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CONTENTS

BOOK I

BOOK II

BOOK III

BOOK IV

BOOK V

INDEX

PAGE

2

78

102

280

376

485
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK LI

Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ πεπτῆκοστῷ πρῶτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαῖοιν

α. Ὄτι Καίσαρ νικήσας περὶ Ἀκτιόν τὰ παρόντα διέθετο.
β. Περὶ Ἀρταγιάνου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ ἄν ἐπραξαὶ μετὰ τὴν ἡμέραν.
γ. Ὅτι Αρτάγιάνος ἢπείθηκε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἕαυτόν ἀπέκτεινεν.
δ. Ὅτι Καίσαρ Ἀδριανὸν ἔχειρώσατο.
ε. Ὅτι Καίσαρ ἐς Ῥόμην ἦλθε καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἤργαζεν.
ζ. Ὅτι τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰούλιον καθιερώθη.
η. Ὅτι Μυσία ἠλώ.

Χρόνων πλήθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Καίσαρος τὸ γ' καὶ Μ. Οὐαλερίου Κοροφίνου Μεσσάλου ὑπατεῖας καὶ ἄλλα ἅτη δύο ὡς οἱ ἀρχεύτες αἱ ἀριθμούμεναι οἴεν ἐγένετο

Καίσαρ τὸ δ' Μ. Διδύμου Μ. νῦν Ἀράσσος 1 ἐπ.
Καίσαρ τὸ ε' Σέστος Ἀπολλέιος 2 Σέστος νῦν.

Τοιαύτη τις ἡ ναυμαχία αὐτῶν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τοῦ Ἐπτεμβρίου ἐγένετο. τούτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως εἴπον (οὔτε γὰρ εἴωθα αὐτὸ ποιεῖν) ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ πρῶτον ο Καίσαρ τὸ κράτος πᾶν μόνος ἔσχεν, 2 ὡστε καὶ τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν τῆς μοναρχίας

1 Ἀράσσος supplied by H. Steph.
2 Ἀπολλέιος Cary, Ἀπολλέιος Μ., Ἀτονίλος Β.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK LI

The following is contained in the Fifty-first of Dio's Rome:

How Caesar after his victory at Actium settled matters of immediate concern (chaps. 1-4).

Concerning Antony and Cleopatra and their movements after their defeat (chaps. 5-8).

How Antony, defeated in Egypt, killed himself (chaps. 9-10).

How Caesar subdued Egypt (chaps. 15-18).

How Caesar came to Rome and celebrated his triumph (chap. 21).

How the Curia Iulia was dedicated (chap. 22).

How Moesia was conquered (chaps. 23-27).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Caesar (III) and M. Valerius Corvinus Messalla, together with two additional years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

B.C.
39 Caesar (IV), M. Licinius M. F. Crassus.
29 Caesar (V), Sextus Apuleius Sexti F.

Such was the naval battle in which they engaged on the second of September. I do not mention this date without a particular reason, nor am I, in fact, accustomed to do so; but Caesar now for the first time held all the power alone, and consequently

3 tr. supplied by Bs.
καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῆς τῷ 'Απόλλωνι τῷ 'Ακτίῳ τριήρῃ τε καὶ τετρήρῃ, τά τε ἄλλα τά ἔξης μέχρι δεκή-ρους, ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀνέβηκε, καὶ ναὸν μείζων φικοδόμησεν, ἀγώνα τέ τινα καὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικῆς ἱπποδρομίας τε πεντετερικῶν ἱερῶν (οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τὴν σίτησιν ἔχοντας ὅνομάξουσι) κατέδειξεν, "Ἀκτία αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας.

3 πόλιν τέ τινα ἐν τῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τόπῳ, τοὺς μὲν συναγείρας τοὺς δ' ἀναστήσας τῶν πλησιο-χώρων, συνόκισε. Νικόπολιν ὄνομα αὐτῇ δοῦσ. τὸ τε χωρίον ἐν θ' ἐσκήνησε, λίθως τε τετραπέδους ἐκρητίδωσε καὶ τοῖς ἀλώσιν ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμη-σεν, ἐδος τί ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον ἱδρυσάμενος.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ μέρος μὲν τοῖ τῶν νεῶν ἐς δίωξιν τοῦ τε 'Αντωνίου καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐστείλε· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεδίωξαν μὲν αὐτοὺς, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐν καταλήψει ἐφαίνοντο, ἀνεχόρησαν ταῖς δὲ λουπαῖς τοῦ τάφρευμα αὐτῶν, μηδενός ἐναντιουμένου δι' ὀλιγότητα, ἐλαβε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν στρατὸν ἐς Μακε-δονίαν ἀπίοντα καταλαβὼν ἀμαχεῖ παρεστήσατο.

5 ἡδὲ δὲ καὶ διέφυγον ἄλλοι τε καὶ τῶν πρώτων οἱ μὲν Ἦρωι πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, οἱ δ' ἐτεροὶ οἱ συμμαχήσαντες αὐτῷ οἰκαδὲ. οὐ μέντοι γε καὶ ἀντεπολέμησαν οὕτως οὐκ ἔτι τῷ Καίσαρι,

1 μὲν Bk., ἐν VM.
2 ἐν καταλήψει R. Steph., ἐγκαταλήψει VM.
the years of his reign are properly reckoned from that day. In honour of the day he dedicated to Apollo of Actium from the total number of the captured vessels a trireme, a quadrireme, and the other ships in order up to one of ten banks of oars; and he built a larger temple. He also instituted a quadrennial musical and gymnastic contest, including horse-racing,—a "sacred" festival, as they call those in connexion with which there is a distribution of food,—and entitled it Actia. Furthermore, he founded a city on the site of his camp by gathering together some of the neighbouring peoples and dispossessing others, and he named it Nicopolis. On the spot where he had had his tent, he laid a foundation of square stones, adorned it with the captured beaks, and erected on it, open to the sky, a shrine of Apollo.

But these things were done later. At the time he sent a part of the fleet in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra; these ships, accordingly, followed after the fugitives, but when it became clear that they were not going to overtake them, they returned. With his remaining vessels he captured the enemy's entrenchments, meeting with no opposition because of their small numbers, and then overtook and without a battle won over the rest of the army, which was retreating into Macedonia. There were various important contingents that had already escaped; of these the Romans fled to Antony and the allies to their homes. The latter, however, no longer fought

1 Dio is very careful to date each emperor's reign precisely. Cf. Preface to vol. i. p. xiii.
2 i.e. "City of Victory." The same name had been given by Pompey to a town founded after his defeat of Mithridates. See xxxvi. 50.
ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἄσυχίαν καὶ ἐκείνου καὶ οἱ δῆμοι πάντες, ὥσιν καὶ πρότερον ἐρωμαῖζον, οἱ μὲν ἐνδιαφέροντες οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἄριστον ὁμολογήσαν. καὶ ὅσοι τάς μὲν πόλεις χρημάτων τε ἐσπράξει καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἐστιν πολίταις σφόν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐξουσίαις παραρέσει μετῆλθε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ δυνάστασιν τοὺς τε βασιλέας τὰ μὲν χωρία, δοσα παρὰ τὸν Ἀντωνίου εἰλήφεσαν, πάντας πλὴρ τοῦ τε Ἀμίν-2 τοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου ἀφειλέτο, Φιλοσάτορα δὲ τὸν Ταρκουνδιμότον καὶ Δυκαμόνδην ἐν μέρει τοῦ Καπναδοκικοῦ Πόντου βασιλεύοντα τοῖς τοῖς Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦ τοῦ Ἰαμβλίχου ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῶν δυναστειῶν ἐπαυσά τούτου, ὅτι μισθῶν αὐτὴν τῆς ἐκείνου καθηγορίας εἰλήφει, καὶ ἐς τὰ 3 ἐπινίκια παραγαγόν ἀπέκτεινε. τὴν δὲ τοῦ Δυκαρίμιδου Μηδείας τινὶ ἔδωκεν, ὅτι τοὺς τε Μυσοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἁσίᾳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀπέστησε, καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐν τῇ μερίδι αὐτοῦ ὑσίαν ἐπολέμησε. Κυδωνιάτας τοὺς καὶ Δαμπαίους ἑλευθέρους ἀφίκεν, ὅτι τινὰ αὐτῷ συνήραντο, καὶ τοῖς γε Δαμπαίοις καὶ τὴν πόλιν 4 ἀνεστῶσαν συγκατώκισα. τῶν τε βούλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπειρῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν κορυφαίων τῶν συμπραξάντων τι τὸ Ἀντωνίων πολλῶν μὲν χρήματιν ἐξήμωσε, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἐφόνευσε, καὶ τινῶν καὶ ἐφείσατο. καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις ὅ τε Ἰόσσος ἐπιφανῆς ἐγένετο (πολλάκις τε γὰρ ἀντιπολεμήσας αὐτῷ καὶ ἄρτε φυγὼν καὶ κατακρυφθεῖς, χρόνῳ τε ὑστερον εὑρεθεῖς, ὅμως ἐσόδῃ) 5 καὶ Μάρκος τις Σκαύρος ἀδελφὸς τε γὰρ τοῦ Σέξτου ὄμομήτριος ὄν καὶ θανάτωθαι κελευθεῖς 1 τοὺς supplied by St. 2 Κυδωνιάτας Bk., κυδωνιάτας VM.
against Caesar, but both they and all the peoples which had long been subject to Rome remained quiet and made terms, some at once and others later. Caesar now punished the cities by levying money and taking away the remnant of authority over their citizens that their assemblies still possessed. He deprived all the princes and kings except Amyntas and Archelaus of the lands which they had received from Antony, and he also deposed from their thrones Philopator, the son of Tarcondimotus, Lycomedes, the king of a part of Cappadocian Pontus, and Alexander, the brother of Iamblichus. The last-named, because he had secured his realm as a reward for accusing Caesar, he led in his triumphal procession and afterwards put to death. He gave the kingdom of Lycomedes to one Medeius, because the latter had detached the Mysians in Asia from Antony before the naval battle and with them had waged war upon those who were on Antony’s side. He gave the people of Cydonia and Lampe their liberty, because they had rendered him some assistance; and in the case of the Lampaeans he helped them to found anew their city, which had been destroyed. As for the senators and knights and the other leaders who had aided Antony in any way, he imposed fines upon many of them, slew many others, and some he actually spared. In this last class Sosius was a conspicuous example; for though he had often fought against Caesar and was now hiding in exile and was not found until later, nevertheless he was saved. Likewise one Marcus Scæurus, a half-brother of Sextus on his mother’s side, had been condemned to death,

1 Cf. note on xlix. 36.
2 Usually called Lappa.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

εἶτα διὰ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Μουκίαν ἀφείθη. τῶν δὲ κολασθέντων Ἀκύλιοι τε Φλῶροι καὶ Κουρίων ὄνομα μάλιστ' ἐσχοῦν, οὔτος μὲν ὅτι τοῦ Κουρίωνος ἐκείνου τοῦ ποτὲ τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ πολλά
6 συναραμένου νῦς ἦν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Φλῶροι ὅτι τῶν ἐτερον τὸν λαχῶντα κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ σφαγῆναι ἀμφότεροι διεφθάρησαν. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ πατὴρ τε καὶ παῖς ὡς δ' οὕτως πρὶν λαχεῖν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ τῷ σφαγεί ἐκὼν παρέδωκε, περιῆλθεν τε ἐκεῖνος καὶ αὐτοχείρια αὐτῷ ἐπαπέθανεν.

3 Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀπῆλλαξαν, ὁ δ' ὀμίλος τῶν Ἀυτωπείων στρατιωτῶν εἰς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδα κατετάχθη, καὶ ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν πολίτας τοὺς ἐξω τῆς ἡλικίας ἀπ' ἀμφότερων, μηδὲν μηδεὶς δοὺς, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπέπεμψε.

2 τοὺς δὲ δὴ λοιποὺς διέσπειρεν ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ φοβερὸι οἱ μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐγένοντο, ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς θορυβῆσωσί, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐσπευσε, πρὶν καὶ ὅτιόν ὑποκινηθῆναι, τοὺς μὲν παντελῶς ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀπελάσαι, τῶν δὲ τὸ

3 πλῆθος διασπάσαι. τοὺς τε ἐξελευθέρους δὲ ὑποψίας ἐτι καὶ τὸτε ἐχὼν τὴν τετάρτην αὐτοῖς ἐσφορὰν ἀφῆκεν, ἥν εκ τῶν προσταθέντων σφίσι χρημάτων ἐπώφειλον. καὶ οὕτωὶ μὲν οὖν ὅτι ἐστέρητο τινων ἐμνησικάκουν ἐτι, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ

4 λαβόντες ὅσα μὴ συνεσθήνεγκαν ἔχαριον οἱ τε ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ἐτι1 καὶ τότε ὄντες, τὸ μὲν τε πρὸς τῶν στρατιαρχῶν κατεχόμενοι, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστου

1 ἐτι Lesson., ἐτεὶ VM.
but was later released for the sake of his mother Mucia. Of those who were punished, the Aquilii Flori and Curio were most talked about, the latter because he was a son of that Curio who had once been of great assistance to the former Caesar, and the Flori because, when Octavius commanded that the one of them who should draw the lot should be slain, they both perished. They were father and son, and when the son, without waiting for the lot, voluntarily offered himself to the executioner, the father was exceedingly distressed and died upon his son’s body by his own hand.

These men, then, fared in the manner described. The mass of Antony’s soldiers was incorporated in Caesar’s legions, and he later sent back to Italy the citizens of both forces who were over the military age, without giving them anything, and scattered the rest. For they had caused him to fear them in Sicily after his victory there, and he was afraid they might create a disturbance again; hence he made haste, before they gave the least sign of an uprising, to discharge some entirely from the service and to scatter the majority of the others. As he was still at this time suspicious of the freedmen, he remitted to them the fourth payment which they still owed of the money levied upon them. So they no longer bore him any grudge because of what had been taken from them, but rejoiced as if they had actually received the amount they had been relieved from contributing. The men still left in the rank and file also made no trouble, partly because they were held in check by their commanders, but chiefly because of their hopes

1 i.e. one-quarter of the tax of 12½ per cent. levied upon them a little earlier. See i. 10. 4.
τῇ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου πλούτου ἐπίδι, οὐδὲν ἐνεόχωμαν. οἱ δὲ δὴ συνυκῆςαιτες αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς στρατεύσας ἀρεάντες ἔσχαλλον ἀτε μηδὲν γέρας εὐρόμενοι, καὶ στασιάζειν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἡρξαντο. 5 καίτοι Ῡ Καίσαρ ὑποτοπῆσας τε αὐτοὺς, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ τοῦ Μαικήνου, ὥ καὶ τότε ἦ τε Ῥώμη καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ Ιταλία προσετέκτο, καταφρονή-σωσιν ὅτι ἰππεὺς ἦν, τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ως καὶ κατ’ ἄλλο τι ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔπεμψε. καὶ τοσαῦτην γ’ ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ τῷ Μαικήνα ἐξουσίαν ἑδωκεν ὡστε σφᾶς καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολὰς, ἃς τῇ τε Βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγραφε, πραναγωγώνωσκεν, κἀκε τούτω καὶ μεταγράφειν ὅσα ἐβουλὼντο. 6 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δακτύλιον ἐλαβον παρ’ αὐτῶν, ἦν ἐπισφραγίζεσθαι αὐτὰς ἔχοσι. διπλῆ γὰρ δὴ σφραγίδα, ἡ μάλιστα τότε ἐχρῆτο, ἐπεποίητο, σφίγγα ἐν ἐκατέρα ὁμοίαν ἐκτυπώσας. ὥστερον γὰρ τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἐγγυλίφας ἐκεῖνη τὰ 7 πάντα ἐσημαίνετο. καὶ αὐτῆ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορες, πλὴν Γάλβου, ἐχρῆσαιτο. οὕτως γὰρ προγονικὸ των σφραγίζωντα, κἂν ἐκ πρώταις νεως προκύπτοντα ἔχοντε, ἐνόμισεν. ἐπεστελλε δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πάντων φίλοις, ὅπως τι δέοιτο δι’ ἀπορρήτων σφῶν δηλώσαι, τὸ δεύτερον ἀεὶ στοιχεῖον τοῦ τῷ ῥήματι προσηκοντος ἀντ’ ἐκείνου ἀντεγγράφον. 4 Καὶ ὃ μὲν, ὡς οὔδενος ἐτὶ δεινοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἑστρατευμένων ἐσομένου, τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίῳ διώκησε καὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ μυστηρίου μετέλαβεν, ἐς τε τὴν Ἰσιάν κομίσατες καὶ ἐκεῖνα προσκαθι-
of gaining the wealth of Egypt. The men, however, who had helped Caesar to gain his victory and had been dismissed from the service were irritated at having obtained no reward, and not much later they began to mutiny. But Caesar was suspicious of them and, since he feared that Maecenas, to whom on this occasion also Rome and the rest of Italy had been entrusted, would be despised by them inasmuch as he was only a knight, he sent Agrippa to Italy, ostensibly on some other mission. He also gave to Agrippa and to Maecenas so great authority in all matters that they might even read beforehand the letters which he wrote to the senate and to others and then change whatever they wished in them. To this end they also received from him a ring, so that they might be able to seal the letters again. For he had caused to be made in duplicate the seal which he used most at that time, the design being a sphinx, the same on each copy; since it was not till later that he had his own likeness engraved upon his seal and sealed everything with that. It was this latter that the emperors who succeeded him employed, except Galba, who adopted a seal which his ancestors had used, its device being a dog looking out of a ship's prow. It was the custom of Caesar in writing to these two ministers and to his other intimate friends, whenever there was need of giving them secret information, to substitute in each case for the appropriate letter in a word the letter next in order after it.

Now Caesar, believing there would be no further danger from the veterans, administered affairs in Greece and took part in the Mysteries of the two goddesses. He then went over into Asia and

1 Demeter and Kore.
2 στατο, τά τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀμα ἐκαραδόκειν οὗ γάρ πιν σαφές τι ὁπη διεπεφεύγει ἐπέτυστο, καὶ παρεσκενάξετο ὡς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὤμησον, ἃν τι ἀκριβώς ἔλεγον τῶν ἠργορῶν ἀτε καὶ πολὺ ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπαρτόντος αὐτοῦ, ἔφοβηθη μὴ τι κακὸν προστάτου τινὸς.

3 λαβόμενοι δράσωσι, καὶ διὰ τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μὲν ἄλλοις ἀναζητήσας προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔστε τῆν Ἰταλίαν ἥπειρθη μεσούντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν ὕ το τέταρτον μετὰ 1 Μάρκου Κράσσου ἧρχεν οὗ τοῦ ἀγαρ, καὶ πέρα τά τοῦ Σέξτου καὶ τα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πράξας, τότε μηδὲ στρατηγήσας συνυπάτευσεν αὐτός. ἔλθων δὲ ἔστε τὸ Βρεντέσιον οὐκέτι

4 περαιτέρω προσχώρησεν. ἔπει γάρ ἡ τε γερουσία πυθομένη τάν προσπόλυν αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἐκείσε, πλὴν τῶν τε δημάρχων καὶ στρατηγῶν δύο κατὰ δόγμα καταμεινάντων, ἀπήρτησε, καὶ ἡ ἱππάς τοῦ τε δήμου τὸ πλεῖον καὶ ἐπερεί, οἱ μὲν κατὰ πρεσβείας οἱ δὲ ἐθελονταί, πολλοὶ συνήλθον,

5 οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς πρὸς τε τὴν ἀφίξειν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν πλειόνων σπουδὴν ἑνεοχμώσθη, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ μὲν φόβῳ, οἱ δὲ ἐλπίς, οἱ δὲ καὶ μετάπεμπτοι, πρὸς 2 τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀφίκοντο καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καίσαρ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις χρήματα ἐδωκε, τοῖς δὲ διὰ παντὸς αὐτὸ συντρατεύσας 3 καὶ γῆν προσκατένειμε. τοὺς γὰρ δήμους τοὺς

1 μετὰ Μ, μετὰ τοῦ V. 2 πρὸς M, ἐς V.
3 προσκατένειμε M, προσκατέμειν V.
settled matters there also, keeping watch meanwhile upon Antony's movements; for he had not yet learned anything definite regarding the refuge to which the other had fled, and so he was making preparations to proceed against him in case he should receive any precise information. But meanwhile the veterans made an open demonstration now that he was gone so far away from them, and he began to fear that if they found a leader they would cause some mischief. Consequently he assigned to others the task of seeking Antony, and hurried to Italy himself, in the middle of the winter of the year in which he was holding office for the fourth time, along with Marcus Crassus. For Crassus, in spite of having sided with Sextus and with Antony, was then his fellow-consul even though he had not held the praetorship. Caesar, then, came to Brundisium, but proceeded no farther. For when the senate ascertained that his ship was nearing Italy, its members went there to meet him, all except the tribunes and two praetors, who remained in Rome in pursuance of a decree; and the equestrian order as well as the greater part of the populace and still others, some as envoys and some of their own accord, came together there in large numbers, with the result that there was no further act of rebellion on the part of any one in view of his arrival and of the enthusiasm of the majority. For the veterans, too, had come to Brundisium, some of them induced by fear, some by hopes, and still others in response to a summons; and Caesar gave money to some of them, while to those who had served with him throughout his campaigns he also made an additional assignment of land. For by turning out of their homes the
ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τοὺς τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου φρονήσαντας ἐξοικέσας τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις τὰς τε πόλεις καὶ τὰ χώρα ἀυτῶν ἐχαρίσατο, ἐκείνων δὲ δὴ τοῖς μὲν πλείοσι τὸ τε Δυρράχιον καὶ τοὺς Φίλιππους ἀλλὰ τε ἐποικεῖν ἀντέδωκε, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἀργύριον ἀντὶ τῆς χώρας τὸ μὲν ἐνειμὲ τὸ

7 δ’ ὑπέσχετο. συχνὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς νίκης ἐκτῆσατο, πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλεῖον ἀνήλισκε. καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ προέγραψεν ἐν τῷ πρατηρίῳ τὰ τέ έαυτοῦ κτήματα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑταίρων, ἵνα ἂν τε πρίασθαι τε αὐτῶν ἄν τε καὶ ἀντιλαβεῖν τις

8 ἐθελήσῃ, τούτῳ ποιήσῃ. καὶ ἐπράθη μὲν οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ ἀντεδόθη οὐδὲν τις γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἔτολμησεν ὅποτερονοῦν αὐτῶν πράξαι; τῆς δὲ ἐπαγγελίας ἀναβολὴν ἐκ τούτου εὐπρεπὴ λαβὼν ὑστερον αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν Διογυπτίων λαφύρων ἀπῆλλαξε.

5 Ταῦτα τε οὖν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐπείγοντα διοικήσας, τοῖς τὲ τινα ἄδεοις λαβόντας καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διαιτάσθαι (οὐ γὰρ ἔζην) δοὺς, καὶ τὸν δήμον τὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὑπολειφθέντα παρέμενος ὅτι μὴ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἦλθεν, ἔσ τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀῤῥειπείται μετὰ τὴν ἀφίξεων ἡμέρα ἀπήρε, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τοῦ τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς ναύς ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑπερενεγκών οὕτω ταχέως ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνεκομίσθη ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ἀντωνίον τὴν τε Κλεοπάτραν ἐκάτερον ἄμα, καὶ ὅτι ἄφωρος μήθη καὶ ὅτι ἐπανήλθε, μαθεῖν. ὡς γὰρ τότε ἐκ τῆς ναιμαχίας ἐφυγον, μέχρι μὲν τῆς Πελοπον-

1 ἐπαγγελίας Xyl., ἐπαγγελίας VM.
communities in Italy which had sided with Antony he was able to grant to his soldiers their cities and their farms. To most of those who were dispossessed he made compensation by permitting them to settle in Dyrrachium, Philippi, and elsewhere, while to the remainder he either granted money for their land or else promised to do so; for though he had acquired great sums by his victory, yet he was spending still more by far. For this reason he advertised at auction both his own possessions and those of his companions, in order that any one who desired to purchase any of them, or to take any of them in exchange for something else, might do so. And although nothing was purchased, and nothing taken in exchange, either—for who, pray, would ever have dared follow either course?—yet he secured by this means a plausible excuse for delay in carrying out his promise, and later he discharged the debt out of the spoils of Egypt.

After settling this and the other business that pressed, giving to those who had received a grant of amnesty the right also to live in Italy, not before permitted them, and forgiving the populace which had remained behind in Rome for not having gone to meet him, he set out once more for Greece on the thirtieth day after his arrival. Then, because it was winter, he carried his ships across the isthmus of the Peloponnesus\(^1\) and got back to Asia so quickly that Antony and Cleopatra learned at one and the same time both of his departure and of his return. They, it appears, when they had made their escape from the naval battle at Actium, had gone as far as the

\(^1\) In order to avoid the dangerous passage around Cape Malea.
νήσου ὁμοῦ ἀφίκοντο, ἐνετείθεν δὲ τῶν συνόντων τινῶν, οὓς ὑπόπτευον, ἀποπέμψαντες (πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἀπεχώρησαν) Κλεοπάτρα μὲν ἐς τὴν Αἰγύπτων, μὴ τῇ τῆς συμφορᾶς σφόν

4 προπυθόμενοι νεωτερισσώσιν, ἡπείχθη, καὶ ὅπως γε καὶ τὸν πρόσπλοον ἀσφαλῆ ποιήσηται, τὰς τε πρόφρας ὡς καὶ κεκρατηκυία κατέστησε καὶ οἴδας τινὰς ἐπινικίους ὑπ᾽ αὐλητῶν ἦδεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεί ἐγένετο, πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν πρώτων, ἀτε καὶ ἀεὶ οἱ 1 ἀγαθομένοι καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ

5 αὐτὴς ἐπιρρεμένων, ἐφόνευσε, πολὺς δὲ καὶ πλούτου ἐκ τε τῶν ἐκείνων κτημάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὑσίων καὶ θείων, μηδὲνος μηδὲ τῶν πάνω ἀβατῶν ιερῶν φειδομένη, ἥθελος, δυνάμεις τε ἐξηρτύτητα καὶ συμμαχίας περιεσκόπει, τὸν τε Ἀρμένιον ἀποκτείνασα τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ Μηδώ, ὡς καὶ ἐπικουρήσωτι σφίσι διὰ τούτων

6 ἔπεμψεν. Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἔπλευσε μὲν ἐς τὴν Διβύην πρὸς τε Πινάριον Σκάρπον καὶ πρὸς τὸ στράτευμα τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Αἰγύπτου φυλακῇ ἐνταῦθα προσυνελεγμένοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτο προσδέξαται αὐτῶν ἐφή, 2 καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς προπεμφθέντας ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐσφαξε, τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν οὖν ἦρχεν ἀγανακτησάντας τινὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ διέφθειρεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μηδὲν περάνας ἐκμυσθῆνα·

6 Καὶ τὰ τέ ἄλλα ὡς ἐπὶ ταχεῖ πολέμω παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ τοὺς νιέσις, Κλεοπάτρα μὲν Κασαρίωνα Ἀντώνιος δὲ Ἀντιλλοὺ, ὅν ἐκ τῆς Φοιλούνιας γεννηθέντα οἱ εἰχεὶν, ἐς ἐφήβους ἔσει-

1 οἱ M, om. V.
2 ἐφη supplied by Leunel.
Peloponnesus together; from there, after they had first dismissed a number of their associates whom they suspected,—many, too, withdrew against their wishes,—Cleopatra had hastened to Egypt, for fear that her subjects would begin a revolt if they heard of the disaster before her arrival. And in order to make her approach, too, safe she crowned her prows with garlands as if she had actually won a victory, and had songs of triumph chanted to the accompaniment of flute-players. But as soon as she had reached safety, she slew many of the foremost men, inasmuch as they had always been displeased with her and were now elated over her disaster; and she proceeded to gather vast wealth from their estates and from various other sources both profane and sacred, sparing not even the most holy shrines, and also to fit out her forces and to look about for allies. She put to death the Armenian king and sent his head to the Mede, who might be induced thereby, she thought, to aid them. Antony, for his part, had sailed to Pinarius Scarpus in Africa and to the army under Scarpus' command previously assembled there for the protection of Egypt. But when this general not only refused to receive him but furthermore slew the men sent ahead by Antony, besides executing some of the soldiers under his command who showed displeasure at this act, then Antony, too, proceeded to Alexandria without having accomplished anything.

Now among the other preparations they made for speedy warfare, they enrolled among the youths of military age, Cleopatra her son Caesarion and Antony his son Antyllus, who had been born to him by Fulvia and was then with him. Their purpose was
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

γράφαν, ἵνα οἱ τε Αἰγύπτιοι ὡς καὶ ἄνδρος τινὸς ἤδη βασιλεύοντός σφών προθυμήσωσι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προστάτας ἔκεινος, ἂν γε τι δεινόν σφισι
2 συμβῇ, ἔχοντες καρτερῆσωσί. καὶ τοῖς μὲν μειράκιοις καὶ τούτῳ αἵτινι τοῦ ὀλέθρου ἐγένετο ὁ Καίσαρ, ὡς καὶ ἄνδρον ὄντων καὶ πρόσχημα τι προστασίας ἔχοντων,
ἐφείσατο ἐκεῖνοι δ' οὖν παρεσκευάζοντο μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ναοῖ καὶ πεζῷ πολεμήσεις, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τα ἐθνὰ τὰ ὁμόχωρα τοὺς τε βασιλέας τοὺς φίλους σφίσι προσπαρεκάλουν, ἕτοιμαζοντο δ' οὐδὲν ἦττον ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰρθηίᾳ, ἄν τι κατεπείξης, πλευσόμενοι καὶ τα ἐκεῖ ἄλλως τε καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων ἀποστῆσον, ἢ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν
3 μεταστήσομενοι. καὶ ὅπως γε ἐπὶ πλείστοι
βουλευομενοι ταῦτα διαλαθῶσιν, ἢ καὶ ἐξαπατήσωσί πη τού τοι Καίσαρα ἢ καὶ δολοφονήσωσιν, ἐστειλαν τινὰς ἐκεῖνοι μὲν λόγους ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης τοῖς δὲ δὴ συνούσιν αὐτῷ χρήματα φέροντάς
καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἑ Κλεοπάτρα σκήπτρον τέ τιν
1 χρυσοῦν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν τόν τε δύρρον τοῦν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ, κρύφα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν διδοῦσα ἐπεμψεν. ἵν' ἂν καὶ
2 ἐκεῖνον ἐχθρῆρη, ἀλλ' αὐτῆς γε ἐλεήσῃ. ὸ δὲ τᾶ ἡμέρα ἐλαβεν οἰωνὸν ποιούμενος, ἀπεκρίσατο δὲ τῷ μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ οὐδέν, τῇ δὲ Κλεοπάτρᾳ φανερῶς μὲν ἀλλὰ τε ἀπειλητικὰ καὶ ὅτι, ἂν τῶν τε ὀπλῶν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀποστῇ, βουλεύσεται

1 τι Μ, om. V.
2 αὐτῶν Μ, αὐτῶν V.
to arouse the enthusiasm of the Egyptians, who would feel that they had at last a man for their king, and to cause the rest to continue the struggle with these boys as their leaders, in case anything untoward should happen to the parents. Now as for the lads, this proved one of the causes of their undoing; for Caesar spared neither of them, claiming that they were men and were clothed with a sort of leadership. But to return to Antony and Cleopatra, they were indeed making their preparations with a view to waging war in Egypt both on sea and on land, and to this end they were calling to their aid the neighbouring tribes and the kings who were friendly to them; but they were also making ready, none the less, to sail to Spain if need should arise, and to stir up a revolt there by their vast resources of money and by other means, or even to change the base of their operations to the Red Sea. And in order that while engaged in these plans they might escape observation for the longest possible time or even deceive Caesar in some way or actually slay him by treachery, they despatched emissaries who carried peace proposals to him and bribes of money to his followers. Meanwhile Cleopatra, on her part, unknown to Antony, sent to him a golden sceptre and a golden crown together with the royal throne, signifying that through them she offered him the kingdom as well; for she hoped that even if he did hate Antony, he would yet take pity on her at least. Caesar accepted her gifts as a good omen, but made no answer to Antony; to Cleopatra, however, although he publicly sent threatening messages, including the announcement that, if she would give up her armed forces and renounce her sovereignty,
περὶ αὐτῆς ὅσα χρῆ πράξαι, λάθρα δὲ ὅτι, ἕαν τὸν Ἀραβικὸν κόλπον πρὸς τὸν ἐς τὴν ἑρυθρὰν θάλασσαν πλοῦν ναυπηγηθείσας οἱ Ἀράβιοι, πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Κυντοῦ Διδίου τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἀρχοντος, κατέπρησαν, καὶ τᾶς ἐπικουρίας καὶ οἱ 2 ἰδίμοι καὶ οἱ δυνάσται πάντες ἀπηρήσαντο. καὶ μοι θαυμάσαι ἐπέρχεται ὅτι ἄλλοι μὲν συγχροί, καίπερ πολλὰ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰληφότες, ἐγκατέληπτὸν σφας, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀπλομαχίαις ἐν τοῖς ἀτιμώ­ τατα τρεφόμενοι προθυμία τε ἐς αὐτοὺς πλείστη 3 ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἄνδρείτατα ἱγνώσαντο. οὕτωι γὰρ ἐν Κυζίκῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπινικίους ἀγώνας, οὐς ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἄξειν ἡλπιζον, ἄσκομενοι, τότε ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν γεγονότων ἔσθωντο, ὠρμησαν 4 ἐς τὴν Διγυπτινὸν ὡς καὶ βοηθήσοντες αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τὸν Ἀμώνταν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Ταρκονδιμότον παῖδας ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ, φίλους μὲν σφισιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γενομένους, τότε δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα μεταστάντας, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὸν Διδίου κωλύοντα σφας τῆς διόδου ἐδρασαν. 5 οὐ μέντοι καὶ διαπεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Διγυπτινὸν ἱδυνη­θήσαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδή πανταχόθεν περιεστική­σθησαν, λόγον μὲν οὐδ᾽ ὡς οὐδένα, καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Διδίου συνεῖ ἀσφισιν ὑπεισχυνομένου, προσεδέ-
he would consider what ought to be done in her case, he secretly sent word that, if she would kill Antony, he would grant her pardon and leave her realm inviolate.

While these negotiations were proceeding, the Arabians, instigated by Quintus Didius, the governor of Syria, burned the ships in the Arabian Gulf which had been built for the voyage to the Red Sea,¹ and the peoples and princes without exception refused their assistance to Antony. Indeed, I cannot but marvel that, while a great many others, though they had received numerous gifts from Antony and Cleopatra, now left them in the lurch, yet the men who were being kept for gladiatorial combats, who were among the most despised, showed the utmost zeal in their behalf and fought most bravely. These men, I should explain, were training in Cyzicus for the triumphal games which they were expecting to hold in celebration of Caesar's overthrow, and as soon as they became aware of what had taken place, they set out for Egypt to bear aid to their rulers. Many were their exploits against Amyntas in Galatia and many against the sons of Tarcondimotus in Cilicia, who had been their strongest friends but now in view of the changed circumstances had gone over to the other side; many also were their exploits against Didius, who undertook to prevent their passing through Syria; nevertheless, they were unable to force their way through to Egypt. Yet even when they were surrounded on all sides, not even then would they accept any terms of surrender, though Didius made

¹ The "Red Sea" of the ancients is the Persian Gulf of to-day, their "Arabian Gulf" the modern Red Sea.
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΗΣ ΗΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

είπε, τόν δὲ 'Αντώνιον μεταπέμψαντες ώς καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἀμείνων μετ' αὐτοῦ πολεμήσοντες, ἐπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ἔκεινος μὴν αὐτὸς ἦλθε μὴν ἁγιεῖν τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἐπεμψεν, οὕτω δὴ νομίζαντες αὐτὸν ἀποδώσαντα καὶ ἄκοντες ὁμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τῶν μηδέποτε μονομαχῆσαι, καὶ τὴν γε Δάφνην παρὰ τοῦ Διδών, τὸ τῶν 'Αντιοχέων προάστειον, ἔνοικεν μέχρις ἂν τῷ Καίσαρι ταῦτα δηλωθῇ ἔλαβον.

7 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μέσσαλον ὤστερον ἀπατηθέντες ἐπέμφθησαν ἄλλος ἄλλοσ ὡς καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα καταλέχθησόμενοι, καὶ ἐκ τρόπου δὴ τινὸς ἐπιτηδείου εὐθαράσθησαν 'Αντώνιος δὲ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα ἀκούσαντες τῶν προσβεσίων τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φοβιζέτως ἐπισταλέντα, ἐπεμψαν αὐθεῖς, ἢ μὲν χρήματα αὐτῷ πολλὰ δόσειν ὑποχρεωμένη, ὁ δὲ τῆς τε φιλίας καὶ τῆς συγχείας αὐτῶν ἀναμμηνήσκων, καὶ προσέτει καὶ περὶ τῆς συνονείας τῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀιγυπτίαν ἀπολογούμενον, ὡσεὶ τε συνηράζθησάν ποτε καὶ ὅσα συνενειώσαντο ἀλλήλοις ἐξαιρεθμοῦμενος, καὶ τέλος Πούπλιον Τουρούλλιον βουλεύτην τε ἐντα καὶ σφαγέα τοῦ Καίσαρος γεγονότα τότε τε φιλικῶς οἱ συνόντα ἔξισαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔστω, ἂν γε καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἢ Κλεοπάτρα σωθῇ, κατα-

3 χρῆσεσθαι ἐπηγγείλατο. Καίσαρ δὲ τὸν μὲν Τουρούλλιον ἀπέκτεινε (καὶ ἐτυχε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἐν Κώ τοῦ 'Ασκληπιοῦ ὕλης ξύλα ὡς ναυτικὸν κεκο-

4 φῶς, δύκην τινὰ καὶ τὸ ϑεῖον ὃτι ἐκεί ἐδικαῖωθη, δούναι ἐδοξεῖ, τῷ δ' 'Αντώνιῳ οὔτεν οὔτε τότε ἀπεκρίνατο. Τρίτην τε ὁμοιοθέτησαν ἔστειλε,
them many promises. Instead, they sent for Antony, feeling that they would fight better even in Syria if he were with them; and then, when he neither came himself nor sent them any message, they at last decided that he had perished and reluctantly made terms, on condition that they were never to fight as gladiators. And they received from Didius Daphne, the suburb of Antioch, to dwell in until the matter should be brought to Caesar's attention.

These men were later deceived by Messalla and sent to various places under the pretext that they were to be enlisted in the legions, and were then put out of the way in some convenient manner, Antony and Cleopatra, for their part, upon hearing from the envoys the demands which Caesar made of them, sent to him again. Cleopatra promised to give him large amounts of money, and Antony reminded him of their friendship and kinship, made a defence also of his connexion with the Egyptian woman, and recounted all the amorous adventures and youthful pranks which they had shared together. Finally, he surrendered to him Publius Turullius, who was a senator and one of the assassins of Caesar and was then living with Antony as a friend; and he offered to take his own life, if in that way Cleopatra might be saved. Caesar put Turullius to death (it chanced that this man had cut wood for the fleet from the grove of Aesculapius in Cos, and since he was executed in Cos, he was thought to be making amends to the god as well as to Caesar), but this time also he gave no answer to Antony. So Antony despatched a
καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τῶν Ἀντώνιου μετὰ χρυσίου πολλοῦ αὐτῷ ἐπέμψεν· ὅ δὲ τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἐλαβεν, ἐκείνου δὲ διὰ κενῆς ἀνταπεστείλε, μηδεμίαν ἀπόκρισιν δοὺς. τῇ μέντοι Κλεοπάτρα πολλά, ὡσπερ τὸ πρῶτον, οὔτω καὶ τὸ δεύτερον τὸ τε 
5 τρίτον καὶ ἐπηείλησε καὶ ὑπέσχετο. φοβηθεὶς δ' οὖν καὶ ὡς μὴ πως ἀπογινώστησεν συγγνώμης παρ' αὐτοῦ τεῦξεσθαι διακαρπερήσωσί, καὶ ἦτοι καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς περιγενέωνται, η καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὴν τε Γαλατίαν ἀπάρωσιν, η καὶ τὰ χρήματα, 
6 ἡ παμπληθή ἦκονεν εἶναι, φθείρωσιν (ἡ γὰρ Κλεοπάτρα πάντα τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον, ὅ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ κατεσκέυαζεν, ἱδροίκει, καὶ πάντα, ἄν γέ τινος καὶ ἐλαχίστον διαμάρτη, κατακαύσεις μεθ' ἑαυτῆς ἥπειλεν), Ὀυρσόν εξελεύθερον ἑαυτοῦ ἐπεμψεν ἄλλα τε πολλά καὶ φιλανθρωπα αὐτήν 
7 ἐροῦντα, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἐρῶν αὐτῆς τυγχάνει, εἰ πως ἐκ γε τούτον, οὐα ἄξιοῦσα πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐρᾶσθαι, τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον ἀναχρῆσαιτο καὶ ἑαυτήν τὰ τε χρήματα ἀκέραια τηρήσειε. καὶ ἐσχεν οὕτως. 
9 Πρὶν δὲ δὴ Ταύτα γίγνεσθαι, μαθῶν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὅτι Κορνήλιος Γάλλος τὸ τε τοῦ Σκάρπου στράτευμα παρείλησε καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τὸ Παραιτώνιον ἐξαίφνης παρελθὼν κατέσχηκεν, ἐς μὲν τὴν Συρίαν, καὶ τοιού θυληθεὶς κατὰ τὴν τῶν μομομάχων μετάπεμψιν ὀρμήσας, οὐκ ἐπο- 
2 ρεύθη, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνον ἐχώρησεν ὡς μάλιστα μὲν ἄκοντι τοὺς στρατιώτας προσβησόμενος (ὅσαν γὰρ εὐνοιῶν τίνα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς συστρατείας ἔχοντες), εἰ δὲ μῆ, βία γε χειρωσόμενος ἂτε καὶ

1 δὴ Louncl., ἦδη VM.
third embassy, sending him his son Antyllus with much gold. Caesar accepted the money, but sent the boy back empty-handed, giving him no answer. To Cleopatra, however, as in the first instance, so again on the second and third occasions, he sent many threats and promises alike. Yet he was afraid, even so, that they might perhaps despair of obtaining pardon from him and so hold out, and either prove superior by their own efforts, or set sail for Spain and Gaul, or else might destroy their wealth, which he kept hearing was of vast extent; for Cleopatra had collected it all in her tomb which she was constructing in the royal grounds, and she threatened to burn it all up with her in case she should fail of even the slightest of her demands. So he sent Thrysus, a freedman of his, to say many kind things to her and in particular to tell her that he was in love with her. He hoped that by this means at least, since she thought it her due to be loved by all mankind, she would make away with Antony and keep herself and her money unharmed. And so it proved.

But before this happened, Antony learned that Cornelius Gallus had taken over Scarpus’ army and had suddenly marched with these troops upon Paraetium and occupied it. Hence, although he wished to set out for Syria in response to the summons of the gladiators, he did not go thither, but proceeded against Gallus, in the hope of winning over the troops without a struggle, if possible, inasmuch as they had been with him on campaigns and were fairly well disposed toward him, but otherwise of subduing them by force, since he was leading
δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν καὶ πεζὴν ἐπαγό-
3 μενος. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲν1 διαλεγόμαι τε αὐτῶις
ηδυνήθη, κάπερ πρὸς τε τὸ τείχος προσελθὼν
καὶ γεγονὸν βοήσας: ὁ γὰρ Γάλλος τοὺς σαλ-
πικτάς2 συνηχεῖν κελεύσας οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς ἐσακούσαι
ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπεκδρομῇ αἰβνιδίῳ
ἐπτάσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἑσφαλῆ.
4 ἀλύσεις γάρ τινας υφώδρους νύκτωρ διὰ τοῦ στό-
ματος τοῦ λιμένος ὁ Γάλλος διατείνας οὐδεμίαν
αὐτῶι φανερὰν φυλακὴν ἐποίησατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
πάνιν ἀδεῶς εἰσὶν μετὰ καταφρονήματος ἐσ-
πλέοντάς σφας περιείδειν ἐπεί μέντοι ἐνδον
ἐγένοντο, τὰς τε ἀλύσεις μηχαναῖς ἀνέστασε, καὶ
πανταχῶθεν ἀμα τὰς ναύς αὐτῶι ἐκ τῆς γῆς
καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων τῆς τε θαλάσσης περισσῶν
5 τὰς μὲν κατέπρησε τὰς δὲ κατεπόντωσε. καὶ
τούτω καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον ὁ Καῖσαρ, λόγῳ μὲν
κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν ἔργῳ δὲ προδοθὲν υπὸ τῆς
Κλεοπάτρας, ἐλαβὲν. ἐκεῖνη γὰρ ὡς οὐτε τις
ἐβοηθήσαε σφίς καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα ἀνανταγώνι-
στον ὄντα ἤσθεν, τὸ τε μέγιστον ἀκούσασα τοὺς
diὰ τοῦ Θύρου πεμφθέντας οἱ λόγοις, ἐπίστευσεν
ὄντως ἐρᾶσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι καὶ ἐβούλετο,
ἐπειτὰ δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ τὸν τε
6 Ἀντώνιον ὁμοίως ἐδεδούλωτο. καὶ τούτων οὐκ
ὅτως τῆς τε ἄδειαν καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλυπτίων βα-
σιλείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἐξεῖν
προσεδόκησε, τὸ τε Πηλούσιον εὐθὺς αὐτῶ προῆ-
κατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσελαύνουτι πρὸς τὴν
πόλιν ἐκάλυψε τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρεῖας λάθρα ἐπέζει-

1 oúde Bk., oúde VM.
2 σαλπικτάς M, σαλπιγκτάς V.
against them a large force both of ships and of infantry. Nevertheless, he was unable even to talk with them, although he approached their ramparts and raised a mighty shout; for Gallus ordered his trumpeters to sound their instruments all together and gave no one a chance to hear a word. Moreover, Antony also failed in a sudden assault and later suffered a reverse with his ships as well. Gallus, it seems, caused chains to be stretched at night across the mouth of the harbour under water, and then took no measures openly to guard against his opponents but contemptuously allowed them to sail in with perfect immunity. When they were inside, however, he drew up the chains by means of machines, and encompassing their ships on all sides—from the land, from the houses, and from the sea—he burned some and sank others. In the meantime Caesar took Pelusium, ostensibly by storm, but really because it was betrayed by Cleopatra. For she saw that no one came to their aid and perceived that Caesar was not to be withstood; and, most important of all, she listened to the message sent her through Thyrsus, and believed that she was really beloved, in the first place, because she wished to be, and, in the second place, because she had in the same manner enslaved Caesar’s father and Antony. Consequently she expected to gain not only forgiveness and the sovereignty over the Egyptians, but the empire of the Romans as well. So she yielded Pelusium to him at once; and later, when he marched against the city, she prevented the Alexandrians from making a sortie. She accomplished this secretly, of course,
θείν, ἐπεὶ ὅσον γε ἀπὸ βοῆς καὶ πάνυ σφάς προετρέψατο τούτο ποιήσαι.

10 'Ο δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος έκ τοῦ Παραπτώματος πρὸς τὴν περὶ τοῦ Πελούσιον πῦστιν ἐπανελθὼν προ-
απήνυσε πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τῶν Καίσαρῶν, καὶ αὐτὸν κεκμήκοτα ἐκ τῆς πορείας ὑπολαβῶν τοῖς

2 ἰππεῖσιν ἐνίκησεν. ἀναθαρσήσας τε ἐκ τοῦ τούτου καὶ ὅτι βιβλία ἐσὶ τοῦ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ τοξεύ-
μασιν ἐσέπεμψε πεντακοσίας σφίσι καὶ χιλίας δραχμάς ὑπισχυούμενος, συνεβάλε καὶ τῷ πεζῷ

3 καὶ ἠττήθη ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ αὐτὸς τὰ βιβλία ἐθέλοντες τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνέγυμπτο, τὸν τε Ἀντώ-
νιον διαβάλλων καὶ ἐκεῖνους ὅσε τὴν τῆς προ-
δοσίας αἰσχύνην καὶ ὅσε τὴν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ προδο-
μίαν ἀντικαθιστάς, ὡστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς τῇ

4 τε τῆς περίας ἀγανακτήσει καὶ τῇ τοῦ μὴ ἐθέλο-
κακείν δοξαί ἐνδείξει σπουδάσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπει-

5 δὴ παρὰ δοξαν ἡλάττωθι, πρὸς τε τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπέκλινε, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὅσο καὶ ναυμαχήσων

6 ἦ πάντως γε ἐσὶ τὴν Ἱβηρίαν πλευσούμενον. ἠδούσα

7 δὲ τούθ' ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τὰς τε ναῦς αὐτομολύσαι

8 ἐποίησε, καὶ αὐτῇ ἐσὶ τὸ ἴριον ἔξαφνης ἑσετόνθησε,

9 λόγῳ μὲν ὅσον τὸν Καίσαρα φοβομένη καὶ προ-

10 διαφθείραν τρόπον τινά ἑαυτὴν βουλομένη, ἐργὼ

dὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκείσε εσέλδειν προκαλο-

11 μένην ὑπετόπει μὲν γὰρ προδίδοσθαι, οὐ μὲντι

12 καὶ ἐπίστευεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον

1 ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐκείνην ἡ ἑαυτοῦ ἢ ἴλας. ὀπερ δὸν ἡ

2 Κλεοπάτρα ἅριβώς εἰδυία ἡλπίσειν ὅτε, ἀν πῦ-

3 θηται αὐτὴν τετελευτηκιαῖν, οὐκ ἐπιβιώσεται

4 ἀλλὰ παραχρῆμα ἀποθανεῖται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐς
since, to judge by the outcry she made, she exhorted them vigorously to do so.

At the news concerning Pelusium Antony returned from Paraetonium and went to meet Caesar in front of Alexandria, and attacking him with his cavalry, while the other was wearied from his march, he won the day. Encouraged by this success, and because he had shot arrows into Caesar's camp carrying leaflets which promised the men six thousand sesterces, he joined battle also with his infantry and was defeated. For Caesar of his own accord personally read the leaflets to his soldiers, at the same time reviling Antony and trying to turn them to a feeling of shame for the suggested treachery and of enthusiasm for himself; the result was that they were fired by zeal through this very incident, both by reason of their indignation at the attempt made upon their loyalty and by way of demonstrating that they were not subject to the suspicion of being base traitors. After his unexpected setback, Antony took refuge in his fleet, and was preparing to give battle on the sea or at any rate to sail to Spain. But Cleopatra, upon perceiving this, caused the ships to desert, and she herself rushed suddenly into the mausoleum, pretending that she feared Caesar and desired by some means or other to forestall him by taking her own life, but really as an invitation to Antony to enter there also. He had a suspicion, to be sure, that he was being betrayed, yet in his infatuation he could not believe it, but actually pitied her more, one might say, than himself. Cleopatra, doubtless, was fully aware of this and hoped that if he should be informed that she was dead, he would not wish to survive her, but would die at once. Accordingly
τε τὸ μημεῖον σὺν τε εἰνοῦχῳ τινὶ καὶ σὺν θεραπεύοντες δύο ἔσεδραμε, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀγγελιάν αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ἀπολογίαν ἐπεμψε. καὶ δὲ ἀκούσας τούτο ὦν ἔμελλησεν, ἄλλα ἐπαποθανεῖν αὐτῇ ἐπεθύμησε. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν παρόντων τινὸς ἐδείχθη ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἑαυτὸν κατειργάσατο, ἐξῆλθον τε αὐτὸν ἡθέλησε καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔτρωσεν, καὶ ἔπεσε τε ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ δόξαν τοὺς παρούσιοι ὡς καὶ τεθηκώς

8 παρέσχε. δορύβου τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένου ἰσθετό τε ἡ Κλεοπάτρα καὶ ὑπερέκυψεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μημεῖου· αἰ μὲν γὰρ θύραι αὐτοῦ συγκλείσθείσαι ἀπαξ οὐκετ᾽ ἀνοιχθῆναι ἐκ μηχανῆματος τινὸς ἐδώμαντο, ταῦτα δὲ ἀνω πρὸς τῇ ὀροφῇ οὐδέποτε παντελῶς ἐξείργαστο. ἔντευθεν οὖν ὑπερκύψαν αὐτὴν ἱδώνες τινές ἀνεβόησαν ὅστε καὶ τὸν Ἀμπτῶνον ἐσκούσαν· καὶ δὲ μαθὼν ὅτι περίεστιν ἐξανέστη μὲν ὡς καὶ ἤχοι δυνάμενος, προχυθέντος δὲ αὐτῷ πολλοῦ αἴματος ἀπέγνω τε τὴν σωτηρίαν, καὶ ἴκετευνε τοὺς παρόντας ὅπως πρὸς τοῦ μνήμα αὐτοῦ κομίσωσι καὶ διὰ τῶν σχοινίων τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀνολκὴν τῶν λίθων κρεμαμένων ἀνιμήσωσιν.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς Κλεοπάτρας κόλποις ἐναπέθανεν, ἐκεῖνὴ δὲ ἐθάρρυσεν μὲν πως τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐδήλωσεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ πάνι ἐπίστευε μηδὲν κακὸν πείσεσθαι. κατεῖχεν οὖν ἑαυτὴν ἐνδού, ἵνα εἰ καὶ διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο σωθείς, τῷ γε φόβῳ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῇ ἁδείᾳ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐκπρίτηται.

9 οὕτω ποιεὶ τότε ἐν τηλικαύτῃ συμφορᾷ οὕσα τῆς δυναστείας ἐμέμνητο, καὶ μᾶλλον γε ἐν τῷ
she hastened into the tomb with a eunuch and two maidservants, and from there sent a message to him from which he should infer that she was dead. And he, when he heard it, did not delay, but was seized by a desire to follow her in death. He first asked one of the bystanders to slay him; but when the man drew his sword and slew himself, Antony wished to imitate his courage and so gave himself a wound and fell upon his face, causing the bystanders to believe that he was dead. At this an outcry was raised, and Cleopatra, hearing it, peered out over the top of the tomb. By a certain contrivance its doors, once closed, could not be opened again, but the upper part of it next to the roof was not yet fully completed. Now when some of them saw her peering out at this point, they raised a shout so that even Antony heard. So he, learning that she survived, stood up, as if he had still the power to live; but, as he had lost much blood, he despaired of his life and besought the bystanders to carry him to the monument and to hoist him up by the ropes that were hanging there to lift the stone blocks.

So Antony died there in Cleopatra’s bosom; and she now felt a certain confidence in Caesar, and immediately informed him of what had taken place; still, she was not altogether convinced that she would suffer no harm. She accordingly kept herself within the building, in order that, even if there should be no other motive for her preservation, she might at least purchase pardon and her kingdom through his fear for the money. So thoroughly mindful was she even then, in the midst of her dire misfortune, of her royal rank, and chose rather to
ἀνόματι καὶ ἐν τῷ σχῆματι αὐτῆς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἰδιωτεύσασα ζῆν ἤρειτο. ἀμέλει εἰχὲ μὲν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τοὺς χρήματις, εἰχὲ δὲ καὶ ἀσπίδας ἀλλά τε ἐρπετὰ ἐφ' ἐαυτῇ, προσπεραθεῖσα αὐτῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπωις, ὄντινα τρόπον ἐκαστὸν σφών ἀποκτίνωσιν. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐπεθύμησε μὲν καὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν ἐγκράτης γενέσθαι καὶ ἑκείνην ζῶσαν τε συλλαβεῖν καὶ ἐς τα νικητήρια ἀναγαγεῖν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς πίστιν τινα αὐτῇ δοὺς ἀπατεών δόξαι γεγονόναι ἤθελησεν, ἵνα καὶ αἰχμαλώτω καὶ ἀκουσία τρόπον τινα χειρωθέσῃ χρήστηται. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ ἐπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὴν Γαίον τέ Προκουλέιον ἱππεά καὶ Ἐπαφρόδιτον ἐξελεύθερον, ἐντειλάμενος σφισιν ὅσα καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ πραξῆς ἐχοῖ, καὶ οὕτως ἑκεῖνοι συμμέιναντες τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ μέτριᾳ τινα διαλεξθέντες, ἐπειτ' ἐξαίφνης συνήρπασαν αὐτὴν πρὶν τὸ ὀμολογηθῆναι. κακὸς τούτοι ἐκποδῶν πάντα ἄφι οὖν ἀποθανεῖν ἐδύνατο ποιησάμενοι, ἥμερας μὲν τινὰς κατὰ χώραν αὐτῇ τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου σώμα ταραχουσὶν διατρίβει πλεῖστοι, ἐπειτ' ἐς τὰ βασίλεια αὐτὴν ἤγαγον, μὴ τῆς ἀκολούθιας τι μὴτ τῆς θεραπείας τῆς συνήδους οἱ παραλύσαντες, ὅπως ἑτὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐλπίζει τὸ ὅσα ἐβούλετο καὶ μηδὲν κακῶν ἑαυτῆς δράσις.
6 ἀμέλει καὶ ὁφθήναι καὶ διαλεχθῆναι τι τῷ Καῖσαρι ἐθελήσασα ἐπέτυχε καὶ ἵνα γε ἐπὶ πλείον ἀπατηθῇ, αὐτὸς ἀφίζεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν ὑπεσχετο. Ὅτι οὖν τῷ ἐκπρεπῇ καὶ κλίμαν πολυτελῇ παρασκευάσασα, καὶ προσέτει καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἡμελημένως πως κοσμήσασα (καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πενθίμῳ

1 Προκουλέιον Βη., προκουλέιον VM.
die with the name and dignity of a sovereign than to live in a private station. At all events, she kept at hand fire to consume her wealth, and asps and other reptiles to destroy herself, and she had the latter tried on human beings, to see in what way they killed in each case. Now Caesar was anxious not only to get possession of her treasures but also to seize her alive and to carry her back for his triumph, yet he was unwilling to appear to have tricked her himself after having given her a kind of pledge, since he wished to treat her as a captive and to a certain extent subdued against her will. He therefore sent to her Gaius Proculeius, a knight, and Epaphroditus, a freedman, giving them directions as to what they were to say and do. Following out this plan, they obtained an audience with Cleopatra, and after discussing with her some moderate proposals they suddenly seized her before any agreement was reached. After this they put out of her way everything by means of which she could cause her own death and allowed her to spend some days where she was, occupied in embalming Antony's body; then they took her to the palace, but did not remove any of her accustomed retinue or attendants, in order that she should entertain more hope than ever of accomplishing all she desired, and so should do no harm to herself. At any rate, when she expressed a desire to appear before Caesar and to have an interview with him, she gained her request; and to deceive her still more, he promised that he would come to her himself.

She accordingly prepared a splendid apartment and a costly couch, and moreover arrayed herself with affected negligence,—indeed, her mourning
σχήματι δεινός ἐνέπρεπεν) ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, πολλὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παντοδαπᾶς παραθεμένην, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς παρ’ ἐκείνου οἱ πεμφθείσαι ἐς τὸν κόλπον
2 λαβοῦσα. καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἐσελθόντος τοῦ Καί-
σαρος ἀνεπίθηκε τε ἐρρυθμισμένη, καὶ ἔφη
"χαίρε ὁ δείπνος: σοι μὲν γὰρ τούτῳ θεοὶ ἔδω-
κεν, εμὲ δὲ ἀφεϊλετο. ἀλλ’ ὅρας μὲν ποι καὶ
αὐτὸς τὸν πατέρα σου τοιοῦτον οἶος πολλάκις πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐσήλθεν, ἀκούεις δὲ ὅπως τὰ τὸ ἄλλα
ἐτίμησε με καὶ δὴ καὶ βασιλέα ὑπὸ τῶν Διο ντίων
3 ἐποίησεν. ἵνα δ’ οὖν τι καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου περὶ
ἐμοῦ πόθη, λάβε καὶ ἀνάγνωσθε τὰ γράμματα ᾧ
μοι αὐτοχειρὰ ἐπέστειλε.”

Ταύτα τε ἀμα ἐλεγε, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐρωτικά
αὐτοῦ ρήματα ἀνεγίγνωσκε. καὶ τοτء μὲν ἐκλαε
καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κατεφίλει, τοτὲ δὲ πρὸς τὰς
εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ προσέπιπτε καὶ ἐκείνας προσεκύνει.
4 τὰ τε βλέφαρα ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπενέκλα, καὶ
ἐμμελῶς ἀνωλοφύρετο, θυρυπτικῶν τὲ τὶ προσε-
φθέγγετο, ἀλλοτε μὲν λέγουσα “ποῦ μοι, Καίσαρ,
tαύτα σου τὰ γράμματα;” ἀλλοτε δὲ ὅτι “ἀλλ’
ἐν τούτῳ καὶ σὺ μοι ζήσ,” εἶτα αὖθις “εἰδὲ σου
προετεθνήκεις,” καὶ μάλα αὖθις “ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων
ἐχοῦσα σ᾽ ἐχώ.”

5 Τοιαύτη τινὶ ποικιλλὰ καὶ τῶν ρήματων καὶ τῶν
σχημάτων ἐγχρῆτο, μελιχρὰ ἀττα καὶ 2 προσβλέ-
pou̔s aútō kai λαλοῦσα. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ συνίει
μὲν αὐτῆς καὶ παθαινομένης καὶ πληκτερομένης,

1 ἐρρυθμισμένη is the reading of VM; some editors have
preferred ἄρρυθμισμένη, the reading found in Xiphi-linus’
Epitome. 2 καὶ M, om. V.
garb wonderfully became her,—and seated herself upon the couch; beside her she placed many images of his father, of all kinds, and in her bosom she put all the letters that his father had sent her. When, after this, Caesar entered, she leaped gracefully to her feet and cried: "Hail, master—for Heaven has granted you the mastery and taken it from me." But surely you can see with your own eyes how your father looked when he visited me on many occasions, and you have heard people tell how he honoured me in various ways and made me queen of the Egyptians. That you may, however, learn something about me from him himself, take and read the letters which he wrote me with his own hand."

After she had spoken thus, she proceeded to read many passionate expressions of Caesar's. And now she would lament and kiss the letters, and again she would fall before his images and do them reverence. She kept turning her eyes toward Caesar and bewailing her fate in musical accents. She spoke in melting tones, saying at one time, "Of what avail to me, Caesar, are these thy letters?" and at another, "But in this man here thou also art alive for me"; again, "Would that I had died before thee," and still again, "But if I have him, I have thee."

Such were the subtleties of speech and of attitude which she employed, and sweet were the glances she cast at him and the words she murmured to him. Now Caesar was not insensible to the ardour of her speech and the appeal to his passions, but he pre-

1 Or "blushing," if the variant reading offered by Xiphi-linus be accepted.
2 That is, the power she had exercised over Caesar, in consequence of which he had become her willing subject, was of no avail in the case of Augustus.
οὐ μέντοι καὶ προσπεποιεῖτο, ἀλλὰ ἐστὶν τῆν ἡμῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐρείσας τοῦτο μόνον ἐπεν, "θάρσει, ὃ γνώα, καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν γὰρ κακὸν
πείσῃ." περιαλγήσασα οὖν ἐκείνη ὅτι μήτε προσ-
εἴδεν αὐτὴν μήτε τι ἡ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἢ καὶ ἑρωτικὸν τε ἐφθέγξατο, πρὸς τᾶς γόνατα αὐτοῦ προσέπεσε καὶ ἀνακλαύσασα "ζῆν μὲν" ἔφη, "Καῖσαρ, οὔτε ἐθέλω οὔτε δύναμιν ταύτην δὲ σὲ τήν χάριν ἐς τήν τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμην αὐτῶ, ἵν' ἐπειδὴ μετ' Ἀντωνίῳ μετ' ἐκείνων ὁ δαίμων παρέ-
δωκε, μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποθάνω. εἰπὲ μὲν γὰρ ἀπωλὼλεν εὐθὺς τὸτε μετὰ τῶν Καῖσαρα. ἐπεὶ
dὲ μοι καὶ τοῦτο παθεῖν ἐπέπρωτο, πέμψαν με
πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, μηδὲ μοι τῆς σὺν αὐτῶ ταφῆς
φθονήσῃς, ἵν' ὅσπερ δὲ ἐκείνων ἀποδηνήσκω, οὕτω
καὶ ἐν "Ἁλίδου αὐτῶ συνοικίσω."

13 Καὶ ἡ μὲν τοιαύτα ὡς καὶ ἐλεηθησομένη ἐλεγε, Καῖσαρ δὲ πρὸς μὲν ταύτα οὔδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ ἐαυτὴν διαχρήσηται,1 θαρσεῖν τε
αὐτῇ αὕθις παρεκκλεῦσατο, καὶ οὔτε τὴν θερα-
πείαν αὐτῆς ἀφεῖλετο καὶ ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ αὐτὴν

2 ἐποιεῖτο, ὅπως οἱ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐπελαμπρύνῃ. τοῦτο
τε οὐν ὑποτοπήσασα, καὶ μυρίων θαυμάτων χαλε-
πώτερον αὐτὸ νομίσασα εἶναι, οὕτως τε ἀποθανεῖν
ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ Καῖσαρος, ὅπως
τροπὸν τινὰ ἀπολήται, ἐδείτο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ

3 ἐμμηχανάτο. ἐπεὶ δ' οὔδὲν ἐπέρακεν, μεταγιγνώ-
σκειν τε ἐπλάσαστο ὡς καὶ ἑλπίδα πολλῆς μὲν καὶ
εἰς ἐκείνων πολλῆν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Διονυσίαν ἔχουσα,
καὶ ἐκουσία τε πλευσεῖσθαι ἐλεγε, καὶ κόσμους
tινὰς ἀποθέτους ἐστὶ ὄνωρα ἱτοιμάζετο, εἰ πως πι-

1 διαχρήσηται Ρ. Steph., διαχρήσεται VM.
tended to be; and letting his eyes rest upon the ground, he merely said: "Be of good cheer, woman, and keep a stout heart; for you shall suffer no harm." She was greatly distressed because he would neither look at her nor say anything about the kingdom nor even utter a word of love, and falling at his knees, she said with an outburst of sobbing: "I neither wish to live nor can I live, Caesar. But this favour I beg of you in memory of your father, that, since Heaven gave me to Antony after him, I may also die with Antony. Would that I had perished then, straightway after Caesar! But since it was decreed by fate that I should suffer this affliction also,¹ send me to Antony; grudge me not burial with him, in order that, as it is because of him I die, so I may dwell with him even in Hades."

Such words she uttered, expecting to move him to pity, but Caesar made no answer to them; fearing, however, that she might destroy herself, he exhorted her again to be of good cheer, and not only did not remove any of her attendants but also took special care of her, that she might add brilliance to his triumph. This purpose she suspected, and regarding that fate as worse than a thousand deaths, she conceived a genuine desire to die, and not only addressed many entreaties to Caesar that she might perish in some manner or other, but also devised many plans herself. But when she could accomplish nothing, she feigned a change of heart, pretending to set great hopes in him and also in Livia. She said she would sail of her own free will, and she made ready some treasured articles of adornment to use as gifts,

¹ That is, that she had not been able to die with Caesar.
στιν ἐκ τούτων μὴ τεθηκειν ἔλαβον ἐκτὸς τε
τηρηθεὶν καὶ έαυτὴν ἐξεργάσατο. ὁ καὶ ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ τὲ ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος, ὁ περ ἐπετέρπατο, πιστεύσαντες ταῦτ’ ὡς ἀληθῶς φρο
νεῖν, τῆς ἀκριβοῦς φυλακῆς ἡμέλησαν, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀλυπότατα ἀποθανή. καὶ γραμματεῖον τι, δι’ οὐ ἐδείξη τοῦ Καισάρου ἵνα αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ Ἀυτοκράτορος ταφῆναι κελεύσῃ, αὐτῷ τῷ Ἐπαφρόδιτῳ σεσημασμένον, ὥσπερ προφάσει τῆς ἀποκομμῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐχοντος ἐκπο
δῶν οἱ γέννησαν, δοῦσα ἑργον ἐξεκεί. την τε γὰρ ἐσθήτα τὴν περικαλλεστάτην ἐνυδόσα, καὶ ἐαυτὴν ἐνυπρεπεστήτας εὐθετήσασα, τὸ τε σχῆμα τὸ βασιλικὸν πᾶν ἀναλαβοῦσα, ἀπέθανε.

14 Καὶ τὸ μὲν σαφὲς οὐδὲίς οἶδεν ὁ τρόπος ἀν-
edphiρε' κεντήματα γὰρ λεπτὰ περὶ τοῦ βραχίουν 
αὐτῆς μόνα ευρέθη' λέγουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ὦτι ἀσπίδα 
ἐν ὕδρα  ἡ καὶ ἐν ἀνθείσι τισιν ἐσκομισθείσιν οἱ 
2 προσέθετο, οἱ δὲ ὦτι βελόνην, ἦ τὰς τρίχας ἀν-
εἶρεν, ἢ τινι, δύναμιν τοιαύτην ἔχοντι ὡστε ἄλλως 
mὲν μὴν τὸ σῶμα βλάπτειν, ἀν ὦ αἴματος καὶ 
βραχυτάτου ἄψηται, καὶ τάχιστα καὶ ἀλυπότατα 
αὐτὸ φθείρειν, χρόσασα τέως μὲν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ 
κεφαλῇ ἐφορεὶ ὦσπερ εἰώθει, τότε δὲ προκατανύ̄ 
ξασά τι  ἐν τοῦ βραχίουν ἐς τὸ αἷμα ἐνέβαλεν.

3 οὐτω μὲν, ἢ ὦτι ἐγγύτατα, μετὰ τῶν δύο θερα-
paioun ἀπόλεστο' ὁ γὰρ εἰνοῦχος ἄμα τὸ συλ
ληφθῇναι αὐτὴν τοὺς τε ἐρπετοῖς ἐαυτοῦ ἐθελοντῆς

1 τεθηκειν Dind., τεθηκειν VM.
2 ὁπερ M, ὁπερ V.
3 ὑδρα R. Steph., ὑδραί VM.
4 τι Oddley, τις VM.
in the hope that by these means she might inspire belief that it was not her purpose to die, and so might be less closely guarded and thus be able to destroy herself. And so it came about. For as soon as the others and Epaphroditus, to whose charge she had been committed, had come to believe that she really felt as she pretended to, and neglected to keep a careful watch, she made her preparations to die as painlessly as possible. First she gave a sealed paper, in which she begged Caesar to order that she be buried beside Antony, to Epaphroditus himself to deliver, pretending that it contained some other matter, and then, having by this excuse freed herself of his presence, she set to her task. She put on her most beautiful apparel, arranged her body in most seemly fashion, took in her hands all the emblems of royalty, and so died.

No one knows clearly in what way she perished, for the only marks on her body were slight pricks on the arm. Some say that she applied to herself an asp which had been brought in to her in a water-jar, or perhaps hidden in some flowers. Others declare that she had smeared a pin, with which she was wont to fasten her hair, with some poison possessed of such a property that in ordinary circumstances it would not injure the body at all, but if it came in contact with even a drop of blood would destroy the body very quickly and painlessly; and that previous to this time she had worn it in her hair as usual, but now had made a slight scratch on her arm and had dipped the pin in the blood. In this or in some very similar way she perished, and her two handmaidens with her. As for the eunuch, he had of his own accord delivered himself up to the serpents at the very time
παρέδωκε, καὶ δηχθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ εἰς σορὸν προ-
παρεσκευασμένην οἱ ἑσπερηδήκει. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ
Καῖσαρ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτῆς ἐξεπλάγη, καὶ τὸ τε-
σώμα αὐτῆς εἰδέ, καὶ φάρμακα αὐτῷ καὶ Ψύλ-
λοις, εἰ πως ἀνασφήλειε, προσήνησεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ
Ψύλλοι οὐτοί ἄνδρες μὲν εἰσὶ (γυνὴ γὰρ οὐ γί-
γνεται Ψύλλα), δύνανται δὲ πάντα τε ὅλον παντὸς
ἐρπετοῦ παραχρῆμα, πρὶν θυσκεῖν τινά, ἐκμύιζον,
καὶ αὐτοὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν δηχθέντες
5 βλάπτεσθαι. φύονται δὲ ἐξ ἀλλήλων, καὶ δοκε-
μάζουσι τὰ γεννηθέντα ἢτοι μετ’ ὅφειον που εὐθὺς
ἐμβληθέντα, ἢ καὶ τῶν σπαργάνων αὐτῶν ἐπι-
βληθέντων τισιν οὕτε γὰρ τὸ παιδί τι λυμαῖ-
νονται, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐσθῆτος αὐτοῦ ναρκώσῃ.
6 τούτο μὲν τοιούτον ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ μηδένα
τρόπον ἀναβιώσασθαι τὴν Κλεοπάτραν δυνήθη ἐκ-
εἰκίην μὲν καὶ ἑθαύμασε καὶ ἡλέησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ
ἰσχυρῶς ἐλυπήθη ὡς καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ
dοξῆς ἐστερημένοις.
15 Ἀντώνιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα, πολλῶν μὲν
τοῖς Ἀἰγυπτίοις πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἱρωνίωις
κακῶν αἰτιοί γενόμενοι, οὕτω τε ἐπολέμησαν καὶ
οὕτως ἐπελεύθησαν, ἐν τῇ τοῦ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ ἐταρ-
χεύθησαν, κἂν τῇ αὐτῆς θήκη ἐτάφησαν. ἑσχον
δὲ τὴν τε φύσιν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς τύχης τοῦ
2 βίου τοιάνδε. ὁ μὲν συνεῖναι τε τὸ δέον οὐδενὸς
ἡσυχον ἐγένετο καὶ πολλὰ ἄφρονως ἐπράζεν.
ἀνδρεία τε ἐν τισι διέπρεψε καὶ ὑπὸ δειλίας συχνὰ
ἐσφάλη, τῇ τε μεγαλοψυχία καὶ τῇ δουλοπρεπείᾳ
of Cleopatra's arrest, and after being bitten by them had leaped into a coffin already prepared for him. When Caesar heard of Cleopatra's death, he was astounded, and not only viewed her body but also made use of drugs and Psylli¹ in the hope that she might revive. These Psylli are males, for there is no woman born in their tribe, and they have the power to suck out any poison of any reptile, if use is made of them immediately, before the victim dies; and they are not harmed themselves when bitten by any such creature. They are propagated from one another and they test their offspring either by having them thrown among serpents as soon as they are born or else by having their swaddling-clothes thrown upon serpents; for the reptiles in the one case do no harm to the child, and in the other case are benumbed by its clothing. So much for this matter. But Caesar, when he could not in any way resuscitate Cleopatra, felt both admiration and pity for her, and was excessively grieved on his own account, as if he had been deprived of all the glory of his victory.

Thus Antony and Cleopatra, who had caused many evils to the Egyptians and many to the Romans, made war and met their death in the manner I have described; and they were both embalmed in the same fashion and buried in the same tomb. Their qualities of character and the fortunes of their lives were as follows. Antony had no superior in comprehending his duty, yet he committed many acts of folly. He sometimes distinguished himself for bravery, yet often failed through cowardice. He was characterized equally by greatness of soul

¹ Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxi. 78.
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

εξ ἵσου ἐχρῆτο, καὶ τὰ τε ἀλλότρια ἤρπαξε καὶ τὰ οἰκεία προϊόντα, ἤλεει τε ἀλόγως συχνός καὶ
3 ἐκόλαξεν ἄδικως πλείονας: κακὸς τοῦτοι ἱσχυρότατος εὐτυχὸς, τε ἀσθενεστάτου καὶ πλουσιώτατος ἐξ ἀπορωτάτου γενόμενος οὔδετέρου αὐτῶν ἀπώνητο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κράτος τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μόνος ἐξειν ἐλπίσας αὐτοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀπέκτεινε. Κλεοπάτρα δὲ ἀπληστὸς μὲν Ἄφροδίτης ἀπληστὸς δὲ χρυσάτων γενόμενη, καὶ πολλῇ μὲν φιλοτιμίᾳ φιλοδοξῷ πολλῇ δὲ καὶ περιφρονήσει θρασεία χρησαμένη, τὴν τε βασιλείαν τὴν τῶν Αλγυπτών ὑπ’ ἔρωτος ἐκτῆσατο, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων λήψεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίσασα ταῦτας τε ἐσφαλὴ καὶ ἐκείνην προσαπώλεσε, δύο τε ἄνδρῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν καθ’ ἑαυτὴν μεγίστων κατεκράτησε, καὶ διὰ τὸν τρίτον ἑαυτὴν κατεχρήσατο.

6 Οὔτω μὲν δὴ τοιούτωι τε ἐγένοντο καὶ οὕτωι ἀπῆλλαξαν τῶν δὲ δὴ παῖδων αὐτῶν Ἀντυλλος μὲν, καίτοι τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑγιατέρᾳ ἡγγυμένος καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἤρων, ὅ τε Κλεοπάτρα ἐπεποίηκε, καταφυγὼν, εὖθες ἐσφάγη, Καυσαρίων δὲ ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν φεύγων κατε.

6 λίθθη τε ἐν τῇ ὀδῷ καὶ δειεθάρη. ἦ τε Κλεο-

πάτρα Ἰουβίσα τῷ τοῦ Ἰουβίσα παῖδι συνόκησεν
tούτω γὰρ ὁ Καίσαρ τραφέντι τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ συστρατευσαμένῳ οἱ ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν

βασιλείαν τὴν πατρῴαν ἔδωκε, καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τῶν Πτολεμαίων ἐχαρίσατο.
7 ταῖς τε ἄδελφιδαῖς, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἡ Ὀκτα-

συνία ἀνήρητο τε καὶ ἑτερόφει, χρήματα ἀπὸ

1 ἀτάρχητο Naber, ἀτάρχητο VM cod. Peir.
2 ηγγυμένος Dind., ἐγγυμένος M, ἐγγυμένος V.
and by servility of mind. He would plunder the property of others and would squander his own. He showed compassion to many without cause and punished even more without justice. Consequently, though he rose from utter weakness to great power, and from the depths of poverty to great riches, he derived no profit from either circumstance, but after hoping to gain single-handed the empire of the Romans, he took his own life. Cleopatra was of insatiable passion and insatiable avarice; she was swayed often by laudable ambition, but often by overweening effrontery. By love she gained the title of Queen of the Egyptians, and when she hoped by the same means to win also that of Queen of the Romans, she failed of this and lost the other besides. She captivated the two greatest Romans of her day, and because of the third she destroyed herself.

Such were these two and such was their end. Of their children, Antyllus was slain immediately, though he was betrothed to the daughter of Caesar and had taken refuge in his father's shrine, which Cleopatra had built; and Caesarion while fleeing to Ethiopia was overtaken on the road and murdered. Cleopatra was married to Juba, the son of Juba; for to this man who had been brought up in Italy and had been with him on campaigns, Caesar gave both the maid and the kingdom of his fathers, and as a favour to them spared the lives of Alexander and Ptolemy. To his nieces, the daughters whom Octavia had had by Antony and had reared, he assigned money from their father's estate. He
τῶν πατρών ἀπένειμε. καὶ τῷ Ἰουλλῳ τῷ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τῆς τῆς Φουλονίας υἱῶ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρωσιν αὐτοῦ πάνθ' ὅσα τελευτῶντάς σφας καταλιπεῖν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐδει παραχρῆμα δούναι ἐκέλευσε. τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν τα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μέχρι τότε πραξάντων τοὺς μὲν ἐκόλασε τοὺς δὲ ἄφηκεν, ἥ δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἥ διὰ τοὺς φίλους. ἐπειδὴ τε συγγοι παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ δυναστῶν καὶ βασιλέων παιδεῖς οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὄμηρεια οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ὑβρεῖ τρεφόμενοι εὐρέθησαν, τοὺς μὲν ὀικαδε αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους συνόκισεν, ἐτέρους 2 τε κατέσχεν, δὴ ἐγὼ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἶσω, δύο δὲ δὴ μόνων ὀνομασία μησθήσομαι τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἰωτάπην τὸν Μῆδω καταφυγόντε μετὰ τὴν ἤπταν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκὼν ἀπεδωκε, τῷ δ' Ἀρτάξη τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ περ αἰτήσαντι ὄν ἐπεμψεν, ὅτι τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπεκτόνει.

3. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους τοιαύτα ἐγύγνετο, τῶν δὲ Αιγυπτίων τῶν τε Ἀλέξανδρέων πάντων ἐφείσατο ὥστε μὴ διολέσαι τινά, τὸ μὲν ἄλλης ὅτι οὐκ ἠξίωσε τοσοῦτοι τε αὐτοὺς ὄντας καὶ χρησιμωτάτους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐς πολλά ἀν γενο-

4. μένους ἀνήκεστόν τι δράσασιν πρόφασιν δὲ ὅμως προυβάλλετο τῶν τε θεῶν τῶν Σάραπιν καὶ τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦ οἰκιστὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ τρίτον Ἀρείου τοῦ πολίτην, ὃ που φιλοσοφοῦντι τε καὶ συνόντει οἱ ἱρότοι. καὶ τῶν γε λόγον δὲ οὐ συνέγγυο σφίσιν, ἔλληνσι, ὅπως συνόωσιν αὐτοῦ, εἰτε. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου σώμα εἴδε, καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ προσήνητο, ὡστε τῇ τῆς ῥινός, ὃς φασί, θραυσθῆναι: τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν

44
also ordered Antony's freedmen to give at once to Iullus, the son of Antony and Fulvia, everything which by law they would have been required to bequeath him at their death. As for the rest who had been connected with Antony's cause up to this time, he punished some and pardoned others, either from personal motives or to oblige his friends. And since there were found at the court many children of princes and kings who were being kept there, some as hostages and others out of a spirit of arrogance, he sent some back to their homes, joined others in marriage with one another, and retained still others. I shall omit most of these cases and mention only two. Of his own accord he restored Iotape to the Median king, who had found an asylum with him after his defeat; but he refused the request of Artaxes that his brothers be sent to him, because this prince had put to death the Romans left behind in Armenia.

This was the disposition he made of such captives; and in the case of the Egyptians and Alexandrians, he spared them all, so that none perished. The truth was that he did not see fit to inflict any irreparable injury upon a people so numerous, who might prove very useful to the Romans in many ways; nevertheless, he offered as a pretext for his kindness their god Serapis, their founder Alexander, and, in the third place, their fellow-citizen Areius, of whose learning and companionship he availed himself. The speech in which he proclaimed to them his pardon he delivered in Greek, so that they might understand him. After this he viewed the body of Alexander and actually touched it, whereupon, it is said, a piece of the nose was broken off. But he declined
Πτολεμαίων, καὶ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων σπουδῆ βουληθέντων αὐτῷ δεῖξαι, οὐκ ἔθεαστο, εἰπὼν ὃτι "βασιλεὰ ἄλλος, νεκροὺς ἱδίων ἐπεθύμησα." κὰκ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης αἰτίας οὐδὲ τῶ Ἀπιδε ἐντυχεὶν ἠθέλησε, λέγων θεοῦς ἄλλος οὐχὶ δεῖς προσκυνεῖν εἰθίσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὴν τε Ἀλκυπ του ὑποτελῆ ἐποίησε καὶ τῷ Γάλλῳ τῷ Κορνήλιῳ ἐπέτρεψε πρὸς τα ἡμῖν τοῦ πολυάνδρου καὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ῥάδιον τὸ τε κοῦφον τῶν τρόπων αὐτῶν, τὴν τε σιτοποιμίαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα, οὐδενὶ βουλευτὴν οὐχ ὅπως ἐγχειρίσαι αὐτὴν ἐπολύσεως, ἄλλος ὑμῖν ἐνεπιθυμεῖν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐδοκεί. ἄν μὴ τεναυτὸς ὁμομαστὶ συγχωρήσῃ. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι βουλευόμενοι ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφήκεν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ὡς ἐκάστῳ, τοῖς δ’ Ἀλέξανδρεύσιν ἄνευ βουλευτῶν πολιτεύεσθαι ἐκέλευσε τοσαύτην πον ἑνετεροποιίαν αὐτῶν κατέγυρ. καὶ σφῶν οὕτω τὸ ταχθέντων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ νῦν ἱσχυρὸς φυλάσσεται, βουλεύοντος δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐπὶ Σεούρου αὐτοκράτορος ἀρξάμενοι, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἐπ’ Ἀρτανίνου τοῦ νίεσ ἀυτοῦ πρῶτον ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσταφάνεται.

4 Ἄριστος ἐν οὗτος ἔδωκάλλη: πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἀντισχόντες αὐτῶν χρόνον τινά ἐξειρώθησαν, ὡς που καὶ τὸ δαίμονιν σφισαν ἐναργεστά προέδρεξεν. ὦσε τα γὰρ οὐχ ὅπως ὑδάτι, ἐνθα μὴ δὲ ἐφέκαςε ποτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰματι ταύτα τε ἀμα ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν ἐξέσπλεπτα καὶ ὅπλα παρε- 5 φανετο. κτυπήματα τε τινα ἐτέρωθι καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ κυμβάλων καὶ βοήματα καὶ αὐλῶν.
to view the remains of the Ptolemies, though the
Alexandrians were extremely eager to show them,
marking, "I wished to see a king, not corpses." For
this same reason he would not enter the presence
of Apis, either, declaring that he was accustomed
to worship gods, not cattle. Afterwards he made
Egypt tributary and gave it in charge of Cornelius
Gallus. For in view of the populousness of both the
cities and country, the facile, fickle character of the
inhabitants, and the extent of the grain-supply and
of the wealth, so far from daring to entrust the land
to any senator, he would not even grant a senator
permission to live in it, except as he personally made
the concession to him by name. On the other hand
he did not allow the Egyptians to be senators in
Rome; but whereas he made various dispositions as
regards the several cities, he commanded the
Alexandrians to conduct their government without
senators; with such capacity for revolution, I suppose,
did he credit them. And of the system then imposed
upon them most details are rigorously preserved at
the present time, but they have their senators both
in Alexandria, beginning first under the emperor
Severus, and also in Rome, these having first been
enrolled in the senate in the reign of Severus’ son
Antoninus.

Thus was Egypt enslaved. All the inhabitants
who resisted for a time were finally subdued, as,
indeed, Heaven very clearly indicated to them
beforehand. For it rained not only water where no
drop had ever fallen previously, but also blood; and
there were flashes of armour from the clouds as this
bloody rain fell from them. Elsewhere there was
the clashing of drums and cymbals and the notes of
καὶ σαλπίγγων ἐγήγαμετο, καὶ τις δράκων ὑπερ-
μεγέθης ἐξαίφνης σφίσιν ὅθθεις ἀμῆχανον ὅσον ἐξεσύρισε. καὶ τούτω καὶ ἀστέρες κομῆται
ἐωρωτο, καὶ νεκρῶν εἰδώλα ἐφαντάζετο, τὰ τὲ ἀγάλματα ἐσκυθρώπασε, καὶ ὁ Ἀτις ὀλοφυρτικὸν
τῷ ἐμυκήσατο καὶ κατεδάκρυσε.
6 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖτως ἐγένετο, χρήματα δὲ πολλά
μὲν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ εὐρέθη (πάντα γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν
καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγιοτάτων ιερῶν ἀναθήματα ή
Κλεοπάτρα ἀνελομένη συνεπλήθυσε τὰ λάφυρα
τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀνευ τινὸς οἰκείου αὐτῶν μιᾶσμα-
τοι), πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἑκάστου τῶν αἰτιαθέντων
7 τι ἤθελαν. καὶ χωρίς οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες, ὧσοι
μηδὲν ἰδιον ἐγκήλημα λαβέιν ἐδύναντο, τὰ δύο
μέρη τῶν οὐσιῶν ἠγάμησαν. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν
πάντες μὲν οἱ στρατιώται τὰ ἐποφελομένα σφίσιν
ἐκομίσαντο, οἱ δὲ δὴ καὶ τότε τῷ Καίσαρι συγγε-
νόμενοι πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμάς, ὡστε
8 μὴ διαρπᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν, προσεπέλαβον, τοῖς
τε προδανείσασί τι πάντα ἀπηλλάγη, καὶ τοῖς
συμμετασχοῦσι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν
καὶ τῶν ἱππῶν πάμπολλα ἐδόθη, τὸ τε σύμπαν
ἕτε ἄρχη ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπλουτίσθη καὶ τὰ
ἰερὰ αὐτῶν ἐκομισθῆ.
18 'Ὁ δ' οὖν Καίσαρ ὃς τὰ τε προειρήμενα ἔπραξε,
καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης χωρίῳ
συνάκουσε, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τῶν ἀγῶνα τινὴς
ὄμοιος τῇ προτέρα δοὺς, τάς δὲ διώρυχας τὰς μὲν
ἐξεκάθηρε τὰς δὲ ἐκ καινῆς διώρυξε, καὶ τάλλα
τὰ προσήκουντα προσδιόρισε, ἐς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν
1 μιᾶσματος M, μιᾶσματος V. 2 τι M, om. V.
3 ήτθησαν R. Steph., ήτθησαν VM.
flutes and trumpets, and a serpent of huge size suddenly appeared to them and uttered an incredibly loud hiss. Meanwhile comets were seen and dead men's ghosts appeared, the statues frowned, and Apis bellowed a note of lamentation and burst into tears.

So much for these events. In the palace quantities of treasure were found. For Cleopatra had taken practically all the offerings from even the holiest shrines and so helped the Romans swell their spoils without incurring any desfilement on their own part. Large sums were also obtained from every man against whom any charge of misdemeanour was brought. And apart from these, all the rest, even though no particular complaint could be lodged against them, had two-thirds of their property demanded of them. Out of this wealth all the troops received what was owing them, and those who were with Caesar at the time got in addition a thousand sesterces on condition of not plundering the city. Repayment was made in full to those who had previously advanced loans, and to both the senators and the knights who had taken part in the war large sums were given. In fine, the Roman empire was enriched and its temples adorned.

After accomplishing the things just related Caesar founded a city there on the very site of the battle and gave to it the same name and the same games as to the city he had founded previously.1 He also cleared out some of the canals and dug others over again, besides attending to other important matters. Then he went through Syria into the province of

1 See chap. 1, 3.
τὸ ἑθνὸς διὰ τῆς Συρίας ἦλθε, κάνταυθα παρεχείμαςε, τά τε τῶν ὑπηκόων ὡς ἐκαστὰ καὶ τά 
2 τῶν Πάρθων ἀμα καθιστάμενος. στασιασάντων 
γάρ αυτῶν καὶ τίνος Τιριδάτου ἐπαναστάτων, πρότερον μὲν, καὶ ἕως ἐτί τα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἀνθειστήκει, 
οὐχ ὅσον οὐ προσέθετο τῷ αὐτῶν ὑπηρετόν αἰτησάντων, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἀπεκρίνατο ἀλλ’ οὐδέν ἢ 
ὅτι βουλεύεσται, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀγγυπτον ἀσχολίαν ἔχων, ἐργῷ δὲ ἐν ἐκτρυγω-
θείειν ἐν τούτῳ μαχόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. τοὺς 
3 δὲ ἐπείδη ὁ τε Ἀντώνιος ἐπελεύσθη, καὶ ἐκεῖνος 
ὁ μὲν Τιριδάτης ὁτηθεῖς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν κατέφυγεν, 
ὁ δὲ Φραάτης κρατήσας πρέσβεις ἐπέμψε, τούτους 
τε φιλικὸς ἔχρημασθείς, καὶ τῷ Τιριδάτῇ βοη-
θήσειν μὲν οὐχ ὑπέσχετο διαίτασθαι δὲ ἐν τῇ 
Συρίᾳ ἐπέτρεψεν, νῦν τέ τινα τοῦ Φραάτου ἐν 
ἐνεργεσίας 3 μέρει παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ὡς τέ τὴν 
Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγε καὶ ἐν ὀμηρεία ἐποίησατο.

19 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον συνώντα μὲν καὶ 
ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ναυμαχίας νίκῃ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ρωμαῖοι 
ἔφησαντο. τά τε γὰρ νικηθήρια αὐτῶ, ὡς καὶ 
τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, καὶ ἀυτὰ τροπαιοφόρον ἐν ταῖς 
Βρεντεσίω καὶ ἐτέραν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίαι ἀγορᾶ 
2 ἐδωκαν τὴν τε κρηπίδα τοῦ Ἰουλίειον ὅρον 
τοῖς τοῦ ἀιχμαλωτίδων νεῶν ἐμβόλους κοσμη-
θήναι, καὶ πανηγύριν οἱ πεντετερίδα ἀγεθαί, 
ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀγ-
γελίας τῆς νίκης ἡμέρα ἱερομηνίαν εἶναι, καὶ ἐς 
τὴν πόλιν ἔστοιντι αὐτῷ τὰς τε ἱερείας τὰς

1 Τιριδάτου Dind., τειριδάτου VM (and so just below).
2 τῷ Μ, om. V.
3 ενεργεσίας Μ, ενεργεσία V.
Asia and passed the winter there settling the various affairs of the subject nations as well as those of the Parthians. It seems there had been dissension among the Parthians and a certain Tiridates had risen against Phraates; and hitherto, as long as Antony’s opposition lasted, even after the naval battle, Caesar had not only not attached himself to either side, though they sought his alliance, but had not even answered them except to say that he would think the matter over. His excuse was that he was busy with Egypt, but in reality he wanted them in the meantime to exhaust themselves by fighting against each other. But now that Antony was dead and of the two combatants Tiridates, defeated, had taken refuge in Syria, and Phraates, victorious, had sent envoys, he entered into friendly negotiations with the latter; and, without promising to aid Tiridates, he permitted him to live in Syria. He received from Phraates one of his sons by way of conferring a favour upon him, and taking him to Rome, kept him as a hostage.

During this time and still earlier the Romans at home had passed many resolutions in honour of Caesar’s naval victory. Thus they granted him a triumph, as over Cleopatra, an arch adorned with trophies at Brundisium and another in the Roman Forum. Moreover, they decreed that the foundation of the shrine of Julius should be adorned with the beaks of the captured ships and that a festival should be held every four years in honour of Octavius; that there should also be a thanksgiving on his birthday and on the anniversary of the announcement of his victory; also that when he should enter the city the
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

αἰειπαρθένους καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τὸν τε δῆμον μετὰ τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀπαν.

3 τῆςα έγνωσαν. τὰς γὰρ εὐχὰς τὰς τε εἰκόνας καὶ τὴν προεδρίαν καὶ τάλλα τά τοιούτα τροπα
περιττῶν ἔστιν ἕδη λέγειν. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην ἐκείνη τε 1 ταῦτ’ ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὰ τὸ Ἀν-
τωνίου κοσμῆμα τὰ μὲν καθεῖλον τὰ δ’ ἀπτή-
λειψαν, τὴν τε ἡμέραν εὖ ἐγεγένητο μιαρὰν ἐνόμισαν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Μάρκου πρόσρημα ἀπεῖπον

4 μηδενὶ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ εἶναι. ὡς μεντοι καὶ τεθνεώτα αὐτὸν ἐπύθουντο (ἡγγέλθη δὲ τούτῳ Κικε-
ρωνος τοῦ Κικέρωνος παιδὸς ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἐτους ύπα-
τευόντος), τοῦτο τε τινες ὡς 2 οὐκ ἄθεει δὴ συμβάν ἐλάμβανον, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ

5 ᾽Αντωνίου ὅτι μάλιστ’ ἐτεθνῆκει, καὶ προσεψη-
φίσαντο τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ στεφάνους καὶ ἱερομη-
νίας πολλάς, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἑτέρα ἐπινίκια ὡς καὶ τῶν Ἀγνωτίων ἀγαγεῖν ἔδοσαν τὸν γὰρ Ἀντώνιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ρωμαίους τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ νικη-
θέντας οὐτὲ πρότερον οὐτε τότε, ὡς καὶ ἑορτάζειν

6 σφάς ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς δέον, ἀνόμασαν. τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ἡ ᾽Αλεξάνδρεια ἐάλω, ἀγαθὴν τε εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπειτα ἑτή ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀπαριθμήσεως αὐτῶν νομίζεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίου ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιβομβέων αὐτὸν καὶ ἑυτὸς τοῦ ποιηρίου καὶ ἐξω μέχρι ὧδησιν ἡμισταδίου ἀμύνειν, δ’ μηδενὶ

1 τε Μ, om. V. 2 ὡς supplied by Bk.
Vestal Virgins and the senate and the people with their wives and children should go out to meet him. But it would be quite superfluous to go on and mention the prayers, the images, the privilege of the front seat, and all the other honours of the sort. At the beginning, then, they not only voted him these honours but also either took down or effaced the memorials of Antony, declared the day on which he had been born accursed, and forbade the use of the surname Marcus by any of his kin. When, however, they learned of Antony's death, the news of which came while Cicero, the son of Cicero, was consul for a part of the year, some held that it had come to pass not without divine direction, since the consul's father had owed his death chiefly to Antony; and they voted to Caesar crowns and thanksgivings in great number and granted him the privilege of celebrating another triumph, this time over the Egyptians. For neither on the previous occasion nor at this time did they mention by name Antony and the other Romans who had been vanquished with him and thus imply that it was proper to celebrate their defeat. The day on which Alexandria had been captured they declared a lucky day, and directed that in future years it should be taken by the inhabitants of that city as the starting-point in their reckoning of time. They also decreed that Caesar should hold the tribunician power for life, that he should aid those who called upon him for help both within the pomerium and outside for a distance of one mile,

1 Literally, "as far as the eighth half-stade," which means seven and a half stades, that is, one mile, according to Dio's usage. See note on xxxviii. 18.
7 τῶν δημαρχοῦντων ἔξη, ἐκκλητῶν τε δικάζειν, καὶ ἴδη ὑπὸ τινα αὐτοῦ ἐν πάση τοις δικαστηρίοις ὡσπερ Ἀθηνᾶς φέρεσθαι, τοὺς τε ἱερεάς καὶ τὰς ἱερείας ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς εὐχαῖς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ῥμαῖς εὐχεσθαι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις σύν ὅτι τοῖς κοινῶι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἱδίοις πάντας αὐτῷ σπένδειν ἐκέλευσαν.

20 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταύτ' ἐγνώσθη, ὑπατεύοντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μετὰ Σέξτου Απουλείου τά τε πραγμένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου νομημαία ὅρκους ἐβεβαιώσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν Πάρθων γράμματα ἦλθεν, ἐς τε τοὺς ὑμνοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἱσοῦ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐσγράφασθαι, καὶ φυλῆν Ἰουλίαν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπονομάζεσθαι, τῷ τε στεφάνῳ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἐπινικίῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν πανηγυρίων χρησθαι, καὶ τοὺς συνυισκήσαντάς οἱ βουλευτάς ἐν περιπορφύροις ἰματίσαντας τὴν πομπὴν αὐτῷ συμπέμψαν, τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ἤ ἀν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελήνηδος ψυχίας τε πανδημεὶς ἀγαλλήναι καὶ ἴεραν ἅνι ἀγασθαι, ἱερεὰς τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀριθμῶν, ὅσους ἄν ἄν ἐθελήσῃ, προαιρεῖσθαι προσκατεστῆσαι ὁπερ που εἴ ἐκείνου παράδοθεν ἐς ἀόριστον ἐπηνυξθῇ, ὡστε μηδὲν ἄτι χρήναι με περὶ τοῦ πλῆθους αὐτῶν ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι. οὗ ὅμων Καῖσαρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πλὴν βραχέων ἐδέξατο, τὸ δὲ δὴ συμπάντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει δυνταὶ ἀπαντῆσαι

1 ἐσγράφασθαι Μ, ἐγγράφασθαι Τ.

1 The tribunes' authority, as a matter of fact, extended to the first mile-stone outside the city; see Livy iii. 20, 7. Dio is apparently labouring under a misapprehension.
a privilege possessed by none of the tribunes, — also that he should judge appealed cases, and that in all the courts his vote was to be cast as Athena's vote. The priests and priestesses also in their prayers in behalf of the people and the senate were to pray for him likewise, and at all banquets, not only public but private as well, everybody was to pour a libation to him.

These were the decrees passed at that time; and when he was consul for the fifth time, with Sextus Apuleius, they ratified all his acts by oath on the very first day of January. When the letter came regarding the Parthians, they further arranged that his name should be included in their hymns equally with those of the gods; that a tribe should be called the “Julian” after him; that he should wear the triumphal crown at all the festivals; that the senators who had participated in his victory should take part in the triumphal procession arrayed in purple-bordered togas; that the day on which he entered the city should be honoured with sacrifices by the whole population and be held sacred for evermore; and that he might choose priests even beyond the regular number,—as many, in fact, as he should wish on any occasion. This last-named privilege, handed down from that time, was afterwards indefinitely extended, so that I need not henceforth make a point of giving the exact number of such officials. Now Caesar accepted all but a few of these honours, though he expressly requested that one of them, the proposal that the whole population of the city should

2 That is, in case of a tie vote, Caesar's vote, like Athena's in the Areopagus at Athens, was to decide in favour of acquittal. Cf. Aesch., Eumen. 737 ff.; Eur., Iph. T. 965 f., 1472.
παρητήσατο ἀντικρυς μὴ γενέσθαι. πλείστον δὲ ὅμως ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ψηφισθέντα οἱ ὑπερήσθη ὅτι τὰς τε πύλας τὰς τοῦ Ἰανοῦ ὡς καὶ πάντων σφίσι τῶν πολέμων παντελῶς πεπαιμένων ἐκλεισαν, καὶ τὸ οἰκώσιμα τὸ τῆς 'Τιμείας ἐποίησαν' 5 καὶ γὰρ τότε δὲ ἅπερ εἶπον διελέειπτο. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις ἔτι καὶ Τρήσουροι 1 Κέλτων ἐπαγαγόμενοι καὶ Κάντεβροι 2 καὶ Οὐακκάιοι καὶ Ἀστυρες καὶ οὕτως μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταύρου τοῦ Στατιλίου, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ὑπὸ Νωνίου Γάλλου κατεστράφησαν ἀλλὰ τε ὡς καθ' ἐκάστους ταραχώδη συχνὰ ἐγύγνετο ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν μέγα ἀπ' αὐτῶν συνηνέχθη, οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι τότε πολεμεῖσθαι ἐνόμιζον οὔτε ἐγὼ ἐπιφανὲς τι 3 περὶ αὐτῶν γράφαι ἔχω.

6 Ἐκάσταρ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τά τε ἄλλα ἔχρηματίζοι, καὶ τεμένη τῇ τῇ 'Ρώμῃ καὶ τῷ πατρί τῷ Κάισαρι, ἤρωα αὐτὸν Ἰουλίου ὄνομίσας, ἐν τῇ 'Εφέσῳ καὶ ἐν Νικαιᾷ γενέσθαι ἐφήκεν αὐτῷ γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Βυθνίᾳ 7 προετετέλησε, καὶ τούτους μὲν τοὺς 'Ῥωμαίους τοὺς παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐποικοῦσι τιμῶν προσέταξε· τοῖς δὲ δὴ ξένοις, 'Ἐλληνᾶς σφας ἐπικαλέσας, ἐαυτῷ τινα, τοῖς μὲν Ἀσιανοῖς ἐν Περγάμῳ τοῖς δὲ Βιθυνίοις ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ, τεμενίσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ τούτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἐλληνικοῖς ἑθεσίν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκούει, 8 ἐγένετο. ἐν γὰρ τῷ τῷ ἀστεί αὐτῷ τῇ τῇ ἄλλῃ

1 Τρήσουροι Βς., τρήσουροι VM.
2 Κάντεβροι R. Steph., κάντεβροι VM.
3 τι M., om. V.
go out to meet him, should not be put into effect. Nevertheless, the action which pleased him more than all the decrees was the closing by the senate of the gates of Janus, implying that all their wars had entirely ceased, and the taking of the *augurium salutis*, which had at this time fallen into disuse for the reasons I have mentioned.¹ To be sure, there were still under arms the Treveri, who had brought in the Germans to help them, and the Cantabri, the Vaeceaei, and the Astures,—the three last-named of whom were later subjugated by Statilius Taurus, and the former by Nonius Gallus,—and there were also numerous other disturbances going on in various regions; yet inasmuch as nothing of importance resulted from them, the Romans at the time did not consider that they were engaged in war, nor have I, for my part, anything notable to record about them.

Caesar, meanwhile, besides attending to the general business, gave permission for the dedication of sacred precincts in Ephesus and in Nicaea to Rome and to Caesar, his father, whom he named the hero Julius.² These cities had at that time attained chief place in Asia and in Bithynia respectively. He commanded that the Romans resident in these cities should pay honour to these two divinities; but he permitted the aliens, whom he styled Hellenes, to consecrate precincts to himself, the Asians to have theirs in Pergamum and the Bithynians theirs in Nicomedia. This practice, beginning under him, has been continued under other emperors, not only in the case of the Hellenic nations but also in that of all the others, in so far as they are subject to the Romans. For in the capital itself and in Italy

¹ Cf. xxxvii. 24.  
² i.e. Divus Iulius.
Ἰταλία ὦν ἔστιν ὡστὶς τῶν καὶ ἐφ’ ὀποσονοῦν λόγον τινὸς ἀξίων ἐτόλμησε τούτο ποιήσαι· μεταλλάξασι μεντοῦ κανταύθα τοῖς ὀρθῶς αὐταρχήσασιν ἀλλαὶ τε ἰσόθεοι τιμαὶ δίδονται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἡρῴα ποιεῖται.

9 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χειμώνι ἐγένετο, καὶ ἔλαβον καὶ οἱ Περγαμηνοὶ τὸν ἀγώνα τὸν ἱερὸν ὠνομασθέναι την τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ τιμῇ ποιεῖν. τού δὲ δὴ θέρους ἐσ τῇ τῆς Ἑλλάδας καὶ ἐσ τῇ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπεραίωθη, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐσ τῆς πόλεως ἐσελθόντος οἱ τὲ ἄλλοι ἐβυσσαν, ὅσπερ εἰρηται, καὶ ὁ ὑπατος Οὐσαρίας Ποτίτος ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο πᾶν τὸ ἔτος, ὅσπερ καὶ τὰ δύο τὰ πρότερα, ὑπάτευσε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Σέξτον ὁ

2 Ποτίτος διεδέξατο. οὗτος οὖν δημοσία καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Καίσαρος ἀφίξει ἐβουθύνησεν. ὁ μὴ πρότερον ἐπὶ μυθικὸς ἄλλον ἐγεγόνει. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοὺς τῇ ὑποστράτηγον καὶ ἐπήνευσε καὶ ἐτίμησεν ὅσπερ εἰδίστο, καὶ τὸν τῇ Ἀρχίππαν ἄλλος τῇ τίς καὶ σημεῖο κυνοεῖνος ναυκρατητικῷ προσεπεσέμυνε, καὶ τοὺς στρατιωταῖς ἐδωκε τίνα: τὸ τῇ δήμῳ καθ’ ἐκατόν ὁ δραχμάς, προτέρους μὲν τοῖς ἐς ἀνδρὰς τελοῦσιν, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς παίσι διὰ τὸν Μάρκελλον τὸν

3 ἀδελφιδοὺν, διένειμε. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτοι, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τὸ χρυσὸν τὸ τοῖς στεφάνοις προσήκον οὐκ ἐδέξατο,

1 ἐγένετο V, ἐγένετο M. 2 ἐκατόν M, εἰκατόν V.

1 Cf. chap. 1, 2. 2 Cf. chap. 20, 3. 3 In earlier times it had been customary, when a general
generally no emperor, however worthy of renown he has been, has dared to do this; still, even there various divine honours are bestowed after their death upon such emperors as have ruled uprightly, and, in fact, shrines are built to them.

All this took place in the winter; and the Pergamenians also received authority to hold the “sacred” games, as they called them, in honour of Caesar’s temple.\(^1\) In the course of the summer Caesar crossed over to Greece and to Italy; and when he entered the city, not only all the citizens offered sacrifice, as has been mentioned,\(^2\) but even the consul Valerius Potitus. Caesar, to be sure, was consul all that year as for the two preceding years, but Potitus was the successor of Sextus. It was he who publicly and in person offered sacrifices in behalf of the senate and of the people upon Caesar’s arrival, a thing that had never before been done in the case of any other person. After this Caesar bestowed eulogies and honours upon his lieutenants, as was customary, and to Agrippa he further granted, among other distinctions, a dark blue flag in honour of his naval victory, and he gave gifts to the soldiers; to the people he distributed four hundred sesterces apiece, first to the men who were adults, and afterwards to the children because of his nephew Marcellus. In view of all this, and because he would not accept from the cities of Italy the gold required for the crowns\(^3\) they had voted him, and because, won a triumph, for the cities of his province to send gold crowns, which were carried before him in the triumphal procession. By Cicero’s time it was a common practice to send, instead of the crowns themselves, their value in money (aureus coronarium); and this was now regarded as a form of tribute.
καὶ ὁτι1 καὶ πάντα ἀ τε αὐτῶς ὀφειλέ τισιν ἀπέδωκε, καὶ ἀ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐπώφειλον οὐκ ἐσε-πραξεν, ὡσπερ εἴρηται, τῶν τε δυσχερῶν πάντων οἱ Ρωμαίοι ἐπελάθοντο, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτοῦ ἦδεν ὡς καὶ ἄλλοφύλων ἀπάντων τῶν ἡττη-
5 θέντων ὄντων εἴδον τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων διὰ πάσης ὁμοίως τῆς πόλεως ἐγώ-
ρησεν ὡστε τὰ μὲν κτήματα ἐπιτιμηθῆναι, τὰ δὲ δανείσματα ἀγαπητῶς ἐπὶ δραχμῆ ἐπότερον ὄντα
τὸτε ἐπὶ τῷ τριτημορίῳ αὐτῆς γενέσθαι, ἑώρτασε
δὲ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ τε τῶν Παννονίων καὶ
τὰ τῶν Δελματών, τῆς τε Ἰαπυδίας 2 καὶ τῶν
προσχώρων σφίς,3 Κελτῶν τε καὶ Γαλατῶν τινῶν.
6 Γάρος γὰρ Καρχήνας τοὺς τε Μωρίνους καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς συνεπαναστάτας αὐτοῖς ἐχαίροσατο, καὶ
tους Σουήδους τὸν 4 Ῥήμον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ δια-
βάντας ἀπεώσατο καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἤγαγε μὲν καὶ
eκεῖνος τὰ νικητήρια, κατοίκοι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ
ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου θανατωθέντος, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄρξαι
ποτὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ κωλυθείς,
ήγαγε δὲ καὶ ὁ Καϊσαρ, ἐπειδή ἡ ἀναφορὰ τῆς
νίκης τῇ αὐτοκράτορι αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴ προσήκουσα
7 ἡν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ταῦτα διεωρτά-
σθη, ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἡ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ ναυ-
κρατίᾳ, κἂν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡ τῆς Ἀγάπτου κατα-
στροφῆ. ἐπιφανεῖς μὲν δὴ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πομπαὶ
dιὰ τὰ ἀπ' αὐτῆς λάφυρα ἐγένοντο (τοσαύτα γὰρ
ἡθορισθή ὡστε πάσας ἐπαρκέσαι), πολυτελεστάτη
8 δ' οὖν καὶ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτη αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀγάπτια, τὰ
tε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐν τῷ

1 ὁτι Bk., ἐτι VM. 2 Ἰαπυδίας Xyl., Ἰαπυδίας VM.
3 σφίς Μ, om. V. 4 τὸν Bk., τό τε VM.

60
furthermore, he not only paid all the debts he himself owed to others, as has been stated, but also did not insist on the payment of others' debts to him, the Romans forgot all their unpleasant experiences and viewed his triumph with pleasure, quite as if the vanquished had all been foreigners. So vast an amount of money, in fact, circulated through all parts of the city alike, that the price of goods rose and loans for which the borrower had been glad to pay twelve per cent. could now be had for one third that rate. As for the triumph, Caesar celebrated on the first day his victories over the Pannonians and Dalmatians, the Iapydes and their neighbours, and some Germans and Gauls. For Gains Carrinas had subdued the Morini and others who had revolted with them, and had repulsed the Suebi, who had crossed the Rhine to wage war. Not only did Carrinas, therefore, celebrate the triumph,—and that notwithstanding that his father had been put to death by Sulla and that he himself along with the others in like condition had once been debarred from holding office,—but Caesar also celebrated it, since the credit of the victory properly belonged to his position as supreme commander. This was the first day's celebration. On the second day the naval victory at Actium was commemorated, and on the third the subjugation of Egypt. Now all the processions proved notable, thanks to the spoils from Egypt,—in such quantities, indeed, had spoils been gathered there that they sufficed for all the processions,—but the Egyptian celebration surpassed them all in costliness and magnificence. Among other features, an effigy of the dead Cleopatra upon a couch was carried by, so that

1 Cf. chap. 17, 8.
τοῦ θανάτου μιμήματι παρεκομίσθη, ὡστε τρόπου τινα καὶ ἐκείνην μετὰ τε τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ καὶ Ἡλίου, τῆς τε Κλεοπάτρας τής καὶ Σελήνης, τῶν τέκνων, ὡς πομπείων οφθήναι. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τούτο ὁ Καίσαρ ἐφ’ ἀπασίν αὐτοῖς ἐσελάσας τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ νομίζομενον ἐπραξῆ, τὸν δὲ δὴ συνύπατον τοὺς τε λοιποὺς ἄρχοντας περιείδε παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκός ἐπιστομένους οἱ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν συνενικηκότων εἰώθεσαν γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἤγεισθαι οἱ δὲ ἐφέπεσθαι.  

