Appian's
Roman history

Appianus (of Alexandria.)
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THE CIVIL WARS
ΑΙΙΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ

ΡΩΜΑΙΚΩΝ ΕΜΦΤΑΙΩΝ

Γ'

IV

Ο 8' Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας διενεγκείν ἐπενόει, καὶ προφάσεως ἄλλης ἐς τοῦτο ἀπορῶν ἥξιον τὴν βουλὴν ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐναλλάξας οἱ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἁλπεων Κελτικῆς, ἣς ἠγεῖτο Δέκμος Βροῦτος Ἀλβίνος, εἰδὼς μὲν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκ τῆς τῆς Κελτικῆς ὀρμῶμενος ἐκράτησε Πομπηίου, ὥς δὲ τὸν στρατὸν δόξων ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἄλλ' ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν μετακαλεῖν. ἢ δὲ βουλὴ τῆς τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀκρόπολιν ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἡγουμένη ἐδυσχέραινε τε καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας τότε πρῶτον ἱσθοῦτο καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν δόντες αὐτῷ μετενόουν. ἢδα τε αὐτῶν οἱ δυνατοὶ ἐπέστελλον τῷ Δέκμῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγκρατῶς ἔχεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ χρήματα ἀγάρειν, εἰ πρὸς Ἀντωνίου βιάζοντο· οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσάν τε καὶ ἐν ὀργῇ τῶν Ἀντωνίου εἶχον. ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ἐπενόει τὸν
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BOOK III.—continued

IV

27. Antony conceived the idea of bringing his army from Macedonia to Italy; and being in want of any other pretext for this step he asked the Senate to let him exchange the province of Macedonia for that of Cisalpine Gaul, which was under the command of Decimus Brutus Albinus. He remembered that Caesar had marched from the latter province when he overthrew Pompey and he thought that he should appear to be transferring his army to Gaul and not to Italy. The Senate, which looked upon Cisalpine Gaul as its own fortress, was angry, and now, for the first time perceived the stratagem and repented having given him Macedonia. The principal members sent word privately to Decimus to keep a strong hold on his province, and to raise additional troops and money in case Antony should resort to violence, so much did they fear and hate the latter. Antony then bethought him to ask the people, instead of the Senate, for this province by a law

b 2 3
CAP. IV

dήμον αἰτήσασα νόμον τὴν Κελτικήν, φ' τρόπῳ καὶ ὁ
Καῖσαρ. αὐτὴν πρότερον εἰλικρίνει καὶ Συρίαν
Δολοβέβλλας ὑπογόνος, ἐσὶ δὲ φόβον τῆς βουλῆς
τὴν στρατιάν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐκέλευε Γαύρ τὸν
Ἰόνιον περάν αὐτίκα.

28. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλε ποιῆσειν, ὡς προσετέ-
τακτον: θέας δὴ ἡγαν, ἃς Κριτώνος ἀγορανομὸν
ἔμελλεν τελέσειν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὰς θέας τῷ
πατρὶ τὸν τε χρύσου τρόχον καὶ στέφανον παρε-
σκέυαζεν, ἀπερ αὐτῇ κατὰ πάσας θέας ἐξηφίσαντο
προτίθεσθαί. τοῦ Κριτωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος οὐκ
ἀνέξασθαι τιμωμένου Καίσαρος ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ
dαπάναις, ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Ἄντωνιον ἤγεν
ὡς ὑπατον. Ἀντωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος ἐς τὴν βουλήν
ἐπανοίσειν, χαλεπήνας ὁ Καῖσαρ, "ἀνάφερε," εἶπεν,
"ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν θρόνον, ἔως ἂν ἢ τὸ δόγμα, προβῆσων" καὶ
ὁ Ἀντώνιος χαλεπήνας ἐκόλυσεν. ἐκώλυσε
δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐξῆς θέασιν ἔτι παραλογῶτερον, ὡς
αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτελεί, ἀνακειμένας ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς
Ἀφροδίτη Γενετείρα, ὅτε περ αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν νεῶν ὁ
πατὴρ τὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἁμα αὐτῇ ἀγορα ἀνετίθει.
τότε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα μίσος ἦδη σαφῆς ἐκ πάντων
ἔς τὸν Ἄντωνιον ἐγγύνετο, ὡς οὐκ ἐς τὸν ὑπὸ
Καίσαρα φιλονικοῦντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς τὸν πρότερον
ὑβρίζοντα ἀχαρίστως.

Ἄυτός τε ὁ Καῖσαρ μετὰ πλῆθος οὐα φρονήσ
τὸν δήμον καὶ τοὺς εὐ τι παθόντας ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖνῳ στρατευσαμένους περιθέων ἐπι-
φθόνως ἰκέτευεν ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ τοιάδε καὶ τοσάδε

4
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

in the same manner that Caesar had obtained it at a former time, and Dolabela had recently obtained Syria. In order to intimidate the Senate he ordered his brother, Gaius, to bring his army across the Adriatic to Brundusium.

28. Gaius proceeded to do as ordered. Meanwhile there had arrived the time for the games which the aedile Critonius was about to exhibit, and Octavian made preparations to display his father's gilded throne and garland, which the Senate had voted should be placed in front for him at all games. When Critonius said that he could not allow Caesar to be honoured in this way at games given at his expense, Octavian brought him before Antony as consul. Antony said he would refer the matter to the Senate. Octavian was vexed and said, "Refer it; I will place the throne there as long as the decree is in force." Antony became angry and prohibited it. He prohibited it still more unreasonably in the next games given by Octavian himself, which had been instituted by his father in honour of Venus Genetrix when he dedicated a temple to her in a forum, together with the forum itself. Then at last it became evident that universal hatred of Antony was already growing out of this affair, since he seemed to be moved not so much by a feeling of rivalry toward the younger Caesar as by an ungrateful purpose to insult the memory of the elder one.

Octavian himself, with a crowd of people like a body-guard, moved about among the plebeians and those who had received benefits from his father, or had served under him in war, stirring their anger and beseeching them to pay no attention to
τάσχοντος ύπεροραν καὶ ἀμελεῖν ἐκόντος, Καίσαρι
dὲ τῷ σφῶν αὐτοκράτορι καὶ εὐεργετή ἀμύνειν,
ἀτιμουμένον πρὸς Ἀντωνίουν. ἀμυνεῖν δὲ καὶ σφῖςιν
αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲν ἔξουσι βέβαιον ὄν εἰλήφασι παρὰ
Καίσαρος, εἰ μηδὲ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι μενεῖ τὰ ἐγγυεῖς-
μένα βέβαια. Ἀντωνίου τε πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως
ἐς τά υψηλά ἀνατηθῶν κατεβόα: "Καίσαρι μὲν
dὲ ἐμὲ μήτε ὀργίζεσθαι μήτε ἐνυβρίζειν, εὐεργετή
σοῦ μάλιστα, ὥ Ἀντώνιε, ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γεγενη-
μένῳ ὡμοὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν υβρεων, ὡς σοι θέλεις,
ἐμφορεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἀρπαγῆν ἐπισχεῖν,
μέχρι τοὺς πολίτας κομίσασθαι τὴν διανέμησιν
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἐχεῖν ἀρκέσειν γὰρ ἐμοὶ
πενομένῳ τὴν τε τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαν, ἀν διαμένῃ,
καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου διανέμησιν, ἓν ἔσης δοθήναι."

29. Ἐφ’ οἶς ἦδη παρὰ πάντων συνεχεῖς ἐγγύνοιτο
καὶ φανεραὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου βοαί. ἀπειλη-
σαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι πικρότερον καὶ τῆς
ἀπειλῆς ἐξενεχθείσης ἐς τὸ φανερόν, ἔτι μᾶλλον
ἀπαντεῖς ὁρμητοι καὶ οἱ τῆς φρουρᾶς Ἀντωνίου
ταξίαρχοι, ἐστρατευμένοι τε Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ
καὶ ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ὑπ’ Ἀντωνίου τὸτε προτίμω-
μενοί, τὴν υβριν αὐτὸν ἐπισχεῖν ἦξιον καὶ διὰ
σφᾶς καὶ δὲ ἔαυτῳν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενον
καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν παρ’ ἐκεῖνον
tυχόντα. συγγεγραφόμενον οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀληθεῖαι
οὐσίν τοῦτος καὶ τοὺς προφέροντας αὐτὰ αἰδού-
μενος, ἦδη δὲ τε καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν
dήμουν ἐς τήν ἀλλαγὴν τῆς Κελτικῆς δεόμενος,
ἀμολογεῖ τοὺς λεγομένους καὶ ἐπώμυνεν αὐτὰ καὶ
himself, though the victim of so many and so great out- 
gages, and to ignore him, by his own request, but to defend Caesar, their commander and bene- 
factor, against the insults of Antony; to defend themselves too, because they would never be secure in what they had received from Caesar unless the decrees passed in his honour should remain in full force. He exclaimed against Antony everywhere throughout the city, leaping up on to any elevated spot, saying, "O Antony, do not be angry with Caesar on my account. Do not insult one who has been the greatest benefactor to you. On me heap indignities to your heart's content. Cease plundering his property until the legacy to the citizens is paid; then take all the rest. However poor I may be, my father's glory, if that remains, and the distribution to the people, if you will allow it to be made, will be all-sufficient for me."

29. Henceforth there were open and repeated outcries against Antony on all sides. The latter indulged in more bitter threats against Octavian, and when they became known the people were still more incensed against him. The tribunes of Antony's guard, who had served under the elder Caesar, and who were then in the highest favour with Antony, urged him to refrain from insult, both on their account and on his own, as he had served under Caesar and had obtained his present good fortune at Caesar's hands. Antony, recognizing the truth of these words, and feeling a sense of shame before those who uttered them and needing some help from Octavian himself with the people, to procure the exchange of provinces, agreed with what they said and swore
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CAP. ΟΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΑΒΟΥΛΗΤΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ, ΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΓΝΩΜΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟΥ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΜΕΤΑΤΙΘΕΣΘΑΙ, ΕΠΗΡΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΕ ΕΠΑΧΘΩΣ ΕΤΙ ΤΗΛΙΚΟΪΔΕ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΙΔΗΣΙΜΟΝ Ή ΤΙΜΟΝ ΕΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΣ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΣ· ΑΠΕΡ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟΥ ΧΡΗΣΕΙΝ ΕΤΙ ΝΟΥΘΕΣΙΑΣ, ΣΦΩΝ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΑΞΙΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΕΝΕΚΑ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΚΑΘΕΞΕΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΑΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΦΥΣΙΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΓΡΩΜΗΝ ΕΠΑΝΗΞΕΙΝ, ΗΝ ΚΑΚΕΙΝΟΣ ΑΠΕΧΗΤΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΜΕΤΡΙΑΣ.

30. ΤΑΥΤΑ ΟΙ ΤΑΞΙΑΡΧΟΙ ΑΣΠΑΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΣΥΝΗΓΟΥΝ ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΙΣ. ΟΙ ΔΕ ΕΠΕΜΕΡΙΩΝΤΟ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΕΒΑΙΝΟΥΝ ΕΣ ΦΙΛΙΑΝ. Ο ΤΕ ΒΟΜΟΣ Ο ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΕΛΤΙΚΗΣ ΠΡΟΥΓΡΑΦΕΤΟ ΑΥΤΙΚΑ, ΌΡΡΙΟΥΣΗΣ ΠΑΝΥ ΤΗΣ ΒΟΥΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΝΟΟΥΣΗΣ, ΕΙ ΜΕΝ Ο 'ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΒΟΛΕΥΟΙ, ΚΩΛΥΕΙΝ ΠΡΟΒΟΛΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΝ, ΕΙ ΔΕ ΑΠΡΟΒΟΛΕΥΟΤΩΝ ΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΕΣΦΕΡΟΙ, ΤΟΥΣ ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΥΣ ΕΣ ΚΩΛΥΣΙΝ ΕΠΙΠΕΜΠΕΙΝ. ΗΣΑΝ ΔΕ ΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΘΝΟΣ ΩΛΕΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΥΝ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΙΑ ΗΞΙΟΥΝ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΕΓΕΝΟΙΚΕΣΑΝ ΑΓΧΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΚΕΛΤΙΚΗΝ ΟΥΣΑΝ. Ο ΕΙ 'ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΑΝΤΕΝΕΚΑΛΕΙ, ΕΙ ΔΕΚΜΡ ΜΕΝ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΥΣΙΝ, ΟΤΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΑΠΕΚΤΕΙΝΕΝ, ΑΥΤΟΐ ΔΕ ΑΠΙΣΤΟΥΣΙΝ, ΟΤΙ ΟΥΚ ΑΠΕΚΤΕΙΝΕ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΡΕΨΑΜΕΝΟΝ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΙΝΑΝΤΑ ΕΣ ΓΟΝΙΝ, ΑΠΟΡΡΙΠΤΩΝ ΗΔΗ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΦΑΕΡΩΣ ΕΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΩΣ ΕΦΗΔΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΣΙΝ. ΕΛΘΟΥΣΗΣ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΑΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ Ή ΜΕΝ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΤΗΝ ΛΟΧΙΤΙΝ ΕΝΟΜΙΖΕΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ ΣΥΛΛΕΓΗΣΕΣΘΑΙ, ΟΙ ΔΕ ΝΥΚΤΩΣ ΕΤΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΓΟΡΑΝ ΠΕΡΙΟΧΟΙ.
that what he had done had been quite contrary to his intention, but that he changed his purpose because the young man was inordinately puffed up, being still a youth and showing no respect for his elders and no honour for those in authority. Although for his own benefit the young man still needed reproof, yet in deference to their remonstrances he would restrain his anger and return to his former disposition and intention, if Octavian, also, would curb his presumption.

30. The tribunes were delighted with this reply and they brought Antony and Octavian together, who, after some mutual chiding, formed an alliance. The law concerning Cisalpine Gaul was proposed at once to the great dismay of the senators. They intended, if Antony should first bring the law before them, to reject it, and if he should bring it before the popular assembly without consulting them, to send the tribunes of the people to veto it. There were some who advised that this province be made free altogether, so much was it dreaded on account of its nearness. Antony, on the other hand, accused them of entrusting it to Decimus because he had been one of Caesar’s murderers and of having no confidence in himself because he had not joined in killing the man who had subdued the province and brought it to its knees\(^1\)—throwing out these insinuations openly against all of his opponents, as persons who rejoiced over the assassination. When the day for the comitia came the Senate expected that the people would be summoned by centuries, but the Antonians, who had enclosed the forum

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\(^1\) There is some confusion here. Caesar did not subdue Cisalpine Gaul.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. IV 
υισάμενοι τὴν φυλέτιν ἐκάλουν, ὡτὸ συνθήματος ἐληλυθώσαν. καὶ ὁ δημός λεῶς, ἀχθομένος τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, συνέπρασσεν ὠμος διὰ τὸν Καίσαρα ἑφεστῶτα τοῖς περισχοινίσμασι καὶ δεόμενον. ἐδείτο δὲ μάλιστα μὲν, ὅταν μὴ Δέκμος ἄρχοι χωρας τε ἐπικαιρὸν καὶ στρατιὰς ἀνδροφόνοσ ὁν τοῦ πατρός, ἔπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἐσ χάριν Ἀντωνίου συνηλλαγμένου. προσεδόκα δὲ ἄρα τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντιλήψεσθαι παρὰ Ἀντωνίου. διαφθαρέντων δὲ χρήμασι τῶν δημάρχων ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου καὶ κατα- σιωπώτων ὁ νόμος ἐκυροῦτο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς Ἀν- τωνίῳ μετ' αἰτίας εὕπρεποὺς ήδη τὸν Ἰόνιον ἑπέρα.

V

CAP. V 
31. Τῶν δὲ δημάρχων τινὸς ἀποθανόντος, ἐσ τὴν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν ὁ Καίσαρ συνέ- πρασσεν Φλαμνίῳ καὶ ὁ δήμος οἴομένος αὐτόν ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ τὸ νεότερον τῆς ἡλικίας οὐ παραγγέλλων, ἐπενόουν ἐν ταῖς χειρο- τονίαις δήμαρχον ἀποφημία τὸν Καίσαρα. ἦ δὲ βουλή τῆς αὐξήσεως ἐφθάνει καὶ ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ δημάρχῳ τοὺς φονέας τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τὸν δήμον ἐς δίκην ἀπαγάγοι 'Ἀντωνίος τε τῆς ἀρτι συγκε- μένης πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα φιλίας ὑπεριδών, εἴτε ἐσ χάριν τῆς βουλῆς ἢ παρηγοριάν, ἀχθομένης τῷ
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

with a rope during the night summoned them by CHAP. tribes according to a plan they had agreed upon.¹ Although the plebeians were incensed against Antony they nevertheless co-operated with him for the sake of Octavian, who stood alongside the rope and begged them to do so. He did this in order that Decimus, who had been one of his father’s murderers, might not have the government of so convenient a province, and of the army belonging to it, and, moreover, to gratify Antony, who was now in league with him. He expected also to get some assistance from Antony in return. The tribunes, too, had been corrupted with money by Antony and remained silent. So the law was passed and Antony now with plausible reason began to bring his army across the Adriatic.

V

31. One of the tribunes of the people having died CHAP. Octavian favoured the election of Flaminius as his successor. The people thought that he was ambitious of this office for himself, but that he refrained from being a candidate because he was under age, and accordingly, they proposed to cast their votes for him as tribune. The Senate begrudged him this increase of power, fearing lest, as tribune, he should bring the murderers of his father before the popular assembly for trial. Antony, in disregard of his recent alliance with Octavian, either to curry favour with the Senate, or to appease

¹ The reading of all the codices is that Antony wanted the votes to be taken by centuries and not by tribes, whereas that plan would have defeated him. Editors accordingly transpose the words “centuries” and “tribes.”
οι, συνεστησάμεθα καὶ εἰς τὰ καθ’ ἡμέραν αὐτῆς ὑπηρέται γιγαντιαίοι διετελοῦμεν, ἐξεβίω ἡμᾶς χρωμένους καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐκεῖνος ἐπιρρήτουσαν, τοῦ δῆμου ὑπελάσαντος αὐτοῦ ἀνεθαρρύσαμεν, οὐ πάντη τὰ Καίσαρος ὁρῶντες ἄφιλα οὐδε ἀμνήμονα οὐδε ἀχάριστα. την δ’ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἄσφαλειν εἴχομεν ἐν σοί, φίλο τε Καί-

32. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφίς ταῦτα ἦν· οἱ ταξιάρχοι δὲ αὐθις παρὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ ρον ἀίτησαντες ἐλεγον· "ἡμεῖς, ὁ Ἀντώνιος, καὶ ὁ άλλοι μετὰ σοῦ Καίσαρι στρατευσόμενοι τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ συνεστησάμεθα καὶ ἐς τὰ καθ’ ἡμέραν αὐτῆς ὑπηρέται γιγαντιαίοι διετελοῦμεν, ἐξεβίω ἡμᾶς χρωμένους καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐκεῖνος ἐπιρρήτουσαν, τοῦ δῆμου ὑπελάσαντος αὐτοῦ ἀνεθαρρύσαμεν, οὐ πάντη τὰ Καίσαρος ὁρῶντες ἄφιλα οὐδε ἀμνήμονα οὐδε ἀχάριστα. την δ’ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἄσφαλειν εἴχομεν ἐν σοί, φίλο τε Καί-

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its dissatisfaction with the law respecting Cisalpine Gaul, or for private reasons, gave public notice, as consul, that Octavian should not attempt anything contrary to law; and that if he should do so he (Antony) would use the full measure of his authority against him. As this edict was an act of ingratitude toward Octavian, and was insulting both to him and to the people, the latter were extremely angry and took steps to defeat Antony's wishes in the election, so that he became alarmed and annulled the comitia, saying that the remaining number of tribunes was sufficient. Octavian, thus at last openly attacked, sent numerous agents to the towns colonized by his father to tell how he had been treated and to learn the state of feeling in each. He also sent certain persons in the guise of traders into Antony's camp to mingle with the soldiers, to work upon the boldest of them, and secretly distribute handbills among the rank and file.

32. While Octavian was doing this the military tribunes again sought an audience with Antony and addressed him thus: "We, O Antony, and the others who served with you under Caesar, established his rule and continued to maintain it from day to day as its faithful supporters. We know how his murderers equally hate and conspire against us and how the Senate favours them. But after the people drove them out we took fresh courage seeing that Caesar's acts were not altogether without friends, were not forgotten, were not unappreciated. For our future security we put our trust in you, the friend of Caesar, after him the most experienced of all as a commander, our present leader, and the one most fit to be such.
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CAP. επιτηδείω. ἀναφυομένων δὲ τῶν ἔχθρῶν καὶ θρα-σέως ἐσ τε Σύριαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν βιαζομένων καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιάν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συνιστάντων, καὶ τὴς Βουλής σοι Δέκμον ἐπαλειφοῦσης, καὶ σοῦ τὰς φροντίδας ἡς τὴν Καίσαρος τοῦ νέου διαφορὰν δαπανῶντος, δέδιμεν εἰκότως, μὴ ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὕτω παρόντα πόλεμον ἡ στάσις ὑμῶν τῷ πολέμῳ συνεπιθήται καὶ διαπραχθῇ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ ἡμῶν, ἃ βούλονται. ὥν ἐνθυμηθέντα σε ἀξιοῦμεν, ὅσιας τε χάριν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ φειδοῦσ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἐπιμέμπτων σοι γενομένων καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ σοῦ τῶν συμφερόντων οὖνεα, ἔως ἐτί δύνασαι, Καίσαρι μὲν, ὅπερ ἄρκεσεῖ, μόνον συνεπαρμόναι τοὺς φονεάς τιμωρο-μένω, σὲ δὲ αὐτίκα δυναστεύειν, ἅμων ἀμερίμονο γενομένον τε καὶ ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι παρασκευάσαντα τοὺς ὑπὲρ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ δεδιότας.

33. Τοσαύτα τοὺς ταξιάρχους εὐπόντας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὄλῃ ἥμελφατο: "ὅση μὲν εὐνοία καὶ σπουδὴ πρὸς Καίσαρα περίοντα ἐχρώμην, φιλοκινδυνώτατος ἐκ πάντων ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου χρείας γενόμενος, ἵστε σαφῶς, συστρατευσάμενοι τε καὶ τοῖς γυνομένοις παρατρυχότες· ὅση δὲ αὐτὸς κάκεινος εἰς ἐμὲ χάριτι καὶ προτιμήσει χρώμενος διετέλει, οὗ μαρτυρεῖν ἐμὲ δίκαιον. ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ φονεῖς εἰδότες συνετίθεντο κἀμὲ Καίσαρι συνανελεῖν, ὡς ἔμοι περίοντος οὐ καθέξοντες ἀν ἐπενύουν. καὶ ὅστις αὐτοὺς μετέπεισε τῆς γυνώμης, οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ τῆς ἡμῆς σωτηρίας ἐπεισεν, ἀλλ' ἐυπρεπείᾳ τῆς τυραννοκτονίας, ὡς μὴ δοκῶσι πολλοὶ ὠσπερ ἐχθροῖς, ἀλλ' ἐνα ἀνελεῖν ὡς τύραννον. τίς ἂν οὖν πιστεύσειν
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

Our enemies are starting up afresh. They are forcibly seizing Syria and Macedonia and are raising money and troops against us. The Senate is stirring up Decimus Brutus against you. Yet you are wasting your powers of mind in a disagreement with the young Caesar. We naturally fear lest there be added to the war, which has not yet broken out but is imminent, dissensions among you, which shall accomplish all that our enemies desire against us. We beseech you to consider these things for the sake of piety toward Caesar and care for us, who have never given you cause for complaint, for your own interest even more than ours; and, while you still may, to assist Octavian at any rate so far—for this will suffice—as to punish the murderers. Then you will enjoy your power without anxiety and will provide security for us, who are now apprehensive both for ourselves and for you."

33. To the tribunes who had thus spoken Antony made the following reply: "What friendship and zeal I had for Caesar while he lived, what dangers I braved in his service, you, who have been my fellow-soldiers and the sharers in those events, know full well. What favours he showed me, what honours he continually bestowed upon me, it does not become me to say. The murderers, too, were acquainted with these facts. They conspired to kill me with Caesar because they knew that if I were living they could not compass their designs. Whoever dissuaded them from that purpose did so not from regard for my safety, but to preserve the appearance of tyrannicide, so that they might not seem to be killing a number of persons as enemies, but only one as a despot. Who, then,
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CAP. ἐμὲ Καίσαρός τε ἀμελεῖν εὐεργέτου μοι γεγενημένου καὶ προτιμῶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐκείνου καὶ τὸν φόνον ἐκόντα χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσις, ὡς οἴεται Καίσαρ ὁ νέος; πῶθεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστία τοῦ φόνου καὶ ἡγεμονία; ταῦτα γὰρ ἑπικαλεῖν, ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἔμοι βούλεται. μάθετε, ὡς ἐγένετο.

34. "Καίσαρος ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ σφαγέντος ἄφω, δέος ἐπέσχεν ἐκ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα πλείστον ἐμὲ φιλά τε αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἀγνοία τοῦ ἀκριβοὺς ὑπὸ γὰρ πώ τὴν συνθήκην ἔωρον οὔδε ἐπὶ ὁσίως. ὡς δὲ δήμος ἔθνορυθεῖτο, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς σὺν μονομάχους τὸ Καπιτῶλιον καταλαβόντες ἀπέκλειον, καὶ ἡ βουλή σὺν ἐκείνοις ἦν, ἣ καὶ νῦν ἐστι φανερώτερον, γέρα τε τοῖς ἀνελούσιν ὡς τυραννοκτόνους ἐψηφίζετο. καὶ εἰ τύραννος ὁ Καίσαρ ἐφάνη, ἡμῖν ὑπηρχεῖν ἀπολέσθαι πάσιν ὡς τυράννου φίλοις. δὴ δὴ με ἔχοντα θηρύβου καὶ μερίμνης καὶ δέους, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν γνώμης παράδοξον οὔδε ἀπορήσαι, σκοποῦσιν εὐρήσετε, ἐνθα μὲν ἐδεί τόλμης, θρασύτατον, ἐνθα δὲ ὑποκρίσεως, εὕμηχανον. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἐκ πάντων καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνέχον ἦν ἀναίρεθηναι τὰ γέρα τὰ ψηφιζόμενα τοῖς ἁγδράσιν ὅπερ, ἀντιτάξει ἐμαυτῶν ἐγὼ τῇ τῇ βουλῆ καὶ τοῖς σφαγευσίν ἐγκρατῶς, ἐπράττον σὺν θράσει παραβόλῳ καὶ ἐπικινδύνῳ, τότε μόνον ὑγούμενος ἕμας τοὺς Καίσαρος ἁσφαλῶς περιεσθεῖαι, ὅταν μὴ Καίσαρ
will believe that I have no care for Caesar, who was my benefactor, that I prefer his enemies, and that I willingly condone his murder at the hands of those who conspired against me also, as the young Caesar imagines? Whence came their amnesty, whence their preferment? For he wishes to charge these things upon me instead of the Senate. Learn from me how they came about.

34. "When Caesar was suddenly slain in the senate-house fear fell upon me most of all by reason of my friendship for him and my ignorance of the facts, as I knew not yet the particulars of the conspiracy nor against how many it was designed. The people were terror-stricken. The murderers with a body of gladiators took possession of the Capitol and shut themselves up in it. The Senate was on their side, just as it now is more openly, and was about to vote rewards to them as tyrannicides. If Caesar had been declared a tyrant then might we all have perished as the friends of a tyrant. In the midst of such confusion, anxiety, and fear, when it was not the time either for any rash move, or for any long hesitation, you will find, if you examine, that where courage was needed I was boldest and where artifice was required I was most crafty. The first thing to be done, because it embraced everything else, was to prevent the voting of rewards to the conspirators. This I accomplished against the strong opposition of the Senate and of the murderers, with unfailing courage and in the face of danger, because I then believed that we of Caesar's party could be safe only in case Caesar were not declared...

1 So Keil, approved by Viereck. Others couple γνόμης with ἀνορθοῖα, and Nauck transposes γνόμης. It would then mean "When I might well have been at a loss what to decide."
CAP. εἶναι δόξη τύραννος. τῷ δ’ αὐτῷ δεῖ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῆς ἐχομένων, ὅτε μη Καίσαρ εἶναι τύραννος, ἀνδροφοινίας αὐτοῦς ἀλώσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τούτο φιλονικοῦντων, εἴξα τῆς ἀμνηστίας διδομένης ἀντὶ τῶν γερῶν, ἵν’ ὄσον ἔχρηζον ἀντιλάβοιμι. τὰ δὲ ἦν πόσα καὶ πηλίκα; μήτε τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπηλείφθαι τὴν ἑμοὶ μᾶλλον πάντων ἥδιοντι μήτε τὴν περιούσιαν δεδημεῦσθαι μήτε τὴν θέσιν, ἐφ’ ἥν νῦν οὖσος γαυρία, διαλεύσθαι μήτε τὰς διαθήκας ἀκύρους γενέσθαι τὸ τε σῶμα τεθάφθαι βασιλικῶς καὶ τιμᾶς αὐτῷ τὰ πᾶλαι δεδομένας ἥθανάτους διαμένει καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα πάντα κύρια εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἑκεῖνου πάιδα καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἡμᾶς, καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ στρατιώτας, ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γενέσθαι σωτηρία καὶ ἐνδοξῷ βίῳ ἀντὶ ἐπονειδίστου.

35. "Ἄρ’ ὕμων ὠλίγα ἡ σμικρὰ τῆς ἀμνηστίας την βουλήν ἀνταίτησαι δοκῶ; ἦ δοῦναι ᾗν αὐτᾷ ἡ βουλή χωρίς τῆς ἀμνηστίας; ὅτι μὲν δὴ καὶ καθάρως ἀντιδοῦνα τάδε τώνδε ἄξιοι καὶ φείσασθαι σὺν ἀληθεὶς γνώμη φονέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἥθανάτου Καίσαρος δόξης καὶ ἡμῶν ἀσφαλοῦς σωτηρίας, ὁποῖος ὑπὸ μὴν ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆς γνώμης ἐποίουν, ἀλλ’ ἀνατιθέμενος τὴν δίκην. ἔπει γέ τοι τῆς βουλῆς ἐστὶν πρώτη ἔχρηζον ἐκράτησα καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς ὤς ἐν ἀμερίμνῳ μεθείντο, ἀνεθάρρησα καὶ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν παρέλθουν, οὐ ψηφίσμασιν ἡ δόγμασιν (ὅποι γὰρ ἦν), ἀλλ’ ἀσήμω δημοκρατία, τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς ταφῆς ἐσ
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a tyrant. But when I saw our enemies, and the Senate itself, plunged alike in fear (lest, if Caesar were not decreed a tyrant, they themselves should be convicted of murder), and making their fight for this reason, I yielded and granted amnesty instead of rewards to the murderers, in order to gain what I wanted in exchange. What number of things did I want and how important were they? That Caesar's name, to me most dear, should not be blotted out, that his property should not be confiscated, that the adoption on which this young man prides himself should not be annulled, that the will should not be declared invalid, that his body should have a royal funeral, that the immortal honours previously decreed to him should be fulfilled, that all his acts should be confirmed, and that his son, and we his friends, both generals and soldiers, should remain in perfect safety and enjoy a life of honour instead of ignominy.

35. "Think you that I asked few or small things from the Senate in exchange for the amnesty, or that the Senate would have made these concessions without the amnesty? If this exchange had been made in all sincerity it would have been a fair bargain actually to spare the murderers for the sake of Caesar's immortal glory and our complete security, but in fact I did it not with that intention, but in order to postpone the retribution. Accordingly, as soon as I had obtained what I wanted from the Senate, and the murderers, freed from anxiety, were off their guard, I took fresh courage and undermined the amnesty, not by votes, not by decrees (for that was impossible), but by working on the people imperceptibly. I brought Caesar's
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Ωδὲ δὲ ἀπορῶν καὶ ἑπενεχόμενος ἐξοπλίζαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἀντ᾽ ἐκεῖνω πᾶ τὰ ὑπὸ μετείχειν, Ἀματίον ἐκτείνα καὶ κατεκάλεσα Πομπήιον, ἵνα τοίοῦτο αὕτης ἀλοῦσα ἡ βουλή πρὸς με μεταθείτο. καὶ οὐδὲ ὅσ αὐτῷ πιστεύουν ἐπείσα Συρίαν αἰτεῖν Δολοβέλλαν, οὐ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου νόμῳ, καὶ συνεπερακαίηντε, ἵνα τοῖς τε σφαγεύσι Δολοβέλλας ἐχθρὸς ἀντὶ φίλου γένοιτο καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

body into the forum under pretence of burial, I laid bare his wounds, I showed the number of them and his clothing all bloody and slashed. In public speech I dwelt on his bravery and his services to the common people in pathetic terms, weeping for him as slain but invoking him as god. The facts and words of mine stirred up the people, kindled a fire after the amnesty, sent them against the houses of our enemies, and drove the murderers from the city. How all this was done in the teeth of and to the chagrin of the Senate was presently shown, when they blamed me for exciting the people and sent the murderers away to take command of provinces, Brutus and Cassius to Syria and Macedonia, which were provided with great armies, telling them to hasten before the appointed time, under pretence of looking after the corn supply. And now another and still greater fear took possession of me (since I had no military force of my own as yet), lest we should be exposed without arms to the assaults of so many armed men. I suspected my colleague also because he was always at variance with me, and while pretending to be in the conspiracy against Caesar had proposed that the day of the murder should be celebrated as the birthday of the republic.

36. "While I was at a loss what to do, desiring to disarm our enemies and to arm ourselves instead, I put Amatius to death and recalled Sextus Pompeius in order to entrap the Senate again and bring it over to my side. But as even then I had no confidence in it I persuaded Dolabella to ask for the province of Syria, not from the Senate, but from the people by a law, and I favoured his petition so that he should become an enemy instead of a friend of
ΑΠΠΙΑΝΟΣ, ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΟΣ

CAP. V. αἰσχρὸν ἢ μετὰ Δολοβέλλαν ἀντειπεὶν ἐμοὶ περὶ Μακεδονίας. οὐ μέντ' ἂν οὐδ' ὡς μοι Μακεδονίαν ἔδοσαν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ Δολοβέλλα, διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατιάν, εἰ μὴ τὴν στρατιάν προμεθήκα τῷ Δολοβέλλα ὡς Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐς Πάρθους διαλαχόντι. τοὺς δ' αὖ περὶ τὸν Κάσσιον οὔτε Μακεδονίαν ἀφεῖλοντο ἀν οὔτε Συρίαν, μὴ ἔτερα αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἀντιλαβόντες ἔθνη. δεήσαν οὖν ἀντιδοῦναι θεάσασθε, ὅλα ἀνθ' οἴνων καὶ ὡς στρατοῦ γυμνὰ ἔδοθος, Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη· ὦν καὶ οἱ ἑχθροὶ καταφρονοῦσιν οὐκ ἀσφαλῶν σφῖσιν ὄντων καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄφθρημένα βιάζονται. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐς Δολοβέλλαν μετενήκετο ἀπὸ τῶν ἑχθρῶν τέχναι καὶ μηχαναῖς καὶ ἀντιδόσειν ἔτερων· οὐ γὰρ πὼ τῶν ὅπλων φανέντων ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις ἔδει πράσσειν.

37. "Γεγενημένων δὲ τῶν καὶ τῶν ἑχθρῶν ἔτερων στρατῶν ἄγειράντων, ἔδει μοι τοῦ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν στρατοῦ καὶ προφάσεως ἡπόρουν. φήμη δὲ κατέσκηψε Γέτας Μακεδονίαν πορθείν. ἀπιστομένης δὲ καὶ ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἐπισκεφθομένων ἀπεσταλμένων, εἰσηγησάμην ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς δικτάτορος ἁρχῆς μὴ ἔξειναι μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτε ἐπιψηφίσαι μήτε λαβεῖν διδομένην· ὥ δὲ μάλιστα ὑπαχθέντες ἔδοσάν μοι τὸν στρατόν. καὶ ἐγὼ τότε πρῶτον ἐμαυτὸν ἡγησάμην ἰσόπαλον εἶναι τοῖς ἑχθροῖς, οὐ τοίς δὲ τοῖς φανεροῖς, ὥς οἶεται Καίσαρ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πλέοσι τε καὶ δυνατωτέροις.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

the murderers, and so that the senators should be ashamed to refuse me Macedonia afterwards. Still, the Senate would not have assigned Macedonia to me, even after Dolabella had been provided for, by reason of the army belonging to it, if I had not previously transferred the army to Dolabella, on the ground that Syria and the Parthian war had fallen to his lot. And again they would not have taken Macedonia and Syria away from Brutus and Cassius unless other provinces had been obtained for them to ensure their safety. When it became necessary to make them a recompense, look at the compensation that was given to them—Cyrene and Crete, devoid of troops, provinces which even our enemies despise as not sufficient for their safety; and they are now trying to seize by force those that were taken from them. Thus in fact was the army transferred from our enemies to Dolabella by artifice, by stratagem, by exchange; for when there was no way to gain our end openly by arms we had necessarily to have recourse to the laws.

37. "After these events our enemies had raised another army and it became needful for me to have the one in Macedonia; but I was in want of a pretext. A rumour gained currency that the Getae were ravaging Macedonia. This was disbelieved, and while messengers were sent to make inquiry I brought forward the decree about the dictatorship, providing that it should not be lawful to speak of it, to vote for it, or to accept it if offered. The senators were particularly taken with this proposal and they gave me the army. Then for the first time I considered myself on an equality with my enemies, not merely with the open ones, as Octavian thinks,
καὶ ἀφανέσων ἔτι εἶναι θέλουσι. ταῦτα δὲ ἑργασμένῳ μοι ἔτερος τῶν σφαγέων ἔλευθεν ἐν πλευραῖς, Βροῦτος ὁ Δέκμος, ἡγούμενος καὶ ὄσα χώρας ἐπικαίρου καὶ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ δυν ἐγὼ καὶ θρασύτερον εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀφήρομεν, ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς Μακεδονίαν ὑπισχυομενον ἀντιδώσειν, γυμνῆσθαι στρατοῦ γενομένην. ἀγανακτούσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἐνέδραν ἦδη καθορώσεις καὶ ἵστε ὅλα καὶ ὁσα Δέκμῳ πολλῶν γραφοῦσιν καὶ ἐπαλειφότων ἦδη τοὺς μετ' ἐμὲ υπάτους, ἐγὼ θρασύτερον ἔτι τὸ μὲν ἔθνος, ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς, νόμῳ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβεῖν ἐπενόησα, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπέρων ὡς χρησμοῖς ἡ ἐς τὰ ἑπείγοντα. καὶ σὺν θεοὺς εἰπεῖν, χρησμόμεθα, ὡς ἀν αἱ χρεῖαι καλῶσιν.

38. "Οὕτως ἐκ πολλοῦ δέουσ τοῦ πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐπισκόπος μετεβάλομεν ἐς τε ἀσφάλειαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐγκρατή καὶ ἐς θάρσος ἐπὶ τοῦς ἔχθροις· ὃν ἐφαινότων ἀνεφάνῃ καὶ ἢ τῶν πλεύνων ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους σπουδή. ὠράτε γάρ, ὅση μὲν αὐτοὶ ἐστὶ μεταμελεῖα τῶν ἐγκριτομένων, ὅσος δὲ ἄγων ἀφελάσθαι με τὴν Κελτικὴν ἦδη δεδομένην. ἤστε, ἀ γράφομεν Δέκῳ καὶ ὁσα τοὺς ὑπάτους τοὺς μετ' ἐμὲ πείθουσί περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς μεταψήφισασθαί. ἀλλὰ σὺν θεοῖς τε πατρῴοις καὶ σὺν εὐσεβεῖ γυνώμη καὶ σὺν ταῖς ὕμετέραις ἀνδραγαθίαις, μὴ ὃν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκράτει, ἀμυνόμεν αὐτῷ, τῷ τε σώματι ἐπεξίόντες καὶ τῇ γυνώμη βοηθοῦντες.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

but with the more numerous and powerful ones CHAP. who still choose to remain secret. When I had accomplished these plans there remained one of the murderers on my flank, Decimus Brutus, governing a conveniently placed province with a large army; whom I, knowing him to be bolder than the rest, tried to deprive of Cisalpine Gaul, by promising, in order to keep up appearances with the Senate, to give him in exchange Macedonia, without an army. The Senate was indignant, for it now perceived the stratagem, and you know what kind of letters, and how many, they are writing to Decimus, and how they are inciting my successors in the consulship. I decided, therefore, to take a bolder course and ask the people for this province by a law, instead of asking the Senate, and I brought my army from Macedonia to Brundusium so that I might use it in emergencies. And with the help of the gods, we will use it as may be needful.

38. "Thus have we changed from the great fear that formerly beset us to a state of entire safety for ourselves, where we can boldly face our foes. When this change became known the multitude also let their zeal against our enemies be known. You see how the latter regret the decrees that have been passed, and what a fight they are making to deprive me of the Gallic province which has already been given to me. You know what they write to Decimus and how they are urging my successors in the consulship to get the law relating to this province changed. But with the help of our country's gods, and with pious intent, and by means of your valour, with which Caesar also conquered, we will avenge him, devoting to that purpose our powers both of body and of mind."
Ταυτά μοι γιγνόμενα μέν, ὃ συστρατιῶτα, ἐτι ἔχρηζον ἀπόρρητα εἶναι, γενόμενα δὲ ἔξενήκεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὐς ἐγὼ καὶ ἔργου καὶ λόγου κοινωνοὺς ἐς ἀπαντὰ τίθημαι. καὶ τοῖς άλλοις, εἰ τινὲς αὐτὰ οὖ συνορώσι, μεταφέρετε, πλὴν μόνον Καίσαρος ἀχαρίστως ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔχοντος.”

39. Τοιαύτα τοῦ Ἀντώνιου διεξόντως, παρέστη τοῖς ταξιάρχαις αὐτὸν ἀπαντὰ μετ’ ἔχρης ἀκριβοῦς ἐς τοὺς ἀνδρόφονους, ἐπιτεχνάζοντα τῇ βουλῇ, πεποιηκέναι. ἦξίουν δὲ καὶ ὅσ τῷ Καίσαρι συναλλαγήμασι πεῖσαντες αὐτοὺς συνῆλλασαν αὖθις ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὄστερον ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τινὰς ἐς τοὺς φίλους παρῆγαγεν ὡς ὑπηρέτας γενομένους ἐπιβουλεύόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἰτε συνοφαντῶν εἰτε τῷ ὅντι νομίσας εἰτε περὶ τῶν ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα περιπεμφθέντων πυθόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιβουλῆς μεταφέρω ἐς τὸ σῶμα. ὁ τε λόγος ἐκδραμῶν αὐτίκα θόρυβον ἤγειρε πάνδημον καὶ ἀγανάκτησις ἦν. ὅλγοι μὲν γάρ, οἷς τὸ λογισμοῦ βαθέος ἦν, ἤδεσαν Καίσαρι συμφέρειν Ἀντώνιον καὶ βλώπτοντα ὁμος περεῖναι, ἐπίφοβον ὅντα τοῖς φονεύσιν ἀποθανόντος
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"While these events were in progress, fellow-soldiers, I preferred that they should not be talked of; now that they are accomplished I have laid them before you, whom I shall make the sharers of my deeds and my counsels in every particular hereafter. Communicate to others, if there are any, who do not see them in the same light—excepting only Octavian, who behaves ungratefully towards us." ¹

VI

39. These words of Antony convinced the tribunes that in all he had done he had been moved by bitter animosity towards the murderers and that he had been scheming against the Senate. Nevertheless they urged him to come to an agreement with Octavian; and, proving successful, brought about a reconciliation between them in the Capitol. But not long afterward Antony announced to his friends that some of his bodyguard had been tampered with by Octavian, who had formed a plot against him. This he said either as a slander, or because he believed it to be true, or because he had heard of the emissaries of Octavian in his camp, and turned the plot to checkmate his actions into a plot against his life. When this story was noised about there was a general tumult forthwith and great indignation, for there were few who had sufficient penetration to see that it was for the interest of Octavian that Antony, even though he was unjust to him, should live, because he (Antony)

¹ Clearly this speech was composed by Appian and put in the mouth of Antony. It contains errors as to dates and as to the order of events which Antony could not have made.
CAP. VI. γὰρ ἀδεστερον ἑκεῖνος ἀπάσιν ἐπιτολμήσειν, βοηθουμένους μάλιστα ύπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. ὥδε μὲν εἰκαζον οἱ συνετῶτεροι· τὸ δὲ πλέον, ὀρῶντες, οὐδὲ κἀθ' ἐκάστην ἦμέραν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑβριζόμενος τε καὶ ἡμιούμενος πάσχοι, οὐκ ἀπιστον ἠτίθεντο τὴν διαβολήν οὐδὲ ὅσιον ἢ ἀνεκτὸν ἐνόμιζον Ἁντώνιον ὑπατεύοντα ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβεβουλεύσατο.

'Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ πρὸς οὕτως ἔχοντας ἔξετρεχε σὺν ὀργῇ μανιώδει καὶ ἐβοιαν αὐτὸς ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι πρὸς Ἁντώνιον ἐς τὴν παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ φιλίαν ἐπὶ οἱ μόνην οὐσαν· ἐπὶ ταῖς θύρας τοῦ Ἁντώνιον δραμὼν τὰ αὐτὰ ἐβοια καὶ θεοῦς ἐμαρτύρετο καὶ ἀράς ἠράτο πάσας καὶ ἕξην ἐλθεῖν προκαλεῖτο. οὐδενός δὲ προϊόντος, "ἐν τοῖς φίλοις," ἐφη, "δέχομαι τοὺς σοὺς κριθήναι," καὶ εἰπὼν ἐπέτρεχεν ἐσω. κωλυθεὶς δὲ αὐθις· φυμωζε καὶ ἑλοιδορεῖτο αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς περὶ θύρας ἡγανάκτει κωλύουσι τὸν Ἁντώνιον ἐλεγχθήναι. ἀπιστῶν τοῦ δήμου ἐμαρτύρετο, ἐϊ τι πάθοι, πρὸς Ἁντώνιον δολοφονεῖσθαι. λεγομένων δὲ τῶνδε σὺν πάθει πολλῷ μετέπτυττο τὸ πλήθος, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τῆς πρὶν δόξης μετάνοια ἐνεγύγνετο. εἰς δὲ οἱ καὶ τότε ἀπιστοῦντες ὄκνουν ἐκατέρφο τὸ πιστῶν νέμεων, καὶ τινὲς ὑπόκρισιν ἀμφότερὰ τὰ γνώμονα διέβαλλον εἶναι, συνθεμένων μὲν ἄρτι ἐν ἱερῷ, μηχανωμένων δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς. οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ τὸν Ἁντώνιον ἥγοντο ἐπινοεῖν εἰς ἀφορμὴν

28
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was a terror to the murderers. If he were dead they would quite fearlessly dare anything, especially as they had the support of the Senate. The more intelligent knew this, but the greater part, seeing what Octavian suffered daily from the indignities and the losses inflicted on him, considered the accusation not incredible, yet held it to be impious and intolerable that a conspiracy should be formed against Antony's life while he was consul.

Octavian ran with mad fury even to those who held this opinion of him, exclaiming that it was Antony who was conspiring against him to alienate from him the friendship of the people, which was the only thing left to him. He ran to Antony's door and repeated the same things, calling the gods to witness, taking all kinds of oaths, and inviting Antony to a judicial investigation. As nobody came forward he said, "I will accept your friends as judges." With these words he attempted to enter the house. Being prevented from doing so he again cried out and railed at Antony and vented his wrath against the doorkeepers who prevented Antony being brought to book. Then he went away and called the people to witness that if anything should happen to him his death would be due to Antony's plots. As these words were spoken with deep feeling the multitude underwent a change, and a kind of penitence took the place of their former opinion. There were some who still doubted, and hesitated to put faith in either of them. Some accused them both of making false pretences, believing that they had come to an agreement in the temple, and that these were plots devised against their enemies. Still others thought that this was a device of Antony to
φρουρᾶς πλείονος ἢ ἐσ ἀλλοτρίωσιν τῶν κληρονομοχῶν Καίσαρι.

40. Ὡς δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπὸ τῶν κρύφα ἀπε-σταλμένων ἀπηγγέλθη τὸν ἐν Βρεντέσιῳ στρατὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀπωκισμένους ἐν ὅργῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔχειν, ἀμελοῦντα τοῦ Καίσαρος φόνου, καὶ σφάς ἐπικουρήσειν, ἄν δύνωνται, ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐξήγει διὰ τάδε. δεῖσας δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ, μὴ μετὰ τῆς στρατιάς ἐπανελθὼν ἀφούρητον αὐτὸν λάβοι, χρήματα φέρων εἰς Καμπανίαν ἦς, πεῖσων τὰς πόλεις οἱ στρατεύσεθαι, τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁμομένας. καὶ ἐπείσε Καλατίαν πρώτην, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνη Κασιλίων, δύο τάσις Καπύθης ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπίδος δ' ἐκάστῳ δραχμαὶ πεντακοσίας ἦγεν ἐς μυρίους ἀνδρας, οὕτε ὁπλισμένους ἐνελῶς οὕτε συντεταγμένους πως κατὰ ἔλας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐς μόνην τοῦ σώματος φυλακήν, ὅψ' ἐνι σημείῳ. οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄστει τὸν Ἀντώνιον δεδιότες μετὰ στρατιάς ἐπανίοντα, ὡς ἐπόθοντο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μεθ' ἐτέρας προσέναι, οἱ μὲν διπλασίως ἐδεδοίκεσαν, οἱ δ' ὡς χρησάμενοι κατ' Ἀντώνιον Καίσαρι ἱσμένων οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ὑπὸ τῷ Καπτωλίῳ διαλλαγάς ἑωρακότες ὑπόκρισιν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τὰ γυγνόμενα καὶ ἀντίδοσιν Ἀντώνιῳ μὲν δυναστείας, Καίσαρι δὲ τῶν φονεῶν.

41. Ὡδε δὲ αὐτῶν θρομβουμένων, Κανούτιος ὁ δήμαρχος, ἔχθρος ὑπὸ Ἀντώνιῳ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ Καίσαρι φίλος, ὑπήματα τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐκμαθῶν ἀπήγγελλε τῷ δήμῳ, μετ' ἔχθρας.
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increase his body-guard or to alienate the colonies of veterans from Octavian.

40. Presently news was brought to Octavian by his secret emissaries that the army at Brundusium and the colonized soldiers were incensed against Antony for neglecting to avenge the murder of Caesar, and that they would assist him (Octavian) to do so if they could. For this reason Antony departed to Brundusium. As Octavian feared lest Antony, returning with the army, should catch him unprotected, he went to Campania with money to enlist the veterans who had been settled in those towns by his father. He first brought over those of Calatia and next those of Casilinum, two towns situated on either side of Capua, giving 500 drachmas to each man. He collected about 10,000 men, not fully armed and not mustered in regular cohorts, but serving merely as a body-guard under one banner. The citizens of Rome were alarmed at the approach of Antony with an army, and when they learned that Octavian was advancing with another some were doubly alarmed, while others were well pleased, believing that they could make use of Octavian against Antony. Still others, who had seen them reconciled to each other in the Capitol, considered these transactions a game of false pretences by which Antony was to have the supreme power and Octavian in return was to wreak vengeance on the murderers.

41. In this time of consternation Cannutius, the tribune, an enemy of Antony, and hence friendly to Octavian, went to meet the latter. Having learned his intentions Cannutius addressed the people, saying that Octavian was advancing with real hostility to
Αντωνίου σαφώς ἐπιέναι τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ χρῆναι δεδίτας Ἀντωνίου ἐπὶ τυραννίδι τόνδε προσεταιρίσασθαι, στρατὸν ἄλλον οὐκ ἔχοντας ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν ἐσήγη τὸν Καίσαρα, αὐλισάμενον πρὸ τοῦ ἀστεὸς ἀπὸ σταδίων πεντεκαίδεκα ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀρεως ἱερῷ. ὡς δὲ εἰσῆλθον, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὸν νεῶν τῶν Διοσκούρων παρῆλθε, καὶ τὸν νεῶν περιέστησαν οἱ στρατευόμενοι ξιφίδια ἀφανὸς περιεξωσμένοι, Καννούτιος δὲ πρότερον ἐδημηγόρει κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου. οὐ δὲ Καίσαρ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπεμίμνησκε καὶ ὅν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πάθοι, διὰ τὰ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς φυλακὴν εἰς συνειλεγμένος ἐφη τοῦ ἐς πάντα τῆς πατρίδος υπηρέτης καὶ κατήκους ἐσεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὰ νῦν πρὸς Ἀντωνίου ξτομοιος.

42. Ὡδὲ δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διαλύσαντος ἐπὶ τόδε, ὁ στρατὸς ἠγούμενος ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ἐπὶ διαλλαγὰς Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος ἄφεσθαι ἢ ἐς μόνην γε φυλακὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν φονέων ἄμμναν, ἤχοντο τῇ κατ' Ἀντωνίου προαγορεύσει, στρατηγοῦ τε σφὸν γεγονότος καὶ ὑπότου καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπανελθὲν ῥτουν εἰς τὰ ὁικεία ὡς ὄπλισμουν· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλων ἢ τῶν ἱδίων ὑπλῶν ἀνέξεσθαι· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀληθῆς ὑπέφαυνον. ὥδε Καίσαρ ἡπόρητο μὲν ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ὁν προσέδοκησε μετενεχθεῖς, ἐπίσοσας δ' αὐτῶν πειθοὶ μᾶλλον ἢ βία περιέσθαι· συνεχόμει ταῖς προφάσει καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑπλα ἐπεμπτε, τοὺς δὲ ἀπλῶς ἐς τὰ ὁικεία. πάντας δ' ἐπικρύπτων τὴν ἀχθηδόνα, ἐπήνει τῆς συνώδου καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο ἐτέρας δωρεάις.
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Antony and that those who were afraid that Antony was aiming at tyranny should side with Octavian as they had no other army at present. After speaking thus he brought in Octavian, who was encamped before the city at the temple of Mars, fifteen stades distant. When the latter arrived he proceeded to the temple of Castor and Pollux, which his soldiers surrounded carrying concealed daggers. Cannutius addressed the people first, speaking against Antony. Afterwards Octavian also reminded them of his father and of what he had himself suffered at the hands of Antony, on account of which he had enlisted this army as a guard for himself. He declared himself the obedient servant of his country in all things, and said that he was ready to confront Antony in the present emergency.

42. After he had thus spoken and dismissed the assembly, the soldiers, taking the opposite view (that they had come to support the alliance of Antony and Octavian or as a mere guard for the latter and to punish the murderers), were vexed at the declaration of war against Antony, who had been their general and was now consul. Some of them asked leave to return home in order to arm themselves, saying that they could not perform their duty with other arms than their own. Others hinted at the truth. As things had turned out contrary to his expectation, Octavian was at a loss what to do. Hoping, however, to retain them by persuasion rather than by force he yielded to their requests, and sent some of them to get their arms and others simply to their homes. Concealing his disappointment he praised all the assembled multitude, gave them fresh presents, and said that he would reward...
καὶ δαψιλέστερον ἔτι ἀμείψεσθαι ἔλεγεν, αἰεὶ χρώμενος ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα ὡς πατρικοὶς φίλους μᾶλλον ἡ στρατιώταις. χιλίους μὲν δὴ μόνους ἡ τρισχιλίους τάδε λέγων ἐπέκλασεν ἐκ μυρίων οἱ παραμείναι (διαφέρονται γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ἄριθμοῦ). οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τότε μὲν ἔξησαν, ἀνεμισμησικοῦτο δ' αὐτίκα γεωργίας τε πόνων καὶ κερδῶν στρατείας καὶ λόγων τῶν Καίσαρος καὶ εὐπεθείας αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ἀ ἐβουλοῦντο, καὶ χαρίτων, δὲν τε εἰλήφεσαν καὶ δὲν ἠλπιζοῦν ἔτι λήψεσθαι. οἵον τε ὅχλος ἀνώμαλος μετενόουν καὶ τῆς προφάσεως ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἐπιβαίνοντες ὁπλίζοντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπανῆσαν. ὁ δὲ ἡδη μετὰ χρημάτων ἄλλων τὴν τε Ῥάββεναν καὶ τὰ ἄγχοι πάντα περιήγη, στρατεύων ἑτέρους ἐφ' ἑτέρους· καὶ πάντας ἐς Ἀρρήτιον ἐπεμπεν.

VII

43. Ἀντωνίῳ δ' ἀφίκτο μέσον ἐς τὸ Βερονέσιον· εἰκ πέντε τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τελῶν τέσσαρα· ἐπιμεμφόμενοι δ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπεξελθόντα τῷ φόνῳ Καίσαρος, χωρὶς εὐφημίας ἐς τὸ βῆμα παρέπεμπον ὡς περὶ τοῦδε σφίσιν ἐκλογιούμενον πρῶτον. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀρκεττόμενος, τῆς σιωπῆς οὐ κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' ὑπνείδιζεν ἀχαριστίαν ἐκ Παρθναίων ὑπὸ οὗ μετενέχθεισιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι τοιᾷσδε χάριτος· ἐμέμφετο δὲ καὶ ὅτι παρὰ μειρακίου προπετῶς, ὅδε τὸν Καίσαρα καλῶν, ἄνδρας ἐπιπεμπομένους σφίσιν εἰς διαφθορὰν οὐκ αὐτοὶ προσώγοσιν αὐτῷ.
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them still more generously, for he made use of them for emergencies rather as the friends of his father than as soldiers. After he had spoken these words, he influenced 1000 only from 10,000 to remain with him, or perhaps 3000, for accounts differ as to the number. The rest then took their departure, but presently they remembered the toils of agriculture and the gains of military service, the words of Octavian, his compliance with their wishes, and the favours they had received and hoped still to receive from him. And so, as a fickle multitude would, they repented, and seizing upon their former pretext for the sake of appearances, they armed themselves and went back to him. Octavian had already proceeded with new supplies of money to Ravenna and the neighbouring parts, continually enlisting new forces and sending them all to Arretium.

VII

43. In the meantime four of the five Macedonian legions had joined Antony at Brundusium. They blamed him because he had not proceeded against the murderers of Caesar. They conducted him without applause to the platform, implying that they required explanations on this subject first. Antony was angry at their silence. He did not keep his temper, but charged them with ingratitude in that they had expressed no thanks for being transferred from the Parthian expedition to Italy. He blamed them because they had not arrested and delivered to him the emissaries of a rash boy (for so he called Octavian) who had been sent among them to stir up discord. Those men he would find out himself, he
ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΜΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΥΡΗΣΕΙΝ, ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ἈΞΕΙΝ ἙΠΙ ΤΗΝ ἙΨΗΦΙΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΟΙ ΧΩΡΑΝ ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΑ ΚΕΛΤΙΚΗΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΡῳ ΔΟΘΗΣΕΘΑΙ ΔΡΑΧΜΑΣ ΕΚΑΤΟΝ. ΟΙ ΔΕ ἘΓΕΛΑΣΑΝ ΤΗΣ ΣΜΙΚΡΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΛΕΠΤΗΝΑΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ἘΘΟΡΥΒΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΕΙΔΙΡΑΣΚΟΥΝ. Ο ΔΕ ἘΞΑΝΕΣΘΗ ΤΟΣΟΥΤΟΝ ΕΙΤΩΝ "ΜΑΘΗΣΕΘΕ ΆΡΧΕΘΑΙ." ΑΙΤΗΣΑΣ ΔΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΝ ΧΙΛΙΑΡΧΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΤΑΣΙΩΔΕΙΣ (ἈΝΑΓΡΑΠΤΟΣ ΓΑΡ ἘΣΤΙΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ῬΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΙΣ ΑΙΕΙ ΚΑΘ’ ΕΝΑ ἈΝΔΡΑ Ὁ ΤΡΟΠΟΣ) ΔΙΕΚΛΗΡΩΣΕ ΤῪ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚῪ ΝΟΜΙΡ ΚΑΙ ΟΥ ΤΟ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ ἈΠΑΝ, ἈΛΛᾳ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΕ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ, ΝΟΜΙΖΩΝ ΣΦΑΣ Δ῎ΕΙ ΚΑΤΑΠΛΗΣΕΙΝ ΔΙ’ ὈΛΥΓΟΝ. ΟΙ ΔΕ ΟΥΚ ΕΣ ΦΩΒΟΥΝ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ Ἡ ἘΣ ΟΡΓΗΝ ὩΠΔ ΤΟΥΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΜΙΣΟΣ ΕΤΡΕΠΤΟΝΤΟ.

44. ΤΑΥΤΑ Δ’ ὍΡΩΝΤΕΣ ΟΥΣ Ὁ ΚΑΪΣΑΡ ἙΠΙ ΔΙΑΦΘΟΡΑΣ ΤΩΝΔΕ ΠΡΟΠΕΠΟΜΦΕΙ, ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΤΟΤΕ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΔΙΕΡΡΙΠΤΟΥΝ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΟΝ, ἌΝΤΙ ΤΗΣ ἈΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΜΙΚΡΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ὈΜΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΜΗΡΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΧΟΡΗΓΙΑΣ ΔΑΥΙΛΕΙΣ ΜΕΤΑΤΙΘΕΣΘΑΙ. ΟΥΣ Ὁ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΜΗΝΥΜΑΣΙ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΣ ΕΞΗΤΕΙ, ΚΑΙ ἈΠΕΙΛΑΙΣ, ΕΙ ΤΗΣ ἘΠΙΚΡΥΠΤΟΙ. ΟΥΔΕΝΑ ΔΕ ΣΥΛΛΑΒΟΝ ἘΧΑΛΕΠΤΗΝΕΝ ὩΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΣΦΑΣ ἘΠΙΚΡΥΠΤΟΝΤΟΣ. ΑΠΑΓΓΕΛΛΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΑῖΣ ἈΠΟΙΚΙΑΙΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ῬΩΜΗ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΠΕΠΡΑΓΜΕΝΩΝ ἘΘΟΡΥΒΕΙΤΟ. ΚΑΙ ΕΠΕΙΔ῎ΟΝ ΑTHONΣ ἙΠΙ ΤΟΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ἘΦΙ ΧΑΛΕΠΤΗΝΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΩΝ ὩΠΟ ἈΝΑΓΚΗΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚῪ ὈΛΥΓΟΙΣ ἈΝΤΙ ΠΛΕΟΝΩΝ ὩΝ ΕΚΟΛΑΖΕΝ Ὁ ΝΟΜΟΣ, ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΕΙΔΕΝ ΑΙΣΦΑΙΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΩΜΟΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΜΙΚΡΟΛΟΓΟΝ ἈΝΤΩΝΙΟΝ. "ΑΛΛ’ Ὁ ΜΕΝ ΦΘΟΝΟΣ ΟΙΧΕΣΘΩ,
said; but the army he would lead to the province voted to him, the prosperous Gallic country, and would give 100 drachmas to each man present. They laughed at his parsimony, and when he became angry they broke out in tumult and went away. Antony rose and departed, saying, "You shall learn to obey orders." Then he required the military tribunes to bring before him the seditious characters (for it is customary in Roman armies to keep at all times a record of the character of each man). From these he chose by lot a certain number according to military law, and he put to death not every tenth man, but a smaller number, thinking that he would thus quickly strike terror into them. But the others were turned to rage and hatred instead of fear by this act.

44. In view of these facts the men whom Octavian had sent to tamper with the soldiers distributed the greatest possible number of handbills throughout the camp, reflecting on Antony's stinginess and cruelty, recalling the memory of the elder Caesar and urging them to share the service of the younger and his liberal gifts. Antony tried to find these emissaries by means of rewards to informers and threats against those who abetted them, but as he caught no one he became angry, believing that the soldiers concealed them. When the news came of what Octavian was doing among the colonized veterans and at Rome, he became alarmed, and going before the army again he said that he was sorry for what he had been compelled by military discipline to do to a few instead of the much larger number who were punishable by law, and that they must know very well that Antony was neither cruel nor stingy. "Let us lay aside
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κεκορεσμένος,” ἔφη, “καὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι καὶ ταῖς κολάσεσι τὰς δὲ ἐκατὸν δραχμὰς ὑμῖν οὐ δωρεάν (οὐ γὰρ τούτῳ γε τῆς Ἀντωνίου τύχης), ἀλλὰ τῆς πρώτης ἐς ὑμᾶς ἐντεύξεως προσαγορευτικὸν μᾶλλον ἡ δωρεάν ἐκείνησα δοθήναι, καὶ χρή νόμῳ πατρῴῳ τε καὶ στρατιωτικῷ καὶ ἐς τάδε καὶ ἐς πάντα εὐπεθεῖς ὑπάρχειν.” ὁ μὲν οὖτως εἶπεν, οὐδὲν τι ἔτι προσθεὶς τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἥσσον οἴκου τοῦ στρατοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἐλάμβανον, εἶτε μεταγρόντες εἶτε καὶ δεδιότες. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν τους μὲν ταξιάρχους, εἴτε μηνίων ἐτί τῆς στάσεως εἴθ' ἐτέρως ὑπονοοῦν, ἐνηλᾶσσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καὶ τὰλλα ἐν ταῖς χρείαις ἐδεξιότου καὶ προὔπεμπεν ἀνὰ μέρος τῆς παραβαλάσσειν ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ Ἀριμύνου.

45. Αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκ πάντων στρατηγίδα στείραν ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὅδεν ἐς Ῥώμην ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀριμύνου ὀρμήσων. ἔσχει δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν σοβαρῶς, τὴν μὲν ἑλπὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἀστεως στρατοπεδεύσας, τοὺς δ' ἀμφ' αὐτῶν ἔχων ὑπεξωσμένους καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν νυκτοφυλακοῦντας ἐνόπλους· συν- θήματα τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοτο, καὶ αἱ φυλακαὶ παρὰ μέρος ἤσαν ὡς ἐν στρατοπέδῳ. ὑπαγόνων δὲ τὴν βουλήν ὡς μεμψόμενον Καίσαρι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἐσίων ἡδ' μανθάνει τῶν τεσσάρων τελῶν τὸ καλούμενον Ἁρείου κατὰ τὴν ὄδον ἐς Καίσαρα μετατεθείσαν. καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν εἰσόδον ἐπισχόντι τε καὶ διαποροῦντι ἀγγέλλεται καὶ τὸ καλούμενον τέταρτον ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἁρείοις ἐς
ill-will," he continued, "and rest satisfied with these faults and punishments. The 100 drachmas which I have ordered to be given you is not my donative, for that would be unworthy of the fortune of Antony, but a small dole to mark our first meeting rather than a full reward; but it is necessary to obey the laws of our country, and of the army, in this affair as in all others." When he had thus spoken he did not as yet add anything to the donative, that it might not seem that as general he had yielded anything to the army; but they, whether moved by penitence or by fear, took what was given them. Antony, however, being still angry at the outbreak, or from some other suspicion, changed their tribunes, but the rest of the army he treated well because he had need of their services, and he sent them forward by detachments along the sea-coast toward Ariminum.

45. Antony chose from the whole number a praetorian cohort of the men who were best in body and character and marched to Rome, intending to push on thence toward Ariminum. He entered the city in a haughty manner, leaving his squadron of horse encamped outside the walls. But the troops that accompanied him were girded as for war, and they mounted guard over his house at night under arms, and he gave them a countersign and relieved them regularly, just as in a camp. He convoked the Senate in order to make complaint of the acts of Octavian, and just as he was entering it he learned that the so-called Martian legion, one of the four on the road, had gone over to Octavian. While he was waiting at the entrance cogitating over this news it was announced to him that another legion, called the Fourth, had followed the example of the Martian
Καίσαρα μετατεθείσθαι. διαταραχθεὶς οὖν εἰσῆλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ ὄμνοιν, ὡς δ’ ἐφ’ ἐτερα αὐτοῦς συναγαγὼν μικρὰ διελέξθη καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐχώρει καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐπὶ Ἀλβην πόλιν ὡς μεταπείσων τοὺς ἀποστάντας. βαλλό-
μενος δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀνέστρεφε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τέλεσε προσέπεμπεν ἀνὰ πεντακοσίας 
δραχμὰς ἕκαστῷ, καὶ σὺν οἷς ἔχειν αὐτὸς ἐς 
Τίβυρον ἔξησε, σκευὴν ἔχων τὴν συνήθη τοῖς ἐπὶ 
τοὺς πολέμους ἔξωσεν: καὶ γὰρ ἦδη σαφῆς ἦν ὁ 
pόλεμος, Δέκμου τὴν Κελτικὴν οὐ μεθιέντος.

46. Δεύο ρέ διντι ἢ τε βουλὴ σχεδὸν ἀπασά 
καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τὸ πλείστον ἄφικετο ἐπὶ τιμή 
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἄξιολογότατον· οἱ καὶ 
kαταλαβόντες αὐτὸν ὀρκοῦντα τοὺς παρόντας οἱ 
στρατιῶτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πάλαι στρατευ-
σαμένων συνυδραμόντας (πολὺ γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ ἦν) 
συνώμονον ἐκώντες οὕς ἐκκλησαίειν τὴν ἐς Ἁντω-
νίον εὐνοοῖν τε καὶ πίστιν, ὡς ἀπορῆσαι, τίνες 
ήσαν, οὐ̃ πρὸ ὀλίγου παρὰ τὴν Καίσαρος ἐκκλη-
σίαν τῶν Ἁντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ λαμπρός οὕτος ἐς τὸ Ἅρμινον 
προσέπεμπο, ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἄρχη. 
καὶ ὁ στρατός ἦν αὐτῷ, χωρὶς γε τῶν νεολέκτων, 
τρία τέλη τὰ ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετάπεμπτα (ἣν 
γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄφικετο), ἐξεστρατευ-
μένοις δὲ ἐν, οἱ καὶ γηρώντες ὁμοί ἐδόκουν νεο-
συλλόγοιν ἀμέλειν ἐς τὸ διπλάσιον εἶναι. οὕτω 
μὲν Ἁντωνίῳ τέσσαρα ἐγέμνητο τέλη γεγυμνασ-
μένους ἄνδραν καὶ ὅσον ἐξ ἔθους αὐτοῖς ἐπίκουρον

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and espoused the side of Octavian. Disconcerted as he was he entered the senate-house, pretending that he had convened them about other matters, said a few words, and immediately departed to the city gates, and thence to the town of Alba, in order to persuade the deserters to come back to him. They shot arrows at him from the walls, and he retreated. To the other legions he forwarded 500 drachmas per man. With the soldiers he had with him he marched to Tibur, taking the equipment customary to those who are going to war; for war was now certain, since Decimus Brutus had refused to give up Cisalpine Gaul.

46. While Antony was at Tibur nearly all the Senate, and the greater part of the knights, and the most influential plebeians, came there to do him honour. These persons, arriving while he was swearing into his service the soldiers present and also the discharged veterans who had flocked in (of whom there was a goodly number), voluntarily joined in taking the oath that they would not fail in friendship and fidelity to Antony; so that one would have been at a loss to know who were the men who, a little before, had decried Antony at Octavian's public meeting.

With this brilliant send-off Antony started for Ariminum, which lies on the border of Cisalpine Gaul. His army, exclusive of the new levies, consisted of three legions summoned from Macedonia (for the remainder had now arrived). There was also one of discharged veterans, old men, who appeared nevertheless to be worth twice as much as the new levies. Thus Antony had four legions of well-disciplined troops, and the helpers who usually
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY

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ἀλλα ἐπεταί, καὶ ἡ τοῦ σώματος φρουρά καὶ τὰ νεόλεκτα. Λέπιδος τε ἔχουν ἐν Ἡβηρία τέσσαρα τέλη καὶ Ἀσίνιος Πολλίων δύο καὶ Πλάγκος ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ Κελτικῇ τρία ἔδόκουν αἰρήσεσθαι τὰ Ἀντωνίου.

47. Καίσαρι δὴ ἦν δύο ὁμοίως ἀξιολογώτατα, τὰ ἐσ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα, ἐν δὲ νεοσυνλαμβάνων, δύο δὲ ἐκ τῶν πρότερον ἐστρατευμένων, οὐκ ἐνετελῇ μὲν ταῦτα τοῖς ἁριθμοῖς οὐδὲ ταῖς ὀπλήσεσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν νεοσυνλαμβάνων καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπληροῦμενα. συναγαγὼν δ’ ἀπαντας ἐς Ἀλβην ἐπέστειλε τῇ βουλῇ. ἦ δὲ ἐφήδετο μὲν αὕθις Καίσαρι, ὡς ἀπορεῖν καὶ τότε, τίνες ἦσαν, οἱ προὐπεμπον Ἀντώνιον. ἢχθοντο δὲ τοῖς τέλεσιν οὐκ ἐς τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα μετελθοῦσιν. ἐπανεσαντες δ’ ὁμοίως αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, ἔφασαν διόγον ὦστεροι ὃ τι χρή ποιεῖν αὐτούς ψηφιαίσθαι, ὅταν αὐτοῖς αἱ νέαι ἀρχαὶ ἐς τὰ πράγματα παρέλθωσιν. ἦν δὲ σαφὲς, ὅτι χρήσονται μὲν αὐτοῖς κατὰ Ἀντωνίου στρατὸν δὲ οὐδένα πω ἔχοντες ἵδιον οὐδὲ καταλέξαι χωρὶς ὑπότων δυνάμενοι ἐς τὰς νέας ἀρχὰς πάντα ἀνετίθεντο.

48. Τῷ Καίσαρι δ’ ὁ στρατὸς πελέκεας τε καὶ ραβδοφόρους ἐσκευασμένους προσαγαγόντες, ἥξιον ἐαυτὸν ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφήναι, πολέμου τε ἡγεμονεύοντα καὶ σφῶν αἰεὶ ὑπ’ ἀρχουσί τα- χθέντων. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν τιμὴν ἐπήμει, τὸ δὲ ἐργον
accompanies them, besides his body-guard and the new levies. Lepidus in Spain with four legions, Asinius Pollio with two, and Plancus in Transalpine Gaul with three, seemed likely to espouse the side of Antony.

47. Octavian had two legions equally efficient, those which had deserted from Antony to him, also one legion of new levies, and two of veterans, not complete in numbers or in arms, but these also filled up with new recruits. He brought them all to Alba and there communicated with the Senate, which congratulated him in such a way that now one would have been at a loss to know who were those who had lately ranged themselves with Antony; but it regretted that the legions had not come over to the Senate itself instead of to him. It praised them and Octavian nevertheless, and said that it would vote them whatever was needful as soon as the new magistrates should enter upon their duties. It was plain that the Senate would use these forces against Antony; but having no army of its own anywhere, and being unable to levy one without consuls, it adjourned all business until the new consuls should come in.¹

48. The soldiers of Octavian furnished him lictors provided with fasces and urged him to assume the title of propraetor, carrying on war and acting as their leader, since they were always marshalled under magistrates. He thanked them for the honour, but referred the matter to the Senate. When they

¹ The new consuls were Hirtius and Pansa. They had been designated in advance by Caesar and succeeded to the office by virtue of the decree of the Senate confirming all Caesar’s acts.
CAP. ές την βουλήν ἀνετίθετο. καὶ βουλομένους ἐπὶ
tούτο χωρεῖν ἄθροος ἐκώλυε καὶ πρεσβευομένους
ἐπείχεν, ὡς καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφιομένης ταύτα
καθ’ ἑαυτήν, καὶ μᾶλλον, ἢν αἴσθωται τῇ
ὑμετέραι προθυμίαν καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν ὅκνον.

Διαλυθέντων δὲ μόλις οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων
ές υπεροψίαν αὐτὸν αὐτωμένων, ἐξελογικὸν αὐτοῖς
τῆν βουλήν οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποκλέειν
μᾶλλον ἢ Ὄλωνίου δέει καὶ στρατιάς ἀπορία,
“μέχρι καθέλωμεν ἡμεῖς Ὅλωνίου καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς
φίλοι τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ συγγενεῖς ὅντες δύναμιν
αὐτοῖς συναγάγωσιν ὃν αἴσθανόμενος ὑπηρετεῖν
ὑποκρίνομαι. μὴ δὴ πρῶτοι τὴν ὑπόκρισιν
ἀποκαλύπτωμεν, ὡς προλαβοῦσι μὲν ἡμῖν τὴν
ἀρχὴν ἐπικαλέσουσιν ὑβριν ἡ βλαν, αἰδεθεῖσι δ’
ἴσως ἐπιδώσουσιν αὐτῷ δέει, μὴ παρ’ ὑμῶν
λάθοιμ.” τοιάδε εἰπὼν ἔθεετο γυμνάσια τῶν
dύο τελῶν τῶν αὐτομολησάντων ἀπ’ Ὅλωνίου,
dιαστάντων τε ἐς ἀλληλοὺς καὶ δρόντων ἀφειδῶς
ἔργα πολέμου πάντα πλὴν ἐς μόνοι θάνατον.

ὁσθεῖς οὖν τῇ θέα καὶ τῆς προφάσεως ἐπειβαίνουν
ἀσμενος, ἐτέρας αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ πεντακοσίας
δραχμῶς ἐπεδίδου καὶ, εἰ τις πολέμου χρεία γέ-
νοιτο, νυκήσασιν ἐπηγγέλλετο πεντακοσίας.

δὲ μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ δαψιλεία δωρεῶν τοὺς μισθο-
φόρους ἐκρατύνετο.

44
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

wanted to go before the Senate en masse he prevented them and would not even allow them to send messengers, believing that the Senate would vote these things to him voluntarily; "and all the more," he said, "if they know of your zeal and my hesitaton."

They were reconciled to this course with difficulty. The leading officers complained that he disdained them, and he explained to them that the Senate was moved not so much by good-will toward him as by fear of Antony and the want of an army; "and that will be the case," he continued, "until we humble Antony, and until the murderers, who are friends and relatives of the senators, collect a military force for them. Knowing these facts I falsely pretend to be serving them. Let us not be the first to expose this false pretence. If we usurp the office they will accuse us of arrogance and violence, whereas if we are modest they will probably give it of their own accord, fearing lest I accept it from you." After he had thus spoken he witnessed some military exercises of the two legions that had deserted from Antony, who ranged themselves opposite each other and gave a complete representation of a battle, except only the killing. Octavian was delighted with the spectacle and was pleased to make this a pretext for distributing 500 drachmas more to each man, and he promised that in case of war he would give them 5000 drachmas each if they were victorious. Thus, by means of lavish gifts, did Octavian bind these mercenaries to himself.
49. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἢν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Κελτικῇ τῶν Δέκμων ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Μακεδονίαν μετίεναι, πειθόμενον τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ φειδόμενον ἑαυτοῦ. ο δὲ ἀντέπεμπεν αὐτῶ τά παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς οἳ κεκομισμένα γράμματα, ὡς οὐχὶ διὰ τῶν δήμων εἶκεν ὥς πρέπον ἢ διὰ τὴν βουλὴν Ἀντωνίῳ μᾶλλον. ὁ Ἀντώνιος δ’ αὐτῷ προθεσμίαν ὀρίζοντος, μεθ’ ἡ ὃς πολεμίῳ χρή- σεται, μακροτέραν ὁ Δέκμος ἐκέλευεν ὀρίζειν ἑαυτῷ, μὴ θάσσον γένοιτο τῇ βουλῇ πολέμιοι. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐμαρῶς ἂν αὐτοῦ κρατήσας ἔτι ὁντός ἐν πεδίῳ ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐκρίνει προελθεῖν. αἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐδέχοντο. καὶ δείσας ὁ Δέκμος, μὴ οὐδ’ ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τινα αὐτῶν ἔτι δύνηται, πλάσσεται γράμματα τῆς βουλῆς καλούσης αὐτὸν ἐς Ὀρῶν σὺν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἀναζεύξας ἑχόρει τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὑποδεχομένου αὐτῶν ὡς ἀπίστωτα πάντων, μέχρι Μουτίνην παροδεύων, πόλιν εὐδαι- μονα, τὰς τε πύλας ἀπέκλεε καὶ τὰ τῶν Μου- τιναίων ἐς τὰς τροφὰς συνέφερεν, ὑποξύγια τε ὧσα ἢν κατέθυ καὶ ἑταρίχευε δέει, μὴ χρόνιος ἡ πολιορκία γένοιτο, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπέμενε. στρατιά δ’ ἢν αὐτῷ μονομάχων τε πλήθος καὶ ὀπλιτῶν τρία τέλη, ὃν ἐν μὲν ἢν ἀρτιστρα- τεύτων ἀνδρῶν ἐτί ἀπείρων, δύο δὲ, ἃ καὶ πρό- τερον ὑπεστρατευμένα αὐτῷ πιστότατα ἦν. ὁ δ’ Ἀντώνιος ἐπελθὼν αὐτῷ σὺν ὅργῃ τὴν Μου- τίνην ἀπετάφρενε τε καὶ ἀπετείχε. 
49. Such was the course of events in Italy. In Cisalpine Gaul Antony ordered Decimus Brutus to withdraw to Macedonia in obedience to the decree of the Roman people, and for his own safety. Decimus, in reply, sent him the letters that had been furnished him by the Senate, as much as to say that he cared no more for the command of the people than Antony did for that of the Senate. Antony then fixed a day for his compliance, after which he should treat him as an enemy. Decimus advised him to fix a later day lest Antony should too soon make himself an enemy to the Senate. Although Antony could have easily overcome him, as he was still in the open country, he decided to proceed first against the cities. These opened their gates to him. Decimus, fearing that he for his part should now be unable to enter any of them, fabricated letters from the Senate calling him to Rome with his army and retired towards Italy, admitted by all as they thought he was departing, until he arrived at the wealthy city of Mutina.¹ Here he closed the gates and possessed himself of the property of the inhabitants for the support of his army. He slaughtered and salted all the cattle he could find there in anticipation of a long siege, and awaited Antony. His army consisted of a large number of gladiators and three legions of infantry, one of which was composed of new recruits as yet inexperienced. The other two had served under him before and were entirely trustworthy. Antony advanced against him with fury, and drew a line of circumvallation around Mutina.

¹ The modern Modena.
APPiAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VIII 50. Καὶ Δέκμος μὲν ἑπολιορκεῖτο, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὴν ἐτήσιον νουμηνίαν ὑπατοι γενόμενοι "Ιρτίος τε καὶ Πάνσας τὴν βουλὴν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱερῷ συνήχεσαν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ. Κικέρων μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ Κικέρωνος φίλοι πολέμου αὐτῶν ἥξιον ἤδη ψηφίσασθαι, τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀκούσης τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἐπιτείχισμα τῆς πατρίδος βιαζόμενον ὅπλως καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Ὑπαρκάς αὐτῷ δεδομένων στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαγαγόντα· ἐπελέγουτο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ μετὰ Καίσαρα προάρεσιν, ἐν τῇ πόλει φανερῶς δορυφορθέντος ὑπὸ τοσῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ὠσπέρ ἄκραν ὅπλως καὶ συνήμασι κεχρημένου καὶ τάλλα σοβαρωτέρου σφίσι φανέντος ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἐτήσιον ἄρχην. Λεύκιος δὲ Πεῖσων, ὁ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἐπηρεατεύσας, ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῷ Πείσῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἡ κατ’ οἰκεῖαν γνώμην προσετήθηντο, καλεῖν αὐτῶν ἐς κρίσιν ἥξιον, ὡς οὐ πάτριον σφίσιν ἀκρίτου καταδικάζεων ὅπερ ἐὑπερῆς τοῦ χθές ὑπάτου τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας, οὐ γε μάλιστα συνεχεῖς ἐπαίνους ἄλλοι τε καὶ Κικέρων αὐτῶς ἐπί πολλάκις. ἦ δὲ βουλὴ τότε μὲν ἂν γχώμαλοι ταῖς γνώμαις ἐς νύκτα περιῆλθον, ἀμα δ’ ἐφ’ ἐρὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Βουλευτήριον συνελήγωντο· ἐνθὰ τῶν Κικέρωνείων ἐπιβαροῦντων ἐψήφιστο ἃν ὁ Ἀντώνιος πολέμος, εἰ μὴ τῶν δημάρχων Σάλιοιος ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσιαν

48
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

50. Decimus, then, was besieged: but at Rome, at the beginning of the new year, the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, convened the Senate on the subject of Antony immediately after the sacrifices had been performed and in the very temple. Cicero and his friends urged that Antony be now declared a public enemy, since he had seized Cisalpine Gaul with an armed force against the will of the Senate and made of it a point of attack on the republic, and had brought into Italy an army given to him to operate against the Thracians. They spoke also of his seeking the supreme power as Caesar's successor, because he publicly surrounded himself in the city with such a large body of armed centurions, and converted his house into a fortress with arms and counterguards, and had borne himself more haughtily in other respects than was besetting a yearly magistrate. Lucius Piso, who had charge of Antony's interest in his absence, a man among the most illustrious in Rome, and others who sided with him on his own account, or on Antony's, or because of their own opinion, contended that Antony ought to have a trial, that it was not the custom of their ancestors to condemn a man unheard, that it was not decent to declare a man an enemy to-day who was a consul yesterday, and especially one whom Cicero himself as well as the rest had so often lavishly praised. The Senate, which was about equally divided in opinion, remained in session till night. Early the next morning it reassembled to consider the same question and then the party of Cicero was in the majority and Antony would have been voted a public enemy had not the tribune Salvius adjourned the sitting to the following day;
APPRIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VIII

51. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Κικερώνειοι καὶ τούτῳ μᾶλα φορτικῶς ὁμειδίζον τε καὶ ἐνύβριζον καὶ τὸν δήμον ἐκδραμόντες ἡρέθιζον ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν Σάλουιον ἔσ αὐτῶν ἐκάλουν. ὃ δὲ ἀκαταπλήκτως ἐξέτρεχεν, ἐφει σὴ βουλὴ κατέσχε δείσασα, μὴ μεταπείσειε τὸν δήμον ἔσ μνήμην ἀγαγων Ἀντώνιον. οὐ γὰρ ἤγγον καταγινώσκοντες ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς πρὸ δίκης οὐδ' ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ὁ δήμος αὐτῷ δεδώκει· ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν σφαγέων δεδιότες ὁργίζοντο πρῶτο μετὰ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν ἀνακινήσαντί τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς. διὸ καὶ τὸν Καίσαρι ἐσ αὐτῶν προκατεχρωῦτο· καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ὅπε ἀγνων ἠρεῖτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὀμοὶ προκαθελείν τὸν Ἀντώνιον. τούτῳ δὲ μὲν ἡ βουλὴ γνώμη τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐρχεῖ ἐν ὁργῇ, ἀναθέμενοι δὲ τὴν ψήφον, ὡς ὁ δήμαρχος ἐκέλευσεν, ἐγνησίασαν ὀμοὶ Δέκμον τε ἐπανεῖσαι οὐκ ἐκστάσατα Ἀντωνίῳ τῆς Κελτικῆς, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις Ἰρτίῳ καὶ Πάνσα Καίσαρα συστρατηγεῖν οὐ νῦν ἔχει στρατόν, ἐπίχρυσον τε αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα τεθῆναι καὶ γνώμην αὐτῶν ἐσφέρειν ἐν τοῖς ὑπατικοῖς Ὧδη καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν αὐτὴν μετείναι τοῦ νόμου θάσσον ἔτεσι δέκα, ἐκ τοῦ δήμοσιος δοθῆναι τοῖς τέλεσι τοῖς ἐσ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάσιν, ὃσον αὐτοῖς ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ψηφισάμενοι διελύθησαν, ὡς
for among the magistrates the one who has the veto always prevails.

51. The Ciceronians heaped gross reproaches and insults on Salvius for this, and hastening out tried to excite the people against him and summoned him to answer before them. He set forth to obey the summons undismayed until he was restrained by the Senate, which feared lest he should cause the people to change by recalling Antony to their memory; for the senators well knew that they were condemning an illustrious man without a trial, and that the people had given him this very Gallic province. But since they feared for the safety of the murderers they were angry with Antony because he had made the first movement against them after the amnesty, for which reason the Senate had previously called in the help of Octavian against him. Although Octavian knew this he desired nevertheless to take the lead in humbling Antony. Such were the reasons why the Senate was angry with Antony. Although the vote on him was adjourned by the command of the tribune, they passed a decree praising Decimus for not abandoning Cisalpine Gaul to Antony, and directing Octavian to assist the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, with the army he now had. They awarded him a gilded statue and the right to declare his opinion among the consuls in the Senate even now, and the right to stand for the consulship itself ten years before the legal period, and voted from the public treasury to the legions that deserted from Antony to him the same amount that he promised to give them if they should be victorious.

After passing these decrees they adjourned, that
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔργῳ διὰ τῶν διείναι πολέμιον ἐψηφισμένον καὶ τὸν δήμαρχον ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν οὐδὲν ἦτί ἀντεροῦντα. Ἀντωνίου δὲ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ παῖς ἦτί μειράκιον οὗ τε ἄλλοι οἰκεῖοι καὶ φίλοι δι’ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς τὰς τῶν δυνατῶν οἰκίας διέθεσιν ἱκετεύοντες καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἴόντας ἤμωχλοι, ρυπτούμενοι· τε πρὸ ποδῶν σὺν οἰμωγῇ καὶ ὀλολυγαίς καὶ μελαίνῃ στολῇ παρὰ θύρας ἐκβοῶντες. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τῆς οὕσεως καὶ μεταβολῆς ἐς τοσοῦτον αἰφνίδιον γενομένης ἐκάμπτοντο. δὲ σας δ’ ὁ Κικέρων ἐβουλήγορησεν ὅδε.

52. "Α μὲν ἐδεί γνώναι περὶ Ἀντωνίου, ἔχθες ἐγνώμεν οἷς γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἔχθρους ἐτιμῶμεν, τοῦτοις ἐψηφιζόμεθα εἶναι πολέμιοι. Σάλονιον δὲ τὸν μόνον ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον ἡ πάντων εἶναι χρῆ συνετῶτέρου ἡ φιλία τάδε πράσσειν ἡ τῶν ἐνεστῶτῶν ἀμαθία. ὅν τὸ μὲν αἰσχιστόν ἔστιν ἦμῶν, εἰ δόξομεν ἀσυνετῶτεροι πάντες ἔνδο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ αὐτῷ Σαλονίῳ, εἰ φιλῶν τῶν κοινῶν προτιμώμη ἀμαθώς δ’ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τῶν παρόντων ἔδει πιστεύειν ύπάτοις ἀνθ’ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ δημάρχοις τοῖς συνάρχουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοίς βουλευταῖς, οἱ τοσοῦτοι τὴν ἄξιοςιν τε καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπεντεῦ τοῖς τὸν ἡλικίαν καὶ ἑμπερίαν ὑπὲρ τὸν Σάλονιον, καταγινώκομεν Ἀντωνίου. ἔστι δ’ ἐν τε χειροτονίαις καὶ δίκαιας αἰεὶ τὸ πλέον δικαίοτέρον. εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ ἀρχῇ τὰς αἰτίας
Antony might in fact know from the votes taken that he was declared a public enemy and that on the following day the tribune would no longer interpose his veto. The mother, the wife, and the son of Antony (who was still a young man), and his other relatives and friends went around the whole night visiting the houses of influential men and beseeching them. In the morning they put themselves in the way of those going to the senate-house, fell at their feet with wailing and lamentation and in mourning garments, crying out alongside the doors. Some of the senators were moved by these cries, this spectacle, this so sudden change of fortune. Cicero, fearing the result, addressed the Senate as follows:

52. "What decision ought to be reached concerning Antony we determined yesterday. When we bestowed honours on his enemies we thereby voted him an enemy. Salvius, who alone interrupted the proceedings, must either have been wiser than all the rest, or moved to do so by private friendship, or by ignorance of present circumstances. It would be most disgraceful to us, on the one hand, if all should seem to know less than one, and to Salvius, on the other hand, if he should prefer private friendship to the public weal. If he is not well acquainted with the present circumstances he ought to repose confidence in the consuls, rather than himself, in the praetors, in his fellow-tribunes, and the other senators, so imposing in dignity and in numbers, so much his superiors in age and experience, who condemn Antony. In our elections and in our jury trials justice is ever on the side of the majority. If it be needful still to acquaint him with the reasons
μαθεῖν, λελέξεται διὰ βραχέος, ὡς ἐν ἀναμνήσει, 
τὰ μέγιστα αὐτῶν.

"Τὰ χρήματα ἡμῶν Καίσαρος ἀποθανόντος ἐσφετερίσατο Ἀυτώνιος. Μακεδονίας ἄρχειν παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐπιτυχῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Κελτικήν ἀρμησα χωρίς ἡμῶν. τὸν στρατὸν ἔπι Θράκας λαβῶν ἀντὶ Θρακῶν ἐπήγαγεν ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἐκάτερα τούτων αὐτήσας ἡμᾶς ἔτ’ ἐνέδρα καὶ οὐ λαβῶν ἐπραξέ δ’ εαυτοῦ. στείραν ἐν Βρεντεσίω βασιλικήν συνέταξεν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ φανερῶς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει σιδηροφοροῦντες ἀνδρεῖς ἐδορυφόρουν τε καὶ ἐνυκτοπυλάκουν ὑπὸ συνθήματι. ἦγεν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ τὸν ἀλλὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀπαντᾷ, συντομωτέρον ἐφίεμενος διὸ ἐπενεόει Καίσαρ. Καίσαρος δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ νέου σὺν ἔτέρῳ στρατῷ φθάσαντος ἔδεισε καὶ ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐτράπετο ὡς εὐκαίριον ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ὀρμητήριον, ὅτι καὶ ο Καίσαρ ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενος ἐδυναμεῖσεν ἡμῶν.

53. "Τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τοῖς καταπλησσόμενοι, ἵνα πρὸς μὴθεν αὐτῶ παρανομοῦντι κατοκη, διεκλήρουσεν ἐς θάνατον, οὐ στασιώσαντας ἡ φυλακὴν ἢ τάξιν ἐν πολέμῳ λιπόντας, ἐφ’ ὅν μόνων ὁ στρατιωτικὸς νόμος τὴν οὕτως ἀμώμην ὀρίσε τιμορίαν, καὶ ὁμοι αὐτῇ καὶ ἔπτο εἶδε ολίγοι μόλις ἐν τοῖς πάνω κινδύνοις ἐχρήσαντο ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης. ὁ δὲ φωνὴς ἢ γέλωσις ἦγεν ἐς θάνατον τοῦς πολίτας καὶ θάνατον ὑ τῶν ἑλεγχθέντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν διαλαχόντων. τουγαροῦν οἱ μὲν δυνηθέντες ἀπέστησαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοῖς ὡς εὐ
for our action I will briefly recount the principal
ones by way of reminder.

"At Caesar's death Antony possessed himself of
our money. Having been invested with the govern-
ment of Macedonia by us he seized upon that of
Cisalpine Gaul without our authority. Having re-
evolved an army to operate against the Thracians he
brought it into Italy against us instead. Each of
these powers he asked from us for his own secret
motives, and when they were refused he acted on
his own authority. At Brundusium he organized a
royal cohort for his own use and openly made men-
at-arms his private guards and night-watchmen,
serving under a countersign. The whole remainder
of the army he led from Brundusium to the city,
aiming by a shorter path at the same designs that
Caesar contemplated. Being anticipated by the
younger Caesar and his army he became alarmed
and turned his course to the Gallic province as a
convenient point of attack on us, because Caesar had
used it as his base when he made himself our
master.

53. "In order to intimidate the soldiers to do
every unlawful act he should order, he decimated
them although they had not revolted and had not
abandoned their watch or their ranks in time of
war, for which offences alone military law allows
such cruel punishment, which only a few generals
have visited upon their soldiers and with reluctance,
in cases of extreme peril, as a matter of necessity.
These citizens Antony put to death for a word or a
laugh; a death, moreover, of men not regularly
condemned but merely chosen by lot. For this
reason those who could do so revolted from him, and
πράξασι δωρεάς χθές ἐγηφίσασθε: οἱ δὲ οὖν δυνηθέντες ἀποδράναι δεδιότες συναδικοῦσι καὶ χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ χώραν ὑμετέραν πολέμιοι καὶ πολιορκοῦσι στρατὸν ὑμετέρον καὶ στρατηγὸν ὑμετέρον, ὃ γράφετε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐμμένειν τῇ Κελτικῇ, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἔξεναι κελεύει. πότερον οὖν ἡμεῖς Ἀντώνιον ψηφιζόμεθα εἶναι πολέμιον, ἢ Ἀντώνιος ἡμᾶς ἢδη πολεμεῖ, καὶ ὁ δῆμαρχος ἡμῶν ἔτι ἀγνοεῖ, μέχρι ἧπα Λέκμου πεσόντος ἢ τε χώρα τοσὶδε οὐσα καὶ ὁμορος ἡμῶν καὶ ἔτι τῇ χώρᾳ ὁ Λέκμου στρατὸς ἐς τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπίδας Ἀντωνιῷ προσγενήται. τότε γὰρ αὐτὸν, ὡς ἔσοικεν, ὁ δῆμαρχος ψηφιεῖται πολέμιον, ὅταν ἡμῶν γένεται δυνατώτερος.

54. Ταῦτ' ἔτι τοῦ Κικέρωνος λέγωντος οἱ φίλοι θορυβοῦντες ἀπαίστως οὐδενὶ ἀντειπεῖν ἐπέτρεπον, μέχρι Πείσωνος αὐτοῦ παρελθόντος ἢ τε ἀλλή βουλή κατ' αἴδῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἰσόχασε καὶ οἱ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἤνέσχοντο. καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ Πείσων: "ὁ μὲν νόμος, ὁ βουλή, δικαιῷ τὸν εὐθυνόμενον αὐτὸν ἀκούσαι τε τῆς κατηγορίας καὶ ἀπολογησάμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κρίνεσθαι καὶ τὸν δεινότατον εἰπεῖν Κικέρωνα ἐς ταῦτα προκαλοῦμαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκεῖ μὲν παρόντος Ἀντωνίου κατηγορεῖν, ἀπόντος δ' ἐγκλήματα τινα εἶπεν ὡς μέγιστα ἐκ πάντων καὶ ἀναμφίλογα ὄντα, παρῄσχεν ἐγὼ δείξων αὐτὰ ψευδὴ βραχυτάτατας ἀπο-
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

you yesterday voted them a donative as well-doers. CHAP. VIII
Those who could not desert joined him in wrong-doing under the influence of fear, marched against our province as enemies, and besieged our army and our general, to whom you send letters directing him to hold the province, while Antony now orders him to evacuate it. Are we voting Antony an enemy, or is he already making war against us? And these things our tribune is still ignorant of, and will remain so until Decimus is overthrown and this great province on our border, together with the army of Decimus, is added to the resources with which Antony hopes to attack us. I suppose that the tribune will vote Antony an enemy only as soon as he becomes our master.”

54. While Cicero was yet speaking his friends broke forth in such tumultuous applause that for a long time nobody could be heard on the other side, until finally Piso came forward, when the senators, out of respect for him, became silent and even the Ciceronians restrained themselves. Then Piso said:
“Our law, Senators, requires that the accused shall himself hear the charge preferred against him and shall be judged after he has made his own defence; and for the truth of this I appeal to Cicero, our greatest orator. Since, however, he hesitates to accuse Antony when present, but brings against him in his absence certain charges which he considers of the greatest gravity, and not open to doubt, I have come forward to show, in the fewest words, that these charges are

1 The fifth Philippic of Cicero was delivered in the Senate on the first day of January, 43, and the sixth to a popular assembly on the fourth day of the same month. They bear only slight resemblance to this speech.
κρισει. τὰ χρήματα φησιν 'Αντώνιον τὰ κοινὰ μετὰ τὴν Καίσαρα τελευτὴν σφετερίσαθαι, τοῦ μὲν νόμου τὸν κλέπτην οὐ πολέμοι ἀποφαίνοντος, ἀλλὰ ὀρισμένη δίκη ξημούντος, Βρούτου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρα κτείναντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τόδε κατηγορήσαντος, ὅτι ὁ Καίσαρ τὰ χρήματα διεφόρησε καὶ κενὰ καταλέλοιπε τὰ ταμεῖα, 'Αντώνιον δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ξητεῖν αὐτὰ ψηφισαμένου καὶ ύμῶν ἀποδεξαμένων τε τὴν γνώμην καὶ κεκυρωκότων καὶ γέρας τοῖς μηνύσοι δεκάτην ύπεσχημένου, ἵνα διπλασιάσομεν ἥμεις, εἰ τις 'Αντώνιον περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχοι τι διελέγχειν.

55. "Καὶ τάδε μὲν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὴν δὲ Κελτικὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὐκ ἐψηφισάμεθα μὲν ἥμεις 'Αντώνιῳ, ἔδωκε δὲ ὁ δήμος νόμῳ, παρόντος αὐτοῦ Κικέρανος, δὲ τρόπῳ καὶ έτερα πολλάκις ἔδωκε καὶ τήνδε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτὴν Καίσαρι πάλαι. μέρος δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ 'Αντώνιου, τὴν δεδομένην οἱ μετιόντα, Δέκμῳ μὴ παραχωροῦντι πολεμεῖν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀντὶ Θρακῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι κινουμένων ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα. ἀλλὰ Κικέραν Δέκμον μὲν οὐχ ἤγείται πολέμων, ἐναυτίᾳ τῷ νόμῳ τιθέμενον ὡς, 'Αντώνιον δὲ πολέμου, τῷ νόμῳ συμμαχοῦντα. εἰ δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίᾶται τὸν νόμον, τοὺς θεμένους αὐτίᾶται· οὖς ἐδει μεταπείθειν, οὐχὶ συνθέμενον ὑβρίζειν, οὐδὲ τὴν χώραν Δέκμῳ μὲν πιστεύειν, ὅν ὁ δήμος ἐδίωξεν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ, 'Αντώνιῳ δὲ ἀπιστείν, ὅ τι ὁ δήμος ἐδώκεν. οὐ γὰρ εὐ βουλευομένων ἔστι.
false. He says that Antony converted the public money to his own use after Caesar's death. The law declares such a person to be a thief, not a public enemy, and limits his punishment accordingly. After Brutus had killed Caesar he accused the latter before the people of plundering the public money and leaving the treasury empty. Soon afterward Antony proposed a decree to investigate these matters and you adopted and confirmed his motion and promised a reward of one-tenth to informers, which reward we will double if anybody will prove that Antony had any part in the fraud.

55. "So much for the charge in reference to money. We did not vote the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul to Antony, but the people gave it to him by a law, Cicero being present; just as other provinces had often been given, and as this same governorship had previously been given to Caesar. It was a part of this law that, when Antony should arrive at the province given to him, if Decimus would not yield it Antony should declare war and lead the army into the Gallic province against him, instead of using it against the Thracians, who were still quiet. But Cicero does not consider Decimus, who is entrenching himself against the law, an enemy, although he considers Antony an enemy who is fighting on the side of the law. He who accuses the law itself accuses the authors of the law, whom he ought to change by persuasion, not to insult after having himself agreed with them. He ought not to entrust the province to Decimus, whom the people drove out of the city on account of the murder, while refusing to entrust to Antony what the people gave to him. It is not the part of good
Διαστασιαίσθησαι πρὸς τὸν δήμον ἐν καιροῖς μάλιστα ἐπικειμένους οὐδὲ ἀμημονεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τόδε αὐτὸ τοῦ δήμου πρότερον ἦν, τὸ κρίνειν τὰ φίλα καὶ πολέμα. μόνος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πάλαι νόμων ὁ δήμος αὐτοκράτωρ ἐιρήνης πέρι καὶ πολέμου σκοπεῖν. ὅτι μηδὲν ὁ δήμος ἐπιστήσεις μὴ δὲ ἐπιμηνύσειν ἦμῖν, προστάτων λαβόμενος.

56. "Ἀλλ' ἔκτεινε τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁ Ἀυτώνιος. αὐτοκράτωρ γε ὁ καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ὑφ' ὑμῶν κεχειροτονημένος. καὶ οὐδεὶς πω τῶν δὲ λόγων ὑπέσχεν αὐτοκράτωρ. οὐ γὰρ ἔκριναν οἱ νόμοι λυσιτελήσειν ἡμῖν τῶν ἀρχοντας τοὺς στρατευόμενοι ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι. οὐδ' ἐστιν ἀπεθάνας τι χείρον ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, δι' ἢ καὶ νικώντες τινες ἀνηρέθησαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς εὐθυνε τοὺς ἀνελόντας. οὐδὲ τῶν νῦν συγγενής οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ Κικέρων ἐπιμέμφεται καὶ φῶνο κατηγορῶν πολέμου κοινῶν ἀντὶ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν ἐπιτιμῶν τοὺς φονεύσει τίθεται. Ἀυτωνίῳ δὲ τοῖς στρατισμοῖς ὑπὸς τέκτον ὑπεταστάντα αὐτοῦ δύο τέλη, ὃ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐπιφεύσασθε Ἀυτωνίῳ στρατευέν. αὐτομολοίχοντα δὲ παρὰ τοὺς στρατιωτικοὺς νόμους, οὐ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐς Καίσαρα, ὁ Κικέρων ὤμος ἐπήνευσε καὶ ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἐχθὲς ἐμφάνισθησε· καὶ μὴ ποτὲ ὑμᾶς λυπήσει τὸ παράδειγμα. Κικέρωνα δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀνωμαλίαν ἐξέστησεν ἡ ἐχθρά· κατηγορεῖ γὰρ Ἀυτωνίου τυραννίδα καὶ κόλασιν στρατιωτῶν, ἀεὶ τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων τὰ στρατηύματα θεραπεύοντας, οὐ κολαξόντων. ἑπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ὁκνήσειν οὐδὲ
counsellors to be at variance with the people, especially in times of danger, or to forget that this very power of deciding who are friends and who are enemies formerly belonged to the people. According to the ancient laws the people are the sole arbiters of peace and war. Heaven grant that they may not be reminded of this, and consequently be angry with us when they have found a leader.

56. "But it is said that Antony put certain soldiers to death. Being commander-in-chief he was empowered to do so by you. No commander has ever yet rendered an account of such matters. The laws do not consider it expedient that the general should be answerable to his soldiers. There is nothing worse in an army than disobedience, on account of which some soldiers have been put to death even after a victory, and no one called to account those who killed them. None of their relatives complain now, but Cicero complains and while accusing Antony of murder stigmatizes him as a public enemy, instead of calling for the punishment prescribed for murderers. The desertion of two of his legions shows how insubordinate and arrogant Antony's army was—legions which you have voted that he should command, and who deserted, in violation of military law, not to you, but to Octavian. Nevertheless Cicero praised them and yesterday proposed that they be paid out of the public treasury. Heaven grant that this example may not plague you hereafter. Hatred has betrayed Cicero into inconsistency, for he accused Antony of aiming at supreme power and yet punishing his soldiers, whereas such conspirators are always lenient, not severe, toward the men serving under them. As Cicero does not
ΑΡΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY

_CAP. VIII_

την ἄλλην Ἀντώνιον μετὰ Καίσαρα ἀρχὴν ὑς τυραννικὴν διαβαλεῖν, φέρε πῦθωμαι καθ’ ἐκα-
στον ᾠδε.

57. "Τίνα ἐκτείνειν ὡς τύραννος ἀκρίτων ὁ γνώ
κυνδυνεύων ἀκρίτως; τίνα δὲ ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως;
τίνα δὲ ὑμῖν διέβαλεν; ἢ καθ’ ἐνα μὲν τοιόσοδε ἦν,
ἐπεβούλευς δὲ πᾶσιν ὁμοῖος; πότε, ὁ Κικέρων; ὅτε
τὴν ἀμνηστίαν ἐκύρων τῶν γεγονότων; ἢ ὅτε
μηδένα διώκεσθαι φόνου; ἢ ὅτε ἔτησιν εἶναι τῶν
κοινῶν χρημάτων; ἢ ὅτε Πομπήιον τὸν Πομπήιον
τοῦ ὑμετέρου κατεκάλει καὶ τὴν πατρίων ἐκ τῶν
dημοσίων αὐτῷ διέλυνε περιουσίαν; ἢ ὅτε τὸν
Ψευδομάριον λαβὼν ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἀπέκτεινε καὶ
ἐπηνέσατε πάντες καὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ δι’ ὑμᾶς οὐ
dιέβαλε Κικέρων; ἢ ὅτε ἐψηφίζετο μὴ εἰσηγεῖ-
σθαι περὶ δικτάτορος μηδένα μήτε ἐπιψηφίζειν,
ἡ ὑπονεῖ πρὸς τοῦ θέλοντος ἀποθνῄσκειν; ταῦτα
γάρ ἔστω, ἢ ἐπολίτευσατο ἦμῖν Ἀντώνιον ἐν δύο
μησίν, οἷς μόνοις ἐπέμεινε τῇ πόλει μετὰ Κα-
σαρα, ἁρτί μὲν τοῦ δῆμου τοὺς φονέας διώκοντος,
ἀρτί δὲ ὑμῶν δεδίτων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσομένοις; οὐ τίνα
καίρον, εἰ ποιηρὸς ἦν, ἀμείωνα εἴχεν;

"Ἀλλ’ ἐσ’ ἐναντία: οὐκ ἠρχε. πῶς; οὐ μόνος
ἤρχεν ἀποδημήσαντος ἐπὶ Συρίας Δολοβέλλα; οὐ
hesitate to arraign as tyrannical all the rest of Antony's administration since Caesar's death, come, let me examine his acts one by one.

57. "Whom has Antony put to death in a tyrannical manner without trial—he who is now in danger of being condemned himself without trial? Whom has he banished from the city? Whom has he slandered in our presence? Or, if innocent toward us individually, has he conspired against all of us collectively? When, Cicero? Was it when he carried through the Senate the act of amnesty for the past? Was it when he abstained from prosecuting anybody for the murder? Was it when he moved an investigation of the public accounts? Was it when he proposed the recall of Sextus Pompeius the son of your Pompeius, and payment for his father's confiscated property out of the public treasury? Was it when he seized that conspirator, the false Marius, and put him to death, and you all applauded, and because you did so it was the only act of Antony that Cicero did not calumniate? Was it when he brought in a decree that nobody should ever propose a dictatorship, or vote for it, and that anybody disobeying the decree might be killed with impunity by anyone who wished? These are the public acts that Antony performed for us during two months, the only months that he remained in the city after Caesar's death, the very time when the people were pursuing the murderers and you were apprehensive of the future. If he were a villain what better opportunity could he have had?

"But, you will say, the fact is quite the other way: he was not in authority. What? Did he not exercise the sole authority after Dolabella departed
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CAP. VIII

στρατὸν εἶχεν ἑτοίμου ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν ὦφ’ ἡμῶν αὐτῷ δεδομένου; οὐκ ἑνυκτοφυλάκει τὴν πόλιν; οὐκ ἑνυκτοφυλακεῖτο διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλήν; οὐ πρόφασιν εἶχε τὴν σφαγὴν Καίσαρος, φίλον τέ οί καὶ εὐεργέτον ὄντος καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ μάλιστα ὑπεραρέσκοντο; οὐχ ἐτέραν εἶχεν οἰκείαν, ἐπιβεβουλευμένος ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὕπο τῶν ἁνδρῶν; ἣν ἔκτεινε μὲν ἡ ἐφυγάδευσεν οὐδένα, συνεγνω δὲ, δοσον εἶχε μέτρου καλῶς, καὶ διδομένας αὐτοῖς ἡγεμονίας οὐκ ἐφθόνησε δοθῆναι.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα, ὁ Ῥωμαίοι, καὶ ἀναμφίλογα Κικέρωνος ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγκλήματα ὄρατε. 58. ἐπεὶ δὲ γε ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐγκλήμας καὶ μαντεύματα ἔπαγγος, ὡς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔμελλε μὲν τὸν στρατὸν ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, δείσει δὲ προλαβόντος αὐτὴν ἐτέρῳ στρατῷ Καίσαρος, πῶς οὖν, εἰ τὸ μελλῆσαι μόνον ἐστὶν ἁνδρὸς πολεμῶν, τὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσαντα ἦμιν ἁσθμαντὸν οὐχ ἤγεῖται πολέμου; πῶς δ’, εἴπερ ἥθελεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, οὐκ ἄφικετο; ἡ τρισμυρίως ἔχουν συντεταγμένους ἐδεισε τρισχιλίους τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὄντας ἀνόπλους, ἀσυντάκτους, ἐς μόνας Καίσαρι διαλλαγὰς συνελθόντας καὶ εὐθὺς, ός ἔγνωσαν πολεμεῖν αἱρούμενον, καταλεῖποντας; εἰ δὲ μετὰ τρισμυρίων ἐλθεῖν ἐδεισε, πῶς ἤλθε μετὰ μόνων χιλίων; μεθ’ ὧν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Τίβεριον ἐξίοντα πόσιν προετέμπομεν καὶ πώσιον συνώμυμεν οὐχ ὅρκούμενοι; πόσους δὲ Κικέρων ἐπάνως ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀνάλισκε; πῶς δ’ αὐτὸς Ἀντώνιος, εἰ τι τοιοῦτον
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

for Syria? Did he not keep an armed force that you gave him in readiness in the city? Did he not patrol the city by night? Was he not guarded at night against any conspiracy of his enemies? Did he not have an excuse for this in the murder of Caesar, his friend and benefactor, the man most beloved by the common people? Did he not have another of a personal kind in the fact that the murderers conspired against his life also? Yet none of them did he kill or banish, but pardoned them what he could in decency, and did not begrudge them the governorships that were offered to them.

"You behold then, Romans, these very grave and indisputable charges of Cicero against Antony. 58. But since in addition to charges, surmises are introduced to the effect that Antony was about to lead an army to the city, but became alarmed because Octavian had anticipated him with another army, how does it happen that, when the mere intention to do this makes a man an enemy, the one who actually comes and encamps alongside of us without emblems of authority is not regarded by Cicero as an enemy? What would have prevented Antony from coming if he had wanted to? With 30,000 troops in line was he afraid of Octavian's 3000, half-armed, unorganized, who had come together merely to gain his friendship, and who left him as soon as they knew that he had chosen them for war? If Antony was afraid to come with 30,000 how did he dare to come with only 1000? With these a crowd of us accompanied him to Tibur! What a crowd of us voluntarily joined the soldiers in taking the oath of fidelity to him! What praises did Cicero lavish on his acts and virtues! If Antony himself contemplated any such
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ἐγίγνωσκε, τὰ ἐνέχυρα τὰ νῦν ὄντα πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κατέληπεν ἦμῖν; μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ μειράκιον νῦν; οἱ κλαίοντες καὶ δεδίστο νῦν οὐ τὴν ᾿Αντωνίου πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δυναστείαν.

59. "Ταύτα μὲν δὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔξευθον δείγμα τῆς ᾿Αντωνίου τε ἀπολογίας καὶ Κικέρωνος μεταβολῆς: παραίνεσιν δ’ ἐπιθήσῃστοι σὺν εὐ φρονούσι μήτε ἐς τὸν δήμου μήτε ἐς ᾿Αντώνιον ἀμαρτάνεις μηδὲ ἐχθρασκαι καὶ κινδύνους ἐπάγεις τοῖς κοινοῖς, νοσούσης ἐτὶ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἀπορουσῆς τῶν ὀξέως ἀμυνούσων, δύναμιν δ’ ἐν τῇ πόλει συστησαμένους, πρὸν θορυβησάται τί τῶν ἐξώ, τὴν ἀρκεσούσαν, τότε τοῖς ἐκάστοτε ἐπείγοσθεν ἐφεδρεύειν καὶ κρίνειν, οὐχ ἀν ἐθέλητε, δυναμένους τὸ κεκριμένον τελεῖν. πῶς οὖν ἔσται ταύτα; ἕαν ᾿Αντώνιον μὲν ἐώμεν ἐς πρόφασιν ἢ χάριν τοῦ δήμου τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔχειν, Δέκμον δὲ μετὰ τριῶν δὲν ἔχει τελῶν ἐνθάδε καλῶμεν καὶ ἀφικόμενον ἐκπέμπτωμεν ἐς Μακεδονίαν, τὰ τέλη κατασχόντες. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπ’ ᾿Αντωνίου μεταστάντα δύο πρὸς ἦμᾶς μετέστη, καθάπερ φησὶ Κικέρων, καὶ τάδε καλῶμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω γὰρ πέντε τελῶν ἦμῖν ὑπαρχόντων ψηφιζοίμεθα ἀν, ὅ τι δοκιμάζομεν, ἐγκρατῶς, ἐς οὐδενὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐλπίδας αἰωροῦμεν.

60. "Καὶ τάδε μὲν εἰρήνης τοῖς ἀνευθύνων καὶ φιλονικίας ἀκρωμένων· τοῖς δὲ ἀπερισκεπτῶς καὶ ἀπαρασκευάζοις δι’ οἰκεῖαν ἐχθραν ἡ φιλονικίαν ἐκθορμεῖσιν ὑμᾶς κριτᾶς παραίνω μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι μηδὲ προπετεῖς ἐς ἄνδρας μεγίστους τε καὶ
thing [as invasion] why did he leave as pledges in our hands his mother, his wife, and his grown up son, who are even now at the door of the Senate-house weeping and fearful, not on account of the policy of Antony, but of the overwhelming power of his enemies.

59. "These facts I have now brought before you as proof of Antony's defence and of Cicero's fickleness. I will add an exhortation to right-minded men, not to do injustice to the people or to Antony, not to expose the public interests to new enmities and dangers while the commonwealth is sick and in want of timely defenders, but to establish a sufficient force in the city before breeding disorder outside, to provide against attacks from every quarter, and to come to such decisions as you please when you are able to carry them into effect. How shall these ends be accomplished? By allowing Antony, as a matter of policy, or for the sake of the people, to have Cisalpine Gaul. Call Decimus thence with his three legions, and when he comes send him to Macedonia, retaining his legions here. If the two legions that deserted from Antony deserted to us, as Cicero says, let us summon them also from Octavian to the city. Thus with five legions sustaining us we might pass such decrees as we think best with entire confidence, depending on the favour of no man.

60. "I have addressed these words to men who listen to me without malice or the spirit of contention. Those who would excite you heedlessly and unconsiderately on account of private enmity and private strife I exhort not to come to hasty and rash decisions against the most important personages,
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61. "Ode mēn ὁ Πείσων ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ ὧνείδίζεν ὰμοῦ καὶ ἐφόβει καὶ σαφῶς αὕτιος ἐγένετο μὴ σφησισθῆναι πολέμιον 'Αντώνιον. οὐ μην ἐκράτησε τῆς Κελτικῆς αὐτὸν ἀρχεῖν· οἱ γὰρ τῶν σφαγέων φίλοι τε καὶ συγγενεῖς ὑπὸ δέος ἐκώλυσαν, μὴ τοῦ πολέμου λυθέντος ἐπεξέλθοι τὸν φῶνα Ἰαίσαρι συναλλαγεῖς· διὸ καὶ στασία-ζειν αἰεὶ παρεσκευάζων Ἰαίσαρά τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον.

ἐψηφίσαντο δ' Ἀντωνῖνος προαγορεύσαι Μακεδονίαν ἀντὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἔχειν· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐντολὰς, εἰτε λαθόντες εἰτ' ἐξεπείθετο, Κικέρωνα συγγράψαι τε καὶ δοῦναι τοὺς προσβείους προσέταξαι. ὁ δὲ τὴν γνώμην παραφέρων συνέγρα-φεν ὃδε Μοτίνης Ἀντώνιον εὐθὺς ἀπανίστασθαι.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

who command strong armies, and not to force them into war against their will. Remember Marcius Coriolanus. Recall the recent doings of Caesar, whom we rashly voted an enemy while he was in like manner leading an army and offering us the fairest terms of peace, whereby we forced him to be an enemy in deed. Have regard for the people who were lately pursuing Caesar’s murderers, lest we seem to insult them by giving those murderers the governorship of provinces, by praising Decimus for nullifying the people’s law, and by voting Antony an enemy because he accepted the Gallic province from the people. For which reasons the well-wishers of the country ought to take thought for the erring, and the consuls and tribunes ought to multiply their activities in view of the public dangers.”

61. Thus did Piso defend Antony, reproaching his enemies and alarming them. He was evidently the cause of their not voting Antony an enemy. Nevertheless, he did not succeed in securing for him the governorship of the Gallic province. The friends and relatives of the murderers prevented it, fearing lest, at the end of the war, Antony should join Octavian in avenging the murder, for which reason they meant to keep Octavian and Antony always at variance with each other. They voted to offer Antony Macedonia instead of the Gallic province, and they ordered, either heedlessly or designedly, that the other commands of the Senate be reduced to writing by Cicero and delivered to the ambassadors. Cicero altered the decree and wrote as follows:

“The Senate orders Antony to desist from the siege of Mutina forthwith,

1 The text is probably corrupt. Compare perhaps the French se multiplier: “to be a host in oneself.”
καὶ Δέκμῳ τὴν Κέλτικὴν μεθιέναι, ἐντὸς δὲ Ῥοβίκωνος ποταμοῦ, τοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὄριζοντος ἀπὸ τῆς Κέλτικῆς, ἡμέρα ῠνήθη γενόμενον ἐπιτρέψαι τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπαντα τῇ βουλῇ. οὕτω μὲν φιλονίκως τε καὶ ψευδὸς τὰς ἐντολὰς ὁ Κικέρων συνέγραφεν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἔχθρας τοσῆσθε ὑπούσης, ἀλλ', ὡς οἰκε, τοῦ δαιμονίου τὰ κοινὰ ἐς μεταβολὴν ἐνοχλοῦντος καὶ αὐτῷ Κικέρων κακῶς ἐπινοοῦντος. ἀρτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Τρεβωνίων λειψάνων κομισθέντων καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὑβρεως γνωσθείσης ἀκριβέστερον, οὐ δυσχερῶς ἦ βουλὴ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἐκρίνεν εἶναι πολέμιον.

62. Οἱ δ' ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλμένοι πρέσβεις, αἰδούμενοι τῶν ἐντολῶν τὸ ἅλλοκοτον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἐφασαν, αὐτὰς δ' ἐπέδοσαν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος σὺν ὁργῇ πολλὰ ἐς τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀπερρίπτει, θαυμάζων, ὅτι Καίσαρα μὲν τὸν τὰ μέγιστα ὠφελήσαντα τῇ ἀρχῇ ἠγούνται τύραννον ἢ βασιλέα, Κικέρωνα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσιν, ὃν Καίσαρ μὲν εἶλε πολέμῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε, Κικέρων δὲ τούς ἐκεῖνον φονέας προτίθησι τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ Δέκμον Καίσαρι μὲν ὥντα φίλον ἐμίσει, ἀνδροφόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ γενόμενον ἀγατᾷ, καὶ τῷ μὲν παρ' οὐδενὸς μετὰ Καίσαρα λαβόντι τὴν Κέλτικὴν προστίθεται, τῷ δὲ παρὰ
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

relinquish Cisalpine Gaul to Decimus, withdraw to the bither side of the river Rubicon (which forms the boundary between Italy and the province) before a specified day, and submit himself in all things to the Senate." Thus provokingly and falsely did Cicero write the orders of the Senate, not by reason of an underlying hostility, as it seems, but at the instigation of some evil spirit that was goading the republic to revolution and meditating destruction to Cicero himself. The remains of Trebonius having been lately brought home and the indignities visited upon him more carefully inquired into, the Senate with little opposition declared Dolabella a public enemy.

62. The ambassadors who had been sent to Antony, ashamed of the extraordinary character of the orders, said nothing, but simply delivered them to him. Antony in his wrath indulged in many invectives against the Senate and Cicero. "He was astonished," he said, "that they should consider Caesar (the man who had contributed most to the Roman sway) a tyrant and a king, and did not so consider Cicero, whom Caesar had captured in war and whose life he had spared, while Cicero in return now prefers Caesar's assassins to his friends. He hated Decimus as long as the latter was the friend of Caesar, but loves him now that he has become his murderer. He favours a man who took the province of Gaul after Caesar's death without authority, and makes war on one who received it at the hands of

1 The statement that Cicero falsified the message of the Senate to Antony is untrue. Cicero was vehemently opposed to sending ambassadors to Antony, and in favour of an immediate declaration of war and the levying of troops against him.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VIII τοῦ δήμου λαβόντι πολέμει. "τῶν τε ἑψηφισμένων μοι τελῶν τοὺς μὲν αὐτομολήσασι γέρα δίδωσιν, τοῖς δὲ παραμείνασιν οὐ, διαφθείρων οὐκ ἐμοὶ μᾶλλον ἄλλα τῇ πόλει τὰ στρατιωτικὰ. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀνδροφόνοις ἀμνηστίαν ἔδωκεν, ἥ καὶ γω συνεθέμην διὰ δύο ἄνδρας αἰδεαίμονες Ἀντώνιον δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἤγειται πολέμιον, ὅτι τῶν δεδομένων ἐχόμεθα. ἦδε γὰρ ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθὴς αἰτία· κἂν ἀποστῶ τῆς Κελτικῆς, οὔτε πολέμιος οὔτε μόναρχος εἰμί. τάντα μὲντοι μαρτύρομει λύσειν τὴν οὐκ ἀγαπωμένην ἀμνηστίαν."

63. Τοιάδε πολλὰ εἰπὼν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀντέγραψε τῷ δόγματι τῇ μὲν βουλῇ πεισθῆναι ἄν ἐς ἀπαντα ως πατρίδι, Κικέρωνι δὲ τῷ συγγράφαντι τὰς ἐντολὰς ὥδε ἀποκρίνεσθαι: "ὁ δήμος ἐδωκεί μοι τὴν Κελτικὴν νόμον, καὶ Δέκμον ἀπειθοῦντα τῷ νόμῳ μετελεύσομαι καὶ τοῦ φόνου δίκας ἀπαιτῆσο μόνον ύπὲρ ἀπάντων, ἵνα καὶ ἡ βουλή καθαρεύσῃ ποτὲ τοῦ μύσου, ἐμπιπτομένη νῦν διὰ Κικέρωνα Δέκμῳ βοηθοῦντα." τάδε μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἰπὲ τε καὶ ἀντέγραψε, καὶ ἡ βουλή αὐτοῦ αὐτικὰ ἑψηφίζετο εἴναι πολέμιον καὶ τὸν ὑπ’ αὐτὸ στρατόν, εἰ μὴ ἀποσταθεῖν αὐτοῦ. Μικεδονίας δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ὑπολοίπων στρατῶν Μάρκου Βρούτου ἄρχειν, μέχρι κατασταίη τὰ κοινά. ὁ δὲ ἱδίον τε εἰχὲν ἶδῃ στρατὸν καὶ παρὰ Ἀπουληίου τινὰ προσευ
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

the people. He gives rewards to those who deserted from the legions voted to me, and none to those who remain faithful, thus impairing military discipline not more to my disadvantage than to that of the state. He has given amnesty to the murderers, to which I have assented on account of two men who deserve respect. He holds Dolabella and myself as enemies because we keep what was given to us. That is the real reason. And if I but withdraw from Gaul, then I am neither enemy nor autocrat! I declare that I will bring to naught the amnesty with which they are not satisfied."

63. After saying much more to the same purpose Antony wrote his reply to the decree, saying that he would obey the Senate in all respects as the voice of his country, but to Cicero, who wrote the orders, he made the following answer: "The people gave me the province of Gaul by a law, and I shall prosecute Decimus for not obeying the law, and I shall visit with punishment for the murder him alone, as representative of them all, in order that the Senate, which now participates in the wickedness by reason of Cicero's support of Decimus, may at last be purged of such pollution." These words Antony spoke and wrote in reply.¹ The Senate immediately voted him an enemy and also the army under him, if it should not abandon him. The government of Macedonia and Illyria, with the troops still remaining in both, was assigned to Marcus Brutus until the republic should be re-established. The latter already had an army of his own and had received some troops from Apuleius. He also had

¹ Antony's reply is quoted by Cicero with a running comment in the eighth Philippic (8.9.)
ἈΠΙΑΝΩΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ

ΧΑΡ. VIII

λύφει καὶ ναῦς εἶχε μακράς τε καὶ ὀλκάδας καὶ χρημάτων ἐς μύρια καὶ ἐξακισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ ὅπλα πολλά, ὡσα ἐν Δημητριάδι Γαίῳ Καίσαρι ἔκ πολλοῦ γυνὸμενα εὑρεν· οἷς ἀπασιν αὐτόν ἡ βουλή τότε ἐπήφιζετο ἐς τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πατρίδος χρήσαται. ἐπηφίζαντο δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἄρχεω τε Συρίας καὶ πολεμεῖν Δολοβέλλας· τούς τε ἅλλους, ὅσοι τινάς ἔθνους ἡ στρατοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰούνιον θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν ἐω, πάντας ὑπακούειν ἐσὶ τὸ προστάσσοι Κάσσιος ἡ Βρούτος.

ΧΑΡ. IX

64. Ὡδε μὲν ὃξεώς σὺν ἀφορμῇ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἡλεόμπρυσον, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἔκαστα μαθῶν ἕπορητο, τὴν μὲν ἀμυνστίαν ἡγούμενος εὐπρέπειαν ἑσχηκέναι φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἔλεον συγγενῶν ἄνδρῶν καὶ ὄμοσίμων, καὶ τὰς βραχυτέρας ἡγεμονίας ἀσφάλειαν. Δέκμι τε τὴν Κελτικὴν βεβαιοῦντας Ἀντωνίῳ δόξαι περὶ τυραννίδος διαφέρεσθαι, ὦ προσποιήματι καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπάγεσθαι κατ᾽ Ἀντωνίου· τὸ δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλαν πολέμου ψηφίσασθαι δι’ ἐνα τῶν ἄνδροφόνων ἀναιρεθέντα καὶ Βρούτῳ καὶ Κασσίῳ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἐδίω ἀναλάξαι στρατόπεδα τε δοῦναι πολλὰ ἄθροώς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἡγεμονῶν ἁποφήμαι πάντων, ὅσοι πέραν εἰς τῆς Ἰούνιον θαλάσσης, σαφῶς εἶναι τὴν ἐω Πομπήίου μοίραν αὐξόντων, τὴν δὲ Καίσαρος.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

war-ships and ships of burden and about 16,000 talents in money, and quantities of arms which he found in Demetrias, where they had been placed by Gaius Caesar long before, all of which the Senate now voted that he should use for the advantage of the republic. They voted that Cassius should be governor of Syria and that he should make war against Dolabella, and that all other commanders of Roman provinces and soldiers between the Adriatic sea and the Orient should obey the orders of Cassius and Brutus in all things.

IX

64. Thus quickly did the Senate seize the opportunity to put the affairs of Cassius and his party in a brilliant aspect. When Octavian learned what had been done he was troubled. He had considered the amnesty in the light of an act of humanity and of pity for the relatives and compeers of these men, and that the very small commands had been given them for their safety merely; finally, the confirming of the Gallic province to Decimus seemed to him to have been done by reason of the Senate's difference with Antony respecting the supreme power, on which ground also they were inciting him against Antony. But the voting of Dolabella an enemy because he had put one of the murderers to death, the changing of the commands of Brutus and Cassius to the largest provinces, the granting of great armies and large sums of money to them and putting them in command of all the governors beyond the Adriatic sea—all pointed plainly to the building up of the party of Pompey and the pulling
καθαιροῦντων. ἐνεβημεῖτο δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὡς μειράκιον τέχνης, εἰκόνα μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ προεδρίαν παρασχόντων καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφημάντων, ἔργῳ δὲ ἰδίων αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ὄντα ἀφαιρομένων. ὑπάτων γὰρ συστρατηγοῦντων οὕτως εἶναι τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον τά τε γέρα τοὺς ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μόνοις μεταστάσασιν ἐψηφισμένα τοὺς αὐτῷ στρατευομένους ἀτιμών· καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὅλως αὐτῷ μὲν αἰσχύνην ἔχειν, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἀποκρήσθαι οἱ κατὰ Ἀντωνίου, μέχρι καθέλωσιν αὐτῶν.

65. Ταῦτα λογεξόμενος ἐπέκρυπτε καὶ θύσιν ἐπὶ τῇ δεδομένῃ ἄρχῃ πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν ἔφη· “καὶ τάδε μοι παρ’ ὑμῶν, ὦ συστρατιώται, γέγονεν, οὐ νῦν, ἀλλ’ ἔξι οὖ τὴν ἄρχῃ ἐδίδοτε· καὶ γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ δι’ ὑμᾶς ἐδωκεν. ὡστε ἐμὲ καὶ τούτων ἵστε τὴν χάριν ὑμῖν ὀφλήσοντα καὶ, ἂν οἱ θεοὶ παρέχωσιν εὐπραγείων, ἀποδώσωντα ἀθρόως”.

ʼΟ μὲν ὀὕτως τὸν στρατὸν οἰκειούμενος ὑπήγετο, τῶν δὲ ὑπάτων Πάνσας μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔξενάγει, ὡρίμου ὑπὸ τὸν Καίσαρι τὸν στρατὸν ἐμπρόσθεν καὶ, ὡς αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ λέλεκτο, ἐς τὸ μέρος ἦτε τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ παρὰ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα, εἰδὼς τάδε ὄντα τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ ἄξιολογώτατον. καὶ ὃ μὲν Καίσαρ ἀπαντὰ συνεχόμει, μερισάμενοι δὲ ἐχείμαζον μετ’ ἄλληλων παροδεύοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἦδη Δέκμος μὲν ἔκαμεν υπὸ λιμοῦ,

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down of that of Caesar. He bethought himself of their artifice in treating him as a young man, in providing him a statue and a front seat, and giving him the title of praetor, when in fact they were taking from him what army he did have, for a praetor has no authority when consuls are serving with him. Then the rewards voted only to those of his soldiers who had deserted from Antony to him were an indignity to those who had enlisted under him. Finally the war would be nothing but a disgrace to him, for the Senate would simply make use of him against Antony till the latter was crushed.

65. Meditating thus to himself he performed the sacrifices appertaining to the command assigned to him, and said to his army: "I owe these honours of mine to you, fellow-soldiers, not now merely but from the time when you gave me the command; for the Senate conferred them upon me on account of you. Know, therefore, that my gratitude will be due to you for these things, and that it will be expressed to you abundantly if the gods grant success to our undertakings."

In this way he conciliated the soldiers and attached them to himself. In the meantime, Pansa, one of the consuls, was collecting recruits throughout Italy, and the other one, Hirtius, shared the command of the forces with Octavian, and as he was secretly ordered to do it by the Senate he demanded as his share the two legions that had deserted from Antony, knowing that they were the most reliable in the army. Octavian yielded to him in everything and they shared with each other and went into winter quarters together. As winter advanced Decimus began to suffer from hunger, and Hirtius
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. "Ιρτιός δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐσ τῇ Μουτίνῃ ἐχώρουν, μὴ κάμνουτα τὸν Δέκμου στρατὸν ὁ ’Αντώνιος παραλάβησι. ἀκριβῶς δὲ τῆς Μουτίνης φυλασσόμενης ὑπὸ τοῦ ’Αντωνίου, πανσυδί μὲν οὐ συνεπλέκοντο αὐτῷ Πάνσαν περιμένοντες, ἵππομαχία δ’ ἦσαν πυκνά, πολὺ μὲν πλείους ἰππεὰς ἔχοντος ’Αντωνίου τοῦ πεδίου δὲ ἡ δυσχέρεια, διὰ χειμάρρους ἐκτεταφρεμένου, τὴν πλεονεξίαν τὸ πλῆθος ἀπεστέρει.

66. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἄμφι τῇ Μουτίνῃ, τὰ δ’ ἐν ’Ῥώμῃ τῶν ὑπάτων οὐ παρόντων ὁ Κικέρων ἦγεν ὑπὸ δημοκρατίας καὶ συνεχεῖς ἦσαν ἐκκλησίαι, ὅπλα τε εἰργαζότο συναγαγόν τοὺς δημοσιογόνους ἀμισθί καὶ χρήματα συνέλεγε καὶ βαρυτάτας ἐσφορὰς τοῖς ’Αντωνίου φίλοις ἐπετίθεν. οἱ δὲ ἔτσιμοις ἐσέφερον ἐκλυόμενοι τὴν διαβολήν, μέχρι Πούπλιος Οὐεντίδιος, ἐστρατευμένος τε Γαῖῳ Καῖσαρι καὶ ’Αντωνίῳ φίλος ὄψιν, οὐκ ἦνερκε τὴν βαρύτητα τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἀλλ’ ἐσ τὰς Καῖσαρος ἀποικίας ἐκδραμὼν ὡς γνώριμος δύο ἐσ τὸν ’Αντώνιον ἀνεστράτευσε τέλη καὶ ἐσ τὴν ’Ῥώμην συλλαβεῖν Κικέρωνα ἦπεϊντο. τότε μὲν δὴ θὸρυβὸς τε ἦν ἄπλετος, καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναικές ὑπεξέφερον οἱ πλεῖοι μετὰ δυσελπιστίας, καὶ τὸ Κικέρων τῆς πόλεως ἀπεδίδρασκε. καὶ ὁ Οὐεντίδιος μαθὼν ἐς τὸν ’Αντώνιον ἀνέστρεφε. διακλειόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Καῖσαρὸς τε καὶ Ἰρτίον ἐς τὴν Πικρήτιδα παρῆλθε καὶ τέλος ἄλλο συλλογίσας ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐσομένοις.
and Octavian advanced towards Mutina lest Antony should receive in surrender Decimus' army which was now weak with famine; but as Mutina was closely hemmed in by Antony, they did not venture to come to close quarters with him at once, but waited for Pansa. There were frequent cavalry engagements, as Antony had a much larger force of horse, but the difficulty of the ground, which was cut up by torrents, deprived him of the advantage of numbers.

66. Such was the course of events round Mutina. At Rome, in the absence of the consuls, Cicero took the lead by public speaking. He held frequent assemblies, procured arms by inducing the armourers to work without pay, collected money, and exacted heavy contributions from the Antonians. These paid without complaining in order to avoid calumny, until Publius Ventidius, who had served under Gaius Caesar and who was a friend of Antony, unable to endure the exactions of Cicero, betook himself to Caesar's colonies, where he was well known, and brought over two legions to Antony and hastened to Rome to seize Cicero. The consternation was extreme. They removed most of the women and children in a panic, and Cicero himself fled from the city. When Ventidius learned this he turned his course towards Antony, but being intercepted by Octavian and Hirtius, he proceeded to Picenum, where he recruited another legion and waited to see what would happen.¹

¹ This tale, in so far as it relates to Cicero, must be entirely fictitious, since nothing of the kind is mentioned in the Philippics, although Ventidius is mentioned twice after his supposed march upon Rome to arrest Cicero.
Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, τοῦ Πάνσα μετὰ στρατιάς πλησιάζοντος, Καρσουλήιον αὐτῷ προσ-έπεμπον ἁγοντα τὴν Καίσαρος στρατηγίδα τάξιν καὶ τὸ Ἀρείον τέλος ἐς βοήθειαν τῆς διόδου τῶν στενῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τῶν μὲν στενῶν ὑπερείδεν ὡς οὔδὲν πλέον ἡ κωλύσων ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐπιθυμία δὲ ἀγώνος, οὐκ ἔχον τοὺς ἱππεύσιν ἐλλαμπρύνασθαι διὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐλωδέστερον ὅν καὶ τεταφρευμένον, δύο ἐνήδρευσε τέλη τὰ ἀριστα ἐν τῷ ἔλει, τῆς ὁδοῦ, χειροποίητου καὶ στενῆς υύχης, ἐκατέρωθεν τῷ δονακί κρύπτην.

