τοῦ
γὰρ Καίσαρος πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἐτι καὶ τὸτε προσ-
πταίοντος οὔτε εὐπρεπὴς οὔτε ἐπίκαιρος ὁ ἔλεγχος
3 αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι ἐδύνατο. ὁ δὲ οὖν Ἀντωνιὸς
ταῦτα τε οὕτως ἔπραξε, καὶ δυναστείας Ἀρμῦτα
μὲν Γαλατίας, καίπερ γραμματεῖ τοῦ Δημοτάρου
γενομένης, ἐδοκεῖ, καὶ Δυκασιαὶς Παμφυλίας τέ
τινα αὐτῷ προσθέσει, Ἀρχελάω τῇ Κατανακίᾳ,
ἐκβαλὼν τὸν Ἀριαράθην. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέλαος οὕτως
πρὸς μὲν πατρὸς ἐκ τῶν Ἀρχελῶν ἐκεῖνων τῶν
τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀντιπολεμησάντων ἦν, ἐκ δὲ μητρὸς
4 ἑταίρας. Ἑλαφύρας ἐγεγέννητο. οὐ μὴν ἄλλο ἔτη
μὲν τοῦτοι ἢττῃ πῶς ὁ Ἀντωνιὸς (ἐν γὰρ τοῖς
ἀλλοτρίοις ἐμεγαλοφικεύτο) κακῶς παρὰ τοῖς
πολίταις ἤκουεν ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μεγά-
λως διεβλήθη, ὅτι τε παιδας ἕξ αὐτῆς, πρεσβύτε-
ρους 2 μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Κλεοπάτραν (καὶ δι-
δυμοι γὰρ ἐπέκειταν) νεώτερου 3 δὲ Πτολεμαίοι
5 τοῦ καὶ Φιλάδελφου ἐπικληθέντα, ἀνείλετο, καὶ
ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς τε Μάλχου καὶ
τῆς τῶν Ἰτυραίων (τὸν γὰρ Δυσανίαν, ὅν αὐτὸς
Βασιλέα σφῶν ἐπεποιήκει, ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς τὰ τοῦ
Πακόρου πράξαντα), πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης
τῆς τε Παλαιστίνης, Κρήτης τε τινα καὶ Κυρήνην
την τε Κύπρον αὐτοῖς ἐγαρίσατο.

43 Τότε μὴν ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, ἐν ὦ
5 ὁ τε 4 Πομπηίος καὶ ὁ Κορνωφίκιος ὕπατευσαν,

1 ἑταίρας R. Steph., ἑτέρας LM.
2 πρεσβύτερους Bk., πρεσβύτατου LM cod. Peir.
3 νεώτερον Bk., νεώτατον LM cod. Peir.
4 ὦ ὅ δε τε Bk., ὅτε LM.
and discussed it. They did not, however, yet expose the situation to the public, but instead offered sacrifices and held festivals; for since Caesar at that time was still getting the worst of it against Sextus, the exposure of the facts would not, if made, be either fitting or opportune. Antony, in addition to making the arrangements mentioned above, assigned principalities, giving Galatia to Amyntas, though he had been only the secretary of Deiotarus, and also adding to his domain Lycaonia with portions of Pamphylia, and bestowing upon Archelaus Cappadocia, after driving out Ariarathes. This Archelaus belonged on his father's side to those Archelauses who had contended against the Romans, but on his mother's side was the son of Glaphyra, an hetaera. However, Antony was not so severely criticised by the citizens for these matters,—I mean his arrogance in dealing with the property of others; but in the matter of Cleopatra he was greatly censured because he had acknowledged as his own some of her children—the elder ones being Alexandra and Cleopatra, twins at a birth, and the younger one Ptolemy, called also Philadelphus,—and because he had presented them with extensive portions of Arabia, in the districts both of Malchus and of the Ituraeans (for he executed Lysanias, whom he himself had made king over them, on the charge that he had favoured Pacorus), and also extensive portions of Phoenicia and Palestine, parts of Crete, and Cyrene and Cyprus as well.

These were his acts at that time; the following year, when Pompeius and Cornificius were consuls,
στρατεύσαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρμενίου ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐλπίδα τοῦ Μήδου ὡς ἐλαχίστην ἔχων, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν Φραύτην ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῷ μῆτε τῶν λαφύρων πολλὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ μῆτ’ ἄλλην τινὰ τιμὴν λαβεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ἀρμενίου τιμωρήσασθαι τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπαγωγῆς ἐθελήσας, τὸν Πολέμωνα αὐτῷ προσ.

2 ἐπέμψε καὶ φίλιαν καὶ συμμαχίαν αὐτῶν. οὕτω γὰρ ποὺν ὑπέρσηθα τῷ πράγματι ὡστε καὶ ἐκεῖνοι σπείρας ὑπερηφανερώθηκαν καὶ τῷ Πολέμωνι μισθὸν τῆς κηρυκείας τὴν μικροτέραν Ἀρμενίαν μετὰ ταύτα δοῦναι. τὸν δ’ οὖν Ἀρμενίου πρότερον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀγινπτοῦ ὡς καὶ φίλιον, ὅπως ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν ἀπόκως περι-

λαβὼν κατεργάσηται, μετεπέμψατο ἐπεὶ δ’ ὑπο-

tοπῆς τούτ’ οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἐτερὸν τινὰ τρόπον.

3 ἐξαπατήσαι ἐπεβούλευσεν. φανερῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὣργίζετο αὐτῷ, μὴ καὶ πολεμοθείσῃ ὡς δ’ ἐπὶ
tούς Πάρθους καὶ τότε στρατεύσων, ἵνα ἀπαρά-

σκευουσαν αὐτὸν εὐρῆ, ἤρε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀγινπτοῦ,

μαθὼν δὲ καθ’ ὁδὸν τὴν Ὀκταούαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀφικνεῖσθαι, οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προεξώ-

ρήσειν 2 ἀλλὰ ἀνεκομίσθη, καίτοι καὶ παραπτικὰ

οἰκάδε αὐτῇ ἐπανελθεῖν κελεύσας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
tά δόρα τὰ πεμφθέντα παρ’ αὐτῆς, τὰ τέ ἄλλα
cαὶ τὸν στρατιῶτας οὕς παρὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπ’

αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἠτίκει, λαβὼν.

Καὶ ο’ μὲν ἐτί καὶ μᾶλλον τῷ τὸ ἔρωτι καὶ τῇ

34 γοητείᾳ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐδούλευε· Καῖσαρ δὲ

ἐν τούτῳ, ἐπειδὴ δ’ τοῖς Σέξτος ἀπωλότεροι 3 καὶ τὰ
tά ἐν τῇ Λιβύη καταστάσεως ἐδείτο, ἤλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν

1 διπς Bk., καὶ ὡς LM.

2 προεχώρησαν R. Steph., προεχώρησαν LM.

3 ἀπωλότεροί Dind., ἀπωλότεροι LM.
he undertook to conduct a campaign against the Armenian. For this he placed no small hope in the Mede, who in his anger against Phraates because he had not received from him many of the spoils or any other honour and in his eagerness to punish the Armenian for bringing in the Romans had sent Polemon to him requesting his friendship and alliance. Antony was apparently so exceedingly delighted over the affair that he both made terms with the Mede and later gave Polemon Lesser Armenia as a reward for his mission. First, then, he summoned the Armenian to Egypt as a friend, in order that he might seize him there without effort and make away with him; but when the king suspected this and did not respond to the summons, he plotted to deceive him in another fashion. He did not openly become angry with him, lest he should alienate him, but in order that he might find him unprepared, he set out from Egypt as if to make another campaign against the Parthians at this time. Learning on the way, however, that Octavia was coming from Rome, he went no farther, but returned, in spite of the fact that he had then and there ordered her to go home and had later accepted the gifts which she sent, including the soldiers which she had begged from her brother for this very purpose.

As for Antony, he became more than ever a slave to the passion and the witchery of Cleopatra. Caesar in the meantime, now that Sextus had perished and affairs in Africa required settlement, went to Sicily
Σικελίαν ὡς καὶ ἐκείσε πλευσούμενος, ἐγχρονίσας
de ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος οὐκέτ' ἐπεραιώθη.
2 οἴ τε γὰρ Σάλασσοι καὶ οἱ Ταυρίσκοι Δεμνοῖ τε
καὶ 'Ἰάπυδεσ' οὐδὲν μὲν οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν μέτριον
ἐσ τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἔπρασσον, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε συντέ-
λειαν τῶν φόρων ἐξέλιπον καὶ ἐσβάλλοντες ἔστιν
ὅτε ἐς τὰ ὁμορούντα σφίσιν ἐκακοῦργοιν τότε δὲ
 φανέρωσ πρὸς τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπανέστησαν.
3 δι’ οὖν τοῦ ἀναστρέψας τὰ τε ἄλλα ἔπ’ αὐτοὺς
παρεσκεύαστο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τινὲς τῶν ἀφεθέντων
ὅτε ἐστασίασαν καὶ μηδὲν λαβόντων στρατεύ-
σασθαι αὐθίς ἤθελσαν, ἐς ἐν σφας στρατόπεδον
κατεχόμεν, ἵνα ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ’ ἐαυτοὺς οὗτε μήτε
προσδιαφθείρωσι τινα, κἂν ἄρα νεωτερίσαι τι βου-
4 ληθῶσιν, ἐκδηλοὶ παραχρῆμα γένονται. ὡς δ’
oὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐσφαρονίσθησαν, ὅλγοις εἰς αὐτῶν
τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἐς Γαλατίαν κληρονήσοντας
ἐπεμψε, νομίσας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ τούτου καὶ
ἐπελπίσειν καὶ καταστήσειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὃς
ἐθρασύνοντο, δίκη τινὰς αὐτῶν ἔδωκε. παροξυ-
θέντων τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν Λοιπῶν συνεκάλεσε τε
αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ ἐπ’ ἄλλο τί, καὶ περισχὼν τῷ
στρατῷ τά τί ὁπλα ἀφείλετο καὶ τής στρατείας
5 ἐπαυσε. καὶ οὕτω τὴν τε ἐαυτῶν ἀσθένειαν ἀμα
καὶ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρόνημα μαθόντες ἠλθὼς
tε μετεβάλοντο, καὶ πολλὰ αὐτὸν ἱκετέοντες
ἀνεστρατεύοντο. οὗ γὰρ Καίσαρ στρατιώτων τε
δεόμενος, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀυτώνιος αὐτοὺς

1 Ἰάπυδες Χυλ., Ἰάπυδες ΛΜ (and so elsewhere).
2 ἐπρασσον Χυλ., ἐστέπρασσον ΛΜ.
3 οὔτε Βκ., τε ΛΜ.
4 ἐπελπίσειν Ρ. Steph., ἐπελπίσειν ΛΜ.
5 μετεβάλοντο Ρ. Steph., μετεβάλλοντα ΛΜ.
as if intending to sail thither, but after delaying there for some time because of the bad weather, he gave up his plan of crossing; for the Salassi, Taurisci, Liburni, and Iapydes, who even before this had been behaving in no decent manner toward the Romans, not only having failed to contribute their assessments of tribute but also having more than once invaded and ravaged the neighbouring districts, openly revolted at this time, in view of his absence. Consequently he turned back and began various preparations against them. When some of the soldiers who had been discharged when they mutinied, and had received nothing, wished to serve again, he placed them apart in a single legion, in order that being separate and by themselves they might find it impossible to corrupt any one else, and that in case they should wish to begin any rebellion, they might be detected at once. But when they proved no better disciplined than before, he sent out a few of the oldest of them to become colonists in Gaul, thinking that thus he would inspire the rest with hopes and quiet them. And since even then they continued their insubordination, he handed some of them over for punishment; and when the rest were stirred to rage at this, he called them together as if for some other purpose, made the rest of the army surround them, took away their arms, and removed them from the service. In this way they learned both their own weakness and the strength of Caesar's resolution, and so they really experienced a change of heart and after urgent supplications were allowed to enter the service anew. For Caesar, being in need of soldiers and fearing that Antony would appropriate them,
σφετερίσηται, συγγενώσκειν τέ σφισιν ἐφη καὶ
χρησιμωτάτους πρὸς πάντα αὐτοὺς ἔσχε.

35 Τοῦτο μὲν ὑστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ τοὺς μὲν
ἀλλοὺς ἐτέρως τισὶ καταστρέψασθαι προσέταξεν,
αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰάπυδας ἐστράτευσε. καὶ τοὺς
μὲν ἐντὸς τῶν ὄρων, οὐ πάνω πόρρῳ τῆς βαλάσσης
οἰκοῦντας, ἀπονότερον προσηγάγετο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ
tε τῶν ἄκρων καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα αὐτῶν οὐκ

2 ἀταλαυπώρως ἐχειρώσατο. τὸ γὰρ Μέτουλον,¹
τὴν μεγίστην σφῶν πόλιν, κρατοῦμενοι πολλὰς
μὲν προσβολὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπεκρούσαντο, πολ-
λὰ δὲ μηχανήματα κατέφλεξαν, αὐτὸν τε ἐκείνων
ἀπὸ πύργου τίνος ξυλίνου ἐπιβίναι τοῦ περιβόλου

3 πειρώμενον κατέστρωσαν. καὶ τέλος, ὡς οὐδὲν
μᾶλλον ἀπαντάτατο ἀλλὰ καὶ δυνάμεις προσμετε-
πέμπτο, συμβιβάζει τε βουλεύματι ἐπίλασαντο, καὶ
φρούροις ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἐσδεξάμενοι ² ἐκείνους τε

4 τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπαντὰς ἐφθείραν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέ-
πρησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας
tά τε παιδία προσαπέκτειναν, διότι μηδὲ ὁτιοῦν
ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῷ Καίσαρι περιγενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι
ἐκείνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἑωρηθέντες σφῶν ἐκούσιοι
οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον ἐφθάρσαν.

36 Ἐπεὶ δ’ οὖν οὗτοι τὲ ἀπωλόλεσαν καὶ οἱ
ἀλλοι κατεστράφατο μηδὲν ἀξιόλογον πράξαντες,
ἐπὶ Παννονίους ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἐγκλημα μὲν
οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἐπιφέρων (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ ἡδίκητο τι
ὑπ’ αὐτῶν), ἵνα δὲ δὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀσκῆι τε
ἀμα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τρέφῃ, πάν τῷ τῷ

¹ Μέτουλον R. Steph., μέτου λον LM.
² ἐσδεξάμενοι R. Steph., ἐκδεξάμενοι LM.
BOOK XLIX

said that he pardoned them, and he found them most useful for all tasks.

But this happened later. At that time he himself led the campaign against the Iapydes, assigning the rest of the tribes to others to subdue. Those that were on the nearer side of the mountains, dwelling not very far from the sea, he reduced with comparatively little trouble, but he overcame those on the heights and on the farther side of them with no small hardship. For they fortified Metulum, the largest of their cities, and repulsed many assaults of the Romans, burned up many siege-engines, and laid low Caesar himself as he was trying to step from a wooden tower upon the wall. Finally, when he still did not desist, but kept sending for additional forces, they pretended they wished to make terms and so received a garrison into their citadel; then by night they destroyed all these men and set fire to their own houses, some killing themselves and some their wives and children besides, so that nothing whatever remained of this force to Caesar. For not only they but also such as were captured alive destroyed themselves voluntarily shortly afterward.

When these, then, had perished and the rest had been subdued without performing any exploit of note, Caesar made a campaign against the Pannonians. He had no complaint to bring against them, not having been wronged by them in any way, but he wanted both to give his soldiers practice and to support them at the expense of an alien people, for he regarded every demonstration against a weaker

1 The modern Möttling.
κρέιττονι τοὺς ὁπλοὺς ἀρέσκων δίκαιων ἐς τοὺς
2 ἀσθενεστέρον ποιούμενος. οἱ δὲ δὴ Παννονιοὶ
νέμονται μὲν πρὸς τὴν Δελματίαν,1 παρ' αὐτῶν τὸν
Ἰστρόν, ἀπὸ Νωρικοῦ μέχρι τῆς Μυσίας τῇ ἐν
τῇ Ἑυρώπῃ, κακοβιῶταί τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὄντες
(οὕτω γὰρ γῆς οὔτε ἄρων εὐ ἦκουσιν· οὐκ ἔλαιον,
οὐκ οἶνον, πλὴν ἐλαχίστου καὶ τοῦτον κακίστου,
3 γεωργοῦσιν, ἀτε ἐν χειμῶνι πικρότατο τὸ πλείστον
diai tówmenoi, ἀλλὰ τὰς τε κριθὰς καὶ τοὺς ἱερά-
χρους καὶ ἐσθίουσιν ὁμοίως καὶ πίνουσιν) ἀνδρεί-
tatoi δ' οὐν διὰ πάντων ὃν ἵσμεν νοµίζονται·
θυμικῶτατοι γὰρ καὶ φονικῶτατοι,2 οία μηδὲν
4 ἄξιον τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν ἐχοντες, εἰσὶ. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ
ἀκούσας οὐδὲ ἀναγνώσας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐργά
μαθὼν ὡστε καὶ ἄρξας αὐτῶν, οἶδα· μετὰ γὰρ τοῖ
τὴν ἐν τῇ 'Αφρικῇ ἤγεμονίαν τῇ τε Δελματίαν,1
ὅς ποτε καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου χρόνον τινὰ ἦρξε, καὶ τῇ
Παννονίᾳ τῇ ἀνω καλουμένῃ προσετάχθην, ὅθεν
ἀκριβῶς πάντα τὰ καὶ αὐτῶν εἰδὼς γράφω.
5 ὁνομάζονται δὲ οὕτως ὅτι τοὺς χιτώνας τοὺς
χειριδωτοὺς εἷς ἰματίων τινῶν ἐς πάννους ἐπι-
χωρίως πὼς καὶ κατατέμοντες καὶ προσαγο-
ρεύσεις συνράπτουσι, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰτ' οὖν διὰ
tούτο εἰτε καὶ δὲ ἄλλο τι οὕτως ὁνομάζονται.
6 τῶν δὲ δὴ 'Ελλήνων τινές τάλιπθες ἄγρονταντες
Παύνονσα σφας προσέστησαν, ἀρχαίοι μὲν ποι̂ τὸν
προσφήματος τοῦτον ὄντος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖ,
party as just, when it pleased the man who was their superior in arms. The Pannonians dwell near Dalmatia along the very bank of the Ister from Noricum to Moesia¹ and lead the most miserable existence of all mankind. For they are not well off as regards either soil or climate; they cultivate no olives and produce no wine except to a very slight extent and a wretched quality at that, since the winter is very rigorous and occupies the greater part of their year, but drink as well as eat both barley and millet. For all that they are considered the bravest of all men of whom we have knowledge; for they are very high-spirited and bloodthirsty, as men who possess nothing that makes an honourable life worth while. This I know not from hearsay or reading only, but I have learned it from actual experience as once their governor, for after my command in Africa and in Dalmatia (the latter position my father also held for a time) I was appointed to what is known as Upper Pannonia, and hence it is with exact knowledge of all conditions among them that I write. Their name is derived from the fact that their sleeved tunics are made by stitching together pieces of old clothes which they cut up into strips in a way peculiar to themselves and call panni.² This is their name, whether the reason be what I have stated or some other; but certain of the Greeks in ignorance of the truth have called them Paeones, an appellation which, though no doubt old, does not, however,

¹ Literally “Mysia in Europe.” In Greek the same word answers for both Mysia and Moesia. Compare the practice of some Greeks, mentioned just below, of applying the old name Paeones to the Pannonians.

² This is the Latin word pannus, and probably the whole explanation is a purely Roman one.
37 Ἐπὶ οὖν τούτους ὁ Καίσαρ τότε στρατεύσας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὔτε τὶ ἐδήσατο οὔτε τὶ ἔρπαξε, καὶ πολλά καὶ τὰς κώμας αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἐκλήσατο· ἠλπίζε γὰρ ἐθελούντας αὐτοὺς ὑπάξεσθαι· ὡς δὲ καὶ προχωροῦντα αὐτῶν πρὸς Σισκίαν ἐλύσασιν, ὄργισθε καὶ τὴν τε χώραν σφῶν ἐκαίσα τὸ πάνθος ὡσα εἴθύνατο λείαν ἐποιεῖτο. Πλησίασάν τούς ἐν τῷ πόλει οἱ ἐπεχώριοι παραυτίκα μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατῶν ἀναπεσθέντες ὁμολόγησαν τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὀμήρους ἔδοσαν, μετά δὲ τοῦτο τὰς τε πύλας ἀπέκλεισαν καὶ ἐς πολυρκίαν κατέστησαν. Εἶχον μὲν γὰρ καὶ τείχη ἰσχυρὰ, τὸ δὲ ὅλον ποταμὸν τού ποταμοῦ ναυσίτηροι ἐθάρσουσιν. ὁ γὰρ Κόλοφός ὄνομαζόμενος παρ' αὐτῶν τὸν περίβολον παραφέρεων ἐς τὸν Σάουνον ὄλγον ἀπέχοντα αὐτὸν ἐμβάλλει καὶ νῦν πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦτον ἐγκεκύκλωτα, Τιβερίου τάφρον τινὶ μεγάλῃ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν καταστήσαντος, δὲ ἤς ἐς τὸ ἄρχαῖον αὖθις ἐβιβρον ἐπανερχεται. 4 τότε δὲ τῇ μὲν τοῦ Κόλοπος παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη παρεξίνωτος, τῇ δὲ τοῦ Σάουνον ὄλγον ἀπωθεὶν παραρρέοντος διάκειον τι κατελέεπτο, δὲ καὶ 5 σταυρώμασι καὶ ταφρέμασιν ὀχύρωτοι. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ πλοία παρὰ τῶν ταύτη συμμάχων ποιηθέντα λαβὼν, καὶ διὰ τὸν Ἰστροῦ ἐς τὸν Σάουνον.
BOOK XLIX

apply to that country, but rather to Rhodope, close to the present Macedonia, as far as the sea. Therefore I also shall call the people of the latter district Paeones, but the others Pannonians, just as both they themselves and the Romans do.

It was against this people, then, that Caesar at that time conducted a campaign. At first he did not devastation or plunder at all, although they abandoned their villages in the plain; for he hoped to make them his subjects of their own free will. But when they harassed him as he advanced to Siscia,1 he became angry, burned their country, and took all the booty he could. When he drew near the city, the natives for the moment listened to their leaders and made terms with him and gave hostages, but afterwards they shut their gates and underwent a siege. For while they possessed strong walls also, yet they placed their whole confidence in two navigable rivers. The one named the Colops2 flows past the very circuit of the wall and empties into the Savus3 not far distant; it has now encircled the entire city, for Tiberius gave it this shape by constructing a great canal through which it comes back to its original channel. But at that time between the Colops on the one hand, which flowed past the very walls, and the Savus on the other, which flowed at a little distance, a gap had been left which had been fortified with palisades and ditches. Caesar secured boats made by the allies in that vicinity, and after towing them through the Ister into the Savus, and

1 To-day Siseg (or Sissele) in Croatia.
2 Called Colapis by Strabo and Pliny; to-day the Kulpa.
3 To-day the Save.
καὶ δὲ ἐκείνου ἐς τὸν Κόλωπα αὐτὰ ἀγαγὼν, ¹ προσέβαλε ² σφισὶ τῷ πεζῷ ἁμα καὶ ταῖς ναῦσι, καὶ τινας καὶ ναυμαχίας ἐν αὐτῷ ³ ἐποιήσατο.  
6 καὶ γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι μονόξυλα πλοῖα ἀντικατα-
σκευάσαντες διεκδικούνενοι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἄλλοις τε συγχύοις καὶ τὸν Μηνᾶν τὸν τοὺς Σέξτου ἔξελεύθερον ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἱσχυρῶς ⁴ αὐτὸν ἠμύνοντο, μέχρις οὗ τῶν συμμάχων τινὰς ἐνηδρεύσθαι ⁵ τε καὶ ἐφθάσαν ἐπὶ θοῦντο: τότε γὰρ ἀδυμήσαντες ἐνέδοσαν, καὶ οὕτως ἄλοντων ἐκείνων καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Παννονίκου ἁμολογία προσ-
ηγάγετο.  
38 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκεῖ μὲν Φούφιον Γέμινον σὺν 
δυνάμει τινὶ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἑπινίκια ψηφισθέντα οἱ 
ἀνεβάλετο, ⁶ τῇ δ' Ὀκταούια τῇ τε Διούια καὶ 
eἰκόνας καὶ τὸ τὰ σφέτερα ἀνευ κυρίου τινὸς 
dιουκεῖν, τὸ τε ἀδεῖς καὶ τὸ ἀνύβριστον ἐκ τοῦ 
2 ὀμόιον τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔχειν ἐδωκεν. ὁμημένου 
dὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἑβερτανίαν κατὰ τὸν τοῦ 
pατρὸς ξῆλον στρατεύσαι, καὶ ἠδὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν 
Γαλατίαν μετὰ τὸν χειμώνα ἐν ὃ δ' ἐς Ἀντώνιος 
tὸ δεύτερον καὶ Δούκιος Λίβων ὑπάτευον προ-
κεχωρικότος, τὸν τε νεολαίων τινὲς καὶ Δελ-
3 μᾶται σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπανέστησαν. καὶ Παννονίους 
μὲν ο Γέμινος, καῖτοι τῆς Σισκίας ἐκπεσῶν, ὅμως 
μάχαις ἀνεκτήσατο, τοὺς τε Σαλάσσους ⁷ καὶ τοὺς 
ἄλλους τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν νεωτέρας ταῦτα ὁ Μεσσα-
λας ὁ ⁸ Οὐαλέριος ἐχειρώσατο· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοὺς

¹ ἀγαγὼν Bk., ἀγάγων LM. ² προσέβαλε M, προσέβαλλε L. ³ αὐτῷ Bb., αὐτῷ L. ⁴ ἱσχυρός Reim., ἱσχυρός LM. ⁵ ἐνηδρεύσατι R. Steph., ἐνηδρεύσαι LM.
through that stream into the Colops, he assailed the enemy with his infantry and ships together, and had some naval battles on the river. For the barbarians prepared in turn some boats made of single logs, with which they risked a conflict; and thus on the river they killed Menas, the freedman of Sextus, besides many others, while on the land they vigorously repulsed the invader, until they ascertained that some of their allies had been ambushed and destroyed. Then they lost heart and yielded; and when they had been captured in this manner, the remainder of Pannonia was induced to capitulate.

After this he left Fufius Geminus there with a small force and himself returned to Rome. The triumph which had been voted to him he deferred, but granted to Octavia and Livia statues, the right of administering their own affairs without a guardian, and the same security and inviolability as the tribunes enjoyed. In emulation of his father he had set out to lead an expedition into Britain also, and had already advanced into Gaul after the winter in which Antony (for the second time) and Lucius Libo became consuls, when some of the newly-conquered people and Dalmatians along with them rose in revolt. Geminus, although expelled from Siscia, nevertheless recovered Pannonia by a few battles; and Valerius Messalla overthrew the Salassi and the others who had joined them in rebellion. Against the
Δελμάτας πρότερος μὲν ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπεστάτευσε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλείους σφῶν αὐτοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ παθόντες, ὡστε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα προθήκην καὶ τὸν στρατιωτῶν τισι κριθὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ σίτου δοθήκη, καὶ ἔτερους τὴν τάξειν ἐκλιπόντας δεκατευθήκη, κατεστρέψαντο, τοῖς δὲ δὴ λοιποῖς ὁ Ταύρος Στατιλίος ἐπολέμησεν.

39 Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς αὐθημερὸν ἐξέστη, Δούκιον Σεμπρώνιον Ἀτράτινον ἀντικαταστήσας ὁθὲν εἰσὶν οἱ τούτοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι ἐν τῷ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀπαριθμήσει ὅνομάξουσιν πράττων ὅπως ὡς ὅτι ἀπονότατα τὸν Ἀρμένιον τιμωρήσῃ, τὴν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ νιεὶ συνοικίσων ἠτῆσε, Κύντον τίνα Δέλλιον παιδικά ποτὲ ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενον πέμψας, καὶ πολλὰ τίνα αὐτῷ δῶσειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ τέλος ἐς τῇ τὴν Νικόπολιν τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου αἰφνίδιον ἀμα τῷ ἧλθε, κάνταυθα αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ συμβουλεύσοντα καὶ συμπράξοντα τίνα κατὰ τῶν Πάρθων μετεπέμψατο. ἐπειδὴ τε οὐκ αἵκετο τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ὑποπτεύσας, τόν τε Δέλλιον αὕτης ἐς λόγους οἱ προσέπεμψε, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἥττον σπουδὴ 4 πρὸς τὰ Ἀρτάξατα ἠλασε. καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ὤψε ποτὲ, τὰ μὲν πείθων διὰ τῶν ἔταρχων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταπλήσσων, πάντα τε ἀπλῶς ὡς πρὸς φίλον καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων, 5 ἐπηγάγετο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσελθεῖν. κάνταυθα συλλαβὼν τὰ μὲν πρώτα ἀδετόν τε εἰρή, καὶ κατὰ
Dalmatians campaigns were made, first by Agrippa and later by Caesar also. The most of them they themselves subjugated after undergoing many terrible experiences; for example, Caesar was wounded, rations of barley had to be given out to some of the soldiers instead of wheat, and in the case of others who had deserted their posts every tenth man was put to death. With the remaining tribes Statilius Taurus carried on the war.