22 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διετέλεσε, τὸ τε Ἀθῆναιον τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν ὠνομασμένον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰουλίειον, τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τιμῆ γενόμενον, καθιέρωσεν. ἐνέστησε δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαλμα τῆς Νίκης τὸ καὶ νῦν ὄν, δηλοῦν, ὡς ἑοίκεν, ὅτε παρ’ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρχήν ἐκτῆσατο· ἢν δὲ δὴ τῶν Ταραντίνων, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην κομισθέν ἐν τε τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἱδρύθη καὶ Ἀιγυπτίων λαοὺροις ἐκοσμήθη. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἰουλίου ἤρωφο ὀσιωθέντι τότε ὑπήρξε καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἀνετέθη, καὶ ἑτερα τῷ τῇ Διὶ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἡρᾷ τῇ τῇ Ἀθηναῖ ἱερώθη, πάντων τῶν πρότερον ἐνταῦθα ἀνακείσθαι δοκοῦτων ἦ καὶ ἐτὶ κειμένων ἢ συνήματος τότε καθαιρεθέντων ὡς καὶ μεμιασμένων.  

1 ἐφέπεσθαι Μ, ἑπεθεῖα V.  
2 μεμιασμένων v. Herwerden, μεμιασμένων VM.
BOOK LI

in a way she, too, together with the other captives and with her children, Alexander, called also Helios, and Cleopatra, called also Selene, was a part of the spectacle and a trophy in the procession. After this came Caesar, riding into the city behind them all. He did everything in the customary manner, except that he permitted his fellow-consul and the other magistrates, contrary to precedent, to follow him along with the senators who had participated in the victory; for it was usual for such officials to march in advance and for only the senators to follow.¹

After finishing this celebration Caesar dedicated the temple of Minerva, called also the Chalcidicum, and the Curia Iulia, which had been built in honour of his father. In the latter he set up the statue of Victory which is still in existence, thus signifying probably that it was from her that he had received the empire. It had belonged to the people of Tarentum, whence it was now brought to Rome, placed in the senate-chamber, and decked with the spoils of Egypt. The same course was followed in the case of the shrine of Julius which was consecrated at this time, for many of these spoils were placed in it also; and others were dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus and to Juno and Minerva, after all the objects in these temples which were supposed to have been placed there previously as dedications, or were actually dedications, had by decree been taken down at this time as desecrated. Thus Cleopatra, though defeated and captured, was nevertheless glorified, inasmuch as her

¹ The custom was for the magistrates to issue from the city to meet the victorious general, and then to turn and march ahead of him. Octavius, by putting them behind him, symbolized his position as chief citizen of the state.
Εδοξάσθη, ὅτι τὰ τε κοσμήματα αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἡμῶν ἀνάκειται καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν τῷ Ἁφροδίσιῳ χρυσῇ ὀρᾶται.

4 Ἕν δὲ οὖν τῇ τοῦ ἱρών οὐσιώσει ἀγώνες τε παντοδαποί ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὴν Τροῖαν εὐπατρίδαι παιδεῖ ὑπενσαν, ἄνδρες τε ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων σφίζει ἐπὶ τε κελήτων καὶ ἐπὶ συνωρίδων ἐπὶ τε τεθρίπτει ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντγωνίσαντο, Κύντος τε τίς Οὐρτέλλιος

5 Βουλευτής ἐμονομάγησε. καὶ θηρία καὶ βοτὰ ἀλλὰ τε παμπληθὴ καὶ ρινόκερος ἵππος τε ποτάμιος, πρῶτον τότε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὀφθέντα, ἐσφάγη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἦπος ὁποίος ἐστι, πολλοῖς τε εἰρηται καὶ πολὺ πλείοσιν ἐφοραίνει ὁ δὲ ὅθε ρινόκερος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐλέφαντι περὶ προσέοικε, κέρας δὲ τε κατ᾿ αὐτὴν τῆν ῥίνα προσέχει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτω κέκληται. ταῦτα τε οὖν ἐσθήθη, καὶ ἀθρόοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους Δακὸς τε καὶ Σουῆβοι ἐμαχάσαντο. εἰσὶ δὲ οὕτωι μὲν Κελτοὶ, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἡ Σκύθαι πρῶτον τινώς καὶ οἱ μὲν πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου ὃς γε τάκριβες εἰπεῖν (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ τῶν 2 Σουῆβων ὄνοματος αὐτποιούνται), οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα τοῦ Ἰστροῦ νέμονται,

6 ἅλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τάδε αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴ Ἄρμαθλικῇ οἰκοῦντες ἐς τε τοῦ τῆς Μυσίας νομῶν τελοῦσι καὶ Μυσόλ, πλὴν παρὰ τὸις πάνι ἐπιχωρίοις, ὀνομάζονται, οἱ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Δακοὶ κέκληται, εἶτε δὴ Γέται τινὲς εἶτε καὶ Ὀράκες τός Δακικὸν γένους τοῦ τῆς Ῥοδόπης ποτὲ ἅγιοκῆ.

7 σαντος δυντες. οὕτωι οὖν οἱ Δακοὶ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο μὲν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα,

1 ἐπὶ Polak, τῶν VM.
2 τοῦ τῶν Plügk, τούτων τῶν V, τούτων τοῦ M.
adornments repose as dedications in our temples and she herself is seen in gold in the shrine of Venus.

At the consecration of the shrine to Julius there were all kinds of contests, and the boys of the patricians performed the equestrian exercise called "Troy," and men of the same rank contended with chargers, with pairs, and with four-horse teams; furthermore, one Quintus Vitellius, a senator, fought as a gladiator. Wild beasts and tame animals were slain in vast numbers, among them a rhinoceros and a hippopotamus, beasts then seen for the first time in Rome. As regards the nature of the hippopotamus, it has been described by many and far more have seen it. The rhinoceros, on the other hand, is in general somewhat like an elephant, but it has also a horn on its very nose and has got its name because of this. These beasts, accordingly, were brought in, and moreover Dacians and Suebi fought in crowds with one another. The latter are Germans, the former Scythians of a sort. The Suebi, to be exact, dwell beyond the Rhine (though many people elsewhere claim their name), and the Dacians on both sides of the Ister; those of the latter, however, who live on this side of the river near the country of the Triballi are reckoned in with the district of Moesia and are called Moesians, except by those living in the immediate neighbourhood, while those on the other side are called Dacians and are either a branch of the Getae or Thracians belonging to the Dacian race that once inhabited Rhodope. Now these Dacians had before this time sent envoys to Caesar; but
ώς δὲ οὐδένος ὄν ἐδέοντο ἐτυχον, ἀπέκλιναν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐδὲν μέγα ὠφέλησαν στασιάσαντες ἐν ἅλληλοις, ἄλοιτες δὲ ἐκ τούτου τινὲς ἔπειτα τοῖς Σοῦββοις συνεβλήθησαν.

9 ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ θεωρία ἀπασά ἐπὶ πολλάς, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἡμέρας, οὐδὲ διέλιπεν 1 καίτοι 2 τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀρρωστήσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ δι’ ἐτέρου ἐποίησα. καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς οἱ βουλευταὶ μίν τινὰ ὡς ἐκαστὸ ήμέραν ἐν τοῖς τῶν οἰκίων σφών προθύρωις εἰστιάθησαν, οὐκ οἴδαθεν ἐς τούτο προαχέντες· οὐ γὰρ παραδέδοται.

23 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦθ’ οὖτως ἐπράξαθη, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος τὸ τέταρτον ἔτε ὑπατεύοντος ὁ Ταύρος ὁ Στατιλίος βιβρόν τί ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ κυνηγητικῶν λίθων καὶ ἐξεποίησε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέλεσι καὶ καθιέρωσεν ὁπλομαχία, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στρατηγὸν ἐνα παρὰ τοῦ δῆμου κατ’ ἑτος αἱρεῖσθαι ἐλάμβανε.

2 Κατὰ δὲ δὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ’ ἐγύρνετο, ὁ Κράσσος ὁ Μάρκος ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεμφθείς τοῖς τῇ Δακοῖς καὶ τοῖς 3 Βαστάρναις ἔπολεμησε. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐκείνων, οὕτως τέ εἰσι καὶ διὰ τὶ ἐπο-

3 λεµώθησαν, εἰρήναι. Βαστάρναι δὲ Σκύθαι τε ἀκριβῶς νεομίδαται, καὶ τότε τὸν Ἰστρὸν διαβάντες τὴν τῇ Μυσίαν τὴν κατ’ ἀντιπέρας σφῶν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς ὀμόρους αὐτὴ ὀντας τοὺς τῇ Δαρδάνους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ ἑκείνων οἰκούντας ἐχειρώσαντο. τέως μὲν οὖν ταῦτ’ ἐποίουν, οὐδὲν σφίσει πράγμα πρὸς τοὺς Ρωμαίους

1 διέλιπε Bk., διέλιπε VM. 2 καίτοι Μ, καίτοι καὶ V. 3 τοῖς supplied by Bk.
BOOK LI

when they obtained none of their requests, they went over to Antony. They proved of no great assistance to him, however, owing to strife among themselves, and some who were afterwards captured were now matched against the Suebi. The whole spectacle lasted many days, as one would expect, and there was no interruption, even though Caesar fell ill, but it was carried on in his absence under the direction of others. On one of the days of this celebration the senators gave banquets in the vestibules of their several homes; but what the occasion was for their doing this, I do not know, since it is not recorded.

These were the events of those days. And while Caesar was still in his fourth consulship, Statilius Taurus both constructed at his own expense and dedicated with a gladiatorial combat a hunting-theatre of stone in the Campus Martius. Because of this he was permitted by the people to choose one of the praetors each year.

During the same period in which these events occurred Marcus Crassus was sent into Macedonia and Greece and carried on war with the Dacians and Bastarnae. I have already stated who the former were and why they had become hostile; the Bastarnae, on the other hand, who are properly classed as Seythians, had at this time crossed the Ister and subdued the part of Moesia opposite them, and afterwards subdued the Triballi who adjoin this district and the Dardani who inhabit the Triballian country. And as long as they were thus engaged, they had no trouble

1 This was the first stone amphitheatre in Rome.
4 ἢν ἐπεί δὲ τὸν τε Αἴμον ὑπερέβησαν καὶ τὴν Ἐράκην τὴν Δευθελτῶν ἐνσπούδων αὐτοῖς οὕσαν κατέδραμον, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κράσσος τὸ μέν τι τῷ Σιτᾶ τῷ τῶν Δευθελτῶν Βασιλεί τυφλῷ ὄντι ἀμύνον, τὸ δὲ ὑπείστον περὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ φοβηθεὶς ἀντεπῆλθε σφισί, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς προσόδου μόνης καταπλῆξας ἐξέσωσεν ἀμαχεῖ ἐκ τῆς χώρας. κακὸ τούτον οἷκαδε ἀναχωροῦντας ἐπιδιώκοντες τὴν τε Σεγετικὴν καλουμένην προσεποιήσατο καὶ ἐς τὴν Μυσίδα ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τὴν τέχναν σφών ἐκάκωσε καὶ πρὸς τεῖχος τε καρτερόν προσελάσας τοῖς μὲν προδρόμους ἐπτασίε (μόνους ἡπερὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Μυσοί οἰκῆντες εἰναι ἐπέζωδον ἐποιήσαντο), προσβοηθήσας δὲ σφίσι παντὶ τῷ λοιπῷ ἑστηκόματι καὶ ἀνέκοψεν αὐτοὺς καὶ προσεδρεύσας ἐξείλε. πράσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταύτας οἱ Βαστάρναι τῆς τε φυγῆς ἐπέσχον καὶ πρὸς τῷ Κέδρῳ ποταμῷ κατέμειναν, περισσομένοι τὰ γενησόμενα. ἐπείδη τε νικήσως τοὺς Μυσοὺς καὶ ἐπ ἐκείνους ὀρμήσε, πρέσβεις ἐπέμψαν ἀπαγορεύουσε αὐτῷ μὴ διώκειν σφᾶς, ὡς οὐδὲν τοὺς ἱδικηκότας καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κράσσος κατασχῶν ὡς καὶ τὴ ὑπεραία τὴν ἀπόκρισιν δῶσον, τὰ τέ ἐξιλοφορησάτο καὶ κατεμέθυσεν διὰ τὰ πάντα τὰ βουλεύματα αὐτῶν ἐκμαθεῖν ἀπλήστως τε γὰρ ἐμφορεῖται πᾶν τὸ Σκυθικὸν φύλου οἶνον, καὶ ὑπερκορέας αὐτοῦ ταχὺ γίγνεται. Κράσσος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς ὅλην τινὰ προσχωρήσας, καὶ προσκόπους πρὸ αὐτῆς καταστήσας, ἀνέπαυσε τε τὸ στρατεύμα,

1 V omits from here to πεζών in chap. 26, 1, without indicating a lacuna.
with the Romans; but when they crossed Haemus and overran the part of Thrace belonging to the Dentheleti, which was under treaty with the Romans, then Crassus, partly to defend Sitas, king of the Dentheleti, who was blind, but chiefly out of fear for Macedonia, went out to meet them. By his mere approach he threw them into a panic and drove them from the country without a battle. Next he pursued them as they were retiring homeward, gained possession of the region called Segetica, and invading Moesia, ravaged the country and made an assault upon one of the strongholds. Then, although his advance line met with a repulse when the Moesians, thinking it an isolated force, made a sortie, nevertheless, when he reinforced it with his whole remaining army, he hurled the enemy back and besieged and destroyed the place. While he was accomplishing this, the Bastarnae checked their flight and halted near the Cedrus\(^1\) river to observe what would take place. And when, after conquering the Moesians, Crassus set out against them also, they sent envoys bidding him not to pursue them, since they had done the Romans no harm. Crassus detained the envoys, on the plea that he would give them their answer the following day, treated them kindly in various ways, and made them drunk, so that he learned all their plans; for the whole Scythian race is insatiable in the use of wine and quickly becomes sodden with it. Meanwhile Crassus moved forward into a forest during the night, stationed scouts in front of it, and halted his army

\(^1\) The spelling is uncertain; the forms Cebrus, Cibrus, and Ciaibrus are also found. Now the Tzibritza.
καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῶν Βασταρμῶν μόνους τε ἐκείνους εἶναι νομισάντων καὶ ἐπιδραμόντων σφίσιν, ἐς τε τὰ λάσια ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπακολουθησάντων, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐνταῦθα πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ 4 φυγόντας ἐφθειρέν ὑπὸ τε γὰρ τῶν ἁμαξῶν κατόπιν αὐτοὺς οὐσῶν ἐνεποδίσθησαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς παίδας τὰς τε γυναίκας σῶσαι ἐθελήσαντες ἐπταισαν. καὶ τὸν γε βασιλέα αὐτῶν Δέλδωνα αὐτὸς ὁ Κράσσος ἀπέκτεινε· καὶ τὰ σκῦλα αὐτοῦ τῷ Φερετρίῳ Διῷ ὦς καὶ ὠπίμα ἀνέθηκεν, εἰπέρ αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγὸς ἐγεγόνει. 5 ἐκεῖνὰ τε ὁν ὀντὼς ἐπράχθη, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς ἀλόσας τι καταφυγόντες περιεπρήσθησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τεῖχος τε ἐσπηδήσαντες ἐξηρέθησαν. ἄλλοις ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον ἐμπεσόντες, ἄλλοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν 6 σκεδασθέντες ἐφθάρησαν. περιλειψάντων δ’ ὧν καὶ ὁς τινων, καὶ χωρίον ἱσχυρὸν καταλαβόντων, ἡμέρας μὲν τινας μάτην σφίσιν ὁ Κράσσος προσήδρευεν, ἐπειτα Ἡρόλου οἱ Γετῶν τινων 7 βασιλέως ἐπικουρήσαντος ἐξεῖλεν αὐτοὺς. καὶ ὤ τε Ἡρόλης πρὸς τὸν Κάισαρα ἐλθὼν φίλος τε ἐπὶ τοῦτο καὶ σύμμαχος αὐτοῦ ἐνομίσθη, καὶ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι τοῖς στρατιώταις διεδόθησαν. 25 Πράξας δὲ ταύτα ὁ Κράσσος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μυσους ἐτράπτετο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ψείθων τινὰς τὰ δὲ ἐκφοβῶν τὰ δὲ καὶ βιαζόμενος, πάντας μὲν πλὴν πάνω ὀλίγων, ἐπιτόνως δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπικινδύνως κατεστρέφω. 2 ψατο. καὶ τότε μὲν (χειμῶν γὰρ ἤν) ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἀνεχώρησε, πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους
there. Then, when the Bastarnae, in the belief that the scouts were all alone, rushed to attack them and pursued them as they retreated into the thick of the forest, he destroyed many of them on the spot and many others in the rout which followed. For not only were they hindered by their wagons, which were in their rear, but their desire to save their wives and children was also instrumental in their defeat. Crassus himself slew their king Deldo and would have dedicated his armour as spolia opima to Jupiter Feretrius had he been general in supreme command. Such was the nature of this engagement. As for the remainder of the Bastarnae, some perished by taking refuge in a grove, which was then set on fire on all sides, and others by rushing into a fort, in which they were annihilated; still others were destroyed by leaping into the Ister, or as they were scattered here and there through the country. But some survived even so and seized a strong position, where Crassus besieged them in vain for several days. Then with the aid of Roles, king of a tribe of the Getae, he destroyed them. Now Roles, when he visited Caesar, was treated as his friend and ally because of this service; and the captives were distributed among the soldiers.

After accomplishing this task Crassus turned his attention to the Moesians; and partly by persuasion in some cases, partly by terrifying them, partly also by applying force, he subdued all except a very few, though only after great hardships and dangers. And for the time being, since it was winter, he retired into friendly territory, after suffering greatly from
πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλεῖον ὑπὸ τῶν Ὁράκων, δέ ὁν ὡς φίλων ἔπανηγι, παθῶν ὃθενπερ γνώμην ἔσχεν ἀρκεσθήναι τοῖς κατειργασμένοις. καὶ γὰρ καὶ θυσίας καὶ νικητῆρια οὐχ ὅτι τῷ Καίσαρι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐψηφίσθη, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὅνομα, ὡς γε τινὲς φασίν, ἐλαβεν, ἀλλ’ ὁ Καίσαρ μόνος αὐτὸ προσέθετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Βαστάρναι ταῖς τε συμφοραῖς ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ μηκέτ’ αὐτῶν ἐπιστρατεύσεις σφέτεροι πυθόμενοι, πρὸς τε τοὺς Δευθελήτας καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σιτᾶν αὐθίς ὡς καὶ αὐτίωτατον αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν γεγονότα ἐτράποντα, οὕτω καὶ ἄκων ἔξανέστη, καὶ σπουδὴ χωρίςας ἁνέλπιστος τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε, καὶ κρατήσας σπουδᾶς ὅποιας ἤθελησεν ἐδώκεν. ὡς δ’ ἀπαξ τῶν ὅπλων αὐθίς ἡφαῖα, ἐπεθύμησεν ἁμόνασθαι τοὺς Θράκας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ τῇ ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας λυπήσαντας αὐτοῦ καὶ γὰρ τότε χωρίᾳ τε ἐντείχιζόμενοι καὶ πολεμιστείντες ἠγγέλλοντο. καὶ σφὼν Μαίδους μὲν καὶ Σερδοὺς μάχαις τε κατακράτων, καὶ τὰς χείρας τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἀποτέμνουν, οὐκ ἀπόνως μὲν, ἑχαρίσατο δ’ οὖν τὰ δ’ ἄλλα πλὴν τῆς τῶν Ὁδρυσῶν γῆς κατέδραμε. τοῦτων γὰρ, ὅτι τῷ τῇ Διονύσῳ πρόσκεινται καὶ τότε ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπήντησαν οἱ, ἐφείσατο· καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐν ἦ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀγάλλουσιν ἑχαρίσατο. Βησσαρίους τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὴν ἀφελόμενος.

26 Πράσσοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα ὁ Ρώλης Δάπτυγι Γετῶν τινῶν καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ τολμῶσθεὶς μετε-
the cold and much more still at the hands of the Thracians, through whose country he was returning in the belief that it was friendly. Hence he decided to be content with what he had already accomplished. For sacrifices and a triumph had been voted, not only to Caesar, but to him also; nevertheless, he did not receive the title of imperator, as some report, but Caesar alone assumed it. The Bastarnae, now, angered at their disasters and learning that he would make no further campaigns against them, turned again upon the Dentheleti and Sitas, whom they regarded as having been the chief cause of their evils. Thus it came about that Crassus reluctantly took the field; and falling upon them unexpectedly after advancing by forced marches, he conquered them and imposed such terms of peace as he pleased. And now that he had once taken up arms again, he conceived a desire to punish the Thracians who had harassed him during his return from Moesia; for it was reported at this time that they were fortifying positions and were eager for war. He succeeded in subduing some of them, namely the Macedi and the Serdi, though not without difficulty, by conquering them in battle and cutting off the hands of the captives; and he overran the rest of the country except the territory of the Odrysae. These he spared because they are attached to the service of Dionysus, and had come to meet him on this occasion without their arms; and he also granted them the land in which they magnify the god, taking it away from the Bessi who were occupying it.

While he was thus engaged, Roles, who had become embroiled with Dapyx, himself also king of
πέμψατο. καὶ ὃς ἐπικουρῆσας οἱ τὴν τε ῥιπον τῶν ἐναντίων ἐς τοὺς πεῖρος ἐσήραξε, καὶ συμφοβήσας ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνους μάχην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐτ' ἐποιήσατο, φόνον δὲ δὴ φενοῦντων
2 ἐκατέρων πολὺν εἰργάσατο. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ τὸν Δάπνυγα πρὸς φρουρίον τι καταφυγόντα ἀπολαβὼν ἐπολιόρκει καὶ τῇ προσεδρείᾳ ἐλληνιστὶ τις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀσπασάμενος ἐς τε λόγους οἱ ἦλθε καὶ προδοσίαν συνέθετο. ἀλισκομενοὶ οὖν οὕτως οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπ' ἀλλήλων ὄρμησαν, καὶ ὁ τε Δάπνυξ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἀλλοι πολλοὶ. τὸν μὲντοι ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ζωγρῆσας ὁ Κράσσος οὖχ ὅτι τι 1 κακῶν ἔδρασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφήκε.
3 Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ στῆλαιον τὴν Κεῖρων θαλαμένην ἐστρατεύσατο· τοῦτο γὰρ μέγιστὸν τε ἀμα καὶ ἐχυρώσατο οὕτως ὃς καὶ τοὺς Τιτάνας ἐσ αὐτὸ μετὰ τὴν ἠτταν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ὑπερῴσι γενομένην συγκαταφυγεῖν μυθεύσθαι, καταλαβόντες οἱ ἐπιχώροι πλήθει πολλῷ τά τε ἄλλα τα τιμώτατα καὶ τὰς ἀγέλας ἐς αὐτὸ
4 πάσας ἐσκεκομίσατο. ὁ οὖν Κράσσος τὰ τε στόμια αὐτοῦ πάντα σκολῖα καὶ δυσδερεύστα ὅντα ἀναξιητῆσας ἀποκοδόμησε, καὶ τούτον κάκεινους λιμῷ κατεστρέψατο. ὃς δὲ ταῦτα αὐτὸ προεγόρησεν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Γετῶν, καὶ πέρ
5 μηδεν τῷ Δάπνυγι προσηκοῦντων, ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Γένουκλα τὸ εὐερκέστατον τῆς Ζυράξου ἀρχῆς τείχους ἠθεν, ὅτι τὰ σημεῖα, ἀ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Γαίου οἱ Βαστάρναι πρὸς τῇ τῶν Ἰστριανῶν 2 πόλει ἀφήγηστο, ἐνταῦθα ἤκουεν ὅντα· καὶ αὐτὸ

1 τι Μ, om. V. 2 Ἰστριανῶν Leuncl., Ἰστράνων VM.
a tribe of the Getae, sent for him. Crassus went to his aid, and by hurling the horse of his opponents back upon their infantry he so thoroughly terrified the latter also that what followed was no longer a battle but a great slaughter of fleeing men of both arms. Next he cut off Dapyx, who had taken refuge in a fort, and besieged him. In the course of the siege someone hailed him from the walls in Greek, obtained a conference with him, and arranged to betray the place. The barbarians, thus captured, turned upon one another, and Dapyx was killed along with many others. His brother, however, Crassus took alive, and not only did him no harm but actually released him.

After finishing this campaign Crassus led his troops against the cave called Ciris. For the natives in great numbers had occupied this cave, which is extremely large and so capable of defence that the tradition obtains that the Titans took refuge there after their defeat suffered at the hands of the gods; and here they had brought together all their herds and their other most cherished belongings. Crassus first sought out all the entrances to the cave, which are tortuous and difficult to discover, walled them up, and in this way subdued the men by famine. After this success he did not leave in peace the rest of the Getae, either, even though they had no connexion with Dapyx, but he marched upon Genuela, the most strongly defended fortress of the kingdom of Zyraxes, because he heard that the standards which the Bastarnae had taken from Gaius Antonius¹ near the city of the Istrians were there. His assault was made both by

¹ Cf. xxxviii. 10.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

πεζῇ τε ἀμα καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ (πρὸς γὰρ τῷ ὑδατὶ ἑπτολίστο) προσβαλὼν οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ μὲν χρόνῳ, σὺν πολλῷ δὲ δὴ πόω, καίτοι τοῦ Ζυράξου
6 μὴ παρόντος, εἶλεν. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὡς τἄχιστα τῆς ὁρμῆς αὐτοῦ ἤσθετο, πρὸς τε τοὺς Σκύθας ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπῆρε, καὶ οὐκ ἑφθη ἀνακομισθεῖς.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Γέταις ἐπραξε, τῶν δὲ δὴ Μυσῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κεχειρωμένων ἐπαναστάντας δι' 27 ἑτέρων ἀνεκτήσατο, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀρτακίους ἄλλους τε τινὰς οὐθ' ἀλόντας ποτὲ οὔτ' αὐτοὺς συμπεριρχόμενοι οἱ ἔθελοντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς τε μέγιστον ἐπὶ τούτῳ φρονοῦντας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀργῆν τε ἀμα καὶ νεωτερίσμον ἐμποιοῦντας, αὐτὸς τ' ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ σφας τὰ μὲν βία, δράσαντας οὐκ ὀλίγα, τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ τῶν ἀλυσκομένων προσηγαγόντο.

2 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν χρόνῳ ἔγενετο, γράφω δὲ τὰ τε ἀλλὰ ὡς που παραδέδοται, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ὁνόματα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάλαι Μυσοὶ τε καὶ Γέται πᾶσαν τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Λίμου καὶ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ οὖσαν ἐνέρμοντο, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ εἰς ἄλλα 3 τινὲς αὐτῶν ὁνόματα μετέβαλον, καὶ μετὰ ταύτ' ἐς τὸ τῆς Μυσίας ὁνόμα πάνθ' ὡσα ο Σάόνος ἐς τὸν Ἰστροῦ ἐμβάλλων, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς Δελματίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μακεδονίας τῆς τε Θράκης, ἀπὸ τῆς Πανωνίας ἀφορίζει, συγκεχώρηκεν. καὶ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄλλα τε ἐθνὶ πολλὰ καὶ οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ ποτὲ προσαγορεύετε, οὗτοι τὰ Δαρδάνιοι καὶ νῦν οὕτω καλοῦμενοι.
land and from the Ister (the city is built upon the river), and in a short time, though with much toil, despite the absence of Zyraxes, he took the place. The king, it seems, as soon as he heard of the Romans’ approach, had set off with money to the Scythians to seek an alliance, and had not returned in time.

These were his achievements among the Getae. And when some of the Moesians who had been subdued rose in revolt, he won them back by the aid of lieutenants, while he himself made a campaign against the Artacii and a few other tribes who had never been captured and would not acknowledge his authority, priding themselves greatly upon this point and at the same time inspiring in the others both anger and a disposition to rebel. He brought them to terms, partly by force, after they had made no little trouble, and partly by fear for their countrymen who were being captured.

All these operations took a long time; but the facts I record, as well as the names, are in accordance with the tradition which has been handed down. In ancient times, it is true, Moesians and Getae occupied all the land between Haemus and the Ister; but as time went on some of them changed their names, and since then there have been included under the name of Moesia all the tribes living above Dalmatia, Macedonia, and Thrace, and separated from Pannonia by the Savus, a tributary of the Ister. Two of the many tribes found among them are those formerly called the Triballi, and the Dardani, who still retain their old name.
Τάδε ἦσστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ρωμαίων

α. Ἡς Καίσαρ ἐθεωλεύσατο τὴν μοναρχίαν ἀφεῖναι.

β. Ἡς αὐτοκράτωρ καλεῖθαι ἤρξατο.

Χρόνου πλήθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Καίσαρος τὸ ε’ καὶ ¹ Σέξτου Ἀπουλείου ὑπατείας.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ταῖς τε δυναστείαις, πέντε τε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἐπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι, καὶ ἐπραξαν οἱ Ρωμαιοὶ καὶ ἐπαθον· ἐκ δὲ τούτου μοναρχεῖσθαι αὐθις ἀκριβῶς ἤρξαντο, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος βουλευσαμένου τὰ τε ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰ πράγματα τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπιτρέψαι.

2 ἐποιήσατο δὲ τὴν διάγνωσιν μετὰ τοῦ Ἀγριπποῦ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Μαικήνου (τούτοις γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἀπόρρητα ἀνεκόινου), καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀγρίππας πρῶτερος εἶπε τοῖς ὑπάρχοντος καὶ ὑπατείας καὶ μελλοντος: ¹ καὶ supplied by R. Steph.

2 "Μὴ θαυμάσῃς, ὁ Καίσαρ, εἰ μέλλω σε ἀποτρέπειν ἀπὸ τῆς μοναρχίας, καίπερ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἀπολαύσας ἂν ἀπ᾿ αὐτῆς σοὺ ἐκείνην ἔχοντος, εἰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ σοὶ ὦφελίμοις γενήσεσθαι ἐμελλεῖ, καὶ πάνω ἂν αὐτὴν ἐσπούδασα: ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδὲν ὃμοιον τοῖς τε αὐταρχοῦσι καὶ ὑπατείας ἁπατείας Μ, om. V.
BOOK LII

The following is contained in the Fifty-second of Dio’s
Rome:—
How Caesar planned to lay aside his sovereignty (chaps.
1–40).
How he began to be called emperor (chap. 42).
Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of
Caesar (V) and Sextus Apuleius. (B.C. 29.)

Such were the achievements of the Romans and such their sufferings under the kingship, under the republic, and under the dominion of a few, during a period of seven hundred and twenty-five years. After this they reverted to what was, strictly speaking, a monarchy, although Caesar planned to lay down his arms and to entrust the management of the state to the senate and the people. He made his decision, however, in consultation with Agrippa and Maecenas, to whom he was wont to communicate all his secret plans; and Agrippa, taking the lead, spoke as follows:

"Be not surprised, Caesar, if I shall try to turn your thoughts away from monarchy, even though I should derive many advantages from it, at least if it was you who held the position. For if it were to be profitable to you also, I should advocate it most earnestly; but since the privileges of a monarchy
τοις φίλοις σφών παρέχεται, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν καὶ ἀνεπιφθώνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐθέλουσιν καρποῦνται, τοῖς δὲ καὶ φθόνοι καὶ κίνδυνοι συμβάλλουσιν, οὐ τὸ ἐμαντοῦ  ἵδιον, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν τὸ τε κοινὸν προϊδέσθαι ἔδικαιώσαι.

3 “Σκεφώμεθα δὲ καθ’ ἤσυχίαν πάντα τὰ προσόντα αὐτῇ, καὶ ὅπῃ ποτ’ ἂν ὁ λογισμὸς ἤμας ἀγάμῃ τραπώμεθα· οὐ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ ἔξω ἅπαντος τρόπου φήσει τις δεῖν ἤμας ἔλεσθαι

4 αὐτήν, κἂν μὴ λυσιτελοῦσα ή. εἰ δὲ μὴ, δόξομεν ἦτοι τῆς τε εὐπραγίας ἦττήσαθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κατορθωμένων ἐκπεφρονηκέναι, ἣ καὶ πάλαι αὐτῆς ἐφιέμενοι τὸν τε πατέρα καὶ τὴν ἐσ αὐτῶν εὐσέβειαν ἐσκήνωσαν καὶ τὸν δήμον τὴν τε γερουσίαν προβεβλήσαθαι, οὐχ ἢν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων σφίσιν ἄπαλλάξωμεν, ἀλλ’ ἢν

5 ἐαντοίς δουλωσώμεθα. ἐκάτερον ἑπ’ ὑπαίτιον, τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγανακτήσειν ἄλλα μὲν ὅρόν ἤμας εἰρηκότας, ἄλλα δὲ αἰσθανόμενος πεφρονηκότας; τὸς δ’ οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον τὸν μισήσειν ἤμας ἢ εἰ κατ’ ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς τὴν τε ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπεγμανώσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἀντικρυ

6 ὥρμησαμεν; τὸ μὲν γὰρ βίαιον τι τολμᾶν προσήκειν πως τοῦ ἀνθρώπων φύσει, κἀν πλεονεκτικὸν εἶναι δοκῆ, πεπίστευται· πάς γὰρ ὁ προφέρων ἐν τινὶ πλέον ἀξιοὶ τοῦ καταδεικτέρου ἔχειν, καὶ κατορθώσας τε τι ἐς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς

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1 δόξομεν R. Steph., δόξομεν VM.
2 τοῦ M., τὸ V.
3 ἢν supplied by St.
4 ψυχῆς Rk., τόχης VM.
are by no means the same for the rulers as for their friends, but, on the contrary, jealousies and dangers fall to the lot of the rulers while their friends reap, without incurring either jealousies or dangers, all the benefits they can wish for. I have thought it right, in this question as in all others, to have regard, not for my own interests, but for yours and the state’s.

"Let us consider, now, at our leisure all the characteristics of this system of government and then shape our course in whichever direction our reasoning may lead us. For surely no one will assert that we are obliged to choose monarchy in any and all circumstances, even if it be not profitable. If we choose it, people will think that we have fallen victims to our own good fortune and have been bereft of our senses by our successes, or else that we have been aiming at sovereignty all the while, making of our appeals to your father and of our devotion to his memory a mere pretext and using the people and the senate as a cloak, with the purpose, not of freeing these latter from those who plotted against them, but of making them slaves to ourselves. And either explanation involves censure for us. For who could help being indignant when he finds that we have said one thing and then discovers that we have meant another? Would he not hate us much more now than if we had at the outset laid bare our desires and set out directly for the monarchy? To be sure, men have come to believe that it somehow is an attribute of human nature, however selfish that may seem, to resort to deeds of violence; for every one who excels in any respect thinks it right that he should have more than his inferior, and if he meets with any success, he ascribes his success to the force
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

1σχύν ἀναφέρεται, καὶ διαμαρτήτων τινος τῇ τοῦ
7 δαίμονίου φορᾷ προστίθεται. ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς
καὶ κακουργίας τοιοῦτο τι ποιῶν πρῶτον μὲν
dolerōs καὶ σκολιῶς καὶ κακοίθης καὶ κακο-
τροπος εἶναι νομίζεται, ἀπερ εὐ ὁδ' ὅτι περὶ
σοῦ οὐδένα ἂν ὑπομείνεις εἰπεῖν ἢ φρονήσαι,
οὐδ' εἰ πάσης ἐκ τούτου τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄρξειας
ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ κατορθώσας ἄδικον τὴν πλεονεξίαν
πεποιήσθαι καὶ σφαλείς δικαίαν τὴν κακοπραγίαν
3 εἰληφέναι δοκεῖ. τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος,
οὐδὲν ἂν ἦττον ἐπικαλέσει τις ἡμῖν καὶ εἰ μηδὲν
toiouτον ἀπὸ πρώτης ἐνθυμηθέντες ἐπείτα νῦν
ἐπιθυμήσαμεν αὐτοῦ. τὸ γὰρ τοῖς τοῖς τε παρόν-
tοις νικᾶσθαι καὶ μῆτε ἐαυτοὺς κατέχειν τοῖς τε
παρὰ τῆς τύχης δοθεῖσι μὴ καλῶς χρῆσθαι πολὺ
2 χείρον ἔστι του ἠκακοπραγίας ἄδικεῖν τινα' οἰ
μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν συμφορῶν πολλάκις
ἀναγκάζονται πρὸς τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος σφισι
χρείαν καὶ ἄκοντες πλημμελεῖν, οἱ δ' ἐσθελοῦνται
ἀκράτορες ἑαυτῶν καὶ παρὰ τὸ λυσίτελον γί-
γονται. τοὺς δὲ δὴ μήθ' ἀπλοτητά τινα ἐν τῇ
ψυχῇ ἔχοντας μήτε τὰ δοθέντα σφίσιν ἀγαθὰ
πετριώσαι δυναμένους πῶς ἂν τις προσδοκήσῃν
ὁτι τῶν ἄλλων καλῶς ἠγεμονεύσειν ἢ ταῖς
3 συμφοραῖς ὅρθως χρῆσθαι; ὡς οὖν μηδέτερον
αὐτῶν πεποιήσετε, μηδ' ἀλόγως τι πράξαι ἐπι-
θυμοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὃ τι ποτ' ἂν βουλευσαμένοι ἡμῖν
ἀριστον φανὶ τοῦθ' αἰρησόμενοι, τὴν διάγνωσιν
82
of his own intelligence, whereas if he fails, he lays
the blame for his failure upon the influence of the
divine will. But, on the other hand, the man who,
in following such a course, resorts to plotting and
villainy, is, in the first place, held to be crafty and
crooked, malicious, and depraved,—an opinion which
I know you would not allow anyone to express or to
entertain about you, even if you might rule the
whole world by such practices; and, in the second
place, if he succeeds, men think that the advantage
he has gained is unjust, or if he fails, that his dis-
comfiture is merited. This being the case, men
would reproach us quite as much if we should now,
after the event, begin to covet that advantage, even
though we harboured no such intention at the outset.
For surely it is much worse for men to let circum-
stances get the better of them and not only to fail
to hold themselves in check but to abuse the gifts of
Fortune, than to wrong others in consequence of
failure. For men who have failed are often compelled
by their very misfortunes to commit wrongs even
against their will in order to meet the demands of
their own interests, whereas the others voluntarily
abandon their self-control even when it is unprofitable
to do so. And when men have no straightforwardness
in their souls, and are incapable of moderation in
dealing with the blessings bestowed upon them, how
could one expect them either to rule well over others
or to conduct themselves properly in adversity? In
the conviction, therefore, that we are guilty of
neither of these shortcomings, and that we have no
desire to act irrationally, but that we shall choose
whatever course shall appear to us after deliberation
to be best, let us proceed to make our decision
αὐτοῦ ποιησόμεθα. Λέξω δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας:
οὕτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄλλος ἂν τι εἰπεῖν δυνάμην, οὕτε
σοὶ σύνοιδα τὰ ψευδή μετὰ κολακείας ἤδεως
ἀκούοντι.

4 Ἡ μὲν τοῖνυν ἱσονομία τὸ τε πρόσρημα εὖω-
νυμον καὶ τὸ ἔργον δικαίοτατον ἔχει. τὴν τε
γὰρ φύσιν τὴν αὐτῆς τινας εἰληχότας καὶ ὀμο-
φύλους ἀλλήλους ὄντας, ἐν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἤθεσι
τεθραμμένους καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις πεπαι-

2 δεμένους, καὶ κοινὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων καὶ
τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν χρῆσθαι τῇ πατρίδι παρέχοντας,
ποὺς μὲν οὐ δικαιον καὶ τάλλα πάντα κοινοῦσθαι,
πῶς ὦ οὐκ ἄριστον ἐν μηδείν πλὴν ἀπ’ ἄρετῆς

3 προτιμᾶσθαι; ἢ τε γὰρ ἱσογονία ἱσομοιρίας ὀρι-
γνάται, καὶ τυχοῦσα μὲν αὐτῆς χαιρεί, διαμαρ-
τούσα δὲ ἀχθετάι καὶ τὸ ἄνθρωπεον πᾶν, ἀτε
ἐκ τε θεὸν ἑγοῦσι καὶ ἐς θεοὺς ἁφῆξου, ἀνω
βλέπει, καὶ οὔτε ἐθέλει ύπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς

4 ἀρχεσθαι, οὐθ’ ὑπομένει τῶν μὲν πόνων καὶ τῶν
κινδύνων τῶν τε δαπανημάτων μετέχου, τῆς δὲ
κοινωνίας τῶν κρειττόνων στερόμενον, ἄλλα καὶ
ἀναγκασθῇ τι τοιοῦτον ὑποστῆραι, μυσί το βε-
βιασμένον, κἀν καιρὸν λάβηται, τιμωρεῖται τὸ

5 μεμισημένον. ἀρχειν τε γὰρ πάντες ἀξίουσι, καὶ
dιὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρχεσθαι ἐν τῷ μέρει ὑπομένουσι;
καὶ πλεονεκτεῖται οὐκ ἐθέλουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
οὐδ’ αὐτοὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀναγκάζονται, ταῖς τε

6 τιμωρίας τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπαινοῦσι. καὶ
οὕτω πολιτεύονται, κοινὰ1 μὲν τὰ ἀγαθὰ κοινὰ

1 κοινὰ Rk., καὶ κοινὰ VM.
accordingly. I shall speak quite frankly, for I could not, for my part, speak otherwise, and I know you too well to think that you like to listen to falsehood mingled with flattery.

"Equality before the law has an auspicious name and is most just in its workings. For in the case of men who are endowed with the same nature, are of the same race with one another, have been brought up under the same institutions, have been trained in laws that are alike, and yield in an equal degree the service of their bodies and of their minds to their country, is it not just that they should have an equal share in all other things also, and is it not best that they should secure no distinctions except as the result of excellence? For equality of birth demands equality of privilege, and if it attains this object, it is glad, but if it fails, it is displeased. And the human race everywhere, sprung as it is from the gods and destined to return to the gods, gazes upward and is not content to be ruled forever by the same person, nor will it endure to share in the toils, the dangers, and the expenditures and yet be deprived of partnership in the better things. Or, if it is forced to submit to anything of the sort, it hates the power which has applied coercion, and if it obtains an opportunity, takes vengeance upon what it hates. All men, of course, claim the right to rule, and for this reason submit to being ruled in turn; they are unwilling to have others overreach them, and therefore are not obliged, on their part, to overreach others. They are pleased with the honours bestowed upon them by their equals, and approve of the penalties inflicted upon them by the laws. Now if they live under this kind of polity and regard the blessings and also the
δὲ καὶ τὰ ἑναντία νομίζοντες εἶναι, οὔτε τι κακὸν οὐδὲν τῶν πολιτῶν γίγνεσθαι βούλονται, καὶ πάντα τὰ κράττω πάσιν αὐτοῖς συνεύχονται.

7 καὶ ἂν τε τις αὐτῶς ἀρετήν τινα ἔχῃ, καὶ προφαίνει αὐτὴν προχείρως καὶ ἀσκεῖ προθύμως καὶ ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἀσμενόστατα, ἀν τε καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἴδῃ, καὶ προάγει ἐτοιμός καὶ συναύξει σπουδαῖως καὶ τιμᾶ ὁμορρότατα. καὶ μέντοι καὶ κακῶνται τις, πάς αὐτῶν μισεῖ, κἂν δυστυχή, πᾶς ἔλεει, κοινὴς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ἰημίαν καὶ τὴν οἰσχύνην τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζον.

5 "Αὐτὴ μὲν ἡ τῶν δήμων κατάστασις, ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς τυραννίσαι πάντα τάναντι συμβαίνει. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλά τί δεί μηκύνειν λέγοντα; τὸ δὲ δὴ κεφάλαιον, χρήσιν μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰδέναι οὔτ' ἔχειν δοκεῖν βούλεται (πολέμιον γὰρ αὐτῷ πάν ἐπί τοῦτο τὸ κρατοῦν ὡς πλῆθει γίγνεται),

2 τῶν δὲ ἐκείνου τις τρόπον κανόνα τοῦ βίου ποιησάμενος, ὁ τε ποτ' ἂν ἐλπίσῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ πλεονεκτήσας ἀκινδύνως κερδανείν, μετέρχεται καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ πλείους σφῶν τὸ τε καθ' ἐαυτοῦ μόνον σπεύδουσι καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀλλοὺς μεσοῦσι, τὰς τε εὐπραγίας αὐτῶν οἰκείας ἰημίας καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς ἱδία κέρδη ποιούμενοι.

3 "Τοιοῦτων δὲ δὴ τούτων δυντὸν όρι ὅτε τι ποτ' ἂν εἰκότως ἑπάρειτε σε μοναρχῆσαι ἐπιθυμήσαι. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ τοὺς δήμους χαλεπὸν εἶναι τὸ πολιτεύμα, πολὺ δυσχέρεστον αὐτῷ σοι γένοιτο ἀν.

1 At this point a quaternion (containing the chapters down to 20, 4) is missing from M. L', the copy of M, here becomes of importance, since the scribe filled the lacuna in M from L, which was then complete. See vol. i. p. xxv.

86
opposite as belonging to all alike, they not only wish no harm to befall any one of the citizens, but devoutly hope that nothing but prosperity will fall to the lot of each and all. And if one of them possesses any excellence himself, he readily makes it known, practises it enthusiastically, and exhibits it most joyfully; or if he sees it in another, he readily brings it to the light, eagerly takes part in increasing it, and bestows the most splendid honours upon it. On the other hand, if any one shows himself base, everybody hates him, and if any one meets with misfortune, everybody pities him; for each person regards the loss and the disgrace that arise therefrom as shared in by the whole state.

"This is the character of democracies. Under tyrannies exactly the opposite conditions are found. But why go into all the details at length? The chief thing is that no one is willing to be thought to have any superior knowledge or possession, because the dominant power generally becomes wholly hostile to him on account of such superiority; on the contrary, every one makes the tyrant's character his own standard of life and pursues whatever objects he may hope to gain through him by overreaching others without personal risk. Consequently, the majority of the people are devoted only to their own interests and hate all their neighbours, regarding the others' successes as their own losses and the others' misfortunes as their own gains.

"Such being the state of the case, I do not see what motive could reasonably induce you to desire to become sole ruler. For that system, besides being difficult to apply to democracies, would be vastly more difficult still for you yourself to put into effect."
διο's roman history

η ούχ όρας ὅπως ἢ τε πόλις καὶ τὰ πράγματα
4 αὐτῆς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ταράττεται; καὶ χαλεπὸν μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ τῶν ὁμολογήμαται, καταλύει, χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς τε ὑπηκόους, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ παλαιὸν δημοκρατουμένους τοὺς δ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἠλευθερομένους, ἐς δούλειαν αὖθις κατα-
stήθαι, τοσοῦτον πέριξ πολεμίων ἡμῶν προσ-
κειμένων.

6 "Καὶ ἵνα γε ἀπὸ πρῶτον τοῦ βραχυτάτου ἀρχώμας, χρήματα σοι πολλὰ καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀναγκαίον ἐσται πορίζειν ἄδυνατον γὰρ τὰς νῦν ὦσας προσόδους πρὸς τε τὰλλα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιώτων τροφῆν ἐξαρκέσαι. τούτῳ δὲ ἐστὶ μὲν καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οὐ γὰρ οἶνον τε

2 πολιτείαιν τινὰ ἀνευ δαπάνης συστήναι. ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ἐκεῖναις μᾶλιστα μὲν ἐκόντες πολλοὶ πολλὰ ἐπιδιδόσειν, ἐν φιλοτιμίαις μέρει τὸ πράγμα ποιούμενοι καὶ τιμᾶς ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἄξιον ἀντι-
λαμβάνοντες. ἀν δὲ ποὺ καὶ ἀναγκαίαι παρὰ πάντων ἔσφοραλ γένωνται, ἑαυτοὺς τε τ' 

3 πείθοντες καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν συντελούντες ἀνέχονται. ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς δυναστείαις τὸ τε ἄρχον πάντες μόνον ὡς καὶ ὑπερπλουτοῦν ἄξιον διαπανάσθαι, τὰς μὲν προσόδους αὐτῶν ἐτοίμως ἔξερενωμένοι, τὰ δ' ἀναλώματα οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἐκλογιζόμενοι καὶ οὕτ' ἰδία ἡδέως η καὶ ἐκόντες ἐπιδιδόσαντες τ' τε, οὕτε τὰς

1 το R. Steph., γε' VL'.
Or do you not see how the city and its affairs are even now in a state of turmoil? It is difficult, also, to overthrow our populace, which has lived for so many years in freedom, and difficult, when so many enemies beset us round about, to reduce again to slavery the allies and subject nations, some of which have had a democratic government from of old, while others of them have been set free by us ourselves.

"To begin first with the least important consideration, it will be necessary that you procure a large supply of money from all sides; for it is impossible that our present revenues should suffice for the support of the troops, not to speak of the other expenses. Now this need of funds, to be sure, exists in democracies also, since it is not possible for any government to continue without expense. But in democracies many citizens make large contributions, preferably of their own free will, in addition to what is required of them, making it a matter of patriotic emulation and securing appropriate honours in return for their liberality; or, if perchance compulsory levies are also made upon the whole body of citizens, they submit to it both because it is done with their own consent and because the contributions they make are in their own interests. In monarchical governments, on the other hand, the citizens all think that the ruling power alone, to which they credit boundless wealth, should bear the expense; for they are very ready to search out the ruler's sources of income, but do not reckon his expenses so carefully; and so they make no contributions from their private means gladly or of their own free will, nor are the public levies they make
ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝ HISTORY

4 κοινασ συντελείας αὐθαιρετος ποιοῦνται. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἄν ἐθελήσεις τις (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὀμολογήσεις ἂν ῥαδίως πλουτεῖν) οὔτε συμφέρει τῷ κρατοῦντι γίγνεσθαι αὐτικα γὰρ ἂν δοξαν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὡς καὶ φιλόπολις ἔχων ὀγκωθείη καὶ νεωτερίσειε. τὸ δ' ἔτερον πάντως πολλοὺς βαρύνει, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι τὴν μὲν ζημίαν αὐτοὶ υπομένουσι, τὸ δὲ δὴ κέρδος ἔτεροι λαμβάνουσιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ στρατεύονται ὡς πλήθει οἱ τὰ χρήματα συνεσ-φέρουσι, ὡστε τρόπον τινὰ αὕθαις αὐτὰ ἀπο-λαμβάνοντες ἐν δὲ ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἄλλοι μὲν ὡς τὸ πολὺ καὶ γεωργοῦσι καὶ δημουργοῦσι καὶ ναυτιλλοῦνται καὶ πολιτεύονται, παρ' ὀποῖος καὶ αἱ λήψεις μάλιστα γίγνονται, ἄλλοι δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχουσι καὶ τὸν μισθὸν φέρουσιν.

7 "Εν μὲν δὴ τούτῳ τοιοῦτον ὁν πράγματα σοι παρέξει, ἔτερον δὲ ἐκεῖνο. πάντως μὲν τινὰ δεὶ δίκην τὸν ἄει κακουργοῦντα δεῖδοναί οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ νουθεσίας οὔτε ἐκ παραδειγμάτων οἱ πολλοὶ σωφρονίζονται, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀτιμία καὶ φυγή καὶ θανάτῳ ἔτιμονος οἶα ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τηλικαύτῃ καὶ ἐν πλήθει ἄνθρωπων τοσοῦτω, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἐν μεταβολῇ πολιτείας, 2 φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν. τούτοις δὲ ἂν μὲν ἐτέρους δικαστὰς καθίζης, ἀπολύοις τὲ ἃν διασπευδό-μενοι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσος ἂν ἔθραϊνει νομισθῆς καὶ γὰρ προσποίησιν τινὰ ἐξουσίας οἱ δικάζοντες λαμβάνουσιν, όταν τε παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν τὸ 3 κρατοῦντι ποιήσωσι καὶ ἅρα τινὲς ἀλίσκονται; 1 τοσοῦτω χ.τ., τοσοῦτοις τ.κ. 2 τοσοῖς χ.λ. τοσοῖς τ.κ. 3 ἀλλὰς ὁρ. στ.ρ., ἀλλὰς τ.κ.
BOOK LII

voted of their own free choice. As for the voluntary contributions, no citizen would feel free to make one, any more than he would readily admit that he was rich, and it is not to the advantage of the ruler that he should, for immediately he would acquire a reputation for patriotism among the masses, become conceited, and incite a rebellion. On the other hand, a general levy weighs heavily upon the masses, the more so because they suffer the loss while the others reap the gain. Now in democracies those who contribute the money as a general rule also serve in the army, so that in a way they get their money back again; but in monarchies one set of people usually engages in agriculture, manufacturing, commerce, and politics,—and these are the classes from which the state's receipts are chiefly derived,—and a different set is under arms and draws pay.

"This single circumstance, then, which is as I have described it, will cause you trouble. But here is another. It is by all means essential that whoever from time to time commits a crime should pay some penalty. For the majority of men are not brought to reason by admonition or by example, but it is absolutely necessary to punish them by disfranchisement, by exile, or by death; and such punishments are often administered in an empire as large as this is and in a population as great as ours, especially during a change of government. Now if you appointed other men to judge these wrongdoers, they would vie with each other in acquitting the accused, and particularly all whom you might be thought to hate; for judges, you know, gain an appearance of authority when they act in any way contrary to the wish of the ruler. And if an
διὰ σὲ δόξουσιν ἐκ κατασκευάσματος κατεψηφίσθαι. ἀν δ᾿ αὐτὸς δικαίης, πολλοὺς ἀναγκασθῇ καὶ τῶν ὁμοτίμων κολάξειν (τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εὔτυχες), καὶ πάντως τιῶς αὐτῶν ὅργη
4 μᾶλλον ἡ δικαιότερος δόξης ἐυθύνει τὸν γὰρ βιῶσθαι δυναμένους ὑδεῖς δικάζοντας δικαιοπραγεῖν πιστεύει, ἀλλ᾿ οἰονται πάντες αὐτοὶς σχῆμα καὶ σκιαγραφίαν πολιτείας αἰσχύνη πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας προπετανύντας, ὁνόματι ἐννομοφ 
2 δικαστηρίου τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀποπιμπλάναι. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ταῦτα ὅτως
5 γίγνεται· ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις, ἃν τ᾿ ἰδία τις ἀδικεῖν αἰτίαν λάβῃ, ἰδιαὶ δίκην παρὰ δικασταῖς ἵσοις φεύγει, ἃν τε δημοσία, καὶ ἐκείνῳ δικασταὶ καθιζοῦσιν Ἑ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων οὐς ἂν ὁ
κλῆρος ἀποδείξῃ, ὡστε βὰν τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἀπ᾿ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φέρειν, μὴ ἵσχυ τοῖς δικαστοῖς μὴτε χάριτε ἀναγκαστῇ νομίζοντάς τι πεπονθέναι.

8 „Εἰς τοῖς πολλοῖς χωρὶς τῶν τι ἀδικοῦντων, οἱ μὲν γένεις, οἱ δὲ πλούτω καὶ ἐπαιρομενοὶ, ἄλλος μὲν οὐ κακοὶ ἀνδρεῖς, τῇ δὲ δὴ προαιρέσθη τῇ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐναντίον φύγονται καὶ αὐτοὶς οὕτως αὐξεῖσθαι τις έν ὄσφαλος δύνα
ται ἡμῶν, οὕτως αὐθολειπόν δικαίως

1 δόξης V., δόξης V. 2 ἐννομο Naber, ἐννομον VL. 3 καθιζοῦσιν Rk., καθιζοῦσιν VL. 4 οὐς οὐ Xyl., οὕσαν VL. 5 ἀναγκαστῇ L., ἀναγκασθῇ V.
occasional criminal is in fact convicted, it will be thought that he has been condemned deliberately, in order to please you. But if, on the other hand, you sit in judgment yourself, you will be obliged to punish many also of your peers—an unfortunate situation—and you will certainly be thought to be calling some of them to account through resentment rather than through a sense of justice. For no one believes that those who have the power to use compulsion are acting honestly when they give judgment, but all men think they are led by a sense of shame to spread out before the truth a mere semblance and illusive picture of a constitutional government, and under the legal name of a court of justice are but satisfying their own desires. This, then, is what happens in monarchies. In democracies, on the other hand, when any one is accused of committing a private wrong, he is made defendant in a private suit before a jury of his equals; or, if he is accused of a public crime, in his case also a jury of his peers, men whom the lot shall designate, sits in judgment. It is therefore easier for men to bear the decisions which proceed from such juries, since they think that any penalty dealt out to them has been inflicted neither by a judge’s power nor as a favour which a judge has been forced to grant.

“Then again, apart from those who are guilty of wrongdoing, there are many men who pride themselves, some on their birth, others on their wealth, and still others on something else, who, though in general not bad men, are yet by nature opposed to the principle of monarchy. If a ruler allows these men to become strong, he cannot live in safety, and if, on the other hand, he undertakes to impose a
2 toúto poieîn. tì pot' ouîn toûtois chrēsq; pôs autous metaxheirîsq; an mên gar tâ te ãenê sphôn kathêlias kai touîs ploutous élattôsqs tâ tephrônìmatâ tapneîôsqhs, oudeîmian an euînoian parâ tôn árchomênôn lábois; pôs gar, eî miîte genvêthnai tîâ kalôs miîte ploutîsqhai dikaiow, miît' ischurî miît' andrêiow miîte suvnetî genvêthai ezeîn; 3 àn de ãasqs taubô' òs ãastas aûzexîn, ouîn an rádios autâ diâthoi. kai gar eî autûs mônos prôs tê tô tâ politika kai prôs tô tâ poleimika kalôs kai kata kaîron prâttiein ezi'îres, kai miîdenos suvnerghi prôs miîden autôn exerhzês, 4 èteros àn ãn logos' òvûn de pàsâ se ãanqêk synaquniasqas pollous, aîte tosaûtqis oikoumênes arxonta, ècheîn, kai prosoîkei poû pântas autôs kai andreiouqs kai phronîmous einai. oukouv àn mên toînopoi tis tê te stratæymata kai tás arqhas ãycheirîqhs, kîndvînos èstai kai soî kai tô 5 politêia katalebhnai: ou gar èstîn ouît' àneu phronîmatos axiôlogon arbdra fûnai, ouît' àv phronîma megà laîbeîn èk douloipreous èpi-tûdeusèwos, ou mîn ouîde phronîmatian genvômenou mi ouk ãleuvêriaîs épithumhîsai kai pûn tô de- 6 spûzon miôshsai. àn de ãî toûtois mên miîden èpitrepês, tôis ãî ãî fâuloi kai tôis tuqhoui tô prâgmatâ prostásqs, tâxi斯塔 mên àn ãrhyn parèkeînîw ãs àpistoumênôv lábois, tâxi斯塔 7 ò' àn en tôis megístois ptaíseias. tô mên gar àn ãgathôn àmâqhês ãî ãgenvês 3 ànthropos èrgôsaîto; tôs ò' ouîk àn katafroîshîsiein autôi tôv polêmow; 1 tô supplied by Bs. 2 àrhoîs ta Lœncl., àrhoîs ta VL. 3 àgennês V, àgennês L'.
check on them, he cannot do so justly. What, then, will you do with them? How will you deal with them? If you root out their families, diminish their wealth, and humble their pride, you will not have the good-will of your subjects. How could you have it, if no one is permitted to be born to noble rank, or to grow rich honestly, or to become strong or brave or intelligent? Yet if you allow these various classes to grow strong, you will not be able to deal with them easily. True, if you alone were equal to carrying on the business of the state and the business of warfare successfully and in a manner to meet the demands of each situation, and needed no assistant for any of these matters, it would be a different matter. As the case stands, however, since you would be governing this vast world, it would be quite essential for you to have many helpers; and of course they ought all to be both brave and high-spirited. Now if you hand over the legions and the offices to men of such parts, there will be danger that both you and your government will be overthrown. For it is not possible either for a man of any real worth to be naturally lacking in spirit, or on the other hand for a man sprung from a servile sphere of life to acquire a proud spirit; nor, again, if he proves himself a man of spirit, can he fail to desire liberty and to hate all mastery. If, on the other hand, you entrust nothing to these men, but put affairs in charge of common men of indifferent origin, you will very soon incur the resentment of the first class, who will think themselves distrusted, and you will very soon fail in the greatest enterprises. For what good thing could an ignorant or low-born person accomplish? Who of our enemies would not hold him in con-
τις θ' ἀν πειθαρχήσειν ὁ οἴκος συμμάχων; τις δ' οὐκ ἀν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπαξιώσειν ὑπὸ τοιοῦτον τινὸς ἄρχεσθαι; καὶ μὴν ἡ σα ἐκ τούτου κακὰ γίγνεσθαι πέφυκε, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα
8 οὐδὲν δέομαι σοι σαφῶς εἰδοτι διηγεῖσθαι, ἐκείνο δὲ δὴ μόνον ἀναγκαῖος ἔρω, ὅτι ἂν μὲν μὴν δέον ὁ τοιοῦτος πράττῃ, πολὺ πλεῖόν ἂν σε τῶν πολεμίων βλάψειν, ἀν δὲ τὶ τῶν προσηκόντων ποιῆ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν σοι φοβηρὸς ἐκφρονήσας ὑπ' ἀπαϊδευσίας γένοιτο.

9 "Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις τοιοῦτο τι πρόσεστιν, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους καὶ πλούτως καὶ ἀνδριζοῦνται, τόσῳ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ τε φιλοτιμοῦνται καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐξοῦσι, καὶ σφίζει καὶ ἐκείνη κέχρηται καὶ χαίρει, πλὴν ἂν τὶς τυραννίδος ἐπιθυμήσῃ τούτων γὰρ ἑσχύρος κολάζουσι.

2 καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ' οὔτως ἔχει καὶ πολλῷ κρεῖττονς αἱ δημοκρατίαι τῶν μοναρχῶν εἰσι, δηλοὶ οὐκαὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν τέωσ μὲν γὰρ οὔτως ἐπολυτεύνοτο, οὐδὲν μέγα κατέπραξαν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἥν

3 ἦρχαντο, ὁνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο· δηλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ὅν οἱ μὲν ἐν τυραννίᾳ καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαγόμενοι ἀεὶ τοῦ δουλεύουσι καὶ ἂεὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, οἱ δὲ δὴ προστατείας ἐπετησίως ἡ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖόν τινα χρόνον χρόμενοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτονομοὶ διατελοῦσιν

4 οὕτως. ἀλλὰ τι δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἀλλοτρίως παραδείγματος οἰκεία ἐχοντας χρῆσθαι; ἡμεῖς γὰρ αὐτοὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀλλος τὸ πρῶτον πολιτευόμενοι,

1 πειθαρχήσειν (πειθαρχήσειν) L', πιθαρχήσειν V.
2 ἐκεῖνος L', ἐκεῖνος V.
BOOK LII

tempt? Who of our allies would obey him? Who even of the soldiers themselves would not disdain to be ruled by such a man? And yet I need not explain to you all the evils that naturally result from such a condition, for you know them thoroughly; but this one thing I shall say, as I am constrained to do—that if a minister of this kind failed in every duty, he would injure you far more than the enemy, while if he met with any success in the conduct of his office, his lack of education would cause him to lose his head and he as well would prove formidable to you.

"Such a situation, however, does not arise in democracies, but the more men there are who are wealthy and brave, so much the more do they vie with each other and upbuild the state, and the state, on its part, rejoices in them, unless one of them conceives a desire for tyrannical power; for the citizens severely punish such an one. That this is so, now, and that democracies are far superior to monarchies, is shown by the experience of Greece. For as long as the people had the monarchical form of government, they accomplished nothing of importance; but when they began to live under the democratic system they became most renowned. It is shown also by the experience of the other races of mankind. For those which still live under tyrannies are always in slavery and are always plotting against their rulers, whereas those which have governors chosen for a year or a longer period continue to be both free and independent. But why should we resort to examples furnished by other peoples when we have examples here at home? We Romans ourselves at first had a different form of government, then later, after we
ἐπειτὰ ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐπάσχομεν, τῆς τε ἔλευθερίας ἐπεθυμήσαμεν καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὴν 5 πρὸς τοσοῦτον ὅγκον προῆλθομεν, οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἢ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀγαθοῖς ἰσχύσαντες, ἐξ ὧν ἦ τε ἔγερον προεβούλευεν καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρω ὑπὸ τὸ τε στρατεύομενον προεβμεῖτο καὶ τὸ στρατηγοῦν ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο. ἃν οὐδὲν ἂν ἐν τυραννίδι πραξθεῖν. 2 ἀμέλει τοσοῦτον αὐτῆς διὰ ταῦτα μίσος οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐσχοῦν ὡστε καὶ ἐπάρατον τὸ πολίτευμα ποιῆσανται.

10 "Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, εἰ δεῖ τι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱδία σοι αὐτῷ συμφερόντων εἰπεῖν, πῶς μὲν ἂν ὑπομείνειας τοσαύτα καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ διοικῶν, πῶς δ᾽ ἂν μὴ υγιαίνων ἐξαρκέσειας; τίνος δ᾽ ἂν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀπολαύσειας, πῶς δ᾽ ἂν στερόμενος αὐτῶν εὐδαιμονίσειας; τίνι δ᾽ ἂν ἀκρίβως ἡσθένθηκα, πότε δ᾽ οὐκ 2 ἂν ἰσχυρῶς λυπηθεῖς; πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνάγκη τοῦ τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα καὶ φροντίζειν πολλὰ καὶ δεδιέναι πολλὰ, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡδίστων ἐλάχιστα ἀπολαύειν, τὰ δὲ δυσχερότατα ἄει καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἁκούειν καὶ ὀράν καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν. οθὲν, οἴμαι, καὶ Ἔλληνες καὶ Βάρβαροι τίνες οὐδὲ διδομένας σφίσι βασιλείας ἐδέξαντο.

3 "Ταῦτ᾽ οὖν προϊδόμενος 3 προβούλευσαι πρὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι: αἰσχρὸν γὰρ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον ἔστι παρακύψαντα τίνα ἀπαξ ἐς αὐτὰ

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1 ή τε Λ', ή τε ή V.
2 πραξθείη V, πραξθείη L'.
3 προϊδόμενος Bk., προϊδόμενος VL'.

98
had gone through many bitter experiences, conceived a desire for liberty; and when we had secured it, we advanced to our present proud eminence, strong in no advantages save those that come from democracy. It was on the strength of these that the senate deliberated, the people ratified, the soldiers in the ranks were filled with zeal and their commanders with ambition. None of these things could happen under a tyranny. At any rate the ancient Romans came to feel so great a hatred of tyranny for these reasons that they even laid that form of government under a curse.

"And apart from these considerations, if one is to speak about matters which touch your personal interests, how could you endure to administer affairs so manifold, not only by day but also by night? How could you hold out if your health should fail? What human blessings could you enjoy, and how could you be happy if deprived of them? In what could you take genuine pleasure, and when would you be free from the keenest pain? For it is quite inevitable that a man who holds an office of this kind should have many anxieties, be subject to many fears, and have very little enjoyment of what is most pleasant, but should always and everywhere both see and hear, do and suffer, only that which is disagreeable. That, I imagine, is the reason why, in certain instances, among both Greeks and barbarians, men have refused to accept the office of king when it was offered to them.

"Therefore I would have you foresee all these disadvantages and take counsel before you become involved in them. For it is disgraceful, or rather it is quite impossible, for a man to withdraw when
ΔΙΟΣ ῬΟΜΑΝ ἩΣΤΟΙΟΥ

ἀναδύναι. μηδὲ σε ἔξαπατήσῃ μήτε τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐξουσίας μὴ ἢ περιουσία τῶν κτημάτων, μὴ τὸ στίφος τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, μὴ ὁ ὁχλος 4 τῶν θεραπευόντων. οὖ τε γὰρ πολὺ δυνάμενοι πολλὰ πράγματα ἔχουσι, καὶ οἱ συχνὰ κεκτημένοι συχνὰ ἀναλίσκειν ἀναγκάζονται, τὰ τε πλῆθη τῶν δορυφόρων διὰ τὰ πλῆθη τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων ἀθροίζεται, καὶ οἱ κολακεύοντες ἐπιτρίψειαν ἂν τινα μᾶλλον ἢ σώσειαν. 2 ὁσθ’ ἐνεκα μὲν τούτων οὐδ’ ἢν εἰς εὗρον ἄνταρχησαι ἐπιθυμήσειν εἰ δ’ ὅτι καὶ πλούτιζειν καὶ σώζειν τινὰς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ δράν τι τοιούτω δύνανται, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ἁβρᾶειν σφίσι καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν ὅν ἀν ἐθελήσωσιν ἔξεστιν, ἀξίαν τὶς διὰ ταύτα σπουδῆς τὴν τυραννίδα εἶναι νομί- 11 2 χεὶ, τοῦ παντὸς ἀμαρτανεί. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀσελγαίνειν καὶ κακὸν τὶ ποιεῖν οὐθ’ ὡς αἰσχρὰ σοῦ 2 ἢ σφαλερὰ καὶ μεμισθμένα καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ, δέομαι σοι λέγειν: οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως τοιοῦτος εἶ, οὔτ’ ἢν διὰ ταύτα μοναρχήσαι ἐλοιπο. προήρμητο τε ἐνω ἦνο ὅπανθ’ ὅσα ἂν τις κακῶς τὸ πράγμα μεταχειρίζομενος ἐξεργάσατο εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὅσα καὶ οἱ πάνιν ἀρίστα ἁὑρώμενοι καὶ 3 ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν ἀναγκάζονται. τὸ δ’ ἔτερον, τὸ τινὰ ἀφθόνος εὐεργετεῖν ἔχειν, ἀξιοσπούδαστον μὲν, ἀλλ’ ἐν μὲν ἰδιωτῇ γυνόμενον καὶ καλὸν καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ εὐκλεές καὶ ἁσφαλές ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς μοναρχίαις πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἀντ- 1 ὁ supplied by Bk. 2 ἐπιτρίψειαν... σώσειαν Dind., ἐπιτρίψειε... σῶσειεν VL"
once he has entered upon the position. And do not be deceived, either, by the greatness of its authority or the abundance of its possessions, or by its array of bodyguards, or by its throng of courtiers. For men who have much power have many troubles; those who have large possessions are obliged to spend largely; the multitude of bodyguards is gathered merely because of the multitude of conspirators; and as for the flatterers, they would be more likely to destroy you than to save you. Consequently, in view of these considerations, no sensible man would desire to become supreme ruler. But if the thought that men in such a station are able to enrich others, to save their lives, and to confer many other benefits upon them—yes, by heaven, and even to insult them and to do harm to whomsoever they please—leads anyone to think that tyranny is worth striving for, he is utterly mistaken. I need not, indeed, tell you that the life of wantonness and evil-doing is disgraceful or that it is fraught with peril and is hated of both gods and men; for in any event you are not inclined to such things, and you would not be led by these considerations to choose to be sole ruler. And, besides, I have chosen to speak now, not of all the mischief one might work who managed the task badly, but only of what even those who make the very best use of the position are obliged both to do and to suffer. But as to the other consideration,—that thus one is in a position to bestow favours in profusion,—this is indeed a privilege worth striving for; yet however noble, august, glorious, and safe it is when enjoyed by a private citizen, in a king's position it does not, in the first place, counterbalance the other considerations
αξιον των άλλων των ἀτοπωτέρων, ὡστε τινὰ
dια τούτο καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἔλεσθαι, ἄλλωσ τε καὶ
μέλλοντα τὴν μὲν ἐκ τούτου ἀπόλαυσιν ἔτεροις
δῶσειν τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἐκεῖνων ἀνδὶαν αὐτὸν ἐξειν,
ἐπείτα δ’ οὐδ’ ἀπλοῦν, ὡς τὶς οἰσταὶ. οὐτὲ γὰρ
ἀν πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις τινὸς ἐπαρκέσειε τις.
οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀξιούντες τι παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν
πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν εἰςιν ἀνθρωποὶ, κἀν μηδεμιὰ
2 εὐθὺς εὐρεγεσία αὐτοῖς ὀφείληται: πᾶς γὰρ τὶς
φύσει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἄρεσκει, κἀγαθὸν τι
ἐπαυρέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δοῦνα δυναμένου βού-
λεται: ἃ δὲ ἐνδέχεται αὐτοῖς δίδοσθαι (τιμᾶς τε
cαὶ ἀρχὰς λέγω, καὶ ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ χρῆματα)
pάν ἐν εὐαρίθμητα ὡς πρὸς τοσοῦτο πλῆθος
eὐρεθείη. τούτου τε οὕτως ἔχοντος ἔχθος ἂν
αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν διαμαρτανόντων ὄν χρῆζονσι
μᾶλλον ἡ φιλία παρὰ τῶν τυγχανόντων ὑπάρ-
3 ξειν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ, ὡς καὶ ὀφειλόμενον τι λαμ-
βάνοντες, οὕτ’ ἄλλως μεγάλην οἰσταὶ δεῖν τῷ
dιδόντι αὐτὸς χάριν ἔχειν ὅτε μηδὲν παρὰ δόξαν
eὐρισκόμενοι, καὶ προσέτε καὶ ὀκνοῦσι τοῦτο
ποιεῖν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἀναξίους ἐν τούτῳ σφᾶς τοῦ
4 καλὸς πάσχειν ἀποφήμοσιν; οἱ δὲ ὅν ἐλπὶ-
ζουσιν ἀναχωύντες λυποῦνται κατ’ ἀμφότερα,
tοῦτο μὲν ὡς οἰκεῖον τίνος στερισκόμενοι (πάντες
gὰρ ἔχειν ἡδὴ νομίζουσιν ὅπως ἂν ἐπιθυμήσωσι),
tοῦτο δὲ ὃς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔαυτῶν ἀδικίαν τινά
1 διὰ τούτο καὶ ἐκεῖνα Bk., ἃτ’ ἐκεῖνα καὶ τούτο VI.
2 αὐτὸ L', αὐτῷ V.
3 ἀποφήμοσιν St., ἀποφανοῦσιν VI.
4 αὐτοὶ L', ἑαυτοὶ V.
BOOK LII

of a less agreeable nature, so that a man should be induced for the sake of gaining this advantage to accept those disadvantages also, especially when the sovereign is bound to bestow upon others the benefit to be derived from this advantage and to have for himself alone the unpleasantness that results from the disadvantages. In the second place, this advantage is not without complications, as people think; for a ruler cannot possibly satisfy all who ask for favours. Those, namely, who think they ought to receive some gift from the sovereign are practically all mankind, even though no favour is due to them at the moment; for everyone naturally thinks well of himself and wishes to enjoy some benefit at the hands of him who is able to bestow it. But the benefits which can be given them,—I mean titles and offices and sometimes money,—will be found very easy to count when compared with the vast number of the applicants. This being so, greater hostility will inevitably be felt toward the monarch by those who fail to get what they want, than friendliness by those who obtain their desires. For the latter take what they receive as due them and think there is no particular reason for being grateful to the giver, since they are getting no more than they expected; besides, they actually shrink from showing gratitude for fear they may thereby give evidence of their being unworthy of the kindness done them. The others, when they are disappointed in their hopes, are aggrieved for two reasons: in the first place, they feel that they are being robbed of what belongs to them, for invariably men think they already possess whatever they set their hearts upon; and, in the second place, they feel that, if they are
καταγιγνώσκοντες, ἂν ῥαδίως ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ τυχεῖν
5 ὃν ἂν προσδοκήσωσι φέρωσι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ οἰρθὸς
διὸν τὰ τοιαύτα τὸ τε κατ’ ἀξίαν ἐκάστου δῆλον
ὅτι πρὸ πάντων προσκοπεῖ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τιμᾶ τοὺς
dὲ παρορᾶ, ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης τοῖς μὲν
φρόνημα τοῖς δ’ ἀγανάκτησιν ὑπ’ αὐτῷ τοῦ συνει-
δῶτος σφῶν προσγίγνεσθαι. ὡς ἂν γε τις τούτ᾿
eυλαβούμενος ἀνωμάλως αὐτὰ διανέμειν ἐθελήσῃ,
6 τὸ σύμπαν ἀμαρτησταί: οἱ τε γὰρ πονηροὶ παρὰ
tὸ προσήκον τιμῶμενοι χείρους ἂν, ἢτοι καὶ
ἐπαινεῖσθαι ὡς ἀγαθοὶ ἡ πάντως ἡ θεραπευόμεναι
ὡς φοβεροὶ δοκοῦντες, γίγνοντο, καὶ οἱ χρηστοὶ
μηδὲν πλεῖον αὐτῶν εὐρισκόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἑνὸ
σφίσιν ἀγόμενοι, μᾶλλον ἂν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνος
ἰσομοιρίας λυποῦντο ἣ τὸ 1 καὶ αὐτοὶ τίνος ἄξιοῦ-
7 σθαι χαίροιεν; 2 κάκος τούτος τὴν τε ἐπιτήδευσι
τῶν κρειττόνων ἐφει ἂν καὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν
χειρόνων μετέρχοντο, καὶ οὕτω κἂν 3 ἐξ αὐτῶν
τῶν τιμῶν οὐθὲ οἱ διδόντες αὐτῶς ἀγαθὸν τι
καρποῦντο καὶ οἱ λαμβάνοντες κακίους γίγνοντο.
ὥστε σοι τούτῳ, ο μάλιστα ἂν τίσιν ἐν
ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἀρέσειε, δυσμεταχειριστῶτατον
συμβῆναι.
13 "Ταύτα τε οὖν καὶ τάλλα ἃ μικρὸ πρόσθεν

1 τφ supplied by Pflugk.
2 χαίροιεν R. Steph., χαίροιε VL’.
3 κἂν V, καὶ L’.
not indignant at their failure to obtain whatever they expect to get, they are actually acknowledging some shortcoming on their own part. The reason for all this is, of course, that the ruler who bestows such gifts in the right way obviously makes it his first business to weigh well the merits of each person, and thus he honours some and passes others by, with the result that, in consequence of his decision, those who are honoured have a further reason for elation, while those who are passed by feel a new resentment, each class being moved by their own consciousness of their respective merits. If, however, a ruler tries to avoid this result and decides to award these honours capriciously, he will fail utterly. For the base, finding themselves honoured contrary to their deserts, would become worse, concluding that they were either being actually commended as good or at any rate were being courted as formidable; and the upright, seeing that they were securing no greater consideration than the base but were being regarded as being merely on an equality with them, would be more vexed at being reduced to the level of the others than pleased at being thought worthy of some honour themselves, and consequently would abandon their cultivation of the higher principles of conduct and become zealous in the pursuit of the baser. And thus the result even of the distribution of honours would be this: those who bestowed them would reap no benefit from them and those who received them would become demoralized. Hence this advantage, which some would find the most attractive in monarchies, proves in your case a most difficult problem to deal with.

"Reflecting upon these considerations and the


 Dio's Roman History

εἶπον ἑνθυμηθεὶς φρόνησον ἔως ἔξεστι σοι, καὶ ἀπόδος τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς ἀρχάς καὶ τὰ χρήματα. ἄν μὲν γὰρ ἡδὴ τε καὶ ἐκὼν αὐτὸ ποιήσῃς, ἐνδοξότατός τε ἀμα ἀνθρώπων ἔσῃ καὶ ἀσφαλέστατος. ἂν δ' ἀναμείνῃς βίαν τινά σοι προσαχθῆναι, τάχ' ἄν τι

2 δεινὸν μετὰ κακοδοξίας πάθοις. τεκμήριον δὲ, Μάριος μὲν καὶ Σύλλας καὶ Μέτελλος, καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ πρῶτον, ἐν κράτει τῶν πραγμάτων γενόμενοι οὔτ' ἥθελσαν δυναστεύσαι οὔτ' ἔπαθον παρὰ τούτῳ δεινὸν οὐδὲν. Κόλλας δὲ δὴ καὶ Στράβων, ὃ τε Μάριος ὁ ἐτερος καὶ ὁ Σερτώριος, ὃ τε Πομπήιος αὐτὸς μετά ταῦτα, τῆς δυναστείας ἐπι-

3 θυμήσαντες κακῶς ἀπώλοντο. δυσχερὲς γὰρ ἔστι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, τοσοῦτοι τε ἔτεσι δεδη-

μοκρατημένην καὶ τοσοῦτοι ἀνθρώπων ἀρχοῦσαν, δουλεύσαι τινὶ ἐθελῆσαι. καὶ ἀκούεις μὲν ὅτι τὸν Κάμιλλον ὑπερώρισαν, ἐπειδὴ λευκοὶ ἰπποὶς

4 ἐς τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔχρησατο, ἀκούεις δὲ ὅτι τὸν Σκι-

πίωνα κατέλυσαν, ἐπειδὴ τίνα πλεονεξίαν αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν, μέμνησαι δὲ ὅπως τῷ πατρί σου προσηνέχθησαν, ὅτι τινὰ ὑποψίαν ἐς αὐτοῦ μοναρ-

χίας ἔσχον. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἀμείνους ἀνδρεῖς οὐδὲνες ἀλλοι γεγόνασιν.

5 “Ὅμεντοι καὶ ἀπλῶς οὔτω συμβουλεύω σοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφεῖναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ συμβέροντα τῷ δημοσίῳ προπράξαι καὶ δόγμασι καὶ νόμοις ἀ προσήκει κατακλείσαι, καθάπερ ποιεῖ ο Σύλ-

λας ἐποίησε: καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν τίνα αὐτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα

106
others which I mentioned a little while ago, be prudent while you may and duly place in the hands of the people the army, the provinces, the offices, and the public funds. If you do it at once and voluntarily, you will be the most famous of men and the most secure; but if you wait for some compulsion to be brought to bear upon you, you will very likely suffer some disaster and gain infamy besides. Consider the testimony of history: Marius and Sulla and Metellus, and Pompey at first, when they got control of affairs, not only refused to assume sovereign power but also escaped disaster thereby; whereas Cinna and Strabo, the younger Marius and Sertorius, and Pompey himself at a later time, conceived a desire for sovereign power and perished miserably. For it is a difficult matter to induce this city, which has enjoyed a democratic government for so many years and holds empire over so many people, to consent to become a slave to any one. You have heard how the people banished Camillus just because he used white horses for his triumph; you have heard how they deposed Scipio from power, first condemning him for some act of arrogance; and you remember how they proceeded against your father just because they conceived a suspicion that he desired to be sole ruler. Yet there have never been any better men than these.

"Nevertheless, I do not advise you merely to relinquish the sovereignty, but first to take all the measures which the public interest demands and by decrees and laws to settle definitively all important business, just as Sulla did, you recall; for even if some of his ordinances were subsequently overthrown,

1 Cf. xliv. 28, 1.
6 καὶ μὴ εἰπὴς ὅτι καὶ ὅσα στασιάσουσι τινες, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐγὼ αὕτης εἴπω ὅτι πολλῷ μᾶλλον οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιντο μοναρχοῦμενοι. ὡς εἰγε πάνθ᾽ ὅσα εὐνεχεταί τισι συνενεχθήναι προσκοποῖμεθα, ἀλογώτατα ἂν τὰς διχοστασίας τὰς ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας συμβαινούσας φοβηθεῖμεν ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς τυραννίδας τὰς ἐκ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐκφυομένας. περὶ δὲ τῆς δεινότητος οὐδὲ ἐπεχείρησά τι εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἡ καὶ καταδραμεῖν ἀλλὰ εὐκατηγόρητον οὕτω πράγμα ἰδέλθησα, ἀλλὰ δείξατι σοι τοῦθ᾽ ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἔστι τῇ φύσει ὅστε μὴ δε τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἀνδρας ἐκφυομένας. περὶ δὲ τῆς δεινότητος οὐδὲ ἐπεχείρησά τι εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἡ καὶ καταδραμεῖν ἀλλὰ εὐκατηγόρητον οὕτω πράγμα ἰδέλθησα, ἀλλὰ δείξατι σοι τοῦθ᾽ ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἔστι τῇ φύσει ὅστε μὴ δε τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἀνδρας ἐκφυομένας. περὶ δὲ τῆς δεινότητος οὐδὲ ἐπεχείρησά τι εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἡ καὶ καταδραμεῖν ἀλλὰ εὐκατηγόρητον οὕτω πράγμα ἰδέλθησα, ἀλλὰ δείξατι σοι τοῦθ᾽ ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἔστι τῇ φύσει ὅστε μὴ δε τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἀνδρας ἐκφυομένας.

14 "(. . . οὔτε πείσαι τι βαθίως ὑπὸ παρρησίας τούς οὖχ ὁμοίως δύνανται) καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ἀτε μὴ ὁμογραμμοῦντων σφῶν κατορθοῦσιν. ὅστε εἰ τι κήδη τῆς πατρίδος, ὑπὲρ ἢς τοσούτως πολέμους πεπολέμηκας, ὑπὲρ ἢς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἰδέως ἂν ἐπιδοίης, μεταρρύθμισιν αὐτὴν καὶ κατακόσμησιν πρὸς τὸ σωφρονέστερον. τὸ γὰρ ἔξεινα τοις ἐκφυομένοις..."
yet the majority of them and the more important still remain. And do not say that even then some men will indulge in factional quarrels, and thus require me, on my part, to say once more that the Romans would be much more apt to refuse to submit to the rule of a monarch. For if we should undertake to provide against all possible contingencies, it would be utterly absurd for us to be more afraid of the dissensions which are but incidental to democracy than of the tyrannies which are the natural outgrowth of monarchy. Regarding the terrible nature of such tyrannies I have not so much as attempted to say anything; for it has not been my wish idly to inveigh against a thing that so readily admits of condemnation, but rather to show you that monarchy is so constituted by nature that not even the men of high character. . . ."

"(... nor can they easily convince by frank argument those who are not in a like situation) and they succeed in their enterprises, because their subjects are not in accord with one another. Hence, if you feel any concern at all for your country, for which you have fought so many wars and would so gladly give even your life, reorganize it and regulate it in the direction of greater moderation. For while

1 The conclusion of Agrippa's speech is missing in our MSS., as is also the earlier portion of that of Maecenas together with the introduction to it. Zonaras' brief résumé (down through chap. 17) is as follows: "But Maecenas advised the contrary course, declaring that he (Caesar) had already for a long time been directing the monarchy, and that he must inevitably do one of two things—either remain in the same position or abandon his present course and perish."
πάνθε ἀπλῶς ὅσα ἐνεπισπηνταί καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν, ἀν μὲν ἔπε τῶν εὐ φρονοῦντων ἐξετάζης, εὐδαιμονίας ἀπασιν αἰτίου γίγνεται, ἀν δὲ ἐπί τῶν ἀνοητῶν, συμφορᾶς· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν τοῖς τοιούτοις τῆς ἔξωσιάν διδοὺς παιδὶ δὴ τινὶ καὶ μανομένῳ ξίφῳ ὁρέγει, ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖνος τά τε ἄλλα καὶ αὐτοὺς τούτους καὶ μὴ βουλομένους σώζει.

3 διόπερ καὶ σὲ ἄξιὸν μὴ πρὸς τὰς εὐπρεπείας τῶν ὁνομάτων ἀποβλέψαντα ἀπατηθήναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐξ αὐτῶν προσκοπήσαντα τὴν τε θρασύτητα τοῦ ὀμίλου παύσαι καὶ τὴν διοικησίαν τῶν κοινῶν ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἅλλοις τοῖς ἁρίστοις προσθείναι, ἵνα βουλεύσῃ μὲν οἱ φρονιμῶται, ἄρχωσι δὲ οἱ στρατηγικότατοι, στρατεύονται δὲ καὶ μισθοφόρῶσι οἱ τε ἱσχυρῶτατοι καὶ οἱ πενετατοὶ. οὕτω γὰρ τὰ τε ἐπιβάλλοντα σφισίν ἑκαστοὶ προθύμοις ποιοῦντες, καὶ τὰς ὁφελίας ἀλλήλως ἐτοίμοις ἀντιδίδοντες, οὔτε τῶν ἐλπισμάτων, ἐν οἷς καταδεύουσι τινῶν, ἐπαισθησόνται, καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν ἀληθὴ τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν

5 τὴν ἀσφαλῆ κτήσονται· ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ὄχλου ἐλευθερία τοῦ τε βελτίστου δουλεία πικροτάτη γίγνεται καὶ κοινὸν ἄμφοτερ ὁλέθρον φέρει, αὐτῇ δὲ τὸ τε σώφρον πανταχοῦ προτιμῶσα καὶ τὸ ἱσον ἀπασι κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν ἀπονέμουσα πάντας ὁμοίως εὐδαιμονεῖς τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῇ ποιεῖ.

1 ἀπλῶς δὲν Pflugk, δὲν ἀπλῶς VL'.
2 Βουλευσθή R. Steph., Βουλευσθώς VL'.
the privilege of doing and saying precisely what one pleases becomes, in the case of sensible persons, if you examine the matter, a cause of the highest happiness to them all, yet in the case of the foolish it becomes a cause of disaster. For this reason he who offers this privilege to the foolish is virtually putting a sword in the hands of a child or a madman; but he who offers it to the prudent is not only preserving all their other privileges but is also saving these men themselves even in spite of themselves. Therefore I ask you not to fix your gaze upon the specious terms applied to these things and thus be deceived, but to weigh carefully the results which come from the things themselves and then put an end to the insolence of the populace and place the management of public affairs in the hands of yourself and the other best citizens, to the end that the business of deliberation may be performed by the most prudent and that of ruling by those best fitted for command, while the work of serving in the army for pay is left to those who are strongest physically and most needy. In this way each class of citizens will zealously discharge the duties which devolve upon them and will readily render to one another such services as are due, and will thus be unaware of their inferiority when one class is at a disadvantage as compared with another, and all will gain the true democracy and the freedom which does not fail. For the boasted freedom of the mob proves in experience to be the bitterest servitude of the best element to the other and brings upon both a common destruction; whereas this freedom of which I speak everywhere prefers for honour the men of prudence, awarding at the same time equality to all according to their deserts, and thus gives happiness impartially to all who enjoy this liberty.
“Μή γάρ τοι οἰνθής ὅτι τυραννήσαι σοι, τῶν τε δήμων καὶ τῆς Βουλής δουλωσάμενος, παρανό. τούτο μὲν γάρ οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ποτε εἰπεῖν οὔτ' ἂν σὺ πράξαι τολμήσειας· ἐκείνα δὲ ἡ καὶ καλὰ καὶ χρῆσιμα καὶ σοι καὶ τῇ πόλει γένοιτο ἂν, τὸ τε πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτὸν σε μετὰ τῶν ἀριστῶν ἄνδρῶν νομοθετεῖν, μηδενός τῶν πολλῶν μήτ' ἀντιλέγοντος αὐτοῖς μήτ' ἐναντιομένου,

2 καὶ τὸ τοὺς πολέμους πρὸς τὰ ὑμέτερα Βουλή· ματα διοικείσθαι, πάντων αὐτίκα τῶν ἄλλων τὸ κελευόμενον ποιοῦντων, τὸ τε τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων αἱρέσεις ἐφ' ὑμῖν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ τὰς τιμὰς τὰς τε τιμωρίας ὑμᾶς ὀρίζειν, ἵνα καὶ νόμος εὐθὺς ἤ πᾶν ὁ τι ἄν Βουλευσαμένῳ σοι μετὰ τῶν ὀμοτίμων

3 ἀρέση, καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι κρύφα καὶ κατὰ καἰρὸν πολεμώνται, οἳ τε τι ἐγχειριζόμενοι ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ κλήρῳ καὶ σπουδαρχίᾳ ἀποδεικνύωνται, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄγαθοι ἄνευ φθόνου τιμῶνται, οἳ δὲ

4 κακοὶ ἄνευ συστάσεως κολάζονται. οὕτω γὰρ ἄν μᾶλλον τὰ τε πραττόμενα ὀρθῶς διοικήσει, μήτε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφερόμενα μήτε ἐν τῷ φανερῷ Βουλευόμενα μήτε τοῖς παρακελευστοῖς ἐπιτρεπόμενα μήτε ἐκ φιλοτιμίας κινδυνεύομενα, καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῶν ἄγαθῶν ἥδεως ἀπολαύσαμεν, μήτε πολέμους ἐπικινδύνους μήτε

1 μήτ'. Bk., μήδε Vl'.

2 τοῖς Xyl., ἐν τοῖς Vl'.
For I would not have you think that I am advising you to enslave the people and the senate and then set up a tyranny. This is a thing I should never dare suggest to you nor would you bring yourself to do it. The other course, however, would be honourable and expedient both for you and for the city—that you should yourself, in consultation with the best men, enact all the appropriate laws, without the possibility of any opposition or remonstrance to these laws on the part of any one from the masses; that you and your counsellors should conduct the wars according to your own wishes, all other citizens rendering instant obedience to your commands; that the choice of the officials should rest with you and your advisers; and that you and they should also determine the honours and the punishments. The advantage of all this would be that whatever pleased you in consultation with your peers would immediately become law; that our wars against our enemies would be waged with secrecy and at the opportune time; that those to whom any task was entrusted would be appointed because of their merit and not as the result of the lot or rivalry for office; that the good would be honoured without arousing jealousy and the bad punished without causing rebellion. Thus whatever business was done would be most likely to be managed in the right way, instead of being referred to the popular assembly, or deliberated upon openly, or entrusted to partisan delegates, or exposed to the danger of ambitious rivalry; and we should be happy in the enjoyment of the blessings which are vouchsafed to us, instead of being embroiled in hazardous wars abroad or in

1 Probably a reference to the tribunes.
5 στάσεις ἀνοσίας ¹ ποιούμενοι. ταύτα γάρ πᾶσα μὲν δημοκρατία ἔχει· οἱ γὰρ δυνατότεροι, τῶν τε πρωτείων ² ορεγόμενοι καὶ τῶς ἀσθενεστέρους μισθούμενοι, πάντα ἁνω καὶ κάτω φύρωσι· πλείστα δὲ δὴ παρ’ ἡμῖν γέγονε, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι
6 ὡς ἄλλως παύσεται. τεκμήριον δὲ, πάμπολυς ἕξιν οὐ χρόνος καὶ πολεμοῦμεν καὶ στασιάζομεν. αὐτοῖς δὲ τὸ τε πλῆθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκείνω τε γὰρ παντο-
δαπόλι καὶ τὰ γένη καὶ τὰς φύσεις ὑπείρους καὶ ποικίλας καὶ τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχουσι, καὶ ταύτα ἐς τοσοῦτον προῆκται ὡστε καὶ πάνω 
δυσχερῶς ἀν διοικηθήριαι.

16 "Καὶ ότι ταύτα ἀληθῆ λέγω, μαρτυρεῖ τὰ 
γεγονότα. τέσσαρες γὰρ οὕτως πολλαὶ ἦμεν οὕτε 
μεγάλῳ τινὶ τῶν πλησιονόμων διεφέρομεν, καὶ δότω 
τε ἐπολιτευόμεθα καὶ πᾶσαν οὖλον τὴν Ἰταλίαν 
2 κατεστρεφόμεθα· ἅφ’ οὗ δὲ ἔξω αὐτὴς ἐξῆκθημεν, 
καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἰπείρων καὶ τῶν νῆσων 
ἐπεραιώθημεν, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν θάλασσαν 
πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοῦ ὄνοματος καὶ τῆς 
δυνάμεως ἡμῶν ἐνεπλήσσαμεν, οὔδενος χρηστὸν 
μετεσχῆκαμεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἶκοι καὶ 
ἔντος τοῦ τείχους κατὰ συντάσεις ἐστασιάζαμεν, 
ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα τὸ νόσημα τούτο 
3 προηγήγομεν. καὶ διὰ ταῦθ’ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν, ὅσπερ 
όλκας μεγάλη καὶ πλήρης ὄχλου παντοδαποῦ 
χιμίτητου, πολλὰς ἡδίς γενέας ἐν κλύδων 
πολλῷ φερομένῃ σάλευεν τε καὶ ἀττεὶ δεύρο 
κάκεισε, καθάπερ ἀνερματίστος οὕσα. μὴν οὖν 
4 χειμαζομένην ἐτ’ αὐτήν περίδης, ὀρᾶς γὰρ ὡς 

¹ ἀνοσίας Bk., ἀνοσίας VL. ² πρωτείων Rk., πρῶτων VL.
unholy civil strife. For these are the evils found in every democracy,—the more powerful men, namely, in reaching out after the primacy and hiring the weaker, turn everything upside down,—but they have been most frequent in our country, and there is no other way to put a stop to them than the way I propose. And the evidence is, that we have now for a long time been engaged in wars and civil strife. The cause is the multitude of our population and the magnitude of the business of our government; for the population embraces men of every kind, in respect both to race and to endowment, and both their tempers and their desires are manifold; and the business of the state has become so vast that it can be administered only with the greatest difficulty.

"Witness to the truth of my words is borne by our past. For while we were but few in number and differed in no important respect from our neighbours, we got along well with our government and subjugated almost all Italy; but ever since we were led outside the peninsula and crossed over to many continents and many islands, filling the whole sea and the whole earth with our name and power, nothing good has been our lot. At first it was only at home and within our walls that we broke up into factions and quarrelled, but afterwards we even carried this plague out into the legions. Therefore our city, like a great merchantman manned with a crew of every race and lacking a pilot, has now for many generations been rolling and plunging as it has drifted this way and that in a heavy sea, a ship as it were without ballast. Do not, then, allow her to be longer exposed to the tempest; for you see that she
ὑπέραντλος ἦστι, μήτε περὶ ἕρμα περιπραγῆναι ἑάσης, σαθρὰ γὰρ ἦστι καὶ οὐδένα ἔτι χρόνον ἀντισχεῖν δυνήσεται. ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ περὶ θεοὶ ἐλεήσαντες αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπιγυνώμονα σὲ καὶ ἐπιστάτην αὐτῆς ἐπέστησαν, μὴ προδῆς τὴν πατρίδα, ἤν ὦσπερ νῦν διὰ σὲ μικρὸν ἀναπέπνευκεν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν αἰώνα μετ' ἀσφαλείας διαγάγῃ.

17 "'Οτι μὲν οὖν ὁρθῶς σοι παραίνω, μοναρχεῖσθαι τὸν δήμον ἀξιῶν, πάλαι σὲ ἡγούμαι πεπείσθαι τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἐχοντος καὶ ἐτοίμους καὶ προθύμους τὴν προστασίαν αὐτοῦ ἀνάδεξαι, μάλλον δὲ μὴ προβ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν τι βουλευόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀπολέσαι καὶ προσετε καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι. τὸς γὰρ σου φείστεται, ἃν τε ἐς τὸν δήμον τὰ πράγματ' ἀνώσης, ἃν τε καὶ ἐτέρῳ τινὶ ἐπιτρέψῃς, παμπόλλων μὲν ὄντων τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ λευτημένων, πάντων δ' ὡς εἰσεῖν τῆς μοναρχίας ἀντιποιησομένων, διὰ οὐδές οὔτε μὴ ἀμώνασθαι σὲ ἐφ' οἷς πεποίηκας οὐτ' ἀντὶ

3 παλον ὑπολιπέσθαι ἐθελῆσαι. τεκμήριον δὲ ὦτι καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐκστάς τῆς δυναστείας καὶ κατεφρονήθη καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη, κἀκεῖτο τούτου μηκέτ' αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν δυνηθεὶς ἐφθάρη, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ σὸς τὸ αὐτὸ τούτο ποιήσας προσαπώλετο. πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ ὁ Μάριος καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ὅμοια αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόνθεσαν, εἰ μὴ προετε-

1 πράγματ' ἀνώσης ἦν τε ΒΚ., πράγματα ώς ἦσαν τε Β'L.
2 ποιήσας V, ποιήσαι ἰθελήσας L'.
is waterlogged. And do not let her be pounded to pieces upon a reef; for her timbers are rotten and she will not be able to hold out much longer. But since the gods have taken pity on her and have set you over her as her arbiter and overseer, prove not false to her, to the end that, even as now she has revived a little by your aid, so she may survive in safety for the ages to come.

"Now I think you have long since been convinced that I am right in urging you to give the people a monarchical government; if this is the case, accept the leadership over them readily and with enthusiasm—or rather do not throw it away. For the question we are deliberating upon is not whether we shall take something, but whether we shall decide not to lose it and by so doing incur danger into the bargain. Who, indeed, will spare you if you thrust the control of the state into the hands of the people, or even if you entrust it to some other man, seeing that there are great numbers whom you have injured, and that practically all these will lay claim to the sovereignty, and yet no one of them will wish either that you should go unpunished for what you have done or that you should be allowed to survive as his rival? Pompey, for example, once he had given up the supreme power, became the object of scorn and of secret plotting and consequently lost his life when he was unable to regain his power. Caesar also, your father, lost not only his position but also his life for doing precisely what you are proposing to do. And Marius and Sulla would certainly have suffered a like fate had they not died

1 Cf. Thucydides vii. 25, a passage which Dio seems to be imitating.
4 δύνησαν. καίτοι τῶν Σύλλαν φασὶ τινὲς αὐτῷ τοῦτο φοβηθέντα φθῆναι καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀναχορήσασθαι: συχνὰ γούν τῶν νομοθετήθέντων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ξώντος ἔτ’ αὐτοῦ λύεσθαι ἡξατο. ὡστε καὶ σὺ πολλοὺς μὲν Λεπίδους πολλοὺς δὲ Σερτωρίους Βρούτους Κασσίους γενήσεσθαι σοι προσδόκα.

18 Ταῦτα τε οὖν ιδὼν καὶ τάλλα πάντα λογισάμενος, μὴ προῆ καὶ σεαυτὸν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, ἵνα μὴ δοξήσῃ τισὶν ἐθελούσιοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφείσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, ἄν καὶ τοῦτο τις ὑποπτεύσῃ, οὔτ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπεῖον τρόπου τὸ ἐπιθύμημα ἔστι, καὶ καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτοῦ ἐπειτά δὲ τίς οὐκ οἴδαι τὴν ἀνάγκην ύφ’ ἑς ἐστάραι τὸ πράγματα ταῦτα προῆκθης; ὡστε εἰπερ τι αἰτίαμα αὐτῆς ἔστι, τοῖς τοῦ πατρός σου σφαγεύσι δικαιότατα ἂν τις αὐτὸ ἐγκαλέσεισκειν εἴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μὴ ἄδικως μὴ ἀδικώς οὕτως αὐτῶν ἀπεκτόνεσαι, οὔτ’ ἂν τὰ ὅπλα ἀντίρρω, οὔτ’ ἂν τὰ στρατεύματα συνελέξω, οὔτ’ ἂν ᾧ συνέθουσαν, οὔτ’ ἂν αὐτῶς ἔκεινοι ἡμῖν.

3 καὶ ὅτι μὲν ὅρθως καὶ δικαῖως πάντα ταῦτ’ ἐποίησας, οὔδεις ἄγνοει: εἴ δ’ οὖν τι καὶ πεπλημμέληται, ἀλλ’ οὔτ’ καὶ μεταθέσθαι εἴ ἀσφαλῶς δυνάμεθα. ὡστε καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς πόλεως πεισθομένη τῇ τύχῃ τῇ τὴν μοναρχίαν σοι διδοῦσι. καὶ χάριν γε μεγάλην αὐτῇ ἔχωμεν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀπέλυσεν ὡστε εἰπερ R. Steph., ὡστε VL’. ἂν supplied by St. ὡστε Dind., ὡτι τοι VL’. ἀπέλυσεν Bk., ἀπέλυσεν VL’.

1 ἵνα L’, ἵνα δὲ V.
2 ὡστε εἰπερ R. Steph., ὡστε VL’.
3 ἂν supplied by St. 4 οὕτι Dind., ὡτι τοι VL’.
5 ἀπέλυσεν Bk., ἀπέλυσεν VL’.
first. And yet some say that Sulla, fearing this very fate, forestalled it by making away with himself;¹ at any rate, much of his legislation began to be undone while he was yet alive. Therefore you also must expect that there will be many a man who will prove a Lepidus to you and many a man who will prove a Sertorius, a Brutus, or a Cassius.

“Looking, then, at these facts and reflecting upon all the other considerations involved, do not abandon yourself and your country merely in order to avoid giving the impression to some that you deliberately sought the office. For, in the first place, even if men do suspect this, the ambition is not inconsistent with human nature and the risk involved is a noble one. Again, what man is there who does not know the circumstances which constrained you to assume your present position? Hence, if there be any fault to find with these compelling circumstances, one might with entire justice lay it upon your father’s murderers. For if they had not slain him in so unjust and pitiable a fashion, you would not have taken up arms, would not have gathered your legions, would not have made your compact with Antony and Lepidus, and would not have had to defend yourself against these men themselves. That you were right, however, and were justified in doing all this, no one is unaware. Therefore, even if some slight error has been committed, yet we cannot at this time with safety undo anything that has been done. Therefore, for our own sake and for that of the state let us obey Fortune, who offers you the sole rulership. And let us be very grateful to her that she has not only freed us from our domestic troubles, but has also placed in

¹ This tradition is found here only.
ημᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπὶ σοὶ πεποίηται, ἵνα ἐπιμεληθείς αὐτῆς ὄσπερ προσήκει, δείξης ἅπασιν ἄνθρωποις ὅτι ἔκεινα μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ἑταραξαν καὶ ἐκακοῦργησαν, σὺ δὲ δὴ χρηστός εἶ.

5  "Καλ μὴ μοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἄρχης φοβηθῆς, ὅσον τε γὰρ πλεῖων ὑπάρχει, τὸσο πλεῖον καὶ τὰ σῶζοντα ἔχει, καὶ μακρὸ τὸ φυλάξαι τι τοῦ κτησασθαι μῆν ἐστι: πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ τάλλοτρα προσποιοῦσαθαι καὶ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων δεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα σῶσαι βραχεία φροντίς ἀρκεῖ. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ δείσῃς ὅτι οὐχὶ καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα ἐν αὐτῇ βιώσῃ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἄνθρωποις ἁγαθῶν ἀπολαύσεις, ἀν γε ἐθελήσῃς αὐτὴν ὡς παρανέσω σοι διοικήσαι. καὶ μὲ μὴ νομίσῃς ἁπαρτάν ἀπὸ τῆς παρουσίας ὑποθέσεως τὸν λόγον, ἀν ἐπὶ πλεῖον σοι περὶ αὐτῆς διαλ. λεγῶν· οὐ γὰρ που καὶ ὑπ’ ἀδολεσχίας τινὸς ἄλλως τοῦτο ποιήσω, ἄλλ’ ἣν ἀκριβῶς καταμάθης ὅτι καὶ δυνατὸν καὶ ράδιον τὸ γε ἐμφροιν τὸ καὶ καλῶς καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἀρξῇ ἐστὶ.

6  "Φημὶ τοῦν χρήμα σε κατὰ πρώτας εἰθὺς το βουλευτικόν πᾶν καὶ φιλοκρινήσαι καὶ διαλέξαι, ἐπειδὴ τινες οὐκ ἐπιτήδειοι διὰ τὰς στάσεις βεβουλευκάσε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀρετὴν τινα αὐτῶν ἐγοντας κατασχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπαλείψαι.

7  μὴ μέντοι καὶ διὰ πενίαν τινα ἁγαθὸν γε ἄνδρα ὅντα ἀπαλλάξῃς, ἄλλα καὶ χρήματα αὐτῷ τὰ ἀναγκαία δόσ. ἀντὶ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς τε γενναποτάτους καὶ τοὺς ἁριστότους τοὺς τε πλού.  

1 πλεῖων V, πλεῖον L'.  
2 ἁπαρτάν V, ἁπαρτάν L'.  
3 φιλοκρινήσαι V, φιλοκρινήσαι L'.
your hands the organisation of the state, to the end that you, by bestowing due care upon it, may prove to all mankind that those troubles were stirred up and that mischief wrought by other men, whereas you are an upright man.

"And do not, I beg you, be afraid of the magnitude of the empire. For the greater its extent, the more numerous are the salutary elements it possesses; also, to guard anything is far easier than to acquire it. Toils and dangers are needed to win over what belongs to others, but a little care suffices to retain what is already yours. Moreover, you need not be afraid, either, that you will not live quite safely in that office and enjoy all the blessings which men know, provided that you will consent to administer it as I shall advise you. And do not think that I am shifting the discussion from the subject in hand if I speak to you at considerable length about the office. For of course my purpose in doing this will be, not to hear myself talk, but that you may learn by a strict demonstration that it is both possible and easy, for a man of sense at least, to rule well and without danger.

"I maintain, therefore, that you ought first and foremost to choose and select with discrimination the entire senatorial body, inasmuch as some who have not been fit have, on account of our dissensions, become senators. Such of them as possess any excellence you ought to retain, but the rest you should erase from the roll. Do not, however, get rid of any good man because of his poverty, but even give him the money he requires. In the place of those who have been dropped introduce the noblest,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

σωτάτους ἀντεσάγγε, μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν τε ὑπηκόων

3 ἐπιλεξάμενος· οὕτω γὰρ σὺ τε πολλοῖς συνεργοῖς χρῆσθ, καὶ τοὺς κορυφαίους ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἑθνῶν ἐν ἁσφαλεὶ ποιήσῃ, καὶ οὗτε ἐκεῖνα νεοχρώσει τε μηδένα ἔλλογιμον προστάτην ἔχοντα, καὶ οἱ πρωτεύοντες παρ' αὐτοῖς φιλίσσουσί σε ἀτε καὶ κοινονόι σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς γεγονότες.

4 "Τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππεῶν ποίησον. τοὺς γὰρ τὰ δευτερεία ἐκασταχόθη καὶ γένει καὶ ἄρετῇ καὶ πλούτῳ φερομένους ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα κατάλεξον, τοσοῦτος ἐκατέρους ἀντεγγράψας ὅσιοι ποτ' ἄν ἀρέσωσί σε, μηδὲν περὶ τοῦ πλῆθους αὐτῶν ἀκριβολογοῦμεν; ὅσφι γὰρ ἄν πλείους εὐδόκιμοι ἄνδρες συνώσι σοι, τοσοῦτῳ ῥᾴδον αὐτὸς τε ἐν δέοντι πάντα διοικήσεις, καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους πείσεις ὅτι οὔτε ὡς δούλους σφίσιν οὖθ' ὁς χείροσι πη ἡμῶν οὕτι χρῆ, ἀλλὰ τὰ τέ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν ἰγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς' κοινοὶ, ὅπως ὡς οἰκεῖαν αὐτὴν σπουδάζων. καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε δέω τοῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ὄρθως εὑρημένον ἀναθέσθαι, ὡστε καὶ τῆς πολιτείας πᾶσι σφισι μεταδοθήναι φημὶ δεῖν, ἵνα καὶ τάς ἰςομοιροῦντες πιστοὶ σύμμαχοι ἡμῶν ὅσιν, ὡσπερ τινὰ μίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες, καὶ ταύτην μὲν δύνας πόλιν τὰ δὲ δῇ σφέτερα ἀγροὺς καὶ κώμας νομίζοντες εἶναι.

1 αὐτοῖς Ἡ, αὐτής Υ.
the best, and the richest men obtainable, selecting them not only from Italy but also from the allies and the subject nations. In this way you will have many assistants for yourself and will have in safe keeping the leading men from all the provinces; thus the provinces, having no leaders of established repute, will not begin rebellions, and their prominent men will regard you with affection because they have been made sharers in your empire.