67. Καρσουλήιον δὲ καὶ Πάνσα τὰ στενὰ νυκτὸς διαδραμάτων, ἀμα δὲ ἡμέρα μόνοις τοῖς Ἀρείων καὶ πέντε ἄλλαισ τάξειν ἐς τὴν χειρο-ποίητον ὁδὸν ἐσβαλόντων, ἔτι καθαρεύοντον πολεμίων, καὶ τὸ ἔλος ἐκατέρωθεν ὑπὲρ περισκεπτο-μένων, ὁ τε δόναξ διακινούμενος ὑπωπτεύετο, καὶ ἀστικὴ ἦδη που καὶ κράνος ἔξελαμπτε, καὶ ἡ στρατηγία Ἀντωνίου τάξις αὐτοῖς αἰφνidency ἐπι-εφαίνετο ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου. οἱ δὲ Ἀρείοι περιεκλήμ-μένου τε πάντοθεν καὶ οὐδαμὸς διαδραμαζέων ἔχοντες ἐκέλευον τοὺς νεκροῖς ἐς παραγαγόντω, μὴ συνεφάπτεσθαι σφίσι τῶν πόνων, ὡς μὴ συνταράξειν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας, τῇ στρατη-γίδε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τῆς Καίσαρος στρατηγίδα ἀντέταξαν αὐτοῖς δὲ ἡμὸν ἐστεστάτους τῇ μὲν ὁ Πάνσας, τῇ δὲ ὁ Καρσουλήιος. δύο δὲ τῶν ἔλον ὁντων δύο ἤπαν οἱ πολέμοι, τῇ διόδῳ εἰργόμενοι μὴ γνώσκειν τὰ ἀλλήλων καὶ κατὰ τὴν διοδον αὐτὴν αἱ στρατηγίδες πολέμοι ἄλλοι ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν ἐπολέμουν. γνώση δὲ ἦν τοῖς μὲν Ἀντωνίου τοὺς
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

When Pansa was drawing near with his army, Octavian and Hirtius sent Carsuleius to him with Octavian's praetorian cohort and the Martian legion to assist him in passing through the defile. Antony had disdained to occupy the defile as it served no other purpose than to hinder the enemy; but, eager to fight, and having no chance to win distinction with his cavalry, because the ground was marshy and cut by ditches, he placed his two best legions in ambush in the marsh, where they were concealed by the reeds and where the road, which had been thrown up artificially, was narrow.

67. Carsuleius and Pansa hurried through the defile by night. At daybreak, with only the Martian legion and five other cohorts, they entered upon the high road above mentioned, which was still free from enemies, and looked over the marsh on either side. There was a suspicious agitation of the rushes, then a gleam here and there of shield and helmet, and Antony's praetorian cohort suddenly shewed itself directly in their front. The Martian legion, surrounded on all sides and having no way to escape, ordered the new levies, if they came up, not to join in the fight lest they should cause confusion by their inexperience. The praetorians of Octavian confronted the praetorians of Antony. The other troops divided themselves in two parts and advanced into the marsh on either side, the one commanded by Pansa and the other by Carsuleius. Thus there were two battles in two marshes, and neither division could see the other by reason of the elevated road, while along the road itself the praetorian cohorts fought another battle of their own. The Antonians were determined to
ΑΡΕΙΟΥΣ ἀμύνασθαι τῆς αὐτομολίας οἷα προδότας σφῶν γενομένους, τοῖς δ’ Αρείους ἐκείνους τῆς ὑπεροψίας τῶν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ διεθθαρμένων. συνειδότες τε ἀλλήλους τὸ κράτιστον ὡς εἰη τῆς ἐκατέρου στρατιῶς, ἤλπιζον ἐν τῷ τῷ ἔργῳ μόνῳ τὸν πόλεμον κρινεῖν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἴδῳς ἦν τὸ δύο τέλεσιν οὕσιν δὲ ἐνὸς ἥσσασθαι, τοῖς δὲ φιλοτιμία μόνοις τῶν δύο κρατῆσαι.

68. Οὕτω μὲν ἀλλήλους ἐπόθεσαν διωργισμένου τε καὶ φιλοτιμούμενοι, σφίζοι μᾶλλον ὁ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οἰκεῖοι ἡγούμενοι τόδε ἔργον ὑπὸ δὲ ἐμπερίας οὔτε ηλάλαξαν ὡς οὐκ ἐκπλήξοντες ἀλλήλους, οὔτε ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τίς αὐτῶν ἀφῆκε φωνὴν οὔτε νικῶν οὔτε ἡσσόμενος. περίοδοις δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντες οὔτε δρόμους ὡς ἐν ἔλεσι καὶ τάφροις, ἄραρότως συνισταντο, καὶ οὐδέτεροι τοὺς ἐτέρους ὡσανθάι δυνάμενοι τοὺς ξίφεσιν ὡς ἐν πάλη συνεπλέκοντο. πληρὴς τε οὐδεμία ἦν ἄργος, ἀλλὰ τραύματα καὶ φόνοι καὶ στόνοι μόνοι ἀντὶ βοής ὅ τε πίπτων εὐθὺς ὑπεξεφέρετο, καὶ ἄλλος ἀντικαθίστατο. παρανισέωσι δὴ ἢ ἐπικελεύσεωσι οὐκ ἐδέντο, δὲ ἐμπεπροιέν ἐκαστος ἐαυτοῦ στρατηγόν. ὅτε καὶ κάμοιν, ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνυκοῖς ἐς ἀναπυρην οὐλόγον ἀλλήλων διῆσταν καὶ αὐθενες συνεπλέκοντο. θάμβος τε ἦν τοῖς νεήλοισ ἐπελθοῦσι, τοιώδε ἔργα σὺν εὐταξίᾳ καὶ σιωπῆ γυγνώμενα ἐφορώσαι.

69. Πολυμέσων δὲ ὅδε πάντων ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνη, ἢ μὲν στρατηγῆς ἡ Καίσαρος ἀπασα διεφθάρη, τῶν δὲ Ἄρειών οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ Καρσοῦ-
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

punish the Martians for desertion as being traitors to themselves. The Martians were equally determined to punish the Antonians for condoning the slaughter of their comrades at Brundusium. Recognizing in each other the flower of either army, they hoped to decide the whole war by this single engagement. The one side was moved by shame lest its two legions should be beaten by one; the other by ambition that its single legion should overcome the two.

68. Thus urged on by animosity and ambition they assailed each other, considering this their own affair rather than that of their generals. Being veterans they raised no battle-cry, since they could not expect to terrify each other, nor in the engagement did they utter a sound, either as victors or vanquished. As there could be neither flanking nor charging amid marshes and ditches, they met together in close order, and since neither could dislodge the other they locked together with their swords as in a wrestling match. No blow missed its mark. There were wounds and slaughter but no cries, only groans; and when one fell he was instantly borne away and another took his place. They needed neither admonition nor encouragement, since experience made each one his own general. When they were overcome by fatigue they drew apart from each other for a brief space to take breath, as in gymnastic games, and then rushed again to the encounter. Amazement took possession of the new levies who had come up, as they beheld such deeds done with such precision and in such silence.

69. All put forth superhuman exertions, and the praetorians of Octavian perished to the last man. Those of the Martians who were under Carsuleius
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καπ. λήφω μᾶλλον ἐκράτουν τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς, οὐκ αἰσχρός, ἀλλὰ κατ' ὁλόγον ἐνδιδόντων, οί δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πάνσα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐβαροῦντο, διεκαρτέ- ρουν δ’ ὁμος ἐπ’ ἵσης ἐκάτεροι, μέχρι Πάνσας ὀβελφῖ τὴν λαγώνα τρωθεὶς ἔσεν Βοιωνίαν ἐξεφέρετο. τότε γὰρ οἱ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀνεχόρουν, ἔπε πόδα πρὸς τοῖς, εἶτα μεταβάλοντες ἔζυτερον ὡς ἐν φυγῇ. καὶ οἱ νεόλυδες ἴδόντες ἔφευγον ἀτάκτως καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα, ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἐξειργαστο ὁ ταμίας Τορκουνάτος συνεστώσης ἔτι τῆς μάχης, ὑπονοήσας ἐν χρεία γενήσεσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ νεό- λυδες ἐς αὐτὸ ἀτάκτως συνειλοῦντο, Ἰταλοὶ μὲν ὄντες ὅμοιοι τοῖς Ἀρείωις. ἢ δὲ ἄσκησις ἀρα τοῦ γένους ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀρετῆ διαφέρει. οἱ δὲ Ἀρείων οὐκ ἔσηλθον μὲν ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ ἀδοξίας, ἀλλὰ παρ’ αὐτὸ ἔστησαν κατάκοποι δὲ ὄντες ὄργων ὁμοι, εἰ τις ἔπειτο, μέχρι τοῦ ἀναγ- καίου τέλους διαγωνίσασθαι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀρείων ἀπέσχετο ὡς ἐπιπόνων, τοῖς δὲ νεόλυ- σιν ἐπίδραμον πολὺν εἰργάζετο φόνον.

70. Ἰρτίος δὲ ἐν Μουτίνῃ τῆς μάχης πυθόμενος, ἔζηκοντα στάδια ἀπεχούσης, ἐστο δρόμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου τέλους τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντων. ἦδη τε ἦν ὁφία δείλη, καὶ οἱ νυκήσαντες τῶν Ἀντωνίου παιανίζοντες ἐπανήσαν· καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰρτίος ἀσυντάκτως ὅσιν ἐπιφαίνεται συντεταγ- μένος ὀλοκλήρῳ τέλει καὶ ἀπαθεῖ. οἱ δὲ συνε- τάχθησαν μὲν αὖθις ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τούσδε ἔργα λαμπρὰ ἐπεδείξαντο· οί δὲ
got the better of those opposed to them, who gave way, not in disgraceful rout, but little by little. Those under Pansa were likewise in difficulties, but they held out with equal bravery on both sides until Pansa was wounded in the side by a javelin and carried off the field to Bononia. Then his soldiers retired, at first step by step, but afterwards they turned and hurried as if in flight. When the new levies saw this they fled in disorder, and with loud cries, to their camp, which the quaestor, Torquatus, had put in readiness for them while the battle was in progress, apprehending that it might be needed. The new levies crowded into it confusedly although they were Italians, as well as the Martians; so much more does training contribute to bravery than race; but the Martians for fear of shame did not enter into the camp, but ranged themselves near it. Although fatigued they were still furious and ready to fight to the bitter end if anybody should attack them. Antony refrained from attacking the Martians as being a troublesome business, but he fell upon the new levies and made a great slaughter.

70. When Hirtius, near Mutina, heard of this fight, at a distance of sixty stades, he hurried thither with the other legion that had deserted from Antony. It was already evening and the victorious Antonians were returning singing hymns of triumph. While they were in loose order Hirtius made his appearance in perfect order with his legion complete and fresh. The Antonians got themselves in line under compulsion, and performed against this foe also many splendid deeds of valour; but being weared by their recent exertions they were overcome by the fresh army opposed to them, and the
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ΧΑΡ. ἀκμήτων ἡσσῶντο κεκμηκότες, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν μάλιστα τὸ ἔργον Ἰρτίου διέθειρε, καὶ περ ὀδίκοντος αὐτούς ὑπὸ φόβου τῶν ἐλῶν, καὶ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἥδη μελανομένης διέλυσεν αὐτούς. καὶ τὸ ἔλος ἔπλειστον ἐπεπλήρωτο ὅπλων τε καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἠμιθυμήτων καὶ τετρωμένων ὁ ἐκαὶ ἐρωμένῳ σφῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ κόπου κατεφόρον. ἦπεις ἐκ αὐτοὺς ἔξ' Ἀντωνίου περιθέοντες, ὅσοι παρῆπτειξον αὐτῷ, δ' ἄλλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνελέγοντο καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀντὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ σὺν ἐαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἦποις ἀνετίθεντο ἢ τῆς οὐρᾶς ἀντεχομένους παρεκάλουν παρατροχάζειν καὶ βοηθεῖν σφίσιν ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν. ὡδ' μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ καλῶς ἀγωνισαμένῳ διέθρατο ἡ ἱσχὺς διὰ 'Ἰρτίου ἐπελθόντα. καὶ ἦλισσατο ἐν κώμῃ παρὰ τὸ πεδίον ἀχαρακτώς. Ἀγορᾶ Κέλτων ἡ κώμη καλεῖται. ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀμφί τοὺς ἡμύσεας ἐκατέρω, καὶ ἡ στρατηγὸς ἡ Καίσαρος ἀπασά, Ἰρτίου δὲ ὀλύνῃ.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

greater part of them were slain in this encounter chap. IX
by Hirtius, although the latter did not pursue, being
apprehensive of the marshy ground. As darkness
was coming on he allowed them to escape. A wide
stretch of the marsh was filled with arms, corpses,
wounded men, and half-dead men, and some even
who were unhurt mistrusted their strength by reason
of their fatigue. Antony's cavalry, as many as he
had with him, went to their assistance and collected
them through the entire night. Some they put on
horseback in their own places, others they took on
the horses with themselves, still others they urged
to take hold of the horses' tails and run along with
them and so secure their safety. Thus were Antony's
forces, after he had fought splendidly, destroyed by
the coming of Hirtius. He encamped without en-
trenchments in a village near the plain, named Forum
Gallorum. Antony and Pansa each lost about one-
half of their men. The whole of Octavian's praetorian
cohort perished. The loss of Hirtius was slight.

X

71. The next day they all withdrew to the camps chap. X
at Mutina. After so severe a disaster Antony
decided not to come to a general engagement with
his enemies at present, not even if they should
attack him, but merely to harass them daily with
his cavalry until Decimus, who was reduced to
extremity by famine, should surrender. For this
very reason Hirtius and Octavian decided to push
on a fight. As Antony would not come out when
they offered battle, they moved toward the other
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΚΩΝ ΘΥΣΙΑΣ.

ΚΑΠ. Ἡ Ἀργαλητὸς ἡμείς ἠδονὴν ἐκάκησαν ἔχων ὡς βιασμένοι βαρεῖ στρατῷ παρέσκεψαν ἐς αὐτῶν. καὶ ὁ Ἀρτωνιος αὐτῶν ἐξῆττε τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τότε μόνοις. ἀμυνομένων δὲ κἀκεῖνων αὐτῶν ἤπειροι μόνοις καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιάς κακοῤῥύτης, ἐφ’ ἣ ἐβούλοντο, δεῖσας Ὁ Ἀρτωνιος περὶ τὴν Ἡμείαν ἐξῆγε δύο τέλη. οἳ δὲ ἦσθενες ἐπέστρεφον καὶ ἐμάχουντο. ἀλλὰ δὲ Ἀρτωνιοῦ τέλη καλοῦντος ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων στρατοπέδων, ὃν βραδέως ὡς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ τε μετακλήσει καὶ μακρόθεν ἴδιτων ἐκράτουν οἳ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ μάχῃ. Ἡ Ἰρτιος δὲ καὶ ἔς το στρατόπεδον ἐσήλατο τοῦ Ἀρτωνιοῦ καὶ περὶ τὴν στρατηγίδα σκηνὴν μαχόμενος ἐπέσε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ τε σῶμα ὁ Καίσαρ ἐσθραμὼν ἀνέβλετο καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατέσχεν, ἔως μετ’ ὅλην ἐξεώσθη πρὸς Ἀρτωνίου. διενδυέρεισαν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἐκάτεροι.

72. Καὶ ὁ Ἀρτωνιος δεύτερα τῇ δε συμπεσὼν πληγὴ συνεβουλεύσετο τοῖς φίλοις εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πόλου. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει τῇς προτέρας αὐτῶν γνώμην ἔχεσθαι, πολιορκοῦντα Μουτίνην καὶ ἐς μάχην οὐκ ἐπεξίοντα· τὸ τε γὰρ πάθος ὁμοιὸν ἀμφοῖν γεγονέναι καὶ Ἡ Ἰρτιον ἀνηρήθησαι καὶ Πάνσων νοσεῖν καὶ σφᾶς τοῖς ἱππεῦσι πλεονεκτέων Μουτίνην τε ἐς ἐσχατὸν ἀφίχθαι λιμοῦ καὶ εὐθὺς ἐνδώσειν. ὃδε μὲν ἄρσεκε τοῖς φίλοις, καὶ ἦν τὰ ἄριστα· ὁ δὲ Ἀρτωνιος, ἦδον θεοῦ βλάπτοντος, ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ ἐς τὴν Μουτίνην ὁ Καίσαρ, ὥσπερ ἐχθές ἐπιχειρήσας, ἐσθράμμοι ἡ αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσειε.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

side of Mutina where it was less closely besieged on account of the badness of the ground, as if about to force their way into the town with their strong army. Antony hung upon their movement with his cavalry and this time also with those alone. But as the enemy, too, fought him with their cavalry only, the rest of their army moving to effect their purposes, Antony, lest he should lose Mutina, drew out of his entrenchments two legions. Then his enemies, rejoicing at this, turned and delivered battle. Antony ordered up other legions from other camps, but as they came slowly, by reason of the suddenness of the call or the long distance, the army of Octavian won the victory. Hirtius even broke into Antony's camp, where he was killed, fighting near the general's tent. Octavian rushed in and carried off his body and possessed himself of the camp. A little later he was driven out by Antony. Both sides passed the night also under arms.

72. When Antony had suffered this second defeat, he took counsel with his friends directly after the battle. They advised him to adhere to his first resolution, to continue the siege of Mutina and not to go out and fight, saying that the losses had been about equal on both sides, Hirtius having been killed and Pansa wounded; they said that he was superior in cavalry and that Mutina was reduced to extremity by famine and must succumb. Such was the advice of his friends, and it was truly for the best. But Antony, already under some divine infatuation, was fearful lest Octavian should make another attempt to break into Mutina like that of yesterday, or even try to enclose him, as Octavian had the greater force to work with,
APPRIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Χ. περιτειχίζειν, πλέον ἔχων τὸ ἐργάσιμον, "ἐν ὦ καὶ
tῶν ἅπερων," ἡφη, "γιγνομένων ἡμῶν ἀρχηγῶν,
ὑπερῴεται μὲ Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἤπτώμενον.
εἰ δὲ Μουτίνης ἔξανασταίμεν, Οὐεντίδιος τε ἡμῶν
αὐτικά προσέταται, τρία τέλη φέρων ἐκ τῆς
Πικηνίτιδος, καὶ Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἐρρομένως
οἱ συμμαχήσουσι." ταῦτα ἔλεγε, οὐκ ἄτολμος
ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἀνήρ, καὶ εἰπὼν εὐθὺς ἀνίστατο
καὶ ὄδευεν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλπεών.

73. Δέκμω δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς πολιορκίας ὁ
φόβος ἐσ τοῦ Καίσαρα ἐνηλλάσσετο τῶν γὰρ
ὑπάτων ἐκποδῶν γενομένων ὡς ἐχθρῶν ἐδεδοίκει.
tάς τε ὅν γεφύρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ διέκοππε πρὸ
ἡμέρας καὶ κελητιῷ τινὰς ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπο-
στέλλων ἐμαρτύρει μὲν ὡς αὐτίῳ τῆς σωτηρίας,
ήξιον δὲ μέσον ἔχοντα τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς λόγους οἱ
συνελθεῖν ἐπὶ μάρτυς τοῖς πολίταις· πείσεσιν γάρ,
ὅτι δαμόνιον αὐτὸν ἔβλαψεν, ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος
ἐπιθυμήλην ἐπηγμένον ὑφ' ἐτέρων. Καίσαρος δὲ
τοῖς ἥκουσιν ἀποκριναμένον τε πρὸς ὅργην καὶ τὴν
χάριν, ὡς διδωσίν οἱ Δέκμος, διωδομένου ("οὔδὲ
γὰρ Δέκμων ἔγῳ πάρειμι περισσόσων, ἀλλ' Ἀντωνίῳ
πολεμήσων, ὃ μοι καὶ συναλλαγήναι ποτὲ θέμις·
Δέκμῳ δὲ ἡ φύσις οὔδε ἐς ὁψίν ἡ λόγους ἐλθεῖν
ἐπιτρέπει· σφξεύσθω μέντοι, μέχρι τοῖς ἐν ἄστει
δοκεῖ"), πυθόμενος τούτων ὁ Δέκμος ἔστη τε πρὸ
tοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ καλῶν ὀνομαστὶ τὸν Καίσαρα,
σὺν βοᾷ τὰ γράμματα τῆς Βουλῆς ἀνεγίνωσκε,
διδοὺς αὐτὴν τὴν Κελτικήν ἤγεμονίαν, ἀπηγόρευε τὴ
Καίσαρι χωρὶς ὑπάτων μὴ περάν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς
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THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III.

"in which case," said he, "our cavalry will be useless and Lepidus and Plancus will despise me as a vanquished man. If we withdraw from Mutina, Ventidius will presently join us with three legions from Picenum, and Lepidus and Plancus will be emboldened to ally themselves with him." So he spake, although he was not a timid man in the presence of danger; and breaking camp forthwith he made his way toward the Alps.

73. When Decimus was delivered from the siege he began to be afraid of Octavian, whom, after the removal of the two consuls, he feared as an enemy. So he broke down the bridge over the river before daybreak and sent certain persons to Octavian in a boat, as if to return thanks for rescuing him, and asked that Octavian would come to the opposite bank of the river to hold a conversation with him in the presence of the citizens as witnesses, because he could convince Octavian, he said, that an evil spirit had deceived him and that he had been led into the conspiracy against Caesar by others. Octavian answered the messengers in a tone of anger, declining the thanks that Decimus gave him, saying: "I am here not to rescue Decimus, but to fight Antony, with whom I may properly come to terms some time, but nature forbids that I should even look at Decimus or hold any conversation with him. Let him have safety, however, as long as the authorities at Rome please." When Decimus heard this he stood on the river bank and, calling Octavian by name, read with a loud voice the letters of the Senate giving him command of the Gallic province, and forbade Octavian to cross the river without consular authority into the government belonging to another,
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ'S ROMAN HISTORY

74. Καὶ Κικέρων ἐν Ὀμηρᾷ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἀνεγίγνωσκεν ὡς ὑπάτου, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Καῖσαρος τῇ βουλῇ μόνον. θυσίας τε ἐπὶ 'Αντωνίῳ πεντήκοντα ἡμερῶν ἰκεσίους ἐψηφίζετο, ὡςας οὔτε ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς οὔτε ἐπὶ ἄλλῳ πολέμῳ ποτὲ ἐψηφίσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τῶν ὑπάτων ἐδίδον Δέκμῳ καὶ περ ἐπὶ Πάνσας περιόντος (ἣ ἢ ᾱὰρ ἀπεγίγνωσκετο), στρατηγὸν τέ τοῦ Δέκμου ἀπέφηνεν ἐπὶ 'Αντωνίῳ μόνον εἶναι καὶ εὐχαὶ δημοσίας ἐποιεῖτο Δέκμου 'Αντωνίου περιγενέσθαι. τοσοῦτος ἦν οἱ στροφὶς αὐτῷ κατὰ 'Αντωνίου καὶ ἀπειροκαλία. ἑβεβαιών τε αὐτὸς τοῖς δύο τελεσι τοῖς ἀπὸ 'Αντωνίου μεταστάσι τὰς ἐκάστως προὔπεσχμένας παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικίνδυνοι δραχμὰς πενταικίσχιλίαι ὡς ἢ ἡ νευμένη καὶ στεφάνου αὐτοῦς ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς αἱ ἥθη θαλλοῦ περιτίθεσθαι. περὶ δὲ Καῖσαρος οὐδὲν ἦν ἐν τοῖς γραφομένοις, οὐδὲ τούνομα ὄλως: οὕτως αὐτίκα κατεφρονεῖτο ὡς 'Αντωνίου καθηρημένον. ἐγραφοῦ δὲ καὶ Δεπίδηφος καὶ Πλάγκως καὶ 'Ασινίῳ πολεμεῖν, ὅπως πλησιάσειαν 'Αντωνίῳ.

75. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν τὰ ἐν Ὀμηρᾷ, Πάνσας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἀποθησάμενοι Καῖσαρά δι' ἑτεροτη-
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

and not to follow Antony further, for that he himself would be quite capable of pursuing him. Octavian knew that he was prompted to this audacious course by the Senate, and although able to seize him by giving an order, he spared him for the present and withdrew to Pansa at Bononia, where he wrote a full report to the Senate, and Pansa did likewise.

74. In Rome Cicero read to the people the report of the consul, and to the Senate alone that of Octavian. For the victory over Antony, he caused them to vote a thanksgiving of fifty days,—a longer festivity than the Romans had ever decreed even after the Gallic or any other war. He induced them to give the army of the consuls to Decimus, although Pansa was still alive (for his life was now despaired of), and to appoint Decimus the sole commander against Antony. Public prayers were offered that Decimus might prevail over him. Such was Cicero's passion and want of decorum in reference to Antony. He confirmed again, to the two legions that had deserted from Antony, the 5000 drachmas per man previously promised to them as the rewards of victory, as though they had already conquered, and gave them the perpetual right to wear the olive crown at the public festivals. There was nothing about Octavian in the decrees, and his name was not even mentioned. He was forthwith disregarded as though Antony were already destroyed. They wrote to Lepidus, to Plancus, and to Asinius Pollio to continue the campaign so as to come to close quarters with Antony.

75. Such was the course of events at Rome. In the meantime Pansa was dying of his wound, and he
σατο καὶ εἶπεν ὡς ἐμαυτῷ, ἀναρεθέντι δὲ οὖκ ἔχον ἐπαμύνειν, οὔτε τοῖς πλείοσι μὴ συνίστασθαι, οἷς γε δὴ καὶ σὺ καλὸς ποιῶν ὑπήκουσας, καὶ τοιοῦ στρατοῦ ἔχων. δείσαντες δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ σὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιον, φιλοτιμότατον κάκεινον ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος γνώμην φανέντα, διαφερομένους ὡμίν ἐφήσθησαν ὡς ἐς ἀλλήλους συντριβησομένους. ἐπεὶ δὲ σε καὶ στρατοῦ δεσπότην εἶδον, προσεποιοῦντο εὐπρεπέσι καὶ ἀσθενείς τιμαῖς οἷα μειράκιον. σοβαρωτέρου δὲ σου καὶ ἐγκρατεστέρου τιμῆς τότε μᾶλιστα ὁφθέντος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ σοι δεδομένην οὖν ἐδέξω, διεταράχθησαν καὶ συστρατηγεῖν σε ἡμῖν ἀπέφηναν, ῥα σου τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ πρακτικῶτερα ἀποσπάσωμεν, ἐπισάντες ἡττηθέντος ὑμῶν τοῦ ἔτερον τὸν ἔτερον ἀσθενέστερον τε καὶ μόνον ἐσεσθαι καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἥδη πᾶσαν τὴν Καίσαρος ἐταρείαν καθελόντες ἀνάξειν τὴν Πομπηίου, τόδε γὰρ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τῆς γνώμης τὸ κεφάλαιον.

76. ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἰρτίος τὸ προστεταγμένον ἐποιοῦμεν μέχρι συστείλαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπιπολάζοντα ύπεροψίᾳ· ἡττηθέντα δὲ σοι συναλλάσσειν ἐπενοοῦμεν, ὥς τῇ Καίσαρος φιλίᾳ τόδε χαριστήριον ἔχοντες ἀποδοῦναι καὶ μόνον τῇ μοίρᾳ χρησιμωτάτον ἐσόμενον ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα. τοῦτο δ' οὖκ ἦν ἐκφέρειν σοι πρώτερον, ἡττημένου δὲ νῦν Ἀντώνιον καὶ Ἰρτίου τεθνεῶτος καὶ μὲ τοῦ
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

summoned Octavian to his side, and said: 'I loved your father as I did myself, yet I could not avenge his death, nor could I fail to unite with the majority, whom you have also done well to obey, although you have an army. At first they feared you and Antony, and especially Antony, as he also seemed to be most ambitious to continue the policy of Caesar, and they were delighted with your dissenions, thinking that you would mutually destroy each other. When they saw you the master of an army, they complimented you as a young man with specious and inexpensive honours. When they saw that you were more proud and self-restrained in respect of honours than they had supposed, and especially when you declined the magistracy that your army offered you, they were alarmed and they appointed you to the command with us in order that we might draw your two experienced legions away from you, hoping that when one of you was vanquished the other would be weakened and isolated, and so the whole of Caesar's party would be effaced and that of Pompey be restored to power. This is their chief aim.

76. "Hirtius and I did what we were ordered to do, until we could humble Antony, who was much too arrogant; but we intended when he was vanquished to bring him into alliance with you and thus to pay the debt of gratitude we owed to Caesar's friendship, the only payment that could be serviceable to Caesar's party hereafter. It was not possible to communicate this to you before, but now that Antony is vanquished and Hirtius dead, and I am

1 This interview is probably an invention of the Augustan age.

95
APPOLIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. X ἀπάγοντος, ἐν καιρῷ λέλεκται, οὐχ ἴνα μοι γυνώσκῃς χάριν ἀποθανόντι, ἀλλ' ἴνα σὺν δαιμονίᾳ μοῖρα γενόμενος, ὡς τὰ ἔργα ὑποδείκνυσι, τά τε σαυτῷ συμφέροντα γυνώσκῃς καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ Ἰρτίου προαιρεσίν τε καὶ ἀνάγκην. τοὺς μὲν οὖν στρατόν, ὅπερ ἦμῖν αὐτὸς ἔδωκας, εὐπροφάσιστον ἀποδοῦναι σοι, καὶ παραδίδωμι τούς δὲ νεήλυδας εἰ μὲν καθέξεσι λαβῶν, καὶ τούσδε σοι παραδώσω, εἰ δὲ τεθήπασι τὴν βουλὴν ἀμέτρως, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἀρχοντες αὐτῶν φύλακες ἦμῖν ἐπέμφθησαν εἰναι, καὶ τὸ τε ἐργον ἐπίφθονον ἔσται σοι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δέοντος ἐξανίστησι σε, ὁ ταμίας παραλήφηται Τορκυνάτος. ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τῷ ταμίᾳ τοὺς νεήλυδας ἐγχειρίσας ἀπέθανεν. καὶ τούσδε μὲν ὁ ταμίας, καθα προσέτασσεν ἡ βουλή, Δέκμηρ παρεδίδον, Ἰρτίον δὲ καὶ Πάνσαν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπιφανῶς ἔθαπτε καὶ ἐς Ρώμην ἔπεμψε μετὰ τιμῆς.

XI

CAP. XI 77. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ περί τε Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο. Γάλιος Καῖσαρ ὅπερ Συρίαν διώδευ, τέλος ἐν αὐτῇ καταλελύσας τα ἐς Παρθανίας ἦδη διανουόμενος. τούτου τὴν μὲν ἐπιμέλειαν Κακίλιος Βάσσος εἶχε, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα Ἰουλίως Σέξτος, μειράκιον αὐτοῦ Καῖσαρος συνγενῆς, ὅπερ ἐκδιατίμασεν ἐς τρυφὴν τοῦ τέλος ἀσχημόνως ἐπήγετο πανταχοῦ. μεμψάμενος δὲ τῷ Βάσσῳ ποτὲ ἐνύβρισε· καὶ καλῶν αὐτῶν 96
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

about to pay the debt of nature, the time for speak-\textsuperscript{\textit{ing}} has come, not that you may be grateful to me after my death, but that you, born to a happy destiny, as your deeds proclaim, may know what is for your own interest, and know that the course taken by Hirtius and myself was a matter of necessity. The army that you yourself gave to us should most properly be given back to you, and I do give it. If you can take and hold the new levies, I will give you those also. If they are too much in awe of the Senate (for their officers were sent to act as spies upon us), and if the task would be an invidious one, and would create trouble for you prematurely, the quaestor Torquatus will take command of them.” After speaking thus he formally transferred the new levies to the quaestor and expired. The quaestor transferred them to Decimus as the Senate had ordered. Octavian sent the bodies of Hirtius and Pansa with honours to Rome, where they received a public funeral.

XI

77. The following events took place in Syria and Macedonia about the same time. Gaius Caesar, when he passed through Syria, left a legion there, as he was already contemplating an expedition against the Parthians. Caecilius Bassus had charge of it, but the title of commander was held by Sextus Julius, a young man related to Caesar himself, who was given over to dissipation and who led the legion around everywhere in an indecorous manner. Once when Bassus reproved him, he replied insultingly, and some time later, when he called Bassus to him...
CAP. XI

ΑΡΙΔΕΙΟΝ, ἐπεὶ βραδεῖσι ύπήκοουσεν, ἀγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἐλκοντας. θορύβου δὲ καὶ πληγῶν γενομένων ἡ στρατια τῆν ὑβριν οὐ φέρουσα τὸν Ἰούλιον κατηκόντισε. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν μετάνοια καὶ δὲος ἕκ τοῦ Καύσαρος. συνομόσαντες οὖν, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς συγγνώμη καὶ πίστις γένοιτο, μέχρι θανάτου διαγωνίεσθαι καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ Βάσσου ἀναγκάσαντες ἀλλὰ συνέλεξαν τέλος καὶ συνεγύμνασαν. ὅδε μὲν τισὶ περὶ τοῦ Βάσσου δοκεῖ, Δίβωνι δ’, ὅτι τῆς Πομπηίου στρατιᾶς γενομένου καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἥτταν ἰδιωτεύων ἐν Τύρῳ, διέθειρε τινας τοῦ τέλους, καὶ διεχρήσαντο τὸν Σέξτουν καὶ τῷ Βάσσῳ σφᾶς ἐνεχείρισαν. ὅποτέρως δ’ ἐγένετο, Ἐτάιον Μοῦρκου ὅδε, μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ἐπιπεμφθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καύσαρος, ἐγκρατῶς ἀπεμάχοντο, ἦς ὁ Μοῦρκος ἐπεκαλεῖτο Μάρκιον Κρίστουν ἡγούμενον Βιθυνίας καὶ ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ βοηθῶν ὁ Κρίστος τέλεσιν ἄλλους τρισὶν.

78. Ὡς δὲ ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπολιορκοῦντο, ὁ Κάσσιος σὺν ἐπείξει καταλαμβάνει τὰ τὸ τοῦ Βάσσου δύο τέλη παρελάμβανεν αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ τῶν πολιορκοῦντων αὐτὸν ἐξ, φιλίᾳ τε παραδόντων καὶ ὡς ἀνθυπάτῳ κατηκόων γενομένων ἐφήφιστο γάρ, ἃς μοι προείρηται, πάντας ὑπακούειν Κασσίῳ τε καὶ Βροῦτῳ. ἀρτὶ δὲ καὶ Ἄλλινος, ὑπὸ Δολοβέλλα πεμφθεὶς ἐς Ἀγινπτόν, ἐπανήγειν ἐξ αὐτῆς τέσσαρα τέλη τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχῆς Πομπηίου τε καὶ Κράσσου διαρρίφεσιν ὑπὸ Καύσαρος Κλεοπάτρα καταλελειμμένων. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κάσσιος
and the latter was slow in obeying, he ordered him to be dragged before him. A tumult and blows ensued. The soldiers would not tolerate the indignity and slew Julius. This act was followed by repentance and fear of Caesar. Accordingly, they took an oath together that they would defend themselves to the death if they were not pardoned and restored to confidence, and they compelled Bassus to take the same oath. They also enlisted and drilled another legion as associates with themselves. This is one account of Bassus, but Libo says that he belonged to the army of Pompey and that after the latter's defeat he became a private citizen in Tyre, where he corrupted certain members of the legion, who slew Sextus and chose Bassus for their leader. However that may have been, Caesar sent Staius Murcus against him with three legions. Bassus defeated him badly. Finally, Murcus appealed to Marcius Crispus, the governor of Bithynia, and the latter came to his aid with three legions.

78. While Bassus was besieged by the latter, Cassius suddenly came up with them and took possession, not only of the two legions of Bassus, but also of the six that were besieging him, whose leaders surrendered in a friendly way and obeyed him as proconsul; for the Senate had decreed, as I have already said, that all [beyond the Adriatic] should obey Cassius and Brutus. Just then Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by Dolabella, brought from that quarter four legions of soldiers dispersed by the disasters of Pompey and of Crassus, or left with Cleopatra by Caesar. Cassius surrounded him

\[ \text{Cassius raises an army} \]

1 Α\( β\)ωνι; either Scribonius Libo, or there is an error of text for Α\( β\)υ (Livy).
ΚΑΠ. ούδὲν προπεπυσμένον ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ περιέλαβε τε καὶ ἡνάγκασεν έαυτῷ προσθέσθαι, δείσαντα τοὺς τέσσαρις μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὅκτω. ὥδε μὲν δὲν Κάσσιος ἐκ παραδόξου δυώδεκα τελῶν ἀθρώως ἐκράτησε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας σὺν δύο τέλεσιν ἑλθόντα τε καὶ ἐς Λαοδίκειαν ὑπὸ οἰκειότητος ἑσδεχθέντα περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐφήδετο.

79. Μακεδονίας δὲ πέρι Γάιος Ἀντώνιος, ὁ Ἀντωνίου Μάρκου ἄδελφος, Βρούτῳ διεθέρετο καὶ ἐπολέμει, τέλος ἔχων ἐν ὅπλιτῶν καὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἡσσόμενος ἐνθήρευσεν. ὁ δὲ ἐκφυγὼν ἀντενήρευσε καὶ οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο ἀποληφθέντας, ἀλλὰ ἀσπάσασθαι τῷ ἱδίῳ στρατῷ τοὺς ἐναντίους προσέταξε τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀνταπασαμένων οὐδὲ τὴν πείραν ἐνδεξαμένων, μεθῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀπιέναι. κατὰ δὲ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς περιελθῶν αὖθις ἐν ἀποκρήμνους κατέστησε καὶ πάλιν οὐκ ἔπεχείρησεν, ἀλλ' ἡσπάσατο. οἱ δὲ, ὡς πολιτῶν τε περιπεφείδομεν καὶ τῆς δόξης ἄξιον ἢς ἔχειν ἐπὶ σοφία τε καὶ πραότητι, ἡγάσαντο καὶ ἀντισπάσαντο καὶ ἐς αὐτῶν μετεβάλοντο. ἐπέτρεψε δὲ καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἐαυτὸν καὶ ἦν ἐν τιμῇ παρὰ Βρούτῳ, μέχρι τὸν στρατὸν πολλάκις διαφείδρων ἐκεχθείς ἀνηρέθη. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Βρούτῳ μετὰ τῶν προτέρων στρατῶν ἐξ ἐγινέτο τέλη καὶ Μακεδόνας ἐπαινῶν δύο τέλη κατέλεξεν ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἰταλικὸν τρόπον καὶ τάδε ἐγυμνάζετο.

80. Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἦν ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐν
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

unawares in Palestine and compelled him to surrendert, as he did not dare to fight with four legions against eight. Thus Cassius became the master, in a surprising way, of twelve legions, and laid siege to Dolabella, who was coming from Asia with two legions and had been received in Laodicea in a friendly manner. The Senate was delighted when it heard the news.

79. In Macedonia Gaius Antonius, the brother of Mark Antony, with one legion of foot soldiers, contended with Brutus, and, being inferior in strength to the latter, laid an ambuscade for him. Brutus avoided the trap, and, in his turn, laid an ambuscade, but he did no harm to those whom he caught in it, but ordered his own soldiers to salute their adversaries. Although the latter did not return the salutation or accept the courtesy, he allowed them to pass out of the trap unharmed. Then he went around by other roads and confronted them again at a precipice, and again did them no harm but saluted them. Then, regarding him as a saviour of his fellow citizens and as one deserving the reputation he had gained for wisdom and mildness, they conceived an admiration for him, saluted him, and passed over to him. Gaius also surrendered himself and was treated with honour by Brutus until he was convicted of having tried several times to corrupt the army, when he was put to death. Thus, including his former forces, Brutus had possession of six legions, and since he approved the valour of the Macedonians he raised two legions among them, whom, too, he drilled in the Italian discipline.

80. Such was the state of affairs in Syria and Macedonia. In Italy Octavian, although he con-
CAP. XI

Ωβρε ios τθμενοι αυτι ου Δθκιου θρηθαι στρατηγου επι 'Αντωνιου, την μεν ρφγην επεκρυπτε, θριαμβου δ' επι τοις εργασμενοι ήτει. καταφρονουμενοι δ' υπο της βουλης ως πρεσβυτερα της ηλικιας επινοων, εδεισε, μη διαφθαρεν τους 'Αντωνιου μαλλον έτι καταφρονθειη, και τας εσ αυτου συμβασεις εποθει, καθα και Πανσας αυτω διεσημαινεν αποθυθισκων. τοις τε ουν ἀλωμένους έκ της έκεινου στρατιας ήγεμονας ή στρατιώτας εφηλανθρωπευτο, και τως ιδιως εγκατελευεν η τους έθελοντας αυτων ει τον 'Αντωνιου επεμπεν, ως ου δι 'εχθρας άνηκεστον προς αυτου ίοντα. Ουντιδε τε του 'Αντωνιου φιλω, μετα τρως τελων άντι, παραστρατοπε- δευσας και δεος εμβαλων επραξε μεν ουδεν πολεμιου, έδιδον δε ομοιως συνειναι οι η εις τον 'Αντωνιου άδεως απιεναι μετα του στρατου και μεμφεθαι της εις το κοινον συμφερον άγνωσιας. ουν Ουντιδες συνεις εις τον 'Αντωνιου απηει. ο δε Καισαρ Δεκιου, των τινα ήγεμονον 'Αντωνιου, περι Μοτινη ληφθεντα δια τιμης άγων μεθηκεν, ει θελοι, προς τον 'Αντωνιου απιεναι και πυνθα- νομενον περι της εις τον 'Αντωνιου γνωμης πολλα εφη ομβολα τοις ει φρονοισιν εκενηνοχειαι, τοις δ' άφροσιν ουδε τα πλεονα άρκεσειν.

81. 'Αντωνιω μεν δη ταδε ο Καισαρ ενεσημαινε, Δεπιδε και 'Ασυλω σαφεστερον έτι περι της εις αυτου άθρεως και της των σφαγεων άθροις πρασγωγης έπεστελλεν, έκφοβων αυτους, μη εις χαριν της Πομπηιανης έταιρειας καθ' ένα των
sidered it an insult that Decimus, instead of himself, was chosen general against Antony, concealed his indignation and asked the honours of a triumph for his exploits. But being disdained by the Senate as though he were seeking honours beyond his years, he began to fear lest if Antony were destroyed he should be despised still more, and so he desired the reconciliation with Antony, which Pansa on his death-bed had recommended to him. Accordingly, he began to make friends of the stragglers from Antony’s army, both officers and soldiers, enrolling them among his own troops, or if they wished to return to Antony allowing them to do so, in order to show that Antony was not moved by implacable hatred against him. Having encamped near to Ventidius, Antony’s friend, who had command of three legions, he made him anxious, but performed no hostile act, and in like manner gave him the opportunity either to join himself or to go on unmolested with his army to Antony and chide him for ignoring their common interests. Ventidius took the hint and proceeded to join Antony. Decius also, one of Antony’s officers, who had been taken prisoner at Mutina, Octavian treated with honour, allowing him to return to Antony if he wished, and when Decius asked what were his sentiments toward Antony, he said that he had given plenty of indications to persons of discernment and that even more would be insufficient for fools.

81. After conveying these hints to Antony, Octavian wrote still more plainly to Lepidus and Asinius concerning the indignities put upon himself and the rapid advancement of the murderers, causing them to fear, lest to secure the favour of the Pompeian faction, each of the Caesarians should one by
Καίσαρος ἐκαστὸς ὁμοία Ἀντωνίῳ πάθοι, κακεῖνῳ δὲ ἀφροσύνην καὶ ὑπερψίαν τούδε τοῦ δέους τάδε παθόντι. ἢξιόν τε ἐσ μὲν εὐπρέπειαν τῆς βουλῆς εἶναι κατηκόους, ἐσ δὲ τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς συμφρονεῖν, ἐως ἐτὶ δύνανται, καὶ οὐκ ἔδιξεν ταῦτα Ἀντωνίῳ, μιμεῖσθαί τε τούς ὑπὸ σφίσιν ὀπλίτας: οὐ διαλυομένους, οὐδὲ ὅτε παῦσαντο τῶν στρατευόντων, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἔχθροις εἰπευσίθετοι, ἀλλὰ ἀθρόους ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ συνοικίᾳ ἦσαν, διὰ τὴν ἰσχύν μᾶλλον ἐθέλοντας ἣ καθ’ ἕνα τῶν πατρίδων ἀπολαῦειν. τάδε μὲν ὁ Καίσαρ Δεπίδω τε ἐπέστελλε καὶ Ἀσινῷ. Δέκμῳ δὲ ὁ ἄρχαῖος στρατὸς ἐνόσει πιμπλάμενος ἐς λιμῷ καὶ τὰς γαστέρας κατερρήγυνυτο, ὅ τε νεοστράτευτος ἀγώναστος ἐτὶ ἦν. Πλάγκος δὲ προσεγένετο μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου στρατοῦ, καὶ ὁ Δέκμος ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ τῶν Ἀντώνιον ἀλώμενον κυνήγετήσειν ναυτικῶν περ ἡδη γεγονότων.

82. Οὐ τε Πομπηιανοὶ πυθόμενοι θαυμάστοι ὁσοὶ διεφάνησαν, ἐκβοῶντες ἄρτι τὴν πάτριον ἔλευσἰν ἀπειληφέναι, καὶ θυσίας ἐξαὶ ἓνα ἦσαν καὶ χειροτονίας δέκα ἀνδρῶν ἐς εὐθυναν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀντωνίου. πρόσχημα δὲ τοῦτο ἦν ἐς ἀκύρωσιν τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος διατεταγμένων Ἀντώνιος γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῶς ἡ πάνω σμικρά, πάντα δὲ ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπομνημάτων διωκήκει, καὶ τόδε σαφῶς εἰδυλλία ἢ βουλή τὰ μὲν τινα αὐτῶν
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

one be treated like Antony, since he too was suffering the consequences of his own folly and contempt of this fear. He advised that, for the sake of appearances, they should obey the Senate, but that they should confer together for their own safety while they could still do so, and reproach Antony for his conduct; that they should follow the example of their own soldiers, who did not separate even when they were discharged from the service but, in order that they might not be exposed to the assaults of enemies, preferred for the sake of strength to settle together in groups upon the conquered territory, rather than to enjoy their own homes singly. This is what Octavian wrote to Lepidus and Asinius. But the first soldiers of Decimus fell sick by reason of excessive eating after their famine, and suffered from dysentery, and the newer ones were still undrilled. Plancus soon joined him with his own army, and then Decimus wrote to the Senate that he would hunt down Antony, who was now a wanderer; certain small naval actions having already taken place.¹

82. When the Pompeians learned what had happened an astonishing number showed themselves to be of that party; they exclaimed that their ancestral freedom had at last been regained: they each offered sacrifices, and decemvirs, too, were chosen to examine the accounts of Antony's magistracy. This was a preliminary step to annulling Caesar's arrangements, for Antony had done little or nothing himself, but had conducted all the affairs of state in accordance with Caesar's memoranda. The Senate knew this well, but it hoped that by finding a pretext

¹ The text is probably corrupt. The mention of naval actions is out of place.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XI

ἐπὶ προφύσει διέλυεν, ἀθρόα δὲ οὕτως ἠλπίζε
διαλύσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ δέκα προύγαρα τοῖς λάβοι
παρὰ τὴν ἄρχην Ἀντωνίου, πάντας αὐτίκα
ἀπογράφεσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν ἀπείλατο τὸ
ὑπεϊθοῦσιν ἐπετίθεμο. καὶ τὴν ὑπατὸν ἄρχην
ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους οἱ Πομπηιανοὶ μετήσαν
ἀντὶ Ἰρτίου τε καὶ Πάνσας· μετήπερ δὲ καὶ ὁ
Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἐς τὴν θυγατὴν ἔτι πέμπτων, ἀλλ’ ἐς
tὸν Κικέρωνα ἱδία, καὶ αὐτὸν παρεκάλει καὶ
συνάρξαι, ὡς Κικέρωνα μὲν τὴν ἄρχην δυική-
σουτα πρεσβύτερον τε καὶ ἐμπειρότερον ὅντα,
αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν καρπωσόμενος μόνην ἐς
ἀπόθεσιν τῶν ὀπλῶν ὑπερπητή, οὐ δὴ καὶ πρώτην
ἔνεκα τὸν θρίαμβον αἰτήσαι. Κικέρων μὲν δὴ
tοῦτοις ἐπαρθεῖς διὰ φιλαρχίαν, ἔλεγεν αἰσθέσθαι
σπονδῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐξω στρατηγοῖς ὑπονοομένων
καὶ συνεβούλευε θεραπεύσαι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὑβρισμένων
καὶ στρατοῦ ἐτὶ ἄρχοντα πολλοῦ, ἀνασχέσθαι
tε παρ’ ἥλικιάν ἄρχοντος ἐν τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον
ἡ μηνύστος ἐν ὀπλοῖς· ὡς δ’ ἂν τι μὴ πράξει
tοι καὶ τῇ θυγατῇ συμφέρον, ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ
συνελέσθαι τῶν τινα πρεσβύτερων ἔμφρονα, τῆς
ἐκείνου νεότητος ἐγκρατῆ παιδαγωγῶν.

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THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

for annulling a part of the measures it would be enabled in the same way to annul the whole. The decemvirs gave public notice that whoever had received anything in the course of Antony's government should make it known in writing immediately, and threatened any who should disobey. The Pompeians also sought the consulship for the remainder of the year in place of Hirtius and Pansa; but Octavian also sought it, applying not to the Senate, but to Cicero privately, whom he urged to become his colleague, saying that Cicero should carry on the government, as he was the elder and more experienced, and that he himself desired to enjoy the title only, as a means by which he could dismiss his army in a becoming manner, and that this was the reason he had previously asked the honour of a triumph. Cicero, whose desire for office was excited by this proposal, said to the Senate that he understood that a negotiation was on foot among the generals commanding the provinces, and he advised that they should conciliate the man whom they had treated with disdain and who was still at the head of a large army, and allow him to hold office in the city, notwithstanding his youth, rather than that he should remain under arms in a state of resentment. But lest he should do anything contrary to the interests of the Senate, Cicero proposed that some man of prudence from among the older ones should be chosen as his colleague to be a firm guardian of the immature nature of Octavian.
Ἀλλὰ Κικέρωνα μὲν ὡς τῇ βουλῇ τῆς φιλαρχίας ἐγέλασε, καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς μᾶλλον τῶν σφαγέων ἐνέστησαν, δεδίτες μὴ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καίσαρ τίσατο ὑπατεύων. 83. ὑπερθέσεων δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κειροτονίᾳ γιγανόμενω ἐννόμων κατὰ ποικίλας αἰτίας, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐν τῷ τέως τὰς Ἀλπείς ὑπερέβαλε, Κουλλεώνα πείσας τὸν ἅκε Λεπίδου φύλακα αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τὸ ποταμὸν ἦλθεν, ἔνθα ἐστρατοπέδευ- μένος ἤν ὁ Λεπίδος, καὶ οὕτε χάρακα περιβάλετο οὕτε τάφρων ὡς ἡ φίλη παραστρατοπεδεύων. δια- πομπαί δὲ ἦσαν ἕξ ὑπλῆς πυκναί, Ἀντωνίου μὲν ὑπομονήσκοντος φίλιας τα καὶ χαρίτων ποικίλων, καὶ διδάσκοντος, ὅτι μεθ’ αὐτῶν ὁμοία πείσονται καθ’ ἑνα πάντες, οἱ τῆς Καίσαρος ἐγένοντο- φιλίας, Λεπίδου δὲ τὴν μὲν βουλὴν δεδίτος πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ κελεύσαν, ὑπογιγνομένον δ’ ὁμοία οὐ πολεμήσειν ἐκόντως. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Λεπίδου τῷ τὸ ἀξίωμα αἰδούμενοι τῷ Ἀντω- νίῳ καὶ τῶν διαπομπῶν αἰσθανόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἄφελειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατοπεδείας ἀγάμουν, ἐπεμίγγυντο τοῖς Ἀντωνίου λάνθανοντες, εἴτε φανερῶς οἷα πολέτας τε καὶ συστρατιώταις γενομένοις, τῶν τε χιλιάρχων κωλυόντων ὑπερ- εώρων καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς εὐμάρειαν τῆς ἐπιμε- ξίας ναυσὶ ἐγεφύρουν τὸ τε καλούμενον δέκατον τέλος, ἐξεναγημένον ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πάλαι, τὰ ἔνδον αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαζεν.

84. Ὡς αἰσθανόμενος Λατερήσιος, τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιφανῶν, προηγόρευε τῷ Λεπίδῳ καὶ 108
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

XII

The Senate laughed at Cicero's ambition, and the relatives of the murderers especially opposed him, fearing lest Octavian, as consul, should bring the murderers to punishment, but on various accounts the election was postponed by certain legal objections. Meanwhile, Antony passed over the Alps with the permission of Celleo, who had been stationed there by Lepidus to guard them, and advanced to a river where Lepidus was encamped; but he neglected to surround himself with palisade and ditch, as though he were camping alongside a friend. Messengers were going to and fro between them constantly. Antony reminded Lepidus of their friendship and of his various good offices, pointing out that after he himself should be destroyed all who had enjoyed Caesar's friendship would suffer a like fate, one by one: Lepidus feared the Senate, which had ordered him to make war on Antony, but he promised nevertheless that he would not do so willingly. The army of Lepidus, having respect for Antony's dignity and perceiving the messengers going to and fro, and being gratified with the simplicity of Antony's camp, mingled with his men, at first secretly, then openly, as with fellow-citizens and fellow-soldiers; they disregarded the orders of the tribunes, who forbade their doing so; and in order to facilitate their intercourse they made a bridge of boats across the river. The Tenth Legion, which had been originally enlisted by Antony, arranged things for him inside the camp of Lepidus.

84. When Laterensis, one of the distinguished members of the Senate, perceived this, he warned
APPRIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἀπιστοῦντα ἐκέλευε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς πολλὰ
dιελόντα ἐκπέμψαι κατὰ δὴ τινὰς χρείας, ἐς
ἐπίδειξιν ἢ τῆς προδοσίας ἢ τῆς πίστεως. καὶ ὁ
Λέπιδος ἐς τρία διελών, ἐκέλευε νυκτὸς ἑξορμᾶν
ἐς φρουρὰν ταμείων πλησιαζόντων. οἱ δὲ ἀἱμφὶ
tὴν ἐσχάτην φυλακὴν, ὡς ἐς τὴν ἔξοδον ὀπλισά-
μενοι, τὰ ἔρυμνὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατέλαβον
καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεφώγυν Ἀυτωνίῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ
tὴν Λεπίδου σχημὴν ἐετο δρόμῳ, τοῦ στρατοῦ
παντὸς ἦδη τοῦ Λεπίδου παραπέμποντος αὐτὸν
καὶ τὸν Λεπίδου αἰτοῦντος εἰρήνην τε καὶ ἔλεον
ἐς ἀντιχώντας πολλὰς. ὁ μὲν δὴ Λέπιδος, ὡς
εἰχεν, ἐκ τῆς εὐνύς ἀξιότοσος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἑξέβορο
καὶ ὑπισχείτο ποιήσειν. καὶ τὸν Ἀυτώνιον
ησπάζετο καὶ ἐξελογείτο τῆς ἀνάγκης. οἱ δὲ
αὐτὸν καὶ προσπεσεῖν Ἀυτωνίῳ νομίζουσιν, ἀπρα-
κτον μὲν ὁντα καὶ ἀτολμον, οὐ μὴν ἀπασβ τοῖς
συγγραφεῖσι πιστῶν οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ πιθανόν· οὐ γὰρ
πώ τι αὐτῷ πολέμουν ἐς τὸν Ἀυτώνιον ἐπέπρακτο,
δέους ἄξιον. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀυτώνιος ἐς μέγα
δυνάμεως αὖθις ἐπήρτο, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἦν
ἐπιφοβώτατος στρατον γὰρ εἰχεν, ὃν τε ἐξανέ-
στησε Μοῦτίνης καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ λαμπρότατον
ἵππικον, τρία τε αὐτῷ τέλη κατὰ τὴν ὄδον
προσγεγένητο τὰ Οὐνετίδιον, καὶ Λέπιδος αὐτῷ
σύμμαχος ἐγύνετο ἐπτὰ ἔχον ὀπλιτικά τέλη
καὶ πολὺν ὀμμίλου ἄλλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ἀξιο-
λογον. καὶ τούσδε ὁ μὲν Λέπιδος ἐπωνυμάζετο
ἐτε, ὁ δὲ Ἀυτώνιος ἀπαντὰ διφθείη.

85. Ἐξαγγελθέντων δὲ τῶνδε ἐς Ῥώμην θαυ-
μαστὴ καὶ αἱφνίδιος ἡν αὖθις μεταβολή, τῶν μὲν
ἐκ τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ καταφρονήσεως ἐς δέος,
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

Lepidus. As the latter was incredulous Laterensis advised him to divide his army in several parts and send them away on some ostensible errands in order to test whether they were faithful or not. Accordingly, Lepidus divided them in three parts, and ordered them to go out by night in order to protect some convoys who were approaching. About the last watch the soldiers armed themselves as if for the march, seized the fortified parts of the camp, and opened the gates to Antony. He came running to the tent of Lepidus, whose whole army now escorted him, demanding from Lepidus peace and compassion for their unfortunate fellow-citizens. Lepidus leaped out of bed among them ungirt, just as he was, promised to do what they asked, embraced Antony, and pleaded necessity as his excuse. Some say that he actually fell on his knees before Antony, being an irresolute and timid man. Not all writers put faith in this report, nor do I, for he had as yet done nothing whatever inimical to Antony which might cause him fear. Thus did Antony again become a very powerful man, and most formidable to his enemies; for he had the army with which he had abandoned the siege of Mutina, including its magnificent cavalry; Ventidius had joined him on the road with three legions, and Lepidus had become his ally with seven legions of foot soldiers and a great number of auxiliary troops and apparatus in proportion. Lepidus nominally retained the command of these, but Antony directed everything.

85. When these facts became known at Rome another wonderful and sudden change took place. Those who had just now held Antony in contempt...
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XII

τῶν δὲ ἐσ θάρσος ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους μεθισταμένων. ἀι τε προγραφαί τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν κατεσπώντο σὺν ὑβρεί, καὶ αἱ χειροτονίαι τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπείχοντο ἐτὶ μᾶλλον' ὡ τε βουλὴ πάμπαν ἀπορούσα, καὶ δεδυνία, μὴ συνθωντὸ ἄλληλοις ο τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἐπεμπε μὲν ἐς Βρούτον' τε καὶ Κάσσιον κρύφα ἀπὸ σφῶν Δεύκιον καὶ Πάνσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ θέας εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἐξίωντας, ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ δύναμιν, μετεκάλει δὲ ἐκ Διβύης ἀπὸ τριῶν τῶν ὑπὸ Σέξτιον δύο τέλη, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐκέλευε Κορυφικῷ παραδοθῆναι, τῆς ἐτέρας ἀρχοντι Λιβύης καὶ τὰ τῆς βουλῆς φρονοῦντε, εἰδότες μὲν καὶ τούσδε Γαῖω Καῖσαρι ἐστρατευμένους καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου πάντα ὑπονοοῦντες ἤ δὲ ἀπορία σφᾶς ὑδὲ ἦπειγεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν νέον Καίσαρα, δεδότες μὴ συνθωνίῳ Ἀντωνίῳ, στρατηγὸν αὖθις ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ μᾶλα ἀπρεπῶς ἐχειροτόνουν ἀμα Δέκμῳ.

86. ὃ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἦδη τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ὅργῃν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοῦ, ὡς συνεχῶς ὑβριζόμενος, ἀνεκίνει καὶ ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐκείνων, ἐπὶ δευτέραν στρατεύαν πεμπομένων, πρὶν ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ λαβεῖν τὰς πεντακισχιλίας δραχμᾶς, ὅσα αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο δῶσειν ἐδίδασκε τὰς πέμποντας αὐτεῖς. οἱ δὲ ἔπεμπον τοὺς λοχαγοὺς. καὶ ἡ βουλή συνιεῖ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐς ταύτα διδασκόμενους, ἀποκρινεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφή δι' ἑτέρων πρέσβεων. καὶ ἔπεμπον, οὗς ἐδίδαξεν τοὺς δύο τέλεσι τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου μεθεστηκὸσιν ἐντυχεὶν ἀνευ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ διδάσκειν μὴ ἐφ' ἐνι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἐπίδιας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ τὸ κράτος ἀθάνατον ἐχούση μόνη,
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

were alarmed, while the fears of others were changed to courage. The edicts of the decemvirs were torn down with derision, and the consular election was still further postponed. The Senate, wholly at a loss what to do and fearful lest Octavian and Antony should form an alliance, secretly sent two of their number, Lucius and Pansa, to Brutus and Cassius, under pretence of attending the games in Greece, to urge them to lend all the assistance possible. It recalled from Africa two of the three legions under Sextius, and ordered the third to be given over to Cornificius, who commanded another portion of Africa, and favoured the senatorial party, although they knew that these legions had served under Gaius Caesar, and although they suspected everything of his, but their embarrassment drove them to this, since they even appointed, awkwardly enough, Octavian as general with Decimus against Antony, for they feared lest he should unite with Antony.

86. But Octavian excited the army to anger against the Senate both on account of its repeated indignities towards himself, and for requiring the soldiers to undertake a second campaign before paying them the 5000 drachmas per man which it had promised to give them for the first. He advised them to send and ask for the money. They sent their centurions. The Senate understood that the men had been advised to this course by Octavian and said that they would make answer also by deputies. They sent these, under instructions, to address themselves, when Octavian was not present, to the two legions which had deserted from Antony, and to advise the soldiers not to rest their hopes on a single person, but on the Senate, which alone had perpetual power, and to go

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Increasing coolness between Octavian and the Senate
χωρεῖν δὲ πρὸς Δέκμον, ἐνθα σφίσι τὰ χρήματα ἀπαντήσειν. ταύτ' ἐπισκηπτάντες λέγειν ἐσέφερον ἦδη τὸ ἡμεύν τῆς δωρεᾶς καὶ δέκα άνδρας ἐς τὴν διανέμησιν ἐχειροτόνουν, οἷς οὔδε ἐνδέκατον προσετίθεσαν εἶναι τὸν Καίσαρα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις, οὐκ ἀνασχομένων τῶν δύο τελῶν ἐντυχεὶν σφίσιν ἄνευ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑπέστρεφον ἀπρακτοί· ο ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ὄνεκτε τοὺς λόγους καθίει δι' ἐτέρων οὔδε μέλλειν ἡξίου, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν στρατόν συνειλεγμένον ἐπελθὼν, τὰ τε ὑβρίσματα, ὅσα ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς γεγένητο, κατέλεξε, καὶ τὴν ἐς πάντας τοὺς Γαύου Καίσαρος ἐπιβουλήν, καθ' ἑνα καθαρομένους, δεδεῖναι τε αὐτοῖς περὶ σφῶν διεκελεύσατο, μεταφερομένους ἐς τα πολέμια τῆς μοίρας στρατηγῶν καὶ πολέμους ἐτέρους ἀφ' ἐτέρων, ἢ ἡ ἐκθαραίειν ἢ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιάσειαν ἐπὶ γάρ τῆς καὶ τοῦ περὶ Μουτίνην ἔργου κοινοῦ γεγονότος τὰ γέρα τοῖς δύο τέλεσι μόνοις δίδοσθαι, ἢν αὐτοῖς ἐς ἔριν καὶ στάσιν ἐμβάλοιεν.

87. "Ἅστε δὲ," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Ἀρτώνιος ἐναγχὸς ἥττηθη οἶα τε ποιοῦ Πομπηιανοῦ ἐπούθεσθε ἐν ἂστει πεποιηκέναι κατὰ τῶν τινῶν δωρεὰς πάρα Καίσαρος εἰληφότων. τί δὴ πιστὸν ἢ ύμῶν δὲν ἔλαβετε παρ' ἐκείνου χωρίων τε καὶ χρημάτων ἢ ἐμοὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, ὃδε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ δυναστεύοντων τῶν οἰκείων τοῖς σφαγεσθῇ; κἂν μὲν ἐκδέξομαι τὸ τέλος, ὅ τι ἂν ἐπεγίγνηταί μοι (καλὸν γὰρ τι καὶ παθεῖν πατρὶ ἐπικουροῦντα), ὑπὲρ δὲ ύμῶν δέδιν τοὐώντε καὶ τοσώντε, κινδυνεύοντων ἐς ἔμην καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς χάριν. ἴστε μὲν δή με καθαρεύοντα φιλοτιμίας, ἐξ οὗ στρατηγείν
to the camp of Decimus, where they would find the promised money. Having delivered this charge to the deputies they forwarded one-half of the donative and appointed ten men to divide it, to whom it did not add Octavian even as an eleventh. As the two legions refused to meet them without Octavian, the deputies returned without effecting anything. Octavian no longer held communication with the troops through the medium of others, and no longer asked them to wait, but assembled the army and came before them and related to them the indignities he had suffered from the Senate, and its purpose to destroy all the friends of Gaius Caesar, one by one: he admonished them also to beware against being transferred to a general opposed to their party and being sent to one war after another to be killed or set in opposition to each other. This, he said, was the reason why, after their common struggles at Mutina were ended, rewards were given to only two legions, in order to induce strife and sedition among them.

87. "You know, too," he said, "the reason why Antony was lately vanquished. You have heard what the Pompeians in the city did to those who had received certain gifts from Caesar. What confidence can you have of keeping the lands and money you have received from him, or what confidence can I have in my own safety, while the relatives of the murderers thus dominate the Senate? For my part I shall accept my fate, whatever it may be, for it is honourable to suffer anything in the service of a father; but I fear for you, such a host of brave men, who have incurred danger in behalf of me and my father. You know that I have been free from
ἈΠΠΙΑΝΩΝ ῬΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΗΣΤΟΡΙΑΝ

ΧΙII. Μοι διδόντων ὑμῶν ὑπὸ σημείωσις οὐκ ἐδεχόμην· ἐν δὲ μόνων ὅρῳ νῦν ἀμφοτέροις σωτηρίων, εἰ δὲ ὑμῶν ὑπατος ἀποδεικθεῖν. τά τε γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν δοθέντα πάντα βέβαια ἔσται, ἀποκινήσεται τε προσέστηται αἱ ἄνθρωποι ὁ πυρετόμεναι, καὶ γέρα πάντα ἑνεκὼ ἐγὼ τε τοὺς φονεὰς ὑπὸ δίκην ἄγαγὼν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀν ὑμῶν καταλύσαιμεν πολέμους.’’

88. Ὡμι λεγομένων ἢ τα στρατιὰ προθύμως ἔπεβόησε, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς αὐτίκα ἐπεμπον αὐτήσας τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Καίσαρι. ὑποκριναμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἔλεγεν οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἃ ἐδιδάχθησαν, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι Κορουβίνος τε ἀρξεῖ νεώτερος ὦν ἦτο καὶ Σκιπίων ὑστερον, ὃ τε πρότερος καὶ ὁ δεύτερος, καὶ ἐκ τῆς νεότητος ἐκάστου πολλὰ διανύοι τὰ πατρίσις. τά τε ἐναγχος ταῦτα καὶ Πομπήιον Μάγγον αὐτοῖς καὶ Δολο-βέλλαν προοφερον, αὐτῶ τοῦ Καίσαρι ἡ δεδομένη τὴν ἀρχὴν μετείναι θᾶσσον ἐτῶν δέκα. ταῦτα τῶν λοχαγῶν σὺν πλέον παρρησία λεγόντων, οὐκ ἀνασχομένοι τινες τῶν βουλευτῶν λοχαγούς ὑντας ἄδε παρρησιαζότας, ἐπέπλησσον ὡς βρα- συνυμένοις ὑπὲρ τὸ στρατιῶτας πρέπον. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς πυθόμενος ἦτο μᾶλλον ὡργίζωντο καὶ ἄγειν σφάς εὐθὺς ἐκέλευον ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς αὐτὸι χειροτονήσωσιν αὐτὸν ἐξαιρέτω χειροτονία, Καίσαρος νῦν, ὑντα, πολλά τε τὸν πρότερον Καίσαρα ἀπαύστως εὐφήμουν. ἀδε δὲ αὐτοῖς
ambition from the time when I declined the praetorship which you offered me with the insignia of that office. I see only one path of safety now for both of us: if I should obtain the consulship by your help. In that case all my father’s gifts to you will be confirmed, the colonies that are still due to you will be forthcoming, and all your rewards will be paid in full; and I should bring the murderers to punishment and release you from any more wars.”

88. At these words the army cheered heartily, and forthwith sent their centurions to ask the consulship for Octavian. When the Senate began to make talk about his youth, the centurions replied, as they had been instructed, that in the olden times Corvinus had held the office and at a later period the Scipios, both the elder and the younger, before the legal age, and that the country profited much from the youth of each. They instanced, as recent examples, Pompey the Great and Dolabella and said that it had been granted to Caesar himself to stand for the consulship ten years before the legal age.1 While the centurions were arguing with much boldness, some of the senators, who could not endure that centurions should use such freedom of speech, rebuked them for exceeding the bounds of military discipline. When the army heard of this, they were still more exasperated and demanded to be led immediately to the city, saying that they would hold a special election and raise Octavian to the consulship because he was Caesar’s son. At the same time they extolled

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1 This is erroneous. Caesar was first elected consul in the year 694 (B.C. 60), and entered upon the office at the beginning of 695, at which time he had just reached the legal age of forty-three.
CAP. XII. ὧμης ἔχοντας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἰδὼν ἦγεν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου, ὅκτω τέλη πεζῶν καὶ ἦπερ τοῦ ἱκανήν καὶ ὡσα ἄλλα τοῖς τέλεσι συνετάσσετο. περάσας δὲ τὸν Ῥουβίκονα ποταμὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὃν τινα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τῷ πολιτικῷ πολέμῳ πρῶτον ἐπέρασεν, ἐς δύο πάντας διήρει καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔπεσθαι κατὰ σχολὴν ἐκέλευσε, τὸ δὲ ἀμεινον ἐπιλεξάμενος ἑτρόχαζεν, ἐπεγόμενος ἐτὶ ἀπαρασκεύοις καταλαβεῖν, μέρους τε τῶν χρημάτων ὑπαντῶντος, ἀ ἐς τὰ γέρα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἡ βουλὴ πεπόμφει, δείσας ἐπὶ τοῖς μεσθοφόροις ὁ Καῖσαρ προὔπεμπτε κρύφα τούς ἐκφοβήσοντας καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐφευγον μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων.

XIII

CAP. XIII 89. Ἐς δὲ τὸ ἀστυ τῆς ἀγγελίας ἀφικομένης θόρυβος ἦν καὶ φόβος ἀπλετος, διαθεοῦτων τε ἀκόσμως καὶ γύναια τίνων ἡ παῖδας ἡ ὡσα τιμώτατα ἄλλα ἐς ἄγροις ἡ τὰ ἐρυμνᾶ τῆς πόλεως μεταφερόντων οὐ γάρ πω σαφοὺς δύντο, ὅτι μόνης ὁρέγοιτο ὑπατείας, πολέμου στρατὸν ἐπιέναι σὺν ὄργῃ πυθανόμενοι ἐς πάντα ἐδεδοίκεσαν. ἡ βουλὴ δὲ ἐξεπέπληκτο ἀμέτρως, οὐδεμᾶς αὐτοῖς οὐς έτοίμου δυνάμεως, ἀλλήλους τε, οἶν ἐν τοῖς φόβοις γίγνεται, κατεμέμβρυντο, οἱ μὲν ὅτι τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτὸν ἀφέλοιντο τὴν ἐπὶ 118
the elder Caesar without stint. When Octavian saw them in this excited state, he led them directly from the assembly, eight legions of foot and a corresponding number of horse, and the auxiliary troops that were serving with the legions. Having crossed the river Rubicon from the Gallic province into Italy,—the stream that his father crossed in like manner at the beginning of the civil war,—he divided his army in two parts. One of these divisions he ordered to follow in a leisurely way. The other and better one, consisting of picked men, made forced marches, hastening in order to take the city unprepared. Meeting a convoy on the road with a part of the money which the Senate had sent as a present to the soldiers, Octavian feared the effect it might have on his mercenaries. So he secretly sent forward a force to scare away the convoy, and they took to flight with the money.

XIII

89. When the news of Octavian's approach reached the city there was immense confusion and alarm. People ran hither and thither, and some conveyed their wives and children and whatever they held most dear to the country and to the fortified parts of the city, for it was not yet known that he aimed only at securing the consulship. Having heard that an army was advancing with hostile intentions, there was nothing that they did not fear. The Senate was struck with consternation since they had no military force in readiness. As is usual in cases of panic they blamed each other. Some complained that they had insolently deprived Octavian of the command of

Mutual recriminations in the Senate

Alarm in the city
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIII. τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑβριστικῶς, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐς τὸν θρίαμβον ὑπεροψίας, οὐκ ἄδικον ὄντα, οἱ δὲ τοῦ φθόνου τῆς διανεμήσεως τῶν χρημάτων, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐνδεκατον ἐπιγράψαντες οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ἄθλα, οὐτε ὥσεως οὕτε ἐντελὴ διδόμενα, τὴν στρατιὰν σφίσιν ἔλεγον ἐκπολεμῶσαι. τῆς τε φιλονικίας τὸ ἄκαιρον μάλιστα ἐμέμφυτο, Βροῦτον μὲν καὶ Κασσίου πορρωτέρω τε ὄντων καὶ συνισταμένων ἔτι, ἐν δὲ πλευράς Ἀντωνίου καὶ Δεπίδου πολεμῶν ὅσα ὦτε ἐνθυμηθείες Καίσαρι συν-αλλαγῆσεσθαι, πάμπαν ἥκμαξεν ὁ φόβος. Κικερων τε, ὃς τέως αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόλαξεν, οὐδὲ ἐφαίνετο.

90. Ἀθρόα δὴ πάντων ἐς πάντα ἦν μετάθεσις, ἀντὶ μὲν δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν τὰς πεντακισχιλίας, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν δύο τελῶν τοῖς ὀκτὼ δοθήναι, Καίσαρά τε αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν δέκα ἄνδρῶν διανέμειν καὶ ἔς τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν παραγγέλλειν ἀπόντα. πρέσβεις τε ἐξέτρεχον, οἱ τάδε φράσεων ἐμελλὼν αὐτῷ κατὰ σπουδήν. δὲν ἄρτι τῆς πόλεως ἐκδραμόντων μετάνοια ἐνέπιπτε τῇ βουλῇ, μή δεῖν, οὕτως ἄναρδως καταπεπλήχθαι, μηδὲ ἐτέραν ἐνδέξασθαι τυραννίδα ἀναμωτί, μηδὲ ἐθίσαι τοὺς ἀρχῆς ἐφιμένους ἐκ βίαις τυχάνειν, μηδὲ τοὺς στρατευόμενους ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἄρχειν τῆς πατρίδος, ὡστόσον δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐνότων τοὺς ψυχὰς τοῖς ἐπίησοι προτείνειν προσδοκῶν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνους νόμων προτεινομένων ὁπλα τῇ
the campaign against Antony, others that they had treated with contempt his demand for a triumph, a request which was not without justice; others because they had envied him the honour of distributing the money; others because he had not been made an additional member of the board of ten; still others said that they had made the army hostile because the gifts voted to them had not been quickly and fully paid. They complained especially of the inopportune time for such a strife, while Brutus and Cassius were far away and their forces not yet organized, and on their own flank in a hostile attitude were Antony and Lepidus, who, they thought, might form an alliance with Octavian, and thus their fears were greatly augmented. Cicero, who had so long been in evidence, was nowhere to be seen.

90. There was a sudden change on all hands. Instead of 2500 drachmas 5000 were given; instead of two legions only, the entire eight were to be paid. Octavian was appointed to make the distribution instead of the ten commissioners, and he was allowed to be a candidate for the consulship while absent. Messengers were hastily despatched to tell him these things. Directly after they had left the city the Senate repented. They felt that they ought not to be so weakly terror-stricken, or accept a new tyranny without bloodshed, or accustom those seeking office to gain it by violence, or the soldiers to govern the country by the word of command. Rather should they arm themselves as best they could and confront the invaders with the laws, for there was some hope that, if they were confronted with the laws, not even they would bear arms against their country. If
πατρίδι ἐποίησεν· εἰ δὲ φέροιει, ἀνέχεσθαι τε πολιορκίας, μέχρι Δέκμος ὑ� Πλάγκος ἕλθοι, καὶ ἀμύνοσθαι μέχρι θανάτου μᾶλλον ὡκύνας ἐνδέξασθαι δουλεῖαν ἀνωθεν ἀδιόρθωτον· τά τε ἅρχαια Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ ἑλευθερία φρονήματα καὶ πάθη, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐυδόντων ὑπὲρ ἑλευθερίας, ἀνελέγοντο.

91. 'Επεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ ἐκ Διβύνης μετάπεμπτα ἐς τὸν λιμένα αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἀφίκετο, τοὺς θεοὺς σφῆς ἔδοξαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑλευθερίαν ἐποτρύνειν. ἡ μὲν δὴ μετάνοια ἐκεκύρωτο, καὶ μετεψηφίζετο ἀπαντά, Κικέρωνος αὐθίς αὐτοῖς ἐπιφάνεται· ἡ τε στρατεύσιμος ἡλικία προεγραφεῖ τᾶς, καὶ τὰ δύο τέλη τάδε, τὰ ἐκ Διβύνης, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἰππεῖς χίλιοι καὶ τέλος ἑτεροῦν, ὁ Πάνσας αὐτοῖς ὑπολεοῦτει, πάντες οἴδε μερίσθεντες οἱ μὲν τὸν λόφον τὸν καλούμενον Ἰάνουκλον, ἐνθα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐσώρευσαν, ἐφρούρουν, οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ γέφυραν, ἐπιδιηρημένων σφίζον τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ λιμένι σκάφη καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα εὐτρέπιζον, εἰ δεήσειν ἡττωμένος φυγεῖν διὰ βαλάσσης. καὶ τάδε σὺν εὐθαρσείᾳ πράσσοντες οὕτως δὲξεως ἤλπιζον ἀντικαταπλήξειν τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ ἡ μεταπείσειν παρὰ σφῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος αἰτεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἡ ἐγκρατῶς ἀμυνεῖσθαι· τοὺς τε τῆς ἐναντίας μοίρας νῦν γε μεταθήσεσθαι προσεδόκων, μέχρι περὶ τῆς ἑλευθερίας ἐστὶν ὁ ἄγων. τὴν δὲ μητέρα Καίσαρος καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν οὕτε φανερῶς οὔτε λάθρα ξητούντες εὐρισκον. ἔθορυ.
they should do so, it would be best to endure a siege until Decimus and Plancus should come to the rescue, and to defend themselves to the death rather than submit voluntarily to a slavery thenceforth without remedy. They recounted the high spirit and endurance in behalf of freedom of the Romans of old, who never yielded to anything when their liberty was at stake.

91. As both the legions sent for from Africa happened to arrive in the harbour on this very day, it seemed as though the gods were urging them to defend their freedom. Their regret for what they had done was confirmed; Cicero again made his appearance, and they repealed all the decrees above mentioned. All who were of military age were called to arms, also the two legions from Africa, and 1000 horse with them, and another legion that Pansa had left behind,—all these were assigned to their proper places. Some of them guarded the hill called the Janiculum, where the money was stored, others held the bridge over the Tiber, and the city praetors were put in command of the separate divisions. Others made ready small boats and ships in the harbour, together with money, in case they should be vanquished and have to escape by sea. While courageously making these hasty preparations they hoped to alarm Octavian in his turn, and induce him to seek the consulship from them instead of the army, or they hoped at least to defend themselves vigorously. They hoped also to change those of the opposite faction as soon as it became a contest for liberty. They sought for the mother and sister of Octavian, but as they did not discover them either by any open or secret search, they were again alarmed
ΑΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIII

βούντο σὺν αὕτης ὁμήρων μεγάλων ἀφηρημένοι
καὶ τῶν Καίσαριανῶν οὐπω σφίσων ἐπικλωμένων,
ὑπὸ ἐκείνων αὐτῶς ὁδε ἀκριβῶς ἐνόμιζον ἐπι-
κρύπτεσθαι.

92. Καίσαρι δὲ ἔτι τῶν πρέσβεων ἐντυγχα-
νόντων τὰ μετεψηφισμένα ἀγγέλλεται καὶ αὐτὸν
οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπολιπόντες ἀνέστρεφον ὑπὸ αἴδοις.
ὁ δὲ τῷ στρατῷ μὰλλον ἔτι παρωξυμένω κατὰ
σπονδὴν ἔχωρει, σὺν φόβῳ μὴ τι πάθοιν αἱ
γυναῖκες· ἐς τὸν δὴμον τεθυρυβημένου ἥπτεας
ἐπεμψεν ἀτρεμεῖν ἐπικελεύων, καὶ τεθρητῶν
πάντων τὰ πέραν τοῦ Κυριαλίου λόφου κατ-
έλαβεν, οὐδενός ἐς χείρας ἑλθεὶν ἢ κωλύνει
ὑποστάντος. ἦν τε αὐτὶς ἑτέρα θαυμάσιος ἄρνω
μεταβολή, θεόντων ἐς αὐτὸν τῶν ἔπιφανῶν καὶ
προσαγωγεύοντων ὧθει δὲ καὶ ὁ δημότης λέως καὶ
τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς εἰρηνικὴν ἀπε-
δέχοντο. ὁ δὲ τὸν στρατόν, ἐνθαπέρ ἦν, ἀπο-
λυτῶν ἔχωρει τῆς ἐπιούσης πρὸς τὸ ἀστυ, φυ-
λακήν ἔχων ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἱκανὴν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τότε
ὑπῆντων δὲ ὅλης τῆς ὀδοῦ κατὰ μέρη καὶ προση-
γόρευον, οὐδὲν ἐνδέχοντες ἢ φιλοφροσύνης ἢ θερα-
πείας ἁσθενοῦσ. ἦ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἄδελφη
ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερῷ μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων
ἡστάσαντο, καὶ τὰ τρία τέλη, τῶν στρατηγῶν
ὑπερδόντα, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπρέσβευε καὶ μετετίθετο·
καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οὶ ἥρχον αὐτῶν, Κορυνώτος
μὲν ἕαυτὸν ἐκτεινεν, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι σπονδῶν καὶ
πίστεων ἐτυχον. Κικέρων τε τῶν σπονδῶν
πυθόμενος ἐπράξε διὰ τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων
ἐντυγχεὶν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐντυχόν ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ τὴν
εἰσήγησιν τῆς ὑπατείας ὑπερεπήρει, ἦν αὐτὸς ἐν
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at finding themselves deprived of such hostages, and as the Caesarians showed no disposition to yield to them they concluded that it was by the schemes of these women were being carefully concealed.

92. While Octavian was still giving audience to the messengers, it was announced to him that the decrees had been rescinded. The messengers thereupon withdrew, covered with confusion. With his army still more exasperated Octavian hastened to the city, fearing lest some evil should befall his mother and sister. To the plebeians, who were in a state of consternation, he sent horsemen in advance to tell them to have no fear. While all were amazed he took a position just beyond the Quirinal hill, no one daring to fight or prevent him. Now another wonderful and sudden change took place. Patricians flocked out and saluted him; the common people ran also and took the good order of the soldiers for a sign of peace. On the following day Octavian advanced toward the city, leaving his army where it was, and having with him only a sufficient guard. Here, again, detached crowds met him along the whole road and saluted him, omitting nothing that savoured of friendliness and weak compliance. His mother and sister, who were in the temple of Vesta with the Vestal virgins, embraced him. The three legions, in spite of their generals, sent ambassadors and transferred themselves to him. One of the generals in command of them, Cornutus, killed himself; the others allied themselves with Octavian. When Cicero learned of the truce he sought an interview with Octavian through friends. When it was granted he defended himself and dwelt much upon his proposing Octavian for the
APPRIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIII. τῇ βουλῇ πρότερον εἰσηγήσατο. ὦ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπεκρίνατο ἐπισκόπτων ὅτι τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ τελευταῖος ἐντυγχάνοι.

93. Νυκτὸς δ' ἀφὼ δόξῃς γενομένης, ὅτι δύο τέλη Καίσαρος, τὸ τε Ἀρειον καὶ τὸ τέταρτον, μεταθοίτο ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὡς δὲ ἐνέδρας ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπαχθέντα, οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πάμπαν ἀταλαπώρως ἐπίστευσαν, καίπερ ὅτος ἑγγυτάτω τοῦ στρατοῦ νομίσαντες τε ἀνθέξειν αὐτοῖς οὕσι πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, μέχρι τοῖς ἐτέρωθεν αὐτοῖς ἰσχύς ἐπιγένοιτο, νυκτὸς ἐτί Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον Κράσσον ἐς τὴν Πικηνίτιδα ἐξέπεμπτον στρατοῦ ἀθροίζειν, καὶ τῶν των δημάρχων Ἀπουλίων ἐς τὸν δήμον ἐποίουν τὸ εὐαγγελίου ἐκφέρειν περιθέοντα. ἢ τε βουλὴ νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνέθεου, Κικέρωνος ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῖς δεξιομένου. Ψευδοῦς δὲ τῆς δόξης φανείσης ἐν φορείῳ διέφυγεν.

94. Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐπιγελάσας αὐτοῖς τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἑγγυτέρω τῆς πόλεως προῆγαγεν, ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ καλούμενον Ἀρειον, τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν τότε μὲν οὐδένα ἥμυνατο, οὐδὲ Κράσσον τὸν ἐς Πικήνην ἐκδραμόντα, καίπερ οἱ προσαχθέντας ὡς εἰχε ληφθεῖς ἐν σχήματι οὐκέτου, ἄλλα μεθήκεν ἀπαντας ἐς δόξαν φιλανθρωπίας. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ύστερον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προηγάψας. τὰ χρήματα δὲ, ὅσα τε κοινὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ Ἡανούκλῳ ἐτέρωθι καὶ ἀλλὰ συνενεχθῆναι κελεύσας, ὅποσα Κικέρωνος ἐσηγομένου πρότερον αὐτοῖς ἐπεγέγραπτο, δι'-ένειμεν ἀνὰ δισχίλιας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς 126
consulship, as he had done in the Senate on a former occasion. Octavian answered ironically that Cicero seemed to be the last of his friends to greet him.

93. The next night a rumour gained currency that two of Octavian's legions, the Martian and the Fourth, had gone over to the side of the republic, saying that they had been deceived and led against their country. The praetors and the Senate put faith in this report heedlessly, although the army was very near, thinking that with the assistance of these two legions, as they were the bravest, it would be possible to hold out against the rest of Octavian's army until some force from elsewhere should come to the rescue. The same night they sent Manius Aquilius Crassus to Picenum to raise troops, and ordered one of the tribunes, named Apuleius, to run through the city and proclaim the good news to the people. The senators assembled by night in the senate-house, and Cicero received them at the door, but when the news was contradicted he took flight in a litter.

94. Octavian laughed at them and moved his army nearer to the city and stationed it in the Campus Martius. He did not then punish any of the praetors, not even Crassus, who had rushed off to Picenum, although the latter was brought before him just as he was caught, in the disguise of a slave, but he pardoned all in order to acquire a reputation for clemency. But not long afterward they were put on the list of the proscribed. He ordered that the public money on the Janiculum or elsewhere be brought to him, and the amount which had been previously ordered to be paid to the army on the motion of Cicero, he distributed, namely 2500
CAP. XIII

τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον ἐπιδώσειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξήλθε, μέχρι χειροτονήσαιεν ὑπάτους αἱρετοὺς. αἱρεθεὶς δὲ αὐτὸς σὺν ὧν περ ἔβούλετο Κοίντῳ Πεδίῳ, δὴ τὸ μέρος αὐτῷ δε- δώρητο τῆς Καίσαρος κληρονομίας, ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὖθις ὡς ὑπατος ἐσῇ, καὶ ἔθεσε, δώδεκά οἱ γυνῶν. φανέντων, ὅσους φασὶ καὶ Ἦρωμύλῳ τὴν πόλιν οἰκίζοντι ὀφθήναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐαυτὸν εἰσεποιεῖτο τῷ πατρὶ αὖθις κατὰ νόμον κουριάτων. ἔστι δ' ἔπι τοῦ δήμου γίγνεσθαι τὴν θέσιν. κουρίας γὰρ ἐς μέρη τὰς φυλὰς ἢ τοὺς δήμους διαιροῦντες καλοῦσιν, ὡς "Ελληνες, εἰκάζοντι φάναι, φατρίας. ἐπινομώτατος δ' ἔστι Ἦρωμαῖος. ὁ τρόπος οὗτος ἔπι τῶν ἀπατώρων καὶ δύνανται μάλιστα αὐτοὶ ἵσα τοῖς γυναικίς πασίν ἄγειν τοὺς συγγενεῖς τῶν θεμένων καὶ ἦπελευθέρους. Γαϊφ δ' ἦν τὰ τε ἄλλα λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι πολλοὶ τε καὶ πλούσιοι, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἴσως μάλιστα ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ θέσει, κατὰ διαθήκας οἱ γενομένης, καὶ τῆς ἐδεήθη.

XIV

95. Νόμῳ δ' ἔτερῳ ἀπέλυε μὴ εἶναι πολέμιον Δολοβέλλαν, καὶ εἶναι φόνου δίκας ἐπὶ Καίσαρι. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦσαν γραφαί, τῶν φίλων τοῦ Καίσαρος γραφομένων τοὺς μὲν αὐτόχειρας, τοὺς δὲ συνεγ- 128
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

drachmas per man, and promised to give them the remainder. Then he took his departure from the city until the consuls should be chosen by the comitia. Having been elected himself, together with Quintus Pedius, the man whom he desired to have as his colleague, and who had given to him his own portion of his inheritance from Caesar, he entered the city again as consul. While he offered the sacrifices, twelve vultures were seen; the same number, they say, that appeared to Romulus when he laid the foundations of the city. After the sacrifices he caused his adoption by his father to be ratified again, according to the *lex curiata*,—(it is possible to have adoption ratified by the people)—for the parts into which the tribes, or local divisions, are divided are called *curiae*, just as, I suppose, the similar divisions among the Greeks are called *phratriae*. Among the Romans this was the method of adoption most in accordance with law in the case of orphans; and those who follow it have the same rights as real sons in respect of the relatives and the freedmen of the persons who adopt them. Among the other splendid accessories of Caesar was a large number of freedmen, many of them rich, and this was perhaps the principal reason why Octavian wanted the adoption by a vote of the people in addition to the former adoption which came to him by Caesar's will.

XIV

95. Octavian caused a new law to be passed to repeal the one which declared Dolabella a public enemy, and also to punish the murder of Caesar. Indictments were found forthwith, the friends of
APPBAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIV

υσκέναι μόνον. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐνίοις ἐπεγράφη, καὶ τισιν οὐδ’ ἐπιδημήσασιν, ἄτε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκτείνετο. πᾶσι δ’ ὁρισθείσης ὑπὸ κηρύγματι μᾶς ἥμερας ἐς κρίσιν, ἐρήμην ἀπαντες ἐάλωσαν, ἐφορώντος τὰ δικαστήρια τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν οὐδενὸς τὴν ἀπολύουσαν φέροντος πλῆθν ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, δε τότε μὲν οὐδ’ αὐτὸς τι ἔπαθε, μικρὸν δ’ ὡστερον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὁδὲ προνυγάφη. ἔδοξε δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις Κόνωτος Γάλλως, ἀδελφὸς Μάρκου Γαλλίου συνόντος Ἀντωνίῳ, τὴν πολιτικὴν στρατηγίαν ἄρχων, αἰτήσας παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν στρατηγίαν τῆς διβύθης, καὶ οὕτω τυχὼν ἐπιβουλεύσας τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν περιείλον οἱ σύναρχοι, τὴν δ’ οἰκίαι διήρπασεν ὁ δήμος, ἢ δὲ βουλή κατεγίωσκε πάνω τοῦ. ἐς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκέλευε χωρεῖν, καὶ δοκεῖ νεὼς ἐπιβάς οὐδαμοῦ ἐτι φανήναι.

96. Τοσάδε πράξας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπενόει μὲν τὰς ἐς τὸν Ἀντωνίου διαλύσεις, πυθανόμενος ἡδὴ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τῶν Βρούτου εἰκοσι συνήχθαι τέλη στρατοῦ, καὶ χρήζων ἐπὶ αὐτὰ Ἀντωνίῳ, ἐξήνει δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰονίων καὶ σχολαίως ἀνεξεύγυμε, τά παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιμένων. Πέδιος γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀποστάντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπειθε τά ἐς ἀλλήλους μὴ δυσίατα ποιουμένους συναλλαγῆναι Δεσιδὼρ τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ. οἱ δέ πρεσβώρων μὲν ὃτι μὴ σφίσι μηδ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος εἰσὶν αἱ διαλλαγαί, ἀλλ’ ἐς συμμαχίαν Καίσαρι κατὰ Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου, ἐπήνουν δ’ ὁμος καὶ συνετίθεντο ὑπ’
Caesar bringing accusations against some for the act and others for guilty knowledge. This last charge was even brought against some who were not in the city when Caesar was killed. One day was fixed by public proclamation for the trial of all, and judgment was taken against all by default, Octavian presiding over the court, and none of the judges voting for acquittal except one patrician, who then escaped with impunity, but a little later was included with the others in the proscription. It appears that about this time Quintus Gallius, a city praetor and brother of Marcus Gallius, who was serving with Antony, asked Octavian for the command of Africa, and having thus got his chance, plotted against Octavian. His colleagues stripped him of his praetorship, the people tore his house down, and the Senate condemned him to death. Octavian ordered him to depart to his brother, and it is said that he took ship and was never seen again.

96. These things accomplished, Octavian formed his plans for a reconciliation with Antony, for he had learned that Brutus and Cassius had already collected twenty legions of soldiers, and he needed Antony's help against them. He moved out of the city toward the Adriatic coast and proceeded in a leisurely way, waiting to see what the Senate would do. Pedius persuaded the senators, after Octavian had taken his departure, not to make their differences with each other irreparable, but to be reconciled to Lepidus and Antony. Although they foresaw that such a reconciliation would not be for their advantage or for that of the country, but would be merely an assistance to Octavian against Brutus and Cassius, nevertheless, they gave their approval and assent to

The Senate rescinds its decrees against Antony and Lepidus
ἈΠΠΙΑΝ’S ῬΩΜΑΝ ὙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

CAP. ἀνάγκης. καὶ τὰ πολέμια δόγματα Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Δεπίδου καὶ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῖς στρατῶν κατελύτο, εἰρήναια δὲ ἔτερα αὐτοῖς ἐπέμπτεο. καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτοῖς συνήθετο γράφων, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ καὶ βοηθὸς ἐπὶ Δέκμου ὑποσχεῖτο ἦξειν, εἰ δέοιτο. οἱ δὲ ἀντεφιλοφρονοῦντο μὲν αὐτὸν ἄφνω καὶ ἐπήνυσιν, ὁ δ’ Ἀντώνιος ἔγραφεν αὐτὸς ἀποτί- σεσθαι Δέκμον τε ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος καὶ Πλάγκον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συμμέιξειν Καίσαρι.

97. Τοσάδε μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐπέστειλαν, διάκοντι δὲ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ Δέκμον προσγίγνεται Πολλίων Ἀσίνιος ἄγων δύο τέλη. καὶ Πλάγκορ μὲν Ἀσίνιος ἔπραξε διαλλαγάς, καὶ ὁ Πλάγκος σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσε μεθίστατο ἄτ’ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὡστε ἡδὴ βαρυτάτης δυνάμεως ἤρχεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος· Δέκμω δὲ ἦν τέλη δέκα, ὡν τέσσαρα μὲν τὰ ἐμ- περοπολεμῶτα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ διέφθαρτο καὶ ἐνόσει ἐτι, τὰ νεοστάτευτα δὲ ἦν ἐξ, ἀταλαίπωρα ἐτι καὶ πόνων ἄπειρα. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν μάχεσθαι, φεύγειν ἐκρίνε πρὸς Βροῦτον ἐς Μακεδονίαν. ἔφευγε δ’ οὖν ἐπὶ τάδε τῶν Ἀλπεων, ἀλλ’ ἐς Ράββεναν ἡ Ἀκυληίαν. ἔπει δὲ Καίσαρ ὠδεοις ταχῦ, ἀλλήν μακροτέραν ὤδον καὶ δύστορον ἐπενόε, τόν τε Ρύμον περάσαι καὶ τὰ ἀγριώτερα τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπερελθεῖν” ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὕπτο τε τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ τοῦ καμάτου πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ νεοστάτευτοι κατα- λιπόντες ὃς Καίσαρα ἐχώρουν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοις καὶ τὰ ἀρχαίοτερα τέσσαρα ὁ Ἀντώνιον καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὁμολος ἦδη χωρίς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ὑπεέων Κελτῶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπιτρέ- ψας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα σφῶν ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαδοῦς ἐκ

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it as a matter of necessity. So the decrees declaring Antony and Lepidus, and the soldiers under them, public enemies, were repealed, and others of a peaceful nature was sent to them. Thereupon Octavian wrote and congratulated them, and he promised to lend assistance to Antony against Decimus Brutus if he needed it. They replied to him at once in a friendly spirit and eulogized him. Antony wrote that he would himself punish Decimus on Caesar's account and Plancus on his own, and that then he would join forces with Octavian.

97. Such were the letters which they exchanged with each other. While pursuing Decimus, Antony was joined by Asinius Pollio with two legions. Asinius also brought about an arrangement with Plancus, by virtue of which Plancus passed over to Antony with three legions, so that Antony now had much the strongest force. Decimus had ten legions, of whom four, the most experienced in war, had suffered severely from famine and were still enfeebled; while the other six were new levies, still untrained and unaccustomed to their labours, so, as he despaired of fighting, he decided to flee to Marcus Brutus in Macedonia. He retreated not by this side of the Apennines, but toward Ravenna and Aquileia. But since Octavian was travelling by this route, Decimus proposed another longer and more difficult one—to cross the Rhine and traverse the wild country of barbarian tribes. Thereupon the new levies, bewildered and fatigued, were the first to desert him and join Octavian; after them the four older legions joined Antony, and the auxiliaries did the same, except a body-guard of Gallic horse. Then Decimus allowed those who wished to do so to return to their own
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIV

τοῦ παρόντος ἐτι χρυσίου, μετὰ τριακοσίων τῶν παραμεινάντων μόνων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰρηνοῦ ἐφέρετο. δυσπόρου δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ περὰν σὺν ὀλύγοις, ἀπελείφθη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πλὴν δέκα μόνων. ἦλλαξε δὲ τὴν ἐσθήτα ἐσ τὸ Κελτικόν, ἔξεπιστάμενος ἀμα καὶ τὴν φωνήν, καὶ διεδίδρασκε σὺν ἐκείνοις οἶα τις Κελτός, οὐ τὴν μακροτέραν ἐτι περιών, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ Ἀκυληίας, λήσεθαι νομίζων διὰ τὴν ὀλυγότητα.

98. Ἀλονσ δὲ ὑπὸ ληστῶν καὶ δεθείς, ἥρετο μὲν ὅτου Κελτῶν δυνάστου τὸ ἔθνος εἰ, μαθῶν δ' ὅτι Καμίλου, πολλὰ πεποιηκὼς εὗ τὸν Κάμιλον, ἀγείν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν Κάμιλον ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ ἀχθέντα ἰδὼν ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο μὲν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν καὶ τοῖς δήσασιν ἐπεμέμφετο ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἐνυπβρισσάσιν ἀνδρὶ τοσοῦτο, κρύφα δ' ἐπέστειλεν Ἀντωνῖφ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τι παθῶν ἐπὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ οὐχ ὑπέστη τὸν ἄνδρα ἢδειν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσε τῷ Καμίλῳ κτείναντα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκπέμψαι καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἰδὼν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς παροῦσι θάψαι. τούτο Δέκμῳ τέλος ἦν, ἵππαρχῃ τε Καίσαρος γενομένῳ καὶ ἄρξατι τὴς παλαιᾶς Κελτικῆς ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐτος

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homes, and after distributing among them the gold he had with him, proceeded toward the Rhine with 300 followers, the only ones who remained. As it was difficult to cross the river with so few, he was now abandoned by these also except ten. He put on Gallic clothing, and, as he was acquainted with the language, he proceeded on his journey with these, passing himself off as a Gaul. He no longer followed the longer route, but went toward Aquileia, thinking that he should escape notice by reason of the smallness of his force.¹

98. Having been captured by robbers and bound, he asked them who was the chief of this Gallic tribe. He was informed that it was Camilus, a man to whom he had done many favours; so he told them to bring him to Camilus. When the latter saw him led in, he greeted him in a friendly way in public, and scolded those who had bound him for putting an indignity on so great a man through ignorance; but secretly he sent word to Antony. Antony was somewhat touched by this change of fortune, and was not willing to see Decimus, but he ordered Camilus to kill him and send his head to himself. When he saw the head he ordered his attendants to bury it. Such was the end of Decimus, who had been Caesar’s praefect of horse and had governed Narbonensian Gaul under him and had been designated by him for the consul-

¹ Appian’s geography is much in need of amendment. It is impossible to trace the route taken by Decimus from this description.
ΚΑΠ. ὑπατεύει π᾽ αυτοῖ φευγετονομένης καὶ τῆς ἑτέρας Κελτικῆς ἀρχῆς. καὶ δεύτερος τῶν σφαγέων οὗτος ἐπὶ Τρεβωνίᾳ δίκην ἔδιδον μετ’ ἔναντόν ποι καὶ ἡμιον τῆς ἀναίρεσεως. τῷ δ’ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Μινούκιος Βάσιλεσ, σφαγεύς καὶ ὁδε Καῖσαρος, ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων ἀνηρέθη, εὐνουχίζων τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ.
ship the coming year and for the governorship of the Gaul. He was the next of the murderers after Trebonius to meet punishment, within a year and a half of the assassination. About the same time Minucius Basilus, another of Caesar's murderers, was killed by his slaves, some of whom he was mutilating by way of punishment.
Δ’

I

CAP. 1. Δύο μὲν δὴ Γαϊου Καίσαρος φονεῖς οὐτω δικη, ἐν ταῖς σφετέραις αὐτῶν στρατηγίας ἐκπολεμηθέντες, ἐδεδώκεσαν, ὑπειβὰμος ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Δέκιος ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ. ὅπως δὲ ἔδοσαν Κασσιών τε καὶ Βρούτος, οὗ καὶ μᾶλλον τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἥρξαν, καὶ γῆς ἐκράτους ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν ἀπάσης, καὶ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ πολὺς, ἵππικός τε καὶ ναυτικὸς καὶ ὄπλιτῶν ὑπὲρ εἰκοσι τέλη, καὶ νῆς ὅμοιο καὶ χρήματα, ἡ τετάρτη τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἦδε ὑποδείκνυσιν. ἀμα δὲ τοῦτοι ἐγένοντο αἱ ἐν Ἡρώμη τῶν ἐπὶ θυσίατο προγραφέντων ἐρευναὶ τε καὶ εὐρέσεις καὶ παθήματα πάμπαν ἐπαχθῆ, οἷοι ὦ σε ἐπὶ Ἑλληνῶν ἐν στάσεις ἡ πολέμιοι οὕτω ἐπὶ Ἡρωμαῖοι αὐτῶν ἐμπιστεύοντος γενέσθαι, πλὴν ἐπὶ μόνον Σύλλα τοῦ πρῶτοῦ τούς ἐχθροὺς ἐς θάνατον προγράψαντος. Μάριος μὲν γὰρ ἔξητε καὶ ἐκόλαξεν, οὔς εὐροῦν Σύλλας δὲ ὑπὸ μισθοῦ τε μεγάλοις καὶ κολάσεσι τῶν ἐπικρυφίντων ὁμοίως τόν ἐντυχόντα κτείνεις προέγραψεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Μάριον τε καὶ Σύλλαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων προειρητικοῖς, τὰ δὲ ἔξης οὕτως ἐγένετο.

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BOOK IV

I

1. Thus was punishment visited upon two of Caesar's murderers, who were conquered in their
own provinces, Trebonius in Asia and Decimus Brutus in Gaul. How vengeance overtook Cassius
and Marcus Brutus, who were the principal leaders in the conspiracy against Caesar, and who controlled
the territory from Syria to Macedonia, and had large forces of cavalry and sailors, and more than twenty
legions of infantry, together with ships and money, this fourth book of the Civil Wars will show. During
the progress of these events came the pursuit and capture of the proscribed in Rome and the sufferings
consequent thereon, the like of which cannot be recalled among the civil commotions or wars of the
Greeks, or those of the Romans themselves save only in the time of Sulla, who was the first to put his
enemies on a proscription list. For Marius searched for his and punished those whom he found, but Sulla
proclaimed large rewards to persons who should kill the proscribed and severe punishment to those who
should conceal them. But what took place in the time of Marius and Sulla I have previously narrated
in the history relating to them. The sequel to my previous book is as follows.
2. Καίσαρ μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιος ἐς φιλίαν ἀπ’ ἔχθρας συνήσεαν ἀμφὶ Μουτώνην πόλιν, ἐς νησίδα τοῦ Δαβιδίου ποταμοῦ βραχείαν τε καὶ ὑπτίαν, ἔχων ἐκάτερος ὀπλιτῶν τέλη πέντε· καὶ τάδε ἄλληλους ἀντικαθιστάντες ἔχορον σὺν τριακοσίοις ἐκάτερος ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ γεφύρας. Δέπιδος δ’ αὐτὸς προπλῆκτας διηρείων τὴν νῆσον καὶ τῇ χλαμυδῇ κατέσευεν ἦκεν ἐκάτερον. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρῶν τοὺς τριακοσίους μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀπολυπώντες ἐς τὸ μέσον ἰέσαν ἐν περιόπτῳ, καὶ συνήδευον οἱ τρεῖς, Καίσαρος ἐν μέσῳ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν προκαθίσαντος. δύο δὲ ἠμέρας ἔσωθεν ἐς ἐσπέραν συνιόντες τάδε ἐκριναν’ ἀποθέαθαι μὲν τὴν ὑπατὸν ἀρχὴν Καίσαρα καὶ Ὀυεντίδιον αὐτὴν ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἐτους μεταλαβεῖν, καὶ δὴ ἀρχὴν ἐς διόρθωσιν τῶν ἐμφυλίων νομοθετήσῃ τὸ Δέπιδο τε καὶ Ἀντώνιῳ καὶ Καίσαρι, ἣν ἐπὶ πενταετές αὐτοὺς ἄρχειν, ἵνα ἰχνύσαν ὑπάτοις· ὅτε γὰρ ἐδοξεῖ αὐτὶ δικτατόρων ὀνομάσαι, διὰ τὸ δόγμα ἵσως τὸ Ἀντώνιον κολύουν ἔτι γίγνεσθαι δικτάτορα. τοὺς δὲ ἀποφήναι μὲν αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντας ἐς τὰ ἐτής ἐπὶ τὴν πενταετίαν, τὰς δὲ ἡγεμονίας τῶν θυνῶν νειμαμένους, ἔχειν Ἀντώνιον μὲν τὴν Κελτικὴν ἄπασαν ἀνευ τῆς συναφῶς τοῖς Πυρηναίοις ὅρσεῖν, ἦν παλαιὰν ἐκάλοιον Κελτικῆν· ταύτης δὲ Δέπιδου ἄρχειν καὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐπὶ ταύτης Καίσαρι δὲ εἶναί Διβύνη καὶ Σαρδῷ καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλη νῆσος ἐνταῦθα.

3. Ὡδε μὲν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν οἱ τρεῖς ἐνείμαντο ἐφ’ ἕαυτοις, τὰ πέραν ἀρα τοῦ Ἡλίου μόνα ὑπερθέμενοι διὰ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον

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2. Octavian and Antony composed their differences on a small, depressed islet in the river Lavinius, near the city of Mutina. Each had five legions of soldiers whom they stationed opposite each other, after which each proceeded with 300 men to the bridges over the river. Lepidus by himself went before them, searched the island, and waved his military cloak as a signal to them to come. Then each left his three hundred in charge of friends on the bridges and advanced to the middle of the island in plain sight, and there the three sat together in council, Octavian in the centre because he was consul. They were in conference from morning till night for two days, and came to these decisions: that Octavian should resign the consulship and that Ventidius should take it for the remainder of the year; that a new magistracy for quieting the civil dissensions should be created by law, which Lepidus, Antony, and Octavian should hold for five years with consular power (for this name seemed preferable to that of dictator, perhaps because of Antony’s decree abolishing the dictatorship); that these three should at once designate the yearly magistrates of the city for the five years; that a distribution of the provinces should be made, giving to Antony the whole of Gaul except the part bordering the Pyrenees Mountains, which was called Old Gaul; this, together with Spain, was assigned to Lepidus; while Octavian was to have Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily, and the other islands in the vicinity thereof.

3. Thus was the dominion of the Romans divided by the triumvirate among themselves. Only the assignment of the parts beyond the Adriatic was...
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ'S ROMAN HISTORY

κρατοῦντας ἑτὶ αὐτῶν, Κασσίῳ δὲ καὶ Βρούτῳ πολέμειν Ἀντώνιόν τε καὶ Καϊσαρα. Δέπτιδον γὰρ ὑπατεύειν ἐς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τῇ πόλει διὰ ταύς ἐν αὐτῇ χρείας ὑπομένειν, ἡγεμονεύοντα τῆς Ἰβηρίας δὲ ἐτέρων τοῦ δὲ Δεπίδου στρατοῦ τρία μὲν αὐτῶν Δέπτιδον ἔχειν ἐς τὰ ἔπλοι Ῥώμης, ἐπὶ δὲ τέλη νείμασθαι Καϊσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον, τρία μὲν Καϊσαρα, τέσσαρα δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ὡς ὁν ἐς τῶν πόλεμων αὐτῶν ἐκάτερος εἰκοσια ἄγοι. ἐπελπίσαι δὲ ἦδη τῶν στρατίων ἐς τὰ νικητήρια τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλαὶ τε δωρεάαι καὶ ἐς κατοικίαν δόσει τῶν Ἰταλικῶν πόλεων ὀκτωκαίδεκα, αἱ καὶ περιουσία καὶ ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἶκοι εἰς κάλλος διαφέρουσαι ἐμελλον αὐτοῖς ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἶκοι αὐτῶ δια-

νεμίσεσθαι, ὡς περὶ αὐτοῖς ἁρτὶ τῆς πολέμιας δορίληττοι γενόμεναι. καὶ ἦσαν αἱ πόλεις ἄλλαι τε καὶ αἱ περιφανεστάται μάλιστα αὐτῶν Καπτὴ καὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ Ὅουνουσία καὶ Βευβεβτὸς καὶ Νουκερία καὶ Ἀρίμμυον καὶ Ἰππώνυν. οὕτω μὲν τα κάλλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας τῷ στρατῷ διε-

γαρφον, ἐδοξε δὲ σφίζει καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐξθρούς προανελεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐνοχλοῦεν αὐτοῖς τάδε καθι-

σταμένοις καὶ πολέμους πόλεμον ἐκδημον. τἀῦτα μὲν ἐδοξε, καὶ ταῦτα συνεγράψαντο· καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καϊσαρ ὡς ὑπάτος ἀνέγυῳ τοῖς στρατοῖς τὰ λοιπὰ χωρὶς τῶν ἀποθανομένων. οἱ δ' ἀκού-

ςαντες ἐπαιώνοις τὸν καὶ ἡσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ διαλλαγῇ.

4. Γεγονόμενοι δὲ τούτων τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα εὐ Ῥώμη πολλὰ καὶ φόβερα ἴν. κύνες τε γὰρ ἰὼρύντο ὀμαλῶς οἱ λύκοι, σύμβολοι ἀγαθὲς, καὶ λύκοι τὴν ἄγορὰν διέθεον, οὐκ ἐπιχωριάζον ἐν
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postponed, since these were still under the control of Brutus and Cassius, against whom Antony and Octavian were to wage war. Lepidus was to be consul the following year and to remain in the city to do what was needful there, meanwhile governing Spain by proxy. He was to retain three of his legions to guard the city, and to divide the other seven between Octavian and Antony, three to the former and four to the latter, so that each of them might lead twenty legions to the war. To encourage the army with expectation of booty they promised them, beside other gifts, eighteen cities of Italy as colonies—cities which excelled in wealth, in the splendour of their estates and houses, and which were to be divided among them (land, buildings, and all), just as though they had been captured from an enemy in war. The most renowned among these were Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Vibo. Thus were the most beautiful parts of Italy marked out for the soldiers. But they decided to destroy their personal enemies beforehand, so that the latter should not interfere with their arrangements while they were carrying on war abroad. Having come to these decisions, they reduced them to writing, and Octavian as consul communicated them to the soldiers, all except the list of proscriptions. When the soldiers heard them they applauded and embraced each other in token of mutual reconciliation.

4. While these transactions were taking place many fearful prodigies and portents were observed at Rome. Dogs howled continuously like wolves—a fearful sign. Wolves darted through the forum—an animal unused to the city. Cattle uttered a

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CAP. I. πόλει ἥρων, βοῶς τε φωνήν ἀφήκεν ἀνθρώποιν, καὶ βρέφος ἀρτίτοκον ἐφθέγξατο, καὶ τῶν ξοάνων τὰ μὲν ἰδρον, τὰ δὲ καὶ αἷμα ἰδρον, ἀνδρῶν τε μεγά- λαι βοαι καὶ κτύποι ὄπλων καὶ δρόμος ἵππων οὐχ ὀρωμένων ἥκοιτο. ἀμφι τε τὸν ἥλιον ἅγιη σημεία πολλά, καὶ λιθώδεις ἐγήγοντο ὑετοῖ, καὶ κεραυνοί συνεχεῖς ἐς ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐπιπτον. ἐφ' οίς ἦ μὲν βουλὴ θύτασ καὶ μάντεις συνήγεν ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν, τὰς πάλαι βασιλείας ἐπανήξιοι εἰπὼν, καὶ δουλεύσειν ἀπαντας χωρίς ἕαυτοι μόνον, τὸ στόμα κατέσχε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐος ἀπέθανεν.

II

CAP. II. 5. Οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἀνδρεὶς ἐφ' ἕαυτῶν γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀποθανουμένους συνέγραφον, τοὺς τε δυνατοὺς ύφορώμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς καταλέγοντες, οἰκείους τε σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡ φίλους ἐς τὴν ἀναλέσιν ἀντιδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ τότε καὶ ὑστερον. προσκατελέγοντο γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔτεροι μεθ' ἕτεροις, οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ἑχθρας, οἱ δὲ μόνον προσκρούματος ἡ φιλία ἐχθρῶν ἡ φίλων ἑχθρας ἡ πλοῦτοι δια- φέροντος. ἐδέσωντο γὰρ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρημάτων πολλών, Βρούτῳ μὲν καὶ Κασσίῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας φόρον δεδομένων τε καὶ προσδευμένων ἔτι καὶ βασιλέως καὶ σατραπῶν συμφερόντων, αὐτοῖ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας πολέμοι τε καὶ εἰσφοραῖς τετρυμένῃς

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human voice. A newly born infant spoke. Sweat issued from statues; some even sweated blood. Loud voices of men were heard and the clashing of arms and the tramp of horses where none could be seen. Many fearful signs were observed around the sun, there were showers of stones, and continuous lightning fell upon the sacred temples and images; and in consequence of these things the Senate sent for diviners and soothsayers from Etruria. The oldest of them said that the kingly rule of former times was coming back, and that they would all be slaves except only himself, whereupon he closed his mouth and held his breath till he was dead.

II

5. As soon as the triumvirs were by themselves they joined in making a list of those who were to be put to death. They put on the list those whom they suspected because of their power, and also their personal enemies, and they exchanged their own relatives and friends with each other for death, both then and later. For they made additions to the catalogue from time to time, in some cases on the ground of enmity, in others for a grudge merely, or because the victims were friends of their enemies or enemies of their friends, or on account of their wealth, for the triumvirs needed a great deal of money to carry on the war, since the revenue from Asia had been paid to Brutus and Cassius, who were still collecting it, and the kings and satraps were contributing. So the triumvirs were short of money because Europe, and especially Italy, was exhausted
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CAP. ἀπορούντες· δι' ἃ καὶ τοῖς δημόταις καί τοῖς γυναιξί· λήγοντες ἐπέγραψαν εἰσφοράς βαρυτάτας, καὶ τέλη πράσεων καὶ μισθώσεων ἐπενόησαν. ᾦδη δὲ τις καὶ διὰ κάλλος ἑπαύλεως καὶ οἰκίας προεγράφη. καὶ ἐγένοντο πάντες οἱ θανάτου τε καὶ δημεύσεως κατεγρωσμένοι ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καλουμένων ἵππεων ἐς δισχιλίους. καὶ ἦσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄδελ-φοί τε καὶ θείοι τῶν προγραφόντων, καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόνων, ὥσοι τι τοῖς ἀρχοῦσιν ἢ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι προσεκεκρούκεσαν.

6. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου διελθόντες ἐς Ὁρώμην προγράφειν ἔμελλον, δυσ-δεκα δὲ ἄνδρας, ή, ὡς ἔτεροι λέγουσιν, ἐπτακαί-δεκα, τοὺς μάλιστα δυνατούς, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Κικέρων, ἔδοξε προανελεῖν ἐπιτείμπαντας ἄφνω· καὶ τῶν μὲν τέσσαρες αὐτίκα ἀνηρέθησαν ἐν ἐστιάσει τε καὶ ὑπαντήσεις· ξητουμένων δὲ τῶν ἅλλων καὶ ἑρευνωμένων νεῶν τε καὶ οἰκίων, ἄφνῳ θόρυβος ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἦν καὶ βοῶς καὶ διαδρομαί μετ' οὐμωγῆς ὡς ἐν ἀλισκομένῃ πόλει. τῷ γὰρ ἐγνώσθαι μὲν ἀνδρολήψια γίγνεσθαι, μὴ προγεγράφθαι δὲ μηδένα τῶν προκατεγρωσμένων, πάς τις αὐτὸς ἥγειτο ξητεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν περι-θεόντων. οὕτω δὲ ἀπογινώσκοντες αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰ ἢδια, οἱ δὲ τὰ κοινὰ ἐμπρήσειν ἔμελλον, δρᾶσαι τι δεινῶν ἀλόγως αἱρούμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν· καὶ τάχα ἄν ἐδρασαν, εἰ μὴ Πέδιος αὐτοὺς ὃ ὑπάτος μετὰ κηρύκων περιθέων ἐπήλπιζε περιμείναντας 148.
by wars and exactions; for which reason they levied very heavy contributions from the plebeians and finally even from women, and contemplated taxes on sales and rents. By now, too, some were proscribed because they had handsome villas or city residences. The number of senators who were sentenced to death and confiscation was about 300, and of the knights about 2000. There were brothers and uncles of the triumvirs in the list of the proscribed, and also some of the officers serving under them who had had some difficulty with the leaders, or with their fellow-officers.

6. As they left the conference to proceed to Rome they postponed the proscription of the greater number of victims, but they decided to send executioners in advance and without warning to kill twelve, or, as some say, seventeen, of the most important ones, among whom was Cicero. Four of these were slain immediately, either at banquets or as they were met on the streets; and when search was made for the others in temples and houses, there was a sudden panic which lasted through the night, and a running to and fro with cries and lamentation as in a captured city. When it was known that men were being seized and massacred, although there was no list of those who had been previously sentenced, every man thought that he was the one whom the pursuers were in search of. Thus in despair some were on the point of burning their own houses, and others the public buildings, or of choosing some terrible deed in their frenzied state before the blow should fall upon them; and they would perhaps have done so had not the consul Pedius hurried around with heralds and encouraged them, telling them to wait till daylight.
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οδρ. ἐς ἐω τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μαθεῖν. ἀμα δὲ ἐφ παρὰ γνώμην τῶν τριῶν ἄνδρῶν προύγαφεν ὁ Πέδιος τοὺς ἔπτακαίδεκα ὡς μόνους τε αἰτίους δόξαντας εἶναι τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν καὶ μόνους κατεγνωσμένους, πίστεις τε τοῖς ἀλλοίς δημοσίας ἐποιεῖτο, ἀγνωσώ τὰ ἐγνωσμένα.

Καὶ Πέδιος μὲν ἐκ καμάτου τῆς νυκτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, 7. ἐσῆσαν δ' οἱ τρεῖς τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἀνα μέρος ἔκαστος αὐτῶν, ὁ Καίσαρ τε καὶ ὁ Ἀυτώνιος καὶ ὁ Δεπίδος, σὺν ταῖς στρατηγίσι τάξει καὶ ὀπλιτῶν ἔκαστος ἐνὶ τέλει. ὡς δὲ ἐσῆλθον, αὐτίκα μὲν ἡ πόλις ἡ πλῆρης ὀπλῶν τε καὶ σημείων διατεταγμένων ἐς τὰ ἐπίκαιρα, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων ἤγετο ἐκκλησία, καὶ δήμαρχος Πούπλιος Τίτιος ἐνομοθέτει καὶ καὶ ἅρχην ἐπὶ καταστάσει τῶν παρόντων ἐς πενταετές εἶναι τριῶν ἄνδρῶν, Δεπίδου τε καὶ Ἀυτώνιου καὶ Καίσαρος, ἵσου ἵσχυον ὑπάτως, (ἡν ἀν τις Ἑλλήνων ἄρμοστας ὀνομάσει, ὁ καὶ Δακεδαμόνιος τοῖς ἅρτα καθίσαμεν τὰ ὑπήκοαι ἐπίθετο ὄνομα,) οὐτε διαστήματος εἰς δοκίμασιν οὕτε κυρίας ἐς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἡμέρας προτεθείσης ἀλλ' αὐτίκα ἐκυρώτο ὁ νόμος. καὶ νυκτὸς ἄλλων, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔπτακαίδεκα, τριάκοντα καὶ ἅκατον ἄνδρῶν προγραφαί κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως προντίθεντο καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων ἄλλων πεντάκοντα καὶ ἅκατον. καὶ τις προσεθέτω τοῖς πάνω τῶν προσκαταγωγικομένων ἢ τῶν προανηρμένων ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, ἐς δόξαν τοῦ δικαίως ἀνθρήσκεια. διετέτακτο τε πάντων τὰς κεφαλὰς 150
and get more accurate information. When morning 

came Pedius, contrary to the intention of the 

triumvirs, published the list of seventeen as being 
deeled the sole authors of the civil strife and the 
only ones condemned. To the rest he pledged the 
public faith, being ignorant of the determinations of 
the triumvirs.

Pedius died in consequence of fatigue the fol-
lowing night, 7. and the triumvirs entered the city 
separately on three successive days, Octavian, Antony, 
and Lepidus, each with his praetorian cohort and one 
legion. As they arrived, the city was speedily filled 
with arms and military standards, disposed in the 
most advantageous places. A public assembly was 
forthwith convened in the midst of these armed 
men, and a tribune, Publius Titius, proposed a law pro-
viding for a new magistracy for settling the present 
disorders, to consist of three men to hold office for 
five years, namely, Lepidus, Antony, and Octavian, 
with the same power as consuls. (Among the Greeks 
these would be called harmosts, which is the name 
the Lacedaemonians gave to those whom they 
appointed over their subject states.) No time was 
given for scrutiny of this measure, nor was a fixed 
day appointed for voting on it, but it was passed 
forthwith. That same night, the proscription of 
130 men in addition to the seventeen was proclaimed 
in various parts of the city, and a little later 150 
more, and additions to the lists were constantly made 
of those who were condemned later or previously 
killed by mistake, so that they might seem to have 
perished justly. It was ordered that the heads of all 
the victims should be brought to the triumvirs at a 
fixed reward, which to a free person was payable in
CAP. ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς ἀνδράς ἐπὶ ῥητῷ κέρδει φέρεσθαι· καὶ ἢν τὸ κέρδος ἑλευθέρῳ μὲν ἄργυριον, θερά- ποντι δὲ ἑλευθερία τε καὶ ἄργυριον. παρέχειν δὲ ἢς ἔρευναν πάντας τὰ ἴδια. καὶ τὸν ὑποδεξάμενον ἢ κρύψαντα ἢ τὴν ἔρευναν οὐ παρασχόντα τοῖς ἰσοίς ἐνέχεσθαι. μηνύειν δὲ ἐκαστὰ τούτων τὸν ἐθέλοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰσοῖς κέρδεις.

8. Καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως ἡ προγραφή "Μάρκος Δέπιδος, Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος, Ὀκτάοιος Καῖσαρ, οἱ χειροτονηθέντες ἀρμόσαι καὶ διορθώσαι τὰ κοινά, οὕτως λέγουσιν ἐξ ἐνεκρίνεις ἡμῖν δι’ ἀπιστίαν οἱ πονηροὶ δεόμενοι μὲν ἡσαν ἔλευσιν, τυχόντες δὲ ἐγύγροντο τῶν ἐνεργεῖτων ἐχθρῶν, εἰτὰ ἐπίβουλοι, οὔτ’ ἂν Γάιον Καῖσαρα ἀνηρηκεσαν, οὐς ἐκείνος δορὶ λαβὼν ἐσωσέν ἐξέφω καὶ φίλους θέμενος ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ δωρεὰς προήγαγεν ἄθροῶς, οὔτ’ ἂν ἡμεῖς τοὺς ἐνυψίσασι καὶ πολεμίους ἀναγράψασιν ἡμᾶς ὀδε ἄθροῶς ἡναγκαξόμεθα χρῆσθαι. νῦν δέ, ἐξ ὧν ἐπιβεβουλεύμεθα καὶ ἐξ ὧν Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἐπαθεν, ἀπιστήσευτον ὅρον την κακίαν ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας, προλαβεὶν τὸν ἐχθρῶν ἢ παθεῖν αἰρόμεθα. μὴ δὴ τις τὸ ἔργον ἄδικον ἢ ὁμοῦ ἢ ἁμέτρου ἡγεῖσθω, ὁδὲ τοῦ Γάιου καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς οἰα πεπόνθαμεν ὅρον. Γάιον μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ὄντα καὶ ἄρχοντα ἱερῶν, καὶ τὰ φοβερῶτα Ἡρωμαίοις καθέλοντα τε ἔθνη καὶ κτησάμενον, καὶ πρώτων ἄνδρῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἡρα- κλείους ὄρους ἀπλώτου θαλάσσης ἀποτειράσαντα.
money and to a slave in both money and freedom. CHAP. II
All were required to afford opportunity for searching their houses. Those who received fugitives, or concealed them, or refused to allow search to be made, were liable to the same penalties as the proscribed, and those who informed against concealers were allowed the same rewards [as those who killed the proscribed].

8. The proscription was in the following words:

"Marcus Lepidus, Marcus Antonius, and Octavius Caesar, chosen by the people to set in order and regulate the republic, do declare that, had not perfidious traitors begged for mercy and when they obtained it become the enemies of their benefactors and conspired against them, neither would Gaius Caesar have been slain by those whom he saved by his clemency after capturing them in war, whom he admitted to his friendship and upon whom he heaped offices, honours, and gifts; nor should we have been compelled to use this wide-spread severity against those who have insulted us and declared us public enemies. Now, seeing that the malice of those who have conspired against us and by whose hands Gaius Caesar suffered, cannot be mollified by kindness, we prefer to anticipate our enemies rather than suffer at their hands. Let no one who sees what both Caesar and ourselves have suffered consider our action unjust, cruel, or immoderate. Although Caesar was clothed with supreme power, although he was pontifex maximus, although he had overthrown and added to our sway the nations most formidable to the Romans, although he was the first man to attempt the untried sea beyond the pillars of Hercules and was the discoverer of a country hitherto unknown to the
καὶ Ὀμαίους γῆν ἀγνωστον εὑρόντα, ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἰερῷ λεγομένῳ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὑπὸ ὄψεις θεῶν, κατέκανον εἰκοσι καὶ τρισὶ σφαγαίς ἐνυβρίσαντες, οἱ πολέμω ηλθέντες ὑπ’ ἐκείνου καὶ περισσόθεντες κληρονόμοι τε τινές αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας ἐγγραφέντες εἶναι· οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἔπε τῷ μύσε τῷ δόθεν τους ἐναγείς ἀντὶ κολάσεων ἐπὶ ἄρχας καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἔξεπεμψαν, αἰς ἐκεῖνοι χρόμενοι τὰ τε κοινὰ τὸν χρημάτων ἠρπασαν, καὶ στρατῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀγέρουσι καθ’ ἡμῶν καὶ ἔτερον αἰτοῦσι παρὰ βαρβάρων αἰς τῆς ἄρχης πολεμὼν, τἀς τε ὑπὸ Ὀμαίους πόλεις τάς μὲν ὦ πείδοντες ἐνεπηρήσαν ἢ κατέσκαψαν ἢ κατήρρευσαν, τἀς δὲ καταπλῆκαντες ἐπάγουσι τῇ πατρίδι καθ’ ἡμῶν.


10. “Κακεῖνοι μὲν τοσάδε πολιτῶν μυριάδας
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Romans, this man was slain in the midst of the senate-house, which is designated as sacred, under the eyes of the gods, with twenty-three dastardly wounds, by men whom he had taken prisoners in war and had spared, while some of them he had named as co-heirs of his wealth. After this execrable crime, instead of arresting the guilty wretches, the rest sent them forth as commanders and governors, in which capacity they seized upon the public money, with which they are collecting an army against us and are seeking reinforcements from barbarians ever hostile to Roman rule. Cities subject to Rome that would not obey them they have burned, or ravaged, or levelled to the ground; other cities they have forced by terror to bear arms against the country and against us.

9. "Some of them we have punished already; and by the aid of divine providence you shall presently see the rest punished. Although the chief part of this work has been finished by us or is well under control, namely the settlement of Spain and Gaul as well as matters here in Italy, one task still remains, and that is to march against Caesar's assassins beyond the sea. On the eve of undertaking this foreign war for you, we do not consider it safe, either for you or for us, to leave other enemies behind to take advantage of our absence and watch for opportunities during the war; nor again do we think that there should be delay on their account, but that we ought rather to sweep them out of our pathway, once for all, seeing that they began the war against us when they voted us and the armies under us public enemies.

10. "What vast numbers of citizens have they, on
CAP. II

ἡμῖν συναπώλλυσιν, οὕτε θεῶν νέμεσιν οὕτε φθόνον ἀνθρώπων ύφορόμενοι. ἦμεις δὲ πλῆθει μὲν οὐδεὶς χαλεπανοῦμεν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἔχθρους ἐπιλεξόμεθα πάντας, ὅσιοι διηνέχθησαν ἦμῖν ἢ ἐπεβοῦλευσαν, οὐδὲ ἐκ πλούτου πάντως ἡ περιουσίας ἢ ἀξιώσεως οὐδ' ὅσους ἔτερος πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἐκτεινε, τὴν πόλιν κάκεινος ἐν ἐμφυλίῳς καθιστάμενος, ἄν δ' Ἕλευξη προσεῖπατε δι' εὐπραξίαν, καίπερ ἀνάγκης οὕσης τριαὶ πλέονας ἔχθροὺς ἢ ἐνὶ εἶναι. ἀλλὰ μόνους δὴ τοὺς φαυλοτάτους τε καὶ πάντων αἰτιωτάτους ἀμφοῦμεθα. καὶ τόδε δι' ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἦσον ἡμῶν ἀνάγκη μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν διαφρομένων ὑμᾶς πάντας ἐν μέσῳ δεινὰ πάσχειν, ἀνάγκη δὲ τι καὶ τῷ στρατῷ γενέσθαι παραμύθιον ύβρισμένω τε καὶ παρωξυμένῳ καὶ πολεμῷ πρὸς τῶν κοινῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναγεγραμμένῳ. δυνηθέντες δ' ἂν, οὐς ἔγνωμεν, ἐξ ἐφόδου συλλαβεῖν, αἰροῦμεθα προγράψαι μᾶλλον ἡ ἀγνοοῦντας ἔτι συλλαβεῖν καὶ τόδε δι' ὑμᾶς, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁπλίταις ἡ διωργισμένας πλεονάζειν ἐς τοὺς ἀνευθύνους, ἀλλὰ ἀπηριθμημένους καὶ ὀρισμένους ἔχοντες ὀνομαστὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἀπέχωσται.

11. "Ἀγαθὴ τύχῃ τοῖνυν τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων τόδε τῷ διαγράμματι μηδεὶς δεχέσθω μηδένα μηδὲ κρυπτέτω μηδὲ ἐκκεπεπτέω ποι μηδὲ πειθέσθω χρήμασι. δς δ' ἂν ἡ σώσας ἡ ἐπικουρήσας ἡ συνειδώς φαινῇ. τούτων ἦμεῖς, οὐδεμίαν ὑπολογισάμενοι πρόφασιν ἡ συγγνώμη, ἐν τοῖς

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their part, doomed to destruction with us, disregarding the vengeance of the gods and the reprobation of mankind! We shall not deal harshly with any multitude of men, nor shall we count as enemies all who have opposed us or plotted against us, or those distinguished for their riches merely, their abundance, or their high position; nor shall we slay as many as another man who held the supreme power before us, when he, too, was regulating the commonwealth in civil convulsions, and whom you named the Fortunate on account of his success; and yet necessarily three persons will have more enemies than one. We shall take vengeance only on the worst and most guilty. This we shall do for your interest no less than for our own, for while we keep up our conflicts you will all be involved necessarily in great dangers, and it is necessary for us also to do something to quiet the army, which has been insulted, irritated, and decreed a public enemy by our common foes. Although we might arrest on the spot whomever we had determined on, we prefer to proscribe rather than seize them unawares; and this, too, on your account, so that it may not be in the power of enraged soldiers to exceed their orders against persons not responsible, but that they may be restricted to a certain number designated by name, and spare the others according to order.

11. "So be it then! Let no one harbour any one of those whose names are hereto appended, or conceal them, or send them away, or be corrupted by their money. Whoever shall be detected in saving, or aiding, or conniving with them we will put on the list of the proscribed without allowing

1 A pious formula like the Latin quod felix faustumque sit.
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CAP. ΠΡΟΥΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΙΘΕΜΕΘΑ. ἈΝΑΦΕΡΟΝΤΩΝ δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς οἱ κτείναντες ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς, οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι ἐπὶ δισμυρίαις δραχμαῖς Ἀττικαίς καὶ πεντακισχιλίαις ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης, ὁ δὲ δοῦλος ἐπὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ τοῦ σώματος καὶ μυρίαις Ἀττικαίς καὶ τῇ τοῦ δεσπότου πολιτείᾳ. τὰ δ’ αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς μηνύονσιν ἔσται. καὶ τῶν λαμβανόντων οὐδεὶς ἐγγεγράφηται τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ κατάδηλος ἦ”. ὡδὲ μὲν εἰχεν ἡ προγραφὴ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσον ἐσ ’Ελλάδα γλώσσαν ἀπὸ Λατίνης μεταβάλειν.

III

CAP. 12. ΠΡΩΤΟΣ δ’ ἦν ἐν τοῖς προγράφουσι Λέπιδος, καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς προγραφομένοις ὁ ἄδελφος ὁ Λέπιδου Παῦλος, καὶ δεύτερος ἦν τῶν προγραφόντων Ἀντώνιος καὶ δεύτερος τῶν προγραφομένων ὁ θεῖος ὁ Ἀντώνιοὺ Λεῦκιος, οἶδε μὲν, ὅτι πρῶτοι πολεμίους αὐτοὺς ἐνηψισαντο. τρίτος δὲ καὶ τέταρτος ἦν τῶν ἐν ἑτέρῳ πίνακι προκειμένων ἐσ τὸ μέλλον ὑπάτων Πλάγκου μὲν ὁ ἄδελφος Πλάτωνιος, Ἀσινίος δὲ ὁ πενθερὸς Κούνιος. καὶ οὐ κατ’ ἄξισθιν ἀρὰ μόνην οἶδε τῶν ἄλλων προσκυνεῖτο μᾶλλον ἡ ἔσες θάμβος καὶ δυσελπιστικαὶ, μηδένα ρύσεσθαι τῶν προσδοκῶν. ἢν δὲ καὶ Θωράνιος ἐν τοῖς προγραφομένοις, λεγόμενος ὑπὸ τινῶν ἐπιτροπεύειται Καίσαρος. ἀμα δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς αὐτὶ τε πῦλαι κατείχοντο καὶ ὁσιὶ ἄλλα τῆς πόλεως ἐξοδοὶ τε καὶ λιμένες ἡ ἔλη καὶ τέλματα ἡ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἐς φυγὴν ὑποτού ἢν ἢ ἐσ λαθραίος καταφυγάς. τὴν τε χώραν

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any excuse or pardon. Let those who kill the pro-
scribed bring us their heads and receive the follow-
ing rewards: to a free man 25,000 Attic drachmas
per head; to a slave his freedom and 10,000 Attic
drachmas and his master’s right of citizenship.
Informers shall receive the same rewards. In order
that they may remain unknown the names of those
who receive the rewards shall not be inscribed in our
registers.” Such was the language of the proscription
of the triumvirate as nearly as it can be rendered
from Latin into Greek.

III

12. Lepidus was the first to begin the work of
proscription, and his brother Paulus was the first on
the list of the proscribed. Antony came next, and
the second name on the list was that of his uncle,
Lucius Caesar. These two men had been the first
to vote Lepidus and Antony public enemies. The
third and fourth victims were relatives of the
consuls-elect for the coming year, namely, Plotius,
the brother of Plancus, and Quintus, the father-
in-law of Asinius. These four were placed at the
head of the list, not only on account of their
dignity as to produce terror and despair, so that
none of the proscribed might hope to escape.
Among the proscribed was Thoranius, who was said
by some to have been a tutor of Octavius. When
the lists were published, the gates and all the other
exits from the city, the harbour, the marshes, the
pools, and every other place that was suspected as
adapted to flight or concealment, were occupied by
soldiers; the centurions were charged to scour the
CAP. ἐπετέραπτο τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἐρευνᾶν περιθέουσι, καὶ ἐγύγνετο πάντα ὁμοῦ.

13. Εὐθὺς οὖν ἦν ἀνά τε τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἐκαστὸς πη συνελαμβάνετο, ἀνδρολήψια αἰφνίδια πολλὰ καὶ τρόποι τῶν φόνων ποικίλοι τῶν τε κεφαλῶν ἀποτομαὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ χάριν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν φυγαὶ τε ἀπρεπεῖς καὶ σχῆματα ἄτοπα ἐκ τοῦ πρῶν περιφανοῖς. κατέδυνον γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἔσφετα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς ὑπονόμους τάφρους ἐπὶ τὰ ἁκάθαρτα, οἱ δὲ ἐς καπνώδεις ὑπωροφίας ἡ τῶν τεγῶν ταῖς κεραμίσι βυομέναις ὑπεκάθηντο μετὰ σιγής βαδυτάτης. ἐδεδοίκεσαν γὰρ οὐχ ἠπνον τῶν σφαγῶν οἱ μὲν γυναῖκας ἡ παιδίς οὖν εὐμενῶς σφίσων ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐξελευθέρους τε καὶ θεράπους, οἱ δὲ καὶ δανεισμάτων χρήσται ἡ χώριων γείτονας ἐπιθυμία τῶν χωρίων. ἐπανάστασις γὰρ ἤ τάντως, ὡσα τέως ὑπούλα ἦν, ἀθρόα τότε ἐγύγνετο καὶ ἀθέμιστος μεταβολὴ βουλευτῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπάτων ἡ στρατηγῶν ἡ δημάρχων, ἔτι τάσις τάς ἀρχὰς μετιῶτων ἐν αὐταῖς γεγονότων, ἐς πόδας ἱδίον θεράπους ῥιπτουμένων σὺν ὀλοφύρρεστα καὶ σωτήρα καὶ κύριον τὸν οἰκέτην τιθεμένων. οἰκτιστὸν δὲ ἦν, ὅτε καὶ ταῦτα ὑποστάντες οὐκ ἔλεηθεν.

14. Ἰδεά τε πᾶσα κακῶν ἦν, οὐχ ὡς ἐν στάσεσιν ἡ πολέμου καταλήψεις· οὐ γὰρ, ὡς ἐν ἑκείνοις, τὸν μὲν ἀντιστασιώτην ἡ πολέμου ἐδεδοίκεσαν, τοὺς δ’ οἰκείους σφᾶς ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούσδε τῶν σφαγῶν μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν, οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοῦς ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ στάσει δεδομένας, σφῖσι δὲ αὐτίκα γεγομένους ἐξ οἰκείων.
surrounding country. All these things took place simultaneously.

13. Straightway, throughout city and country, wherever each one happened to be found, there were sudden arrests and murder in various forms, decapitations for the sake of the rewards when the head should be shown, and undignified flights in disguises which strangely contrasted with former splendour. Some descended into wells, others into filthy sewers. Some took refuge in chimneys. Others crouched in the deepest silence under the thickly-packed tiles of their roofs. For some were not less fearful of their wives and ill-disposed children than of the murderers, while others feared their freedmen and their slaves; creditors feared their debtors and neighbours feared neighbours who coveted their lands. There was a sudden outburst of previously smouldering hates and a shocking change in the condition of senators, consulars, praetors, tribunes (men who were about to enter upon those offices, or who had already held them), who threw themselves with lamentations at the feet of their own slaves, giving to the servant the character of saviour and master. But the most lamentable thing was that even after this humiliation they did not obtain pity.