Antony meanwhile resigned his office on the very first day, putting Lucius Sempronius Atratinus in his place; and consequently some name Sempronius and not Antony in enumerating the consuls. In his endeavour to take vengeance on the Armenian king with the least trouble to himself, he asked for the hand of the king’s daughter, in order, as he said, to marry her to his son Alexander; he sent on this errand one Quintus Dellius, who had once been a favourite of his, and promised to give the king many gifts. Finally, at the beginning of spring, he came suddenly into Nicopolis (the place founded by Pompey), and while there sent for the king, stating that he wished to have his aid in planning and executing some measures against the Parthians. And when the king, suspecting the plot, did not come, he sent Dellius to confer with him again, and meanwhile, for his own part, marched with undiminished haste towards Artaxata. In this way he succeeded in inducing him to come into his camp, after a long time, partly by using the king’s associates to persuade him, and partly by using his own soldiers to terrorize him, and by writing and acting toward him in every way precisely as he would toward a friend. Thereupon he arrested him, and at first kept him
τὰ φρούρια ἐν οἷς οἱ θησαυροί ἦσαν περικλημένοι, εἰ πως ἀμαχεὶ σφας λάβοι, σκηπτόμενος διὰ οὐδὲν ἄλλο αὐτὸν συνειληφέναι ὑπὸ τοὺς Ἀρμενίους καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ δασμολογήσῃ. ὡς δὲ οὗτε οἱ χρυσοφύλακες προσεῖχον αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ τὰ ὀπλα ἔχοντες Ἀρτάξην τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ βασιλεὰ ἀνθείλοντο, ἔδησεν αὐτὸν ἀργυράς ἀλόγεσιν αἰ- σχρὸν γάρ, ὡς ἐοικεν, ἢ βασιλεὰ αὐτὸν ἐγενότα σιδηραῖς δεθήναι. καὶ τοῦτον τοὺς μὲν ἐδελουτὶ τοὺς δὲ καὶ βία λαβὼν πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀρμενίαν κατέ- σχεν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀρτάξης ἐπειδὴ συμβαλὼν οἱ ἡλι- 2 τοῦτο, πρὸς τὸν Πάρθον ἀπεχώρησε. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τῷ νείπῃ τὴν τοῦ Μήδου θυγατέρα, ὅπως ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν προσεταιρίσθη, μυπτευ- σας, τὰ τε στρατόπεδα ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ κατέληκα καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀνεκομίσθη, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ λείαν πολλὴν καὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον μετὰ τε τῆς γυναι- κὸς καὶ μετὰ παιδῶν ἄγων. καὶ σφας σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰχμαλώτοις καὶ ἐν ἐπινικίοις τισὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν προπέμψας αὐτὸς ἐφ᾽ ἀρματος ἐσῆλας, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ ἐχαρίσατο καὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἐν χρυσοῖς δεσμοῖς προσήγαγε. προεκάθθητο δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πλῆθει ἐπὶ τε βήματος ἑπαργύρου καὶ ἐπὶ δίφρου ἐπιχρύσου. οἳ γε μὴν βάρβαροι οὐθέ- ἰκάτευσαν αὐτὴν οὗτε προσεκινήσαν, καίτοι πολ- λὰ μὲν καὶ ἀναγκαζόμενοι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπίσιν

1 At this point a folio is lost in L, which resumes in chap. 42, 3.
2 χρυσοφύλακες R. Steph., χρυσιοφύλακες M.
3 ἐδελουτὶ Leunec., ἐθελοτῇ M.
4 ἐς Rk., ἔς τε M.
without fetters and led him around to the various forts where the king's treasures were deposited, in the hope that he might secure them without a struggle; for he professed to have arrested him for no other purpose than to levy tribute upon the Armenians for the safeguarding of the king and to maintain his sovereignty. When, however, the keepers of the gold would pay no heed to the king, and the Armenian citizens who bore arms chose Artaxes, the eldest of his sons, king in his stead, Antony bound him in silver chains; for it was unseemly, apparently, that this man who had been king should be bound in fetters of iron. After this Antony occupied the whole of Armenia, taking some of the people peaceably and some by force; for Artaxes withdrew and went to the Parthian king, after fighting an engagement and suffering defeat. After accomplishing these things Antony betrothed to his son the daughter of the Median king with the intention of making him still more his friend; then he left his legions in Armenia and went once more to Egypt, taking the great mass of booty and the Armenian with his wife and children. Sending them with the captives ahead of him into Alexandria in a kind of triumphal procession, he himself drove into the city upon a chariot, and he not only presented to Cleopatra all the other spoils but brought her the Armenian and his family in golden bonds. She was seated in the midst of the populace upon a platform plated with silver and upon a gilded chair. The barbarians, however, addressed no supplications to her, nor made obeisance to her, though much coercion was brought to bear upon them and many hopes were held out to them to win their compliance, but they
ἀναπειθόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὄνομαστι ἐπροσαγορεύσαντες δοξαν μὲν φρονήματος ἔλαβον, κακοψία δὲ πολλὴ διὰ τούτο συνέχοντο.

41 Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τούς τε Ἀλεξάνδρεᾶς εἰστισας, καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν τοὺς τε παῖδας αὐτῆς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεκκλήσατο, δημηγορήσας τε τίνα ἐκείνην τε βασιλίδα βασιλέων καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον, ὅν Καίσαρίωνα ἐπωνόμαζον, βασιλέα βασιλέων καὶ καλεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Αἰγύπτου τὴν τε Κύπρον, ἀλλὰν διοικημένη τίνα ποιησάμενος, ἐδωκε τοῦ τε γαρ προτέρου Καίσαρος τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα τὸν δὲ νεότος γεγονόντος ἐλεγε, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῳ δὴ χάριν ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐσκηνηστεο, ὅπως τὸν Καϊσαρα τῶν Ὁκταουιανῶν τοῦ τοῦτον, ὦτι ποιητὸς ἀλλ' ώγησίος αὐτοῦ παῖς ἢ μὲν, διαβαλλόμενος ἐκεῖνοις μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐνειμὲ, τοῖς δὲ δὴ αὐτοῦ παῖσι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας οἱ γεγονόσι, Πτολεμαίων μὲν τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου μέχρι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου πάντα, Κλεοπάτρα δὲ τὴν Δαυίδην τὴν περὶ Κυρήνην, τὸ τε ἀδελφὸν αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν τε Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τάλλα τὰ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου μέχρις Ἰνδῶν δώσειν ὑπέσχετο καὶ γαρ ἐκείνα ὡς ἤχων ἤδη ἐχαρίζετο. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρεία μόνον εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίον, ἱνα καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων τοῦ κύρος λάβῃ, ἐπέστειλεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τι αὐτῶν ἀνεγρώσθη· ὅ τε γὰρ Δομίτιος καὶ ὁ Σύσσιος ὑπατεύετος ἤδη τότε, καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτῷ προσκείμενοι, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, καὶπερ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγκεκριμένοι σφίσιν, ἐς πάντας αὐτὰ ἐκφήμαι. νικησάντων δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἐκείνων, ἀντεπεκράτησεν ὁ.
merely addressed her by name; this gave them a reputation for high spirit, but they were subjected to much ill-treatment on account of it.

After this Antony feasted the Alexandrians, and in the assembly made Cleopatra and her children sit by his side; also in the course of his address to the people he commanded that she should be called Queen of Kings, and Ptolemy, whom they named Caesarion, King of Kings. And he then made a new distribution of provinces, giving them Egypt and Cyprus in addition; for he declared that in very truth one was the wife and the other the son of the former Caesar, and he professed to be taking these measures for Caesar's sake, though his purpose was to cast reproach upon Caesar Octavianus because he was only an adopted and not a real son of his. Besides making this assignment to them, he promised to give to his own children by Cleopatra the following districts: to Ptolemy, Syria and all the region west of the Euphrates as far as the Hellespont; to Cleopatra, the Cyrenaica in Libya; and to their brother Alexander, Armenia and the rest of the countries east of the Euphrates as far as India; for he even bestowed the last-named regions as if they were already in his possession. Not only did he say this in Alexandria, but he sent a despatch to Rome as well, in order that it might secure ratification also from the people there. None of these despatches, however, was read in public; for Domitius and Sosius were consuls by this time, and being extremely devoted to him, refused to publish them to all the people, even though Caesar urged it upon them. But, although they prevailed in this matter, Caesar won a victory in his turn by prevent-
Καίσαρ μηδέν τῶν περὶ τοῦ Ἀρμενίου γραφέντων δημοσιευθῆναι· τούτων τε γὰρ ἦλεε ἀτε καὶ λάθρα πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ κεκοινολογημένων μένος, καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῶν νικητηρίων ἐφθόνει. τοιαύτα δ' οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος πράττων ἔτολμα τῇ βουλῇ γράφειν ὅτι τῆς τε ἀρχῆς παύσασθαι καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῃ τῷ τε δήμῳ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ποιήσασθαι ἐθελεί, οὕτως ότι τι καὶ πράξεων αὐτῶν ἐμελλεν· ἀλλ' ὅπως ταῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἑλπίσι τούτων Καίσαρα ἤτοι ἀναγκάσσωσιν, ἀτε καὶ παρούσα, τῶν ὁπλῶν προαποστῆναι, ἣ καὶ ἀπειθήσαντα μισήσωσιν.

42. Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τε ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν πανηγυριὰν τὴν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τῇ γενεθλίῳ τελοῦμένην οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἐποίησαν· ἐν τε ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς αἱρετοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολίαρχοι, παῖδες ἀνήδοι, ἐξ ἱππέων ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ βουλευτῶν γεγονότες, ἥρξαν· καὶ τὴν στοὰν τῆς Παῦλου καλουμένην Λιμίλιος Λέπιδος Παῦλος ἰδίους τελεσίν ἐξοδόμησε καὶ τῇ ὑπατείᾳ καθιέρωσε· ὑπάτευσε γὰρ ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἐτούτου τούτου. ὁ τε Ἀγρίππας τὸ ύδωρ τὸ Ἐκλείπτων ὑομασμένον, ἐκλείπων φθορά τῶν ὠχετῶν, καὶ ἀνεκτήσατο δαπάνῃ οἰκείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπορχέστησε. οὕτως οὖν καὶ καίτερ εξ ἰδίων χρημάτων φιλοτεμοῦμενοι, καὶ ὑπεστέλλοντο καὶ ἐμετράζουν ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ἐλαχίστην των ἀρχήν ἔχοντες καὶ ἐπεικία διεπράπτοντο σφίσιν, οἱ μὲν διὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου οἱ δὲ διὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἡφίξεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ προφάσει

1 te supplied by Bk.
2 ἔθελε Bk., θελε M.
ing any of Antony's despatches regarding the Armenian king from being made known to the public; for he not only felt pity for the prince, inasmuch as he himself had been secretly in communication with him for the purpose of injuring Antony, but he also grudged Antony his triumph. Now while Antony was engaged as described he had the effrontery to write to the senate that he wished to give up his office and put the whole administration of the state into the hands of that body and of the people; it was not his intention, of course, to do either, but he desired them under the influence of the hopes he aroused either to compel Caesar to give up his arms first, as being there at hand, or to conceive hatred for him if he should refuse to heed their commands.

In addition to these events at that time, the consuls celebrated the festival held in honour of Venus Genetrix. During the Feriae mere boys who were sons of knights, instead of senators, served as prefects of the city on appointment by Caesar. Also Aemilius Lepidus Paulus constructed at his own expense the Basilica Pauli, as it was called, and dedicated it in his consulship; for he was consul during a portion of that year. And Agrippa restored from his own purse the water-supply named the Aqua Marcia, which had been cut off by the destruction of the pipes, and carried it in pipes to many parts of the city. These men, now, though furthering their ambitions by spending their private funds, still acted with retiring modesty and with moderation; but others who were holding even a most insignificant office bargained to get triumphs voted in their own honour, some using the influence of Antony and some that of Caesar,

1 The Basilica Aemilia, rebuilt at this time.
ταύτη χρυσίον πολύ παρὰ τῶν δήμων ἐς τοὺς στεφάνους ἐσέπραττον.

43 Τῷ δ' ὑστέρῳ ἔτει ἀγορανόμος ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἐκὼν ἐγένετο, καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ ὁικοδομήματα τὰ κοινὰ πάσας δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς, μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου λαβὼν, ἐπεσκέψασε, τοὺς τε ὑπονόμους ἐξεκάθηρε, καὶ 2 ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν δὴ αὐτῶν ὑπέπλευσε. καὶ τῷ ἰπποδρόμῳ σφαλλομένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους περὶ τῶν τῶν διαύλων ἀριθμῶν ὅρων τοὺς τε δελφίνας καὶ τὰ φοειδή δημοσιογράμματα κατεστήσατο, ὅπως δὲ αὐτῶν αἱ περίοδοι τῶν περιδρόμων ἀναδεικνύωνται. καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ ἄλας πάσι 3 διέδωκε, τὰ τε βαλανεία προῖκα δὴ ἔτοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ λουσθαὶ 1 παρέσχε καὶ τοὺς κουρέας ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι, ἃς πολλὰς καὶ παντοδαπὰς ἐποίησεν ὅστε καὶ τοὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν παῖδας τὴν Τροίαν ἰππεύσαι, ἐμυσθώσατο, 4 ἕνα μηδεῖς μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναλώσῃ, καὶ τέλος συμβολά τε τινὰ ἐς τὸ θεάτρον κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔρρυψε, τῷ μὲν ἀργυρίουν τῷ δὲ ἐσθήτα τῷ δὲ ἄλλο τι χεροντα, καὶ ἄλλα πάμπολλα ὅνια ἐς τὸ μέσον 5 καταθεὶς διαρράσας σφίσιν ἐπέτρεψεν. Ἀγρίππας μὲν δὴ ταύτα τε ἐποίει, καὶ τοὺς ἀστρολόγους τοὺς τε γόητας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξίλασεν ὅπος δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας ὅγμα ἐγένετο μηδένα τῶν ἐς τὴν χερουσίαν τελούντων ἐπὶ ληστεία κρίνεσθαι, καὶ οὕτως οἱ τὲ τότε ἐν τοιαύτῃ τινὶ αἰτίᾳ οὕτε

1 Λούσθαι Diml., Λούσθαι I.M Xiph.
and on this pretext exacted large amounts of gold from foreign states to provide the crowns.

The next year Agrippa agreed to be made aedile, and without taking anything from the public treasury repaired all the public buildings and all the streets, cleaned out the sewers, and sailed through them underground into the Tiber. And seeing that in the circus men made mistakes about the number of laps completed, he set up the dolphins and egg-shaped objects,\(^1\) so that by their aid the number of times the course had been circled might be clearly shown. Furthermore he distributed olive-oil and salt to all, and furnished the baths free of charge throughout the year for the use of both men and women; and in connection with the many festivals of all kinds which he gave—on such a scale, in fact, that the children of senators also performed the equestrian game called "Troy"—he hired the barbers, so that no one should be at any expense for their services. Finally he rained upon the heads of the people in the theatre tickets that were good for money in one case, for clothes in another, and again for something else, and he also set out immense quantities of various wares for all comers and allowed the people to scramble for these things. Besides doing this Agrippa drove the astrologers and charlatans from the city. During these same days a decree was passed that no one belonging to the senatorial class should be tried for piracy, and so those who were under any such charge at the time were set free,

\(^1\) According to Livy (xlii. 27) these *oea* (marble eggs) were first set up in 174 B.C. It is probable that Agrippa added the dolphins, and perhaps increased the number of *oea*. After each lap (usually seven) of the race one *oeum* would be removed and the position of one dolphin changed.
ἀφείδησαν, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπείτα ἀδειά τις κακοῦργεῖν
6 ἑδόθη. ὁ δὲ οὖν Καῖσαρ τὴν τε ὑπατείαν (ἡρξε
gὰρ μετὰ Λουκίου Τούλλου1 δεύτερον) τῇ πρώτῃ
εὐθὺς ἡμέρα κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τρόπον ἀπ-
ἐητε, καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν γένος ἐκ τοῦ πλή-
θους τινὰς ἤψηφαμένης τῆς Βουλῆς ἐσήγαγεν.
7 ἐπειδὴ τε Λουκίος τῆς Ἀσέλλιος2 στρατηγῶν τὴν
ἀρχὴν διὰ μακρὰν ἀρρωστίαν ἀφεῖναι ἤθελησε,
tὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ ἀνταπέδειξε καὶ στρατηγοῦ ἐτέρου
τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ἀποθανόντος ἄλλον ἐς τὰς
περιλυπεῖς ὤρας ἐφείλετο.3 τοῦ τε Βόκχου τελευ-
τήσαντος οὐδεὶς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ἐδωκεν,
ἀλλ’ ἐς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐθνή αὐτήν ἐσέγραψεν.
8 ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ Δελμάται παντελῶς ἐκεχείρωντο, τὰς
τε στόας ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἀποθή-
κας τῶν βιβλίων τὰς Ὅκταοινιανὰς ἐπὶ τῆς
ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ κληθείσας κατεσκεύασεν.

44 Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἠλάσε μὲν μέχρι τοῦ
Ἀράξου ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων,
ἡρκέσθη δὲ τῇ πρὸς τοῦ Μήδουν ὁμολογίᾳ συμμα-
χῆσει τε γὰρ ἄλληλοις, ο μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους
2 ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καῖσαρα, συνεθείονται, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ
στρατιώτας τε τινὰς ἀντέδοσαν σφισί, καὶ ὁ μὲν
τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῆς νεοκτῆτου τινὰ ἐλαβεν, ὁ δὲ
τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἰωτάτην ὡς καὶ τῷ Ἀλε-
ξάνδρῳ συνοικήσουσαν, καὶ τὰ σημεία τὰ στρα-
τιωτικά τὰ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Στατιανοῦ μάχῃ ἀλόντα.
3 κακὶ τούτω ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος τῷ τε Πολέμοις τῆς

1 Λουκίου Τούλλου Βδ., Λουκίου τοῦ Τούλλου Χνλ., λουκίου τοῦ
Ελλου Λμ.
2 Ἀσέλλιος Pighius, ἀσύλλιος Λμ.
3 ἐφείλετο Μ, ἐφείλετο Λ.

430
and some were given a free hand to practice their villainy in future. Caesar became consul for the second time, with Lucius Tullus as his colleague, but resigned on the very first day, as Antony had done, and with the sanction of the senate he introduced some persons from the populace into the rank of patricians. When a certain Lucius Asellius, who was praetor, wished on account of a long sickness to lay down his office, he appointed his son in his stead; and when a second praetor died on the last day of his term, Caesar chose another for the remaining hours. At the death of Bocchus he gave his kingdom to no one else, but enrolled it among the Roman provinces. And after the Dalmatians had been utterly subjugated, he erected from the spoils thus gained the porticos and the libraries called the Octavian, after his sister.

Antony meantime had marched as far as the Araxes, ostensibly to conduct a campaign against the Parthians, but was satisfied to arrange terms with the Median king. They made a covenant to serve each other as allies, the one against the Parthians and the other against Caesar, and to cement the compact they exchanged some soldiers, the Mede received a portion of the newly-acquired Armenia, and Antony received the king's daughter, Iotape, to be united in marriage with Alexander, and the military standards taken in the battle with Statianus. After this Antony bestowed upon Pole-
μικροτέραν Ἀρμενίαν, ὡσπερ εἶποιν, χαρισάμενος, καὶ Δούκανοιν Φλάουνοιν ἔνοσας τε ἀμα ὑπατον καὶ παύσας (συνήν γὰρ αὐτῷ), ἐσ τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Καῖσαρος πολέμῳ ὁρμησεν: ὅ τε Μήδος τὰ μὲν πρῶτα συμμάχους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις χρώμενος τοὺς τῇ Πάρθους καὶ τοῖς Ἀρτάξεν ἐπελθόντας οἱ ἐνίκησε, τοῦ δὲ Ἀντωνίου τοὺς τῇ έαυτοῦ στρατιώτασ μεταπέμψαντος καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖνου κατασχόντος ἀνθητήθη τῇ καὶ ἔαλω, καὶ οὕτως ἡ Ἀρμενία μετά τῆς Μηδίας ἀπώλετο.

1 Φλάουοιν Panvinius, χλαυοῖοιν LM.
2 ἀνθητήθη Xyλ., ἀντητήθη LM.
mon, as I have stated,\(^1\) Lesser Armenia, made Lucius Flavius consul \(^2\) and likewise removed him (for he was there with him), and set out for Ionia and Greece to wage war against Caesar. The Mede at first, by employing the Romans as allies, conquered the Parthians and Artaxers who came against him; but as Antony summoned back his own soldiers, and moreover retained those of the king, the latter was in turn defeated and captured, and so Armenia was lost together with Media.

\(^1\) See chap. 33, 2.
\(^2\) The name appears thus in the *Fasti Venusini* (*C.I.L.* i.\(^2\) p. 66). Some scholars have emended to Cluvius; cf. liii. 42, 4. The unusual procedure of Antony here related is mentioned nowhere else.
BOOK L

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων

α. Τις Καίσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος πολέμειν ἀλλήλοις ἢξαντο.
β. Τις Καίσαρ Ἀντώνιον περὶ Ἀκτίου ἐνίκησεν.

Χρόνον πλήθος ἐτη δύο ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀρετομούμενοι οἴδε ἐγένοτο

Γυ. Δαμιόνας Λ. ν. 1, Γυ. ἐγγ. 2, Ἀνφράρβρατος ὕπ.
Γ. Σέλαντος Γ. ν. Τ. 3, ἐγγ.
Καίσαρ τῷ γ' 
Μ. Οὐαλέριος Μ. ν. Μεσσάλαι Κορούκος ἐπ. 4

Ὁ δὲ δὴμος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῆς μὲν δημοκρατίας ἀφήρητο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐσ μοναρχίαν ἀκριβῆ ἀπεκέκριτο, ἀλλ' ὁ τε ᾿Αντώνιος καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐξ ἵσου ἑτα τὰ πράγματα εἶχον, τά τε πλείων σφῶν διειληχότες, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ κοινὰ νομίζοντες, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ, ὡς ποὺ πλεονεκτησάτα ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐδύνατο, ἵδιοῦ-2 μενοι. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτο, ὡς ο τε Σέξτος ἀπωλώλει καὶ ο Ῥωμένιος ἐαλώκει τά τε προσπολέμησαντα τῷ Καίσαρι ἕσοχαζε καὶ ο Πάρθος οὐδὲν παρεκίνει, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι φανερῶς ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους

1. Λ. ν. Melber, γ' ν. Υ. ΛΜ.
2. Γυ. ἐγγ. (Γυ. ν. ο. ) Palmerius, γν εγγ' γ' Υ. ΛΜ.
3. Τ. Melber, γ' Υ. ΛΜ.
BOOK L

The following is contained in the Fiftieth of Dio's Rome:—
How Caesar and Antony began hostilities against each other
(chaps. 1-14).
How Caesar conquered Antony at Actium (chaps. 15-35).

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

B.C.
C. F. T. N.
31. Caesar (III), M. Valerius M. F. Messalla Corvinus.

The Roman people had been robbed of their
democratic form of government, but had not become a
monarchy in the strict sense of the term; Antony
and Caesar still controlled affairs on an equal footing,
having divided by lot most of the functions of govern-
ment between them, and though nominally they con-
sidered all the rest as belonging to them in common,
in reality they were trying to appropriate it to them-
selves, according as either of them was able to seize
any advantage over the other. But afterwards, when
Sextus had now perished, the Armenian king had
been captured, the forces that had warred upon Caesar
were quiet, and the Parthians were stirring up no
trouble, these two turned openly against each other

4 M. οὐαλέριος M. u. Μεσσάλας Κορωνίνος ἕπ. Dind. (follow-
ing Xyl. and H. Steph.), μ οὐαλέριος μ' μ' μεσσάλ μ' μ' Λακονορώνινος I.M.
5 τι Bk., γε I.M.

435
F F 2
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐτράποντο καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀκριβῶς ἐδουλόθη. αἰτίαι δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ σκήψεις αἴδε αὐτοὺς ἐγένοντο.

3 Ἀντώνιος μὲν Καίσαρι ἔπεκαλε ὅτι τὸν τε Λέπιδον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπεπαύκει καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν τε δύναμιν τὴν τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὴν τοῦ Σέξτου, κοινὴν σφῶν ὁφείλουσαν εἶναι, ἐσφετέριστοι καὶ τοῦτων τε τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀπῆτει, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐς ἕκ τῆς Ἰταλίας τῆς ἀμφοτέρως σφίσι.

4 προσηκούσης κατείλεκτο. Καίσαρ δὲ ἐκεῖνῳ ὅτι ἄλλα τε καὶ τὴν Δέσποτον μὴ λαχῶν εἰχε, τὸν τε Σέξτου ἀπεκτόνει (αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐκών πεφεισθαί αὐτοῦ ἔλεγε), καὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἔξαπατήσας καὶ συλλαβῶν καὶ δῆσας πολλῆν τῷ δήμῳ κακοδοξίαν.

5 προσετέτριπτον τά τε ἡμίσεια καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν λαφύρων ἀπῆτει, καὶ παρὰ πάντα ἐπέφερεν αὐτῷ τὴν τε Κλεοπάτραν καὶ τοὺς παιδας οὐς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνήρτο, τά τε ὀφρηθέντα σφίσε, καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὅτι τὸν Καίσαρίωνα ἐπωνόμαξεν.

2 οὕτω καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος γένος ἤγε. ταῦτα τε οὖν ἀλλήλους ἀντενεκάλουν καὶ τὴν καὶ ἀνταπ- ἐλογοῦντο, τὰ μὲν ἰδία σφίσιν ἐπιστέλλοντες, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ λέγων μὲν ὁ Καίσαρ γράφων δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος: πρέσβεις τοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταῦτη συνεχῶς ἀνταπέστελλον, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα τά τε ἐγκλήματα δικαιότατα ποιεῖσθαι δύξωσε.

2 καὶ τὰ ἀλλήλων ἁμα κατασκοπᾶσι καὶ τοῦτω καὶ χρήματα ως καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλο τι ἠθροίζον, καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τὸν πολέμου παρασκευὴν ός καὶ ἐφ' 1 οὖς Zon., τοῦς LM.
2 πάντα R. Steph., πάντα LM.
3 ἀνταπέστελλον St., ἀνταπέστελλον LM.
and the people were actually reduced to slavery. The causes for the war and the pretexts they had for it were as follows. Antony charged Caesar with having removed Lepidus from his office, and with having taken possession of his territory and of the troops of both him and Sextus, which ought to have been their common property; and he demanded the half of these as well as the half of the soldiers that had been levied in the parts of Italy which belonged to both of them. Caesar's charge against Antony was that he was holding Egypt and other countries without having drawn them by lot, had killed Sextus (whom he himself had willingly spared, he said), and by deceiving, arresting, and putting in chains the Armenian king had caused much ill repute to attach to the Roman people. He, too, demanded half of the spoils, and above all he reproached him with Cleopatra and the children of hers which Antony had acknowledged as his own, the gifts bestowed upon them, and particularly because he was calling the boy Caesarion \(^1\) and was bringing him into the family of Caesar. These were the charges they made against each other and were in a way their justification of their conduct, and they communicated them to each other partly by private letters and partly by public speeches on the part of Caesar and public messages on the part of Antony. On this pretext also they were constantly sending envoys back and forth, wishing to appear as far as possible justified in the complaints they made and at the same time to reconnoitre each other's position. Meanwhile they were collecting funds, ostensibly for a different purpose, and were making all other preparations for

\(^1\) Cf. xlix. 41.
dio's roman history

ἐτέρους τινὰς ἐποιοῦντο, μέχρις οὐ̣ δὲ Δομίτιος
ὁ ᾿Ιωάδος καὶ ὁ ᾿Ιοσσιος ᾿Ο Γάιος, ἀμφότεροι τῆς
toῦ Ἀντωνίου μερίδος ὄντες, ὑπάτευσαν. τότε
γὰρ οὔ δέν ἦτ’ ἐπεκρύψαντο, ἀλλ’ ἀντικρὺς ἐπο-
λεμόθησαν. ἐπράξαθι δὲ ὄδε.