"Take these same measures in the case of the knights also, by enrolling in the equestrian order such men as hold second place in their several districts as regards birth, excellence and wealth. Register as many new members in both classes as you please, without being over particular on the score of their number. For the more men of repute you have as your associates, the easier you will find it, for your own part, to administer everything in time of need and, so far as your subjects are concerned, the more easily will you persuade them that you are not treating them as slaves or as in any way inferior to us, but that you are sharing with them, not only all the other advantages which we ourselves enjoy, but also the chief magistracy as well, and thus make them as devoted to that office as if it were their own. And so far am I from retracting this last statement as rashly made, that I declare that the citizens ought every one actually to be given a share in the government, in order that, being on an equality with us in this respect also, they may be our faithful allies, living as it were in a single city, namely our own, and considering that this is in very truth a city, whereas their own homes are but the countryside and villages.
"Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ὁ τοῦτον αὕθις ἀκριβέστερον σκεφτόμεθα ἡ χρή πράξαι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πάντα ἁθρόα αὐτῶς χαρισόμεθα· καταλέγεσθαι δὲ χρή ἐς μὲν τὴν ἱππάδα ὀκτωκαιδεκέτεις, ἐν γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ μᾶλιστα ἢ τῇ τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν εὐεξίᾳ καὶ ἢ τῶν ψυχῶν ἐπιτηδείότητι διαφαίνεται, ἐς δὲ τὸ συνέδριον πεντεκαικοσιείτεις· τὸς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρόν καὶ σφαλέρον ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν οἰκεῖα μηδὲν πρὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπιτρέπεσθαι, τὰ δὲ δημόσια καὶ νεωτέροις τισὶν ἐγχειρῦσθαι;
2 ταμιεύσαντες τε καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντες ἢ δημαρχήσαντες στρατηγεῖτοσιν, τριακοντοῦται γενόμενοι. ταῦτας τε γὰρ τὰς ἄρχας καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑπάτων μόνας οἶκοι, τῆς τε τῶν πατρίων μνήμης ἐνεκα καὶ τοῦ μὴ παντελῶς τὴν πολιτείαν μεταλάττειν δοκεῖν, ἀποδεικνύοντες δὲν φημὶ χρῆμα.
3 αὐτὸς μὲν τοῖς σε πάντας αὐτοὺς αἴρον, καὶ μήτε ἐπὶ τῷ πλῆθει ἢ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἔτι τινὰ αὐτῶν ποιήσῃ· στασιάσουσι γὰρ, μήτε ἐπὶ τῷ συνεδρίῳ διασπούδασονται γὰρ. μὴ μέντοι καὶ τᾶς δυνάμεως σφῶν τὰς ἁρχαίας τηρήσης, ἵνα μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ αὕθις γενήται, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν τιμὴν φύλαξον, τῆς δὲ ἵσχυος παράλυσον τοσοῦτον δοσον μήτε τοῦ ἀξιώματος τι αὐτῶν ἀφαιρῆσει καὶ τὸς νεωτέρος τε ἐθελήσουσι μὴ ἐπιτρέψει. έσται δὲ τοῦτο, ἂν

1 περὶ μὲν L', μὲν περὶ V.
2 στρατηγεῖτοσιν L', στρατηγήσαντι V.
3 ποιήσῃ St., ποιήσῃ VL'.
4 ἐπιτρέψει V, ἐπιτρέψῃ L'.
"But regarding this matter we shall at a later time examine more carefully the question of what measures should be taken to prevent our granting the people every privilege at once. As for the matter of eligibility for office, now, we should put men on the roll of knights when they are eighteen years old, for at that age their physical soundness and their mental fitness can best be discerned; but we should not enrol them in the senate until they are twenty-five years old. For is it not disgraceful, and indeed hazardous, to entrust the public business to men younger than this, when we never commit our private affairs to any one before he has reached this age? After they have served as quaestors and aediles or tribunes, let them be praetors when they reach the age of thirty. For it is my opinion that these offices, and that of consul, are the only ones at home which you ought to fill by election, and these merely out of regard for the institutions of our fathers and to avoid the appearance of making a complete change in the constitution. But make all the appointments yourself and do not any longer commit the filling of one or another of these offices either to the plebs or to the people, for they will quarrel over them, or to the senate, for the senators will use them to further their private ambitions. And do not maintain the traditional powers of these offices, either, for fear history may repeat itself, but preserve the honour attaching to them, at the same time abating their influence to such an extent that, although you will be depriving the office of none of its prestige, you will still be giving no opportunity to those who may desire to stir up a rebellion. Now

1 i.e. to the concilium plebis or to the comitia.
τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐνδήμους αὐτοὺς ἀποφήγης, καὶ μήτε ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς καρφῷ ὅπλα τινὰ αὐτῶν ἐγχειρίσης μήτε ἐνθὺς, ἄλλα χρόνου διειλθόντος, ὅσοι ἄν αὐτάρκη ἐκάστῳ σφῶν νομίσης εἰναι. οὕτω γὰρ οὔτε τινὲς νεοχμώσουσι, στρατοπέδων κύριοι ἐν τῷ τῶν ὀνομάτων φρονήματι γενόμενοι, καὶ χρόνου τινὰ ἰδιωτεύσαντες πεπανθήσονται.

καὶ οὕτωι μὲν τάς τε πανηγύρεις, οἳ γε καὶ προσήκοντες σφισίν, ἐπιτελεῖτοσαν, καὶ τὰς δίκας πάντες ὡς ἐκαστοί, πλὴν τῶν φονίκων, ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐνδήμου ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ δικαζέτοσαν· συναγέσθω μὲν γὰρ δικαστηρία καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἱππέων, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐς ἐκείνους ἀνακείσθω.

Πολίαρχος δὲ δή τις ἐκ τῶν προηκόντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν πάντων τὰ καθήκοντα προσπολίτευμένων ἀποδεικνύσθω, οὐχ ἵνα ἀποδημησάντων που τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχη, ἀλλ' ἵνα τά τε ἄλλα ἀεὶ τῆς πόλεως προστατή, καὶ τὰς δίκας τὰς τε παρὰ πάντων ὁν εἶπον ἀρχόντων ἐφεσίμους τε καὶ ἀναπομπίμους καὶ τὰς τοῦ θανάτου τοῖς τε ἐν τῇ πόλει, πλὴν ὅν ἄν εἶπο, καὶ τοῖς ἐξο αὐτῆς μέχρι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐπτακοσίων1 σταδίων οἰκουσί κρίνῃ.

"Ετερός τε τις ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ αὐτὸς αἰ-

1 ἐπτακοσίων Casaub., ἐξακοσίων VM.
this will be accomplished if you assign them on appointment chiefly to home affairs and do not permit any of them to have armed forces during their term of office or immediately afterward, but only after the lapse of some time, as much as you think sufficient in each instance. In this way they will never be put in command of legions while still enjoying the prestige of their official titles and thus be led to stir up rebellions, and after they have been private citizens for a time they will be of milder disposition. Let these magistrates conduct such of the festivals as naturally belong to their office, and let them all severally sit as judges in all kinds of cases except homicide during their tenure of office in Rome. Courts should be established, to be sure, with the other senators and knights as members, but final authority should rest with these magistrates.

"As for the prefect of the city, men should be appointed to that office who are leading citizens and have previously passed through the appropriate offices; it should be the prefect's duty, not to govern merely when the consuls are out of town, but in general to be at all times in charge of the affairs of the city, and to decide the cases which come to him from all the other magistrates I have mentioned, whether on appeal or for review, together with those which involve the death penalty; and his jurisdiction should extend, not only to those who live in the city, except such as I shall name, but also to those who dwell outside the city for a distance of one hundred miles.

"Let still another magistrate be chosen, this man also from the class described, whose duties shall be to pass upon and supervise all matters pertaining to
τρόπους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἀνδρῶν τε ὀμοίως καὶ παιδῶν γυναικῶν τε τῶν προσ-4 ηκουσών αὐτοῖς, ἔζετάζειν τε καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖν, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπαινορθοῦν ὅσα μῆτε τινὸς τιμωρίας ἀξιὰ ἐστὶ καὶ παρορώμενα πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν αἰτία γίγνεται, τὰ δὲ δὴ μεῖζον σοὶ ἐπικοινονοῦσθαι. βουλευτῷ γὰρ τινι, καὶ τῷ γε ἀριστοφ μετὰ τὸν πολιάρχον, μᾶλλον ἢ τινι τῶν ἱππέων 5 προστετάξθαι τούτο δεῖ. καὶ τὸ γε ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς σῆς τιμαρχίας (πάντως γὰρ σε προστάναι τῶν τιμήσεων προσήκει) εἰκότως ἂν λάβοι, ὡστε ἡποτιμήτης καλεῖσθαι. ἀρχέτωσαν δὲ δὴ οἱ δύο οὗτοι1 διὰ βίου, ἂν γε μὴ κακυνθῇ τις αὐτῶν τρόπον τινα ἢ καὶ νοσώδης ἢ καὶ ὑπερρήψων 6 γένηται, ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῆς χρονίου ἀρχῆς οὑδὲν ἂν δεινὸν, ἀτε ὃ μὲν παντελῶς ἀσπίδος ὄν, ὃ δ’ ὀλίγους τε στρατιώτας ἔχων καὶ ἐν τοῖς σοῖς 7 ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ πλεῖστον ἄρχον, ἐργάσαιτο· ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἐτείου2 καὶ ὁκνήσειαν3 ἀν προσκρούσατι τινι καὶ φοβηθεῖν ἐρρωμένως τι πράξαι, τὴν τε ἔαυτὸν ἰδιωτείαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλων4 τινῶν δυναστείαν προορόμενοι. καὶ μισθὸν γε τινα φερέτωσαν καὶ τῆς ἀσχολίας ἐνεκα καὶ τῆς ἀξιώσεως. 8 "Περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ταύτην σοι τὴν γνώμην

1 οὗτοι M, om. V.
2 ἐτείου Sauppe, ἐτέρου VM.
3 ὁκνήσειαν Dind., ὁκνῆσειν VM.
4 ἄλλων Leuncl., ἄλλης VM.
the families, property, and morals both of the senators and of the knights, alike of the men and of their wives and children. He should personally correct such behaviour as deserves no punishment, yet if neglected becomes the cause of many evils; but about the more important matters of misconduct he should confer with you. For the officer to whom these duties are assigned should be a senator, and in fact the best one after the prefect of the city, rather than one of the knights. As for the title of his office, he would naturally receive one derived from your censorial functions (for it is certainly appropriate that you should be in charge of the censuses), and be called sub-censor.¹ Let these two, the city prefect and the sub-censor, hold office for life, unless one of them becomes demoralized in some way or is incapacitated by sickness or old age. For no harm could result from their holding office for life, since the one would be entirely without armed forces and the other would have but few soldiers and would be acting for the most part under your eyes; whereas the effect of the yearly tenure would be that they would shrink from offending any one and would be afraid to act with energy, since they would be looking ahead to their own retirement to private life and to the exercise of the power of the office by others. They should also draw a salary, not only to compensate them for the loss of their leisure but also to enhance the prestige of their office.

"This is the opinion I have to give you in regard

¹ Cf. Suetonius, Aug. 37. In practice there were six of them—three to nominate senators and three to hold a review of the knights.
òi δὲ δὴ στρατηγήσαντες ἀρχέτωσαν τινὰ ἀρχὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις (πρὶν γὰρ στρατηγῆσαι σφας οὐχ ἥγομαι δεῖν τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι· ἐκεῖνοι δ' ὑποστρατηγεῖτοσαν οἷς ἂν εἴποι, καὶ ἀπαξ καὶ δεύτερον), εἰδ' οὖτως ὑπατευτῶσαν, ἂν γε καὶ ὅρθως διάρξωσί, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μείζους ἡγεμονίας λαμβανέτωσαν. δὸν γὰρ συμβουλεύω σοι διατάξαι. τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐπτακοσίους ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίους οὗσαν, καὶ τάλλα πάντα τὰ τε ἐν ταῖς νῆσοις καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἧμιν, κατάνειμον ἐκασταχθῆναι κατὰ τε γένη καὶ ἐθνή, τάς τε πόλεις ἀπάσας, ὡς οὐ καὶ αὐτάρκες ἐστιν ὡς ἐνὸς ἄνδρος αὐτοτελοῦς ἀρχεῖ. σθαί· κάνταυθα στρατιώτασ εἰκαταστῆσον, καὶ ἀρχοντας καθ' ἐκάστους ἐνα μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκοτῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσι πέμπε, δύο δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, τὸν μὲν ἄρτι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξίσωσαν, καὶ αὐτῷ τὰ τε ἱδιωτικὰ πράγματα καὶ ἥ τῶν ἑπίτηδεων παρασκευὴ προσκείσθω, τὸν δὲ ἐκ τῶν τούτων πεποιηκότων, ὦς τὰ τε κοινὰ τῶν πόλεως διουσίης καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄρξει, πλὴν ὡς ἀτιμᾶς ἡ θανάτου ἔχεσαι. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐσ ἡμῶν τῶν ὑπατευκότα ἀρχοντα ἀνηκέτω, πλὴν περὶ τῶν ἐκατοντάρχων τῶν ἐν τοῖς καταλόγοις ὅντων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱδιωτῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκάστους πρώτων· τούτους γὰρ δὴ ἐκατέρως μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ

1 ταῖς R. Steph., τοῖς VM. 2 το supplied by Oddey, 3 ἐπὶ τᾶς—ἐστρατηγηκότων M, om. V.
to these officials. As for those who have served as praetors, let them hold some office among the subject nations (before they have been praetors I do not think they should have this privilege, but they ought first to serve for one or two terms as lieutenants to the ex-praetors just mentioned); then they should next hold office as consuls, provided that they have proved satisfactory officials to the end of their terms, and after that they should receive the more important governorships. I advise you, namely, to arrange these positions as follows. Take Italy as a whole (I mean the part of it which is more than one hundred miles from the city), and all the rest of the territory which owns our sway, the islands and the continents, and divide it into districts, in each case according to races and nations, and take also all the cities that are strong and independent enough to be ruled by one governor with full powers. Then station soldiers in them and send out as governor to each district or independent city one of the ex-consuls, who shall have general charge, and two of the ex-praetors. One of the latter, fresh from the city, should be put in charge of all matters pertaining to persons in private life and of the commissary; the other, a man who has had special training for this work, will administer the public business of the cities and will have command of the soldiers, except in cases that involve disfranchisement or death. Such cases, of course, should be referred to the ex-consul who is governor, and to him alone, except where the persons involved are centurions recruited from the levies or private persons of prominence in their respective communities; as for both these classes, do not allow anybody but yourself to punish them,
κολάζειν ἐπιτρέψῃς, ἵνα μὴ οὕτω τινὰ αὐτῶν
4 φοβιζοῦνται ὡστε ποτὲ καὶ κατὰ σοῦ τι πράξαι. ὃ
ὁ εἶπον, ὅτι τὸν ἑτερον τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ἐπὶ
tοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπιτετάχθαι δεῖ, τοιούτον ἐστίν,
δὲν μὲν ὄλγοι τινὲς ἐν ξενικοῖς τείχεσιν ἢ καὶ ἐν
ἐνὶ πολιτικῷ στρατεύωνται, καλῶς ἔχει τοῦτο
γίμουσαν ἃν δὲ δῶο πολιτικὰ στρατεύματα ἐν
ταῦτῳ ἔθεις χειμάζῃ (πλεῖον γὰρ τούτων οὐκ ἂν
συμβουλεύσασαι σοι τῷ αὐτῷ ἄρχοντι ἐπιτρέψαι),
5 δεῦσει ποιος δύο τοὺς ἐστρατηγηκότας καὶ
ἐκείνους, ἰδίᾳ ἐκατέρω, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε
πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ὁμοίως προίστασθαι.
ὁ δὲ οὐν ὑπατευκὼς ταῦτά τε...¹ καὶ προσέτει
καὶ τὰς δίκας τάς τε ἐκκλήσιας καὶ τὰς ἀναπομπίους
τὰς ἀπὸ² τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτῶ³ φοιτώσας κρινέ-
τω. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃς εἰ καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοιαῦτα
μέρη νεῖμαι σοι παραίνω πολλή τε γὰρ καὶ
πολυάριθμος οὕσα ἀδύνατος ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν
τῷ ἄστει ἄρχοντων καλῶς διοικεῖσθαι. δεὶ γὰρ
τόις τε δήμοις τὸν ἄρχοντα ἀεὶ παρεῖναι καὶ τοῖς
ἄρχουσι τὰ δυνατὰ προστάσσεσθαι.

23 "Δαμβανέτωσαν δὲ μεσθὸν πάντες οὕτωι οἱ τὰς
ἐξω τῆς πόλεως ἄρχας ἐπιτρέπομενοι, πλεῖον μὲν
οἱ μείζοις, ἐλάττω δὲ οἱ καταδεστεροί, μέσον δὲ
οἱ μέσοι οὔτε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων οὗτοι τέ ἐστιν
αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἀποξήν, οὔτε ἀδιστὸ καὶ
2 ἀσταθμήτῳ ἀναλώματι ὁσπερ τῶν χρήσθαι. καὶ
ἄρχετοσαν μήτε ἐλαττὸν ἐτῶν ἀρετῶν, εἰ μὴ τις
ἀδικήσει τι, μήτε πλεῖον πέντε, τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἱ

¹ Lacuna recognised by Bk.
² ἀπὸ Rk., ὑπὸ VM.
³ αὐτῶ Rk., αὐτοῦ VM.
lest they come to fear some of these officials to such an extent as to take measures, on occasion, against you as well as against them. As for my suggestion that the second of the ex-praetors should be put in charge of the soldiers, it is to be understood as follows: if only a small body of troops is serving abroad in the military posts or at home in a single post, my proposal is satisfactory; but if two citizen legions are wintering in the same province (and more than this number I should not advise you to trust to one commander), it will no doubt be necessary for both the ex-praetors to hold the command over them, each having charge of one, and for each to have his share of authority similarly in matters affecting either the state or private citizens. Let the ex-consul, accordingly, have these duties, and let him also decide the cases which come to him on appeal and those which are referred to him by the praetors for review. And do not be surprised that I recommend to you the dividing of Italy also into these administrative districts. It is large and populous, and so cannot possibly be well administered by the magistrates in the city; for a governor ought always to be present in the district he governs, and no duties should be laid upon our city magistrates which they cannot perform.

"Let all these men to whom the commands outside the city are assigned receive salaries, the more important officers more, the less important less, and those between an intermediate amount. For they cannot live in a foreign land upon their own resources, nor should they indulge, as they do now, in unlimited and indefinite expenditure. They should hold office not less than three years, unless they are guilty of misconduct, nor more than five. The reason is that
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐνιαύσιοι καὶ ὀλυγοχρόνιοι ἀρχαὶ διδάξασαί τινας τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἀποπέμπουσι πρὶν τι αὐτῶν ἀποδειχθῆναι, τὸ δὲ ὅτι αἱ μακρότεραι καὶ πολυχρονιώτεραι ἐπαίρουσι πῶς πολλοὺς καὶ ἐς νεωτεροποιοῦν 3 ἔξαγονσι. διόπερ οὐδὲ ἐπαλλήλας τὰς μείζους ἡγεμονίας ὁμαί τις προσήκειν1 δίδοσθαι. οὕτε γὰρ διαφέρει τι αὖ τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔθνει ἄν τε καὶ ἐν πλείοσιν ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ μακρότερον τοῦ δέοντος ἀρχῶσι· καὶ ἀμείνονες γίγνονται, ἐπειδὰν διαλεπώσι2 τέ τινα χρόνον καὶ οἰκαί ἐπανελθοῦσι καὶ ἰδιωτεύομεν.

"Τοὺς μὲν δὴ οὖν βουλευτὰς3 ταῦτα τε καὶ οὕτω 24 διέσει ϕημι χρῆναι, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἱππέων δύο τῶν ἀρίστων τῆς περὶ σὲ φρονρᾶς ἀρχεῖν· τὸ τε ἢ ἄν ἀνδρὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι σφαλεῖν καὶ τὸ 2 πλείοσι ταραχῶν ἐστι. δύο τε οὖν ἑστώσαν οἱ ἐπαρχοὶ οὕτως, ἢν ἄν καὶ ὁ ἄτερος αὐτῶν ἑπαίσθηται τι τῷ σώματι, μήτε4 γε καὶ ἐνδεχὴσε τοῦ ψυλλοφονοῦσε σε εἰς· καὶ καθιστάσθωσαν ἐκ τῶν πολλάκις τε ἐστρατευμένων καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα 3 διώκοντος. ἀρχέτωσαν δὲ δὴ5 τῶν τε δορυφόρων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάντων, ὅσοτε καὶ θανατοῦ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας αὐτῶν πλὴν τῶν τε ἐκατοντάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἀρχοῦσι προστετα- 4 γμένων. τούτους μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐκείνοι δικαίον-

1 προσήκειν Bk., προσήκειν VM.
2 διαλεπώσι Bk., διαλεπώσι VM.
3 σὺν βουλευτᾶς Bk., συμβουλευτᾶς VM.
4 μήτε Dind., μήτε VM. 5 δὴ M, om. V.
offices held for only one year or for short periods merely teach the officials their bare duties and then dismiss them before they can put any of their acquired knowledge into use, while, on the other hand, the longer terms of many years' duration somehow have the effect, in many cases, of filling the officials with conceit and encouraging them to rebellion. Hence, again, I think that the more important posts ought in no case to be given consecutively to the same man. For it makes no difference whether a man is governor in the same province or in several in succession, if he holds office for a period longer than is advisable; besides, appointees improve when there is an interval between their incumbencies during which they return home and resume the life of ordinary citizens.

"As regards the senators, therefore, I declare that they ought to discharge the duties named and in the way described. Of the knights the two best should command the bodyguard which protects you, for it is hazardous to entrust it to one man, and sure to lead to confusion to entrust it to more than two. Therefore let the number of these prefects be two, in order that, if one of them feel indisposed, you may still not lack a person to guard you. And men should be appointed to this office who have served in many military campaigns and have, besides, held many administrative positions. And they should have command both of the Pretorians and of all the other soldiers in Italy, with power even to put to death any of them who do wrong, with the exception of the centurions and of those in general who have been assigned to the staffs of magistrates of senatorial rank. For these soldiers should be tried by the

135
τῶσαν, ἵνα ἀπροφασίστως σφίσθη κρῆσθαι, ἀτε καὶ κολάσαι καὶ τιμῆσαι σφαὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες, δύνανται τῶν δ’ ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ στρατιωτῶν οἱ ἔπαρχοι ἐκεῖνοι προστατεύωσαν, ὑπάρχουσι ἔχοντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῶν Καίσαρείων τῶν τε ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ σου ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 5 τῶν λόγου τινὸς ἀξίων. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ προσήκοντα καὶ αὐτάρκη ἀυτοῖς διάγειν ἐσται, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πλείω πράγματα ὑπὸ καλῶς φέρειν δυνηθοῦσιν ἐπιταχθέντες ἁγχολοι πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἡ καὶ ἀδύνατοι πάντων αὐτῶν προϊστασθαι γεννώται. 6 καὶ οὕτωι μὲν διὰ βίον, ὡσπερ ποι καὶ ὁ πολιαρχὸς ὁ θ’ ὑποτειμητής, τὴν ἀρχήν ἐξέτωσαν νυκτοφύλαξι δὲ ἔτερος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σίτου τῆς τε ἁγορᾶς τῆς λοιπῆς ἔτερος ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν πρῶτων μετ’ ἐκείνους καὶ ἐς τακτὸν χρόνον ἀποδεικνύωσαν, καθάπερ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ 25 προχειριζόμενοι. τάς τε διοικήσεις τῶν χρημάτων, τῶν τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς λέγω, καὶ τάς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῇ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τὰς 2 ἐξω πάσας οἱ ἱππῆς διαχειρίζομεναι, καὶ μισθὸν οὕτωι τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους διοικοῦντες τι, οἱ μὲν πλείονα οἱ ὁ δὲ ἐλάττωνα, πρὸς τε τὸ ἄξιωμα καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς 3 πράξεως φερέτωσαν, τούτο μὲν ὅτι ὅχι οἶον τέ

1 Καίσαρείων H. Steph., καίσαρίων VM.
2 διάγειν ἐσται Be., διαγνωσθαί VM.
3 ἱππῆς M (ἱππῆι), ἱππεῖς V.
4 ἐλάττωνα R. Steph., τῶν ἐλάττωνα VM.
5 ὅτι M, om. V.
senatorial magistrates themselves, in order that the latter, by virtue of the authority they would thus possess of dealing out punishments to them as well as honours, may be able to command their unhesitating support. Over all the other soldiers in Italy, however, the prefects I have mentioned should be in command, having lieutenants under them, and likewise over the Caesarians, both those who are in attendance upon you and such of the others as are of any account. These duties will be both fitting and sufficient for them to discharge, for if they have more responsibilities assigned to them than they are able to carry satisfactorily, there is danger that they may have no time for the essential things, or, if they have, may prove incompetent to exercise oversight over all their duties. These prefects also should hold office for life, like the prefect of the city and the censor. Let another official be appointed to be commander of the night-watch\(^1\) and still another to be commissioner of grain\(^2\) and of the market in general, both of them from the equestrian order and the best men after the prefects, and let them hold their posts for a definite term, like the magistrates elected from the senatorial class. The management of the public funds, also,—I mean both those of the people and those of the empire, not only in Rome but also in the rest of Italy and outside Italy,—should be entirely in the hands of the knights, and they, as well as all the other members of the equestrian order who are charged with an administrative position, should be on salary, greater or less in proportion to the dignity and importance of their duties. The reason for the second part of this suggestion is that it is not possible

\(^1\) *Praefectus vigilum.*  \(^2\) *Praefectus annonae.*
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

έστιν αὐτοὺς, ἀτε καὶ πενεστέρους τῶν βουλευτῶν ὄντας, ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων, οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ τε πράττοντας, ἀναλίσκειν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ὅτι μήτε δυνατὸν μήτε συμφέρον ἐστὶ σοι τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν τε 

dυνάμεων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κυρίους γύρνεσθαι. 4

πρὸς δὲ ἐτε καὶ καλῶς ἔχει διὰ πλειόνων πάντα τά τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα διάγεσθαι, ὡς καὶ ὥστε μάλλον άμα συνχυνό καὶ ἐμπειροὶ τῶν πραγμάτων γίγνονται; οὕτω γὰρ οἷο τέ ἀρχόμενοι μᾶλλον εὐνοήσουσί σοι, πολυειδῆ ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν καρποῦμενοι, καὶ σὺ ἀφθονοτάτας τοῖς ἀεὶ ἁριστοῖς πρὸς πάντα τά ἀναγκαῖα χρήσῃ.

άπόχρη δὲ ἐν μὲν τῇ πόλει καθ' ἐκαστὸν χρηmalláσησος εἴδος, ἕξω δὲ καθ' ἐκαστὸν έθνος, εἰς τις ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων, ὑπομείνας ὅσους ἃν ἡ χρεία ἀπαιτή 5 ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων σοῖν ἔχων δεὶ γὰρ καὶ τοιούτους τινάς συζευγνύναι σφίστων, ἢν ἦ τε θεραπεία σου ἀθλὸν τί ἄρετῆς ἔχῃ, καὶ σὺ μὴ ἀπορήσῃ παρ' ὅν καὶ ἀκόμη τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀν γε τι πλημμεληθῇ, μαθεῖν δυνῆσῃ.

6. "Οστίς δ' ἄν τῶν ἰππέων διὰ πολλῶν διέξιδθων ἐξελομοιοσ᾽ ὅστε καὶ βουλεύσαι γένηται, μηδὲν αὐτὸν ἡ ἡλικία ἐμποδίζετο πρὸς τὸ μὴ οὐ καὶ ἐσ τὸ συνεδρίων καταλεξθήναι, ἀλλ' ἐσγραφέσθωσαν καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων, κἂν λελοχαγηκότες τινὲς ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς στρατοπέδοις ὅσι, πλὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ

7 τεταγμένοι ἐστρατευμένων, τούτων μὲν γὰρ τῶν

1 το, M, om. V. 2 τά τῇ M, τά ἐν τῇ V. 3 ἀπαιτή V, ἀπαιτεῖ M.
for the knights, since they are poorer than the senators, to meet their expenditures out of their own means, even when their duties keep them in Rome, and for the first point, that it is neither practicable nor to your interest that the same men should be given authority over both the troops and the public funds. And, furthermore, it is well that the whole business of the empire should be transacted by a number of agents, in order that many may at the same time receive the benefits and gain experience in public affairs; for in this way your subjects, reaping a manifold enjoyment of the common blessings, will be more favourably disposed towards you, and you will have at your disposal in the largest measure those who are at any particular time the best men for all urgent needs. One official of the equestrian order is sufficient for each branch of the fiscal service in the city, and, outside the city, for each province, each one of them to have as many subordinates, drawn from the knights and from your own freedmen, as the needs of the case demand; for you need to associate with the officials such assistants in order that your service may offer a prize for merit, and that you may not lack those from whom you may learn the truth, even contrary to their wishes, in case any irregularity is committed.

"If any of the knights, after passing through many branches of the service, distinguishes himself enough to become a senator, his age ought not to hinder him at all from being enrolled in the senate. Indeed, some knights should be received into the senate, even if they have seen service only as company commanders in the citizen legions, except such as have served in the rank and file. For it is both a shame
καὶ φορμοφορησάντων καὶ λαρκοφορησάντων καὶ αἰσχρῶν καὶ ἐπονείδιστῶν ἔστιν ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ τινας ἐξετάζεσθαι· ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐκατονταρχησάντων οὐδὲν κωλύει τοὺς ἐλλογιμωτάτους αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνειν.

26 "Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἱππέων ταύτα σοι συμβουλεύειν ἔχω, καὶ τῇ Δίᾳ καὶ ἡκείνα, ἵνα ἔως τε ἔτι παῖδες εἰσίν, ἐς τὰ διδασκαλεία συμφοντίζη, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐς μειράκια ἐκβάλωσιν, ἔπι τε τοὺς ἱπποὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὁπλα τρέπωνται, διδασκάλους ἐκατέρων δημοσιεύοντας ἐμμίσθους ἔχοντες. οὔτω γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐκ παῖδον πάνθ' ὁσα χρὴ ἀνδρὰς αὐτοὺς γενομένους ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ μαθόντες καὶ μελητήσαντες ἐπιτη- δειότεροι σοι πρὸς πάν ἐργον γενήσονται. τὸν γὰρ ἀρχοντα τὸν ἀριστον, οὐ τε τι ὀφελὸς ἐστε, δεὶ 2 μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν πάνθ', ἀ προσήκει ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅπως ὁς οτι βέλτιστοι οὕγυνοι, προνοεῖν. τοῦτο δ' ὑπάρξειεν ἃν σοι οὐκ ἄν εάσας 3 αὐτοὺς ὡσα βούλονται πράττειν, ἐπειτ' ἐπιτιμᾶς τοῖς ἀμαρτάνονσιν, ἀλλ' ἃν πρὶν τι πλημμελεύσαι, προδιδάσκας πάνθ' ὁσα ἀσκή- σαντες χρησιμότεροι καὶ έαυτοῖς καὶ σοι γενή- σονται, καὶ μηδενὶ γε τὸ παράπαυν πρόψασιν 4 παρέχῃς, μήτη δὲ πλοῦτον μήτε δὲ εὐγένειαν μήτε δὲ ἀλλο τι ἅρτης ἐχόμενον, ραθυμίαν ἡ μαλακίαν ἣ καὶ ἐπιτήδευσαι τινα κὶ βδηλον προσ- ποιεῖσθαι. πολλοὶ γὰρ φοβούμενοι μὴ καὶ διὰ

1 καὶ τῇ Δίᾳ καὶ ἡκείνα M, om. V.
2 δεὶ flor., δεὶν VM.
4 παρέχῃς R. Steph., παρέχοις VM.
and a reproach that men of this sort, who have carried faggots and charcoal, should be found on the roll of the senate; but in the case of knights who began their service with the rank of centurion, there is nothing to prevent the most notable of them from belonging to the senate.

"With regard, then, to the senators and the knights, this is the advice I have to give you,—yes, and this also, that while they are still children they should attend the schools, and when they come out of childhood into youth they should turn their minds to horses and to arms, and have paid public teachers in each of these departments. In this way from their very boyhood they will have had both instruction and practice in all that they will themselves be required to do on reaching manhood, and will thus prove more serviceable to you for every undertaking. For the best ruler,—the ruler who is worth anything,—should not only perform himself all the duties which devolve upon him, but should make provision for the rest also, that they may become as excellent as possible. And this title can be yours, not if you allow them to do whatever they please and then censure those who err, but if, before any mistakes are made, you give them instruction in everything the practice of which will render them more useful both to themselves and to you, and if you afford nobody any excuse whatever, either wealth or nobility of birth or any other attribute of excellence, for affecting indolence or effeminacy or any other behaviour that is counterfeit. For many persons, fearing that, by reason of

1 The Greek term indicates approximately the age of fourteen.
τοιοῦτό τι καὶ φθονηθῶσι καὶ κινδυνεύσωσι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀνάξια ἐαυτῶν ποιοῦσιν ὡς καὶ ἀσφαλείτερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν βιωσόμενοι· κακὸ τούτο ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἔλεοῦνται ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀδικοῦμενοι, τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἐξεῖναι σφισθὸς ὡρθὸς ἦν, τῷ δ' ἀρχοντὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ξημία ἀμα ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν στερομένῳ καὶ κακοδοξίᾳ τῆς αἰτιάσεως συμβαίνει. μὴν' οὖν περίδης ποτὲ τοῦτο πραξθέν, μητ' αὐτοὶ δείσης ὅτι τραφείς τέ τις καὶ παιδευθεὶς ὡς ἐγώ

λέγων εὐοπτῶν τι τολμήσει. πάν γὰρ τούτων τοὺς τε ἀμαθείς καὶ τοὺς ἄσελγεῖς ὑποτοπεῖν δεῖ·
οὶ μὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτοι πάντα ἀπλῶς καὶ τὰ ἀἰσχύστα καὶ τὰ δεινότατα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐς σφᾶς αὐτῶν ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τους ἄλλους, ῥάδιως ποιεῖν προ-ἀγονται, οἱ δὲ δὴ καλῶς τραφέντες τε καὶ παιδευθέντες οὕτω ἄλλο πορευροῦνται, καὶ πάντων ἡκιστα τὸν τῆς τε τροφῆς καὶ τῆς παι-

κείμενος αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθέντα. ἄν δ' οὖν τις καὶ κακὸς καὶ ἀχάριστος γένηται, μηδὲν αὐτοὶ τοιοῦτον ἐπιτρέψης εἰς ὅπε δεινὸν τι δρᾶσαι δυνηθεῖται· καὶ γε καὶ ὡς νεοχωμὸς τι, καὶ ἐλεγχότω καὶ κολασθήτω. μὴ γὰρ δὴ φοβηθῆς ὅτι σὲ αἰτιάσεται τις ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἀν γε πάνθ' ὅσα εἰρήκα πράττης.

σὺ μὲν γὰρ ὅπε δὲν ἀμαρτήσῃ τὸν ἀδικήσαντα τιμωρησάμενος, ὡσπερ ὅπε ὃ ἰατρὸς καυσάς τινὰ καὶ τεμών· ἐκείνοι δὲ δὴ πάντες δικαιώσουσιν,

1 λέγων R. Steph., λέγων VM. 2 δεὶ M, δὴ V.
some such advantage, they may incur jealousy or
danger, do many things that are unworthy of them-
selves, expecting by such behaviour to live in greater
security. As a consequence, not only do they, on
their part, become objects of pity as being victims of
injustice in precisely this respect, that men believe
that they are deprived of the opportunity of leading
upright lives, but their ruler also, on his part, suffers
not only a loss, in that he is robbed of men who
might have been good, but also ill-repute, because he
is blamed for the others' condition. Therefore never
permit this thing to happen, and have no fear, on
the other hand, that anyone who has been reared
and educated as I propose will ever venture upon
a rebellion. On the contrary, it is the ignorant and
licitious that you should suspect; for it is such
persons who are easily influenced to do absolutely
any and every thing, even the most disgraceful and
outrageous, first toward themselves and then toward
others, whereas those who have been well reared and
educated do not deliberately do wrong to any one
else and least of all to the one who has cared for
their rearing and education. If, however, one of
these does show himself wicked and ungrateful, you
have merely to refuse to entrust him with any
position of such a kind as will enable him to do
any mischief; and if even so he rebels, let him be
convicted and punished. You need not, I assure you,
be afraid that anyone will blame you for this, pro-
vided that you carry out all my injunctions. For in
taking vengeance on the wrongdoer you will be
guilty of no sin, any more than the physician is who
resorts to cautery and surgery; but all men will
assuredly say that the offender has got his deserts,
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

"Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς τε ἵππεας τὰ τάυτα γνωρίσθω τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας ἀδανά-
τους, ἐκ τε τῶν πολεμῶν κἂν τῶν ὑπηκόων τῶν τε 
συμμάχων, τῇ μὲν πλείον τῇ δὲ ἐλάττων, καθ’
ἐκαστὸν ἥδυνος, ὅπως ἂν ἡ χρεία τῶν πραγμάτων
ἀπαιτῇ, τρέφεσθαι προσήκει, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἂεὶ τε ἐν 
τοῖς ὁπλοῖς εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἀσκησιν τῶν πολεμικῶν 
διὰ παντὸς ποιεῖσθαι δεῖ, χειμάδια τε ἐν τοῖς ἐπι-
καιροτάτοις χώριοι κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ χρόνον 
τακτὸν στρατευμένους, ὡστε τι αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸ 
τοῦ γῆρως τῆς ἡλικίας περιέχαι. οὐτὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ 
tῶν καίρων βοηθείας τις ἐτί χρήσθαι δυνά-
μεθα, αὐτοὶ τε τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ἁρχῆς 
εὐχαριστῶν ἀπερητημένοι καὶ πολεμίσας ἐκασταχόθη 
προσοικοῦντας ἔχοντες· ἂν τε ἐπιτρέψωμεν πάσι 
tοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ οὕσι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα κεκτήσθαι 
καὶ τὰ ἐμπολέμια ἀσκεῖν, στάσεις καὶ πόλεμοι
ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐμφύλιοι ἂεὶ γενήσονται. καὶ μεντοι 
kαὶ κωλύσαντες σφας ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐπειτα συμ-
μαχίας τινὸς παρ’ αὐτῶν δεηθῶμεν, κινδυνεύο

1 κινδυνεύοντων R. Steph., κινδυνεύοντες VM.

144
because, after partaking of the same rearing and education as the rest, he plotted against you.

"Let this be your procedure, then, in the case of the senators and the knights. A standing army also should be supported, drawn from the citizens, the subject nations, and the allies, its size in the several provinces being greater or less according as the necessities of the case demand; and these troops ought always to be under arms and to engage in the practice of warfare continually. They should have winter-quarters constructed for them at the most advantageous points, and should serve for a stated period, so that a portion of life may still be left for them between their retirement from service and old age. The reason for such a standing army is this: far removed as we are from the frontiers of the empire, with enemies living near our borders on every side, we are no longer able at critical times to depend upon expeditionary forces; and if, on the other hand, we permit all the men of military age to have arms and to practise warfare, they will always be the source of seditions and civil wars. If, however, we prevent them from all making arms their profession and afterwards need their aid in war, we shall be exposed to danger, since we shall never have anything but inexperienced and untrained soldiers to depend upon. For these reasons I give it as my opinion that, while in general the men of military age should have nothing to do with arms and walled camps during their lives, the hardiest of them and those most in need of a livelihood should be enlisted as soldiers and given a military training. For they will fight better if they devote their time to this one
τῷ ἔργῳ σχολάζοντες, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μᾶνι γεωργήσοντες καὶ ναυτιλοῦνται τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τῇ εἰρήνῃ προσήκοντα πράξοντες, μήτε ἐκβοηθεῖν ἀναγκαζομένου καὶ προφυλακάς σφῶν έτέρους ἔχοντες, τὸ τε ἀκμαῖότατον καὶ ἱσχυρότατον καὶ ἐκ ληστείας μᾶλιστα ἔνν ἀναγκαζόμενον ἀλύτως τραφίστεσται, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πάν ἀκινδύνως βιώσεται.

28 "Πόθεν οὖν χρήματα καὶ ἐς τούτους καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἀναγκαίως ἀναλωθησόμενα ἔσται; ἐγὼ καὶ τούτο διδάξω, σμικρὸν ἐκεῖνο ὑπειπῶν, ὅτι κἂν δημοκρατηθῶμεν, πάντως ποὺ χρημάτων δεησόμεθα; οὔ γὰρ οἶον τε οὔτ' ἄνευ στρατιωτῶν ἡμᾶς σώζεσθαι οὔτ' ἀμισθί τινας στρατευ-2 εσθαι. μὴ οὖν ὡς καὶ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ μόνῃ τῆς ἀναγκαίας τῶν χρημάτων ἀθροίσεως προσηκούσης βαρυνώμεθα, μηδὲ ὅπις οὕτως καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἀποτρεπόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ πάντως ἀναγκαίον ὅν ἡμῖν, ὅπως ποτ' ἄν πολιτευόμεθα, καὶ ἄργυ-3 ρίζεσθαί τινα, οὔτω 4 Βουλευόμεθα. φημὶ τοῖνυν χρήματα σε πρότον μεν ἀπάντων τα κτήματα τὰ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ὅτα (πολλά δὲ ταύτα ὅρω διὰ τους πολέμους γεγονότα) πωλήσατε, πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν καὶ πάνω χρησίμων σοι καὶ ἀναγκαίων, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον τούτο πᾶν ἔτι μετρίοις τις τόκοις 4 ἐκδανείσαι. οὔτω γὰρ ἡ τε γῇ ἐνεργὸς ἔσται, δεσπόταις αὐτουργοῖς δοθεῖσα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀφορ-μὴν λαβόντες εὐπορότεροι γενήσονται, τὸ τε

1 δεησόμεθα Dind., δεησόμεθα VM.
2 ἀμισθὶ St., ἀμισθὶ VM.
3 τινας M, τινα V.
4 οὔτω M, οὔτω V.
business, and the rest will find it easier to carry on their farming, seafaring, and the other pursuits appropriate to peace, if they are not compelled to take part in military expeditions but have others to act as their defenders. Thus the most active and vigorous element of the population, which is generally obliged to gain its livelihood by brigandage, will support itself without molesting others, while all the rest will live without incurring dangers.

"From what source, then, is the money to be provided for these soldiers and for the other expenses that will of necessity be incurred? I shall explain this point also, prefacing it with a brief reminder that even if we have a democracy we shall in any case, of course, need money. For we cannot survive without soldiers, and men will not serve as soldiers without pay. Therefore let us not be oppressed by the idea that the necessity of raising money belongs only to a monarchy, and let us not be led by that consideration to turn our backs upon this form of government, but let us assume in our deliberations that, under whatever form of government we shall live, we shall certainly be constrained to secure funds. My proposal, therefore, is that you shall first of all sell the property that belongs to the state,—and I observe that this has become vast on account of the wars,—reserving only a little that is distinctly useful or necessary to you; and that you lend out all the money thus realized at a moderate rate of interest. In this way not only will the land be put under cultivation, being sold to owners who will cultivate it themselves, but also the latter will acquire a capital and become more prosperous, while the treasury will gain a permanent revenue that will
δημόσιον διαρκῆ καὶ ἀδάνατον πρόσοδον ἔξει. εἶτα συλλογίσασθαι ταύτα τε καὶ τάλλα ὡσα ἐκ τε μεταλλείας καὶ εἰ ὅθε ποθὲν ἄλλοθεν βεβαίως
5 δύναται προσείναι, καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἀντιλογίσασθαι μὴ μόνον τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἄλλα καὶ τάλλα πάντα δι’ ὅν καλῶς πόλεις οἴκεται, καὶ προσέτε καὶ ὡσα ἐς τὰς αἰφνιδίους στρατείας καὶ ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ ὡσα εἰσθὲν ἐπὶ καιροῦ συμβαίνειν, ἀναγ.
6 καὶον ἐσταὶ δαπανῶσθαι· κάκι τούτου πρὸς πάν τὸ λείπον φόρον τε ἐπετάξαι πάσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἐπικαρπίαν 1 τινὰ τὸ κεκτημένῳ αὐτὰ παρέχουσι, καὶ τέλη καταστῆσαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ὧν ἄρχομεν (καὶ γὰρ καὶ δίκαιον καὶ προσήκον ἕστι μηδένα αὐτῶν ἀτέλη εἶναι, μὴ ἵδιστην, μὴ δήμον, ἀτε καὶ τῆς ὀφελίας τῆς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ὀμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις 7 ἀπολαύσοντας 2), καὶ σφων ἐκλογέας τοὺς ἐπι-
τροπεύσοντας ἐκασταχόθε ποιῆσαι, ὡστε αὐτοὺς πάν τὸ τῶν ἐπιτροπείας αὐτῶν χρόνῳ προσή-
κον ἐξ ἀπασοῦ τῶν προσὸδῶν ἐσπράττειν. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνως ράο τὴν ἐσπράξειν ποιῆσει καὶ
tοῖς διδοῦσι τι ὀφείλιαν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην παρέξει·
8 λέγω δὲ τὸ 3 κατ’ ὄλγον σφαῖς ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν ὡσα ὀφείλουσιν ἐσφέρειν, καὶ μή, βραχὺν ῥαθυ-
μῆσαντας χρόνον, ἐπικεφαλαίωθεντα πάντα ἐσώ-
παξ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι.
29 " Καὶ οὐκ ἄγριον μὲν ὅτι τινὲς τῶν τε φόρων καὶ
tῶν τελῶν καθισταμένων ἀχθεσθήσονται· ἄλλα
cαὶ ἐκείνο οἶδα ὅτι, ἂν μὴ στρατιωτικὰν καὶ τῷ ἑργῷ πεισθῶσιν ὅτι πάντα ταύτα καὶ

1 ἐπικαρπίαν M, ἐπὶ καρπίαν V.
2 ἀπολαύσονται R. Steph., ἀπολαύσοντας VM.
3 τὸ R. Steph., τῶ VM.

148
suffice for its needs. In the second place, I advise you to make an estimate of the revenues from this source and of all the other revenues which can with certainty be derived from the mines or any other source, and then to make and balance against this a second estimate of all the expenses, not only those of the army, but also of all those which contribute to the well-being of a state, and furthermore of those which will necessarily be incurred for unexpected campaigns and the other needs which are wont to arise in an emergency. The next step is to provide for any deficiency by levying an assessment upon absolutely all property which produces any profit for its possessors, and by establishing a system of taxes among all the peoples we rule. For it is but just and proper that no individual or district be exempt from these taxes, inasmuch as they are to enjoy the benefits derived from the taxation as much as the rest. And you should appoint tax-collectors to have supervision of this business in each district, and cause them to exact the entire amount that falls due during the term of their supervision from all the sources of revenue. This plan will not only render the work of collection easier for these officials, but will in particular benefit the tax-payers, inasmuch, I mean, as these will bring in what they owe in the small instalments appointed, whereas now, if they are remiss for a brief period, the entire sum is added up and demanded of them in a single payment.

"I am not unaware that some will object if this system of assessments and taxes is established. But I know this, too,—that if they are subjected to no further abuses and are indeed convinced that all these contributions of theirs will make for their own
2 ἀδειὸς καρποῦσθαι συνεσοίσουσι, καὶ προσέτι τὰ πλείω αὐτῶν οὐχ ἔτεροι τινες ἄλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες οἱ δὲ ἐπιτροπεύοντες οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι, λήψουται, καὶ πάνυ πολλὴν χάριν εἴσονται σοι, βραχέα ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὡν ἂν μηδὲν ἐπηρεαζόμενοι καρπῷνται διδόντες, ἄλλως τε κὰν ὀρόσι σε σωφρόνως τε διαιτώμενον καὶ 3 μηδὲν μάτην παρανάλισκοντα. τὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἰδὼν σε πρὸς μὲν τὰ οἰκεία φειδωλότατον πρὸς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ ἀθείωδοτον δυντα, ἐθελοῦν συντελέσει τι, καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ εὐπορίαιν ἐαυτοῦ τὸ σὲ πλούτειν εἰσὶν νομίζων;

30 "Χρήματα μὲν δὴ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ ἐκ τούτων ὑπάρξειν ἂν τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον διοικεῖν σοι παραϊνώ. τὸ μὲν ἀστιν τοῦτο καὶ κατακόσμησα τίποτα πολυτελεία καὶ ἐπιλάμποντε παντὶ εἰδεί πανηγύρεων προσήκει τε γὰρ ἡμᾶς πολλῶν ἄρχοντας ἐν πάσι πάντων ὑπερέχειν, καὶ φέρει πως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὸν συμμάχους αἰῶν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κατά-
2 πληξίν. τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ὑδε δεισε. πρῶτον μὲν οἱ δῆμοι μὴτε κύριοι τινος ἑστῶσαν μὴτε ἐκκλησίαιν τὸ παράπαν φοιτάτωσαν οὔτε γὰρ ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲν φρονήσωσιν ἀν καὶ συχνά ἂν ἀεὶ ταράξειαν. οὔθεν οὔδε τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν δῆμον οὔτε ἐς δικαστήριον οὔτε ἐς ἀρχαίρεσιαν, οὔτε ἐς ἄλλοις τοιοῦτων σύλλογον ἐν ὧ τι καὶ χρηματί-
security and for their fearless enjoyment of the rest of their property, and that, again, the larger part of their contributions will be received by none but themselves, as governors, procurators, or soldiers, they will be exceedingly grateful to you, since they will be giving but a slight portion of the abundance from which they derive the benefit without having to submit to abuses. Especially will this be true if they see that you live temperately and spend nothing foolishly. For who, if he saw that you were quite frugal in your expenditures for yourself and quite lavish in those for the commonwealth, would not willingly contribute, believing that your wealth meant his own security and prosperity?

"So far as funds are concerned, therefore, a great abundance would be supplied from these sources. And I advise you to conduct as follows the administration of such matters as have not yet been mentioned. Adorn this capital with utter disregard of expense and make it magnificent with festivals of every kind. For it is fitting that we who rule over many people should surpass all men in all things, and brilliance of this sort, also, tends in a way to inspire our allies with respect for us and our enemies with terror. The affairs of the other cities you should order in this fashion: In the first place, the populace should have no authority in any matter, and should not be allowed to convene in any assembly at all; for nothing good would come out of their deliberations and they would always be stirring up a good deal of turmoil. Hence it is my opinion that our populace here in Rome, for that matter, should not come together either as a court or to hold the elections, or indeed in any meeting whose object is
3 οὖν καὶ δεῖ, συνείναι φημεῖ χρήναι. ἐπειτὰ δὲ μὴν οἰκοδομημάτων πλήθεις ἡ καὶ καὶ μεγέθεις ὑπὲρ τἀναγκαία χρήσθωσαν, μὴν ἀγώνων πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀναλώματι δαπανάσθωσαν, ἡνα μὴ σπουδαῖς ματαίαις ἐκτρέχωνται μὴν ἑφίλοτιμόλα.

4 ἀλώγοις πολεμῶνται. ἐχέτωσαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ θεορίας τινάς, χωρὶς τῆς ἰπποδρομίας τῆς παρ' ἡμᾶς ποιουμένης, μὴ μέντοι ὡστε καὶ τὸ δημόσιον ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἵδους οἰκους λυμαίνεσθαι, ξένου τὲ τῦν ἀναγκάζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅτιον ἀναλίσκειν, καὶ σίτησιν ἀθάνατον πάσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἀγώνας τὐνα νυκτῆσαι δίδοσθαι.

5 τοὺς τε γὰρ εὐπόρους ἀλόγον ἐστὶν ἔξω τι τῶν πατρίδων ἀναγκαστοὺς δαπανῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἀπόχρη τὰ ἀθλα τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις τιθέμενα, χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις αὐτῶν 'Ολυμπία ἢ

6 Πύθια ἢ τυχαία ἅγωνα ἀνέλοιτο· τοὺς γὰρ τοιούτους μόνους συνεῖσθαι δεῖ, ἢν μὴ τε αἱ πόλεις μᾶτην ἐπιτρίβωνται μὴ τε ἔξω τοῖς τῶν ἄξιονικών ἀσκῆς, δυνάμενος ἄλλο τι χρησιμότερον καὶ ἐαυτῷ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ μετίεναι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων

7 ταύτα γηγώσκω, τὰς δ' ἰπποδρομίας τὰς ἀνεών τῶν γυμνικῶν ἁγώνων ἐπιτελουμένας οὐχ ἠγοῦμαι δεῦν ἄλλη τϊνι πόλει ποιεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν, διὸν μὴ τε χρήματα παμπληθῇ εἰκῇ παραπολλύνται μὴθ'

1 καὶ M, om. V.
2 ἀνέλοιτο Rk., ἐν ἐλοίτο V, ἐν ἐλοίτο Μ.
to transact business. In the second place, the cities should not indulge in public buildings unnecessarily numerous or large, nor waste their resources on expenditures for a large number and variety of public games, lest they exhaust themselves in futile exertions and be led by unreasonable rivalries to quarrel among themselves. They ought, indeed, to have their festivals and spectacles,—to say nothing of the Circensian games held here in Rome,—but not to such an extent that the public treasury or the estates of private citizens shall be ruined thereby, or that any stranger resident there shall be compelled to contribute to their expense, or that maintenance for life shall be granted to every one without exception who has won a victory in a contest. For it is unreasonable that the well-to-do should be put under compulsion to spend their money outside their own countries; and as for the competitors in the games, the prizes which are offered in each event are enough, unless a man wins in the Olympian or Pythian games or in some contest here in Rome. For these are the only victors who ought to receive their maintenance, and then the cities will not be wearing themselves out to no purpose nor will any athlete go into training except those who have a chance of winning; the rest will be able to follow some occupation that will be more profitable both to themselves and to the commonwealth. This is my opinion about these matters. But as to the horse-races in connection with which there are no gymnastic contests,¹ I think that no city but Rome should be permitted to have them, the object being to prevent the wanton dissipation of vast sums of money and to

¹ He has reference to the Circensian games in Rome.
oι ἀνθρώποι κακῶς ἐκμαίνονται, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἢν οἱ στρατευόμενοι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἑπτὼς ἀφθό-νως χρῆσθαι ἔχωσι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ διὰ ταύτ' ἀπαγορεύω παντάπασι μηδαμῶθι ἀλλοθι πλὴν ἐνταῦθα γίγνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ ἐμετρίασα, ἢν εὐδαπάνους τὰς ἀπολαύσεις καὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων καὶ τῶν ἀκουσμάτων ὡς ἑκαστοι ποιούμενοι καὶ σωφρονέστεροι καὶ ἀστασιαστότεροι διάγωσι.

9 "Μήτε δὲ νομίσματα ἢ καὶ σταθμὰ ἢ μέτρα ἴδια τις αὐτῶν ἔχετω, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ ἑκείνοι πάντες χρῆσθωσαν μήτε πρεσβεῖαν τινὰ πρὸς σὲ, πλὴν εἰ πράγμα τι διαγινώσκεις ἐχόμενον εἰς, πεμπτώσας, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε ἀρχοντὶ σφων δηλού-τωσαν ὅσα βούλονται, καὶ δὲ ἑκείνον ὁ σοι τὰς ἀξιόσεις, ὅσας ἃν δοκιμάσῃ, προσφερέτωσαν.

10 οὔτω γὰρ οὔτ' ἀναλώσουσί τι οὔτ' αἰσχρῶς δια-πράξονται, ἀλλ' ἀκεραίοις τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀνευ δαπάνης ἢ καὶ πραγματείας τινὸς λήφονται.

31 "Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τάλλα δὲδ' ἃν μοι δοκεῖσ 3 ἀριστα διατάξαι, ἀν πρῶτον μὲν τὰς πρεσβείας τὰς τε παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδυων καὶ βασιλέων καὶ δήμων ἀφικνουμένας ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσάγης (τὰ τις γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ ἀξιόλογον ἐστὶ τὸ τε τὴν βουλὴν πάντων κυρίαν δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ πολλοὺς τοὺς

1 ἑκείνου M, ἑκείνους V. 2 σοι V, σού M. 3 δοκεῖσ Bk., δοκεῖς VM.
keep the populace from becoming deplorably crazed over such a sport, and, above all, to give those who are serving in the army an abundant supply of the best horses. It is for these reasons, therefore, that I would altogether forbid the holding of such races anywhere else than here in Rome; as to the other games, I have proposed to keep them within bounds, in order that each community, by putting upon an inexpensive basis its entertainments for both eye and ear, may live with greater moderation and less factious strife.

"None of the cities should be allowed to have its own separate coinage or system of weights and measures; they should all be required to use ours. They should send no embassy to you, unless its business is one that involves a judicial decision; they should rather make what representations they will to their governor and through him bring to your attention such of their petitions as he shall approve. In this way they will be spared expense and be prevented from resorting to crooked practices to gain their object; and the answers they receive will be uncontaminated by their agents and will involve no expense or red tape.

"Moreover (to pass to other matters), it seems to me that you would be adopting the best arrangement if you should, in the first place, introduce before the senate the embassies which come from the enemy and from those under treaty with us, whether kings or democracies; for, among other considerations, it is both awe-inspiring and calculated to arouse comment for the impression to prevail that the senate has full authority in all matters and for all men to be fully aware that those envoys who are unfair in their
2 ἔπειτα δὲ ἂν πάντα τὰ νομοθετούμενα δὲ αὐτῶν ποιῆ, καὶ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἄλλο ἐπὶ πάντας ὀμοίως φέρῃ πλην τῶν ἐκείνης δογμάτων· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ τε ἀξίωμα τὸ τῆς ἁρχῆς μᾶλλον ἂν βεβαιοῖτο, καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα τὰ τῶν νόμων καὶ ἀναμφίλογα καὶ διάδηλα πᾶσιν ἃμα γίγνοιτο.  
3 τρίτων, ἂν τοὺς τε βουλευτάς τους ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοὺς παίδας τὰς τε γυναικὰς αὐτῶν, ἂν ποτὲ τινα αἰτίαν βαρυτέραν, ὅστε τὸν ἀλοίπα σφόν ἀτιμίαν ἢ φυγὴν ἢ καὶ θάνατον ὄφλείν, λάβωσιν, ὑπὸ τὸ τοῦ βουλευτήριον ὑπάγης μηδὲν προκαταγωγοῦ, καὶ ἐκεῖνος πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν διαψήφισιν ἀκέραιον ἐπιτρέπῃ, ἵνα ὦ τε ἀδικοῦντες τι ἐν πάσι τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις ἐλεγχόμενοι κολα-ζωῦνται χωρὶς τοῦ σοῦ φθόνου, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦθ' ὀρὸντες βελτίως γίγνονται φόβῳ τοῦ μῆ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκδημοσιευθῆναι.  
5 ᾧ καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι περὶ ἐκεῖνον τῶν ἀδικημάτων, περὶ δὲ ὦ τε νόμοι κεῖνται καὶ αἱ κρίσεις αἱ κατ' αὐτῶν γίγνονται, λέγω. τὸ γὰρ ὧτι τῆς ἐλοιδόρησε σε ἢ καὶ ἔτερον τι ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶπε, μῆτ' ἀκούσῃς ποτὲ κατηγοροῦντός τινος μήτε ἐπεξέλθῃς. αἰσχρὸν μὲν γὰρ τὸ πιστεύειν ὦτι τῆς μῆτε τι ἀδικοῦντά σε καὶ εὐρεγετοῦντα πάντας

1 γίγνοιτο St., γίγνοιτο VM.
dealings will have many to oppose them. In the second place, you would do well to have all your legislation enacted by the senate, and to enforce no measure whatever upon all the people alike except the decrees of this body. In this way the dignity of the empire would be more securely established and the judgments rendered in accordance with the laws would instantly be free from all dispute or uncertainty in the eyes of all the people. In the third place, it would be well in the case of the members of the senatorial order who are actually members of the senate, their children, and their wives, if ever they are charged with a serious offence for which the penalty on conviction would be disfranchisement, exile, or even death, that you should bring the matter before the senate without prejudgment against the accused, and should commit to that body the entire decision uninfluenced by your opinion. The purpose of this is, that the guilty, thus tried by a jury consisting solely of their peers, may be punished without there being any resentment against you, and that the others, seeing this, may mend their ways through fear of being publicly pilloried themselves.

"These suggestions have to do only with those offences regarding which laws have been established and judgments are rendered in accordance with these laws. For as to a charge that some one has vilified you or in some other way has used unseemly language regarding you, I would have you neither listen to the accuser nor follow up the accusation. For it is disgraceful for you to believe that any one has wantonly insulted you if you are indeed doing no

1 As distinguished from those of the senatorial order who have not yet gained admission to the senate.
προεπηλάκισε, καὶ μόνοι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν οἱ κακῶς ἄρχοντες· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ συνειδότος καὶ τὸ πιστὸν
7 τῶν λεγομένων εἰρήσθαι τεκμαίρονται· δεινὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ χαλεπαίνειν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἂ εἰ μὲν ἀληθὴ εἶη, κρείττον ἐστὶ μὴ ποιεῖν, εἰ δὲ ψευδὴ, μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, ὡς πολλοὶ γε ἤδη διὰ τούτου πολὺ πλεῖον καὶ χαλεπώτερα λογοποιεῖσθαι καθʿ
8 ἕαυτῶν ἐποίησαν. περὶ μὲν ὄσῳ τῶν λόγω τι προπηλακίζειν αὐτιαξομένων ταύτ᾽ ἐγὼ φρονῶν· κρείττου τε γὰρ καὶ ὑψηλότερον πάσης ὑβρεως εἶναι σε χρῆ, καὶ μηδ᾽ ἐς ἐννοιῶν ποτε μηδ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀφικνεῖσθαι μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους προάγειν ὅτι δύναται τις ἀσελγάναι τι ἐς σὲ, ἢν ὡς περὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὐτως 1 καὶ περὶ σοῦ φρονῶσιν ὅτι σεπτὸς
9 εἰ. ἀν δὲ δὴ τις ἐπιβουλεύειν σοι αἰτίαν λάβῃ (γένοιτο γὰρ ἄν τι καὶ τοιοῦτον), αὐτὸς μὲν μηδὲ περὶ ἐκεῖνον τι μήτε δικάσῃς μήτε προδιαγράφῃς (ἀτὸπον γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ κατηγοροῦν καὶ δικαστὴν γέμνεσθαι), ὑπὸ 2 δὲ δὴ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὸν ἀγαγῶν ἀπολογήσασθαι τε ποίησον, κἂν ἔλεγχθη, κόλασον μετρίας ὡς οἶον τέ ἐστι τὸ τιμώρημα,
10 ἢν καὶ πιστευθῇ τὸ ἀδίκημα. χαλεπώτατα γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ πείδονται ὅτι τις ἀσπλος ὄν ἐπειβουλεύει τῷ ὁπλισμένῳ· καὶ μόνως ἄν ὄστως αὐτῶν τόχοισ, εἰ μήτε πρὸς ὀργὴν μήτ᾽ ἀνηκέστως, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον γε καὶ εὐδέχεται, τὴν τιμωρίαν αὐτοῦ ποιοῖο. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα χωρίς ἢ εἰ τις στράτευμα τι ἔχων

1 οὕτω M, om. V. 2 ὑπὸ Ba., εἴτε VM.
wrong and are but conferring benefits upon all, and it is only those who are ruling badly who believe such things; for they draw evidence from their own conscience of the credibility of the alleged slanders. And it is, furthermore, a dangerous thing even to show anger at such imputations (for if they are true, it were better not to be angry, and if they are false, it were better to pretend not to be angry), since many a man in times past has, by adopting this course, caused to be circulated against himself scandals far more numerous and more difficult to bear. This, then, is my advice concerning those who are accused of calumniating you; for you should be superior to any insult and too exalted to be reached by it, and you should never allow yourself even to imagine, or lead others to imagine, that it is possible for any one to treat you with contumely, since you desire that men shall think of you, as they do of the gods, that your sanctity is inviolable. If, however, any one is accused of plotting against you (and such a thing might also happen), refrain, in his case also, from either giving judgment yourself or prejudging the charge (for it is absurd that the same man should be both accuser and judge), but bring him before the senate and let him plead his defence there, and, if he is convicted, punish him, moderating the sentence as far as possible, in order that belief in his guilt may be fostered. For most men are very reluctant to believe that an unarmed man is plotting against one who is armed; and the only way you can win them to the belief is by showing, so far as possible, neither resentment nor the desire to exact the utmost when you inflict the penalty. But I make an exception to this rule in
ἀντικρυς ἐπανασταῖη· οὐδὲ γὰρ δικάζεσθαι τὸν
tοιοῦτον που προσήκειν, ἀλλὰ ἐν πολεμίῳ μοῖρα
κολάζεσθαι.

32 "Ταύτα τε οὖν οὕτω, καὶ τάλλα τὰ πλείστα
καὶ μέγιστα τῶν τῷ δημοσίῳ προσηκόντων, τῇ
γερουσία ἀνατίθεν· τά τε γὰρ κοινὰ κοινώς διω-
κεῖσθαι δεῖ, καὶ ἔστι που πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐμ-
φυτον καὶ τὸ χαίρειν ἑφ᾽ ὦς ἂν παρὰ τοῦ κρείτ-
tονος ὡς καὶ ἱσότιμοι αὐτῷ ὄντες ἄξιωθοσί, καὶ
tὸ πάντα τὰ μετὰ σφόν τινι γρωσθέντα καὶ
ἐπαινεῖν ὡς οἰκεία καὶ ἄγαπαν ὡς αὐθαίρετα.

2 ἔσ μὲν οὖν τὸ βουλευτήριον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσφέρε-
σθαι φημι χρὴναι, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων
πάντας ὁμοίως τοὺς παρόντας γνὼμην διδόναι,
ὅταν δὲ δὴ κατηγορήταί τις αὐτῶν, μὴ πάντας,
πλὴν ἂν τις ἡ μηδέπω βουλεύῃ ἢ καὶ ἐν τοῖς
3 τεταμεμευκοσιν ἔτι ὧν κρίνηται. ἀτοπον γὰρ τῶν
μηδέπω δεδημαρχηκότα ἢ ἡγορανομικότα ψήφον
κατὰ τίνος τῶν τοιούτων φέρειν, ἢ νὴ Δία τοῦτων
tινὰ κατὰ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, ἢ καὶ ἐκείνων
κατὰ τῶν ὑπατευκότων. ἀλλὰ οὕτω μὲν ἐπὶ
πάντας τὴν τοῦ τι ἀποφήμασθαι ἐξουσίαν ἐχέω-
σαν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τε τοὺς ὁμοίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς
ὑποδεεστέρους.

33. "Δίκαζε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἵδια τά τε ἐφέσιμα καὶ
tά ἀναπόμπιμα, ὅσα ἂν παρὰ τε τῶν μειζόνων
the case of a commander of an army who openly revolts; for of course it is fitting that such an one should not be tried at all, but chastised as a public enemy.

"These matters, then, should be referred by you to the senate, and also those others which are of the greatest importance to the state. For interests which are shared in common should be administered in common. Besides, it is doubtless a quality implanted by nature in all men that they take delight in any marks of esteem received from a superior which imply that they are his equals, and that they not only approve of all decisions made by another in consultation with themselves, as being their own decisions, but also submit to them as having been imposed by their own free choice. Therefore I say that such business ought to be brought before the senate. Furthermore, all the senators alike, that is, all who are present, should vote on all other matters; but when one of their own number is accused, not all of them should do so, unless the one who is on trial is not yet sitting as a senator or is still in the ranks of the ex-quaestors. For it is absurd that one who has not yet been a tribune or an aedile should cast a vote against men who have held those offices, or, worse yet, that any one of the latter should vote against men who have been praetors, or one of these last against men who have been consuls. Rather, let the ex-consuls alone have authority to render decisions in the case of all senators, and let the rest of the senators vote only in the cases of senators of a rank equal or inferior to their own.

"But do you judge by yourself alone the cases which come to you on appeal or reference from the higher
ἀρχόντων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, τοῦ τε πολιάρχου καὶ τοῦ ὑποτιμητοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐπάρχων τοῦ τε τῶν σίτου ἐπισκοποῦντος καὶ τοῦ νυκτοφυλακοῦντος, ἀφικνῆται: μήτε γὰρ αὐτόδικος μὴ αὐτοτελῆς οὕτω τε σᾶς παράπαυν ἔστω ὅστις μὴ

2 οὐκ ἐφέσιμον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δίκην γιγνεσθαι. ταῦτα τε οὖν κρίνει, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε ἐκατοντάρχων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τῶν πρώτων, ὅταν περὶ βανατώσεως ἢ καὶ ἀτιμίας τινὸς ἀγωνίζωνται. σοὶ γὰρ δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα μόνον προσκείσθω, καὶ μηδὲς ἄλλος περὶ αὐτῶν αὐτὸς καθ' ἐαυτόν, δι' ἀπερ ἐπὶ τού, δικαζέτω.

3 μετὰ γὰρ δὴ σοῦ ἀεὶ μὲν οἱ ἐντιμότατοι καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἢδη δὲ καὶ ἔτεροι τινες ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν ἄλλοι ἄλλοτε διαγνωσκέτωσαν, ἵνα σὺ τοὺς τρόπους αὐτῶν ἀκριβέστερον ἐν τούτῳ προκαταμανθάνων ὀρθῶς σφίσθων ἔχῃς χρήσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι προσυγγιγνόμενοι τοῖς τε ἡθείσι καὶ τοῖς βουλεύμασι σοῦ οὕτως ἐς τὰς τῶν θρόνων

4 ἡγεμονίας ἔξισθι. τἀς μέντοι γνώμας αὐτῶν μὴ φανερῶς, ὅσα γε καὶ ἐπισκέψεως ἀκριβέστερας δέονται, διαπνευθάνου, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς προήκουσί σφον ἐφεσπέρουν κατοκνωσὶ παρηγορίας, ἀλλ' ἐς γραμματεία γραφομένας, οἷς αὐτῶς μόνος ἑντυχών, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἄλλῳ ἐκδηλοῦσι αὐτάς γίγνεσθαι, εὐθέως αὐτάς ἀπαλείφεσθαι κέλευσον οὕτω γὰρ ἀν μάλιστα τὴν ἐκάστου γνώμην διακρι-

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1 κρίνε R. Steph., κρίναi VM.
2 δὴ R. Steph., δεί VM.
3 προσυγγιγνόμενοι Xyl., προσυγγιγνόμενοi VM.
4 μὴ M, om. V.
5 προήκουσί Rk., προήκουσι VM.

162
officials and the procurators, from the prefect of the city, the sub-censor, and from the prefects in charge respectively of the grain-supply and the night-watch. For none of these should have such absolute jurisdiction and final authority that an appeal cannot be made from him. Do you, therefore, pass upon these cases and those which involve knights and centurions recruited from the levies and the foremost private citizens, when they are defendants on a charge punishable by death or disfranchisement. For such cases should be committed to you alone, and for the reasons mentioned no one else should judge them solely upon his own responsibility. Indeed, in the rendering of decisions generally you should be brought into consultation, invariably by the senators and knights of highest rank and also, as occasion calls for one or another, by the other senators who are ex-consuls and ex-praetors, the object being twofold: that you on your part may first become more intimately acquainted with their characters and may then be able to put them to the right kind of employment, and that they, on their part, may first become familiar with your habits of mind and your plans before they go out to govern the provinces. Do not, however, ask for a public expression of their opinion on any matter that requires an unusually careful consideration, lest they hesitate to speak freely, since in giving their opinions they follow their superiors in rank; make them, rather, write their opinions on tablets. These you should read in private, that they may become known to no one else, and should then order the writing to be erased forthwith. For the best way for you to get at each man's

1 Praefectus annonae and praefectus vigilum.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

βώσειας, εἰ ἀνελεγκτον αὐτὴν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους πιστεύσειαν ἔσεσθαι.

5 “Καὶ μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς δίκας τὰς τε ἐπιστολὰς καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τῶν πόλεων τὰς τε τῶν ἴδιωτῶν ἀξιώσεις, καὶ ὡσα ἄλλα τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς διουκήσει προσήκει, συνεργοῦσ τε τινας καὶ ὑπηρέτας ἐκ τῶν ἴππεων ἔχε ῥᾷδον τε γὰρ οὕτως ὡς ἐκαστα διαχωρήσει, καὶ σὺ οὔτ’ αὐτογνω-

μονόν σφαλήσῃ οὔτ’ αὐτουργὸν ἐκκαμῆ. τὴν τε παρρησίαν παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ ὅτιον συμ-

βουλεύσαι σοι μετὰ ἀδείας νέμει· ἂν τε γὰρ ἀρεσθῆς τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, πολλὰ ὠφε-

λήσῃ, ἂν τε καὶ μὴ πεισθῆς, οὐδέν βλαβήσῃ.

7 καὶ τοὺς μὲν τυχόντας τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἔπαινει καὶ τίμα (τοῖς γὰρ ἐκεῖνων ἐξευρήμασιν αὐτὸς εὐδοκιμῆσεις), τοὺς δ’ ἀμαρτόντας μὴν ἀτιμάσῃς ποτὲ μὴν αἰτιάσῃ τὴν γὰρ διάνοιαν αὐτῶν δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἄλλ’ οὐ τὴν οὐκ ἐπιτυχίαν μέμφεσθαι.

8 τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν φύλαττε, καὶ μήτε ἐπὶ δυστυχία ἀκουσίῳ χαλεπήνης τινὶ μήτε ἐπὶ εὔτυχίᾳ φθονήσῃς, ἐνα καὶ προθύμως καὶ ἥδεως πάντες ὡπὲρ σοῦ κινδυνεύσει, πισ-

τεύωντες ὅτι οὔτε πταῖσαντες τι κολασθήσονται ἀνήξειον τοῦ τὸν παρὰ τῶν τὸ κράτος ἐχόντων φθόνον

1 ὠφελήσῃ R. Steph., ὠφελήσει VM, ὠφεληθῇσθαι flor.

164
precise opinion would be to give him the certainty that his vote cannot be detected among the rest.

"Moreover, for your judicial work and your correspondence, to help you attend to the decrees of the states and the petitions of private individuals, and for all other business which belongs to the administration of the empire, you must have men chosen from the knights to be your helpers and assistants. For all the details of administration will move along more easily in this way, and you will neither err through relying upon your own judgment nor become exhausted through relying upon your own efforts. Grant to every one who wishes to offer you advice, on any matter whatever, the right to speak freely and without fear of the consequences; for if you are pleased with what he says you will be greatly benefited, and if you are not convinced it will do you no harm. Those who win your favourable opinion for their suggestions you should both commend and honour, since you yourself will gain credit through their discoveries; but do not treat with disrespect or criticise those who fail of your approval, since it is their intentions that you should consider, and their lack of success should not call forth your censure. Guard against this same mistake in matters of warfare, also; give way neither to anger against a man for an unintentional misfortune nor to jealousy for a piece of good fortune, that all may zealously and gladly incur danger for your sake, confident that if they meet with any reverse they will not be punished for it and that if they gain success they will not have snares laid for them. There have been many, at any rate, who through fear of jealousy on the
phonymenov ophalhnai ti ma llon h katapraxai proeilevonto, kak tou touto to mev asfalases autoi esxou, to de de 1 zemwma ekainous prosoterip- vantos. oiste autous to pleion ap' amforteron omolois kal ton xeiropon kal ton ameivonon apo- lausow, me despota ethelhshs logw mev allos erekf de santo fthonisai.

34 "Paini osa tous arxomévous kal fropoein kal práttein bouliei, kai legei kal polei. outrw gar an ma llon paedwseias autous h taís ek ton vómov timoriais 2 deumatwseias: to mev gar zilọn to de fòbbon ëxei, kai phon tis mmeitai to kreítw, oron érrh tignómena, h fylattetai ta 2 xeirow, akouwv logw kekoliaimena. kai autous mev akribhéis panta prátet, mbedemian sygwnwshn seautô 3 vëmov, oiste kai ev eiðos óti para- xrhmia pantes kal osa an éiphs kai osa an poisths mabhsontai. katháper gar et evi tini tis dhles oikoumènhs theátrw zìsfh, kal oux oîon te sou esstai oude braqhtaton amartwnti dia-

3 ladeinv outrw gar kata mönas pote alla kal metà suxwv an eli proabwes, kal poluptra- gmonovsi pws to upo ton arxóonton tignómena kai oi loi toi pantes hdivsta, oist' an apax kata- máwsoi se alla mev autous proagoréontai alla de auton poiounta, ou tas apieis sou fobhth- sontai 4 alla ta érrh mahtsontai.

4 "Twn de de de twn allon bion épiskopei mev, me
mén to kai xalepódh sxeitace, alla osa mev an úf'

1 dh M, om. V flor. 2 timoriais flor., om. VM.
3 seautô flor. B, iautô VM flor. A.
4 fobhsthonta VM, fobhsthonta flor.
part of those in power have chosen to accept defeat rather than achieve success, and as a result have gained safety for themselves while inflicting the loss upon their rulers. Therefore, since you yourself stand to reap the major part of the fruits of both outcomes, the failures as well as the successes, you should never consent to become jealous, nominally of others, but really of yourself.

"Whatever you wish your subjects to think and do, this you should always say and do yourself. In this way you will be educating them, rather than intimidating them through the punishments prescribed by the laws. The former policy inspires zeal, the latter fear; and one finds it easier to imitate that which is good when he sees it actually practised than to avoid that which is evil when he hears it forbidden by mere words. Be scrupulous yourself in all your actions, showing no mercy to yourself, in the full assurance that all men will forthwith learn of whatever you say or do. For you will live as it were in a theatre in which the spectators are the whole world; and it will not be possible for you to escape detection if you make even the most trivial mistake. Indeed, you will never be alone, but always in the company of many when you do anything; and since the remainder of mankind somehow take the keenest delight in prying into the conduct of their rulers, if once they ascertain that you are recommending to them one course but are yourself taking another, instead of fearing your threats they will imitate your actions.

"You should, of course, supervise the lives of your subjects, but do not scrutinise them with too much rigour. Sit in judgment upon all offences reported
ἔτέρων τινῶν ἐσώγηται, κρίνε, ὅσα δ' ἂν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς αἰτιάζηται, μηδε προσποιοῦ εἰδέναι, ἔξω τῶν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον πλημμελουμένων. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιστροφῆς, κἂν μηδεὶς ἐγκαλῇ, τυχχάνειν ὁφείλειν τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ ἦσθι μὲν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ σφαλῆς ποτὲ ἀνεπιτηδείω τινὶ ὑπηρέτη πρὸς τι χρησάμενος,

μὴ μέντοι καὶ ἔξελεγχε. πολλὰ γὰρ ἡ φύσις καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον πολλοὺς ἁμαρτάνειν ἔξαγει, οἰς ἂν μὲν ἀκριβῶς τις ἐπεξῆ, ἥ τινα ἡ οὐδένα ἀν αὐτῶν ἀτιμώρητον καταλίποι, ἃν δ' ἀνθρωπίνως τὸ ἐπιεικὲς τὸ νεομισμένῳ παραμνηγῆ, τὰς ἂν καὶ σωφρονίσεις αὐτοὺς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ νόμος, καίτοι ἱσχύρα τὰ κολάσματα ἀναγκαίως ποιοῦμενος, οὐ δύναται τῆς φύσεως ἀεὶ κρατεῖν τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων τινὲς λαυθάνειν μὲν δόξαντες ἢ καὶ μετρίως πως νουθητθέντες ἀμείνοις γίγνονται, οἱ μὲν αἰσχυνόμενοι ἔλεγχθηναι οὐ δὲ αἰδοῦμενοι πάλιν σφαλήναι, φανερωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀπερυθράσαντες ἢ καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου κολασθέντες τὰ τε νεομισμένα πάντα συνχέουσι καὶ καταπατοῦσι, καὶ μόναις ταῖς τῆς φύσεως ὅρμαις δουλεύουσι, κάκα τούτοις οὗτε τὸ πάντας αὐτοὺς κολάζειν ῥάδιον, οὗτε τὸ περιορᾶν φανερῶς τινὰς ἀσελγαίνοντας εὐπρεπές γίγνεται.

"Τὰ μὲν δὴ ὅπων ἁμαρτήματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων σοι τὸν τρόπον, πλὴν τῶν πάνω ἀνθρώπων,"

1 κρίνε R. Steph., κρίναι VM.
2 μὴ καὶ M, καὶ μὴ V.
to you by others, but act as if you were not even aware of offences concerning which no one has made accusation—except in the case of trespasses against the public interest. These ought, of course, to receive proper attention, even if no one files a charge; but as to private shortcomings, while you should indeed have knowledge of them, in order that you may avoid making a mistake some day by employing an unsuitable person as your agent in some matter, yet you should not go so far as to convict those who are guilty of them. For human nature often tempts men to commit many a violation of the law, and if you were to prosecute such offences rigorously, you would leave unpunished few or none of the offenders; but if in a kindly spirit you mix reasonableness with the prescriptions of the law, you may succeed in bringing the offenders to their senses. The law, you know, though it of necessity makes its punishments severe, cannot always conquer nature. And so in the case of some men, if they think that their sins have not been discovered, or if they have been reproved but not unduly, they reform, either because they feel disgraced at having been found out, or because their self-respect keeps them from falling again; whereas, if they have been publicly exposed and have lost all sense of shame, or have been chastised unduly, they overturn and trample under foot all the conventions of the law and become wholly slaves to the impulses of nature. Therefore it is neither easy to punish offenders invariably in all cases nor is it seemly to allow them in particular cases to flaunt their wickedness openly.

"Now this is the way I advise you to deal with men's shortcomings, with the exception of those
καταχειρίζεσθαι παραινώ, τά δ' ὀρθῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν γνωριμενα καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν τῶν ἔργων τιμῶν ὁῦτω γὰρ ἂν μᾶλλον ποιήσεις αὐτῶς τῶν τε χειρόνων ἀπέχεσθαι, τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, καὶ τῶν
10 βελτιώνοις ἐφίεσθαι, τῇ μεγαλοδυρίᾳ. μὴ γάρ τοι καταδείξῃς μήθ' ὅτι ἐπιλείψῃς σέ ποτε ἡ χρήματα ἡ τάλλα οἷς τοὺς ἁγαθῶν τε ποιοῦντας ἀμείψῃ (πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐγὼνε ἐλάττως αὐτῶν τοὺς εὔ
tε παθεῖν ἄξιον οἷμαι γενόμεθα, τοσαίτης σοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄρχοντος), μήθ' ὅτι τινὲς
11 εὐεργετεθέντες ἀχάριστως τε πράξουσιν οὐδὲν γὰρ οὖτω καὶ δουλοί καὶ οἰκειούται τινα, κἂν ἀλλότριος κἀν ἐξ ὕθες ὁ νῦν τύχῃ, ὡς τὸ μήτ' ἀδικεῖ-
σθαι καὶ προσέται καὶ εὖ πάσχειν.
35 "Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἄλλους οὖτω σοι προσφέ-
ρεσθαι γνώμην δίδωμι· σαυτῷ δὲ δὴ μήτε ἐξαλλὸν 
tε μήθ' ὑπερήφανον μήτε παρά τῶν ἄλλων μήτε 
2 ζῆσθ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλως κόσμῳ ἡ παρὰ σοῦ 
tιμή φέρει, σοι δ' αὐτῶ μεῖξον μὲν τῶν ὑπαρχό-
tων οὖδὲν ἂν δοθείη, ὑποψία δ' ἂν κιβδηλίας 
πολλῆ προσγένοιτο· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς τῶν μὲν ἄλλων 
οὖδεὶς ἐκὼν τοιοῦτο τι τῶ κρατοῦντες ὑψίθελεσθαι 
δοκεῖ, πάντα δὲ δὴ τὰς αὐτὰ αὐτῶς παρ' ἑαυτῶν 
λαμβάνων οὐχ οὐκ ἐπαινότα ἰσχει, ἅλλα καὶ
3 γέλωτα προσφιλισκάιει, τὴν τε οὖν ἄλλην 
λαμπρότητα σαυτῷ· διὰ τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἔργων 
παρασκεύαζε, καὶ εἰκόνας σου χρυσάς μὲν ἡ καὶ 
ἀργυρᾶς μηδέποτε ἐπιτρέψῃς γενέσθαι (οὐ γὰρ 
μόνον δαπανηράι ἅλλα καὶ εὐπεπιβουλευτοί καὶ

1 σαυτῷ R. Steph., ἑαυτῷ VM.
persons who are utterly incorrigible; and you should honour their good actions even beyond the merits of the deeds themselves. For you can best induce men to refrain from evil ways by kindness, and to desire better ways by liberality. You need have no fear that you will ever lack either money or the other means of rewarding those who do good deeds. On the contrary, I fancy that those who will deserve your favours will prove far too few, seeing that you hold empire over so vast an extent of land and sea. Nor need you fear that any who have received your benefactions will ever act ungratefully; for nothing so captivates and conciliates a man, be he foreigner or foe, as being not only the object of no wrongs but, in addition, the recipient of kindness.

"As regards your subjects, then, you should so conduct yourself, in my opinion. So far as you yourself are concerned, permit no exceptional or prodigal distinction to be given you, through word or deed, either by the senate or by any one else. For whereas the honour which you confer upon others lends glory to them, yet nothing can be given to you that is greater than what you already possess, and, besides, no little suspicion of insincerity would attach to its giving. No subject, you see, is ever supposed to vote any such distinction to his ruler of his own free will, and since all such honours as a ruler receives he must receive from himself, he not only wins no commendation for the honour but becomes a laughing-stock besides. You must therefore depend upon your good deeds to provide for you any additional splendour. And you should never permit gold or silver images of yourself to be made, for they are not only costly but also invite
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ολυγοχρόνιοι εἰσίν), ἂλλας δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς καὶ ἀκηράτους καὶ ἀθανάτους
4 ἐξ εὐεργεσίων δημιοῦργες. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ ναὸν ποτε περίδος σαυτῷ γενόμενον. μάθην γὰρ
παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἐς τὰ τοιαύτα ἀναλίσκεται,
ἀ κρείττον ἔστιν ἐς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα διαπανᾶθαι
(πλοῦτος γὰρ ἀκριβῆς οὐχ οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ πολλὰ
λαμβάνειν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ πολλὰ ἀναλίσκειν άθροῖ-
ζεται), καὶ ἐς εὐκλειαν οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν προσγι-
5 γεται. ἀρετὴ μὲν γὰρ ἰσοθέους πολλοὺς ποιεῖ,
χειροτευτὸς δ' οὐδεὶς πόσοτεθεός ἐγένετο, ὡστε
σοὶ μὲν ἀγαθῶ τε ὄντι καὶ καλῶς ἀρχοντὶ πάσα
μὲν γῇ τεμένησμα ἔσται, πᾶσαι δὲ πόλεις ναοὶ,
πάντες δὲ ἀνθρώποι ἀγάλματα (ἐν γὰρ ταῖς γρώ-
6 μαῖς αὐτῶν ἀεὶ μετ' εὐδοξίας ἐνίδρυθήσῃ), τοὺς δ' ἅλλος ποις τὰ κράτη διέσωσας οὐ μόνον ὁὐ
σεμινύει τὰ τοιαύτα, καὶ ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν
ἐξαιρεθῆ, ἄλλα καὶ προσδιαβάλλει, τρόπαια τε
τινὰ τῆς κακίας αὐτῶν καὶ μνημεία τῆς ἁδικίας
γεγρόμενα: ὅσοι γὰρ ἀν ἐπὶ πλείον ἀνταρκέσῃ,
τοσοῦτο μᾶλλον καὶ ἢ κακοδοξία αὐτῶν διαμένει.
36 ὡστ' εἰπερ ἀθάνατος ὀντως ἐπιθυμεῖς γενέσθαι,
ταῦτα τε οὕτω προτέ, καὶ προσέτε τὸ μὲν θείον
πάντη πάντως αὐτός τε σέβου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τίμαν ἀνάγκαζε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἥξι-
2 ζωτάς τε περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ μίσει καὶ κόλαζε, μὴ
μόνον τῶν θεῶν ἑνεκα, ὁν' ἡ καταφρονήσας οὐδ'
destruction and last only a brief time; but rather by your benefactions fashion other images in the hearts of your people, images which will never tarnish or perish. Neither should you ever permit the raising of a temple to you; for the expenditure of vast sums of money on such objects is sheer waste. This money would better be used for necessary objects; for wealth which is really wealth is gathered, not so much by getting largely, as by saving largely. Then, again, from temples comes no enhancement of one's glory. For it is virtue that raises many men to the level of gods, and no man ever became a god by popular vote. Hence, if you are upright as a man and honourable as a ruler, the whole earth will be your hallowed precinct, all cities your temples, and all men your statues, since within their thoughts you will ever be enshrined and glorified. As for those, on the contrary, who administer their realms in any other way, such honours not only do not lend holiness to them, even though shrines are set apart for them in all their cities, but even bring a greater reproach upon them, becoming, as it were, trophies of their baseness and memorials of their injustice; for the longer these temples last, the longer abides the memory of their infamy. Therefore, if you desire to become in very truth immortal, act as I advise; and, furthermore, do you not only yourself worship the Divine Power everywhere and in every way in accordance with the traditions of our fathers, but compel all others to honour it. Those who attempt to distort our religion with strange rites you should abhor and punish, not merely for the sake of the gods (since if a man despises these he will not pay
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

"Τῇ μὲν οὖν γνώμῃ καὶ τῷ μηδενὸς πλείωνος τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐπιθυμεῖν εἰρήνικώτατον εἶναι σε χρή, ταῖς δὲ παρασκευαῖς πολεμικῶτατον, ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν μήτε ἑθελήσῃ μήτε ἐπιχειρήσῃ τις ἀδικησαι σε, εἰ δὲ μῆ, ῥαδίως καὶ παραχρήμα 2 κολασθῇ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε ἄναγκαιὸν ἔστι καὶ διὰ ταύτα καὶ διὰ τάλλα καὶ ὠτακουστεῖν τινὰς καὶ διοπτεῦειν πάντα τὰ τῇ ἡμερομία σου προσήκοντα, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν φυλακῆς τινὸς καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως
honour to any other being), but because such men, by bringing in new divinities in place of the old, persuade many to adopt foreign practices, from which spring up conspiracies, factions, and cabals, which are far from profitable to a monarchy. Do not, therefore, permit anybody to be an atheist or a soothsayer. Soothsaying, to be sure, is a necessary art, and you should by all means appoint some men to be diviners and augurs, to whom those will resort who wish to consult them on any matter; but there ought to be no workers in magic at all. For such men, by speaking the truth sometimes, but generally falsehood, often encourage a great many to attempt revolutions. The same thing is done also by many who pretend to be philosophers; hence I advise you to be on your guard against them, too. Do not, because you have had experience of good and honourable men like Areius and Athenodorus, believe that all the rest who claim to be philosophers are like them; for infinite harm, both to communities and to individuals, is worked by certain men who but use this profession as a screen.

"Now you should be wholly inclined to peace, so far as your purpose is concerned and your desire for nothing more than you now possess, but as regards your military preparations you should be distinctly warlike, in order that, if possible, no one may either wish or attempt to wrong you, but if he should, that he may be punished easily and instantly. And inasmuch as it is necessary, for these and other reasons, that there shall be persons who are to keep eyes and ears open to anything which affects your imperial position, in order that you may not be unaware of

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1 For Areius see li. 16, 4; for Athenodorus, lvi. 43, 2.
δεσμένων ἄγνοις, μέμνησο ὅτι οὐ χρή πᾶσιν ἄπλοις τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πιστεύειν, ἀλλ’ ἀκριβῶς αὐτὰ διασκοπεῖν. συχνοὶ γὰρ, οἱ μὲν μισοῦντες τινας, οἱ δ’ ἐπιθυμοῦντες ὧν ἔχουσιν, ἄλλοι χαριζόμενοι τισιν, ἄλλοι χρήματα αἰτήσαντες τινας καὶ μὴ λαβόντες, ἐπηρεάζουσιν αὐτοὺς ὡς νεωτερίζοντας ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀνεπιτή-δειον κατὰ τοῦ αὐταρχοῦντος ἢ φρονοῦντας ἢ λέγοντας. οὐκοιν εὐθὺς οὐδὲ βραδιῶς προσέχειν αὐτοῖς δεῖ, ἄλλα καὶ πάντα διελέγχειν βραδύνας μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πιστεύσαί τινα οὐδὲν μέγα ἀδικηθήσῃ, σπεύςας δὲ τάχ’ ἂν τι καὶ ἐξαμάρτως, δ’ μὴ δυνηθήσῃ ἀνακέσασθαι.

5 "Τιμᾶν μὲν οὖν σὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνόντων σοι καὶ δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἔστι καὶ γὰρ κόσμον καὶ ἁσφάλειάς σοι μεγάλην τοῦτο οὐσεί. μὴ μέντοι καὶ ὑπέροχον τι ἵσχυντωσαν, ἄλλα ἀκριβῶς πάντες σωφρονεῖτοσαν, ὡστε σὲ μηδὲν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν διαβληθῆναι πάντα γὰρ ὧσα ἢν ἢ καλός ἢ κακῶς πράξωσι, σοι προστεθήσεται, καὶ τοιοῦτος αὐτὸς ὑφ’ ἀπάντων νομισθήσῃ ὅποια ἢν ἑκείνους ποιεῖν ἐπιτρέπησι.

6 "Τοὺς μὲν δὴ οὖν δυνατοὺς μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν τινα μηδὲ αὐν συκοφαντεῖσθαι ἐστὶ. μηδὲ ἐστὶν τινι αὐτῶν ἄκριτοι ἀλλ’ ἀρξομένης λειτουργίας ἢ κακῶς πράξουσιν ἢ ἀπάντως νομισθήσοι ὅποια ἢν ἑκείνους ποιεῖν ἐπιτρέπησιν.
any situation that requires measures of precaution or correction, you should have such agents, but remember that you should not believe absolutely everything they say, but should carefully investigate their reports. For there are many who, from various motives,—either because they hate others or covet their possessions, or because they want to do a favour to some one else, or because they have demanded money from some one and have not obtained it,—bring false charges against the persons concerned, pretending that they are engaged in sedition or are planning or saying something prejudicial to the ruler. Therefore one ought not to give heed to them forthwith or readily, but rather should prove everything they say. For if you are too slow in placing your trust in one of these men, you will suffer no great harm, but if you are too hasty you may possibly make a mistake which you cannot repair.

"Now it is both right and necessary for you to honour the good who are associated with you, both your freedmen and the rest; for this course will bring you credit and a large measure of security. They should not, however, acquire excessive power, but should all be rigorously kept under discipline, so that you shall never be brought into discredit by them. For everything they do, whether good or ill, will be set to your account, and you will yourself be considered by the world to be of a character akin to the conduct which you do not object to in them.

"As regards the men of power and influence, then, you should not permit them to overreach others, nor yet, on the other hand, to be blackmailed by others; neither let the mere fact that a man
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

αὐτὸν τούτο ἐγκλημα, ὅτι δύναται, κἂν μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνῃ. τοὺς δὲ δὴ πολλοὺς ἁμνὺν μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἀδικουμένους, μὴ πρόσεχε δὲ ῥαδίως αἰτιωμένους, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα καθ' ἐαυτὰ ἐξέταξε, μήτε ἐς τὸ προέχον πάν ὑποπτεύων μήτε τῷ καταδεσσέρῳ παντὶ πιστεύων. καὶ τούς μὲν ἐργαζομένους χρήσιμον τέ τι τεχνωμένους τίμα, τοὺς δ' ἀργοῦντας ἢ καὶ φλαῦρον τι πραγματευομένους μίσει, ἵνα τῶν μὲν διὰ τὰς ὀφελίας ὀργημένοι, τῶν δὲ διὰ τὰς ξημίας ἀπεχόμενοι, πρὸς τέ τὰ οἰκεία ἀμένους καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ συμφορωτεροί σοι γίγνονται.

"Καλὸν μὲν οὖν ἔστι καὶ τὸ τὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἁμφισβητήματα ὡς ἐλάχιστα ποιοῦτα τὰς διαλύσεις αὐτῶν ὡς τάχιστα καθιστάναι, καλλίστοι δὲ τὸ τὰς τῶν δήμων ὀρμᾶς κολούειν, κὰν ἐπευχόμενοι τινὰ τῇ τῇ ἄρχῃ καὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ τῇ τόχῳ σου ἑκβιάζονται τινὰς ἢ πράξαι τι ἢ ἀναλώσαι παρὰ δύναμιν ἐπιχειρώσῃ, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, τὰς τῇ ἐχθρας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας τὰς πρὸς ἄλλη-λοις παντάπασιν ἐκκόπτειν, καὶ μήτε ἐπωνύμιας τινὰς κενᾶς μήτ' ἀλλὸ τι ἐξ οὗ διενεχθῇσονται τισιν ἐφεύναι σφίσι ποιεῖσθαι. ῥαδίως δὲ σοὶ πάντες καὶ ἐς ταῦτα καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινὴ πειθαρχήσουσιν, ἂν μηδὲν παρὰ ταῦτα

1. αὐτὸ M, om. V.
possesses power be imputed to him as a crime even though he commit no offence. But in the case of the masses, vindicate them vigorously when they are wronged and be not too ready to give heed to accusations against them; but make the accused persons’ actions alone and by themselves the object of your scrutiny, neither harbouring suspicion against whatever is superior nor placing your trust in whatever is inferior. Honour those who are diligent and those who by their skill devise something useful, but abhor those who are slothful or who busy themselves with trivial things, in order that your subjects, cleaving to the former by reason of your emoluments and holding themselves aloof from the latter by reason of your punishments, may become, as you desire, more competent in respect to their private affairs and more serviceable in respect to the interests of the state.

“It is well to make the number of disputes on the part of private citizens as few as possible and to render as expeditious as possible their settlement; but it is most important to restrain the rash enterprises of communities, and if they are attempting to coerce others or to go beyond their capacity or means in any undertaking or expenditure, to forbid it, even though in their petitions they invoke blessings upon the empire and pray for your welfare and good fortune. It is important also to eradicate their mutual enmities and rivalries, and not to permit them to assume empty titles or to do anything else that will bring them into strife with others. And all will readily yield obedience to you, both individuals and communities, in this and in every other matter, provided that you make no exceptions
μηδέποτε συγχωρήσης τινί.  

11 τά καλῶς πεπηγώτα διαλύει. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐδ' αὐτεῖν τι ἀρχὴν, ὦ γε μὴ δῶσεις, ἐπιτρέπειν σφίσιν ὀφείλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἱσχυρῶς φυλάττειν σφᾶς ἀναγκάζειν, τὸ μηδὲν ἄξιον τῶν κεκωλυμένων.

38 "Ταύτα μὲν περὶ ἐκείνων λέγω, καθ' ἀπάντων δὲ σοι συμβουλέων μὴν ἀποχρήσασθαι ποτε τῇ ἔξουσίᾳ, μὴν οἰκηθῆναι μείωσιν τινα αὐτῆς εἶναι αὖ μὴ πάντα ἄπαξαπλῶς ὁσα δύνασαι καὶ ποιήσῃς: ἀλλ' ὅσοι μᾶλλον πάνθ' ὅσα ἃν βουλήθης καὶ δυνήσῃ πράξαι, τόσο μᾶλλον προθυμοῦ πάνθ' ὅσα προσήκει βουλεῦσθαι. καὶ ἀεὶ γε αὐτὸς παρὰ σαυτῷ ἔξετάξε, εἰτε ὅρθως τι ποιεῖς εἰτε καὶ μή, τί τε πράττοντά σε φιλήσουσί τινες καὶ τί μή, ὅτα μὲν ποιήσαντο τα δὲ ἐκκλίνης. μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἤγηση 2 δεόντως τι παρὰ τοῦτο πράττειν δόξειν, ἢν μηδὲν ἀπειρωμένον σε ἀκούσῃς: μὴν ἀναμείνῃς ὡστε τινα ἐκφρονήσῃ ποτε ὅστε 3 σοι φανερῶς τι ἐξονείδίσαι. τούτο μὲν γὰρ οὖν ὀφεῖς ἃν ποιήσῃς, οὐδ' εἰ σφόδρα ἀδικηθεὶς πάν γὰρ τούπαντι καὶ ἐπαινεῖν πόλλοι ἐν τῷ φανερῷ τούς ἀδικοῦντάς σφᾶς ἀναγκάζονται, ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι μὴ δοκεῖν ὀργίζεσθαι. τὸν δὲ ἀρχοντα χρῆ μὴ ἐξ ὧν λέγουσι τινὲς τεκμαίρεσθαι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν φρονεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰκός ἐστι.

39 "Ταύτα σε καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα βουλομαι πράττειν:

1 τιν R. Steph., τι VM. 2 δὴ ἤγηση M. διηγήσει V.
BOOK LII

whatever to this rule as a concession to anybody; for the uneven application of laws nullifies even those which are well established. Consequently you ought not to allow your subjects even to ask you, in the first place, for what you are not going to give them, but should compel them strenuously to avoid at the outset this very practice of petitioning for what is prohibited.

"So much for these things. And I counsel you never to make full use of your power against your subjects as a body, nor to consider it any curtailment of your power if you do not actually put into effect all the measures you are in a position to enforce; but the greater your ability to do all you desire, the more eager you should be to desire in all things only what it is fitting you should desire. Always question your own heart in private whether it is right or not to do a given thing, and what you should do or refrain from doing to cause men to love you, with the purpose of doing the one and avoiding the other. For do not imagine that men will think you are doing your duty if only you hear no word of censure passed upon you; neither must you expect that any man will so abandon his senses as to reproach you openly for anything you do. No one will do this, no matter how flagrantly he has been wronged; on the contrary, many are compelled even to commend their oppressors in public, though they must struggle to keep from showing their resentment. But the ruler must get at the disposition of his subjects, not by what they say, but by what they in all likelihood think.

"These are the things I would have you do—the and others of like nature; for there are many which
πολλά γὰρ καὶ παραλείπω διὰ τὸ μὴ οἶον τε εἶναι πάντα αὐτὰ καθάπαξ συλλαβόντα εἰπεῖν. ἐν δὲ οὖν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ καὶ κατὰ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ 2 κατὰ τῶν λοιπῶν φράσω. ἂν γὰρ ὅσα ἂν ἑτερῶν τινα ἁρξαντα σου ποιεῖν ἐθέλησης, ταῦτα αὐτὸς αὐτεπάγγελτος πρᾶσσης, οὔτε τι ἁμαρτήσῃ καὶ πάντα κατορθώσεις, κακὸς τούτων καὶ ἡδίστα καὶ 3 ἀκινδυνότατα βιώσῃ. πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὖν ὡς πατέρα, πῶς δὲ οὖν ὡς σωτῆρα καὶ προσφύγονται σε ἀπαντεῖς καὶ φιλήσουσιν, ὅταν σε ὀρῶσι κόσμιον εὐβὸτον εὐπόλεμον εἰρημαῖον οἴντα, ὅταν μὴ ὑβρίζῃς τι μήτε πλεονεκτῆς, ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ 4 ὁμοίου σφίσει προσφέρῃ, καὶ μὴ αὐτὸς μὲν πλουτῆς τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀργυρολογῆς, μηδ' αὐτὸς μὲν τρυφάς τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ταλαιπωρῆς, μηδ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀκολασταίνης τοὺς δ' ἄλλους νουθετῆς, ἀλλ' ἐσὶ πάντα δὴ πάντως ὁμοιοτροπῶτα αὐτοῖς ἵνα; ὅστ' αὐτῶς παρὰ σαντῷ μέγα φυλακτήριον ἐν τῷ μηδένα ποτὲ ἀδικῆσαι ἔχων θάρσει, καὶ πίστευε μοι λέγοντι ὅτι οὔτε μισθὴσῃ ποτὲ οὔτε 5 ἐπιβουλευθῆσῃ. τούτων δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἑχοντος πᾶσα σε ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡδέως βιῶναι τί μὲν γὰρ ἡδίον, τί δὲ εὐδαιμονεστέρον ἐστὶ τοῦ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν μετ' ἅρετῇς ἀπολαύοντα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὰ διδώναι δύνασθαι; 40 "Ταῦτα τε οὖν καὶ τάλλα πάνθ' ὅσα εἰρήκα ἐν- νοήσας πείσθητι μοι, καὶ μὴ πρόη τὴν τύχην, ἤτις σε ἐκ πάντων ἐπελέξατο καὶ προεστήσατο. ὅς 182
I must pass over, since it is impossible to include them all in a single discussion. There is, however, one statement which will serve as a summary with respect both to what has been said and to what has been left unsaid: if you of your own accord do all that you would wish another to do if he became your ruler, you will err in nothing and succeed in everything, and in consequence you will find your life most happy and utterly free from danger. For how can men help regarding you with affection as father and saviour, when they see that you are orderly and upright in your life, successful in war though inclined to peace; when you refrain from insolence and greed; when you meet them on a footing of equality, do not grow rich yourself while levying tribute on them, do not live in luxury yourself while imposing hardships upon them, are not licentious yourself while reproving licentiousness in them,—when, instead of all this, your life is in every way and manner precisely like theirs? Therefore, since you have in your own hands a mighty means of protection,—that you never do wrong to another,—be of good courage and believe me when I tell you that you will never become the object of hatred or of conspiracy. And since this is so, it follows of necessity that you will also lead a happy life; for what condition is happier, what more blissful, than, possessing virtue, to enjoy all the blessings which men can know and to be able to bestow them upon others?

"Think upon these things and upon all that I have told you, and be persuaded of me, and let not this fortune slip which has chosen you from all mankind and has set you up as their ruler. For, if you
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ei ge to mev prâigma to tis monarchias aírh, to ð' ónoma to tis basileias òws kai épáraton foðh, touto mev ð' prosolâbhys, tê de de toû Kàisaporos
2 prosohiporía xrivmenos autârchei. ei ð' ouv kai allon tivnov épiklêsion prosdê, dòsouai mev sou tìn toû autokrâtôros, òsper kai toû patrí sou ëdowkan, sebionûi de se kai èterâ tîn proso-
hríse, ðoste se páv to tis basileias èrghon âneu
tou tis épwnymias aútis épifhônou karpoûsthâi."  

41 Maikhínas mên taûtâ eiówôn épavnato, ð' de de Kàisapor amfotérous mên sfas kai épî tê poluïsia kai èpi tê poluïogia tê te parrhsia ísychrôi
épînêse, tà de de toû Maikhínon mállon eiîeto. ou méntoi kai pánta eiôûs òsper ùpetêdeito épavra, foðhèis ð' kai sfalh ti, ãdrôwos
2 metarroyhîsai toûs ãnthrôpous ðthelhias: ãllâ
tà mên paracrîma metekôsmhse tà ð' ùsteron,
kai tîna kai tôs metà taûtâ ñrðouai poîhâi
catélipen òws kai kata kairon mállon èn tô
chrônî genvsthômena. kai aúth kai ð' ãgrîppas
prôs pánta, kàisper tihn enantiaîn sfêsî gnôi
hôn doûs, proðumòtata swnîrato, òsper án ei kai
èsthnhtis aútôn ðegônei.

3 Taûtâ te ð' Kàisapor, kal1 ðosa ãnôw mou toû
lòghon eîrhtai, épavra en tô ètee ekeînô en ð
 tô pémptron ùpáteusse, kai tihn toû autokrâ-

1 ð Kàisapor kal R. Steph., kal ð Kàisapor VM.

1 A reference to the title of "Augustus." The Greek verb sebízeîn, here rendered by this long phrase for the sake

184
prefer the monarchy in fact but fear the title of 'king' as being accursed, you have but to decline this title and still be sole ruler under the appellation of 'Caesar.' And if you require still other epithets, your people will give you that of 'imperator' as they gave it to your father; and they will pay reverence to your august position by still another term of address, so that you will enjoy fully the reality of the kingship without the odium which attaches to the name of 'king.'

Maecenas thus brought his speech to an end. And Caesar heartily commended both him and Agrippa for the wealth of their ideas and of their arguments and also for their frankness in expressing them; but he preferred to adopt the advice of Maecenas. He did not, however, immediately put into effect all his suggestions, fearing to meet with failure at some point if he purposed to change the ways of all mankind at a stroke; but he introduced some reforms at the moment and some at a later time, leaving still others for those to effect who should subsequently hold the principate, in the belief that as time passed a better opportunity would be found to put these last into operation. And Agrippa, also, although he had advised against these policies, co-operated with Caesar most zealously in respect to all of them, just as if he had himself proposed them.

These and all the rest that I have recorded earlier in this narrative were the acts of Caesar in the year in which he was consul for the fifth time; and he of the word-play, is from the same root as Σεβαστός, the usual term for Augustus (cf. liii. 16, 8). Dio, however, regularly transliterates the Roman title, when he uses it; but he generally refers to Augustus as Caesar.
τορος ἐπίκλησιν ἐπέθετο. λέγω δὲ οὐ τὴν ἐπὶ
tαῖς νίκαις κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαίον διδομένην τις
(ἐκεῖνην γὰρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις
dὲ καὶ ύστερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἔλαβεν,
4 ὡστε καὶ ἀπαξ καὶ εἰκοσάκης ὡνομα αὐτοκρά-
tορος σχεῖν) ἄλλα τὴν ἐτέραν τὴν τὸ κράτος
dιασημαίνουσαν, ὡσπερ τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ
tῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς τε ἐκγόνοις
ἐψήφιστο.

42 Καὶ μετὰ ταύτα τιμητέυσας σὺν τῷ Ἀγρίππα
ἄλλα τε τινα διώρθωσε καὶ τὴν βουλήν ἔξητασε.
pολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἵππης πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πεξίοι παρὰ
tὴν ἄξιαν ἐκ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἔβουλευον,
ὥστε καὶ ἐς χείλους τὸ πλῆρωμα τῆς γερουσίας
2 αὐξηθῆναι. τούτους οὖν ἐκκρίναι βουλθεῖσις αὐτὸς
μὲν οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἀπήλευσε, προτρεψάμενος δὲ
σφας ἐκ τοῦ συνείδοτος τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τοῦ
βίου δίκαστάς ἐαυτοῖς γενέσθαι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
πεντήκοντα που ἐπεισεὶν ἐθελοῦντας ἐκστήναι τοῦ
συνεδρίου, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ ἅλλους ἐκατόν καὶ τεσ-
3 σαράκοντα μμήσασθαι σφας ἡμᾶςκασε. καὶ
αὐτῶν ἠτίμωσε μὲν οὐδένα, τὰ δ' ὅνοματα τῶν
δευτέρων ἐξέθηκε τοῖς γὰρ πρότεροις, ὅτι μὴ
ἐχρονίσαν ἄλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπειθάρχησαν οἱ, ἀφ' ἡκὴ
tὸ ὑνείδισμα, ὡστ' αὐτοὺς μὴ ἐκδημοσιεύθηναι.
οὕτω μὲν οὖν 3 ἐκουσίου δήθεν ἰδιώτευσαν,
Κύνιτον δὲ δὴ Στατίλιον καὶ πάνυ ἄκοντα τῆς

1 ἀπαξ καὶ εἰκοσάκης Reim., ἐν εἰκόσι早 VM.
2 ἐκγόνοι VM, ἐγόνοι Xiph. 3 οὖν M, om. V.
assumed the title of *imperator*. I do not here refer to the title which had occasionally been bestowed, in accordance with the ancient custom, upon generals in recognition of their victories,—for he had received that many times before this and received it many times afterwards in honour merely of his achievements, so that he won the name of *imperator* twenty-one times,—but rather the title in its other use, which signifies the possession of the supreme power, in which sense it had been voted to his father Caesar and to the children and descendants of Caesar.

After this he became censor with Agrippa as his colleague, and in addition to other reforms which he instituted, he purged the senate. For as a result of the civil wars a large number of knights and even of foot-soldiers were in the senate without justification in merit, so that the membership of that body had been swollen to a thousand. Now though it was his wish to remove these men, he did not erase any of their names himself, but urged them rather, on the strength of their own knowledge of their families and their lives, to become their own judges; he thus first persuaded some fifty of them to withdraw from the senate voluntarily, and then compelled one hundred and forty others to imitate their example. He disfranchised none of them, but posted the names of the second group only; for he spared the members of the first group the reproach of the publication of their names, because they had not delayed but had straightway obeyed him. So all these men returned to private life of their own free will, so far as appearances were concerned; but Quintus Statilius was deposed, decidedly against his will, from the
4 δημαρχίας, ἐς ἣν ἀπεδέδεικτο, εἰρήνε. ἐτέρους τέ τινας βουλευέων ἐποίησε, καὶ ἐς γε τοὺς ὑπατευκότας δύο ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν βουλευόντων, Κλύονιον τέ τινα καὶ Φούρνιον Γαῖος, εὐγατέλεξεν, ὅτι προαιρεθειμένων οὐκ ἤδυνήθησαν, ἄλλων τῶν τάς ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν προκαταλαβόντων, ὑπατεύει.

5 τό τε τῶν εὐπατριδῶν γένος συνεπλήθυσε, τῆς βουλῆς οἱ δὴδεν ἐπιτρεψάσης τούτο ποίησαι, ἐπειδὴ τό τε πλείστων σφῶν ἀπωλόλει 1 (οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ὡς τὸ γενναῖον ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολεμοὺς ἀναλίσκεται) καὶ ἐς τὴν ποίησιν τῶν

6 πατρίων ἀναγκαίοι ἢ ἐπὶ λαμίζονται. παῦτα τε ὅπως ἐπραξε, καὶ προσαποιητεν πάσι τοῖς βουλευόντις μὴ ἐκδημείων ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀν μὴ αὐτὸς τινὶ κελεύσῃ ἢ καὶ ἐπιτρέψῃ. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ δεύτερῳ ἢ ἕβαλλεται πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα, οὐδαμόσε ἀλλοσε βουλευτῇ ἀποδημῇ.

7 μὴσαι ἐξεστίν. ἔκεισε γὰρ διὰ τὸ τὸ σύνεγγυς καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀπολούν τὸ τε εἰρηναίον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἑσθαντο τοῖς ἦ τε κεκτημένοις αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνεν παραιτήσεως, ὡςκας ἄν ἐθέλησον, ἀπίειναι.

8 ἐπειδὴ τε πολλοὺς ἔτε καὶ τῶν βουλευόντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ἀρτουρίου σπουδαστῶν ὑπόπτως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένους ἔφρα, καὶ ἐφοβήθη μὴ νεοχιμῶσοι τι, πάντα ἐφ' ὅ τα γράμματα τὰ ἐν τοῖς κιβωτίοις αὐτοῦ εὑρέθεντα ἀτακεκαυκέναι. καὶ ὡς ἄλληθος γε διεφθάρκει τινὰ τὰ γὰρ δὴ πλείω καὶ πάνυ ἐτήρηε, ὥστε μηδ' ὀκνήσαι υστερον αὐτοῖς χρῆσασθαι.