14. Every kind of calamity was rife, but not as in ordinary sedition or military occupation: for in those cases the people had to fear only the members of the opposite faction, or the enemy, but could rely on their own households; but now they were more afraid of these than of the assassins, for as the former had nothing to fear on their own account, as in ordinary seditions or wars, they were suddenly transformed from domestics into enemies, either
πολεμίους, ἢ δὲ ὑπολογὺς ἔχθραν ἢ ὕπο τῶν ἐπικεκηρυγμένων σφίσι γερῶν ἢ διὰ τῶν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις χρυσῶν τε καὶ ἄργυρουν. ἀπίστως γὰρ δὴ διὰ ταῦτα ἄθροώς ἐκαστὸς ἐς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ σφέτερον κέρδος τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεον προντίθει· ὁ δὲ πιστὸς ἢ εὐνοὺς ἐδεδέει βοηθεῖν ἢ κρύπτειν ἢ συνειδέναι δι’ ὀμοιότητα τῶν ἐπιτιμίων. ἦς τε τὸ ἐμπαλίν αὐτοῖς τὸ πρὸτόν τῶν ἐπτακαίδεκα ἄνδρων δέους περιέστη. τότε μὲν γὰρ οὐ προγραφέντος οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ τινῶν ἄφων σύνλαμβανομένων πάντες ἐδεδοίκεσαν ὁμοία καὶ συνήσπιξον ἄλληλοις· ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα πάσιν ἔκδοται γεγένητο, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀμερίμνῳ περὶ σφῶν καὶ ἐπὶ κέρδει γενόμενοι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖς σφαγεύσιν ἔκυνηγέτουν. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ὁμιλος, οἱ μὲν τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἀναπуρμένων διήρπαξαν, καὶ τὸ κέρδος αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνέσεως τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐψυχαγόγει. οἱ δὲ ἐμφρονέστεροι τε καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς ἐτεθήπεσαν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως, καὶ ἣν αὐτοὺς παραλογίστησαν, ὅτε μάλιστα ἐνθυμηθείν, ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἄλλας τόλεμοι ἑλυμήναντο στάσεις καὶ περιέσωσαν ὁμόνοια, τὴν δὲ καὶ αἱ στάσεις τῶν ἄρχοντων προαπώλεσαν καὶ ὁ ὁμόνοια τοιάδε ἐργάζεται.

15. Ἐθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀμυνόμενοι ὡς οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄδικομένωι, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς λιμῷ τε ἐκουσάρα δαπανώντες καὶ βρόχοις χρώμενοι καὶ τὰ σώματα καταποντοῦντες ἡ ῥήπτοντες ὑπὸ τῶν τεγῶν ἡ ἐς πῦρ ἐναλλόμενοι ἡ τοῖς σφαγεύσιν 162
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

from some concealed hatred, or in order to obtain published rewards, or to possess themselves of the gold and silver in their masters' houses. For these reasons each one became treacherous to his master, preferring his own gain to compassion for him, and those who were faithful and well-disposed feared to aid, or conceal, or connive at the escape of the victims, because such acts made them liable to the very same punishments. This was quite different from the peril that befell the seventeen men first condemned. Then there was no proscription, but certain persons were arrested unexpectedly, and as all feared similar treatment all sheltered each other; but in the proscriptions some immediately became the prey of all, others, being free from danger themselves and eager for gain, became bloodhounds for the murderers for the sake of the rewards; while of the general throng, some plundered houses of the slain, and their private gains turned their thoughts away from the public calamities; others, more prudent and upright, were palsied with consternation. It seemed most astounding to them, when they reflected upon it, that while other states afflicted by civil strife had been rescued by harmonizing the factions, in this case the dissensions of the leaders had wrought ruin in the first instance and their agreement with each other had had like consequences afterwards.

15. Some died defending themselves against their slayers. Others made no resistance, considering the assailants not to blame. Some starved, or hanged, or drowned themselves, or flung themselves from their roofs or into the fire. Some offered themselves to the murderers or sent for them when they
ΚΑΠ. III

ἌΠΙΑΙΣ ὑπίσχοντες ἢ καὶ μεταπεμπόμενοι βραδύνοντας, ἐτεροι δὲ κρυπτόμενοι καὶ λαπαροῦντες ἀπρεπῶς ἢ διωθοῦμενοι τὸ κακὸν ἢ ὁνοῦμενοι. οἱ δὲ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἢ κατ' ἐπιθουλὴν, ἀπώλλυντο. καὶ δήλος ἦν ὁ μὴ προγραφεῖς νέκυς, ὅτε οἱ προσκέοιτο ἡ κεφαλὴ τῶν γαρ δὴ προγεγραμμένων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προντίθεντο παρὰ τοῖς βημασίων, ἐνθα ἔδει κομίσαντας ἀντιλαβεῖν τὰ ἀγαθά. ἢση δ' ἦν ἔτερων σπουδὴ καὶ ἀρετή, γυναικῶν τε καὶ παιδίων καὶ ἄδελφων καὶ θεραπόντων, περισφιόντων τε καὶ συμμηχωνώμενων πολλά καὶ συναποθησκόντων, ὅτε μὴ τύχοιεν ὃν ἐπενόουν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπανήρουν σφάς ἀνηρμένοις. τῶν δὲ ἐκφυγόντων οἱ μὲν ἢπο ναναγίων ἀπώλλυντο, ἐς πάντα σφίσει τῆς τύχης ἐπιβαροῦσης, οἱ δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν ἐκ παραλόγων ἐπὶ τε ἀρχάς τῆς πόλεως καὶ στρατηγίας πολέμων καὶ θριάμβους. οὕτωσι ο καιρὸς ἦν ἐκείνος ἐπίδειξις παραδοξολογίας.

16. Καὶ τάδε ἐγείρυνε τοῦκ ἐν ἱδιώτιδι πόλει οὔδὲ ἐν ὑσθενεὶ καὶ σμικρῷ βασιλείῳ, ἀλλὰ τὴν δυναστάτην καὶ τοσοῦτον ἔθνων καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἰγεμόνιδα διέσειεν ὁ θεός, ἐκ πολλοῦ ἄρα ἡ τῆς νῦν καθιστάμενος εὐταξίαν. ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν τοιάδε ἔτερα ἐν αὐτῇ κατά τε Σύλλαν καὶ ἐτι πρὸ ἐκείνου Γάιον Μάριον, ὅν ὀμοίως τὰ γνωριμοτάτα τῶν κακῶν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων ἀνελεξάμην, καὶ προσήν ἐκείνοις ἀταφίαν ταῦτα δὲ ἀξιώσει τε τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἀρετῇ καὶ τύχῃ, τῆς ἀρχῆς 164
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

delayed. Others concealed themselves and made abject entreaties, or tried to thrust aside the danger, or to buy themselves off. Some were killed by mistake, or by private malice, contrary to the intention of the triumvirs. It was evident that a corpse was not one of the proscribed if the head was still attached to it, for the heads of the proscribed were displayed on the rostra in the forum, where it was necessary to bring them in order to get the rewards. Equally conspicuous were the fidelity and courage of others—of wives, of children, of brothers, of slaves, who rescued the proscribed or planned for them in various ways, and died with them when they did not succeed in their designs. Some even killed themselves on the bodies of the slain. Of those who made their escape some perished by shipwreck, ill luck pursuing them to the last. Others were preserved, contrary to expectation, to become city magistrates, commanders in war, and even to enjoy the honours of a triumph. Such a display of paradoxes did this time afford.

16. These things took place not in an ordinary city, not in a weak and petty kingdom; but the evil deity thus shook the most powerful mistress of so many nations and of land and sea, and so brought about after a long period of time the present well ordered condition. Other like events had taken place in the time of Sulla and even before him in that of Caius Marius. The most notable of these calamities I have narrated in my history of those times, in which was the added horror that the dead were cast away unburied. The matters we are now considering are the more remarkable by reason of the dignity of the triumvirs and especially the character
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. III

συστησαμένου τε ἕστραυ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ γένος καὶ ὄνομα τὸ νῦν ἀρχον ἀφ’ ἐαυτοῦ καταληπτόντος, ἐπιφανεστέρα. ὥν τὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ τὰ χείρω γενόμενα ἐν μνήμη τε μᾶλλον ὄντα, ὅτι καὶ τελευταία γέγονεν, ἐπελεύσομαι νῦν, οὐ πάντα (οὐ γὰρ ἥξιαφήγητον ἀναίρεσις ἀπλὴ καὶ φυγὴ ἢ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τις συγγρόντων ὑστερον ἐπάνωδος ἢ ἐπανελθόντων ἀφανῆς καταβίωσις), ἀλλ’ ὅσα παραλογώτατα ὄντα μᾶλιστα ἂν ἐκπλήξει καὶ πιστεύειν ποιήσει τοῖς προλεγομένοις. πολλὰ δὲ ἔστι, καὶ πολλοὶ Ἦρωμαιν ἐν πολλαῖς βίβλοις αὐτὰ συνέγραψαν ἐφ’ ἐαυτῶν ὀλίγα δὲ ἕγω καθ’ ἐκάστην ἱδέαν, ἐς πίστιν ἐκάστης καὶ ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν τῶν νῦν παρόντων, ἐπὶ κεφαλαίον διὰ τὸ μῆκος ἀναγράψω.

IV

CAP. IV

17. Ἡρξατο μὲν δὴ τὸ κακὸν ἐκ συντυχίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀρχαίς ἐτὶ ὄντων, καὶ πρῶτος ἀνηρέθη δημαρχὸς Σάλουιος. ἴερὰ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἀσυλος ἐκ τῶν νόμων καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἱσχυεν, ὡς καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τινὰς ἐς τὰς φυλακὰς ἐμβαλεῖν. καὶ ἴν δέ ὁ δήμαρχος ὁ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ κεκωλυκώς εἶναι πολέμιον, ὑστερον δὲ συμπεπραχὼς ἐς πάντα Κικέρων. πυθόμενος δὲ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς τε συμφρονήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπείξους τοὺς ὁμείοντι ἐιστία ὡς 166
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

and good fortune of one of them, who established CHAP. III the government on a firm foundation, and left his lineage and the name which is now supreme after him. I shall now go over the most remarkable as well as the most shocking of these events, which are all the better to be remembered because they were the last of the kind. I shall not speak of all, however, because the mere killing, or flight, or subsequent return of those who were pardoned by the triumvirs at a later period and passed undistinguished lives at home, is not worthy of mention. I shall refer only to those which are most calculated to astonish by their extraordinary nature or to confirm what has already been said. These events are many, and they have been written in many books by many Roman historians successively. By way of summary, and to shorten my narrative, I shall record a few of each kind in order to confirm the truth of each and to illustrate the happiness of the present time.

IV

17. The massacre began, as it happened, among those who were still in office, and the first one slain was the tribune Salvius. His office was, according to the laws, sacred and inviolable, endowed with the greatest powers, so that tribunes have even imprisoned consuls. Salvius, too, was the tribune who had at first prevented the Senate from declaring Antony a public enemy, but later he had cooperated with Cicero in everything. When he heard of the agreement of the triumvirs, and of their hastening to the city, he gave a banquet to his
CAP. IV

οὐ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἔτι συνεσώμενος ἐσδραμόντων
dὲ ἐς τὸ συμπόσιον τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐξανίσ
tαντο σὺν θορύβῳ καὶ δέει, ὁ δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν
λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευεν ἥρμεϊν κατακλιθέντας, τῶν δὲ
Σάλουιον, ὡς εἴχη, τῆς κόμης ἐπισπάσας ὑπὲρ
τὴν τράπεζαν, ἐς ὅσον ἔχρηζε, τὴν κεφαλὴν
ἀπέτεμε καὶ τοῖς ἕνδοι αὐθίς ἐκέλευεν ἀτρεμεῖν,
ὡς ἔχουσι, μὴ θορύβου γενομένου πάθοιεν ὅμοια.
οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ οἷχομένου τοῦ λοχαγοῦ τεθητότες
ἀναυδοὶ μέχρι βαθυτάτης νυκτὸς, τῷ λοιπῷ τοῦ
δημάρχου σώματι συγκατέκευτο. δεύτερος δὲ
ἀνὴρ ἐθνησκε στρατηγὸς Μινούκιος, ἀρχαιρε-
σιάζων μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πυθόμενος δὲ ἐπιέναι τοὺς
ὀπλίτας ὑπενθήδησε καὶ περιθέων ἐτὶ καὶ ἐννοοῦ-
μενος, ὅποι διαλάθοι, τὴν ἐσθήτα ἐνήλλασσεν
ἐς τὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ἐσδραμῶν, τοὺς ὑπηρέτας
καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀποπέμψας. οἱ δὲ αἰδοὶ καὶ ἔλεφ
παραμένοντες εὐμαρέστερον ἀκοντεῖ ἐποίησαν
τοῖς σφαγεύσαι τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐρέων.

18. Ἀννάλην ἔτερον στρατηγὸν, τῷ παιδὶ μετ-
ιόντι ταμείαν συμπεριθέοντα καὶ τοὺς ψηφιον-
μένους παρακαλοῦντα, οἱ τε συνόντες φίλοι καὶ
οἱ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς φέροντες ἀπεδίδρασκον,
pυθόμενοι προσχεγράφηαι τοῖς πίναξι τὸν Ἀν-
νάλην. ὁ δὲ ἐς πελάτην ἐαυτοῦ τινα φυγών, ὁ
βραχὺ καὶ εὐτελὲς ἦν τέγος ἐν προαστείῳ καὶ διὰ
πάντα εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἐκρύπτετο ἀσφαλῶς,
μέχρι τοὺς σφαγέας ὁ νῦν αὐτοῦ, τὴν φυγὴν ἐς
tὸν πελάτην ὑποτοπῆσας, ὀδήγησεν ὑπὸ τὸ τέγος,
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friends, believing that he should not have many more opportunities for doing so. Soldiers burst in while the feast was going on, some of the guests started up in tumultuous alarm, but the centurion in command ordered them to resume their places and remain quiet. Then, seizing Salvius by the hair, just as he was, the centurion drew him as far as need be across the table, cut off his head, and ordered the guests to stay where they were and make no disturbance, unless they wished to suffer a like fate. So they remained even after the centurion's departure, stupefied and speechless, till the most silent watches of the night, reclining by the tribune's headless body. The second one slain was the praetor Minucius, who was holding the comitia in the forum. Learning that the soldiers were seeking him, he leapt up, and while he was still running about looking for a hiding-place he changed his clothes, and then darted into a shop, sending away his attendants and the insignia of his office. The attendants, moved by shame and pity, lingered near the place, and thus unintentionally made the discovery of the praetor more easy to his slayers.

18. Annalis, another praetor, was going around with his son, who was a candidate for the quaestorship, and soliciting votes for him. Some friends who accompanied Annalis, and those who bore his insignia of office, when they heard that he was on the list of the proscribed, ran away from him. Annalis took refuge with one of his clients, who had in the suburbs a small, mean apartment in every way despicable, where he remained safely concealed until his son, suspecting that he had fled to this client, guided the murderers to the place. The
ΑΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

CACP. καὶ παρὰ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν τε οὐσίαν ἔλαβε τοῦ πατέρος καὶ ἐς ἀγορανομῶν ἦρέθη. ἀναλύοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ μέθης στρατιώται τι προσκρούσαντες ἐκτείναν, οὐ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀνηρήκεσαν.

Θουράνιος δὲ οὗ στρατηγῶν μὲν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ ἐστρατηγηκῶς, πατὴρ δὲ νεανίου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀκολάστον, δυναστεύοντος δὲ παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ, τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἡξίου τὴν σφαγὴν ἐπισχείν οἰ πρὸς ὀλίγον, ἔτει αὐτοῦ ὁ νῦς αὐτῆς αἰτήσατο παρὰ Ἀντω-νίου. οἱ δὲ ἐπιγελάσαντες "ἡτησεν," εἶπον, "ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα." καὶ συνεῖς ὁ πρεσβύτης ἔτερον αὐτίκα βραχύτατον ἤτει διάστημα, μέχρις οὗ τὴν θυγατέρα ἴδοι· ἰδὼν δὲ ἐκέλευε μὴ μετασχεῖν τῶν πατρών, μὴ κάκειν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς αἰτήσατο παρὰ Ἀντωνίου. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τάδε τὴν οὐσίαν ἐς αἰσχρὰ δαπανήσαι καὶ κλοπῆς ἀλόντι φυγεῖν ἐκ καταδίκης.

19. Κικέρων δὲ, ὃς μετὰ Γάιον Κάισαρα ἵσχυ-σεν, ὅση γένοιτο ἂν δημαγωγοῦ μοναρχία, κατέγ-νωστο μὲν ἀμα τῷ παιδί καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν οὐκέλοις τε καὶ στα-σινωτάς καὶ φίλοις· φυγῶν δὲ ἐπὶ σκάφους οὐκ ἔφερε τὴν ἀνδρίαν τοῦ κλάδους, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἴδιον χωρίον, δι' ἣν ἱστορίαν τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους εἰδον, ἀμφὶ Καιήτην πόλιν τής Ἰταλίας, καταχθεῖς ἦρέ-μει. πλησιαζόντων δὲ τῶν ἐρευνομένων (τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ φιλοτιμότατα πάντων Ἀντωνίος τε ξῆται καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πάντες) ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ κόρακες ἐσπάντες ἐκλαβιζουν, ἐπεγείρουντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπνοῦ.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

triumvirs gave him his father's fortune and raised him to the aedileship. As he was returning home drunk he fell into a quarrel about something, and was killed by the same soldiers who had killed his father.

Thuranius, who was not then praetor but had been, and who was the father of a young man who was a scapegrace generally, but had great influence with Antony, asked the centurions to postpone his death for a short time, till his son could appeal to Antony for him. They laughed at him, and said, "He has already appealed, but on the other side." When the old man knew this he asked for another very short interval until he could see his daughter, and when he saw her he told her not to claim her share of the inheritance lest her brother should ask for her death also from Antony. It happened that this man too, after squandering his fortune in disgraceful ways, in the end was convicted of theft and sentenced to banishment.

19. Cicero, who had held supreme power after Caesar's death, as much as a public speaker could, was proscribed, together with his son, his brother, and his brother's son and all his household, his faction, and his friends. He fled in a small boat, but as he could not endure the sea-sickness, he landed and went to a country place of his own near Caieta, a town of Italy, which I visited to gain knowledge of this lamentable affair, and here he remained quiet. While the searchers were approaching (for of all others Antony sought for him most eagerly and the rest did so for Antony's sake), ravens flew into his chamber and awakened him from sleep by their croaking, and pulled off his
καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀπέσυρον ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἐὼς οἱ θεράποντες, σημηνάμενοι τὸ γυνόμενον εἶναι σύμβολον ἐκ του θεῶν, ἐσ φορεῖον ἐσθέμενοι τὸν Κικέρωνα αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἦγον διὰ λόχμης βαθείας λανθάνοντες. πολλῶν δὲ ἀνὰ μέρη διαθέοντον τε καὶ πυθανομένων, εἰ που Κικέρων ὁραθεῖ, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐπὶ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ ἐλέῳ πλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐξαναχθέντα ἔλεγον ἡδή, σκυτοτόμος δὲ πελάτης Κλωδίου, πικροτάτου τῷ Κικέρωνι ἐχθροῦ γεγονότος, Λαίνα τῷ λοχαγῷ σὺν ὅλοις ὕπνη τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἐδείξει. ὥ δὲ ἐπέδραμε τε καὶ θεράποντας ἰδῶν πολὺ πλεῖον τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ὀρμώντας ἐς ἄμυναν, στρατηγικῶς μάλα ἀνεβόησεν “ἐσελθέτωσαν ἐς τὸ χωρίον οἱ περὶ οὐράν λοχαγοὶ.”

Τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεράποντες ὡς ἐλευσομένων πλεύσων κατεπλήγησαν, 20. ὅ δὲ Λαίνας, καὶ δίκην τινὰ διὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ποτὲ κατωρθώκως, ἐκ τοῦ φορείου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπιστάσας ἀπέτεμεν, ἐσ τρὸς ἐπιπλήσσων καὶ ἐκδιατρίζων ὕπο ἀπειρίας· ἀπέτεμε δὲ καὶ τὴν χείρα, ὅ τοὺς κατὰ Ἀντωνίου λόγους οἰα τυράννου συγγράφων, ἐσ μίμημα τῶν Δημοσθένους, Φιλιππικοὺς ἐπέγραφεν. ἔθεον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ἵππων, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν, αὐτίκα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Ἀντωνίῳ διαφέροντε· καὶ ὁ Λαίνας ἐν ἀγορᾶ προκαθήμενῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χείρα μακρόθεν ὑνέσειεν ἐπιδεικνύσι. ὥ δὲ ἦσθη μάλιστα καὶ τὸν λοχαγὸν ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ πλέοσι τῶν ἀθλῶν ἐδωρήσατο πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυρίάσιν Ἀττικῶν δραχμῶν ὡς μέγιστον δὴ τόνδε πάντων ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολεμώτατὸν οἱ
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

bed-covering, until his servants, divining that this was a warning from one of the gods, put him in a litter and again conveyed him toward the sea, going cautiously through a dense thicket. Many soldiers were hurrying around in squads inquiring if Cicero had been seen anywhere. Some people, moved by good-will and pity, said that he had already put to sea; but a shoemaker, a client of Clodius, who had been a most bitter enemy of Cicero, pointed out the path to Laena, the centurion, who was pursuing with a small force. The latter ran after him, and seeing slaves mustering for the defence in much larger number than the force under his own command, he called out by way of stratagem, "Centurions in the rear, to the front!"

Thereupon the slaves, thinking that more soldiers were coming, were terror-stricken, and Laena, although he had been once saved by Cicero when under trial, drew his head out of the litter and cut it off, striking it three times, or rather sawing it off by reason of his inexperience. He also cut off the hand with which Cicero had written the speeches against Antony as a tyrant, which he had entitled Philippics in imitation of those of Demosthenes. Then some of the soldiers hastened on horseback and others on shipboard to convey the good news quickly to Antony. The latter was sitting in front of the tribunal in the forum when Laena, a long distance off, shewed him the head and hand by lifting them up and shaking them. Antony was delighted beyond measure. He crowned the centurion and gave him 250,000 Attic drachmas in addition to the stipulated reward for killing the man who had been his greatest and most bitter enemy.

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CAP. IV. γενόμενου ἀνελόντα. ἡ κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος καὶ ἡ χειρ ἐν ἀγορᾷ τοῦ βῆματος ἀπεκρέματο ἐπὶ πλείστον, ἦθα πρότερον ο Κικέρων ἐδημηγόρευ τινι πλείοις ὑπόλοιποι συνέθεοι ἡ ἀκρωμενοι. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διαίτης τοῦ Ἀντώνιος τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος θέσθαι πρὸ τῆς τραπέζης, μέχρι κόρον ἔσχε τῆς θέας τοῦ κακοῦ.

"Ωδε μὲν ἐκείρων, ἐπὶ τὰ λόγους αὐτὸν ἔστιν ἀνήπορη, καὶ ἄρτε ἢ χεῖρ τῆς ὑπατον ἀρχὴν, ἔστιν μέγιστα τῇ πατρίδι γεγονοῦς χρῆσιμος, ἀνήρτο καὶ ἀναρημένος ἐνυβρίζετο ο ἐκ παιδί ἑστὶ τῆς Ἐλλάδα προαπέσταλτο ἐκ Βρυοτοῦ. Κόμπτος δὲ, ὁ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀδελφος, ἀμα τῷ παιδὶ καταλυθεῖ έδεετο τῶν σφαγέων πρὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελείν τὰ δὲ ἐναντία καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἰκετεύοντο, οἱ σφαγεῖς ἔφασαν ἀμφοτέροις διαιτήσεις καὶ διαλαβόντες ἔστερον ἔστεροι κατὰ σύνθημα φονεῖς ἀνείλον ὁμοίοι.

21. Ἐγνάτιοι δὲ, πατὴρ καὶ νιώς, συμφυέντες ἀλλήλους διὰ μᾶς πληγῆς ἀπέθανουν καὶ αὐτῶν αἱ κεφαλαὶ μὲν ἀπετέμητον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σώματα ἔτι συνεπεπλεκτο. Ἡλίβος τὸν νιών, ἴνα μὴ βαδίζουτες ὁμοίοι φαυνοῦν γένους, προὔπεμψαν ἐς φυγήν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγον ἐπέτεο ἐκ διαστήματος ἐξαγγείλαντος δὲ τινὸς, εἴτε ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς εἰθ᾽ ὡς ἀγνοίας, τὸν νιών συνειλήθησα, ἐπανήλθε καὶ τοὺς σφαγεῖς μετεπεμψατο. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὸν παιδὰ ἀπολέσθαι ναναγώ, αὕτω ταῖς τότε συμφοραῖς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπέκειτο. Ἀρροῦντος τὸν νιών, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενον φεύγειν χωρὶς αὐτοῦ, μόλις ἔπεισεν ὡς νέον περισφότειν ἑαυτῶν.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

The head and hand of Cicero were suspended for a long time from the rostra in the forum where formerly he had been accustomed to make public speeches, and more people came together to behold this spectacle than had previously come to listen to him. It is said that even at his meals Antony placed the head of Cicero before his table, until he became satiated with the horrid sight.

Thus was Cicero, a man famous even yet for his eloquence, and one who had rendered the greatest service to his country when he held the office of consul, slain, and insulted after his death. His son had been sent in advance to Brutus in Greece. Cicero's brother, Quintus, was captured, together with his son. He begged the murderers to kill him before his son, and the son prayed that he might be killed before his father. The murderers said that they would grant both requests, and, dividing themselves into two parties, each taking one, killed them at the same time at a given signal.

21. The Egnatii, father and son, while embracing each other, died by one blow, and their heads were cut off while the remainder of their bodies was still locked together. Balbus sent his son in advance of himself in flight toward the sea in order that they might not be too conspicuous travelling together, and he followed at a short interval. Somebody told him, either by design or by mistake, that his son had been captured. He went back and delivered himself to the murderers. It happened, too, that his son perished by shipwreck. Thus did evil destiny increase the calamities of the time. Aruntius had a son who was not willing to fly without his father. The latter with difficulty persuaded him to
καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἡ μήτηρ ἔπι τὰς πύλας προύπεμψε καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν, ἵνα ἀνηρμένον τὸν ἄνδρα θά-ψεις. πυθομένη δὲ καὶ τὸν νῦν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης διεφθάρθη λιμφῶ διεχρήσατο ἕαυτὴν.

ΑἬδε μὲν δὴ παίδων ἁγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν ἐστῶν εἰκόνες. 22. ἀδελφοὶ δὲ δύο ὅμοι προγραφέντες, οἷς οἴνομα ἦν Δυγάριοι, ἐκρύπτουσιν ὑπὸ ἱππῷ, μέχρι τῶν θεραπόντων αὐτούς ἀνευρόντων ὃ μὲν αὐτίκα ἀνηρέθη, ὁ δὲ ἐκφυγὼν, ἑπεῖ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐγὼν διεθαρμένον, ἔρριψεν αὐτόν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῆς γεφύρας ἐς τὸ ῥέμα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἀλλίων περισχόντων ὃς οὐκ ἐναλάμενον, ἀλλὰ πεπτωκότα, ἐς πολὺ μὲν ἐφιλονίκει καὶ ἑαυτόν ἐς τὸ ῥέμα ἐώθηκε, ἡσσόμενος δὲ τῶν ἀλλίων περιεγύγυντο καὶ "οὐκ ἐμὲ," ἔφη, "περισσότερον, ἀλλ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἐμοὶ προγεγραμμένῳ συναπόλλυε." οἱ δὲ καὶ ὃς αὐτὸν οἰκτείραντες περιέσφαξον, μέχρι τινὲς τῶν στρατιώτων, οἱ τὴν γέφυραν ἔτηρον, ἱδόντες ἐπέδραμον τε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμον. ἔτερων δὲ ἀδελφῶν ὃ μὲν αὐτὸν ἔρριψε κατὰ τοῦ ῥέματος, καὶ θεράπων αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἀνεξήτει μέχρι πέμπτης ἡμέρας, εὐρὼν δὲ ἔτι γνωρίζεται δυναμένου, τὴν κεφαλὴν διὰ τὸ ἀθλον ἀπέκοψεν τὸν δὲ ἔτερον ἐν κοπρῷ κρυπτόμενον ἔτερος ἐμήνυσε θεράπων, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς εἰσελθεὶν μὲν ἀπτηξίσαν, δόρασι δὲ περικεντοῦντες ἔξηγαγον καὶ, ὡς ἔχει, τὴν κεφαλὴν οὐδὲ ἀπονύσαντες ἀπέκοψαν. ἔτερος δὲ, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ συλλαμβανομένου, προσδραμὼν ἁγνοία τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἄμα ἐκεῖνῳ προγεγράφθαι, "ἐμέ," ἔφη, "κτείνατε πρὸ τοῦτον."
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

seek his safety because he was young. His mother accompanied him to the city gates and returned only to bury her slain husband. When she learned that her son also had perished at sea she starved herself to death.

Let these serve as examples of sons good and bad. 22. As for brothers, two of the name of Ligarius, being proscribed together, hid themselves in an oven till their slaves found them, when one of them was killed and the other fled; when he learned that his brother had perished he threw himself from the bridge into the Tiber. Some fishermen seized him thinking that he had fallen into the water instead of leaping in. He stoutly resisted rescue and tried to throw himself into the river again; but when he was overcome by the fishermen he exclaimed "You are not saving me, but ruining yourselves by helping one who is proscribed." Nevertheless they had pity on him and saved him until some soldiers who were guarding the bridge saw him, ran to him, and cut off his head. One of two other brothers threw himself into the river and one of his slaves searched for the body five days. At last he found it, and as it was still possible to recognize it, he cut off the head for the sake of the reward. The other brother had concealed himself in a dung-heap and another slave betrayed him. The murderers disdained to go into the heap, but thrust their spears into him and dragged him out, and then cut off his head, just as he was, without even washing it. Another one seeing his brother arrested ran up to him, not knowing that he was himself proscribed also, and said, "Kill me
καί ὁ λοχαγὸς ἔχων τὸ ἀκριβῆς ἀνάγραπτον, 
"εἰκότα ἄξιοῖς," ἐφη: "σὺ γὰρ πρὸ τοῦτον 
γέγραψαι," καὶ εἰπών κατὰ τὴν τάξιν ἐκτείνειν 
ἀμφότεροι.

23. Ταῦτα μὲν δὲ καὶ ἄδελφων δείγματα. 
Δυνάμει δὲ ἡ γυνὴ κρύπτουσα μίαν ἐς τὸ ἀπόρ-
ρητον ἐπηγάγετο θεράπαινα, προδοθεὶσα δὲ υπ' 
αὐτῆς εἴπετο τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἄνδρος φερομένη 
βοῶσα: "ἔγω τούτων ὑπεδεξάμην, τὰ δ' ὁμοία 
τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις ἐστὶν ἐπίτιμα." καὶ οὐδενὸς 
αὐτὴν οὐτε ἀναιροῦντος οὐτε μηνύοντος, αὐτάγ-
γελος ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἦλθε καθ' ἑαυτῆς, κάκει-
νων αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν φιλανδρίαν ὑπεριδότουν, 
ἑαυτὴν ἀπέκτεινε λειψάνῳ. καὶ τῆς δὲ μὲν ἐνθάδε 
ἐπεμυσθησθαν, ὅτι τὸν ἄνδρα περισσόζουσα ἄπ-
ετύγχανε τε καὶ συνεξῆγαγεν ἑαυτῆν' ὥσαὶ δὲ 
ἐπέτυχον τῆς φιλανδρίας, ἐν τοῖς περισσωθεῖσι 
τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἀναγράφω. ἔτερα δὲ ἀθεμίστως 
ἐπεβούλευσαν τοῖς ἄνδράσιν. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐστιν, 
ἡ Σεπτίμιος μὲν ἐγεγάμητο, ὑπὸ δὲ τινὸς Ἀντωνίως 
φίλου διεφθείρετο· ἐπευγομένη δὲ ἐκ μοιχείας ἐς 
γάμον ἐδείη διὰ τοῦ μοιχεύοντος αὐτῆς Ἀντω-
νίου, καὶ ὁ Σεπτίμιος αὐτίκα τοὺς πίναξι προσε-
τέθη. καὶ μαθῶν ἐς τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπ' ἁγνοῖας τῶν 
οἰκῶν κακῶν ἐφευγεν. ἡ δὲ ὡς φιλοφρονομένη τὰς 
θύρας ἐπέκλειεν καὶ ἐτήρητο τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐὼς οἱ 
σφαγεῖσι παρεγένοντο· καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας οἱ 
μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἀνήρουν, ἡ δὲ ἔθυε γάμους.
before him."¹ The centurion, having the proscription list at hand, said, "Your request is a proper one, for your name comes before his." And so saying, he killed both of them in due order.

23. The above may serve as examples in the case of brothers. Ligarius was concealed by his wife, who communicated the secret to only one female slave. Having been betrayed by the latter, she followed her husband's head as it was carried away, crying out, "I sheltered him; those who give shelter are to share the punishment." As nobody killed her or informed of her, she came to the triumvirs and accused herself before them. Being moved by her love for her husband they pretended not to see her, so she starved herself to death. I have mentioned her in this place, because she failed to save her husband and would not survive him. I shall refer to those who were successful in their devotion to their husbands when I speak of the men who escaped. Other women betrayed their husbands infamously. Among these was the wife of Septimius, who had an amour with a certain friend of Antony. Being impatient to exchange this illicit connection for matrimony, she besought Antony through her paramour to rid her of her husband. Septimius was at once put on the list of the proscribed. When he learned this, in ignorance of this domestic treachery he fled to his wife's house. She, as though with loving anxiety, closed the doors, and kept him until the murderers came. The same day that her husband was killed she celebrated her new nuptials.

¹ ἐμὲ κτελνατε πρὸ τοῦτου. This may mean, "kill me before him," or "kill me instead of him." The latter was the meaning intended, but the centurion interpreted it the other way for the sake of the jest.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. IV. 24. Σάλασσος δὲ ἐκφυγὼν τε καὶ ἀπορούμενος ἦκε μὲν ἐσ τόλιν νυκτὸς, ὅτε μάλιστα ἔδοξεν ἀμβλύνεσθαι τὸ δείνον, πεπραμένης δὲ τῆς οἰκίας μόνος αὐτῶν ὁ θυρωρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ συμπεπραμένος ἐπέγυν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐαυτοῦ οἰκήμα ὑπεδέχετο καὶ κρύψειν ἑπεγγέλλετο καὶ θρέψειν, ἔξ ὄν ἑδύνατο. ὁ δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα οἱ καλέσαι προσέταξεν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης οἰκίας. ἥ δ᾽ ὑποκριναμένη μὲν ἐλθείν ἐπείγεσθαι, δεδείνα δ᾽ ὡς ἐν νυκτί καὶ θεραπαίνας τὸ ὑπόπτον, μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἥξειν ἔφη. καὶ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἡ μὲν τοὺς σφαγέας μετηκεῖ, καὶ ὁ θυρωρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς βραδύνουσαν ἡ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέτρεχεν ἐπείξων ὁ δὲ Σάλασσος, οἰχομένου τὸν θυρωρὸν δείπνας ὡς ἐς ἐνεδραν ἄπιοντος, ἐς τὸ τέγος ἄναδραμὼν ἐκαραδόκει τὸ γυνόμενον, ἰδὼν δὲ ὡς τὸν θυρωρόν, ἄλλα τὴν γυναῖκα τοῖς σφαγεύσιν ἤγουμεν ἔρρυψεν ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους. Φουλβίου δὲ ἐς θεραπαίνης φυγόντα παλλακευθείσης τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπηλευθερωμένης καὶ προῖκα ἔς γάμου ἐπιλαβοῦσης, ἥ τοσάδε εὐ παθοῦσα προύδωκε ζηλοτυπία τῆς μεθ᾽ ἑαυτὴν τῷ Φουλβίῳ γεγαμημένης.

Τοσάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ γυναικῶν πονηρῶν ὑπο- δείγματα γεγράφθω. 25. Στάτιος δὲ ὁ Σαυνίτης, πολλὰ Σαυνίταις ἐν τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ κατεργασμένος, διὰ δὲ περιφάνειαν ἐργῶν καὶ διὰ πλούτου καὶ γένους ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων Βουλευτῆριον ἀνακεκλημένος, ὄγδοοκοντοῦτης ὃν ἦδη καὶ διὰ πλούτου προγεγραμμένος, ἀνεπέτασε τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐκφορεῖν, ὡς τὰ θέλοιεν,
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

24. Salassus escaped, and, not knowing what to do with himself, came back to the city by night, thinking that the danger had mostly passed away. His house had been sold. The janitor, who had been sold with the house, was the only one who recognized him, and he received him in his room, promising to conceal him and feed him as well as he could. Salassus told the janitor to call his wife from her own house. She pretended to be very desirous to come, but to be fearful of the night and distrustful of her servants, and said that she would come at daybreak. When daylight came she went for the murderers, and the janitor, because she was delaying, ran to her house to hasten her coming, and Salassus, when he had gone out, feared that he had gone to lay a plot against him, and went up to the roof to watch what would happen. Seeing not the janitor but his wife bringing the murderers, he precipitated himself from the roof. Fulvius fled to the house of a female servant, who had been his mistress, and to whom he had given freedom and a dowry on her marriage. Although she had been so well treated by him she betrayed him on account of jealousy of the woman whom Fulvius had married after his relations with her.

Let the above suffice as examples of depraved women. 25. Statius, the Samnite, who had had great influence with the Samnites during the social war and who had been raised to the rank of a Roman senator for his noble deeds, his wealth, and his lineage, and who was now eighty years of age, was proscribed on account of his riches. He threw open his house to the people and to his own slaves to carry away whatever they pleased. He also scattered...
APPRIAN’S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς διερρίπτει, μέχρι κεκενωμένης ἐπικλείσιας ἐνέπρησε καὶ ἀπώλετο, καὶ τὸ πῦρ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄλλα ἐπενείματο. Καπίτων δὲ ἐς πολὺ τὰς θύρας ὑπανοίγον τοὺς ἐσβιαζομένους καθ’ ἑνά ἀνήρει, υπὸ δὲ πολλῶν ἐπιβρισάντων εἶς ἀπέθανε πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας. Οὐετολύνος δὲ χείρα ἡθοισε πολλὴν ἀμφὶ τὸ Ῥήγιον αὐτῶν τὲ τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅσοι συνέφευγον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα πόλεων, αἱ τοῖς στρατοίς ἐπινίκια ἐπηγγελμέναι πάνω ἐδυσχέραινον. τοῦσδε οὖν ἔχον ὁ Οὐετολύνος ἀνήρει τῶν λοχαγῶν τοὺς διαθέοντας, μέχρι πεμφθέντος ἐπ’ αὐτὸν στρατοῦ πλέον οὖν ὃς ἐλήξεν, ἀλλ’ ἐς Σικελίαν πρὸς Πομπήιον, κρατοῦντα τε αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς φεύγουτας ὑποδεχόμενοι, ἐπέρασεν. ἐῖτα ἐπολέμηκε καρτερῶς, μέχρι πολλαῖς μάχαις ἡσσώμενος τὸν μὲν υἱὸν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἄλλοι συνήσαν, ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης ἐπεμψαν, αὐτὸς δὲ, ὡς εἶδε πορθμεύομενον ἕηθι τὸ σκάφος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίως κατεκόπτῃ.

26. Νάσων δὲ ὑπὸ ἐξελευθέρου, παιδικῶν οἱ γενομένου, προδοθὲς ἡρπασε παρὰ τοῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔφος καὶ τοῦ προδὸτας μόνον ἀποκτείνας ἐαυτὸν τοῖς σφαγεύσω ὑπέσχε. φιλοδέσποτος δὲ ὁικέτης τῶν κεκτημένων ἐπὶ λόφου έκάθισε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἤει μισθωσόμενος αὐτῶ σκάφος. ἐπανιών δὲ κτεινόμενον τε εἰδὲ τὸν δεσπότην καὶ ἀποψύχοντος ἕηθη μέγα βοῦν “ἐπὶ μεινον ἐς βραχύ, ὥ δεσποτα,” εἶπε καὶ κτείνει τὸν λοχαγὸν ἐμπεσῶν ἀφ’ οὗ. μετὰ δὲ 182
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his property around with his own hand. When at chap. IV last the house was empty he closed the doors, set fire to it, and perished, and the fire spread to many other parts of the city. Capito, through his half-opened door, for a long time resisted those who had been sent against him, killing them one by one. Finally, he was overpowered by numbers and slain after killing single-handed many of his assailants. Vetulinus assembled around Rhegium a large force of the proscribed and those who had fled with them, and others from the eighteen cities which had been promised as rewards of victory to the soldiers and who were indignant at such treatment. With these men Vetulinus slew the centurions who were scouting thereabouts, until a larger force was sent against him, and even then he did not desist, but passed over to Sicily and joined Sextus Pompeius, who was master of that island and who received the fugitives. There he fought bravely until he was defeated in several engagements. Then he sent his son and the remainder of the proscribed who were with him to Messana, and when he saw that their boat was passing the straits he dashed upon the enemy and was cut in pieces.

26. Naso, having been betrayed by a freedman who had been his favourite, snatched a sword from one of the soldiers, and, having killed his betrayer with it, surrendered himself to the murderers. A slave who was devoted to his master left the latter on a hill while he went to the sea-shore to hire a boat. On his return he saw his master being killed, and while he was breathing his last the slave called out to him, "Wait a moment, my master," whereupon he fell suddenly upon the

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CAP. IV ἐκεῖνον ἐαυτὸν ἐπαναίρων εἶπε τῷ δεσπότῃ· "παραμόθινον ἐχεῖς." Λεύκιος δὲ δῦν πιστοτάτοις ἀπελευθέρως χρυσίων δοῦς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἦει, διαδράντων δὲ ἐκεῖνων ὑπέστρεψε καταγινώσκων τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐαυτὸν ἐμήνυσε τοῖς σφαγέωι. Λαβινὸς δὲ ἐν ταῖς Σύλλα προγραφαῖς πολλοὺς τῶν τότε συλλαβῶν τε καὶ κτείνας ἠδόξησεν ἀρα, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὁμοία γενναίως ἐνέγκου, καὶ προελθὼν τῆς οἰκίας ἐκαθέξετο ἐπὶ θρόνου τοὺς σφαγέας περιμένων. Κέστιος δὲ ἐν χωρίοις παρά εὐνόοις θεράπουσιν ἐκρύπτετο, λοχαγῶν δ' αἰεὶ σὺν ὀπλοῖς ἢ κεφαλαῖς διαθεόντων οὐκ ἔφερε τὸ μῆκος τοῦ φόβου, ἀλλ' ἔπεισε τοὺς θερῶντας ἢψαί πυράν, ἵνα ἔχοι σφαγέως, ὅτι Κέστιον ἀποθανότας θάτρων. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνεδρευόντες ἦσαν, οὗ δὲ ἐσήλατο ἐς αὐτὴν. Ἀπώνιος δὲ ἀσφαλῶς ἐαυτὸν ἐπικρύψας οὐκ ἤγεγκε τὴν πονηρίαν τῆς διαιτῆς, ἀλλὰ προήγαγεν ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγήν. ἀλλος ἐν φανερῷ καθήστω ἐκών καὶ βραδυνόντων τῶν σφαγέων ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν μέσῳ.

27. Λεύκιος δὲ ὁ Ἀσινίος τοῦ ὑπατεύοντος τότε πενθερὸς, φεύγων διὰ θαλάσσης, οὐ χεῖρων τοῦ χειμῶνος τὴν ἀπόδοι τίρησε ἐκατόν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. Κασίνιον δὲ οἱ διώκοντες, ὑποφεύγοντά τε καὶ βοῶντα οὐ προγεγράφθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ χρῆματα ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τὸν πίνακα ἀγαγόντες ἀναγινώσκειν ἐαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἐκέλευον καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντα ἔκτειναν.

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centurion and slew him. Then he killed himself, saying to his master, “Now you have consolation.” Lucius put money in the hands of his two most faithful freedmen and started for the sea-shore. They ran away with it, and he turned around, despairing of his life, and gave himself up to the murderers. Labienus, who had captured and killed many persons in the time of the proscription of Sulla, thought that he would be disgraced if he did not bear a like fate bravely. So he went to his front door, seated himself in a chair, and waited for the murderers. Cestius concealed himself in the fields among faithful slaves. When he saw centurions running hither and thither with weapons and the heads of the proscribed he could not endure the prolonged fear. He persuaded the slaves to light a funeral pyre, so that they might say that they were paying the last rites to the dead Cestius. They were deceived by him and lighted the pyre accordingly, whereupon he leaped into it. Aponius concealed himself securely, but, as he could not endure the meanness of his mode of existence, he came forth and delivered himself to slaughter. Another proscript voluntarily seated himself in full view, and, as the murderers delayed their coming, he strangled himself in public.

27. Lucius, the father-in-law of Asinius, who was then consul, fled by sea, but, as he could not bear the anguish of the tempest he leaped overboard. Caesennius fled from his pursuers, exclaiming that he was not proscribed, but that they had conspired against him on account of his money. They brought him to the proscription list and told him to read his name on it, and while he was reading killed him.

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Αἰμίλιος δὲ ἄγνωσθα, ὦτι προγέγραπται, διωκό-
μενον ἄλλον ἱδῶν ἤρετο τὸν λοχαγὸν τῶν διώ-
κοντα, τίς ὁ προγεγραμμένος εἶη. καὶ ὁ λοχαγὸς
τὸν Αἰμίλιον γνωρίσας "σὺ κάκεινος" ἐίπε καὶ
τοῦς δύο ἀπέκτεινε. Κύλλων δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευ-
τήριου προἴων καὶ Δέκιος, ἐπεὶ τοὺς πίναξιν ἐπύ-
θοντο σφῶν τὰ όνόματα προσγεγράφθαι, ὅπως
τινὸς ἐπίστος αὐτοῖς, ἔφευγον ἀκόσμως διὰ
πυλῶν, καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀπαντῶσι τῶν λοχαγῶν
αὐτῶς ὁ δρόμος ἐμήνυσεν.

Ικέλιος δὲ, ὃς ἐπὶ Βρούτῳ· τε καὶ Κασσίῳ
δικάζων, Καύσαρος τοῖς δικαστηρίοις μετὰ στρα-
τίας ἐφεστῶτος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δικαστῶν κρύφα
τὴν καταδικάζουσαν φερόντων, μόνος τῆς ἀπο-
λύσεως ἦνεγκε φανέρως, ἐκλαθόμενος τῆς μεγα-
λόφρονος ἐλευθερίατος, νεκρὸν σῶμα ἔκκομι-
ζόμενον ὑποστὰς τοῖς φέρουσι συνεβάσταξε τὸ
λέχος. ἴδοντων δὲ τῶν φρουροῦντων τὰς πύλας,
ὅτι πλεονάζουσιν οἱ νεκροφόροι παρὰ τὸ σύνθες
ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φέροντας οὐχ ὑπονοοῦντων,
τὸ δὲ λέχος ἐρευνομένων, μὴ νεκρὸν τις ὑποκρί-
νοιτο, οἱ νεκροφόροι τὸν Ἰκέλιον ἤλεγχον οὐχ
ὁμότεχνον σφύσιν οὕτα, ἐπιγνωσθέντα τε οἱ
σφαγεῖς ἀπέκτειναν.

28. Οὐάρος δὲ ἀπελευθέρων προδιδότος αὐτῶν
ἀπέδρα, καὶ ὅρος ἐξ ὅρους ἀμείβων ἐς τὸ Μιντουρ-
ναίων ἔλος ἐνέπεσεν, ἐνθα ἐαυτὸν διαναπαύσῃ
ἡσύχαξε. τῶν δὲ Μιντουρναίων ἐπὶ ζητήσει
λῃστηρίου τὸ ἔλος περιβεόντων, ἡ τε κόμη τοῦ
δόνακος σαλευθεῖσα ἐνέφηνε τῶν Οὐάρου, καὶ

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Aemilius, not knowing that he was proscribed and being another man pursued, asked the pursuing centurion who the proscribed man was. The centurion, recognizing Aemilius, replied, "You and he," and killed them both. Cillo and Decius were going out of the senate-house when they learned that their names had been added to the list of the proscribed, but no one had yet gone in pursuit of them. They fled incontinent through the city gates, and their running betrayed them to the centurions whom they met on the road.

Icelius, who was one of the judges in the trial of Brutus and Cassius, when Octavian was supervising the tribunal with his army, and who, when all the other judges deposited secret ballots of condemnation, alone publicly deposited one of acquittal, now unmindful of his former magnanimity and independence, put his shoulder under a dead body that was being conveyed to burial, and took a place among the carriers of the bier. The guards at the city gates noticed that the number of corpse-bearers was greater by one man than usual, but they did not suspect the bearers. They only searched the bier to make sure that it was not somebody counterfeiting a corpse, but, as the bearers convicted Icelius as not being a member of their trade, he was recognized by the murderers and killed.

28. Varus, who was betrayed by a freedman, ran away, and after wandering from mountain to mountain came to the marsh at Minturnae, where he stopped to take rest. The inhabitants of Minturnae were scouring this marsh in search of robbers, and the agitation of the reeds revealed the hiding-place of Varus. He was captured and
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CAP. IV

ληθεύσες ἔλεγεν ἐναι ληστής καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δὲ 
θανάτῳ καταδικαζόμενος ἦνεχέτο. ὡς δὲ αὐτὸν ἔμελλον καὶ βασανίζειν ἐς τοὺς συνεγκωκότας, 
οὐκ ἐνεγκών ἢ διὰ τοῦτο ὡς ἀπρεπέστερον, "ἀπα- 
γορεύω," φησίν, "ὑμῖν, ὁ Μιντουρναῖοι, ὑπατόν 
μὲ γεγενημένον, καὶ, ὃ τοῖς νῦν ἀρχοῦσι τιμωτέρον 
ἔστι, προηγεραμμένον μὴ βασανίζειν μὴ 
ἀναρεῖν ἔτη εἴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐνι μοι διαφυγεῖν, 
ἀμεινοὺ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοτίμων παθεῖν." ἀπιστούν-
των δὲ τῶν Μιντουρναίων καὶ τῶν λόγων ὑπο-
νοοῦντων λοχαγός ἐπέγνω διαθέων καὶ τήν κεφα-
λήν ἀπέτεμε, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα τοῖς Μιντουρ-
ναίοις κατέλιπε.

Δάργον ἐτεροὶ συνελάμβανον ἐν χωρίοις, οὐ 
Δάργον, ἀλλ’ ἐτεροὶ διωκοῦντες οὐκτείραντες δ’, 
ὅτι μὴ ξηπτούμενος ἀλοίπη, φεύγειν μεθήκαν ἀνα 
τὴν ὀλυν. ὡς ὑφ’ ἐτερών διωκόμενος δρόμῳ 
τοὺς προτέρους κατέλαβε καὶ "ὑμεῖς," ἔφη, "μὲ 
κτείνατε μᾶλλον, οἱ ἐλεήσαντες, ἵνα τὸν μισθὸν 
ἀντὶ τούτων ὑμεῖς φέρησθε."

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦταν ἔδωκεν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποθυγμένων 
φιλανθρωπίας, 29. Ρούφος δὲ ἔχουν συνοικίαν 
περικαλλής, γείτωνα Φοιλβίας τῆς γυναικὸς Ἦπατον, 
πάλαι μὲν ἄξιοῦσί τῇ Φοιλβίᾳ 
πρίσσαι τὴν οἰκίαν ὅπως συνεχόρει, τότε δὲ καὶ 
δωρούμενος προσεράφη. 
καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ μὲν 
Ἤπατον ὁ δὲ οἱ προσφερομένην οὖν ἐκατὼ 
προσήκειν 
εἰπὼν ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὴν γυναίκα, ὡς ὁ 
ἀντὶ τῆς 
ἀγορᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τῆς συνοικίας προσεβήσα 
ἐπαυλὶν ἐτερος εἴχε περικαλλή καὶ σύσκιον, 
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said that he was a robber. He was condemned to death on this ground and resigned himself, but as they were preparing to subject him to torture to compel him to reveal his accomplices, he could not bear such an indignity. "I forbid you, citizens of Minturnae," he said, "either to torture or to kill one who has been a consul and—what is more important in the eyes of our present rulers—also proscribed! If it is not permitted me to escape, I prefer to suffer at the hands of my equals." The Minturnians did not believe him. They discredited his story until a centurion, who was scouting in that neighbourhood, recognized him, and cut off his head, leaving the remainder of his body to the Minturnians.

Largus was captured in the fields by soldiers who were pursuing another man. They took pity on him because he had been captured when they were not seeking him, and allowed him to escape in the forest. Being pursued by others, he ran back to his first captors, saying, "I would rather that you, who had compassion on me, should kill me, so that you may have the reward instead of those men."

Thus Largus recompensed them with his death for their kindness to him. As for Rufus, he possessed a handsome mansion near that of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, which she had wanted to buy, but he would not sell it, and although he now offered it to her as a free gift, he was proscribed. His head was brought to Antony, who said it did not concern him and sent it to his wife. She ordered that it be fastened to the front of his own house instead of the rostra. Another man had a very handsome and well-shaded country-place
APPION'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. IV.

ἄντρον τε καλὸν ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ βαθὺ, καὶ τάχα διὰ ταύτα καὶ προνυγραφή. ἔτυχε δὲ ἀναψύχων κατὰ τὸ ἄντρον, καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν σφαγέων ἔτι μακρόθεν ἐπιθεότων θεράπων αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν μυχὸν τοῦ ἄντρου προπέμψας ἐνέδυ τὸν τοῦ δεσπότου χιτώνισκον καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο ἐκεῖνος εἰναι καὶ δεδιέναι καὶ τάχα ἄν ἐπέτυχεν ἀναιρεθές, εἰ μὴ τῶν ὀμοδούλων της ἐνέφηνε τὴν ἐνέδραν. ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ ὧδε τοῦ δεσπότου, ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχονσιν οὐκ ἐπαύετο, μέχρι τὸν μὲν ἐνδείξαντα κρεμασθῆναι, τὸν δὲ περισώσαντα ἐλευθερώσασι ἐποίησεν. Ἄτεριον δὲ κρυπτόμενον θεράπων ἐμῆνυσε τε καὶ ἐλεύθερος αὐτῖκα γενόμενος ἀντωνεῖτο τοῖς παισίν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνύβριζεν ἐπαχθῶς. οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ πανταχῇ μετὰ σιγῆς εὐποντο κλαίοντες, ἐξός ὁ δῆμος ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς αὐτὸν, ὡς πλεονάσαντα τῆς χρείας, ἀνεδούλωσαν τοῖς παισὶ τοῦ πρωγεγραμμένου.

V.

CAP. V.

30. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἀνδράς τοιάδε ἐγίγνυτο, ἦψατο δὲ καὶ ὅρφανῶν διὰ πλούτων ἡ τότε τύχη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτῶν αὐτῷ παιδαγωγῶσι συνανηρέθη, τὸν παιδὰ περισχομένῳ τε καὶ οὐ μεθιέντι. Αὐτίκος δὲ ἄρτι τὴν τῶν τελείων περιβέμενος στολὴν ἤει μὲν, ὡς ἔδος ἐστὶ, σὺν πομπῇ φίλων ἐπὶ θυσίας ἐς τὰ ἱερά, ἀφ' ὅν ἐδὲ 190
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in which was a beautiful and deep grotto, on account of which probably he was proscribed. He was taking the air in this grotto when the murderers were observed by a slave, as they were coming toward him, but still some distance off. The slave conveyed him to the innermost recess of the grotto, dressed himself in his master's short tunic, pretended that he was the man and simulated alarm, and would have been killed on the spot had not one of his fellow-slaves exposed the trick. In this way the master was killed, but the people were so indignant that they gave the triumvirs no rest until they had obtained from them the crucifixion of the slave who had betrayed his master, and the freedom of the one who had tried to save him.

A slave revealed the hiding-place of Haterius and obtained his freedom in consequence. He bid against the sons at the sale of the dead man's property, and insulted them grossly. They followed him everywhere with silent tears till the people became exasperated, and the triumvirs made him again the slave of the sons of the proscript, for overdoing his part.

V

30. Such were the miseries of grown men, but the calamity extended to orphan children on account of their wealth. One of these, who was going to school, was killed, together with his attendant, who threw his arms around the boy and would not give him up. Atilius, who was just assuming the man's toga, went, as was customary, with a procession of friends to sacrifice in the temples.
CAP. ἐγγραφέντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς πίναξιν οἱ φίλοι καὶ οἱ θεράποντες διεδίδρασκον. ὁ δὲ μόνος καὶ ἔρημος ἐκ δαψιλοῦς παραπομπῆς ἐς τὴν μητέρα ἐχώρευ· οὔ δὲξαμένης δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἐκείνης ὑπὸ δέους, οὐκ ἅξιόσας ἔτι ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν ἐτέρου μετὰ μητέρα, ἐς ὅρος ἐφυγε· ὅθεν ὑπὸ λεμοῦ ἐς τὰ πεδινὰ κατελθὼν ἐλήφθη πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ληστεύου τοὺς παροδεύοντας καὶ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ καταδεῖχαι ἐθισμένου. οὐδὲ δὲ παῖς ἐκ τρυφῆς τῶν πόνων οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἐς τὴν ἀμαξίτων αὐταῖς χοινικίσαι διέδρα καὶ παροδεύοντι λοχαγοῖς ἐαυτὸν ἐμήνυσε τε καὶ ἀνηρέθη.

31. Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων Δέπτιδος ἔπει Ἰβηρσιῶν ἑθριάμβευε, καὶ προνέπη διάγραμμα οὕτως ἔχον· "ἀγαθὴ τύχη προερήσθω πάσι καὶ πάσαις θύειν καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν παροῦσαν· δεδή ἂν μὴ φαίνηται ταῦτα πολὺν· ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἐσται." ὁ μὲν δὴ τὸν ὑπομβοῦσ᾽ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ἀνήγγει λαμπρὰ, παραπεμπόντων αὐτὸν ἀπάντων μετὰ σχήματος ἱλαροῦ καὶ γνώμης δυσμενοῦ πιάνου τῶν δὲ προγεγραμμένων τὰ ἐν τοῖς οἰκίαις διεφορεῖται, καὶ οὐ πολὺς ἢν οὐ τὰ χωρία ὕπνουμενος, οἱ μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν τοῖς ἡμεροθαλάσσισι αἰδούμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἐν αἰσθήσεις σφίσι τὰ ἐκεῖνα ἐσεθαί νομίζοντες οὐδὲ ἀσφαλεῖς ὅλως χρυσῶν ἢ ἀργυρίων ἔχουσι ὑπαίθρια ὑπαίθριον τὸν μᾶλλον τὰ· οὗτα ἐτικίνδυνα· μόνοι δὲ οἱ διὰ θρασύτητα προσόντες, ἀτέ μόνοι, βραχυτάτου πάμπα πάμπαν ἤπωντο. ὅθεν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐπίστασιν
His name being put on the proscription list un-
expectedly, his friends and servants ran away.
Left alone, and bereft of his fine escort, he went
to his mother. She was afraid to receive him. As
he did not consider it safe to ask help from anybody
else after his mother had failed him, he fled to
a mountain. Hunger drove him down to the plain,
where he was captured by a highwayman, accustomed
to rob passers-by and set them to work in factories.
The delicate boy, unable to endure the toil, escaped
to the high roads with his fetters, revealed himself
to some passing centurions, and was killed.

31. While these events were taking place Lepidus
enjoyed a triumph for his exploits in Spain, and
an edict was displayed in the following terms: "May
Fortune favour us. Let it be proclaimed to all
men and women that they celebrate this day with
sacrifices and feasting. Whoever shall fail to do
so shall be put on the list of the proscribed."
Lepidus led the triumphal procession to the Capitol,
accompanied by all the citizens, who showed the
external appearance of joy, but were sad at heart.
The houses of the proscribed were looted, but
there were not many buyers of their lands, since
some were ashamed to add to the burden of the un-
fortunate. Others thought that such property would
bring them bad luck, or that it would not be at all
safe for them to be seen with gold and silver in
their possession, or that, as they were not free
from danger with their present holdings, it would
be an additional risk to increase them. Only the
boldest spirits came forward and purchased at the
lowest prices, because they were the only buyers.
Thus it came to pass that the triumvirs, who had
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32. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὸν δῆμον εἰπόντες προὔγραφον χιλίας καὶ τετρακοσίας γυναῖκας, αἱ μάλιστα πλούτῳ διέφερον· καὶ αὐτὰς ἔδει, τὰ ὄντα τιμωμένα, ἐσφέρειν ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας, ὅσον ἐκάστην οἱ τρεῖς δοκιμάσειαν. ἐπεκείντο τε ταῖς ἀποκρυψαμέναις τι τῶν ὄντων, ἢ τιμησαμέναις κακῶς ἐπιτίμα καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα μηνύουσιν ἐλευθεροίς τε καὶ δούλοις μήνυτρα. αἳ δὲ γυναικὲς ἔκριναν τῶν προσηκουσῶν τοῖς ἂρχουσι γυναικῶν δεσθήναι. τῆς μὲν δὴ Καίσαρος ἀδελφῆς οὐκ ἀπετύγχανον, οὔδὲ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀντωνίου. Φουλβίας δὲ, τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίου, τῶν θυρῶν ἀπωθοῦμεν χαλεπῶς τὴν ὑβριν ἡγεγικαν, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τῶν ἄρχοντων ὀσάμεναι, δισταμένων τοῦ τε δῆμου καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων, ἔλεγον, Ὀρτησίας ἐς τούτο προκεχειρισμένης. "ὁ μὲν ἠμοζε δεομέναις ὑμῶν γυναιξὶ τοιαύτη, ἐπὶ τὰς γυναικας ὑμῶν κατεφύγομεν· ὃ δὲ οὐχ ἠμοζε, ὅποι Φουλβίας παθοῦσαι, ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν συνεσώμεθα ὑπ` αὐτῆς. ὑμεῖς δ` ἡμᾶς ἀφεῖλεςθε μὲν ἠδη γονέας τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἀνδρας καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἐπικαλοῦντες, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἡδίκησθε· εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ χρήματα προσαφέλουσθε, περιστήσετε εἰς ἀπρέπειαν ἀναζύην γένους καὶ τρόπων καὶ φύσεως γυναικείας. εἰ μὲν δὴ τι καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, οἶον ὅποι τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἡδίκησθαί φατε, προγράψατε καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐκείνους. εἰ δὲ οὐδένα ὑμῶν αἱ γυναικὲς οὐτε πολέμουν ἐψηφισάμεθα οὔτε καθεῖ·
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hoped to realize a sufficient sum for their preparations for the war, were still short by 200,000,000 drachmas.

32. The triumvirs addressed the people on this subject and published an edict requiring 1400 of the richest women to make a valuation of their property, and to furnish for the service of the war such portion as the triumvirs should require from each. It was provided further that if any should conceal their property or make a false valuation they should be fined, and that rewards should be given to informers, whether free persons or slaves. The women resolved to beseech the women-folk of the triumvirs. With the sister of Octavian and the mother of Antony they did not fail, but they were repulsed from the doors of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, whose rudeness they could scarce endure. They then forced their way to the tribunal of the triumvirs in the forum, the people and the guards dividing to let them pass. There, through the mouth of Hortensia, whom they had selected to speak, they spoke as follows: "As befitted women of our rank addressing a petition to you, we had recourse to the ladies of your households; but having been treated as did not befit us; at the hands of Fulvia, we have been driven by her to the forum. You have already deprived us of our fathers, our sons, our husbands, and our brothers, whom you accused of having wronged you; if you take away our property also, you reduce us to a condition unbecoming our birth, our manners, our sex. If we have done you wrong, as you say our husbands have, proscribe us as you do them. But if we women have not voted any of you public enemies, have not torn down your houses, destroyed your

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ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY

CΑΡ. λομεν οικίαν ἡ στρατὸν διεφθείραμεν ἡ ἐπηγάγω-

méν ἔτερον ἡ ἁρχὴς ἡ τιμῆς τυχεῖν ἐκωλύσαμεν, τί

κοινωνοῦμεν τῶν κολάσεων αἱ τῶν ἀδικημάτων οὐ

μετασχοῦσαι;

33. “Τί δὲ ἐσφέρωμεν αἱ μήτε ἁρχὴς μήτε τιμῆς

μήτε στρατηγίας μήτε τῆς πολιτείας ὅλως, τῆς

ὑμῶν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἢδη κακοῦ περιμαχήτου, μετέ-

χουσαι; ὅτι φατὲ πόλεμον εἶναι; καὶ πότε οὐ

γεγόνασι πόλεμοι; καὶ πότε γυναῖκες συνεισήγα-

καν; ἢς ἡ μὲν φύσις ἀπολύει παρὰ ἀπασίν

ἄνθρωποις, αἱ δὲ μητέρες ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν

ἔσηνεγκάν ποτε ἄπαξ, ὅτε ἐκινδυνεύετε περὶ τὴ

ἀρχὴ πάση καὶ περὶ αὐτῆ τῇ πόλει, Καρχηδονίων

ἐνοχλοῦντων. καὶ τότε δὲ ἐσήνεγκαν ἐκοῦσαι, καὶ

οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς ἡ χωρίων ἡ προικὸς ἡ οἰκίων, ὁν

χωρίς ἀβιωτὸν ἔστιν ἐλευθέραις, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ μόνων

τῶν οἰκού κόσμων, οὐδὲ τούτων τιμωμένων οὐδὲ

ὑπὸ μηνύσαις ἡ κατηγόροις οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἡ

βίαι, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐβούλοντο αὐταῖ. τὶς οὖν καὶ νῦν

ἔστιν ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς ἁρχῆς ἡ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος φό-

βος; ἐν τοῖς Ἡ Κελτῶν πόλεμος ἡ Παρθναιῶν,

καὶ οὐ χείρον ἐς σωτηρίαν ἐσώμεθα τῶν μητέρων.

ἐς δὲ ἐμφυλίους πολέμους μήτε ἐσενεγκαίμεν ποτὲ

μήτε συμπράξαμεν ὑμῖν κατ’ ἄλληλων. οὐδὲ γὰρ

ἔπι Καίσαρος ἡ Πομπηίου συνεφέρομεν, οὐδὲ

Μάριος ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ Κίννας ἡνάγκασεν οὐδὲ Σύλλας,

ὁ τυραννήσας τῆς πατρίδος; ὑμεῖς δὲ φατε καὶ

καθίστασθαι τὴν πολιτείαν.”

34. Τοιαῦτα τῆς Ὀρτησίας λεγούσης, οἱ τρεῖς

ἡγανάκτουν, εἰ γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν ἕσυχαξόντων

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army, or led another one against you; if we have not hindered you in obtaining offices and honours,—why do we share the penalty when we did not share the guilt?

33. "Why should we pay taxes when we have no part in the honours, the commands, the state-craft, for which you contend against each other with such harmful results? 'Because this is a time of war,' do you say? When have there not been wars, and when have taxes ever been imposed on women, who are exempted by their sex among all mankind? Our mothers did once rise superior to their sex and made contributions when you were in danger of losing the whole empire and the city itself through the conflict with the Carthaginians. But then they contributed voluntarily, not from their landed property, their fields, their dowries, or their houses, without which life is not possible to free women, but only from their own jewellery, and even these not according to fixed valuation, not under fear of informers or accusers, not by force and violence, but what they themselves were willing to give. What alarm is there now for the empire or the country? Let war with the Gauls or the Parthians come, and we shall not be inferior to our mothers in zeal for the common safety; but for civil wars may we never contribute, nor ever assist you against each other! We did not contribute to Caesar or to Pompey. Neither Marius nor Cinna imposed taxes upon us. Nor did Sulla, who held despotic power in the state, do so, whereas you say that you are re-establishing the commonwealth."

34. While Hortensia thus spoke the triumvirs were angry that women should dare to hold a public
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CAP. θρασυνούνται τε καὶ ἐκκλησιάσουσι, καὶ τὰ ὁρμένα τοῖς ἀρχοντισὶ ἐξετάσουσι, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν στρατευόμενων αὐταὶ οὐδὲ χρήματα ἐσοίσουσιν ἐκέλευσι τὸς ὑπηρέτας ἐξωθέων αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βῆματος, μέχρι βοῆς ἔξωθεν ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους γενομένης οὐ τὸ ὑπηρέτας τὸ ἔργον ἐπέσχον καὶ οἱ ἀρχοντες ἐφασαν ἐς τὴν ὑπεραίαν ἀνατίθεσαν. τῇ δ' ὑπεραίᾳ τετρακοσίας μὲν ἀντὶ χιλίων καὶ τετρακόσιων προύγαφοι ἀποτιμᾶσθαι τὰ ὄντα, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν πάντα τὸν ἔχοντα πλείους δέκα μυριάδων, ἀστὸν ὅμοι καὶ ἕξον καὶ ἀπελεύθερον καὶ ἑρέα καὶ πανταεθῆ, μηδενὸς ἀφιεμένον, καὶ τούσδε μεθ' ὅμοιον φόβου τῶν ἐπιτιμών καὶ ὑπὸ μηνύμασιν ὅμοιοι, ἵνα πεντηκοστὴν μὲν τῶν ὄντων αὐτίκα δανείσαεις αὐτοῖς, ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ φόρον ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐσενέγακεν.

35. Ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῶν προσταγμάτων τοιοῦτα Ὀρμαίους ἐπείχεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς σὺν καταφρονήσει χείρονα ἐποίειν. ψε γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο ἔργοις ἐν σφισὶ μόνον τὸ ἀσφαλές ἐχόντων, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἢτούντο τῶν δεδημευμένων οἰκίαι ἢ ἀγρὸν ἢ ἔπαινυν ἢ οἶλον κλῆρον, οἱ δ' αὐτὸς ἀνδράσι θετοὺς γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐτερα ἐδρων, κτινύνυντες τε τοὺς οὐ προγεγραμμένους καὶ οἰκίας οὐδὲν ὑπαίτιον διαφοροῦντες. ὡστε καὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας προγράψαε τῶν ὑπάτων τῶν ἐτερον ἐπιστροφὴν τίνα ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸ πρόσταγμα γεγυμομένων. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν

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meeting when the men were silent; that they should demand from magistrates the reasons for their acts, and themselves not so much as furnish money while the men were serving in the army. They ordered the lictors to drive them away from the tribunal, which they proceeded to do until cries were raised by the multitude outside, when the lictors desisted and the triumvirs said they would postpone till the next day the consideration of the matter. On the following day they reduced the number of women, who were to present a valuation of their property, from 1400 to 400, and decreed that all men who possessed more than 100,000 drachmas, both citizens and strangers, freedmen and priests, and men of all nationalities without a single exception, should (under the same dread of penalty and also of informers) lend them at interest a fiftieth part of their property and contribute one year’s income to the war expenses.

35. Such calamities befell the Romans from the orders of the triumvirs; but even worse ones were visited upon them by the soldiers in disregard of orders. Believing that they alone enabled the triumvirs to do what they were doing with impunity, some of them asked for the confiscated houses, or fields, or villas, or entire property of the proscribed. Others demanded that they should be made the adopted sons of [rich] men. Others, of their own motion, killed men who had not been proscribed, and plundered the houses of those who were not under accusation, so that the triumvirs were obliged to publish an edict that one of the consuls should put a restraint upon those who were exceeding their orders. The consul did not dare to touch the
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CAP. ἔδεισεν ἁγασθαί, μὴ σφᾶς ἐφ' ἐαυτὸν παροξύνῃ, τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων τινάς, οἷς σχήματι στρατιωτῶν συνεξημάρτανον ἐκείνοις, λαβὼν ἐκρέμασε.

VI

CAP. VI 36. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τέλος τῶν συμφορῶν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἀπαντῶντα τοιάδε μάλιστα ἦν· ὅσα δὲ ἐκ παραλόγου τισίν ἐγένετο ἐς τῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῖκα καὶ ἐς ἀξίωσιν ὑστερον, ἐμοὶ τε ἤδιον εἰπεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀκούονσιν ὀφελιμώτερον ἐς μηδὲν ἀποκάμυντας ἐπιτίθειν περίεσθαι. αἱ μὲν οὖν φυγαί τοῖς δυναμένοις ἦσαν καὶ Κάσσιον ἢ Βρούτον ἢ ἢ Διβύνην ἐπὶ Κορυφίκιον, καὶ τόνδε τῆς δημοκρατίας μεταποιούμενον ὅ δὲ τολὺς ἢ Σικελίαν ἦει, γειτονεύοντας τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ Πομπήιον σφᾶς προθύμως ὑποδεχομένου. λαμπροτάτην γὰρ δὴ σπουδὴν ἐς τοὺς ἀντιχύτας ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν καρφῷ τότε ἔδειξε, κηρυκάς τε περιπετείπων, οἵ πάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν, καὶ τοῖς περισσόφθαλμοι αὐτοὺς ἑλευθέρους τε καὶ θεράπουσι προλέγων διπλάσια τῶν διδομένων τοῖς αἱρόνσι· λέμβοι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ στρογγυλὰ ὑπήντα τοῖς πλέουσι, καὶ τριήρεις τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς ἐπέπλεουσι, σημεία τε ἀνίσχῳσαι τοῖς ἀλαμένοις, καὶ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα περισσώ-

ξουσαί. αὐτὸς τε τοῖς ἀφικνούμενοις ἀπήντα καὶ ἐσθήτος αὐτίκα καὶ κατασκευής ἐμερίζετο· τοῖς δὲ ἀξίοις καὶ ἢ στρατηγίας ἢ ναναρχίας ἤχρητο. σπουδῶν τέ ὧν πρὸς τοὺς τρεῖς γιγανόμενων ὑστε-

ρον, ὡς συνέθετο, πρὶν καὶ τούσδε τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν

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soldiers lest he should excite their rage against chap. himself, but he seized and crucified certain slaves who were masquerading as soldiers and committing outrages in company with them.

VI

36. Such are examples of the extreme misfortunes chap. that befell the proscribed. Instances where some were unexpectedly saved and at a later period raised to positions of honour are more agreeable to me to relate, and will be more useful to my readers, as showing that they should never fall into despair, but that hope will always remain to them. Some, who were able to do so, fled to Cassius, or to Brutus, or to Africa, where Cornificius upheld the republican cause. The greater number, however, went to Sicily because of its nearness to Italy, where Sextus Pompeius received them gladly. The latter showed the most admirable and timely zeal in behalf of the unfortunate, sending heralds who invited all to come to him, and offered to those who should save the proscribed, both slaves and free persons, double the rewards that had been offered for killing them. His small boats and merchant ships met those who were escaping by sea, and his war-ships sailed along the shore and made signals to those wandering there and saved such as they found. Pompeius himself met the newcomers and provided them at once with clothing and other necessaries. To those who were worthy he assigned commands in his military and naval forces. When, at a later period, he entered into negotiations with the triumvirs, he would not conclude a treaty without embracing in its terms 201
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CAP. VI
diaphugóntas ès taútas perilaβheín. ó mèn dé
χρησιμοτάτος ούτως ἀτυχούση τῇ πατρίδι ἐγίνετο, καὶ δόξαν ἐκ τούτων ἀγαθῆν, ἵδιον ἔπει τῇ
πατρῴᾳ καὶ οὗ ἤσσονα τήνδε ἐκείνης, προσε-
lámβανεν ἐτεροί δὲ ἐτέρως φυγόντες ἡ κρυπτό-
μενοι μέχρι τῶν σπουδῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐν χωρίοις τῇ
tάφος, οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἄστει, σὺν ἐπιστοίας
οἰκτραῖς διεγένοντο. φιλανδρία τε παράδοξοι
γυναικῶν ὀφθησαν καὶ παῖδων ἐς πατέρας εὔνοιαι
cal θεραπόντων ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐς δεσπότας. καὶ
tῶν ὅσα παραδοξότατα, ἀναγράψω.

37. Παύλος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Δευκίδου, τῶν λοχαγῶν
αὐτῶν ὡς ἀδελφὸν αὐτοκράτορος αἰδομένων, ἐπὶ
ἀδείας ἐξεπλευσάει ἐς Βροῦτον καὶ ἐς Μίλητον
μετὰ Βροῦτον· ὅθεν οὐδὲ εἰρήνης ύστερον γενομένης
καλούμενος ἐπανελθεῖν ἤξιόσε. Δευκίδου δὲ, τὸν
'Ἀντωνίου θείον, ἢ 'Ἀντωνίου μάτηρ ἀδελφὸν ὁντα
εἰχεν οὖν ἐπικρύπτουσα, αἰδομένων ἐς πολὺ καὶ
tήνυς τῶν λοχαγῶν ὡς μητέρα αὐτοκράτορος.
βιαζομένων δ' ύστερον ἐξέθεορεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ
προκαθημένος τῷ 'Ἀντωνίῳ μετὰ τῶν συνάρχων
ἐφη· "ἐμαντήν, ὃ αὐτοκράτορ, μην χαίρεις καὶ τοῖς
ὑποδεδέχθαι τε καὶ ἔχειν ἑτη καὶ ἔχεις, ἐως
ἄν ἡμᾶς ὑμῶν κατακάνης· τὰ γὰρ ὅμοια καὶ τοῖς
ὑποδεδεγμένοις ἐπικεκηρυκται." δὲ αὐτῆν ἐπι-
μεμψάμενος ὡς ἀδελφὴν μὲν ἀγαθήν, μητέρα δὲ
οὐκ εὐγνώμονα (οὐ γὰρ νῦν χρῆναι περισσῶς
Δευκίδου, ἀλλὰ κωλύει, ὅτε σου τὸν νῦν εἶναι
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

those who had taken refuge with him. In this way he rendered to his unfortunate country the greatest service, from which he gained a high reputation of his own in addition to that which he had inherited from his father, and not less than that. Others escaped by concealing themselves in various ways, some in the fields or in the tombs, others in the city itself, undergoing cruel anxiety until peace was restored. Remarkable examples were shown of the love of wives for their husbands, of sons for their fathers, and of slaves, quite beyond nature, for their masters. Some of the most remarkable of these I shall now relate.

37. Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, made his escape to Brutus by the connivance of the centurions who respected him as the brother of a triumvir. After the death of Brutus he went to Miletus, which he refused to leave after peace was restored, although he was invited to return. The mother of Antony gave shelter to her brother Lucius, Antony's uncle, without concealment, and the centurions had respect for her for a long time as the mother of a triumvir. When, later, they attempted to take him by force, she hurried into the forum where Antony was seated with his colleagues, and exclaimed, "I denounce myself to you, triumvir, for having received Lucius under my roof and for still keeping him, and I shall keep him till you kill us both together, for it is decreed that those who give shelter shall suffer the same punishment." Antony reproached her for being an unreasonable mother, although a good sister, saying that she ought to have prevented Lucius in the first place from voting her son a public enemy instead of seeking to save him now.

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CAP. ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ἘΨΗΦΙΣΕΤΟ, ΠΑΡΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ ὌΜΩΣ ΠΛΑΓ- hears
ΚΟΝ ὑΠΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΘΟΔΟΝ ΤΩ ΔΕΝΚΙΩ ΨΗΦΙΣΑΣΘΑΙ.

38. ΜΕΣΣΑΛΑΣ δὲ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ νέος ἐς ΒΡΟΥ-
ΤΟΝ ἐφυγε, καὶ αὐτοῦ δείσαντες οἱ τρεῖς τὸ φρό-
νημα προύγραψαν οὕτως: "ἐπεὶ Μεσσάλαν
ἀπέφηναν ἦμῖν οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ μηδὲ ἐπι-
δημεῖν, ὅτε Γάιος Καίσαρ ἀνηρεῖτο, ἐξηρήσθω
τῶν προγραφέντων ὁ Μεσσάλας." ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν
συγγνώμην οὐκ ἔδεξατο, Βροῦτον δὲ καὶ Κασόιον
περὶ Ὑπάκην πεσόντων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ
τε ἐτὶ ὄντος καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐλπίδας
ἐχοντος οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς, ἀρχεῖν σφῶν τῶν Μεσσάλα
αιρουμένων οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς
ἐνδόν τας ἐπιβαροῦσῃ τῇ τύχῃ μεταστρατεύσασθαι
τοῖς ἁμβί τὸν 'Αὐτόνιον. οἰκεῖοτέρος δὲ ἄν Ἀὐτω-
νιῷ συνήν, μέχρι κρατοῦσας Ἀὐτωνίου Κλεοπάτρας
ἐπιμεμψάμενος ἐς Καίσαρα μετῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν
ὑπατόν τε ἀπέφηνεν ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀὐτωνίου, ἀπο-
χειροτονηθέντος, ὅτε αὐτὸς ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολέ-
μοις, καὶ περὶ Ἀκτίων ναυαρχήσαντα κατὰ τοῦ
Ἀυτωνίου στρατηγὸν ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς ἀφ-
ισταμένους καὶ νικήσαντι ἔδωκε θριαμβεύσαι.

ΒΥΣΣΟΣ δὲ ἐσπείσατο ἁμά τὸ Μεσσάλα καὶ
ἐνανάρχησε Ἀὐτωνίῳ διαλλαγάς τε πολλάκις
Ἀυτωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπόρθμευσε
καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη Συρίας ὑπὸ Ἀὐτωνίου
καὶ στρατηγῶν ἄτι αὐτῆς ἀπέθανεν.

39. ἈΚΙΛΛΟΣ δὲ ἔφευγε μὲν τῆς πόλεως
λαθῶν, οἰκεῖον δ' αὐτὸν ἐμφήναντος ὀπλίταις,
τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπείσεν ἐλπίδι χρημάτων πλεόν-

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Nevertheless, he procured from the consul Plancus a decree restoring Lucius to citizenship.

38. Messala, a young man of distinction, fled to Brutus. The triumvirs, fearing his high spirit, published the following edict: "Since the relatives of Messala have made it clear to us that he was not in the city when Gaius Caesar was slain, let his name be removed from the list of the proscribed." He would not accept pardon, but, after Brutus and Cassius had fallen in Thrace, although there was a considerable army left, as well as ships and money, and although strong hopes of success still existed, Messala would not accept the command when it was offered to him, but persuaded his associates to yield to overpowering fate and join forces with Antony. He became intimate with Antony and adhered to him until the latter became the slave of Cleopatra. Then he heaped reproaches upon him and joined himself to Octavian, who made him consul in place of Antony himself when the latter was deposed and again voted a public enemy. After the battle of Actium, where he held a naval command against Antony, Octavian sent him as a general against the revolted Celts and awarded him a triumph for his victory over them.

Bibulus was received into favour at the same time with Messala, and was given a naval command by Antony, and often served as an intermediary in the negotiations between Octavian and Antony. He was appointed governor of Syria by Antony and died while serving in that capacity.

39. Acilius fled from the city secretly. His hiding-place was disclosed by a slave to the soldiers, but he prevailed upon them, by the hope of a larger
CAP. ον πέμψαι τινάς ἀπὸ σφόν πρὸς τὴν γυναικὰ μετὰ συμβόλων ὡν αὐτὸς ἐδίδου. ἡ δὲ τοῖς ἐλθούσι τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς ἀπαντα προθείσα ἔφη διδόναι μὲν ὡς ἀντιδώσουσιν, ἣ ὑπέσχοντο, οὐκ εἰδέναι δὲ, εἰ ἀντιδώσουσιν. οὐ μὴν ἐφεύση τῆς φιλανδρίας. οἱ γὰρ ὀπλῖται καὶ ναῦν ἐμίσθωσαν τῷ Ἀκιλῷ καὶ προύπεμψαν ἐς Σικελίαν. Δέντλος δὲ, ἀξιούσης αὐτῷ συμφεύγειν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ἐς τούτο αὐτὸν ἐπιτηρούσης, οὐκ ἔθελον αὐτὴν συγκινδυνεύειν εαυτῷ, λαθῶν ἐφύγεν ἐς Σικελίαν, στρατηγὸς δὲ ἀποδειχθεῖς ὑπὸ Πομπηίου ἐσήμην, διὸ σφῶντο καὶ στρατηγοῦ. ἦ δ', ὅπου γῆς ἐστιν ὁ ἀνήρ, ἐπηγνύσα τὴν μητέρα φυλάσσουσαν ἐξέφυγε καὶ ἤδε σὺν θεράπουσι δῦοι μεθ' ὧν ἀδενεν ἐπιμόχθως καὶ εὐτελῶς οἰα θεράπανα, μέχρι διέπλευσεν ἐς Μεσσήνην ἀπὸ Ρηγίου περὶ ἐσπέραν. καὶ οὐ δυσχερὰς τὴν στρατηγίδα σκηνήν μαθοῦσα, εὑρε τὸν Δέντλον οὐχ οἷα στρατηγόν, ἀλλ' ἐν χαμενίω καὶ κόμη καὶ διάητη πονηρὰ πόθῳ τῆς γυναικὸς.

40. Ἀπουλῆψα δὲ ἦπειλησεν ἡ γυνὴ καταμηνύσεως αὐτὸν, εἰ μόνος φεύγοι καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄκων αὐτὴν ἔστηγεν, συνήγαγε δὲ ἐς τὴν φυγήν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀνύποτον, ἀμα γυναικὶ καὶ θεράπουσι καὶ θεραπαίναις ὀδεύουτι φανερῶς. Ἀπὸ δὲ ἡ γυνὴ στρωματοδέσμῳ κατέληψε καὶ ἔπεθηκε τοῖς μυσθοῖς φέροντι καὶ διήνεγκεν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπὶ 206.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

reward to send some of their number to his wife CHAP. VI with a private token that he gave them. When they came she gave them all of her jewellery, saying that she gave it in return for what they had promised, although she did not know whether they would keep their agreement. But her fidelity to her husband was not disappointed, for the soldiers hired a ship for Acilius and saw him off to Sicily. The wife of Lentulus asked that she might accompany him in his flight and kept watch upon his movements for that purpose, but he was not willing that she should share his danger, and fled secretly to Sicily. Being appointed praetor there by Pompeius he sent word to her that he was saved and elevated to office. When she learned in what part of the earth her husband was she escaped with two slaves from her mother, who was keeping watch over her. With these she travelled in the guise of a slave, with great hardship and the meanest fare, until she was able to make the passage from Rhegium to Messana about nightfall. She learned without difficulty where the praetor’s tent was, and there she found Lentulus, not in the attitude of a praetor, but on a low pallet with unkempt hair and wretched food, mourning for his wife.

40. The wife of Apuleius threatened that if he should fly without her, she would give information against him. So he took her with him unwillingly, and he succeeded in avoiding suspicion in his flight by travelling with his wife, and his male and female slaves in a public manner. The wife of Antius wrapped him up in a clothes-bag and gave the bundle to some porters to carry from the house to the sea-shore, whence he made his escape to
APPIAN’S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VI

θάλασσαν, οθεν ἔφυγεν ἐσ Σικελίαν. Ἄρηγίνου δὲ ἡ γυνὴ νυκτὸς ἐσ ὑπόνομον λυμάτων καθῆκεν, ἐς δὲ ἡμέρας οὐχ ὑποστάντων ἐμβήναι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν διὰ δυσοδήμιαν, νυκτὸς ἀλλὰς ἕως ἀνθρακέα ἐσκεύασε καὶ ὅνον ἀνθρακας φέροντα ἐλαύνειν ἐδώκεν· αὐτὴ δὲ ἐκ βραχέως διαιστήματος ἤγειτο φορείω φερομένη. τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας ὀπλιτῶν τινος τὸ φορεῖον ὑπονόησαντος τε καὶ ἐρευνώμενον, δείσας ὁ Ρηγίνος ἐπέδραμε καὶ ὅσ ὀδὸ χρώμενος ἤξιον τῶν ὀπλίτην φείδεσθαι γυναῖκῶν. ὦ δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ ἀνθρακέα μετ’ ὀργῆς ἀμειβόμενος ἐγνώρισεν (ἐστράτευτο γὰρ ὑπ’ αὐτῶ ποτε ἐν Συρία) καὶ “ἀπίθι χαίρων,” ἔπειν, “αὐτοκράτορ: τοῦτο γὰρ μοι προσήκει καὶ νῦν καλεῖν σε.” Κοπώνιον δὲ τὸ γύναιον ἤτησε παρὰ Ἀντωνίου, σώφρων μὲν οὖσα τέως, ἀτυχήματι δὲ τὸ ἀτύχημα ἱωμένη.

41. Γέταν δὲ ὁ νιῶς ἐν εὐφυκόρῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἐδοξε καίειν ὡς ἄπαγξάμενον καὶ λαθὼν ἐν ἀγρῷ νεωιτῆρον κατέλυμεν, ἐνθα à προσβύτης μεταμορφῶν εὑρετόν ἐπεδήσατο διφθέραν ἐς τὸν ἐτερον ὀφθαλμόν. καὶ τῶν σπουδῶν γεγομένων ἐλυσε τὴν διφθέραν, καὶ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀργίας δεδαπάνητο. Ὁππίον δὲ ὁ νιῶς, ὑπὸ γῆρως ἀσθενεστάτου μένεων ἐθέλοντα, ἐφερεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος, ἐὼς ἐξήγαγε τε διὰ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μέχρι Σικελίας ἄγων ἡ φέρων ἐκόμισεν, οὐδὲνός ἄρα τὸ σχῆμα ὑπονόησαντος ἢ ἐνυβρίσαντος, οἶνον ποῦ καὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν γράφουσιν

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Sicily. The wife of Rheginus concealed him by night in a sewer, into which the soldiers were not willing to enter in the daytime, on account of the foul odour. The next night she disguised him as a charcoal dealer, and furnished him an ass to drive, carrying coals. She led the way at a short distance, borne in a litter. One of the soldiers at the city gates suspected the litter and searched it. Rheginus was alarmed and hastened his steps, and as if he were a passer-by admonished the soldier not to give trouble to women. The latter, who took him for a charcoal dealer, answered him angrily, but suddenly recognizing him (for he had served under him in Syria), said, "Go on your way rejoicing, general, for such I ought still to call you." The wife of Coponius purchased his safety from Antony, although she had previously been chaste, thus curing one evil with another.

41. The son of Geta pretended to burn his father's remains in the courtyard of his house, making people believe that he had strangled himself. Then he conveyed him secretly to a newly bought field and left him. There the old man changed his appearance by putting a bandage over one of his eyes. After the return of peace he took off the bandage and found that he had lost the sight of that eye by disuse. Oppius, by reason of the infirmities of age, was unwilling to fly, but his son carried him on his shoulder till he had brought him outside the gates. The remainder of the journey as far as Sicily he accomplished partly by leading and partly by carrying him, nobody suspecting his appearance and nobody mocking him. In like manner they say that Aeneas was respected

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CAP. αἱδέσιμον τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι φέροντα τὸν πατέρα. καὶ τὸν νεανίαν ὁ δῆμος ἐπαινῶν ὑστερον ἀπεφθελε ἀγορανόμον· ἀδήμενεν δ' αὐτῷ τῆς οὔσίας οὐκ ἔχοντι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ δαπάνημα οὔ τε χειροτέχναι τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀμοσθ' συνειργάσαντο, καὶ τῶν θεωμένων ἐκαστὸς ἔτι τὴν ὀρχήστραν ὅσοι ἐβούλετο νόμισμα ἔρριπτει, ἐως τὸν ἄνδρα κατεπλουτίσαν. Ἀρμιανοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ στήλῃ κεκόλαπτο ἕκ διαθηκῶν· "τῶν ἐνθάδε κείμενον υἱὸς οὐ προγραφεῖς προγραφέντα ἐκρυψε τε καὶ συνέφυγε καὶ περέσωσε·"

42. Μετέλλω δὲ ἦσθιν υἱὸς τε καὶ πατήρ· καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ μὲν πατήρ στρατηγῶν Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ Ἀκτιον αἰχμάλωτον ἐάλω καὶ ἠγοναίτο, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τῷ Καίσαρι συνεστράτευτο καὶ ἐστρατηγήκει καὶ ὁδε περὶ τὸ Ἀκτιον. ἐν δὲ Σάμῳ διακρινοῦτι τῷ Καίσαρι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὁ μὲν παῖς συνήδρευν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης ἦγετο κόμης τε ἐμπλεός καὶ δύσι καὶ ῥύπου καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἑπαρμοφόσεως. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος ἀνεκλήθη, ἀνέβορεν ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ συμβουλίου καὶ μόλις ἐπιγνοῦσ τὸν πατέρα ἡσπάζετο σὺν οἴμωγῃ· ἐπισχῶς δὲ ποτε τοῦ θρήνου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐφη· "οὔτος μὲν σοι πολέμιος γέγονεν, ὁ Καίσαρ, ἐγὼ δὲ σύμμαχος· καὶ χρῆ τούτον μὲν σοι δοῦναι δίκην, ἐμὲ δὲ γέρας εὐρέσθαι. αὐτῷ δ' σε τὸν πατέρα σφίζων δι' ἐμὲ ἡ
even by his enemies when carrying his father. In admiration of his piety the people in later days elected the young man to the aedileship, and since his property had been confiscated and he could not defray the expenses of the office, the artisans performed the work appertaining thereto without pay, and each of the spectators tossed such money as he could afford to give into the orchestra, so that he became a rich man. By the will of Arrianus the following inscription was engraved on the father’s tomb: “Here lies one who, when proscribed, was concealed by his son, who had not been proscribed, but who fled with him, and saved him.”

42. There were two men named Metellus, father and son. The father held a command under Antony at the battle of Actium and was taken prisoner, but not recognized. The son fought on the side of Octavian and held a command under him at the same battle. When Octavian was classifying the prisoners at Samos the son was sitting with him. The old man was led forward covered with hair, misery, and dirt, and completely metamorphosed by them. When his name was called by the herald in the array of prisoners the son sprang from his seat, and, with difficulty recognizing his father, embraced him with a cry of anguish. Then restraining his lamentation he said to Octavian, “He was your enemy, I was your fellow-soldier. He has earned your punishment, I your reward. I ask you either to spare my father on my account, or to kill me.

1 Aediles were involved in much expense by reason of the public games they were accustomed to give during their term of office.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VI. δι' ἐκείνου ἐμὲ συγκατακανέων." οἴκτου δὲ ἐξ ἀπάν-
tων γενομένου μεθήκε σώζεσθαι τὸν Μέτελλον ὁ
Καίσαρ, καίτοι πολεμιώτατον αὐτῷ γενόμενον καὶ
dωρεῶν πολλῶν, εἰ μεταθοίτο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπ'
Ἀντωνίου, πολλάκις ὑπεριδότα.

43. Μᾶρκου δὲ οἱ θεράποντες σὺν εὐνοίᾳ καὶ
tύχῃ πάντα τὸν τῆς προγραφῆς χρόνον διε-
φύλαξαν ἐνδοὺ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, μέχρι τῆς ἀδείας
dοθεῖσης ὁ Μᾶρκος ἐξῆγε τῆς οἰκίας ὡς ἀπὸ φυγῆς.
"Ιρτίος δὲ σὺν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐκφυγὼν τῆς πόλεως
dιόδωσε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳν, ἐκλύθην τε δεσμῶτας καὶ
συνάγων τοὺς ἀποδιδάσκοντας καὶ πολέχνη
dην, ὅλης πρῶτον, εἵτα καὶ μείζων, μέχρι χειρὸς
ἰκανῆς ἐκράτησε καὶ τὸ Βρεττίων ἐθνὸς ἐχειρώ-
σατο καὶ, στρατοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐς
Πομπήιον μεθ' ὅσων εἴχε διέπλευσε.

Ῥεστίων δὲ οἰομένῳ μόνῳ φεύγειν οἰκέτης εἴπετο
λανθάνων, ἀνάθρεπτος μὲν αὐτοῦ Ῥεστίωνος καὶ
πολλὰ πρότερον εὐ παθῶν, διὰ δὲ μοχθηρίαν ὦσ-
tερον ἐστιγμένοις, ἀναπαυμένῳ δὲ ἐν ἔλει τῷ Ῥε-
στίωνι ἐπιστάτας ὁ θεράπων ἐξέπληξε μὲν αὐτίκα
ὁθείς, δεδοικότι δὲ ἔφη οὐ τῶν παρόντων στιγ-
μάτων αἰσθάνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μνημονεύειν τῶν
πρότερον ἐυρεγετημάτων. καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τι στη-
λαίον ἀναπαύσας εἰργάζετο καὶ τροφὰς αὐτῷ
συνέλεγεν, ὡς ἐδύνατο. ὑπονοίας δὲ τινών ἀμφὶ
tὸ στήλαιον τοῖς ἔγχυς ὑπόλαται περὶ τοῦ Ῥε-
στίωνος γενομένης καὶ χωροῦντων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, ὁ
οἰκέτης εἶπετο συνείς καὶ τινα πρεσβύτην προ-
οδεύοντα προδραμῶν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὴν κεφα-
λὴν ἀπέτεμεν. ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ

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at the same time on his account." There was much emotion on all sides, and Octavian spared Metellus, although he had been bitterly hostile to himself and had scorned many offers made to him to desert Antony.

43. The slaves of Marcus guarded him with fidelity and success within his own house during the whole period of the proscription until there was nothing more to fear, when Marcus came out of his house as though from exile. Hirtius escaped from the city with his household servants and traversed Italy releasing prisoners, collecting runaways, and ravaging small towns at first and afterward large ones, until he found himself possessed of sufficient force to master Bruttium. When an army was sent against him he crossed the straits with his forces and joined Pompeius.

When Restio fled, thinking that he was alone, he was followed secretly by a slave of his own rearing, who had been very well treated by him formerly, but had lately been branded for bad conduct. While Restio was stopping in a marsh the slave came up to him. He was startled at the sight, but the slave said that he did not feel the pain of the brand so much as he remembered the former kindness shown to him. Then he found a resting-place for his master in a cave, and by working procured such sustenance for him as he could. The soldiers in the neighbourhood of the cave had their suspicions aroused concerning Restio, and went to it. The slave observed their movements and followed them, and, seeing an old man walking in front of them, he ran up and killed him and cut off his head. The soldiers were astounded. They arrested him.
APPRIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY


44. Ἀππιον δὲ ἀναπαυόμενον ἐν ἑπαύλει, τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐπιθεόντων, οἰκέτης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐσθήτα ἐνέδυσε, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν εὐήν ὁμι τῆς δεσπότης ἀνακλίθεις ἐκὼν ἀπέθανεν ἀντὶ τοῦ δεσπότου, παρεστῶτος ὡς οἰκέτου. Μενηνίου δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν καταλαβόντων ὀπλιτῶν, θεράπων ἐς τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου φορεῖον ἐνέβη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοδούμων συνεργοῦντων ἐξεφέρετο, ἢς ὁδε μὲν ὡς Μενηνίος ἐκὼν ἀνήρητο, Μενηνίος δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν διέφυγε. Οὐλίνων δὲ ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ Οὐλίνων, Φιλήμων, οἰκίαν κεκτημένος λαμπράν, ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἐκρυφεν ἐν λάρνακι, ὡς ἀπὸ σιδῆρου ἐς χρημάτων ἡ βιβλίων ἔχουσι φυλακῆν καὶ νυκτὸς ἐτρεφε μέχρι τῶν σπουδῶν. ἐπέτερος δὲ ἀπελεύθερος, τάφων δεσπότου φυλάσσων, τὸν δεσπόσυνον προγραφέντα ἐφύλασσεν ἐν τῷ τάφῳ μετὰ τοῦ πατρός.

Δουκρήτιος ἀλώμενος σὺν δυσὶ θεράπουσιν ἀγαθοῖς ὑπὸ ἀπορίας τῶν τροφῶν ἦε πρὸς τὴν γυναίκα, φορεῖο φερόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν οἰά τις ἄρρωστος, ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ἐνὸς δὲ τῶν φερόντων τὸ σκέλος συντρίβειντο τῷ ἐτέρῳ τὴν χεῦρα ἐπιθεὶς ἦε. παρὰ δὲ ταῖς πύλαις γενόμενος, ἐνθα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑπὸ Σύλλα προγραφεῖς ἐαλώκει, εἰδε λόχον ὀπλιτῶν ἐκτρέχοντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ συγκύρημα τοῦ τόπου καταπλαγεὶς συνεκρύφθη.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

for a highwayman, but he said, "I have killed Restio, my master, the man who marked me with these scars." The soldiers took the head from him for the sake of the reward, and made haste to the city, to find their mistake. The slave brought his master away and conveyed him by ship to Sicily.

44. Appius was resting at his country-place when the soldiers burst in. A slave put on his master's clothes and threw himself on his bed and voluntarily died for his master, who was standing beside him dressed as a slave. When the soldiers made a descent upon the house of Menenius, one of his slaves got into his master's litter and procured himself to be carried by his fellow-slaves, and in this way allowed himself to be killed for Menenius, who thereby escaped to Sicily. Vinius had a freedman named Philemon, the owner of a splendid mansion, who concealed him in the inmost recesses thereof, in an iron chest used for holding money or manuscripts, and gave him food in the night-time, until the return of peace. Another freedman, who had the custody of his master's tomb, guarded his master's son, who had been proscribed, in the tomb with his father.

Lucretius, who had been wandering about with two faithful slaves and had become destitute of food, set out to find his wife and was carried in a litter, in the guise of a sick man, by the two slaves to the city. One of the bearers broke his leg, so Lucretius walked leaning upon the other. When they reached the gate where the father of Lucretius, who had been proscribed by Sulla, had been captured, he saw a cohort of soldiers coming out. Being unnerved by the coincidence, he concealed himself with the slave
CAP. μετὰ τοῦ θεράπουτός ἐν τάφῳ. τιμβωρύχων δὲ
tους τάφους ἐρευνώμενων, ὁ θεράπων ἑαυτὸν τοὺς
tιμβωρύχους παρέσχε περιδύνει, μέχρι Λου-
κρήτιον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας διαφυγεῖν. ἐκεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν
ὁ Λουκρήτιος περιμείνας τε καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μερι-
σάμενος ἐσθήτος, ἦκε πρὸς τὴν γυναίκα καὶ ὑπ'
αὐτῆς ἐκρύπτετο ἐπὶ διπλῆς ὀροφῆς μεταξὺ, μέχρι
tινὲς αὐτὸν ἔφτισαν τοὺς προγραψάντων καὶ ὑστερον ἐπὶ εἰρήνης ὑπάτευσεν.

45. Σέργιος δὲ ἐκρύψθη παρ’ αὐτῷ Ἀντωνίῳ,
μέχρι Πλάγκον ὑπατεύοντα ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπεισε
καθοδὸν αὐτῷ ψηφισσάσθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶς ὁ
Σέργιος ὑστερον, ἐν τῇ Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου
στάσει, τῆς βουλῆς ψηφιζομένης εἶναι πολέμιον
τὸν Ἀντώνιον, μόνος τὴν ἀπολύουσαν ἐφερε
φανερῶς.

Καὶ οἷς μὲν οὕτως ἔσοξόντο, Πομπώνιος δὲ εἰς
στρατηγοῦ σχῆμα κοσμήσας ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς
θεράπουτας ἐς ὑπηρέτας σκευάσας τὴν πόλιν ὡς
στρατηγὸς ύπὸ ραβδούχοις διηλθεῖν, ἐπιθλεβόντων
αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ἵνα μὴ γνωσθῇ πρὸς
ἐτέρου, καὶ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις ὀχημάτων τε
δημοσίων ἐπέβη καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διώδευεν, ἀπο-
δεχομένων αὐτὸν καὶ παραπεμπόντων ἄπαντων
ολα στρατηγὸν ύπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ σπουδᾶς
ἐς Πομπήιον ἀπεσταλμένων, μέχρι καὶ δημοσίᾳ
τριήρει διέπλευσε πρὸς ἐκείνων.

46. Ἀπουλήσιος δὲ καὶ Ἀρρυντίος ὑποκριθέντες
eῖναι λοχαγοὶ καὶ τοὺς θεράπουτας ἐς στρα-
τιώτας σκευάσαντες, τὰς μὲν πύλας διέδραμον ὡς
λοχαγοὶ διάκοντες ἐτέρους, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ὅδον
dιελόμενοι τοὺς δεσμώτας ἐξέλυσαν καὶ τῶν
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in a tomb. When some tomb-robbers came there searching for plunder, the slave offered himself to these robbers to be stripped till Lucretius could escape to the city gate. There Lucretius waited for him, shared his clothing with him, and then went to his wife, by whom he was concealed between the planks of a double roof until his friends got his name erased from the proscription. After the restoration of peace he was raised to the consulship.

45. Sergius was concealed at the house of Antony himself until Antony persuaded the consul Plancus to procure a decree of amnesty for him. At a later period, when Octavian and Antony had fallen into disagreement, and when the Senate was voting Antony a public enemy, Sergius alone cast his vote openly in the negative.

Thus these all were saved. As for Pomponius, he arrayed himself in the garb of a praetor and disguised his slaves as his official attendants. He passed through the city as a praetor attended by lietors, his attendants pressing close to him lest he should be recognized. At the city gates he took possession of public carriages and traversed Italy in the character of a praetor sent by the triumvirs to conduct negotiations with Pompeius, all the people receiving him and sending him on as such, until he entered into a public ship and passed over to Pompeius.

46. Apuleius and Aruntius assumed the character of centurions, armed their slaves as soldiers, and passed through the gates pretending to be in pursuit of other persons, while for the remainder of their course they took different roads, releasing prisoners
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CAP. VI ἀποδράντας συνέλευσον, μέχρι χειρὸς ἱκανής ἐκατέρω γενομένης σημεία τε ἦν ἤδη καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ὄψεις στρατοῦ. χωρῶν δὲ ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀμφὶ τινι λόφῳ σταθμεύονσι, μεγάλῳ δὲι καθορῶντες ἀλλήλους. ἀμα δὲ ἔφε περινεύοντες ἐκ τοῦ λόφου ἐδοξαν ἀλλήλους ἐκάτερος στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπιπεμφθέντα εἶναι καὶ συμπλακέντες ἐμάχοντο, μέχρι ποτὲ ἐγνωσαν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀπερρίπτοντα καὶ ὠλοφύροντα καὶ τὴν τύχην ὡς ἐπιβαροῦσαν σφισιν ἐς ἄπαντα ἐπεμέφροντο. διαπλεύσαντες δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐς Βρούτον, ὁ δ’ ἐς Πομπηίον, ὁ μὲν τῷ Πομπηίῳ συγκατήλθεν, ὁ δὲ ἐστρατήγησε τῷ Βρούτῳ Βιθυνίας καὶ Βρούτου πεσόντος Ἀντωνίῳ παράδος Βιθυνίας κατήχη. Οὐνετίδιον δὲ ἀπελεύθερος εὐθὺς μὲν προγραφέντα κατέδησεν ὡς παραδώσων τοῖς σφαγεῖσι, νυκτὸς δὲ τοὺς θεράποντας ἔπεισε καὶ ἐσκεύασεν ὡς ὀπλίτας καὶ τὸν ἀσπιότην ὡς λοχαγὸν ἐξήγαγε τὴν τε ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν μέχρι Σικελίας διώδευσαν καὶ συγκατέλυσαν πολλὰς ἐτέρους λοχαγοίς ξητοῦσιν Οὐνετίδιον.

47. ᾿Ετερον εὖ τάφῳ κρύπτων ἀπελεύθερος, οὐ φέροντα φαντασίαν τάφου, μετήγαγεν ἐς φαύλον οἴκημα μισθωτόν. στρατιώτων δ’ αὐτῷ παρακατ- οκισθέντος, οὐδὲ τούτον φέρων τῶν φόβον ἐς θαυμαστὴν τόλμαν ἐκ δειλίας μετέβαλε καὶ κειράμενος ἥγειτο ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥώμη διδασκαλεύον 218
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and collecting fugitives until a sufficient force was obtained by each to display the standards, the equipment, and the appearance of an army. When they each arrived separately at the sea-shore they took position on either side of a certain hill and contemplated each other with great apprehension. At daybreak the next morning, after reconnoitring each other from the hillside, each army took the other for an army sent against itself, and they actually came to blows and fought until they discovered their error, when they dropped their arms and broke into lamentations, blaming the hard fate that pursued them everywhere. Then they took ship, and one of them sailed to Brutus and the other to Pompeius. The latter was included in the reconciliation with Pompeius. The former took command of Bithynia for Brutus, and when Brutus fell he surrendered Bithynia to Antony and was restored to citizenship. When Ventidius was proscribed one of his freedman put fetters on him as though intending to deliver him to the murderers. But at night he gave instructions to some slaves, whom he armed as soldiers, and then he led his master forth in the character of a centurion, and they traversed the whole of Italy as far as Sicily, and often passed the night in company with other centurions who were in search of Ventidius.

47. Another proscript was concealed by a freedman in a tomb, but as he could not endure the horror of the place he was transferred to a miserable hired hovel. A soldier was lodged near him, and as he could not endure this fear he changed from a feeling of cowardice to the most wonderful audacity. He cut off his hair and opened a school in Rome.
Δέχεται τάν στουώδων. Ὅψαλουσίον δὲ ἀγορανομών προεγράφη καὶ φίλου ὀργιαστὴν τῆς Ἰσίδος ἤχων ἦττες τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὰς ὀθόνας ἐνέδυ τὰς ποδήρεις καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς κεφαλὴν ἐπέθετο καὶ διήλθεν οὕτως ὀργιάζων αὐτῷ σχῆματι ἐς Πομπῖον. Σίττιον δὲ Καληνοί, πολίτην σφῶν οὕτα καὶ πολλὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ περιουσίας δαψίλους ἀναλῶσαν, ἐφύλασσον, σιδηροφοροῦντες τε ύπερ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπερίκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν, μέχρι μαραμομένου τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς ἐπέσβεσαν ύπερ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτυχον Σίττιον τῆς ἄλλης Ἡπατίας ἐιργόμενον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μένειν. Σίττιος μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἡ μόνος ἀνδρῶν ὅπε τῆς ἐξής ἐφυγαδεύτω ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, Οὐάρρων δὲ ἦν φιλόσοφος τε καὶ ἱστορίας συγγραφεύς, ἐστρατευμένος τε καλῶς καὶ ἐστρατηγικῶς, καὶ ἵσσως διὰ ταῦτα ὅς ἐχθρὸς μοναρχίας προγράφη. φιλοτεμομομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ύποδέξασθαι τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ διερηζόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους, Καληνὸς ἐξενίκησε καὶ εἶχεν ἐν ἐπαύλει, ἐνθα ᾿Αντώνιος, ὅτε διοδεύο, κατήγετο καὶ τὸν Οὐάρρωνα οὐδεὶς ἐνδον ὄντα ἐνέφημε θεράπων, οὔτε αὐτοῦ Οὐάρρωνος οὔτε Καληνοῦ.

48. ὘υεργίνος δὲ, ἀνὴρ ἦδυς εἰπεῖν, τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι κτείναντες μὲν αὐτὸν δι' ὀλίγα χρήματα οὐκ ἄσφαλῆ μέγες τε πιμπλανται καὶ φόβῳ ἐς ύστερον μεγάλων, περισσῶσαντες δὲ δόξης τε εὐσεβοὺς καὶ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν καὶ χρημάτων ύστερον πολὺ πλεόνων τε καὶ ἀσφαλεσ-
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

itself, which he taught until the return of peace. CHAP. VI
Volusius was proscribed while holding the office of aedile. He had a friend who was a priest of Isis, whose robe he begged. He clothed himself with this linen garment reaching to his feet, put on the dog's head and thus as a priest of Isis he made the journey to Pompeius. The inhabitants of Cales protected Sittius, one of their citizens who had made lavish expenditures from his own fortune for their benefit, and provided an armed guard for him. They silenced his slaves by threats and prevented the soldiers from approaching their walls until the troubles began to subside, when they sent envoys to the triumvirs on his behalf and obtained permission for Sittius that he might remain at home, but should be excluded from the rest of Italy. Sittius was thus the first or the only man who was ever an exile in his own country. Varro was a philosopher and a historian, a soldier and a distinguished general, and for these reasons perhaps was proscribed as hostile to the monarchy. His friends were eager to give him shelter and contended with each other for the honour of doing so. Calenus won the privilege and took him to his country house, where Antony was accustomed to stop when travelling. Yet no slave, either of Calenus or of Varro himself, revealed the fact that Varro was there.

48. Virginius, an orator of distinction, told his slaves that if they should kill him for a small and uncertain reward they would be filled with remorse and terror afterward, while if they should save him they would enjoy an excellent reputation and good hopes, and, later, a much larger and more
CAP. VI

τέρων. οἱ μὲν δὴ συνέφευγον ὡς ὀμοδούλῳ καὶ γνωρισθέντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὴν ὀδὸν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀπεμάχοντο. ὁ δὲ ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλίτων ἐδίδασκε κάκείνους, ὅτι κατὰ μὲν ἔχθραν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ χρημάτων οὐνεκά μόνων, χρήματα δὲ αὐτοῖς εἶτι δικαιότερα καὶ πλέονα λαβεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐλθοῦσιν, „ἐνθα μοι τὸ γύναιον,” ἔφη, „ναῦν φέρουσα χρημάτων συνετάξατο.” καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ οἴδε πεισθέντες κατήσασι ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἢ γυνὴ δὲ ἀφίκτο μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱόνα κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, βραδύνοντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀμηργίνου, νομίσασα αὐτὸν ἐς Πομπηίου προπεπλευκέναι ἀνήγετο, θεράποντα ὁμος ἐπὶ τῆς ἱόνος ἔξαγγέλλειν ὑπολυποῦσα. καὶ ὁ θεράπων τοῦ Ὀμηργίνου ἴδων ἀνέθορε τε ὡς ἐς δεσπότην καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐδείκνυεν ὡς ὁρωμένην καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐφραζε καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφ’ ὅτι κατελείφθη. οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευον ἀπασιν ἢδη, καὶ τοῦ Ὀμηργίνου ἄξιοντα σφᾶς περιμένειν, ἣς μετακληθεὶς τὸ γύναιον, ἢ συνελθεῖν οἱ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα, ἐσβάντες ἐς σκάφος παρέπεμπον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐρέσσουσες φιλοπόνως· ἑκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχον τε τῶν ἐπαγγελμῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστησαν ἐτὶ θεραπεύσασε αὐτὸν μέχρι τῶν στοιχῶν.

Ῥέβιλον δὲ ναύκληρος ἐς τὴν ναῦν ὑποδεξί-μενος ὡς διοίσων ἐς Σικελίαν ἦτει χρήματα, μηνύσειν ἀπεὶλῶν, εἰ μὴ λάβοι. ὁ δὲ, οἷον τι καὶ

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certain reward. So they fled, taking him with them in the guise of a fellow-slave, and when he was recognized on the road they fought against the soldiers. Being captured by the latter, he told them that they had no reason for killing him except for money, and that they would get a more honourable and larger reward by going with him to the sea-shore, "where," said he, "my wife has arranged to bring a ship with money." They followed his suggestion and went with him to the sea-shore. His wife had come to the rendezvous according to agreement, but as Virginius had been delayed, she thought that he had already sailed to Pompeius. So she had embarked, leaving a slave at the rendezvous, however, to tell him if he should come. When the slave saw Virginius he ran up as though to his master, and pointed out to him the ship which had just started, and told him about his wife and the money and why he (the slave) had been left behind. The soldiers now believed all that they heard, and when Virginius asked them to wait till his wife could be called back, or to go with him after her to obtain the money, they embarked in a small boat and conveyed him to Sicily, rowing with all their might. There they received what had been promised them, and they did not go back, but remained in his service until peace was declared.

A ship captain received Rebilus in his vessel in order to convey him to Sicily and then demanded money, threatening to betray him if he did not get it. Rebilus followed the example of Themistocles when he fled. He threatened in turn that he would
49. Μάρκος δὲ Βρούτῳ στρατηγῶν προσεγγιστὸ μὲν καὶ ὄδε διὰ τὸ τόδε, ἡττωμένον δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου συλλαμβανόμενος ὑπεκρίνατο εἶναι θεράπων, καὶ αὐτὸν ὄνησατο Βαρβούλας. δεξίον δὲ ὅρων ἐπέστησε τοῖς όμοδούλοις καὶ χρήματα διοικεῖν ἔδωκεν· δεινὸν δὲ ἐν ἀπασί καὶ συνετὸν ὄντα ὑπὲρ θεράπου τοὺς φύσιν ὑπενόει καὶ ἐπήλπιζεν, εἰ τῶν προγεγραμμένων τις εἶχα, περισώσειν όμολογησάντα. ἀπομαχόμενον δὲ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ γένος ἀναπλάσσοντα καὶ ὅνωμα καὶ προτέρους δεσπότας ἐστὶ Ρόμην ἐπήγετο, ἐλπίζας ὅκνησειν ἐς Ρώμην ἀφικέσθαι προγεγραμμένον. οὐ δὲ εἴπετο καὶ ὦς. περὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας τῶν ὑπαντών τοῖς φίλων Βαρβούλα, θεασάμενος τὸν Μάρκον ὡς οἰκέτην αὐτῷ παραστῶτα, κρύφα ἐμήσυσε τῷ Βαρβούλα. οὗ δὲ ἐδεήθη Καίσαρος δὲ Ἀγρίππα, καὶ ἀφείθα τῆς προγραφῆς οὗ Μάρκος, καὶ φίλος ἐγόγγυτο Καίσαρι καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ στρατηγὸς ἦν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ Ἀκτιον. ἐστρατηγεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ Βαρβούλας, καὶ ἡ τύχη περιήλθεν ἐς τὸ ὁμοιον ἀμφότερος· Βαρβούλας τε γὰρ ἠττηθέντος Ἀντωνίῳ λαμβανόμενος ὑπεκρίνατο οἰκέτης εἶναι, καὶ οὗ Μάρκος αὐτὸν ὡς ἄγνωστον ὑνήσατο, ἐκθέμενος δὲ ἀπαντᾷ τῷ Καίσαρι ἡτησέ τε καὶ ἐτυχει τὸς ὁμοίοις τὸν Βαρβούλαν ἀμείσυκος ταῖς.
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tell how the captain was helping him to escape for money. The captain was afraid, and he carried Rebilus over to Pompeius.

49. Marcus was one of the lieutenants of Brutus and was proscribed for that reason. When Brutus was defeated he was captured. He pretended to be a slave and was bought by Barbula. The latter, perceiving that he was skilful, placed him over his fellow-slaves and gave him charge of his private disbursements. As he was clever in all respects and superior in intelligence to the condition of a slave, his master had suspicions and encouraged him to hope that if he would confess that he was one of the proscribed he (Barbula) would procure his pardon. He denied stoutly, and gave himself a feigned name and family and former masters. Barbula brought him to Rome, expecting that if he were proscribed he would show reluctance to come, but he followed all the same. One of Barbula’s friends, who met him at the gates, saw Marcus standing by his side in the character of a slave, and privately told Barbula who he was, and he obtained from Octavian, through the intercession of Agrippa, the erasure of the name of Marcus from the proscription. The latter became a friend of Octavian, and some time later served as his lieutenant against Antony at the battle of Actium. Barbula was then serving with Antony, and the fortune of both of them was reversed. For when Antony was vanquished Barbula was taken prisoner and he pretended to be a slave, and Marcus bought him pretending not to know him. Then he laid the whole matter before Octavian and asked that he might compensate Barbula with a like service, and his request was granted.
CAP. VI. Τούσδε μὲν οὖν ἡ συντυχία τῶν ὀμοίων καὶ ἐσ τὸ ἐπείτα παρέμεινεν. ἦρξαν γὰρ τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν ἐν ἀστεί οἱ δύο ὄμοι. 50. Βαλβίνῳ δὲ, ἐκφυγόντι καὶ κατελθόντι σὺν Πομπηίῳ καὶ ὑπατεύοντι οὐ πολὺ ύστερον, Λέπιδος ἰδιώτης ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐκ δυνάστου γενόμενος ὑπὸ τοιᾶσδε ἀνάγκης παρέστη. Μαικῆνας ἔδωκε τὸν Λέπιδου παιδα βουλεύσεως ἐπὶ Καίσαρι, ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῷ παιδί συνεγνωκέναι· Λέπιδου γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἄρα ὡς ἀσθενοῦς ὑπερέφαρα. τὸν μὲν δὴ παιδα ὁ Μαικῆνας ἐς Ἀκτιον ἐπέμπε τῷ Καίσαρι, τὴν δὲ μητέρα, ὅπα μὴ ἄγοιτο οὖσα γυνὴ, ἐγγύην ἦτει παρὰ τῷ ὑπάτῳ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἀφίξεσθαι. οὐδενὸς δὲ τὴν ἐγγύην ὑφισταμένου, ὁ Λέπιδος ἀμφὶ τὰς Βαλβίνου θύρας ἐτρίβετο πολλάκις καὶ δικάζοντι παρίστατο καὶ διωθούμενόν αὐτὸν ἐς πολὺ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν μόλις ἔσπεν· "ἐμοί μὲν καὶ οἱ κατήγοροι μαρτυροῦσιν ἐπείκειαν, οὐδὲ γυναικὶ με ἡ παιδὶ συγγνώναι λέγοντες· σὲ δὲ οὐκ ἔγω μὲν προέγραψα, κατὼ δὲ εἰμὶ τῶν προγραφέντων. ἀλλ’ ἐσ τὴν ἀνθρώπειον τύχην ἀφορῶν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ σοι παρεστῶτα, χάρισαι μοι τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπαντήσειν ἐς Καίσαρα ἐγγυωμένῳ ἢ μετ’ ἐκείνης ἀπελθεῖν δεομένῳ." ταῦτα ἔτι τοῦ Λέπιδου λέγοντος, οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁ Βαλβίνος ἀπέλυσε τῆς ἐγγύης τὴν γυναίκα.

51. Κικέρων δὲ ὁ Κικέρωνος προκατέσταλτο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοιάδε ἔσπεσθαι προσδοκῶντος· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐς Βρούτουν.
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This similarity of good fortune attended these two in after times, for they both held the chief magistracy in the city the same year. 50. Balbinus took refuge with Pompeius and was restored with him, and became consul not long afterward. Lepidus, who had meanwhile been deposed from the triumvirate by Octavian and reduced to private life, presented himself to Balbinus under the following stress. Maecenas prosecuted the son of Lepidus for high treason against Octavian and also the young man's mother as knowing of the crime. Lepidus himself he overlooked as being a person of no consequence. Maecenas sent the son to Octavian at Actium, but in order to spare his mother the journey on account of her sex, he demanded that she should give bail to the consul for her appearance before Octavian. As nobody offered bail for her, Lepidus presented himself frequently at the door of Balbinus and also at his tribunal, and though the attendants long forced him away, he made himself heard with difficulty to this effect: "The accusers testify to my innocence, since they say that I was not an accomplice of my wife and son. I did not cause you to be proscribed, yet I am now inferior to the proscribed. Consider the mutability of human affairs and grant to one, who stands by your side, the favour of becoming security for my wife's appearance before Octavian, or let me go there with her." When Lepidus had thus spoken, Balbinus took pity on his reverse of fortune, and released his wife from bail altogether.

51. Cicero, the son of Cicero, had been sent away to Greece by his father, who anticipated these evils. From Greece he proceeded to join Brutus, and after
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καὶ μετὰ Βρούτου ὑποθανόντα ἐς Πομπήιον ἐλθὼν τιμῆς παρ’ ἐκατέρω καὶ στρατηγίας ἧξιοῦτο. ἐπὶ δὲ ἑκείνου αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσάρ ἐς ἀπολογίαν τῆς Κικέρωνος ἐκδόσεως ἱερέα τε εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνε καὶ ὕπατον οὗ πολὺ ὑστεροῦ καὶ Συρίας στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἀντώνιον περὶ ‘Ακτιον συμφορὰν ἐπισταλείσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ὁ Κικέρων οἴε ὑπατεύων ἀνέγρω τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ προύθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἐίθα πρότερον ἥ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ προύκειτο κεφαλῆς. Ἀππιὸς δὲ διένειμε τοῖς θεράπουσιν τὰ ὄντα καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἔς Σικελίαν ἔπλευ. χειμῶνος δὲ ἐπιλαβόντος ἐπιβουλεύοντες οἱ θεράπουτες τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς σκάφος ἐνέθεντο τὸν Ἀππιον, ὡς ἐς ἀσφαλεστέραν ἐπιτίδα μεταφέροντες. καὶ συνέβη τῷ μὲν ἐκ παραλόγου διαπλεῦσαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀπολέσθαι τῆς νεώς διαλυθείσης. Πούπλιος δὲ ὁ ταμίας Βρούτου, τῶν ἀμφί τῶν Ἀντώνιων αὐτοῦ πειθόντων προδοῦναι Βρούτου οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, διὰ τὸ δὲ καὶ προεγράφη. καὶ κατήχηθη καὶ Καίσαρι φίλος ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐπίστην ποτὲ τῷ Καίσαρι προύθηκεν εἰκόνας Βρούτου καὶ ἔπνευθη καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος.

VII

Τὰ μὲν δὴ παρὰ δύοιν τισὶ τῶν προγραφεῖντων εἰς τε κίνδυνον καὶ σωτηρίαν γενόμενα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα παραλιπόντω τοιάδε μάλιστα ἦν. 52. γνωμομένων δὲ τούτων ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια πάντα πολέμωι διὰ τὴν ἐν τούτῳ στάσιν ἐδοκεῖτο καὶ τῶν πολέμων οἱ μεῖζοι ήσαν ἀμφὶ τε Διβυῆν

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the latter's death he joined Pompeius, by both of whom he was honoured with a military command. Afterwards Octavian, by way of apology for his betrayal of Cicero, caused him to be appointed pontifex, and not long afterwards consul and then proconsul of Syria. When the news of the overthrow of Antony at Actium was forwarded by Octavian this same Cicero, as consul, announced it to the people and affixed it to the rostra where formerly his father's head had been exhibited. Appius distributed his goods among his slaves and then sailed with them to Sicily. Being overtaken by a storm, the slaves formed a plot to get possession of his money, and placed Appius in a small boat, pretending to transfer him to a safer place; but it turned out that he reached the port most unexpectedly, while their ship was wrecked and they all perished. Publius, quaestor of Brutus, was solicited by the party of Antony to betray his chief, but refused, and was for that reason proscribed. Afterward he was restored to citizenship and became a friend of Octavian. Once when Octavian came to visit him Publius displayed some images of Brutus, and Octavian praised him for doing so.

VII

The above are some of the most remarkable cases where the proscribed were lost or saved. Many others I have omitted. 52. In the meantime, while these transactions were taking place at Rome, all the outlying countries were torn by hostilities growing out of the same commotion. Chief among

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GAP. VII. Κορυφικίου πρὸς Σέξτιον καὶ ἐν Συρίᾳ Κασσίου πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν καὶ περὶ Σικελίαν Πομπήιου. πάθη τε πολλὰ συνενέχθη τόλεσιν ἐκ δορια- λωσίας, ἀπειριδότοι δὲ τῶν ἐλασσόνων τὰ μέγιστα δὴ καὶ δὴ ἀξίωσιν τῶν ἄλλων περιφανέστατα Δασδικέυσι καὶ Ταρσεύσι καὶ Ῥοδίως καὶ Παταρεύσι καὶ Ξανθίως. καὶ αὐτῶν ἔκαστο, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαῖο συναγαγόντι φράσαι, τοιάδε ἦν.

53. Διβύς Ἱωρμαίοι τὴν μὲν ἔτι καλοῦσι παλαιάν, ὡς Ἱορκηδούνιος ἀφεῖλοντο· ὡς δὲ Ἰόβας εἶχεν, ύστερον τε ἔλαβον ἐπὶ Γαίου Καύσαρος καὶ διὰ τούτο νέαν προσαγορεύουσι Διβύνην· εἰι δ' ἀν τῆς Νομαδικῆς. Σέξτιος οὖν ὑπὸ Καύσαρι τῆς νέας ὑγούμενος ἦτει Κορυφικίου ἐκστῆναι οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς, ὡς Διβύς ἀπάσης ἐν τῇ λήξει τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν Καύσαρι νενεμημένης. οδ' ὅτε τὴν λήξιν ἐφ' ὑγινώσκειν τῶν τριῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν πεποιημένων, ὡτε τὴν ἄρχην παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς λαβὼν ἄλλα μεθήσειν χωρὶς αὐτῆς· ἐκ μὲν δὲ τούτων ἄλληλοις ἐπολέμουν, στρατῶν δὲ εἶχεν ὁ μὲν βαρῶν τε καὶ πλείονα, ὁ δὲ Σέξτιος κουφότερον τε καὶ ὀλυγώτερον, ὅ δ' καὶ τὰ μεσόγαια τοῦ Κορυφικίου περιῶν ἀφίστη καὶ Οὐεντίδιον, στρατηγῶν τοῦ Κορυφικίου, μετὰ πλείονων ἐπελθόντα ἀπεμάχετο πολλοκύμενος. ἐδήν δὲ καὶ Λαῖλιος, ἔτερος τοῦ Κορυφικίου στρατηγός, τὴν Σέξτιον Διβύνην καὶ Κύρταν περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

these wars was that in Africa between Cornificius and Sextius, that in Syria between Cassius and Dolabella, and that against Pompeius around Sicily. Many cities suffered the calamity of capture. I shall pass by the smaller ones and confine myself to the largest, and especially the very celebrated captures of Laodicea, Tarsus, Rhodes, Patara, and Xanthus. I shall relate briefly what took place at each of these.

53. That part of Africa which the Romans took from the Carthaginians they still call Old Africa. The part that belonged to King Juba, and which was taken by Gaius Caesar at a later period, they call for that reason New Africa; it might also be called Numidian Africa. Accordingly Sextius, who held the government of New Africa, being appointed by Octavian, summoned Cornificius to abandon Old Africa to him because the whole country had been assigned to Octavian in the allotment of the triumvirs. Cornificius replied that he did not know what allotment the triumvirs had made among themselves, and that since he had received the government from the Senate he would not surrender it to anybody else without the order of the Senate. This was the origin of hostilities between them. Cornificius had the heavier and more numerous army. That of Sextius was more nimble though inferior in number, by which means he was enabled to dash round and detach from Cornificius his inland districts until he was besieged by Ventidius, a lieutenant of Cornificius, who brought against him superior forces and whom he resisted valiantly. Laelius, another lieutenant of Cornificius, ravaged the province of Sextius, sat down before the city of Cirta, and laid siege to it.
54. Καὶ πάντες ἐπρέσβευον περὶ συμμαχίας ἐς τε Ἀραβίωνα βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Σιττιανοὺς, οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιττίων ἱδίων οὖν ὑποστὰς ἐφυγή καὶ στρατὸν ἀγείρας ἐκ τε αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐς Διβύην διέπλευσε καὶ τοὺς Διβύων βασιλεύσι πολεμοῦσιν ἀλλήλους ἀνὰ μέρος συνεμάχει. ἀεὶ δὲ οἳς προσθεῖτο νυκώντων, ὁ Σίττιος ἐπὶ ὅνοματος ἑγίγνετο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ γεγυμναστὸ λαμπρῶς. Γαϊτῷ τε Καίσαρι διώκοντι τοὺς Πομπηιανοὺς ἐν Διβύῃ συνεμάχησε, καὶ Σαβόρραν, Ἰόβα στρατηγὸν διώνυμον, ἀνειλε καὶ γέρας τούτων ἔλαβε παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν Μασανάσσου γῆν, οὐχ ἀπασαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κράτιστον αὐτῆς. Μασανάσσης δ’ ἦν Ἀραβίωνος τοῦτε πατήρ, Ἰόβα σύμμαχος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν ὦ Καίσαρ τῷ Σιττίῳ καὶ Βόσχῳ, Μαυροσίων βασιλεί, δεδόρητος καὶ τὸ μέρος οἱ Σίττιος τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιδιείλει. Ἀραβίων δὲ τότε μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξέφυγε πρὸς τοὺς παίδας τοὺς Πομπηίων, Γαϊτοὶ δ’ Καίσαρος ἀναρεθέντος ἐς Διβύην ἐπανήλθε, καὶ Διβύων τινὰς ἀεὶ τῷ νεωτέρῳ Πομπηίῳ πέμπων ἐς Ἰβηρίαν καὶ γεγυμνασμένους ἀπολαμβάνων Βόσχων ἀφήρητο τὴν χώραν καὶ Σίττιον ἀνηρκεῖ δόλῳ. εὐνοὺς δ’ ὁν τοῖς Πομπηιανοῖς διὰ τάδε, κατεγίνωσκεν ἀεὶ τῆς μοίρας ὡς ἀτυχούσης ἀμελίκης καὶ Σεξστίῳ προσέθετο, εὐμενιζόμενος δ’ αὐτοῦ Καίσαρα. προσέθετο δὲ καὶ οἱ Σιττιανοὶ, κατ’ εὐνοιαν οἴδε πατρών τοῦ Καίσαρος.

55. Ἡμερήσας οὖν ὁ Σεξστίος ἐξείη τῆς πολιορκίας ἐς μάχην καὶ πεσόντος τοῦ Ὅυνετιδίου καὶ
54. Both parties sent ambassadors to secure the alliance of King Arabio and of the so-called Sittians, who received their name from the following circumstance. A certain Sittius, who was under accusation at Rome, took flight in order to avoid trial. Collecting an army from Italy and Spain, he crossed over to Africa, where he allied himself now with one and now with another of the warring kings of that country. As those with whom he joined himself were always victorious, Sittius acquired a reputation and his army became wonderfully efficient. When Gaius Caesar pursued the Pompeians to Africa Sittius joined him and destroyed Juba’s famous general, Saburra, and received from Caesar, as a reward for these services, the territory of Masinissa, not all, but the best part of it. Masinissa was the father of this Arabio and the ally of Juba. Caesar gave his territory to this Sittius, and to Bocchus, the king of Mauritania, and Sittius divided his own portion among his soldiers. Arabio at that time fled to the sons of Pompey in Spain, but returned to Africa after Caesar’s death and kept sending to the younger Pompeius detachments of his men, whom he received back in a state of good training, and so expelled Bocchus from his territory and killed Sittius by stratagem. Although for these reasons he was friendly toward the Pompeians, he nevertheless decided against that party, because it was so extremely unlucky, and joined Sextius, through whom he acquired the favour of Octavian. The Sittians also joined him by reason of their friendship for the elder Caesar.

55. Thus encouraged Sextius made a sortie by which Ventidius was killed and his army put to
CAP. τοῦ στρατοῦ φεύγοντος ὑπ' ἀναρχίας, εἴπετο κτείνων τε καὶ ζωγρῶν. καὶ τάδε μαθὼν ὁ Δαίλιος διέλυε τὴν τῆς Κήρτης πολιορκίαν καὶ ἔχωρει πρὸς τὸν Κορνιφίκιον. ὁ δὲ Σέξστιος ἐπαιρόμενος τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἠδὲ τὸν Κορνιφίκιον ἐς Ἰτύκην ἦε καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευε μετὰ πλείων ὄντι. Δαίλιον δὲ τοῦ Κορνιφίκιον μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων πέμψαντος ἐς τινα κατάσκεψιν, ὁ Σέξστιος Ἀραβίωνα ἐπεμψεν ἱππομαχεῖν τῷ Δαίλιῳ κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ αὐτὸς ἦε μετὰ τῶν εὐξόων ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς ἱππομαχίας καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἐθορύβη, μέχρι τὸν Δαίλιον ὦν ἡσσημένον πώ δεῖσαι περὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως, μὴ ἀποκλεισθείη, καὶ λόφον ἐν μέσῳ καταλαβείν, Ἀραβίωνα δὲ ἀρτόμενον αὐτοῦ κτείναι τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν λόφον περικυκλώσαι. ὅρων δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἔξει τῷ πλέον στρατῷ, βοηθήσων τῷ Δαίλίῳ καὶ τοῦδε μὲν ὁ Σέξστιος ὁπισθεν γενόμενος ἔξηπτετο συντρέχων, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιστρεφόμενος ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἀπεμάχετο μάλα κακοπάθως.

56. Ὁ δὲ Ἀραβίων ἐν τούτῳ πετροβάταις ἀνδράσιν ἀνέρπουσι διὰ κρημνῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Κορνιφίκιον παρέδυ λαθῶν. καὶ Ρώσκιος μὲν ὁ φύλαξ, τοῦ χάρακος ἀλισκομένου, τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τινὶ τὴν σφαγὴν ἔπεσχε καὶ ἀνηρέθη, ὁ δὲ Κορνιφίκιος τῇ μάχῃ κάμμων μετεπήδη τρὸς Δαίλιον ἐς τὸν κολονόν, οὐκ εἰδὼς πώ περὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μεταπηδῶντα δ’ αὐτὸν οἱ τοῦ Ἀραβίωνος ἐπιπέει ἐπιδραμόμενος ἐκτειναν. καὶ γνωμόμενα ταῦτα ὁ Δαίλιος ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου καθορῶν ἐαυτὸν διεχρήσατο. τῶν δ’ ἀρχόντων

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headlong flight. Sextius pursued them, killing and taking prisoners. When Lælius heard the news he raised the siege of Cirta and joined Cornificius. Sextius, elated by his success, advanced against Cornificius himself at Utica and encamped opposite him, although the latter had the superior force. Cornificius sent Lælius with his cavalry to make a reconnaissance, and Sextius ordered Arabio to engage him with his own cavalry in front, and Sextius himself with his light troops fell upon the enemy's flank and threw them into such confusion that Lælius, although not vanquished, feared lest his retreat should be cut off and took possession of a hill near by. Arabio hung upon his rear, killed many, and surrounded the hill. When Cornificius saw this he sallied out with the greater part of his force to assist Lælius. Sextius, who was in his rear, dashed up and attacked him, but Cornificius turned upon him and drove him back, although suffering severely.

56. Meanwhile Arabio, with a band of men accustomed to climbing rocks, scaled a precipice to the camp of Cornificius and stole into it unobserved. When the camp was captured Roscius, the custodian, offered his throat to one of his assistants and was killed. Cornificius, overcome by the fatigue of the engagement, retired toward Lælius on the hill, not yet knowing what had happened to his camp. While he was retreating the cavalry of Arabio charged upon him and killed him, and when Lælius, looking down from the hill, saw what had happened he killed himself. When the leaders had fallen the
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CAP. VII

πεσόντων ὁ στρατὸς κατὰ μέρη διέφυγεν καὶ ὁσοὶ τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἦσαν παρὰ τῷ Κορυφικῷ, οἱ μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλεον, οἱ δ᾽ ὀπὴ δύναντο ἕκαστος. ὁ δὲ Σέξιστος Ἀραβίωνα μὲν καὶ τῶν Σιττιανοὺς ἐδωρεῖτο πολλοῖς λαφύροις, τὰς δὲ πόλεις τῷ Καίσαρι καθίστατο, συγγενώσκων ἀπάσαις.

CAP. VIII

Τούτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τῷ περὶ Διβύην Σεξηστίου καὶ Κορυφικίου πολέμῳ, βραχεὶ διὰ ταχυεργίαν δόξαντι εἶναι. 57. τὰ δὲ ἄμφι Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον, μικρὰ καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀναλβόντι ἐς ὑπόμνημα, ἦν τοιάδε. ἔπειδὴ Γάιος Καίσαρ ἄνήρητο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς αὐτοῦ τὸ Καπιτόλιον κατέλαβον καὶ ψηφισθείσης αὐτοῖς ἀμηστίας κατέβησαν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκομιδῇ τοῦ σώματος ἐν οἴκτῳ Καίσαρος γενόμενος ἔξητε τοὺς φονέας περιθέων. οἱ δὲ τότε μὲν ἡμύνοντο αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν τεγών, εὐθὺς δὲ ἐξήσαν αὐτῶν, ὅσοι στρατηγεῖν ἔθνων ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ κεχειροτόνητο. Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος ἐστρατήγησαν μὲν ἐτεὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἔρημον δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ οἶδε ὑπὸ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἤγειρον Συρίας μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος, Μακεδονίας δὲ ὁ Βροῦτος. οὐτε δὲ ἄρχειν πω τῶν ἐθνῶν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου δυνάμενοι οὔτε τὸν ἐν ἄστη φόβοιν ὑπομένουσεν ἐξῆσαν ἄτι στρατηγούντες καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἡ βουλή σίτου φροντίσαι προσέταξεν, ἴνα μὴ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα θεύγει νομίζοντο. οἰχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν 236
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soldiers fled in various directions. Of the proscribed who were with Cornificius, some crossed over to Sicily, others took refuge wherever they could. Sextius gave great spoils to Arabio and the Sittians, but the cities he brought into allegiance to Octavian and granted pardon to them all.