3 Ὁ μὲν Δομίτιος οὔ δέν φανερῶς, ὡς γε καὶ
συμφορῶν πολλῶν πεπειραμένων, ἐνέχυμωσεν
ὁ δὲ δὴ Ὁισσιος, σία κακῶν ἀπειρός δὲν, πολλὰ
μὲν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐν αὐτῇ εὐθὺς τῇ νομηνίᾳ
ἐπήνευσε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα κατέδραμε.
καὶ παραχέρια ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τι ἐχρημάτισεν, εἰ μὴ

4 Νώνιος Βάλβος ἤμαρχῳ ἐκώλυσεν. ὁ γὰρ
Καίσαρ ὑποτοπήσας τὸ μέλλον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γενη-
sεσθαι, καὶ μήτε περιδεῖν αὐτὸ μήτ’ αὐτὸ ἐναντιω-
θεῖς προκατάρχειν τοῦ πολέμου δόξαν ἐθελήσας,
tότε μὲν οὔτε ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσήλθεν οὐδ’
ὁλος ἐν τῇ πόλει διηηθής, ἀλλ’ τινα αἰτήαν
πλασάμενος ἐξεδήμησε, διά τε ταῦτα καὶ ἵνα κατὰ
σχολὴν πρὸς τὰ ἀγγελθέντα οἱ βουλευσάμενοι

5 τὸ δέον ἐκ πλείονος λογισμοῦ πράξῃ ὑπερον ἐν
ἐπανελθὼν τῆς τε γερουσίας ῥητορὶς φρομμᾶν
τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐγχειρίδια
κρύφα ἐχόντων περιβαλλόμενοι, καὶ εὐς μόσο τῶν
ὑπάτων ἐπὶ διέφορον ἀρχικόν ἰδήμα, πολλὰ μὲν
ἀυτὸδεν ἐκ τῆς ἐδρας καὶ μέτρια ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ
dιελέσθη, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ὁσσίου τοῦ τῆς Ἀν-

6 τοῖοῦ κατηγόρησεν. ἐπειδή τε οὔτε ἄλλος τις
οὔτ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπάτων οὐδέτερος θέσησθαι
τι ἐτύλιμην, ἐκέλευσε σφας ἐν ῥήτῃ ἤμερα αὐθίς
συνελθείν ὥς καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων τινῶν ἀδικοῦντα

1 περίβαλλόμενοι H. Steph., περιβαλλόμενοι l.m.
2 οὔτ’ Rk., οὔτ’ l.m.

438
war as if against other persons, until the time that Gnaeus Domitian and Gaius Sosius, both belonging to Antony's party, became consuls. Then they made no further concealment, but became openly hostile. It happened in the following way.

Domitian did not openly attempt any revolutionary measures, since he had experienced many disasters. Sosius, however, had had no experience with misfortunes, and so on the very first day of the year he said much in praise of Antony and inveighed much against Caesar. Indeed, he would have introduced measures immediately against the latter, had not Nonius Balbus, a tribune, prevented it. Caesar, it seems, had suspected what he was going to do and wished neither to ignore it nor by offering opposition to appear to be beginning the war; hence he did not enter the senate at this time nor even live in the city at all, but invented some excuse which kept him out of town, not only for the reasons given, but also in order that he might deliberate at his leisure according to the reports brought to him and then act, after mature reflection, as necessity dictated. But afterwards he returned and convened the senate, surrounding himself with a guard of soldiers and friends who carried concealed daggers; and sitting with the consuls upon his chair of state, he spoke from there at length and with moderation in defence of himself, and brought many accusations against Sosius and Antony. And when neither of the consuls themselves nor anyone else ventured to utter a word, he bade the senators come together again on a specified day, giving them to understand that he would prove by certain documents that Antony was in the
τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐξελέγξων. οἱ οὖν ὑπαιτοὶ μὴν ἀντειπεῖν αὐτῷ θαρσοῦντες μὴτε σιωπήσαι ὑπομένουτες τῆς τε πόλεως λάθρα προεξεχώρησαν καὶ μετὰ τούτο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπῆλθον, καὶ σφίσει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Βουλευτῶν ὦκ ὄλγοι συνεφέστοντο. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκὼν τε αὐτῶν ἐκπεπομφεῖν ἐφασκεν, ἵνα μή καὶ ὡς ἀδικῶν τι ἐγκαταλελεῖθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν δοκῇ, καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐθέλουσιν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον μετὰ ἀδείας ἀπάραι.

3 Τούτῳ δ' οὖν τοιούτου ὑπ' ἐκείνους γενόμενον ἀνεσήκωσαν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντώνιου αὖ φυγόντες καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἔλθοντες ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Τίτιος καὶ ὁ Πλάγκος, καίσερ άνα πρῶτος τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν τειμόμενοι καὶ τὰ ἀπόρρητα αὐτοῦ πάντα εἰδότες. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ταῦτα τε οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ προσέτει καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτῶν ὁ Καίσαρ τὴν τε γερουσίαν συνήγαγε καὶ ἀνέγνω καὶ ἐπεν ὡςα ἥθελησε, καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀκούσας βουλῆν τε τινα έκ τῶν παρόντων ἠθροισε καὶ λεχθέντων ἐφ' ἐκάτερα πολλῶν τοῖν τε πόλειον ἀνέιλετο καὶ τὴν τῆς Ὀκταούσιας συνοίκησιν ἄπειπε, προσκροւσαντες τι αὐτῷ ἐκείνοι, ἥ καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ τι ἁγιεν· 3 σθέντες, ἤπωμόλησαν. καὶ σφας ὁ Καίσαρ ἀσμενέστατα δεξάμενος τά τε ἄλλα τα τοῦ Ἀντώνιου παρ' αὐτῶν πάντα, καὶ ἀ ἐπράττε καὶ ἀ ἐνενοει, καὶ τα ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα τοῖν τε ἔχοντα αὐτᾶς ἔμαθε καὶ γὰρ σεση. 4 μασμένοι σφας ᾦσαν. καὶ τοῦτον περιοργῆς ἐτι καὶ μᾶλλον γενόμενος οὐκ ὀκυνησὲν οὐτ' ἀναζητή-

1 θέλουσι R. Steph., θέλουσι LM,
wrong. The consuls, accordingly, as they did not dare to reply to him and could not endure to be silent, left the city secretly before the day appointed and later made their way to Antony, followed by not a few of the other senators. And when Caesar learned this he declared that he had sent them away voluntarily, hoping thus that it might not be thought that they had abandoned him because of some wrong-doing on his part, and added that he granted the rest who so wished permission to depart unmolested to Antony.

This action of theirs was counterbalanced by the arrival of others who fled from Antony in turn to Caesar, among them being Titius and Plancus, though they had been honoured by Antony among the foremost and knew all his secrets. For after the consuls had taken the step described and Caesar, moreover, in their absence had convened the senate and had read and said all that he wished, and after Antony, hearing of these things, had assembled a kind of senate from among those who were with him, and after considerable talk on both sides of the question had taken up the war and renounced his connection with Octavia as his wife, then it was that Titius and Plancus, because of some friction with him or because of anger against Cleopatra, deserted him. And Caesar was very glad to receive them and learned from them all about Antony's affairs, what he was doing, what he had in mind to do, what was written in his will, and the name of the man who had the will; for these two men had attached their seals to it. Thereupon Caesar became still more violently enraged and did not shrink from searching for the document, seizing
σαί αὐτὰς οὕτε λαβεῖν οὗτε ἐς τε τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐσκομίσαι καὶ ἀναγνώσαι. τοιαύτα γὰρ ποὺ ἐν αὐταῖς ἀνεγέγραπτο ὡστε μηδ' αἰτίαν τινὰ παρ' αὐτῶν, καίτοι παρανομώτατον πράγμα ποιήσας, σχεῖν τῷ τε γὰρ Καισαρίωι ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος οὕτως γεγονότε έμεμαρτυρήκει, καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀιγυπτίας οἱ τρεφομένοι ὑπερόγκους δὴ τινὰς δωρεάς ἐδεδώκει, τὸ τε σῶμα τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ σὺν ἐκείνῃ ταφῆναι ἐκεκελευκεί.

4. Δι' οὖν ταῦτα ἁγανακτήσαντες ἐπίστευσαν ὅτι καὶ τάλλα τὰ βυρλούμενα ἀληθῆ είν, τούτ' ἐστιν ὅτι, ἀν κρατήσῃ, τὴν τε πόλιν σφῶν τῇ 1 Κλεοπάτρα χαριεῖται καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐς τὴν Ἀιγυπτίον μεταθήσει. καὶ τοσαυτῇ γε ἐπὶ τούτους ὀργῇ ἐχρήσαντο ὡστε πάντας, οὐχ οπως τοὺς διαφόρους αὐτῷ ἦ καὶ ἐκ μέσου ἀμφότερον ὄντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πάνω φίλους, δεινῶς αὐτῶν αἰτιάσασθαι τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀναγρωσθείσιν ἐκπλαγέντες, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑποψίαι ἀναγονιζόμενοι, τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔλεγον. καὶ τὴν τε ὑπατείαν αὐτῶν, ἐς ἥν προεκεχειροτόνητο, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐξουσίαν πᾶσαν ἀφείλοντο: πολέμιον τε λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ ἀπέφηναν, φοβηθέντες τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῶ, ὅτι καὶ ἐκείνους ἐν ἐχθρών μοίρα, ἄν μὴ προλειπὼσιν αὐτῶν, νομοθῆκαν ἐχρῆν, ἐργῷ δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον ἀπέδειξαν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ συνεξεταζομένοις οἱ τὴν τε ἄδειαν καὶ ἐπαίνους, ἂν ἕγκαταλείπωσιν αὐτῶν, ἐφηφισάντο, τῇ δὲ Κλεοπάτρα τὸν πόλεμον ἀντικροὺς ἐπήγγειλαν, 2 καὶ τὰς τε χλαμύδας ὡς

1 τῇ Ρ. Steph., τῇ τῇ LM.
2 ἐπηγγεῖλαν Η. Steph., ἐπηγγεῖλαν LM.
it, and then carrying it into the senate and later into the assembly, and reading it. For the clauses contained in it were of such a nature that this most lawless procedure on Caesar’s part brought upon him no reproach from the citizens; for Antony had borne witness to Caesarion that he was truly sprung from Caesar, had given some enormous presents to his children by the Egyptian queen, who were being reared by him, and had ordered that his body be buried in Alexandria by her side.

This caused the Romans in their indignation to believe that the other reports in circulation were also true, to the effect that if Antony should prevail, he would bestow their city upon Cleopatra and transfer the seat of power to Egypt. And they became so angry at this that all, not only Antony’s enemies or those who were not siding with either man, but even his most intimate friends, censured him severely; for in their consternation at what was read and in their eagerness to counteract Caesar’s suspicion of them, they spoke in the same way as the rest. They deprived him of the consulship, to which he had been previously elected, and of all his authority in general. They did not, to be sure, declare him an enemy in so many words, because they were afraid his adherents would also have to be regarded in the light of enemies, in case they should not abandon him; but by this action they showed their attitude more plainly than by any words. For they voted to the men arrayed on his side pardon and praise if they would abandon him, and declared war outright upon Cleopatra, put on their military cloaks as if he were close
καὶ ἐν χερσίν ὄντος αὐτοῦ μετημπίσχοντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἑβνείου ἐλθόντες πάντα τὰ προπολέμια κατὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον, διὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς καὶ φητιαλίου, ἐποίησαν ἀπερ ποιον λόγον μὲν πρὸς τὴν Κλεοπάτραν, ἐγέρθη ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐστείλειν οὕτω γὰρ που αὐτὸν ἐδεδοῦλωτο ὦστε καὶ γυμνασιαρχῆσαι τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεύσι πείσαι, βασιλικὰ τε αὐτὴ καὶ δέσποινα ὑπ’ ἑκείνου καλεῖσθαι, στρατιώτας τε Ῥωμαίους ἐν τῷ ὀρυφορικῷ ἔχειν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς πάντας σφάζειν ἐστὶν ἐπιγράφειν. ἦς τε τὴν ἄγορὰν μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐσεφοίτα, καὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις οἱ συνδιείσθητει, τὰς τε δίκας συνεχόμενε καὶ συνίππευε καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἢ καὶ ἑκείνη μὲν ἐν δίφρῳ τινὶ ἑφέρετο, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοποδι αὐτῇ μετὰ τῶν εὐνούχων ἱκολούθει. καὶ τὸ τε στρατηγικὸν βασιλείου ὁνόμαζε, καὶ ἀκινάκην ἐστὶν ὦτε παρε-ξώνυμο, ἐσθητὶ τε ἐξω τῶν πατρίων ἔχρητο, καὶ ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐπιχρύσου δίφρου τε ὀμοίου καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἐωράτο, συνεγράφετο τε αὐτῇ καὶ συνεπλάττετο, αὐτὸς μὲν Ὀσιρίς καὶ Διόνυσος ἑκείνη δὲ Σελήνη τε καὶ Ἰσις λέγοντες εἰναι. ἦς οὕτε καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐκφρων ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἔκ μαγγανείας τινὸς γεγονοῦσα ἐδοξεῖν, οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἑκείνου ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλωσ τοὺς τι παρ’ αὐτῷ δυναμένους οὕτω καὶ ἐγοήσουσε καὶ κατέδησεν ὡστ’ αὐτὴν καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρξεῖν ἐλπίσαι, τὴν τε εὐχὴν

1 διόνυσος M cod. Peir., ὁ διόνυσος L.
at hand, and went to the temple of Bellona, where they performed through Caesar as *fetialis* all the rites preliminary to war in the customary fashion. These proceedings were nominally directed against Cleopatra, but really against Antony. For she had enslaved him so absolutely that she persuaded him to act as *gymnasiarch*¹ to the Alexandrians; and she was called "queen" and "mistress" by him, had Roman soldiers in her bodyguard, and all of these inscribed her name upon their shields. She used to frequent the market-place with him, joined him in the management of festivals and in the hearing of lawsuits, and rode with him even in the cities, or else was carried in a chair while Antony accompanied her on foot along with her eunuchs. He also termed his headquarters "the palace," sometimes wore an oriental dagger at his belt, dressed in a manner not in accordance with the customs of his native land, and let himself be seen even in public upon a gilded couch or a chair of that kind. He posed with her for portrait paintings and statues, he representing Osiris or Dionysus and she Selene or Isis. This more than all else made him seem to have been bewitched by her through some enchantment. For she so charmed and enthralled not only him but all the rest who had any influence with him that she conceived the hope of ruling even the Romans; and whenever she used an oath her strongest phrase in

¹ A Greek official, who exercised complete supervision of the gymnasium, paying for training and incidentals, arranging the details of contests, etc. Plutarch (Am. 33) states that in Athens also Antony on one occasion laid aside the insignia of a Roman general to assume the purple mantle, the white shoes, and the rods of this official.
τὴν μεγίστην, ὅποτε τι ὁμνύοι, ποιεῖσθαι τὸ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ δικάσαι.

6 Τῇ μὲν οὖν Κλεοπάτρᾳ διὰ ταῦτα τὸν πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο, τῷ δ' Ἀντώνιῳ οὐδὲν δήθεν τοιούτοις ἐπηγγέλθην, εἰ δὲ εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ἄλλως πολεμωθήσοντο 1 (οὐ γὰρ που προδοῦς ἐκείνη τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πράξειν ἔμελλε) καὶ βουλόμενοι καὶ αὐτὸ τούτο προσεγκαλέσαι οἱ, ὅτι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀλγυπτίας πόλεμον ἐκὼν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος, μηδενὸς αὐτῷ δεινοὶ οἰκοθεν ἱδίᾳ συμβάντος, ἀνέιλετο.

2 "Ἡ τε οὖν ἡλικία παρ' ἀμφοτέρων 2 σπουδὴ συνήγετο καὶ χρήματα ἀπανταχόθεν συνελέγετο, τὰ τε ἐμπολέμια πάντα κατὰ τάχος ἠθροίζετο. καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ πάσα παρασκευὴ πολὺ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς μεγίστη. ἔθνη γὰρ τοσάδε ἐκατέρω τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον συνήρατο. Καίσαρι μὲν ἡ τε Ἰταλία (πάντας γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀποκισθῆνας, τὰ μὲν ἐκφοβήσας ἀτέ όλγους ὄντας, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐνεργετῆςας, προσετέθειτο: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς τὴν Βουνωίαν ἐποικοῦντας αὐτὸς αὖθις, ἵνα δὴ καὶ ὑφ' ἐαυτοῦ ἀποκισθῇ δοκῶσι, προσκατεστήσατο)—ὅ τε οὖν Ἰταλία καὶ ἡ Γαλατία τοῦ τὸ Ἰβηρικῶν καὶ τὸ Ἰλλυρικῶν, καὶ Λίβνες οἱ τε ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν ῥωμαίσοντες πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὴν Κυρήνην

1 πολεμωθήσοντο Reim., πολεμωθήσοντο LM.
2 Here L ends; its copy V in a measure replaces it down to the end of Book LIV.
swearing was by her purpose to dispense justice on the Capitol.\textsuperscript{1}

This was the reason they voted for war against Cleopatra, but they made no such declaration against Antony, forsooth, knowing full well that he would become an enemy in any event, since he certainly was not going to prove false to her and espouse Caesar's cause; and they wished to have this additional reproach to put upon him, that he had voluntarily taken up war on the side of the Egyptian woman against his native country, though no ill-treatment had been accorded him personally by the people at home.

Accordingly, the men of fighting age were being rapidly assembled on both sides; money was being collected from every quarter, and all the equipment of war was being speedily gathered together. The preparations as a whole far surpassed in size anything that had ever been before; for all these nations cooperated with one side or the other in the war; Caesar had, in the first place, Italy (he had even attached to his cause all those who had been placed in colonies by Antony, partly by frightening them, since they were few in number, and partly by conferring benefits upon them; for example, among his other acts, he personally gave a new charter to the colonists who had settled in Bononia, so that the impression might prevail that the colony had been sent out by him), and besides Italy he also had in alliance with him Gaul, Spain, Illyricum, the Africas (including not only those who long since had adopted the Latin tongue, with the exception of the people in Cy-

\textsuperscript{1} i.e. she would say: "As surely as I shall one day dispense justice on the Capitol, so surely," etc.
καὶ οἱ τοῦ Βογόνου τοῦ τε Βόκχου γέγονότες, Σαρδῶ τε καὶ Σικελία καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι νήσοι αἱ ταῖς εἰρημέναις ἡπείροις προσεχέεις συνεμάχησαν, τῷ δ’ Ἀντωνίῳ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκούοντα καὶ τὰ εν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ, ἦ τε Ἑλλάς καὶ ἡ Μακεδονία, καὶ οἱ Ἀιγύπτιοι οἱ τε Κυρηναῖοι μετὰ τῶν περιχώρων, καὶ οἱ νησίωται οἱ προσοικοῦντες σφειν, οἱ τε βασιλῆς καὶ οἱ δυνάσται πάντες ὡς εἶπείν οἱ τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ τῇ τῆς ἐκείνων 3 οὕσε σειστήθη συνεποιήθη, καὶ οἱ οἱ δε δέ ἐτέρων καὶ τοσαύτη γε προθυμία ἀμφότεροι ὀμοίως ἔχρησαν ὡστε και ενὸρκώσας τὰς συμμαχίας σφῶν ἐκατέρω ποιήσασθαι.

7 Οὐσί πεὶ οὐν οὐτως ἔρρωντο, καὶ οἱ Ἀντώνιοι τοῦτο μὲν ἀντώμοσε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιῶταις ἀκηρυκτὶ πολεμήσειν, τοῦτο δὲ ὑπέσχετο τήν τε ἀρχὴν ἐντὸς δύο μηνῶν μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἀφήσειν καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτῆς κράτος τῇ τε γερουσία καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ ἀποδώσειν. μόλις τε δῆθεν τινες ἐπείσαν αὐτὸν ἔκτο μην τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἵνα δὴ κατὰ σχολήν τὰ πράγματα καταστήσῃται. καὶ ο μὲν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μὴ ἐμελλεν αὐτὸ πράξειν, ἄλλ’ ὡς πάντη γε πάντως κρατήσων ἐπηγγέλλετο. τὰ τε γὰρ ἑαυτῶν πολὺ τοὺς πλήθεσιν ἱσχυρότερα ἔωρα ὄντα, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἀσθενώσειν δωροδοκίας ἔλπιζον 5 χρυσὸν γὰρ ὡς ἑκασταχόσε, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς τε τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ρώμην ἐσπέρων διεκίνει τε ὡς ἑκαστα καὶ σφε-

1 τὰ Χιφ., om. LM. 2 τῇ added by Rk.
3 ἐκείνων H. Steph., ἐκείνων VM.
4 ἀκηρυκτὶ V, ἀκηρυκτέλ M.
5 ἔλπιζε R. Steph., ἔλπιζε VM.
renaisca, but also those who had belonged to Bogud and Bocchus), Sardinia, Sicily, and the rest of the islands adjacent to the aforementioned divisions of the mainland. On Antony's side were the regions subject to Rome in continental Asia, the regions of Thrace, Greece, and Macedonia, the Egyptians, the people of Cyrene and the surrounding country, the islanders dwelling near them, and practically all the kings and potentates whose territories bordered upon that part of the Roman empire then under his control—some taking the field themselves and others represented by lieutenants. And such was the zeal of both sides alike that the alliances which they made with the two leaders were cemented by oaths of allegiance.

Such was the strength of the contestants. As for Antony, he on his part swore to his own soldiers that he would admit no truce in the war he waged, and promised in addition that within two months after his victory he would relinquish his office and restore to the senate and the people all its authority; and it was with difficulty, forsooth, that certain persons prevailed upon him to postpone this act to the sixth month, so that he might be able to settle the public business at his leisure. And however far he was from intending to carry out this offer, he yet made the proposal as if he were certainly and without fail going to conquer. For he saw that his own forces were much the stronger by reason of their superior numbers, and hoped by means of bribes to weaken those of his opponents; indeed, he proceeded to send gold in every direction, and particularly to Italy in general and especially to Rome, and thus tried to shake the allegiance of each individual element and
τερίξεσθαι ἐπειράτο. θευτερ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τά τε ἄλλα δι᾽ ἀκριβεστέρας φυλακής ἐποίησατο καὶ χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔδωκε.

8 Τοιαύτης δ᾽ οὖν τής τε ὀρμής καὶ τής παρα-
σκευής αὐτῶν οὐσίας πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρώπων καὶ ποικίλα ἔθρυλείτο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν
θεῶν καὶ ἐναργή προσδείκνυτο. πίθηκος τε γὰρ
ἐς τὸ Δήμητριον ἐν ἱερουργίᾳ τινὶ ἐσελθὼν πάντα
2 τὰ ἐνδον συνέχεε, καὶ βύας πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὸν τής Ὀμονοίας ναὸν, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
πάντας ὡς εἰς ἐν τούτους ἀγωτάτους ἐπέπτετο, καὶ
tέλος, ἐπειδὴ πανταχόθεν ἀπηλαύνετο, ἐπὶ τὲ τοῦ
ναοῦ τοῦ Γενίου τοῦ δήμου ἱδρύθη καὶ οὔτε ἐάλω
οὐτ᾽ ἐξανέστη πλὴν οὔτε ποτε. ὁ τε ὅχος ὁ τοῦ
Διὸς ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν ἱπποδρομία συνετρίβη,
καὶ λαμπάς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὑπέρ τῆς Ἐλληνι-
κῆς θαλάσσης αἰωρήθεισα ἐς τὸν αἰθέρα ἀνέδραμε.

3 καὶ συχνὰ μὲν ὑπὸ χειμώνος ἐπόνησεν, ὡστε καὶ
τρόπαιον τι ἐν τῷ Ἀουεντίνῳ ἐστὸς καὶ νίκης
ἀγαλμα ἀπὸ τῆς τού θεάτρου σκηνῆς πεσεῖν, τῇ
τε γέφυραν τῇ ἕνυλῃν πάσαν 1 καταρραγῆσαι:
συχνὰ δὲ καὶ υπὸ πυρὸς ἐφθάρη, καὶ προσέτι καὶ
ἐκ τῆς Λέτυνης πλείστον τε ἐρρήσι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ

4 χώραις ἐλυμήνατο. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν οἱ Ῥωμαιοὶ τὰ μὲν
ὀρόντες τὰ δ᾽ ἀκούοντες, ἀνεμμυνηκόντο καὶ τὸ
tοῦ ὁδόκουτος, ὅτι ἄρα καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐς τὰ τότε
παρόντα σφύσιν ἐσήμηνεν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Τυρσηνίδι
ὁλίγον πρὸ τοῦτον πρότερον ὁδόκων δικέφαλος,
μέγας ὡστε καὶ ἐς πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα πόδας
ἐξικνεῖσθαι, αἰφνίδιον ἀνεφάνη καὶ πολλὰ κακώσας

5 ἐκεραυνώθη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς

1 πάσαν M, om. V.
to tempt them over to his side. For this reason
Caesar on his part kept a more vigilant watch over
everything else, and made donations of money to
his soldiers.

Such was the enthusiasm of the two sides and such
were their preparations; meanwhile many and divers
rumours were noised abroad by men, and many clear
portents were shown by the gods. For example, an
ape entered the temple of Ceres during a service
and upset everything in it; an owl flew first into
the temple of Concord and then to practically all
the other most holy temples, and finally, when it
had been driven away from every other place, it
settled upon the temple of the Genius Populi, and
it was not only not caught, but did not depart until
late in the day. The chariot of Jupiter was de-
molished in the Circus at Rome, and for many days
a torch would rise over the sea toward Greece and
dart up into the sky. Much damage was also caused
by storm; thus, a trophy which stood upon the
Aventine fell, a statue of Victory fell from the back
wall of the theatre, and the wooden bridge was
utterly demolished. And many objects were de-
sroyed by fire also, and moreover there was a huge
flow of lava from Aetna which damaged cities and
fields. Now when the Romans saw and heard about
these things, they recalled also the incident of the
serpent, realising that it too had given them a sign
which bore upon the present situation. A little
before this, it seems, a two-headed serpent, so huge
that its length came to eighty-five feet, had suddenly
appeared in Etruria, and after doing much damage
had been killed by lightning. Now all these signs
had significance for the whole people; for it was the
έφερε: 'Ρωμαίοι τε γὰρ τὸ προμαχόμενον ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὅμοιος ἦν, καὶ ἐμελλοντάς ἐν τῷ τῶν πολλῶν ἐκατέρωθεν φθαρήσεσθαι, καὶ ἐπείτα τοῦ κρατήσαντος πάντες οἱ περιελθέντες γενήσεσθαι. τῷ δὲ δὴ 'Αντωνίῳ τὴν μὲν ἦτταν οἱ παῖδες οἱ ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ ὄντες προεμπεδίσαντο (δίχα γὰρ γενόμενοι μηδενός κελεύσαντος, καὶ οἱ μὲν 'Αντωνιείους οἱ δὲ Καισαρείους σφάς ἐπικαλέσαντες, συνέμεθαν ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας, καὶ ἤτθησαν οἱ τὸ ἐκείνου ὄνομα φέροντες), τὸν δὲ ὀλεθρον εἰκόνι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ παρὰ τῷ Διί ἀνακειμένη λιθίνη γὰρ οὖσα αἷμα πολὺ ἀνήκε.