1 ἀπωλόλει Dind., ἀπολόλει VM.
tribuneship, to which he had been appointed. And Caesar caused some other men to become senators, and he enrolled among the ex-consuls two men of the senatorial class, a certain Gaius Cluvius and Gaius Furnius, because, after they had already been elected consuls, they had been unable to serve, since others had occupied their offices first. And at the same time he increased the number of patrician families, ostensibly with the senate's permission, inasmuch as the greater part of the patricians had perished (indeed no class is so wasted in our civil wars as the nobility), and because the patricians are always regarded as indispensable for the perpetuation of our traditional institutions. In addition to these measures he forbade all members of the senate to go outside of Italy, unless he himself should command or permit them to do so. This restriction is still observed down to the present day; for no senator is allowed to leave the country for the purpose of visiting any place except Sicily and Gallia Narbonensis. But in the case of these regions, since they are close at hand and the inhabitants are unarmed and peaceful, those who have any possessions there are conceded the right to repair to them as often as they like without asking permission. And since he saw that many of the senators and others who had been partisans of Antony were still inclined to be suspicious of him, and was fearful lest they might set a revolution on foot, he announced that all the letters that had been found in Antony's strong boxes had been burned. And it is quite true that he had destroyed some of them, but he was very careful to keep the larger part, and afterwards he did not scruple to make use of them, either.
Τούτο τε οὖν οὔτως ἐποίησε καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐπαπτόκισεν, ὅτι ὁ Λέπιδος μέρος τι αὐτῆς ἡρμόκει καὶ διὰ τούτο τὰ δίκαια τῆς ἀποκίας σφῶν λευκέναι ἔδοκει. τὸν τε Ἀντίοχον τὸν Κομμαγηνὸν μετεπέμψατο, ὅτι τινὰ πρεσβευτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διαφόρου οἰ οὗτος σταλέντα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐδολοφόνησε, καὶ ἐς τὸ τὸ συνέδριον ἑσύγαγε καὶ καταψηφισθέντα ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τὴν Καπρίαν παρὰ τῶν Νεοπολιτῶν, οὐ τὸ αρχαῖον ἂν, ἀντιδώσει χώρας ἦλλαξατο. κείται δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς κατὰ Συρρεντὸν ἡπείρου, χρηστὸν μὲν οὐδέν, ὅνομα δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐνοίκησιν ἔχουσα.

1 Συρρεντὸν H. Steph., συρρεντὸν VM.
BOOK LII

So much for these matters. Caesar also settled Carthage anew, because Lepidus had laid waste a part of it and by this act, it was held, had abrogated the rights of the earlier colonists. And he sent a summons to Antiochus of Commagene, because he had treacherously murdered an envoy who had been despatched to Rome by his brother, who was at variance with him. Caesar brought him before the senate, and when judgment had been passed against him, put him to death. He also obtained Capreae from the Neapolitans, to whom it originally belonged, giving other territory in exchange. It lies not far from the mainland in the region of Surrentum and is good for nothing, but is renowned even to the present day because Tiberius had a residence there.
Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων

α. 'Ως οὗ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνοῦ ναῦς ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καθιερώθη.
β. 'Ως Καίσαρ ἐθημηγόρησεν ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἀκ τῆς μοναρχίας ἀφιετάμενοι καὶ μετα τοῦτο τὰ ἔθνη πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐνεματο.
γ. Περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐκ τὰ ἔθνη πεποιμένων.
δ. 'Ως Καίσαρ Ἀθουστος ἐπεκλήθη.
ε. Περὶ τῶν ὁνόματων ἐκ οὓς αὐτοκράτορες λαμβάνοντο.
ζ. 'Ως τὰ σέπτα καθιερώθη.
η. 'Ως Καίσαρ Ἀστυρικαὶ Ἀρχαβροῖτι ἐκολομήσασθαι.
θ. 'Ως Γαλατία ἐκ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχεσθαι ἡρτα.
ι. 'Ως ὁ στοὰ ἂ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τὸ Βαλανεῖον τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καθιερώθη.
κ. 'Ως τὸ Πάνθείου καθιερώθη.
λ. 'Ως Ἀθουστος ἀφείθη τῆς ἀνάγκης τοῖς τοῖς νόμοις πατεσθαι.
μ. 'Ως ἐπὶ Ἀραβιάν τὴν ἐπιθαῖμαν στρατεία ἐγένετο.

Χρόνου πληθος ἔτη ἡξι, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ὀρθωμούμενοι οἴδε ἐγένετο

Καίσαρ τὸ 5'
Μ. Οὐσφάνιος Α. ὑλ. Ἀγρίππας τὸ β' ὑπ. 
Καίσαρ τὸ 5'
Μ. Οὐσφάνιος Α. ὑλ. Ἀγρίππας τὸ γ' ὑπ. 
Καίσαρ Αθουστος τὸ 7' 
Τ. Στατίλιος Τ. ὑλ. 2' Ταῦρος τὸ β' ὑπ. 
Ἀθουστος τὸ 7' 
Μ. Ἰούνιος Μ. ὑλ. Σιλανὸς ὑπ. 
Ἀθουστος τὸ 1'3' 
Γ. Ναρβανός Γ. ὑλ. Γ. ἐγγ. Φλάκκος ὑπ. 
Ἀθουστος τὸ 1'4' 
Γν. Καλποῦριος 5' Γν. ὑλ. Γν. ἐγγ. Πάσων ὑπ. 5'

Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει ἐκτονο ὁ Ἐωτὰρ ἡρξε, καὶ τά τε ἅλλα κατὰ τὸ νομιζό-

1 τὸ β' Xyl., τὸ γ' VM. 2 T. ὑλ. supplied by Bs. 
3 M. Ἰούνιος Σιλανὸς Ἀθουστος τὸ 7' supplied by Xyl., M. ὑλ. added by Bs. 4 ὑπ. supplied by Bs. 

192
BOOK LIII

The following is contained in the Fifty-third of Dio's Rome:

How the temple of Apollo on the Palatine was dedicated (chap. 1).

How Caesar delivered a speech in the senate, as if he were retiring from the sole rulership, and afterwards assigned to that body its provinces (chaps. 2-12).

About the appointment of the governors sent to the provinces (chaps. 13-15).

How Caesar was given the title of Augustus (chap. 16).

About the names which the emperors receive (chaps. 17, 18).

How the Saepta were dedicated (chap. 23).

How Caesar fought against the Astures and Cantabri (chap. 25).

How Galatia began to be governed by Romans (chap. 26).

How the Basilica of Neptune and the Baths of Agrippa were dedicated (chap. 27).

How the Pantheon was dedicated (chap. 27).

How Augustus was freed from the obligation of obeying the laws (chap. 28).

How an expedition was made against Arabia Felix (chap. 29).

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

B.C.
28 Caesar (VI), M. Vipsanius L. F. Agrippa (II).
27 Caesar (VII), M. Vipsanius L. F. Agrippa (III).
26 Caesar Augustus (VIII), T. Statilius T. F. Taurus (II).
25 Augustus (IX), M. Junius M. F. Silanus.
24 Augustus (X), C. Norbanus C. F. C. N. Flaccus.
23 Augustus (XI), Cn. Calpurnius Cn. F. Cn. N. Piso.

These were the occurrences at that time. The following year Caesar held office for the sixth time and conformed in all other respects to the usages

3 Καλλονίς Xyl., καλλονίνος VM.
4 Πίσων Dind., πέσων VM.
μενοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνω ἄρχαιον ἐποίησε, καὶ τοὺς
φακέλους τῶν ῥάβδων τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ συνάρχοντι
οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς τε ταῖς
ἐτέραις ἔχρησατο, καὶ διάρξας τὸν ὄρκον κατὰ
2 τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγαγε. καὶ εἰ μὲν καὶ αὕτης ταῦτ
ἐποίησεν, οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς ὑπερ-
βολὴν ἐτίμα· ἀμέλει τὴν τε ἀδελφίδην¹ ἀὐτῷ
συνάκυσε, καὶ σκηνὴν, ὅποτε συντρατεύοιτο,
ὁμοίαν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ παρεῖχε, τὸ τε σύνθεμα παρ'
3 ἀμφοτέρων σφῶν ἐδίδοτο. ἐν δὲ ἦν τῷ τὸτε
παρόντι τὰ τὰ ἄλλα ὡσπερ εἰθιστο ἐπηράξε, καὶ
τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξετάλεσε, καὶ εἰν αὐταῖς πρό-
κριτος τῆς γερουσίας ἐπεκλήθη, ὡσπερ ἐν τῇ
ἀκριβεῖ δημοκρατία ἐνενόμιστο. τὸ τε Ἀπολ-
λόνιον² τὸ³ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα
τὸ περὶ αὐτὸ, τὰς τε ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων,
4 ἐξεποίησε καὶ καθίερωσε. καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν
tὴν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ γενομένη
ψηφισθείσαν ἤγαγε μετὰ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, καὶ
ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν διὰ τε τῶν παίδων
5 καὶ διὰ τῶν ἄνδρῶν τῶν εὐγενῶν ἐποίησε. καὶ
αὐτὴ μὲν διὰ πέντε ἄει ἐτῶν μέχρι τουτοῦ⁴ ἐγί-
γνετο, ταῖς τέσσαρεις ἑρωσύναις ἐκ περιτροπῆς
μέλουσα,⁵ λέγω δὲ τοὺς τε ποντικικὰς καὶ τους
οἰωνιστὰς τοὺς τε ἐπτὰ καὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα
ἀνδρὰς καλομένους· τότε δὲ καὶ γυμνικὸς ἁγὼν

¹ ἀδελφίδην M (ἀδελφίδην), ἀδελφήν V Xiph. Zon.
² Ἀπολλάνιοι St., ἀπολλάνιοι VM.
³ τὸ Bk., τὸ te VM.
⁴ μέχρι του ν. Herw., μέχρι το VM.
⁵ μέλουσα R. Steph., μέλλουσα VM.

194
handed down from the earliest times, and, in particular, he delivered to Agrippa, his colleague, the bundles of rods as it was incumbent upon him to do, while he himself used the other set,¹ and on completing his term of office he took the oath according to ancestral custom.² Whether he ever did this again, I do not know, for he always paid exceptional honour to Agrippa; thus he gave him his niece in marriage, and provided him with a tent similar to his own whenever they were campaigning together, and the watchword was given out by both of them. At this particular time, now, besides attending to his other duties as usual, he completed the taking of the census, in connection with which his title was princeps senatus, as had been the practice when Rome was truly a republic. Moreover, he completed and dedicated the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, the precinct surrounding it, and the libraries. He also celebrated in company with Agrippa the festival which had been voted in honour of the victory won at Actium; and during this celebration he caused the boys and men of the nobility to take part in the Circensian games. This festival was held for a time every four years and was in charge of the four priesthoods in succession—I mean the pontifices, the augurs, and the septemviri and quindecimviri, as they were called. On the present occasion, moreover, a gymnastic contest

¹ Augustus seems to have used twenty-four lictors until 29 B.C., and thereafter twelve, first as consul (until 23), then as proconsul (until 19), and later on all occasions. Cf. liv. 10, 5.
² The customary oath taken by the consuls at the close of their term of office to the effect that they had done nothing contrary to the laws and had acted for the highest interests of the state. Cf. xxxvii. 38, 2, and xxxviii. 12, 3.
σταδίου τινός εν τῷ Ἀρέιῳ πεδίῳ ξυλίνου κατασκευασθέντος ἐποιήθη, ὀπλομαχία τε ἐκ τῶν αἱ-6 χριστιανῶν ἐγένετο. καὶ ταύτα καὶ ἕπι πλείους ἡμέρας ἐπράξθη, οὔδε διέλευτε καίτω νοσήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου μέρος ἀνεπλήρου.

2 'Ο δ' οὖν Καίσαρ ἐς τὰς θεωρίας ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων δὴθεν ἀνήλισκε, καὶ ἐπείδῃ Χρησίμων τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐδέχθησεν, ἐδανείσατό τινα καὶ ἐδωκεν αὐτῷ, πρὸς τε τὴν διοίκησιν σφων δύο κατ' ἔτος ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν αἴρεσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ τῷ πλήθει τετραπλάσιον τὸν σῖτον ἐνείμε, βού-2 λευταῖς τε τοις χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο· οὗτο γὰρ δὴ πολλοὶ σφων πένητες ἐγενόθησαν ὡστε μηδὲ ἀγορασμῆσαι τινα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τα ἄλλα καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια τὰ τῇ ἀγορασμίᾳ προσήκουντα τοῖς στρατηγίοις, καθάπερ εἴθιστο, τὰ μὲν μείζω τῷ ἀστυνόμῳ τὰ δὲ ἔτερα τῷ ξενικῷ προστάχθηναι.

3 πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτως τὸν ἀστυνόμον αὐτὸς ἀπεδείξεν ὃ καὶ αὕτις πολλάκις ἐποίησε. καὶ τὰς ἐνγυνίας τὰς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον πρὸ τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ μάχησις γενομένας, πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα, ἀπῆλλαξε, τὰ τε παλαιὰ συμβολαία

4 τῶν τῷ κοινῷ τις ὀφειλόμενον ἐκαυσε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ τὰ Ἀγίαττα οὐκ ἑσεδεξατο εἰσώ τοῦ πωμηρίου, τῶν δὲ δὴ ναὸν πρόνοιαν ἐποίησατο· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἱδιωτῶν τινων γεγενημένοις τοῖς τε παισίν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐκχόνοις, εἰγε τινὲς περιῆσαν, ἐπισκευάσατι ἐκέλευσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς αὐτοὺς ἄνε-
was held, a wooden stadium having been constructed in the Campus Martius, and there was a gladiatorial combat between captives. These events continued for several days and were not interrupted even when Caesar fell ill; but Agrippa went on with them even so, discharging Caesar’s duties as well as his own.

Now Caesar allowed it to be understood that he was spending his private means upon these festivals, and when money was needed for the public treasury, he borrowed some and supplied the want; and for the management of the funds he ordered two annual magistrates to be chosen from among the ex-praetors. To the populace he distributed a quadruple allowance of grain and to some of the senators he made presents of money. For so many of them had become impoverished that none was willing to hold even the office of aedile because of the magnitude of the expenditures involved; indeed, the functions which belonged to that office, and particularly the judicial functions, were assigned to the praetors, as had been the custom, the more important to the praetor urbanus and the rest to the praetor peregrinus. In addition to all this, Caesar himself appointed the praetor urbanus, as, indeed, he often did subsequently. He cancelled all obligations which had been given to the public treasury previous to the battle of Actium, except those secured by buildings, and he burned the old notes of those who were indebted to the state. As for religious matters, he did not allow the Egyptian rites to be celebrated inside the pomerium, but made provision for the temples; those which had been built by private individuals he ordered their sons and descendants, if any survived, to repair, and the rest
Κτήστατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς οἰκοδομής, σφόν ἐσφετερίσατο, ἀλλὰ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τοὺς κατασκευάσασιν αὐτούς. ἐπειδὴ τε πολλὰ πάνω κατὰ τε τάς στάσεις κἀν τοῖς πολέμοις, ἀλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀυτοκίνου τοῦ τε Λεπίδου συναρχίᾳ, καὶ ἀνόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἐτετάχθη, πάντα αὐτὰ δὲ ἐνὸς προγράμματος κατέλυσεν, ὅρον τὴν ἔκτην αὐτοῦ ὑπατείαν προθείς. εὐδοκιμὼν τε ὦν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐπαινοῦμενος ἐπεθύμησε καὶ ἐτέραν τινὰ μεγαλοψυχίαν διαδείξασθαι, ὅπως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου μᾶλλον τιμηθείη, καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν μοναρχίαν βεβαιώσασθαι τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀκοντας αὐτούς βεβαιάσθαι. καὶ τούτον τοὺς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείους οἱ τῶν βουλευτῶν παρασκευάσας ἐς τε τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσήλθεν ἐβδομον ὑπατεύων, καὶ ἀνέγνω τοιάδε: ΚΑΠΙΣΤΑ ΜΕΝ ἘΥ ΟΙΔΙ ΟΤΙ ΔΟΞΩ ΤΙΣΙΝ ΥΜΩΝ, ὦ ΠΑΤΕΡΕΣ, ΠΡΟΘΕΙΣΘΑΙ: ἈΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΟΣ ἘΚΑΣΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ἈΚΟΥΟΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚ ΑΝ ΘΕΛΗΣΕΙΝ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΙ, ΤΑΥΤΙ ΟΥΔΕ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΟΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕΙΝ ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΜΑΛΙΣΘΙ ὩΣ ΠΑΙΤΙ ΤΟΥ ὙΠΕΡΕΧΟΝΤΙ ΦΘΟΝΟΝ ΕΤΟΙΜΟΤΕΡΟΝ ἈΠΙΣΤΕΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΕΑΥΤΩΝ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ. ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΓΗΓΕΨΙΚΟΝ ΤΟΥΘ, ὙΣΙΝ ΟΙ ΤΑ ΜΗ ΠΙΣΤΑ ΔΟΚΟΥΝΤΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ ΟΥΧ ΌΣΟΝ ΟΥ ΠΕΙΘΟΥΣΙ ΤΙΝΑΣ, ἈΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΒΑΛΟΙ ΔΟΚΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ. ΟΥ ΜΗΝ ΑΛΛ' ΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΤΙ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΝ ΕΠΗΓΓΕΛΛΩΜΗΝ ΔΗ ΜΗ ΠΑΡΑΧΡΗΜΑ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΙΝ ΕΜΕΛΛΟΥΝ, ΣΦΟΔΡΑ ΑΝ ΑΠΟΚΚΥΝΗΣΑ ΑΥΤΟ ἘΚΦΗΝΑΙ, ΜΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΙΤΙΑΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΜΟΧΘΡΑΝ ΑΝΤΙ ΧΑΡΙΤΟΣ ΛΑΒΩ.
he restored himself. He did not, however, appropriate to himself the credit for their erection, but allowed it to go as before to the original builders. And inasmuch as he had put into effect very many illegal and unjust regulations during the factional strife and the wars, especially in the period of his joint rule with Antony and Lepidus, he abolished them all by a single decree, setting the end of his sixth consulship as the time for their expiration. When, now, he obtained approbation and praise for this act, he desired to exhibit another instance of magnanimity, that by such a policy he might be honoured all the more and might have his sovereignty voluntarily confirmed by the people, so as to avoid the appearance of having forced them against their will. Therefore, having first primed his most intimate friends among the senators, he entered the senate in his seventh consulship and read the following address:

"I am sure that I shall seem to some of you, Consular Fathers, to have made an incredible choice. For what each one of my hearers would not wish to do himself, he does not like to believe, either, when another claims to have done it, especially as everyone is jealous of anybody who is superior to him and so is more prone to disbelieve any utterance that is above his own standard. Besides, I know this, that those who say what appears to be incredible not only fail to persuade others but also appear to be impostors. And indeed, if it were a question of my promising something that I was not intending to put into effect immediately, I should have been exceedingly loath to proclaim it, for fear of gaining, instead of gratitude, some grievous im-
3 νῦν δ' ὑπότε εὐθὺς καὶ τήμερον ἐπακολουθήσει τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ, πάνω θαρσοῦντος ἐχώ μὴ μόνον μηδεμίαν αἰσχύνην ψευδολογίας ὁφλήσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐδοξία νικήσειν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ πάρεστι μοι διὰ παντὸς ὑμῶν ἀρχεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁρᾶτε τὸ τε γὰρ στασιάζαν πᾶν ἤτοι δικαίωθεν πέπαυται ἢ καὶ ἔλεηθεν σεσφρόνισται, καὶ τὸ συναράμενόν μοι τῇ τῇ ἄμοιβῇ τῶν ἐνεργείων ὁφείλονται καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων ὁμόρρωται, ὅστε μήτε ἐπιθυμῆσαι τινα νεωτέροιν ἔργον, κἂν ἄρα τι καὶ τοιοῦτο γένηται, τὸ γὰρ βοηθήσουν ἠμῶν ἔτοιμον ἐτι καὶ μᾶλλον εἶναι τὰ τε στρατιωτικὰ ἀκμαίζει μοι καὶ εὐνοία καὶ ῥώμη, καὶ χρήματα ἔστι καὶ σύμμαχοι, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, οὕτω καὶ ύμεῖς καὶ ὁ δήμος διάκεισθε πρὸς με ὅστε καὶ πάνω ἀν προστατεύσθαι.

2 ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἔθελήσαι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ὑμᾶς ἐξηγήσομαι, οὐδὲ ἐρεῖ τις ὅσ’ ἦγο τῆς αὐταρχίας ἐνεκα πάντα τὰ προκατεργασμένα ἔπραξα ἀλλὰ ἀφίημι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπασαν καὶ ἀποδιδόμη ὑμῖν πάντα ἀπλῶς, τὰ ὀπλα τούς νόμους τὰ ἔθνη, οὐχ ὅταν ἔκεινα ὅσα μοι ύμεῖς ἐπετρέψατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦθ’ ύμῖν προσεκτισάμην, ἵνα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων καταμάθητε τοῦθ’, ὅτι οὐδ’ ἀπ’ ἀρχής δυναμεῖας τίνος ἐπεθύμησα, ἀλλ’ ὄντως τὸ τε πατρὶ δεινὸς σφαγείτα τιμωρησάκαὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ ἐπαλλήλων κακῶν ἐξελέσθαι ἡθελεσθαὶ. ἅλησα. ὁφελον μὲν γὰρ μηδὲ ἐπιστῆμαι ποτὲ οὕτω τοῖς πράγμασι τοῦτ’ ἐστιν, ὁφελον μὴ

1 ἔλεηθεν σεσφρόνισται Μ, ἔλεηθεντες σεσφρόνισται V.
2 προστατεύσθαι Μ, προστατεύσθε V.
putation. But as it is, when the performance will follow the promise this very day, I feel quite confident, not only that I shall incur no reproach of falsehood, but that I shall surpass all mankind in good repute. You see for yourselves, of course, that it is in my power to rule over you for life; for every factious element has either been put down through the application of justice or brought to its senses by receiving mercy, while those who were on my side have been made devoted by my reciprocating their friendly services and bound fast by having a share in the government. Therefore none of them desires a revolution, and if anything of the sort should take place, at least the party which will stand by me is even more ready than it was before. My military is in the finest condition as regards both loyalty and strength; there is money and there are allies; and, most important of all, you and the people are so disposed toward me that you would distinctly wish to have me at your head. However, I shall lead you no longer, and no one will be able to say that it was to win absolute power that I did whatever has hitherto been done. Nay, I give up my office completely, and restore to you absolutely everything,—the army, the laws, and the provinces,—not only those which you committed to me, but also those which I myself later acquired for you. Thus my very deeds also will prove to you that even at the outset I desired no position of power, but in very truth wished to avenge my father, cruelly murdered, and to extricate the city from great evils that came on unceasingly. Indeed, I would that I had not gone so far as to assume charge of affairs as I did; that is, I would that the city had not
δεδεῖσθαι μοι πρὸς τοιούτῳ τι την πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὠμονοίᾳ, καθάπερ ποτὲ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἦμων, καὶ ἦμας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ. 2 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς βεβαίωκεναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰμαρμένη τις, ὡς έοικεν, ἐς τοῦτο προήγαγεν ὑμᾶς ὡστε καὶ ἐμοῦ, καίπερ νέου ἐτε τότε ὄντος, καὶ χρείαν σχεῖν καὶ πείραν λάβεῖν, μέχρι μὲν οὐ 1 τὰ πράγματα τῆς παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπικουρίας ἔχοντες, πάντα τε προθύμως καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔποιήσα καὶ πάντα εὐτυχῶς καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν κατέπραξα: 3 καὶ οὐκ ἐστιν δ' τι τῶν πάντων ἀπέτρεψε με κινδυνεύουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπικουρήσατι, οὐ πόνοσ, οὐ φόβος, οὐκ ἐχθρῶν ἀπείλατι, οὐ φίλων δεήσεις, οὐ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συνεστηκότων, οὐχ ἡ ἀπόνοια τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων, ἀλλ' ἐπέδωκα ἀφείδος ὑμῖν ἐμαυτοῦ ἐς πάντα τὰ περιστηκότα, καὶ ἑπέρα 4 καὶ ἔπαθον ἀπερί ίστε. ἐξ ὧν αὐτοῦ μὲν οὐδὲν κεκόρδαγκα πλὴν τοῦ τὴν πατρίδα περιπεποιήσατι, ὡμεῖς δὲ καὶ σώζεσθε καὶ σωφρονεῖτε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλὸς ποιοῦσα η τύχη καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀδολον καὶ τὴν ὁμονοίαν ἀστασίαστον δι' ἐμοῦ ὑμῖν ἀποδέδωκεν, ἀπολάβετε καὶ τὴν ἑλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν, κομίσασθε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὑπῆκοα, καὶ πολιτεύεσθε ὅσπερ εἰσθείτε.

6 "Καὶ μήτε 2 θαυμάσητε εἰ ταῦθ' οὕτω φρονῶ, τὴν τε ἅλλην ἐπιεικείαν μοι καὶ πραότητα καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνην ὀρόντες, καὶ προσκλησιμούμενοι ὅτι οὐδὲν πώποτε οὕθ' ὑπέροχοι οὕθ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλούς, καίπερ πολλὰ πολλών ψηφισμάτων 2 ὑμῶν, ἐδεξάμην μήτ' αὖ μορίαν μοι καταγνώτε, 1 οὐ Bk., τοῦ VM. 2 μήτε Bk., μήτοι VM.
required me for any such task, but that we of this
generation also might have lived from the beginning
in peace and harmony, as our fathers lived of yore.
But since some destiny, as it appears, brought you
to a position where you had need even of me, young
as I still was at the time, and put me to the test, I
did everything with a zeal even beyond my years
and accomplished everything with a good fortune
even beyond my powers, so long as the situation de-
manded my help. And nothing in the world could
deter me from aiding you when you were in danger,
—neither toil, nor fear, nor threats of foes, nor
prayers of friends, nor the multitude of the conspira-
tors, nor the desperation of our adversaries; nay, I
gave myself to you unstintingly for any and all the
exigencies which have arisen, and what I did and
suffered, you know. From all this I have derived
no gain for myself except that I have kept my
country from perishing; but as for you, you are
enjoying both safety and tranquillity. Since, then,
Fortune, by using me, has graciously restored to you
peace without treachery and harmony without
faction, receive back also your liberty and the re-
public; take over the army and the subject pro-
vinces, and govern yourselves as has been your
wont.

"You should not be surprised at this purpose of
mine, when you see my reasonableness in other
respects, my mildness, and my love of quiet, and
when you reflect, moreover, that I have never ac-
cepted any extraordinary privilege nor anything
beyond what the many might gain, though you have
often voted many of them to me. Do not, on the
διότι ἐξόν μοι καὶ ύμῶν ἀρχεῖν καὶ τηλικαύτην ἡγεμονίαν τοσαύτης οἰκουμένης ἔχειν οὐ βούλομαι. ἔγὼ γὰρ, ἂν τε τὸ δίκαιόν τις ἐξετάζῃ, δικαιότατον εἶναι νομίζω τὸ τὰ ύμετρα ύμᾶς διέσειν, ἂν τε καὶ τὸ συμφέρον, συμφορώτατον ἡγούμαι καὶ ἐμοὶ τὸ μήτε πράγματα ἔχειν μήτε φθονεῖσθαι μήτε ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι καὶ ύμῖν τὸ μετ' ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ φιλικῶς πολιτεύ-3 εσθαί: ἂν τε καὶ τὸ εὐκλεές, οὕτπερ ἕνεκα πολλοὶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν πολλάκις αἱροῦνται, πῶς μὲν οὐκ εὐδοκότατον μοι ἔσθαι τηλικαύτης ἀρχῆς ἄφεσθαι, πῶς δ' οὐκ εὐκλεόστατον ἐκ τοσούτου ἡγεμονίας ὁγκοῦ ἔθελοντι ἰδιωτεῦσαι; ὡστ' εἰ τις ύμῶν ἀπιστεῖ ταῦτ' ὄντως τινὰ ἄλλον καὶ φρονῆσαι ἐπ' ἀληθείας καὶ εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι, 4 ἐμοίνης πιστευσάτω. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα καταλέξαι ἔχων ὡσα καὶ ὑπ' ἔμοι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου εὐφρενίσθησε, ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότος ἦν ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ φιλοίητε καὶ τιμώτης, οὐδὲν ἂν ἄλλο τούτου μᾶλλον εἴποιμι, οὐδ' ἂν ἐπ' ἄλλω τινὶ μᾶλλον σεμνυναίμην, ὅτε τὴν μοναρχίαν μῆτε ἐκεῖνος καὶ τοὺς διδότων ύμῶν λαβεῖν ἠθέλησε καὶ ἐγὼ ἔχων ἀφήμι.

7 "Τὸ γὰρ ἂν τὸν καὶ παρεξετάσειν αὐτῷ; τὴν Γαλατίαν ἄλωσιν ἢ τὴν Παννονίαν δούλωσιν ἢ τὴν Μυσίαν χείρωσιν ἢ τὴν Λιγύπτου καταστροφήν; ἄλλα τὸν Φαρνάκην τὸν Ιουβάν τὸν Φραάτην, τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς στρατεύειν,
other hand, condemn me as foolish because, when it is in my power to rule over you and to hold so great a sovereignty over this vast world, I do not wish it. For, if one looks into the merits of the case from the point of view of justice, I regard it as most just for you to manage your own affairs; if from the point of view of expediency, I consider it most expedient, both that I should be free from trouble and not be the object of jealousy and intrigue, and that you should have a government based upon liberty and conducted with moderation and friendly feeling; and if, finally, from the point of view of glory, to win which many men are often found ready to choose war and personal risk, will it not add most to my renown to resign so great an empire, will it not add most to my glory to leave so exalted a sovereignty and voluntarily become a private citizen? Therefore, if there is any one of you who believes that no man except me can really and sincerely hold to such ideals and give them utterance, at least let him believe it of me. For, though I could recite many great benefits conferred upon you both by me and by my father, for which we beyond all other men could reasonably claim your affection and your honour, I could single out no other act in preference to this, nor could I feel a greater pride in any other thing than in this,—that he refused the monarchy although you offered it to him, and that I, when I hold it, lay it aside.

"What achievement, indeed, could one compare with these acts of ours? The conquest of Gaul, the enslavement of Pannonia, the subjugation of Moesia, the overthrow of Egypt? Or Pharaces, or Juba, or Phraates, or the campaign against the Britons, or
τὴν τοῦ Ῥήνου διάβασιν; καίτοι τοσαῦτα καὶ
tοιαῦτα ταύτα ἐστιν ὅσα καὶ οὔτε σύμπαντες
οἱ πατέρες ἧμῶν ἐν παντὶ τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ
2 πεποίηκασιν. ἀλλὰ ὅμως οὔτε τούτων τι τῷ
παρόντι ἔργῳ παραβαλεῖν ἐστιν ἄξιον, οὔθ' ὅτι
tοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ μεγίστους καὶ ποι-
kιλωτάτους διὰ πάντων γενομένους καὶ διεπολε-
μήσαμεν καλῶς καὶ διεθέμεθα φιλανθρώπως, τοῦ
μὲν ἀντιστάντος ὡς καὶ πολεμίου παντὸς 1 κρατη-
santes, τῷ δ' ὑπείβαν ὡς καὶ ἱλιον πᾶν περισσό-
santes, ὥστε εἴπερ ποτὲ καὶ αὕτης πεπρομένην
eἴη τὴν πόλιν ἧμῶν 2 νοσήσαι, τούτων αὐτὴν τὸν
τρόπον εὐξασθαί τινα στασιάσαι τῷ γὰρ τοι
τοσοῦτον τοις ἱσχύσασθαι ἡμᾶς καὶ οὔτω καὶ τῇ
ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ τυχῇ ἀκμάσασθαι ὅστε καὶ ἐκόντων
καὶ ἀκόντων ὑμῶν αὐταρχῆσαι δυνηθῆναι, μήτε
ἐκφρονῆσαι μήτε τῆς μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμῆσαι,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνον διδομένην αὐτὴν ἀπώσασθαι
καὶ ἐμὲ δεδομένην ἀποδιδόναι, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπῶν
3 ἐστιν. λέγω δὲ ταύτα οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπικομπῶν
(οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄν εἴποι αὐτὰ ἀρχήν, εἰ καὶ ὅτιοι
πλεονεκτήσεις ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡμελλοῦν), ἀλλ' ἢν
εἰδότη ὅτι πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐς τὸ κοινὸν
ἐνεργητημάτων καὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκεία σεμνολογημάτων
ἡμῶν ὅντων, ἐπὶ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἀγαλλόμεθα ὅτε,
ὁν ἄτεροι καὶ βιαζόμενοι τινας ἐπίθυμουσί, ταῦθ'
4 ἥμείς οὖν ἀναγκαζόμενοι προσίμεθα. τίς μὲν
γὰρ ἄν μεγαλοφυσικότερος μου, ἦν μή καὶ τὸν
πατέρα τοῦ μετηλλαχότα αὕτης εἶπω, τίς δὲ δαι-
mονιώτερος εὐρεδείη; ὅτις, ὦ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἡρακλες,

1 παντὸς Μ, τινὸς V.
2 εἴη τὴν πόλιν ἧμῶν V, ἧμῶν εἴη τὴν πόλιν M.
the crossing of the Rhine? Yet these are greater and more important deeds than even all our forefathers together performed in all previous time. Nevertheless, no one of these exploits deserves a place beside my present act, to say nothing of our civil wars, of all which have ever occurred the greatest and most varied in its changing fortunes, which we fought to an honourable conclusion and brought to a humane settlement, overpowering as enemies all who resisted, but sparing as friends all who yielded; therein setting an example, so that if it should be fated that our city should ever again be afflicted, one might pray that it should conduct its quarrel in the same way. Indeed, I will go further: that we, when we possessed a strength so great, and when we so clearly stood at the summit of prowess and good fortune, that we could exercise over you, with or without your consent, our arbitrary rule, did not lose our senses or conceive the desire for sole supremacy, but that he thrust that supremacy aside when it was offered him and that I return it after it has been given me,—that, I say, transcends the deeds of a man! I say this, not by way of idle boasting,—indeed, I should not have said it at all, if I were going to derive any advantage whatever from it,—but in order that you may see that, although we can point to many benefits conferred upon the state at large and to many services rendered to individuals of which we might boast, yet we take the greatest pride in this, that what others so desire that they are even willing to do violence to gain it, this we do not accept even under compulsion. Who could be found more magnanimous than I,—not to mention again my deceased father,—who more nearly divine? For
διοσ ρωμανήσιστος τοσοῦτος καὶ τοιοῦτος, καὶ πολίτας καὶ συμμάχους, φιλονυτας με ἐχοι, καὶ πάσης μὲν τῆς ἐντὸς τῶν Ηρακλείων στηλῶν θαλάσσης πλὴν ὄλγων κρατῶν, ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἥπειροις

2 καὶ πόλεως καὶ ἕθνη κεκτημένος, καὶ μῆτ’ ἀλλοφύλου τινὸς ἐτε προσπολεμοῦντός μοι μῆτ’ οἰκεῖου στασιάζοντος, ἄλλα πάντων ύμῶν καὶ εἰρηνοῦντων καὶ ὁμονοούντων καὶ εὐθενοῦντων καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐθελοντηδὸν πειθαρχοῦντων, ἐπειθ’ ἐκουσιος αὐτεπάγγελτος καὶ ἀρχὴς τηλικαύτης ἀφίσταμαι καὶ ὀψίας τοσαύτης ἀπαλλάττομαι.

3 ὥστ’ εἴπερ ὁ Ὀράτιος ὃ Μούκιος ὁ Κοῦρτιος ὁ Ῥήγουλος οἱ Δέκιοι καὶ κυνυνεύσαι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέγα τι καὶ καλὸν πεποιηκέναι δοξαὶ ἡθέληται, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμήσωμι τούτῳ πράξασθαι εὐθείᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄμα πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐκλείας ἵνων ὑπερβαλῶν; μὴ γὰρ τοι νομίσῃ τις ύμῶν τοὺς μὲν πάλαι Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐδοκίας ἐφείσθαι, νῦν δὲ ἐξήτηλον ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντων τὸ ἀνδρόδες γεγονέναι. μὴ μέντοι μηδ’ ὑποτένουσιν ὅτι προεῖσθαι τε ύμᾶς καὶ πονηροῖς τισιν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτρέψῃ, ἢ καὶ ὁχλοκρατία τινὶ, εἴ ἂν οὐ μόνον συμφέρειν άλλα καὶ πάντα τὰ δεῖντατα ἦλε πάσιν ἀνθρώποις γίγνεται, ἐκδούναι βούλομαι.

4 ὑμᾶς γὰρ, ύμῶν τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ φρονιμωτάτοις πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἀνατίθημι. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτ’ ἃν ἐποίησα, οὐδ’ εἰ μυριάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἢ καὶ μοναρχῆσαι με ἐδει τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ποιώ. αὐτὸς τε

1 εὐθενοῦντων Dind., εὐθενοῦντων Rk., εὐθενοῦντων VM.
2 υμῶν M, ἡμῶν V.

208
BOOK LIII

I,—the gods be my witnesses!—who have so many gallant soldiers, both Romans and allies, who are devoted to me, I, who am supreme over the entire sea within the Pillars of Hercules except for a few tribes, I who possess both cities and provinces in every continent, at a time when there is no longer any foreign enemy making war upon me and no one at home is engaged in sedition, but when you are all at peace, are harmonious and strong, and, greatest of all, are content to yield obedience, I, in spite of all this, voluntarily and of my own motion resign so great a dominion and give up so vast a possession. So then, if Horatius, Mucius, Curtius, Regulus, and the Decii were willing to encounter danger and to die to win the fame of having done a great and noble deed, why should not I desire even more to do this thing, whereby, without losing my life, I shall excel both them and all the rest of mankind in glory? In truth no one of you should think that the ancient Romans sought to win fair fame and reputation for valour, but that in these days every manly virtue has become extinct in the state. And further, let no one suspect that I wish to betray you by delivering you into the hands of a group of wicked men, or by giving you over to government by the mob, from which nothing good ever comes, but rather in all cases and for all mankind nothing but the most terrible evils. Nay, it is to you senators, to you who are the best and wisest, that I restore the entire administration of the state. The other course I should never have followed, even had it been necessary for me to die a thousand deaths, or even to assume the sole rule; but this policy I adopt both for my own good and for that of the city. For
γὰρ καὶ πεπόνησαι καὶ τεταλαμίσθησά, καὶ οὐκέτι οὔτε τῇ ψυχῇ οὔτε τῷ σώματι ἀντέχειν δύναμαι· καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὸ μέσον, ἃ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας ἐγχείρησα· τοι, τὰς τε ἔξα αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλὰς προσώπου. 

καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἰδιωτεύεις μᾶλλον εὐκλεῶς ἡ μοναρχὴσαι ἐπικινδύνωσ αἴρομαι. καὶ τὰ κοινὰ κοίνως ἄν πολὺ βέλτιον ἄτε· καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀμα διαγόμενα καὶ μὴ ἐς ἓνα τινὰ ἀνηρτημένα διοικοῖτο.

"Δι' οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ἰκετεύω καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὑμῶν ὁμοίως καὶ συνεπαίνεσαι καὶ συμπροθυμηθήναι μοι, λογισμένους πάνθ᾽ ὡσα καὶ πεπολεμηκά ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πεπολύτευμα, καὶ τούτῳ πας μοι τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν χάριν ἄποδόντας, ἐν τῷ συνχωρήσαι μοι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ὡδῇ ποτὲ καταβιῶν, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἄρχειν ἄλλα καὶ ἀρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι, καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὡσα ἄλλοις ἐπέταξα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντεπιταχθήναι δύναμαι.

μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ζήσειν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ μηδὲν μῆτε ἐργῷ μῆτε λόγῳ κακῶν πεισθαι προσδοκῶ· τοσοῦτον που τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ὑμῶν, ἔξω αὐτὸς ἐμαντῷ σύνοιδα, πιστεὺω. ἀν δὲ τι καὶ πάθω, οἷα πολλοῖς συμβαίνει (οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶον τέ ἐστι πᾶσι τινὰ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοσοῦτοις πολέμοις, τοῖς μὲν θυνεῖοις τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐμφυλίοις, γενόμενοι καὶ τηλικαύτα πράγματα ἐπιτραπέντα, ἀρέσαι), καὶ πάνω ἐτοίμως καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἴμαρ-

1 βέλτιον ἄτε Rk., βέλτιον τε VM.
BOOK LIII

I myself have undergone both labours and hardships and am no longer able to stand the strain, either in mind or in body. Furthermore, I foresee the jealousy and hatred which are engendered in certain persons against even the best men and the plots which arise therefrom. It is for these reasons that I choose the life of a private citizen and fair fame rather than that of a sovereign and constant peril. And as for the business of the commonwealth, it would be carried on far better by all in common, inasmuch as it would be transacted by many men together instead of being dependent upon some one man.

"For these reasons, then, I ask and implore you one and all both to approve my course and to cooperate heartily with me, reflecting upon all that I have done for you alike in war and in public life, and rendering me complete recompense for it all by this one favour,—by allowing me at last to be at peace as I live out my life. Thus you will come to know that I understand not only how to rule but also how to submit to rule, and that all the commands which I have laid upon others I can endure to have laid upon me. I ask this because I expect to live in security, if that be possible, and to suffer no harm from anybody by either deed or word,—such is the confidence, based upon my own conscience, which I have in your good-will; but if some disaster should befall me, such as falls to the lot of many (for it is not possible for a man to please everybody, especially when he has been involved in wars of such magnitude, both foreign and civil, and has had affairs of such importance entrusted to him), with entire willingness I make my choice to die even before my appointed
μένου μοι χρόνου τελευτήσαι μάλλον ἰδιωτεύσας, ἢ καὶ ἀθάνατος μοναρχήσας γενέσθαι, αἰροῦμαι.
4 ἔμοι μὲν γὰρ εὑκλειαν καὶ αὐτὸ τούτῳ οίσει ὅτι οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐφόνευσά τινα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν ἁρχὴν κατασχέιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαπέθανον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μοναρχήσας ὁ δὲ δὴ τολμήσας ἀποκτείναι με πάντως που καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ ὑφ' ὕμων κολασθῆσεται. ἀπερ ποι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἑγέονεν ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἰσόθεος ἀπεδείχθη καὶ τιμῶν ἀδίων ἔτυχεν, οἱ δ' ἀποσφάξαντες αὐτὸν κακός ἀπώλοντο. ἀθάνατοι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄν δυνηθείμεν γενέσθαι, ἕκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ καλὸς ζήσαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καλὸς τελευ.
6 τῆσα καὶ τοῦτο πρότον τινά κτώμεθα. ἀφ' οὔπερ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν ἥδη ἔχων τὸ δὲ εξειν ἐλπίζων, ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἑθη τάς τε προσόδους καὶ τους νόμους, τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπειπῶν, ἢν μὴ τὸ μέγεθος ἢ καὶ τὸ δυσμενερήσιον τῶν πραγμάτων φοβηθέντες ἀθυμήσῃτε, μὴν αὐτοὶ καταφρονήσασι αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ῥαδίως διοικεῖσθαι δυναμένων ἀμελήσῃτε.
10 "Καίτοι καὶ καθ' ἑκαστὸν τῶν μεῖονων οὐκ ἄν ἄκνησαιμι ὑμῖν ἐν κεφαλαίοις ὡσα χρή πράττειν ὑποθέσθαι, τίνα δὲ ταύτα ἐστὶ; πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς κειμένους νόμους ἵσχυρὸς φυλάττετε, καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν μεταβάλλει τὰ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ μένοντα, κἂν χείρῳ ἡ, συμφορώτερα τῶν ἀι διανοομομένων, κἂν βελτίω εἶναι δοκῇ, ἐστίν.
2 ἐπείτη δὲ, ὡς καὶ προστάττουσιν ὑμῖν οὗτοι ποιεῖν
time as a private citizen, in preference to living forever as the occupant of a throne. Indeed, this very choice will bring me renown,—that I not only did not deprive another of life in order to win that office, but went so far as even to give up my life in order to avoid being king; and the man who dares to slay me will certainly be punished, I am sure, both by Heaven and by you, as happened, methinks, in the case of my father. For he was declared to be the equal of the gods and obtained eternal honours, whereas those who slew him perished, miserable men, by a miserable death. As for immortality, we could not possibly achieve it; but by living nobly and by dying nobly we do in a sense gain even this boon. Therefore, I, who already possess the first requisite and hope to possess the second, return to you the armies and the provinces, the revenues and the laws, adding only a few words of suggestion, to the end that you may not be afraid of the magnitude of the business of administration, or of the difficulty of handling it and so become discouraged, and that you may not, on the other hand, regard it with contempt, with the idea that it can easily be managed, and thus neglect it.

"And yet, after all, I feel no hesitancy about suggesting to you in a summary way what ought to be done in each of the leading departments of administration. And what are these suggestions? In the first place, guard vigilantly the established laws and change none of them; for what remains fixed, even though it be inferior, is more advantageous than what is always subject to innovations, even though it seem to be superior. Next, pay strict heed to do whatever these laws enjoin upon
καὶ ὅσων ἀπαγορεύουσιν ἀπέχεσθαι, μὴ τῷ λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, μηδὲ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἀκριβῶς παρατηρεῖσθε,1 ὅπως μὴ τιμωρίας ἀλλὰ τιμῶν τυγχάνητε. τάς τε ἀρχάς καὶ τάς εἰρημικὰς καὶ τάς πολεμικὰς τοῖς ἀπὶ ἀρίστοις τε καὶ ἐμφρονεστάτοις ἐπι- τρέπετε, μήτε φθονοῦντές τισι,2 μηδὲ ὕπερ τοῦ τοῦ δεῦνα ἢ τῶν δεύνα πλεονεκτήσαι τι, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως καὶ σώζεσθαι καὶ εὐπραγεῖν

4 φιλοτιμούμενοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους τιμάτε, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλός πως πολιτευομένους κολάζετε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἱδία κοινὰ τῇ πόλει παρέχετε, τῶν δὲ δημοσίων ὡς ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέχεσθε, καὶ τὰ μὲν υπάρχονθ' ύμῖν ἀκριβῶς φυλάττετε, τῶν δὲ μὴ

5 προσηκόντων μηδαμῶς ἔφιεσθε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους μὴν υβρίζετε μήτε ἐκχρηματίζεσθε, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίως μῆτε ἀδίκειτε μήτε φοβεῖσθε. τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἐν ταῖς χερσίν ἂει ἔχετε, μὴ μὲντοι μήτε κατ' ἀλλήλον

6 μήτε κατὰ τῶν εἰρηνοῦντων αὐτοῖς χρήσθε.3 τοὺς τε στρατιώτας τρέφετε μὲν ἀρκοῦντος, ὡστε μη- δενος τῶν ἀλλοτρίων δι' ἀπορίαι ἐπιθυμήσαι, συνέχετε δὲ καὶ σωφρονίζετε, ωστε μηδὲν κακον διὰ θρασύτητα δράσαι.

7 Ὁ̇ Αλλὰ τι δεῖ μακρολογεῖν, πάνθ' ἥ προσηκείν ποιεῖν ύμᾶς ἐπεξίοντα, καὶ γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ ῥαδίως ἃν ἐκ τούτων ὡς χρή πράττεσθαι συνίδοιτε.4 ἐν οὖν ἐτὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν παύσομαι, ὅτι ἂν μὲν οὕτω πολιτεύοσθε, αὐτοὶ τε εὐδαιμονήσετε καὶ ἐμοὶ

1 παρατηρεῖσθε R. Steph., παρατηρεῖσθαι VM.
2 τισι M, τινι V. 3 χρήσθε M, χρήσθαι V.
4 συνίδοιτε Pfugk., συνέδοιτε VM.

214
you and to refrain from whatever they forbid, and do this not only in word but also in deed, not only in public but also in private, that you may obtain, not penalties, but honours. Entrust the offices both of peace and of war to those who are the most excellent and the most prudent, harbouring no jealousy of any man, and indulging in rivalry, not to advance the private interests of this or that man, but to keep the city safe and make it prosperous. Honour men who show this spirit, but punish those who act otherwise in political life. Treat your private means as the common property of the state, but refrain from the public funds as belonging to others. Guard strictly what you already have, but never covet that which does not belong to you. Do not treat the allies and subject nations insolently nor exploit them for gain, and in dealing with the enemy, neither wrong him nor fear him. Have your arms always in hand, but do not use them either against one another or against those who keep the peace. Maintain the soldiers adequately, so that they may not on account of want desire anything which belongs to others; keep them in hand and under discipline, that they may not become presumptuous and do harm.

"But why make a long speech by going through everything in detail which it behooves you to do? For you may easily understand from these hints how all other matters should be handled. I will close with this one further remark, that if you will conduct the government in this manner, you will both enjoy
χαριείσθε, ὅστις ὑμᾶς στασιάζοντας κακῶς λαβῶν
8 τοιούτους ἀπέδειξα, ἂν δ' ἀδυνατήσητε καὶ ὅτιον
αὐτῶν πράξαι, ἐμὲ μὲν μετανοήσαι ποιήσετε, τὴν
δὲ ὅπ πόλειν ἐσ τε πολέμους πολλοὺς καὶ ἐς κινδύ-
νους μεγάλους αὗθις ἐμβαλεῖτε."
11 Τοιάντα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναλέγοντος ποικίλον
ti πάθος τοὺς βουλευτὰς κατελάμβανεν. ὅλιγοι
μὲν γὰρ τὴν τε διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ ἤδεσαν κὰκ τοῦτο
καὶ συνεσπούδαζον αὐτὸ. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οἱ μὲν
ὑπόπτευον τὰ λεγόμενα οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευον σφίσι,
καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ θαύμαζον ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι,
οἱ μὲν τὴν περιτέχνησιν αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ τὴν γράμμην,
καὶ ἥχοντο οἱ μὲν τῇ πραγματείᾳ αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ τῇ
μετανοίᾳ. τὸ τε γὰρ δημοκρατικὸν ἴδη τινὲς ὡς
καὶ στασιάδες ἐμίσουν, καὶ τῇ μεταστάσει τῆς
πολιτείας ἱέρσκοντο, τῷ τε Καίσαρι ἔχαιρον,
καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν παθήμασι διαφόροις τοῖς
3 δὲ ἐπινοήσασιν ὁμοίως ἑχρώντο. οὕτω γὰρ πι-
estedoνται ἄλλως αὐτὰ λέγεσθαι χαίρειν ἐδύ,
στεφανεῖς, οὕτω οἱ βουλόμενοι ἑν τοῦ διὰ τὸ δεός, οὕτω
οἱ ἑτεροὶ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας. οὕτω ἀπιστήσαντες
διαβαλεῖν τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἑλέγχαι ἐτόλμων, οἱ μὲν
ὁτι ἐφοβοῦντο, οἱ δ' ὅτι οὐκ ἔβουλοντο. οἴδατοι
καὶ πιστεύειν αὑτῷ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἡμᾶς ἠγκάζοντο
οἱ δὲ ἐπλάττοντο. καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν οὐκ
ἐθάρσουν οἱ δ' οὐκ ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ
μεταξύ ἀναγνώσκοντος αὐτοῦ διεβόων πολλὰ
δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, μοναρχεῖσθαι τε δεόμενοι καὶ

1 Βουλόμενοι R. Steph., Βουλευόμενοι V.M.
BOOK LIII

prosperity yourselves and you will gratify me, who
found you engaged in wretched strife and made you
what you now are; but if there is any part whatever
of this programme that you shall prove unable to
carry out, you will cause me to regret my action and
you will at the same time cast the city again into
many wars and grave dangers."

While Caesar was reading this address, varied
feelings took possession of the senators. A few of
them knew his real intention and consequently kept
applauding him enthusiastically; of the rest, some
were suspicious of his words, while others believed
them, and therefore both classes marvelled equally,
the one at his cunning and the other at his decision,
and both were displeased, the former at his scheming
and the latter at his change of mind. For already
there were some who abhorred the democratic con-
stitution as a breeder of strife, were pleased at the
change in government, and took delight in Caesar.
Consequently, though they were variously affected
by his announcement, their views were the same.
For, on the one hand, those who believed he had
spoken the truth could not show their pleasure,—
those who wished to do so being restrained by their
fear and the others by their hopes,—and those, on
the other hand, who did not believe it did not dare
accuse him and expose his insincerity, some because
they were afraid and others because they did not care
to do so. Hence all the doubters either were com-
pelled to believe him or else pretended that they did.
As for praising him, some had not the courage and
others were unwilling; on the contrary, both while
he was reading and afterwards, they kept shouting
out, begging for a monarchical government and urging

217
πάντα τὰ ἐς τοῦτο φέροντα ἐπιλέγοντες, μέχρις
5 οὐ κατημάγκασαν δὴθεν αὐτὸν αὐταρχῆσαι. καὶ
παρατίκα γε τοὺς δορυφορήσουσιν αὐτὸν διπλά-
σιον τὸν μισθὸν τοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιῶταις
διδομένου ψηφισθῆναι διεπράξατο, ὅπως ἀκριβῆ
τὴν φρουρᾶν ἔχῃ. οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς καταθέσθαι
τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπεθύμησε.

12 Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦτο τῷ τῷ τῷ ἐπὶ τὸ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τ

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1 διεπράξατο Bk., διεπράξατο VM Xiph.
2 τῇ Xiph., τε VM.
3 ἀρξεῖ Bk., ἀρχεῖ VM Xiph.
4 τῇ θηλῇ Xiph. Zon., om. VM.
every argument in its favour, until they forced him, as it was made to appear, to assume autocratic power. His very first act was to secure a decree granting to the men who should compose his bodyguard double the pay that was given to the rest of the soldiers, so that he might be strictly guarded. When this was done, he was eager to establish the monarchy in very truth.

In this way he had his supremacy ratified by the senate and by the people as well. But as he wished even so to be thought democratic, while he accepted all the care and oversight of the public business, on the ground that it required some attention on his part, yet he declared he would not personally govern all the provinces, and that in the case of such provinces as he should govern he would not do so indefinitely; and he did, in fact, restore to the senate the weaker provinces, on the ground that they were peaceful and free from war, while he retained the more powerful, alleging that they were insecure and precarious and either had enemies on their borders or were able on their own account to begin a serious revolt. His professed motive in this was that the senate might fearlessly enjoy the finest portion of the empire, while he himself had the hardships and the dangers; but his real purpose was that by this arrangement the senators should be unarmed and unprepared for battle, while he alone had arms and maintained soldiers. Africa, Numidia, Asia, Greece with Epirus, the Dalmatian and Macedonian districts, Crete and the Cyrenaic portion of
περὶ Κυρήνην καὶ Βιθυνία μετὰ τοῦ προσκειμένου οἰ Πόντου, Σαρδῶ τε καὶ Βαυτικὴ τοῦ τε δήμου
5 καὶ τῆς γερουσίας εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος ἢ τε Λοιπῆ Ἰβηρία, ἢ τε περὶ Ταρράκωνα καὶ ἡ Λυσιτανία, καὶ Γαλάται πάντες, οἳ τε Ναρβωνήσιοι καὶ οἳ Δουγδούνήσιοι Ἀκυτανοὶ τε καὶ Βελγικοὶ,1
6 αὐτοῖ τε καὶ οἱ ἐποικοὶ σφῶν Κελτῶν γὰρ τίνες, οὓς δὴ Γερμανοὺς καλοῦμεν, πάσαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ῥῆνον Βελγικὴν2 κατασχόντες Γερμανίαν ὁνομάζοντες ἐποίησαν, τὴν μὲν ἄνω τὴν μετὰ τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ πηγὰς, τὴν δὲ κάτω τὴν μέχρι τοῦ
7 ὀκεπαυὸ τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ οὖσαν. ταῦτα τε οὖν καὶ ἡ Συρία ἡ καλὴ καλομέμενη ἢ τε Φωινικὴ καὶ Κυκλικία καὶ Κύπρος καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος μερίδι τότε3 ἐγένοντο· ὑστερον γὰρ τὴν μὲν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα τῷ δήμῳ ἀπέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Δελματίαν
8 ἀντέλαβε, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλων ἠθνῶν μετὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπράξθη, ὡς ποιό καὶ ἡ διεξόδος τοῦ λόγου δηλώσει· ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω κατέλεξα, ὡς νῦν χαρίς ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἥγεμονευέται, ἐπεὶ τὸ γε ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ σύνδου καὶ σύντριπ τὰ
9 ἔθνη ἀμα ἡρχετο. τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν οὐκ ἐμπιστεύεται, ὡς τὰ μὲν ὑστερον αὐτῶν προσεκτῆθη,4 τὰ δὲ, εἰ καὶ τότε ἤδη ἐκεχείρωτο, ἀλλ' οὔτε γε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡρχετο, ἀλλ' ἡ αὐτόνομα ἀφεῖτο ἡ καὶ βασιλεῖαις τισὶν ἐπετέραπτο καὶ

1 Βελγικοὶ Βε., βελτικοὶ ΒΜ.
2 Βελγικῆν Βε., βελτικῆν ΒΜ.
3 τότε Μ, om. V.
4 προσεκτήθη V, προσεκτήθη M.
Libya, Bithynia with Pontus, which adjoined it, Sardinia and Baetica were held to belong to the people and the senate; while to Caesar belonged the remainder of Spain,—that is, the district of Tarraco and Lusitania,—and all the Gauls,—that is, Gallia Narbonensis, Gallia Lugdunensis, Aquitania, and Belgica, both the natives themselves and the aliens among them. For some of the Celts, whom we call Germans, had occupied all the Belgic territory along the Rhine and caused it to be called Germany, the upper portion extending to the sources of that river, and the lower portion reaching to the British Ocean. These provinces, then, together with Coele-Syria, as it is called, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Cyprus and Egypt, fell at that time to Caesar’s share; for afterwards he gave Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis back to the people, and for himself took Dalmatia instead. This same course was followed subsequently in the case of other provinces also, as the progress of my narrative will show; but I have enumerated these provinces in this way because at the present time each one of them is governed separately, whereas in the beginning and for a long period thereafter they were administered two and three together. The others I have not mentioned because some of them were acquired later, and the rest, even if they were already subdued, were not being governed by the Romans, but either had been left autonomous or had been attached to some kingdom or other. All

1 See note on xxxviii. 34.
2 Dio’s name for Germany proper is Κελταία; when he uses the name Γερμανία, as here, he refers to the provinces of that name, Germania Superior and Germania Inferior, both lying west of the Rhine.
3 Cf. chap. 26 and liv. 9.
13  Τὰ μὲν ὄνω ἐθνικοὶ τούτοις δημότευσι, βουλήθηκε δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ πόρρω σφᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸν τε μοναρχικὸν φρονεῖν δοκεῖν, ἐς δέκα ἐτῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν δοθέων ὑπὲρ τοσοῦτο τε γὰρ χρόνων καταστήσειν αὐτὰ ὑπὲρχετο, καὶ προσευμενεύσατο εἰπὼν ὅτι, ἄν καὶ θάττων ἡμερῶθη, θάττων αὗτοις καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀποδώσει. κὰκ τούτων πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὺς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἐκατέρω τῶν ἐθνών, πλὴν Ἀγυπτίων, ἀρχεῖν κατέδειξεν (ἐκεῖνοις γὰρ δὴ μόνοις τὸν ὀνομασμένον ἰππέα, δι’ ἀπερ εἰπον, προσέταξεν). ἐπειτʼ ἐὰν τοὺς μὲν καὶ ἐπετήσιους καὶ κληροτός εἰναι, πλὴν εἰ τῷ πολυπαιδίᾳ ἢ

3  γάμου προνομία προσέθη, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς γερουσίας συνὸγον πέμπεσθαι μὴ τε ξέφος παρα-
ξωνυμένους μὴτε στρατιωτικὴ ἐσθήτι χρωμένους, καὶ ἀνθυπάτους καλεῖσθαι μὴ ὅτι τού δύο τοὺς ὑπατευκότας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς τοὺς ἔκ τῶν ἕστρατηγικῶν ἢ δοκοῦστον ὡς ἕστρατηγηδεῖνα

4  μόνον ὄντας, ῥαβδούχους τὲ σφᾶς ἐκατέρων ὁσιόστηρ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀστεῖ νενόμοσται χρησθαί, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίσημα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀμα

1 In li. 17, 1.
2 The details of the earlier legislation of Augustus (cf. liv. 16, 1; lv. 2, 6) in the interest of more marriages and larger families are not clear; but as finally embodied in the Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea (cf. lvi. 10), the special privileges of a father of three legitimate children (the ius trium liberorum)
of them which came into the Roman empire after this period were added to the provinces of the one who was emperor at the time.

Such, then, was the apportionment of the provinces. And wishing, even then, to lead the Romans a long way from the idea that he was at all monarchical in his purposes, Caesar undertook for only ten years the government of the provinces assigned him; for he promised to reduce them to order within this period, and boastfully added that, if they should be pacified sooner, he would the sooner restore them, too, to the senate. Thereupon he first appointed the senators themselves to govern both classes of provinces, except Egypt. This province alone he assigned to a knight, the one we have already named, for the reasons mentioned there. Next he ordained that the governors of senatorial provinces should be annual magistrates, chosen by lot, except when a senator enjoyed a special privilege because of the large number of his children or because of his marriage. These governors were to be sent out by vote of the senate in public meeting; they were to carry no sword at their belt nor to wear military uniform; the name of proconsul was to belong not only to the two ex-consuls but also to the others who had merely served as praetors or who held at least the rank of ex-praetors; both classes were to employ as many lictors as were usual in the capital; and they were included the right to receive inheritances left to bachelors (who could not inherit), preference in standing for the various offices, including the right to be a candidate before the regular age or without the usual interval between offices, precedence before equals and colleagues, and exemption from certain civic obligations.
τῷ ἔξω τοῦ πομηρίου γενέσθαι προστίθεσθαι καὶ διὰ παντὸς μέχρις ἀν ἀνακομισθῶσίν ἔχειν ἐκέ-λευσε. τοὺς δὲ ἐτέρους ὑπὸ τε ἐαυτοῦ αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ προσβεντὰς αὐτοῦ ἀντιστρατήγους τε ὀνομάζεσθαι, κἂν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ὡσει, διεταξε. τὸν γὰρ ὅτι δύο τούτον ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀνθησάντων, τὸ μὲν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῖς αἱρετοῖς ὡς καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνω ἀρχαῖον προσήκον ἔδωκεν, ἀντιστρατηγόν σφᾶς προσεπὼν, τὸ δὲ ὅτι τῶν ὑπάτων τοῖς ἐτέροις ὡς καὶ εἰρημνοτέροις, ἀνθυπάτους αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλέσας. αὕτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα, τὸ τε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου, ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐτήρησε, τοὺς δὲ ἔξω πάντας ὡς καὶ ἀντ’ ἐκείνων ἄρχοντας προσηγόρευσε. τῇ τε οὖν ἐπικλήσει τῇ τῶν ἀντιστρατηγῶν τοὺς αἱρετοὺς χρησθαὶ, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον καὶ ἐνυαντοῦ χρόνου, ἐφ’ ὅσον ἄν ἐαυτῷ δόξῃ, ἀρχεῖν ἐποίησε, τῇ τε στρατιωτικῇ σκεύην φοροῦντας καὶ ξίφος, οἷς γε καὶ στρατιω- 

tas dikaiówsan eixestin, eíchontas. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔδειν οὗτε ἀνθυπάτω ὡς ἀντιστρατήγῳ οὗτε ἐπιτρόπῳ ξιφηφορειν δεδοταί, ὥς μὴ καὶ στρατιώτῃ τῳ ἀποκτεῖναι ἐξεῖναι νεόμοισται οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἰππεῦσι, οἷς τοῦτ' ἦν ἱππαρχεῖ, καὶ ἐκεῖνον συγκεχώρηται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει, ῥαβδούχοις δὲ ὑπὲν πεντε πάντες ὁμοίως οἱ ἀντιστράτηγοι χρωνται, καὶ οὕτως γε οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων εἰσὶ, καὶ ὀνομάζονται ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
1 τῆς πολέμου Μ, τοῦ πολέμου Β. 

1 Legati Augusti pro praetore. 
2 The expression to which Dio here refers is apparently the adjective quinquefascalis, found in inscriptionsal Latin.
to assume the insignia of their office immediately upon leaving the pomerium and were to wear them constantly until they returned. The other governors, on the other hand, were to be chosen by the emperor himself and were to be called his envoys and propraetors, even if the men selected were ex-consuls. Thus, of these two titles which had been in vogue so long under the republic, he gave that of praetor to the men chosen by him, on the ground that from very early times it had been associated with warfare, calling them propraetors; and he gave the name of consul to the others, on the ground that their duties were more peaceful, styling them pro-consuls. For he reserved the full titles of consul and praetor for Italy, and designated all the governors outside of Italy as acting in their stead. So, then, he caused the appointed governors to be known as propraetors and to hold office for as much longer than a year as should please him; he made them wear the military uniform, and a sword, with which they are permitted to execute even soldiers. For no one else, whether proconsul, propraetor, or procurator, has been given the privilege of wearing a sword without also having been accorded the right to put a soldier to death; indeed, this right has been granted, not only to the senators, but also to the knights who are entitled to wear a sword. So much for this. All the propraetors alike employ five lictors, and, indeed, all of them except those who were ex-consuls at the time of appointment to governorships receive their title from this very number. Both classes alike assume the decorations

All the editions previous to that of Boissevain gave "six lictors," an error corrected by Mommsen (Römisches Staatsrecht, 12. p. 369, note 4).
ἀριθμοῦ τούτου. τά τε τῆς ἤγεμονίας κοσμήματα, ὅταν τε ἐς τὴν προστεταγμένην σφίσι χώραν ἐσέλθωσιν, ἑκάτεροι ὁμοίως ἀναλαμβάνουσι, καὶ ἔπειδαν διάρξωσιν, εἴδος κατατίθενται.

14 Ὁυτῶ μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτωι ἐκ τε τῶν ἐστρατηγιστῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἄρχοντες ἀμφοτέρωσε πέμπεσθαι ἐνομίσθησαν. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ ὅποι ἔτι νικαὶ ὃποτε ἥθελεν ἐστελλε, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ στρατηγούντες καὶ ὑπατεύοντες ἤγεμονίας ἔβνων ἔσχον, ὦ καὶ ¹ νῦν ἐστιν ὁτε γίγνεται· τῇ δὲ δὴ βούλῃ ἱδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς τε ὑπατευκόσι τῆν τε Ἦφρικὴν καὶ τὴν Ἡσίαν καὶ τοῖς ἐστρατηγιστοῖς τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἀπένειμε, κοινῇ δὲ δὴ πάσιν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγορευσε μηδένα πρὸ πέντε ἑτῶν μετὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄρξαι

2 κληροῦσθαι. καὶ χρόνῳ μὲν τινι πάντες τοιοῦτοι, εἰ καὶ πλείους τῶν ἔβνων ἥσαν, ἐλάχιστον αὐτά· ύστερον δὲ, ἐπειδὴ τινὲς αὐτῶν οὐ καλῶς ἤρχον, τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι προσετέθησαν, καὶ οὕτω καὶ τούτωι αὐτῶς τρόπον

3 τινά τὰς ἤγεμονίας δίδωσιν. ἰσαρίθμους τε γὰρ τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ οὕς ἄν ἐθέληση, κληροῦσθαι κελεύει. αἱρετοὺς τέ τινες καὶ ἐκείσε ἐπεμψαν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἐναυτοῦ χρόνων ἔστιν οἰς ἄρξαι ἐπέτρεψαν καὶ τίνες καὶ ἰππεῦσιν ἀντὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἔδυν τινὰ προσέταξαν.

¹ καὶ Βκ., τε ΒΜ.
of their position of authority when they enter their appointed province and lay them aside immediately upon completing their term of office.

It was thus and on these conditions that the custom was established of sending out ex-praetors and ex-consuls respectively as governors of the two classes of provinces. In the one case, the emperor would commission a governor to any province he wished and when he wished, and many secured provincial commands while still praetors or consuls, as sometimes happens even at the present day. In the case of the senatorial provinces, he assigned Asia and Africa on his own responsibility to the ex-consuls, and all the other provinces to the ex-praetors; but by public decree, applicable to all the senatorial governors, he forbade the allotment of any senator to a governorship before the expiration of five years from the time he had held office in the city.¹ For a time all who fulfilled these requirements, even if they exceeded the number of the provinces, were allotted to governorships; but later, inasmuch as some of them did not govern well, the appointment of these officials, too, was put in the emperor's hands. And thus it is, in a manner of speaking, the emperor who assigns these governors also to their commands; for he always orders the allotment of precisely the number of governors that there are provinces, and orders to be drawn whomsoever he pleases. Some emperors have sent men of their own choosing to these provinces also, and have allowed certain of them to hold office for more than a year; and some have assigned certain provinces to knights instead of to senators.

¹ This was merely a renewal of the decree of 52 B.C. which had remained in force. Cf. xl. 46, 2, and lII. 20, 4.
5 Ταύτα μὲν οὔτω τότε περὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς γε καὶ θανάτων τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας ἐνομίσθην. πέμπτοντι γὰρ καὶ ο Initialise text error 6 άρχής ἔχουσιν. οὔτω γὰρ ἀν ὀρθῶς αὐτοὺς, οὐ πρὸς τὸν νόμον ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν πράξιν, ὡσπερ εἶπον, καλέσαμι, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρεσβευτὰς καὶ τούτοις ἐλληνιζόντες ὄνομάζοντες. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ταύτης ἀρκοῦντος ἐν τοῖς
7 ἀνω λόγως εἰρηται, τοὺς δὲ δὴ παρέδρους αὐτός ἐαυτὸ ἐκαστὸς αἱρεῖται, ἕνα μὲν οἱ ἐστρατηγηκότες ἐκ τῶν ὄμοιων σφίσιν ἢ καὶ τῶν ὑποδεστέρων, τρεῖς δὲ οἱ ὑπατευκότες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοτίμων, οὐς ἀν καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ δοκιμάσῃ. ἐκαινοτομήθη μὲν γὰρ τι καὶ κατὰ τούτους, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ταχὺ ἑπαύσατο, ἀρκέσει τότε αὐτὸ λεχθῆναι.
15 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ τοῦ δήμου ἐθνὶς ταῦθ' οὔτω γίγνεται πέμπτοντι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐτερα, τὰ τοῦ τε αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομαζόμενα καὶ πολιτικὰ στρατόπεδα πλείω ἐνὸς ἔχοντα, οἱ ὑπάρξοντες σφων, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τὸ μὲν πλεῖστὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν ἡπὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τεταμεικῶτων ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινα ἀρχὴν τῶν διὰ μέσου ἀρξάντων αἱροῦμενοι.

1 γς Ἡ. Steph., τς VM.
These were the principles established at that time in regard to the particular class of senators who had the right to inflict the death penalty upon their subjects in the provinces. For it should be stated that there is a class who have not this right,—those, namely, who are sent to the provinces styled the "provinces of the senate and people,"—I mean those who serve either as quaestors, being designated by lot to this office, or as assessors to those who hold the actual authority. For this would be the correct way for me to style these officials, having regard not to their name, but to their duties as just described, although others in hellenizing their title call these also "envoys." Concerning this title, however, enough has been said in what precedes. As to assessors in general, each governor chooses his own, the ex-praetors selecting one from their peers or even from their inferiors, and the ex-consuls three from among those of equal rank, subject to the emperor's approval. For, although a certain change was made in regard to these men also, yet it soon lapsed and it will be sufficient to mention it at the proper time.

This is the system followed in the case of the provinces of the people. To the others, which are called the imperial provinces and have more than one citizen-legion, are sent officials who are to govern them as lieutenants; these are appointed by the emperor himself, generally from the ex-praetors, though also from the ex-quaestors, or men who have held an office between the praetorship and the quaestorship.

1 Legati. Cf. lv. 27, 6.
2 προς Βενταί. This, the literal translation of ἑγατί, was in fact the ordinary Greek term.
3 See chap. 13, 5.
2 Τῶν μὲν δὴ οὖν βουλευότων ταύτα ἔχεται, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἰππέων τούς τε χιλιάρχους, καὶ τοὺς βουλεύουσανταςκαὶ τοὺς λοιπούς, οἷς περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἀνω μοι τοῦ λόγου προερηται, αὐτὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὰ πολιτικὰ τείχη μόνα τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ξενικὰ ἀποστέλλει, ὥσπερ τότε
3 πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐνομίσθη καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους (οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τάς τε κοινὰς προσόδους ἐκλέγοντας καὶ τά προστεταγμένα σφίσιν ἀναλίσκοντας ὑπομάζομεν) ἐς πάντα ὅμοις τὰ ἐθνη, τὰ τε ἐαυτοῦ δὴ καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων πέμπει, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον τοὺς φόρους οἱ αὐθῦνται παρ' ὃν ἄρχοντες ἐσπράσσονται. Ἐντολὰς τέ τινας καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθυπάτοις τοῖς τε ἀντιστρατηγοῖς δίδωσιν, ὅπως ἐπὶ ῥήτορις ἐξίσωσιν καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ μισθοφοράν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δίδοσθαι τότε ἐνομίσθη. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάλαι ἐργολαβοῦντες τινὲς παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου πάντα σφίσι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄρχην φέροντα παρείχον ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρῶτον αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνοι τακτον τι λαμβάνειν ἤρξαντο. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἰσοῦ πᾶσι σφίσιν, ἀλλ' οἰς που καὶ ἡ χρεία ἀπήτευ, ἐτάχθη καὶ τοῖς γε ἐπιτρόποις καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ ἀξιόματος ὅνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς χρημάτων προσ-

1 Βουλεύουσαντας Dind., Βουλεύουσαντα VM.
2 τοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ τοῦ VM. 
3 τοῦ Bk., τοῦ VM. 
4 τοῦτο R. Steph., τοῦ VM. 
5 τοῦ Bk., τοῦ VM.
BOOK LIII

These positions, then, appertain to the senators. Passing now to the knights, the emperor himself selects knights to be sent out as military tribunes (both those who are prospective senators and the others; concerning their difference in rank I have already spoken¹), despatching some of them to take command of the garrisons of purely citizen-legions, and others of the foreign legions as well. In this matter he follows the custom then instituted by Caesar. The procurators (for this is the name we give to the men who collect the public revenues and make disbursements according to the instructions given them) he sends out to all the provinces alike, to those of the people as well as to his own, and to this office knights are sometimes appointed and sometimes even freedmen; but the proconsuls may exact the tribute from the people they govern. The emperor gives instructions to the procurators, the proconsuls, and the propraetors, in order that they may be under definite orders when they go out to their provinces. For both this practice and the giving of salaries to them and to the other officials was established at this time. In former times, of course, certain persons had made a business of furnishing the officials with all they needed for the conduct of their office, drawing upon the treasury for the money; but under Caesar these officials now for the first time began to receive a fixed salary. This was not assigned to them all on the same basis, but approximately as their needs required; and the procurators, indeed, get the very title of their rank from the amount of the salaries assigned to them.²

¹ In lli. 25, 6 f.
² i.e. centenarii, ducentarii, and trecenarii, receiving one hundred, two hundred, and three hundred thousand sesterces respectively.
6 γίγνεται. ἐκείνα δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐνομοδεσ-ηθή, μήτε καταλόγον σφᾶς ποιεῖσθαι, μήτε ἀργύριον ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου ἔσπράσσειν, εἰ μὴ ἡτοὶ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσαιτο ἡ ὁ ẩnτωκράτωρ κε-λεύσειν ὅταν τέ τω ὁ διάδοχος ἔλθῃ, ἐκ τε τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτίκα αὐτῶν ἐξορμᾶσθαι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνα-κομίδῃ μὴ ἐγχρονίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς τριῶν μηνῶν ἐπανέναι.

16 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω τότε ὃς γε εἰπεῖν διετάχθη: τῷ γὰρ ἐργῷ καὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ παντὸς αὐτὸς ὁ Καίσαρ, ἀτε καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κυριεύων (λόγῳ μὲν γὰρ τὰ δημόσια ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου ἀπεκέκριτο, ἐργῷ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀνη-λίσκετο) καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κρατῶν, αὐταρ-

2 χήσειν ἔμελλε. τῆς γοῦν δεκαετίας ἐξελθοῦσις ἀλλὰ ἐτῇ πέντε, εἶτα πέντε, καὶ μετὰ τούτο δέκα καὶ ἐτέρα αὖθις δέκα καὶ ἄλλα δέκα, 2 πεμπτάκις 3 αὐτῶν ἐψηφίσθη, ὅστε τῇ τῶν δεκαετρίδων 4 δια-

3 δοξῆ διὰ βίου αὐτῶν μοναρχῆσαι. καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορες, καῖτοι μηκᾶς 1 ἐς τακτὸν χρόνον ἄλλ' ἐς πάντα καθάπαξ τοῦ βίου ἀποδεικύμενοι, ὄμως διὰ τῶν δέκα ἀεὶ ἐτῶν ἐώρτασαν ὡς καὶ τὴν ἱγμονίαν αὖθις τότε ἀνα-νεύσετε καὶ τούτο καὶ νῦν γίγνεται.

4 Ὅ δ' οὖν Καίσαρ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ πρὸτερον, ὅτε τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐξωμοσίας τῆς μοναρχίας καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἔθνων διανομής διελέξθη, 5 ἔλαβε καὶ γὰρ τό τε τὰς δάφνας πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων

1 δ supplied by R. Steph.
2 καὶ ἄλλα δέκα supplied by Mommsen.
3 πεμπτάκις Zon., πεμπτάκις & VM.
4 δεκαετρίδων Xiph., δεκαετρίδων Zon., δεκαετρίδων VM.
5 πρότερον Rk., πρότερα VM. 6 διελέξθη M., διελέγχθη V.
The following regulations were laid down for them all alike: they were not to raise levies of soldiers or to exact money beyond the amount appointed, unless the senate should so vote or the emperor so order; and when their successors arrived, they were to leave the province at once, and not to delay on the return journey, but to get back within three months.

These regulations were established at that time, to speak generally; for in reality Caesar himself was destined to have absolute control of all matters for all time, because he was not only master of the funds (nominally, to be sure, he had separated the public funds from his own, but as a matter of fact, he always spent the former also as he saw fit), but also commanded the soldiers. At all events, when his ten-year period came to an end, there was voted to him another five years, then five more, after that ten, and again another ten, and then ten for the fifth time, so that by the succession of ten-year periods he continued to be sole ruler for life. And it is for this reason that the subsequent emperors, though no longer appointed for a specified period, but for their whole life once for all, nevertheless always held a celebration every ten years, as if then renewing their sovereignty once more; and this is done even at the present day.

Now Caesar had received many privileges and honours even previously, when the question of declining the sovereignty and that of apportioning the provinces were under discussion. For the right to place the laurel trees in front of the royal residence
αὐτοῦ προτίθεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τῶν στέφανον τῶν ὁρυίων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀρτάσθαι, τότε οἱ ὅσι καὶ ἄλλοι τούς τε πολεμίους νικῶντε καὶ τοὺς πολίτας 5 σώζοντε ἐψηφίσθη. (καλεῖται δὲ τὰ βασίλεια παλάτιον, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἔδοξε ποτε οὕτως αὐτὰ ὅρμαζον, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ο Καίσαρ ὥκει καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατήγιον εἶχε, καὶ τινα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμαίου προενόκησιν φήμην ἢ οἰκία αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς ὤρους.) 6 ἔλαβε· καὶ διὰ τούτο κἂν ἄλλοθι που ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καταλύῃ, τὴν τοῦ παλατίου ἐπικλησιν ἢ καταγωγὴ αὐτοῦ ἵσχε.). ἔπει δὲ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτὰ ἐπέτελεσεν, οὕτω δῆ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀγνοῦστον ὄνομα καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου 7 ἐπέθετο. Βουληθέντων γὰρ σφων ἱδίως πῶς αὐτῶν προσεπεῖν, καὶ τῶν μὲν τῶν δὲ τὸ καὶ ἐσχαρομένων καὶ αἰρομένων, ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπεβύμει μὲν ἰσχυρὸς Ῥωμαίος ὄνομασθήναι, αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ὑποπτεύεται ἐκ τούτου τῆς βασιλείας 8 ἐπιθυμεῖν, οὐκέτ' αὐτοῦ ἀντεποίησατο, ἀλλὰ Ἀγνοῦστος ὅσι καὶ πλείον τι ἡ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὅπως ἐπεκλήθη· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐντιμῶτα καὶ τὰ ἱερώτατα Ἀγνοῦστα προσσαχορεύεται. ἐξ οὕτως ἐπερ καὶ σεβαστὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλληνίζοντες πως, ὅσπερ τινὰ σεπτὸν, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεβάζοντο, 2 προσεῖπον. 17 Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὸ τῆς γερονσίας κράτος πᾶν ἐς τὸν Ἀγνοῦστον μετέστη, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκριβῆς μοναρχία κατέστη· μοναρχία γὰρ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἀμα τὸ κύρος ποτε ἐσχον, ἀληθέστατα ἐν νομίζοντο.

1 ὤρου R. Steph., ὤρου V, ὤρου M. 2 σεβάζεσθαι Zon., σεβίζεσθαι VM.
and to hang the crown of oak above them was then voted him to symbolize that he was always victor over his enemies and the saviour of the citizens. The royal residence is called Palatium, not because it was ever decreed that this should be its name, but because Caesar dwelt on the Palatine and had his military headquarters there, though his residence gained a certain degree of fame from the mount as a whole also, because Romulus had once lived there. Hence, even if the emperor resides somewhere else, his dwelling retains the name of Palatium. And when Caesar had actually carried out his promises, the name Augustus was at length bestowed upon him by the senate and by the people. For when they wished to call him by some distinctive title, and men were proposing one title and another and urging its selection, Caesar was exceedingly desirous of being called Romulus, but when he perceived that this caused him to be suspected of desiring the kingship, he desisted from his efforts to obtain it, and took the title of "Augustus," signifying that he was more than human; for all the most precious and sacred objects are termed augusta. Therefore they addressed him also in Greek as Sebastos, meaning an august personage, from the passive of the verb sebazo, "to revere."

In this way the power of both people and senate passed entirely into the hands of Augustus, and from his time there was, strictly speaking, a monarchy; for monarchy would be the truest name for it, no matter if two or three men did later hold the power at the

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1 In both Greek and Latin the common form of the name for the Palatine (Παλατίας and Palatium) is the same as that for the imperial residence. It is hardly necessary to state that Palatium has given the English "palace."

2 Cf. liii. 40.
2 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὄνομα αὐτὸ τὸ μοναρχικὸν οὔτω δὴ τι ἢ ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐμύσησαν ὡστε μήτε δικτάτορας μήτε βασιλέας μήτ’ ἀλλ’ τι τοιοῦτότροπον τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας σφων ὄνομάζειν τού δὲ δὴ τῆς πολιτείας τέλους ἐστιν αὐτοὺς ἀνακειμένου οὐκ ἔστιν ὁπως οὗ
3 βασιλέων. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαὶ αἱ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὡς πλήθει γενόμεναι καὶ νῦν πλὴρ τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν καθίστανται, διάγεται δὲ καὶ διοικεῖται πάντα ἀπλῶς ὥσπερ ἄν ὁ ἁεὶ κρατῶν ἐθελήσῃ, καὶ ἑνα γε μὴ ἐκ δυναστείας ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν νόμων τοὺτ’ ἔχειν δοκῶσι, πάνθε’ ὡσα ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ μέγα παρ’ ἐκοῦσι σφων ἵσχυσι, αὐτοὺς τοῖς ὀνόμασι χωρὶς τοῦ τῆς δικτατορίας προσεποιήσαντο. θυελλόντοι τῶν πλειστάκις γίγνονται, καὶ ἀνθ’ ὑπαταὶ αἰεί, ὡσακις ἄν ἔξω τοῦ πομηρίου ὡσιν, ὄνομαζονται τὴν τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρόσρησιν διὰ πάντος οὐ μόνον οἱ νικήσαντες τινας ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, πρὸς δὴ ἔρωσιν τῆς αὐτοτελοῦσι σφων ἔξουσίας, ἀντὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ
4 δικτάτορος ἐπικλήσεως ἐχουσιν. αὐτῶς μὲν γὰρ ἑκεῖνας οὐ τίθενται, ἐπειδὴ προς ἀπαξ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐξέπεσον, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἔργον αὐτῶν τῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προσηγοριας βεβαιοῦνται. καὶ ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν ὄνομάτων καταλόγους τε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ χρήματα ἀθραξίειν πολέμους τε ἀναιρεῖσθαι καὶ εἰρήνην σπένδεσθαι, τοῦ τε ξενικοῦ καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ ἁεί καὶ πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἀρχειν, ὡστε καὶ ἑντὸς τοῦ πομηρίου καὶ τούς ἱππέας καὶ τούς βουλευτὰς βανατοῦ δύνασθαι,

236
same time.\footnote{See note on § 8 infra.} The name of monarchy, to be sure, the Romans so detested that they called their emperors neither dictators nor kings nor anything of the sort; yet since the final authority for the government devolves upon them, they must needs be kings. The offices established by the laws, it is true, are maintained even now, except that of censor; but the entire direction and administration is absolutely in accordance with the wishes of the one in power at the time. And yet, in order to preserve the appearance of having this power by virtue of the laws and not because of their own domination, the emperors have taken to themselves all the functions, including the titles, of the offices which under the republic and by the free gift of the people were powerful, with the single exception of the dictatorship. Thus, they very often became consuls, and they are always styled proconsuls whenever they are outside the pomerium. The name of “imperator” is held by them all for life, not only by those who have won victories in battle, but also by those who have not, in token of their independent authority, and this has displaced the titles “king” and “dictator.” These last titles they have never assumed since the time they first fell out of use in the conduct of the government, but the functions of those offices are secured to them under the appellation of “imperator.” By virtue of the titles named they secure the right to make levies, to collect funds, declare war, make peace, rule foreigners and citizens alike everywhere and always,—even to the extent of being able to put to death both knights and senators inside the pomerium,—and all the other
Dio's Roman History

τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡσα τοῖς τε ύπάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὐταρχὴσασι ποτὲ ποιεῖν ἔξην, λαμβάνουσιν.

7 ἐκ δὲ δὴ τού τιμητεύειν τοὺς τε βίους καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἡμῶν ἔξετάζουσι, καὶ ἀπογραφᾶς ποιοῦνται καὶ τοὺς μὲν καταλέγουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτικὸν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπαλείφουσιν, ὡπως ἀν αὐτοῖς δόξῃ. ἐκ τε τοῦ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ιερωσύναις ιερῶσθαι καὶ προσέτε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰς πλείους σφῶν διδόναι, ἀρχιέρεων τε τινα αὐτῶν, κἂν δύο καὶ τρῖς ἁμα ἀρχισιν, εἶναι, πάντων αὐτοῖ καὶ τῶν ὁσίων καὶ τῶν ιερῶν Κυριεύουσιν. ἢ τε ἔξουσία ἡ δημαρχικὴ καλομένη, ἢν οἱ πάνυ ποτὲ ἀνθήσαντες ἔσχον, διδῶσι σφίςι τὰ τε ἐπιγιγνόμενα ὡφ' ἐτέρου τινός, ἂν μὴ συνεπανώσῃ, παῦειν, καὶ μὴ' ὑβρίζεσθαι, κἂν ἀρα τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον μὴ ὅτι ἔργῳ ἄλλα καὶ λόγῳ ἀδικεῖσθαι δόξῳ, καὶ ἀκριτον τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἐναγῇ ἀπολλύναι. δημαρχεῖν μὲν γάρ, ἀτε καὶ ἐς τός εὐπατρίδας πάντως τελοῦντες, οὐχ οὐσιον νομίζουσιν εἶναι τήν δὲ δὴ δύναμιν τήν τῶν δημάρχων πάσαν, ὀσπερ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγένετο, προστίθενται, καὶ δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ ἐξαρίθμησις τῶν ἑτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ κατ' ἐτος αὐτήν μετὰ τῶν ἀεὶ δημαρχοῦντων

1 ἱερῶν R. Steph., ἱερίων V Xiph., ἱπρίων M.

1 Up to the time when Dio wrote these words it was true that when two or more jointly held the imperial power (as Marcus Aurelius with L. Verus, and Septimius Severus with
privileges once granted to the consuls and other officials possessing independent authority; and by virtue of holding the censorship they investigate our lives and morals as well as take the census, enrolling some in the equestrian and senatorial classes and erasing the names of others from these classes, according to their will. By virtue of being consecrated in all the priesthoods and of their right to bestow most of these positions upon others, as well as from the fact that, even if two or three persons hold the imperial office at the same time, one of them is high priest, they hold in their own hands supreme authority over all matters both profane and sacred. The tribunician power, as it is called, which used to be conferred only upon men of the greatest influence, gives them the right to nullify the effects of measures taken by any other official, in case they do not approve it, and makes them immune from scurrilous abuse; and if they appear to be wronged in even the slightest degree, not merely by deed, but even by word, they may destroy the guilty party, as one accursed, without a trial. The emperors, it should be explained, do not think it right to be tribunes, inasmuch as they belong altogether to the patrician class, but they assume the power of the tribunes to its full extent, as it was when it was greatest; and in numbering the years they have held the imperial office they use the tribunician power to mark the stages, the theory being that they receive it year by year along with those who are regularly

his two sons) only one of them was pontifex maximus. But a few years later, in 238, Balbinus and Maximus both claimed the title.

2 Cf. vol. i. p. 127 ff., xlix. 15, 5-6.
11 λαμβανόντων, προβαίνει· ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τῆς
dημοκρατίας, ὃς ποὺ καὶ ἕκαστα ἐνομίζῃ, οὕτω
tε καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν ὄνομάτων εἰλήφασιν, ὁπως
18 μηδὲν ἀνευ δόσεως τινος ἔχειν δοκῶσιν· ἥδη δὲ
cαὶ ἐτερὸν τι, ὁ μηδενὶ τῶν πάλαι Ῥωμαίων ἐς
πάντα ἀντικρυ ἔσθη, προσεκτῆσαντο, ὥσπερ καὶ μόνον καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀν καὶ τάλλα αὐτοῖς πράτ-
tευν ἐξήν. λέλυνται γὰρ δὴ τῶν νόμων, ὡς αὐτᾶ
τὰ Δατίνα ῥήματα λέγει· τοῦτ' ἐστιν ἑλεύθεροι
ἀπὸ πᾶσης ἀναγκαίας νομίσεως εἰς καὶ οὐδεὶ
2 τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐνέχονται. καὶ οὕτως ἐκ
tούτων τῶν δημοκρατικῶν ὄνομάτων πάσαν τὴν
tῆς πολιτείας ἰσχύν περιβέβληνται ὡστε καὶ τὰ
tῶν βασιλέων, πλὴν τοῦ φορτικοῦ τῆς προση-
γορίας αὐτῶν, ἔχειν. ἢ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἢ
tε τοῦ Δαυιδουτὸν πρόσρησις δύναμιν μὲν οὐδε-
μίαν αὐτοῖς οἰκείαν προστίθησι, δηλοὶ δ' ἄλλοις
tὸ μὲν τὴν τοῦ γένους σφῶν διαδοχήν, τὸ δὲ τὴν
3 τοῦ ἀξιώματος λαμπρότητα. καὶ ἢ γε τοῦ
πατρὸς ἐπωνυμία τάχα μὲν καὶ ἐξουσίαν τινὰ
αὐτοῖς, ἢν ποτὲ οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔσχον,
kατὰ πάντων ἡμῶν δίδωσιν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ
tούτῳ ἰρχὴν ἐγένετο ἀλλ' ἐς τε τιμήν καὶ ἐς
παραίνεσιν, ἵνα αὐτοὶ τε τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὡς καὶ

1 That is, they measured the length of their reign by
tribunician years, dating either from the very day when the
tribunician power was conferred upon them (even if before
made tribunes. These are the institutions which they have taken over from the republic, essentially in the form in which they severally existed then, and also making use of these same names, their purpose being to create the impression that they possess no power that has not been granted them. And further, they have acquired also another prerogative which was given to none of the ancient Romans outright and unreservedly, and the possession of this alone would enable them to exercise the powers above named and the others besides. For they have been released from the laws, as the very words in Latin declare; that is, they are free from all compulsion of the laws and are bound by none of the written ordinances. Thus by virtue of these democratic names they have clothed themselves with all the powers of the government, to such an extent that they actually possess all the prerogatives of kings except their paltry title. For the appellation "Caesar" or "Augustus" confers upon them no peculiar power, but merely shows in the one case that they are heirs of the family to which they belong, and in the other the splendour of their official position. The term "Father" perhaps gives them a certain authority over us all—the authority which fathers once had over their children; yet it did not signify this at first, but betokened honour, and served as an admonition both to them, that they should love their subjects as they would their accession, by way of designating them officially as successors to the imperial power), or (beginning with Trajan) from December 10th, the date of the regular tribunician elections.

Princeps legibus solutus est. Ulpian (Digest, i. 3, 31); cf. Mommsen, Staatsrecht, ii, 728 ff.
παίδας ἀγαπᾷν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι σφας ὡς καὶ πατέρας αἰδώνται.

4 Τοσαυταί τε καὶ τοιαύται αἱ προσηγορίαι εἰσίν αἰς οἱ τὸ κράτος ἔχοντες κατὰ τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἕδη πάτριον νομίζουσι. καὶ νῦν μὲν πᾶσαι ἀμα αὐτοῖς ὡς τὸ πολύ, πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν, δίδονται, τοῖς δὲ δὴ πᾶλαι κατὰ χρόνους

5 ὡς ἐκαστὰς ἐψηφίζοντο. τὴν γὰρ δὴ τιμητεῖαν ἐλαβον μὲν τινες καὶ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐλαβε δὲ καὶ Δομιτιανὸς1 διὰ βίου· οὐ μεῖνοι καὶ νῦν ἐτι τοῦτο γίγνεται· τὸ γὰρ ἐργον αὐτῆς ἔχοντες οὔτε αἱροῦνται ἐπ' αὐτὴν, οὔτε τῇ προσκλήσει 2 αὐτῆς πλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς χρόνων.

19 Ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία οὕτω τότε πρὸς τέ τὸ βέλτιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτηριωδέστερον μετεκοσμήθη· καὶ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον ἡν δημοκρατουμένους αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι. οὐ μἐν νοι καὶ ὁμοίως τοῖς πρόσθεν τὰ μετὰ ταύτα πρα-

2 ξένωτα λειχθήναι δύναται. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἐς τε τὴν βουλήν καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον πάντα, καὶ εἰ πόρρω ποὺ συμβαίνῃ, ἐσεφέρετο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες τε αὐτὰ ἐμαυθάνουν καὶ πολλοὶ συνεγραφοῦν, κακὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ φόβῳ τινὰ καὶ χαρίτι φιλία τε καὶ ἔθθρα τισὶν ἐρρήθη, παρὰ γοὺν τοῖς ἀλλοις τοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ γράψαι τοῖς τε ὑπομνήμασι

3 τοῖς δημοσίοις τρόπον τινὰ εὐρίσκετο. ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου ἐκείνου τὰ μὲν πλεῖον κρύφα καὶ δι' ἄπορρητων γίγνεσθαι ἤρξατο, εἰ δὲ ποὺ τινὰ καὶ

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1 Δομιτιανὸς R. Steph., δομιτιανὸς VM.
2 τῇ προσκλήσει Bk., τῇ πρόσκλησιν VM.
children, and to their subjects, that they should revere them as they would their fathers.

Such is the number and nature of the appellations which those who possess the imperial power employ in accordance with the laws and with what has now become tradition. At present all of them are, as a rule, bestowed upon the emperors at one and the same time, with the exception of the title of censor; but to the earlier emperors they were voted separately at different times. As regards the censorship, some of them took it in accordance with the ancient practice, and Domitian, in fact, took it for life, but this is no longer done at the present day; for, inasmuch as they possess its powers, they are not elected to the office and do not use the title except in connexion with the census.

In this way the government was changed at that time for the better and in the interest of greater security; for it was no doubt quite impossible for the people to be saved under a republic. Nevertheless, the events occurring after this time can not be recorded in the same manner as those of previous times. Formerly, as we know, all matters were reported to the senate and to the people, even if they happened at a distance; hence all learned of them and many recorded them, and consequently the truth regarding them, no matter to what extent fear or favour, friendship or enmity, coloured the reports of certain writers, was always to a certain extent to be found in the works of the other writers who wrote of the same events and in the public records. But after this time most things that happened began to be kept secret and concealed, and
δημοσιευθεῖσα, ἂλλα ἀνεξέλεγκτα γε ὁντα ἀπιστεῖται: καὶ γὰρ λέγεσθαι καὶ πράττεσθαι πάντα πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἀεὶ κρατοῦντων τῶν τε παραδυναμεῖ τε στενοίνων σφίσι βουλήματα ὑποπτεύεται. καὶ κατὰ τούτο πολλὰ μὲν οὐ γνωρίσκει θρυλεῖται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πάντα συμβαινοῦστα ἀγνοεῖται, πάντα δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἄλλως πως ἢ ὡς πράττεται διαθροεῖται. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων πλῆθος δυσχερεστάτην τῆν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτῶν παρέχεται. ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ Ῥώμῃ συναντᾶ καὶ παρὰ τῷ υπηκόων αὐτῆς πολλὰ, πρὸς τε τὸ πολέμον ἀεὶ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ὡς εἰπεῖν γίγνεται τί; περὶ δὲν οὐ τὸ μὲν σαφές οὐδεὶς ῥαδίως ἐξώ τῶν πραττόντων αὐτὰ γνωρίσκει, πλεῖστοι δὲ ὅσοι οὐδ' ἀκούοντι τῆν ἀρχὴν ὅτι γέγονεν. ὀδενπερ καὶ ἐγὼ πάντα τὰ ἐξῆς, ὡσα γε καὶ ἀναγκαίον ἔσται εἰπεῖν, ὡς που καὶ δεδήμωται φράσω, εἰτ' ὅντως οὐτός εἶτε καὶ ἐτέρως πως ἐχει. προσέσται μέντοι τι αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς δοξασίας, εἰς ὅσον ἐνδεχεται, ἐν οἷς ἄλλο τι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ θρυλούμενον ἢδυνήθην ἐκ πολλῶν ὡν ἀνέγνων ἢ καὶ ἴκουσά ἢ καὶ εἶδον τεκμηριωθαί. 

20 Ἀνήγουστος μὲν δὴ ὁ Καίσαρ, ὡσπερ εἶπον, ἐπισωμάζθη, καὶ αὐτῷ σημεῖον οὐ σμικρὸν εὑρίς τότε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπεγένετο: ὁ γὰρ Τίβερις πελαγισάς πάσαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις Ρώμην κατέλαβεν ὡστε πλείσθαι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ μάντεις ὅτι τε

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1 γε R. Steph., τε VM Xiph. 2 τῆς Xiph., om. VM. 3 τι VM, τοι Xiph. 4 γε H. Steph., τε VM.
even though some things are perchance made public, they are distrusted just because they can not be verified; for it is suspected that everything is said and done with reference to the wishes of the men in power at the time and of their associates. As a result, much that never occurs is noised abroad, and much that happens beyond a doubt is unknown, and in the case of nearly every event a version gains currency that is different from the way it really happened. Furthermore, the very magnitude of the empire and the multitude of things that occur render accuracy in regard to them most difficult. In Rome, for example, much is going on, and much in the subject territory, while, as regards our enemies, there is something happening all the time, in fact, every day, and concerning these things no one except the participants can easily have correct information, and most people do not even hear of them at all. Hence in my own narrative of later events, so far as they need to be mentioned, everything that I shall say will be in accordance with the reports that have been given out, whether it be really the truth or otherwise. In addition to these reports, however, my own opinion will be given, as far as possible, whenever I have been able, from the abundant evidence which I have gathered from my reading, from hearsay, and from what I have seen, to form a judgment that differs from the common report.

Caesar, as I have said, received the name of Augustus, and a sign of no little moment to him occurred that very night; for the Tiber overflowed and covered all of Rome that was on low ground, so that it was navigable for boats. From this sign the
ἐπὶ μέγα αὐξῆσοι καὶ ὅτι πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ὑπο-
2 χειριάν ἔξοι προέγνωσαν. χαριζομένων δ’ αὐτῷ
καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ἀλλων ἀλλὰ,1 Σέξτος τις Πακού-
νοιος,2 ὁς δ’ ἔτεροι λέγουσιν Ἀπούδιος, πάντας
ἐξενίκησεν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἑαυτὸν τε ὦ
τὸν τὸν Ἰβήρων τρόπον καθωσίωσε καὶ τοῖς
3 ἀλλοις συνεβούλευε τούτο ποιῆσαι. ἐπειδή τε
ὁ Ἀὐγοῦστος ἐμποδών οἱ ἐγένετο, πρὸς τοῖς
πλῆθος τὸ προσεστὸς ἔξεπηδησεν (ἐδημάρχει
gὰρ) καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς
λοιποὺς, κατὰ τὸς ὁδὸν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς στενω-
pοὺς περινοστήσας, καθιερώσας σφας τῷ Ἀὐ-
γοῦστῳ κατημάκασεν· ἄφ’ οὔπερ καὶ νῦν προσ-
tρεπόμενοι3 τὸν κρατοῦντα λέγειν εἰσόθημεν ὅτι
“σοι καθωσιώμεθα.”

Καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ θύσαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάντας ἐποίει,
ἐν τῷ ὁμίλῳ ποτὲ κληρονόμου ἐφι τὸν Ἀὐ-
γοῦστον ἔξ ἰσον τῷ νιεὶ καταλείψειν, οὔχ ὅτι
tε εἰχεν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ προσλαβεῖν ἡθέλησεν, δ’ καὶ
21 ἐγένετο· Ἀὐγοῦστος δὲ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ
προσήκουσα προβυμότερον, ὡς καὶ ἔθελοντι δὴ
παρὰ πάντων αὐτὴν εἰληφὼς, ἐπραττε, καὶ ἐνο-
mοθέτει πολλά. οὐδὲν δὲ δέομαι καὶ ἐκαστὸν
ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξίειναι, χωρὶς ἡ ὅσα τῇ συγγραφῇ
2 πρόσφορα ἔστι· τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς
ἐπειτα πραχθεῖσι ποιήσω, ἦνα μὴ καὶ δι’ ὦχλον

1 ἄλλα Μ, ἄλλαι V. 2 Πακούνιος Βκ., πακούμιος VM. 3 προστρεπόμενοι Βκ., προστρεπόμενοι VM.
soothsayers prophesied that he would rise to great heights and hold the whole city under his sway. And while various persons were trying to outbid one another in different kinds of flattery toward him, one Sextus Pacuvius, or, as others say, Apudius, surpassed them all. In the open senate, namely, he dedicated himself to him after the fashion of the Spaniards and advised the others to do the same. And when Augustus hindered him, he rushed out to the crowd that was standing near, and, as he was tribune, compelled first them and then the rest, as he went up and down the streets and lanes, to dedicate themselves to Augustus. From this episode we are wont even now to say, in appealing to the sovereign, "We have dedicated ourselves to you."

Pacuvius ordered all to offer sacrifice in view of this occurrence, and before the multitude he once declared that he was going to make Augustus his heir on equal terms with his own son,—not that he had much of anything, but because he hoped to receive still more; and so it actually turned out. Augustus attended to all the business of the empire with more zeal than before, as if he had received it as a free gift from all the Romans, and in particular he enacted many laws. I need not enumerate them all accurately one by one, but only those which have a bearing upon my history; and I shall follow this same course also in the case of later events, in order not to become wearisome.

1 Insomuch as Sextus Pacuvius Taurus is first heard of (as tribune) in B.C. 9, it is probable that Apudius is the proper form to be read here.

2 According to Valerius Maximus (ii. 6, 11), the Celtiberians thought it wrong to survive a battle when the leader for whose preservation they had vowed their life (spiritum döoverant) had perished. Cf. Caesar, B.G. iii. 22.
γένωμαι πάντα τά τοιαύτα ἐπεσφέρων ἀ μηδ' 3 αὐτοὶ οἱ πάντες αὐτά μελετῶντες ἀκριβοῦσιν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα ἰδιογνωμονών ἐνομοθέτει, ἀλλ' ἔστι μὲν ἢ καὶ ἐς τὸ δημόσιον προεξετίθει, ὅπως, ἂν τι μὴ ἀρέσῃ τινά, προμαθῶν ἐπανορθώσῃ προετρέπετό τε γὰρ πάνθ' ὄντινοιν συμβουλεύειν οἱ, εἰ τίς τι ἄμεινον αὐτῶν ἐπινοήσειεν, καὶ παρ-ρησίαιν σφίσι πολλήν ἔνεμε, καὶ τίνα καὶ μετέ-γραφε. τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστον τούς τε ὑπάτους ἢ τὸν ὑπατον, ὅποτε καὶ αὐτῶς ὑπατεύοι, κάκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων ἐνα παρ' ἐκάστων, ἐκ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν βουλευτῶν πλήθους πεντεκαίδεκα τοὺς κλήρφ1 λαχόντας, συμβουλοὺς ἐς ἐξάμηνον παρελάμβανεν, ὡστε δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πάσι κοινούσθαι τρόπον τινά τὰ νομοθετούμενα 5 νομίζεσθαι. ἐσέθησε μὲν γὰρ τίνα καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν γερουσίαν, βέλτιον μὲντοι νομίζων εἶναι τὸ μετ' ὀλίγων καθ' ἱσυχίᾳ τά τε πλεῖον καὶ τὰ μείζων προσκοπεῖσθαι, τούτο τε ἔποιει καὶ ἔστιν 6 ὅτε καὶ ἔδικαζε μετ' αὐτῶν. ἔκρινε μὲν γὰρ καὶ καθ' ἐαυτὴν ἡ βουλή πᾶσα ὡς καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τισι καὶ προσβείαις καὶ κηρυκείαις καὶ δήμων καὶ βασιλέων ἐχρημάτιζεν, ὃ τε δήμος ἐς τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτ' ὑπενελέγετο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπράπτετο τι ὃ μὴ καὶ ἐκείνων ἠρεσκε.2 7 τοὺς γὰρ ἄρξοντας τούς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκλεγόμενος προεβάλλετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ δήμω τῷ τε

1 κλήρφ Xiph., κλήρους VM.
2 ἠρεσκέ Xiph. Zon., ἠρεσεν VM.
by introducing all that kind of detail that even the
men who devote themselves to such studies do not
know to a nicety. He did not, however, enact all
these laws on his sole responsibility, but some of
them he brought before the public assembly in
advance, in order that, if any features caused dis-
pleasure, he might learn it in time and correct them;
for he encouraged everybody whatsoever to give him
advice, in case any one thought of any possible im-
provement in them, and he accorded them complete
liberty of speech, and actually changed some pro-
visions of the proposed laws. Most important of
all, he took as advisers for periods of six months the
consuls (or the other consul, when he himself also held
the office), one of each of the other kinds of officials,
and fifteen men chosen by lot from the remainder of
the senatorial body, with the result that all legislation
proposed by the emperors is usually communicated
after a fashion through this body to all the other
senators; for although he brought certain matters
before the whole senate, yet he generally followed
this plan, considering it better to take under pre-
liminary advisement most matters and the most im-
portant ones in consultation with a few; and some-
times he even sat with these men in the trial of cases.
The senate as a body, it is true, continued to sit in
judgment as before, and in certain cases transacted
business with embassies and heralds, from both
peoples and kings; and the people and the plebs,
moreover, continued to meet for the elections; but
nothing was done that did not please Caesar. It
was he, at any rate, who selected and placed in
nomination some of the men who were to hold
office, and though in the case of others he adhered
όμιλω κατά τὸ ἀρχαῖον ποιούμενος ἐπεμελεῖτο ὅπως μῆτ' ἀνεπιτηδείου μῆτ' ἐκ παρακελεύσεως ἡ καὶ δέκασμοι ἀποδεικνύονται.  

29 Τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν οὔτω τὴν ἄρχην διώκησε, λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ὅσα ἀναγκαῖον ἦστι μετὰ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἑφ' ὑ'. ὁν ἐγένετο, μημονεύσθαι. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ προειρημένῳ ἑτεὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς ἔξω τοῦ τείχους δυσπορεύτους ὑπ' ἀμελείας ὅρων οὔσας τὰς μὲν ἀλλὰς ἀλλοις τισὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπισκεύασαι τοῖς οἰκείοις τέλεσι προσταταζε, τῆς δὲ δὴ Φλαμινίας οὗτος, ἐπειδὴ εἰκοστρατεύσειν δι' αὐτῆς ἡμέλλει, ἐπεμελήθη.  

2 καὶ η μὲν εὐθὺς τότε ἐγένετο, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ εἰκόνες αὐτῶν ἑφ' ἀγίδων ἐν τῇ τοῦ Τιβέριδος γεφύρα καὶ ἐν Ἀρμῖνῳ ἐπουθήσαντας αἱ δ' ἀλλαὶ ὑστέρον, εἰτ' οὖν πρὸς τοῦ δημοσίουν, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἡδέως ἀνήλικοι, εἰτε καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ τις εἰπεῖν ἐδέλει,  

3 ἐπεσκευάσθησαν. οὐ γὰρ δύναμαι διακρίναι τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐτῶν, οὐδ' εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ὁ Αὐγουστος καὶ ἀνδριάντας τινὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἀργυροὺς, πρὸς ταῖς φίλων καὶ πρὸς δήμων τινῶν γεγονότας, ἐς νόμισμα κατέκοψε τοῦ δὴ καὶ οἰκοθεν πάνθι' ὅσα γε καὶ ἔλεγε δαπανὰν δοκεῖν' καὶ διὰ τούτο οὖτ' εἰ ποτε ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων τι χρημάτων ὁ ἂν κρατῶν ἔλαβεν, οὐτ' εἰ ποτὲ αὐτὸς ἔδωκε, ἡνωμὴν ἔχω συγγράφαι. πολλάκις τε γὰρ ἐκτερον αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τί ἐν τὸς ἑς δανείσματα ἦ καὶ δωρεάς τὰ τοιαῦτα καταλέγοι, ὅποτε καὶ  

1 ἀποδεικνύονται R. Steph., ἀποδεικνύηται VM Xiph. Zon.  
2 ἑφ' St., ἑφ' VM.  
3 Φλαμινίας R. Steph., φλαμινία VM.  
4 ἠδέλε R. Steph., ἠδέλε VM.  
5 καταλέγοι Reim., καὶ λέγοι VM.
to the ancient custom and left them under the control of the people and the plebs, yet he took care that none should be appointed who were unfit or as the result of partisan cliques or bribery.

It was in this way, broadly speaking, that he administered the empire. I shall now relate in detail also such of his acts as call for mention, together with the names of the consuls under whom they were performed. In the year already named, perceiving that the roads outside the walls had become difficult to travel as the result of neglect, he ordered various senators to repair the others at their own expense, and he himself looked after the Flaminian Way, since he was going to lead an army out by that route. This road was finished promptly at that time, and statues of Augustus were accordingly erected on arches on the bridge over the Tiber and at Ariminum; but the other roads were repaired later, at the expense either of the public (for none of the senators liked to spend money upon them) or of Augustus, as one chooses to put it. For I am unable to distinguish between the two funds, no matter how extensively Augustus coined into money silver statues of himself which had been set up by certain of his friends and by certain of the subject peoples, purposing thereby to make it appear that all the expenditures which he claimed to be making were from his own means. Therefore I have no opinion to record as to whether a particular emperor on a particular occasion got the money from the public funds or gave it himself. For both courses were frequently followed; and why should one enter such expenditures as loans or as gifts respectively, when both the people and the emperor
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

toutous kai ekeinou kai o dhemos kai o autokratos epikoion anei xhronrtais;

5 Tote men de tauta o1 Agyoustatos eprefe, kai ephorhse men ous kai es thn Brettanian stathvov, es de de taas Galatias elthov entautha evdieterfev ekeinoi te gar epikhrvkeussevthai2 ois edokouv, kai ta touton akatastata eti, ate tov emfylion pollemov euthus elpi th alwsei sphon epinevomenv, hiv. kai autov kai apografas epoiesato kai ton bin thn te politeian diekoymese. kantvedhev es te thn Iversian afiketo, kai katesthsato kai ekeinun.

23 Meta de de touto autous te toychon sin th Taurph to Stathilo upateuse, kai o Agrippas
2 ta Spatha onomasmwv katherosen odoon men gar3 ondemiai episkeswsein upescheto, tauta de en th Arxw pedw stoais perix upo ton Leptidon proz tas philikias arxhieresias synvkeodomenea kai plaexi leitounai kai xwgrafiamas epokymhse, Ivilia auta apo ton Agyoustaton pros-
3 agoreusas. kai o men oix opws fthoon tina ep autois ophihskanven, alla kai pany kai proz autov ekeinou kai proz ton allon apantov
4 etymato (aition de oti taphlanthropota kai ta evklestata tae te sumpfowta kai sumbhov-
leuvn ois kai sumpreatov ouk eti brachv ths doxeis auton antepoiest, таис te par autou

timais oute es pleonekian outhe es upolauosin idiav

1 A supplied by R. Steph.
2 epikhrvkeussevthai Cobet, epikhrvkeussevthai VM.
3 gar M, om. V.
are constantly resorting to both the one and the other indiscriminately?