VIII

This was the end of the war in Africa between Sextius and Cornificius, which seemed inconsiderable by reason of the rapidity with which it was prosecuted. 57. Resuming the narrative of Cassius and Brutus, I shall repeat some small part of what has already been said, in order to refresh the memory. When Caesar was assassinated his murderers took possession of the Capitol, and when amnesty was voted to them they came down. The people were greatly moved at Caesar’s funeral and scoured the city in pursuit of his murderers. The latter defended themselves from the roofs of their houses, and those of them who had been appointed by Caesar himself as governors of provinces departed from the city forthwith. Cassius, however, and Brutus were still city praetors, though Cassius had been chosen by Caesar as governor of Syria and Brutus of Macedonia. As they could not enter at once upon these offices, and as they were afraid to remain in the city, they took their departure while still praetors, and the Senate, for the sake of appearances, gave them charge of the supply of corn, so that they might not seem to have taken flight in the interval. After they had gone,
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CAP. Συρία μὲν καὶ Μακεδονία εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους Ἀντώνιον τε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν μετεψήφισετο, τῆς βουλῆς πάνυ δυσχεραίνουσι, ἀντεδόθη δὲ ὅμως τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτην ὄν ὑπεριδόντες ὡς βραχυτέρων ἐκείνου στρατὸν καὶ χρήματα ἤγειρον ὡς ἐς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονιαν ἐσβαλόντες.

58. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἠσαν ἐν τούτοις, Τρεβώνιον δὲ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ κτείναντος Δολοβέλλα καὶ Δέκμον Ἀντώνιον πολιορκοῦντος ἐν Κελτοῖς, χαλεπαίνουσα ἡ βουλή Δολοβέλλαν μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι πολεμίους, Βροῦτον δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἐς τὰς προτέρας ἡγεμονίας ἐπανήγαγον καὶ Βροῦτῳ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδας προσέθεσαν τοὺς τε ἄλλους πάσιν ἐκείνους, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμονεύουσιν ἑθνῶν ἡ στρατοτέρων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰούλιον μέχρι Συρίας, ὑπακούειν, ἐς ὅ τι κελεύοι Κάσσιος ἢ Βροῦτος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως Κάσσιος φθάνει Δολοβέλλαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ σημεία τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνέσχε καὶ δυνάμεις τῆς στρατοῦ Γαίῳ Καίσαρι ἐκ πολλοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ γεγυμνασμένα προσέλαβεν ἅθρως· οὐ τὸ μὲν ἐν αὐτῶν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐν Συρίᾳ καταλειποίητε, τὰ ἔς Παρθανιών ἤ̣δη διανοούμενος, τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαιν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτέτραπτο μὲν Καίκλιος Βάσσος, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα εἶχε νεανίας αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος συγγενής, Σέξτος Ἰούλιος. ἐκδιατώμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰούλιος τὸ τέλος ἐς τρυφὴν ἐπῆγετο ἄσχημον καὶ ἐπιμεμφομένῳ τῷ Βάσσῳ ποτὲ ἐνύβρις· καὶ καλῶν ὑστεροῦ, ἐπειδὴ βραδεῖς ὑπῆκουν, ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἐκείνου ἔλκοντας. θερᾶθε δὲ ἄσχημον οὐκ ἐς τὸν Βάσσον γενομένων οὐκ
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the provinces of Syria and Macedonia were transferred to the consuls Dolabella and Antony much against the will of the Senate. Nevertheless, Cyrene and Crete were given to Brutus and Cassius in exchange. These provinces they despised because of their insignificance, and, accordingly, they set about raising troops and money in order to invade Syria and Macedonia.

58. While they were thus engaged Dolabella put Trebonius to death in Asia and Antony besieged Decimus Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul. The Senate in indignation voted both Dolabella and Antony public enemies, and restored both Brutus and Cassius to the former commands and added Illyria to that of Brutus. It also ordered all other persons holding commands of Roman provinces or armies, between the Adriatic and Syria, to obey the orders of Cassius and Brutus. Thereupon Cassius anticipated Dolabella by entering Syria, where he raised the standards of a governor and won over twelve legions of soldiers who had been enlisted and trained by Gaius Caesar long before. One of these Caesar had left in Syria when he was contemplating a war against the Parthians, and had placed it under the charge of Caecilius Bassus, but had given the nominal command to Sextus Julius, a young man who was his kinsman. This Julius was a fellow of loose habits who led the legion into shameful dissipations and once insulted Bassus when the latter remonstrated with him. Afterward he summoned Bassus to his presence, and when the latter delayed he ordered that he be dragged before him. There was a disgraceful tumult in consequence, and some blows were given to Bassus, the
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CAP. Ενεγκούσα την ὅψιν ἡ στρατιά τὸν Ἰούλιον συνη-
κόντισε. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν μετάνοια καὶ δεός ἐκ τοῦ
Καίσαρος. συνομόσαντες οὖν ἄλληλοις, εἰ μὴ τις
αὐτοῖς συγγνώμη καὶ πίστις γένοιτο, διαγωνιεῖ-
σθαι μέχρι ϑανάτου, τὸν Βάσσον ἐς ταύτα συνη-
νώκασαν. τέλος δὲ στρατεύσαντες ἔτερον, συνε-
γύμναξον ἄμφω καὶ Στάιον Μούρκον, ὑπὸ Καὶ-
σαρος αὐτοῖς σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσιν ἐπιτεμφύηντα,
γενναίως ἀπεμάχοντο. Μούρκω δ’ ἦκεν ἐπίκουρος
Μάρκιος Κρίστος ἐκ Βιδυνίας μετὰ τριδέν τελῶν
ἄλλων, καὶ τὸν Βάσσον ἐπολιορκοῦν ὁμοῦ πάντες
ἐξ τέλεσιν ἦδη.

59. Κάσσιος οὖν τήνδε τὴν πολυρκίαν σπουδὴν
καταλαβὼν τὸν τε τοῦ Βάσσου στρατὸν αὐτίκα
παρελάμβανεν ἐκόντα καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνῳ τὰ Μούρκον
τέλη καὶ Μαρκίου, κατὰ τε φιλίαν αὐτῷ παραδίδον-
των καὶ κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς ἐς πάντα ὑπα-
κουόντων. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ Ἀλληνός, ὑπὸ Δολοβέλλα
πεμφθεὶς ἐς Ἀγγουτον, ἐπανήγγειλεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τέσσαρα
tέλη τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡσσῆς Πομπηίου τε καὶ Κράσ-
σον διαρριφέντων ἡ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος Κλεοπάτρα
καταλειμμένων καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐν τῇ
Παλαιστίνῃ, τῶν ὑπὸν οὐ προπεπυμένου, ἄφω
περιέλαβε τε καὶ ἦναγκαζε προσθέσαι οἱ καὶ
παραδοῦναι τὸν στρατὸν, δείσαντα τέσσαρι
τέλεσι μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὀκτω. οὗτοι μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος
ἐκ παραδόξου δυνάμει τελῶν ἄριστων ἄθροώς
ἐκράτει. καὶ αὐτῷ πίνες καὶ Παρθανάων ἢποτο-
ξόται συνεμάχοντο, δόξαν ἔχοντε παρὰ τοῖς Παρ-
θαναίοις, ἐξ οὗ Κράσσῳ ταμεύων ἐμφρονέστερος
ἔδοξε τοῦ Κράσσου γενέσθαι.

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sight of which the army resented, and Julius was shot down. This act was followed straightway by repentance and fear of Caesar, and so they bound each other by an oath that, unless they were granted pardon and reconciliation, they would fight to the death; and they compelled Bassus to take the same oath. They recruited another legion and both were drilled together. Caesar sent Staius Murcus against them with three legions, but they resisted bravely. Marcius Crispus was then sent from Bithynia to the aid of Murcus with three additional legions, and thus Bassus was besieged by six legions altogether.

59. Cassius speedily intervened in this siege and took command at once of the army of Bassus with its consent, and afterward of the legions of Murcus and Marcius, who surrendered them to him in a friendly way and in pursuance of the decree of the Senate obeyed him in all respects. About the same time Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by Dolabella, brought from that country four legions composed of men who had been dispersed after the disasters of Pompey and Crassus, or who had been left with Cleopatra by Caesar. Cassius surrounded him in Palestine unexpectedly, while he was in ignorance of what had happened, and compelled him to come to terms and surrender his army, as he did not dare to fight with four legions against eight. Thus in a marvellous manner Cassius came into possession of twelve first-rate legions, to whom were added a certain number of Parthian mounted bowmen, who were attracted by the reputation he had acquired among them from the time when, as quaestor to Crassus, he had shown himself to be more skilful than that general.
60. Δολοβέλλας δὲ διέτριψε μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἰονίαν, κτείνων Τρεβῶνιον καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔπιβάλλων ἐσφοράς καὶ ναυτικῶν ἀγείρων ἐπὶ μισθῷ διὰ Δευκίου Φύγλου παρά τε Ῥοδίων καὶ Δυκίων καὶ Παμφύλων καὶ ἐκ Κιλικίας. ὡς δὲ οἱ τάδε ἐτοιμα ἦν ἐπήει τῇ Συρία, κατὰ μὲν τὴν γῆν αὐτὸς μετὰ δύο τελῶν, διὰ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης ὁ Φύγλος. πυθόμενος δὲ τῆς Κασσίων στρατιάς ἐς Δαοδίκειαν οἰκείως ἐχούσαν οἱ παρῆλθεν, ἐπὶ τε χερρονήσου συνοικισμένη καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὁγυρωμένη καὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἔχουσαν ὄρμον, ὅθεν ἔμελλεν εὐπορήσειν τε ἄγορᾶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ ἀδεῶς, ὅτε βουλοῖτο, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι. ὃν αἰσθανόμενος ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ δεδώσε, μὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Δολοβέλλας διαφύγων, τὸν τε ἱσθμὸν ἔχου διστάδιον ὄντα, λίθους καὶ πάσαν ὑλὴν ἔξ ἐπαύλεων καὶ προοστείων καὶ τάφων συμφέρων, καὶ ἐπὶ ναῦς περιέσπεμπεν ἐς τε Φοινίκην καὶ Δυκίαν καὶ Ῥόδον.

61. Τπερορώμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πλὴν Σιδωνίων ἐπανήχθη τῷ Δολοβέλλα, καὶ κατέδυσαν μὲν ἐκατέρου νῆς ἱκανάς, πέντε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄνδρῶν εἶλεν Δολοβέλλας. καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αὐθίς ἐπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς ὑπεριδόντας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς Κλεοπάτραν, τὴν Ἀἰγύπτου βασιλίδα, καὶ ἐς Σεραπίωνα, τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ στρατηγοῦντα. Τύριοι μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἄραδίοι καὶ Σεραπίων, οὐδὲν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας προμαθῶν, ἐπεμψαν αὐτῷ ναύς, ὡς ἐξ ἡ βασιλίς ὁ Κασσίω μὲν προύφερε λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λυμὸν ἐνοχλοῦντα τότε Αἰγύπτῳ, διὰ δὲ οἰκειότητα τοῦ προτέρου Καλςαρος συνέπρασσε τῷ Δολοβέλλα. καὶ ἀπὸ
60. Dolabella was spending his time in Ionia, where he put Trebonius to death, levied tribute on the towns, and hired a naval force, by means of Lucius Figulus, from the Rhodians, Lycians, Pamphylians, and Cilicians. When all was in readiness he advanced toward Syria, leading two legions by land himself, while Figulus proceeded by sea. After he had learned of the forces of Cassius he passed on to Laodicea, a city friendly to himself, situated on a peninsula, fortified on the landward side and having a roadstead in the sea, so that supplies might be easily obtained by water and he might sail away securely whenever he wished. When Cassius learned this, fearing lest Dolabella should escape him, he threw up a mound across the isthmus, two stades in length, composed of stones and all sorts of material brought together from suburban houses and tombs, and at the same time sent to Phoenicia, Lycia, and Rhodes for ships.

61. Being ignored by all except the Sidonians, he came to a naval engagement with Dolabella, in which a number of ships were sunk on both sides and Dolabella captured five with their crews. Then Cassius again sent to those who had rejected his application, and also to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt and to Serapio, her viceroy in Cyprus. The Tyrians, the Aradii, and Serapio, not waiting to consult Cleopatra, sent Cassius what ships they had. The queen excused herself on the ground that Egypt was at that time suffering from famine and pestilence, but she was really co-operating with Dolabella on account of her relations with the elder Caesar. This
CAP. VIII

τῆς γνώμης αυτῷ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα τέλη προπετόμφει δὲ Ἡλληνοῦ καὶ στόλου ἄλλον ἔτοιμον εἶχεν ἐπαμώνειν, ἀνεμοί δὲ ἐπείρησαν. Ῥώδιοι δὲ καὶ Δύκιοι οὗτε Κασσίω οὗτος Βρούτω συμμαχήσειν ἐφασκὸν ἐς ἐμφύλια, ἐπεὶ καὶ Δολοβέλλα δούναι ναῖς προπομποῦς, καὶ οὐκ εἰδέναι συμμαχοῦσις.

62. Ἐτοιμασάμενος οὖν ὁ Κάσσιος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπανήγετο δὲς τῷ Δολοβέλλῳ καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄγχομαλοι διεκρίθησαν ἀπ’ ἅλληλον, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς ναυμαχίᾳ ἦσσατο ὁ Δολοβέλλας, καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αὐρωμένῳ τοῦ χώματος ἐκοπτεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸ τείχος ἤδη καὶ ἐσάλευεν, τῶν τε νυκτοφύλακα αὐτοῦ Μάρσουν οὐ δυνήθεις διαφθείρεις διέφθειρε τοὺς ἁμεροφυλακούντας αὐτῷ λοχαγοὺς καὶ ἀναπαυμένου τοῦ Μάρσου μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἐσῆθεν, ὑπανιχθεισῶν αὐτῷ πυλίδων κατὰ μέρη πολλῶν. ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὁ μὲν Δολοβέλλας προῦτειν τὴν κεφαλὴν τὸ σωματοφύλαικα αὐτοῦ καὶ τεμόντα προσέταξε φέρειν Κασσίω σώστρον ὕδιον οδὲ τεμῶν ἐπικατέσφαξεν ἑαυτὸν, διεχρήσατο δὲ καὶ Μάρσους ἑαυτὸν. οδὲ Κάσσιος τὴν μὲν τοῦ Δολοβέλλα στρατίαν ἐς ἑαυτὸν μεθώρκοι, Δασδικέων δὲ τὰ τε ἴερα καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἔσυλα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανείς ἐκόλαξε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐσφοραῖς βαρυτάταις ἐξέτρυχε, μέχρι τὴν πόλιν περιήγειν εἰς ἑσχατὸν κακοῦ. 

63. Μετὰ δὲ Δασδικέων ἐπὶ Λαχυπτοῦ ἄρμα, πυνθανόμενος μὲν Κλεοπάτραν βαρεῖ στόλῳ διαπλευσεῖσθαι πρὸς τε Καίσαρα καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐπινοῶν δὲ κωλύσαι τε τῶν πλοίων καὶ

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was the reason why she had sent him the four legions by Allienus, and had another fleet ready to assist him, which was kept back by adverse winds. The Rhodians and the Lycians said that they would help neither Cassius nor Brutus in civil wars, and that when they supplied ships to Dolabella they furnished them as an escort, not knowing that they were to be used as allies in war.

62. When Cassius had again made such preparations as he could with the forces in hand he engaged Dolabella a second time. The first battle was doubtful, but in the next one Dolabella was beaten on the sea. Then Cassius completed his mound and battered Dolabella’s walls till they trembled. He tried unsuccessfully to bribe Marsus, the captain of the night-watch, but he bribed the centurions of the day force, and while Marsus was taking his rest, effected an entrance by daylight through a number of small gates that were secretly opened to him one after another. When the city was taken Dolabella offered his head to his private sentry and told him to cut it off and carry it to Cassius in order to secure his own safety. The guard cut it off, but he killed himself also and Marsus took his own life. Cassius swore Dolabella’s army into his own service. He plundered the temples and the treasury of Laodicea, punished the chief citizens, and exacted very heavy contributions from the rest, so that the city was reduced to the extremest misery.

63. After the capture of Laodicea Cassius turned his attention to Egypt. Having learned that Cleopatra was about to join Octavian and Antony with a strong fleet, he proposed to prevent its
CAP. τίσασθαι τής γνώμης τήν βασιλίδα καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἂν τὴν Ἀἰγυπτοῦ ἐνθυμιζόμενος μάλιστα ἐν καιρῷ, τετρυμένην τε ύπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ ξενικὸν στρατὸν οὐ πολὺν ἔχουσαν, ἄρτι τῶν Ἀλληνῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποστάντων. οὔτω δὲ αὐτὸν ὀρμῆς καὶ ἐλπίδος ἔχοντα καὶ καιροῦ ὁ Βρούτος ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδήν, ὡς ἂδη Κάισαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου τῶν Ἰωνίων περώντων. ἄκων μὲν δὲ Κάσσιος Ἀἰγυπτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἐλπίδων μεθίει καὶ τοὺς Παρθιαῖους ἰπποτοξότας ἀπέπεμπε τιμήσας καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἐστελλε περὶ μεῖξινος συμμαχίας, ἢ μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἀφικνουμένη Συρίαν τε καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐγγύς ἐθνῶν μέχρι Ἰωνίας ἐπέδραμε καὶ ἀνεχὼρησεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κάσσιος τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν ἐν Συρία μεθ’ ἐνὸς τέλους ἀπέλυτε, τοὺς δὲ ἢππεῖς προούπεμψεν ἐς Καππα- δοκίαν, οἱ Ἀριοβαρζάννην τε ἄφων κατέκανον ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα Κασσίφα καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ τὰ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἐς τῶν Κάσσιον ἐπανήγαγον.

64. Ταρσέων δὲ ἐς στάζων διηρημένων οἱ μὲν τῶν Κάσσιον ἐστεφανώκεσαν ἐλθόντα πρότεροι, οἱ δὲ τῶν Δολοβέλλαν ἐπεθύμοντα· ἀμφότεροι δὲ τῷ τῆς πόλεως σχήματι ταῦτα ἐπράσσον. καὶ παραλλαξ ἀντίκροντων ἐκάτερον, ὡς εὐμεταβόλω τόλμῃ χαλεπῶς ἔχρωντο ἐκάτεροι. Κάσσιος δὲ νικήσας Δολοβέλλαν καὶ ἐσφορὰν ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς χίλια καὶ πεντάκοσια τάλαντα. οἱ δὲ ἀπορουντίς τε καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἐπευγόν- των ἀπαιτοῦμενοι σὺν ὑβρεῖ, τὰ τε κοινὰ ἀπεδί- δοντο πάντα καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τοὺς κοινοῖς, ὡςα 246
sailing and to punish the queen for her intention. 

He had before this thought that the condition of Egypt was especially favourable for these designs, because it was wasted by famine and had no considerable foreign army, now that the forces of Allienus had taken their departure. In the midst of his eagerness, his hopes, and his opportunity came a hasty summons from Brutus telling him that Octavian and Antony were crossing the Adriatic. Cassius reluctantly gave up his hopes in respect of Egypt. He also sent back his Parthian mounted bowmen with presents, and with them ambassadors to their king asking for a larger force of auxiliaries. This force arrived after the decisive battle, ravaged Syria and many of the neighbouring provinces as far as Ionia, and then returned home. Cassius left his nephew in Syria with one legion and sent his cavalry in advance into Cappadocia, who presently killed Ariobarzanes for plotting against Cassius. Then they seized his large treasures and other military supplies and brought them to Cassius.

64. The people of Tarsus were divided into factions. One of these factions had crowned Cassius, who was the first to arrive. The other had done the same for Dolabella, who came later. Both had acted thus in the name of the city. As the inhabitants bestowed their honours upon each alternately, each of them treated it despitefully as a fickle-minded place. After Cassius had overcome Dolabella he levied a contribution on it of 1500 talents. Being unable to find the money, and being pressed for payment with violence by the soldiers, the people sold all their public property and after that they coined all the sacred articles used in religious processions.
CAP. εἴχον ές πομπάς ή ἀναθήματα, ἑκοπτοῦν. οὐδενὸς δὲ μέρους οὐδ´ ὡς ἀνυμένου, ἐπώλουν αἱ ἀρχαὶ τὰ ἑλέυθερα· καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἢ παρθένοι τε καὶ παῖδες, ἐπὶ δὲ γυναῖκες τε καὶ γέροντες ἐλεεινοί, βραχυτάτου πάμπαν ὠνιοί, μετὰ δὲ οἱ νεοὶ. καὶ διεξρόντο οἱ πλέονες ἑαυτούς, έως ὡδε ἔχοντας οἱ Κάσσιοι ἐκ Συρίας ἐπαινοῦν φίκτειρέ τε καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν ἐσφαρών ἀπέλυσε.

IX

CAP. ΙX 65. Τάρσος μὲν δὴ καὶ Δαοδίκεια τοιάδε ἐπεπόνθεσαν, Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βρούτος συμβολή- σαντες ἀλλήλους, Βρούτω μὲν ἐδόκει τὴν στρατιάν ἀλλάσαντε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἔργον ἐς Μακε- δονίαν· τελη τε γὰρ ἡδὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς τεσσαράκοντα ἐναι στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτῶν διεληλυ- θέναι τὸν Ἰόνιον ὅκτω· Κασσίω δὲ ἐδόκει τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ἐπὶ περιορᾶν ὡς τριφθησομένων ἐν σφίσιν ἐξ ἀπορίας διὰ τὸ πλήθος, Ῥοδίους δὲ καὶ Λυκίους ἐξελεύν, εὑνοὺς τε ὄντας ἐκείνοις καὶ ναυτικὸν ἔχοντας, ὡμα μὴ κατὰ νότου σφίαν γόνωνται παρὰ τὸ ἔργον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδοξίαν ὡδὲ, ἐγὼρον Βρούτως μὲν ἐπὶ Λυκίους, Κάσσιος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥοδίους, τεθραμμένος τε ἐν αὑτή καὶ πεπαιδευ- μένοις τὰ Ἑλληνικά. ὡς δὲ κρατιστοῖς τὰ ναυτικά ἀνδράς συνοισίμενος ἐς μάχην, τὰς ἰδίας ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἀνεπλήρου καὶ ἐγύμναζεν ἐν Μύνδοι.

66. Ῥοδίους δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν λόγῳ μᾶλλον ὄντες ἐδεδοίκεσαν Ῥωμαίοις μέλλοντες ἐς χεῖρας ἱέναι, ὁ 248
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and the temple offerings into money. As this was not sufficient, the magistrates sold free persons into bondage, first girls and boys, afterward women and miserable old men, who brought a very small price, and finally young men. Most of these committed suicide. Finally Cassius, on his return from Syria, took pity on their sufferings and released them from the remainder of the contribution. Such were the calamities that befell Tarsus and Laodicea.

IX

65. When Brutus and Cassius had their conference, Brutus was in favour of uniting their armies and making Macedonia their chief concern, since the enemy had forty legions, of which eight had already crossed the Adriatic. Cassius was of the opinion that the enemy might still be disregarded, believing that they would waste away of themselves for want of supplies by reason of their great numbers. He thought it would be best to reduce the Rhodians and Lycians, who were friendly to Octavian and Antony, who had fleets, lest they should fall on the rear of the republicans while the latter were busy with the enemy. Having decided to do this, they separated, Brutus proceeding against the Lycians and Cassius against Rhodes, in which place he was brought up, and educated in the literature of Greece. As he had to contend with men of superior naval prowess, he prepared his own ships with care, filled them with troops, and drilled them at Myndus.

66. The Rhodians of distinction were alarmed at the prospect of a conflict with Romans, but the
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY

ΣΑΡ. δὲ λεως ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο, ἐπεὶ οἱ καὶ παλαιῶν ἔργων πρὸς οὓς ὀμοίους ἄνδρας ἐμνημόνευον. ναῦς τε καθείλκων τὰς ἁρίστας σφῶν τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα. καὶ τάδε πράσσοντες ἐπεμπότον τινας ἐς Μύνδου ὄμως, οἱ τὸν Κάσσιον ἠξίουν μῆτε Ρόδου καταφρονεῖν, πόλεως ἀμυναμένης ἀεὶ τοὺς καταφρονήσαντας, μῆτε. συνθηκῶν, αἱ Ῥόδιοι
εἰσὶ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους· εἰ δὲ τι περὶ συμμαχίας ἐπιμέμφοιτο, ἑθέλειν παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς πυθόσθαι, καὶ κελευόσθης ἐφάσαν συμμαχήσειν.

Οι μὲν δὴ τοιάδε μάλιστα ἔλεγον, ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἄντι λόγων ἐφὶ κρινεῖν, τὰς δὲ συνθήκας κελεύειν ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐπεισοδεύειν Ῥόδιοι Κασσίων, Δολοβέλλα συμμαχοῦντας, κελεύειν δὲ ἀλλήλους συμμαχεῖν, Κασσίω δὲ δεσμένῳ εἰρωνεύουσθαι τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς, φευγούσης καὶ ἁλωμένης ἐν τῷ παρόντι διὰ τοὺς ἐν ἄστει τυράννους, οἱ δὲ ὅσοι μὲν αὐτοὶ δίκας, δώσουσι δὲ καὶ Ῥόδιοι τὰ ἐκεῖνων προτιμῶντες, ἵνα μὴ θάσσον ἀνέχωνται τῶν κελευομένων. δὲ μὲν οἱ Κάσσιος αὐτοὺς ἤμείψατο, καὶ οἱ εὐ φρονοῦντες Ῥοδίων μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐδημαγώγουν Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ Μνασέας ἀναμμηνήσκοιτε, ὅτι καὶ Μιθριδάτης πλέοσι ναυῶν ἐπιπλεύσειε τῇ Ῥόδῳ καὶ Δημήτριος ἔτι πρὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου.

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common people were in high spirits, because they recalled former victories achieved over men of different character. They launched thirty-three of their best ships, but while doing so they nevertheless sent messengers to Myndus to urge Cassius not to despise Rhodes, which had always defended herself against those who underestimated her, and not to disregard the treaty which existed between the Rhodians and the Romans which bound them not to bear arms against each other. If he complained of them for not rendering military assistance, they would be glad to hear from the Roman Senate, and if called upon they would lend such assistance.

When they had spoken thus Cassius replied that as to the other matters war would decide instead of words, but as regarded the treaty, which forbade them to bear arms against each other, the Rhodians had violated it by allying themselves with Dolabella against Cassius. The treaty required them to assist each other in war, but when Cassius asked for assistance they quibbled about the Roman Senate, which was either in flight or held captive at present by the tyrants who had mastered the city. Those tyrants would be punished, and the Rhodians would be punished also for siding with them, unless they speedily obeyed his commands. Such was the answer Cassius returned to them. The more prudent Rhodians were still more alarmed, but the multitude were excited by two public speakers named Alexander and Mnaseas, who reminded them that Mithridates had invaded Rhodes with a still larger fleet, and that Demetrius had done so before him.

1 Demetrius Poliorcetes (B.C. 307) and Mithridates (B.C. 88), who are referred to presently.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. IX

Οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀλέξανδρου ἐκ τούτων εἶλοντο σφίσι πρυτανεύειν, ἢπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς μᾶλλα αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ ναυαρχεῖν Μνασέαν, 67. ἐπεμποῦ δ' ὡμοὶ ἐς τὸν Κάσσιον ἔτι πρεσβευτὴν Ἀρχέλαον, ὅς ἐν Ῥόδῳ τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ διδάσκαλος γεγένητο τῷ Κασσίῳ, δεησόμενον ἤδη τόνδε τοῦ Κασσίου λιπαρέστερον καὶ ἐδείτο, τῆς δὲ θείας λαβόμενος, ὡς γνωρίμου. "μὴ τόλιν ἀναστῆσῃς Ἑλληνίδα φιλέλλην ἀνήρ, μὴ Ῥόδον φιλελεύθερον ἀνήρ· μηδὲ αἰσχύνης ἄξιόμα Δώρων, οὐχ ἡσσήμουν, ἔξι οὐ γεγονόμεν, μηδὲ ἐκλάθης καλῆς ἱστορίας ἢς ἐμαθεῖς ἐν Ῥόδῳ τε καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ἐν Ῥόδῳ μὲν, ὡσα Ῥώδιοι κατὰ πόλεις καὶ πρὸς βασιλέας, ἀλλοις τε καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἀμάχους δόξαντας εἶναι, Δημήτριον καὶ Μιθριδάτην, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἐπραξαν, ὑπὲρ ἡς δὴ καὶ σὺ φῆς τάδε κάμνεις· ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ, ὡςα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καθ’ ἐτέρων καὶ κατ’ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου συνεμαχήσαμεν, ὃν εἰσίν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀνάγρατοι στῆλαι παρ’ ὑμῖν.

"Τάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ γένους ἐνεκα καὶ ἄξιόντως ἡμῶν καὶ τύχης ἐς τὸ νῦν ἄδουλότοι καὶ συμμαχίας καὶ προαιρέσεως ἐς ὑμᾶς, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι, λελέχθων. 68. πρὸς σὲ δέ, ὁ Κάσσιε, καὶ αἰδῶς τις ἐστιν ἐξαίρετος ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τροφὴν τὸ σοῦ καὶ παιδεύσαι καὶ διατριβὴν καὶ ἐστῶν, ἢν φίλης, καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλειόν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐμὲ, ἐλπίσαντα μὲν ἐς ἑτέρα τούτοις ποτὲ ἐναβρυνεῖσθαι, νῦν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτὰ δαπανῶντα, ἵνα μὴ αὐτῇ σοι πολεμεῖν ἀναγκάζῃται πεπαιδευμένοι τε ὑφ’ αὐτῆς καὶ τεθραμμένοι μηδὲ γένηται δυοῖν ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης.
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Thereupon they elected Alexander as president, who is the magistrate exercising the supreme power among them, and Mnaseas as admiral of their fleet. 67. Nevertheless, they sent still another ambassador to Cassius in the person of Archelaus, who had been his teacher in Greek literature in Rhodes, to present a more earnest petition. This he did, taking Cassius by the right hand in a familiar manner, and saying, "O friend of the Greeks, do not destroy a Greek city. O friend of freedom, do not destroy Rhodes. Do not put to shame the glory of a Doric state hitherto unvanquished. Do not forget the famous histories you learned both at Rhodes and at Rome—at Rhodes, what the Rhodians accomplished against states and kings (and especially against Demetrius and Mithridates, who were deemed invincible), in behalf of that freedom for which you say that you also are now contending—at Rome, our services to you, among others those that were rendered when we fought with you against Antiochus the Great, concerning which you have monuments inscribed in our honour.

"So much, Romans, for our race, our dignity, our condition hitherto unenslaved, our alliance, and our good-will toward you. 68. As for you, Cassius, you owe a peculiar reverence to this city in which you were brought up and educated, lived, and had your homes, and where you attended my very school. You owe respect to me who hoped that I should some time plume myself on your education with different expectations, but I am now pleading this relation in behalf of my country, lest it be forced into a war with you, its pupil and its ward, where one of two things must necessarily happen: either
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θάτερον, ἠ Ῥοδίους ἀποθανεῖν πάντως ἡ Κάσσιον ἡσσάθαι. συμβουλεύω δὲ ἔπι τῇ παρακλήσει, τοιῶνδε σὲ ύπερ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ἀπτόμενον ἔργων θεοὺς ἡγεμόνας αἰεὶ ποιεῖσθαι παντὸς ἔργου. θεοὺς δ' ἀμόσατε, ὅτε ἡμῖν ἐνάγχος διὰ Γαίου Καίσαρος συνετίθεσθε καὶ σπονδὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐσπεύδετε καὶ δεξιὰς ἑτίθεσθε, αἱ καὶ παρὰ πολεμίους ἰσχύονσιν, οὐ παρὰ φίλοις καὶ τροφεύσιν; φείδου δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ δόξῃς τῆς κατὰ ἀνθρώπους. ὡς οὐδὲν ἐστὶ συνθηκῶν παραβάσεως μᾶλλον, ὃ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἀπίστους ἐς ἀπαντα ποιεῖ καὶ φίλους καὶ πολεμίους.

69. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ πρεσβύτης οὐ μεθύετο τῆς χειρός, ἀλλ' ἐπεδάκρυνεν αὐτῇ, ὡς ἔρυθρασθεῖ, μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ σχῆματι τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ παθεῖν τι ὑπὸ αἴδοις, ὑφελόντα δὲ ὁμοῦ εἰπεῖν: "ἐὰ μὲν οὐ συνεβούλευσα Ῥοδίους μὴ ἄδικεῖν με, σὺ με ἡδίκεις· εἰ δὲ διδάσκων οὐκ ἔπεισας, ἀμωμῶ σοι. ἡδικοῦμην δὲ δὴ ποῦ σαφῶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀδίκημα συμμαχίαν αἰτῶν καὶ παρορόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παίδευσάντων καὶ θρησάντων, τὸ δὲ ἐξής προτιμῶντων μου Δολοβέλλαν, ὅπωρ οὐκ ἐπαιδεύσαν οὐδὲ ἀνέθρεψαν, τὸ δὲ ἀνιαρότερον, ἐμοῦ μὲν καὶ Βρούτου καὶ ὅσων ὁρᾶτε ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν φευγόντων τυραννίδα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐλευθεροῦντων, ὁ Ῥόδιοι φίλε-
that the Rhodians perish utterly, or that you, Cassius, be defeated. In addition to my entreaty I give you the advice that while engaged in such important tasks in behalf of the Roman commonwealth you take the gods for your leaders at every step. You, Romans, swore by the gods when you recently concluded the treaty with us through Gaius Caesar, and to the oaths you added libations and gave the right hand, assurances valid even among enemies; shall they not be valid among friends and guardians? Besides dreading the judgment of the gods, have regard for the opinions of mankind, who consider nothing more base than a violation of treaties, which causes the violators to be distrusted in all respects by both friends and enemies."

69. When the old man had thus spoken he did not let go Cassius' hand, but shed tears on it, so that Cassius blushed at the spectacle and was moved somewhat by the sense of shame, yet he drew away his hand, and said, "If you have not counselled the Rhodians not to wrong me, you have yourself done me wrong. If you have so counselled them and they have not followed your advice I will avenge you. That I have suffered injury is plain enough. The first wrong done me was when I asked assistance and was slighted by my instructors and guardians. In the next place they gave the preference to Dolabella, whom they had not brought up and educated, rather than to me. And what makes it worse, O freedom-loving Rhodians, is that Brutus and I and the noblest men of the Senate, whom you see here, were fugitives from tyranny for endeavouring to liberate their
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CAP. λεύθεροι, Δολοβέλλα δὲ αὐτὴν καταδουλούντος ἐτέροις, οἷς δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐνοοῦ ἐχοντες ὑποκρίνεσθαι ἐξήστασθαι τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἦμων. ἦστι δὲ ἐμφύλια μὲν, εἰ καὶ ἡμεῖς δυναστεῖαι ὁρεγόμεθα, πόλεμος δὲ σαφῆς τὸ γυγνόμενον ἦστι δημοκρατίας πρὸς μοναρχίαν. καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἀβοίθητον καταλείπετε οἱ παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ αὐτονομίας: φιλίαν τε ἩΡωμαίων προφέρουντες οὐκ ἐλεείτε ἀκρίτους ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ δημεύσει προγραφομένους, ἀλλ’ ὑποκρίνεσθε πεύσεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ταυτά πασχοῦσας καὶ οὔδε ἁμύνειν ἐαυτῇ πω δυναμένης. ὡς δ’ ὑμῖν ἤδη προσαπεκρύνατο, ἐν οἷς ἐφησάσατο τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὴν ἕω πάντας ἁμύνειν ἐμοὶ τε καὶ Βρούτῳ.

70. Συν δὲ, εἰ μὲν ποτε ἡμῖν περικτωμένοις τις συνεπράξατε, διὸ ἐνεργεσίας καὶ μισθοῦς ἀπτικεκόμωσθε ποι, καταλογίζῃ, ὅτι δὲ ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν ἔλευθεριάν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀδικουμένους οὐ συμμαχεῖτε, ἐπιλανθάνῃ οῖς εἰκός ἦν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἡμῖν ἐς ἀλλήλους ὑπήρχεν, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἀρχεῖς ἐθελοῦτας ὑπερμαχήσαι τῆς ἩΡωμαίων δημοκρατίας, Δωρέας οὖν. οὐ δ’ ἀντὶ τοιοῦτων ἔργων καὶ λογισμῶν συνθήκας ἡμῖν προφέρετε, γενομένας μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ τάσδε πρὸς Γαίων Καίσαρα, τῆς τῆς μοναρχίας ἁγιώνα: λέγουσι δ’ ὅμως αἰ συνθήκαι ἩΡωμαίοις καὶ ἩΡωμαίοις ἐν ταῖς χρείαις ἀλλήλους ἁμύνειν. ἀμύνατε οὖν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα κινδυνεύοντες ἩΡωμαίοις. Κάσσιος ὑμῖν ἦστιν ὁ τὰς συνθήκας τάσδε προφέρων καὶ ὑπὸ συμμαχίαν καλῶν, ἩΡωμαίος ἀνήρ καὶ ἩΡωμαίων στρατηγὸς, ὡς φήσει τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς, ἐν φ’ πάντας ὑπακούειν ἡμῖν ἐταξεῖ τοὺς τοῦ Ἰούλιου

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country, while Dolabella was seeking to enslave it to others, whom you also favour while pretending to abstain from our civil wars. This would be a civil war if we also were aiming at supreme power, but it is plainly a war of the republic against monarchy. And you, who appeal to me in behalf of your own freedom, have refused aid to the republic. While professing friendship for the Romans you have no pity for those who are sentenced to death and confiscation without trial. You pretend that you want to hear from the Senate, which is suffering from these evils and is not yet able to defend itself. But the Senate had answered you beforehand when it decreed that all the peoples of the Orient should lend aid to Brutus and myself.

70. "Whatever aid you have rendered us when we were adding to our possessions (for which you reaped abundant benefactions and rewards) you remind us of, but that in our time of adversity you fail us in the struggle for freedom and safety, you lose sight of. Even if we had had no relations with each other before, you ought, as members of the Doric race, now at least to begin to fight as volunteers for the Roman republic. Instead of such thoughts and deeds you quote to us treaties—treaties made with you by Gaius Caesar, the founder of the present monarchy—yet these very treaties say that the Romans and the Rhodians shall assist each other in case of need. Therefore, assist the Romans in the time of their greatest peril! It is Cassius who quotes these very treaties to you and calls for your help in war—Cassius, a Roman citizen and a Roman general, whom, as the Senate's decree says, all the countries beyond the Adriatic are required to
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πέραν. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ Βρούτος ὑμῖν προτείνει ψηφίσματα καὶ Πομπῆιος, τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτετραμμένος, τὰς δ' ἰκετείας ἐπὶ τοὺς ψηφίσμασι καὶ οἶδε πάντες, ὅσοι φεύγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ μὲν ἐς ἐμὲ καὶ Βρούτον, οἱ δὲ ἐς Πομπῆιον. ἔστι δὲ δὴ ποὺ τὸ συνυκέμενον, Ῥωμαίοις Ῥόδιοι βοηθεῖν, κἂν καθ' ἕνα χρήξωσιν. εἰ δὲ οὐτε στρατηγοὺς ἡμᾶς οὖτε Ῥωμαίοις ἔτι, ἀλλὰ φυγάδας ἢ ξένους ἡ κατακρίτους, ὡς οἱ προγράψαντες λέγουσιν, ἠγεῖσθε, οὐ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἦστιν ὑμῖν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, οἱ Ῥόδιοι, τὰ συνυκέμενα· ἡμεῖς δὲ ξένου καὶ ἀλλότριον τῶν συνθηκῶν ὄντες πολεμήσομεν ὑμῖν, ἣν μὴ ἐς πάντα κατακομῆτε."

Τοιαύτα μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐπειρομενεύσαμεν τῶν Ἀρχέλαον ἀπέλυεν, 71. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ Μνασέας, οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἤγονμεν, ταῖς τριάκοντα καὶ τρισί ναυσὶν ἀνήγοντο ἐπὶ Κάσσιον ἐς Μύηδον ὡς προκαταπλήξοντες τῷ ἑπίπλω τι τὸν καὶ κούφως εἶχον ἑπιτίδος, ὅτι καὶ Μυθριδάτῃ ἐς Μύηδον ἐπιπλέοντες ἐδόκοντο ἐς τὸν πολέμον τέλος εὐτυχήσαι. εἰρεσία δὲ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν χρώμενοι τὴν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἡνλήσαντο ἐν Κνίδῳ καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσῃς ἐπεφαίνοντο τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους. οἱ δὲ θυαμάσαντες ἀντανήγοντο, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἦπὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἰσχύος τε καὶ δυνάμεως. Ῥόδιοι μὲν γὰρ ναυσὶ κούφαις διεξέπλεον τε τοὺς πολεμίους ὄξεως καὶ περιέπλεον καὶ ἐπανόδους ἑχρῶντο, Ῥωμαίοι δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν βαρυτέρων, ὅτε συμπλακεῖν, ἀπὸ βαρυτέρας ῥύμης ἐπεβάρουν ὡσπερ ἐν πεζο.
obey. The same decrees are presented to you by Brutus, and also by Pompeius, who has been invested by the Senate with the command of the sea. Added to these decrees are the prayers of all these senators who have fled, some to myself and Brutus, and others to Pompeius. The treaty provides that the Rhodians shall lend aid to the Romans even in cases where the application is made by single individuals. If you do not consider us as generals or even as Romans, but as exiles, or strangers, or persons condemned, as the proscribers call us, O Rhodians, you have no treaties with us, but only with the Roman people. Being strangers and foreigners to the treaties, we will fight you unless you obey our orders in everything."

With this ironical remark Cassius sent Archelaus away. 71. Meanwhile Alexander and Mnaseas, the Rhodian leaders, put to sea with their thirty-three ships against Cassius at Myndus, intending to surprise him by the suddenness of their attack. They built their hopes somewhat lightly on the supposition that it was at Myndus by sailing against Mithridates they had brought that war to a successful end. In order to display their seamanship they took their station the first day at Cnidus. The next day they showed themselves to the forces of Cassius on the high sea. The latter in astonishment put to sea against them, and it was a battle of strength and capacity on both sides. The Rhodians with their light ships darted swiftly through the enemy's line, turned around, and attacked them in the rear. The Romans had heavier ships, and whenever they could come to close quarters they prevailed, as in an engagement on land, by their greater momentum.
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μαχία. τοῦ δὲ Κάσσιον πλήθει νεῶν τὰς πολεμίας περιλαβόντος, οἱ μὲν Ῥώδιοι περιπλεῖν ἔτι καὶ διεκπλεῖν οὐκ ἐδύναντο, ἐμβάλλουσι δ' αὐτοῖς μόνον ἓκ τοῦ μετῶπου καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἡ μὲν ἐμπειρία διέφθαρτο ὑπὸ τῆς στενοχωρίας κεκλευμένης, αἱ δὲ ἐμβολαί καὶ ἀποσιμώσεις ἐς βαρυτέρας τὰς Ῥωμαίων ναυς ἀσθενεῖς ἐγύγνυτο, Ῥωμαίως δ' ἦσαν ἐς κουφοτέρας εὐτυχοι, μέχρι Ῥόδια μὲν τρεῖς αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐλήφθησαν καὶ δύο ἀνερράγησαν τε καὶ κατέδυσαν καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ βεβλαμμέναι διέφυγον ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον, αἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἀπασαι μὲν ἐπανήλθον ἐς Μύδιον, ἐπεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ τούτων ἀ πλέονες βλαβεῖσαι.

72. Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἐν Μύδῳ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ῥόδιων ναυμαχίας τέλος ἦν, καὶ αὐτὴν γιγνομένην ὁ Κάσσιος ἀπὸ ὅρους καθεώρα· ὥς δὲ ἐπεσκεύασε τὰ σκάφη, διέπλευσεν ἐς Δώρυμα, Ῥόδιων τι φρούριον ἐν τῇ περαιᾷ, καὶ τὸ πέζον ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον διεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ ὄλκαδῶν ὕπο Φάνυφω τε καὶ Δέντλωρ. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπέτελε ταῖς ὁγδοῆ- κοντα ναυσίν ἐσκευασμέναις ἐς τὸ φοβερότατον καὶ περιστήσας τῇ Ῥόδῳ τὸ πέζον ὦμοι καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν ἑσύχαζεν ὡς ἐνδώσωτον τι τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν μὲν αὐθίς εὐθαρσῶς, δύο δὲ καὶ τότε ναύς ἀποβαλόντες συνεκλείσθησαν. καὶ ἀναδραμόντες ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη πάντα τε ὅπλων ἐπλήρουν καὶ ἀπεμάχοντο ὦμοι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Φάνυνον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐνοχλοῦτας καὶ τὸν Κάσσιον τοῖς πρὸς θαλάσσῃ τείχεσι τὸ ναυτικὸν

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Cassius, by reason of his more numerous fleet, was enabled to surround his enemy, and then the latter could no longer turn and dart through his line. When they could only attack in front and then haul off, their nautical skill was of no avail in the narrow space where they had been confined. The ramming with their prows and broadside movements against the heavier Roman ships did little damage, while those of the Romans against the lighter vessels were more effective. Finally, three Rhodian ships were captured with their crews, two were rammed and sunk, and the remainder took flight to Rhodes in a damaged condition. All of the Roman ships returned to Myndus, where they were repaired, the greater part of them also having suffered injury.

72. Such was the result of the naval engagement of the Romans and the Rhodians at Myndus. Cassius watched the fight while it was going on from a mountain. When he had repaired his ships he sailed to Loryma, a fortified place belonging to the Rhodians on the mainland opposite the island, from which he sent his foot-soldiers across in transports under the command of Fannius and Lentulus. He advanced in person with eighty ships rigged in a way to produce terror. He surrounded Rhodes with his land and naval forces, and then remained quiet, expecting that the enemy would show signs of weakening. But they sailed out again valiantly and, after losing two more ships, were hemmed in on all sides. Then they mounted the walls, heaped them with missiles, and resisted simultaneously the soldiers of Fannius, who were assailing them on the landward side, and Cassius,

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{1}} \text{\textalpha\texttau\textomicron\textsigma\textmu\textomicron\textomicron\textomicron\textsigma} \text{ was apparently a swirling out of the line to avoid direct attack.} \]
ΑΠΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ

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οῦκ ἀνέτοιμον ἐσ τειχομαχίαν ἐπαγαγόντα· ἐπί-ξων γάρ τι τοιοῦτον ἐπεφέρετο πύργους ἐπτυγ-μένους, οὗ τότε ἀνίσταντο. Ἦ Rodos μὲν δὴ δύο πείραις καμοῦσα ἐκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἑπολιο-ορκεῖτο· καὶ οὐδὲν, ὡς ἐν ἔργῳ ταχεὶ καὶ ἄδοκητῷ, παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς ἐς πολιορκίαιν. ὅθεν ἦν εὐδηλον ἀλώσεθαι τάχιστα τὴν πόλιν ἢ χερσῶν ἢ λιμνῶν. καὶ τάδε Ὁρδίων οἱ συνετῶτεροι καθεῶ-ρων, καὶ Φάμνιος αὐτοῖς καὶ Δέντλος διελέγοντο.

73. Γηγυμένων δ’ ἐτι τούτων ἄφνω Κάσσιος ἦν ἐν μέσῃ τῆς πόλει μετ’ ἐπιλέκτων στρατοῦ, βίας μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς φανείσης οὐδὲ κλιμάκων ἐργού. εἰκαζόν δὲ οὶ πολλοὶ, καὶ δοκεῖ θεωρεῖται, τοὺς χαρίετας αὐτῷ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπανοίζει πυλίδας ἐλέω τῆς πόλεως καὶ προμηθεῖ τροφῶν.

Ὡς μὲν ἐελάκει Ὁρδίων, καὶ Κάσσιος ἐν αὐτῇ προκάθητο ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ δόρυ τῷ βήματι παρεστησάτο ὡς ἐπὶ δοριαλώτῳ. ἀτρεμεῖν τε κελεύσας τῶν στρατῶν ἄκριβῶς καὶ θανατον ἐπικηρύξας, εἰ τις ἀρπάσειν ἡ βιώσαιτό τι, αὐτὸς ἐξ ὑνόματος ἐκάλει Ὁρδίων ἐς πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας καὶ ἀλλήν τε ἐκόλαξε θανάτῳ ἐτέροις δε, ἄμφι τοὺς πέντε καὶ εἰκοσιν, οὐχ εὑρεθείς φυγὴν ἐπέταττεν. χρήματα δὲ ὅσα ἦν ἡ χρυσὸς ἡ ἀργυρὸς ἐν ἰεροῖς τε καὶ δημοσίοις, πάντα συλλήσας ἐκέλευσε καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ἐκφέρειν τοὺς κεκτημένους εἰς ἡμέραν ῥητήν· καὶ ἐπεκήρυξε τοῖς μὲν ἐπικρύψασθα θάνατον, τοῖς δὲ μηνύσασιν 262
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who was advancing his naval force, prepared for wall-fighting, against the defences on the sea. Anticipating such a necessity he had brought with him turrets in sections, which were then elevated. Thus was Rhodes, after suffering two naval defeats, beleaguered by land and sea, and, as frequently happens in sudden and unexpected trouble, found herself wholly unprepared for siege; whence it became evident that the city must speedily be taken either by assault or by famine. The more intelligent of the Rhodians perceived this and opened communications with Fannius and Lentulus.

73. While this was going on Cassius suddenly made his appearance in the midst of the city with a chosen band of soldiers, without any show of violence or use of ladders. Most people conjectured, as seems the fact, that those of the citizens who were favourable to him had opened the small gates, being moved by pity for the town and the apprehension of famine.

Thus was Rhodes captured; and Cassius took his seat on the tribunal and planted a spear by the side of it to indicate that he had taken the city by the spear. Laying strict commands upon his soldiers to remain quiet, and threatening with death any who should resort to violence or plunder, he summoned by name about fifty citizens, and when they were brought, put them to death. Others, who were not found, numbering about twenty-five, he ordered to be banished. All the money that was found, either gold or silver, in the temples and the public treasury, he seized, and he ordered private citizens who had any to bring it to him on a day named, proclaiming death to those who should conceal it,
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CAP. δεκάτην, δουλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερίαν. οἱ δ' ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ πολλοὶ συνέκρυσαν, οὐκ ἐσ τέλος ἐπτίξουτε ἀφίξεσθαι τὴν ἀπειλήν· διδομένων δὲ τῶν γερῶν καὶ κολαζομένων τῶν μηνυμένων ἔδεισαν τε καὶ προσθέσμιαν ἐτέραν λαβόντες οἱ μὲν ἐκ γῆς ἀνώρυσσον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ φρεάτων ἀνίμων, οἱ δὲ ἐξέφερον ἐκ τάφων πολὺ πλέονα τῶν προτέρων.

74. Αἱ μὲν δὴ Ἦροδων συμφοράς τοιαίδε ήσαν, καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐάρος αὐτοῖς μετὰ φρούρας ὑπελέυ- λευπτό· ο ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος ἡδόμενος τῇ ταχυνεργίᾳ τῆς ἀλώσεως καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων ἑπτάττετον ὁμος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐθνεσὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπασι φόρους ἐτῶν δέκα συμφέρειν. καὶ οὶ μὲν ἐπράσο- σουντο συντόνως, ἐξαγγέλλεται δὲ αὐτῷ Κλεο- πάτρα μέλλουσα διαπλεῖν μεγάλῳ στόλῳ καὶ παρασκευῇ βαρυτάτῃ πρὸς Καίσαρα τε καὶ Ἀντίόχου τὰ γάρ ἐκείνων αἱρουμένη καὶ τέως διὰ τῶν προτέρου Καίσαρα, τότε μᾶλλον ἤρεῖτο διὰ τῶν ἐκ Κασσίου φόβου. ο ὁ δὲ Μοῦρκον μετά τε ὀπλιτῶν ἀρίστου τέλους καὶ τοξοτῶν τινῶν ἐπί νεὼν ἐξήκοντα καταφράκτων ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐπεμπει ναυλοχεῖν περὶ Ταίναρον, . . . περισυρά- μενος ἐκ τῆς Πελοπόννησου λειαν, ὅσην ἐφθασε.

X

CAP. Ἡμηνὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Βρούτου, μικρὰ καὶ τῶν ἦμην τοῦτον ἐς ὑπόμνησιν ἀναλαβόντι

75. Ὁ δὲ ἦμην Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰωάννης, μικρὰ καὶ τῶν ἦμην τοῦτον ἐς ὑπόμνησιν ἀναλαβόντι
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...together with a reward of one-tenth to informers and freedom in addition in the case of slaves. At first many concealed what they had, hoping that in the end the threat would not be carried out, but when they saw the rewards paid and those who had been informed against punished, they became alarmed, and having procured the appointment of another day, some of them dug their money out of the ground, others drew it out of wells, and others brought it from tombs, in much larger amounts than the former collections.

74. Such were the calamities that befell the Rhodians. Lucius Varus was left in charge of them with a garrison. Cassius, although delighted with the quickness of the capture and the quantity of money taken, nevertheless ordered all the other peoples of Asia to pay ten years' tribute, and this they did within a short space of time. News now reached him that Cleopatra was about to sail with a large fleet, heavily provisioned, to Octavian and Antony. She had espoused their cause previously on account of her relations with the first Caesar, and now she espoused it all the more by reason of her fear of Cassius. The latter sent Murcus, with a legion of the best soldiers and a certain number of archers, with sixty decked ships, to the Peloponnesus, to lie in wait in the neighbourhood of Taenarum; [and this he did] collecting as much booty as he could come upon from the Peloponnese.

75. We will now relate the transactions of Brutus in Lycia, first glancing at what has been mentioned...
ΑΝΩΘΕΝ, ἦν τοιάδε. ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Ἀπουληνίου στρατιάν τὸ τινα εἰλήφει, ὡς ἦν Ἀπουληνίου εἶχεν, καὶ χρήματα ἐς ἐξαισχύλια καὶ μύρια τάλαντα, ὦς ἐκ τῶν φόρων τῆς Ἀσίας συνείλεκτο, παρῆλθεν ἐς Βοιωτίαν. Ψηφισματέρια δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς βουλῆς τοῖς τε χρήμασιν ἔτεκ παρόντα χρῆσθαι καὶ Μακεδονίας ἄρχειν καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ἐπὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἰλλυρίωις τρία τέλη τοῦ στρατοῦ παραλαμβάνει, ὦν δή καὶ πρῶτον ἀρχοντος Ἰλλυρίων παραδόντος, ἐν δὲ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἀφείλετο Γάιον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντωνίου. τέσσαρα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄλλα συναγαγὼν ὅκτω τὰ πάντα εἶχε, Γαϊῷ Καίσαρι τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐστρατευμένα. εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἵππες πλῆθος καὶ ψιλοὺς καὶ τοξότας, καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐπαινῶν ἐς τὸν Ἰταλικῶν ἠσκει τρόπον. ἀγείροντι δὲ αὐτῷ στρατόν ἔτι καὶ χρήματα συντυχία Θράκιος τοιάδε γίγνεται. Πολεμοκρατία, γυνή τινος τῶν βασιλέσκων, ἀναἱρεθέντος αὐτῆς τοῦ ἄνδρος ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν δείσασα περὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἐτὶ δότε ἐξικακίᾳ, ἤκεν αὐτῶν φέρουσα καὶ ἐνεχείρισε Βροῦτῳ, ἐνεχείρισε δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἄνδρος θησαυρούς. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν παῖδα Κυζικῆνος ἀνατρέφειν παρέδωκε, μέχρι χολάσει στὶ τῆς βασιλείας καταγαγεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς θησαυροῖς εὑρε παράδοξον χρυσόν τι πλῆθος καὶ ἀργύρου.

Καὶ τούτο μὲν ἐκοπτεῖ καὶ νόμισμα ἔπολεν. 76. ὃς δὲ ἦλθε τοῦ Κάσσιος καὶ ἔδοξε Δυνίους καὶ 266
above in order to refresh the memory. When he had received from Apuleius certain soldiers which the latter had under his command, together with 16,000 talents in money which Apuleius had collected from the tribute of Asia, he passed into Boeotia. The Senate having voted that he should use this money for his present necessities and that he should have command of Macedonia, and of Illyria in addition, he came into possession of the three legions of the army which were in Illyria, which Vatinius, the former governor of Illyria, delivered to him. Another one he captured from Gaius, the brother of Mark Antony, in Macedonia. He collected four more in addition to these, so that he had eight legions in all, most of whom had served under Gaius Caesar. He had a large force of cavalry, light-armed troops, and archers. He had a high opinion of his Macedonian soldiers and he drilled them in the Roman way. While he was still collecting soldiers and money a piece of good luck came to him from Thrace, of the following sort. Polemocratia, the wife of one of the Thracian princes, whose husband had been killed by his enemies, being alarmed for her son, who was still a boy, came to Brutus bringing the boy, whom she placed in his hands together with her husband's treasures. Brutus delivered the boy to the inhabitants of Cyzicus to be cared for until he should have leisure to restore him to his kingdom. Among the treasures he found an unexpected quantity of gold and silver.

This he coined and converted into currency. When Cassius came, and it was decided to begin by reducing the Lycians and Rhodians, Brutus
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CAP. Χ Ροδίους προεξαίρειν, ἐτράπετο Δυκίων ὑπὶ Ξαν-
θίους πρῶτους. οἱ δὲ τὰ τε προάστεια σφῶν καθεῖλον, ἵνα μὴ ἐσι κατάλυσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Βροῦτος
μηδὲ ὑλὴν ἔχῃ χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν περιτα-
φρεύσαντες ἀπεμάχοντο ἀπό τῆς τάφου, τὸ μὲν
βάθος οὐσία προετηκοῦν ποδῶν βαθύτερας, τὸ δὲ
πλάτος κατὰ λόγον τοῦ βάθους, ὡστε παρ’ αὐτὴν
ἐστῶτες ἥκοντιξόν τε καὶ ἔτοξευον ὡσπερ ἐν μέσῳ
ποταμῶν ἔχοντες ἀπέρατον. ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος αὐτὴν
έχου βιαζόμενον καὶ σκεπαστήρια τῶν ἐργαζο-
μένων προτίθει καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔς ἡμέραν καὶ
νῦκτα ἐμέριζε, καὶ τὴν ὕλην μακρόθεν, ὡσπερ ἐν
τοῖς ἀγωγίς, σὺν δρόμῳ καὶ βόθημερες, οὐδὲν
ἐκλείπων σπουδῆς καὶ τόνου. θεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον
ἐλπίσθην ἢ οὐκ ἔσεσθαι κωλύντων τῶν πολε-
μίων ἢ πολλοῖς μησὶ μόλις ἔσεσθαι, διόγιας
ἡμέρας ἐξείργαστο, καὶ οἱ Ἐάνθιοι κατακλείσθεν-
tes ἐπολιορκοῦντο.

77. Καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Βροῦτος τοὺς μὲν ἐκ μηχανη-
mάτων εἰς τὰ τείχη, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ ποδῶν ἐπήγειν ἐπὶ
tὰς πύλας καὶ πάντας ἐνήλασσε συνεχῶς. οἱ δὲ
ἀκμῆσιν αἱ κεκμηκότες συμφερόμενοι καὶ τετρω-
mένοι πάντες, ὡς ὑπέμενον, ἐως σφίσιν αἱ
ἐπάλξεις διέμενον. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατεσύρησαν
καὶ οἱ πύργοι διερρώγησαν, ὑποτυπήσας τὸ ἐςο-
mενὸν ὁ Βροῦτος ἐκέλευε τὰς ἐφέδρους τῶν
πυλῶν τάξεις ἀποστήναι καὶ οἱ Ἐάνθιοι νυμῖσαν-
tες ἀφυλαξίαν καὶ ἀμέλειαν εἶναι νυκτὸς ἐξε-
δραμον μετὰ λαμπάδων ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα.
ταχὺ δὲ ἐκ συνθήματος αὐτοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίοι
ἐπιδραμόντων, συνέφευγον αὐθεῖς ἐς τὰς πύλας·
kai tōn fylákow aútois proapokleisántōn ύπο
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turned his attention first to the inhabitants of Xanthus in Lycia. The latter destroyed their suburbs in order that Brutus might not effect a lodging or find material there. They also surrounded the city with a trench and embankment of more than fifty feet vertically and of corresponding breadth, from which they fought, so that standing upon it they could hurl darts and shoot arrows as though protected by an impassable river. Brutus invested the place, pushed forward mantlets for his men, divided his army into day and night forces, brought up material from long distances, hurrying and cheering them on as if for prizes, and spared neither zeal nor labour. So the work which it seemed most likely could not be done at all in the face of an opposing enemy, or only at the end of many months, was accomplished by him in a few days, and the Xanthians were now subjected to close siege.

77. Brutus attacked them now with battering-rams against the walls, now by assaults upon the gates with foot-soldiers, whom he kept changing continually. The defenders being always pitted against fresh soldiers although fatigued, and all wounded, nevertheless held out as long as their parapets remained. When these were battered down and the towers broken through, Brutus, foreseeing what would happen, ordered those who were attacking the gates to withdraw. The Xanthians, thinking that the enemy's works were deserted and unguarded, darted out by night with torches to set fire to the machines. Suddenly the Romans attacked them as ordered, and they again fled to the gates, the guards of which closed them before...
Δέονσ, μὴ συνεσπέσοιεν οἱ πολέμοι, φθόρος ἦν Ἑλληνῶν πολὺς ἀμφὶ ταῖς πύλαις ἀποκεκλεισμένων.

78. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὑστερον εξέδραμον αὔτος οἱ λοιποὶ περὶ μεσημβρίας, ἀναχωρούσης πάλιν τῆς τάξεως, καὶ ἐνέπρησαν τὰ μηχανήματα ἄπαντα ἀθρώς. πεπετασμένων δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν πυλῶν διὰ τὸ πρότερον πάθος, συνεισέπεσον ἀμφὶ δισχιλίων μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων. καὶ ἐτέροις δὲ εἰσωθικομένοις ἀμφὶ τὴν εἰσόδου ἐπέπεσον αἱρέσως αἱ πύλαι, εἴθε υπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶτε καὶ αὐτομάτως τῶν χαλαστηρίων διαρραγόντων, ἢστε τῶν ἑσβιάσαμένων Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἀπολέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐνδόν ἀποληφθῆναι, τὰς πύλας οὐ δυναμένους ἐτί ἀνασπάσαι, χωρίς ἀνασπαστηρίων γενομένας. βαλλόμενοι δὲ ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς ἀνωθεν υπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, βιασάμενοι ποτε μόλις ἐς τὴν ἁγορᾶν ἐγγύς οὕσαν διέδραμον· κάνταύθα τῶν μὲν συμπλεκομένων σφίσι κρατοῦντες, τοξευόμενοι δὲ χαλεπῶς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντες αὐτοὶ τὸξον ἢ ἀκόντιον, παρὰ τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον, ἦμα μὴ κυκλῳθεῖν, διέδραμον. οἱ δ' ἐξω τείχους Ῥωμαίοι περὶ τῶν ἐνδόν ἀγανακτοῦντες τε καὶ δεδίντες, Βροῦτον περιθέοντο αὐτοὺς, ἐς πᾶσαν ἐμερίζοντο πεῖραν, ὡστε τὰς πύλας δυνάμενοι ῥῆξαι σιδήρῳ περιβεβλημένας; οὔτε κλιμάκων ἢ πύργων ἐμπεπρησμένων ἑυτοροῦντες. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐσχεδίαζον κλιμάκας, οἱ δὲ κεραίας τοῖς τείχεσι προστιθέντες ὡς διὰ κλιμάκων ἐπεχείρουν, οἱ δὲ καὶ σιδῆρα ὁξεὰ καλώδιως περιτιθέντες ἐσφεν-
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they entered, fearing lest the enemy should rush chap in with them—and so there was round the gates a great slaughter of the Xanthians who were shut out.

78. Soon afterwards the remainder made a fresh sally about midday, and as the besiegers withdrew again, they set fire to all the machines. As the gates were left open for them on account of the former calamity, about 2000 Romans broke in with them. While others were pushing in at the entrance the portcullis suddenly fell upon them, either by the design of the Xanthians or the accidental breaking of the ropes, so that some of the Romans who were forcing their way in were crushed and the others found their retreat cut off, as they could not raise the portcullis without hoisting apparatus. Pelted by missiles hurled upon them by the Xanthians from the roofs in the narrow streets, they forced their way with difficulty till they came to the forum, which was near by, and there they overcame the forces which were at close quarters with them, but, being under heavy volleys of arrows and having themselves neither bows nor javelins, they took refuge by the temple of Sarpedon to avoid being surrounded. The Romans who were outside the walls were excited and anxious for those inside, and tried every expedient, Brutus meantime darting hither and thither, but they were not able to break the portcullis, which was protected with iron, nor could they procure ladders or towers since their own had been burned. Nevertheless some of them made extemporized ladders, and others pushed trunks of trees against the walls and climbed up as if by ladders. Still others fastened iron hooks to ropes and hurled

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79. Οἶνοανδεὶς δὲ γείτονες, διὰ τὴν ἐς τοὺς Ξανθίους ἐχθραν τῷ Βροῦτῳ συμμαχοῦντες, διὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐπετροβάτων ἄνω καὶ αὐτοὺς ἰδόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐμμοῦντο ἐπιμόχθως. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐξέπιπτον, εἰσὶ δ’ οἳ τὸ τεῖχος ὑπερβάντες καὶ πυλίδα ἀνέφεκαν, ἥ προεσταύρωτο πυκνοτάτως σταυροῖς, καὶ τοὺς ἑυτολμοτάτους αἰωρομένους ὑπὲρ τὰ σταυρώματα ἐσεδέχοντο. καὶ πλείους γενόμενοι τὰς πύλας ἐκοπτοῦν, οὐ περιβεβλημέναι ἕτι τὸ σιδήρῳ τὰ ἐντός, ἀντικοπτῶν των αὐτοῖς ἀμα ἐξωθεὶν ἐτέρων ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ συνεργοῦντω. Ξανθίους δὲ σὺν μεγάλῃ πάνω βοὴ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον οὐσὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιθεοῦντο, δείσαντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ὡσοι περὶ τὰς πύλας ἐνδοθέν τε καὶ ἐξωθεὶν αὐτὰς ἐκοπτοῦν, ὑπὸ μακριώδους ὀρμῆς ἐβιάζοντο καὶ διαρρήξαντες ἐσέδραμον ἀδρόει, δύνοντος ἄρτι τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ ἀλαλαγῆς, ἵνα σύμβολον εἰς τοῖς ἐντός οὐσίν.

80. Ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Ξάνθιοι ἐς τὰς οἰκίας συνέτρεχον καὶ τὰ φίλτατα σφῶν κατέκαυνον, ἐκόντα τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέχοντα. οἰμωγῆς δὲ γυνομένης ἦ τὸ Βροῦτος νομίσας ἄρπαγήν εἶναι τὸν στρατὸν ἀνείργη διὰ κηρύκων ὡς δὲ ἐγνὼ τὸ γυνόμενον, φικτειρεῖ ἄνδρῶν φρόνημα φιλελεύθερον καὶ σπουδὰς περιέπεμπεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἔβαλλον καὶ τὰ σφέτερα πάντα ἀνελόντες ἐς πυρᾶς προενεψμένας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπέθεσαν.
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them up to the walls, and whenever one of them caught fast they climbed up.

79. The Oenandians, who were neighbours of the Xanthians, and who had formed an alliance with Brutus by reason of their enmity to the latter, clambered up by way of the crags. When the Romans saw them they toiled up after them. Many fell off, but some scaled the wall and opened a small gate, defended with a very dense palisade, and admitted the most daring of the assailants, who swung themselves over the palings. Being now more numerous they began to hack at the portcullis, which was not protected with iron on the inside, while others joined in hacking it from outside, to help them. While the Xanthians, with loud cries, were rushing upon the Romans who were at the temple of Sarpedon, the Romans within and without, who were demolishing the portcullis, fearful for their comrades, struggled with frantic zeal. Finally they broke it down and rushed through in crowds about sunset, with a loud shout intended as a signal to those in the temple.

80. When the city was taken the Xanthians ran to their houses and killed those dearest to them, all of whom willingly offered themselves to the slaughter. Upon hearing cries of lamentation, Brutus thought that plundering was going on, and he gave orders to the army to stop it; but when he knew what the facts were he commiserated the freedom-loving spirit of the citizens, and sent messengers to offer them terms. They hurled missiles at the messengers, and, after destroying their own families, placed the bodies on funeral piles, which they had previously erected in their houses, set

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καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἄψαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπικατέσφαξαν. 
Βρούτος δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν περισσῶσας ὅσα ἐδύνατο,
μόνους θεράποντας εἶλε Ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄνδρῶν γύναια ὄλγα ἑλεύθερα καὶ ἄνδρας οὐδὲ ἐσ ἐκατόν καὶ πεντήκοντα πάντας.

Ἐάνθιοι μὲν δὴ τρίτον ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ λυτο ἑλευθερίας οὖνεκα. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἀρτάγουν τοῦ Μῆδου, Κύρῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ στρατηγοῦντος, ὥδε σφᾶς ἀντὶ δουλοσύνης διέφθειραν, καὶ τάφος Ἑαυτῶν ἢ πόλις ἀνειληθεῖσιν ὑπὸ Ἀρτάγουν τὸτε ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου φασὶν ὄμοια παθεῖν, οὕτω ὑποστάντας οὐδὲ Ἀλεξάνδροι μετὰ τοσὶς ὑγής ἀρχὴν ὑπακούσαν.

81. Βρούτος δὲ ἔς Πάταρα ἀπὸ Ἐάνθου κατῆκε, πόλιν ἐοικυῖαν ἐπινεῖφ Ἑαυτῶν, καὶ περιστήσας αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς πάντα ὑπακούειν ἢ τὰς Ἑαυτῶν συμφορὰς προσδέχεσθαι· προσήγορό τε αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἐάνθιοι ὄννυμον τὰ σφέτερα καὶ παραίνοντες ἀμείνονα βουλεύσασθαι. Ἐαυτίοις δὲ οὐδὲν ἀποκρίναμένων πω τῶν Παταρέων, ἐδίδον τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοὶς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς σκέψιν καὶ ἀνεχόμεν. ἀμα δὲ ἡμέρα προσήγεται. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐβόων ὑπακούειν, ἐς τὰ τοῦ βούλοιτο, καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεώοννον. ὁ δ’ ἐσελθὼν ἐκτείνε μὲν οὐδένα οὐδ’ ἐξήλασε, χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον, ὃσον ἡ πόλις εἰχε, συνενεγκόν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν ἑκάστους ἐσφέρειν ὑπὸ ἰησοῦς καὶ μημόμασιν,

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fire to them, and slew themselves on the same. CHAP. X
Brutus saved such of the temples as he could, but he captured only the slaves of the Xanthians; and of the citizens a few free women and hardly 150 men.

Thus the Xanthians perished the third time by their own hands on account of their love of liberty; for when the city was besieged by Harpagus, the Mede, the general of Cyrus the Great, they destroyed themselves in like manner rather than be enslaved, and the city then became the tomb of the Xanthians hemmed in by Harpagus; and it is said that they suffered a similar fate at the hands of Alexander, the son of Philip, as they would not submit to obey him even after he had become the master of so large a portion of the earth.

81. Brutus went from Xanthus down to Patara, a city which was something like a seaport of the Xanthians. He surrounded it with his army and ordered the inhabitants to obey him in everything, under penalty of meeting the fate of the Xanthians. Certain Xanthians were brought to them who lamented their own misfortunes and advised them to adopt wiser counsels. As the inhabitants of Patara made no sort of answer to the Xanthians, Brutus gave them the remainder of the day to consider the matter, and went away. The next morning he moved his troops forward. The Patarans cried out from the walls that they would obey all his commands and opened their gates. He came in, but he neither killed nor banished anybody; but he ordered them to deliver to him whatever gold and silver the city possessed, and each citizen to bring in his private holdings under the same penalties and
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CAP. Χ. οὐχὶς καὶ Κάσσιος ἐκήρυξεν ἐν Ἦρῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσέφερον, θεράπων δὲ τὸν δεσπότην ἐμήνυσε χρυσίον κρύψαι καὶ πεμφθέντι λοχαγῷ τὸ χρυσίον ἐδείξεν. ἀγομένων δὲ ἀπάντων ὁ μὲν δεσπότης ἐσιώπα, ἡ δὲ ἐκείνου μήτηρ περισσότους τὸν νῦν εἴπετο, βοῶσα αὐτῇ τὸ χρυσίον κρύψαι. ὁ δὲ οἰκέτης, οὐδὲ ἀνερωτώμενος, τὴν μὲν ἦλεγχε ψευδομένην, τὸν δὲ κρύψαντα. καὶ ο Βρούτος τὸν μὲν νεανίαν ἀπεδέξατο τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ πάθους καὶ μεθηκεν ἀμφοτέρους ἀπαθεῖς ἀπίεναι τὸ χρυσίον φερομένους, τὸν δὲ οἰκέτην ὡς πέρα τοῦ προστάγματος ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοὺς δεσπότας ἐκρέμασε.

82. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Δέντλος ἐπιπεμφθεὶς Ἀνδριάκη Μυρέων ἐπιτείχε τὴν τε ἀλυσίν ἔρρηξε τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἦς Μύρα ἀνήγε. Μυρέων δὲ, ἀ προσέτασε, δεχομένων χρηματισάμενος ὁμοίως ἢς Βρούτον ἐπανή. καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Δυκίμων ἢς Βρούτον ἐπρέσβευε, συμμαχήσειν τε υπισχοῦμενοι καὶ ἐσοίσειν, ὅσα δύναμτο. ο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐσφορὰς τε ἐπέβαλε καὶ Ξανθίων τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀπεδίδον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν τὸ Δυκίμων ἀμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ναυσίν ἐκέλευε περιπλαέσθαι ἦς 'Ἄθυδων, ἐνθα καὶ τὸ πεῖδον αὐτός ἦγε καὶ Κάσσιον ἦς Ἰωνίας ἀνέμενεν, ὡς ἦς Σηστοῦ ὁμοῦ διαβαλοῦντες. Μοῦρκος δὲ ἐν Πελοπονήσῳ ναυλοχῶν Κλεοπάτραν, ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθεν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἄμφῳ τῇ Λιβύη βλαβεῖσαν καὶ τὰ ναυάγια ἐιδὲ μέχρι τῆς Δακωνικῆς ἐκφερόμενα καὶ σὺν ἀρρωστίᾳ μόλις 276
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rewards to informers as those proclaimed by Cassius chap. x at Rhodes. They obeyed his order. One slave testified that his master had concealed his gold and showed it to a centurion who was sent to find it. All the parties were brought before the tribunal. The master remained silent, but his mother, who had followed in order to save her son, cried out that she had concealed the gold. The slave, although not interrogated, disputed with her, saying that she lied and that his master had concealed it. Brutus approved of the young man’s silence and sympathized with his mother’s grief. He allowed them both to depart unharmed and to take their gold with them, and he crucified the slave for officious zeal in accusing his superiors.

82. At the same time Lentulus, who had been sent to Andriace, the seaport of the Myreans, broke the chain which closed the harbour and ascended to Myra. As the inhabitants obeyed his commands, he collected money in the same way as at Patara and returned to Brutus. The confederation of Lycia sent ambassadors to Brutus promising to form a military league with him and to contribute what money they could. He imposed taxes on them and he restored the free Xanthians to their city. He ordered the Lycian fleet together with his own ships, to set sail for Abydus; where he would rendezvous with his land forces and await Cassius, who was coming from Ionia, so that they might cross over to Sestus together. When Murcus, who was at Peloponnesus lying in wait for Cleopatra, learned that her fleet had been damaged by a storm on the Libyan coast, and saw the wreckage borne by the waves as far as Laconia, and knew that she had

Murcus
sails to
Brundusium
to
blockade
Antony

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CAP. Αὐτὴν ἐσ τὰ ἕαυτῆς ἐπανιστάν, ἵνα μὴ δέ ἀπερα-ξίας εἰς μετὰ τοσοῦτε στόλου, διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ Βρεντεσίου καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐπικειμένην τῷ λιμένι νῆσον ὄρμισάμενος ἕκολυν τήν ὑπόλοιπον τῶν πολεμίων στρατιῶν ἡ ἀγορὰν ἐς Μακεδονίαν περαιοῦσαί. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ ᾿Αντώνιος ἀπεμάχετο ναυσὶ μακράς, ὅσας εἶχεν, ὅλγαις ἀπεμάχετο δὲ καὶ πῦργοις, ὅσα ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ σχεδιῶν, ὅτε τὸν στρατὸν ὅλκασιν ἐκπέμποι κατὰ μέρη, πνεύμα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τολύ φυλάσσων, ἵνα μὴ καταλαμβάνωτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Μούρκουν. κακοπαθῶν δὲ ἐκάλει Καίσαρα, Πομπήω Σέξτῳ κατὰ Σικελίαν περὶ αὐτῆς Σικελίας ναυμαχοῦντα.

XI

CAP. 83. Ὡδὲ δὲ εἶχε καὶ τὰ περὶ Πομπήοιον. νεώτερος ὃν ὅδε τῶν Μάγνου Πομπήοιον παῖδων ὑπέρωφθη μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ Γαίου Καίσαρος περὶ ᾿Ιδρυίαν, ὃς οὐδὲν μέγα διὰ νεότητα καὶ ἀπειρίαν ἐργασί-μενος, καὶ ἡλάτῳ περὶ τῶν ὀκεανὸν ληστεύων σὺν ὀλίγους καὶ λαυθῶν, ὅτι εἰς Πομπήοιον. πλεύσων δὲ ἐς τὸ ληστεύειν αὐτῷ συνώντων χείρ τε ἴν ήδη καρτερὰ καὶ ἐξεφαίνετο Πομπήοιον ὡς. καὶ αὐτίκα, ὅσοι τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ τοῦ ᾿Αδελφοῦ στρατιῶται γεγο-ότες ἠλώντο, ὃς ἐς οἰκεῖον ἡγεμόνα συνέτρεχον, καὶ ᾿Αραβίαν ἐκ Διβυῆς ἀφίκετ’ αὐτῷ, ἀφηρεμένος τὰ πατρὸς, ὃς μοι προείρηται. ὡδὲ δὲ αὐτῷ πλήθους γενομένου, ἔργα τε ἴν ήδη ληστηρίου δυνατώτερα 278
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returned home with difficulty and in ill-health, he sailed for Brundusium in order that he might not be idle with so great a fleet. He came to anchor at the island lying opposite the harbour, and prevented the remainder of the enemy's army and supplies from passing over to Macedonia. Antony fought him with the few war-ships that he had, and with towers which he mounted on floats, whenever he sent out detachments of his army on transports, waiting for a strong wind from the land, in order that they might not be captured by Marcus. As he fared badly he called for help from Octavian, who was contending on the water with Sextus Pompeius along the coast of Sicily for possession of that island.

XI

83. With Pompeius the situation was as follows. Being the younger son of Pompey the Great, he was at first disregarded by Gaius Caesar in Spain as not likely to accomplish anything of importance on account of his youth and inexperience. He roamed about the ocean with a few followers, committing piracy and concealing the fact that he was Pompeius. When larger numbers joined him for the purpose of pillage, and his force became powerful, he revealed his name. Presently those who had served with his father and his brother, and who were leading a vagabond life, drifted to him as their natural leader, and Arabio, who had been deprived of his ancestral kingdom, as I have related previously, came to him from Africa. His forces being thus augmented, his doings were now more important than robbery, and
ΑΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY

84. Καὶ ὁ Γαίος ἐπεμψε τῷ Καρρίνα διάδοχον Ἀσίνων Πολλίωνα πολεμεῖν Πομπήιον. ὃν τινα πόλεμον αὐτῶν ὁμοίως διαφερόντων, ὃ τε Γαίος Καῖσαρ ἄνηρέθη καὶ ἡ βουλὴ κατεκάλει Πομπήιον. ὃ ὃς έν Μασσαλία γενόμενος περιεσκόπει ἐτε τὰ ἐν Ῥώμη. αἴρεθεις ὃ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀρχεῖν, καθα ἠρχεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ἐς μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐδ’ ὃς ἀνηλθεν, ὃς αἱ ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἦσαν, λαβῶν ἔξεπλευσε σὺν αἷς ἔχειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἴβηριας. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλευσε καὶ Βιθυνίκοις ἀρ- χοντα αὐτῆς, οὐ παριέντα οἱ τὴν νῆσον, ἐπο- λιόρκει, μέχρι προγραφέντα ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ φυγόντες ἐκ Ῥώμης Ἱρτίος τε καὶ Φάννιος ἐπείσαν ἐκοτήναι Πομπήίῳ Βιθυνίκον Σικελίας.

85. Ὡδε μὲν ὁ Πομπήιος Σικελίας ἐκράτησε, καὶ ναῦς ἔχουν καὶ νῆσον ἐπικειμένην τῇ Ἰταλία καὶ στρατὸν ἦδη πολὺν, ὧν τε πρότερον εἰχε καὶ ὃσον οἱ φεύγοντες ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐλεύθερον ἡ δοῦλον ἦγουν ἢ αἱ πόλεις ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐπεμπον αὐτῷ, αἱ ἐς ἐπινίκια τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐπηγγελμέναι.
as he flew from place to place the name of Pompeius spread through the whole of Spain, which was the most extensive of the provinces; but he avoided coming to an engagement with the governors of it appointed by Gaius Caesar. When Caesar learned of his doings he sent Carinas with a stronger army to fight him. Pompeius, however, being the more nimble of the two, would show himself and then disappear, and so he wore out his enemy and got possession of a number of towns, large and small.

84. Then Caesar sent Asinius Pollio as successor to Carinas to prosecute the war against Pompeius. While they were carrying on warfare on equal terms, Caesar was assassinated and the Senate recalled Pompeius. The latter came to Massilia and there watched the course of events at Rome. Having been appointed commander of the sea with the same powers that his father had exercised, he did not yet come back to the city, but taking what ships he found in the harbours, and joining them with those he had brought from Spain, he put to sea. When the triumvirate was established he sailed to Sicily, and as Bithynicus, the governor, would not yield the island, he besieged him, until Hirtius and Fannius, two men who had been proscribed and had fled from Rome, persuaded Bithynicus to surrender Sicily to Pompeius.

85. In this way Pompeius possessed himself of Sicily, and thus had ships, and an island lying convenient to Italy, and an army, now of considerable size, composed of those whom he had before and those who had fled from Rome, both freedmen and slaves, or those sent to him by the Italian cities which had been proclaimed as prizes of victory for
CAP. XI

 tense γὰρ δὴ γνώμαις αἰδὲ μάλιστα τὴν νίκην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπεύχοντο καὶ, ὅσα δύναντο, κρύφα ἀντέπρασσον ἀποδειδράσκοντες τε τῶν πατρίδων ὡς οὐκέτι πατρίδων οἱ δυνάμενοι συνέφευγον ἐς Πομπήιον, ἀγχοτάτω τε ὅντα καὶ περιφίλητον ἀπασίων ἐν τῷ τότε. παρῆσαν δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ναυτικοὶ ἄνδρες ἐκ Διβύης καὶ Ἰβηρίως, ἔμπειροι θαλάσσης, ὡστε καὶ ἡγεμόνι καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεξῷ καὶ χρήμασιν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπήρτο. καὶ τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπήκουσ τὸν ἐπεμπτεῖ Σαλουνδηνοῦ ἐπὶ νεὼν στόλου, Πομπήιον ως εὐχερές ἔργον ἔξελεν παραπλέοντα καὶ αὐτὸς ἦε διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ως αὐτῷ Σαλουνδηνὸς συμβολήσων περὶ Ῥήγιον. Σαλουνδηνὸς δ᾽ ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπαντᾷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ναυμαχίας ἀμφὶ τῷ Σκύλλαιον αὐτοῖς γενομένης αἱ μὲν τοῦ Πομπῆιον νῆες, κουφότεραι τε οὔσαι καὶ ναυτικωτέρων ἄνδρῶν, ταχυτήτι καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ προῦχον, αἰ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἄτε βαρύτεραι καὶ μείζους ἐμόχθουν. ως δ᾽ ὁ συνήθης τοῦ πορθμοῦ κλύδων ἐπεγίγνετο καὶ διεσπάτο ἡ θάλασσα ἐφ᾽ ἐκάτερα ὑπὸ τοῦ ροῦ, οἵ μὲν ἦσον ἐμόχθουν ὑπὸ ἔθους τοῦ κλύδωνος, οἵ δ᾽ ἀμφὶ τῶν Σαλουνδηνῶν, οὔτε ἐστῶτε βεβαίως ὑπὸ ἀνθείας οὔτε τὰς κώπας ἔτι ἀναφέρεις δυνάμενοι οὔτε τὰ πηδάλια ἔχοντες εὐπειθής, συμεταράσσοντο, ὡστε κλίνουτος ἐς δείλην ἔσπεραν ἦδη τοῦ θεοῦ πρότερος ὁ Σαλουνδηνὸς ἀνεκάλει. ὑπεχώρει δὲ καὶ ὁ Πομπῆιος. νῆες δὲ ἐκατέρων ἱσαι διεφθάρατο, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς λελωβημένας τε 282
the soldiers. These cities dreaded a victory of the CHAP. triumvirs more than anything else, and whatever they could do against them secretly they did. The wealthy citizens fled from a country that they could no longer consider their own and took refuge with Pompeius, who was near by and greatly beloved by all at that time. There were present with him also many seafaring men from Africa and Spain, skilled in naval affairs, so that Pompeius was well provided with officers, ships, troops, and money. When Octavian learned these facts he sent Salvidienus with a fleet, as though it were an easy task, to come alongside of Pompeius and destroy him, while he himself passed through Italy with the intention of joining Salvidienus at Rhegium. Pompeius advanced with a large fleet to meet Salvidienus, and a naval engagement took place between them at the entrance of the straits near the promontory of Scyllaeum. The ships of Pompeius, being lighter and manned by better sailors, excelled in swiftness and skill, while those of the Romans, being of great tonnage and size, laboured heavily. When the usual rush of waves through the straits came on, and the sea dashed hither and thither under the influence of the current the crews of Pompeius suffered less than their adversaries, because they were accustomed to the agitation of the waters; while those of Salvidienus, not having their sea-legs through want of experience, and being unable to work their oars, or manage their rudders, were thrown into confusion. Accordingly, about sunset, Salvidienus was the first to give the signal of retreat. Pompeius withdrew also. The ships suffered about equally on both sides. Salvidienus retired to the port of Balarus, facing the
καὶ πεπονημένας ὁ Σαλονιδηνός ἐπεσκεύαζεν, ὑπο-
χωρήσας ἐς λυμένα πρὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ Βαλαρών.

86. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπελθὼν Ὀργύνοις μὲν καὶ
Ἰππονεύσι μεγάλας πίστεις αὐτὸς ἐδώκεν ἀνα-
lύσειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπινικίων (ἐδείχε γὰρ ἄντας
ἐπὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ μάλιστα), καλοῦντος δὲ αὐτὸν
Ἀντωνίου κατὰ σπουδὴν διέπλει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ
Βρεντέσιον, ἔν ἀριστερὰ ἕχων Σικελίαν καὶ
Πομπήιον καὶ Σικελίαν ὑπερθέμενος ἐν τῷ τότε.
Μοῦρκος δὲ ἐπιώντος τοῦ Καῖσαρος, ἵνα μὴ ἐν
μέσῳ γένηται Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καῖσαρος, μικρὸν
ἀναχωρήσας τοῦ Βρεντεσίου, τὰς ὀλκάδας ἐφύλασ-
σεν ἐν τῷ πόρῳ τοῦ στρατὸν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐκ τοῦ
Βρεντεσίου διαφεροῦσας. αἱ δὲ προσπέμουτο μὲν
ὑπὸ τρεῖρων, πνεύματος δὲ πολλοῦ κατὰ θεὸν
οἰκείου γενομένου διέπτησαν ἄδεως, οὔτε τῶν
προπομπῶν δηθεῦσαι. καὶ ὁ Μοῦρκος ἀχθόμενος
ὁμος ἐφήδρευεν ἐπανιούσας κενάς. αἱ δὲ καὶ
τότε, καὶ αὐθεὶς ἐτερων στρατὸν ἀγούσαι, διέπλεον
ἰστίως στρογγύλους, μέχρι πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς καὶ ἐπ’
αὐτῷ Καῖσάρ τε καὶ Ἀντώνιος διέπλευσαν. καὶ
ὁ Μοῦρκος ὑπὸ τοῦ δαμόνων βεβλάφθαι νομίζων,
ὑπέμενεν ὁμοὶς τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτοῖς δια-
πλεούσας παρασκευᾶς ἢ τροφῆς ἢ τῶν ἐπισυλ-
λεγόμενον στρατὸν βλάπτων, ὡς δύνατο. καὶ
αὐτῷ Δομίτιος Ἀγνόβαρβος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν
Κάσσιον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔργον, ὡς χρησιμώτατον δὴ,
μετὰ νεῶν ἄλλων πεντήκοντα καὶ τέλους ἐτέρου

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strait, where he repaired what was left of his damaged and wasted fleet.

86. When Octavian arrived he gave a solemn promise to the inhabitants of Rhoegium and Vibo that they should be exempt from the list of prizes of victory, for he feared them on account of their nearness to the strait. As Antony had sent him a hasty summons, he set sail to join the latter at Brundusium, having Sicily and Pompeius on his left hand; and postponing the conquest of the island for the time being. On the approach of Octavian, Murcus withdrew a short distance from Brundusium in order that he might not be between Antony and Octavian, and there he watched for the passage of the transports that were carrying the army across from Brundusium to Macedonia. The latter were escorted by triremes, but a strong and favourable wind having sprung up they darted across fearlessly, needing no escort. Murcus was vexed, but he lay in wait for the empty ships on their return. Yet these returned, took on board the remainder of the soldiers, and crossed again with full sails until the whole army, together with Octavian and Antony, had passed over. Although Murcus recognized that his plans were frustrated by some fatality, he held his position nevertheless, in order to hinder as much as possible the passage of the enemy's munitions and supplies, or supplementary troops. Domitius Ahenobarbus\(^1\) was sent by Brutus and Cassius to co-operate with him in this work, which they deemed most useful, together with fifty additional ships, one legion, and a body of archers; for as the

\(^1\) This was the son of Caesar's enemy of the same name who was killed at Pharsalus.
ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

ΚΑΙ ΤΟΞΩΤΩΝ ΕΤΕΜΙΦΘΗ. ὩΣ ΓΑΡ ΟΫΚ ΕΧΟΥΣΙ ΤΟΪΣ ἈΜΦΙ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΤΡΟΦΑΣ ΔΑΣΗΛΕΙΣ ΕΤΕΡΩΒΕΝ ΕΩΣΚΕΙ ΤΑ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΙΤΑΛΙΑΣ ΔΙΑΚΛΕΙΣΕΙΝ.

ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΔΗ ΝΑΥΣΙ ΤΕ ΜΑΚΡΑΙΣ ΕΚΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ὙΠΗΡΕΤΙΚΑΙΣ ΠΛΕΟΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΟ ΠΟΛΛῷ ΔΙΑΠΛΕΟΝΤΕΣ ἩΝΩΧΛΟΥΝ, 87. ΔΕΚΙΔΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΝΩΡΒΑΝΟΣ ΟΥΣ Ο ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑΙ ΚΑΙ 'ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΜΕΤΑ ὈΚΤΩ ΤΕΛΩΝ ΕΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑΝ ΠΡΟΕΠΤΟΜΦΕΣΑΝ, ΕΚ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑΣ ΕΧΩΡΟΥΝ ΕΠΙ ΘΡΑΚΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΌΡΕΩΝ ΧΙΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ, ΜΕΧΡΙ ΠΟΛΥΝ ὩΠΕΡΒΑΝΤΕΣ ΦΙΛΙΤΤΟΠΟΥ ΤΑ ΣΤΕΝΑ ΚΟΡΥΤΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΠΑΙΩΝ, ΤΗΣ ΡΑΣΚΟΥΠΟΛΙΩΝ ΟΝΤΑ ΆΡΧΗΣ, ΚΑΤΕΛΑΒΟΝ, Ἡ ΜΟΝΗ ΔΙΕΛΘΕΙΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ ἙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΡΩΠΗΝ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΑΑΙΑΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΝΩΡΙΜΟΝ ὍΔΟΝ. ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟΙΣ ἈΜΦΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΣΙΩΝ, ΕΣ ΣΗΣΤΟΝ ΕΞ ΆΒΥΔΟΝ ΠΕΡΑΣΑΣΙ, ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ἈΝΤΕΕΚΕΚΡΟΫΚΕΙ. ΡΑΣΚΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΡΑΣΚΟΣ ᾽ΗΣΤΗΝ ἈΔΕΛΦΩ ΘΡΑΚΙΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΚΟ, ΜΑΣ ΆΡΧΟΝΤΕ ΧΩΡΑΣ, ΟΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΤΗ ΓΝΩΜΗ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΑΣ ΔΙΕΦΕΡΟΝΤΟ. ΚΑΙ ΡΑΣΚΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ἈΜΦΙ ΤΟΥΝ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΝ ΣΥΝΕΜΑΧΕΙ, ΡΑΣΚΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΣ ἈΜΦΙ ΤΟΥΝ ΚΑΣΙΩΝ, ΤΡΙΣΧΙΛΙΟΝ ἸΠΠΕΑΣ ἘΧΟΝ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΟΣ. ΠΤΗΝΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΣ ἈΜΦΙ ΤΟΥΝ ΚΑΣΙΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΝ ὍΔΟΝ Ο ΡΑΣΚΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΦΗ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΝ ΔΕ ΆΙΝΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΩΝΕΙΑΣ ΕΠΙΤΟΜΟΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΗΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΣΦΟΡΟΝ ΟΥΣΑΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΑ ΣΑΠΑΙΩΝ ΣΤΕΝΑ ΆΓΕΙΝ, ΚΑΤΕΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΩΝ ΑΜΗΧΑΝΑ ΕΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ, ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΝ ΤΡΙΠΛΑΣΙΟΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΛΕΠΗΝ.

88. ΟΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΥΣ ὙΠΟΛΑΒΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΣ ΚΩΛΥΣΙΝ ΜΕΝ ὍΔΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ἈΠΑΝΤΑΝ, ΤΡΟΦΟΝ ΔΕ ΑΠΟΡΙΑ ΕΣ ΘΡΑΚΗΝ ἈΝΤΙ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑΣ ὙΠΕΡΒΗΝΑΙ, ἘΒΑΔΙΕΙΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΆΙΝΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΩΝΕΙΑΣ, ὍΘΕΝ ἘΠΙ
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

TRIUMVIRS did not have a plentiful supply of provisions from elsewhere, it was deemed important to cut off their convoys from Italy.

And so Murcus and Domitius, with their 130 war ships and a still greater number of small ones, and their large military force, sailed hither and thither harassing the enemy. 87. Meanwhile Decidius and Norbanus, whom Octavian and Antony had sent in advance with eight legions to Macedonia, proceeded from that country a distance of 1500 stades toward the mountainous part of Thrace until they had passed beyond the city of Philippi, and seized the passes of the Corpilans and the Sapaeans, tribes under the rule of Rhascupolis, where lies the only known route of travel from Asia to Europe. Here was the first obstacle encountered by Brutus and Cassius after they had crossed over from Abydus to Sestus. Rhascupolis and Rhascus were brothers of the royal family of Thrace, ruling one country. They differed in opinion at that time in regard to the proper alliance. Rhascus had taken up arms for Antony and Rhascupolis for Cassius, each having 3000 horse. When the Cassians came to inquire about the roads, Rhascupolis told them that the one by way of Aenus and Maronea was the short and usual and most travelled route, but that it led to the gorge of the Sapaeans, which was occupied by the enemy and hence was impassable, but the roundabout road was difficult and three times as long.

88. Brutus and Cassius, thinking that the enemy had taken that position not to close the passage to them but had crossed to Thrace instead of Macedonia for want of provisions, marched toward Aenus and Maronea from Lysimacheia and
CAP. XI. Λυσιμαχείας τε καὶ Καρδίας,1 αἰ̂ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Θρᾴκιου χερσόνησου διαλαμβάνουσιν ὁστερ πῦλαί, μετὰ δὲ ἀλλήν ἠμέραν ἐς τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον ἀφίκοντο. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐξετάζουσιν αὐτοίς ἐγένοντο πάντες ὀπλιτῶν ἐννεακαίδεκα τέλη, Βρούτων μὲν ὀκτώ, Κασσίου δὲ ἐννέα, ἐντελὲς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐς δύο που τέλη μάλιστα ἀναπληροῦμενα, ὡς γίνεσθαι μυριάδας ὀπλιτῶν ἄμφι τὰς ὀκτώ. ἵππες δὲ ἱσαν Βρούτῳ μὲν Κέλτοι καὶ Λυσιτανοὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ Θρᾴκες καὶ Ἰλλυροὶ Παρθηνοὶ καὶ Θεσσαλοὶ δισχίλιοι, Κασσίῳ δὲ Ἰβηρίνες τε καὶ Κέλτοι δισχίλιοι καὶ ἵπποτοξύται Ἀραβές τε καὶ Μήδιοι καὶ Παρθναιοὶ τετρακισχίλιοι. σύμμαχοι δὲ εὗτον βασιλέες καὶ τετράρχαι Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, πεζοὺς τε ἀγοντες πολὺν ἄλλον καὶ ἵππεας ὑπὲρ πεντακισχίλιους.

XII

CAP. XII. 89. Τοσῷδε μὲν στρατιὰ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐπὶ τὸν Μέλανος κόλπον διεκρίθη, καὶ τοσῷδε ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, τὴν λοιπὴν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλαχοθε χρείας. καθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν τοῖς νομιζόμενοι ἀνεπλήρουν τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων πολλὴ ὀφειλομένας ἔτι δωρεάς, πολλῆς μὲν περιουσίας χρημάτων πεφροτυπότες, οἰκειούμενοι δὲ ταῖς δόσεσιν αὐτούς, Γαίῳ μάλιστα Καίσαρι

1 The text says that they marched toward Aenus and Maronea and thence toward Lysimacheia and Cardia, which would be the reverse of the route they actually took to Philippi. Schweighäuser judged that this was a copyist’s blunder.

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THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Cardia, which enclose the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus like gates. The next day brought them to the gulf of Melas. Here they reviewed their army which contained in all nineteen legions of infantry. Of these Brutus had eight and Cassius nine, not full, but among them were two legions that were nearly full, so that they mustered about 80,000 foot-soldiers. Brutus had 4000 Gallic and Lusitanian horse, besides 2000 Thracian and Illyrian, Parthian and Thessalian. Cassius had 2000 Spanish and Gallic horse and 4000 mounted bowmen, Arabs, Medes, and Parthians. The allied kings and tetrarchs of the Galatians in Asia followed him, leading a large additional force of foot-soldiers and about 5000 horse.

XII

89. Such was the size of the army reviewed by Brutus and Cassius at the gulf of Melas, and with it they advanced to battle, leaving the remainder of their forces on duty elsewhere. After performing a lustration for the army, they completed the payment of the promised donative still due to the soldiers. They had provided themselves with an abundant supply of money in order to propitiate them with gifts, especially the large number who had

1 The gulf of Melas was a day's journey east, not west, of Aenus.
2 The text is corrupt. Perhaps we should read δυνάμεια for δύο. The seventeen so-called legions were equal to twelve full legions.

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ΑΠΙΑΝΟΣ Η ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΕΣ

CAP. τούς πλέονας ἐστρατευμένους, μή τις ἐς τὴν ὅψιν ἡ ὁμονομαίαν τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος νεωτερίσειεν ἐλθόντος. καὶ αὖθις ἔδοξε τοῦτον χάριν καὶ δημηγορῆσαι. βῆμα τε σὺν ἐπήχθη μέγα, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς μόνων ἐς αὐτὸ ἄναβάντες, οὐ δὲ στρατὸς αὐτῶν, οὐ τε ἰδιος καὶ συμμαχικὸς, κάτω περιστάντες, ἣδοντο εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τοῦ πλήθους ἀλλήλων ἐκάτεροι, ἵσχυρότατη σφίσι φανείσῃ καὶ θάρσος ἢν ἀμφοτέρως αὐτίκα καὶ ἐπὶς ἰσχυρά, τοσῶνδε στρατηγοῦσιν. αὐτὰ τε πρῶτα πάντων τάδε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῶν στρατῶν ἐς πίστιν συνήγει τίκτουσι γὰρ εὐνοιαν ἐλπίδες κοιναί. θροῦ δὲ ὡς ἐν τοσοῦτοι ὄντος, οἱ τε κήρυκες καὶ οἱ σάλπιγκατι σωπὴν ἑποίουν, καὶ γενομένης ποτὲ ὁ Κάσσιος (προῦχε γὰρ ἡλικία) προελθὼν μικρὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐλεξεν ὡδε:

90. "Ο μὲν ἀγὼν πρῶτον ἡμᾶς, ὃ συστρατιώται, κοινὸς ὄν ἐς πίστιν ἀλλήλους συνάγει· συνάπτει δὲ καὶ ὅσα ύμῖν ὑποσχόμενοι πάντα ἔδομεν, οἱ μεγίστῃ πίστις ἐστὶ καὶ περὶ ὃν ἐς τὸ μέλλουν ὕπισχούμεθα. αἱ δὲ ἐλπίδες εἰςίν ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ, ύμῶν τε τῶν στρατευμένων καὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τοῦδε ὀράτε τοσοῦδε καὶ τοιοῦδε ἀνδρᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πλήθος παρασκευῆς, όσον ἵστε, σίτων τε καὶ ὀπλῶν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ νεῶν καὶ συμμάχων κατὰ τε ἐθνὶ καὶ βασιλέας. ὥστε τί χρῆ τῷ λόγῳ παρακαλεῖν ἐς προθυμίαν τε καὶ ὁμόνοιαν, ὡς ἴ τε παρασκευή καὶ τὰ ἔργα κοινά ὄντα συνάγει; περὶ δὲ ὧν διαβάλλουσιν ἡμᾶς δύο

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served under Gaius Caesar, lest at the sight or the name of the younger Caesar, who was advancing, they should change their minds. For which reason also it was deemed best to address the soldiers publicly. A large platform was built, upon which the generals took their places, accompanied by the senators only. The soldiers, both their own and their allies, stood around it below, filled with joy at the sight of their vast number, the most powerful force they had ever beheld. To both the generals their immense commands were an immediate source of the greatest hope and courage. This more than anything else confirmed the fidelity of the army to the generals, for common hopes generate good feeling. There was a great deal of noise, as is usual on such occasions. The heralds and trumpeters proclaimed silence, and, when this was obtained, Cassius, who was the elder of the two, advanced a little in front of his companions and spoke as follows:——

90. "A common peril, like the present, fellow-soldiers, is the first thing that binds us in a common fidelity to each other. The second is, that we have given you all that we have promised, and this is the surest guarantee for what we have promised you in the future. All our hopes rest in bravery—the bravery of you, fellow-soldiers, and of us whom you see on this platform, this large and noble body of senators. We have, as you see, the most abundant munitions of war, supplies, arms, money, ships, and auxiliaries both from Roman provinces and the allied kings. Why is it needful, then, to exhort you with words to zeal and unanimity—you whom a common purpose and common interests have brought together? As to the slanders that those two men,
APPIAN’S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XLI. ἄνδρες ἔχθροι, ἵστε μὲν αὐτὰ ἀκριβέστατα, καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ συστρατεύεσθε ἦμιν ἐτοίμως, δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἐτὶ τὴν αἰτίαν, ἢ μάλιστα ἐπιδείκνυσι τοῦ πολέμου καλλίστην τε οὐσαν ἦμιν καὶ δικαιοτάτην τὴν πρόφασιν.

91. “Ἡμεῖς γὰρ Καίσαρα ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις συστρατεύομενοι τε αὐτῷ μεθ’ ὑμῶν καὶ στρατηγοῦντες ἐπὶ μέγα ἠρομεν καὶ φίλοι διετελούμεν ὄντες, ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν δι’ ἐχθραν ύφ’ ἦμῶν ἐπιβεβουλεύσθαι. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ-μεμπτος ἦν, οὐχ ἦμιν τοῖς φίλοις, ἐπεὶ κἂν τούτοις προετιμώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς πολιτείας, ὡν οὐδεὶς νόμος οὗτε ἀριστοκρατικὸς κύριος οὔτε δημοτικὸς ἦτ’ ἦν, ἀπερ ἀπαντα οἱ πατέρες ἦμων ἠρμοσαν, ὅτε τούς βασιλείας ἐκβαλόντες ἐπώμοσαν καὶ ἐπηράσαντο οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλέων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἑτέρων. ὁ τινὶ ὅρκῳ ὑπήρθοντες οἱ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων ἐκγονοι καὶ τὰς ἀρὰς ἀπερύκοντες ἀφ’ ἑαυτῶν οὐ υπεμείναμεν ἐς πολύ περιδεῖν ἐνα ἄνδρα, εἰ καὶ φίλος ἦν ἦμιν καὶ χρήσιμος, τὰ τε κοινὰ χρηματα καὶ στρατόπεδα καὶ χειροτονίας ἀρχῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δῆμου καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἑαυτὸν περιφέροντα καὶ νόμον ἀντὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ κύριον ἀντὶ τοῦ δῆμου καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἑγγυνόμενον ἐς ἀπαντα.

92. “Ὡς νῦν ὅμως ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἴσθάνεσθε, ἀλλὰ μόνην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρετὴν ἐσώμεθα. νῦν δὲ ὅρκῳ τε ᾼν καὶ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ περὶ ὑμᾶς μέρους καταμάθοιτε. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

our enemies, have brought against us, you understand CHAP. them perfectly, and it is for that reason that you were ready to take up arms with us. Yet it seems fitting to explain our reasons once more. These will prove to you that we have the most honourable and righteous cause for war.

91. "We raised Caesar to his high place, serving him in war in conjunction with you and holding commands under him. We continued his friends so long that no one could imagine that we conspired against him on account of any private grudge. It was in the time of peace that he sinned, not against us, his friends (for we were honoured by him even among his friends), but against the laws, against the order of the commonwealth. There was no longer any law supreme, either aristocratic or plebeian, nor any of the institutions that our fathers established when they expelled the kings and swore never to tolerate royal government again. We, descendants of the men who thus swore, sustained that oath and warded off the curse from ourselves. We could no longer endure that one man, although he was our friend and benefactor, should take from the people and vest in himself the control of the public money, the armies, and the elections, and from the Senate the appointment of governors of the provinces; that he should be a law in place of the laws, a sovereign in place of the sovereign people, an autocrat in place of the senate's authority, for every purpose.

92. "Perhaps you did not understand these matters particularly, but saw only his bravery in war. Yet you may easily learn about them now by observing only the part that concerns yourselves.
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’Σ ΡΩΜΑΙΟ ΙΣτΟΡΙΑ

ΚΑΡ. XLI

όμεις εν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις ὑπακούστε ἐς πάντα ὁς κυρίοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, τὸ δὲ κύρος τόδε ἐν τοῖς εἰρήνικοῖς ἐφ’ ἥμιν ἀντιλαμβάνετε αὐτοί, προβουλευοῦσις μὲν τῆς βουλῆς, ἵνα μὴ σφαλείητε, κρίνοντες δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ ψηφιζόμενοι κατὰ φυλὰς ἡ λόχους καὶ ἀποφαίνοντες υπάτους τε καὶ δημάρχους καὶ στρατηγούς. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς χειροτονίαις καὶ τὰ μέγιστα δικάζετε, κολάζοντες ἢ τιμώντες, ὅτε κολάζεσσας ἢ τιμῆς ἀξίωσις ἀρχαίες υμῶν. ἢ δὲ ἀντίδοσις ἢδε τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν, ὃ πολίται, ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀκραν ὑπερήγαγε καὶ τοὺς ἀξίους ἐτίμησε, καὶ οἱ τετιμημένοι χάριν εἴχον υμῶν. ἀπὸ ταύτης τὴς ἐξουσίας υπάτων ἐποιήσασθε Σκιπίωνα, ὅτε αὐτῷ περὶ Δεινόνη ἐμαρτυρήσατε καὶ δημάρχους ἐποιεῖσθε ἀνὰ ἐτος ἐκαστοῦ, οὐς ἐβούλεσθε, διοισαμένους ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, εἴ δέοι. καὶ τί μοι καταλέγειν τὰ πολλὰ, ὅσα ἵστε;

93. “Ἄλλ’ οὖκ, ἀφ’ οὐ Καίσαρ ἐδυνάστευσεν, οὐκ ἄρχὴν τινα, οὐ στρατηγόν, οὐχ ὑπατον, οὐ δήμαρχον ἐχειροτονήσατε ἐτι, οὐκ ἐμαρτυρήσατε οὔδενι, οὐκ ἀμοιβὴν εἴχετε δοῦναι μαρτυρώντες. ἐν κεφαλαῖο δὲ ἐπείν, οὐδὲ εἰς υμῶν χάριν ὠφειλέν, οὐκ ἄρχῆς, οὐχ ἡγεμονίας, οὐκ εὐθυνόν, οὐ δίκης. ὃ δὲ οἰκτίστων ἀπάντων ἐγένετο, οὔδ’ αὐτοῖς ἐδυνήθητε ἐπικουρῆσαι τοῖς δημάρχοις υμῶν ὑβριζόμενος, ἢν τινα ἀδίδοιον υμῶν αὐτῶν ἄρχην ἐστήσασθε εἶναι καὶ ιερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον ἀπεφήνατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἁσύλους ἐδίδετε τὴν ἄρχην τὴν ἄσυλον καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα τὴν ιερὰν ἐς 294
THE CIVIL WARS: BOOK IV

You, of the people, when you go to the wars, obey your generals as masters in everything, but in time of peace you resume your mastery over us. The Senate deliberates first, in order that you may not make a slip, but you decide for yourselves; you give your votes by tribes, or by centuries; you choose the consuls, the tribunes, the praetors. In the comitia you pass judgment on the weightiest questions, and you decide rewards and punishments when we have deserved rewards or punishments at your hands. This balance of powers, O citizens, has raised the empire to the summit of fortune and conferred honours upon those worthy of them, and the men thus honoured have returned thanks to you. By virtue of this power you made Scipio consul when you bore testimony to his deeds in Africa, and you elected whom you pleased each year as tribunes, to oppose us in your interest if necessary. But why should I repeat so many things that you already know?

93. "From the time when Caesar's domination began you no longer elected any magistrate, either praetor, or consul, or tribune. Nor did you bear testimony to anybody's deeds, nor if you had done so, could you have rewarded them. In a word, nobody owed you any thanks either for a magistracy or a governorship, either for approving his accounts or acquitting him on a trial. Most lamentable of all, you could not defend your tribunes against insult, whose office you had constituted your own peculiar and perpetual magistracy, and had made sacred and inviolable. Yet you saw these inviolable men despoiled with contumely of this inviolable office, and of their sacred vestments, without trial, at the
CAP. XII ὦ βρων ἀφαιρομένους ἀκρίτους, ἀπὸ μόνου προστάγματος, οτι ἔδοξαν ύπερ ὕμων χαλεπτήναι τοῖς καὶ βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἐθέλουσι προσαγορεύσαι. ὥ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπαχθῶς ἦνεγκεν ἡ βουλή δι’ ὕμας ὕμετέρα γὰρ καὶ οὐ τῆς βουλῆς ἐστιν ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχή. ἐπιμελήσασθαί δὲ σαφῶς οὐ δυναμένη τὸν ἄνδρα οὖδ’ ἐσ κρίσιν ἐπαγαγεῖν διὰ ἰσχύν στρατοπέδων, ἀ καὶ αὐτά, τέως ὑπά τῆς πόλεως, ἑαυτοῦ πεποίητο ἱδία, τὸν ἐτι λοιπὸν τρόπον ἀμύνασθαι τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπενόησεν, ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβουλεύσασα.

94. "Εδει δὲ τὴν μὲν γυνώμην γενέσθαι τῶν ἀρίστων, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ὄλγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο, αὐτίκα ἡ βουλή τὴν κοινὴν γυνώμην ἐξέφηνε, σαφῶς μὲν ὅτε καὶ γέρα τυραννοκτονικά ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι. ἔπισχόντος δὲ αὐτῶν Ἄντωνίου καθ’ ὑπόκρισιν ἀταξίας καὶ οὐδ’ ἡμῶν ἀξιουντών διὰ γέρα τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἡ δ’ αὐτὴν τὴν πατρίδα βοηθεῖν, τούδε μὲν ἄπεσχοντο, οὐκ ἔθελοντες ἐφυβρίζειν τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀλλὰ μόνης τῆς τυραννίδος ἀπηλλάχθαι, ἀμνηστίαν δὲ ἀπάντων ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι καὶ σαφέστερον ἔτι, φῶνοι μὴ εἶναι δίκαι. καὶ μετὰ μικρῶν, Ἀντωνίου τὸ πλῆθος ἐφ’ ἡμῶν δημοκρίτας, ἡ βουλή καὶ ἀρχαῖς ἔθνων τῶν μεγίστων καὶ ἤγεμονίας ἔδωσεν ἡμῖν καὶ γῆς ἀπέφηναν ἡγεῖσθαι πάσης ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰουνίου μέχρι Συρίας, πότερον ὡς ἐναγεῖς κολλάζοντες ἡ ὃς ἀνδροφόνοις πορφύρα τε ἱερὰ καὶ ράβδοις καὶ τελέκεσθε περικομοῦντες; ὡς λόγῳ καὶ Πομπήιον τὸν νέον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἐς ταῦτα συνειργασμένον, ὅτι δὲ μόνον Πομπήιον Μάγγου τοῦ πρώτου περὶ 296
order of one man, because in your behalf they saw fit to proceed against certain persons who wished to proclaim him as king. The senators were deeply grieved at this on your account, for the office of tribune is yours, not theirs. But they were not able to censure this man openly or to bring him to trial by reason of the strength of the armies which, although heretofore belonging to the republic, he had made his own. So they adopted the only remaining method to ward off tyranny, and that was to conspire against the person of the tyrant.

94. "It was necessary that the decision should be that of the best men, but that the deed should be done by a few. When it was done the Senate voiced the general approval clearly by proposing rewards to the tyrannicides. But since Antony restrained them from doing so on the pretext that it would lead to disorder, and since it was not our intention to confer this benefit upon Rome for the sake of reward, but solely for the sake of the country, the senators refrained, not wishing to insult Caesar, but only to get rid of the tyranny. So they voted amnesty for all, and it was more particularly decreed that there should be no prosecution for the murder. After a little, when Antony excited the mob against us, the Senate gave us command of the largest provinces and armies, and ordered all the countries between Syria and the Adriatic to obey us. In so doing did they punish us as monsters, or did they rather distinguish us as tyrannicides with the royal purple and with the rods and axes? For like reason the Senate recalled from exile the younger Pompeius (who was not concerned in this conspiracy) because he was the only son of Pompey the Great,
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CAP. XII

τής δημοκρατίας ἀγωνισμένου παῖς καὶ ὀτι μικρὰ τὴν τυραννίδα ἤνωχει λαθάνον περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, κατεκάλεσε τε ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς καὶ τὸ τίμημα αὐτῶ τῶν πατρών ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἐκριναν ἀποδοῦναι χρημάτων καὶ θαλασσοκράτορα ἀπέφηναν, ἵνα κάκεινοι ἀρχήν τινα ἔχοι δημοκρατικὸς ὁμ. τί δὴ πλέον ἐργον ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς ἤ σύμβολον ἐπιζητεῖ τοῦ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῆς πάντα πεπράξαθαι, πλὴν ἢ λόγῳ μόνον ὑμῖν ἔτι ὀμολογῆσαι; δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ πράξουσι καὶ ἐρωτεί ν καὶ λέγοντες ἀμα ὑμᾶς ἀμείψονται μεγάλαις δωρεάν, ὅταν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀμείψασθαι δύνανται.

95. “Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔχουσιν, ἵστε. προγράφονται χωρίς δίκης, καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῶς δημιύνεται, καὶ κτείνονται χωρίς καταδίκης ἐν οἰκίαις, ἐν στενοχώρεις, ἐν ἱεροῖς, ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν, ὑπὸ θεραπόντων, ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν, ἐκ μνηστόρων ἀνασπώμενοι καὶ διωκόμενοι πανταχώ, τοῖς νόμοις τῶν ἐθέλοντα φεύγειν ἑωτῶν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἁγοράν, ἐς ἥν οὐδενὸς πολεμίου κεφαλὴν, ἄλλα ὅπλα μόνα καὶ ἐμβολὰ νεῶν ἐφέρομεν, ὑπάτων ἁρτὶ καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ δημάρχων καὶ ἁγορανόμων καὶ ἱππέων κεφαλὰς πρόκεινται καὶ ἄρα τούτων ἐστὶ τῶν κακῶν ὧρισμένα. τούτῳ γὰρ ἐπανύστασις τίς ἐστὶ πάντων, ὅσα τέως ἦν ὑπουλα, καὶ ἀνδρολήψια αἰφνίδια καὶ μύητε ποικίλα γυναικῶν τε καὶ νήσων καὶ ἀπελευθέρων καὶ οἰκετῶν. ἐς τοσούτου ἡδη καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἢ πόλις ἐπιτήτριται. καὶ τῶν τοῖς πονηροῖς ἥγεμόνες εἰσὶν οἱ τρεῖς ἄνδρες, αὐτοῖ πρὸ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἄδελφοι καὶ θέλους καὶ ἐπιτρόπους.

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who first took up arms to defend the republic, and because the young man had made some little opposition to the tyranny in a private way in Spain. It passed a decree also to pay back to him, out of the public funds, the value of his father's property, and it appointed him admiral in order that he also might hold a command because he was on the side of the republic. What more could you ask of the Senate by way of deed or of sign to show that everything was done with their approval, unless that they should declare it to you in so many words? But they will do and say this very thing, and saying it they will repay you with magnificent gifts, when they are able to speak and to requite your services.

95. "What their present situation is you know. They are proscribed without trial, and their property is confiscated. Without being condemned, they are put to death in their houses, in the streets, in temples, by soldiers, by slaves, by personal enemies. They have been dragged out of their hiding-places and pursued everywhere, although the laws allow anybody to go into voluntary exile. In the forum, where the head of an enemy was never carried, but only captured arms and the beaks of ships, the heads of those who were lately consuls, praetors, tribunes, aediles, and knights are exhibited. Rewards have been assigned for these horrors. This is a breaking out of all the wounds that had been previously healed over,—sudden seizure of men, and all kinds of infamy perpetrated by wives and sons, freedmen and slaves. Into so desperate a plight and such condition has the city now been plunged. The leaders of evil men in all this are the triumvirs, who proscribe their own brothers and uncles and
προγράψαντες. λέγεται ποτε πρὸς τῶν ἀγριωτά-
tων βαρβάρων ἡ πόλις ἀλώναι καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀπέτεμ-
νον οἱ Κέλτοι κεφαλᾶς οὐδὲ ἐνύβριζον ἀνηρμένοις
οὐδὲ πολεμοῦσιν ἐτὶ λαθεῖν ἣ φυγεῖν ἡθόνουν.
οὐδ' αὐτοὶ πω πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ὃς δορὶ ἑλάβομεν,
τοιαύτα διεθήκαμεν οὐδὲ ἔτέρους ἐπιθύμεθα δια-
θεῖναι, ὥστις νῦν οὐκ ἰδιωτὶς πόλις, ἀλλ' ἡγεμονὶς
ἀδικεῖται πρὸς τῶν αὐτὴν ἀρμόσαι καὶ διορθώσαι
τὰ κοινὰ κεχειροτονημένων. τί τοιοῦτοι εἰργάσατο
Ταρκύνιος; ὃν διὰ μᾶς γυναικὸς ὑβρίν, ἢ έρωτος
γενομένης, βασιλέα τε ὄντα ἐξέβαλον καὶ βασι-
λεύεσθαι διὰ ἐν ἔργον οὐκέτι ὑπέστησαν.

96. "Καὶ τάδε, ὥς πολίται, πράσσοντες οἱ τρεῖς
ήμαι ἐναγείς λέγουσι, καὶ φασὶ μὲν ἐμύνειν
Καίσαρι, προγράφουσι δὲ τοὺς οὐδ' ἐπιθυμοῦντας,
ὅτε ἀνηρεῖτο: ὃν καὶ οὐδὲ εἰσὶν οἱ πλέονες, οὐς
ὁράτε, διὰ πλούτον ἡ γενός ἡ γνώμην ἡθοπο-
ροτικῆς διανοίας προγεγραμμένοι. ὃ λόγῳ καὶ
Πομπήιος μεθ' ἡμῶν προεγράφη, πόρος μὲν ὃν
περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ὅτε ἡμεῖς ἐδρόμενοι ὃτι δὲ ἐστὶ
δημοκρατικὸν πατρός, διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ὑπὸ
μὲν τὴς βουλῆς κατεκλῆθη τε καὶ βαλασσοκρά-
τωρ ἐγένετο, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τριῶν προεγράφη. τί
dὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ Καίσαρι συνέγνωσαν αἱ ἐς ἐσ-
θοφάς προγεγραμμέναι; τί δὲ ὁ δήμος ὁ μέχρι
dέκα μυριάδων τιμᾶσθαι τὰ ὄντα κεκελευσμένος
ὑπὸ μηνύμασι καὶ ζημίας, ὃ τέλη καὶ καὶ
ἐσθοφάς ἐπιγράφουσι; καὶ τάδε πράσσοντες οὐδ'
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...guardians first of all. History tells us that the city was once captured by the most savage barbarians, but the Gauls never cut off any heads, they never insulted the dead, they never begrudged their enemies a chance to hide or fly. Nor did we ever treat in this way any city that we had captured in war, nor did we ever hear of others doing so. Moreover, it is no ordinary city, but the mistress of the world, that is thus wronged by those who have been chosen to set in order and regulate the republic. What did Tarquin ever do like this,—Tarquin, whom our ancestors hurled from the throne for an insult to one woman under the influence of passion, and then for that one act, resolved to be ruled by kings no longer?

96. "While the triumvirs are committing these outrages, O citizens, they call us infamous wretches. They say they are avenging Caesar when they proscribe men who were not even in Rome when he was killed. Very many of these are here, as you see, who have been proscribed on account of their wealth, their family, or their preference for republican government. For this reason Pompeius was proscribed with us, although he was far away in Spain when we did the deed. Because he is the son of a republican father (for which reason also he was recalled by the Senate and made commander of the sea), he was proscribed by the triumvirs. What part had those women in the conspiracy against Caesar, who have been condemned to pay tribute? What part had those plebeians who holding property up to the value of 100,000 drachmas have been ordered to submit it to valuation under pressure of informers and fines?"
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97. "Επί δέ γε τῷ δαιμόνιῳ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἄνθρωπων ὑπὸν ἔχετε, ἐστὶν ψυκὴ πολλάκις καὶ ὑπατεύοντας καὶ ἐπανουμένους, ὅρατε δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαγείς καὶ δημοκρατικοῦς καταπέφυγότας καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἴρημένους καὶ συνεχομένους ἡμῖν ἐστὶν λοιπὰ καὶ συναιρομένους. πολὺ γὰρ δικαιότερα ἡμεῖς γέρα τοῖς περισσώσασιν αὐτοὺς ἐκηρύθησαν ὅπως ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς ἀναιροῦσιν οὐδὲ ὅρων ἡμῖν Γάιον μὲν, ὅτι ἦσιν μόνους ἄρχειν, ἀπηρικοῦτος, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου περιποιομένους ἄρχην ὑπερορᾶν μέλλοντας καὶ μὴ ἐστὶν οὐτοὺς, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν τὸ μέσον τῷ ἄλλῳ προτιθέντας τὴν πολιτείαν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ὅσον οὖν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης αἱρομένου πολεμεῖν ἐκατέρω, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ δυσαστείας καὶ τυραννίδος, ἦν ἐν ταῖς προγραφαῖς ἐπέδειξαν ἤδη, ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ἡ μόνον ἦν τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερωθείσης ἰδιωτεύουμεν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις, εἰκότως οἴδε τε οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ πρὸ τούτων οἱ θεοὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα κρίνονσι. μεγίστη δὲ ἔλεπτὸς ἐν πολέμοις ἐστὶ τὸ δίκαιον.

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and what is more new taxes and contributions have been imposed upon them. And even while levying these exactions the triumvirs have not fully paid the sums promised to their troops, while we, who have done nothing contrary to justice, have given you all that we promised and have other funds ready for still larger rewards. So it comes about that the gods favour us because we do what is just.

97. "Besides the favour of the gods you can see that we have that of mankind by looking at these, your fellow-citizens, whom you have often beheld as your generals and your consuls, and who have won your praises as such. You see that they have had recourse to us as to men doing right and defending the republic. They espouse our cause, they offer up their prayers, and they co-operate with us for what still remains to be done. Far more just are the rewards we have offered to those who rescue them than those which the triumvirs offer for killing them. The triumvirs know that we, who killed Caesar because he assumed the monarchy, would not tolerate them in assuming his power and that we would not assume it ourselves, but that we would restore to the people in common the government as we received it from our ancestors. So you see the two sides do not decide to take up arms for the same reason—the enemy aiming at monarchy and despotism, as their proscription already proves, while we seek nothing but the mere privilege of living as private citizens under the laws of our country made once more free. Naturally the men before you espouse our side as the gods had done previously. In war the greatest hope lies in the justice of one's cause."
98. "Μηδε τω, ει Καίσαρος εγένετο στρατιώτης, ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐτί ήτω· οὐ ἡρ ἐκείνου γε ἡμεν οὐδὲ τότε, ἀλλα τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδ’ οἱ διδόμενοι μισθοὶ καὶ δωρεαὶ Καίσαρος ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἔστε Κασσίου στρατὸς οὐδὲ Βρούτου μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίων ἡμεὶς δ’ ἐσμὲν ὑμῖν συστρατιῶται, Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ. καὶ εἰ τόδε καὶ οἱ πολεμοῦντες ἡμῖν ἐφρόνουν, ἐνὶ ἀκινδύνως ἀπαισι τὰ ὀπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τοὺς στρατοὺς πάντας ἀποδοῦναι τῇ πόλει, κάικείνην ἐλέσθαι τὰ συνούσοντα· καὶ εἰ δέχονται ταῦτα, προκαλούμεθα. ἐπεὶ δέ οὐ δέχονται, οὐδ’ ἂν δέξαιτο ἐτὶ διὰ τὰς προγραφὰς καὶ ὁσα ἄλλα ἐδρασαν, ἱμαι, ὅ συστρατιῶται, μετὰ τε πίστεως ὑγίους καὶ προθυμίας ἀδόλου στρατευσόμενοι Ῥωμαίων τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μόνοις ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας."

99. Ἀναβοσώντων δὲ πάντων ἴσωμεν" καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγεῖν ἄξιοντων, ἡσθείς ο Κάσσιος τῇ προθυμίᾳ κατεκήρυξεν ἀδίκης σιωπὴν καὶ ἀπὸς ἔλεγεν: "θεοὶ μέν, ὡςον πολέμων δικαιῶν δεσπόται, τῆς πίστεως ὑμᾶς, ὃ συστρατιῶται, καὶ προθυμίας ἄμειμβοντο· τὰ δ’ ἐστὶ ἄνθρωπινοι στρατηγῶν πρόοιαν ὅτι καὶ πλέονα καὶ ἀμείνονα ἐστιν ἡμίν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις, μᾶθετε οὕτως. τέλη μὲν ὀπλιτῶν ἵσα αὐτοὺς ἀντετάγομεν, πολλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χρεῶν ἄλλα πολλαχοῦ καταλιπόντες· ἰππεῦσι δὲ καὶ ναυτὶ πολὺ προὐχομεν καὶ συμμάχοις βασιλευσί τε καὶ ἐθνεῖ τοῖς μέχρι Μήδων καὶ Παρθανίων. καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν ἐκ μετώπου μόνον εἰδὶ πολέμοι, ἡμεῖς δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ νότον Πομπηίον τε ὀμογυνώμονα ἡμῖν ἔξομεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, καὶ Μοῦρκος ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ καὶ
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

98. "Let it give no one any concern that he has been one of Caesar's soldiers. We were not his soldiers then, but our country's. The pay and the rewards given were not Caesar's, but the republic's. For the same reason you are not now the soldiers of Cassius, or of Brutus, but of Rome. We, Roman generals, are your fellow-soldiers. If our enemies were of the same spirit with ourselves it would be possible for all to lay down their arms without danger, and give back all the armies to the commonwealth, and let it choose what will be most fitting. If they will accept such terms, we challenge them to do so. Since they will not (for they could not, on account of the proscription and the other things they have done), let us go forward, fellow-soldiers, with unwavering confidence and honest zeal, fighting only for the freedom of the Senate and people of Rome."

99. They all cried out, "Forward!" and urged him to lead them on immediately. Cassius was delighted with their spirit, and again proclaimed silence and again addressed them, saying: "May the gods who preside over just wars and over good faith reward your zeal, fellow-soldiers. How far superior we are to the enemy in everything that the human foresight of generals can provide let me tell you. We are equal to them in the number of legions, although we have left behind us the large detachments needed in many places. In cavalry and ships we greatly surpass them, as also in auxiliaries from kings and nations as far as the Medes and Parthians. Besides this we have to deal only with an enemy in front, while Pompeius is co-operating with us in Sicily in their rear, and in the Adriatic Murcus and
Απίστωσις στόλων πολλών καὶ υπηρεσιάς δαφίλει καὶ δύο τέλεσι στρατοῦ καὶ τοξότας αἰεὶ δια-
πλέοντες ἑυχόλουσι πολλά, καθαρευούσης πολέ-
μών ἦμιν τῆς ὁπίσθεν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης.
χρήματα γε μὴν, ἀ τινες καλοῦσι νεύρα πολέμου,
τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἐστιν, οὐδὲ ἀπέδωκαί πω τὰ ὑπεσ-
χιμένα τῷ στρατῷ, οὐδὲ κατὰ δόξαν ἀπεινήση 
τῶν προγράφων, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπτεικῶν ἀτυλομένου
χωρία ἐπίθυμον· οὐδὲ ἐτέρωθεν εὐποροῦσι, τετρυ-
μένης στάσει καὶ ἐσφορᾶς καὶ προγράφασι τῆς Ἰταλίας.
ημῖν δὲ ἐκ πολλῆς φροντίδος καὶ τὰ
παρόντα ἑστὶ δαφιλῆ, ὡς αὐτίκα ἦμιν ἄλλα
χαράσσαθαι, καὶ ἐτερὰ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἅπτο
τῶν ὁπίσθεν ἔθνων προσδεύεται συμφέρομενα.

100. "Τροφαῖ δὲ, ὁ δυσπορώτατόν ἔστι στρατοῦ μεγάλους,
ἐκεῖνοις μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ, πλὴν ἐκ μόνης Μακεδονίας,
ἔθνους ὅρειου, καὶ Θεσσαλίας, χώρας
βραχείας· καὶ τάδε χρῆ κατὰ γῆν αὐτοῖς 
φερε
σθαί κακοπαθοῦσιν. εἰ δὲ ἐκ Διβύθης ἐπάγοντο ἡ
Δευκανίας ἡ Ἰαπυνίας, διακλείσουσι πάντα
Πομπήίος τε καὶ Μοῦρκος καὶ Δομίτιος. ημῖν
dὲ καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ φέρονται καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὑπό
νυὲς διὰ τὰ θαλάσση ἐκ τῆς νῆσων καὶ ἦπείρων ἄπασων,
ὅσιν ἀπό Ἄρκης ἐπὶ ποταμῶν Εὐφράτην, καὶ
tάδε ἀκωλύτως, οὐδενὸς ἦμιν ὅντος ὅπισθεν ἐχθροῦ.
ἐκ' ἡμῖν ἑστὶ καὶ ταχύνειν τὸ ἐργὸν καὶ ἐπὶ
σχολής ἐκτρύχειν τοὺς πολεμίους λιμῷ. τοσάδε
μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ τοιάδε ἐστὶν, ὁ συστρατιώται, παρ' 
ἀνθρωπίνης φροντίδος ἐτοιμα· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτῶς
ἀνά λόγον ἀπαντήσειε παρὰ τε ὑμῶν καὶ παρὰ
τῶν θεῶν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις
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Ahenobarbus with a large fleet and abundance of small craft,—besides two legions of soldiers and a body of archers, are cruising hither and thither harassing them in various ways, while both land and sea in our rear are clear of enemies. As regards money, which some call the sinews of war, they are destitute. They cannot pay what they have promised their army. The proceeds of the proscription have not met their expectation, because no good man will buy lands entailed with hate. Nor can they obtain resources elsewhere, since Italy is exhausted by civil strife, exactions, and proscriptions. Thanks to abundant foresight, we have plenty for the present, so that we can give you more shortly, and there are other large sums on the road collected from the nations behind us.

100. "Provisions, the supply of which is the chief difficulty in large armies, they can obtain only from Macedonia, a mountainous region, and the narrow country of Thessaly, and these must be carried to them overland with severe labour. If they try to obtain any from Africa, or Lucania, or Apulia, Pompeius, Mureus, and Domitius will cut them off entirely. We have abundance, brought to us daily by sea without labour from all the islands and mainlands which lie between Thrace and the river Euphrates, and without hindrance, since we have no enemy in our rear. So it rests with us either to hasten the battle, or by delaying it to waste the enemy by hunger. Such and so great, fellow-soldiers, are our preparations, so far as they depend on human foresight. May the future event correspond to these preparations by your efforts and by the help of the gods. As we have paid you all that we promised for
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ἀποδόντες ἀπαντα, ὅσα ὑπεσχήμεθα, καὶ τὴν πιστίν ὑμῶν ἀμειβάμενοι πλήθει δωρεῶν, ἀμειβόμεθα καὶ τὸ μεῖζὸν ἔργον ἄξιος αὐτοῦ κατὰ γνώμην θεών. καὶ νῦν δέ, ὅσον ἐς προθυμίαν, ἱόνιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἡδή, συνόδου τῆς δε καὶ λόγων τῶν ἄνεκα, ἐπιδώσομεν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τούτο τού βῆματος στρατιώτη μὲν χαλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμᾶς Ἰταλικᾶς, λοχαγῶ ὃς δὲ πενταπλάσιον καὶ χιλιάρχη ὃς τὸ ἀνάλογον."  

101. Ταύτα εἰπὼν καὶ παρασκευάσας τὸν στρατὸν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ δωρεάς διέλυε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπιμένοντες ἐπήμουν ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐτὸν τε καὶ Βροῦτον καὶ περὶ σφών, ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν, ὑπισχυόντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν δωρεὰν αὐτίκα διηρθητόνι καὶ ἑτερα ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν κατὰ προφάσεις πολλὰς τοῖς ἀρίστοισι. τοὺς δὲ λαμβάνοντας ἀεὶ κατὰ μέρη προαπέλλον, ἐς Δορίσκον, καὶ αὐτὸι μετ᾽ ὅλιγον ἐφείποντο. δύο δὲ ἀετοὶ καταπτάντες ἐς τῶν σημείων δύο αἵτων ἀπ᾽ ἀργύρου πεποιημένους, ἐκόλαπτον αὐτοὺς ἦ, ὡς ἑτέροις δοκεῖ, περιέσκεπον καὶ παρέμεμνον δημοσίας τε τροφῆς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἡξιωντο, μέχρι πρὸ μίας τῆς μάχης ἡμέρας ἀπέπτησαν. δύο δ᾽ ἡμέραι τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον περιοδεύσαντες ἐς Λίνου ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἐπὶ Λίνῳ Δορίσκον τε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μέχρι Σερρείου ὄρους παράλια.

ΧΙΙΙ

102. Τοῦ δὲ Σερρείου προύχοντος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, αὐτοῖ μὲν ἐς τὰ μεσογαία ἀνεχώρουν, Τίλιον δὲ Κίμβρον μετὰ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τέλους.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

your former exploits and have rewarded your fidelity with abundant gifts, so for this greater battle we will, under the favour of the gods, provide you a reward worthy of it. And now, to increase the zeal with which you already advance to your task, and in remembrance of this assembly and of these words, we will make an additional gift from this platform—to each soldier 1500 Italic drachmas, to each centurion five times that sum, and to each tribune in proportion.”

101. Having thus spoken, and having put his army in good spirits by deed and word and gifts, he dissolved the assembly. The soldiers remained a long time heaping praises on Cassius and Brutus and promising to do their duty. The generals immediately counted out the money to them, and to the bravest awarded an additional sum on various pretexts. As they received their pay they were dismissed by detachments on the march to Doriscus, and the generals themselves followed soon afterward. Two eagles alighted upon the two silver eagles which surmounted the standards, pecking at them, or, as others say, protecting them, and there they remained, being fed by the generals from the public stores until the day before the battle, when they flew away. After marching two days round the gulf of Melas the army came to Aenius and thence to Doriscus and the other towns on the coast as far as Mount Serrium.

102. As Mount Serrium projected into the sea Cassius and Brutus turned to the mainland, but they sent Tillius Cimber with the fleet and one legion of
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIII

οπλιτῶν ἐνὸς καὶ τοξοτῶν τινῶν τὴν ἀκτὴν περιπλέιν ἐπεμπον, ἢ πάλαι μὲν ἢν ἐρημοτάτη, καὶ περ ἐνγεως οὖσα, τῶν Ὀρακῶν οὔτε θαλάσσῃ χρωμένως οὔτε ἐς τὰ παράλια κατιόντων ὕπο δέους τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων. Ἑλλήνων δ' αὐτὴν ἔτέρων τε καὶ Χαλκιδέων καταλαμβάνον καὶ θαλάσσῃ χρωμένως, ἤθει ταῖς ἐμπορίαις καὶ γεωργίαις, χαίροντων σφίσι καὶ τῶν Ὀρακῶν διὰ τὴν τῶν ὁραίων ἀμείψα, μέχρι Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντων τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ Χαλκιδέας ἀνέστησεν, ὃς μηδὲν ἔτι πλὴν οἰκόπεδα μόνον ἱερῶν ὀρᾶται. τήνδε οὖν τὴν ἀκτὴν αὖθις ἔρημον οὔσαν ὁ Τίλλιος παραπλέως, ὡς οἱ πρὸς τῶν ἁμβρὶ τὸν Βροῦτον εἰρήτο, στρατοπέδους ἐπιτήδεια χωρία ἀνεμέτρει καὶ διέγραφε καὶ ταῖς ναοῖς κατὰ μέρη προσπλήνυ, ἵν' οἱ περὶ τὸν Νωρβανὸν, ὃς ἀχρεῖον ἔτι τὸ τηρεῖν, τὰ στενὰ ἐκλίποιεν. καὶ ἐγένετο μὲν ὡς προσεδόκησαν ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς φαντασίας τῶν νεῶν Νωρβανὸς ἐπὶ τῶν Σαπαίων στενῶν ἑθορυβήθη καὶ ἐκάλει Δεκίδιον ἐκ τῶν Κορμίλων κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπικουρεῖν οί. καὶ ἐπεκουρεῖ, τὰ δὲ τῶν Κορμίλων στενὰ ἐκλείφθέντα οἱ περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον διώδευσιν.

103. Ἐκφανείσθης δὲ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Νωρβανὸς καὶ ὁ Δεκίδιος τὰ Σαπαίων κατείχοι ἱσχυρῶς. καὶ πάλιν ἢν ἀπορὰ τοῖς ἁμβρὶ τὸν Βροῦτον, ἀδυμία τε ἐνέτιππε, μὴ δέοι σφᾶς ἢς ὑπερεωράκεσαν περίοδου νῦν ἄρχεσθαι, καὶ ἀνακυκλεύειν τὰ ἠνυμένα, ὡς καὶ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς ὠρας νεγονῶν. ὅδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ὁ Ῥασκούπτολις ἐφ' ἐνεργὸν, εἰναι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν Σαπαίων.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Troops and some archers to sail around the promontory, which, although fertile, was formerly deserted because the Thracians were not accustomed to the sea and avoided the coast for fear of pirates. So the Chalcideans and other Greeks took possession of it, being seafaring people, and caused it to flourish with commerce and agriculture, and the Thracians were much gratified by the opportunity for the exchange of products. Finally Philip, the son of Amyntas, drove out the Chalcideans and other Greeks so that no traces of them were to be seen except the ruins of their temples. Tillius sailed along this promontory, which was again deserted, as he had been ordered to do by Cassius and Brutus, measuring and mapping places suitable for camps, and approaching it with his ships now and then in order that the forces of Norbanus might abandon the pass, under the belief that it was useless to hold it longer. And it turned out as he had anticipated, for on the appearance of the ships Norbanus became alarmed for the Sapaean pass and called on Decidius to hasten from that of the Corpilans to his assistance, which he did. As soon as the latter pass was abandoned Brutus and Cassius marched through it.