9 Metoúwrōn δ' οὖν πάντων ὅμοίως ἐπὶ τούτως ὄντων ἐν μὲν τῷ ἐτεὶ ἐκείνῳ πλέον οὕδεν ἐγένετο. δ' τε γὰρ Καίσαρ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παρόντα ἡσθενο, καθιστάμενος οὐκ ἡδυνήθη πρὸ τοῦ χειρός ἀπαντήσει. καὶ ἐκεῖνος ὀρμησε μὲν ὅς καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τῶν πολεμοῦ ἀδοκιμῶν σφίσι ποιήσαμεν, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Κέρκυραν, καὶ πυθόμενος τὰς ναῦς τὰς πρόπλους τὰς ἐς τὴν προσκόπην αὐτοῦ πεμφθείσας περὶ τὰ Κεραυνία ἄρῃ ναυλοχεῖν, ὑπετόπης αὐτὸν τοῦ Καίσαρα μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ

3 ναυτικοῦ ἀφίχθαι, καὶ οὐκέτι περαιτέρῳ προεχώρησεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον (ἢ ἡγεῖ γὰρ ἐκ μετοπώρου ἦν) ἀναπλέεσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Πάτραις παρεχείμασεν, τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιῶτας πανταχός ἰνε

1 ἐμελλόν M, ἐμελλέν V. 3 ἐπείτα Xyl., ἐπὶ τὰ VM.
2 καισαρείους Xiph., Zon., καισαρείους VM.
4 ποιησάμενος V, ποιησάμενος M.
5 πανταχός Zon., πανταχόθεν VM.
Romans on whom would fall the brunt of the fighting on both sides alike, and it was fated that many should perish in each army at this time and that afterward all the survivors should belong to the victor. In the case of Antony, an omen of his defeat was given beforehand by the children in Rome; for although nobody suggested it, they formed two parties, of which one called itself the Antonians and the other the Caesarians, and they fought with each other for two days, when those who bore Antony's name were defeated. And his death was portended by what happened to a statue of him that stood on the Alban Mount beside that of Jupiter; for in spite of its being of marble it sent forth streams of blood.

All alike were excited over these events, yet in that year nothing further took place. For Caesar, on his part, was busy settling matters in Italy, especially when he discovered the presence of money sent by Antony, and so could not go to the front before winter; and as for Antony, although he set out with the intention of carrying the war into Italy before they should suspect his movements, yet when he came to Corcyra and ascertained that the advance guard of ships sent to reconnoitre his position was lying off the Ceraunian mountains, he suspected that Caesar himself with all his fleet had arrived, and hence proceeded no farther. Instead, he sailed back to the Peloponnesus, the season being already late autumn, and passed the winter at Patrae, distributing his soldiers in every direction in order that they might keep guard over
dio's roman history

διέστησεν, ἵνα τὰ τῆς χωρίας φυλάττωσι καὶ τῶν 4 ἐπιτηδείων ὅσον εὔπορότατι. καὶ τούτο ἦλθον μὲν καὶ ἐθελονταὶ παρ’ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἐκατέρως καὶ βουλευταὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τενές, ἐάλῳ δὲ καὶ κατάσκοπος ὑπὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρος Δούκιος Μέσσιος· καὶ αὐτὸν καίπερ τῶν ἐν τῇ Περούσια 1 πρὸτερον ἀλόντων ὑπάτω ἀφήκη, πᾶσαν οἱ τὴν έαυτοῦ δύναμιν 5 προετιδείξας. τῷ τε Αντώνῳ ἐπέστειλεν ὅπως ἡ ἀναξιορήση ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἱππον δρόμον ἡμερίσιον καὶ ἐφή 2 ὅι ἀδεῶς προσπλεῦσαι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐντὸς πέντε ἡμερῶν συμμεῖζαι σφας, ἡ αὐτῶς ἐπὶ 6 τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθῇ, οὐχ ὅτι τῇ 3 γενίσσεσθαι σφῶν ἐνόμιξεν (ὁ γρῦν) 4 Ἀντώνιος πολλά τε αὐτοῦ κατεγέλασε, καὶ εἶπεν “καὶ τίς ἡμῖν δικάσει, ἂν τι παρὰ τὰ συγκεκμένα πραγμαθῆ;”); ἀλλ’ ὅτι τοῖς τε έαυτοῦ στρατιώταις θάρσει καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐκπληξίν ἐμβάλειν ἐκ τούτου προσ- 10 ἐσκόκησε.

Metà δὲ δὴ ταῦτα ἦσαν μὲν ὑπατοὶ ἐς τὸ ἐχόμενον ἔτος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρ καὶ δὲ Ἀντώνιος προαποδεδειγμένοι τὸτε ὅτε ἐς τὰ ὅκτω ἐτη τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐσάπαξ προκατεστήσαντο, καὶ τὸ γε τελευταῖον ἐκεῖνο ἦν' παραλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντώνιου, ὅσπερ εἶπον, ὁ Μεσσάλας ὁ 5 Οὐαλέριος ὁ προγραφεὶς 2 ποτε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ὑπάτευσα μετά τοῦ Καίσαρος. κἀν τούτῳ ἄνθρωπος τέ τις μανιῶδης ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐν παρηγύρει τινὲς ἐκπειδήσας τῶν στέφανον τὸν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος ἀνείλετο καὶ περιέβετο, καὶ διεσπάσθη ὑπὸ τῶν περιεσπάστων καὶ λύκος τε

1 Perusia Xyl., gerovsiai VM.
2 ἐπὶ Phlgk, ἐπὶ VM.
3 τι, M, om. V.
4 γρῦν Bk., δ’ οὖν VM.
5 δείπνασθη M, περιεσπάσθη V.
the strategic points and secure more easily an abundance of provisions. Meanwhile men were going over voluntarily from each party to the other side, senators as well as others, and Caesar caught a spy, Lucius Messius; but he released him, in spite of his being one of the men who had previously been captured at Perusia, after having first showed him his entire force. And Caesar sent Antony a letter, bidding him either withdraw from the sea a day's journey on horseback and permit him to land in security, on condition that they should join battle within five days, or else cross over to Italy himself on the same understanding. He did not, of course, expect that anything would come of it, and indeed Antony made a great deal of fun of him, saying, "Who will be our arbitrator if the compact is transgressed in any way?" But he hoped to inspire his own soldiers with courage and his opponents with terror by making this demand.

As consuls for the next year after this Caesar and Antony had been appointed at the time when they settled the offices for eight years at once,¹ and this was the last year of the period; but as Antony had been deposed, as I have stated,² Valerius Messalla, who had once been proscribed by them,³ became consul with Caesar. About this time a madman rushed into the theatre at one of the festivals and seized the crown of the former Caesar and put it on, whereupon he was torn to pieces by the bystanders. A

¹ Cf. xlvi. 35. ² Cf. chap. 4. ³ Cf. xlvii. 11.
εἰς τὸ Τυχαίον ἐσπίπτων συνελήφθη καὶ κατε
σφάγη, κύων τε κύων ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ παρ' αὐτήν
τὴν ἀμίλλαν τῶν ἱππῶν κατεργάσατο καὶ κατε-
φαγε. καὶ πῦρ ἄλλα τε οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
ἱπποδρόμου πολὺ τὸ τε Δημήτριον καὶ ἑτέρων ναὸν
4 Ἐλπίδος ἐθείρευν. ἐδοξάζον μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι
αὐτὸ πεποιηκέναι πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ
αὐτῶν οὐσί καὶ πέντε μυριάδων οὐσίαν ἢ καὶ
πλεῖον κεκτημένου τοῦ ὅγδοον αὐτῆς συντελέσαι
ἐκελεύθη, κὰκ ποντοῦ καὶ ταραχαὶ καὶ φόνοι
καὶ ἐμπρήσεις ὡς 5 αὐτῶν πολλαὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ
οὐ πρῶτον γε κατέστησαν πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ὁπλοὺς
καταδαμασθῆναι. ἀφ' οὔτε καὶ οἱ ἐλεύθεροι οἱ
ti χωρίοι ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κεκτημένοι φοβηθέντες
ἡσύχασαν καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ τέταρτον τῆς
ἐπετηρίας προσόδου δοῦναι προσετάχθη, μελλή-
σαντές τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ κινηθήσεσθαι οὐδὲν ἐτι νεοχ-
μῶσαν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ' ἀμαχεὶ καὶ ἀκοῦστε αὐτὸ
6 συνεσήνεγκαν. ἐδοξεῖ μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀπελευθέρων τὸ πῦρ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς γεγονέναι, οὐ
μέντοι ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸ ἐς τὰ πάνω τέρατα διὰ τὸ
tῶν κατθέντων πλῆθος ἔσεχραφη.

10 Τοιούτων δὴ σημείων προφανείτων σφίσιν οὔτε
ἐφοβήθησαν οὐθ' ἦττον τε ἐπολέμησαν, ἄλλα τῶν
μὲν χειμῶνα κατασκοπᾶς τε χρώμενοι καὶ παρα-
λυποῦντες ἀλλήλους διετέλεσαν (ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ
ἐξανήχθη μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ ἐπλευσε
μέχρι τῆς Κερκύρας ὡς καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτως τοῖς
πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ ὀρμοῦσιν ἐπιθησόμενος, χειμῶνι
2 δὲ περιπέτεων καὶ ποιητικῶς ἀνεχώρησε), τοῦ δὲ δὴ

1 te ἐς Bk., ἐς τε VM.
2 ὑπ' St., ἐπ' VM.
wolf was caught as it was running into the temple of Fortune and killed, and in the Circus at the very
time of the horse-race a dog killed and devoured another dog. Fire also consumed a considerable
portion of the Circus itself, along with the temple of Ceres, another shrine dedicated to Spes, and a
large number of other structures. The freedmen
were thought to have caused this; for all of them
who were in Italy and possessed property worth	
two hundred thousand sesterces or more had been
ordered to contribute an eighth of it. This resulted
in numerous riots, murders, and the burning of many
buildings on their part, and they were not brought
to order until they were subdued by armed force.
In consequence of this the freemen who held any
land in Italy grew frightened and kept quiet; for
they also had been ordered to give a quarter of their
annual income, and though they were on the point
of rebelling against this extortion, they were not
bold enough after what had just happened to make
any disturbance, but reluctantly brought in their
contributions without resort to arms. Therefore it
was believed that the fire was due to a plot originated
by the freedmen; yet this did not prevent it from
being recorded among the out-and-out portents,
because of the number of buildings burned.

Although such omens had appeared to them, the two
leaders neither were dismayed nor relaxed their pre-
parations for war, but spent the winter in spying upon
and annoying each other. For Caesar had set sail
from Brundisium and had proceeded as far as Coreyra,
intending to attack while off their guard the enemy
forces lying off Actium, but he encountered a storm
and received damage which caused him to withdraw.
ΔΙΟ ΠΟΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ Ιστορίας

3 τε ἡλαττωντο 1 καὶ ο Ἄγριππας τὴν τε Μεθώνην 2 ἐκ προσβολῆς λαβὼν καὶ τῶν Βογοῦαν ἐν αὐτῇ κτείνας, τὰς τε κατάρσεις τῶν ὀλκάδων ἐπιτηρῶν καὶ ἀποβάσεις ἄλλοτε ἄλλη τῆς Ἕλλαδος ποιούμενος, ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ἑταραττεν, ὁ δὲ Ἰακώβ οὗτος ἐπὶ τε τούτους θαρσῆσαι καὶ βουλθεῖσι ὅτι τάχιστα τῇ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὀρμῇ λαμπρῶς ἱσκημένου χρήσασθαι, τὸν τε πόλεμον καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἕλλαδι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνους μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ πρὸς τῇ Ῥώμῃ ποιήσασθαι, πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἑπετεῖς ὅτι τὰ ὁφέλη ἦν, πάντας δὲ τοὺς τις δυναμένους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππεῶν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον συνήγαγε, τοὺς μὲν ὅπως τὶς συμπράξον αὐτῷ, τοὺς δὲ ὅπως μηδὲν μονωθέντες νεοχιμώσωσι, τὸ τε μέγιστον ὅπως ἐνδείξησι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅτι καὶ τὸ πλείστον καὶ τὸ κράτιστον 6 τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁμογενομονύμου ἑκοῦ. καὶ τουτεῦθεν τακτοῦν τε τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀριθμὸν πάσιν ἔπαγαγέσθαι 3 καὶ τὴν τροφὴν αὐτοῦς ἐαυτοῖς, πλὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἐπικοιμίσασθαι κελεύσας, ἀθρόα τῇ παρα. 12 σκεπῇ τῶν Ἰονίων διέβαλεν. ἤγε δὲ αὐτοῦς οὐκ ἐστὶν Ἐλευθερινίου ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀντώνιων, ἄλλα πρὸς τὸ Ἀκτίον, ἐν ὅ τὸ πλεῖον αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὀρμεῖ, εἰ πὼς σφας ἔθελον τὰς ἢ καὶ ἄκοινας προσπαραστήσαται. 4

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1 ἡλαττωντο Zou., ἡλαττώντο VM.
2 μεθάνη V Zou., μεθάνη M.
3 ἐπαγαγέσθαι Bk., ἐπαγαγέσθαι VM.
4 προσπαραστήσατο Bk., προσπαραστήσατο VM.
When spring came, Antony made no move at any point; for the crews that manned his triremes were made up of all sorts of races, and as they had been wintering at a distance from him, they had had no practice and their numbers had been diminished by disease and desertions. Moreover Agrippa had captured Methone by storm and killed Bogud there, and was now watching for the merchant vessels that came to land and was making descents from time to time on various parts of Greece, all of which disturbed Antony greatly. But Caesar was encouraged by this and wished to bring into play as soon as possible the enthusiasm of his army, which was splendidly trained, and to wage the war in Greece near his rival's bases rather than in Italy near Rome. Therefore he assembled all his troops that were of any value, and likewise all the men of influence, both senators and knights, at Brundisium, wishing to make the first cooperate with him and to keep the others from beginning a rebellion as they might if left by themselves, but chiefly with the purpose of showing to all the world that he had the largest and strongest element among the Romans in sympathy with himself. From Brundisium he sent orders to all these that they should take along with them a stated number of servants and also, except in the case of the soldiers, should carry with them their own supplies. Thereupon he crossed the Ionian Gulf with the entire array. He was leading them, not to the Peloponnesus or against Antony, but toward Actium, where the greater part of his rival's fleet was at anchor, to see if he could forestall Antony by gaining possession of it, willing or unwilling.
Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν τε πεζὸν ὑπὸ τὰ ὅρη τὰ ἡρεῖ µασθῶ στοιχεῖον καὶ αὐτὸς ταῖς ναυσὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐκλειψεῖσαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφρουροῦντων λαβῶν εἰς τὸν λεμένα τὸν γλυκίνῳ ὑπομασμένου κατέσχε (καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως ὅτι πρὸς τοῦ ποταµοῦ τοῦ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσβαλλοῦτος γλυκαίνεται), καὶ ναύσταθµὸν τε ἐν αὐτῷ ἐποίησατο καὶ ἐκείθεν ὀρµόµενος ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀκτίον ἐπέπλει. ὡς δ' ὁδεῖς οἱ οὕτ' ἀντανήγητο οὐτ' ἐς λόγους ἤει, καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτοῦ βατέρων ἐπὶ πρὸς ὁµολογίαν σφᾶς ἢ πρὸς µάχην προκαλοµένου (τὴν µὲν γὰρ τῇ πίστει τὴν ἐς τῷ δέει οὐκ ἐδεχοµένου), κατέλαβε τὸ χωρίον τούτο ἐν ϑύ νῦν ἡ 

4 Νικόπολις ἔστι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ µετεώρον, ὅθεν ἐπὶ πάντα ὁµοίως τῆς τε ἐξω τῆς πρὸς Πάξιον βαλάσσης καὶ τῆς εἰσώ τῇ Ἀµπρακίκη τῆς τε ἐν τῷ µέσῳ αὐτῶν, ἐν δὲ οἱ λεµένες οἱ πρὸς τῇ Νικόπολει εἰσίν, ἀποστὸν ἐστίν, ἰδρύθην. καὶ αὐτὸ τε ἐκρατύνατο καὶ τείχη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν 

5 λεµένα τὸν ἐξω τῷ Κόµαρῳ καθήκε, κὰς τοῦτο καὶ ἐφηδρευε καὶ ἐφώρµει τοῖς Ἀκτίω καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ βαλάσσαν. ἦδη µὲν γὰρ ἠκούσα ὅτι καὶ τριήρεις ἐκ τῆς ἐξω βαλάσσης ἐς τὸν κόλπον διὰ τοῦ τεῖχισµὸτος ὑπερήνευσε, βύρσαις νεοδάρτους ἀντὶ ὅλων ἐλαίῳ ἐπαληµµέναις 

6 χρησάµενος ἐχὼ δ' οὐδὲν ἑργὸν τῶν νεὼν τούτων ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ γενόµενον εἰπτεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ πιστεύσαι τῷ µυθολογήµατι δύναµαι: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ σµικρὸν τὸ πράγµα ἢν, διὰ χωρίου οὕτως ὀλέγου καὶ ἀνωµάλου τριήρεις ἐπὶ βυρσῶν δια-

1 ἐπέπλει Pflugk, ἐπέπλει VM.
2 εἰσώ Bs., εἰσώ M, ἐξω V.

460
With this object in view Caesar disembarked the cavalry at the foot of the Ceraunian mountains and sent them to the point mentioned, while he himself with his ships seized Corcyra, which had been deserted by the garrisons there, and come to anchor in the Fresh Harbour, so named because it is made fresh by the river which empties into it. There he established a naval station, and with that as his base made excursions to Actium. But no one came out to meet him or would hold parley with him, though he challenged them to do one of two things—either come to terms or give battle. But the first alternative they would not accept because of their confidence, nor the second, because of their fear. He then occupied the site where Nicopolis now stands, and took up a position on high ground there from which there is a view over all the outer sea around the Paxos islands and over the inner, or Ambracian, gulf, as well as over the intervening waters, in which are the harbours of Nicopolis. This spot he fortified, and he constructed walls from it down to Comarus, the outer harbour, and consequently commanded Actium by land and sea, watching it from above with his army and blockading it with his fleet. I have even heard the report that he actually transported triremes from the outer sea to the gulf by way of the fortifications, using newly flayed hides smeared with olive oil instead of runways, yet I am unable to name any exploit of these ships inside the gulf and therefore cannot believe the tradition; for it certainly would have been no small task to draw triremes over so narrow and uneven a tract.

1 Paxos and Antipaxos.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

7 γαγείν. τοῦτο μὲν οὐν οὔτω λέγεται γενέσθαι τὸ δ' Λακτίου Ἀπόλλωνος ιερὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ πορθμοῦ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἀμπρα-κικοῦ καὶ ἀντιπέρας τῶν πρὸς τὴν Νικοπόλει λιμένων κεῖται. ὅ τε πορθμὸς ίσος1 ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ στενοῦ τείνει, καὶ ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντα καὶ ἐνορμάσσαται καὶ ἐναισκοςασθαι.2 ταῦτ' οὖν προκατασχόντες οἳ Αὐτω-νίειοι ἐπὶ τε τοῦ στόματος πύργους ἐκατέρωθεν ἑπωκοδόμησαν καὶ τὸ μέσον ναυσὶ διέλαβον, ὡστε σφίσι καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλους καὶ τὰς ἀναχωρήσεις ἀσφαλείς εἶναι αὐτοὶ τε ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ3 πορθμοῦ κατὰ τὸ ιερὸν, ἐν χωρίῳ ὅμαλῷ μὲν καὶ πλατεῖ, ἐμμαγεσασθαι δὲ ἡ ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐπιτη-δειοτέρῳ, ἐνυλίζοντο4 ἐξ οὗπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῇ νόσῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, καὶ ἐν τῷ θέρει πολὺ μάλλον, ἐπιεσθησαν.

13 'Ὁ δ' οὖν 'Αὐτώνιος ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὴν τοῦ Καύσαρος ἀφίξειν ἐπόθετο, οὐκ ἐμελλῆσθαι ἄλλ' ἐς τὸ "Ἀκτίου μετὰ τῶν συνόντων οἱ ἥπειροι. καὶ ἴλθε μὲν οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς 2 ἀγώνα εὐθὺς κατέστη, καίτοι ἐκείνου τοῦ τε πέσων πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου σφῶν συνεχῶς προπαρα-τάσσοντος καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ πολλάκις σφίσων ἐπιπλέοντος, τὰς τε ὀλκάδας αὐτῶν κατάγοντος, ὅπως πρὶν πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν, μο- 3 νοις τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν οἱ συμμίσθη ἐκ γαρ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον οὐκ ἥθελησεν ἐς ἀπαν̄4 ἀναρρίθησαι, ἄλλα

1 ίσος R. Steph., ίσωι VM.
2 Some adjective such as ἐπιτήδεια (R. Steph.), δριστα (Bk.), or πᾶν καλά (v. Herw.) has fallen out in the latter part of this sentence.
3 θάτερα τοῦ Rk., θάτερον VM.
4 ἀπαν̄ Bk., αὐτῶν VM.
of land on hides. Nevertheless, this feat is said to have been accomplished in the manner described. Now Actium is a place sacred to Apollo and is situated in front of the mouth of the strait leading into the Ambracian Gulf opposite the harbours of Nicopolis. This strait extends for a long distance in a narrow course of uniform breadth, and both it and all the waters in front of it furnish an excellent place in which to anchor and lie in wait. The forces of Antony had occupied these positions in advance, had built towers on each side of the mouth, and had stationed ships in the intervening waters at intervals so that they could both sail out and return in safety. The men were encamped on the farther side of the narrows, beside the sanctuary, in a level and broad space, which, however, was more suitable as a place for fighting than for encamping; it was because of this fact more than any other that they suffered severely from disease, not only during the winter, but much more during the summer.

As soon as Antony learned of Caesar's arrival he did not delay, but hastened to Actium with his followers. And he arrived there not long afterwards, but did not at once risk an encounter, though Caesar constantly drew up his infantry in battle order in front of the enemy's camp, often sailed against them with his ships and carried off their transports, with the object of joining battle with only such as were then present, before Antony's entire command should assemble. For this very reason the latter was unwilling to stake his all on the cast, and he had
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πείρας καὶ ἀκροβολισμοῦ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐχοῖστο, μέχρις οὐ τὰ στρατεύματα συνελέξατο, τοῦτος δὲ, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος μηκέτ' ὁμοίως ἐγκεκρένου, τὸν τε πορθμὸν ἐπιδιεῖβη καὶ

4 οὐ πόρρω αὐτοῦ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, κὰκ τοῦτον καὶ ἰππικὸν περὶ τῶν κόλπων περιπέμψας ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτὸ προσήθερεν. ὦ οὖν Καίσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἡσύχαζε καὶ οὐδένα ἐτί κίνδυνον αὐθάρετον ἀνηρεῖτο, ἔδε ὑ πὴ τῆς Ἑλλάδας τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐπεμψε τινας, ὅπως τὸν Άντωνιον πρὸς ἐκείνα ἀπαγάγῃ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτ᾽ ἐπραττόν, Ἀγριππας δὲ τότε μὲν τῆς τε Δεινάκα καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ σκάφη αἰφνιδίως ἐπεσπλέυσας ἐλαβε, καὶ Πάτρας εἶλε Κύντων Νασίδιον 1 ναυμαχία νικήσας, ὑστερον δὲ καὶ τὴν Κόρινθον παρεστήσατο. ὡς οὖν ταῦτα τε συνέβη, καὶ ὁ Τίτιος ὁ Μάρκος ὁ τε Ταύρος ὁ Στατίλιος τὸ τε ἱππικὸν τοῦ Άντωνιον ἐξαιρήθη ἐπεκδραμόντες ἐκράτησαν καὶ Φιλάδελφον βασιλεῖα Παφλαγονίας προσεποιήσαντο, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος ὁ Γναῖος ἀχθεσθεὶς τι τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μετέστη, —καὶ χρησίμως μὲν οὐδὲν τῶ Καίσαρι ἐγένετο (νοσήματα γὰρ οὐκ ἐσ μακράν ἐτελεύτησεν), ἐδοξε δ' οὖν 2 ὡς καὶ κατεγνωκὸς τῶν πραγμάτων παρ' οἷς ἦν ἐνυπομολυκέναι (καὶ

5 γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτοῦ συγχρο ἐμμηνάσαντο),—οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ὁ 'Αντώνιος ἔθαρσε, ἀλλ' ὑπετόπει τε πάντας καὶ ἀπεκτείνεν ἐκ τοῦτον ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἰάμβλιχον Ἀραβίων τινῶν βασιλέα βασανίσας, Κύντων τε Ποστούμιον βουλευτὴν διασπάσασθαι

6 τισιν ἐπιτρέψας. καὶ τέλος φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ὁ Δέλλιος ὁ Κύντως ὃ τε Ἀμύντας ὁ Παλάτης

1 Νασίδιον Reim., ἀσίδιον VM. 2 δ' οὖν Leuncl., γοῦν VM.

464
recourse for several days to feeling out his enemy and to skirmishes until he had gathered his legions. With these, especially since Caesar no longer kept assailing him as before, he crossed the narrows and encamped not far from him, after which he sent cavalry around the gulf and thus invested him on both sides. Caesar, accordingly, remained quiet himself, and no longer accepted any encounter which he could avoid, but sent some troops into Greece and Macedonia with the intention of drawing Antony off in that direction. While they were so engaged Agrippa made a sudden dash with his fleet and captured Leucas and the vessels which were there, took Patrae by conquering Quintus Nasidius in a sea-fight, and later reduced Corinth also. Accordingly, when all this had happened, and when Marcus Titius and Statilius Taurus made a sudden charge upon Antony’s cavalry and defeated it and won over Philadelphus, king of Paphlagonia, and meanwhile Gnaeus Domitius, having some grievance against Cleopatra, transferred his allegiance also,—to be sure, he proved of no service to Caesar, since he fell sick and died not long after, yet he created the impression that it was because of his disapproval of the situation on the side on which he was that he had deserted to the other, for many others followed his example,—Antony no longer felt the same confidence, but was suspicious of everybody. For this reason he tortured and put to death, among others, Iamblichus, king of a tribe of the Arabians, and handed over Quintus Postumius, a senator, to be torn asunder. Finally he became afraid that Quintus Dellius and Amyntas, the Galatian, who, as it chanced,
(ἐτυχον δὲ ἐπὶ μισθοφόρους ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Θράκην πεπεμμένοι) τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνθέλωνται, ὅρμησε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ ἐπικουρήσων σφίσει, ἀν τι πολέμου προσπέσῃ.

14 κὰ τούτῳ ναυμαχία τις ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Σόσιος Λούκιον Ταρρίου ναυσὶν ὀλίγαις ἐφορμοῦντος σφίσειν ἔλπις ἂξιον τι λόγου πράξειν, ἀν πρὶν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, φι πάν τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπετέραπτο, ἐπελθεῖν, συμβάλλῃ αὐτῷ, ἔζανηθε τε ἔξαπιναίως ὕπο τὴν ἑω, ὁμίχλην βαθεῖαν τηρήσας ἵνα μὴ τὸ πλῆθος σφὸν προίδῳ φύγῃ, καὶ παραχρῆμα τῇ πρώτῳ προσβολῆς τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐπεδίωξε μὲν, οὐχ ἐὰν δὲ τοῦ γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν κατὰ τόχην ἀπαντήσαντός οἱ οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν τῆς νίκης ἀπάντησο, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσδιεθάρη ἡμᾶς τε τοῦ Ταρρικονδιμότου καὶ μετ’ ἄλλων πολλῶν.

3 'Οι οὖν Ἀντώνιος δια τούτῳ, καὶ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπανελθὼν ἑπομαχία τινὶ πρὸς τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος προφυλακῆς ἦττηθη, οὐκέτ' ἐγὼ δὲχα στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκλειπὼν τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων τάφρεμα ἀνεχὼρσεν ὕπὶ θάτερα τοῦ πορθμοῦ, ἐνθα αὐτῷ τὸ πλέον τοῦ στρατοῦ ηὐλίζετο. καὶ ἐπειδῆ καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια αὐτῶν, ἄτε καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας εἰργάμενοι, ἐπειλείπειν ἤρχετο, διαγνώμην ἑποίησατο πότερον κατὰ χώραιν μεῖναις διακινδυνεύοντων ἡ μεταστάντες που χρόνῳ τὸν πόλεμον διενέγκωσιν.

1 διὰ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι Bk., διαστρατοπεδεύεσθαι VM.
BOOK L

had been sent into Macedonia and Thrace to secure mercenaries, would espouse Caesar's cause, and he set out to overtake them, pretending that he wished to render them assistance in case any hostile force should attack them. And in the meantime a naval battle occurred. Lucius Tarius, it seems, was anchored with a few ships opposite Sosius, who hoped to achieve a notable success by attacking him before the arrival of Agrippa, to whom the whole fleet had been entrusted. Accordingly, Sosius waited for a thick mist, so that Tarius should not beforehand become aware of his numbers and flee, and suddenly sailed out just before dawn and immediately at the first assault routed his opponent and pursued him, but failed to capture him; for Agrippa by chance met Sosius on the way, so that he not only gained nothing from the victory, but perished, together with Tarecondimitus and many others.