These were the acts of Augustus at that time. He also set out to make an expedition into Britain, but on coming to the provinces of Gaul lingered there. For the Britons seemed likely to make terms with him, and the affairs of the Gauls were still unsettled, as the civil wars had begun immediately after their subjugation. He took a census of the inhabitants and regulated their life and government. From Gaul he proceeded into Spain, and established order there also.

After this he became consul for the eighth time, together with Statilius Taurus, and Agrippa dedicated the structure called the Saepta; for instead of undertaking to repair a road, Agrippa had adorned with marble tablets and paintings this edifice in the Campus Martius, which had been constructed by Lepidus with porticos all around it for the meetings of the comitia tributa, and he named it the Saepta Iulia in honour of Augustus. And Agrippa not only incurred no jealousy on this account, but was greatly honoured both by Augustus himself and by all the rest of the people. The reason was that he consulted and cooperated with Augustus in the most humane, the most celebrated, and the most beneficial projects, and yet did not claim in the slightest degree a share in the glory of them, but used the honours which the emperor bestowed, not for personal gain or enjoyment, but for the benefit of the donor himself and
5 τῶν δημοσίων συμφέρον, ὁ δὲ ἡ Γάλλος Κορνήλιος καὶ εξύβρισεν ὑπὸ τῆς τιμῆς. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ μάταια ἐσ τῶν Ἀὐγοῦστον ἀπελήρει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπαίτια παρέπραττε καὶ γὰρ καὶ εἰκόνας ἐαυτοῦ ἐν ὅλῃ ὑς εἴπειν τῇ Ἀὐγοῦστῳ ἔστησε, καὶ τὰ ἄργα ὡσα ἐπεποίηκεν ἐς τὰς πυρά- 6 μίδας ἐςέγραψε. κατηγορήθη τε οὖν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐαλερίου Δάργου, ἐταίρου τε ὁ καὶ συμ- βωτοῦ ὄντως, καὶ ἡτιμώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστον, ὡστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐθνείσιν αὐτοῦ κωλυθήναι διαιτά- σθαι. γενομένου δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν συγγοφίσα ἐπέθεντο καὶ γραφὰς καὶ αὐτῶν πολλὰς 7 ἀπήνεγκαν, καὶ ἡ γεροσσία ἀπασα ἄλωναι τε αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις καὶ φυγεῖν τῆς οὐσίας στερθέντα, καὶ ταύτην τε τῷ Ἀὐγοῦστῳ δοθήναι καὶ ἐαυτοὺς βουθυτῆσαι ἐψηφίσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν περιαληγόμενος ἐπὶ τούτων ἐαυτῶν προκατεχρήσατο, 24 τὸ δὲ ὅτι τῶν πολλῶν κίβδηλον καὶ ἐκ τούτων διηλέγχθη ὅτι ἐκεῖνον τε, ὅν τέως ἐκολάκευσον, οὕτω τότε διέδηκαν ὡστε καὶ αὐτογείρι ἀπο- θανεῖν ἀναγκάσαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δάργον ἀπέ- κλιναν, ἑπειδήπερ ἀδειμὸν ἔχετο, μελλοντές ποὺ καὶ κατὰ τούτων τὰ αὐτὰ, ἔν γέ τι τοιούτων οἱ 2 συμβῆ, ψηφίζατο. οἱ μέν τοις Προκουλέντος 4 οὕτω πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐσχεν ὡστ' ἀπαντήσαι ποτὲ αὐτῷ τήν τε μίνα καὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ τῇ χειρὶ ἐπισχεῖν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοῖς συνούσιοι ὅτι μη' ἀπαντεύσαι τινα παρόντος αὐτῶν ἀσφάλεια

1 τῷ cod. Peir., om. VM.
2 ἐσέγραψε Xiph., ἐσέγραψε VM cod. Peir.
3 ἀπήνεγκαν Plughk, ἀπήνεγκαν VM cod. Peir.
4 Προκουλέντος Βς., προκούλενω VM Xiph., Προκούλενω Leuncl.
of the public. On the other hand, Cornelius Gallus was encouraged to insolence by the honour shown him. Thus, he indulged in a great deal of disrespectful gossip about Augustus and was guilty of many reprehensible actions besides; for he not only set up images of himself practically everywhere in Egypt, but also inscribed upon the pyramids a list of his achievements. For this act he was accused by Valerius Largus, his comrade and intimate, and was disfranchised by Augustus, so that he was prevented from living in the emperor’s provinces. After this had happened, many others attacked him and brought numerous indictments against him. The senate unanimously voted that he should be convicted in the courts, exiled, and deprived of his estate, that this estate should be given to Augustus, and that the senate itself should offer sacrifices. Overwhelmed by grief at this, Gallus committed suicide before the decrees took effect; and the insincerity of the majority of people was again proved by his case, in that they now treated the man whom formerly they had been wont to flatter in such a way that they forced him to die by his own hand, and then went over to Largus because he was beginning to grow powerful—though they were certain to vote the same measures against him also, if a similar situation should arise in his case. Proculius, however, conceived such contempt for Largus that once, on meeting him, he clapped his hand over his nose and mouth, thereby hinting to the bystanders that it was not safe even to breathe in the
3. εἰς. ἄλλος τε τις προσήλθε τε αὐτῷ, καίπερ ἀγνώς ὦν, μετὰ μαρτυριῶν, καὶ ἐπήρετο εἰ γνω-ρίζων εἰαυτών, ἐπειδὴ τε ἔξηγησατο, ἐς γραμματεῖον τὴν ἀρνησιν αὐτοῦ ἔσέγειρεν, ὡσπερ οὐκ ἔξων τῷ κακῷ καὶ ὄν οὐκ ἤδει πρὸτερον συκοφαντήσας.

4. οὕτω δ' οὖν οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ ἐργὰ τινῶν, κἂν πονηρὰ ὑ. μᾶλλον ξηλοῦσιν ἢ τὰ παθήματα φυλάσσον- 

tαι, ὡστε καὶ τὸτε Μᾶρκος Ἕγνατιος Ἑρώφος ἀγορανυμήσας, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καλῶς πράξας 

καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ταῖς ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐμπρη- 
ςθείσαις ἐπικουρῆσαν μετὰ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ δούλων καὶ 

μεθ' ἐτέρων τινῶν μισθωτῶν ποιησάμενος, καὶ 

5. διὰ τούτῳ τά τε ἀναλώματα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ 

προσήκοντα παρά τοῦ δήμου λαβών καὶ στρα- 

τηγὸς παρανόμως ἀποδειχθεῖς, ἐπηρθή τε ὑπ' 

αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ τῶν Ἀυγουστοῦ ὑπερεφράσθησεν, 

ὡστε καὶ προγράψαι ὅτι ἀδρανότον καὶ ὀλοκληρον 

6. τῷ διαδόχῳ τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκεν. ἐπ' οὖν τούτῳ 

οί τε ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι 

μᾶλλον ὁ Ἀυγουστος ὄργην ἔσχε, καὶ ἐκείνοις 

μὲν ἐκδιδάξειν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔμελλε τὸ μῆ ὑπὲρ 

τους πολλοὺς φρονεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἀγορανυμοῖς παρα- 

χόμα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῇ τῶν μηδὲν ἐμπείρηται, 

καὶ ἀρα τοιοῦτο συμβῆ, κατασβενώναι τὸ πῦρ 

προσέταξε.

25. Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ὦ τε Πολέμου ὦ ἐν τῷ 

Πόντῳ βασιλεύου ἐς τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς 

συμμάχους τοῦ δήμου ἀνεγράφη,* καὶ προεδρία 

τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ ἐς πάντα 

2. τῷ θέατρα ἐδόθη· τὸν τε Ἀυγουστοῦ ὦ τὴν 

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* Ἕγνατιος Η. Steph., αὐγνάτιος VM cod. Peir.
* ἀνεγράφη Naber, ἀνεγράφη VM.
man's presence. Another man, although unknown to him, approached him with witnesses and asked Largus if he knew him; then, when the other replied that he did not, he recorded his denial on a tablet, as though the rascal could not blackmail even a man whom he had not previously known. But we see how most men rather emulate the deeds of others, even though they be evil deeds, than guard against their fate, by what Marcus Egnatius Rufus did at this very time. He had been an aedile, and in addition to having performed his duties well in many other ways, had with his own slaves and other persons whom he hired helped to save the houses that took fire during his year of office, and in return for all this he had received from the people the amount of the expenditures incurred in the discharge of his office and had been elected praetor contrary to law. But he became so elated over these very honours and so contemptuous of Augustus, that he issued a bulletin to the effect that he had handed the city over unimpaired and intact to his successor. All the most prominent men became indignant at this, Augustus himself most of all; and he was not long afterward to teach the fellow a lesson, not to exalt his mind above the mass of mankind. For the time being, however, he ordered the aediles to take care that no building took fire, and if anything of the sort did happen, to put the fire out.

In this same year Polemon, the king of Pontus, was enrolled among the friends and allies of the Roman people; and the privilege was granted the senators of occupying the front seats in all the theatres of his realm. Augustus was planning an
Βρεττανίαν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἠθέλησαν ὀμολογῆσαι, στρατευσώντα κατέσχον οἱ τε Σάλασσοι ἐπανα-
σάντες αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Κάνταβροι οἱ τε Ἀστυρες
πολεμώθεντες. οἰκούσι δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑπὸ τὰς
Ἀλπεῖς, ὥσπερ εἰρηταὶ μοι, οὕτως δὲ ἐκάτεροι τοῦ
τε Πυρρηνίου τοῦ¹ πρὸς τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τὸ καρτερό-
3 τατον καὶ τὴν πεδιάδα τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὀυσαν. δι' ὁν
ταῦτα ὁ Αὔγουστος (ἡδὴ δὲ ἐνατον μετὰ
Μάρκου Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτευν) ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Σα-
λάσσους Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα ἐπέμψε. καὶ ὁς
πολλαχῆ ἁμα, ὅπως μὴ συστραφεῖτε δυσχερω-
tότεροι ἑρνοῦνται, ἐμβαλὼν βάστα τε αὐτοῦ, ἀτε
καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους προσεπτοῦντάς σφισω, ἐμίκησε,
4 καὶ συμβήναι καταναγκάσας ἀργώριον τε τι
ῥητῶν, ὡς καὶ μηδὲν δεινὸν ἄλλο δράσων, ἤτησε,
καὶ τούτου² πανταχῆ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπραξίν δήθεν
αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας διαπέμψας συνελάβε τε τοὺς
ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ άπέδυτο, ἐφ' ὁ μηδεὶς σφων
5 ἐντὸς εἰκοσιν ἐτῶν ἐλευθερώθη. καὶ αὐτῶν ἡ
ἀρίστη τῆς γῆς τῶν τε δορυφόρων τισίν ἐδόθη,
καὶ πόλιν τὴν Αὔγουσταν πραιτωριάνδον ὕπομα-
σίμην ἐσχεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Αὔγουστος πρὸς τε τοὺς
Ἀστυρας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Καντάβρους ἁμα ἐπολέ-
μησε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε προσεχόρουν οἱ ἀτε³ ἐπὶ
6 τοῖς ἐρυμνοῖς ἐπαιρόμενοι, μήτε ἐς χεῖρας διὰ τε
τοῦ τῶ πλήθει ἐλαττούσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀκοντιστὰς
tὸ πλεῖστον εἶναι ἃσων,⁴ καὶ προσέτε καὶ πρά-

¹ τοῦ Reim., τοῦ τε VM.
² τοῦτον R. Steph., τοῦτον τοῦ M., τοῦτον τε V.
³ οἱ ἀτε Dind., ἀτε Bk., οἱά τε VM. ⁴ ἃσων Dind., ἃσων VM.

258
expedition into Britain, since the people there would not come to terms, but he was detained by the revolt of the Salassi and by the hostility of the Cantabri and Astures. The former dwell at the foot of the Alps, as I have stated,¹ whereas both the other tribes occupy the strongest part of the Pyrenees on the side of Spain, together with the plain which lies below. For these reasons Augustus, who was now consul for the ninth time, with Marcus Silanus as colleague, sent Terentius Varro against the Salassi. Varro invaded their country at many points at the same time, in order that they might not join forces and so be more difficult to subdue; and he conquered them very easily, inasmuch as they attacked his divisions only in small groups. After forcing them to come to terms he demanded a stated sum of money, as if he were going to impose no other punishment; then, sending soldiers everywhere ostensibly to collect the money, he arrested those who were of military age and sold them, on the understanding that none of them should be liberated within twenty years. The best of their land was given to some of the Pretorians, and later on received the city called Augusta Praetoria.² Augustus himself waged war upon the Astures and upon the Cantabri at one and the same time. But these peoples would neither yield to him, because they were confident on account of their strongholds, nor would they come to close quarters, owing to their inferior numbers and the circumstance that most of them were javelin-throwers, and, besides, they kept causing him a

¹ Probably in a lost portion of the work, perhaps Book xxii. Cf. Frag. 74 and Book xlix. 34. ² The modern Aosta.
γιματα αὐτῷ πολλά, εἰ πον κινηθείς, τὰ τε ὑπερ-δέξια ἀεὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις τοῖς τε ὑλώδεσιν ἐνεδρεύοντες παρείχον, ἐν ἀπόρῳ
7 παντάπασιν ἐγένετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καμάτου καὶ ἐκ τῶν φροντίδων νοσήσας ἐς Ταρράκωνα ἀνεχώρησε καὶ ἐκεῖ ἦρρωσεν. Πάνω δὲ Ἀντίστοις προσεπολέμησε τε αὐτοῖς ἐν τούτῳ καὶ συχνὰ κατειργάσατο, πούς ὁτι καὶ ἀμείνων τοῦ
8 Ἀγούστου στρατηγὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καταφρονή-σαντες αὐτοῦ οἱ βάρβαροι ὠμόσε τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐχόρησαν καὶ ἐνικήθησαν. 1 καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος τε τῶν ἐλαβε, καὶ Τίτος μετὰ ταύτα Καρίσιος τὴν τε Δαγκίαν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν Ἀστύρων πόλισμα ἔκλεψε καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ παρεστήσατο.

26 Πανσαμένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου ὁ Αὐγού-στος τοὺς μὲν ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφῆκε, καὶ πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐν Λυσίτανίᾳ τὴν Αὐγούσταν Ἡμέριαν καλομένην κτίσαι ἐδώκε, τοῖς δὲ τὴν στρατεύσισμον ἠλωκίαν ἐκέχοντο θέας τῶν διὰ τε τοῦ Μαρκέλλου καὶ διὰ τοῦ Τιθερίου ὡς καὶ ἀγορανυμφῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατοπέδοις 2
2 ἐποίησε, καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἰουβα τῆς τε Γαιτουλίας τινα ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίως ἀρχῆς, ἐπείτερ εἰς τῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κόσμοιν ὀ ἀποκεφάλισαν, ἐνεδρεύοντες πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν ἐσεγεργάτατο,
3 καὶ τοῦ Βόχχου τοῦ τε Βογούου ἐδώκε· τοῦ δ' Ἀμύντου τελευτάσσασας αὐτοῖς παισκόνναυ ἐπετρέψε, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἐντολὴν ἐσήγαγε, καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἡ Γαλατία μετά τῆς Ἀυκανιός Ῥωμαίον ἀρχοντα ἐσχε, τα τε χωρία τα ἐκ τῆς Παμφυλίας πρότερον τῶν Ἀμύντων προσνέμη-

1 ἐνικήθησαν M, ἐκινήθησαν V.
2 τοῖς στρατοπέδοις R. Steph., στρατοῖς VM.
great deal of annoyance, always forestalling him by seizing the higher ground whenever a manœuvre was attempted, and lying in ambush for him in the valleys and woods. Accordingly Augustus found himself in very great embarrassment, and having fallen ill from over-exertion and anxiety, he retired to Tarraco and there remained in poor health. Meanwhile Gaius Antistius fought against them and accomplished a good deal, not because he was a better general than Augustus, but because the barbarians felt contempt for him and so joined battle with the Romans and were defeated. In this way he captured a few places, and afterwards Titus Carisius took Lancia, the principal fortress of the Astures, after it had been abandoned, and also won over many other places.

Upon the conclusion of this war Augustus discharged the more aged of his soldiers and allowed them to found a city in Lusitania, called Augusta Emerita. For those who were still of military age he arranged some exhibitions in the very camps, under the direction of Tiberius and Marcellus, since they were aediles. To Juba he gave portions of Gaetulia in return for the prince’s hereditary domain, the most of whose inhabitants had been enrolled in the Roman state, and also the possessions of Bocchus and Bogud. On the death of Amyntas he did not entrust his kingdom to the sons of the deceased, but made it part of the subject territory. Thus Galatia together with Lycaonia obtained a Roman governor, and the portions of Pamphylia formerly assigned to Amyntas were restored to their own

1 Possibly this praenomen is an error for Publius.
2 The modern Merida.
4 θέντα τῷ ἰδίῳ νομῷ ἀπεδόθη. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων χρόνων Μάρκος Οὐνίκιος Κέλτων τινας μετέλθων, ὅτι Ὀμναίους ἀνδράς ἐς τὴν χώραν σφόν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμεῖαν ἐσελθόντας συλλαβόντες ἐφθείραν, τὸ ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τῷ Ἀὐγοῦστῳ ἔδωκε. καὶ ἐψηφίσθη μὲν του καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἄλλοις τούτων τότε γενομένοις ἐπεὶ δ᾿ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν αὐτὰ πέμψαι, ἀφίς τε ἐν ταῖς Ἀλπεσι τροπαιοφόροις οἱ ὀρκοδομήθηκαί, καὶ ἐξουσία ἔδωκεν τῷ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἐτος ἡμέρα καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ τῇ ἐσθήτῃ τῇ νικητηρίᾳ ὡς χρήσθαι.

Ἀὐγοῦστος μὲν ταύτα τε ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐπράξε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰανοῦ τεμένισμα ἀνοιχθὲν δι᾿ αὐτῶν ἐκλείσεν, Ἀγρίππας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἀστῳ τοῖς ἱδίοις τέλεσιν ἐπεκόσμησε. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ τὴν στοὰν τὴν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ὄνομαζόμενην καὶ ἐξωκοδόμησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυκράταις καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν γραφῇ ἐπελάμπρυνε, τούτῳ δὲ τῷ πυριατηρίῳ τὸ Λακωνικὸν κατεσκέυασε: Λακωνικὸν γὰρ τὸ γυμνᾶσιον, ἐπειδὴ ἤπερ οἱ Λακεδαίμονοι γυμνοῦσαί τε ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ καὶ λίπα ἀσκεῖν μάλιστα ἐδόκουν, ἐπεκόλασε. τὸ τὲ Πάνθειον ὄνομαζομένον ἐξετέλεσε: προσαγορεύεται δὲ οὕτω τάχα μὲν ὅτι πολλῶν βεόν εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, τῷ τοῦ Ἀρεως καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἔλαβεν, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ νομίζω, ὅτε θολοείδες ὅν τῷ οὐρανῷ προσέστηκεν.

3 ἡμβουλήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τῶν Ἀὐγου-

1 ταῖς Bk., ταῖς VM. 2 τροπαιοφόροι M, τροπαιοφόροι V. 3 τῷ Rk., τῷ τῷ VM. 4 ἐκλείσεν M, om. V. 5 ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τῶν Ἀὐγου-
About this same time Marcus Vinicius took vengeance upon some of the Germans because they had arrested and slain Romans who entered their country to trade with them; and thus he, too, caused the title of imperator to be bestowed upon Augustus. For this and his other exploits of this period a triumph, as well as the title, was voted to Augustus; but as he did not care to celebrate it, a triumphal arch was erected in the Alps in his honour and he was granted the right always to wear both the crown and the triumphal garb on the first day of the year.

After these achievements in the wars Augustus closed the precinct of Janus, which had been opened because of these wars. Meanwhile Agrippa beautified the city at his own expense. First, in honour of the naval victories he completed the building called the Basilica of Neptune and lent it added brilliance by the painting representing the Argonauts. Next he constructed the Laconian sudatorium. He gave the name “Laconian” to the gymnasium because the Lacedaemonians had a greater reputation at that time than anybody else for stripping and exercising after anointing themselves with oil. Also he completed the building called the Pantheon. It has this name, perhaps because it received among the images which decorated it the statues of many gods, including Mars and Venus; but my own opinion of the name is that, because of its vaulted roof, it resembles the heavens. Agrippa, for his part, wished to place a statue of Augustus there also and to

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1 The present Pantheon, as is now recognized, dates from the reign of Hadrian. The vast rotunda is surmounted by a dome, in the centre of which there is a circular opening nearly thirty feet in diameter for the admission of light.
στον ένταθά της, τήν τε τού ἐργον ἐπικλησιν αὐτῷ δοῦναι: μὴ δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδέτερον ἐκεῖ μὲν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, 1 ἐν δὲ τῷ προναῷ τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντας 4 ἑστηκε. καὶ ἐγέρνετο γὰρ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔξ αὐτιπάλου τῷ Ἀγρίππα πρὸς τὸν Αὐγούστου φιλοτιμίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνου λεπαροὺς εὐνοίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον ἐνδελεχοὺς σπουδῆς, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Αὐγούστος ἱτιάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐπὶ 5 μῆς. τοὺς τε γὰρ γάμους τῆς τε θυγατρὸς τῆς Ἰουλίας καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου μὴ δυναθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη τοτε 2 ποιήσαι δι' ἐκείνου καὶ ἀπὸν ἔωρτας' καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ οἰκία ἢ ἐν τῷ Παλαιτῶ όρει, ἢ προτέρου μὲν τοῦ Ἀρτονύου γενομένη ὑστερον δὲ τῷ τε Ἀγρίππα καὶ τῷ Μεσσάλα δοθείσα, κατεφλέχθη, τῷ μὲν Μεσσάλα άργυριον ἱεράτῳ, τοῦ δὲ Ἀγρίππαν 6 σύνοικον ἐποίησε. οὕτως τε οὖν ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἐγαυροῦτο, καὶ τις Γαίος Θοράνιος αἰτίαν ἀγαθὴν ἔσχεν, ὅτι δημαρχῶν τὸν πατέρα, καὶ περ ἐξελεύθερον τινος δὲντα, ἐς τὸ τὸ θέατρον ἐσάγαγε καὶ ἐν τῷ δημαρχικῷ βάθρῳ παρεκαδίσατο. Πούπλιος τε Σερούλλος ὁνομα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλαβεν, ὅτι στρατηγῶν ἀρκτος τε τριακοσίας καὶ Λιβυκὰ ἔτερα θηρία ἰσα ἐν πανηγύρει τινὶ ἀπέκειν. 28 'Εκ δὲ τούτου δέκατον ὁ Αὐγούστος μετὰ Γαίον Νορβανοῦ ἤρξε, καὶ ἐν τῇ νομημείᾳ ὄρκους ἡ βουλὴ βεβαιόυσα τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ

1 Καίσαρος Μ, κτίσματος V.
2 τότε Μ, τοῦτο V

264
bestow upon him the honour of having the structure named after him; but when the emperor would not accept either honour, he placed in the temple itself a statue of the former Caesar and in the ante-room statues of Augustus and himself. This was done, not out of any rivalry or ambition on Agrippa's part to make himself equal to Augustus, but from his hearty loyalty to him and his constant zeal for the public good; hence Augustus, so far from censuring him for it, honoured him the more. For example, when he himself was prevented by illness from being in Rome at that time and celebrating there the marriage of his daughter Julia and his nephew Marcellus, he commissioned Agrippa to hold the festival in his absence; and when the house on the Palatine Mount which had formerly belonged to Antony but had later been given to Agrippa and Messalla was burned down, he presented money to Messalla, but made Agrippa share his own house. Agrippa not unnaturally took great pride in these honours. And one Gaius Toranius also acquired a good reputation because while tribune he brought his father, although a freedman of somebody or other, into the theatre and made him sit beside him upon the tribunes' bench. Publius Servilius, too, made a name for himself because while praetor he caused to be slain at a festival three hundred bears and other African wild beasts equal in number.

Augustus now became consul for the tenth time, with Gaius Norbanus as colleague, and on the first day of the year the senate confirmed his acts by
εποιήσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησιάζειν τε ἦδη τῇ πόλει ἡγεῖλθη (ὕπο γὰρ τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἐχρόνισε) καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καθ’ ἐκατὸν δραχμὰς δῶσειν ὕπέσχετο, 2 τὸ τε γράμμα τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ πρότερον ἐκτεθήναι πρὶν ἃν καὶ ἐκείνη συνδόξη, πάσης αὐτῶν τῆς τῶν νόμων ἀνάγκης ἀπῆλλαξαν, ἢ, ὡσπερ εἰρήται μοι, καὶ αὐτοτελὴς ὄρτως καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἐαυτὸν καὶ τῶν νόμων πάντα τε ὁσα βουλοῦσι ποιοί καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὁσα ἄβουλοι.
3 μὴ πράττῃ, ταῦτα μὲν ἀποδημοῦντε έτ’ αὐτῷ ἐσφυγόσθη, ἀφικομένοι δὲ ἐς τὴν Ρώμην ἄλλα τινὰ ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. τῷ τε Μαρκέλλῳ βουλεύειν τε ἐν τοῖς ἐστρατηγικοῖς καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν δέκα βάττων ἔτεσιν ἦπερ ἐνενόμιστο αἰτήσαται, καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ πέντε πρὸ ἐκάστης ἄρχης ἔτεσι τὸ αὐτὸ τούτο 4 ποιῆσαι ἐδοθή καὶ παραχρήμα γε οὕτως μὲν ταμίας ἐκείνοις δὲ ἀγοραύμος ἀπεδέιχθησαν. τῶν τε ταμευοσάντων ἐν τοῖς ἐθνεσιν ἐπίλειψάντων ἐκληρώθησαν ἐς αὐτὰ πάντες οἱ μέχρι δέκα ἄνω ἐτῶν ἀνευ τοῦ ἐργοῦ τούτου τεταμεικότες.
29 'Εν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταῦτα τότε ἄξια μνήμης ἐγένετο· οἱ δὲ δὴ Κάινταβροι οἱ τε Λαστυρες, ως τάχιστα ὁ Ἀὔγουστος ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Λούκιον Ἀμίλιον ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς καταλειπόν, ἀπηλλάγη, ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἀμίλιον, πρὶν καὶ ὁτιόν ἐκφύνα ὁ, σύν τε καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ χαρίσασθαι τῷ στρατεύματι βουλεύεθαι.

1 ἄβουλοι Dind., ἄ βουλοι VM.
taking oaths. And when word was brought that he was already drawing near the city (for his illness had delayed his return), and he promised to give the people four hundred sestertes each, though he forbade the posting of the edict concerning the donatives until the senate should give its approval, they freed him from all compulsion of the laws, in order, as I have stated,¹ that he might be in reality independent and supreme over both himself and the laws and so might do everything he wished and refrain from doing anything he did not wish. This right was voted to him while he was yet absent; and upon his arrival in Rome various other privileges were accorded him in honour of his recovery and return. Marcellus was given the right to be a senator among the ex-praetors and to stand for the consulship ten years earlier than was customary, while Tiberius was permitted to stand for each office five years before the regular age; and he was at once elected quaestor and Marcellus aedile. And when there were not enough men to serve as quaestors in the provinces, all drew lots for the places who during the ten years previous had held the quaestorship without being assigned to any province.

These, then, were the noteworthy occurrences that took place in the city at that time. As soon as Augustus had departed from Spain, leaving behind Lucius Aemilius as its governor, the Cantabri and the Astures revolted; and sending word to Aemilius, before revealing to him the least sign whatever of their purpose, they said that they wished to make a present to his army of grain and other things. Then,

¹ See chap. 18.
2 ἐφασαν, καὶ τοῦτον στρατιώτας συνήρουσίς ως καὶ κομμόντας αὐτὰ λαβόντες ἐσ τὰ χωριά αὐτοὺς ἐπιτήδεια σφισίν ἐσῆγαγον καὶ κατεφόνευσαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἦσθησαν· τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας αὐτῶν δημοθείας καὶ τεχνῶν τινῶν καυκότενων, τὸ τε μέγιστον τῶν χειρῶν τοῖς ἀεὶ ἀλησκομένοις ἀποκοπτομένων, ταχέως ἐχειρώθησαν.

3 Ἔνω δ' ἄγαντι ἐγάνευτο, καὶ ἄλλη τις στρατεύματι καυκή ἀρχὴν τε ἁμα καὶ τέλος ἐσχεν. ἐπὶ γὰρ Ἀραβίαν τὴν εὐδαίμονα καλουμένην, ἡς Σαβδὸς ἐβασίλευεν, Αἶλιος Γάλλος ὁ τῆς Λιγύπτου

4 ἄρχον ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ ἐς μὲν ὅψιν ὕδεις αὐτῷ τῆς γε πρώτης ἤλθεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀπόνως προεχώρειν ἢ τε γὰρ ἐρημία; καὶ ὁ ἦλιος τὰ τε ὑδάτα φύσιν τινά ἀτοπον ἔχοντα πάνω αὐτοὺς ἐταλαιπώρησεν, ὡστε τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ

5 φθαρῆναι. τὸ δὲ δὴ νόσημα οὐδείς τῶν συνήθων ὄμοιον εὐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐνσκύψαν ἐξήρανεν αὐτὴν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς αὐτικὰ ἀπώλλυε, τῶν δὲ δὴ περιγυμνομένων ἐς τὰ τὰ σκέλη κατηνέ, πάν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ σώματος ύπερβάν, καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐλυμαίνετο, ἵππα τε αὐτῷ οὐδὲν ἦν χωρὸς ἢ εἰ τὶς ἐλαιον οἰνοὶ μεμιγμένον καὶ ἔπει

6 καὶ ἠλείψατο. ὅπερ ποὺ πάνω ὅλγοις σφῶν ύπηρξε ποιησάν τοὺς γὰρ ἡ χώρα οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν φέρει οὗτε ἐκεῖνοι ἄφθονα αὐτὰ προπαρεκτεύσατο. καὶ τὸ πόσι τοῦτο καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι

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2 ἐρημία R. Steph., ἐρημία VM.
3 ἐκεῖνα Bk., ἐκεῖνα τε VM.
4 προπαρεκτεύσατο Bk., προπαρεκτεύσατο VM, (ἐκεῖνοι) προπαρεκτεύσατο Ζων.
BOOK LIII

after securing a considerable number of soldiers, ostensibly to take back the presents, they conducted them to places suitable for their purpose and murdered them. Their satisfaction, however, was short-lived; for their country was devastated, some of their forts burned, and, worst of all, the hands of all who were caught were cut off, and so they were quickly subdued.

While this was going on, another and a new campaign had at once its beginning and its end. It was conducted by Aelius Gallus, the governor of Egypt, against the country called Arabia Felix, of which Sabos was king. At first Aelius encountered no one, yet he did not proceed without difficulty; for the desert, the sun, and the water (which had some peculiar nature) all caused his men great distress, so that the larger part of the army perished. The malady proved to be unlike any of the common complaints, but attacked the head and caused it to become parched, killing forthwith most of those who were attacked, but in the case of those who survived this stage it descended to the legs, skipping all the intervening parts of the body, and caused dire injury to them. There was no remedy for it except a mixture of olive-oil and wine, both taken as a drink and used as an ointment; and this remedy naturally lay within reach of only a few of them, since the country produces neither of these articles and the men had not prepared an abundant supply of them beforehand. In the midst of this trouble the barbarians also fell
7 αφεν προσεπέθεντο. τέως μὲν γὰρ ἠττους, ὅποτε γε καὶ προσμίζειαν αὐτοῖς, ἐγύνως, καὶ τινα καὶ χωρία ἀπέβαλλον τότε δὲ συμμάχῳ τῇ νόσῳ αὐτῶν χρησάμενοι τά τε σφέτερα ἐκομίσαντο καὶ ἐκείνων τοὺς περιλειφθέντας ἐξῆλασαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. πρώτοι μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖ, νομίζω δὲ ὅτι καὶ μόνοι, τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τῆς Ἀραβίας ταύτης ἐπῆλθον· μέχρι γὰρ τῶν Ἄθλουλων καλουμένων, χωρίου τινος ἐπιφανοῖς, ἔχορησαν.

30 ὁ δ' Ἀὐγοῦστος ἐνδέκατον μετὰ Καλτουρνίου Πίσωνος ἀρξας ἕρρωστησεν αὖθις, ὡστε μηδεμίαν ἑπίδα σωτηρίας σχεῖν πάντα γοῦν ὦς καὶ τελευτήσαν διέθετο, καὶ τάς τε ἀρχὰς τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰππέων ἀθροίσας διάδοχον μὲν οὐδένα ἀπέδειξεν.

2 καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Μάρκελλον πάντων προκριθήσεσθαι ἐς τούτῳ προσδοκώντων, διαλεχθεῖς δὲ τίνα αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων τῷ μὲν Πίσωνι τάς τε δυνάμεις καὶ τάς προσόδους τάς κοινὰς ἐς βιβλίον ἐσχράψας ἐδωκεν, τῷ δ' Ἀγρίππα τῶν δακτύλων ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἔτειν ἦτει ὢντι τῶν πάντων ἀναγκαίων ποιεῖν δυνάμενον Ἀντώνιος τις Μουσάς καὶ ψυχρολούσαις καὶ ψυχροποσίαις ἀνέσώσει καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ χρηματα παρά τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστον καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς πολλά καὶ τὸ χρυσοῖς δακτυλίοις (ἀπελεύθερος γὰρ ἦν) χρησάθαι τήν τε ἀτέλειαν καὶ έαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοτέχνοις, οὕτω ὅτι τοῖς τότε οὕσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπείτα ἐσομένοις, ἐλαβεν.

4 ἄλλῃ ἔδει γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ τε τῆς τύχης καὶ τὰ τῆς

1 γε καὶ Μ. Xiph., γε V. 2 ταί τε Xiph., τάς γε VM. 3 ἔτει "N" in Reimar's ed., διτ VM.
upon them. For hitherto they had been defeated whenever they joined battle, and had even been losing some places; but now, with the disease as their ally, they not only won back their own possessions, but also drove the survivors of the expedition out of the country. These were the first of the Romans, and, I believe, the only ones, to traverse so much of this part of Arabia for the purpose of making war; for they advanced as far as the place called Athlula, a famous locality.¹

When Augustus was consul for the eleventh time, with Calpurnius Piso, he fell so ill once more as to have no hope of recovery; at any rate, he arranged everything as if he were about to die, and gathered about him the magistrates and the foremost senators and knights. He did not, to be sure, appoint a successor, though all were expecting that Marcellus would be preferred for this position, but after talking with them awhile about the public affairs, he gave Piso the list of the forces and of the public revenues written in a book, and handed his ring to Agrippa. And although he lost the power of attending even to the most urgent matters, yet a certain Antonius Musa restored him to health by means of cold baths and cold potions. For this, Musa received a great deal of money from both Augustus and the senate, as well as the right to wear gold rings (for he was a freedman), and he was granted exemption from taxes, both for himself and for the members of his profession, not only those living at the time but also those of future generations. But it was fated that he who had taken to himself the functions of Fortune or

¹ The place has not been identified; Strabo (xvi. 4, 24) calls it Athrula.
πετρωμένης ἔργα προσποιούμενον παρὰ πόδας ἀλώναι, ο μὲν Λύγουστος οὔτως ἐσώθη, ο δὲ δὴ Μάρκκελλος νοσήσας οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μοῦσα τρόπον 5 θεραπευόμενος ἀπέθανε. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Λύγουστος δημοσίᾳ τε ἐθαψεν, ἐπαίνεσας ὤσπερ εἰδιστο, καὶ ἐσ τὸ μνημεῖον ὁ ψιδομέιτο κατέθετο, τῇ τε μνήμῃ τοῦ θέατρον τοῦ προκαταβληθέντος μὲν 6 ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, Μάρκελλον δὲ ὀνομασμένου ἐτίμησεν, καὶ οἱ καὶ εἰκόνα χρυσῆν καὶ στέφανον χρυσῶν δίφρον τε ἀρχικῶν ἐς τε τὸ θέατρον ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πανηγύρει ἐσφέρεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸ μέσον τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν τελούντων αὐτὰ τίθεν·σθαι ἐκέλευσε.

31 Ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον ἐπραξε, τότε δὲ σωθεὶς τὰς διαθήκας ἐστήνεγκε μὲν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ ἀναλεξασθαι ἡθέλησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενος 1 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅτε οὐδένα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καταλεξον ἤν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀνέγνωσί οὐδές γὰρ 2 ἐπέτρεψεν. ἔθαύμαζον μὲντοι καὶ πάνω πάντες αὐτοῦ ὅτι τοῦ Μάρκκελλον καὶ ὣς γαμβρὸν καὶ ὡς ἀδελφίδουν ἀγαπῶν, καὶ ἄλλας τε αὐτῶ τιμᾶς ὑποδού καὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἧν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορανομίας 3 ἐπετέλει συνδιάθεις λαμπρῶς, ὡστε τὴν τε ἀγοράν ἐν παντὶ τῷ θερεῖ 2 παραπετάσμαι κατὰ κορυφὴν διάλαβειν καὶ ὀρχηστὴν τινα ἰππεὰ γυναίκα τε ἐπιφανῆ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἐσαγαγεῖν, ὡμοί τὴν μοναρχίαν οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ 4 τὸν Ἀγρίππαν αὐτοῦ προετίμησεν. οὕτως, ὡς ἐοικεν, οὐδέπο τῇ τοῦ μειρακίου γνώμη ἐθάρσει,

1 ἐνδεικνύμενος Μ Ζον., ἐνδεικνύμενος Β. 2 θερεῖ Βκ. following Xιφ., θερεῖ ἐν VM.
Destiny should speedily be caught in her toils; for though Augustus had been saved in this manner, yet when Marcellus fell ill not long afterward and was treated in the same way by Musa, he died. Augustus gave him a public burial after the customary eulogies, placing him in the tomb which he was building, and as a memorial to him finished the theatre whose foundations had already been laid by the former Caesar and which was now called the theatre of Marcellus. And he ordered also that a golden image of the deceased, a golden crown, and a curule chair should be carried into the theatre at the Ludi Romani and should be placed in the midst of the officials having charge of the games.

This he did later; at the time, after being restored to health, he brought his will into the senate and desired to read it, by way of showing people that he had left no successor to his realm; but he did not read it, for none would permit it. Absolutely everybody, however, was astonished at him because, although he loved Marcellus both as son-in-law and nephew, and in addition to other honours shown him had to such an extent helped him make a brilliant success of the festival which he gave as aedile that he had sheltered the Forum during the whole summer by means of curtains stretched overhead and had exhibited on the stage a dancer who was a knight, and also a woman of high birth, nevertheless he had not entrusted to him the monarchy, but actually had preferred Agrippa before him. Thus it would appear that he was not yet confident of the youth's judg-

1 Suetonius (Aug. 29, 4) names this theatre among various other buildings which Augustus "nomine alieno . . . fecit."
DIFFUSION HISTORIES

δὲ ἄλλ' ἦτοι τὸν δῆμον τὴν ἑλευθερίαν κομίσασθαι ἢ καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τὴν ἑγεμονίαν παρ' ἐκείνου λαβεῖν ἠθέλησεν εὐ τε γὰρ ἦπιστατο προσφιλή σφισιν ἐξ τὰ μάλιστα αὐτῶν οὕτω, καὶ οὐκ ἔβούλετο παρ' ἐαυτοῦ δὴ δοκεῖν αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπε-σθαι. Ῥάισας δ' οὖν, καὶ μαθὼν τὸν Μάρκελλον οὖν ἐπιτηδείως τῷ Ἀγρίππα διὰ τοῦτ' ἔχοντα, ἐσ τὴν Συρίαν εὕβους τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, μὴ καὶ διατριβῇ τις καὶ ἀσφαλεία αὐτῶς ἐν ταύτῳ οὕσι συμβῇ, ἐστείλε. καὶ ὁς ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως εὕβους ἐξώρισας, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐσ τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἐτι καὶ μᾶλλον μετριάζον ἐκείσε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἐπεμψει, αὐτῶς δὲ ἐν Δέσβῳ διέτριψε.

2 Ῥᾳτὰ τε οὕτως ὁ Αὐγουστὸς ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγοῦν δέκα, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐτι πλείονων δεόμενος, ἀπέδειξε· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖω ἔτη ἐγένετο. ἐμελλὼν δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰ αὐτὰ ἀπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ποιήσειν, δύο δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει ὁσα ἐτὴ γενήσεσθαι. διατάξας δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἔκαστα, ἀπείπε τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐσ τὸ 1 Αλβανῶν ἔλθων· ἐπει γὰρ αὐτός, ἔξ ὀπερ τὰ πράγματα κατέστη, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλεῖοι δι' ἔτους ἦξαν, ἐπι-σχέιν τε τοῦτο αὕτης, ὅπως ὅτι πλεῖστοι ὑπα-τεύσωσιν, ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἔξω τοῦ ἀστεως αὐτο

1 D. Magie ("The Mission of Agrippa to the Orient in 23 B.C.," in Classical Philology, iii, 1908, 145 ff.) points out the difficulties in the popular version of Agrippa's journey to Lesbos, and suggests that he was in reality sent out by

274
ment, and that he either wished the people to regain their liberty or for Agrippa to receive the leadership from them. For he well understood that Agrippa was exceedingly beloved by them and he preferred not to seem to be committing the supreme power to him on his own responsibility. When he recovered, therefore, and learned that Marcellus because of this was not friendly toward Agrippa, he immediately sent the latter to Syria, so that no occasion for scoffing or for skirmishing might arise between them by their being together.\(^1\) And Agrippa straightway set out from the city, but did not reach Syria; instead, acting with even more than his usual moderation,\(^2\) he sent his lieutenants thither, and tarried himself in Lesbos.

Besides doing all these things in the manner related, Augustus appointed ten praetors, feeling that he no longer required a larger number;\(^3\) and this happened for several years. Most of them were to perform the same duties as formerly, but two were to be in charge of the financial administration each year. Having arranged these matters in detail, he went to the Alban Mount and resigned the consulship. For ever since conditions had become settled, both he himself and most of his colleagues had held the office for the whole year, and he now wished to end this practice, in order that as many as possible might become consuls; and he resigned outside the Augustus on a diplomatic mission calling for secrecy—nothing less, in fact, than for the purpose of inducing Phraates to return the captured Roman standards and receive in return his son. Cf. chap. 33, 2 infr.

\(^1\) Cf. liv. 11, 6.

\(^2\) Under Julius Caesar the number had been as high as sixteen; see xliii. 49, 1, and 51, 4.
4 ἐποίησεν, ἵνα μὴ κωλυθῇ, καὶ ἐπὶ τε τοῦτο ἐπαίνων ἔσχε, καὶ ὅτι Λούκιον ἀνθ' ἐαυτοῦ Σηστιον ἀνθείλετο, ἀεὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ συσποουδασάντα καὶ ἐν πάσι τοῖς πολέμοις συστρατεύσαντα, καὶ ἐτί καὶ τότε καὶ μημονεύοντα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκόνας ἔχοντα καὶ ἐπάινους ποιούμενον τό τε γὰρ φιλικον καὶ τὸ πιστὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐ μονόν οὐκ ἐμίσησεν ἄλλα καὶ ἐτίμησε.

5 καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ἡ γερονσία δημαρχῶν τε αὐτοῦ διὰ βίου εἶναι ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ χρηματίζειν αὐτῷ περὶ ἕνος τινος ὅπου ἀν ἐθελήσῃ καθ' ἐκάστην βουλήν, καὶ μὴ ὑπατευθεῖ έδωκε, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἀνθυπατον ἔσαει καθάπαξ ἔχειν ὡστε μήτε ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ τῇ εἰσῳ τοῦ πωμηρίου κατατίθεσθαι αὐτὴν μὴ αὖθις ἄνανευσθαί, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπηκοό τῷ πλεῖον τῶν ἐκασταχθέν ἄρχων.

6 τῶν ἰσχυειν ἐπέτρεψεν. ἀφ' οὐ δὴ καὶ ἐκείνοι καὶ οἱ μὲτ' αὐτῶν αὐτοκράτορες ἐν νόμῳ δὴ τειν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ δημαρχικῇ ἐχρησαντο: τὸ γὰρ τοι ὅνομα αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἀνθ' ὁ Ἀὐγουστος οὔτ' ἄλλος οὔθεις αὐτοκράτωρ ἔσχε.

33 Καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ταῦθ' οὔτω τότε οὐκ ἐκ κολακείας ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας τιμηθείς λαβεῖν. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὡς ἐλευθεροῖς σφίζει προσεφέρετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν Τιριδάτης 1 αὐτὸς, παρὰ δ' ἐν τοῦ Φραάτου πρέσβεις, ἐφ' οἷς αὐτομεκάλουν ἀλληλοίς ἄφικοντο, ἐς τὴν βουλήν αὐτῶν ἐσήγαγε, καὶ μετὰ τούτ' ἐπιτραπεῖς παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν διά-

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1 Τιριδάτης Dind., τειριδάτης VM (and similarly just below).
city, to prevent being hindered from his purpose. For this act he received praise, as also because he chose in his stead Lucius Sestius, who had always been an enthusiastic follower of Brutus, had fought with him in all his wars, and even at this time kept alive his memory, had images of him, and delivered eulogies upon him. Augustus, it would appear, so far from disliking the man’s devotion and loyalty, actually honoured these qualities in him. And because of this the senate voted that Augustus should be tribune for life and gave him the privilege of bringing before the senate at each meeting any one matter at whatever time he liked, even if he were not consul at the time; they also permitted him to hold once for all and for life the office of proconsul, so that he had neither to lay it down upon entering the pomerium nor to have it renewed again, and they gave him in the subject territory authority superior to that of the governor in each instance. As a result both he and the emperors after him gained a certain legal right to use the tribuniciation power as well as their other powers; for the title of tribune itself was taken neither by Augustus nor by any other emperor. 

And it seems to me that he then acquired these privileges as related, not by way of flattery, but because he was truly honoured; for in most ways he comported himself toward the Romans as if they were free citizens. Thus, when Tiridates in person and envoys from Phraates came to settle their mutual recriminations, he brought them before the senate; and afterwards, when the decision of the question had been referred to him by that body, he did not

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1 Cf. chap. 17, 10.
γνωσιν τὸν μὲν Τιριδάτην τῷ Φραίτῃ οὐκ ἐξέδοκεν, τὸν δ' υιὸν αὐτοῦ, ὥν πρῶτον παρ' ἐκείνου λαβὼν εἰχεν, ἀπέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τῷ τούς τε αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικά τὰ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συμφορὰ ἀλόντα κομίσασθαι.

3 Κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔτει ἀγορανόμον τὲ τινὰ τῶν καταδεεστέρων ἀποθανόντα Γάιος Καλπούρνιος, καίτοι προηγορανομικὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀμείνοις, διεδέξατο, ὡσπερ ἐπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου μνημονεύεται γενομένων καὶ ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς δύο καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπολιάρχεσαν, καὶ εἰς γέ τις αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἐσ' μειράκια¹ τῷ τελῶν ὁμος ἤρξεν.

4 Αἰτίαν μὲν ὅτι Ἰονία τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Μαρκέλλου ἔσχεν, ὅτι τῶν υἱῶν αὐτῆς προετέρωτο' ἐσ' ἀμφὶβολον δ' ὅτι ἡ ὑποψία αὐτή καὶ ὅτι ἐκεῖνον τοῦ ἔτους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔπειτα, οὕτω νοσῳδον γενομένων ² ὡστε πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐν αὐ- τοῖς ἀπολέσθαι, κατέστη. καὶ φιλεῖ γὰρ πως ἄει τι πρὸ τῶν τοιούτων προσημαίνεσθαι, τόστε μὲν λύκος τε ἐν τῷ ἄστει συνελήφθη, καὶ πῦρ χειμῶν τε πολλοῖς οἰκοδομήσας ἐλυμίνατο, ὃ τε Τίβεριος αὐξηθεῖς τῷ τε γέφυραν τῇ ἔνδον κατέσυρε καὶ τὴν πόλιν πλωτὴν ἐπὶ τρέις ἡμέρας ἐποίησε.

1 μειράκια v. Horw., μειράκιαν VM.
2 νοσῳδον γενομένων Bk., νοσῳδοὺς γενομένου VM.
surrender Tiridates to Phraates, but sent back to the latter his son whom he had once received from him and was keeping, on condition that the captives and the military standards taken in the disasters of Crassus and of Antony should be returned.

During this same year one of the minor aediles died and Gaius Calpurnius succeeded him, in spite of having served previously as one of the major aediles. This is not recorded as having occurred in the case of any other man. During the Feriae there were two prefects of the city for each day; and one of them held the office in spite of the fact that he had not yet the standing even of a youth.

Livia, now, was accused of having caused the death of Marcellus, because he had been preferred before her sons; but the justice of this suspicion became a matter of controversy by reason of the character both of that year and of the year following, which proved so unhealthful that great numbers perished during them. And, just as it usually happens that some sign occurs before such events, so on this occasion a wolf was caught in the city, fire and storm damaged many buildings, and the Tiber, rising, carried away the wooden bridge and made the city navigable for boats during three days.

1 Cf. li. 18, 3.
2 By "minor" and "major" aediles Dio means the plebeian and curule aediles respectively.
Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαίων

α. Ὡ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν δῆμων ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν ἑκατέστησαν.
β. Ὡ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ συμπεδίου ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν ἑκατέστησαν.
γ. Ὡ οἱ Νάρικον ἑάλω.
δ. Ὡ οἱ Ρατία ἑάλω.
ε. Ὡ αἱ Ἀλκηνοὶ αἱ παραδέλασσοι Ῥωμαίων ἀκούειν ἡράντω.
ζ. Ὡ τῷ Ἡλίθου βέατρον καθιερώθη.
η. Ὡ τῷ Μαρκέλλου βέατρον καθιερώθη.
θ. Ὡ Ἀγρύπναι ἄκεθαν καὶ τὴν Χερόνησον Ἀγωνιτος ἑκατέστη.
ι. Ὡ τὰ Ἀγωνιστάλια κατέστη.

Χρόνον πλῆθος ἔτη τρία καὶ δέκα, ἐν οἷς ἅρχαντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι ὡς ἔγινοντο

Μ. Κλαύδιος
Α. Ἀρρόντιος
Μ. Λάλλιος
Κ. Αἰμίλιος
Μ. Ἀτούλιος
Π. Σίλιος
Γ. Σέφτιος
Κ. Δουκρήτιος
Γ. Κορηλίος
Π. Κορηλίος
Γ. Φυλαρχός
Γ. Ιωάννιος

1 ἐστρατηγικῶν Μ., ἐκστρατηγικῶν V.
2 Νάρικον BS., Νάρικος VM.
3 τὸ supplied by BS.
4 Καλύδιος H. Steph., κλ ΒΜ.
5 Αἰσερνίνος Xyl., αἰσερνίνος M., δισερνίνος V.
6 Μ. Λάλλιος supplied by Xyl.
7 M. ι. supplied by BS.
8 K. supplied by Xyl.

280
BOOK LIV

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

How road commissioners were appointed from among the ex-praetors (chap. 8).
How grain commissioners were appointed from among the ex-praetors (chaps. 1 and 17).
How Noricum was captured (chap. 20).
How Rhaetia was captured (chap. 22).
How the Maritime Alps began to yield obedience to the Romans (chap. 24).
How the theatre of Balbus was dedicated (chap. 25).
How the theatre of Marcellus was dedicated (chap. 26).
How Agrippa died and Augustus acquired the Chersonese (chaps. 28, 29).
How the Augustalia were instituted (chap. 34).

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

R.C.
22 M. Claudius M. F. Marcellus Aeserninus, L. Arruntius L. F.
21 M. Lollius M. F., Q. Aemilius M. F. Lepidus.
20 M. Apuleius Sex. F., P. Silius P. F. Nerva.
17 C. Furnius C. F., C. Iunius C. F. Silanus.

9 Απάλυος M. vi. supplied by Bs.
10 Απονείος Bs., ἀπόνειος VM.
11 Σιάος Xyl., σείλ VM. 12 K. Reim., λ VM.
13 Οἰσυπιάδων Dind., οἰσυπιάδων M, οἰσυπιάδων V.
14 vi. M, ὑπ V.
15 Γ. Ἰούνιος Xyl., π οίνιος VM.
Τῷ δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει, ἐν ὧν Μᾶρκος τε Μάρκελλος καὶ Λουκῖος Ἀρρούντιος ὑπάτευσαν, ὦ τε πόλις πελαγήσαντος αὐθίς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπλεύσθη, καὶ κεραυνοῖς ἅλλα τε πολλὰ ἐβλήθη καὶ οἱ ἀνδριάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ Πανθείῳ, ὡστε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου χειρὸς ἔκπεσεῖν. πονοῦμενοι οὖν ὑπὸ ταῖς τῆς νόσου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ 2 λιμοῦ (ἐν τῷ γὰρ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάση ὁ λοιμὸς ἐγένετο καὶ τήν χώραν οὖνεις εἰργάσατο· δοκῶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξω χωρίοις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο συνηνεχθη) νομίσαντες οἱ Ἀρωμαῖοι οὐκ ἅλλοις σφίξι ταῦτα συμβεβηκέναι, ἀλλὰ ὅτι μὴ καὶ τότε ὑπα-3 τεῦντα τοῦ Αὐγοῦστον ἔσχον, δικτάτορα αὐτῶν ἤθελσαν προχειρίσασθαι, καὶ τὴν τε βουλὴν

1 Γυ. ν. R. Steph., λυ. ν. VM.
2 Ἀμβόβαρβος R. Steph., ἀμβοβαρβος M., ἀμβόβαρβος V.
3 ἐπι, supplied by Bs.
4 Λεωνίδας Λεοπάλδος, λ. λυσιος M., λ. σφίξι V.
5 Φρούγι (Φρούγι) R. Steph., φρούριος VM.
6 ν. Κράσιος supplied by Xyl.
7 Τίβ. Κλαύδιος H. Steph., τ. β θ. V., τίβ. κλ. M.
8 Κυντίλιος Xyl., κ. ν. VM.
The following year, in which Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius were consuls, the city was again submerged by the overflowing of the river, and many objects were struck by thunderbolts, especially the statues in the Pantheon, so that the spear even fell from the hand of Augustus. The pestilence raged throughout all Italy so that no one tilled the land, and I suppose that the same was the case in foreign parts. The Romans, therefore, reduced to dire straits by the disease and by the consequent famine, believed that these woes had come upon them for no other reason than that they did not have Augustus for consul at this time also. They accordingly wished to elect him dictator, and

9 Οὐάρος ὁ Οοαλρηως Χυλ., οὖανπτερος οὐάρος V, οὖ αντ' γεοσουδριος M. 10 M. H. Steph., μάρκου VM.
11 Μεσσάλας Βάρβασος Χυλ., μεσσαλος άρβατος VM.
12 Φάβιος Χυλ., φα VM.
13 K. Αλ. H. Steph., και Λ VM.
14 Ἰάβλος Βα., Ἰαβλος VM.
15 Άντανιος Χυλ., ἀντανιος VM. 16 ὕπ. supplied by Βα.
17 ἐπιγεγομένῳ Bk., ἐπιγεγομένῳ VM.
κατακλείσαντες ἐσ τὸ συνέδριον ἐπηνάγκασαν τοῦτο ψηφίσασθαι, ἀπειλοῦντες σφας καταπρήσειν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς ράβδους τὰς τέσσαρας καὶ εἴκοσι λαβόντες προσήλθον αὐτῷ, δικτάτορά τε ἀμα δεόμενοι λεχθῆναι καὶ ἐπιμέλητὴν τοῦ σίτου, καθάπερ ποτὲ τῶν Πομπήιον, γενέσθαι.

καὶ ὃς τοῦτο μὲν ἀναγκαῖος ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἐκείνοις δύο ἄνδρας τῶν πρὸ πέντε ποὺ ἀεὶ ἐτῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σίτου διανομήν καὶ ἔτος αἰρέσθαι, τὴν δὲ δικτατορίαν ὑπὸ προσήκατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα προσκαταρρήξατο, ἐπειδὴ μηδένα τρόπον ἄλλωσ σφᾶς ἐπισχεῖν, μήτε διαλεγόμενος μήτε δεόμενος, ἥδυνήθη τὴν τῇ γάρ ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὴν τιμήν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς δικτάτορας ἔχων, ὀρθῶς τὸ τε ἐπίφθειον καὶ τὸ μισητὸν

τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐτῶν ἐφυλάξατο. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τιμητὴν αὐτοῦ διὰ βίου χειροτονησάτο βουλομένων ἐποίησεν οὕτε γάρ τὴν ἀρχήν ὑπέστη, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐτέρους τιμηταῖς, Παῦλον τε Αἰμιλίον Λέπιδου καὶ Λούκιον Μουνάτιον Πλάγκου, τοῦτον μὲν ἄδελφον τοῦ Πλάγκου ἐκείνου τοῦ ἐπικηρυχθέντος ὡντα, τὸν δὲ δὴ Λέπιδου αὐτοῦ

τότε θανατωθέντα, ἀπέδειξεν. ἐσχατοὶ δὴ οὕτω τὴν τιμητεῖαν ἰδιῶται ἀμα ἔσχον, ὡσπερ ποὺ καὶ παραχρῆμα αὐτοῖς ἐδηλώθη τὸ γάρ βῆμα ἀφ’ οὗ τι πράξειν τῶν προσηκοντῶν σφίσιν.

1 αὐτῷ Zon., αὐτῶν VM. 2 αὐτῶν M, αὐτῶν V. 3 ὅ V, om. M.
shutting the senators up in their meeting place, they forced them to vote this measure by threatening to burn down the building over their heads. Next they took the twenty-four rods\(^1\) and approached Augustus, begging him to consent both to being named dictator and to becoming commissioner of the grain supply,\(^2\) as Pompey had once done.\(^3\) He accepted the latter duty under compulsion, and ordered that two men should be chosen annually, from among those who had served as praetors not less than five years previously in every case, to attend to the distribution of the grain. As for the dictatorship, however, he did not accept the office, but went so far as to rend his garments when he found himself unable to restrain the people in any other way, either by argument or by entreaty; for, since he was superior to the dictators in the power and honour he already possessed, he properly guarded against the jealousy and hatred which the title would arouse. He took the same course also when they wished to elect him censor for life; for, declining to take the office himself, he immediately appointed others to be censors, namely Paulus Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Munatius Plancus, the latter a brother of that Plancus who had been proscribed, and the former a man who had himself been condemned to die at that same time. These were the last two private citizens to hold the censorship together, which was no doubt the meaning of the sign given to them; for the platform, on which they were to perform one of the functions devolving upon them,

\(^1\) The fasces; the dictator was regularly attended by twenty-four lietors. Cf. liii. 1, n. 1.
\(^2\) Curator annonae.  \(^3\) Cf. xxxix. 9.
ديللوν, ευνέπεσεν ἀναβάντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμέρᾳ καὶ συνετρίβη, καὶ μετὰ τούτων οὖν ἔστη ὁ μόνος αὐτῶς ἁμα 3 ἐγένομον. καὶ τότε δὲ ὁ Διόγονος, καὶ περ ἐκείνων αἱρεθέντων, πολλὰ τῶν ἐσ αὐτῶς ἀνθρώπων ἐπράξε. τῶν τε συσιτίων τὰ μὲν παντελῶς κατέλυσε, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ σωφρονεστέρον συνέστειλε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς τὰς πανηγύρες πάσας προσέταξεν, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ δημοσίου
4 δίδοσθαι τι αὐτοῖς κελεύσας, καὶ προσπεπληρών μὴτέ ἐσ ἐκείνας οἰκοθέν τινα πλείον τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀναλίσκειν μῆθ' ὀπλομαχὶν μητ' ἀλλος εἰ μὴ ἡ θυγυρία ἡ θυγυρία, μὴ αὐτὶ πλεονάκις ἢ διὰ ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἐτεῖ, μητὲ πλειόνων εἴκοσι καὶ ἐκατον ἀνδρῶν ποιεῖν τοῖς δ' ἀγορανόμοις τοῖς κουρουκλίοις τῆς τῶν ἐμπιστεύμενον 1 κατάσβεσιν ἐνεχείρισεν, ἐξακοσίους σφίσι βοηθοὺς δούλους δούσι.
5 ἐπειδὴ τε 2 καὶ ἱππῆς 3 καὶ γυναικεῖς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ καὶ τότε γε ἐπεδείξατο, ἀνηγορευσεν οὓς ὅτι τοῖς παισὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ὅπερ τοὺς καὶ πρὶν ἐκεκώλυτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις, τοῖς γε 4 ἐν τῇ ἱππάδι δὴ δῆλον ὅτι ἐξεταξομένους, μηδὲν ἐτὶ τοιοῦτο ὤραν, 3, 3 Καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτως τοῦ τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ὅνομα ἐπεδείκνυτο, 5 εν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἐμετριάζεν, ὡστε καὶ 2 φίλους τοῖς εὐθυνομένοις παραγίγγυνεσθαι. Μάρκου τε τοῖς Πρίμου αἰτίαιν ἔχοντος ὅτι τῆς Μακεδονίας ἄρχων Ὅδρασις ἐπολέμησε, καὶ

1 ἐμπιστευμένων Dind., ἐμπιστευμένων VM.
2 ἐπειδὴ τε V., ἐπειδῆ τε M. 3 ἱππῆς M., ἱππῆς V.
4 γε Rk., τε VM. 5 ἐπεδείκνυτο V., ἐπεδείκνυτο M.
collapsed as they ascended it on the first day of their holding the office, and was shattered in pieces, and after that no others of the same rank as these became censors together. Even at this time, in spite of their having been chosen to the position, Augustus performed many of the duties belonging to their office. Of the public banquets, he abolished some altogether and limited the extravagance of others. He committed the charge of all the festivals to the praetors, commanding that an appropriation should be given them from the public treasury, and also forbidding any one of them to spend more than another from his own means on these festivals, or to give a gladiatorial combat unless the senate decreed it, or, in fact, oftener than twice in each year or with more than one hundred and twenty men. To the curule aediles he entrusted the putting out of fires, for which purpose he granted them six hundred slaves as assistants. And since knights and women of rank had given exhibitions on the stage even then,¹ he forbade not only the sons of senators, who had even before this been excluded, but also their grandsons, so far, at least, as these belonged to the equestrian order, to do anything of the sort again.

Although in these measures he showed himself, in form as well as in name, both law-giver and arbitrary ruler, in his behaviour generally he was moderate, to such a degree, in fact, that he even stood by some of his friends when their official conduct was under investigation. Also when a certain Marcus Primus was accused of having made war upon the Odrysae while he was governor of Macedonia, and declared at

¹ Cf. liii. 31.
λέγοντος τοτὲ μὲν τῇ τοῦ Αὔγουστον τοτὲ δὲ τῇ Μαρκέλλου γυνώμη τούτῳ πεποιηκέναι, ἕν τοῦ δικαστήριον αὐτεπάγγελτος ἠλθε, καὶ ἔπερωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ εἰ προστάξειεν οἱ πολεμοὶ μὴσαι, ἔξαρνος ἔγενετο. τοῦ τε συναγορεύοντος τῷ Πρίμῳ Δικείνου τῷ Μουρήνου ἄλλα τε ἢς αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιτίθεσαν ἀπορρίφαντος, καὶ πυθωμένου “τὰς ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖς, καὶ τὰς σε ἔκάλεσεν,” τοσοῦτον μόνον ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι “τὸ δημόσιον.” ἐπὶ οὖν τοῦτοι ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν εὐ προούσων ἐπηνείτο, ὡστε καὶ τῷ τὴν βουλὴν ἄθροίζειν ὅσαικαν ἀν ἐθελήσῃ λαβεῖν, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων τινὲς κατεφρόνησαν αὐτῶν. ἀμέδει καὶ τοῦ Πρίμου οὐκ ὅλιγοι ἀπευθύσαντο, καὶ ἐπεβουλὴν ἔτεροι ἐπὶ αὐτῶς συνεστήσαν. Φάννιος, μὲν γὰρ Κατίπων ἀρχηγὸς αὐτῆς ἔγενετο, συνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι· καὶ σφισὶ καὶ ὁ Μουρήνας συνομομοκέναι, εἶτ' οὖν ἀληθῶς εἶτε καὶ ἐκ διαβολῆς, ἐλέγησι, ἐπείδη καὶ ἀκράτως καὶ κατακροῆς τῇ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας ὦμοιος ἔχετο. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὸ δικαστήριον, ἐρημημένοι μὲν ὡς καὶ ψυχομενοὶ ἠλωσαν, ἀπεσφάγναντο δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὑστεροῦν, οὐδὲ ἐπήρκεσαν τῷ Μουρήνα ὧντο  ὁ Προκούλλειος ἂνελφός ὧν ὧντο ὁ Μακεδών τὴν ἄδελφη αὐτοῦ συνοικῶν, καίπερ ἢς τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὔγουστον τιμῶν μενοι. ὡς δ’ οὖν καὶ τούτους τῶν δικαζόντων τινὲς ἀπέλυσαν, ἐνομισθῆσε μήτε κρύφα τὰς ψῆφους ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις δίκαις φέρεσθαι, καὶ πάσαις αὐταῖς τῶν εὐθυνομενοῖς ἀληθεσθαι. καὶ ὅτι γε ταῦτ’ οὖν ὑπ’ ὀργῆς ἀλλ’ ὡς καὶ συμφέ-
one moment that he had done it with the approval of Augustus, and at another with that of Marcellus. Augustus came of his own accord to the courtroom; and upon being asked by the praetor whether he had instructed the man to make war, he denied it. And when the advocate of Primus, Licinius Murena, in the course of some rather disrespectful remarks that he made to him, enquired: "What are you doing here, and who summoned you?" Augustus merely replied: "The public weal." For this he received praise from the people of good sense and was even given the right to convene the senate as often as he pleased; but some of the others despised him. At all events, not a few voted for the acquittal of Primus, and others formed a plot against Augustus. Fannius Caepio was the instigator of it, but others also joined with him. Even Murena was reported to be in the conspiracy, whether truly or by way of calumny, since he was immoderate and unrestrained in his outspokenness toward all alike. These men did not stand trial, and so were convicted by default, on the supposition that they intended to flee; and a little latter they were slain. Murena found neither Proculeius, his brother, nor Macenas, his sister's husband, of any avail to save him, though these men were most highly honoured by Augustus. And inasmuch as some of the jurymen voted to acquit even these conspirators, the emperor made a law that in trials at which the defendant was not present the vote should not be taken secretly and the defendant should be convicted only by a unanimous vote. Now that he took these measures, not in anger, but as really conducive to
7 ῥοῦτα τῷ δημοσίῳ διέταξεν, ἵσχυρὸς διέδειξε τοῦ γροῦν πατρὸς τοῦ Καπιτώνος τὸν μὲν ἔτερον τῶν δούλων τῶν συμφυγόντων τῷ ἐνί̂ ἐλευθερώσαντος, ὅτι ἀμύναι οἱ δυνάσκοντε ἱδέλησε, τὸν δὲ ἔτερον τὸν προδότα αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσῃς μετὰ γραμμάτων τὴν ἀιτίαν τῆς θανατόσεως αὐτοῦ δηλούσιτον διαγαγόντος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνα-
8 σταυρώσαντος, οὐκ ἡγανάκτησε. καὶ ἐξηκέσατο πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν οὐκ ἀρεσκομένων τοῖς πρακτεῖν μέμψιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ θυσίας ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ νίκῃ τινὶ καὶ ψηφισθεῖσας περιέδει καὶ γενομένας.

4 Τότε δὲ οὖν καὶ τὴν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν Ναρβωνησίαν ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ ὡς μηδὲν τῶν ὅπλων αὐτοῦ δεομένας καὶ οὕτως ἀνθύπατοι.

2 καὶ ἐς ἑκείνα τὰ ἐνθεῖ πέμπεσθαι ἠρχαίτο. καὶ τὸν τοῦ Δίος τοῦ Βροντώντος ἐπικαλουμένου ναὸν καθίερωσε· περὶ οὗ δύο ταῦτα παραδεδοται, ὅτι τότε τε ἐν τῇ ἱερουργίᾳ βρονταὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅπως τῷ Δάγνοστῳ τοιοῦτος ἐπέστη. τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων, τὸ μὲν τι πρὸς τὸ ἔλεος καὶ τοῦ ὅροματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐδούς, τὸ δὲ καὶ ὁτι

3 ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάγνοστου ἱδρυτο, μέγιστον δὲ ὅτι πρώτῳ οἱ ἀνιόντες ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐνετήχασιν, προσερχομένου τοῦ ἀντώε ἐς καὶ σεβόμενος, ἐδοξε τὸν Δία τὸν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ναῷ ὑστε ὅρας ἡς καὶ τὰ δεύτερα αὐτοῦ φερόμενον ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἑκείνω τε εἰπεῖν ἐλεγεν ὅτι προφύλακα

4 τὸν Βροντώντα ἔχοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, κώδωνα αὐτῶν περιήγη, βεβαῖοι τὴν ὀνειρώξειν.  

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1 τὸν δὲ ὘κ., τοῦ δὲ Β.Μ.  
2 καὶ θυσίας ὡς Β., ομ. Μ.  
3 αὐτῷ Ρ. Σπ., αὐτῶν Β.Μ.  
4 ὀνειρώξην Μ., ὀνειράθην Β.
the public good, he gave very strong proof; at any rate, when Caepio’s father freed one of the two slaves who had accompanied his son in his flight because this slave had wished to defend his young master when he met his death, but in the case of the second slave, who had deserted his son, led him through the midst of the Forum with an inscription making known the reason why he was to be put to death, and afterwards crucified him, the emperor was not vexed. Indeed, he would have allayed all the criticism of those who were not pleased with what had been done, had he not gone further and permitted sacrifices to be both voted and offered as for a victory.

It was at this time that he restored to the people both Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis as districts no longer needing the presence of his armies; and thus proconsuls began to be sent to those provinces also. He also dedicated the temple of Jupiter Tonans. Concerning this temple two stories have been handed down, first, that at that time claps of thunder occurred when the ritual was being performed, and, second, that at a later time Augustus had a dream as follows. The people, he thought, approached Jupiter who is called Tonans and did reverence to him, partly because of the novelty of his name and of the form of his statue, and partly because the statue had been set up by Augustus, but chiefly because it was the first they encountered as they ascended the Capitol; and thereupon the Jupiter in the great temple was angry because he was now reduced to second place as compared with the other. At this, Augustus related, he said to Jupiter Capitolinus, “You have Tonans as your sentinel”; and when it was day, he attached a bell to the statue as confirmation of the
DIOS ROMAN HISTORY

οἱ γὰρ τὰς συνοικίας νύκτωρ φυλάσσοντες κωδωνοφόροις, ὅπως σημαίνειν σφίσιν ὁπόταν δεηθῶσι1 δύνανται.

5 Ἔν μὲν δὴ τῇ 'Ρώμῃ ταῦτ' ἔγιγνετο, ὡπὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους καὶ οἱ Κάνταβροι οἱ τέ 'Αστυρες ἐπολέμησαν αὐθίς,2 οὕτως μὲν διὰ τε τρυφὴν καὶ δι’ ὁμότητα τοῦ Καρισίου, οἱ δὲ δὴ Κάνταβροι, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι τε νεωτεριζότας ἦσθοντο καὶ τοῦ ἁρχοντός σφων Γαίου Φωρνίου κατεφρόνησαν, ὅτε τε νεωστὶ ἁφίκτο καὶ ὅτι ἀπειρὸν αὐτὸν τῶν παρ’ ἐαυτοῖς πραγμάτων εἶναι ἐδοξαζ. οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐργῷ των ὅσις σφίσιν ἐφανὴ, ἀλλ’ ἠπτηθέντες ἀμφότεροι ϊπ’ αὐτοῦ (καὶ γὰρ τῷ Καρισίῳ προσήμουν) ἐδοξόλωθησαν. καὶ τῶν μὲν Καντάβρων οὐ πολλοὶ ἔλωσαν ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔσχον, οὔτε ξῆν ἰθέλησαν, ἄλλ’ οἱ μὲν τὰ ἐρύματα προεμπρήσαντες ἐαυτοὺς ἀπέσφαξαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐθελοντας συγκατεκαύθησαν, ἀλλοι δημοσίᾳ φαρμάκου ἐνεπλήσθησαν, ὡστε τὸ τε πλεῖστον καὶ τὸ ἀγριώτατον αὐτῶν φθαρῆναι οἱ δὲ 'Αστυρες ὡς τάχιστα χωρίον τε τι πολιορκοῦντες ἀπηλάθησαν καὶ μάχῃ μετὰ τούτ’ ἐνικήθησαν, οὐκετ’ ἀντήραν ἄλλ’ εὐθὺς ἐχειρώθησαν.

3 Ἡπὸ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων χρόνων οἱ Διδιοποι οἱ ύπὲρ Αλγύπτου οἰκούντες προεχώρησαν μὲν μέχρι τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ελεφαντίνης ὀνομασμένης, πάντα τὰ ἐν ποσὶ πορθοῦντες, ἡγομένης σφίσιν Κανδάκης' πυθόμενοι δὲ ἐνταῦθα ποι Γαίου Πετρώνιον τὸν τῆς Αλγύπτου ἁρχοντα προσέναι,

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1 δεηθῶσι Didul., διεηθῶσι VM.
2 αὐθίς Xyl., αὐτοῖς VM

292
vision. For those who guard communities at night carry a bell, in order to be able to signal to the inhabitants whenever they need to do so.

These were the events that occurred in Rome; and at about this same period the Cantabri and the Astures broke out into war again, the Astures on account of the luxurious ways and cruelty of Carisius, and the Cantabri because they perceived that the others were in revolt and because they despised their own governor, Gaius Furnius, since he had but lately arrived and they supposed that he was unacquainted with conditions among them. Nevertheless, he did not appear to them that sort of man when it came to action; for they were defeated and reduced to slavery by him, and the Astures likewise, since he also aided Carisius. Not many of the Cantabri were captured; for when they had no hope of freedom, they did not chose to live, either, but some set their forts on fire and cut their own throats, and others of their own choice remained with them and were consumed in the flames, while yet others took poison in the sight of all. Thus the most of them and the fiercest element perished. As for the Astures, as soon as they had been repulsed while besieging a certain stronghold and had later been defeated in battle, they offered no further resistance, but were promptly subdued.

About this same time the Ethiopians, who dwell beyond Egypt, advanced as far as the city called Elephantine, with Candace as their leader, ravaging everything they encountered. At Elephantine, however, learning that Gaius ¹ Petronius, the governor of Egypt, was approaching, they hastily retreated before

¹ Pliny (Nat. Hist. vi. 181) calls him Publius.
προαπήλθον μὲν ὡς καὶ διαφευξόμενοι, καταλη-φθέντες δὲ ἐν τῇ ὄδῷ ἠττηθήσαν, κακὸς τούτου καὶ
5 ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτῶν ἐπεσπάσαντο. καὶ καλὸς καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀγωνισάμενος πόλεις ἄλλας τε ἔντον ἐλαβεν. καὶ ἐκεῖνῃ μὲν κατεσκάφη, ἐν ἑτέρῳ δὲ τινὶ χωρίῳ φρουρά κατελείφθη. ο γὰρ Πετρόνιος μίτῃ
περαιτέρῳ διὰ τῇ ἁμον καὶ διὰ τὸ καῦμα προελθεῖν μίτῃ κατὰ χώραν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ
στρατοῦ μεῖνας καλῶς δυνηθεῖς ἀνεχόρησε, τὸ
6 πλείον αὐτοῦ ἐπαγόμενος. καὶ τοῦτο τῶν Ἀι-
θιότων τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐπιθέμενων αὐθίς τε ἐπ'
αὐτοῦ ἐστράτευσε, καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἔρρυσατο,
cαὶ τὴν Καρδάκην συμβῆναι οἱ ἱνάγκασεν.

6 Ἡλθεν δὲ ταύτα ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Ἀὐγοῦστος ἐς
Σικελίαν ἠλθεν, ὅπως καὶ ἐκεῖνην καὶ τάλλα τὰ
μέχρι τῆς Συρίας καταστήσηται. καὶ αὐτοῦ
ἐκτείνωσα ἐκ ὄντως ὁ δήμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς
ὑπάτους χειροτονῶν ἐστασίσασεν, ὡστε καὶ εἰ
tούτῳ διαδειχθῆναι ὅτι ἁδύνατον ἢ δημοκρατου-
2 μένουσα σφάς σωθῆναι, μικροῦ γοῦν τινος ἐν τὲ
tαῖς ἀρχαισίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αὐταῖς
κυριεύσαντες ἔθορύσησαν. ἔτηρεντο μὲν γὰρ ἡ
ἑτέρα χώρα τῷ Ἀὐγοῦστῳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μάρκος
Λόλλιος καὶ ἀρχαῖ τοῦ ἐτούς μόνος ἦρξεν ἐκεῖ-
νοῦ δὲ 5 μὴ δεξαμένου αὐτῆς Κύπτως τε Δέπιδος
καὶ Λούκιος Σιλοναῖος ἔσπονδαρχίσασαν, καὶ
οὕτω γε πάντα συνετάραξαν ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ἀὐγο-
3 στον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφρόνων ἀνακληθῆναι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ

1 το supplied by Rk. 2 Ἕπέτην Dind., ἕπέτην VM Xiph.
3 βασιλεῖον αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν Xiph., βασιλεῖον ἐπελαβεν VM.
4 κατελείφθη Xiph., κατελείφθη VM. 5 δὲ Ἔπ., δὲ δὲ Ἔπ.
he arrived, hoping to make good their escape. But being overtaken on the road, they were defeated and thus drew him after them into their own country. There, too, he fought successfully with them, and took Napata, their capital, among other cities. This place was razed to the ground, and a garrison left at another point; for Petronius, finding himself unable either to advance farther, on account of the sand and the heat, or advantageously to remain where he was with his entire army, withdrew, taking the greater part of it with him. Thereupon the Ethiopians attacked the garrisons, but he again proceeded against them, rescued his own men, and compelled Candace to make terms with him.

While this was going on, Augustus went to Sicily in order to settle affairs in that island and elsewhere as far as Syria. While he was still there, the Roman populace fell to quarrelling over the election of the consuls. This incident showed clearly that it was impossible for a democratic government to be maintained among them; at any rate, although they had but little authority either in the matter of the elections or of the offices themselves, they fell to rioting. One of the consulships, it seems, was being kept for Augustus, and accordingly at the beginning of the year Marcus Lollius alone entered upon office; but when the emperor would not accept the position, Quintus Lepidus and Lucius Silvanus became rival candidates and threw everything into such turmoil that Augustus was summoned home by those who retained their senses.
οὐχ ὑπέστρεψε μὲν, ἐλθόντας δὲ αὐτοῦς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέπεμψεν ἐπιτιμήσας σφίσι καὶ κελεύσας ἀμφότεροι αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τὴν ψῆφον δοθήναι, οὔτεν μάλλον ἦσοχασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ αὐθεὶς διηνέχθησαν, ὡστε τὸν Λέπιδον ὅψε ποτε αἱρε-θῆναι. ἀγανακτήσας δὲν ἔπὶ τοῦτο ὁ Ἀγγυστος, καὶ μὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ σχολάζειν δυνάμενος μήτ', αὐτῷ αὐτὴν καταλείπειν τολμῶν, ἐξῆτε τινὰ αὐτῇ ἐπιστῆσαι, καὶ ἔκρινε μὲν τὸν Ἀγρίπ-παν ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐς τοῦτο εἶναι, βουλθεῖς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀξίωσαν αὐτῷ μεῖζον περιθείναι, ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τοῦτο Ῥᾶον αὐτῶν ἁρχὴν, μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν, καὶ καταναγκάσας τῇ γυναικῇ, καὶ περὶ ἀδελφίδην αὐτοῦ οὐσίαν, ἀπαλλάξαντα τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ συνοικῆ-σαι, ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην παραχρῆμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως διαχειρίσεις ἐπεμψε, διὰ τὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι ὁ Μακιήνας συμβουλευομένως οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι "τηλικοῦτον αὐτῶν πεποίηκας ὡστ' ἡ γαμβρών σου 6 γενέσθαι ἤ φονευθήναι." καὶ ὅν ἐς τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ οἶδοντα ἐτὶ εὐρών κατεστήσατο, τὰ τε ἱερὰ ταῦτα Ἀγγυπτια ἐπεσιόντα αὐθεὶς ἐς τὸ ἀστυ ἀνέστησεν, ἀπειπῶν μηδέναι μηδὲ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ αὐτὰ ἐντὸς ὄγδοον ἡμισταδίῳ ποιεῖν ταραχῆς δὲ τίνος περὶ τήν 1 τοῦ πολιάρχου τοῦ διὰ τὰς ἀνοχάς αἱρομενέου χειροτονίαι συμβάσεις οὐκ ἐπεκράτησεν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀνευ τῆς ἁρχῆς ταύτης τῶν ἑναυτῶν ἐκείνου διεγένετο.

1 θυ supplied by R. Steph.
would not return, however, and when the two candidates themselves came to him, he rebuked them and sent them away, giving orders that the vote should be taken during the absence of them both; thereupon the people were no more quiet than before, but fell into great strife again, until at last Lepidus was chosen. Augustus was displeased at the incident, for he could not devote all his time to Rome alone and did not dare to leave the city in a state of anarchy; accordingly, he sought for some one to set over it, and judged Agrippa to be most suitable for the purpose. And as he wished to invest him with a dignity above the ordinary, in order that he might govern the people more easily, he summoned him, compelled him to divorce his wife, although she was the emperor's own niece, and to marry Julia; and he sent him to Rome at once to attend both to the wedding and to the administration of the city. This step is said to have been taken partly on the advice of Maecenas, who in counselling him upon these very matters said: "You have made him so great that he must either become your son-in-law or be slain." Agrippa, then, checked whatever other ailments he found still festering, and curtailed the Egyptian rites which were again invading the city, forbidding anyone to perform them even in the suburbs within one mile of the city. And when a disturbance arose over the election of the prefect of the city, the official chosen on account of the Feriae, he did not succeed in quelling it, but they went through that year without this official.

1 Cf. note on li. 19, 6.
2 The prefect of the city was appointed to have charge of the city during the absence of the two consuls in attendance upon the celebration at the Alban Mount.
Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἐπραττεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀὐγουστος τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ διοικήσας, καὶ τὰς Συρακούσας ἐτέρας τε τινὰς πόλεις ἀποίκους Ῥωμαίων ἀποδείξας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεραιώθη. Καὶ Δακεδαιμονίους μὲν τοὺς τε Κυθήροις καὶ τῇ συσσιτίᾳ ἐτίμησεν, ὡς ἡ Λιονία, ὡς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας σὺν τῷ ἄνδρι καὶ σὺν τῷ γείτονι ἐφυγεν, ἐκεὶ διέτριψεν Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὴν τε Αἰγίναν καὶ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν (ἐκαρπούντο γὰρ αὐτάς), ὡς τινὲς φασιν, ἀφείλετο, ὡς τῶν Ἀντώνιον ἐσπούδασαν, καὶ προσέτετο καὶ ἀπηγόρευσεν σφισί μηδένα πολὺν ἀργυρίου ποιεῖσθαι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς ταῦτα ἐδοξεῖ τὸ τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλματι συμβὰν ἀποσκήψαι ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀκροπόλει πρὸς ἀνατολῶν ἱδρυμένου πρὸς τε τὰς δυσμὰς μετεστράφη καὶ αἷμα ἀπέπτυσεν. ὁ δὲ οὖν Ἀὐγουστος τὸ τε Ἑλληνικὸν διήγαγε καὶ ἐς Σάμων ἐπλένεσεν, ἐνταῦθα τε ἐχεῖρα τε ἔχειε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῷ ἢρι ἐν ὁ τοίος Ἀρκτοῖς τε Ἀπολλείος καὶ Πούπλιος Σίλιος ὑπάτευσαν κομισθεὶς πάντα τα τε ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Βισχυνίᾳ.

καὶ τὸν δὴ δήμον καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἐθνὶ καὶ τὰ πρὸτερα ἐθὸκει εἰναι ἐν ὅλης ἡμερίᾳ αὐτὰ ποιησάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων σφῶν ὡς καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἄνω τῶν ἐπιμεληθεῖς τὰ τε γὰρ ἅλλα ὀσάπερ καὶ προσήκον ἴν ἐπηρώθωσε, καὶ χρήματα τοῖς μὲν ἐπεδώκε τοῖς δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν φόρον ἥσενε μεκαίρως προσέταξεν. τούτῳ τε Κυκληνοὺς, ὡς Ῥωμαίους τινὰς ἐν στάσει μαστυγώσαντες ἀπεκτείναν, ἀδούλωσατο. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς Τυρίους

1 Συρακούσας R. Steph., συρακούσας VM.
2 πόλεις M., om. V.
3 πρὸς Reim., τῇ τρόι VM.
4 δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν VM.
5 Ἀπολλείος Be., ἀπολλείος VM.
While Agrippa was thus occupied, Augustus, after arranging various matters in Sicily and making Roman colonies of Syracuse and certain other cities, crossed over into Greece. He honoured the Lacedaemonians by giving them Cythera and attending their public mess, because Livia, when she fled from Italy with her husband and son, had spent some time there. But from the Athenians he took away Aegina and Eretria, from which they received tribute, because, as some say, they had espoused the cause of Antony; and he furthermore forbade them to make anyone a citizen for money. And it seemed to them that the thing which had happened to the statue of Athena was responsible for this misfortune; for this statue on the Acropolis, which was placed to face the east, had turned around to the west and spat blood. Augustus, now, after transacting what business he had in Greece, sailed to Samos, where he passed the winter; and in the spring of the year when Marcus Apuleius and Publius Silius were consuls, he went on into Asia, and settled everything there and in Bithynia. For although these provinces as well as those previously mentioned were regarded as belonging to the people, he did not for that reason neglect them, but gave most careful attention to them all, as if they were his own. Thus he instituted various reforms, so far as seemed desirable, and made donations of money to some, at the same time commanding others to contribute an amount in excess of the tribute. He reduced the people of Cyzicus to slavery because during a factious quarrel they had flogged and put to death some Romans. And when he reached Syria, he took the same action.

1 Cf. xlvi. 15.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

tou̱s te Sidosios διὰ τὰς στάσεις ἐποίησεν, ἐν τῇ¹ Συρία γενόμενος.²

8 Ἔν τούτῳ ὁ Φραάτης φοβήθεις μὴ καὶ ἐπιστρατεύσῃ, οἵ, ὅτι μηδέπω τῶν συγκειμένων ἐπεποίηκεν τι, τὰ τε σημεία αὐτῶ³ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πλὴν ὅλων οἷ ὑπ’ αἰσχύνης σφᾶς ἐπεθεραν ἦ καὶ κατὰ χώραν λαθόντες ἔμειναν,

2 ἀπέπεμψε. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος ὡς καὶ πολέμω τινὶ τὸν Πάρθον νενικηκὼς ἔλαβε· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις⁴ ἐφρόνει μέγα, λέγων ὅτι τὰ προτέρων ποτε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολόμενα ἀκούστι ἐκεκόμῳ ἐκεῖνῳ. ἀμέλει καὶ θυσίας ἐπ’ αὐτῶς καὶ νεὼν Ἀρεώς Τιμωροῦ ἐν τῷ Καπητωλίῳ, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Δίος τοῦ Φερετρίου ξῆλωμα, πρὸς τὴν τῶν σημείων ἀνάθεσιν καὶ ψηφισθῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐποίησε, καὶ προσέτη καὶ ἐπὶ κέλητος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλασε καὶ ἰψίδι τροποιοφόρῳ ἔτιμήθη.

3 ταῦτα μὲν ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνοις ὑστερον ἐπράξθη τότε δὲ αὐτός τε προστάτης τῶν περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁδῶν αἱρεθεὶς καὶ τὸ χρυσὸν μίλιον κεκλημένον ἐστήσε, καὶ ὀδοποιοὺς αὐταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν, ῥαβδοῦχοις δύο χρωμένους, προσέταξε.

5 καὶ ἡ Ἰουλία τοῦ Γαίου ὀνομασθέντα ἔτεκε, βουθεσία τέ τις τοῖς γενεβλίοις αὐτοῦ αἵ διον ἐδόθη· καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἐκ ψηφίσματος, ὡσπερ ποι καὶ

¹ τῇ Μ, om. V.
² γενόμενος—τῶν τοῦ Κυρί (chap. 19, 4) omitted in V, whose archetype L had lost five folios at this point.
³ αὐτῶ Xiph., αὐτῶν M.
⁴ ἐπὶ τούτων supplied by Reim. from Xiph.

That is, he celebrated an ocatio. Curator ciarum.
The millarium aureum stood at the north end of the Forum near the Temple of Saturn, marking the point where
in the case of the people of Tyre and Sidon on account of their factious quarrelling.

Meanwhile Phraates, fearing that Augustus would lead an expedition against him because he had not yet performed any of his engagements, sent back to him the standards and all the captives, with the exception of a few who in shame had destroyed themselves or, eluding detection, remained in the country. Augustus received them as if he had conquered the Parthian in a war; for he took great pride in the achievement, declaring that he had recovered without a struggle what had formerly been lost in battle. Indeed, in honour of this success he commanded that sacrifices be decreed and likewise a temple to Mars Ultor on the Capitol, in imitation of that of Jupiter Feretrius, in which to dedicate the standards; and he himself carried out both decrees. Moreover he rode into the city on horseback and was honoured with a triumphal arch. Now all this was done later in commemoration of the event; but at the time of which we are speaking he was chosen commissioner of all the highways in the neighbourhood of Rome, and in this capacity set up the golden mile-stone as it was called, and appointed men from the number of the ex-praetors, each with two lictors, to attend to the actual construction of the roads. And Julia gave birth to a boy, who received the name Gaius; and a permanent annual sacrifice on his birthday was granted. Now this, like all the other acts mentioned, was done in pursuance all the great roads met. It was a column covered with gilt bronze, and was engraved with the names of the more important cities of the empire with their distances from Rome. Distances were actually measured, however, from the city gates.
τάλλα, ἐγένετο· ἵδια δὲ δὴ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι ἑπτοδρομίαν τε ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ἀγγοῦστου γενεθλίοις καὶ θηρίων σφαγάς ἐποίησαν.

9 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταῦτ᾽ ἐπράττετο, ὁ δὲ Ἀγγοῦστος τὸ μὲν ὑπῆκοον κατὰ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐθνοφόρει, τὸ δὲ ἐνσπόνδυον τῷ πατρίῳ σφίστι τρόπῳ εἶα ἅρχεσθαι, οὕτω ἡξίωσεν οὔτε ἐκεῖνος οὔτε τοῖς προσθέσθαι οὔτε ἐτερον τι προσκτίσασθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκριβῶς ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐδικαίουσι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπεστείλεν. ὡστε πολέμου μὲν οὔδεν τότε γ᾽ ἐφήσατο, δυναστείας δὲ δὴ Ἰαμβλίχω τε τῷ Ἰαμβλίχῳ τὴν τῶν Ἀραβίων τὴν πατρίου καὶ Ταρκυνδιόμοτο τῷ Ταρκυνδιόμοτου τῇ τῆς Κιλικίας, ἢν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐσχε, πλὴν παραθαλασσίων τινῶν ἑδωκεν ἐκείνα γὰρ τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ μετὰ τῆς σμικροτέρας Ἀρμενίας ἐγαρίσατο, ὅτι ὁ Μηδος ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῆς

3 βασιλεὺς ἐτεθήκει, τῷ τῆς Ἡρώδη Ζηνοδώρου τινὸς τεταρχίαν, καὶ Μιθριδάτη τινὶ τὴν Κομμαγηνῆν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῆς ἀπεκτόνει, καὶ οἱ παιδίκῳ ἔτετετρεψε τῶν τῇ Ἀρμενίῳ τῶν ἐτέρων τοῦ τῇ Ἀρτάξου κατηγορησάντων καὶ τοῖς Τυγράνῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὄντα μεταπεμφαμένων, ἐστειλε τῷ Τιβέριῳ, ὅπως τὸν μὲν ἐκβάλῃ τῆς βασιλείας, τὸν δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἀποκατάστησι, καὶ ἐπράχθη μὲν οὖν τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτοῦ ἄξιον οἱ γὰρ Ἀρμενίοι τοῦ Ἀρτάξου προαπέκτειναν· ὁ δὲ οὖν Τιβέριος, ἀλλωσ τε καὶ

1 εἰς Leuc., ὤμ M. 2 ἐκεῖνον Bk., ἐκεῖνον M.
3 Ἀρτάξου St., ἀρτάξου M (and similarly just below).
4 ἑστειλῆ Bk., μετέστειλέ M.
of a decree; on their own initiative, however, the aediles gave games in the Circus and a slaughter of wild beasts on Augustus' birthday.

This is what was going on in the city. Augustus administered the subject territory according to the customs of the Romans, but permitted the allied nations to be governed in their own traditional manner; and he did not regard it as desirable either to make any additions to the former or to extend the latter by any new acquisitions, but thought it best to be satisfied with precisely what they already possessed, and he communicated this opinion to the senate. Therefore he undertook no war, at any rate for the time being, but actually gave away certain principalities—to Iamblichus, the son of Iamblichus, his ancestral dominion over the Arabians, and to Tarcondimotus, the son of Tarcondimotus, the kingdom of Cilicia, which his father had held, except for a few places on the coast. These latter together with Lesser Armenia he granted to Archelaus, because the Mede, who previously had ruled them, was dead. To Herod he entrusted the tetrarchy of a certain Zenodorus, and to one Mithridates, though still a mere boy, he gave Commagene, inasmuch as its king had put the boy's father to death. And since the other Armenians had preferred charges against Artaxes and had summoned his brother Tigranes, who was in Rome, the emperor sent Tiberius to drive Artaxes out of the kingdom and to reinstate Tigranes. And although nothing was accomplished by Tiberius commensurate with his preparations, since before his arrival the Armenians slew Artaxes, yet he assumed a lofty bearing, especially after sacrifices had been
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

6 επειδή θυσίας ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐψηφίσθησαν, ἐσεμνύ-
νετο ὡς καὶ κατ' ἁρετήν τι ποιήσας. καὶ ἦδη γε
καὶ περὶ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐνενεί, ἐπειδή πρὸς τοὺς
Φιλίππους αὐτοῦ 1 προσελαύνοντος θάρυσσό τε
τις ἐκ τοῦ τῆς μάχης χαρίου ώς καὶ ἐκ στρατο-
pέδου ἥκουσθη, καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν ὕπο
τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐν τῷ ταφρέματι ἱδρυθέντων αὐτο-
7 ματον ἀνέλαμψε. Τιβέριος μὲν δὴ ἐκ τούτων
ἐγανυκτώ, ὁ δὲ Ἀὐγουστος ἐς τῆς Σάμου
ἐπανῆλθε κάνταῦθα αὐθίς ἐχέιμασε, καὶ ἐκεῖνοις
tε ἐλευθερίαν μισθὸν τῆς διατρῆθης ἀντέδωκε,
8 καὶ ἄλλα ὁμιλεὶ προσδιόκησε. πάμπολλα
γὰρ δὴ πρεσβεῖα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο, καὶ οἱ
Ἰνδοὶ προκηρυκευόμενοι πρότερον φιλίαν τότε
ἐσπείραντο, δῦρα πέμψαντες ἄλλα τε καὶ τίγρεις,
πρὸτον τότε τοὺς Ρωμαίους, νομίζω δὲ ὅτι καὶ
τοῖς Ἐλλησισι, ὀρθείσας. καὶ τι καὶ μειράκιον
οἱ ἀνεν ὁμον, οἷον τοὺς Ἐρμᾶς ὀρῶμεν, ἔδουκαν.
9 καὶ μέντοι τοιούτων ὅτι ἐκεῖνο ἐς πάντα τοὺς ποσίν
ἀτε καὶ χερσὶν ἐχρήτου, τὸξον τε αὐτῶι ἐπέτεινε
καὶ βέλη ἠφίει καὶ ἐσάλπιζεν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως:
10 γράφω γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα. εἰς δ' οὖν τῶν Ἰνδῶν
Ζάρμαρος, εἶτε δὴ τοῦ τῶν σοφιστῶν γένους ὅν,
καὶ κατὰ τούτο ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας, εἶτε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
γῆρως κατὰ τὸν πάτριον νόμον, εἶτε καὶ εἰς ἐπὶ-
δεῖξιν τοῦ τοῦ Ἀὐγουστοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων (καὶ
γὰρ ἐκείσε ἠλθεὶ ἀποδανεῖ ἐθελήσας ἐμνήθη τε
τὰ τοῖν θεοῖν, τῶν μυστηρίων καίπερ οὐκ ἐν τῷ

1 aυτοῦ Dind., aυτῶι M.

304
voted to commemorate what he had done, as though he had accomplished something by valour. And his thoughts were already on the monarchy, inasmuch as, when he was approaching Philippi, a tumult was heard coming from the field of the battle, as if from an army, and fire blazed up spontaneously from the altars which Antony had built in the fortified camp. Tiberius, accordingly, was feeling elated over these occurrences. But Augustus, for his part, returned to Samos and once more passed the winter there. In recognition of his stay he gave the islanders their freedom, and he also attended to many matters of business. For a great many embassies came to him, and the people of India, who had already made overtures, now made a treaty of friendship, sending among other gifts tigers, which were then for the first time seen by the Romans, as also, I think, by the Greeks. They also gave him a boy who had no shoulders or arms, like our statues of Hermes. And yet, defective as he was, he could use his feet for everything, as if they were hands: with them he would stretch a bow, shoot missiles, and put a trumpet to his lips. How he did this I do not know; I merely state what is recorded. One of the Indians, Zarmarus, for some reason wished to die,—either because, being of the caste of sages, he was on this account moved by ambition, or, in accordance with the traditional custom of the Indians, because of old age, or because he wished to make a display for the benefit of Augustus and the Athenians (for Augustus had reached Athens);—he was therefore initiated into the mysteries of the two goddesses,¹ which were held

¹ Demeter and Kore.
καθήκοντι καιρῷ, ὃς φασί, διὰ τὸν Αὐγουστον καὶ αὐτὸν¹ μεμημένον οἰκομένων,² καὶ πυρὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔδωκεν.

10 Ἄπατενε μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ³ Γάιος Σέντιος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν συνάρξοντα αὐτὸ προσ-

αποδειχθῆναι ἔδει (ὤ γὰρ Αὐγουστος οὐδὲ τότε τηρθεὶσαν οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδέξατο), στάσις τε αὐθις ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ συνηνέχθη καὶ σφαγαί συνε-

βῆσαν, ὅπου τοὺς βουλευτὰς φρουρὰν τῷ Σεντίῳ⁴ ἡ ψηφίσασθαι. ἐπειδὴ τε ὡς ἤθελησεν αὐτῇ χρη-

σασθαι, πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον, μετὰ δύο Ῥαβδοῦχων ἑκαστὸν, ἔπεμψαν. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος, καὶ συνιδὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν πέρας τοῦ κακοῦ ἑγνήσιον, ὤκετι αὐτοῖς ὠμοίως ώσπερ καὶ πρὶν προσηνέχθη, ἀλλ' ἐκ τὸν προσβευτὸν αὐτῶν Κύντον Λουκρήτιον, καίπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐπικυρι-

χείσιν ἀναγραφέντα, ὑπατον ἄπεδειξε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἡπείχθη. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τε τούτων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀποικίᾳ πραχθείσι πολλὰ καὶ πανταία ἐψηφίσθη· ὥσιν οὐδὲν προσή-

κατο, πλὴν Τύχῃ τε Ἐπαναγώγῳ (οὔτω γὰρ πῶς αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσαν) βωμὸν ἱδρυθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἦν ἄνοιξιτο ἐν τε ταῖς ἰερομνημίαις ἀριθμεῖσθαι καὶ Ἀὐγουστάλία ὀνομάζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὅσι αἱ τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προαπαντήσαντο ἀρίσκουτος ἐς τὴν πόλεως ἐσεκο-

μίσθη, καὶ τῇ ὑπεραίᾳ τῷ τῷ Τιβερίῳ τὰς τῶν ἐσπραγμηκότων τιμάς ἐδοκε, καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ πέντε ἔτει θάσσον παρὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα τὰς

¹ αὐτὸν supplied by Rk.
² ἐκείνῳ Reim., ἐν δὲ M.
³ Σέντιῳ R. Steph., σεντίωι M.
⁴ μὴ Dind., μήτε M.
out of season on account, they say, of Augustus, who also was an initiate, and he then threw himself alive into the fire.

The consul that year was Gaius Sentius; and when it became necessary for a colleague to be elected (for Augustus on this occasion, also, did not accept the position after it had been kept open for him), factious quarrelling again took place and murders occurred, so that the senators voted a guard for Sentius; and when he was unwilling to use it, they sent envoys to Augustus, each with two lictors. Now when the emperor learned of these things, realizing that there would be no end to the evil, he did not this time deal with the matter as he had before, but appointed one of the envoys themselves, Quintus Lucretius, to the consulship, though this man's name had been posted in the list of the proscribed; and he hastened to Rome himself. For this and the other things he had done while absent from the city many honours of all sorts were voted him, none of which he would accept, save the founding of an altar to Fortuna Redux (for this was the name they gave to her), and the provision that the day on which he arrived should be numbered among the holidays and be called Augustalia. Since even then the magistrates and the rest made preparations beforehand to go out to meet him, he entered the city by night; and on the following day he gave Tiberius the rank of an ex-praetor and allowed Drusus to stand for the various offices five years earlier than was the practice.
5 ἀρχὰς αἰτήσαι ἐπέτρεψεν. ἐπειδὴ τε μηδὲν ὁμολογεῖ ὅσα τε ἀπόντως αὐτοῦ στασιάζοντες καὶ ὅσα παρόντος φοβοῦμενοι ἔπρασαν, ἐπιμελήτης τε τῶν τρόπων ἐς πέντε ἐτῶν παρακληθεὶς δὴ ἐχειροτούηθη, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν μὲν τῶν τιμητῶν ἐς τὸν αὐτοῦ χρόνον τὴν δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων διὰ βίου ἔλαβεν, ὡστε καὶ ταῖς δώδεκα ράβδοις ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπατευόντων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ δίφρου καθίσεθαι.

6 ψηφισάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα διορθοῦν τε πάντα αὐτῶν καὶ νομοθετεῖν ὅσα βούλειτο ἥξιον, καὶ τοὺς τε νόμους τοὺς γραφημομένους ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ Ἀνθωνίου στους ἐκείθεν ὡδὴ προσηγόρευον, καὶ ἐμμενεῖν σφίσιν ὁμόσαι ἤθελον. ὃ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀλλα ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἐδέξατο, τοὺς δ᾽ ὀρκους ἀφῆκεν.

7 αὐτοίς καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἡδεὶ ὅτι, ἐὰν μὲν ἀπὸ γνώμης τι περοῦσαντο, τηρήσουσιν αὐτῷ κἂν μὴ ὁμόςωσιν, εἰ δὲ μῆ, ὡδὲν αὐτοῦ, κἂν μυρίας πίστεις ἐπαγάγωσι, προτειμήσουσιν.

11 Ἀνθωνίου μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίει, καὶ τις τῶν ἀγορανόμων ἐθελοντῆς ὑπὸ πενια ἀπεῖπε τὴν ἅρχην Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὡς τότε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας περιφερεῖς διώκησε τὰ κατεπείγοντα, ταῖς Ἡρατίαις προσετάχθη ἐν τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἑστασιάζον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκακούντο, καταστήσας δὲ καὶ ἑκείνα ἐς Ἰβηρίαν μετέστη, οἱ γὰρ Κάνταβροι οἱ χωρηθέντες τε ἐν τῷ πο-

1 ἐτη supplied by Xyl. (cf. Zon.: εὶς περιτελίαν).
2 αἰὲ Bk., αἰὲ M. 3 αὐτοῦ Rk., αὐτὰ M.
4 ἐμμενεῖν Dind., ἐμμενεῖν M.
5 ὁμόσαι Xyl., ὁμοσαί M. 6 αὐτ Bk., αὐτ ἄτε M.
7 τηρήσουσιν Reim., τηροῦσιν M.
8 ὁμόσωσιν Rk., ὁμολογήσωσιν M.
9 προτειμήσουσιν Rk., προτειμήσωσιν M.
And inasmuch as there was no similarity between the conduct of the people during his absence, when they quarrelled, and while he was present, when they were afraid, he accepted an election, on their invitation, to the position of supervisor of morals for five years, and took the authority of censor for the same period and that of consul for life, and in consequence had the right to use the twelve rods always and everywhere and to sit in the curule chair between the two men who were at the time consuls. After voting these measures they begged him to set everything to rights and to enact whatever laws he liked; and the laws which should be proposed by him they called "leges Augustae" from that very moment, and desired to take an oath that they would abide by them. He accepted all the other measures, believing them to be necessary, but did not require the oaths from them; for he well knew that, if any measure they decreed should represent their judgment, they would observe it even without taking an oath, but if it should not, they would pay no heed to it, even if they should offer ten thousand guarantees.

Augustus, then, was engaged with these matters; and one of the aediles voluntarily resigned his office by reason of poverty. As for Agrippa, as soon as he had settled whatever business was urgent in Rome, whither he had been sent from Sicily on the occasion mentioned, he was then assigned to the provinces of Gaul; for the people there not only were quarrelling among themselves, but also were being harassed by the Germans. After putting a stop to those troubles, too, he went over to Spain. It seems that the Cantabri who had been captured alive in the war

1 Praefectus moribus.  2 See chap. 6, 5.
λέωρ καὶ πραθέντες τοὺς τε δεσπότας σφῶν ὡς ἐκαστοὶ ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανελθόντες πολλοὺς συναπέστησαν, καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν χωρία καταλαβόντες καὶ ἐντειχισάμενοι τοῖς τῶν

3 Ὀρωμαίων φρουροῖς ἐπεβούλευον. ἐπ’ οὖν τούτους ὡς Ἀγρίππας ἐπιστρατεύοντας ἐσχε μὲν τι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἔργον πρεσβύτεροι γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν ἄντε καὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν πολέμων τετρυχομένου, τοὺς τε Καντάβρους ὡς καὶ δυσπο-

4 λεμίτους δεδίοτες, οὐκ ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ. ἀλλ’ ἐκείνους μὲν, τὰ μὲν νουθετήσας τὰ δὲ παραμυθή-

5 σάμενος τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπελπίσας, 1 διὰ ταχέων πειθαρχῆσαι ἐποίησε, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοὺς Καντάβρους πολλὰ προσέπταισεν καὶ γὰρ ἐμπειρία πραγμάτων, ἀτε τοῖς Ὀρωμαίοις δεδουλευκότες, καὶ ἀπογυνώσει τοῦ μὴ ἄν ἐτί σωθήναι ἄλοντες ἔχρούντο.

6 τέλος δὲ ποτὲ συχνοὺς μὲν ἀποβαλὼν τῶν στρα-

7 τιωτῶν, συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀτιμώσας ὑπὶ ἡττώντο (τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ στρατόπεδον ὅλον Ἀὐγοῦστον ἐπωνομασμένον ἐκώλυσεν οὕτως ἄτι καλεῖσθαι), τοὺς τε ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ πολεμίους πάντας ὀλίγον διέφθειρε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τὰ τε ὑπὸ ἀφείλετο καὶ ἐς τὰ πεδία ἐκ τῶν ἔρμυνων κατεβίβασεν. οὐ μὴν οὕτε ἐπέστειλε τι τῇ βουλῇ περὶ αὐτῶν, οὐτὲ τὰ ἐπινίκια καὶ τοίς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστον προσ-

8 τάξεως ψηφισθέντα προσήκατο, ἀλλ’ ἐν τε τού-

9 τοὺς ἐμετρίαζεν ὡσπερ εἰώθει, καὶ ἀνάμνησιν ποτὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου ὕπερ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐρωτή-

1 ἐπελπίσας Βε., ἀπελπίσατ M.
and sold, had killed their masters in every case, and returning home, had induced many to join in their rebellion; and with the aid of these they had seized some positions, walled them in, and were plotting against the Roman garrisons. It was against these people, then, that Agrippa led an expedition. But he had some trouble also with his soldiers; for not a few of them were too old and were exhausted by the continual wars; and fearing the Cantabri as men hard to subdue, they would not obey him. Nevertheless, partly by admonishing and exhorting them, and partly by inspiring them with hopes, he soon made them yield obedience. In fighting against the Cantabri, however, he met with many reverses; for they not only had gained practical experience, as a result of having been slaves to the Romans, but also despaired of having their lives granted to them again if they were taken captive. But finally Agrippa was successful; after losing many of his soldiers, and degrading many others because they kept being defeated (for example, he gave orders that the entire Augustan legion, as it had been called, should no longer bear that name), he at length destroyed nearly all of the enemy who were of military age, deprived the rest of their arms, and forced them to come down from their fortresses and live in the plains. Yet he sent no communication concerning them to the senate, and did not accept a triumph, although one was voted at the behest of Augustus, but showed moderation in these matters as was his wont; and once, when asked by the consul for his opinion about his brother, he would not give it. At

1 Nothing of this sort is recorded elsewhere. The passage may be corrupt; it has been proposed to read προ for ὑπερ, "ahead of the consul's brother," i.e. out of his turn.
7 θείς οὐκ ἔδωκε. τὸ τε ὕδωρ τὸ Παρθένιον καλού-
μενον τοῖς ἱδίοις τέλεσιν ἐσαγαγὼν Αὐγουστον 
προσηγόρευσε. καὶ οὗτο γε ἐκεῖνος ἐπ᾽ ἀυτῶ
ἐχαίρειν ὡστε σπάνειός ἑπταία νικηφόρον ἄρσον,
καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεινὰ διαβοῶντον, ἰκανότατα
ἐφη τὸν Ἀγρίππαν προπονεοῦσαν ὡστε μὴ δίψῃ
ποτὲ αὐτοῦς ἀπολέσθαι.

12 Τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ οὗτος ὁ ἀνήρ ἦν τῶν δὲ δὴ
ἀλλῶν τινὰς οὐχ ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ πράσσοντες,
ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ηστάς συλλαμβάνοντες οἱ δὲ πόλεις
στασιαζόνται καταλλάσσοντες, καὶ ἐπωρέγοντο
τῶν νικητρίων καὶ ἔπεμπον αὐτά. ο γὰρ Αὐγου-
στος καὶ ταῦτα ἀφθόνως τισὶ τὴν γε πρότην
ἐχαρίζετο, καὶ δημοσίας ταφαῖς πλεῖστους ὅσοις
ἐτίμα. τοιχαριῶν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν εν τούτοις ἐλαμπρό-
νυσσον, ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἐσ τὴν αὐταρχίαν τρόπον
τινὰ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ προῆκηθ. ο γὰρ Αὐγουστος, ὡς
tα τε κοινὰ θεραπείας ἀκριβοὺς ἐδείτο, καὶ ἐδείτε
μὴ, οία ἐν τοίς τοιούτοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ἐπι-
βουλεύθη (βραχύ γὰρ τε καὶ σμικρὸν τὸν θώρακα,
ὅν ὑπὸ τῇ στολῇ πολλάκις καὶ ἐσ αὐτὸ τὸ συνέ-
4 δρομὸν ἑσισιον ἑκεῖνε ἐπικουρήσειν οἱ ἐνόμισε), πρῶτον
μὲν αὐτὸς πέντε τῆς προστασίας ἐτή, ἐπειδὴπερ ὁ
δεκέτης χρόνος ἑξῆκον ἦν, προσέθετο (ταῦτα γὰρ
Ποπλίου τε καὶ Γναίου Λεοπόλων ὑπατεύοντων
ἐγένετο), ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππα ἄλλα τε ἐξ
ἰσον τῇ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχίκην
5 ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἔδωκε. τοσαῦτα γὰρ σφισιν ἐτή
τὸ τοῦ ἐπαρκεῖσιν ἐφή. ὑστερὸν γὰρ οὐ πολλῶ

1 στάρκικι Βκ., στάρκια Μ.
2 Λεοπόλων Βκ., λεοπόλων Μ.
3 σφισιον R. Steph., σφισι Μ.
his own expense he brought into the city the water-supply known as the Aqua Virgo, and named it the Augusta. The emperor took such great delight in this that once, when there was a great scarcity of wine and people were loudly complaining, he declared that Agrippa had in a most competent manner seen to it that they should never perish of thirst.