103. When the stratagem became manifest Norbanus and Decidius occupied the gorge of the Sapaean strongly. Again Brutus and his men could find no passage. They fell into discouragement lest they should now have to begin the roundabout journey which they had disdained, and to turn upon their own tracks, although pressed by time and the lateness of the season. While they were in this mood Rhascupolis said that there was a circuitous route (along the very side of the Sapaean
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIII ὁρος ἡμερῶν τριῶν, ἅβατον μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐς τὸ νῦν ὑπὸ τε κρημνῶν καὶ ἀνυδρίας καὶ ὡλης πυκνῆς· ἦν δὲ ἐθέλωσιν ὕδωρ τε ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ ὀδοποιεῖν στενὴν καὶ αὐτάρκη δίοδον, οὐ γνωσθῆσθαι μὲν διὰ τὴν συνηρέφειαν ὡδὲ οἰωνοῖς, τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀρτησσοῦ ποταμῶν ήξειν, ἐκτύπτοντα ἐς τὸν ᾿Ερμοῦ, ὅθεν ἡμέρας ἐτί μᾶς ἐν Φιλίππωι ἔσσεσθαι, τοὺς πολεμίους περιλαβόντας, ὡς ἀπειλήφθαι τέλεον αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲ ἀναχώρησιν ἔξειν. τοῖς δὲ ἔδόκει τὰ λεγόμενα τῆς τε ἁλλῆς ἀπορίας οὖνεκα καὶ ἐλπίδι μάλιστα τοῦ περιλήψεσθαι τοσὸνδε στρατὸν πολεμῶν.

104. Προσέμπουσιν οὖν μέρος, Λευκίων Βύβλων παραδόντες, ὀδοποιεῖν μετὰ τοῦ Ὀρασκούπολιδος. οἱ δ' ἐπιμόχθως μὲν, ὃμως δὲ ἐπραττοῦν αὐτὸ μετὰ ὀρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας, καὶ μᾶλλον, ἐπεὶ τινες αὐτοὶς προπεμφθέντες ἐπανήλθον, ἰδεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν εξ ἀπόπτου λέγοντες. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ κάμνοντες ὑπὸ τε κόπου καὶ δίψους, ἐπιλυπόντος ἦδη τι καὶ τοῦ ὑδατος, δ' ἐπήγγυσον, ἀνέφερον, τω τριήμερον σφισι τὸ ἀνυδρον ἐλέγετο εἶναι, καὶ ἐν φοβη πενικῷ περὶ ἐνέδρας ἐγύγνωτο, οὐκ ἀπεστούντες μὲν τοὺς προπεμφθείσι τὸν ποταμὸν ἰδεῖν, ἡγούμενοι δὲ ἐτέραν ἄγεσθαι. καὶ ἀθύμοις καὶ ἐβόων καὶ τὸν Ὀρασκόπολιν, ὅτε ἵδοιεν περιθέοντα καὶ παρακαλοῦντα, ἑλοιδόρουν καὶ 312.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

mountain) of three days' march, which had been CHAP.
impassable to men up to this time on account of
rocks, scarcity of water, and dense forests. If,
however, they could carry their water and make
a narrow but sufficient pathway, they would be so
enveloped in shade that they would not be per-
ceived even by birds. On the fourth day they
would come to the river Harpessus, which falls
into the Hermus, and in one day more they would
be at Philippi, flanking the enemy so as to cut
him off completely and leave him no chance to re-
treat. They adopted this plan since there was
nothing else to do, and especially because it held
out the hope of surrounding so large a force of the
enemy.

104. They sent a detachment in advance under
command of Lucius Bibulus, in company with
Rhascupolis, to cut a path. They found it a very
laborious task, but they accomplished it nevertheless
with enthusiastic zeal, and all the more when some
who had gone ahead came back and said that they
had had a distant view of the river. On the fourth
day, fatigued with labour and thirst, the water which
they carried being nearly exhausted, they recollected
that it had been said that they should be in a
waterless region only three days. So they fell into
a panic fearing that they were the victims of a
stratagem. They did not disbelieve those who had
been sent in advance and who said that they had
seen the river, but they thought that they them-
selves were being led in a different direction. They
lost heart and cried aloud, and when they saw
Rhascupolis riding by and exhorting them to have
courage, they reviled him and threw stones at him.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIII

ἐβαλλον. Βύβλων δὲ αὐτοὺς ἱκετεύοντος ἐκπονή-
σαι τὰ λοιπὰ μετ' εὐφημίας, ὁ ποταμὸς περὶ ἐστέραν ἐφὼράτῳ τοῖς πρώτοις· καὶ βοής, ὡς εἰκός, λαμπρὰς ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ γενομένης, ἡ βοή, μεταλαμβανόντων αὐτὴν τῶν κατόπιν ἔξης, ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους περιήγη. Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος ἐπεὶ ἔμαθον, ἱεντὸ αὐτίκα δρόμῳ, διὰ τῆς τετμη-
μένης τὸν ἀλλὸν στρατὸν ἁγοντες. οὐ μὴν ἐλαθὸν
γε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τέλος οὐδὲ περιέλαβον
αὐτοὺς· ὁ γάρ τοι Ἄρσκος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἄρσκουπολίδου, ἐκ τῆς βοῆς ὑπονοήσας ἐσκέψατο καὶ τὸ γυγόμενον ἰδων ἐθαύμασε μὲν ὠδὸν ἀνυδρον ἐλθόντος στρατοῦ τοσοῦτο, ἂν οὐδὲ θηρίον φέτο
ὄδευσεν διὰ τοιᾶσθε ὑλῆς, καὶ ἀνήγγειλε τοῖς
ἀμφὶ τὸν Ναρβανόν· οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἐφευγον ἐκ τῶν
Σαπαίων ἐπ' Ἀμφιπόλεως. καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες ἄμφω
διὰ στόματος ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς στράτοις, ὥς ἀγνοο-
μένην ἁγαγόν, ὀ δ' οὐκ ἁγωνίσας.

105. Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκ παραλόγου
tόλμης ἐσε Φιλίππους παρῆλθον, ἐνθα αὐτοῖς καὶ
ὁ Τίλλιος ἐπικατήχηθα καὶ πᾶς ὁ στράτων συνελη-
λύθει. οἱ δὲ Φιλίππου πόλως ἐστίν, ἢ Δάτος
ἀνομάζει κατ' Κρηνίδες ἐτι πρὸ Δάτον·
κρῆμα γὰρ εἰσὶ περὶ τῷ λόφῳ ναμάτων πολλαί.
Φιλίππος δὲ ὡς εὐφυὲς ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίον
ὡχύρωσε τε καὶ ἀρ' ἐαυτοῦ Φιλίππους προσεῖπεν.
ἐστι δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ λόφου περικρήμιου, τοιαύτη

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While Bibulus was beseeching them with words of good cheer to persevere to the end, towards evening the river was seen by those in front, who, as was natural, raised a cry of joy, which was taken up by those behind in due order until it reached the rear. When Brutus and Cassius learned this they hurried forward at once, leading on the remainder of their army through the pathway that had been cleared. Nevertheless, they did not conceal their doings from the enemy altogether, nor surround them, for Rhascus, the brother of Rhascupolis, having his suspicions aroused by the shouting, made a reconnaissance; and when he saw what was being done he was astonished at so large an army traversing a pathway where no water could be obtained, and where he thought not even a wild beast could penetrate by reason of the dense foliage, and he forthwith communicated the news to the army of Norbanus. The latter retreated by night from the gorge of the Sapaeans toward Amphipolis. Each of the Thracian brothers received high commendation in his own army, the one because he had led an army by a secret path, the other because he had discovered the secret.

105. Thus Brutus and Cassius by an astounding act of audacity advanced to Philippi, where Tillius also disembarked, and the whole army was there assembled. Philippi is a city that was formerly called Datus, and before that Crenides, because there are many springs bubbling around a hill there. Philip fortified it because he considered it an excellent stronghold against the Thracians, and named it from himself, Philippi. It is situated on a precipitous hill and its size is exactly that
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIII
to megéthos, ὅσον ἐστὶ τοῦ λόφου τὸ εὐρος. ἔχει δὲ πρὸς μὲν ἀκτεὶ δρυμοὺς, δυ᾽ ὅτι ὁ Ῥασκουπόλις ἦγαγε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον πρὸς δὲ τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ ἔλος ἐστὶ καὶ θάλασσα μετ’ αὐτῷ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑώ τὰ στενὰ τὰ Σαπαίαν τε καὶ Κορτίλων, ἐκ δὲ τῆς δύσεως πεδίων μέχρι Μυρκίνου τε καὶ Δραβήσκου καὶ ποταμοῦ Στρυμόνος, τριακοσίων ποιο καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίων, εὐφόροι πάνω καὶ καλῶν, ἐνθα καὶ τὸ πάθος τῇ Κόρη φασίν ἀνθίζομεν γενέσθαι, καὶ ποταμὸς ἐστὶ Ζυγάκτης, ἐν φ’ τοῦ θεοῦ περώντος τὸ ἄρμα τῶν ξυγὸν ἄξαι λέγουσι καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα. κατοφθρὲς δ’ ἐστὶ τὸ πεδίον, ὡς ἐπιδέξευν μὲν εἰναι τοῖς ἀνωθεν ὁμώσων ἐκ τῶν Φιλίππων, ἀναντεὶ δὲ τοῖς εἰς Ἀμφιπόλεως ἄνθρωποι.

106. Φιλίππων μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἔτερος λόφος οὐ μακράς, δυ’ Διονύσου λέγουσιν, ἐν μέ καὶ τὰ χρυσεία ἐστὶ τὰ Ἁσυλα κάλομενα. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦτο τέκα σταδίους προελθόντι δύο εἰς ἄλλην λόφοι, Φιλίππων μὲν αὐτῶν ὅσον ὁκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ἀφεστῶτες, ἀλλήλων δὲ ὅσον ὁκτὼ, ἐν οἷς ἐστρατοπέδευσαν, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, Βροῦτος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βορείου. καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανὸν ὑποχωροῦντων οὐκέτι προῆσαν Ἀντώνιον τε γὰρ ἐπυνθάνοντο πλησιάζειν, Κάσσιος ὑπολειμμένον διὰ νόσον ἐν Ἐπιδάμνων, καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἦν ἐναγωνίσασθαι καλῶν καὶ οἱ κρημνοὶ στρατοπεδεύσαν. τὰ γὰρ ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῶν, τῇ μὲν ἦν ἔλη καὶ λίμνη μέχρι τοῦ Στρυμόνος, τῇ δὲ τὰ στενὰ καὶ ἄτριβη καὶ ἀνόδευτα τὸ δὲ μέσον τῶν λόφων, τὰ ὁκτὼ στάδια, δίοδος ἦν ἐς τὴν Ασιαν τε καὶ 316.
of the summit of the hill. There are woods on the north through which Rhascupolis led the army of Brutus and Cassius. On the south is a marsh extending to the sea. On the east are the gorges of the Sapaeans and Corpileans, and on the west a very fertile and beautiful plain extending to the towns of Murcinus and Drabisceus and the river Strymon, about 350 stades. Here it is said that Persephone was carried off while gathering flowers, and here is the river Zygactes, in crossing which they say that the yoke of the god's chariot was broken, from which circumstance the river received its name. The plain slopes downward so that movement is easy to those descending from Philippi, but toilsome to those going up from Amphipolis.

106. There is another hill not far from Philippi which is called the Hill of Dionysus, in which are gold mines called the Asyla. Ten stades farther are two other hills, at a distance of eighteen stades from Philippi itself and eight stades from each other. On these hills Cassius and Brutus were encamped, the former on the southern and the latter on the northern of the two. They did not advance against the retreating army of Norbanus because they learned that Antony was approaching, Octavian having been left behind at Epidamnus on account of sickness. The plain was admirably situated for fighting and the hill-tops for camping, since on one side of them were marshes and ponds stretching as far as the river Strymon, and on the other gorges destitute of roads and impassable. Between these hills, eight stades apart, lay the main pass from Europe to Asia as between

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CAP. XIII

Εὐρώπην καθάπερ πύλαι, καὶ αὐτὰ διετέχισαν ἀπὸ χάρακος ἐς χάρακα καὶ πύλας ἐν μέσῳ κατέλιπον, ὡς ἐν εἶναι τὰ δύο στρατόπεδα. ἦν δὲ καὶ παρ’ αὐτὸ ποταμός, ὅν Γάγγαν τινές, οὗ δὲ Γαγγίτησιν λέγουσι, καὶ θάλασσα ὕπισθεν, ἐν ἥ καὶ τὰ ταμιεῖα καὶ ἐνορμόσματα ἔμελλον ἔξειν. Ὁλόσων μὲν ἐς ταμιεῖον, ἀπὸ ἐκατόν σταδίων οὖσαν, ἑτίθεντο, ἐνόρμισμα δὲ ταῖς τριήρεσι Νέαν πόλιν, ἀπὸ ἑβδομῆκοντα σταδίων.

XIV

CAP. XIV

107. Οἱ μὲν δὴ χαίροντες τῷ χωρίῳ τὰ στρατόπεδα ὠχύρωσαν, ’Αντώνιος δὲ ὀδεύει μὲν σὺν τῷ στρατῷ μετ’ ἐπείξεως, τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἐθέλων ἐς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς μάχης προλαβεῖν, ὡς δὲ αὐτὴν εὑρεῖν ὥχυρωμένην οἱ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν Νορβαϊόν, ἡσθή καὶ τὴν παρασκευήν ἐν αὐτῇ κατέληπτε μεθ’ ἐνὸς τέλους, οὗ Πινάριος ἤγειτο, αὐτὸς δὲ μάλα θρασεώς πολὺ προελθὼν ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, σταδίους ὀκτὼ μόνους ἀποσχών ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμιῶν, καὶ εὔθυς ἡν κατάδηλος ἡ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐλάττωσις τε καὶ πλεονεξίᾳ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπὶ κολωνῖο, οὗ δὲ ἐν πεδίῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξυλεύοντο ἀπὸ τῶν ὅρων, οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔλους· καὶ ὑδρεύοντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ ποταμοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἐκ φρεάτων ὑπὸ αὐτίκα ὑφωρυχείσαν τὴν τε ἀγορὰν οἱ μὲν ἀπ’ ὅλων σταδίων ἐπήγγευσον ἐκ Ὁλόσων, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ πεντῆκον καὶ τριακοσίων ἐξ Ἀμφίπολεως. ἐδόκει γε μὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὀδε πρᾶξαι,
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gates. Across this space they built a fortification from camp to camp, leaving a gate in the middle, so that the two camps became virtually one. Alongside this fortification flowed a river, which is called by some the Ganga and by others the Gangites, and behind it was the sea, where they could keep their supplies and shipping in safety. Their depot was on the island of Thasos, 100 stades distant, and their triremes were anchored at Neapolis, at a distance of seventy stades.

XIV

107. Brutus and Cassius were satisfied with the position and proceeded to fortify their camps, but Antony moved his army rapidly, wishing to anticipate the enemy in occupying Amphipolis as an advantageous position for the battle. When he found it already fortified by Norbanus he was delighted. Leaving his supplies there and one legion, under the command of Pinarius, he advanced with the greatest boldness and encamped in the plain at a distance of only eigt stades from the enemy, and straightway the superiority of the enemy’s situation and the inferiority of his own became evident. The former were on elevated ground, the latter on the plain; the former procured fuel from the mountains, the latter from the marsh; the former obtained water from a river, the latter from wells freshly dug; the former drew their supplies from Thasos, requiring carriage of only a few stades, while the latter was. 350 stades from Amphipolis. Still it seems that Antony was
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CAP. XIV

κολωνοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐτέρου, τὸ δ’ ἄλλο πεδίον οὐ κοιλότερον ἐκλίμναξοντος ἐνίστε τοῦ ποταμοῦ. παρ’ ἐκάκας περὶ τῶν ὀρυσσομένων φρεάτων γλυκείας τε καὶ δαψιλῶν ὦδας εὐρίσκει. τὸ γε μὴν τὸλμημα, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἀπορίας ἐγένετο, κατέπλησε τοὺς πολεμίους, ἔγγυς οὕτω καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου σὺν καταφρονήσει παραστρατο-πεδεύσαντος. φρούρια τε ἦγειρε πολλὰ καὶ πάντα κατὰ σπουδὴν ὁχύρων τάφρους καὶ τείχες καὶ χαρακώμασιν. ὡ χύρουν δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὥσα αὐτοῖς ἐνέλειπεν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τὴν ὥρμην τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μανιώδης οὐσαν ὅρῶν διετείχιζεν, δέ ἐτι μόνον αὐτοῖς ἐλειπεν τὸ ἔλος ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατο-πέδου, διὰ στενότητα ὑπεροφθέν, ὡς μηδὲν ἐτι ἀτείχιστον εἶναι πλὴν κατὰ πλευρὰς Βροῦτῳ μὲν τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, Κασσίῳ δὲ τὸ ἔλος καὶ τὴν θάλασ-σαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔλει: τὰ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πάντα διείληπτο τάφρω καὶ χάρακι καὶ τείχει καὶ πύλαις.

108. Οὕτω μὲν ὀχυρώνυτο αὐτῶν ἐκάτεροι καὶ ἐν τοσοῦτῳ μόνοις ἕπευξι καὶ ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐπειρώντο ἀλλήλων. ὡς δὲ ἐξειργαστὸ πάντα, ὡσα ἐπενόουν, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἄφικτο, οὕτω μὲν ἔρρω-μένος ἐσ μάχην, φορεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς συντάξεις τοῦ στρατοῦ κομιζόμενος, οἱ μὲν ἄμφι τῶν Καίσαρα εὐθὺς ἐξέτασσον ἐς μάχην, οἱ δ’ ἄμφι τῶν Βροῦτον ἀντεξέτασσον μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλότερων, οὐ κατή-σαν δὲ: οὐ γὰρ ἐγνώκεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπείγε-σθαι, ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐλπίζοντες ἐκτρύσειν τοὺς

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compelled to do as he did, for there was no other hill, and the rest of the plain, lying in a sort of hollow, was liable to inundation at times from the river; for which reason also the fountains of water were found fresh and abundant in the wells that were dug there. Antony's audacity, although he was driven to it by necessity, confounded the enemy when they saw him pitch his camp so near them and in such a contemptuous manner as soon as he arrived. He raised numerous towers and fortified himself on all sides with ditch, wall, and palisade. The enemy also completed their fortification wherever their work was defective. Cassius, observing that Antony's advance was reckless, extended his fortification at the only place where it was still wanting, from the camp to the marsh, a space which had been overlooked on account of its narrowness, so that there was now nothing unfortified except the cliffs on Brutus's flank and the marsh on that of Cassius and the sea lying against the marsh. In the centre everything was intercepted by ditch, palisade, wall, and gates.

108. In this way both sides had fortified themselves, in the meantime making trial of each other by cavalry skirmishes only. When they had done all that they intended and Octavian had arrived (for, although he was not yet strong enough for a battle, he could be carried along the ranks reclining in a litter), he and Antony prepared for battle forthwith. Brutus and Cassius also drew out their forces on their higher ground, but did not come down. They decided not to give battle, hoping to wear out the enemy by want of supplies. There were nineteen legions of infantry on each side.
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CAP. XIV

πολεμίους. ἂν δὲ τὰ μὲν πεζὰ ἐκατέρως ἐνεκακαί-
δεκα ὀπλιτῶν τέλη, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον
ἐνδέοντα τοῖς ἀρίθμοῖς, τοῖς δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα
καὶ ἐπιεύναζον ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπηθεὶς δὲ ἀμα τοῖς
ἐκατέρων Θρακίων ἴσαν Καῖσαρι μὲν καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ
μύριοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, Βρούτῳ δὲ καὶ Κασσίῳ
δισμύριοι. ὡστε πλήθει μὲν ἀνδρῶν καὶ θράσει
καὶ ἀρετῇ στρατηγῶν καὶ ὀπλισ καὶ παρασκευῇ
λαμπροτάτῃ ἐκατέρων παράταξιν ὀφθήναι, ἀ-
πρακτον δὲ ἐς πολλὰς ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἐθελόντων
συμπλέκεσθαι τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς
ἀγοραῖς προεκτρύχειν τοὺς πολεμίους, αὐτοῖς μὲν
ἐχοντες Ἀσιάν χορηγὴν καὶ εξ ἐγγύους πάντα
διὰ θαλάσσης περιζόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις
οὐδὲν ὄν δαφνίες οὐδὲ οἰκεῖον οὔτε γάρ τι δι’
ἐμπόρων ἀπ’ Ἀγόπτου λαβεῖν εἶχον, ὑπὸ λιμοῦ
τῆς χώρας δεδαπανημένης, οὔτε ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἢ
Διβύης διὰ Πομπηίου οὔτε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας διὰ
Μούρκου καὶ Δομίτιου. οὔκ ἐς πολὺ δὲ αὐτοῖς
ἐμέλλειν ἀρκεσεῖν Μακεδονία τε καὶ Θεσσαλία,
μόναι σφίσιν ἐν τῷ τότε χορηγοῦσαι.

109. ‘ὢν οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἐνθυμούμενοι
μάλιστα διετριβοῦν ὡς ἂν Ἀντώνιος αὐτὰ δεδῶς
ἐγὼν βιάσασθαι τοὺς ἀνδρὰς ἐς μάχην καὶ
ἐπενόησεν, εἰ δύνατο βάσιμον τὸ ἐλος ἐργάσασ-
θαι λαθῶν, ἵνα κατόπιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐτὶ ἀγνοοῦν-
των γενόμενοι τὴν ἀγορὰν σφᾶς ἄφελοιτο τὴν
ἀπὸ τῆς Θάσου κομιζομένη. ἐκτάσεων οὖν
αὕτως ἐκάστοτε ἐς μάχην τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ στρατοῦ
πάντα, ἵνα ἐλος ἐκτετάχθαι νομίζοιτο, μέρει
τινὶ νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἐκοπτεῖν ἐν τῷ ἔλει
δίοδον στενῆν, κείρων τε τὸν δόνακα καὶ χώμα
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side, but those of Brutus and Cassius lacked something of being full, while those of Octavian and Antony were complete. Of cavalry the latter had 13,000 and the former 20,000, including Thracians on both sides. Thus in the multitude of men, in the spirit and bravery of the commanders, and in arms and munitions, was beheld a most magnificent display on both sides; yet they did nothing for several days. Brutus and Cassius did not wish to engage, but rather to continue wasting the enemy by lack of provisions, since they themselves had abundance from Asia, all transported by the sea from close at hand, while the enemy had nothing in abundance and nothing from their own territory. They could obtain nothing through merchants from Egypt, since that country was exhausted by famine, nor from Spain or Africa by reason of Pompeius, nor from Italy by reason of Murcus and Domitius. Macedonia and Thessaly, which were the only countries then supplying them, would not suffice much longer.

109. Mindful chiefly of these facts Brutus and his generals protracted the war. Antony, fearful of the delay, resolved to force them to an engagement. He formed a plan of effecting a passage through the marsh secretly, if possible, in order to get in the enemy's rear without their knowledge, and cut off their avenue of supply from Thasos. So he arrayed his forces for battle with all the standards set each day, so that it might seem that his entire army was drawn up, while a part of his force was really working night and day making a narrow passage in the marsh, cutting down reeds, throwing up a causeway upon them, and flanking it with stone, so
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. CAP. επιβάλλων καὶ λίθους ἐκατέρωθεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ χῶμα διαπίπτοι, τὰ δὲ βαθέα διεστάυρυν καὶ ἐγεφύρων μετὰ σωτηρίας βαθυτάτης. ἀφήρητο δὲ τὴν ὀψιν τοῦ ἔργου τους πολεμίους ὁ πεφυκώς ἔτι δύναξ ἀμφὶ τῇ διώδῃ. δέκα δ’ ἡμέρας ἐργασάμενος ὥδε ἐστεπισφε λόχους ὅρθιους νυκτὸς ἀφιν καὶ τὰ ἐρύμνα τῶν ἐντὸς κατέλαβε καὶ ἐχαράκωσε φρούρια ὁμοῦ πολλά. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος κατεπλάγη μὲν τοῦ ἔργου τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τε καὶ κλοπὴν, ἀντεπινοῶν δὲ ἀποτεμέσθαι τὰ φρούρια τῶν Ἀντώνιου, διετείχυξε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικάρσιον τὸ ἔλος ἀπαν, ἁρχομένον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μέχρι τῆς ταλάσσης, κόπτων ὁμοίως καὶ γεφυρῶν καὶ τῶν χάρακα τοῖς στεριφώμασι ἐπιτυθεῖσι καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀντώνιον γεγενημένην δίοδον ἀπολαμβάνων, ἵνα μὴ ἐκδραμεῖν ἐς αὐτὸν οἱ ἐνδον ἐτὶ δυνηθεῖν μὴτ ἐκεῖνος αὐτοὶ ἐπιβοθεῖν.

110. Ταύτα δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἵδοι περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ὡς εἶχεν, αὐτικὰ σὺν ὅρμῃ τε καὶ ὀργῇ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἰδιον, ἐπὶ θάτερα τεταγμένον, ἤγεν ἐπιστρέφων εἰς τὸ διατείχισμα τοῦ Κασσίου, μεταξὺ τοῦ ἔλους καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, σιδήρα φέρων καὶ κλίμακας, ὡς ἔξελὼν αὐτὸ καὶ παροδεύσων ἐς τὸ τοῦ Κασσίου στρατόπεδον. γυνομένου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ δρόμου σὺν τόλμῃ πλαγίου τε καὶ πρὸς ἄνατες, κατ’ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ μεταίχμιον τῶν στρατιῶν ἐκατέρων, περιήλθησαν οἱ τοῦ Βρούτου στρατιώται ἐπὶ τῇ ὑβρεῖ, ὡδὲ μάλα θρασεῖς αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἐνόπλους ἐχθρῶν διαθεοῦντοι, καὶ ἐπέδραμον αὐτοῖς αὐτοκέλευστοι πρὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιτάγματος καὶ ἐκτεινοῦν ὁδὰ πλαγίους ἄθροίως, οὕς καταλάβοιεν. ἀρξαμενοὶ δ’ ἀπαξ
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

that the earth should not fall away, and bridging the deeper parts with piles, all in the profoundest silence. The reeds, which were still growing round his passage-way, prevented the enemy from seeing his work. After working ten days in this manner he sent a column of troops by night suddenly, who occupied all the strong positions within his lines and built several redoubts at the same time. Cassius was amazed at the ingenuity as well as the secrecy of this work, and he formed the counter design of cutting Antony off from his redoubts. He carried a transverse wall across the whole marsh from his camp to the sea, cutting and bridging in the same manner as Antony had done, and setting up the palisade on the top of his mounds, thus intercepting the passage made by Antony, so that those inside could not escape to him, nor he render assistance to them.

110. When Antony saw this about noon, instantly, with rage and fury, he turned his own army, which was facing in another direction, and led against the cross-fortification of Cassius between his camp and the marsh. He carried tools and ladders intending to take it by storm and force his way into Cassius' camp. While he was making this audacious charge, obliquely and up hill, across the space that separated the two armies, the soldiers of Brutus were provoked at the insolence of the enemy in dashing boldly athwart their front while they stood there armed. So they charged on their own account, without any order from their officers, and killed with much slaughter (as natural in a flank attack) all they came up with. The battle once begun they charged upon
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111. Ὅ ὁ 'Αντώνιος ὁ όργιος τὴν μάχην συνεργαζόμεν τις εὐθύμησε ὡς ἄναγκας (πάνω γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐδείξατο), ἀναστρέψειν δὲ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὡς ἐκρίνετο, ὡς τὴν φάλαγγα ἀνελίσσαν ταράζειν, ὡς ἀρξάμενος δὴ εἴχεν ὄρμης, ἑκεῖτο δρόμω καὶ ἀνέβαινε, βαλλόμενος τὸ καὶ χαλέπως, μέχρι βιαζόμεθα εὔκυρσε τῇ φάλαγγι τῇ Κασσίου, τὴν τὰξιν τὴν δεδομένην φυλασσοῦσῃ καὶ τὸ γυνώμενον ὡς ἄλογον καταπεπληγμένη. ῥήξας δὲ ἀυτὴν ὑπὸ τόλμης ἔπει τὸ διατείχισμα ὠρμα, τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τῆς ἐλούς καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τὸν τῇ χάρακα ἀναστῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγχωνύν καὶ τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ὑπορύσσων καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πύλαις καταφονεύων καὶ τὰ ἑπιπίπτοντα ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ὑπομένων, ἐως αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσῆλατο διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἐκδομῆς ἐτεροὶ δὲ ταῖς ὑπωρυχίασ ἐσῆλθον, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς πεπτωκόσιν ἐπανέβαινον. καὶ πάντα ὁῦτος ἐγγύνετο ὑξέως, ὡς τοῖς τὸ ἔλος ἐργαζόμενος ἑπιβοηθοῦσαν ὑπήρμων ἐλόντες ἤς τὸ διατείχισμα. τρεψάμενοι δὲ καὶ τούσδε σὺν ὀρμῆς βιαίῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος κατώσαντες ἐπαιχθέασαν ἐς αὐτὸ ἤς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Κασσίου, μόνον σὺν τῷ Ἀντώνιῳ, ὡς τὸ διατείχισμα ὑπερῆλθον, τοῦ

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the army of Octavian, also, which was drawn up opposite, put it to flight, pursued it to the camp which Antony and Octavian had in common, and captured it. Octavian himself was not there, having been warned in a dream to beware of that day, as he has himself written in his Memoirs.

111. When Antony saw that battle was joined he was delighted because he had forced it, for he had been in trouble about his supplies. He judged it inadvisable to turn again toward the plain, lest in making the evolution his ranks should be thrown into disorder. So he continued his charge, as he had begun it, on the run, and advanced under a shower of missiles, and forced his way till he struck the troop of Cassius which had not moved from its assigned position and which was amazed at this unexpected audacity. He courageously broke this advance guard and dashed against the fortification that ran between the marsh and the camp, demolished the palisade, filled up the ditch, undermined the works, and killed the men at the gates, disregarding the missiles hurled from the wall, until he had forced an entrance through the gates, and others had made breaches in the fortification, and still others had climbed up on the débris. All this was done so swiftly that those who had just now captured the fortification met Cassius’ men, who had been at work in the marsh, coming to the assistance of their friends, and, with a powerful charge, put them to flight, drove them into the marsh, and then at once wheeled against the camp of Cassius itself. These were only the men who had scaled the fortification with Antony, the remainder being engaged in
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112. Τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ὡς ἐρυμοὺν ὀλάγος πάμπαν ἐβύλασσον ὥθεν αὐτῶν εὐμαρῶς ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. ἣδη δὲ καὶ ἔξω τοῦ Κασσιοῦ στρατὸς ἥσαστο καὶ τὴν καταληψίαν ἰδὼν τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκίδυνατο ἄκοσμως. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἐντελές έκατέρως καὶ ὅμοιον. Βροῦτος τε γὰρ τὸ λαϊὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐτέτραπτο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἤρηκε, Ἀντώνιος τε Κασσιοῦ κρατῶν σὺν ἀμηχάνῳ τόλμη τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπόρθει. φῶνος τε ἦν ἐκατέρω ποικίλος· ὕπο δὲ μεγέθους πεδίου τε καὶ κοινοτροὶ τὰ ἀλλήλων ἥγησον, μέχρι ποτὲ ἐπιθύμητο καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ἐπανήσαν, ἀχθοφόρους ἐσωκότες μᾶλλον ἡ στρατιωτικείας καὶ οὐδὲ τότε ἀλλήλων ἠθάνατο μετὰ καθεστώτων, ἐπεὶ ῥήματες ὅσα ἐφέρον, οἱ ἐπεροὶ μέγα ἅμα ἐγράφαντο κατὰ τῶν ἐτέρων, ἀσυντάκτως ὅπε ἀχθοφοροῦντων. τὸν δὲ ἄριθμὸν τῶν ἀποθανόντων εἰκάζουσι τῶν μὲν ἄμφι τῶν Κάσσιον ἐς ὀκτακισχίλιους σὺν τοῖς παραστι-ξουσίς ἑράπτουσι γενέσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἄμφι τῶν Κάισαρα διπλασίονα.

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113. Κάσσιος δὲ ἔξω ὅτι τῶν διατείχισμάτων ἐξ- ἐωστο καὶ οὐδὲ ἐσελθεῖν ἔτι εἶχεν ἐς τὸ στρατό- πεδο, ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸν Φιλίππων λόφον καὶ τὰ γυμνόμενα ἐφεώρα. οὐκ ἀκριβῶς δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τὸν 328
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conflict with the enemy on the other side of the wall.

112. As the camp was in a strong position it was guarded by only a few men, for which reason Antony easily overcame them. Cassius' soldiers outside the camp were already being beaten, and when they saw that the camp was taken they scattered in disorderly flight. The victory was complete and alike on either side, Brutus defeating the enemy's left wing and taking their camp, while Antony overcame Cassius and ravaged his camp with irresistible courage. There was great slaughter on both sides, but by reason of the extent of the plain and the clouds of dust they were ignorant of each other's fate. When they learned the facts they recalled their scattered forces. Those who returned resembled porters rather than soldiers, and did not at once perceive each other nor see anything clearly. Otherwise either party would have flung down their burdens and fiercely attacked the others carrying off plunder in this disorderly fashion. According to conjecture the number of killed on the side of Cassius, including slave shield-bearers, was about 8000, and on the side of Octavian double that number.

XV

113. When Cassius was driven out of his fortifications and no longer had even a camp to go to, he hurried up the hill to Philippi and took a survey of the situation. As he could not see accurately on
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κοινορτὸν οὐδὲ πάντα ὄρον, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ στρατό-
πεδον ἑαυτοῦ μόνον εἰλημμένον, ἐκέλευσε Πινδάρῳ
τῷ ὑπασπιστῇ προσπεσεῖν οἱ καὶ διαφθείραι.
διαμέλλοντος δ' ἐτί τοῦ Πινδάρου προσέθει τις
ἀγγέλλων Βρούτου ἔπε θάτερα νικᾶν καὶ τὸ
στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων πορθεῖν. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο
μὲν τοσόνδε ἀπεκρίνατο: "νυκτίς, λέγει αὐτῷ,
pαυστή νίκην," ἐς δὲ τὸν Πινδάρου ἐπιστραφεῖσις,
"τί βραδύνεις;" ἔφη, "τὸ τῆς ἐμῆς αἰσχύνης μὲ
οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεις;" Πινδάρος μὲν δὴ δεσπότην,
ὑπέχοντα τὴν σφαγὴν, διεχρήσατο, καὶ ταῖς
οὐτῶς ἀποθανεῖν δοκεῖ Κάσσιον. ἔτεροι δὲ αὐτὸν
σιοῦνται, προσιοῦσιν ὡς εὐαγγελίων ἐπιτέων Βροῦ-
tου, νομίζοντα εἶναι πολεμίους, πέμψαι τὸ
ἀκρίβεσι εἰσόμενον Τιτίνιον τόν ὑπερδέων ὃς
Κάσσιον φίλον περισχόντων τε σὺν ἡδονῇ καὶ
ἐπὶ τὸδε καὶ ἀλαλαζόντων μέγα, τὸν Κάσσιον
ηγούμενον ὡς ἑχθρὸν ἐμπεσείν Τιτίνιον τοῦτο
φάναι: "περιεμένομεν φίλον ἀρπαξόμενον ἰδεῖν,
καὶ ἐς τινα σκηνὴν ὑποχωρήσατε μετὰ τοῦ Πιν-
dάρου καὶ τὸν Πινδάρου οὐκέτι φανής. δὴ καὶ
νομίζουσί τινες οὕτω κεκελευσμένον ἐργάσασθαι.
Κάσσιος μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τοῦ βίου κατὰ τὴν
ἀυτοῦ Κάσσιον γενέθλιων ἦμέραν, ὡς τῇ μάχῃ
gενέσθαι συμπεσοῦσης, καὶ Τιτίνιος ὡς βραδὺνας
ἐαυτὸν ἔκτεινε. 114. Βροῦτος δὲ Κάσσιον τὸν
νέκυν περικλαίου, ἀνεκάλει τελευταίον ἄνδρα
Ῥωμαίων, ὡς οὖ τίνος ἐτί τοιοῦτε ἐς ἀρετὴν
ἐσομένου, ταχυεργίας τα εὐτῷ καὶ προσπετεὶάς
ἐνεκάλει καὶ ἐμπακάριξεν ὁμοῦ φροντίδων καὶ
ἀνίας ἀπηλλαγμένου, αὗ Βροῦτον ὡς ποῖον ἄρα
τέλος ὠδηγοῦσι; παραδοὺς δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς
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account of the dust, nor could he see everything, but only that his own camp was captured, he ordered Pindarus, his shield-bearer, to fall upon him and kill him. While Pindarus still delayed a messenger ran up and said that Brutus had been victorious on the other wing, and was ravaging the enemy's camp. Cassius merely answered, "Tell him that I pray his victory may be complete." Then, turning to Pindarus, he said, "What are you waiting for? Why do you not deliver me from my shame?" Then, as he presented his throat, Pindarus slew him. This is one account of the death of Cassius. Others say that as some horsemen were approaching, bringing the good news from Brutus, he took them for enemies and sent Titinius to find out exactly; that the horsemen pressed around Titinius joyfully as a friend of Cassius, and at the same time uttered loud hurrahs; that Cassius, thinking that Titinius had fallen into the hands of enemies, said, "Have I waited to see my friend torn from me?" and that then he withdrew to a tent with Pindarus, and Pindarus was never seen afterward. For this reason some persons think that he killed Cassius without orders.

Thus Cassius ended his life on his birthday, on which, as it happened, the battle was fought, and Titinius killed himself because he had been too late; and Brutus wept over the dead body of Cassius and called him the last of the Romans, meaning that his equal in virtue would never exist again. He reproached him for haste and precipitancy, but at the same time he esteemed him happy because he was freed from cares and troubles, "which," he said, "are leading Brutus, whither, ah whither?" He delivered
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115. Ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα τῆς μάχης ἐν Φιλίπποις συνέβαλεν εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰούνίῳ τοινύπο τάρθος ἄλλο ἐγίγνετο μέγα. Δομήτιος Καλούνιος ἐπὶ ὀλκάδων ἤγεν ὀπλιτῶν δύο τέλη Καίσαρι, καὶ τὸ διώνυμον ἦν αὐτῶν, τὸ Ἀρειον, δὲ ἐπὶ τιμὴ τῆς ἀλκής ὁνόμαζον. ἦγε δὲ καὶ στρατηγίδα στείραν, ἐς δισχιλίους ἄνδρας, ἵππεων τὴν Ἰλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἐτέρου πλῆθος ἐπειλεγένον καὶ τρεῖρες αὐτοὺς παρέπεμπον ὄλγαι. Μοῦρκος δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀπολλοβαρβὸς ἔκατον καὶ τριάκοντα μακραίς ὑπήντων. καὶ αὐτοὺς αἰ ὀλκάδες ἱστήρα μὲν αἰ πρῶται διέφυγον ὄλγαι, αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ, χαλάσαντοι ἄφνω τὸν πνεύματος, ἐν γαλήνῃ σταθέρα κατὰ τὸ τέλαιον ἠλώντο, ὕπο τού θεῶν ἐκδεδομέναι τοὺς πολέμους. ἐνέβαλλον γὰρ ἀδεῶς ἐκάστη καὶ ἀνερρήγουνοι οὐδὲ αἱ παραπέμπουσαι σφας τριήρεις ἐπικουρεῖν ἐδύναντο, διὰ τὴν ὀλγότητα κυκλούμεναι. ἔργα δ' ἦν τῶν κυνδυνευόντων πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, ὅτε μὲν τὰ πλοῖα συναγόντων ἀπὸ κάλῳ σπουδὴ καὶ κοντοῖς ἀρμο-

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the corpse to friends to be buried secretly lest the army should be moved to tears at the sight; and
himself passed the whole night, without food and without care for his own person, restoring order in Cassius' army. In the morning the enemy drew up their army in order of battle, so that they might not seem to have been beaten. Brutus, perceiving their design, exclaimed, "Let us arm also and make believe that we have suffered defeat." So he put his forces in line, and the enemy withdrew. Brutus said to his friends, jestingly, "They challenged us when they thought we were tired out, but they dared not put us to the test."

115. On the same day that witnessed the battle at Philippi another great calamity took place in the Adriatic. Domitius Calvinus was bringing two legions of infantry on transport ships to Octavian, one of which was known as the Martian legion, a name which had been given to it as a distinction for bravery. He led also a praetorian cohort of about 2000 men, four squadrons of horse, and a considerable picked body of other troops, under the convoy of a few triremes. Murcus and Ahenobarbus met them with 130 war-ships. A few of the transports that were in front got away under sail. But the wind suddenly failing, the rest drifted about in a dead calm on the sea, delivered by some god into the hands of their enemies. For the latter, without danger to themselves, fell upon each ship and crushed it; nor could the triremes that escorted them render any aid, since they were hemmed in by reason of their small number. The men who were exposed to this danger performed many deeds of valour. Sometimes they hastily warped their ships together with
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ξόντων ἦσ ἀλληλα, ἵνα μὴ διεκπελέων αὐτὰ ἔχοιεν οἳ πολέμοι. ὃτε δὲ τούτου κρατήσειαν, ὁ μὲν Μοῦρκος αὐτῶς ἐπέβαλλε τοξεύματα πυρὸς, οἱ δὲ τοὺς συνδέσμους ἀνέλυον ὄξεως καὶ ἀπέφευγον ἀλλήλων διὰ τὸ πῦρ αὐθίς τε ἐγίγνοντο ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἐς περίπλους καὶ ἐμβολὴν ἔτοιμοι.

116. Ἁγανακτούντες δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀρειοὶ, ὅτι κρείττους ὤντες ἄλκην δι’ ἀπραξίας ἀπώλησαν, οἱ μὲν πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἔαυτος ἀνήγρουν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς τριήρεις τῶν πολεμίων ἐναλλομενοὶ τὰ μὲν ἔδραν, τὰ δὲ ἐπασχοῦν. μὴς τε ἡμῖν οὐχὶ γεγονότοι, μέχρι πολλοῦ περιέπλεουν, ἄνδρας ἔχουσαι τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς, τοὺς δ’ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ δῆψις δαπανώμενοι· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἱστῶν ἡ σανίδων ἐχόμενοι ἐς πέτρας ἡ ἀκτᾶς ἐξεφέροντο ἑρήμους. καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν, οἱ καὶ περιεσώθησαν ἐκ παραλόγου· τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐς πέντε διήρκεσαν ἡμέρας, λιχμώμενοι τὴν πίσσαν ἡ ἱστών ἡ κάλων διαμασσόμενοι, μέχρι σφάς ὁ κλύδων ἐξηνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. πολὺ δ’ ἦν, ὅ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔαυτὸ ἐπέτρεπεν, ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἡσσώμενον. ἐπέτρεψαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τριήρων ἑπτακάλεδα. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας οἱ περὶ Μοῦρκον ἐς ἔαυτος μεθώρκουν, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν Καλούνιος ἐπὶ τῆς ἔαυτος νεώς ἐπανήλθεν ἐς τὸ Βρεττέσιον ἡμέρα πέμπτη, δόξας ἀπολλεῖναι.

Τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ πάθος τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τῇ περὶ Φιλίππους μάχῃ κατὰ τῶν Ἰόνιουν ἐπεγίγνετο, εἴτε νανάγουν εἴτε ναυμαχίαν ὀνομάσαι χρὴ καὶ ἐξέπλησσε τὸ συγκύρημα τῶν ἔργων ὑστερον ἐπιγνωσθεῖν."
rope and made them fast with spars to prevent the enemy from breaking through their line. But when they succeeded in doing this Murcus discharged burning arrows at them. Then they cast off their fastenings as quickly as possible and separated from each other on account of the fire and thus again were exposed to being surrounded or rammed by the triremes.

116. Some of the soldiers, and especially the Martians, who excelled in bravery, were exasperated that they should lose their lives uselessly, and so killed themselves rather than be burned to death; others leaped on board the triremes of the enemy, selling their lives dearly. Vessels half burned floated a long time, containing men perishing by fire, or hunger, and thirst. Others, clinging to masts or planks, were thrown upon barren rocks or promontories, and of these some were saved unexpectedly. Some of them even lasted for five days by licking pitch, or chewing sails or ropes, until the waves bore them to the land. The greater part, vanquished by their misfortunes, surrendered to the enemy. Seventeen triremes surrendered, and the men in them took the oath to Murcus. Their general, Calvinus, who was believed to have perished, returned to Brundusium on his ship five days later.

Such was the catastrophe that befell in the Adriatic on the same day that the battle of Philippi was fought, whether it be more fitly called a naval catastrophe or a naval battle. The coincidence of the two battles caused amazement when it became known later.
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CAP. XVI 117. Ὅ δὲ Βρούτος τὸν στρατὸν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συγκαγγὼν ἔλεξεν ὅδε: “οὐδὲν ἔστιν, δὲ συντρατιῶται, παρὰ τὸν χθές ἀγώνα, ἐν δὲ μὴ κρείσσους ἐγένεσθε τῶν πολεμίων. τῆς τε γὰρ μάχης ἦρξατε προθύμως, εἰ καὶ χωρὶς παραγγέλματος· καὶ τὸ τέσσαρτον τέλος, δὴ περιώνυμον αὐτοῖς ὅν ἐπεπίστευτο τὸ κέρας, διεφθείρατε ἀπαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους αὐτῷ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου· καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῷ ἐἰλευτε πρότερον καὶ διηρπάσατε· ὡς προὔχειν τάδε παρὰ πολὺ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ βλάβης ἡμῶν. δυνηθέντες δὲ ἄν ὁλον ἐργάσασθαι τὸ ἔργον, ἀρπάσαι μᾶλλον ἐἴλευθε ἡ κτείνειν τοὺς ἠσσωμένους· οἱ γὰρ πλέονες ἤμων τοὺς πολεμίους παροδεύοντες ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν πολέμιων ὀρμών. καὶ ἐν τῷ δὲ αὐτοῦ πάλιν οἱ μὲν διήρπασαν δύο τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατοπέδων ὑπὸ τὸ ἔτερον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνων ἀπαντά ἐχομεν, ως καὶ τῷ δὲ τὴν ἐπίκτησιν τῆς βλάβης διπλασίονα εἶναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλεονεκτήματα τοσάντα· ὥσα δὲ ἔτερα προὔχομεν αὐτῶν, ἔχετε καὶ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων μανθάνειν, περὶ τε ἀπορίας σιτοῦ καὶ ἐπιτιμήσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ κομιδῆς κακοπαθοῦς καὶ παρ’ ὅλων ἢ ἡ σαφοῦς ἐπιλείψεως. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ Σικελίας ἢ Σαρδόνος ἢ Λιβυῆς ἢ Ἰβηρίας ἐστιν αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν διὰ Πομπήου καὶ Μοῦρκον καὶ Ἀγνόβαρβος, ναυσίν ἐξήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας ἀποκλείοντας αὐτοῖς τὸ πέλαγος· Μακεδονίαν τε ἐξαναλώκαςιν ἢ δὲ καὶ μοῦνας ἄρτι Θεσσαλίας ἔχουσιν, ἢ ἐσ πόσον αὐτοῖς ἔτι ἀρκέσει; 336
117. Brutus assembled his army and addressed it as follows: "In yesterday's engagement, fellow-soldiers, you were in every respect superior to the enemy. You began the battle eagerly, although without orders, and you utterly destroyed their far-famed fourth legion, on which their wing placed its reliance, and all those supporting it as far as their camp, and you took and plundered their camp first, so that our victory far outweighs the disaster on our left wing. But when it was in your power to finish the whole work, you chose rather to plunder than to kill the vanquished; for most of you passed by the enemy and made a rush for his property. We are the superior again in this, that of our two camps they captured only one, while we took all of theirs, so that here our gain is twice as great as our loss. So great are our advantages in the battle. How far we excel them in other respects you may learn from our prisoners—concerning the scarcity and dearness of provisions among them, the difficulty of procuring further supplies, and how near they are to absolute want. They can obtain nothing from Sicily, Sardinia, Africa, or Spain, because Pompeius, Murcus, and Ahenobarbus with 260 ships close the sea against them. They have already exhausted Macedonia. They are now dependent on Thessaly alone. How much longer will it suffice?
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118. ""Οταν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐπευγμένους εἰς μάχην μάλιστα ἱδητε, τότε ἤγειρθε διωκομένους ὕπὸ λιμοῦ τὸν ἐν χερσὶ θάνατον αἰρεῖσθαι. ἦμεῖς δ' ἀντιμηχανήσωμεθα αὐτοῖς τὸν λιμὸν ήμῶν προπολεμεῖν, ἵν' ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ τετρυμένοις ἐντύχομεν, ὅτε χρή. μηδ' ἐκφερώμεθα ταῖς προθυμίαις παρὰ καιρὸν, μηδὲ βραδυτήτα τις ἤγεισθο τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἡ ταχυτῆτα, ἐς τὴν ὁπίσω θάλασσαν ἄφορῶν, ἡ τοσαύτας ἦμιν ύπηρεσίας καὶ τροφᾶς ἐπιπέμπουσα δίδωσιν ἀκινδύνου νίκης ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἢν ὑπομένειτε καὶ μὴ ἄδοξείτε, εἰ προσπαίξονται τε ἦμιν καὶ προκαλοῦνται, οὐκ ἀμέλειναι οὔτε, ὡς διεδιέξε τὸ ἔχθες ἔργον, ἄλλα ἐτεροῦς δεός ιῶμενοι. τὴν δὲ προθυμίαν, ἣν νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξίω κρατεῖν, ἀδρόναν ἀπόδοτε, ὅταν αἰτῶμεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν τὰ νυκτήρια ἐντελῇ μέν, ὅταν οἱ θεοὶ κρίνωσιν, ἑπὶ ἐνελέσι τοῖς ἔργοις διαλύσομαι. νῦν δὲ τῆς ἐχθείς ἀρετῆς ἀνὰ χιλίας ἐκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ δραχμᾶς ἐπιδίδωμι καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ὑμῶν ἀνὰ λόγον.

'Ὁ μὲν οὖτως εἰσεν καὶ αὐτίκα διεμέτρει τὴν δωρεάν κατὰ τέλη. δοκεῖ δὲ τις καὶ Δακεδαίμονα καὶ Θεοσαλονίκην ἐς διαρπαγὴν αὐτοῦ δόσειν ὑποσχέσθαι.

119. 'Ο δὲ Καίσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, εἴδοτες οὖ μαχούμενον ἐκόντα τὸν Βρούτον, τοὺς ιδίους συνάγον, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔλεξε: "τὸ ἔχθες ἔργον, ὡς ἄνδρες, τοῖς μὲν λόγοις οἶδα ὅτε καὶ οἱ πολέμοι μερίζονται, ὡς διώξαντες τινὰς ἠμῶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον διαρπάσαντες, ἔργο δὲ ἐπιδείξουσιν ἀπαν ὑμέτερον. ὑποσχοῦμαι γὰρ ὑμῖν οὕτε αὐρίον οὕτε ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἐκόντας αὐτοὺς ἐς μάχην ἦξειν.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

118. "When, therefore, you see them eager to fight, bear in mind that they are so pressed by hunger that they prefer death by battle. We will make it part of our plan that hunger shall engage them before we do, so that when it is necessary to fight we shall find them weakened and exhausted. Let us not be carried away by our ardour before the proper time. Let no one think that my generalship has become sloth rather than action, when he casts his eye on the sea behind us, which sends us all this aid and provisions and enables us to win victory without danger if you wait and do not mind the insults and provocations of the enemy, who are not braver than ourselves, as yesterday's work shows, but are trying to avert another danger. Let the zeal which I now desire you to repress be shown abundantly when I ask it. The rewards of victory I myself will pay you in full when it shall please the gods that our work be finished. And now for your bravery in yesterday's engagement, I will give to each soldier 1000 drachmas and to your officers in proportion."

After speaking thus he distributed the donative to the legions in their order. Some writers say that he promised to give them also the cities of Lacedaemon and Thessalonica to plunder.

119. Meanwhile Octavian and Antony, seeing that Brutus was not willing to fight, assembled their men, and Antony addressed them thus: "Soldiers, I am sure that the enemy claim in their speeches a share of yesterday's victory because they drove some of us and plundered our camp, but they will show by their action that it was wholly yours. For I promise you that neither to-morrow nor on any subsequent day will they be willing to fight. It is the clearest

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CAP. 16 ο σαφεστάτη πίστις ἐστὶ τῆς ἐχθές ἡσσῆς καὶ φόβου, ὅταν ὁσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀφιστώνται τοῦ ἀγώνος οἱ ἐλαττονεῖς. οὐ γὰρ ἐς τούτῳ γε στρατοῦ ἡγείρον τοσοῦτο, ἵνα τῶν Θρακῶν ἐρημίαιν οἰκῶσι διατείχισαιν. ἀλλὰ αὐτὴν διετείχισαν μὲν ἔτι προσιόντων ύμῶν διὰ δέος, ἐλθόντων δὲ ἐνοικοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἐχθές ἡσσᾶν. ἐφ’ ἦ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ πρεσβύτερος τε καὶ ἐμπειρότερος πάντα ἀπογονὼς ἐκαύτῳ διεχρήσατο, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ μεγίστη συμφορὰν ἔστιν ἀπόδεεξις. ὅταν οὖν ἕμων αὐτοὺς προκαλουμένων μὴ δέχονται μηδὲ καταβαίνωσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀντὶ τῶν χειρῶν πιστεύωσι τοῖς κρημνοῖς, τότε μοι θαρροῦντες ὑμεῖς, ὁ ἀνδρὶς Ῥωμαίοι, συναγκάσατε αὐτοὺς αὐθικ. ὁσπερ ἐχθές ἤναγκάσατε, αἰσχρὸν ἦγομενοι δεδιότων ἐλασσοῦσθαι καὶ ὄκνοντων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ τειχῶν ἀνδρὲς ὄντες ἀσθενέστεροι γενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἠλθομέν εἰς καὶ ἵμας ἐν πεδίῳ βιώσοντες, οὐδ’ ἔστι βραδύνουσιν οὔτεν αὐταρκεῖς. ἀλλὰ δέ τοῖς εὐ φρονοῦσι τοὺς μὲν πολέμους ὄχεις, τῆν δὲ εἰρήνην ἐπὶ μῆκιστον εἶναι.

120. “Τοὺς μὲν οὖν καιροὺς καὶ τὰ ἐς τοῦτον ἔργα ἐπιμεληθῶσομεθα ἡμεῖς, οὐ μεμπτοὶ καὶ τῆς ἐχθές ὀρμής τη καὶ μηχανῆς ὑμῖν γενόμενοι: τῆν δ’ ἀρετὴν ὑμεῖς, ὅταν αἰτῆσθε, ἀποδίδοτε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. μηδὲ ἁχθεσθε τῆς ἐχθές ἀρπαγῆς μηδ’ ἐπὶ ὀλίγον οὐ γὰρ ἐν ὐς ἱχομέν ἔστι τὸ πλούτειν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ κρατείν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, οὐ καὶ τὰ ἐχθές ἀφαιρεθέντα, ἔτι οὐντα παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις σώα, καὶ τὰ πολέμια αὐτὰ ἐπ’ ἐκείνους

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proof of their defeat yesterday and of their lack of courage, that like those who have been vanquished in public games, they keep out of the arena. Surely they did not collect so numerous an army in order to pass their time in fortifications in the desert parts of Thrace. But they built their fortifications when you were still approaching because they were afraid; and now that you have come they adhere to them because of yesterday's defeat, for which also the older and more experienced of their generals in utter despair committed suicide, and this act is itself the greatest proof of their disaster. Since, therefore, they do not accept our challenge and come down from the mountain, but trust to their precipices instead of their arms, be valiant, O my soldiers of Rome, and force them to it again as you forced them yesterday. Let us consider it base to yield to those who are afraid of us, to keep our hands off such sluggards, or, soldiers as we are, to be men weaker than walls. We did not come hither to pass our lives in this plain, and if we delay we shall be in want of everything. If we are well advised we shall prosecute the war sharply, in order that peace may be of the longest duration possible.

120. "We, who have not incurred your censure for the onset and the plan of yesterday's battle, will devise fresh opportunities and means for this end. Do you, on the other hand, when you are asked, repay your generals with your valour. Nor must you be troubled, for a moment, by yesterday's plundering of our camp, for wealth consists not in the property we hold, but in conquering with might, which will restore to us as victors not only what we lost yesterday, which is still safe in the enemy's
κρατοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἀποδώσει. καὶ εἰ ἐπειγόμεθα
αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, ἐπειγόμεθα ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην. ἵκανα
dὲ καὶ ἔχθες ἀντειλήφαμεν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν
ημετέρων ἰσως ἰκανότερα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς
'Ασίας πάνθ', ὅσα ἐβιάσαντο καὶ ἤρπασαν, ἐπή-
γυντο, ὑμεῖς δ' ὡς ἐκ πατρίδος ἴόντες τὰ μὲν
dαψιλέστερα οἴκοι ὑπελίπεσθε, τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα
μόνα ἐπήγγεσθε. εἰ δὲ τι καὶ ἀναγκαία ἦν, ἦμετε-
ρον ἦν τῶν στρατηγῶν, οἱ πάντα ἐσμὲν ὕπὲρ
τῆς ἦμετέρας νίκης ἐπιδιδόναι πρόθυμοι. καὶ τῆς
tοιαύτης δ' ὁμος ξημίας ἢμῖν ἕνεκα ἐπιδώσομεν
νικητήρια, δραχμὰς ἐκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ πεντα-
kυσχίλια, λοχαγῷ δὲ πεντάκις τοσάτας, χυλι-
άρχη δὲ τὸ διπλάσιον τοῦ λοχαγοῦ.

121. Τοιαύτα εἰπὼν τῆς ἐπιούσης πάλιν ἐξέ-
tασσε· καὶ οὐ κατιόντων οὐδὲ τότε τῶν πολεμίων
ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐβαρυθύμει καὶ ἐξέτασσεν αἰεί,
ὁ δὲ Βρούτος τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ μὲν εἶχε συντεταγ-
μένον, μὴ ἀναγκασθεὶς μάχεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς
tῆς κομιδῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων διελάμβανε. λόφος
dὲ ἦν ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ Κασσίου στρατοπέδου, δυσ-
χερῆς μὲν ὕπὸ ἕχθρῶν καταληφθῆναι, διὰ τὴν
ἔγγυτητα ἐστοξεύεσθαι δυναμένων ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος
αὐτὸν ὁμος ἐφρούρει, μὴ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιτολ-
μήσεις τις. ἐκλειφθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Βρούτου
κατέλαβον οἱ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα νυκτὸς τέτρασι
tέλεσιν, ἐπαγόμενοι γέρρα πολλὰ καὶ διφθέρας ἐς
προβολὴν τοὺς τοξεύμασιν. ὡς δὲ κατέσχον,
ἀλλὰ τέλη δέκα μετεστρατοπέδευον ὑπὲρ πέντε
σταδίους ἀπιούσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ὑπὲρ
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possession, but the enemy's wealth in addition. And if we are in haste to take these things let us hasten to bring on a battle. What we took from them yesterday balances what we lost, and perhaps more, for they brought with them all that they had extorted and plundered from Asia, while you, coming from your own country, left at home everything in the way of luxury, and brought with us only what was necessary. If there was anything lavish in our camp it was the property of your generals, who will gladly give it all to you as a reward for your victory. However, as compensation even for this loss we will give you an additional reward of 5000 drachmas for each soldier, five times as much to each centurion, and twice the latter sum to each tribune."

121. Having spoken thus, he marshalled his men again on the following day. As the enemy would not come down even then, Antony was disgusted, but he continued to lead out his men daily. Brutus had a part of his army in line lest he should be compelled to fight; and with another part he guarded the road by which his supplies were conveyed. There was a hill very near the camp of Cassius, which it was difficult for an enemy to occupy, because by reason of its nearness, it was exposed to arrows from the camp. Nevertheless, Cassius had placed a guard on it, lest any one should make bold to attack it. As it had been abandoned by Brutus, the army of Octavian occupied it by night with four legions and protected themselves with wickerwork and hides against the enemy's bowmen. When this position was secured they transferred ten other legions a distance of more than five stades toward the sea. Four stades farther
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CAP. άλλων τέσσαρας δύο, ώς τόδε τῷ τρόπῳ προε- 
λευσόμενοι μέχρι θαλάσσης καὶ ἡ παρὶ αὐτὴν 
άρα τὴν θαλάσσαν ἢ διὰ τῶν ἐλθὼν ἢ ὅν τινα 
τρόπον ἄλλον ἐπενόουν, βιασύνεμοι καὶ τὴν 
ἀγορᾶν ἀποκλείσαντες τῶν πολεμῶν. καὶ ὁ 
Βροῦτος αὐτοῖς ἀντεμηχανάτο, ἀλλὰ τε καὶ φροῦ- 
ρια ἀντικαθιστάς τοῖς ἐκεῖνοι στρατοπέδεοι.

122. Τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἦπειγε τοὺς ἀμβρί τὸν Καλ- 
σαρα, καὶ λιμὸς ἦν ἡ ῥη σαφῆς, ἐσ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ 
δέος ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπεγίνετο. οὕτε γὰρ ἐκ 
Θεσσαλίας αὐτοῖς ἔτι τὰ ἄρκοιντα ἐκομῖζετο, 
οὕτε τις ἦν ἐλπίς ἐκ θαλάσσης, ναυκρατοῦντων 
πανταχὸ τῶν πολεμῶν. τῆς τε ἐναγχος περὶ τὸν 
'Iόνιον συμφορὰς ἐξηγγελμένης ἐς ἐκατέρους ἢδη, 
μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν αὐτά τε καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα 
προσίσταν ὅς ἐν πεδίῳ πηλόδει σταθμεύνοντες. 
ὅν ἐνθυμούμενοι τέλος μὲν ὀπλιτῶν ἐς Αχαιαν 
ἐξέπεμψαν, ἀγείρειν τὰ ἐνυγχάνοντα πάντα καὶ 
πέμπειν σφίζαι κατὰ στοιχήμα. οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι δὲ 
κυνδύνον τοσοῦτο προσιόντος οὕτο τῶν ἄλλων 
ἐπιτεχνήσεων οὕτε ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ λοιπῶν ἐκτάσεων, 
παρὰ τὸ τείχισμα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνέβαινον μετὰ 
Βόης καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκάλουν ἐς μάχην, ἑπισ- 
kώπτοντες ἀμα καὶ λοιποῦντες καὶ ἐγνωκότες οὐ 
πολυρρίας τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἡ μανιώδει φορά μὴ 
βουλομένω συμπλέκεσθαι.

123. Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ μὲν ἐγνωστὸ τὰ ἀπ' ἄρχης, 
καὶ μᾶλλον ἐτί πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τέ τοῦ λιμοῦ 
καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον εὐπραξίας καὶ τῶν 
πολεμῶν ὑποντί τὴν ἐς τῆς ἀπορίας ἀπόνοιαν καὶ 
ἡρεῖτο πολυρρίας καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἀνέχεσθαι, 
μᾶλλον ἡ εἰς χείρας ιέναι ἀνδράσιν ἐπευγομένους ὕπο
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they placed two legions, in order to extend themselves in this manner quite to the sea, with a view of breaking through the enemy's line either along the sea itself, or through the marsh, or in some other way, and to cut off their supplies. Brutus counteracted this movement by building fortified posts opposite their camps and in other ways.

122. The task of Octavian and Antony became pressing, hunger was already felt, and in view of the magnitude [of the coming famine] the fear of it grew upon them more and more each day, for Thessaly could no longer furnish sufficient supplies, nor could they hope for anything from the sea, which was commanded by the enemy everywhere. News of their recent disaster in the Adriatic having now reached both armies, it caused them fresh alarm, as also did the approach of winter while they were quartered in this muddy plain. Moved by these considerations they sent a legion of troops to Achaia to collect all the food they could find and send it to them in haste. As they could not rest under so great an impending danger, and as their other artifices were of no avail, they ceased offering battle in the plain and advanced with shouts to the enemy's fortifications, and challenged Brutus to fight, reviling and scoffing at him, intending not so much to besiege him as by a mad assault to force him to an engagement.

123. But Brutus adhered to his original intention, and all the more because he knew of the famine and of his own success in the Adriatic, and of the enemy's desperation for want of supplies. He preferred to endure a siege, or anything else rather than come to an engagement with men desperate
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CAP. XVI

λιμοῦ, καὶ ἀπογινώσκουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων έαυτούς καὶ ἐν μόνας ταῖς χερσὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης, ἀλλ’ ἐδυσφόρου ἥμου καὶ τὸν ἐνδοὺ μετὰ ἀπραξίας καὶ φόβου κατακεκλεισμένοι. ἐδυσχέραιν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν, ἔπαινοντες μὲν τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Βρούτου, νομίζοντες δὲ καὶ θάσσουν ἐπικρατήσειν τῶν πολεμίων μετὰ προθύμου στρατοῦ. αἰτιῶν δὲ τούτων ἦν αὐτὸ τὸ Βρούτου ἐπιείκει καὶ φιλόφρονα ἐς ἀπαντᾶς εἶναι καὶ ἀνόμοιον Κασσίω, αὐστηρῷ καὶ ἀρχικῷ περὶ πάντα γεγενημένως ὀθεν ἐκεῖνο μὲν εἰ ἐπιτάγματος ὑπήκοουν, οὐ παραστρατηγοῦντες οὐδὲ τὰς αἰτίας μανθάνοντες οὐδὲ εὐθύνοντες, ὅτε καὶ μάθοιην, Βρούτῳ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλῳ ἐς συνεργείοις ἥξιον διὰ πράξητα. τέλος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ φανερώτερον ἦδη κατὰ ἴλας καὶ κατὰ συντάσεις δυσπνυθανομένον· "τί κατέγνωκεν ἡμῶν ὁ στράτηγος; τί ἔναγχος ἡμάρτομεν οἱ νικήσαντες, οἱ διώξαντες, οἱ τοὺς καθ’ ἡμᾶς πολέμιους κατακανόντες, οἱ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἔλοντες;" Βρούτος ἔκων ἠμέλει καὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν οὐ συνήχει, μὴ ἀπεπέστερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους ἀλογίστως ἐκβιαισθεῖ, καὶ μάλιστα μισθοφόρων, οὐς ἔστων αἰεὶ, καθὰ καὶ τοὺς εὑχερέσιν οἰκέταις ἐς ἐτέρους δεσπότας, ἐλπὶς ἐς σωτηρίαν ἢ ἐς τὸ ἀντίπαλον μεταβολή.

124. Ἕμνησάντων δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ κελεύσαντων νῦν μὲν ἀποχρήσασθαι τοῦ στρα-
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for hunger, and whose hopes rested solely on fighting because they despaired of every other resource. His soldiers, however, without reflection, entertained a different opinion. They took it hard that they should be shut up, idle and cowardly, like women, within their fortifications. Their officers also, although they approved of Brutus' design, were vexed, thinking that in the present temper of the army they might overpower the enemy more quickly. Brutus himself was the cause of these murmurs, being of a gentle and kindly disposition toward all—not like Cassius, who had been austere and imperious in every way, for which reason the army obeyed his orders promptly, not interfering with his authority, not inquiring the reasons for his orders, and not criticising them when they had learned them. But in the case of Brutus they expected nothing else than to share the command with him on account of his mildness of temper. Finally, the soldiers began more and more openly to collect together in companies and groups and to ask each other, "Why does our general put a stigma upon us? How have we offended lately—we who conquered the enemy and put him to flight; we who slaughtered those opposed to us and took their camp?" Brutus took no notice of these murmurs, nor did he call an assembly, lest he should be forced from his position, contrary to his dignity, by the unreasoning multitude, and especially by the mercenaries, who, like fickle slaves seeking new masters, always rest their hopes of safety on desertion to the enemy.

124. His officers also kept irritating him and urging him to make use of the eagerness of the army
ΑΠΙΑΝΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

CAP. XVI τού τῇ προθυμίᾳ, τάχα τι λαμπρὸν ἐργασομένου, ἢν δ' ἀντιπίπτη τι παρὰ τὴν μάχην, ἐπανεῖναι πάλιν ἐσ τὰ τείχη καὶ προβάλλεσθαι τὰ αὐτὰ χαρακώματα, χαλεπήνας ὁ Βρούτος τοίςδε μάλιστα ἡγεμόσων οὕτω καὶ περιαλγήσας, ὅτι τὸν αὐτὸν οἱ κίνδυνοι ἐπικεῖμενοι συμφέρονται τῷ στρατῷ κοιφόνως, ἀμφίβολον καὶ οὔχι δὲν τῆς προτιθέντι νίκης ἄκινδυνον, εἴτε ἐπὶ οίκειω καὶ σφῶν ἐκείνων ὀλέθρω, τοσόνδε ἐπιμεμψάμενος αὐτοῖς. "ἐδίκαμεν ὡς Πομπήιος Μάγνος πολεμήσειν, οὐ στρατηγοῦντες ἢ τὰ μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγοῦμενοι." καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸδε μόνον ἐξειπτεῖν, ἐπικρύπτων, ὃ ἐδεδοίκει μάλιστα, μὴ ὁ στρατὸς οἷα τὸν πάλαι Καίσαρας γεγονὼς ἀγανακτήσεις τε καὶ μεταβάλοιτο· ὅπερ εἴ ἄρχης αὐτὸς τε καὶ Κάσσιος ὑφοράμενοι ἐς οὐδὲν ἔργον αὐτοῖς πρόφασιν ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπὶ σφῖσιν ἐνεδίδουν.

125. Ὡδὲ μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ Βρούτος ἐξῆγεν ἄκων καὶ ἐς τάξεις διεκόσμην πρὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἐδίδασκε μὴ πολὺ προὔχειν τοῦ λόφου, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἡ τε ἀναχώρησις, εἷ δὲ ἐνεχθεῖν, εὐχερῆς εἴῃ καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ἀφιέμενα ἐπιδέξα. ἢν δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν παρακέλευσις τε πάντως ἢς ἀλλήλους καὶ φρόνημα ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μέγα καὶ θρασύτης ὑπὲρ λόγου ἀναγκαῖον, τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ δέως λομοῖ, τοῖς δὲ ὑπὸ αἴδους δικαίας, βιασμένοις τοῦ στρατηγὸς ἀναβαλλόμενον ἔτι, μὴ χείροσιν δὲν ὑπερ-σχοντο ὄφθηναι μηδὲ ἀσθενεστέροις δὲν ἔθρασύνυντο, μηδὲ προπετείας ὑπευθύνους μᾶλλον ἢ

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now, which would speedily bring glorious results. If the battle should turn out adversely, they could fall back to their walls and put the same fortifications between themselves and the enemy. Brutus was especially vexed with these, for they were his officers, and he grieved that they, who were exposed to the same peril as himself, should capriciously side with the soldiers in preferring a quick and doubtful chance to a victory without danger; but, to the ruin of himself and them, he yielded, chiding them with these words, "I seem likely to carry on war like Pompey the Great, not so much commanding now as commanded." I think that Brutus restricted himself to these words in order to conceal his greatest fear, lest those of his soldiers who had formerly served under Caesar should become disaffected and desert to the enemy. This both himself and Cassius had suspected from the beginning, and they had been careful not to give any excuse for such disaffection toward themselves.

So Brutus led out his army unwillingly and formed them in line of battle before his walls, ordering them not to advance very far from the hill so that they might have a safe retreat if necessary and a good position for hurling darts at the enemy. In each army the men exchanged exhortations with each other. There was great eagerness for battle, and exaggerated confidence. On the one side was the fear of famine, on the other a proper shame that they had constrained their general to fight when he still favoured delay, and fear lest they should come short of their promises and prove weaker than their boastings, and expose themselves to the charge of rashness instead of winning praise for good
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The text on the page is a fragment of a classical Greek text, possibly excerpted from Appian's "The Roman History." The passage discusses historical events and figures, possibly related to the Roman Empire. The text is written in a classical Greek script and is difficult to transcribe accurately without a digital edition or a more detailed source. The content appears to be a narrative or descriptive passage, likely involving historical events or characters.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

counsel, and because Brutus also, riding through the ranks on horseback, showed himself before them with a solemn countenance and reminded them of these things in such words as the opportunity offered. "You have chosen to fight," he said; "you have forced me to battle when I could conquer otherwise. Do not falsify my hopes or your own. You have the advantage of the higher ground and everything safe in your rear. The enemy's position is the one of peril because he lies between you and famine."

With these words he passed on, the soldiers telling him to trust them and echoing his words with shouts of confidence. 126. Octavian and Antony rode through their own ranks shaking hands with those nearest them, urging them even more solemnly to do their duty and not concealing the danger of famine, because they believed that that would be an opportunity incitement to bravery. "Soldiers," they said, "we have found the enemy. We have before us those whom we sought to catch outside of their fortifications. Let none of you shame his own challenge or prove unequal to his own threat. Let no one prefer hunger, that unmanageable and distressing evil, to the walls and bodies of the enemy, which yield to bravery, to the sword, to despair. Our situation at this moment is so pressing that nothing can be postponed till to-morrow, but this very day must decide for us either a complete victory or an honourable death. If you conquer you gain in one day and by one blow provisions, money, ships, and camps, and the prizes of victory offered by ourselves. Such will be the result if, from our first onset upon them, we are mindful of the necessities urging us on.
127. Οὔτω μὲν ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος παρώτρυνον, ἐφ' οὖς παραγένοιτο. καὶ πᾶσιν ἦν αἰδώς ἀξίοις τε φανῆναι τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἐκφυγεῖν, ὑπεραυξηθείσαν ἐκ παραλόγου διὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἰουώφῳ γεγομένα. ἦροντό τε ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ ἐν ἐλπίσιν, εἰ δέοι, τὶ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ ἀμηχάνου κακοῦ δαπανώμενοι.

"Ωδε δὲ ἐχόντων αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐγχύς αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντος ἐκάστου, ὁ θυμὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἡξέστη μάλιστα καὶ ἐνεστίμπαντο τόλμης ἀκαταπλήκτου οὐδέν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀλλήλων ὦτι ἢσαν πολίται οὐδὲ ἐπεμέμνητο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ φύσεώς καὶ γένους ἐχθροῖς ἐπηπείλουν. οὔτως ἡ παραυτικὰ ὅργῃ τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἔσβεσεν. ἐπεμανεύοντο δὲ ὀμαλῶς ἐκάτεροι τῆνδε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τὸ δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ πάντα τὰ Ρωμαίων πράγματα κρινέν, καὶ ἐκρίθη.

128. "Ἡδὲ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐς ἐνάτην ὥραν δεδαπανημένης αἰετοὶ δύο ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλως ἐπολέμουν καὶ ἦν συγν. βαθυτάτη. φυγὼντος δὲ τοῦ κατὰ Βρούτον βοή τε παρὰ τῶν πολεμών ὃξεία ἡγέρθη καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπήρτο, καὶ ἔφοδος ἦν σοβαρά τε καὶ ἄπνην. τοξευμάτων μὲν δὴ καὶ
and if, after breaking their ranks, we immediately cut them off from their gates and drive them upon the rocks or into the plain, so that the war may not spring up again or these enemies get away for another period of idleness—the only warriors, surely, who are so weak as to rest their hopes, not on fighting, but on declining to fight."

127. In this way Octavian and Antony roused the spirit of those with whom they came in contact. The emulation of the troops was excited to show themselves worthy of their commanders and also to escape the danger of famine, which had been greatly augmented by the naval disaster in the Adriatic. They preferred, if necessary, to suffer in battle, with the hope of success, rather than be wasted by an irresistible foe.

Inspired by these thoughts, which each man exchanged with his neighbour, the spirit of the two armies was wonderfully raised and both were filled with undaunted courage. They did not now remember that they were fellow-citizens of their enemies, but hurled threats at each other as though they had been enemies by birth and descent, so much did the anger of the moment extinguish reason and nature in them. Both sides divined equally that this day and this battle would decide the fate of Rome completely; and so indeed it did.

128. The day was consumed in preparations till the ninth hour, when two eagles fell upon each other and fought in the space between the armies, amid the profoundest silence. When the one on the side of Brutus took flight his enemies raised a great shout and battle was joined. The onset was superb and terrible. They had little need
CAP. XVI

λύθων ἢ ἀκοπτισμάτων ὀλίγου αὐτοῖς ἐδέησε πολέμου νόμων, ἐπὶ οὐδὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ τέχνῃ καὶ τάξει τῶν ἔργων ἐχρῶντο, ἀλλὰ γυμνοὶ τοῖς ξίφοις συμπλεκόμενοι ἐκοπτότοι τε καὶ ἐκόπτοντο καὶ ἄλληλοις ἐξώθουν ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως, οἱ μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἢ νίκης, οἱ δὲ περὶ νίκης καὶ παρηγορίας στρατηγοῦ βεβιασμένου. φῶνος δὲ ἦν καὶ στόνος πολύς, καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα αὐτοῖς ὑπεξεφέρετο, ἔτεροι δὲ ἀντικαθίσταντο ἐκ τῶν ἑπιτεταγμένων. οἱ στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφᾶς, περιθέοντες καὶ ὀρόμενοι πανταχοῦ, ταῖς τε ὀρμαῖς ἀνέφερον καὶ παρεκάλουν πονοῦντας ἐτί προσπονῆσαι καὶ τοὺς κεκμηκότας ἐνήλλασσον, ὡστε ὁ θυμός αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου καίνος ἦν.

Τέλος δὲ οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἶτε διὰ δέος τοῦ λιμοῦ, εἶτε δι’ αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος εὐτυχίαν (οὐ γὰρ ἐπίμεμπτοί γε ἦσαν οὔδὲ οἱ Βρούτεοι), τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκίνουν, ὡσπερ τι μηχάνημα τῶν βαρυτάτων ἀνατρέποντες. οἱ δ’ ἀνεωθοῦντο μὲν ἐπὶ πόδας ἐς τὸ ὅπισον βάθην ἐτί καὶ μετὰ φρουρᾶματος· ως δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ σύνταξις ἤδη παρελέυτο, ὑπεχώρουν καὶ, τῶν ἑπιτεταγμένων σφίσι δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων συνυποχωροῦντων, μισγόμενοι πάντες ἄλληλοις ἀκόσμως ἐθλίβουν ὑπὸ σφῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπαύστως αὐτοῖς ἐπικειμένων, ἔως ἐφευγόν ἤδη σαφῶς. καὶ οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τότε μᾶλιστα τοῦ παρηγγελμένου σφίσιν ἐγκρατῶς ἐχόμενοι τὰς πύλας προελάμβανον· σφόδρα ἑπικινδύνως (ἀνωθέν τε γὰρ ἐβάλλοντο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου), μέχρι πολλοὺς ἐσθραμμέν ἐκώλυσαν, οὗ διέφυγον ἐπὶ τε τὴν

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of arrows, stones, or javelins, which are customary in war, for they did not resort to the usual manœuvres and tactics of battles, but, coming to close combat with naked swords, they slew and were slain, seeking to break each other's ranks. On the one side it was a fight for self-preservation rather than victory: on the other for victory and for the satisfaction of the general who had been forced to fight against his will. The slaughter and the groans were terrible. The bodies of the fallen were carried back and others stepped into their places from the reserves. The generals flew hither and thither overlooking everything, exciting the men by their ardour, exhorting the toilers to toil on, and relieving those who were exhausted so that there was always fresh courage at the front.

Finally, the soldiers of Octavian, either from fear of famine, or by the good fortune of Octavian himself (for certainly the soldiers of Brutus were not blameworthy), pushed back the enemy's line as though they were turning round a very heavy machine. The latter were driven back step by step, slowly at first and without loss of courage. Presently their ranks broke and they retreated more rapidly, and then the second and third ranks in the rear retreated with them, all mingled together in disorder, crowded by each other and by the enemy, who pressed upon them without ceasing until it became plainly a flight. The soldiers of Octavian, then especially mindful of the order they had received, seized the gates of the enemy's fortification at great risk to themselves because they were exposed to missiles from above and in front, but they prevented a great many of the enemy from gaining

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θάλασσαν καὶ ἕτα ὅρη διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ζυγάκτου.

129. Γευμένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον ὁι στρατηγοὶ διηρύντο, Καίσαρ μὲν αἴρεῖν τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ αὐτὸ φυλάσσει τὸ στρατόπεδον. Ὅ δὲ Ἀντώνιος πάντα ἦν καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτε, τοῖς τε φεύγουσι καὶ τοῖς ἐτί συνεστῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατοπέδοις αὐτῶν, ὁμοί ὑπερηφάνων πάντα ἔβιαξετο ὁμοῦ. καὶ περὶ τοῖς ἱγγεμόσι δείσας, μὴ αὐτὸν διαφυγόντες αὐθὶς ἔτερον στρατὸν ἀγείρειαν, τοὺς ἰππέας ἐξεπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὰς ὄδους τε καὶ ἑκβολάς τῆς μάχης, αἴρειν τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας. οἱ δ' ἔλεβομεν τὸ ἔργον ἀνά τε τὸ ὤρος ἐφέροντο σὺν τῷ Θρακίῳ Ῥάσκῳ, δὲ ἐμπερίαν ὁδὸν συναπεσταλμένην, καὶ τὰ χαρακώματα καὶ κρημνοὺς περιστάντες τοὺς ἐκφεύγοντας ἐκυψηγέτουν καὶ τοὺς ἐντὸς ἐφρούρουν. οἱ δὲ Βροῦτον αὐτὸν ἐδίωκον καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀσχέτως ἔχοντας τοῦ δρόμου Δουκύλιος ἰδὼν ὑπέστη καὶ ὃς Βροῦτος ὃν ἥξιον πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀντὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναχθήναι· ὥς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα εἶναι Βροῦτος ἐνομίσθη, τὸν ἀδιάλλακτον ἐχθρὸν ἐκκλίνων. ἀγομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπήντα σὺν ἐπιστάσει, τὴν τύχην ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τάνδρος καὶ ἀρετὴς ἐνθυμούμενος, ὅπως Βροῦτον ὑποδέξατο. πλησίασαντ' ὁ Δουκύλιος ἐντυχών μᾶλα θρασέως εἶπε· "Βροῦτος μὲν ὃν ἔαλκωκεν, οὔτε ἄλωσται ποτὲ πρὸς κακίας ἀρετῆς· ἐγὼ δὲ τούσδε ἀπατήσας ὃδε σοι πάρεμι." καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἰππέας ἰδὼν αἴδουμένους.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

entrance. These fled, some to the sea, and some CHAP. XVI through the river Zygaetes to the mountains.

129. The enemy having been routed, the generals divided the remainder of the work between themselves, Octavian to capture those who should break out of the camp and to watch the main camp, while Antony was everything, and attacked everywhere, falling upon the fugitives and those who still held together, and upon their other camping-places, crushing all alike with vehement impetuosity. Fearing lest the leaders should escape him and collect another army, he despatched cavalry upon the roads and outlets of the field of battle to capture those who were trying to escape. These divided their work; some of them hurried up the mountain with Rhascus, the Thracian, who was sent with them on account of his knowledge of the roads. They surrounded the fortified positions and escarpments, hunted down the fugitives, and kept watch upon those inside. Others pursued Brutus himself. Lucilius seeing them rushing on furiously surrendered himself, pretending to be Brutus, and asked them to take him to Antony instead of Octavian; for which reason chiefly he was believed to be Brutus trying to avoid his implacable enemy. When Antony heard that they were bringing him, he went to meet him, with a pause to reflect on the fortune, the dignity, and the virtue of the man, and thinking how he should receive Brutus. As he was approaching, Lucilius presented himself, and said with perfect boldness. "You have not captured Brutus, nor will virtue ever be taken prisoner by baseness. I deceived these men and so here I am." Antony, observing that the horsemen were ashamed
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CAP. XVI παρηγόρει καί, "οὔ μελονά μοι τήνδε ἄγραν," εἴπεν, "ἄλλα ἀμείνονα ἢς ἐνομίζετε ἐθηρεύσατε, οὔσῳ κρείττων ἐχθροῦ φίλος." καὶ τὸν Λουκίλιον τότε μὲν τινὶ τῶν φίλων ἐδωκε θεραπεύειν, ὑστερον δὲ αὐτὸς ἔχων ἐχρῆτο ὡς πιστῷ.

XVII

CAP. XVII 130. Ὅ δὲ Βρούτος ἀναφεύγει μὲν ἐς τὰ ὀρη σὺν ἰκανῷ πλήθει, ὥς νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑποστρέψαν ἡ καταβησόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ περιείληπτο πάντα φυλακαῖς, διενυκτέρευεν ἐνοπλος μετὰ πάντων. καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν ἐς τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀναβλέποντα εἰπεῖν.

"Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶν ὁς αἰτίος κακῶν," ἐνσημαινόμενον ἀρα τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὅ καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιον φασίν ὑστερον ἐν τοῖς ἴδιοις κινδύνοις μεταγινώσκοντα εἰπεῖν, ὅτι συνεξετάζεσθαι Κασσίῳ καὶ Βρούτῳ δυνάμενος ὑπηρέτης γένοιτο Ὀκτανίου. τότε γε μὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐνοπλός ἐπὶ τῶν φυλακτηρίων ἀντιδεινύκτερευε τῷ Βρούτῳ, χάρακα περιθέμενος ἐκ νεκρῶν σωμάτων καὶ λαφύρων συμφορηθέντων. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐς μέσην νύκτα πονηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε διὰ τὴν νόσου, Νωρβανὸ φυλάσσειν παράδους τὸ στρατόπεδον. 131. Βρούτος δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ὅρων τὰς ἐφεδρείας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιμενούσας, ἔχων οὐ πλήρη τέσσαρα τέλη συναναβάντα εἰ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπελθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸς ἐφυλάξατο, τοὺς δὲ ἡγομένους αὐτῶν,
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of their mistake, consoled them, saying, "The game you have caught for me is not worse, but better than you think—as much better as a friend is than an enemy." Then he committed Lucilius to the care of one of his friends, and later took him into his own service and employed him in a confidential capacity.

XVII

130. Brutus fled to the mountains with a considerable force, intending to return to his camp by night, or to move down to the sea. But since all the roads were encompassed by guards he passed the night under arms with all his party, and it is said that, looking up to the stars, he exclaimed:—

"Forget not, Zeus, the author of these ills,"

referring to Antony. It is said that Antony himself repeated this saying at a later period in the midst of his own dangers, regretting that when he might have associated himself with Cassius and Brutus, he had become the tool of Octavian. At the present time, however, Antony passed the night under arms with his outposts over against Brutus, fortifying himself with a breastwork of dead bodies and spoils collected together. Octavius toiled till midnight and then retired on account of his illness, leaving Norbanus to watch the enemy's camp.

131. On the following day Brutus, seeing the enemy still lying in wait for him, and having fewer than four full legions, which had ascended the mountain with him, thought it best not to

1 Eur. Medea 332.
CAP. ΑΙΔΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΤΕ ΤΟ ΑΜΑΡΤΗΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΟΥΝΤΑς, ΕΞΕΜΠΕΤΕΝ ἈΤΟΠΕΨΑΡΑΣΟΝΤΑΣ ΑΥΤῶΝ, ΕΙ ἘΘΕΛΗΣΟΥΝΤΩΝ ὈΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤῶΝ ἘΦΕΘΡΕΙῶΝ ΚΑΙ ἈΝΑΛΑΒΕΙΝ ΤΑ ἩΔΙΑ, ΕΤΙ ΦΥΛΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΑ ὩΤΟ ΤῶΝ ΟΙΚΕΙῶΝ ὩΠΟΛΕΛΕΙΜΕΝῶΝ. ΟΙ ΔΕ ἈΒΟΥΛΩΤΑΤΑ ΜΕΝ ἜΣΤΙ ΤΟ ἘΡΓΟΝ ὈΡΜΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ, ΕΥΨΥΧΟΤΑΤΟΙ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΜΕΧΡΙ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΟΤΑΥ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟ, ΤΟΤΕ, ΒΛΑΠΤΟΝΤΟΣ ᾽ΗΔΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ, Τῷ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓῷ ΣΦῶΝ ἈΠΕΚΡΙΝΑΝΤΟ ἈΝΑΞΙΩΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΥΤῶΝ ΓΑΡ, ΤΗΣ ΤΥΧΗΣ ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ ΠΕΠΕΙΡΑΜΕΝΟΙ, ΟΥΚ ἈΝΑΤΡΕΨΕΙΝ ΤΗΝ ἘΤΙ ΛΟΥΤΗΝ ΔΙΑΛΛΑΓῶΝ ΕΛΠΙΣΑ. ΚΑΙ ὁ ΒΡΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΥΣ ΔΕΙΤΩΝ: "ΟΥΔΕΝ ΟΥΝ ἘΤΙ ΕΙΜῂ Τῇ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ ΧΡΗΣΙΜΟΣ, ΟΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΩΝ ΕΧΟΝΤΩΝ," ἘΚΑΛΕΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΑ ΤΟΝ ὩΠΕΙΡΩΤΗΝ, ΟΝΤΑ ΦΙΛΟΥ ΕΑΥΤΩ, ΚΑΙ ἘΓΧΕΙΡΕΙΝ ἘΚΕΛΕΥΣ Τῂ ΣΩΜΑΤΙ. ΤΟΤΩΝ ΔΕ ἘΤΙ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΙΝΟΟΝΤΟΣ ἘΚΑΛΕΙ ΤΙΝΑ ΤῶΝ ΟΙΚΕΤῶΝ. ΚΑΙ ὁ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ, "ΟΥΚ ἈΠΟΡΗΣΕΙΣ," ΔΕΙΠΝΕΝ, "ὅ ΒΡΟΥΤΕ, ΦΙΛΟΥ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ Ἡ ΟΙΚΕΤῶΝ ΕΣ ΤΑ ΥΣΤΑΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΤΆΓΜΑΤΑ, ΕΙ ἩΔΗ ΚΕΚΡΙΤΑΙ." ΚΑΙ ΔΕΙΤΩΝ ΕΙΝΗΡΕΥΕΤΑΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΛΑΓΟΣΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΡΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΟ ΞΙΦΟΣ ΟΥΤΕ ΑΠΟΣΤΡΑΦΕΝΤΟΣ ΟΥΤΕ ΕΝΔΟΝΤΟΣ.

132. ὩΔΕ ΜΕΝ ὩΗ ΚΑΣΣΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΡΟΥΤΟΣ ἘΘΥΝΗΣΚΕΤΗΝ, ἈΝΔΡΕ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΕΥΓΕΝΕΣΤΆΤΩ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΦΑΝΕΣΤΆΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΣ ἈΡΕΤῂΝ ἈΔΗΡΙΤΩ, ΧΩΡΙΣ ἉΓΟΥΣ ἘΝΟΣ, Ὁ ΓΕ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΪΣΑΡ, ΟΝΤΕ ΤῂΣ ΜΑΓΝΟΥ ΠΟΜΠΕΙΟΥ ΜΟΙΡΑΣ, ΕΚ ΜΕΝ ἘΧΘΡΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΥ ἘΠΟΙΗΣΑΤΟ ΦΙΛΟΥ, ΕΚ ΔΕ ΦΙΛΟΥ ῾ΗΓΕΝ ὩΣ ΨΩ. ΚΑΙ Ὡ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΠΕΡΙΠΟΘΗΤΩΤΕ ΕΙΧΕΝ ΑΙΕΙ ΚΑΙ ἈΤΥΧΗΣΑΝΤΕ ἘΛΕΕΙΝΩ ΔΥΟΥΝ ΤΕ ΤΟΤΩΝ ΕΝΕΚΑ

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address himself to his troops, but to their officers, who were ashamed and repentant of their fault. To them he sent to put them to the test and to learn whether they were willing to break through the enemy's lines and regain their own camp, which was still held by their troops who had been left there. These officers, though they had rushed to battle unadvisedly, had been of good courage for the most part, but now, for some divine infatuation was already upon them, gave to their general the undeserved answer that he should look out for himself, that they had tempted fortune many times, and that they would not throw away the last remaining hope of accommodation. Then Brutus said to his friends, "I am no longer useful to my country if such is the temper of these men," and calling Strato, the Epirote, who was one of his friends, gave him the order to stab him. While Strato still urged him to deliberate, Brutus called one of his servants. Then Strato said, "Your friend shall not come short of your servants in executing your last commands, if the decision is actually reached." With these words he thrust his sword into the side of Brutus, who did not shrink or turn away.

132. So died Cassius and Brutus, two most noble and illustrious Romans, and of incomparable virtue, but for one crime; for although they belonged to the party of Pompey the Great, and had been the enemies, in peace and in war, of Gaius Caesar, he made them his friends, and from being friends he was treating them as sons. The Senate at all times had a peculiar attachment to them, and commiseration for them when they fell into mis-
ΧVII. Πᾶσιν ἁμαιστίαιν ἐτίθετο καὶ φυγόντων αὐτοῖν ἔπεμψεν ἤγεμονίας,
οἷα μὴ φυγάδες εἶεν, οὐκ ἀμελοῦσα μὲν Γαίου Καίσαρος οὐδὲ ἐφηδομένη
τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ὅπου καὶ ξόντα τῆς ἄρετῆς καὶ
τύχης ἑθαύμαζε καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἔθαπτε δημοσίας καὶ ἐκύρου τὰ ἐργα ἀθάνατα εἶναι ἀρχάς τε καὶ
ἡγεμονίας ἐς πολὺ ἐκ τῶν ὑπογραφῶν ἐποίει
τῶν Καίσαρος, οὐδὲν ἡγουμένη κρείσσον εὐρή-
σεις ἃν ἐκείνος ἐνόησεν. ἂλλ' ἢ περὶ τόδε
τῶν ἄνδρες σπουδὴ καὶ δέος τὸ ὑπέρ αὐτῶν προή-
γαγεν αὐτὴν ἐς ὑπεροφίαν διαβολῆς· οὕτως
ἀπασὶν ἐγενέσθην τιμῶν. ἐγενέσθην δὲ καὶ τῶν
φυγόντων τοῖς ἀρίστοις τιμωτέρω Πομπηίου,
πλησίαζοντος καὶ οὐκ ἀδιάλλακτον ἔχοντος
αιτίαν, πορρωτέρω τε ὑπερ αὐτῶ καὶ ἀδιαλ-
λάκτω.

133. Ἐπει γε μὴν ἔργων ἐδέησε, δυοῖν οὐδὲ
ὅλου ἐτοιν στρατιάν τε συνέλεξαν ὑπὲρ εἰκόσιν
ὄπλων τέλη καὶ ἐπεέας ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυρίους καὶ
ναῦς μακρὰς ὑπὲρ τὰς διακοσίας τῆς τε ἄλλην
, παρασκευὴν ἀξιόλογον καὶ χρήματα ἄπειρα καὶ
παρ' ἐκόντων καὶ παρὰ ἄκόντων, πολέμους τε
ἐπολέμησαν ἐθνείς καὶ πόλεις καὶ τῶν ἀντι-
στασιωτῶν πολλοῖς καὶ κατώρθουν. ἐθνῶν τε
ἐκράτησαν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας μέχρι Εὐφράτου· καὶ
ὅσους ἐπολέμησαν, ἐς συμμαχίαν αὐτοῖς ἔπεισαν
καὶ βεβαιοτότοις ἔχρησαντο. ἔχρησαντο δὲ καὶ
βασιλεύσι καὶ δυνάσταις, καὶ Παρθανίως καίτερ
οὔσιν ἡθοῖς ἐς τὰ βραχύτερα· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ μεῖζον
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fortune. On account of those two it granted *amnesty* to all the assassins, and when they took flight it bestowed governorships on them in order that they should not be exiles; not that it was disregardful of Gaius Caesar or rejoiced at what had happened to him, for it admired his bravery and good fortune, gave him a public funeral at his death, ratified his acts, and had for a long time awarded the magistracies and governorships to his nominees, considering that nothing better could be devised than what he proposed. But its zeal for these two men and its solicitude for them brought it under suspicion of complicity in the assassination—so much were those two held in honour by all. By the most illustrious of the exiles they were more honoured than [Sextus] Pompeius, although he was nearer and not irreconcilable to the triumvirs, while they were farther away and irreconcilable.

133. When it became necessary for them to take up arms, two whole years had not elapsed ere they had brought together upward of twenty legions of infantry and something like 20,000 cavalry, and 200 ships of war, with corresponding apparatus and a vast amount of money, some of it from willing and some from unwilling contributors. They carried on wars with many peoples and with cities and with men of the adverse faction successfully. They brought under their sway all the nations from Macedonia to the Euphrates. Those whom they had fought against they had brought into alliance with them and had found them most faithful. They had had the services of the independent kings and princes, and in some small measure even of the Parthians, who were enemies of the Romans;
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XVII

ἐργον οὖκ ἀνέμειναν ἐρχομένους, ἵνα μὴ βάρβαρον ἢ ἀντίπαλον ἔθνος ἐθίσειαν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους. ὅ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα πάντων ἀδοκητότατον ἦν, ὁ στρατὸς ὁ πλείων οὸδε Γαίου Κάισαρος ἐγεγένητο, καὶ δαιμονίως αὐτὸν εὐνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς ἔχοντα ἐς ἐκεῖνον μετέπεισαν οἱ σφαγεῖς οἶδε τοῦ Κάισαρος, καὶ ἔπει τὸν τοῦ Κάισαρος νῦν ἐσποντο αὐτοῖς πιστότερον ἢ 'Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Κάισαρος συμαγνωστῇ τε καὶ συνάρχῳ: οὐ γὰρ τις αὐτῶν Βρούτον ἢ Κάσσιον οὐδὲ ἰσσωμένους ἅπελπνει, οἱ Ἀντώνιον ἀμφὶ τὸ Βρεντέσιον καὶ πρὸ πείρας ἀπολιπτόντες· ἦν τε πρόφασις αὐτοῖς τῶν πόνων, καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπηίου καὶ νῦν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ δημοκρατίας, ὀνόματος εὐειδοῦς μὲν, ἀλυσιτελοῦς δὲ αἰεί. σφῶν τε αὐτῶν, δὲ μηδὲν ἐδόκουν ἐτι εἶναι χρήσιμοι τῇ πατρίδι, ἀμφοὶ κατεφρόνησαν ὁμοίως. ἐν δὲ ταῖς φροντίσι καὶ τόνοις ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἀμετα- στρεπτῇ, καθάπερ ἐς τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν οἱ μονομα- χοῦντες, ἐς μόνον τῶν πόλεμον ἀφεώρα· ὁ δὲ Βρούτος, ὅπῃ γύγνοιτο, καὶ φιλοθέαμων ἦν καὶ φιλίκοος, ἀτε καὶ φιλοσοφήσας οὖκ ἀγεννῶς.

134. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιοῦτε οὔσιν αὐτοῖς ἀντί- θετον ἐς ἀπαντά ἦν τὸ ἄγος τὸ ἔς Κάισαρα. ὁ γε οὐδὲ ἀπλοῦν ἄγος ἦν οὐδὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐς φίλον ἐγύρνετο παραλόγως καὶ ἐς εὐεργετήν ἐκ πολέμου περισσότατα ἰχαρίστως καὶ ἐς αὐτο- κράτορα ἀθεμίστως καὶ ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐς ἱερᾶ καὶ ἱερὰν ἐσθήτα ἐπικείμενον καὶ δύναστην 364
but they did not wait for them to come and take part in the decisive battle, lest this barbarous and hostile race should become accustomed to encounters with the Romans. Most extraordinary of all was the fact that the greater part of their army had been the soldiers of Gaius Caesar and wonderfully attached to him, yet they were won over by the very murderers of Caesar and followed them more faithfully against Caesar’s son than they had followed Antony, who was Caesar’s companion in arms and colleague; for not one of them deserted Brutus and Cassius even when they were vanquished while some of them had abandoned Antony at Brundusium before the war began. The reason for their service, both under Pompey aforetime and now under Brutus and Cassius, was not their own interest, but the cause of democracy: a specious name indeed, but always hurtful. Both of the leaders, when they thought they could no longer be useful to their country, alike despised their own lives. In that which related to their cares and labours Cassius gave his attention strictly to war, like a gladiator to his antagonist. Brutus, wherever he might be, wanted to see and hear everything, having been a philosopher of no mean note.

134. Against all these virtues and merits must be set down the crime against Caesar, which was not an ordinary or a small one, for it was committed unexpectedly against a friend, ungratefully against a benefactor who had spared them in war, and nefariously against the head of the state, in the senate-house, against a pontiff clothed in his sacred vestments, against a ruler without equal, who was
μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἔτερον, χρησιμώτατον δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀπαντᾶς τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ γενόμενον. ἀ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς ἀρα ἔνεμέσης καὶ προεσήμης πολλάκις. Κασσίω τε γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν καθαίροντι ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνεστραμμένου τὸν στέφανον ἐπέθηκε· καὶ Νίκη, χρύσον ἀνάθημα Κασσίων, κατέπεσεν, ὅρινεά τε πολλὰ ὑπὲρ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ καθιέμενα κλαγήν οὐ- δεμίαν ἡφίει, καὶ μελισσών ἐπεκάθηντο συνεχείς ἐσμοί. Βρούτων δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ γενεθλιάζουτά φασὶ παρά τὸν πότον, οὐδὲ εὐχερὴ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὖν, ἀλόγως τόδε τὸ ἔτος ἀναβοηθαί· ἀλλὰ με μοῖρ᾽ ὅλη καὶ Δητούς ἐκτανεν υἱὸς.”

μέλλοντα δὲ περαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Ἑλεστίνην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ, νυκτὸς ἐγχειροῦσα, μαραίνομενον τοῦ φωτὸς ὄψιν ἱδεῖν ἐφεστῶσαν οἱ παράλογοι καὶ πυθέονται μὲν εὐθαρσῶς, ὡς τις ἀνθρώπων ἢ θεῶν εἰν, τὸ δὲ φάσμα εἰπεῖν “ὁ σός, ὦ Βρούτε, δαίμων κακός· ὁφθήσομαι δὲ σοι καὶ ἐν Φιλίπ- ποις.” καὶ ὀφθήσων φασίν αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς τελευ- ταίας μάχης.

Ἐξώντι δὲ τῷ στρατῷ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν αἰθίον ὑπήνυτης· καὶ τόνδε μὲν ὡς οἰώνισμα φαίλον ὁ στρατὸς αὐτίκα συνέκοψε, δαιμόνια δ᾽ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἀρα καὶ τάδε, Κάσσιον μὲν ἐν ἀμφιρίστῳ νίκη πάντα ἀλόγως ἀπογνώναι, Βρούτων δὲ εὐ- βούλων βραδυτήτος ἐκβιασθήμαι καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἀνδράσι διϊςκομένοις ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, δαψιλῶς
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

most serviceable above all other men to Rome and to its empire. For these reasons Heaven was incensed against them and often forewarned them of their doom. When Cassius was performing a lustration for his army his lictor placed his garland upon him wrong side up; a Victory, a gilded offering of Cassius, fell down. Many birds hovered over his camp, but uttered no sound, and swarms of bees continually settled upon it. While Brutus was celebrating his birthday at Samos it is said that in the midst of the feast, although not a ready man with such quotations, he shouted out this verse without any apparent cause:—

Cruel fate

Hath slain me, aided by Latona’s son.”

Once when he was about to cross from Asia into Europe with his army, and while he was awake at night and the light was burning low, he beheld an apparition of extraordinary form standing near him, and when he boldly asked who of men or gods it might be, the spectre answered, “I am thy evil genius, Brutus. I shall appear to thee again at Philippi.” And it is said that it did appear to him before the last battle.

When the soldiers were going out to the fight an Ethiopian met them in front of the gates, and as they considered this a bad omen they immediately cut him in pieces. It was due, too, to something more than human, no doubt, that Cassius gave way to despair without reason after a drawn battle, and that Brutus was forced from his policy of wise delay to an engagement with men who were pressed by hunger, while he himself had

1 *II.* xvi. 849.
CAP. XVII

αὐτῶν ἔχοντα ἁγορᾶς καὶ ναυκρατοῦντα, καὶ τὸδε παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ μὴν πολλάκις ἀγώνων μετασχόντες ἐν μὲν ταῖς μάχαις οὐδὲν ἐπάθον, ἀμφοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο αὐθενταὶ καθάπερ ἐγένοντο τοῦ Καϊσαρος. Κάσσιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Βρούτος τοιάνδε δίκην ἐδεδώκεσαν.

135. Καὶ Βρούτων ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνευρὼν περιέβαλε τῇ ἀρίστῃ φώνηκίδι εὐθὺς καὶ καῦσας τὰ λείψανα τῇ μητρὶ Σερουιλίᾳ ἐπέμψεν. ὁ δὲ σὺν τῷ Βρούτῳ στρατός, ὅτε ἐπύθοντο τεθνάναι Βρούτων, πρέσβεις ἐς Κάσσιαρα καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπέμετον καὶ συγγνώμης ἐπιχυρός καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν διηρήθησαν· καὶ ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ τετρακισχίλιους. παρέδοσαν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐαυτοῖς καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὰ φρούρια, πολλὰ ὄντα. τὰ δὲ φρούρια αὐτὰ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐδόθη τοῖς Κάσσιος καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος στρατοῖς διαιρέσατο. τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ τῶν Βρούτων ἄνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐξήγαγον ὁμοίως τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔξπεττυδες ἐμαχέσαντο μέχρι θανάτου· ἔνως δὲ καὶ Λευκίας τοῦ Κάσσιος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Κασσίου, καὶ Κάτων ὁ Κάτωνος, ἐμπύττων ὅπερ τοῖς πολεμίοις πολλάκις, εἰθ’ ὑποχρούντων ἀναλύσας τὸ κράνος, ἤνα ἡ γνώριμος ἡ εὐβλητος ἡ ἀμφότερα εἰς. Λαβεδών δὲ, ἐπὶ σοφία γνώριμος, ὁ πατὴρ Λαβεδῶνος τοῦ καὶ ἐμπειρίαν νόμων ἐτι νῦν περινόμου, βόθρον ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτάρκη σώματι ὀρυζάμενος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐντειλάμενος ἐπέσκηψε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ, περὶ δὲ ἐβούλετο, καὶ τὰ γράμματα φέρειν ἐδωκε τοῖς οἰκέταις τοῦ δὲ πιστο-
supplies in abundance and the command of the sea, so that his calamity proceeded rather from his own troops than from the enemy. Although they had participated in many engagements, they never received any hurt in battle, but both became the slayers of themselves, as they had been of Caesar. Such was the punishment that overtook Cassius and Brutus.

135. Antony found the body of Brutus, wrapped it in the best purple garment, burned it, and sent the ashes to his mother, Servilia. Brutus' army, when it learned of his death, sent envoys to Octavian and Antony and obtained pardon, and was divided between their armies. It consisted of about 14,000 men. Besides these a large number who were in the forts surrendered. The forts themselves and the enemy's camp were given to the soldiers of Octavian and Antony to be plundered. Of the distinguished men in Brutus' camp some perished in the battles, others killed themselves as the two generals had done, others purposely continued fighting till death. Among these men of note were Lucius Cassius, a nephew of the great Cassius, and Cato, the son of Cato. The latter charged upon the enemy many times; then, when his men began to retreat, he threw off his helmet, either that he might be recognized, or be easily hit, or for both reasons. Labeo, a man renowned for learning, father of the Labeo who is still celebrated as a jurisconsult, dug a trench in his tent the size of his body, gave orders to his slaves in reference to the remainder of his affairs, made such arrangements as he desired for his wife and children, and gave letters to his domestics to carry to them. Then, taking his most faithful slave...
CAP. XVII

τάτον τής δεξιάς λαβόμενος καὶ περιστρέψας αὐτὸν, ὦς ἔδος ἐστὶ Ἡρωμάιος ἐλευθεροῦν, ἐπιστρεφομένῳ ἔφος ἔδωκε καὶ τὴν σφαγήν ὑπέσχε.

Καὶ τῶδε μὲν ἡ σκηνὴ τάφος ἐγένετο, 136. Ῥάσκος δὲ ὁ Θρᾶξ ἐπανήγαγεν ἐκ τῶν ὄρων πολλοὺς, καὶ γέρας ἤτησε τε καὶ ἔλαβε σφίξει τὸν ἄδελφον ἑαυτοῦ Ἡρακούπολιν ὅ καὶ διεδείχθη, ὅτι οὐδ’ ἀπ’ ἀρχής ἀλλήλους οἶδε οἱ Ἡράκες διεφέροντο, ἀλλὰ δύο στρατοπέδων μεγάλων τε καὶ ἀμφιρίστων περὶ τὴν ἐκείνην γῆν συμφερομένων τὸ ἄδηλον τῆς τύχης ἐμερίσαντο, ἵνα ὁ νικῶν περισσῶς τὸν ἰσσώμενον. Πορκία δ’, ἡ Βρούτου μὲν γυνῆ, Κάτωνος δὲ ἄδελφη τοῦ νεωτέρου, ἐπεῖτε ἄμφοις ἄδει ἀποθανότων ἐπύθετο, φυλασσομένη πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων πάνω ἐγκρατῶς, ἐσχαρας τυρὸς ἐνεχθείης ἀρτάσασα τῶν ἀνθράκων κατέπιεν. ὃσοι δ’ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἔσθε Θάσον διέφυγον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξέπλευσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐπέτρεψαν ἑαυτοὺς ἀμα τῷ λυπώ στρατῷ τῶν ὀμοτίμων Μεσσάλα τε Κορούλω καὶ Λευκίῳ Βύβλῳ, ὁ τι βουλεύσωσιν περὶ σφῶν, ποιεῖν περὶ ἀπάντων. οἱ δὲ συνεβέμενοι τοῖς περὶ τῶν Ἀντώνιον, Ἀντωνίῳ διαπλεύσαντες τῇ τὸν Θάσον παρέδοσαν, ὡσα ἦν ἐν Θάσῳ χρήματά τε καὶ ὡπλα καὶ τροφαί δαψίλεις καὶ ἄλλη παρασκευή πολλή.

137. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Καίσαρι τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ διὰ τόλμης ἐπισφαλοῦς καὶ δυνῶν τεξομαχίαι τηλεκότου ἔργον ἡμνυστο, ὅλον οὐχ ἔτερον ἐγένετο πρὸ ἐκείνου. οὕτε γὰρ στράτος τοσοῦτος ἢ τοιοῦτος ἐς χεῖρας πρότερον ἤλθε Ἡρωμᾶιων ἐκατέρωθεν, οὐχ ὑπὸ συντάξει πολιτικῆ στρατευσμένων,
by the right hand and whirling him around, as is the Roman custom in granting freedom, he handed him a sword as he turned, and presented his throat. And so his tent became his tomb.

136. Rhascus, the Thracian, brought many troops from the mountains. He asked and received as his reward the pardon of his brother, Rhascopolis, from which it was made plain that from the beginning these Thracians had not been at variance with each other, but that seeing two great and hostile armies coming into conflict near their territory, they divided the chances of fortune in such a way that the victor might save the vanquished. Porcia, the wife of Brutus and sister of the younger Cato, when she learned that both had died in the manner described, although very strictly watched by domestics, seized some hot embers that they were carrying on a brazier, and swallowed them. Of the other members of the nobility who escaped to Thasos some took ship from thence, others committed themselves with the remains of the army to the judgment of Messala Corvinus and Lucius Bibulus, men of equal rank, to do for all what they should decide to do for themselves. These came to an arrangement with Antony and Octavian, whereby they delivered to Antony on his arrival at Thasos the money and arms, besides abundant supplies and a great quantity of war material, there in store.

137. Thus did Octavian and Antony by perilous daring and by two infantry engagements achieve a success, the like of which was never before known; for never before had such numerous and powerful Roman armies come in conflict with each other. These soldiers were not enlisted from the ordinary
APPIAN’S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XVII.

ἀλλὰ ἀριστίνδην ἐπειλεγμένων οὐδ’ ἀπειροτολέμων ἔτι, ἀλλ’ έκ πολλοῦ γεγυμνασμένων ἐπὶ τε σφαῖς καὶ οὐκ ἀλλόφυλα ἢ βάρβαρα ἔθνη τρεπομένων. ἀλλὰ καὶ γλώσσης μιᾶς οὔτε καὶ τέχνης πολέμων μιᾶς καὶ ἀσκήσεως καὶ καρτερίας ὁμοίας, ὑστεραγώνιστοι παρ’ αὐτὸ ἦσαν ἀλλήλους. οὐδὲ ὀρμῇ καὶ τόλμῃ τοσὶ ἁπλῶς ἔχρησαντο ἐν πολέμῳ, πολίταὶ τε οὔτε ἀλλήλων καὶ οἰκείων καὶ συστρατιῶτα γενόμενοι. τεκμήριοι δὲ, οὕτι τῶν νεκρῶν ὁ ἀριθμὸς, ἐπανισσυμένης ἐκατέρας μάχης, οὐχ ἐλάσσωσιν ἐδοξεῖν οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς νυκῶσιν εἶναι.

138. Ὅ δε στρατὸς ὁ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καϊσαρος τῶν τῶν στρατηγῶν λόγων ἐπηλήθευσαν, διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας καὶ διὰ ἕνος ἔργου κίνδυνου ἐσχατον λημοῦ καὶ δεὸς ἀπολείας ἐς εὐπορίαν δαψιλῆς καὶ σῶτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆς καὶ νίκην εὐκλεία μεταβαλόντες. ἀπήντησε γε μὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ συνιόντες ἑς τὴν μάχην ἐπεμανεύσαντο Ἡρωμαῖους· ἐκρίθη γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ πολιτεία παρ’ ἑκεῖνο τὸ ἔργον μάλιστα καὶ οὐκ ἐπανήλθεν ἐς δημοκρατίαν ἔτι, οὐδὲ πόνων αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐδέχεσαν ὁμοίων, χωρὶς γε τῆς μετ’ οὐ πολύ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καϊσαρος στάσεως, ὡστάτης Ἡρωμαίοις γενομένης. τὰ δ’ ἐν μέσῳ μετὰ Βροῦτον ὑπὸ τὸ Πομπηίου καὶ τῶν διαφυγόντων Κασσίου καὶ Βροῦτον φίλων, λείψανα τοσθεδε παρασκευής μεγάλα ἐχόντων, οὕτε ταῖς τόλμαις ὁμοίᾳ ἐτε ἐγύγημεν οὕτε ταῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ πόλεων ἢ στρατῶν ἐς τοὺς ἠγεμόνας ὁρμαῖς· οὐ γὰρ τις αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐτε οὐδ’ ἡ βουλὴ οὐδὲ ἡ δόξα αὐτῆ, ως ἐς Κάσσιον τε καὶ Βροῦτον, ἀπήντα.

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conscription, but were picked men. They were not new levies, but under long drill and arrayed against each other, not against foreign or barbarous races. Speaking the same language and using the same tactics, being of like discipline and power of endurance, they were for these reasons what we may call mutually invincible. Nor was there ever such fury and daring in war as here, when citizens contended against citizens, families against families, and fellow-soldiers against each other. The proof or this is that, taking both battles into the account, the number of the slain even among the victors appeared to be not fewer than among the vanquished.

138. Thus the army of Antony and Octavian confirmed the prediction of their generals, passing in one day and by one blow from extreme danger and famine and fear of destruction to lavish wealth, absolute security, and glorious victory. Moreover, that result came about which Antony and Octavian had predicted as they advanced into battle. Their form of government was decided by that day's work chiefly, and they have not gone back to democracy yet. Nor was there any further need of similar contentions with each other, except the strife between Antony and Octavian not long afterward, which was the last that took place between Romans. The events that happened after the death of Brutus, under Sextus Pompeius and the friends of Cassius and Brutus, who escaped with the very considerable remains of their extensive war material, were not to be compared to the former in daring or in the devotion of men, cities, and armies to their leaders; nor did any of the nobility, nor the Senate, nor the same glory, attend them as attended Brutus and Cassius.
Ε’

1. Μετὰ δὲ τῶν Κασσιών καὶ Βροῦτον θάνατον ὁ μὲν Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἤρε, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐνθα αὐτῷ συμβάλλει Κλεοπάτρα βασιλίς Αἴγυπτου, καὶ εὐθὺς ὀφθείσα ἔκρητει. ὁ δὲ ἔρως ὅδε αὐτοῖς τε ἑκεῖνοι ἐς ἐσχατον ἐλήξε κακοῦ καὶ ἐς ὅλην Αἴγυπτον ἐπ’ ἑκεῖνοι. ὃθεν ἂν τι καὶ Αἴγυπτων εἴη τῆς βίβλου μέρος, ὅλιγον τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπιγραφῆς πω, διὸ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολὺ πλεῖοσιν οὐσιν ἐπίμικτον. ἐγίνετο γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετὰ Κάσσιον τε καὶ Βροῦτον ἑτέρα ἐμφύλια ὠμοια, στρατηγοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὡσπερ ἑκεῖνοι, κατὰ μέρος δὲ ἑτέρων, μέχρι Πομπήιος τε Σέξτος, ὁ νεώτερος παῖς Πομπήιου Μάγγου, λοιπὸς δὲν ἔτι τῆς Τής στάσεως, τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐπανηρέθη, καὶ Λέπιδος ἐξέπεσε τοῦ μέρους τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ πᾶσα περιῆλθεν ἐς δύο μόνον, Ἀντώνιον τε καὶ Καῖσαρ. ἐγίνετο δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκαστα οὕτως.

2. Κάσσιος ὁ Παρμήσιος ἐπίκλην ὑπελέλειπτο μὲν ὑπὸ Κασσιών καὶ Βροῦτον περὶ τῆν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν καὶ στρατοῦ, χρήματα ἐκλέγειν. Κασσίον δὲ ἀποθανόντος οὐδὲν ἐλπίζων ὠμοιον ἐν
BOOK V


1. After the death of Cassius and Brutus, Octavian returned to Italy, but Antony proceeded to Asia, where he met Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, and succumbed to her charms at first sight. This passion brought ruin upon them and upon all Egypt besides. For this reason a part of this book will treat of Egypt—a small part, however, not worth mentioning in the title, since it is incidental to the narrative of the civil wars, which constitutes much the larger portion. Other similar civil wars took place after Cassius and Brutus, but there was no one in command of all the forces as they had been. The latter wars were sporadic, till finally Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Pompey the Great, the last remaining leader of that faction, was slain, as Brutus and Cassius had been, Lepidus was deprived of his share of the triumvirate, and the whole government of the Romans was centred in two only, Antony and Octavian. These events came about in the following manner.

2. Cassius, surnamed Parmesius, had been left by Cassius and Brutus in Asia with a fleet and an army to collect money. After the death of Cassius, not anticipating the like fate of Brutus,
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Βρούτω, Ἄρδιων ἐπελέξατο νῆας τριάκοντα, ὡσας ἐνόμιζε πληρώσειν, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς διήπτησε χωρὶς τῆς ἱερᾶς, ἵνα μὴ δύναιντο νεωτερίσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε πράξας ἀνήγετο ταῖς τε ἱδίαις καὶ ταῖς τριάκοντα, Κλώδιος δὲ ἐκ Βρούτου πεμφθεὶς ἐς Ἀρδίων ἐπὶ νεῶν τρισκαίδεκα, τοὺς Ἀρδίων νεωτερίζοντας εὑρὼν (ἐπεθυμηκει γὰρ ἢδη καὶ ὁ Βρούτος), ἐξήγαγε τὴν φρουράν, οὕσαν ὀπλιτῶν τρισχίλιων, καὶ τῶν Παρμησίου ἐχώρει. ἀφίκητο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Τουρούλλοις, ἐτέρας ναός ἔχων πολλὰς καὶ χρήματα, ὡσα προσευλεκτὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρδίων. ἐς δὴ τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῦτο ὡς ἐς ἦδη τινὰ ἵσχυν συνέθεσαν, ὃσοι ἦσαν κατὰ μέρη τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπηρεσίων, καὶ αὐτὸ ὀπλίταις τε ἔξ ἄν ἐδύναντο ἀνεπλήρουν καὶ ἐρέταις ἐκ θεραπόντων ἡ δεσμωτῶν, ἐπιπλέοντες δὲ ταῖς νῆσοις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νησιωτῶν. ἦλθον δ’ εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ Κικέρων ὁ Κικέρωνος καὶ ὃσοι ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκ τῆς Θάσου διεπεφεύγεσαν. καὶ ταχὺ πλήθος ἦν καὶ σύνταξις ἀξιόχρεως ἤγεμόνων τε καὶ στρατοῦ καὶ νεῶν. προσλάβοντες δὲ καὶ Δέσπιδον μεθ’ ἐτέρας δυνάμεως, ἢ Βρούτῳ καθίστατο Κρήτην, πρὸς Μουρκον καὶ Δομῖτιον Ἀγνόβαρβον ἐπὶ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ὄντας ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον διέπλεον. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἀμα τῷ Μουρκῷ διέπλευσαν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν ἴσχυν Πομπηίω Σέξτῳ συνήψαν, οἱ δὲ κατέμεναν παρὰ Ἀγνόβαρβῳ καὶ τῷ αἱρεσιν ἐφ’ εαυτῶν καθίστατο.

Τοιάδε μὲν ἐκ τῶν λειψάνων τῆς παρασκευῆς Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου πρώτα συνῆστατο, 3. ο δὲ Καίσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ περὶ
he selected thirty ships belonging to the Rhodians, which he intended to man, and burned the rest, except the sacred one, so that they might not be able to revolt. Having done this he took his departure with his own ships and the thirty. Clodius, who had been sent by Brutus to Rhodes with thirteen ships, found the Rhodians in revolt (for Brutus also was now dead). Clodius took away the garrison, consisting of 3000 soldiers, and joined Parmesius. They were joined by Turulius, who had another numerous fleet and a large sum of money which he had previously extorted from Rhodes. To this fleet, which was now quite powerful, flocked those who were rendering service in various parts of Asia, and they manned the ships with soldiers as well as they could, and with slaves, prisoners, and inhabitants of the islands where they touched, as rowers. The son of Cicero joined them, and others of the nobility who had escaped from Thasos. Thus in a short time there was a considerable gathering and organization of officers, soldiers, and ships. Having received additional forces under Lepidus, with which he had brought Crete under subjection to Brutus, they made sail to the Adriatic and united with Murcus and Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had a large force under their command. Some of these sailed with Murcus to Sicily to join Sextus Pompeius. The rest remained with Ahenobarbus and formed a faction by themselves.

Such was the first reassembling of what remained of the war preparations of Cassius and Brutus. 3. After the victory of Philippi Octavian and Antony

1 Brother of the triumvir.
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CAP. Φιλάπτους ἔθηκεν τε λαμπρῶς καὶ τοὺς στρατῶν ἐπήμουν. καὶ ἐς τὴν δόσιν τῶν ἐπισκίων ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐχώρει, τὴν τε γῆν αὐτοῖς διανεμήσων καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας καταλεύσων (δὸς γὰρ αὐτὸς εἶλετο διὰ τὴν ἁρρωσίαν), ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὰ πέραν ἔθην, συλλέξων τὰ χρήματα, ὡσα αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχυτο. διενείματο δὲ αὐθίς ὅσα καὶ πρότερον ἔθην καὶ ἐπελάμβανον τὰ Δεπίδου τὴν τε γὰρ Κελτικὴν τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων ἔδοκεν Καίσαρος ἀξιούντος αὐτόν εἶμι. ἀφιέναι γνώμη τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, ὁ τε Δεπίδος διεβάλετο τὰ πράγματα Πομπηίῳ προδιόναι καὶ ἡρῴτο, εἰ Καίσαρι ψευδής ἡ διαβολὴ φανείη, ἔτερα ἀντωνύμαι τω Δεπίδῳ. ἀφίεσαν δὲ καὶ τῆς στρατείας τοὺς ἐντελῆ χρόνον ἐστρατευμένους χωρίς ὀκτακισχιλίων, ὥσ εἰσίν τοι στρατεύεσθαι σφίζων ἀποδεξάμενοι διείλοντο καὶ συνελώ. χισάν ἐς στρατηγίδας τάξεις. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς αὐτῶς στρατὸς ἐγένετο, σὺν τοῖς μεταθεμένοις ἀπὸ Βρούτου, τέλη πεζῶν ἐνδεκα καὶ ἱππεῖς μύριοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι. καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος διὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἐξ τέλη καὶ ἱππεὰς μυρίους, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἱππεῖς τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τέλη πέντε καὶ τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀντώνιῳ δύο ἔδωκεν, ἀντιληψόμενος ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Καληφί τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπολειμμένων.

4. ὁ μὲν δὴ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰόνιου ἥξει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐν Ἑφέσῳ γενόμενος τῇ θεῷ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔδωκεν καὶ τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου συμφορᾶς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἰκέτας ἀπέλυε, χωρὶς Πετρωνίου, συνεγγυμούτος 380
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offered a magnificent sacrifice and awarded praise to their army. In order to provide the rewards of victory Octavian went to Italy to divide the land among the soldiers and to settle the colonies. He chose this himself on account of his illness. Antony went to the nations beyond the Aegean to collect the money that had been promised to the soldiers. They divided the provinces among themselves as before and took those of Lepidus besides. For it was decided, at the instance of Octavian to make Cisalpine Gaul independent, as the elder Caesar had intended. Lepidus had been accused of betraying the affairs of the triumvirate to Pompeius and it was decided that if Octavian should find that this accusation was false other provinces should be given to Lepidus. They dismissed from the military service the soldiers who had served their full time except 8000 who had asked to remain. These they took back and divided between themselves and formed them in praetorian cohorts. There remained to them, including those who had come over from Brutus, eleven legions of infantry and 14,000 horse. Of these Antony took, for his foreign expedition, six legions and 10,000 horse. Octavian had five legions and 4000 horse, but of these he gave two legions to Antony in exchange for others that Antony had left in Italy under the command of Calenus.

4. Octavian then proceeded toward the Adriatic; but when Antony arrived at Ephesus he offered a splendid sacrifice to the city's goddess and pardoned those who, after the disaster to Brutus and Cassius, had fled to the temple as suppliants, except Petronius, who had been privy to the murder of
καὶ Κοίντου, προδόντος ἐν Δαδικεῖα Κασσίφ Δολοβέλλαν. τοὺς δὲ Ἐλλήνας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλο ἔδινε τὴν ἀμφί τοῦ Πέργαμου Ἀσίαν νέμονται, κατὰ τε πρεσβείας παρόντας ἐπὶ συνθέσει καὶ μετακεκλημένους συναγαγὼν ἔλεγεν ὅτι· ἦµας Ἦµῖν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἐλληνες, Ἀτταλος ὁ βασιλεύς ὑµῶν ἐν διαθήκαις ἀπέλιπε, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀµείνους ὑµῖν ἦµεν Ἀττάλουν· οὗς γὰρ ἐτελεῖτε φόρους Ἀττάλω, μεθήκαμεν ὑµῖν, μέχρι δηµοκράτῶν ἄνδρῶν καὶ παρ’ ἦµῖν γενοµένων ἐδέση φόρων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδέσησεν, οὐ πρὸς τὰ τιµήµατα ὑµῖν ἐπεθήκαµεν, ὡς ἄν ἦµεῖς ἀκίνδυνον φόρον ἐκλέγοµεν, ἀλλὰ µέρη φέρειν τῶν ἐκάστοτε καρπῶν ἐπετάξαµεν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων κουσούµεν ὑµῖν. τῶν δὲ ταύτα παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς µισθοµένων ἐνυβριζόντων ὑµῖν καὶ πολὺ πλείονα αἰτούντων, Γάµος Καίσαρ τῶν µὲν χρηµάτων τὰ τρίτα ὑµῖν ἀνήκεν ἃν ἑκείνως ἐφέρετε, τὰς δὲ υβρεῖς ἐπαυσεν· ὑµῖν γὰρ τοὺς φόρους ἐπέτρεψεν ἄγείρειν παρὰ τῶν γεωργούντων. καὶ τόνδε τοιὸνδε ὅταν οἱ χρηστοὶ τῶν ἡµετέρων πολιτῶν τῦραννων ἐκάλουν, καὶ ὑµεῖς αὐτῶν συνετελεῖτε χρήµατα πολλά, σφαγεῖς τέ οὐσι τοῦ ὑµετέρου εὐεργέτου, καὶ καθ’ ἦµῶν τῶν τιµωρούντων ἑκείνῳ.

5. “Τῆς δὲ δικαίας τύχης φιλήσω, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἦν ἄξιον, κρινάσῃς τῶν πόλεμον, εἰ µὲν ὡς συναγωνισταῖς τῶν πολεµίων ἔδει χρησθαι, κολάσεως ύµῖν ἔδει, ἔπει δὲ ἐκόντες πιστεύομεν ύµᾶς κατὰ ἀνάγκην τάδε πεποιηκέναι, τῶν µὲν µειζόνων ἀφίεμεν, χρηµάτων δὲ ἦµῶν δεῖ καὶ γῆς 382
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Caesar, and Quintus, who had betrayed Dolabella to Cassius at Laodicea. Having assembled the Greeks and other peoples who inhabited the Asiatic country around Pergamos, and who were present on a peace embassy, and others who had been summoned thither, Antony addressed them as follows: "Your King Attalus, O Greeks, left you to us in his will, and straightway we proved better to you than Attalus had been, for we released you from the taxes that you had been paying to him, until the action of popular agitators also among us made these taxes necessary. But when they became necessary we did not impose them upon you according to a fixed valuation so that we could collect an absolutely certain sum, but we required you to contribute a portion of your yearly harvest in order that we might share with you the vicissitudes of the seasons. When the publicans, who farmed these collections by the authority of the Senate, wronged you by demanding more than was due, Gaius Caesar remitted to you one-third of what you had paid to them and put an end to their outrages: for he turned over to you the collection of the taxes from the cultivators of the soil. And this was the kind of man that our honourable citizens called a tyrant, and you contributed vast sums of money to the murderers of your benefactor and against us, who were seeking to avenge him.

5. "Now that just fortune has decided the war, not as you wished, but as was right, if we were to treat you as allies of our enemies we should be obliged to punish you. But as we are willing to believe that you were constrained to this course by necessity, we will release you from the heavier
CAP. καὶ πόλεων ἐς τὰ νυκτήρια τοῦ στρατοῦ, τέλη δὲ ἔστιν ὁκτὼ καὶ εἰκοσιων ὀπλιτῶν, ἄ μετὰ τῶν συντασσομένων εἰσὶ μυριάδες ἄνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἐπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τούτων ἀνευθεὶς οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ ἑτερος ὁμιλος ἑτέρου στρατοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἄνδρων τὸ πλήθος τῆς χρείας συνοράν δύνασθε. τὴν δὲ γῆν καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῖς διαδόσων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπειρών ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ χρὴ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον εἰπεῖν, ἀναστήσων τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ὑμᾶς δ', ἵνα μὴ γῆς καὶ πόλεων καὶ οἰκίων καὶ ιερῶν καὶ τάφων ἀνίστησθε, ἐς τὰ χρήματα ἐλογισάμεθα, οὐδὲ ἐς ἀπαντα (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄν δύνασθε), ἀλλὰ μέρος αὐτῶν καὶ βραχύτατον, δὲ καὶ πυκνούσις ὑμᾶς ἀγαπήσεων σώματι. ἃ γὰρ ἔδοτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἔχθροις ἐν ἐτεσι δύο (ἔδοτε δὲ φόρους δέκα ἐτῶν), ταῦτα λαβεῖν ἀρκέσει μόνα, ἄλλα ἕνε ἐτεν ἐπείγουσι γὰρ αἱ χρείαι. συνείσι δὲ τῆς χάριτος υμῶν τοσοῦτον ἄν ἐπείπομι, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἀμαρτήματος ἱσον ἐπιτίμιον ὀρίζεται." 6. Ὅ μεν οὖτως εἶπεν, ἐς ὁκτὼ καὶ εἰκοσι τέλη πεζῶν τὴν χάριν περιφέρον, ὅτι, οἶμαι, τρία καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡν αὐτοίς, ὅτε ἐν Μουτίνη συνηλλάσσοντο ἄλληλοι καὶ τάδε ὑπισχυόντο, ὅ δὲ πόλεμος αὐτὰ ἐς τοσοῦτον ὑπεννόχει: οἱ δὲ Ἔλληνες ἔτι λέγωντος αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἵππους ἐκ τὸ ἐδαφος, ἀνάγκην καὶ βίαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου γενομένας ἐπιλέγοντες οὐκ ἐπιτιμίων ἀξιάς εἶναι, ἄλλο ἐλέου, δόντες δ' ἄν τοὺς εὐεργεταῖς ἐκόντες ἀπορεῖν διὰ τούς πολέμους, οἷς οὐ τὰ χρήματα μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τὰ
penalty, but we need money and land and cities as rewards for our soldiers. There are twenty-eight legions of infantry which, with the auxiliaries, amount to upwards of 170,000 men, besides cavalry and various other arms of the service. The vast sum that we need for such a vast number of men you can easily imagine. Octavian has gone to Italy to provide them with the land and the cities—to expropriate Italy, if we must speak plainly. That we may not be under the necessity of expelling you from your lands, cities, houses, temples, and tombs, we have assessed you for contribution not of all that you have (for you could not pay that), but a part, a very small part, which when you learn it, I think you will cheerfully pay. For what you contributed to our enemies in two years (and you gave them the taxes of ten years in that time) will be quite sufficient for us; but it must be paid in one year, because we are pressed by necessity. As you are sensible of our leniency toward you, I will merely add that the penalty imposed is not equal to any one of your deserts."

6. Antony spoke thus of providing a donative for twenty-eight legions of infantry, whereas I think that they had forty-three legions when they came to their agreement at Mutina and made these promises, but the war had probably reduced them to this number. The Greeks, while he was still speaking, threw themselves upon the ground, declaring that they had been subjected to force and violence by Brutus and Cassius, and that they were deserving of pity, not of punishment; that they would willingly give to their benefactors, but that they had been stripped by their enemies, to whom they had de-
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CAP. σκεύη καὶ τοὺς κόσμους ἐσενεγκεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων, τοὺς δὲ αὐτὰ παρὰ σφίσιν ἐς νόμισμα χαλκεῖσαι. καὶ τέλος παρακαλοῦντες ἐτυχοῦ ἐννέα ἐτῶν φόρους ἐσενεγκεῖν ἔτεσι δύο. βασιλεύσι δὲ καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ πόλεις εἰλευθέραις ἅλλα ἐς τὴν ἐκάστων δύναμιν ἐπετάχθη.

7. Περιόντι δ' αὐτῷ τὰ ἐθνὶ Δευκίδος τε ὁ Κασσίοι ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὅσιοι ἄλλοι τῶν δειόσων ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐν Ἕφεσι συγγεώμης ἐπύθοντο, ἰκέται προσήεσαν. καὶ ἀπέλυε πάντας, πλὴν τοὺς συνεγκκοκότας ἐπὶ φόνῳ Καίσαρος· τούτως γὰρ δὴ μόνοις ἀδιάλλακτος ἦν, παρηγόρει δὲ καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς μάλιστα δεινὰ παθοῦσας, Λυκίους μὲν ἀτελεῖς φόρων ἀφείς καὶ Ἐλάνθον οἰκίζειν παραινῶν, Ὁρόλοις δὲ διδοὺς ὁ Ἀνδρον τε καὶ Τήνου καὶ Νάξου καὶ Μύνδου, ὃς οὐ πολὺ ύστερον ἀφηρέθησαν ὡς σκληρότερον ἀρχοῦτες. Λαοδικέας δὲ καὶ Ταρσέας εἰλευθέρους ἥψει καὶ ἀτελεῖς φόρων καὶ Ταρσέων τῶν πεπραμένους ἀπέλυε τῆς δουλείας διατάγματι. Ἀθηναίοις δ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἔλθον μετὰ Τήνου Ἀγιανα τοὺς ἀδικοὺς καὶ Ἰκον καὶ Κέω καὶ Σκίαθον καὶ Πεπάρθουν, ἐπιπαριδῶν δὲ Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ Γαλάτας τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Καππαδοκίας τε καὶ Ἐλληνίκας καὶ Σιρίας τὴν κοίλην καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ τὴν Ἱτουρίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα γένη Σύρων, ἀνσω σφορὰς ὑπέβαλλε βαρείς καὶ διήτα πόλεσι καὶ βασιλεύσιν, ἐν μὲν Καππαδοκία Ἀριαράθη τε καὶ Σισήνη, ὃν τῷ Σισίνη συνέπραξεν ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν, καλῆς οἱ φανείσης τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Σισίνου 386
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livered not only their money, but, in default of money, their plate and their ornaments, and who had coined these things into money in their presence. Finally, they prevailed by their entreaties that the amount should be reduced to nine years' taxes, payable in two years. It was ordered that the kings, princes, and free cities should make additional contributions according to their means, respectively.

7. While Antony was making the circuit of the provinces Lucius Cassius, the brother of Gaius, and some others, who feared for their own safety, when they heard of the pardon of Ephesus, presented themselves to him as suppliants. He released them all except those who had been privy to the murder of Caesar: to these alone he was inexorable. He gave relief to the cities that had suffered most severely. He released the Lycians from taxes altogether, and urged the rebuilding of Xanthus; he gave to the Rhodians Andros, Tenos, Naxos, and Myndus, which were taken from them not long afterward because they ruled them too harshly; he made Laodicea and Tarsus free cities and released them from taxes entirely, and those inhabitants of Tarsus who had been sold into slavery he liberated by an order. To the Athenians when they came to him to ask for Tenos he gave Aegina and Icos, Ceos, Sciathos, and Peparethos. Proceeding onward to Phrygia, Mysia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Coele-Syria, Palestine, Ituraea, and the other provinces of Syria, he imposed heavy contributions on all, and acted as arbiter between kings and cities,—in Cappadocia, for example, between Ariarthes and Sisina, awarding the kingdom to Sisina on account of his mother, Glaphyra, who struck him as a beautiful woman. In
CAP.  Γλαφύρας. ἐν δὲ Συρία τοὺς κατὰ πόλεις ἐξήρει τυράννους.
8. Καὶ ἐν Κελλία πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθούσης Κλεο-
πάτρας ἐμέμψατο μὲν ὡς οὐ μετασχούσης τῶν ἐπὶ Καίσαρι πόνων τῆς δὲ οὐκ ἀπολογουμένης μᾶλλον ἡ καταλογιζομένης αὐτοῖς, ὧτι καὶ τὰ παρὰ οἱ τέσσαρα τέλη πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν αὐτίκα πέμψει, καὶ στόλον ἄλλων ἐτοιμὸν ἔχουσα καλυθεῖν ὑπὸ τε ἀνέμου καὶ αὐτοῦ Δολοβέλλα, ταχυτέρας ἡσσῆς τυχόντος, Κασσίῳ τε δὶς ἀπειλοῦντι μὴ συμμαχῆσει καὶ σφίσιν ἑκείνους πολεμοῦσιν ὡς τὸν Ἰούνιον αὐτῆ τὸν στόλον ἔχουσα πλεύσει μετὰ παρασκευῆς βαρυτάτης, οὔτε δεῖσασα Κάσ-
σιον οὔτε φυλαξαμένη Μοῦρκον ναυλοχοῦντα, μέχρι χειμῶν τὰ τε ἄλλα διελυμένατο καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς νόσου ἐνέβαλεν, ὡς δὴ χάριν οὐδ’ ὑστερον ἐπαναχθῆναι νενικηκότων ἤδη, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τῇ ὅψει τὴν σύνεσιν καταπλαγεῖς εὐθὺς αὐτῆς μειρακιωδῶς ἑαλώκει, καὶ περ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα γεγονός, λεγόμενος μὲν ὕγρότατος ἐς ταῦτα ἀεὶ φύναι, λεγόμενος δ’ ἐς ταῦτην καὶ πάλαι, παῖδα ἐτὶ οὔσαν, ἐρέθισμα τι τῆς ὅψεως λαβεῖν, ὦτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Γαβινίῳ στρατεύοντι νέος ἰππαρχῶν εὐπετο.
9. Εὐθὺς οὖν Ἀντώνιῳ μὲν ἡ περὶ ἀπαντά τέως ἐπιμέλεια ἀθρόα ἡμβλύνετο, Κλεοπάτρα δ’ ὁ τι προστάξεις, ἐγγυτετο, οὐ διακριθῶν ἐτὶ περὶ τῶν ὀσῶν ἡ δικαιοῦν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Ἀρσινόην, ἴκετιν οὔσαν ἐν Μιλήτῳ τῆς Λευκο-
φρυνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, πέμψας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνέβλε, καὶ Σερριώνα, τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ στρατηγὸν αὐτῆς,
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Syria he delivered the cities from tyrants one after another.