Now, because of this reverse and because Antony himself on his return had been defeated in a cavalry battle by Caesar's advance guard, he decided not to let his men encamp thereafter in two different places, and so during the night he left the intrenchments which were near his opponents and retired to the other side of the narrows, where the larger part of his army was encamped. And when provisions also began to fail him because he was shut off from bringing in grain, he held a council to deliberate whether they should remain where they were and hazard an encounter or should move somewhere else.

1 L. Tarius Rufus.
2 If the text is correct, Dio here is guilty of a singular error, inasmuch as he later in two different places (li. 2, 4, and lvi. 38, 2) agrees with our other authorities in naming Sosius as one of those later pardoned by Octavian.
15 εἰπόντων δὲ ἄλλων ἄλλα ἐνίκησεν ἡ Κλεοπάτρα, τά τε ἐπικαιρότατα τῶν χωρίων φρούραις παραδοθῆναι καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς ἐς τὴν Αἰγυπτίων μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν ἀπάραι συμβουλεύσασα. ταύτην γὰρ τὴν γνώμην ἐσχένε, ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ σημείων ἑταράχθη.

2 χελιδόνες τε γὰρ περί τε τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ νητῇ τῇ στρατηγίδε, ἐφ’ ἴση ἐπέπλευε, ἐνεότέτευσαν, καὶ γάλα αἷμα τε ἐκ κηροῦ ἕρρυή ταῖς τε εἰκόνας αὐτῶν, ὡς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολει τὸ τῶν θεῶν σχῆμα ἐχοῦσας ἐστησαν, κεραυνοὶ

3 ἐς τὸ θέατρον καθήραξαν. ἐκ τε οὗν τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ ἄθυμίας ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀρρωστίας ἡ Κλεοπάτρα αὐτὴ τε ἔδεισε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔσεφοβήσεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κρύφα, ἢ καὶ φανερῶς ὡς καὶ φεύγοντες, ἐκπλεῦσαί, μὴ καὶ ἐς δόν τοὺς συμμάχους ἐμβάλωσιν, ἱθέλησαν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν παρασκευάζομαι, ἢν ἀμα, ἀν τι ἀνθίστηται, βιάσωται τὸν ἐκ-

4 πλοῦν. κακὸ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἀριστὰ τῶν σκαφῶν, ἐπειδῆ ἐλάττως οἱ ναῦται ἐκ τῆς φθορᾶς καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτομολίας ἐγεγόνεσαν, ἐπιλεξάμενοι τὰ λοιπὰ κατέπρησαν, ἐπειτα δὲ νῦκτωρ πάντα τὰ τιμώτατα ὕβαρίως" ἐς αὐτὰς ἐσεφόρησαν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐτοιμὰ ἦν, συγκάλεσεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ εἰπε τοιάδε:

16 "Οσα μὲν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ προσήκον ἦν ἐκποιηθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, πάνθ’ ἴκανος, ὡς ἀνδρές στρατιώται, προπαρεσκευάζαται. καὶ γὰρ πλῆθος πολὺ ὡμόν ἐστι, πάν ὁ τι περ ἀνθός καὶ παρὰ τῶν

¹ κηροῦ R. Stoph., κηροῦς VM.
² παρασκευαζόμενοι Zon., παρασκευαζόμενοι VM.
³ λαθραῖως Reim., λαθραὶ ως M., λαθρα ὡς V.

468
and protract the war. After various opinions had been expressed by different men, Cleopatra prevailed with her advice that they should entrust the best strategic positions to garrisons, and that the rest should depart with herself and Antony to Egypt. She had reached this opinion as the result of being disturbed by omens. For swallows had built their nests about her tent and on the flagship, on which she was sailing, and milk and blood together had dripped from beeswax; also the statues of herself and Antony in the guise of gods, which the Athenians had placed on their Acropolis, had been hurled down by thunderbolts into the theatre. In consequence of these portents and of the resulting dejection of the army, and of the sickness prevalent among them,¹ Cleopatra herself became alarmed and filled Antony with fears. They did not wish, however, to sail out secretly, nor yet openly, as if they were in flight, lest they should inspire their allies also with fear, but rather as if they were making preparations for a naval battle, and incidentally in order that they might force their way through in case there should be any resistance. Therefore they first chose out the best of the vessels and burned the rest, since the sailors had become fewer by death and desertion; next they secretly put all their most valuable possessions on board by night. Then when the ships were ready, Antony called his soldiers together and spoke as follows:

"The preparations for the war which it was my duty to attend to have all been adequately made, soldiers, in advance. First, there is your immense throng, all the chosen flower of our dependents and

¹ Cf. chap. 12 (end).
ὑπηκόων καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐξειλεγμένουν καὶ παντὸς εἶδος μάχης, ὅσα γε καὶ παρ’ ἥμιν νομίζεται, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον χειροτέχναι ἄστε ὅστῃ καὶ καθ’ ἐαυτοὺς ἐκαστοῖ φοβερὸν τοῖς ἀντιπάλοις εἶναι. ὅρατε δὲ ποι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅσον μὲν καὶ οἶον ναυτικῶν ἔχομεν, ὅσους δὲ καὶ οἶους ὀπλίτας ἐπέτεις σφενδονήτας πελταστὰς τοξότας ἵππο-ποτοξότας· ὅν τὰ μὲν πλείω οὐδὲ ὑπάρχει ἀρχὴν τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς, ὅσα δὲ κέκτηται, πολὺ ἐλάττωνα καὶ ἀσθενεστέρα τῶν ἠμετέρων ἑστὶ. καὶ μην καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὅλιγα καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ συντελείας βιαίου πεπορισμένα οὐτ’ ἂν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐξαρκέσθειν ἂν, καὶ τοὺς συνεσεννυχότας αὐτὰ οἰκειοτέρους ἡμῖν ἤ τοὺς λαβοῦσι πεποιηκένει εἰναι, ὅστε μή ἄλλος εὐνοικώς σφας αὐτοῖς ἐχειν καὶ προσέται καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ στασιάζειν ἡμῖν δὲ ἐκ περιουσίας παρεσκευασμένα οὕτε λελύπηκε τίνα καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς ὕφελθε.

17 "Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοσοῦτοι τε καὶ τοιούτοις οὕσιν ὀκνησα μὲν ἄλλως αὐτὸς περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ σεμνὸν τι εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦθ’ ἐν τῶν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος φηροῦτων ἐστὶ καὶ μεγιστῶν γε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνδρῶτοι εἶναι πεπίστευται, λέω δὲ τὸ καὶ στρατηγοῦ τινος ἀριστοῦ τοὺς καλῶς πολεμήσοντας τυχεῖν, ἀναγκαίωσατον μοι τὸν περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ λόγον αὐτὴ ἢ χρεία πεποιηκένει, ἵπ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον εἴδοτε τοῦθ’, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τε τοιούτοι ἐστε οὐτοὶ καὶ ἀνεν ἁρχοντος ἀγαθοῦ νικῶν, καὶ ἐγὼ τοιοῦτος·

1 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον Bk., καὶ τοσοῦτοι VM.
2 ὅρατε R. Steph., ὅραται VM.
3 αὐτοί Oddey, αὐτοὶ VM.
4 τὸ καὶ Rk., καὶ τὸ VM. 5 αὕτη Bk., αὕτη VM.

470
allies; and to such a degree are you masters of every form of combat that is in vogue among us that each of you, unsupported, is formidable to your adversaries. Again, you yourselves surely see how large and how fine a fleet we have, and how many fine hoplites, cavalry, slingers, peltasts, archers, and mounted archers. Most of these arms are not found at all on the other side, and those that they have are much fewer and far less powerful than ours. Moreover, their funds are scanty, and that, too, though they have been raised by forced contributions and cannot last long, and at the same time they have rendered the contributors better disposed toward us than toward the men who took their money; hence the population is in no way favourable to them, and is on the point of open revolt besides. Our resources, on the other hand, drawn as they have been from our accumulations, have caused no one person to feel aggrieved, and will aid us all collectively.

"In addition to these considerations, numerous and important as they are, I hesitate on general principles to add anything personal concerning myself by way of boasting; yet since this, too, is one of the factors which contribute to victory in war, and in the opinion of all men is of supreme importance,—I mean that men who are to wage war successfully must also have an excellent general,—necessity itself has rendered quite inevitable what I shall say about myself, in order that you may realize even better than you do this truth, that you yourselves are the kind of soldiers that could win even without a good leader, and
οίος καὶ μετὰ κακῶν στρατιωτῶν κρατεῖν δύνασθαι.  
3 τὴν τε γάρ ἡλικίαν ταύτην ἂνω ἐν ἥ καὶ μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι καὶ τῷ σῶματι καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ ἀκμα- 
ξουσί, καὶ μὴτε τῇ τῆς νεότητος προπετεία μὴτε 
τῇ τοῦ γῆρος ἐκλύσει κακύνονται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ 
μέσον ἐκατέρου ἔχοντες ἔρρωνται τὰ μάλιστα. 
4 καὶ προσέτι τοιαύτη μὲν φύσει τοιαύτη δὲ καὶ 
παιδεία κέχρημα ὡστε καὶ γνώναι πάντα τὰ 
προσήκοντα καὶ εἰπεῖν βάστα δύνασθαι. τὴν τε 
ἐμπειρίαν, ἡπερ ποὺ καὶ τοὺς ἀνόητους καὶ τοὺς 
ἀπαιδεύτους λόγου τινὸς ἄξιους δοκεῖν εἶναι ποιεῖ, 
διὰ πάντων μὲν τῶν πολιτικῶν πάντων δὲ τῶν. 
5 στρατιωτικῶν προσεῖληφα· ἕκ τε γὰρ μειρακίου 
δεύρο ἀεὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξήτασμαι, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν 
ήρχθην πολλὰ δὲ ἡρξα, ἀφ' ὅν τοῦτο μὲν ὅσα τε 
καὶ οἰα χρῆ προστάσσειν, τοῦτο δ' ὅσα καὶ οἷα 
χρῆ πειθαρχοῦντα πρᾶττειν, μεμάθηκα. ἐφοβή-
6 θην, ἑθάρσησα· ἐξ ὅν τοῦ μὲν τὸ μὴ βαδίως τι 
dediēnai, τοῦ δὲ τὸ μὴ προχείρως ἀποτολμᾶν εἰθε-
σμαι. εὐτύχησα, ἐπταισά· παρ' ὅν τὸ μὴτ' ἀπογι-
γνώσκειν τι μήθ' ὑπερφρονεῖν ἔχω.
18 "Δέγω δὲ ταύτα ἐν εἰδόσι, μάρτυρας ύμᾶς τοὺς 
ἀκοῦντας αὐτῶν ποιούμενος, σὺν ἐν' ἄλλως τι 
περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ κομπάσαμι (ἰκανὸν γὰρ μοι πρὸς 
εὐκλειαν τὸ συνεῖδος ύμῶν ὑπάρχει) ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ 
ἐκ τούτων καταμάθητε ὅσο βέλτιον τῶν ἐναντίων 
2 παρεσκευάσμεθα. ἐλαττούμενοι γὰρ ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ
that I am the kind of leader that could prevail even with poor soldiers. For I am at that age when men are at their very prime, both in body and in mind, and are hampered neither by the rashness of youth nor by the slackness of old age, but are at their strongest, because they occupy the mean between these two extremes. Moreover, I have the advantage of such natural gifts and of such a training that I can with the greatest ease make the right decision in every case and give it utterance. As regards experience, which, as you know, causes even the ignorant and the uneducated to appear to be of some value, I have been acquiring that through my whole political and my whole military career. For from boyhood down to the present moment I have continually trained myself in these matters; I have been ruled much and have ruled much, and thereby I have learned, on the one hand, all the tasks of whatever kind the leader must impose, and, on the other, all the duties of whatever kind the subordinate must obediently perform. I have known fear, I have known confidence; thereby I have schooled myself, through the one, not to be afraid of anything too readily, and, through the other, not to venture on any hazard too heedlessly. I have known good fortune, I have known failure; consequently I am able to avoid both despair and excess of pride.

"I speak to you who know that what I say is true, and make you who hear it my witnesses to its truth, not with the intention of uttering idle boasts about myself,—enough for me, so far as fame is concerned, is your consciousness of it,—but to the end that you may in this way bring home to yourselves how much better we are equipped than our opponents. For
πλήθει τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν ἀμα καὶ τῶν χρημά-
tων καὶ τῷ πολυειδεῖ τῆς παρασκευής, οὔδενι τῶν
πάντων τοσοῦτον ἐλλείπουσιν ὅσον τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ
καὶ τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ τοῦ στρατηγοῦντος αὐτῶν. περὶ
οὗ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν δεομαί καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἀκριβῶς
3 εἰπεῖν, κεφαλαίωσας δὲ ἐρώ τούτῳ δ καὶ ὑμεῖς
ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι τε ἀρρωστότατος τῷ σώματί ἐστι,
καὶ τοῖς σωμαίαν πῶς τοις ἐπιφανῇ μάχῃ οὔτε ἐν
τῇ ἡπείρῳ οὔτε ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ αὐτοῦ νείκηκεν.
ἀμέλει καὶ εἰ τοῖς Φιλίπποις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀγώνι
ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκράτησα ἐκείνος δὲ ἡττήθη.1

4 "Τοσοῦτον μὲν ἄλληλων διαφέρομεν, τά δὲ δὴ
πολλὰ τῶν ἁμείνων παρέσκευασμένων καὶ αἱ νικαί
γίνονται. εἰ δ’ οὖν τινα καὶ ἐκείνοις ἑχοῦσιν,
ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ καὶ κατὰ τὴν γῆν εὑροῦτ
ἀν αὐτὴν οὖσαν, ταῖς δὲ δὴ ναυσίν ἀντάραι
5 τὸ παράπαν ἡμῖν δυνηθοῦνται. ὅρατε γὰρ τοῦ καὶ
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πάχος τῶν ἡμετέρων
σκαφῶν, ὡστε εἰ καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἰσοπαλείς αὐτῶς
ἐκεῖναι ἦσαν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ γε τούτων οὐδὲν ἄν οὔτε
tais ἐμβολαῖς οὔτε ταῖς προσβολαῖς 2 ἐκακούργη-
σαν τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡ παχυτὴς τῶν ξύλων, τὸ δὲ
ἀυτὸ τὸ υψὸς τῶν νεῶν, καὶ εἰ μήδεις αὐτῶν
6 ἡμῶν, πάντως ἰν ἐπέσεχε. τοῦ δὲ καὶ τοξοτῶν
καὶ σφενδονιτῶν τοσοῦτον ἐπιπλεόντων, καὶ προσ-
έτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἀνωθεν αὐτῶν ἐφίκνου-
μένων, δυνηστεί τις σφις προσμέξαι; εἰ δὲ δὴ
καὶ πλησίασεῖ τις, πῶς μὲν οὖκ ἕν 3 ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ
τοῦ πληθῶς τῶν καπνῶν βαπτισθεῖ, πῶς δ’ οὖκ

1 ἐκείνος δὲ ἡττήθη M, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡττήθην V.
2 προσβολαῖς Bk., προσβολαῖς VM.
3 οὖκ δὲ Bk., ἄν οὖχ M, οὖχ V.
while they are inferior to us not only in number of troops and in abundance of money, but also in diversity of equipment, yet in no one respect are they so lacking as in the youth and inexperience of their commander. About his deficiencies in general I do not need to speak precisely or in detail, but I will sum up the whole matter and say, what you also know, that he is a veritable weakling in body and has never by himself been victor in any important battle either on the land or on the sea. Indeed, at Philippi, in one and the same conflict, it was I that conquered and he that was defeated.

"So great is the difference between us two; but, as a rule, it is those who have the better equipment that secure the victories. Now if our opponents have any strength at all, you will find it to exist in their heavy-armed force and on land; as for their ships, they will not even be able to sail out against us at all. For you yourselves, of course, see the length and beam of our vessels, which are such that even if the enemy's were a match for them in number, yet because of these advantages on our side they could do no damage either by charging bows-on or by ramming our sides. For in the one case the thickness of our timbers, and in the other the very height of our ships, would certainly check them, even if there were no one on board to ward them off. Where, indeed, will anyone find a chance to assail ships which carry so many archers and slingers, who have the further advantage of striking their assailants from the towers aloft? But if anyone should manage to come up close, how could he fail to get sunk by the very number of our oars, or how could he fail to
άν ύπ’ πάντων τῶν τε ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πῦργων βαλλόμενος καταποντωθείς; μὴ γάρ, ὅτι περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀγρίππας ἐναυκράτησε, παρά τοῦτο καὶ ἁρετὴν αὐτῶν ναυτικὴν ἔχειν ἤγεισθε: οὔτε γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ, οὔτε πρὸς ὁμοίαν ἡμῶν ἀντιπαρασκευὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς πολὺ διάφορον ἡγούνισαντο. εἰ τε τες τὴν εὐτυχίαν αὐτῶν ἐκείνην ἐν μεγάλῳ τιβείνῃ, δίκαιος ἐστί καὶ τὴν ἤτταν τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἢν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σέξτου ἑνικήθη, ἀντιλογίσασθαί καὶ οὕτως οὐχ ὅπως ἵσα πρὸς ἵσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πλεῖο καὶ κρείττων πάντα τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν ἐκείνως ὑπαρχόντων εὑρίσκει. τὸ δ’ ὅλον, πόστην μὲν ἡ Σικελία μερίδα τῆς ἀλλης ἀρχῆς, πόστην δὲ τὸν Σέξτου δύναμις τῆς ἡμετέρας παρασκευῆς εἶχεν, ὡστε τινὰ εἰκότος ἀν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνα οὔτα καὶ μήτε πλεῖο μήτ’ ἁμείνα γεγονότα, καταδείκναι μάλλον εἴ διν ἡπίθυχησεν ἡ θαρσήσαι εἴ οὖν ἐπταίσευν. ὅθεν που καὶ ἐγὼ ταῦτα λογίζομενοι οὖκ ἠθέλησα τὸν πεζὸν προαποκινδυνεύσασι, ἐν ὁ δ’ ὅθεν δοκοῦσι τρόπον τινὰ ἵσχυεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν πταίσματος τινος ἐν ἑκείνῳ γεγονένου ἀθυμίᾳ, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ναισίς, αἰς κρατίστοι τε ἐσμὲν καὶ παμπληθὲς αὐτῶν περίεσμεν, ὡς εἰ ταύταις κρατή-5 σαντες καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ σφων καταφρονήσωμεν. εὖ γὰρ δὴ τούτο ἵστε, ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ τοῦ πολέμου ροπὴ ἐντεύθεν ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἀμφοτέρως ἡμῖν ἠρτηται καὶ τοῦτο περιγεφνόμεθα, οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν οὗτος ἡγοῦνισαν. εἰ τοῦ supplied by Bk.

1 οὗ οὗ Βκ., οὗ Βκ.

476
be sent to the bottom when shot at by all the warriors on our decks and in our towers? Do not imagine, now, that they possess any particular seamanship just because Agrippa won a naval battle off Sicily; for they contended, not against Sextus, but against his slaves, not against a like equipment with ours, but against one far inferior. And if anyone is inclined to make much of their good fortune in that combat, he is bound to reckon on the other side the defeat which Caesar himself suffered at the hands of Sextus himself; in this way he will find, not merely that our chances are equal, but that all the considerations on our side are far more numerous and far better than on theirs. In a word, how large a part does Sicily form of the whole empire, and how large a fraction of our force did the troops of Sextus possess, that anyone should reasonably fear Caesar’s armament, which is precisely the same as before and has grown neither larger nor better, merely because of his good luck, rather than take courage because of his defeat? It is precisely in view of these considerations, therefore, that I have not cared to risk a first engagement with the infantry, where they appear to have strength in a way, in order that no one of you should become disheartened as the result of a reverse in that arm; instead, I have chosen to begin with the ships, where we are strongest and have a vast superiority over our antagonists, in order that after a victory with these we may scorn their infantry also. For you know well that the turn of the scale in this war depends for both sides entirely upon just this—I mean our fleets; for if we come out victorious with this arm we shall thenceforth suffer no harm from any of their
υπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πεισόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ ἐν νησιδίῳ τινὶ αὐτοῖς, ἀτε πάντων τῶν περίξ ἡμετέρων οὐντων, ἀπειληφότες ἀκονιτὶ, κἀν μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ, τῷ γε λιμῷ χειροσύμβας.

20 "Καὶ μὴν ὁτί οὐχ ὑπὲρ μικρὸν οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ φαύλων τινῶν ἀγωνισόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅστε προθυμηθέντες μὲν τῶν μεγίστων τυχεῖν ἀμελήσαντες δὲ τὰ δεινὸτα παθεῖν, οὐδὲ λόγον προσδεῖν

2 ἤγομαι. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἡμᾶς, ἂν γε καὶ κρατήσωσιν, ἐργάσαντο, πάντας μὲν ὡς εἰσεῖν τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Σέξτου τῶν ἐλλογίμων γενομένους ἀπεκτονότες, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Λεπίδου

3 συναραμένοις σφίσιν ἀπολογεκότες; καὶ τί λέγω ταῦτα, ὅποτε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Λεπίδον, μήτε τι ἀδικήσατα καὶ προσέπτη καὶ συμμαχήσαντα αὐτοῖς, τῆς τε ἡγεμονίας ἀπάσης παραλελύκασι καὶ ὡσπερ τινὰ αἰχμαλωτον ἐν φρουρᾷ ἔχουσι, καὶ τοὺς τε ἐξελευθέρους πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ προσέπτη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ χωρία κεκτημένους ἡγυρολογήκασιν οὔτως ὅστε καὶ ἐς ὅπλα τίνως αὐτῶν ἐλθεῖν ἀναγκάσαι, κὰκ τούτου

4 συγχωνος φθείραι; ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὅπως φέσουνται ἡμῶν οἱ τῶν συμμάχων μὴ πεφεισμένοι; ἄφεςσαν τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ τὰ τῶν οἰκείων δεδασμολογηκότες; φιλανθρωπεύσαντα τι νικήσαντες οἱ καὶ πρὶν κρατῆσαι τὶ πεποιηκότες; καὶ ἱνα γε μὴ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων λέγων διατρίβω, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ

5 τὰ ἐς ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς τετολμημένα καταλέξω, τὶς μὲν οὖν οἶδεν ὅτι κοινωνος ἐγὼ καὶ συνάρχων τοῦ

1 οὐχ Reim., οὐχ οὔτι VM. 2 οὔδ' Βk., οὔθ' VM.
3 φέσουνται B. Steph., φέσουνται ΒM.
4 κρατῆσαι τι Xyl., κρατῆσαι τι VM.
other forces either, but shall cut them off on an islet, as it were, since all the regions round about are in our possession, and shall subdue them without trouble, if in no other way, at least by hunger.

"Now I think that there is no further need even of words to show you that we shall be struggling, not for small or insignificant ends, but in a contest such that, if we are zealous, we shall obtain the greatest rewards, and if careless, we shall suffer the most grievous misfortunes. Why, what would they not do to us, if they should prevail, when they have put to death practically all the followers of Sextus who were of any prominence, and have even destroyed many followers of Lepidus though they cooperated with Caesar's party? But why do I mention this, seeing that they have removed from his command altogether Lepidus himself, who was guilty of no wrong and furthermore had been their ally, and keep him under guard as if he were a prisoner of war, and when they have also exacted contributions of money from all the freedmen in Italy and from all the rest likewise who possess any land, going so far as to force some of them actually to resort to arms, and then for that act put large numbers to death? Is it possible that those who have not spared their allies will spare us? Will those who levied tribute upon the property of their own adherents keep their hands from ours? Will they show humanity as victors who, even before gaining supremacy, have committed every conceivable outrage? Not to spend time in speaking of the experience of other people, I will enumerate their acts of insolence toward ourselves. Who does not know that, although I was
Καίσαρος ἀποδειχθεῖσιν, καὶ τὴν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἵσου αὐτῷ λαβὼν καὶ τιμῶν καὶ ἀρχῶν τῶν ὁμοίων τυχῶν, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἦδη χρόνον ἐν αὐταῖς ὄν, πάντων αὐτῶν ὅσον ἐπι· ἐκείνῳ ἐστίν, ἀπεστέρημαι, καὶ ἰδιώτης μὲν ἐξ
6 ἡγεμόνος ἀτιμὸς δὲ ἐξ ὑπάτου γέγονα, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς (πῶς γὰρ, ὥποτε καὶ ἐφυγον ἀντικρος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ οἱ ὑπάτοι καὶ ἀλλοι τινὲς, ἵνα μηδὲν τοιοῦτο ἤρθησονται;) ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸν ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντων, οἷτινες οὐκ ἀισθάνονται μόναρχον αὐτὸν
7 ἐφ' ἐαυτούς πρῶτον ἢ ἀσκοῦντες; ο ὡρα τολμῆσας τὰς διαθήκας μου ξώντος, δύναμιν τοσαῦτην ἔχοντος,' Ἀρμενίους νικῶντος, καὶ ζητήσαι καὶ βία τους λαβόντας αὐτὰς ἀφελέσθαι καὶ ἀνοίξαι καὶ δημοσία ἀναγρώναι πῶς ἄν ἡ ὕμων ἢ ἄλλοι τινὸς
8 φείσαιτο; καὶ ὁ γε τοιοῦτος ἐς ἐμὲ τὸν χίλον τῶν ὑμηττόν χρόνων τὸν συναγεῖν γεγονός πῶς ἄν διάνθο
θρωπὸν τι πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, πρὸς οὓς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συμβολαίον ἔστι, ποιήσειν:
21 "Καὶ μήν εἰ δεῖ τοῖς ἐπηφνισμένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τεκμαίρεσθαι, ὑμῖν μὲν καὶ φανερῶς ἀπειλεῖ (πολέ
μους γοῦν ἀντικρος τοῦς πλείονας ὑμῶν πεποίηται), ἐμοὶ δ' οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον ἐπηγγελκέ, καίτοι καὶ πολεμῶν μοι καὶ πάντα ὅπως τὰ τοῦ κεκρατη
κότος ἁλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοῦ πεφονευκότος με ἡ ὑδη ποίων.
2 οὔσθ' ὅποτε ἐμὲ, δὲν μηδέπω καὶ νῦν πολέμων ἐχειν προσποιεῖται, τοιαύτα δεδρακεν, ἰκιστα ἀν ὑμῶν

1 πρῶτοι M, πρῶτον V.
chosen a partner and colleague of Caesar, and was given the management of public affairs on equal terms with him, and received like honours and offices, in possession of which I have continued for so long a time, yet I have been deprived of them all, so far as lay in his power; I have become a private citizen instead of a commander, disfranchised instead of consul, and this not by the action of the people nor yet of the senate (for how could that be, when the consuls and some other senators went so far as to flee at once from the city in order to escape casting any such vote?), but by the act of this one man and of his adherents, who do not perceive that they are training a sovereign to rule over themselves first of all? Why, the man who dared while I was still alive and in possession of so great power and was conquering the Armenians, to hunt out my will, to take it forcibly from those who had received it, to open it and read it publicly—how, I say, should a man like that spare either you or anybody else? And how will he show any kindness to others to whom he is bound by no tie, when he has shown himself such a man toward me—his friend, his table-companion, his kinsman?

"Now in case we are to draw any inferences from his decrees, he threatens you openly,—at any rate he has made the majority of you enemies outright,—but against me personally no such declaration has been made, though he is at war with me and is already acting in every way like one who has not only conquered me but also murdered me. Hence, when he has treated me in such a way,—me, whom he pretends not even yet at this day to regard as an enemy,—he
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀπόσχοιτο, οὐς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι σαφῶς
3 ὁμολογεῖ. τί ποτ’ οὖν αὐτὸ ψάλλεται τὸ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἤμιν ἐπιφέρειν, ἐν δὲ ὁ τῷ ὕψιστῳ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τοῖς δὲ μὴ φάσκειν; οὐ μὰ Δέοι ύνα διαφοροτήτα τινα ἐν ἤμιν ἐργάσηται, οὐδ’ ἴνα τοῖς μὲν ἀλλὰς τοῖς δὲ ἀλλὰς, ἀν γε καὶ κρατήσῃ, χρήσηται, ἄλλ’ ἵν’ ἤμας στασίας συγκρούσῃ καὶ κατὰ τοὺτ’ ἀσθενεστέρους
4 ποιήσῃ. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ γε’ ὅτι ὁμοφρονοῦντων μὲν ἤμων καὶ καθ’ εὐ πάντα παρατότων συνάφει συνάφει προφοράς τινα, διενεχθέντων δὲ, καὶ τῶν μὲν ταύτα τῶν δὲ ἐκείνα ἐλομένων, τάχ’ ἄν κρατήσεις καὶ διὰ τούτο τούτων ἤμιν τὸν τρόπον προσφέρεται.