Such was the character of this man; but others both strove for triumphs and celebrated them, not only for no exploits comparable to his, but merely for arresting robbers or for restoring harmony to cities that were torn by factious strife. For Augustus, at least in the beginning, bestowed these rewards lavishly upon certain men, and those whom he honoured by public funerals were very many. Accordingly, while these men gained lustre through such distinctions, Agrippa was promoted to the supreme power, one might say, by him. For Augustus saw that the public business required strict attention, and feared that he himself might, as often happens to men of his position, fall victim to a plot. (As for the breastplate which he often wore beneath his dress, even when he entered the senate, he believed that it would be of but scanty and slight assistance to him.) He therefore first added five years to his own term as princeps, since his ten-year period was about to expire (this was in the consulship of Publius and Gnaeus Lentulus), and then he granted to Agrippa many privileges almost equal to his own, especially the tribuniciam power for the same length of time. For that number of years, he said at the time, would be enough for them; though not long afterward he
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πέντε¹ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἱγμενονίας προσέλαβεν, ὡστε αὐτὰ δέκα αὐθὶς γενέσθαι.

13 Πράξας δὲ ταύτα τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἔξητασε: πολλοὶ τῇ γαρ καὶ ὅς ἔδοκον αὐτῷ εἶναι (πλήθει δὲ οὐδὲν ύμείς ἔνεφρα²), καὶ διὰ μίσους ὦν ὅτι τοὺς κακία τινὶ ἐπιρρήτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς 2 κολακεῖα ἐκφανεῖς ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε τῶν ἐκών ὁσπερ πρότερον ἀπηλλάττετο, μήτε αὐτὸν μόνον ἐν αὐτίᾳ τινὶ γενέσθαι ἐβούλετο, αὐτὸς τε τριάκοντα ἄνδρας τοὺς ἁρίστους, ὅπερ ποῦν³ καὶ ὅρκῳ ἐπιστώσατο, ἐξελέξατο, καὶ ἐκείνους ἐκέλευσε προομόσπαντας τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρκον κατὰ πέντε, πλὴν τῶν συγγενῶν, ἢ πινάκια γράψαντας ἐλέσθαι.

3 καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ τὰς πεμπόντας ἐκλήρωσεν, ὅσθ' ἔνα καθ' ἐκάστην τὸν λαχόντα αὐτῶν τε βουλεύσαι καὶ ἑτέρους πέντε ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγγράψαι. ἔδει ποὺ καὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα ἐν τοὺς αἱρομένους ὑπὸ τῶν⁴ ἑτέρων καὶ ἐν τοῖς κληρομένοις γενέσθαι. ἐπειδὴ τὲ τῖνες αὐτῶν ἀπεδήμουν, ἀλλοι αὐτί ἐκείνων λαχόντες τὰ ἐπιβαλλόντα σφίσθην ἐπραξαν.

4 τὸ μὲν ὁν πρὸ ῥον ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπὶ πλείον ἡμέρας ἐγένετο: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκακουργήθη τινα, οὐτε ἐπὶ τοὺς ταμίας τὰ γραμματεία ἐτ' ἐπονήσατο οὔτε ἐτ' τῷ κλήρῳ τὰς πεμπόντας ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς τὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀνελέξατο καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς ἐνδεοῦτας προσεἴλετο, ὡστε ἐς ἐξαισθίους τοὺς πάντας ἀποδειχθῆναι. ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν γὰρ τρια-

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¹ ἀλλὰ πέντε Rk., πέντε ἄλλα Reim., πολλὰ M.
² ἐνεφρά Rk., ἑώρα M.
³ τοῦ Pflugk, τῶ M.
⁴ ὑπὸ τῶν Carps, ὑπὸ M.
BOOK LIV

obtained the other five years of his imperial power in addition, so that the total number became ten again.

When he had done this, he purged the senatorial body. For the members seemed to him to be too numerous even now, and he saw nothing good in a large throng; moreover, he hated not only those who were notorious for some baseness, but also those who were conspicuous for their flattery. And when, as on the previous occasion, no one would resign of his own free will, and Augustus, in his turn, did not wish to incur blame alone, he himself selected the thirty best men (a point which he afterwards confirmed by oath) and bade them, after first taking the same oath, choose five at a time, relatives not to be included, by writing the names on tablets. After this he made the groups of five cast lots, with the arrangement that the one man in each group who drew the lot should be a senator himself and should write down five other names according to the same plan. The original thirty, of course, were to be included among those who were available for selection by the second thirty and for the drawing of lots. And since some who were chosen were out of town, others were drawn in their place and discharged the duties that belonged to them. At first all this went on for several days in the way described; but when various abuses crept in, Augustus no longer entrusted the lists to the quaestors and no longer submitted the groups of five to the lot, but he himself thenceforth made the selection and himself chose the senators who were still required in order to make the number of men appointed six hundred in all. It had, indeed, been his

\[1\] Cf. liii. 42.
κοσίους αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ποιήσαι, καὶ πάνυ ἀγαπητῷ νομίζων εἶναι τοσοῦτος ἁξίους τοῦ συνεδρίου σφῶν εὐρεθῆναι: δυσχερανῶν δὲ πάντων ὁμοίως (τῷ γὰρ πολὺ πλείους τῶν ἐμμε
νούντων ἐν αὐτῷ τοὺς διαγραφησομένους ἔσεθαι, φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς μὴ ἰδιώτευσωσιν ἢ προσδοκᾶν ὅτι καὶ βουλεύσουσιν συνεβαινε) τοὺς
2 ἐξακοσίους κατελέξατο. καὶ οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἔστη, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τούτο, ἔπεε ἄριστη τινες οὐκ ἐπιτήδειοι καὶ τότε ἐγγεγραμμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ Δικινίος τέ τις Ἁγγέλου, ἀγανακτήσας ὅτι τοῦ τε νιεός καὶ ἁλλων πολλῶν, ὅπερ 1 κρείσσων εἶναι ἡξίου, διει
λεγμένων ἀπαλήπτο, τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ
3 βουλευτηρίῳ κατερρήξατο, καὶ τὸ σῶμα γραμμός τάς τε στρατείας κατηρμηγήσατο καὶ τᾶς οὐλᾶς προσεπέδειξε σφίσι, καὶ Ἀρτικυλέιος 2 Πάιτος 3 ἐν μὲν τοῖς βουλεύσοντι ὅν τῷ δὲ δὴ πατρὶ ἐκ
πετσοκότι παραχωρήσας τῆς βουλείας ἁξίων ἱκέτευν, ἐξετασμόν αὐθίς σφῶν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ
4 τινας ἀπαλλάξας ἁλλους ἀντικατέλεξαν. ἔπεε ἄρισ
tο τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὅς διεγερμάτω, καὶ τίνες αὐτῶν
δὲ αἰτίας, 4 εἰς ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ὅς καὶ ἀδίκως ἀπεληλαμένου εἴχον, τότε τῇ
αὐτοῖς καὶ συνθεάσασθαι καὶ συνεστιάσασθαι τοῖς βουλεύοντι, τῇ αὐτῇ σκευῇ χρωμένοις, συνε
χώρησε, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπείτα τὰς ἀρχαὶ αἰτεῖν ἐπέ
5 τρεψε. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πλείους ἐπανήλθουν

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1 ἐν supplied by R. Steph.
2 Ἀρτικυλέιος Cary, Ἀρτικυλήτος M.
3 Πάιτος Bk., πάτοι M.
4 αὐτῶν δὲ αἰτίας Bk., αὐτῶν αἰτίας M.
5 το Bk., γε M.
plan to limit the senators to three hundred, as in the early times, and he thought he ought to be well content if that number of men were found who were worthy of the senate. But the number he actually enrolled was six hundred, since all alike were displeased with the other arrangement; for it turned out that those whose names would be stricken off the roll would be much more numerous than those who kept their places, so that the present senators were more afraid of being reduced to the ranks than hopeful of being in the new senate. Indeed, he did not stop even when this was done, but subsequently took other measures. It seems that certain unsuitable persons were even then found on the lists; and one Licinius Regulus, indignant because his name had been erased, whereas his son and several others to whom he thought himself superior had been selected by the lot, rent his clothing in the very senate, laid bare his body, enumerated his campaigns, and showed them his scars; and Articuleius Paetus, one of those who were to remain senators, earnestly begged that he might retire from his seat in the senate in favour of his father, who had been rejected. Consequently Augustus purged the senate again, removing some and choosing others in their places. And since, even so, the names of many had been stricken out, and some of them, as usually happens in such a case, found fault with him on the ground that they had been unjustly expelled, he at that time accorded them the right to attend spectacles and celebrate festivals along with the senators, wearing the same garb as they, and for the future he allowed them to stand for the various offices. The majority of them came back in the course of time into the senate;
χρόνος ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, ὅλοι γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, μήτε τῆς γερουσίας μήτε τοῦ δήμου νομιζόμενοι, κατελείφθησαν.

15 Τούτων οὖν οὕτω γενομένων συχνοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππα έπιβουλεύσαι, εἰτ' ὅλοι ἂλλως εἴτε καὶ

2 ψευδός, αἰτίαν ἔσχον. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄκριβῶς τὰ τοιαύτα τοῖς ἔξω αὐτῶν οὐσίν εἰδέναι. πολλὰ γὰρ ὄν ὁ κρατῶν πρὸς τιμορίαν, ὡς καὶ ἐπιβεβουλευμένος, ἦτοι δὲ ἕαυτοῦ ἡ καὶ διὰ τῆς γερουσίας πράξι, ὑποπτεύεται καὶ ἔπηρειαν, κἂν ὅτι μᾶ.

3 λιστα δικαίωτα συμβῆ, γεγονέναι. καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ἐγὼ γρώμην ἔχω περὶ πάντων τῶν τοιοῦτοτρόπων αὐτὰ τὰ λεγόμενα συγγράψαι, μηδὲν ύπὲρ τὰ δεδημοσιευμένα, πλὴν τῶν πάντων φαινομένων, μήτε πολυπραγμονῶν μήδε ὑπολέγων, μήτ' εἰ δικαιῶς μήτ' εἰ ἄδικως τι γέγονε, μήτ' εἰ

4 ψευδός μήτε εἰ ἂλλως εἰρηται. καὶ τούτῳ μέν μοι καὶ κατὰ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γραφησομένων εἰρήσθω· ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ τότε παρὸντι ὁ Ἀυγοῦστος ἅλλοις μὲν τις ἔδικαιος, τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἀπίδων ἐμίσει μὲν διὰ τὰ τάλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ νῖός αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπεφώτιο ἐπιβουλεύων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκεκόλαστο, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι ἥθελησεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τρόπῳ

5 τινὶ ἄλλοτε ἅλλοι ὁ προεπιλΑκίζεν. ἐς τε γὰρ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἄκοντα αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἄγρων κατείναι ἐκέλευε, καὶ ἐς τὰς συνόδους ἀεὶ ἐσήγειν, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστην καὶ χλευασίαν καὶ ὑβριν πρὸς τε τὴν

1 ἅλλως R. Steph., ἅλλο M.
but some few were left in an intermediate position, being regarded as belonging neither to the senate nor to the people.

After these events, many immediately and many later were accused, whether truly or falsely, of plotting against both the emperor and Agrippa. It is not possible, of course, for those on the outside to have certain knowledge of such matters; for whatever measures a ruler takes, either personally or through the senate, for the punishment of men for alleged plots against himself, are generally looked upon with suspicion as having been done out of spite, no matter how just such measures may be. For this reason it is my purpose to report in all such cases simply the recorded version of the affair, without busying myself with anything beyond the published account, except in perfectly patent cases, or giving a hint as to the justice or injustice of the act or as to the truth or falsity of the report. Let this explanation apply also to everything that I shall write hereafter. As for the time of which we are speaking, Augustus executed a few men; in the case of Lepidus, however, although he hated the man, among other reasons, because his son had been detected in a plot against him and had been punished, yet he did not wish to put him to death, but kept subjecting him to insult from time to time in various ways. Thus he would order him to come back to the city from his estate in the country,1 whether he wished to do so or not, and would always take him to the meetings of the senate, in order that he might be subjected to the utmost to jeering and

1 At Circeii.
τῆς ισχύος καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀξιώσεως μεταβολὴν ὁφλισκάνης καὶ οὕτε ἐς ἄλλο τί ὡς καὶ ἄξιον οὐ λόγου ἔχομε, τότε δὲ καὶ τῆς ψῆφου ύστάτῳ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἔπηγε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἐν τῇ καθηκούσῃ τάξει ἐπεψῆφιζε, τῶν δὲ ὑπατευκότων πρῶτὸν τε τινα καὶ δεύτερον τρίτον τε ἔτερον καὶ τέταρτον, τοὺς τε λοιποὺς ὁμοίως, ὡς ποῦ καὶ ἐβούλετο καὶ τότῳ καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἐποίησαν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὸν Λέπιδον μετεχειρίζετο, καὶ ἔπειδὴ γε Ἀντίστιος Λαβεων ἐσ τοὺς βουλεύσοντας¹ αὐτῶν, ὅτε ἡ διαγρώμη ἐκεῖνη ἐγήγενε, ἐσεχράζατο, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιφόρηκενε ταύτων ἐφι καὶ τιμωρῆσεθαί ἡπείλησεν, ἐπεί ταὐτόν ἐστιν ἀρχιερέων ἢ καὶ τοῖς πεποίηκα κατασχῶν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἄνδρα δυνὴ ἅρ ἀρχιερέων ἢτι καὶ νόν περιορᾶς ὑπὸτα;” οὐκέτι οὐδεμίαν ὅργην ἐποίησατο πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινὴ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ταύτης ἀξιώματος οὐκ ἐδικαίωσε ζῶντος τοῦ Λεπίδου λαβειν αὐτήν. Ἀντίστιος μὲν οὖν τούτω τε αὐτῶν ἀπὸ καρποῦ ἐπείν ἔδοξε, καὶ ποτὲ λόγων ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γιγνομένων ὡς χρειῶν εἴη τοῦ Ἀγνωστοῦ ἐκ διαδοχῆς σφας φρουρεῖν, ἐφή, μήτ' ἀντεπείν τολμῶν μήτε συγκαταθέσθαι ὑπομένων, ὅτι “ῥέγκω καὶ οὐ δύναμαι αὐτοῦ προκοινήσαι.”

16 Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀγνωστός ἄλλα τε ἐνομοθέτησε, καὶ τοὺς δεκάσαντας τινας ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐσ

¹ βουλεύσοντας R. Steph., βουλεύσοντας M.
² ὅτε ἡ διαγρώμη Rk., ὅτι ἰδίαι γράμμη M.
insults, so that he might realize his loss of power and dignity. In general he did not treat him as worthy of any consideration on his part, and on the occasions referred to called on him for his vote the last of all the ex-consuls. For while he was wont to put the vote to the other senators in the regular order, in the case of the ex-consuls he used to call on one first, another second, and others third and fourth, and so on, just as he pleased; and the consuls also did the same. Thus it was that he used to treat Lepidus. And when Antistius Labeo wrote down the name of Lepidus among those who might be senators, at the time when the process of selection which we have described was being followed, the emperor first declared that he had perjured himself,\(^1\) and he threatened to punish him. Thereupon Labeo replied: “Why, what harm have I done by keeping in the senate one whom you even now permit to be high priest?” At this Augustus desisted from his anger; for though he had often been asked, both privately and publicly, to take this priesthood, he did not feel that it was right to do so while Lepidus lived.\(^2\) This reply of Antistius was regarded as a happy one, as was also another remark of his: when it was said in the senate, on one occasion, that the senators ought to take turns in guarding Augustus, Antistius, not daring to speak in opposition nor yet willing to assent, remarked, “As for me, I snore, and so cannot sleep at the door of his chamber.”

Among the laws that Augustus enacted was one which provided that those who had bribed anyone in order to gain office should be debarred from office for

\(^1\) Presumably because of the oath the thirty men had taken that they would select the best men.

\(^2\) Cf. xlix. 15, 3, and chap. 27, 2 infra.
πέντε ἦ ταύτων εἰρήκε. τοῖς τε ἁγάμοις καὶ ταῖς ἀνάνδροις βαρύτερα τὰ ἐπιτίμια ἐπέταξε, καὶ ἐμπαλιν τοῦ τε γάμου καὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας ἄθλα
2 ἐθηκέν. ἐπειδὴ τε πολὺ πλεῖον τὸ ἀρρεν τοῦ θῆλεος τοῦ εὐγενοῦς ἦν, ἐπέτρεψε καὶ ἐξελευθέρας τοῖς ἑθέλουσι, πλὴν τῶν βουλευόντων, ἀγεσθαι, ἐννομοῦ τὴν τεκνοποίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι κελεύσας.
3 Καὶ τούτῳ καταβοθήσεως ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ περὶ τε τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν νεανίσκοιν ἀκοσμίας, πρὸς ἀπολογιὰν δὴ τινὰ τοῦ μὴ ῥαδίως δι’ αὐτὴν τὰς τῶν γάμων συναλλαγὰς ποιεῖσθαι, γενομένης, καὶ ἐναγόντων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκεῖνην ἐπανορθῶσαι χλευασμὸ ὅτι πολλαῖς γυναικίν ἐχρήτο.
4 τό μὲν πρώτον ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς ὅτι τὰ μεν ἀναγκαίοτα διώρισται, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀδύνατών ἐστιν ὁμοίως παραδοθήναι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκβιασθεὶς εἰπεν ὅτι “αὐτοὶ ὀφείλετε ταῖς γαμεταῖς καὶ παραίνειν καὶ κελεύειν ὅσα βουλεσθε’ ὅπερ που
5 καὶ ἐγὼ τοῦ.” ἀκούσαντες οὖν ταῦτ’ ἐκεῖνοι πολλῶν μᾶλλον ἐνέκειντο αὐτῶ, βουλόμενοι τὰς παραίνεσεις ἃς τῇ Διονῖσῳ παραίνειν ἐν ἡμαῖν, καὶ ὁ ἄκως μὲν, εἰπε δ' οὖν τινά καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐσθήτος καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ κόσμον τῶν τε ἐξόδων καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης αὐτῶν, μὴν ὁποίους φροντίσας ὅτι μὴ καὶ τῷ ἡρῴῳ αὐτὰ ἐπιστότοι. 6 καὶ ἐτερον δέ τι τοιούτῳ τιμητεύων ἐπεποίηκεν ἐπειδὴ γὰρ προσήγαγε τις αὐτῷ νεανίσκοιν γυναίκα ἐκ μοιχείας ἑγαμηκότα, καὶ πλεῖστα ὅσα κατη-

1 εἰρήκε R. Steph., εἰρήκε M.
2 καταβοθήσεως R. Steph., καταβοθήσει M.
five years. He laid heavier assessments upon the
unmarried men and upon the women without hus-
bands, and on the other hand offered prizes for
marriage and the begetting of children. And since
among the nobility there were far more males than
females, he allowed all who wished, except the
senators, to marry freedwomen, and ordered that
their offspring should be held legitimate.

Meanwhile a clamor arose in the senate over the
disorderly conduct of the women and of the young
men, this being alleged as a reason for their re-
luctance to enter into the marriage relation; and
when they urged him to remedy this abuse also, with
ironical allusions to his own intimacy with many
women, he at first replied that the most necessary
restrictions had been laid down and that anything
further could not possibly be regulated by decree in
similar fashion. Then, when he was driven into a
corner, he said: “You yourselves ought to admonish
and command your wives as you wish; that is what I
do.” When they heard that, they plied him with
questions all the more, wishing to learn what the
admonitions were which he professed to give Livia.
He accordingly, though with reluctance, made a few
remarks about women’s dress and their other adorn-
ment, about their going out and their modest be-
behaviour, not in the least concerned that his actions
did not lend credence to his words. Another in-
stance of such inconsistency had occurred while he
was censor. Some one brought before him a young
man who had taken as his wife a married woman
with whom he had previously committed adultery,
and made ever so many accusations against the
γόρησεν αὐτοῦ, διηπορήθη μήτε παριδείν τὸ πράγμα μήτ' ἐπιτιμήσατι τι τολμήσας, καὶ μόλις 1 ποτὲ ὅψε ἄνενεγκὼν "πολλά," ἔφη, "καὶ δεινὰ αἰ στάσεις ἰνεγκαν, διστε ἐκεῖνων μὲν ἀμημονώ- μεν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ λοιποῦ προνοοῦμεν ὅπως μὴ χεῖν τοι- 7 οὔτο γίγνηται." ὡς δ' οὖν βρέφη τινὲς ἐγγυώμενοι τὰς μὲν τιμᾶς τῶν γεγαμεκότων ἐκαρποῦντο, τὸ δὲ ἔργον αὐτῶν οὐ παρείχοντο, προσέταξε μηδε- μίαν ἐγχύσην ἵσχυσιν μεθ' ἢν οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἑτῶν διελθόντων γαμῆσει 2 τις, τοῦτ' ἐστι δεκέτιν πάντως ἐγκυνάθαι τὸν γε τι ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀπολαύ- σοντα. δώδεκα γὰρ 3 ταῖς κόραις ἐς τὴν τοῦ γάμου ὀραν ἐπὶ πλῆρη, καθάπερ εἴπον, νομίζεται.

17 Ταύτα τε οὖν ὡς ἐκαστα διενομοθέτει, καὶ ἵνα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ σίτου διαδόσει προβάλλωνται οἱ 4 ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀεὶ δυτες ἐν ἐκαστὸς 5 ἐκ τῶν πρὸ τριῶν ἑτῶν ἑστρατηγικῶν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσ- 2 σαρεσ οἱ λαχόντες συτοδοτῶσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς. τόν τε πολιάρχου τόν ἐς τὰς ἀνοχὰς καθιστάμενον ἐνα ἀεὶ αἱρεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἐξι- τηλα ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου γεγονότα τοὺς ἱερέας αὐτο- χειρία ἐγκράψασθαι ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἔτερος

1 μάλις Pflugk, μάλιστα M. 2 γαμῆσει Zon., γαμήσει M.
3 γὰρ supplied by R. Steph. 4 οἱ Bk., καὶ οἱ M.
5 ἐκαστὸς Reim., ἐκαστὸν M.

1 Cf. note on liii. 13, 2.
2 Apparently in a lost portion of his work.
man, and Augustus was at a loss what to do, not daring to overlook the affair nor yet to administer any rebuke. At length, though with difficulty, he recovered himself and said: "Our factious quarrels have borne many terrible fruits; let us, then, forget them and give our attention to the future, that nothing of the sort may occur again." Inasmuch, too, as certain men were betrothing themselves to infant girls and thus enjoying the privileges granted to married men,\textsuperscript{1} but without rendering the service expected of them, he ordered that no betrothal should be valid if the man did not marry within two years of such betrothal,—that is, that the girl must in every case be at least ten years old at her betrothal if the man was to derive any advantages from it, since, as I have stated,\textsuperscript{2} girls are held to have reached the marriageable age on the completion of twelve full years.

Besides these several enactments, Augustus further provided that, for the distribution of grain, one candidate, who must have served as praetor three years previously, should be nominated each year by each of the officials then serving, and that, from these nominees, four men should be chosen by lot to serve in succession as distributors of grain.\textsuperscript{3} And he commanded that the office of prefect of the city, who was chosen for the Feriae,\textsuperscript{4} should always be filled by the election of one man, and that the Sibylline verses, which had become indistinct through lapse of time, should be copied off by the priests with their own hands, in order that no one

\textsuperscript{1} Suétónius (Aug. 37) names among the new offices established by Augustus the "\textit{curam . . . frumenti populo dividundi.}"

\textsuperscript{2} See note on chap. 6; and cf. xli. 14, 4, and xlix. 16, 2.
3 αὐτὰ ἀναλέξηται. τάς τε ἀρχὰς ἀπασὶ τοῦ δέκα μυριάδων οὐσιὰν ἔχουσι καὶ ἄρχειν ἐκ τῶν νόμων δυναμένους ἐπαγγελλεῖν ἑπτέρεψε. τοσούτων γὰρ τὸ βουλευτικὸν τίμημα τὴν πρώτην εἶναι ἐταξεν, ἑπεὶ τα καὶ ἐς πεντε καὶ έκοσι μυριάδας αὐτὸ προῆγαγε. καὶ τις τῶν εὐ βιοῦτων ἐλάττω, τότε μὲν τῶν δέκα, αὖθις δὲ τῶν πέντε καὶ έκοσι,

4 κεκτημένοις ἐχαρίσατο ὅσον ἐνέδει. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς βουλομένους τῶν στρατηγῶν τριπλάσιον τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου σφίσιν ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις διδομένου προσαναλίσκειν ἐφήκεν. ὥστε εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ νομοθετικῶν ἥχοντο τίνες, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τα ἱεροτό, καὶ οἱ Πυλάδην τινὰ ὅρχηστι διὰ στάσιν ἐξεληλαμένον κατήγαγεν, οὐκέτ' ἐκείνον ἐμέμηντο.

5 οὖν τεν πάνυ σοφὸς ὁ Πυλάδης, ἐπιτιμώμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπείδη Βαβύλλων ὁμοτέχνῳ τέ οὐ δύνεται καὶ τῷ Μακεδόνα προσήκοντι διεστασίαζεν, εἰπὼν λέγει ὅτι "συμφέρει σοι, Καίσαρ, περί ἡμᾶς τὸν δήμον ἀποδιατρίβεσθαι."

18 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἐτεί ἐγένετο. ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ Γαίου τε Φοινίκου καὶ Γαίου Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτων νιῶν αὖθις ὁ Αργίππας ἀνείλετο τὸν Δοῦκιον ὀνομασθέντα, καὶ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ὁ Αὐγοῦστος μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Γαίου ἐποιήσατο, μὴ ἀναμείνας σφάς ἀνδροθήναι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸθεν διαδόχους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποδείξας, ἵν' ἦττον ἐπιβουλεύθηται. τὴν τε τής Τιμής καὶ τῆς Ἀρετῆς πανίγυριν ἔς τὰς νῦν ἡμέρας μετέστησε, καὶ τοῖς τα ἐπενίκια πέμπουσιν ἐργον ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἐς τὴν τῶν πράξεων

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1 κεκτημένοις Bk., κεκτημένων M.
2 Γαίου Bk., τοῦ γαίου M.

326
else might read them. He permitted all to stand
for office who possessed property worth four hundred
thousand sesterces and were eligible by the laws to
hold office. This was the senatorial rating which
he at first established; but later he raised it to
one million sesterces. Upon some of those who lived
upright lives but possessed less than the four
hundred thousand sesterces in the first instance, or
the million in the second, he bestowed the amount
lacking. And because of this he allowed the
praetors who so desired to spend on the public
festivals three times the amount granted them from
the treasury. Thus, even if some were vexed at
the strictness of his other regulations, yet by reason
of this action and also because he restored one
Pylades, a dancer, who had been exiled on account
of sedition, they remembered them no longer.
Hence Pylades is said to have rejoined very cleverly,
when the emperor rebuked him for having quar-
relled with Bathyllus, a fellow-artist and a favourite
of Maecenas¹: "It is to your advantage, Caesar, that
the people should devote their spare time to us."

These were the occurrences of that year. In the
consulship of Gaius Furnius and Gaius Silanus,
Agrippa again acknowledged the birth of a son, who
was named Lucius; and Augustus immediately
adopted him together with his brother Gaius, not
waiting for them to become men, but appointing
them then and there successors to his office, in order
that fewer plots might be formed against him. He
transferred the festival of Honor and Virtus to the
days which are at present theirs, commanded those
who celebrated triumphs to erect out of their

¹ Cf. Tac. Ann. i. 54.
μνήμην ποιεῖν προσέταξε, τά τε σαϊκουλάρια τά πέμπτα ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας ἀμισθὶς συναγορεύειν, ἢ τετραπλάσιον όσον ἀν λάβωσιν

3 εἴκτινειν, ἐκέλευσε. τοῖς δὲ δικαίειν ἀεὶ λαγχάνουσιν ἀπέπεγεν ἐς μηδενὸς οἰκαδε τοῦ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκείνον ἐσείναι. ἐπειδὴ τε ἀσποῦντες ὡς βουλευταὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συνεφοίτων, ἐπηύξησε τὰς ξημίας τοῖς οὐκ ἔξειλόγου τινὸς αἰτίας ὑστερίζουσι.

19 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν, Δουκίδου τε Δομιτίου καὶ Ποιπλίου Σκυπίωνος ὑπατεύοντων, ὁρμήσε, προφασιν τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο

2 κινηθέντας Λαβών. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐπαχθῆς πολλοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει χρονίου διατριβῆς ἐγερόμεν, καὶ συγκοινοῖς μὲν ἔζω τι τῶν τεταγμένων πράττοντας δικαιῶν ἔλυτε, συγκοινῶν δὲ καὶ φειδομένως τὰ νεομοθετημένα ὡς ἑαυτοῦ παραβαίνειν ἡναγκάζετο, ἐκδημήσαι τρόπον τινὰ κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνα

3 έγνω. καὶ τινὲς καὶ διὰ τὴν Τερεντίαν τὴν τοῦ Μακηνίου γυναῖκα ἀποδημήσαι αὐτῶν ὑπετόπησαν, ῥως ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ ἐλογοποιεῖτο, ἀνευθροῦ τινὸς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδομίᾳ αὐτῆς συνῇ: οὔτω γὰρ οὖν πάνω αὐτῆς ἡρὰ ὡστε καὶ ἀγωνίσασθαι ποτὲ αὐτὴν περὶ τοῦ κάλλους

4 πρὸς τὴν Λυουλίαν ποιήσαι. πρὶν δὲ ἡ ἀφορμάσθαι, τοῦ τοῦ Κυρίνου ναὸν καθιέρωσεν ἐκ καινῆς οἰκοδομῆς. εἰπὼν δὲ τούτο ὅτι ἐξ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα κισσὶν αὐτῶν ἐκόσμησεν, ὅσαπερ τὰ πάντα ἐτής διεῒχον, κακὸς τούτου λόγον τις παρέσχεν ὡς καὶ ἐξεπιτήδεις αὐτὸ ἀλλʼ οὐ κατὰ τύχην ἀλλως

5 πράξασ. ἐκείνον τε σὺν τότε ἐθείωσε, καὶ μονο-

1 ἀμισθὶ St., ἀμισθὰl M.  2 eλ supplied by Rk.  3 ἅτη Dind., ἅτη τίς V M.
spoils some monument to commemorate their deeds, and held the fifth celebration of the Ludi Saeculares. He ordered the orators to give their services as advocates without pay, on pain of a fine of four times the amount they received; and he forbade those who were drawn as jurymen from time to time to enter any person's house during their year of service. And since the members of the senate showed a lack of interest in attending its sessions, he increased the fines for those who were late without a good excuse.

Next he set out for Gaul, during the consulship of Lucius Domitius and Publius Scipio, making the wars that had arisen in that region his excuse. For since he had become disliked by many as a result of his long stay in the capital, and now was offending many who committed some act contrary to his decrees by the punishments he was inflicting, and at the same time, by sparing many others, was being compelled to transgress his own enactments, he decided to leave the country, somewhat after the manner of Solon. Some even suspected that he had gone away on account of Terentia, the wife of Maecenas, and intended, inasmuch as there was much talk about them in Rome, to live with her abroad free from all gossip. So great, indeed, was his passion for her that he once made her enter a contest of beauty against Livia. Before setting out he dedicated the temple of Quirinus, which he had rebuilt. I mention this for the reason that he adorned it with seventy-six columns, which was the exact number of the years he lived, and thus caused some to declare that he had chosen this number deliberately and not by mere chance. So he dedicated this temple at that time, and also exhibited
μαχίας ἀγώνας διὰ τε τοῦ Τιβέριου καὶ διὰ τοῦ Δρούσου, συγχωρηθέν ἃ ἔφεσεν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς.

6 ἔθηκε. καὶ οὕτω τὸ μὲν ἀστυ τῷ Ταῦρῳ μετά τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας διοικεῖν ἑπιτρέψας (τὸν τε γὰρ 'Αγρίππαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν αὐθις ἐστάλκει, καὶ τῷ Μακεδονίᾳ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἔχαιρε), τὸν δὲ δὴ Τιβέριον καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούντα παραλάβων ἐξώριμης. ἐστρατήγησε γὰρ καὶ περὶ τὰς στρατηγικὰς τιμὰς ἔχων καὶ τὴν γε ἁρχὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ὁ Δρούσος ἐκ δόγματος διήγαγεν.

7 ἐξελθὼν δ' οὖν αὐτῶν τὸ τῆς Νεότητος μέγαρον ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νῦκτα κατεκάυθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τὰλλα τὰ προγενόμενα (λύκος τε γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἱεράς ὁδοῦ ἐς τὴν ἁγορὰν ἔσπεσόν ἀνθρώποις ἐφθειρεν, καὶ μύριμες οὐ 1 πόρρω τῆς ἁγορᾶς ἐκφανέστατα 2 συνεστράφησαν, λαμπάς τὲ τις ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἃρκτον δια πᾶσης τῆς νυκτὸς ἡνέχθη) εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπανόδου τοῦ.

8 Αὐγούστου ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν πενταετηρίδα τῆς ἁρχῆς αὐτοῦ διεώρτασαν, τοῦ 'Αγρίππου (ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα ἁνδράσιν, οίς ἐκ τῆς περιτροπῆς ἡ διοίκησις αὐτῆς ἐπεβαλλεν, ἱέρωτο) διὰ τῶν συνιερέων ἀναλώσαντος.

20 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐκείνους ἑταράχθη. καὶ γὰρ Καμυκάνοι καὶ Οὔ-έννοι, Ἀλτικα γένη, ὁπλα τε ἀντήραντο καὶ μυκηθέντες ὑπὸ Ποταμίου Σιλίου ἐχειρώθησαν.

2 καὶ οἱ Παννόνιοι τὴν τε Ἰστρίαν μετὰ Νωρίκον

1 οὗ supplied by Leunel. 2 ἐκφανέστατα Μ, ἐμφανέστατα V.
gladiatorial combats, Tiberius and Drusus representing him in the matter after the senate had granted them permission. Then he committed to Taurus the management of the city together with the rest of Italy (for he had sent Agrippa again to Syria and no longer looked with equal favour upon Maecenas because of the latter's wife), and taking Tiberius, though praetor at the time, along with him, he set out on his journey. Tiberius, it appears, had become praetor in spite of his already holding the rank of a praetor; and Drusus now performed all the duties of his office in pursuance of a decree. The night following their departure the temple of Juventas\(^1\) was burned to the ground. Other portents also had occurred: a wolf had rushed into the Forum by the Sacred Way and had killed people, and not far from the Forum ants were conspicuously swarming together; moreover, a flame like a torch had shot from the south towards the north all night long. Because of all these signs prayers were offered for the return of Augustus. Meanwhile they held the quadrennial celebration of his sovereignty, Agrippa, represented by his fellow-priests, bearing the expense; for he had been consecrated as one of the quindecimviri, upon whom the management of the festival devolved in regular succession.

There were many other disturbances, too, during that period. The Camunni and Vennii,\(^2\) Alpine tribes, took up arms against the Romans, but were conquered and subdued by Publius Silius. The Pannonians in company with the Norici overran

\(^1\) Aedes Juventas.

\(^2\) Other forms of this name are Venones, Vennontes, and Venostes.
κατέδραμον, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε πρὸς τε τοῦ Σιλίου καὶ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων αὐτὸῦ κακωθέντες αὕτης ὤμολόγησαν, καὶ τοῖς Νορίκοις αὐτοῖ τῆς αὐτῆς
3 δουλείας ἐγένοντο. τά τε ἐν τῇ Δελματίᾳ καὶ τά ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρία νεοχμόσαντα δι’ ὅλιγον κατέστη, καὶ ἡ Μακεδονία ὑπὸ τε τῶν Δευθελτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Σκορδίσκων ἐπορθήθη. ἐν τῇ Ὀράκη πρότερον μὲν Μάρκος Δόλλιος Ῥωμητάλκη 1 θείῳ τε τῶν τοῦ Κότνου παίδῳ καὶ ἐπιτρόπῳ ὄντι βοηθόν Βησσοῦς κατεστρέψατο, ἐπειτα δὲ Λούκιος Γάιος Σαυρομάτας ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτίας κρατήσας ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰστρον ἀπεώσατο. οὐδὲ δὴ μέγιστος τῶν τότε συμβάντων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πολέμων, ὅσπερ ποι ἐν τοῖς Ἄγγους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξῆγαγε, πρὸς τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐγένετο. Σύγκρισθοι τε γὰρ καὶ Οὐσιτέται καὶ Τέγκτηροι 2 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ τινὰς αὐτῶν συλλαβόντες ἀνεσταύρωσαν. 5 ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥήμων διαβάντας τὴν τε Γερμανίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἡλειάτησαν, τὸ τε ἑπτακόν τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπελθόν σφισὼν ἐνίδρευσαν, καὶ φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστόμονοι τῷ τοῦ Δολλίῳ ἀρχοντες αὐτίς ἐνέτυχον ἀνέλπιστοι καὶ
6 ἐνίκησαν καὶ ἑκεῖνον. μαθὼν ὅτι τῶν τοῦ Ἄγγους ὁμιλησα μὲν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐργον τοι κολέμου ἑσχεν; οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι τοῖς τοῦ Δολλίων παρασκευαζόμενοι καὶ ἑκεῖνον στρατεύοντα πυθόμενοι ἐς τε τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ σπουδᾶς ἐποίησαντο, ομήρους δόντες.

21 Τῶν μὲν όν ὅπλων οὔδεν διὰ ταῦθ’ ὁ Ἄγγους τοῦ ἐδεήθη, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἅλλα καθιστάμενοι τοῦτον

1 Ῥωμητάλκη R. Steph., Ῥωμητάλκη VM (but Ῥωμητάλκη elsewhere). 2 Τέγκτηροι R. Steph., τέγκτηροι VM.
Istria; but the former, upon being discomfited by Silius and his lieutenants, both came to terms again themselves and caused the Norici to be subjected to the same slavery. The uprisings in Dalmatia and in Spain were quelled in a short time. Macedonia was ravaged by the Dentheleti and the Scordisci. In Thrace somewhat earlier Marcus Lollius, while aiding Rhoemetaces, the uncle and guardian of the sons of Cotys, had subjugated the Bessi. Later Lucius Gallus conquered the Sarmatians for the same reason and drove them back across the Ister. The greatest, however, of the wars which at that time fell to the lot of the Romans, and the one presumably which drew Augustus away from the city, was that against the Germans. It seems that the Sugambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri had first seized in their own territory some of the Romans and had crucified them, after which they had crossed the Rhine and plundered Germania and Gaul. When the Roman cavalry approached, they surprised them from ambush; then, pursuing them as they fled, they fell in unexpectedly with Lollius, the governor of the province, and conquered him also. On learning of all this, Augustus hastened against them, but found no warfare to carry on; for the barbarians, learning that Lollius was making preparations and that the emperor was also taking the field, retired into their own territory and made peace, giving hostages.

For this reason Augustus had no need of arms, but in arranging other matters he consumed the
τε τὸν ἑναυτὸν κατανάλωσε καὶ τὸν υστερον, ἐν φ’ Μάρκος τε Λίθων καὶ Καλπούρνος Πίσον
2 ὑπάτευσαν. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Δικίνου τινὸς ἐπετοίηστο. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦθ’ ὅτι μάλιστα τὸ κῆτος σφίσθη προσημήναν πλάτος μὲν γὰρ ποδῶν εἰκοσι μῆκος δὲ τριπλάσιον ἔχον, καὶ γνυαικὶ πλῆν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἑικός, ἐς τὴν γῆν ἑαυτὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὁκεανοῦ ἐξώκει- λειν. ὦ δὲ ὅ Δικίνου τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον Γαλάτης ἦν, ἂλος δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ δούλωσας τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπὸ μὲν ἐκείνου ἡλευθέρωθη, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐπίτροπος τῆς Γαλατίας κατέστη.
4 οὕτως οὖν πλεονεξίᾳ μὲν βαρβαρικῇ ἄξιώσει δὲ Ῥωμαϊκῇ χρώμενοι, πᾶν μὲν τὸ κρεῖττὸν ποτε αὐτοῦ νομισθὲν καθήρει, πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἵσχυρον ἡφάντε καὶ συνῆνα μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τῆς προστεθαμανερῆς οἱ διακονίας ἐξε- πορίζει, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ ἐαυτῷ τοῖς τε οἰκείοις παρεξ- ἐλεγε. καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον γε κακοτροπίας ἐχω- ρήσεν ὡς τε, ἐπειδὴ τινὲς ἔσφοραν κατὰ μῆρα παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐγέγυνον, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα αὐτοῦς τοιῇ- σαι, λέγων τῶν μῆρα τούτον τὸν Δεκέμβριον καλοῦ- μενον δέκατον ὡς τοις εἶναι, καὶ δεῖν διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς υστάτους, ὃν τῶν μὲν ἐνδέκατον τὸν ὀνόμαζε, νομίζειν, καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτοῖς ἐσφέρειν. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τὰ σοφίσματα ἐκινδύνευσεν οἱ γὰρ Γαλάται τοῦ Αὐγούστου λαβόμενοι δεινά

1 Δικίνου Xiph., Δικίνου VM (and similarly just below).
2 ἐπετοίηστο Bk., ἐπετοίηστο VM.
3 οἱ M cod. Peir., αὐτὸ V.
4 αὐτοῖς Reim., αὐτὰ V, αὐτὰς M cod. Peir., τῶν μῆνας Xiph.
5 ὑστάτους Dim. Δικόλ., ἀυγούστους VM cod. Peir.

334
whole of this year, as well as the next, in which Marcus Libo and Calpurnius Piso were consuls. For not only had the Gauls suffered much at the hands of the Germans, but much also at the hands of a certain Licinus. And of this, I think, the sea-monster had given them full warning beforehand; twenty feet broad and three times as long, and resembling a woman except for its head, it had come in from the ocean and become stranded on the shore. Now Licinus was originally a Gaul, but after being captured by the Romans and becoming a slave of Caesar’s, he had been set free by him, and by Augustus had been made procurator of Gaul. This man, then, with his combination of barbarian avarice and Roman dignity, tried to overthrow every one who was ever counted superior to him and to destroy every one who was strong for the time being. He not only supplied himself with plenty of funds for the requirements of the office to which he had been assigned, but also incidentally collected plenty for himself and for his friends. His knavery went so far that in some cases where the people paid their tribute by the month he made the months fourteen in number, declaring that the month called December was really the tenth, and for that reason they must reckon two more (which he called the eleventh and the twelfth respectively) as the last, and contribute the money that was due for these months. It was these quibbles that brought him into danger; for the Gauls secured the ear of Augustus and protested indignantly, so that the

1 Licinus’ appears to be the proper spelling of the name, although we find Licinius even in some Roman writers.

2 Bekker plausibly suggested Ἑνδεκάμβριον and Δωδεκάμβριον, i.e. Undecember and Duodecember.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

... ἐποίησαν, ὡστε καὶ ἐκεῖνον τὰ μὲν συνάχθεσθαι σφιστά τὰ δὲ καὶ παρατείνων ἂν γνωσθῇ τέ τινα ἔλεγε, καὶ προσεποιεῖτο ἔτερα μὴ πιστεύειν, καὶ ἔστω ἕκαστος οὐδὲ συνέκρυπτεν, αἰσχυνόμενος ὅτι τοιοῦτο τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ ἐκέχρητο. Ἀλλο δὲ τούτο γράφομεν τί τε τεχνισάμενος καὶ πάνω πάντων αὐτῶν κατεγέλασεν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ χαλεπῶς οἱ τῶν Ἀγγείων ἑκάστου ἔχοντα ἔσθεν καὶ κολασθήσεθαι ἐμελέλευσαν, ἐν τῇ τοιοῦτοι αὐτὸν ἐσόχγαγε, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου θησαυρὸς πολλὰ δὲ καὶ 8 τᾶλλα σωρηδόν συννενημένα autóv deýxas, "ἐξε- πίτηδος," ἐφ' ἡμέρα τντού τῶν ἄλλων Ρωμαίων ἔδροσα, ίην μὴ τοσούτων χρημάτων ἐγκρατείς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι οὕτως ἀμέλει ἐπετήρησαν οὐκ ἀντὶ νὰ τάντα αὐτὰ καὶ διδώμενα.

Καὶ ὦ μὲν οὕτως, ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀγγείων τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἵσχυν ἐκνευρικός, ἐσώθη, 29 Δρούσος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Τιβέριος τάδε ἐπραξαν. "Αλλ', οἰκονύμες μεταξύ τοῦ τε Νωρίκου καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας, πρὸς ταῖς 'Αλπεῖς ταῖς πρὸς τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ταῖς Τριδεντίναις, τῆς τε Γαλατίας τῆς προσόρου σφίζε τολμᾶ κατέρχεν καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρπαγάς ἐποιοῦτο, τούς τε ὀδὸν τῶν Ρωμαίων ἤ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς 2 σφετέρας γῆς χρωμένους ἐλυμαίνοντο, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ συνῆθη ποῖς τοῖς οὐκ ἐνστάνοντοι ποιεῖν ἐδοκοῦν, πάν δὲ δὴ τὸ ἄρρεν τῶν ἁλικυμόνων, όυχ ὅτι τὸ φαινόμενον ἄλλα καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς

1 συνάχθεσθαι Xiph., ἐκθεσθαί VM.
2 συνεννημένα Sylburg, συνεννημένα V, συνεννημένα M
3 cod. Peir.
4 'Ιταλίας Βκ., Ιταλίς VM.

336
emperor in some matters shared their vexation and in others tried to excuse Licinus. He claimed to be unaware of some of his extortions and affected not to believe others, while some matters he actually concealed, feeling ashamed to have employed such a procurator. Licinus, however, devised another scheme as follows, and laughed them all to scorn. When he perceived that Augustus was displeased with him and that he was likely to be punished, he brought the emperor into his house, and showing him many treasures of silver and gold and many other valuables piled up in heaps, he said: "I have gathered all this purposely, master, for you and for the rest of the Romans, lest the natives, by having control of so much money, should revolt. At any rate, I have kept it all for you and now give it to you."

Thus Licinus was saved, by pretending that he had sapped the strength of the barbarians in order to serve Augustus. Drusus and Tiberius in the meantime were engaged in the following exploits. The Rhaetians, who dwell between Noricum and Gaul, near the Tridentine Alps¹ which adjoin Italy, were overrunning a large part of the neighbouring territory of Gaul and carrying off plunder even from Italy; and they were harassing such of the Romans or their allies as travelled through their country. Now these acts of theirs seemed to be about what was to be expected of nations which had not accepted terms of peace; but they went further and destroyed all the males among their captives, not only those who had already come into the world, but also those who were still in the women's wombs, the sex of

¹ The Alps around Tridentum (Trent).
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

3 ἀνευρίσκοντες, ἐφθειρὼν. δ' ὅσον ταῦτα ὁ Πολύγονος πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Δρούσον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψε· καὶ δι' τούτων προσαπαντήσαντάς οἱ αὐτῶν περὶ τὰ Τριδεντῖνα ὅρη διὰ ταχέων ἐτρέψατο, ὡστε καὶ τιμᾶς στρατηγικάς ἐπὶ τούτω λαβεῖν. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπειδὴ τῆς μὲν Ἰταλίας ἀπεκρούσθησαν, τῇ δὲ δὴ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ δὲ ἐνέκειντο, τῶν

4 Τιβέριου προσαπέστειλεν. ἐσβάλοντες ὁς ἐσ τὴν χώραν πολλαχόθεν ἀμα ἀμφότεροι, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων, καὶ ἐ οὔ τα Τιβέριος καὶ διὰ τῆς λίμνης πλοίων κομισθείς, ἀπὸ τούτοι κατέπληξαν αὐτοὺς ἀσάστοι σφίξαν συμμε- γνύντες, τούς τε ἀεὶ ἐσ χεῖρας ἀφικυνομένους ὡς χαλεπῶς, ἀτε διεσπασμένας ταῖς δυνάμεις χρω- μένους, κατεργάσαντο, καὶ τοὺς λυπούσας ἀσθενε- στέρους τε ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἄθυματέρους γενομένους

5 εἶλον. ἐπειδή τε ἐπολυνάδρουν καὶ ἐδόκουν τι ὕπερτερεῖν, τὸ τε κράτιστον καὶ τὸ πλείστον τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῶν ἐξήγγαγον, καταλιπόντες τοσοῦτοι ὅσοι τὰς ἐν χώραν οἰκείαν ἱκανοι νεοχάρως τε ἐν ἀδύνατον ἦσαν.

23 Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔτει Οὐνίδος Ποιλίων ἀπέθανεν, ἀνήρ ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν μνήμης ἀξίων παρασχόμενοι (καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀπελευθέρων ἐγεγονεὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰππεύσιν ἐξητάξετο καὶ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο), ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῷ πλούτῳ τῇ τε ὁμότητι ὁνομαστότατος γενόμενος, ὡστε καὶ ἐς ἱστορίας

2 λόγους ἐσθελθεῖν. οὕτως γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡς ἐπραττε, δι' ὠχλού ἀν λεγόμενα γενόμενοι, μυραῖνας

1 ἐσβάλοντες Μ, ἐσβάλλοντες Β.
2 ἀπελευθέρων VM cod. Poir., ἀπελευθέρου Xiph.

338
whom they discovered by some means of divination. For these reasons, then, Augustus first sent against them Drusus, who speedily routed a detachment of them which came to meet him near the Tridentine mountains, and in consequence received the rank of praetor. Later, when the Rhaetians had been repulsed from Italy, but were still harassing Gaul, Augustus sent out Tiberius also. Both leaders then invaded Rhaetia at many points at the same time, either in person or through their lieutenants, and Tiberius even crossed the lake\(^1\) with ships. In this way, by encountering them separately, they terrified them and not only easily overwhelmed those with whom they came into close quarters at any time, inasmuch as the barbarians had their forces scattered, but also captured the remainder, who in consequence had become weaker and less spirited. And because the land had a large population of males and seemed likely to revolt, they deported most of the strongest men of military age, leaving behind only enough to give the country a population, but too few to begin a revolution.

This same year Vedius Pollio died, a man who in general had done nothing deserving of remembrance, as he was sprung from freedmen, belonged to the knights, and had performed no brilliant deeds; but he had become very famous for his wealth and for his cruelty, so that he has even gained a place in history. Most of the things he did it would be wearisome to relate, but I may mention that he kept in reservoirs

\(^1\) The Lacus Venetus (Lago di Garda).
δὲ δεδιδαγμένας ἀνθρώπους ἔσθειν ἐν δεξαμεναῖς τρέφον τοὺς δούλους αὐταῖς οὗς ἔδανάτον παρέβαλλε. ὁ όρος ὑπήκουσεν αὐτῷ, μὴ δὲ τὸν δαίτυμόνα αἰδε-σθείς, ἐμβληθῆναι προσέταξεν. ὁ οὖν Ἀγγουστος, προσπεσόντος οἱ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἰκετεύσαντος αὐτὸν, τὰ μὲν πρώτα πείθειν τὸν Πολίωνα ἐπειράτο μηδὲν τοιοῦτον δράσαι, ὡς δ' οὗς ὑπή-κουσέν αὐτῷ, "φέρε," ἔφη, "πάντα τάλλα ἐκπώ-ματα, ὅσα ποτὲ τοιοῦτόρποτα ἢ καὶ ἐτερά τινα ἐντιμα κέκτησαι, ἵνα αὐτοῖς χρήσωμαι." καὶ αὐτὰ κοιμώθησαν συντριβῆναι ἐκέλευσαν. ἦδον δὲ τούτ' ἐκείνος ἄλλως μὲν ἤσχαλλεν, οὔτε δὲ τοῦ ἐνος ἐτὶ ποτηρίου πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀπολογοῦντων ὄργην ἔχων, οὔτ' αὐτὸν διάκονον ὅν γε καὶ ὁ Ἀγγουστος ἐπεποίηκε τιμωρήσασθαι δυνάμενος, ἴσως καὶ ἄκων ἤγαγε. τοιοῦτος οὖν δὴ τις ὁ Πολίων ὁν ἐτελεύτησεν ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς πολλὰ καὶ τῷ Ἀγγουστῷ τοῦ τε κλήρου συγχων μέρος καὶ τὸν Παυσίλυπον, τὸ χωρίῳ τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς τε Νέας πόλεως καὶ τῶν Πονταλῶν ὃν, καταλπῶν, τῷ τε δήμῳ περικαλλὲς ἔργον οἰκοδομηθῆναι κελεύσασ. ὁ οὖν Ἀγγουστος τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσ ἔδαφος προφάσει τῆς ἐκείνου κατασκευῆς, ὅπως μηδὲν μυημόσυνον ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχῃ, καταβαλὼν περίστορφο φιλοδομήσατο, καὶ οὐ

1 παρέβαλλε cod. Peir. Xiph. Zou., παρέβαλε VM.
2 δόσα—τῷ καιρῷ (chap. 24, 7) omitted by V, whose archetype I. had lost one folio at this point. 3 τῶν Μ Xiph., τῶν Xyl.
huge lampreys that had been trained to eat men, and he was accustomed to throw to them such of his slaves as he desired to put to death. Once, when he was entertaining Augustus, his cup-bearer broke a crystal goblet, and without regard for his guest, Pollio ordered the fellow to be thrown to the lampreys. Hereupon the slave fell on his knees before Augustus and supplicated him, and Augustus at first tried to persuade Pollio not to commit so monstrous a deed. Then, when Pollio paid no heed to him, the emperor said, "Bring all the rest of the drinking vessels which are of like sort or any others of value that you possess, in order that I may use them," and when they were brought, he ordered them to be broken. When Pollio saw this, he was vexed, of course; but since he was no longer angry over the one goblet, considering the great number of the others that were ruined, and, on the other hand, could not punish his servant for what Augustus also had done, he held his peace, though much against his will. This is the sort of person Pollio was, who died at this time. Among his many bequests to many persons he left to Augustus a good share of his estate together with Pausilypon, the place between Neapolis and Puteoli, with instructions that some public work of great beauty should be erected there. Augustus razed Pollio's house to the ground, on the pretext of preparing for the erection of the other structure, but really with the purpose that Pollio should have no monument in the city;  

1 The modern Posilipo, between Naples and Pozzuoli. The Greek name Pausilypon means "grief-assuaging," thus corresponding to such modern names as Sans Souci, Hcts-
enaee, etc.
τὸ ὅνομα τὸ τοῦ Πωλίωνος ἄλλα τὸ τῆς Διονίας ἐπέγραψεν.

7 Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ὑστερου ἐποίησε, τότε δὲ πόλεις ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἡβηρίᾳ συχνὰς ἀπόκισε, καὶ Κυζικνοῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπέδωκε, Παφίοις τε σεισμῷ πονήσας καὶ χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο καὶ τὴν πόλιν Αὐγουσταν καλεῖν κατὰ δόγμα ἐπέτρεψε. ταῦτα δὲ ἐγραφαὶ οὐχ ὅτι οὐ καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις πολλαῖς καὶ πρότερον καὶ μετὰ τούτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐφ' ὁμοίας συμφοραῖς καὶ οἱ βουλευταὶ ἐπεκούρησαν, ἐν εἴ τις ἀπάντων μνημονεύοι, ἀπέραντον ἄν τὸ ἔργον τῆς συγγραφῆς γένοιτο· ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τάς ἐπο- νυμίας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ γερονσία ἐν μέρει τιμῆς ἐνέμε, καὶ οὕς ὡσπερ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἑαυτοῖς ἐκαστὸς καταλόγους οὐκ ὅτι ἐθελήσωσιν ως πλήθει ποιοῦνται.

24 Τὸ δ' ἐπιγγυμομένῳ ἔτει Μάρκος μὲν Κράσσος καὶ Γναῖος Κορυφίλλιος ὑπάτευσαν, οἱ δ' ἀγορανόμοι οἱ κουρουλίοι, ἀπευπότες τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι ἐξαισίων σφίσι τῶν ὀρεισών γενομένων ἤρνητο, αὖθις αὐτὴν ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ἐν ἐτέρα ἐκκλησία ἀνέ- λαβον. η' τε στοὰ ἡ Παύλειος ἐκαύθη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ Ἐστιαῖον ἀφίκετο, ὡστε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐς ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ Παλατίου ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀειπαρθένων (ἡ γὰρ πρεσβεύουσα αὐτῶν ἐτε- τυφλῶτο ἀνακομισθήναι καὶ ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Διὸς οἰκίαν τεθῆναι, ἦ μὲν οὖν στοὰ μετά τούτῳ ὀνόματι μὲν ὑπ' Αἰμιλίου, ἐς δὲ τὸ τοῦ

1 ὁ' supplied by Bs. (μ' by Xyl.).
2 ἤρνητο Ῥκ., ηραντο Ῥ. M.
and he built a colonnade, inscribing on it the name, not of Pollio, but of Livia.

However, he did this later. At the time we are considering he colonized numerous cities in Gaul and in Spain, restored to the people of Cyzicus their freedom, and gave money to the Paphians, who had suffered from an earthquake, besides allowing them, by a decree, to call their city Augusta. I record this, not that Augustus and the senators, too, did not aid many other cities also both before and after this occasion, in case of similar misfortunes,—indeed, if one should mention them all, the work involved in making the record would be endless,—but my purpose is to show that the senate even assigned names to cities as a mark of honour and that the inhabitants did not, as is usually done now, make out for themselves in each instance lists of names according to their own pleasure.

The next year Marcus Crassus and Gnaeus Cornelius were consuls; and the curule aediles, after resigning their office because they had been elected under unfavourable auspices, received it again, contrary to precedent, at another meeting of the assembly. The Basilica of Paulus was burned and the flames spread from it to the temple of Vesta, so that the sacred objects there were carried up to the Palatine by the Vestal Virgins, except the eldest, who had become blind,—and were placed in the house of the priest of Jupiter. The basilica was afterwards rebuilt, nominally by Aemilius, who was

\[ ^1 \text{Cf. xlii. 31, 3.} \]
ποιήσαντός ποτε αὐτῆς γένος ἔληλύθει, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Λυγοῦστοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Παῦλου φίλων ἀνωκοδομήθη τότε δὲ οἳ τε Παυλόνοι νεωτέραται αὐθεῖς ἔχειρόθησαν, καὶ αἱ Ἀλπεῖς αἱ παραβαλασίδιοι ὑπὸ δινών τῶν κομητῶν καλουμένων ἐλευθέρως ἔτι καὶ τότε νε-ρομέναι ἐδουλώθησαν. τὰ τε ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ τῷ Κιμμερίῳ νευχωμένα κατέστη. Σκριβώνιος γὰρ τοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου ἔργον εἶναι καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Λυγοῦστοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπειδήπερ ὁ Ἀσανδρὸς ἐτεθνήκει, εἰληφέναι λέγων, τὴν γυναίκα αὐτοῦ Δύναμιν τις καλουμένην καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός έπιτετραμμένην, ἢ τοῦ τοῦ Φερνάκου κυνάρτη καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἐργον ἀληθῶς ἢν, ἡγάγετο, καὶ τὸν Βοσπόρον διὰ χειρὸς ἐποιεῖτο. τοῦ θομένου οὖν ταῦτα ὁ 'Ἀγρίππας τοῦ Πολέμωνα ἐπ' αὐτών, τῶν τοῦ Πόντου τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ όντος βασιλεύοντα, ἐπεμψε· καὶ ὁ Σκριβώνιος μὲν οὐκέτι περίοντα κατέλαβε (μαθόντες γὰρ οἱ Βοσπόροι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν) αὐτοῦ προσπέκτειναν αὐτῶν), αὐτίσταντων δὲ οἱ ἐκείνων δέει τοῦ μὲν βασιλεύεσθαι αὐτῷ δοθῆναι, ἐς χειρὰς σφισιν ἠλθε. καὶ ἐνίκησε μὲν, οὐ μὴν καὶ παρε- στήσατο σφας πρὶν τὸν 'Ἀγρίππαν ἐς Σινώπην ἐλθεῖν ὡς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦς στρατεύοντα. οὗτο στὰ τε ὅπλα κατέδευν καὶ τῷ Πολέμωνι παρέδο-θησαν ἢ τε γυνὴ ἡ Δύναμις συνφόκησεν αὐτῷ, τοῦ Λυγοῦστοι δῆλον ὅτι ταῦτα δικαιώσαντο. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς θυσίαν μὲν τῷ τοῦ 'Ἀγρίππου ὄνοματε ἐγένοτο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἐπικίνδυνα καὶ τῶ ἤθεντα αὐτῷ ἐπέμφθη· οὗτε γὰρ ἐγραψεν ἀρχὴν

1 ἐπιβολήν Ρκ., ἐπιβολήν Μ.
the descendant of the family of the man who had formerly erected it, but really by Augustus and the friends of Paulus. At this time the Pannonians revolted again and were subdued, and the Maritime Alps, inhabited by the Ligurians who were called Comati,¹ and were still free even then, were reduced to slavery. And the revolt among the tribes of the Cimmerian Bosporus was quelled. It seems that one Scribonius, who claimed to be a grandson of Mithridates and to have received the kingdom from Augustus after the death of Asander, married Asander’s wife, named Dynamis, who was really the daughter of Pharnaces and the granddaughter of Mithridates and had been entrusted with the regency by her husband, and thus he was holding Bosporus under his control. Agrippa, upon learning of this, sent against him Polemon, the king of that part of Pontus bordering on Cappadocia. Polemon found Scribonius no longer alive, for the people of Bosporus, learning of his advance against them, had already put him to death; but when they resisted Polemon through fear that he might be allowed to reign over them, he engaged them in battle. But although he conquered them, he was unable to reduce them to submission until Agrippa came to Sinope with the purpose of conducting a campaign against them. Then they laid down their arms and were delivered up to Polemon; and the woman Dynamis became his wife, naturally not without the sanction of Augustus. For these successes sacrifices were offered in the name of Agrippa, but the triumph which was voted him was not celebrated. Indeed, he did not so much

¹ i.e. the “long-haired.” Cf. Gallia Comata, xlii. 55, 5.
ἐσ τὸ συνέδριον ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐδέν, ἂφ' ὦν δὴ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα, νόμῳ τινὶ τῷ ἐκείνῳ τρόπῳ χρόμενοι, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ τε τῷ κοινῷ ἔτ' ἐπέστελλον, οὔτε τὴν πέμψιν τῶν νικητηρίων εἴδειερος 1 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἕτε τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτῶ, ὅς γε καὶ ἔγὼ κρίνω, ποιήσαι τοῦτο ἔδοθη, ἀλλὰ μόναις ταῖς ἐπινικίωσις τιμαῖς ἐγαυροῦντο.

25 Ὅ δ' οὖν 2 Ἀγούστος ἐπεἰδὴ πάντα τὰ τὲ ἐν ταῖς Γαλατίαις καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς Γερμανίαις ταῖς τ' Ἰππηρίαις, πολλὰ μὲν ἀναλώσας ὡς ἐκάστοις πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐτέρων λαβών, τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τοῖς μὲν δοὺς τοὺς δ' ἀφελόμενοι, διωκήσατο, τοὺς μὲν Δρούσον ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ κατέληπτεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ρώμην ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ Κυντιλίου 3 Οὐάρον ὑπάτων ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ ἑτυχε γὰρ ἡ ἀγγελία τῆς ἀφίξεως αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐς τὸ ἀστυ ἐλθοῦσα ἐν αἷς Κορνήλιος Βάλβος τὸ θέατρον τὸ καὶ νῦν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καλούμενου καθηρώσας θέας ἐπετελεῖ, ἐπὶ τε τοῦτο ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν Ἀγούστον ἐπανάξων ἐσεμνύνετο, καίτοι ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τοῦ ὑδατος, ὅπερ ὁ Τιβερις πλεονάσας ἐπεποιήκει, μηδὲ ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ θέατρον εἰ μὴ πλοῖον δυνηθείς, καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ θεάτρου τιμὴ ἐπεσφίσεν. Ἡ τε γὰρ βουλή ἠθροίαθη, καὶ ἔδοξε σφισὶν ἄλλα τε καὶ βωμὸν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Βουλευτηρίῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Ἀγούστου ἐπανόδου ποιή-

1 ἔδειξατο Βκ., ἔδειξατο VM. 2 δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν VM. 3 Κυντιλίου R. Steph., κυντιλλοῦ VM.
as notify the senate of what had been accomplished, and in consequence subsequent conquerors, treating his course as a precedent, also gave up the practice of sending reports to the public; and he would not accept the celebration of the triumph. For this reason,—at least, such is my opinion,—no one else of his peers was permitted to do so any longer, either, but they enjoyed merely the distinction of triumphal honours.

Now when Augustus had finished all the business which occupied him in the several provinces of Gaul, of Germany and of Spain,¹ having spent large sums upon special districts and received large sums from others, having bestowed freedom and citizenship upon some and taken them away from others, he left Drusus in Germany and returned to Rome himself in the consulship of Tiberius and Quintilius Varus. Now it chanced that the news of his coming reached the city during those days when Cornelius Balbus was celebrating with spectacles the dedication of the theatre which is even to-day called by his name; and Balbus accordingly began to put on airs, as if it were he himself that was going to bring Augustus back,—although he was unable even to enter his theatre, except by boat, on account of the flood of water caused by the Tiber, which had overflowed its banks,—and Tiberius put the vote to him first, in honour of his building the theatre. For the senate convened, and among its other decrees voted to place an altar in the senate-chamber itself, to commemorate the return of Augustus.

¹ Literally, "in the Gauls, in the Germanies, and the Spain." "Germany" here and just below refers to the provinces of Upper and Lower Germany, west of the Rhine. See note on liii. 12, 6.
σασθαί, τοῖς τε ἰκετεύσασιν αὐτὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ πω-
μηρίου ὄντα ἄδειαν εἶναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐδέξατο
οὐδέτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀπάντησιν τοῦ δήμου καὶ
τότε ἐξέστην νυκτὸς γὰρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεκομίσθην,
ὅπερ που καὶ ἂεὶ ὡς εἴπαν, εἴπε εἰς τα πρώστεια
εἴπε καὶ ἀλλοσκεπίκην ἐκδημίαν, καὶ ἀφορμὸμενὸς
καὶ ἔπανικόν ὁμοίως ἐποίει, ἵνα μηδενὶ αὐτῶν
ὄχληρος εἴη. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ
τοῦ δήμου ἑσπασάτο, καὶ ἐς τὸν Καπιτόλιον ἀνελ-
θὼν τὴν τε διάφυν ἀπὸ τῶν βάθδων περετείλε καὶ
ἐς τὸν Δίος γόνατα κατέθετο, τῷ τε ὅμω
προίκα τὰ τὲ λουτρὰ καὶ τοὺς κουρέας τὴν ἡμέραν
ἐκεῖνην παρέσχε. συναγαγὼν δὲ ἐκ τοῦτον τὸ
βουλευτήριον αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδεν ἐίπεν ὑπὸ βράγχου,
τῷ δὲ ἄβιβλίῳ· τῷ ταιμίῳ ἀναγρίναί δοὺς τὰ
τε πεπραγμένα οἱ κατηρμηνεύτο, καὶ διέταξε τὰ
τε ἄτη ὁσα οἱ πολίται στρατεύσητο, καὶ τὰ χρη-
ματα ὅσα πανσάμενοι τῆς στρατείας, ἀντὶ τῆς
χώρας ἴτων ἀεὶ ποτε ἤτοιν, λήψων, ὅπως ἐπὶ
ῥητοῖς ἐκείθεν ἴδῃ καταλεγόμενοι μηδὲν τοῦτων γε
ἐνεκα νεωτερίζωσιν. ἦν τε ὁ τε ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἑτῶν
tοῖς μὲν δορυφόροι δώδεκα τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐκκαλ-
δεκα, καὶ τὸ ἀργυρίου τοῖς μὲν ἐλαττον τοῖς δὲ
πλειον. ταῦτα δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑπῆρθον ὅτι
ὀργὴν ἐν γε τῷ τοτε παρόντε ἑνεποίησε διὰ τὸ μήτε
πάντων ὅν ἐπεθύμουν τυχεῖν μήτε πάντων δια-
μαρτεῖν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις ἅγαθὰς ἐλπίδαις τοῦ
μηκέτε τῶν κτημάτων ἀφαίρεθησθαι.

26 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦτα τὸ τε θεάτρου τὸ τοῦ Μαρ-
κέλλου καλοῦμενον καθιέρωσε, κἂν τῇ πανηγύρι
tus, and also voted that those who approached him as suppliants while he was inside the pomerium should not be punished. Nevertheless, he accepted neither of these honours, and even avoided encountering the people on this occasion also; for he entered the city at night. This he did nearly always whenever he went out to the suburbs or anywhere else, both on his way out and on his return, so that he might trouble none of the citizens. The next day he welcomed the people in the palace, and then, ascending the Capitol, took the laurel from around his fasces and placed it upon the knees of Jupiter; and he also placed baths and barbers at the service of the people free of charge on that day. After this he convened the senate, and though he made no address himself by reason of hoarseness, he gave his manuscript to the quaestor to read and thus enumerated his achievements and promulgated rules as to the number of years the citizens should serve in the army and as to the amount of money they should receive when discharged from service, in lieu of the land which they were always demanding. His object was that the soldiers, by being enlisted henceforth on certain definite terms, should find no excuse for revolt on this score. The number of years was twelve for the Pretorians and sixteen for the rest; and the money to be distributed was less in some cases and more in others. These measures caused the soldiers neither pleasure nor anger for the time being, because they neither obtained all they desired nor yet failed of all; but in the rest of the population the measures aroused confident hopes that they would not in future be robbed of their possessions.

He next dedicated the theatre named after Marcellus. In the course of the festival held for this
τῇ διὰ τούτο γενομένῃ τὴν τὴν Ῥῶιαν οἱ παιδεὶς οἱ εὐπατρίδαι οἱ τὲ ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ ἔγγονος αὐτοῦ ὁ Γάιος ἱππευμα, καὶ θηρία Διβυκα ἕξακόσια
2 ἀπεσφάγη τὰ τε γενέθλια τοῦ Ἀγνώστου ο Ἰουλλος ὁ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παις στρατηγῶν καὶ ἱπποδρομία καὶ ῥφαγαὶς θηρίων ἔφρατος, καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτώλιῳ καὶ ἔκεινον καὶ τὴν βουλήν κατὰ δόγμα αὐτῆς εἰστίασεν.
3 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἔξετασις αὖθις τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐγένετο. ἔπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δέκα μυριά-
δων τὸ τίμημα αὐτοὶς ὄφιστο διὰ τὸ συχνὸς τῶν πατρίων ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμων ἑστερήσατο, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόου καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν περιουσίας κτωμένων ἐς πέντε καὶ ἐκκοστὶ προῖχθη, οὐκὲτ
4 οὐδεὶς ἐθελοντι ὑπενθέσας εὐρίσκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδεὶς εἰσὶν οἱ καὶ ἐγγονοὶ βουλευτῶν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἄλλα ἄλλα δεῖνομενοι οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ συμφορῶν προ-
γονικῶν τεταπεινωμένοι, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀντεπο-
δοντο τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἀξιώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ προ-
κατελεγμένοι ήδη ἐξώμυντο. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ πρότερον μὲν, ἀποδημουντός ἔτι τοῦ Ἀγνώστου, δόγμα ἐγένετο τους εἰκοσὶ καλομένους ἀνδράς ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων ἀποδείκνυται οθεν οὐκετί οὐδεὶς ἀυτῶν ἐς τὸ βουλευτηρίου ἐςγράφη, μὴ καὶ ἐτέραν ἑκά τα ἄρχην τῶν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσάγειν δυναμένων λαβχῶν.
5 οἱ δὲ δὴ εἰκοσιν οὐτοὶ ἄνδρες ἐκ τῶν ἔξ καὶ εἰ-
κοσίων εἰσιν, οἱ τε τρεῖς οἱ τὰς τοῦ θανάτου δίκας προστεταγμένοι, καὶ οἱ ἔτεροι τρεῖς οἱ τὸ τοῦ

1 ἐθελοντι R. Steph., ἐθελοντι VM.
2 οἱ δὲ δὴ Rk., εἰτε δὴ V, οἱ τε δὴ M.
purpose the patrician boys, including his grandson Gaius, performed the equestrian exercise called "Troy," \(^1\) and six hundred wild beasts from Africa were slain. And to celebrate the birthday of Augustus, Iullus, the son of Antony, who was praetor, gave games in the Circus and a slaughter of wild beasts, and entertained both the emperor and the senate, in pursuance of a decree of that body, upon the Capitol.

After this there was another purging of the lists of the senate. At first, as we have seen, the rating of senators had been fixed at four hundred thousand sesterces, because many of them had been stripped of their ancestral estates by the wars, and then, as time went on and men acquired wealth, it had been raised to one million sesterces. Consequently no one was any longer found who would of his own choice become a senator; on the contrary, sons and grandsons of senators, some of them really poor and others reduced to humble station by the misfortunes of their ancestors, not only would not lay claim to the senatorial dignity, but also, when already entered on the lists, swore that they were ineligible. Therefore, previous to this time, while Augustus was still absent from the city, a decree had been passed that the Vigintiviri, as they were called, should be appointed from the knights; and thus none of these men eligible to be senators was any longer enrolled in the senate without having also held one of the other offices that led to it. These Vigintiviri are what is left of the Vigintisexviri, of whom three\(^2\) are in charge of criminal trials, another three\(^3\) attend to

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\(^1\) See xliii. 23, 6, and note.  
\(^2\) Tresviri capitales.  
\(^3\) Tresviri monetales.
νομισματος κόμμα μεταχειριζόμενοι, οί τε τέσσαρες οί τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀστεί ὁδῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι, καὶ οἱ δέκα οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων τῶν ἐς τοὺς ἐκατὸν
7 ἀνδρας κληρουμένων ἀποδεκινύμενοι· οἱ γὰρ δὴ
dύο οί τὰς ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ὁδοὺς ἐγχειριζόμενοι,
oὶ τε τέσσαρες οὶ ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν πεμπόμενοι,
cатελέλυντο. τοῦτο τε οὖν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Λυγοῦστου
ἐκδημίᾳ ἐνηφίσθη, καὶ ἵν', ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς ἐτε βαθὺς
τὴν δημαρχίαν ἦτε, 1 κλήρῳ τινές 2 ἐκ τῶν τετα-
μιουκτόνων καὶ μῆπω τεσσαράκοντα ἐτη γεγονότων
8 καθιστῶνται. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῶς πάντας αὐτῶς ἐξή-
tασε, καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα
ἐτη γεγονότων οὐκ ἔπολυπραγμόνησε, τοὺς δὲ
ἐντὸς τε τῆς ἠλικίας ταύτης ὄντας καὶ τὸ τίμημα
ἐχόντας βουλεύσαι κατηγάγασε, χωρὶς ἤ εἰ τι
9 ἀνάπηρος ἢν. καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα καὶ αὐτῶς ποι
αὐτῶν 3 ἐφ' ὄρα, περὶ δὲ δὴ τῶν οὐσιῶν ὅρκους ἐπι-
στοῦτο αὐτῶν τε ἐκείνων καὶ ἑτέρων συνομνύστων
σφίσι καὶ λογισμὸν τῆς τε ἀπορίας ἅμα καὶ τοῦ
βίου διδόμτων.

27 Καὶ οὖκ ἐν μὲν τοῖς κοινοῖς τοιοῦτος ἢν, τῶν δ' ἰδίων 4 παρημέλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ ἐπετη-
μησεν ὅτι τῶν Γάιον ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῇ εὐκταίᾳ,
ἡν ἐπὶ τῇ ἔπανόρω αὐτῶν διετίθει, παρεκαθίσατο,
καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι καὶ κρότοις καὶ ἐπαίνοις αὐτῶν
2 ἐτίμησαν. ἐπειδὴ τε τοῦ Δεπίδου μεταλλάξαντος

1 ἦτει M, ἦτει V. 3 αὐτῶν M, αὐτῶν V.
2 των Leuncl., των VM.
4 ἰδίων cod. Coisł., ἰδιῶτων VM.
the coinage of the money, four\(^1\) look after the streets in the city, and ten\(^2\) are assigned to the courts which are allotted to the Centumviri; for the two\(^3\) who were once entrusted with the roads outside the walls and the four\(^4\) who used to be sent to Campania had been abolished. This was one decree that was passed during the absence of Augustus; there was also another providing that, since no one was any longer ready to seek the tribuneship, some of the ex-quaestors who were not yet forty years old should be appointed to the office by lot. But on the present occasion Augustus himself made an investigation of the whole senatorial class. With those who were over thirty-five years of age he did not concern himself, but in the case of those who were under that age and possessed the requisite rating he compelled them to become senators, unless one of them was physically disabled. He examined their persons himself, but in regard to their property he accepted sworn statements, the men themselves and others as witnesses taking an oath and rendering an account of their poverty as well as of their manner of life.

Nor did he, while showing such strictness in the public business, neglect his private affairs; indeed, he rebuked both Tiberius, because at the festival, given under Tiberius’ management, in fulfilment of a vow for the emperor’s return, he had seated Gaius at the emperor’s side, and the people for honouring Gaius with applause and eulogies.\(^5\) On the death of

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1 Quattuorviri viis in urbe pugandis; cf. chap. 8, 4.  
2 Decemviri stiliibus indicandis.  
3 Duoviri viis extra urbem pugandis.  
4 Quattuor praefecti Capuam Cunas.  
5 Cf. Nepot., Aug. 56.
ἀρχιέρεως ἀπεδείχθη καὶ διὰ τοῦθ᾽ ἡ βουλή ψηφισθαί . . . 3 αὐτῶν 2 ἤθελσεν, οὔτε τι αὐτῶν προσήφεσθαι ἐφη, καὶ ἐγκειμένων οἱ ἐξανέστη τε καὶ ἐξήλθεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. καὶ οὔτε ἐκεῖνα ἐτεκυρώθη οὔτε οἰκίαν τινὰ δημοσίαν ἐλαβεν, ἀλλὰ μέρος τις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτι τῶν ἀρχιέρεων ἐν κοινῷ πάντως οίκειν ἔχρην, ἐδημοσίωσεν. τὴν μέντοι τοῦ βασιλεῶς τῶν ἱερῶν 3 ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις ἔδωκεν, ἐπειδὴ 4 ὀμότοιχος ταῖς οἰκήσεσιν αὐτῶν ἦν.

4 Κορυνλίου τε Σισέννου 5 αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς βίω σχόντος, καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ εἰπόντος ὅτι καὶ εἰδότος καὶ συμβουλεύσαντος οἱ αὐτοῦ ἡγαγέτω αὐτῷν, περισσοτέρῳ τῇ ἐγένετο καὶ εἰπε μὲν οὔδεν οὔδὲ ἔπραξε δεινόν, ἐκπηδήσας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐπείτα μετ᾽ ὀλίγον ἐπανήλθεν, ἐλόμενος, ὅσ γε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις μετὰ ταῦτα ἐφη, τοῦτο μᾶλλον καίπερ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχουν ποιήσαι ἢ κατὰ χώραν μείναις ἀναγκασθῆναι τι κακὸν δράσαι.

28 Καὶ τούτῳ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἐλθόντα τῇ τῇ δημαρχίᾳ ἐξουσία αὐθίς ἐστὶν ἐτη πέντε ἐμεγάλυνε καὶ ἐστὶν Πανονίαν πολεμοσείουσαν ἐξεπεμφή, μείζον αὐτῷ τῶν ἐκασταχόθη ἐξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρχότων ἰσχύσαι ἐπιτρέπει 3 ψα. καὶ ὅσ τὴν μὲν στρατεύειν καίτοι τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐν φ. Μάρκος τοῦ Οὐαλέριος καὶ Πούπλιος Σουλπίκιος ὑπάτευον, ἐνεστηκότος ἐποίησατο, ἐκπλαγεντων δὲ τῶν Πανονίων πρὸς τὴν ἐφοδίων αὐτοῖν

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1 Lacuna recognized by Elsner.
2 αὐτῷ V, αὐτῶν M.
3 Ierōn Leouncl., Ierōn VM.
4 ἐπειδὴ H. Steph., ἐπεὶ δὲ VM.
5 Σισέννου Glandorp, σισεντον VM.

354
BOOK LIV

Lepidus he was appointed high priest and the senate accordingly wished to vote him [other honours (?)]; but he declared that he would not accept any of them, and when the senators urged him, he rose and left the meeting. That measure, therefore, now failed of passage, and he also received no official residence; but, inasmuch as it was absolutely necessary that the high priest should live in a public residence, he made a part of his own house public property. The house of the rei sacrificiuli, however, he gave to the Vestal Virgins, because it was separated merely by a wall from their apartments.

When Cornelius Sisenna was censured for the conduct of his wife, and stated in the senate that he had married her with the knowledge and on the advice of the emperor, Augustus became exceedingly angry. He did not, to be sure, say or do anything violent, but rushed out of the senate-house, and then returned a little later, choosing to take this course, though it was not the correct thing to do, as he said to his friends afterward, rather than to remain where he was and be compelled to do something harsh.

Meanwhile he increased the power of Agrippa, who had returned from Syria, by giving him the tribunician power again for another five years, and he sent him out to Pannonia, which was eager for war, entrusting him with greater authority than the officials outside Italy ordinarily possessed. And Agrippa set out on the campaign in spite of the fact that the winter had already begun (this was the year in which Marcus Valerius and Publius Sulpicius were the consuls); but when the Pannonians became terrified at his approach and gave up their
καὶ μὴ δέν ἔτι νεωτερισάντων ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ ἐν
3 Καμπανία γενόμενος ἐνόσησε. πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦ
tοῦ ὁ Ἀὐγουστος (ἐπιχεὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις
ἀπολομαχίας ἀγώνας τῷ τῶν παιδῶν όνόματι
τιθέος) ἔξωρμήθη, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν τεθηκό-
tα ἐς τὸ ἄστυ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐσεκόμισε καὶ ἐν
τῇ ἄγορᾷ προέβηκε, τόν τε λόγον τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
ἐπε, παραπέτασμαι τε πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρατεῖνας.
4 ὅπερ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα διὰ τί ἐποίησεν, εἰρήτα 
ὁμος τοῖς μὲν ὅτι ἀρχιέρεως ἦν, τοῖς δὲ ὅτι 
tὰ τῶν τιμητῶν ἐπραττεν, οὐκ ὅρθως φρονοῦσιν οὕτε γὰρ 
tῷ ἀρχιέρεῳ ἀπείρηται νεκρὸν ὅραν οὕτε τῷ 
tιμητή, πλὴν ἄν τὸ τέλος ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς μέλλῃ ἐπάξειν ἄν γὰρ τινα πρὸ τοῦ καθαρσίου ὕδη, 
ἀνάδαστα τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ πάντα γίγνεται.
5 τοῦτο τε οὖν οὕτως ἐδρασε, καὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν αὐτοῦ 
ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ ἐν ὧ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηνέχθη ἐποιήσατο, καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐαυτοῦ μυθείῳ ἐθαγε, καίτοι ἦδιον ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ λαβόντα.
plans for rebellion, he returned, and upon reaching Campania, fell ill. Augustus happened to be exhibiting, in the name of his sons, contests of armed warriors at the Panathenaic festival,¹ and when he learned of Agrippa’s illness, he set out for Italy; and finding him dead, he conveyed his body to the capital and caused it to lie in state in the Forum. He also delivered the eulogy over the dead, after first hanging a curtain in front of the corpse. Why he did this, I do not know. Some, however, have stated that it was because he was high priest, others that it was because he was performing the duties of censor. But both are mistaken, since neither the high priest is forbidden to look at a corpse, nor the censor, either, except when he is about to complete the census; but if he looks upon a corpse then, before his purification, all his work has to be done over again. Now Augustus not only did what I have recorded, but also had the funeral procession of Agrippa conducted in the manner in which his own was afterward conducted, and he buried him in his own sepulchre, though Agrippa had taken one for himself in the Campus Martius.

Such was the end of Agrippa, who had in every way clearly shown himself the noblest of the men of his day and had used the friendship of Augustus with a view to the greatest advantage both of the emperor himself and of the commonwealth. For the more he surpassed others in excellence, the more inferior he kept himself of his own free will to the emperor; and while he devoted all the wisdom and valour he himself possessed to the highest interests of Augustus, he lavished all the

¹ In Athens.
χων πάσαν τήν παρ’ ἐκείνου καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν
3 ἐς τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐνεργετεῖν ἀντίλοιπον. ἀδ’ οὐ
dὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οὔτ’ αὐτῷ ποτὲ τῷ Αὐγοῦστῳ
ἐπαχθῆς οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπίφθονος ἐγένετο, ἀλλ’
ἐκείνῳ τε τῆν μοναρχίαν ὡς καὶ δυναστείας ὄντως
ἐπιθυμήτης1 συνέστησε, καὶ τὸν δήμον εὐεργε-
σίαις ὡς καὶ δημοτικότατος προσεποιήσατο. καὶ
tότε γοῦν κῆπους τέ σφισι καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον τὸ
ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, ὡσε προῖκα αὐτοὺς
λούσθαι, χωρία τινὰ ἐς τοῦτο τῷ Αὐγοῦστῳ δοῦς.
καὶ οὐς οὐ μόνον ταῦτ’ ἐδημοσίευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
καθ’ ἐκατόν2 δραχμας τῷ δήμῳ ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου
5 κελεύσαντος διένειμε. τῶν τε γὰρ πλείστων
αὐτοῦ ἐκληρονόμησεν, ἐν οἷς ἄλλα τε καὶ ἡ
Χερρόνησος ἢν3 ἢ πρὸς τῷ ‘Ελλησπόντῳ, οὐκ
οἴδ’ ὅπως ἐς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐλθοῦσα· καὶ πάνι
ἐπὶ πολὺ αὐτῶν ἐπόδησεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
ἐντιμὸν παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ἐποίησε, τὸν τε νῦν τὸν
τελευτήσαντι οἱ γεννηθέντα Ἀγρίππαν προση-
6 γόρευσαν. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκλιπεῖν τι
τῶν πατρίων, καίπερ μηδενὸς τῶν πρῶτων ἐς τὰς
πανηγύρεις ἀπαντήσαι ἐθέλοντος, ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ
αὐτὸς τὰς μονομαχίας διετέλεσε πολλάκις τε
7 καὶ ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ ἐποιοῦντο. οὕτω γοῦν οὐκ
ἴδιον τοῦτο τὸ πάθος τῇ τοῦ Ἀγρίππαν οἰκία
ἄλλα καὶ κοινῶν πᾶσι τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ἐγένετο,
ὡστε καὶ σημεία ὑπὸ πρὸ τῶν μεγίστων συμφορῶν

1 ἐπιθυμήτης Xyl., ἐπιθυμήτης VM cod. Peir.
2 ἐκατόν M, ἐκατόν V cod. Peir.
3 ἢν supplied by Bs. 4 τε Bs., γε VM.

358
honour and influence he received from him upon benefactions to others. It was because of this in particular that he never became obnoxious to Augustus himself nor invidious to his fellow-citizens; on the contrary, he helped Augustus to establish the monarchy, as if he were really a devoted adherent of the principle of autocratic rule, and he won over the people by his benefactions, as if he were in the highest degree a friend of popular government. At any rate, even at his death he left them gardens and the baths named after him, so that they might bathe free of cost, and for this purpose gave Augustus certain estates.\(^1\) And the emperor not only turned these over to the state, but also distributed to the people four hundred sesterces apiece, giving it to be understood that Agrippa had so ordered. And, indeed, he had inherited most of Agrippa's property, including the Chersonese on the Hellespont, which had come in some way or other into Agrippa's hands. Augustus felt his loss for a long time and hence caused him to be honoured in the eyes of the people; and he named the posthumous son born to him Agrippa. Nevertheless, he did not allow the citizens at large, although none of the prominent men wished to attend the festivals, to omit any of the time-honoured observances, and he in person superintended the gladiatorial combats, though they were often held without his presence. The death of Agrippa, far from being merely a private loss to his own household, was at any rate such a public loss to all the Romans that portents occurred on this occasion in such numbers as are wont to happen.

\(^1\) For the baths, see liii. 27, 1. The estates here mentioned were to provide an income for the maintenance of the baths.
 Dio's Roman History

συμβαίνειν σφίσιν εἰώθε, καὶ τότε συνενεχθήναι. 

βύαι τε γάρ τῇ πόλει διεφοίτησαν, καὶ κεραυνὸς 

ές τῆν ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ οἶκιαν, ἐς ἢν οἱ ὑπατοὶ ἐν 

tαις ιερουργίαις καταλύουσιν, ἐνέσκηψε. τὸ τε 

ἀστρον ὁ κομίτης ὁ νομασμένος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέ- 

ρας ύπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἁστεως αἰώρηθεις ἐς λαμ- 

πάδας διελύθη. καὶ τυρὶ ἀλλὰ τε τῆς πόλεως 

συγνά καὶ ἣ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου σκηνῇ ἐκαύθη, κοράκων 

κρέα ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ βωμοῦ τίνος ἔμπυρα ἐμβα- 

λότων.

30 Οὕτω μὲν τὰ κατὰ Ἀγριππαν ἐγένετο· μετὰ δὲ 

ἡ 1 τοῦτο ὁ Διογονιγός ἐπιμελητὴς τε καὶ ἐπαν- 

ορθωτής τῶν τρόπων ἐς ἐτέρα ἐς τὴν πέντε αἱρέθεις 

(καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο κατὰ προδημίας, ὅπερ που καὶ 

ἡ μοναρχίαν, ἐλάμβανε ἃ τοὺς βου- 

λευτάς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, ὅσα γὰρ ἐν ἐδρα αὐτῶν 

καὶ τὴν ἁρφίζων πρὸς έαυτόν μὴ 2 ποιεῖσθαι, τὸ 

μὲν ἅνα θεοσεβῶσι, τὸ δὲ ἢ ἀπονηθὲ 3 συνίσωσιν,

2 ἐκέλευσε. τὴν δὲ δημορχίαν ὅλων σφόδρα διὰ 

τὸ τὴν ἑκοῦν σφον καταλελύσθαι αὐτοῦ του ἔνο- 

μοδέτησεν ἐκ τῶν ἱππεῶν τὸν μὴ ἔλαττον πέντε 

καὶ εἰκοσι μυριάδας κεκτημένων προβάλλεσθαι 

τοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐνα ἑκατόν, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ 

πλῆθος τοῦ ἐνδέκατας αἰρεῖσθαι ἐφ’ ὅ τε, 4 εἱ 

μὲν καὶ βουλεύειν μετὰ τοῦ ἐθέλοιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, 

 appréciα αὐðις ἐπανεῖναι ἐξεῖναι.

3 Ἐπειδὴ τε ἡ Ἀσία τὸ ἔθνος ἐπικουρίας τινὸς 

dia seismou μάλιστα ἐδείτο, 5 τὸν τε φόρον αὐτῆς

1 ἡ V, om. M.
2 μὴ supplied by Bk., following Casaubon.
3 ἀπονηθὲ R. Steph., ἀπονηθὲ VM.
4 ἐφ’ ὅ τε Bk., σφον VM.
5 ἐδείτο Dind., ἐδείτο VM.
to them before the greatest calamities. Owls kept flitting about the city, and lightning struck the house on the Alban Mount where the consuls lodge during the sacred rites. 1 The star called the comet 2 hung for several days over the city and was finally dissolved into flashes resembling torches. Many buildings in the city were destroyed by fire, among them the hut of Romulus, 3 which was set ablaze by crows which dropped upon it burning meat from some altar.

These were the events connected with Agrippa's death. After this Augustus was chosen supervisor and corrector of morals 4 for another five years; for he received this office also for limited periods, as he did the monarchy. He ordered the senators to burn incense in their assembly hall whenever they held a session, and not to pay the usual visit to him, his purpose being, in the first instance, that they should show reverence to the gods, and, in the second, that they should not be hindered in convening. And inasmuch as extremely few candidates sought the tribuneship, because its power had been abolished, he made a law that the magistrates in office should each nominate one of the knights who possessed not less than one million sesterces, and that the plebs should then fill the vacancies in the tribuneship from this list, with the understanding that, if the men desired to be senators later, they might do so, or otherwise they should return again to the equestrian order.

When the province of Asia was in dire need of assistance on account of earthquakes, he paid into

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1 At the Feriae Latinae.  
2 i.e. the "hairy" star.  
3 Cf. xlviii. 43, 4.  
4 Praefectus moribus.
τὸν ἔτειον ἐκ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ χρημάτων τῷ κοινῷ ἑσήνησε, καὶ ἀρχοντά ὦ ἐκ τοῦ κληροῦ, ἄλλ' οὐχ αἴρετον, ἐπὶ δύο ἐτη προσέταξε.

4 Κακῶς τέ ποτε τοῦ 'Ἀποπλείου1 καὶ τοῦ Μαυ-κήνου ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τιν μοιχείας, οὐχ ὅτι τις καὶ αὐτὸι ὑβρίκεσαν ἄλλ᾽ ὅτι τῷ κρινομένῳ σπουδῇ συνήροντο, ἀκουόντων ἤλθε τε ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐδρα καθιζότας δεινον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπράξαν, ἀπειπὼν δὲ τῷ κατηγόρῳ μίτῳ τοὺς συγγενεῖς μίτῳ τοὺς

5 φίλους αὐτοῦ προπηλακίζειν ἀνέστη, καὶ αὐτὸι διὰ τε ταύτα καὶ διὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνδράσι τε ἐκ συντελείας ἐτίμησαν, καὶ τῇ τοῖς τε ἀγνώσι καὶ ταῖς2 ἀνάγνωσι καὶ συνθεώσαν τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ συνδειπνεῖν ἐν τοῖς γενεαλέοις αὐτοῦ δούμαν ὀυ γὰρ ἐξήν οὐδέτερον.

31 Ὁ σὲ οὐν4 ὁ 'Αγρίππας, ὕππερ τοὺς δι' ἀρετὴν ἄλλοι οὖ δι' ἀνάγκην τινα ἡγάπα, ἑτερήκει, καὶ συνεργοῦ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει προφέροντο, ὡστε καὶ ἐν καιρῷ καὶ ἄνευ φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς πάντα διάγεσθαι, ἐδέιτο, τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ ἄκων προσ-εἴλετο οἱ γὰρ ἔγγονοι αὐτοῦ ἐν παιδίν ἐτή καὶ

2 τότε ἔθαν. καὶ προαποσπάσας καὶ ἐκείνου τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ τοῦ τοῦ 'Αγρίππα ποιατάρα ἐξ ἂλλης τινος γαμετῆς οὕτως, καὶ τέκνον το μεν ἤδη τρέφουσαν τὸ δε ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαν, τῆς τὲ Ἱουλίαν οἱ ἡγγύς5 καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Παύγνιοις αὐτοῦ ἐξεπεμψε τέως μὲν γὰρ τῶν 'Αγρίππαν

1 ἀποπλείου M, ἀποπλείον V Xiph.
2 ταῖς V, τοῖς M.
3 ὁν PluGk, γοῦν VM.
4 δ᾽ οὖν PluGk, γοῦν VM.
5 ἡγγύς V, ἡγγύς M.
the public treasury from his private funds the amount of its annual tribute and assigned to it for two years a governor chosen by lot and not appointed.

On one occasion, when Apuleius and Maecenas were subjected to abuse in court when a case of adultery was being tried, not because they had behaved wantonly themselves, but because they were actively aiding the man on trial, Augustus entered the court-room and sat in the praetor's chair; he took no harsh measures, but simply forbade the accuser to insult either his relatives or his friends, and then rose and left the room. For this action and others the senators honoured him with statues, paid for by private subscription, and also by giving bachelors and spinsters the right to behold spectacles and to attend banquets along with other people on his birthday; for neither of these things had been permitted previously.

When now Agrippa, whom he loved because of his excellence and not because of any kinship, was dead, Augustus felt the need of an assistant in the public business, one who would far surpass all the others in both rank and influence, so that he might transact all business promptly and without being the object of envy and intrigue. Therefore he reluctantly chose Tiberius; for his own grandsons were still boys at this time. He first made him, as he had made Agrippa, divorce his wife, though she was the daughter of Agrippa by a former marriage and was bringing up one child and was about to give birth to another; and having betrothed Julia to him, he sent him out against the Pannonians. This people had for a time been quiet through fear of
φοβηθέντες ἥσυχασαν, τότε δὲ τελευτήσαντος
3 αὐτοῦ ἐπανέστησαν. καὶ σφας ὁ Τιβέριος, πολλὰ
μὲν τῆς χώρας πορθήσας πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς
ἀνθρώπους κακώσας, ἐχειρώσατο, τοὺς Ἀκριβές
σκοποὺς, ὁμόρροις τε αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμοσκεῦοις ὁσίοι,
συμμάχοις δὲ μιᾶς ἁρπαγμένοις. καὶ τὰ τε
όπλα σφῶν ἀφείλετο, καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας τὸ πλείον
4 ἐπ᾿ ἐξαιγογῆ ἀπέδοτο. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα ἤ
μὲν βουλή τα ἔπεινικια ἐψηφίσατο, ὁ δ᾿ Ἄγ-
γουστος ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἐφοτάσαι, τὰς
dὲ τιμὰς τὰς ἐπιμικρύνσει ἀντέδωκε.
32 Τὸ δ᾿ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ συνέβη. τῶν
τε γὰρ Συγαμβρῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν διὰ
tε τὴν τοῦ Ἀνγόουστον ἀποστείκαν καὶ διὰ τὸ τοῖς
Γαλάταις μὴ ἐθέλοντευν πολεμοῦντι σφίσι, ἠτ
tὸ τε ὑπῆκοον προκατέλαβε, τους πρῶτους αὐτοῦ,
προφάσει τῆς ἐορτῆς ἦν καὶ νῦν περὶ τοῦ τοῦ
Ἀνγόουστον βωμὸν ἐν Δουλόπυλῳ τελοῦσι, μετα-
πεμψάμενος, καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς τηρήσας τὸν
2 Ρήνον διαβαίνοντας ἀνέκοψε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
ἐς τῇ τῶν Ὁσιπετῶν καὶ αὐτὴ τῆς τῶν
Βατάουνων νῆσου διέβη, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆν Συγαμβρίδα
ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιπαρελθὼν συχνὰ ἐπόρθησεν. ἐς τοῖς
τῶν ὅκεανοὺς διὰ τοῦ Ρήνου καταπλεῦσας τοὺς τὸν
Φρισίους ὅκειστο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Χαινίδα διὰ
tῆς λίμνης ἐμβαλὼν ἐκινδύνευε, τῶν πλοίων
ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ὅκεανοὺ παλιρροίας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔθρου

1 σκορδίσκοις M, κορδίσκοις V.
2 γὲ H. Steph., τε VM.
3 τὰ supplied by R. Steph.
4 Βατάουων Λευβωλ., Βατάουων VM.
5 φρισίους Bk., φρισίους VM.
6 ὑπὸ Rk., ἐπὶ VM.
Agrippa, but now after his death they had revolted. Tiberius subdued them after ravaging much of their country and doing much injury to the inhabitants, making as much use as possible of his allies the Scordisci, who were neighbours of the Pannonians and were similarly equipped. He took away the enemy's arms and sold most of the men of military age into slavery, to be deported from the country. For these achievements the senate voted him a triumph, but Augustus did not permit him to celebrate it, though he granted him the triumphal honours instead.

Drusus had this same experience. The Sugambri and their allies had resorted to war, owing to the absence of Augustus and the fact that the Gauls were restive under their slavery, and Drusus therefore seized the subject territory ahead of them, sending for the foremost men in it on the pretext of the festival which they celebrate even now around the altar of Augustus at Lugdunum. He also waited for the Germans to cross the Rhine, and then repulsed them. Next he crossed over to the country of the Usipetes,\(^1\) passing along the very island of the Batavians, and from there marched along the river to the Sugambrian territory, where he devastated much country. He sailed down the Rhine to the ocean, won over the Frisians, and crossing the lake,\(^2\) invaded the country of the Chauci, where he ran into danger, as his ships were

\(^1\) The Usipetes or Usipii dwelt at this time just east of the Rhine and north of the Lupia (Lippe).
\(^2\) Some have taken this to be the Zuyder Zee (Lacus Flevo), others the bay at the mouth of the Ems, east of which the Chauci lived. Presumably he would already have sailed through the Zuyder Zee to reach the Frisians.
3 γενομένων. καὶ τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Φρισίων ἐπεζήσανσαν αὐτῶν ὑπόθεσις ἀνέχωρησε (χειμῶν γὰρ ἦν), καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθόν ἀστυνόμον ἐπὶ τε Κνίντου Αἰλίου καὶ ἐπὶ Παύλου Φαβίου ὑπάτου, καὶ περ ὑπὲρ στρατηγικὰς τιμᾶς ἑσών, ἀπεδείχθη ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἤρι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνθικα ὀρμησε, καὶ τὸν ἐς Ῥήμον ἑπεραιώθη καὶ τὸν Ὁὔσιπέτας κατεστράφησε, τὸν τε Δούπιαν ἑξετεί καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Συγάμμβρου ἐνέβαλε, καὶ δε' ἀν' ἔστι καὶ ἐς τὴν Χεροσοκίδα προσχώρησε μέχρι τοῦ Ὁὔσιουργοῦ. ἡδυνήθη δὲ τούτῳ ποίησαι, ὅτι οἱ Συγάμμβροι τοὺς Χάπτους, μόνους τῶν προσοικῶν μὴ ἐθελήσαντάς σφισι συμμαχήσαι, ἐν ὀργῇ σχόντες πανδημεῖ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἑξεστράτευσαν, καὶ τὸ καλό τούτῳ ἔδαθε τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν διεξελθὼν. καὶ διέβη ἂν καὶ τὸν Ὁὔσιουργον, εἰ μὴ τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων ἐσπάνισε καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐνέστη καὶ τι καὶ σμῆρος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ ὁφθη. οὔτ' οὖν περαιτέρω διὰ ταῦτα προσχώρησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἀνακομιζόμενος δεινῶς ἐκινδυνεύσεν οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι ἅλλως τε ἐνέδρας αὐτῶν ἐκάκωσαν, καὶ ποτὲ εἰς στενού καὶ κολον χωρίον κατακλείσαντες ὀλίγου διέθειραν, καὶ πασσυδὶ ἂν ἀπώλεσαν, εἰ μὴ καταφρονήσαντες σφιν ός καὶ ἑαλωκότων καὶ μᾶς ἐπικοπῆς.

1 φρισίων M, φρισίων V.
2 προσχώρησα Leuncl., προσεχώρησε VM.
3 Ὁὔσιουργον Leuncl., οὔσιουργον VM. (and similarly just below).
left high and dry by the ebb of the ocean. He was saved on this occasion by the Frisians, who had joined his expedition with their infantry, and withdrew, since it was now winter. Upon arriving in Rome he was appointed praetor urbanus, in the consulship of Quintius Aelius and Paulus Fabius, although he already had the rank of praetor. At the beginning of spring he set out again for the war, crossed the Rhine, and subjugated the Usipetes. He bridged the Lupia,¹ invaded the country of the Sugambri, and advanced through it into the country of the Cherusci, as far as the Visurgis.² He was able to do this because the Sugambri, in anger at the Chatti, the only tribe among their neighbours that had refused to join their alliance, had made a campaign against them with all their population; and seizing this opportunity, he traversed their country unnoticed. He would have crossed the Visurgis also, had he not run short of provisions, and had not the winter set in and, besides, a swarm of bees been seen in his camp. Consequently he proceeded no farther, but retired to friendly territory, encountering great dangers on the way. For the enemy harassed him everywhere by ambuscades, and once they shut him up in a narrow pass and all but destroyed his army; indeed, they would have annihilated them, had they not conceived a contempt for them, as if they were already captured and needed only the finishing stroke, and so come

¹ The Lippe.  ² The Weser.

¹ ἔθελον κατὰς Bk., θελόντας VM.  ² καί Rk., καὶ VM.  
⁴ ἔλαθε M, διέλαθε V.  ⁵ ἄν M, om. V.  
⁶ ἔπικοπής M, ἐπικοπής V.
4 δυτων ομόσε αυτοίς ἀσύντακτοι ἐχόρησαν. νεκρέντες γὰρ ἐκ τούτου οὐκεθ' ομοίως ἑθραυνόντο, ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν μὲν σφας παρελύγουν, ἐγγὺς δὲ οὔ προσήσαν, ὡστε τὸν Δρούσον ἀντικαταφρονήσαντα αὐτόν ἐκεῖ τῇ ἡ 2 ὁ τε Δουπίας καὶ ἡ Ἐλίσων συμμιγνυται φρούριον τὸ σφίσω ἐπιτειχίσαι, καὶ ἔτερον ἐν Χάττοις παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Ῥήμω. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τάς τε ἐπινικίους τιμάς καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ κέλητος ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐσελάσαι, τῇ τε τοῦ ἀνυπάτου ἐξουσίᾳ, ἐπειδὰν διαστρατηγήσῃ, χρῆσασθαι ἑλαβε. τὸ γὰρ ὅνομα τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπεφημίσθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἐκεῖνο τότε καὶ τῷ Τιβέριῳ πρότερον, οὐ 3 μέντοι παρὰ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου ἐδοθῇ, καὶ περ αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἀμφότεροι τῶν ἔργων τοῦ ἀριθμῶν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐξήσαντος.

34 Ἐν οὗ δ' οὖν ὁ Δρούσος ταῦτ' ἐπραττεν, ἢ τε πανήγυρις ἢ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ αὐτοῦ προσήκουσα πολυτελεστάτη ἐποίηθη, καὶ τὰ γενέθλια τά τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ πόλει πολλαχόθει θηρίων σφαγαῖς ἐτειμῆθη. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν, καίτοι μὴ ψυχισθέν, ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς εἰς τόις ἐτεσὶ πρὸς τινός τῶν ἀεὶ στρατηγούντων ἐγρήγορτο τά δὲ δὴ Αὐγοῦσταλία, ἀ καὶ νῦν ἄγνισθα, τότε πρῶτον ἐκ δόγματος ἐτελέσθη.

3 Ὡ τε Τιβέριος τούς τε Δελμάτας νεοχωρώσαντας καὶ τοὺς Πανονίας μετὰ τούτῳ πρὸς τε τὴν ἑκείνου καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἀποσίαν νεωτερίσαντας ἐχειρώσατο, πολεμῶν τε ἡμα

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1 ἀσύντακτοι: Μ, ἀσύντακτον V.
2 ἡ Μ, ἡ V.
3 πρότερον οὐ Leunel., οὗ πρότερον VM.

368
to close quarters with them in disorder. This led to their being worsted, after which they were no longer so bold, but kept up a petty annoyance of his troops from a distance, while refusing to come nearer. Drusus accordingly conceived a scorn of them in his turn and fortified a stronghold against them at the point where the Lupia and the Eliso unite, and also another among the Chatti on the bank of the Rhine. For these successes he received the triumphal honours, the right to ride into the city on horseback, and to exercise the powers of a proconsul when he should finish his term as praetor. Indeed, the title of imperator was given him by the soldiers by acclamation as it had been given to Tiberius earlier; but it was not granted to him by Augustus, although the number of times the emperor himself gained this appellation was increased as the result of the exploits of these two men.

While Drusus was thus occupied, the festival belonging to his praetorship was celebrated in the most costly manner; and the birthday of Augustus was honoured by the slaughter of wild beasts both in the Circus and in many other parts of the city. This was done almost every year by one of the praetors then in office, even if not authorised by a decree; but the Augustalia, which are still observed, were then for the first time celebrated in pursuance of a decree.

Tiberius subdued the Dalmatians, who began a rebellion, and later the Pannonians, who likewise revolted, taking advantage of the absence of himself and the larger part of his army. He made war

1 The Alme, uniting with the Lippe at Paderborn. The usual classical form of the name is Aliso.
2 That is, to celebrate an ovatio.
ΔΙΟ’S ROMAN HISTORY

άμφοτέροις, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν τῇ τοτὲ δὲ τῇ μεδιστάμενος, ὡστε καὶ τῶν ἀθλῶν τῶν αὐτῶν τῷ Δρούσῳ τυχεῖν. κάκ τούτου καὶ ἡ Δελματία τῇ τοῦ Λυγοῦστου φρουρᾷ, ὡς καὶ ὀπλών τινῶν ἀεὶ καὶ δι’ ἑαυτῆς καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν Παννονίων γειτονίας δεομένη, παρεδόθη.

5 Οὔτοι μὲν δὴ ταύτ’ ἐπρασσόν ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις Ὀὐσολογαίης Ἐρᾶξ Βησσός, ἱερεὺς τοῦ παρ’ αὐτοῖς Διονύσου, προσεποιήσατο τινὰς πολλὰ θείας, καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἀποστάς τὸν τε Ῥασκύπορον τὸν τοῦ Κότνος ὕπο νικήσας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν θείον αὐτοῦ τὸν Ῥυμήταλκην μετὰ ταύτα ἀμαχεῖ γυμνώσας τῶν δυνάμεων τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξῃ φυγεῖν ἐποίησε, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιδιώκων ἐς τῇ τὴν Χερρόνησον ἐνέβαλε

6 καὶ ὠνομάζεται ἐξομήνατο. ὡς οὖν οὗτος τε ταύτ’ ἐποίησε καὶ οἱ Σιαλέται τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἑκακούργουν, Λούκιος Πίσων ἐκ Παμφυλίας, ἦς ἱρχε, προσετάχθη σφίσιν καὶ προαναχωρησάτων οἰκαδε τῶν Βησσόν ἐπειδὴ ἐπιθύμαντο αὐτὸν προσίστατα, ἐς τῇ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἄφηκε, καὶ ἠττήθης τὸ πρῶτον ἀντεπεκράτησε, καὶ ἐκείνην τε καὶ τὴν τῶν προσχώρων τῶν συνεπαναστάτων

7 σφίσιν ἐπόρθησε. καὶ τὸτε τοὺς μὲν ἔθελοντας προσθέμενος τοὺς δὲ ἀκοντας ἐκπλήξας, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκ παρατάξεως συνενεχθές, πάντας αὐτοὺς ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ μετὰ τούτο νεοχωρησάτας τινας αὐτῶν αὐθεὶς κατεδουλώσατο. καὶ αὐτὸ διὰ ταύτα καὶ ἰσερμηνεύα καὶ τιμᾶ ἐπικίνδυνοι ἐδόθησαν.

1 θάλων Bk., ἄλλων VM. 2 Δελματία St., δαλματία VM.
3 Οὐσολογαίης Reim., οὐσολογαίης VM.
4 Βησσός V, βεσσός M. 5 θεοῦ Bk., θείου VM.
6 προσθέμενος Oddey, προσθέμενος VM.

370
upon both of them at once, shifting now to one
front and now to the other. As a result of his
success he gained the same prizes as Drusus. After
this Dalmatia was given over into the keeping of
Augustus, because of the feeling that it would always
require armed forces both on its own account and
because of the neighbouring Pannonians.
These men, then, were thus engaged. At this
same period Vologaesus, a Bessian from Thrace and
a priest of the Dionysus worshipped by that people,
gained a following by practising many divinations,
and with these adherents revolted. He conquered
and killed Rhasecyropis, the son of Cotys, and after-
wards, thanks to his reputation for supernatural
power, he stripped Rhoemetaleces, the victim’s uncle,
of his forces without a battle and compelled him to
take flight. In pursuit of him he invaded the Chers-
sonese, where he wrought great havoc. Because of
these deeds of his and because of the injuries the
Sialetae were causing to Macedonia, Lucius Piso was
ordered to proceed against them from Pamphylia,
where he was governor. The Bessi, now, when they
heard that he was drawing near, retired homeward
ahead of him. So he came into their country, and
though defeated at first, vanquished them in turn
and ravaged both their land and that of the neigh-
bouring tribes which had taken part in the uprising.
At this time he reduced all of them to submission,
winning over some with their consent, terrifying
others into reluctant surrender, and coming to terms
with others as the result of battles; and later, when
some of them rebelled, he again enslaved them.
For these successes thanksgivings and triumphal
honours were granted him.
'Εν ὁ δ' οὖν ἐκεῖνα ἐγένετο, ὁ Δυσσυστός ἀπογραφάς τε ἐποιήσατο, πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά οἱ καθάπερ τις ἴδιότης ἀπογραφάμενος, καὶ τὴν βουλήν κατελέξατο. ὥρων δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν συνηρμήνευσεν, ἐκέλευσε τὰ δόγματα αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν ἐλάττωσιν ἡ τετρακοσίως γίγνεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἔξις

2 τινα ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν ἄλλως κυροῦσθαι, ἐπειδὴ τε ἀργύριον αὕτης ἐσεῖκόνας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκείνη καὶ ὁ ὤμος συνεσθήνηκαν, ἐαυτοῦ μὲν οὐδὲμίαν, Τιμείας δὲ δημοσίας καὶ προσέτει καὶ Ὀμονοιας Εἰρήνης τε ἐστήσεν. ἡ αὐτὸς ὡς εἰπεὶ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσῃ προφάσει τούτη ἐστίν, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἑτοὺς ἡμέρα οὐκέτι ἡδία ποὺ κατέβαλ- λον αὐτῶ, ἄλλῳ αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνῳ προσόντες οἱ μὲν πλείον οἱ δὲ ἐλάττων ἐδίδοσαν. καὶ ὁς προσθεῖσι ἀν ἐτερον τοσοῦτον ἡ καὶ πλέον ἀντεδίδουν, οὐχ ὅπως τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἦκουσα, ὅτι καὶ ἄλλο τε ἀργύριον ἐκ λογίου τινὸς ἡ καὶ ὀνείρατος παρὰ τῶν προστυχοῦν-

3 τον οἱ, ὡς καὶ προσατόν, ἐν μιᾷ τοῦ ἑτοὺς ἡμέρα ἐλάμβανε.