8. Cleopatra came to meet him in Cilicia, and he blamed her for not sharing their labours in avenging Caesar. Instead of apologising she enumerated to him the things she had done, saying that she had sent the four legions that had been left with her to Dolabella forthwith, and that she had another fleet in readiness, but had been prevented from sending it by adverse winds and by the misfortune of Dolabella, whose defeat came suddenly; but that she did not lend assistance to Cassius, who had threatened her twice; that while the war was going on she had set sail for the Adriatic in person with a powerful fleet to assist them, in defiance of Cassius, and disregarding Murcus, who was lying in wait for her; but that a tempest shattered the fleet and prostrated herself with illness, for which reason she was not able to put to sea again till they had already gained their victory. Antony was amazed at her wit as well as her good looks, and became her captive as though he were a young man, although he was forty years of age. It is said that he was always very susceptible in this way, and that he had fallen in love with her at first sight long ago when she was still a girl and he was serving as master of horse under Gabinius at Alexandria.

9. Straightway Antony's former interest in public affairs began to dwindle. Whatever Cleopatra ordered was done, regardless of laws, human or divine. While her sister Arsinoe was a suppliant in the temple of Artemis Leucophryne at Miletus, Antony sent assassins thither and put her to death; and Serapion, Cleopatra's prefect in Cyprus, who had assisted
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ ΠΑΡΟΝ ὅταν ἔφη, ἐκέλευσε τούς Τυρίους ἐκδούναι τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, ἐκδούναι δὲ καὶ Ἀραβίων ἐτερον ἰκήτην, ὅν τινα, Πτολεμαίοι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀφαι- νοῦσ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Καίσαρα κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ναυμαχία γενομένου, οἱ Ἀράδιοι εἶχον λέγοντα Πτολεμαίον εἶναι. καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἑφέσῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερέα, ὃν Μεγάβυζου ἦγονται, ὑπο- δεξάμενον ποτε τὴν Ἀρακινήν ώς βασιλέα ἁχθῆναι μὲν ἐκέλευσεν, Ἑφεσίων δὲ αὐτὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἱκετευσάντων μεθηκεν. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐνήλικατο ταχέως, καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἀρχῇ καὶ τέλος τῶν ἐπειτα κακῶν ἐγένετο. ἀπο- πλευσάσης δὲ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπεμπε τοὺς ἱππέας Πάλμυρα πύλων, οὐ μακρὰν οὖσαν ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου, διαρπάσαι, μικρὰ μὲν ἐπικαλῶν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων καὶ Παρθινῶν δυντε ἐφόροι εἰς ἐκατέρως ἐπιδεξίως εἶχον (ἐμποροὶ γάρ δυντε κομίζοιν μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν τὰ Ἰνδικὰ ἢ Ἀράβια, διατίθενται δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων), ἔργον δὲ ἐπινοοῦν τοὺς ἱππέας περι- ουσίασαι. Πάλμυρην δὲ προμαθόντων καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαία ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ μετενεγκάντων τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁχήσις, εἰ τις ἐπιχειροὶ σκευασάμενων τόξων, πρὸς ἃ πεφυκασιν ἐξαιρέτως, οἱ ἱππεῖς τὴν πύλων κενήν καταλαβόντες ὑπέστρε- φαν, οὕτε ὡς χεῖρας ἔλθοντες οὕτε τι λαβόντες.

10. Καὶ δοκεῖ τὸδε τὸ ἔργον Ἀντωνίῳ τῶν μετ' οὗ πολὺ Παρθινῶν πόλεμον ἐξάψαι, πολλῶν ἐκ
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Cassius and was now a suppliant at Tyre, Antony ordered the Tyrians to deliver to her. He commanded the Arcadians to deliver up another suppliant, who when Ptolemy, the brother of Cleopatra, disappeared at the battle with Caesar on the Nile, said that he was Ptolemy, and whom the Arcadians now held. He ordered the priest of Artemis at Ephesus, whom they called the Megabyzus, and who had once received Arsinoe as queen, to be brought before him, but in response to the supplications of the Ephesians, addressed to Cleopatra herself, released him. So swiftly was Antony transformed, and this passion was the beginning and the end of evils that afterwards befell him. When Cleopatra returned home Antony sent a cavalry force to Palmyra, situated not far from the Euphrates, to plunder it, bringing the trifling accusation against its inhabitants, that being on the frontier between the Romans and the Parthians, they had avoided taking sides between them; for, being merchants, they bring the products of India and Arabia from Persia and dispose of them in the Roman territory; but in fact, Antony's intention was to enrich his horsemen. However, the Palmyreans were forewarned and they transported their property across the river, and, stationing themselves on the bank, prepared to shoot anybody who should attack them, for they are expert bowmen. The cavalry found nothing in the city. They turned round and came back, having met no foe, and empty-handed.

10. It seems that this course on Antony’s part caused the outbreak of the Parthian war not long afterward, as many of the rulers expelled from

1 A title.
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CAP. Συρίας τυράννων ἐς αὐτοὺς συμφυγόντων. ἢ γὰρ Συρία μέχρι μὲν ἔπ. Ἀντίοχον τὸν Εὐσεβῆ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἑυσεβίους ὕπω τοῖς ἐκ Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάτορος ἐβασιλεύετο, ὡς μοι περὶ Σύρων λέγωντι εἴρηται. Πομπηίου δ' αὐτὴν Ῥωμαίοις προσλαβόντος καὶ στρατηγόν αὐτής Σκαύρον ἀποδείξαντος, ἡ βουλὴ μετὰ Σκαύρου ἐπεμψεν ἑτέρους καὶ Γαβίνου τὸν Ἀλέξαν- δρέωσι πολεμήσαντα, ἐπὶ δὲ Γαβίνῳ Κράσσου τὸν ἐν Παρθανίους ἀποθανόντα καὶ Βὐζλον ἐπὶ τῷ Κράσσῳ. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Γαίου Καίσαρος ἀρα τελευτήν καὶ στάσιν ἐπὶ αὐτῇ κατὰ πόλεις ὑπὸ τυράννων εἶχετο, συλλαμβανόντων τοῖς τυράννοις τῶν Παρθανίων ἐσέβαλον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ὁι Παρθανίοι μετὰ τὴν Κράσσου συμ- φορὰν καὶ συνέπραξαν τοῖς τυράννοις. οὔτος οὖν Ἀντώνιος ἔξελαύνων ὑποφεύγοντας ἐς τὴν Παρ- θυνηὴν καὶ τοῖς πλῆθεσιν ἑπιβάλλων ἐσφορᾶς βαρυτάτας καὶ ἐς Παλμυρηνοὺς τάδε ἀμαρτών, οὐδὲ ἐπέμεινε συστήσας τὴν χώραν θορυβουμένην, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη διελὼν χειμάσοντα αὐτὸς ἐς Λίγυπτον ἦς πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν.

11. Ἡ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπεδέχετο λαμπρῶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐχείμαζεν ἐνταῦθα, ἀνεῖς σημείων ἡγεμονίας, ἰδιω- τοῦ σχῆμα καὶ βίων ἔχων, ἕθος ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ τε ἀρχῇ καὶ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει, εἰτε τὴν χειμασίαν ὡς πανήγυριν ἄγων, ἑπεί καὶ φροντίδας ἀπετέ- θεῖτο καὶ ἡγεμόνων θεραπείαν, καὶ στολὴν εἰχε τετράγωνον Ἐλληνικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίως, καὶ ὑπόδημα ἡν αὐτὸ λευκῶν Ἀττικῶν, δ καὶ Ἀθη- ναίων ἔχουσιν ἱερεῖς καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων, καὶ καλούσι φαικάσιον. ἐξοδοί τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἐς
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Syria had taken refuge with the Parthians. Syria, chap. until the reign of Antiochus Pius and his son, Antiochus, had been ruled by the descendants of Seleucus Nicator, as I have related in my Syrian history. Pompey added it to the Roman sway, and Scaurus was appointed praetor over it. After Scaurus the Senate sent others, including Gabinius, who made war against the Alexandrians, and after Gabinius, Crassus, who lost his life in the Parthian war, and after Crassus, Bibulus. At the time of Caesar's death and the intestine strife which followed, tyrants had possession of the cities one by one, and they were assisted by the Parthians, who made an irruption into Syria after the disaster to Crassus and co-operated with the tyrants. Antony drove out the latter, who took refuge in Parthia. He then imposed very heavy tribute on the masses and committed the outrage already mentioned against the Palmyreans, and did not wait for the disturbed country to become quiet, but distributed his army in winter quarters in the provinces, and himself went to Egypt to join Cleopatra.

11. She gave him a magnificent reception, and he spent the winter there without the insignia of his office and with the habit and mode of life of a private person, either because he was in a foreign jurisdiction, in a city under royal sway, or because he regarded his wintering as a festive occasion; for he even laid aside the cares and escort of a general, and wore the square-cut garment of the Greeks instead of the costume of his own country, and the white Attic shoe of the Athenian and Alexandrian priests, which they call the phaecasium. He went out only to the temples, the schools, and the discussions of the
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CAP. 1. Ιερὰ ἡ γυμνάσια ἡ φιλολόγων διατριβάς μόναι καὶ
δίατα μεθ' Ἐλλήνων ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρα, ὡ δὴ καὶ
μάλιστα τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἀνετίθει.

II

CAP. II 12. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀντώνιον ἦν θοιάδε·
Καίσαρι δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπανότι καὶ τὸ νόσος
αὐθίς ἤμαζεν ἐν Βρέτανσίῳ μάλιστα ἐπικινδύνως,
καὶ φήμη διήνεγκεν αὐτὸν καὶ τεθνάναι. Ῥᾳδίσας
δὲ ἐσῆλθεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς Ἀντώνιοι τὰ
γράμματα ἐδείκνυε τὰ Ἀντώνιοι. οἱ δὲ Καλερὼν
τε προσέτασσον ἀποδοῦναι τὰ δύο τέλη τῷ Καί-
σαρι καὶ ἐς Διβύνη ἐπέστελλον Σεξστίφων Διβύνης
καὶ αὐτὸν Καίσαρι ἀποστήναι. καὶ οὶ μὲν οὕτως
ἐποίουν, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἀμαρτεῖν
dόξαντι Δησίδω Διβύνην ἀντί τῶν προτέρων ἐθνῶν
ἐνήλλασσε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς προγρα-
φαῖς δεδημευμένοις διεσπαρμακε. καταλέγοντι δὲ
αὐτῷ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ τὴν γῆν
ἐπιστέφοντες δυσεργῶς ἦν. οἱ τε γὰρ στρατιώται
tὰς πόλεις ἠτοῦν, αἱ αὐτοῖς ἀριστίνδη ἦσαν
ἐπείλεγμαν πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ αἱ πόλεις
ἐξίον τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπασαν ἐπινεμασθαὶ τὸ ἔργον
ἡ ἐν ἀλλήλαις διαλαχεῖν τῆς τῇ γῆς τὴν τιμὴν
tοὺς δωρομενοὺς ἠτοῦν, καὶ ἀργύριον οὐκ ἦν,
ἀλλὰ συνιότες αὖ μέρος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην οἳ τε
νεοὶ καὶ γέροντες ἢ αἱ γυναῖκες ἀμα τοῖς παιδίοις,
ἐς τὴν ἀγορᾶν ἢ τὰ ἱερά, ἐθρήνουν, οὐδὲν μὲν
ἀδικήσαι λέγοντες, Ἰταλίωται δὲ ὄντες ἀνί-
στασθαι γῆς τε καὶ ἔστιας οἷα δορίληττοι. ἔφ'.

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12. Such was the state of affairs with Antony. As Octavian was journeying to Rome his illness became acute at Brundusium, and a rumour gained currency that he was dead. On his recovery he returned to the city and showed to Antony's friends the letters Antony had written. The Antonians directed Calenus to give Octavian the two legions, and wrote to Sextius in Africa to turn that province over to him. This was the course of the Antonians while, as it appeared that Lepidus had not been guilty of any serious wrong, Octavian transferred Africa to him in exchange for his former provinces. He also sold the remainder of the property confiscated under the conscriptions. The task of assigning the soldiers to their colonies and dividing the land was one of exceeding difficulty. For the soldiers demanded the cities which had been selected for them before the war as prizes for their valour, and the cities demanded that the whole of Italy should share the burden, or that the cities should cast lots with the other cities, and that those who gave the land should be paid the value of it; and there was no money. They came to Rome in crowds; young and old, women and children, to the forum and the temples, uttering lamentations, saying that they had done no wrong for which they, Italians, should be driven from their fields and their hearthstones, like people conquered in war. The
CAP. II

ός οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι συνήχθοντο καὶ ἐπεδάκρυνον, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἐνθυμηθείεν ὁὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σφίσιν αὐτοὶς καὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς πολιτείας τὸν τε πόλεμον γεγονότα καὶ τὰ ἐπι-

νίκια διδόμενα καὶ τὰς ἀποκίες συνισταμένας τοῦ μηδ' αὐθις ἀνακύψαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, παρ-

φακισμένων τοῖς ἄρχουσι μισθοφόροις ἐτοίμων, ἐς ὃ τι χρήζοιεν.

13. Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐξελογεῖτο τὴν ἀνάγκην, καὶ ἔδοκον, οὐδ' ὁς ἄρκεσιν. οὐδ' ἦρκον, ἀλλὰ ὁ στρατὸς καὶ τοὺς γείτοσιν ἐπέ-

βαίνει, πλέονα τοὺς διδομένων σφίσι περισσόμενων καὶ τὸ ἁμεῖνον ἐκλεγόμενοι. οὐδὲ ἐπιπλήσοντοι αὐτοῖς καὶ δωρομένου πολλὰ ἀλλα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπαύνοντο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὡς δεομένων σφῶν ἐς τὸ ἐγκράτες τῆς ἀρχῆς, κατεφρόνουν. καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ πενταετία παρώδενε, καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἡ χρεία συνήγη σαμμύοριμορς παρ' ἀλλήλων, τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμόσιν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, τῷ στρατῷ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ὃν ἔλαβον, ἡ τῶν δεδωκότων ἀρχή παραμένουσα. ὡς γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐ βεβαίως ἐπι-

κρατήσοντες, εἰ μὴ βεβαίως ἀρχοίν εἰ δόντες, ὑπερεμάχουν ἀπ' εὐνοίας ἀναγκαίου. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀλλα τοὺς ἀπορουμένους αὐτῶν ἐδωρεῖτο, δανειζόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὁ Καίσαρ. οἶθεν τὴν ἡγώμην ὁ στρατὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ πλείων ὑπήντα χάρις ὡς γῆν ἁμα καὶ πόλεις καὶ χρῆ-

ματα καὶ οἰκήματα δωρομένῳ καὶ καταβωμένῳ

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Romans mourned and wept with them, especially when they reflected that the war had been waged, and the rewards of victory given, not in behalf of the commonwealth, but against themselves and for a change of the form of government; that the colonies were established to the end that democracy should never again lift its head,—colonies composed of hirelings settled there by the rulers to be in readiness for whatever purpose they might be wanted.

13. Octavian explained to the cities the necessity of the case, but he knew that it would not satisfy them; and it did not. The soldiers encroached upon their neighbours in an insolent manner, seizing more than had been given to them and choosing the best lands; nor did they cease even when Octavian rebuked them and made them numerous other presents, since they were contemptuous of their rulers in the knowledge that they needed them to confirm their power, for the five years’ term of the triumvirate was passing away, and army and rulers needed the services of each other for mutual security. The chiefs depended on the soldiers for the continuance of their government, while, for the possession of what they had received, the soldiers depended on the permanence of the government of those who had given it. Believing that they could not keep a firm hold unless the givers had a strong government, they fought for them, from necessity, with good-will. Octavian made many other gifts to the indigent soldiers, borrowing from the temples for that purpose, for which reason the affections of the army were turned toward him, and the greater thanks were bestowed upon him both as the giver of the land, the cities, the money, and the houses, and as the
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. II

μὲν ἐπιφθόνως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφαιρομένων, φέροντι δὲ τὴν ὑβριν ἐς χάριν τοῦ στρατοῦ.

14. Ταύτα δὲ ὅρων ὁ τε ἀδελφὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἄντωνίου Δεύκιος Ἀντώνιος, ὑπατεύων τότε, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Φουλβία καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἑπιτροπεύων τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ Μάνιος, ἦν μὴ Καίσαρος δόξει τὸ ἔργον ἀπαν εἶναι μηδὲ μόνος αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀποφέροιτο μηδʼ ἐρήμος ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐνοίας στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο, τὰς κατοικίσεις ἑτέχναζον ἐς τὴν ἐπιθημίαν Ἀντωνίου διατρίβειν. οὐ δυνατοῦ δὲ φαινομένου διὰ τῶν στρατῶν ἐπελύοντα, τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τῶν Ἀντωνίου τελῶν ἡξίουν Καίσαρα παρὰ σφῶν λαβεῖν, τῆς μὲν συνθῆκης Ἀντωνίου μόνῳ Καίσαρι διδούσης, ἐπιμεμφόμενοι δὲ ὡς οὐ παρόντι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ ἐς τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ τὴν τε Φουλβίαν παράγοντες καὶ τὰ παιδία τὰ Ἀντωνίου, μᾶλλα ἐπιφθόνως ἱκέτευον μὴ περιουδεῖν Ἀντώνιον ἢ δόξης ἢ χάριτος τῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς ὕπηρεσίας ἀφαιρούμενον. ἦκμαζε δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε μάλιστα τὸ κλέος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ παρὰ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασὶ τὸ γὰρ ἔργον τὸ ἐν Φιλίπποις διὰ τὴν τότε Καίσαρος ἀρρωστίαν ἀπαν ἡγοῦντο Ἀντωνίου γεγονέναι. οὐ δὲ Καίσαρ οὐκ ἤγονε μὲν ἀδικοῦμενος ἐς τὰ συγκείμενα, εἶξε δὲ ἐς χάριν Ἀντωνίου. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς οἰκιστὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀντωνίου τέλεσι ἀπέφαινοι, οἱ δὲ οἰκισταὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἦν τι καὶ δοκοῖ εὐνούστεροι τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς αὐτοὺς εἶναι, συνεχόμουν ἐτὶ πλέον ἀδίκειν. ἄλλο δὴ πλήθος ἢν ἐτέρων πόλεων, αἱ

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object of denunciation on the part of the despoiled, and as one who bore this contumely for the army's sake.

14. Observing this, Lucius Antonius, the brother of Antony, who was then consul, and Fulvia, the wife of Antony, and Manius, his procurator during his absence, resorted to artifices to delay the settlement of the colonies till Antony should return home, in order that it might not seem to be wholly the work of Octavian, and that he might not reap the thanks alone, and Antony be bereft of the favour of the soldiers. As this evidently could not be done, on account of the haste of the soldiers, they asked that Octavian should take the colony leaders of Antony's legions from Antony's own friends, although the agreement with Antony yielded the selection to Octavian exclusively; they made it a matter of complaint that Antony was not present. They themselves brought Fulvia and Antony's children before the soldiers, and, in terms such as would cause ill feeling, besought them not to forget Antony or allow him to be deprived of the glory or the gratitude due to his service to them. The fame of Antony was then at its height, not only among the soldiers, but among all others. The victory of Philippi was considered wholly due to him, on account of Octavian's illness. Although Octavian was not ignorant that it was a violation of the agreement, he yielded as a matter of favour to Antony, and appointed friends of the latter as colony leaders for Antony's legions. These leaders, in order that they might appear more favourable to the soldiers than Octavian was, allowed them to commit still greater outrages. So there was another multitude from another group
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CAP. 11

ταῖς νενεμημέναις γειτονεύουσαι τε καὶ πολλὰ
πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀδικούμενοι κατεβόων
τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀδικωτέρας εἶναι τὰς ἀποικίσεις
τῶν προγραφῶν· τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ ἐχθροῖς, τὰς δὲ
ἐπὶ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσι γίγνεσθαι.

15. 'Ο δὲ Καίσαρ οὐκ ἦγγορε ἀδικομένους.
ἀμήχανα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ· οὐτε γὰρ ἀργύριον ἢν ἐς
τμήν τῆς γῆς δίδοσθαι τοῖς γεωργίς, οὐτε ἀνα-
βάλλεσθαι τὰ ἐπίνικια διὰ τοὺς ἐτὶ πολέμους,
Πομπηίου μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ κρατοῦντος καὶ
τὴν πόλιν κλέιοντος ἐς λιμόν, Ἀγνοβάρβου δὲ καὶ
Μούρκου στρατὸν καὶ ναῦς ἀλλὰς ἀγείροντων
ἀθυμοτέρων δὲ ἐς τὰ ἐσόμενα ὄντων τῶν στρα-
τιωτῶν, εἰ μὴ τὰ πρῶτα ἐπίνια κάβοιεν.

πολὺ δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ παροδεύειν σφίσιν ἱδή τὴν τῆς
ἀρχῆς πενταετίαν καὶ χρῆσιν αὕτης εὐνοίας
στρατοῦ· διόπερ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ὑβρεως ἢ κατα-
φρονήσεως ἐν τῷ τότε ἐκῶν ὑπερεώρα. ἐν γε τοῦ
τῷ θεάτρῳ, παρόντος αὐτοῦ, στρατιώτης ἀπορῶν
οἰκείας ἑδρας παρῆλθεν ἐς τοὺς καλομένους
ἰππεάς· καὶ ο μὲν δήμος ἐπεσημήνατο, καὶ ο
Καίσαρ τὸν στρατιώτην ἀνέστησεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς
ηγανάκτησε καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸν ἀποχωροῦντα
τοῦ θεάτρου τὸν στρατιώτην ἀπήτου, οὐχ ὀρώ-
μενον ἤγουμενοι διεφθάρθαι. ἐπελθόντα δὲ
ἐνόμιζον ἔκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου νῦν προαχῆραι

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of communities, neighbours of the dispossessed ones, CHAP.
suffering many injuries at the hands of the soldiers, II
and crying out against Octavian, saying that the
colonisation was worse than the proscription, since
the latter was directed against foes, while the former
was against unoffending persons.\footnote{Among the dispossessed were the poets, Vergil, Horace,
Tibullus, and Propertius.}

15. Octavian knew that these citizens were suffer-
ing injustice, but he was without means to prevent
it, for there was no money to pay the value of the
land to the cultivators, nor could the rewards to the
soldiers be postponed, on account of the enemies
who were still on foot. Pompeius ruled the sea and
was reducing the city to famine by cutting off sup-
plies: Ahenobarbus and Murcus were collecting a
new fleet and army: the soldiers would be less
zealous in the future if they were not paid for their
former service. It was a matter of much importance
that the five years' term of office was running out,
and that the good-will of the soldiers was needed to
renew it, for which reason he was willing to over-
look for the time being their insolence and arro-
gance. Once in the theatre when he was present,
a soldier, not finding his own seat, went and took
one in the place reserved for the knights. The
people pointed him out and Octavian had him re-
moved. The soldiers were angry. They gathered
around Octavian as he was going away from the
theatre and demanded their comrade, for, as they
did not see him, they thought that he had been put
to death. When he was produced before them they
supposed that he had been brought from prison, but
he denied that he had been imprisoned and related
ΑΠΙΑΙΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. II ἀρνούμενον τε καὶ τὰ γεγονότα διηγούμενον ψεύ-
δεσθαί διδαχθέντα ἔλεγον καὶ ἐλοιδόρουν ὡς τὰ
κοινὰ προδιδόντα; καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ
γενόμενον τοιόνδε ἦν.

16. Κεκλημένου δ’ ἐπὶ νέμησιν τότε γῆς ἐς τὸ
πεδίον τὸ Ἀρείου ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀφί-
κοντο, καὶ βραδύτερον αὐτοῖς τοῦ Καῖσαρος
ἐπιόντος ἡγανάκτουν. Νώνιος δὲ λοχαγὸς ἐπέ-
πλησσεν αὐτοῖς σὺν παρρησίᾳ, τὸ τε πρέπου
τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐς τὸν ἁρχοντα προφέρων καὶ
tὴν Καῖσαρος ἀσθένειαν, οὐχ ὑπερψίαν. οἱ δὲ
αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἔσκωπτον ὡς κόλακα,
πλέονος δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ διερεθίσματος γενο-
μένου ἐλοιδόρουν τε καὶ ἔβαλλον καὶ φεύγοντα
ἐδίωκον ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξαλόμενον ἐξειρύ-
σαντες ἐκανον καὶ ἔρριψαν, ἐνθα παροδεύσειν ὁ
Καῖσαρ ἐμελλεν. οἱ μὲν δὴ φίλοι τῷ Καῖσαρι
παρῆμον μηδὲ ἐπελθείν ἐς αὐτοὺς, ἀλλ’ ἐκ-
στήσαται μανιώδει φορᾷ. οὐ δ’ ἐπῆε μὲν, ἀναθρέ-
ψειν ἐτὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἡγοῦμενος τὸ μανιῶδες,
eἰ μὴ ἀφίκοιτο, καὶ τὸν Νώνιον ἰδὼν ἐξέκλινεν,
ὡς δὲ ὀλύγων ταῦτα δρασάντων ἐπεμέμφετο
cαὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἄλληλων φείδεσθαι παρῆμεν
cαὶ τὴν γῆν διένεμε, καὶ δωρεὰς αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄξιοις
ἐπέτρεπε καὶ τῶν οὐκ ἄξιων ἐνίοις ἐδίδοι παρὰ
γνώμην, μέχρι τὸ πλῆθος ἐκπλαγέν αὐτοῦ τῆς

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what had taken place. They said that he had been instructed to tell a lie and reproached him for betraying their common interests. Such was the example of their insolence in the theatre. ¹

16. Having been called, about that time, to the Campus Martius for a division of the land, they came in haste while it was still night, and they grew angry because Octavian delayed his coming. Nonius, a centurion, chided them with considerable freedom, urging decent treatment of the commander by the commanded, and saying that the cause of the delay was Octavian's illness, not any disregard of them. They first jeered at him as a sycophant; then, as the excitement waxed hot on both sides, they reviled him, threw stones at him, and pursued him when he fled. Finally he plunged into the river and they pulled him out and killed him and threw his body into the road where Octavian was about to pass along. So the friends of Octavian advised him not to go among them, but to keep out of the way of their mad career. But he went forward, thinking that their madness would be augmented if he did not come. When he saw the body of Nonius he turned aside. Then, assuming that the crime had been committed by a few, he chided them and advised them to exercise forbearance toward each other hereafter, and proceeded to divide the land. He allowed the meritorious ones to ask for rewards, and he gave to some who were not meritorious, contrary to their expectation. Finally the crowd were confounded; they repented and were ashamed of their

¹ Suetonius (Aug. 14) relates this incident in the theatre. He says that Octavian narrowly escaped with his life, and was saved only by the sudden appearance of the man safe and sound.
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CAP. II. Βαρώτητος μετενδεί καὶ ήδειτο καὶ κατεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐς τὸν Νάωνον ἀμαρτότας ήξίουν ἀνευρόντα κολάσαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν αὐτοὺς ἔφη καὶ κολάσειν αὐτῷ τῷ συνειδότι σφῶν μόνῳ καὶ τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν καταγνώσει. οἱ δὲ συγγνώμης τε ὁμοὶ καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δωρεῶν ἀξιωθέντες εὐθὺς αὐτὸν εὐφήμουν ἐκ μεταβολῆς.

17. Καὶ δύο μὲν εἰκόνες ἐκ πλεόνων αἴδε ἐστῶν τῆς τότε δυσαρχίας· αἴτιον δ' ἦν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀχειροτόντοι ήσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι ὡς ἐν ἐμφυλίοις καὶ οἱ στρατοὶ αὐτῶν οὐ τοὺς πατρίους ἔθεσιν ἐκ καταλόγου συνήγοντο οὐδ' ἐπὶ χρεία τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδὲ τῷ δημοσίῳ στρατευόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς συνάγουσιν αὐτοὺς μόνοις, οὐδὲ τούτοις ὑπὸ ἀνάγκη νόμων, ἀλλ' ὑποσχέσεσιν ἰδίαις, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πολεμίως κοινοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ἕξενοις, ἀλλὰ πολλάς καὶ ὠμοτύμωσι. τάδε γὰρ πάντα αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατιωτικὸν φόβον ἦξέλυεν, οὔτε στρατεύεσθαι νομίζοντας μᾶλλον ἢ βοηθεῖν οἰκείᾳ χάριτι καὶ γνώμῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἠγουμένους ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἱδία ἐπιδείκθαι. τὸ τε αὐτομολέιν, πάλαι Ὀμμαίος ἀδιάλλακτον ὄν, τότε καὶ δωρεῶν ἡξίουτο· καὶ ἔπρασσον αὐτὸ οἱ τὸ στρατὸ κατὰ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔνοι, νομίζοντες οὐκ αὐτομολίαν εἶναι τὴν ἐς τὰ ὁμοια μεταβολῆν. ὁμοίᾳ γὰρ δὴ πάντα ἦν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐτερα αὐτῶν ἐς ἔχθραις κοινὴ Ὀμμαίως ἀπεκέκρυτο· ἢ τὸν στρατηγὸν ὑπόκρισις μᾶ, ὡς ἀπάντων ἐς τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πατρίδι βοηθούντων, εὐχερεστέρους ἔποιει πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν 404
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

importunity; they condemned themselves and asked CHAP. him to search out and punish the slayers of Nonius. He replied that he knew them and would punish them only with their own guilty consciences and the condemnation of their comrades. The soldiers, thus honoured with pardon, rewards, and gifts, changed at once to joyful acclamations.

17. Let these two instances out of many serve as examples of the prevailing insubordination. The cause was that the generals, for the most part, as is usually the case in civil wars, were not regularly chosen; that their armies were not drawn from the enrolment according to the custom of the fathers, nor for the benefit of their country; that they did not serve the public so much as they did the individuals who brought them together; and that they served these not by the force of law, but by reason of private promises; not against the common enemy, but against private foes; not against foreigners, but against fellow-citizens, their equals in rank. All these things impaired military discipline, and the soldiers thought that they were not so much serving in the army as lending assistance, by their own favour and judgment, to leaders who needed them for their own personal ends. Desertion, which had formerly been unpardonable, was now actually rewarded with gifts, and whole armies resorted to it, including some illustrious men, who did not consider it desertion to change to a like cause, for all parties were alike, since neither of them could be distinguished as battling against the common enemy of the Roman people. The common pretence of the generals that they were all striving for the good of the country made desertion easy in the thought that
CAP. ώς πανταχοῦ τῇ πατρίδι βοηθοῦντας. ἢ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ συνιέντες ἐφεροῦν, ὡς οὐ νόμῳ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἀρχοντες ἢ ταῖς δωρεαῖς.

III

CAP. 18. Οὔτω μὲν ἐς στάσεις τότε πάντα, καὶ ἐς δυσαρχίαν τοῖς στασιάρχοις τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐτέραττο, τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην λεμός ἐπίεζεν, οὔτε τῆς θαλάσσης τι αὐτοῖς φερούσης διὰ Πομπήιον, οὔτε τῆς Ἰταλίας διὰ τοὺς πολέμους γεωργουμένης. δὲ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐς τοὺς στρατοὺς ἐδαπανάτο. ἐκλώπευόν τε οἱ πολλοὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ κλοπῆς ἐτι βιαίοτερον ἡνῶχλουν, καὶ ἡνῶχλουν ἀδεώς, καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐφέρετο. ὁ δὲ λεως ἀπέκλειε τὰ ἐργαστήρια καὶ τὰς ἁρχὰς ἐξανίστη, ὡς οὔτε ἁρχῶν οὔτε τεχνῶν χρήζοντες ἐν ἀπορούσῃ καὶ λῃστευομένῃ πόλει.

19. Λευκίῳ δὲ ὄντι δημοτικῷ καὶ δυσχεραίνοντι τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἁρχῆς, οὔτε ἐπὶ τῷ χρόνῳ παύσεσθαι νομιζομένῃ, προσκρούσματα ἐς τὸν Καῖσαρα ἐγιγνετο καὶ διαφοραλ μείζους· τοὺς τε γεωργοὺς, ὧς τῆς γῆς ἀφηροῦντο, ἴκετας γηγομένους τῶν δυνατῶν ἐκάστου μόνος ὑπεδέχετο καὶ βοηθήσεων ὑπισχυεῖτο, κακείνων ὑπισχυομένου ἄμυνειν, ἢ δὲ κελεύοι. ὃθεν αὐτῶν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ Ἀντωνίων κατεμέμφετο καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὃς ἀντιπράσοντα Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ Φουλβία ὃς πολεμοποιοῦντα ἐν 406
one could serve his country in any party. Under-standing these facts the generals tolerated this behaviour, for they knew that their authority over their armies depended on donatives rather than on law.

III

18. Thus, everything was torn in factions, and the armies indulged in insubordination toward the leaders of the factions, while famine began to afflict Rome, the supplies by sea being cut off by Pompeius, and Italian agriculture ruined by the wars. Whatever food was produced was consumed by the troops. Most of them committed robberies by night in the city. There were acts of violence worse than robbery which went unpunished, and these were supposed to have been committed by soldiers. The people closed their shops and drove the magistrates from their places as though there were no need of courts of justice, or of the useful arts, in a city oppressed by hunger and infested with brigands.

19. Lucius Antonius, who was a republican and ill affected toward the triumvirate, which seemed not likely to come to an end at the appointed time, fell into controversy, and even graver differences, with Octavian. He alone received kindly, and promised aid to the agriculturists who had been deprived of their lands and who were now the suppliants of every man of importance; and they promised to carry out his orders. So Antony’s soldiers, and Octavian also, blamed him for working against Antony’s interests, and Fulvia blamed him for stirring up war at an inopportune time, until Manius
APPIAN’S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. III

άκαίρῳ, μέχρι την Φουλβίαν ο Μάνιος πανούργως μετεδίδαξεν ώς εἰρηνευμένης μὲν τής Ιταλίας ἐπιμενεῖν 'Αντώνιον Κλεοπάτρα, πολεμομένης δ’ ἀφίξεσθαι κατὰ τάχος. τότε γὰρ δὴ γυναικὸς τι παθοῦσα ἡ Φουλβία τοῦ Λεύκιον ἐπέτριβεν ἐς τὴν διαφορὰν. ἔξιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κατοικίσεων, ἐπεμπεν ἐφισμένους αὐτῶς τοὺς Ἀντωνίου παῖδας ἀμα τῷ Λευκίῳ, ὡς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ὅφεις ὁ Καίσαρ ἐν τῷ στρατῷ πλέον ἔχοι. ἱππέων δὲ Καίσαρος ἐκτρέχοντων ἐπὶ τὴν Βρεττίων ἡμόνα, πορθομένην ὑπὸ Πομπηίου, δόξας ὁ Λεύκιος ἢ ὑποκρινόμενος ἐφ’ ἐαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἀντωνίου παῖδας τὸ δὲ ἱππικόν ἀπεστάλθαι, διέδραμεν ἐς τὰς Ἀντωνίου κατοικίας, συλλεγόμενος φρούραν τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τῷ στρατῷ διέβαλλεν ἐς ἀπιστίαν πρὸς Ἀντωνίου. ὁ δὲ ἀντεδίδασκεν αὐτούς, ὅτι αὐτῶ μὲν καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πάντα εἶναι φίλια καὶ κοινά, Λεύκιον δὲ υφ’ ἐτέρας γνώμης αὐτοῦς πολέμουσεν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀντιπράσσοντα τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἁρχῇ, δὴ ἢν οἱ στρατευόμενοι τὰς ἁποικίας εἴχονε βεβαιούσι καὶ τοὺς ἱππεὰς εἶναι καὶ νῦν ἐν Βρεττίοις τὰ ἐντεταλμένα φυλάσσοντας.

20. Ὡς οἱ ἡγεμόνες τοῦ στρατοῦ πυμθαυνόμενοι διήτησαν αὐτοῖς ἐν Τεανφι καὶ συνῆλλαξαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους τὰ πάτρια διοικεῖν μὴ κωλυόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, μηδενὶ δὲ γῆν ὑπὲρ τοὺς στρατευσαμένους ἐν Φιλίπποις ἐπινέμεσθαι, τὰ τε χρήματα τῶν δεδημευμένων καὶ τιμὰς τῶν ἐτὶ πιπρασκομένων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπ’ ἴσης διανέ- 408
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maliciously changed her mind by telling her that as long as Italy remained at peace Antony would stay with Cleopatra, but that if war should break out there he would come back speedily. Then Fulvia, moved by a woman's jealousy, incited Lucius to discord. While Octavian was leading out the last of the colonies she sent the children of Antony, together with Lucius, to follow him, so that he should not acquire too great éclat with the army by being seen alone. A body of Octavian's cavalry made an expedition to the coast of Bruttium, which Pompeius was ravaging, and Lucius either thought or pretended to think that it had been sent against himself and Antony's children. Accordingly, he betook himself to the Antonian colonies to collect a body-guard, and accused Octavian to the soldiers as being treacherous to Antony. Octavian replied that everything was on a friendly and harmonious footing between himself and Antony, and that Lucius was trying to stir up a war between them for another reason, in that he was working against the triumvirate, by virtue of which the soldiers had a firm hold upon their colonies, and that the cavalry were now in Bruttium executing the triumvirate's orders.

20. When the officers of the army learned these facts, they arbitrated between Lucius and Octavian at Teanum and brought them to an agreement on the following terms: That the consuls should exercise their office in the manner of the fathers and not be hindered by the triumvirs; that the land should be assigned only to those who fought at Philippi; that of the money derived from confiscated property, and of the value of that which was still to be sold, Antony's soldiers in Italy should have an equal share;
μεσθαί καὶ μηδέτερον αὐτῶν ἔτι καταλέγειν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, στρατεύοντο δὲ ἐπὶ Πομπήιον τῷ Καίσαρι δύο συμμαχεῖν τέλη παρὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἀνεφχθαι δὲ τᾶς Ἀλπείς τοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος πεμπομένοις ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ μὴ κωλύειν αὐτοὺς ἔτι Ἀσίνιον Πολλώνα, Λεύκιον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς δέ συνηλλαγμένοι ἀποθέσθαι τὴν φρούραν τοῦ σῶματος καὶ πολιτεύειν ἄδεως. τάδε μὲν ἦν, ὅ συνέθεντο ἄλληλοις διὰ τῶν ἤγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἐπράξθη γε μὴν αὐτῶν δύο μόνα τὰ τελευταῖα. καὶ Σαλουδίδηνος ἄκων αὐτῷ συμπεριῆλθε τᾶς Ἀλπείς.

21. Ὅ γυγνομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἡ βραδυνότων, ἔς Πραινεστὸν ἀνεχώρει Λεύκιος, δεδέναι λέγων Καίσαρα διὰ τὴν ἄρχην δορυφοροῦμενον, αὐτῶς ἀφρούρητος ὄν. ἀνεχώρει δὲ καὶ Φουλβία πρὸς Λέπιδον, ἥδη λέγουσα περὶ τοῦ τέκνου δεδέναι· τοῦτον γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος προπτίθηκεν, καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐγράφετο παρ’ ἐκατέρων Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ φίλοι μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπέμποντο, οὐ διδάξειν ἔμελλον περὶ ἐκάστων. καὶ οὐχ εὐρὸν ἑρευνῶμενος, ὁ τι σαφῶς ἀντεγράφετο αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ τῶν στρατῶν ἤγεμόνες συνομόσαντες κρίνειν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὕτις, ὃ δοκοίη ἰδίαιον εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐς αὐτὸ συναναγκάσειν, ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ ταῦτα τοὺς περὶ Λεύκιον. οὐ δεχαμένων δ’ ἐκείνων, ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπιφθόνως αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ τοῖς ἤγεμόσι τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἱωμαίοις ἄριστοις ἐπεμέφετο. οἱ 410
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that neither Antony nor Octavian should draw soldiers from Italy by conscription hereafter; that two of Antony's legions should serve with Octavian in the campaign against Pompeius; that the passes of the Alps should be opened to the forces sent by Octavian into Spain, and that Asinius Pollio should not further interfere with them; that Lucius should be satisfied with those conditions, should dispense with his body-guard, and administer his office fearlessly. Such was the agreement which they made with each other through the influence of the officers of the army. Of these only the two last were carried into effect, Salvidienus crossing the Alps with him, but unwillingly.

21. As the other conditions were not carried into effect, or were delayed, Lucius departed to Praeneste, saying that he was in fear of Octavian, who, by virtue of his office, had a guard, while he himself was unprotected. Fulvia went there to meet Lepidus, saying now that she had fears for her children. She used him for a pretext this time instead of Octavian. Both of them wrote these things to Antony, and friends were sent to him with the letters, who were to give him particulars about each complaint. Although I have searched, I have not been able to find any clear account of what Antony wrote in reply. The officers of the armies bound themselves by an oath to act as umpires again between their magistrates, to decide what was right, and to coerce whichever should refuse to obey the decision; and they summoned Lucius and his friends to attend for this purpose. These refused to come, and Octavian reproached them in invidious terms to the officers of the army and in the presence of the optimates of

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Δοὺς εξέθεον ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον καὶ παρεκάλουν οἰκτείραι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, δέξασθαι δὲ κοινῷ νόμῳ τὴν κρίσιν ἢ ἐπὶ σφῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γενέσθαι.

22. Αἰδουμένου δὲ τοῦ Λευκίου τὰ τε λεγόμενα καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας, ὁ Μάνιος μάλα θρασέως ἐφη τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον οὐδὲν ἄλλ’ ἢ χρήματα μόνα ἰσορροπεῖν ἐν ξένους ἀνδράσι, τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὰ ἐπίκαιρα τῆς Ἰταλίας ταῖς θεραπείαις προκαταλαμβάνειν· τὴν τε γὰρ Κελτικὴν Ἀντωνίῳ πρὸ τερον δεδομένην ἐλευθεροῦν μετ’ ἐξαπάτης Ἀντωνίου, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν σχεδὸν ἄπασαν ἀντὶ μόνων ὀκτωκαῖδεκα πόλεων τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις καταγράφειν, τέσσαριν τε καὶ τριάκοντα τέλεσθε ἀντὶ ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι τῶν συμμαχησάντων ἐπινέμειν ὡς γῆν μόνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρήματα, συλλέγοντα μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ Πομπήιον, ἐφ’ ὃν οὐδὲ πω παρατάττεται λιμωτικοῦσα διὰ τῆς πόλεως, διαίροντα δὲ τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐς θεραπείαιν κατὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὰ δεδημευμένα οὔ πεπράσκουν μᾶλλον ἢ διαρρούμενον αὐτοῦ. χρῆναι δὲ, εἰ τῷ ὅτι εἰρηνεύσεις ἔθελοι, τῶν μὲν ἢ δι’ ἰδικημένων ὑποσχείνοι λόγου, καὶ δὲ τὸ μέλλον, ἀν κοινῇ βουλευμένωι δοκῇ, μόνα πράσσειν. οὕτω μὲν θρασέως ὁ Μάνιος ἦσθιον μήτε τὸν Καίσαρά τινος εἶναι κύριον ἔργων μήτε τὴν Ἀντωνίου συνθήκην βέβαιον, ὥρισμένου τῶν ἐγκεχειρισμένων ἐκάτερον αὐτοκράτορα εἶναι καὶ τὸ
Rome. The latter hastened to Lucius and implored him to have pity on the city and on Italy, torn by the civil wars, and to consent that by common agreement the decision should rest with themselves or with the officers.

22. Although Lucius had respect for the speakers and for what they said, Manius boldly declared that while Antony was doing nothing but collecting money from foreigners, Octavian was, by his favours, preoccupying the affections of the army and the desirable places in Italy; for that defrauding Antony he had freed Cisalpine Gaul, which had previously been given to Antony; that he had assigned to the soldiers almost the whole of Italy instead of the eighteen cities; that, instead of the twenty-eight legions that had participated in the battle, he had admitted thirty-four to a share of the lands and also of the money from the temples, which he had collected on the pretext of fighting Pompeius, against whom he had done nothing as yet, although the city was oppressed by famine; that he had distributed this money in order to curry favour with the soldiers, to the prejudice of Antony, and that the property of the proscribed had been not so much sold as given to the soldiers outright; and, finally, that if he really wanted peace he should give his account for what he had already done, and for the future do only what should be agreed upon in common. Thus arrogantly did Manius proclaim his views, implying that Octavian could not do anything by his own authority and that his agreement with Antony was of no validity, although it provided that each should have absolute power over the affairs committed to him, and that each should ratify what
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ΚΑΠ. ΙΠ. πρασόμενον ὑπὸ ἄλληλων εἶναι κύριον. πανταχόθεν οὐν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἑώρα πολεμησείοντας αὐτοὺς, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτῶν ἐκάτεροι.

23. Δύο δὲ στρατοῦ τέλη τὰ ἐσ' Ἀγκώνα πόλιν ὕψισμένα, Καῖσαρι τε ὅντα πατρίδα καὶ ἐστρατευμένα Ἀντωνίῳ, τῆς τε ἰδίας παρασκευῆς αὐτῶν πυθόμενοι καὶ τῆν εἰς ἐκάτερον σφῶν οἰκείοτητα αἰδούμενοι, πρέσβεις ἔπεσαν ἐς Ῥώμην, οἱ ἐμελλον ἐκατέρων ἢ διαλύσεις δείησθαι. Καῖσαρος δ' αὐτοῖς εἰπόντος οὐκ Ἀντωνίῳ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Λευκίου πολεμεῖσθαι, συμβαλόντες οἱ πρέσβεις τοῖς ἤγειμοι τοῦδε τοῦ στρατοῦ, κουτὶ πάντες ἐς Λευκίου ἐπρέσβευον, ἄξιοντες αὐτὸν ἢ δίκην Καῖσαρι συνελθεῖν δῆλον τε ἦσαν, δ' πράξειν ἐμελλον, ει μὴ τὴν κρίσιν ὑποδέχοιτο. δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν ἄμφι τῶν Λευκίου, χωρίον τε ὄριστο τῇ δίκῃ Γάβιοι πόλει ἐν μέσῳ Ῥώμης τε καὶ Πραινεστοῦ, καὶ συνέδριον τοῖς κρίνουσιν ἐγένετο καὶ βῆματα ἐν μέσῳ δύο τοῖς ἔρουσιν ὡς ἐν δίκῃ. πρότερος δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔλθων ἰπτεάς ἐπεμψεν ἐς τὴν πάροδον τοῦ Λευκίου, ἐρευνησομένως ἅρα, μή τίς ποθεῖ ὀρφῶν ἐνέδρα. καὶ οἱ ἰπτέες αἴδε ἐτέρους ἰπτεύσι τοῦ Λευκίου, προδρόμοις ἅρα ἢ καὶ τοῖς κατασκόποις, συμβαλόντες ἐκτεινάν τινας αὐτῶν. καὶ ἀνεχώρησε δείσας ὁ Λεύκιος, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἐπιβουλήν· καλούμενος τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἴγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ, παραπέμψεις αὐτὸν ὑπισχυνομένων, οὐκέτι ἐπείθετο.

24. Οὐτοὶ μὲν ἦσαν αἱ διαλύσεις ἀπρακτοὶ, καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκεσαν καὶ διαγράμμασιν ἦδη πικροῖς 414
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was done by the other. When Octavian saw that they were everywhere preparing for war, each side made similar preparations.

23. Two legions of the army which had been colonised at Ancona and which had served under the elder Caesar and under Antony, hearing of the respective preparations for war, and being moved by friendship for each of them, sent ambassadors to Rome to beseech them both to come to an agreement. Octavian replied that he was not making war against Antony, but that Lucius was making war against him. The ambassadors then united with the officers of this army in a common embassy to Lucius asking him to submit his controversy with Octavian to a tribunal; and they made it plain what they would do if he should not accept the decision. Lucius and his friends accepted the proposal, and fixed the place for the trial at Gabii, a city midway between Rome and Praeneste. A council-chamber was prepared for the arbiters, and two platforms for the speakers in the centre, as in a regular trial. Octavian, who arrived first, sent some horsemen along the road by which Lucius was to come, in order to find out whether any stratagem was discoverable. These met certain horsemen of Lucius, either his advance guard or men spying like the others, and as the two parties came into collision killed some of them. Lucius retreated, saying that he was afraid of being entrapped, and, although recalled by the officers of the army, who promised to escort him, he could not be persuaded to come again.

24. Thus the negotiations came to nothing, and Octavian and Lucius resolved upon war and issued proclamations even now full of bitterness against each

The negotiations are fruitless
κατ’ ἀλλήλων ἐχρώντο. στρατὸς δὲ ἦν Δευκίω
μὲν ὀπλιτῶν ἔξ τέλη, ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν
ἔλθων ἐστράτευσε, καὶ τὰ Ἀντωνίου ἐνδεκα ἔτερα,
ὅων ἐστρατήγηε Καληνός, σύμπαντα ταύτα ἀνα
τὴν Ἰταλίαν. Καίσαρι δὲ ἐν μὲν Καπύη τέσσαρα
ἣν τέλη, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν αἳ στρατηγίδες, ἐξ δὲ
ἔτερα Σαλουδηνίου ἤγεν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας. καὶ χρήματα
ἣν Δευκίω μὲν ἔξ ἐθνῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντωνίων οὖ
πολεμοῦμένων, Καίσαρι δὲ, ἀ εἰλήχει, πάντα χωρὶς
Σαρδοὺς ἐπολεμεῖτο, ὅθεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐδανεῖ-
ζέτο, σὺν χάριτι ἀποδώσεων ὑπισχυόμενος, ἀπὸ
τῇ Ῥώμης ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀντιόυ καὶ
Δανουβίου καὶ Νεμούς καὶ Τίβυρος, ἐν αἷς μάλιστα
πόλεις καὶ νῦν εἰσὶ θησαυρὸι χρημάτων ἱερῶν
δαφιλείς.

25. Τετάρακτο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας
ἐξω. Πομπήιος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν προγραφῶν καὶ
κατοικίσεων τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῆς τῆς Δευκίου
διαφορᾶς ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἦρτο. οἱ
γὰρ περὶ σφῶν δεδομένα ἔτα ἄντα ἀφαιρόμενοι
ἢ τὴν πολιτείαν ὅλως ἀποστρεφόμενοι ἐς αὐτὸν
ἐχώρουν μάλιστα· καὶ ἡ ἄλλη νεώτης ἀρμηνευὴ
στρατεύσθαι διὰ τὰ κέρδη καὶ ὑδὲν ἱγούμενοι
diapherein, ὡς ὅταν στρατεύονται, Ὀμπάιος παν-
taxou συστρατευόμενοι, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν Πομ-
pηίου ἐχώρουν ὡς δικαιότερα αἱρόμενον. γεγέ-
νητὸ τῇ πλουσίοις ἐκ τῆς θαλασσίου λείας καὶ ναὐς
eἰχὲ πολλὰς καὶ πληρώματα ἐνετῆς. Μοῦρκός
τε ἅλκετο αὐτῷ δύο ἄγων στρατοῦ τέλη καὶ
tοξότας πεντακοσίους καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ
other. The army of Lucius consisted of six legions of infantry, which he commanded by virtue of his consulship, and eleven others belonging to Antony, which were under the command of Calenus; these were all in Italy. Octavian had four legions at Capua and his praetorian cohorts about his person. Salvidienus was leading six other legions to Spain.\footnote{The text says "from Spain," but this is obviously an error, perhaps Appian's own. See c. 27 below.} Lucius had supplies of money from Antony's provinces where peace prevailed. But war was raging in all the provinces that had fallen to the lot of Octavian except Sardinia,\footnote{There is perhaps a gap in the text here.} for which reason he borrowed money from the temples, promising to return it with thanks—from the Capitoline temple at Rome, from those of Antium, of Lanuvium, of Nemus,\footnote{Near Aricia.} and of Tibur, in which cities there are to-day the most abundant stores of consecrated money.

25. The affairs of Octavian were in disorder outside of Italy also. For Pompeius, by reason of the proscription, the colonising of the soldiers, and these dissensions with Lucius, had gained much in reputation and power. Those who feared for their safety, or had been despoiled of their property, or who utterly abhorred the form of government, mostly went and joined him. Young men, also, eager for military service for the sake of gain, who thought that it made no difference under whom they served, since all service was Roman service, rather preferred to join Pompeius as representing the better cause. He had become rich by sea-robbery and had a numerous fleet and full crews. Murcus joined him with two legions of soldiers, 500 archers, a large
CAP. ΙΙΙ ναῦς ὁγδοήκοντα· καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἐκ Κεφαληνίας μετεπέμπετο. Ὅθεν τισὶ δοκεῖ τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπελθὼν εὐμαρώς ἀν τῆς Ἰταλίας κρατῆσαι, ὕπο τε λιμοῦ καὶ στάσεως διεφθαρμένης καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀφοράσης.

26. Ἀλλὰ Πομπηίῳ μὲν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οὐκ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀμύνεσθαι μόνον ἐδόκει, μέχρι καὶ τούτω ἤσσων ἡγένετο· ἐν δὲ Διβύης Σέξτιος, ὑπαρχὸς Ἀντωνίου, παρεδόθηκε μὲν ἄρτι τοῦ στρατοῦ, ὑπὸ Δευκίου κεκελευσμένος, Φάγγωνι τῷ Καίσαρος, ἐπισταλεῖν αὐθίς ἀναλαμβάνειν αὐτὸν οὖς ἀποδιδόντι τῷ Φάγγωνι ἐπολέμει, συναγαγὼν τινας τῶν ἀπεστρατευμένων καὶ Διβύων πλήθος ἄλλο καὶ ἔτερους παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων. ἤτηθέντων δὲ τῶν κερών ἐκατέρω καὶ ληφθέντων τῶν στρατοπέδων, οἱ Φάγγων ἡγούμενοι ἐκ προδοσίας τάδε παθεῖν αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο. καὶ Διβύης μὲν αὐθίς οἱ Σέξτιοι ἐκατέρας ἐκράτει. Βόκχου δὲ τῶν Μαυρουσίων βασιλέας Δεύκιος ἔπεισε πολεμεῖν Καρχήνα τῷ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐπιτροπεύοντι τῷ Καίσαρι. Αἰγυπτιακὸς τε ἐβδομήκοντα ναυὶ καὶ στρατῷ δύο τέλεσι καὶ τοξόταις καὶ σφενδονήταις τισὶ καὶ ψιλοῖς καὶ μονομάχοις περιπλέον τῶν Ἰόνιων ἔπορθε τὰ τοῖς τρισὶν ἀνδράσιν ὑπήκοα, ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπιπλεύσας τῶν Καίσαρος τρήρων τὰς μὲν εἶλε, τὰς δὲ ἐνέπρεπε, καὶ τοὺς Βρεντεσίους ἐς τὰ τείχη κατέκλεισε καὶ τὴν χώραν προνύμουεν.

27. Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον στρατωτῶν τέλος ἐπεμπέ καὶ Σαλονιδηνῶν κατὰ στουδίν ἐκ τῆς ἡς Ἰβηρίαν ὁδοῦ μετεκάλει. τοὺς τε στρατολογήσοντας σφίσσω ἀνά τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ
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sum of money, and eighty ships; he also sent for the other army from Cephalenia. Accordingly, some persons think that if Pompeius had then invaded Italy, which was wasted with famine and civil strife, and was looking for him, he might easily have mastered it.

26. But Pompeius lacked wisdom. His idea was not to invade, but only to defend, and this he did till he failed in that also. In Africa Sextius, Antony's lieutenant, had just delivered his army, in pursuance of an order from Lucius, to Fango, a lieutenant of Octavian. He was ordered to resume the command, and as Fango would not relinquish it he collected a force composed of retired veterans, a miscellaneous crowd of Africans, and auxiliaries of the native princes, and made war on him. Fango, having been defeated on both wings and having lost his camp, thought that he had been betrayed, and committed suicide; and Sextius again became master of the two African provinces. Bocchus, king of Mauretania, at the instance of Lucius, made war on Carinas, who was Octavian's procurator in Spain. Ahenobarbus, who was patrolling the Adriatic with seventy ships, two legions of soldiers, and a force of archers and slingers, light-armed troops and gladiators, devastated the regions subject to the triumvirs. He sailed against Brundusium, captured some of the triremes of Octavian, burned others, shut the inhabitants up in their walls, and plundered their territory.

27. Octavian sent a legion of soldiers to Brundusium and hastily recalled Salvidienus from his march to Spain. Both Octavian and Lucius sent recruiting officers throughout Italy, who had skir-
Καίσαρ καὶ ὁ Δεύκιος περιεπέμπον πείραι τε τούτων τῶν ξεναγῶν ἦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους βραχύ-τεραι καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐνεδραὶ πολλάκις. ἦ δὲ εὖνοια τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐς τὸν Δεύκιον παρὰ πολὺ ἔποιεί, ὡς ὑπὲρ σφῶν τοῖς κληρουχομένοις πολεμοῦντα. καὶ οὐχ αἱ καταγραφόμεναι τῷ στρατῷ πόλεις ἐτὶ μόναι, ἀλλ' ἡ Ἰταλία σχεδὸν ἀπασα ἀνίστατο, φοβουμένη τὰ ὅμοια· τοὺς τε τῷ Καίσαρι κιχραμένους ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἐκβάλλοντες ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἦ ἁναιροῦντες, τὰ τείχη σφῶν διὰ χειρὸς εἰχον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δεύ-κιον ἔχωρον. ἔχωρον δὲ καὶ οἱ κατοικιζόμενοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα, ὡς ἐς σικεῖον ἥδη πόλεμον ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐκάτεροι διαρροῦμεν. 28. Καὶ τώνδε γιγαντιαῖοι ὁ Καίσαρ ὅμως ἐτὶ τὴν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς καλομένους ἑπεῖσας συναγαγὼν ἔλεγεν ὅτι· "καταγινώσκομαι μέν, εὐ όλια, ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Δεύκιον, οὐκ ἀμυνόμενος αὐτούς, εἰς ἀσθένειαν ἢ ἀτομμίαν, ἃ καὶ νῦν μου καταγινώσκονται διὰ τὴν τῆς σύνοδος ὡμῶν· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἔρρωται μὲν ὁ στρατός, ὡς τε μοι συναδικεῖται τὴν κληρονομίαν ἀφαιροῦμενος ὑπὸ Δεύκιον καὶ ὁ ἄλλος, διὸ ἐχὼ, ἔρρωται δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πλῆθι τῆς γνώμης μόνης. οὐ γὰρ ἦδυ μοι πολέ-μεῖν ἐμφυλίως πολέμους χωρίς ἀνάγκης βαρείας, οὐδὲ καταχρῆσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς ἐτὶ λοιποῖς κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων, καὶ μᾶλιστα τοῦτε ὑμῖν ἐμφυλίων οὐκ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ὑμῖν ἡ Ῥάκης ἀκουσθη-σομένου, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γενησομένου, ἵνα πόσα χρή χωρίς τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἀνθρῶν κακοπαθῆσαι, γιγαντιαῖη στάδιον ἡμῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ διὰ τάδε ὁκνῶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι μαρτύρομαι μηδὲν.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

mishes with each other of more or less impor
t and frequent ambuscades. The good-will of
Italians was of great service to Lucius, as they be
lieved that he was fighting for them against the new
colonists. Not only the cities that had been desig
nated for the army, but almost the whole of Italy,
rose, fearing like treatment. They drove out of the
towns, or killed, those who were borrowing money
from the temples for Octavian, manned their walls,
and joined Lucius. On the other hand, the
colonised soldiers joined Octavian. Each one in
both parties took sides as though this were his
own war.

28. Though these events were taking place,
Octavian nevertheless convoked the Senate and the
equestrian order and addressed them as follows: "I
know very well that I am accused by Lucius and his
friends of weakness and want of courage because I
do not fight them, and that I shall be still further
accused on account of my calling you together. But
I have strong forces who have suffered wrong in
common with me, both those who have been dis-
possession of their colonies by Lucius and the others
whom I have in hand; and I am strong in all other
respects except only in the purpose to fight. I am
not fond of fighting in civil wars except under dire
necessity, or of wasting the remainder of our citizens
in conflicts with each other; least of all in this civil
war, whose horrors will not be announced to us from
Macedonia or Thrace, but will take place in Italy
itself, which, if it becomes the field of battle, must
suffer countless evils in addition to the loss of life.
For these reasons I hesitate. And now I do still protest
CAP. III

Ἀπείκειν ἨἈντώνιον μηδὲ ἀδικεῖσθαι πρὸς ὍἈντωνίον. ὡμᾶς δὲ ἔλεγξαί τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὀἰκίον τάδε δι' ὡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ συναλλάξαί μοι παρακαλῶ. καὶ εἰ μὴ πείθοντο μηδὲ νῦν, ἑκεῖνοι μὲν αὐτήκα δεῖξω τὰ μέχρι νῦν εὐβουλίαν, οὐ δεῖλαν οὖσαν, ὡμᾶς δὲ καὶ παρ' ὡμῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς ὍἈντωνίον ἄξιοι μάρτυρες εἶναι μοι καὶ συνιστασθαι διὰ τὴν ὑπεροψίαν Λευκίου.

29. Ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Καίσαρ. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἐς τὸ Πραινεστὸν ἔξετρεχον καὶ ὁ Λευκίος τοσόνδε εἶπεν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἡ ἴδι προειλήφασιν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ὑποκρίνεται, τέλος ἀρτί πέμψας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέστιον κωλύειν ὍἈντωνίον ἐπανόντα. ὁ δὲ Μάνιος καὶ ἑπιστολὴν ἐδείκνυε τοῦ ὍἈντωνίου, εἶτε πλασάμενος εἶτε ἀληθῆ, πολεμεῖν, εάν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν καθαιρῆ. ἐρωμένων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, εἰ καθαιροῦτο τῇ τῆς ἀξιώσεως ὍἈντωνίου, καὶ προκαλούμενον ἐς δίκην περὶ τοῦδε, ἐτερα αὐτοὶ πολλὰ ἐσοφίζετο ὁ Μάνιος, ἦσα οἱ μὲν ἀπήλθον ἀπρακτοί, καὶ οὐ συνήλθον ἐς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τῷ Καίσαρι, εἶτε καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἀπαγγείλας ἐκαστὸς εἶτε δι' ἐτέραν γνώμην εἶτε ὑπὸ αἴδους: ὁ δὲ τόλεμος ἀνέφηκτο, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἶξει, φύλακα τῆς ἩΡώμης Λέπιδου σὺν δύο τέλεσι καταλιπών. οὐ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τότε μάλιστα ἐπεδείκνυον οὐκ ἀρέσκεσθαι τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ ἐς γὰρ τὸν Λευκίον ἐχώρουν.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

that I do Antony no wrong, nor do I suffer any wrong from him, but I beseech you to reason with Lucius and his friends on your own account, and to bring them to a reconciliation with me. If you cannot even now persuade them, I shall presently show them that I have hitherto been moved by good-will, not by cowardice; and I ask you to be witnesses for me not only among yourselves, but also to Antony, and to sustain me on account of the arrogance of Lucius."

29. So spake Octavian. Thereupon some of his hearers went again to Praeneste. Lucius said to them merely, that both sides had already begun hostilities, that Octavian was practising deception; for he had lately sent a legion to Brundusium to prevent Antony from coming home. Manius showed also a letter of Antony's, either true or fictitious, saying that they should fight if anybody assailed his dignity. When the senators asked if anybody had assailed Antony's dignity, and urged Manius to submit that question to trial, he indulged in many other quibbles till they went away unsuccessful. Nor did they collectively bring any answer to Octavian, either because they had communicated it each for himself, or because they were ashamed, or for some other reason. The war broke out and Octavian set forth to take part in it, leaving Lepidus with two legions to guard Rome. Most of the aristocrats then most clearly showed, by joining Lucius, that they were not pleased with the rule of the triumvirs.
30. Καὶ ἤν τὰ κεφαλαία τοῦ πολέμου τοιάδε. Λευκίου μὲν δὴ δύο τέλη περὶ "Αλβην ἐστασίασε καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐκβαλόντα ἐσ ἀπόστασιν ἔχορει· ἐπειγομένων δὲ ἐσ αὐτὰ Ἰαύσαρος τε καὶ Λευκίου, φθάσας τῶν Καίσαρα ὁ Λεύκιος ἀνεσώσατο αὐτὰ χρήματι τε πόλλοις καὶ ὑποσχέσεις μεγάλαις. Φούρνιου δὲ ἄλλου στρατῶν ἁγοντός τῷ Λευκίῳ, ὁ Καίσαρ ἐξῆπτε τῆς οὐραγίας· ἐσ δὲ λόφον ἀναδραμόντι τῷ Φούρνιῳ καὶ νυκτὸς ἐσ ὀμογνώμονα πόλιν ἐπειγομένῳ Σεντίαν, νυκτὸς μὲν οὐχ ἔστετο ὁ Καίσαρ ἔνεδραν ὑποπτεύων, ἡμέρας δὲ τῇν τε Σεντίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τῷ τοῦ Φούρνιου στρατόπεδον ἐποικίρκει. Λεύκιος δὲ ἐσ Ὁρμήν ἐπειγόμενος τρεῖς μὲν τάξεις προύπεμψεν, αἱ νυκτὸς ἔλαβον ἐσ τὴν πόλιν ἐσδραμοῦσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν πολλῷ στράτῳ καὶ ἐπυκένατο καὶ μονομάχοις εἰπέτο. καὶ αὐτὸν Νωνίου τοῦ φύλακος τῶν πυλῶν δεξαμένου τε καὶ τὸν ὑφ αὐτῷ στράτων ἐγχειρίσατο, ὁ μὲν Λέπιδος ἐς Καίσαρα ἐφευγεν, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος Ὁρμαίοις ἐδημηγώρει, Καίσαρα μὲν καὶ Λέπιδον αὐτίκα δώσειν δίκην ἀρχῆς βιαίου, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτὴν ἐκόντα ἀποθήκησατο καὶ ὑπατεῖαν ἀλλάξεσθαι, νομιμοτέραν ἀρχὴν παρανόμον καὶ πάτριον ἀντὶ τῆς τυραννικῆς.

31. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε εἰπὼν, ᾦδομενόν ἀπάντων καὶ ἡγουμένων ἤδη λελύσθαι τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆν, αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προσαγορευθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἔχωρει καὶ στρατῶν ἠθροίζεν ἄλλων 424
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

IV

30. The following were the principal events of the war. A sedition broke out in two of Lucius' legions at Alba, which expelled their commanding officers and began to revolt. Both Octavian and Lucius hastened to them. Lucius arrived there first and kept them by a large donative and great promises. While Furnius was bringing a reinforcement to Lucius, Octavian fell upon his rearguard. Furnius took refuge on a hill and withdrew by night to Sentia, a city of his own faction. Octavian did not dare to follow by night, suspecting an ambush, but the next day he laid siege to Sentia and Furnius' camp together. Lucius, who was hastening toward Rome, sent forward three cohorts, which effected an entrance into the city clandestinely by night. He followed with his main army and some cavalry and gladiators. Nonius, who had charge of the gates, admitted him, and handed over to him the forces under his own command. Lepidus fled to Octavian. Lucius made a speech to the citizens, saying that he should visit punishment upon Octavian and Lepidus for their lawless rule, and that his brother would voluntarily resign his share of it and accept the consulship, exchanging an unlawful magistracy for a lawful one, a tyranny for the constitution of their fathers.

31. All were delighted with this speech, and thought that the government of the triumvirs was already ended. Lucius was saluted as imperator by the people. He marched against Octavian, and collected a fresh army from the cities colonized.
CAP. έκ τῶν ἀποκίδων Ἄντωνίου πόλεων καὶ αὐτὰς ἐκρατύνατο. αἱ δὲ δη ἐνυόλας μὲν ἦσαν Ἄντωνίῳ, Βαρβάτιος δὲ ὁ Ἄντωνίου ταμίας, Ἀντωνίῳ τι προσκρούσας καὶ διὰ ταῦτ’ ἑπανόμενως ἔλεγε πυθανόμενος τῶν Ἄντωνίου χαλεπαίνειν τοὺς πολεμοῦσι τῷ Καίσαρι κατὰ τῆς κοινῆς σφῶν δυναστείας. καὶ οἱ μὲν, ὅσοι μὴ τῆς ἔξαπάτησης ἤσθοντο τῆς Βαρβατίου, ἐσ τῶν Καίσαρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Δευκίου μετετίθεντο· ὁ δὲ Δεύκιος ὑπήντα Ἀλούσινην μετὰ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἐκ Κελτῶν ἑπανόμεντο. καὶ ἐπιτοῦ τῷ Ἀλούσινην Ἀσίνιος τε καὶ Ὀυντίδιος, Ἄντωνίου στρατηγοῖ καὶ οἶδε, κωλύοντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἴναι. Ἁγρίππας δὲ, φίλτατος Καίσαρι, δείσας ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλούσινην μὴ κυκλωθείν, Σοῦτριον κατέλαβε, χωρίον τι χρήσιμον τῷ Δευκίῳ, νομίσας τὸν Δεύκιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλούσινην περισπάσειν ἐφ’ ἐαυτὸν καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀλούσινην βοηθῆσειν, κατόπιν τοῦ Δευκίου γενόμενον. καὶ τάνδε μὲν, ὡς προσεδόκησεν ὁ Ἁγρίππας, ἐγίγνετο ἀπαντὰ· ὁ δὲ Δεύκιος ἀποτυχῶν ὄν ἐπενόει, πρὸς Ἀσίνιον καὶ Ὀυντίδιον ἤει, ἐνοχλοῦντων αὐτὸν ἐκατέρωθεν Ἀλούσινην τε καὶ Ἁγρίππαν καὶ φυλασσόντων, ὦτε μάλιστα περιλάβοιεν ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς.

32. Ἐκφανείσις δὲ παρ’ αὐτὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὁ Δεύκιος οὐ θαρρῶν ἀμφοτέρους ἐκατέρωθεν οὕσων ἐς χεῖρας ἴναι ἐς Περυσίαν παρῆλθεν, ἔχυρὰν πόλιν, καὶ παρ’ αὐτὴν ἐστρατοπέδευε, τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὀυντίδιον περιμένον. ὁμοὶ δ’ αὐτὸν τε καὶ τῆν Περυσίαν ὁ Ἁγρίππας καὶ ὁ Ἀλούσινην καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπελθὼν τρισὶ στρατοπέδους ἐκυκλώμενον.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

by Antony’s soldiers, and strengthened their fortifications. These colonies were well affected toward Antony. Barbatius, Antony’s quaestor, who had had some difficulty with him and was returning home for that reason, said, in answer to inquiries, that Antony was displeased with those who were making war on Octavian to the prejudice of their common sway: whereupon some, who were not aware of the deception practised by Barbatius, changed sides from Lucius to Octavian. Lucius put himself in the way of Salvidienus, who was returning to Octavian with a large army from Gaul. Asinius and Ventidius, also Antony’s generals, were following Salvidienus to prevent him from advancing. Agrippa, who was the closest friend of Octavian, fearing lest Salvidienus should be surrounded, seized Sutrium, a stronghold very useful to Lucius, expecting that he would turn Lucius from Salvidienus and draw him upon himself, and that Salvidienus, who would then be in the rear of Lucius, would assist him (Agrippa). It all turned out as Agrippa had anticipated. So Lucius, having failed of his undertaking, marched to join Asinius and Ventidius. Salvidienus and Agrippa harassed him on both sides, watching especially for an opportunity to catch him in the defiles.

32. When Lucius perceived their design he did not dare to come to an engagement with both of them closing in upon him; so he turned aside to Perusia, a strongly fortified city, and encamped near it, to wait there for Ventidius. Agrippa, Salvidienus, and Octavian advanced against him and against Perusia and enclosed them with three armies.
οι τῶν ἄλλων στρατῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκάλει πανταχόθεν κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς ἐπὶ τούτο δῆ λεεφαλαιον τοῦ πολέμου, ἐν δὲ Δεύκιον εἶχεν περιέλημμένων προύπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἑτέρους, ἐμποδῶν εἶναι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον ἐπισκέψειν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ σφῶν ὅκνων ἐπείγοντο, τὸν τε πόλεμον ἀποδοκιμάζοντες ὅλως καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου γνώμην οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς στρατιάς οὐ παρεύτε ἄλληλοι κατ’ ἀξίωσιν οὐδέτερος. ὁ δὲ Δεύκιος οὐτ’ ἐς μάχην ἦς τοῖς περικαθήμενοι, ἀμείνοι καὶ πλέοσιν οὕς καὶ γεγυμνασμένοις, νεοστράτευτον ἔχον τὸ πλέον, οὐτε ἐς ὁδοιπόροι, ἐνοχλησότων αὐτῶν ὁμοῦ τοσότῳ. Μάνιον δὲ ἐς τὸν Οὐεντίδιον καὶ Ἀσίνιον ἐπεμπεν, ἐπείγον αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν πολιορκουμένῳ Λευκίῳ, καὶ Τισιμνῷ μετὰ τετρακισχιλίων ἱππέων, λεγελατέω τὰ Καίσαρος, ἰνα ἀνασταῖν. αὐτὸς δὲ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν Περσίαν ὡς ἐν χυμάτα πόλει χειμάσων, εἰ δέοι, μέχρι τοῦς περὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον ἀφικέσθαι.

33. Καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτίκα μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀπαντᾷ τῷ στρατῷ τὴν Περσίαν ἀπετείχισε χάρακι καὶ τάφρων, πεντήκοντα καὶ ἔξι σταδίους περιστὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως λοφῶν καὶ σκέλη μακρὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Τίβεριν ἐκτείνων, ἵνα τι ἐς τὴν Περσίαν μὴ ἔσφεροτο. ἀντεπενεῖτο γε μὴ καὶ ὁ Δεύκιος, ἑτέροις ὁμολοίς χαρακώμασι καὶ τάφροις τὴν πέξαν χυμούμενος τοῦ λόφου. καὶ Φουλβία Οὐεντίδιον καὶ Ἀσίνιον καὶ Ἀτίλιον καὶ Καληνὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἦτευγε βοηθεῖν Λευκίῳ καὶ στρατῶν ἄλλον ἀγείρασα Πλάγκον ἐπεμπεν ἄγειν Λευκίῳ. Πλάγκος μὲν δὴ τέλος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς Ρώμην 428.
and Octavian summoned reinforcements in haste from all directions, as against the vital point of the war, where he had Lucius surrounded. He sent others forward to hold in check the forces of Ventidius, who were approaching. The latter, however, hesitated on their own account to advance, as they altogether disapproved of the war and did not know what Antony thought about it, and on account of mutual rivalry were unwilling to yield to each other the military chieftainship. Lucius did not go out to battle with the forces surrounding him, because they were better and more numerous and well drilled, while his were for the most part new levies; nor did he resume his march, since so many enemies were on his flanks. He sent Manius to Ventidius and Asinius to hasten them to the aid of the besieged Lucius, and he sent Tisienus with 4000 horse to pillage the enemy's supplies, in order to force him to raise the siege. Lucius entered within the walls of Perusia so that he might winter in a strong place, if necessary, until Ventidius and Asinius should arrive.

33. Octavian, with all haste and with his whole army, drew a line of palisade and ditch around Perusia fifty-six stades in circuit, on account of the hill on which it was situated; he extended long arms to the Tiber, that nothing might be introduced into the place. Lucius on his part built a similar line of countervallation, thus fortifying the foot of the hill. Fulvia urged Ventidius, Asinius, Ateius, and Calenus to hasten from Gaul to the assistance of Lucius, and collected reinforcements, which she sent to Lucius under the lead of Plancus. Plancus destroyed one of Octavian's legions, which
APPIAN’S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. IV οδεύου διέφθειρεν Ἀσινίου δὲ καὶ Οὐεντίδιου σὺν μὲν ὁκνὺ καὶ διχονοία τῆς Ἀντωνίου γνώμης, διὰ δὲ Φουλβίαν ὄμως καὶ διὰ Μάνιον ἐς τῶν Λεύκιον ἵοντων καὶ τοὺς ἀποκλείοντας βιαζομένων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπήρτα σὺν Ἀγρίππᾳ, φυλακήν τῆς Περσίας καταλαμών. οἳ δὲ οὔτε πώ συμβαλόντες ἀλλήλους οὔτε σὺν προθυμίᾳ χωροῦντες, ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Ῥάβενναν, ὁ δ’ ἐς Ἀρίμιον, ὁ δὲ Πλάγκος ἐς Σπωλήτιον συνέφυγον. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν ἔκαστῳ στρατὸν ἐπιστήσας, ἦν μὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνέλθουσιν, ἐς τὴν Περσίαν ἔτανήλθε καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς τὰς τάφρους προσεστάυρον καὶ ἐδιπλασίαξε τὸ βάθος καὶ πλάτος ὡς τριάκοντα πόδας ἀμφότερα εἶναι, τὸ τε περιτείχισμα ὑψον καὶ πύργους ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἔφευγος δὲ ἐξῆκοντα ποδῶν ἑστὶν χιλίων καὶ πεντακόσιοι, καὶ ἐπάλξεις τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ πυκναὶ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πάσα διμέτωπος, ἐς τε τοὺς πολιορκομένους καὶ εἰ τις ἔξωθεν ἐπίοι. ἐγίγνετο δὲ ταῦτα σὺν πείραις πολλαις καὶ μάχαις, ἀκοντίσας μὲν ἀμεινώνων ὀντων τῶν Καίσαρος, συμπλέκεσθαι δὲ τῶν Λεύκιον μονομάχων καὶ πολλοὺς ἐκτείνουσιν συμπλεκόμενοι.

34. Ὡς δὲ ἐξείργαστο πάντα τῷ Καίσαρι, λιμὸς ἦπτε τοῦ Λευκίου, καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἠκμαζὲν ἀγρίως ἀτε μηδὲν αὐτῶν μηδὲ τῆς πόλεως προπαρεκασμένης. ὥν ὁ Καὶσαρ αἰσθόμενος ἀκριβεστέρας τὰς φυλακὰς ἐποίει. νουμηνίας δὲ ἔτους ἔς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν οὕσης, φυλάξας ὁ Λεύκιος τὴν ἑορτήν ὡς ἀμελείας τοῖς πολεμίοις.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

was on the march to Rome. While Asinius and Ventidius were proceeding, at the instance of Fulvia and Manius, to the relief of Lucius (but with hesitation and doubt as to Antony's intention), in order to raise the blockade, Octavian and Agrippa, leaving a guard at Perusia, threw themselves in the way. The former, who had not yet formed a junction with each other and were not proceeding with much alacrity, retreated—Asinius to Ravenna and Ventidius to Ariminum. Plancus took refuge in Spoletium. Octavian stationed a force in front of each, to prevent them from forming a junction, and returned to Perusia, where he speedily strengthened his investment of the place and doubled the depth and width of his ditch to the dimensions of thirty feet each way. He increased the height of his wall and built 1500 wooden towers on it, sixty feet apart. He had also strong redoubts and every other kind of intrenchment, with double front, to besiege those within and to repel assaults from without. While these works were under construction there were frequent sorties and fights, in which the forces of Octavian had the advantage in the use of missiles, and the gladiators of Lucius were better at hand-to-hand fighting. So these killed many at close quarters.

34. When the work of Octavian was finished famine fastened upon Lucius, and the evil grew more pressing, since neither he nor the city had made preparations beforehand. Knowing this fact Octavian kept the most vigilant watch. On the day preceding the Calends of January, Lucius thought to avail himself of the holiday, under
αιτιαν ἐξήθορε νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας αὐτῶν ὡς διεκπαίσων αὐτοὺς καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπαξόμενος ἔτέραν πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ πολλαχοῦ. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ πλησίον ἐφεδρεύοντος τέλους καὶ τοῦ Καί-
σαρος αὐτοῦ σὺν ταῖς στρατηγίσει σπείραις ἐπι-
δραμόντων, ὁ Λεύκιος μᾶλα προθύμως ἀγωνιζό-
μενός ἀνεώσθη. τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν ἦμερὼν ἐν Ἡρώμη, 
τοῦ σίτου τοῖς στρατευμένοις φυλασσομένου, τὸ 
πλῆθος τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῇ νίκῃ φαινομένως ἐπηρώτω 
καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐστρέχοντες ἐπὶ ἑρεύνη σίτου, 
ὃσα εὑροιεν, ἤρπαζον.

35. Οἱ δὲ ἄμφι τὸν Ὀυντίδιον αἰδούμενοι λιμῷ 
κάμνοντα Λεύκιον περιορᾶν, ἐχώρον ἐς αὐτῶν 
ἀπαντες, βιαζόμενοι τοὺς Καίσαρος πανταχόθεν 
αὐτοὺς περικειμένους καὶ ἐνοχλοῦντας. ὑπαν-
τών τῶν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀγρίππου τε καὶ Ἀλονιδηνὸ 
μετὰ δυνάμεως ἔτι πλείονος, ἐδείσαν, μὴ κυκλο-
θείειν, καὶ ἐς Φουλκίνιον τι χωρὶς ἔξεκλιναν, 
ἔξηκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν στάδιον τῆς Περσίας 
διεστηκός, ἐνθα αὐτοὺς τῶν ἄμφι τῶν Ἀγρίππα 
περικαθημένων πυρὰ πολλὰ ἄγεταν, σύμβολα τῶ 
Λευκίῳ. καὶ γνώριμη ἐποιοῦντο Ὀυντίδιος μὲν καὶ 
Ἀσίνιος βαδίζειν καὶ ὃς μακούμενοι, Πλάγκο 
δὲ ἐσεσθαί μέσους Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ἀγρίππου, 
χρῆναι δὲ ἔτι καραδοκεῖν τὰ γυνόμενα καὶ 
ἐκράτει λέγων ὁ Πλάγκος. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Περσίᾳ τὰ 
μὲν πυρὰ ἱδόντες ἤδουτο, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν βραδυ-
νότων εἶκασαν καὶ τούσδε ἐνοχλεῖσθαι καὶ 
παυσαμένου τοῦ πυρὸς διεφθάρθαι, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος 
τοῦ λιμοῦ πιέζοντος ἐνυκτομάχησεν αὐτὸς ἐκ
the belief that the enemy would be off their guard, to make a sally by night against their gates, hoping to break through them and bring in his other forces, of which he had abundance in many places. But the legion that was lying in wait near by, and Octavian himself with some praetorian cohorts, attacked him, and Lucius, although he fought valiantly, was driven back. About the same time the mass of the people in Rome openly denounced the war and the victory, because the grain was kept under guard for the soldiers. They broke into houses in search of food, and carried off whatever they could find.

35. Ventidius and his friends, ashamed to look on while Lucius was perishing of hunger, all moved to his support, intending to overpower Caesar's forces surrounding and besieging him. Agrippa and Salvidienus went to meet them with still larger forces. Fearing lest they should be surrounded, they diverged to the stronghold of Fulginium, distant 160 stades from Perusia. There Agrippa besieged them, and they lighted many fires as signals to Lucius. Ventidius and Asinius were of the opinion that they should still go forward and fight, but Plancus said that, as they were between Octavian and Agrippa, they had best await events. The opinion of Plancus prevailed. Those in Perusia rejoiced when they saw the fires, but when Ventidius delayed his coming they conjectured that he, too, was in difficulties, and when the fires ceased they thought that he had been destroyed. Lucius, oppressed by hunger, again fought a night battle, extending from the first watch till daylight.
CAP. ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΦΥΛΑΚΗΣ ΕΣ ΕΩ ΠΕΡΙ ΆΠΑΝ ΤΟ ΠΕΡΙΤΕΙ-
χισμα: και ου δυνηθεις ανεθορει αυθις ες την
Περσιαν και τας υπολοιπους συλλογισαμενος
tροφας απειπε διδοσθαι τοις θεραπουνι και εφυ-
λασσεν αυτους μη δ έκφυγειν, ίνα μη γνωριμω-
tερον γένοιτο τοις πολεμιως το τευκρον. ήλοντο
ου αν θεραπουτες κατα πληθος και κατεπιπτουν
εν τε αυτη τη πολει καλ και μερι του σφετερου
dιατειχισματος, ποιαν ει τινα ευροειν ή φυλλαδα
χλωραν, νεμομενου. και τους απορρευοντας ο
Δευκιος ες ταφρους επιμηκεις καταρυθυσαν, ίνα
μητε καιμενων επιδηλουν τοις εχθροις γενοιτο,
mητε σητομενων ατμος και νοσος.
36. Επει δε ουτε του λυμοι τι τελος ήν ουτε
των θανατων, αχθομενοι τοις γηγυμενοις οι
οπλιται παρεκαλουν τον Δευκιον αυθις αποπει-
ραι των τειχων, ως διακοσυνεται αυτα παντως.
ο δε την ορμην αποδεξαμενος, "ουκ αξιως," εφη,
"πρωνη της παρουσης αναγκης ηγουμεσαμεθα,"
και νυν η παραδεδοια σφας η τοιτο χειρον ηγου-
μενους θανατου μαχεσθαι μεχρι θανατου.
δεξα-
mενων δε προθυμως απαντων και, ίνα μη τις ως
εν νυκτι προφασις γενοιτο, κατα φως άγεων σφας
κελευοντος, ο Δευκιος ήγε προ ήμερας. σιδηρον
τε τειχωμαχον ειχον πολυν και κλιμακας ες ειδη
παντα διεσκευσαμενας. εφερετο δε και ταφρων
ηγχωστηριαι οργανα και πυροι πτυκτοι, σαιδας
ες τα τειχη μεθιεντες, και βελη παντοια και
λιθοι, και γερρα τοις σκολοπαξι επιρρυπτειοβαι.
προσπεσοντες δε μεθι ορμης βιαου την ταφρων
ενεχωσαν και τους σταυρους υπερεβησαν και
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THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

around the whole circumvallation; but he failed and was driven back into Perusia. There he took an account of the remaining provisions, and forbade the giving of any to the slaves, and prohibited them from escaping, lest the enemy should gain better knowledge of his desperate situation. The slaves wandered about in crowds, threw themselves upon the ground in the city, and between the city and their forts, and ate grass or green leaves wherever they could find them. Those who died Lucius buried in long trenches, lest, if he burned them, the enemy should discover what was taking place, and, if they were unburied, disease should result from the poisonous exhalations.

36. As no end of the famine, or of the deaths, could be discerned, the soldiers became restive under the condition of affairs, and implored Lucius to make another attempt upon the enemy's works, believing that they could break through them completely. He approved of their ardour, saying, “In our recent battle we did not fight in a way corresponding to our present necessity. Now we must either surrender, or, if that seems worse than death, we must fight to the death.” All assented eagerly, and, in order that no one should have the night for an excuse, they demanded to be led out by daylight. Lucius marched out at dawn. He took an abundance of iron tools, for wall fighting, and ladders of every form. He carried machines for filling the ditches, and folding towers from which planks could be let down to the walls; also all kinds of missiles and stones, and wickerwork to be thrown upon the palisades. They made a violent assault, filled up the ditch, sealed the

CHAP. IV

Famine in Perusia

Lucius attempts to break out

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τοῖς τείχεσι προσελθόντες οἱ μὲν ὕπωρυσσον, οἱ δὲ τὰς κλίμακας ἐπήγγον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πύργους ἐνεχείρουν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἡμύνοντο λίθους καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ μολυβδαίναι σὺν πολλῇ θανάτου καταφρονήσει. καὶ τάδε ἐγέγραπτο κατὰ μέρη πολλά ἐπειδὴ δὲ τίνας . . . ἐς πολλὰ διαιρουμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀσθενέστερα πάντα ἦν.

37. Ἐκταθεισῶν δὲ που τῶν σανίδων ἐς τὸ τείχος, βία τότε μάλιστα ἐπικίνδυνοι ἦν τῶν Δευκιανῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς σανίσι μαχομένων, καὶ βέλη πλάγια πάντοθεν ἦν ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀκόντια. ἐβιάσαντο δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἐς τὸ τείχος ἔξηλαντο ὅλιγοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐποντό ἔτεροι καὶ τάχα ἀν τι ἐξείργαστο αὐτοῖς μετὰ ἀπονολάς, εἰ μὴ, γνωσθέντος οὐ πολλὰ εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα μηχανήματα, οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν Καίσαρος ἐφεδρείων ἄκμητες ἐπήγγοντο κεκμηκόσι. τότε γὰρ δὴ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοὺς κατέρρευσαν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα συνέτριψαν καὶ ἔβαλλον ἄνωθεν ἥδη σὺν καταφρονήσει. τοῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σῶματα ὅλα συνεκέκοπτο, καὶ βοὴ σφᾶς ἐπελευσίτη, παρέμενοι δὲ ὅμως τῇ προθυμίᾳ, ὡς δὲ καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀνηρμένων ἐσκυλευμέναι κάτω διερρηττέτο, τὴν ύβριν οὐκ ἔφερον, ἀλλὰ ἀνετρέποντο ὕπο τῆς ὄψεως, καὶ μικρὸν ἔστησαν ἄποροντες ὦσπερ εἰν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἄγωσιν οἱ διαναπαύμενοι. δῶς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐχοντας ἔλεων ὁ Δεύκιος ἐκάλει τῇ σάλπυγγι ἀναχωρεῖν. ἥσθεντων δὲ τῶν Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τῶδε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παταγησάντων οἶνον ἐπὶ νίκη,
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

palisades, and advanced to the walls, which some of them undermined, while others applied the ladders, and others simultaneously moved up the towers and defended themselves with stones, arrows, and leaden balls, with absolute contempt of death. This was done at many different places, and the enemy being drawn in many different directions made a more feeble resistance.¹

37. The planks having been thrown upon the walls at some places, the struggle became very hazardous, for the forces of Lucius fighting on the bridges were exposed to missiles and javelins on every side. They forced their way, nevertheless, and a few leaped over the wall. Others followed, and they would speedily have accomplished something in their desperation, had not the fact become known to Octavian that they had not many such machines, so that the best of his reserves were brought fresh to the assistance of the tired men. These troops now flung the assailants down from the walls, broke their machines in pieces, and hurled missiles upon them contumptuously (fearing them no longer) from above. Their enemy, although their shields and bodies were pierced and even their cries had failed, held their ground bravely. When the corpses of those who had been killed on the wall were stripped and thrown down among them, they could not bear the indignity, but turned away from the spectacle and stood for a moment undecided, like athletes taking a breathing-spell in the gymnastic games. Lucius had pity on them in this condition and sounded a retreat. Then the troops of Octavian joyfully clashed their arms as for a victory, whereupon

¹ The text here is incomplete.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. IV. ἑρεθισθέντες οἱ τοῦ Δευκάου τὰς κλίμακας αὖθις ἀρπάσαντες (οὐ γὰρ ἔτι πύργους εἶχον) ἑφεροῦ ἐς τὰ τείχη μετὰ ἀπονοίας, οὐδὲν ἔτι βλάπτοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἐδύνατο. περιθέων δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Δεύκιος ἐδεῖτο μὴ ψυχομαχεῖν ἐτὶ καὶ οἱ μόρφοντας ἀπῆγεν ἄκοντας.

38. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆς τείχομαχίας, ἐκθυμοτάτης γενομένης, ἐς τούτο ἐτελεύτα· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ἵνα μὴ αὖθις ἐπιτολμήσειαν ὁ πολέμιοι τοῖς τείχοις, τὴν σтратίαν, ὅση τοῖς γυμνομένοις ἐφόδησε, παρ' αὐτῷ τὸ τείχος ἱδρυσε καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἀναπήδαν ἐς τὸ τείχος ἄλλους ἀλλαχόν κατὰ σύνθημα σάλπιγγος· συνεχῶς τα ἀπεπήδων οὐδενός ἐπείγοντος, ἵνα διδαχῇ τε σφίσαι καὶ φόβος εἰς τοὺς πολέμιους. ἀθυμία δὲ ἐπείχε τοὺς τοῦ Δευκίου, καὶ ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἰσώθη γίγνεσθαι, τῆς φυλακῆς οἱ φύλακες ἡμέλουν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀμελείας αὐτομολίας πολλῶν ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ οὐχ οἱ αἵρεστεροι τοῦτο μόνοι, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν τινὲς ἔδρων. ἐνεδίδοι τε ὁ Δεύκιος ἦδη πρὸς διαλύσεις ἔλεφ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἀπολλυμένου, ἐχθρῶν δὲ τῶν Καῖσαρος περὶ σφῶν δεδιότων ἐτὶ ἐπείχεν. ὡς δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὃθεν τοὺς αὐτομόλους φιλανθρώπως ἐκδεχόμενος καὶ πλείων ὁμοὺς πᾶσιν ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐγόνετο, δεός ήπτετο τοῦ Δευκίου, μὴ ἀντιλέγον ἐκδοθεῖν.

V

CAP. 39. Γενομένης οὖν τινος ἐς τοῦτο πείρας καὶ ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἄρδησε, τὸν στρατὸν συναγαγῶν 438
those of Lucius were roused to anger and again seized their ladders (although they had no more towers), and carried them to the walls with desperation. Yet they did not do any harm to the enemy, for they had not the strength. Lucius ran among them and besought them to sacrifice their lives no longer, and led them back groaning and reluctant.

38. This was the end of this hotly contested siege. In order that the enemy might not make another attempt on his works, Octavian stationed a part of his army, that was held in reserve, alongside the fortifications, and instructed others in other places to leap upon the wall at the sound of the trumpet. Although no one urged them on, they went through this exercise continually, in order to become familiar with it, and to inspire the enemy with fear. The troops of Lucius began to grow down-hearted, and, as usually happens in such cases, the guards relaxed their vigilance, and thus desertion became more frequent, not only of the common soldiers, but, in some cases, of the higher officers also. And now Lucius inclined toward peace, out of pity for the perishing multitude, but the fears of some of the enemies of Octavian for their own safety still restrained him. But as Octavian was observed to treat the deserters kindly, and the desire for peace increased among all, Lucius began to fear lest, if he refused, he should be delivered up.

39. Accordingly, having made a sort of test which gave him satisfactory encouragement, Lucius called
CAP. Ἐλεξέν ὅδε ἐν ὑμῖν μὲν ἴδε· "γνώμη μὲν ἴδε ἶνα τὴν πάτριον ὑμῶν ἀποδοῦναι πολιτείαν, ὁ συστρατιῶται, τυρραννίδα τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρχήν καὶ οὐδὲ, ἐφ' ἦν συνέστη προφάσει, Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου τεθεότων διαλύθεισαν. Δεπίδου γὰρ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφηρημένου καὶ Ἀυτωνίου πορρωτάτῳ χρήματα συλλέγοντο, εἰς οὖντο ἀπαντα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην διφάκι, τὰ δὲ πάτρια Ῥωμαίους πρόσχημα μονὸν ἴνα καὶ γέλως. ἀπερ ἐγὼ μεταβάλλειν ἐσ τὴν ἀνωθεν ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ δημοκρατίαν επινοῶν ἤξιον τῶν ἐπινικίων διαδοθέντων ἐκλυθήματί τὴν μοναρχίαν. ἔτει δὲ οὐκ ἐπειθοῦν, ἐπειρώμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς κατανάγκασαι. ὅ δὲ με τῷ στρατῷ διέβαλλε, κωλύειν τὰς κληρονομίας ἐλέος τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ τὴν διαβολὴν ἐγὼ τὴν ἡγνώμονα ἐπὶ πλείστον. ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπιγνόν τους ἐπιστεύσα τινα πιστεύσειν, οὕτως τοὺς οἰκιστὰς καὶ παρ' ἐμοῖ δεδομένους, οἱ μερεῖν ἐμελλον ὑμῖν τὰς κληρονομίας. ἀλλὰ ἐκδημαγωγῆσε γὰρ τινας ἡ διαβολή, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἄκουστο πολεμήσοντες ὑμῖν, ὅς νομίζω, σὺν χρόνῳ δ' εἴσονται στρατευσάμενοι καθ' αὐτῶν. ὑμῖν δ' ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ μὲν ἐλομένοις τὰ ἀμείνονα καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν κακοπαθήσασιν, ἡττήμεθα δὲ οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ὅ δ' καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐγκαταλελείμμεθα. ἔμοι μὲν δὴ καλῶς εἶχεν ἀγωνίσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ τελευταῖον δαιμόνος ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος; καλὸν γὰρ μοι τὸν ἔπαινον ἐπὶ ηττήμεθα.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

his army together and spoke as follows: "It was my intention, fellow-soldiers, to restore the republic to you when I saw that the government of the triumvirs was a tyranny, which was established, indeed, on the pretext of combating Brutus and Cassius, but was not relaxed after their death. Lepidus had been deprived of his share of the government, Antony was far away collecting money, and this one man was managing everything according to his own will, and the ancient system of Roman government was only a pretence and a laughing-stock. With the intention of reverting to the freedom and democratic government of our ancestors, I asked that after the rewards of victory had been distributed the monarchy should be dissolved. When my request was not granted, I sought to enforce it by virtue of my office. Octavian falsely accused me, before the army, of obstructing the colonies out of pity for the landowners. I was ignorant of this slander for a long time, and even when I learned of it I did not suppose that anybody could believe it, when one saw that the colony officers were men assigned by my very self to divide the lands among you. But the calumny misled some people, who joined Octavian in order to make war against you, as they think. But eventually they will find that they have been warring against their own interests. I affirm that you have chosen the better cause, and that you have suffered for it beyond your strength. We are vanquished, not by our enemies, but by hunger, to which we have been left a prey by our own generals. It would be becoming in me to fight to the last extremity for my country. Such an end would set a halo of
τῇ γνώμη καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐποίει· οὐχ ὑφίσταμαι δὲ
di’ ὑμᾶς, οὐς τῆς ἔμης προτίθημι εὐκλείας.
pέμψω δὴ πρὸς τὸν κεκρατηκότα καὶ δεήσομαι ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀντὶ πάντων ὑμῶν εἰς δὲ θέλει κατα-
χρήσασθαι μόνῳ, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀντ’ ἐμοῦ ἀμηνηστίαι
δοῦναι, πολίταις τε οὐσίν αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατιώταις
ποτὲ γενομένους καὶ οὔδε νῦν ἀδικοῦσιν οὔδὲ
πολεμήσασιν ἄνευ καλῆς αἰτίας οὔδὲ ἑσσημένους
πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἡ λιμῷ."

40. Ὅ μὲν οὖτως εἶπε καὶ εὐθὺς ἔσπευσε τρεῖς
ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων· ἢ δὲ πληθὺς
ἀνφώμωξεν, οἱ μὲν ἐαυτῶν χάριν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ στρα-
τηγοῦ, γνώμη μὲν ὅμοι θάνατος ἀρίστου καὶ δημο-
κρατικοῦ φανέντος, ὑπὸ δ’ ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης
ηττημένου· οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἐντυχόντες τῷ Καίσαρι
ἀνεμίμησκον τοῦ γένους τῶν στρατῶν ἐνὸς
έκατέρου ὅντος καὶ στρατείων ὅμοι γενομένων
καὶ φιλίας τῶν εἰποθανῶν καὶ ἀρετῆς προγόνων
οὐκ ἐς ἀνίκεστον τὰς διαφορὰς προαγαγόντων·
όσα τε εἰκὸς ἦν ἄλλα ἑπαγωγά, τούτοις ὅμοια,
ἐλεγον. ὅ δὲ Καίσαρ εἰδὼς τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς
μὲν ἀπειροπολέμους ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ κληροχοὺς
γεγυμνασμένους ἐφ’ ὑπὲρ τραυματότων πρὸς ἐπ’ Ἀντωνίαν
στρατευσαμένους διδότω τὴν ἀμηνηστίαν, ὡς χάριν
ἐκείνης φέρων, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους ἐπιτρέπειν σφᾶς
ἐαυτῷ προσέτασσεν. ταῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ἀπασίω
ἰδία δὲ ἐνα τῶν τριῶν ἀπολαβὼν, Φούρνιου, ἐς
μείζονα φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπήλπισε τοὺς περὶ Δεύ-
κιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χωρίς τῶν ἰδίων ἑχθρῶν
ἐαυτοῦ.

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same upon my high purposes. To that destiny I do not submit, for the sake of you, whom I prefer to my own fame. I will send to the conqueror and beg that he will inflict such punishment as he chooses upon me alone, in place of all of you; that he will grant amnesty, not to me, but to you, his fellow-citizens and formerly his soldiers, who are not now in the wrong, who are not fighting without good cause, and are vanquished, not by war, but by hunger.”

40. After speaking thus he at once selected three men from the optimates for this mission. The multitude wept, some on their own account, some on account of their general, who appeared to them to have been actuated by the most excellent and democratic purpose, and who now yielded to extreme necessity. The three envoys, when admitted to the presence of Octavian, reminded him that the soldiers on both sides were all of one race, and that they had made campaigns together. They called to mind the friendship of the nobility on either side and also the virtue of their ancestors, who did not allow their differences to become irreconcilable. They advanced other like arguments which were calculated to prevail with him. Octavian, knowing that some of the enemy were still raw recruits, while others were veteran colonists, replied artfully that he would grant amnesty to Antony’s soldiers out of regard for him, but that the others must surrender at discretion. This he said in the presence of all, but, taking aside Furnius, one of the three, he led him to expect mild treatment for Lucius and the rest, except his own personal enemies.
CAP. 41. Ο οίδε οι τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔχθροι, την ἰδία γενομένην ἑυτευξίων τοῦ Φουρνίου ὑπονοοῦντες ἐπὶ σφίσι γενέσθαι, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Φουρνίου ἔλοι- δόρου ἐπανελθόντα καὶ τὸν Δεύκιον ἤξιον ἢ σπονδὰς αὐθίς αἰτεῖν ὀμοίας ἅπασιν ἢ πολεμεῖν μέχρι θανάτου· οὐ γὰρ ἰδίον τινὶ τῶν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γεγονέναι. καὶ ὁ Δεύκιος ἐπήνει μὲν ἔλεων ἀνδρας ὀμοτίμους καὶ πέμψειν ἐλεγεν ἐτέρους, οὐδένα δὲ εἴποι ἀμείνοις ἔχειν ἑαυτοῦ, εὔθεις ἀνευ κήρυκους ἦτε, προθεώτων αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ τῶν ἀπαγγελοῦντων Καίσαρι κατ- ιέναι Δεύκιον. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα υπήντα. ἐωρῶντο οὐν ἄλληλοις ἡδὴ μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ περιφανεῖς ἡσαν ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων καὶ τῆς στολῆς οὔσης ἐκατέρω στρατηγικῆς. καὶ ὁ Δεύκιος ἀποτέλε- μενος τοὺς φίλους ἦτε σὺν δύο ραβδούχοις μόνοις, ἐπιδεικνύσι μία τὴν γνώμην ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος· καὶ ὁ Καϊσαρ συνεις ἀντεμμείπτο ἐς δεῦγμα καὶ ὅτε τῆς εἰς τὸν Δεύκιον εὐνοίας ἐσομένης· ὡς δὲ καὶ σπεύοντα ἔδε τὸν Δεύκιον παρελθεῖν ἐς τὸ Καίσαρος χαράκωμα, ἵνα καὶ τὸ δε φαίνοντο ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιτρέπτων ἡδη, προλάβων ὁ Καϊσαρ ἐξῆλθε τοῦ χαρακώμακος, ἵνα ἐλεύθερον εἴη τῷ Δευκίῳ βουλεύεσθαι τε καὶ κρίνειν ἐτὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ. τοιάδε ἄλληλοις προσιόντες ἀπὸ τῆς στολῆς καὶ τῶν σχημάτων προαπεδείκνυτο.

42. Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον ἄφικοντο, προση- γόρευσάν τε ἄλληλους καὶ ὁ Δεύκιος ἔφη: "εἰ
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41. These personal enemies of Octavian, having learned of Furnius' private interview and suspecting that it related to themselves, reproached him when he came back, and demanded of Lucius either that he should ask a new treaty, which should include all alike, or fight to the death, saying that this had not been a private war for any individual, but a public one in behalf of their country. Lucius approved, pitying them as men of the same rank as himself, and said that he would send another embassy. Then he added that no one was better fitted for this task than himself, and went immediately without a herald, merely preceded by some persons who went in advance to announce to Octavian his coming. The latter at once advanced to meet him. There they saw each other surrounded by their friends and conspicuous by the standards and military equipment of generals on either side. Then Lucius, dismissing his friends, went forward with two lictors only, showing his state of mind by his outward appearance. Octavian understood and imitated his example, showing his intended good-will toward Lucius. When he saw the latter hastening to pass inside his fortification, indicating thereby that he had already surrendered, Octavian anticipated him and went outside the fortification in order that Lucius might still be free to consult and decide concerning his own interests. Thus as they moved forward they foreshadowed their intentions to each other in advance, by their retinue and their outward appearance.

42. When they came to the ditch they saluted each other, and Lucius said: "If I had been a

1 Perhaps: "putting off his uniform and dismissing..."
μὲν ξένος δὲν ἐπολέμησα, ὦ Καῖσαρ, αἰσχρὰν ἂν τὴν τοιαύτην ἦσσαν ἡγούμην καὶ αἰσχίνα ἐτι τὴν παράδοσιν καὶ τῆς αἰσχύνης εἴχον ἀπαλλαγήν εὐκολον παρ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολίτη διηνέχθην καὶ ὁμοτίμηφι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐκ ἀἰσχρὸν ἡγούμαι μετὰ τοιαύτες προφάσεως ὑπὸ τοιοῦτο ἦσσηθάν. καὶ τάδε λέγω οὐ παραιτούμενος παθεῖν, ὃ τι θέλοις (διὰ γάρ σοι τούτο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ σὸν ἃνευ σπουδῶν ἴμπην), ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα τοῖς ἀλλοις αἰτήσω συγγνώμην δικαίαν τε καὶ τοῖς σοῖς πράσμασι συμφέρουσαν. δεὶ δὲ με τοῦτο ἐπιδεικνύντα διελείν τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ τε ἐκείνων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ, ἵνα μόνον ἔμε τῶν γεγονότων αὑτῶν ἐπιγνοῦς εἰς ἔμε τὴν ὀργὴν συναγάγῃς. μὴ νομίσῃς δὲ ἐλεγχθῆσθαι μετὰ παρρησίας (ἀκαίρον γάρ), ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀληθείας, ἦς οὐκ ἔνι μοι χωρὶς εἰπεῖν.

43. “Ἐγὼ τὸν πρὸς σὲ πόλεμον ἡράμην, οὐχ ἵνα σε καθελὼν διαδέξωμαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἀναλάβω τῇ πατρίδι, λευ- μένην ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς, ὡς οὐδ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸς αἱ τείποις καὶ γὰρ ὅτε συνίστασθε αὐτὴν, ὁμολογούντες εἰναι παράνομον, ὡς ἀναγκαίαν καὶ πρόσκαιρον ἐπίθεσθε, Κασσίων καὶ Βροῦτου περιόντων ἔτι καὶ ὡμῶν ἐκείνως οὐ δυναμένων συναλλαγῆναι. ἀποθανοῦντω δὲ ἐκεῖνω, οὐ τῇ τῆς στάσεως κεφάλαιον ἢσαν, καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων εἶ τινα λείψανα ἔστιν, οὐ τῇ πολιτείᾳ πολε- μούντων, ἀλλὰ ὡμᾶς δεδιότων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ

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foreigner waging war against you, Octavian, I should consider it disgraceful to be vanquished in this way and still more disgraceful to surrender, and I should have for myself an easy means of deliverance from such humiliation. But since I have been contending with a countryman, my equal in rank, on behalf of our country, I do not consider it disgraceful to be beaten in such a cause by such a man. This I say not to deprecate any suffering that you may choose to inflict upon me (for you see that I have come to your camp without any guarantee), but to ask for others such pardon as may be just, and conducive to your own interests. That I may make this clear to you it is necessary to separate their cause from mine, so that, when you know that I am the only one to blame, you may visit your wrath upon me, and not think that I have come here to bandy words (for that would be inopportune), but to tell the truth, for it is not in my power to speak otherwise.

43. "I undertook this war against you, not in order to succeed to the leadership by destroying you but to restore to the country the patrician government which had been subverted by the triumvirate, as not even yourself will deny. For when you created the triumvirate you acknowledged that it was not in accordance with law, but you established it as something necessary and temporary because Cassius and Brutus were still alive and you could not be reconciled to them. When they, who had been the head of the faction, were dead, and the remainder, if there were any left, were bearing arms, not against the state, but because they feared you, and moreover the five years' term was running out, I
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CAP. τῆς πενταετίας παρισύσης, ἀνακύψαι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τὰ πάτρια ἡξίουν, οὐ προτιμῶν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλὰ ἐκπίζων μὲν ἑπανελθόντα πεῖσειν ἐκόντα, ἐπενγόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι. καὶ εἰ κατηρξάς σύ, μόνος ἀν καὶ τὴν δόξαν εἰχες. ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ σε οὐκ ἐπειδὸν, ἡμὴν ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ Ρώμην καὶ ἀναγκάσας, πολίτης τε ὁ ἄν καὶ γνώριμος καὶ ὑπάτος. αἱ μὲν αἰτίαι, δὲ ἄν ἐπολέμησα, αὐταὶ μόναι, καὶ οὔτε ὁ ἀδελφὸς οὔτε Μάνιος οὔτε Φούλβια, οὔτε ἡ κληρονομία τῶν ἐν Φιλίπποις πεπολεμηκότων οὔτε ἔλεος τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ κλήματα ἀφαιρομένων, ἐπεὶ καγὼ τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τέλεσιν οἰκιστάς ἔδωκα, οἱ τὰ τῶν γεωργῶν ἀφαιρούμενοι τοὺς στρατευσάμενοις διένεμον. ἀλλὰ μὲ σὺ τὴν διαβολὴν αὐτοῖς διέβαλλες, τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου μεταφέρων ἐπὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ, καὶ τὸ δὲ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐλὼν ἐμὸν κεκράτηκας. ἀνεπείσθησαν γὰρ πολεμεῖσθαι τε ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι με ἀδικοῦντα. τεχνάζειν μὲν δὴ σε ἐδει πολεμοῦντα: νικήσαντα δὲ, εἰ μὲν ἐχθρὸς εἰ τῆς πατρίδος, κἀμὲ ἤγείσθαι πολέμοιν, ὃ ἐδοξᾷ συνοίσειν αὐτῇ, βουληθέντα μὲν, οὐ δυνηθέντα δὲ διὰ λιμὸν.

44. “Δέγῳ δὲ ταῦτα ἔγῳ ἐγχειρίζων μὲν ἐμαυτόν σοι, καθάπερ εἴπον, εἰς ὁ τι θέλοις, ὑποδεικνύως δέ, οὐ καὶ πρῶτον καὶ νῦν ἑφρόνησα περὶ σοῦ καὶ φρονὼν ἔτι μόνος ἀφικόμην. καὶ περὶ μὲν
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demanded that the magistracies should be revived in accordance with the custom of our fathers, not even preferring my brother to my country, but hoping to persuade him to assent upon his return and hastening to bring this about during my own term of office. If you had begun this reform you alone would have reaped the glory. Since I was not able to persuade you, I thought to march against the city and to use force, being a citizen, a nobleman, and a consul. These are the causes of the war I waged and these alone: not my brother, nor Manius, nor Fulvia, nor the colonization of those who fought at Philippi, nor pity for the cultivators who were deprived of their holdings, since I myself appointed the leaders of colonies to my brother’s legions who deprived the cultivators of their possessions and divided them among the soldiers. Yet you brought this charge against me before the soldiers, shifting the cause of the war from yourself to the land distribution, and in this way chiefly you drew them to your side and overcame me, for they were persuaded that I was warring against them, and that they were defending themselves against my wrong-doing. You certainly needed to use artifice while you were waging war. Now that you have conquered, if you are the enemy of the country you must consider me your enemy also, since I wished what I thought was for her advantage, but was prevented by famine from accomplishing it.

44. "While I say these things I surrender myself to you, as I have already declared, to do with me whatever you wish. I came here alone merely to show what I have thought of you before the war, during the war, and at this moment. So much for
CAP.

έμοι τοσαύτα· περὶ δὲ τῶν φίλων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παυτός, εἰ μὲν οὖν υποπτεύεσις με λέγοντα, συμβουλεύσω τὰ σοὶ μάλιστα ὁφελιμώτατα, μηδὲν δεινὸν αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ σὴν φιλονικίαν, μηδὲ ἀνθρωπὸν ὑντα· καὶ τύχῃ χρώμενον, οὐ θετικὸς πράγματι, κωλύσαι τοὺς κινδυνεύειν ἐν τύχας ἡ χρείας ἐδελθήσοντάς ποτε ὑπὲρ σοῦ, μαθάντας ἐκ τούτων τοῦ σοῦ νόμου δυσελπιστοῦ σφέξεσθαι μὴ κατορθοῦσιν. εἰ δὲ υποττοῦ ἡ ἀπίστος ἐχθρῷ πάσα συμβουλή, οὐκ ὅκνω καὶ παρακαλεῖν σε μὴ τοὺς φίλους τίνυσθαι τῆς ἐμῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ τύχης, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐμὲ συναγαγεῖν πάντα, τὸν πάντων αἰτίων, ἀφ' ἡ γνώμης αὐτοὺς ὑπελεπόμεν, ἵνα μὴ δόξαμι, σοὶ τάδε λέγων ἐκείνων ἀκούσων, ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ τεχνάζων εἰπεῖν.”

45. Τοιαῦτα δὲ εἰπόντος τοῦ Δευκίου καὶ σιωπήσαντος ὁ Καίσαρ ἔλεξεν· "ἀσπονδοῦν μὲν σε κατιόντα πρὸς ἐμὲ ὅρον, ὡς Δευκίε, ὑπήντησα τῶν ἐμῶν ἐρυμάτων ἐτὶ ἐκτὸς ὑμτι κατὰ σπουδήν, ἵνα ἐτὶ κύριος ὁ σεαυτὸν βουλεύοι καὶ λέγοις καὶ πράττους, ἢ νομίζεις σοι συνοίσειν. ἐπεὶ δ', δὴ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀδικεῖν ὡμολογήσεσι, σαυτὸν ἡμῶν ἐπιτρέπεις, οὐδὲν ἐτὶ δέομαι διελέγχειν, ὅσα σὺν τέχνῃ μοι κατεψευσί. ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ μὲ βλάψειν ἐλόμενος καὶ νῦν ἐβλάψας. σπουδᾶς γὰρ μοι τιθέμενος ἑτυχεῖς ἁν ἡδικημένου καὶ νευκηκότος".

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myself. Concerning my friends and my whole army if you will not discredit my words, I will give you some advice for your own best interests, and that is, that you inflict no severity upon them on account of the quarrel between you and me. As you are a mortal and in the hands of fortune, which is always fickle, do not deter those who might be willing to incur danger for you in hazardous or trying times hereafter, by teaching them that under your rule there is no hope of safety except for the victors. Even if all advice from an enemy is suspected or untrustworthy, I do not hesitate to implore you not to punish my friends for my fault and my ill fortune, but to put the whole punishment on me, who am alone to blame. I purposely left my friends behind so that I might not seem, by using these words in their presence, to be securing favour for myself in an underhand way."

45. After Lucius had thus spoken he relapsed into silence, and Octavian said: "When I saw you, Lucius, approaching without any guarantee I hastened to meet you while you were still outside my entrenchments, so that you might even now be master of your own counsels and be able to say or do whatever you should think best for your own interests. Since you deliver yourself to me (as is customary to those who acknowledge that they are in the wrong), it is not necessary that I should discuss the false accusations that you have brought against me with so much art. You began by injuring me and you continue to do so. If you were here negotiating a treaty, you would be dealing with a victor whom you

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μην καὶ τὸν στρατόν, ἀφαίρη ἡμῖν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐπιτρεπτὸν ἔχουσί τε καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐπιτρεπτὸν ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν στρατόν, ἀφαίρη μὲν πᾶσαν ὅργην, ἀφαίρη δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἕν σπευδόμενος ἄλλον ἔδωκας ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης. συμπέπλεκται γὰρ οἷς ἄξιον ἕμαθα παθεῖν, τὸ προσήκον ὅπως ἐμὲ δικαίον ἐστὶ ποιεῖν· ὅ δὲ προτιμήσω διά τε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ δὲ ἐμαυτὸν καὶ διὰ σέ, ὦ Δεύκιο, καὶ οὐ παρασκευᾶς διὰ τὸς προσδόκιας, ἕχων περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ κατελήψας.”

Ταῦτα μὲν ἠλεξαν ἁλλήλως, ὥς ἐκ τῶν ὑπομημάτων ἦν ἐς τὸ συνταγμα τήσες τῆς φωνῆς μεταβάλειν τεκμαίρομενος τῆς γνώμης τῶν λειψανομένων καὶ διεκρίθησαν, ὦ μὲν Καΐσαρ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ καὶ ἦμασθα τοῖς Δεύκιον ἔχον, οὕτως ὡς ἐν συμφορᾷ ἄγεννες οὐδέ άσύνετον εἰπόντα, ὦ δὲ Δεύκιος τὸν Καΐσαρα τοῦ τε ἦδον καὶ βραχυλογίας. οἱ λοιποὶ δ’ ἐτεκμαίροντο τῶν ἐφημέρων ἐκ τῆς ῥήματος ἐκατέρων.

46. Καὶ ὁ Δεύκιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς χιλάρχους τὸ σύνθημα τῷ στρατῷ ληψόμενος παρὰ τοῦ Καΐσαρος. οἱ δὲ ἐφερον αὐτῷ τὸν ἁριθμὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ, καθ’ ὧν ἔθες ἐστὶ τὸν αἰτοῦντα τὸ σύνθημα χιλιάρχου ἐπιδίδοναι τῷ βασιλεῖ βεβλίων ἐφίμερον τοῦ ἁριθμοῦ τοῦ παρῴτος. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ σύνθημα λαβόντες τὰς φυλακὰς ἐτὶ διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον, οὕτω κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ Καΐσαρος, νυκτοφυλακεῖς ἐκατέρων τὰ ἱδιά· ἀμα δὲ ἦμερα.
had wronged. Now that you surrender yourself and your friends and your army without conditions, you take away not only all resentment, but also the power which, under negotiations for a treaty, you would necessarily have given me. There is involved in this question not only what you and your friends ought to suffer, but what it is becoming in me, as a just man, to do. I shall make the latter my chief consideration on account of the gods, on my own account, and on yours, Lucius, and I shall not disappoint the expectation with which you came to me."

These things they said to each other, as nearly as it is possible to gather the meaning of the speakers from the Memoirs and translate it into our language.1 They then separated, and Octavian praised and admired Lucius because he had said nothing impolite or inconsiderate (as is usual in adversity), and Lucius praised Octavian for his mildness and brevity of speech. The others gathered the meaning of what had been said from the countenances of the two parties.

46. Lucius sent tribunes to receive the watchword for the army from Octavian, and they took the army roll to him, as it is still customary for the tribune who asks for the watchword to deliver to the commander the daily register of the number of troops present. After they had received the watchword they still kept their outposts on duty, for Octavian himself ordered that each army should keep its own guard that night, and the next morn-

1 Probably the Memoirs here mentioned are those of Octavian himself, to which reference is made in Illyr. 14, and in C. W. iv. 110.
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47. "Othēn oudē hē Kaisar ēti tēs γνώμης ēkprātei, allā mōlis tēn bōn katabaūsas eipē tois idios. "Ýmeis mēn, ó suostratistai, ouōs mēi prosoenýnchē òs mēdenos ētukhēsai parēmōi δύνασθαι: égō dé tois mēn neostratētous ὕπ' ἀνάγκης ἐστρατεύσθαι Leukί' νομίζω, tou-tως dé tōn suostratētēmenōn te polllakis Ýmēn kai νῦν υφ' υμών σφόδρων ēpēnōsìn ὑπόθεσθαι,
ing Octavian offered sacrifice, and Lucius sent his CHAP. soldiers to him bearing their arms, but prepared for marching. They saluted Octavian as imperator while still at some distance, and each legion took its separate position as Octavian had directed, the colonized veterans being apart from the new levies. When Octavian had finished the sacrifice he took his seat in front of the tribunal, crowned with laurel, the symbol of victory, and ordered them all to lay down their arms where they stood. When they had done so he ordered the veterans to draw nearer, intending, it seems, to reproach them for their ingratitude and to strike terror into them. It was known beforehand what he was about to do, and his own army, either purposely (as soldiers are often advised beforehand), or moved by sympathy as for their own relatives, broke from the formation in which they had been placed, crowded around Lucius' men as they approached their former fellow-soldiers, embraced them, wept with them, and implored Octavian in their behalf, and ceased not crying out and embracing them, the new levies sharing in the outburst of feeling, so that it was impossible to distinguish or discriminate between them.

47. For this reason Octavian did not persist in his intention, but, after appeasing the tumult with difficulty, addressed his own men as follows: "You have always behaved in such a way to me, fellow-soldiers, that you can ask nothing from me in vain. I think that the new levies served Lucius under compulsion, but I intended to ask these old soldiers, who have often served with us and who are now saved from punishment by you,
CAP. Τί παθόντες ἐξ ἡμῶν ἢ τίνος χάριτος οὐκ ἄξιωθέντες ἢ τί μείζον παρ’ ἐτέρου προσδοκώντες ἐναντία ὅπλα ἤραντο καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἔαυτοῖς; ἃ γὰρ ἐκαμων ἔγω, πάντα ἡν ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρουχίας, ἦς τοῦ μέρους καὶ τούτοις μετῆν καὶ εἰ συγχωρεῖτέ μοι, καὶ νῦν πεύσομαι. οὐκ ἐπιτρεπόντων δὲ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαύστως παρακαλοῦντων, “συγχωρῶ ὑμῖν, ὃσα βούλεσθε,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἀφείσθωσαν ἀπαθεῖς τῶν ἡμαρτήματος, ἂν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑμῖν ὁμοία φρονῶσιν.” ὑπισχυμένων δ’ ἐκατέρων βοαί τε καὶ χάριτες ἦσαν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα· καὶ τισὶν αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεψε τινας καὶ ὑποδέξασθαι, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐκέλευε σκηνοὺς, ἕνθα περ εἰστήκεσαν, ἀπωθεῖν, ἔως ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτοῖς πόλεις τε ἐς χειμασίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπάξοντας ἐς τὰς πόλεις δοίη.

48. Καθεξόμενος δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐκάλει τὸν Δεύκιον ἐκ τῆς Περυσίας μετὰ τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων. καὶ κατήσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς θουλῆς, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων, ἐν δὲ πάντες οἰκτρὰ καὶ δξείᾳ μεταβολῆ. ἀμα δὲ ἐξέσαν ὅτοι τῆς Περυσίας, καὶ φρουρά τὴν πόλιν περιέστη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, Δεύκιον μὲν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐαυτῷ παρεστήσατο, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν οἱ φίλοι Καίσαρος, τοὺς δὲ οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέλαβον, προδεδιδαγμένοι πάντες ἐς τιμὴν ὑπάγειν ἀμα καὶ φυλακῆν ἄσημον. τοὺς δὲ Περυσίους ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους παρακαλοῦντας ἐκέλευσεν 456
what they have suffered at our hands, or what favours they have asked in vain, or what greater favours they expected from anybody else that they have taken up arms against me, against you, against themselves. For all the trouble I have met with has grown out of the division of the lands, in which they had their share. And now if you will permit me I will yet ask them these questions.” They would not allow him to do so, but continued their beseeching. “I grant what you wish,” he said. “Let them be dismissed without punishment for their wrong-doing, provided they will hereafter be like-minded with you.” They promised on both sides with acclamations and thanks to Octavian, who allowed some of his own men to entertain some of their men as guests. He ordered the remainder to pitch their tents where they had been stationed, at a certain distance from the others, until he should assign them towns for winter quarters and appoint persons to lead them thither.

48. Then, seated on his tribunal, Octavian summoned from Perusia Lucius and the Romans of responsibility who were with him. Many of the senators and knights came down, all presenting a pitiful appearance by reason of their sudden change of fortune. As soon as they passed out of Perusia a guard was stationed around it. When they reached the tribunal Octavian placed Lucius by his own side. Of the rest, some were taken in charge by the friends of Octavian, others by centurions, all of whom had been instructed beforehand to show them honour and to keep watch upon them unobserved. He commanded the Perusians who stretched out their hands to him from the walls, to come
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

49. Τὴν δὲ Περσίαν αὐτὴν ἐγνώκει μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς διαρπαγὴν ἐπιτρέψας τῷ στρατῷ, Κέστιος δὲ τὶς αὐτῶν ὑπομαργότερος, ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πεπολεμηκὼς καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε Μακεδονικὸν αὐτὸν ὄνομαζός, ἐνέπτρησε τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ έσαυτὸν ἔς τὸ πῦρ ἐνέβαλεν, καὶ ἀνέμοι τὴν φλόγα ὑπολαβόντες περιέρρευκαν ἐκ ὅλης Περσίας, καὶ ἐνεπρήσθη χωρὶς τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου μόνου. τὸ δὲ μὲν δὴ τῇ Ἦπερσίᾳ τέλος ἦν, δόξαν ἁρχαιότητος ἐχούση καὶ ἄξιόσεως· ὑπὸ γὰρ Τυρρηνῶν πάλαι φασίν αὐτὴν ἐν ταῖς πρῶταις δυνάμει πόλεσιν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γενέθαι. διὸ καὶ τῇ Ἡραν ἔσεβον, οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τότε δὲ ὅσοι τὰ λείψανα τῆς πόλεως διέλαξαν, τῶν Ἡφαιστον σφίσσων ἐθεντὸ θεὸν εἶναι πάτρων αὐτὶ τῆς Ἡρας. τῆς δὲ ἐπιουσίας ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐσπένδετο ἁπασίν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐκ ἐπαύετο ἐπὶ τὶς θορυβῶν, ἐως ἀνηρέθησαν καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μάλιστα Καῖσαρος ἐχθροί, Καυνούντιος τε καὶ Γάιος Φλάνιος καὶ Κλώδιος ὁ Βιθυνικὸς καὶ ἔτεροι. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τῆς ἐν Περσίᾳ Λευκίου πολιορκίας, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὥδε ἐξελήνυτο, χαλεπώτατος τε καὶ χρόνως ἐπισθεῖς ἔσεθαι τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

forward, all except their town council, and as they presented themselves he pardoned them; but the councillors were thrown into prison and soon afterward put to death, except Lucius Aemilius, who had sat as a judge at Rome in the trial of the murderers of Caesar, who had voted openly for condemnation, and had advised all the others to do the same in order to expiate the guilt.

49. Octavian intended to turn Perusia itself over to the soldiers for plunder, but Cestius, one of the citizens, who was somewhat out of his mind, who had fought in Macedonia and for that reason called himself the Macedonian, set fire to his house and plunged into the flames, and a strong wind fanned the conflagration and drove it over the whole of Perusia, which was entirely consumed, except the temple of Vulcan. Such was the end of Perusia, a city renowned for its antiquity and importance. It is said that it was one of the first twelve cities built by the Etruscans in Italy in the olden time. For this reason the worship of Juno prevailed there, as among the Etruscans generally. But thereafter those who shared among themselves the remains of the city took Vulcan for their tutelary deity instead of Juno. On the following day Octavian made peace with all of them, but the soldiers did not desist from tumults against some of them until the latter were killed. These were the chief personal enemies of Octavian, namely, Cannutius, Gaius Flavius, Clodius Bithynicus, and others. Such was the conclusion of the siege of Lucius in Perusia, and thus came to an end a war which had promised to be long-continued and most grievous to Italy.
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ'S ROMAN HISTORY

VI

CAP. VI 50. Καὶ γὰρ Ἄσινος αὐτίκα καὶ Πλάγκος καὶ Οὐεντίδιος καὶ Κράσσος καὶ Ἀτής καὶ ὅσιον τῆς γυνώμης ὄντες ἔτεροι στρατὸν εἶχον οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἀλλ' εἰς τρισκαίδεκα τέλη γεγυμνασμένα καὶ ἱππεὰς ἐξακισχιλίους ἔπι πεντακοσίους, ἤγομενοι τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου Δείκιον γενονέαν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἰχθαν, ἔτεροι ἐτέρας ὦδοὺς, οἱ μὲν ἐς Βρεντέσιον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Ραβέννης, οἱ δ' ἐς Τάραντα καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς Μούρκον ἢ Ἀγνόβαρβον, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀντώνιου, διωκόντων αὐτούς τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων καὶ σπουδαῖς προτεινόντων καὶ οὐκ ἔθελουσιν ἐνοχλοῦντων τὰ πεzą μάλιστα· δὴ καὶ μόνων Ἀγρίππας ἔπεισε μεταθέσαι δύο τέλη Πλάγκου, ἀποληφθέντα ἐν Καμερία. ἔφευγε δὲ καὶ Φουλβία μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν καὶ ἀπὸ Δικαιάρχειας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, μετὰ τρισχιλίων ἱππεῶν οἱ αὐτὴ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν πομποὶ ἀπεστάλησαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ νεὼν πέντε μακρῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας οἱ μεταπέμπτων γενομένων ἐπιβάσα ἀνήγγετο· καὶ αὐτή Πλάγκος συνέπλει, τὸν ἐτί λοιπὸν αὐτοῦ στρατὸν ἐκλιπὼν ὑπὸ δειλίας. οἱ δὲ Οὐεντίδιοι σφῶν εἶλοντο ἄρχειν. Ἀσίνου δὲ Ἀγνόβαρβῳ συνετίθετο φίλιαν εἶναι πρὸς Ἀντώνιου καὶ ἐπέστηλεν ἁμφω τάδε τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ ἀποβάσεις αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγορὰν ὡς αὐτίκα ἤξοντι εὔτρεπίζον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

51. Ἀλλ' δ' Ἀντωνίου στρατῷ πολλῷ περὶ

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VI

50. For Asinius, Plancus, Ventidius, Crassus, Ateius, and the others of that party, who had forces not to be despised, numbering about thirteen legions of disciplined troops and upward of 6500 horse, considering Lucius to have been the chief actor in the war, retired to the sea-coast by various routes, some to Brundusium, some to Ravenna, some to Tarentum, some to Murcus and Ahenobarbus, and still others to Antony. The friends of Octavian followed them, offering terms of peace, and, when they refused, harassing especially the infantry. From among them only two legions, belonging to Plancus, who were intercepted at Cameria, were persuaded by Agrippa to desist to him. Fulvia also fled with her children to Dicaearchia, and thence to Brundusium, with 3000 horse, who were sent with her by the generals as an escort. At Brundusium there were five war-ships which had been sent for from Macedonia, and she embarked and put to sea, accompanied by Plancus, who abandoned the remains of his army through cowardice. These soldiers chose Ventidius as their commander. Asinius drew over Ahenobarbus to the side of Antony. Both Asinius and Ventidius wrote these facts to Antony, and they prepared landing-places, in expectation of his early arrival, and stores of provisions throughout Italy.

51. Octavian was planning to get possession of

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1 The Greek name of the modern Pozzuoli.
Αλπεις, οὐ Φούφιος Καληνός ἤγείτο, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεβούλευεν, ἦδη μὲν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπονοῶν, ἐλπίζων δὲ ἡ φίλω ἔτι ὄντι φυλάξειν ἢ πολε-μοῦντος μεγάλην ἱσχῦν προσλήψεσθαι. διαμέλ-λοντος δὲ ὠμος ἔτι αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς περιο- ρωμένον, ὁ Καληνός ἔτελεύτησε· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἐς ἀμφότερα πρόφασιν εὐρών, ἤει καὶ παρε- λάμβανε τὸν τοῖς στρατὸν καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἡβρίαν, καὶ τάσδε οὐσας ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίῳ, Φουβίον τοῦ παιδὸς Καληνοῦ καταπλαγέντος τὸν καὶ παραδόντος ἀπαντὰ ἀμαχεί.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἔνι τῶδε ἔργῳ ἐνδεκα τέλη στρατοῦ καὶ χώρας τοσάδε λαβὼν τοὺς ἁγε- μόνας αὐτῶν παρέλυνε τῆς ἁρχῆς καὶ ἱδίους ἐπιστήσας ἐς Ρώμην ἀνέστρεφεν 52. ὁ δὲ Ἀν- τώνιος χειμώνοις μὲν ἔτι τοὺς πρέσβεις καταίχε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν κληρουχιῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας, ἐτὶ ἐπικρύπτων, ἄ ἐφρὸνει, ἤρι δ' ἐκ μὲν Ἀλεξ- ανδρέας ἐς Τύρον ὠδευεν, ἐκ δὲ Τύρου δια- πλέων ἐπὶ Κύπρου καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀσίας ἱσθετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Περσίᾳ γεγονότων καὶ τῶν ἁδελ- φῶν ἐμέμβετο καὶ Φουβίλαν καὶ μάλιστα πάν- των Μάνιον. Φουβίλαν μὲν οὖν εὐρεν ἐν Ἀθή- ναις, ἐκ Βρεντσίου φυγοῦσαν. Ἰουλίαν δ' αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα Πομπήιος, ἐς αὐτὸν διαφυγόσαν, ἔπεμπεν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπὶ νεῶν μακρῶν, καὶ παρέ- πεμπτον αὐτὴν οἱ τῶν ἁμφὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἄριστοι, Λευκίως τε Λίβων, ὁ κηδεστὴς τοῦ Πομπηίου, καὶ Σατούρνίως καὶ ἑτεροί, ὁσοὶ χρήζοντες τῆς Ἀντωνίου μεγαλοπραγίας ἤξιον αὐτὸν συναλλα- γέντα Πομπηίῳ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ Καῖσαρι λαβείν 462.
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another considerable army belonging to Antony, that was under the command of Fufius Calenus near the Alps. He already had suspicions of Antony, and he hoped, if the latter remained friendly, to preserve these forces for him, or, if war should break out, to add this large force to his own strength. While he was still delaying and looking around for a fair-seeming occasion, Calenus died; and Octavian, believing that he had found a good excuse for both transactions, went and took possession of the army and of Gaul and Spain besides, which were also Antony’s provinces. Fufius, the son of Calenus, was terrific, and delivered everything over to him without a fight.

Octavian, having acquired eleven legions of soldiers and these large provinces by one stroke, dismissed the chief officers from their commands, substituted his own, and returned to Rome. 52. As it was still winter, Antony retained the deputies of the colonized veterans, who had been sent to him, and still concealed his intentions. In the spring he set out from Alexandria and proceeded by land to Tyre, and thence by sea, touching at Cyprus and Rhodes, to the province of Asia. There he learned of the doings at Perusia and he blamed his brother and Fulvia, and, most of all, Manius. He found Fulvia at Athens, whither she had fled from Brundusium. His mother, Julia, who had fled to Pompeius, had been sent thither by him from Sicily with warships, and escorted by some of the optimates of his party, by Lucius Libo, his father-in-law, by Saturninus and others, who, being attracted by Antony’s capacity for great deeds, sought to bring him into friendly relations with Pompeius and to form an alliance.
53. Ὅ μὲν ὁδὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐστὶ Ρώμην ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἐπαινὸν ἠσθετο μὲν τῶν ἐς Ἀθῆνας διαπεπλευκότων, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἀκριβεῖς ἀρα οὐκ εἴδος ἐξώτρυνε τοὺς κληρούχους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ως κατάγοντα μετὰ τῶν γεωργῶν Πομπήιον, ὃν αὐτῷ τὰ χωρία ἔχουσιν ἐς γὰρ δὴ Πομπήιον οἱ πλέον τῶν γεωργῶν ἕπεφεύγεσαν καὶ πιθανοῦ τοῦ διερεθίσματος ὄντος, οὐδὲ ὃς οἱ κληρούχοι προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἁντώνιον ἐστράτευσαν οὕτως ἢ δόξα τῶν ἐν Φιλίπποις γεγονότων ἐδημαγόγηκε τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Ἀντώνιον μὲν καὶ Πομπήιον καὶ Ἀννοβάρβου κατὰ πλήθος ὀπλιτῶν ὑπερόεισεν ἐνόμιζεν (ὅρκην γὰρ τελῶν ἐς τότε τεσσαράκοντα πλεόνων), ναῦν δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἔχουν οὐδὲ καιρὸν ἐς ναυπηγίαιν ὀφρόδει, ναῦς ἑκείων ἔχοντων πεντακοσίας, μὴ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιπλέουστες ἐς λιμῶν περιενεγκαίειν. δόν ἐνθυμούμενος (ἔλελεκτο δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ πολλῶν παρθένων ἐς γάμον) ἐπέστελλε Μαικήνα συνθέσας Σκριβωνία, τῇ Λίβωνος ὑδελφῇ, τοῦ κηδεύοντος Πομπήίω, ὃν ἔχου καὶ τὴν ἀφορμὴν ἐς διαλύσεις, εἰ δεήσειν. καὶ πυθόμενος ὁ Λίβων ἐπέστελλε τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐγγυάν αὐτὴν τῷ Καίσαρι 464
between them against Octavian. Antony replied that he thanked Pompeius for sending his mother and that he would requite him for the service in due time; that if there should be a war with Octavian he would ally himself with Pompeius, but that if Octavian should adhere to their agreements he would endeavour to reconcile him with Pompeius.

53. Such was his answer, and when Octavian returned from Gaul to Rome he heard about those who had set sail for Athens. Not knowing exactly what answer Antony had given them, he began to excite the colonized soldiers against the latter, representing that Antony intended to bring back Pompeius with the owners of the lands which the soldiers now held, for most of the owners had taken refuge with Pompeius. Although this cause of irritation was plausible, the soldiers would not even then take up arms against Antony with any zeal, so popular had he become by the reputation he had gained at Philippi. Octavian considered himself likely to be far superior to Antony, Pompeius, and Ahenobarbus in the number of troops, as he now had more than forty legions, but as he had not one ship and no time to make any, while they had 500, he feared lest they should bring famine upon Italy by patrolling the coast. While meditating on those things, and while proposals had been made to him about many girls in marriage, he wrote to Maecenas to make an engagement for him with Scribonia, the sister of Libo, the father-in-law of Pompeius, so that he might have the means of coming to an arrangement with the latter if need be. When Libo heard of this he wrote to his family that they should betroth her to Octavian without hesitation.
ΚΑΠ. VI

προθύμως. ο δὲ Καίσαρ τῶν Ἀντωνίου φίλων καὶ στρατῶν ὅσοις ὑπώπτευε, διέπεμπεν ἔπι προ-
φάσεων ἄλλους ἄλλαχοι καὶ Δέπιδον ἐς τὴν ἐψηφισμένην αὐτῷ Λιβύην, ἀγοντα τῶν Ἀν-
τωνίου τελῶν τὰ ὑποπτότατα ἔξ.

54. Δεύκιον δὲ καλέσας ἐπήνευ μὲν ἐς φιλα-
δελφίαν, εἰ τῇ Ἀντωνίου γνώμῃ ὑπομεμενήκως ἰδίων τὸ ἄμαρτημα ποιοῖτο, ὁμείδιζε δὲ ἐς ἀχα-
ριστίαν, εἰ τοιούτοι τυχῶν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ νῦν ὀμολογοῖ ἐπεὶ Ἀντωνίου, σαφῶς ἤδη καὶ Πομ-
πηρίῳ συνθέσθαι λεγομένου. "ἔγω δὲ σοι πισ-
τεύων," ἐφη, "Καληνοῦ τελευτήσαντος τά τε ἑθή τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν στρατῶν, ἵνα μὴ
ἀναρχος εἰη, διὰ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φίλων διόκουν Ἀντωνίῳ. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐκφανείσης τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκεῖνά τε ἐμαυτοῦ πάντα ποιοῦμαι καὶ σοὶ πρὸς
tὸν ἄδελφον ἀπίεναι θέλοντι συγχωρῶ μετὰ ἄδειάς." ο μὲν οὕτως εἰπεν, εἶτε πειρῶμενος τοῦ
Δεύκιου, εἶτε τὸ λεχθὲν ἐκπεσείν ἔθελον ἐς τὸν Ἀντωνίου· ο δὲ οἶαι καὶ πρότερον εἶπε: "Φουλ-
βίας μὲν ἡσθομήν οὔσης μοναρχίκης, ἐγὼ δὲ
συνεχρώμην τοῖς τοῦ ἄδελφου στρατοῖς ἐς τὴν ἀπάντων ὑμῶν καθαίρεσιν. καὶ νῦν, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ
kαταλύσει τῆς μοναρχίας ἔρχοιτο ὁ ἄδελφός, καὶ
φανερός καὶ λαθῶν οἰχήσομαι πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὑγω-
νιούμενος αὕτης ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πρὸς σὲ,
καίπερ ἤδη μοι γενόμενον εὐεργέτην. εἰ δὲ ἐπιλέ-
γοιτο κάκεινος καὶ διακρῖνοι τοὺς συμμοναρχή-
σοντας αὐτῷ, πολεμίσω σὺν σοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν,
ἔως ἢν ἴγωμαι μηδὲ σὲ μοναρχίαν καθίστασθαι; τὸ γὰρ τῆς πατρίδος αἰεὶ προθῆσο καὶ χάριτος

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Then Octavian, on various pretexts, sent away to this place and that, such of Antony's friends and soldiers as he could not trust, and he sent Lepidus to Africa, the province assigned to him, and with him the six of Antony's legions who were most under suspicion.