22 "Ὡσπερ οὖν καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ συνόντες μοι Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν τε κινδύνον, καίπερ ἀδειάν τινα τῶν ἐγησισμένων ἐνεκα ἔγοντες, προορώμεθα καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτοῦ συνίεμεν, καὶ οὔτε προϊέμεθα ὡμᾶς οὔτ’ αὐ ἰδία τὸ συμφέρον ἤμιν αὐτοῖς προ-
2 σκοπούμεν, οὕτω ποι καὶ ὡμᾶς, οὐς οidepress αὐτὸς ἀρνεῖται μὴ οὐκ ἐχθροῦς καὶ ἐχθέστως γε ἔγει-
σθαι, χρὴ πάντα ταῦτ’ ἐνθυμηθέντας, καὶ κοινοῦς μὲν τοὺς κινδύνους κοινὰς δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ποιησαμένως, καὶ συνάρασθαι τὰ πράγματα παν-
τῶν καὶ συσπουδάσαι προθύμως, θέντας 2 παρ’ ἀλληλα καὶ ἀ πεισόμεθα, ὡσπερ εἰπον, ἤτηθέν-
3 τε, καὶ ὅν τευξόμεθα κρατήσας. μέγα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν μήθ’ ὕβριστοι μήτε πλεονε-
κτικὸν ἐλαττωθέντας τῇ ἤμας παθεῖν, μέγιστον δὲ τὸ νικήσας τοῦ ὤν’ ὅσα τις ἄν εὐξαίτο πράξαι.

1 γε Ρκ., τε VM.
2 θέντας Ρκ., ἐνθυμηθέντας VM.
surely will not keep his hands off you, with whom even he clearly admits that he is at war. What in the world does he mean, then, by threatening us all alike with arms, but in the decree declaring that he is at war with some and not with others? It is not, by Jupiter, with the intention of making any distinction among us, or of treating one class in one way and another in another, if he prevails, but it is in order to set us at variance and bring us in collision, and thus render us weaker. For of course he is not unaware that while we are in accord, and acting as one in everything, he can never in any way get the upper hand, but that if we quarrel, and some choose one policy and the rest another, he may perhaps prevail; and it is for this reason that he acts as he does toward us.

"Just as I, therefore, and the Romans associated with me foresee the danger, in spite of our enjoying a kind of immunity so far as the decrees are concerned, and as we comprehend his plot, and yet neither abandon you nor look privately to our own advantage, in like manner you, too, whom even he himself does not deny that he regards as hostile, yes, most hostile, ought to bear in mind all these facts, and counting both our dangers and our hopes as common to us all, you should coöperate in every way in what we have to do and eagerly share in our zeal, balancing against each other what we shall suffer (as I have explained) if defeated, and what we shall gain if victorious. For while it is a great thing for us just to escape being the victims of insult and greed, if by any chance we are defeated, yet it is greatest of all to conquer and thus to be able to accomplish all
αὐσχιστον δὲ τοσοῦτος καὶ τοιούτους ὤντας, καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ ναῦς καὶ ὑπονόμους ἔχοντας, τὰ χείρωνα ἀντὶ τῶν ἁμείνων ἐλέσθαι, καὶ παρὸν καὶ ἐκείνους τὴν ἐλευθερίαν παρασχεῖν, συνδον- λεύσαι μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἐβελήσαι. τοσοῦτον γὰρ πον διαφέρομεν ἀλλήλουν ὡσθ' ὁ μὲν καὶ ὑμῶν μοναρχῆσαι ἐπιθυμεῖ, ἐγώ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνους ἐλευθε- ρώσαι βούλομαι, καθάπερ πον καὶ τοῖς ὀρκοῖς πεπίστωμαι. ὡς οὐν ὑπὲρ ἀμφιτέρων ὦμοίως ἁγω- νιοῦμενοι, καὶ κοινὰ τὰ ἁγαθὰ πάσι κατακτησό- μενοι, σπουδάσωμεν, ὦ ἀνδρεῖς στρατιώται, ἐν τῇ παραχρήμα κρατῆσαι καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὐδαιμο- νίασαι.

23 Τοιαύτα τινα ὁ ' Ἀντώνιος εἰπὼν πάντας μὲν τοὺς πρώτους τῶν συνόντων οί ἐς ταῖς ναύσις ἐσεβι- βασε, μὴ τι νεωτέρισσοι καθ' ἐαυτοὺς γενόμενοι, ὥσπερ ὁ τε Δέλλιος καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς αὐτομολήσαν- τες, παμπληθεὶς δὲ καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδοῦντας

2 καὶ ὅπλας ἀνεβαζάσατο ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῶ τε με- γέθει τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος νεῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθει τῶν ἐπιβατῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ Σέξτος οὗς ἤκιστα ἤτησε, τὰ τε σκάφη κατεσκεύασε πολὺ τῶν ἐναντίον ὑπερ- ἔχοντα (τριήμερες μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγας, τετρήμερες δὲ καὶ δεκήμερες καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ διὰ μέσου πάντα ἐξε- 3 ποίησε) καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ πύργους τε ὕψηλους ἐπικατ- εσκεύασε καὶ πλῆθος ἄνθρωπων ἐπανεβίβασεν, ὥστε καθάπερ ἀπὸ τειχῶν αὐτοὺς μάχεσθαι. Καίσαρ δὲ καθεώρα μὲν τὴν παρασκεύην αὐτῶν καὶ εὐτρεπίζετο, μαθὼν δὲ ὡς καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν σφῶν παρὰ τε ἄλλων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Δελλίου συνήγαγε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ἔλεξεν ὠδε.
we have prayed for. On the other hand, it is most disgraceful for us, who are so many and so valiant, who have weapons, money, ships, and horses, to choose the worse instead of the better course, and when it is in our power to confer liberty upon the other side as well as upon ourselves, to prefer to share their slavery with them. Our aims, you must know, are so opposed that, whereas he desires to reign as a sovereign over you, I wish to free them as well as you, and this indeed I have confirmed by oath. Therefore, as men who are to struggle for both sides alike and to win blessings in which all will share, let us earnestly strive, soldiers, to prevail at the present moment and to gain happiness for all time."

After speaking to this effect Antony put all his most prominent associates on board the ships, to prevent them from beginning any mutiny if left by themselves, as Dellius and some other deserters had done; he also embarked great numbers of archers, slingers, and heavy-armed troops. For seeing that the size of Caesar's ships and the number of his marines were chiefly responsible for the defeat of Sextus, Antony had built his vessels much higher in the water than those of his opponents, constructing only a few triremes, but instead some ships with four and some with ten banks of oars, and all the remainder in between these two; upon these he had built lofty towers, and he had put aboard a large number of men, who could thus fight from walls, as it were. Caesar, for his part, was observing their equipment and making his preparations, and when he learned from Dellius and others their intention, he also assembled his army and spoke to this effect:
"Ὅρων, ὁ ἄνδρες στρατιώται, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἀκοὴ μεμάθηκα καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἐργοὶ πεπείραμαι, τὰ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν πολεμικῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις πραγμάτων, τοῖς τὰ τε δικαιότερα καὶ τὰ εὐσεβέστερα καὶ φημοῦσι καὶ πράττουσι κατορθοῦμενα, τούτο ποι καὶ αὐτὸς ὀνύχ 2 ἡκιστα ἐννοοῦ καὶ ὑμῖν παραίνω προσκοπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὰ 1 μᾶλστα καὶ πολλήν καὶ μεγάλην ἱσχύν, ἀφ' ἃς ἂν τις καὶ τὰ ἠττὸν δικαία προελθομένους κρατήσειν ἐξπίσειει, ἔχομεν, ὅμως πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου ὑποθέσει ἡ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ 3 θαρσώ. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Ῥωμαίους τε ὄντας καὶ τῆς πλείστης καὶ ἀρίστης οἰκουμένης ἀρχοντας καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ καταπατεῖσθαι πρὸς γυναῖκας Διογκίτιας ἀνάξιον μεν τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν τῶν τῶν Πύρρων τοῦ Φιλεπποῦ τοῦ Περσέα τῶν Ἀντίοχον καθελόντων, τῶν τοὺς Νουμάντινος τοὺς Καρχηδονίος ἀναστησάντων, τῶν τοὺς Κίμβρους 4 τοὺς Ἀμβρονας κατακοψάντων, ἀνάξιον δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τῶν τοὺς Γαλάτας κατεστραμμένων, τῶν τοὺς Παννόνιους κεχειρωμένων, τῶν μέχρι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ προκεχωρηκότων, τῶν Ῥήμων διαβεβηκότων, 5 τῶν, ἐς Βρέττανίαν πεπερατωμένων. πῶς μὲν γὰρ ὅτι μέγα ἄν ἀληθείαν πάντες ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τὰ προειρήμενα κατειργασμένοι, 3 εἰ αἰσθανότο ἡμᾶς ὀλέθρῳ γυναικὶ 4 ύποπεπτωκότας; πῶς δ' οὖν ἃν ἡμεῖς μεγάλως ἀσχημονήσαμεν, εἰ πάντων ἀρετή πανταχοῦ περιόντες ἐπείτα τῶν τούτων ὑβρείς

1 εἰ τὰ Βκ., ἐτί VM.
2 κίμβρους Μ., κίμβρους τῶν V.
3 κατειργασμένοι R. Steph., κατεργασμένοι VM.
4 γυναικὶ M., om. V.
BOOK L

"Observing, soldiers, both from what I have learned by hearsay and from what I have proved by experience, that almost all and the greatest undertakings of warfare, or rather, I may say, the undertakings of men without exception, turn out in favour of those whose thoughts and acts are upon the higher level of justice and reverence for the gods, I have myself taken to heart this truth above all others, and I advise you also to have regard for it. For even if we possess ever so vast and mighty a force, such that even a man who chose the less just of two courses might expect to win with its aid, nevertheless I base my confidence far more upon the causes underlying the war than upon such a force. For that we who are Romans and lords of the greatest and best portion of the world should be despised and trodden under foot by an Egyptian woman is unworthy of our fathers, who overthrew Pyrrhus, Philip, Perseus, and Antiochus, who drove the Numantians and the Carthaginians from their homes, who cut down the Cimbri and the Ambrones; it is unworthy also of ourselves, who have subjugated the Gauls, subdued the Pannonians, advanced as far as the Ister, crossed the Rhine, and passed over the sea into Britain. Would not all those who have performed the exploits I have named grieve mightily if they should learn that we had succumbed to an accursed woman? Should we not be acting most disgracefully if, after surpassing all men everywhere in valour, we should then meekly bear the
6 πράως φέρομεν, οὕτως, ὡς Ἦρακλεις, Ἀλεξανδρείς τε καὶ Λιγυπτοῖο ὄντες (τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο τις αὐτοῦς χεῖρον ἢ ἄληθέστερον εἰπεῖν ἔχοι;) καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐρπετὰ καὶ τὰλλα θηρία ὡσπερ τινὰς θεοὺς θεραπεύοντες, τὰ δὲ σώματα τὰ σφέτερα ἐς δόξαν
7 ἀθανασίας ταραχεύοντες, καὶ θρασύνασθαι μὲν προπετέστατοι ἀνδρίσασθαι δὲ ἀσθενέστατοι ὄντες, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον γυναῖκι ἀντ’ ἄνδρος δουλεύοντες, ἐτόλμησαν τῶν τε ἤμετέρων ἄγαθῶν ἀντιποίησασθαι καὶ δὲ ἡμῶν αὐτὰ κατακτήσασθαι, ὡστε σφίζων ἐκουσίους ἡμᾶς τῆς ὑπαρχοῦσης ἡμῶν
25 εὐθαμονίας παραχωρῆσαι; τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὀδύραμοι ὁρῶν στρατιώτας Ῥωμαίους δορυφοροῦντας τὴν βασιλία αὐτῶν; τίς δ’ οὐκ ἂν στεναζεῖν ἄκοιν ἱππέας καὶ βουλευτὰς Ῥωμαίων κολα-
2 κεύοντας αὐτὴν ὡσπερ εὐνούχους; τίς δ’ οὐκ ἂν θρηνήσει καὶ ἄκοιν καὶ ὁρῶν αὐτῶν τὸν Ἀντώ-
υνον τὸν δις ὑπατον, τὸν πολλάκις αὐτοκράτορα, τὸν τὴν προστασίαν μετ’ ἐμοῦ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτρα-
πέντα, τὸν τοσαῦτας μὲν πόλεις τοσαῦτα δὲ στρα-
3 τόπεδα ἐγχειρισθέντα, νῦν πάντα μὲν τὰ πάτρια τοῦ βίου ἡθ ἐκλελοπότα, πάντα δὲ ταλάτρια καὶ βαρβαρικά ἐξιλοκότα, καὶ ἡμῶν μὲν ἡ τῶν νόμων ἡ τῶν θεῶν τῶν προγονικῶν μηδὲν προτε-
μώντα, τὴν δ’ ἄνθρωπον ἐκεῖνην καθάπερ τινὰ Ἰσιν Ἡ Ἐσλήνην προσκυνοῦντα, καὶ τοὺς τε παῖδας
4 αὐτῆς Ἡλιων καὶ Ἐσλήνην ὄνομαζοντα, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ έαυτῶν Ὁσιρών καὶ Διόνυσον ἐπι-
κεκληκτά, καὶ τούτων, καθάπερ πάσης μὲν τῆς ἡγήσας δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης κυριεύοντα, καὶ νή-
σους ὀλάς καὶ τῶν ἡπειρῶν τινὰ κεχαρισμένον;
5 ἄριστα μὲν εὖ οἰδ’ ὅτι καὶ βαυμαστὰ ταῦθ’ ἡμῖν,
BOOK L

insults of this throng, who, oh heavens! are Alexandrians and Egyptians (what worse or what truer name could one apply to them?), who worship reptiles and beasts as gods, who embalm their own bodies to give them the semblance of immortality, who are most reckless in effrontery but most feeble in courage, and who, worst of all, are slaves to a woman and not to a man, and yet have dared to lay claim to our possessions and to use us to help them acquire them, expecting that we will voluntarily give up to them the prosperity which we possess? Who would not lament at seeing Roman soldiers acting as bodyguards of their queen? Who would not groan at hearing that Roman knights and senators fawn upon her like eunuchs? Who would not weep when he both hears and sees Antony himself, the man twice consul, often imperator, to whom was committed in common with me the management of the public business, who was entrusted with so many cities, so many legions—when he sees that this man has now abandoned all his ancestors' habits of life, has emulated all alien and barbaric customs, that he pays no honour to us or to the laws or to his fathers' gods, but pays homage to that wench as if she were some Isis or Selene, calling her children Helios and Selene, and finally taking for himself the title of Osiris or Dionysus, and, after all this, making presents of whole islands and parts of the continents, as though he were master of the whole earth and the whole sea? All these things seem marvellous and incredible to you,
ο ἁνδρες στρατιώται, φαίνεται διὰ τούτο δὲ ὑη μᾶλλον ἀγανακτεῖν ὑφείλετα. εἰ γὰρ ἡ μηθ' ἀκούσατε πιστεύετε, ταῦτ' οὐτως γύρισει, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἄν ἀληθεῖει μαθῶν, ταῦτ' ἐκείνους ποιεῖ τρυφῶν, πῶς οὖν ἂν εἰκότως ὑπερρυσθείη τε;

26 "Καίτοι ἐγώγε καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς οὖν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐσπούδασα ὡς τ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἦμετέρας ἡγεμονίας μεταδοῦμαι καὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἀδελφήν συνοικίσαι καὶ στρατεύματα χαρίσασθαι καὶ μετὰ τοῦ οὖν οἰκεῖον, οὗτος φιλικῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσχον ὡστε μηθ' ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφήν μου ὑβρίσε, μηθ' ὅτι τῶν γεννηθέντων οἱ ἐξ αὐτῆς τεκνῶν ἡμέλησε, μηθ' ὅτι τὴν Ἀἰγυπτίαν αὐτῆς προετίμησε, μηθ' ὅτι τοὺς ἐκείνης παισὶ πάνθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐδωρήσατο, μήτε δ' ἀλλο
3 μηδὲν ἐθελήσαι αὐτῷ πολεμήσαι. αὐτίον δὲ ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἐνομίζοι σὺ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δεῖν τρόπον πρὸς τε τὴν Κλεοπάτραν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον προσφέρεσθαι ἐκείνην μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοφύλου πολεμίαν εὐθὺς οἷς ἐπραττεν εἶναι, τούτον δὲ, ἀτε καὶ πολίτην, ἐνδέχεσθαι σω.

4 φρονισθήναι. ἐπείτα δὲ ἢλπίζων ὅτι εἰ καὶ μη ἐθελοῦσίος, ἀλλ' ἀκὼν γε ἐκ τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ ψηφισθέντων μεταγνώσταται. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα οὔδένα αὐτῷ πολέμου ἐπήγγειλα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπεριδὼν αὐτὰ καὶ καταφρονήσας οὔτ' ἀφιέντων αὐτῶν ἠμῶν ἀφεθήναι οὔτ' ἐλεοῦστων ἐλεηθήναι βούλεται, ἀλλ' εἰτε ὡς ἀλόγιστος εἰθ' ὡς μαυνόμενος
5 (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐγὼ ἀκηκοῶς πεπίστευκα, ὅτι

1 ἦμετέρας R. Steph., ἦμετέρας VM.
2 ὡστε μηθ' ὅτι Xyl., ὡσθ' ὅτε μῆτε VM.
BOOK L

soldiers, as I am well aware, but you ought therefore to be the more indignant. For if that is actually true which you do not believe even when you hear it, and if that man in his luxurious indulgence does commit acts at which anyone would grieve who learns of them, would it not be reasonable that you should go past all bounds in your rage?

"Yet I myself was so devoted to him at the beginning that I gave him a share in our command, married my sister to him, and granted him legions. After that I felt so kindly, so affectionately, towards him, that I was unwilling to wage war on him merely because he had insulted my sister, or because he neglected the children she had borne him, or because he preferred the Egyptian woman to her, or because he bestowed upon that woman's children practically all your possessions, or for any other cause. My reason was, first of all, that I did not think it proper to assume the same attitude toward Antony as toward Cleopatra; for I adjudged her, if only on account of her foreign birth, to be an enemy by reason of her very conduct, but I believed that he, as a citizen, might still be brought to reason. Later I entertained the hope that he might, if not voluntarily, at least reluctantly, change his course as a result of the decrees passed against her. Consequently I did not declare war upon him at all. He, however, has looked haughtily and disdainfully upon my efforts, and will neither be pardoned though we would fain pardon him, nor be pitied though we try to pity him. He is either heedless or mad—for, indeed, I have heard and believed that he has been
υπ’ έκείνης τῆς καταράτου μεμάγενται) τῆς μὲν ἡμετέρας εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῆς παρ’ ἡμῶν φίλων ὑπὲρ τούτων τὸν τε πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς αὐθαιρετοὺς καὶ καθ’ ἡμῶν καὶ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀναίρεται, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴρ ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τούτον μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἡμῖν προσήκει.

27 “Μὴ τ’ οὖν Ρωμαίοι εἶναι τις αὐτῶν νομιζέτω, ἀλλὰ τινα Αἰγύπτιον, μήτ’ Ἀντώνιον ὄνομαζέτω, ἀλλὰ τινα Σαραπίωνα· μὴ ὑπατον, μὴ αὐτοκράτορα γεγονέναι ποτε ἡγείσθω, ἀλλὰ γυμνασίαρχον.

2 ταῦτα γὰρ ἀντ’ έκείνων αὐτῶς ἑθελοντῆς ἀνθελεῖτο, καὶ πάντα τὰ πάτρια σεμνολογήματα ἀπορρίψας εἰς τῶν ἀπὸ Κανόβου κυμβαλιστῶν γέγονε. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ δείσῃ τις αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ῥωτήν τὸ

3 πολέμῳ παρέξουσα. ἦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὶν ἄξιός τινος, ὡς ποὺ σαφῶς ἵστε οἱ περὶ Μοῦτιναν αὐτοῦ κεκρατηκότες· εἰ δ’ οὖν ποτε καὶ ἐκ τῆς συν ἡμῖν' στρατείας ἀρετὴν τινα ἔσχεν, ἀλλ’ εὐ ἴσθ’ ὅτι νῦν πάσαν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ τοῦ βίου μεταβολὴ διέφθαρκεν. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐστὶ βασιλικῶς τῇ τινα τριφόπτα καὶ γυμνασίασθος θρυμπόμενον ἀνδρῶδες τι φρονήσαι καὶ πράξαι, διὰ τὸ πάσαν ἀνάγκην εἶναι, οἷος ἄν τις ἐπιτηδεύμασι συνῆ.

4 τούτοις αὐτοῦ ἔξωμοιοῦσθαι. τεκμήριον δὲ, ἐνα πόλεμον ἐν παντὶ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πεπολεμηκώς καὶ μίαν στρατείαν πεποιημένον παμπόλλους μὲν ἐν ταῖς μαχαῖς πολίτες ἀπολώλεκεν, αἰσχρότα δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Πραώσποιν ἀποκεχώρηκε, πλείστους

1 ἡμῖν V, ὑμῖν M.
bewitched by that accursed woman—and therefore pays no heed to our generosity or kindness, but being a slave to that woman, he undertakes the war and its self-chosen dangers on her behalf against us and against his country. In view of all this, what is left to us but the duty of fighting him, together with Cleopatra, and repelling him?

"Therefore let no one count him a Roman, but rather an Egyptian, nor call him Antony, but rather Serapion; let no one think he was ever consul or imperator, but only gymnasiarch. For he has himself, of his own free will, chosen the latter names instead of the former, and casting aside all the august titles of his own land, has become one of the cymbal players from Canopus. Again, let no one fear him on the ground that he will turn the scale of the war. For even in the past he was of no account, as you who conquered him at Mutina know clearly enough. And even if he did at one time attain to some valour through campaigning with us, be well assured that he has now spoiled it utterly by his changed manner of life. For it is impossible for one who leads a life of royal luxury, and coddles himself like a woman, to have a manly thought or do a manly deed, since it is an inevitable law that a man assimilates himself to the practices of his daily life. A proof of this is that in the one war which he has waged in all this long time, and the one campaign that he has made, he caused the death of vast numbers of citizens in the battles, returned in utter disgrace from Praaspa, and lost
6 δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ προσαποβέβληκεν. οίστ' εἰ μὲν γελοῖος πως ὄρχεισθαι καὶ κορδακίζειν τινὰ ἥμων ἐχρῆν, πάντως ἄν ἐλαττων αὐτοῦ ἴμεγκατο (ταύτα γὰρ μεμελέτηκεν): ἔπειδὴ δὲ ὅπλων καὶ μάχης δεῖ, τί τις ἄν αὐτοῦ φοβηθείη; τὴν ἄκμην τοῦ σώματος; ἄλλα παρῆβηκε καὶ ἐκτεθῆλυνται.

7 καὶ ἐκκεκιναίδισται. τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἥμων; ἄλλα πολεμεῖ καὶ ἐκείνους καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. τὴν πιστότητα² τὴν πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους; καὶ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτις τῶν Ἀρμένων ἐξαπατήσας ἑδήσε; τὴν³ εἰποῖκεν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους; καὶ τίς οὐχ ἔορακε τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κακῶς ἀπολολότας; τὴν εὐδοξίαν τὴν παρὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας; καὶ τίς οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκείνους αὐτοῦ κατέγνωκε; σημείον δὲ ὅτι συχνοὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἥμεραν πρὸς ἥμας μεθίστανται. νομίζω δὲ ἐγώῃ ὅτι καὶ πάντες οἱ πολίται ἥμων τοῦτο ποιήσουσιν, ὡσπερ ποτὲ καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε ἐκ τοῦ Βρεττεσίου πρὸς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἤγει. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ πλουτισμὸς ἄκινδυνος ἦλπιζον, καὶ μάλα ἄσμενοι τινὲς αὐτὸ συνήσαν: μάχεσθαι δὲ δὴ πρὸς ἥμας τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ὑπὲρ τῶν μηδέν σφισὶ προσηκόντων, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐξὸν αὐτοὺς ἀδεώς σὺν ἥμων⁴ καὶ σώζεσθαι καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν, οὐκ ἐθελήσουσιν.

9 "ἈΛΛ' ἐρεῖ τίς ὅτι καὶ συμμάχους πολλοὺς καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἔχει, οὐκοῦν ὅτι σὲ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἤπειρον οἰκοῦντας ὑκάνει εἰσθαμεν, οἴδε μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκεῖνος ὁ 'Ἀσιατικὸς," οἴδε δὲ

¹ ἐκτεθῆλυνται Bk., ἐκτεθῆλυντε VM.
² πιστότητα Μ., πιστοτάτην V.
³ τὴν Pflugk, τὴν δὲ VM.
⁴ ἡμῖν R. Steph., ἡμῖν VM.
⁵ ἀσιατικὸς Μ., ἀσιατικὸς V.
ever so many men besides in his flight. So, then, if any one of us were called upon to execute a ridiculous dance or to cut a lascivious fling, such a person would surely have to yield the honours to him, since these are the specialities he has practised, but now that the occasion calls for arms and battle, what is there about him that anyone should dread? His physical fitness? But he has passed his prime and become effeminate. His strength of mind? But he plays the woman and has worn himself out with unnatural lust. His piety toward our gods? But he is at war with them as well as with his country. His faithfulness to his allies? But who does not know how he deceived and imprisoned the Armenian? His kindness to his friends? But who has not seen the men who have miserably perished at his hands? His reputation with the soldiers? But who even of them has not condemned him? A sign of this is that numbers daily come over to our side. For my part I think that all our citizens will do this, as on a former occasion when he was on his way from Brundisium to Gaul. So long, to be sure, as they expected to get rich without danger, some were very glad to cleave to him; but they will not care to fight against us, their own countrymen, on behalf of what does not belong to them at all, especially when they may without risk gain both their lives and their happiness by joining us.

"Some one may say, however, that he has many allies and much wealth. But how have we been wont to conquer the inhabitants of the continent of Asia? The famous Scipio Asiaticus can bear witness, or
καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ὁ εὐτυχής, ὁ Λούκουλλος, ὁ Πομπήιος, ὁ Καίσαρ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐμός, ὑμεῖς 1 αὐτοὶ οἱ τοὺς μετὰ τε τοῦ Βρούτου καὶ τοῦ Κασσίου στρατευσαμένους κεκρατηκότες. τοῦτον δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον σφῶν ὡσφ πλεῖον ἑτέρων νομίζετε εἶναι, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον σπουδάσατε σφετερίσασθαι ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἄθλων μεγίστους καὶ τῶν ἁγώνας ἀξίων εστὶ ποιεῖσθαι. καίτοι μεῖζον οὖν ἢν ἄλλο φήσαιμι ύμῖν προκείσθαι τοῦ τὸ ἄξιωμα τὸ τῶν προγόνων διασώσαι, τοῦ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ οἰκείων φυλάξαι, τοῦ τοὺς ἀφεστήκοτας ἄφ᾽ ἡμῶν τιμωρήσασθαι, τοῦ τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας ύμᾶς ἀμύνασθαι, τοῦ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νικήσαστας ἄρχεαν, τοῦ μηδεμίαν γυναίκα περιορὰν μηδενὶ ἄνδρὶ παρισουμένην. ἦ πρὸς μὲν Ταυρίσκους καὶ Ἰάπυδας 3 καὶ Δελμάτας καὶ Παννόνιους προθυμότατα αὐτοὶ υμεῖς οἱ νῦν παρόντες ὑπὲρ ὀλίγων τινῶν τειχῶν καὶ γῆς ἐρήμων πολλάκις ἐμαχέσασθε, καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς καίτοι πολεμικοτάτους ὀμολογομένως ὄντας ἐχειρώσασθε, καὶ νη Δία καὶ πρὸς Σέξτον ὑπὲρ Σικελίας μόνης καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τούτον τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπὲρ Μουτήνης μόνης ὀμοίως ἡγωνίσασθε, ὡστ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν κρατήσαι πρὸς δὲ δὴ γυναῖκα πάσι τοῖς ύμετέροις ἐπιθυμεῖσθαν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς τὸν τὰ ύμετέρα τοῖς εἰκόνις παισὶ διαδεδωκότα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς καλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐταῖρους καὶ τραπεζεῖς, οὓς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι κοπρίας ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ἦττὸν τι προθυμήσασθε; διὰ τί; διὰ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν; 1 υμεῖς H. Steph., ὑμεῖς VM. 2 Δὴ supplied by St. 3 Ἰάπυδας Χυλ., Ἰάπυδας VM.
BOOK L

the fortunate Sulla, or Lucullus, or Pompey, or my father Caesar, or you yourselves, who vanquished the supporters of Brutus and Cassius. This being so, in proportion as you think the wealth of Antony and his allies is so much greater than that of others, you ought to be all the more eager to make it your own; for it is worth while, in order to win the greatest prizes, to wage the greatest contests. And yet I can tell you of no greater prize that is set before you than to maintain the renown of your forefathers, to preserve your own proud traditions, to take vengeance on those who are in revolt against us, to repel those who insult you, to conquer and rule all mankind, to allow no woman to make herself equal to a man. Against the Taurisci and Iapydes and Dalmatians and Pannonians you yourselves who are now present battled most zealously, often to win a few walls and a barren land; and you subdued all these people, though they are admittedly most warlike; yes, by Jupiter, against Sextus also, to win Sicily only, and against this very Antony, to win Mutina only, you carried on similar struggles, and so zealously that you came out victorious over both. And now will you show any less zeal against a woman who has designs upon all your possessions, and against her husband who has distributed to her children all your property, and against their noble associates and table companions whom they themselves stigmatize as 'privy' councillors? Why should you? Because of their number? But
ἀλλ' οὖν δεῖν πλήθος σωμάτων ἀρετὴς κρατεῖ. διὰ τὸ γένος; ἀλλ' ἀρχοφορεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμεῖν μεμελετήκασι. διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν; ἀλλ' ἔρεττειν μᾶλλον ἢ ναυμαχεῖν ἵσασιν. ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ ἀισχύνομαι ὃτι πρὸς τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλομεν, ὃν καὶ κρατήσαντες ὅων εὐθυκιμῆσομεν καὶ ἦττηθέντες ἀσχημονήσομεν.