4 Καὶ τούτῳ μὲν, εἰ γε τοῖς πιστῶν, οὐτω παραδέ-

5 δοται. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔτει ἐκεῖνῳ τῆς τῆς Ἰουλίαν τό- Τιβερίῳ συνήκηκε, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίᾳ τήν ἀδελ-

6 φὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν προέβευο ἔπὶ τοῦ Ἰουλίειου ἡρῴου, παραπετάματι καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ χορηγάμενος. καὶ αὐτῶς τε ἐκεῖ τῶν ἐπιτάφιων εἰπε, καὶ ὁ Δρούσος ἐπὶ τοῦ βῆματος· ὄνομαὶς γὰρ τὸ πένθος ἀλλαξαμένοις τὴν ἐσθήτα τῶν

βουλευτῶν ἐγένετο. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα αὐτῆς οἱ

1 αὐτοῦ Zon., αὐτοῦ VM.
2 Ἰουλίειου Dind., Ἰουλίου VM.
While these events were occurring, Augustus took a census, making a list of all his own property like any private citizen; and he also made a roster of the senate. As he saw that sometimes there were not many present at the meetings of that body, he ordered that its decrees should be passed even when less than four hundred were present; for hitherto no decree could have validity if passed by a smaller number. When the senate and the people once more contributed money for statues of Augustus, he would set up no statue of himself, but instead set up statues of Salus Publica, Concordia, and Pax. The citizens, it seems, were nearly always and on every pretext collecting money for this same object, and at last they ceased paying it privately, as one might call it, but would come to him on the very first day of the year and give, some more, some less, into his own hands; and he, after adding as much or more again, would return it, not only to the senators but to all the rest. I have also heard the story that on one day of the year, following some oracle or dream, he would assume the guise of a beggar and would accept money from those who came up to him.

This is the tradition, whether credible to any one or not. That year he gave Julia in marriage to Tiberius, and when his sister died, he caused her body to lie in state in the shrine of Julius; and on this occasion also he had a curtain over the corpse.\(^1\) He himself delivered the funeral oration there, and Drusus delivered one from the rostra; for the mourning was publicly observed and the senators had changed their dress. Her body was carried in

\(^{1}\) Cf. chap. 28, 3.
γαμβροὶ ἔξηγενεῖν, τὰ δὲ δὴ ψηφισθέντα αὐτὴ οὐ πάντα ὁ Ἀὐγοῦστος ἐδέξατο.

36 Κἂν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ τε ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς πρῶτον μετὰ τὸν Μερούλαν ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ τοῖς ταμίαις τὰ δόγματα τὰ ἕκαστοτε γεγονόμενα διὰ φυλακῆς ποιεῖσθαι ἐκκελεύθη, ἐπείδη οἱ τε ὁδοµαρχοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀγορανόµοι οἱ πρῶτοι αὐτὰ ἐπιτετραμμένοι διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τοῦτο ἐπράττον, καὶ τις ἐκ τούτου καὶ διαμαρτία καὶ ταραχὴ ἐγένετο.

2 Ἐψηφίσθη μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ἰαννὸν τὸν Γέμινον ὡς καὶ πεπαυμένων τῶν πολέμων (ἀνέφικτο γάρ) κλεισθῆναι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκκελεύθη οἱ τε γαρ Δακολ τὸν Ἰστρον πεπηγότα διαβάντες λείαν εκ τῆς Παννονίας ἀπετέμοντο, καὶ οἱ Δελμάται προς τὰς ἐσπράξεις τῶν χρημάτων ἐπανέστησαν.

3 καὶ τούτως μέν ὁ Τεβέριος ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας, ἐς ἡν μετὰ τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστου ἐσεληλύθη, καταστραμμένος ἀνεκτήσατο, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Κελτῶν τῶν τε ἀλλων καὶ τῶν Χάττων (πρὸς γάρ τοὺς Συγαμέρους μετέστησαν, καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν, ἦν οἰκεῖν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰλήφεσαν, ἐξανέστησαν) ὁ Δρούσος τὰ μὲν ἔκακωσε τὰ δὲ ἐχειρώσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τῆς Ῥώμης σὺν τῷ Ἀὐγοῦστῳ ἀνεκομίσθησαν (ἐν γάρ τῇ Λουγδούνιδι τὰ πολλὰ οὕτως ἐγκύθεν τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἐφεδρεύων διετρίβε, καὶ ὁσα ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ἐψηφίστο ἢ καὶ ἄλλως καθικοντα ἦν γενέσθαι, ἐπετέλεσαν.

1 τὰ supplied by Rk.
2 ἐπιτετραμμένοι R. Steph., ἐπιτετραμμένοι VM.
3 Δελμάται St., δελμάται VM.
4 ἀνεκτήσατο Pflugk, ἀνεκτήσατο VM.
the procession by her sons-in-law; but not all the honours voted for her were accepted by Augustus.

At this same period the priest of Jupiter was appointed for the first time since Merula,¹ and the quaestors were ordered to preserve the decrees passed at various times, inasmuch as the tribunes and aediles, who had previously been entrusted with this duty, were performing it through their assistants, and in consequence some mistakes and confusion occurred.

It was voted that the temple of Janus Geminus, which had been opened, should be closed, on the ground that the wars had ceased. It was not closed, however, for the Dacians, crossing the Ister on the ice, carried off booty from Pannonia, and the Dalmatians rebelled against the exactions of tribute. Against these people Tiberius was sent from Gaul, whither he had gone in company with Augustus; and he reduced them again to submission. The Germans, particularly the Chattii, were either harassed or subjugated by Drusus. The Chattii, it seems, had gone to join the Sugambri, having abandoned their own country, which the Romans had given them to dwell in. Afterwards Tiberius and Drusus returned to Rome with Augustus, who had been tarrying in Lugdunensis much of the time, keeping watch on the Germans from near at hand; and they carried out whatever decrees had been passed in honour of their victories or did whatever else devolved upon them.

¹ See vol. ii. 477, and note.
Τάδε ἔνεστον ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῇ πέμπτῳ τῶν Διανοί Ρωμαίων

α. 'Ως Δροῦσος ἀπέθανεν.
β. 'Ως τὸ Λιονίας τέμενος καθιερώθη.
γ. 'Ως τὸ Ἀγρίππου πέδιον καθιερώθη.
δ. 'Ως τὸ διηριβτέριον¹ καθιερώθη.
ε. 'Ως Τιβέριος ὑπὸ Ῥόδου ἀνεχώρησεν.
ζ. 'Ως ἡ Αἴγυπτου ἀγορὰ καθιερώθη.
η. 'Ως ὁ τούτου Ἀρεώς ναός ὁ ἐν αὐτῇ ἄν καθιερώθη.
θ. 'Ως Λούκιος Καίσαρ καὶ Γάιος Καίσαρ ἀπέθανον.
ι. 'Ως Αγγείως Τιβέριον ἐποίησατο.
κ. 'Ως Λιουλα παρῆνεσεν Αἴγυπτῳ φιλανθρωπότερον ἄρχειν.
λ. Περὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ ὅλα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ χρήματα διοικήσατο κατέστησαν.
μ. 'Ως οἱ φυκτοφύλακες κατέστησαν.
ν. 'Ως Δελμάταις καὶ Παντονίοις Τιβέριον ἐπολέμησαν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἦτη ἐπτακαίδεκα, ἔν οἷς ἀρχοτε οἱ ἀριθμοὺμενοι οὔθε ἐγένετο

Νέρων Κλαύδιος Τιβ. ν. Αριστοκράτης ντ. ²
Τ. ² Κοινκτίῳς τ. ν. Κρισίππος θυ.
Γ. Μόριος Λ. ν. ³ Κρισπίνος θυ.
Γ. Ἀσίπριος ⁴ Γ. ν. Γάλλος θυ.
Τιβ. Κλαύδιος ⁵ Τιβ. ν. Νέρων τὸ β' θυ.
Γρ. ⁶ Καλκοφράνιος Γρ. ν. Πίστιν ⁶·
Δέκιμος Δαίλιος Δεκίμος ν. Βάλβος θυ.
Γ. Ἀςταντιός Γ. ν. Οφέτερ θυ.

¹ διηριβτέριον Βς., διηριβτέριον Μ.
² Τ. Βς., Τ. Μ.
³ Ἀσίπριος Βς., Ἀσίπριος Μ.
⁴ Γρ. supplied by H. Steph.
⁵ Α. ν. supplied by Βς.
⁶ Κλαύδιος Χυλ., κλ' Μ.
BOOK LV

The following is contained in the Fifty-fifth of Dio's Rome:—

How Drusus died (chaps. 1, 2).
How the Precinct of Livia was dedicated (chap. 8).
How the Campus Agrippae was dedicated (chap. 8).
How the Diribitorium was dedicated (chap. 8).
How Tiberius retired to Rhodes (chap. 9).
How the Forum of Augustus was dedicated (lacking).
How the Temple of Mars therein was dedicated (chap. 10).
How Lucius Caesar and Gaius Caesar died (chap. 10 a).
How Augustus adopted Tiberius (chap. 13).
How Livia urged Augustus to rule more mercifully (chaps. 14–21).

About the legions and how men were appointed to manage the military funds (chaps. 23–25).
How the night-watchmen were appointed (chap. 26).
How Tiberius fought against the Dalmatians and Pannonians (chaps. 29–34).

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

B.C.
9 Nero Claudius Ti. F. Drusus, T. Quinctius T. F. Crispinus.
8 C. Marcianus L. F. Censorinus, C. Asinius C. F. Gallus.
7 Ti. Claudius Ti. F. Nero (II), Cn. Calpurnius Cn. F. Piso.
6 Decimus Laelius Decimi F. Balbus, C. Antonius C. F. Vetus.

* Πλεύρ Βοργχεσί, πλεύρ τὸ δέωσιν Μ.
* Ιερ. supplied by Be

377
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τε τοῦ 'Ιουλλοῦ Ἄντωνιοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ Φαβίου Μαξίμου ὑπάτων ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει ὁ Δροῦσος μετὰ Τίτου Κριστίνου

1. Λ. Κορνήλιος... ὑπ. 'Ρούφος supplied by Xyl. and Cs.
2. Λ. supplied by R. Steph.
3. Μεσσαλίνος Mommsen, ἵππες Μεσσαλίνου Μ.
4. Αὐγουστος Reim., αὐγουστος τοῦ Μ.
5. Οὐσίκιος Μ., οὐσίκιος τοῦ μικούκιος Μ.
6. Μ. Xyl., ν. Μ.
7. 'Αλφίνιος Μ., ἀλφίνιος ἓ ἀλφίνιος Μ.
8. Οὐσιος ὑπ., οὐσιος Μ.
9. Λ. Αἰλίος R. Steph., λαλίος Μ. Λαμίας R. Steph., ταμίας Μ.
10. Σερούλιος R. Steph., σερούλιος Μ. Αἰλίος Μ., αἰλίος Μ.
11. Σατουρνίνος Lencl., σατουρνίνος Μ.
12. Οὐσιαστικός Xyl., οὐσιαστικός Μ.
13. ὑπ. supplied by Μ.
14. Αἰλίος, Μ., οὐσιαστικός Μ.
5 Augustus (XII), L. Cornelius P. F. Sulla.
4 C. Calvisius C. F. Sabinus (II), L. Passienus ... F. Rufus.
3 L. Cornelius L. F. Lentulus, M. Valerius M. F. Messalla
   Messallinus.
2 Augustus (XIII), M. Plautius M. F. Silvanus.
1 Cossus Cornelius Ca. F. Lentulus, L. Calpurnius Ca. F.
   Piso.
A.D.
1 C. Caesar Augusti F., L. Aemilius L. F. Paulus.
2 P. Vinicius M. F., P. Alfenus P. F. Varus.
3 L. Aelius L. F. Lamia, M. Servilius M. F.
4 Sextus Aelius Q. F. Catus, C. Sentius C. F. Saturninus.
5 L. Valerius Potiti F. Messalla Volesus, Ca. Cornelius L.
   F. Cinna Magnus.
6 M. Aemilius L. F. Lepidus, L. Arruntius L. F.
7 A. Licinius A. F. Nerva Silianus, Q. Caecilius Q. F.
   Metellus Creticus.
8 M. Furius M. F. Camillus, Sex. Nonius C. F. Quint.
   tilianus.

The events related happened in the consulship of
Iullus Antonius and Fabius Maximus. In the follow-
ing year Drusus became consul with Titus Crispinus.

1 Or P., if we follow the form given in the Fasti Capitolini.

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17 Aβλ. απ. supplied by Bs. 18 Νέρωνας R. Steph., οὔτερας Μ.
19 Σιλιανός Βς., σιλιανός Μ. 20 Κ. Καμίλιος Χυλ., κ' κακίος Μ.
21 Κ. απ. supplied by Bs. 22 απ. supplied by Bs.
23 Φρούριος Χυλ., φρύριος Μ.
24 Instead of M. απ. Bs. would read π. απ. See Fasti Capitol.
25 Νάντιος H. Steph., νάντιος Μ.
26 A. απ. Leuncl., γ. απ. Μ. 27 'Ιούλλου Βς., ιούλλου Μ.
28 The words ταῦτα ... ἐγένετο appear at the end of liv. in
   VM; Bk. placed here. V breaks off at this point; cf. pref.
   to vol. i. p. xxv.
υπάτευσε, καὶ αὐτῷ σημεῖα οὐκ ἴσχα ἄνθηκε· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα καὶ χειμῶνι καὶ κεραυνοῖς, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ναοὶ ἐφθάρρησαν, ὡστε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Δίων τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τῶν τε συννάων αὐτοῦ κακοθηναί. ὦ μέντοι καὶ ἐφροντισέ τι αὐτῶν, ἄλλ' ἐσ τῇ τῶν Χάττων ἐσεβάλε καὶ προῆλθε μέχρι τῆς Σουηβίας, τῆν τε ἐν ποσίν οὐκ ἀταλαίπωρος χειρούρμενος καὶ τοὺς προσμυγόντας οἱ οὐκ ἀναίμωτοι κρατῶν, κάντεθεν πρὸς τε τὴν Χερουσκίδα 1 μετέστη, καὶ τὸν Οὐίσουργον 2 διαβὰς ἠλασε

3 μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλβίου, πάντα πορθῶν. ἐκείνον γὰρ (ῥεὶ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Οὐανδαλίκων ὄρων, καὶ ἐς τὸν ὠκεανὸν τὸν προσάρκτιον πολλὸ μεγέθει ἐκδιδωσι) ἐπεχείρησε μὲν περαιωθῆναι, οὐκ ἡδυνήθη δὲ, ἀλλὰ τροπαία στῆσαι ἀνεχόρησε· γυνὴ γὰρ τῆς μείζων ἡ κατὰ άνθρώπον φύσιν ἀπαντήσασα αὐτῷ ἐφ' ὑπὸ δήτα ἐπειγή, Δρούσε ἀκόρεστε· οὐ πάντα σοι ταῦτα ἱδείν πέπρωται. ἀλλ' ἀπίθην καὶ γὰρ σοι καὶ τῶν ἑργῶν καὶ τοῦ βίου τελευτῆ 4 ἔδη πάρεστι." θαυμαστῶν μὲν οὖν τὸ τινα φωνὴν παρὰ τοῦ δαμνιοῦ τοιαύτην τῷ γενέσθαι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπιστεῖν ἔχω παραχρῆμα γὰρ ἀπέβη, σπουδὴ τε ὑποστρέφαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὅδῳ νόσῳ τινί, πρὸ ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥῆμου ἐλθεῖν, τελευτῆ σαμτος. καὶ μοι τεκμηριοὶ τὸ λεχθὲν ὦτι καὶ λύκοι περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπὸ τῶν βάνατον αὐτοῦ περινοστούντες ὀρύνωτο, καὶ νεκροὺς διὸ διὰ μέσου τοῦ ταφρεύματος δισπέσσοντες ωφθήσαν, θρήνος τε τὸ τῆς γυναικείας ἡκούσθη, καὶ ἀστέρων διαδρομαί ἐγένετο.

1 Χερουσκίδα Bk., χειρουσκίαν M.
2 Οὐίσουργον Reim., οὐίσουργον M.
and omens occurred that were anything but favourable to him. Many buildings were destroyed by storm and by thunderbolts, among them many temples; even that of Jupiter Capitolinus and the gods worshipped with him was injured. Drusus, however, paid no heed to any of these things, but invaded the country of the Chatti and advanced as far as that of the Suebi, conquering with difficulty the territory traversed and defeating the forces that attacked him only after considerable bloodshed. From there he proceeded to the country of the Cheruscì, and crossing the Visurgis, advanced as far as the Albis,1 pillaging everything on his way. The Albis rises in the Vandalic Mountains,2 and empties, a mighty river, into the northern ocean. Drusus undertook to cross this river, but failing in the attempt, set up trophies and withdrew. For a woman of superhuman size met him and said: “Whither, pray, art thou hastening, insatiable Drusus? It is not fated that thou shalt look upon all these lands. But depart; for the end alike of thy labours and of thy life is already at hand.” It is indeed marvellous that such a voice should have come to any man from the Deity, yet I cannot disbelieve the tale; for Drusus immediately departed, and as he was returning in haste, died on the way of some disease before reaching the Rhine. And I find confirmation of the story in these incidents: wolves were prowling about the camp and howling just before his death; two youths were seen riding through the midst of the camp; a sound as of women lamenting was heard; and there were shooting stars in the sky. So much for these events.

1 The Elbe. 2 The Riesengebirge.
2 Ταύτα μὲν οὗτος ἔσχε, προπυθόμενος δ' ὁ Αὐγούστος διʼ χρησί (οὐ γὰρ ἦν πόρρω), τῶν Τιβέριον κατὰ τάχος ἐπεμψε· καὶ διὰ ἐμπνοια τε αὐτοῦ κατέλαβε καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἐστὶν ὅρμην ἐκόμισε, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μέχρι τοῦ χειμαδίου τοῦ στρατοῦ διὰ τῶν ἐκατοντάρχων καὶ διὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ τῶν καθ᾽ ἐκάστην πόλιν πρῶτων

2 βαστάσας. καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προτεθέντος διπλάσιον ἐπιτάφίον ἔλεχθη· δ' ἐς τῇ γὰρ Τιβέριος ἐνταύθα αὐτὸν ἐπήνευσε, καὶ ὁ Αὐγούστος ἐν τῷ Ἐλαμπίδῳ ἐπιποδρόμῳ ἐξεστράτευσε γὰρ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν οἳ δύσιν μὴ οὔ τὰ καθήκοντα ἔπληξιν καταργασμένους παρ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰσόω τοῦ πομηρίου

3 ἔσοδον ἐπιτελέσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὸ Ἀρειον πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων, τῶν τε ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα ἀκριβῶς τελοῦντον καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ γένους δυντούν, ἠνέχθη, κανταύθα πυρὶ δοθεὶς ἐς τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μνημείων κατέτεθη, Γερμανικὸς τε μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἐπονομάσθη, καὶ τίμας καὶ εἰκόνων καὶ ἄψидος κενοταφίου τε πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ Ἐρήνῳ λαβὼν.

4 Ὅ δ' ὃς Τιβέριος τῶν τῆς Δελματῶν καὶ τῶν Παννονίων ὑποκινησάντων τε αὐθις ζῶντος ἐτὶ αὐτοῦ κρατήσας, τα τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ κέλητος ἐπινίκια ἐπεμψε, καὶ τοῦ δημοῦ τοῦ μὲν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοὺς δ' ἀλλοθι πολλαχόθι ἐδείπνισε. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἩΛιουία μετὰ τῆς Ἰουλίας τὰς γυναίκας εἰστὶ-
BOOK LV

Augustus, upon learning of Drusus' illness before it was far advanced (for he was not far off), had sent Tiberius to him in haste. Tiberius found him still breathing, and on his death carried the body to Rome, causing the centurions and military tribunes to carry it over the first stage of the journey,—as far as the winter quarters of the army,—and after that the foremost men of each city. When the body had been laid in state in the Forum, two funeral orations were delivered: Tiberius pronounced a eulogy there in the Forum, and Augustus pronounced one in the Circus Flaminius. The emperor, of course, had been away on a campaign, and it was not lawful for him to omit the customary rites in honour of his exploits at the time of his entrance inside the pomerium. The body was borne to the Campus Martius by the knights, both those who belonged strictly to the equestrian order and those who were of senatorial family; then it was given to the flames and the ashes were deposited in the sepulchre of Augustus. Drusus, together with his sons, received the title of Germanicus, and he was given the further honours of statues, an arch, and a cenotaph on the bank of the Rhine itself.

Tiberius, while Drusus was yet alive, had overcome the Dalmatians and Pannonians, who had once more begun a rebellion, and he had celebrated the equestrian triumph, and had feasted the people, some on the Capitol and the rest in many other places. At the same time Livia, also, with Julia, had given a dinner to the women. And the same

1 He could not return the customary thanks to the gods at this time because he was in mourning; hence he remained outside the pomerium until his period of mourning should be at an end.  
2 Cf. liv. 2, 5.  
3 The oration.
3 ασε. τὰ ὁ' αὐτὰ ταύτα καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ ἠτοιμάζετο· καὶ γε αἱ ἀνοχαὶ δεύτερον τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τὸ τὰ νικητήρια ἐν ἐκείναις αὐτοῦ ἐορτάσαι, γενησθαι ἐμελλον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν προαπόλετο, ἡ δὲ ἥ Λιονία εἰκόνων τε ἐπὶ παραμυθία ἔτυχε, καὶ ες τὰς μητέρας τὰς τρὶς τεκούσας ἐσεγράφη. οἷς γὰρ ἃν τὸ δαιμόνιον, εἰτ' οὖν ἀνδρῶν εἶτε γυναικῶν, μὴ δῷ τοσαυτάκις τεκνωσαι, τούτων τισὶν ὁ νόμος, πρότερον μὲν διὰ τῆς βουλῆς νῦν δὲ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, τὰ τῶν τρῖς ἵγεγεννηκότων δικαιοματα χαρίζεται, ὡστε σφᾶς μήτε τοῖς τῆς ἀπαιδίας ἐπιτιμίοις ἐνέχεσθαι καὶ τὰ τῆς πολυπαιδίας ἄθλα πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν καρποῦσθαι. καὶ αὐτὰ σὺν ἀνθρώποι μόνον ἄλλα καὶ θεοὶ εὐφράσονται, ἢν ἂν τὰς τι αὐτοῖς τελευτῶν καταλίψη λαμβάνοσι.

9 Τούτο μὲν δὴ τοιούτων ἔστιν, ὃ δ' Λύγιονστος τὰς τε τῆς γερουσίας ἐδρας ἐν ῥήταις ἡμέραις γίγνεσθαι ἐκελευσεν (ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὔδὲν πρότερον ἀκριβῶς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐτέτακτο καὶ τίνες διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις ὑστέρικον, δῦνος Βουλᾶς κατὰ μήνα κυρίας ἀπέδειξεν, ὡστε ἐστὶν ἐπάναγκες, οὐς γε καὶ ὁ νόμος ἐκάλει, συμφοιτῶν καὶ ὅπως γε μὴν ἄλλη μηδεμία σκῆψις τῆς ἀπουσίας αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχῃ, προσεταξὲ μῆτε δικαστήριον μὴν ἄλλο μηδὲν τῶν προσηκόντων σφίσιν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ γίγνεσθαι), τὸν τε ἄριθμον τὸν ἐς τὴν κύρωσιν τῶν δογμάτων.

1 τρὶς Leunel., τε τρὶς M. 2 τρὶς supplied by Xyl. 3 δὲο supplied by Casaubon.
festivities were being prepared for Drusus; even the Feriae were to be held a second time on his account, so that he might celebrate his triumph on that occasion. But his untimely death upset these plans. To Livia statues were voted by way of consoling her and she was enrolled among the mothers of three children. For in certain cases, formerly by act of the senate, but now by the emperor’s, the law bestows the privileges which belong to the parents of three children upon men or women to whom Heaven has not granted that number of children. In this way they are not subject to the penalties imposed for childlessness and may receive all but a few of the rewards offered for large families; and not only men but gods also may enjoy these rewards, the object being that, if any one leaves them a bequest at his death, they may receive it.  

So much for this matter. As to Augustus, he ordered that the sittings of the senate should be held on fixed days. Previously, it appears, there had been no precise regulation concerning them and it often happened that members failed to attend; he accordingly appointed two regular meetings for each month, so that they were under compulsion to attend,—at least those of them whom the law summoned,—and in order that they might have no other excuse for being absent, he commanded that no court or other meeting which required their attendance should be held at that time. He also fixed by law the number of senators necessary for

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1 See liii. 13, 2 and note.
2 Certain gods and goddesses (see Ulpian xxii. 6) might legally be named as heirs, but it appears that they had to fulfil the same conditions as the other heirs.
ἀναγκαῖον καθ’ ἐκαστὸν εἰδὸς αὐτῶν, ὡς τε ἐν κεφαλαίοις εἰπεῖν, διενομθέτησε, καὶ τὰ ζημιώματα τοῖς μὴ δὲ εὕλογον τινα αἰτίαν τῆς συνε.

3 δρείας ἀπολειπομένοις ἐπηύξησεν. ἐπειδὴ τε πολλὰ τῶν τοιούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἀτιμώρητα εἰσθε γίγνεσθαι, κληροῦσθαι τε αὐτοὺς εἰ συχνῷ τούτῳ ποιήσειαν, καὶ τὸν ἀεὶ πέμπτον λαχῶνα ὀφλισκάνειν αὐτὰ ἐκέλευσε. τά τε ὀνοματα συμπάντων τῶν βουλευόντων ἐς λεύκωμα ἀναγράψας ἔξεθηκε καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ νῦν κατ’

4 ἔτος τούτῳ ποιεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς συμφοιτήσεως αὐτῶν ἀνάγκη ἐπραξὲν εἰ δ’ ὅσαν ποτὲ ἐκ συντυχίας τίνως μὴ συλλεχθέειν ὅσους ἡ χρεία ἐκάστοτε ἐκάλει (πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι ὁσάκις ἂν αὐτός ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ παρῇ, ἐν γε 1 ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις ἐς πάντα ὅλῳ τό τῶν ἄθροιζομένων πλῆθος καὶ τότε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκριβῶς ἔξητάξετο), ἐβουλεύοντο μὲν καὶ ἡ γε γρώμη συνεγράφετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τέλος τι ὡς κεκυρωμένη ἐλάμβανεν, ἀλλὰ αὐκτῷριτας ἐγύνετο, ὅπως φανερὸν τὸ βού

5 λῆμα αὐτῶν ἦ. τοιοῦτον γὰρ τι ἡ δύναμις τῶν ὀνόματος τοῦτον δῆλον ἐκληνύσαι γὰρ αὐτὸ καθ’ ἀπαξ ἀδύνατον ἐστι. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ εἴ ποτε ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ μὴ νεομισμένῳ ἡ ἡμέρα μὴ καθηκοῦσῃ, ἢ καὶ ἐξω νομίμω παραγγέλματος, ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἥθροισθησαν, ἢ καὶ ἐναπωθέντων τινῶν δημάρχων τὸ μὲν δόγμα οὐκ ἡδυνήθη γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ δὴ γρώμην σφῶν οὐχ ὑπέμενον ἀπο-

1 το Ῥκ... το Μ.
passing decrees, according to the several kinds of decrees,—to state only the chief points of the matter; and he increased the fines of those who without good excuse stayed away from the sessions. And since many such offences had regularly gone unpunished owing to the large number of those who were liable to punishment, he commanded that if many were guilty, they should draw lots and one out of every five, according as the lot should fall, should incur the fine. He had the names of all the senators entered on a tablet and posted; and this practice, originating with him, is still observed each year. Such were the measures he took to compel the attendance of the senators; but if on any occasion, as the result of some accident, fewer assembled than the occasion demanded,—and it should be explained that at every session, except when the emperor himself was present, the number of those in attendance was accurately counted, both at that time and later, for practically every matter of business,—the senators would proceed with their deliberations and their decision would be recorded, though it would not go into effect as if regularly passed, but instead, their action was what was termed auctoritas, the purpose of which was to make known their will. For such is the general force of this word; to translate it into Greek by a term that will always be applicable is impossible. This same custom prevailed in case they ever assembled in haste at any but the usual place, or on any but the appointed day, or without a legal summons, or if by reason of the opposition of some of the tribunes a decree could not be passed and yet they were unwilling that their opinion should remain unknown;
κρυφθήναι, ἐνομίζετο· καὶ αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ κύρωσις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγετο καὶ ἡ ἐπίκλησις
η τοῦ δόγματος ἐπεφέρετο. τούτο τε ὅτι ἵσχυρός ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῖς πάλαι τηρηθέν ἡξίτηλου τρόπον
τινὰ ἤδη γέγονε, καὶ τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν· καὶ γὰρ
ἐκεῖνοι ἀγανακτίσαντες ὅτι μηδεμίαν γνώμην,
καὶ τοῖς δημάρχοις προτετιμημένοι, ἢ τὴν
βουλήν ἐσέφερον, παρὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἀγούστου ἔλα-
βουν αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, ὅποι δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου ἀφηρέ-
θησαν.
4 Ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τὰλλα ἃ τοῦτο ἐνομοθέτησεν, ἐς
τε τὸ συνέδριον ἐν λευκόμασι γεγραμμένα προε-
θήκε πρὶν χρηματίσαι τι περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς
βουλευταῖς μεθ’ ἐνὸς ἑτέρου ἐσελθοῦσιν ἀναγρῶναι
ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅπως ἄν τι μὴ ἁρέσῃ αὐτοῦς ἡ καὶ
ἑτέροις τι βέλτιον συμβουλεύσαι δυνηθῶσι εἰπω-
2 σιν. οὗτω γὰρ ποι ὅπως δημοκρατικὸς ἡξίου εἶναι
ὡς τινὸς τῶν συστρατευσμένων ποτὲ αὐτῷ
συναγορῆματος παρ’ αὐτοῦ δηθέντος τὸ μὲν πρῶ-
τον τῶν φιλῶν τινά, ώς καὶ ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ ὅν,
συνεπείν αὐτῷ κελεύσαι, ἐπειτ’ ἐπειδὴ ἐκείνος
ὀργισθεὶς ἔφη ἑγὼ μὲντοι, ὅσακις ἐπικουρίας
χρείαν ἐσχές, οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ ἀντ’ ἐμαυτοῦ σοι
ἐπεμψά, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ πανταχοῦ προεκινδύνευσά
σου,” ἐς τε τὸ δικαστήριον ἐσέλθειν καὶ συνηγορή-
3 σαί οί. φίλω τε τινὶ δίκην φεύγοντε συνεξητάσθη,
προεπικοινώσας αὐτὸ τοῦτο τῇ γερουσίᾳ· καὶ ἐκεῖ-
νὸν τε ἔσωσε, καὶ τὸν κατήγορον αὐτοῦ οὖν ὅπως

1 a supplied by Rk.
afterwards the resolution would be ratified according to established precedent and would receive the name of a decree. This method, strictly followed for a long period by the men of old time, has in a way already become null and void, as has also the special privilege of the praetors. For they, becoming indignant that they could bring no proposal before the senate, though they outranked the tribunes, received from Augustus the right to do so, but in the course of time were deprived of it.

These and the other laws which Augustus enacted at this time he had inscribed on tablets and posted in the senate before bringing them up for consideration, and he allowed the senators to enter the chamber in groups of two and read them, so that if any provision did not please them, or if they could advise anything better, they might speak. He was very desirous indeed of being democratic, as one or two incidents will illustrate. Once, when one or those who had campaigned with him asked him for his assistance as advocate, though he at first pretended to be busy and bade one of his friends speak in the man's behalf, yet when the petitioner became angry and said, "But I, whenever you had need of my assistance, did not send some one else to you in place of myself, but personally encountered dangers everywhere in your behalf," the emperor then entered the court-room and pleaded his friend's cause. He also stood by a friend who was defendant in a suit, after having first communicated his purpose to the senate; and he saved his friend, but was so far from being angry with the friend's ac-

1 It was now a senatus consultum, and no longer merely senatus auctoritas.
δι’ ὀργής ἐσχε καὶ περὶ πάνυ πολλῆς παρρησίας χρησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐθυνόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς τρόποις ἄφηκεν, εἰπὼν ἀντικρός ὁ ἀναγκαία σφίσιν ἡ παρρησία αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πονηρίαν εἰς. Ἀλλοὺς γε μὴν ἐπιβουλεύειν οἱ μηνυθέντας ἐκόλασε. καὶ ταμίας ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν ἐτέροις τισὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας χωρίοις ἀρχεῖν ἐποίησεν καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἐτη ἐγενέτο.

Τότε μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἦθελησεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸν 5 τοῦ Δρούσου βάναυστον, ὁσπερ εἴπου, ἐσελθείν, τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἐτεί, ἐν τῷ Ἀσίνιος τῷ Γάλλῳ καὶ Γαίῳ Μάρκιος ὑπάτευσαν, τῇ τῇ ἄφεξι ἐποίησατο καὶ την δαμήν ἔς τοῦ Δίως τοῦ Φερετρίου παρα τὸ

2 νομιζόμενον ἐσῆνεκε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν οὖν οὐδεμίαν ἐπὶ τούτους ἔορτην ἦγανε, πολὺ πλείον ἐν τῷ τοῦ 3 Δρούσου ὀλέθρῳ ἐξημωσόσθαι ἦ ἐν ταῖς νίκαις ὄφελησαν νομίζουν οἱ δὲ δὴ ὑπατοὶ τά τε ἀλλὰ ὅσα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεται ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὰς ἀλλήλοις συνέβαλον. καὶ μετὰ τοῦ 1 ὁ Λύγουστος, αἰτιαθέντων καὶ ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχοντων ὡς ἐκ δεκασμοῦ τινὸς ἀποδεδειγμένων, τοῦτο μὲν οὔτε ἐξῆλεγξεν οὐτ' ἄρχην προσεποιήσατο εἰδέναι. οὔτε ἥμαρ κολάσαι τινὰς οὔτ' αὐτῷ συγγιγνώσκειν ἐλευθερίην ἦθελησεν τοὺς δὲ δὴ σπουδαρχιώτας χρήματα πρὸ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων ὁσπερ τι ἐνέχυρον προήτησεν, ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτὸς ποιήσαι ἡ στερηθήσαι

1 ἀντικρός is omitted in M; but has been added in the margin by an early corrector who indicates its place as between εἰπὼν and ὅτι.

390
censor, though this man had indulged in the utmost frankness in his speech, that later on, when the same man appeared before him, as censor, for a scrutiny of his morals, the emperor acquitted him, saying openly that the other's frankness was necessary for the Romans on account of the baseness of the majority of them. However, he punished others who were reported to be conspiring against him. He also caused quaestors to serve along the coast near the city and in certain other parts of Italy; and this practice was followed for many years.

At the time in question he was unwilling, as I have stated, to enter the city because of Drusus' death; but the next year, when Asinius Gallus and Gaius Marcius were consuls, he made his formal return and carried the laurel, contrary to custom, into the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. He himself did not celebrate any festival in honour of the achievements mentioned, feeling that he had lost far more in the death of Drusus than he had gained in his victories; but the consuls performed the ceremonies usual on such occasions, among other things exhibiting combats between some of the captives. And later, when both they and the rest of the officials were accused of having secured their election by bribery, Augustus failed to investigate the matter, and furthermore pretended not even to know of it at all; for he was unwilling either to punish any of them or yet to pardon them if they were convicted. In the case of candidates for office, however, he demanded of them in advance of the elections a deposit of money on the understanding that they should forfeit this money in case they resorted to

1 In chap. 2.
4 τῶν δεδομένων. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν πάντες ἐπήνευσαν· ὅτι δ’ οὐκ ἔξον ὃν δουλὸν κατὰ δεσπότου βασανισθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν, ὡσάκις ἀν χρεία τοιούτου τινὸς γένηται, τῷ δημοσίῳ αὐτῶν ἢ καὶ ἑαυτῷ πιπράσκεσθαι, ὅτι γὰρ ἀλλότριος τοῦ κρινομένου ἄν ἔξετάζητα, οἱ μὲν ἦτοι τῷ δεσπότου μεταλλαγῇ καταλύεσθαι ἐμελλεν, οἱ δ’ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτὸ ἐφασκὸν εἶναι, ὅτι πολλοὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς συνίσταντο.

6 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταύτα τὴν τε ἰγκομοίαν, καὶ περ ἀφιεῖς, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ δέκα ἐτή τὰ δεύτερα ἐξεληλύθει, ἀκὼν δὴθεν αὕτης ὑπέστη, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐστράτευε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ὑπέμεινεν, ὥ δ’ ἔτη Τιβέριος τὸν Ῥωμον

2 διέβη. φοβηθέντες οὐν αὐτοὺς οἱ βάρβαροι πλὴν τῶν Συγάμβρων ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο, καὶ οὕτε τότε ἐτυχόν τινος (ὁ γὰρ Ἀὐγοῦστος οὐκ ἔφη σφίσιν ἀνευ ἐκείνων σπείρεσθαι) οὐθ’ ὑστερον. ἐπεμψαν

3 μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ Σύγαμβροι πρέσβεις, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐδέησαν διαπράξασθαι τι δῶτε καὶ ἐκείνωσ πάντας, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἐλλογίμους ὄντας, προσ-

απολέσθαι ὅ τε γὰρ Ἀὐγοῦστος συλλαβῆν αὐτοὺς ἐς πόλεις τινὰς κατέθετο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δυσαναξετήσαντες ἐαυτοὺς κατεχρήσαντο. κάκτοι τούτου χρόνου μὲν τινὰ ἴσηχασαν, ἐπεὶ ἐπὶ πολλῷ τὸ πάθημα σφὸν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀνταπέ-

1 Συγάμβρων Bucher, καντάμβρων M, καντάβρων Uo.
2 Σύγαμβροι Reim., σύγγαμβροι M and Uo.
3 ἐδέησαν Uo, ἔδεηθησαν M.
any illegal methods. This action of his was approved by all; but it was otherwise with another of his laws. As it was not permitted that a slave should be tortured for evidence against his master, he ordered that, as often as the necessity for such a course should arise, the slave should be sold either to the state or to him, in order that, being now no longer the property of the defendant, he might be examined. Some found fault with this, on the ground that the change of masters would in effect nullify the law; but others declared it to be necessary, because many were taking advantage of the old arrangement and conspiring against both the emperor himself and the magistrates.

After this, now that his second period of ten years had expired, Augustus once more accepted the supreme power,—though with a show of reluctance,—in spite of his oft-expressed desire to lay it down; and he made a campaign against the Germans. He himself remained behind in Roman territory, while Tiberius crossed the Rhine. Accordingly all the barbarians except the Sugambri, through fear of them, made overtures of peace; but they gained nothing either at this time,—for Augustus refused to conclude a truce with them without the Sugambri,—or, indeed, later. To be sure, the Sugambri also sent envoys, but so far were they from accomplishing anything that all these envoys, who were both many and distinguished, perished into the bargain. For Augustus arrested them and placed them in various cities; and they, being greatly distressed at this, took their own lives. The Sugambri were thereupon quiet for a time, but later they amply requited the Romans for their calamity.
4 ὁ δ’ οὖν Αὖγουστος τούτο τε οὔτως ἐποίησε, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀργύριον, οὗχ ὡς καὶ κεκρατηκόσι, καίτοι τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὅνομα καὶ αὐτὸς λαβὼν καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ δοῦσ, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸν Γάιον ἐν ταῖς γυμνασίαις τὸτε πρῶτον συνεξεταζόμενον σφαιρὸν ἔσχον, ἐχαρίσατο.
5 τὸν δ’ οὖν Τιβερίου ἔς τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ Δρούσου προαγαγὼν τῇ τε ἐπικλῆσει ἐκείνη ἐγαύρωσε καὶ ὑπατον αὖθις ἀπέδειξε, γράμματα τε κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος, καὶ πρὶν ἔς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσελθεῖν, ἐκθεῖναι πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἐποίησε, καὶ προσέτε καὶ τοῖς ἐπισκύροις.
6 ἐσέμνυνεν αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐκείνα μὲν οὐκ ἠθέλησε πέμψαι, ἐς δὲ δῆ τὰ γενέθλια ἵπποδρομίαν ἀὐτίκον ἐλαβε. τὰ τε τοῦ ποιμηρίου ὦρα ἐπηγύςεσε, καὶ τὸν μίνα 1 τὸν Σεξτίλιον ἐπικαλούμενον Αὐγου-7 στὸν ἀντωνόμασε τῶν γὰρ ἀλλῶν τὸν Σεπτέμ-βριον οὔτως, ἐπειδῆπερ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγεγένητο, προσαγορεῦσαι ἐθελησάντων ἐκείνων αὐτοῦ προ-πετίμησεν, ὅτι καὶ ὑπάτος ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπεδεδεικτο καὶ μάχας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐκενικήκει.
7 Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τούτοις ἐγαυρώττο, τοῦ δὲ δῆτο Μαικήνου τελευτήσαντος ἠλησε. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπώνυμτο, δὲν καὶ περ ἰππεῖ αὐτῷ ὄντε καὶ τὸ ἀστυ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπέτρεψε, μάλιστα δὲ ὁσάκει ἀκρατοτέρῳ τῷ θυμῷ ἄχρητο, τῆς τε γὰρ ὅργης αὐτοῦ ἂλτ 2 παρέ-
2 λυν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἡπτιωτερόν μεθίστη. τεκμήριον δὲ, δικάζουτι ποτε αὐτῷ προστάσει, καὶ ἰδίων ὅτι

1 μίνα R. Steph., μὲν μίνα M.
2 ἂλτ omitted by M, but added in margin by early corrector.
Besides doing this, Augustus granted money to the soldiers, not as to victors, though he himself had taken the title of imperator and had also conferred it upon Tiberius, but because then for the first time they had Gaius taking part with them in their exercises. So he advanced Tiberius to the position of commander in place of Drusus, and besides distinguishing him with the title of imperator, appointed him consul once more, and in accordance with the ancient practice caused him to post up a proclamation before entering upon the office. He also accorded him the distinction of a triumph; for he did not wish to celebrate one himself, though he accepted the privilege of having his birthday permanently commemorated by Circensian games. He enlarged the pomerium and changed the name of the month called Sextilis to August. The people generally wanted September to be so named, because he had been born in that month; but he preferred the other month in which he had first been elected consul and had won many great battles.⁠¹

All these things filled him with pride; but he was grieved at the death of Maecenas. He had received many benefits at his hands, for which reason he had entrusted him, though but a knight, with the oversight of the city for a long period; but he had found him of especial service on occasions when his own temper was more or less uncontrollable. For Maecenas would always banish his anger and bring him to a gentler frame of mind. Here is an instance. Maecenas once came upon him as he was holding court, and seeing that he was on the point

πολλούς θανατώσειν μέλλοι, ἐπεχείρησε μὲν διώσασθαι τοὺς περιεστηκότας καὶ ἑγγὺς οἱ προσελθεῖν, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ ἐγγραφεῖν ἐς γραμματεῖον "ἀνάστηθι ἥδη ποτὲ, δήμε," καὶ αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἐτερὸν τι ἔχουν ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτοῦ ἔρριψεν, ὅστ' ἐκεῖνοι μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι τίνα καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξαναστήναι. οὐ γάρ ὅπως ἠγανάκτει τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχαρεν ὅτι ὅσα αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκης καὶ παρὰ τὸ προσήκον ἐθυμοῦτο, ταύτα τῇ τῶν φίλων παρρησίᾳ διωρθότο. μέγιστον δ' οὖν καὶ ἐκεῖνο τῆς τοῦ Μαϊκῆνος ἀρετῆς δείγμα ἦν, ὅτι τῷ τῷ Λὐγοῦστῳ, καὶ τοιούτῳ πρὸς τὰς ὀρμας αὐτοῦ ἀνθιστάμενος, φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πάσιν ἰρέσκετο, πλεῖστον τε παρ' αὐτῷ δυνηθεῖς, ὡστε πολλοῖς καὶ τιμᾷς καὶ ἀρχαὶ δοῦναι, οὐκ ἔξεφρόνησεν ἄλλα ἐν τῷ τῶν ἱππεῶν τέλει κατε-βίω. τοιοῦτων τε οὖν ἑνεκα ἱσχυρῶς αὐτῶν ὁ Λὐγοῦστος ἐπόθησε, καὶ ὅτι καὶ κληρονόμοιν αὐτῶν, καὶ περ ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ δυσκολαινῶν, κατέληπε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πλὴν ἐλαχίστων ἐποίησατο ἀν τὲ τινὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ δοῦναι τι ἐθελήσῃ ἄν τε καὶ μή. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Μαικῆνας ἐγένετο, καὶ οὗτῳ τῷ Λὐγοῦστῳ ἐχρήτο: πρῶτος τε κολυμβήθραν θερμοῦ ὑδατος ἐν τῇ πόλει κατεσκεύασε, καὶ πρῶτος σημεῖα τινα γραμμάτων πρὸς τάχος.

1 ἐν supplied by Reim. (and so Zon. cod. B).
of condemning many people to death, he attempted to push his way through the bystanders and get near him. When he was unable to do this, he wrote on a tablet, "Pray rise at last, executioner!" Then he threw the tablet into the lap of Augustus, as if it contained some indifferent matter, and the emperor imposed no death sentences, but arose and departed. Indeed, he not only was not displeased at such liberties, but was actually glad of them, because whenever he was led into unseemly outbursts of passion by his natural disposition or by the stress of his affairs, these were corrected by the frank speech of his friends. This also was a supreme proof of Maecenas' excellence, that he not only made himself liked by Augustus, in spite of resisting his impulsiveness, but also pleased everybody else, and though he had the greatest influence with the emperor, so that he bestowed offices and honours upon many men, yet he did not lose his poise, but was content to remain in the equestrian order to the end of his life. Not only for these reasons, then, did Augustus regret his loss exceedingly, but also because Maecenas, although vexed at the emperor's relations with his wife, had left him as his heir and had empowered him to dispose of all his property, with very few reservations, in case he wished to make gifts to any of his friends or otherwise. Such was the character of Maecenas and such was his treatment of Augustus. He was the first to construct a swimming-pool of warm water in the city, and also the first to devise a system of symbols to give speed in writing,1 and

1 This invention is usually ascribed to Tiro, Cicero's freedman; and Aquila is said to have made improvements upon his system.
8 Τιβέριος δὲ ἐν τῇ νομιμίᾳ ἐν ᾗ ὑπατεύειν μετὰ Γναίου Πίσονος ἠρέσατο ἐς τὸ Ὀκταουοίειον τὴν Βουλὴν ἠθρούσε διὰ τὸ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου αὐτὸ έναι, καὶ τὸ Ὀμονόειον αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἐπισκευάσαι προστάξας, ὅπως τὸ τε ἱδιον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δρούσου ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἐπιγράψῃ, τὰ τε νικητήρια ἡγαγε καὶ τὸ τεµένισµα τὸ Δίονιον ὠνοµαζόµενον καθιέρωσε µετὰ τῆς µητρὸς· καὶ αὐτὸς µὲν τὴν γερουσίαν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ, ἐκείνη δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας ἱδία ποι εἰστίας. καὶ οὗ πολλῷ ύστερον κηθέντων τινῶν ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ἐξωρµήθη τὴν ἐς ἐν τῇ πανήγυριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπανάδου τοῦ Ἀὐγούστου γενοµένην ὁ Γάιος ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ σὺν τῷ Πίσονι διέθηκε. τὸ τε πεδίον τὸ Ἀγριππειον, πλὴν τῆς στοάς, καὶ τὸ διηριβιτώριον αὐτὸς ἐκµισσίευσε. τοῦτο µὲν γὰρ (ἡν δὲ οἰκος µέγιστος τῶν πώποτε µίαν ὀροφὴν σχοινωνιῶν γὰρ δὴ πάσης τῆς στέγης αὐτοῦ καθαρισθείσης, ὅτι οὐκ ἠδύνηθη αὐτὸς συστήναι, ἀκανθὴν ἐστιν) ἅ τέ Ἀγρίππας οἰκοδοµούµενον κατέληπε, καὶ τότε συνετελέσθη ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ στοῖ ἤν ἤ Πῶλλα ἢ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ ἢ καὶ τῶν ὁρῶν διακοσµήσασα ἐποίησε, οὕδεπω ἐξείργαστο. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιτάφιοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππα ὁπλομαχία, φαίνεται ἐσθῆτα τῶν τῶν ἄλλων πλὴν τοῦ Ἀὐγούστου καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν νιέων αὐτοῦ λαβόντων,
he used Aquila, a freedman, to train a considerable number in the system. Tiberius on the first day of the year in which he was consul with Gnaeus Piso convened the senate in the Curia Octaviae, because it was outside the pomerium. After assigning to himself the duty of repairing the temple of Concord, in order that he might inscribe upon it his own name and that of Drusus, he celebrated his triumph, and in company with his mother dedicated the precinct called the precinct of Livia. He gave a banquet to the senate on the Capitol, and she gave one on her own account to the women somewhere or other. A little later, when there was some disturbance in the province of Germany, he took the field. The festival held in honour of the return of Augustus was directed by Gaius, in place of Tiberius, with the assistance of Piso. The Campus Agrippae and the Diribitorium were made public property by Augustus himself. The Diribitorium was the largest building under a single roof ever constructed; indeed, now that the whole covering has been destroyed, the edifice is wide open to the sky, since it could not be put together again. Agrippa had left it still in process of construction, and it was completed at this time. The portico in the Campus, however, which was being built by Polla, Agrippa's sister, who also adorned the race-courses, was not yet finished. Meanwhile the funeral combats in honour of Agrippa were given, all except Augustus putting on black clothing and even Agrippa's sons doing the same. There were not

1 The Diribitorium was used for the sorting (diribere) of the ballots used in voting. Pliny (Nat. Hist. xvi. 201 and xxxvi. 102) speaks of its remarkable roof; this was destroyed by fire in 80 A.D. (cf. Dio, lxvi. 24).
καὶ ένος προς ἐνα καὶ πλειόνων πρὸς ἴσους, ἐν τοῖς σέπτοις διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τιμὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ πόλλα τῶν περὶ τὴν ἁγορὰν οἰκοδομημάτων κε-καύσθαι, ἐγένοντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς αἰτίων ἐς τοὺς χρεωφέιλας ἀνεφέρετο, ὡς καὶ ἐπίτηδες αὐτὸ παρασκευάσαντας ἢν ἀποκόψωσι τι τῶν χρεῶν, συνή μόνες ἐξημωθᾶν: ἐτυχὸν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδενὸς, οἱ δὲ δὴ στενωποὶ ἐπιμελητῶν τινῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου, οὓς καὶ στενωπάρχους καλοῦ-7 μεν καὶ σφίσι καὶ τῇ ἐσθήτῃ τῇ ἀρχίκη καὶ ὑβδούχοις δύο, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς χωρίοις ὅτι ἄν ἄρχωσιν, ἡμέραις τις χρὴσθαι ἔδοθη, ἡ τε δουλεία ἡ τοῖς ἁγορανόμοις τῶν ἐμπληματιῶν ἐνεκα συνοῦσα ἐπετράπη, καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνοις καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τῶν τε στρατηγῶν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, δεκατέσσαρα 1 μέρη νεμηθείσαν, κλήρῳ προσταχθέντων ὁ καὶ νῦν ὑγινεῖ.
only combats between single champions but also between groups of equal numbers on either side; and they were held in the Saepta both as an honour to Agrippa and because many of the structures around the Forum had been burned. The blame for the fire was laid upon the debtor class, who were suspected of having contrived it on purpose, in order that they might have some of their debts remitted when they appeared to have lost heavily. They, for their part, however, gained nothing from the fire; but the streets were put in charge of supervisors, chosen from the people, whom we call street commissioners. These men were allowed to use the official dress and two lictors, but only in the regions under their administration and on certain days, and they were given control over the force of slaves which had previously been associated with the aediles to save buildings that caught fire. The aediles, however, together with the tribunes and praetors, were still assigned by lot to have charge of the whole city, which was divided into fourteen wards. This is also the present arrangement.

These were all events of that year, for nothing worthy of mention happened in Germany. The next year, in which Gaius Antistius and Laelius Balbus were consuls, Augustus was vexed when he saw that Gaius and Lucius were by no means inclined of their own choice to emulate his own conduct, as became young men who were being reared as members of the imperial house. They not only indulged in too great luxury in their lives, but were also inclined to insolence; for example, Lucius on one occasion entered the theatre unattended. They

1 Curatores viarum.
πολεί, τα μὲν γυώμη τὰ δὲ θεραπεία, κολακευομένους καὶ τούτου ἐτει καὶ μᾶλλον ϑρυπτομένους (τὰ τὲ γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὑπατον τὸν Γάιον μηδὲ ἐς ἐφηβοὺς πω τελούντα προεχειρίσαντο ὡγανάκτισε, καὶ προσεπηύζατο μηδεμίαν τοιαύτην καιρὸν ἀνάγκην ὥποια ποτὲ αὐτὸν κατέλαβε γενέσθαι, ὡστε τινὰ νεώτερον εἰκοσιτεῦς ὑπατεύσαι. ἐνείδῃ τε καὶ ὅς ἐνέκειντο οἱ, τὸτε ἐφηχρῆναι τινὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην λαμβάνειν, ὅταν μῆτε τι αὐτὸς ἀμαρτανείν καὶ ταῖς τοῦ δῆμου σπουδαῖς ἄνθιστασθαι δύνηται. καὶ μετὰ τούθ' ἱεροσύνην μὲν τινὰ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ συνεδρίουν συμφοίτησιν τὸ τε συνθεάσθαι καὶ τὸ συνεστιάσθαι τῇ βουλῇ ἐδωκε. βουληθεὶς δὲ δὴ τρόπον τινὰ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς σωφρόνισαι, τῷ Τιβερίῳ τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχίαν ἐς πέντε ἔτη ἐνείμενε καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀλλοτριομομένην μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Τιγράνου θάνατον προσέταξε. συνέβη δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκείνος καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ μάτην προσκρούσαι, τοῖς μὲν ὅτι παρεοράσθαι ἐδοξαί, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτῶν ἐφοβήθη. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐς Ὅρδον ὡς καὶ παιδευσεῖς τινὸς δεόμενος ἐστάλη, μῆτ' ἀλλος τινὰς μῆτε τὴν θεραπείαν πᾶσαν ἐπαγόμενος, ἵν' ἐκποδῶν σφίζει καὶ τῇ ὅψει καὶ τοῖς ἐρροις γένηται. καὶ τὴν τε ὅδον ἰδιωτικῶς ἐποιήσατο, πλὴν καθ'
BOOK LV

were being flattered by everybody in the city, sometimes sincerely and sometimes to curry favour, and consequently were being spoiled more and more. Among other things of this sort, the people had elected Gaius consul before he was as yet of military age. All this, as I have said, vexed Augustus, and he even prayed that no compelling circumstances might arise, as had once occurred in his own case, such as to require that a man less than twenty years old should become consul. When even so the people insisted, he then said that one ought not to receive the office until one was able not only to avoid error oneself but also to resist the ardent impulses of the populace. After that he gave Gaius a priesthood and also the right to attend the meetings of the senate and to behold spectacles and be present at banquets with that body. And wishing in some way to bring Gaius and Lucius to their senses still more sharply, he bestowed upon Tiberius the tribunician power for five years, and assigned to him Armenia, which was becoming estranged since the death of Tigranes. The result was that he needlessly offended not only his grandsons but Tiberius as well; for the former felt they had been slighted, and Tiberius feared their anger. At any rate he was sent to Rhodes on the pretext that he needed incidentally a bit of instruction; and he did not even take his entire retinue, to say nothing of friends, the object being that Gaius and Lucius should be relieved both of the sight of him and of his doings. He made the journey as a private citizen, though he

8 τωά supplied by scribe of L'.
6 ἐνειμε Χιρ., ἀπενειμε Ζον.
5 προσέταξε Ρκ., προσήξε Χιρ., προσεκλήρωσε Ζον.
ὅσον τοὺς Παρίους τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἀγαλμα πω-λήσαι οἱ ἥναγκασεν, ὅπως ἐν τῷ Ὀμονοείρῳ ἱδρυθῇ καὶ ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐλθὼν οὐδὲν ὁγκηρὸν 7 οὔτε ἐπραττεν οὔτε ἔλεγεν. ἢ μὲν οὖν ἄλη-θεστάτης αἰτία τῆς ἐκδημίας αὐτοῦ τοιαύτης ἔστι, λόγον δὲ τινα ἔχει καὶ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα τῆς Ἰουλίας, ὅτι μηκέτι αὐτὴν φέρειν ἠδύνατο, τούτῳ ποιήσαι κατέλυπε γοῦν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ. οἱ δὲ ἐφασαν χαλεπὴν αὐτὸν ὦτι μὴ καὶ Καῖσαρ ἀπεδέιχθη οἱ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀυγουστοῦ ὡς καὶ τοῖς παισίν αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἐκβληθήναι. 8 ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὔτε παιδείας ἑνεκα οὔτε ἄβουλησας τὰ δεδογμένα ἀπεδίδησε, δῆλον ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ὁν μετὰ παύτα ἐπραξέ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τῶς διαθήκας αὐτοῦ εὑρίς τότε 2 καὶ λῦσαι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τῶ τε Ἀυγοῦστον ἀναγνώρια, ἐγένετο· κατεικάζετο πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο.—Χιρ. 100, 18-30, Exe. V. 177 (p. 662 sq.), Ζων. 10, 35. 9 Τῷ δ' ἐφεξῆς ἦτει δωδέκατον ὑπατεύων ὁ Ἀυ- γουστος εἰς τοὺς ἑφήβους τὸν Γαίον ἔταξε καὶ ἐς τὸ Βουλευτήριον ἀμα εἰσήγαγε καὶ πρόκριτον ἀπέφημε τῆς νεότητος ἱλαρχόν τε φυλῆς γενεσθαι ἐπέτρεψε.—Ζων. 10, 35. 10 Καὶ μετ' ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ ὁ Δούκιος τὰς τιμὰς ὅσαι τῷ Γαίῳ τῷ ἄδελφῳ αὐτοῦ ἐδέοντο ἔλαβεν. ἀθροισθέντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπανορθωθήματι τινα ἄξιοντο καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν Ἀυγουστον πέμψαντος, ἠλθεν ἑκεῖνος καὶ περὶ ὁν ἐδέοντο σφὶσι συνδιεσκέψατο· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ 3 ἤσθησαν ἀπαντες.—Ζων. 10, 35.

1 τοιαύτῃ cod. Peir., τοιάδε Val.
2 τότε Val., τὸ τότε cod. Peir.
3 τούτῳ ΑΒΩ, τούτῳ E.
exercised his authority by compelling the Parians to sell him the statue of Vesta, in order that it might be placed in the temple of Concord; and when he reached Rhodes, he refrained from haughty conduct in both word and deed. This is the truest explanation of his journey abroad, though there is also a story that he took this course on account of his wife Julia, because he could no longer endure her; at any rate, she was left behind in Rome. Others said that he was angry at not having been designated as Caesar, and yet others that he was expelled by Augustus himself, on the ground that he was plotting against Augustus' sons. But that his departure was not for the sake of instruction nor because he was displeased at the decrees passed, became plain from many of his subsequent actions, and particularly by his opening his will immediately at that time and reading it to his mother and Augustus. But all possible conjectures were made.

The following year Augustus in the course of his twelfth consulship placed Gaius among the youths of military age, and at the same time introduced him into the senate, declared him princeps inventulis, and permitted him to become commander of a division of cavalry.

And after the lapse of a year Lucius also obtained all the honours that had been granted to his brother Gaius. On one occasion, when the people had gathered together and were asking that certain reforms be instituted and had sent the tribunes to Augustus for this purpose, the emperor came and consulted with them about their demands; and at this all were pleased.
10 Ὁ δὲ Ἀὐγουστός τὸ τοῦ σιτοδοτουμένου πλήθος ἀόριστον ὅν ἐς εἰκοσὶ μυριάδας κατέκλεισε, καὶ ὃς γε τινὲς λέγουσι, καθ' ἐνα ἐξήκοντα δραχμαῖς ἔδωκε.—Xiph. 100, 30–101, 1.

1a Ὡς ἡ Ἀὐγουστοῦ ἁγορᾶ καθιερώθη.—Index to Bk. LV. 1. 6.

1b Ὡς ο τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸς ὃ ἐν αὐτῇ ὃν καθιερώθη. —Index to Bk. LV. 1. 7.

2 ... Ἄρευ, ἐαυτόν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους, ὡς καὶ ἐν εὐθελήσει, τοὺς τε ἐκ τῶν παῖδων ἐξίστατας καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγραφομένους ἐκείσε πάντως ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς εὐθήμους στελλομένους ἐκείθεν ἀφορμᾶσθαι, τὰς τε γρώμας τὰς περὶ τῶν νικητρίων ἐκεῖ τὴν βουλὴν ποιεῖται, καὶ τοὺς πέμψαντας αὐτὰ τῷ Ἄρευ τούτῳ καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἀνατιθέναι, καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς τοὺς τὰς ἐπινικίους τιμὰς λαμβάνοντας ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ χαλκοῦς ἱστασθαι, ἄν τε ποτε σημεῖα στρατιωτικὰ ἐς πολεμίους ἀλόντα ἀνακομίσθη, ἐν τὸν ναὸν αὐτὰ τίθεσθαι, καὶ πανήγυριν τινα πρὸς τοὺς ἀναβασμοὺς αὐτοῦ ὕπο τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἠλαρχούντων ποιεῖσθαι, ἥλιον τε αὐτῷ ὕπο τῶν τιμητευσάντων προπηγνυσθαι, καὶ τὴν τε παράσχεσιν τῶν ἰππῶν τῶν ἐς τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν ἀγωνιομένων

1 σιτοδοτουμένου L', σιτοδοτουμένως VC.
2 Ἄρεω Morell, Ἄρεω M.
3 ἠλαρχούντων Bk., ἠλαρχούντων M.
Augustus limited the number of people to be supplied with grain, a number not previously fixed, to two hundred thousand; and, as some say, he distributed a largess of sixty denarii to each man.

[How the Forum of Augustus was dedicated.]

[How the Temple of Mars therein was dedicated.]

... to Mars, and that he himself and his grandsons should go there as often as they wished, while those who were passing from the class of boys and were being enrolled among the youths of military age should invariably do so; that those who were sent out to commands abroad should make that their starting-point; that the senate should take its votes there in regard to the granting of triumphs, and that the victors after celebrating them should dedicate to this Mars their sceptre and their crown; that such victors and all others who received triumphal honours should have their statues in bronze erected in the Forum; that in case military standards captured by the enemy were ever recovered they should be placed in the temple; that a festival should be celebrated beside the steps of the temple by the cavalry commanders of each year;¹ that a nail should be driven into it by the censors at the close of their terms;² and that even senators should have the right of contracting to supply the horses that were to compete in the Circensian games, and also to take

¹ The seviri equitum.
² This custom is not elsewhere recorded in the case of the censors. In early times a nail was driven each year into the side of the cela of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, for the purpose of keeping official count of the years. After the practice had lapsed for a time, it was again revived on the occasion of great disasters or dangers, as a propitiatory rite, and a dictator was sometimes chosen for this sole purpose in the absence of both consuls.
καὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ φυλακὴν καὶ βουλευταῖς ἐργολαβεῖν ἐξεῖναι, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διός τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἐνενομοθέτητο.

6 Ἔπει μὲν τούτοις τὸ μέγαρον ἐκεῖνο ὁ Αὔγουστος ἔθεισε, καὶ τοῖς τῷ Γαύρ καὶ τῷ Λούκῳ πάντα καθάπαξ τὰ τοιαύτα ἱεροῦ ἐπιτρέψας ὑπατικῇ τινὶ ἀρχῇ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν χρομένοις. καὶ τὴν γε ἱπποδρόμιαν αὐτῷ τότε διέθεσαν, τὴν τε Ῥοίαν καλομεμενὴν οἱ παῖδες οἱ πρῶτοι μετὰ τοῦ.

7 Ἀγριπποῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῶν Ἰππευσαν. καὶ λέωντες ἔξηκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ ἐσφάγησαν. ὁπλομαχία τε ἐν τοῖς σέπτοις καὶ ναυμαχία ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν φί καὶ νῦν ἔτι σημεῖα τινα αὐτῆς δείκνυται Περσῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐποίηθη ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ναυμαχοῦσιν ἔτεθη, καὶ ἐνίκοις καὶ τότε οἱ Ἀθηναίοι. καὶ μετὰ τούτο ἐς τε τοῦ Φλαμίνου ἱππόδρομοι ὑδωρ ἔσηξαν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κροκόδειλοι ἐξ καὶ τρίκοντα κατεκόπησαν. οὐ μὲντοι καὶ διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ὁ Αὔγουστος ὑπάτευσεν, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ οἶλον ἀρξάς ἀλλο τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ὑπατείας ἐδοκε.
general charge of the temple, just as had been provided by law in the case of the temples of Apollo and of Jupiter Capitolinus.

These matters settled, Augustus dedicated this temple of Mars, although he had granted to Gaius and Lucius once for all the right to consecrate all such buildings by virtue of a kind of consular authority that they exercised in the time-honoured manner. And they did, in fact, have the management of the Circensian games on this occasion, while their brother Agrippa took part along with the boys of the first families in the equestrian exercise called "Troy." Two hundred and sixty lions were slaughtered in the Circus. There was a gladiatorial combat in the Saepta, and a naval battle between the "Persians" and the "Athenians" was given on the spot where even to-day some relics of it are still pointed out. These, it will be understood, were the names given to the contestants; and the "Athenians" prevailed as of old. Afterwards water was let into the Circus Flaminius and thirty-six crocodiles were there slaughtered. Augustus, however, did not serve as consul during all these days, but after holding office for a short time, gave the title of the consulship to another.

These were the celebrations in honour of Mars. To Augustus himself a sacred contest¹ was voted in Neapolis, the Campanian city, nominally because he had restored it when it was prostrated by earthquake and fire, but in reality because its inhabitants, alone of the Campanians, tried in a manner to imitate the customs of the Greeks. He also was given the strict right to the title of "Father"; for hitherto he had

¹ Cf. li. 1, 2.
ἀνευ ψηφίσματος ἐπεφημίζετο. καὶ μὲντοι καὶ ἑπάρχουσ τῶν δορυφόρων τότε πρώτον Κύντων τε Ὀστόριον Σκαπουλιάν καὶ Πούπλιον Σάλουιον Ἀπρον ἀπέδειξεν οὐτω γὰρ τοι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγὼ μόνος τῶν ἑπαρχόντων τιμώς, ἐπειδήτερ ἐκενικθηκεν, ὀνομάζω. ἔποιήσε μὲν οὖν καὶ ο Πυλάδης ὁ ὀρχηστής πανήγυριν τινα, οὐκ αὐτὸς χειρουργήσας ἀτε καὶ ὑπέργησας οὖν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σκευῇ τῇ ἀρχικῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν, ἔποιήσε δὲ καὶ Κύντως Κριστίνος στρατηγός. λέγω δὲ οὐ τοῦτο ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἄνδρες τε ἑπῆ καὶ γυναῖκες οὐκ ἀφανεῖς ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἐσχήθησαι.

12 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν οὔδειν λόγῳ ο Λύγαστρος ἐτίθετο, τὴν δὲ Ἡυλίαν τὴν θυγατέρα ἀσελγαίνοντα οὐτως ὡστε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ βῆματος καὶ κομάζεων νῦκτορ καὶ συμπίνειν ὧφε ποτε φοράσας ὑπερφρογίςθη.

13 κατείκαζε μὲν γαρ καὶ πρῶτον οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὴν βιοῦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπίστευεν ὦ γάρ τοι τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἑχοντες πάντα μάλλον ἢ τὰ σφέτερα γυνώσκουσι, καὶ οὔτ’ αὐτοὶ τε τοὺς συνόντας ὃν ποιοῦσι λαυτάνουσιν οὔτε τὰ ἐκεῖνοι ἄκριβευσιν. Βοῦσι, τότε δ’ οὖν μαθὼν τὰ πραττόμενα τοσοῦτον θυμῷ ἐχρήσατο ὡστε μὴδ’ οἴκοι αὐτὰ 1 κατασχεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ γεροντείᾳ κοινωνεῖ. κακτούτω ἑκείνη μὲν ἐς Πανδατερίαν τὴν πρὸς Καμπανίαν 2 νήσου ὑπερφορίςθη, καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ ἦ

1 αὐτὰ Rk., αὐτῶν M., αὐτῶν cod. Peir. Xiph.
2 Καμπανία Xiph., καμπανία M.
merely been addressed by that title without the formality of a decree. Moreover, he now for the first time appointed two prefects over the Praetorians, Quintus Ostorius Scapula and Publius Salvius Aper, —for I, too, apply this name "prefect" solely to them, of all who exercise a similar office, inasmuch as it has won its way into general use. Pylades, the dancer, gave a festival, though he did not perform any of the work himself, since he was very old, but merely wore the insignia of office and provided the cost of the entertainment; and the praetor Quintus Crispinus also gave one. I mention this only because it was on this occasion that knights and women of distinction were brought upon the stage. Of this, however, Augustus took no account; but when he at length discovered that his daughter Julia was so dissolute in her conduct as actually to take part in revels and drinking bouts at night in the Forum and on the very rostra, he became exceedingly angry. He had surmised even before this time that she was not leading a straight life, but refused to believe it. For those who hold positions of command, it appears, are acquainted with everything else better than with their own affairs; and although their own deeds do not escape the knowledge of their associates, they have no precise information regarding what their associates do. In the present instance, when Augustus learned what was going on, he gave way to a rage so violent that he could not keep the matter to himself, but went so far as to communicate it to the senate. As a result Julia was banished to the island of Pandateria, lying off Campania, and her mother Scribonia

1 Praefecti praetorio.
2 The modern Ventotene, between the Ponza islands and Ischia.
15 Ἑκοῦσα συνεξέπλευσε τῶν δὲ δὴ ἤχουσα συνεξέπλευσε τῶν δὲ δὴ χρησαμένων αὐτὴ ὁ μὲν Ἰουλλος ἡ Ἀντώνιος, ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ τούτῳ πράξας, ἀπέδανε μετ' ἄλλων τινῶν ἐπιθυμῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς νήσους ὑπερωρίσθησαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ δῆμαρχὸς τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦ, οὐ πρῶτον πρὶν διάρξαι ἐκρίθη. πολλῶν δὲ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλων γυναικῶν ἐφ' ὁμοίως τισιν αἰτίαν λαβοῦσιν οὐ πάσας τὰς δίκας ἐδέξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνων τινὰ ἀφόρισεν ὡστε τὰ πρὸ ἐκείνου πραξθέντα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς θυγατρός μηδὲν μετρίασας, ἀλλὰ καὶ φήμας ὅτι Φοίβης πατὴρ μᾶλλον ἡ ἐκείνης γεγονέναι ἦθελε, τῶν ἄλλων εὐφείτου. ἦ δὲ δὴ Φοίβη ἐξελευθέρα τε τῆς Ἰουλλᾶς καὶ συνεργὸς οὐσα προαπεθάνευ τις ἦ, διόπερ καὶ ὁ Ἀὐγουστος αὐτήν ἔπιθες. —Xiph. 101, 21–32, Exc. V. 178, 179 (p. 665).

17 "Οτί Γαίος τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ πρὸς τῷ Ἰστρῷ εἰρημικῶς ἐπῆκε πόλεμον γὰρ οὐδένα ἐπολέμησεν, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὴν εἶν τε ἦσυχῳ καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ ἥρκει ἐμάνθανεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ κίνδυνοι ἄλλοις προσετάσσοντο.—Exc. V. 180 (p. 665).

18 Τῶν Ἀρμενίων δὲ νεωτερισάντων καὶ τῶν Πάρθων αὐτοῖς συνεργούσων ἄλγων ἐπὶ τούτως ὁ Ἀὐγουστος ἢπορεῖ τι ἄν πράξῃ οὕτως ἄρα αὐτὸς στρατεύει τίος τε ἴν διά ἡμιρας, ὁ τε Τιβερίου, ὦς εἰρηται, μετέστη ἡδη, ἄλλον δὲ τινὰ πέμψαι

1 Ἰουλλος Bk., Ιουλλος M. cod. Peir. Xiph.
2 ὁ supplied by Bk.
3 Between ὁς καὶ ἐντέρες (10 α, 1) two folios are lacking in M.
4 οἱρτας Val., ὁἱρτας cod. Peir.
voluntarily accompanied her. Of the men who had enjoyed her favours, Iulus Antonius, on the ground that his conduct had been prompted by designs upon the monarchy, was put to death along with other prominent persons, while the remainder were banished to islands. And since there was a tribune among them, he was not tried until he had completed his term of office. As a result of this affair many other women, too, were accused of similar behaviour, but the emperor would not entertain all the suits; instead, he set a definite date as a limit and forbade all prying into what had occurred previous to that time. For although in the case of his daughter he would show no mercy, remarking that he would rather have been Phoebe’s father than hers, he nevertheless was disposed to spare the rest. This Phoebe had been a freedwoman of Julia’s and her accomplice, and had voluntarily taken her own life before she could be punished. It was for this that Augustus praised her.

Gaius assumed command of the legions on the Ister with peaceful intent. Indeed, he fought no war, not because no war broke out, but because he was learning to rule in quiet and safety, while the dangerous undertakings were regularly assigned to others.

When the Armenians revolted and the Parthians joined with them, Augustus was distressed and at a loss what to do. For he himself was not fit for campaigning by reason of age, while Tiberius, as has been stated, had already withdrawn, and he did not

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5 ἐκ τούτου Exc. Val., om. Xiph.
6 μηδέν Xiph., μή cod. Peir.
7 πατὴρ μᾶλλον Xiph., μᾶλλον πατήρ cod. Peir.
τῶν δυνατῶν οὐκ ἔτολμα, οἱ Γάιος δὲ καὶ οἱ Δούκιος νέοι καὶ πραγμάτων ἐπώνυμους ἀπειροῦ ἀνάγκης δ' ἐπικείμενης τῶν Γαίου εἰλετο, καὶ τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶ τὴν ἀνθύπατων καὶ γυναίκα ἀδικεῖν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο τι προσλάβῃ ἄξιομα, καὶ οἱ καὶ συμβουλίους προσέταξε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀφωρισμὴ ἐντίμως παρὰ πάντων ὑποδεχόμενος οίκῳ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἑγγούς ἢ καὶ παῖς νομίζομενος, καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐς Χίον ἐλθὼν αὐτὸν ἑθεράπευσε, τὰς ὑποψίας ἀποτριβόμενος ἑταπείνου τε γὰρ ἐμφανίστηκεν καὶ ὑπεύθυνον οὐχ ὅτι τῷ Γαίῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ οὖσαν ἀπελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ μηδὲν μεγά λατορθηκός ἔτρωγήν.—Ζον. 10, 36, Xiph. 101, 32—102, 4.

"Ὅτι ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Γαίου, Φρατάκης ἐπέμψε πρὸς τὸν Αὐγούστον, ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπολογοῦμενος καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐπὶ εἰρήνη ὑπαίτων καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνος Φρατάκη ἀπλῶς ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπικλήσεως, ἀντεπιστείλας, τὸ τε ὅνομα τὸ βασιλικὸν καταθέσθαι καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀποστήμναι προσέταξεν. ἐφ' ὃ δὴ ὁ Πάρθος οὐχ ὅσον οὐ κατέπτησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντέγραψεν οἱ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὑπερφρονών, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν βασιλέα βασιλέων ἐκείνον δὲ Καύσαρα μονὸν ὄνομάσας. οὐ δὲ δὴ Τεγράνης εὐθὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐπρεσβεύσατο, τοῦ δὲ Ἀρταβάζου νόσῳ υπέτερον τελευτήσαντος δῶρα τε

1 oι καὶ ΑΕ, οἱ BC.  
2 νομιζόμενοι ABC, λογίζομενοι E.  
3 καὶ supplied by Be.  
4 Φρατάκης, Φρατάκη Be., Φρατάκης, Φρατάκη (but corrected by first hand to φαράκη) Exc. Ura. cod. A, φαράκη Xiph. VL, φαράκη Xiph. C, φρατάκη Xiph. VCL.
dare send any other influential man; as for Gaius
and Lucius, they were young and inexperienced in
affairs. Nevertheless, under the stress of necessity,
he chose Gaius, gave him the proconsular authority
and a wife,—in order that he might also have the
increased dignity that attached to a married man,¹
and appointed advisers to him. Gaius accordingly
set out and was everywhere received with marks of
distinction, as befitted one who was the emperor's
grandson and was even looked upon as his son.
Even Tiberius went to Chios and paid court to him,
thus endeavouring to clear himself of suspicion;
indeed, he humiliated himself and grovelled at the
feet, not only of Gaius, but also of all the associates
of Gaius. And Gaius, after going to Syria and
meeting with no great success, was wounded.

When the barbarians heard of Gaius' expedition,
Phrataces sent men to Augustus to explain what had
occurred and to demand the return of his brothers
on condition of his accepting peace. The emperor
sent him a letter in reply, addressed simply to
"Phrataces," without the appellation of "king,
"in which he directed him to lay aside the royal
name and to withdraw from Armenia. Thereupon
the Parthian, so far from being cowed, wrote back
in a generally haughty tone, styling himself "King
of Kings" and addressing Augustus simply as
"Caesar." Tigranes did not at once send any en-
voys, but when Artabazus somewhat later fell ill
and died, he sent gifts to Augustus, in view of the

¹ See note on liii. 13, 2.

⁶ ἀπ᾿ Ἡσ., om. Exc. Urs.
⁷ ὑπερηφάνως Exc. Urs., ὑπερηφάνως Xiph.
τῶν Λύγουστρω, ὡς καὶ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ὑπεξηρη-
μένου οἱ, ἐπεμψε, τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀνόμα ἐς τὴν
ἐπιστολὴν μὴ ἐγγράψας, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν δῆθεν
παρ ἀυτοῦ ἤτησε. τούτως τε ὁ ὑπαχθεῖς καὶ
tὸν πόλεμον ἀμα τὸν Παρθικοῦ φοβηθεῖς τά τε
dῶρα ἐδέξατο, καὶ μετ' ἐλπίδων αὐτοῦ χρηστῶν ἐς
tὴν Συριαν πρὸς τὸν Γαίου ἐλθείν ἐκέλευσεν.—
Exc. U° 36 (p. 390), Xiph. 102, 4—11.

10α . . . ἐτέρους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπιστρατεύσαν-
tὸς σφαίρων ἀπεώσαντο, οὐ πρότερον τε ἐνέδοσαν
πρὸν θείαρχον τινα ἐκ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ ἐπ' αὐ-
tοὺς πεμφθήναι, καὶ ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐν χρόνῳ τὸς
καταδρομας αὐτῶν ἐπέσχεν, ὡστε ἐπί πολυ μη-
dένα Βουλευτὴ τῶν ταύτη πόλεων ἄρξαι.

2. Ταῦτα τε οὖν ἀμα καὶ τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκαὶνωθῆ.
ὁ γὰρ Δομήτιος πρότερον μὲν, ἐως ἐτὶ τῶν πρὸς
tὸν Ἰστρῳ χωρεῖν ἤρχε, τοὺς τε Ἐρμονδούρους
ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως ἔξαναστάτας καὶ
κατὰ ζήτησιν ἐτέρας γῆς πλανομένους ὑπολαβὼν
ἐν μέρει τῆς Μαρκομαννίδος κατοίκισα, καὶ τὸν
Ἀλβίαν μηδενὸς οἱ ἐναντιομένους διαβάς φιλίαν
τε τοῖς ἐκείνης βαρβάρους συνεδέτο καὶ βωμὸν ἐπ᾽

3 αὐτοῦ τὸν Λύγουστρι ἱδρύσατο. τότε δὲ πρὸς τε
tὸν Ῥήμων μετελθόντα, καὶ ἐκπεσόντας τινας Χε-
ρούσκον καταγαγεῖν δὲ ἐτέρων ἐθελήσας, ἐδυστύ-
χησε καὶ καταφρονῆσαι σφων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
βαρβάρους ἐποίησεν. οὐ καὶ τοῖς καὶ πλέον τι τῷ
ἐτεί ἐκείνῳ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπράξη διὰ γὰρ τὸν
Παρθικοῦ πόλεμον ἐπόγυν ὡστε οὐδεμία αὐτῶν
ἐπιστροφὴ τότε ἐγένετο.

1 το Α (B ? V ?),
2 τὸν Παρθικοῦ Β., τῶν Πάρθων Υ.τ., τὸν Παρθίου Α (B ? V ?).
fact that his rival had been removed, and though he did not mention the name "king" in his letter, he really did petition Augustus for the kingship. Influenced by these considerations and at the same time fearing the war with the Parthians, the emperor accepted the gifts and bade him go with good hopes to Gaius in Syria.

... others who marched against them from Egypt, and did not yield until a tribune from the pretorian guard was sent against them. This man in the course of time checked their incursions, with the result that for a long period no senator governed the cities in this region.

Coincident with these events there was an outbreak on the part of the Germans. Somewhat earlier Domitius, while still governing the districts along the Ister, had intercepted the Hermunduri, a tribe which for some reason or other had left their own land and were wandering about in quest of another, and he had settled them in a part of the Marcomannian territory; then he had crossed the Albis, meeting with no opposition, had made a friendly alliance with the barbarians on the further side, and had set up an altar to Augustus on the bank of the river. Just now he had transferred his headquarters to the Rhine, and in his desire to secure the return of certain Cheruscan exiles through the efforts of other persons had met with a reverse and had caused the other barbarians likewise to conceive a contempt for the Romans. This was the extent, however, of his operations that year; for in view of the Parthian war which was impending no attention was paid to the Germans at this time.
4 Οὐ μὴν οὖδὲ τοῖς Πάρθοις ἐπολεμήθη. ὦ γὰρ Φρατάκης τὸν Γάιον ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ὄντα καὶ ὑπατεύοντα ἀκούσας, καὶ προσέτετο καὶ τὰ οἰκεία μηδὲ πρῶτον εὐνοίκως οὐ ἐχοῦτα ὑποτοπήσας, προκατηλλάγη ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῶς τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἀποστῆναι καὶ τους ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ πέραν θαλάσσης εἶναι. οἳ γε μὴν Ἀρμένιοι, καίπερ τοῦ τε Τιγράνου ἐκ πολέμου τινὸς βαρβαρικοῦ φθαρέντος καὶ τῆς Ἐρατοῦς τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφείσης, ὡμοι ἐπειδῆ Ἀριστοβραζάνει τινὶ Μῆδῳ, οὐ ποτὲ μετὰ τοῦ Τιριδάτου ἑπτὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀφίκτο, παρεδίδοντο, ἐπολέμησαν σφίς τῷ υἱῷ ἔτει, ἐν οἶον πολύτικος τοῦ Οὐδώνιος καὶ Πούπλιος Οὐάρος ὑπάρχει, καὶ ἀλλὰ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸλογοῦν ἐδρασάν, Ἀδδών δὲ τῖς τὰ Ἀρτάγενεια κατέχουν ὑπηγαγεῖ, τὸν Γάιον ὑπὸ τὸ τείχος ὅσα καὶ τὸν τοῦ Πάρθου τὸ ἀπορρήτων αὐτῶν φράσιν, καὶ ἐτρώσεν αὐτῶν, καὶ τούτῳ πολιορκηθεὶς ἐτὶ πλεῖστον ἀντέσχειν.

5 ἄλοντος δὲ οὖν ποτὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ τε ὁμοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος οὐχ ὁ Αὔγουστος μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἑπέθετο, καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τότε μὲν ὁ Ἀριστοβραζάνης, ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ οὖν πολλῷ ὑπερ' Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ νῦν παρὰ τῷ Αὔγουστον καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐλάβειν. ὁ δὲ οὖν Γάιος ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἤρρωστησε, καὶ ἐπείδῃ μηδὲ ἄλλος υψίειν ἦν, όφειλεν καὶ τῆς διανοίας ἐξελέυνυτο, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀπημβλύνη, καὶ τέλος ἠδυνάτειν τῇ ἄξιον καὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ που καταμείναι ἦθελεν, ὡστε τὸν Ἀὔγουστον περιαλληγήσαντα τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ τὸ βουλήμα αὐτοῦ

1 Τιριδάτου Dind., τιριδάτου Μ.
BOOK LV

Nevertheless, war did not break out with the Parthians, either. For Phrataces, hearing that Gaius was in Syria, acting as consul, and, furthermore, having suspicions regarding his own people, who had even before this been inclined to be disloyal to him, forestalled action on their part by coming to terms with the Romans, on condition that he himself should renounce Armenia and that his brothers should remain beyond the sea. The Armenians, however, in spite of the fact that Tigranes had perished in a war with barbarians and Erato had resigned her sovereignty, nevertheless went to war with the Romans because they were being handed over to a Mede, Ariobarzanes, who had once come to the Romans along with Tiridates. This was in the following year, when Publius Vinicius and Publius Varus were consuls. And though they accomplished nothing worthy of note, a certain Addon, who was holding Artagira, induced Gaius to come up close to the wall, pretending that he would reveal to him some of the Parthian king’s secrets, and then wounded him, whereupon he was besieged. He held out for a long time; but when he was at last captured, not only Augustus but Gaius also assumed the title of imperator, and Armenia was given by Augustus and the senate first to Ariobarzanes and then upon his death a little later to his son Artabazus. Gaius became ill from his wound, and since he was not robust to begin with and the condition of his health had impaired his mind, this illness blunted his faculties still more. At last he begged leave to retire to private life, and it was his desire to remain somewhere in Syria. Augustus, accordingly, grieved at heart, communicated his wish to the senate, and
κοινώσαι καὶ ἐκείνων ἐς γοῦν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἑλθόντα
9 πράττεν ὁ τι βούλοιτο προτρέψασθαι. πάντ' ὦν εὕθε τὰ τῆς ἁρχῆς ἀφεῖς ἐς Ἀνκίαν ἐν ὀλκάδι
παρέπλευσε, κἂνταῦθα ἐν Λιμύροις μετῆλλαξέ. 
πρὶν δὲ ἡ τελευτήσαι αὐτὸν ὁ Λούκιος ἐν Μασ-
σαλίᾳ προαπέσβη· πολλαχῇ γάρ τοι καὶ ἐκείνος ἀλλοτε ἄλλη πεμπόμενος ἤσκετο, καὶ τὰς τε τοῦ
Γαίου ἐπιστολὰς αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὀσάκεις ἂν 
10 παρεῖ, ἀνεγίγνωσκεν. ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐξαίφνης νοσή-
σας, ὡστε ἐπὶ ἀμφότεροις σφίζε τὴν Διονύ
ὰλλως τε καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ὁ Τιβέριος 
ἔς την Ῥώμην ἐκ τῆς Ῥώδου ἀφίκετο, ὑποτευ-
11 θήναι. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐμπειρότατος τῆς διὰ τῶν 
ἀστρων μαντικῆς ὦν, καὶ Θράσυβλου ἀνδρὰ 
πάσης ἀστρολογίας διαπερφυκότα ἔχων, πάντα 
καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου πεπρωμένα ἄκριβῶς 
2 ἕπιστατο· καὶ λόγων γε ἐχεῖ ὅτι μελλήσας ποτὲ 
ἐν τῇ Ῥώδῳ τοῦ Θράσυβλου ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, 
ἐπειδὴ μόνος αὐτῷ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐννοεῖ συνήδει, 
ὡσεϊ, οὐκέτ' αὐτὸν ἐποίησε σκυθρωπάσαντα 
αὐτὸν ἴδων, οὐτὶ γε καὶ διὰ τούτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐπε-
ρωτηθήσεις διὰ τὶ συννέφοις, κλῖνουν τινα ὑπο-
πτευείν οἱ γεννήσεσθαι ἐφ' θαυμάσας γὰρ ὅτι 
καὶ τὴν μελλήσει τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐποίησεν, 
Φυ-
λάξαν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ διὰ τὰς ἑλπίδας ἰδέλησεν. —
Zon. 10, 36.
3 Οὕτω γάρ ποιοὶ πάντα ἐκείνων σαφῶς ὑδεὶ ὅστε 
καὶ τὸ πλοῖον τοῦ τῆς ἀγγελίαν τῷ Τιβέριῳ τῆς ἐς 
τῆς Ῥώμης ἀνακοιμῆσαι παρά τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ

1 ait' Xiph., ait' M.
2 Between ἐπιβουλῆς and Τιβέριον (13, 2) two more folios are lacking in M.
3 προείδεν supplied by Bs.
urged him to come at least to Italy and then do as he pleased. So Gaius resigned at once all the duties of his office and took a trading vessel to Lycia, where, at Lymrya, he passed away. But even before Gaius' death the spark of life in Lucius had been quenched at Massilia. He, too, was being trained to rule by being despatched on missions to many places, and it was his custom personally to read the letters of Gaius in the senate, whenever he was present. His death was due to a sudden illness. In connexion with both deaths, therefore, suspicion attached to Livia, and particularly because it was just at this time that Tiberius returned to Rome from Rhodes. Tiberius, it seems, was extremely well versed in the art of divination by means of the stars, and had with him Thrasylus, who was a past-master of all astrology, so that he had full and accurate knowledge of what fate had in store both for him and for Gaius and Lucius. And the story goes that once in Rhodes he was about to push Thrasylus from the walls, because he was the only one who shared all his own thoughts; but he did not carry out his intention when he observed that Thrasylus was gloomy,—not, indeed, because of his gloom, but because, when asked why his countenance was overcast, the other replied that he had a premonition that some peril was in store for him. This answer made Tiberius marvel that he could foresee the mere project of the plot, and so he conceived the desire to keep Thrasylus for his own purposes because of the hopes he entertained.

Thrasylus had so clear a knowledge of all matters that when he descried, approaching afar off, the ship which was bringing to Tiberius the message from his
12 Τοῦ δὲ Δοῦκίου τοῦ τε Γαίου τὰ σώματα διὰ τῶν χειλαρχῶν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἑφ’ ἐκάστης πόλεως πρῶτων ἐν τὴν Ρώμην ἐκομίσθη, καὶ οἱ πέλται τὰ τε δόρατα, ἀ παρὰ τῶν ἱππεῶν ἐν τοὺς ἑφήβους ἔσιοντες χρυσὰ εἰλήφησαν, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀνετέθη.—Χιψ. 102, 25–103, 3.

2 Δεσπότης δὲ ποτε ο Αὐγοῦστος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ὀνομασθεὶς συν ὅπως ἀπείπε μηδένα τούτῳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τῷ προσφιλματί χρησάσθαι, ἀλλά καὶ τὰν διὰ φυλακῆς αὐτὸ ἐποιήσατο. πληροθείσης δὲ οἱ καὶ τὸς τρότης δεκαετίας τὴν ἱγγεμονίαν καὶ τότε τὸ τέταρτον, ἐκβιασθεὶς δῆθεν, ὑπεδέξατο, πραότερος τε καὶ ὀκνηρότερος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑρως πρὸς τὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν τισιν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι γεγονός οὖνεν ἐτ’ αὐτῶν προσκρούειν ἠθελεν.—Χιψ. 103, 3–11, Ζων. 10, 36.

3α Χιλίας τε καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας δραχμῶν ἀτόκους τοῖς δεομένοις δανεῖσας ἐπὶ ἑτ’ τρία, ἐπηνεῖτο παρὰ πάντων καὶ ἐσεμύνετο.—Ζων. 10, 36.

4 Ἔμπρησμοι δὲ ποτε τὸ παλάτιον διαφθείραντος, καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῶ πολλὰ διδόντων, οὐδὲν ἔλαβεν ἥ μόνον παρὰ μὲν τῶν δήμων χρυσοῦν παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν δραχμῶν. χρυσοῦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ νόμομα τὸ τάς πέντε καὶ εἰκοσὶ δραχμὰσ δυνάμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ τῶν Ἃλλῶν δὲ τινες, ὄν τὰ βιβλία ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπτικεῖν ἀναγνώσκομεν, οὕτως αὐτὸ ἐκάλεσαν.—Χιψ. 103, 11–18, Ζων. 10, 36.

1 ἐμελλε V, ἐμελλέ CL'. 2 δεσπότης VC, καὶ δεσπότης L'.
mother and Augustus to return to Rome, he told him in advance what news it would bring.

The bodies of Lucius and Gaius were brought to Rome by the military tribunes and by the chief men of each city. And the golden targes and spears which they had received from the knights on entering the class of youths of military age were set up in the senate-house.

When Augustus was once called "master" by the people, he not only forbade that any one should use this form of address to him, but also took very good care to enforce his command. And now that his third ten-year period was completed, he accepted the leadership for the fourth time, though ostensibly under compulsion. He had become milder through age and more reluctant to incur the hatred of any of the senators, and hence now wished to offend none of them.

For lending sixty million sesterces for three years without interest to such as needed it he was praised and magnified by all.

Once, when a fire destroyed the palace and many persons offered him large sums of money, he accepted nothing but an aureus from entire communities and a denarius from single individuals. I here use the name aureus, according to the Roman practice, for the coin worth one hundred sesterces. Some of the Greeks, also, whose books we read with the object of acquiring a pure Attic style, have given it this name.
Παρά δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἰκοσὶ δραχμῶν ὁ Δίων φησὶ τὸ χρυσὸν ἀλλάσσεσθαι νόμισμα.—Ζον. 10, 36.

Ὁ δὲ Αὐγουστος τὴν οἰκίαν οἰκοδομήσας ἐδημόσιος πάσαν, εἶτε δὴ διὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου οἱ γενομένην, εἶτε καὶ στὶ ἁρχιερεῖς ἤν, ὥσ τοῖς ἱδίοις ἁμα καὶ ὕπε ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς οἰκίας.

18 Τοῦ δὲ δήμου σφόδρα ἐγκεκείμενον τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἦν καταγάγη τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ, θάσσον ἐφ' ὑπὸ ὑδατί μικρόνάσθαι ἢ ἐκείνην καταχθόνασθαι. καὶ ο δήμος πυρὰ ἐς τὸν Τίμερων πολλὰ ἑνεβάλει καὶ τότε μὲν οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, ύστερον δὲ ἐξεβιάσατο ὡστε ἐς γούν τὴν ἥπειρον αὐτῆν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου κομμαθῆναι.—Χιρ. 103, 19—28.

1a Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κελτικοῦ πολέμου κεκινημένου αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τε γῆρως καὶ νόσου κεκμηκός ἔχων τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐκστρατεύσαι μὴ οἶσος τε ὅν, πῆ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγκασθεὶς πη δ' ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰουλίας ἀναπεισθεὶς (ἡ δὴ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἐκ τῆς ὑπεροπίας κατήχη), [Ζον. 10, 36]. τὸν Τίμερων καὶ ἑποιήσατο καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐξέπεμψε, τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ τὴν δημαρχίκην ἐς δέκα ἐτη δουεὶς. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ὑποπτεύσας τῆς ἐκφρονήσεως, καὶ φοβηθεῖς μὴ καὶ νεοχρώσῃ τι, τὸν Γερμανικόν οἱ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν καὶ τοῖς καὶ 3 αὐτῷ ὑόν ἐχὸντες ἐσεποίησε. κακὸς τοῦτον ἐπιθαρσήσας ὡς καὶ διαδόχοις καὶ βοηθοὺς ἔχων, διαλέξας τὴν γερουσίαν αὐθίς ἱθέλησε, καὶ δέκα

1 παρὰ L, ἐπὶ τὰ VC.
2 γῆρως E (ἀν corrected from σὺ), γῆρως ABC.
3 αὐτὴ BC, καὶ αὐτὴ AE.
4 τὸν supplied by Be.
Among the Greeks, Dio says, the aureus is exchanged for twenty drachmas.¹

When Augustus had built his house, he made it all state property, either on account of the contributions made by the people or because he was high priest and wished to live in apartments that were at once private and public.

The people urged Augustus very strongly to restore his daughter from exile, but he answered that fire should sooner mix with water than she should be restored. And the people threw many firebrands into the Tiber; and though at the time they accomplished nothing, yet later on they brought such pressure to bear that she was at least brought from the island to the mainland.

Later, when a German war broke out and Augustus was worn out in body, by reason of old age and illness, and incapable of taking the field, he yielded, partly to the force of circumstances and partly to the persuasions of Julia, who had now been restored from banishment, and not only adopted Tiberius, but also sent him out against the Germans, granting him the tribunician power for ten years. Yet suspecting that he also would lose his poise somehow or other, and fearing that he would begin a rebellion, he made him adopt his nephew Germanicus, though Tiberius had a son of his own. After this he took courage, feeling that he had successors and supporters, and he desired to reorganize the senate once more. So he nominated the ten senators whom he most highly

¹ That is, for the equivalent of eighty, instead of a hundred, sesterces.

² ἔτερῳ supplied by Xyl.
³ ἔτερῳ Xyl.; ἔτερῳ M. cod. Coisl.
βουλευτάς οὖς μάλιστα ἐτίμα προβαλόμενος ἐπεδείξεν, οὐς οἱ κλήρος ἐϊλέτο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πολλοὶ οὔτε προκατέγραψαν σφον ἐξουσίας αὐτοῦς δοθείσης, ὡσπερ καὶ πρὸτερον, οὔτε ἀκούτες ἀπηλήφησαν. 4 Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ δι' ἑτέρων ἔπραξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπογραφὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλία κατοικούτων καὶ μὴ ἐλάπτῳ πέντε μυριάδων οὐσίαν κεκτημένων ἐποιήσατο τοὺς γὰρ ἀριθμοῖς τούς τε ἐξω τῆς Ἰταλίας οἰκούντας οὐκ ἦναγκασεν ἀπογράψαται, δείσας μὴ νεωτερίσωσί τι ταρατζέντες. 5 καὶ ὅπως τε μὴ δοξεῖν ὡς τιμητὴν αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, δὲ ὅπερ εἶπον πρὸτέρον, ἀνθυπατον ἐξουσίαν πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀπογραφῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν 6 τοῦ καθαράν ποιήσειν προσέθετο. ἐπειδή τε συχνὸς τῶν νεανίσκων ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ γένους κάκ τῶν ἄλλων ἰππέων ἐπένοιο μηδὲν ἐπαίτιον ἔχοντες, τοῖς μὲν πλείον τὸ τεταχμένον τίμημα ἀνεπλήρωσεν, ὅγοδοκοντα δὲ τισὶ καὶ ἐς 7 τριακοντά αὐτὸ μυριάδας ἐπηρξήσε. πολλοὶ τε πολλοὶ ἀκρίτως 2 ἐλευθεροῦντο, διέπαξε τὴν τε ἡλικίαν ἥν τὸν τε ἐλευθερώσοντα τινα καὶ τὸν ἀφεθησόμενον ὅπως αὐτοῦ ἤχειν δεήσοι, καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα οίς οἱ τοῦ ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθερομένους καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ δεσπόται σφῶν γενόμενοι χρῆσοντο. 14 Πράσσοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ταύτα ἐπεβουλεύσαν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος θυγατριδώς τοῦ μεγάλου

1 προβαλομενος Η. Steph., προβαλλομενοι Μ.  
2 ἀπηλήφησαν St., ἀπηλεφθησαν Μ.  
3 ακριτως Cusaub., ἀκριβως Μ.
honoured and appointed three of them, selected by lot, to examine the qualifications of senators. There were not many, however, who were affected, either by declaring themselves disqualified when permission was given them to do so, as had been done on the previous occasion,\(^1\) or by having their names erased against their will.

Now Augustus caused others to carry through this business for him; but he himself took a census, but only of the inhabitants of Italy who possessed property worth at least two hundred thousand sesterces, for he did not compel the poorer citizens or those living outside of Italy to be listed, fearing lest, if they were disturbed, they would become rebellious. And in order that he might not appear to be acting herein in the capacity of censor, for the reason I mentioned before,\(^2\) he assumed the proconsular power for the purpose of completing the census and performing the purification. Inasmuch, moreover, as many of the young men of the senatorial class and of the knights as well were poor through no fault of their own, he made up to most of them the required amount, and in the case of some eighty increased it to one million two hundred thousand sesterces. Since also many were freeing their slaves indiscriminately, he fixed the age which the manumitter and also the slave to be freed by him must have reached and likewise the legal principles which should govern the relations of both citizens in general and the former masters toward slaves who were set free.

While he was thus occupied, various men formed plots against him, notably Gnaeus Cornelius, a son

\(^1\) Cf. liii. 42, 2, and liv. 26, 4. \(^2\) Cf. liv. 1, 5–2, 1.
Πομπηίου δὲν, ὥστε ἐν μεγάλῃ αὐτὸν ἀμηχανίᾳ χρόνον τινὰ γενέσθαι, μὴ ἄποκτεναι σφας, ὅτι οὐδὲν πλέον πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἔφορα οἱ μιγνώμενοι, μὴ ἀπολύσαι, μὴ καὶ ἐτέρους ἐκ τούτων ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν ἐπισπάσσηται, ἐθέλοντα.

2 ἀπορούντι τε οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ τε πράξῃ, καὶ οὐτε μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἄφροντεστεῖν οὐτ’ αὖ νῦκτωρ ἀπεμεῖν δυναμένον ἐφή ποτὲ ἡ Λιονία: "τὶ ἔστι τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνερ; διὰ τί οὐ καθεύδεις;"

Καὶ ὁ Ἀὐγοῦστος: "καὶ τίς ἄν," εἶπεν, "ὁ γωναῖ, κἂν ἐλάχιστον ἁπομερμηρίσεις τοσοῦτος τε ἄει ἐχθροὺς ἔχων καὶ συνεχῶς οὔτως ἄλλοτε ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἐπιβουλεύομενος; ἢ οὐχ ορᾶς ὅσοι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῇ ἄρχῃ ἡμῶν ἐπιτίθενται; καὶ αὐτοὺς οὖδὲ αἱ τιμωρίαι τῶν δικαιομένων ἀνα-στέλλουσιν, ἄλλα καὶ πᾶν τοναιτίον, ὀσπερ ἐπ’ ἀγαθὸν τι ἐπεισόμενοι, σπεῦδουσι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ προσαπόλλυσθαι."

4 Ἀκούσασα οὖν τούτων ἡ Λιονία: "τὸ μὲν ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι σε," ἐφη, "οὔτε θαυμαστὸν οὔτε ἔξω τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου ἐστὶ: καὶ γὰρ πράσσεις πολλά ἀτε τηλικαύτην ἄρχην ἔχων, καὶ λυπεῖς, ὀσπερ εἰκός, συχνοὺς. οὐ γὰρ τοῦ καὶ πάσιν οὖν τε τῶν ἄρχοντα τινων ἀρέσκειν, ἄλλα καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι πολλοῖς καὶ τοῖς πάνω ὀρθῶς βασιλεύσει σου ἀνάγκη. πολλῷ τε γὰρ πλείους τῶν δικαίων τε πραττόντων οἵ ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλοντες εἰσιν, ὥν ἀδυνατὸν ἔστι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀπο-πιμπλάνας καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀρετὴν τινα ἐχόντων οἱ μὲν καὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων, ὡς οὗ δύνανται
of the daughter of Pompey the Great. Augustus was consequently in great perplexity for some time, since he neither wished to put the plotters to death, inasmuch as he saw that no greater safety would accrue to him by their destruction, nor to let them go, for fear this might induce others to conspire against him. While he was in doubt what to do and was finding it impossible either to be free from apprehension by day or from restlessness by night, Livia one day said to him: "What means this, husband? Why is it that you do not sleep?"

And Augustus answered: "What man, wife, could even for a moment forget his cares, who always has so many enemies and is so constantly the object of plots on the part of one set of men or another? Do you not see how many are attacking both me and our sovereignty? And not even the punishment of those who are brought to justice serves to check them; nay, quite the opposite is the result—those who are left are as eager to accomplish their own destruction also as if they were striving for some honourable thing."

Then Livia, hearing this, said: "That you should be the object of plotting is neither remarkable nor contrary to human nature. For you do a great many things, possessing so large an empire as you do, and naturally cause grief to not a few. A ruler can not, of course, please everybody; nay, it is inevitable that even a king whose rule is altogether upright should make many men his enemies. For those who wish to do wrong are far more numerous than those who do right, and it is impossible to satisfy their desires. Even among such as possess a certain excellence, some covet many great rewards which they
τυχεῖν, ἐπορεύονται, οἳ δὲ καὶ έτέρων ἐλαττωθέντες ἀχθοῦνταί, καὶ οὗτος ἀμφότεροι τῶν κρατοῦνταί. ὡστε ἐκ τε τούτων μὴ εἶναι κακοῦ ἀμαρτάνειν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτεθεμένων οὕτι γε καὶ σοὶ ἀλλὰ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ. σὲ μὲν γὰρ ἰδιωτεύοντα σοῦ ἂν εἰς ἐθελοντὴς κακοῦ τι, μὴδὲν γε προπαθῶν, ἐποίησε τῆς δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πάντες, καὶ οἱ γε ἐν δυνάμει τινὶ δύντες πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν ὑποδεε̄στερῶν, ὁριούνται. τούτῳ γὰρ ἔστι μὲν ἀδικῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἢκιστὰ νοῦν ἔχοντων ποιεῖν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ αὐτῶν καθάπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἔνεστι, καὶ οὐχ οἷον τε ἔστι τα τοιαύτα οὕτε πείθοντα οὕτε ἀναγκαζοντα ἐξελέσθαι τινῶν οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτε νόμος οὕτε φόβος κρέιττων τῶν φύσει περικότων ἁγιεται. ταὐτ᾽ οὖν λογιζόμενος τὰς μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀμαρτίας μὴ δυσχέραινε, φυλακὴν ὃ ἀκριβῆ καὶ σεαυτὸν καὶ τῆς μοναρχίας ποιοῦ, ίνα αὐτὴν μὴ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα κολάζειν τινὰς ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα φυλάσσειν ἀσφαλῶς ἐχωμεν.”

15 Ὑπό οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Λύγουστος ἂλλ᾽ οἷον μὲν καὶ ἐγὼ, οὐ γύναι, ὅτι οὐτ᾽ ἄλλο τι τῶν μεγάλων ἔξω φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς καθέστηκε, ἢκιστὰ δὲ αὐτορρίχα καὶ γὰρ ἄν καὶ ἵσοθεοὶ ἦμεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ πράγματα1 καὶ φροντίδας καὶ φόβους ἑπερ πάντας τοὺς ἰδιωτεύοντας ἐχομεν. ἔμε δὲ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ τούτο λυπεῖ, ὅτι καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἐστὶ ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ἰδιώτατον θεραπεῖαν τινὰ αὐτῶν εὔρεθήμαι.”

3 ὡς Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ γέ τινες τοιοῦτοι εἰσὶν οἷοι

1 πράγματα Χιρῆ., πρῶγμα Μ.
can not obtain, and some chase because they are less
honoured than others; hence both these classes find
fault with the ruler. Therefore it is impossible to
avoid meeting with mischief, either at the hands of
these or, in addition, at the hands of those who
attack, not you personally, but the monarchy. For
if you were a private citizen, no one would willingly
have done you any harm, unless he had previously
received some injury; but all men covet the office of
ruler and the good things that office affords, and
those who already possess some power covet much
more than those who are lacking in this respect. It
is, indeed, the way of men who are wicked and have
very little sense to do so; in fact, it is implanted in
their nature, just like any other instinct, and it is
impossible either by persuasion or by compulsion to
destroy such instincts in some of them; for there
is no law and no fear stronger than the instincts im-
planted by nature. Reflect on this, therefore, and
do not be vexed at the shortcomings of the other
sort of men, but as for your own person and your
sovereignty, keep close guard of them, that we may
hold the throne securely, not by the strictness of the
punishments you inflict upon individuals, but by the
strictness with which you guard it."

To this Augustus replied: "But, wife, I, too, am
aware that no high position is ever free from envy
and treachery, and least of all a monarchy. Indeed,
we should be equals of the gods if we had not
troubles and cares and fears beyond all men in
private station. But precisely this is what causes my
grief,—that this is inevitably so and that no remedy
for it can be found."

"Yet," said Livia, "since some men are so con-
πάντως ἀδίκεων ἐθέλειν," εἰπεν ἡ Διονία, "ἡμεῖς γε αὐτῶς φυλαττόμεθα. ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ στρατιώτας πολλούς, ὅπι οἱ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀντιτεταγμένοι οἱ δὲ καὶ περὶ σὲ οὕτως φρουροῦσιν ἡμᾶς, καὶ θεραπείαν πολλήν, ὅστε καὶ οἴκοι καὶ ἔξω δὲ αὐτῶς ἀσφαλῶς ἔινν.

Τοπολαβῶν οὖν ὁ Διογονιστός: "ὅτι μὲν πολλοὶ πολλάκις καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν συνόντων ἐφθαργ-σαν, οὐδέν," ἐφη, "δέομαι λέγειν. πρὸς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλως καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις χαλεπώ- τατόν ἐστιν, ὅτε μὴ μόνον τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φίλους φοβηθομέθα.

καὶ πολύ γε πλείους ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀτε καὶ ἀεί, καὶ μεθ' ἕμεραν καὶ νύκτωρ, καὶ γυμνουμένοις σφίσι καὶ καθεύδουσι σιτία τε καὶ ποτά ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρεσκεύασμένα λαμβάνοντες συγγιγνο-μένων, ἐπεβουλεύθησαν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν μηδὲν προση-κόντων τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα, καὶ πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνους ἔστι τούτους ἀντιτάξαι, πρὸς δὲ τούτους αὐτοὺς ὅπως ἔστιν ἄλλῳ των συμμάχῳ χρήσασθαι. ὡσθ' ἡμῖν διὰ πάντων δεινὸν μὲν τὴν ἐρήμιον δεινὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ φοβερὸν μὲν τὴν ἀφυλαξίαν φοβερώτατοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς φύλακας, καὶ χαλε-ποὺς μὲν τοὺς ἑχθροὺς χαλεπώτεροὺς δὲ τοὺς φίλους εἰναι: φίλους γὰρ ἀνάγκη πάντας σφᾶς, 7 καὶ μὴ ὡσθε, καλείσθαι. εἰ δ' οὖν τις καὶ χρηστῶν αὐτῶν τύχων, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐν ὑπό τιστεύσειν ἀν σφῖσιν ὡστε καὶ καθαρά καὶ ἀφροτίστῳ καὶ ἀνυπόπτῳ τῇ ψυχῇ προσομεῖν. τούτῳ τε οὖν

1 φίλους M, φίλους Xiph.
2 καὶ added (between lines) by corrector in M, om. Xiph.

432
BOOK LV

stitted as to want to do wrong in any event, let us guard against them. We have many soldiers who protect us, some arrayed against foreign foes and others about your person, and also a large retinue, so that by their help we may live in security both at home and abroad."

"I do not need to state," Augustus answered and said, "that many men on many occasions have perished at the hands of their immediate associates. For monarchies have this most serious disadvantage in addition to all the rest, that we have not only our enemies to fear, as have other men, but also our friends. And a far greater number of rulers have been plotted against by such persons than by those who have no connexion with them at all, inasmuch as his friends are with the ruler both day and night, when he takes his exercise, when he sleeps, and when he takes the food and drink which they have prepared. For the ruler labours under this special disadvantage as regards his friends, that, although he can protect himself from his enemies by arraying his friends against them, there is no corresponding ally on whom he may rely to protect him from these very friends. Consequently we rulers find it to be true at all times, that whereas solitude is dreadful, company also is dreadful, that whereas unprotection is terrifying, the very men who protect us are most terrifying, and that whereas our enemies are difficult to deal with, our friends are still more difficult. 'Friends,' I say, for friends they must all be called, even if they are not friends. And even if one should find loyal friends, still one could by no means so completely trust them as to associate with them with a sincere, untroubled, and unsuspecting
καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι ἀμύνεσθαι πάνθειν ἐστίν. τὸ γὰρ τοι τιμωρεῖσθαι τε καὶ κολάζειν ἴδι τινας ἀναγκάζεσθαι μεγάλην ἀχθηδόνα τοῖς γε ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι γινέσθαι.

16 Ὄλλη ὀρθῶς γε λέγεις, ἀπεκρίνατο ἡ Διονύσια, "καὶ σοι ἡμῶν δοῦναι ἔχω, ἀν γε καὶ προσδέξαις αὐτὴν ἐθελήσῃς, καὶ μὴ διαμένῃς ἵνα γυνὴ οὐσα τολμῶ σοι συμβουλεύσαι τι ὅποιον ὦδὲ ἀν εἰς ἄλλος οὐδὲ τῶν πάνω φίλων παραινέσεις, αὐχεῖ ὅτι οὐκ ἑσαίες αὐτὸ, ἄλλ kiss ὅτι οὐ βαρσοῦσιν εἰπεῖν.

2 "Δέγγα, ἡ δ' ὡς ὁ Αὐγουστος, "ο τί δὴ ποτε τοῦτο ἐστιν.