54. Then he summoned Lucius to his presence and praised him for his attachment to his brother, because he had taken the blame upon himself while carrying out Antony's wishes, but reproached him with ingratitude, if, after meeting such a favour from himself, he should now refuse to make confession concerning Antony, who was said to have formed an alliance openly with Pompeius. "Having confidence in you," he said, "when Calenus died I took charge of his provinces and army through my friends for Antony, so that they might not be without a head, but now that the plot is unveiled I shall keep them all for myself, and if you wish to go to your brother I will allow you to do so fearlessly." He spoke thus, either to test Lucius or in order that what he said might reach Antony. Lucius replied in the same spirit as before, saying, "I knew that Fulvia was in favour of the monarchy, but I joined with her and made use of my brother's soldiers to overthrow all of you. And now if my brother should come to dissolve the monarchy I will go to join him, either openly or secretly, and will fight you again in behalf of the country, although you have been a benefactor to me. But if he seeks allies to assist him in maintaining the tyranny, I will fight on your side against him as long as I think that you, too, are not trying to establish a monarchy. For I shall always set my country above gratitude and above family."

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καὶ γένοις." Ὅδε μὲν ὁ Λεύκιος εἶπεν, ὃ δὲ Καίσαρ αὐτὸν καὶ τέως ἐν θαύματι ἁγὼν ύπὲ ἐφῇ μὲν οὐδὲ βουλόμενον ἐπάξεσθαι κατὰ ἀδελφοῦ, πιστεύσειν δὲ ὡς τούδε ἀνδρὶ πᾶσαν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατόν, ὑποστρατηγοῦντων αὐτῷ τῶν νῦν ἡγουμένων αὐτῆς Πεδούκαιόν τε καὶ Λευκίου.

Οὗτος μὲν δὴ καὶ Λεύκιος ὁ Καίσαρ ἀπέπεμπε σὺν τιμῇ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων ἐφύλασσεν ἀφανὸς. 55. 'Ἀντώνιος δὲ Φουλβίαν μὲν ἐν Σικυώνι νοσηλευομένην ἀπέλιπεν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κερκύρας ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον ἔπελε, στρατῷ μὲν οὐ πολλῷ, ναυοῖ δὲ διακοσίας, ἃς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πεποίητο. πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀννόβαρβον ἀπαντᾷν αὐτῷ ναυοῖ καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ, οὐ δοκοῦντα τισιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ ταῖς διαπεμφθείσαις σπουδαῖς εἶναι βέβαιον (ἢ γὰρ Ἀννόβαρβος τῶν κατεγνωσμένων τε ἐκ δίκης ἐπὶ Γαίῳ Καίσαρι φόνου καὶ προγεγραμμένων ἐπὶ τῇ καταδίκῃ καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι πεπολεμηκότων), ὅμως ἔπελε, πέντε ναυσὶν ἐπὶ βὰς ταῖς ἄρισταις, ὡς φαίνοτο πιστεύοντο, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπεσθαὶ κελεύσας. καθορμέουν δὲ ἦδη τοῦ Ἀννοβάρβου παντὶ τῇ στρατῷ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ μετ' ἀξιωματικοῦ ἀρματοῦ προσπλέοντος, ἔδεισεν ὁ Πλάγκος Ἀντωνίῳ παρεστῶς καὶ ἐπισχεῖν αὐτὸν ἧξειον τῶν πλοίων καὶ προπέμψαι τινὰς ἐς περαν ὡς πρὸς ἀμφίβολον ἀνδρα. ὃ δὲ εἰτὼν αἰρεῖται παραπτομένους ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ σφῆσθαι δειλὸς ὥφθεις,
So spake Lucius. Octavian, holding him in the same admiration as recently [at Perusia], said that he did not wish to incite him against his brother, but that he would entrust to Lucius, because he was what he was, the whole of Spain, and the army in it, with Peducaeus and Lucius, who now commanded it, as his lieutenants.¹

Thus Octavian dismissed Lucius with honour, but kept a secret watch upon him by means of his lieutenants. 55. Antony left Fulvia ill at Sicyon, and set sail from Corcyra into the Adriatic with an inconsiderable army and 200 ships that he had built in Asia. Antony learned that Ahenobarbus was coming to meet him with a fleet and a large number of soldiers. Then some of Antony's friends thought that it was not safe to trust even to the agreement exchanged between them, since Ahenobarbus had been condemned at the trial of Caesar's murderers, and after the condemnation had been placed on the list of the proscribed, and had fought against Antony and Octavian in the campaign of Philippi. Nevertheless, Antony advanced with five of his best ships in order to seem to have confidence in Ahenobarbus, and he ordered the others to follow at a certain distance. When Ahenobarbus was observed coming forward, rowing swiftly, with his whole army and fleet, Plancus, who was standing by the side of Antony, was alarmed and advised him to check his course and send a few men forward to make a test, as to a man whose intentions were doubtful. Antony replied that he would rather die by a breach of the treaty than be saved by an appearance of cowardice, and con-

¹ Perhaps Lucius Carinas.
ἈΠΠΙΑΝ’S ῬΩΜΑΙΟΝ ἙΣΤΙΟΝ

ΚΑΠ. VI

ἐπλεί. πλησίον τε ἦσαν ἀλλήλων ἤδη, καὶ αἱ ναυαρχίδες ἐκ τῶν σημείων ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ἀλλήλας προσέπλεον καὶ τῶν ῥαβδοῦχων ὁ ἡγούμενος Ἀντωνίῳ, κατὰ τὴν πρόθεσιν, ἦσσπερ ἔθος ἔστιν, ἔστώς, εἰτ’ ἐκλαθόμενος, ὅτι ἀμφίβολος ἄνήρ καὶ στρατοῦ κάκεινος ἡγούμενος ἴδιον προσπλέοι, εἰτὲ ἅπαντα ἐνεγενεστέρου φρονήματος, ὡς ὑπηκοόν ἡ ἐλάσσοσιν ἀνδράσιν ὑπαιτώσι, προσέταξε καθελεῖν το σημεῖον. οἱ δὲ καθήκοντες καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Ἀντωνίου νεός περιέστρεφον. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνιδόντες ἀλλήλους ἡσπάσαντο καὶ οἱ στρατοὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἀγαβάρβου τῶν Ἀντώνιου ἡγεμόνων προσεῖπτο, ὁ μὲν Πλάγκος ἀνεθάρρηκε καὶ μόνης, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ναῦν τῶν Ἀγαβάρβου ἀναδεξάμενος ἐς Παλόντε θαύμα τετελευσεν, ἐνθα ἦν Ἀγαβάρβως καὶ τὸ πεζόν. καὶ ὁ Ἀγαβάρβος τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξιστάτω Ἀντωνίῳ.

56. Ἐοντεύθεν ἐπὶ Βρεντεσίων διέπλεον, φυλασσομένου πρὸς πέντε Καίσαρος τάξεων, καὶ οἱ Βρεντεσίου τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλειον. Ἀγαβάρβῳ μὲν ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμίῳ, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὡς πολέμου ἐπάγοντο. ὁ δὲ ἀγανακτῶν καὶ ἡγούμενος εἶναι τὰς καλλωπίσματα, τὸ δ’ ἄληθες ἀποκλείεσθαι πρὸς τῶν Καίσαρος φρουρῶν γνώµῃ Καίσαρος, διετάφρενε τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἱσθμῶν καὶ ἀπετείχεσαν. ἐστι δ’ ἡ πόλις χερσάνθησις ἐν μηνοεδιει λιμένι, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἔτι τοῖς ἧπειρον προσελθεῖν ἀνάντει λόφῳ, διατημεμένῳ τε καὶ διατετειχισμένῳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος καὶ τὸν λιμένα μέγαν ὄντα φρουρίους πυκνοῖς περιεφράξατο καὶ τὰς νῆσους τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ. ἐς τα παράλια τῆς Ἰταλίας περιέπεμπεν, οἷς ἐϊρήτο τὰ εὔκαιρα.
continued his course. Now they were drawing near, and the vessels which bore the chiefs were distinguishable by their ensigns and approached each other. Antony's first liege, who stood in the bows as was customary, either forgetful that Ahenobarbus was a man of doubtful purpose, and that he too was leading his own forces, or moved by a lofty spirit as though he were meeting subject or inferior men, ordered them to lower their flag. They did so, and laid their ship alongside of Antony's. When the two commanders saw each other they exchanged greetings, and the army of Ahenobarbus saluted Antony as imperator. Plancus recovered his courage with difficulty. Antony received Ahenobarbus in his own ship and sailed to Palocis, where Ahenobarbus had his infantry, and here he yielded his tent to Antony.

56. From thence they sailed to Brundusium, which was garrisoned by five cohorts of Octavian's troops. The citizens closed their gates against Ahenobarbus, as an old enemy, and against Antony, as one introducing an enemy. Antony was indignant, and considering this a pretence, and that he was in fact shut out by Octavian's garrison at the latter's instance, he drew a ditch and palisade across the isthmus that connects the town with the mainland. The city is situated on a peninsula which fronts a crescent-shaped harbour, and the people coming from the mainland could no longer reach the rising ground on which the city stands, as it had been cut off and walled in. Antony also surrounded the harbour, which is large, and the islands in it, with towers planted closely together. He sent forces along the coasts of Italy, whom he ordered to seize

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CAP. VI. καταλαμβάνειν. ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ Πομπήιον ἐπιπλεῖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ δρᾶν, ὅ τι δύνατο. ὃ δὲ ἄσμενος αὐτίκα Μηνόδωρον σὺν ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατοῦ τέσσαρι τέλεσιν ἐκπέμψας Σαρδῶ Καίσαρος οὐσάν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ δύο τέλη περιέσπασε τῇ συμφροσύνῃ Ἀντωνίου καταπλαγέντας. τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας Σπούντα μὲν τῆς Αὐσονίας οἱ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατέλαβον, Ὀυρίους δὲ καὶ Κωνσεντίαν Πομπήιος ἐπολιόρκηκε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπενέμετο τοῖς ἰππεῦσιν.

57. Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ, ὄξεις καὶ πανταχοῦ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως γενομένης, ἐς μὲν τῇ Αὐσονίᾳ ἔπεμπεν Ἀγρίππαν ἐπικουρεῖν τοῖς πονουμένοις. καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας τοὺς ἐν ὁδῷ κληρούχους ἤγγει, ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπομένους ὡς ἐπὶ Πομπῆίον ἰόντας· μαθόντες δὲ Ἀντωνίου γνώμη τὰ γυνώμενα εἶναι, ἀνέστρεφον αὐτίκα διαλαθάνοντες. καὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα κατέπληξε τὸν Καίσαρα. ὁδεύων δὲ ὅρας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον αὐτὸς μεθ' ἐτέρου στρατοῦ, τοῖς κληρούχοις αὐθίς ἐνετύγχανε καὶ μετεδίδασκε καὶ τοὺς ύφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνφιλισμένους ἤγει, αἰδουμένους καὶ γυνώμῃ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ποιουμένους Ἀντώνιον καὶ Καίσαρα συναλλάσσειν, εἰ δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἄπειθῶν πολεμοῖς, Καίσαρι ἄμυνειν. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐν μὲν Καυσίῳ τινὰς ἡμέρας ἐνοσηλεύετο, παυτὶ δὲ ἰὰς ἐτι κρείσσοις Ἀντώνιον κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος, εὗρε τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀποτετειχισμένον καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἡ παρεστατοπέδευε καὶ τοῖς γυνώμενοις ἐφήδρευεν.

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the advantageous positions. He called upon Pompeius also to move against Italy with his fleet and do whatever he could. Pompeius, with alacrity, despatched Menodorus with a numerous fleet and four legions of soldiers, who seized Sardinia, which belonged to Octavian, and two legions in it, who were panic-stricken at this agreement between Pompeius and Antony. In Italy Antony's men captured the town of Sipuntum of Ausonia. Pompeius besieged Thurii and Consentia and ravaged their territory with his cavalry.

57. Octavian, attacked so suddenly and in so many places, sent Agrippa into Ausonia to succour the distressed inhabitants. Agrippa called out the colonized veterans along the road, and they followed at a certain interval, supposing that they were moving against Pompeius, but when they learned that what was happening was at Antony's instance, they turned around and went back secretly. Octavian was greatly alarmed by this. Nevertheless, while marching to Brundusium with another army he again fell in with the colonized veterans, and interceded with them, and prevailed upon those who had been colonized by himself to follow him. They were ashamed to refuse, but they had the secret intention to bring Antony and Octavian into harmony with each other, and if Antony should refuse and should go to war, then to defend Octavian. The latter was detained some days at Canusium by sickness. Although his forces considerably outnumbered those of Antony, he found Brundusium walled in, and he could do nothing but encamp alongside of it and await events.
58. "O δ' 'Antónios ἐκράτει μὲν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν ὡς πολὺ μείονας ἦχουν ἄσφαλῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι, ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Μακεδονίας κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ ἐτέχναζεν ἐσπέρας ἀφανῶς ἀνάγεσθαι ναῦς μακρὰς τε καὶ στρογγύλας ἰδιωτικοῦ πλῆθους, οὗ μεθ' ἠμέραν ἄλλου μετ' ἄλλους κατέπλευον ὕπλισμένου καθάπερ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπιώντες, ἐφορῶντος αὐτῶν τὸν ἐπίπλουν τοῦ Καίσαρος. ἦδη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα γεγένητο, καὶ ἐπιχειρήσεων ἐμέλλε τοῖς Βρεντεσίοις, ἀχθομένου τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι μὴ εἴχεν ἐπαμάνειν. περὶ δὲ ἐσπέραν ἐκατέρως ἀγγέλλεται Σιπούντα μὲν Ἀγρίππας ἀναλαβὼν, Πομπήιος δὲ Θούριος μὲν ἀπεωσμένος, Κωνσεντίαν δ' ἔτι περικαθήμενος, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ 'Ἀντώνιος ἐδυσχέραινε. ὡς δὲ καὶ Σερούλλιος ὠπηρηγέλθη προσίδων τῷ Καίσαρι μετὰ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ἵππεων, οὐ κατασχὼν τῆς ὀρμῆς ὁ 'Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου, μεθ' δὲν εὗρεν ἐτοίμων φίλων καὶ ἵππεων τετρακοσίων, μᾶλα θρασείως ἐπειράθας ἐπέπεσε τοῖς χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις εὐτυχομένους ἐτὶ περὶ πόλιν Ἡραίαν καὶ ἐκπλήξας ἀμαχεῖ παρέλαβε τε καὶ αὐτῆς ἠμέρας ἐς τὸ Βρεντεσίον ἐπανήγαγεν. οὐτω τὸν 'Ἀντώνιον ὡς ἀμαχὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐν Φιλίπποις δόξης ἦταν κατεπετλήγαταν.

59. Αἳ τε στρατηγίδες αὐτοῦ τάξεις, ὑπὸ τῆς δόξης ἐπαιρόμεναι, προσεπέλαξον τῷ χάρακι τῷ Καίσαρος κατὰ μέρη καὶ τοὺς συνεστρατευμένους σφάζον ὑνείδιζον, εἰ πολεμήσοντες ἦκοιεν Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ πάντας αὐτοὺς περισσῶσαντι ἐν Φιλίπποις. τῶν δὲ ἀντιπικαλούντων, ὅτι αὐτοῖς σφάζω ἂν οὐκ ἕκασι πολεμήσοντες, λόγοι συνισταμένων 474
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58. Antony was enabled by means of his entrenchments to defend himself easily, although he was much inferior in numbers, and he summoned his army from Macedonia in haste, and in the meantime resorted to the stratagem of sending war-ships and merchant vessels to sea by night secretly with a multitude of private citizens on board, who returned, in batches, the next day, in sight of Octavian, fully armed, as though they had just come from Macedonia. Antony had his machines already prepared and was about to attack the Brundusians, to the great chagrin of Octavian, since he was not able to defend them. But toward evening the news reached both armies that Agrippa had captured Sipontum and that Pompeius had been repulsed from Thurii, but was still besieging Consentia. Antony was disturbed by this news. When it was announced that Servilius was coming to the assistance of Octavian with 1500 horse, Antony could not restrain his rage, but sprang up from supper, and, with such friends as he could find ready and with 400 horse, he pressed forward with the utmost intrepidity, and fell upon the 1500, who were still asleep near the town of Hyria, threw them into a panic, captured them without a fight, and returned to Brundusium the same day. Thus did the reputation that Antony had gained at Philippi as invincible still inspire terror.

59. Antony’s praetorian cohorts, proud of his prestige, approached the camp of Octavian in groups and reproached their former comrades for coming hither to fight Antony, to whom they all owed their safety at Philippi. When the latter replied that the others had come making war against themselves,
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ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἀλλήλοις προὔφερον, οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀπόκλεισιν τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ Καληνοῦ στρατοῦ, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀποτελεῖ- χίσιν τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς Αὐσονίδος καταδρομήν καὶ τὸ συνθέσια μὲν Ἀηνοβάρβῳ σφαγεῖ Γαίου Καίσαρος, συνθέσθαι δὲ Πομπηίῳ κοινῷ πολεμῷ. καὶ τέλος οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὴν γνώμην σφῶν τοῖς ἑτέροις ἀνε- κάλυπτον, ὅτι Καίσαρι συνέλθοικεν οὐκ ἀμνημο- νούντες Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ διαλλαγὰς ἐπιυποῦντες ἀμφοτέρους ἢ Ἀντωνίου ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ πολεμοῦντα ἀμνοῦμενοι. καὶ τάδε καὶ αὐτοὶ προσπελάσσοντες τοῖς Ἀντωνίου χαρακῶμασι προὔφερον.

Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἀγχέλλεται Φουλβία τεθνεώσα, λεγομένη μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἀντωνίου μέμψεσιν ἀθυμήσαι καὶ ἐς τὴν νόσον ἐμπεσεῖν, νομιζόμενη δὲ καὶ τὴν νόσου ἐκοῦσα ἐπιτρίψαε διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν Ἀντωνίου νοσοῦσαν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπολελοίπει καὶ οὔδε ἀπολεῖπτον ἑωράκει. ἐδόκει δὲ ἀμφοτέροις ἐς πολλὰ συνοίσεις ὁ θάνατος; γυναῖκι φιλοπράγμονως ἀπηλλαγμένους, ἢ διὰ τῶν Κλεοπάτρας ζηλοῦν ἐξερρίπτεσε τοσοῦτο πόλεμον. τὸ γε μὴν πάθος ἄσθενῶς ἦνεγκεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἦγονυμένος τι καὶ αὐτίος γεγονέναι.

VII

CAP. VII

60. Λεύκιος δὲ ἦν Κοκκήζος ἑκατέρῳ φίλος καὶ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐς Φοινίκην τοῦ πρωτέρου θέρους 476·
they fell to arguing and brought charges against each other. Antony's men said that Brundusium had been closed against him and that Caenus' troops had been taken from him, the others spoke of the investment and siege of Brundusium, the invasion of Southern Italy, the agreement with Ahenobarbus, one of Caesar's murderers, and the treaty with Pompeius, their common enemy. Finally Octavian's men revealed their purpose to the others, saying that they had come with Octavian, not because they were forgetful of Antony's merits, but with the intention of bringing them to an agreement, or, if Antony refused and continued the war, of defending Octavian against him. These things they openly said also when they approached Antony's works.

While these events were in progress the news came that Fulvia was dead. It was said that she was dispirited by Antony's reproaches and fell sick, and it was thought that she had become a willing victim of disease on account of the anger of Antony, who had left her while she was sick and had not visited her even when he was going away. The death of this turbulent woman, who had stirred up so disastrous a war on account of her jealousy of Cleopatra, seemed extremely fortunate to both of the parties who were rid of her. Nevertheless, Antony was much saddened by this event because he considered himself in some sense the cause of it.

VII

60. There was a certain Lucius Cocceius, a friend of both, who had been sent, in company with
Τον Ἀντώνιον ἀπέσταλτο μετὰ Καϊκίνα, ἔπαινότος δὲ τοῦ Καϊκίνα παρὰ Ἀντωνίφω κατεμεν. οὗτος τότε ὁ Κοκκής, τὸν καιρὸν οὐ μεθεῖς, ὑπεκρίνατο μεταπεμφθῆναι πρὸς Καίσαρος ἀσπασόμενος αὐτῶν. συγχωροῦντος δ' ἀπίειν τοῦ Ἀντώνιου πειρώμενος ἦρετο, εἰ τι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιστέλλει τῷ Καίσαρι, κεκοιμημένος δὲ αὐτοῦ Κοκκήνου γράμματα. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος "νῦν μὲν," ἔφη, "τι ἄν ἀλλήλοις γράφοιμεν, ὧτες ἔχθροι, εἰ μὴ κακῶς ἀγορεύοιμεν ἀλλήλους; ἀντεγραφαὶ δὲ τοῖς πάλαι διὰ Καϊκίνα· καὶ εἰ βούλει, λάβε τὰ ἀντίγραφα." ὁ μὲν οὖτως ἐπεκλεψαε, ὁ δὲ Κοκκής οὐκ εἶα πω τὸν Καίσαρα καλεῖν ἐχθρόν, ἔς τε Δεύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς Ἀντωνίου φίλους τοιόνδε γεγενημένον. ὁ δὲ "ἐκ Βρεντεσίου με," φησίν, "ἀποκλείων καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὸν Καληνοῦ στρατὸν ἀφαιρούμενος ἐτι τοὺς φίλους ἐστὶν εὐνοὺς μόνους· σοῦ δὲ τοὺς φίλους ἔμοι περισσότερον ἐσουὲν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς εὐρεγεσίαις ἐχθροποιεῖν." καὶ ὁ Κοκκής, ὁ μὲν ἐπεμέμφετο μαθῶν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἐτι δεύτεραν φύσιν ἐπερεθίσας, ὀρθῶς πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα.

61. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἱδὼν ἐν θαύματι ἐποιεῖτο, ὅτι μὴ ἠδελφὸν ἔλθων· "οὐ γὰρ," ἔφη, "καὶ τὸν σὸν ἠδελφὸν, ἐν ἔχθρος ἦγ' μοι, περείσωσα." ὁ δὲ "πῶς," ἔφη, "τοὺς μὲν ἔχθρους φίλους ποιῆ, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἔχθρους ἀποκαλεῖς, τοις τὸν στρατὸν ἀφαιρῆ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη;" καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ "οὐ γάρ," ἔφη, "Καληνοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἔχρην

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Caecina, by Octavian, the previous summer, to Antony in Phoenicia, and had remained with Antony after Caecina returned. This Cocceius, seizing his opportunity, pretended that he had been sent for by Octavian for the purpose of a friendly greeting. When Antony allowed him to go he asked, by way of testing his disposition, whether Antony would like to write any letter to Octavian making use of himself as his messenger. Antony replied: “What can we write to each other, now that we are enemies, except mutual recrimination? I wrote letters in reply to his of some time ago, which I sent by the hand of Caecina. Take copies of those if you like.” This he said by way of jest, but Cocceius would not yet allow him to call Octavian an enemy after his generous behaviour towards Lucius and Antony’s other friends. But Antony replied: “He has shut me out of Brundusium and taken my provinces and the army of Calenus from me. He is kind only to my friends, and evidently not to keep them friendly, but to make them enemies to me by his benefactions.” Cocceius, after hearing these complaints, did not care to irritate further a naturally passionate disposition, but proceeded to make his visit to Octavian.

61. When Octavian saw him he expressed astonishment that he had not come sooner. “I did not save your brother,” he exclaimed, “in order that you should be my enemy.” Cocceius replied, “How is it that you, who make friends out of enemies, call your friends enemies and take from them their armies and provinces?” “It was not fitting,” replied Octavian, “that after the death of Calenus

1 The brother was M. Cocceius Nerva, Antony’s proquaestor.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VII

ἐπὶ μειρακίῳ τῷ Καληνοῦ παιδὶ γενέσθαι τοσαύτας ἀφορμάς, ἀπόντος ἔτι Ἄντωνίου· αὐς καὶ Δεύκιος ἑπαρθεῖς ἐμάνη, καὶ Ἄσινιος καὶ Ἀγνόβαρβος γειτονεύοντος ἐχρόντο καθ' ἡμῶν. ἔτει καὶ τὰ Πλάγκου τέλη κατὰ σπουδὴν κατέλαβον, ἵνα μὴ οὐχίοτε πρὸς Πομπήιον· οἱ γοὺς ἑπτεῖς αὐτῶν διέπλευσαν ἐς Σικελίαν." καὶ ὁ Κοκκής "ἐτέρως," ἐφη, "τάδε λογοποιοῦμενα οὐδὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐπίστευν, ἔως ἀπεκλείσθη τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καθάπερ πολέμιος." καὶ ὁ Καϊσαρ οὖν ἔδω μὲν αὐτὸς ἐφη περὶ τούδε προστάξαι (οὐδὲ γὰρ προμαθεῖν προσπλέοντα οὐδ' ἀφικέσθαι μετὰ πολεμίων προσδοκῆσαι), Βρεντέσιος δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ τὸν ὑπολειμμένον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὰς Ἀγνοβάρβους καταδρομὸς ταξίαρχον αὐτοκελεύστους ἀποκλεῖσαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον, συνθῆμεν μὲν ἐχθρῷ κοινῷ Πομπηίῳ, ἐπαγαγόντα δὲ Ἀγνοβάρβου Φονέα τὸν ἐμοῦ πατρός, ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει καὶ προγραφῇ κατεγνωσμένου καὶ πολυρκήσαντα μὲν τὸ Βρεντέσιον μετὰ Φιλίππους, πολυρκοῦντα δὲ ἔτι τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐν κύκλῳ, ἐμπρήσαντα δὲ τὰς ἐμὰς ναῦς καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν λεηλατήσαντα.

62. Ὅ δὲ "σπένδεσθαι μὲν," ἐφη, "συνεχώρησσατε ἀλλήλους, πρὸς οὓς ἄν ἐθέλητε· καὶ οὐδεμί τῶν ἀνδροφόνων Ἀντώνιος ἐσπείσατο, οὐδὲν ἔλασσον ἢ αὐτὸς σὺ τὸν σὸν πατέρα τιμῶν. Ἀγνοβάρβος δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων, ἢ δὲ ψήφος αὐτῷ κατ' ὀργὴν ἐπῆκται· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς 480
such large resources should be left in the hands of such a stripling as Calenus' son while Antony was still far distant. Lucius was excited to frenzy by them and Asinius and Ahenobarbus, who were near by, were about to use them against us. So, too, I took sudden possession of the legions of Plancus, in order that they might not join the Pompeians. His cavalry has actually gone to Sicily." "These matters have been told differently," said Coccoeus; "but even Antony did not credit the statements made to him until he was shut out of Brundusium as an enemy." "I gave no order on that subject," replied Octavian, "for I did not know beforehand that he was coming, nor did I anticipate that he would come here with enemies. The Brundusians themselves and the praefect, who had been left with them on account of the raids of Ahenobarbus, of their own motion excluded Antony, who was in league with the common enemy, Pompeius, and was bringing in Ahenobarbus, one of my father's murderers, who had been condemned by vote of the Senate, by judgment of the court, and by the proscription, who besieged Brundusium after the battle of Philippi, and is still blockading the Adriatic coast, who has burned my ships and plundered Italy."

62. "But it was agreed between you," said He argues for Antony's rectitude Cocceius, "that you might treat with whomsoever you chose. Yet Antony has not made a treaty with any of the murderers, and he holds your father in no less honour than you do. Ahenobarbus was not one of the murderers, but the vote was cast against him on account of personal animosity, for he had no share whatever in the plots of those
βουλής πω τότε μετείχεν. εἰ δ’ ὧς φίλω Βρούτου μὴ συγγνώναι νομίζομεν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμεν ὁλόγου δεῖν ἀπασὶ χαλεπαίνοντες; Πομπηίῳ δὲ οὐ συνέθετο μὲν συμμαχήσειν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, πολεμούμενος δ’ ὑπὸ σοῦ προσλήψεσθαι σύμμαχον ἢ καὶ σοὶ συναλλάξειν, οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον οὐδ’ ἐκείνου εἰργασμένον. οὐ δὲ καὶ τῶνδε τὴν αἵτιαν ἔχεις: εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπολεμήθη κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οὐδ’ ἂν οὕτω πρεσβεύεσθαι ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἑθάρρουν.” καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἔτι ἐπικαλῶν “τὴν μὲν Ἰταλίαν,” ἐφη, “κἀμὲ σὺν αὐτῇ, Μανιοὶ καὶ Φουλβία καὶ Λεύκιοι ἐπολέμουν ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος οὐ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἀντωνίφθαρρῶν ἐπιβεβηκε τῆς παραλίου.” καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος “οὐκ Ἀντωνίφθαρρῶν,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ ὑπ’ Ἀντωνίου πεμφθείς. οὐ γὰρ ἐπικρύψω σε, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἐπιδραμεῖται ναυτικῷ πολλῷ ναυτικῶν οὐκ ἔχονσαν, εἰ μὴ διαλύσεσθε ὑμεῖς.” ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ὁ γὰρ ἀμελῶς ἠκουσε τοῦ τεχνάσματος ἐπισχῶν ὁλόγου εἶπεν “ἀλλ’ οὐ χαίρησε Πομπήιος, κακὸς κακῶς καὶ νῦν ἐκ Θουρίων ἐξελαθείς.” καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος τὰ ἀμφίλογα πάντα κατιδὼν ἐπῆγε τὸν Φουλβίας θάνατον καὶ τρόπον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ὀργὴν Ἀντωτίου δυσχεράνασά τε νοσήσει καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐπιτρίψεις ὑπὸ τῆς δυσθυμίας, οὐκ ἴδοντος αὐτῆν οὐδὲ νοσοῦσαν Ἀντωνίου, ὡς αἰτίων τῇ γυναικὶ θανάτου γενόμενον ἐκπόδῳ δὲ κάκεινης γενομένης, οὐδενὸς ὕμιν ἐνδείχνει ἐτὶ ἐφη “πρὸς ἀλλήλους τινὰν ἀληθεύσατε, περὶ ὄν ὑπενοῆσατε.”

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days. If we consider him unpardonable because he was a friend of Brutus, are we not in a fair way to be bitter against almost everybody? Antony made an agreement with Pompeius, not to make an aggressive war with him, but either to secure his help in case of an attack by you, or to bring him into good relations with you, since even he has done nothing which should make him irreconcilable. You are the one to blame for these things, for if there had been no war in Italy those men would not have ventured to send ambassadors to Antony.” Octavian repeated his accusations, saying, “Manius and Fulvia and Lucius brought war against Italy, and against me as well as Italy; and Pompeius, who did not attack before, now makes descents upon the coast, encouraged by Antony.” Cocceius replied, “Not encouraged by Antony, but directed by him; for I will not conceal from you the fact that the rest of Italy, which is destitute of naval defences, will be attacked by a powerful fleet unless you two agree to peace.” Octavian, who gave due weight to this artful suggestion, reflected a moment, and then said, “But Pompeius will have the worst of it. He has just been repulsed from Thurii as he deserves.” Then Cocceius, having gone over the whole controversy, led the conversation up to the death of Fulvia and the manner of it, saying that she fell sick because she could not bear the anger of Antony and wasted away with grief because he would not see her even when she was ill, and that he was in a manner the cause of his wife’s death. “Now that she is dead,” he continued, “it only remains for you to tell each other frankly what your suspicions are.”
ΑΡΧΙΚΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

CAP. VII 63. Οὔτω καθομιλῶν τὸν Καίσαρα ὁ Κοκκήμος ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξευνέζετο παρ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐδείκτο ἐπιστείλα τι τῷ Ἀντώνιῳ, νεώτερον ὅταν πρεσβυτέρω. ὁ δὲ πολεμοῦντι μὲν ἠτὶ ὁμ ἐφη γράψειν οὐδὲ γαρ ἐκείνω μέμψεσθαι δ’ αὐτοῦ τῇ μητρί, ὅτι συγγενῆς οὕσα καὶ προτιμηθεῖσα ἐκ πάντων ὃφ’ αὐτοῦ, φύγοι τῷ Ἰταλίῳ καθάπερ ὦ τευξομένη πάντων ὡς παρ’ νοῦν. δὲ δὲ μὲν καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐτέχναξε καὶ ἐπέστειλε τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ. ἔξιόντι δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῷ Κοκκήῳ πολλοὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τὴν γνώμην ἐξεφερον τοῦ στρατοῦ. ὁ δὲ καὶ τάλλα καὶ τόδε αὐτὸ τῷ Ἀντώνιῳ μετέφερεν, ἵνα εἰδείῃ πολεμήσοντας οὐ συντιθεμένῳ. συνεβούλευεν οὖν Πομπήιον μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν εἴ δὲν ἐπόρθει μετακαλεῖν, ὁ Ἀννόβαρβον δὲ ποι πέμπειν, ἐὼς αἱ συνθῆκαι γένοντο. παρακαλοῦσθαι δὲ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐς ταῦτα τῶν Ἀντώνιον (γένει γὰρ ἢν ἐκ τῶν Ἰουλίων), ἵσχυνετο Ἀντώνιος, ἐμὴ γενομένων τῶν συμβάσεων τῶν Πομπήιον αὖθις ἐς συμμαχίαν καλοῖς. τῆς δὲ μητρὸς οὖκ ἀπελπισθοῦσις αὐτὰς ἔσεσθαι καὶ Κοκκήῳ ἰσχυριζόμενοι τε περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλπίζομένου τι πλέον εἰδέναι, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐνεδίδοι καὶ τῶν Πομπήιον ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐς Σικελίαν, ὡς ἐπιμελησόμενοι τῶν συγκεκριμένων, καὶ ὁ Ἀννόβαρβον ἐπεμπεῖν ἤγιεσθαι Βιθυνίας.

64. Ὡς οστρακῆς ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος αἰσθανό-484
63. In this way Cocceius won the confidence of Octavian and passed the day as his guest, and begged him to write to Antony as the younger man to the older. Octavian said that he would not write to one who was still waging war against him, because Antony had not written to him, but that he would make complaint to Antony's mother, because, although a relative and held in the highest honour by Octavian, she had fled from Italy, as though she could not have obtained everything from him as from her own son. This was his device also for opening a correspondence by writing to Julia. As Cocceius was going away from the camp many of the higher officers advised him of the purpose of the army, and he communicated this and other things he had learned to Antony, so that he might know that they would fight against him because he did not come to an agreement. So he advised Antony that Pompeius should be called back from his ravaging to Sicily, and that Ahenobarbus should be sent somewhither until the treaty of peace should be made. Antony's mother besought him to the same purpose, for she belonged to the Julian clan. Antony apprehended that if the negotiations should fail he would be put to the shame of calling on Pompeius for assistance again, but his mother encouraged him to believe that they would not fail, and Cocceius confirmed her, intimating that he knew more than he had told. So Antony yielded, and ordered Pompeius back to Sicily, implying that he would take care of their mutual concerns, and sent Ahenobarbus away as governor of Bithynia.

64. When Octavian's soldiers learned these facts
μενοι πρέσβεις εἰλοντο τῶν αὐτῶν ἐς ἀμφοτέρους, ὥστιν ἐγκληματα αὐτῶν ἐπέσχον ὡς οὐ κρίναι σφῖσιν, ἀλλὰ διαλλάξαι μόνον ἔγχειμοι, σφῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοὶ προσελόμενοι Κοκκήιοι μὲν ὡς οἴκειον ἀμφοῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀντωνίου Πολλίωνα καὶ Μακέηναν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος, ἔγνωσαν Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμυηστίαν εἶναι τῶν γεγονότων καὶ φιλίαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον. ὑπογυνὸς δὲ Μαρκέλλου τεθνεώτος, δὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Καίσαρος εἶχεν Ὄκταουιάν, ἐδικαίοις οἱ διαλλακταὶ τὴν Ὅκταουιὰν Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγγυῆσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐνηγγύα, καὶ ἡσπάξοντο ἀλλήλους, καὶ βοιλοὶ παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ εὐφημιάει πρὸς ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἀπαστοὶ δὴ ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν.

65. Ὅ δὲ Καίσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντωνίος τὴν Ῥωμαίων αὐθίς ἀρχὴν ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν ἐμερίσατο ἀπασαν, ὃρον μὲν εἶναι σφῖσι Σκόδραν πόλιν τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἰούνιον μυχοῦ μάλιστα δοκοῦσαν εἶναι, τάυτης δὲ ἐχειν τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐξω πάντα τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔθην τε καὶ νήσους ἔως ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἀνω, τὰ δὲ ἐς δύσων τὸν Καίσαρα μέχρι ώκεανοῦ. Διβύς δὲ Δεσπίδουν ἄρχειν, καθά Καίσαρ ἐδεδώκει. πολεμεῖν δὲ Πομπηίῳ μὲν Καίσαρα, εἰ μὴ τι συμβαίνοιν, Παρθανίοις δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ἁμυνόμενον τῆς ἐς Κράσσον παρασπονηθέσεως. Ἀνοβάρβερῳ δὲ εἶναι πρὸς Καίσαρα συμβάσεις τὰς πρὸς Ἀντώνιον γενομένας. στρατόν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσκαταλέγειν ἀκωλύτως ἵσον ἐκάτερον.

Αἶδε μὲν ἦσαν αἱ τελευταίαι Καίσαρι τε καὶ
they chose deputies and sent the same ones to both commanders. They took no notice of accusations because they had been chosen, not to decide a controversy, but to restore peace. Cocceius was added to their number as a friend of both, together with Pollio from Antony's party and Maecenas from that of Octavian. It was determined that there should be amnesty between Antony and Octavian for the past and friendship for the future. Moreover, as Marcellus, the husband of Octavian's sister Octavia, had recently died, the umpires decided that her brother should betroth her to Antony, which he did immediately. Then Antony and Octavian embraced each other. Thereupon shouts went up from the soldiers and congratulations were offered to each of the generals, without intermission, through the entire day and night.

65. Now Octavian and Antony made a fresh partition of the whole Roman empire between themselves, the boundary line being Scodra, a city of Illyria which was supposed to be situated about midway up the Adriatic gulf. All provinces and islands east of this place, as far as the river Euphrates, were to belong to Antony and all west of it to the ocean to Octavian. Lepidus was to govern Africa, inasmuch as Octavian had given it to him. Octavian was to make war against Pompeius unless they should come to some agreement, and Antony was to make war against the Parthians to avenge their treachery toward Crassus. Octavian was to make the same agreement with Ahenobarbus that Antony had already made. Both of them might freely enlist soldiers in Italy in equal numbers.

These were the last conditions of peace between
CAP. VII. Α'ιτωνίω γενόμεναι συμβάσεις. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς τὰ ἑπείγοντα τῶν φίλους ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν περιέπεμπεν, Οὐεντίδιον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀντώνιος. ἀναστέλλειν Παρθναίους τε καὶ Λαβινήν τὸν Λαβινήν, μετὰ τῶν Παρθναίων ἐν ταῖς ταῖς ἀσχολίαις Συρίαν τε καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῆς Ἰωνίας ἐπιδραμόντα.

"Α μὲν δὴ Λαβινήν τε καὶ Παρθναίοι δράσαντες ἔπαθον, ἡ Παρθνικὴ δηλώσει γραφὴ 66. Ἔλεον δὲ στρατηγὸν Καίσαρος, σὺν ὀρμὴ κατασχόντα Σαρδοῦς, αὖθις ἐξέβαλε τῆς Σαρδοῦς Μηνόδωρος ὁ Πομπηίος, καὶ τὸν καλύστα χαλεπαῖνον οὐ Καίσαρ οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὰς πείρας Ἀντωνίου συνάγωντος αὐτῷ Πομπηίου. ἐς δὲ Ἀρμήν παρελθόντες ἔτελου τοὺς γάμους. καὶ ὁ Ἀντωνίος Μάνιον μὲν ἐκτείνει ὡς ἐρεθίσαντά τε Φουλβίαν ἐπὶ διαβολὴ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ τοσῶν ἀὖθις γενόμενον, Καίσαρι δὲ ἐνέφηνε Σαλοῦνδην, τὸν ἠγούμενον τῷ Καίσαρι τοῦ περὶ Ῥοδανὸν στρατοῦ, ἀπόστασιν ἵδιὰ δουλεύει καὶ οἱ περὶ τοῦ δράσον πορεύσαντες περικαθημένῳ τῷ Βρεντέσῳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸν ἐξείπεν ὡς πρὸς πάντων ἐπανούμενον, εὐφυῆς δὲν ἄρα καὶ ταχύς ἐνυοιαν ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ αὐτίκα τὸν Σαλοῦνδην ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν, ὡς ἐπὶ δὴ τι μόνου χρῆσιν καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμψα τοὺς αὖθις ἐς τὸν στρατὸν, καὶ ἔλθοντα ἐκτείνει διελέγχας καὶ τὸν ὑπ’ αὐτῷ στρατὸν ὡς ὑποπτον οὕτα ἔχειν ἐδωκεν Ἀντωνίῳ.
Octavian and Antony. Straightway each of them sent his friends to attend to urgent business. Antony despatched Ventidius to Asia against the Parthians and against Labienus, the son of Labienus, who, with the Parthians, had made a hostile incursion into Syria and had advanced as far as Ionia during the late troubles.

What Labienus and the Parthians did and suffered I will show in my Parthian history; but in the meantime Helenus, a lieutenant of Octavian, who had repossessed Sardinia by a sudden onset, was driven out again by Menodorus, the lieutenant of Pompeius. Octavian was so exasperated by this that he rejected Antony’s endeavours to bring him to an agreement with Pompeius. They proceeded to Rome together and celebrated the marriage. Antony put Manius to death because he had excited Fulvia by his accusations against Cleopatra and had been the cause of so many evils. He also revealed to Octavian the fact that Salvienius, who was in command of Octavian’s army on the Rhone, had had the intention of deserting him, and had sent word to that effect to Antony while he was besieging Brundusium. This secret Antony revealed not with universal approbation, but because of his real frankness and eagerness to show his good-will. Octavian instantly summoned Salvienius to Rome pretending that he had some private communication to make to him, and that he should send him back to the army. When he came Octavian confronted him with proofs of his treachery and put him to death, and gave his army to Antony, as he considered it untrustworthy.
67. Ἡμαῖοι δ᾽ ὁ λιμὸς ἐπέεξεν, οὕτε τῶν ἔφοιν ἐμπόρων ἐπιπλεόντων δέει Πομπηίου καὶ Σικελίας, οὕτε τῶν ἐκ δύσεως διὰ Σαρδῶ καὶ Κύρνου ἐχο-μένας ὑπὸ τῶν Πομπηίου, οὐτ᾽ ἐκ τῆς περαιάς Διβύς διὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν ναυκρατοῦν-τας. ἐπετέμητο δὴ πάντα, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας ἐς τὴν ἔριν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀναφέροντες ἐβλασφή-μον ποντίους καὶ ἐς διαλύσεις πρὸς Πομπηίου ἐπέσπερχον. οὐκ ἐνδιδόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐδ᾽ ὡς, ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν ἥξιον ταχύνειν γε τῶν πόλεμον διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. χρημάτων δ᾽ ἐς αὐτὸν οὐκ ὄντων προτέθη διάγραμμα, εἰσφέρει τῷ μὲν τοῖς θεράπουσι τοὺς κεκτημένους ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τὸ ἥμασυ τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμῶν ὀρίσ-μένων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρού-του, ἐσφερεί δὲ καὶ μούραν τοὺς ἐκ διαθήκης τε καὶ καρπουμένους. τούτῳ τῷ γράμμα σὺν ὀρμῇ μανιώδει καθεῖλεν ὁ δήμος ἀγανακτῶν, εἰ τὰ κοινὰ ταμεῖα κεκευωκότες καὶ τὰ ἔθνη σεσυληκότες καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτὴν ἐσφοραῖς καὶ τέλεσι καὶ δη-μεύσεις καταβαρῆσαντες οὐκ ἐς πολέμους οὐδ᾽ ἐς ἐπίκτητον ἀρχὴν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐς ἔδαυν ἐχθροὺς ὑπὲρ σήμερας δυναστείας, ὑπὲρ ἂς ἰδίους προγραφὰς καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ λιμὸν ἐκ τῶν πανόρμου γεγονόν τε, ἐτὶ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ περιδύνον αὐτοὺς. 

Συνιστάμενοι τε ἐβόων καὶ τοὺς οὖ συνιστα-μένους ἔβαλλον καὶ ἤπείλουν διαρπάσειν αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκίας καὶ καταπρήσειν, 68. ἔως τὸ µὲν 490
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

VIII

67. Now famine fell upon Rome, since the merchants of the Orient could not put to sea for fear of Pompeius, who controlled Sicily, and those of the west were deterred by Sardinia and Corsica, which the lieutenants of Pompeius held, while those of Africa opposite were prevented by the same hostile fleets, which infested both shores. Thus there was a great rise in cost of provisions, and the people considered the cause of it to be the strife between the chiefs, and cried out against them and urged them to make peace with Pompeius. As Octavian would by no means yield, Antony advised him to hasten the war on account of the scarcity. As there was no money for this purpose, an edict was published that the owners of slaves should pay a tax for each one, equal to one-half of the twenty-five drachmas that had been ordained for the war against Brutus and Cassius, and that those who acquired property by legacies should contribute a share thereof. The people tore down the edict with fury. They were exasperated that, after exhausting the public treasury, stripping the provinces, burdening Italy itself with contributions, taxes, and confiscations, not for foreign war, not for extending the empire, but for private enmities and to add to their own power (for which reason the proscriptions and murders and this terrible famine had come about), the triumvirs should deprive them of the remainder of their property.

They banded together, with loud cries, and stoned those who did not join them, and threatened to plunder and burn their houses, 68. until the whole

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πλῆθος ἃπαν ἡρέθιστο, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ὅλγοις ὑπασπισταῖς ἐς μέσους ἤλθεν, ἐντυχείν τε βουλόμενος καὶ τὴν μέμψιν ἐκλογισά-
σθαι. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ὄθεντα ἐβάλλον τε ἀφειδῶς πάνυ καὶ οὐδ’ ὑπομένοντα καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐμ-
παρέχοντα καὶ τιτρωσκόμενον ἢδοῦντο. πυθό-
μενος δ’ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐβοήθει κατὰ σπουδὴν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τόνδε, κατιόντα τὴν ἰερὰν ὀδὸν, οὐκ ἔβαλλον μὲν ὡς ἔτοιμον ἐς τὰς Πομπηίου διαλύσεις, ἀναχωρεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευνον καὶ οὐ πειθόμενον, τότε ἔβαλλον. ὁ δὲ ὀπλίτας πλέονας, οἱ ἦσαν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους, ἐκάλει. καὶ οὗ παριέντων οὐδ’ ὃς αὐτὸν, οἱ μὲν ὀπλίται διαιρέθεντες ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς ὄδος καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπιεχείρουν ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ τὸν ἐντυχόντα ἀνήρουν. οἱ δ’ οὐκέτι εὐμαρῶς οὐδὲ φυγεῖν ἐδύναντο, βεβυσμένοι τε ὑπὸ πλήθους καὶ διαδρομὴν οὐκέτι ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ φόνοι ἦν καὶ τραύματα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τεγών οἰμώγαλ καὶ βοαῖ. καὶ ο’ Ἀντώνιος μόλις τε παρῆλθε, καὶ τοῦ κω-
νόνου τὸν Καίσαρα περιφάνως δὴ τότε μάλιστα οὗτος ἔξειλετο καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν περιέσωσε. δια-
φυγόντος δὲ ποτε τοῦ πλήθους τὰ νεκρά, ἢν μὴ ἐνοχλοῖ γεωροῦμενα, ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπερρι-
πτεῖτο· καὶ ἔτερον πένθος ἦν ὀρωμένων ἀνὰ τὸ ἰεῦμα, καὶ περιβυόντων αὕτα τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὅσοι μετ’ αὐτῶν κακοῦργοι τὰ εὐσχήμωνα μάλιστα ὥς οἰκεῖα ἔφερον. ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν ἐπαινεῖ σὺν

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populace was aroused, and Octavian with his friends and a few attendants came into the forum intending to intercede with the people and to show the unreasonableness of their complaints. As soon as he made his appearance they stoned him unmercifully, and they were not ashamed when they saw him enduring this treatment patiently, and offering himself to it, and even bleeding from wounds. When Antony learned what was going on he came with haste to his assistance. When the people saw him coming down the Via Sacra they did not throw stones at him, since he was in favour of a treaty with Pompeius, but they told him to go away. When he refused to do so they stoned him also. He called in a larger force of troops, who were outside the walls. As the people would not allow him even so to pass through, the soldiers divided right and left on either side of the street and the forum, and made their attack from the narrow lane, striking down those whom they met. The people could no longer find ready escape on account of the crowd, nor was there any way out of the forum. There was a scene of slaughter and wounds, while shrieks and groans sounded from the housetops. Antony made his way into the forum with difficulty, and snatched Octavian from the most manifest danger, in which he then was, and brought him safe to his house. The mob having been dispersed, the corpses were thrown into the river in order to avoid their gruesome appearance. It was a fresh cause of lamentation to see them floating down the stream, and the soldiers stripping them, and certain miscreants, as well as the soldiers, carrying off the clothing of the better class as their own property.
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CAP. VIII

Φόβῳ τε καὶ μῆσε τῶν ἡγουμένων, ὃ δὲ λιμὸς ἡκμαζε, καὶ ὁ δήμος ἔστενε καὶ ἡσύχαζεν.

69. Ὅ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐδίδασκε τοὺς Λίβωνος οἰκείους Λίβωνα καλείν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπὶ συνησθῆσει τοῦ κήδους, ἐργασόμενον τι καὶ μείζων· τὸ δ' ἀσφαλές τῷ Λίβωνι ἀνεδέχετο αὐτός. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχέως ἐπέστελλον, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τῷ Λίβωνι συνεχώρει. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ὁ Λίβων ἐς νήσου ὀρμίσθη τὰς Πιθηκούσας, ἦ νῦν ἐστὶν Αἰναρία. καὶ μαθὼν ὁ δήμος αὐτὸς ἥθροιζε καὶ παρεκάλει σὺν ὀλοφύρει τὸν Καίσαρα πέμψαι Λίβωνι πίστιν, προσβεβείν ἐθέλοντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης. καί ὁ μὲν ἀκών ἐπεμπεῖν, ὁ δὲ δήμος καὶ Μουκίαν, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Πομπήιον, καταπρήσεις ἀπειλοῦντες, ἐξέπεμπον ἐργασομένην διαλύσεις. Λίβων μὲν δὴ συνεις τῶν ἕθερῶν ἐνδιδόντων ἥζιου τοὺς ἱγεμόνας αὐτοὺς συνελθεῖν ὡς ἀλλήλοις ἐνδώσοντας, ὃ τι ἄν δοκῇ. βιασαμένου δὲ καὶ ἐς τούτῳ τοῦ δήμου, ἐξήσασαι ἐς Βατας ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος.

70. Πομπήιον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ὁμαλῷς ἐπειθόν εἰς τὴν εἰρήνην, Μηνόδωρος δὲ ἀπὸ Σαρδοὺς ἐπέστελλεν ἡ πολεμεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ἡ βραδύνειν ἐτί, ὡς τοῦ λιμοῦ σφῶν προπολεμοῦντος καὶ τῶν συμβάσεων, εἰ καραδοκοῖν, κρεισσόνων ἐσομένων. Μοῦρκον τε τούτῳ ἐνιστάμενον ὑποβλέπειν ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ περικτόμενον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τέως τὸν Μοῦρκον διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ γνώμην

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This insurrection was suppressed, but with terror and hatred for the triumvirs; the famine grew worse; the people groaned, but did not stir.

69. Antony suggested to the relatives of Libo that they should summon him from Sicily for the purpose of congratulating his brother-in-law,¹ and to accomplish something more important; and he himself promised him a safe-conduct. His relatives wrote promptly and Pompeius acquiesced. Libo, on his arrival, cast anchor at the isle of Pithecusa, which is now called Aenaria.² When the people learned this, they assembled together again and besought Octavian with tears to send letters of safeguard to Libo, who desired to negotiate with him for peace. He did so reluctantly. The people also, threatening to burn Mucia, the mother of Pompeius, with her house, sent her to communicate with her son in the interest of peace. When Libo perceived that his enemies were on the point of yielding, he demanded that the leaders themselves should come together in order to make such concessions to each other as they could agree upon. The people compelled them to this course, and, accordingly, Octavian and Antony went to Baiae.

70. All the friends of Pompeius urged him with one accord to make peace, except Menodorus, who wrote to him from Sardinia either to prosecute the war vigorously or still to procrastinate, because famine was fighting for them, and he would thus get better terms if he should decide to make peace. Menodorus also advised him to distrust Murcus, who opposed these views, intimating that he was seeking power for himself. Pompeius, who had been vexed with

¹ The text is doubtful. ² The modern Ischia.
CAP. VIII

71. Μούρκος μὲν δὴ τεθυήκει, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τῶν Πομπήίου ἰσ τὰς διαλύσεις ἐπενγόντων καὶ τὸν Μηνόδωρον διαβαλλόντων ἐς φιλαρχίαν ὡς οὖκ εὐνοίᾳ τοῦ δεσπότου μᾶλλον ἢ ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀρχι
στρατοῦ καὶ χώρας ἐνιστάμενον, ἐνδοὺς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐς τὴν Ἀιναρίαν διέπλει ναυοὶ πολλαὶς
ἀρίσταις, ἐξήρους λαμπρὰς ἐπιβεβηκός. καὶ Δικαίαρχειαν μὲν οὖτω σοβαρῶς παρέπλευσε περὶ
ἐσπέρας, ἑφορώντων τῶν πολεμίων ἀμα δὲ ἐξ, καταπαθήντων σταυρῶν ἐξ ὀλίγου διαστήματος
ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, σανίδες τοῖς σταυροῖς ἐπετέθησαν, καὶ διὰ τὸν ἡκοῦ καταστρωμάτων ὁ μὲν Καὶ-
σαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος παρῆλθον ἐς τὸ πρὸς τῇ γῇ
πεποιημένον, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Δίβων ἐς τὸ
πελαγῳτερον, ὀλίγου ῥεύματος αὐτοὺς διείργοντος

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Mucrus lately on account of his high position and his stubbornness, became still more averse to him for this reason, and held no communication with him whatever, until, finally, Mucrus retired in disgust to Syracuse. Here he saw some of Pompeius' guards following him, and he expressed his opinion of Pompeius to them freely. Then Pompeius bribed a tribune and a centurion of Mucrus, and sent them to kill him and to say that he had been murdered by slaves. To give credibility to this falsehood he crucified the slaves. But he did not succeed in concealing this crime,—the next one committed by him after the murder of Bithynicus,—Mucrus having been a man distinguished for his warlike deeds, who had been strongly attached to that party from the beginning, and had rendered great assistance to Pompeius himself in Spain, and had joined him in Sicily voluntarily.

71. Such was the death of Mucrus. His other friends urged Pompeius to make peace, and they accused Menodorus of fondness of power and as opposing peace not so much from good-will to his master as from a desire to command an army and a province. Pompeius yielded and set sail for Aenaria with a large number of his best ships, having embarked himself on a magnificent one with six banks of oars. In this style, toward evening, he sailed proudly past Puteoli in sight of his enemies. Early in the morning two sets of piles were driven in the sea a short distance apart, and planks were placed upon them. Upon the platform nearest the shore Octavian and Antony took their places, while Pompeius and Libo occupied the seaward one, a small space of water separating them, so that they

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CAP. VIII

μὴ κεκραγότας ἄλληλων ἀκούειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος ἐπὶ κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχῆς ἦκειν φέτο ἀντὶ Δεξίδου, οἱ δὲ ὡς κάθοδον αὐτῷ δώσοντες μόνην, τότε μὲν ἐπ’ οὐδενὶ ἐργῷ διεκρίθησαν, διαπομπαὶ δὲ συνχαί τῶν φίλων ἦσαν ἐπὶ ποικίλαις ἑκατέρων προκλήσειν. ἤτει δ’ ὁ Πομπήιος τῶν προγεγραμμένων τε καὶ οἱ συνόντων τοῖς μὲν ἀνδροφόνοις Γαίου Καίσαρος φυγήν ἄδολον, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς κάθοδόν τε ἐντιμον καὶ τὰς οὐσίας, ὡς ἀναλώκεσαν. ἐπειγόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰς συμβάσεις ὑπὸ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ἔς το τέταρτον μόλις ἐνεδίδουν ὡς ἀνησύχειν παρὰ τῶν ἐχόντων καὶ τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις αὐτοῖς περὶ τούτων ἐπέστελλον, ἐλπίζοντες αὐτοῖς αὐτοὺς ἀγαπῆσειν. οἱ δὲ ἐδέχοντο πάντα, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πομπήιον αὐτὸν ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἤδη διὰ τὸ Μοῦρκον μύσος· καὶ προσιόντες τῷ Πομπηίῳ συνθέσθαι παρεκάλουν, ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα κατερρήξατο οἱ Πομπήιος ὡς καὶ τῶν προδιδόντων αὐτῶν, διὶ προμάχεται, καὶ θαμνᾶ τὸν Μηνόδωρον ὡς στρατηγικὸν καὶ μόνον εὐνοῦν ἄνεκάλει.

72. Μουκίας δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς μητρὸς καὶ Ἰουλίας τῆς γυναικὸς ἔναγον σῶν, αὕτης· οἱ τρεῖς συνήλθεν· οὕτως τὸ ἀμφίκλυστον Δίκαιαρχέων χῶμα, περιορμοῦσον τῶν φυλακίδων νεῶν, καὶ συνέβησαν ἐπὶ τοῦτο δε: λελύσθαι μὲν τῶν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς καὶ 498
could hear each other without shouting. As Pomp- 
peius thought that he had come in order to be 
admitted to a share of the government in place of 
Lepidus, while the others would concede nothing 
but his recall from exile, they separated for the 
time without accomplishing anything. Nevertheless, 
egotiations were continued on the part of friends, 
who advanced various proposals from one side to 
the other. Pompeius demanded that, of the 
proscripts and the men with him, those who had 
participated in the murder of Gaius Caesar should 
be allowed a safe place of exile, and the rest 
restoration to their homes and citizenship, and 
that the property they had lost should be 
restored to them. Urged on by the famine and by 
the people to an agreement, Octavian and Antony 
reluctantly conceded a fourth part of this property, 
promising to buy it from the present holders. They 
wrote to this effect to the proscripts themselves, 
hoping that this would satisfy them. The latter 
accepted all the terms, for they already had appre-
hensions of Pompeius on account of his crime against 
Murus. So they gathered around Pompeius and 
besought him to come to an agreement. Then 
Pompeius rent his garments, declaring that he was 
betrayed by those for whom he had fought, and he 
frequently invoked the name of Menodorus as one 
most competent to command and his only friend.

72. Finally, at the instance of his mother, Mucia, 
and of his wife, Julia, again the three men (Octavian, 
Antony, and Pompeius) came together on the mole 
of Puteoli, washed by the waves on both sides, 
and with ships moored round it as guards. Here 
they came to an agreement on the following terms:

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κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας ἀκωλύτους εἶναι πανταχοῦ, Πομπήιον δὲ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐξαγαγεῖν, ὅσαι κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰσὶ, καὶ μηκέτι τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας οἰκέτας ὑποδέχεσθαι μηδὲ ἐφορμεῖν ναοῖ τὴν ἀκτήν τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀρχεῖν δὲ Σαρδοὺς καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Κύρνου καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων εἶχεν ἐς τότε νῆσων, ἐς ὅσον ἀρχοιν τῶν ἑτέρων Ἀντώνιος τε καὶ Καῖσαρ, πέμποντα Ἦρωμαίοις τὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ τεταγμένον αὐταῖς φέρειν σίτον, ἐπιλαβεῖν δὲ καὶ Πελοπόννησον ἐπὶ ταύταις, ὑπατεύσαι δ' ἀπόντα, δι' ὅτου κρίνοι τῶν φίλων, καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἱεροσύνης ἐς τοὺς ἱερέας ἐγγραφῆναι. καὶ τάδε μὲν εἶναι Πομπηίῳ, κάθοδον δὲ τοὺς ἔτι φεύγουσι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, πλὴν εἰ τις ἐπὶ τὸ φῶς Γαίου Καῖσα-ρος ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει κατέγνωσται καὶ τῆς περιουσίας τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, ὅσοι κατὰ φόβουν ἐφευγον καὶ τὰ ὅντα αὐτοῖς ἐκ βίας ἀπωλῶλει, τὸ ἐντελὲς ἀποδοθῆναι χωρίς ἐπίπλων, τοῖς δὲ προγεγραμμένοις μοῦραν τετάρτην. καὶ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων τῷ Πομπηίῳ τοὺς μὲν οἰκέτας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, τοῖς δ' ἐλευθέρους, ὅτε παύσαιντο τῆς στρατείας, τὰ αὐτὰ δοθῆναι γέρα τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις Καῖσαρί τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ.

73. Ἐσ ταῦτα συνέβησαν καὶ ταῦτα συνε- γράφασαν καὶ ἐσημόναντο καὶ ταῖς ἱεραίς παρθένοις φυλάσσει ἐπεμψάν ἐς Ἦρωμην. ἔξευξον δ' ἄλ- ληλος αὐτίκα, περὶ τῆς τάξεως διαλαχόντες, 500
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

That the war between them should cease at once both on land and sea, and that commerce should be everywhere unmolested; that Pompeius should remove his garrisons from Italy and no longer afford a refuge to fugitive slaves; that he should not blockade with his fleet the Italian coast, but should govern Sardinia, Sicily, and Corsica, and any other islands then in his possession, as long as Antony and Octavian should hold sway over the other countries; that he should send to Rome the corn that had been long since required as tribute from those islands, and that he might have Peloponnesus in addition: that he might hold the consulship in his absence through any friend he might choose, and be inscribed as a member of the Augurs' College. Such were the conditions accorded to Pompeius himself; while the nobles who were still in exile were allowed to return, except those who had been condemned by vote of the Senate and judgment of the court for participation in the murder of Gaius Caesar. The property of the rest, who had fled merely from fear, and whose goods had been seized by violence, was all to be restored except movables, but prospects were to receive a fourth part of theirs. Slaves who had served in the army of Pompeius were to be free, and free persons who had thus served should, upon their discharge, receive the same rewards as those who had served under Octavian and Antony.

73. Such were the terms of the treaty, to which they attached their names and seals and sent it to Rome to be placed in the custody of the Vestal virgins. Then they entertained each other, casting lots to determine the order of the ceremony.
CAP. VIII. πρῶτος μὲν ἐπὶ ἔξηροις Πομπήιος περιωρισμένης ἐσ τὸ χῶμα, ταῖς δὲ ἐξής Ἀντώνιος τε καὶ Καίσαρ, σκηνοποιησάμενοι καὶ οἴδε ἐπὶ τοῦ χῶματος, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς ἀπαντεῖ ἐπὶ ἀκτῆς ἐστιφυτο, τάχα δ' ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἀνύποπτον. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὅσ εἶχον ἀμελῶς, ἀλλ' αἱ τε νῆσος αὐτοῖς παρώρ-μουν, καὶ οἱ φύλακες περιειστήκεσαν, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸ δείπνον αὐτὸ ἀφανῶς εἶχον ὑπεξωσμένα ξιφίδια. λέγεται δὲ Μηνόδωρος ἐστιωμένοι ἐν τῇ νητὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πέμψαι Πομπηίῳ, προτρέπων αὐτὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδραῖς καὶ τίσασθαι μὲν τῆς ἔς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἄδελφον ἀμαρτίας, ἀναλαβεῖν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρίσιν δι' ἀξυνάτης ἀφορμῆς· ἐπιμελήσθησθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὃν μηδένα διαφυγείν. ὃ δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι τοῦ γένους ἀμα καὶ τῆς χρείας ἄξιως: "εἰθεὶ Μηνόδωρον ἦν ἐργάσασ-θαι ταῦτα χωρίς ἐμοῦ." Μηνόδωρος γὰρ ἁρμόζειν ἐπιορκεῖν, οὔ Πομπηίῳ. ἤρμοσαν δ' ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ τὴν Πομπηίου θυγατέρα, Δίβωνος οὖσαν θυγατριδὴν, Μαρκέλλῳ τῷ προγόνῳ μὲν Ἀντώνιον, ἄδελφῳ δὲ Καίσαρος. ἀπέφηναν δὲ τῆς ἐπιουσίας ὑπάτους ἐς τετραετεῖς Ἀντώνιον μὲν καὶ Δίβωνα πρῶτους, ἀντικαθιστάντος διὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐν ἀν βούλοιτο, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκεῖνοις Καίσαρά τε καὶ Πομπή-ιον, εἰτὰ Ἀνοβαρβίου καὶ Σόσιον, εἰτ' αὐθίς Ἀν-τώνιον τε καὶ Καίσαρα, τρίτου δὴ τότε μέλλοντας ὑπατεύσειν καὶ ἐλπιζομένους τότε καὶ ἀποδώσεως τῷ δήμῳ τῆς πολιτείας.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

The first banquet took place on Pompeius’ six-
banked ship, moored alongside the mole. On
succeeding days Antony and Octavian gave banquets,
they too on the mole, in tents, on the pretext
that thus all might participate, but perhaps really
for their better security and to quiet apprehensions;
for they did not even then neglect precautions.
Their ships were moored alongside and guards
were stationed around them, and the banqueters
were girded with concealed daggers. It is said
that, while the three were feasting in the ship,
Menodorus sent a message to Pompeius advising
him to entrap these men and avenge the wrongs
of his father and his brother, and to avail himself
of this most favourable occasion to resume the
sway that his father had exercised, saying that
he, with his own ships, would take care that
nobody should escape; but that Pompeius replied,
in a manner worthy of his family and his position,
“Would that Menodorus had done this without my
knowledge.” False swearing, that is, might suit
Menodorus, but not Pompeius. At this banquet
the daughter of Pompeius and granddaughter of
Libo was betrothed to Marcellus, the stepson of
Antony and nephew of Octavian. On the following
day they designated the consuls for the next four
years, for the first year Antony and Libo, Antony
being privileged to substitute whomsoever he liked
in his own place; next Octavian and Pompeius;
next Ahenobarbus and Sosius; and, finally, Antony
and Octavian again; and as they would then
have been consuls the third time it was expected
that they would then restore the government to the
people.

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CAP. VIII 74. Τάδε μὲν ἐπραξαν, καὶ διακριθέντες ἄλλη-λῶν ὁ μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει, Καίσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἁντώνιος ὥδενυ ἐς Ῥώμην. πυθόμεναι δὲ ἦ τε πόλις καὶ Ἡ Ιταλία, ἐπαινίζον αὐτίκα ἀπαντες ὡς ἐπὶ εἰρήνη, πολέμου τε ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπιχωρίου καὶ ξεναγήσεως υἱῶν καὶ φρουρῶν ὑθρεώς καὶ θεραπόντων αὐτομολίας καὶ λεηπασίας πεδίων καὶ γεωργίας ἀργίας, ὑπὲρ ἀπαντα δὲ τοῦ λιμοῦ, πιέσαντος αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔσχατον, ὅστε παραδεύουσιν αὐτοῖς οὐα σωτήριον ἐγήγοντο θυσίαν καὶ τὸ ἀστυ ἐμέλλει ὑποδέξεσθαι περιφανῆς, εἰ μὴ νυκτός, ἐκκλίνοντες τὸ φορτικόν, ἔλαθον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔσελθόντες. μόνοι δὲ ἤχοντο, ὅσοι τὰ τῶν ἑλευσομένων σὺν Πομπήῳ χωρία κεκληρουχῆκεσαν, ἡγούμεναι σφίσι τοὺς γεωμόρους ἀδιαλλάκτους ἔχροις παροικήσειν καὶ, εἰ ποτε δυνηθείεν, ἐπιθήσεσθαι. οἱ δ’ ἀμφὶ τὸν Πομπήιον φυγάδες αὐτίκα, χωρίς ὀλύγων, οἱ πλείους ἐν τῇ Δικαιαρχείᾳ τὸν Πομπήιον ἀσπασάμενοι κατέπλεουν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην. καὶ ἔτερα τοῦ πλῆθους ἦν ἱδονή καὶ βοαὶ ποικίλαι, τοσῶνδε οὔτως ἐπιφανῶν ἥξ ἄλπτου περισσεωσμένων.

75. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως ὁ μὲν Καίσαρ ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐξόρμα ταρασσομένην, ὁ δὲ Ἁντώνιος ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεμον τῶν Παρθηνίων. καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισμάτης εἶναι κύρια, ὅσα ἐπραξε τε καὶ πράξει, αὕτης στρατηγοὺς πανταχὺ περιέ-πεμπτε καὶ τάλλα ὡς ἐπενὸει πάντα διεκόσμηε. ἰστη δὲ πη καὶ βασιλέας, οὐς δοκιμάσειεν, ἐπὶ 504
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74. Having finished this business they separated, Pompeius going to Sicily by sea, Octavian and Antony to Rome by land. When the Romans and Italians learned the news there was universal rejoicing at the return of peace and at their deliverance from intestine war, from the conscription of their sons, from the arrogance of guards, from the running away of slaves, from the pillage of fields, from the ruin of agriculture, and, above all, from the famine that had pressed upon them with the greatest severity. So, as the triumvirs were proceeding on their journey sacrifices were offered in their honour as to saviours. The city would have given them a magnificent reception, had they not entered secretly by night in order to avoid jealousies. The only people disappointed were those to whom had been allotted lands belonging to men who were to be restored with Pompeius. They thought that they should have irreconcilable enemies dwelling alongside of them as landlords, who would do them injury whenever they could. The exiles who were with Pompeius, all but a few, took leave of him at Puteoli and set sail for Rome. Their coming was to the people a new source of joy and acclamations, so great a number of illustrious men having been unexpectedly saved from death.

75. After these events Octavian set forth on an expedition to Gaul, which was in a disturbed state, and Antony started for the war against the Parthians. The Senate having voted to ratify all that he had done or should do, Antony again despatched his lieutenants in all directions and arranged everything else as he wished. He set up kings here and there as he pleased, on condition of their paying a
CAP. VIII

φόρους ἃρα τεταγμένους, Πόντου μὲν Δαρείου τὸν Φαρνάκους τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Ἰδουμαιῶν δὲ καὶ Σαμαρέων Ἰρρῆνην, Ἀμώνταν δὲ Πισιδῶν καὶ Πολέμωνα μέρους Κιλικίας καὶ ἑτέρους ἐς ἑτερα ἔθνη. τῶν δὲ στρατῶν, ὅσοι ἐμελλεν αὐτῷ συν-χειμάσειν, περιουσιάσαι τε βουλόμενος καὶ γυμ-ᾶσαι, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Παρθηνους ἐπεμπεν, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἕθνος Ἐσπίδαμμον πάροικον, προθυμο-τάτους γενομένους Βρούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ Δαρδανέας, ἑτερον Ἰλλυρίων γένους, αἰεὶ Μακεδονίων ἐπιτρέ-χουτας. τοὺς δὲ ἐν Ἡπείρῳ μένειν ἐκέλευεν, ὅσ αὐτὸν κύκλῳ πάντας ἔχη, κέλλων αὐτὸς ἐν Ἀθηναίων χειμάσειν. ἐπεμπε δὲ καὶ Φούρνιον ἐς Λιβύην, τὰ υπὸ Σεβστίῳ τέλη τέσσαρα ἄξονα ἐπὶ Παρθανίων. οὐ γὰρ πω πέπνυστο αὐτὰ Δέσπιδον ἀφηρήσθαι Σεβστίου.

76. Ταῦτα διαθέμενος ἐχεῖμαζεν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθηναίες μετὰ τῆς Ὀκταούιας, καθὰ καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξαν-δρεία μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπιστελλόμενα ἐφορών μόνα, ἀφε-λειαν δὲ ἰδιωτικὴν αὐθεντεῖς ἐξ ἁγεμονίας καὶ σχῆμα τετράγωνον ἔχον καὶ υπόθημα Ἀττικὸν καὶ θύρας ἁρμονίας. ἔξοδοι τε ἡσαν ὁμοίως ἀνεί σημείων αὐτῷ, σὺν δύο φίλοις καὶ σὺν ἀκολούθοις ὑπὸ, ἐς διδασκάλου διατριβὰς ἡ ἀκροάσεις. καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἦν Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ μεθ’ Ἑλλήνων ἡ γυμνασία πανηγύρεις τε σὺν θυμήδια μετὰ τῆς Ὀκταούιας. πολὺς γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐρρύῃ, ταχὺς δὲν ἐς ἑρωτας γυναικῶν. λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὡσπερ ἑτέρῳ γενομένῳ, ἡ τε ἔσθης αὐθεν καὶ 506
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prescribed tribute: in Pontus, Darius, the son of 
Pharnaces and grandson of Mithridates: in Idumea 
and Samaria, Herod: in Pisidia, Amyntas; in a part 
of Cilicia, Polemon, and others in other countries. 
Desiring to enrich as well as to exercise the soldiers, 
who were to go with him into winter quarters, he 
sent some of them against the Partheni, an Illyrian 
tribe near Epidamnus, who had been very much 
attached to Brutus; others against the Dardani, 
another Illyrian tribe, who were for ever making 
incursions into Macedonia. Others he ordered to 
remain in Epirus, in order to have them all round 
him, as he intended to pass the winter himself in 
Athens. He sent Furnius to Africa to bring four 
legions, that were under the command of Sextius, for 
service against the Parthians. He did not know as 
yet that Lepidus had deprived Sextius of the 
command of these troops.

76. Having made these dispositions, he spent the 
winter at Athens with Octavia just as he had spent 
the previous one at Alexandria with Cleopatra, 
merely looking over the reports sent from the army, 
exchanging the display of a commander for the 
simplicity of private life, wearing the square-cut 
pallium and the Attic shoe, and with no crowd at 
his doors. He went out, in like manner, without 
the insignia of office, accompanied by two friends 
and two attendants, to the discussions and lectures of 
the public teachers. He took his meals in the 
Greek fashion, passed his leisure time with Greeks, 
and enjoyed their festivals in company with Octavia, 
with whom he was very much in love, being by 
nature excessively fond of women. At the end of 
the winter he was like another man. He changed 
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CAP. VIII

μετὰ τῆς ἐσθήτους ἡ ὄψις ἐνηλλάσσετο, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν ἀμφί τὰς θύρας αὐτίκα σημείων τε καὶ ἤγεμόνων καὶ δορυφόρων, καὶ φόβου πάντα μεστὰ καὶ καταπλήξεως προσβείαι τ' ἐσεδέχοντο, αἱ τέως ἠρέμουν κεκελευσμέναι, καὶ δίκαι διεκρί

νοντο, καὶ νῆς καθείλκοντο, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρα-

σκευή πᾶσα συνεκινεῖτο.

IX

CAP. IX

77. Καὶ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῖτα ἦν, Καίσαρι
dὲ καὶ Πομπήιῳ διελύθησαν αἱ γενόμεναι σπουδαῖ,
kατὰ μὲν αὐτίας, ὡς ὑπενοεῖτο, ἑτέρας, αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ
φανερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκφερόμεναι αἰδὲ

ησαν. Πελοπόννησον Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐδίδου Πομ-

πήιῳ, κελεύων, ὡς ἐτι ὄψιν οὗτος αὐτῷ Πελοπο-

νήσιοι δόντα ἡ αὐτῶν ἀναδεξάμενον ἀποδόσεων

παραλαβεῖν ἤ περιμεῖνιν τὴν πράξειν αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ

οὐκ ἐδέχετο μὲν ἐπὶ τοὐδὲ τὴν χάραν, ἡγούμενος

αὐτῷ σὺν τοῖς ὁφλῆμασι δεδόσθαι: χαλκαίνων

dὲ, ὡς ὁ Καίσαρ ἔλεγεν, ἔτι ἐπὶ τούτους ἔτει κατὰ

γνώμην ἀπίστον εἰθ' ὑπὸ ξῆλου τῶν ἑτέρων

μεγάλους στρατοὺς ἐχόντων ἔτει Μηνοδώρῳ

dιερεθίζοντος αὐτῶν ἁνοχάς μᾶλλον ἡ βεβαιός

σπουδαῖς εἴναι νομίζειν, ναῖς ἄλλας ἐποιεῖτο καὶ

ἐρέταις συνελέγει καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ποτε ἐδημηγόρησε

χρῆναι παντὸς οὐνεκα παρασκευάζεσθαι. ἁρπὴ-

ριά τε αὐθεὶς ἄφανὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἠνώχλει, καὶ

μικρὸν ἡ ὄμην ἅκος τοῦ λιμοῦ γεγένητο Ρωμαίοις,

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his clothing, and with his clothing his whole appearance. There was straightway a crowd around his doors composed of lictors, army officers, guards, and all things that inspire terror and awe. Embassies were received which had previously been kept waiting by his orders, lawsuits were decided, ships were launched, and all other preparations for the campaign were put in motion.

IX

77. While Antony was thus occupied the treaty existing between Octavian and Pompeius was broken for other reasons, as was suspected, than those avowed by Octavian, which were the following: Antony had ceded the Peloponnesus to Pompeius on condition that the tribute then due from the Peloponnesians should either be given over at once, or that it should be guaranteed by Pompeius to Antony, or that Pompeius should wait till the collection had been made. But Pompeius had not accepted it on these conditions. He thought that it had been given to him with the amount of tribute then due. Vexed, as Octavian said, whether at this state of things, or from his general faithlessness, or his jealousy because the others had large armies, or because Menodorus had prompted him to consider the agreement as a truce rather than a lasting peace, he began to build ships and recruit crews, and once harangued his soldiers, telling them they must be prepared for everything. Mysterious robbery again infested the sea; and there was little or no relief from the famine among the Romans, who
CAP. οιστε ἐβάον οὐκ ἀπαλλαγήν τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπιληψιν τετάρτου τυράννου κατὰ σπονδᾶς γεγονέναι. καὶ ὁ Καϊσάρ τινα ληστήρια συλλαβὼν ἐβασάνιζεν, οἳ Πομπηίου σφᾶς ἔλεγον ἐπιτέμπαῑ καὶ τάδε αὐτὰ ὁ Καϊσάρ τῷ δήμῳ προσέφερε καὶ ἐπέστελλεν αὐτῷ Πομπηίῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐξελογεῖτο μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἀντενεκάλει δὲ Πελοποννήσου χάριν.

78. "Οσοι δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἦσαν ἔτι παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ, ὀρῶντες αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ πειθόμενοι τοῖς ἀπελευθέρωσι, διεθέοιαν εἰς οὓς τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, εἶναι ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτοῦ εἴτε ἐς χάριν Καϊσαρος, ἐξοτρύνειν ἐπὶ Μηνοδώρῳ, Κύρνου καὶ Σαρδῶν εἶτι ἄρχοντι, τὸν δεσπότην, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ φθόνῳ τῆς Μηνοδώρου δυνάμεως ἐκόντες ἐποίουν. καὶ Πομπηίους μὲν ἐς ἀλλοτρίωσιν ὑπήγετο τοῦ Μηνοδώρου, τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἥμερῶν Φιλάδελφος, ὁ Καϊσάρος ἀπελευθέρως, πρὸς τὸν Μηνόδωρον διέπλευρον σιτοῦ κομιδῆς οὐνέκαι καὶ Μικυλίων ὁ πιστότατος τῷ Μηνοδώρῳ πρὸς Καϊσαρα περὶ αὐτομολίας τοῦ Μηνοδώρου· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ ἐγχειρικεῖν Σαρδῶ καὶ Κύρνου καὶ τρία τέλη στρατοῦ καὶ ψιλῶν πλῆθος ἔτερον. καὶ τόδε ὁν ἔργων εἴτε Φιλαδέλφου εἴτε τῶν ἐς Μηνοδώρου παρὰ Πομπηίου διαβολῶν, ὁ Καϊσαρος ὡς εὐθύς μὲν, ἐδέξατο δ' ὁμοίως, ἢγούμενος ἐργὼ τὴν εἰρήνην λελύσθαι. καὶ Ἀντώνιον εἰς Ἀθηνῶν ἐς τὸ Βρεγντέσιον ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν παρεκάλει, συμβολευόμενος αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου ναῦς τε μακρὰς εἰς Ῥαβέννης καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς καὶ παρασκευήν ἄλλην ἐς τὸ Βρεγντέσιον καὶ ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν δέοις περιεπεμπεῖν, ὡς ἐκατέρω-
cried out that the treaty had brought no deliverance from their sufferings, but only a fourth partner to the tyranny. Octavian having caught certain pirates and put them to torture, they said that Pompeius had sent them out, and Octavian proclaimed this to the people and wrote it to Pompeius himself, who disavowed it and made a counter complaint respecting the Peloponnesus.

78. Those of the nobility who were still with Pompeius, seeing him always under the influence of his freedmen, bribed some of them, either for their own purposes or to gratify Octavian, to incite their master against Menodorus, who was still governing Corsica and Sardinia. The freedmen, for their part, did this gladly, because they were envious of the power of Menodorus. In this way Pompeius was brought to an estrangement with Menodorus, and about the same time Philadelphus, a freedman of Octavian, made a voyage to Menodorus to procure corn, and Micylio, the closest friend of Menodorus, visited Octavian to arrange for the desertion of Menodorus. The latter promised to hand over to him Sardinia, Corsica, three legions of soldiers, and a large number of light-armed troops. Whether this was the work of Philadelphus, or was a consequence of the calumnies against Menodorus, which Pompeius had listened to, Octavian accepted the offer, not immediately, but soon, since he considered the peace broken in fact. He invited Antony to come from Athens and meet him at Brundusium on an appointed day, in order to take counsel with him about this war. At the same time he brought war-ships from Ravenna and an army from Gaul, and the remainder of his apparatus, rapidly to Brundusium and Puteoli,
CAP. θεν ἐπιπλευσούμενος τῇ Σικελία, ἦν Ἀυτωνάρσιον συνδοκῆ.

79. Ὅ δὲ ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν τεταγμένην ἡμέραν σὺν ὀλίγοις, Καίσαρα δὲ οὐχ εὖρων οὐ περιέμευεν, εἰτε τὴν γνώμην τοῦ πολέμου μεμψάμενος ὡς παράσποιδον εἰτε τὴν Καίσαρος παρασκευὴν ἢδον πολλὴν οὔσαν (οὐ γὰρ ποτὲ αὐτοῦς ἀνέπαυεν φόβων ἢ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμία), εἰτε τὸ σημεῖον δειδασάμενος. τῶν γὰρ περικομμένων αὐτοῦ τῇ σκηνῇ πρὸς θηρίων τις εὐρέθη δεδαπανημένος, ἀνευ τοῦ προσώπου μόνου, καθάπερ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν παραλειμμένου, οὔτε τὶ βοήσας οὔτε τινὸς τῶν συναναπανομένων ἱσθημένου· καὶ λύκου ἐλεγον οἱ Βρεντέσιοι πρὸ ἕω φανήναι τῶν σκηνωμάτων ἑκθέοντα. ἔγραφε γε μὴν τῷ Καίσαρι μὴ λύειν τὰ συγκεῖμένα καὶ ἡπείλει Μηνόδωρον ἀπάξειν ὡς ἑαυτοῦ δραπέτην· γεγένητο γὰρ Πομπηίων Μάγνου, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Μάγνου περιουσίαν ὁ Ἀυτώνος ἐὼντο νύμφ πιπρασκομένην ὡς πολεμίον.

80. Ὅ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐπεμπέν ἐς Σαρδόνα καὶ Κύρνου τοὺς παραληψομένους, ἡ Μηνόδωρος ἐνεχείρας, ἐκρατύνετο δὲ τὰ παράλια τῆς Ἰταλίας φρουρίοις πολλοῖς, μὴ αὖθις αὐτὰ ὁ Πομπηίος ἐπιδράμω. τριήρεις δὲ ἔτερας ἐν Ῥώμη καὶ ἐν Ῥαβένων προσέτασαν γύνεσθαι καὶ στρατον πολύν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος μετεπέμπετο. Μηνόδωρον τε ἑλθόντα ἐλεύθερον εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνεν ἐξ ἀπελευθέρου καὶ δῶν αὐτὸς ἦγαγε νεόν, ἐπέτρεπεν ἡγεῖσθαι, ὑποστρατηγοῦντα τῷ ναύαρχῳ Καλουσίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καθιστάμενος ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐτὶ πλέονα συνάγων ἐβράδυνε καὶ

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intending to sail from both sides of Italy to Sicily if Antony should agree in opinion with him.

79. Antony came at the appointed day with a small escort, but not finding Octavian there he did not wait, either because he did not approve of the war, considering it a violation of the treaty, or because he observed Octavian’s great preparations (for the desire to be the sole ruler did not permit their fears to slumber at any time), or because he was alarmed by a prodigy. It was found that one of the guards who slept around his tent had been devoured by wild beasts except his face only, as though this had been left for the purpose of recognition, and that he had uttered no cry, nor did any of those who were asleep with him know of it. The Brundusians said that a wolf had been seen just before daybreak running away from the tents. Nevertheless Antony wrote to Octavian not to violate the treaty, and he threatened Menodorus with punishment as his own fugitive slave; for he had been the slave of Pompey the Great, whose property Antony had bought when it was sold under the law of war.

80. Octavian sent officers to receive Sardinia and Corsica, which Menodorus turned over to them. He strengthened the Italian coast with numerous towers to prevent Pompeius from raiding it again. He ordered the building of new triremes at Rome and Ravenna, and he sent for a large army from Illyria. When Menodorus came he made the latter a free citizen instead of a freedman, and put him in command, under the admiral Calvisius, of the ships which he had brought with him. When he had finished these preparations and brought together a still larger amount of war material he yet delayed,
ἈΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY

Τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐ περμείναντα ἐμέμφετο, τὴν δ’ οὖσαν ἢ διὰ παρασκευὴν ἐκέλευε Κορνυφίκιον ἐκ Ῥαβέννης μεταγαγείν ἐς Τάραντα. Κορνυφίκιος μὲν δὴ χειμῶν περιπλέοντι ἐπιγίγνεται, καὶ μόνῃ τῶν νεῶν ἡ ναυαρχὶς ἢ γενομένη Καύσαρι διεφθάρη καὶ ἐδοξε τούτ’ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα σημῆναι. ἐπιπολαξούσης δὲ ὑπονοίας ἔτι, ὡς παρασπόνδως ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε γίγνετο, τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ὁ Καύσαρ ἐκλύνων ἐπέστελλε τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸς ἔδιδασκεν, ὅτι τὰς στονδὰς ὁ Πομπήιος ληστεύων τὴν θάλασσαν ἀναλύσει καὶ τούθ’ ὁ λησταί κατείποιεν αὐτοῦ, κατείποι δὲ καὶ Μηνόδωρος τὴν ὀλὴν γνώμην, μάθοι δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ διὰ τούτο Πελοπόννησον οὐ δοίη.

81. Ὅς δε αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἑτοιμα γεγένητο, ἐπέστειλε τῇ Σικελία, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκ Τάραντος, Καλουσίας δὲ Σαβίνος καὶ Μηνόδωρος ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας. περιήγη δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐς Ρήγην, καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐταχύνετο ἀπαντά. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τῆς μὲν αὐτομολίας τοῦ Μηνόδωρον ἐπιπλέοντος ἢ δὴ Καύσαρος ήσθεν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπίπλουν αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέμεινεν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ τῶν Κάισαρα, Καλουσίας δὲ καὶ Μηνόδωρος τὸν ἐχθριατον τῷ Μηνοδώρῳ μάλιστα τῶν ἐξελευθέρων ἐαυτοῦ Μενεκράτη προσέτασσεν ἀπαντάν ἐπὶ στόλου πολλοῦ. ὅδε οὖν ὁ Μενεκράτης ἐπιφαινεται τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ δεῖλην ἐσπέραν πελάγιος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ὑπὲρ Κύμης συνέφυγον καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀνεπάνυστο, καὶ Μενεκράτης ἐς Αἰναριάν παρῆλθεν. ἦος δὲ ἀρχομένης οἱ μὲν τὸν κόλπον ἐν χρονὶς παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτήν.
and he reproached Antony for not waiting. He ordered Cornificius to bring with him to Tarentum everything that was now in readiness. While Cornificius was making the voyage a storm overtook him which destroyed only the admiral’s ship, which had been built for Octavian himself. This was considered an omen of what was to take place. As the belief still prevailed that this war was a violation of the treaty, Octavian sought to dispel the suspicion. He wrote to the city and he told his soldiers that Pompeius had violated the treaty by encouraging piracy, that the pirates had confessed this, that Menodorus had revealed the whole design, and that Antony knew it, and for that reason had refused to give up the Peloponnesus.

81. When all things were in readiness he set sail for Sicily, going himself from Tarentum, while Calvisius Sabinus, and Menodorus sailed from Etruria. The infantry was sent on the march to Rhegium and great haste was displayed in all quarters. Pompeius had scarcely heard of the desertion of Menodorus when Octavian was already moving against him. While the hostile fleets were advancing from both sides, he awaited the attack of Octavian at Messana, and ordered Menecrates, who of all his freedmen was the bitterest enemy of Menodorus, to advance against Calvisius and Menodorus with a large fleet. This Menecrates then was observed by his enemies near nightfall on the open sea. They retired into the bay near Cumae, where they passed the night, Menecrates proceeding to Aenaria. At day-break they drew up their fleet, in the form of a crescent, as close to the shore as possible, in order to
μην οευδέτει στόλω παρέπλεον, ὃν μὴ αὐτοὺς διεκ-πλέοιεν οἱ πολέμοι, ὁ δὲ Μενεκράτης αὐτοῖς αὖθις ἐπιφαίνεται τε καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπλησίαζεν ὑπὸ ῥύμης καὶ τάγως. δράν δὲ οὐκ ἀναχωρήσατο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὖδεν μέγα ἔχων, ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐγχείμπτων ἔξεσθει. οἱ δὲ ἐξωκέλλων τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς ἁπεμᾶ-χοντο. ἢν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀναχώρησις τε καὶ ἑφάρμησις, οτὲ βούλουτο, καὶ σκαφῶν ἑτέρων ἀλλαγῇ παρὰ μέρος· οἱ δὲ ἐκαμνὸν ἐκ τε τῶν πετρῶν, ἐφ' ἀς ἐπώκελλον, καὶ ὡς τῆς ἀκινησίας τῶν νεών πεζομαχεῖς γὰρ πρὸς ναυμα-χοῦντας ἐφικεσαν, οὔτε διώκειν οὔτε ἐκκλίνειν ἔχουτε.

82. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Μηνόδωροι καὶ Μενεκράτης καθορόσων ἄλληλους καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πόλον ἀφέν-τες αὐτίκα μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ βοήθῃς ἄλληλοις ἐπέ-πλεον, ἐν τῷ δὲ τὴν νίκην καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου τιθέμενοι, ἐν ὧν τῶν αὐτῶν κρατήσειν ἔμελλεν. αἱ δὲ μὲν δὴ νῆς ἄλληλαις ὑπὸ ρύμης ἐνέπεσον καὶ συνέτρυψαν η μὲν τῶν ἐμβολοῦν τῆς Μηνόδωρος ἄρος, ἢ δὲ τῶν ταρσῶν τῆς Μενεκράτους· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐταῖς ἐκατέρωθεν χεῖρες ἐπεβλήθησαν σιδηραῖ, τῶν μὲν νεών οὔδεν ἐτὶ ἔργον ἦν, συνεστηκυίας ἐκατέρας, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες ὀσπερ ἐν γῇ πόλον καὶ ἀρετῆς οὔδεν ἀπέλειπον. ἀκόντιά τε γὰρ ἦν ἄθροα καὶ λίθοι καὶ τοξεύματα ὑπ' ἄλληλοις, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ναύς καταρράκτας ἐρρύπτουν ἐς τὸ ἔπειναι δ' αὐτῶν. ὑψηλοτέρας δ' οὔσης τῆς Μηνόδωρος νεώς, οἱ τε καταρράκ-ται τοῖς τολμῶσιν ἦσαν εὐπτιβατώτεροι καὶ τὰ βαλλόμενα ὡς ἀφ' υψηλοῦ βιασύνης. τε-θνεῶτων δ' ἡθὶ πολλῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων

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prevent the enemy breaking through them. Mene-CHAP. IX
erates again showed himself, and immediately came on
with a rush. As his enemies would not advance to
the open sea, and he could do nothing of importance
there, he made a charge in order to drive them upon
the land. They beached their ships and fought
back against the attacking prows. Menecrates had
the opportunity to draw off and renew the attack as
he pleased, and to bring up fresh ships by turns,
while the enemy were distressed by the rocks, on
which they had grounded, and by the inability to
move. They were like land forces contending against
sea forces, unable either to pursue or retreat.

82. In this situation Menodorus and Menecrates
came in sight of each other; and, abandoning the rest
of the fight, drove at once against each other with fury
and shouting, as though they had staked the issue of
the battle on this encounter, whichever should be
the victor. Their ships came into violent collision
and were badly damaged, Menodorus losing his
prow and Menecrates his oar-blades. Grappling-
irons were thrown by both, and the ships, being
fastened together, could no longer manoeuvre, but
the men, as in a battle on land, failed not in deeds
of valour. Showers of javelins, stones, and arrows
were discharged, and bridges for boarding were
thrown from one ship to the other. As the ship of
Menodorus was higher than the other his bridges
made a better passage-way for those who ventured
on them, and his missiles were more effective for the
same reason. Many men were already slain, and
κατατετρωμένων, ο μὲν Μηνόδωρος ὀβελῷ τὸν βραχίονα ἐτρώθη, καὶ ὁ ὀβελὸς ἐξηρέθη, ὁ δὲ Μενεκράτης τὸν μηρὸν ἀκοντῶ πολυγλώχιν Ἰβηρικῷ ὀλοσιδήρῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐξελείν αὐτὸ σὺν ἑπείξει. ἀχρείος οὖν ὁ Μενεκράτης ἐς μάχην γενόμενος ἐπέμενε καὶ ὅσοι τοὺς ἁλλοὺς ἐποτρύνων, μέχρι λαμβανομένης τῆς νεός ἐς τὸν βυθὸν τοῦ πελάγους ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ναῦν ὁ Μηνόδωρος ἀνεδήσατο καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέπλευσεν, οὔδεν ἔτι δράν οὖδὲ ἐκεῖνος δυνάμενος.

83. Καὶ τὸ μὲν λαὸν τῆς ναυμαχίας οὕτως ἐπετράχει. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δέξιου Καλούσιος μὲν, διαπλέων ἐς τὸ λαὸν, ἀπετέμετο τινας τῶν Μενεκράτους νεῶν καὶ ἐκφυγοῦσας εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἐδίωκε, Δημοχάρης δ', ὁ τοῦ Μενεκράτους συνεξειλεύθερος τε καὶ ὑποστράτηγος, ταῖς λοιπαῖς τοῦ Καλουσίου συμπεσών, τὰς μὲν ἐς φυγὴν ἐτρέπετο, τὰς δὲ ἐς πέτρας συνήραξε, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐξαλομένων ἐνεπίμπτα τὰ σκάφη, μέχρι Καλούσιος ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἐπανών τὰς τε φυγούσας τῶν ἱδίων ἐπανήγαγε καὶ τὰς ἐμπιπταμένας ἐκώλυσε. καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβοῦσας ἡνίκαντο πάντες, ἐνθὰ καὶ τῆς προτέρας.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ ναυμαχία ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα, καὶ προὔχειν ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ Πομπηίου παρὰ πολὺ. Δημοχάρης δὲ βαρυθυμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ Μενεκράτους ὡς ἐπὶ ἦττῃ μεγίστῃ (δόν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἦσαν μάλιστα τῷ Πομπηίῳ διάλασσης ἑργάται, Μενεκράτης τε καὶ Μηνόδωρος), ἀπαντᾷ μεθεῖς ἐκ χειρῶν εὗθυς ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπλευ, καθάπερ οὐ τὸ Μενεκράτους σῶμα καὶ ναῦν μίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν στόλον ὅλον ἀποβαλὼν.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

the remainder wounded, when Menodorus was pierced in the arm with a dart, which was, however, drawn out. Menecrates was struck in the thigh with a Spanish javelin, made wholly of iron with numerous barbs, which could not be readily extracted. Although Menecrates could no longer take part in the fight, he remained there all the same, encouraging the others, until his ship was captured, when he plunged into the depths of the sea. Menodorus towed the captured ship to the land, but was able to do nothing more himself.

83. Thus had fared the left wing of the naval fight. Calvisius directed his course from the right to the left and cut off some of Menecrates’ ships from the main body, and when they fled pursued them to the open sea. Democharis, who was a fellow-freedman of Menecrates and his lieutenant, fell upon the remainder of Calvisius’ ships, put some of them to flight, broke others in pieces on the rocks, and set fire to them after the crews had abandoned them. Finally Calvisius, returning from the pursuit, led back his own retreating ships and prevented the burning of any more. As night approached all rested in their stations of the previous night.

Such was the end of this naval fight, in which the forces of Pompeius had much the best of it; but Democharis, grieving over the death of Menecrates as the greatest possible defeat (for those two, Menecrates and Menodorus, had been the foremost of Pompeius’ sea-captains) abandoned everything and sailed for Sicily immediately, as though he had lost not merely the body of Menecrates and one ship, but his whole fleet.
CAP. IX

84. Ὅ δὲ Καλυνίσιος ἦσος μὲν ἑπιπλευσεῖσθαί τὸν Δημοχάρη προσεδόκα, παρέμενεν, ἔνθαπερ ὀρμιστὸ, ναυμαχεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος· αἰ τε γὰρ κράτισται τῶν νεών αὐτῶ διωλώλεσαν, καὶ αἰ ἐτέραν πρὸς ναυμαχίαν ἔχον ἀχρείως· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν οἰχόμενον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἔπεσκευάζε τὰς ναῦς καὶ παρέπλει τὴν γῆν, τοὺς κόλπους ἐξελίσσων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκ μὲν Τάραντος ἐς τὸ Ῥήγουν διεπεπλεύκει ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ καὶ Πομπῆιον περὶ Μεσσήνην κατειλήφει ναῦς ἔχουτα τεσσαράκοντα μόνας, ὡστε αὐτῷ παρῆνοι οἱ φίλοι, ὡς ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα, ἔπιθέσθαι τῷ Πομπῆιῷ μετὰ τοσοῦτο στόλου, ναῦς ἔχοντι ὀλίγας, μέχρι τὸ λαοῖν ἐκεῖνοι ναυτικοὶ οὐ πάρεστιν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθητο, Καλυνίσιον περιμένων καὶ λέγων οὐκ εὑβουλοῦν εἶναι τὸ ριψοκίνδυνον, ἐνθα συμμαχίαν ἄλλην προσδοκή.

85. Ὅς δὲ Δημοχάρης ἐς Μεσσήνην κατέπλευεν, ὁ μὲν Πομπῆιος αὐτῶν τε Δημοχάρην καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνην, καὶ τόνδε ἀπελεύθερον ἑαυτοῦ, ναυάρχους ἀπέφηνεν ἀντὶ Μηνωδώρου καὶ Μενεκράτους. Καὶ Καῖσαρ περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἀμφοὶ τῇ Κύμη πυθόμενος ἔξεπλε τὸν πορθμόν, ὑπανήσας τῷ Καλυνίσῳ. ἀνύσαντι δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ πόρου τὸ πλέον καὶ Στυλίδα ἦδη παραπλέοντα καὶ ἐς τὸ Σκύλλαιον ἐπικάμπτοντο, ἐκθρόνων ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ὁ Πομπῆιος ἐξῆτετο τῶν ὑστάτων καὶ τὰς πρόπλους ἑδίωκε καὶ πάσας ἐνέβαλε καὶ ἐς μάχην προκάλεσε. αἱ δὲ καὶ περ ἐνοχλοῦμεναι ἐς μὲν ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἐπέστρεφον, Καίσαρος οὐκ ἔσωσε, εἰτε δεῖσαντος ἐν στένῳ ναυμαχεῖν ἐκτ ἐπιμένοντος οἷς ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς διε-520
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84. Calvisius, as long as he expected that Demo-CHAP. chares would renew his attack, remained at his station, unable to fight in the open sea, for his best ships had been destroyed and the others were unfit for battle. When he learned that his antagonist had gone to Sicily, he repaired his ships and coasted along the shore exploring the bays. Octavian, in the meantime, proceeded from Tarentum to Rhegium, with a large fleet and army, and near Messana came up with Pompeius, who had forty ships only. Octavian’s friends advised him to improve this most favourable opportunity and attack Pompeius with his great fleet, while the latter had so few ships and before the rest of his naval force should arrive. He did not follow this advice, but waited for Calvisius, saying that it was not good policy to run a risk when he was expecting reinforcements.

When Democharies arrived at Messana, Pompeius appointed him and Apollophonas, another of his freedmen, admirals in place of Menodorus and Menocrates; 85. and when Octavian heard of his disaster at Cumae he sailed out of the straits to meet Calvisius. After accomplishing the greater part of the distance, and while he was passing Stylis and turning into Scyllaeum, Pompeius darted out of Messana and fell upon his rear, pushed on to his front, attacked him all along the line, and challenged him to fight. Although beset in this way, Octavian’s fleet did not give battle, since Octavian forbade it, either because he feared to fight in the straits or because he adhered

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CAP. IX

γνώκει, μὴ ναυμαχεῖν δίχα τοῦ Καλουσίου·
γνώμη δὲ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τε τὴν γῆν ὑπεχώρουν
ἀπασαὶ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀγκυρῶν ἔσαλενοι καὶ κατὰ
πρὸς τοὺς ἀνεμάχοντο τοὺς ἐπίσταντας. Δημοκρά-
ρους δὲ ἐπιστήσαντο δύο ναῦς περὶ ἐκάστην
ἐθορυβοῦντο ἡδη, πρὸς τέκνα πέτρας ἀρασσόμεναι
καὶ πρὸς ἅλληλας, θαλάσσης τε ἐπιστήσαντο·
cαὶ διεφθείροντο μετὰ ἀργίας καὶ αἰδέ ὡσπερ αἱ
περὶ Κύμην, ὄρμοντες καὶ ἐμβαλλόμεναι πρὸς
ἐκθρῶν ἐπιπλεόντων καὶ ἀναχωροῦντων.

86. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Καίσαρ ἐξῆλατο τῆς νεώς ἑπὶ τὰς
πέτρας καὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης
ἀνελάμβανε καὶ ἐς τὸ ὁρός ἄνω παρέπεμπε·
Κορυφίκιος δὲ καὶ ὅσιοι ἀλλοί στρατηγικοὶ ἦσαν
αὐτοῦ, παρακαλέσαντες ἅλληλους, ἄνευ προστάγ-
ματος ἄνερρηξαν τὰ ἀγκύρια καὶ ἀνήχθησαν ἑπὶ
tοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς δέον τι δρόμον παρεῖν
μᾶλλον ἢ ἔστωτας ἀμαχεῖ τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦσι προ-
κεῖσθαι. τὸλμη τε παραβόλῳ πρὸτον ὁ Κορυ-
φίκιος τὴν ναυαρχίδα τοῦ Δημοκράτους κατέσεισε
καὶ εἶλε. καὶ Δημοκάρης μὲν ἐς ἐτέραν ἐξῆλατο,
tουτου δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πόνου καὶ τοῦ φθόρου
ἐπεφαίνοντο ἐκ πόνου προσπλέοντες ἡδη Καλου-
σίος τε καὶ Μηνόδωρος. καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ μὲν τοῦ
Καίσαρος οὐχ ἐφόρον οὕτε ἀπὸ γῆς οὕτε ἐκ
θαλάσσης, πελαγιωτεροί δὲ ὄντες οἱ τοῦ Πομ-
πηίου κατείδου καὶ ἴδοντες ἀνεχώρουν συνεκό-
ταξε γὰρ ἡδη, καὶ κεκμηκότες ἀκμήσων οὐκ
ἐθάρρουν συμπλέκεσθαι.

Τούτο μὲν δὴ συγκύρημα τοῖς υπολοίποις ἐκ
τοῦ τέως ἀχρείου χρηστοῦ ἐπιλύγνεται. 87. νυκτὸς
δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκπεσόντες
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to his first determination not to fight without Calvisius. By his orders, however, all hugged the shore, rode at anchor, and defended themselves with their prows toward the enemy. Democharis, by setting two of his ships by turns against one of the enemy's, threw them into confusion. They dashed against the rocks and against each other, and began to fill with water. And so these ships were lost, like those at Cumae, without striking a blow, being stuck fast and battered by the enemy, who had freedom of movement to advance and retreat.

86. Octavian leaped from his ship upon the rocks and pulled out of the water those who swam ashore, and conducted them to the mountain above. However, Cornificius and the other generals who were there, encouraged each other, cut loose from their anchors without awaiting orders, and put to sea against the enemy, thinking that it was better to be conquered fighting than to fall unresisting before the blows of their assailants. First, with wonderful audacity, Cornificius rammed the flag-ship of Democharis and captured it. Democharis leaped upon another vessel. Then, while the struggle and carnage were in progress, Calvisius and Menodorus hove in sight, advancing from the open sea, although they had not been observed by Octavian's men either from the land or the water. The Pompeians, being farther out at sea, beheld them first, and, when they saw them, retreated, for darkness was approaching, and, fatigued as they were, they dared not encounter fresh men.

This conjuncture happened very opportunely for those who had just now been in difficulties; 87. but at nightfall, those who had reached the shore from
ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τι χρηστῶν ἐγίγνετο, ἀσχολομένων περὶ τὰ νανάγια. ὡς δὲ ἐτέρου δαίμονος ἀγαθοῦ τὸ τρισκαίδεκατον τέλος ἐπλησίαζε διὰ τῶν ὅρων καὶ περὶ τοῦ κακοῦ πυθόμενον τοὺς κρημνοὺς, τῷ πυρὶ περὶ τῆς ὀδοῦ τεκμαρώμενοι, διέδραμοι καὶ καταλαβόντες τὸν αὐτοκράτορα σφῶν καὶ τοὺς συμφυγόντας ὡς ἔχοντας καμάτου καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορίας ἑθεράπευνον, ἀλλοις ἄλλῃ διαλαβόντες, οἱ δὲ ταξιαρχοὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐς αὐτοσχέδιον σκηνὴν ἐσαγαγόντες, οὐδενὸς τῶν οἰκετῶν αὐτῷ ἑθεραπευτήρων παρόντων, ὡς ἐν νυκτί καὶ τοσοῦτον ταράχῳ διερρμμένων. περιπέμψας δὲ εὐθὺς πανταχὺ τοὺς ἕξαγγελούντας, ὅτι σφῶν, πυθόμενοι Καλούσιον σὺν ταῖς πρόπλοις καταπλέοντα καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ δύο χριστῶι καὶ ἄδοκήτοις ἐμπαύετο.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

the ships took refuge on the mountains and lighted numerous fires as signals to those who were still on the sea, and there passed the night without food, uncared for, and in want of everything. Octavian fared like the rest, and moved around exhorting them to endure their privations till morning. While he was undergoing these hardships it was not known that Calvisius had arrived, nor could anything needful be obtained from the ships busied as they were with their wrecks. But good luck came to them from another quarter. The thirteenth legion was approaching by way of the mountains, and, learning of the disaster and judging of their route by the fire, they made their way through the crags. They found their commander, and those who had taken refuge with him, suffering from fatigue and want of food, and ministered to them, dividing the work, some caring for some, others for others. The centurions brought their commander into an improvised tent, as none of his body-servants were present, these having been dispersed in the darkness and disorder. He sent messengers in all directions forthwith, to announce that he was safe, and he learned that Calvisius had arrived with the vanguard of his fleet; and, in view of these two helpful and unexpected events, he allowed himself some rest.

88. The next morning, when Octavian looked out upon the water, he beheld some of his ships burned, others partly burned, others still burning, and others
ιστίων τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πηδαλίων καὶ σκευῶν ἔμπλεων τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τῶν ἔτη σφοζομένων τὰ πολλὰ πεποιηκότα. προστησάμενος οὖν τὸν Καλουσίου στόλον, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰ ἐπεύγοντα τῶν σκαφῶν πλαγιάσας, ἱρεμοῦντων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων, εἰτε διὰ Καλουσίου εἰτε αὐθις ἀναγομένοις ἐπιθέσθαι διεγνωκότων. οὐδὲ δὲ ἐχόντων ἐκατέρω, ἐκ μέσης ἡμέρας νότος ἐμπεσόν ἦγειρε κῦμα βλαυν ἐν ῥοώδει καὶ στενῷ χωρίῳ. Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν ἐν Μεσσήνης λιμένων ἐνδοὺ ἦν, αἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος νῆς αὐθις περὶ τραχεῖαν ἀκτὴν καὶ δύσορμον ἀρασσόμεναι ταῖς τε πέτραις καὶ ἀλλήλαις ἐπεφέροντο, οὐδὲ τῶν πληρωμάτων σφίσιν ὦστε διακρατεῖν ἐντελῶν ὄντων.

89. Μηνόδωρος μὲν οὖν, ἀρχόμενοι τὸ δευτέρον ἐλπίσας πλεονάσειν, ἐς τὸ πελαγιώτερον ἀνήχθη καὶ ἐπ’ ἀγκυρῶν διεσάλευσεν ἀσθενέστερον δὲ ἔχων τὸ κῦμα διὰ τὸν βυθὸν, εἰρεσία ὅμως καὶ πρὸς τὸ δέ ἐνίστατο καρτερὰ μὴ παραφέρεσθαι, καὶ τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐμμούντο ἑτεροί. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος, οἰόμενοι ταχέως τὸ πνεῦμα ἐνδώσειν ὡς ἐν ἑαρι, τὰς ναῦς ἐκατέρωθεν ἀγκύρας ἐκ τε τοῦ πελάγους καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς διεκράτουν καὶ κοντοῖς ἐξεώθουν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων. τραχυτέρον δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος γενομένου συνεκέχυτο πάντα καὶ συνετρίβουτο αἱ νῆς, τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀπορρηγύνοσαί καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἢ ἐπ’ ἄλληλας τινασσόμεναι βοή τε ἢ παμμυγής δεδιότων ὁμοῦ καὶ αἰμωξόντων καὶ παρακελεύοντων ἄλληλοις ἢ ἀνήκουν οὐ γὰρ ἐφικνοῦντο ἐτὶ τῶν λεγομένων, οὐδὲ κυβερνήτης 526
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

broken in pieces; and the sea filled with sails, rudders, and tackle, while, of the ships that were saved, the greater part were damaged. Having ranged the fleet of Calvisius in front, he made repairs on those of his vessels that most needed them, canting them, the enemy meantime remaining quiet, either because they feared Calvisius, or because they had decided to attack again in the open sea. Thus they remained on either side until midday, when a south wind burst upon them, raising violent billows in that surging and confined channel. Pompeius was then inside the harbour of Messana. The ships of Octavian were again shattered on the rough and inhospitable coast, dashing against the rocks and against each other, for, as they were not fully manned, they were not under good control.

89. Menodorus, apprehending that this rising storm would increase in violence, moved farther seaward and rode at anchor: here, on account of the depth of water, the waves were less boisterous; and even here he had recourse to hard rowing to avoid being driven ashore, some of the others following his example, but most of them, thinking that the wind would soon subside, as it usually does in the springtime, moored themselves with anchors at either end, landward and seaward, pushing each other off with poles. As the wind grew more violent everything was thrown into confusion. The ships collided, broke their anchors, and were thrown quivering on the shore or against one another. Cries of alarm and groans of pain were mingled together, and exhortations that fell upon deaf ears. Orders could not be heard, and there was no distinction between pilot and common
CAP. X

...οἱ ἰδιωτῶν διέφερεν οὔτε καὶ ἐπιστήμην οὔτε προστάσσων. ἀλλ' οἱ φόροι ήν όμοιοι ἐν τε ταῖς ναυσὶν αὐταῖς καὶ, ὅτε τις αὐτῶν ἐκπέσοι κύματι καὶ κλύδων καὶ εὔλογος ἀρασσομένων ἠγεμέν γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα ἱστίων καὶ εὐλόγων καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ νεκρῶν. εἰ δὲ τις καὶ τάδε διαφυγὼν ἐκήρυκτο ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, συνηράσσωντο καὶ οἶδε ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ σπάσμα τὴν θάλασσαν ἐλάμβανεν, ὅ συνήθως ἐπιγίγνεται τὸδε τῷ πορθμῷ, τοὺς μὲν ἁγίους καὶ τόδε ἔξ- ἔπλησε, τὰ δὲ σκάφη τότε μάλιστα περιφερό- μενα συνέπτητεν ἀλλήλοις. καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐς νῦκτα χαλεπώτερον ἐγένετο, ὡστε μηδὲ κατὰ φῶς ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐν σκότῳ διόλλυσθαι.

90. Ὀιμωγαὶ τε ἀνὰ τὴν νῦκτα πᾶσαν ἦσαν καὶ τῶν οἰκείων μετακλήσεις ἀνὰ τῇ γῆν διαθέον- των καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καλοῦντων ἐξ ὁνό- ματος καὶ θρηνοῦντων, ὅτι μὴ ἐπακούσειαν, ὡς ἀπολωλότας· ἐμπαλὼν τε ἐτέρων ἄνα τὸ πέλαγος ὕπερκυπτόντων τὸ κύμα καὶ ἐς βοῆθειαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ παρακαλοῦντων. ἀμήθιστα δὲ πάντα ἦν ἐκατέρως καὶ οὐχ ἡ θάλασσα μόνη τοῖς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσπελθοῦσιν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν νεῶν ἐπεβεβήκεσαν ἔτι, ἄλλα καὶ ἡ γῆ τοῦ κλύδωνος οὐχ ἦσαν ἢν ἀπο- ρωτέρα, μὴ σφᾶς τὸ κύμα συναράξειεν ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας· ἐμόχθουν τε χειμῶν τῶν πώποτε μά- λιστα κανονιστῶν, γῆς ὅντες ἀγγοτάτω καὶ τὴν γῆν δεδότες καὶ οὔτε ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὔτε ὅσον ἀλλήλων διαστήματι· ἢ γὰρ στενώτης ἢ τοῦ χορίου καὶ τὸ φύσει δυσέξοδον αὐτοῦ καὶ κλύδων ἐπιπεσώσκα τοῦ πνεῦμα, ὑπὸ
sailor, knowledge and authority being alike un-

availing. The same destruction awaited those in
the ships and those who fell overboard, the latter
being crushed by wind, waves, and floating timber.
The sea was full of sails, spars, and men, living
and dead. Those who sought to escape by swimming
to land were dashed against the rocks by the surf.
When the convulsion seized the water, as is usual
in that strait, they were terrified, being unaccustomed
to it; and then their vessels were whirled around
and dashed against each other worse than ever.
As night came on the wind increased in fury, so
that they perished no longer in the light but in the
darkness.

90. Groans were heard throughout the entire
night, and the cries of men running along the
shore and calling their friends and relatives upon
the sea by name, and mourning for them as lost
when they could hear no responses; and anon
the cries of others lifting their heads above the
waves and beseeching aid from those on shore.
Nothing could be done on either land or water.
Not only was the sea inexorable to those engulfed
in it, as well as to those still in the ships, but
the danger was almost as great on land as at sea,
lest the surf should dash them against the rocks.
So distressed were they by this unexampled tempest
that those who were nearest the land feared the
land, yet could not get sufficient offing to avoid
collision with each other, for the narrowness of
the place and its naturally difficult outlet, together
with the force of the waves, the rotary motion
of the wind, caused by the surrounding mountains,

1 This refers to the whirlpool of Charybdis.
ἈΠΙΑΝΣ ῬΩΜΑΙΟΙ ΗΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

Χ.

τῶν περικειμένων ὅρων ἐς θυέλλας περικλώμενον, καὶ ὁ τοῦ βυθοῦ σπασµὸς ἐπὶ πάντα εἰλούμενος οὔτε μένειν οὔτε φεύγειν ἐπέτρεπε· τὸ τε σκότος ἤνωξει νυκτὸς μάλιστα μελαίνης· ὥθεν ἔθνηςκοι οὐδὲ καθορῶντες ἀλλήλους ἔτι, οἱ μὲν θορύβούμενοι καὶ βοῶντες, οἱ δὲ ἔφ᾽ ἤσυχίας παρίεμενοι καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἐκδέχοµενοι καὶ συνεργοῦντες ἐς αὐτὸ ἔνοιο ὡς ἀπολούµενοι πάντως. γενόµενον γὰρ τὸ κακὸν κρείσσον ἐπινοιας καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων αὐτοὺς ἐλπίδα ἀφηρεῖτο, μέχρι ποτὲ ἄφινο τὸ πνεῦµα προσούσης ἕµέρας διελύτο καὶ μεθ᾽ ἥλιου ἐπιτολὴν πάµπαν ἐµαραίνετο. καὶ τὸ κύµα ὦµος καὶ τότε, τοῦ πνεύµατος ἐκλυθέντος, ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐτραχύνετο. καὶ τὸ δεινὸν οὐδ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχορίων ποτὲ τηλικοῦτον ἐµνηµονεύτο γενέσθαι· γενόµενον δὲ ἔθους τε καὶ νόµον κρείςσον διέφθειρε τῶν Καίσαρος νεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν τὸ πλέον.

91. Ὁ δὲ καὶ τῆς προτεραιᾶς ἕµέρας πολλὰ τῷ πολέµῳ βλαβεῖς καὶ δύο τοῦτοι συµπτόµαισιν ὁµοῦ συνενέχθεις ἐπὶ τὸ Ἰππόνειου εὐθὺς ἦσε διὰ ὀρῶν τῶν νυκτὸς αὐτῆς ἐκείνης κατὰ σπουδήν, οὐχ ὑφιστάµενος τὴν συµφοράν, ἐν νθ ἀυιδὲν εἴχεν ἐπικουρεῖν. καὶ φίλοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς ἐπέστειλε πᾶσι διὰ χειρὸς εἶναι, μὴ τὰς αὐτῷ καὶ ἐτέρωθεν ὡς ἐν κακοπραγία γένοιτο ἐπιβουλή. περιέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄκτην ἀπασαν τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ παρόντα πεζά, μὴ ἐπιτολµήσει καὶ τῇ γῇ διὰ τὴν εὐπνηίαν τῷ Πομπήιος. ὁ δὲ οὔτε περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐνενοήσεν οὔτε τοῖς λειψάνοις τοῦ ναυαγίου παροῦσιν ἡ ἀπιοῦσι καταστάντος τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐπ.
and the whirlpool of the deep, holding everything in its grasp, allowed neither tarrying nor escape. The darkness of a very black night added to their distress. And so they perished, no longer even seeing each other, some uttering confused cries, others yielding in silence, accepting their doom, some even hastening it, believing that they were irretrievably doomed. The disaster so far surpassed their experience that it bereft them of the hope of saving themselves even by chance. Finally, at the approach of daylight, the wind suddenly relaxed its force, and after sunrise wholly died away; yet even then, although the storm had ceased, the surges rolled a long time. The fury of the tempest surpassed the memory of the oldest inhabitants. It was altogether unexampled, and the greater part of Octavian's ships and men were destroyed by it.

91. Octavian, who had lost heavily in the battle the previous day and had sustained two severe calamities together, took the road in haste to Vibo that same night, by way of the mountains, being unable to repair this disaster, for which there was no help at hand. He wrote to all his friends and generals to be on the alert lest a plot should be formed against him here or there, as is liable to be the case when adversity comes. He despatched the infantry he had with him to all points on the Italian coast, lest Pompeius should be emboldened by his good luck even to invade the mainland. But the latter had no thought of an expedition by land. He did not even attack the ships that were left from the wreck, nor those that went away after the storm had subsided.
CAP. εχείρησεν, ἀλλ' ὑπερείδειν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν διαξωμ- νυμένους τὰ σκάφη καὶ ἀνέμω διαπέλεοντας ἐς τὸ Ἰππώνειον, εὑτε τὴν συμφορὰν ἀρκεῖν οἱ νομίζοντες ἐντ' ἀπειροσ ὅν νίκην ἐπεξελθεῖν εἴθ', ὡσπερ εἴρηται μοι καὶ ἐτέρωθι, ἑπιχειρεῖν ὅλως μαλακὸς ὃν καὶ μόνον ἐγνωκὼς ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιπλέο- ντας.

92. Καίσαρι δὲ οὐδ' ἐσ ἡμιον τῶν νεῶν περιε- σώθη, καὶ τοῦτο σφόδρα πεπονηκός. καταλιπῶν δ' ὅμως αὐτοῦ τινας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἔπληκτον Ἰαμπανίαν ἦσι δυσφορῶν οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλας ναῦς εἶχεν, δεό- μενος πολλῶν, οὔτε χρόνον ἐς ναυτηγίαν, ἐπενγό- μενος ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τοῦ δήμου περὶ συμβάσεων αὕτως ἐνοχλήσαντος καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτωθάσαντος ὡς παράσπονον. χρημάτων τ' ἔχρηζε καὶ ἠπόρει, Ἡρωμαίων οὔτε εἰσφερόντων οὔτε τοὺς πόρους ἔωντων, οὖς ἐπινοήσειε. δεινὸς δὲ ὃν ἄει τὸ συμφέρον συνιδεῖν ἐπεμπε Μακηνέας ἐς Ἀγυρόν, μεταδιδάξοντα περὶ ὅν ἐναγχός ἐπεμέφρους ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐς συμμαχίαν ὑπαξό- μενον. εἰ δὲ μὴ πείσθε τοὺς ὑπλίτας ὅλκάσιν ἐπιβήσας ἐς Σικελίαν περαιῶν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν μεθεῖς κατὰ γῆν πόλεμον συνίστασθαι. οὕτω δ' ὑδώμως ἔχοντες αὐτῷ ἀγγέλλεται ὁ Ἀντώ- νιος συνθέμενος συμμαχήσειν καὶ νίκη κατὰ Κελτῶν τῶν Ἀκυτανῶν ἐπιφανῆς, ἦν Ἀγρίππας

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On the contrary, he paid no attention to the enemy while they were frapping their ships with ropes as well as they could, and sailing with a favourable wind to Vibo. He neglected them either because he thought that the disaster was all-sufficient for him, or because he did not know how to follow up a victory, or, as I have said elsewhere, because he was altogether inefficient in attack and determined only to defend himself against assailants.

92. Less than half of Octavian's ships were saved, and these badly damaged. He left certain officers in charge of them and proceeded to Campania much cast down, for he had no other ships and he needed many; nor did he have time to build them, pressed as he was by the famine and by the people, who were again harassing him about a new treaty and mocking at the war as being in violation of the old one. He needed money, but had none. The Romans were not paying the taxes, nor would they allow the use of the revenues that he had devised. But he was always clever at discovering what was for his advantage. He sent Maecenas to Antony to change the mind of the latter respecting the things about which they had lately had some bickering, and to bring him to an alliance. If Maecenas should not succeed, he intended to embark his infantry on merchant vessels, cross over to Sicily, abandon the sea, and wage war on land. While in this state of dejection the news reached him that Antony had agreed to the alliance, and he heard of a splendid victory over the Gauls of Aquitania, gained under the leadership of Agrippa.¹ His friends

¹ There is probably a gap or error in the text.
ἈΠΙΑΝ'S ROMAN HISTORY

Χ. ἀγων ἐφάνη. οἱ τε φίλοι καὶ τῶν πόλεων τινες αὐτῷ ναῦς ὑπισχυόντο καὶ ἔποιουν.

'Ο μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς λύπης ἀνίε καὶ λαμπρότεραν τῆς προτέρας παρασκευῆς συνεπήγμυντο· 93. ἀρχομένον δ' ἦρος ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἔξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Τάραντα διέπλει ναυτὶ τριακοσίας, τῷ Καῖσαρι συμμαχίσαν, ὡς ὑπέσχητο, ὁ δ' ἐνίλλακτο τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἐς τὰς ἐτὶ γυνομένας αὐτῷ ναῦς ἀνεβάλλετο. καλοῦμενος δὲ αὐθίς ὡς ἐπὶ ἐτοιμα καὶ ἀρκοῦντα τὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἐτέρας ἀσχολίας προὔφερε καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἡ αὐθίς ἐπιμεμφόμενος τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἢ τῆς συμμαχίας διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπερορῶν. χαλεπαίνων δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπέμενεν ὅμως καὶ αὐθίς αὐτὸν ἐκάλει· τῇ τε γὰρ χορηγίᾳ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ κάμυνων καὶ στρατοῦ χρήζων ἐπὶ Παρθυνάων Ἰταλοῦ, Καῖσαρι τὰς ναῦς ἐπενόει διαλλάξαι, εἰρημένοι μὲν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἑκάτερον ἔξωλογον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δυσχέρες δ' ἐσόμενον αὐτῷ Καῖσαρος τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰληχότος. Ὅκταοια σὺν ἔχωρει πρὸς Καῖσαρα διαιτήσουσα αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐγκαταλελείφθαι τοῖς κινδύνοις ἔλεγε τοῖς ἐν πορθμῷ καταλαβοῦσιν, ἡ δὲ ἐκλελύσθαι τούτο διὰ Μαικήνα. ὁ δὲ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔφη καὶ Καλλίαν ἀπελεύθερον ἐς Λέπιδον ἐκπέμψαι, συντιθέμενον τῷ Λεπίδῳ κατὰ Καῖσαρος, ἡ δὲ συνειδέναι Καλλίαν περὶ γάμων ἀπεσταλμένον· βουληθήναι γὰρ Ἀντώνιον πρὸ
and certain cities also promised him ships, and built them.

Accordingly, Octavian cast off his despondency, and made more formidable preparations than his previous ones. 93. At the beginning of spring, Antony set sail from Athens to Tarentum with 300 ships to assist Octavian as he had promised. But the latter had changed his mind and postponed his movement until his own ships should be finished. When called upon again and told that Antony's forces were ready and sufficient, he advanced other reasons for delay. It was evident that he was again offended with Antony about something, or that he disdained his assistance because his own resources were abundant. Antony was vexed, but he remained, nevertheless, and communicated with Octavian again, because the expense of his fleet was burdensome. Moreover, he needed Italian soldiers for his war against the Parthians, and he contemplated exchanging his fleet for a part of Octavian's army; for, although it was provided in their treaty that each of them might recruit soldiers in Italy, it would be difficult for him to do so when Italy had fallen to the lot of Octavian. Accordingly, Octavia betook herself to her brother to act as mediator between them. Octavian complained that he had been abandoned by Antony when he was overtaken by danger in the straits; she replied that that had been explained through Maecenas. Octavian said that Antony had sent his freedman Callias to Lepidus in Africa to induce the latter to make an alliance against him; she replied that she knew that Callias had been sent to make arrangements about a marriage, because Antony desired, before
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94. Κατὰ δαίμονα δ' ἀμφοτέρων προσιόντων τῷ ῥεύματι, Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τῆς ἀπήνης καταθηρῶν εἰς τι τῶν παρομοίων σκαφῶν ἐσῆλατο μόνος καὶ ἐπέρα πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, πιστεύον ὡς φίλωρ. καὶ ο Καίσαρ ἰδὼν ἀντεμμείτο, καὶ ξυμβάλ- λουσιν ἀλλήλους κατὰ τὸ ῥεύμα καὶ διήρξον, ἐκά- 

teros ἐκβῆμοι βουλόμενος εἰς τὴν ὀχθήν τοῦ ἔτερου. ἔνικα δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ, ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ὁκταυνίαν ἦξων ἐς Τάραντα, ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἀπήνης Ἀντωνίου συνήδρευεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Τάραντι ἔς τὴν καταγωγῆν αὐτοῦ παρῆλθε τέ ἀφύλαττος καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὁμοίως ἀνεπαύετο χωρίς δορυφόρων παρ' αὐτῷ. τὰ δ' ὅμοια καὶ παρ' Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἐπι-

οὐσῆς ἐπεδείκνυτο. οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἡ συνεχῆς ἡ μεταβολή, πρὸς τε τὰς ὑπονοίας διὰ φιλαρχίαν καὶ ἐς τὰς πίστεις ὑπὸ χρείας.

95. Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐπίπλουν τὸν ἐπὶ Πομπήιον ὁ Καίσαρ ἐς νέοτα ἀνεβάλλετο. ο δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιμένειν διὰ Παρθανίους οὐ δυνάμενος, ἀντε-

dōsαν ὁμοὶς ἀλλήλους, Καίσαρι μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ναῦς ἐκατόν εἴκοσι, ὡς αὐτίκα πέμψας εἰς Τάραντα παρέδωκεν, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ δισμυρίος Ἰταλοὺς ὀπλίτας, οὕτως ἐπιπέμψειν ὑπισχεῖτο. ἐδωρήσατο δὲ καὶ Ὁκταυνία τῶν

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setting out on his Parthian expedition, to marry his daughter to the son of Lepidus, as had been agreed. After Octavian had made this statement Antony sent Callias to Octavian with permission to put him to the question. Octavian would not receive him, but said that he would go and have an interview with Antony between Metapontum and Tarentum, at a place where there is the river whence the town is named between them.

94. They both chanced to reach the river at the same time. Antony sprang down from his chariot and leaped alone into one of the skiffs moored near by, and rowed toward Octavian, showing confidence in him as a friend. When Octavian saw this he followed the example. So they met in the stream and contended with each other which of them should disembark on the other's bank. Octavian prevailed because he was going to make a visit to Octavia at Tarentum. He took a seat with Antony in the latter's chariot, and proceeded to his lodgings at Tarentum unprotected, and passed the night there without guards. On the following day Antony made the same exhibition of trust. Thus they were continually changing from suspicion born of rivalry to confidence due to their mutual needs.

95. However, Octavian postponed his expedition against Pompeius till the following year. On account of the Parthian war Antony was not able to wait. Nevertheless, they made an exchange with each other, Antony giving to Octavian 120 ships, which he sent at once and delivered at Tarentum, in return for which Octavian promised to send him 20,000 Italian legionaries. Octavia, begging the

1 The Taras.
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CAP. ἀδελφόν, αἰτήσασα παρ' Ἀντωνίου, δέκα φασάλοις τριημερικοῖς, ἐπιμέκτοις ἐκ τε φορτίδων νεών καὶ μακρῶν, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταούνιαν ὁ Καίσαρ χιλίοις λογάσι σωματοφύλαξιν, οὗς ἐπιλέξατο Ἀντώνιος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χρόνος αὐτοῖς ἐληγε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ή τοῖς τρισί πρήψατο ἀνδράσιν, ἕτεραν ἑαυτοῖς ὠρίζον πενταέτιαν, οὔτε ἐτί τοῦ δήμου δεθέντες, οὔτω μὲν ὁπδικρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἤπειγετο, τὴν Ὀκταούνιαν παρὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καταλιπὼν μετὰ δυνατρὸς ἤδη γενομένης αὐτοῖς.

96. Μηνόδωρος δὲ, εἶτε τις ὁι φύσει παλιμπροδότης εἶτε δείσας τὴν ποτε ἀπειλήν Ὀκτωνίου, ἀπάξειν αὐτὸν εἰπόντος ἄς ἀνδράποδον πολεμοποίον, εἶτε ἑλασόνω τὸν ἀξιοῦντι τοῦν ἀνήμον παρ' ἃ πρὸσεδόκησεν, εἴτε τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸν ἐξελευθέρων τοῦν Πομπηίου συνεχῶς ὄνειδιζόντων ὡς ἀπιστίαν δεσπότου καὶ παρακαλοῦντων ἐπανελθέντων Μενεκράτους ἀποθανόντος, πίστιν αἰτήσας καὶ λαβὼν ἡπομόλησε πρὸς Πομπηίου σύν ἐπὶ ναυσί, Καλουσίουν τὸν ναύαρχον τοῦν Καίσαρος διαλαθῶν. ἐφ' ὁ τὸν Καλουσίουν ὁ Καίσαρ ἀπέλυσε τῆς ναυαρχίας καὶ ἀντικατέστησεν Ἀγρίππαν.

'Επεὶ δ' ἔτοιμος ἦν ὁ στόλος, ἔκαθαρεν αὐτὸν ὁ Καίσαρ ὅτε. οἱ μὲν βωμοὶ ψαυύουσι τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ η πληθὺς αὐτοὺς περιεῖς τῇ ναύῳ μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης· οἱ δὲ ἱερουργοὶ φύσει μὲν ἑστώτες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ τρίς ἐπὶ σκαφῶν περιφέρουσιν ἀνὰ τὸν στόλον τὰ καθάρσια, συμπεριπλέοντον αὐτοῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐπαρωμένων ἐς τάδε τὰ καθάρσια, ἀντὶ τοῦ στόλου, τὰ
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

favour from Antony, made her brother a present of ten three-banked phaseli—a combination of war-ship and merchant vessel—and Octavian gave her in return 1000 picked men as a body-guard, to be selected by Antony. As the term of the triumvirate voted to them was about expiring, they renewed it for five years without again asking the people. And so they separated, Antony proceeding straightway to Syria and leaving Octavia with her brother, and also a daughter already born to them.

96. But Menodorus,—either because he was a turn-coat by nature, or because he feared the former threat of Antony, who had said that he would punish him as a rebellious slave, or because he had received less consideration than he had expected, or because the other freedmen of Pompeius were continually reproaching him for unfaithfulness to his master and urging him to return,—now that Menecrates was dead, asked forgiveness, and, having obtained it, deserted to Pompeius with seven ships, without the knowledge of Octavian’s admiral, Calvisius. For this reason Octavian dismissed the latter from his command and appointed Agrippa in his place.

When the fleet was ready, Octavian performed a lustration for it in the following manner. The altars are erected on the margin of the sea, and the multitude ranged around them in a circle of ships, observing the most profound silence. The priests who perform the ceremony offer the sacrifice while standing at the water’s edge, and carry the expiatory offerings in skiffs three times round the fleet, the generals sailing with them, beseeching the gods to turn the bad omens against the victims instead of the fleet.
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CAP. άπαξια τραπήναι. νεβμαντες δὲ αυτά, μέρος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπορρίπτουσι καὶ μέρος ἐς τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐπιθέντες ἀπτοῦσι, καὶ ὁ λεως ἐπευφημεῖ. οὔτω μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ναυτικὰ καθαίρουσιν.

XI

CAP. 97. "Εμελλε δ' ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐκ Δικαιαρχείας, ὁ δὲ Λέπιδος ἐκ Διβύης, Ταῦρος δ' ἐκ Τάραντος ἐπιτελευσεῖθαί τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ὡς ἂν αὐτὴν ἐξ ἑώς ὁμοί καὶ δύσεως καὶ μεσημβρίας περιλάβοιεν. καὶ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡ ἡμέρα προείρητο πάσι, καὶ ἂν δεκάτη τροπῶν θερινῶν, ἦν τινα Ῥωμαίοι νομημίαν ἔχουσι τοῦ μηνός, ὅπως ἐπὶ τιμή τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ προτέρου Ἰούλιου ἀντὶ Κυνήγιου καλοῦσι. τήνδε μὲν ὁ Καίσαρ ὁρίσε τὴν ἡμέραν, αἰσιούμενος ἰσως διὰ τὸν πατέρα νικηφόρον αἰεὶ γενόμενον. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Λέπιδω μὲν ἀντέταττε Πλένιον ἐπὶ Διλυβαίῳ, τέλος ὁπλιτῶν ἔχοντα καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐσκευασμένον κούφως, τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἐοὶ καὶ δύσων ἀκτὴν τῆς Σικελίας πάσαν ἐφρούρει, καὶ νήσους μάλιστα Διπάρα τε καὶ Κοσύραν, ἣν μὴ Ἰούλιος Λέπιδω μὴτε Διπάρα Καίσαρε ἐναρμόσματα ἡ ναύσταθμα γένοιτο εὐκαίρα ἐπὶ τῇ Σικελίᾳ. τὸ δ' ἄριστον τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ συνεῖχεν ἐπεδρεῦν ὅπῃ δεήσησεν.

98. οὔτω μὲν ἐκάτεροι παρασκευὴς εἴχον, γενομένης δὲ τῆς νομημηνίας ἀνήγουντο πάντες ἀμα ἦοι, Λέπιδος μὲν ἐκ Διβύης χιλιάις ὀλκάσα καὶ μακραῖς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τέλεσι στρατοῦ δυώδεκα 540
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Then, dividing the entrails, they cast a part of them into the sea, and put the remainder on the altars and burn them, while the multitude chant in unison. In this way the Romans perform lustrations of the fleet.

XI

97. It was intended that Octavian should set sail from Puteoli, Lepidus from Africa, and Taurus from Tarentum, against Sicily, in order to surround the enemy at once, from the east, the west, and the south. The day of Octavian's sailing had been previously communicated to all; it was the tenth day after the summer solstice. This, in the Roman calendar, was the calends of the month which, in honour of the first Caesar, they call July instead of Quintilis. Octavian fixed on this day, perhaps because he considered it propitious on account of his father, who was always victorious. Pompeius stationed Plenius at Lilybaeum with one legion and a considerable body of light-armed troops, to oppose Lepidus. He guarded the whole coast of Sicily, both east and west, and especially the islands of Lipara and Cossyra, lest they should become convenient harbours and naval stations, the one for Octavian the other for Lepidus against Sicily. The best part of his naval force he kept together at Messana watching its chances.

98. In this way they made their preparations on either side, and when the calends came they all set sail at daybreak, Lepidus from Africa with 1000 ships of burden, seventy war vessels, twelve legions of
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καὶ ἰππεῦσι Νομάσι πεντακισχιλίοις καὶ έτέρα παρασκευὴ πολλῇ. Ταύρος δ' ἐκ Τάραντος ταῖς Ἀντωνίου μαυσῶν ἐξ ἐκατόν καὶ τρίακοντα δύο μόναι καὶ ἐκατόν, ἐπεὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οἱ ἔρεται χειμώνος ἑτερύκεσαν, ο ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκ Δικαιαρχείας, θύμων ἀμα καὶ σπένδων ἀπὸ τῆς ναυαρχίδος νεὼς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνέμοις εὐδίοις καὶ Ἀσφαλείᾳ Ποσειδών καὶ ἀκύμουν θαλάσση, συλλήπτορας αὐτῷ κατὰ ἑξήβην πατρών γενέσθαι. πρόπλοι δ' αὐτῷ τινες τοὺς μυχοὺς τῆς θαλάσσης διηρεύνων, καὶ Ἀπτίος μετὰ πλήθους νεῶν ὀπισθοφυλακῶν εὑπετο. τρότη δὲ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς ἠμέρα νότος ἐμπεσών Λεπίδου μὲν ὅλκαδας ἀνέτρεψη πολλάς, όρμασθε δὲ ὅμως ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ, Πλένιον ἐν Διλυβαίῳ πολιορκῶν, τινὰς τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγετο καὶ ἐτέρας ἐβιάζετο. Ταύρος δὲ ἀρχομένου τοῦ πνεύματος ἐς Τάραντα ἐπαλυμδόμει. Ἀπτίον δ' ἄρτι τὸ Ἀθηναῖον ἀκρον περιπλέοντος αἱ μὲν συνετρίβοντο τῶν νεῶν ἀμφὶ ταῖς πέτραις, αἱ δ' ἐς τέλματα ἐξώκελλον ὑπὸ ρύμης, αἱ δὲ καὶ διερρήσασιν οὐκ ἄσινες. ο δὲ Καίσαρ ἀρχομένου μὲν τοῦ χειμώνος ἐς τὸν Ἐλεάτην κόλπον ἐρυμένων ὅπτα συμπεφεύγει, χωρὶς ἐξήρους μιᾶς, ἢ περὶ τῇ ἄρα διελύθη. λιβὸς δὲ τῶν νότων μεταλαβόντος ὁ κόλπος ἑκκάτο, ἐς τὴν ἑσπέραν ἀνεφγένος, καὶ οὔτε ἐκπλεῦσαι δυνατὸν ἦν ἐτὶ πρὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κόλπου τὸ πνεύμα, οὔτε κἀπὶ κατείχον οὔτε ἀγκυρά, ἀλλ' ἐς ἅλληλας ἢ ἐς τὰς πέτρας ἐνηράσσοντο αἱ νῆες. καὶ νυκτὸς ἦν ἐτὶ τὸ δειλοῦν ἀτοπώτερον.