29 "Μὴ γὰρ ποὺ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν σκαφῶν αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ πάχος τῶν ξύλων ἀντίπαλον ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἱμῶν ἐγιναι νομίζετε. ποια μὲν γὰρ ναῦς αὐτῇ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἢ ἔτρωσε τινα ἢ ἀπέκτεινε; πῶς δ' οὖ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τε ὑψοῦ καὶ τοῦ πάχους καὶ δυσκινητότεραι ἔσονται τοῖς ἐλαύνοντιν αὐτὰς καὶ ἀπειθέστεραι τοῖς κυβερνόσι; τί δ' ἂν ὀφέλος τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μαχομένοις γένοιτο μήτε διεκπελλεῖν μήτε περιπλεῖν, ἀπὸ πού ναυμαχιᾶς ἐργά ἐστί, δυναμένοις; οὐ γὰρ ποὺ πεξομαχεῖν ἵμων ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ μέλλοναι, οὐδ' αὖ ὁσπερ ἐν τεῖχεσι τοῖς κατακεκλειμένοις πολιορκηθῆναι παρεσκευάδαται,

3 ἐπεὶ τούτῳ γε καὶ πάνω πρὸς ἵμων ἐν εἰς, λέγο ποῦ τὸ πρὸς ξύλων παραφράγματα προσμεῖαι. ἂν το γὰρ εὐ τῷ αὐτῷ καθάπερ ἐμπεπηγνεῖαι αἱ νής αὐτῶν μενοσιν, ἐξίσται μὲν ἵμων τοῖς ἐμβολοῖς αὐτῶς ἀναρρηγνύναι, ἐξίσται δὲ καὶ μηχανᾶς πόρρωθεν τετρόσκειν, ἐζίσται δὲ καὶ πυρφόροις βέλεσι καταπίπτράναι ἂν τε καὶ κινήθηναι πη τολμήσωσιν, οὐτ' ἂν διώκονσαί τινά καταλάβοιεν οὔτ' ἂν τραπεῖσαι ἐκφύγωσι, ἀργό-

1 ἱμῶν Bk., ὅμων VM. 2 ἱμῶν H. Steph., ὅμων VM. 3 κατακεκλειμένοι Dindl., κατακεκλειμένοι VM. 4 παρεσκευάδαται M, παρεσκευάδαται V. 5 πρὸς ἵμων Rk., προσήκου VM. 6 τοῖς M, ταῖς V. 7 αὐτῶς K. Steph., αὐτῶς VM.
no number of persons can conquer valour. Because
of their race? But they have practised carrying
burdens rather than warfare. Because of their ex-
perience? But they know better how to row than
how to fight at sea. I, for my part, am really ashamed
that we are going to contend with such creatures, by
vanquishing whom we shall gain no glory, whereas
if we are defeated we shall be disgraced.
"And surely you must not think that the size of
their vessels or the thickness of the timbers of their
ships is a match for our valour. What ship ever
by itself either wounded or killed anybody? Will
they not by their very height and staunchness be
more difficult for their rowers to move and less
obedient to their pilots? Of what use can they
possibly be to the fighting men on board of them,
when these men can employ neither frontal assault
nor flank attack, manoeuvres which you know are
essential in naval contests? For surely they do not
intend to employ infantry tactics against us on the
sea, nor on the other hand are they prepared to shut
themselves up as it were in wooden walls and under-
go a siege, since that would be decidedly to our
advantage—I mean assaulting wooden barriers. For
if their ships remain in the same place, as if fastened
there, it will be possible for us to rip them open with
our beaks, it will be possible, too, to damage them
with our engines from a distance, and also possible to
burn them to the water's edge with incendiary mis-
siles; and if they do venture to stir from their place,
they will not overtake anyone by pursuing nor escape

499
ταται μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βαρύτητος ἐσ τὸ δρᾶσαι τι, ἑτοιμόταται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους ἐσ τὸ παθεῖν οὖσαι.

30 "Καὶ τί δεῖ πλείω λέγοντα περὶ αὐτῶν διάτριβειν, ὅποτε πολλάκις ἢδη πειραθέντες σφόν, καὶ περὶ Δευκάδα καὶ ἐνταῦθα πρόην, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἡλαττώθημεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πανταχοῦ κρείττους ἐγενόμεθα; ὡστε μή τοῖς ἣμοίς ἂν ὁμοίως μᾶλλον ἡ τοῖς ὑμετέροις αὐτῶν ἔργοι ἐπιρρωσθέντες ἐπιθυμῆσατε παντὶ ἦδη τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ἐπιθέειν. εὖ γὰρ ἢστε τοῦθεν, ὅτι ἂν καὶ τίμερον αὐτῶν νικήσωμεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πράγμα ἔσομεν. ἀλλὸς τε γὰρ φύσει πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπευον, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀγώσι σφαλῆ, καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ ἀδυμότερον γίγνεται καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀναμφιλογώς ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀμείνους αὐτῶν ἐσθεμεν, ὡστε καὶ ἀκεραίων σφόν.

3 ὁπτὸν κρατήσατο. καὶ ταῦθα αὐτῶ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἴσασιν ὡστε (οὐ γὰρ ἀποκρύψωμαι ὡμᾶς ὡς ἄκηκος) ἀδυμείν τε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἦδη γεγονόσι καὶ ἄπογενόσκειν κατὰ χώραν μένοντας σωθῆσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα διαδρᾶναι τε τῇ ἐπιχειρέῃ, καὶ τῶν ἐκπλουν τούτων οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχιαί ἄλλ᾽ ὡς ἐς

4 φυγὴν ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ τὰ γε ἀριστα καὶ τιμώτατα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς κτημάτων ἐσ τὰς ναίς ἐνέτειναι, ἱνα, ἄν δυνηθῶσι, μετ' αὐτῶν διαφύγωσι. ὡς οὖν καὶ ὁμολογοῦντας αὐτοῖς ἁσθενεστέρους ἢμῶν εἶναι, καὶ τὰ ἀθλα τῆς νίκης ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ φέροντας, μὴ περιώδωμεν ἀλλοτε ποι πλεύσοντας; ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ ταύτη κρατήσαντε πάντα αὐτὰ ἀφελώμεθα."

1 ἢμοι M, αὐτοίς V.
2 πλεύσαντας Pflugk, πλεύσαντας VM.
by fleeing, since they are so heavy that they are entirely too inert to inflict any damage, and so huge that they are exceptionally liable to suffer it.

"Indeed, what need is there to spend time in speaking further of them, when we have already often made trial of them, not only off Leucas but also here just the other day, and so far from proving inferior to them, we have everywhere shown ourselves superior? Hence you should be encouraged not so much by my words as by your own deeds, and should desire to put an end forthwith to the whole war. For be well assured that if we beat them today we shall have no further trouble. For in general it is a natural characteristic of human nature everywhere, that whenever a man fails in his first contests he becomes disheartened with respect to what is to come; and as for us, we are so indisputably superior to them on land that we could vanquish them even if they had never suffered any injury. And they are themselves so conscious of this truth—for I am not going to conceal from you what I have heard—that they are discouraged at what has already happened and despair of saving their lives if they stay where they are, and they are therefore endeavouring to make their escape to some place or other, and are making this sally, not with the desire to give battle, but in expectation of flight. In fact, they have placed in their ships the best and most valuable of the possessions they have with them, in order to escape with them if they can. Since, then, they admit that they are weaker than we, and since they carry the prizes of victory in their ships, let us not allow them to sail anywhere else, but let us conquer them here on the spot and take all these treasures away from them."
Τοιαύτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ εἶπε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔβουλεύσατο μὲν παρεξεῖναι αὐτούς, ὅπως φεύγουσι σφισι κατὰ νότον ἐπίθηται (αὐτὸς τε ἡμῖρ ταχυναυτῶν διὰ βραχέος σφᾶς αἰρήσει ἡλισε, καὶ ἐκεῖνων ἐκδήλων ὦτε ἐκδράναί την ἐπιχειροῦσι γενομένων ἀμαχεὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐκ τοῦτον προσ-

2 ἄξεσθαι προσεδόκησεν), κωλυθεῖς δὲ ὰπὸ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου φοβηθέντος μὴ υστερήσωσιν αὐτῶν ἵστοις χρήσεσθαι μελλόντων, καὶ τὶ καὶ θαρσήσας ὡς οὐ χαλεπῶς κρατήσων ὦτε ἤτοι τε ἐν τούτῳ λάβρος καὶ ξάλη πολλή ἐς τε τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ναυτικὸν μόνον ἐσέπεσε καὶ πᾶν αὐτὸ

3 συνετάραξε τοῦτο μὲν ἐπέσχε, παμπόλλους δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς πεζοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπιβιβάζασας καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἑταίρους ἐς ὑπηρετικὰ ἐμβαλὼν ὅπως ἐν τὰχει περιπλέοντες τοῖς τε ναυμαχοῦσι τὰ δέσνα παρανέσωσι καὶ ἕαυτῷ τὰ προσῆκοντα

4 διαγγέλλωσι τοὺν ἐκπλουν σφῶν ἐπετήρει. καὶ αὐτῶν ἄναξθέντων τε ὢπὸ σάλπυγγος καὶ πυκναῖς ταῖς ναυσίν ὄλυγον ἔξω τῶν στενῶν παραταξάμενον καὶ μηδαμῇ προϊόντων, ὄρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ ἔστωσι σφισι προσμίζων ὁ καὶ ἄναχωρήσαι σφας ποιήσων ἐπεὶ δ' ὦτ' ἀντεξόρμησαν ὦτ' ἀνέ-

5 στρέφαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χώραν ἐμευνοῦ καὶ προσέτη καὶ ἴσχυρῶς τῇ συντάξει ἐπεπύκνωντο, ἐν ἀπόρῳ τε ἐσχετο, καὶ τὰς κόππας ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ τοῖς ναύταις καθεῖναι κελεύσας ἄνέσχε χρόνον τινά, καὶ μετὰ

1 αὐτῶν R. Steph., αὐτῶν VM.
2 τοῦτον Xyl., τούτο VM.
Such were Caesar's words. After this he formed a plan to let them slip by, intending to fall upon them in the rear as they fled, for he hoped on his own part that by swift sailing he should speedily capture Antony and Cleopatra, and expected that then, when they had made it clear that they were attempting to run away, he could in consequence of their act win over the rest without fighting. He was restrained, however, by Agrippa, who feared that they would be too slow for the fugitives, who were going to use sails, and he was also confident himself that he would conquer without difficulty, because in the meantime a violent rainstorm, accompanied by a mighty wind, had struck Antony's fleet, though not his own, and had thrown it utterly into confusion. Hence he abandoned this plan, and following the plan of Antony, put large numbers of infantry on board his ships also, and placed all his friends in auxiliary boats in order that they might quickly sail here and there, giving the necessary advice to the men in action and reporting to him what he ought to know; then he waited for the enemy to sail out. And when they set sail at the sound of the trumpet, and with their ships in dense array drew up their line a little outside the strait and advanced no further, Caesar set out as if to engage with them, if they stood their ground, or even to make them retire. But when they neither came out against him on their side nor turned to retire, but remained where they were, and not only that, but also vastly increased the density of their line by their close formation, Caesar checked his course, in doubt what to do. He then ordered his sailors to let their oars rest in the water, and waited
τούτο τὰ κέρατα ἐξαίφνης ἀμφώτερα ἀπὸ σημείου ἐπέξαγαγὼν ἐπέκαμψεν, ἑπτίσας μάλιστα μὲν περιστοιχείωσαὶ σφας, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὴν γοῦν ταξίν αὐτῶν διαλύσεων. ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος φοβηθεὶς τὴν τε ἐπίκαμψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν περίσχεσιν ἀντεπεξηγάγετο ὅσον ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἐς χεῖράς οἱ καὶ ἀκών ἦλθεν.

32 Καὶ οὕτω συμπεσόντες ἐναυμάχησαν, πολλὰ μὲν παρακελεύσματα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐκάτεροι καὶ τῆς τέχνης καὶ τῆς προθυμίας ποιοῦμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κελεύματα παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου σφισὶν ἐπιβοῶσεν ἐσακοῦντες. ἦγονιζότοι δὲ οὐχ ὁμοιοτρόπως, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν 2 τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀτε καὶ μικροτέρας καὶ ταχυτέρας τὰς ναῦς ἑχοῦσι, ἰδοὺ τε ἐχρωτό καὶ ἐνέβαλλον πεφραγμένοι πάντῃ τοῦ μὴ τιτρώσκεσθαι καὶ εἰ μὲν κατέδυσαν τινα, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀνεκρούντῳ πρὶν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἦτοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς αὐθεντο ἐξαίφνης ἐνέβαλλον, ἢ τοὺς μὲν εἰσὶν ἐπὶ ἄλλους δὲ ἐστρέποντο, καὶ τι καὶ τούτους 3 όσο διὰ βραχέος ἐργασάμενοι πρὸς ἄλλους καὶ πάλιν μάλα ἄλλους ἐχώρουν, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα ἀπροσδοκίτως τις προσφέρονται. οἴον γὰρ φοβοῦμενοι μὲν τὴν ἐκ πολλοῦ αὐτῶν ἁλλὰν φοβοῦμενοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν χεραὶ μάχην, οὔτε ἐν τῷ πρῶσπλῳ οὔτε ἐν τῇ συμμεῖ Xi Ph σειροῦσι, ἄλλ' ὑποδραμόσεις αἰφνίδιον 4 οὕτω τὴν τοξείαν σφῶν φθάναι, καὶ τρόποις τινα ἢ καὶ συνταράξαντες μόνου ὅστε τὴν κάθεξιν ἐκφυγέω, ἀνεχώρουν ἕξω βέλους. οἴ δ' ἐτεροί τοὺς τε προσπλέεσθας σφισὶν

1 παρακελεύσματα Dind., παρακελεύσματα VM.
2 μὲν M, μὲν ὑπὸ V.
3 τούτους V Xiph., τούτου M.
4 αἰφνίδιον St., ἀναἰφνίδιον VM.
for a time; after this he suddenly, at a given signal, led forward both his wings and bent his line in the form of a crescent, hoping if possible to surround the enemy, or otherwise to break their formation in any case. Antony, accordingly, fearing this flanking and encircling movement, advanced to meet it as best he could, and thus reluctantly joined battle with Caesar.

So they engaged and began the conflict, each side indulging in a great deal of exhortation to its own men in order to call forth the skill and zeal of the fighters, and also hearing many orders shouted out to them from the men on shore. The struggle was not of a similar nature on the two sides, but Caesar's followers, having smaller and swifter ships, would dash forward and ram the enemy, being armoured on all sides to avoid receiving damage. If they sank a vessel, well and good; if not, they would back water before coming to grips, and would either ram the same vessels suddenly again, or would let those go and turn their attention to others; and having done some damage to these also, so far as they could in a brief time, they would proceed against others and then against still others, in order that their assault upon any vessel might be so far as possible unexpected. For since they dreaded the long-range missiles of the enemy no less than their fighting at close quarters, they wasted no time either in the approach or in the encounter, but running up suddenly so as to reach their object before the enemy's archers could get in their work, they would inflict injuries or else cause just enough disturbance to escape being held, and then would retire out of range. The enemy, on the other hand, tried to hit the approaching ships with
πολλοίς καὶ πυκνοῖς καὶ λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασιν ἔβαλλον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς προσμικρύντας ἔχειρας σιδηροῦσα ἐπερρίπτοντο. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπιτύχοιειν αὐτῶν, κρείττους ἐγένοντο, εἰ δὲ ἀμάρτωλεῖ, τρωθὲντων ἃν σφίξει τῶν σκαφῶν ἔβαπτίζοντο, ἢ καὶ περὶ τὸ μῆλον παθεῖν τοῦτο ἀποδιατρίβοντες ἐνεπιθετώτεροι ἄλλοις τισιν ἐγένοντο· δύο τε γὰρ ἢ καὶ τρεῖς ἀμα τῇ αὐτῇ νη προσπιέστουσαι αἱ μὲν ἔδρων ὁσα 7 ἐδύναντο, αἱ δὲ ἐπασχοῦν. ἐπονοοῦντο δὲ καὶ ἐκαμνοῦν τοὺς μὲν οἱ τε κυβερνήται καὶ οἱ ἐρέται μάλιστα, τοῖς δὲ οἱ ἐπιβασταί καὶ ἐφέκεσαν οἱ μὲν ἰππευθοὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐπελαύνουσι τοτὲ δὲ ἐξαναχωροῦσι διὰ τὸ τοὺς τε ἐπίπλους καὶ τὰς ἀνακρούσεις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ὀπλίταις τοὺς τε πλησίαξοντάς σφίσι φυλασσομένοις καὶ κατέχειν αὐτοὺς 8 ὅτι μάλιστα πειραμένοις. κάκ τοῦτον ἐπλεονεκτοῦν τε ἄλληλων, οἱ μὲν ἐς τε τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν νεῶν ὑποπίπτουσι καὶ τὰς κόπας συναρτάσουσι, οἱ δὲ ἀναβεβαιοῦντα καὶ πέτρας καὶ μηχανήμασι βαπτίζοντες· καὶ ἠλαττοῦντο αὐτοὶ μὲν ὅτι τοὺς 4 προσιόντας σφῖσιν οὐδὲν κακουργεῖν ἐδύναντο, οἱ δὲ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ καὶ 5 κατεύθυναν τινας ἐμβατόλυτες, οὐκέτ' ἐξ ἰσον σφῖσιν ἐν τῇ συνέργει ἠγωνίζοντο. 33 Ἀγχωμάλου οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ναυμαχίας 6 οὐσὶς καὶ μηδετέρων ὑπερέχειν πη δυναμένων τέλος τοιῶν τε ἐγένετο. ἡ Κλεοπάτρα κατόπιν τῶν μαχομένων ἀποσαλεύουσα οὐκ ἦνεγκε τὴν πολλὴν 2 καὶ ἀκρετοῦ τοῦ ἄδηλου μέλλησιν, ἀλλ' ἀποκοιλα− 1 προσμικρύντας Dind., προσμικρύνοντας VM Xiph. 2 τὸ μῆλον Xiph., μῆλον τὸ V. 3 άλλοις Xiph., άλληλοις V. 4 τοὺς Bk., τοὺς μὲν VM. 5 μῆλον Reim., καὶ μῆ V. 6 ναυμαχίας M, ναυμαχία V.
dense showers of stones and arrows, and to cast iron grapnelts upon their assailants. And in case they could reach them they got the better of it, but if they missed, their own boats would be pierced and would sink, or else in their endeavour to avoid this calamity they would waste time and lay themselves more open to attack by other ships; for two or three ships would fall at one time upon the same ship, some doing all the damage they could while the others took the brunt of the injuries. On the one side the pilots and the rowers endured the most hardship and fatigue, and on the other side the marines; and the one side resembled cavalry, now making a charge and now retreating, since it was in their power to attack and back off at will, and the others were like heavy-armed troops guarding against the approach of foes and trying their best to hold them. Consequently each gained advantages over the other; the one party would run in upon the lines of oars projecting from the ships and shatter the blades, and the other party, fighting from the higher level, would sink them with stones and engines. On the other hand, there were also disadvantages on each side: the one party could do no damage to the enemy when it approached, and the other party, if in any case it failed to sink a vessel which it rammed, was hemmed in and no longer fought an equal contest.

The battle was indecisive for a long time and neither antagonist could get the upper hand anywhere, but the end came in the following way. Cleopatra, riding at anchor behind the combatants, could not endure the long and anxious waiting until a decision could be reached, but true to her nature
σθέσα, ἀπὸ τοῦ γυναικείου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λίγυ-
πτίου, τῇ τε ἐπὶ πολὺ μετεώροι ἄγωνία καὶ τῇ ἁεὶ ἐφ᾽ ἐκάτερα περιδεεὶ προσδοκία αὐτῇ τε ἐς φυγὴν ἐξεπιναίως ὀρμήσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ὑπηκοοῖς
3 σημεῖον ἦρε. καὶ οὕτω τά τε ἰστία αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἄραμένων καὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφέντων, ἀνέμου τινός κατὰ τύχην φοροῦ συμβάντος, νομίσας ὁ Ἄντωνιος οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας αὐτοῦς ἐκ παραγγέλσεως ἅλλ᾽ ὑπὸ δέος ὡς καὶ νεικημένους
4 φεύγειν ἐφέσπετο σφισί. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ στρατιώται καὶ ἰθύμησαν καὶ ἔταρά-
χησαν, καὶ πρὸσαποδρᾶναι καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον
tiva ἐθελήσαντες οἱ μὲν τὰ ἰστία γροῦ, οἱ δὲ τοὺς
tε πύργους καὶ τὰ ἐπιπλα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν
5 ἔρριπτον, ὡς καὶ κοψάσαντες διαφύγοντο. καὶ αὐ-
tois peri tautà exousin oi énanti oi prospesóntes
(tous gár feýngontas, áte kai ánei ïstión óntes
kai prós tìn vamagíán mónyn paráskewasméñoi,
oûk épediózán) pollói3 ekásth ékato i kai ékato
kai ev chríst émagéssanto, óste kai poikilítaton
kai óxuaton ati ómforterón ómowos tôn ángh
6 geýntai, oi mén gár tâ te kàtò tov vèon pànta
péris ékakoúrgoun kai tás kópas svnèbranov tâ
tâ pòdáliá apérpaton, kai épanabávontes épi
tâ katastrófamata toûs mén katêssovv antilam-
bavômenoi 4 toûs de éóðou, toûs de émáchnoto áte
7 kai ísoplheis aútôs hê diá óntes ti de tòis te
kóntois sfás diasóthoun5 kai taîs áxínai eko-

1 prosapodrãnav Rk., pou apodrãnav VM.
2 ἤρων Polak, ἤγειρωg VM.
3 pollói Bk., pollói te VM,
4 antilamabavômenoi R. Steph., antikataabavômenoi VM.
5 diasóthoun Bk., diasóthoun VM.
as a woman and an Egyptian, she was tortured by the agony of the long suspense and by the constant and fearful expectation of either possible outcome, and so she suddenly turned to flight herself and raised the signal for the others, her own subjects. And thus, when they straightway raised their sails and sped out to sea, since a favouring wind had by chance arisen, Antony thought they were fleeing, not at the bidding of Cleopatra, but through fear because they felt themselves vanquished, and so he followed them. When this took place the rest of the soldiers became both discouraged and confused, and wishing to make their own escape also in some way or another, they proceeded, some to raise their sails and others to throw the towers and the furnishings into the sea, in order to lighten the vessels and make good their escape. While they were occupied in this way their adversaries fell upon them; they had not pursued the fugitives, because they themselves were without sails and were prepared only for a naval battle, and there were many to fight against each ship, both from afar and alongside. Therefore on both sides alike the conflict took on the greatest variety and was waged with the utmost bitterness. For Caesar's men damaged the lower parts of the ships all around, crushed the oars, snapped off the rudders, and climbing on the decks, seized hold of some of the foe and pulled them down, pushed off others, and fought with yet others, since they were now equal to them in numbers; and Antony's men pushed their assailants back
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πτον, πέτρους τε καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ὅγκους ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τούτῳ παρεσκευασμένους ἐπικατέβαλλον, καὶ τοὺς τε ἀναβαίνοντας ἀπεκρούντο καὶ τοὺς ἐς χεῖρας ἱόνις συνεφέροντο. εἶκασεν ἂν τις ἵδων τὰ γηγύμενα, ὡς μικρὰ μεγάλοις ὁμοιῶσαι, τείχεσι τισιν ἥ καὶ νήσους πολλαῖς καὶ πυκναῖς ἐκ θαλάσσης πολιορκουμέναις. οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἐπιβίβασαν τε τῶν σκαφῶν ὅσπερ ἑπείρου ¹ καὶ ἐρύματος τινος ἐπεφέροντο, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐς τούτῳ φέροντα σπουδή προσῆγον οἱ δὲ ἀπεωθοῦντο αὐτοῖς, ὅ τι ποτὲ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ φιλεῖ δρᾶσθαι μηχανώμενοι.

34 Ἀντιπάλως οὖν αὐτῶν μαχομένων ὁ Καϊσαρ ἀπορήσας ὃ τι πράζη, πῦρ ἔκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετεπέμψατο. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦθελησαν αὐτῷ, ὡς τὰ χρήματα περιποιησθῆναι, χρήσασθαι τότε δὲ ἵδων ὡς ἀδύνατον οἱ εἰς ἄλλος πως κρατῆσαι, ἐπ’ ἐκείνο ὡς καὶ μόνον σφίσιν ἐπικουρήσατο κατέφυγε. κανταῦθα ἄλλο ἀντιδος μᾶχης συνηρέθη, οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλαχὰ ἀμα προσπλέουστες τις βέλη τε πυρὸν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἔξετοξουν καὶ λαμπάδας ἐκ χειρὸς ἐπηκοντιζον καὶ τινὰς καὶ χυτρίδας ἀνθράκων καὶ πίντης πλήρεις πόρροθεν μηχαναῖς ἐπερρίπτουν.

3 οἱ δὲ ταύτα τε ὡς ἐκατὰ διεκρούντο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῶν αὐτῶν διεκπέπτοντα τῶν τε ξύλων ἤπτετο καὶ φλόγα αὐτίκα πολλὴν, ἂτε ἐν υἱῷ, ἤγειρε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῷ ποτίμῳ ὕδατι ὁ ἐπεφέρον ἐχρόντο, καὶ τινὰ κατέσβεσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνο καταναλώθη, ἤμτλουν τὸ θαλάσσιον. καὶ εἰ μὲν πολλῷ τε καὶ ἄθροῳ αὐτῷ ἐχρόντο, ἐπείχον πως

¹ ἑπείρου Bk., ἐπ’ ἑπείρου VM.
² ἀλλο M, ἀν ἀλλο V.
with boathooks, cut them down with axes, hurled down upon them stones and heavy missiles made ready for just this purpose, drove back those who tried to climb up, and fought with those who came within reach. An eye-witness of what took place might have compared it, likening small things to great, to walled towns or else islands, many in number and close together, being besieged from the sea. Thus the one party strove to scale the boats as they would the dry land or a fortress, and eagerly brought to bear all the implements that have to do with such an operation, and the others tried to repel them, devising every means that is commonly used in such a case.