ホームページ ἡ Διονύσια "φράσω," ἐφη, "μηδὲν κατοκήτασα, ἀτε καὶ τὰ ἀγαθά καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱσοῦ σοι ἔρχοσα, καὶ σωζομένου μὲν σου καὶ αὐτὴ τοῖς μέροις ἀρχομένος, δεινόν δὲ τα παράμοστος, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, συναπαλοµήν. εἰ γὰρ τοι ἡ τε φύσις ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη πάντως τι ἀμαρτάνεις τινὰς ἀναπείθει, καὶ ἀμήκανον ἐστίν αὐτὴν πραξάς τι ὁρµημένην ἐπισχέει, καὶ ἄρη γε καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ δοκοῦντά τισιν ἀγαθά εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν κακίας εἴπῳ, καὶ πάνω συχνῶς ῥάκειεν ἐπάρει (καὶ γὰρ γένοις αὐχήμα καὶ πλούσιον φρονήμα τιµῆς τε μέγεθος καὶ ἐπ' ἀνδρείας) ἡράσως

3 ἔξουσίας τε διὸ κατοικίας ἐξοκέλλειν ποιεῖ, καὶ μὴ τὸ γενναίον δυσχερείς μὴ τὸ ἀνδρείου δεσμῶν μὴ τὸ ἐμφρον ἄνουν ἐστὶ ποιήσαι (ἀδύνατον γὰρ), μὴσ' αὐ τὰς περιουσίας τινῶν περικότευ

1 διαμένῃς R. Steph., διαμένῃ M. Xiph.
2 ἐπ' ἀνδρείας Wolf, ἐπ' ἀνδρείας M., ἐπ' ἀνδρεία Xiph.
heart. This situation, then, and the necessity of taking measures to protect ourselves against the other group of plotters, combine to make our position utterly dreadful. For to be always under the necessity of taking vengeance and inflicting punishments is a source of great sorrow, to good men at least."

"You are indeed right," answered Livia, "and I have some advice to give you,—that is, if you are willing to receive it, and will not censure me because I, though a woman, dare suggest to you something which no one else, even of your most intimate friends, would venture to suggest,—not because they are not aware of it, but because they are not bold enough to speak."

"Speak out," replied Augustus, "whatever it is."

"I will tell you," said Livia, "without hesitation, because I have an equal share in your blessings and your ills, and as long as you are safe I also have my part in reigning, whereas if you come to any harm, (which Heaven forbid!), I shall perish with you. If it indeed be true that man's nature persuades some persons to err under any and all conditions, and that there is no way to curb man's nature when it has once set out upon a course of action, and that even what some men look upon as good conduct (to leave out of consideration the vices of the many) is forthwith an incentive to wrongdoing to very many men (for example, boasting of high birth, pride of wealth, loftiness of honours, arrogance of bravery, conceit of power—all these bring many to grief); if it be true that one can not make ignoble that which is noble, or cowardly that which is brave, or prudent that which is foolish (for that is impossible); if, on the other hand, one ought not to curtail the abundance
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἡ τὰς φιλοτιμίας ταπεινοῖς μηδέν χρή (ἄδικον γάρ), τὸ τέρμανευον ἢ καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντα τινας καὶ ἀνασθαί καὶ κακοδοξεῖν ἀναγκαίον ἐστὶ, φέρε μεταβαλόμεθα

καὶ τίνοις αὐτῶν φεισώμεθα. καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ πολλῷ πλεῖον φιλανθρωπία ἢ τινὶ όμοτητι κατορθοῦσαι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ συγγρώμοις οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐλεηθέντες ὡς αυτῶν φιλοῦσιν, ὡστε καὶ ἀμείβεσθαι σφας σπουδάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες καὶ αἰδοῦνται καὶ σέσωσιν, ὡστε

μὴ εὐτολμεῖν αὐτοὺς ἄδικεῖν τοὺς δὲ ἀπαραϊτήτους ὀργαῖς χρωμένους οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι οἱ τὰ φοβοῦμενοι μισοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες δυσχεραίνουσι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐπιβουλεύονται αὐτοῖς, ὥν μὴ προσπόλωνται.

17 ὁ οὖν ὄρας ότι καὶ οἱ ἱατροὶ τὰς μὲν τομάς καὶ τὰς καύσεις σπανιότατα τισὶ προσφέροντι, ἐνα μὴ ἐξαγριαίνωσιν αὐτῶν τὰ νοσήματα, τοῖς δὲ αἰονήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἡπίοις φαρμάκοις τὰ πλεῖω μαλαθάσσοντες θεραπεύουσι; μὴ γάρ, ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῶν σωμάτων ταύτα δὲ τῶν ψυχῶν παθηματῶν ἐστὶ, διαφέρειν τι νομίσῃς αὕτα ἄλλης.

πάμπολλα γὰρ οἵμοια τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις τῶν ἄνθρωπων, καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀσώματοι ὦσιν, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι συμβαίνει: συστέλλονται τὲ γὰρ ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ ἐξοιδούσιν ὑπὸ τυμοῦ, ὡστε τὰ τινὰς κολούει καὶ θάρσος ὑγκοῦ, ὡστ' ὁλίγον σφόδρα τὸ παραλλάττων αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παραπλησίων ἰαμάτων αὕτα δεῖσθαι.

1 γάρ μοι Pflugk, μοι γάρ M.
2 διὸν καὶ flor., διὸν καὶ M (but δ deleted by corrector).
of others or humble their ambitions, when they are guilty of no offence (for that were unjust); if, finally, the policy of defending oneself or even of trying to forestall the attacks of others inevitably leads to vexation and ill repute—if all this is true, come, let us change our policy and spare some of the plotters. For it seems to me that far more wrongs are set right by kindness than by harshness. For those who forgive are not only loved by the objects of their clemency, who will therefore even strive to repay the favour, but are also respected and revered by all the rest, who will therefore not readily venture to harm them; those, on the other hand, who indulge in inexorable resentment are not only hated by those who have something to fear, but are also disliked by all the rest, and are in consequence even plotted against by them in their desire to avoid meeting with destruction first.

"Do you not observe that physicians very rarely resort to surgery and cautery, desiring not to aggravate their patients' maladies, but for the most part seek to soothe diseases by the application of fomentations and the milder drugs? Do not think that, because these ailments are affections of the body while those we have to do with are affections of the soul, there is any difference between them. For also the minds of men, however incorporeal they may be, are subject to a large number of ailments which are comparable to those which visit their bodies. Thus there is the withering of the mind through fear and its swelling through passion; in some cases pain lops it off and arrogance makes it grow with conceit; the disparity, therefore, between mind and body being very slight, they accordingly
3 λόγος τε γὰρ ἡπίος τῷ λεχθείς πάν τὸ ἀγριαίνου αὐτοῦ χαλὰ, καθάπερ τραχὺς ἔτερος καὶ τὸ ἀνειμένου ὄργιζεν καὶ συγγνώμη δοθεῖσα καὶ τὸν πᾶν τὸν θρασύν διαχεῖ, καθάπερ ἡ τιμωρία καὶ τὸν πᾶν τὸν πρῶν χαλεπαίνει. αἱ μὲν γὰρ βίαιοι πράξεις ἀεὶ πάντας, κἀν δικαιόταται ὧσι, παροξύνουσι, αἱ δὲ ἐπιεικεῖς ἡμεροῦσι. καὶ διὰ τούτω πεισθεὶς ἀν τις ῥὰν καὶ τὰ δεινότατα ἐκὼν ἡ βιασθεὶς ὑπομείνειν. καὶ οὕτω γε φύσει τινὶ ἀναγκαίᾳ ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν χρῆται, ὡστε καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τῶν μηδένα νοῦν ἔχοντων πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τῶν ἰσχυροτάτων καὶ ἀγριωτάτων θεοπειάσεις τε τίσι τιθασεύτωσι καὶ δελεάσμασι χειροῦται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν δειλοτάτων καὶ ἀσθενεστάτων λυπήμασι τε καὶ φόβοις καὶ ἐκταράττεται καὶ παροξύνεται.

44 "Καὶ οὐ λέγω τούτῳ ὅτι δεὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν ἀδικούντων φείδεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν μὲν ἐτης καὶ πολυπράγμονα καὶ κακοήθη καὶ κακόβουλον καὶ ἀνηκέστω τινὶ καὶ διαρκεὶς πονηρίας συνόντα ἐκκόπτειν ὡσπερ που καὶ τὰ πᾶν ἀνίατα μέρη τῶν σωμάτων, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλον ὡς τοι νεότητι ἡ ἁμαθία ἡ ἀγνοία ἡ καὶ ἐτέρα τινὶ συντυχία οἱ μὲν ἐκόντες οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀκοῦντες ἀμαρτάνουσιν, τοὺς μὲν λόγοις νοθετεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειλαῖς σωφρονίζειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐτερόν τίνα τρόπον μετρίως πως μεταχειρίζεσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δούλων

1 μὲν ἐτης Χίρη., μενίτης Μ.
require cures of a similar nature. Gentle words, for example, cause all one’s inflamed passion to subside, just as harsh words in another case will stir to wrath even the spirit which has been calmed; and forgiveness granted will melt even the utterly arrogant man, just as punishment will incense even him who is utterly mild. For acts of violence will always in every instance, no matter how just they may be, exasperate, while considerate treatment mollifies. Hence it is that a man will more readily submit to the most terrible hardships—and gladly, too,—if he has been persuaded, than if compulsion has been put upon him. And so true it is that, in following both these courses, man is subject to a compelling law of nature, that even among the irrational animals, which have no intelligence, many of the strongest and fiercest are tamed by petting and subdued by allurements, while many even of the most cowardly and weak are aroused to fury by acts of cruelty which excite terror in them.

"I do not mean by this that we must spare all wrongdoers without distinction, but that we must cut off the headstrong man, the meddlesome, the malicious, the trouble-maker, and the man within whom there is an incurable and persistent depravity, just as we treat the members of the body that are quite beyond all healing. In the case of the rest, however, whose errors, committed wilfully or otherwise, are due to youth or ignorance or misapprehension or some other adventitious circumstance, we should in some cases merely rebuke them with words, in others bring them to their senses by threats, and in still others apply some other form of moderate treatment, just as in the case of slaves, who commit now
ἀλλων ἀμαρτανόντων ἄλλα¹ τους μὲν μεῖξοσι 3 τους δὲ ἐλάπτοσι πάντες κολάζουσιν. ὥστε καὶ
τὰ κατὰ τούτους ἀκινδύνους μετριάζειν ἐξεστὶ σοι,
tους μὲν φυγῇ τους δὲ ἀτιμίᾳ τους δὲ χρήμασι
ζημιοῦντι, έτέρους ἐς χωρία έτέρους ἐς πόλεις
τινὰς κατατιθεμένοι.

"Καὶ ἣδη γέ τινες καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν ὃν
ἡλπίζον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαμαρτεῖν ὃν εφίεντο ἐσώ-
φρονισθήσαν, ἔδραι τε ἀτιμοὶ καὶ στάσεις
ἐπονείδιστοι τὸ τε προλυπηθήναι καὶ τὸ προ-
φοβηθήναι συχνοὺς βελτίους ἐποίησε· καὶ τοῖς καὶ
ἀποθανεῖν ἔλοιπν ἃν τις εὐ τε γεγονὸς καὶ ἀνδρεῖος
ὁ τοιώτῳ τι παθεῖν, ἐξ οὐν τούτων ἐκείνωσ
μὲν οὐδὲν βάρων ἡ τιμωρία, ἄλλα καὶ χαλεπώτερα
ἀγνοοῦτ' ἃν, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ τὸ μήτε τινὰ ἐπηγορίαν
ἐχειν καὶ ἁσφαλὸς ξην ὑπάρξειν. ὡς νῦν γε
πολλοὺς μὲν ὀργῇ,² πολλοὺς δὲ ἐπιθυμία χρη-
μάτων, ἄλλους ἀνδρείας φόβῳ καὶ μάλα ἄλλους
ἀρετῆς τινος φθόνῳ κτείνειν δοκοῦμεν. οὐδεὶς
γὰρ ῥαδίως πιστεύει ὃτι τις ἐν τε ἐξουσία
cal ἐν δυνάμει τοσαύτη ὃν ὑπ' ἰδιώτου τινὸς
ἀόπλου³ ἐπιβουλευθήναι δύναται, ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν
tαύτα λογοποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ὅτι πευδὴ πολλὰ
ἀκούομεν καὶ πολλοὺς μάτην ὡς καὶ ἀληθεία
προσέχουμεν. τοὺς γὰρ τού διοπτεύομαι τε καὶ
ότακουστούντας⁴ τα τοιαῦτα, τους μὲν ἐχθρα

¹ δούλων ἄλλων ἀμαρτανόντων ἄλλα Carpe, τάλα ἀμαρτανό-
tων R. Steph., δούλων τιμωρημέν Rk., τάλα M Xiph.
² πολλοὺς μὲν ὀργῇ supplied by Be. M shows a lacuna of
fourteen to sixteen letters.
³ ἀόπλου R. Steph., ἀόπλου M Xiph.
⁴ οτάκουστούντας Xiph. and corrector in M, οτάκουστάς M.
this and now that offence, all men impose greater penalties upon some and lesser upon others. Hence, so far as these political offenders are concerned, you may employ moderation without danger, punishing some by banishment, others by disfranchisement, still others by a pecuniary fine, and another class you may dispose of by placing some in confinement in the country and others in certain cities.

"Experience has shown that men are brought to their senses even by failing to obtain what they hoped for and by being disappointed in the object of their desires. Many men have been made better by having assigned to them at the spectacles seats which confer no honour, or by being appointed to posts to which disgrace attaches, and also by being offended or frightened in advance; and yet a man of high birth and spirit would sooner die than suffer such humiliation. By such means their plans for vengeance would be made no easier, but rather more difficult, of accomplishment, while we on our part should be able to avoid any reproach and also to live in security. As things are now, people think that we kill many through resentment, many through lust for their money, others through fear of their bravery and others actually through jealousy of their virtues. For no one finds it easy to believe that a ruler who possesses so great authority and power can be the object of plotting on the part of an unarmed person in private station, but some invent the motives I have mentioned, and still others assert that many false accusations come to our ears and that we give heed to many idle rumours as if they were true. Spies, they say, and eavesdroppers get hold of such rumours, and then—actuated sometimes
τούς δὲ ὄργῃ, ἀλλοὺς ἀργύριον παρὰ τῶν ἔχθρῶν αὐτῶν λαβόντας, ἀλλοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων μὴ λαβόντας, πολλὰ καὶ ψευδὴ σκευωρεισθαί φασίν, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τι δεινὸν ἐπραξάν τινες ἢ καὶ ποιήσειν μέλλουσι λέγοντας, ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐφθέγξατο τοιόνδε τι, ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐσιώπησεν, ἄλλος ἐγέλασεν, ἄλλος ἐδάκρυσεν.

19 Ὁ Μυρία ἄν τοιουτότροπα εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμι, ἃ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀληθῆ εἰ, ἄλλ' οὗτε γε καὶ προσήκοντά ἐστιν οὔτε πολυπράγμονεισθαί παρ' ἐλευθέρους ἀνθρώπους οὔτε σοι διαγγέλλεσθαι. λαθόντα μὲν γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐδὲν ἂν σε βλάψεις, ἀκούσθεντα δὲ παροξύνεις καὶ ἀκούντα.

2 ὁπερ ἡκιστα χρῆ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀρχοντὶ τινῶν συμβαίνειν. συχνοὺς ἥνων ἐκ τούτου, τοὺς μὲν ἀκρίτους τὸν δὲ καὶ ἐσκεφθημένῃ τινὶ καταγνώσῃ δικαστηρίου, ἀδίκως ἀπόλλυσθαι πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ τὰς μαρτυρίας οὔτε τὰς βασάνους οὔτε ἄλλο τί τῶν τοιούτων ὡς καὶ

3 ἀλήθες ὅν κατ' αὐτῶν προσίεται. ταῦτα γὰρ οὔτως, εἰ καὶ μὴ δικαίως ἐστίν ἃ αὐτῶν, ἄλλ' ἐπὶ πάντων γε ὡς εἰπεῖν τῶν οὗτω θανατομένων θρυλεῖται. καὶ δεί σε, ὁ Αὐγοῦστε, μὴ μόνου μηδὲν ἄδικείν, ἄλλα μηδὲ δοκείν. ἰδιώτη μὲν γὰρ ἀρκεῖ μηδὲν πλημμελεῖν, ἀρχοντὶ δὲ δὴ προσήκει

4 μηδὲ δόκησίν τινα αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν. ἀνθρώπων γὰρ, ἄλλ' οὐ θηρίων ἢγεμονεύεις καὶ μόνως ἂν

1 πολλαὶ added by corrector in M, om. Xiph.
2 ἃ Xiph. V, om. M Xiph. C.
by enmity and sometimes by resentment, in some cases because they have received money from the foes of their victims, in other cases because they have received none from the victims themselves—concoct many falsehoods, reporting not only that such and such persons have committed some outrage or are intending to commit it, but even that when so-and-so made such and such a remark, so-and-so heard it and was silent, a second person laughed, and a third burst into tears.

"I could cite innumerable instances of such a kind, which, no matter how true they may be, are surely not proper subjects for gentlemen to concern themselves about or to be reported to you. Such rumours, if ignored, would do you no harm, but if listened to, would irritate you even against your will; and that is a thing by all means to be avoided, especially in one who rules over others. It is generally believed, at any rate, that many men are unjustly put to death as the result of such a feeling, some without a trial and others by a prearranged conviction in court; for the people will not admit that the testimony given or the statements made under torture or any evidence of that nature is true or suffices for the condemnation of the victims. This is the sort of talk that does, in fact, go the rounds, even though it is sometimes unjust, in the case of practically all who are put to death by action of the courts. And you, Augustus, ought not only to avoid unjust action, but even the suspicion of it; for though it is sufficient for a person in private station not to be guilty of wrongdoing, yet it behooves a ruler to incur not even the suspicion of wrongdoing. You are ruling over human beings, not wild
διὸ τοῦτο εἰνοεῖν σοι αὐτοῦς ἄληθῶς ποιήσεις, ἀν πανταχόθεν σφάς καὶ διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως πείσῃς ὅτι μήτε ἕκών τινα μήτε ἂκων ἄδικήσεις. φοβεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ τινα ἀναγκασθῆναι τις δύναται, 5 φιλεῖν δὲ πεισθῆναι ὁφελεῖ. πείθεται δὲ εὖ διὸ ἂν αὐτὸς τε εὖ πάθῃ καὶ ἕτερους εὐεργετομένους ἵπτῃ. οὐ δὲ ὑποτοπήσας μὴ δικαίως τινὰ ἀπολογέναι καὶ φοβεῖται μὴ ποτὲ τε ὁμοίων πάθῃ καὶ μυσεῖν τὸν δράσαντα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζεται. τὸ δὲ δὴ μυσεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, πρὸς τὸ μὴ 6 ἄλλως καλῶς ἔχειν, ἀλυσιτελεστατον ἔστι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ νομίζουσι οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πάντας τοὺς καὶ ὀτιοῦν ἄδικησαντάς σφας ἀμύνεσθαι, ἵνα μήτε καταφρονώνται μήτε ἐκ τούτου πλεονεκτῶνται, τοὺς δὲ ἀρχοντας τοῖς μὲν τὸ κοινὸν ἄδικον ἐπεξείναι χρὴναι, τοὺς δὲ ἱδία τι ἐς αὐτοὺς πλημμελεῖν δοκοῦντας φέρειν μήτε γὰρ ἐκ καταφρονήσεως μῆτ' εὖ ἐπιδρομῆς ἄδικησθῇ σφας δύνασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλά τὰ προφυλάσσοντα αὐτοὺς εἶναι.

20 "Ωστε ἐγὼ γε ταύτα τε ἄκοουσα καὶ πρὸς ταύτα ἀποβλέπουσα κινδυνεύω καὶ παντελῶς ἀπειπεῖν σοι μηδένα διὰ τοιοῦτό τε ἀποκτιννύναι. 2 αἴτε γὰρ προστασίαι ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀρχομένων σωτηρία καθίστανται, ὅπως μηδέν μήθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἄλλη- λοιν μῆθ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλου βλάπτονται, οὐ ὡς Δία οὕχ ὅπως ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔκεινον τί λυπῶται; 1 ἄδικησεις Βογ., ἄδικησες Μ, ἄδικησας ἀν Χιρ. 444
beasts, and the only way you can make them truly well disposed toward you is by convincing them, by every means and on every occasion consistently, that you will wrong no one, either purposely or unwittingly. A man can be compelled to fear another, but he ought to be persuaded to love him; and he is persuaded not only by the good treatment he himself receives, but also by the benefits he sees conferred on others. The man, however, who suspects that a certain person has been put to death unjustly both fears that he may some day meet a like fate and is compelled to hate the one who is responsible for the deed. And to be hated by one's subjects, quite apart from its being deplorable in general, is also exceedingly unprofitable. For most people feel that, although all other men must defend themselves against all who wrong them in any way or else become objects of contempt and so be oppressed, yet rulers ought to prosecute only those who wrong the state, tolerating those who are supposed to be committing offences against them privately; rulers, they reason, can not themselves be harmed either by contempt or by direct attack, inasmuch as there are many instrumentalities which protect them from both.

"I, therefore, when I hear such considerations advanced and turn my thoughts to them, am inclined to go so far as to urge you to give up altogether the inflicting of the death penalty in any case for reasons of this kind. For the office of ruler has been established for the preservation of the governed, to prevent them from being injured either by one another or by foreign peoples, and not for a moment that they may be harmed by the rulers themselves;
καὶ εἰκλεέστατον ἔστιν οὐ τὸ πολλοῦς τῶν πολετῶν ἀπολλύναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πάντας, ἂν οἶον τε ἦ,

3 σῶζειν δύνασθαι. παιδεύειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ νόμοις καὶ εὐεργεσίαις καὶ νουθεσίαις δεῖ, ὡς τοιαύτα, καὶ προσέται καὶ τηρεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν, ἵνα κἂν ἀδικεῖν ἑθελήσωσι μὴ δυνηθῶσιν ἃν δὲ δὴ νοσήσῃ τι, θεραπεύειν τε τρόπων τινὰ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπανορθοῦν, ἵνα μὴ παυτελῶς φθαρῇ. τὸ τε γὰρ φέρειν τὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἀμαρτήματα καὶ πάνω μεγάλης καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ δυνάμεως ἐργον ἐστὶν ἃν τε τεις πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν κολάζῃ, λήσει τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέσας. θεῖεν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα σοι γνῶμην δίδωμι θανάτον μὲν μηδένα τῶν τοιοῦτων τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἐτέρως δὲ πως αὐτοὺς, ὡςτε μηδὲν ἐτε δεινὸν δρᾶσαι, σωφρονίζειν. τὰ γὰρ ἂν ἀδικήσεις τις ἐσ νῆσου κατακλεισθείς, ἡ καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ πόλει τε τινι, οὐχ ὡς ἄνευ πλῆθους οἰκετῶν ἢ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ φρουρᾶς ὅν, ἃν γε καὶ τούτου
dεηση; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγγὺς ποὺ ἐνταῦθα οἱ πολέμιοι ἦσαν, ἡ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ταυτής ἀλλότριων τι ἦν, ὡστε τινὰ αὐτῶν διαδράματα πρὸς ἐκεῖνους κακῶν τι ἡμῖν ἐργάσασθαι, πόλεις τε τινες ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἔχωραι καὶ τείχη καὶ ὀπλα ἑχουσαι ὑπηρε
chou, ὡστε τινὰ καταλαβόντα αὐτὰς φοβερόν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, ἐτερος αὖν ἡν λόγος ἀσπλων δὲ δὴ πάντων τῶν ταυτή καὶ ἀτείχόστων ὡς πρὸς πόλε-

4  R. Steph., ὧν M.
and the greatest glory is gained, not by putting many citizens to death, but by being in a position to save them all, if that be possible. We must educate the citizens by means of laws and benefits and admonitions, in order that they may be right-minded, and furthermore, we must watch over them and guard them, in order that, even if they wish to do wrong, they may not be able to do so; and if there is any ailment among them, we must find some way to cure it and correct it, in order that the ailing member may not be utterly destroyed. To endure the offences of the multitude is a task demanding at once great prudence and great power; but if any one is going to punish them all without distinction as they deserve, before he knows it he will have destroyed the majority of mankind. Hence and for these reasons I give you my opinion to the effect that you should not inflict the death penalty upon any man for such offences, but should rather bring them to their senses in some other way, so that they will not in future commit any crime. What wrongdoing, indeed, could a man indulge in who is shut up on an island, or in the country, or in some city, not only deprived of a throng of servants and a supply of money, but also under guard, in case this, too, is necessary? Of course, if the enemy were anywhere near here or if some part of our sea belonged to a foreign power, so that one or another of the prisoners might escape to them and do us some harm, or if, again, there were strong cities in Italy with fortifications and armed forces, so that if a man seized them, he might become a menace to us, that would be a different story. But in fact all the places here are unarmed and without walls that
μον ὄντων, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων παμπληθές ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀφεστηκότων (πολλῇ μὲν γὰρ θαλάσσα πολλῇ δὲ καὶ γῇ, καὶ ὅρη καὶ ποταμοὺς δυσδιαβά-8 τους ἔχουσα, διὰ μέσου ἐστὶ), τί ἂν τις φοβηθεὶς τὸν δείνα ἢ τὸν δείνα, γυμνοὺς, ἰδιωτεύοντας, έν-ταῦθα ποὺ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ σῇ ἄρχῃ ὄντας καὶ ἐντὸς τῶν σῶν ὄπλων κατακεκλειμένους 1; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὦτ’ ἂν ἐννοήσαι τίνα τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν, ὦτ’ ἂν, εἰ 2 καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μανεῖν τις, δύνασθαι γε τι πράξαι νομίζω.

21 "Πείραν οὖν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τούτων ἀρξάμενοι ποιη-σόμεθα. τάχα γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ μεταβάλωμεν 2 καὶ τους ἄλλους ἀμείωσον ποιήσειν καὶ γὰρ ὀρᾶς ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κορυνίλλος καὶ εὐγενῆς καὶ ὀνο-μαστός ἐστι, δεῖ δὲ που καὶ ταύτα ἀνθρώπινως 2 ἐκλογίζεσθαι, οὐ πάντα τοι τὸ έιδὼς διαπράτ-τεταί (μέγα γὰρ ἂν 1 ἀγαθῶν, εἰ σωφρονίζειν τε τίνας καὶ πείθειν ἢ καὶ καταναγκάζειν φιλεῖν τινὰ ἄλθος ἐδύνατο), ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τῶν φθει-ρεῖν ἂν, τὰς δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων πυχᾶς ἀλλοτριο-σεῖν οὐ γὰρ ἤξ ὧν ἂν ἔτεροι τιμωρηθῶσι, προσ-φιλέστεροι τινὶ, ἀλλ’ ἤξ ὧν ἂν αὐτοὶ φοβηθῶσιν,

3 ἑκθεῖν γίγνονται. καὶ ταύτα μὲν οὕτως ἔχει, οἳ δὲ δὴ συγγρόμης τινὸς τυχόντες καὶ μετανοοῦσιν, αἰσχυνομένοι αὐθίς τι τοὺς ἐνεργείτας ἄδικησαι, καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἀνθυποργοῦσιν, ἑλπίζοντες πλείο ἀντὶ εὐ πείσεσθαι 4 ὅφ’ οὐ γὰρ ἂν τις ἀδικηθέντος τι σωθῇ, τούτον εὐ παθόντα οὐδὲν ὦ τι

1 κατακεκλειμένου Dind., κατακεκλειμένως M Xiph.
2 eis supplied by Pluckgk.
3 μεταβάλοντα Xiph., μεταβάλλοντα M.
4 An added by corrector of M (in margin), om. Xiph. flor.
would be of any value in war, and our enemies are separated from them by an immense distance; much sea and much land, including mountains and rivers hard to cross, lie between them and us. Why, then, should one fear this man or that, defenceless men in private station, here in the middle of your empire and hemmed in by your armed forces? For my part, I do not believe that any one could conceive any such plot as I have mentioned, or that the veriest madman could accomplish anything by it.

"Let us make the experiment, therefore, beginning with these very men. Perhaps they may not only be reformed themselves, but also make others better; for you see that Cornelius is both of good birth and famous, and we ought, I presume, to take human nature into account in reasoning out such matters also. The sword, surely, can not accomplish everything for you,—it would indeed be a great boon if it could bring men to their senses and persuade them or even compel them to love a ruler with genuine affection,—but instead, while it will destroy the body of one man, it will alienate the minds of the rest, For people do not become more attached to any one because of the vengeance they see meted out to others, but they become more hostile because of their fears. So much for that side; but as for those who are treated in a forgiving spirit, they not only repent, because they are ashamed to wrong their benefactors again, but also repay them with many services, hoping to receive still further kindnesses; for when a man has been spared by one who has been wronged, he believes that his rescuer, if fairly treated, will go

5 ἀντὶ εἰς τελεσθαι Dind., ἀντιπτελεσθαι Rk., ἀντιπτελεσθαι M Xiph.
4 οὖν εὐεργετήσειν ἐαυτὸν ἥγεταιν. πείσθητι οὖν μοι, φίλτατε, καὶ μεταβαλοῦ,1 οὕτω μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰλλα τὰ δυσχερὴ πάντα ἀνάγχη πεποιηκέναι δόξεις: οὖ γὰρ ἐστὶ πόλιν τηλικάτην ἐκ δημο-
κρατίας πρὸς μοναρχίαν ἁγιοτά ἀναίμωτῃ μετα-
στήσαι: ἀν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένῃς, καὶ ἐκεῖνα γνώμη δεδρακέναι νομισθῆσαι."

22 Ταῦτα τῆς Διονίας εἰποῦσας ὁ Ἀὐγοῦστος ἐπέι-
σθη τε αὐτῇ, καὶ ἀφίκηκε μὲν πάντας τοὺς ὑπαίτιους
λόγοις τις νουθετήσας, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κορνῆλιον καὶ
2 ὑπατον ἀπέδειξε,2 κακὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ
tοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους οὕτως ὁκειόσατο ὡστε
παρέγεναι ὑπὸ αὐτὸ τῶν ἄλλων μὴν ὄντως ἐπιστο-
λεύσαι μήτε δόξας· ἢ γὰρ δὴ Διονία αἰτιωτάτη
tῆς σωτηρίας τῷ Κορνῆλῷ γενομένη ἤμελλεν
αὐτῇ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Ἀὐγοῦστο
λῆγεσθαι.

3 Τότε δὲ οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κορνῆλίου καὶ ἐπὶ
Οὐαλερίου Μεσσάλου ὑπάτων σεισμοῦ τε ἐξαισίων
συνέβησαν, καὶ δὴ Τίβεριου τὴν τε γέφυραν κατέσυρε
καὶ πλωτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐποίησε,
tοῦ τε ἡλίου τε ἐκλιπῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ λιμὸς συνή-
νέχθη. καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐτει τοῦτο ὁ τε Ἀγρίππας
ἐς ἐφίδους, μηδενὸς τῶν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς
tυχών, ἐσεγγράψε· καὶ τὰς ἱπποδρομίας χωρίς μὲν
οἱ βουλευταὶ χωρὶς δὲ οἱ ἱππίς ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ
5 πλῆθους εἶδον, δὲ καὶ νῦν γίγνεται. ἐπειδὴ τε 
οὐ ῥαδίως οἱ πάνω εὐγενεῖς τὰς θυγατέρας ἐς τὴν 
τῆς Ἑστίας ἵρατείαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, ἐνομοθετήθη 
καὶ εἰ

1 μεταβαλοῦ Xiph., μεταβάλλου M.
2 ἀπέδειξε M Xiph., προσπέσειξεν Zon.
to any lengths in his benefactions. Heed me, therefore, dearest, and change your course; if you do, all your other acts that have caused displeasure will be thought to have been dictated by necessity,—indeed, it is impossible for a man to guide so great a city from democracy to monarchy and make the change without bloodshed,—but if you continue in your old policy, you will be thought to have done these unpleasant things deliberately."

Augustus heeded these suggestions of Livia and released all the accused with some words of admonition; and he even appointed Cornelius consul. As a result of this course he so conciliated both him and the other persons so treated that neither they nor any one of the rest thereafter either actually plotted against him or was suspected of doing so. It was rather Livia herself, who was chiefly responsible for saving the life of Cornelius, that was to be charged with plotting the death of Augustus.

At this time, in the consulship of Cornelius and Valerius Messalla, violent earthquakes occurred and the Tiber carried away the bridge and made the city navigable for seven days; there was also a partial eclipse of the sun, and famine set in. This same year Agrippa was enrolled among the youths of military age, but obtained none of the same privileges as his brothers. The senators witnessed the Circensian games separately and the knights also separately from the remainder of the populace, as is the case to-day also. And since the noblest families did not show themselves inclined to give their daughters to be priestesses of Vesta, a law was passed that the daughters of freedmen might like-
ΔΙΟ'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἀπελευθέρων γεγεννημένας ἱερᾶσθαι. 1 καὶ ὁ μὲν κλήρος αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πλεῖος ἡμφοβήτησαν, 2 ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντων τῶν πατέρων σφῶν, ὅσοι ἦσαν ἵππευοι, ἐγενετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τοιαῦτῃ τις ἀπεδείχθη.

23 Χαλεπώς δὲ δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀθλῶν συμβότητα διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς τότε ἐνεστηκότας ὅχι ἤκιστα ἐχόμενω, καὶ μηδενὸς ἔξω τοῦ τεταμένου τῆς στρατείας σφίσι χρόνου ὁπλα λαβεῖν ἐθέλοντος, ἐγινόσθη τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ πεντακισχίλιας δραχμᾶς, ἐπειδὰν ἐκκαίδεκα ἑτη, τοῖς δὲ ἐτέρους τρισχίλιας, ἐπειδὰν 2 ἐαυτοὶ στρατεύονται, δίδοσθαί. τρία δὲ δὴ τότε καὶ εἰκοσι στρατόπεδα, ἡ δὲ τὸν ἑτέροι λέγουσι πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι, πολιτικά ἐτρέφετο. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐννεακαίδεκα ἐξ αὐτῶν μόνα διαμένει, τὸ τε δεύτερον τὸ Λυγοῦστειον 3 τὸ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τῇ ἀνῳ χειμάξον, καὶ τὰ τρία τὰ τρίτα, τὸ τε ἐν Φωινίκῃ τὸ Γαλατικόν, καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ τὸ Κυρηναϊκόν.

3 τὸ τε ἐν Νομίδια τὸ Λυγοῦστειον 4 τέταρτον Σκυθικόν ἐν Συρίᾳ, πέμπτον Μακεδονικὸν ἐν Δακίᾳ, ἐκτὰ δύο, ὅπ τὸ μὲν ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τῇ κάτω, τὸ τῶν νικητῶν, τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ, τὸ σιδηροῦν, τέτακτα, καὶ οἱ ἔβδομοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἁνOccurred, οἱ 5 καὶ τὰ μᾶλλον Κλαυδιαίων ὁμομάδαται, οἱ τε 5 οὐγοὺς Λυγοῦστειοι, ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ τῇ ἁνOccurred οὐτοὶ.

4 καὶ οἱ δέκατοι ἐκατεροί, 6 οἱ τε ἐν Παννονίᾳ τῇ ἁνOccurred οἱ διώκοι, καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ τὸ τε ἐνδέκατον τὸ

1 ἱερᾶσθαι R. Steph., ἱερῶσθαι Μ.
2 ἡμφοβήτησαν Β., ἡμφοβήτησαν Μ (but in margin γρ. ἡμφοβήτησαν).
3 Λυγοῦστειον Xiph., αὐγοῦστειο Μ (and similarly just below).

452
wise become priestesses. Many vied for the honour, and so they drew lots in the senate in the presence of their fathers, so far as these were knights; however, no priestess was appointed from this class.

The soldiers were sorely displeased at the paltry character of the rewards given them for the wars which had been waged at this time and none of them consented to bear arms for longer than the regular period of his service. It was therefore voted that twenty thousand sesterces should be given to members of the pretorian guard when they had served sixteen years, and twelve thousand to the other soldiers when they had served twenty years. Twenty-three, or, as others say, twenty-five, legions of citizen soldiers were being supported at this time.\(^1\) At present only nineteen of them still exist, as follows: the Second (Augusta), with its winter quarters in Upper Britain; the three Thirds—the Gallica in Phoenicia, the Cyrenaica in Arabia, and the Augusta in Numidia; the Fourth (Scythica) in Syria; the Fifth (Macedonica) in Dacia; the two Sixth, of which the one (Vetrix) is stationed in Lower Britain, the other (Ferrata) in Judaea; the Seventh (generally called Claudia)\(^2\) in Upper Moesia; the Eighth (Augusta) in Upper Germany; the two Tenths in upper Pannonia (Gemina) and in Judaea; the Eleventh (Claudia) in

\(^1\) The confusion is due to the fact that after the defeat of Varus there were but twenty-three legions left (out of twenty-six); but Augustus later increased the number to twenty-five.

\(^2\) Cf. lx. 15, 4.

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4 of R. Steph., of M Xiph.
5 of re Xiph., of de M.
6 δεκατος δεκατος Reim., δεκατος M, δεκατος Xiph.
DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

ἐν Μυσίᾳ τῇ κάτω, τὸ Κλαύδιειον οὕτω γὰρ τὰ δύο στρατόπεδα ἀπὸ τοῦ Κλαύδιου ἐπεκλήθη, ὅτι αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καμίλλου ἐπαναστάσει μὴ ἀνε-πολέμησε· καὶ τὸ δωδέκατον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκία τὸ κεραυνοφόρον, τὸ τε τρίτον καὶ δέκατον τὸ ἐν Δακία τὸ δίδυμον, καὶ τὸ τέταρτον καὶ δέκατον τὸ ἐν Πάννονια τῇ ἀνω τὸ δίδυμον, τὸ τε πεντεκαίδε-κατον τὸ Ἀπολλώνειον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκία· καὶ οἱ εἰκοστοί οἱ καὶ Οὐαλερίειοι καὶ νικήτορες ὀνομα-σμένοι καὶ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τῇ ἀνω ὄντες οὔστινας ὁ Ἀὐγουστος, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, μετὰ τῶν τήν τε τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχοντων καὶ ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ τῇ ἀνω χειμαζόντων, εἰ καὶ τὰ μά-λιστα μηθ᾽ ὑφ᾽ ἀπάντων Οὐαλερίειοι ἐπεκλήθησαν μὴτε νῦν ἔτει τῇ προσηγορίᾳ ταύτῃ χρονίται, παραλαβὼν ἔτηρσε. ταῦτ ἐκ τῶν Λύγουστείων στρατοπέδων σώζεται· τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ λοιπὰ τὰ μὲν παντελῶς διελθή, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐτέρους τισίν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων ἀνε-μίχθη, ἀφ᾽ οὔπερ καὶ δίδυμα ὀνομασμένα νενο-μίσται.

24 Ἑπειδὴ δὲ ἀπαξ ἐς τὸν περὶ τῶν στρατοπεδῶν λόγον προήχθην, καὶ τᾶλα τὰ νῦν ὄντα, ὡς που πρὸς τῶν μετὰ ταύτα αὐταρχησάντων κατελέγη, φράσω, ἵν᾽ ἐνι χωρίῳ πάντα γεγραμμένα ραδίως τῶν βουλόμενῶν τι περὶ αὐτῶν μαθεῖν διδάσκῃ. ὁ τε γὰρ Νέρων τὸ πρῶτον τὸ καὶ Ἰταλικῶν ὄνο- μαζόμενον καὶ ἐν τῇ κάτω Μυσίᾳ χειμάζον, καὶ ὁ

1 ὁ Ἀὐγουστος Βκ., αὐτὸς Μ.
2 δευτέρου καὶ supplied by Mommsen.
3 εἰν supplied by Xyl.
4 πρῶτον τὸ Βκ., πρῶτον τε Μ.
BOOK LV

Lower Moesia (for two legions were thus named after Claudius because they had not fought against him in the rebellion of Camillus\(^1\)); the Twelfth (Fulminata) in Cappadocia; the Thirteenth (Gemina) in Dacia; the Fourteenth (Gemina) in Upper Pannonia; the Fifteenth (Apollinaris) in Cappadocia; the Twentieth (called both Valeria and Victrix) in Upper Britain. These latter, I believe, were the troops which Augustus took over and retained, along with those called the Twenty-second who are quartered in Germany,\(^2\)—and this in spite of the fact that they were by no means called Valerians by all and do not use that name any longer. These are the legions that still remain out of those of Augustus; of the rest, some were disbanded altogether, and others were merged with various legions by Augustus himself and by other emperors, in consequence of which such legions have come to bear the name Gemina.

Now that I have once been led into giving an account of the legions, I shall speak of the other legions also which exist to-day and tell of their enlistment by the emperors subsequent to Augustus, my purpose being that, if any one desires to learn about them, the statement of all the facts in a single portion of my book may provide him easily with the information. Nero organized the First Legion, called the Italica, which has its winter quarters in

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\(^1\) Cf. lx. 15, 4.

\(^2\) Dio is in error here; the Twenty-second (Primigenia) was organized by Claudius and therefore should be in the list of later legions given in chap. 24.
Γάλβας τὸ τε πρῶτον τὸ ἐπικουρικὸν τὸ ἐν τῇ
3 Παννονίᾳ τῇ κάτω καὶ τὸ ἐξδοµοῦ τὸ δίδυµον τὸ
ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ συνέταξαν, Οὐκεπασιανὸς τὸ τε δεῦ-
τερον τὸ ἐπικουρικὸν τὸ ἐν Παννονίᾳ τῇ κάτω καὶ
tὸ τέταρτον τὸ Φλαουίειον τὸ ἐν Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἀνω,
tὸ τε ἐκκαὶδέκατον τὸ Φλαουίειον τὸ ἐν Συρίᾳ,
Δομιτιανὸς τὸ πρῶτον τὸ Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἐν Γερ-
μανίᾳ τῇ κάτω, Τραϊανὸς τὸ δεύτερον τὸ Αἰγυ-
πτιον καὶ τὸ τριακοστὸν τὸ Γερμανικόν, ἄ καὶ ἀφ’
ἐαυτοῦ ἐπωνύµασεν, Ἀυτωνίνος ὁ Μάρκος τὸ τε
dεύτερον τὸ ἐν Νωρίκῳ καὶ τὸ τρίτον τὸ ἐν
Ῥαιτίᾳ, ἄ καὶ Ἰταλικά κέκληται, Σεουήρος τὰ
Παρθικά, τὸ τε πρῶτον καὶ τὸ τρίτον τὰ τὸ ἐν
Μεσσηνικά, καὶ τὸ διὰ μέσου τὸ δεύτερον τὸ ἐν
τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ.
5 Νῦν μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα τείχη τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατα-
λόγου στρατευοµένων ἦσσα τοῦ τε ἄστικου καὶ τοῦ
dορυφορικοῦ ἐστιν, καὶ τῶν ἄγροις ταῦτα τε, εἰτ’
οἶν τρία εἰτε πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι
ὀντα, ἐτερέφετο, καὶ συµµαχίαν καὶ πεζῶν καὶ
ἰππέων καὶ ναυτῶν ὀσάδηποτε ἢν’ ὁ γὰρ ἔχω τὸ
6 ἀκριβὲς εἶπεν· οἶν τε σωµατοφύλακες µυρίοι ὄντες
καὶ δεκαχῆ τεταγµένοι, καὶ οἱ τῆς πόλεως φρουροὶ
ἐξακισµίλοι τε ὄντες καὶ τετραχῆ νενεκηµένοι
7 ἤκουν τε ἰσπῆς ἐπίλεκτοι, οἰς τὸ τῶν Βατῶνων
ἀπὸ τῆς Βατάους τῆς ἐν τῷ Ῥήµω νῆσου δύοµα,
8 ὅτι δὴ κράτιστοι ἰππεῦνει εἰσίν, κεῖται· οὐ µέντοι
ἀριθµῶν αὐτῶν ἀκριβῆ, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀνακλή-
των, εἶπειν δύναµαι. καὶ γὰρ τούτους ἢρξατο µὲν
νοµίζειν ἀφ’ οὐ τοὺς συνστρατευοµένους τῷ πατρὶ
Lower Moesia; Galba the First (Adiutrix), with quarters in Lower Pannonia, and the Seventh (Gemina), in Spain; Vespasian the Second (Adiutrix), in Lower Pannonia, the Fourth (Flavia), in Upper Moesia, and the Sixteenth (Flavia), in Syria; Domitian the First (Minervia), in Lower Germany; Trajan the Second (Aegyptia) and the Thirtieth (Germanica), both of which he also named after himself;¹ Marcus Antoninus the Second, in Noricum, and the Third, in Rhaetia, both of which are called Italica; and Severus the Parthicae—the First and Third, quartered in Mesopotamia, and the Second, quartered in Italy.

This is at present the number of the legions of regularly enrolled troops, exclusive of the city cohorts and the pretorian guard; but at that time, in the days of Augustus, those I have mentioned were being maintained, whether the number is twenty-three or twenty-five, and there were also allied forces of infantry, cavalry, and sailors, whatever their numbers may have been (for I can not state the exact figures). Then there were the body-guards, ten thousand in number and organized in ten divisions, and the watchmen of the city, six thousand in number and organized in four divisions; and there were also picked foreign horsemen, who were given the name of Batavians, after the island of Batavia in the Rhine, inasmuch as the Batavians are excellent horsemen. I can not, however, give their exact number any more than I can that of the Evocati.² These last-named Augustus began to make a practice of employing from the time when he called again

¹ The Second was called Traiana and the Thirtieth Ulpia.
² That is, the “Recalled.” Cf. xlv. 12, 3.
πρὸς τὰ ὅπλα αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἁντώνιον ἀνεκάλεσεν, ἐτήρησε δὲ καὶ ἔστι καὶ νῦν σύστημα ἰδιον, ῥάβδους φέροντες ὅσπερ οἱ ἐκατόνταρχοι.

9 Δι' οὖν ταύτ' ἀπορῶν χρημάτων, γνώμην ἐσ τὴν βουλὴν ἐσήνεγκε πόρον τινα διαρκῆ καὶ ἀείων ἁποδειχθῆναι, ὅπως μηδενός ἐξωθέν μηδέν λυπουμένου ἀφθόνως ἐκ τῶν τεταγμένων καὶ τὴν τροφὴν καὶ τὰ χέρα λαμβάνωσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐξητείτο, ἐπειδὴ τε μηδεὶς ἀγορανομησαι ἐκὼν ἦθελεν, ἡναγκάσθησαι ἐκ τε τῶν τεταμενυκτῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν δεδημαρχηκτῶν κλήρῳ τινὲς αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι,

25 καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγένετο· μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐπὶ τε Αἰμιλίου Δεπίδου καὶ ἐπὶ Δοῦκιου Ἀρροῦτινου ὑπάτων, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς πόρος ἀρέσκων τισιν εὐρίσκετο, ἄλλα καὶ πάνυ πάντες ὅτι

2 καὶ ἐξητείτο ἐβαρύνοντο, ἐσήνεγκεν ο̣ Λύγουστος χρήματα καὶ υπέρ έαυτοῦ καὶ υπέρ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐσ τὸ ταμεῖον, ὅ καὶ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπονύμασε, καὶ τρισὶ τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν τὸς λαχούσιν ἐπὶ τρία ἐτὶ διοικεῖν προσέταξε, ῥαβδούχοις τ' ἀνὰ δύο καὶ τῇ ἀλλη ὑπηρεσίᾳ τῇ προσηκούσῃ χρω-

3 μένοις. καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἐτή κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἐγένετο· νῦν γὰρ καὶ αἱροῦνται πρὸς τοῦ ἀεὶ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ χωρίς ῥαβδούχων περιόσως. αὐτὸς τε οὖν συνεσήνεγκε τίνα, καὶ τούτῳ κατ' ἐτος πράξειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ παρὰ βασιλέων δὴ-

1 ἄείων Dind., ἄειων M.
into service against Antony the troops who had served with his father, and he maintained them afterwards; they constitute even now a special corps, and carry rods, like the centurions.

Now Augustus lacked funds for all these troops, and therefore he introduced a proposal in the senate that revenues in sufficient amount and continuing from year to year should be set aside, in order that the soldiers might receive without stint from the taxes levied their maintenance and bonuses without any outside source being put to annoyance. The means for such a fund were accordingly sought. Now when no one showed a willingness to become aedile, some men from the ranks of the ex-quaestors and ex-tribunes were compelled by lot to take the office—a thing which happened on many other occasions.\footnote{1} After this, in the consulship of Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius, when no revenues for the military fund were being discovered that suited anybody, but absolutely everybody was vexed because such an attempt was even being made, Augustus in the name of himself and of Tiberius placed money in the treasury which he called the military treasury,\footnote{2} and commanded that three of the ex-praetors, to be chosen by lot, should administer it for three years, employing two lictors apiece and such further assistance as was fitting. This method was followed with the successive incumbents of the office for many years; but at present they are chosen by the emperor and they go about without lictors. Now Augustus made a contribution himself toward the fund and promised to do so annually, and he also

\footnotetext[1]{Cf. xlix. 16, 2; liii. 2, 2; liv. 11, 1.}
\footnotetext[2]{Aerarium militare.}
μων τε τινῶν ἐπαγγελλας ἔδεξατο· παρὰ γὰρ τῶν ἴδιωτῶν, καίπερ συγχών ἔθελοντι, ὡς ἴν ἔλεγον, 4 ἐπιδιδοντω τι, οὐδὲν ἔλαβεν. ὥς δ’ οὖν ταύτα τε ἐλάχιστα πρὸς τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἁναλισκομένων ἢ καὶ ἀθανάτου τινὸς εὐπορίας ἐδείτο, προσέταξε τοῖς βουλευταῖς ζητήσαι πόρους ἴδια καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτῶν ἐκαστον, καὶ τούτοις ἔσ βιβλία γράψαντας δοῦναι οἱ διασκέψασθαι, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπενείπε τινὰ, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοὺς 5 πείσῃ ὅν ἐβούλετο ἐλέσθαι. ἀμέλει ἄλλων ἄλλα ἐσηγησαμένων ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδὲν ἑδοκίμασε, τὴν δ’ εἰκοστὴν τῶν τε κλήρων καὶ τῶν δωρεῶν, ἃς ἢν οἱ τελευτώτες τισὶ πληρ. τῶν πάνω συγγενῶν ἢ καὶ πενήντων καταλείποσι, κατεστήσατο, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήμασι τὸ τέλος 6 τοῦτο γεγραμμένον εὐρῶν ἐσῆκτο μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον ποτε, καταλυθὲν δὲ μετὰ ταύτα αὐθις τὸτε ἑπανήγαθη, τὰς μὲν οὖν προσόδους οὕτως ἑπηύξησε, τὰ δ’ ἀναλόματα διὰ τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἕπατευκότων, οὐς ὁ κλήρος ἀπέφηνε, τὰ μὲν συνέστειλε τὰ δὲ καὶ παντάπασι διέγραψε.

26 Ταύτα τε οὖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐλύπει, καὶ προσέτι καὶ λιμός ἱσχυρὸς, ὡς ὡς ῥ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοὺς τε μονομαχοῦντας καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ώνα ὑπὲρ πενήκοντα καὶ ἐπτακοσίους σταδίους ἐξωσθήναι, ἐκ τῆς ἑραπείας καὶ τὸν Ἀὐγούστον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὸ πλεῖον ἀποτέμψασθαι, καὶ δικον ἀνοχὰς γενέσθαι, ἐκδημεῖν τε τοῖς βου- 2 λευταῖς έσθα ἄν ἔθελον ἀν ἔθελον ἀν ἔθελον έπιτραπήναι. καὶ ὁπως η’ ἄν μὴ δὲν ἐκ τούτο τὰ δόγματα ἐμποδί-
accepted voluntary contributions from kings and certain communities; but he took nothing from private citizens, although a considerable number made offers of their own free will, as they at least alleged. But as all this proved very slight in comparison with the amount being spent and there was need of some permanent supply, he ordered each one of the senators to seek out sources of revenue, each independently of the others, to write them in books, and give them to him to consider. This was not because he had no plan of his own, but as the most certain means of persuading them to choose the plan he preferred. At all events, when different men had proposed different schemes, he approved none of them, but established the tax of five per cent. on the inheritances and bequests which should be left by people at their death to any except very near relatives or very poor persons, representing that he had found this tax set down in Caesar's memoranda. It was, in fact, a method which had been introduced once before, but had been abolished later, and was now revived. In this way, then, he increased the revenues; as for the expenditures, he employed three ex-consuls, chosen by lot, by whose help he reduced some of them and altogether abolished others.

This was not the only source of trouble to the Romans; for there was also a severe famine. In consequence of this, the gladiators, and the slaves who were for sale, were banished to a distance of one hundred miles, Augustus and the other officials dismissed the greater part of their retinues, a recess of the courts was taken, and senators were permitted to leave the city and to proceed wherever they pleased. And in order that their absence might not
κύρια πάντα τὰ γυνωσκόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων εἶναι ἐκελεύσθη. καὶ προσέτε καὶ ἀνδρεὶς ὑπατευκότες ἐπὶ τοῦ σῖτου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρτοῦ κατέστησαν, ὡστε τακτὸν ἐκάστῳ πιπράσκεσθαι. ἐπέδωκε μὲν γὰρ καὶ προῖκα ὁ Ἀὐγουστος τοῖς σιτοδοτομένοις τοσοῦτον ἔτερον ὅσον ἀεὶ ἔλαμβανον· ὥς δ' ὦνδε ἐκεῖνο σφισιν ἐξήρκεσεν, οὐδὲ ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ γενέθλια δημοσίᾳ αὐτοῦς ἐστιαθῆναι εἰσεῖν.

4 Ἐπειδὴ τε ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως πυρὶ διεφθάρη, ἀνδρας τε ἐξελευθέρως ἔπταξι πρὸς τὰς ἐπικουρίας αὐτῆς κατελέξατο, καὶ ἄρχοντα ἅπερ αὐτοῖς προσέταξεν, ὡς καὶ δὴ ὅλον σφᾶς διαλύσων. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἑποίησεν τοῦτο· καταμάθων γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πείρας καὶ χρησιμοτάτην καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτην τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν βοήθειαν οὕσαν ἐτήρησεν αὐτοῖς· καὶ εἰς καὶ νῦν ὁ νυκτοφύλακας οὐτοὶ ἰδίον τινα τρόπου ὅκι ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἔτι μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλων στρατευόμενοι, καὶ τείχη τε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχουσι καὶ μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου φέρουσιν.

27 Ὁ δ' οὖν ὁμιλοῖς, οὐα ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τέλους τοῖς θ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπολογοῦσι κεκακωμένος, ἡχαλλε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ φανερῶς νεωτεροποιά 1 διελάλουν, πλεῖον δὲ δὴ βιβλία νύκτωρ ἐξετίθεσαν. καὶ τάτ' ἐλέγετο μὲν ἐκ παρασκευῆς Πουπλίου τινὸς Ῥούφου γιγνεσθαι, ὑποπτευτο δὲ ἐς ἄλλους· ὁ μὲν γὰρ

1 νεωτεροποιά Leuncl., νεωτεροποια (corrected from νεω-
τεροποιαί) M.

462
BOOK LV

prevent decrees from being passed, a ruling was made that all decisions reached by those in attendance at any meeting should be valid. Moreover, ex-consuls were appointed to have oversight over the grain and bread supplies, so that only a fixed quantity should be sold to each person. Augustus, to be sure, gave free of cost to those who were receiving doles of corn as much again in every case as they were already getting; but when even that did not suffice for their needs, he forbade even the holding of public banquets on his birthday.

When many parts of the city were at this time destroyed by fire, he organized a company of freedmen, in seven divisions, to render assistance on such occasions, and appointed a knight in command over them, expecting to disband them in a short time. He did not do so, however; for he found by experience that the aid they gave was most valuable and necessary, and so retained them. These night-watchmen exist to the present day, as a special corps, one might say, recruited no longer from the freedmen only, but from the other classes as well. They have barracks in the city and draw pay from the public treasury.

Now the masses, distressed by the famine and the tax and the losses sustained in the fire, were ill at ease, and they not only openly discussed numerous plans for a revolution, but also posted at night even more numerous bulletins. Word was given out that all this had been planned and managed by one Publius Rufus, but suspicion was directed to others;

1 The same man, evidently, who is called Plautius Rufus by Suetonius (Aug. 19); his whole name may have been Publius Plautius Rufus.
Ῥούφος οὖτε ἐνθυμηθῆναι τι αὐτῶν οὔτε πράξαι ἐδύνατο, ἔτεροι δὲ τῷ ἐκείνου ὀρόματι καταχρώμενοι καὶ κατοντομεῖν ἐπιστεύοντο. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ ξητήσις τε αὐτῶν ἐφηφάσθη καὶ μὴνυτρα προετεθη μηνύσεις τε ἐγίγνυντο, καὶ ἡ πόλις καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἑταράττετο, μέχρις οὐ ἦ τε σιτοδεία ἐπαύσατο, καὶ μονομαχίας ἀγώνες ἐπὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ πρὸς τὸν Βερονίκου τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ πρὸς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Νέρωνος, τῶν νιέων αὐτῶν, ἐγένυντο. τούτῳ τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Δρούσου μνήμη παρεμυθήσατο, καὶ ὅτι τὸ Διοσκόρειον οἱ Τιβερίος καθιερώσας οὐ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ μόνον ὄνομα αὐτῷ, Κλαυδιανὸν ἐαυτῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ Κλαυδίου διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Λυγοῦστο τέφεος ἐκποίησιν ὄνομάς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου ἐπέγραψε. τὰ τε γὰρ τῶν πολέμων ἀμα διόκει, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὅποτε παράσχοι, συνεχώς ἐσεφοίτα, τὸ μὲν τὶ πραγμάτων τινῶν ἐνεκα, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον φοβοῦμενος μὴ ὁ Λυγοῦστος ἀλλον τινὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ προτείμησιν.

6. Ταύτα τε ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τῆς Ἀλατίας ἀρχων μεσούσης που τῆς ἱγμονίας ἀπέθανε, τῷ τε ταμίᾳ καὶ τῷ παρέδρῳ αὐτοῦ, ὃν πρεσβευτὴν, ὁσπερ εἶπον, καλοῦμεν, τῷ μὲν τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τῷ δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ διοικήσαι προσετάχθη. ὁ τε Ἡρώθης ὁ Παλαιστίνους, αἰτίαν τινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβὼν, ὑπὲρ τὰς "Ἀλπειοὺς

1 Διοσκόρειον Dind., διοσκόρειον M.
2 ταμία Bk., ταμίεια M.
for as Rufus could neither have devised nor accomplished any of these things, it was believed that others, making use of his name, were planning a revolution. Therefore an investigation of the affair was voted for and rewards for information were announced. Information began to be offered, and this also contributed to the commotion in the city. This lasted until the scarcity of grain was at an end and gladiatorial games in honour of Drusus were given by Germanicus Caesar and Tiberius Claudius Nero, his sons. For this mark of honour to the memory of Drusus comforted the people, and also the dedication by Tiberius of the temple of Castor and Pollux, upon which he inscribed not only his own name,—calling himself Claudianus instead of Claudius, because of his adoption into the family of Augustus,—but also that of Drusus. Tiberius, it should be explained, continued to carry on the wars, and at the same time visited the city repeatedly whenever the opportunity offered; this was partly, to be sure, on account of various business, but chiefly because he was afraid that Augustus might take advantage of his absence to show preference to somebody else.

These were the events in the city that year. In Achaia the governor died in the middle of his term and instructions were given to his quaestor and to his assessor (whom, as I have stated,\footnote{Cf. liii. 14, 6.} we call envoy) for the former to administer the province as far as the Isthmus and the other the remainder. Herod\footnote{Archelaus, son of Herod the Great, who used the name Herod on his coinage.} of Palestine, who was accused by his brothers of some wrongdoing or other, was banished beyond the
28 Καὶ τοὺς αὐτούς τούτους χρόνους καὶ πόλεμοι πολλοὶ ἔγενοντο. καὶ γὰρ λησταὶ συχνὰ κατέ- δραμε̣ν τὰν Σαρδῶν μὴ 1 ἄρχοντα βουλευ- 
τὴν ἔτεσί τε σχεῖν, ἀλλὰ στρατιώταις τε καὶ 2 στρατιάρχαις ἵππευσιν ἐπιτραπῆναι καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγαι ἐνεστέριζον, ὡστε καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἐτῶν 
τῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δήμου ἔθνεσι, καὶ αἰρετοὺς γε 
ἀντὶ τῶν κληρωτῶν, ἄρξαί τα γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος 
καὶ ἀλλως ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον τοῖς 2 αὐτοῖς προσ- 
eτάττητεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ περὶ πάντων αὐτῶν ἄκριβῶς ἐπεξέξω 3 πολλά 
τα γὰρ ὅσ' ἐκάστους καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόλογα συνηνέχθη, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄν 4 
3 ἐπτολογηθέντα ὁφελήσει. τὰ γε μὴ μιμῆσθ 
τούς ἄξια κεφαλαιώσας, πλὴν τῶν μεγίστων, 
ἐρῶ.

Ἰσαυροὶ τε γὰρ ἐκ ληστείας ἄρξαμενοι καὶ ἐς 
πολέμοις δεινότητα προήλθεσαν, μέχρις οὐ κατε- 
δαμάσθησαν καὶ Γαίτουλοι 5 τῷ τε Ἰουβα τῷ 
βασιλεῖ ἄχθομενοι, καὶ ἀμα ἀπαξιούντες μή οὐ 
4 καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι, ἐπανε- 
στήσαν αὐτῶς, καὶ τὴν τε πρόσχρονον ἐπορθήσαν 
καὶ συγκροισά σὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστρατευσάντως ἑφεσίαν ἀπέκτειναν, τὸ τε σύμπαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπιμυξήθησαν ὡστε Κορνήλιον Κόσσων τὸν κατερ- 
γασάμενον σφαίρας τιμᾶς τε ἐπινικίους καὶ ἐπὶ 
5 νυμίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν. ταύτα τε ἀμα ἐγνέφετο, 
καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐστράτευσαν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι

1 μὴ Bk., άπτ' M. 2 τοῖς Reim., ἐν τοῖς M. 
3 ἐπεξέξω Reim., ἐπεξέξω M. 4 οὔδεν ἄν Pflugk, οὔδένα M. 
5 Γαίτουλοι (Γαίτουλοι) R. Steph., γαίτουλοι M.
Alps and his portion of the domain was confiscated to the state.

During this same period many wars also took place. Pirates overran a good many districts, so that Sardinia had no senator as governor for some years, but was in charge of soldiers with knights as commanders. Not a few cities rebelled, with the result that for two years the same men held office in the provinces which belonged to the people and were appointed instead of being chosen by lot; of course the provinces which belonged to Caesar were, in any case, assigned to the same men for a longer period. But I shall not go into all these matters minutely, for many things not worthy of record happened in individual instances and their recital in detail would serve no useful purpose. I shall give simply the events worthy of some mention and very briefly at that, except in the case of those of greatest importance.

The Isaurians began with marauding expeditions, but were led on into all the horrors of war, until they were utterly subdued. The Gaetulians, also, were discontented with their king, Juba, and scorning the thought that they, too, should be ruled over by the Romans, rose against him. They ravaged the neighbouring territory, slew many even of the Romans who made a campaign against them, and, in fine, gained so great headway that Cornelius Cossus, who subjugated them, received triumphal honours and also a title from them. While these events were occurring, expeditions against the Germans also were being conducted by various leaders,

1 By Augustus, naturally.
2 Gaetulicus.
τινές, ἐστράτευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος. καὶ μέχρι
gε τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ Ὀὐσοῦργου, 1
μετὰ δὲ τούτο καὶ τοῦ Ἀλβίου, προεχώρησεν, οὐ
μέντοι καὶ ἀξίομημόνευτον τι τότε γε ἐπράχθη,
καὶ τοῦ Αἰγουστου ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Τιβέριου ἐπ' αὐτῶις κληθέντος,
καὶ τιμᾶς ἐπικίονος Λατόν Σεντίου τοῦ τῆς Γέρ-
μανίας ἀρχοντος λαβόντος, ἐπειδὴ μὴ μόνον ἀπαξ
ἀλλὰ καὶ δεύτερον, φοβηθέντες αὐτοὺς, ἐσπει-
7 σαντο. αἰτία δὲ τοῦ καίρερ παραστονδήσασί
σφισι δι' ὅλογον αὐθὲς τὴν εἰρήνην δοθήναι τὰ τοῖς
Δελματῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Παννονίων, μεῖζονος
τε ταραχθέντα καὶ ὀξείας ἐπιστροφῆς δειθέντα,
ἐγένετο.

29 Ταῖς γάρ ἐσφοραῖς τῶν χρημάτων οἱ Δελμάται
βαρυνόμενοι τὸν μὲν ἐμπροσθε χρόνον καὶ ἀκοντες
ὑποχαζόν ὡς δ' δ' τοῦ Τιβέριος ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς
τὸ δεύτερον ἐστράτευσε, καὶ Ὀυαλέριος Μεσσα-
λίνος ὁ τότε καὶ τῆς Δελματίας καὶ τῆς Παννονίας
ἀρχων αὐτὸς τε σὺν ἐκείνῳ ἐστάλη καὶ τὸ πολὺ
ποιήσατε συνεχίζανε, καὶ τίνα καὶ σφεῖς
δύναμιν πέμψανε κελευσθέντες συνῆλθόν τε ἐπὶ
τούτῳ καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν σφῶν ἀνθοῦσαν εἰδον,
οὐκέτι διεμέλλησαν, ἀλλ' ἐνάγοντος αὐτοὺς ὅτι
μᾶλλον Βάτωνος τινος Δησιδιάτου τὸ μὲν πρῶ-
tον ὀλίγον τινὲς ἐνεστήρισαν καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
ἐπελθόντας σφίσιν ἕσφηλαν, ἐπείτη δὲ ἐκ τούτου
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προσπαστησάντας. καὶ μετά τούτο
καὶ Βρεύκοι Παννονικοῦ ἔθνος, Βάτωνα καὶ αὐτοῦ
ἐπορούν προστησάμενοι, ἐπὶ τε τὸ Σίρμιον καὶ ἐπὶ
τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίους ὄρμησαν. καὶ ἐκεῖνο

1 Οὐσοῦργον Reim., σαῦργον Μ.
especially Tiberius. He advanced first to the river Visurgis and later as far as the Albis, but nothing noteworthy was accomplished at this time, although not only Augustus but also Tiberius was called imperator because of the campaign, and Gaius Sentius, the governor of Germany, received triumphal honours, inasmuch as the Germans, through their fear of the Romans, made a truce, not merely once, but twice. The reason that peace was granted them a second time, in spite of their having broken their truce so soon, was that the Dalmatians and Pannonians were in a state of great disturbance and required sharp attention.

The Dalmatians, chafing under the levies of tribute, had hitherto kept quiet, though unwillingly. But when Tiberius made his second campaign against the Germans, and Valerius Messallinus, the governor of Dalmatia and Pannonia at the time, was sent out with him, taking most of his army along, the Dalmatians, too, were ordered to send a contingent; and on coming together for this purpose and beholding the strength of their warriors, they no longer delayed, but, under the vehement urging of one Bato, a Desidiatian, at first a few revolted and defeated the Romans who came against them, and then the rest also rebelled in consequence of this success. Next the Breucians, a Pannonian tribe, put another Bato at their head and marched against Sirmium and the Romans in that town. They did
μὲν οὐκ ἔξειλον (αἰσθόμενος γὰρ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως αὐτῶν Κακίνας ἦν Σεουήρος ὁ τῆς πλησιοχώρου Μυσίας ἀρχων ἐπήλθε τε αὐτοῖς διὰ ταχέων περὶ τὸν Δράονον ποταμὸν οὗτε καὶ συμβαλῶν ἐνίκησεν, ἀναμαχέσεσθαι δὲ τῇ διὰ βραχέως, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν Ρωμαίων σφυντοὶ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, ἐπισάντες πρὸς παράκλησιν συμμάχων ἐτράποντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν συνίστων ὅσους ἐδύναντο, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Βάτων οἱ Δελμάτης ἐπὶ Σάλωνα στρατεύσας αὐτῶς μὲν λίθῳ χαλεπῶς πληγεὶς οὐδέν ἐπραξεν, ἐτέρους δὲ τινὰς ἐπέμψας πάντα τὰ παραβαλάσσια μέχρι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ τινὶ ἐνταῦθα μάχῃ δε' αὐτῶν τοὺς προσμεμαχήσας σφισὶ 'Ρωμαίους, καίπερ προητηθεῖς.

30 ἀντεπεκράτησε. πυθόμενος οὖν ταῦθ' οἱ Τιβέριος, καὶ φοβθεῖς μὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλωσιν, ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ τὸν Μεσσαλίνον προπέμψας αὐτὸς τῷ πλείον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐφείπτετο. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῆς προσόδου αὐτῶν ὁ Βάτων ἀπήνυσε τῷ Μεσσαλίνῳ, καίπερ μηδέπω καλῶς ἔχων, καὶ ἐπικρατέστερος αὐτοῦ ἐν παρατάξει γενομένος ἐπείτ' ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐνικήθη. ἡκαὶ τούτου πρὸς τε τὸν Βάτωνα τὸν Βρεύκον ἠλθε, καὶ κοινοθέτησαν αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ὄρος.

2 τῷ Ἀλμάν κατέλαβε κάνταυθα πρὸς μὲν τοῦ 'Ρυμητάλκου τοῦ Ὀρακός, προπεμφθέντος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεούρου, βραχεία τινὶ μάχῃ ἡττήθησαν, πρὸς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἴσχυρὸς ἀντ-έσχον. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ τε Σεούρου ἐς τὴν Μυσίαν διὰ τε τοὺς Δακοὺς καὶ διὰ τοὺς

1 Κακίνας R. Step., καὶ θινας M.
2 ἀναμαχέσεσθαι Dind., ἀναμαχέσασθαι M.
not capture the place, however, for Caecina Severus, the governor of the neighbouring province of Moesia, marched rapidly against them, when he heard of their uprising, and joining battle with them near the river Dravus,1 vanquished them; but hoping in some way to renew the struggle soon, since many of the Romans also had fallen, they turned their attention to summoning their allies and were getting together as many as they could. Meanwhile the Dalmatian Bato marched upon Salonae, where he was badly wounded by a stone missile and so accomplished nothing himself; but he sent out some others, who wrought havoc along the whole sea-coast as far as Apollonia, and at that point, in spite of having been first defeated, won a battle in turn against the Romans who engaged them. Now when Tiberius learned of this, fearing that they might invade Italy, he returned from Germany, sending Messallinus ahead and following himself with most of his army. But Bato learned of their approach, and although not yet well, went to meet Messallinus; and though he proved stronger than Messallinus in open conflict, he was afterward defeated by an ambuscade. Thereupon he went to Bato, the Breucian, and making common cause with him in the war, occupied a mountain named Alma. Here they were defeated by Rhoe-metalces, the Thracian, who had been sent ahead against them by Severus, but resisted Severus himself vigorously. Later, when Severus withdrew to Moesia, because the Dacians and Sarmatians were

1 The Drave.
Οι Σαυρομάτας πορθούντας αυτήν ἀπάραντος, καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου τοῦ τε Μεσσαλίνου ἐν Σισκία 1 ἐγχρονισάντων, τὴν τε συμμαχία σφῶν ἐπέδραμον καὶ συχνῶς προσαπέστησαν. καὶ ἐς μὲν χεῖρας, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου πλησιάσαντος σφῶν, οὐκ ἦλθον αὐτῷ, ἄλλοσε δὲ καὶ ἄλλοσε μεθιστάμενοι πολλὰ ἐπόρθησαν τὴς τε γὰρ χώρας ἐμπείρων ἔχοντες καὶ κούφως ἐσκενασμένοι, ῥαδίως ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἐβούλωτο ἐχώρουν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε ὁ χειμῶν ἐνέστη, πολὺ πλεῖον ἐκακούργησαν καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν αὐτὶς ἐνέβαλον. καὶ τούτους μὲν ὁ τε Ρυμητάλκης καὶ ὁ ἄδελφος αὐτοῦ Ῥασκύπορος μάχη κατέλαβον οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι τῇ μὲν χώρᾳ σφῶν πορθομένῃ μετὰ τούτο ἐπὶ τε Κακικλίου Μετέλλου καὶ ἐπὶ Δικίνου 2 Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτων οὐκ ἐπήμυναν, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἐρυμματικὰ ἀναφυγόντες ἔκειθεν ὅπῃ παρεῖκοι καταδρομᾶς ἐποιοῦντο.

31 Μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Ἀὐγουστος, καὶ ὑποπτεύσας ἐς τὸν Τιβερίον ὡς δυνηθέντα μὲν ἄν διὰ ταχέων αὐτοὺς κρατήσαι, τρίβοντα δὲ ἐξεπίτηδες ἤν ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐν τοῖς ὁπλίσι ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου προφάσει ἦ, πέμπτε τὸν Γερμανικὸν καὶ τοὺς ταμεύοντας, στρατιωτάς οἱ οὐκ ἐχευμένεις μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐξελεύθερους δοὺς, ἄλλους τε καὶ ὅσους παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν δουλοὺς, πρὸς τὰ τεμήματα αὐτῶν, συν τροφῆ 2 ἐκμήνων λαβὼν ἠλευθέρωσεν. οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτῳ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου χρείαν ἔπραξεν, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν ἐπιπέδων τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐννοο—

1 Σισκία Χυλ., σεισκία Μ. 2 Δικίνου Βκ., Δικίνιου Μ.
ravaging it, and Tiberius and Messallinus were tarrying in Siscia, the Dalmatians overran the territory of their allies and caused many more to revolt. And although Tiberius approached them, they would engage in no pitched battle with him, but kept moving from one place to another, causing great devastation; for, owing to their knowledge of the country and the lightness of their equipment, they could easily proceed wherever they pleased. And when winter set in they did much greater damage, for they even invaded Macedonia again. As for these forces, now, Rhoemetalees and his brother Rhasecyperoris checked them by a battle; and as for the others, they did not come to the defence of their country when it was later ravaged (in the consulship of Caecilius Metellus and Licinius Silanus), but took refuge in the mountain fortresses, from which they made raiding expeditions whenever the chance offered.

When Augustus learned of these things, he began to be suspicious of Tiberius, who, as he thought, might speedily have overcome the Dalmatians, but was delaying purposely, in order that he might be under arms as long as possible, with the war as his excuse. He therefore sent out Germanicus, although he was only a quaestor, and gave him an army composed not only of free-born citizens but also of freedmen, including those whom he had freed from slavery by taking them from their masters and mistresses on payment of their value and the cost of their maintenance for six months. This was not the only measure he took to meet the need occasioned by the war, but he also postponed the review of the knights, which was wont to occur in the Forum. And he
μένην ἀνεβάλετο, κατὰ τε τῆς πανηγύρεως τῆς μεγάλης ἡμέρας, ὅτα γινή τις ἐς τὸν βραχίονα
3 γράμματα ἄττα ἐντεμοῦσα ἐθείασὲ τίνα, ὡσθετο
μὲν γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ θεοῦ κατέσχητο ἄλλʼ ἐκ παρα-
σκευῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπεποιήκει ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος
ἀλλως τε καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τὸν τε λιμόν,
ὅς καὶ τὸτε αὖθις συνέβη, δεινὸς ἐταράττετο,
πιστεύειν τε καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς λεχθείσιν ἐπλάττετο,
καὶ πάνθ᾿ ὁσα παραμυθήσεθαι τὸν ὁμιλόν ἠμὲλ-
4 λευ ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαία ἐπραττε. καὶ ἐπὶ γε τῇ
σιτοδείᾳ δύο αὖθις ἐκ τῶν υπατευκότων ἐπι-
μεληταὶ τοῦ σίτου σὺν ῥαβδοῦχοις ἀπεδειξέ.
προσδέομενος δὲ δὴ χρημάτων ἐς τοὺς πολέμους
καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων τροφὴν, τὸ τε
τέλος τὸ τῆς πευτηκοστῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρα-
πόδων πράσει ἐσήγαγε, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ
toις στρατηγοῖς τοῖς τὰς ὀπλομαχίες ποιοῦσιν
ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου διδόμενον ἐκέλευσε μηκέτ᾿ ἀνα-
λίσκεσθαι.
32 Τὸν δὲ δὴ Γερμανικῶν, ἄλλοι οὐ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν
ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεμον ἐξεπερμένεν, ὅτι δουλοπρεπὴς τε
ἐκείνου ἦν καὶ τὰ πλείστα ἠλεύνετο, ὅθεν περ καὶ
Ποσειδώνα ἐαυτὸν ἐπινόμαξε, τῇ τῇ ὄργῃ προ-
2 πετεὶ ἔχρητο, καὶ τὴν Διονύσων ὡς μητριὰν
diēβαλλεν, αὐτῷ τε τῷ Ἀνγούστῳ πολλάκις ύπὲρ
tῶν πατρών ἐπεκάλει. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐσωφρο-
νίζετο, ἀπεκηρύχθη, καὶ ἦ τε οὕσια αὐτοῦ τῷ
στρατιωτικῷ ταμείῳ ἐδόθη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς Πλα-
nασίαν τὴν πρὸς Κύριον νήσου ἐνεβλήθη.

1 ἡξάτο R. Steph., εἶξάτο M.
2 Διονύσων Lipsius, Ἰουλίαν M.
3 ταμείῳ Bk., ταμείῳ M.
made a vow with reference to the Megalensian games because some woman had cut some letters on her arm and practised some sort of divination. He knew well, to be sure, that she had not been possessed by any divine power, but had done this thing deliberately; but inasmuch as the populace was terribly wrought up over both the wars and the famine (which had now set in once more), he, too, affected to believe the common report and proceeded to do anything that would make the crowd cheerful, regarding such measures as necessary. And in view of the dearth of grain he appointed two ex-consuls commissioners of the grain supply, granting them lictors. And as there was need of more money for the wars and for the support of the night-watchmen, he introduced the tax of two per cent. on the sale of slaves, and he ordered that the money which was regularly paid from the public treasury to the praetors who gave gladiatorial combats should no longer be expended.

The reason why he sent Germanicus and not Agrippa to take the field was that the latter possessed an illiberal nature, and spent most of his time in fishing, by virtue of which he used to call himself Neptune. He used to give way to violent anger, and spoke ill of Livia as a stepmother, while he often reproached Augustus himself for not giving him the inheritance his father had left him. When he could not be made to moderate his conduct, he was banished and his property was given to the military treasury; he himself was put ashore on Planasia, the island near Corsica.
3 Taūta mēn ēn tē pōlei ēgēneto' tou dē dī Germaunikou ēs tēn Panvoniān ēlβóntos kai strateumátoro polliachōthei ēkeíse syngōntoν, tηρῆsantos oi Bātowes tou Σeovēron ēk tēs Myssias prosoiōnta epēpevou autō uprosdōkhtoi, stratospedevoménō prŏs toŭs Ουνλκaioŭs ëlesi, kai toŭs mēn ēxw toŭ tafreumatorŏs ephō̆shen kai kathērăsēn ēs autō, dĕzamēnev dē spha toŭ̆ õ̆ν̆w̆ 4 ëttēshen, kai metē toŭ̆h' oi 'Rōmaioi vēmē̆thēntes, ò̆pws polliachē̆ ò̆ma tēs χω̆̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̊
These were the events in the city. After Germanicus reached Pannonia and armies were assembling there from many sides, the two Batos waited until Severus approached from Moesia and then fell upon him unexpectedly, while he was encamped near the Volcaean marshes. They frightened the pickets outside the ramparts and drove them back inside, but when the men in the camp stood their ground, the attackers were defeated. After this the Romans were divided into detachments, in order that they might overrun many parts of the country at once; most of these detachments did nothing worthy of note, at least not at that time, but Germanicus conquered in battle and harassed the Mazaei, a Dalmatian tribe.

These were the achievements of that year. In the consulship of Marcus Furius and Sextus Nonius, the Dalmatians and Pannonians desired to make terms, because they were afflicted first by famine and then by disease that followed it, since they were using for food roots and strange herbs. They did not, however, make any overtures, being hindered by those who had no hope of being spared by the Romans, but even in their distress still resisted. And one, Scenobardus, who had pretended he was going to change sides and with reference to this very matter had sent to Manius Ennius, the commander of the garrison in Siscia, as if he were ready to desert, became afraid that he might suffer harm beforehand . . . .

The Po, which, under the name Eridanus, they call the king of the rivers that cleave the soil of Italy, had its waters let into a very wide canal by the

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1 This is the usual name of the river in Greek.
sima fossa demissus, qui septima sui alvei parte per medium influit civitatem, ad ostia sua amoenissimum portum praebens, classem ducentarum quinquaginta navium, Dione referente, tutissima dudum credebatur recipere statione.—Jordanes, Get. 29, 150.

4 Λωφήσαντος δὲ ποτε τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἐπὶ τε τῷ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ὄνοματα, οὐ ἦν τοῦ Δρούσου παῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἰπποδρομίας ἐποίησε, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐλέφας τε μινοκέρωτα κατεμαχέσατο καὶ ἀνὴρ ἵππεις πλοῦτῳ ποτὲ προενεχόμενος ἐμονομάξησε.

5 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ γῆρᾳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἄσθενεία ἔκαμνεν, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις τι αὐτοῦ χρηματίζειν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων καὶ διεσκόπει ἱκαζε, ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐπὶ βῆματος προκαθήμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡ πρεσβείας τὰς τε παρὰ τῶν ὄρμων καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀφικνουμένας τρισὶ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐπέτρεψεν, ὡστ' αὐτοῦ χωρίς ἐκαστον καὶ διακόμεν τινῶν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῖς διδόναι, πλὴν τῶν ὅσα ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὴν τε βουλὴν καὶ ἐκείνων ἐπιδιακρίνειν.—Xiph. 114, 15–30.

34 ... μέντοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἄλλῳ ἐν τοῖς ἱστάτοις ἀπεφαινετο, ὅπως ἱδιοβουλεῖν ἀπασίων ἐξεῖλ καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γρώμης, ὡς καὶ ἀνάγκην τινὰ συμφρονῆσαι οἱ ἑχον, ἔξιστατο, ¹

¹ δἰεσκόπει V, δἰεσκ... C, δἰεσκέψατο L'.
² ἡ V, μὴ C, om. L'.
³ ἔξιστατο Bk., ἔξισταται M.
Emperor Augustus. A seventh part of the stream of this river flows through the centre of the city, affording at its mouth a most attractive harbour, which was formerly believed, according to Dio, to be a thoroughly safe anchorage for a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships.

When at last the famine had abated, he conducted games in the Circus in the name of Germanicus, who was son of Drusus, and in that of Germanicus' brother. On this occasion an elephant overcame a rhinoceros and a knight who had once been distinguished for his wealth fought in single combat.

Now when Augustus was growing weary by reason of old age and the feebleness of his body, so that he could not attend to the business of all those who needed his care, though he continued personally, with his assistants, to investigate judicial cases and to pass judgment, seated on the tribunal in the palace, he entrusted to three ex-consuls the embassies sent to Rome by peoples and kings; these, sitting separately, gave audience to such embassies and made answer to them, except in matters in which the final decision had of necessity to be rendered by the senate and Augustus.

[It had been Augustus' practice hitherto to attend all the meetings of the senate, though he did not,] however, declare his opinion among the first, but among the last, his purpose being that all might be permitted to form their views independently and no one should abandon his own judgment, as though he were under any necessity of agreeing with the emperor; and he would often sit with the magis-

1 Ravenna.
2 Claudius, who later became emperor.
τοῖς τε ἀρχοῦσι πολλάκις συνεδικαζέ· καὶ οὐσίας
γε οἱ παρεδρεύοντες σφισιν ἐδιαγγαγόμονες, καὶ
ἡ ἐκείνου ψῆφος ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσης ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων
2 ἡμιρήματο, τοτε δὲ τῇ μὲν γερουσία καὶ ἄνευ
ἐαυτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ δικαζεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν, ἐς δὲ τὸν
ὄχλον οὐκετί παρῆκε, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν προτέρῳ ἔτει
πάντας τους ἀρξόντας αὐτοὺς, ἐπειδὴπερ ἐστα-
σιάζετο, ἀπέδειξε, τοῦτῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπειτὰ
γράμματὰ τινα ἐκτιθεὶς συνίστη τῷ τε πληθεί
3 καὶ τῷ ὅμως ὅσους ἐσπούδαζε. πρὸσ μένυποις
tῶν πόλεμων διαχειρίσεις οὕτως ἔρρωσε ὦσθ',
ἐν ἐγκυβέρνησαν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Δελμάταῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς
Παννονίοις πάν ὁ τι χρή συμβουλεύειν ἔχῃ, πρὸς
'Αρίμμων ἐξώρισε. καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἑξάδοφοι αὐτῶν
εὐχαὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἑπανάξ ναί θυσίαι
όςπερ ἐκ πολεμίως τινὸς ἀνακομισθέντος ἐτε-
λέσθησαν.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπράξηθε, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ
ὁ Βάτων ὁ Βρεύκος, ὁ τῶν τε Πίννην προδοὺς καὶ
μισθον τούτου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Βρεύκων λαβὼν,
ἐάλυ τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔτερου Βατωνοῦ καὶ διεφθάρῃ.
5 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὑποπτεύσας τι ἐς τὸ υπόκουσιν ὁμήρους
καθ' ἐκαστὸν τῶν φουρίων περίων ἦτε, μαθῶν
τούτι ἐκείνου ἐνήδρευσέ που αὐτῶν, καὶ μάχη
κατάκλεισε στείχοις, καὶ μετὰ τούτι
ἐκδοθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνδον λαβὼν παρῆγαγε τι ἐς
tὸ στρατεύμα, καὶ καταστράπθεντα ἀποθάνειν
6 ἐν χερσὶν ἐποίησε. γενομένου δὲ τούτου συχνοῖ
τῶν Παννονίων ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς·

1 ἐδιαγγαγόμον Morell, ἐδιαγγαγόμον M.
2 περίων R. Steph., περίων M.
3 αὐτοῖς Rk., αὐτοῖς M.
trates as they tried cases. Also, whenever those who sat in judgment with him found themselves in disagreement, the emperor's vote was counted as no more than equal to that of any other judge. But at the time to which I refer, Augustus allowed the senate to try most cases without him, and he gave up attending the popular assemblies. Instead, he had the year before personally appointed all who were to hold office, because there were factional outbreaks, and in this and the following years he merely posted a bulletin recommending to the plebs and to the people those whom he favoured. Yet he was so vigorous when it came to directing campaigns against the enemy that he proceeded to Ariminum in order that he might be near at hand to give all necessary advice in regard to both the Dalmatians and the Pannonians. On his departure vows were made, and on his return the sacrifices customary when he came back from the enemy's country were offered.

This was what was done in Rome. Meanwhile, Bato, the Breucian, who had betrayed Pinnes and had received the right to rule over the Breucians as his reward, was captured by the other Bato and put to death. The Breucian, it seems, had been somewhat suspicious of his subject tribes and had gone round to each of the garrisons to demand hostages; and the other, learning of this, lay in wait for him somewhere or other, defeated him in battle, and shut him up in a stronghold. Later, when the Breucian was delivered over by those inside, he took him and brought him before the army, and then, when he had been condemned, put him to death on the spot. After this many of the Pannonians rose in revolt,
Σιλουανός ἐπιστρατεύσας τοὺς τε Βρεύκους ἐνὶ-
κησε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς ἀμαχεὶ προσεποιήσατο.
ἰδὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Βάτων τῆς μὲν Παννονίας
οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' ἐλπίδα ἔσχε, τὰς δὲ ἔς τὴν Δελματίαν
ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐσόδους φρούρας διάλαβον ἐκείνην
7 ἐπόρθει. καὶ οὕτω καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Παννονίων,
ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς χώρας σφῶν ὕπὸ τοῦ Σιλουανοῦ
κακουμένης, ὁμολογησαν, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον λη-
στικά τινα οἰα ἐκ ταραχῆς τοσαύτης ἐπὶ πλείον
κακουργοῦντα διεγένετο, ὅπερ πον καὶ ἄει ὡς
ἐπεῖν παρά τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ παρ' ἐκείνους
μάλιστα συμβαίνει.
and Silvanus made a campaign against them, conquered the Breucians, and won over some of the others without a battle. Bato, on seeing this, gave up all hope of Pannonia, but occupied the passes leading to Dalmatia with garrisons and ravaged that country. Then at last the remainder of the Pannonians also came to terms, chiefly for the reason that their country was being harried by Silvanus. However, certain bands of brigands continued their forays for a long time, as was natural after so great a disturbance; indeed, this nearly always happens, not only among other peoples, but especially in the case of these tribes.
INDEX

(All dates are B.C. unless otherwise stated.)

Achaia, 465
Acropolis, the, 299
Actia, festival in honour of Actium, 5
Actium, battle of, 3 f., 15, 61, 195 f.
Addon, 419
Aegina, 299
Aemilius, L (perhaps the same as Paulus Aemilius Lepidus), 267
Aesculapius, 23
Africa, 17, 29
Agrippa, M. Vipsanius, honoured after Actium, 11, 59, 195 f.; advises Octavian against establishing a monarchy, 70–100, 185; censor, 187; public works supervised by, 253, 263 f., 311 f.; indicated as Augustus' successor, 271–75; retirement to Lesbos, 275; restoration to favour, 297 f., 319, 355; military exploits of, 309 f., 345 f., 355; death and character of, 357–65; funeral games in honour of, 399 f.
Agrippa Postumus, son of preceding, 409, 451, 475
Ahenobarbus, L. Domitius (cos. 16), 329, 417
Alban Mount, the, 275, 297 n., 361
Albis, the, 381, 417, 469
Alexander the Great, 45
Alexander, brother of Iamblichus I., 7
Alexander, son of Antony and Cleopatra, 43, 63
Alexandria, 17, 29, 47 f., 53
Alexandrians, the, 27, 45 f.
Ailso (or Eliso), the, river in Germany, 369 n.
Alma, mountain in Pannonia, 471

**DIO VI.**

Alps, the, 259, 263, 467; Tridinium, 337 f.; Maritime, 345
Amyntas, king of Galatia, 7, 21, 261
Antioch, 23
Antiochus, king of Commagene, 191
Antistius, C. Ses Vetus
Antoninus, M. Aurelius, 457
Antoninus, M. Aurelius (Caracalla), 47
Antonius, C. (cos. 63), 75
Antonius Iulius, son of the triumvir, 45, 351, 379, 418
Antony, Mark, flight of, after Actium, 5, 13 f.; in Egypt, 15, 29; death of, 31; character of, 41 f.; other references to, 7 f., 13, 37 f., 45, 51 f., 67, 119, 189, 199, 265, 279, 299, 305, 351, 459
Antyllus, son of preceding, 17 f., 25, 43
Aper, P. Salvius, 411
Apis, 47 f.
Apollo, 5; temple of, on Palatine, 195, 409
Appollonia, 471
Apudius (or Pacuvius) Sex., 247
Apuleius, Sex. (cos. 29), 55, 59
Apuleius, Sex. (cos. A.D. 14), 363
Aqua Virgo, the, 311
Aquila, freedman of Maecenas, 397 f.
Aquitania, 221
Arabia, 269 f., 453
Arabian Gulf (the Red Sea), 21
Arabians, the, 21, 303
Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, 7, 363
Archelaus, king of Judaea, 465 and s.
Areius, a philosopher, 45, 175

485
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argonauta, picture of, 263</td>
<td>Breuci, the, 469 f., 481 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ariminum, 251, 481</td>
<td>Britain, 255, 259, 463 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ariobarzanes, 419</td>
<td>British ocean, the, 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenia, 45, 303, 403, 415, 419</td>
<td>Britons, the, 205, 253, 277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenians, the, 303, 413, 419</td>
<td>Brundisium, 13, 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arruntius, L. (cos. 22), 283</td>
<td>Brutus, 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arruntius, L. (cos. A.D. 6), 459</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artabanus, 415, 419</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artadila, the, 77</td>
<td>Caepio, Fannius, father and son, 289 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artagirra, 419</td>
<td>Caesar, C. Julius, 7, 9, 27, 35 f., 117, 187, 273, 335, 461; shrines of, 43, 47 f.; assassins of, 23. See also Julius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artavasdes, king of Armenia, 17</td>
<td>Caesar, C. Julius (Octavianus), passionate. After 29 B.C. styled Augustus, g.v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artavasdes, king of Media, 17, 45, 303</td>
<td>Caesar, C., grandson of Augustus, 337, 331, 351 f., 395, 399-405, 409, 413-23.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artaxerxes, 45, 303</td>
<td>Caesar, L., brother of preceding, 327, 331, 399-405, 409, 415, 421 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asa, 11, 15, 51, 57, 210, 299, 361</td>
<td>Caesar, as imperial title, 185, 241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians, the, 57</td>
<td>Caesarians, the (imperial freedmen), 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astures, the, 67, 259 f., 267 f., 293</td>
<td>Caesarion, 17 f., 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athens, 55, 299</td>
<td>Calpurnius, C. (aetile 23), 279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athenians, the, 299, 305</td>
<td>Camillus, 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Athenians,&quot; the, party in naval battle given in Rome, 400</td>
<td>Camillus, M. Furius (cos. A.D. 8), 477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athenodorus, a philosopher, 175</td>
<td>Camillus, M. Furius (Scribonianus), 455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athens, 305</td>
<td>Campania, 353 f., 411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athlusa, 271</td>
<td>Campanians, the, 409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augurium salutis, the, 57</td>
<td>Campus Agrippae, the, 399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August, name given to the month Sextilia, 395</td>
<td>Campus Martius, the, 67, 197, 253, 357, 383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augusta, name given to Paphos, 343</td>
<td>Camunni, the, 331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augusta Emerita, 261</td>
<td>Candace, 293 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augusta Praetoria, 259</td>
<td>Cantabri, the, 57, 259 f., 267 f., 293, 309 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustallia, the, 307, 369</td>
<td>Capitol, the, 291, 301, 349 f., 383, 399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustus, passion. Significance of name, 155 n., 235, 241, 245</td>
<td>Cappadocia, 345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baetica, 221</td>
<td>Capreae, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balbus, D. Laelius (cos. 6), 401</td>
<td>Carisius, P. (or T.), 261, 293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balbus, L. Cornelius, 347</td>
<td>Carrhina, C., 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basilica of Neptune, the, 263</td>
<td>Carthage, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basilica of Paulus, the, 343 f.</td>
<td>Cassius, 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantarea, the, 67-75</td>
<td>Castor and Pollux, temple of, 465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batavia, 365, 457</td>
<td>Cedrus (or Oebros), river in Moesia, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batavians, the, 365, 457</td>
<td>Celti, the, 221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathyllus, 327</td>
<td>Censorinus, C. Marcus (cos. 3), 591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bato, a Breuci, the, 469 f., 477, 481 f.</td>
<td>Chalcidicum, name given to temple of Minerva, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bato, a Dalmatian chief, 469 f., 477, 481 f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgica, 221</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bessi, the, 73, 333, 371</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bithynia, 59, 221, 299</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bocchus, 261</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bogud, 261</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosporus, kingdom of, 345</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

Chatti, the, 367 f., 375, 381
Chauci, the, 365
Chersonesus, the, 359, 371
Chersonse, the, 367, 381
Chios, 415
Cicero, son of the orator, 55
Cilicia, 21, 221, 303
Cilnus, 107
Cluna, 276
Cluna, Cn. Cornelius (Magnus), 427, 449 f.
Circennian games, 153, 195, 303, 351, 395, 407 f., 451, 479
Circus Flaminius, the, 383, 409
Circus Maximus, the, 369, 409
Cirs, a cave, 75
Claudius, the emperor, 455, 465, 479; cf. 383
Cleopatra, 3 f., 15-43, 49 f., 61 f.
Cleopatra, daughter of preceding, 43, 63
Cluvius, C., 189
Coel-Syria, 221
Commagene, 191, 303
Concord (Concordia), statue of, 373; temple of, 399, 405
Cornellius. See Cluna and Lentulus
Corinna, 475
Cós, 23
Cossus. See Lentulus
Cotys, 323, 371
Crassus, M. Licinius, the triumvir, 270
Crassus, M. Licinius (cos. 30), 369, 67-73
Crassus, M. Licinius (cos. 14), 343
Creta, 219
Crispinus, Q. (pr. 2), 411
Crispinus, T. Quinctius (cos. 9), 379
Curia Iulia, the, 63
Curia Octaviae, the, 399
Curio, 9
Curtius, 209
Cydonia, 7
Cyprus, 221, 291
Cyrenae, the, 219 f.
Cythera, 299
Cyzicus, 21, 290, 343
Dacia, 453 f.
Dacians, the, 65 f., 375, 471
Dalmatia, 219 f., 333, 371, 469, 483
Dalmatians, the, 61, 369, 375, 383, 469-73, 477, 481 f.
Daphne, town near Antioch, 23
Dapyx, chief of a tribe of the Getae, 72 f.
Dardani, the, 67, 77
Decii, the, 299
Deid, king of the Bastarnae, 71
Demeter, 11 n., 305 n.
Denteis, 69, 73, 333
Didius, Q., 21 f.
Dionysus, 73, 371
Diroriturnus, the, 399
Domitian, 273, 457
Domitianus, L. See Aaron, the Archon
Dravus, river in Pannonia, 471
Drusus, M. Livius (Libo) (cos. 15), 335
Drusus, Nero Claudius, 307, 331, 337 f., 365-85, 391, 395, 399, 464
Dynamis, wife of Asander, 346
Dyrrhachium, 15
Egypt, 11, 15, 17, 21, 47, 51, 61 f., 205, 221 f., 255, 260, 293, 417
Egyptians, the, 19, 27, 35, 43-47, 53
Elephantine, 293
Eliso (or Aliso), the, 369
Ennius, M.ª., 477
Epaphroditus, a freedman, 33, 39
Ephesus, 57
Epirus, 219
Eratosthenes, 7
Eretria, 299
Erdanus, queen of Armenia, 419
Eudocia, 8
Ethiopia, 43
Ethiopians, the, 293 f.
Evocati, the, 457
Fabius, Paulus (Maximus) (cos. 11), 367
Fabius, Africanus Quintus (or Q. Fabius Maximus Africanus) (cos. 10), 379
Feriae Latinae, the, 279, 297, 325, 361 n., 385
Flaccus, C. Norbanus (cos. 24), 265
Flaminian Way, the, 251
Flevo, Batavian lake, 365 n.
Florus, Aquileius, father and son, 9
Fortuna Redux, altar of, 307
Forum of Augustus, the, 407
Forum Romanum, the, 51, 273, 291, 301 n., 331, 383, 401, 407, 411, 478
INDEX

Frisians, the, 365 f.
Fulvia, 17, 45
Furnius, C. (tr. 50), 180, 293
Furnius, C. (cos. 17), 327

Gaetulia, 261
Gaetullians, the, 467
Galatia, 21, 261
Galba, the emperor, 11, 457
Galba (Gaul), 25, 205, 221, 253, 309, 333-49, 343, 347, 375; Lugdunensis, 375; Narbonensis, 189, 221, 291
Gallicus, Aelius, 269
Gallicus, C. Asinius (cos. 8), 391
Gallicus, C. Cornelius, 25 f., 47, 255
Gallicus, Lucius, 333
Gallicus, Nonius, 57
Gauls, the, 61, 253, 333, 365
Genula, 75
Germanicus, title conferred upon Drusus and his sons, 383
Germanicus, son of Drusus, 425, 405, 473-79
Germans, the, 57, 61, 65, 221, 209, 333 f., 305, 375, 393, 417, 425, 407 f.
Germany, 471; provinces of, 221, 333, 347, 399 f., 453-57, 469
Getae, the, 65, 71, 75 f.
Greece, 11, 15, 59, 67, 97, 219, 299
Greeks, the, 69, 305, 409, 423 f.

Haemus, 69, 77
Helios, name given to Alexander, son of Cleopatra, 63
Hellenes, name given by Augustus to foreigners living in Asiatic provinces, 57
Hercules, Pillars of, 299
Hermes, statues of, 305
Hermunduri, the, 417
Hercules the Great, 303
Hercules Archelaus. See Archelaus
Honor, festival of, 327
Horatius, 209

Iamblichus I., Arab chieftain, 7, 303
Iamblichus II., son of preceding, 303
Iapyges, the, 61
Imperator, use of term under the empire, 185 f., 237
India, 305

Iotape, daughter of Artavasdes of Media, 45
Isaurians, the, 467
Ister, the, 67, 77, 333, 375, 413, 417
Istrians, the, 75
Isthmus of Corinth, the, 15, 455
Italy, 9 f., 15, 57 f., 115, 123, 133-37, 189, 225, 234, 331, 337 f., 391, 457, 471, 477
Iulius Antonius. See Antonius
Inventus, temple of, 331

Janus, temple of, 57, 283, 375
Juba I., 43, 205
Juba II., 43, 281, 467
Judaea, 453
Julia, daughter of Augustus, 43, 265, 301, 363, 373, 383, 405, 411 f., 425
Julius, the hero (i.e. Divus), shrines of, 51, 57, 63 f., 373
Juno, 63
Jupiter Capitolinus, 63, 291, 349, 381, 407 n., 409; priest of, 343, 375, J. Feretrius, 301, 391, J. Tonans, 291

Lacedaemonians, the, 263, 299
Lacus Flevo, the, 365 n.
Lacus Venetus, the, 339 and n.
Lampe (or Lappa), town in Greece, 7
Lampaeus, the, 7
Lancia, town in Spain, 261
Largus Valerius, 251 f.
Legions, list of, 453-57
Lentulus, Cn. Cornelius (cos. 18), 313
Lentulus, Cn. Cornelius (cos. 14), 343
Lentulus, Cossus Cornelius (or Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Cossus) (cos. 1), 467
Lentulus, P. Cornelius (Marcellinus) (cos. 18), 313
Lepidus, M. Aemilius, the trimmivir, 119, 191, 199, 256, 319 f., 355
Lepidus, M. Aemilius, son of preceding, 319
Lepidus, M. Aemilius (cos. a.d. 6), 459
Lepidus, Paulus Aemilius (cons. 22), 285, 345. See also Aemilius
Lepidus, Q. Aemilius (cos. 21), 295

488
INDEX

Lesbos, 275
Lido, M. See Drusus
Libya, 219 f.
Licinian, a Gaul, 335 f.
Ligurians, the, 345
Ligyma, 421
Liv, 37, 279, 299, 329, 343, 333 f., 399, 405, 421, 475; advises Augustus to be conciliatory toward his enemies, 429-51; precinct dedicated to, 399
Lollius, M. (cos. 21), 295, 333
Lucilius, See Vispillo
Ludii Megalenses, 475
Ludii Romani, 273
Ludii Saeculares, 329
Lugdunum, 365
Lupla, river in Germany, 365-69
Lyconia, 261
Lydia, 421
Lycomedes, 7

Macedonia, 5, 67 f., 77, 219, 237, 333, 371, 473
Macedonians, 47, 289, 297, 327, 331, 363, 395-99; advises Octavian in favour of a monarchy, 72, 100-185
Maedi, the, 73
Marcellus, M. Claudius (Aeserninus) (cos. 22), 283, 289
Marcellus, M. Claudius, nephew of Augustus, 59, 261, 265 f., 271-75, 279, 349; theatre of, 273, 349
Marcomannian territory, the, 417
Marius, 107, 117
Marius, the younger, 107
Mars, statue of, 283; Mars Ultor, temple of, 301, 407 f.
Mazaai, the, 477
Mede, the. See Artavasdes
Medeans, 7
Merula, 375
Mesopotamia, 457
Messala, L. Valerius (Volesus) (cos. A.D. 5), 451
Messalla, M. Valerius (Corvinus) (cos. 31), 23, 265
Messalla, M. Valerius (Barbatus) (cos. 12), 255
Messalla, M. Valerius (Messallinus) (cos. 3), 469-73
Messalla, Publius Valerius (cos. 29), 59
Metellus, 107
Metellus, Q. Caecilius (Ceticus (cos. A.D. 7), 473
Millarium aureum, the, 301
Minerva, temple of, 63
Mithridates the Great, 5 a., 345
Mithridates II., king of Commagene, 303
Moesia, 65-69, 73, 77, 205, 458-57, 471, 477
Moestians, the, 65, 69 f., 77
Morini, the, 61
Mucia, mother of Sex. Pompey, 9
Mucius, 209
Murena, Licinius, 239
Musa, Antonius, 271 f.
Mysians, the, 7
Mysteries of the two goddesses, 11, 305
Napata, 295
Neapolis, 341, 409
Neapolitana, the, 191, 409
Neptune, name taken by Agrippa Postumus, 475
Nero, the, 455. See Claudius
Nero, the emperor, 455
Nerva, A. Licinius (Silianus or Silianus) (cos. A.D. 7), 379, 473
Nerva, P. Silius (cos. 20), 299, 331 f.
Nicaea, city in Bithynia, 57
Nicomedea, city in Bithynia, 57
Nicopolis, city near Actium, 5
Nicopolis, city in Cappadocia, 5 a.
Nicopolis, city in Egypt, 49
Norbanus, C. See Flaccus
Northern ocean (North Sea), the, 381
Norici, the, 351 f.
Noricum, 337, 457
Numidia, 219, 453

Octavia, sister of Augustus, 43, 373
Odrysae, the, 73, 287
Olympian games, the, 153
Paecuvius (or Apudius) Sex., 247
Paeon, Articulius, 317
Palatine, the, 195, 235, 265, 343
Palatium, the, 275, 425
Palestine, 465
Pamphylia, 261, 371
Panathenaeic festival, the, 359

489
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index Term</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pandateria</td>
<td>411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantheon, the</td>
<td>263, 283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pannonia</td>
<td>77, 205, 355, 375, 453-57, 469, 477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pannonians, the</td>
<td>61, 331 f., 345, 355, 363 f., 369 f., 383, 469, 477, 481 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphlans, the</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos, 343</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraeartonium</td>
<td>25, 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paralians, the</td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parthians, the</td>
<td>51, 55, 413, 419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paulus, basilica of</td>
<td>343 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pausilypon</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pax, statue of</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peloponnesus, Isthmus of (Isthmus of Corinth)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelusium</td>
<td>27 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pergamensians, the</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pergamus</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian Gulf, the</td>
<td>21 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Persians,&quot; the, a party in naval battle given at Rome, 409</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petronius, C. (or P.)</td>
<td>293 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharnaces</td>
<td>205, 345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippi, 15, 305</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philopator, son of Tarcondimotus</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoebe, freedwoman of Julia</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenixia</td>
<td>221, 453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrygates, 51, 205, 275 n., 277 f., 301</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrygates</td>
<td>415-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pillars of Hercules, the</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinnes, Pannonian chief</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piso, Un. Calpurnius (cos. 23)</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piso, Un. Calpurnius (cos. 7)</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piso, L. Calpurnius (cos. 15)</td>
<td>335, 371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planastia</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plancus, L. Munatius</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plancus, L. Plantius, brother of preceding</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Po, the</td>
<td>477 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polemon</td>
<td>257, 345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polla, sister of Agrippa</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pollio, Vedius</td>
<td>339-43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pompey the Great</td>
<td>5 n., 107, 117, 285, 429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pompey, Sextus</td>
<td>7, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontus, 7, 221, 257, 345</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pottius, Valerius</td>
<td>&quot;See Massalia&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praetorians, the</td>
<td>135, 349, 411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primaus, M.</td>
<td>327 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proculeius, C.</td>
<td>53, 255 f., 289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pusil, the</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptolemy, the bodics of</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptolemy, son of Antony and Cleopatra</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puteoli</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pydades, a dancer</td>
<td>327, 411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyrenees, the</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pythian games, the</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintilianus, Sex. Nonius (cos. A.D. 8)</td>
<td>477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quirinus, P. Sulpius (cos. 12)</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quirinus, temple of</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravenna</td>
<td>459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Sea, the</td>
<td>19 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regulus</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regulus, Licinius</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhagana, 457</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhagtis, the</td>
<td>337 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhacyporis, a Thracian prince</td>
<td>371, 473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhine, the</td>
<td>61, 65, 207, 221, 333, 365-69, 381 f., 393, 417, 457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodes, 403 f., 421</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodope</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhometales, king of Thrace</td>
<td>333, 371, 471 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roles, king of a tribe of the Getae, 71 f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romans, the, passim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome, 11-15, 47, 57 f., 63, 153 f., 245, 253, 297, 301, 399</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romulus, 235; hut of, 361</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rufus, M. Egnatius</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rufus, P.</td>
<td>463 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabos, king of Arabia</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felix, Sacred Way, the</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saepta, the</td>
<td>253, 401, 409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salassal, the</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salomaei</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salus Publica, statue of</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samos, 200, 305</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sardinia</td>
<td>221, 467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarmatians, the</td>
<td>333, 471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturn, temple of</td>
<td>301 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturnius, C. Sentius (cos. 19)</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturnus, C. Sentius (cos. A.D. 4)</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savus, river in Pannonia</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scapula, Q. Ostorius</td>
<td>411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarpus, L. Pinarius</td>
<td>17, 25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

Scaurus, M., half-brother of Sex. Pompey, 7 f.
Scenobardus, 477
Scipio, P. Cornelius (Africanus), 107
Scipio, P. Cornelius (cos. 16), 329
Scordisc, the, 333, 365
Scribonius, pretended grandson of Mithridates, 345
Scythians, the, 77; cf. 65 f.
Segetia, 69
Seleuc, name given to Cleopatra, daughter of Cleopatra, 63
Sentius, C. See Saturninus
September, 3, 395
Serapis, 45
Serdi, the, 73
Sertorius, 119
Servilius, P. (pr. 25), 265
Seutius, L. (cos. 23), 277
Severus, A. Caecina, 471, 477
Severus, L. Septimius, emperor, 47
 Sextilia, name of, changed to August, 395
 Sextus. See Apuleius and Pompey.
Staeita, the, 371
Sibylline verses, the, 325
Sicily, 9, 189, 295, 299, 309
Sidon, 301
Silanus, M. Junius (cos. 25), 259
Silanus, Licinius. See Nerva
Silius, P. See Nerva
Silvanus, L., 295 f.
Sinope, 345
Sirmium, town in Pannonia, 469 f.
Siscia, town in Pannonia, 477
Sisenna, Cornelius, 355
Sitas, king of the Denteleti, 69, 73
Solon, 329
Sosus, C., 7
Spain, 19, 25, 29, 221, 253, 259, 267 f., 309, 333, 343, 347, 457
Spaniards, the, 247
Spolia opima, the, 71
Statilius, Q. (tr. 22), 187
Strabo, 107
Sudatorium Laconicum, the, 263
Suebi, the, 61, 65 f., 381
Sugambri, the, 333, 365 f., 373, 393
Sulla, 61, 107, 117 f.
Surrentum, 191
Syracuse, 299
Syria, 21-25, 49 f., 275, 295, 299, 331, 355, 415-19, 453, 459
Tarcondimotus, king of Cilicia, 7, 21, 303
Tarcondimotus, son of preceding, 303
Tarentum, 53
Taras, 221, 261
Taurus, T. Statilius (cos. 26), 57, 67, 253, 331
Taurus, Sex. Pacuvius, 247 n.
Tetricus, the, 333
Terentia, wife of Maecenas, 329
Theatre of Balbus, 347; of Marcellus, 273, 349
Thraces, 69, 77, 333, 371
Thracians, the, 65, 73
Thrasylus, 421 f.
Thucylides, 17 n.
Thyes, a freedman, 25 f.
Tiber, the, 245, 251, 279, 283, 347, 425, 451
Tiberius, political honours received by, 261, 267, 307, 331, 347, 363 f., 399, 403; military exploits of, 303 f., 337 f., 360-75, 383, 393 f., 469-73; sent to Rhodes, 403, 413 f.; recalled, 425; adopted by Augustus, 425; other references to, 191, 353, 459, 465
Tigranes, 303, 403, 415, 419
Tiridates, 51, 277 f., 419
Tiro, 397 n.
Titans, the, 75
Toranius (or Thorianus), C. (tr. 25), 265
Trajan, 457
Treveri, the, 57
Triballii, the, 65 f., 77
"Troy," game of, 65, 351
Tubero, Q. Aelius (cos. 11), 397
Turlulius, P., 23
Tyre, 301
Usipetes, the, 333, 365 f.
Vaccari, the, 57
Valerius, M. See Messalla
Vandalic mountains, the, 381
Varro, A. Terentius (Murena) (cos. 23), 259
Varus, P. Alfenus (cos. A.D. 2), 419
Varus, P. Quintilius (cos. 13), 347, 453 n.
Vennil (or Vannones), the, 331

491
INDEX

Venus, temple of, 65; statue of, 263
Vespasian, 457
Vesta, temple of, 343; statue of, 405
Vestal Virgins, the, 53, 343, 355, 451 f.
Vetus, C. Antistius (cos. 6), 401
Victory, statue of, 63
Vigintisexviri and Vigintiviri, the, 351 f.
Vinicius, M., 263
Vinicius, P. (cos. A.D. 2), 419
Virtus, festival of, 327

Vеспилло (or Vespilio), Q. Lucretius
(cos. 19), 307
Volurgis, river in Germany, 367, 381, 469
Vitellius, Q., 65
Volcaeans, marshes, the, 477
Vologaesus, a Thracian chief, 371
Zarmarus, an Indian, 305 f.
Zenodorus, tetarch of Trachonitis, 303
Zyraxes, king of a tribe of the Getae, 75 f.
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