99. 'Ἐνδοντος δὲ ποτε τοῦ κακοῦ τὰ νεκρὰ ἔθαπτεν ὁ Καίσαρ, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας ἔθεράπευε,
soldiers, 500 Numidian horse, and a great quantity of apparatus; Taurus from Tarentum with only 102 of the 130 ships that Antony had left, since the oarsmen of the remainder had perished during the winter. Octavian sailed from Puteoli, offering sacrifices and pouring out libations from the admiral's ship into the water to the propitious winds, and to Saviour Neptune, and to Waveless Ocean, that they should be his allies against his father's enemies. Certain ships sent in advance made examination of the bays, and Appius with a large squadron followed as a rear guard. On the third day after their departure a south wind blew with violence and capsized a large number of ships of burden belonging to Lepidus. Nevertheless, he reached the Sicilian coast, laid siege to Plenius in Lilybaeum, and got possession of some towns by persuasion and others by force. When the wind began to blow Taurus returned to Tarentum. While Appius was doubling the promontory of Minerva, some of his ships were shattered against the rocks, others ran with violence on the shoals, and the rest were dispersed, not without injury. At the beginning of the storm, Octavian took refuge in the sheltered bay of Elea, except one six-banked ship, which was wrecked on the promontory. The south wind was succeeded by a south-wester, which threw the bay into commotion, as it opened toward the west. It was impossible to sail out of the bay with the wind still ahead, nor could the ships be held by oars or anchors. They crashed against each other or against the rocks, and by night confusion became worse confounded.

99. When the tempest had subsided, Octavian buried the dead, cared for the wounded, clothed
καὶ τοὺς ἐκνέουτας ἐνέδυε, καὶ ὤπλιξεν ἑτέρους ὀπλοὺς, καὶ τὸν στόλον ἀπαντᾷ ἐκ τῶν ἐνότων ἀνελάμβανε. διεφθάρατο δ’ αὐτῷ νῆς βαρείας μὲν ἔξ, κοιφότερα δὲ ἔξ καὶ εἴκοσι, λιβυρνίδες δὲ ἔτι πλείους. καὶ ἐς τάδε διορθούμενα τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἀναλώσεων ἐμελλεν, ἤδη τοῖς θέρους προκόπτοντος. οἶθεν ἦν ἀριστον αὐτῷ τῶν πόλεμον ἐς τὸ μέλλον θέρος ἀναβαλέσθαι. ἐνοχλουμένου δὲ τοῦ δῆμου ταῖς ἀπορίαις, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰς ναύς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀνέλκων μετὰ ἑπείξεως καὶ τὰ πληρóματα τῶν διεφθαρμένων ἐς τὰς παρὰ Ταύρῳ ναύς κενᾶς ἐξέσπεμπεν. ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ συμφορᾶ μείζον, Μαυκήναν μὲν ἐς Ρώμην ἐξέσπεμπε διὰ τοὺς ἑπτομένους ἐπὶ πρὸς τὴν μνήμην Πομπηίου Μάγνου· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐξέλιπεν ἡ δόξα τοῦ ἀνδρός τούτου· τοὺς δὲ κληρούχους αὐτὸς ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέτρεχε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φόβου τῶν γεγονότων ἀνελάμβανε. διέδραμε δὲ καὶ ἐς Τάραντα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν εἶδε τὸ ὑπὸ Ταύρῳ, καὶ ἐς Ἰππώνειον ἦλθε καὶ τὰ πεζὰ παρηγόρησε καὶ τὴν τῶν νεὼν ἐπισκεφήν ἐπέσπερχεν. καὶ πλησίον ἦν ἡδή καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπίπλους.

100. 'Ο δὲ Πομπήιος οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τοιᾶδε εὐκαρίᾳ τοσοῦτοι ναυαγίους ἐπιχειρεῖν ἦξιον, ἀλλ’ ἔθεν μόνον θαλάσση καὶ Ποσειδώνι καὶ νόος αὐτῶν ύφιστατο καλείσθαι, πειθόμενος οὐκ ἂνεν θεού δις οὔτω θέρους πταῖσαι τοὺς πολέμους. φασὶ δ’ αὐτὸν, ὑπὸ τῶν χαυνούμενων, καὶ τὴν συνήθη

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those who had swum ashore and furnished them with new weapons, and repaired his whole fleet with the means at his command. Six of his heavy ships, twenty-six lighter ones, and a still larger number of liburnian galleys had been destroyed. He was likely to consume nearly thirty days in these repairs; and now the end of summer was approaching, for which reason he deemed it best to postpone the war till the following summer, but as the people were suffering from scarcity he drew his ships upon the land and made his preparations rapidly, and sent the crews of the ships he had lost to fill the empty ones in the fleet of Taurus. In anticipation of more serious misfortune he sent Maecenas to Rome on account of those who were still under the spell of the memory of Pompey the Great, for the fame of that man had not yet lost its influence over them. Octavian himself visited the new colonies throughout Italy and dispelled their fears, which had been excited by the recent events. He also went to Tarentum and inspected the naval force under Taurus. Then he proceeded to Vibo, where he encouraged his infantry and hastened the preparations of his fleet, the time for his second invasion of Sicily being near at hand.

100. Pompeius however did not deign to seize even the fine opportunity presented to him by so many shipwrecks. He merely offered sacrifice to the sea and to Neptune, assuming to call himself their son, and persuading himself that it was not without the special act of Providence that his enemies had been twice overwhelmed in this way in the summer months. It is said that he was so much puffed up by these circumstances that he exchanged the purple...
APPIAN’S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XI

toĩs autokratōrōn χλαμύδα ἐκ φοινικῆς ἐς κυανὴν μεταλλάξαι, εἰσποιούμενον ἁρά ἑαυτὸν τῷ Ποσειδώνι. ἐλπίσας δ’ ἀναζεύξειν τὸν Καίσαρα, ὡς ἑπόθετο ναυπηγοῦμενον τε καὶ ἐπιπλευσούμενον αὐθις αὐτοῦ θέρους, ἐξεπλήσσετο μὲν ὡς ἀμάχῳ γνώμῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ πολεμῶν, Μηνόδωρον δὲ μετὰ νεῶν ἐπτὰ δὲν ἦγαγεν ἐπεμπε κατασκεψόμενον τὰ νεῶλκια τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ δράσοντα, ὦ τι καὶ δύνατο. ὦ δὲ καὶ τέως ἀχθόμενος οὐκ ἀποδοθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς ναυαρχίας καὶ τότε αἰσθόμενος, ὡς πῦρ ὑποψίᾳ μόνων ἠξίωτο δὲν ἦγαγε νεῶν, ἐπεβούλευεν αὐθις αὐτομολιάν.

101. Ἐπινοοῦν δὲ πρῶτον, ὡς ἐς πάντα οἶ συνοίσθην, ἀνδραγαθίσασθαι, διέδοκε τοὺς συμπλέουσιν, ὡς εἶχε χρυσίων, καὶ διέπλευσεν εἰρεσία τρισὶν ἡμέραις πεντακοσίως ἐπὶ χίλιοις σταδίους καὶ τοὺς προφύλαξι τῶν ναυπηγοῦμένων Καίσαρι νεῶν οὐκ σκηπτός ἀφανῶς ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἐς ἄφανες ἀναχωρῶν ἦρει κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ναῦς τῶν φυλακίδων καὶ τὰς ὀλκάδας, αἱ τὸν σιτὸν ἔφερον, ὁμούσας ἡ παραπλεύσας κατέδυξεν ἡ ἀνεδεῖτο ἡ ἐνεπίμπρῃ. θορύβου δὲ πάντα μεστὰ διὰ Μηνόδωρον ἦν, Καίσαρος ἀπόντος ἐτὶ καὶ Ἀγρίππα· καὶ γὰρ οὐτός ἐπὶ ύλην ἐπετόρευτο. γαυρούμενος δὲ ὁ Μηνόδωρος ἐξωκειλὲ ποτὲ τὴν ναῦν ἐκῶν ἐς ἐρμα γῆς ἀπαλῶν σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πῆλου κατέχεθαι, μέχρι, τῶν πολεμῶν ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν καταθορῶντων 546.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

cloak customary to Roman commanders for a dark blue one, to signify that he was the adopted son of Neptune. He hoped that Octavian would now take himself off, but when he learned that the latter was building ships and was about to renew the expedition against him that summer, he became alarmed at finding himself at war with a man of such indomitable spirit and such formidable preparations. He sent Menodorus, with the seven ships he had brought, to reconnoitre the dockyards of Octavian and to do whatever damage he could. Menodorus had been vexed for some time past because the naval command had not been given to him, and he now perceived that he was entrusted with only the ships that he had brought, because he was under suspicion. So he plotted a new desertion.

101. Conceiving that however matters might turn out, he should first signalize himself by some act of valour, he distributed among his companions all the gold he had, and crossed by a three days' rowing, accomplishing a distance of 1500 stades, and fell like a thunderbolt, unperceived, on the vessels that were guarding Octavian's shipyards, and disappeared carrying off the guard-ships by twos and threes, sinking also, or capturing, or burning the merchant vessels, laden with corn, that were moored there or sailing along the coast. Everything was thrown into confusion by this raid of Menodorus, both Octavian and Agrippa being absent, for Agrippa had gone away to procure timber. In a spirit of bravado Menodorus once ran his ship upon a sandbank, voluntarily and contemptuously, and pretended to be stuck in the mud, until his enemies dashed down from the mountains upon him as to a certain
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CAP. XI ώς ἐπὶ Μηνοδώρου θήραν ἐτοιμον, ἀνακρουσάμενος ἔχετο σὺν θαύματι.

Ὡς δὲ ἰκανῶς ἐπεδέδεικτο, οἶος ἔχθρός τε καὶ φίλος εἶη, Ρέβιλον μὲν ἔλών, ἀνδρὰ ἀπὸ βουλῆς, μεθῆκε, μνώμενος ἦδη τὸ μέλλον. 102. Μινδίω δὲ Μαρκέλλῳ, των ἐταίρων τινὶ τῶν Καίσαρος, φίλος ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ γεγονὼς αὐτομολία, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔφη τὸν Μίνδιον βουλεύειν αὐτομολίαιν καὶ προδοσίαν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίως προσπελάσας ἥξιον Μίνδιον αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν ἐς τινα νησίδα ἐπὶ λόγωις συνοισθοῦσι. καὶ συνελθόντι ἔλεγεν, οὐδενὸς ἀκούοντος ἐτέρου, φυγεῖν μὲν ἐς Πομψήλων ὑβριζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε ναυάρχου Καλονισίου, τὴν δὲ ναυαρχίαν Ἀγρίππαν παρὰ Μεσσάλα τῷ τὴν ἀποδημίαν Ἀγρίππα διοικοῦντος, εἰ πίστιν αὐτῷ κομίσειν ὁ Μίνδιος παρὰ Μεσσάλας τῷ τὴν ἀποδημίαν Ἀγρίππα διοικοῦντος. ἔφη δ' ἐπανελθὼν μὲν ιάσεσθαι λαμπρῶς τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἔργοις, μέχρι δὲ τῶν πίστεων λυμανεῖοις τῶν Καίσαρος ὁμοίως ἐς τὸ ἀνύποπτον. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὕτης ἐλυμαινέτο, Μεσσάλας δ' ἐνεδοίασε μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ αἰσχρῷ, ἐνέδωκε δ' ὁμοῖς, εἰτε πολέμου ταῦτ' εἶναι νομίζων ἀνάγκας εἴτε καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος γνώμης τι προμαθῶν ἢ τεκμηριώμενος. καὶ Μηνόδωρος μὲν αὕτης ἕπιτες εἰς τὸν Καίσαρα ἑλθόντα προσπίπτων ἥξιον συγγνώμαι μὴ λέγοντι τὰς αἰτίας τῆς φυγής· ὁ δὲ ἐς 548.
prey, when he backed away, and left them in amaze-
ment.

When he had sufficiently shown what he was
capable of, as enemy or friend, he dismissed a senator
whom he had taken prisoner, named Rebilus, having
a view already to the future. 102. During his
former desertion he had been a friend of Mindius
Marcellus, one of the companions of Octavian, and
he now told his own men that Mindius had the
intention of betraying his party and deserting to
that of Pompeius. Then he drew near to the enemy
and invited Mindius to go with him to a small
island in order to have a conference. When the
latter came, and there was nobody else within
earshot, Menodorus said that he had gone back to
Pompeius because he was ill-treated by the admiral
of those days, Calvisius, but that since Agrippa had
been appointed to the command of the fleet he
would come back to Octavian, who had done him no
wrong, if Mindius would bring him a safe-conduct
from Messala, who was commanding in Agrippa’s
absence. He said that on his return he would make
amends for his fault by brilliant exploits, but that
until the safe-conduct arrived he should be obliged
to harrass the forces of Octavian as before in order
to avoid suspicion; and this he did. Messala
hesitated at so dirty a transaction, but he neverthe-
less yielded, either because he considered such things
necessary in war, or because he had learned before-
hand, or conjectured, the mind of Octavian. So
Menodorus again deserted, and, upon the approach
of Octavian, threw himself at his feet and begged
that he would pardon him without asking for the
reasons for his flight. Octavian conceded his safety

He surrenders
his ships
and himself
to Octavian

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CAP. XI μὲν σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ συνεχύσσακε διὰ τὰς σπουδὰς καὶ ἀφανὸς ἐφυλάσσετο, τοὺς δὲ τριηράρχους αὐτοῦ μεθίει χαροῦντας ὅποι θέλουν.

103. Ἔτοιμον δὲ τοῦ στόλου γενομένου, αὐθίς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνήγετο καὶ ἐς Ἱππώνειον παραπλεύσας δύο μὲν τέλη πεζῶν Μεσσάλαν ἔχοντα περᾶν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπὶ τὸ Δετίδου στρατόπεδον καὶ σταθμεύειν ἐς τὸν κόλπον διελθόντα τὸν εὔθὺ Ταυρομενίου, τρία δ’ ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ Στυνίδα καὶ πορθμὸν ἄκρον ἐφεδρεύειν τοὺς ἐσομένους· Ταύρον δ’ ἐς τὸ Σκυλάκιον ὅρος, ὁ πέραν ἐστὶ Ταυρομενίου, περιπλεέεει ἐκ Τάραντος ἐκέλευε. καὶ ὁ ἐκ περίπλεις διεκκεναισιμένος ἐς μάχην ὅμοιον καὶ εἰρέσιαν καὶ τὰ πεζὰ αὐτῷ παρωμάρτει, προερυνῶντων τὴν τε γῆν ἐπεέων καὶ λιβυρύνδων τὴν θάλασσαν. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὥδε ἔχοντι ἐς Ἱππώνειον ἐπιδραμοῦν ἐπίφανεται κατὰ τὸ Σκυλάκιον, καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν ἀποδεξάμενος ἐπανήλθεν ἐς τὸ Ἱππώνειον. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος, ὃς μοι προείρηται, τὰς τε ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἀποβάσεις ἐφύλασσεν ἀπάσαις καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐν Μεσσηνῇ συνείχεν ὡς ὑπήρχοντο, ὅποι δεήσεις.

104. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευὴς ἦσαν, Δετίδῳ δὲ αὐθίς ἐκ Διβύς ἦγον αἱ ὀλκάδες τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ τέλη τέσσαρα. καὶ αὐταῖς ὑπῆρτα πελάγος ἐκ Πομπήιου Παπίας καὶ διεφθειρεὶ ὡς φιλίους δεχομένας· φοντο γὰρ σφίσι τὰς Δετίδου συναντάν. αἱ δὲ βραδέως τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Δετίδου καθεύλκοντα, καὶ ὑστερον αὐτὰς προσιούσας αἱ ὀλκάδες ὡς καὶ τάσδε ἀλλὰς πολεμίας.
on account of the pledges made, but had him secretly watched. He dismissed the captains of his triremes and allowed them to go wherever they pleased.

103. When the fleet was ready Octavian set sail again. He landed at Vibo and ordered Messala, who had two legions of infantry, to cross over to Sicily, join the army of Lepidus, pass through to the bay in front of Tauromenium, and station himself there, and three legions he sent to Stylis and the extremity of the straits, to await events. He ordered Taurus to sail round from Tarentum to Mount Scylacium, which is opposite Tauromenium. Taurus did so, having prepared himself for fighting as well as for rowing. His infantry kept even pace with him, cavalry reconnoitring by land and liburnians by sea. While he was making this movement Octavian, who had advanced from Vibo, made his appearance near Scylacium, and, after giving his approval to the good order of the forces, returned to Vibo. Pompeius, as I have already said, guarded all the landing places on the island and retained his fleet at Messana, in order to send aid where it might be needed.

104. Such were the preparations of Octavian and Pompeius. Meanwhile four more legions were en route to Lepidus from Africa in merchant ships, being the remainder of his army. Papias, one of Pompeius’ captains, threw himself in their way on the sea, and, after they had received him as a friend (for they thought that these were ships sent by Lepidus to meet them), destroyed them. Some ships were despatched by Lepidus leisurely, and when these were approaching, the merchant ships that had escaped mistook them for
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. εξεκλιναν, ἐως αἱ μὲν ἐκαίθησαν, αἱ δὲ ἐλήφθησαν, αἱ δ᾽ ἀνετράπησαν, αἱ δ᾽ ἐσ τί βύη ἀνέπλευσαν. τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ δύο μὲν τέλη διόλετο ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ, εἰ τινες αὐτῶν ἐξενήχοντο, καὶ τούσδε Τισινήδος ὁ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατηγὸς ἐκνέωτας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν διέφθειρεν οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρὸς Δέτιδον κατήχησαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δ᾽ ὑστερον. καὶ Παπίας ἀπέπλευσε πρὸς Πομπηίον.

105. 'Ὀ δὲ Καϊσαρ ἐς μὲν Στρογγύλην, ἢ τῶν πέντε νῆσων ἔστὶ τῶν Αἰόλου, παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ διέπλευσεν εὖ Ἰππωνείον, προερευνομένης αὐτῷ τῆς θαλάσσης. στρατὸν δὲ ἐπὶ μετώπου τῆς Σικελίας πλέονα ἰδὼν ἐν τε Πελοπίαδι καὶ Μύλαις καὶ Τυνδαρίδι, εἶκανεν αὐτὸν παρεῖναι Πομπηίου καὶ τά μὲν ἐνθάδε Ἀγριππα διαστρατηγεῖν ἐπέτρεψεν. αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὸ Ἰππωνείον αὐθις ἀπέπλευς καὶ ἐς τὸ Ταύρον στρατόπεδον ἐξ Ἰππωνείου σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι μετὰ Μεσσάλα διετρόχαξεν, ὡς Ταυρομένου αἰρῆσων ἀπόντος ἐτὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ τὰς ἔμβολας αὐτῷ διψόθεν παρέξων. Ἀγριππας μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Στρογγύλης εἰς Ἰεραν διέπλει καὶ τῶν Πομπηίου φρουρῶν αὐτὸν ὦν ὑποστάντων εἶλε τὴν Ἰεραν καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐμμέλειν ἐπιχειρήσεων ἐς Μύλαις Δημοχάρει σὺν Πομπηίου, τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἔχοντι· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος, τὸ βίαιον ὕφορόμενον τοῦ Ἀγρίππα, ἐπεμπε τῷ Δημοχάρει ναῦς ἄλλας πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ὑπὸ Μεσσήνης ἐξελεύθερου ἁγούτα Ἀπολλοφάνη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφείπτο ἄλλως ἐβδομήκοντα.

106. Ἀγριππας δὲ ἐτὶ νυκτὸς ἐξ Ἰεράς ἀνήγετο ταῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν νεῶν ὡς Παπία μονὸς ναυμαχή-
other enemies and fled. So some of them were burned, some captured, some upset, and the rest returned to Africa. Two legions perished in the sea, or, if any of them could swim, Tisienus, the lieutenant of Pompeius, slew them when they reached the land. The other legions re-embarked and joined Lepidus, some sooner and some later. Papias sailed back to Pompeius.

105. Octavian crossed from Vibo with his whole fleet to Strongyle,¹ one of the five Aeolian islands, having made a reconnaissance of the sea beforehand. Seeing large forces in front of him on the Sicilian shore at Pelorum, Mylæ, and Tyndaris, he conjectured that Pompeius himself was there. So he left Agrippa in command and returned again to Vibo, and thence hastened with Messala and three legions to the camp of Taurus, intending to seize Tauromenium while Pompeius was still absent, and thus threaten him on two sides at once. In pursuance of this plan Agrippa moved forward from Strongyle to the island of Hiera, and as Pompeius' garrison made no resistance he occupied it and intended on the following day to attack, at Mylæ, Demochares, the lieutenant of Pompeius, who had forty ships. Pompeius observed the menacing attitude of Agrippa and sent to Demochares from Messana forty-five ships, under the command of his freedman Apollophanes, and followed in person with seventy others.

106. Agrippa, with half of his ships, sailed out of Hiera before daylight in order to have a naval engagement with Papias only. When he saw the

¹ The modern Stromboli.
ἈΠΙΑΙΝ’S ῬΩΜΑΙΟΝ ἩΣΤΟΡΙΑ

CAP. XI
sow. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀπολλοφάνους εἴδε καὶ τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτερῳ, Καίσαρι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐδήλου.
Πομπῆιον ἐπὶ τῶν Μυλῶν εἶναι σὺν τῷ πλέον ναυτικῷ, τὰς δὲ βαρείας αὐτοὺς ἤγει κατὰ μέσον καὶ τὸν ἄλλου στόλου ἐξ Ἰεράδος ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν. ἐσκεύαστο δ’ ἀμφοτέρους πάντα λαμπρῶς, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν εἶχον κατὰ τε
πρόφαν καὶ κατὰ πρύμναν. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς α’ τε παρακελεύσεις, οἷς εἰκός ἦν, ἐγεγέννητο καὶ τὰ
σημεῖα κατὰ ναῦν ἤρτο, ἐξώρμων ἐπ’ ἀλλήλους, οἱ μὲν κατὰ μέτωπον, οἱ δ’ ἐς περικύκλωσιν, σὺν τε
βοή καὶ ῥοθίφ νεῶν καὶ καταπλήξει ποικίλη. ἦν
dὲ καὶ τὰ σκάφη Πομπηίῳ μὲν βραχύτερα καὶ
κοὐφα καὶ ὀξέα ἐς τὰς ἐφορμήσεις τε καὶ
παρ’ αὐτὸ καὶ βραδύτερα, βιαίτερα δὲ ὅμως
ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ τρωθήναι δυσπαθέστερα. τῶν τε
ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ναυτικώτεροι τῶν Καίσαρος ἦσαν,
οἱ δὲ σθεναρώτεροι καὶ κατὰ λόγον οἱ μὲν οὐκ
ἐμβολαίς, ἀλλὰ μόναις περιόδοις ἐπελεονέκτουν, καὶ
tαρσοῦς τῶν μειζόνων ἡ πηδάλια ἀνέκλων ἢ
κώπας ἀνέκοπτον ἡ ἀπεχώριζων ὅλως τὰ σκάφη
καὶ ἔβαλε τὸν ἐμβολής οὐχ ἦσοναί οἱ δὲ τοῦ
Καίσαρος αὐτὰς ἐμβολαίς ὡς βραχυτέρας ἀνέκο-
πτον ἡ κατέσειν ἡ διερρήγγυον καὶ, ὅτε συμ-
πλακεῖν, ἔβαλλον τε ὃς ταπεινοτέρας ἢ πρίηλοι
καὶ κόρακας ἡ χείρας σιδηρᾶς εὐκολότερον ἐρρί-
πτον. οἱ δὲ ὅτε βιασθείς, ἔξηλλοντο ἐς
τὸ πέλαγος. καὶ τούσδε μὲν τὰ ὑπηρετικὰ τοῦ
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

fleet of Apollodorus also, and seventy ships on the other wing, he sent word to Octavian at once that Pompeius was at Mylae with the greater part of his naval forces. Then he placed himself with his heavy ships in the centre, and summoned the remainder of his fleet from Hiera in all haste. The preparations on both sides were superb. The ships had towers on both stem and stern. When the usual exhortation had been given and the standards raised, they rushed against each other, some coming bow on, others making flank attacks, the shouts of the men and the spray from the ships, adding terror to the scene. The Pompeian ships were shorter and lighter, and better adapted to blockading and darting about. Those of Octavian were larger and heavier, and, consequently, slower, yet stronger to give blows and not so easily damaged. The Pompeian crews were better sailors than those of Octavian, but the later were stronger. Accordingly, the former excelled not so much in close fighting as in the nimbleness of their movements, and they broke oar blades and rudders, cut off oar handles, or separated the enemy’s ships entirely, doing them no less harm than by ramming. Those of Octavian sought to cut down with their beaks the hostile ships, which were smaller in size, or shatter them, or break through them. When they came to close quarters, being higher, they could hurl missiles down upon the enemy, and more easily throw the “ravens”\footnote{A plank with a spike, for grappling.} and the grappling-irons. The Pompeians whenever they were overpowered in this manner leaped into the sea.

They were picked up by their small boats, which

\footnote{A plank with a spike, for grappling.}
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CAP. Πομπηίου περιπλέοντα ἀνελάμβανεν, 107. ὁ δὲ ἀγρίππας ἐτέο μάλιστα εὐθὺ τοῦ Παπίου καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἐπωτίδα ἐμπεσὼν κατέσεις τὴν ναῦν καὶ ἐς τὰ κοιλὰ ἀνέρρηξεν· ἢ δὲ τοὺς τε ἐν τοῖς πύργοις ἀπεσάσατο καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀθρόως ἐδέχετο, καὶ τῶν ἐρετῶν οἱ μὲν θαλαμίαι πάντες ἀπελήφθησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐτεροὶ τὸ κατάστρωμα ἀναρρήξατες ἔξενήχουτο. Παπίας δὲ ἐς τὴν παρομοίαν ἀναλήθησας αὕτης ἐπήει τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ οἱ Πομπηίος ἐξ ὅρους ἐφορῶν τὰς μὲν ἰδίας μικρὰ ἐπωφελοῦσας καὶ ψυλουμένας τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὅτε συμπλακεῖσθαι, ἀγρίππα δὲ τὸν ἐτερον στόλον ἐς Ἰερᾶς προσπλέοντα, ἀναχωρεῖν ἐσῆμησε σὺν κόσμῳ. καὶ ἀνεχώρουν ἐπιόντες τε καὶ ἀναστρέφοντες ἀεὶ κατ' ὀλίγον. ἀγρίππα δ' ἐπιβαρήσαντος αὐτῶν ἐφευγον, οὐκ ἔς τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς, ἀλλ' ὃσα τῆς θαλάσσης οἱ ποταμοὶ τεναγώδη πεποιήκεσαν.

108. Καὶ ἀγρίππας, κωλυόντων αὐτῶν τῶν κυθηρεντῶν μεγάλαις ναυσίν ἐς ὀλίγον ὕδωρ ἐπιπλεῖν, πελάγιος ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐσάλευεν ὡς ἐφορμούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ νυκτομαχήσαν, εἰ δέοι. τῶν φίλων δ' αὐτῷ παραπονοῦντων μὴ ἀλόγῳ θυμῷ συμφέρεσθαι μηδὲ τῶν στρατῶν ἐκτρέχειν ἀγρυπνία καὶ πόνῳ μηδὲ πιστεύειν πολυχείμων θαλάσση, μόνος ἐστέρας ἀνεξεύγνυε. καὶ οἱ Πομπηίαιοι ἐς τοὺς λιμέναις παρέπλειον, τριάκοντα μὲν τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν ἀποβαλόντες, πέντε δὲ καταδύοντες τῶν πολεμίων καὶ βλάψαντες ἄλλα ἱκανά καὶ βλαβέσσαν ὀμοία. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Πομπηίος ἑπαινῶν, ὅτι τηλικοῦτας ναῦσιν ἄντέσχοι, τειχομαχήσαι μᾶλλον ἐφασκέν.
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were hovering around for this purpose, 107. but \textit{chap.}
Agrippa bore down directly upon Papias and struck
his ship under the bow, shattering it and breaking
into the hold. The men in the towers were
shaken off, the water rushed into the ship, and all
the oarsmen on the lower benches were cut off.
The others broke through the deck and escaped by
swimming. Papias escaped to a ship alongside of
his own, and returned to the battle. Pompeius,
who observed from a mountain that his ships were
making little headway, and that whenever they
came to close quarters with the enemy they were
denuded of fighting men, and that reinforcements
were coming to Agrippa from Hiera, gave the signal
to retire in good order. This they did, advancing
and retreating little by little. Agrippa continued to
bear down upon them, and they took refuge, not on
the beach, but among the shoals formed in the sea
by river deposits.

108. Agrippa's pilots prevented him from running
his large ships on the shoals. He cast anchor in the
open sea, intending to blockade the enemy and to
fight a battle by night if necessary; but his friends
advised him not to be carried away by rashness and
not to wear out his soldiers with excessive toil and
want of sleep, and not to trust to that tempestuous
sea. So in the evening he reluctantly withdrew.
The Pompeians made sail to their harbours, having
lost thirty of their ships, and sunk five of the
enemy's, and having inflicted considerable other
damage and suffered as much in return. Pompeius
praised his own men because they had resisted such
formidable vessels, saying they had fought against
walls rather than against ships; and he rewarded
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CAP. XI

Ἡ ναυμαχίας καὶ ὡς νεικηκτῶς ἐδωρεῖτο, καὶ ἐπῆλπιζεν ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ διὰ τῶν ῥοῶν κουφοτέρους ὅντας περίεσεθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη τι προσθήσειν ἐς τὸ τῶν νεῶν ὕψος.

XII

CAP. XII

Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τῆς ναυμαχίας τέλος ἦν τῆς περὶ Μύλας Ἁγρίππα καὶ Πατίνα γενομένης. 109. τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα ὁ Πομπήιος, ὡσπερ ἦν, ὑπολαβὼν ἐς τὸ Ταύρον στρατόπεδον οἴχεσθαι καὶ ἐπιχειρήσειν τῷ Ταυρομενῷ, μετὰ δειπνοῦ εὐθὺς ἐς Μεσσήνην περιέπλει, μέρος ἐν ταῖς Μύλαις ὑπολιτῶν, ἵνα αὐτὸν ὁ Ἁγρίππας ἔτι παρεῖναι νομίζοι. Ἁγρίππας μὲν δὴ διαναπαύσας τὸν στρατόν, ἐς ὅσον ἦπειγεν, ἐς Τυνδαρίδα ἐνδεδομένην ἔπλει· καὶ παρῆλθε μὲν εἰσω, μαχομένων δὲ λαμπρῶς τῶν φρουρῶν ἔξεωσθι, προσεχώρησαν δ' ἐτεραί πόλεις αὐτῷ καὶ φρουρᾶς ἐδέξαντο· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ιεράν. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἦδη μὲν ἐς Δευκόπετραν ἐκ τοῦ Σκυλακίου διεπεπλέυκει, μαθὼν ἐτί ἀκριβέστερον, ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς Μύλας οἴχοιτο δ' Ἀγρίππαν ἐκ δὲ Δευκόπετρας ἐμελλε νυκτὸς περὰν ὑπὲρ τὸν πορθμόν ἐς τὸ Ταυρομένιον. πυθόμενος δὲ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας μετέγγυς μὴ κλέπτειν ἔτι τὸν διάπλουν νεικηκτῶς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φῶς θαρροῦντι τῷ στρατῷ περαιούσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐτί πάντως ἡγεῖτο Πομπήιον Ἁγρίππα παραμένειν. κατασκευάμενος οὖν ἡμέρας τὸ πέλαγος ἐκ τῶν ῥόων, ἐπεὶ καθαρῶν ἔγνω πολεμίων, ἔπλει

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them as though they had been victorious. He en-
Couraged them to believe that, as they were lighter,
they would prevail over the enemy in the straits on
account of the current. He said also that he would
make some addition to the height of his ships.

XII

So ended the naval battle of Mylae, between Agrippa and Papias. 109. But Pompeius suspected
that Octavian had gone to the camp of Taurus for
the purpose of attacking Tauromenium, which was
the case. So, directly after supper, he sailed to
Messana, leaving a part of his forces at Mylae so
that Agrippa might think that he was still there.
Agrippa, as soon as he had given his army sufficient
rest, set sail for Tyndaris, which was apparently
ready to surrender. He entered the town, but the
garrison fought valiantly and drove him out. Some
other towns espoused his cause and received his garri-
sions, and he returned that evening to Hiera. In the
meantime, Octavian had sailed from Scylacium to
Leucopetra, having learned for a certainty that
Pompeius had gone from Messana to Mylae on
account of Agrippa. He was about to cross the
straits from Leucopetra to Tauromenium by night,
but learning of the sea-fight he changed his mind,
thinking that a victor ought not to steal his passage,
but to cross with his army boldly by daylight; for
he was fully convinced that Pompeius was still con-
fronting Agrippa. Looking down from the moun-
tains upon the sea at daybreak and finding that it was
clear of enemies, he set sail with as many troops as
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CAP. στρατὸν ἔχων, ὅσον αἱ νῆς ἐδέχοντο. Μεσσάλαν ἐπὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ καταλιπτῶν, ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν αἱ νῆς ἐπανέλθοιεν. ἔλθον δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ Ταυρομένου προσ-ἐπέμψε μὲν ὡς ὑπαξόμενος αὐτὸ, οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν φρουρῶν παρέπλευ τῶν ποταμῶν Ὀνοβάλλαν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον καὶ ὀρμώσατο ἐς τὸν 'Αρχηγήτην, Ναξίων τὸν θέον, ὡς χάρακα θησάμενος ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποπειράσων τοῦ Ταυρομενίου. ὡς δὲ Ἀρχηγήτης Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγαλμάτιον ἐστίν, δὲ πρῶτον ἐστήσαντο Ναξίων οἱ εἰς Σικελίαν ἀποκρισίμενοι.

110. Ἐνταύθα τῆς νεῶς ἐκβαίνον ὁ Καίσαρ ὠλίσθη καὶ ἔπεσε καὶ ἀνέδραμε δι᾽ αὐτοῦ. καὶ αὐτῷ καθισταμένῳ ἐτι τὸ στρατόπεδον Πομπήιος ἐπέπλευ στὸ τόπον πολλῷ, θαῦμα ἴδοκινον φεστὸ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκπολεμήσατο πρὸς Ἀγρίππα. παρῆλθον δὲ τῷ Πομπήιῳ καὶ ἦ ὑποσ, ἐς τάχος διερίζουσα τὸ ναυτικό, καὶ τὰ πεζὰ ἐτερωθὲν ἐφαίνετο, ἔστω δεῖσαι μὲν ἀπαντᾶτε, ἐν μὲν τῶν στρατῶν πολεμίων γενομένως, δεῖ τὸν Καίσαρα, Μεσσάλαν οὐκ ἔχοντα μεταπέμψασθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱππεῖς εὐθὺς ἡνώχλουν οἱ Πομπηίου χαρακοποιουμένους ἐτὶ τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐφώρμησε, τάχα ἄν τι μείζον ἔξηγνυστο τῷ Πομπήιῳ. νῦν δὲ ἀπείρως τε πολέμου, καὶ ἤπι ἄγνοιας τοῦ θρόβου τῶν Καίσαρος, καὶ ὄκνου, μὴ μάχες περὶ δείλην ἐστέραν ἄρχειν, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Κόκκυνον ἄκραν ὀρμώσαντο, οἱ πεζοὶ δ’ οὐκ ἄξιούντες ἄγχοι τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύειν ἐς Φώνικα πόλιν ἄνεχώρουν. καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν ἀνέπαυστο, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν μὲν χάρακα ἐτέλουν, ύπο δὲ

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the ships could carry, leaving the rest with Messala until the fleet could return to him. Arriving at Tauromenium, he sent messengers to demand its surrender. As his guards were not admitted, he made sail to the river Onobalas and the temple of Venus, and moored his fleet at the shrine of the Archegetes, the god of the Naxians, intending to pitch his camp there and attack Tauromenium. The Archegetes is a small statue of Apollo, erected by the Naxians when they first migrated to Sicily.

110. When Octavian disembarked from his ship he slipped and fell, but arose without assistance. While he was yet laying out his camp, Pompeius made his appearance with a large fleet—an astounding spectacle, since Octavian believed that he had been beaten by Agrippa. Pompeius' cavalry advanced at the same time, rivalling the fleet in rapidity of movement, and his infantry was seen on the other side; so that the forces of Octavian were terrified at finding themselves surrounded by enemies on three sides, and Octavian himself was alarmed because he could not send for Messala. The cavalry of Pompeius assailed Octavian's men while they were still fortifying their camp. If his infantry and his naval force had attacked simultaneously with the cavalry, Pompeius might have accomplished greater results, but as it was, being inexperienced in war and ignorant of the panic among the troops of Octavian, and hesitating to begin a battle at the approach of nightfall, one part of his forces stationed themselves at the promontory of Coccynus, while his infantry, deeming it unwise to encamp near the enemy, withdrew to the town of Phoenix. Night coming on, they went to rest, and Octavian's soldiers finished their camp,
κόπου καὶ ἀγρυπνίας ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐβλάπτουτο. τέλη δ’ ἦν αὐτῷ τρία καὶ ἱππεῖς χωρίς ἱππών πεντακόσιοι καὶ κοῦφοι χίλιοι καὶ κληρονομοὶ σύμμαχοι χωρίς καταλόγου δισθίλιοι καὶ ναυτικὴ δύναμις ἐπὶ τούτωσιν.

111. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πεζὰ πάντα Κορυνφίκιος παρα- δοὺς ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν γῆν πολεμίους ἀπομάχεσθαι καὶ πράσσειν, ὃ τι ἐπείγον· αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς ναυσὶν ἔτι πρὸ ἡμέρας ἀνήγετο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, μῆ καὶ τούδε αὐτὸν ἀποκλείσαιεν οἱ πολέμιοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν ἐπέτρεπε Τιτινίῳ, τὸ δὲ λαϊὸν Καρισίῳ, λιβυρνίδος δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπέβανε καὶ περιέπλε τάντας παρακαλῶν· ἐτὶ δὲ τῇ παρακλήσει τὰ στρατηγικά σημεῖα, ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ μάλιστα ὅν, ἀπέθετο. ἐπαναχθέντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου διὰ μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν ἄλληλοις, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐς νῦκτα ἐτελεύτησεν. ἄλισκομένων δὲ καὶ πιμπραμένων τῶν Καίσαρος νεῶν, αἱ μὲν ἀράμεναι τὰ βραχέα τῶν ἱστίων ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τῶν παραγγελμάτων καταφρονοῦσαν· καὶ αὐτὰς ἐπ’ ὁλίγον οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου διόξαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπολοίπους ἀνέστρεψαν, καὶ τῶνδε τὰς μὲν ἄρον ὠμοίως, τὰς δὲ ἐνεπόμπρασαν. ὅσοι δ’ εἶ ἄυτῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐσενῆχοτο, τοὺς μὲν οἱ ἱππεῖς οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου διέφθειρον ἢ συνελάμβανον, οἱ δ’ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Κορυνφίκιον στρατόπεδον ἀνεπήδων, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Κορυνφίκιος ἐπιθέουσιν ἐπεχείρει, τοὺς κούφους ἐκτέμπων μόνοις· οὐ γὰρ εὐκαίριον ἐδόκει κινεῖν φάλαγγα δύσθυμον ἀντικαθημένων πεζῶν μεγαλοφρονομένων, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐπὶ νίκη.

112. Καίσαρα δ’ ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρετικοῖς ἐς πολὺ

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but were incapacitated for battle by toil and want of sleep. They consisted of three legions, and 500 cavalry without horses, 1000 light-armed, and 2000 colonists serving as allies, but not enrolled, besides his fleet.

111. Octavian placed all of his infantry under charge of Cornificius, and ordered him to drive back the enemy and do whatever the exigency required. He himself took ship before daylight and went seaward lest the enemy should enclose him on this side also, giving the right wing of the fleet to Titinius and the left to Carisius, and embarking himself on a liburnian, with which he sailed around the whole fleet, exhorting them to have courage. Having done this he lowered the general's ensign, as is customary in times of extreme danger. Pompeius put to sea against him, and they encountered each other twice, the battle ending with the night. Some of Octavian's ships were captured and burned; others spread their small sails and made for the Italian coast, contrary to orders. Those of Pompeius followed them a short distance and then turned against the remainder, capturing some and burning others. Some of the crews swam ashore, most of whom were slaughtered or taken prisoners by Pompeius' cavalry. Some of them set out to reach the camp of Cornificius, who sent only his light-armed troops to assist them as they came near, because he did not consider it prudent to move his disheartened legionaries against the enemy's infantry, who were naturally much encouraged by their victory.

112. Octavian spent the greater part of the night
CAP. XII

τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνακωχεύοντα καὶ βουλευόμενον, εἶτε ἐς Κορυφάκιον ἐπανέλθοι διὰ μέσων τοσῶν ναυαγίων εἶτε ἐς Μεσσάλαν διαφύγει, θεὸς ἐς τὸν Ἀβάλαν λιμένα παρῆνεγκε μεθ’ ἑνὸς ὀπλοφόρου, χωρὶς φίλων τε καὶ ὑπαιστιστῶν καὶ θεατῶν. καὶ τίνες ἐκ τῶν ὄρων ἐς πύστιν τῶν γεγονότων καταθέοντες εὐρον αὐτὸν τὸ τε σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἑσταλμένον, καὶ ἐς ἀκάτιον ἕξ ἀκατίου μεταφέροντες ἢν διαλάθοι, μετεκόμισαν ἐς Μεσσάλαν οὐ μακρὰν ὄντα. ὀ δ’ εὐθὺς, ἐτὶ ἀθερά-πευτος, ἐς τε Κορυφάκιον ἐστελλε λιβυρνία καὶ πανταχῶ διὰ τῶν ὄρων περισπεμπεν, ὅτι σφόντο, Κορυφάκιο ἐς τὰντας ἐπικουρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγραφεν αὐτίκα πέμψειν βοήθειαν. θερα-πεύσας δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀναπαύσαμενος ὄλγον ἐς Στυλίδα νυκτὸς ἐξῆκε, παραπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεσσάλα, πρὸς Καρρίναν τρία ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τοῦ πρόπλου τέλη καὶ τὸδε μὲν ἐκέλευσε διαπλεῖν ἐς τὸ πέραν, ἐνθα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμελλε διαπλευσεῖσθαι, Ἁγρίππαν δὲ γράφων ἥξιον κινδυνεύοντι Κορυφά-κιο ἐπέμπεν Δαρώνιον μετὰ στραταῖς ὁδέως. Μακάριαν ὀ αὖθις ἐς Ἁρώμην ἐπέμπε διὰ τοῦς νεωτερίζοντας καὶ τίνες παρακινοῦντες ἐκολάσθησαν καὶ Μεσσάλαν ἐς Δικαίαρχειαν ἐπέμ-πεν, ἄγειν τὸ πρῶτον καλούμενον τέλος ἐς Ἴππωνευον.

113. Μεσσάλας δὲ οὕτος ἦν, ὡς οἱ τρεῖς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγεγράφεσαν ἐν Ὁρώμη, καὶ χρήματα τῷ κτείναντι καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ἐπικεκρύβησαν ὁ δὲ πρὸς Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον φυγῶν, ἀποθανόντων ἐκείνων, τὸν στόλον ἐπὶ σπουδαῖς Ἀντωνίῳ παραδεδῶκει. καὶ μοι τούτῳ ἀναμνήσας νῦν 564
among his small boats, in doubt whether he should go back to Cornificius through the scattered remains of his fleet, or take refuge with Messala. Providence brought him to the harbour of Abala with a single armour-bearer, without friends, attendants, or slaves. Certain persons, who had come down from the mountain to learn the news, found him shattered in body and mind and brought him in rowboats (changing from one to another for the purpose of concealment) to the camp of Messala, which was not far distant. Straightway, and before he had attended to his bodily wants, he dispatched a liburnian to Cornificius, and set word throughout the mountains that he was safe, and ordered all his forces to help Cornificius, and wrote to him that he would send him aid forthwith. After attending to his own person and taking a little rest, he set forth by night, accompanied by Messala, to Stylis, where Carinas was stationed with three legions ready to embark, and ordered him to set sail to the other side, whither he would shortly follow. He wrote to Agrippa and urged him to send Laronius with an army to the rescue of Cornificius with all speed. He sent Maecenas again to Rome on account of the revolutionists; and some of these, who were stirring up disorder, were punished. He also sent Messala to Puteoli to bring the first legion to Vibo.

113. This was the same Messala whom the triumvirs proscribed at Rome, and for the killing of whom money and freedom were offered as rewards. He had fled to Cassius and Brutus, and after their death had delivered his fleet to Antony, in pursuance of an agreement made between them. It seems tting to recall this fact now in honour of Roman
Κορνιφίκιος δὲ ἀποτρέψασθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος εὐμαρῆς εἰχε τοὺς πολεμίους, κυνδυνεύων δὲ ἐξ ἀπορίας ἐς μάχην ἐξέτασε καὶ προκαλεῖτο. Πομπηίου δὲ οὐ συμπληκομένου μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ μάχῃ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν, παραστήσασθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς τῷ λιμῷ προσδοκῶντος, ὠδευεν ὁ Κορνιφίκιος, ἐν μέσῳ τούς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν διαφυγόντας ἀνόπλους ἔχον βαλλόμενος τε καὶ χαλέπως, ἐν μὲν τοῖς πεδίοις ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τραχέσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν τε καὶ κούφων, οἱ Νομάδες Λίβνες οὔτε ἥκοντιζόν τε ἐπὶ πλείστουν καὶ τοὺς ἐπεκθέοντας ὑπέφευγον.

114. Τετάρτη δ’ ἡμέρα μόλις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνυδρον γῆν ἄφικοντο, ἡν ρύακα πυρὸς λέγουσι, ποτὲ μέχρι θαλάσσης κατιούσαν, ἐπικλύσατο καὶ σβέσατα τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ νάματα. καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἐπιχώριοι μόνης ὤδευοι οὐκτός, πυρῶδης τε οὕσαν ἀπ’ ἐκείνου καὶ κοινοτοῦ σποδώδους γέμουσαν, οἱ δ’ ἀμφ’ τὸν Κορνιφίκιον οὔτε οὐκτός ἐθάρρυν, ἐν ἀσελήνῳ μάλιστα, ἴνα διὰ ἀπειρίαν ὄδων καὶ ἐνέδρας, οὔτε ἡμέρας ὑπέμενον, ἀλλ’ ἀπεπνίγοντο καὶ τὰς βάσεις ως ἐν θέρει καὶ καύματι ὑπεκαίνοντο, μάλιστα οἱ γυμνοί. βραδύνειν τε οὐ δυνάμενοι διὰ τὴν δίψαν ἐνυχλοῦσαν, οὐδένα ἐτι τῶν βαλλόντων αὐτοῖς ἐπεξήγαγαν, ἀλλ’ ἐτιτρώσκοντο 566
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

magnanimity, inasmuch as Messala, when he had in his power, alone and overwhelmed with misfortune, the man who had proscribed him, saved him and cared for him as his commander.

Cornificius was able easily to defend his camp against attack; but, being in danger from want of supplies, he drew his men out for battle and challenged the enemy. But Pompeius did not care to come to an engagement with men whose only hope rested in battle and whom he expected to subdue by famine. Cornificius, having placed in the centre the unarmed men who had escaped to him from the ships, took to the road, grievously exposed to missiles in the open plains from the enemy's horsemen and in the broken country from the light-armed troops from Numidia in Africa, who hurled javelins from long distances and made their escape when charged by their enemies.

114. On the fourth day, with difficulty, they arrived at the waterless region which they say was formerly inundated by a stream of fire that ran down as far as the sea and dried up all the springs in the district. The inhabitants of the country traverse it only by night, on account of the stifling heat and the dust and ashes with which it abounds. Being ignorant of the roads and fearing ambush, Cornificius and his men did not dare to march through it by night, especially as there was no moon, nor could they endure it by day, but even suffocated, and the soles of their feet were burned (especially those who had no shoes), as it was now the hottest part of the summer; and since delay was impossible on account of the tormenting thirst, they no longer resisted their assailants, but re-
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XII

ἁφυλάκτως. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἔξοδους τῆς διακε-
καυμένης ἔτεροι κατείχον πολέμιοι, ἀμελήσαντες
tῶν ἀσθενεστέρων τε καὶ γυμνῶν ἀνεπήδων ἐς
tοὺς αὐχένας οἱ δυνάμενοι τόλμη παραβόλωφ καὶ
ἐβιάζοντο τοὺς πολέμιους, ἐς οσον εἶχον δυνάμεως.
κατεχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἔξις αὐχένων ἀπεγύνω-
σκον αὐτῶν ἦδη καὶ μεθεῖστο ὑπὸ δίψης καὶ θέρους
καὶ κόπου. προτρέποντος δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ Κορυφικίου
καὶ πηγῆν πλησίον οὐσαν ἐπιδεικνύοντο, ὦ μὲν
αὖθις ἐβιάζοντο, πολλοὺς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπολλύντες,
ἔτεροι δὲ τὴν πηγήν κατείχον πολέμιοι, καὶ παν-
tελῆς ἦδη τοὺς τοῦ Κορυφικίου κατείχον ἀθυμία,
καὶ παρίεντο.

115. Ὡδὲ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι Δαρώνιος ἐπιφαί-
νεται μακρόθεν, ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππου σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι
πεμφθεῖς, οὔτω μὲν ἐνδήλα ὡν, ὅτι φίλος εἰς.
ὑπὸ δὲ ἐλπίδος ἄιε τοιοῦτον ἐσεσθαι προσδοκών-
tes ἀνέφερον αὖθις αὐτῶν. ὥσ ὅ τοις πολε-
mίους εἴδον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπολυπότας, ἴνα μὴ γένοιτο
ἐχθρῶν ἐν μέσῳ, ἀνέκραγον μὲν ὑπὸ ἱδουῆς, ὡμον
ἐσθενον, ἀντιβοίησαντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Δαρωνίου
δρόμῳ τὴν πηγήν κατέλαβον. καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν
ἡγεμόνων ἐκελύστο πίνειν ἄθρόως. ὀσοὶ δὲ ἡμέλη-
σαν, ἐπινυν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπέθησαν.

Οὐτω μὲν ἔξ ἀέλπτον Κορυφίκειος καὶ τοῦ
στρατοῦ τὸ φθάσαν μέρος περιεσῶθη πρὸς Ἀγρίπ-
pπαν ἐς Μύλας. 116. ἄρτι δὲ ὁ Ἀγρίππας Τυνδαρίδα
eιλήφει, τροφὸν μεστὸν χωρίον καὶ εὐφυῖος ἐς
received wounds without any means of defence. When they saw the place of exit from this burned district occupied by enemies, the able-bodied ones, heedless of their sick and unprotected companions, dashed at the defile with amazing courage and overpowered the enemy with all their remaining strength. When they found the next defile occupied by hostile forces they gave way to despair and succumbed to thirst and heat. Cornificius aroused them by showing them a spring of water near by; and again they overpowered the enemy, but with heavy loss to themselves. Another body of enemies held possession of the fountain, and now Cornificius' men lost all courage and gave way completely.

115. While they were in this state Laronius, who had been sent by Agrippa with three legions, made his appearance a long way off. Although it was not yet plain that he was a friend, still, as hope all the time led them to expect a friend, they once more recovered their spirits. When they saw the enemy abandon the water in order not to be exposed to attack on both sides, they shouted for joy with all their strength; and when the troops of Laronius shouted in return, they ran and seized the fountain. The leaders forbade the men to drink to excess: those who neglected this advice died while drinking.

In this unexpected manner did Cornificius, and those of his army who managed to get away, escape to Agrippa at Mylæ.\footnote{An error of Appian's: see below.} 116. Agrippa, however, had just taken Tyndaris, a stronghold full of provisions and admirably situated for naval warfare. Thither

\footnote{An error of Appian’s: see below.}
ἈΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY

ΧΙΙ

ἀναπηδὰν ὑπὸ δέους, τοὺς δὲ, ἀκοῇ τῶν περὶ τῆς Ἀἰτίης λεγομένων, οὐκ ἀποστείχε ἐν τοσοῦτο παράδοξοι ἐμπεσεῖσθαι σφίοι καὶ τῶν ρύσκα. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ τὴν Παλαιστηνίων γῆν ἔκειρε, καὶ Λέπτιδος αὐτῷ συνήντετο σιτολογῶν, καὶ Μεσσήνην παρεστρατοπέδευον ἀμφότεροι.

118. Γιγνομένων δ’ αὖ ὅλην τὴν Σικελίαν ἄψημαχιῶν πολλῶν, ἔργου δὲ μείζονος οὐδενός, Ταῦρον ὁ Καίσαρ ἔπεμψε τὰς ἀγορὰς τοῦ Πομπήιον περικόπτει καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς χορηγοῦσας προκαταλαμβάνει. καὶ τρισδέ μάλιστα κάμων ὁ Πομπήιος ἔκρινε μάχη μείζου κριθῆναι περὶ ἀπάντουν. τὰ μὲν δὴ πεξά τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐδεδείε, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπαιρόμενος ἥρετο πέμπτων, εἰ δέχοιτο ναυμαχία κριθῆναι. ὅ δὲ ὅρφωδει μὲν τὰ ἐνάλια πάντα, οὐ σὺν τὐχῃ μέχρι δεύρῳ κεχρημένοι αὐτοῖς, αἰσχροὶ δὲ νομίσας ἀντεπεῖν ἐδέχετο. καὶ ὅρφζετο αὐτοῖς ἡμέρα, ἐς ἣν τριακόσια νῆς ἐκατέρων ἱδίᾳ παρεσκευάζοντο, βῆλη τε παντὸτα φέρονται καὶ πυργοὺς καὶ μηχανὰς, ὄσας ἐπενόυοι. ἐπενοεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν καλούμενον ἁρπαγὰ ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἐξὸν πεντάπηκυ σιδήρῳ περιβεβλημένον, κρίκους ἔχον περὶ κεραίας ἐκατέρας· τῶν δὲ κρίκων εἶχετο τοῦ μὲν ὁ ἁρπαξ, σιδηρόν καμπύλον, τοῦ δὲ καλωδία πολλά, μηχαναῖς ἐπιστώμενα σὲ καταπέλτον λάβοιτο.

119. Ἐλθοῦσας δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας πρῶτα μὲν ἦν ἑρετῶν ἀμίλλα καὶ βοή, καὶ βῆλη τὰ μὲν ἐκ μηχανῆς, τὰ δ’ ἅποι χειρῶν, ὡσα λίθοι καὶ πυρφόρα καὶ τοξεύματα. μετὰ δὲ αἱ νῆς αὐταὶ συνερρήγ.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

beds in fear. Others, who had heard what had been related of Mount Etna, would not have been surprised, in presence of these remarkable phenomena, if even the torrent of fire had rolled upon them. After this Octavian ravaged the territory of the Palaestenians, where Lepidus, who was foraging, met him, and they both encamped near Messana.

118. As there had been many skirmishes throughout Sicily, but no general engagement, Octavian sent Taurus to cut off Pompeius' supplies by first capturing the towns that furnished them. Pompeius was so much inconvenienced by this that he decided to stake everything on a great battle. Since he feared the enemy's infantry, but had confidence in his own ships, he sent and asked Octavian if he would allow the war to be decided by a naval engagement. Octavian, although he dreaded all naval encounters, which until now had turned out badly for him, considered it base to refuse, and, accordingly, accepted the challenge. A day was fixed by them, for which 300 ships were put in readiness on either side, provided with missiles of all kinds, with towers and whatever machines they could think of. Agrippa devised one called the "grip," a piece of wood five cubits long bound with iron and having rings at the extremities. To one of these rings was attached the grip itself, an iron claw, to the other one numerous ropes, which drew it by machine power after it had been thrown by a catapult and had seized the enemy's ships.

119. When the appointed day came the rival shouts of the oarsmen were first heard, accompanied by missiles thrown by machines and by hand, such as stones, firebrands, and arrows. Then the ships dashed

Pompeius challenges Octavian to a naval engagement; the challenge is accepted
CAP. XII

υννύτο ἄλληλας, ἀι μὲν εἰς τὰ πλάγια, ἀι δὲ κατ’ ἐπωτίδας, ἀι δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους, ἑνθα μάλιστά εἰσιν ἀι πληγαὶ βίαιοι τινάξαι τε τοὺς ἐπιβάτας καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἀργοτέραν ἐργάσασθαι. ἀλλαὶ δὲ ἄλληλας διεξέπλεον βάλλουσαι τε καὶ ἀκοντί- ξουσαι καὶ τὰ ὑπηρετικὰ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ἀνελάμβανεν. ἔργα τε χειρῶν ἢ καὶ βία ναυτῶν καὶ τέχνη κυβερνητῶν καὶ βοαί καὶ στρατηγῶν πυρακελεύσεις καὶ μηχανήματα πάντα. εὐδοκίμει δὲ μάλιστα ὁ ἄρπαξ, ἵκε τε πολλοῦ ταις ναυσὶ διὰ κουφότητα ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἐμπηχνύμενος, ὅτε μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν καλοδιών ἐφέλκοιτο ὅπλωσιν κοτῆναι τε ὑπὸ τῶν βλαπτομένων οὐκ ἦν εὐπόρος διὰ σίδηρον τὸν περιέχοντα, καὶ τὸ μῆκος αὐτοῦ δυσεφικτότατα τοῖς κόπτονσι τὰ καλόδια ἔποιεί· οὐδὲ τὸ μηχάνημα ποτὶ προεγγρωστὶ, ὡς δρέπανα δόρασι περιβέσθαι· ἐν δ’ ἐπενόουν ὡς ἐν ἀδοκήτῳ, τὴν ναῦν κρούοντες ἐπὶ πρύμναν ἀντισπᾶν· τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ ποιοῦντων καὶ τῶν πολεμῶν ἰση μὲν ἢ ἡ βία τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὃ δὲ ἄρπαξ ἐποίει τὸ ἱδιον.

120. "Οτε μὲν οὖν προσπελάσειαν οἱ νῆς, ἐμάχοντο παντοίως καὶ ἔς ἄλληλους μεθῆλλοντο καὶ διαγγέλλοντο τὸν πολέμιον οὐκ ἦν ἐτὶ ὁμοίως εὐπόρον ὅπλοις τε γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχρώντω καὶ φωνῆ σχεδὸν ἀπαντεῖς Ἰταλῆς, τὰ τε συνθήματα μιγμένων ἐς ἀμφότερος ἐξενηνεκτο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε μάλιστα ἐνέδραν πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλαι

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THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V.

against each other, some striking amidships, others on the prows, others on the beaks, where the blows are most effectual in discomposing the combatants and rendering the vessel useless. Others broke the opposing line by sailing through it, at the same time discharging arrows and javelins; and the small boats picked up those who fell overboard. There was a struggle of soldiers while the sailors put forth their strength and the pilots their skill and their lung-power; the generals cheered their men, and all the machines were brought into requisition. The "grip" achieved the greatest success. Thrown from a long distance upon the ships, as it could be by reason of its lightness, it clutched them, as soon as the ropes pulled on it from behind. On account of the iron bands it could not be easily cut by the men whom it attacked, and those who tried to cut the ropes were prevented from reaching them by its length. As this apparatus had never been known before, the enemy had not provided themselves with scythe-mounted poles. One thing seemed advisable in this unexpected emergency, and that was, to back water and draw the ship away; but as the enemy did the same the force exerted by the men was equal on both sides, and the grip did its work.

120. Accordingly, when the ships were drawn together, there was every kind of fighting, the men leaping upon each other's decks. It was no longer easy to distinguish an enemy from a friend, as they used the same weapons for the most part, and nearly all spoke the Latin tongue, and the watchwords of each side were divulged to the other while they were mingled together. Hence arose many and divers
APPRIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XII

παρὰ ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ἀπιστία πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας αὐτὰ ἐπεγίγνετο, ἀγνωσία τε πάντας ἀλλήλων ἐπείχεν ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ θαλάσσῃ γεμούσῃ φόνων τε καὶ ὄπλων καὶ ναυαγίων. οὐ γὰρ τινὰ πείραν ἔλιπον, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τὸ πῦρ τούτου δὲ μετὰ τούς πρώτους ἐπίπλους ἐφείσαντο διὰ τὰς συμπλοκάς. ὦ δὲ πεζὸς ἐκατέρων στρατὸς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς μετὰ φόβου καὶ σπουδῆς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφεώρων, ὡς ἐν τῇ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ τῆς σφῶν σωτηρίας τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες. διεκρινόν γε μὴν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἐδύναντο, καὶ μάλιστα περισσοτέρας, οἷς νεῶν ἐξακοσίων ἐπὶ μῆκος ἡ ἐκτεταγμένων καὶ τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἐναλλασσομένης ἀνὰ μέρος ἐκατέρωθεν.

121. Μόλις δὲ ποτε ταῖς χροιαῖς τῶν πύργων, αἷς δὴ μόναις διέφερον ἀλλήλων, ὁ Ἅγριτππας συνεις πλέονας ἀπολωλέναι τοῦ Πομπηίου ναὸς ἔθαρρυνε τοὺς συνόντας ὡς ἢδη κατορθούντας· καὶ τοῖς πολέμοις αὐθίς ἐμπεσὼν ἐπέκειτο ἀπαύστως, μέχρι θυσιάσεως, ὅσοι μάλιστα κατ' αὐτὸν ἦσαν, τοὺς τε πύργους κατέρρυσαν καὶ τὰς ναὸς ἐπιστρέψαντες ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ἐφευγοῦν. καὶ ἐφθασαν ἐδραμείν ἐπτακαίδεκα νῆσε. αἰ δὲ λοιπὰ, διακλείσαντος αὐτῶν τοῦ Ἅγριππου, αἱ μὲν ἑξώκελλον ἐς τὴν γῆν διωκόμεναι, καὶ συνεξώκελλον αὐτῶν ὑπὸ ὀρμῆς οἱ διώκοντες ἡ ὀρμίζο-μένας ἀπέσπων ἡ ἐνεπτύμπρασαν· ὅσα δὲ ἐτί κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἐμάχοντο, τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν γηγοῦμενα κατιδοῦσαι παρεδίδοσαν ἐαυτῶς τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατὸς ἐπινίκιον ἠλάθαξεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀντέβησεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. οἱ Πομπηίου δ' ἀνόμωξαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν 576.
frauds and lack of confidence on both sides on the part of those using the same watchword. They failed to recognize each other, what with the fighting and the sea, now a confused medley of corpses, clashing arms, and crashing ships; for they left nothing untried except fire. This they abstained from, after their first onset, because they were locked together. The foot-soldiers of each army on the land beheld this sea-fight with apprehension and eagerness, believing that their own hope of safety was bound up in it. They could not distinguish anything, however sharply they might look, but merely a long-drawn-out line of 600 ships, and an alternation of cries and groans now on one side and now on the other.

121. Judging from the colours of the towers, which constituted the only difference between them, Agrippa with difficulty made out that Pompeius' ships had sustained the greater loss, and he cheered on those who were close to him as though they were already victors. Then he drove at the enemy and pressed upon them without ceasing, until he overpowered those nearest him. They then lowered their towers and turned their ships in flight toward the straits. Seventeen of them, which were in advance, made their escape thither. The rest were cut off by Agrippa and some were pursued and driven aground. The pursuers ran aground with them in the rush, and either pulled off those that had come to a standstill or set fire to them. When the Pompeian ships that were still fighting saw what had befallen these, they surrendered to their enemies. Then the soldiers of Octavian who were in the ships raised a shout of victory and those on land gave an answering shout. Those of Pompeius groaned. Pompeius himself,
ἈΠΙΑΝ’S ῬΩΜΑΝ ΗΣΤΟΡΙΑ

CAP. XII. Ναυλόχων ἀναθορῶν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην ἦπείγετο, οὐδὲν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως περὶ τῶν πεζῶν οὐδ’ ἐπισκήψας· ὃθεν καὶ τούσδε ὁ Καῖσαρ Τισινοῦ παραδίδοτος ὑποστόνδους ἐδέχετο καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, τῶν ἰππάρχων παραδιδότων. κατέδυσαν δὲ ἐν τῷ πόνῳ ἡς Καῖσαρος μὲν τρεῖς, Πομπήιον δὲ ὅκτῳ καὶ εἰκοσὶ, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ κατεφλέξησαν ἡ ἐλήφθησαν ἢ ἐς τὴν γῆν ὁκέλλουσαι συνετρίβησαν αἱ δὲ ἐπτακαίδεκα μόναι διέφυγον.

122. Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν ὅδῳ περὶ τῆς μεταγγώμης τοῦ πεζοῦ πυθόμενος τὴν τε ἐσθήτα ἡλιαξέως ἐς ὅδιωτην ἀπ’ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ προύπεμψεν ἐς Μεσσήνην ἐς τὰς ναύς ἐντίθεσθαι τὰ δυνατὰ παρασκεύαστο δὲ ἀπαντᾷ ἐκ πολλοῦ. Πλένων τε ἐκ Διλυβαίου, μεθ’ ὃν εἰχεν ὅκτῳ τελῶν, ἐκάλει κατὰ στουδῆν ὡς μετὰ τῶν ἴχθυόμενος. καὶ Πλένιος μὲν ἦπείγετο πρὸς αὐτὸν, αὐτομολοῦντον δὲ ἐτέρων, φίλων τε καὶ φρουρίων καὶ στρατῶν, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τῶν πορθμῶν ἐσπλεόντων, οὐκ ἀναμείνας οὐδὲ Πλένων ὁ Πομπῆιος ἐν πόλει καλῶς τετειχισμένη, ἔφευγεν ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ἔπι τῶν ἐπτακαίδεκα νεῶν ἐς Ἀντώνιον, ὃς εἴ ὁμοίων αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα περισσωκός. καὶ ὁ Πλένιος αὐτὸν οὐ καταλαβὼν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην παρῆλθε καὶ κατεῖχε τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐμείνεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ναυλόχους στρατοπέδῳ, ὁ Αγρίππας δ’ ἐκέλευσε τῇ Μεσσήνῃ παρακαθέσεσθαι καὶ παρεκάθητο σὺν Δεπίδω. Πλενίου δὲ πρεσβευομένου περὶ στουδῶν Ἀγρίππας μὲν ἥξιον περιμένειν Καῖσαρα.

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THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

darting away from Naulochi, hastened to Messana, giving not even orders to his infantry in his panic. Accordingly Octavian received the surrender of these also at the hands of Tisienus on terms agreed upon, and of the cavalry besides, who were surrendered by their officers. Three of Octavian's ships were sunk in the fight. Pompeius lost twenty-eight in this way, and the remainder were burned, or captured, or run aground and stove in pieces, except the seventeen that escaped.

122. Pompeius learned of the defection of his infantry while on the road, and changed his costume from that of a commander to that of a private citizen, and sent orders to Messana to put on shipboard everything possible. All preparations to this end had been made long before. He summoned Plenius from Lilybaeum in haste, with the eight legions he had, intending to take flight with them. Plenius hastened to comply with this order, but as other friends, garrisons, and soldiers were deserting, and the enemy's fleet was moving into the straits, Pompeius did not wait even for Plenius in his well-fortified city, but fled, with his seventeen ships, from Messana to Antony, remembering that he had saved his mother in similar circumstances. After his departure Plenius arrived at Messana and occupied the place. Octavian himself remained in the camp at Naulochi, but he ordered Agrippa to lay siege to Messana, which the latter did, in conjunction with Lepidus. Plenius sent envoys to treat for peace. Agrippa wanted to wait till morning for the arrival

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ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XII ἐσ ἐω, Δέπιδος δὲ ἐδίδου τὰς σπουδὰς καὶ τὸν τοῦ
Πλεύσιον στρατὸν οἰκειούμενος ἑαυτῷ συνεχώρει
dιαρτᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν μετα τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ.

XIII

CAP. XIII Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, περὶ ἡς δὴ καὶ
μόνης παρεκάλουν, κέρδος ἀδόκητον εὐρόμενοι,
τὴν Μεσσήνην ὄλη τῇ νυκτὶ μετὰ τῶν Δεπίδου
διήρπαξαν καὶ μετεστρατεύοντο τῷ Δεπίδῳ. 123.
ο δὲ σὺν τούτοις ἔχον δύο καὶ ἑίκοσι τέλη πεζῶν
καὶ ἵππεις πολλοὺς ἐπήρτο καὶ κρατήσεων ἐδόκει
Σικελίας, πρόφασιν ἔχον, ὃτι πρῶτος ἐπιβαίνῃ τῆς
νῆσου καὶ πλέονας πόλεις ἐπαγάγωντο· ἐς τὰ
φρούρια αὐτίκα περιέσπεμπε τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Καῖ-
σαρος ἐλευσομένους μὴ προσίεσθαι καὶ τὰ στενὰ
πάντα ἐκρατύνετο. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἦλθε μὲν τῆς
ἐπιούσης καὶ ἐμέμφετο τῷ Δεπίδῳ διὰ τῶν φίλων,
οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐφασκον ἐλθεῖν Καῖσαρι ἐς
Σικελίαν, οὐχ ἑαυτῷ κατακτησόμενον αὐτὴν· ὁ δὲ
ἀντενεκάλει τῆς προτέρας τάξεως ἀφηρηθῇ καὶ
μόνον ἔχειν αὐτὴν Καῖσαρα βουλομένῳ τε νῦν
ἀντιδιδόναι Διβύνη καὶ Σικελίαν ὑπὲρ ἑκείνης.
χαλεταίνων δ’ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦλθε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ
ὄργῆς, ὁ οὐειδίων τὸν Δεπίδου ἐς χαριστίαν, δια-
πειλησάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλοις διέστησαν, καὶ αὐτίκα
αἱ τε φυλακαὶ διεκρίθησαν καὶ αἱ νῆς ὄρμουν ἐπ’
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of Octavian, but Lepidus granted terms, and in order to conciliate the soldiers of Plenius to himself allowed them to join the rest of the army in plundering the city.

XIII

These had asked for nothing but safety, and now, finding unexpected gain in addition, they plundered Messana the whole night, in conjunction with the soldiers of Lepidus, and then ranged themselves under his standards. Including this new accession, Lepidus now had twenty-two legions of infantry and a large body of cavalry; so that he was elated, and thought to make himself master of Sicily, using the pretext that he was the first to invade the island and that he had induced many cities to join the triumvirs. He sent word at once to the garrisons of these places that they should not admit the emissaries of Octavian, and he seized all the defiles. Octavian arrived on the following day, and reproached Lepidus through friends, who reminded him that he had come into Sicily as an ally of Octavian, not to acquire it for himself. Lepidus replied that he had been despoiled of his former allotment, which was now in the exclusive possession of Octavian, and that, if the latter pleased, he would now exchange Africa and Sicily for that former allotment. Octavian, exasperated, came also in person to Lepidus in anger and heaped reproaches on him for ingratitude. They separated, indulging in mutual threats. They forthwith surrounded themselves with guards, and the ships of Octavian were anchored away from the
ἈΠΙΑΝΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

Χ. ΧΙΙΙ

ἀγκυρόν· ἐλέξθη γὰρ αὐτὰς ἑπινοεῖν ὁ Λέπιδος ἐμπρήσαι.

124. Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἠχθετο, εἰ πολεμήσουσιν αὐτὶς ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἔτερον καὶ οὐ ποτε σφάζῃς ἐπι- λεῖψουσιν αἰ στάσεις. οὐ μὴν εὖ ὁμοίως Καίσαρα καὶ Λέπιδον ἐτίθεντο, οὐδὲ οἱ τῷ Λεπίδῳ στρα- τευόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν Καίσαρα ἑθαμαζόν καὶ τὴν ἀργίλαν συνήδεσαν Λεπίδῳ, καὶ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αὐτῶν ἐπεμέμφοντο αὐτῆς, ἐς τὸ ἱσον τοῖς ἰσοζημένοις καταστάντες. ὃν ὁ Καίσαρ πυν- θανόμενος περεύπεμπτε τοὺς τὰ συμφέροντα παραι- νέσοντας κρύφα ἐκάστοις. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ διεφθάρατο πολλοὶ, καὶ μίλιστα οἱ γενόμενοι τοῦ Πομπήιον διὰ δέος τοῦ μήπω τὰς σπουδὰς βεβαιούς σφίζων, εἰ μὴ συνθοίτο ὁ Καίσαρ, εἶναι, ἀγνοοῦντος ἐτι- ταύτα τοῦ Λεπίδου δι᾽ ἀπραξίαν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπήλ- θεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ σὺν ἰππεύςι πολ- λοῖς, οὕς πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος καταλπῶν ἐσήμερα μετ’ ὀλίγων, καὶ παριῶν ἐπεμαρτύρετο ἐκάστοις ἄκουν ἐς πόλεμον καθίστασθαι. ἀσεβῶνδὲ αὐτῶν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα τῶν ὀρώντων, οἱ Πομπηιανοὶ πρῶ- τοι συνέθεοι, ὅσοι διεφθάρατο, καὶ συγγρώναι σφίζαν παρεκάλουν. ὁ ὃ ἔλεγεν θαναμάζεις, εἰ συγ- γνώμην αὐτομέντες οὐ πράσσοντον οὕτω τὰ σφίζων αὐτοῖς συνόντα. οἱ δὲ συνέντευς αὐτίκα ἠρπα- ξον τὰ σημεῖα καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα μετέφερον, καὶ σκηνὰς ἐλυσαν ἔτεροι.

125. Καὶ τοῦ θερύβου Λεπίδος αἰσθόμενος ἐξέθρετε τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα: βολαὶ τε ἦσαν ἤδη, καὶ τῶν ὀπλοφόρων τις τῶν Καίσαρος ἐπιπτε, 582
shore, as it was said that Lepidus intended to set fire to them.

124. The soldiers were angry at the thought that they were to engage in another civil war, and that there was never to be an end of sedition. They did not, however, seek to compare Octavian and Lepidus; not even the army of Lepidus did that. They admired the energy of Octavian, and they were aware of the indolence of Lepidus; they also blamed him for admitting the defeated enemy to an equal share of the plunder. When Octavian learned their state of mind, he sent emissaries among them to advise them secretly of their individual interests. Many of them he tampered with, especially those who had served under Pompeius, who feared lest the terms of their capitulation should not be valid if Octavian did not ratify them. While Lepidus, by reason of his ineptitude, remained ignorant of these things Octavian came to his camp with a large body of horse, whom he left at the entrance, and himself went in with a few. Coming forward, he declared to those whom he met that he was drawn into war unwillingly. Those who saw him saluted him as imperator. First of all the Pompeians, who had been tampered with, collected together and asked his forgiveness. He said that he was astonished that persons asking forgiveness should not do what their own interests demanded. They understood his meaning, and forthwith seized their standards and went over to him, while others began to take down their tents.

125. When Lepidus became aware of this tumult he sprang from his tent to arms. Blows were already exchanged and one of Octavian’s armours-bearers was
καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸν θώρακα ἐβλήθη· τὸ δὲ βέλος οὐκ ἔξικετο ἐπὶ τὸν χρῶτα, ἀλλὰ δρόμῳ διέφυγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰππέας. Λεπίδου δὲ τι φρούριον ἐπετέθασε τῷ δρόμῳ· καὶ οὐκ ἀνέσχεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, πρὶν ἔξελεῖν αὐτὸ σὺν τοῖς ἰππεύσι καὶ καθελεῖν. έτέρων δ᾽ αὐ φρουρίων ἔγενες, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς, μετετίθεντο ἐκ Λεπίδου πρὸς Καίσαρα, οἱ μὲν ἀνεύ τινος πείρας, οἱ δὲ καὶ ές ὑπόκρισιν ὑπὸ ἰππεύσι μικρὰ ἐνοχληθέντες. εἰσὶ δ᾽ οί ταῖς προσβολάς ἐτί ὑπέμενον καὶ ἀπεκρούντο· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Λεπίδος περιέπεμπεν ἔς πάντα ἐπικούρους· καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπικούρων μεθισταμένων ἡ λοιπὴ τοῦ Λεπίδου στρατιά, καὶ εἲ τις εὔνους ἐτί ήν, ἐτρέπτετο τῇ γνώμῃ. καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν αὐθὶς οἱ Πομπηιανοὶ, ὅσοι ἐτὶ ἦσαν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ, μετεπήδουν κατὰ μέρη· Λεπίδου δὲ ἐς κώλυσιν αὐτοίς τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐφοπλίσαντος, οἱ ἐπὶ κώλυμα τῶν ἄλλων ὀπλισάμενοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπήγγευσι σημεία καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἐτέροις ἐχώρουν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα. Λεπίδος δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀπιούσιν ἥπειλε καὶ ἔδειτο καὶ τῶν σημείων εἰχετο καὶ οὐ μεθήσειν ἔλεγε, μέχρι τῶν φερόντων αὐτά τις εἶπε μεθήσειν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δείσας μεθήκεν.

126. Οἱ δὲ ἰππεῖς τελευταίοι χωρούντες ἐπεμψάν τινα πευσόμενοι τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἰ κτείνωσι Λεπίδου, οὐκέτι οίτα αὐτοκράτορα· ο δὲ ἀπείπεν. οὔτω Λεπίδος, ἀδοκήτῳ πάντων ἀπιστίᾳ συμπεσών, ἔρημος ἐκ τύχης τοσὶδε καὶ στρατοῦ
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

killed. Octavian himself was struck by a weapon on his breastplate, but it did not penetrate the flesh, and he ran and took refuge with his horsemen. A detachment of guards belonging to Lepidus jeered at him as he ran. Octavian was so angry that he could not restrain himself from cutting them off with horsemen and destroying them. The officers of the other guards transferred their allegiance from Lepidus to Octavian, some immediately, others during the night; some without solicitation, others pretending to be coerced more or less by the cavalry. There were some who still resisted the assault and beat off the assailants, for Lepidus sent reinforcements in all directions; but when these also went over, the remainder of his army, even those who were yet well disposed toward him, changed their opinion. Again the first to move were those Pompeians who still remained with him, transferring themselves by detachments, one after another. Lepidus armed the other body to prevent them from going, but the very men who were armed for this purpose seized their standards and went over to Octavian with the rest. Lepidus threatened and besought them as they took their departure. He held fast to the standards, and said he would not give them up, until one of the standard-bearers said to him, "Let go, or you are a dead man." Then he was afraid and let go.

126. The last to come over were the cavalry. They sent a messenger to Octavian to ask if they should kill Lepidus, who was no longer a commander. He replied in the negative. Thus Lepidus found himself deserted by all and bereft, in a moment of time, of so exalted a station and so great an army. He
CAP. tosoúde ἐγίγνετο ἐν βραχεί, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ἄλλως ἔθει πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα δρόμῳ, συντρεχόντων ὡς ἐπὶ θέα τῶν ὄρων τῶν. ο̂ δὲ Καίσαρ ὑπανέστη τε αὐτῶ προσθέοντι καὶ προσπεσεῖν ἐθέλουτα κωλύσας ἐπεμψεν ἐς 'Ρώμην, ἐφ' οὖτερ ἦν σχήματος, ἰδιώτην ἀπ' αὐτοκράτορος, οὐδὲν ἔτι πλὴν ιερεὰ ἐς εἰχὲν ἰερωσύνης.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ πολλάκις καὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν γενόμενος ἀρχοντάς τε ἀποφήνας καὶ προγράψας ἐπὶ βανάτῳ τοσούδε ὁμοτίμους, ἰδιωτέων καὶ ἑνίω τῶν προγραφείντων ἀρχουσίν ὑστερον παριστάμενοι διεβίωσε. 127. Πομπῆιον δὲ ὁ μὲν Καίσαρ οὐκ ἔδωκεν οὐδὲ ἐτέρους ἐπέτρεπε διόκειν, εἴτε ὡς ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν ἀρχήν τὴν 'Ἀντωνίου φυλασσόμενος ἐμβαλεῖν, εἴτε καραδόκων τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσόμενα ἐξ 'Ἀντωνίου καὶ πρόφασιν ἐξων διαφορᾶς, εἰ μὴ δίκαια γίγνοιτο (οὐ γὰρ ἀνύποπτοι γε ἦσαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διὰ φιλαρχίαν, ὅτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξέλοιεν, ἄλληλοις διερίσεων), εἴθ', ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὑστερον ὁ Καίσαρ, ὅτι μὴ γένοιτο τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνδροφόνοις ὁ Πομπῆιος. τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν συνήγη, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τέλη μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἰππεῖς δισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι, κοῦφοι δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ὑπὲρ ἡμιολίους μακρὰ τε νῆς ἐξακόσιαι τὸ δὲ τῶν φορτίων πλῆθος, καίτερ ὅν ἀπειρὼν, τοῖς δεσπόταῖς διέστημε. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπινικίους ἐδωρεῖτο, τὰ μὲν ἦδη διδοῦς, τὰ δὲ ἱππισχυούμενος, στεφάνους τε καὶ τιμᾶς ἄπασιν ἐνεμεν καὶ συγγυώμην τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐδίδου τοῦ Πομπῆιου.

128. Ζῆλου δὲ αὐτῶ γέμοντι ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ 586
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

changed his costume and hastened to Octavian, all the spectators running with him to enjoy the spectacle. Octavian started up as he approached, and prevented him from throwing himself at his feet, and sent him to Rome in the garb of a private citizen, which he was wearing, deprived of his command, but not of the priest hood, which he held.

And so this man, who had often been a commander and once a triumvir, who had appointed magistrates and had proscribed so many men of his own rank, passed his life as a private citizen, asking favours of some of the proscribed, who were magistrates at a later period. Octavian neither pursued Pompeius nor allowed others to do so; either because he refrained from encroaching on Antony's dominions, or because he preferred to wait and see what Antony would do to Pompeius and make that a pretext for a quarrel if he should do wrong (for they had long entertained the suspicion that ambition would bring them into mutual conflict when other rivals were out of the way), or, as Octavian said later, because Pompeius was not one of his father's murderers. He now brought his forces together, and they amounted to forty-five legions of infantry, 25,000 horse and some 40,000 light-armed troops, with 600 war-ships; he had also an immense number of merchant-vessels, which nevertheless he sent back to their owners. To the soldiers he awarded the prizes of victory, paying a part down and promising the rest later. He distributed crowns and other honours to all, and granted pardon to the Pompeian leaders.

128. With all this success he was prosperous
Δαιμόνιον ἐνεμέσησε τοῦ ξύλου, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐσταθήσεν, ὁ οἰκεῖος αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, ἀπολυθήναι τε τῆς στρατείας ἐπενύόμενοι καὶ γέρα λαβεῖν ὅμοια τοῖς ἐν Φιλίπποις ἀγωνισμένοις. ὁ δὲ ἤδει μὲν οὐχ ὅμοιον ἐκείνῳ τόνδε τὸν ἀγώνα, ὑπερσχεῖτο δ' ὅμως τὰ ἄξια δώσειν σὺν τοῖς ὑπ’ Ἀντωνίῳ στρατευμένοις, ὅτε κάκεινος ἄφικήτατι. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἁστραπείας ὑπερῴμηνσες σὺν ἀπειλῇ τῶν πατρίων νόμων τε καὶ ὀρκών καὶ κολάσεων. οὐκ εὐπεθῶς δὲ ἀκρωμένων ὑφῆκε τῆς ἀπειλῆς, ἵνα μὴ τις ἐκ τῶν νεολήπτων στρατῶν ἐπιγένοιτο θόρυβος, καὶ ἔλεγεν ἐν καιρῷ τα ἀπολύσειν σὺν Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ ἄξειν νῦν οὐκ ἐπ’ ἐμφύλια ἐτί, πεπαυμένα σὺν τύχῃ χρηστῇ, ἐπὶ δ’ Ἡλλυριοῦς καὶ ἔτερα ἐθνή βάρβαρα, σαλεύοντα τὴν μόλις κτηθεῖσαν εἰρήνην, ὅθεν καταπλοῦσειν αὐτοῦς. οἱ δ’ οὐκ ἔφασαν αὐθινὸς στρατεύσεσθαι, πρῶτον πρὸ τῆς προτέρῳ λαβεῖν γέρα τε καὶ τιμᾶς. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη ταῦτα τιμᾶς οὐδὲ νῦν ἀνατίθεσθαι, πολλὰς δὲ δοὺς προστιθέναι στεφάνους ἔτι τοῖς τέλεσιν ἄλλους καὶ λοχαγοῖς καὶ χιλιάρχοις περιπορφύρους ἐσθήτας καὶ βουλευτικὴν ἐν ταῖς πατρίσιν ἀξίωσιν. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ τοιάδε προστιθέντος ἔτερα, ὑπεφώνησε χιλιάρχος Ὁφίλλιος στεφάνους μὲν καὶ πορφύραν εἶναι παισίν ἀθύρματα, στρατοῦ δὲ 588
beyond words, and of his great prosperity Fortune became jealous. His army revolted, especially his own troops. They demanded to be discharged from the service and that rewards should be given them equal to those given to the men who fought at Philippi. Octavian knew that the present war had not been of the same grade as that one. He promised nevertheless to pay what their services were worth, and to include the soldiers serving under Antony when he too should return. As to their breach of discipline, he reminded them, in a threatening tone, of the laws of their ancestors, of their oaths and of the punishments. As they gave little heed to what he said, he abandoned his threatening tone lest the spirit of mutiny should extend to his newly acquired troops, and said that he would discharge them at the proper time in conjunction with Antony. He said, also, that he would not engage them in any more civil wars, which had fortunately come to an end, but in war against the Illyrians and other barbarous tribes, who were disturbing the peace which had been gained with so much difficulty; from which war the soldiers would acquire great riches. They said that they would not go to war again until they had received the prizes and honours of the previous wars. He said that he would not even now postpone the honours, but that he had distributed many prizes, and now gave to the legions additional crowns, and to the centurions and tribunes purple-bordered garments and the dignity of chief councillors in their native towns. While he was distributing other awards of this kind, the tribune Osilius exclaimed that crowns and purple garments were playthings for boys, that the rewards
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIII

γέρα χωρία καὶ χρῆματα καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ἔπο- ὑσαντος, ὅτι ὅρθως λέγω, ὅ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἀπέστη τοῦ βήματος δυσχεραίνων. οἱ δὲ ἀμφί τὸν χιλιάρχον ἦσαν ἐπαινοῦντές τε καὶ τοῖς οὐ συν- ἱσταμένοις αὐτῷ λοιπούμενοι. ὁ δὲ ἔφη καὶ μόνος ἁρκέσειν ἐπὶ οὕτω δικαίος.

'Αλλ' ὁ μὲν τόδε εἰπὼν ἐσ τὴν ἐπιούσιν ἀφανής ἦν, καὶ οὐδ', ὃ τι γένοιτο, ἐγινώσκετο. 129. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐκέτι μὲν, ὕπο δέους, οὐδείς καθ' ἕνα ἐφθέγγετο, κοινῇ δ' ἐβόων, ἀνὰ μέρη συνιστάμενοι, ἀφεθήναι τῶν στρατεύων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἁρχοντας ἐξαμύλει ποικίλως, τῶν δ' ἐν Φιλίπποις καὶ Μουτίνῃ στρατευσάμενον, ὅς χρονιωτέρων ἄρα ὄντων, ἐδίδου τοῖς θέλουσιν ἀποστρατεύσεσθαι. καὶ γενομένους ἐς δισμυρίων εὐθὺς ἀπέλυε καὶ ἔξεπεμπε τής νήσου, μὴ δια- φθείραιεν ἔτέρους, τοσοῦτος τοῖς ἐκ Μουτίνης μόνοις ἐπειπὼν, ὅτι σφίσιν ἀποδώσει τὰ τότε ὑπεσχημένα καίπερ οὕτως ἀπολυθείσιν. ἐς δὲ τὸ ἀλλο πλῆθος ἔπελθον τοὺς μὲν ἀποστάντας ἐμαρτύρετο τῆς ἐπιορκίας, οὐ κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τῆς στρατείας ἀπολυθέντας, τοὺς δὲ παρόντας ἐπνέει καὶ ἐπηλπίζεις ἀπολύσεως μὲν ταχέως, ὅτε μηδενὶ μετανοήσει, καταπλούτειν δὲ ἀπολύσων καὶ νῦν ἐπιδιδόναι δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας ἐκάστῳ. τοιάδε εἰπὼν Σικελία μὲν ἐπέβαλλεν ἐσφορὰν χίλια τάλαντα καὶ ἐξακόσια, στρατηγοὺς δ' ἀπέφαυε Λιβύης καὶ Σικελίας καὶ στρατὸν ἐς ἐκατέραν διήρει καὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς 'Αντωνίου διέπεμπεν ἐς Τάραντα καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατοῦ 590.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

for soldiers were lands and money. The multitude cried out "Well said"; whereupon Octavian descended from the platform in anger. The soldiers gathered round the tribune, praising him and railing at those who did not join with them, and the tribune said that he alone would suffice to defend so just a cause. After saying this he disappeared the following day, and it was never known what became of him.

129. The soldiers no longer dared to give utterance to their complaints singly, but joined together in groups and called for their discharge in common. Octavian conciliated their leaders in various ways. He released those who had served at Philippi and Mutina, and who wished to be discharged, as their time had expired. These, to the number of 20000, he dismissed and sent out of the island at once, lest they should seduce the others. To those only who had served at Mutina he added, that, although they were discharged in this way, he would fulfil the promises made to them at that time. He came before the rest of the army and called upon them to bear witness to the perjury of the revolters, who had been dismissed not by the wish of their military commander. He praised those who remained with him, and encouraged them to expect a speedy release, saying that nobody would regret it, that they would be discharged rich, and that he would give them 500 drachmas per man now. Having thus spoken, he exacted tribute from Sicily to the amount of 1600 talents, appointed procurators for Africa and Sicily, and assigned a division of the army to each of these provinces. He sent back Antony's ships to Tarentum. A part of the army he
CAP. XIII τὸν μὲν προύπερμεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ νεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἐπαγόμενος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς νῆσου διεπέρα.

130. Ἕρχομένω δὲ ἡ τε βουλὴ τιμᾶς ἐψηφίσατο ἀμέτρους, ὡς αὐτὸν ἐποίουν κριτήν, ἢ πάσας λαβεῖν ἢ ὅσας δοκιμάσεις· καὶ ὑπήντων ὅτι πορρωτάτω καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ δὴ ἰδίος ἐστηθανομένοι ἐς τα τὰ ῥεῖα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰερῶν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπίνοντα παρέπεμπον. τῆς δ᾿ ἐπιούσῃς αὐτῶς ἐβουληγόρησε τε καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε, τὰ ἐργα καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἔαυτοῦ τὴν ἀπ᾿ ἀρχῆς ἐς τότε καταλέγων· καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα συγγράψας τὸ βιβλίου εξέδωκε. κατηγγελλὲ τε εἰρήνην καὶ εὐθυμίαν, ἐς τέλος τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἄνηρημένων, καὶ τῶν εἰσφορῶν τοὺς ἐτὶ ὁφείλοντας ἀπέλευς καὶ φόρων τελόνας τε καὶ τοὺς τὰ μισθώματα ἔχοντας ὑν ἐτὶ ὁφείλοντες. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων τιμῶν ἐδέχετο πομπῆς, ἐτήσιον τε ἱερομνήμων εἶναι, καθ᾿ ἂς ἡμέρας ἐνίκα, καὶ ἐπὶ κίονος ἐν ἀγορᾷ χρύσεος ἑστάναι μετὰ σχήματος ὡσπερ ἐχον εἰςῆλθε, περικειμένων τῷ κίονι νεῶν ἐμβολῶν. καὶ ἐστηκεν ἡ εἰκὼν, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσα, ὥστε “τὴν εἰρήνην ἑσταισιαμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ συνετεύχησε κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν”.

131. Τού δὲ δῆμου τὴν μεγίστην ἱερωσύνην ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ Δετίδου μεταφέροντος, ἢν ἐνα ἐχεῖν νεώμοισται μέχρι θανάτου, οὐκ ἐδέχετο καί κτείνει τὸν Δετίδου ὡς πολέμων κελευντοῦν όμοι ἴσχετο. ἐς δὲ τὰ στρατόπεδα πάντα σεσυμμετέχει ἐπιστολάς, ἐντελλόμενος ἡμέρα μία πάντας ἀνειλήπτος αὐτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῦσ
sent in advance of himself to Italy in ships, and took the remainder with him when he departed from the island.

130. When he arrived at Rome the Senate voted him unbounded honours, giving him the privilege of accepting all, or such as he chose. They and the people went out a long distance to meet him, wearing garlands on their heads, and escorted him, when he arrived, first to the temples, and then from the temples to his house. The next day he made speeches to the Senate and to the people, recounting his exploits and his policy from the beginning to the present time. These speeches he wrote down and published in pamphlet form. He proclaimed peace and good-will, said that the civil wars were ended, remitted the unpaid taxes, and released the farmers of the revenue and the holders of public leases from what they owed. Of the honours voted to him, he accepted an ovation and annual solemnities on the days of his victories, and a golden image to be erected in the forum, with the garb he wore when he entered the city, to stand on a column covered with the beaks of captured ships. There the image was placed bearing the inscription:

"PEACE, LONG DISTURBED, HE RE-ESTABLISHED ON LAND AND SEA."

131. When the people desired to transfer from Lepidus to himself the office of pontifex maximus, which the law bestowed on one person for life, he would not accept it, and when they prayed that Lepidus might be put to death as a public enemy he would not allow it. He sent sealed letters to all the armies, with instructions to open them all on a day designated and to execute the orders contained
ΚΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΜΕΝΟΙΣ. ΚΑΙ ΗΝ ΤΑ ἘΠΕΣΤΑΛΜΕΝΑ ΠΕΡῚ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΡΑΠΟΝΤΩΝ, ὍΣΟΙ ΠΑΡΆ ΤΗΝ ΣΤΆΣΙΝ ἈΠΟ-
ΩΡΑΝΤΕΣ ἘΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΟ, ΚΑΙ ΑὐΤΟΙΣ ΤΗΝ ἝΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΝ
ὙΤΗΚΕΙ ΠΟΡΡΗΙΟΣ, ΚΑΙ Ἡ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΑῚ ΣΥΝΘΗΚΑΙ
ΔΕΔΩΚΕΣΑΙ. ΟΙ ΔΈ ΜΑΣ ἩΜΕΡΑΣ ΣΥΝΕΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΝΤΟ.
ΚΑΙ ἈΧΘΕΝΤΑΣ ΑὐΤΟΥΣ ΕΣ ὈΡΩΜΗΝ Ὁ ΚΑΪΣΑΡ ἈΠΕ-
ΔΩΚΕΙ ΑὐΤΟΝ ΤΕ ὈΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΚΑῚ ΊΤΑΛΩΝ ΤΟΪΣ
ΔΕΣΠΟΤΑΙΣ Ό ΔΙΑΔΟΧΟΙΣ ΑὐΤΟΝ, ἈΠΕΔΩΚΕ ΔΈ ΚΑῚ
ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΙΣ. ὍΣΟΝ ΔΈ ΟὐΚ ἩΝ Ὁ ΛΗΨΟΜΕΝΟΣ;
ΕΚΤΕΙΝΕ ΠΑΡΆ ΤΑΪΣ ΠΟΛΕΣΙΝ ΑὐΤΑΙΣ, ὌΝ ἈΠΕΔΡΑΣΕΝ.

132. ΤΟΥΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΔῈ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΤΕ ΣΤΑΣΕΩΝ ΕΘΟΚΕΙ
ΤΈΛΟΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ. ΚΑΙ ἩΝ Ὁ ΚΑΪΣΑΡ ΕΤΩΝ ἘΣ ΤΟΤΕ ὈΚΤΩ
ΚΑῚ ΕΙΚΟΣΙ, ΚΑΙ ΑὐΤΟΝ ΑῚ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΦΕΤΕΡΟΟΥΣ
ΘΕΟΙΣ ΣΥΝΙΔΡΟΥΝ. ΛΗΣΤΕΥΩΜΕΝΗΣ ΔΈ ΚΑῚ ΣΥΣΤΑ΢ΕΙΣ
ΤΗΣ ΤΕ ὈΡΩΜΗΣ ΑὐΤΗΣ ΚΑῚ ΤΗΣ ἸΤΑΛΙΑΣ ΠΕΡΙΦΑΝΟΣ
ΚΑῚ ΤΩΝ ΓΥΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ἈΡΠΑΓΗ ΜΕΤᾁ ΤΟΛΜΗΣ ᾨ
ΛΗΣΤΕΙΑ ΛΑΝΘΑΝΟΥΣΗ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ἙΩΙΚΟΤΩΝ, ΣΑΒΙΝΟΣ
ὙΠΟ ΚΑΪΣΑΡΟΣ ΑΙΡΕΘΕΙΣ ΕΙϹ ΔΙΟΡΘΩΣΙΝ ΠΟΛΥΝ ΜΈΝ
ΕΙΡΓΑΣΑΤΟ ΦΘΟΡΟΝ ΤΩΝ ἈΛΙΣΚΟΜΕΝΩΝ, ΕΝΑΥΤΟΙ Δ´
ὩΜΟΣ ΕΙϹ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ ἈΦΥΛΑΚΤΟΝ ἈΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΕΡΗΓΑΘΕ.
ΚΑῚ ἘΞ ἘΚΕΙΝΟΝ ΦΑΣΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΣ
ΤΩΝ ΝΥΚΤΟΦΥΛΑΚΩΝ ΘΕΟΣ ΤΕ ΚΑῚ ΕΙΔΟΣ. ΘΑΥΜΑΖΟ-
ΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΈ Ο ΚΑΪΣΑΡ ἘΠΙ ΤΩΣ ΔΈ ΩΞΕΩΣ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΕΞ ἈΔΟΚΗ-
ΤΟΥ ΔΙΩΡΘΩΜΕΝΩΣ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ ΕΦΙΕΙ ΤΟΙΣ
ΕΤΗΣΙΟΙΣ ἈΡΧΟΥΣΙ ΔΙΟΙΚΕΙΝ ΚΑῚ ΤΑ ΠΡΑΣΙΑ, ΚΑῚ
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΑ, ὍΣΑ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΑ, ΕἴΚΑ,
ΚΑῚ ΤΗΝ ΕΝΤΕΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΝ ἘΛΕΓΕΝ ἈΠΟΦΟΣΕΙΝ, ΕΙ
ΠΑΡΙΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ ἘΚ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΩΝ ἈΡΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΠΕΙΘΕΘΑΙ
ΓΑΡ ΚΑΚΕΙΝΟΝ ἘΘΕΛΕΙΝ ἈΠΟΘΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΗΝ ἈΡΧΗΝ, ΤΩΝ
ἘΜΦΥΛΙΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑΜΕΝΩΝ. ἘΦ´ ΟΙΣ ΑὐΤΟΝ ΕΥΦΗ-
ΜΟΝΤΕΣ ΕἸΛΟΝΤΟ ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΝ ἘΣ ἍΕΙ, ΔΗΝΕΚΕΙ ἍΡΑ

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THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

therein. These orders related to slaves who had run away during the civil dissensions and joined the armies, for whom Pompeius had asked freedom, which the Senate and treaty had granted. These were all arrested on the same day and brought to Rome, and Octavian returned them to their Roman or Italian masters, or to the heirs of the same. He also gave back those belonging to Sicilian masters. Those whom nobody claimed he caused to be put to death in the cities from which they had absconded.

132. This seemed to be the end of the civil dissensions. Octavian was now twenty-eight years of age. Cities joined in placing him among their tutelary gods. At this time Italy and Rome itself were openly infested with bands of robbers, whose doings were more like barefaced plunder than secret theft. Sabinus was chosen by Octavian to correct this disorder. He executed many of the captured brigands, and within one year brought about a condition of absolute security. At that time, they say, originated the custom and system of cohorts of night watchmen still in force. Octavian excited astonishment by putting an end to this evil with such unexampled rapidity. He allowed the yearly magistrates to administer public affairs, in many particulars, according to the customs of the country. He burned the writings which contained evidence concerning the civil strife, and said that he would restore the constitution entirely when Antony should return from the Parthian war, for he was persuaded that Antony, too, would be willing to lay down the government, the civil wars being at an end. Thereupon he was chosen tribune for life by acclamation, the people urging him, by the offer of this perpetual
CAP. XIII

árχη προτρέποντες τῆς προτέρας ἀποστήμας. ὁ δὲ ἔδεξατο μὲν καὶ τήνδε, ἶ. Αὐτών ὕπερ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέστελλεν. ὁ δὲ καὶ Βύραλος ἀπόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντυχεῖν ἐδίδασκεν· ἐς δὲ τὰ ἔδη τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶς ὁμοίως ἔπεμπε καὶ ἐς Ἰλλυρίους ἐπενεύει συστρατεύειν.

CAP. XIV

133. Πομπήιος δ’ ἐκ μὲν Σικελίας ἀκρα Δακινίας προσέσχε καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἡρας πλουτοῦν ἀναθήμασιν ἐσύλησεν, φεύγων ἐς Ἰ. Αυτών ὑπέδραμεν. ἔνθα αὐτὸν ἔτι παῖδα μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ὑπεξέθετο οἶ. πατήρ, Γαύρα Καίσαρι πολεμῶν, καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀνέλαβεν. Ἰ. Αυτών δὲ πολεμοῦντος ἐν Μηδίᾳ Μίδοις τε καὶ Παρθναίοις, ὑμῶν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐποιεῖτο ἑαυτὸν ἐπανελθόντι ἐπιτρέψαι. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐπύθετο ἡσσήσθαι Ἰ. Αυτῶν καὶ τὸ συμβαὶ ἡ φίλη μείζωνας μετέφερεν, αὕτης ἦν ἐν ἐλπίσιν ὡς ἡ διαδεξαμένος Ἰ. Αυτῶν, εἰ τέθηκεν, ἡ μεριοῦμενος ἐπανελθόντι· ὑπομονές τε όι συνεχεῖς ἦν Λαβινὸς οὗ πρὸ πολ- λοῦ τὴν Ἰ. Αἰσίων ἐπιδράμων. ὥδε δὲ ἔχοντι ἀγγέλλεται Ἰ. Αυτῶνος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπανελ- θών. καὶ τεχνώξων ἔτι ἔπ’ ἄμφοτερα διε- πρεβεύετο πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπιτρέπων ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ φίλου εἰναι διδοὺς καὶ σύμμαχον, ἔργῳ δὲ 596
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

magistracy, to give up his former one. This he accepted, and at the same time he wrote privately to Antony in reference to the government. Antony gave instructions to Bibulus, who was going away from him, to confer with Octavian. He sent governors to take charge of his provinces in like manner as Octavian had done, and he had thoughts of joining the latter in his expedition against the Illyrians.

XIV

133. Pompeius, fleeing from Sicily to Antony, stopped at the Lacinian promontory and robbed the rich temple of Juno of its gifts. He landed at Mitylene and spent some time at that place, where his father, when at war with Caesar, had bestowed him with his mother, while still a boy, and after his defeat had joined him again. As Antony was now waging war in Media against the Medes and the Parthians, Pompeius decided to entrust himself to Antony on his return. When he heard that Antony had been beaten, and this result was more than confirmed by reports, his hopes once more revived, and he fancied that he might succeed Antony if the latter were dead, or share his power if he returned. He was continually thinking of Labienus, who had overrun Asia not long before. While he was in this frame of mind the news reached him that Antony had returned to Alexandria. Scheming for both objects, he sent ambassadors to Antony ostensibly to place himself at the latter’s disposal and to offer himself as a friend and ally, but really to get accurate information about Antony’s affairs. At the
AΠΠΙΑΝ’S ΡΟΜΑΝ HISTORY

CAP. XIV τὰ Ἀντωνίου κατασκεπτόμενος. ἐς τε Ὄρικην καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἑπέμπεν ἑτέρους κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς ἔκατέρων δυνάστας ἐπινοῶν, εἰ μὴ κρατεῖ τῶν ἐνθυμομένων, διὰ τοῦ Πόντου φυγεῖν ἐς Ἀρμενίαν. ἑπέμπε δὲ καὶ Ἕστρατιόν, ἑλπίσας ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰντωνίου αὐτοῦς δέξεσθαι προθύμως στρατηγὸν ὃρμαίόν τε καὶ παίδα Μάγγου μάλιστα. τὰς τε ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτὰς στρατὸν ἐγύμναξεν, ὑποκρισμένος ἢ δεδιέναι Καίσαρα ἢ Ἀντωνίφο τάδε παρασκευάζειν.

134. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος πυθόμενος μὲν εὐθὺς ἀμφί τοῦ Πομπήλου, στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ Ὀλισσόν ἐρημοὶ καὶ ναῦς καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ Συρίας λαβόντα ἐκέλευε πολεμοῦντι μὲν τὸν Πομπήλῳ πολεμεῖν κατὰ κράτος, ἐπιτρέποντα δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίφῳ μετὰ τιμῆς ἀγειν. ἐθεύσε ὅ τοις πρέσβεσιν ἐχρηματίζειν, ἀγγέλλοντιν ὄντως. "ὢ, ἡμᾶς Πομπήλῳ ἐπέμψεν οὐκ ἄπορῶν μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, εἰ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκει, διαπλέασαι, φίλην οὖς αὐτῷ πατρόθεν καὶ συλλαβοῦσαν ἔτι ὄντε νεωτέρῳ καὶ καλοῦσαν ἐπὶ ταύτα καὶ νῦν, αἱρούμενος δὲ εἰρήμενος τε σὺν σοὶ καὶ πολεμεῖν, εἰ δεῖσειν, ὑπὸ σοῦ. καὶ τάδε οὐ νῦν πρώτον, ἀλλ’ ἐτι κρατῶν Σικελίας καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πορθῶν, ὅτε σοι τὴν σὺν μητέρα περισώσας ἐπεμπέτε, προύτεινε καὶ εἰ ἔδεξεν, οὐτ’ ἄν ὁ Πομπήλιος ἐξέπεσε Σικελίας (οὐ γὰρ ἄν Καίσαρι τὰς ναῦς κατ’ αὐτοῦ παρέ-
same time he sent others secretly to the princes of Thrace and Pontus, intending, if he should not obtain what he desired from Antony, to take flight through Pontus to Armenia. He sent also to the Parthians, hoping that, for the remainder of their war against Antony, they would be eager to receive him as a general, because he was a Roman, and especially because he was the son of Pompey the Great. He refitted his ships and drilled the soldiers he had brought in them, pretending at one time that he was in fear of Octavian, and at another that he was getting ready to assist Antony.

134. As soon as Antony heard of the coming of Pompeius he designated Titius to take the field against him. He ordered the latter to take ships and soldiers from Syria and to wage war vigorously against Pompeius if he showed himself hostile, but to treat him with honour if he submitted himself to Antony. Then he gave audience to the messengers who had arrived, and addressed him as follows: "Pompeius has sent us to you, not because he cannot take refuge (if he were minded to continue the war) in Spain, a country friendly to him on his father's account, which espoused his own cause when he was younger, and even now calls upon him for that purpose, but because he prefers to enjoy peace with you, and, if need be, to fight under your orders. He makes these advances now not for the first time, but did so while he was master of Sicily and was ravaging Italy, and when he rescued your mother and sent her to you. If you had accepted these advances, Pompeius would not have been driven out of Sicily (for you would not have provided Octavian with ships against him), nor would you have been
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CAP. XIV

σχες), οὔτ' ἀν σὺ ἦττησο ἐν Παρθναίοις, Καῖ-
σαρός σοι τὸν στρατὸν οὐ πέμψαντος, διν
συνέθετο ἐκράτεις δ' ἀν ἦδη πρὸς οἷς εἰχες καὶ
τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐ δεξάμενον δὲ σε ταῦτα, ἐν
καὶρῷ τότε μάλιστ' ἀν σοι γενόμενα, ἄξιοι καὶ
νῦν μη πολλάκις ὑπὸ Καῖσαρος ἐνεδρευθῆναι
λόγους τε καὶ τῷ γενομένῳ κῆδει, μνημονεύοντα,
ὅτι Πομπῆῖος τε κηδεύων μετὰ συνθήκας ἐπολέ-
μησεν ἀνευ προφάσεως, καὶ Λέπιδου κοινωνίαν
ὅποτα τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέρος ἀφεῖλετο καὶ οὐδέτερα
αὐτῶν ἐνείματο σοι.

135. "Δοῦτος δ' ἐστὶν τῆς περιπόθητον αὐτῷ μοναρ-
χίαν σὺ νῦν ὑπολείπῃ; ἡδὴ γάρ σοι καὶ ἐν χερσὶν
ἡν, εἰ μη Πομπῆῖος ἔτι ἦν ἐν μέσῳ. καὶ τάδε
εἰκὸς μὲν καὶ σὲ προορᾶν ἐπὶ σεαυτόν, προφέρει
δὲ σοι καὶ Πομπῆῖος ὑπὸ εὐνοίας, αἰρόμενος
ἀνδρὰ ἀκακον καὶ μεγαλόφρονα ἀντὶ ὑπούλου τε
καὶ δόλεροι καὶ φιλοτέχνου. οὐδὲ ἐπιμέμβεται
σοι τῆς δόσεως τῶν νεῶν, ὥστε αὐτὸν Καῖσαρι
ἐδωκας ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης, ἀντιλαβέων στρατὸν ἐν
Παρθναίοις δεόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπομιμνῆσκει, τὸν οὐ
πεμφθέντα στρατὸν προφέρων. συνελόντα δὲ
εἰπεῖν, Πομπῆῖος ἐστὶν ἐπιτρέπει σοι μετὰ τῶν
νεῶν, ὡς ἐτέ ἔχει, καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ, πιστοτάτου
γε ὅντος αὐτῷ καὶ οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ κατάλι-
πόντος, εἰρηνεύοντι μὲν μέγα κλέος, εἰ τὸν
Μάγγου παίδα περισσότεροι, πολεμοῦντε δὲ μοῖ-
ραν ἰκανὴν ἐς τὸν ἐσόμενον πόλεμον, ὅσον οὐπω
παρόντα."
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defeated in Parthia, in consequence of Octavian not sending you the soldiers he agreed to send. In fact, you would now be in possession of Italy in addition to your other dominions. As you did not accept the offer at the time when it would have been most advantageous to you, he repeats it now in order that you may not be so often ensnared by Octavian's words and by the marriage relationship existing between you; for you will remember that, although he is connected by marriage with Pompeius, he declared war against him after the treaty had been made, and without excuse. He also deprived Lepidus, his partner in the government, of his share, and divided neither part of it with you.

135. "You are now the only remaining one who stands between him and the monarchy that he longs for: indeed he would already have been at blows with you, had not Pompeius stood in the way. Although you ought to have foreseen these things for yourself, Pompeius calls your attention to them out of good-will, because he prefers a candid and magnanimous man to a deceitful, treacherous, and artful one. He does not blame you for the gift of ships which you made to Octavian against him as a matter of necessity, in order to procure soldiers for the Parthian war in exchange, but he reminds you of that army which was not sent. In short, Pompeius delivers himself to you with the ships which he still has and his most faithful soldiers, who have not abandoned him even in his flight. If peace is maintained, it will be a great glory to you to have saved the son of Pompey the Great. In case of war, he will be a considerable help to your party in the conflict which is coming, in fact is as good as come."
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CAP. XIV. 136. Τοιαύτα τῶν πρέσβεων εἰπόντων, ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῖς ἐξέφερεν, ὡς ἐντελεῖντο τὸν Τιτίφωνα καὶ εἰ τῇ οὖν ταύτα φρονοῦσα Πομπήιος, ἥξειν αὐτὸν ἐφασκεν παραπεμπόμενον ὑπὸ Τιτίου. ἀμα δὲ ταύτα ἐγήγεντο, καὶ οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐς Παρθιναίους ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπήιου ἑλήφθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντωνίου στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἤχησαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐκαστα μαθὼν ἐκάλει τοὺς τοῦ Πομπήιου πρέσβεις καὶ τοὺς ληφθέντας ἀυτοῖς ὑπεδείκνυεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ παρηγοροῦντο νέον ἄνδρα ἐν συμφοραῖς ἐσχάταις ὑπὸ δέος, εἰ ἀρα μὴ προσοῖτο φιλίως αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀναγκασθέντα καὶ τῶν ἀεὶ Ὀρμαίως ἐχθρίστων ἀποπειρᾶσαι δηλώσειν τ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα, ὅτε μάθοι τὰ Ἀντωνίου, μηδὲν ἔτι πείρας ἢ μηχανῆς ἀπόμενον. οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπίστευσεν, ὃν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αἰεὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἄπλούς καὶ μέγας καὶ ἄκακος.

137. Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ Φούρνιος, ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἠγούμενος Ἀντωνίῳ, τὸν Πομπήιον ἐλθόντα μὲν καὶ ἄτρεμοντα ἐδέχετο, οὐτε κοιλύειν ἀξιόμαχος ὅτε ὅτε πω τὴν γνώμην εἰδώς τὴν Ἀντωνίου γνωμαζόντα δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὅρων κατέλεγε τινας ἢ τῶν ὑπηκόων καὶ Ἀγνώβαρβου ἄρχοντα γείτονος στρατοῦ καὶ Ἀμύνταν ἑτέρῳθεν ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδήν. συνελθόντων δ' ὥς, ὁ Πομπήιος ἐμέμφετο, εἰ πολέμων ἠγούνται τῶν πρέσβεως ἢ Ἐντωνίου ἀπεστάλκοτα καὶ τὰ παρ' ἑκείνου περιμένοντα. καὶ ταύτα λέγων Ἀγνώβαρβου ὅμως ἐπενοεὶ συλλαβεῖν ἐκ προδοσίαις Κουρίου τινὸς

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136. When the messengers had thus spoken, Antony showed them the orders he had sent to Titius, and said that if Pompeius was truly in this frame of mind he would be coming in person under the escort of Titius. In the meantime, the messengers who had been sent by Pompeius to the Parthians were captured by Antony's generals and brought to Alexandria. After Antony had examined each of them he summoned the ambassadors of Pompeius and showed the captives to them. They made excuses for Pompeius even then as a young man in a desperate plight, fearful lest Antony should not treat him kindly, and driven by necessity to make trial even of the bitterest enemies of Rome. They said that he would show his true disposition as soon as he should learn Antony's, and would then need no other attempt or devices. Antony believed them, being in other respects and at all times of a frank, magnanimous, and unsuspecting nature.

137. In the meantime Furnius, who was governing the province of Asia for Antony, had received Pompeius when he arrived, as he was behaving quietly; since Furnius had not sufficient force to prevent him and did not yet know Antony's mind. Seeing Pompeius drilling his troops, he mustered a force from the provincials and hastily summoned Athenobarbus, who had command of an army in the vicinity, and also Amyntas from the other side. They responded promptly, and Pompeius complained against Furnius for regarding him in the light of an enemy when he had sent ambassadors to Antony and was waiting for an answer from him. While he was saying this he was meditating the project of seizing Athenobarbus, with the connivance of Curius, one of
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τῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν Ἀννόβαρβον, ἐλπίζων ἐς ἀντίδοσιν αὐτοῦ μεγάλην ἔξειν μοῖραν Ἀννόβαρβον. γνω-σθείσης δ’ οὖν τῆς προδοσίας, Κοῦριος μὲν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι Ῥωμαίων ἔλεγχεις ἀπέθανε, Πομπηίος δὲ Θεόδωρον ἐξελεύθερον, ὃς μόνος οἱ συνήδει τὸ βούλευμα, ὦς ἔξειπόντα ἐκείνου. οὐκέτι δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν Φούρνιον λήσεων ἔλπισας, Λάμψακον ἐκ προδοσίας κατέλαβεν, ἣ πολλοὺς ἔχεχεν Ἰταλοὺς ἐξ ἐποικίσεως Γαῖου Καύσαρος, καὶ μισθοῖς μεγά-λοις εὐθὺς ἐστράτευε τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς. ἣδ’ δὲ ἔχων ἵππεας τε διακοσίους καὶ πεζοὺς τριά τέλη, ἐπεχείρησε Κυζίκῳ κατά τε γῆν καὶ διὰ θαλάσ-σης. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπεκρύσαντο· καὶ γὰρ τις ᾗς ἐν τῇ Κυζίκῳ στρατὸς οὐ πολὺς Ἱπποτῶν, φύλακες τῶν ἐκεῖ τρεφομένων αὐτῶν μονομάχων. ἐς δὲ τὸν Ἀχαϊῶν λιμένα ἐπανελ-θῶν ἐστιολόγηε.

138. Φούρνιον δὲ οὐκ ἄρχοντος μὲν χειρῶν, ἀεὶ δ’ αὐτῷ παραστρατοπεδεύοντος σὺν ἵππεισι πολ-λοῖς καὶ σιτιολογείν οὐκ ἔωντος οὐδὲ προσποιεῖ-σθαι τὰς πόλεις, ἦ Πομπηίος ἵππεας οὐκ ἔχων ἐπεχείρησε τῷ τοῦ Φούρνιον στρατοπέδῳ κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ κατόπιν ἐκ περιόδου λαθῶν. ὠθεὶν τὸ Φούρνιος ἐς τὸν Πομπῆιον ἐπιστραμμένος ὕπο τῶν ὁποσθεν ἔξεβλήθη τοῦ στρατοπέδου. καὶ ὑφιστότας αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ Σκαμανδρίου πεδίου δυϊκῶν ο Πομπῆιος ἔκετειν πολλοῦς· καὶ γὰρ ᾗς τὸ πεδίου ὑγρὸν ἐξ ὀμβρών. οἱ δὲ περισσωθέντες τότε μὲν ὑπεχώρουν, οὐκ δεότες ξιόμαχοι. προσ-δεχομένων δὲ ἀπὸ τὴν Μυσίας καὶ τῆς Προποντίδος 604
Ahenobarbus' officers, intending to hold that general as a valuable hostage to exchange for himself in case of need. The treachery was discovered and Curius was convicted before the Romans present and put to death. Pompeius put to death his freedman Theodorus, the only person who was privy to the plan, believing that he had divulged it. As he no longer expected to conceal his projects from Furnius, he possessed himself of Lampsacus by treachery, a city which contained many Italians, placed there as colonists by Gaius Caesar. These Italians he induced to enter his military service by large bounties. Having now 200 horse and three legions of infantry, he attacked Cyzicus by land and sea. He was repulsed on both sides, because Antony had a force, although not a large one, in Cyzicus, that was guarding some gladiators whom Antony supported there. So Pompeius retired to the harbour of the Achaeans and collected provisions.

138. Furnius did not begin hostilities, but he continually camped alongside of Pompeius with a large body of horse and prevented his foe from foraging or winning the cities to his side. As Pompeius had no cavalry, he assaulted the camp of Furnius in front and, at the same time, sent a force secretly around to his rear. Furnius accordingly directed his forces against Pompeius' front attack, but he was driven out of his camp by the force in his rear. Pompeius pursued his men and killed many as they fled over the Scamandrian plain, which was saturated with recent rains. Those who were saved withdrew for the time to a place of safety, as they were not fit for battle. While those who, impoverished by continual exactions, enlisted gladly...
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καὶ ἐτέρωθεν, οἳ πενόμενοι διὰ τὰς συνεχείς εἰσφορᾶς ἐμισθοφόρουν ἀσμένως τῷ Πομπηίῳ κατὰ δόξαν μάλιστα τῆς ἐν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένις γενομένης νίκης, ἵππικοῦ δ' ἀτορῶν ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ βλαστόμενος ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς, ἐπόθετο ἠλθὴν ἵππεων Ἰταλικὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον χωρεῖν, ὡπὸ Ὄκταονίας χειμεριζούσης ἐν Ἀθῆναις ἀπεσταλμένην καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπεμπότι τινας ἐς διαφθορὰν τῆς ἠλθῆς μετὰ χρυσίου.

Ἀλλὰ τούσδε μὲν ὁ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἠγούμενος Ἀντώνιος συνέλαβε καὶ τὸ χρυσὸν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι διένειμεν 139. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Νίκαιᾶν τε καὶ Νικομήδειαν καταλαβὼν ἐχρηματίζετο λαμπρῶς, καὶ ἑς μεγάλα ταχεῖα αὐτῷ πάντα νυξετο παρ' ἐμπίδα. Φορνίῳ δὲ οὐ μακράν παραστρατοπεδεύοντι πρῶται μὲν ἦκον ἐκ Σικελίας, ἦρος ἀρχομένου, νῆς ἐβδομήκοντα, δοσὶ περιεσωθήσαν ἐξ ὧν Ἀντώνιος ἐκεχρῆκε κατὰ Πομπηίου Καϊσαρί (μετὰ γὰρ τὸ Σικελικὸν ἔργον αὐτὸς ὁ Καϊσαρ ἀπέλυσεν), ἦκεν δὲ καὶ ἐκ Συρίας Τίτιος ἐτέρας ἐκατὸν εἴκοσι ναυσὶ καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ, καὶ κατήραν ἀπαντῆς ἐς Προκόννησον. δείξας οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος τὰς ναῦς ἐνέπτησε καὶ τοὺς ἐρέτας ὁπλισεν, ὡς ἀμείνων ὦμοι πᾶσι κατά τὴν γῆν συνοισόμενοι. Κάσσιος δὲ ὁ Παρμησίος καὶ Νασίδιος καὶ Σατορίνιος καὶ Θέρμος καὶ Ἀντίστιος ὅσοι τῇ ἄλλῃ τῶν ἄξιολογῶν ἔτι τῷ Πομπηίῳ παρῆσαν φίλοι, καὶ ὁ τιμώτατος αὐτῷ Φάννιος ὁ κηδεστὴς αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου Δίβων ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν οὔδὲ Τιτίον παρόντος, ὅτι τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν Ἀντώνιος ἐπέτρεπε, παυόμενον τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀμείνων πολέμου, ἀπέγνωσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ 606
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under Pompeius especially on account of the reputa-
tion he had gained by his victory at the harbour of
the Achaeans, were awaiting help from Mysia, the
Propontis, and elsewhere, Pompeius, deficient in
cavalry, and thus crippled in procuring supplies,
learned that a troop of Italian horse was coming to
Antony, sent by Octavia, who was passing the winter
in Athens. So he sent emissaries with gold to
corrupt this troop.

Antony’s governor of Macedonia caught these men
and distributed their gold to the cavalry: 139. but
Pompeius took Nicea and Nicomedia, from which he
obtained large supplies of money, and his strength
was augmented in all respects with a rapidity that
exceeded his expectations. But Furnius, who was
camping not far away from him, was reinforced, at
the beginning of spring, first with seventy ships that
had come from Sicily, which had been saved from those
that Antony had lent to Octavian against Pompeius;
for after the close of the war in Sicily Octavian had
dismissed them. Then Titius arrived from Syria with
120 additional ships and a large army; and all these
had landed at Proconnesus. So Pompeius became
alarmed and burned his own ships and armed his
oarsmen, believing that he could fight to better
advantage with all of his forces combined on land.
Cassius of Parma, Nasidius, Saturninus, Thermus,
Antistius, and the other distinguished men of his
party who were still with him as friends, and Fannius,
who held the highest rank of all, and Pompeius’
father-in-law, Libo, when they saw that he did not
desist from war against superior forces even after
Titius, to whom Antony had given entire charge, had

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πράξαντες ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν πίστιν ἐς Ἀντώνιον μετήλθον.

140. Ὁ δ’ ἔρημος ὄν ἦδη φίλων ἐς τὰ μεσόγαια τῆς Βιθυνίας ἀνεχώρει, λεγόμενος ἐς Ἀρμενίους ἐπείγεσθαι καὶ αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς ἀναξεύζαντα ἀφανῶς, ἐδίωκεν ὁ τε Φούρνιος καὶ ὁ Τίτιος, καὶ ἔπ’ ἐκείνους Ἀμύντας. συντόνω δὲ δρόμῳ περὶ ἐσπέραν καταλαβόντες ἐστρατοπέδευσαν ἐκαστὸς ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ περὶ λόφῳ τινὶ, ἀνεν τάφρου καὶ χάρακος, ὡς ἐν ἐσπέρα καὶ κόπρῳ. ὡδὲ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ὁ Πομπήιος νυκτὸς ἐπέθετο πελτασταῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ πόλλοις ἔκτετειν ἐυναξομένους ἐτὶ καὶ ἀναπηδῶντας. οἱ δὲ καὶ γυμνοὶ πάμπαν αἰσχρῶς ἐφευγον. καὶ δοκεῖ τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπαντὶ τῷ στρατῷ νυκτὸς ἐπελθὼν ἡ τῆς γε τροπῆς γενομένης ἐπαγαγὼν τάχ’ ἀν αὐτῶν ἐντελῶς ἐπικρατήσαι. νῦν δ’ ὁ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα θεοῦ βλάπτοντος ὑπερεῖδε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔπ’ ἐργῷ τοιῶδε πλέον ἡ αὕθις ἐς τὸ μεσόγαιον ἔχωρει. οἱ δ’ ἀλλιθέντες εἴποντο καὶ σιτολογούντα ἤγοχλουν, ἔως κινδυνεύων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας ἥξισσεν ἐς λόγους ἑλθεῖν Φουρνίῳ, φίλῳ τε Μάγγου γεγενομένῳ καὶ ἄξιοσεῖ προὐχοντι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ βεβαιοτέρῳ τὸν τρόπον.

141. Ποταμῶν δ’ ἐν μέσῳ λαβῶν ἔλεγε μὲν, ὅτι πρεσβεύσαιτο πρὸς Ἀντώνιοι, ἐπετίθει δ’, ὅτι τροφῶν ἐν τοσοῦτο δεόμενος καὶ ἀμελούμενος ὑπὸ αὐτῶν, τάδε ἐργάσαιτο. “ὕμεῖς δὲ εἰ μὲν Ἀντώνιοι γυνὸς πολεμεῖτε μοι, κακῶς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ βουλεύεται, τὸν ἐπάνω πόλεμον οὔ 608
arrived, despairing of him, and, having made terms for themselves, went over to Antony.

140. Pompeius, now deserted by his friends, withdrew to the interior of Bithynia, being reported as making his way to Armenia. One night as he marched out of his camp quietly, Furnius and Titius followed him, and Amyntas joined in the pursuit. After a hot chase they came up with him toward evening, and each encamped by himself around a certain hill without ditch or palisade, as it was late and they were tired. While they were in this state, Pompeius made a night attack with 300 light troops and killed many who were still asleep or springing out of bed. The rest took to disgraceful flight half dressed as they were. It is evident that if Pompeius had made this night attack with his entire army, or if he had followed up energetically the victory he did win, he would have overcome them completely. But, misled by some evil genius, he let slip these opportunities also, and he gained no other advantage from the affair than to penetrate farther into the interior of the country. His enemies, having formed a junction, followed him and cut him off from supplies, until he was in danger from want. Then he sought an interview with Furnius, who had been a friend of Pompey the Great, and who was of higher rank and of a more trustworthy character than the others.

141. Taking a position where a river flowed between them, Pompeius said that he had sent ambassadors to Antony, and he added that, being in need of provisions meanwhile, and they supplying him, he had done what he had done. "If you fight against me," he continued, "by Antony's direction, Antony has misconceived his own interests in not foreseeing the
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προσφέρων· εἴ δὲ τὴν Ἀντωνίου γνώμην φθάνετε, μαρτύρωμεν καὶ παρακαλῶ περιμένην τὴν προσβείαν μου τὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλμένην ἡ λαβόντας ἁγείν ἢ δή πρὸς αὐτὸν. ἔπιτρέψας δὲ ἐμαυτὸν ἐγὼ σοὶ μόνῳ, Φούρνιε, τοσοῦτον ἐς πίστιν αἰτήσας, ὅτι με σῶν ἁξεῖς ἐς Ἀντώνιον· ὁ μὲν οὖτος εἶπεν, Ἀντωνίῳ τε θαρρῶν ὡς ἀγαθὸ τὴν φύσιν καὶ μόνα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ δεδιώσκε; ὁ δὲ Φούρνιος αὐτὸν οὖτος ἠμείσατο· "ἔπιτρέποντός μὲν ἦν ἐαυτὸν Ἀντωνίῳ χωρεῖν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡ περιμένειν ἀτρεμοῦντα ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, πολεμοῦντος δὲ, ἐν πεποίηκας ἀπαντᾶ, τί γὰρ αὐτὰ δεῖ πρὸς εἰδότα λέγειν; εἰ δὲ νῦν μετέχωσας, μὴ συγκρούεσθι μὲν ἡμᾶς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐς ἀλλήλους, Τιτίῳ δὲ σαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπειν. Τιτίῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται τὰ περὶ σὲ ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ πίστιν, ἢν αἱτεῖς παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐνι σοὶ καὶ Τίτιον αἰτεῖν. κεκέλευσται δ' ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πολεμοῦντα μὲν σε κατακανεῖν, ἐγχειρίζοντα δὲ πέμπτειν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐντίμωσα.

142. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Τιτίῳ μὲν ἀχαριστίας ὀργίζετο, τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ὑποδεξαμένῳ πολεμήσειν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀλάντα γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰχμαλωτὸν περισσοτέρος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ὀργῇ καὶ ἡδόξῃ, Πομπήιος ὅν, ἐπὶ Τιτίῳ γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐπιφανεῖ πάντι ἀνδρί, καὶ ὑπώστευεν αὐτόν ὡς οὐ βέβαιον ἐς τὸν τρόπον ὑπονοοῦν καὶ τινα συγγιγνώσκων ἐς αὐτὸν ὑβριν παλαιὰν πρὸ τῆς εὐεργεσίας. Φούρνιῳ δ' αὐθίς ἐαυτὸν ἐπέτρεπε καὶ δέξασθαι ὑπὸ
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coming war. If you are anticipating Antony's inten-
tions, I protest and implore you to wait for the
embassy that I sent to Antony or to take and bring
me to him now. I will surrender myself to you alone,
Furnius, asking merely your pledge that you will
conduct me to him in safety." He spoke thus
because he had confidence in Antony as a man of
generous nature, and he apprehended merely that
something might happen to him on the journey.
Furnius replied to him as follows: "If you wish to
surrender yourself to Antony you ought to have done
so in the beginning, or else have waited quietly at
Mitylene for his answer. But if you desired the war
you should have done as you have done; for why is
it necessary to recount your deeds to one who knows
them? If now you repent, do not bring us, generals,
into collision with each other, but surrender yourself
to Titius, to whom these matters have been entrusted
by Antony. The pledge which you ask from me you
can ask from him. He has been ordered by Antony
to put you to death if you wage war, but, if you
surrender yourself, to send you to him in an honour-
able manner."

142. Pompeius was angry with Titius for his in-
gratitude, in that he undertook to wage this war
against him, for he had once been taken prisoner
and spared by Pompeius. Besides being angry he
considered it beneath his dignity that a Pompeius
should be in the power of Titius, who was not of
noble birth. Moreover he suspected Titius, either
because he was acquainted with his character and
did not consider him trustworthy, or because he
was conscious of some old injury done to him pre-
vious to the benefaction above mentioned. Again
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CAP. XIV παρεκάλει. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ὃ δὲ καὶ Ἀμύντα ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψειν. τοῦ Φούρνιον δὲ φήσαντος οὐδ' Ἀμύνταν ἀν δὲξασθαί τὸδε οὐβριν ἔχον ἐς τὸν Ἐ. Αυτωπίου τὸ πᾶν ἐπιτετραμμένον, διελύθησαν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Φούρνιον δόξα ἦν, ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ἀπορίας τῶν παρόντων ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἐκδόσει τῷ Τιτίῳ· ὁ δὲ νυκτὸς τὰ συνήθη πυρὰ καίεσθαι καταλαμών καὶ τοὺς σαλπυγκτὰς σημαίνειν τὰ διαστήματα τῆς νυκτὸς, ὥσπερ ἡ ἔθος, ἔλαβε μετὰ τῶν εὐξώνων ὑπεξελθόν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, οίς οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς προείπεν, οἱ χωρήσειν ἔμελλεν. ἐπενόει δ' ἑπὶ θάλασσαν ἔλθων ἐμπρήσαι τοῦ τοῦ Τιτίου ναυτικοῦ, καὶ τάχα ἀν ἔδρασεν, εἰ μὴ Σκαύρος αὐτομολήσας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν ἐξοδον ἐμήνυσε καὶ τὴν ὄδον, ἢν ἐφέρετο, τὴν δ' ἐπίνοιαν οὐκ ἤδει. τότε δὴ χιλίως καὶ πεντακοσίως ἵππεύσιν Ἀμύντας ἔδωκε τὸν Πομπήιον ἱππέας οὐκ ἔχοντα. καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἀμύνταν οἱ τοῦ Πομπήιου πλησιάσαντα μετεχώρουν, οἱ μὲν ἀποδιδράσκοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ φανερῶς. μονούμενος οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ δεδώς ἢδ' τὰ οἰκεία, ἑαυτὸν ἀνευ σπουδῶν ἐνεχείρισεν Ἀμύντα, ὁ Τιτίῳ μετὰ σπουδῶν ἀδοξήσας.

143. Ὅστω μὲν ἐάλω Πομπήιος Σέξτος, ὁ λοιπὸς ἔτι παῖς Πομπήιου Μάγνου, νεότερος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολειφθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μειράκιον ἦδη, λαθὼς δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνως ἐς πολὺ καὶ κρύφα ληστεύων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, μέχρι, πολλῶν συνδραμόντων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπηγνωσθέντα εἶναι Πομπήιον.
he offered to surrender himself to Furnius, and begged that he would receive him. When the latter refused he said that he would surrender to Amyntas. Furnius said that Amyntas would not receive him, because that would be an insult to the one whom Antony had entrusted with this whole business; and so the interview ended. The opinion prevailed in the camp of Furnius that, for want of other resources, Pompeius would deliver himself up to Titius on the following day. When night came Pompeius left the customary fires burning, and the trumpets giving the usual signal at intervals through the night, while he quietly withdrew from the camp with a well-prepared band, who had not previously been advised whither they were to go. He intended to go to the sea-shore and burn Titius' fleet, and perhaps would have done so had not Scaurus deserted from him and communicated the fact of his departure and the road he had taken, although ignorant of his design. Amyntas, with 1500 horse, pursued Pompeius, who had no cavalry. When Amyntas drew near, Pompeius' men passed over to him, some privately, others openly. Pompeius, being almost entirely deserted and afraid of his own men, surrendered himself to Amyntas without conditions, although he had scorned to surrender to Titius with conditions.

143. Thus was Sextus Pompeius captured. He was the last remaining son of Pompey the Great, and had been deprived of his father when very young and of his brother while still a stripling. After their death he concealed himself for a long time and practised robbery secretly in Spain until he had collected a large following, because he made
PAPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIV

paída, ἐλήστενε τε φανερώτερον, καὶ μετὰ Γάιον
Καίσαρα ἐπολέμησεν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ στρατὸν ἠγείρε
πολὺν καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα, καὶ νῆσους ἔλθε, καὶ
θαλλασσοκράτωρ τῷ ἀμφί ταῖς δύσεις θαλάσσης ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιήνεγκεν ἦς λιμὸν καὶ
tοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐς συμβάσεις, ἂς ἦθελε. τὸ δὲ
μέγιστον, ἐπίκουρος ἐν ταῖς προγραφαῖς τῇ πόλει
πανώλθρα πασχούσῃ γενόμενος περιέσωσεν
ἀνδρας ἀρίστους τε καὶ πολλοὺς, οὗ τότε δι’ αὐτὸν
ήσαν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. ὑπὸ δὲ θεοβλαβείας αὐτὸς
οὗ ποτε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖς πολεμίοις, πολλὰ τῆς
tύχης εὕκαιρα παρεχούσης, ἀλλ’ ἡμύνετο μόνον.

144. Καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν τοιὸδε γενόμενος ἐαλώ-
κει, Τίτιος δὲ τὸν μὲν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ μετεστρά-
tευσεν Ἀντωνίῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ Πομπήιον, τεσσαρα-
κοστὸν ἔτος βιοῦντα, ἐν Μιλήτῳ κατέκανεν, εἰτὲ
di’ αὐτοῦ, μηνίων ἁρα τῆς ποτὲ ὦβρεως καὶ
ἀγάριστος ἐς τὴν ἐπείτα εὐφρενίαν γενόμενος,
eiτε καὶ ἐπιστείλαντος Ἀντωνίῳ. εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ
Πλάγκον, οὐκ Ἀντωνίῳ λέγοντες ἐπιστείλαι,
cαὶ νομίζουσιν ἀρχοῦντα Συρίας, καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστο-
lαίς ἐπιτετραμμένοι ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα ἐπιγράφειν
tὸν Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ τῇ σφραγίδι χρῆσθαι. καὶ
Πλάγκον δὲ γράψαι νομίζουσιν οἱ μὲν συνειδότος
Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ αἰδομιμένον γράψαι διὰ ὅνομα τοῦ
Πομπήιον καὶ διὰ Κλεοπάτραν, εὐνοὺς ἔχουσαν τῷ
Πομπήιῳ διὰ τὸν πατέρα Μάγνον, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐφ’
ἐαυτοῦ Πλάγκον, τάδε αὐτὰ συνιδόντα καὶ
φυλαξόμενον, μὴ τὴν αἰσθαν Ἀντωνίου καὶ
Καίσαρος ἐς ἀλλήλους αἰδω Πομπήιος καὶ Κλεο-
pάτρα Πομπήιῳ συνεργοῦσα ἀνατρέψαιειν.

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himself known as Pompey's son. Then he practised more open robbery. After the death of Gaius Caesar he carried on war vigorously and collected a large army, together with ships and money, took islands, became master of the western sea, brought famine upon Italy, and compelled his enemies to make peace on such terms as he chose. Of most importance was the aid that he rendered in the proscriptions to Rome when exposed to utter destruction, rescuing many of the nobility who were, at this later time, safe at home by means of him. But stricken with some strange aberration, he never pursued an aggressive policy against his foes, although fortune offered him many opportunities; he only defended himself.

144. After such a career Pompeius was taken prisoner. Titius brought Pompeius' soldiers into Antony's service and put Pompeius himself to death at Miletus in the fortieth year of his age. This he did either on his own account, angry at some former insult, and ungrateful for the subsequent kindness, or in pursuance of Antony's order. Some say that Plancus, not Antony, gave this order. They think that Plancus, while governing Syria, was authorized by letters to sign Antony's name in cases of urgency and to use his seal. Some think that it was written by Plancus with Antony's knowledge, but that the latter was ashamed to write it on account of the name Pompeius, and because Cleopatra was favourable to him on account of Pompey the Great. Others think that Plancus, being cognizant of these facts, took it upon himself to give the order as a matter of precaution, lest Pompeius, with the co-operation of Cleopatra, should disturb the auspicious respect between Antony and Octavian.
CAP. 145. Ἀλλὰ Πομπήιος μὲν ἐτεθνήκει, Ἀντώνιος δὲ αὕτη ἔσ Ἀρμενίαν ἐστράτευε, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ Ἰλλυρίους, οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλήστευον, οἱ μὲν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντες πο Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἀποστάντες. καὶ μοι ἔδοξε τὰ Ἰλλυρικά, οὔτε ἀκριβῶς γενόμενα μοι γνώριμα οὔτε συντελοῦντα μήκος ἰδίας συγγραφῆς οὔτε χώραν ἔχουτα ἔτερωθ' λειχθήναι, τοῦ χρόνου, καθ' δὲν ἐλήφθησαν, συνάγοντος αὐτὰ ἐς τέλος, προαναγράψαι καὶ ὑποθείναι αὐτὰ τῇ ὀμόρφῳ Μακεδονίκῃ.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

145. After the death of Pompeius Antony made a new expedition to Armenia, and Octavian made one against the Illyrians, who were plundering Italy, some of whom had never been subject to the Romans, while others had revolted during the civil wars. Since these Illyrian affairs are not very well known to me, and are not of sufficient length to make a book by themselves, and have no suitable place to be treated elsewhere, I have recorded them above (beginning with the time when Illyria was acquired by the Romans and bringing them down to the end),¹ and added them to the history of Macedonia, which marches with Illyria.

¹ The meaning is doubtful.
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Pr. denotes the Preface. K. the book Concerning the Kings. It. Italy.
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The Arabic numerals signify sections.

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