As the fight continued equal, Caesar, at a loss what he should do, sent for fire from the camp. Previously he had wished to avoid using it, in order to gain possession of the money; but now that he saw it was impossible for him to win in any other way, he had recourse to this, as the only thing that would assist him. And now another kind of battle was entered upon. The assailants would approach their victims from many directions at once, shoot blazing missiles at them, hurl with their hands torches fastened to javelins and with the aid of engines would throw from a distance pots full of charcoal and pitch. The defenders tried to ward these missiles off one by one, and when some of them got past them and caught the timbers and at once started a great fire, as must be the case in a ship, they used first the drinking water which they carried on board and extinguished some of the conflagrations, and when that was gone they dipped up the sea-water. And if they used great quantities of it at once, they would somehow
τῇ βίᾳ τὸ πῦρ ἀδύνατοι δὲ δὴ πανταχὺ τούτῳ ποιεῖν ὄντες (οὗτε γὰρ πολλὰ ἢ καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἀντιλητήρια εἶχον, καὶ ἡμιδεὰ¹ αὐτὰ ἀτε ναραττό-
μενοι ἀνέφερον) οὐχ ὡσον οὐκ ὄφελοντο τι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσπαρώξυνον αὐτῷ: ἡ γὰρ ἄλημη ἡ θαλαττία ἂν κατ' ὀλύγον ἐπιχένται φλογῆ, ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὴν
ἐκκαίει. ὥσ οὖν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἦττους ἐγίγνοντο,
τὰ τε ἑμάτια αὐτῶν ἄγαν τὰ παχέα καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπέβαλλον καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐκολουθήσῃ τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἐδοξὲ πῃ λωφᾶν, ἐπειτα δὲ ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ ἀνέμου σφοδρῶς ἐπισπέρζαντος ἐπὶ πλεῖου ἐξέλαμψεν, ἀτε καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων
αὐξάνομενοι. καὶ μέχρι μὲν μέρος τι νεῶς ἐκαίετο, προσίσταντο τε τίνες αὐτὸ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσεπηδον, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπέκοπτον τὰ δὲ διεφόρουν,
καὶ αὐτὰ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ
τῶν ἔναντίων ἔρριπτον, εἰ πῶς καὶ ἐκείνους τι
7 λυμήναιτο. καὶ ἔτεροι πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ ἐνάχεις αὐτῆς
μεδιστάμενοι ταῖς τε χερσὶ ταῖς σιδηραῖς καὶ τοῖς
dόρασι τῶν μακρῶς τότε δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐχρῶντο, ὅπως τινὰ ἀντίπαλον ναῦν προσαρτή-
σαντες σφισὶ μάλιστα μὲν μετεκβῶσιν ἐς αὐτὴν,
ei δὲ μή, καὶ ἐκείνην συγκαταφλέξωσιν. ὡς δ' οὕτε τινές ἐπέλαξον σφίσιν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο φυλασσό-
μενοι, καὶ τὸ πῦρ τοὺς τε τοῖχους πέριξ ἐπενεμέτο
καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐδαφὸς κατήρει, ἐνταῦθα τὰ δεινότατα
2 αὐτοῖς ἐπεγένετο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ,
καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ναυτὶς, πρὶν καὶ πλησίασας σφῖσι τὴν
φλόγα ἐφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ μέση
δόσπερ ἐν καμίνῳς ὁπτῶν. ἀλλοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν
3 ὀπλῶν πυρουμένων κατετήκοντο. ἀλλοὶ πρὶν τι

¹ ἡμιδεὰ Bk., ἡμίδεα VM. ² αὐτῶν Bayfius, αὐτῶν VM.
stop the fire by main force; but they were unable to do this everywhere, for the buckets they had were not numerous nor of large size, and in their confusion they brought them up half full, so that, far from helping the situation at all, they only increased the flames, since salt water poured on a fire in small quantities makes it burn vigorously. So when they found themselves getting the worst of it in this respect also, they heaped on the blaze their thick mantles and the corpses, and for a time these checked the fire and it seemed to abate; but later, especially when the wind raged furiously, the flames flared up more than ever, fed by this very fuel. So long as only a part of a ship was on fire, men would stand by that part and leap into it, hewing away or scattering the timbers; and these detached timbers were hurled by some into the sea and by others against their opponents, in the hope that they, too, might possibly be injured by these missiles. Others would go to the still sound portion of the ship and now more than ever would make use of their grappling-irons and their long spears with the purpose of binding some hostile ship to theirs and crossing over to it, if possible, or, if not, of setting it on fire likewise. But when none of the enemy came near enough, since they were guarding against this very thing, and when the fire spread to the encircling walls and descended into the hold, the most terrible of fates came upon them. Some, and particularly the sailors, perished by the smoke before the flame so much as approached them, while others were roasted in the midst of it as though in ovens. Others were consumed in their armour when it became heated. There were still others, who, before they
τοιούτο παθεῖν, ἢ καὶ ἡμίκαυτοι, οἱ μὲν ἀπορριπτοῦντες τὰ ὄπλα ἐτιπρώσκουντο ὑπὸ τῶν πόρρωθεν βαλλόντων, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκπηδώντες ἀπεπνύοντο ἢ καὶ παιόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναυτῶν ἔβαπτίζοντο ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ θηρίων ἑσπαράττουντο.

4 μόνοι τε ἀνεκτός, ὡς ἐν τοιούτοις παθήμασιν, ἀπῆλλαξαν ὅσοι, πρὶν τινι αὐτῶν συνενεχθῆναι, οἱ μὲν ἄλληλοι οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν οὔτε γὰρ κολαστήριον τι ὑπέμειναν, καὶ νεκροὶ ὅσπερ ἐν πυρᾶ ταῖς ναυσὶ συγκατεκαύθησαν.

5 Ὁρῶντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Καίσαρειοι πρότερον μὲν, ὡς ἔτι ἀμύνεσθαι τινες αὐτῶν ἐδύναντο, οὐ προσέμεσθαι σφισίν ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τε σκάψῃ τὸ πῦρ συνήρει, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐδὲ ἐαυτοὶ ἐς βοήθησαι, μὴ ὅτε πολέμῳ τινʼ ἑλπίζαι τι ἐδύναντο, σπουδὴ τε προσέπλεαν αὐτοῖς, εἰ πως τὰ Χρήματα περιποιήσαιτο, καὶ κατασβενύναι τὸ πῦρ.

6 ὁ αὐτὸς παρεσκεύασαν, ἐπειρώντο. καὶ τούτου συγχων οἱ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς φλογῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρπαγῶν ἀπώλοντο.

1 ἄρπαγῶν Dind., ἄρπαγῶν VM.
BOOK L

should suffer such a death, or when they were half-
burned, threw off their armour and were wounded
by the shots which came from a distance, or again
leaped into the sea and were drowned, or were struck
by their opponents and sank, or were mangled by sea-
monsters. Those alone found a death that was
tolerable, considering the sufferings which prevailed,
who were killed by their fellows in return for the
same service, or else killed themselves, before any
such fate could befall them; for they not only had no
tortures to endure, but when dead had the burning
ships for their funeral pyres.

When Caesar's forces saw the situation, they at
first refrained from approaching the enemy, since
some of them were still able to defend themselves;
but when the fire began to destroy the ships, and
the men, far from being able to do any harm to an
enemy, could not even help themselves any longer,
they eagerly sailed up to them in the hope that they
might possibly gain possession of the money, and
they endeavoured to extinguish the fire which they
themselves had caused. Consequently many of these
mens also fell victims to the flames and to their own
rapacity.
INDEX
INDEX

Achaia, 297, 319
Acropolis of Athens, the, 469
Actium, 457-65; battle of, 463–515
Adana, 181
Aegae, 177
Aesculapius, temple of, 119
Aetna, 451
Africa, province of, 91, 171, 221, 253, 261–67, 331, 415
Africa (A.D.), including Numidia, 111, 263, 279, 325, 363, 371, 409, 447
Africans, 37
Aixabanda, 275
Alban Mount, the, 199, 458
Albania (in Asia), 391
Alchusidoi, 173
Alexander, son of Antony and Cleopatra, 407, 421, 425, 431
Alexander, a deserter from Antiochus, 287
Alexandria, 423 f., 443
Alexandrians, the, 425, 445, 489
Allobroges, the, 103
Alps, the, 113, 225, 239, 243
Amanus, the, 305
Ambracian Gulf, the, 461 f.
Ambrones, the, 487
Antigonus, king of Judaea, 273 n., 307, 387 f.
Antioch, 177, 278
Antiochus I., king of Commagene, 307, 383–89
Antiochus III. (the Great), king of Syria, 457
Antipaxus, 461 n.
Antistius, C., 173
Antonia, daughter of Antony and Octavia, 337
“Antonians,” party of boys in Rome, 453
Antonii, the, 71, 249: see the following three entries.
Antonius, C., 159–67
Antonius, L., 73, 225–33, 239–49, 279
Antyllus, son of preceding, 337
Apamea, 171, 271 f.
Apollo, 155, 373, 463
Apollonia, 161–65
Apollodorus, freedman of Sex. Pompey, 321–25, 361
Aquila Iulia, the, at Rome, 287; at Capua, 369
Aqua Marcia, the, 427
Aquila, Pontius, legatus of D. Brutus, 77, 81
Arabia, 407
Arabians, the, 465
Arabio, an African chieftain, 265 f.
Aradus, the, 307, 387
Arados, 179, 269
Arar, the, 103
Araxes, the, 431

DIO.—VOL. V.
INDEX

Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, 407
Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, 407
Ariobazanes III., king of Cappadocia, 183 f.
Aristobulus (error for Antigonus), 273 and n.
Aristogeiton, statue of, 150
Armenia, Greater, 393, 399-405, 421, 425, 431 f.
Armenia, Lesser, 409, 433
Armenians, the, 423, 431
Arsinoe, sister of Cleopatra, 209 n.
Artavasdes, king of Greater Armenia, 393 f., 405, 409, 421-27, 435 f.
Artavasdes, king of Media, 399, 409, 423, 431 f.
Artaxata, 421
Artaxerxes II., king of Armenia, 423, 433
Artemis, temple of, 269
Artemision, village in Sicily, 355 f.
Aesopus, L. (praetor 33), 431
Asiatics, 169
Aspalus (Clupea), town in Africa, 331
Athena, 363
Athenians, the, 157 f., 303, 469
Athens, 7, 11, 445 n.
Atla, mother of Octavius, 151
Atratinus, L. Sempronius (cos. 34), 421
Attalus, 289
Augustus, 97; see Caesar
Aventine, the, 451
Avernus, 329
Baelae, 329 f., 339
Ballhus, L. Cornelius (cos. 40), 237
Ballhus, Nonius (tr. 32), 439
Bamballio, father-in-law of Antony, 11, 55
Bassus, Caecilius, 169-75
Bellona, temple of, 445
Bess, the, 167
Bithynia, 159, 181
Bithyniensis, A. Pompeius, 253-57
Blascio, Helvius, 100
Bocchus, king of Mauretania, 315, 431, 449
Bojad, king of Mauretania Tingitana, 315, 449, 459
Bononia, 71, 75, 100 f., 447
Bosporus, kingdom of, 171
Britannia, 419, 487
Britons, the, 355 n.
Brundisium, 43, 101, 213, 257, 277, 281, 319, 457 f., 405
Brutus, D. Junius, 61, 69-73, 77, 81, 95, 103, 107 f., 113, 165
Brutus, L. Junius (cos. 595), 37, 101
Brutus, M. Junius, governor of Macedonia, 81, 109, 113, 139, 157, 183-89; at Philippi, 188-199; other references to, 5, 45, 51 f., 61, 69, 101, 105 f., 259, 260, 260 f., 281, 497
Caerellia, friend of Cicero, 33
Caesar, C. Julius (Octavianus). See synopsis of the several books: also 7, 45, 51 f., 159, 175 f., 201, 259, 271, 287-91, 333-37, 407, 425 f., 481 f.; concerning his name, 97
Caesar, L. Julius, 127, 133
“Caesarians,” party of boys in Rome, 453
Cassarion, 181 f., 425, 437, 443
Caelius, Q. Fufius, speech of, in defence of Antony, 3-57; other references to, 63, 229, 261
Calvinus, Cn. Domitius (cos. 59, 40), 249, 309
Calypso, 329
Campania, 157, 231, 339, 325 f., 309
Campus Martius, the, 93, 335
Canusius, Tl. (tr. 44), 249
Canopus, 493
Capitol, the, 37, 109, 241, 293, 333, 371, 447
Cappadocia, 407
Capua, 369
Capuans, the, 369
Carals, town in Sardinia, 283
Carinae, the region in Rome, 301
Carrinas, C. (cos. 43), 147 n.
Carrthaginians, the, 457
Casca, P. Servilius (tr. 44), 90
Cassius, C. See Longus
Castor, grandson of Deiotaros, 289
INDEX

Catiline, L. Sergius, 5, 37
Cato, M. Porcius (Ulfecensis), 127, 171
Censorinus, L. Marcus (cos. 39), 291
Cephalenia, 373
Ceraunian mountains, the, 453, 461
Ceres, 201; temple of, 199, 451, 457
Cerretani, the, 309
Chamaecus, an Asiatian prince, 381
Charybdis, 25
Cicero, Cicero, Cicero, Cicero, contemptuous names applied to Cicero by Calenus, 31
Cicero, M. Tullius, attacked in speech by Calenus, 3–37; chosen as envoy to Antony, 65; other references to, 85 f.; death of, 131 f., 137
Cicero, Q. Tullius, death of, 137
Cicilia, 171, 177, 183, 269, 273 f., 305, 387
Cicilian Gates, the, 307 n.
Cicilianus, the, 169
Climer, L. Tullius, one of Caesar's slayers, 181
Climbi, the, 487
Clina, Helvius (tr. 44), 101, 120
Circennian Games, the, 153, 169 f., 259, 285, 289, 370, 451
Circus, the, 457
Cirta, 263 f.
Clindius, App. (Pulcher) (cos. 38), 311, 329
Cleopatra, daughter of preceding, 407, 425
Clodia, daughter of Fulvia, betrothed to Octavian, 113; divorced, 229
Clodius, C., 165
Clodius, P. (tr. 58), 5
Clodius, Sex., Sicilian rhetorician, 15
Cluvius, C., 433 n.
Collatines, Tarquiniius (cos. 509), 101
Colope (Colops), the, river in Panonlia, 417 f.
Comana, harbour of Nicopolis, 461
Comitium, the, 155
Commagene, 383
Concord, temple of, 55, 119, 372, 451
Corcyra, 327, 337, 453, 457, 461
Corinth, 465
Cornificius, L. (cos. 35), 351–55, 379, 407
Cornificius, Q., 255, 261 f.
Corona, Silicis, 101
Crassus, M. Licinius, the triumvir, 173, 303 n., 309, 385, 393
Crassus, P. (or L.) Claudius, 391
Crenides, old name for Philippi, 159
Cretans, 45, 159, 369 n., 407
Crispus, Q. Marcus, 173 f.
Cumae, 321, 327–31
Curia Iulia, the, 155
Cybele, 313 n. See Mother of the Gods
Cyprus, 305, 407, 425
Cyreniana, the, 425, 447 f.
Cyrrene, 407, 449
Cyrinthia, 381
Dalmatia, 279, 415
Dalmatians, the, 419, 431, 497
Decius (Mus), 37
Delostams, tetrarch of Galatia, 165, 215, 229, 407
Dellius, Q., 421, 463 f., 485
Demetrius, freedman of Caesar, 305
Demochares, freedman of Sex. Pompey, 343–47, 355 f., 361
Demosthenes, imitated by Dio, 13 n.
Dio, Cassius, governor of Africa and Dalmatia, 415
Dionysus, 309, 445, 489
Dolabella, P. Cornelius, 27, 81, 159, 169, 175–81
Domicius. See Ahenobarbus
Drusus, Livius (Clandianus), 313
Dyrrachium, 161, 193, 217
Egypt, 169, 176, 179 f., 269 f., 377, 405, 409, 423 f., 467, 443, 469
Egyptians, the, 37, 277, 449, 489
Ephesus, 269
Epirus, 101
Etruria, 283, 319, 371, 431
Euboea, 7 n.
Euphrates, the, 381, 393, 425
Europus, the, 7 n.
Europe, 167, 279
INDEX

Falculius, P. (tr. 40), 259
Fango, C. Pufclius, 263-67
Favonius, M., 217
Feriae Latine, the, 65, 199 f., 376, 427
Fidustinus, L., 139 n.
Flaccus, C. Norbanus (cos. 38), 189f., 311, 339
Flavius (error for Flavus), L. Caesetius (tr. 44), 101
Flavus, L., 433 and n.
Fortune, 217; temple of, 457
Forum, the, 9, 35 f., 43, 153, 157, 285, 313
Forum Cornelii, 71
Fresh Harbour, the, in Coreya, 461
Fulvia, wife of Antony, 113, 131, 225-33, 239-49, 265, 270
Furnius, C. (tr. 50), 247, 377
Gabii, 243
Gabinius, A., 13
Gades, 247
Galatia, 289, 407
Gallia Comata, 113
Gallia Narbonensis, 59 n., 103, 111, 283
Gallia Togata, 113, 243
Gallus, L. Caninius (cos. 37), 327, 339
Gallus, Tiaienus, 245, 355 f., 383
Gaul, 111 f., 221, 279, 327, 411, 419, 447; Cisalpine, 47 f., 59 f., 60, 109-12, 247, 259, 277, 495; Transalpine, 59, 239. See also Gallia
Gauls, the, 37, 113, 327, 487
Gellius. See Publicola
Geminius, Fulus, 419
Genius Populi, temple of, 119, 451
German cavalry, 73, 215
Geta, Horsidius, 137
Gliaphyra, mother of Archelaus, 407
Gnostos, 369
Gracchus, Tl., 101
Greece, 7 n., 159, 277, 301, 433, 449 f., 459, 465
Greeks, the, 415
Hadrumentum, 263
Harmocles, statue of, 150
Heleius, freedman of Octavian, 283, 317
Helios, name given by Cleopatra to her son, 489
Hellepont, the, 425
Heracles, 217
Herod (the Great), king of Judaea, 387
Hirtius, A. (cos. 43), 71-79
Hortensius, Q., 159 f.
Hyrcanus II., king of Judaea, 273
Iamblichus, Arabian prince, 465
Iapydes, the, 411 f., 497
Iberians, the, in Asia, 391
Ilyrians, the, Parthine, 307
Illyricum, 100, 161, 447
India, 425
Iotape, daughter of Artavasdes, 431
Ionia, 433
Ionian Sea, the, 189, 203, 233 f., 251 f., 257, 279, 459
Isis, 443, 489; temple of, 147
Ister, the, 415 f., 487
Ituraeans, the, 407
Jancinum, the, 91
Jerusalem, 387
Jews, the, 175, 387
Judaea, 175
Julia, mother of Antony, 133, 249 f.
Julianus, M. Didius, emperor, 95
Juliuspolis, name given to Tarsus, 160
Julius, Sex., 160 f.
Juno, statue of, 249
Jupiter, 103, 451; statue of, 199, 453
Jupiter Capitolinus, 371
Jupiter Latarius, 201
Jupiter Victor, 199
Juventius. See Laterensis
Labienus, Q., 269-75, 301-05
Laellius, D., 261-65
Laenas, C. Popillius, 137
Laodicea, 177 f.
Laodiceans, the, 179
Laterensis, M. Juventius, 105
Lattaris. See Jupiter Latarius
Lentulus, P. Cornelius (cos. 162), 39
Lentulus, P. Cornelius (pr. 63), 5, 39
Leontine lands, the, 15
INDEX

Lepidus, M. Aemilius, the triumvir, ordered by senate to aid against Antony, 59, 77; comes to terms with Antony and Octavian, 85-89, 101-09; their compact and subsequent conduct, 111-57, 181 f.; gradually ignored by the other two, 221-29, 261, 263, 341, 355 f., 363 f.; shorn of authority, 365, 377, 437, 479; other references to, 245, 253, 263, 297, 279, 319, 371 f.

Lesbians, the, 377

Lesbos, 377

Leucas, 465, 501

Lex Felchita, the, 289

Libo, L. Scribonius (cos. 34), 251, 419

Liburni, the, 411 f.

Libya, 265 and n. See Africa

Lilybaeum, 257

Lipara, 343

Liparaesans, the, 325

Livina Drusilla, 251, 291, 313 f., 333, 419

Longinus, C. Cassius, governor of Syria, 81, 113, 139, 157 f., 167 f., 173-83, 189; at Philippi, 189-218, 219; other references to, 61, 69, 105 f., 250, 263, 269 f., 281, 407

Lucerne Lake, the, 329 f.

Lucullus, L. Lucullus, 173, 497

Lud Apollinares, the, 153, 157, 259, 269

Lud Romanu, the, 333

Lugdunum, 103

Lupercalla, the, 9, 35 f.

Lurium, M., 283

Lycaonia, 407

Lycian, the, 183 f., 191

Lysanias, tetrarch of Abilene, 407


Maceca, C., 375

Malchus, Arabian king, 307, 407

Mamertine prison, the, 50 n.

Marcellus, M., nephew of Augustus, 301

Maris, C., 143, 227

Marsus, C. Epiphis (tr. 44), 101

Matureania, 339, 431

Maximus, a slave, 291

Medes, the, 377, 393, 399

Media, 377, 433

Meenas, freedman of Sex. Pompey, 281 f., 301, 317 f., 321-25, 337, 341, 419

Menocrates, freedman of Sex. Pompey, 319 f.

Messalla, M. Valerius (cos. 31), 139, 167, 373, 419, 455

Messana, 253 f., 343, 349, 353, 361 f., 375

Messius, L., 455

Methone, 459

Metulum, capital of the Lapydes, 413

Midea, city in Phrygia, 379

Miletus, 131

Milo, T. Annius, 5, 39

Minerva, 199, 203; statue of, 65

Misenum, 295, 327

Mithridates, the Pergamene, 171

Moesia, 415

Monaes, Parthian leader, 389 f.

Mother of the Gods, the, statue of, 65, 311 f.

Mueta, mother of Sex. Pompey, 251

Murcius, L. Stalus, 173 f., 179, 185, 189 f., 218, 299

Mutina, 65, 69, 73, 77, 397, 493, 497

Mylace, 258, 343, 351, 355

Mylasa, 275

Myndus, 185

Myra, 189

Nasalis, Q., 405

Neapolis, 159, 325

Neptune, 257, 325; statue of, 283

Nero, T., Claudius, 251, 313 f.

Nero, T., Claudius, the emperor Tiberius, son of preceding, 251, 315, 417

Nero, Claudius Drusus, brother of preceding, 315

Nerva, M. Cocceius, brother of preceding, 339, 391

Nicomedia, 379

Nicopolis, in Cappadocia, 421

Nicopolis in Epirus, 461 f.

Norbanus, C. See Flaccus

Noricum, 415

Numantia, the, 437

Numidia, 221, 261 f.

Numidian cavalry, 267

Nursia, 245 f.
INDEX

Octavia, sister of Octavianus, 131, 285, 337, 409, 419, 441, 491; portico and library named for her, 451
Octavianus, 97, 157, 249, 425. See Caesar
Octavius, M. (tr. 133), 101
Octavius, M., legatus of Dolabella, 179
Oppius, M. (aedile 37), 335
Orodes I., king of Parthia, 269 f., 389
Ostria, 445, 489

Pacorus, son of Orodes, 269–73, 307, 381–85, 407
Paenees, the, 415 f.
Palatine, the, 65, 373
Palestine, 177, 273, 307, 407
Palmyra, Cape, 341
Panaphylla, 407
Panchaeum, Mount, 189, 201
Pannonia, 410; Upper, 415
Pannonians, the, 413–19, 487, 497
Pansa, C. Vibius (cos. 43), 65, 71, 75–79
Paphlagonia, 465
Parthia, 391
Parthians, the, 173, 269, 275 f., 293, 301–07, 319, 335 f., 377–85, 399, 405, 409, 421, 431–35
Parthicus, title taken by Labienus, 275
Parthi, the, Illyrian tribe, 207
Pataren, 197
Patacs, 453, 465
Paulus, L. Aemilius (cos. 50), 127, 131
Paulus, Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 34), 427
Paulus, portico of (basilica Aemilia), 427
Paxos, 461
Pedus, Q. (cos. 43), 93, 107, 147
Peloponnesus, the, 453, 459
Perecus, 487
Pertusa, 247 f., 455
Pharnabazus, king of the Iberians, 391
Pharnaces II., king of Pontus, 169
Pharsalus, battle of, 159
Philadelphus, king of Paphlagonia, 465
Philadelphus. See Ptolemy

Philip V., of Macedon, 487
Philippus, 189, 193; battle of, 203–17, 235, 269, 281, 475
Philopoemen, a freedman, 129 f.
Philomelos, L., 139
Phoenix, 271, 407
Phraates IV., king of Parthia, 389–93, 397, 409, 423
Phranapates, lieutenant of Pacorus, 307
Phrygia, 379
Pindar, freedman of Cassius, 213
Placentia, 239
Plancus, L. Munatius (cos. 42), 59, 103, 107 f., 147, 269, 275, 441
Plancus, T. Munatius, brother of preceding, 27
Plautianus, 93
Polemon, king of Pontus, 293, 499, 431 f.
Polla, mother of M. Messalla, 167
Pollio, C. Asinius, 249, 307
Pompeius, 171
Pompeius, Sex. (cos. 33), 379, 407
Pompey (the Great), 5, 19–23, 39, 115, 169, 257 f., 387 n., 421, 497
Pontus, 393
Porcia, wife of Brutus, 217
Porsonna, 37
Postumius, Q., 465
Praetapors, 393–99, 493
Praeneste, 239
Ptolemy, called also Caesarion, 181 f., 429, 437, 443
Ptolemy Philadelphus, 407, 425
Publicola, L. Gellius (cos. 36), 165, 339, 381
Puteoli, 327 f.
INDEX

Smyrna, 177
Solus, C. (cos. 32), 387 f., 425, 430 f., 467
Sospes, shrine of, 457
Spain, 111, 221, 229, 253, 279, 306, 315, 447
Sphærus, attendant of Octavius in his boyhood, 289
Statianus, Oppius, 393 f., 431
Strabo, Pompeius, 385
Stratonice, in Caria, 275
Sulla, 67, 121 f., 127, 139, 143, 407
Symbolon, place near Philippa, 189 f.
Syracuse, 255
Syria, 81, 159, 169 f., 175 f., 181 f., 271 f., 277, 303, 307, 335 f., 381 f., 387 f., 425
Syrians, the, 383

Tanusia, wife of T. Vinius, 129 f.
Tarcondimitus, king of Cilicia, 169, 467
Tarpeian Rock, the, 203 n.
Tarsianus, the, 169, 181
Tarsus, 169, 177, 181
Taurisci, the, 411 f., 497
Tauromenium, 349
Taurus, the, 181, 303
Taurus, Statilius, 371, 421, 465
Tellus, precinct of, 55
Testudo, Roman military formation, 401 f.
Thasos, 139, 213
Thessalian, a, dream of before Philippa, 201 f.; cf. 211
Thessaly, 25
Thrace, 175, 449, 467
Thucydides, imitated by Dio, 349 n., 359 n.
Tiber, the, 109, 289, 311, 429
Tiberius, emperor, 417. See Nero, T. Claudius
Tingis, in Mauretania, 315
Titius, M., 283
Titius, M., son of preceding, 383, 377 f., 441, 465
Titius, P. (tr. 43), 99
Trebellinus, L. (tr. 47), 27
Trebonius, C., 159, 169, 175-79
Triumviri, the, 181 f., 221, 285, 291. See also under the separate names, Caesar, Antony, and Lepidus
“Troy,” game of, 259, 429
INDEX

Tucca, town in Numidia, 261
Tullianum, the, 39 n.
Tullius, L. Volcachus (cos. 33), 431
Tyndaris, town in Sicily, 253, 355
Tyrrheian Sea, the, 329

Ulysses, 329
Umbria, 245
Utica, 373

Varro, M. Terentius, the antiquarian, 137 and n.
Varro, M. Terentius (tr. 43), 137 f.
Vatia, P. Servillius (Isauricus) (cos. 41), 225, 243
Vatinius, P., 161
Ventidius, P., 147, 239, 303-07
Venus, statue of, 153
Venus Genetrix, 427
Verres, 13
Vestals, the, 155, 243, 259 f., 207, 319
Victory, statue of, 451
Vibius. See Pansa
Vienna, in Gaul, 103
Vinicius, T., 129 f.
Virtus, statue of, 311
Vulcan, temple of, 249
Vulturnum, 319

Xanthiana, the, 185 f.
Xanthus, 185
Zama, 267
Zeugma, in Syria, 381
Zober, king of Asiatic Albanians, 391
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